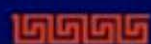


THE CAMBRIDGE
GRAMMAR OF
MEDIEVAL
AND
EARLY MODERN
GREEK



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The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek

The Greek language has a written history of more than 3,000 years. While the classical, Hellenistic and modern periods of the language are well researched, the intermediate stages are much less well known, but of great interest to those curious to know how a language changes over time. The geographical area where Greek has been spoken stretches from the Aegean Islands to the Black Sea and from Southern Italy and Sicily to the Middle East, largely corresponding to former territories of the Byzantine Empire and its successor states. This *Grammar* draws on a comprehensive corpus of literary and non-literary texts written in various forms of the vernacular to document the processes of change between the eleventh and eighteenth centuries, processes which can be seen as broadly comparable to the emergence of the Romance languages from Medieval Latin. Regional and dialectal variation in phonology and morphology are treated in detail.

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General Introduction

The four volumes of the *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek* are the fruits of a large-scale and complex research project that began in 2004. It took much longer than originally planned, mainly because there proved to be even more surviving linguistic material than we had expected, but also because of the incredible richness and diversity of the language we were analysing. But perhaps the most important factor is that at every step we were encountering phenomena that had never before been explored systematically and in detail by linguistic researchers.

This General Introduction has four main objectives: firstly, to give a brief outline of how the subject of this work relates to previous work on the evolution of the Greek language since Antiquity, and then to clarify the scope and objectives of our undertaking; secondly, to give some information about the source materials available to the historian of Greek for the late medieval and early modern periods and to indicate the problems inherent in the different kinds of material; thirdly, to explain our methodology, in terms of how the source texts have been processed and analysed, and how the observed phenomena are described; and finally, to provide essential information about how the linguistic material is presented in the detailed discussion of phonology, morphology and syntax.

1 Background, Aims and Scope

The history of the Greek language, from its earliest written records in the Linear B script to the present day, has been the subject of innumerable studies. The length of that written tradition, uninterrupted apart from the “Dark Age” from roughly 1200 to 800 BC, is unique among European languages. However, the scholarly examination of that tradition is, in chronological terms, extremely uneven. Although there exists a large number of Grammars of both Ancient and Modern Greek, and sufficient accounts of Hellenistic Koine Greek (i.e. analyses of the language of the New Testament and of the Ptolemaic papyri), the “intermediate” period between the Hellenistic/Roman period and Modern Greek has not hitherto received a comprehensive and authoritative treatment, and “Medieval Greek” as an object of historical linguistic study has only been treated in a fragmentary way (for an overview see MANOLESSOU 2008a). The first researcher of Medieval Greek, G. N. Chatzidakis, wrote in 1892 (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 409–10): “in general very little has been done up to now to advance our knowledge of linguistic evolution during the postclassical and Byzantine eras”, a statement echoed more than 100 years later by a modern specialist, Elizabeth Jeffreys, who observed in 1998 that “the definitive linguistic analysis of early demotic Greek ... has yet to be written.”¹ This is perhaps a somewhat surprising fact, given that:

¹ JEFFREYS 1998: xlix, cf. also CHEILA-MARKOPOULOU 1990/91: 19 and references cited therein.

- a) the gap in our systematic grammatical knowledge of Greek extends roughly from Late Antiquity until the creation of the Modern Greek state, i.e. has a span of around 1,500 years, a gap unparalleled in the historical study of any language;
- b) the Greek language is particularly suitable for diachronic linguistic studies, since it has a continuously attested history of more than 3,500 years, the longest of any Indo-European language, and additionally, for its earlier periods, the documentation is not, as is usual for most languages, scant and fragmentary, but extremely rich; and
- c) at the other end, Modern Greek is one of the best-studied languages in the world, as far as synchronic analyses are concerned.

No overall Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek exists, nor has a historical Grammar of Modern Greek yet been attempted. For the Greek language of this period, three types of study are available (cf. MIRAMBEL 1964: 395):

- a) studies on the language of individual authors, texts or genres, e.g. PSALTES 1913, MIHEVC-GABROVEC 1960, EGEA 1984 and EGEA 1988, or APOSTOLOPOULOS 1984. Information on individual texts, usually falling short of a complete linguistic description, can also be found in recent scholarly editions of medieval and early modern vernacular texts, such as HOLTON 1974/2002, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1996, PAPATHOMOPOULOS/JEFFREYS 1996, VEJLESKOV 2005, LENDARI 2007. These offer valuable information, but lack a general view of linguistic evolution; frequently their aim is to identify “particularities”, or “peculiarities”, of authors or texts with respect to an expected standard, and not to draw overall conclusions about the language of the period (on such editions see HOLTON 2001: 259, 263, 265). Similarly, especially in recent years, there have appeared a number of studies on the language of medieval and early modern non-literary texts, mainly notarial documents, such as LAMPSIDIS 1952, BAKKER 1988/89, CHARALAMBAKIS 1998; for an overview see MANOLESSOU 2003.
- b) studies on the evolution of specific linguistic constructions, e.g. the participle (MIRAMBEL 1961, MANOLESSOU 2005), the clitic pronouns (MACKRIDGE 1993, PAPPAS 2004), relative clauses (CHEILA-MARKOPOULOU 1990/91, MANOLESSOU 2004, LIOSIS/KRIKI 2014), the future (HOLTON 1993, MARKOPOULOS 2009a) the perfect periphrasis (MOSER 1986, MOSER 1988, MOSER 1989). Again, these researches are often invaluable, but inevitably of limited scope, in that they treat only the phenomenon in question and are based on a restricted selection of textual data.
- c) general overviews of the history of the Greek language during this period, e.g. DIETERICH 1898, BROWNING ²1983, TONNET ²2003 and HORROCKS ²2010. In these studies, the drawback of the two previous categories is overcome, since an overall perspective of the evolution of the language is provided, covering all linguistic levels in parallel (phonology, morphology, syntax etc.). However, apart from the fact that, in some cases at least, these works are not exclusively concerned with Medieval Greek, but treat it only as a stage in the evolution of Greek in general, they suffer from the opposite drawback, i.e. the lack of sufficient detail and of direct recourse to the primary sources. A further problem often encountered in these general handbooks is that the

information provided may be unreliable: it is frequently based on back-referencing, which, when checked, goes back to the earliest contributions to the topic, namely JANNARIS 1897, DIETERICH 1898, CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07 and PSALTES 1913, works which are now seriously out of date, both because they quote from old, unreliable and superseded editions and because they did not have access to many texts that were still unpublished (on these problems see MANOLESSOU 2008a).

A variety of factors are responsible for this serious gap in the linguistic investigation of the Greek language. In the past, the most important cause was the low prestige of Medieval Greek, seen as a “degeneration” of the high standards of Ancient Greek, and the limited value accorded to Medieval Greek literature. Even Chatzidakis, the founder of the discipline, declared that “the ... post-classical and medieval literature is of such low worth, such long-windedness, and shows such a mixture of linguistic forms, that nobody can occupy himself with it with pleasure, and certainly not for any length of time” (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 360).

But even when the linguistic monuments of the period were recognized as representatives of an important literature and were studied in their own right, the progress, as far as linguistic science is concerned, was not great. This was due to the nature of the texts themselves, which allow us to trace the development of the language only with considerable difficulty, as most of them are written in imitation of prestigious Ancient Greek, and particularly Attic, works of literature, and are therefore not representative of the spoken language of their period. Even the texts closer to the vernacular present a high degree of “mixture” of old and new forms, depending not so much on the period when the author was writing as on his level of education, his literary aims, and his chosen literary genre. The issue here is the *diglossia* which was a major characteristic of the Greek language up until very recent times (for details see TOUFEXIS 2008). In other words, “Medieval Greek” was difficult to approach as a scientific object.

To these general difficulties one may further add the practical obstacles arising from the lack, until recent years, of high-quality reliable editions of Medieval and Early Modern Greek texts, as Greek scholarship was relatively slow to catch up with the advances made in textual criticism and editorial practice for medieval texts in other major European languages.

Over the past thirty or so years much has changed in relation to the situation described above. Firstly, many new critical editions of literary texts now provide more reliable evidence for the linguistic scholar; familiar texts have been re-dated, often on the basis of archival evidence; and previously unknown or unedited texts have added significantly to the literary corpus in Medieval and Early Modern Greek. Non-literary material in the public domain, especially documents, has similarly expanded considerably – indeed even more impressively than is the case for literary texts – adding significantly to the body of linguistic evidence available to the historical linguist. Of course editions of both literary and non-literary texts, for a variety of different reasons, must be treated with due caution by the linguistic researcher. This issue will be discussed below. But the increase in available textual evidence, as well as progress in lexicography (especially the multi-volume

dictionary of Kriaras and the Vienna-based *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*), affords a much fuller and more detailed picture of what was happening to the Greek language in the period that interests us.²

As discussed above, the major issue concerning the relatively poorly investigated language of the period between Late Antiquity and modern times is the difficulty in defining it as a scientific object. The language of the medieval and early modern periods can actually be two quite different things:

- a) The linguistic form in which the preserved texts from the relevant period are written. With this broad definition, there are many “languages” to study, as medieval texts display a very broad spectrum of differentiation, which goes from the very high-register archaizing texts imitating Ancient Greek language (e.g. theological and rhetorical texts) to the virtually illiterate low (e.g. a personal note scrawled on the back of a book). If this first definition is adopted, then all texts are equally useful and equally interesting for linguistic investigation; furthermore, all texts require such linguistic investigation if they are to be properly edited philologically.³
- b) The linguistic form which (we believe) represents the innate grammatical system of a native speaker of Greek living in this period. Even this definition will include several “languages”, as the language changes with the passage of time, over such a lengthy period, and as there are also local (dialectal) differences. But with this definition, not all texts are equally appropriate for linguistic research: one would prefer those that may be assumed to be actually closer to the everyday spoken language of the time, the so-called “vernacular” texts (on this issue see MANOLESSOU 2008a and 2014). The aim of such an investigation would be to understand the development of the Greek language over time, and to describe the language not of a text, but of a chronologically and geographically specified linguistic community. This is the main approach followed by modern historical linguistics.

It is this second definition that the present Grammar adopts, tempered of course by the awareness that access to the language of this linguistic community is available only through texts and not via native speakers. The exclusive reliance on written sources, the requirement for written sources close to the spoken language of the time, and the relative quantity of such sources in the various historical sub-periods between Late Antiquity and Modern Greek have largely dictated the chronological limits of the Grammar.

To be more specific, the starting point of its coverage has been set at approximately AD 1100, as it is only after this time that “vernacular” texts start to appear in significant quantity. The end point has been placed around 1700, in order to include the Early Modern period, with its considerable literary production (e.g. the works of Cretan literature) and its abundance of non-literary sources, conveniently identifiable both chronologically and

² Concerning developments in lexicography see especially KRAMER 2011.

³ The language of higher-register Byzantine literary texts is now beginning to be systematically studied, as it deserves. See especially the edited volume HINTERBERGER 2014a.

geographically. The time period of the Grammar thus broadly coincides with the limits set by the corresponding lexicographical magnum opus, the *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημώδους Γραμματείας (1100–1669)* of Emmanouil Kriaras. We must clarify, however, that the dates 1100 and 1700 are only approximate ones; material which stems from just outside this period (i.e. the 11th century or the early 18th) has also been taken into account, particularly when it serves to extend our geographical coverage.

The system of periodization that we have used is not based on external criteria, which might relate to historically significant dates, such as wars, conquest or independence. For this reason we do not employ the term “Byzantine Greek”: for almost the whole of the period that we are concerned with, a substantial part of the Greek-speaking world was not “Byzantine” in a political sense. Our criteria are instead internal ones, based on clusters of important linguistic changes that we see as occurring around 1100, 1500 and 1700 (for details see HOLTON 2010, HOLTON/MANOLESSOU 2010). Consequently, we employ the following terminology in order to denote sub-periods of the history of Greek, terms that also conveniently correspond to those widely used for periodization in Western historical thought: Early Medieval (EMedG) from about 500 to 1100; Late Medieval (LMedG) from about 1100 to 1500; Early Modern (EMG) from about 1500 to 1700.

It was only after careful consideration that the decision was taken to leave the Early Medieval period outside the scope of our investigation. On the one hand, the linguistic form of the relevant texts is in many ways markedly different from those of the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods; their inclusion would have resulted in a rather un-homogeneous textual corpus, not easily amenable to a unified treatment and description. On the other hand, the lack of preliminary linguistic studies on the texts of this period, including the totally untapped potential of the extensive corpus of Christian inscriptions, meant that substantial primary research would be needed, possibly involving a different set of skills. Nevertheless, we have taken the existing secondary bibliography on Early Medieval Greek sources into consideration when giving a historical overview of LMedG phenomena; in addition, EMedG primary sources offering early attestations of specific phenomena are quoted whenever possible.

As regards geographical limits, the choices are much simpler: the texts examined originate from all areas where the Greek vernacular was spoken as a native language in the late medieval and early modern periods: the bulk come of course from mainland Greece, the Greek islands, Cyprus and Asia Minor, but the areas covered include also more northerly areas in the Balkan peninsula (parts of modern Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey), as well as more distant areas with compact Greek-speaking enclaves during the period under investigation, namely Southern Italy and Sicily, Corsica and the Crimea, and urban settlements with a substantial Greek immigrant population, such as Venice and the Danubian principalities. Of course, since it depends entirely on the availability of sources and on changes in historical circumstances, the coverage is inevitably uneven. This issue will be discussed further in the following section.

2 The Sources

The *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek* is a text-based descriptive grammar. This means that although it ultimately targets the internalized grammatical system of a native speaker of Greek living in the late medieval and early modern periods, as described in the previous section, the primary data at its disposal for postulating this system are exclusively the written sources of the period, which therefore constitute the basis of our linguistic description (complemented by knowledge of prior and subsequent phases of linguistic evolution, and of general principles of linguistic structure and language change).

Obviously, the texts cannot be taken as a faithful, photographic as it were, representation of the internalized grammatical system of the period, or, in simpler terms, of the “spoken” language. The very act of writing involves the influence of multiple linguistic registers, as the ability to write, i.e. literacy, is inevitably connected with knowledge of higher, more archaic and more prestigious linguistic levels. In the case of Medieval Greek, the distinction between linguistic phases or textual registers is more difficult than for other medieval languages, due to the very long attested history of the Greek language and literature, the extremely high prestige of Ancient Greek, and the relatively slow rate of change in several inflectional paradigms, not to mention the overall conservativeness of the writing system. As an illustration, consider the fact that in an Old French text, one is very rarely in doubt as to whether a certain form is “Latin” or “French”; however, in a Medieval Greek text one is frequently unsure whether a form should be labelled as “Classical”, “Koine” or “Medieval”. Contrast for example *rex* and *magnus* as opposed to *li reis* or *magnes* with ὁ βασιλεὺς and μέγας: whereas in the case of French there is no doubt as to the chronological period to which each set of elements belongs, in the case of Greek comparative and distributional research is required in order to exclude the possibility of the forms in question having survived normally until the medieval period. Similarly, the feminine form of the definite article in Greek appears identical in Ancient, Medieval and Modern Greek, namely <ή>; however, the conservativeness of the spelling system disguises the fact that since the Classical period the form has changed phonetically (and morphologically) from /hɛ:/ to /i/.

The description of Medieval and Early Modern Greek is, naturally, also subject to the limitations often described for all written languages belonging to earlier periods: the dependence on the successive stages of the textual tradition, i.e. the intervention of copyists and editors, which may vary according to text type. Ideally, priority should be accorded to texts which display the minimum of “interference” between the linguistic competence of the original speaker and the actual textual form before the eyes of the modern reader. The exiguity of ideal texts, such as autograph manuscripts, imposes the necessity for strict quality control of the available sources, as well as the examination of a very extensive textual corpus.

With these considerations in mind, the Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek project entailed the linguistic processing of a very large body of textual material, divided into two basic categories: literary and non-literary texts, the former subdivided into prose and poetic texts. The notion “literary” is of course notoriously difficult to define. Instead,

for the purposes of this Grammar, we have focused on a practical definition of “non-literary”: under this term are subsumed texts which were written and read for a practical purpose, i.e. to serve a specific extra-linguistic and extra-textual need (e.g. legal documents of all kinds, private letters, chronological notes, inventories, receipts etc.).

The fundamental distinction between non-literary and literary relies mainly on differences of transmission: non-literary texts usually involve few stages of copying/reproduction, and in many cases we even possess the original; on the other hand, literary texts usually have a more complex textual tradition, often involving many stages of transmission, multiple witnesses, or different versions/redactions. Furthermore, the richer textual tradition of literary texts inevitably influences their surviving linguistic form, e.g. the degree of variation or “mixture” of forms (co-existence of earlier and later forms, or of forms of different geographic provenance), or the volume of “errors” (copying errors, hypercorrections, errors resulting from misinterpretation etc.).⁴

Secondarily, the distinction literary vs. non-literary involves differences of linguistic practice: non-literary texts are more open to higher registers and formulaic and fossilized expressions, while literary texts allow a greater degree of intentional variation (conceivably as part of a *Kunstsprache*). Furthermore, literary texts may contain a wider range of linguistic categories and phenomena, as well as a richer vocabulary, than the often terse and repetitive non-literary texts. Finally, the linguistic form of literary texts is to a greater degree subject to stylistic considerations, which may even lead to conscious artificiality.⁵

The distinction between prose and poetry acknowledges the influence of additional factors determining the linguistic form of a text, namely metre and rhyme, which affect all linguistic levels, i.e. phonology (treatment of hiatus, stress patterns), morphology (shape of inflectional suffixes, tolerance of multiple equivalent variants serving different metrical needs), and syntax (word order). The most common metrical form of MedG and EMG vernacular poetry is the 15-syllable verse, with obligatory stress on the penultimate syllable and a caesura after the 7th or the 8th syllable (for a basic introduction see ODB s.v. “political verse”).

The textual material which served as the basis of the Grammar project, subdivided into the above categories according to the relevant theoretical considerations, was compiled after a lengthy process of research, selection and elimination. This procedure presupposes a number of criteria for the composition and delimitation of the corpus, in order to ensure its greater reliability for linguistic research.⁶

⁴ In light of the criteria mentioned above, “literary” texts include a number of works that are not strictly literary, but have undergone a similar transmission process, e.g. historical texts, legal codes (e.g. the Cypriot *Assizes*), religious narratives, homilies etc., instructional texts of various kinds, medical handbooks (ιατροσόφια), as well as letters that have historical significance or were written not just for personal communication (e.g. those of Nikon).

⁵ On issues relating to literary vs. non-literary sources see HINTERBERGER 2001, 2006; MANOLESSOU 2003; MARKOPOULOS 2009b.

⁶ We use the word “corpus” to refer to the sum total of texts assembled for the purposes of the Grammar. As explained below, our approach is necessarily selective: it does not aim at an exhaustive, quantitative analysis of a representative “corpus” of texts.

In more detail, one of the main preliminary tasks was to locate and document the existing literary and non-literary sources by area and period. In the case of non-literary texts, the research undertaken for vernacular documents went considerably beyond the standard bibliographies available (e.g. GINIS 1966, GINIS 1972/3; BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1977, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1979 and the more recent PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 2011),⁷ into national and provincial periodical publications and editions, library catalogues, digital resources etc., and produced a (constantly updated) bibliography for non-literary sources listing some 1,200 items, which were then perused and selectively excerpted for the purposes of the Grammar.

In the case of literary texts, although a basic list of sources was provided by the on-going medieval vernacular Greek dictionary of Kriaras, and the bibliography of the Sydney project (see also JEFFREYS/DOULAVERA 1998) offered important additional information, the register of works was completed through systematic bibliographic research by the project team. The aim was the full electronic overview, documentation and classification of all published texts for the medieval and early modern periods in the project's database (versions, editions, genres etc.). The electronic documentation also included secondary sources for these texts, such as concordances, lexica, philological and linguistic studies etc. New editions which appeared during the period from 2004 to 2016, especially those of texts not previously available in modern edition, were also utilized, as far as possible.

A second task was the necessary evaluation of the sources collected, a process which followed standard linguistic practice elaborated for the research of other major medieval languages (see e.g. VAN REENEN 1985, FLEISCHMAN 2000, PRÉVOST 2008 for French; WEGERA 2000, WEGERA 2003 for German; LAING/WILLIAMSON 2004, LASS 2004 for English; cf. also MANOLESSOU 2008a, TOUFEXIS 2012, MANOLESSOU 2014 for Greek). The standpoint and the choices of the present Grammar with respect to these criteria are discussed below.

Ideally, textual data should come from sources which are geographically and chronologically identifiable, i.e. whose dating and provenance is secure. As already discussed, non-literary texts meet these requirements more easily, due to the fewer stages of copying and their mainly archival or commemorative nature: the majority can be geographically located and dated with precision, whereas a large number of literary texts are anonymously transmitted, of unknown geographical origin, and of uncertain (or even controversial) dating. The geographical provenance and dating information is included in the reference tag of each non-literary example in the Grammar, whenever possible.⁸

Similarly, as already mentioned, reliable linguistic research requires minimal interference between the original form of a text and the modern reader. Successive copying of a

⁷ Note that the Kriaras dictionary only relatively recently started to use non-literary texts as sources for the vocabulary of the medieval and early modern period; consequently it offered very limited documentation on this issue.

⁸ The geographical provenance of a text is the place where it was actually written. Sometimes, for example in the case of letters, this place is not located in a Greek-speaking area, e.g. Rome, Stockholm. In such cases we also give the place of origin of the writer, if that information is available.

text introduces, besides errors, variation attributable to scribes/redactors, and even alternative branches of textual tradition. Critical editions conflating multiple witnesses/versions of a text can eliminate variation and create “artificial” linguistic witnesses made up from the mixing of these alternative branches. Furthermore, even editions of texts based on a single manuscript/witness involve some degree of interference, in the matter of orthographic normalization, interpretation of forms, correction of scribal errors, analysis of abbreviations and ligatures etc. Editors may also implement arbitrary emendations, sometimes tacitly, and introduce linguistic elements absent from the actual textual witnesses, in an attempt at linguistic or stylistic homogeneity or heightened dialectal colouring.

For the purposes of linguistic research, the data drawn from diplomatic transcriptions are relatively more reliable, and such sources have been heavily utilized in the Grammar. Diplomatic editions are mostly available for non-literary texts. Some literary texts were also consulted in the form of diplomatic transcriptions, while the Grammar project also benefitted from a number of normalized transcriptions of literary texts with minimal editorial interference (in electronic form). Alongside modern printed sources, the Grammar project used a considerable body of digitized manuscripts as well as a number of early prints (mainly 16th-century editions), which included some of the major literary works. These were constantly consulted in the case of dubious, exceptional and *hapax* readings. Due to limitations of time and human resources, it was not possible to include in the corpus unpublished texts (i.e. unavailable in modern editions), either in manuscript or in print form.⁹

Literary texts in critical editions were included in the corpus only when they included an apparatus criticus, which was always consulted during excerption. In rare cases we included major texts that lack a critical apparatus in their most authoritative edition, for example Chortatsis’s tragedy *Erofilis*; however, in this case we had the possibility of checking the readings of the extant witnesses. A serious difficulty faced by the Grammar during the phase of data collection was the fact that the MedG and EMG electronic texts included in the online *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>, hereafter *TLG*) are not accompanied (for copyright reasons) by the apparatus criticus, something which required constant recourse to the corresponding printed edition and diminished the validity of numerical/statistical counts. It is of course true that many of the available printed editions are outdated and fall short of modern requirements in terms of methodology or consistency. However, it was deemed preferable to use them, albeit with caution, rather than ignore their evidence completely. In any case, medieval grammars of other major European languages have faced similar problems.

In general, as also happens in grammars of many other European languages, our approach towards medieval literary texts was rather maximalistic: strict application of linguistic reliability criteria would have resulted in the exclusion from investigation of a large number of texts of major historical and literary significance. Although from a purely linguistic point of view this might have increased the reliability of the description, it would have severely

⁹ A few exceptions were made in the case of texts containing important linguistic information otherwise unavailable (e.g. the information on Old Athenian dialectal features provided in the *Turcograecia* by Martinus Crusius) or works which present particular historical or literary interest (e.g. the *Theseid*, which has only been partially edited).

limited the usefulness of the Grammar for those interested in Medieval Greek literature. It may therefore safely be said that the vast majority of published vernacular literary works composed between roughly 1100 and 1700, belonging to a wide variety of genres, were taken into consideration: the number of literary sources examined totals around 360 texts, published in approximately 450 editions (as some texts are published in several different editions). Textual length varies from a few lines or verses to several hundred pages (e.g. the Cypriot chronicles of Machairas and Voustronios). Exclusion was an option only (a) for works published only in completely unreliable editions (extensive undocumented normalization, absence of apparatus criticus, outdated editorial methodology etc.) and (b) for works which, despite containing a few vernacular features, are on the whole written in a high-register style.

Thankfully, it was in many cases possible to check the reliability of even questionable editions through access to the primary material, i.e. the manuscripts themselves or diplomatic transcriptions, or through comparison between different editions of the same text. For example, although the standard edition of the *Chronicle of the Morea* by John Schmitt involves a considerable amount of unwarranted phonetic normalization, it would have been impossible to exclude a text of such historical, geographical and chronological significance from the investigation. However, our access to digitized images of the main manuscripts of this text, coupled with the possibility of consulting other editions of the work, enabled us to overcome the editorial problem to a great extent. Great effort was made not to include in the actual text of the Grammar examples from sources that were unreliable or could not be cross-checked. Nevertheless, the reader must be aware that in all cases one is at the mercy of the textual data as presented by the editors.

It must be borne in mind that even the best efforts and intentions are restricted by reality: absolutely rigid criteria could not be applied to the entirety of the non-literary material either. The requirement for geographical and chronological representativeness and thorough coverage made it difficult to exclude a number of textual sources not fully conforming to modern standards, as this would have meant that whole areas or periods would not have been represented in the Grammar at all. (This is the case, for example, for small islands such as Kalymnos, Skiathos or Kimolos.) It should be noted that, in contrast to the literary material, it was not normally possible to have access to the originals of non-literary sources for purposes of verification (only in a few cases was it possible to consult facsimiles). Furthermore, it would have been unwise to omit older but unique and irreplaceable editions of documents not otherwise available, for example those from Southern Italy and Sicily. In terms of geographical distribution, representation could not be equal for all areas and periods, principally for two reasons: (a) areas under Latin, mainly Venetian, occupation (namely Crete, the Heptanese and the Cyclades) generally provide much richer documentary (notarial) archives than areas under Ottoman occupation (e.g. Southern Mainland Greece, Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus); and (b) vernacular non-literary texts become available in greater numbers only after the 15th century, given that before the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire legal texts were mostly composed in high-register archaizing language.

From a purely factual/technical point of view, the textual basis of the Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek project comprises the following source types:

- I) An electronic corpus totalling approximately 3 million words. This corpus is an accumulation of already available electronic MedG and EMG material, texts donated by editors or publishers themselves, in a generous gesture towards our project, and digital transcriptions of manuscript texts compiled by the members of the project.¹⁰ All electronic texts were converted to a standard electronic format (XML/TEI). In addition, we made extensive use of the online *TLG*, which is continuously expanding into the medieval period, and now contains several major literary works as well as some collections of non-literary documents. (But see the reservations mentioned above, in view of the omission of the apparatus criticus.)
- II) The main bulk of the textual material of the project, and especially the large body of non-literary texts, consisted of printed editions (books or articles), some of which were scanned as (non-machine-readable) PDFs, particularly those that exist only in rare or out-of-print publications.
- III) For many literary texts, and some non-literary ones, the project benefitted from a set of digitized images of manuscripts, including several of the major manuscripts transmitting well-known MedG works. This sub-corpus was created thanks to an earlier project undertaken at the University of Sydney, under the direction of Elizabeth and Michael Jeffreys, who generously granted access to their rich collection of microfilms. A smaller set was in the private possession of members of the project.

Most LMedG and EMG literary texts are in verse, covering recognized genres and sub-genres (often overlapping) such as narrative fiction, lyrical and satirical poetry, historical narrative, religious, didactic and allegorical poetry, drama and pastoral (the last two appearing in the EMG period). Literary prose texts are scarce for the LMedG period, but increase from the 15th century, the majority of such texts belonging to genres such as historical narrative, didactic/allegorical prose, narrative fiction, religious narratives (e.g. miracles, *vitae*), ecclesiastical rhetoric, epistolography and satire. The literary sources prior to the 15th century are, in the main, impossible to assign to a particular geographical area; this is the case, for example, with several medieval vernacular romances, which represent a substantial part of the known literary production of the period.

The vast majority of the non-literary sources consulted are legal documents (monastic and notarial acts, private agreements, deeds of sale, leases, wills, contracts, inventories, canonical documents etc.). Texts of a non-legal nature include brief chronicles, manuscript notes, registers, official letters (including petitions and diplomatic correspondence), private and commercial letters, grammars and vocabularies, practical treatises (medical texts, portolans etc.), and magical/astrological texts. (Many of these texts are treated, for presentational purposes, in the same way as literary texts, as will be explained below.) Inscriptions and graffiti constitute a small, separate category. The earlier centuries of the period under investigation are mainly covered by the large monastic archives of Athos, S.

¹⁰ Scanning of printed texts and transformation to machine-readable format has been attempted only on a very small scale, as the results of OCR (optical character recognition) for Greek polytonic texts of mixed linguistic form or not following standard orthography proved unsatisfactory.

Italy and Sicily, while after the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire, as already mentioned, there is a boom in the production of vernacular legal documents in the areas under Latin rule. In fact, the notarial corpora from Crete, the Heptanese and the Cyclades make up roughly half of the extant non-literary sources, while some areas under Ottoman rule are seriously under-represented, e.g. Asia Minor, Macedonia and Thessaly, from which very little survives other than monastic archives. In general, the availability of sources from an area is directly connected to its overall economic, social and educational level, and of course the prevailing political situation. Sometimes availability is also limited by subsequent historical accident, such as the loss of a local archive due to natural disasters (e.g., in the case of Zakynthos, the 1953 earthquake and devastating fire which followed).

The examined corpus of non-literary sources consists of about 1,200 publications, of very variable length: from a single note or inscription taking up only a few lines, to large volumes of notarial archives containing hundreds of documents each. For this reason, it is not possible to quantify with precision the relative textual sizes (in words/lines/pages) of the corpus with respect to geographical or chronological distribution. The distributional picture may also change in the near future, as it is still the case that, for many areas, written sources of the period remain uncharted and unpublished.

The overwhelming majority of the texts, both literary and non-literary, are written in the Greek alphabet, following the conventional rules of Greek orthography, subject, of course, to the literacy and educational level of the scribe.¹¹ (See section 4 of this Introduction on Presentation.) However, a limited number of texts is written in scripts other than Greek. These texts are particularly useful for research into the phonology of Medieval and Early Modern Greek.

One may distinguish between texts written in an alphabet other than Greek and texts written in non-alphabetic scripts. The first category includes mainly texts written in the Latin alphabet, following the spelling conventions of several languages. Most Latin-script texts derive from areas under Venetian domination and follow Italian spelling practices (for which see VINCENT 1980: ξδ'-οε'; BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1996: 346–50; KARANTZOLA 2005b; MANOLESSOU 2017); they are mainly notarial documents, literary works and religious propaganda texts. They provide valuable information, for example, concerning the pronunciation of the Cretan dialect in the Early Modern period. A small number of non-literary texts, mainly of Cypriot origin, follow French conventions. Even smaller textual samples may be found in foreign travellers' accounts, when Greek words or phrases, or even short dialogues, are transcribed in the Latin alphabet following English or German conventions. One important source, the phrasebook published in VASMER 1922, offers a translation of Greek words and phrases into Russian, accompanied by a transcription in an early form of the Cyrillic alphabet.¹²

The second category (Greek texts in non-alphabetic scripts) covers a series of texts in Arabic script (*aljamiado* texts) and a larger body of sources written in Hebrew script. Greek

¹¹ For a correspondence table of graphemes and phonemes, i.e. how the written symbols/letters of the Greek alphabet correspond to sounds in LMedG and EMG, see pp. clxvii–clxviii.

¹² Transcriptions of loanwords and names in the Armenian, Georgian and Coptic alphabets are also important for the historical phonology of Greek, but are actually prior to the period under investigation.

aljamiado texts are mostly works of a linguistic nature (dictionaries, phrasebooks, word lists, e.g. PERNOT 1934: 497–508, GOLDEN 1985, LEHFELDT 1989, HENRICH 1993/94, MCKAY 2015), as well as a small set of poems from Asia Minor (BURGUIÈRE/MANTRAN 1952, DEDES 2003, KAPPLER 1999, KAPPLER 2010). The sources in the Hebrew alphabet are mostly texts used for the religious practices of Greek-speaking Jewish communities (biblical translations, prayers and liturgical texts; see SZNOL 1999, DE LANGE 2006, HOLLENDER/NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS 2011, HOLLENDER/NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS 2016, KRIVORUCHKO 2014 and references therein). Texts in non-alphabetic scripts are mostly useful for investigating the phonology of consonants, and secondarily for the study of the vocabulary. The incomplete notation of vowels occasionally renders them dubious sources for vocalism and for nominal and verbal morphology; additionally, in the case of religious Hebrew texts, the verbatim translation of the Hebrew original may give a distorted picture of MedG or EMG syntax. For these reasons such texts have been used only sparingly.

3 Methodology

The descriptive framework of the Grammar, given the great span of its spatio-temporal coverage, the diverse interests and disciplinary backgrounds of its potential audience, and the very large amount of primary data to be handled, inevitably could not adhere to any specific theoretical model of analysis. It was felt that adherence to such a model would have impaired the Grammar's future usefulness rather than enhancing it, as theoretical approaches change relatively fast, and as a large part of the intended audience of the Grammar is not expected to possess formal linguistic training. On the other hand, rigid adherence to "traditional" analyses of the Greek language, following the available standard grammatical descriptions of its ancient and modern phases, was deemed equally undesirable, as it might have created pre-conceived classifications which do not correspond to the actual (extremely variable) state of the language in the late medieval and early modern periods, or would have imposed a teleological evolutionary view in the direction of Modern Greek (see e.g. BURIDANT 2000: 35 for a similar attitude towards Medieval French). The necessity for achieving a balance between "tradition and innovation" or "philology and linguistics" is in fact discussed in the methodological introductions of several recent medieval grammars (e.g. HOROBIN/SMITH 2002: viii; HOGG 2011: vii–ix; see also KNAPP 2003: 223–5; MARCHELLO-NIZIA 2012).

Of course, in order to be accessible and useful both for future investigations of Greek linguistic history and for comparative linguistic research focusing on other (medieval) languages, and to be able to cover all aspects of the phenomena in the most comprehensive manner, the description required some interaction with current linguistic theory and research, and needed to assume a certain level of standardization and abstraction; this concerns mainly the basic structural units and levels of linguistic analysis, and the terminology of grammatical entities and linguistic phenomena and changes. Readers unfamiliar with standard structural and historical linguistic terminology may refer to specialized dictionaries, such as CAMPBELL/MIXCO 2007, CRYSTAL 2008, and MATTHEWS 2014.

Comprehensive bibliographical coverage in relation to the phenomena and issues under discussion was another important desideratum, so that the reader might also be offered, along with a full description of the data, a general overview of the *status quaestionis*, together with relevant documentation and, where possible, pointers for further in-depth research, which could not have been conducted within the framework of a Grammar.

Summary information on earlier or subsequent language phases is also provided when necessary for the illumination of the specific feature or phenomenon under investigation: Ancient Greek (AG), Koine Greek and Early Medieval Greek (EMedG) are brought into the picture in short historical overviews attempting to date first appearances and diachronic developments, while Modern Greek data, especially data pertaining to Modern Greek dialects, is drawn on when it may help to corroborate innovative or geographically restricted phenomena (cf. also GIGNAC 1976: 43 for this practice with respect to the description of Koine Greek). The perspective of the Grammar is therefore not synchronic but diachronic (something which would in any case be inevitable, given the span of more than six centuries which it covers). However, insofar as SMG or dialectal features and phenomena not yet attested in the texts of the period under investigation are not discussed, it is not a historical grammar of Modern Greek.

No attempt is made to describe diachronic (and diatopic) variation in quantitative terms, employing current statistical variationist methods. This would have required the full parsing, annotation and excerption of the textual corpus investigated, an impossible undertaking in present circumstances, due both to the large size of the potential corpus and to the fact that most of the sources (especially the non-literary texts) were not available in electronic format. Instead, approximative estimations of relative frequency are provided through pre-theoretical terms such as “frequent”, “rare”, “restricted”, “regular” etc. These may not be considered as representing a fixed absolute numerical amount (e.g. “more/less than 100 occurrences”; again cf. GIGNAC 1976: 50), as they depend on the overall frequency of the phenomenon under investigation. For example, for a relatively rarely occurring inflectional suffix, such as the 1st person plural passive imperfect, even five or six tokens of a specific variant form may be considered sufficient to rate it as “frequent”, while for inflectional suffixes occurring in almost every sentence, such as the definite article or the 3rd person singular present of the copula verb, the term “frequent” may denote many hundreds of occurrences. An approximate idea of relative frequency, as well as of chronological and geographical distribution, is provided through the list of examples, which is as extensive and comprehensive as was possible for a work of this scope. For further details concerning the quantification of the data, see the preceding and following sections of this Introduction.

The overall methodology of the linguistic research proceeded through the following stages: initially, an overview of the secondary literature on Medieval and Early Modern Greek and a conceptual analysis of a short textual sample resulted in a long list of features/phenomena, classified by linguistic level, which would be included in the Grammar and which therefore needed to constitute targets for annotation and excerption. On the basis of this list, an electronic relational database, again divided by linguistic level, was constructed, in order to facilitate the process of excerption, codification, classification and retrieval of the data. As a second step, the database was tested on a subset of the corpus

under investigation, and was subsequently modified on the one hand with additions or deletions of features/phenomena on the basis of actual data, and on the other with extra functionalities facilitating various types of aggregation (by century, geographical area, author, text-type etc.) on the basis of requirements arising from actual research experience. For further details concerning the creation and implementation of the project's database see TOUFEXIS 2012.

There followed the main stage of research, lasting several years, which consisted in the perusal and selective annotation and excerption of the chosen corpus of texts. As indicated, the excerption of the source materials could not be comprehensive (the whole of each text for all phenomena), as such an enterprise would have required a large team of specialized researchers working over a period of several decades. Instead, both literary and non-literary texts were subjected to extensive sampling, which may have covered the whole of the text in the case of shorter ones (e.g. *Arm.*, *Diig. Ven.*, *Opsarol.*, *Porikol.*)¹³ or one or more substantial representative passages in the case of larger texts (e.g. *Chron. Mor.*, *Pol. Tr.*) or collections of documents (e.g. TRINCHERA 1865, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987). The aim was to collect a well-structured set of sufficient instances for the illustration and analysis of each linguistic feature or phenomenon. Naturally, due to limitations of space, only a subset of the textual excerpts inputted in the database are included as examples in the Grammar, restricted by chronological, geographical and textual-pragmatic selectional criteria.

The final step of the research consisted in the actual writing up of the Grammar: this was based on the primary data collected in the database, on additional data collected ad hoc for each phenomenon through a targeted search in available electronic primary sources (principally the *TLG*, other MedG/EMG texts freely available online and electronic files of editions of texts kindly donated privately by their editors, as mentioned above) and on further reading of relevant primary and secondary literature (lexica, glossaries of editions, indexes and concordances, descriptions of the language of specific texts, authors or periods etc.). Further details concerning methodological and presentational principles are given, as necessary, in the introductions to the various Parts of the Grammar and individual chapters.

The end result of the process is not so much the description of a single object identifiable as “Late Medieval and Early Modern Greek” as the description of a set of (mainly) phonological and morphological isoglosses spreading and intersecting across Greek-speaking areas during the period under investigation. Some of them (usually those appearing earliest) cover the entire area, and may be considered as core characteristics of “Medieval and Early Modern Greek”, common to all of its local sub-varieties. Others (usually more recent ones, although a number of them are arguably datable to the period of the Koine) are geographically restricted and may be considered as dialectal characteristics.

However, throughout the Grammar the term “dialect” has generally been avoided with reference to local varieties spoken in the LMedG or EMG period, for the following reasons: (a) there was, during this whole period, no “standard” to which such “dialects” would contrast; (b) such a term might induce a mistaken identification of the Medieval with the

¹³ For the abbreviated titles of texts and relevant bibliographical details see the Bibliography.

Modern Greek dialectal situation and classification principles, which are in fact rather different; (c) given the fragmentary information available for most local varieties, it would be impossible to define them, i.e. to compile a list of identifying features for each of them; and (d) in most cases these identifying features would not all have appeared at the same time, so it would be very difficult to decide on a “cut-off” point after which sufficient differentiation would have accumulated in a given area to justify the postulation of a separate “dialect”. For example, the degemination of double consonants in most Greek-speaking regions, as opposed to their retention in certain peripheral areas, must have taken place already in the late Koine; but one cannot speak of a Cypriot, Dodecanesian or Southern Italian dialect at such an early date. Instead, the Grammar opts for the description of geographical variation, and assigns features, changes and isoglosses – insofar as the surviving evidence permits – to geographical areas and not to dialects.

4 Presentation

Throughout the Grammar we give lists of examples for each phenomenon under discussion. The examples are taken from our source texts, which, given that some were published in the 19th century, while others have never appeared in a modern edition, inevitably follow different principles as regards orthography and spelling. In the case of edited texts, we have not made any intervention in the orthographic system of the editor, except for the following “modernizations”: omission of the iota subscript in subjunctive forms; and replacement of the old spellings of the feminine nominative plural of the definite article ἡ with οἱ, the corresponding accusative ταῖς with τές, and likewise the nominal ending -αῖς with -ες. A variety of different systems will therefore be encountered by the reader: from conservative “classicizing” orthography, via the simplified spelling and orthography recommended by Manolis Triandafyllidis (TRIANDAFYLLIDIS 1941) and implemented in, for example, the series *Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* (1974–), to more recent monotonic editions. We resisted the temptation to “standardize” the spelling and orthography of editions, partly out of respect to the editors and partly because it is not at all obvious which system should be preferred in a work of this kind, given the lengthy time-span and the wide range of registers that the texts represent. We considered it better to represent the variety of systems that are encountered in the editions themselves.¹⁴

The reader will therefore regularly observe differences in spelling, accentuation, and breathings, according to the edition which is cited. However, it should be clear that such differences do not affect the underlying linguistic form: the orthographic divergences are purely a matter of editorial preference or fashion. We will give a few examples. In noun endings, we find variation between the acute and the circumflex, e.g. παπᾶς/παπαῖς, ἄλουπού/ἄλουποῦ; parts of the verb “to be” can have different spellings, such as εἶνε/εἶναι, ἦταν/εἶταν; certain comparative forms may also have alternative spellings, e.g.

¹⁴ We have departed from this principle in the case of non-literary texts published in the monotonic system, e.g. ANDONIADIS 1990, KATSANIS 2012. Excerpts from such texts are given in “normalized” polytonic Greek, as is also the case with diplomatic editions (see below).

καλύτερος/καλλίτερος; double consonants in loanwords may be preserved or simplified, e.g. φουσσᾶτον/φουσάτον, σαῖττες/σαῖτες, ὀφίκιον/ὀφίκιον; words of uncertain etymology have various spellings, e.g. κοιτάζω/κυττάζω, γροικῶ/γρικῶ, ἀφίνω/ἀφήνω; older editions generally give <τζ> where <τσ> is now the normal spelling; finally, there may be differences of word division, such as εἴτι/εἴ τι, ἀφοῦ/ἀφ' οὗ, καθένα/καθ' ἓνα.

However, normalized spelling, in accordance with Triandafyllidis's simplified orthographic system, is employed in the synoptic tables of forms, in discussions of specific words or forms, and in all extracts taken from texts published in diplomatic editions. So, for example, we do not quote the unorthographic spelling of the manuscript πολῶν χαρῖτον καὶ δουλιῶν, ὅς πολακης ... ἀπηλῖφα (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 182.4), but normalize it as πολλῶν χαρίτων καὶ δουλειῶν, ὅς πολλάκις ... ἀπείληφα. What interests us here is the relative pronoun form ὅς. To give the editor's diplomatic text would be disorienting to the reader and rather pointless. On the other hand, when the interpretation of the text leaves room for doubt, we give *both* the diplomatic transcription *and* a normalized version, separated by an oblique stroke ("forward slash"), e.g. λωγγειουαριας / Λογγιβαρβίας (1133, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 113, 150.6); κε τουνυς / καὶ τουνῆς (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 80.60). In the discussion of phonology it is, of course, especially important to cite the actual reading of the source in cases of uncertainty, and this applies to both literary and non-literary texts. In the following examples the original spelling indicates the presence of a voiceless palatal fricative [ç]: κᾷπγιω στάρι / κάποιο στάρι (1630, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 51, 137.11); τοῦ χωραφχιού / τοῦ χωραφιοῦ (1695, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 33, 81.17). Similarly, in the case of texts in non-Greek scripts (mainly Latin, but also Cyrillic and Arabic) the original is given whenever a linguistic phenomenon is subject to interpretation, e.g. ἀπαῖα με / ἀγαπᾶς με (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 872); to stomandu / τὸ στόμαν του (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 198.151); na mi pleroni bglio / νὰ μὴ πλερώνη μπλιὸ (1661, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 10, 105.103).

It should be noted that the orthography of the extant manuscripts of LMedG and EMG texts in the Greek alphabet, both literary and non-literary, is largely historical and conventional, i.e. it aims to follow the model of AG classical orthography, but less well-educated scribes make frequent "errors". The majority of texts, both literary and non-literary, are full of such spelling errors, which constitute a useful indication for the investigation of MedG phonology, but which are normally tacitly "corrected" by modern editors. Of course, since the vernacular language is not subject to standardization, a certain degree of spelling variation and freedom, greater than that for MG, is observable. The accentuation system followed by LMedG and EMG is similarly conventional: it follows the AG "rules" of accentuation as set down by Alexandrian grammarians, but has no connection to phonetic reality apart from noting the syllable on which the stress accent falls. All types of sources display a large amount of accentuation "errors", both in the placement of accentuation marks and in the choice of the correct accentuation mark. Further information and additional bibliography on the writing system of the period may be found in standard manuals of epigraphy, palaeography and orthography such as MIONI 1979, CANART 1991, LITSAS 2001, WILSON 2008, PAPANASTASIOU 2008.

For each phenomenon or form a number of examples is given, in order to illustrate its geographical and chronological distribution, and the registers or types of text in which it occurs. The list does not normally exceed twenty extracts for each form, although in many instances much more material has been collected for analysis, in order to establish the overall pattern. When a form is standard throughout the period, with only limited variation, a smaller number of examples is given. For rare forms only a handful of examples may have been located.

In the Morphology chapters (Parts II and III) examples are listed in order of approximate date. (Slightly different arrangements are adopted for Phonology and Syntax; details are provided in the introductions to Parts I and IV.) Sometimes the lists are separated by a line-space into two or more sets, to distinguish variant forms. Forms are usually accompanied by enough of their context to show how they function in their verb or noun phrase, though sometimes a single word is sufficient. Non-literary examples are always cited with the date and geographical provenance, when this information is known (a question mark indicating uncertainty), followed by a reference to the publication, e.g.

νὰ δώκη τὰ αὐτὰ χωράφια ... διὰ μερτικάρικα (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 31, 71.11)
 ὡσὰν καλὰ τση καὶ θεληματάρικα παιδιὰ (1598, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 1, 213–14.30)
 κλήματα ... χρονιάρικα (1607, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 463, 421.3)
 πηχιάρικα μαντήλια ὀκτώ (1636, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 3, 216.12)

In the case of notarial and other documents, the number of the document is given (if there are several in the same publication) as well as the page on which it occurs, to facilitate consultation, given the diversity of practices among editors of such texts. For example, the reference to BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987 in the list above identifies the specific document as number 463; the relevant extract can be found on p. 421, in line 3 of the document in question. When the editors of the texts provide numbering which follows the actual line division of the original, line numbers in our references correspond to lines in the original, continuously from the beginning to the end of the document. When the editors do not provide such numbering (even though they may indicate line breaks), line numbers in our references correspond to lines of the printed text on the relevant page.

Literary texts are cited by means of an abbreviated title, together with the author's name (if known). The key to these abbreviations can be found in the Bibliography of literary works, where full bibliographical details are given. The reference may sometimes specify the edition, where more than one edition of the same text exists; when no editor's name is mentioned, the edition used is the one marked with an asterisk (*) in the bibliography.¹⁵ In the case of verse texts a line number is given (the verse-end being indicated by a vertical line, |, where necessary), while prose texts are cited either by page and line of the edition (even if the edition does not have line numbering), or by paragraph and line if that is the editor's system:

¹⁵ The same arrangement is followed in the case of some other categories of text which either have a known author (e.g. grammars) or have undergone a similar transmission process to literary texts (e.g. oracles, proverbs, instructional handbooks). Consequently, such texts have been included in the Bibliography of literary works.

τοῦ τὴν ἡπῆρεν *Chron. Toc.* 859
 τοῦ τὸ ἐπούλησεν *Assizes A* 41.21
 καὶ ἐφαίνετό του *Spanos D* 403
 καὶ ἐδῶκαν του *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 280.24
 διατὶ ἤξευρε ὅτι ὅλοι τοῦ ἤθελαν κακὸν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 337.9
 εἶπα σου πῶς ταμένη | εἶχε τὴν κακορίζικη ἐτούτη νὰ τοῦ δώσει *CHORTATSIS, Katz.* III.364–5

Quite often it is necessary to cite words that are not found in the edited text but either in the apparatus criticus or in a manuscript available to us. Variant readings when a text survives in more than one witness, original readings that the editor has rejected or amended (for linguistic, stylistic, metrical or other reasons), and repetitive or “irrelevant” material may come into this category, as well as misreadings of the manuscript by the editor. However, for the historical linguist all such matter is valid linguistic data and should not be ignored: it may constitute crucial evidence for the existence of a particular form. We give a few (unrelated) examples:

καλαμάχιν *Ptoch. II* 26.12 app. crit. (H)
 ζητεῖ νὰ τίς τὴν δώσετε *Pol. Tr.* 1371 app. crit. (A)
 κολουμποῦσι *Velth.* 697 transcr. (Lendari) (κολυμποῦσι Kriaras)
 τσῆς ἀγάπης *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1133 app. crit. (Vitti)
 ὡσάν τὸ στόμα ἐτουτουνῶν *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.150 app. crit. (X)

The presentation of the linguistic material varies somewhat from section to section, and is dictated by the material itself rather than by a rigid formalistic structure. Basic historical information is usually given in an introduction, while more detailed aspects of variation (i.e. diachronic and geographical variation, as well as register, style and function) are generally discussed when the forms are presented. For Phonology the treatment is by phenomenon. As far as Syntax is concerned, the rather different approach and the principles underlying the presentation of the data are fully explained in the introduction to that part of the Grammar. For Morphology the picture – and consequently the way we present it – exhibits both variety and complexity. Thus, adjectives and determiners demand a different kind of presentation from nouns, because for each paradigm three genders must be discussed. Verb morphology is further complicated by the need to discuss endings (for person, number, voice, mood etc.), as well as stem variation and augments. Usually we give a synoptic table for each nominal or verbal paradigm, setting out all the variants. Subsequently, smaller tables classify the allomorphs as “General” (if they occur widely in the texts examined), “Restricted” (if they are found in only part of the period covered by the Grammar, or only in certain areas or certain types of text), or “Rare” (if their occurrence is very limited).¹⁶ Within tables, allomorphs are separated by a broken vertical line (|), while purely orthographic variants are separated by a slash: τση / τζη, or occasionally indicated by the use of brackets: βάρ(ε)ιε, βαθ(ε)ιά. Letters/sounds at word boundaries whose presence is variable are given in round brackets: μεγάλω(ν), ἐκεῖνων(ε), γρικᾶν(ε). When whole words are enclosed in brackets in the tables, the forms in question may reasonably be assumed to have existed, but no example has been located in the LMedG and EMG texts examined, e.g. (μῖανοῦ), (χρυσοῦ).

¹⁶ Sometimes this information is incorporated in the synoptic table, where space allows it.

Throughout the Grammar our aim is to present a comprehensive, detailed and nuanced picture of the Greek language in its late medieval and early modern phases, to relate developments to earlier and later periods, to plot linguistic change within our period, and to provide a reliable source of information, for the benefit of scholars and students who read, consult or edit medieval and early modern texts written in some form of vernacular Greek. It is impossible for such a large collective undertaking to be entirely free of errors, omissions, inconsistencies and differences of approach, and for all such flaws we seek readers' forbearance. But we hope that we have significantly advanced the scientific study of the Greek language in a crucial, but sadly neglected, phase of its history. It is clear to us that many of the phenomena explored in this Grammar would benefit from further in-depth analysis; they could also be examined in a broader comparative or theoretical framework. It is therefore to be hoped that our work will provide a stimulus and a starting point for a variety of further investigations into the history of the Greek language, and at the same time facilitate the researches of scholars across a broad range of disciplines concerned with medieval and early modern Greek history and culture.

* * *

Although this is a collective work, it is appropriate here to acknowledge the specific responsibilities of members of the research project and to make the necessary attributions of authorship. Io Manolessou was closely involved in the project from the outset: she undertook a pilot project which involved compiling bibliography and critically assessing previous work on Medieval and Early Modern Greek. Thereafter she served as an honorary consultant throughout the process and, in addition to advising on a wide range of linguistic issues, was solely responsible for drafting the Phonology part of the Grammar. She also maintained the constantly updated linguistic bibliography and contributed to data inputting. Three members of the team were employed as Research Associates during the period of the grant awarded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council: Tina Lendari (2004–7), Notis Toufexis (2004–9) and Marjolijne Janssen (2007–9). During this period, and indeed beyond, they researched the primary and secondary sources and inputted linguistic data to the database. Marjolijne Janssen was re-employed as a part-time Research Associate for further periods (2009–13), when funding became available. All of the members of the project participated in the writing-up process. Tina Lendari, together with Io Manolessou, drafted the following Morphology sections: Articles, Demonstrative, Qualitative, Quantitative, Interrogative, Indefinite, Relative and Distributive Pronouns, as well as parts of the General Introduction. Notis Toufexis was responsible for the design, creation and maintenance of the database throughout the process; he produced an initial draft of Noun Morphology and drafted Numerals. Marjolijne Janssen undertook the drafting of Noun and Verb Morphology, shared the overall editing and compiled the indexes. Geoffrey Horrocks served as Co-Director of the research project and authored the Syntax part. David Holton directed the project and drafted the chapters on Adjectives and Adverbs, and the sections on Personal, Possessive, Intensive, Contrastive, Reflexive, and Reciprocal Pronouns, and Universal Quantifiers.

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For each work, approximate dates are given in square brackets at the end of the entry; sometimes different recensions or witnesses of the same text have different dates, and these are also provided at the end of the relevant entry. Where there are two dates within the square brackets, separated by an oblique line, the first is the presumed period of composition and the second is the date of the earliest surviving witness. In cases where there is more than one edition of the same text, an asterisk (*) indicates the edition normally used for quotations in the Grammar. If a different edition is used, the editor's name is given in brackets after the reference.

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¹ As this edition is not furnished with an apparatus criticus it was not possible to use it for the excerpts quoted in the Grammar. In anticipation of the full critical edition we have used the poem titles and line-numbering of Mavromatis and Panagiotakis, but the actual excerpts are taken from the older editions of Wagner, Papadimitriu and Vitti, or, when the text differs, from the ms transcriptions of Tina Lendari.

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Correspondence Table of Graphemes and Phonemes

For the general orientation of the non-specialist user of this Grammar, this correspondence table indicates the relationship between the letters of the Greek alphabet and the phonemes they represent in Medieval and Early Modern Greek. It does not include graphematic particularities such as ligatures, abbreviations, special symbols or scribal idiosyncrasies which may be encountered in manuscript, epigraphic and printed sources, for which see the specific bibliography given in section 4 of the General Introduction (Volume 1). Further details concerning allophonic, regional or other particular realizations are provided, when necessary, in the relevant phoneme sections in Phonology.

Grapheme	Phoneme	Allophone
Α α	/a/	
Β β	/v/	
Γ γ	/ɣ/	[j]
Δ δ	/ð/	
Ε ε	/e/	
Ζ ζ	/z/	
Η η	/i/	
Θ θ	/θ/	
Ι ι	/i/	
Κ κ	/k/	[c]
Λ λ	/l/	[Λ]
Μ μ	/m/	
Ν ν	/n/	[ɲ]
Ξ ξ	/ks/	
Ο ο	/o/	
Π π	/p/	
Ρ ρ	/r/	
Σ σ ς	/s/	
Τ τ	/t/	
Υ υ	/y/ > /i/	
Φ φ	/f/	
Χ χ	/x/	[ç]
Ψ ψ	/ps/	
Ω ω	/o/	

Digraph	Phoneme	Allophone
αι	/e/	
αυ	/af/ – /av/	
γγ	/ng/	[ŋg] – [g]
γκ	/ng/	[ŋg] – [g]
ει	/i/	
ευ	/ef/ – /ev/	
μπ	/mb/	[b]
ντ	/nd/	[d]
οι	/y/ > /i/	
ου	/u/	
τζ	/ts/ – /dz/	
υι	/y/ > /i/	

Abbreviations

Cross-references within the Grammar are given by Chapter and Section, e.g. 2.6.3, if they refer to the same Part, but if to a different Part they begin with the relevant Part number, e.g. II, 3.1.

Periods and Dates

AG	Ancient Greek
EMedG	Early Medieval Greek
LMedG	Late Medieval Greek
EMG	Early Modern Greek
MG	Modern Greek
SMG	Standard Modern Greek
ca.	circa
c.	century

General

app. crit.	apparatus criticus
f., ff.	folio(s)
ibid.	in the same text, i.e. the one cited immediately before
id./idem/eadem	by the same author
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
vs.	versus

Grammatical Terms

acc.	accusative
act.	active
adv.	adverb
aor.	aorist
F/fem.	feminine
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
imp.	imperative
imperf.	imperfect
ind.	indicative
inf.	infinitive
M/masc.	masculine
N/neut.	neuter

NP	noun phrase
nom.	nominative
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pl.	plural (e.g. 3 pl. = 3rd person plural)
pluperf.	pluperfect
PP	prepositional phrase
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun
sg.	singular (e.g. 1 sg. = 1st person singular)
subj.	subjunctive
voc.	vocative
VP	verb phrase

Languages

Alb.	Albanian
Fr.	French
IE	Indo-European
Ital.	Italian
MedLat.	Medieval Latin
Lat.	Latin
Occit.	Occitan
OFr.	Old French
Port.	Portuguese
Rom.	Romanian
Slav.	Slavonic
Turk.	Turkish
Ven.	Venetian

Part I

Phonology

1 Introduction

1.1 Theoretical preliminaries

The analysis of the phonetics and phonology of a “dead” language presents greater difficulties than that of its morphology or syntax, since, by definition, it requires access to the sounds of the language, which are irrecoverable from the written record. The written record does not permit any conclusions concerning the “real”, phonetic, realization of the sounds under investigation. Furthermore, the conservativeness inherent in all writing/orthographic systems allows sound changes to remain hidden for centuries, sometimes even millennia. (To take a random example, the change /ai/ > /e/ in Greek, dated to the first centuries AD, is still not reflected in standard MG orthography.) Additionally, alphabetical systems (such as the MedG and EMG one) are phonological and only rarely offer insights into allophonic realizations. As a further complicating factor, scribal/copying errors are more liable to be interpreted as “true” phenomena in the domain of phonology than in other domains.

Finally, it is only for sound changes, and not for changes in the morphology or the syntax, that theoretical historical linguistics makes an assumption of regularity: sound changes are expected to apply in a specific phonetic context, all extralinguistic factors being equal, across the board and without exceptions. Therefore, the persistent variation exhibited by medieval texts (and in particular by MedG and EMG ones) in the application of sound changes, which is confirmed by the variation exhibited even in the modern form of the Greek language and its dialects, is in more urgent need of explanation, and the presence/absence of a feature or phenomenon in a specific text in greater need of verification/corroboration from alternative sources.¹

To counteract these problems, historical phonological research (and, as a result, Part I of this Grammar) attaches particular importance to: (a) graphematics (diplomatic versions of texts, texts written in other alphabets, the apparatus criticus of critical editions); (b) comparative/corroborating evidence from earlier and later forms of the language; and (c) general theoretical analyses of linguistic phenomena. However, “peripheral” information on a phenomenon is here kept to a minimum, used in order to assist its dating, localization and interpretation, and the reader is directed to the relevant secondary literature for further details. The aim is to provide a short historical overview of each sound change, from its earliest attestations up to and including the Early Modern period, detailed information as to the linguistic and extralinguistic factors affecting its distribution, and, where possible, an interpretation.

¹ On these issues cf. MANOLESSOU 2008a, MANOLESSOU/TOUFEXIS 2009.

The adoption of a specific theoretical viewpoint for the presentation of the phonology of MedG and EMG was deemed impractical. Phonology by definition refers to a specific phonological system, which in turn implies a specific linguistic community at a specific time. On the contrary, the description provided here is diachronic and diatopic: it encompasses a variety of local phonological systems evolving over several centuries, which may be very similar but cannot be viewed as identical. An additional difficulty is the fact that modern linguistic research on the historical phonology of later Greek (from EMedG onwards) is seriously lagging behind in comparison to the solid work done for other languages, and thus in most cases there is no secondary literature to rely on for the analysis of the data.

The issue is further complicated by the fact that the major controversial issues of MedG phonology, which are very similar (frequently identical) to those of MG and its dialects, are by no means resolved by modern theory,² despite the additional advantages that a spoken language with living native speakers can offer (the possibility of experimental phonetic analysis, elicitation tests, comprehensive and representative data coverage etc.); therefore it can hardly be expected for them to be settled for MedG, which presents all the difficulties (discussed above) inherent in a language transmitted only through the written medium.

Finally, since much of the data presented here is made available to the scholarly community for the first time, an effort has been made to couch them in an, as far as possible, theory-neutral framework, so that they may be usable by as many scholars as possible, whatever their linguistic or philological background.

1.2 Presentation

In the first sections of Chapters 2 and 3 the sounds constituting the MedG and EMG system are described, by articulatory class. For each class, information is provided as to (a) the historical origin of the sounds comprised in it, (b) the allophonic variants of these sounds, (c) where necessary, their graphematic representation and (d) the regular changes affecting them, with cross-references to the subsections where each change is discussed. In the next sections, the major sound changes of MedG and EMG are described. As discussed above, and as will become evident from the presentation of the data, few of the sound changes discussed display regularity. It was therefore indispensable to provide a larger number of examples than is strictly necessary for the illustration of each change as a linguistic phenomenon *per se*; the aim was to provide comprehensive documentation pertaining to the spread and distribution of the phenomenon according to period, area and register.

The list of examples for each change is arranged first by phonetic environment and secondarily in chronological order. There is an important exception to this practice: all “affected” attestations of a lexical item are presented together, irrespective of chronological order, and inserted in the sequence of examples on the basis of the earliest attestation of the “changed” form. This is because it is crucial to verify whether an early change appearing in a certain lexical item is indeed a true instantiation of this change, and not a one-off

² For recent and easily accessible overviews of the major issues in MG phonetics and phonology and the various alternative proposals see MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 2001 and ARVANITI 2007.

performance error which accidentally corresponds in form to it. This corroboration can be provided only by the consistent presence of the “changed” form in other areas and periods.

In the case of major changes of Panhellenic spread no attempt is made to provide examples from *all* areas where the phenomenon is attested; instead, the list of examples aims to cover the various phonetic environments and gives emphasis to the earliest attestations. By contrast, in the case of sound changes of regional or dialectal status, an effort is made to provide examples from all the areas where the change is attested.

2 Vowels

2.1 Overall Description of the Vowel System

2.1.1 Simple Vowels

At the beginning of the LMedG period, the vowel system has six isochronous vowels, being a continuation of the late Koine and EMedG system. The massive changes leading to this system (monophthongization of AG diphthongs, loss of quantity distinctions) were already completed by the end of the Koine period and are therefore not discussed here (see HORROCKS ²2010: 160–70 for details). The EMedG vowel system has three high vowels (front /i/, y/, back /u/), two mid vowels (front /e/, back /o/) and one open low vowel (/a/) (Fig. 1).

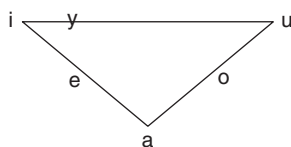


Fig. 1: The Vowel System of Early Medieval Greek

After the merger of /y/ <υ, οι> and /i/ towards the end of the 10th c. (see 2.4.6.1), a stable five-vowel system, /a e i o u/, is in place (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 202–65; HORROCKS ²2010: 274). The high vowel /i/ possesses a semi-vocalic allophonic variant [i̯] when preceded or followed by another vowel. Around the 13th c., after the phenomenon of syniz-esis has applied (see 2.9.4), [i̯] acquires phonemic status, enriching the phoneme inventory with an additional phoneme, the semivowel /j/, which has multiple realizations dependent on the phonetic environment (see 2.4.7). This system undergoes no further changes, remaining stable until MG (Fig. 2).

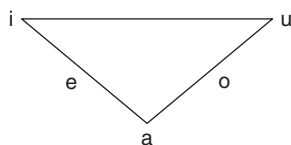


Fig. 2: The Vowel System of Late Medieval, Early Modern and Modern Greek

2.1.2 Diphthongs

The vowel system also includes a series of diphthongs, i.e. tautosyllabic combinations of an open or mid vowel + the vocalic semivowel [i̯] (falling diphthongs):

[a̯i̯]	[e̯i̯]	[o̯i̯]	[u̯i̯]
γαῖτάνι	ηλαίει	τρώει	ἄμούει

At least until the phenomenon of synizesis has set in (see 2.9.4), rising diphthongs, consisting of the vocalic semivowel [i̯] + open or mid vowel are also part of the vowel system:

[i̯a]	[i̯e]	[i̯o]	[i̯u]
βιάζω	διέβη	στρατιώτης	ποιοῦσι

There is no reason to assume phonemic status for either the rising or the falling diphthongs of MedG and EMG.

2.2 Allophonic and Regional Variation

There are two main processes creating allophonic variation in the vowel system. The first is synizesis, i.e. the reduction of the front vowel /i/ to a vocalic glide [i̯] when adjacent to another vowel. The results of this phenomenon vary according to period and region or dialect. One may assume a regular allophonic alternation [i] ~ [i̯] adjacent to vowels, which becomes obscured once additional phenomena set in, namely: (a) consonantization, i.e. the hardening of the vocalic glide to a palatal consonant, and (b) glide absorption, i.e. the deletion of the vocalic glide when preceded by a palatalized consonant (see 2.9.4). After the action of these phenomena the most straightforward analysis is to consider [i̯] and its various context-dependent palatal realizations ([j], [ç], [ɲ] or zero) as allophones of a new phoneme /j/ (see 2.4.7 and 2.9.4).

According to some scholars (e.g. MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2002), the vowel /e/ also possesses a vocalic glide allophone [e̯] adjacent to a tautosyllabic vowel; this glide follows the same evolutionary path as [i̯], and disappears from the vowel system of most areas after the phenomenon of synizesis has been completed. However, in areas of northern mainland Greece this glide is maintained up to MG (see 2.9.4) and should therefore be considered a part of a regional variety of the LMedG system as well, albeit unidentifiable through the spelling.

In the Pontic dialect the phenomenon of synizesis has created two new vowels, /æ/ and /œ/. These vowels result from the coalescence of the sequences [ɛa, i̯a] and [ɛo, i̯o] respectively when [e] or [i] is unstressed: in the case of a stressed [e] or [i] the sequence remains unaffected, without coalescence or synizesis. The phenomenon is not very well attested, but definitely extant in the MedG documents of Pontic or assumed Pontic provenance (see 2.5.3 and 2.9.4).

The second basic process which creates allophony in the LMedG (and MG) vowel system is the phenomenon of raising or “northern” vocalism (see 2.5.4). This phenomenon affects the unstressed mid vowels /e/ and /o/, raising them to [i̯] and [u̯] respectively. As a result, in the areas where it applies, the vowels /e/ and /o/ possess the allophones [i̯] and

[u] respectively when unstressed, and the vowel system has five members, /a e i o u/, in stressed syllables, but only three, /a i u/, in unstressed ones. The dating of the phenomenon is still a matter of controversy, but there is no doubt that it was in place in the LMedG period. Its extent was roughly that of the MG period, i.e. central and northern mainland Greece and several Aegean islands.

2.3 Quality of the Vowels

Written records naturally provide no evidence concerning the precise degree of height, openness or duration of the MedG and EMG vowels, which might have varied according to region or dialect. It is probable that they were quite similar to the MG ones; an indication of this, apart from the fact that they behave similarly in similar environments (i.e. almost all MedG phonetic changes appear in MG and its dialects as well), derives from the contrast with the vowel systems of languages with which MedG came into contact.

More precisely, there is considerable evidence that at least the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ were more open in MedG than the corresponding vowels in Medieval French and Italian, just as MG /e o/ are more open than French or Italian /e o/, and were in fact realized, as in MG, as [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively. The evidence consists in the adaptation of Romance loanwords in Greek, which consistently show /u/ instead of /o/ and (less frequently) /i/ instead of /e/ (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 289–90; TRIANDAPHYLIDIS 1909: 24–9; PERNOT 1907/46: I 148). The phenomenon can be distinguished from the similar raising of [o] > [u] in “northern” (cf. 2.5.4) and “southern” dialects (back vowel raising; cf. 2.8.3) from the fact that it occurs both in stressed and unstressed syllables, in words of Romance origin. The S. Italian raising of /o/ > /u/ (see 2.5.4) is again a different case, as it appears in both native and borrowed words, and derives from contact with local Romance dialects which have a different vowel system. Examples:

/o/ > /u/ stressed

Βερούναν *Chron. Mor.* H 1563

ὁ κούντης (1388, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 101, 99.2) < Fr. *comte*

κοῦντοι, πρίγκιπτοι *Alosis* 177 transcr. (Lendari) (Legrand: κούντους, πρίγκιπταις)

κανόνικος καὶ καντοῦρος (1431, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXIX, 290.2) < Ital. *cantore*

Φούσκαρις SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 136.19; Φούσκαρη (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 21.3) < *Foscari*

μπαροῦνος (1501, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 65, 99.4) Ital. < *barone*

τὴν σκροῦφα (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 257.49) < Ital. *scrofa*

τὸν Φούσκουλον (1670, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 4, 15.6) < *Foscolo*

/o/ > /u/ unstressed

ἄβουκᾶτος *Chron. Mor.* H 7531

Κάρουλος SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 36.15

τὴν παρουνίαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 20.34

κουρτουμπίζα LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 141 < Ital. *corto-bisso*

σὰν λουρέντζω (ca. 1560, Venice, MARKOS 1977: IIα, 27.6); Λουρέντζος (1572, Andros,

POLEMIS 1995a: 8, 129.5) < *Lorenzo*

σουλτάδοι (16th c., Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 11.3–4) (scribe from Nauplion)

< Ven. *soldado*

ἐκουπιάρισα (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 42, 103.30) < Ital. *copiare*

κουμουδητὰ (1612, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 1, 308.26) < Ital. *commodità*
 φαλκουνετίου FORTIOS, *Strat. pragm.* 231 < Ital. *falconetto*
 Ρουλάνδος (1641, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 19, 323.22)
 Ρουμπέρτος (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 26, 173.4)

/e/ > /i/

τορνίσια (1501, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 66, 101.30)
 φουριστιέρικα (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 10, 11.9) < Ital. *forestiere*
 κωνδίκηλλον (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 45, 55.20)
 ὁ σινεσκάρδος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 46.1 < OFr. *seneschal*
 δισπλαζίριν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 77.32 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari) < OFr. *desplazir*
 φόρσι (17th c., Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.51) < Ital. *forse* (alternatively, < Ven. *forsi*)
 πούρι δὲν εἶσαι CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.155 < Ital. *pure*
 πούρι (1665, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 9, 418.15); (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.22)
 φρηγάδα (1708, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969c: 1, 38.6)

2.4 Phoneme Inventory

2.4.1 /a/ <α>

/a/ is a direct inheritance from Koine and EMedG /a/, which in turn originates from the merger of two AG vowels, /a:/ and /a/. It is the only open or central vowel of MedG and EMG. It may appear in all positions, initial, medial and final, and has no allophones. It is the “strongest” vowel in the MedG and MG vowel sonority hierarchy /a o u e i/ (see 2.9.2).

/a/ is involved in the following phenomena:

- /a/ > /e/ adjacent to liquids and nasals (see 2.8.1)
- /a/ > /o/ – labialization (see 2.8.2)
- Addition of word-final vowel (see 2.6.3)
- Deletion (see 2.7)
- Assimilation and dissimilation (see 2.8.5)
- Prothesis and aphaeresis (see 2.6.1 and 2.7.1)

2.4.2 /e/ <ε, αι>

/e/ is a direct inheritance from Koine and EMedG /e/, which in turn originates from the merger of the AG vowel /e/ and the monophthongized AG diphthong /ai/. It is a front mid vowel, appearing in initial, medial and final position. In the so-called “northern” dialects it has an allophone [i] when unstressed.

/e/ is affected by the following phenomena:

- /e/ > [i] – “raising vocalism” (see 2.5.4)
- /e/ > [i] – synizesis (see 2.9.4)
- /e/ > /o/ – labialization (see 2.8.2)
- Prothesis and aphaeresis (see 2.6.1 and 2.7.1)
- Word-final addition (see 2.6.3 and II, 2 passim, II, 3 passim, II, 5 passim, III, 4 passim)

- Deletion (see 2.9.2)
- Crasis (see 2.9.5)
- Assimilation and dissimilation (see 2.8.5)

2.4.3 /o/ <ο, ω>

/o/ is a direct inheritance from Koine and EMedG /o/, which in turn originates from the merger of the AG vowels /o/ and /ɔ:/. It is a back mid vowel, appearing in initial, medial and final position. In the so-called “northern” dialects it has an allophone [u] when unstressed.

/o/ is affected by the following phenomena:

- /o/ > [u] – “raising vocalism” (see 2.5.4)
- /o/ > /e/ in the adjacency of liquids and nasals (see 2.8.1)
- /o/ > /u/ – back vowel raising (see 2.8.3)
- Prothesis and aphaeresis (see 2.6.1 and 2.7.1)
- Deletion (see 2.9.2)
- Assimilation and dissimilation (see 2.8.5)

2.4.4 /u/ <ου>

/u/ is a direct inheritance from Koine /u/, which in turn stems from the raising of AG /o:/. It also arises from a series of backing and raising changes of /o/ and /i/ during the EMedG and LMedG periods (see 2.8.3, 2.8.4), as well as, in more restricted cases, from EMedG /y/ (see 2.4.6). It is a high back vowel which can appear in all positions.

/u/ is affected by the following phenomena:

- Deletion as part of “raising vocalism” (see 2.5.4)
- /u/ > /o/ – lowering (see 2.5.4)
- Deletion (see 2.7 and 2.9)
- Crasis (see 2.9.5)
- Assimilation and dissimilation (see 2.8.5)

2.4.5 /i/ <ι, η, υ, ει, οι, υι>

/i/ is a direct inheritance from Koine /i/, which in turn stems from a variety of AG sources: the merger of /i/ and /i:/. the raising of /e:/. and /ε:/. and the monophthongization of the diphthong /ei/, as well as from EMedG /y/ (see 2.4.6). There is one area where AG /ε:/. evolved to /e/ and not to /i/, namely Pontos; for this see 2.5.2.

/i/ is a high front vowel which can appear in all positions. Due to its complex phonological history, it is spelled in a bewildering variety of ways: as <ι, η, υ, ει, οι, υι>, in the Greek alphabet and as <i, y> in the Latin alphabet.

/i/ is affected by the following phenomena:

- Synizesis (see 2.9.4)
- Deletion as part of “raising vocalism” (see 2.5.4)
- /i/ > /e/ – lowering (see 2.5.4)
- /i/ > /e/ in the adjacency of liquids and nasals (see 2.8.1)
- /i/ > /u/ (see 2.8.4)
- Deletion (see 2.7 and 2.9)
- Prothesis and aphaeresis (see 2.6.1 and 2.7.1)
- Assimilation (see 2.8.5)

2.4.6 /y/ <οι, υ>

The vowel /y/ is a direct inheritance from Koine /y/, which in turn stems from the merger of AG /y/ and /y:/ and the monophthongization of the AG diphthong /oi/. This phoneme exists in the medieval period until roughly the 11th c., when it finally merges with /i/ (and in some cases with /u/), although in some areas the change may have taken place a few centuries earlier. The survival of /y/ until almost the beginning of the LMedG period is indicated by the fact that in many texts there is spelling variation only between <υ> and <οι> and not between <υ, οι> on the one hand and <η, ι, ει> on the other; conversely, spelling interchange between all these graphemes indicates that the merger has taken place (see 2.4.6.1 for data). Apart from such spelling evidence, the presence of /y/ in the MedG phonological system is evidenced through transcriptions in other alphabets: Latin (BIDWELL 1967), Gothic (MARCHAND 1973: 23–36), Anglo-Saxon (CHEILA-MARKOPOULOU 1980), Armenian (SOLARI 1976) and Georgian (MACHARADZE 1980).

/y/ is a high front rounded vowel which can appear in all positions. There are two major phenomena connected with it: merger with /i/ and “regression” to /u/.

2.4.6.1 Merger of /y/ and /i/

Although Attic-Ionic /u/ > /y/ is well established chronologically, and Koine /y/ is a necessary intermediate step in order to explain the MG evolution to /i/, it is unknown when and in what measure the speakers of the other AG dialects adopted the new Attic sound. It is likely that in non-Attic areas or areas where the influence of the Koine was slow to be felt, the original pronunciation /u/ was maintained until the final demise of the AG dialects in the first centuries AD. It has been claimed that the appearance of /u/ instead of /i/ in several MG dialects as well as in non-dialectal lexical items (many of which appear in MedG texts, such as χρουσός, μουστάκι, στουπί etc.) testifies to the direct preservation of AG /u/ without the intermediate stage /y/ (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 278–80; TSOPANAKIS 1955: 57–8; KAPSOMENOS 1985: 112; MINAS ²2003: 37; for an overview see LIOSIS/PAPADAMOU 2011). However, MedG also exhibits a conditioned phonetic change /i/ > /u/, which affects any /i/ in the proper phonetic environment, irrespective of etymological provenance (i.e. /i/ not only from AG <υ> but from <η, ι, ει> as well); so, many scholars agree that is possible

for the words in question to have acquired the /u/ sound as a result of a phonetic innovation (PERNOT 1907/46: I 105–13; MOYSIADIS 2005: 247–50) and that they are therefore unconnected to the history of /y/. For details see 2.8.4.

Apart from this possibility of local dialectal retention of original /u/, it is generally accepted that the phoneme /y/ existed in most Greek-speaking areas throughout the Koine and EMedG period, merging with /i/ by the 11th c. AD. Interchanges between <ι, ει, η> on the one hand and <υ, οι> on the other which appear in late Koine papyri are usually interpreted not as early evidence of the final merger of /y/ and /i/, but as a result of Coptic interference in the Greek of bilingual speakers: Coptic did not possess the sound /y/, so bilingual speakers represented it with the next closest available sound, namely /i/ (GIGNAC 1976: 266–7; KAPSOMENOS 1985: 112).

Others prefer to consider cases of interchange between <ι, ει, η> and <υ, οι> in inscriptions from the early Christian centuries as true evidence for an early merger of /y/ and /i/ (cf. PANAYOTOU 1990: 207–9; 1992a: 19 for Macedonia and BRIXHE ²1987: 47–9; 2010: 232 for Asia Minor), although potentially the same analysis (fluctuating graphematic representation of a sound absent from the native phonological system through its closest equivalents) could also apply here. In any case, there is secure evidence that in some areas at least there was no merger of /y/ and /i/ until the 10th c., because there the two sets of graphemes never present interchange.

Most scholars place the change in the 10th c. (BROWNING ²1983: 56–7; NEWTON 1972a: 19) or the 11th c. (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 28; CHEILA-MARKOPOULOU 1980). The textual evidence shows that this change did not take place simultaneously in all Greek-speaking territories. In the 9th-c. Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions the change does not yet seem to have taken place (CHATZIDAKIS 1927a: 15; BEŠEVILIEV 1963: 28–9), cf. examples like ὁ θῆν μου / οἱ θεῖοι μου (BEŠEVILIEV 1963: 1.Ic, 97.10), ὁ Γρικύ (ibid. 13, 156.5), ὕκον ... ἐπύθησεν (ibid. 55, 247.5–7), and the same is true for the 9th-c. inscriptions from Cappadocia, an area in which first examples occur in the 10th c.; see LAUXTERMANN forthcoming: ch. 15, with multiple examples of confusion such as διαφοίλαξον, δεσπύνης (10th c., Cappadocia, DE JERPHANION 1925/42: I, p. 523, 94). The evidence of transcriptions in other alphabetic systems such as Old English (CHEILA-MARKOPOULOU 1980), Latin (BIDWELL 1967) and Old Church Slavonic (GEROV 1942, LAURITZEN 2009) shows that in the 10th c. the pronunciation /y/ for Greek was still widespread and required special letters for transliteration. Another such indication is provided by the lemmatic organization of the 10th-c. *Suda* dictionary, which follows a semi-phonetic/semi-alphabetic order: homophonous vowels are grouped together, so words beginning with <αι> are classed together with those beginning with <ε>, but words beginning with <ει, η, ι> form one group, and words beginning with <υ, οι> form another (ADLER 1931: 679). Finally, Michael the Grammarian, a Byzantine poet of the 11th c., notes in a satirical poem that the inhabitants of a rustic village (τράχὺ χωρίον) were unable to make the proper distinction between <ι> and <υ> in their pronunciation, which implies that until this period in some areas the distinction was still the norm, or at least was so recently lost that older generations and/or scholars retained the memory of it (text from MERCATI 1970 [1917]: 129; discussion in LAUXTERMANN 2003: 319, followed by LAURITZEN 2009; see especially LAUXTERMANN forthcoming: ch. 15):

... τὸ κρίον λέγουσιν ἀφρόνως κρίον
καὶ τὸ ξύλον λέγουσιν ἀγροίκως ξίλον

In the Athos archives, loss of the distinction between <ι, η, ει> on the one hand and <υ, οι> on the other becomes apparent from the 10th c. onwards,¹ though in certain documents the distinction is maintained as late as the middle of the 11th. In the S. Italian corpus, all 10th- and 11th-c. documents show that the change has already taken place:

κυ-μενην / κειμένην (941, Thessaloniki, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 2, 95.13–14)
του αγίου Ακύνδινου / τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἀκινδύνου (1008, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 14, 137.6)
ειμῶν (καὶ) εἰμῶν / ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν (1018, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 24, 172.11)
οἰπωταγεις / ὑποταγῆς (942–43, Athos, PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1975: 5, 195.1)
εδηκνοῖτω / ἐδείκνυτο (942–43, Athos, PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1975: 5, 195.7)
συνκαιχιμένι / συγκεχυμένη (942–43, Athos, PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1975: 5, 195.9)
ημῖς υ προαναφερόμενυ / ἡμεῖς οἱ προαναφερόμενοι (1008, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 15, 188.6)
επει χρόνυς πολυς / ἐπὶ χρόνοις πολλοῖς (1008, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 15, 188.13)
υκῆς οφθαλμυς / οἰκείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς (1008, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 15, 188.36)
τον ... ζωοπτωυν σταυρόν / τὸν ... ζωοποιόν σταυρόν (1017, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 22, 167.3); τιν γνισιαν μου θοιγατέραν / τὴν γνήσιάν μου θυγατέραν (ibid. 167.4)
ἀναμεταξοὶ ἡμῶν στυχιθήσαν / ἀναμεταξὺ ἡμῶν στοιχηθεῖσαν (1034, Athos, LEFORT 1973: 1, 41.19)
ξεροροιακεῖου / ξερορουακίου (1042, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 27, 246.17)
του δροῖος / τοῦ δρυός (1042, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 27, 246.20)
επι χρόνοις ὀλήγυς / ἐπὶ χρόνοις ὀλίγοις (1042, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 27, 246.27)
φροιδ(ι) / φρύδι (1065, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 35, 205.32)
κατελοῖσαν/κατελύσαν (1065, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 35, 205.10)
εἰπέγραφα / ὑπέγραφα (981, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 8, 7.20)
υδιοχηρος / ἰδιοχείρω (981, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 8, 7.22)
οἷγουμένου / ἡγουμένου (984, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 9, 8.2)
τὸ ὕμησοι / τὸ ἡμισυ (984, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 9, 8.10)
κατύχεν / κατεῖχεν (1000, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 12, 11.8)
κιρ(οῦ) Κλήμι / κυροῦ Κλήμη (1031, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 1, 22.9)
τειάπτῃ / τοιάπτῃ (1051, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 3, 49.7)

The evidence for retention of an [y] realization as late as the 19th c. in the local dialect of Athens is a further indication that the merger of /y/ and /i/ may have taken place relatively late in some more isolated areas, or even not at all.²

¹ The following example in a 9th-c. document has come down to us in a later copy: μεγαλωνίμω / μεγαλωνύμω (897 [12th/13th-c. copy], THESSALONIKI, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 1, 89.5).

² Cf. MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 34: “Καὶ σήμερον μὲν τὸ γράμμα υ γενικώτατα ὡς τὸ ι προφέρεται: κύριος, ὕστερα, ὑπερβολή, κτλ. ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ὡς ὕ γερμ. π.χ. παρὰ τοῖς νῦν Ἀθηναίοις τσιῦρά ἀντὶ κυρά (κυρία)”; KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: I, 349: “Ἐκ πάντων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἰδιωμάτων, τὸ Ἀθηναϊκὸν ἦτο τὸ ἰδιορρυθμότατον ... αἱ ἐν χρήσει λέξεις καὶ ὁ σχηματισμὸς τῶν φράσεων ἦσαν ἀξιοσημείωτα, ἰδίως δὲ ἡ προφορὰ τῶν φωνέντων καὶ διφθόγγων, καθότι ἅπαντα τὰ υ προεφέροντο ὡς τὸ γαλλικὸν u.” The full array of data concerning the modern (19th-c.) survival of the [y] pronunciation in the Old Athenian dialect is discussed in PANDELIDIS 2016b.

2.4.6.2 Regression of /y/ to /u/

In certain areas the evolution of the phoneme /y/ involved a change to the back vowel /u/ instead of the front vowel /i/. It must have included most of Central and Southern Mainland Greece (i.e. Peloponnese, Central Greece and neighbouring islands; this survives in MG as the “Old Athenian and Maniot” relic dialect group spoken in Athens, Aegina, Megara, Kymi in Euboea, and Mani, cf. NEWTON 1972a: 14–15). The interpretation of the presence of /u/ in a considerable number of lexical items (though never in inflectional suffixes, except in the case of Tsakonian) with etymological ancient /u/ as a “regression” from /y/ back to /u/, rather than as retention of original ancient /u/, relies on the fact that velar consonants preceding this /u/ are palatalized (cf. the modern dialectal forms γυναίκα > γιουναίκα, άχυρο > άχιουρο, κοιλία > τσουλία), a development that can only be explained if the following vowel was fronted at some period (NEWTON 1972a: 19–23; KAPSOMENOS 1985: 111). Older scholars tended to view this phenomenon as a “splitting up” of the phoneme /y/ (front rounded vowel) into two sounds, each retaining part of its phonetic distinctive features, namely /i/ (front) + /u/ (rounded), which is followed by diphthongization into [ju] in the case of preceding non-palatalizable consonants (labial, dental) vs. absorption of the palatal glide in the case of preceding palatalizable consonants (velar, nasal, lateral); see especially SHIPP 1965, SETATOS 1967.³ However, since the MedG and EMG data do not provide any instances of a non-palatalizable consonant + palatal glide + /u/ such as those found in MG dialects (e.g. θιουρίδα, πανεθιούρι – see PAPADAMOU 2009 for a full diatopic list), such an analysis is unnecessary. The attested historical data, as well as most of the MG dialectal data, are better explained through the hypothesis of an evolution of /y/ > /u/, which may or may not have palatalized the preceding consonant prior to its backing.

For Athens, the backing of /y/ to /u/ is documented since the 16th c. through the descriptions of the local dialect by the scholars Zygomalas and Kavasilas, proffered to Martinus Crusius and published in his *Turcograecia* (1584), who also emphasize that the phenomenon is not known in other areas of Greece: “Τὰ σύκα, σοῦκα λέγουσι: τὸν βάτραχον πακακᾶν: καὶ ἄλλα γελοῖα” (p. 99); “Καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ σύ, σοῦ, καὶ πορεύου, σοῦρε, καὶ λύτεραν, λούτρων. Οὕς οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα οἰκοῦντες, καλῶς τὰ πολλὰ φθεγγόμενοι, βαρβάρους τὸ παράπαν ἀποκεκλήκασιν, τούτους βδελυττόμενοι” (p. 462). Direct attestations of the phenomenon in documents of Athenian, Euboean and Maniot provenance are very few, due to the scarcity of primary sources from these areas, but they do exist:

- τὰ σουκίδια (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 257, 354.17)
 σουκέα (1618, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: V, 73.29); Σουκάμινο (1670, *ibid.* X, 75.7)
 σουκέα (1760, Megara, SYRKOU 2006: 1, 334.26)
 λαιοφουτάδες (1635, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 182.7) < ελαιοφύτα; φοῦγε ἀπὸ τὴν
 δούλην τοῦ Θεοῦ (17th c.?, *ibid.* 186.5)
 Κάλιστρος Στουραγίτης (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 25, 163.20) (= from the town of Styra
 in Euboea)

³ An argument in favour of this analysis would be the parallel of the adaptation of French loanwords into Late Middle English, such as Fr. *pur* → Eng. *pure*, Fr. *cure* → Eng. *cure*, Fr. *nude* → Eng. *nude*.

The same phenomenon also occurs, though very rarely, in specific lexical items, in S. Italian documents (cf. MINAS ²2003: 37):

ρουάκει / ρουάκι (1034, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 29, 34.24)
 ρουάκιν / ρουάκιν (1113, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 75, 98.12)
 ρουάκην / ρουάκιν (1122?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 17, 415.7)

The palatalization of velar consonants preceding a “regressed” /y/ is attested for only a single lexical item, κύρης/κιούρης and κυρά/κιουρά, occurring very frequently in documents from many areas but not from those of the “Old Athenian” group:

κυούριν / κιούρην (1168–9, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 10, 104.8)
 τοῦ καλοκιούρη / τοῦ Καλοκιούρη (1328, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 9, 42.21)
 τοῦ κυουροῦ της / τοῦ κιουροῦ της (1573, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 2, 18.15)
 τοῦ κιουροῦ του (1577, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 8, 20.4)
 τῆς κυουράς / τῆς κιουράς (1655, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 123.2)
 ἐκαρακιούρευεν (1671, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1395, 821.6) < καρaboκυρεύω
 στὴν κιουρά / στὴν κιουρά (1693, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 10, 407.60)
 τοῦ κιούρου τῶνε (1714, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 28, 333.13)
 τοῦ κυουροῦ / τοῦ κιουροῦ (1702, Chios, KAVVADAS 1969: 155.2)

2.4.7 /j/

2.4.7.1 Phonemic Status

The phoneme /j/ appears around the 13th c. as a result of the phenomenon of synizesis (see 2.9.4), deriving from /i/ when followed by another vowel.⁴ /j/ strictly speaking is not a vowel, but a semivowel; it is discussed here together with vowels, despite its consonantal allophonic realizations, because of its vocalic origin. It is realized by a variety of palatal or palatalized consonantal sounds, depending on the phonetic environment. Rather than considering a whole range of consonantal sounds as allophones of a vowel (especially since these consonantal sounds also exist independently, as allophones of other consonants), it is more consistent to consider them as allophones of a new semi-consonantal phoneme.

Additionally, the postulation of /j/ as a separate phoneme is the simplest analysis for the cases where palatal sounds occur before back vowels (cases like χιόνι, γκιόστρα, νιότη etc.), since one can then assume that the palatal allophone of velar (or nasal) consonants appears before the front vowels /e, i/ and the front semivowel /j/ and not before back vowels as well (e.g. [çoni] = /xjoni/), something that would put their allophonic status into question (see 3.8.2, palatalization).

Furthermore, after the spread of the phenomenon of synizesis to sequences of stressed /e, i/ + V, the morphophonemic environments (i.e. the inflectional paradigms) where alternation between [i] and [j] exists, and therefore where the native language learner has

⁴ Whether or not the glide [j] has phonemic status is a vexed question in the MG phonological literature. See ARVANITI 2007: 124, BALTAZANI/TOPINTZI 2012, TOPINTZI/BALTAZANI 2013 and references therein for recent overviews of the two alternative positions. See also RUGE 1969b for earlier discussion.

the possibility of recovering an underlying /i/ when presented with a realization of a glide or palatal fricative, are quite limited: they are reduced in fact to the nominal paradigm of the neuter nouns in -ι(ν) (παιδί-παιδιά, see II, 2.20.1.2), the small closed class of adjectives in -ύς (βαρύς-βαριά, see II, 3.3.1) the equally small class of colour adjectives in -ής (μαβής-μαβιά, see II, 3.4.3), and perhaps the mediopassive inflection of oxytone verbs (κρατεῖ-κρατεῖται, see III, 4.1.2). Such a limited range of alternating environments is perhaps insufficient for the acquisition of [j] as an allophone of /i/ (see 2.9.4 below and MANOLESSOU/KOUTSOUKOS 2011 for detailed discussion).

2.4.7.2 Realization and Attestations

The appearance of the phoneme /j/ is closely connected to the phenomenon of synizesis (see 2.9.4), since /j/ may be assumed to have appeared after this major change had affected the totality of /e, i/ + V sequences, and thus to have destroyed most of the morphophonemic environments where there previously existed an alternation between [i] and [j]. Due to its history, this phoneme has a limited distribution, only appearing before a vowel, and a number of allophonic realizations. These are the following:

- a) voiced palatal fricative [j] when preceded by the voiced consonants /v ð b d z r/ or in initial position e.g. διαβάζω [ðja'vazo], βιός [vjos], λίζιος ['lizjos], γιορτή [jor'ti].
- b) voiceless palatal fricative [ç] when preceded by the voiceless consonants /f θ p t s/, e.g. ποιός [pços], τέτοιος ['tetços], ἴσια ['isça].
- c) palatal nasal [ɲ] when preceded by /m/, e.g. ζημιά [zi'mɲa].

/j/ is deleted (or “absorbed” – see below) when preceded by a consonant that may assume a palatal realization, i.e. the velars /k g x ɣ/ and the sonorants /l/ and /n/, e.g. χιόνι ['çoni], ἥλιος ['iłos].

Graphematic evidence for the various consonantal realizations of /j/ exists after the phenomenon of synizesis has taken place; they are spelled with the graphemes <χ γ ν> + <ι> (see also 3.8.2 and 2.9.4). These spellings appear from the 14th c. in the case of <γ>, the 16th in the case of <ν> and the 17th in the case of <χ>. In the case of /j/ after a voiceless consonant, it is noteworthy that the earlier spellings show <γ> and that <χ> appears later (17th c.). One could assume that the first step in the consonantization of the glide was [j] in all environments (the palatal fricative [j] being the closest consonantal sound to the semi-vocalic palatal glide [j]), which was subsequently devoiced in the adjacency of voiceless consonants. Alternatively, the spelling change from <γ> to <χ> may be a simple change in graphematic practice not reflecting a true phonetic difference, in which case one should assume that the voiceless allophone [ç] appeared automatically and contemporarily with the voiced allophone [j], depending on the phonetic environment.

τὸν γιάτρο (1389, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 3, 89.2)

ἄπε τα χεργία τους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 76.26 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)

τὸ ὀργιάκι / τὸ ὀρυάκι (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 181, 171.6)

rgiachi / ρυάκι *Thysia* Avr. 799 transcr. M

σταργίου (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 23.16)

- παραθύργια (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 677.48–9)
 τὸν τεργιαζμόν / τὸν ταιριασμόν (1615, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 46, 197.14)
 ταιργιασμό (1670, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 2, 577.15)
 μία μουργιά (1631, Kea, VISVIZIS 1949: 7, 65.4)
 περιστεργιῶνας (1656, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 9, 405.34)
 γιὰ τὰ κιργιά (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.9)
 Πιγέρω / Πιέρο (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 2, 5.10)
 πγῆ σαν / ποιοί' σαν CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 56 app. crit. (MB); παραπγιασμένη *ibid.* 1106 app. crit. (M)
 εἰς φᾶν καὶ πγεῖν *Assizes B* 414.27
 πλατγοὶ τόποι MEURSIUS, *Gloss.* s.v. πλατγὸς
 πγιάτα / πιάτα (1666, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 26, 21.5)
 καράβγια / καράβια (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.6)
 τα ποιδγ<i>ι>ά / τὰ πιδγιά (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 6, f.43r.16);
 B<ε>νοιτγ<i>ι>άς / Β'νιτιάς (1691, *ibid.* 17a, f.45v.29)
 το ηδυγο / τὸ ἴδιο (1691, Ikaria/Chios?, TSELIKAS 2000: 81, 64.15–16)
 πγεζαρίες (1697, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 12, 27.20)
 opghi clessi / ὅποιοι κλαῖσι CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.624 transcr. X (Legrand)
 pgh' agli aformi / ποι' ἄλλη ἀφορμή CHORTATSI, *Erof. Interm.* I.109 transcr. X (Legrand)
 τοῦ ὄφχιου KRITPOULOS, *Grammar* 109.16; τὸ κριάς, τοῦ κριατχιοῦ *ibid.* 109.30
 φχιάνουνε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.19)
 τοῦ χωραφχιοῦ / τοῦ χωραφιοῦ (1695, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 33, 81.17)
 ἀσημνιοῦ *Pent. Gen.* 23.15
 μνιά νύκτα *Rim. kor.* A 2 app. crit.
 ἐπεθυμνιάς FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 75
 ρωμνιους / Ρωμιούς (1608, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 18, 179.62)
 βαπτισμνιό της (1663, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 235, 147.11)

2.4.7.3 Post-consonantal /j/ Deletion

The deletion of /j/ after sibilants and affricates is frequently termed “depalatalization” in the literature, although strictly speaking these consonants are not palatalized (i.e. their main articulation does not involve the palate), but are simply followed by a palatal glide. The areas in which the change /j/ > Ø after /s z ts dz/ is attested are Crete, Cythera, the Cyclades, Athens and some northern dialects. The distribution corresponds to the modern dialectal one (cf. NEWTON 1972a: 128–35; KONDOSPOULOS ³2001: XXIII), but for some areas which show the phenomenon in the modern period there are no medieval documents available; therefore the phenomenon appears to be more restricted in MedG and EMG. The earliest attestations come from 15th-c. Cretan texts, and it seems gradually to have spread from the capital of the island towards the East and West. The LMedG and EMG picture of the phenomenon in Crete is different from the modern one, as nowadays /j/ deletion after sibilants is a characteristic of the East Cretan dialect only. In LMedG documents from Siteia, such as those of the notary Olokalos, it has not yet appeared, while it occurs in several EMG texts from Rethymnon and Chania (see BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 15; BAKKER 1988/89: 284; CHARALAMBAKIS 1998: 118 and KARANTZOLA 2005a:

260–1 for attestations in notarial documents). Literary texts written by authors of West Cretan provenance, such as Chortatsis, also display the phenomenon.

A special case is constituted by the plural of nouns formed with the derivational suffix -ίτσι, which present deletion of the semivowel as early as the 11th c., irrespective of geographical provenance, e.g. τὰ πιττακίτζα / τὰ πιττακίτσα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.5; εἰς τὰ βιβλίτζα *ibid.* 9 310.24. See II, 2.20.2.2 for further examples.

Crete and Cythera

- στ' ἄξο σου καταφύγι SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Ag. Frang.* 6
 ἄξος DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 988
 ἀνίψα (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 2, 18.3)
 βουτζά (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 135.93)
 εἰς φορεσῆς (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 1, 3.17); κρασά (*ibid.* 3, 8.8)
 τοῦ νησοῦ ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 124
 ἰ corassessmu / οἱ κορασῆς μου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* II.128 transcr. X (Legrand); παπούτσα *id.*, *Katz.* I.249
 πεντακόσσα (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 23.19); μετὴν ἐκκλησά (1603, *ibid.* 174, 185–6)
 τῷ βυζῶ μου *Thysia Avr.* 377
 τὰ βυζά της LANDOS, *Geopon.* 266.22
 πακτωσῆς (1628, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2000: 3, 517.8)
 καὶ σούντανε (1629, Crete, LAMBROS 1910: 254, 187.4–5) < σείω
 τσῆ ἀλλαξῆς (1650, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 12, 371.4)
 φοβιτσάροι FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 71
 τὰ τορνέσα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 214.25); μεσακά (*ibid.* 16, 94.7); τῶν λεγόμενων σαστάδων (1565, *ibid.* 130, 211.17)

Cyclades

- κρεββατοστρώσα (1604, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 10, 165.33)
 καμιζόλα μία ὄξα / καμιζόλα μία ὄξά (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 3, 33.58)
 τὰ Μελίσσα (1616, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1918c: 279.24)
 ἰσαστήκαμεν (1639, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 3, 114.45)
 τῆς φορεσῆς (1656, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 9, 405.60)
 γρόσα τριακόσα (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/1992: 3, 49.13)
 μαγαζά (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 106.50); χαράτζα (*ibid.* 1, 107.66)
 γρόσα (1663, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1, 11.13)
 γρόσα (1687, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1972: 16, 286.9)
 τὰ κρασά (1677, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 24, 92.13)
 ἀγορασῆς (1688, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 22, 327.12)
 Δροσανή (1692, Naxos, PANDELIA-GRITSOPOULOU 1995/97: 2, 212.13)

Old Athenian

- Κηβισά (15th c., Athens?, DARROUZÈS 1964b: 67, 311.2) < Κηφισιά
 σκολαρίτζα (1749, Athens, MOMFERRATOS 1892: 1, 28.2)

Northern Greece

- τρία κορίτσα (1449–55, Silymvria, SCHREINER 1975/79: 98B, 4.9)
 μελησα / μελίσσα (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 341.40)
 τὲς βρισῆς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §4.13
 ἡ Σατιστιανή / οἱ Σατιστιανοὶ (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 56.4) < Σιάτιστα

Occasionally the phenomenon appears outside the areas which are known to be affected. In literary texts one may suspect the intervention of a Cretan copyist or an editor:

νὰ ἀξάζ(η) (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 12, 22.2)
 τὰ πουλίτσα *Liv.* V 149; μικρά μονοπατίτσα *ibid.* 2357
 ξμορφους, πλούσους *Theseid* Prol. E 154
 τὶς πιδεξότηταις / τὶς ᾽πιδεξότητες *Byz. Il.* 163 app. crit.

Note that the plural suffix -ές instead of -ιές of nouns and adjectives in -έα/-ιά (denoting trees, blows or strokes, quantities etc., see HATZIDAKIS 1893; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 342–51), which appears frequently in all areas, is not an instance of “depalatalization”, but the result of the simplification of two consecutive identical vowels (for which see 2.9.2.1), i.e. the evolution is -εές > -ές, and not -ιές > -ές (see also II, 2.11.4), e.g.

κερασές (1018, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 24, 172.16) (κερασέες)
 κοπανές *Ptoch. III* 187 app. crit. (K)
 τές βαρές μου ανάγκες DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 3138
 τές ἑλές (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 116, 164.45)
 τές σπαθές (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 135, 99.4)
 κοπραίς / κοπρές (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 220.28)
 με τὰς μουραῖς / μὲ τές μουρές (1634, Laconia, SIMOPOULOS 1966: 149.3)
 σκεπαρνές (1667, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 53, 317.13); εἰς τές Καστανές (1688, *ibid.* 120, 325.9)
 μαχαιρές PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §9.9

Several cases of apparent depalatalization, i.e. deletion of /j/ after a consonant, are attested in texts from Cyprus. The phenomenon involves the combinations of /n l r ð f m/ + /j/, and is difficult to interpret because the modern dialect does not display this feature. Henrich (2002: 332–3) has collected the attestations from Machairas, but they appear in other texts as well and therefore cannot be simply a graphematic idiosyncrasy of the specific writer; it is either a true phonetic feature that has died out, or a general scribal habit of the period in Cyprus. The only case where this type of apparent depalatalization finds support from the modern dialect (cf. CHATZIOANNOU 1999: 54, 97) is the verbal oxytone inflection, which regularly has simplification (-ειε > -ε, -ιέσαι > -έσαι), possibly as an analogical phenomenon from the barytone inflection, also appearing in areas outside Cyprus; for this see III, 4.1.2.

ἡ ζήλα ἐνέβην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 56.30; ζήλαν *Fior* 83.10
 εὐρίσκουνται μεγάλες ζήλες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.14
 ἔδωξέν τους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.36; νὰ τὸν δώξουν *Assizes* B 277.29
 ἐφόρεν δ' δακτυλίδια MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 84.22–3
 νὰ διαλαλέται *Assizes* A 63.23
 ἔνωσές με *Cypr. Canz.* 127.17
 μετανωμένοι *Thrinis Kypr.* 90
 μόνος σου δὲ κρατέσαι κρυφός *Fior*, *Suppl.* 277.1–2
 δὲν θωρέται *Cypr. Canz.* 56.7
 ἐθῶρες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους του KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 681
 νὰ μπόρεν *Cypr. Canz.* 56.3

τὸ γοφύρι (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 2, 7.8)
 συμπλαστιάδες (1703, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 8, 113.8)
 ἐπίσκοπος Κυρήνας (1609, Cyprus, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90: III 20, 267.15)

κεῖ ὀληνυκτὶ περπάται / κι ὀληνυκτὶ ᾽περπάτε KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* XII.39; δὲν πόρε νὰ
 ᾽πομένει *ibid.* XV.11

A number of cases of depalatalization of /l/ are attested in a 17th-c. corpus from Macedonia. These, if not taken at face value, could perhaps be attributed to hypercorrection of the phenomenon of palatalization of /l/ to [ʎ] before /e/, which is, according to MG evidence, a local dialectal characteristic of the Thessaloniki area (e.g. λέγω > λιέου, ANDRIOTIS 1958: 148; KOSMAS 1972: 320):

η δουλές / οἱ δουλές (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 57.17); γιὰ τὶς παρακιλές (1698, *ibid.* 2012: 10, 78.24); δὲν πολέτι (1698, *ibid.* 12, 82.25)

Another special case of (true) depalatalization concerns the sporadic backing of the palatal fricative [j] deriving from synizesis of the sequence [ia] > [ja] to a velar fricative [χ], occurring only in western Crete, and attested very rarely in documents from the area, e.g. νὰ τοῦ τὸ γαγείρη (1652, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 13, 373.4); γὰ νὰ γυρεύγη (1655, *ibid.* 14, 374.7); γὰ τὸ κόπο του (1655, *ibid.* 14, 374.8). For this phenomenon see KONDOSPOULOS 1969: 28, 75; *ILNE*, s.v. διαγέρνω.

2.4.7.4 Deletion of /j/ after /r/

The dialect of Crete shows, as a characteristic feature, the realization /r/ + V in specific morphological environments, where other areas show /rj/ + V with synizesis. This is well documented in Cretan literary and non-literary documents, from the 15th c. on. A limited number of examples have also surfaced from Cythera and some Cycladic islands.

μερὰν *Peri xen.* 28; μερὰν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 387; τὴν πέρα μερὰ (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 181, 171.6)
 βαρὰ CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1688; βαρὰ TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.381
 na uaranastenaso / νὰ βαραναστενάζω CHORTATIS, *Erof.* II.349 transcr. X (Legrand)
 τὴν δεκαρὰν CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1089
 γρᾶδες *P&N Diath.* 4671
 τζῆ Γρᾶς τὸ Πίδιμα / τσῆ Γρᾶς τὸ Πήδημα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 920, 722.8)
 ἡ ρηθεῖσα μου κουμεσαρὰ (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 7, 13.20–1)
 ἡ ζυγαρὰ *Thysia Avr.* 663
 τὴν κοπρὰ ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 1102
 καὶ πλιὰ βαροὶ KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1212; τόσους λογισμοὺς βαροὺς TROILOS, *Rodol.* II.47
 θρέφονται μὲ κρὰς KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.503; τὸ κρὰς FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.98; κρατάκι VLACHOS, *This.* s.v.
 στήν Ὀβρακὴ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.432
 τῆς γρᾶς Σταμάτας (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 171, 139.15)
 εἰς τὴν μερὰν ἐκείνην *Diig. Sant.* 55.62; τὴν Ἀπάνω Μερὰν *ibid.* 58.65
 βορὰς ἡ γρεγαλάκι *Diig. Sant.* 59.50
 καλογρά (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.138)

The phenomenon involves only environments where the underlying etymological sequence is stressed /re/ + V, and in the majority of cases the second vowel is /a/; consequently, it affects mainly the feminine derivational suffixes -έα and -αρέα, as well as some inflectional forms of adjectives in -ύς when the preceding consonant is /r/ (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 346–51; KRETSCHMER 1905: 119–22; XANTHOUDIDIS 1915: 459; NEWTON 1972a: 50–1). For example, μερέα becomes μερά and τὰ βαρέα become τὰ βαρά, but τὰ χωριά does not become *τὰ χωρά, nor ρυάκι *ράκι. Similarly, in the inflectional paradigm of oxytone E-stem verbs, the terminations -ειες, -ειε are never reduced to -ες, -ε in texts of Cretan provenance.

Consequently, the phenomenon cannot be considered a type of depalatalization, as it must have taken place before the synizesis process, creating palatal /j/, was completed, i.e. the evolution was /rea/ > [rɛa] > /ra/ rather than /rea/ > [rja] > /rja/ > /ra/.⁵ It is quite possible that the phonetic environment of the consonant /r/ was responsible for the retention of the realization /e/ for a longer time, since one of the most typical combinatory vowel changes in MedG is the change of /i/ > /e/ before /r/ (e.g. σίδερο, ἄχερο etc.), a change which in some cases could even be viewed as retention of the original /e/ from AG <η> (see 2.8.1). The connection of this development with the also Cretan evolution -έ in the same environment (βαρέ, ἀπομοναρέ, κρές) is obvious and constitutes another strong argument that a stage /i/ or /j/ was never involved in the derivation. In modern Cretan, the two variants are in complementary distribution, the variant -ρέα > -ρά characterizing East Cretan (as well as Karpathos and Chalki) and the variant -ρέ characterizing (parts of) West Cretan (as well as Ikaria); see KONDOSOPOULOS 1960: 210–18, TSOPANAKIS 1949: 40. But the result /'e/ from /'ea/ is not limited to the environment after /r/, and appears in West Cretan irrespective of the preceding consonant (ἄπιδέ, μῆλε etc.; see 2.9.4 and II, 2.11.4). It should therefore be assumed that the first stage in the evolution of the sequence /'ea/ was ['ɛa] throughout Crete, but in eastern Crete this was retained only after /r/, whereas after other consonants it proceeded as the “regular” synizesis to /ja/. According to CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: A 344–5), the next step in the evolution of ['ɛa] must have involved not consonantization or deletion, as in other areas, but coalescence to [æ], which was eventually reinterpreted as [a] in the eastern and as [e] in the western areas of Crete.

The forms which show apparent deletion of /j/ in the case of vowels other than /a/, such as /'eo/, /'eu/ can have alternative interpretations. At least within inflectional paradigms, analogical influence of forms where the semivowel is lost for phonetic reasons before /a/ or /e/ can be suspected (e.g. βαρά, βαρές → βαροί, βαρούς). Alternatively, the above described phonetic evolution ['ɛa] > /a/ could be suspected to apply also to sequences of /e/ + other vowel, which, being quite rare statistically (in contrast to -έα which is a common derivational suffix), formed a marginal phonetic pattern. This could, for example, apply to

⁵ The imprecise descriptions in ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1926: 148 and KONDOSOPOULOS 1960: 210–12; 1969: 27–8, who speak of deletion of -i- or of the semivowel [j] after synizesis, have led many scholars investigating the language of EMG Cretan texts to misunderstand this phenomenon (e.g. POLITIS 1964: πστ'-πζ'; BAKKER 1988/89: 284; VEJLESKOV 2005: 109; KARANTZOLA 2005a: 259).

the otherwise “irregular” evolutions $\chi\rho\epsilon\omega\sigma\tau\tilde{\omega} > \chi\rho\omega\sigma\tau\tilde{\omega}$, $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu\omega > \chi\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$, $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\delta\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma > \Theta\acute{\omicron}\delta\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and could even account nicely for the variation between $\lambda\iota\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota$ – $\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota$ – $\lambda\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota$ (see 2.9.2.1). However, the wide geographical spread of some of these lexical items is an argument against this scenario.

On the basis of the above, two cases frequently examined under the heading “depalatalization after /r/” should receive a different interpretation, since their etymological origin is /ia/ and not /ea/, and their distribution extends well beyond Crete. The first is the variation in the feminine derivational suffix $-\tau\rho\iota\alpha/-\tau\rho\alpha$, which is not phonetic, but due to the co-existence and confusion of two etymologically distinct suffixes, the suffix $-\tau\rho\iota\alpha$ originally forming animate agent nouns and corresponding to masc. $-\tau\eta\varsigma$ (e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ – $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\iota\alpha$, $\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ – $\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\tau\rho\iota\alpha$), and the suffix $-\tau\rho\alpha$ originally forming inanimate instrument nouns (e.g. $\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha$, $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha$). The appearance of animate agent nouns in $-\tau\rho\alpha$ ($\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\tau\rho\alpha$, $\sigma\upsilon\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\rho\alpha$) should not be understood as a phonetic but as a morphological/analogical phenomenon (for details see CHATZIDAKIS 1901a: 181–7, who notes $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$ $\chi\omicron\rho\omicron\delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha$ *Ptoch. III* 273–34 app. crit. (P) as one of the earliest examples).

The second is the numerals $\tau\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ and $\tau\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\alpha$ and their derivatives, which also present the variants $\tau\rho\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$ –, $\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\alpha$ – in non-Cretan sources, and which must be considered a special case of vowel deletion (see CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 242; KRETSCHMER 1905: 118–19; PERNOT 1907/46: I 129; and below, 2.9.2):

$\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 11; $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 385 app. crit. (S)
 $\tau\rho\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\phi\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ *Cypr. Canz.* 86.40; $\tau\rho\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ AITOLOS, *Rim. Andron.* 5
 $\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\alpha$ $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\nu\tau\alpha$ (1678, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 25, 133.7); $\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\alpha$ (1644–5, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 4, 47.3–4)

2.4.8 Diphthongs

2.4.8.1 Historical Overview

By the end of the period of the Koine, all the inherited AG diphthongs had disappeared due to a long process of monophthongization in the case of the /i/ diphthongs, and consonantization of the second member in the case of the /u/ diphthongs (HORROCKS ²2010: 161–70; BROWNING ²1983: 25; GIGNAC 1976: 183–226). In the second case, which, in phonetic terms, involves fortition of a labial glide [w] to a labial/labiodental fricative, innovative consonant clusters were created in combination with the initial consonant of the following syllable, which materially affected the overall phonotactics of MedG and MG (DRACHMAN/MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 2007: 123–4; NICHOLAS 2007; see also 3.3.2).

MedG developed new diphthongs through the following processes (for an overview and examples see CHATZIDAKIS 1901a: 225–31; THUMB 1912: 9–10):

- a) loss of quantity distinctions and of the AG contraction rule (cf. also PERNOT 1913: 261). Vowel sequences which were disyllabic, since the second vowel was long, became tautosyllabic diphthongs: $\acute{\alpha}\eta\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\eta\sigma\epsilon$, $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\tilde{\omega}$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$, $\rho\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\iota$, $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon$.

- b) borrowing, e.g. βάιον, μπάιλος, μπέης, γάιδαρος.
- c) deletion of intervocalic consonants, mostly /ɣ/ (see 3.6.1.1), e.g. ἀλλάι, σαῖττολάσι, λέει, ὑπάει-ὑπάουν, μαῖστωρ (see *LBG* s.v. μαγίστωρ).
- d) spontaneous/analogical diphthongization, e.g. ἀναπατημένος, κατημένος (on the basis of ἐκάην, ἀνεπάην etc.), κλαῖμένος, χαμημένος.⁶ (See FOY 1879: 88; MEYER 1889: 98–9; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 602.)

2.4.8.2 Phonetic Description and Graphematic Realization

MedG diphthongs consist of two tautosyllabic vowels, the first being more open and the second more closed (falling diphthongs). Due to the spelling variants for the sound /i/, in several cases the monophthongal or diphthongal value of certain letter sequences is ambiguous; for example, <κλαιμα> can be read both as κλάημα and as κλαῖμα, <λειμονιά> can be analysed as either λειμονιά or λιμονιά, and <βουδι> could be either βόιδι or βούδι. The MedG diphthongs are the following:

[aɪ] [eɪ] [oɪ] [uɪ] [aʊ] [ɛʊ] [oʊ]

Examples:

[aɪ]: αἰτός, γαῖτάνι, χαμημένος, e.g. χαῖμος *Pol. Tr.* 6548 app. crit. (BX); ἔχει τὸ φῶς χαμημένον LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 698

[eɪ]: κλαίει, μαλαματέινος, πορφυρέινος

[oɪ]: βόιδι, ρόιδι, βοῖβόδας, τρώει, e.g. ροῖδέα (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 54.68)

[uɪ]: βούιδι, ἀλληλούια, Γεννουιτῶν, γρατούιτον, ἀκούει, νιραγούια

[aʊ]: καουτσιόν, καουζαρία, κάουρας, ὑπάουν, Ναουσαῖος

[ɛʊ]: κλαίουσι, πλέουσι, ομνέουσι, νέου, ὠραίου

[oʊ]: τρώουσι, μνόουσι

It is not necessary for the phonological description of MedG also to assume the existence of rising diphthongs, for cases where the first member is more closed than the second, such as [ia] [io] [iu] etc. (e.g. as in τριάντα, κρυώνω, ποιοῦσι).

2.4.8.3 Phenomena Affecting Diphthongs

The second (falling) element of a diphthong is occasionally deleted, as a hiatus resolution strategy, following the vowel hierarchy (see 2.9.2):

ἀργηρογάτανα / ἀργυρογάτανα (1226, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 274, 376.23)

ἀτὸς *Velth.* 771; ὁ ἀτὸς *Poulol.* AZ 98 app. crit. (Z) < αἰτὸς (AG ἀετὸς)

νεράδες LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 115

⁶ Cf. also ἐπροβοῖδησε (1615, Lefkada, PENDOGALOS 1977b: 2, 148.7).

γάδαρον (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 46.87)
 tus elenus / τούς ἐλενοῦς (15th c., Crete?, KAKOULIDI 1958/59: 120.7)
 ἀρκήτας ὀλενὸς / Ἀρκήτας ὁ ἰλενὸς *Theseid* X.11,1 (1529)
 τ' ἁδόνιν *Cypr. Canz.* 34.2

According to CHATZIDAKIS (1934/77: A 296–7) the semi-vocalic element of a diphthong may be deleted due to dissimilation, when the following syllable also contains a semivowel; this would explain the forms χάιδι, χαϊδεύω as opposed to plural χάδια, or βόιδι as opposed to βόδια and ρόιδι, ξυνόρροϊδο as opposed to pl. ρόδια. However, he himself notes that this phenomenon is not regular and has dialectal and lexical exceptions.

Another dialectally restricted phenomenon affecting diphthongs is the consonantization of the second, falling, member to a velar fricative [ɣ]. In the texts examined, the phenomenon appears in EMG texts from Crete, where it constitutes a dialectal characteristic corroborated by modern dialectal evidence (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 212; 1916: 13; PANGALOS 1955: 179), in the related dialect of Cythera, and in late texts by the Kefalonian Katsaitis:

τὸ μικρότερον ρόγδι LANDOS, *Geopon.* 153.23; ὅταν κάμνη ἢ ρογδία ξυνὰ τὰ ρόγδια *ibid.* 157.17
 ὀδια ἔνα βοῦγδι / ὀδια ἔνα βούγδι (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 82, 63.5); τὸ βόγδιον (1588, *ibid.* 315, 265.15)
 νὰ μὴν μὲ γδοῦν KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.348; νεράγδα μου *id.*, *Thyest.* V.673

Two very common MedG and MG lexical items present a similar consonantization phenomenon: the words ἄβγό and ἄφτί, already since the EMedG period (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 322), cf. the 10th-c. attestation *apti* in a Latin-script glossary in AERTS 1972: 42. The phenomenon affected the sequence [au] deriving from coarticulation of proclitic [a] followed by initial [o], i.e. [ao] > [aw] > [af]/[av]: τὰ ὠτία > τ' ἄουτία > τ' ἄφτία.

2.5 Dialectal Differentiation in Vowels

2.5.1 Retention of “Doric” /a/

Koine Greek, the ancestor of MedG, is descended from the Attic dialect of AG, and therefore displays the characteristic Ionic-Attic change of inherited /a:/ to /ɛ:/, e.g. μάτηρ /ma:tɛ:r/ > μήτηρ /me:tɛ:r/, cf. Lat. *māter*. This sound further evolved in the late Koine, along with original /ɛ:/, to /i/, e.g. AG acc. μητέρα /me:tɛra/ > MedG μητέρα /mi'tera/. The /a:/ > /ɛ:/ change was not shared by the other dialects of AG (Doric, Aeolic etc.), and so the presence of “original” /a/ in MedG and MG can be considered an ancient dialectal relic (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 77–80; PERNOT 1934: 107–8; TSOPANAKIS 1955: 55–7; ANDRIOTIS, *Lex. Arch.* s.v. α dor.-äol.; KAPSOMENOS 1985: 64–5).

MedG and MG lexical items presenting the potentially archaic dialectal /a/ fall in two categories: (a) those in which /a/ is (part of) an inflectional suffix (i.e. masc. -ας instead of -ης, fem. -α instead of -η, e.g. φιάλα, λίμνα, πνογά, τραπεζίτας), and which could conceivably

be interpreted also as analogical/morphological phenomena instead of archaic retentions; and (b) those where the /a/ appears as part of the stem (e.g. MG στάλα, ἀλακάτη, ἄσαμος, Μίλατο), in which case their status as archaisms is more secure. This of course involves only items from areas where originally Doric/north-western or Aeolic dialects were spoken (S. Italy, Peloponnese, Dodecanese, Macedonia etc.) and excludes the small numbers of lexical items of Doric provenance which entered the Koine and survived directly into MedG and MG or its dialects, such as λοχαγός, διχάλα and a few others (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 99, 102). Both types of “Doric” /a/ are attested in MedG, but the evidence is very limited, in contrast to much more extensive modern dialectal attestations. However, the status of the phenomenon as an archaism presupposes the uninterrupted transmission of the involved lexical items from AG until MG, and consequently the existence of the specific modern dialectal archaisms in MedG, despite the silence of the written record.

Evidence of the first type (grammatical) comes from S. Italy, where the /a/ is probably analogical (cf. KONDOSOPOULOS 1987: 118–19, MINAS ²2003: 37, 81, 89; ROHLFS 1977: 9–10), and thus quite frequent in the modern dialect (KAPSOMENOS 1953b: 321–2). From other areas, attestations are very rare (see also II, 2.11.6 for the variation between -η and -α in old “1st-declension” nouns):

τῆς λύμνας τοῦ Χρυμάτου / τῆς λίμνας τοῦ Χρημάτου (1136–7, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 1, 61.7)

τὴν λίμναν (1050, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972b: 165.47–8)

εἰς τὴν λίμναν (1188, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 225, 298.35)

τῆς προρρηθείσης ὄχθας (1183, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 55, 106.24)

τὴν ὄχθαν (1189, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 227, 302.28)

ἄξιον ἀρχιμανδρίταν (1173, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 51, 87.12)

πόρνα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.41

An obvious case of analogical change is the appearance of masc. nouns presenting the two allomorphs -ίτας and -ίτης in Medieval Pontic (the Vazelon Archive), just as in modern Pontic: Καστελίτης/Καστελίτας, Χαρσενίτης/Χαρσενίτας, Μαλαχίτης/Μαλαχίτας etc. (VAYAKAKOS 1964: 270). The Ionic background of the dialect leaves no room for assuming a “Doric” retention of /a/. Evidence of the second type (lexical) is also available from S. Italian documents: it involves the lexical items λανός and νασίδα (MG ληνός, νησίδα), also present in Modern S. Italian (cf. MINAS ²2003: 37):⁷

λανούς (1109 ca., S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 28, 214.7)

ὁ λανός ὑπῆρχε (1206, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 160, 354.34–5)

νασίδας (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 308.20)

τῆς νασίδας (1192, Sicily, RE/ROGNONI 2008: 1, 143.5)

εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς Νάσου (1182, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 23, 427: 11)

The form μεσαμβρία, also quoted by Minas (περὶ μεσαμβρίαν (1183, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: LV-100, 106.24)), should perhaps be excluded, as it is in origin an Ionic form with

⁷ A dubious example (in an abbreviation) involves the adj. ματρικός = μητρικός: τὴν ἄπασάν μου μοῖραν τὴν μ(ατ)ρηκὴν τὴν ἔχω (1037, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 1, 64.5).

short [a] (TZITZILIS 1997: 407). A more dubious Doric element in S. Italian documents is the place name Τζάγκανον (1268, TRINCHERA 1865: 441, 307.37–8), Modern S. Italian τσάκκανο “sheep-fold”, argued to derive from σᾱκός/σηκός “hedge” (CARATZAS 1957, CARACAUSSI, *Lex.* s.v.). In general, retention of Doric /a/ should be considered a lexical and not a phonological phenomenon in S. Italian, since, overall, Medieval (and Modern) S. Italian behaves like all other Greek varieties with respect to the change /a/ > /ɛi/. In Modern S. Italian there are no more than two dozen words with residual “Doric” /a/ (KARANASTASIS, *Lex. A:* κγ’-κδ’).

Similarly, there is minimal MedG evidence in the texts examined for residual Doric /a/ in other areas where Doric dialects were previously spoken. Eustathios of Thessaloniki twice makes mention of Doric /a/ in the spoken language of his day (ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ 1953: 38): the Cretan place name Ἰδα (= Ἰδη) and the name for the poppy μάκων (= μήκων): “... μάκων εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν παρ’ ἐνίοις λέγεται, βαρβάροις μὲν, ἑοικόσι δὲ ἀπήχημα φυλάττειν γλώσσης Ἑλληνίδος παλαιᾶς” (714.40). The form is indeed attested in the modern dialect of Karpathos, as well as in Tsakonian (DAWKINS 1940: 3–4, see also *LBG* s.v. μάκος). TSOPANAKIS (1963: 10–11) further adduces two dubious doricisms from the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, διαφατεύω and στᾶμα, as well as one more place name, Σαλαμβρία (modern Σηλυμβρία) attested in *De ceremoniis* 496.11. To this one could perhaps add the form μαρουγάζω *Pent.* Deut. 14.8 from Constantinople (attested in Cyprus and Pontus according to ANDRIOTIS *Lex. Arch.*, SMG μηρυκάζω), although the alternation α/η is already AG (BEEKES 2010 s.v.). The body of medieval evidence can be augmented by the addition of the frequent element λανός from Cythera, e.g. ὁ λανός (1565, DRAKAKIS 1999: 257, 356.17) and the typical Cretan verb γλακῶ (< ἐκλακῶ, Attic ληκέω, see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v., TSOPANAKIS 1955: 56). One of the items adduced by HATZIDAKIS (1892: 98) as retentions of Doric /a/, ρέχτας “waterfall”, occurs as a place name in the notarial acts of Olokalos: στὸν Ρίκτην τῶν Λιθινῶν (1540, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 203, 198.8) (cf. CHARALAMBAKIS 1984).

The only modern dialect which displays the phenomenon with regularity is of course Tsakonian, given its derivation from ancient Laconian. The earliest (17th-c.) attestations of the dialect fully confirm this, as shown by the word-list reported in the writings of Evliya Celebi (PERNOT 1934: 502–3; KOSTAKIS 1980/81: 276).⁸

2.5.2 Retention of “Ionic” /e/

MedG documents from the Pontos and Crimea areas frequently exhibit /e/ instead of expected /i/, stemming from AG /ɛi/ <η> (DÖLGER 1929/30: 334; HENRICH 1990, 2011; TZITZILIS 1999: 86; MANOLESSOU/PANDELIDIS 2011). The earliest secure examples for the LMedG period come from a 14th-c. inscription, namely the ethnic names Καμαχενός and Τζανιχίτες (1306, Trebizond, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1886: 1, 114.3 and 15).

⁸ The list contains the words *samri* = Tsak. σάμερε ≈ σήμερα, *tancala* = Tsak. τὰν τσέλα ≈ τὴν κέλλα and *matmi* = Tsak. μάτη μοι ≈ μήτηρ μου.

Apart from these, the phenomenon is frequently attested in the archive of the Vazelon Monastery (DÖLGER 1929/30; LAMPSIDES 1935, 1952; VAYAKAKOS 1964), with examples as early as the 13th c.:

Πεγαδάν (ca. 1245, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 16, 7.9)
 Θελητέσιν (1260, *ibid.* 25, 11.7)
 γονικέσια μου (1292, *ibid.* 115, 85.45)
 τὸ κεπί (15th c., *ibid.* 145, 108.6) < κηπίον
 τὸν Βαζελιώτε<ν> (15th c., *ibid.* 147, 109.10)
 ὁ Πολίτες (15th c., *ibid.* 164, 115.5)

However, because of the complex textual transmission of the Vazelon codex and the fact that the two extant manuscripts preserving it are later copies, the reliability of these examples for the dating of the phenomenon is dubious. A number of other documents and inscriptions from the area exhibit the phenomenon, from the 15th c. onwards:

Ιω(άννης) Αγυανανήτες / Ἰωάννης Ἀγιανανίτες (1411, Trebizond, MILLET 1895: 435.7–8)
 ὁ Ἀρζικενῶς / ὁ Ἀρζικενός (1411, Trebizond, BRYER 1976: 8, 133.2)
 ἀσχεμότερον (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 110.2d); χαμέλυνον
 (*ibid.* 130.3d); ἐν φυσέματι (*ibid.* 193.3d)
 ἐτρώπεσε (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2558); ἐλυπήθεμεν (*ibid.* 1803)
 ε δοῦληα / ἐ δουλεία (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.3); τεν βούλα / τέν βούλα (*ibid.* 169.12)
 ὉΑΓΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩ | ΡΟΣ Ο ΣΤΡΑΤΙ|ΛΑΤ|Ε|Σ / Ὁ Ἁγίος Θεόδωρος ὁ Στρατηλάτες (15th c.,
 Trebizond region, TSAKALOF 1910: [2], 120.1–6)
 γ-εῖναι τὸ Ἁγίου Σωτέρου (17th/18th c., Pontos, TURYN 1980: 144 (f.202r).1)

The phenomenon is not systematic, in that not all cases of original <η> appear as /e/, even within the same document. Furthermore, there are some cases of /e/ stemming not from <η> but from <ι, υ, ει, οι>, although these could perhaps receive an alternative interpretation, such as lowering due to liquids (see 2.8.1) or hypercorrection of mid vowel raising (cf. HORROCKS ²2010: 400):

Βουκενάτωρ (1264, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 39, 19.15); θεγατερός (15th c., *ibid.* 148, 109.8)
 οἱ καλογέρε (15th c., Pontos, ALEXAKIS/MAVROMATIS 2015: 5, 12.7)
 τρεγώνα (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1055)
 τοῦ παπα-Κερίλλου (17th c., Pontos, VEIS 1939: 28, 216)

“Ionic” /e/ is one of the main characteristics of the modern form of the Pontic dialect (ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1955: 14–17; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1958: 41–5), and the medieval attestations accord well with its modern distribution (appearance in specific inflectional and derivational suffixes such as -ησα > -εσα, -ημεν > -εμεν, -ηνός > -ενός, -ίτης > -ίτες, -ήσιος > -έσιν, or absence from others, such as -τής). In some cases it is difficult to distinguish this phenomenon from the regular change of /i/ > /e/ which is due to the influence of nasals and liquids (see 2.8.1) and so the most secure examples are those without adjacent liquid or nasal consonants. An indication of the ancient origin of the phenomenon is that in the Koine and Early Christian inscriptions from Pontos the interchange of <H> and <E> is quite well documented (BRIXHE ²1987: 109), with examples such as: ἐ δούλε τοῦ Θ(ε)ο(ῦ)

Γρεγορία (MITFORD 1991: inscr. 35) (see MANOLESSOU/PANDELIDIS 2011 for further examples and discussion). Another such indication is the relatively high number of Greek loanwords in Armenian, geographically adjacent to Pontos, where the realization /e/ for <η> is retained (THUMB 1910: 395–6).

2.5.3 Pontic Half-Central Vowels /æ/ and /œ/

There is some evidence that Medieval Pontic had already evolved the sounds [æ] and [œ] which are characteristic of the Modern Pontic dialect. These vowels result from the coalescence of the sequences [ea, ia] and [eo, io] respectively when the [e] or [i] is unstressed; in the case of a stressed [e] or [i] the sequence remains unchanged without coalescence (PAPADOPOULOS 1955: 10–13; DRETTAS 1997: 84–6; see also 2.9.4). Most MedG Pontic documents show no evidence of the phenomenon, but there is one text, which has been claimed to be of Pontic origin, where several potential examples occur: the 15th-c. Russian-Greek *Gesprächbuch* (VASMER 1922). According to TZITZILIS (1999: 85–6), the following examples, where the Greek text shows <ε> and/or the Russian text shows [А] or [e] are indications of the phenomenon:

κοпрА/ κοπρᾶ́ (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 906)
 κληдорА/ κλειδορᾶ́/ κλειδαριά (ibid. 1015)
 мерен / μερέν / μεριάν (ibid. 1870)
 κρίε / κρύε (ibid. 854)
 χαρκαρίε / χαρκαριέ (ibid. 994)
 нлнec / ἥλιες / ἥλιος (ibid. 847)

A problem with some of these examples is that they represent cases of stressed [ea]/[ia] sequences, and thus contravene the modern phonetic rule. Nevertheless, the form μερᾶ́ is attested in Modern Pontic (PAPADOPOULOS 1958 s.v. μερέα).

Additional evidence of the phenomenon comes from the Vazelon archive, which contains multiple proper names and place names derived from Ἰωαννάκης > Γιαννάκης in the form Γεν-, with Pontic vowel coalescence, instead of Γιαν-:

τῶν Γενακάντων (13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 105, 65.1)
 ἀπὸ τὸν Γενακόπουλον (1292, ibid. 115, 84.9)
 τῆς Παπαγενακόπουλος (1344, ibid. 100, 57.2)

In the same archive, two more lexical items could also be viewed as evidence of the phenomenon: the form επεδέβεν (15th c., Pontos, ALEXAKIS/MAVROMATIS 2015: 5, 12.10–11), which should be read as ἐπεδᾶβεν, 3 sg. aorist of the verb ἀποδᾶβαίνω < ἀποδιαβαίνω (LAMPSIDES 1935: 18; 1952: 230), and the place name εἰς τὰ Μηλάρα (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 151, 110.5), which presumably stands for τὰ Μηλάρια (VAYAKAKOS 1964: 269).

Less certain additional evidence of the phenomenon comes from a 15th-c. note from Asia Minor, containing the forms χόνι, χονίζω instead of χιόνι, χιονίζω. This should be compared to the regular Modern Pontic forms [ʃœnin, ʃon], deriving naturally from the evolution [io] > [œ] > [o] when preceded by the sounds [ʃ, kʃ, pʃ] (PAPADOPOULOS 1955:

12, 1958 s.v. ῥῶνιν). The same marginal note twice gives Κυράκη (“Sunday”) instead of Κυριακή, which again could be interpreted as a case of unstressed [ia] > [æ]:

ἐχόνησεν χονήν / ἐχόνισεν χόνιν (15th c., Asia Minor, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [34], 37.1)

ἐχονησεν χονήν / ἐχόνισεν χόνιν πολλύν (ibid. [35], 37.1)

ἐχονησέν / ἐχόνισεν (ibid. [35], 37.3)

κυράκη / Κυράκη (ibid. [35], 37.1)

2.5.4 “Raising Vocalism”

2.5.4.1 Definition

The term “raising vocalism” refers to a series of stress-related phenomena affecting all vowels except /a/, whose general effect is raising. Thus the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are raised to [i] and [u] when unstressed, and the high vowels /i/ and /u/ are deleted when unstressed. Formally:

Phenomenon	Example
e > i	ῥρεξιν > ῥριξιν
o > u	μαῦρον > μαῦρουν
i > Ø	κοιμηθῶ > κοιμ’θῶ
u > Ø	Σγουρόπουλος > Σγουρόπ’λος

These raising phenomena constitute the most basic phonetic dialectal isogloss in the history of later Greek, and their presence is already well established in MedG, although the precise dating and spread are not yet settled. In general, they affect the so-called “northern” dialects, i.e. Mainland Greece north of Attica, Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace and the islands of the northern Aegean such as the Sporades, Lesbos, Lemnos, Thasos (see ANDRIOTIS 1942/43; KONDOSOPOULOS ³2001: 92–108; TRUDGILL 2003: 53–4 for the modern distribution). A form of raising phenomena also appears in S. Italian and Pontic, and even the “southern” dialects display (non-systematic) raising in many lexical items. It is not evident that all raising phenomena in different areas and dialects should be attributed to the same cause.

2.5.4.2 Dating and Literature Overview

One may distinguish two main positions concerning the dating of “raising vocalism”: according to the first, it constitutes some sort of continuation of AG dialectal phonology, while according to the second it is a specifically MedG evolution.

The most extreme position is taken by DIETERICH (1898: 15–17), followed by THAVORIS (1980), who dates the phenomenon as far back as the 2nd c. BC on the basis of inscriptional forms like Πουμαίω, Πουμανός. However, Dieterich’s early examples are

rejected by most scholars as irrelevant to the issue (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 258–9; PSALTES 1913: 40; KAPSOMENOS 1985: 83). Furthermore, Gignac attributes his extensive data of variation between /o/ and /u/ and /e/ and /i/ in the papyri to bilingual interference.⁹

The EMedG dating (4th–5th c. AD) proposed by PANAYOTOU (1990: 195–6, 203–6; 1992a: 12–13, 17–18) and TSOUKNIDAS (1985/89) (cf. also BABINIOTIS 1977: 19–20), on the basis of inscriptional evidence from Macedonia, is much more likely, both because the attestations come from areas where the phenomenon is certain to have existed in later periods, and because their relatively late dating ensures that they are unconnected to the AG vowel system with its length distinctions. EMedG Macedonian inscriptions include examples such as: *καὶ τοῦ ἀμαρτουλῶ ἰωάννου διακόνου*, inscr. 16, Edessa, 6th c.; *κοιμητήριον δῆσουμον* (= δίσωμον), inscr. 165, Thessaloniki, 5th c. AD (examples from FEISSEL 1983, discussed in PANAYOTOU 1990). Furthermore, it is possible to find similar cases of raising in inscriptions from Thrace (MANOLESSOU 2003: 78, examples in ASDRACHA 2003). However, there are two problems with this evidence: firstly, it shows raising of both stressed and unstressed mid vowels, although the MG phenomenon involves unstressed vowels only; secondly, it shows no instances at all of high vowel loss, although, from a theoretical viewpoint, high vowel loss must have preceded raising (NEWTON 1972a: 189–90; HORROCKS 2010: 404–6), otherwise all raised vowels would subsequently have been lost.

Another indication of the late onset of high vowel loss, apart from the evidence of the LMedG data (for which see below), is the fact that in the MG northern dialects, the secondary stop + stop and fricative + fricative clusters arising from the deletion of high vowels do not undergo the expected regular manner dissimilation (for which see 3.8.1), e.g. *κουτάβι* > *κ'τάβ'* not *χ'τάβ'*. The only way of getting round this problem would be to assume, along with CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: A 258), that the raised mid vowels initially did not coincide fully with the originally high vowels and were therefore not affected by the same processes.

A slightly later date, namely 7th to 9th c., is proposed by BESCHEVLIEV (1922/25 and BEŠEVLEV 1963), on the basis of the form *Γρικὸς* appearing in the Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions, a view also adopted by BROWNING (1976) (cf. objections in CHATZIDAKIS 1927a: 15; KAPSOMENOS 1985: 83), as well as by THUMB (1910: 393), on the basis of Greek loanwords in Armenian, such as *kat'ulikos* (= καθολικός), *tumar* (= τομάρι).¹⁰

The only paper expressly devoted to northern vocalism in medieval documents, ANDRIOTIS 1933, comes to the conclusion that it is established around the 13th c., and

⁹ “Since an interchange of *ou* with *o/ω* is rare elsewhere in Greek, but is paralleled in Greek loanwords in Coptic, it seems to rest on bilingual influence” (GIGNAC 1976: 213–14).

¹⁰ The Aromanian data (which do not seem to show vowel raising) discussed in ANDRIOTIS 1933: 348–50 and BABINIOTIS 1977 are outdated and do not correspond to the modern (at least) behaviour of Aromanian dialects with respect to the phenomenon (for which see BEIS 2002). Therefore, they are an insecure basis for historical conclusions.

gives as earliest attestations a multiplicity of 12th-c. examples of /e/ > /i/ and /o/ > /u/ from the corpus of S. Italian documents published in TRINCHERA 1865. This dating therefore rests on problematic data: the S. Italian phenomenon is in all probability due to Romance influence, as the neighbouring Romance dialects of S. Italy have a different phonetic system from that of Standard Italian, whereby Latin short /i/ and /u/ have not lowered to /e/ and /o/ (cf. on this topic FANCIULLO 2001: 71–2; MANOLESSOU 2003: 79), and is unconnected to the MedG and MG “northern” dialects. Furthermore, the S. Italian raising occurs also with stressed vowels (cf. MINAS ²2003: 44–5; IRIGOIN 1984: 142), and is not accompanied by high vowel loss, so it is a different phenomenon altogether (see below for examples). An even later dating, to the EMG period, such as that proposed by CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: A 258) need not be discussed, as Chatzidakis had at his disposal insufficient textual evidence.

All in all, it should be considered certain that the phenomenon is earlier than the date proposed by Andriotis, and that it should be placed at some point in the EMedG period. It is perhaps connected with the transformation of the AG vowel system into the Koine one, in specific AG dialects spoken in the areas of Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace. The great geographic extent of the phenomenon in MG also testifies to a relatively early appearance.

2.5.4.3 The Data

It is crucial (though not always possible) to distinguish true raising and deletion phenomena from other phonetic changes such as raising of unstressed /o/ > /u/ in labial/velar environments (e.g. *μοσχάρι* > *μουσκάρι*, *κωδώνιον* > *κουδούνι* – see 2.8.3) or syncope of unstressed /i/ (e.g. *σημερινός* > *σημερνός*, *περυσινός* > *περσινός* – see 2.7.2).

Indirect evidence for raising can also be provided by hypercorrection, i.e. by non-etymological lowering of an original /u/ or /i/, the so-called “αντικώφωσις” (MANESIS 1969; TZITZILIS 2000: 268–9; KATSANIS 2012: 107–8), e.g. *τοφέκια*, *βουτσόπολον* (see examples below). In such cases two analyses are possible: (a) the writer spells unstressed <o> or <ε> instead of <ου> or <ι> respectively because he is aware of the phenomenon of raising, and attempts to suppress it, occasionally overreaching himself and correcting even genuine instances of original, etymological [i] and [u] – in this case we are dealing with a conscious linguistic choice; or (b) the spellings of unstressed <o> or <ε> would in any case be read/interpreted by a speaker of a raising dialect as [u] and [i] respectively, in whatever word they occurred; in this case we are merely dealing with an unconscious orthographic variant. But hypercorrections should also be distinguished from the phenomenon of lowering due to liquids (see 2.8.1).

Non-literary documents from Macedonia provide the earliest secure evidence for raising phenomena outside S. Italy. The Athos archives contain a small number of documents which present evidence of raising from the 12th and 13th c. Other areas of Macedonia are not well documented, and therefore the evidence comes from the 16th–17th c. onwards. Instances of high vowel deletion are not to be found before the 17th c., and in general high vowel deletion is much more poorly attested than raising, probably through a conscious

effort at restoration.¹¹ A full description of the raising and hypercorrection phenomena to be found in a 17th-c. corpus from Thessaloniki is offered by KATSANIS 2000; and 2012: 43–5, 107–8. Examples of raising, hypercorrection and deletion:

κινούργια (1142, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 7, 75.34)
 ἄρσινικόν (1270–4 ca., Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.20); χιρεκάκων (ca. 1270, *ibid.* 9A, 80.31)
 ἀναλουμάτων (1309, Meleniko, LEFORT et al. 1994: 71, 178.21)
 τὴν λιθосуρέαν (1350–1351?, Athos?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 130, 45.13)
 εἰς τοῦ Πρωτάτου (1493–1494, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 36, 179.12)
 ΚΥΡ ΝΗΚΤΑΡΙΟΥ / κύρ Νικταρίου (1593, Kastoria, Drakopoulou 2005: 1, 13.3)
 μὲ τοῦ δῖπνου τοῦ μυστικοῦ (1628–9, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 1, 42.11); ὁ φοῦρνους (*ibid.* 43.24)
 ἄπου τοὺς πραγματιφτάδεις (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.13)
 εὐγινή μου καὶ πουλλὰ μου ἡγαπιμένι μου (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.1); νὰ σὶ δόσου / νὰ σὶ δώσου (*ibid.* 1, 49.5)
 σουλδία (1697, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 30, 23.52)

βουτζόπολον / βουτσόπολον (1445, Macedonia?, BOMPAIRE 1964: 30, 217.30)
 τὸν Τραπεζόταν (±1530, Athos, SCHREINER 1975/79: 73, 7.1)
 νὰ γράψον (1618, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 33, 114.3); τὴν θεγατέρα (*ibid.* 33, 114.4)
 τοῦ μολᾶ (1629, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2005: 11, 133.8)
 δύο τοφέκια (1695, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 2, 212.4)
 κουστίζον (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.15); τὶς ποτάνεις τὶς ντροπιασμένεις (*ibid.* 5, 61.9); γιὰ νὰ σεκουθῶ (*ibid.* 11, 79.3)

καλουγερκὲς προθέσεις (1691, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 89, 214.11)
 γύρσα εἰς τὸ σπῖτι (1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 17, 217.3)
 λαρσινό (1697, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 30, 23.41); μνήσκουν / μ'νίσκουν (*ibid.* 30, 24.63)
 ἡ ἀλατζιάδεις κόμα καλίτιρ[ι] / οἱ ἀλατζιάδεις 'κόμα καλίτιρ' (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 9, 73.24); ἐπλούσα τὰ ατουλάζηα / ἐπ'λούσα τὰ ἀτουλάζια (*ibid.* 10, 78.18)

Literary evidence from Macedonia comes from the *Chronicle of Papasynadinos* (see also SETATOS 1990/91: 22).

ὀριξη ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §31.67; ἐπιρικύκλωσεν *ibid.* I §36.56; γιφύρι *ibid.* I §36.130; τὰ κουρίτζιά της *ibid.* III §29.51
 τὸ πογγί ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §23.47; ἀναβορκώνει *ibid.* IV §11.13–14

For the region of Epirus, HENRICH (2000b) adduces a number of examples from the *Chronicle of the Tocco* (15th c.), which may have been written in Ioannina:

¹¹ Very occasionally, deletion can be surmised indirectly through other phenomena normally affecting non-contiguous consonants, which is an argument in favour of conscious orthographic suppression of the phenomenon of high vowel deletion. For example, in the form τὸ θικό μας τοῦ βιλᾶέτι (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.23), the devoicing affecting the initial [ð] of δικό μας can only be caused by assimilation to the following voiceless [k] as is normal in MG northern dialects (το δικό μας > του δ'κό μας > του θ'κό μας, cf. PAPADOPOULOS 1926: 45) although the deletion of the unstressed [i] separating the two consonants is not recorded in the spelling.

τὸ κάτιργον *Chron. Toc.* 31; τὴν ὄριξιν του *ibid.* 2684; ἐγύριψαν *ibid.* 2100; εὐτράπιλον *ibid.* 3490; ἡπείν *ibid.* 2170 (= ἐπεί); μέτουπον *ibid.* 1751; τοῦ κουρμίου *ibid.* 144; ἀπόκουτος *ibid.* 53; ἡ φουνή *ibid.* 2311

However, some of his examples are dubious, since Henrich himself notes that almost all the cases of [o] > [u] appear next to labial and velar consonants. They could thus also be attributed to the phenomenon of raising o > u (e.g. κώδων > κουδούνι; see 2.8.3), which is unrelated to northern vocalism and appears in all Greek-speaking areas. Non-literary documents provide additional evidence:

τὸ γιουφίρι (post 1556, Epirus, ALEXOULIS 1896/1900: 47b, 369.1)
 ὄντανίμεστι / ὄνταν εἴμεστι (1594, Ioannina, MERTZIOS 1936b: 5, 45.11)
 ΕΚΙΝΙΑΣΤΙ / ἐγκινιάσθη (1615, Epirus, SOULIS 1934: 12, 86.); ἰουάννου / Ἰουάννου (*ibid.* 24, 24.4); ἡπιτρόπου / ἱπιτρόπου (1650, *ibid.* 24, 90.2)
 στον ηπίσκοπον / στὸν ἱπίσκοπον (17th c., Epirus, MERTZIOS 1936b: 13, 50.15); ἐκοπήσσης / ἐκοπίσσης (*ibid.* 13, 50.3)
 κηρί (1696, Elbasan/N. Epirus, MERTZIOS 1947a: 11, 215.1)
 Κουστis (1556, Corfu, PENDOGALOS 1980b: 91.14) (Κωστής Στράτης, a native of Epirus)
 σεντοκόπουλον (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 277.7)

For the region of Thessaly, ANDRIOTIS (1933: 347) draws attention to the name *Νικουλιτζᾶς* appearing in Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 252.24 and 257.22 (ed. Litavrin), although onomatological data, especially in cases of a multilingual environment, are not a secure source. There are a few cases attested in late monastic documents, mostly through hypercorrections:

οὐράρια ιδ' (16th c., Meteora, VEIS 1984: 85, f.104v.1); εμω του ευτηλοῦς ἰοάνηκού / ἐμῶ τοῦ εὐτιλοῦς Ἰωαννικίου (*ibid.* 30, f.1v.2)
 εἰς τὲ δεκατέσσιρες (1601, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1993: f. 1v.2, 60)
 τζουμπάνη (1649–69, Thessaly, SPANOS 2001: 358, f.95v.14)
 βελτίουσην (1703, Thessaly, SOFIANOS 1984: 42)
 σελ'νιασμένος (17th c.?, Meteora, VEIS 1984: 110, f.62v.7)
 ἦλθεν ὁ βασιλέας στὴ Λάρσα (1668, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 43, f.2v[28].1)
 φ'σέκια (18th c., Meteora, VEIS 1984: 29, f.222v.12)
 Ἐμανωήλ (1649–69, Thessaly, SPANOS 2001: 337, f.51v.21)
 ἐτότη (1690, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 48, f.54v.1) = ἐτούτη
 ἡγομενέβοντας (1703, Thessaly, SOFIANOS 1984: A, 42.2)

For the region of the Northern Aegean, there is some evidence for both raising and deletion from Lesbos, as well as from the city of Kydonies on the opposite coast, from the 16th c. onwards:

ιωλίο / Ἰολίο (1559, Lesbos, KLEOMVROTOS 1970: 23, 2.163.2)
 εἰς τὸ μοναστήρ, (1631, Lesbos, LAMBROS 1910: 257, 189.1)
 Φιρπίνα (1653, Kydonies, PATRINELIS 1993/94: 15.1) < Φιλιππίνα (?); Καταξινή (*ibid.* 17.31)
 < Κατακουζηνή
 εἰς τοῦ κάστρου τῆς Μυτιλήνης (1713, Lesbos?, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1884: 7, 27.2);
 ἔδουσα (*ibid.* 7, 27.4)

Documents from Skyros and Skiathos provide a number of examples of mid vowel raising. In the case of the 1 sg. ending of the verb, the phenomenon may be unconnected to “northern” raising, as it even occurs in the oxytone conjugation, i.e. when the /o/ is stressed. In the modern period, the dialect of Skyros belongs to the so-called “semi-northern” group, which displays deletion only, without raising (ANDRIOTIS 1942/43: 137), but this is not reflected in the available EMG documents from the area:

- διὰ τοῦτο λέγου ἐγώ (1539, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 3, 17.5); δίδου χωράφιον τὸ ἔχου ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου (ibid. 5, 19.2); ἀφήνου ὁ διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν μου (1562, ibid. 9, 22.3); μαρτυροῦ τὸ ἄνωθεν (1635, ibid. 24, 46.13)
 νὰ τὰ ἐξουσιάζου (1656, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: VI, 164.41)
 δε ζητου πλέον τήποταις / δὲ ζητοῦ πλέον τίποτες (1659, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 29, 52.11); μαρτυροῦ / μαρτυροῦ (1661, ibid. 31, 54.14)
 θε να του δόσου / θὲ νὰ τοῦ δώσου (1717, Skiathos, KARAVIDAS 2004: 2, 249.7–8)
 εἰς τοὺς ἀπάνου Κεραμουτές (1524, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 1, 15.3); μέσα καὶ ὄξου (1562, ibid. 9, 23.19–20); χάλκουμα (1581, ibid. 10, 26.24)
 μεταξουτά (1626, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 2, 215.19)
 ἔνα χάλκουμα μιγάλο (1653, Skiathos, EVANGELIDIS 1913: 66.19)
 προικοσύφουνο (1687, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 10, 223.3)
 ἡγόρασιν ἓνα καματιρὸ ἀποῦ τοῦν Γιώργη (1711, Skiathos, KARAVIDAS 2004: 1, 248.3); τοῦ ἀνουθεν γιγγραμμένου (ibid. 1, 248.11–12)
 τῆς ἀδελφῆς μο τῆς Θεοδωρόλας (1653, Skiathos, EVANGELIDIS 1913: 67.2)
 νὰ ξοσιάζει (1664, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 8, 221.18)
 ἡ Ὅρανία τοῦ μακαρήτο Σηβαστάκη (1711, Skiathos, KARAVIDAS 2004: 1, 248.1)

Due to the paucity of documents from Central Greece, only a very small number of late (18th c.) attestations are available from this area:

- Δροσὸπῆλος (1708, Naupaktia, CHARALAMBOPOULOS 1988/89: 1, 521.10)
 χρωστάγου τοῦ χαράτσι μου (1735, Aitolia, PETROPOULOS 1962: E.11, 479.4)

νεκοκυρέγοι (1735, Aitolia, PETROPOULOS 1962: E.11, 479.12)

A few instances of raising and deletion have been located in EMG documents from Andros, which is known to present the phenomenon in the modern period:

- νὰ φτέπη ὅλους σκὲς (1593, Andros?, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 151, 275.11)
 ὁμπροστε τοῦ κάτωθεν ὑπογεγρα[μμένου] μαρτύρου (1597, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 71, 97.18)

For Eastern Thrace, one may record a 13th-c. inscription from Avdimion: Κωσταντῆ προυσκινιτοῦ (1277, ASDRACHA 2003: I.7.1; and an early 18th-c. short note from Metra: ἓνα καζανόπλο ὁκάδες τρεῖς (1711, SARANDIS 1934: 173).

The evidence for raising phenomena in S. Italy is quite substantial, as already known from previous literature (ANDRIOTIS 1933). However, it is doubtful that this phenomenon is connected with the corresponding evolutions in the northern dialects (see above), as the phenomenon in S. Italy is not accompanied by high vowel loss. Furthermore, it is attested in Sicily already since the 5th c. AD: οὔπου κῖτε τοῦ φυλακτίριον τοῦτου ... (SEG 50.1014); πρὸς ἐ<ύ>καρπῆα<ν>, χουρίον (καὶ) κλαρίον (SEG 44.781).

Unstressed

- δηλουθεις (1053, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 5, 161.4)
 περισσουτέραν (1097, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 60, 78.16)
 τοῦ πλήρουμα (1101, S. Italy, *ibid.* 69, 87.7); δυδου και στέργου (1101, *ibid.* 69, 87.9);
 νουμίσματα (1140, *ibid.* 122, 163.20); πιριορισμός (1141, *ibid.* 130, 172.16)
 μηγάλω / μιγάλο? (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 5, 19.21); ἡ οὐδός (1142?, *ibid.* Coll.
 XI: 9, 523.7)
 ἀθόλουτον (1193, Messina / Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 15, 124.13)
 Νουεμβρίου (1243, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 18, 96.3)

Stressed

- τοῦ Μούντε Κασσίνου (1000, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 12, 10.4)
 οἱ σκώληκες ἀπάνω τῆς γῆς ἂν μὴ ἔτρωγαν (11th c., S. Italy, NITTI DI VITO 1900: 46,
 93.29–30)
 το διμ(ού)σιο(ν) (1051/1052, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 6, 58.11); ἀούκνω (1053, *ibid.* 21,
 96.2)
 ἀγχοῦνην (1122, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 16, 414.6); Ρούμης (1243, *ibid.* Coll. II: 18,
 96.5)

Hypercorrections

- τοῦ Κοράτορα (1157–8, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 20, 163.18)
 βιβλίω τέλος (1279, S. Italy, TURYN 1972: 21); χέλια εὐτακόσια / χέλια ἐφτακόσια (1289/90,
ibid. 64)

For Pontos and the Crimea, Henrich has collected several examples of raising phenomena from medieval documents which could perhaps be considered Pontic (HENRICH 1990, 1996b, 1998a). One is a very illiterate letter by the Khan of the Crimea: τω γραμα σου εηδαμεν του / τὸ γράμμα σου εἶδαμεν του (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.3); μη τὸν εξοδων σας / μὴ τῶν ἐξόδων σας (*ibid.* 169.7). The second is a text dated to the end of the 15th c., written in Arabic characters: κόρη οὐφθαλμοῦ μου (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 128.1d). In older literature, one of the earliest sources for raising vocalism was considered to be a Russian–Greek *Gesprächbuch* probably written on Athos (VASMER 1922). According to TZITZILIS (1999), however, the text should rather be considered of Pontic/Crimean origin. It contains several instances of raising and deletion:

- μαῦρουν (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 626); πιπόνια (*ibid.* 933)
 θέλω νὰ κοιμ<η>θῶ (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 102–3); μάχ'ν ἔχουσι (*ibid.* 873)

No evidence of raising has been located in the Vazelon monastery archive, except for the doubtful Κουρουπαλάτης (35.1), which could be viewed as an assimilation. The other examples adduced by DÖLGER (1929/30: 334), namely πουλεῖν, ἀπάνου, ἀποκάτου, are unrelated to raising vocalism and occur all over the Greek-speaking world. The same corpus contains, again according to Dölger, one instance of /i/ deletion: χοινκός (146.4). A few other instances of raising and deletion are also to be found in Pontic sources, involving, as in modern Pontic, mostly deletion only of post-tonic /i/:

- τοῦ Ἀγάπ' Ρεῖζη (17th c., Pontos, VEIS 1939: 15, 207.15.f.1.1) (< Ἀγάπης < Ἀγάπιος); τὸν Λευθέρ' (*ibid.* 15, 208.f.1.15); ἀνεκαινίσθ' καὶ ἐγράφη παρ' ἐμοῦ (*ibid.* 15, 208.f.2.1)
 ο Μανόλης ὁ Μανολόπλ(ον) / ὁ Μανόλης ὁ Μανολόπλον (1506, Trebizond, PRINZING 2000: 2, 304.7–8)

The occurrence of the locative adverb *κάθεν* (< *κάτωθεν*) in the Vazelon archive, e.g. *εἰς τὸ Βασακίον κάθεν* (1260?, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 55, 31.5–6); *εἰς τὸ Καριώνιν κάθεν στρατάς* (13th c., *ibid.* 105, 65.7); *ἀποκά<τω>θεν τριῶν τησερετάρων* (15th c., *ibid.* 147, 108.4–109.5), is a further instance of deletion of unstressed post-tonic /u/, since this form should be interpreted as deriving from the process *κάτωθεν* > *κάτουθεν* > *κάτ'θεν* > *κάθεν* (PAPADOPOULOS 1917: 113–15; LAMPSIDIS 1952: 237), although the deletion of secondary high vowels arising from raising is a relatively rare phenomenon.

For the remaining areas that in the MG period present a variety of raising phenomena restricted with respect to phonetic environment, such as Thrace, Asia Minor (Bithynia/Cappadocia), Propontis, no evidence is available due to the scarcity of LMedG and EMG sources. Some instances of raising phenomena have been found before the LMedG period, for example in late Koine inscriptions from Thrace (MANOLESSOU 2003), and in 9th- and 10th-c. church inscriptions from Cappadocia, e.g. *ανδρονκου* / *Ἀνδρόν'κου* (10th c., Cappadocia, DE JERPHANION 1925/42: I 122); *λουγγινος* / *Λουγγίνος* (*ibid.* I 131); *ζουγραφο* / *ζουγράφω* (9th c., *ibid.* II 109, 141); *θεουτοκ[ε]* / *Θεουτόκε* (10th c., *ibid.* II 252, 169).

A number of examples of raising derive from areas lying outside the raising isogloss, such as Peloponnese, Dodecanese, Heptanese and Crete, without any systematicity:

τούς πράτουντα(ς) / *τούς πράττουντας* (1027, Sparta, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 43, 301.19)

βυστιαρίτου / *βιστιαρίτου* (1288, Cos/Dodecanese, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 228.30)

ἄν ἔπτεισες / *ἄν ἔπτισες* *Spaneas* Z 217 app. crit. (= *ἔπταισες*)

μιτανοήση *Chron. Mor.* H 1624 app. crit. (H)

παραγγυλήα / *παραγγιλία* (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 8, 87.6); *μητρητα* / *μιτριτά* (1564, *ibid.* 132, 214.25)

τότις BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 334

τοῦ κηλαρίου (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 43, 53.8)

ὅποιος ἀδύνατος θιλήσει (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.11–12)

ἄρσινικόν (1635, Nisyros/Dodecanese, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 1, 13.8)

κιρὸν (1648, Gortynia/Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 7, 124.9)

ὁ στireμός σου *Trag. Ag. Dim.* III.299 < *στερεμός*

To sum up: within the period under investigation, evidence for vowel raising starts in Macedonia, in the 12th c. The evidence from S. Italy, which is contemporary, has a more plausible alternative interpretation. Solid evidence for raising comes only from Macedonia and Epirus, less evidence is available for Thessaly and N. Sporades, while for other areas one is hampered by lack of data. Most of the available instances of raising originate from a period much later than the supposed beginnings of the phenomenon (i.e. from around the 16th–17th c.), and are thus useful only for documenting the spread of the change and not its origins. The meagre evidence for medieval Pontic and Cappadocian does not permit conclusions concerning the different function/status of the phenomenon with respect to the “standard” northern areas, but it does serve to show that some sort of raising phenomena are indeed in operation within the LMedG period. In any case, the question of the first

appearance of the phenomenon is less important than the documentation of the fact that the “raising” rule is an active one during the period under investigation, i.e. it is not a change that has operated and delivered specific results on specific words or environments, but a change that keeps affecting even new words; this is obvious from the fact that several comparatively novel loanwords (e.g. from Turkish) are regularly affected by it.

An unexpected result of the research conducted is that evidence for high vowel deletion is much more difficult to locate than that for raising (the ratio being about 1:20). This may be due to graphematic reasons to a certain extent, but the discrepancy in attestation is still too great to be dismissed out of hand. A further complication arises from the fact (already discussed above) that according to the theoretical literature at least, chronologically high vowel loss must have preceded raising (otherwise all raised segments would subsequently have been lost). This is not at all borne out by the data. The meagre evidence points to an appearance of the phenomenon around the 14th c. The paucity of examples does not allow the possibility of investigating the potential phonetic restrictions on the change (e.g. position of the affected syllable, number and quality of the consonants on either side of the vowel) which are known to operate in the modern version of the change (cf. NEWTON 1972a: 182–9).

2.6 Vowel Addition

2.6.1 Prothesis

The following types of vowel prothesis occur in MedG (cf. MENARDOS 1925; *ILNE* s.v. ἄ- προθετ.; KATSOULEAS 1977; MOYSIADIS 2005: 144):

- i) non-lexicalized phonetic prothesis occurring mostly in verbal forms, caused by a tendency to avoid consecutive consonants within phonological phrases, e.g. τὸν γνωρίζω > τὸν ἐγνωρίζω. This type of prothesis involves only the vowels /e/ and less frequently /i/, which originate from a variety of sources, such as the reanalysis of the verbal augment. It is closely connected to (and in many cases may also be interpreted as) final vowel addition (see 2.6.3.1 and 2.6.3.2);
- ii) lexicalized phonetic prothesis due to resegmentation at word boundaries, whereby the final vowel of the preceding word is reanalysed as the initial vowel of the following word, e.g. τὰ ζωσταράκια > τ' ἄζωσταράκια > ἄζωσταράκιν (*Dig.* T 2365). This type of prothesis may involve any vowel, but is most frequent in the case of /a/. In a subset of such cases, it could be assumed that prothesis has the additional role of facilitating the articulation of word-initial consonant clusters, e.g. κρημνός > ἐγκρημνός;
- iii) non-phonetic prothesis, caused by analogy or folk etymology under the influence of morphologically or semantically related lexical items, e.g. ἐγώ, ἐμέ ~ σὺ, σέ → ἐγώ, ἐμέ(ν)(α) ~ ἐσὺ, ἐσε(ν)(α) (cf. II, 5.3.1).

The phenomenon of prothetic vowels in MedG is totally unconnected with the so-called prothetic vowels of AG, which are mostly due to the vocalization of initial laryngeals, a phenomenon characterizing the Greek branch of Indo-European (SIHLER 1995: §§89–90),

e.g. AG ἔ-ρυθρός vs. Lat. *ruber*, AG ὄ-νομα vs. Lat. *nomen*. Phonetic prothesis is very rare in Late Koine papyri, except in the case of initial /s/+ stop clusters, e.g. ἐσχοινίου, ἐσπέρματα (GIGNAC 1976: 312); the earliest item in which the phenomenon seems to be lexicalized is the word ἐχθές.

2.6.1.1 Non-lexicalized Phonetic Prothesis

An irregular, but very common, phenomenon in LMedG and EMG is the prothesis of /e/ in verbal forms. This is normally interpreted as resulting from reanalysis of the verbal augment (see III, 3), which is dissociated from its function as a marker of past tense and becomes a part of the verbal stem. A similar reanalysis of word boundaries leading to prothetic /e/ occurs in the case of a verb preceded by the conjunction καί or the 1st and 2nd person accusative clitics μέ, σέ, e.g. μέ γνωρίζει > μ' ἐγνωρίζει. A third potential source of this prothetic /e/ is the stem allomorphy, consonant-initial and vowel-initial, of a small number of common verbs having undergone aphaeresis, such as ἐξεύρω/ἤξεύρω/ξεύρω (< 2nd aor. ἐξ-εὔρον), ἐμπορώ/ἤμπορώ/μπορώ (< εὔπορώ), ἐθέλω/θέλω. This type of /e/ prothesis is an originally post-lexical process, occurring within phonological phrases for the avoidance of consecutive consonants, i.e. mostly the final /n/ of the preceding proclitic word (weak personal pronoun, negation etc.) followed by a consonant-initial verb form, especially, and perhaps originally, in the case of verbal stems with an initial consonant cluster. In many attested cases it is doubtful whether this prothesis is lexicalized, i.e. whether the verbs have acquired a permanent new allomorph of the stem beginning with a vowel, which can appear in all environments, or whether the prothesis of /e/ appears only in verbal phrases involving proclitic items. The lexicalization seems plausible in the case of a few very frequent verbs with initial consonant clusters, such as βλέπω/ἐβλέπω.

ἐβλέπεις *Ptoch.* IV 91; νὰ ἐβλέπω *Chron. Mor.* H 1131; νὰ ἐβλέπω *Dig.* E 1437
οὐκ ἐγνωρίζεις *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 42; ἐγνωρίζει [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2240; ἐγνωρίζει
SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 22.19
νὰ ἐσμίξουν *Chron. Mor.* H 306
νὰ ἐφτάση *Velth.* 745; νὰ ἐφθάσουν *Pol. Tr.* 3025 app. crit. (A)
ἐλησμονῶ *Dig.* E 153
ἐκαθίζει *Achil.* O 315
οὐκ ἐσαλεύεται *Alosis* 929
ἐδηγοῦμαι *Krasop.* V 83
δὲν ἐσιμώνει *Peri xen.* 96
συμπάθειο σοῦ ἐζητῶ PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1983

In the case of nouns presenting /e/ prothesis, one may assume some sort of levelling within an etymological paradigm (a word family), whereby the verbal stem with lexicalized prothesis caused by the mechanisms described above spreads analogically to cognate nominal forms (MENARDOS 1925; TSOPANAKIS 1940: 79–81). In a different direction, the extension of the phenomenon leads to the subsequent reanalysis of this prothesis as an additional final vowel of the preceding clitic pronoun (see 2.6.3).

τοὺς ἐγκληρονόμους (981, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 8, 7.8)
 ἐγνώριμος (1288, Cos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 228.22)
 ἐγνήσιος *Chron. Mor.* H 8126; ἐγνήσιον *Liv.* V 149
 ἐχρονίαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 18.30
 τῶν ἐπταισμάτων *Chron. Mor.* P 39 app. crit. (P)
 οἱ ἐκτῆτορες (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 30, 164.7); ἐμεῖς οἱ ἐκτιτόροι (1636,
 Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 24, 313.2)
 τὰς ἐλύπεις μου *Liv.* E 902
 ἐγκρεμνοῦ BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 56
 ἐξημία (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 31, 50–51.22)
 τῶν ἐπτωχῶν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 703; πολλή ἐπτώχεια (post 1666, Gortynia,
 YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 23, 313.18)
 διὰ ἐμνημόσυνο (1659, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 24, 31.2)
 ἐθνησιμαῖον κρέας (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: B, 472.945)

In a geographically restricted region, which includes Cyprus and the Dodecanese, prothesis of /i/ in verbs also occurs. This can also be interpreted as reanalysis of the augment in areas where the syllabic augment takes the form /i/ <ῆ> instead of /e/ (Crete, Cyclades, Dodecanese; see III, 3.1.2.2–3). The influence of Turkish, which also exhibits the phenomenon, and which is apparent in the modern dialects of Asia Minor (Pontic, Livissi) with respect to /i/ prothesis, has also been invoked (cf. THUMB 1901: 144–7 pro; PERNOT 1907/46: I 232 contra). In areas where the ῆ- syllabic augment is not regular (e.g. Peloponnese, Heptanese¹² etc.), and where Turkish influence is less strong, it could be assumed that prothetic /i/ in verbs is analogically derived, on the basis of the few common verbs which do take an ῆ- augment irrespective of geographical provenance, such as φέρω-ῆφερα, ἐξεύρω-ῆξευρα (for these see III, 3.1.2.1). In isolated cases it may be the result of stem levelling on the basis of other allomorphs presenting initial /i/ (e.g. ἴστημι, ἴστω > ἰστήσουν). On the other hand, it is unlikely that the LMedG /i/ prothesis is connected with the characteristic Asia Minor /i/ prothesis before initial /s/ + stop clusters, which appears frequently in Late Antique and EMedG inscriptions from the area (cf. DIETERICH 1898: 34; DRESSLER 1965: 95–9; BRIKHE ²1987: 115–16; CONSANI 1999, with examples such as ἰστήλη, ἰστρατιώτης, ἰστουδασάντων, ἰστίλβουσα), since the last is restricted to s-initial clusters and makes no distinction between verbs and nouns. Some representative examples:

νὰ ἰστήσουν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.54)
 ὅπου ἰστέκουν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 275.29)
 νὰ τὸ ἰμοιράζουν (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 3, 150.8)
 νὰ ἰμοιράζουν (1501, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 65, 99.28)
 ἂν οὐκ ἰστρέψη DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1132
 ἰμεράζουνε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 40, 57.9)
 νὰ τὸ ἰβλέπη (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.22)
 ἵνα ἡβλέπουν (1524, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 2, ιη'.25)
 διὰ νὰ ἡβλέπει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 132.27

¹² For multiple attestations of prothetic /i/ in 16th-c. documents from Corfu see KARANTZOLA/LAVIDAS 2016: 139–40.

ἄδικον οὐκ ἠπράττεις *Velis*. χ 413
 οὐδὲν ἰζεῖς *LIMEN.*, *Than. Rod.* 540 transcr. (Lendari)
 νὰ μὴν ἠζοῦ *P&N Diath.* 1165
 τὸν ἡμαντινιέρουσιν (1528, Santorini, FOSKOLOS 2012: B', 135.18)
 νὰ 'χεν ἰ-φτάσειν (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.5)
 καὶ βάρος σᾶς ἰδίνω *Diig. Vefa* 709
 ὅποιος ἰκτίσει (1705, Symi, GEORGA-VOLONAKI 1974: 1, 204.17)

2.6.1.2 Lexicalized Phonetic Prothesis

Phonetic prothesis in MedG and EMG is mostly due to false segmentation at word boundaries. The phenomenon is similar to, and connected with, the change of an initial vowel due to deletion as a means of hiatus resolution of consecutive vowels, whereby the weaker initial vowel (according to the vowel hierarchy) of the second word is deleted and the surviving, stronger final vowel of the first word is reanalysed as belonging to the second word, e.g. τὰ ἰχνάρια > τὰ 'χνάρια > τ' ἄχνάρια (see 2.9.3). It is difficult to decide whether in such cases one is dealing with deletion of an initial vowel (see 2.7.1), followed at some later period by phonetic prothesis, or with false segmentation leading to more or less synchronous replacement of one vowel by another. The first alternative is preferable in cases where the form with aphaeresis is widely attested (e.g. τὰ ὀδόντια > τὰ 'δόντια > τὰ δόντια > τ' ὀδόντια > τ' ὀδόντι *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 654). The most frequent vowel in this type of prothesis is /a/, due to its greater phonological strength (see 2.9.2). In the case of nouns and adjectives, prothetic /a/ arises through coarticulation with the neut. pl. definite article τὰ or the indefinite pronouns/determiners μία and ἕνα, while in the case of verbs it arises through coarticulation with the particles νά, θενά, θά (*CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 229; ANDRIOTIS, Lex. s.v. ἀ- προθετικό; ΚΑΗΑΝΕ 1942*).

Nouns and Adjectives

ἀχαίτη (1124, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 94, 123.3)
 ἀμάχην *Pol. Tr.* 2316 app. crit. (V); ἀμάχην (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.18)
 τὸ ἀπαλάτιον (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 18, 158.7)
 Ἄρουμπέρτος *Chron. Mor.* P 1185
 οἱ ἀχριστιανοὶ *Alosis* 656
 ἀδυστυχημένε *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 107
 ἀσπίθα *Pent. Gen.* 15.17; ἀσπίθες *Theseid* I.67,8 (Follieri)
 οἱ ἀχελῶνες *Spanos A* 23; ἀχιλῶνα. (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 963)
 ἀπάπλωμαν *Spanos B* 110; ἀπαπλώματα (1640, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 4, 217.7)
 ὥραιον ἀμαξιλλάριν *Liv.* V 3760
 ἕναν ἀζωγράφον *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 340.15
 ἀπήδημα *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 14.3
 εἰς τοὺς Ἀπαξοὺς (1534, Unknown, Tselikas/Koromila 2003: A, 72.18)
 τοὶ ἀμασκάλες *P&N Diath.* 2285; ἀμασκάλη, ἡ *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. ascella*
 τ' ἀστηθιοῦ τση *Pist. voskos I* 1.234
 τ' ἀχείλι *ΡΙΚΑΤ., Rima thrin.* 42
 καὶ ἀκτυπήματα *Voustr., Chron.* A 80.10
 καὶ ἀσταφίδα του (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 57.9–10)
 τέξ ἀφοράδες (1642, Patmos, MICHAELARIS 1998: 1, 193.8)

ἀγκίσθηρα (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), 28.12)

αἱ ἀναράϊδες *Alex. Fyll.* 79.8

Verbs

ἀχάνεις *Chron. Mor.* H 3574

ἀσηκώθη (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 4, 151.1)

νὰ ἀκαρτερέσω *Achil.* N 1367; τοὺς ἀκαρτεροῦν (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 5, 25.24); μὴν ἀκαρτερῆς *Alex. Rim.* 22; νὰ τοῦ ἀκαρτερεῖ (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 58.34)

καὶ ἀτρέμει *Achil.* O 441

ἀβαλμένη (1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 176.18)

πῦρ ἀπετᾶ *Pol. Tr.* 367 app. crit. (X); πετῶ, se dice anco ἀπετῶ GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *volare*

θέλω ἀπηδῆσει *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 2.7

καὶ ἀσυκοφάντησεν (1579, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 6, 93.2)

εἶχα τόσο ἀκουραστῇ *Fallidos* 218

καὶ ἀφωνάζανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.17

Prothesis of /o/ is rarer. It is mostly the result of coarticulation with the definite articles ὁ and τό, and therefore occurs only with nouns and adjectives and not with verbs:

τῶν ὁμαλλιών *Velth.* 690

ὀρυάκιν *Dig.* E 673; τὸ ὀρυάκι (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 9, 12.5)

ὀνόστιμον *Chron. Mor.* H 6019; τὰ ὀνόστιμα *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 716

τὸ ὀπάπλωμα *Pol. Tr.* 489 app. crit. (A)

ὀνόμιμη *Chron. Mor.* H 7381 (possible influence of ὄνομα?)

ποκάμισα ξξι. Ὁμπόλιες ξξι (1540, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 80, 60.6)

τὰ ὀζά (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 8, 86.22)

τὸν ὀφανό *CHORTATSIS, Katz.* I.126

τὸν ὀμυαλόν *Diig. Alex.* F 176.9 (Lolos)

ὀσπῆλαια *Diig. Alex.* E 107.8 (Konstantinopulos)

There are also a few cases of /i/ prothesis in nouns, without geographical restrictions, as a result of the reanalysis of the definite articles ἡ and οἱ; this is most common with monosyllabic words such as ἡ γῆς > ἰγῆς, ἡ δρύς > ἰδρύς, οἱ δύο > ἰδυό:

ἰδρῦς, ὀξίεις (1496, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 39, 185.12); ὁ ἰδρῦς *Pist. voskos* I 1.205

κριθάλευρον ἰψιλόν (15th c., ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ-ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤΟΥ 1982: 84.21) (confusion with ὑψηλός)

τὴν ἰγῇ *Pent. Gen.* 1.1; εἰς τὴν ἡγῆν *Epain. gyn.* 673 app. crit.; στὴν ἡγῆν *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 110

τῶν ἰδυό *CHORTATSIS, Erof.* IV.44

τοῦ δὲ ἰσταχώματος (1561, Unknown, LAPPA-ZIZIKA/RIZOU-KOULOPOY 1991: 107, 221.4)

ἐναν ἰμήναν *Apoll. Rim.* N 775

2.6.1.3 Non-phonetic Prothesis

On the analogy of ἐκεῖνος and ὅποιος a number of pronouns and conjunctions have acquired a prothetic ἐ- or ὀ- (see II, 5.5; II, 5.8):

ἐτέτοια *Chron. Mor.* H 273

ἐτοῦτοι *Chron. Mor.* H 1962; ἐτοῦτα *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 262

ἔμὸς αὐθέντης πέφυκεν, ἔσος υἱὸς τυγχάνει *Achil.* O 99 (ἔμὸς – σός > ἔμὸς – ἔσος)
 ἔτόσον *Chron. Mor.* H 3671; ἔτόσο μεγάλο *Efthym.*, *Chron. Gal.* 59.22–3
 ὀκάπου *Poulol.* 15; BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 305
 ὀκάποθεν *Poulol.* 290
 ὀδιά (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 147.11)
 ὀδιά (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.11)
 ὀδίχως *Assizes* A 28.21
 ὀτόσον *Assizes* B 358.20–1

Less clear is the origin of prothetic /i/ and /e/ in nominal forms, especially those stemming from areas where the phenomenon is not attested dialectally in the modern period, those which do not begin with complex consonant clusters, and those which do not derive from verbs, in which case an extension of the augmented verbal stem (as described above in 2.6.1.1) is no longer a possible cause:

ἱμερίδι *Chron. Mor.* H 1025
 ἱγονικά *Chron. Mor.* H 1258
 τὸ ἱμοιράδι μου (1327–8, Peloponnese, VRANOUSI 1981: B, 26.5)
 τὸ ἱσυνητισμένον διάφορον (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 72, 184.8–9)
 ὄλην τὴν ἱποσότητα (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 10, 47.13)
 ἔναν ἱσπίτι (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 7, 35.13)
 εἶχαν κάποια ἰχωράφια (1667, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 37, 39.4–5)
 τὸ ἱπόπολο *DIAGR.*, *Diig. Pol.* 604
 ἡθελήσεως (1666, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: IX, 75.3)

 ἑθήκη ξύλινος (1142, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 7, 75.44)
 ἑλατίνικον *Assizes* A 70.23
 ἑμοιχείαν *Assizes* A 162.31
 τὸ ἑριζικό *Chron. Mor.* P 2482
 εγυμνό *DEFAR.*, *Sos.* 220 (Holton)
 ἑμυαλὸς ὁ GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *cervello*
 ἔνα φόρτουμα χαρτιά καλά, ἐπιλά (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 6, 64.7)

In verse texts the variable application of prothesis may be due to metrical reasons, i.e. to the necessity to supply an additional syllable.

2.6.2 Anaptyxis

Anaptyxis is the insertion of a vowel word-internally for the breaking up of a consonant cluster. In most cases, one of the consonants involved is a liquid or nasal, and the anaptyctic vowel is usually /i/, the weakest in the vowel hierarchy, and less frequently /u/, especially if one of the two members of the cluster is a velar or labial consonant (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 109; DIETERICH 1898: 41, 277). Anaptyxis is especially frequent in cases of loanwords containing consonant clusters not permissible in the phonotactics of MedG. The phenomenon was already extant, but marginal, in AG; a number of instances can be found in Koine papyri and in EMedG glossaries, e.g. ἑθινῶν, τεχνιταῖς (DIETERICH 1898: 42; GIGNAC 1981: 311–12).

Anaptyxis is a relatively rare and sporadic phenomenon, appearing only in low-register texts, irrespective of geographical provenance (see also MINAS ²2003: 41). However, a few common lexical items present /u/ anaptyxis relatively early as a lexicalized phenomenon: ἰγδίον > γουδί, γρώνιον > γουρούνι, εὐνοῦχος > μνοῦχος > μουννοῦχος, cf. also the adaptation of Pers. *kamkha* as καμουχάς (PERNOT 1907/46: I 159; KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.vv.). A lexicalized case of anaptyxis occurs in the univerbation of the Cretan adverb εἰς μίον > ζιμιό (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 119–21; KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.).

- τοῦ ἔφεχεσθαι ἤπερ ἰμῶν / τοῦ εὔεχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν (1171, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 178, 233.11)
 ὁ κυρὸς Ἀλιπέρτος (12th c., S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 68, 152.5)
 βιβιλία (1363, Cyprus, COUROPOU/GÉHIN 2001: 3, 157.1)
 βιβιλιὸν *Cypr. Canz.* 2.9
 μουσουλουμάνοι *Anak. Konst.* 85
 ἡ Σίφουνος (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 103.10); εἰς τὴν Σίφουνον (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 138.13)
 ὄνὸς ἀσιλανιοῦ (1603, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 5, 20.2); ἀσιλάνι (1663, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 401, 249.12)
 μὲ τὴν ἐφική μου (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 79.73) < εὐχή
 τῶν ὀχουθρῶ μας FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.318; μ' ὀχουθρούς TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.167
 νὰ πουσούνισω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.402
 ἀδελιφοί (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 4, 5.1); ἡ ἀδελιφή (1659, *ibid.* 9, 9.5)
 ἀτιλάζι (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 137.13)
 Γαδουροπινηήκτης / Γαδουροπινίκτης (ca. 1700, Peloponnese, TSIOURAKI 1971: B', 171.9)

Two further subcases of anaptyxis may be distinguished:

a) The breaking up of consonant clusters as a dialectal characteristic of the “northern” dialects (PAPADOPOULOS 1926: 22–3) occurs in documents from Macedonia (KATSANIS 2000: 219 and 2012: 45), Thessaly and Epirus. It is possible that at least some instances of this phenomenon are the results of hypercorrection of high vowel deletion, with dialect speakers feeling that a consonant cluster is the result of their own tendency to delete unstressed /i/ and /u/ and inserting these vowels even when the cluster is original-etymological (see 2.5.4):

- χαλουβατζής (1649–69, Thessaly, SPANOS 2001: 360, f.96r.7)
 ψαλιτήρια (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 307, f.2r.2)
 τοῦ Ψαλιτήρος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §15.21
 μουφουλούζιδις (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.15–16) < Turk. *müfliüs*
 να μι βηγάλις / νὰ μὴ βιγάλεις (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.21)
 ὁ κόζουμους (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 54.6) < κόσμος
 ἡς το σιπιτι / εἰς τὸ σιπίτι (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 56.13)

b) Anaptyctic vowels may appear in texts written by almost illiterate authors, who write out each syllable separately in an artificial CVCV structure (cf. TSOUKNIDAS 2002/03: 101, KARANTZOLA/PAPAIIOANNOU 2010: 292–3; KATSANIS 2012: 45). This is not a true phonetic change, but rather a graphematic phenomenon due to the author's imperfect command of writing. Similar graphematic phenomena appear also in ancient

inscriptions and Koine papyri (THREATTE 1980: 407–8; GIGNAC 1976: 311–12). In texts written in northern areas, it is difficult to distinguish this phenomenon from the previous one:

ὑπιγραψι (1422, Meteora, VEIS 1911/12: 15, 55.29)
 μαρυτηρό / μαριτυρῶ (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 31, 51.37)
 του Αγίου ποροφητου (1645, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 11, 24.2–3)
 Ἀγιο-Τ{η}ρύφωνα (1673, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 19, 130.6)

2.6.3 Addition of Word-final Vowel

The term refers to the phenomenon traditionally termed “paragoge” in grammars of AG, and “parektasis” in manuals of Greek language history. Another frequently employed term for this phenomenon is “extension”, which has been avoided here because of its already heavy semantic load in the domain of linguistics, although the term “extended forms” is used as the data require.¹³

A final vowel, most frequently /e/ and less frequently /a/, is added to inflected and uninflected forms ending in a consonant. The underlying causes of the phenomenon may be phonological, i.e. a general tendency of the Greek language towards open syllables (cf. MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 2001: 201). Due to the phonotactic restrictions of MedG, the phenomenon always appears with inflectional suffixes ending in /n/ and /s/, the only two permissible final consonants in MedG and MG. However, because of the much higher proportion of extended forms after /n/ than after /s/ (which are regionally restricted, such as the clitic forms τῶσε, τοῦσε),¹⁴ it is quite possible to argue for an ultimately prophylactic origin for addition of /e/, triggered by the strong tendency for final /n/ deletion (JANNARIS 1897: 550–1; see also 3.7.2). It cannot be accidental that the areas where addition of /e/ is most common are also the areas where deletion of final /n/ operates more generally, affecting a larger number of environments.

Be that as it may, the immediate causes of final vowel addition are partly morphological (resegmentation at word boundaries in phonological phrases with words beginning with /e/) or purely morphological, i.e. analogy on the basis of similar forms (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 71; PERNOT 1907/46: I 92–4). For example, the added final /e/ in clitic pronouns is in all probability due to reanalysis from instances where the pronoun was proclitic to a past verb form beginning with the augment, or to a verb form originally beginning with an /e/ subsequently lost through lexicalized aphaeresis, e.g. τὸν ἐπῆρα → τόνε πῆρα, ἐκεῖνον εὐρίσκω → ἐκεῖνονε βρίσκω (see also 2.6.1.1). An early source may also have been the evolution of the new preverb ξε- from past tense stems in ἐξε-, e.g. πῶς νὰ τὴν ἐξεπλέξω

¹³ See CRYSTAL 2008, s.v. *extension*, for various senses of the term.

¹⁴ Contrast modern dialectal variants from Chios and S. Italy, such as ὁ μύλος-ε, ὁ λύκος-ε (KARANASTASIS 1997: 56), τοὺς ξένους-ε (PERNOT 1907: 93) which are truly due to a tendency for open syllables irrespective of the final consonant, probably under the influence of local Romance dialects.

Eisit. f.8r.16; νὰ μᾶς ἐξεμαυλίσουν *Chron. Mor.* H 1173. Similarly, the MedG and MG preposition σέ derives from εἰς through false segmentation in the frequent collocations with pronouns starting with ἐ-, e.g. εἰς ἐμένα, εἰς ἐκεῖνον → εἰσὲ μένα, εἰσὲ ἑκεῖνον, with subsequent deletion of the unstressed initial vowel (see 2.7.1). This type of addition is largely euphonic and optional, appearing usually when the following word begins with a consonant or at the end of a phrase/clause.

Addition of a final vowel as a permanent morphological change, creating new inflectional allomorphs, constitutes a different type. It is mostly to be found in the verbal system, which consists of complex interacting subparadigms and where multiple analogical forces, such as tendencies for columnar stress, parisyllabicity, homophony etc., are at play (see BABINIOTIS 1972: 192–202 and PANDELIDIS 2008 for a detailed account). This type of addition may be optional, but is not determined by the phonetic environment; its optionality is the normal variation seen during the spread of a morphological change. An example of such a morphologically driven change is the final /e/ appearing in the 3 pl. active or the 1 sg. passive imperfect: the forms ἔγραφαν > (ἐ)γράφαν > (ἐ)γράφανε and ἔγραφόμην > (ἐ)γραφόμουν > (ἐ)γραφόμουνε / ἔγραφόμουνα may be due to a tendency for stress in all past verb forms to fall on the antepenultimate syllable (see 4.2.4). As another example, the plural suffixes of the active present were disyllabic in AG (-ομεν, -ετε, -ουσι), a situation that was partly maintained in MedG and remains so in several MG dialects; however, the innovative variant ending -ουν was monosyllabic, a situation remedied by the development of a final -ε, i.e. -ουν > -ουνε (see III, 4.1.1.1). The specific timbre of the vowel added on to a verbal suffix in the interests of systemic symmetry depends on the phonetic form of the other inflectional morphemes in the same paradigm; for example, in the 3 pl. active present it takes the form /e/ on the analogy of the 1 and 2 pl. By contrast, the /a/ addition in the singular of the passive imperfect is due to the analogy of the active imperfect and the passive aorist (ἔγραφα – ἐγράφηκα – γραφόμεν-α).

Because, as already mentioned, most cases of /e/ addition appear after final /n/, a shift of morpheme boundary led to the development of a new suffix -νε, e.g. γράφουσιν > γράφουσιν-ε > γράφουσι-νε. The new suffix can be added to verbal endings which etymologically do not end in /n/, e.g. γράφετε > γράφετε-νε.

A different case, which in fact should not be included under the heading of final vowel addition at all, as it does not constitute a phonetic or analogical change, is the suffixation of a stressed deictic particle -έ or -νά to demonstrative pronouns and adverbs, e.g. τουτοινά, ἐκεινοσέ (see II, 5.5.1).

Finally, note that in cases of semi-literate scribes, a final vowel may be added to a closed syllable both word-internally and word-finally, e.g.:

τῆς Ἀγίας Μαρίνασα / τῆς Ἀγίας Μαρίνασα (1674, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 50, 47.4–5); η
ξενοσω η εδικσω / ἡ ξένοσο ἡ ἐδικόσο (1674, *ibid.* 50, 47.7); μαραττηρεσε αξιοπησι /
μάρατυρεσε ἀξιόπιστοι (17th c., *ibid.* 114, 84.9); πουλούνου καὶ παραδίδουνου (1674, *ibid.*
50, 47.3)

Ἄγιο-Τ{η}ρύφωνα τῆς{η} Παναγίας{α} (1673, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 19, 130.6);
τῶ<ν> καλογέρων{ο} (*ibid.* 130.6); γιὰ τὸ ἀληθές{ε} (*ibid.* 130.11)

This is not a true case of vowel addition, but a purely graphematic phenomenon, betraying the scribe's inadequate reading and writing skills, and is common also in AG and MG texts of similarly low level (see 2.6.2).

In general, in the nominal domain, the earliest attestations of the phenomenon concern the addition of final /e/ to 3rd person clitic pronominal forms (τον > τονε), a phenomenon which seems already well established in the 15th c. and is quite common, both in literary and non-literary texts, and geographically unrestricted. Addition of final /e/ to other pronouns, such as demonstrative, indefinite etc. (αὐτόν > αὐτόνε) in forms ending in /n/ also appears in the 15th c., again without geographical restrictions, but less commonly. From the 16th c., very rarely, and from the 17th more frequently, one finds addition of final /e/ to nouns and adjectives (καλόν > καλόνε, παιδιῶν > παιδιῶνε), but with severe geographical restrictions: the phenomenon concerns mostly the Heptanese, and less consistently the Peloponnese, the Cyclades and Crete, corroborated by modern dialectal evidence. Addition of final /a/ is to be found only in the personal and demonstrative pronouns, without geographical restrictions.

In the verbal domain, the earliest and most widespread instances involve the 3 pl. active γράφουν > γράφουνε, ἔγραφαν > γράφανε etc., as well as the imperfect of the copula ἦτονε, all of which appear in the 15th c. From the 16th c. onwards, all verbal suffixes may occasionally display addition of final /e/, which is almost exclusive to Crete, the Cyclades and the Heptanese. Addition of a whole syllable -νε is characteristic of Crete, the Cyclades and Chios. Addition of final /a/ is to be found mostly in the passive voice, with similar geographical restrictions.

The morphological categories affected by addition of word-final vowel are presented in more detail in the following sections.

2.6.3.1 Nouns and Adjectives

In LMedG and EMG, addition of final /e/ in nouns and adjectives appears in the forms that end in /n/, never those in /s/. The forms involved are the masc. acc. sg. (-ον > -ονε / -όν > -όνε) and the masc./fem./neut. gen. pl. (-ων > -ωνε / -ῶν > -ῶνε). Pronouns and pronominal determiners following the inflectional paradigm of adjectives in -ος also present addition of /e/, in a wider geographical area (see 2.6.3.2).

Final vowel addition in the masc. acc. sg. is attested, from the 16th c. onwards, only in the paradigms of nouns and adjectives in -ος, irrespective of stress. For nouns, examples have been located only from the Heptanese, but for adjectives there are attestations also from Mani, Crete and the Cyclades (see II, 2 passim and II, 3.2); a special case are the determiners ἄλλος and ὅλος, which display the phenomenon more commonly, due to their pronominal status (see II, 5.10.1 and II, 5.13.1.1). The frequency of such forms is very low; they appear mostly before a consonant and are always in alternation with forms without addition.

⁷κ τὸν τάφονε τοῦ Σίρεως *Alex. Rim.* 548

μὲ τὸ(ν) ληνόνε (1569 [late 17th-/early 18th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 475.15); ἔνα κομμάτι τόπονε κήπονε διὰ σπιτότοπον (1604, *ibid.* 510.5–6)

κέρασσε τὸν ξένονε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1074

ζουρλόνε τονέ λέσι CHORTATSI, *Katz*. I.158
 έμπιστεμένονε, άληθινόνε καί άξιο (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 307.20)
 νά τον έχη μαθημένονε (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 1, 144.9–10)
 εΐχε παχτωμένονε (1678, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 246, 222.35)
 νά μήν τονε άφήση χέρισονε (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 47, 83.8) = χέρσον
 άλλονε δέν έχω μπιστεμένον TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 243
 πλέον παρ' άλλονε τινά KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* XVIII.476
 κι ένας τόν άλλονε *Rim. Sant.* 436
 νά βάλης άλλονε κουμέσιο (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 3, 362.11)
 όλονε (1688, Andros, POLEMIS 2001: 8, 107.6)
 όχ τόν κόσμον όλονε SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A1v.23
 έπήρε τόν Μορέαν όλονε (1715, Stefani, LAMBROS 1910: 362, 213.2)
 καλύτερά 'χει τούς πολλούς παρή ένα μοναχόνε KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.676

Addition of final /e/ in the gen. pl. appears in the case of masc. nouns ending in -ας, -ης and -ος, neuter nouns in -ιον/-ι, and -μα, as well as adjectives in -ος. In most categories, the phenomenon is restricted to the Heptanese. The only paradigms where addition in the gen. pl. extends to other areas are masc. nouns and adjectives in -ος, and neut. nouns in -ιον/-ι, especially oxytone ones. Forms appear from the Peloponnese, Cythera and Crete, and are corroborated by SMG data, where forms like χρονώνε, παιδιώνε, χαρτιώνε are acceptable in a colloquial style. It has been suggested (BABINIOTIS 1972: 195) that the allomorphs with final /e/ appear mostly with oxytone nouns due to a tendency to avoid the transgression of the Law of Limitation in the case of a following clitic. As in the case of the acc. sg., the affected forms appear from the 16th c. onwards, are very rare, and are always in variation with forms without final addition, conditioned mostly by the phonetic environment.

Masc. gen. pl.

έξι μηνώνε (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2008: 2, 252.10).
 τοῦ άγοραστάδωνε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 27, 47.17) (for the article τοῦ see II, 5.2.1)
 τῶ μαθητάδωνε (1667, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 3, 146.21)
 τῶν δουλευτάδωνε (1672, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 16, 49.6–7)
 τῶν πτωχώνε (1509, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1950: 1, 144.14)
 τοῦν άνιψώνε του (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 15, 39.7); χρονώνε δύο (ibid., 60.14)
 τῶν λαγώνε SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* C8v.23
 τῶν προεστώνε (1666, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 4, 198.299)
 τῶ Φραγκώνε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 262.3
 τῶν άνωθεν άμπασαδόρω καί κουμέσωνε (1571, Mani, CHASIoTIS 1970: 5, 239.15)
 τὸ κόρσο τοῦ Τούρκωνε (1644, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 288, 227.23–4)
 τοῦ Γιαννικακαίωνε (1653, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 215, 187.61)
 τῶν αὐτώνε συντρόφωνε (1689, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 40, 74.11)
 Άναστάση καί Φράγκου Πετράτωνε (1698, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 250, 158.2)
 τῶν άνωθεν έπιτρόπωνε (1708, Peloponnese, PAPADOPOULOS 1976: 6, 124.25)
 τῶν συνόδωνε SPANOS, *Grammar* 31.12
 άπό τῶ πτωχώνε | άρχόντω BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 250.5–6

Fem. gen. pl.

καμιά τῶν γυναικῶνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1512
 τῶν άνωθε γυναικῶνε (1649, Kefalonia, PETROPOULOS 1962: B.3, 311.11–12)

τῶν ἄξιων γυναικῶνε KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.419
 τῶν κοπελλῶνε (1670, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1948: 241.4)
 τοῦ θυατερῶνε μου (1639, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 139, 125.19)
 τῶν σταφιδωνέ του (1653, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 215, 186.48)

Neut. gen. pl.

τοῦ μπραμάτωνε (1644, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 296, 233.5)
 τοῦ μανδριῶνε (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 15, 93.23)
 τῶν θηλυκῶν παιδιῶνε (1672, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 4, 119.89)
 τῶν ὑποστατικῶνε του (1653, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 215, 186.42)
 τῶν ἀδελφιῶνε μου (1688, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 110, 64.7)
 δώδεκα δουκάτωνε ἀμπέλι (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 37, 55.35)
 ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦ καρabiῶνε *Reb. Evr.* 105.7
 δουκάτωνε εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ (1649, Kefalonia, PETROPOULOS 1962: B.3, 311.8)

2.6.3.2 Pronouns

The pronoun categories where addition of final vowel appears are the personal, demonstrative, relative, contrastive, interrogative and indefinite pronouns, and the quantifiers ἄλλος and ὅλος.

In personal pronouns, the addition of final vowel appears in the strong forms of the 1st and 2nd person acc. sg., in the weak forms of the 1st and 2nd person pl. gen./acc., and the 3rd person acc. sg., gen. pl. and masc. acc. pl. In the case of strong pronouns, it takes place in consecutive steps: first, addition of /a/, appearing already before the period under investigation (ἐμέν > ἐμένα, ἐσέν > ἐσένα) and geographically unrestricted, then addition of final /n/, and further addition of /e/, appearing from the 15th c. onwards only in Crete, the Heptanese and the Peloponnese. The multiple consecutive extensions of the AG pronoun ἐμέ > ἐμέν > ἐμένα > ἐμέναν > ἐμένανε are discussed and interpreted in CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 56–7, DRESSLER 1966a: 55–6 and FLORISTÁN IMÍZCOZ 1990: 188–9; see also II, 5.3.1.

εἰς ἐμένανε FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 328
 μ' ἐμένανε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 437
 ἐπάρτην ἐσύ διὰ τ' ἐμένανεν Bertoldin. 149.19–20
 σὲ μένανε (1604 [copy of 1695], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 508.3)
 ἐμένανε χαρίζου Zinon I.161

μετὰ σένανε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 304
 κ' Ἑσένανε ἀφήκασι, τὸν ποιητὴ καὶ κτίστη DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 1059
 κ' ἐσένανε, ἀξάδερφε Zinon III.188

In the case of the weak (clitic) forms of the 1st and 2nd persons pl., attestations of final /e/ addition are found from the late 15th c., and are mostly due, as already discussed, to reanalysis in the case of a following verb bearing the augment. Many editors indeed prefer to spell this /e/ as a prothetic initial vowel on the verb, rather than as an addition to the proclitic pronoun (e.g. μᾶς ἐκάμουν instead of μᾶσε κάμουν – see 2.6.1.1). Because this type of addition appears after final /s/ and not after final /n/ (μᾶς > μᾶσε, σᾶς > σᾶσε), it is much less widespread than in the 3rd person (τον > τονε, τῶν > τῶνε). Another difference

from 3rd person pronouns is that the phenomenon never occurs when the clitic is post-verbal (see ΚΑΦΚΑΛΑΣ 2000: 112 for the modern Cretan distribution). It is comparatively frequent only in Cretan literary and non-literary texts, and may also occur in documents from Mani and the Cyclades:

- νὰ μὴ μᾶς ἐγνωρίσουν *Liv.* V 4472
 νὰ μᾶσε φέρη *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 676
 θέλει μᾶσε πατάξει *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 144
 κι ὅλους μᾶσε κομπώνου *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.462
 μᾶσε φοβερίζουνε (1659, Hydra, *KARATHANASIS* 1972/73: 241.2)
 πὼς εἴμεστα πρόντοι ὅ,τι ὥρα μᾶσε κρᾶξη (1660, Crete, *KARATHANASIS* 1973: 5, 34.3)
 μᾶσε κουμαντάρουν (1696, Mykonos, *VISVIZIS* 1957: 47, 141.31)
 νὰ μᾶσε βοηθήση *Trag. Ag. Dim.* III.435
 παιγνίδι μᾶσε φαίνεται *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1629
 ἂν σᾶς ἐλησμονήσω *Arm.* 115
 νὰ σᾶσε φωτίση *Alosis* 473 transcr. (Lendari) (Legrand: σᾶς ἐφ.)
 σᾶς ἐστέλνομε (1571, Mani, *CHASIOITIS* 1970: 5, 239.9)
 τὰ σᾶσε θέλω ὀρίσει *Thysia Avr.* 249
 θελί σαςσε φαγνι / θέλει σᾶσε φανῇ (1668, Crete, *LYDAKI* 2000: 15, 421.5)
 σᾶσε ζητῶ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.63

Concerning the 3rd person pronoun, addition of final /e/ is attested since the 15th c. in the case of the acc. sg., masc. and fem. Although not very frequent, it appears more commonly than any other case of final vowel addition in the nominal system, being geographically unrestricted. Also, in contrast to 1st and 2nd person clitics, addition appears both in preverbal and postverbal position. The ultimate analogical origin of this addition from past verbal forms bearing the augment, as in the previous case, leads to many manuscript and editorial spellings with a prothetic vowel on the verb (e.g. τὸν ἐκάμνω instead of τόνε κάμνω). Stress marking is also often editorial: these clitic forms do not bear stress.

- τονε ἐφαριστίσσομεν / τόνε εὐκαριστήσομεν (1445, Naxos, *LAMBROS* 1907: 467.5)
 ἵνα τὸν ἐπρολάβω / ἵνα τόνε προλάβω *Dig.* E 1134 app. crit. (Jeffreys)
 νὰ τονε παιδεύσωμεν *Dig.* E 1356 (Alexiou)
 τόνε λέγει *Velth.* 524
 νὰ τὸν ἐπηράξη / νὰ τονε πειράξει (1581, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1995a: 26, 164.14)
 νὰ τόνε κεφαλίωνω (1679, Mani, *SKOPETAS* 1950: XIII, 76.11)
 ἔβαλέ τονε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 159.23
 ἀβηζάρωντάς τοναι / ἀβιζάρωντάς τονε (1564, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 1, 79.24)
 σκύφτω καὶ προσκυνῶ τονε *P&N Diath.* 690
 θέλω καὶ ἀφήνω τονε κλερονόμο (1626, Crete, *MALTEZOU* 1995: [1], 198.152–3)
 παρακαλεῖ τονε (1686, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 7, 20.18)
 εἶδα τονε / εἶδα τονε *GERMANO, Grammar* 50.2
 Θεὸς σχωρέσ' τονε (1696, Kastoria, *MERTZIOS* 1947a: 6, 213.10)
 νὰ τὴν ἐρμᾶζουν / νὰ τήνε ρημάζουν *Chron. Toc.* 59
 νὰ τήνε πρικάνης (1420, Crete, *MANOUSAKAS* 1962a: 1, 39.4)
 νὰ τήνε ντεφεντέρομεν (1445, Naxos, *LAMBROS* 1907: 468.18–19)
 καὶ νὰ σὲ τὴν ἐσηκώση *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 453 app. crit. (L)
 νὰ τήνε διασίσσει / νὰ τήνε διασεῖσει (1532, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1978: 24, 74.19)

καὶ ἐντασάρασίν τηνε (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 46.19)
 ξν τηνε FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 248
 ἀναστήσαν τηναί / ἀναστήσαν τηνε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 22, 100.17)
 ἐδεαλέασέν τηνε (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 31.22)
 ἐδιαβάσαμε τηνε (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.4)
 ἡξεύρωτηνε / ἡξεύρω τηνε GERMANO, *Grammar* 50.3

The gen. pl. of the 3rd person clitic presents several allomorphs (see II, 5.3.2.6), some of which involve final vowel addition. The areas in which the phenomenon is attested are Crete, the Cyclades and the Peloponnese. It occurs both in preverbal and in postverbal/postnominal position with τῶνε, only postnominally with τοῦνε and only preverbally with τῶσε, τοῦσε:

ἄντρες νὰ τῶνε δώσης FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 285
 τῆς κοπελὸς τῶνε (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.24)
 τί τῶνε φωνάζει *Imb. Rim.* 818
 ἡ μάνα τῶνε (1562, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 130, 249.1)
 τὰ ἐπίλοιπα τῶνε καλὰ (1591, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 35, 179.22)
 σὲ κάθα των–ε χρεῖα *P&N Diath.* 1774
 δῶσ' τῶνε τὸ φῶς CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.15
 νὰ μὴ μπορῇ νὰ τῶνε πάρη περισσότερο (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.10–11)
 τὴν πληρωμὴ τους τῶνε ἀνέβασε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 51.5–6
 μὲ σπῆζες ἀνάμεσά τωνε (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 853, 744.7–8)
 οἱ δυὸ τωνε (1672, Milos, CHATZIDAKIS I. 1927: A, 295.14)
 μὲ τὴν φελούκα τωνε (1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 7, 20.7)
 δόστονε σωτηρία / δῶσ' τῶνε σωτηρία *Rim. Sant.* 127
 εἰς τὰς χύρας τουναί / εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τουνε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 22, 100.17)
 ἡ μάνα τουνε (1589, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 338, 283.12)
 μὲ τοὺς καπεταναίους τουνε (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.8)
 κληρονομους στουνε / κληρονόμους τουνε (1622, Crete, MALTEZOU 1989: 359.32)
 ἀγάπη τῶσε–ε φέρνει *P&N Diath.* 2473; νὰ τῶσε–ε βοηθήσετε *ibid.* 5167
 ἀποὺ τὸ ἀμπέλι ὁποὺ κρατεῖ ὅ,τι τῶσε τοκάρει (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 41, 61.27)
 νὰ τῶσε δώσει *Thysia Avr.* 503
 νὰν τῶς ἐμετρᾶ (1671, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 3, 578.22)

The masc. acc. pl. displays addition of a final /e/ from the 15th c. onwards, comparatively rarely, but without geographical restriction. The phenomenon occurs only preverbally:

τοὺς ἐσταίνου / τοῦσε σταίνου *Byz. Il.* 243
 νὰ τοὺς ἐδώσουν *Achil.* O 227
 τοῦσε φέρης *Alosis* 607 transcr. (Lendari) (Legrand: τοὺς ἐφ.)
 νὰ τοὺς ἐδόσει LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 75 transcr. (Lendari) (scr. τοῦσε δώση)
 νὰ τοῦσε δεηθοῦμεν MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 46
 τοῦσε γυρίζω *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol.* 25
 δὲ θέλουν τοῦσε σώσει *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 64
 νὰ τοὺς ἐκάμη ἀγάπην *Vios Aisop.* I 282.15–16

Insofar as the gen. pl. τῶν/τῶς forms part of the complex pronouns δικός μου and ἀπατός μου, final vowel addition appears also in the domain of possessive and identifying pronouns:

δικός τωνε (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 173.11)
 ἀπατοί τωνε (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 331, 313.10)
 τήν ἐδική τωνε (1671, Syros, VISVIZIS 1965: 11, 95.3)
 στὰ δικά ντωνε σπίτια *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.25

Furthermore, the relative pronoun τόν/τήν/τό, being morphologically identical to the 3rd person clitic, presents, though only very rarely, forms with addition of final /e/ in the acc. sg., since the 15th c. (see II, 5.9.1.2). In such cases it is best viewed as prothesis on the verb:

νὰ ἔλθῃ ὁ μητροπολίτης, | ἐκεῖνος, τόνε λέγουσιν ὁ τῆς Παλαιᾶς Πάτρας *Chron. Mor.* H 2684
 αὐτήν, τήνε θωρεῖς ἐδῶ μοῦ ᾿δῶκασι *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 710

In demonstrative pronouns, which follow the inflectional pattern of -ος adjectives, addition of final /e/ appears in the masc. and fem. acc. sg. (-ον > -ονε, -ην > -ηνε) and in the gen. pl. (-ων > -ωνε). Its distribution is wider than that observed for the corresponding adjectives, and its frequency is higher; it also appears earlier than in adjectives, namely from the 15th c. The areas where the phenomenon is attested are the Heptanese, the Peloponnese, the Cyclades, Crete and Chios (see II, 5.5.1).

κ' ἐκείνονε παρακαλῶ *Theseid Prol.* E 257
 κ' εἰς τὸν δρυμῶνα τούτονε *Theseid V.37,8* (1529)
 ἐκείνονε ἐκλέξασι *Chron. Mor.* P 7867
 στὸν πόλεμον ἐτοῦτονε *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* III.113
 εἰς αὐτόνε *Rim. kor.* A 156
 ἔξ αὐτόνε (1564, Corfu, TZIVARA 2003: 32, 491.11)
 στὸν φόβο τούτονε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 424
 τὸν καιρὸ ἐκείνονε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.27
 τέτιονε / τέτοιονε *GERMANO, Grammar* 50.2
 ἐτούτηνε *Peri xen.* 237 app. crit. (A)
 σ' ἐκείνηνε *Alex. Rim.* 2848
 αὐτήνε νὰ ἀμπατάρωμεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 391, 387.31)
 κάγηκεν γι' αὐτήνε *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 981
 τούτηνε τὴν αὐτὴ ντονατζιό (1646, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 77, 194.10–11)
 τουτωνῶνε *PORTIUS, Grammar* 68.12
 ἐκείνωνε τῶν περισσότερων (1716, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969d: 1, 42.18)

Addition of final /e/ appears, rarely, also in the gen. pl. of the quantifiers ἄλλος and ὅλος, but has so far only been found in texts from the Peloponnese and the Heptanese:

εἶναι ἄλλουνῶνε (1683, Glarentsa, KONOMOS 1969e: 63.13)
 ὀλονόνε μας / ὀλωνῶνε μας (1605, Koroni, MERTZIOS 1960: 21.12)
 ολονόνε το χοριόνε / ὀλωνῶνε τῷ χωριῶνε (1666, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 4, 198.299)

Demonstrative pronouns also display addition of final /a/, probably on the analogy of the personal pronouns ἐμένα, ἐσένα (see II, 5.5.1). The forms affected are the masc. and fem. acc. sg. (-ον > -ονα, -ην > -ηνα). The phenomenon appears from the 15th c., and does not seem to be geographically restricted:

ἐβγάν(ει) ἀπ' αὐτόναν κρασί (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 82, 64.3)
 ἐτούτονα *Peri xen.* 130 app. crit. (V)

ἐνίκησαν αὐτόνα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 43

ἀπ' τὸν σευδὰ ἐτούτονα *Diig. Vefa* 426

τὰς ἔπαθα δι' αὐτήν *Liv.* V 1094

χωρὶς αὐτήνα *Diig. Vefa* 782; τὴν καλwsύνην τούτηνα *ibid.* 848

A further type of final accretion is also to be found with demonstrative pronouns: the suffixation with an accented deictic particle $-(v)\acute{\epsilon}$, $-(v)\acute{\alpha}$, which, as discussed above, does not properly constitute an instance of vowel addition, as it involves addition of a whole morpheme, which imparts a strongly deictic meaning. This is especially characteristic of Cretan, but may also appear in the Dodecanese and Chios.¹⁵

ἐτούτονὲ τὸ σπήλιο εἶναι δικό μας *Vosk.* 192

στή βάρδια τουτηνὲ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.79; νὰ τουτονὲ τὸ χάρισμα! *ibid.* III.467

εἰς τοῦτονὲ τὸ φόνο *Zinon* II.97

εἰς τουτονὰ νὰ πῶ καὶ νὰ ριμάρω *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 184

τουτονὰ *GERMANO, Grammar* 86.22

ἐκείνονὰ ὀλονομπρὸς νὰ σώση *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.287

ἐτουτηνάν *Peri xen.* 237 (ms V)

τέτοιανα δουλεῖα *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 432 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner: τετοιανὰ); πῶς

ἀποθαίνουν τουτοινα *ibid.* 258 (τοῦτοι νὰ ms)

ἐτουτεσὰ τς ἀθιβολὲς *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.88

In indefinite pronouns, addition of final /e/ appears in the masc. acc. sg. of the numeral and pronoun εἷς/ἕνας and the pronouns μηδεῖς, κανεῖς, καθεῖς, πᾶσα εἷς, in Crete, the Heptanese, the Peloponnese and Chios (see II, 5.8.5–11 and II, 5.13.1.5):

τον ἕνανε κριτὴν *DEFAR., Sos.* 247 (Holton)

ἕνανε ἄλλονε (1616, Crete, *ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI* 1996: 3, 362.4)

ἕνανε ποὺ ἔχε κλέπτει *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.735

ἔκ τῶν νέων δὲ μηδένανε ἐκεῖ τοτ' ἐκαλέσαν *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VIII.96

μὴ μοῦ βάλεις κανένανε σύνδροφο (1612, Monemvasia region, *BROUSKARI* 1981: 316.72)

πεῖραξη νὰ μὴν ἔχη ἀπὸ κανεῖνε (1636, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 6, 33.34)

ἐγὼ δὲν ζητῶ κανένανε *Bertoldos* 23.19

εἰςὲ πᾶσα ἕνανε (1636, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 11, 36.24)

In interrogative pronouns, addition of final /e/ appears in the masc. acc. sg. of the pronoun ποῖος only in the Heptanese, and of the pronoun τις only in Chios (see II, 5.7.1.1 and II, 5.8.1): μὲ ποῖονε τὴν ἔστειλες *MONTSEL., Evgena* 869; τίνανε *GERMANO, Grammar* 50.2.

¹⁵ Reanalysis creating a new suffix $-ve$ added on to suffixes ending in a vowel is marginally attested in Naxos: ζητοῦν καὶ αὐτοῖνε τὰ ὅμοια (1684, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 432, 653.11).

2.6.3.3 Verbs

In the verbal domain, addition of final /e/ appears with all inflectional suffixes ending in /n/, and does not seem to be phonetically conditioned. The earliest and most common instance is 3 pl. active -ουν > -ουνε, -οῦν > -οῦνε and -αν > -ανε,¹⁶ appearing from the 14th c. onwards, originally mainly before a clitic. The phenomenon appears in both literary and non-literary texts, and the bulk of attestations come from the Heptanese, the Cyclades and Crete (see III, 4.1 and III, 4.4):

καὶ συμβουλευοῦνέ τον *Chron. Mor.* H 2501; ἐξαγοράζοῦνέ τον *ibid.* 4293
 ὅς κρατήσουνε πιττάκιν ἐδικόν μου *Liv.* E 1616
 νὰ σᾶς βαρυφορτώνουνε *Diig. tetr.* 739 app. crit. (C)
 ἐγρήγορα τὸν θέλουνε βαρέσει *Pol. Tr.* 1075 app. crit. (B)
 τοῦ νὰ καλοφωνίζουμε τραγοῦδημαν *Liv.* N 1400 transcr. (Lendari)
 ἔχουνε (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 177, 227.4)
 νὰ τὸν ἔχουνε (1577, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 21, 156.13)
 τάσσουνε (1604, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 10, 165.22)
 νὰ τὸ μεράζουνε (1656, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 6, 165.56)
 λέουνε (1675, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 61.34)
 ἔχουνε ἕνα καλὸ λιμιῶνα (1681, Genoa / author from Mani, VAYAKAKOS 1988b: 508.61)

ἀκμήν τὰ ἔντερα ἡμῶν ποιοῦνε καὶ τὰς κόρδας *Diig. tetr.* 535 app. crit. (C)
 βοηθοῦνε *Theseid* I.96,8 (Follieri)
 νικοῦνε μας *Alex. Rim.* 940
 παρακαλοῦνε σε πολλὰ *CHORTATIS, Erof.* IV.587
 μαρτυροῦνε (1617, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 16, 320.27)
 νὰ ματαμετροῦνε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 53, 68.30)
 νὰ μὲ τραβοῦνε (1659, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 29, 52.3)
 νὰ ἡμποροῦνε (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 312.6)

οὐκ ἐζυγώνανέ τους *Chron. Mor.* H 1074; ἐπροβεδίζανέ του *ibid.* 4677
 στὸ στῆθος εἶχανε αὐτεῖνοι τὸ κεφάλι *Alex. Rim.* 1656
 παιγνίδια παίζανε *Imb. Rim.* 48
 κάνανε (1674, MILOS, IMELLOS 1985/90: 329.7)
 ἠθέλανε τὸ λέγει *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.973

ἐκεῖ ποὺ πολεμοῦσανε *Alex. Rim.* 1877
 ἐζούσανε *Fyll. gadar.* 143B
 στὴν Πόλιν ζούσανε *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 196
 σκορπούσανε *CHORTATIS, Erof. Prol.* 44
 ἀπερνούσανε *IER. ANVATIOS, Diig. Seismou* 331.12–13
 ἐκιλαδούσανε *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1764

ἐπολεμήσανέ τον *Chron. Mor.* H 1674; ἐπροσκομίσανέ τα *ibid.* 1840
 καὶ ἐπῆρανέ τα (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 37.II, 20.7)

¹⁶ The oxytone variant -ᾶν, being a relatively recent and geographically restricted innovation, displays the extended form -ᾶνε very rarely, e.g. πολεμᾶνε *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 48.3 (see III, 4.1.2.1).

ἐπουλήσανέ του (1546/1551, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 64.6)
 καθώς τὸ ἐστιμάραν (1590, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 33, 176.12)
 διατὶ μ' ἀραζουνάρανε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 221
 ὅλοι ἐπεθάνανε (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), 28.6)
 τὰ ἐξανακτίσανε (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 20, 55.3)

The passive aorist, displaying inflection identical to the active voice, also shows frequent addition of /e/ in 3 pl. (-ηκ-αν > -ηκ-ανε, and less commonly -ησαν > -ησανε) in the same areas:

ἐλεμενταριστήκανε (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 15.61)
 ἐστιμαριστήκανε (1579, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 21, μβ'.107)
 ἐσυνιβαστήκανε (1620, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 363, 336.2)
 ἐσταθήκανε, vel ἐσταθήκασι, vel ἐστάθησαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.26–7
 καὶ τῇ ξαναφανήκανε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1246
 τὰ χοντρά ζωά ἔχαθήκανε (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), 28.6)
 τῆς ἐναντιωθήκανε (1700, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 24, 329.11)
 κ' ἐπροφωνεθησανέ τους *Chron. Mor.* H 3663 ms
 καὶ ἄλλοι ὅπου ἐνθυμούθησανε (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 447.20)
 ἐδιάβησανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.17 ms

Addition of /e/ in the variant 3 pl. suffixes -ουσιν > -ουσινε, -οὔσιν > -οὔσινε and -ασιν > -ασινε appears from the 16th c. onwards, and is mainly restricted to Crete (where it is in fact more common than the variant -ουν > -ουνε, cf. ΚΑΦΚΑΛΑΣ 2000: 107), though it also occurs, less frequently, in the Heptanese, the Cyclades and Chios (see III, 4.1). In the case of -ουσινε, -ασινε the stress position of the verb form is difficult to establish (see 4.2.3 and III, 4.1.1):

καὶ τρέχουσινε εἰς τὴν κάμεραν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.1–2
 τρώσινε καὶ τὰ σπαθιά CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* II.50
 στέκουσινε δίχως | γιῶργεμα *Pist. voskos* IV 6.51–2
 νὰ τὰ κάνουσινε ἄλλοι (1642, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 8, 281.26)
 κι ὁ εἶς τὸ χέρι τ' ἄλλουνοῦ πιάνουσινε καὶ κλαῖσι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 233.4
 κι ἀρχίζουσινε τὴ μαλιά KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1054

ξυπνούσινε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.1
 καὶ πόσοι πεθυμούσινε CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* Prol. 19
 τὰ ζητούσινε (1639, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 6, 273.19)
 θωρούσινε ψαράκια *Rim. Sant.* 757
 κτυποῦσινε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1524
 λαλούσινε *Zinon* I.33

ἐκλαίγασινε ἀπαρηγόρητα MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.25
 νὰ κάνασινε κρῖμα *Pist. voskos* IV 5.59
 εἶχασινε νὰ κάμουσιν (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 211, 200.5)
 ἐκόφτασινε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 188.6
 [ἐκλ]εγασινε τὰ παιδιὰ / ἐκλαίγασινε τὰ παιδιὰ *Rim. Sant.* 733
 νὰ θέλασινε σμίξουν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1795 app. crit.

εμνόξασινε σήμερο CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* V.151
 κι ἐπάψασινε οἱ ἔγνοιες μου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.108
 ὅπου ἦρθασινε τόσοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 136.4

μας ηπασινε παλι / μᾶς εἴπασινε πάλι *Rim. Sant.* 416
 νὰ τὸ φάσινε (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 20.22)
 κ' ἐφέρασινε τοὺς γιατροὺς KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1755

An equally widespread change is the addition of a final /e/ in the 3 sg. oxytone imperfect -ει > -ειε, which, however, does not belong under the same heading, as the phenomenon occurs after a vowel and not after a consonant; this means that there are no phonetic grounds for its development, and that it is purely morphologically driven. In fact it is a key evolution, which lies at the basis of the reformation of the whole oxytone paradigm, leading to the new “uncontracted” inflection (see III, 2.1.2.2.4):

οὐκ ὤκνιεν εἰς τὰ δύσκολα *Log. parig.* L 43
 ἐππροεκράτειε (1432, Corfu, ASONITIS 1996/97: 3, 29.47)
 ἀνέζειεν *Assizes* B 364.3
 ἐβάρειε της *Pol. Tr.* 424 (mss AEX)
 ἐκράτειεν *Chron. Toc.* 180

The other instances of addition of /e/ in the active voice are geographically restricted to Crete, the Cyclades, the Heptanese and Chios, appearing from the 16th c. onwards. The suffixes involved are the following:

a) 1 pl. -μεν > -μενε, found so far only in Crete and Chios, and 2 pl. -τεν > -τενε, which appears to be exclusive to Chios (see III, 4.1–4):

γράφομενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 50.1
 τὸ ἄλλης φαμέγιας ἀπὸχομενε ἴπᾱ (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 81.76)
 νὰ σ' ἐχομενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 9 app. crit.; δίχως αὐτὴν δὲν πάμενε *ibid.* 391
 νὰ πολεμοῦμενε ὁμοῦ PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2575
 περνούμενε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 171.10
 ἄν εἴχαμενε πεῖ *P&N Diath.* 772
 ἐλέγαμενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 86.32–3
 γράφετενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 50.1
 πῶς δὲν κλαίτενε KONAR., *Paidēs* 999
 ποῦ πᾱτενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 339
 κἰ ἀμέτεν ἴδᾱ, διαβήτενε KONAR., *Paidēs* 1112
 τὰ δάκρυᾱ μου δέτενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 866
 ἐλέγετενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 86.33; εἴπετενε *ibid.* 86.35

b) the 1 sg. imperf. oxytone ending -ουν > -ουνε (Crete, Cyclades, Heptanese, Chios/Naxos):

τὸν ὄρθρον ἀκαρτέρουνε τὰ δένδρη γιὰ ν' ἀκούσω *Alex. Rim.* 2132
 ἐγάπουνε GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.4
 ἐκράτουνε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.28
 τὴν γνώμην ὅπου ἴκράτουνε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1822
 νὰ μπόρουνε νὰ λόγιασα *Trag. Ag. Dim.* III.322

c) 3 sg. imperfect and aorist -εν > -ενε to be found in texts from Crete, Chios, the Heptanese and the Cyclades and 3 sg. imperf. oxytone -ει > -εινε found only in texts from Chios and the Peloponnese:

τὴν χαρὰ τὴν εἶχενε φερμένη FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 19

τό 'θελενε πεῖ *P&N Diath.* 443 and 574

εἶχενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 22

δὲν εἶχενε ριζικὸ (1694, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 10, 24.8)

εἶδενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 50.6

ἦρθενε ἀπὸ τὴν Κασσάντρεα (1640, Andros, POLEMIS 1999b: 11, 35.2)

ἐπαράδωσενέ τονε (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 190, 161.11)

ἡ θάλασσα ἔφυγενε (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), 28.7–8)

καὶ Ἄμηνρᾶς τῶν εἶπενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 479

μοῦ 'καμενε (1686, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 647, 647.3–4)

ἔχασενε ἀπὸ μένα (1694, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 10, 24.9)

ἐκράτεινε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 264

ἐκράτεινε (1702, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 35, 49.13)

ἦκαμε ὅ,τι ἐμπόρεινε *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.119

καὶ τὴν ἐφόρεινε αὐτὴ PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 604

ἦμπόρηνε τινὰς νὰ τὸ ὀνομάση (1699, Nauplion/Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 178.3)

In the passive voice (other than the aorist), the only instance of final /e/ addition which appears already in the 15th c. and presents a relatively wide distribution is 3 sg. -τον > -τονε (especially the copula ἦτον > ἦτονε), although again most attestations come from Crete, the Cyclades and the Heptanese:

οὐκ ἦτονε τσουκάλιν *Ptoch.* IV 218 app. crit. (K)

ἦτονε γυναῖκα μου (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.11)

ἦτονε γὰρ χαιράμενοι *Pol. Tr.* 10795 app. crit. (X)

ἦτονε μπαστάρδος *Chron. Mor.* P 3088; ἦτονε ρεματιάρης *ibid.* 4693

ἦτονε γυναῖκα *Theseid* I.10,1 (Follieri)

ἦτονε εἰς τὸ κάτεργο (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 91, 95.29)

ἐσφαζέτονε *Liv.* E 3103

ἐχθρευέτονε *Theseid* II.13,3 (1529)

ἐρχέτονε *Imb. Rim.* 835

ἐφαινέτονε (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 148.50)

φυλαγέτονε *Pist. voskos* II 1.318 app. crit.

μὲ ὄλους ἐμοιχεύετονε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 46.30

εδίδετόνε MARGOUNIOS, *Vioi* 273.8

ὁποῦ λέγετονε Σεγρεδιανή (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 206, 195.7)

τὸ σπῖτι της ὅπου ἐκάθετονε (1629, Milos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 14, 10.12)

μοῦ φαίνετονε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.461

κ' ἐγίνετονε σύγχυση BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 9228

The other variants of the 3 sg. passive, being more restricted geographically, exhibit the phenomenon of addition more rarely. The suffixes involved are -εντον > -εντονε (Crete, Cyclades), -ουντον > -ουντονε (Crete, Cyclades, Chios), -οτου > -οτουε (Heptanese, Peloponnese), -ατον > -ατονε (Crete), and -όταν > -ότανε (Heptanese, Peloponnese, becoming more widespread by the end of the 17th c.); see III, 4.3.

καὶ λογίζεντονε τὸ ἐμισὸν περιβόλαιον (1557, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 11 [later copy], 63.7)
 δὲν ἐντρέπεντονε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 183.36 (ms Ξ)
 νὰ βρίσκεντονε in veritā a bono patre natus FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.218

εὐρίσκουντόνε κάτοικος PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1589
 ἐκρύβουντονε (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 53, 205.7);
 ἐκείτουντονε (1703, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 43, 56.8)
 ἐκράζουντονε KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1069

ποὺ καθότουνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 190
 ἐρχότουνε τ' ἄσκέρι KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.136
 [ἐγγραφότου]νε SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.22
 ἐθυμονότουνε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 58.3

ἐκλαιγε κι ἐθρηνάτουνε *P&N Diath.* 1572; κοιμάτουνε *ibid.* 1943
 ἐκινάτουνε ἀπὸ τὸν θυμόν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.12

εὐρίσκότανε (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 233, 190.4)
 ἐρχότανε MATESIS, *Chron.* 64.28
 πάντα ὅλα ἐγενότανε μὲ τέλος καλὸ SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 37.20

The variant ἦτανε of the copula also shows a comparatively high frequency from the 16th c. onwards:

ἦτανε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.3)
 ἦτανε (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.10)
 ἦτανε πλιὰ γρά *P&N Diath.* 2083
 ὁποὺ ἦτανε ἀνάμεσά μας (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.12)
 ἦτανε (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 16, 52.2)
 ἦτανε ὀμπλιγάδος (1697, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 12, 665.153–4)

The other instances of addition of /e/ in the passive voice are also geographically restricted to Crete, the Cyclades, the Heptanese, Mani and Chios, appearing from the 16th c. onwards. The suffixes involved are the following:

a) The 1 sg. imperf. -μουν > -μουνε and the 2 sg. imperf. -σουν > -σουνε:

σ' ἄμετρην εὐρίσκουμουνε κρίση CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* I.250
 κ' εἰς ὅλους ἐφαινόσουνε εὐμορφο παλληκάρι ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Voev.* 127
 εὐρίσκουσουνε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.117
 καὶ ρέγουσουνε *Stathis* I.242

A special case is the copula (ἦμουν > ἦμουνε and ἦσουν > ἦσουνε), which seems to have a wider geographical distribution than other verbs and to present the phenomenon earlier:

καταβαττὰς ἂν ἦμουνε *Ptoch. III* 181 app. crit. (P) (15th-c. ms)
 ἦμουνε *Pol. Tr.* 5815 app. crit. (X)
 ἀπ' ὄντεν ἦμουνε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 218.19)
 ἦμουνε βέβαιος (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.32)
 ἦμουνε ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 65.13
 ἦμουνε κάστρον *Thrinós patr.* O 59
 ἦμουνε σκλαβωμένο FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.204

καρβουνάρέα ἦσουνε *Poulol.* 431 app. crit. (CP)

ἦσουνε *Fyll. gadar.* 358c

ἦσουνε βοηθός μου CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.535

ἦσουνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 723

- b) 1 pl. -μεσταν > -μεστανε, -μαστέν > -μαστένε, only in Crete and the Heptanese; -μαστιν > -μαστινε, only in Mani; and -ουμαν > -ουμανε, only in Crete (see III, 4.1–4):

λυτρώνομέστανε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 62.21

εκεῖ ἀπού κάθομέστανε CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.352

νὰ δέομέστανε *Thysia Avr.* 1133

εὐρίσκομέστανε (1649, Crete, PANOPOULOU 2003: 2, 148.30–1)

εὐρίσκομέστανε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.256

κείνη πού ὀρέγομέστανε KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1261

φοβούμεστανε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 137.20 (reading of ms Ξ)

θλιβομάστένε μὲ θλιμὸ μεγάλο *Evr. Eleg.* 3 166.6

νὰ μὴν ἀγκικιομάστένε (1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 207.80)

εἰς τὴ στράτα ὅπου ἐρχομαστινε ... (1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.5–6);

ἠβρεσκουμαστινη / ἠυρεσκουμαστινε (ibid. 1, 318.16–17)

ἐβιρυσκομαστυνε / ἐβιρυσκομαστινε (1679, Sovana, Tuscany, PAPADOPOULOS 1979: 1, 473.37)

ἐκρατούμανε TROILOS, *Rodol.* V.298

- c) 2 pl. -ουστε > -ουστενε, with addition of the whole syllable -νε, only in Chios:

μὴν στεκούστενε KONДАР., *Paidēs* 251

πάντοτε βρισκούστενε PROSOPSAS, *Peri Tyflou* 438

ἄν δὲν λυποῦστενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 865

- d) 3 pl. pres. ονται > -ονταίνε, -ουνται > -ουνταίνε, with addition of the whole syllable -νε, only in the Heptanese and Chios:

ἠύρισκονταίνε εἰς τὰ χέρια (1653, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 215, 186.54)

ἔρχονταίνε καὶ κλαῖσι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2109

κί ὅλοι νὰ μὲ φοβούνταιε KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.26

- e) 3 pl. imperf. -ουντον > -ουντονε (Cyclades), -ονταν > -όντανε (Crete and Heptanese), -ουνταν > -ούντανε (Crete, Cyclades, Heptanese, Chios), and -όντησαν > -όντησανε (only in the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*) (see III, 4.3.1):

ἔσιαζούντονε (1673, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 10, 172.16)

ἐγνωρίζόντανε *Alex. Rim.* 871

ἐμαχόντανε ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2076

ἔρχόντανε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 35.15; ὀρεγόντανε ibid. 35.18

δὲν συνεριζόντανε οἱ γνῶμες PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 122.27

ἐκαθέζουντανε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 16.9

ὅπου εὐρίσκουντανε (1613, Rethymno region / Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 846, 737.10–11)

ἐδέρνουντανε BOUNIALIS M. *Diig. Pol.* 1732; ἤρχουντανε ibid. 1764

τὰ πλοῦτή καὶ βασιλεια ἐκράζουντανε κόποι KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.900

εὐρίσκόντησανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.11 ms; ἐρχόντησανε ibid. 72.34 ms

- f) The 3 sg. aorist $-(\theta)\eta\nu > -(\theta)\eta\nu\epsilon$, very rarely (see III, 4.4.2):

ὁ κράλης μὲ ἀποκρίθηνε (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 58.5)
τὸ πῶς εὐρέθηνε ἐκεῖ PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2312

Addition of final /a/ appears in the following suffixes:

- a) the 1 sg. active imperf. oxytone ($-\sigma\upsilon\nu > -\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha$), appearing from the 15th c. onwards, with a relatively wide distribution; for its etymology see PANDELIDIS 2008: 296–8:

ἐκράτουνα *Liv.* E 1670; ἐκονόμουνα *ibid.* 3532
ἐπεθύμουνα *Theseid* I.103,7 (Follieri); ἡμπόρουνα *ibid.* III.54,5 (1529)
ποῦ κράτουνα FALIEROS, *Erot. En.* 122
ὅταν ἐγὼ τραγούδουνα ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 129.13
νὰ σοῦ ζήτουνα *Thysia Avr.* 897
ἐπούλουνα (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.10)
νὰ τὸν ἐτίμουνα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 86.19
ὥσὰ δὲν μπόρουνα νὰ τὸ δουλέψω σήμερο (1639, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 137, 123.11)
ἐχρώστουνα τοῦ καπετὰν Δουλφῆ κάτι λάδι (1694, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 204, 124.17)

- b) The 1 sg., 2 sg. and 3 sg. passive imperfect, very rarely. For 1 sg. the frequency is higher in the case of the copula:

ἐκ πόλεμον ἐρχόμουνα ZINOS, *Vatr.* 323
εὐρίσκόμουνα (1643, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1960: 3, 3.7)

τοὺς ἐδεχότουνα PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 115.17
[ἐγγραφ]ότουνα SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.22
ἐγραφότουνα *Chron. Theod.* 21.14
ὀνομαζότουνα ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 36.8; ἐμουρμουριζότουνα *ibid.* 37.16
στὸν θρόνον ἐκαθότουνα ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΙΣ, *Ifig. Prol.* 51; κ' ἐρχότουνα *id.*, *Thyest.* V.696

ἦμουνα *Pol. Tr.* 7435 app. crit. (BV)
ἦμουνα πρὸς ἐσένα *Liv.* E 1583
ποῖος ἦμουνα *Theseid Prol.* P 139
ἦμουνα ἐγγαστρωμένη BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 426
ἀποθαμένος ἦμουνα (1655, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 178.8)
ἂν ἦμουνα ΣΟΥΜΜΑΚΙΣ, *Past. Fid.* A4v.20

- c) The 1 sg. passive aorist, again very rarely:

καὶ αἰχμάλωτος ἐδιάβηνα κόσμον πολὺν καὶ χώραν *Liv.* E 3992
εκολλήθηνα *Vurl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 384 app. crit.

2.6.3.4 Uninflected Words

A number of uninflected words ending in /n/ and /s/ display addition of final /e/, in those areas where the phenomenon is common also in inflected forms. The most frequent, and earliest, case is that of the preposition εἰς > εἰσέ > σέ. The same evolution appears also in the case of the preposition ἐξ > ἐξέ > ξέ, but this form is limited to the Heptanese. The most typical cases before final /n/ are the conjunctions ἄν > ἄνε, κάν > κάνε, ἦγουν > ἦγουνε and the negation δέν > δένε, which appear mainly in Crete. The case of ἄνευ > ἄνευε is

the only one where addition of /e/, and once even /a/, appears after the final consonant /v/, which is normally disallowed by the phonotactics of MedG (see 3.3.1). It is not surprising then that final addition in this form appears as early as the 12th c. Examples (see also KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.vv.):

- οίσε μανδῖαν / εἰσὲ μαντεῖαν *Byz. Il.* 76 app. crit.
 εἰσὲ κληρονομίαν των *Alosis* 695
 εἰσὲ προυκίον (1509, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 4, 50.5)
 εἰσὲ ὄλην τὴν διαφοράν (1514, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 59, 65.6)
 εἴστε εἰς σέ νηκοκηριῶν / εἴστε εἰσὲ νοικοκυριὸν (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.5–6)
 ἦσε ἡ,τι καὶ ἀν ἔχη / εἰσὲ εἴτι καὶ ἂν ἔχη (1557, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 201, 250.5)
 ἴσε τέλος / εἰσὲ τέλος (1576, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 19, 151.15)
 εἰσε ὄλο το νησι / εἰσὲ ὄλο τὸ νησι (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 88.53)
- ἐξ ἑμίας / ἐξὲ μίας *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 371
 ξὲ κανέναν *Alex. Rim.* 1426
 ξὲ ὅλους *TRIVOLIS, Tagiap.* 42; ξὲ δύο *ibid.* 50
- οσε τορα / ὤσε τώρα (1481, Crimea, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90: III 10, 293.7) (misprint in GRASSO 1880)
- ἀν¹⁷ σημαίνουν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 93
 agne zi na ci dhidhussi / ἄνε ζῆ, νὰ τσῆ διδουσι (1661, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 10, 103.51)
 ὅποιοι καὶ ἀνὲ κατέχουσι τίβοτας (1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 6, 416.10)
 καὶ χίλιοι χρόνοι ἀνὲ διαβοῦ *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1136; ἀνὲ βαρῆς *ibid.* IV.515
- ὅτι κανε δεν επεινούσαμε *Vios Filaret.* 241.14
 ἡ κάνε αὐτοῦνα τὰ μακριὰ τὰ τράγινα τ' αὐτιά σου; *Soummakis, Past. Fid.* G5r.18
- ὄντενε ἔναι κοντὰ νὰ τελειώση *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Interm.* IV 78 tit.
- ἡγουμε / ἦγουμε (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.12); ἦγουμε δουκάτα τέσσαρα (1501, *ibid.* 5, 27.14–15)
 ἦγουνε / ἡγουνε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 15, 39.6)
 ἦγουνε (1667, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 16, 128.7)
- ἐκίθενε / ἐκείθενε (1599, Zakynthos, PLOUMIDIS 1995/98: 87.9)
- ἄνευε (1198, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 246, 333.20)
 ἄνεβε βουλῆς / ἄνευε βουλῆς (14th c.?, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1994: 1, 286.29)
- ἄν ευά της / ἄνευά της *Assizes B* 265.31

2.7 Vowel Deletion

This section examines vowel deletion in all positions within the word, except the special, geographically restricted, phenomenon of “raising vocalism” (2.5.4).

¹⁷ KRIARAS, *Lex.* mistakenly conflates such instances in the lemma ἀνέν, where they are interpreted as deriving from ἄν + 3 sg. of εἶμαι (ἄν ἐν').

2.7.1 Aphaeresis

A basic distinction should be made between lexical aphaeresis, i.e. a diachronic process which has resulted in a permanent, lexicalized stem lacking its etymological initial vowel, and post-lexical synchronic aphaeresis, i.e. a sandhi phenomenon occurring at word boundaries as a means of hiatus resolution (for which see 2.9.2). The first process originates (at least partly) from the second and is explicable through it, and the distinction between the two is not always easy in written sources; secure instances of diachronic aphaeresis in LMedG and EMG are only those where the preceding word ends in a consonant (BAKKER 1988/89: 319). A further distinction should be made between synchronic aphaeresis in LMedG and the phenomenon of aphaeresis (also termed *prodelision*) operating in AG (SMYTH 1984: §76): the latter is an AG synchronic sandhi rule affecting only the short vowels /e/ and, less frequently, /a/, when preceded by a proclitic word ending in a long vowel or diphthong (e.g. μή ἐστι > μή 'στι), whereas the MedG phenomenon affects all vowels.

Diachronic aphaeresis is a phonetic development whereby unstressed initial vowels are deleted. It has been suggested that it can be viewed as an instance of an overall diachronic tendency of Greek towards CV syllable structure, together with the deletion of final consonants and the addition of final vowels (MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 2001: 201). As noted above, permanent aphaeresis originates from the lexicalization of synchronic deletion of a word-initial vowel, which takes place when the preceding word also ends in a vowel, if that vowel is identical or stronger in terms of sonority (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 213–25; MENARDOS 1925; HORROCKS 2010: 276–7; see also 2.9.2). Typical environments causing synchronic aphaeresis which may later be lexicalized are the phonological units definite article + noun (e.g. τὸ ὀσπίτιν > τὸ σπίτιν, τὸ ὀφρύδιν > τὸ φρύδιν, ἡ ἡμέρα > ἡ μέρα, ἡ Εἰρήνη > ἡ Πήνη), indefinite article + noun (e.g. μιὰ ἀλυσίδα > μιὰ 'λυσίδα) and particle νά + verb (e.g. νὰ ἀσφαλίσω > νὰ σφαλίσω), i.e. the same environments which also cause vowel prothesis (see 2.6.1).

Diachronic aphaeresis is responsible for major changes in MedG and EMG morphology (BROWNING 1983: 58; HORROCKS 2010: 277) including: (a) the loss of the syllabic augment when unstressed, and therefore its destabilization as the main exponent of past tense, although this tendency is not at all well documented in MedG and EMG sources (see introduction to III, 3); (b) the development of the weak clitic forms of the personal pronouns (αὐτόν > ἄτον > τόν); and (c) the “new” form of the extremely frequent preposition εἰς combined with the definite article (εἰς τόν > 'ς τόν/στόν).

Aphaeresis as a synchronic rule (at word boundaries) is attested already in papyri of the Christian era, and is considered a low-register phenomenon against the norm of AG, where aphaeresis was a rare occurrence, restricted to poetry; no examples of lexicalized aphaeresis from this period seem to be attested (GIGNAC 1976: 319). In low-register texts of the EMedG period lexicalized attestations begin to appear, as well as the first attestations involving the weak clitic forms (DIETERICH 1898: 29–33; PSALTES 1913: 8–9, 21). An obvious early (Koine) example of lexicalized aphaeresis is the word family γρήγορος, γρηγορῶ, Γρηγόριος (< AG ἐγρήγορα), while a few epigraphic instances from Phrygia

and Cilicia have been collected by BRIXHE (1987: 115), and DRESSLER (1966a: 57), mainly involving prepositions. Early instances of deletion with the preposition εἰς appear in the Late Antique *Colloquia Monacensia*, e.g. Ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ; Ὡς τὸ φόρον. Ποῦ ὑπάγεις; Ὡς τὴν οἰκίαν σπεύδω (CGL III, 648.16, 650.4, 651.34). The initial restriction of aphaeresis to prepositions such as ἐπὶ and εἰς and to the clitic forms of the personal pronoun may indicate that the phenomenon started from proclitic/enclitic elements. Another grammatical environment where aphaeresis may have set in already from the EMedG period is the conjunction ἵνα > νά, on its way to become a marker of the subjunctive, e.g. κατάραν δὲ νά ἔχη 10th c., Thrace, ASDRACHA 2003: inscr. 80 (this inscriptional form is already noted in CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 493). Early, lexical, instances are to be found in the 10th-c. Monza Latin–Greek glossary (AERTS 1972: nos. 8, 43, 49), e.g. *ungula· nihia* (= νύχια), *vaca· gelatas* (= γελάδας), *pomo· ipora* (= ἡ ἰώρα).

Diachronic aphaeresis does not present absolute regularity. It is strongly inhibited by register (of the text or of the lexical item), and is subject to analogical restitution, especially when the lexical item involved has allomorphs or derivatives in which the initial vowel is stressed, e.g. ὀνομάζω – ὄνομα. A further inhibiting factor has to do with phonotactics, and involves cases where the deletion of the initial vowel would result in non-permissible word-initial consonant clusters, e.g. ἀρχινῶ – ῥχινῶ. Additionally, the extent of aphaeresis in the vocabulary may be morphologically conditioned: HATZIDAKIS (1892: 64; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 213–14) has argued, for example, that aphaeresis of /a/ is more frequent in verbs than in nouns, because vowel-initial verbs, when prefixed in past tenses with an augment ἐ- (e.g. ἐγάπησα, ἐγανάκτησα, ἔρπαξα, see III, 3.1.4.2) were re-interpreted as consonant-initial. Frequently, within the same text, a word may appear both with and without its etymological initial vowel. In view of the non-stabilization of aphaeresis even in MG, which presents many lexical doublets (e.g. ἀγελάδα-γελάδα, ἡμέρα-μέρα, ὑπερήφανος-περήφανος etc.), the variable situation displayed by MedG texts should be considered as representative of spoken usage. An additional problem with written sources, especially in the case of consecutive identical vowels, is that the notation of aphaeresis might be simply a scribal or editorial choice: the sequence [tospitin], for example, might be represented as τοσπιτιν, τ' ὀσπίτιν, τὸ σπίτιν etc. Examples of lexical aphaeresis:

/a/

- βάλλειν ἴλυσίδαν (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 533.3)
- τὸ παρὸν σφαλιστικὸν σιγίλλιον (1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 21, 422.20–1)
- ἰπόλυσον πέτραν κατ' αὐτῆς *Ptoch. I* 66
- νά τοὺς ἰπεικάσης *Liv. V* 457
- πάντα εἰς κρωτήριν *Poulol. 90* app. crit. (V)
- μέλλειν ἰζιωθῇ *Assizes A* 87.21–2; ἦσαν κουμπισμένες *ibid.* 111.9
- μίαν γελάδα (1560, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 24, 103.19)
- εἰς ἰκλούθησιν (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 8, 129.21)
- καμπόσον ναπαμένος *Cypr. Canz.* 20.5
- δὲ θέλω νά τις ἰκούσει (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 82.112)

/o/

- τὸ μὲν σπίτιν (1254, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 19, 90.8)
- οὐδὲν μολογᾷ *Assizes B* 254.30

συχνάκις λιγωροῦσιν *Byz. Il.* 317
 ὁ μόδης λοκοτίνιν ἕνα *Assizes A* 52.2; τὸ δικαίωμαν τῶν παρικῶν *ibid.* 241.1
 χιλιάδες ὕδοντα τέσσαρες *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 343
 καθὼς μολογάει (1549, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 51, 93.1)

/u/

uqī dem celo / Οὐχὶ δὲν θέλω (12th c., Cyprus?, AERTS 1995: 2, 206.1) < οὐδέν
 κακὸς ἄνθρωπος ζουράρης (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 179.1) < Ven. *usuraro*

/e/

ἄστεως Πισκοπῆς (1139, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 120, 160.35); χωράφιον ρεῖπτιον (1211,
ibid. 262, 358.11)
 οὐ θέλεις πάρειν *Pol. Tr.* 3434 app. crit. (A)
 τὸ ἔξωθεν ἴσσηπτιον (1451, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 29, 160.4)
 τὸν πῖσκοπον *Velth.* 1330
 εἰς τὸν γιᾶλόν *Byz. Il.* 117
 κόπριον λέφαντος *Spanos D* 1704
 πανέμορφον, πιτήδειον *Achil.* O 44
 τὴν πεθυμοῦν *Def. Par.* 53
 ἦγουν βδομήντα (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 93.32)
 ἀπὸ τὴν πητιδιότητα *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 203.5
 δεύτερον ρώτημα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 333
 ἄν τοῦ δώσης στῖαν *LANDOS, Geopon.* 143.17–18

/i/

καὶ ἄκων ἴσσησαι (1123, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 93, 122.15)
 Ἰωάννης Κονόμος (1176, Sicily, Cusa 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 3, 372.15)
 Ἰούσαν τὸν Σκαριώτην *Chron. Mor.* H 666; κύρ Σάκης ὁ Βατάτσης *ibid.* 448, 451
 εἷς ἴπρητης *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 435
 τὸ εἰρημένον στρουμέντον (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 26,
 40.16)
 ἐν ποκάμισο (1562, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 9, 23.13)

2.7.2 Syncope

Vowel deletion between consonants occurs frequently in the case of unstressed /i/ (the weakest vowel in the vowel hierarchy) and rarely in the case of unstressed /u/ (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 347–8; DIETERICH 1904b; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 258; MINAS 2003: 40–1). In most cases, the deleted vowel is adjacent to a liquid, especially /r/, a tendency evident already in later Hellenistic times (KAPSOMENAKIS 1938: 64–5; GIGNAC 1976: 307). The phenomenon is unrelated to the deletion of unstressed /i/ and /u/ which forms part of “raising vocalism” (see 2.5.4).

Examples of the change occur already in inscriptions and papyri from the period of the Koine (DIETERICH 1898: 37; GIGNAC 1976: 306). In the period covered by this Grammar, it appears already in the earliest documents, i.e. from the 11th c. onwards.

/i/ > Ø adjacent to /r/

κορφῶν (1019, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 18, 19.28–9)
 τὰς κορφᾶς (11th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 30, 268.23)
 κορφὴν *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 47; κορφὴν *Def. Par.* 356

ύστερνὸν *Chron. Mor.* H 867; ύστερνήν (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 252, 347.6)
 σπερνὸ *Chron. Mor.* H 3640; τὸ ὄσπερνὸ (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 54.216)
 σημερνῆς *Chron. Mor.* H 4744; σημερνήν *Thysia Avr.* 184
 χοιρνήν *Poulol.* 289
 περπατεῖς [ANDR. PALAIOI.], *Kallim.* 721; περπατῶ DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 73
 Σαντορνιὸς (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.19); Σαντορνέος (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 60.86); σαντορνιές (1666, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 26, 27.113)
 περβόλια (1510, Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.II, 18.4); περβόλι (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 17, 59.4); περβόλια (1642, Patmos, MICHAELARIS 1998: 1, 192.6)
 στάρι (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 214.30)
 ἔπερμαζῶσα CHORTATIS, *Erof.* Prol. 52
 καλοκαιρνό (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 22.4)
 καθημερνό (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.10)
 τὸ βορνό (1675, Amorgos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 33, 26.9)

/i/ > Ø adjacent to other consonants

ἐκάτσα *Ptoch.* I 131; ἐκάτσαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1836
 τσῆ φλακῆς *Thysia Avr.* 501; φλακὴ μου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* II.60
 πολτικές CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.286
 οἱ ἀλκές *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 107.18
 τσῆ Στείας (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 49.63)
 ἀγαφτικούς CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.92
 adhelfoftumas *P&N Diath.* 834 app. crit.
 φτίλια (1666, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 26, 26.12)
 μισοφτεψία (1688, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 108, 323.5)
 Θεὸς σχωρέσ' τονε (1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.10)
 schoffillati / σκοφυλλάτη PAPADOPOLI, *L'Occio* 157.13
 σκαμνιά (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 450.7) < συκαμνιά

/u/ > Ø

τά ῥθούνια μου *Ptoch.* III 273.29 app. crit. (P) < ρουθούνι
 ἄρθούνια CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.70; orthugna / ὀρθούνια BAROZZI, *Letter* 359.1
 κουρνόμυαλον *Poulol.* 220 < κουρούνα
 ἀκλούθαν τους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 634.16–17; ν' ἀκλουθήσης *Velth.* 197 < ἀκολουθῶ < ἀκολουθῶ
 δέρματα ἀλπουδων *Dig.* A 4731 < ἄλουπού
 νὰ τῆ κουκλώνεται (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 92, 108.21); νὰ σὲ κουκλώσου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.7
 εἰς τὸν Φρακόπλον *Achil.* O 671
 τοῦ Σεργόπλου (1691, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1957/58: I A. 32, 115.2)
 Σεφαννόπλος (1665, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 45, 316.1)

A number of MedG lexical items which are Latin loanwords presenting deletion of /u/ between stop and liquid since Koine times (e.g. τὰβλα < tabula, τίτλος < titulus, στὰβλος < stabulum, σοῦβλα < subula, ἄρκλα < arcula) should be considered as deriving from already syncopated Late Latin forms and not as internal Greek developments (TRIANDAPHYLIDIS 1909: 20).

A special subcase of syncope is the so-called “Kretschmer’s Law”, proposed by KRETSCHMER (1909) for AG and extended to MedG and MG by CHATZIDAKIS (1934/77: A 584–5; cf. also KRETSCHMER 1905: 109–16; PERNOT 1907/46: I 94–7; TSOPANAKIS

1940: 75). According to this phonetic tendency, an unaccented (etymologically short) vowel is deleted when adjacent to a liquid, nasal or sibilant if the preceding or following syllable contains the same vowel. This law explains Koine attestations like σκόροδον > σκόρδον, Βερνίκη > Βερνίκη, παραχρήμα > παρχρήμα (GIGNAC 1976: 306). It is not necessary for the interpretation of MedG cases of unstressed /i/ deletion, which is very frequent independently of whether the next syllable also contains /i/ or not, but could apply in the much rarer cases when the stronger vowels /a/ and /e/ are deleted, especially in 2 pl. imperative forms (see III, 4.5.2):

παρκαλῶντα με (1173, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 51, 88.21)
 λαμβάννει παρκάτω (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 31.49); παρκάτω *Fior* 77.7
 παρχατώττεροι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 256.10
 πάρτε με MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 448.27–8
 βάλτε *Theseid* I.4,5 (Follieri)
 θέλτε SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 147
 πιάστε με FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 267
 σύρτε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 395.19
 δώστε CHORTATIS, *Panor.* V.345
 νά τήνε θανατώστε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 411
 σύρτε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 62.9

Syncope is also responsible for a characteristic morphological idiosyncrasy of the Cretan, Cycladic and Heptanesian area, namely the definite article forms τσῆ, τσί etc., which derive from deletion of /i/ in the proclitic article form, followed by addition of final /i/. See II, 5.2.1 and II, 5.3.2 for details and examples.

2.7.3 Deletion of Final Vowel (Apocope)

If the phenomenon of “raising vocalism” is discounted, lexical deletion of final vowels is extremely rare in MedG and EMG, as in many cases it would lead to loss of inflectional suffixes and as final consonants, except for /n/ and /s/, are disallowed in the phonology of the language (see 3.3.1). Post-lexical final vowel deletion before words beginning with a vowel is of course quite frequent as a hiatus resolution strategy (see 2.9.2.2).

A special case of post-lexical final vowel deletion occurs after consonants, in the case of close-knit syntactic units which form a phonological phrase; the classical term for the phenomenon is apocope. In MedG and EMG, it appears only in low-register texts from the 15th c. and beyond, and predominantly in verse texts. The most frequent environment is the preposition ἀπό + the definite article, e.g. ἀπό τόν > ἀπ’ τόν, and the 2 sg. imperative verb forms followed by a clitic, e.g. φέρε τον > φέρ’ τον (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 255–7; see also III, 4.5). Further appropriate phonological environments include the proclitic 2 sg. personal pronoun (CHATZIDAKIS 1915: 460), and the 3 sg. form of the verb εἶμαι (see III, 4.8.1), which is often unaccented, and which has even led to the univerbation τίντα/ἴντα (see II, 5.7.1.4).

ἀπ’ τὰ νησιά *Chron. Toc.* 2160
 ἀπ’ τὸ φόβο KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.887

τὴν ἀδελφήν μας ἄφησ' την *Dig.* E 346
 φέρ' μου τὰ καρτζὰ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 448.6
 ἐβγάλ' το ὄξω καὶ γιομίσ' το πόλβερη (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 64.32–3)
 βάρ' της βλεπατόρους *Fior* 149.12
 ἐλθέ, ἔπαρ' με, Χάροντα *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VIII.189
 βρίσ' τον (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 3, 302.20)
 γύρισ' την (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 87.21)
 μόνον δῶσ' τα καὶ ἔπαρόν με *Ptochol.* A 246

το κιρί κράτιστο / τὸ κιρὶ κράτησ' το (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 51.9)

θέλουν σ' τ' ἀπομάθει *Poulol.* 618
 χάρη νὰ μὴ σ' τὴν κάμη *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.103; ὅποια σ' τό 'δωκε *ibid.* III.1470

τί ἔν' τὸ σὲ χρεωστοῦσιν; *Spaneas* V 99
 ἄν ἔν' καὶ βλέπεις ἄνθρωπον *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 629
 ἦκουσε τί ἔν' τὸ λέγασιν καὶ τί ἔν' τὸ λαλοῦσαν *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 241
 πόθεν ἔνι, τί ἔν' τὸ ἡξεύρει *Ptochol.* α 207
 ὄνειρον εἶν' πολλὰ ζαβὸ *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.213

An apparent case of final vowel deletion concerns the preposition μέσα, which presents the form μέσ' before the combination of the preposition σέ + definite article, e.g. μέσα στὰ > μεσ' στὰ, from the 17th c. onwards. This is in reality a case of dissimilatory syllable deletion, due to the repetition of identical sounds in the following word (see 3.9.3.3).

A geographically restricted case of final vowel deletion is the development of the demonstrative form ἐκεῖν' before the definite article in Cyprus (see II, 5.5.1.8):

ἐκὴν τὴν κλεψίαν / ἐκεῖν τὴν κλεψίαν *Assizes* B 424.20
 κεῖν' τὸν ἥλιον *Cypr. Canz.* 106.17; κεῖν' τὸ σπλάχνος τῆς φιλιᾶς ἀφήκα *ibid.* 137.2; κεῖν' τ' ἄρματα ποὺ σὲ φουμίζουν *ibid.* 153.13

2.8 Vowel Changes

2.8.1 Change to /e/ in the Adjacency of Liquids and Nasals

The adjacency of a liquid or a nasal may cause the change of an unstressed vowel to the mid vowel /e/. All vowels except /u/ are subject to this change, but it appears with greater regularity in the case of /i/, less regularly with /a/, and only sporadically with /o/. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the conditioning environment is unstressed vowel + /r/.

/a/ > /e/. The raising of /a/ to /e/ adjacent to a liquid or a nasal (especially /r/) is the only conditioned change affecting /a/ with at least some regularity (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 238–9; ANDRIOTIS, *Lex.* s.v. “ἐ ἀντί ἀρχαίου α μέσα σε λέξεις”; MOYSIADIS 2005: 93). It is part of the more general change to /e/ in the adjacency of liquids and nasals; cf. below for the phenomenon as it affects /i/. In the case of /a/, it has sometimes been analysed as dissimilation of two consecutive /a/ vowels rather than as raising (cf. MEYER 1889: 73; MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1985: 411), but there seems to be no regularity in this alleged dissimilation process, since it may be either regressive or progressive (contrast e.g. κράββατος > κρεββάτιν vs. Σαρακηνός > Σαρεκηνός).

The phenomenon appears in both literary and non-literary MedG texts, the earliest attestations coming from the 11th c., but for some words there is evidence that the change has already taken place before the period under examination (cf. *LBG* s.v. κρεβάτιον, and the Koine examples of κρεβάτιν, καθερίζω, ῥέπανον in DIETERICH 1898: 4–6). In some lexical items, the change seems to have been fixed/lexicalized (e.g. κρεβάτιν, σεντούκιν, βελανίδιν, νεράντζιν), but in most cases the affected form varies with the original one. No specific geographical restriction on the change is observable, which is an additional indication that the change must be dated quite early, i.e. at least in the EMedG period.

- κρεβατοστρώσιν (1017, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 22, 167.14);
 κρεβάτι *Chron. Mor.* H 8247
 πελλακίδαν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 246.671)
 βελανιδέα (1345, Serres, GUILLOU 1955: 39, 127.75); βελανίδια (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 57, 47.3)
 σεντούκια (1384, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 49, 264.51); σεντούκι *Chron. Mor.* H 7789 < Arab. *sanduk*
 καβελλαρίου *Chron. Mor.* H 5752; καβελαρίου (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 263.3);
 καβελάρει *Velis.* χ 395 app. crit. (V); καβελάρης *Dig.* E 43 app. crit. < Lat. *caballarius*
 νεραντζέαν [ANDR. PALAIOLOG., *Kallim.* 1744 < Arab. *nārandj*
 τῶν νεραντζιῶν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 33, 67.10)
 sideromolivochalineria / σιδερομολουβοχαλίνερα (15th c., Crete?, KAKOULIDI 1958/59: 120.3–4)
 Σαρεκνηοί *Chron. Mor.* P 13; Σαρεκνηοί *Velis.* χ 386 app. crit. (V)
 ἀσχημοποδερούσα *Poulol.* 327 app. crit. (P)
 ἄρρεβώνα *Poulol.* 150 app. crit. (V); ἄρρεβώνα *Rim. kor.* A 72
 νὰ καθερίζη (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 3, 150.5); ἐκαθέρισεν *Poulol.* 149
 app. crit. (PV)
 ξεκαθερνούμεν (1644, Chios, FOTEINOS 1865: 236.2)
 σεράντα (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.15)
 καρεβούρη (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 112, 195.30)

A phenomenon with similar effect, not to be confused with this phonetic change, is the appearance of /e/ instead of /a/ in words prefixed with the prepositions παρά and ἀνά (or interpreted as such):

- παρεποταμίαν *Dig.* E 1199
 παρεδείσιν *Dig.* E 1628 app. crit.
 παρεκαλοῦν *Pol. Tr.* 6650 app. crit. (V); παρεκάλια MONTSEL., *Evgena* 464
 παρεθύρια DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1613; παρεθύρι *Rim. kor.* V 1; παρεθύρια (1582, Kefalonia
 ZAPANDI 2001a: 155, 98.7); παρεθύρι *Epain. gyn.* 455
 τοῦ παρεδίδω (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 6, 27.11–12)
 εἰς τὸ Παρεπόρτι (1626, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 2, 215.3)
 παρεκάτω *Diig. Alex.* E 269.6 (Lolos)
 ν' ἀνεσηκωθεῖ *Thysia Avr.* 291
 ἀνεπινιά FALIEROS *Ist. On.* 297
 τ' ἀνεκατωμένα KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.642
 ἀνεζητᾶ KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.643
 anepaimenos / ἀνεπατημένος CHORTATSI, *Erof.* III.313 transcr. χ (Legrand); ἀνεπαμένοι (1670, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 2, 577.15)
 ἀνεστήματα (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 481.23)

Ἀνεγνώστης (17th c., Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32); Ἀνεγνώστης (1674, Paros, ZERLENDIS 1922: (3), 54.20); Ἀνεγνώστης (1697, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 12, 28.28)
 νὰ ἀνεκατωθῇ (1724, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1973: 3, 308.8)
 νἀνεγκάζη PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2501
 ἀνεσενάλης / ἀνεσενάζεις PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 106
 ἀνεφερούσας (1101, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 7, 395.4)
 ἀνετολήν *Chron. Mor.* T 59
 τὴν ἀνετολικήν (1623, Bergamo, KORRE 2008: 2, 330.7)

Although conceivably of phonetic origin (influence of the adjacent liquid/nasal), in such cases the change /a/ > /e/ should rather be considered a morphological evolution, i.e. a new prefix/preverb παρε-, ἀνε-. The origin of ἀνε- and παρε- forms is attributable to false reanalysis of aorist verb forms containing the augment (e.g. παρέδωσα, ἀνέγνωσα); see KOUKOULES 1931: 64–6 for interpretation and modern dialectal distribution, and 2.6.1.1 and III, 3 (introduction) on the spread of the augment to non-past tenses. The appearance of the preposition ἀνά as ἀνε- in compounds is a feature of the modern dialect areas of E. Crete, S. Cyclades and Chios (KOUKOULES 1931: 66; KONDOSOPOULOS ³2001: 37, 52), and indeed most of the attestations come from these areas, although occasionally it crops up in texts from elsewhere. It is not recorded in the earliest Cretan texts, i.e. Sachlikis, Dellaportas and Bergadis, although as a phenomenon it is attested already since the Hellenistic period (KOUKOULES 1931: 66; KAHANE/KAHANE 1981: 108).¹⁸

/o/ > /e/. The phenomenon is attested both in MedG/EMG texts and in MG dialects, but it is quite limited, and the precise factors determining its appearance are unknown (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 239, B 406; MOYSIADIS 2005: 94). Furthermore, several alleged instances of the phenomenon may be attributed to different causes, such as analogy, assimilation or folk etymology.

δεμέστικον *Chron. Mor.* H 2606 (possibly assimilation)
 πρόβεδοι *Chron. Mor.* H 5313; ἐπροβεδίζανέ τους *Chron. Mor.* H 4677
 Κρεμμύδιος *Porikol.* I 114 (possibly already an AG doublet κρεμ-/κρομ-)
 ἄλεπουν *Achil.* N 1573 < ἄλωπού < ἄλώπηξ
 φρένιμος (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.12); φρενίμους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.35,
 φρένιμος *Anak. Konst.* 18
 καὶ περμαχιόνια LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 458
 ξερωμένον LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 627 (possibly false etymology from the prefix ξε-)
 Ἰσίδερος (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 1, 3.14)
 προσερινέ FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 115
 νέφη θελά FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 112
 κρεντήρια (1664, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 12, 126.19)
 τὸ ἀντίδερον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.228

/i/ > /e/. One of the most consistent and widespread phonetic changes in MedG is the lowering of unstressed /i/ to /e/ in the adjacency of liquid, and less frequently nasal,

¹⁸ The verbs ἀνεβαίνω and κατεβαίνω have analogical /e/ throughout, irrespective of geographical provenance, cf. KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.vv.

consonants, especially before /r/ (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 238–9; PSALTES 1913: 26–8; DIETERICH 1898: 11–15; MINAS ²2003: 43–4). In the cases where a stressed original /i/ appears as /e/ one should assume paradigmatic levelling (i.e. analogical extension of the affected stem allomorph) on the basis of unstressed inflectional or derivational forms (MEYER 1889: 84; NEWTON 1972a: 195). The change appears in MedG and EMG much more extensively than in MG, affecting even words of learned origin (e.g. τοποτερητής, Εὐρεπίδης, σερραφή, προσκενῶ, μετροπολίτης, ἄδεμονῶ – see examples below).

The phenomenon dates back to the Late Koine (GIGNAC 1976: 248; ΠΑΝΑΥΟΤΟΥ 1990: 197), and therefore it appears already in the earliest MedG documents, without geographical restrictions; it is a Panhellenic change probably pre-dating the split into the various dialects. It is very frequent, but there is constant variation in its application, the most important factor limiting its appearance being register (both of the text and of the specific lexical item). Because of the early appearance of the change, it is conceivable that several instances of /e/ deriving from original /ε:/ <η> are the result of retention of the ancient open pronunciation adjacent to a liquid, i.e. that they are due to inhibition of raising of /ε:/ > /i:/ rather than to lowering of /i/ > /e/.¹⁹

Furthermore, in texts composed in areas where “northern” dialect forms were spoken, it is possible that some cases of /i/ > /e/ lowering are due to the hypercorrection of most of the vowel raising characteristic of these linguistic varieties (cf. 2.5.4) rather than to the action of the adjacent liquid or nasal.

/m/ unstressed

- μετροπόλεως (11th c., Silymvria, EVANGELATOU-NOTARA 1982: 323, 186.1)
 μετροπολίτης (1655, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 122.2–3)
 τῶν ἐμετέρων (1044, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 3, 146.14)
 δेमόσιον (1148, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 7, 82.17); (δε)μοσίω / δेमοσίω (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 183.14); ἡ δेमοσιὰ (1693, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 32, 136.5)
 ἄδεμονεῖ *Chron. Toc.* 703
 οἱ Μεζιθριῶται (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 37.II, 10.1)
 θεμωνιά (1590, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 8, 309.16); θεμωνιά (1713, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992a: 2, 75.5)
 Ρέθεμνος (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.32); Ρέθεμνος (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 2, 27.3)
 δίμετα (1616, Naxos, CHASIoTIS 1966: 20, 214.9)
 ἀμέρεμνοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 131.33
 μεσοφαγωμένον *Bertoldos* 12.4
 ἔμειναν εὐχαριστεμένοι (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 49, 64.22)
 μεδέ (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 53, 68.30)

¹⁹ It has in fact been suggested that the phenomenon of /i/ > /e/ lowering is an inheritance from the AG Aeolic dialect (KAPSOMENOS 1985: 48; MINAS ²2003: 43–4; discussion in ΜΟΥΣΙΑΔΗΣ 2005: 92) due to rare examples such as Lesb. *Δαμοκρέτω* IG XII 2 74 and Thess. *κρεννέμεν* IG IX 2 5 17.14. However, this is extremely doubtful, both because of the limited influence of the Aeolic dialect on the history of later Greek as compared to the Panhellenic spread of this change, and because of the different nature of the AG vowel system (short and long vowels, musical accent; all the examples quoted involve stressed vowels).

/m/ stressed

- εἰσοσδέματα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.8
 μένημα (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 9, 313.8)
 μὲν ὑπᾶς *Achil.* N 1567
 να μεν τυχαίνει *Theseid* VI.12,7 (Olsen)
 νὰ μὲν ποιήσης (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 404.231)
 ἀποστέματα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 177.23

/n/ unstressed

- Κομνενοῦ (1179, EVANGELATOU-NOTARA 1982: 443, 211.1)
 Κομνενός (1649–69, Thessaly, SPANOS 2001: 437, f.86v.23)
 Πελοπόννησον *Chron. Mor.* H 1405
 γεναῖκες (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.4–5); τὴν γεναῖκαν του
 MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 218.2
 τὸ πανεγύρι (1604, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 10, 166.77)
 Αἶγεναν *Theseid* VI.15,1 (Olsen); τὴν Αἶγεναν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.34
 φτενόν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 247.20; φτενό (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1639)
 σενήθειο (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 148.55)
 Νεκήτας (1608, Kalymnos, KOUTELAKIS 1981: 2, 31.16)
 κάνεστρο (1609, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 8, 81.107); κάνεστρα (1627, Athens,
 KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 240.28)
 ναν τον ἐπροσκενήσω (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.24)

/n/ stressed

- γδένεται DEFAR., *Sos.* 108 (Holton)

/l/ unstressed

- τὸ ζευελατίον (1073, Constantinople?, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 50, 9.114)
 ζευελάτης [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1501
 βελλάνους (1157?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 10, 315.8)
 θελείας (< θήλυ) (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 245.622)
 βουλεθῆ (1358?, Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.11)
 μαξελάρια LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 176 (Wagner: μαξελλάρια)
 ἡ ἐλικία μας BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 245
 βεγλήσει FORTIOS, *Strat. pragm.* 262 app. crit.
 νὰ κολεμπήση *Diig. Alex.* E 233.3 (Lolos)
 Στελιανόν (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 21, 230.2); κύρ Στελιανός
 Ντὲ | Πάλμας (1548, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 119, 233.3–4); τὸν
 Στελιανό (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 14.27)
 ἡπροσελῶνει (1608, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 18, 177.6)
 τὸ στελέτον (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 744.16)

/l/ stressed

- ἀνέλικα (1177, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IV: 4, 120.2)
 ἐσκέλυεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.25
 νὰ μὴν τὸ ἀμελέση TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 18
 ἀκωλέτως (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 13.5)

/r/ unstressed

- θεοστερικτων (1015, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 15, 15.14)
 ἀνεπερέαστον (1034, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 29, 34.6)
 ὑπερεσίαν (1041, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 2, 141.41); ὑπερετεῖν (1101–1113?, Sicily, CUSA
 1868/82: Coll. IX: 6, 394.2); νὰ μὲ ὑπερετήσουνε (1682, Skyros, ANDONIADES 1983: VIII,
 184.8)

ἀκερῶσαι τὴν τοιαύτην διάταξιν (1096–1100, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 26, 121.16)
στηχαιράριν (1138?, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 14, 102.21)
σωτερία *Jonas* 215.61; σωτερευτῆς *Chron. Mor.* H 3872
ναύκληρος *Ptoch. III* 197.18 app. crit. (P); τὸν ναύκληρον *Assizes B* 296.23
καλόγερος (1288, Cos, NYSTAZOPOYLOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 227.10)
Εὐρεπίδης *ERMON., Ilias* 1.147
ἐπλέρωσα (14th c.?, Cyprus, COUROPOY/GÉHIN 2001: 2, 157.3); πλερώνεται *Dig. E* 1705
τὰς μαγερίας (1453, Thrace/Black Sea?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 4, 89.35)
μερσίνην *Liv. V* 837; μερσίνη *Rim. kor. V* 15
θερία σ' ἐφάγαν, *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 475; τοῦ θεριοῦ *Anak. Konst.* 36
σίδερα (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 148, 267.31)
βούτερον *Diig. Alex. Sem. B*
τὴν σερραφὴν *Spanos D* 1785
ἄχερον *Spanos A* 462; *Assizes B* 497.6; ἄχερα (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 394.29)
σκληρὰ καὶ ἀντροπιασμένα MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 144.2; τῆς σκληρῆς *Fior* 73.24
τὴν σχηοράσιν / τὴν συχώρεσιν (1573, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75.11)
σπερούνι (1594, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 57, 80.5–6)
τοῦ Ἄργεροῦ (1645, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 5, 218.4)

/r/ stressed

ἀνακρένην (1101, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 7, 395.14); ἀνακρένει *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 455.3
ψαλτέριον (1116, S. Italy, EVANGELATOU-NOTARA 1982: 364, 194.1)
κρένουν *Chron. Mor.* H 2394; κρένη *Poulol. AZ* 109
ἐπλέρωσα (14th c.?, Cyprus, COUROPOY/GÉHIN 2001: 2, 157.3)
πλέρωμαν (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 134.60)
τοῦ σιδέρου *Liv. V* 173; σίδερον *ibid.* 234
βρέσκει *TRIVOLIS, Tagiap.* 59; βρέσκει *Nov. I* 156.5

2.8.2 Labialization

The influence of the labial consonants /p, b, f, v, m/ may cause the rounding of a vowel to /o/. This affects mostly /e/ and very rarely /a/. In the case of /i/, the influence of the labial consonants results in the corresponding high rounded vowel /u/, a change which is examined in 2.8.4 below, as it may be triggered by velar consonants as well.

/e/ > /o/. An (usually) unstressed /e/ occasionally changes to /o/ adjacent to the labial consonants /p, b, f, v, m/. The phenomenon has been considered a facet of the more common phenomenon of the change of /i/ > /u/, frequently termed labialization (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 280; SYMEONIDIS 1972; MOYSIADIS 2005: 105–6).

As far as dating is concerned, this change seems to be a medieval evolution. The first secure examples come from 12th-c. documents (cf. also MINAS ²2003: 52; *LBG* s.v. ἐξόμπλιν). The change is specifically mentioned in the grammars of Germano and Portius (PERNOT 1907/46: I 88–9; MEYER 1889: 79). According to NEWTON (1972a: 26), this phenomenon should chronologically have preceded the “northern” raising phenomena, since the /o/ resulting from this change undergoes raising to /u/ (γεφύρι > γιοφύρι > γιουφύρι); but such forms could be loanwords within the dialects affected by raising phenomena. The limited dialectal distribution also points to a later dating than the other labialization changes, which are common to all MG dialects except the most peripheral ones.

The change /e/ > /o/ is attested with stressed /e/ as well. In such cases, it could be the result of analogical paradigmatic levelling or assimilation to a following /o/. On the other hand, there are two lexical items (ψέμα > ψόμα and γεῦμα > γιόμα) where the change appears very frequently, from many areas and periods, despite the fact that most case-forms are stressed.

Unstressed

ἐξομπλίοις (1106, Athos, EVANGELATOU-NOTARA 1982: 350, 191.4) < Lat. *exemplum*
 τὸ γιοφύριν (1125, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 4, 555.17) < γεφύριν; γιοφυρίου (1211, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 261, 356.8); γιοφύρια *Velth.* 700; γιοφύρια *Chron. Mor.* P 542
 ὀλόγομον (1325, Veroia?/Macedonia, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 64, 355.52); ἂν ἐγεομίζασιν *Ptoch. IV* 300 app. crit. (K); γομάτη *Pol. Tr.* 2733 app. crit. (R); γιομάτο ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 46.30
 πορπάτημα *Jonas* 216.68; πορπατεῖτε BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 532; νὰ πορπατῇ TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 96
 σύγνοφα *Pol. Tr.* 1246 app. crit. (X); *Diig. Alex.* F 236.3 (Lolos); συγνοφᾶ BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 87
 νὰ πορτομηθῇτε *Pent. Gen.* 34.17
 ροβίθια CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.110; ροβίθια (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 162, 161.11); Ροβίθιον *Porikol.* III 59
 γιομάτου DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 181 < γεῦμα
 ψοματινὴ CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.22; ψοματινὸς KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.404
 τὸ ἀπόγιομα ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 55.38

Stressed

ψόμα *Poulol.* 246 app. crit. (CP); BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 163; (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83.10); ψόμα (Unknown, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 31.4); ψόμα *Rim. kor.* A 18; ψόματα *Alosis* 736; ψόματα (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.20)
 γιόμα *Arm.* 106; *Krasop.* V 65; *Vosk.* 366; *Peri xen.* 182; γιόμαν *Achil.* N 1030
 ἰστρουμόντο (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 17, 33.24)
 ἡ χιότη *Liv.* V 1981; τὴν χιότη *Diig. Alex.* E 201.5 (Konstantinopulos) < χιάτη
 τὰ ρούματα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 265.20; ὡς τὸ ροῦμα (1678, Crete, VOUREDOUNBAKIS 1915: 28, 403: 9) < ρόμα < ρέμα < ρεῦμα
 τοὺς ἐφοβόρισε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.27

Other instances of apparent /e/ > /o/ adjacent to non-labial consonants should rather be interpreted as the results of analogy or folk etymology, cf. the two examples adduced by TRIANDAPHYLIDIS (1909: 9): δοκανίκια *Diig. tetr.* 917 (< δεκανίκι, influence of δόκανο) and βιτισορές, βιτισορήγας KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* XVI.505 (< βιτισερές < Ital. *vice-re*, dissimilation, or reanalysis as the regular /o/ linking vowel of compounds).

/a/ > /o/. This change is occasionally mentioned in the literature, with examples such as θαμπός > θομπός, λαβωματιά > λοβωματιά, σαμάρι > σομάρι, παπάς > ποπάς (MEYER 1889: 73; MOYSIADIS 2005: 108). It is most likely not of phonetic origin, but due to phenomena such as folk etymology, analogy or assimilation. Very few instances have surfaced so far:

βοθρακοῦ Spanos D 32; μποθρακὸς CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.41
 μοσγίτιν *Thrinis Tam.* 22 (< Arab. *masdjid*, usual form μασγίδιον)
 τὰ σωμαρικά CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1123
 πετροσόμαρα (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 118, 131.15)
 Σομαριάρης (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 1, 283.11)

The form *όπού* for *άπό* (1508, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 4.49), frequent in the acts of Olokalos, may be of morphological origin, perhaps through the intermediary of *άπού*, or may be due to a post-lexical vowel change at word boundaries (see 2.9.3) caused by the influence of words ending in /o/.

The fluctuation between /a/ and /o/ observable in a single text (VASMER 1922) has been attributed to language interference from Russian (VASMER 1922: 130; TZITZILIS 1999: 85): e.g. *μήνος* for *μήνας* (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2059).

2.8.3 Raising of /o/ to /u/

Unstressed /o/ raises to /u/ in specific environments in all areas, mainly adjacent to velar and labial consonants (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 291–3; PERNOT 1907/46: I 142–5; NEWTON 1972a: 24–5; ΜΟΥΣΙΑΔΗΣ 2005: 97–102). Some scholars propose the additional influence of a sibilant or liquid environment, but this is difficult to establish due to the frequent simultaneous presence of a velar or labial consonant as well, e.g. *τζούφιος* < *ζοφός* < *σομφός* due to the labial /f/, *Αμοργός* > *Αμουργός* due to the labial /m/ (ΜΟΥΣΙΑΔΗΣ 2005: 101). In some words the phenomenon has been lexicalized and is therefore regular, i.e. the word always appears in the changed form, while other lexical items present variation.

Although the change normally applies only to unstressed /o/, stressed results of the change also occur, as the result of analogical levelling (NEWTON 1972a: 24). A special case is the word-class of neuter nouns in -ούνι, with apparent stressed /o/ > /u/, from AG diminutives in -ων > -ώνιον (e.g. *ρώθων* > *ρωθώνιον* > *ρουθούνι*, *σάπων* > *σαπώνιον* > *σαπούνι*, *κώδων* > *κουδούνι* etc.). CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: B 308) and PERNOT (1907/46: I 147) interpret them as the result of analogical spread from the corresponding verbs *κουδουνίζω*, *σαπουνίζω*, *ρουθουνίζω* and not of a straightforward application of the rule, since other members of this class, which do not possess verbal cognates, have not undergone the change, e.g. *αηδόνι*, *τρυγόνι*, *παγόνι*, *σεντόνι*. Alternatively, according to GEORGACAS (1951: 206–10), the -ούνι class could be interpreted as a late derivation from non-diminutive forms of nouns only after the /o/ > /u/ change had applied, i.e. from inflected forms like *τὸν ρώθουνα*, *τὸν σάπουνα* etc., where /o/ was unstressed and therefore subject to the change. This would explain the lack of change in *αηδόνι*, *τρυγόνι*, *σεντόνι* *et sim.*, since their inflection never involved forms with unstressed /o/, as they were oxytone (AG *αηδών*, *τρυγών*, *σινδών* etc.).

The change must be dated at some point in the EMedG period. Papyrological data (GIGNAC 1976: 208–13) are not helpful for dating the phenomenon to the Roman period, because the interchange of /o/ and /u/ is very frequent in these texts due to interference from Coptic. EMedG examples include: *κιβούριον* Malalas, *Chronogr.* 490.3; *Chron. Paschale* 713.11 but *κιβώριον* *De ceremoniis* 98.2; Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 231.20; *άρτοπουλίω* *De ceremoniis* 502.1; *κλουβίον* *ibid.* 306.17; *σαπουνίζω* *De thematibus* 39.15; *Καρβουνοψίνα* Theophanes Cont. 705.12 (PSALTES 1913: 38). In LMedG, examples occur in the earliest non-literary documents from Athos and S. Italy (but are difficult to distinguish from “raising vocalism”) as well as in the earliest literary texts (*Ptochoprodromos*, Glykas).

On the other hand, Pontic and Cappadocian are reported as not taking part in the general /o/ > /u/ change and as exhibiting unchanged forms like ρωθώνιν, κωπίν etc. (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 291), which would point to a late appearance of the phenomenon, after the splitting off of these dialects. However, standard descriptions of these dialects provide many examples with raised /o/, e.g. ψουνίζω, βουτάνι, κουμπί, ρουφίζω, γουμάρι (from ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1958: 25), cf. also the forms reported by DÖLGER (1929/30) from the Vazelon archive (πουλεῖν, ἀπάνου, ἀποκάτου).

The modern dialect of Mani shows traces of a very early change of /o/ > /u/, which affects stressed /o/ stemming from AG /ɔ:/, e.g. στρούνου, φιλού, χρούμα, as well as unstressed original /ɔ:/ in environments and items not attested in other dialects, e.g. μαύρουν, σουστός (MIRAMBEL 1929: 58–73; CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: B 528–9; KONDOPOULOS ³2001: 78). This is considered a different, and earlier, change than the one discussed here, since it must have taken place before the falling together of /o/ and /ɔ:/ in the period of the Koine. Unfortunately, such instances do not seem to be attested in MedG documents from Mani.²⁰ However, there are very rare attestations of a corresponding phenomenon from the Peloponnese: that of the realization of the 1 sg. active verb ending -ω as -ου: νὰ χρωστάου τοῦ Ἀγίου Μάρκου (1696, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 33, 137.13).

The raising of /o/ > /u/ is much more widespread in MedG than in MG, and in medieval texts from Cyprus it is indeed very strong. This points to a general phonetic change inhibited by the influence of learned language.

Unstressed

- πουλεῖν (1005, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 13, 13.26)
 κουλλούρια (1062, Sicily, ROGNONI 2004: 11, 117.7)
 Λευκουσίας (1193, Cyprus, EVANGELATOU-NOTARA 1982: 471, 217.7); Λευκουσία (1303, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 31, 161.[12]3)
 ἀγελάδιν σύμμουσκον (1216, Macedonia, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 12, 123.11)
 μουσκαράκια SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 128.4; μουσκάρια (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 20, 32.7)
 σχουλαρίκια (1280, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 82, 48.6)
 ψουνίζει *Ptoch.* IV 92 app. crit. (CP)
 σουλήνας *Ptoch.* IV 323 app. crit. (P); σουληνάριν [ANDR. PALAIOI.], *Kallim.* 1627
 εἰς τὸ Ἀμμόχουστον (14th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 3.5)
 γουργόν *Chron. Mor.* H 3073; γουργόν *Pol. Tr.* 6703 app. crit. (A)
 ψαλμουδία *Jonas* 215.58; ψαλμουδιές LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 44 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner: ψαλμουδιαῖς)
 ἀφουρμή (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 47, 25.2)
 ὁ Κουμνηνός MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 16.37
 ψουμίν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.15
 ζουγραφίζουν *Achil.* N 903; ζουγραφιστή *Spanos* A 250
 τῶν κουδουνίων *Achil.* N 1210
 κουρούνα *Poulol.* 430

²⁰ BASEA-BEZANDAKOU (2005: 284) reports only the name ἡ Φουκοῦ (= τοῦ Φωκᾶ) (1547, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: I, 70.4), also attested in another Maniot document: Φουκάς (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 1, 282.1).

μουρὲ *Poulol.* 241 app. crit. (E)
 πουρνόν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 304
 ἔναν κουμμάτιν (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 16, 32.6)
 πουλάρι (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 6, 27.22)
 προικοσύφουνο (1560, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 24, 102.1)
 τὴν παρούσαν μουλογία (1629, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 8, 173.6)
 φουλιάν *Cypr. Canz.* 142.16
 τὸν ζουμόν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 243.30

Stressed

σαπούνιν *Ptoch.* IV 154; σαπούνι *Theseid* I.53,7 (Follieri); σαπούνιν DEFAR., *Sos.* 101 (Holton)
 ἀγούριν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 210
 ρωθοῦνι *Jonas* 215.53
 χοῦμαν *Dig.* E 86; χοῦμα *Liv.* E 44
 καλούγριαν *Assizes* B 347.9
 σκούληκας *Poulol.* 118
 ἔρρουκανοετούρνενυσεν *Velth.* 290
 πλερούσουσιν (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 56.52)
 ροῦφημαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 524
 τοῦ κούπου *Assizes* A 73.30
 τὰ κούρταλα LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 441 < κρόταλον
 φούνια FALIEROS, *Log. did.*; ἐψούνινσεν *Pist. kekoim.* 162
 μέ κούκκαλα λεφάντινα *Diig. Alex.* E 147.15 (Lolos)

The phenomenon is detectable also through (rare) hypercorrections, e.g.

κομονίου (1391, Corfu, Tselikas 1986b: 182.3)
 δοκατα κε / δοκάτα κε' (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.10)
 προκοσύμφωνον (1662, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 6, 55.13) < προκοσύμφωνον <
 προικοσύμφωνον

Two special cases of stressed /o/ > /u/ need to be mentioned: the very frequent prepositional variant ἀπό > ἀπού, which, however, is not stressed within a phonological phrase, as it is proclitic on the following word, and the quantitative determiner ὅλος > οὔλος/οὔλος, which is a widespread dialectal form that has been interpreted as an Ionic archaism (THUMB 1901: 86; but cf. CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 284; *LKN* s.v. οὔλος). See II, 5.13.1.1 for further examples.

τὸ βάθος οὔλον (1199, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 247, 336.4)
 νὰ κάμης οὔλα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.23
 οὔλα (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 60.5)
 οὔλους τοὺς ἀγάπουν *Anak. Konst.* 41
 καὶ φοβιτσαροὶ οὔλοι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 71
 οὔλη τὴν Ἑλλάδα EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 20.11–12

It is also crucial to distinguish this change from the regional raising phenomenon /o/ > /u/ (see 2.5.4).

2.8.4 Backing of /i/ > /u/

The high front vowel /i/ changes to the corresponding high back vowel /u/ in the adjacency of velar and labial consonants, in unstressed syllables. The phenomenon appears in all areas, but it is regular only in some lexical items and not in others. It affects /i/ of any historical provenance (i.e. ι, η, ει, υ, οι, not only from Koine /y/). According to JOSEPH (1979: 46), the environment of the change should be better defined as follows: /i/ between consonants, where one of the consonants is a labial or a velar and the other consonant is a sonorant /l, r, m, n/ or both are labial or velar. Other scholars (MOYSIADIS 2005: 105) doubt the influence of adjacent liquid consonants, and attribute the change only to the presence of labials and velars. However, it is possible that liquids may play an additional role, i.e. support the tendency when the main triggering consonant is present.

It is often claimed (see 2.4.6.2) that several cases of MG /u/ corresponding to AG /y/, sometimes standing in variation with forms in /i/, are instances of a direct retention of an ancient pronunciation (KAPSOMENOS 1985: 111; MINAS ²2003: 37, cf. LIOSIS/PAPADAMOU 2011 for an overview).²¹ Common examples include: μουστάκι, στουπί, σκουτί, ξουράφι/ξυράφι, χρουσός/χρυσός etc. However, the fact that these /u/ sounds occur quite consistently adjacent to velar and labial consonants, i.e. in an environment which is known to cause backing of /i/ to /u/, renders the retention scenario dubious. Since the innovative change /i/ to /u/ is well attested in the MedG period, the presence of forms with etymological <υ> = /u/ in medieval texts does not necessarily entail that they are AG survivals. Only the presence of /u/ from original AG /u/ in a phonetic environment not involving labial, velar or sonorant consonants, or when the base-form of the word is stressed, attested in MedG texts, can be considered a candidate for a true archaic retention of AG /u/; a typical example is the personal pronoun ἐσοῦ consistently attested in Ancient, Medieval and Modern Cypriot (see II, 5.3.1.2). In most other cases /u/ must have evolved regularly to /y/ and then, in the environments described above, i.e. in the vicinity of velar, labial and sonorant consonants, it must have become subject to the irregular /i/ > /u/ change, which affected all Medieval Greek /i/ sounds irrespective of origin. Some of these /i/ sounds simply happened, coincidentally, to correspond to ancient <υ> rather than to <η, ει, ι>.

Unfortunately the phonetic environment of the change /i/ > /u/ is rather unclear. Firstly, there are exceptions to the rule both ways, i.e. one may find unaffected /i/ despite the fact that a velar, labial or sonorant consonant is adjacent, or an affected /i/ despite the fact that these conditions are not met. Furthermore, because the conditioning consonants belong to so many classes, it is in fact difficult to find an /i/ that does not meet at least one of the conditions of the proposed change. The phenomenon appears rarely with stressed vowels, in which case paradigmatic levelling should be assumed.

As far as dating is concerned, the situation is again imprecise: there is inscriptional evidence for sporadic appearance of <ου> instead of <υ> already in the first centuries AD

²¹ This would entail direct survival from an AG dialect other than Ionic-Attic, which did not undergo the AG dialectally restricted fronting change /u/ > /y/ (i.e. Doric, Aeolic or Arcado-Cypriot).

(DIETERICH 1898: 23), e.g. χρουσός, ούπέρ. These can indeed be AG dialectal survivals with the caveats expressed above, or instances of a change /y/ > /u/, since one could assume that the environments that backed /i/ to /u/ could also affect /y/. Alternatively, along with KAPSOMENOS (1985: 111), one could assume that the spelling <ου> in these cases simply betrays a failed attempt to render the sound [y] on the part of those speakers who did not possess it in their native language system.

However, there is no evidence for interchange of original AG <ι, η, ει, οι> with <ου> before the 11th c.

Unstressed

- βουττία (1007, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 1, 136.38)
 χρουσου (1008, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 14, 138.29); χρουσοῦ [ANDR. PALAIOL.],
Kallim. 800
 νὰ κρουφθῇ *Log. parig.* L 63; κουρφά PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1663
 κολουμποῦσι *Velth.* 697 transcr. (Lendari) (κολουμποῦσι Kriaras)
 Σουρίαν *Chron. Mor.* P 1361; Σουρία DEFAR., *Sos.* 56 (Holton)
 βρουχᾶται *Dig.* E 394; βρουχίσματα ἔποικε *Byz. Il.* 118; ἔβρουχᾶτον SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 129
 πᾶμφουμος *Pol. Tr.* 136 app. crit. (V); περίφουμον *ibid.* 110 app. crit. (V)
 προυκίον (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 48.8); προυκοχάρτι (1573, Andros, POLEMIS
 1999a: 4, 13.8)
 ὀρδουνιάσουν (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 135.102)
 μοῦρμουγκοι *Poulol.* 49 app. crit. (CP); τοῦ μουρμουκιοῦ *Fior* 109.25
 τὸ μουστάκιν του κλάσε το *Spanos* D 14
 εἰς τὰς ἀλογοπατουματές των *Spanos* A 200
 σουρίζει *Alex. Rim.* 190; νὰ τοὺς σουρίξη MONTSEL., *Evgena* 261
 ἄγκουραν (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 53.12); ἄγκουραν *Cypr. Canz.*
 143.7
 ἡ Ἄστουπαλιά (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 98.tit.)
 ἐμπροστοκούρτουνα (1561, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 12, κζ'.20)
 σουπέας *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1104; σουπές PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §9.2
 ἔβαλε ξουράφι νὰ τὸ ξουρίση *Synax. gyn.* 218; μὲ ξουράφιν *Diig. Alex.* F 262.13 (Lolos)
 μὴ στρουφογυρίζης LANDOS, *Geopon.* 177.28–9
 μὲ ζουμάρι LANDOS, *Geopon.* 249.27
 τὸ φουκάριν FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.11
 ζουλιάρη *Epain. gyn.* 626
 τουραγνὰ CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.76 app. crit.; νὰ τουραγνιέται MONTSEL., *Evgena* 953
 ξουφάριν *Cypr. Canz.* 30.1
 πουροστιὰ (1645, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 5, 219.24)
 Γεράσουμος (1683, Naxos, TOURTOGLOU 2000: 2, 115.19)
 ἐφουμέρευεν (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 824, 1107.7)
 στὴν Κορφοξουλιά (17th c., Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 44, 315.1–2)

Stressed

- ἔσου ὁ ἀγοραστὴς (1134, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 43, 192.12)
 εσου / ἔσου (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.7)
 φούμην ἀγαθὴ DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1097
 τὸ σκουλούκιν *Ptochol.* P 185
 κρούσταλλον *Dig.* E 1655
 πτερούγιν *Dig.* E 1513
 τούμπανο *Krasop.* V 10; τούμπανο *Pent. Gen.* 31.26; μὲ τούμπανα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 139

μούττην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 282.5 (regular form of the word in Cyprus); ἀποὺ τήν μούτην
του *Assizes* A 204.2
ἐξούρισε *Alex. Rim.* 39
ὁ ποὺγουνάς της *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 8
ὁ ποὺσκοπος (16th–17th c.?, Macedonia?, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 2166, f.54r.1)
ὁ ἀτὸς δὲν πιάννει μοῦγες *Fior* 130.8–9
ζούλευσε PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §5.1; ἐζούλεψεν *Pent. Gen.* 30.1
μερμούγκι DEFAR., *Log. did.* 215
φρούδι *P&N Diath.* 110; φρούδιν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 56
τρούπα (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.16); μία τρούπα μεγάλη EFTHYM.,
Chron. Gal. 16.9

2.8.5 Assimilation and Dissimilation

Assimilation is a sporadic phenomenon which occurs already in AG and Koine Greek (DIETERICH 1898: 19–23; MAYSER 1923: 149–51; LEJEUNE 1972: §254). In MedG it also occurs sporadically, throughout the period and in all areas. Despite its sporadicity, it is possible to observe a number of regularities (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 234–8; PERNOT 1907/46: I 236; MOYSIADIS 2005: 112–13): assimilation affects only unstressed vowels, it is more frequently regressive than progressive, and the influence of vowels seems to be related to the vowel hierarchy (see 2.9.2) in that weaker vowels tend to assimilate to stronger ones. It is natural, therefore, that most of the attested cases are assimilations to /a/, the strongest vowel in the hierarchy.

Changes affecting initial vowels are better interpreted as the result of contact between vowels at word boundaries, as determined by the vowel hierarchy (see 2.9.3). In several cases it is difficult to decide whether the vowel change is due to assimilation rather than to the action of an adjacent consonant (e.g. lowering due to liquids, backing etc.). Assimilation is especially frequent in Cypriot texts.

Regressive

ἀνάθαμαν (1023–4, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1968: 1, 24.8–9)
ἀπεδέα (1073, Miletos, VRANOUSI 1980: 50, 9.116)
μαναχός SULT. WALAD, *Poem I* 1b; ἥρχουμου μαναχός (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.31)
δεμέστικον *Chron. Mor.* H 2606
λαμπάρδοι *Chron. Mor.* P 1059
Μοθώνη *Chron. Mor.* P 1690; Μοθωναίου (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 98.190)
θαραπεύω *Dig.* E 1443; νὰ θαρπαγεῖ *Thysia Avr.* 216
ἀκουλουθοῦν *Dig.* E 209 app. crit.; ἀκουλουθοῦν *Pol. Tr.* 3085 app. crit. (V)
τῶν ὀρώτων *Dig.* E 1477 app. crit.; ὀρωτική *Achil.* N 122; ὀρωτικὴν *Krasop.* V 6
εἰς τὴν Περιστορόναν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.15
δικιμήν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 644.7; νὰ τὰ δικιμάσεις *Thysia Avr.* 540
νὰ παρπατοῦν ὀξαπόλυτοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 192.2
δραπάνιν ἐν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 75, 73.8)
προυτοῦ *Alex. Rim.* 999
ἀσιρνικῶν (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 172.7)

ζευγαλάτης *Cypr. Canz.* 20.9

άλουποῦ *Pist. voskos* III 6.72

τὸ μαναστήρι (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 2, 7.3–4)

αἱ ἀναράϊδες *Alex. Fyll.* 79.8

Progressive

φοροστέροις (1094, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 4, 390.19)

Πελεπόννησος *Chron. Mor.* P 1579

πολομοῦμε σε (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 16, 11.1); πολομοῦν

MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.12; πολομᾶ *Assizes* A 26.20

βούτουρο *Pent. Gen.* 18.8

ὄροχτικά *Pent. Gen.* 49.20; ὄροξι (1625, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 99, 240.44–5)

φλourounτινίκου VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 12.14–15 < φλωρεντ-

τὴν φαμαλιάν (1571, Unknown, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 8, 481.10–11)

καταβοδοθῶ *Alex. Rim.* 1317

οἱ Μαμαλοῦκοι SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 176

ὁ Πτολομαῖος VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 113

ἔξεπνες (1609, Cyprus, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90: III 20, 266.4) < ἔξυπνος

τὸ παναγύριν *Pist. kekoim.* 161

Dissimilation is also attested since AG times (LEJEUNE 1972: §254), but is much rarer than assimilation and less easy to distinguish from other changes affecting vowels. In MedG and EMG it appears very sporadically, without any regularity and, again, is hard to distinguish from other phonetic changes, as well as as from folk etymology and hypercorrection (Chatzidakis 1905/07: A 238–9).

Τσεγγαρόπολος (1116, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 15, 412.2) < Τσαγγαρ-

ἀπιλογίαν *Chron. Mor.* H 295 < ἀπολογία

ἐλαλούδιζαν *Dig.* E 1061 < λουλουδ-

ὀρκοματικοῦ (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 133.25)

ἀνοψίεις (1600, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: II, 70.3) < ἀνιψ-

2.9 Vowels in Contact

2.9.1 Introduction: Types of Hiatus and Hiatus Resolution

Sequences of immediately adjacent vowels occur both at the lexical level (word-internally), and post-lexically (at word boundaries). The resulting hiatus is resolved in a number of different ways:

- deletion of one of the vowels (see 2.9.2)
- vowel coarticulation: diphthongization (2.4.8.1), synizesis (2.9.4), crasis (2.9.5)
- anaptyxis of an intervocalic glide [j] (3.5.2.1) or a euphonic consonant /n/ (3.7.2.1)
- metathesis, so that one vowel is postposed after a consonant (3.9.1).

Hiatus resolution through one of the above strategies is optional, and depends on a variety of factors. On the lexical level, hiatus resolution is the regular development, but may be avoided if it would lead to deletion of inflectional suffixes, for the preservation of morphological transparency (e.g. ἀκούω, ἀγαπάει). It is also avoided when the hiatus is secondary,

i.e. arising from the deletion of an intervocalic consonant (see 3.6.1.1), e.g. καλόγερος > καλόερος, πέλαγος > πέλαο.

At word boundaries, the default development is hiatus retention, while hiatus resolution takes place mainly within close-knit syntactic units forming phonological phrases. This is to be expected, in that hiatus resolution across word boundaries is a fast-speech phenomenon, not taking place in careful or formal enunciation and therefore not characteristic of written language.²² The syntactic constructions in which post-lexical hiatus resolution mostly takes place are the following: clitic pronoun + verb (e.g. τὸ εἶδα > τό 'δα), particle + verb (e.g. νὰ ἔρθω > νὰ 'ρθω), article + noun (e.g. τὸ ἀμπέλιν > τ' ἀμπέλιν), preposition + complement (e.g. ἀπὸ αὐτόν > ἀπ' αὐτόν), conjunction + verb (καὶ ἦρθε > κι ἦρθε, ποὺ εἶναι > ποὺ 'ναι). The special aptitude of these syntactic environments for vowel deletion is already noted by Germano: “Perche li Greci vsano assai accortare, & sminuire le parole, ὃ congiunte, come νάναι, in vece di νὰ εἶναι, τόδα, in vece di τὸ εἶδα, μούρθε, in luogo di μοῦ ἦρθε, & simili” (GERMANO, *Grammar* 95.6–8).

In this respect, there is a strong difference between prose and verse texts in MedG and EMG: whereas in prose texts hiatus resolution is to be found almost exclusively in the syntactic environments listed above, in verse texts, due to the requirements of the metre, hiatus resolution is more common, and occurs also between more loosely connected words, though again not very frequently, except in late EMG poetic works. Some EMG texts, especially printed editions, seem particularly prone to the phenomenon (on this see also VEJLESKOV 2005: 166). Hiatus retention in poetic texts may also depend on metrical or stylistic reasons, such as the position of the caesura, semantic emphasis etc. (see BAKKER 1993; DELIGIANNAKI 2005: 172–4).

The observable tendencies concerning hiatus resolution are, however, not quantifiable, as they depend largely on graphematic, scribal or editorial choices: the representation of the phenomena is dictated by differing editorial or orthographic practices, especially in the case of word division (cf. MOENNIG 2001: 203–5). To a large extent this problem also concerns the practices of early typographers and the ambiguity in the representation of phenomena such as apocope, elision etc. Some editors may “restore” the metre of a verse text by introducing vowel deletions as an emendation, or different versions of the same text may contain variant forms of the same line, one with hiatus resolution and one without (on the problem see GARANDODIS 1993; BAKKER 1993; ALONSO ALDAMA 2005; KAFKALAS 2000: 37–40); editorial interventions with respect to vowel deletion may not even be mentioned in the apparatus criticus (cf. BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1996: 149; VEJLESKOV 2005: 180–1). Examples:

νὰ ἀφήκουν τὴν στράταν τῆς Συρίας, ν' ἀπέλθουν εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, *Chron. Mor.* H 513
 ὁ 'τσαλοπεριπάτης *Ptoch.* IV 551 ('τσαλοπεριπατάρης C, ἀτσαλοπεριπάτης P)
 κρατώντ' ἀπὸ τὸ χέριν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 96; κρατώντα ἀπὸ τὸ χέρι *Apok.* V 96
 ἄρχοντ' αὐτόν ἐποῖκε *Dig.* T 1590; ἄρχοντα τὸν ἐποῖκε *Dig.* A 2478

²² See also GIGNAC 1976: 315 for the avoidance of hiatus resolution at word boundaries in Koine papyri, due to a tendency to isolate individual words in writing.

ἡμεῖς θανοῦσαν σὲ εἶχομεν καὶ σπαθοκοπημένην *Dig. G I.324*

ἄπάνω στὰ λαμπρὰ ἄρματα, τὰ θαυμαστά, βασταίνει *Imb. Rim. 417* (Venetian ed. λαμπρ' ἄρματα)

In some especially frequent collocations, vowel deletion across word boundaries has created lexicalized univerbations, e.g. *τὶ εἶναι τὰ > τεῖντα/ῖντα*, *εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη > σπολλάτη*, *ἐν τῷ ἄμα > ἐντάμα/ἀντάμα*, *καλὴ ἡμέρα > καλημέρα*, *ὥς καὶ ἄν > σκιάν*.

2.9.2 Vowel Deletion: The Vowel Hierarchy

Deletion of one of two consecutive vowels is a hiatus resolution strategy that occurs both word-internally and at word boundaries. As discussed above, this strategy is to a certain extent optional. When it does take place, the choice of the vowel to be deleted is determined by two competing tendencies: (a) linguistically conditioned deletion, according to the automatic rules of MedG and EMG phonology, and (b) stylistically conditioned deletion, according to the spelling norms of AG. In the first case, either vowel may be deleted, depending on the relative phonological strength, or sonority, of the two vowels. In the second case, the first of the two vowels is always deleted, irrespective of the vowels' phonological strength, i.e. in conventional terms, elision is preferred over aphaeresis, as in AG (on the phenomenon in AG cf. KÜHNER/BLASS ³1892: §53; SMYTH 1984: §70–6).

The sonority scale or vowel hierarchy in MedG was initially described by G. Chatzidakis (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 308–13; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 211–17; cf. also JANNARIS 1897: 84–6 [§§145–54]; PERNOT 1913; TSOPANAKIS 1960; ANDRIOTIS 1976b), and one may compare the very similar data for MG (NEWTON 1972a: 41–6; THEOPHANOPOULOU-KONTOU 1972–3: 382–7; KAISSE 1977; HOLTON et al. ²2012: 25–7). The vowel hierarchy is related to the articulatory features of the five LMedG and MG vowels: back vowels dominate front ones and low vowels dominate higher ones.²³ Therefore, the hierarchy takes the form /a o u e i/: the vowel /a/ will prevail when adjacent to any other, /o/ will prevail over /u e i/ but will be deleted in favour of /a/, and so on: for example, *τὸ ἄκουσα > τ' ἄκουσα* but *τὸ ἔφερα > τό 'φερα*, *τὸ εἶδα > τό 'δα*. When the deleted vowel is the stress carrier of the phonological phrase, the stress is normally shifted to the surviving vowel of the preceding proclitic word (see also 4.2.2). In general, a stressed vowel is less likely to be deleted, and deletion is especially avoided if both the stronger and the weaker vowel are stressed.

In the lower section of the hierarchy, a stressed weaker vowel may occasionally prevail over the one immediately preceding in the hierarchy (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 313), e.g. *καὶ εἶδα > κὶ εἶδα* not *καί 'δα*. Partly for this reason, in some recent accounts of the vowel hierarchy in MG, the order of the two last vowels is reversed (NESPOR 1999: 91; KLAIRIS/

²³ Recent experimental and instrumental phonetic research on MG (see KAINADA 2012 and references therein) indicates that vowel deletion is a gradient and not a categorical phenomenon (i.e. it results in a continuum of partially assimilated vowels rather than in the full deletion of one of them) and that it is driven by coarticulation rather than an abstract, underlying phonological hierarchy. However, in view of the fact that such research methods are not available for past phases of the language, that written sources will inevitably show only categorical outcomes (deletion vs. non-deletion) and that the vowel hierarchy is descriptively adequate for the analysis of MedG data, it continues to be used here.

BABINIOTIS 2004: 1040; KAINADA 2012: 263–4). However, this is a notable area of differentiation between MedG and MG, since in MedG texts /e/ normally prevails over /i/ in accordance with the vowel hierarchy. A characteristic application of this phonetic generalization is the suggestion that in cases where one would expect a stressed ḡ- verbal augment (in Cretan texts) but the manuscript tradition gives ḡ-, one should consider the possibility that this results from false segmentation because of a preceding proclitic word, conjunction or adverb ending in /e/, e.g. σεκαμα *Thysia* Avr. 388 should be analysed as σέ 'καμα rather than as σ' ἔκαμα and κεκλεγε *ibid.* 594 as καί 'κλαιγε rather than as κ' ἔκλαιγε (BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1996: 147; HENRICH 1998b: 101–2).

The vowel hierarchy does not hold for the Pontic dialect, in which deletion always affects the first vowel, following the AG pattern. There is meagre evidence for this from two documents of Pontic origin: ἐπὶ τ' ἔργον (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 160.4d) (see HENRICH 1990: 360) and διὰ μνημόσυνον τε <ἐ>μόν / διὰ μνημόσυνον τ' ἔμόν (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 148, 109.8); see also LAMPSIDIS 1952: 231. For the phenomenon in Modern Pontic see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1958: 71.

As far as the dating of the phenomenon of vowel deletion is concerned, inevitably its earliest manifestations appear in the Koine, after the wholesale transformation of the vowel system caused by the loss of quantity distinctions. The first examples concern lexical hiatus, and seem to involve deletion of /i/ when followed by another vowel, a phonetic environment which in LMedG would lead not to deletion but to synizesis, e.g. ραδουργίας, τράκοντα, ἀρχερεὺς, σαγωνίου, ψαθοπλόκος (DIETERICH 1898: 59; GIGNAC 1976: 302–6). Such spellings have been interpreted by many scholars as representations of synizesis in unstressed sequences rather than as deletion (HORROCKS 2010: 169). However, the existence of many quite common MedG (and MG) lexical items displaying deletion, such as σιαγών > σαγόνι, σιωπῶ > σωπαίνω, σιάλος > σάλιο, φασήολος > φασούλιν, δυώδεκα > δώδεκα (already in AG), κυρία > κυρά (PSALTES 1913: 34–5; note that in most of the words in question deletion takes place after a sibilant) may be an indication that this was a real deletion process. Alternatively, LMedG lexical items showing deletion instead of synizesis may be interpreted as the results of a late process, i.e. they may initially have been unaffected by synizesis due to their higher register, leaving the vowel sequence intact and thus amenable to deletion (e.g. ἀνδρωμένος, θωρῶ; see further examples below).

The irregular evolution of the AG diphthong /au/ to /a/ instead of /af/ in the weak forms of the personal pronoun, i.e. αὐτον > ἄτον > τον (see II, 5.3.2.2 and DRESSLER 1966a: 56–8), which also takes place in the period of the Koine,²⁴ can similarly be attributed to a very early instantiation of the deletion strategy, applying in a very common phonetic environment, that of an unstressed object clitic, which was especially prone to fast-speech effects. On the other hand, the notable number of attestations of the spellings <α> and

²⁴ Texts from Pontos preserve the form ἄτός without initial vowel deletion, as in modern Pontic: τὸ μερτικὸ νὰ τον / τὸ μερτικὸν ἄτων (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 145, 108.4; ἐνοχλεῖ α<ὐ>τό / ἐνοχλεῖ ἄτο (*ibid.* 147, 109.8); see LAMPSIDIS 1952: 231.

<ε> instead of <αυ> and <ευ> to be found in papyri and inscriptions of the Koine period, such as ἀξάνων, πάλλα, ἐλάνοντας, ἐλεθερία, βουλευτής, πρυτανέσας (see DIETERICH 1898: 78–80; GIGNAC 1976: 226–9; BRIXHE ²1987: 57–9; ΠΑΝΑΥΟΤΟΥ 1990: 261–2), points to diphthong simplification (instead of consonantization) as a more general alternative tendency, unconnected to the specific environment of the clitic. This eventually lost out, and survives today only in isolated lexical items such as παραγαύδιον > παραγάδι (ANDRIOTIS 1939). However, it has alternatively been suggested that such spellings are merely indications of the ongoing consonantization process, as the writers were unable to represent the innovative semi-vocalic [w] sound graphematically (GIGNAC 1976: 229; BRIXHE ²1987: 58–9).

Another early environment for the application of the innovative deletion strategy (as opposed to AG hiatus resolution strategies, which involve mainly contraction) is that of consecutive identical vowels, with papyrological examples such as ἐπέικια, Θέ, πείν (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 308–9; JANNARIS 1897: 84–5; DIETERICH 1898: 43–4).

Post-lexical deletion at word boundaries, i.e. phonetically driven deletion governed by the vowel hierarchy, discounting the elision process determined by AG rules (which is a diachronically stable phenomenon), is also first attested in the Koine, though not very commonly; cf. the examples cited under “inverse elision” in GIGNAC 1976: 319–21 and ΠΑΝΑΥΟΤΟΥ 1990: 292. In any case, it must be assumed that phonetically driven aphaeresis was quite common in EMedG, as otherwise the phenomenon of (lexical) initial vowel deletion, already present in EMedG (see 2.7.1), would not have developed.

2.9.2.1 Lexical Vowel Deletion

In the case of lexical (word-internal) hiatus, deletion²⁵ is almost always linguistically conditioned. Thus, sequences of identical vowels are simplified to a single vowel, and sequences of non-identical vowels are reduced through deletion of the vowel which is lower in the hierarchy /a o u e i/; see TSOPANAKIS 1960 for a discussion of isolated lexical exceptions such as γοητεύω > γητεύω. An important inhibiting factor is register, as lexical items or texts belonging to higher registers often do not show the phenomenon. Also, in lexical items already formed in AG, or formed in MedG but in higher registers following AG derivational patterns, such as learned compounds, deletion does not follow the vowel hierarchy; instead, the first vowel is deleted, according to AG phonology (e.g. παρὰ + ἔρχομαι > παρέρχομαι not *παράρχομαι).

Inflectional suffixes are in many cases not deleted (e.g. ἀγαπάει, τρώει), or, in Chatzidakis’s opinion (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 564), they are deleted and subsequently restored analogically. Notwithstanding, lexical vowel deletion is in several cases the trigger for morphological innovations in the nominal and the verbal domain. For example, in the case of secondary hiatus arising from the deletion of an intervocalic

²⁵ Note that in traditional philological accounts of MedG and EMG phonology, lexical vowel deletion is occasionally termed “contraction”.

fricative, deletion takes place optionally, e.g. ἔφαγε > ἔφαε > ἔφα, τρώγομεν > τρώομεν > τρώμε, leading to the new inflectional paradigm of semi-contracted verbs (see III, 2.1.1.2). In nominal inflection, vowel deletion affects the formation of plurals of the feminine nouns in -έα (σπαθέα – σπαθέες > σπαθές), and the masculine nouns in -ιος (καβαλλάριος – καβαλλάριοι > καβαλλάρουι → καβαλλάρους), see II, 2.7. A special case of lexical deletion is that of the suffix -ιος/-ιον in masculine and neuter nouns developing to -ις, -ιν through deletion of /o/, instead of synizesis or deletion of /i/ as per the vowel hierarchy. This development pre-dates the LMedG period and is therefore not discussed here in full (see GEORGACAS 1948 for a list of early attestations, and FILOS 2009, FILOS 2017, HORROCKS 2010: 175–6 for the most recent interpretations). However, it must be noted that the restriction of the phenomenon to nouns (though certainly not all nouns, e.g. ἥλιος) and the exclusion of the phonetically identical adjectives in -ιος -ιον from this development (e.g. ἄξιος, τίμιος, πλούσιος) indicates that the causes of the phenomenon cannot have been purely phonetic, and that morphological levelling of some sort must have played a part.

A distinction must be made between true phonetic deletion and apparent deletion due to paradigm levelling, i.e. to the analogical spread of a stem with deleted vowel to other slots of an inflectional paradigm. For example, κρῶ does not result directly from κρούω, but from the reformation of the semi-contracted paradigm on the basis of the 2/3 sg. κροῦς/κροῦ. Similarly, the plural ζά does not derive directly from ζῶα, but is a new plural formed from the singular ζῶο > ζό, with simplification of consecutive identical vowels.

As already discussed above, the sequences of /e/ + V, /i/ + V would normally be expected to develop through synizesis. However, in a number of lexical items, deletion of the higher vowel (as per the hierarchy) is observed, e.g. Θεόδωρος > Θόδωρος. In some cases, the deletion can be interpreted as a result of the failure of /i/ to consonantize, due to the fact that it is preceded by a consonant cluster, e.g. ἄγριο- > ἄγρο-, κρυο- > κρο-, τρια- > τρα- (see KRETSCHMER 1905: 118–19; MINAS 2005: 464–6 and 2.4.7.4). In other cases, it could be assumed that the sequence resisted synizesis due to the high register of the lexical item (i.e. the specific item was not part of everyday language and as such exempt from its influence), and therefore was subjected at a later stage to resolution through deletion. Some lexical items may also be considered as inherited elements preserving the ancient phenomenon of hyphaeresis (irregular deletion of [e] and more rarely [o] in the sequence [eo], e.g. Θεοκλῆς > Θεοκλῆς, Νεοπτόλεμος > Νεπτόλεμος, cf. LEJEUNE 1972: 252–3). The phenomenon is not to be confused with the geographically and phonetically restricted phenomenon of /j/ deletion after sibilants, usually termed “depalatalization”, and /r/ for which see 2.4.7 and 2.9.4.

Similarly, the sequences of low vowel + high vowel would be expected to develop normally to falling diphthongs with a semi-vocalic /j/ as second member. Instead of diphthongization, in several instances the result is deletion, e.g. ἀετός > ἄτός; cf. also 2.4.8.3. A specially productive subcase in this category is the AG adjectival derivational suffix -έινος, which in LMedG has two allomorphs deriving from the application of two different hiatus resolution strategies: regular vowel deletion -έινος > -ένος (mostly in the Cyclades, the Dodecanese and Cyprus) and metathesis -έινος > -ένιος (see 3.9.1). The same deletion

process also applies to the derivational suffix αίκος > -αῖκος (ρωμαῖκος, ἑβραῖκος etc.). For these two subcases see TSOPANAKIS 1960: 440.

Lexical vowel deletion appears already in the earliest LMedG texts (see MINAS ²2003: 47–50), as the phenomenon pre-dates this period (see above). Examples:

Identical Vowels

/a/ + /a/

Ἀβράμιος (1186, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. X: 9, 494.14)
 Ἰσάκου (1188, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 12, 529.33)
 κύρ Σάκης ὁ Βατάτσης *Chron. Mor.* H 448 (cf. Ἰσάκιος Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 238)
 ἐφάγανε vel ἐφάσι GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.3

/o/ + /o/

ζωποιοὺς σταυρούς (1034, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 29, 34.1–2)
 ὄγδον τὸ λέγουν *Chron. Mor.* H 1026
 ὀλῶμα *Poulol.* 44 < ὀλόωμος
 ἔνα ζό (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 393.29)
 χρουσοχός (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKIS 1962a: 1, 39.26); ὁ χρυσοχὸς ἐκεῖνος [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 331

/u/ + /u/

πρῶτα νὰ κροῦν τὲς σφονδυλὲς *Arm.* 60; νὰ κροῦν *Dig.* E 1405; νὰ κροῦσιν *Achil.* N 723

/e/ + /e/

ὦ θέ μου *Ptoch.* IV 179 app. crit. (P)
 ἐκάϊτον *Pol. Tr.* 644
 πολλὲς σπαθὲς τὸν ἔδωκεν *Pol. Tr.* 672
 κονταρές *Chron. Mor.* H 4916
 φταῖτε *Chron. Mor.* H 2691
 ἔκλαιν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 387
 ἔλῆς (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 86, 163.98)

/i/ + /i/

συγκλεῖ (1093, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 57, 74.16)
 δοικῆσεως (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.43)
 πῖsome / ποῖσωμε *Jonas* 214.29 (comment p. 209)
 κακοδικήση *Dig.* G I.189
 ποῖ *Chron. Mor.* H 668; νὰ ποῖσω *Velis.* χ 167; νὰ σοῦ τὸ ποῖσω *Dig.* E 1574
 ἐχαροποιήσαν *Velth.* 1021
 νὰ πῇ μὲ τὸ κρασὶν (15th c., Unknown, OIKONOMU-AGORASTU 1982: 86.9)
 κλεῖ (1516, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 94, 94.5)
 τοὺς ἐγγυτάδες *Assizes* A 65.12; ἐγγυτάδες (1616, Naxos, CHASIOTIS 1966: 20, 213.6)
 δηγήθηκα *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 272 app. crit. (1577)
 τὸ πῖ μου *Diig. Alex.* E 43.4 (Konstantinopulos)

Non-identical Vowels

/a/ + /o/

Νικόλαν Φαβατὰν (1157?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 10, 316.3)
 Νικόλα ἐκείνου (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.16)
 ἐχάσες την *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 206; ἐχάσα το [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1470 < ἐχάωσα

/a/ + /u/

ὄταν φᾶν *Pol. Tr.* 3435 app. crit. (B)

ὕπᾶν *Dig.* E 201

κοιλιοχορδοφᾶσα *Diig. tetr.* 286 < φάγουσα

/a/ + /e/

πασανοῦ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 8.30

ὁ σταυρατὸς *Poulol.* 653 app. crit. (E)

ἄτὸς μὲ ἐφάνην *Liv.* V 2474; ὁ ἄτὸς δὲν πιάννει μοῦγες *Fior* 130.8–9

δεκάξι (1479, Cyprus, *DARROUZES* 1953: 6, 89.3)

δεκαπτά (1516, Corfu, *KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1998: 94, 94.9)

δεκαφτά (1659, Paxoi, *PETROPOULOS* 1958: 12, 10.4)

δεκαννιά (1660, Kefalonia, *PETROPOULOS* 1962: B.12, 319.22)

παρέρχεται *Achil.* N 1653

παρεμπρός *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 132.10

/a/ + /i/

Μιχάλη ταπεινέ *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 518

τὸ γατάνι μου, τὸ τριχογάτανό μου *Liv.* V 3751

νὰ τὸ φά [*ANDR. PALAIOIOL.*], *Kallim.* 2465

κλαῖ τον ὁ ἥλιος αὐτός *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 474

Μὰς *Cypr. Canz.* 109.32 < Μάης < Μάιος

/o/ + /a/

Γιαννάκης *Dig.* E 1243

μεγαλορχιδάτον *Diig. tetr.* 82

τὸ πραστεῖον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 34.9; πραστεῖα (1468, Cyprus, *RICHARD/PARADOPOULLOS* 1983: 3, 5.2)

τὸ παλαιάμπελο (1513, Corfu, *KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1998: 9, 28.4)

μισαπαιθαμένοι *IER. ANVATIOS, Diig. Seismou* 333.6

μηλαπιδιά (1673, Paxoi, *PETROPOULOS* 1958: 71, 42.3)

συχναναντρανίζει *KORNAOS, Erot.* IV.1310

/o/ + /u/

νὰ τρῶν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 548

τρῶσιν το *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 462

/o/ + /e/

παλαιοκκλήσιον (1473, Heptanese, *KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS* 1996: 4.163)

ἔτρωσ *Poulol.* 544

ἔτρων *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 117

ροδολαίου (15th c., *OIKONOMU-AGORASTU* 1982: 78.11)

γλυκολιά (1672, Paxoi, *PETROPOULOS* 1958: 62, 38.7)

/o/ + /i/

ὀγδόντα *KAMAT., Astron.* 3380a < ὀγδοήντα < ὀγδοήκοντα

βόθα τὸν κελλάρην *Ptoch.* IV 111 app crit. (K)

βοθᾶτε τὸν Καλλίμαχον [*ANDR. PALAIOIOL.*], *Kallim.* 1346

τρῶ *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 570

πουνρόν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 304 πρωινόν > πρωνόν > πορνόν > πουνρόν

τὰ ἐπτὰ βόδια *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 243.30

/u/ + /a/

μανάλι (1442, Belgrade region/Serbia, ALEXOULIS 1892: 2, 280.17)

Φεβραρίου VOUSTR., *Chron.* M 245.15

στην κάρταν πάρτεν (1607/8, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 487, 439.3) < Ital. *quarto*

/u/ + /o/

ἀκῶντας *Theseid* I.5,2 (Follieri)

/u/ + /e/

ἄκου *Dig.* E 1581; ἄκου *Rim. kor.* A 178

νὰ λοῦται *Achil.* N 833

/u/ + /i/

ἀκοῦς *Ptoch.* III 172 app. crit. (GP); νὰ ἀκοῦς *Chron. Mor.* P 1349

καὶ κροῦ με καταπρόσωπα *Ptoch.* III app. crit. (P); κροῦ μὲ τὸν Δωροσκάλην *Pol. Tr.* 4074 app. crit. (B); ἡ κόρη κροῦ τὸ χέρι του *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 959

/e/ + /a/

κρατοπουλεῖα LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 561 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner κρασοπουλιά)

Φράτζια / Φράτσια (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 5, 6.4) (<Φρεάτια)

/e/ + /o/

χρωστῶ (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 129, 171.12); ἐγὼ ἐχρώστουν *Pol. Tr.* 2601 app. crit. (X); ἐχρώθηκεν / ἐχρώθηκεν (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 9, 41.27)

τὸ χρὸς του SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 50

δικολογοῦντα (1147, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 143, 190.25)

θωρεῖς LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 451; θωρῶ ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 19.12

θωρία *Poulol.* 19 app. crit. (EAZ)

αὐγὸν νωπὸν STAFIDAS, *Iatrosof.* 8.211–12

θολογοίτης / θολογίτης (1507, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 4, 8.21)

Θοδωρῇ (1631, Kefalonia, PETROPOULOS 1962: B1, 309.5)

Λονταραῖοι *Velis.* χ 315; τὸ Λοντάρη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 102.16

μετωρίζοντας KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 347.36

Θοδόσιον (1664, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 12, 126.15)

νωστὰ (= νεωστὰ) MEURSIUS, *Gloss.* s.v. νοστὰ

Θεδόση (1114, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 77, 101.12)

лєндарѣ / λεντάρη (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 939); λεντάρη FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 309

ἄλαιτρουβεῖον (1543, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 239, 225.15) < ἔλαιοτριβεῖον

το αλαιτριβιδίο (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 104, 119.22)

/e/ + /u/

τοῦ φέδου < φέουδο (1219, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: app.14, 529.20)

νὰ κλαῖν LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 295

καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον λέσι *Achil.* O 20; λένε (1649, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 1, 51.17)

/e/ + /i/

ἀσημένον (1334, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 43, 131.24); ἀσημένον (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 143.94)

μαργαριταρένος LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 133; μαργαριταρένην (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 44.38)

σιδερένος *Katal.* 52 (Panayotopoulou, in progress)

μαλαματένη μου *Rim. kor.* A 95

νά ἔνι καὶ Ρωμαίσσα *Dig.* E 70

τὴν ἑβραϊκὴ *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 254

ρωμαίκου (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 45.60)

αὐτὰ τὰ μποργιαναῖκα *Rim. Sant.* 633

ψυχικά, ἡμεοσύνες *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 322

ἐλενὲ *Poulol.* 72 app. crit. (Z); ἐλενός *Alex. Rim.* 42

λὲ *Alex. Rim.* 1744

/i/ + /a/

ἀγραππηδιᾶν / ἀγραππηδιάν (1115, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 78, 102.14); εἰς τὴν

ἀγραπιδία (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 35, 76.7); ἀγραπιδούλα (1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 57, 34.3)

ὀργάς (1198, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: LXV-105, 138. 17)

λίτραν μίαν ἀγραπγοῦρίας (15th c., OIKONOMU-AGORASTU 1982: 86.18)

τρακόσια (1644–5, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 4, 47.3–4)

/i/ + /o/

ἀξόννη / ἀξώννει (1227–50, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 20, 157.10)

κρωντήρια *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1852

ἀνδρωμένοι *TRIVOLIS, Tagiap.* 307

Γεώργος (1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 14, 11.5)

/i/ + /u/

Πρωτοούλη (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 18, 38.1)

/i/ + /e/

καὶ ἀφιρώσαμεν (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 127, 168.20)

ἀγρελλία *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 264.10

ἀγρολιὰ *MEURSIUS, Gloss.* s.v. < ἀγριοελιά

2.9.2.2 Post-lexical Hiatus

As in the case of hiatus retention, it is difficult to investigate post-lexical vowel deletion in MedG and EMG written sources, for a variety of reasons: firstly, it may be determined by scribal or editorial choice and vary according to version or published edition of a text. If one of the vowels involved belongs to a suffix or particle standardly represented graphematically by an abbreviation, the decision in fact lies entirely with the editor. Another major difficulty is to distinguish post-lexical deletion from the permanent/lexicalized aphaeresis of unstressed initial vowels, which should be suspected in all cases which seem to contravene both the vowel hierarchy and the AG elision rules (on this point see also ALONSO ALDAMA 2005: 154–5). Finally, the deleted vowel may not be recoverable, due to lexicalized vowel changes at word boundaries (see 2.9.3), which might allow two different restitutions (e.g. ἀπ' ἐλπίδα = ἀπὸ ἐλπίδα or ἀπὲ ἐλπίδα; similarly, ἀπὸ ᾿λπίδα = ἀπὸ ἐλπίδα or ἀπὸ ὀλπίδα).

In post-lexical hiatus, both deletion strategies are possible, i.e. either phonetic deletion according to the vowel hierarchy or stylistic deletion according to AG patterns, with

the second being preferred, as might be expected, in earlier and in higher-register texts. However, even in very low-register texts, stylistically conditioned deletion prevails in the case of prepositions and the conjunctions *ἀλλά* and *δέ*:

- μετ' ἑσᾶς (1346, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.30)
 μετ' ἐμένα *Log. parig.* L 14
 γι' ὀρισμὸν (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.17)
 ἀπ' ἐκεῖνο (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83.6)
 ἀπ' ἐκεῖ (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.26)

In fact, the extreme frequency of collocations such as ἀπ' ἐκεῖνον, ἀπ' ἐμέ, ἀπ' ἐδῶ etc., against the vowel hierarchy, led to the creation of a new lexical form ἀπέ through false segmentation.

In such cases, the adhesion to rules which are no longer phonetic is betrayed by the, by this time purely conventional, change of a final voiceless stop to a voiceless fricative preceding a word bearing the rough breathing (see 3.8.4.5):

- καθ' ὦραν φθάνει ὁ θάνατος, καθ' ὦραν ἀποθνήσκεις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 143
 καὶ μονοκύθρου μ' ἔδωκε καθ' ὕπνους μυρωδία *Ptoch. I* 235
 τοῦτο πληροφορήθησε, μεθ' ὄρκου σὲ τὸ λέγω *Achil. N* 216

The following list of examples groups instances of vowel deletion by vowel combination; where two different vowels are involved, examples that conform to the hierarchy are given first, followed by ones that go against it. The instances contravening the vowel hierarchy are to be interpreted either as results of adherence to the AG elision rules or as results of permanent/lexicalized aphaeresis not dependent on the immediate phonetic context. In most cases, as already described, vowel deletion takes place within phonological phrases such as clitic + verb, article + noun, while deletion between syntactically unconnected words occurs almost exclusively in poetic texts.

/a/ + /a/

- τᾶπερ ἔχει /τ' ἄπερ ἔχει (1220–I, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 16, 78.7)
 νὰ τ' ἀλαφροκοπήσουν *Arm.* 109
 τὸ νὰ τὰκούση ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ λόγια ἐτοῦτα *Achil. L* 97
 τ' ἄνωθεν κρασιὰ (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 37, 168.17)
 καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα σήμερον ἃς ἔχουν καταστόλιν [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 134
 ν' ἀποσκεπάζη *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 4.31
 ἀποῦ τ' ἀδέλφια μου (1582, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 13, 28.4)
 τ' ἀνεπτόλπιστα βάσανα (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.9–10)

/a/ + /o/

- νὰ φελέση *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 10.12
 τὰ ῥγανα ἐκτυπήσαν *Velis.* ρ 365
 λοιπὸν αὐτὴ τὰ ῥδίνιασε *Alex. Rim.* 1501
 νὰ ῥοματίσω *CHORTATIS, Erof. II.* 267
 τὰ ῥνειροφαντάσματα *Thysia Avr.* 660
 τὰ ῥόματά τως (1665, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 9, 418.22)
 ὥς δ' εἶδε ταῦτ' ὁ δοῦλος σου *Ptoch. I* 242
 ἄλ' οἷ / ἄλλ' ὄχι (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 78.3)

δι' ὃ πονεῖς, εἰς τὸ ποθεῖς *Liv.* V 3708
 ἀλλ' ὁ Θεός (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 21)
 ποθῶ την ὡς εὐγενικήν καὶ ὡς ἔμορphen παρ' ὅλας *Achil.* N 71
 ζῶντες μεθ' ὅσης ἡδονῆς, μετὰ χαρίτων τόσων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 806
 νὰ πνίξου παρ' ὀλίγον *Velis.* p 52 app. crit. (P)
 ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἀσεβέστατε *Fyll. gadar.* 264 m
 καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐβγήκεν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 33.4
 δι' ἔνα ἑνικό (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 5, 58.4–5)

/a/ + /u/

οὐδὲν ἐδῶκετε καμιά ὅδε σκιὰν εὐχαριστία *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 303
 ἀλλὰ ὅδεμιά ὅδεν ἦτονε νὰ ἔχει την ομορφία τση *Apoll.* Rim. N 476
 δὲν ἔχω χεῖλη νὰ τὰ πῶ, ὅδε συντυχιά, ὅδε γλώσσα *Alex.* Rim. 1506
 συνεσταλμένους, παίζοντας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναισχυντῶντας *Ptoch.* I 10
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καταδέκτηκεν *Achil.* L 259
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ποσῶς νὰ δευτερώσῃ ἄνδρα *Chron. Toc.* 14
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θῆρ οὐδὲ πτηνὸν οὐδὲ κνωδάλου φύσις [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 172

/a/ + /e/

ναρτι / νὰ ῥτη (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.8)
 νὰ πάγω νὰ ῥθω *Dig.* E 381 (Jeffreys)
 τὸ θέλημά ἔκαμαν *Pol. Tr.* 1687 app. crit. (X)
 ἡ δέσποινα ἔπесεν *Byz. Il.* 313
 σίμωσε, κάτσε μετὰ μὲν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 55
 πολλὰ πουλίτσια εἶδα ὅδω *Achil.* N 540
 ἀλογά ἔστειλε *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 616
 νὰ ἔχῃς *Spanos* D 72; νὰ ἔχῃ (1635, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 1, 13.9); νὰ ἔχω την
 αποκράτησιν *Apoll.* Rim. A 1806; νὰ ἔχει ἀφορμή (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT
 1987: 4, 27.9); δῖχως νὰ ἔχει (1621, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 26, 82.17)
 τὰ ὅδινα (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 1, 360.13)
 ἴντὰ ἔφταιξα κ' ἴντὰ ἔκαμα *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.1337
 μὰ ἔγώ αὐτός μου δὲν μπορῶ *Rim. Sant.* 11
 ἡ ἄρκος μετ' ἔσεν παίζει· νὰ παίξῃ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 369
 μετ' ἔσας (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.30)
 ποῦ ἦσαν ἐκεῖσε μετ' αὐτὸν συντρόφοι μετ' ἐκεῖνον *Chron. Mor.* H360
 ἔλα μετ' ἐμὲν, ἀκολουθῶ με *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 353.31
 κάμε νὰ ἔλθῃς καὶ ἀτός σου μετ' ἐμᾶς *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 8
 κατ' ἔτος (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 4, 151.16)
 ἐσπάζετο πάντοτε δι' ἐκείνην *Achil.* L 567
 δι' ἐμέναν ἀγρυπνήσετε μόνο τῇ νύχταν τούτῃ *Achil.* O 395
 δι' ἔνα παχτὸ ὅπου ἐδίνανε (1673, Kefalonia, PETROPOULOS 1962: B.24, 330: 4)
 ψηλώνει | πᾶς ἔνα *Zinon* II.118
 κ' ἐσιάστησαν οἱ δύο ἀδελφοί, ὁ πρῶτος ν' ἐνεμείνῃ *Chron Mor.* H 1377

/a/ + /i/

νὰ με μνημονεμένος / νὰ ἔμαι μνημονεμένος (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 11, 46:
 12)
 νὰ ἔμεσταν καὶ οἱ δύο μας (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 308, 305.5)
 μοῦ τ'ᾶχαι φαίρη / μοῦ τὰ ἔχει φέρει (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 214.26)
 νὰ ἔχεν πουλημένα (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 82, 99.4)
 νὰ ἔσαι κρατημένος (1614, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 13, 49.26)

νά 'τον χωσμένα *Fior* 105.35

τά 'δε νά τση πη *P&N Diath.* 2133

θεά 'μαι μπορεζάμενη *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. theas* 9

άλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλεύουσαν *NIKON, Logos* 4, 226.6

καθ' ἣν μὲ παρεδώκασιν εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον *Ptoch. III* 87

<καί> λόγους ἤκουσα ψευδεῖς καὶ γέλι' ἦσαν καθόλου *Dig. E* 546

ἐκοίτασε μεθ' ἡδονῆς καὶ συνεσωματώθη [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1967

/o/ + /a/

ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κανάλου (996, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 10, 171.49); ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τράφου (1110, Thessaloniki?, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 59, 308.11)

τ' ἀνάθεμαν (1027, Sparta, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 43, 301. 37); εἰς τ' ἀνάθεμα *Spanos A* 37; ἀκ τ' ἀνάθεμα *Anak. Konst.* 9

ἀπ' αὐτοὺς *Ptoch. III* 90

δεμένα μὲ τ' ἀσήμιν *Dig E* 434

τοῦ τ' ἀφῆνω διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν μου (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 10, 42.18–19)

τ' ἄλλο δουμίν τ' ανοίγει *Katis* 44

τ' ἀδελφομοίριν (1612, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 8, 22.16)

τ' ἄλάτι (1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 53, 32.2)

τ' ἀμπέλι (1677, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 24, 92.5)

τὸ χιόνιν τ' ἄσπρον *Cypr. Canz.* 114.5

δὲν τ' ἄφινε νά καθίσῃ *IER. AVVATIOS, Diig. Seismou* 332.8

ἔλεγε γὰρ Ἐκτεναβὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἄφεντεύει *Alex. Rim.* 7

/o/ + /o/

ἔθεκεν φύλαξες καλές, εἰς τ' ὀνομάν του ὠμόσαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1236

τ' ὠραῖον χελιδονάκιν *Arm.* 175

μὲ τ' ὀνομαν (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 5)

εἰς τ' ὀσταρεῖο *Nov. II* 162.33

ἀπ' ὅπου καὶ ἂν εὐρίσκονται (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 149, 145.16)

ἀπ' ὅσο ἐγνωρίσανε (1647, Kefalonia, PETROPOULOS 1962: B.2, 310.11)

/o/ + /u/

ἐγὼ δὲν βρίσκω 'δέποτε τὴν θαραπὰν *Cypr. Canz.* 97.18

κοσοκτῶ 'γιές (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 80.64)

/o/ + /e/

εἰς ἀπιστίαν μὴν τό 'χετε *Arm.* 74; νά τό 'χης πάντοτε *Porikol.* I 152

διὰ τό 'μπα μου *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 69

σάν τό 'μαθεν ὁ Φίλιππος *Alex. Rim.* 313

τῷ 'Βραίω τὸν-ε χαρίζει *P&N Diath.* 3475; νά τό 'χει ὡς τὴ ζωὴ τση (1598, Crete, BAKKER/

VAN GEMERT 1987: 15, 36.10); τὸ ἀποὺ τό 'χει (1518, Chandax/Crete, KAKLAMANIS/

LAMBAKIS 2003: 50, 87.25); τῶχω / τό 'χω (1700, Mani, SKOPETAS 1950: XX, 80.15)

ἀπὸ 'κεῖ καὶ κειθες (1575, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 1, 17.16)

κι ἀπὸ 'δεπὰ δὲ βγαίνου; *Zinon* 2.162

καὶ ἐκβάλη με ἀπ' ἐκείνης; *Ptoch. I* 39

ἐξαπέσπασαν τὸ γονικόν μου ἀπ' ἐμέ (1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/ΒΕΝΕΧΕΝΙΤΣ 1927: 57, 32.8–9)

μὴν ἀπ' ἐδῶ νά ἐδιάβησαν *Dig. E* 1204

ἀπ' ἐκεῖνο (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83.6)

ἀπ' ἐμοῦ (1496, Pesaro, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 3, 131.8)

μισεύγεις ἀπ' ἐδῶ *Peri xen.* 302

ἀπ' ἐμένα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1072
 ἀπ' ἐδικού μου DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 268
 ἀπ' ἐκείνους *Theseid* I.79,6 (Follieri)
 ἀπ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 142
 τ' αἶμα μου τὸ χυμένο TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.644
 ἀπ' ἐκεῖ (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 6, 6.3)

/o/ + /i/

ὅστις τὸ 'θελεν ἀμποδίσειν (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 12, 55.6)
 τὸ 'γδι FORTIOS, *Strat. pragm.* 225
 τὸ 'χε ἀφησμένον (1576, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 19, 151.20)
 τὸ 'χαμε καμωμένο *P&N Diath.* 790
 τίς τὸ 'πεν, τίς τὸ μήνυσε *Anak. Konst.* 5
 στό 'στερο CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.361

/u/ + /a/

τ' Ἀρμούρη ὁ υἱός, Ἀρέστης *Arm.* 142
 τοῦ Διγενῆ τ' Ἀκρίτη *Dig.* E 442
 τ' Αὐγούστου *Spanos* D 1715
 ἐμήνησέ τ' Ἀλέξανδρος νὰ μὴ χολομανίση *Alex. Rim.* 327
 κυρά μ', αὐτὰ τὰ λόγια γραμματικὰ ὑπάρχουν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 500
 τ' ἀφέντη (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 8, 30.5); τ' ἀφεντός των CHORTATIS, *Erof.* IV.1519
 τ' ἄγοραστή (1598, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 158, 284.23)
 κ' ἐνούς τ' ἄλλου ἀκλουθοῦμα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 221.25
 καὶ μέ τ' ἀντρός τη<ς> (1678, Icaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 64, 54.4)
 τοῦ κονταριοῦ 'ξιωμένος *Imb.* Rim. 26

/u/ + /o/

ὅπ' ὅρις *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 666
 αὐτόθεν ὅπ' ὁδεύγεις *Imb.* Rim. 251
 καὶ τὴν καρδιά μ' ὁμάδι SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* E8v.23

/u/ + /u/

ὅπ' οὐ νερόν οὐδὲ δενδρόν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 75
 καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τ' οὐρανοῦ *Alosis* 429
 κι ὅλες τσί χάρες π' Οὐρανοὶ καὶ τ' Ἄστροι ἐγεννήσα KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.83
 ἀπ' οὐδ' ἀδόντι λεῖ τονε TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.322

/u/ + /e/

τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὅπου 'χω *Porikol.* I 60
 μοῦδωκεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.15; μοῦ 'δωκεν (1513, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 37, 63.11–12); ποῦ τοῦ 'δωκε (1537, SANTORINI, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75: 20); τοῦ 'δωκεν (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 21, 41.16); ποῖαν ἀπόκριση σου 'δωκε τότες CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.354
 τοῦ μονολίθου κείνου *Velth.* 481
 τὰ τοῦ διαβόλου 'ποίκετε κ' ἐκλέψετε *Defi. Par.* 155
 τὰ μεσάνυκτά 'φυγεν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 30

/u/ + /i/

μοῦ 'παν ὅτι ἤκαμες (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.13)
 'ς τὴν φυλακὴν ὅπου 'μαι SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 118 (Wagner)
 ποῦ 'ναι τὰ πολυπόθητα γλυκέα σου ἀδέλφια *Peri xen.* 288

όπου 'ναι ή έκκλησία (1537, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 117, 231.8)
 όπου του 'θελε κάμει (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 12, 33.13)
 όπου'ναι κοντά εις τό σπίτιν μου IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 332.2
 όπου 'τον *Nov. I* 156.6
 ούδεποτέ μου 'πνάζω *Cypr. Canz.* 103.17
 τό ήθος του 'τον θαυμαστόν, ήτον ώσαν λοντάρι *Alex. Rim.* 235
 κακά δέν του 'πε τόσα *Imb. Rim.* 176

/e/ + /a/

ούδὲ γονέων στέρησιν, οὐδ' ἄλλο μέγαν πρᾶμαν, *Achil. L* 236
 δὲν εἶχαμ' ἄλλην 'παντοχήν, οὐδὲ κανένα θάρρος, *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 127
 φύγετ' ἀπ' ἐδῶ, μωροὶ ἀγριότραγοὶ *Spanos D* 1529
 ἐπήγαγεν μ' ἀρχόντισσες *PETRITSIS, Dig. O* 134

/e/ + /o/

όπου οί σπίθες οί πολλές γίνοντ' όλου του κόσμου *Pol. Tr.* 2883 app. crit. (X)
 κι ὀχτακόσιες *Chron. Mor. P* 45
 κι ὀνομάζω *Chron. Mor. H* 1962
 κι ὅσο ἐκατεβαίναμε *P&N Diath.* 122
 μ' ὁμορφη λογάδα *CHORTATIS, Katz. I.* 135
 και μ' ὅλους σου τους δίκαιους να σε υμνολογούσι *Rim. Sant.* 129
 και μ' ὁψην ἀλλαμένη *KORNAROS, Erot. I.* 163

/e/ + /u/

κι οὐδὲ δουλειὲς γυρεύγεις *KORNAROS, Erot. I* 787
 οὔτε τή γῇ ἐβλέπασι οὐδ' οὐρανὸν ἀπάνου *Alex. Rim.* 875

/e/ + /e/

απού νάνε κ(αι) χου / άπού νά 'ναι κι ἔχου (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.11)
 γέγραπτε 'νόπιων / γέγραπτ' ἐνώπιον (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 27, 66.15)
 καί 'να /κι ἔνα (1685, Tilos, KOUTELAKIS 1979: 13, 45.6)
 ομᾶδι μ' ἔναν του παιδι ἴσον της ἐλικιά τση *Rim.Apoll. V* 1139
 μ' ἔχει θανατωμένο *CHORTATIS, Katz. I.* 58
 σύρνει με 'κ τήν χέρα *Diig. Ven.* 70

/e/ + /i/

κ(αί) 'μεστα (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 99, 48.3)
 τοὺς σέ 'πεν *Liv. V* 2786
 τώρα σκοτώσει σέ 'χα *Achil. N* 1571
 δὲν σέ 'θελεν ἀφήσ(η) (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 25, 30: 4)
 πρῶτα σέ 'δα πρῶτα μέ 'δες (17th c., Unknown, ŠANGIN 1936: 4, 161.8)
 γιάντα δὲ μέ 'χες *Rim.Apoll. V* 1393
 οὐδέ 'πεν βλασφημίαν *Imb. Rim.* 806
 ᾄς φυλάγωντ' οἱ "Ἕλληνες *Pol. Tr.* 3809 app. crit. (X)
 οὐκ ἐπλήρωσες ἐξάμηνον ὄτ' ἤλθες *Ptoch. IV* 74

/i/ + /a/

'ς τό Διγεν' ἀπάνώ 'τρεξεν *PETRITSIS, Dig. O* 2596
 'ς τήν κόρ' ἀπάνω 'πάγει *PETRITSIS, Dig. O* 2423
 τόπον νά κάμ' ἀνάπαψιν *Imb. Rim.* 658 app. crit.
 νά δῇ τό τί ἔχει 'πέσω *Imb. Rim.* 920

/i/ + /o/

μή μὲ ρωτήσ' ὁ ἄνομος *Anak. Konst.* 49
 νὰ παρέλθ' ὁ νοῦς του *Byz. Il.* 432
 νὰ πίνετεν ἀφ' τὸ πιότὸ πού πίν' ὁ βασιλέας *KONDAR., Paides* 295
 καὶ τ' ὄνομά του καθενεὶς ἄς ξεύρ', ὄντας σὰς πάγω *KONDAR., Paides* 300

/i/ + /u/

βραδύν', οὐδὲν τὸ πολεμεῖ *Liv.* α 1387 app. crit. (N)
 δὲν ἔχει 'δέτινας *Cypr. Canz.* 110.2
 ποιεῖ ὡς ἡ 'ζάντζα τῶν γεωργῶν (1536, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 20, 30.8)

/i/ + /e/

καὶ ἄν τύχ' ἐσένα τίποτα *Chron. Toc.* 3411
 ὡσὰν ἀκοῦσαν τὴν γραφὴν, ἀβούλως ἔτσ' ἐποίσαν *Alex. Rim.* 661
 μηδεκιανεὶς δὲ μὲ 'δε ἐκέῖ, οὐδὲ κιανεὶς στὴ στράτα *Stathis II.98*
 χάρ' ἔχει *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2675; τ' ἔχεις κ' ἔτσι φωνάζεις *ibid.* 105

/i/ + /i/

οἱ 'γούμενοι (1395, Pontos, BRYER 1976: 7, 133.3)
 εἰς τὴν Μπουργούνια ἐσιμίξασιν ἀμφοτέρ' οἱ κοντᾶδες *Chron. Mor.* H 204
 ἀνέτρεχον, ἀνέβαινον ἐφ' ἱκανὰς τὰς ὥρας [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.] *Kallim.* 145
 τοῦ δ' Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ ὅλη 'τον χρυσωμένη *Achil.* O 189
 γιατί 'ναι ντροπὴ (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.8)
 τί 'τον τὸ κακὸ *Nov.* I 156.3

When the phonological word involves the definite article, vowel deletion usually occurs only with forms which begin with a consonant, i.e. deletion is frequent with τό, τοῦ, τά, but never occurs with ὁ, ἡ, οἱ, αἱ.

In two dialectal varieties, Cretan and Pontic, vocalic forms of the article may also be deleted. There are several attestations of the phenomenon in Cretan literature of the EMG period, involving the definite article ὁ (nom. sg.) before a word beginning with a back vowel. These are discussed and illustrated in CHATZIDAKIS 1915: 459 for *Erotokritos*; BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1996: 85 for *Thysia tou Avraam*; VEJLESKOV 2005: 108 for *Apokopos*. The phenomenon is extremely rare in prose texts, although it surfaces quite early in the period covered by the Grammar, and is amply corroborated by modern dialectal evidence (especially for W. Crete, see KAFKALAS 2000: 56–8).

na ton eghi Emanuil / νὰ τὸν ἔχη Ἑμμανουήλ (1394, Crete, SANTSCHI 1976: 1597, 344.19)
 εἰπέ μας ἄν κρατεῖ οὐρανὸς κι ἄν στέκει ὁ κόσμος τώρα *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 86; λάμπουσιν τ'
 ἄστρα τ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ αὐγερινὸς ἀστέρας *ibid.* 92
 κλαίγει πατέρας, δέρνεται, τὰς τρίχας ἀνασπάζει *Imb.* Rim. 207
 κι ἄντρας μου τὴν ἀγόρασε καὶ σπῖτι του ἔφερε τὴ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.2.235
 ὁπού μοῦ 'γραφε ἀδελφός του (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.19)
 τοῦτο πού θε νὰ πάθουμε Ἀφέντης μας τὸ θέλει *Thysia Avr.* 330; δὲν εἶναι ἐπὰ μετανιωμὸς κι
 Ἀφέντης μου τὸ θέλει *ibid.* 653
 λέγει ἀφέντης Μιχελής (1645, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 9, 365: 2); καὶ ἀφέντης ἡγούμενος
 λέγει (*ibid.* 365.4)

πόσα μᾶς τάσσει ἄδικητῆς κι ἀπόκει μᾶς κομπώνει KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1043; κι ἄστροπελέκια
οὐρανός χάμαι στή γῆ νὰ πέψη *ibid.* IV.1042 app. crit.; "Ἀριστος ποῦ 'το γλήγορος κ' εἰς τ'
ἄρματα τεχνίτης *ibid.* IV.1695

For Pontic, TZITZILIS (1999: 88) has collected a few cases from the 15th-c. *Gesprächbuch*, and HENRICH (1998A: 107) a single example from a Crimean document where the masc. nom. sg. *ó* is deleted. Instances of the phenomenon can also be found in the Vazelon archive. For the phenomenon in modern Pontic see PAPADOPOULOS 1955: 10 and 157–8; DAWKINS 1937: 27; TOMBAIDIS 1980: 225; DRETTAS 1997: 111–15.

ἐχάρασεν ἀνατολή (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 846); βασιλεύει ἥλιος (*ibid.* 848)
ἐποίησεν τὰ Ἑμινάκης (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.5)
καὶ ἐστάθεν Ἐλαφοῖω(α)ννας καὶ ὁ Γαριότ(ης) ὁ κύρ Θεόδωρ(ον) (15th c., Pontos, ALEXAKIS/
MAVROMATIS 2015: 5, 12.8–9)

2.9.3 Vowel Change at Word Boundaries

A high number of LMedG and EMG lexical items display non-etymological initial vowels, i.e. they present common variants, or even a single form, which begin with a vowel different from that in previous phases of language history, e.g. *ἐξω* > *ὄξω*, *ἐλαφρός* > *ὄλαφρός*. The phenomenon does not appear in the Koine or in EMedG sources, and is rare in the earlier LMedG documents and in higher-register texts. It seems to be a feature of vernacular language, becoming frequent from the 14th/15th c. onwards.

The main cause of the change is the phenomenon of vowel deletion at word boundaries as a hiatus resolution strategy (see 2.9.1), followed by false word division (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 232–4). The availability of two alternative strategies of vowel deletion at word boundaries, either according to the AG system, leading to elision, or according to the MedG system (on the basis of the vowel hierarchy), frequently leading to aphaeresis (2.7.1), may have increased insecurity as to the position of the word boundary. For example, within the phonological phrase τὰ ἐλαφρά [taela'fra], the vowel sequence [ae] is simplified through deletion of the weaker of the two vowels, [e], and the resulting phrase [tala'fra] is parsed not as τὰ 'λαφρά with aphaeresis, but as τ' ὄλαφρά with elision. The one-off misparsed variant [alafr-] is subsequently lexicalized and becomes a permanent stem variant of the word. Once a word has acquired a new stem through this process, this may spread to its whole derivational paradigm, e.g. τὸ ἐλπίζω > τὸ 'λπίζω > τ' ὄλπίζω > ὄλπίζω → ὄλπίδα.

The connection of the phenomenon to vowel deletion and consequently to the vowel hierarchy which governs it (2.9.2) entails that the most common non-etymological vowels are those which stand higher in the hierarchy, namely /a/ and /o/, and conversely those which are most commonly replaced are the ones which stand lower, especially /e/. Apart from the relative frequencies of the replaced vowels, another indication of the close connection of the phenomenon to vowel deletion at word boundaries is the comparatively late dating of its appearance.

As in the case of vowel prothesis (2.6.1), the phrases within which the phenomenon mostly takes place are the collocations of article + noun, preposition + complement or clitic + verb. Therefore, spread of /a/ is due mostly to the indefinite pronoun *ἐν*α, *μία*, the definite article *τά*, and the preverbal particles *νά* and *θά*, while spread of /o/ is mostly due to the definite article *ό* and *τό*, or the preposition *ἀπό* (e.g. *ἀπό* ξῶ > *ἀπό* 'ξῶ > *ἀπ*' ὄξῶ > ὄξῶ). In the case of weaker vowels replacing stronger ones, a more solid explanation from a phonetic point of view is to assume a two-step process: lexicalized initial vowel deletion followed at a later stage by vowel prothesis. This is quite common in the case of initial /e/ in verb stems, e.g. *ἀγροικῶ* > *γροικῶ* > *ἐγροικῶ* (with an initial /e/ probably stemming from past indicative forms with syllabic augment), but might subsequently spread to nominal forms within the paradigm, e.g. *ὀμιλῶ* > *μιλῶ* > *ἐμιλῶ* → *ἐμιλία* (an evolution preferable to assuming *ὀμιλία* > *ἐμιλία* directly).

Initial vowel change may also be due to other causes than vowel deletion at word boundaries. These include assimilation (2.8.5), analogy or folk etymology. For example, the word *ἄγγαρεία* appears already in Koine papyri, as well as in MedG documents from S. Italy, in the form *ἐγγαρεία*; this is usually interpreted as analogical influence of the preposition *ἐν* or the Latin form of the word *engaria*, rather than a phonetically driven initial vowel change (GIGNAC 1976: 280; MINAS ²2003: 162). Also, the mutual influence of the preverbs *ἀπο*-, *ὑπο*- and *ἐπι*- is quite common, especially after the demise of *ὑπό* and *ἐπί* as true prepositions (cf. ALEXIOU 1985: κα').

Initial vowel change appears in texts from all areas, with rare examples from the end of the 11th c. and increasing frequency from the 15th. It is present both in literary and non-literary texts, but is predominantly a low-register feature, avoided in more learned and archaizing sources. Furthermore, it is a feature that presents considerable variation: the lexical items involved appear in the same period, sometimes even in the same texts, both in changed and unchanged form. In some cases, a lexical item may present two non-etymological stem forms, e.g. *ἐρμηνεύω* > *ἀρμηνεύω*/*ὀρμηνεύω* or *ἐκ* > *ἄχ*/*ὀχ*.

In the following examples, most lexical items present the phenomenon in more than one instance from different areas and periods, and the changed form is sometimes retained in MG. However, other cases are less well entrenched.

/a/ > /e/

ἐγγαρείας (1099, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: App. 1, 643.14)

καὶ νὰ τὸ ἐγροικᾶτε *Chron. Mor.* H 2692

νὰ ἐξάζει (1619, Crete, XANTHOUDIS 1912: 21, 69.11)

/a/ > /i/

καὶ μοναχὸς ὑπέμεινεν μετὰ τῆς ποθητῆς του *Dig. E* 1096 app. crit. < *ἀπομένω*

καὶ ὑπέκλεισεν τὰ τέσσερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κλωνάρια *Dig. E* 1634 app. crit.

νὰ ὑποκτῆσης FORTIOS, *Strat. pragm.* 56

/o/ > /a/

αφιδι, *ἀφείδι* / *ἀφίδι* (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 958)

ἄρφανῶν (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 13.9)

ἀλάκερη (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 229, 193.16)

ἄδόντι TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.322

/o/ > /e/

ἐπίσω *Velth.* 996 app. crit.
 ἐψικεύουσιν *Achil.* N 1244
 νὰ τοὺς ἐψικεύουσιν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 348
 ἐμολογᾷ (1520, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 4 [Δ'], 238.2)
 ἐλλίγον VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 46.9–10; ἐλίγην TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.4
 εἰς ἐμοιότητάν τως *P&N Diath.* 996
 καμμία ἐμπλιγάτζιο (1667, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 802, 484.14)

/o/ > /i/

καρπούς καὶ ὑπώρας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 283; ἵπωρα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 801
 ἰσπίτι DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2280
 δὲν ἤφελ᾽ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 406.12

/u/ > /o/

στς ὀρανοὺς ἀπάνω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.337; τσ' ὀρανοὺς *Zinon Prol.* 3
 ἀπὸ τὴν ὀρὰν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 250.26
 κατὰ τὴν οὔζάντζα του τόπου (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 648, 566.5) < usanza

/e/ > /a/

ἀλάδι (1227–50, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 20, 156–157.9)
 ἀπῆρες ὕπνον GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 166
 τὸ ἀργαστήριν *Poulol.* 82 app. crit. (E); ἀργάτης *Deft. Par.* 256; ἀργατων / ἀργατῶν (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 7, 35.10); β' ἀργαστήρια (1628–9, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 1, 43.29)
 πολλὴ ἀντροπὴ εἰς αὐτόν μας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 234.10
 ἀντίπερα τοῦ Ἀφράτη *Arm.* 31
 ἀλαφρόν (1682, Cyclades, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 231, 409.6)
 τῆς ἀρμηνείας FORTIOS, *Strat. pragm.* 29
 νὰ σ' ἀγγίξω *Thysia Avr.* 836
 ἄχ τὸν κόσμον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 33
 ἀλεφάντινον DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 281; ἀλεφάντινα *Diig. Alex.* F 146.15 (Lolos)
 καὶ ἡτῆς ἀνοχλησι (1586, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 4, 20.9–10)
 ὀληνῆς [τῆς] ἀνορίας (1659, Zakynthos, AVOURIS 1973: 219.8); μετουσανουριτες / μὲ τοὺς ἀνουρίτες (1687, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1972: 1, 27.2)
 τ' ἄντερὰ μου CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I. 27

/e/ > /o/

εἰς τ' ὄξω (1056, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 40, 163.8)
 τότε τὴν ὀρμηνεία μου *Pol. Tr.* 415 app. crit. (V)
 ὁμορφον *Chron. Mor.* H 3154
 κι ὀλπιζα TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 188 app. crit. (1577); ὀλπίδες (1613, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 2, 308.24)
 ὀρωτικόν *Achil.* N 832
 στὰ ὄτοιμα *Poulol.* 452 app. crit. (V); ὄτοιμοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 4.33
 ἐκ τῶν Ὀβραίων *Poulol.* 584 app. crit. (V)
 ο προσμας / ὁμπρός μας (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 17, 11.1); νὰ τὸ τσακίσω ὁμπρός σου *Arm.* 20
 ὄξω εἰς τὴν στεριὰν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 92.24)
 μεγάλες ὄξοδες (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 97.14)
 ὀχθροὺς (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 97.25); οἱ ὀχθροὶ σας (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 133.33)
 ὁκ *Alex. Rim.* 37; ὁκ τὸ νησὶν τῆς Κύπρου (1609, Cyprus, CHASIOITIS 1972: 33, 55.3)

το βάλασιν ὀφθηνὸ (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 758, 659.4)
τὴν ὀφετινὴ (1677, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 24, 92.10)

/e/ > /i/

ἦστιάν του *Chron. Mor.* H 3718; ἰστίαν *Dig.* E 1743

/i/ > /a/

δὲν σᾶς ἀκανεῖ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 518.24
ἔχει ἀπομονήν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 208.38; δὲν ἔχει ἀπομονή *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.377
ἀχνάρια τῶν ζώων *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 136.21
οἱ ἀπακοῆς του *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 44; κι ἄς ἀπακούση σήμερο *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.355
ἀππάριν *MEURSIUS, Gloss.* s.v.

/i/ > /o/

ὀρμολόγιον (1363, Cyprus, COUROPOU/GÉHIN 2001: 3, 157.16)
ὀγρὰ *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 402; ὀγρὸν *MOREZINOS, Klini* 208.12
σὰν ὀξός, ὅπου κολνᾷ *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2091 < ἰξός

/i/ > /e/

τὰ ἐδικά μου *Liv.* E 3140

The appearance of non-etymological final vowels is, on the contrary, a much rarer phenomenon. It must of course be distinguished from the morphological changes involving different inflectional suffixes, i.e. the transition from one inflectional paradigm to another (e.g. fem. φοβερὰ → φοβερή) or the analogical reformation of inflectional suffixes, e.g. -όμουνε/-όμουνα, ἔνι/ἔναι.

Because of the suffixal inflectional morphology of LMedG and EMG, phonetic changes in the final vowel are to be expected only in uninflected lexical items. A characteristic case is the preposition ἀπό appearing in many texts and areas as ἀπέ (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ἀπό), a change caused by the frequent collocations of the preposition with lexical items beginning with /e/ and the subsequent reanalysis of the vowel deletion process as aphaeresis in accordance with the vowel hierarchy rather than elision (see above), e.g. ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνον > ἀπ' ἐκεῖνον > ἀπέ 'κεῖνον → ἀπέ. A similar analysis could also apply to the adverbial variants πάλι(ν)/πάλε, μόνο(ν)/μόνε. In the same vein, the form ὀπό instead of etymological ὀπού for the relative pronoun (see II, 5.9.1.1) is due to reanalysis from instances with crasis, e.g. ὀπου ἔκαμε > ὀπῶκαμε > ὀπό 'καμε → ὀπό.

Variations like ξι/ἔξε (cf. πέντε), τίποτε/τίποτα/τίποτι, κάθε/κάθα, ἀπόψε/ἀπόψα, τώρα/τώραι are due to analogy and not to phonetic reasons. The same is valid for the locative adverbs ἀπάνω/ἀπάνου, κάτω/κάτου which were influenced by ὅπου, παντοῦ, ἀλλοῦ etc. (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 100, 309).

2.9.4 Synizesis

2.9.4.1 Introduction and Definition

The phenomenon of synizesis encompasses a number of phonetic changes involving sequences of high vowel + vowel, whereby the first (high) vowel becomes a (palatal) glide. The application or the results of the change depend on the consonant preceding the vowel

sequence, the quality of the high vowel undergoing glide formation (/e/ vs. /i/), the position of the accent (both vowels unstressed, stress on the second vowel, or stress on the first vowel), the chronological period, the geographical area and the register of the lexical item or the text.

Synizesis is the most important phonetic phenomenon of LMedG, as it affects the overall structure of the phonological system and creates major dialectal isoglosses which continue into MG (see 2.1). The phenomenon requires further investigation as there is disagreement in the relevant literature concerning its dating and evolution (see CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 332–55; NEWTON 1972a: 19–52; MINAS 1983; MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2002; MANOLESSOU/KOUTSOUKOS 2011). Furthermore, synizesis is especially difficult to investigate in written texts, because it is graphematically invisible when the affected syllables bear no accent, or it is easily hidden by conservative spelling (see e.g. HINTERBERGER 2006: 11). In any case, the accentuation of medieval vernacular manuscripts is often unreliable (see 4.1).

Synizesis in its most frequent form involves the following sequence of phenomena (see also 2.4.7):

- 1) glide formation: the high vowel /e/ or /i/ becomes a glide [j].
- 2a) consonantization: the glide [j], initially a vocalic approximant, undergoes consonantization, depending on the preceding consonant, i.e. the result is the voiced palatal fricative [ɟ] after the voiced consonants /v ð b d r z/, the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] after the voiceless consonants /f θ p t s/, or the palatal nasal [ɲ] after /m/.
- 2b) absorption: the glide [j] is deleted or “absorbed”, if the consonant preceding it is palatalizable, after having palatalized it, i.e. velar /k g x ɣ/ + [j] > [c ɟ ç ɲ], nasal /n/ + [j] > [ɲ] and lateral /l/ + [j] > [ʎ].

If the high vowel is stressed, the stress shifts onto the second vowel. There is doubt in the literature as to whether the stress shift precedes or follows glide formation and on whether, if the high vowel undergoing synizesis is /e/, there is first an intermediate stage of height dissimilation whereby /e/ first becomes [i] and then undergoes glide formation. Table 1 gives examples.

Table 1: *Synizesis by Environment*

Unstressed [i]	καρύδια [ka'riðia]	> καρύδια [ka'riðja]
Stressed [i]	παிடία [pe'ðia]	> παιδιά [pe'ðja]
Stressed [e]	καρυδέα [kari'ðea]	> καρυδιά [kari'ðja]
Unstressed [i]	σμπάθειο [si'mbaθio]	> σμπάθειο [si'mbaθço]
Stressed [i]	θεῖος ['thios]	> θείος [θços]
Stressed [e]	γρονθέα [ɣron'thea]	> γροθιά [ɣro'tça]
Unstressed [i]	γένια ['jenia]	> γένια ['jeɲa]
Stressed [i]	χωνίου [xo'niu]	> χωνιοῦ [xo'ɲu]
Stressed [e]	νέου ['neu]	> νιοῦ [ɲu]

In some dialectal areas, synizesis fails to apply when the first of the two vowels is stressed; this is to be expected, as cross-linguistically the stress accent is a major factor blocking glide formation (see e.g. ROSENTHALL 1994). Also, several areas show alternative results in stressed sequences, such as vowel deletion or coalescence instead of synizesis. This dialectal variation in the application of synizesis on sequences where the first vowel is stressed is a strong indication that the change took place considerably later in this specific environment; see below for more details on the dating and alternative evolutions of synizesis.

2.9.4.2 Historical Overview: Evidence

Synizesis as a metrical phenomenon, i.e. as the monosyllabic scansion of normally disyllabic sequences of /e/ or /i/ + other vowel was already an AG phenomenon (see e.g. SCHWYZER 1939: 244–5). As a linguistic phenomenon permanently affecting the phonetic shape of words, the first stage in the process must have taken place in the period of the Koine (GIGNAC 1976: 251–2 and 302–3; MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2002: 86; HORROCKS ²2010: 113, 165) and involved simple diphthong formation, i.e. tautosyllabic pronunciation of /e/ or /i/ when followed by another vowel, without, however, real glide formation. This is detectable through the interchange of spelling between /e/ and /i/ when followed by another vowel, or even the total omission of /i/ in the same environment. The phenomenon acquired greater force through the loss of quantity distinctions which must have led to a phonological system disavouring vocalic sequences and hiatus (MANOLESSOU/KOUTSOUKOS 2011), and thus to a variety of novel hiatus resolution strategies (cf. also 2.9.1).

The next stage, during the EMedG period, must have been true glide formation in unstressed sequences, i.e. true synizesis whereby the vowel /i/ acquired an allophone [j] before another unstressed vowel. The only evidence for this change is again the appearance of <i> instead of <ε> before a vowel, as well as the reverse due to hypercorrection (cf. the examples in PSALTES 1913: 23–8; MINAS 1983: 283; MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1993 and 2002: 86–7) and perhaps the number of syllables in metrical texts written in the new syllable-based Byzantine metres (HORROCKS ²2010: 276). However, it is in general difficult to draw conclusions from syllable-based metre, because of the phenomenon of metrical synizesis: it is possible for two consecutive vowels to count as one for the purposes of the metre, without this actually reflecting a lexicalized phonetic change in the words in question (see e.g. ALONSO ALDAMA 2005 and DELIGIANNAKI 2005, where a description of metrical, as opposed to grammatical, synizesis is given). Lists of MedG vernacular verses displaying metrical synizesis can be found in MINAS 1983 and STANITSAS 1984; the placement of the accent by scribes and editors is variable.

ἡ παπαδιὰ παρέπεσεν, ἐξύβρισε τὴν κοίτην GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 270
καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέμεινεν μὲ τοὺς οἰκειοὺς του μόνους *Spaneas* P 210
ἀπέσω τὰ μανίκια σου, ἀπέσω ἡ τραχηλιὰ σου *Ptoch. IV* 58 (ms K)
καὶ τὴν Λαμπρὰν τὴν Κυριακὴν στήν ἐκκλησιὰν ἂν ὑπάγω *Ptoch. III* 273.69 app. crit. (K)
περηνιστηρίαν τὸν μαῦρον του, διὰ νὰ περάση πέρα *Arm.* 42

ὥς δ' εἶχεν ἀπαραίτητον τῆς ξενιτείας τὴν στράταν *Velth.* 67 transcr. (Lendari) (ξενιτειᾶς Kriaras)
 καὶ ἐπλούτισεν ἐκέισε | καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ παιδία του *Ptochol.* α 50–1
 μισεύγουσιν, ἀφήνουν τον, ὑπᾶν εἰς τὲς δουλεῖες των *SACHLIKIS, Peri fylakis* 83 transcr. N (Lendari)
 καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἐρωτικά καταδουλογραφοῦσι [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 728

Direct metalinguistic description of synizesis in non-stressed syllables comes from the 17th c., namely from GERMANO, *Grammar* 55, repeated in PORTIUS, *Grammar* 13, in the context of cases where the stress falls on the fourth syllable from the end (e.g. ἀναγάλλιασις, ἐνύκτιασεν), something normally disallowed by the stress rules of MedG (see 4.2): “il ι con l'α ὁ altra seguente vocale s'uniscono à modo di diftongo & formano una sillaba, in modo che ἐνύκτιασεν siano tre sillabe.”

The first two stages of synizesis affect the totality of the Greek-speaking areas. During this period, another synizesis-connected phenomenon takes place, namely the retraction of the stress to the first vowel in the case of sequences where the stress falls on the second syllable (e.g. φωλέα > φωλέα, σκιά > σκία), probably as a prophylaxis against synizesis. Since the forms showing stress retraction appear from many areas (especially peripheral ones such as Pontos and S. Italy), are documented even in early and learned MedG texts and also appear in a variety of MG dialects, in particular those in which synizesis of stressed sequences does not apply (see e.g. *ILNE* s.vv. ἀνεψιός, ἀραιός, δεξιός, cf. also CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: A 82; KAHANE/KAHANE 1981: 116–17), the phenomenon must be quite early and not the result of a late diaeresis (i.e. undoing of synizesis) as some scholars claim (e.g. MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2002: 100–2).

ἀνεψίου (11th c.?, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1982: 1, 10.20); πρὸς τὸν ἀνεψίον του *Pol. Tr.* 34 app. crit. (A); τὸν ἀνηψίον *Chron. Mor.* P 6775; ἀνηψίον μου (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.4); τὸν ἀνιψίον του (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 73, 57.3); ἀνοψίες (1600, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: II, 70.3)
 εἰς τὴν παλαίαν δημοσίαν (1007, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 1, 135.29)
 τῶν Παλαίων Λάκκων (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 45.227); τῶν παλαίων *Chron. Mor.* H 1353; εἰς τὴν παλαίαν Πάτραν *Chron. Toc.* 3085
 μητριάς (1196, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 13, 88.5); μητρία του KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 413
 τοῖς δεξίοις προβάτοις (1328, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 6, 32.22)
 ἀνὰ φωλέας δεκαπέντε Theophanes Cont. 430.16; φωλέαν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 1.2
 τοὺς Ἀραίους (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 86, 65.5)
 καρύαν (1433, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 29, f.35r.4)
 εἰς τὰς γενέας ἄπασας *Dig.* E 1702; τῆς γενέας τους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 51.4
 ὥσπερ ἀγιά δωρέα FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 282

It is also possible that the origin of the retraction is at least partly morphological rather than phonological, i.e. due to the analogical influence of the very productive derivational suffixes -έα and -αῖος on the relatively rare ones in -έα, -εός (cf. CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: A 81–2).

The third stage of evolution was the consonantization of the glide [j] into a fricative consonant [ʃ] or [ç] and the development of palatalized [ɲ] and [ʎ] after glide absorption as described above (see also dental palatalization, 3.8.2.3). This stage involves a phonological

change as well, since the consonantal realization of [j] made its connection to the vowel /i/ harder to recover during language acquisition. This is especially true in cases (a) where [j] occurred in the stem of a word, without the possibility of allomorphic variation with another inflected form of the word bearing the stress on the first vowel, and (b) where the glide was absorbed into a preceding palatal consonant (e.g. χιόνι, λιανός). From this stage onward, the postulation of a phoneme /j/ at least in these environments is necessary. Evidence for the consonantization of [j] into [j] is provided, for unstressed sequences, since the 10th c., through the spellings <γι>, <γε> + V instead of <ι> + V, cf. e.g. the contrast Ἰωαννάκης *Dig. G IV 33* vs. Γιαννάκης *Dig. E 1243* and ἱανουαρίου *Chron. Mor. H 2174* vs. Γενναρίου *Chron. Mor. P 2174*.

διὰ τὰς γερακαρίας *De ceremoniis* 659.5 < ἱέραξ
 ὕπα καλῶς, γεράκιν μου *Anna Comnena, Alexiad* 2.4.9
 γιάκονου (1098, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 65, 83.5)
 ἀρχιδιάκονος / ἀρχιδιάκονος (1112, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 3, 72.73)
 τὸν γιατρό (1389, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 3, 89.2)

Another indication of synizesis is the substitution of /i/ + V for /e/ + V, as in EMedG. This is rare in the 11th to 14th c., but becomes much more frequent in later texts:

λιανδρου (1034, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 29, 33.1) < Λεάνδρου
 Γιωργιω(ς) / Γιώργιος (1032, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 4, 53.35)
 γῳργιος / Γιώργιος (1173, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 51, 88.19)
 καλαμιῶνες (1180, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 200, 262.32)
 παλιοσπίτια (1307, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 10, 114.55)
 σπῖλλοιους / σπήλιοιους (1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.12)
 θιωρῶ *Liv. E 21*
 τοῦ μορειός / τοῦ Μοριῶς *Chron. Mor. P 2270* app. crit.
 δίκια LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 153
 τὸ παλιὸ καβάδιν (1506, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: 1 [A'], 224.26)
 ἐφάνη τοῦ καλοῦ θησιῦ / ἐφάνη τοῦ καλοῦ Θησιοῦ *Theseid XII.3,4* (1529) (cf. Θησέος
 ὠνομάζετον *ibid.* I.6.5 (Follieri))
 τὸν Μορίαν / τὸν Μοριᾶν *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* I.109; στὸν βασιλῆαν / στὸν βασιλιᾶν
ibid. VII.42; ὁ θεῖός μας κατηράθη / ὁ θιὸς μᾶς κατηράθη *ibid.* XVIII.434
 λιόφυτα (1571, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 216, 308.7)
 λιοντάρια *TRIVOLIS, Tagiap.* 161
 τὴν γιωμετρίαν *Diig. Alex. E 109.19* (Lolos)
 τσι γιωργούς *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.283

Yet another indication/result of consonantization is the deletion of /ð/ in the preposition/preverb διὰ, caused by the necessity to avoid the word-initial consonant cluster [ðj] (see 3.6.1 and ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, *Lex.* s.vv. διὰ, διατί, γιγέρνω for dating and examples). For further graphematic indications of synizesis see II, 1.5.

Extrapolating from MG, it is possible that consonantization of the glide in unstressed sequences did not take place in many instances and would be avoided in more elevated speech, especially in higher-register lexical items such as διάδοχος, σχέδιο, πρόνοια, βεστιάριος etc. However, this is impossible to detect through graphematic evidence.

The fourth stage in the evolution of synizesis is the spread of the phenomenon to sequences where the first, high vowel is stressed. This stage is dialectally restricted, as in some regions it never takes place (see below). These are the outlying areas of Pontos and S. Italy, and the southern part of Mainland Greece, as evidenced by the modern dialectal survivals of the “Old Athenian” group and Maniot. It is possible that the spread to stressed sequences was delayed for Northern Greece as well, because in some northern areas the modern results of the synizesis of /ea/ differ from those of the synizesis of /ia/ ([ɛa] vs. [ja] respectively, e.g. μορέα > μούρεά [mur'ɛa]). However, this phenomenon is not verifiable in MedG texts. In view of the areal/dialectal restriction of this stage, as well as its variable results, it must have been reached towards the end of the LMedG period.

The spread of synizesis to stressed sequences is attested, like the previous one, through the use of the graphemes <γ χ ν> in order to denote the consonantization of /j/ (see 2.4.7 for further examples), and through the spelling <ι> + V instead of <ε> + V, appearing in the 14th–15th c. Graphematic representation of palatalization of the preceding consonant also betrays the operation of synizesis, irrespective of the placement of the accent in the manuscripts (see also 3.8.2):

- εἶστο χοργίον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 86.33 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 ἀπὸ τὴν μεργιάν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 91.42 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 σταργίου (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 23.16)
 νὰ πγῆ *Assizes* B 431.19
 τὴν Μαργιὰ (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 152.4)
 opghi clessi / ὅποιοι κλαῖσι CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.624 transcr. X (Legrand)
 πγιάννοντας ἄρματα / πιάννοντας ἄρματα (1609, Cyprus, CHASIOIS 1972: 33, 55.25)
 me martirgià (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 200.223–4)
 rgiachi / ρυάκι *Thysia* Avr. 799 transcr. M
 εἰκωσι κοματγῆα / εἴκοσι κομμάτια (1675, Amorgos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 33, 26.12)
 σίντροφγ<ι>α / συντροφιά (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 3, 39r.6); τὰ
 ποιδγ<ι>ά / τὰ πιδιά (ibid. A: 6, 43r.16)
 τοῦ χωραφχιού / τοῦ χωραφιοῦ (1695, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 33, 81.17)
 φοριχίες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.29
 δοκιμαχιά *Fior* 126.35
 ἀλλ' ἑφτακόχες KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 268
 τυραγνιά *Theseid* I.95,3 (Follieri)
 ξεραχιά MEURSIUS, *Gloss.* s.v. = ξηρασία; κακοπαθηχία ibid. s.v.
 καὶ καθὰ κοπεγλιού / καὶ κάθα κοπελιού (1660, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 15, 379.8)
 ποδαριὰς (1304, Sicily, Guillou 1963: 23, 175.51)
 γιατ' ἔτσι 'ν' ὀριζάμενο τὸ χριός σου νὰ πλερώσης *Alfav.* 10 8
 ἔτσι ἀπὸ τὰ παλιά ὥσάν καὶ τὰ νιά (1596, Naxos, Karaboula/Rodolakis 2012/13: 154, 279.11)
 ρωμνιους / Ρωμιούς (1608, Santorini, Stefanidou 2004: 18, 179.62)
 παλιά καὶ νιά (1638, Crete, Vourdoumbakis 1915: 5, 357.22)
 αμπελιού με πέντε ρίξες ελιές (1624, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2000: 2, 516.10)
 οἱ γουνιοῖ μου (1643, Andros, POLEMIS 1999b: 15, 39.5)
 στὴν ἐδικήνμας τῶν Ῥωμειῶν / στὴν ἐδικήν μας τῶν Ρωμιῶν SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* a2v.12
 μὲ ἔναν Ὀβριόν (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 10, 76.14)

Another indication for a LMedG dating for synizesis in stressed sequences is the appearance of the “semi-contracted” barytone inflection in this period (see III, 2.1.1.2), with rare 13th-c. attestations from S. Italy, and 14th-c. attestations from literary texts:

καὶ συγκλειοῦν (1251, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 197, 419.23)
οἱ συμφωνίης τῆς κλειοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 2387 < κλείω
καταλυεῖς τὰ ροῦχά μου *Spaneas Z* 626; σείεσαι ἀγριωμένος *ibid.* 628 < σείω

Of course synizesis is also attested, to the extent that the accentuation of medieval manuscripts is reliable, simply through the graphematic placement of the accent on the second vowel. The evidence of printed editions is certainly more reliable, and so are attestations in LMedG metrical texts where the shifted accent falls on the penultimate syllable of the 15-syllable political verse, which has obligatory stress on this position (in which case the last syllable in the verse is frequently a clitic).

ὑποδησιάν οὐκ εἶχεν *Ptoch.* III 60 app. crit. (M)
τῶν δύο της φρυδιῶν *Pol. Tr.* 2072 app. crit. (V)
τὰ κεριά (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 18, 158.6)
ρίζες διὸ / ρίζες δυὸ (1529, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 92, 114.4)
ὦ μαρτυριά τῆς ἀληθείας *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 237
σκηλιά / σκυλιά (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 48.4); ἐδῶ εἶναι Τουρκιά (*ibid.* 2, 49.7)
ποτέ σας νὰ μὴν ἔχετε ἑσεῖς καὶ τὰ παιδιά σας *Chron. Mor.* H 4250; κι ἀφότου ἑκατονέψασιν
ἐπιάσαν τῆς μαντιές τους *ibid.* 5305
τὴν λευθεριάν του LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 285
Βέλθανδρε, φῶς μου, μάτια μου, ψυχὴ μου καὶ καρδιά μου *Velth.* 1158
καὶ κανισκέψη τον καλὰ, διαβαίνει ἡ μανιά του *SACHLIKIS, Peri fylakis* 96 transcr. N (Lendari)
λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἐμίσσεψε καὶ πᾶγει τὴν δουλειά του *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1125
κ' ἐδιάβηκε στὸ σπῆτι του μέσα στὴν κατοικιά του *Alex. Rim.* 174

By the 17th c., the phenomenon is also noted in grammars of the period, cf. “la lingua di Scio ama assai l’Accento nell’ultima sillaba ne’ Nomi Feminini in a. φιλιά, amicitia, μακαριά, buona memoria, & simili, che altri pronuntiano φιλία, μακαρία” (GERMANO, *Grammar* 56.20). The same author (p. 63) comments on the variable application of synizesis in the neuter nouns in -ι: “το δεμάτι, του δεματιοῦ, τῶν δεματιῶν, il fascio, del fascio, delli fasci. & questo é il Dialetto, cioè la lingua di Scio. Altri dicono σπιτίου, παιδίου, δεματίου & simili”.

It must be noted that synizesis in sequences where the first vowel is stressed is very much a variable phenomenon, in that there are no texts from any period which display it consistently in all lexical items possessing the proper phonetic environment. Resistance to synizesis in sequences where the first vowel is stressed is one of the characteristic markers of higher register; even very late texts, dated to the 17th and 18th c., may show absence of synizesis, without this entailing that the process had not taken place at that time. The investigation of the phenomenon of synizesis in MG has demonstrated how closely it is connected to sociolinguistic factors (e.g. RYTTING 2005). Absence of synizesis in literary and non-literary texts from all areas is so frequent, even up to the 17th c., that it does not require documentation.

In general, the morphophonological environments where synizesis with variable results may appear in MedG and EMG are the following (based on NEWTON 1972a: 28–9):

- a) Feminine nouns in -έα, -ία, -εία (μερέα, μερία, μεριά, μερά, μερέ); see II, 2.11.4.
- b) Masculine nouns in -έας deriving from the AG paradigm -εύς (βασιλέας, βασιλιάς, βασιλές); see II, 2.4.
- c) Neuter nouns in -ιον/-ιν in the gen. sg. and the pl. (παιδί → παιδίου-παιδιοῦ / παιδία-παιδιά, μοναστήρι → μοναστηρίου-μοναστηριοῦ); see II, 2.20.
- d) Neuter nouns in -ειο, -εῖο (σχολεῖο, σχολειό); see II, 2.20.
- e) Adjectives in -αῖος (παλαιός-παλιός, Ρωμαῖος-Ρωμιός) and -ιάρης (ζηλιάρης, ζηλιαρέα); see II, 3.2.2 and II, 3.2.6.
- f) Adjectives in -ύς, -εία/-έα, -ύ (βαθέου → βαθιοῦ, βαθείας/βαθέας → βαθιδς, βαθέων → βαθιδων); see II, 3.3.1.
- g) The derivational suffixes -άζω and -ώνω when attached to stems ending in a high vowel (δειλία → δειλιάζω, ὅμοιος → ὁμοιάζω, παλαιός → παλιώνω).
- h) The paradigm of oxytone verbs, and specifically in the active imperfect (ἐκράτειες, ἤμπόρειε) and the mediopassive present and imperfect (κρατιοῦμαι, κρατιέμαι, ἐκρατειόμην/ἐκρατειοῦμουν etc.); see III, 4.3.
- i) The paradigm of “semi-contracted” verbs, i.e. barytone verbs with vocalic stem ending in /i/, (λύω > λυῶ, κλείω > κλειῶ, κυλίομαι > κυλιέμαι) and more rarely in /e/ (καίομαι > κιόμαι); see III, 2.1.1.2.
- j) The stem of several lexical items such as ἐορτή, ἱατρός, διαβάζω and some pronouns, e.g. ποῖος/ποιός, οἷος/ὄγοιος.

In the history of MG, a fifth stage in the evolution of synizesis takes place in the South-Eastern dialect group (Cyprus and Dodecanese; see PANDELIDIS 1929: 7–11; NEWTON 1972a: 166–74): the hardening of the voiced palatal fricative deriving from synizesis to a voiceless palatal stop, e.g. Cypriot ἀλήθεια > ἀλήθκεια [a'liθca], καρδιά > καρκιά [kar'ca], a change connected to the phenomenon of manner dissimilation, which in the South East affects a larger group of consonants (see 3.8.1.3). This stage is not attested in MedG or EMG documents, so most scholars believe that it post-dates the period under investigation (SYMEONIDIS 2006: 182). However, DAWKINS (1932: II 179) adduces an indirect piece of evidence that the phenomenon may already have begun in the late 14th c. in Cyprus: in a travel book written in Latin, the transliterated (ablative) form *in pitarcis* is used in order to refer to wine-jars in Cyprus (πιθάρι – πιθάρια > πιθάρκα).²⁶ An even further step in the evolution, occurring before back vowels, namely the backing of the palatal stop to a velar stop, e.g. Cypriot χωρίο(ν) > χωρκό(ν) [xor'kon] is not attested; however, a similar phenomenon of backing of the palatal fricative [j] resulting from synizesis to the velar fricative [ɣ] is attested in texts from Western Crete (see 2.4.7.3).

²⁶ The instance of “Verhärtung von j zu κ im Kyprischen” adduced by TRIANDAPHYLLIDIS 1909: §21, μπαζαρκάνος (< παζάρκι), TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 77, is spurious as it derives directly from Turk. *bazargân* (KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.).

2.9.4.3 Alternative Evolutions

The final stage of synizesis, involving vowel sequences where the first vowel is stressed, did not affect the totality of the vocabulary, but, more importantly, nor did it affect the totality of Greek-speaking areas. The major alternative evolutions are the following: (a) absence of synizesis, (b) absence of synizesis combined with height dissimilation, (c) vowel coalescence instead of synizesis.

a) absence of synizesis: stressed /e/ + V and /i/ + V sequences remain unaffected. Because of the conservative character of the written record, it is difficult to distinguish cases where absence of synizesis is a true regional dialectal characteristic from cases where it is inhibited due to conscious archaism or due to the properties of a specific lexical item. For this reason, the evidence of the Modern Greek dialects which still display absence of synizesis is crucial. The phenomenon occurs in the peripheral areas of Pontos and S. Italy, as well as in the so-called “Old Athenian” dialect group, which includes the variety spoken in Athens, Megara, Aegina and parts of Euboea. It also occurs in the Peloponnese, systematically in the dialects of Mani and the nearby island of Cythera and sporadically in some areas of Arcadia. This could indicate a dialectal isogloss which in the past encompassed the whole of southern mainland Greece, i.e. Attica, Boeotia, Euboea and the Peloponnese, and which became fragmented much later (cf. the discussion in PANDELIDIS 2016c). Lack of synizesis is attested in the texts originating from Pontos (VAYAKAKOS 1964: 271–2), S. Italy, Athens, Mani and Cythera. However, in some of these texts, forms with synizesis co-exist with unchanged forms. Examples:

ἐν σακὶν καμασίαν (1260?, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/ΒΕΝΕΧΕΒΙΤΣΧ 1927: 52, 29.31); τὴν μοιρασίαν (1264, *ibid.* 39, 19.22); ἀπὲ τὴν μίαν μερέαν (15th c., *ibid.* 148, 109.7)

εἰς τῆς Σπιλήαις / εἰς τὶς Σπηλῖες (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 84, 167.1); τῶν τρεῖων του πεδεῖων / τῶν τριῶν του παιδίων (1568, *ibid.* 261, 363.17)

εἰς τὸ μακελλεῖο (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 15, 13.7); τὴ χρονέα (1587, *ibid.* 167, 135.19); ἡ μία μερέα (1587, *ibid.* 137, 109.9); μῆαν ἀγριολεά / μίαν ἀγριολεά (1588, *ibid.* 276, 233.19)

εἰς τὴ Βαθέα Λαγκάδα (1631, Cythera, SEREMETIS 1962: 2 (ii), 132.9)

μερέαν (1547, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: I, 70.10)

σουκέα (1618, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: V, 73.29)

μονοκονδυλέα (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 307.6)

πυροστία (1627, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 240.24)

ἀχλαδέα (1749, Athens, MOMFERRATOS 1892: I, 28.16)

σουκέα (1760, Megara, SYRKOU 2006: I, 334.26)

According to KONDOSOPOULOS (1960: 211), absence of synizesis in the sequence -έα/-αία remains a feature of modern West Cretan, albeit restricted geographically (prefecture of Chania, province of Kissamos). This lends greater credibility to documentary attestations of such forms from EMG Cretan sources. However, forms in -έα appear only in non-literary (legal) texts and are absent from Cretan literature, except in rare cases, later only to be found in the rhyming position (BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 32–3). This indicates

either that they are archaic forms retained only as part of legal language, or that they are, as today, dialectally restricted. Examples:

ἐλαίαν μίαν ... καὶ κερατέα μίαν (1517, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 7, 55.18)
 διὰ ἐντριτέα (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 5, 25.26)

βρόμον πολὺν καὶ δυσωδίαν, εἰς τὴν κοπρέαν ἀπόσω DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 244
 στεφάνιν τῶν ἐφέρασιν ἀπὸ μερτέα καὶ δάφνης BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 491
 διχῶς ζωή, σοῦ ὄωκασι μὲ λόγχη στὴν πλευρέα | κι ἤδραμεν αἷμα καὶ νερόν ὥσπερ ἀγία
 δωρέα FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 281–2
 πάντα δε στέκεις ὁμορφῇ, δε θέλεις εἶσται νέα, | ἀμ' ἀσκημίσεις θες κι ἐσύ, γενεὶς θέλεις καὶ
 γράια CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.133–4
 ἴντὰ ἴναι αὐτὰ τὰ τσέρκουλα, λέχτορα καὶ ἡ τσιλέα, | τὰ ρόδομα ἀποῦ λὲς καὶ τρῶς, τὰ νεῦρα
 καὶ ἡ τσινέα; FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.62–3

Modern dialectal evidence indicates lack of synizesis in stressed sequences also for some Dodecanesian islands (parts of Rhodes and Karpathos, DAWKINS 1940: 25; TSOPANAKIS 1940: 64), for Arcadia (DAWKINS 1940: 19) and for parts of Northern Epirus (KYRIAZIS/SPYROU 2011: 180), but the evidence from these areas is insufficient to establish the status of synizesis in the LMedG and EMG periods. Finally, lack of synizesis in stressed sequences is normal for S. Italian and Pontic:

τῆς τε πελέας καὶ συκέας (1019, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 18, 19.10)
 φορεσίεις δ' (1254, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 19, 90.20)
 ἡ παππαδία αὐτοῦ χήρα ἡ Κουρτιστάβα (1268, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 50, 27.14); περὶ τοῦ χωραφίου μου (13th c., *ibid.* 101, 59.7)

b) height dissimilation without synizesis: the synizesis of the sequences where the first vowel is /e/ poses a difficult problem concerning the process of evolution. Most scholars follow the position of ANDRIOTIS 1974 and postulate a stage of height dissimilation, i.e. of raising of /e/ to /i/ prior to synizesis proper. Others (e.g. MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2002) claim that this is unnecessary and that synizesis can take place without such an intermediate stage, explaining the many cases of alternation between <εα> and <ια> as hypercorrections or as morphologically conditioned. A stage of height dissimilation can be assumed with some degree of certainty only for regions which do present ['ia] instead of etymological ['ea] in the modern period, namely S. Italy, Zakynthos and Tsakonia, and perhaps areas of the Peloponnese. In S. Italian documents the phenomenon is especially frequent (cf. MINAS ²2003: 50–2), but from the other areas the evidence is less secure. In all other instances, the most likely interpretation of apparent height dissimilation in MedG texts is hypercorrection of synizesis, which, by the time most of these attestations appear, had already set in:

καρυδίεις (1039–40, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 2, 69.10)
 ταῖς συκειαῖς / τὲς συκίεις (1108–9, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 29, 135.27)
 κιτριέας (1149, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 18, 122.26)
 βάδιον (<βάδεον>) (1198, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 246, 334.26)
 πτελίας (1307, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 10, 114.15)
 ἡ γρία τοὺς ἄφηκεν *Pol. Tr.* 497 app. crit. (E); πολλὲς σπαθίεις *ibid.* 3514 app. crit. (X)
 γλυκία (adv.) *Chron. Mor.* P 228
 τὴν κονταρίαν μὲ δώση *Dig.* E 1557

καὶ κονταρία τὸν ἔδωσεν τὸν Σγοῦρον ὁ Γαλιάσσος *Chron. Toc.* 1073
 ξυλίες τοὺς ἔδωκα *Achil.* O 598
 τοῦ χαλκία *Poulol.* 438 app. crit. (E)
 χρίος (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 46, 25.5)
 τοὺς γονίους του / τοὺς γονίους του (1484, Cyprus, DARROUZES 1958: 20, 232.7–8)
 τον φονίαν *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 18.2,
 ποδία (1514, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 2 [B'], 237.17)
 προτιμητίος (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 43, 53.6)
 τοῦ βασιλῆος ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* VII.45
 ᾽ξ Ἀμμώνου βασιλιάς *Alex. Rim.* 1411
 Κωσταντής Κορωνίος (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 39, 40.5);
 τὲς ἐλίες (1572, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 1, 17.10–11)
 τὰ λόγια τὰ βαρία *MONTSEL.*, *Evgena* 543
 ἀνήμπορη καὶ γρία *Zinon Prol.* 149

Height dissimilation could be assumed also in cases where the reverse pronunciation ['ea] or [ea], ['eo] or [eo], ['eu] or [eu], ['ei] or [ei] instead of ['ia] or [ia], etc. occurs, since these cases can be interpreted as hypercorrections of height dissimilation:

ἀνιψέοι (1041, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 2, 141.44)
 μεσειμβρέας (1123, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 93, 122.10); χοράφεον (1140, *ibid.* 122, 162.9);
 πέντε κεφάλαια πρόβατα (1141, *ibid.* 125, 167.29)
 νηφάλαιος / νηφάλεος (1328, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 2, 13.17)
 χασδέου *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 58.1
 τειχέα *Chron. Mor.* H 855
 εἰς τὴν κοπρέαν *Diig. tetr.* 232 app. crit. (P)
 νὰ κάμω τὴ μαλέα *Alex. Rim.* 808 < ὀμαλία
 κλαρέα *Diig. Alex.* E 181.12 (Lolos)
 σουπέας *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1104

However, in many cases the explanation of apparent height dissimilation is morphological/ analogical rather than phonetic: the suffix -έα has spread to specific subcategories of nouns (denoting trees, blows or strokes, smells, measures, skins; see CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 196ff. and B 227ff.; PSALTES 1913: 267–8; PETROUNIAS 1987) and adjectives (the feminine of the -ύς and -άριος paradigms, see II, 3.3.1 and II, 3.2.6),²⁷ replacing in some cases earlier -ία. This change is still evident in MG dialects not having undergone the final stage of synizesis (see extensive list of examples in VAYAKAKOS 1988a). This morphological change is still in a state of flux in the period under investigation, something which is reflected in the variation in inflection:

βαθείαν (1142, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 304.12) vs. βαθέαν (1141, *ibid.* Coll. V: 5, 300.17)
 Σικ(αι)λέ(ας) / Σικελέας (1179, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 50, 217.2)
 ἐγίνη λυσσιαρία *Pol. Tr.* 12483 app. crit. (V) vs. ἐγίνη λυσσιαρέα *ibid.* 12483 app. crit. (ACX)
 καρέας (1071, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 39, 116.14); καρέας (1330, Athos, LEFORT et al. 2006: 70, 65.34)
 κερασῆς (1018, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 24, 172.16) < κερασῆες < post-class. κερασία

²⁷ Cf. the early form σπαθαρέα (AD 898) from an EMedG Athenian inscription (ORLANDOS 1973: 101).

τῆς Κυδωνέ(ας) (1104 [14th-c. copy], Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 52, 242.27) < AG κυδωνία
 φυτέα (1270 ca., Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.23–4) < φυτεία
 φυτέα (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 64, 84.8)
 εἰς τὴν Ὀξέαν (1292, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 115, 85.44)
 λεπτοκαρέα (1400, Athos, KRAVARI 1991: 24, 165.7)
 τ(ήν) ἄλλην μερέαν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 17.83)
 τῇ κουβικουλαρέα *De adm. imperio* 53.429
 κουβουκλαρέα *Poulol.* 167
 καντζελλαρέα (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 26, 165.13)

c) vowel coalescence instead of synizesis: the vowel sequence stressed /e/ + /a/ results in /'e/ instead of /'ja/ in two areas, West Crete and Ikaria (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 402–3; KONDOSOPOULOS 1960: 210–18), a situation that is corroborated by MG dialectal evidence (see also 2.4.7.4). The phenomenon is well attested from the 16th c. onwards in texts from Rethymnon. About one-fourth of the relevant forms show coalescence to /'e/ in the corpus of the notary Varouchas (BAKKER 1988/89: 282), and several attestations are to be found in the works of Chortatsis and Troilos (HENRICH 1998b: 102). Documents from Ikaria also provide sufficient evidence for the regularity of the phenomenon since the 16th c. (cf. also CHATZIDAKIS 1901a: 152):²⁸

ἀπού τὸ ἀμπέλι τοῦ Βατέ (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 7, 29.5); ἄσπρη ρασέ (1598, *ibid.* 22, 42.13); ἀπού τὴν ἀπάνω μερέ (1604, *ibid.* 213, 218.4–5); ἀρχίζοντας ἡ πρώτῃ χρονέ ἀπού τσι,αχε' (1604, *ibid.* 256, 251.6); μία τραχηλὲ με σταυρό (1604, *ibid.* 274, 265.6–7); τὴν ἀμπελὲ του Βουβοῦ (1612, *ibid.* 795, 691.26)
 το κρες CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.14; μια ραβδέ *ibid.* II.85; τση γρες αδόντι *ibid.* III.291; δεν εἶσαι τόσα γρε *ibid.* III.297; τὴν κοπρέ *ibid.* III.310; στὴν αποκαλαμέ σου *ibid.* III.329
 στὴν πρωτινὲ ζωὴ TROILOS, *Rodol.* II.17
 τὰ Μακρὲ Καμπία (1573, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 2, 18.24–5); εἰς τὴν Πρινέ (1573, *ibid.* 2, 18.27); μίαν ἐλὲ (1652, *ibid.* 19, 29.4); εἰς τὴν Ὀξέ (1681, *ibid.* 70, 58.21); ὁ κῆπος ὅπου ἔχει τήνι καρὲ (1685, *ibid.* 73, 60.10); εἰς τὴν Συκαμνέ (1694, *ibid.* 87, 69.24); βοῦν καὶ ἀγελὲ (1698, *ibid.* 100, 78.13)
 εἰς τὴν Μονοβολέ (1640, Ikaria, STAMATIADIS 1893: 3, 155.7); τὴν Καλαμὲν (*ibid.* 3, 155.14)

The inflectional paradigm of masc. nouns in -εὺς > -έας also displays a variant in -ές, e.g. βασιλιεύς > βασιλέας/βασιλές, Ἀχιλλεύς > Ἀχιλλέας/Ἀχιλλές (see II, 2.4). This has been variously interpreted as a result of vowel coalescence during the intermediate stage -έας, on the analogy of feminine nouns in -έα > -έ, or as a result of consonant deletion in lexical items which had retained their archaic inflection -εὺς [efs] due to their higher register (JANNARIS 1897: 108; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 207, 345; KAPSOMENOS 1939: 51–8). Given its very early attestation (from the 11th c.) and its occurrence in areas where vowel coalescence in the feminine, as described above, is not attested in either the MedG or the MG period, the second alternative is more likely.

²⁸ A form of the phenomenon occurs in Modern Cypriot (for which see KAPSOMENOS 1939; MENARDOS 1969: 47; MINAS 2008: 450–1), but does not seem to be attested in MedG; the form *χρέ* in Machairas: ἀπιτόθε νὰ πλερώση ὁ ρήγας τὰ χρέ του; MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 430.7 probably does not derive from *χρέα*, as this form is not to be found in Cypriot texts (see II, 2.23).

A special case is constituted by Pontic, which in the modern period shows vowel coalescence instead of synizesis in unstressed /i/ + V and /e/ + V sequences, leading to the creation of the new vowels [æ] and [œ] (see 2.5.3).

2.9.5 Crasis

In grammars of AG the term “crasis” refers to a hiatus resolution process occurring at word boundaries within a clitic group, whereby a word-final and a word-initial vowel coalesce to give a long vowel, whose degree of aperture is determined by roughly the same rules as contraction (SMYTH 1984: §§ 62–9, GOLSTON 1990: 69–70). In MedG and EMG, however, as the vowel system is fundamentally different due to the loss of length distinctions, the AG phonetic rules of crasis do not apply; hiatus at word boundaries is resolved through vowel deletion according to the sonority hierarchy (see 2.9.2). Crasis according to AG rules has all but disappeared in the late Koine (GIGNAC 1976: 321).

However, there is one phonetic environment in MedG and MG where coalescence instead of deletion does take place, bearing a resemblance to the ancient phenomenon, and for this reason the term “crasis” is applied to it in the standard bibliography (ANDRIOTIS 1956, FORIS 1963): when /u/ comes into contact with /e/ within a phonological unit, the result is coalescence of the two vowels to /o/. The phenomenon is usually interpreted as a fast speech coarticulation effect, as the vocal organs retain the lip rounding of the first vowel but assume the lower lingual height of the second (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 216–17, adopted in later studies).

The phenomenon takes place both word-internally, where the typical, and perhaps the only, examples are the imperative and 3 sg. imperfect ἄκουε > ἄκο and the 2 pl. present ἀκούετε > ἀκότε, and at word boundaries, if the first word is proclitic. This involves: (a) the weak personal pronouns (μοῦ, σοῦ, τοῦ), (b) the relative pronoun and adverb ὁπού/πού and (c) the interrogative adverb ποῦ, usually followed by a verb whose stem begins with /e/ or any verb in the past tense if it bears the augment ἐ-.²⁹ With regard to orthography, editorial practice varies.

καὶ θές τὸ νοῦν σου καὶ ἄκο τὰ καλὰ *Spaneas* V 46 (ms late 12th/early 13th c.)

ὁ Δοῦκας γὰρ τῆς Βενετίας, μισὶρ Ἀρίγος ἄκω *Chron. Mor.* H 335, cf. 1379, 3176, 3539, 3540, 5231, 7866, 8099 (meaning “he answered to the name”, “he was called”)

ὥς τὸ ἀκῶτε *Chron. Mor.* H 8911

ἄκο τὸ τίνα λέγει *Dig.* E 517

ἄκο ἄλλον σύβαμα *Chron. Toc.* 41

μῶδειξαν (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 9, 28.10)

θὲ νὰ μῶρθη *VENDRAMOS, Istor. Filarg.* 250

δὲν μῶστελες (1682, Corfu, MERTZIOS 1936d: 2, 105.13)

σόπρεπε *Kakop.* 144

σὸδίδασι *CHORTATZIS, Katz.* I.214

²⁹ In some cases of crasis apparently involving other vowels in verb-stems (e.g. ἀγόρασσα) one has to assume a variant formation with syllabic instead of temporal augment (see III, 3.1.4.2).

τῶχει δίδοντα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 434α, 343.6)

θέλει νὰ τῶρθη MONTSEL., *Evgena* 71

γῆ πάλι ἀξανάστροφα τό ’ρτου KONDAR., *Paides* 939

τῶκαμε EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 59.22

ὁπῶβαναν τὲς σκάλες *Chron. Toc.* 100

ὁπὸγεννήθηκε *Rim. kor.* A 148

ὁπὸγόρασεν (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 9 [Θ'], 241.4–5)

τὸ χωράφι ὁπὸκράτει (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 36, 77.27)

πὸγόρασα (1573, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75.12) (underlying ἐγόρασα)

ὁπὸστειλίς (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 65.13)

πῶδωσεν *Thrinis Kypr.* 51

ὁπῶχει κόκκινον *Poulol.* 336

ὁπῶχουν χρεῖαν μεγάλην *Pol. Tr.* 6736 app. crit. (V)

ὁπῶχουν *Peri xen.* 10

ὁπῶχω (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 29, 35.10)

πῶχομεν (1570, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 1, 9.13)

ὁπῶχει μέσα (1596, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 154, 279.10)

ὅπ’ ὶχει (1620, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 12, 315.2)

πῶχου (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.15)

ὁπῶχω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2478

εἶπαν τὴν τὸ πῶναι *Liv.* V 2770

καὶ πῶναι; [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1110

αὐτοῦ ὁπῶναι καὶ ὁ δούκας (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.51)

ὁπῶναι (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 297, 250.17)

πῶναι (1685, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 27, 134.6)

The earliest attestations of the phenomenon come from a 12th-c. Latin–Greek glossary (AERTS 1995: 204): *po ne oto castro? Po ne strata oto castro?* (= πῶναι ὦ{ς} τὸ κάστρο; πῶναι στράτα ὦ{ς} τὸ κάστρο;). It occurs in both literary and non-literary texts, but is especially frequent in Crete, the Cyclades (Andros, Naxos, Santorini, Syros) and the Heptanese (Kefalonia, Corfu, Ithaca, Cythera), and is also attested from other areas such as the Peloponnese and Macedonia.

Crisis between words which do not form a phonological unit occurs only in versified texts, and should be considered an artificial device serving metrical needs:

χρήση μὲν νὰ ποίσω *Cypr. Canz.* 79.10 < μου ἔν’

τὰ σάλια μὲκινῆσα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.60

καὶ τὴν γυνὴ μὲγλύτωσα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2480

Crisis according to the AG rules appears, as an archaism influenced by learned language, in some literary texts. The only elements displaying AG-type crisis fully integrated into MedG and EMG are the adverb κᾶν and the indefinite pronouns κανεῖς, κάτις, κάποιος, καμπόσος (for which see II, 5.8.9–14):

ἐξῆλθον ἐξωθεν κᾶγῶ *Ptoch.* I 218

κᾶκεῖνο *Velth.* 466

θέλω κᾶγῶ ἐζήτημα *Byz. Il.* 207

κᾶγῶ [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 228

3 Consonants

3.1 Description of the Consonant System

The MedG consonant system is essentially that of the end of the period of the Koine; the dating of the major consonant changes (fricativization of voiced and of voiceless aspirated stops), even if not entirely settled, falls well before LMedG (GIGNAC 1976; HORROCKS ²2010: 170–2). This system is very similar to that of MG (for which see ARVANITI 1999; NESPOR 1999: 46; BOTINIS 2009: 90–101). Table 2 shows pan-dialectal phonologically contrastive sounds in **boldface**, while allophonic variants, sounds of contested/contestable phonological status, and dialectally restricted sounds are given in parentheses, and discussed below. In each box, the first sound is voiceless, the second voiced (except for the liquids, which are both voiced).

The MedG consonantal system is symmetrical, operating on the basis of contrasts between voiceless vs. voiced and fricative vs. stop: /p/~/b/~/f/~/v/, /t/~/d/~/θ/~/ð/, /k/~/g/~/x/~/ɣ/. The system is complemented by contrastive pairs of nasals (/m/~/n/), liquids (/l/~/r/) and sibilants (/s/~/z/).

The major factors in the creation of allophonic variation are the phenomena of palatalization, i.e. the fronting of certain consonant classes when followed by a front vowel or semivowel (see 3.8.2) and synizesis, i.e. the semi-vocalization and subsequent consonantization of front vowels when followed by a back vowel (see 2.9.4). Palatalization and synizesis give rise to palatal stops ([c ɟ]), palatal fricatives ([ç ʝ]), and palatal nasals and liquids ([ɲ ʎ]). In addition, synizesis “destroys” the original distributional environment of palatal consonants, in that, after it has applied, palatal consonants appear not only before front vowels but before back vowels as well. The degree and final result of palatalization, as well as the range of palatalizable consonants, vary according to dialect, so that in certain areas and periods additional post-alveolar allophones (e.g. [ʃ, ʒ, ʒ̥]) exist. Another source of allophonic variation is the assimilation of a nasal to a following stop as to place of articulation, which gives rise to the velar nasal [ŋ] when a nasal is followed by a velar consonant.¹

The phonemic status of the voiced stops /b d g/ is contestable, since they mostly originate from the voicing of nasal + voiceless stop sequences (i.e. [mp] > [mb], [nt] > [nd] and

¹ The presence of a labiodental allophone [m̥] in the cases of [m] followed by [f] or [v] can be assumed for MedG on the analogy of MG and on the basis of general principles of phonetics (automatic partial assimilation for articulatory reasons), but is impossible to prove through graphematic evidence. Furthermore, such a sound can appear in higher registers only, since the “regular” outcome of the sequence [mf] would be deletion of the nasal (see 3.6.2), and the sequence [mv] is a “learned” cluster, instead of regular [mb] (see 3.2.1.2). Therefore, this sound is not taken into consideration here.

Table 2: *The Consonantal Sounds of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p b		t d			(c ɟ)	k g
Fricative		f v	θ ð			(ç ʝ)	x ɣ
Nasal	m		n			(ɲ)	(ŋ)
Liquid				r l	(ʃ)	(ʎ)	
Sibilant				s z			
Affricate				ts dz	(tʃ dʒ)		

[ŋk] > [ŋg]). However, in view of the fact that voiced stops appear without a preceding nasal in certain positions, dialects or lexical items, and that specific phonetic changes apply to them, they are described here as a separate class of phonemes (see 3.2.1.2). Similarly, the phonemic status of the affricates [ts dz] is doubtful, as it is also possible to analyse them as sequences of homorganic stop + sibilant. However, they are discussed here as a separate class of affricate phonemes because of their special history and properties (see 3.2.6).

The final major issue concerning the overall consonant system of MedG and EMG is the phonemic status of the double/geminate consonants which appear in certain dialects (see 3.4), i.e. whether to consider them as single, separate phonemes (long consonants) or as iterations of the same phoneme (i.e. as two consecutive identical consonants). In view of the fact that they are (a) dialectally restricted, (b) not well represented/detectable in texts, and (c) subject to the same general sound changes as the corresponding singleton consonants, the second option is followed here.

3.2 Phoneme Inventory

3.2.1 Stops

3.2.1.1 Voiceless Stops

The three voiceless stops, labial /p/ <π>, dental /t/ <τ> and velar /k/ <κ>, are mostly direct inheritances of Koine and AG /p t k/, or may arise secondarily through either occlusivization of voiceless fricatives (see 3.8.1, manner dissimilation) or devoicing of voiced stops (see 3.8.3.4). They appear in word-initial and medial position. Only the velar /k/ has a regular allophone, palatal [c], before the front vowels /i/ and /e/ and the semivowel /j/ (see 3.8.2 for history and graphematic evidence). Voiceless stops are subject to the following phenomena:

- Gemination (see 3.4)
- Manner dissimilation (see 3.8.1)
- Voicing (see 3.8.3)

- Fricativization (see 3.8.4)
- Affrication (see 3.2.6)
- Dissimilatory deletion (see 3.9.3.2)

3.2.1.2 Voiced Stops

The three voiced stops /b d g/ are mostly innovative evolutions of Koine and MedG.² Their origin is threefold (BABINIOTIS ³2002: 128–9):

- a) blocking of the fricativization of original AG voiced stops when preceded by a nasal, e.g. δένδρον [déndron] > δέντρο ['ðendro], κόμβος [kómbos] > κόμπος ['kombos], ξγγονος [éḡgonos] > ξγγονος ['eḡgonos];
- b) voicing of post-nasal voiceless stops, e.g. πέντε [pénte] > πέντε ['pende], ἔμπορος [émporos] > ἔμπορος ['emboros], ἐγκαλῶ [eḡkalṓ:] > ἐγκαλῶ [eḡga'lo]. The phenomenon occurs also at word boundaries, i.e. word-initial voiceless stops become voiced when the preceding word ends in a nasal (see 3.8.3);
- c) loanwords, initially Latin (*mandatum* > μαντάτο, *accumbo* > ἀκουμπῶ); later Romance (Ital. *barbiere* > μπαρμπιέρης, OFr. *dame* > ντάμα, Ven. *governar* > γκουβερνάρω) and Turkish (*bey* > μπέης, *oda* > όντάς). Note, however, that in the South-Eastern and Asia Minor dialect groups (Cyprus, Dodecanese, Pontos etc.) foreign voiced stops are adapted as voiceless stops (see 3.8.3.4).

A number of sporadic voicing processes may also lead to voiced stops from originally voiceless ones (see 3.8.3).

The Greek alphabet does not possess a special sign for the notation of voiced stops, since the graphemes <Β Δ Γ> originally denoting them represent, from the Koine onwards, voiced fricatives (as a result of a regular sound change which lenited the AG voiced stops to voiced fricatives; see HORROCKS ²2010: 170). Therefore, in MedG they are noted through the digraphs <μπ, ντ, γκ/γγ>, as they mostly derive from original [mp, nt, ŋk] sequences as described above. In manuscripts, the spelling with plain <π τ κ> is quite frequent, representing, in all probability, a voiced pronunciation with deletion of the preceding nasal (for the phenomenon and its graphematic representation see 3.6.2.1).

Furthermore, the conservative orthography <μβ, νδ> may, more often than is apparent, in fact represent the sounds [mb] and [nd]. This is evident through hypercorrections such as: τὰ φλάμβουρά μου *Liv. E 766* (for φλάμπουρα); ἡκούμβισαν ΚΑΝΑΝΟΣ, *Diig. 389* (for ἡκούμπισαν < Lat. *accumbo*); Κόνστανδεν[ος] (1071, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 39, 116.3); τὴν τένδαν *Dig. G I.311*; πονδικούς *Chron. Mor. H 2932* app. crit. (for ποντικούς); κονδαρέας *Achil. O 673* (for κονταρέας). The interpretation of these cases is as follows:

² A possible exception could be the S. Italian (Puglian) voiced stops, which are often claimed to be direct descendants of AG /b, d, g/ (ROHLFS 1977: 54–5) and which, if this is so, would have retained their original stop value throughout MedG. However, an alternative interpretation of these stops as a relatively late (post-medieval) innovation under the influence of neighbouring Romance dialects is more likely (KAPSOMENOS 1953b: 325–6).

the writer knows that the digraphs <μβ> <νδ> in words of AG origin are in fact pronounced [mb nd], as in δένδρον ['ðendron], and that they are quite frequently written <μπ> <ντ> in order to denote this, e.g. κιντυνέψης *Chron. Mor.* H 3872; ἀντραγαθίας *Dig.* E 625; κομπρία ἀργυρά (1500, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1 [A¹], 236.15). In his effort to “undo” this graphematic innovation the writer extends the reversion even to “original” <μπ> <ντ> spellings such as ποντικός. See SCHMITT (1898: 27) and JANNACONE (1951: 155–6) for discussion and further examples.

Only the velar /g/ has a regular allophone, the palatal [ɟ], before the front vowels /i/ and /e/ and the semivowel /j/ (see 3.8.2 for history and graphematic evidence). Voiced stops are subject to the following phenomena:

- Devoicing (see 3.8.3.4)
- Fricativization (see 3.8.4)

3.2.2 Fricatives

3.2.2.1 Voiceless Fricatives

The three voiceless fricatives /f θ x/ <φ θ χ> are mainly a direct inheritance from the corresponding Koine phonemes, which resulted from the fricativization and deaspiration of the AG voiceless aspirated stops /p^h t^h k^h/ (HORROCKS ²2010: 170–1). Secondly, they may arise through fricativization of voiceless stops (see 3.8.1 and 3.8.4). Finally, /f/ also results from the consonantization of the second member of the AG diphthongs /au/ and /eu/, which took place in the period of the Koine (see 2.4.8).

Voiceless fricatives appear in word-initial and medial position (and word-finally in the case of a few high-register vocabulary items such as εῦ, φεῦ, ἄνευ and the vocative of the nouns in -εὺς, for which see II, 2.4). Only the velar /x/ has a regular allophone, palatal [ç], before the front vowels /i/ and /e/ and the semivowel /j/ (see 3.8.2 for history and graphematic evidence). A palatal [ç] arises also from the consonantization of [j] after a voiceless stop through the phenomenon of synizesis (see 2.9.4). Voiceless fricatives are subject to the following phenomena:

- Gemination (see 3.4)
- Manner dissimilation (see 3.8.1)
- Voicing (see 3.8.3)
- Cluster simplification (see 3.3.2)
- Fricative interchange (see 3.8.5)
- Change to stops (see 3.8.4.6)

3.2.2.2 Voiced Fricatives

The three voiced fricatives /v ð ɣ/ <β δ γ> are a direct inheritance from the corresponding Koine phonemes, which resulted from the fricativization of the AG voiced stops /b d g/ (HORROCKS ²2010: 170). The labiodental /v/ originates also from the consonantization

of the second element of the AG diphthongs /au/ <αυ> and /eu/ <ευ>, which took place in the period of the Koine. Consequently, in manuscript sources the grapheme <υ> may occasionally also represent a plain /v/, e.g. *κατάυαίννει* / *καταβαίννει* (1092, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 54, 71.12); *τῆς εὐγάλαι* / *τῆς ἔβγαλε* (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.37).

Voiced fricatives appear in word-initial and medial position. Only the velar /ɣ/ has a regular allophone, palatal [j], before the front vowels /i/ and /e/ (see 3.8.2 for history and graphematic evidence). A palatal [j] arises also from the consonantization of /j/ after a voiced stop as a result of the phenomenon of synizesis (see 2.9.4). Voiced fricatives are subject to the following phenomena:

- Gemination (see 3.4)
- Deletion (see 3.6.1)
- Fricative interchange (see 3.8.5)
- Change to nasal (see 3.8.4.7)
- Devoicing (see 3.8.3.4)
- Anaptyxis (see 3.5.2)
- Dissimilation (see 3.9.3)
- Depalatalization (see 2.4.7.3)

3.2.3 Nasals

The nasals /m/ <μ> and /n/ <ν> are a direct inheritance of Koine and AG /m n/. They appear in word-initial and medial position, and /n/ can also occur as a final consonant, though subject to frequent deletion (see 3.7.2). /n/ has a palatal allophone [ɲ] when followed by the semivowel /j/ as a result of synizesis (see 2.9.4 and 3.8.2.3). Additionally, /n/ is subject to assimilation when followed by other consonants, both word-internally (as a result of derivation/composition) and at word boundaries: before dental consonants it surfaces as a dental [n], before labial consonants as labial [m], and before velar consonants as velar [ŋ]. This is an automatic allophonic or morphophonemic rule operating throughout the history of Greek, being already well attested in AG and Koine Greek, as well as in MG (LEJEUNE 1972: 145–6; THREATTE 1980: 588–635; GIGNAC 1976: 165–71; NEWTON 1972a: 94–9; HOLTON et al. 2012: 20), the difference between MedG/MG and AG being the simultaneous voicing of the following consonant if it is voiceless (see 3.8.3.2). The phenomenon is also described by Germano: “N, ν, suona n. ma auanti il π, suona, m. τὸν πατέρα, tom batéra, il padre” (GERMANO, *Grammar* 51.1).

Word-internally

ἐμπῆκαν *Dig.* E 75

πολλὰ τοῦ ἐμφαίνετον ἀργόν *Pol. Tr.* 1479 app. crit. (B)

νὰ συμπάψουν *Assizes* B 278.11

συμπέπτει TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 355

τῆς ἐγγχρονίας (14th, Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 1.6)

Συγχααραίους *Chron. Toc.* 640

εἰς μίαν ἐγχάραξες LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 773

συγγαντερός SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 98.26

At word boundaries

ἐν μπρώτοις / ἐν πρώτοις (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 57, 176.6)

στήμ πόλι τῇ μεγάλῃ / στήν πόλῃ τῇ μεγάλῃ *Velis.* ρ 2 app. crit. (P)

τιμπαρουσατις διαθικί / τήν παροῦσα της διαθήκη (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 113.6)

τήν {κ}γγάβαν / τήν γκάβαν (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 9, 154.5)

τὸν γγατεβατὸν / τὸν κατεβατὸν (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 16, 32.8)

τονγκουνιαδον μου / τὸν κουνιάδον μου (1660, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 2, 115.20)

μὴν γγάνοντας / μὴν κάνοντας (1696, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 47, 141.15)

τοῖς πάσιν γχριστιανοῖς (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 16, 227.6)

Nevertheless, both low- and high-register documents frequently fail to record the phenomenon in the spelling, noting a “phonological” <ν> instead of the assimilated <μ> or <γ>, either as an attempt to denote the absence of the expected deletion of a preconsonantal nasal (for which see 3.6.2) or simply for etymological transparency:

συνβίαν *Assizes B* 346.22

συνφάμιλος (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 11, 68.4)

ἐνμπρός / ἐμπρός (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 57.67)

λέγομαι καὶ συνβουλευόμαίσε / λέγομε καὶ συμβουλευόμε σε *Chron. Mor.* P 2636

συνμφωνίας (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 5, 24.14)

συνφωνίαν (1607, Naxos, KATSOURO 1968: 3, 31.6)

συνμπαθάει (1695, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 192, 115.3)

ἐγγγωνας / ἔγγγονας (1031, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 1, 25.36)

ενγγίσι/ ἐγγύση (1094, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 59, 76.13)

ἐνκόλπιον (1142, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 7, 75.47)

ἐνγκάτοικον (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 16, 157.3)

τοῦ ἐνκυτῇ / τοῦ ἐγγυτῇ *Assizes B* 254.30; αὐτὰ τὰ ἐνκλήματα *ibid.* 380.6

νὰ τοὺς ἐνγγαλέσετε (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 149.28)

Nasals are affected by the following phenomena:

- Gemination (see 3.4)
- Palatalization (see 3.8.2.3)
- Deletion (see 3.6.2)
- Anaptyxis (“irrational nasal”) (see 3.5.2.4)
- Final addition and deletion (see 3.7)
- Prothesis and aphaeresis (see 3.5.1)
- Assimilation (see 3.9.2)
- Dissimilation (see 3.9.3)

3.2.4 Liquids

The two liquids /l r/ <λ ρ> are direct inheritances from Koine and AG /l r/. They appear in word-initial and medial position, and /r/ can also function as a final consonant in higher registers (see 3.3.1). /l/ has a palatal allophone [ʎ] before the semivowel /j/ and before /i/ in certain dialects (see 3.8.2.3). Liquids are affected by the following phenomena:

- Gemination (see 3.4)
- Palatalization (see 3.8.2.3)
- Liquid interchange (see 3.8.6)
- Metathesis (see 3.9.1)
- Dissimilation (see 3.9.3)

3.2.5 Sibilants

The sibilant /s/ <σ ς> is a direct inheritance of Koine and AG /s/. It appears in all positions, initial, medial and final. It has an allophone [z] before voiced consonants, both word-internally and at word boundaries (also inherited from the Koine), for which there is sporadic graphematic evidence in manuscripts, such as:

προζβητερος (972, Athos, PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1975: 7, 215.29)
 περηορήζμον / περιορισμόν (1071, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 40, 128.19)
 σζγουροκέφαλος *Pol. Tr.* 2185 app. crit. (B); ζμίγει *ibid.* 3409 app. crit. (B)
 ώρυζμόν / όρισμόν (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 85.8)
 ζγομπιάζη *Kakop.* 140 app. crit.
 της Κιουραζμας / της Κιουρᾶς μας (1643, Naxos, KORRES 1931: 4, 275.12)

Texts written in other scripts also provide evidence for the voicing of /s/ before voiced consonants: for Arabic see LEHFELDT 1989: 63–5; for Slavonic cf. the examples арапаз ме, аґапаᾗс ме (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 872); το πλαзмаη ду / τὸ πλάσμαν του (*ibid.* 21).

The voiced sibilant /z/ <ζ> is a direct inheritance from Koine /z/, which in turn descends from AG /dz/ or /zd/. The change /dz/ > /z/ (whatever its precise path of evolution, cf. HORROCKS 2010: 171) has already taken place before the Medieval period, as is attested by papyrological and epigraphic evidence, where the grapheme <ζ> is used to represent the voiced allophone of /s/ (GIGNAC 1976: 119–22; ALLEN 1987: 58). However, the evidence of some MG dialects, which display [dz] instead of SMG [z] has led a number of scholars to assume that the pronunciation [dz] was preserved in some areas as a direct continuation of AG, in which case the medieval form of these dialects must also have included a phoneme /dz/ and not /z/ (BROWNING 1976: 9). The areas in question are: many Dodecanesian and some Cycladic islands, Chios and S. Italy (PANDELIDIS 1929: 41, CARATZAS 1958: 91; MANESIS 1964/65; KARANASTASIS 1997: 34). Interestingly, it is a subset of the areas which show gemination (see 3.4). Manuscript evidence for a medieval pronunciation [dz] in these areas frequently presents problems of interpretation.

Medieval S. Italian documents in general use the grapheme <ζ> normally, i.e. in Greek words which have the phoneme /z/ (at least in other areas) and in Arabic and (Norman) French words which contain the sound [z]; conversely, the spelling <τζ> is used in Greek and borrowed words which contain the sound [ts] or [dz] (see CARACAUSI 1975, esp. 124–6, for a detailed graphematic analysis and many examples). However, in rare cases the grapheme <ζ> may also have the value [ts] or [dz], e.g.:

τοῦ ζαγγάρι / τοῦ ζαγγάρη (1052/1053, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 14, 82.3)
 το ρυακήζην / τὸ ρυακίζιν (1108, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 17, 216.55)
 τὸ πραγματίζην (1138?, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 14, 102.16)
 βονηφαζήου / Βονιφαζίου (1143, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 6, 559.16)

This could be taken as evidence of a medieval [dz] instead of [z] realization (MINAS ²2003: 55–6), although the alternative interpretation, that it is a spelling practice influenced by Italian and local Romance dialects (where indeed the grapheme <z> stands for [ts]) is more likely. There is a single, late, attestation of the spelling <τζ> for /z/ which may indicate that the modern realization [dz] is in existence: τῆς μοιτζώτερας ἐκκλησίας Βωῶς / τῆς μειτζότερας ἐκκλησίας Βοῶς (1572, S. Italy, VIOLI 2006: 311.23).³ In the same vein, medieval Romance texts from S. Italy written in the Greek alphabet do not use the grapheme <ζ> in order to represent the Romance dialectal sound [dz] or [dʒ]; instead, they prefer a variety of digraphs or trigraphs such as <κζ>, <γζ>, <τγ>, and later <τζ>, <ντζ> (DE ANGELIS 2016).

Documents from other areas which in the modern period exhibit the realization [dz] are unfortunately much later, mostly from the 17th c. onwards, and so far only very few examples, from Chios and the Cyclades, have been located:

ἐνα τζιμπίλι (1609, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 8, 80.82)
 ντουτζίνες (1656, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 9, 405.57)
 ρεῖτζην (1656, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 2, 48.6)
 τοῦ τζευγᾶ (1664, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1991: 1, 82.27)
 βρίντζω σας καὶ ξεβρίντζω σας KONDAR., *Paides* 11
 ρίντζες (1722?, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 481.6)

These instances date the phenomenon of the realization [dz] at least to the Early Modern period, but cannot settle the issue of whether it indeed constitutes an ancient survival or an innovative evolution [z] > [dz] as a result of gemination of /z/; the latter scenario is, according to dialectologists, the most likely one (cf. PERNOT 1907/46: I 286–91; NEWTON 1972a: 92).

Sibilants are affected by the following phenomena, which are described in the relevant sections:

- Gemination (see 3.4)
- Palatalization (see 3.8.2.3)

³ For the realization of <ζ> as [dz] in the MG dialect of Bova see KARANASTASIS 1997: 34.

- Depalatalization (see 2.4.7.3)
- Deletion and addition (see 3.7.1)
- Cluster simplification (see 3.3.2.2)
- Prothesis and aphaeresis (see 3.5.1)

3.2.6 Affricates

3.2.6.1 Status and History

The issue of whether to treat affricates as complex phonemes as opposed to combinations of single phonemes (/t/ + /s/, /d/ + /z/) is complex; for MG phonology it is still open, cf. JOSEPH 1985; MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 2001: 214–15; ARVANITI 2007: 114–17; HOLTON et al. ²2012: 9. The reasons for which phonemic status is adopted here are the following: (a) the appearance of these sound sequences constitutes a change in the phonology of MedG which requires separate treatment, as they were disallowed in earlier stages; (b) the spelling of these clusters in various scripts also requires separate treatment (although this is also the case for /ks/ <ξ>, <x> and /ps/ <ψ>); and (c) the occurrence of [ts] and [dz] as fronted allophones of /k/ and /g/ respectively in at least some MedG and EMG dialectal varieties (see the phenomenon of palatalization, 3.8.2) demands a monophonemic treatment. Additional phonological arguments in favour of this analysis, involving factors such as distribution at morpheme boundaries, reduplication and special affective content, can be found in the references cited above; although constructed for MG they are also applicable to MedG.

The two affricates are combinations of (homorganic) dental stop + sibilant: voiceless [ts] and voiced [dz]. In MedG and EMG, the spelling <τζ> is used for both voiceless [ts] and voiced [dz], a practice occasionally maintained by modern editors (PSALTES 1913: 134; MIRAMBEL 1946: 90–1; MOYSIADIS 2005: 127), cf. also the direct testimony of Portius: “Z insuper post τ, sonat σ, ut in hac voce, ἔττι constat et in aliis pluribus” (PORTIUS, *Grammar* 9.10–12). Occasionally the sound [dz] can be specifically identified through the spelling <ντζ> (cf. MOENNIG 2009: 130 concerning the form ἐρόντζεψεν).

In Cyprus, the spelling <στζ> is frequent for both affricates: στζιβιτα(νι) κ(αι) παραστζιβιτα(νι) (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.3–4); η(αι) ραστζια / κερατσιά (1501, Cyprus, MALTEZOU 1987: 2, 11.11); σπάζει καὶ στζακρᾱ *Pist. kekoim.* 53.

The appearance of affricates is a specifically Medieval evolution, since the sequence /ts/ was disallowed in Classical and Koine Greek phonology, and /dz/ or /zd/ was simplified to /z/ in Koine Greek. The *terminus post quem* for their appearance is therefore the change of <ζ> from /dz/ or /zd/ to plain /z/ (see 3.2.5), and the *terminus ante quem* is the appearance in EMedG texts of loanwords with the new sound: τὸ Τζανικὸν ἔθνος ... Σάνοι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις καλούμενοι Procopius, *De bellis* I.15.19; σέντζον Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 297.24; τζαγγάριοι *De ceremoniis* 494.10; τζαγγία *Chron. Paschale* 614.5; τζεβουλιανούς *De adm. imperio* 32.14 (ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins) (TRIANDAPHYLIDIS 1909: 39–42; PSALTES 1913: 134–6). Scholars disagree on the precise dating of the

phenomenon, and the different sources of affricates belong to different dates. For an overview of the alternative proposals see MOYSIADIS 2005: 115–18; detailed discussions in BOUTOURAS 1917; MIRAMBEL 1946; DRESSLER 1967; MOUTSOS 1975; GEORGACAS 1982.

The sources of affricates in MedG can be divided into two main categories: (i) adoption or adaptation of loanwords, and (ii) language-internal phonetic evolutions. To the first category belong:

a) Late Latin loanwords, in which palatalization has taken place, e.g. σέντζον < Lat. *sedium*, σκορτζίδιον < Lat. *scorteus*, ματσούκα < Lat. *matteuca*.

b) Latin and Romance loanwords with initial /s/, which appears as /ts/ in Greek, e.g. τσικούριον < Lat. *securi*; τὰς τσερδέλας *Ptoch. IV* 248.21 app. crit. (P) < Ital. *sardella*. The change initial /s/ > /ts/ may be a Greek-internal evolution (see below).

c) Old French loanwords: the spelling <τζ> may represent an unadapted original pronunciation [tʃ] or an adapted Greek rendering [ts] – more rarely also [dʒ] or [dz]. The fact that Modern Cypriot has [ts] and not [tʃ] for still extant Old French loanwords (e.g. τσαέρα “chair”), despite the fact that the sound [tʃ] does exist in the dialect (as a result of the palatalization of /k/; see 3.8.2), could be an indication of the second alternative. OFr. loanwords are especially abundant in areas under Frankish rule, such as the Peloponnese and Cyprus:

τζάμπρ(αν) (1310, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 31, 163.[24]6–7)

τζανούνιδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.24

τὴν τσάμπρα *Chron. Mor.* H 6026

τζάκρα *Assizes A* 297.30

βικάριος τζενεράλ *Chron. Mor.* P 7992

d) Italian/Venetian loanwords, especially frequent in areas under Venetian control:

κοντετζιόν / κοντετσιόν (1436, E. Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 147.21)

ἀπελατζιόν ἢ λεγόμενη σετέντζια (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.47)

Μελιτζάνα *Porikol.* I 108

αντζι / ἄντζι (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.)

ἀπὸ τζι τζινταδίνους / ἀπὸ τσι τσινταδίνους (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 147.39)

e) Slavonic loanwords: these appear from the 7th c. onwards, and are relatively rare, e.g. ἀτζούπωτε *Poulol.* 330 app. crit. (CPV) < τσίπα < (?) Slav. *tsipa*; τζυκαλικά τριάκ(ον) τα (1258, Asia Minor, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 15, 158.191) < τσουκάλιν < (?) Ital. *zucca* or Slav. **tšukal*; τσουγκάλιν *Diig. Apoll.* 488. The diminutive suffix -ίτσα and related -ίτσιν, -ίτσης, -ούτσικος are uncertain examples, as Slavic origin is contested or debatable (GEORGACAS 1982; MOUTSOS 1986; SYMEONIDIS 1994): examples abound, e.g. τὰ παιδίτσια μου *Ptoch. II* 34.1 app. crit. (H).

f) Arabic and Persian loanwords, appearing from the EMedG period onwards:

τσαγκάρην *Ptoch. III* 112 < Lat. *zanca* < Pers. (BRUST 2005: 651–3), cf. Hesych. Σ 1196

σκυτεύς σαγγάριος, contrast τὴν τοῦ τζαγκαρίου τεχνήν P.Lond. 5 1078.89, 6th c. AD

εἰς τὸ νεράντζι δένει [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1746 < Arab. *nārandj*

g) Turkish loanwords, which appear from the 15th c. onwards:

ὁ τζαλαπῆς (15–16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 51.2) < Turk. *çelebi*
μετζίτια / μετζίτια (1508, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 4, back.10) < Turk. *mecit*
παπουτσιού *Pent. Gen.* 14.23 < Turk. *pabuç*
σαγκιάκιν / σαντζάκιν (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.8) < Turk. *sancak* [sandzak]
τὼ τζιαρσί (1669, Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 343, 356, f.101r.2) < Turk. *çarşı*

Language-internal evolutions include (cf. MOYSIADIS 2005: 118–27):

a) Affrication of /s/, already noted by Du Cange: “TZ, pro Σ, usurpant passim recentiores Graeci scriptores”; see C. DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae & infimae graecitatis* (Paris 1688) 2.1555. It occurs in initial position, in several lexical items without specific geographical provenance, and is usually interpreted as “reinforcement of articulation”. A more likely interpretation would be to see it as development of an epenthetic /t/ from cases of coarticulation of a word ending in final /n/ (such as an article, a clitic form or a 3 pl. verb), i.e. an evolution following the common cross-linguistic path [ns] > [nts].

τσούζουν *Liv.* α 538 < AG σίζω
τζίληπουρδίσμα *Diig. tetr.* 729a; τσιληπουρδίσματα *Synax. gadar.* 148 < AG σιληπορδῶ
τσίκνα *Erof. Dedic.* 52 < AG κνῖσα, with metathesis
ἀτζιμπραγή / ἀτσυμπραγή (1632, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 610, 582.27) (< συμπραγός)

Affrication of medial /s/ is rarer, e.g. κότσυφοι *Poulol.* 505 < AG κόσσυφος; νητζιοῦ / νητσιοῦ (1714, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 28, 333.3).

b) Affrication of /z/: Τζιτζύφου *Porikol.* II 9.

c) Affrication of /t/ before /i/:

κατσία *Chron. Mor.* H 2932 < Lat. *cattus*, καττίον
κότσια *Achil.* L 809 < AG κόττος, κόττιον
ρητσίνην, ἀλόην (15th c., ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ-ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤΟΥ 1982: 85.14) < AG ῥητίνη
τοῦ βατσινοφύλλου *Spanos A* 176 < AG βάτινον

In specific dialectal areas only (mainly Crete, Cyclades), further lexical items present the phenomenon (see GEORGACAS 1951: 200–3):

τὰ κεράτσια *Assizes B* 495.31
ἀλάτζη / ἀλάτσι (1549, E. Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 363, 340.37); ἀλάτζι / ἀλάτσι (1689?,
Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 868, 1161.17)
δύο ἀλατσερά ἀγκονιτιάτικα (1609, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 8, 79.27)
ἕνα χαρκομάτζη / ἕνα χαρκωμάτσι (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010:
171, 139.40)
Φράτζια / Φράτσια (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 5, 6.4)
(< Φρεάτια)
κοτζήνας / κότσινας (1597, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 41, 189.21–2) (< κότινος)
κοματζούλη / κομματσούλι (1562, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 130, 249.15);
κομματσούλι (1619, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 21, 69.8) < κομμάτσι < κομμάτι

The rare instances of the phenomenon in S. Italy, when affecting loanwords, may be attributed to Romance influence, e.g. ὀσπίτζιον / ὀσπίτσιον (1233, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 289, 401.17).

d) Affrication of /k/: isolated lexical items present affrication of /k/ before front vowels: ὁ τζικνέας / ὁ τσικνέας *Poulol.* 58 app. crit. (CPVLE) < κυκνίας; ἡ τζίχλα *Poulol.* 621 app. crit. (C) < AG κίχλη. In some dialects, affrication of /k/ before front vowels is an automatic allophonic process (see 3.8.2.2).

e) Onomatopoeia: a number of Greek-internal new lexical creations are of unknown etymology, but an onomatopoeic origin is presumed by standard dictionaries, e.g. τσιγαρίζω and τσακίζω: ἐτζίγαρίζαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 10.7: τσακίσω *Arm.* 20.

f) Affrication of /nθ/: a rare evolution, involving only the words κατσαρίδα < κανθαρίς (not attested in MedG), σκαντζόχοιρος < ἀκανθόχοιρος, e.g. cazzoghiru / κατζόχοιρου BAROZZI, *Letter* 359.17; (?) κατσαρός < ἀκανθηρός, MEURSIUS, *Gloss.* s.v. κατζαρός.

g) Syncope: a characteristic instance of the phenomenon is the dialectal form of the article τῆς > τσῆ, τίς > τσί, τούς > τσού (see II, 5.2.1). To this category also belong the various aorist forms of the verb κάθομαι/κάθημαι: ἀνέβηκα καὶ ἐκάτσα *Ptoch. I* 131; ἐκάτσαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1836; νὰ κάτσω *Peri xen.* 1 (see III, 2.4 s.v.), and possibly the adverb ἔτσι < ἔτις and the pronoun τίποτσι < τίποτε (cf. KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v., CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 591).

h) Anaptyxis: rarely, an epenthetic /t/ may develop between /rs/: κουρτζαρυδες / κουρτσάρηδες (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 92.19); ἔκουρτζευγάν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 314.16–17 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari); κούρτσεμα *Fior* 117.36.

3.2.6.2 Phenomena Affecting Affricates

/ts/, /dz/ > /s/, /z/: From the 15th c. onwards,⁴ texts from the Cyclades, the Dodecanese and Chios attest to a well-known modern dialectal phenomenon, whereby affricates become deaffricated to (single or geminate) sibilant consonants (PERNOT 1907/46: I 292–3; MANESIS 1964/65; HENRICH 1994: 136):

Φρατζέζους *Alosis* 354

Φρατζής LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 447 app. crit.

Φραζέσκου (1593, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 55, 77.9); Φραζέσκος (1769, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 4, 25.3)

Ζίας (1594, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 57, 80.16)

⁴ The isolated examples collected in KOUKOULES 1921, namely ἄνζαν in Eustathios and ζαγκράτορες in Nicetas Choniates (the latter an editorial error, in any case) and the hapax ἀπλίσεψε from *Chron. Mor.* T 2062, are not sufficient to establish an earlier, more widespread, presence of the phenomenon. Equally dubious are the forms συττάζω, σύτταγμα, ἀπλίσεύω, κεφαλατίσι from the 1547 Pentateuch, adduced by PERNOT (1907/46: I 293), which may be due to graphematic idiosyncrasies of the text.

ζιότικον (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 105.15) < Κέα/Τζιά
 Μαζίππειό (1668, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 528, 881.6
 τοῦ Ζάου (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 13, 316.10) < Ital. *giao* = deacon
 ζήζιγας, τζινζικας ὁ GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. cicala*
 Πετροῦσος (1694, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 10, 24.13)
 ἔσι (1694, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 10, 24.10; and 1699, *ibid.* 13, 29.8) (= ἔτσι)
 ἰνσίρκα (1701, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 14, 31.16) < Ital. *incirca*
 Βισέζο (1659, Hydra, KARATHANASIS 1972/73: 241.6)
 χαράσι / χαράσι (1659, Hydra, KARATHANASIS 1972/73: 240.6)
 χαράζι (16th c., Chios, ARGENTI 1941: 85, 208.2); τὸ χαράζι (1690, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000:
 80, 64.5)

In the Cyclades the phenomenon could be at least partly due to Venetian influence, starting from loanwords, since in this area deaffrication of [ts] > [s] and [dz] > [z] was in place in the EMG period (KONDOSOPOULOS 1963: 147; MANESIS 1964/65: 157–9; FERGUSON 2007: 95, 99). An additional indication could be the few instances from the Heptanesian island of Paxoi, although the phenomenon is not known nowadays (in contrast to the Cyclades and the Dodecanese, where it is common). Examples: τὴν τὰρὰσα (1677, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 239, 150.8); χαρὰσιάρης (*ibid.* 150.18). The absence of the phenomenon from Cretan texts is a counter-indication, although a number of Modern Cretan words of Venetian origin do display it (e.g. ἀραζό, λόζα).

The Dodecanesian and Chiot instances are in some way connected to the phenomenon of gemination, since the same areas also show the reverse phenomenon, i.e. affrication of original [s] and [z] (see above).

For the phenomenon of depalatalization of affricates, see 2.4.7.3.

3.3 Phonotactics

3.3.1 Position of Consonants Within the Word

All consonantal phonemes may appear in initial and medial position; the word-final position, on the other hand, is severely restricted, as only two consonants, /n/ and /s/, may occupy it. The status of /r/ as a final consonant in the system is doubtful: as an inheritance from AG, it appears very frequently, but only in lexical items of archaic inflectional patterns (e.g. πατήρ, αὐτοκράτωρ; see II, 2.2.4), particularly in texts of higher registers. It also occurs in a limited number of French and later Turkish loanwords (e.g. ἀβοέρ, μισσέρ, παζίρ). Similarly, final /f/ may appear in the archaic form of the vocative of nouns in -εύς, e.g. ἀφέντη βασιλεῦ *Chron. Mor.* P 4287; ὦ βασιλεῦ γαπρέ μας *Achil.* O 25 (see II, 2.4).

Again as an inheritance from AG, two very common words end in /k/: the preposition ἐκ and the negation οὐκ. The retention of /k/ in these two words is probably due to the fact that they are proclitic, i.e. constitute a single phonological unit with the following word, and thus the /k/ is not felt to be final. These two words may also appear with final /x/ instead of /k/, either as a lexicalized reflex from AG when the following word originally started with /h/ (rough breathing; see 3.8.4.5), or as a result of manner dissimilation with a following /t/ (3.8.1):

οὐχ ὑπομείνασι *Pol. Tr.* 2323 app. crit. (A)
τίποτα οὐχ εὕρίσκει *Velth.* 1127

ἐχ τὴν χῶραν (1095?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 1, 1.4)
ἄχ τὸν κόσμον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 33
ὀχ τὴ μιὰ μεριά *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.102

Loanwords ending in other consonants are regularly adapted to the MedG phonological system through addition of a final vowel or inflectional suffix, or deletion of a final consonant. They are very rarely retained in their original form: Μουχτασούππ (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 5, 18.2); ἁρμονιάκ *Assizes* A 240.3; μπαράτ *ibid.* 344.1.

Another exception to the restriction on final consonants are exclamations, which, however, should be considered as lying outside the linguistic system proper. e.g. φεῦ *Velis.* N2 4; τ' ὦχ! οὐμένα! *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.31.

MedG and EMG exhibit a strong tendency in favour of open syllables (SETATOS 1987: 189; MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 2001: 201), something which triggers two opposing processes: (a) the deletion of final consonants (see 3.7.1.1. and 3.7.2.2), and (b) the addition of a final vowel, usually /e/ and more rarely /a/ (see 2.6.3). Additionally, the preference for open syllables may be considered an underlying cause of the phenomena of degemination (see 3.4) and nasal deletion before stops and fricatives (see 3.6.2).

3.3.2 Permissible Consonant Clusters

As a result of the double linguistic history of Greek (learned and vernacular), the consonant clusters appearing in MedG present considerable variety. Most are unmarked for register, but others are characteristic of either high or low registers. The well-formedness of a given consonant cluster depends, apart from register (of the text or of the lexical item), also on its position within the word (word-internal, word-final, at morpheme boundaries), as well as on general cross-linguistic properties of consonants, such as the sonority hierarchy (Stop < Fricative < Sibilant < Liquid < Glide) (MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 2001; DRACHMAN/MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 2007; NICHOLAS 2007; TZAKOSTA 2012).

The differentiation between “learned” and “vernacular” clusters mainly concerns two sets of clusters: (a) obstruent clusters with identical manner of articulation (stop + stop, fricative + fricative) and (b) nasal-initial clusters. In the first case, the operation of the major sound change of manner dissimilation (3.8.1) transforms these clusters to fricative + stop in vernacular registers and in the second case, nasal deletion (see 3.6.2) deletes nasals before voiced stops and fricatives.

Most obstruent-initial clusters which occur only at morpheme boundaries are the result of derivation involving two frequent prefixes, ἐκ- and εὐ- (e.g. ἐκβαση, εὐδοκία). The degree to which these belong to the vernacular language depends on the frequency of specific lexical items and thus cannot be gauged.

The preferred word-initial clusters consist of obstruent + liquid/nasal combinations. Also, obstruent + liquid and liquid + obstruent are the most common clusters in general. This is in accordance with the sonority hierarchy governing consonant clusters, which

stipulates that clusters whose members present the greatest distance from each other are preferable. A rough idea of the relative frequency of the various consonant clusters in LMedG can be gleaned from the statistics on the language of *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* (APOSTOLOPOULOS 1984: 33).

Word-final clusters are rare and learned; only combinations of voiceless obstruent + /s/ are allowed.

3.3.2.1 Biconsonantal Clusters

Table 3 gives the biconsonantal clusters of MedG, with white boxes for unmarked clusters and grey for learned clusters. All clusters are possible in word-medial position, but only a subset of them can appear word-initially (**bold** in the table). Furthermore, some clusters are possible only at morpheme boundaries (in parentheses in the table). Word-final consonant clusters do not exist, apart from the combinations /ks/ (e.g. δοῦξ, κῶδιξ) /ps/ (e.g. γύψ, γρύψ) and /fs/ (e.g. βασιλεύς, ἱερεύς) which appear only in high-register texts or lexical items, as an inheritance from AG⁵ (cf. II, 2.2.3–4 and II, 2.4 for the evolution of inflectional paradigms involving these clusters). Examples of each category are given in Table 4 (from KRIARAS, *Lex.*, and for words after πν-, from the word-index of the *TLG*).

3.3.2.2 Triconsonantal Clusters

Triconsonantal clusters are permitted in MedG and MG, subject to certain constraints (for which see CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 165; NEWTON 1972a: 113–19; BOTINIS 2009: 105–6). In word-initial position the first consonant is always the sibilant /s/ and the last a resonant (nasal or liquid). In word-medial position sequences of three consecutive consonants may also be formed between syllable and morpheme boundaries, i.e. they normally include the coda of the previous syllable and the onset of the following; however, the final position is again limited to a resonant or a sibilant, while the medial position is in all cases occupied by an obstruent. One source is the prefixation of cluster-initial stems with the frequent prefixes ἐκ-, ἐν-, σὺν-, ὑπερ- (which occur mainly in more learned lexical items). Again, the phonological change (consonantization) of the AG diphthongs /au/ and /eu/ to /af ~ av/ and /ef ~ ev/ respectively has created a number of innovative clusters which did not exist in AG and which, for LMedG, belong only to the learned register (e.g. αὐξάνω – /fks/).

The triconsonantal clusters shown in Table 5 are attested in LMedG and EMG. Clusters in parentheses occur only at morpheme boundaries, and clusters in bold occur both in word-initial and word-medial position. Clusters appear in alphabetical order. All examples are from KRIARAS, *Lex.* or the *TLG*.

⁵ In fact word-final /fs/ is an innovation, deriving from the consonantization of the AG diphthong /eu/, and so cannot normally have ever formed part of the vernacular. For this reason the inflectional paradigm of the -εύς nouns is subject to considerable variation (see II, 2.4).

Table 3: *Biconsonantal clusters in MedG*

	p	t	k	b	d	g	f	θ	x	v	ð	ɣ	m	n	l	r	s	z
p		pt												pn	pl	pr	ps	
t								tθ					tm		tl	tr	ts	
k	(kp)	kt					(kf)	(kθ)	(kx)	(kv)	(kð)		km	kn	kl	kr	ks	(kz)
b															bl	br		
d															dl	dr		dz
g															gl	gr		
f	(fp)	ft	fk					fθ	(fx)					fn	fl	fr	fs	
θ													θm	θn	θl	θr		
x		xt						xθ					xm	xn	xl	xr		
v											vð	vɣ	vm	vn	vl	vr		(vz)
ð														ðn		ðr		
ɣ											ɣð		ɣm	ɣn	ɣl	ɣr		
m				mb			mf			mv				mn				
n					nd			nθ	nx		nð				nl		ns	
l	lp	lt	lk	lb	ld		lf	lθ	lx	lv	lð	lɣ	lm	ln			ls	
r	rp	rt	rk	rb	rd		rf	rθ	rx	rv	rð	rɣ	rm	rn	rl		rs	rz
s	sp	st	sk				sf	sθ	sx						sl			
z										zv	zð	zɣ	zm					

Notes:

1. Clusters whose first member is a voiced stop may, in some varieties, appear as triconsonantal clusters word-medially, due to the non-deletion of a preceding nasal (i.e. not /br/ but /mbr/, not /gl/ but /ngl/ etc.); see 3.2.1.2.
2. Clusters of identical consonants (i.e. geminates) appear only dialectally and are not included in this table; see 3.4.3 for a list of consonants having geminate counterparts in MedG.
3. The affricate clusters /ts/ and /dz/ are here presented as consonant clusters for reasons of homogeneity, although they can also be considered single phonemes (see 3.2.6).
4. Additional clusters are created through the process of synizesis, when the semivowel /j/ is realized as a palatal fricative, voiceless [ç] or voiced [j], after labial and dental consonants, e.g. κάποιος [kapços], παιδιά [peðja] (see 2.9.4).

Table 4: *Examples of biconsonantal clusters*

pt	πτωχοπρόδρομος	fs	γεῦσις	lb	ἄλμπιτρος
pn	πνεῦμα	θm	βαθμός	ld	μπουλντούνι
pl	πλανεύω	θn	θνητός	lf	ἀδελφός
pr	πρώτος	θl	θλίψις	lθ	ἔλθιμον
ps	ψεύτικος	θr	θράσος	lx	βούλχας
tθ	Γότθοι	xt	χτύπος	lv	ἀλβάνι
tm	ἀτμός	xθ	χθές	lδ	γαστάλδος
tl	ἀτλάζι	xm	αἰχμάλωτος	ly	Βούλγαρος
tr	τρόπος	xn	τέχνη	lm	ἀλμυρός
ts	τσακίζω	xl	χλωμός	ln	στέλνω
kp	ἐκπαιδεύω	xr	χρόνος	ls	βάλσαμον
kt	κτήμα	vδ	ραβδίν	rp	καρπός
kf	ἐκφεύγω	vγ	βγαίνω	rt	καρτερῶ
kθ	ἐκθαμβος	vm	γεῦμα	rk	ἀρκούδιν
kx	ἐκχυσίς	vn	κεραυνός	rb	μπάρμπας
kv	ἐκβαίνω	vl	βλέπω	rd	ὄρντινας
kδ	ἐκδέχομαι	vr	βρωμιαρέα	rf	ὄρφανός
km	ἀκμήν	vz	εὐζωνος	rθ	διορθώνω
kn	κνηκάτος	δn	ἔχιδνα	rx	ἔρχομαι
kl	κλαίω	δr	δριμύς	rv	ζερβός
kr	κρατῶ	γδ	γδέρνω	rδ	καρδία
ks	ξανθός	γm	πράγμα	ργ	ἀργυρός
kz	ἐκζεστόν	γn	γνώμη	rm	ἄρματα
bl	μπλάβος	γl	γλυκύς	rn	ἀρνούμαι
br	μπράτσο	γr	γράφω	rl	ζουρλός
dl	ἀντλῶ	mb	κάμπος	rs	ἀρσενικός
dr	ντροπή	mf	ἐμφανής	rz	βερζίν
dz	τζίτζυφος	mv	θρίαμβος	sp	σπαθίν
gl	μαγκλάβιν	mn	μνήμα	st	στέκω
gr	γκρεμνός	nd	μαντάτο	sk	σκοτός
fp	εὐπρεπος	nθ	ἄνθος	sf	σφάζω

Table 4: (*cont.*)

ft	φ τάνω	nx	λό γ χη	sθ	ά σ θένεια
fk	εύ κ αιρία	nθ	σκάν δ αλον	sx	σ χήμα
fθ	φ θάνω	nl	καν λ ής	sl	σ λάβος
fx	εύ χ ή	ns	πάν σ οφος	zv	σ βήνω
fn	άρ ι φνητος	lp	ἐ λ πίζω	zθ	μπου σ δουγάνι
fl	φ λάμouρoν	lt	ἄ ψ α λ τος	zy	σ γουρός
fr	φ ρ ι κτός	lk	όλό χ α λ κος	zm	σ μέρινα

Table 5: *Triconsonantal clusters in MedG*

fθm	κλα υ μός	ktr	όρνιθο π νί κ τρια	(nrx)	πά γ χρυσος
(fθr)	εὐ θ ραυστος	(kvl)	ἐ κ βλύζω	ptr	κάτο π τρον
fkI	ναύ κ ληρος	(kvr)	ἐ κ βρέχω	rθr	ἄνα θ ρος
fkr	ἄ φ κρασ ι ς	ltr	φί λ τρον	rts	βου ρ τσίζω
fks	αὐ ξ άνω	lts	κά λ τσα	rdz	Μού ρ τ ζ ουφλος
fkt	θεό ζ ε υ κτος	ldz	ἐ λ τ ζ ής	rkl	ἄ ρ κλα
fpl	Ναύ π λιον	lxθ	ἐ θ έ λ χ θ η	rks	ὔπα ρ ξις
(fpr)	εὐ π ρεπτος	mbI	ἐ μ πλέκω	rkt	ἄ ρ κτος
(fps)	εὐ ψ υχα	mbr	λα μ πρός	rpn	πάν τ ε ρ πνος
ftt	δουλε ύ τρια	mfr	πα μ φρόνιμος	rps	τέ ρ ψις
fst	ἀκατάπα υ στα	(mps)	ἐ μ ψυχῶ	sθm	ἄ σ θμα
(fxr)	εὐ χ ρηστος	mpt	πέ μ πτη	skI	σ κληρός
(kθI)	ἐ κ θλίβω	(mvI)	ἐ μ βλέπω	skr	σ κρόφα
(kθr)	ἐ κ δράμω	mvr	Δεκέ μ βριος	skn	σ πλάχνα
(kfr)	ἔ κ φρασ ι ς	ndr	κέ ν τρον	spr	ἄ σ προς
(kpl)	ἐ κ πληρώνω	nθr	ἄ ν δρες	str	σ τρατιώτης
(kpn)	ἐ κ πνοή	nθr	ἄ ν θρωπος	sfr	σ φραγίς
(kpr)	ἐ κ πρωτεύω	(ngI)	ἔ γ κλειστος	sxr	αἰ σ χρώδης
(kpt)	ἔ κ πτω σ ις	ngr	ἀσύ γ κριτος	xθr	ἐ χ θρός
(ksf)	ἐ κ σφονδυλίζω	nks	ἔ λ ε γ ξις	(vχn)	εὐ γ νώμων
(ksk)	ἐ κ σκορπίζω	(nsk)	ἐ ν σκήπτω	(vθr)	εὐ δ ρομία
(ksp)	ἐ κ σπῶ	nst	Κω ν σταντίνος		
(kst)	ἔ κ στασ ι ς	(nsθ)	παν σ θενής		

In the case of triconsonantal clusters, cluster simplification occurs in the following environments:

- a nasal followed by voiceless stop and /s/:

τὸν συψωμίτην μου *Ptoch.* IV 383
 μέψεται *Dig.* E 1049; μέψιν *Poulol.* 20 app. crit. (CE)
 ἔπεψεν *Dig.* E 226 app. crit.; ἔπεψεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 20.14; νὰ πέψουσι *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 70
 ὁ Σαψῶν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 279.6
 νὰ λάψει *Thysia Avr.* 28

- fricative-initial clusters created by the consonantization of the ancient diphthongs /au/ and /eu/:

κλαθμοῦ [*ANDR. PALAIOIOL.*], *Kallim.* 1395; κλαθμόν *Velis.* χ 349 app. crit. (V)
 ἔσπλαχνίαν (1514, Unknown, *TURYN* 1980: 35.2) < εὐσπλαγχνία
 ψεύτην *Velis.* χ 571 app. crit. (N)
 ἀξάινη *Chron. Mor.* P 2440; ἀξάινει *Alex. Rim.* 233
 σιζέξε α(υ)τι / συζέξει αὐτή (1609, Ikaria, *TSELIKAS* 2000: 6, 21.4)
 νάφλερος *TROILOS, Rodol.* II.67 < ναύκληρος
 νὰ τὸν καστηριάσουν *Assizes A* 481.3; καστηρια<στῆ> (17th c., Cyprus, *CHRISTODOULOU* 1983: A, 424.1147)

3.3.2.3 Groups of More Than Three Consonants

Such groups are very rare, and exist only at morpheme boundaries, through prefixation of cluster-initial stems (all starting with σ-) with the frequent prefixes ἐκ-, εὐ-, συν-, ὑπερ-; to a certain degree they belong to learned language only. Thus, the only possible clusters are the following:

/kstr/:	ἐκστρατίζω
/fstr/:	εὐστροφος
/fspl/:	εὐσπλαγχνία
/nstr/:	συνστρατιώτης
/rstr/:	ὑπερστράτηγος

3.4 Geminate Consonants

3.4.1 Definition

The LMedG and EMG phonological system allows double (geminate) consonants in certain of its regional varieties. The areas for which gemination is attested in the period under investigation are the following: S. Italy, Cyprus, the Dodecanese, Chios, Ikaria and Euboea, a distribution which corresponds to the MG one (see 3.4.3 for details of attestation by phoneme). Cyprus and S. Italy provide the most consistent and abundant evidence, while the data from the Aegean islands are sporadic at best. Other areas which in the modern period show gemination, namely some Cycladic islands and parts of Asia Minor (see *CARATZAS* 1958: 80; *MANOLESSOU/BASEA-BEZANDAKOU* 2012: 952), provide no evidence of the

phenomenon in MedG and EMG, simply due to lack of data. The consonants for which evidence of gemination exists are the following: /p, t, k, f, θ, x, v, m, n, l, r, s, z/, appearing in initial prevocalic and in intervocalic position.

The phonological status of MedG geminates, i.e. whether they are to be interpreted as single long consonants or as clusters of identical consonants, is an open question, resolvable with argumentation similar to that proposed for the MG dialectal geminates (cf., for example, ARVANITI 2010). For mainly presentational reasons, in order to achieve homogeneity of description with all varieties of MedG, a non-phonemic analysis of geminates is adopted here.

The precise phonetic status of MedG geminates is also difficult to determine: while in the case of geminate continuants it is not necessary to assume anything other than a long realization, identical to that of the corresponding single consonant, the MG data from Cyprus, the Dodecanese and S. Italy show that, in the case of stops, gemination does not phonetically correspond (only) to lengthening, as in AG, but to aspiration (SEILER 1957; CARATZAS 1958: 81; NEWTON 1968; MANOLESSOU/BASEA-BEZANDAKOU 2012). The extensive geographical spread of this “aspirated” gemination has sometimes been considered an indication of its early, perhaps even pre-medieval, establishment, at least for Cyprus (DAVY/PANAYOTOU 2004). There is no evidence for such an aspirated pronunciation of geminates in MedG documents, although admittedly the Greek writing system does not allow the possibility of expressing this realization: geminate realization is in all cases indicated graphematically by repetition of the geminate consonant. The earliest evidence of aspirated pronunciation of stops comes from the end of the 18th c.: *χκελίμι κόχκινο* / *κελίμι κόκκινο* (1796, Symi, KARANIKOLAS 1974: 136.18); *παχκίρι* / *μπακίρι* (ibid. 136.15). There is also some limited evidence of a closed aspirated realization of geminate /θ/ as [tʰ] in S. Italy and the Dodecanese, corroborated by MG dialectal evidence (see 3.4.3).

3.4.2 Origin of Geminates

3.4.2.1 Introduction

The AG consonant system, which included geminate consonants, underwent radical modification in the Koine, one of the results of which was the elimination of geminates (“degemination”, see CARATZAS 1958: 87–8; GIGNAC 1976: 154–62; HORROCKS 2010: 274; MANOLESSOU/BASEA-BEZANDAKOU 2012: 956 for early evidence). However, the presence of geminate consonants in some MedG and MG regional varieties indicates that this change probably did not encompass the totality of Greek-speaking areas, leaving unaffected some peripheral areas (the extreme West and South-East). Since MedG and MG gemination functions quite differently from the corresponding AG phenomenon, being to a certain extent stress- or syllable-related and involving classes of consonants which were non-existent in AG (namely fricatives), the possibility of its being a completely unrelated, innovative phenomenon could also be considered (see PERNOT 1907/46: I 382–3; CARATZAS 1958: 85 for discussion of such proposals, notably that of J. Schmitt). Nevertheless, the fact that gemination functions similarly in areas which are widely distant from one another speaks against its being an independent innovation in each area. The analysis most consistent with the medieval and modern distribution would be that in Late Antiquity, when the

AG phonological system underwent radical change due to the loss of vowel quantity, there came about a phonological reinterpretation of the length feature, limiting or transferring it to the consonant domain, and leading to the development of a new, stress- or syllable-related gemination, which included also innovative gemination, due to assimilation, in the case of new consonant classes (fricatives). This innovative phonological system must have covered most Greek-speaking areas, and must have subsequently receded, leaving behind the peripheral geminating areas in the extreme East and West, as well as some pockets still retaining gemination in more isolated areas in Central Greece (Euboea, Cyclades).

Since the evidence consists only of written sources, the diachronic investigation of gemination and degemination is difficult: the spelling of MedG manuscripts and inscriptions is extremely variable concerning double consonants (cf. PSALTES 1913: 125–32 for an overview of EMedG practice). The “double” spelling of etymological geminates may be nothing more than the application of correct orthographic rules, and the doubling of non-etymological ones nothing but a spelling error (or a hypercorrection). The most secure indication of geminate pronunciation is the consistent “double” spelling of non-etymological geminates in phonetic environments and geographical areas which also show gemination in the modern period. However, even in these areas, notation of gemination is far from systematic (see 3.4.3). The sources of MedG geminates are discussed below (cf. PERNOT 1907/46: I 407–8; SEILER 1957: 212; CARATZAS 1958: 81–5; NEWTON 1968 for the corresponding phenomena in MG).

3.4.2.2 Original/Etymological AG Geminates

Due to the conservative nature of Greek orthography, it is impossible to distinguish a geminate from a degeminated pronunciation in the case of original/etymological geminate consonants; as noted above, a geminate spelling could simply be the result of the correct application of orthographic rules. Accordingly, it would be pointless to provide examples of such “correct spelling” of etymological geminates from MedG sources. Only the reverse practice, i.e. the non-notation of etymological geminates, is a useful linguistic indication, in that it betrays the identical realization of original geminate and single consonants. Unfortunately, cases of non-notation of etymological geminates are to be found even in areas for which there is solid modern evidence of gemination, such as S. Italy (see FANCIULLO 1985: 95–6) and Cyprus:

σακκελάρηον / σακκελλάριον (1140, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 122, 162.13); γαίγραμενοῦ / γεγραμμένου (1141, *ibid.* 130, 172.5)
 καμιασ αλις / καμίας ἄλλης (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.3)
 θαλασσου / θαλάσσου (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 60.3)
 πολὰ μακρήν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 66.33 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 ἐπλημέλαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 90.23 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 τοῦ κελιοῦ του (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: B, 478.1156)
 Φιλίπτου / Φιλίππου (1691, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 24, 61.5)

Note also that, as mentioned above in 3.4.2.1, it is theoretically possible to attribute all etymological double consonants in MedG and EMG geminating areas or in MG dialects not to direct inheritance from AG, but to the innovative phenomenon of “spontaneous gemination” (see 3.4.2.5). To verify this, it would be necessary to examine all lexical items containing

etymological geminates and surviving in MG geminating dialects, in order to establish whether they still present gemination according to AG patterns or not, something which has not up to now been attempted. Such an investigation would be pointless in MedG and EMG texts, due to the orthographic inconsistency of documents even in the case of secure MG confirmation of the existence of geminate realization (see examples above). For what it is worth, the impression of scholars who were native speakers of geminating dialects is that degemination of inherited geminates never takes place, except in specific phonetic or analogical conditions, or when the word in question had disappeared from the dialect and was reintroduced via standard MG (CHATZIDAKIS 1901a: 154–9; MENARDOS 1969: 20; CARATZAS 1958: 86–7).

3.4.2.3 Borrowing

It is standardly assumed that loanwords from languages with double consonants in their phonological system, such as Italian, are incorporated in MedG with their etymological phonetic form retained. There is considerable evidence of double consonant spelling in loanwords, although again it is impossible to distinguish between the recording of an authentic geminate pronunciation and a simple graphematic transliteration. Only the existence of (some of) these loanwords in the MG geminating dialects allows one to opt for the former interpretation.

πλοῦππων / πλούππων (1124, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 95, 124.15) < Lat. *pluppus*
 γάττου / Γάττου (1171, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 178, 234.14) < Lat. *gattus*
 καππέλλας (1236, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: : Coll. I: 16, 92.12) < Lat. *cappella*
 σακκουμάνος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 440.19 < Ital. *saccomano*
 ρόκκα MEURSIUS, *Gloss.* s.v. δουλάππιν
 σουσπέττον VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 62.10; *Fior* 121.5 < Ital. *sospetto*
 ὀρνιθες ἢ πουλλία (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 57.60) < Ital. *pullus*
 ἐφέττον *Fior* 88.13 < Ital. *effetto*

Apart from lexical items, loan suffixes are also imported along with their geminating phonetic forms. This involves mainly derivational suffixes of Latin/Italian origin, such as *pul-lus* > -πουλλος, -πουλλα, -ella > -έλλα, -ullus > -ούλλης/-ούλλα, e.g. τὸ ψευδορυακούλλην (1145–6, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 2, 65.19); κουρτέλλα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 266.17; λαγηνόπουλλον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 492.26.

There is a problem concerning gemination of Italian loanwords in Dodecanesian and Cypriot: the dialectal forms of Italian which were used in these areas, Venetian and Genoese, do not have geminate consonants, as is normal for most Northern Italian dialects (PERNOT 1907/46: I 386; KONDOSOPOULOS 1963: 146; DAVY/PANAYOTOU 2004: 7; FERGUSON 2013: 943); straightforward borrowing through contact is therefore difficult to establish. A purely graphematic borrowing is possible: it is preferable in many cases to assume borrowing through written administrative language, and thus transliteration rather than phonetic adaptation. The possibility that the Greek double consonants are the result of “spontaneous gemination” which only accidentally coincides with the Italian form may also be considered. Another plausible suggestion (DAVY/PANAYOTOU 2000: 121, fn. 11) is that in some cases at least the Cypriot geminate consonants in loanwords derive not from Italian but from French: although the French of the period had undergone degemination

and no longer included double consonants in its phonological system, the Cypriot geminates may reflect a phonological adaptation of the French long vowel, e.g. *cotte* > κόττα, *querelle* > κερέλλα, *trappe* > δράππα etc.

The only direct adoption of geminates from French involves geminate /r/, which was still retained in the French of the period, and imported in a small number of loanwords such as γκέρρα, φαρράσης, although normally gemination of /r/ is very limited in Cypriot (DAVY/PANAYOTOU 2000: 120–1).

The adaptation of Turkish loanwords in Early Modern Cypriot is a further source of double consonants: Turkish single voiceless stops are adapted in Cypriot as geminate voiceless stops, in contrast to Turkish single voiced stops, which appear in Cypriot (and Dodecanesian) as single voiceless stops (NEWTON 1968: 22–5; SYMEONIDIS 2006: 178–9). Examples:

μαράφεττην / μαραφέττιν (1640, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 4, 13.17) < Turk. *marifet*
 ττεμεσοούκκιν (1704, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 2, 54.7–8) < Turk. *temessük*
 ἐξίκκιν KONST. ΔΙΑΚ., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 62 < Turk. *eksik*; τταχρίριν *ibid.* 170 < Turk. *tahrir*
 παχκίρι / μπακίρι (1796, Symi, KARANIKOLAS 1974: 136.15)

3.4.2.4 Assimilation

An innovative source of geminate consonants is the total assimilation of a preceding nasal consonant, both word-internally and at word boundaries (see also 3.6.2.2). Evidence for this phenomenon is adequate for /θ, l, m, n, s/, but less so for other continuous consonants (see 3.4.3). A direct metalinguistic description is provided by Meursius (MEURSIUS, *Gloss.* s.v. ἀκάθθιν): “Graeci recentiores ν sequente θ convertebant in θ, sic ἄθθος & ἄθθεῖν pro ἄνθος & ἀνθεῖν”. He also offers numerous examples from the so-called “Glossae Graecobarbarae” of Cypriot origin (BEAUDOIN 1884: 111–31).

τῆς καθθοῦσα (1053, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 40, 50.29) < Ἀκανθοῦσα
 ἄθθυμηθῆτε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 91.50 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari) < ἐνθυμοῦμαι
 του πεθθερού του VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 2.14 < πενθερός
 ἄθθος, ἀπίκραθθος, γρόθθος, ξαθθός MEURSIUS, *Gloss.* s.vv.

τῶ λλάκκον / τὸ λλάκκον (1044, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 3, 147.26)
 ἴσχύν λαμυᾶννειν / ἴσχύν λαμβάνει (1213, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 266, 365.11); τὴν
 ρροῦγαν (1226, *ibid.* 175, 378.9)
 παρενποδίζειν σε / παρεμποδίζειν σε (1195, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 4, 32.30); κατὰ τῶν
 σσῶν κληρονόμων (1210, *ibid.* 5, 35.17)
 ὀσστήν σσήμερον / ὡς τὴ σ-σσήμερον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 80.50 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 ἄμ με ἀγαπᾶτε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 293.10
 ἀλλάβη / ἔλ λάβη *Assizes* A 48.29
 ἐθελε σσέ βαστάζειν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 142.1
 ἰστηλέμ με το Νικόλα / ἦστειλέμ με τὸ Νικόλα (1638, Patmos, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 6, 403.11)

Total assimilation of final /n/ at word boundaries, leading to post-lexical geminates, is already a regular feature of AG, appearing in inscriptions from many areas (see e.g. THREATTE 1980: 616–38). It does not appear in Koine papyri, which indicates that it

disappeared following the generalized degemination (GIGNAC 1976: 166–7), being preserved only in the geminating areas. The MedG innovation consists in the spread of assimilation word-internally, affecting the “new” fricative sounds and creating not post-lexical but lexical geminates.

Another commonly assumed source of assimilatory gemination is that of a fricative followed by a nasal, in the case of the monophthongization of the ancient diphthongs /au/ and /eu/, i.e. [avm], [evm] > [amm], [emm] (see 3.6.1.3). The MedG data on this issue are unclear: both geminated and ungeminated spellings are attested, e.g. ἀπιγωρεμμένου / ἀπηγορεμμένου (1172, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 179, 234.13) vs. ἐρμηνεμένη (1363, Cyprus, COUROPOU/GÉHIN 2001: 3, 157.26); their interpretation is rendered more difficult due to the fact that several MG dialects do not display gemination in this environment. Thus the attested double spellings could also be attributed to the accent-related “spontaneous gemination”, cf. cases such as λεγομένων (1190, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 16, 49.10); τοῦ ἀποθαμμένου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 218.6 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari); πολλάκιπραμμένος *ibid.* 220.3–4, where there can be no question of assimilation.

3.4.2.5 “Spontaneous Gemination”

The most solid evidence of geminate consonants in MedG comes from cases of so-called “spontaneous gemination” (for the term and its conditions of application see NEWTON 1968): intervocalic single consonants are doubled when immediately preceded by the word-stress (post-tonic consonant gemination) and, more rarely, when followed by it (syllable-initial consonant gemination). The second alternative surfaces when (a) the stress falls on the final syllable (e.g. ποττέ), or (b) the post-tonic consonant is non-geminatable, i.e. it is a voiced fricative, stop or /r/ (e.g. ὀλλίγος). Most cases where spontaneous gemination seems to have taken place in a non-immediately pretonic or post-tonic syllable can be explained as instances of paradigmatic levelling, i.e. analogy from other inflectional or derivational forms of the word which do involve the “correct” phonetic environment (NEWTON 1968: 33–4).

Spontaneous gemination is quite well attested in other languages, and is usually interpreted as a direct phonetic manifestation of stress, or as an effect of radical changes in the nature of the stress system (cf. BLEVINS 2004: 173–4; BYBEE 2015: 45), but a comparison of the Greek data to the cross-linguistic findings of phonological theory is lacking. However, the stress-based account is in many ways insufficient to account for the totality of cases, in that it predicts many cases of gemination which are not in fact attested, either in MedG/EMG texts or in the MG dialects (see CHRISTODOULOU 2013 for an overview of criticisms). An additional complication is the fact that in MG geminating dialects the same lexical items may display different behaviour with respect to spontaneous gemination (see e.g. CARATZAS 1958: 123–4; MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 2009b: 165–6), something which renders the variable evidence of MedG texts less secure.

Nevertheless, alternative accounts based on AG vowel length (DAVY/PANAYOTOU 2003), syllable structure (MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 2009b), massive analogy (CHATZIDAKIS 1901a: 156) or emphasis, or borrowing face similar problems. It is likely that whatever the

initial phonetic motivation of the phenomenon (probably to be placed in the late Koine), it was subsequently obscured by analogy and lexical borrowing from non-geminating varieties. But in any case, it is obvious that spontaneous gemination is an active process during the MedG and EMG periods, and not just a lexicalized relic from earlier phases, because it also affects contemporary loanwords from French and Italian, as well as innovative inflectional suffixes (see examples below).

Spontaneous gemination in MedG is attested for the following consonants: /p, t, k, f, θ, m, n, l, r, s/:

Post-tonic

ἔππεσεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 66.32 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari); ἔππεσαν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 79.3–4

δράππαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 266.3; δράππαν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 18.16

θέττου (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 33.87)

μούττην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 282.5; μύττη (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 423.1083)

θαυμάζουμέθαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 360.32

πόθθεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 182.28

σγάφει *Fior* 118.34

σήμερον *Pist. kekoim.* 148

καθέν(α) / καθένα (1227–50, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 20, 157.14)

της αννοθ(εν) / τῆς ἄνωθεν (1501, Cyprus, MALTEZOU 1987: 2, 11.7)

ή σκήλλα / ή σκύλλα (1382, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 100, 99.4)

ἄλλος ὁ λογαριασμός (1578/1583, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 2, 1.3)

τὴν ἁγία νῆσον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 28.5

Syllable-initial

ποττέ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 10.5; ποττέ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.8

οἱ σεκρεττάριοι *Pist. kekoim.* 81

τὴν ἄλουππούν *Fior* 121.28–9

ἐτζακκίσαν τους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 40.25

κριθάρια KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 259; κριθάριν MEURSIUS, *Gloss.* s.v.

κεκριμένους (1214, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 268, 368.2)

ἀλλήθια / ἀλήθεια (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 306.8)

βασιλλιασ / βασιλείας (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.2); τη

βασυλλῆα σου / τῇ βασιλλείᾳ σου (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.2)

ολλίγες ημέρες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.3–4; ὀλλίγος MEURSIUS, *Gloss.* s.v.

κλαίει σκύλλος (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: B, 460. 504)

τοῦ ρρὲ ἔρρι (post 1306, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 31, 163.[23]5)

Γιλιὰμ τε Ρρῶς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 164.7

ησε σοαῖ / εις ἐσσὲ (1015, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 15, 15.23)

᾿ς τὸ νησσίν μας KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 17

Away from the Stress

ἀγραππηδιᾶν / ἀγραππιδιάν (1115, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 78, 102.14) < ἀπίδι

ἀππηδᾶ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 172.30

ἀλληθηνῆν / ἀλληθινῆν (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.2) < ἀλήθεια

εἰσοδόματα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.8 < εἰσόδημα

Certain suffixes that involve the standard phonetic environment triggering spontaneous gemination, namely the verbal suffixes (-άνω, -ίνω, -αίνω, -ώνω etc.) and the comparative

adjectival and adverbial forms with the suffix -τερ(ος) (only in Cyprus), display the phenomenon with great regularity. Due to this morphological conditioning, it has been suggested that in these cases the underlying process is not phonetic but analogical. In the first case, because gemination appears already in late Koine inscriptions and papyri, it has been attributed to the analogy of the verbs in -ννυμι/-ννω (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 641–2; KAPSOMENOS 1953b: 327; CARATZAS 1958: 126–34); in the second, the Cypriot comparative has been seen as analogical to the AG “irregular” comparatives θάπτων, ἐλάπτων or καλλίων (CHRISTODOULOU 2013: 122). Both suggestions are possible, but not necessary.

κατάουαίννει (1092, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 54, 71.12); κατεβέννη (1124, *ibid.* 94, 123.1); κλήννει / κλίνει (1092, *ibid.* 54, 71.18); αφιεροννοντα (1034, *ibid.* 29, 34.11–12); ἀφιερώνωντα (1113, *ibid.* 75, 97.14); ἀναβέννι / ἀναβαίννει (1115, *ibid.* 78, 102.17–18) ἐγεννήθη ἐξημερόννωντ(α) (1407, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1956: [5], 40.1) διαλαμβάννει (1190, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 16, 49.5); φθάννει (*ibid.* Coll. I: 16, 49.19) διαβαίννουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.5–6; θανατώννομεν *ibid.* 2.7 τιχέννουν / τυχαίννουν (1646, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 5, 15.16) παρχατώττεροι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 256.10; ἀσχημόττερος *ibid.* 492.29–30 το εγληγορόττερον / τὸ ἐγληγορότερον (1456, Unknown, TSIRPANLIS 1986: 1, 223.12) την καλλιόττερην στράταν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 12.8; πρωτύττερα παρά τινάν *ibid.* 44.15–16; μεγαλυττέρην *ibid.* 144.4

In a small number of inherited lexical items, it has also been suggested that the presence of geminate consonants absent from Classical Greek is not a case of innovative spontaneous gemination, but in fact constitutes an ancient (Doric) dialectal survival. This involves the words ὄσσοϛ and τόσσοϛ with geminate [ss], attested a few times in MedG documents from S. Italy and Sicily and corroborated by modern dialectal evidence:⁶ ὄσσους δ' ἂν ἔχης νοθείους φέρειν ἐκ τὰς περιεξῆς χώρας ἀνθρώπους (1097, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 64, 81.26); ἀμπέλιον ... ὄσσον καὶ οἶον ἐστὶν (1135, *ibid.* 116, 155.5); εἰς τὰς τόσσας (1291, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 13, 639.4). It also concerns the word νῆσσοϛ > νησσίν, attested with geminate [ss] in Rhodes since the Koine, and common in many MedG and EMG documents from Cyprus and the Dodecanese. The “survival” argument was first propounded by Tsopanakis and Caratzas (TSOPANAKIS 1940: 159; CARATZAS 1958: 89 fn. 1 and 96–100) and adopted in later literature (MINAS ²2003: 72; CARACAUSI, *Lex.* s.v. ὄσσοϛ, τόσσοϛ; TZITZILIS 2004: 476).

3.4.3 Consonants Affected

In documents from South-Eastern dialect areas and from S. Italy, gemination of /p t k/ is attested, both in inherited words and loans and as an innovative phenomenon (“spontaneous gemination”).

τῆς στοῦππα / τῆς Στούππα (1117, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 83, 109.44) ἔππτεσεν (1640, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 3, 9.9).

⁶ It is lexicalized in S. Italian (KARANASTASIS, *Lex.* s.v.), but variable and only emphatic in Cyprus and Chios (HADJIOANNOU 1988: 206; PERNOT 1907/46: I 392–3).

γάττου / Γάττου (1171, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 178, 234.14);
 θέττουν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 33.87)
 ποττέ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.8
 ρηκκάρδου / Ρικκάρδου (1117, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 83, 110.26)
 ετσακκίσεν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 20.15
 ὀκκάδες KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 83
 απο τι Κκαλέπια / ἀπό τῇ Κκαλέπια (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 2, 7.6)

For certain words, such as ποττέ, μούττη, σάκκος, τσακκίζω or the comparative -ττερος, the spelling approaches regularity. Gemination of /f/ and /x/, although extant in modern South-Eastern dialects, either as an innovative phenomenon (spontaneous gemination), or as a result of assimilation of a preceding nasal, is very poorly attested in MedG and EMG documents. Rare examples include:

τοῦ γρόφφουλου / τοῦ Γρόφφουλου (1168, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 172, 227.10)
 τὰ ῥφικία τους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 10.29
 το θαφφίον VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 152.8
 σγάφφει *Fior* 118.34
 συχχωρουντε / συχχωροῦνται MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 104.38

By contrast, gemination of /θ/ is quite well attested, especially in Cyprus. Its provenance is either assimilation of a preceding nasal, or innovative (spontaneous) gemination.

Θεόδωρος Ξανθός (1190, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 12, 65.28); ἔνδδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθθεν (1213/14, *ibid.* 6, 37.8)
 διὰ νὰ συνμπεθθερέψουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 326.8; τον πεθερόν του VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 194.13
 θαυμάζουμέθαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 360.32
 ἐπλύθθην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 496.44
 ἄθθυμήθου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 44.39; ἄθθύμισιν (1602, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1959: 1, 28.1)
 ῥπου θθεῖ ῥνὰ δῆ *Thrinis Kypr.* 1
 κριθάρια KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 259

There is limited evidence from S. Italy and Rhodes that gemination of /θ/ may take the form of a long aspirated dental stop /tʰ:/ as in several MG dialects. The evidence in question involves forms of the proper names Ἀνθοῦσα as Ἀνττοῦσα, Ἀθοῦσα, Ἀττοῦσα (1220–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 16, 78.1, 80.25, 826) and Ἀρνίθα as ἄρνίττα (1684, Rhodes, PAPACHRISTODOULOU 1976: 2, 3.1).

Since voiced fricatives did not exist in AG, gemination of /v, ð, ɣ/ can only appear as an innovative phenomenon in MedG/EMG, and not as an ancient retention. Orthographic historical <ββ>, from the transliteration of foreign words with /bb/, such as Σάββατον, κρεββάτι etc., occasionally appears in MedG texts with single <β> and is presumably pronounced accordingly, e.g. σαβατον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 317.26 and 433.19; κρεβάγτωστρώσια (1166, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 170, 124.14); παπα Σάβας (1501, Cyprus, MALTEZOU 1987: 2, 12.19). A further indication of non-geminate pronunciation of these words in MedG/EMG is the fact that in the corresponding MG dialects they appear with single /v/ (TSOPANAKIS 1940: 161; MENARDOS 1969: 29; KARANASTASIS 1997: 47).

Gemination of /v/ as a result of nasal assimilation is very rarely attested, and only in words of learned origin, e.g. σηββήα / συββία (1477, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1959: f 170, 36.28.2); σύββαλμα MEURSIUS, *Gloss.* s.v. The rarity of the phenomenon is expected, since the normal evolutionary path of the sequence <μβ> would be retention of the original AG pronunciation as [mb]; see also 3.6.2.2. Assimilation to other consonants may also lead to gemination of /v/, e.g. καὶ ῥόββαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 314.7, probably from κόββαν if not a simple spelling error. “Spontaneous” gemination of /v/ is not attested, nor expected, since MG dialects do not exhibit it either (SEILER 1957: 214; NEWTON 1968: 19, MANOLESSOU/BASEA-BEZANDAKOU 2012). There is no evidence for gemination of /χ/ or /ð/.

Gemination of /m/ and /n/ is sporadically attested in texts from Cyprus and S. Italy. Apart from retention of inherited or borrowed geminates, the provenance of /mm/ and /nn/ is either assimilation of a preceding fricative (see also 3.6.1.3), or innovative “spontaneous” gemination:

ἐγκεχαραμμένοι (1019, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 18, 19.24)
 ἀμμέ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.33; αμμέ ἦρτα VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 22.13
 κρεμμάζουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 34.23
 ἄμ με ἀγαπᾶτε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 293.10
 ὁστὴν σήήμερον / ὡς τήνς σήμερον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 80.50 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 ἦστο ννισσίν / εἰς τὸ νησίν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 83.34 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 σήμερον *Pist. kekoim.* 148; σήμερον VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 52.9–10
 πικραμμένοι VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 68.18

In the case of /n/, there are specific morphological environments which always exhibit innovative gemination, namely verbs in -ώνω, -αίνω, -ίνω, -άνω, both in S. Italy and in Cyprus (MINAS ²2003: 71; SYMEONIDIS 2006: 179). For the Dodecanese, the phenomenon is expected (PANDELIDIS 1929: 29; TSOPANAKIS 1940: 158) but as yet has not been located in the texts:

αφιερωννοντα / αφιερώννοντα (1034, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 29, 34.11–12)
 ἄξόννη / ἄξώνει (1227–50, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 20, 157.10)
 κατάυαίννει / καταβαίννει (1092, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 54, 71.12)
 φθάννει (1190, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 16, 49.19)
 λαμβάννει παρκάτω (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 31.49)
 θανατώννομεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.7
 εἰς κουφοῦ πόρταν ἐσυντύχανεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 44.16–17
 παγαιννάμενοι VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 22.9–10

Gemination of /l/ is attested in S. Italy, Cyprus and the Dodecanese. It occurs either as assimilation of a preceding nasal, or as spontaneous gemination, which is especially frequent in Cyprus in common words such as πολλύς and ὀλλίγος. However, there is no regularity in the spelling, as certain cases of geminate /ll/ may also appear written as single.

τῶ λλάκόν / τὸ λλάκκον (1044, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 3, 147.26)
 τὴν λλέπραν (1076–7, Calabria, GUILLOU 1963: 1, 46.18)
 οὐβόν λλουπούνον / Οὐβον Λ-λουπούνον (1226, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 175, 378.16)

σκελίζει (1053, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 40, 50.29)
 μαντίλλιον / μαντήλλιον (1226, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 274, 376.22)
 ἡ σκήλλα / ἡ σκύλλα (1382, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 100, 99.4)
 τισ μεγαλίου βασιλίας (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.2)
 ἐπερυλλάβαμ(εν) / ἐπεριλλάβαμεν (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.2)
 πολλὺν καιρὸν (15th c., Rhodes, MINAS 2012: 18, 413.10)
 ἀλλάβη / ἄλ λάβη *Assizes* A 48.29
 ὄλλος ὁ λογαριασμός (1578/1583, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 2, 1.3)
 ὀλλίγα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.34; ὀλλίγες ἡμέρες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.3–4
 διὰ τὸ πολλὺν πληθος *Pist. kekoim.* 38–9
 τριανταφιλίας / τριανταφυλλίς *Katal.* 5
 πολὰ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 66.33 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)

Gemination of /l/ and /n/ is securely attested for Euboea thanks to the metalinguistic description provided by Euthymios Tornikes in a recently published poem (HÖRANDNER 2017). The poem mocks the inhabitants of Euripos for their pronunciation and makes specific reference to gemination, which, according to the author, sounds as if the consonants /l/ and /n/ are split in two:

οἱ γραμμάτων ἄρπαγες ἄνδρες Εὐρίπου
 τὸ λαῦδα συντέμνουσιν εἰς μέρη δύο (vv. 21–2)
 καὶ γὰρ παρευθὺς τὴν φίλην βροτοῖς νίκην
 ἡμῶν ἀφαρπάζουσιν ἀδίκῳ τρόπῳ
 τὸ νῦ μόνον τέμνοντες εἰς μέρη δύο (vv. 44–6)

That the phenomenon in question is gemination is made explicit by the title of the poem as given in the manuscript: Οἱ ἐν Θήβαις οἰκοῦντες σύρφακες ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁμιλίαις αὐτῶν λαλοῦντες τὸ νῦ καὶ τὸ λαῦδα ὑφειμένως πῶς καὶ σχεδὸν ἥμισυ, ἐγκαλοῦσι κατὰ τῶν γειτονοῦντων αὐτοῖς Εὐριπιωτῶν διπλασιαζόντων καὶ διπλαζόντων ἔστιν ὅτε τὰ τοιαῦτα στοιχεῖα (HÖRANDNER 2017: 127, 133). It should be presumed that the geographical term “Euripos” here refers to the whole of Euboea, and not just to the city of Chalkis, and that during the 13th c. the geminating pronunciation, which nowadays characterizes only the local subdialect of Kymi, covered the whole island. That the dialect of Kymi, connected in many ways to the dialect of Athens, Megara and Aegina, represents the oldest form of the dialect of Euboea and receded later due to the Albanian migrations is a conclusion independently arrived at by modern dialectology (CARATZAS 1940; PANDELIDIS 2016c), and confirmed by the evidence of the poem under discussion.

Evidence for geminate /r/ is poor in medieval texts. Gemination as a result of assimilation of a preceding nasal is attested but rare, and “spontaneous gemination” is very rare indeed. Most examples of geminate /r/ are loanwords, such as γέρρα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 466.25, VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 122.9 < Fr. *guerre*, φαρράσης MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 114.10 < Arab. *farrash* etc., or foreign proper names. There are no examples from the Dodecanese, where gemination of /r/ is also absent from the modern dialect (TSOPANAKIS 1940: 155; SEILER 1957: 214). Machairas’s text frequently exhibits degemination of etymological double /rr/, which is a feature also of the modern Cypriot dialect (PILAVAKIS 1968: 137; SYMEONIDIS 2006: 181).

σσουρρέντου / Σουρέντου (1190, Palermo, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 16, 48.26)

ἐνρρίκου / Ἐρρίκου (1226, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 175, 378.10)

τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Κονρράδου (1254, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 19, 90.2)

Γιλιὰμ τε Ρρᾶς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 164.7

βιζόρρες VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 155.2

ἀπεριμμένας (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 239.433)

περούνιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 308.32 < Fr. *perron*

ἄρωστον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 48.4; ἄρωστος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 372.2 and *Chron.* R 220.7

Gemination of /s/ is evidenced mainly through the consistent spelling <σσ> of etymologically single /s/ (“spontaneous gemination”), in words which also show gemination in modern dialects. Apart from that, there are a few instances of assimilation of final /n/ to a following initial /s/ (spelled <σσ->, <-ν σσ->, <-νς σ->, cf. DAWKINS 1932: II 35; KECHAYOGLU 1997: 147*), as well as cases of coarticulation of a final /s/ with a word-initial /s/. Furthermore, gemination of /s/ also results, in the EMG period, from the total assimilation of the cluster /sk/; the spelling <χχ> indicates that the realization in this case is probably [ʃ:] (see 3.8.2.2):

ησε σσαι / εις ἐσὲ (1015, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 15, 15.23 and 16.38)

εἰσσακουέσθω / εἰσακουέσθω (1190, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 16, 48.18)

ἔσσω (1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 618.14); ἔσσο / ἔσω εις Κύπρον (14th c.,

Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 2.2 app. crit.); ἔσσω VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.10–11

εις τ(ο) νησιν / εις τὸ νησίν (1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.1); τὸ νησίν τῆς

Ρόδου (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 55.6)

τὸν Φαρισσαῖον (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 407.437)

τὲς συκεῖαις / τὲς συκίης (1108–9, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 29, 135.27)

εις τὴν σσὴν ὑποταγὴν (1210, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 5, 34.12)

εἰσαυτὸν σσου / εἰς αὐτὸν σσου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 78.30 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari); τον

υιὸν σσου VOUSTR., *Chron.* M 43.14

ἄσσας / ἄ σ-σᾶς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 66.34 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)

ἐθελε σσέ βαστάξειν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 142.1

σσεπάρνην / σσεπάρνιν (1678, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 453.9)

τοῦ Μαρκουλῆ τοῦ χχύλλου KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 41

There is one instance of a geminate sibilant resulting from total assimilation of the cluster [ks] in S. Italy: προσένεσσ(ην) / προσένεσσιν (1052–3, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 15, 84.10) < προσένεξιν. The change [ks] > [ss] is corroborated by modern dialectal data, as the Greek variety of Calabria does indeed display the phenomenon (KARANASTASIS 1997: 34), as do both the modern Romance languages of the area and standard Italian. Gemination of /z/ as a result of assimilation or spontaneous gemination is not attested in MedG documents; the spelling <ζζ> is rare, and is usually reserved for direct transliterations from Romance, or for affricates (for which see 3.2.6), e.g. ἡ πέτρα πιζζοῦτα (1117, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 83, 109.20) < S. Ital. *pizzutu* = pointed; τῆς παναγίας τῆς μετίζζιαις (1032, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 25, 28.11). Most modern geminating dialects do not, in any case, make a distinction between single and geminate /z/ (TSOPANAKIS 1940: 161; NEWTON 1968:

19; MENARDOS 1969: 21–2; KARANASTASIS 1997: 34). A number of instances of <ζζ> in the Dodecanese may reflect a realization [z:] resulting from the deaffrication of [dz] (see 3.2.6.2): Φρατζέζους *Alosis* 354; Φρατζής LIMEN., *Velis*. (Λ) 447 app. crit.

3.5 Consonant Addition

3.5.1 Prothesis and Aphaeresis

As a lexicalized sporadic change, words beginning with a vowel occasionally exhibit prothesis of an initial /n/ or /s/ (the only two permissible final consonants in MedG and EMG; see 3.3.1). This is originally due to false segmentation when the item in question is preceded by a word ending in /n/ or /s/, followed by lexicalization of the new variant. The elements involved are usually a form of the article, e.g. τῆς, τὰς, τοὺς, τὸν, τήν, τῶν, and a noun or verb forming a phonological phrase with it (PERNOT 1907/46: I 536–40; PANDELIDIS 1927/8).⁷ A few early attestations occur in Koine papyri and EMedG texts (DIETERICH 1898: 95; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 411–12; PSALTES 1913: 83), and the phenomenon is noted also by Eustathios (*Comment. ad Hom.* 1523.52): “Ἡ δὲ κλήθρη φυλάσσει μέχρι καὶ νῦν τοῦνομα ὑποβαρβαριζομένη διὰ προσθήκης τοῦ σ” (ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ 1953: 53). Attestations from the LMedG and EMG period can be found in lower-register texts from all areas:

τὸν νῶμον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 492.18; στοὺς νόμους Byz. *Il.* 515
 ν-εῖς ὀπίσω τοῦ ἄλλου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.27–8
 ἡ νιστία LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 507 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner: ἡ ἰστία); νηστεία / ν-ιστία *Peri xen.* 245 app. crit. (V) < ἔστια
 τοῦ νεαυτοῦ μας P&N *Diath.* 216
 κυρὰ τῆς Νίου (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 172.35); οἱ Νιώτες *Diig. Sant.* 59.7 < ἴος
 εἰς ναιῶνα *Pent. Gen.* 6.3
 νουράδες *Fior* 108.7
 νυκοκερὰν / νοικοκερὰν (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 172.5)
 νὰ ἵνε νῖκοκαίρεϊ / νὰ εἶναι νοικοκεραῖοι (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.22)
 τοῦ ναγίου / τοῦ ν-αγίου (1686, Tilos, ΚΟΥΤΕΛΑΚΗΣ 1979: 13, 45.8)
 σκαράνικον *Ptoch. I* 246 < καράνος (see CARATZAS 1954)
 σκάλτζες τζούκνινες / σκάλτσες τσοῦκνινες (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 37, 168.8)
 οἱ σκάλτζες / οἱ σκάλτσες *Poulol.* 190 app. crit. (PA) < Ital. *calza* < Lat. *calceus*
 σκύπτω *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 157 < AG κύπτω
 σκανθάρους *Poulol.* 118; σκάνθαρος *Vios Aisop.* K 204.24 < AG κάνθαρος
 σκόνη *Erof. Prol.* 133; σκόνην LANDOS, *Geopon.* 250.22 < AG κόνις
 σκαρτσούνια CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.257 < Ital. *calzone*
 στή ζκοντραδα / στή σκοντραδα (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 113.4) < Ven.
contrada

⁷ A slightly different case is constituted by a small number of words which present an alternation between initial [sm] and [m], normally only in learned registers, but surviving also in MG: μικρός/σμικρός (e.g. Mich. Glykas, *Eis tas aporias* 7.72.13; [Const. Porphyre], *De virtutibus* 2.240.4 (ed. T. Büttner-Wobst–A. G. Roos); Georg. Acropolites, *Epitaph.* 15.24), μαρίς/σμαρίς, μύραινα/σμούραινα and their derivatives. In this case, the stem allomorphy is inherited from AG (SIHLER 1995: 171; ΜΟΥΣΙΑΔΗΣ 2005: 146).

In rare cases, due to analogy, the prothetic /s/ appears before the second member of a compound: ἀνασκόψασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 5085; ἀνασκομπωμένην *Poulol.* 103. Correspondingly, but also quite rarely, initial /n/ or /s/ may be deleted as a result of false segmentation, in cases where it is interpreted as belonging to a preceding word ending in /n/ (PSALTES 1913: 85; PANDELIDIS 1927/8: 402). The phenomenon is more frequent with /s/; the only lexical item which regularly undergoes aphaeresis of /n/ is the place name Νάξος, Ναξία and the corresponding ethnic names.

εἶναι πιθαμή *Dig.* E 1643; μιὰ πιθαμή KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.268 < AG σπιθαμή
 στὲς καποῦλες *Achil.* L 1002 < Lat. *scapulae*
 ἡ Ἀξία (1534, UNKNOWN, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 108.4); τῆς Ἀξι(ας) (1538, Naxos,
 VISVIZIS 1951: 13, 26.6); τὴν Ἀξιὸν KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.287
 ὁ Ἀξώτης KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1717
 Ἀξιωτοπούλα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* V.211
 τὴν Ἀγούσαν (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 111.12) < Νάουσα (Πάρου)

The only other potential instances of the phenomenon listed in KRIARAS, *Lex.* are ἀφκράτης *Phys.* (post 425) < AG ναυκράτης, and ἰσαντής *Ekth. Chron.* 82.24 < Turk. *nişanci*.

3.5.2 Anaptyxis

/ɣ/ appears as an epenthetic consonant in various phonetic environments, some of which have earned it the name (following KRUMBACHER 1886) of “irrational spirant”. The contexts involved are the following:

- in intervocalic position word-internally (e.g. πνοή > πνογή) or word-initially in a phonological phrase such as article + noun (e.g. τὸ αἶμα > τὸ γ-αἶμα);
- in the verbal derivational suffix -εύω (e.g. δουλεύγω, πορεύομαι);
- before a nasal in certain words (e.g. σύννεφο > σύγνεφο, ἔννοια > ἔγνοια).

These are discussed in turn below.

3.5.2.1 Anaptyxis of /ɣ/ Between Vowels

A non-etymological /ɣ/ appears between sequences of consecutive vowels, both word-internally and at certain word boundaries, as a hiatus resolution strategy (see 2.9.1). Three subcases of the phenomenon must be distinguished:

- Anaptyxis of an intervocalic /ɣ/ between consecutive vowels within the stem of a word, which surfaces as a velar [ɣ] before the back vowels /a o u/ and a palatal [j] before the front vowels /e i/. The phenomenon is first attested in the Koine, in cases of consecutive front vowels, between which there develops a [j] glide (DIETERICH 1898: 91–2; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 50; GIGNAC 1976: 72), e.g. ἰγεροῦ BGU 1197.3, ἀ[ν]α γκαίγει SB 4669.11. The phenomenon of a transitional glide appearing intervocalically, when the first of the two vowels is front (e.g. [ia] > [ija]), is one of the most natural and commonly occurring diachronic epenthetic phenomena (see BLEVINS 2008). But in

MedG and EMG the phenomenon seems to have spread to intervocalic cases where the first vowel is back, or both vowels are back; the phenomenon should therefore be viewed as /ɣ/ epenthesis which surfaces alternatively as [ɣ] or [j] depending on the following vowel. Because of its early development, the phenomenon is not geographically restricted and is even lexicalized in very common words such as ἄγουρος, ἄγοριν, ἄγέρας. However, it does show a preponderance in Cyprus, the Cyclades and the Heptanese, and a restriction to low-register texts. The fact that these areas are exactly those where the opposite phenomenon of intervocalic /ɣ/ deletion is the most prevalent (see 3.6.1.1) and that the modern form of these dialects does not include /ɣ/ anaptyxis as a feature is an indication that in some cases at least the phenomenon is in fact a hypercorrect reaction against intervocalic /ɣ/ deletion, or an equally hypercorrect means of blocking synizesis in learned lexical items.

Before Front Vowels

- αὐς' ὀγδόγης Χριστοῦ (ms ογδογισ) (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 143, 68.4)
 ἱγέρεας (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 4, 151.1)
 συρρογή ERMON., *Il.* 17.114
 δούληγες / δουλειγες (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.4)
 τὸν ἄγέραν *Fior* 125.32; ἄγέρας PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.68
 νέγοι *Cypr. Canz.* 101.27
 τ' ὀπίγιο (1617, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 16, 320.31)
 κολαγίνα (1626, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 2, 215.23)
 ἀγειπαρθένου (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 2, 3.1)
 νικοκυρεγι / νοικοκυραῖγοι (1658, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 5, 652.18)
 τοῦ ἀγίου Παντελεγήμονα (1686, Tilos, KOUTELAKIS 1979: 13, 45.3)
 οἱ θεῖγοι νόμοι (1692, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1991: 2, 84.6)
 καλάγι (1697, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 30, 24.74)
 αὐτίνι η Οβρέγι / αὐτεῖνοι οἱ Ὀβραῖγοι (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 11, 79.31–2)

Before Back Vowels

- ὁ πράγος *Anak. Konst.* 19
 τὸν ἄγουρον *Dig. E* 1507 < ἄωρος
 τὸν Ἰγουδαῖον *Assizes B* 483.11
 ζωγοτροφίαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 268.24–5
 λαγο / λαγὸ (1570, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.3)
 Λάγουρας (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 13, 27.7)
 τὴν Ἄγουσαν (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 111.12) = Νάουσα (Πάρου)
 στέρεγον (1678, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 64, 54.14)
 τὴν ἀγουτουριτὰ (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 720, 979.6)
 ὀγδογον (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 412.672)

A subcase of this phenomenon is the anaptyxis of a palatal glide [j] in sequences of obstruent + /r/ + /i/ + vowel, e.g. *πριόνι* > *πριγιόνι* (NEWTON 1972a: 50; MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 2009a: 112–13). The sequence *CriV* is an environment where synizesis does not normally apply (see 2.9.4), as it would create a complex consonant sequence. Therefore, the hiatus occurring between the two consecutive vowels is broken up through the insertion of a homorganic glide [j] between /i/ and the following vowel, irrespective

of whether it is front or back. An alternative, perhaps phonetically more plausible, interpretation would be that in such cases the phenomenon in question is not in fact anaptyxis of [j] before synizesis, but anaptyxis of a vowel [i] after synizesis, in order to break up the complex consonant cluster, e.g. *πριόνι* > *πργιόνι* > *πριγιόνι* (MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2002: 98). The phenomenon appears from the late 15th/early 16th c. onwards:

χρείγια (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 186.4d)
μητριγιᾶς (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 33, 52.11); *πριγιόνι* (1601, *ibid.* 118, 131.16)
πριγιόνι (1697, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 30, 24.81)
τρίγια (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.14)
κρυγαίνω MONTSEL., *Evgena* 419

b) Anaptyxis of a palatal glide [j] between consecutive vowels at word boundaries. The overwhelming majority of cases involves /i/ as the first element (i.e. the article forms *ή, οί* and the conjunction *ή*), which, as described above, is a cross-linguistically natural and frequent environment for an evolution *iV* > *ijV*. The epenthetic consonant is always palatal [j] and never velar [ɣ], even before back vowels, as betrayed by the spelling <γι>. Furthermore, the phenomenon is more restricted geographically, appearing primarily in Crete, the Cyclades and Cyprus:

Before Front Vowels

τὸ γ-ῖδιον (1164, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IV: 3, 118.10)
κ(αί) μόχθουιέμοῦ / καί μόχθου γ-έμοῦ (1306, Trebizond, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1886: [1], 117 transcr.)
καί γ-οί ιδ' ἐπισκόποι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 52.19
στράταν γή φόρμαν (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.)
το γίδιον / τὸ γ-ῖδιον (1542, Cyprus, MALTEZOU 1987: 3, 13.4)
δύο γή τρεῖς (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.31); *ι γεδική μας ολι / οί γεδικοί μας ὅλοι* (1565, *ibid.* 283, 398.25)
ή γευλόγηση (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 24.30)
ι giefchi / ή γιευκή *Thysia Avr.* 843 transcr. M
νὰ γημπορέσωμε νὰ σὲ γιδοῦμεν (1609, Cyprus, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90: III 20, 267.7–8)
προτύτερον γή ὑστερότερον (1629, Milos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 14, 11.41)
κε γηπόγραφα / καί γ-υπόγραφα (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 17, 42.19)
ξανάχτισμα γή σιάσμα (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 310.21)
νὰ γήσου βογηθός μου *Charon* III 8
να γίχαν / νὰ γ-εῖχαν (1679, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 16, 39.3)
η γυδυγυ πγεζυ / οί γίδιγοι πιέζοι (1691, Chios, TSELIKAS 2000: 81, 64.15)

Before Back Vowels

γiAιμίλια γiάμαζόνα *Theseid* Prol. E 158
οί γiάνωθε μερίδες (1610, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 6, 360.17)
ι γiάδερφι τζι / οί γiαδερφοί τση (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 849, 740.11)
ι γιορεξιν του / ή γιόρεξή ντου (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 38.6); *ή γιόρεξή μου* *Stathis* II.307
η γiαρχοντισά μου / ή γiαρχόντισά μου (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 49.43)
ή γiαστραπαῖς / οί γi-ᾶστραπές TROILLOS, *Rodol.* I.249 (Walton) (Aposkiti: *οί ᾶστραπές*)
igiora / ή γiώρα *Thysia Avr.* 786 transcr. M
κι γιομορφιά η περίσσα CHORTATIS, *Panor.* Prol. Apoll. 47

ή γιακριβειά CHORTATIS, *Katz*. I.101

ιγι αθροπι / οί γι-ἄθρωποι (1642, Crete, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 21, 15.7)

ή γιαγιουσύνη σου (1668, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 15, 421.4)

οί γιαποδέλοιποι / οί γι-ἄποδέλοιποι (1664, Cyprus, MERTZIOS 1958b: 255.14)

ή γιοποία (1688, Andros, PASCHALIS 1948: 44.8)

ἐγὼ ἢ γι' Ασημίστζα καὶ ἡ γιάδερχή μου (1691, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1957/58: I A. 32, 115.1)

Note that there is a tendency for this intervocalic glide to be suppressed by editors of works of Cretan literature (see BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1996: 147; HENRICH 1998b: 94).

c) Anaptyxis of an intervocalic /y/ between consecutive vowels at verbal morpheme boundaries (stem-/y/-suffix), which surfaces as a velar [ɣ] before the back vowels /a o u/ and a palatal [j] before the front vowels /e i/. In contrast to cases (a) and (b) above, this type of anaptyxis can no longer be considered a phonetic phenomenon, but has instead been generalized through analogy and paradigm levelling, and serves as a formative of various verbal inflectional paradigms (NEWTON 1972a: 50; BABINIOTIS 1972: 245–7; PANTELIDIS 2003: 14–17; PANDELIDIS 2008: 292–6). It should be assumed that the origin of the phenomenon was an initially phonetic [j] glide appearing between front vowels, i.e. between a stem form or an inflectional suffix ending in a vowel and the 3 sg. suffix -ε, which, due to its frequency, usually forms the basis of most verbal analogies. This glide subsequently spread to the rest of the paradigm, even before back vowels, through paradigmatic levelling, and eventually became a permanent formative.

It can thus be claimed that /y/ is a morphological marker of imperfective aspect, appearing mainly (i) since the 15th c., in the present stem of barytone vowel-stem verbs, e.g. ἀκούω > ἀκούγω, καίω > καίγω, κλαίω > κλαίγω, κρούω > κρούγω, λούω > λούγω, πταίω > πταίγω etc., as part of a general tendency of all barytone verbs to acquire a consonantal stem; (ii) rarely, in the passive aorist of barytone vowel-stem verbs, e.g. ἐκάην > ἐκάγην, νά καγῶ; and (iii) in the formation of the mainly Peloponnesian oxytone imperfect suffix -ηγα, -αγα, through the analogical influence of the barytone inflection, which added an extra vowel on to the vocalic inflectional suffix, i.e. ἐπόνει > ἐπόνειε > ἐπόνειγε–ἐπόναγε. For the chronology and distribution of this suffix see III, 2.1.2.2.2–3. Less regularly, epenthetic /y/ also appears in some inflectional forms of the oxytone present of A-stem verbs, e.g. ὁμολογάει > ὁμολογάγει, mostly in the Heptanese and Crete. This phenomenon is restricted to the 3rd person sg. and has not spread to other persons of the present, so morphological motivation is unlikely. It could perhaps be considered a hypercorrect reaction against the (for these two areas) typical phenomenon of intervocalic [j] deletion.

ἐκρούγασιν *Dig.* E 1174; νά συγκρούγη *Velth.* 103

κλαίγει NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 127.5; *Dimotika Ivir.* VII.4

λούγουνται *Velis.* χ 221; λούγεσαι *Poulol.* 147 app. crit. (AZP)

σὲ ἀκούγω *Liv.* V 3118; ἀκούγουν *Synax. gadar.* 389

πταίγουν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.34

πλέγουσι τὰ φαγητά LANDOS, *Geopon.* 181.34

νὰ ἀναπνέγω MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 218

οὐ κωλύγω (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 408.456)

ἐκαγην / ἐκάγην (1469, Paphos, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.6); ῥάγην LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 267; νὰ καγοῦ *Thysia Avr.* 810
μὴ ἀναπαγοῦμεν *Dig.* E 884; ν' ἀναπαγῶ KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.1222

ἐπέρναγαν (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 451.33); ποὺ πέρναγαν DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 291
ποὺ τὰ χρώσταγα (17th c., Gortynia/Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 33, 185.7)
ἐκράταγέ το (1670, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 2, 164.10)
ἐγέλαγα SPANOS, *Grammar* 41.14; ἐφίλειγα *ibid.* 39.23

ν' ἀπαντάγη *Assizes* B 455.3

ἀκουμπάγει (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 144, 193.9)

ὁμολογάγει (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 17, 30.5)

καὶ ἀρχινάγει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 346.12

προβοδάγει DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 124

να μετραγι / νὰ μετράγη (1688, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 285, 267.18)

νὰ ἀπερνάγη (1694, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 184, 110.3)

3.5.2.2 Anaptyxis of /ɣ/ in the Verbal Suffix -εύω

The phenomenon appears for the first time in Late Antiquity (KRUMBACHER 1886: 368; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 50; GIGNAC 1976: 74), with the earliest examples, from Egyptian papyri, involving anaptyxis not only in the verbal suffix but in general after the diphthongs [au, eu]: Φλαυγίω POxy.504.14.30, εὐγεργετημένος POxy.487 (AD 156), εὐγαπόδεικτον PCair.Isidor. 62.16 (AD 296). This early appearance has led several scholars to assume that the phonetic origin of the phenomenon lies at a time when <ευ> was still realized as [eu] or [ew] (NEWTON 1972a: 57–9; HORROCKS 2010: 312–13). The frequency of the -εύω suffix (phonetically ['evɣo]) has also caused the metaplasm of several labial stem verbs to -βγω (e.g. κόπτω > κόβγω, πέμπω > πέβγω), for which see III, 2.1.1.1.1. The phenomenon is discussed in KRUMBACHER 1886; PSICHARI 1888; BOÜÜAERT 1946; MIRAMBEL 1950; SYMEONIDIS 1981; NICHOLAS 2007.

In the MedG and EMG periods the -εύω suffix appears in sources from the following areas: Athos, Asia Minor, S. Italy, Cyprus, Dodecanese, Chios, Crete, Cyclades, Peloponnese, as well as in literary texts of uncertain provenance. Its earliest appearance is traceable to 9th/10th-c. Cappadocian inscriptions (POLITIS 1971: 129–30). Its distribution is less extensive than in the modern period (for which see MIRAMBEL 1950: 127–8), but evidence is lacking for certain areas, such as Central and Northern Mainland Greece and Asia Minor.

ἐπορεύετον (9th c., Cappadocia, THIERRY/THIERRY 1963: 55)

διαφθεντεύωμεν (1008, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 14, 138.27)

πορεύεσται (1059, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 7, 170.58)

κελεύγει (beg. 11th c., S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 7, 46.25)

διαφεντεύεσαι (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.122)

ἡῦρα κείνον τὸν ἐγύρευγα ἐγὼ SULT. WALAD, *Poem I* 19

ρογεύγουν *Chron. Mor.* H 3550

νὰ γυρεύγης (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.3)

ξεμπερδεβγομεν / ξεμπερδεύγομεν (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.20)

ἐπιβουλεύεσάι με *Dig.* E 365 (Jeffreys)
 σαλεύει *Theseid* I.85,7 (Follieri)
 καβαλλικεύει *Velth.* 743
 παιδεύει *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 260
 διά να μου μνημονεύγου (1502, Kalymnos, KOUTELAKIS 1981: 1, 29.10)
 γυρεύω (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.27)
 γυρεύομε (1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 6.1, 242.23)
 τελεύγου (1576, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 19, 150.4)
 άλωνεύω (1597, Syros, MILIARAKIS 1900: 699.8)
 γυρεύοντας (1602, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 8, 162.6)
 λιγεύοντας (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.11)
 γυρεύει (1696, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 47, 141.11)
 να τὰ δουλεύει / νὰ τὰ δουλεύη (1697, Chios, TSELIKAS 2000: 99, 77.7–8)
 ὀνορεύεται (1733, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 28, 49.20–1)

A small number of words containing the sequence /av/ or /ev/ + vowel also show epenthesis of /y/, probably as an analogical phenomenon:

τὴν παρασκευὴν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.3; τζῆ Παρασκευῆς (1630, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 52, 135.26)
 Παρασκευάδες (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 428.1360)
 καταυόδιος *Assizes* B 298.22
 βγοδώνει *Alex. Rim.* 762; νὰ βγοδώσομε *Apoll. Rim.* A 921

3.5.2.3 Anaptyxis of /y/ before /n/

/y/ also appears before /n/+ front vowel, with great frequency in specific lexical items (KRETSCHMER 1905: 171–4; PERNOT 1907/46: I 526; SCHWYZER 1933/34).

χρυσογνημάτην [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1879 < νήμα
 ἔγνοιόζομαι *Dig.* E 50 < ἔννοια
 τὰ σύγνοφα *Pol. Tr.* 1246 app. crit. (X); τὰ σύγνεφα *ibid.* 1266 app. crit. (B); τὰ σύγνεφα *Diig.*
Alex. E 237.3 (Lolos); σύγνεφα *Peri xen.* 131 app. crit. (A) < σύννεφον
 συγνεφιά *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 177
 συγνεφιάσω *Pent. Gen.* 8.14
 εἰς τὰ γνέφη KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 157.15; τὰ γνέφη *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 39 < νέφος
 ἔγνεπεν *Pent. Gen.* 4.4; γνέφει *P&N Diath.* 921; νὰ τόνε γνέψω *Alex. Rim.* 2006
 νὰν τοὺς τυραγνήσουν *Diig. Alex.* F 240.10 (Lolos); νὰ τουραγνιέται MONTSEL., *Evgena* 953;
 ἐτυραγνεύσασι EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 20.13–14
 τυραγνιά *Theseid* I.95,3 (Follieri)
 ἀγνάδια *Chron. Toc.* 2535; ἐγνάτια (1627, Dimitsana/Peloponnese, YANNAROPOULOU 1972:
 13, 311.7) < ἐνάντια

Because all of these words appear in this form in MG and its dialects, there can be no doubt that in some cases at least the spelling <γν> already represented the realization [ɣn]. An additional indication comes from spellings in the Latin alphabet with double <ggn>, where the first <g> presumably denotes the sound [ɣ] and the <gn> the palatal nasal [ɲ]. Examples: i eggnia / ἡ ἔγνοια *Thysia Avr.* 593 transcr. M; τὴν ἔγγνιατζη / τὴν ἔγνοια τση TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.462 (Walton).

It has been proposed that the phenomenon originates from dissimilation of /nn/ either word-internally (e.g. ἔννοια > ἔγνοια) or at word boundaries (e.g. τὸν νεύω > τὸν γνεύω) (SCHWYZER 1933/34: 222–4; KAPSOMENOS 1953b: 325; ANDRIOTIS, *Lex.* s.v. γ προθετικὸ σὲ λέξεις ποὺ ἄρχιζαν ἀπὸ ν), or that some cases of initial γν- are attributable to verbal forms with the prefix ἐκ- (e.g. ἐκνεύω > γνέφω, ἐκ-νήθω > γνέθω, CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 185, B 343; KRETSCHMER 1905: 173–4).⁸ An alternative explanation, proposed by MEYER (1889: 88), is that in most cases [ɣn] constitutes a “spelling pronunciation” of the grapheme <γν>, originally used to denote the palatalized [ɲ] realization of /n/ before /e i j/, following Italian scribal practices (see 3.8.2.3). Indeed, <gn> is frequently used in Greek texts written in the Latin alphabet, and the usage has been carried over to Greek-alphabet texts as well, in environments where it is obvious that the intended pronunciation is [ɲ] and not [ɣn]:

ἐκουρουγνιάστιν / ἐκουρουγνιάστην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 100.31; ἰστιν κεριγνιαν / εἰς τὴν
Κερύγνειαν *ibid.* 100.37
γιτόγνιαν / γειτογνιάν (1646, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 5, 15.9); σικαμινγνές / συκαμινγνές (*ibid.*
5, 15.13)
νὰ τὸ κονσεγνάρου (1660, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 15, 379.5); νὰ ὀρδινγνάση (*ibid.*
380.20)
τὰ γνιάτα RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 71.8
τὴν γνεόνυμφόν του *Theseid* II.2,1 (1529)

The earliest instance of this graphematic practice comes from S. Italian documents displaying transliteration of Italian names, e.g. Βονσιγνόρος (1273, TRINCHERA 1865: 486, 327.11).

3.5.2.4 Anaptyxis of Nasals

Medieval documents, continuing earlier practice (cf. the early examples in DIETERICH 1898: 94–5; MINAS ²2003: 62–3; MINAS 1987b: 274–6), frequently exhibit a non-etymological nasal before stops, fricatives and /s/, which is traditionally termed “irrational nasal” (BUTURAS 1913/14; ANDRIOTIS 1943; FAVIS 1948). The phenomenon involves both /m/ and /n/. The cause of the phenomenon is mostly the hypercorrection of nasal deletion before fricatives or voiced stops (3.6.2), or an analogical spread from forms which do contain a nasal (e.g. ἑβδομήκοντα > ἑβδομηκονστός); thus most cases have a non-phonetic origin. In other cases, the presence of a nasal before a voiceless stop is a means of indicating that voicing has taken place (see 3.8.3.2). Examples are abundant from all types of texts and all areas.

ἐπ’ ὄμψεσιν (1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 4, 60.38)
ἀμφιερώ (1092, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 54, 71.3)
ἡμπληκεύσασι *Dig.* G II.102
προσκυμνῶ (1487, Unknown, LEFORT 1981: 16, 87.19)
ἐμπούλησαν (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 5, 24.4)

⁸ The form ἐκνεύ(γ)ω is actually attested: νὰ μὲ ἐκνεύγουν «γράφει!» *Liv.* E 1463.

κάνστρου (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 255.9)
 τοῦ κανσπελλίου (1464, Athos/Macedonia, KRAVARI 1991: 26, 174.10)
 τέγγνη *Spaneas* Z 170 app. crit.; νὰ ἀνπαντήσουν *ibid.* 328 app. crit.
 ἀνανδρομήν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 32
 αὐξηνθέντων *Spanos* D 552
 ἱστορήνθη (1201, Laconia, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 53, 310, no. 53.1)
 δίνδειν (1451, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 29, 160.9)
 δια μπαντήκι / διὰ μπαντίκι (1535, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 4, 120.19) < ἐμπατίκιν
 ἀνσθενής (17th c.?, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 186.7)

3.5.2.5 Anaptyxis of /r/

In isolated cases an intrusive /r/ may appear before or after another consonant, after the 15th c. in vernacular texts, but also in earlier learned Byzantine sources, e.g. κούρκουρον γέμον νομισμάτων Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 366.18 app. crit. < Lat. *curcurus* (see TRIANDAPHYLIDIS 1909: 68; KOUKOULES 1917: 90–1).⁹ A similar phenomenon was already attested in AG, as well as in Koine papyri, with examples such as πρατρίδι, χρηστρή, etc. (SCHWYZER 1939: 257; THREATTE 1980: 478–9), and it is also corroborated by MG dialectal data (KOUKOULES 1917; KAPSOMENOS 1939: 62 fn. 1; KONDOPOULOS 1969: 50–2), while a few words also survive in MG (e.g. κατρακυλῶ < κατακυλίω, μπουρδουκλώνω < πεδικλώνω, δρασκελῶ < διασκελίζω). The phenomenon should be attributed to sporadic processes such as assimilatory influence of a second /r/ in the word, analogy or folk etymology. Some instances may also be interpreted as mere slips of the pen.

ἄρκτρου (1053, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 40, 50.22)
 ἐπάνω ἐδρασκελεύσαμεν *Liv.* α 2918 < διασκελίζω
 τὸ κορβεῖτῃρι ἐσήκωσεν αὐτὸ τοῦ κρεββατίου *Chron. Mor.* P 7698 (κουβεῖτοῦρι H)
 ἄρχο{ρ}τες VOUSTR., *Chron.* M 213.12; κά{ρ}τεργα *ibid.* M 127.5
 ἀναχαιντῶνουν τὰ μαλλιά KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1034 < χαίτη
 δηλοσκόρπησιν / δειλοσκόρπισιν *Pist. voskos* III 8.20 < δειλοσκόπιση
 στη ζέστραν *Apoll. Rim.* N 907
 ἀσκολύμπρου ἀνθὸν κοπάνισον (15th c., OIKONOMU-AGORASTU 1982: 87.18) < σκόλυμος
 μάραθρον, μάραθον, μάλαθρον, τό GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. finocchio* < μάραθον

3.6 Consonant Deletion

3.6.1 Fricative Deletion

Voiced fricatives are deleted (a) intervocalically and in initial position before a vowel (in effect this should also be viewed as an intervocalic position, since the preceding word usually ends in a vowel); and (b) before nasal consonants. For dissimilatory fricative deletion see 3.9.3.2.

⁹ The form κράβρα–κράβα adduced by PSALTES (1913: 84) from Cedrenus is not a true instance of the phenomenon, as the second /r/ is etymological (see *LBG* s.v. κράβρα and BEEKES 2010 s.v. κραῦρος).

3.6.1.1 Intervocalic Deletion

Deletion of intervocalic /y/ is a very frequent phenomenon in MedG and EMG texts, and constitutes an important areal/dialectal characteristic. On the other hand, deletion of intervocalic /v/ and /ð/ is restricted, both geographically and chronologically.

The phenomenon of intervocalic /y/ deletion must be further subdivided into the deletion of the palatal allophone [j], which is widespread in Crete, the Cyclades, the Heptanese, the Peloponnese, the North and Pontos (a distribution that corresponds to the modern one, cf. NEWTON 1972a: 73), and the deletion of the velar allophone [ɣ], which occurs almost exclusively in the South-Eastern areas, as a part of a phenomenon involving the whole class of voiced fricatives (see below). However, the loss of palatal [j] before front vowels spreads analogically in positions before back vowels as well, within verbal or nominal paradigms; thus, ὑπάγεις, ὑπάγει > πάεις, πάει bring about ὑπάγω > πάω (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 345–6; PERNOT 1907/46: I 526). It is therefore difficult to classify and interpret the very frequent cases of intervocalic /y/ deletion occurring in MedG and EMG texts, before both front and back vowels.

The dating of the phenomenon is also a confusing issue. Sporadic cases of <γ> deletion occur already in 4th-c. BC Attic inscriptions, mostly involving forms of the adjective ὀλίγος > ὀλίος, and in Ptolemaic and later papyri, involving cases of deletion before front vowels (DIETERICH 1898: 86–8; GIGNAC 1976: 71–2; THREATTE 1980: 440–1). These are usually interpreted as indications of an early change of stop /g/ to fricative /y/, and connected with the equally sporadic anaptyxis of <γ> between vowels (see 3.5.2.1). For the EMedG period, PSALTES (1913: 86) adduces the loanwords μαῖστωρ < *magister* and σαῖττα < *sagitta*, while DIETERICH (1898: 44) notes the 2 pl. *antilete* (< ἀντιλέγετε) from a glossary (*Hermeneumata Monacensia*, CGL 3.128.25). We may also compare the imperative ὕπα already found in early hagiographers such as Barsanuphius and Leontius of Neapolis (e.g. *Life of John the Almsgiver* 369.2, 385.11), as well as in Anna Comnena (*Alexiad* 2.4.9.15). Forms of the verb ὑπάγω appear frequently without <γ> in S. Italian documents (MINAS ²2003: 54). It seems that lenition of palatal [j] had already started in the period of the Koine, and this explains its wide geographical distribution. Especially frequent lexical items such as ὑπάγω are subject to the phenomenon irrespective of period, area or specific paradigm form. However, the unconditioned deletion of /y/ in all intervocalic environments and outside specific verbal paradigms is a more restricted phenomenon, localized mainly in the South-Eastern and the Cyclado-Cretan area. NEWTON (1972a: 62) notes that since synizesis does not apply to secondary hiatuses arising from voiced fricative deletion (e.g. λίγον > λίον not *λιόν), this deletion must post-date the phenomenon of synizesis (for which see 2.9.4).

In the texts examined, Cyprus shows the most extensive range of deletion environments, followed by Crete and the Cyclades. The Heptanese shows deletion before front vowels and some analogical extensions, while northern mainland areas have deletion only before front vowels (see also TSOUKNIDAS 2002/03: 106 for 18th-c. attestations from Metsovo), and in other areas the phenomenon involves only common lexical items such as ὑπάγω and τρώγω. The frequent appearance of the form λίος in the *Chronicle of Morea* (see AERTS/

HOKWERDA 2002 s.v. λίος) is puzzling, since this word does not show deletion in areas other than Cyprus (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ολίγος). Examples classified by geographical area:

S. Italy

- ὑπάει (1056, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 6, 164.11)
- ὑπάει (1124, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 95, 124.13)
- ὑπάει εἰς τὸν Κουκκιάτον (1179, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 50, 217.9)
- θυάτηρ (11th c., S. Italy, NITTI DI VITO 1900: 46, 92.2)

Cyprus, Dodecanese, Chios

- equit innecam / ἔχει ὕνναϊκαν (12th c., Cyprus?, AERTS 1995: 2, 205.2); eblouis em, despota / εὐλόησέ με<ε>, δέσποτα (ibid. 2, 208.1)
- ῥουν *Assizes* B 305.11 < ῥγουν
- is tin Odiitrian / εἰς τὴν Ὀδηήτριαν (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 71, f.Iv.2)
- ο ρίας / ὁ ρῆας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 109.15 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari); κατειόρυσιν / κατηορήσειν ibid. 202.50
- μανιόρδοι LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 46 < Ital. *manigoldo*
- σουουργιάσην / σιουριάσειν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 214.8 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari) < σιγουριάζω
- εὐλουσω / εὐλόησο (1609, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 6, 21.3)
- ο Διενις / ὁ Διενῆς (1665, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 7, 19.9)
- πρωτόερος (1686, Tilos, KOUTELAKIS 1979: 13, 45.11) < πρωτόγερος
- τὸ εροντομοίρι (1722?, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 481.12) < γεροντομοίρι

Crete and Cyclades

- νὰ πηαίνουσιν (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 7, 35.24)
- νὰ πηαίνομε *Thysia* Avr. 263
- μιᾶς λοῆς FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 57
- λόο (1533, Naxos, MILIARAKIS 1888: 58.5)
- ἡ ἄλληλοῖα (1587, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 147, 271.21)
- λοῖσμος (1590, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 42, 64.8)
- λαήνια (1609, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 8, 79.22)
- τέτοιας λοῆς (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 148.53)
- νὰ δῶ καὶ ἐὼ φτωχός (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.25)
- ἡ θυατέρα του (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 13, 316.4)
- τοῦ Αἰγαίου πελάου (1655, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 122.2)
- τρασπούλα (1661, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1974/78: 4, 423.8)
- τὸ Τζιρίο (1720, Folegandros, GAVALAS 1887: 513.7) < Τσιρίγιο

Heptanese

- μοῦ τὸ ἐμολόησε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.1)
- πὲρ γρέο (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 25, 35.9)
- λοῆς (1617, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970b: 3, 230.7)
- ὁμολόησε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 13, 38.4); λεόμενο (ibid. 21, 44.8)
- νὰ πηαίνω MONTSEL., *Evgena* 31

Northern and Pontos

- διωτι ηρεψετε / διότι ὕρέψετε (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.5)
- να ειπιενι / νὰ ὑπηαίνει (1594, Ioannina, MERTZIOS 1936b: 5, 43.7)
- βαένι (1654, Kastoria, Drakopoulou 2005: 19, 36.5) < βαγένι
- Τρυπητήν (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 303, f.Ir.20)
- νὰ ἐπνίκηεν (1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 17, 217.6)
- Πανάος (1708, Naupaktia, CHARALAMBOPOULOS 1988/89: 1, 521.2) < Παναγιώτης

Peloponnese

λίον *Chron. Mor.* H 1471

νὰ ὑπάτη *Chron. Mor.* P 2496

Uncertain

νὰ πάω *Dig.* E 375

νὰ ὑπάτη νὰ δῆ *Pol. Tr.* 597 app. crit. (A)

πήσινε (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 60.13)

λαούς *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1095

νὰ τόνε φυλάουσι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 51.25–6

The other two voiced fricatives, /v/ and /ð/, exhibit deletion only in the Dodecanese, Chios and Cyprus, from the 17th c. onwards,¹⁰ although there are a couple of early examples in Machairas (DAWKINS 1932: II 34) and one in *Assizes*. PERNOT (PERNOT 1907/46: I 448–9) locates a single instance of intervocalic /ð/ deletion in a 15th-c. document from Chios, but is reluctant to attribute it to this phenomenon, due to its early date: εἰς τὴν καμινὰν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀσπιτίου (1402, Chios, FOTEINOS 1865: 189.8) < Ven. *caminada* = “parlour with fireplace”.

τὴν ἀρνάν σου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 220.33 < ἀρνάδα, or perhaps conflation with ἀμνάς

μίαν μεγάλην σανία MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 82.15 < σανίδα

περὶ δύο μπουργέζων *Assizes* A 108.28

ἄρσάτο *Velis.* ρ 674 app. crit. < ἀρχιδάτος (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.)

ποσῶς κονάκ' ἐν ἡκαμνεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 960 < δὲν < οὐδὲν; ὅτ' ἐν εἴμαι *ibid.* 2492

σπαχῆς (1694, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 32, 79.2) < σπαχήδες < Turk. *spahi*

μουσαβερές που κάνουν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 8503 < μουσαβερέδες

ἐπεαλώθη (1689, Rhodes, PAPACHRISTODOULOU 1976: 41, 21.1)¹¹

τὴν περιολὴν (1722?, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 481.16)

στὴ σιεροστιὰ (1702, Chios, KAVVADAS 1970: 123.)

δίω το (1722, Tilos, KOUTELAKIS 1979: 21, 54.3)

The phenomenon of voiced fricative interchange (3.8.5.2), from the same areas and the same period, provides corroboration for this change, as it constitutes a hypercorrect restitution of the deleted fricative. The modern distribution of intervocalic voiced fricative deletion, which corresponds to the medieval one (DIETERICH 1908: 56–7; PANDELIDIS 1929: 31–2; TSOPANAKIS 1940: 86–7; NEWTON 1972a: 60–72; KONDOSPOULOS ³2001: 43), is an additional confirmation. Intervocalic voiced fricative deletion is also a feature of the Tsakonian dialect, attested in the 17th-c. word list preserved by Evliya Çelebi through the form ὕο < ὕδωρ (PERNOT 1934: 503).

The only example discussed in the literature of /ð/ deletion in Cypriot is the negation μέν, which has been interpreted as deriving from μηδέν (HADJIIOANNOU 1988: 204;

¹⁰ Tsopanakis has suggested that the deletion of intervocalic /v/ took place in the Hellenistic period, during the transition of /b/ to /v/ through an intermediate stage of a bilabial fricative /β/, and that the earliest attestations of the phenomenon are forms like Ὀκτάσιος found in papyri (TSOPANAKIS 1940: 87). In view of the complete absence of intermediate evidence between the Ptolemaic period and the 17th c. AD, this suggestion is unlikely.

¹¹ According to the editor, ἀπέβαλα > ἀπεβαλλώνομαι > πιαλλώνομαι.

SYMEONIDIS 2006: 188), e.g. να μεν απεξέυσει VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 16.7–8; διὰ να μὲν πᾶμεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 646.19; μὲν τοὺς δώσης *Anak. Konst.* 88. Given the fact that the phenomenon of intervocalic /ð/ deletion is otherwise not very common in Medieval Cypriot and other South-Eastern texts of the same period (see the examples adduced above) and that the form μὲν appears also in texts of non-South-Eastern provenance, e.g. μὲν ὑπᾶς, *Achil.* N 1567; να μεν τυχαίνει *Theseid* VI.12,7 (Olsen), it is preferable to interpret μὲν as simply μήν with lowering of /i/ to /e/ in the adjacency of a nasal (cf. also KECHAYOGLU 1997: 133* and see 2.8.1 for the phenomenon).

Similarly, the single example of /v/ deletion mentioned in the literature (HADJIOANNOU 1988: 208; SYMEONIDIS 2006: 188), ἀπό πᾶσα πρᾶμαν στερε(υ)ομένη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 216.13 is a phantom, since ms V most probably reads στερεμένη (as in the transcription of Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari 192.40). The deletion of /v/ in the word διάβολος (e.g. ὦ διάολ' ἔπαρέ σε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.222; διάολος, παντίδος IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 367), normal in MG (cf. *ILNE* s.v.), is lexical, unconnected to this phenomenon, and otherwise rarely appears in MedG and EMG texts.

Another special case is the frequent Cretan form ψή < ψυχή, where, arguably, deletion of intervocalic [ç] takes place, followed by simplification of consecutive identical vowels, e.g. τὴν ψή ταλαιπωρᾶς *Thysia Avr.* 468; ἡ ψή νὰ ξεχωρίση FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.153; ὁ γὰρ τὴ ψή του (1660, Crete, VOUDOUMBAKIS 1915: 15, 377.11). It has been suggested that this, similarly to διάβολος > διάολος, should be viewed not as a purely phonetic phenomenon, but as a case of morphological taboo deformation (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 322). Nevertheless, a phonetic analysis viewing it as a case of dissimilatory syllable deletion (see 3.9.3.3), caused by the sequence [ps-ç], especially if the palatal velar had begun to assume the more fronted realization found in Modern Cretan, which brings it closer to a sibilant (see 3.8.2.3), is also possible.

3.6.1.2 Deletion Before Synizesis

A special phenomenon involving deletion of /ð/ irrespective of geographical provenance is the simplification of the consonant cluster [ðj] arising from synizesis (for which see 2.9.4). This affects mainly the word-initial cluster [ðj], as, for example, in the preposition and prefix διὰ. The phenomenon appears in the late 11th c., and the presence of the change depends largely on register.

- γιάκονου (1098, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 65, 83.5)
 γιὰ τὰ ὠραῖα τῆς κάλλη *Dig.* E 215
 νὰ γιαγέρνουν (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 148.37)
 στόν γιαγερμόν CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1814
 γιὰτί νὰ ῥθοῦμε FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 33; γιὰτί δὲν θέλει *Cypr. Canz.* 98.17
 γιὰ τοῦτον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.9
 ἡ καργιὰ τους (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 68.14)

The phenomenon can lead to hypercorrect spellings of “original” γιὰ- as διὰ-, as well as to the adaptation of loanwords starting with [ja] as διὰ-. Examples:

διαλίν *Liv.* E 2497 = γυαλίν < ὕαλος
 διατρός (1585, Mani, LAMBROS 1905: 398.1) = γιατρός < ἱατρός
 ὁ κυρ Διακομῆς Ἀμπράμος (1611, Crete, ΙΛΙΑΚΙΣ 2008: 126, 122.2) < Γιακουμῆς, *Giacomo*
 ἔδιαγουμίσετέ την *Pol. Tr.* 1369 app. crit. (A) < Turk. *yağma* (see ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, *Lex.* s.vv.
 διαγουμάς, διαγουμίζω and *ILNE* s.vv. διάγουμα, διαγουμίζω for further examples)

3.6.1.3 Deletion Before Nasals

The monophthongization of the AG diphthongs /au/ and /eu/ led to the creation of innovative consonant clusters in the case of a following syllable with consonantal onset. Clusters of fricative + nasal, namely the combinations /v/ + /m/, /ɣ/ + /m/, were subsequently simplified through deletion of the fricative, in a process that is more extensively attested in the period that concerns us than in MG.

απεδοκεντοπνεμα / ἀπῆδωκεν τὸ πνέμα (9th–10th c., Cappadocia, DE JERPHANION 1925/42: I 565)
 Ἀγίου Πνέματος (1096–1100, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 26, 122.18)
 πνεματικός (1501, Cyprus, MALTEZOU 1987: 2, 12.19); (1714, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 474.18)
 ἀπιγωρεμένου / ἀπηγορεμένου (1172, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 179, 234.13)
 ὁ ρεματισμός GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 265
 διαφεντεμένος (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 239.440)
 κοράσια ἔμορφα *Dig.* E 234 app. crit.
 ψέματα τῶν ψεμάτων MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.12
 θαμάσματα μεγάλα *Byz. Il.* 108; τὸ θάμα *Thysia Avr.* 671
 ἐγκεχαραμμένοι (1019, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 18, 19.24)
 τοῦ βαστάματος (1073, Constantinople?, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 50, 18.286)
 χάραμαν τετράγωνον (1333, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 15, 75.12)
 pramata / πράματα (1394, Crete, SANTSCHI 1976: 1597, 344.12); πράματα (1476, Cyprus, SAKKELION 1887b: 260.6); πράματα (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83.3)
 στιμήν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1321
 θανατοσφαμένην [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1441; σφαμμένος *Dig.* G I.227
 μάλαμα *Velth.* 478; μαλαματένια *Velis.* χ 279
 ἀποδιαλεμένοι *Chron. Mor.* H 3595; διαλεμένον TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 7
 περιφραμένος κεφαλὴν *Pol. Tr.* app. crit. (AX); καλὰ φραμένον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 245.33–4
 τὸ ἔλλαμα (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.20)
 ἔνι περιπλεμμένοι *Alosis* 707
 ἐντυλίματα BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 456; τηλημένα / τυλιμένα (1609, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 8, 79.51)
 τὸν σφυμὸν αὐτοῦ *Spanos* A 482; τὸν σφυμὸν του *Ptoch.* IV 565 app. crit. (H)
 φράμα ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1864

DIETERICH (1898: 119) adduces a few papyrological examples of the 2nd c. AD, e.g. κεκαμμένους δακτύλους *Pap.Rain.* I. 170, and PSALTES (1913: 99) cites the form σημένα < *segmenta* from the *De adm. imperio* 6.8 (ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins), while an undated Byzantine inscription from Pamphylia contains the form <σιμμα> for σῆγμα (VAN BUREN 1908: 195–6), but there are no other similar early indications. The earliest examples in MedG come from 9th/10th-c. Cappadocian inscriptions. Because some MG South-Eastern dialects, as well as S. Italian, display gemination of the nasal in this environment (PANDELIDIS 1929: 47; PERNOT 1907/46: I 415–16; MINAS ²2003: 69), the phenomenon could be interpreted as a

two-step evolution, involving first assimilation of the fricative to the following nasal, and then simplification of the geminate, i.e. /vm/ or /χm/ > /mm/ > /m/. The fact that Modern Cypriot and Rhodian do not present geminate consonants in this environment has been propounded as a counter-argument (CHATZIDAKIS 1901a: 157; MENARDOS 1969: 21; PANDELIDIS 1929: 33; TSOPANAKIS 1940: 117), although examples are mentioned in the literature. In the texts examined, documents from geminating dialects (Cyprus, Rhodes, S. Italy etc.) normally do not show gemination, with rare exceptions from S. Italy:

- διαφεντεμένος (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 239.440)
 έρμηγεμένη (1363, Cyprus, COUROPOU/GÉHIN 2001: 3, 157.26)
 τό ρέμαν τών νερών *Assizes* B 299.13; ένι φονεμένη *ibid.* 465.22
 ψέματα τών ψεμάτων MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.12
 πνεματικός (1501, Cyprus, MALTEZOU 1987: 2, 12.19)
 τὰ μαντέματα τών μάντισσων (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 429.1380)
 έγκεχαρμένοι (1019, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 18, 19.24)

Very occasionally, hypercorrection leads to restoration of the “wrong” fricative before a nasal, e.g. πὰν πράύμα ὄν αφιέρωσεν ὁ πατηρ ημων / πᾶν πῤῥβμα ὄν αφιέρωσεν ὁ πατήρ ήμῶν (1116, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 80, 105.27); τα οφιλούμενα πράύματα / τὰ ὀφειλούμενα πῤῥβματα (1533, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 39, 80.5).

Standard manuals of AG phonology often claim that the realization of /g/ before the nasal /m/ was that of a velar nasal [ŋ], e.g. πῤῥγμα /prâ:gma/ → [prâ:ŋma] and adduce the MedG and MG forms exhibiting fricative deletion before nasals, e.g. πῤῥμα ['prama], as evidence (SCHWYZER 1939: 214–15; ALLEN ³1987: 33–7; SIHLER 1995: 207; WOODARD 2008: 16). In effect, in AG linguistics the phenomenon discussed here is not viewed as fricative deletion, but as nasal assimilation which took place before the fricativization of voiced stops. However, in view of the parallel existence in MedG of the deletion of the fricative /v/ before a nasal, this analysis is unnecessary and uneconomical. In any case, a phonetic realization [ŋm] in AG is not only phonetically unstable and therefore implausible, but is also supported by minimal evidence (cf. LEJEUNE 1972: 77–8; LUPAŞ 1972: 20–3).

3.6.2 Deletion of Nasals

3.6.2.1 Deletion Before Stops

Medieval documents frequently display spellings with a plain voiceless stop instead of the combination nasal + voiceless stop, i.e. <π> instead of expected <μπ> and <τ> instead of <ντ>; see LENDARI 2007: 103–4, especially fn. 13, for evidence from a wide variety of texts. This is especially frequent in the case of consonant clusters with a following liquid, i.e. <μπρ, μπλ, ντρ>, where presumably the adjacency of the liquid is sufficient to express voicing. This has led scholars to assume that it is possible to trace to this period the common phenomenon of nasal deletion before voiced stops, which constitutes one of the main isoglosses defining MG dialects (MIRAMBEL 1933; TRIANDAFYLIDIS 1938: 66, 80 map; NEWTON 1972a: 93–9). Unfortunately, because of the inconsistent spelling of medieval manuscripts, and the fact that standard orthography is unable to spell the sounds

[b, d, g] without the nasal, it is not possible to determine whether the modern distribution corresponds to the medieval one.

Nasal deletion before stops is a phenomenon occurring sporadically already in AG, in low-register texts such as vase inscriptions, graffiti, curse tablets etc. These cases are usually interpreted as testifying to a process of nasal weakening in this position, although such an early deletion would eventually have yielded outcomes incompatible with the attested history of Greek, e.g. a word like δένδρον would have evolved as δέδρον > δέδρο not δέντρο (see MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2006 for references and discussion). So the ancient data should perhaps be dissociated from the medieval evidence and be considered more a graphematic than a phonetic phenomenon. During the medieval period, however, when, in contrast to AG and the Koine, the post-nasal voicing of stops (3.8.3.2) and the fricativization of voiced stops has already taken place, it would be quite reasonable to take the spellings of plain <π> and <τ> as evidence of nasal deletion. A problem with this analysis is that the dialectal areas in which the phenomenon does not occur in the modern period, namely Cyprus and (parts of) the Dodecanese, which furthermore are areas that generally maintain /n/ in a variety of environments normally leading to deletion, quite frequently offer graphematic evidence of nasal deletion before stops.

Evidence for the phenomenon starts in the earliest (11th-c.) documents from Athos and S. Italy, and comes from both literary and non-literary texts from all areas.

μπ > π

ἐποδηζόμενος / ἐποδιζόμενος (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 125, 166.22)

ὡς ἡπορεῖς GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 189; ἡπόρεσε *Chron. Mor.* P 7650 app. crit. (P); ἱπορουμὲ /

ἡπορουῖμε (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.12); εἰπορῶ / ἡπορῶ (1565, Prousa / Asia Minor, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.4)

γαπρὸν, ἡγοῦν σώγαπρον (1514, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIDI 1998: 46, 55.4); γαπρούς (1618, Mani, SKOPETAS 1950: V, 73.20)

λαπρῶς *Poulol.* 161 app. crit. (P); τὸ λαπρὸν *Achil.* O 30

ἐκλαπροτάτου (1654, Kastoria, Drakopoulou 2005: 5, 16.6–7); ἐκλαπρότατε (1659, Hydra, KARATHANASIS 1972/73: 239.1)

ἐπροστεν *Chron. Mor.* P 2786 app. crit. (P); ἐπροστα (1612, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 1, 308.26–7)

ἐτρέξαν κάποσοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 34.22; κάποσα BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 129

ἐκοπώθη *Ptochol.* P 211 app. crit. (P)

ἀπέλια (1645, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 11, 26.7)

ντ > τ

εἰστατε (και)ρασais / ἴσταται κερασές (1018, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 24, 172.16)

τὸ περὲλθότα / τὸ περιελθότα (1052, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 10, 71.5)

κατέβα κύρι σύτεκνε (11th c., Mani, DRANDAKIS 1972/73: 2, 666.2–3)

δέτρα (1433, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 29, f.35r.2)

κωτὰ / κοτὰ *Chron. Mor.* P 1661 app. crit. (P) < κοντὰ

σύτροφος *Chron. Mor.* P 182 app. crit. (P)

ἐτροπῆς *Liv.* V 2012 app. crit.; ἐτροπὴν *Poulol.* 323 app. crit. (A)

δὲν ἐτρέπεστε *Epain. gyn.* 590 app. crit.; ἐτρέπεται *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 81 app. crit.

ζοτανὸς / ζωτανὸς *Chron. Toc.* 3479 app. crit.

ἕνας σολτάδος (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 222.5)

ἐβδομηῖτα (1600, Mani, SKOPETAS 1950: II, 70.7–8)

εχωτα / ἔχοντα (1609, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 6, 21.3) < ἔχοντα
 ιτα ιχα εγω γινι / ἴτα εἴχα ἐγὼ γίνει (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.15) < ἴντα
 Κοστατης / Κωστατης (1631, Lesvos, KADAS 1988: 152, 352.4–5)
 πενηταρά (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 2, 27.6)
 προστά πατρεμένος (1663, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1993: 54, f.70v.2)

γκ/γγ > κ
 ρουκέρι / Ρουκέρη (1117, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 1, 383.1) < Ρουγκέρη
 μέ τὸ φεκάριν ἔρχομαιν *Achil.* O 519 < φεγγάριν
 ἐκόλφιν *Pol. Tr.* 646 app. crit. (B)
 στροκυλὸν (1482 [later copy], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 109, 218.17–18)
 ἐναίκασαι μας / ἐνέκασέ μας (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.6) < ἐνέγκασε
 εἰ ἀτζήκανι / οἱ ἀτσίκανοι (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 220.25) < ἀτσίγγανοι
 τῷ συκενῶ (1600, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: II, 71.11–12) < συγγενῶ(ν)
 φράκοι λίμπεροι (1612, Mani / Peloponnese, LASKARIS 1957: 1, 307.24)
 λακάδι (1618, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: V, 72.8) < λαγκάδι
 τὸ Λακάδι (1671, Gortynia / Peloponnese, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 69, 318.6)

The phenomenon is also detectable through texts written in the Latin alphabet, which show the spellings <d> <g> instead of <mb> <nd> <ng>, so nasal deletion before stops is confirmed at least for Crete (VINCENT 1980: οα΄; BAKKER 1988/89: 278–9), e.g.:

cabosso / καμπόσο CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.389 transcr. X (Legrand)
 acubisse / ἀκούμπησε *Thysia Avr.* 104 transcr. M
 sito sibathio / ζητῶ συμπάθειο (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 196.20)
 elabirisen / ἐλαμπήρισεν FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.254 app. crit.
 n' adimeugi / ν' ἀντιμεύγει CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.380 transcr. X (Legrand); adidhichi / ἀντίδικη
 ibid. III.9
 madato / μοντάτο *Thysia Avr.* 2 transcr. M
 eghodas / ἔχοντας *P&N Diath.* 319 app. crit.
 tu afedi / τοῦ ἀφέντη (app. crit.) (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 795α, 692.4)
 tu parodos / τοῦ παρόντος (1653, Crete, PANOPOULOU 1991: 2, 428.1)
 gerodachi / γεροντάκι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.105 transcr.
 se egastrothica / σὲ ἐγγαστρώθηκα BAROZZI, *Letter* 358.7
 anagassi / ἀνάγκαση *P&N Diath.* 305 app. crit.
 paragiglia / παραγγελία *Thysia Avr.* 25 transcr. M
 ti fragichi / τὴ φράγκικη (1661, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 10, 103.25)

However, even Cretan texts in the Latin alphabet show variable realizations, and the spellings <mb> <nd> <ng> are often to be found. In the case of <ng> especially, the possibility of confusion with the sound [ɣ], which is also rendered graphematically through <g>, makes the notation of the nasal preferable.

ombros / ὀμπρὸς *Thysia Avr.* 855 transcr. M
 panda masi / πάντα μαζί BAROZZI, *Letter* 358.7
 ossa liondari / ὡσὰ λιοντάρι CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.594 transcr. X (Legrand)
 dhio che pendacossa / δύο καὶ πεντακόσα (1653, Crete, PANOPOULOU 1991: 2, 429.10)
 paracalondas / παρακαλώντας (1661, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 10, 103.11)
 apu ci angelous / ἀπού τοῖ ἀγγέλους (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 196.21)

For nasal deletion before stops at word boundaries see 3.7.2.2.

A different case of apparent nasal deletion before stops is constituted by the adaptation of loanwords containing the sounds [b d g]. In most areas, these are spelled as <μπ, ντ, γκ>, but spellings with a plain voiceless stop <π τ κ> indicating a non-prenasalized voiced realization are also possible (see e.g. TRIANDAPHYLIDIS 1909: 34–6; BAKKER 1988/89: 278 for Crete):

οὔκως / Οὔκος (1122, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 16, 413.10) < Οὔγγος
 Περνάρδος (1217, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 15, 91.14) < Μπερνάρδος
 τριπουτσέτα *Chron. Mor.* H 852
 ἄλπιτροι (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 12, 29.1); ἄλπιτρος (1598, Crete,
 BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 33, 52.3) < Ital. *albitro*
 ὀπλιγεύεται (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 41, 52.14–15)
 τὴν ἄλλην κομοσιτάν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.30–1
 Παρπαρίγο (1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 4, 414.7) < Μπαρμπαρίγο

In specific areas, namely Cyprus, the Dodecanese and Asia Minor, the spelling <π τ κ> for loanwords containing [b d g] should be taken as reflecting a devoiced realization [p t k], for which see 3.8.3.4.

παίκην / πέκην (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.3)
 τὸν Παρταλομέο (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.2)
 τοῦ πούπλικου νοταρίου (1523, Cyprus, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1894: III, 258.16)
 ρουπίνιν *Cypri. Canz.* 114.5
 λύπερων / λίπερον (1574, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61.8) < Ital. *libero*
 τὸν ποστατζίπαση (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: f.2r. 401.78–9)
 Πογιατζή (1653, Kydonies, PATRINELIS 1993/94: 16.31)

3.6.2.2 Deletion Before Fricatives

LMedG and EMG texts from all areas testify to a common phenomenon, that of deletion of a nasal before a voiceless fricative. Dialectal evidence indicates that this is probably a complex evolution: the first step must have been total assimilation of the nasal to the following fricative, resulting in geminate voiceless fricatives, followed by degemination: [mf] > [ff] > [f], [nθ] > [θθ] > [θ] and [ŋx] > [xx] > [x] (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 161–3; NEWTON 1972a: 93–5; MINAS ²2003: 67–8). As deletion of nasals before fricatives is a diachronically common evolution (cf. BYBEE 2015: 36, e.g. Eng. *five* vs. Germ. *fünf*), an alternative analysis as direct deletion without intermediate assimilation/gemination is also possible (HORROCKS ²2010: 275). If assimilation is assumed, the first stage must have taken place in the Koine, immediately after the fricativization of the voiceless aspirates /p^h t^h k^h/ to /f θ x/ (although this is not reflected in the spelling), and is attested in MedG and EMG texts from geminating areas (see 3.4.2.4). The second step must have been reached during the phase of degemination, i.e. again in the late Koine. Spellings with deleted nasal appear already in Koine inscriptions and papyri, but some, if not all, may date from a time when <φ θ χ> were still stops (JANNARIS 1897: 95–6; DIETERICH 1898: 115–19; GIGNAC 1976: 117). On account of its early date, the phenomenon is very common in MedG and EMG texts, and is attested without geographical restrictions from the 11th c. onwards:

- συφώνου (1059, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 7, 168.33); τὸ παρὸν σύφωνο (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 25, 163.15–16)
 συφερ(ον) / συφέρον (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 33, 67.12); συφέρνει *Liv.* V 3560
 συφορὰ *Velis.* χ 1 app. crit. (N)
 ὀφαλοῦ *Velth.* 406
 μέφεσαι *Dig.* E 439; καταμέφεσαι *Poulol.* AZ 45 app. crit. (Z); μέφονται KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 345.7
 ἀφοτέρως *Chron. Toc.* 528; ἐχαίρουντα ἀφότεροι *Achil.* O 602
 τῶν τριῶν του νυφάδω (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 257, 355.12)
 πεθερὸν (1179, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 193, 254.9–10)
 γρόθον *Pol. Tr.* 549 app. crit. (X)
 πλιθάρια *Chron. Mor.* H 1402
 ὅταν ἄθοῦσι τὰ φυτὰ *Pol. Tr.* 128 app. crit. (X); ν' ἄθοῦσι BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 90
 ἄθος *Chron. Mor.* P 1112
 στήν Κόριθο *Chron. Mor.* P 1444
 ἐθερμάθηκα *Dig.* E 1181
 τὴν ἐρημαθρωπῖαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 412 app. crit.
 κι ἄθρωπο *Thysia Avr.* 58; ἄθρώπους (1622, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: VI, 73.19)
 τὸν ξαθὸν *Liv.* V 484
 τὴν σύθεσιν *Achil.* O 299
 εἰς τὴν Ζάκυθον (app. crit.) (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 90.3)
 τὴν ἐπιλαχάνουσαν (1051/1052, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 7, 61.7); ἐπιλαχάνον (1196, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 13, 87.2)
 τὴν ἀχόνην (1327–8, Peloponnese, VRANOUSI 1981: B, 27.12); τὴν ἀχόνη (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 13, 28.18)
 συχαρίκια *Achil.* N 479
 ἐσύχισεν (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 302.64); συχυσμένοι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.13

As a less regular phenomenon, resulting from the influence of high-register language, which leads to “unhistorical” consonant clusters (see 3.3.2), deletion of a nasal before a voiced fricative also occurs. The expected reflex of the AG sequence nasal + voiced stop [mb, nd] <μβ, νδ> is retention (non-fricativization) of the stop with variable deletion of the nasal before a voiced stop (see 3.6.2.1). However, a “learned” spelling pronunciation [mv, nð] was also current in MedG and EMG for higher-register lexical items or texts, as is still the case in MG. In these environments, the phenomenon of nasal deletion before fricatives, normally applicable only to voiceless fricatives, also comes into effect (see also PERNOT 1907/46: I 418–20). Spellings with a deleted nasal appear already in the Koine (DIETERICH 1898: 111–13), but in this case the most likely analysis is that these involve clusters of nasal + stop, an environment which, as discussed above, was conducive to nasal deletion since AG.

- γαβρός (1056, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 31, 80.58); γαυρὸς(ς) / γαβρός (14th c., Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 18B, 147.3)
 μεσιυρηάς / μεσηβρίας (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 130, 172.21); τὴν Μεσευρίαν / τὴν Μεσεβρίαν (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 85.5)
 συβίου (1265, Laconia, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 55, 312.3)
 τοῦ Νοεβρίου (13th c., Asia Minor?, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [7], 34.8)

τοῦ δεκεβρίου μηνός (14th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 2.1)
 ἐξεθαυρήθησαν / ἐξεθαβήθησαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 209 app. crit. (L)
 βέβρανον (1417, Crete, LAMBROS 1895: 1, 585.5)
 λαβάνουν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 18, 158.9)
 ἐσπούλευα DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1235; συμβουλὴν ἐποῖκεν *Achil.* O 226; καὶ ἔκαμεν συμβούλιον
 (1572, S. Italy, VIOLI 2006: 311.7–8)
 τῆς Μονεβασίας *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 35.3
 καὶ λοιπὰ δέδρη (1018, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 24, 172.16)
 ἐδιχθιῶνος (1201, Laconia, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 53, 310, no. 53.4)
 Σποδῶν (1288, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 227.7) < Σπονδαὶ
 ἀμπάρες συδεμένες *Pol. Tr.* 2943 app. crit. (A)
 ἄδρες *Achil.* O 326; ἄδρειωμένα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.23
 ἀπιδοσφόδυλε *Poulol.* 236 app. crit. (E)
 πανέδοξη, φρόνιμη *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 624
 νὰ συδράμης (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 133.42)
 συδρομή (1696, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 4 [Δ'], 256.10)
 ὡς ἔναι ἐπάνω ἐγράφως (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 13.16–17)

3.7 Final Consonants

The only two permissible final consonants in LMedG and EMG are /n/ and /s/ (see 3.3.1). Both are subject to addition and deletion, under the influence of phonological or morphological factors, such as a tendency for open syllables, coarticulation, analogical spread, or reformation of inflectional paradigms.

3.7.1 Final /s/

3.7.1.1 Deletion of Final /s/

This phenomenon appears consistently in two areas, Crete and Mani (both in the Peloponnese and in the Corsican Maniot colony). In the Cretan case, deletion of final /s/ is a type of dissimilation, normally occurring in two environments: (a) in words ending in /s/ when followed by a possessive clitic also ending in /s/, namely μας (though not τως), and (b) in words ending in /s/ when the following clitic pronoun starts with /ts/. The phenomenon is purely phonetic, affecting all endings with /s/, irrespective of part of speech, gender, number etc. (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 184, 368; BAKKER 1988/89: 284; HENRICH 1998b: 98–101; KONDOSOPOULOS ³2001: 37).

τοὺς ἀξαδέλφου μας (1524, E. Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 19, 60.5)
 τση φιλιὰ μας CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.89; τσι γάμου μας *ibid.* V.368; οἱ καρδιέ μας *id.*, *Erof.* I.174
 τς ἄνδρε μας *Pist. voskos* II 1.169
 adhelfoftumas / ὀδελοφφτού μας *P&N Diath.* 834 app. crit.
 οἱ κυροῦδε μας TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.129
 τζᾶδρεφίμο τζι ἐλένης / τσ' ὀδρεφῆ μο τσῆ Ἑλένης (1655, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 14, 374.17)

ο λογισμός τη *CHORTATSI*, *Panor.* Prol. Apoll. 65
 πό τζι χροστί / πώ τη χρωστεϊ (1600, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 92, 108.13); ό
 γαμπρό τζι / ό γαμπρό τη (1604, *ibid.* 273, 264.3)
 ό δικότζη / ό δικό τη *TROILOS*, *Rodol.* III.373 (Walton) (Aposkiti: δικός τη)
 ό μισέροτζη / ό μισέρο τη (1664, Crete, *VOURDOUMBAKIS* 1915: 18, 387.3); να
 παγιότζηκαλογρας / νά πάγη ώ τη κάλογρᾶς (1678, *ibid.* 28, 403.8)

One must distinguish this phenomenon from apparent cases of /s/ deletion which might be morphologically driven, i.e. attributable to an analogical suffix change rather than to dissimilatory loss. For example, neuter nouns in -ος (γένος, δάσος etc.) tend to transfer to the O-stem declension, presenting inflectional forms with apparent loss of final /s/ such as γένο, δάσο, πέλαγο etc. (see II, 2.23). So, cases like τὸ γένο μας *TROILOS*, *Rodol.* II.258 could be interpreted both as a phonetic deletion of /s/ (before μας) and as morphological metaplasm of a “3rd-declension” noun.

In the case of Mani, the phenomenon of final /s/ deletion takes a more extensive form. It affects, as in the case of Crete, all endings with final /s/, but in a wider variety of contexts which have not yet been described in detail: normally before consonants and at phrase and clause end, but in other contexts as well, frequently involving dissimilation due to a following /s/. Evidence is available for both Peloponnesian and Corsican Maniot since the 16th c. (*MIRAMBEL* 1929: 170; *BASEA-BEZANDAKOU* 2005: 285; *NICHOLAS* 2011):

ἐμι<ς> ει δούλη σου / ἐμεῖ<ς> οἱ δοῦλοι σου (1571, Mani, *CHASIOTIS* 1970: 6.1, 242.32)
 οἱ παῖδε<ς> τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ (1600, Mani, *SKOPETAS* 1950: II, 70.10)
 Στρατήγη Τριβόλης (1609, Mani, *SKOPETAS* 1950: III, 71.3–4)
 εἰςὲ καλοῦ<ς> ἀνθρώπους (1611, Mani, *SKOPETAS* 1950: IV, 72.21–2)
 ό Μιχάλη ό Τρουπά[κης] (1622, Mani, *SKOPETAS* 1950: VI, 73.12)
 ἐγὼ Παναγιώτη· καὶ ... (1679, Mani, *SKOPETAS* 1950: XIII, 76.12)
 τ' ἄτρό μου (1680, Mani, *SKOPETAS* 1950: XIV, 77.4–5)
 ό αὐτὸς κυβερνίστη τους (1676, Corsica, *BLANKEN* 1951: IX, 310.28)
 ἐνορίτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας (1693, Corsica, *VAYAKAKOS* 1978: 123, entry 5)

Deletion of final /s/ is very occasionally attested in the Peloponnese outside Mani. It is also recorded in a 16th-c. document from Pontos and in the Athos *Gesprächbuch*, which shows several Pontic characteristics (*TZITZILIS* 1999: 88). The phenomenon is corroborated by Modern Pontic; however, it is usually interpreted not as deletion of final /s/, but as morphosyntactic replacement of /s/ by /n/ in the nom. sg. of masc. nouns (see II, 1.4), followed by final /n/ deletion (*OIKONOMIDIS* 1958: 157; *PAPADOPOULOS* 1955: 30). Other areas which in the modern period display the phenomenon (list of areas and examples in *TRIANDAFYLIDIS* 1926: 304–6) show no traces in MedG or EMG.

ό Παποῦμας) / ό παππού μας (1572, Achaia, *VEIS* 1956: 450.14)
 αὐτὸς ό ἄνδρα της (1506, Trebizond, *PRINZING* 2000: 2, 304.5)
 λέοντα<ς> (15th c., Athos?, *VASMER* 1922: 940); καρπό<ς> (*ibid.* 977); μύλο<ς> (*ibid.* 1033)

MINAS (2003: 70) adduces several examples of final /s/ deletion in MedG documents from S. Italy. This spelling probably reflects total assimilation of final /s/ to the following

initial consonant, i.e. a geminate pronunciation of the initial consonant, as is regular in the modern dialects of S. Italy (KARANASTASIS 1997: 44–5). However, the status of most of these examples is dubious, as they could be due to either editorial or scribal omissions.¹²

ψυχικῇ μου σωτηρίας (1139, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 120, 160.17)
 νυκτὸ καὶ ἡμέρας (1094, Sicily, SPATA 1862: 3, 179.7); διατρίβοντό μου (1101, *ibid.* 5, 191.9–10)

A different issue is the dialect-independent final /s/ deletion in the masc. nom. sg. and fem. gen. sg. of certain frequent noun + proper name collocations, with nouns denoting rank, status, age etc., such as γέρο-, παπα-, κυρα-. This is not a phonological but a morphological development, as an initially independent nominal element behaves like the first member of a compound (see II, 2.18 for details):

ὁ πρηγγηπαντζε-φρώαι / ὁ πρίγκιπα Ντζεφρόε *Chron. Mor.* P 2621
 ὁ γέρο μισίρ Νικόλαος *Chron. Mor.* H 8616
 ο γέρο πνευματικός / ὁ γέρο πνεματικός (1664, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 31, 36.7–8)
 ὁ παπα κυρ Σίδερης PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §2 1–2
 τῆς θηγατέρος της τῆς κυράτζα Λάγουρας (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 13, 27.6)
 τις λεγουμενίς της κυρα Πατολίνας / τῆς λεγούμενης τῆς κυρα Πατολίνας (1577, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 21, 155.5–6)

3.7.1.2 Addition of Final /s/

Addition of a final /s/ is common in adverbs (see II, 4.1), as well as in some conjunctions, prepositions and uninflected pronouns, and is usually interpreted as an analogically driven phenomenon on the basis of lexical items which bear an etymological final /s/ (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 53; CHATZIDAKIS 1909/10). The same phenomenon is probably responsible for the addition of final /s/ in the active present participle (see MANOLESSOU 2005; but also III, 4.7). The earliest instantiation of the phenomenon is the addition of final /s/ to the adverbs οὔτω–οὔτως, πολλάκι–πολλάκις and the prepositions ἄχρι–ἄχρις, μέχρι–μέχρις, ἀμφι–ἀμφίς already in AG (SCHWYZER 1939: 404–5). Such examples of “movable -s” seem to multiply in the non-literary papyri (GIGNAC 1976: 126–9).

In the texts examined, the phenomenon is attested since the 11th c., in documents from S. Italy (cf. also MINAS ²2003: 160), and does not seem to be geographically restricted. However, Cretan texts are especially rich in attestations, and it does constitute a characteristic feature of the modern Cretan dialect (see KONDOSOPOULOS 1969: 51–4 and KAFKALAS 1995: 82–4 for details and distribution).

καθότις (1052, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 10, 71.5)
 διότις (1226, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 274, 376.19); δι' ὅτις / διότις (1612, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 1, 307.10)

¹² The examples in the documents edited by Spata do not show /s/ deletion in the edition of CUSA 1868/82 (pp. 389 and 394 respectively). However, in several instances Spata comments specifically on the absence of /s/ in the ms.

ἀντικρυς τοῦ ὀπισκοπέου (1138, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 119, 158.10); ἀντικρυς *Achil.* N 707
 ἀντὶς *Ptoch.* IV 259 app. crit. (KP); ἀντὶς μου *Liv.* S 2634; ἀντὶς νερόν LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 549
 τίποτες νὰ μὴ λείπη *Pol. Tr.* 134 app. crit. (X); τίποτες (1618, Serres region, ODORICO 1998:
 33, 114.6)
 ποτές *Poulol.* 239 app. crit. (E); ὁ ποτές της παππούς (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/
 DRAKAKIS 2010: 85, 65.10)
 τότες *Assizes* B 273.23; τότες BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 325
 ἐγλήγορας (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.13)
 διατὶς ὁ κύρ βοιβόντας (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 92, 84.7)
 ὀψές ἀργὰς *Thysia Avr.* 419

The appearance of final /s/ instead of etymological final /n/ shows that addition of final /s/ is an ongoing phenomenon, active throughout the period under investigation, e.g. ἔμπροστες (1632, Crete, DETORAKIS 1994: 2, 129.6); ἀπὸ μικρόθες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §30.121.

In some nominal inflectional paradigms, a non-etymological final /s/ appears in certain case-forms. This is not a phonetic phenomenon, but a morphological one, i.e. the result of transfer to a different inflectional class. Instances include the nom. and acc. sg. of neuter nouns in /o/ (e.g. τὸ μέτρο → τὸ μέτρος, see II, 2.19.3) and in /a/ (τὸ αἶμα → τὸ αἶμας, see II, 2.21), the gen. sg. of feminine nouns in /o/ (e.g. ἡ Ρόδος, τῆς Ρόδου → ἡ Ρόδο, τῆς Ρόδος, see II, 2.1) and, rarely, the nom. sg. of fem. nouns in /i/ (ἡ Κρήτη → ἡ Κρήτης, ἡ τύχη → ἡ τύχης, see II, 2.12.2 and GEORGACAS 1951: 220–1).

3.7.2 Final /n/

The status of final /n/ is perhaps the most complex issue in MedG phonology. A strong tendency for analogical extension of final /n/, followed by an equally strong, both phonetically and morphologically driven, tendency for final /n/ deletion, were both under way long before the LMedG period. Therefore, the picture presented by LMedG texts cannot be considered as truly representative of language variation or change in progress, but is instead a long-term phenomenon influenced by sociolinguistic and stylistic factors. In fact final /n/ should be viewed under at least four guises:

- a) as a formant of inflectional suffixes, subject to phonological and/or morphological pressure, which may differ by area or period;
- b) as a synchronically stable euphonic or metrical device, devoid of morphological function and independent of etymology. In effect, it functions as an “euphonic”, “floating” or “latent” consonant (see CRYSTAL 2008 s.vv.). The term applies to phonetic features, usually final consonants, which lack a fixed realization and are pronounced only under certain circumstances, such as *liaison* in French;
- c) as a purely graphematic device for denoting voicing of the following stop consonant (see 3.8.3.2);
- d) as an orthographic marker of higher register, dependent on etymology only so far as the educational level of the writer allows.

The picture is further complicated by the nature of the graphematic evidence, which hinders access to phonetic realization. Manuscript sources, both literary and non-literary,

frequently employ standard abbreviations of inflectional suffixes containing final -v, something which renders any consideration of “actual” pronunciation pointless. Furthermore, the manuscript tradition is very variable in the notation of final -v, displaying, in several cases, a haphazard distribution unaffected by the phonetic environment, but which in general, except for texts with clear dialectal colouring, is conservative and avoids omission. Editorial practice, at least in literary texts, in the face of this apparent “indifference and confusion” (PAPATHOMOPOULOS/JEFFREYS 1996: cxxxi–cxxxii; cf. also SCHMITT 1904: xxv) has largely been that of normalization according to metrical needs, without mention in the apparatus criticus; in many cases it is therefore impossible to establish the actual contemporary picture unless one goes back to the manuscripts on which editions are based. In other cases, such editorial interventions are noted (e.g. ALEXIOU 1985: λά'; SMITH 1990: 10; MANOUSAKAS 1995: 11; LENDARI 2007: 131) but the retrieval of the original status of the text remains a painstaking enterprise.

Apart from graphematic issues, diachronic linguistic considerations add to the complexity of the phenomenon. Firstly, owing to the opposing tendencies of addition and deletion, it is in many cases difficult, from a MedG and EMG point of view, to interpret the absence of final /n/ as deletion as opposed to simply non-development of an innovative analogical final /n/ (e.g. in paradigms like πρᾶγμα-ν, βαθύ-ν); this is especially problematic in the case of non-addition of an “optional” final /n/ (e.g. γράφουσι(ν)). In such cases it is best to consider final /n/ as a synchronically variable option depending on the environment. And most importantly, the status of final /n/ cannot have been identical throughout the MedG and EMG periods: there are bound to have existed diachronic and diatopic differences, evident in the modern dialectal distribution but frequently not detectable in the sources, even those of the same geographical provenance.

3.7.2.1 Addition of Final /n/

3.7.2.1.1 *Historical Overview*

The phenomenon of final /n/ addition takes a variety of forms, some of which appear before the period under investigation and are therefore not treated here in detail. It is usually attributable to the influence of analogical forces, but phonetic factors (hiatus resolution, voicing) may also play a part, and in several cases more than one factor may be involved, each reinforcing the other. The overall evolution may be viewed as follows: at a first stage, which was already completed before the medieval period, a final /n/ which was only optional/euphonic (ἑφελκυστικόν) becomes a fixed part of an inflectional suffix (e.g. the final /n/ occurring in the 3 pl. pres. active and the 3 sg. imperf. and aor. active of barytone verbs). At the same time, a final /n/ which formed part of common inflectional suffixes spreads analogically to the corresponding slot in other, less common and less stable inflectional paradigms (e.g. the final /n/ occurring in the acc. sg. of 1st- and 2nd-declension masc. and fem. nouns and adjectives spreads to the 3rd declension). At a second stage, due to its generalization, final /n/ becomes the marker par excellence of certain nominal and verbal inflectional forms, irrespective of origin. This stage should be placed in the EMedG period, and any dialectal differentiation post-dates this development. At a third stage, as the phonetic tendency for

final /n/ deletion sets in (see below), the additional factor of hypercorrection (false restoration in analogically non-justifiable morphological environments) comes into play, further increasing and diversifying the environments where final /n/ may appear.

Ultimately, as final /n/ is disconnected from its inflectional origins and the initial phonetic or morphological motivation behind its addition or deletion in each morphological slot is obscured, it acquires a new function: it is reanalysed as an optional phonetic element, a “floating consonant”, liable to appear anywhere, serving as a means of hiatus resolution in the case of following words beginning with a vowel within syntactic phrases. In the LMedG and EMG periods, final /n/ should be considered as a feature under stable synchronic variation, conditioned mostly by extra-linguistic factors such as register of the text and level of education of the writer, as well as by the phonetic environment. This in contrast to the previous periods, when the variation in the attestation of final /n/ can be better understood as part of a gradual diachronic process of phonetic or morphological change (diachronic addition/deletion as opposed to synchronic manifestation/non-manifestation). Addition of final /n/ may therefore be further subdivided into (a) analogical addition and (b) purely phonetic addition.

3.7.2.1.2 Morphological Addition

The following analogical processes are in operation:

a) Fixation of final /n/ in (mostly verbal) inflectional suffixes ending in /e/ and /i/, where in AG it was only optional/euphonic (traditionally termed “-ν ἐφελκυστικόν”), so that it appears irrespective of phonetic environment, i.e. also before a consonant and at the end of a phrase. This development dates to the AG period (JANNARIS 1897: 100, GIGNAC 1976: 114, THREATTE 1980: 640–3). It involves the following inflectional suffixes: the 3 pl. active -ουσι(ν), -ασι(ν) and the 3 sg. imperf. and aor. active barytone -ε (e.g. ἔγραφε-ν, ἔγραψε-ν). The appearance of -ν ἐφελκυστικόν in the dat. pl. of nominal paradigms following the 3rd declension (e.g. τοῖς ἥρωσιν, τοῖς βέλεσιν) is of no interest for a grammatical description of LMedG and EMG, as it concerns an archaic/residual case-form. Examples (see also III, 4):

ἵνα ἔχουσιν (1015, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 15, 16.5)

ὀρώσιν καὶ τὰ σκύβαλα *Ptoch.* IV 566

νὰ ποιοῦσιν μαλακίαν *Diig. Alex.* F 29.16

κρένοσιν, συνιβάζουσιν καὶ ἀποφασίζουσιν (1594, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 1, 172.30)

καθὼς ἐχαλάσασιν καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλονικαίους (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.16)

ἐλάλησέν με ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31, 810.27

ἐχάωσεν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 67.79)

ἐφυσήσεν τοὺς ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 34.25

ὀλους ἐρίπτειν κάτω ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* VII.342

After the development of the “uncontracted” inflection for oxytone verbs (see III, 2.1.2.2 and III, 4.3.2), which led to the creation of a 3 sg. active suffix identical to that of the barytone verbs (ἐκράτει > ἐκράτειε), the same additional final /n/ appears in this inflectional slot as well (ἐκράτειε > ἐκράτειε-ν), and is to be found also in cases where the semi-vocalic element of the suffix is lost (ἐκράτειε-ν > ἐκράτε-ν).

μῆλον χρυσὸν ἐκράτειεν *Liv.* V 426
 ἐφίλειεν τὴν ἐδικήν του κόρην *Achil.* L 1120
 ἐπαρκαάλειέν τον *Vios Aisop.* I 248.31

ἐκράτεν (1184, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 220, 289.1)
 ἐχρῶστέν του τα *Assizes* B 335.25
 τότες ἐλάλεν του ὁ παπᾶς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.11
 καὶ περιπάτεν ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §22.21

In the case of areas where final /n/ is especially subject to deletion, such as Crete and the Cyclades, the appearance of a final /n/ of this type before a voiceless consonant is merely a graphematic indication of voicing of the initial consonant of the following word (see below):

λέγουσίν τως MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 146
 ἀπομένουσίν του κ' ἐκεινοῦ (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 180.28)
 egnorisasidine / ἐγνωρίσασί ν-τηνε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.2 transcr. (Vincent)

b) Analogical extension of final /n/ to (mainly nominal) inflectional suffixes ending in a vowel, on the basis of other, equivalent, but more common and more transparent inflectional suffixes containing etymological final /n/. Thus, a non-etymological final /n/ appears, already in AG, in the acc. sg. of masc. and fem. nouns and adjectives of the “3rd declension” on the analogy of the more frequent and regular first and second declension, e.g. χώραν, στρατιώτην, λόγον → ἐλπίδαν, βασιλέαν, Σοφοκλῆν (JANNARIS 1897: 541–3; DIETERICH 1898: 158–60; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 4–5; GIGNAC 1981: 45–6; HORROCKS 2010: 121). By the LMedG period, the reformation of the old 3rd declension was complete, so such instances of addition are of little historical interest: in low-register texts, they merely indicate that the items in question are inflected according to the innovative MedG pattern, and in high-register texts they only bear witness to the writer’s incapacity to master AG inflection due to the interference of his native idiom. Examples (see also II, 2.2, 2.4 and 2.11.2):

τὸν τέρμοναν (1140–1, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 15, 106.9)
 τὸν γέρονταν ἐλάλει *Dig.* E 687 (Jeffreys)
 μαῦρος πολλὰ ὡς κόρακαν *Liv.* V 2475
 τὸν εἰρημένον ἄρχοντάν μας (1428, Lefkada, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90: III 12, 253.20);
 ἐκεῖνον τὸν γονέαν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208
 ὄρισεν τὸν Κεραμέαν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.32)
 ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέαν *Chron. Mor.* H 8715
 τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 27.215)
 ἀνέβαινε τὴν νύκταν (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 77, 58.1)
 τὴν μελετηθεῖσαν προίκαν (1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 210.185–6)

Another typical instantiation of this development is the analogical extension of final /n/ to the neut. nom. and acc. sg. of pronouns, which in AG ended in /o/ (< IE *-od), such as αὐτό, τοῦτο, τοιοῦτο, ἄλλο, ὅ, a phenomenon which again is quite common already in the Koine (GIGNAC 1981: 174–7). Examples (see also II, 5.5, 5.9.1.4 and 5.10.1):

αὐτὸν τὸ χωράφιον (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 130, 172.12)
 καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ θέλημά [σου] *Spaneas* V 32

τὸ δένδρον ἐκείνον (1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 618.30)
 τὸ μέμψιμον ἐκείνον *Pol. Tr.* 12806
 καὶ τοῦτον σοῦ θυμίζω (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 38.9)
 ἐτοῦτον πούλησέ το (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1119)
 κι ἀπείτις καὶ τὸ χάρισμα ἐτοῦτον ἀπαρνήθης KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1181
 πάλιν ἄλλον ἔγγραφον (1144, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 85, 32.39)
 καὶ τ' ἄλλον τότε τοῦ λαοῦ οὐκ εἶδαμεν τί ἐγένη BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 365
 τὸ ὄν ἐστὶ πλησίον Θεοδώρου τοῦ Κριάτου (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 129, 170.11)
 τὸ ἡμέτερον χωράφιον, ὄν κτώμεθα (1145, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: App.6, 660.2)

A further evolutionary step in this direction is the spread of final /n/ to old “3rd-declension” neuters, namely the neut. nom. and acc. sg. of neuter nouns in -μα (πρᾶγμα → πρᾶγμαν), and of adjectives ending in -ύ, e.g. βαθύ → βαθύν (JANNARIS 1897: 543; PSALTES 1913: 83, 155; GIGNAC 1981: 128; see also II, 2.21 and 3.3.1). This development appears well-established in lower-register texts, without geographical restrictions, already from the start of the LMedG period, but earlier attestations are scarce, and it is absent from Koine and Byzantine papyri. However, it must be noted that nouns in -μα present addition of final /n/ already in the ancient Cypriot dialect (e.g. *ma-na-ma-ne*, *sa-ma-ne* = μᾶμαν, σᾶμαν, Attic μνημα, σῆμα, EGETMEYER 2010: 402). Although Medieval and Modern Cypriot is not descended from ancient Cypriot but, like all other MG dialects, from the Koine, it cannot be ruled out that the ancient dialect, before its extinction, exercised some influence on the local form of the Koine. Ancient Cypriot was also ahead of the Koine in the development of an analogical final /n/ in the masc./fem. acc. sg. as well as in the development of an euphonic final /n/ in lexical items such as ἐγώ > ἐγών, τάδε > τάδεν (PANAYOTOU 2007: 422).

As in the previous cases, extension of final /n/ in the neuter suffixes -μαν and -ύν is due to the reinterpretation of final /n/ as the marker par excellence of neuter gender, in conformity to the much more regular and frequent inflectional pattern of neuter nouns in -ον and -ιν and adjectives in -ος. From the 15th c. onwards, addition of final /n/ appears also in the neuter indefinite pronoun/article (ἐνα > ἐναν). Examples (see also II, 2.21, II, 3.3.1 and II, 5.8.5):

εἰς τὸ θέμαν (1027, Sparta, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 43, 301.19)
 κεῖται ... βάσταγμαν λαρνακίου (1098–1103, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 48, 187.8)
 εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ κλείσμαν (1154–5, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 5, 79.6)
 ἀνάθεμαν τὰ γράμματα *Ptoch.* III 85
 ἔ[χ]ει θέλημαν ἡ βασιλεία μου (14th c., Trebizond, GRÉGOIRE 1909: 2, 492.5)
 ὡς γοιὸν ἕναν μικρὸν πρᾶμαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 32.25
 ὀξύν βουνὶν (1015, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 15, 15.32)
 τὸ δασύν ρυάκιν (1047, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 29, 260.83)
 κρασὶν γλυκὺν γανίτικον *Ptoch.* IV 332
 Μακρὺν Ἀμπέλιν (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 45.222)
 ὀξίδιν δριμύν (15th c., OIKONOMU-AGORASTU 1982: 81.20)
 καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλατύν (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 94.56)
 ὡσάν ἕναν πουλὶν εἰς τὸν κάμπον (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 11, 68.3)
 ἕναν καλὸν καράβι *Pol. Tr.* 107 app. crit. (V)
 ἕναν καμπαναρίον (1498, Corfu, KARYDIS 1999b: 2, 306.12)

In the pronominal domain, the addition of a final /n/ to the gen./acc. of the strong forms of personal pronouns (ἐμέ → ἐμέν, ἐσέ → ἐσέν) should again be attributed to over-characterization of the accusative through its by now typical marker, following the pattern of the 3 sg. pronoun αὐτόν, αὐτήν. The evolution is to be dated before the LMedG period (JANNARIS 1897: 543, GIGNAC 1976: 162–4, MINAS ²2003: 98). After the addition of final /a/ to the same pronoun (see 2.6.3.2), the process of final /n/ addition, on the analogy of the acc. sg., is repeated. The same process affects demonstrative pronouns extended through the addition of final /a/ in the acc. sg., from the 15th c. onwards, as well as in the indefinite pronoun τις–τινά > τινάν. Examples (see also II, 5.3.1, II, 5.5.1 and II, 5.8.1):

εἰς ἐμέν (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 64, 209: 34)

ἐμέν κατονειδίζουσιν ὡς διὰ σένα, τέκνον *Dig.* E 243

ἡ ἄρκος μετ' ἐσέν παίζει GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 369

ἐσέν πρέπει τὸ βασιλεῖον *Porikol.* I 179

ἐμέναν καίει μόνον GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 131

λοιπὸν ἐμέναν φαίνεται διὰ καλλιώτερόν σας *Chron. Mor.* H 1625

τὸν μέγαν αὐτοκράτορα | καὶ πενθερόν ἐσέναν *Eisit.* f.8v.19–20

ὡσάν ἐσέναν ἔχει *Ptoch.* III 57

σ' αὐτόν σου σέναν *Cypr. Canz.* 47.5

ἐβγάν(ει) ἀπ' αὐτόναν κρασί (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 82, 64.3)

ἐκείνοναν ὅπου δειλιάζει αἶμα *Liv.* V 813

οὐ ψέγει φρόνιμος τινάν, παιδί μου, διὰ πενίαν *Spaneas* V 144

τινάν πιστόν, δοκιμασμένον *Achil.* N 694

In the verbal domain, the earliest instance of an analogical addition of final /n/ concerns the 3rd person sg. of the passive aorist (ἐλύθη → ἐλύθην), which is to be dated to the EMedG period (see DIETERICH 1898: 249 and CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: 468–9 for early inscriptional and papyrological examples; cf. also MINAS ²2003: 120). This should be considered the norm for all areas during the LMedG period. The analogical origin of this /n/ is the optional/euphonic -ν (ἐφέλκυστικόν, see 3.7.2.1) appearing in the corresponding active inflectional form (ἐγραψε-ν → ἐγράφη-ν).

The same analogy is responsible for the addition of final /n/ to the 3rd person sg. of the passive imperfect (ἐγράφετο → ἐγράφετον), the passive 2nd aorist (ἐγένετο → ἐγένετον) and the copula (ἦτο → ἦτον); it is attested since the EMedG period, very frequently and without geographical restrictions. The pattern is later extended through the addition of final /n/ to the 3 sg. imperfect of oxytone verbs (ἐποίει → ἐποίει-ν, ἐτίμα → ἐτίμα-ν), which appears from the 13th c. onwards, again without geographical restrictions. Examples (see also III, 4):

ἐγκατελείφτην (1193, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 15, 124.16)

ἐξέβην ναὶ καὶ ἠνώθην σε *Eisit.* f.4r.1

ἐσυμβιβάστην οὕτως *Chron. Mor.* H 4328

ἐθάφτην ὁ Σπιθόλιοντας KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1217

ἀναθρέφετον *Dig.* E 611

ἐσυεθλίβετον *Velth.* 396

σκάνταλον ἐγινίσκετον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 46.30

ἐγράφετον SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 57.7

ἐσωρεύετον (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83.13)

ἦτον ἐν τούτοις, ἔχαιρεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 860

ἦτον συνήθη DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 347

καθὼς ἐκράτειν αὐτὰς Γεώργιος ὁ Χορτάτσης (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 267.73–4)

ἠκολούθειν τον *Liv.* V 43

ἐφίλειν, κατεφίλειεν τον *Achil.* L 1424 transcr. (Panayotopoulou/Lendari)

ἐπεριπάτειν, ἔτρεχεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1481

περιεπάτειν τρεῖς χρόνους *Spanos* B 32

ἀνερῶταν *Dig.* E 133

ἐβρόνταν ἡ δύσις, καὶ ἐτισληπούρδαν ἡ γαδάρα *Spanos* A 170

ἀγάπαν ὁ ἕνας τον ἄλλον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 10.26

ἐχρώσταν (1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 1, 20.9)

ἐβάσταν ἀσβολιῆς (1687, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 674, 921.19)

Another subcase of analogical addition is the extension of final /n/ to the 1 pl. passive on the basis of the 1 pl. active (γράφομεν – γραφόμεθα → γραφόμε(σ)θαν, -ούμεθαν). These in turn provide the basis of the innovative inflectional suffixes -όμεθεν, -όμεσθεν, -όμασθεν, -όμασταν etc., which, however, cannot be considered cases of addition of final /n/, as the suffix is a new evolution in its entirety. On the other hand, the absence of final /n/ in the variants -μεσθε, -μεστε, -μαστε (supported by the analogy of 2 pl. -εσθε/-εστε which lack /n/) cannot, for the same reason, be viewed as a case of deletion, and so the presence/absence of final /n/ in these suffixes is best considered a case of morphological variation between alternative innovative allomorphs. Examples (see also III, 4):

φαινόμεθαν ἡμεῖς (1121, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 89, 116.3–117.4)

ἔτι δεόμεθαν ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως (1453, Gallipoli, DARROUZÈS 1963: 2, 80.1)

σύντομα σηκωνόμεθαν *Liv.* S 1798

χρηζούμεθαν ἄλογα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 158.4 494.10

πῶς καθόμεσθεν μὲ τὸν τραγέλαφον *Spanos* D 877

κ' εὐρίσκομέσθεν ζωντανοὶ MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2634

νὰ παιδεύωμέσθεν καὶ νὰ πειράζωμέσθεν ὅλοι μας PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* 66.26 (Kaftantzis)

ἐρχούμεσθεν (1666, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 131.13)

ζημιούμεσταν (1114, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 67, 107.19)

φοβούμεσταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 434.14

λυπούμεσταν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 137.20

καὶ τώρα ἡύρισκόμασταν στὰ χέρια τὰ δικά σου *Alex. Rim.* 721

εὐρίσκομασταν (1613, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 3, 310.21)

ἐρχόμασταν ὁμάδι MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1261

3.7.2.1.3 *Phonetic Addition*

The main instantiation of phonetic addition is the appearance of a non-etymological final /n/ in uninflected lexical items ending in a vowel, as well as in inflected forms ending in a vowel, irrespective of the phonetic and syntactic environment; this final /n/ is sometimes termed in

the literature “irrational” or “parasitic” (cf. ALEXIOU 1985: κα’). Attestations are available in LMedG documents of the 12th c., and sporadic manifestations are already to be found in early Christian inscriptions from Asia Minor (BRIXHE ²1987: 34–5), as well as in papyri (KAPSOMENOS 1985: 114). This should be viewed as a type of hypercorrection, i.e. as a reaction against the general tendency for final /n/ deletion (see 3.7.2.2). It is particularly common in low-register legal texts from areas where deletion of final /n/ applies wholesale, such as Crete and the Cyclades (see CHARALAMBAKIS 2001: 171–7).¹³ At least some instances of such final /n/ addition should be considered mere scribal errors, i.e. slips of the pen, which cannot easily be identified as such, in view of the great frequency of the phenomenon.

Addition of final /n/ is also more frequent in the case of inflectional suffixes for which there exists a homophonous or equivalent suffix, where the final /n/ is etymological. A case in point is the 3 sg. present active -ει, which could be subject to the analogical influence of the infinitive -ειν and of the 3 sg. active imperfect and aorist (e.g. γράφει – γράφει(ν) – ἔγραφε(ν) and γράψει – γράψει(ν) – ἔγραψε(ν)). A way to distinguish between an innovative final /n/ which up to a point, or in some areas at least, has been adopted in the inflectional system, and a final /n/ which is a mere hypercorrection, is through the existence of variants with addition of final /e/ after /n/ (see 2.6.3), i.e. where an attempt is made to “protect” this innovative /n/ from deletion (e.g. γράφονται > γράφονταιν > γράφονταινε).

To a certain extent, it can be surmised that this intrusive /n/ functions as a euphonic device, i.e. as a hiatus resolution strategy in the case of consecutive vowels at word boundaries, especially within syntactic phrases. The euphonic function of this non-etymological final /n/ is still to be found in MG folk poetry (KRETSCHMER 1905: 213–14; VINCENT 1980: 164; KAPSOMENOS 1985: 114). This is easier to assume in verse texts, where it also serves metrical needs, creating extra syllables, and in the case of inflectional suffixes where no potential analogical influence is imaginable. For texts from Crete, at least, it has been suggested that presence vs. absence of final /n/ is determined purely by the phonetic environment (BAKKER 1993: 230–1; BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1996: 142–3; contrast ALEXIOU 1985: λ’-λα’ fn. 24 on the frequent metrically unjustified deletion of final /n/). As far as can be determined, this type of addition of final /n/ is indeed more frequent before a vowel, and the tendency is very strong in verse texts. However, the appearance of an intrusive /n/ before consonants and in absolute pause is also possible, and so euphony is not the only determining factor.

Any inflectional suffix may be subject to this arbitrary (euphonic or hypercorrect) addition of final /n/, but the phenomenon is more extensive in verbal than in nominal morphology. However, in some areas, such as, notably, Naxos, it is so frequent that this distinction cannot be made.

Nominal Inflection

τοῦ ρήγαν Ἰταλίας *Chron. Toc.* 20

τοῦ καβαλιέρον (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 247, 244.1)

τοῦ αὐτοῦ Τζαμπατάκη (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 42, 192.5–193.1)

¹³ The same hypercorrect tendency to add a final /n/, non-justifiable analogically or phonetically, is recorded for 20th-c. low-register speakers of Cretan; see PANGALOS 1955: 214.

φεύγουν οί Κρήτικοί, φεύγουν οί Γενουβήσοι *Anak*. 31 app. crit.
 ἐπεθάναν πολλοί *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* B 138.8
 τι πειρασμὴν ἐσυνέβησαν *DELLAP.*, *Erot. apokr.* 1371 app. crit. (= πειρασμοί)
 καὶ ἐκήνην λαὸν πολὺν ἔχει *Dig. E* 1354 app. crit. (= ἐκείνη)
 ἦτον ἀγάπη δολερὴν καὶ τρόπος κολακείας *DELLAP.*, *Erot. apokr.* 818 app. crit.
 ἡ ὄρνιθαν καὶ ἡ γραῖα *Synax. gadar.* 188
 ἡ ἀσκημιά-ν ἀπού 'χα *FOSKOLOS*, *Fort.* IV.468
 ἡ πουλησίαν τῆς Κοπριάς (1587, Naxos, *KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS* 2012/13: 147, 271.3)
 καὶ τόσαν τὸν ἡγάπησεν αὐτὸν *Pol. Tr.* 311 app. crit. (E)
 εἰς σὲ ὄλαν τὰ ἄνω γεγραμμένα (1548, Naxos, *KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS* 2012/13: 119, 233.18–19)
 τὰ σπίτιαν ὅπου κάθετα (1632 [later copy], Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1968: 70, 174.13)
 εἰς τὰ ὅσαν ἔχουν (1636, Paros, *ALIPRANDIS* 1993: 2, 291.10)
 παιδιὰν εἴστενε *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 45
 μὲ ἀπόμειναν ἀφούνισταν καὶ στέκον ἐκεῖ (1697, Thessaloniki, *KATSANIS* 2012: 2, 53.17)
 ἐγὼν Ἀντώνης Ταπουσὸς γράφω (1575, Naxos, *KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS* 2012/13: 134, 255.3)
 κὶ ἐγὼ-ν εἰς τοῦτο ἀκόμη *FOSKOLOS*, *Fort.* II.365

Verbal Inflection

Present

ἡ δόξα μου, ὅπου ἔχω ἀπὲ σένα *Diig. Alex.* F 280.12 (Lolos)
 νὰ γράψω θέλων στιχερόν *DELLAP.*, *Erot. apokr.* 56 app. crit.
 ρίκτειν (1098, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 65, 82.13)
 δίκαιον οὐδὲν εὐρίσκειν *Spaneas Z.* 550 app. crit.
 κάτω τὴν ἀποθέτειν *Dig. E* 937 app. crit.
 καὶ θέλει-ν κακοπαθήσειν *MACHAIRAS*, *Chron.* V 26.16
 ὅπου κηρύττειν πίστιν *PARASPOND.*, *Machi Varnas* 14 app. crit.
 οὐδεὶς γινώσκειν τὴν ἡμέραν (1688, Peloponnese, *GRITSOPOULOS* 1954: (4), 137.3)
 τὲς κλεψίεις ποὺ ἔχετε (1654, Naxos, *GRITSOPOULOS* 1994: 15, 370.18)
 καὶ μὴν τονε πικραίνετον ἄνδρα τὸν ἀκριβὸ μου *PETRITSIS*, *Dig.* O 867; νὰ τὸν καταπατῆτεν
ibid. 3030
 φαίνομαι ἐγὼ (1196, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 241, 325.2)
 βούλομαι τοῦ ἔχειν (1473, Corfu, *KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS* 1996: 62, 180.30)
 καὶ πάλιν ἐφηγοῦμαι των τὴν ἐρωτοπλασίαν *Liv.* E 833
 ἀπορῶ καὶ ἐξίσταμαι καὶ τὸν νοῦν καταπλήττομαι *Spanos B* 24
 τοῦ ἀποκρίνομαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτα (1564, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 132, 217.22)
 φαίνεται ἵνα ἔχει βαλμένα (1662, Sifnos, *MERTZIOS* 1958a: 1, 109.111)
 νὰ τῆς θυμάταιν (1680, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 37, 187.24)
 δουλῶνεστέν εἰς Ἑρωταν *Liv.* V 497
 οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεστέν ποσῶς *Chron. Mor.* P 5392
 ἀπέξω φαίνεσθην εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δίκαιοι *KALLIOUP.*, *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 23.28
 καὶ νὰ γενολογᾶστέν *Poulol.* 658
 ἀλλήλως νὰ ἡγαπᾶστέν *Chron. Mor.* P 3993
 θυμάστέν ποὺ δειλιάζετε *Alex. Rim.* 1759
 καὶ ἵνα διαλέγωνται ἀμφοτέροι (1027, Sparta, *FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT* 1985: 43, 301.25)
 ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὀρέγονται *Spaneas Z* 331

όπου ἴναι εἰς Τουρκίαν *Alosis* 939

πραματέβγουνταιν κάθε λογῆς πραμάτεια (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 312.14)

ἴνα ἀνατρέφουνταιν (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 27.220)

καὶ μ' ἄλλους χαίρουνταιν αὐτές BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 260

ὅτι προσποιούνταιν ὡς δῆθεν ἀγαθοεργείας NIKON, *Prol.* 16.31

ὅτι σθенаχωρούνταιν *Liv.* V 763

ἐνθυμούνταιν *Pol. Tr.* 8548 app. crit. (C)

καὶ παρακινούνταιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι (1576, Macedonia, CHASIOTIS 1964/65: 3, 253.30)

εἴτι χρέη χρωσιόνταιν (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 172, 222.18)

Imperfect

εἶχαν ἐγώ (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 209.31)

τὴν εἶχαν στο Κουμούνι μου DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1311 app. crit.

Aorist

ἀφιέρωσιν τὴν ἐγὼ ἠφιέρωσαν εἰς ... (1108, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 17, 218.86)

ἐγὼ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχασαν καὶ τὰ πλούτη DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 603 app. crit.

ὥσαν σοῦ τό ἔγραψαν με ἄλλα μου χαρτία (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 27.20–1)

ἐγὼ ὁ κοντόσταβλος ... ἔλαβαν ἓναν ὀρισμόν (1570, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 1999: 33, 398.9)

ἐγὼ ἐμίσεψαν ἀπὸ κεῖ (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 27.27)

ἠγόρασαν αὐτόν ἀπὸ τὸν παπὰν (1493–4, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 36, 179.5)

ὅταν δὲ θέλῃς κτήσεστέν εἰς ἄνθρωπον φιλίαν *Spaneas* V 81 app. crit.

εἶδετέν αὐτόν GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.32

αὐτὰ ποὺ ἐγροικήσετέν VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 99

τὰ ὅσα ἐτάξετέν (1685, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [2], 12.8)

Uninflected Words

ἄχριν τοῦ σπαρτίου (1118, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 85, 112.18)

ἐφειδὴν ἦτον κρατημένος *Assizes* B 279.6

ἐπεῖν τοῦτο ἐσκόπησεν *Pol. Tr.* 43 app. crit. (A)

ἐπειδὴν / ἐπειδὴν (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 133.29)

τ' ὄξων περιβόλι (1537, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 117, 231.8)

θέλεις πέσει κάτω *Diig. Alex.* F 154.10 (Lolos)

μὰς τόστιλις ἢ ὄχιν / μὰς τό στείλις ἢ ὄχιν (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 57.13)

A totally different case, not properly belonging under the heading of “final /n/ addition”, is the analogical voicing of an initial voiceless consonant, graphematically expressed as a final /n/ tagged on to the previous word, which ends in a vowel (see 3.8.3.2 and 3.8.3.3). The origin of the phenomenon is the automatic assimilatory voicing of initial voiceless stops when preceded by proclitic words ending in /n/, such as forms of the definite and indefinite article and the weak (clitic) forms of the personal pronoun; this spreads analogically even in cases without preceding nasal (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 63). This phenomenon appears sporadically everywhere, but has almost the status of a norm in texts from Crete and the Cyclades, in the case of postnominal possessive clitics and object clitics appearing after νά, θά and the negation. In such cases, the presence of final /n/ is only apparent; the sound heard is probably a bare voiced stop [b d g] and not a nasal + stop cluster. This is immediately apparent in texts written in the Latin alphabet. Examples (see also 3.8.3.3):

τοῦ ἐδικοῦν του δικαίου *Assizes* B 381.26

τὰ μέλην του *Achil.* O 78

ἀπάνων του DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 334

τεμονιοῦν τους (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 132.5)

τὰ παιδιάν τονε (1544, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [2], 7.11)

ὁ κύρ Κωσταντής καὶ ἡ συμβίαν του (1587, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 147, 271.13)

ἡ γιόρεξιν του (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 38.6)

ἐδικάν του (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 111.16)

i thigateradu / ἡ θυγατέρα ν-του CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.581 transcr. X (Legrand)

sta plutidu / στὰ πλούτη ν-του CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.582 transcr. X (Legrand)

νάν τὸ ἔχη, νάν τὸ δεσπόζη (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 2, 80.11)

νάν τοῦ λισεντζιάρειν (1687, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 277, 257.34)

νάν τοὺς βάλουν εἰς τὴν ὑποταγήν τους SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 39.17

ἡκολούθειν τον *Liv.* V 43

πῆτεν του (1670, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 4, 15.7)

3.7.2.2 Deletion of Final /n/

Deletion of final /n/ is first attested in the period of the Koine. Papyrological evidence shows that final nasals were deleted in many texts, irrespective of the phonetic environment (GIGNAC 1976: 111–16, cf. also inscriptional examples in DIETERICH 1898: 88–91; PANAYOTOU 1990: 311). The deeper causes of the phenomenon may be phonological, i.e. a tendency towards open syllables, as in the case of final /s/. Deletion of final /n/ can also be the ultimate result of various coarticulatory phenomena obtaining originally within phonological phrases (i.e. close-knit syntactic units such as article + noun, clitic + verb, or negation + verb), in the case of proclitic words ending in /n/ followed by consonant-initial words. In this environment, the assimilatory rules affecting word-internal nasals would also apply, and would later spread context-independently, having become adopted into the inflectional system. These are the following:

a) Total assimilation of a final nasal to a following initial continuant (fricative, sibilant, nasal or liquid; see 3.4.2.4). This process would result in a geminate initial consonant, appearing in all areas before the loss of quantity distinctions in the phonological system, and would subsequently be degeminated in the majority of areas but retained in geminating dialects, e.g. τὸν φίλον [ton 'filon] > [to'ffilon] > [to'filon], τὸν λόγον [ton 'loɣon] > [to'lloɣon] > [to'loɣon]. An argument in favour of such a phonetic pathway of assimilation–gemination–degemination for the loss of final /n/ (DIETERICH 1898: 88; NEWTON 1972a: 100) is the fact that the areas where deletion of final /n/ does not take place mostly coincide with those where double consonants are retained, i.e. Cyprus, the Dodecanese and S. Italy (see below).

b) Voicing assimilation of a following stop and subsequent deletion of the nasal (see 3.8.3.2 and 3.6.2.1), e.g. τὸν πατέρα [ton pa'tera] > [tomba'tera] > [toba'tera]. Again, it is indicative that the areas in which final /n/ tends to be retained, such as Pontos and the South-East (see below) also tend to preserve word-internal nasal + stop clusters, whereas the areas which display more wholesale deletion of final /n/, such as Crete, the Cyclades

and Mani, are also those which exhibit deletion of word-internal /n/ before stops more consistently.

c) Hiatus avoidance in the case of a following vowel (see 2.9.1). Although final /n/ has been lost entirely as a constituent feature in several nominal and verbal inflectional suffixes in MG, it has been retained in the case of proclitic words, such as the definite article, the object clitics and the negation *δέν*, indicating that in this environment /n/ functioned as a non-final intervocalic element.

Deletion of final /n/ may also have morphological causes, i.e. it can appear as a hypercorrect reaction to the strong tendency for analogical extension of final /n/ (see above 3.7.2.1). It is possible that the picture given by Egyptian papyri of the Koine period is not truly representative of the overall evolution of Greek, and that deletion of final /n/ was not so well-established at such an early date (cf. HORROCKS ²2010: 171–2). Two facts point in this direction: (a) the extreme extension of analogical addition of final /n/, which affects all regional forms of Greek, even those which later show wholesale deletion of final /n/; and (b) the existence of several MG dialects in which final /n/ still constitutes a typical feature, thus presupposing a very early date of dialectal division/differentiation if deletion of final /n/ is taken to be already a Koine characteristic. If the deletion of final /n/ is connected to the phenomenon of degemination (see above), it becomes even more tightly connected with the dating of dialectal division of the so-called South-Eastern group.

Finally, deletion of final /n/ in the nominal morphology can be seen as part of a more general structural change within the nominal inflectional system, which tends, in the singular, towards a simple binary marking of cases based on the presence vs. absence of final /s/, and in which final /n/ can be seen as a superfluous marker (see II, 1.1 and the studies of SEILER 1958 and RUGE 1969a).

Furthermore, the fact that deletion of final /n/ shows, in most areas, as well as in MG, a certain degree of morphological conditioning (i.e. there are specific suffixes where final /n/ resists deletion) inevitably points to a diachronic process that took several centuries to complete. As phonetic changes are normally “blind” to morphology, applying across the board independently of the inflectional environment, it is only changes that remain in a state of variation over a long period of time that acquire differential conditioning.¹⁴

The morphological conditioning of final /n/ deletion is also apparent from the fact that it is consistently avoided in the case of archaic/residual inflectional suffixes which are part of the learned register. When deletion of final /n/ is found in such cases, it should be considered as a scribal error, of no interest for the diachronic development of MedG. The suffixes belonging to this category are the following:

- the nom. sg. of 3rd-declension nasal and dental stem nouns, adjectives and participles, e.g. *ἄγων*, *λιμήν*, *Πλάτων*, *Ξενοφῶν*, *γράφων*, *λαβών*, *ἀγαπῶν*
- the 1 sg. and 3 pl. active imperf. of barytone verbs, e.g. *ἔγραφον*, *ἠγάπων*, *ἐπόνουν*
- the 2 sg. active aor. imp. -ον, e.g. *γράφου*

¹⁴ Compare, in this respect, the diachronic process of final /n/ deletion in English, which also seems to have undergone morphological conditioning over a long period of time (RINGE/ESKA 2013: 147–9).

- the 1 sg. passive imperf. -ομην, e.g. ἐγγραφόμην
- the 1 sg. passive aor. -ην, e.g. ἐγράφηην
- the 1 pl. passive aor. -ημεν, e.g. ἐγράφημεν.¹⁵

Apart from papyrological evidence, traces of final /n/ deletion are to be found in Asia Minor and Macedonian inscriptions of the first centuries AD (BRIXHE ²1987: 33–4; ΠΑΝΑΥΟΤΟΥ 1990: 311), as well as in 9th-c. inscriptions from Cappadocia, e.g. *ἰς τὸν οὐρανο /εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸ* (9th c., Cappadocia, DE JERPHANION 1925/42: I, p. 192); *κοψε με κλαδη / κόψε με κλαδί* (ibid. I, p. 444); *ἐπορεύετον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑγυπτο* (THIERRY/THIERRY 1963: 55). However, deletion of final /n/ does not occur in EMedG literature, at least not in the printed editions (DIETERICH 1898: 90; PSALTES 1913: 89). Non-deletion is also the norm in the earliest vernacular LMedG texts such as *Ptochoprodromos*, *Spaneas*, *Glykas*, *Eisitirioi* (*Logoi*), although rare variants without final /n/ may be spotted, often in the apparatus criticus, e.g.

τὸ γενε ολόγι σου / τὸ γενεολόγι σου *Spaneas* V 107; παιδί μου ibid. 144
νικῶσι καὶ τὸν Ἄδη GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 88

τὸ δίδειν καὶ ἐπαίρειν καὶ κρούει τε καὶ λαμβάνειν *Ptoch.* II 19–9 app. crit. (H)
καὶ φέρε με παιδίτσι μου τυρὶν σταμεναρέαν *Ptoch.* III 118 app. crit. (M)

In S. Italian documents, the phenomenon is again not very common. Modern dialectal data corroborate this scarcity, as the modern S. Italian norm is one of retention before vowels, total assimilation before consonants and loss in final position or in isolation. However, it is possible to find relatively early attestations of loss of final /n/ in S. Italy (MINAS ²2003: 61; KARANASTASIS 1997: 42–3), a number of which could be interpreted as graphematic non-indication of total assimilation to a following consonant.

εἰς τοῦ ρουάκι (1034, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 29, 34.24)
εἰς τὸ πόδι τοῦ χωραφίου (1112, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 32, 148.11)
τὸ ἐπιλαγχάνο μας μέρος (1127–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 11, 90.6)
ἀπὸ μεσημβρία (1134, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 115, 154.9–10)
τὸ χωράφιο τοῦ Ραβέτου (1170, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 21, 167. 9)
τῶν ἐμετέρων γονέω (1131, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 42, 188.12)
νὰ μοῦ βοηθοῦ ὁ Θεὸς (1137, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 8, 628.23)
φανεῖ τις ἐπενοχλεῖ (1092, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 54, 71.19)
πωλεῖν, χωρίζειν, ανταλλάττει, προίξι γράφειν (1176, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 4, 374.18)
εἴ τις εὐρευθεῖ πλέον δώσει (1264, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 21, 163.8)
τοῦ τοιούτου ἔνεκε τρόπου (1195, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 17, 140.10)
ἔνεκε σωτηρίας (1116, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 15, 412.14)

The status of final /n/ in other early sources of the LMedG period, such as the Athos corpus of the 11th–13th c., is obscured by the scribal practice of using abbreviations for most inflectional suffixes, such as -ον, -αν, -ην, -ιν, -ων, -εν. Deletion is also inhibited by the

¹⁵ For this last, a few examples have been located: *πάντες γυμνοὶ ἐγεννήθημε* *Spaneas* V 136 app. crit.; *τὸ ἐπιστώθημε ἀπὸ εὐλαβῶν χριστιανῶν* PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.22.

overall higher register of these documents. If it is to be found at all, it is in suffixes which presented a tendency for deletion already in previous periods, such as the nom./acc. of neuter nouns.

- τὸ ἀμπέλι κρατεῖ τὸν βάσταγα (1010, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 15, 140.13); ἐπὶ τὸ παρὸ πρακτικὸ (1056, *ibid.* 31, 80.56); ἡς τὸ μεικρῶ δορὶν / εἰς τὸ μικρὸ δορὺν (1071, *ibid.* 39, 117.17)
- τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ρυάκι, τὸ πρὸς ἄκτρον (1071, Athos, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 9, 107.16); ἀφίον ἐκ δεξιὸν ρυακίτζι μικρ(όν) (*ibid.* 9, 107.22)
- τὸ κεραμαρίο τὸ πλη(σίον) (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.26–7); κριθ(ά)ρ(ι) μὸδ(ια) ο' (*ibid.* 9A, 80.22)
- ἀσφαλίζομε (1008/9, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 13, 134.17)
- ὡς ἐδιαχωρίσαμε οὕτω (1206, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 160, 350.45)

3.7.2.2.1 *Morphological Distribution*

In more detail, the morphological positions where deletion of final /n/ occurs are the following:

a) In nominal morphology: the acc. sg. of masc. and fem. nouns and adjectives of all declensions displays deletion of final /n/ already since the Koine. This is the most common environment of final /n/ deletion, which is attested in all types of LMedG and EMG documents from all areas. The acc. sg. of the definite article is less prone to deletion, but it is not possible to observe phonetic regularity with respect to its retention, i.e. it is not possible to perceive, from written sources, whether it behaves as in MG, where it is retained only before vowels and stops. Deletion of final /n/ in the nom./acc. sg. of neut. nouns and adjectives in /o/ and /i/ is again attested already since the Koine. As a result, it surfaces sporadically even in the more archaizing and high-register LMedG texts, and is regular in lower-register texts from all areas.

- τὸν γαβρό σου Γεώργιο τὸ Καραντινὸ (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 20.3)
- εἰς τὸν Μάτζαρη (post 1640, Monemvasia, SCHREINER 1975/79: 79, 44.1)

- ἑτέρα φυτέα (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.23–4)
- ὁ Κύριος ἔρριξεν ἄνεμο μεγάλην *Jonas* 213.4
- ἄμε μὲ τὴν εὐχίτσα μου *Chron. Mor.* H 1388

- τὸ φταῖσιμο θέλει εἶσται (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.8–9)
- νερὸ καθάριον *Dig.* E 1655
- ὅποιον κάστρο καὶ χώρα προσκυνήσει (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.10)
- εἰς τοῦ ρουάκι (1034, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 29, 34.24)
- τὸ χωρίον τὸ Ὀφιδοβούνι (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 22.59)
- καὶ τὸ παιδὶ τὸν κύρην *Alosis* 206

By contrast, the gen. pl. of nouns and adjectives of all declensions, as well as of the definite article, displays deletion of final /n/ only since the late 15th c. This is attested mostly in texts from Crete, less frequently from the Cyclades, Mani and the Peloponnese, and only occasionally from other areas.

- τῶν τριακόσιων ἄγιω πατέρω ιη' (1572, S. Italy, VIOLI 2006: 311.22)
 πατέρω καὶ παππάδω *P&N Diath.* 214
 των αλλωνῶ βοσκῶ *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.294
 τῶν ἄνωθι ὀρφανῶ (1617, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 16, 320.24)
 τῶν βοσκῶ (1642, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 19, 159.15)
 τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀμπασαδόρω (1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 5, 239.15)
 τῶ κάτωθε γεγραμμένω μαρτύρω (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 51, 66.19)
 ρηγάδω, βασιλιάδω *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol.* 35
 ὅς ταῦτιὰ τῶν ἀφεντάδω *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 236
 ἔμπροστε καλῶ<v> ἀ<v>θρώπων<v> (1673, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 18, 129.10–11)
- τω γυναικῶ την ὀρεξη *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.404
 ὁλωνῶ τῶ γυναικῶ (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 39.66)
 τῶν λεγομένων ἀρχόντισσῶ (1568, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 14 [later copy], 68.20)
 τῶν ἐκκλησῶ (1645, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 11, 25.22)
- εἰς ἀρμάτω συμμαχίαν *Chron. Mor.* P 2007
 ὁ σφάκτης τῶν σιδέρω *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 493
 τῶν παιδίο της / τῶν παιδίω της (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.17–18)
 γέννημα ὀσπρίω, λάδι (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 257.37)
 ἄλλονῶ πραμάτω (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 59, 72.2)
 τῶν μπραμάτω (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 482.13)
 τὸ σάλδο τῶ δουκάτω τετρακοσίω (1699, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 5, 166.2–3)

b) In verbal morphology: the 1 pl. present active suffixes -ομεν, -οουμεν, -οῦμεν and the 1 pl. active past -αμεν, -ᾶμεν exhibit loss of final /n/ before the LMedG period, and therefore the phenomenon is recorded already in the earliest LMedG documents, without geographical restrictions. By contrast, the 3 pl. active -ουν/-αν in the present and the imperfect exhibit loss of final /n/ only since the 14th c., perhaps initially only before clitics. The phenomenon occurs with regularity only in texts from Crete and the Cyclades, while in other areas and in literary texts it may appear sporadically, especially before clitics. The prevalence of the phenomenon before clitics is noted by Germano (*GERMANO, Grammar* 87.18–21). However, note that in areas with geminate consonants, deletion before a 1st or 2nd person clitic may be only apparent, and the actual realization may be total assimilation to /mm/ or /ss/. Similarly, before a 3rd person clitic absence of final /n/ may also be just an indication of a voiced denasalized realization of the following voiceless stop /t/.

In the active aorist, deletion of final /n/ in the suffix -αν is predominant again only in Crete and the Cyclades, and mostly in forms which exhibit shift of stress to the penultimate, in order to ensure disambiguation from the homophonous 1st person sg. In the 3rd person pl. of the passive aorist, the phenomenon is attested already since the 11th c. It appears in relatively early literary texts, and is again predominant in Crete and the Cyclades (in the case of the suffix -ησαν), and in forms which exhibit shift of stress for disambiguation (in the case of the suffix -ηκαν).

- ἀσφαλίζομε (1008/9, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 13, 134.17)
 εὔχολα τὸν περνούμε *Liv.* E 3902
 παρακαλοῦμέ σε (1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 5, 239.16)

ἐδιαχωρίσαμε (1206, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 160, 350.45)

εἶχαμε (1360, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 49, f.236r.6)

κ' ἐπήραμε τὸ νῆκος *Chron. Mor.* H 3657

na treghu ta chalu / νὰ τρέχου τὰ καλά του (1394, Crete, SANTSCHI 1976: 1597, 344.8)

ἀποχαιρετοῦ τον *Chron. Mor.* P 77; πάντες παρακαλοῦ σε *ibid.* 233

διαφεντεύου σε *Pol. Tr.* 6589 app. crit. (C)

θέτου με, κρατοῦν, καταφιλοῦ με *Liv.* V 2175

νὰ δίνου καὶ νὰ πλερώνου (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 54.28)

γράφου καὶ λέγου τα πιτάκια μου (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 397.27–8)

να μ' αγαπού, να με τιμού και να με προσκυνούσι CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.280

ἐγύρευγά τους καὶ ἔκαυγά τους (1570, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.3)

καὶ τοὺς κώλους των ἐκρούσα | καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρες των γελοῦσα | καὶ παστάρδικα γεννοῦσα

Epain. gyn. 705–7

ἐρρικταν ἀπάνω πέτρες καὶ δὲν ἐβουλοῦσα *Diig. Sant.* 59.64–5

μ' ἀναστεναγμούς, ὅπ' ὅλους ἐπικράνα FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 12

τίποτες δὲν ἐμολογήσα πως ... VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 32.13

ἐπομείνα κοντέντοι (1573, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17 [later copy], 72.39)

ἐτιμήσα το (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 35, 53.16)

ἐτελειώθησα τὰ στηθεῖα (1079, Mani, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 47, 306.1)

ἐσχίστησα τὰ σώματα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1984

ἐδιάβησα τ' αμαξία VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 82.11

ἐγίνησα ξύδι (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.14)

κι ἐνεθραφῆκα ὁμάδι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.616

Loss of final /n/ in the 1st and 2nd person sg. imperf. pass. suffixes -ομου, -ουμου, -σου, -ουσου is relatively rare, appearing from the 14th c. onwards, and geographically restricted mostly to Crete and the Cyclades.

The absence of final /n/ in the 3rd person pl. -ο(υ)ντα(ν) is difficult to interpret. If this suffix is considered an analogy on the basis of the active imperfect -αν (ἐγγραφαν → ἐγράφοντο > ἐγράφονταν), then the absence of final /n/ is a case of deletion. However, if it is viewed as an evolution of the AG 3rd person pl. with influence, with respect to its vocalism, from the active voice (ἐγράφοντο > ἐγράφοντα > ἐγράφονταν), then the absence of final /n/ can also be considered as non-addition. The extension of the variants without final /n/, which do not seem to be geographically restricted, renders the second alternative more likely.

νὰ ἐγάλλουμου DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 218

οὐκ ἐδουλώνομου εἰς τὸ ἐξουσιαστικόν σου *Liv.* α 409 app. crit. (N)

ἐσυχνοεχαίρομου *Theseid Prol.* P 4

ἐσηκόνουμου συχνῶς *Alosis* 712

πῶς οὐδὲν ἐντρεπέσου *Liv.* E 1773

ὀνομάζεσου μοναχικά *Synax. gyn.* 429

εἰς τὰ κρισίματα ὅπου ἐκρίνουσου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 324, 321.23)

ἐλογιάζουσου (1689?, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 868, 1161.24–5)

ἐλαβώνοντα καὶ ἔπεφταν *Pol. Tr.* 3452 app. crit. (B)

αμή πάντα εστέκοντα πικραμένοι *Vios Filaret.* 241.25

τὰ ὀριζες ἐγίνοντα, τὰ ἤθελες ἐποίουν *Dig.* E 358

ἐγεύγουντα BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 292

να τη θωρούσι ἐρέγουντα τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ δάση CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.315

ἤρχουντα ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀμοργὸν Diig. *Sant.* 58.85

Finally, the present infinitive suffix -ειν (barytone) and -εῖν (oxytone) appears without final /n/ already since the Koine (GIGNAC 1981: 330, 362), and its presence in the earliest LMedG sources, namely the S. Italian documents, is therefore to be expected. As already mentioned, functional overlap with the 3rd person sg. active must have influenced this development (see 3.7.2.1). Deletion of final /n/ thereafter appears in all types of texts from all areas. However, the infinitive of A-stem verbs does not display deletion of final /n/ before the 14th c.

πωλεῖν, χωρίζειν, ἀνταλλάττει, προῖξι γράφειν (1176, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 4, 374.18)

νὰ ὑπᾶμεν ... τὰ οὐκ ἔχομεν γυρεύει *Chron. Mor.* H 837

θέλει λαχαίνει (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 21, 161.15)

ἀποσπάζει θέλει *Assizes* B 340.11

ἐξαπορῶ τοῦ γράφει BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 14

φανεῖ τις ἐπενοχλεῖ (1092, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 54, 71.19)

ὁ ρῆγας ἄρξετον λαλεῖ *Chron. Mor.* H 7118

εἶχα κρατεῖ SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 52.5

κί' ἂν εἶναι κί' ἤθελε μπορεῖ CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.41

τὸν θέλουσι γελεῖ *Chron. Mor.* H 8185

πάντα θέλω σ' ἀγαπᾶ CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.392

c) In uninflected words: this category includes the negation δέν, the conjunctions ἂν, (ὠ)σάν, ὅταν, ἤγουν, λοιπόν, the adverb πλέον/πλέον/πιό, the adverbs in -θεν and other isolated items. Deletion of final /n/ in the negation δέν is to be found rarely, mostly in texts from Crete, and only before a consonant, usually a continuant; it never occurs before a vowel. The conjunction ἂν displays deletion in texts from many areas, although Crete again produces the most examples. The conjunction σάν, by contrast, shows deletion almost exclusively from Crete. Deletion takes place only before a consonant. The deletion of final /n/ in ἂν and σάν is noted by Germano: “ἂν, che significa, se, che volgarmente anco lo dicono, ἄ” (GERMANO, *Grammar* 88.8); “ῶσάν, & volgarmente, σάν, che anco dicono, σά” (ibid. 88.17). In texts from Cyprus, assimilation of /n/ to the following consonant is occasionally recorded.

The adverb πλέον/πλέον occurs without final /n/ in many texts, predominantly from Crete but also in many literary sources (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. πλέον (I)). Apart from these grammatical words, deletion of final /n/ may occur in a variety of lexical items, predominantly from Crete and the Cyclades, but also in literary and non-literary texts from other areas. Deletion in these lexical items is not conditioned by the phonetic environment, as they are not proclitic; therefore instances before a vowel are not uncommon.

δέ μου ἤχε δώσει / δέ μου εἶχε δώσει (1501–3, Padua, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.7)

δέ δύνεται νὰ βοηθηθῇ FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 190

μά σὺ δέ μολογᾷς θεόν *Rim. kor.* A 125

ἀ λάχει *Chron. Mor.* H 5197

ἀ μέ ἀπαλησμονήσης *Dig.* E 478

ἀ σοῦ ἦλθεν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 235

ἀ τὰ στείλης (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.23)

σὰ μοῦ ᾿χεν ὀρδινιάσει *CHORTATZIS, Katz.* II.131

σὰ φτάσεις *Thysia Avr.* 17

σὰ μαρούλια *Paroim.* (Warner) 115.8

γὰ πλίο ἡδονικότερον ἐσένανε *Theseid Prol.* E 115

ἦτονε πλέο ἐλεύθερη καὶ ὀγλήγορη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.14

bglío tinvoci / μπλιό τίβοτσι (1661, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 10, 105.103)

ἀρχῆθε *Velth.* 1017; κύκλωθε *ibid.* 482

παρόπισθε *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 182.4

ἐξόπισθε τοῦ φθόνου *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 23

ἦγου τὸν ἀφέντη (1676, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 23, 92.7)

πλησίο εἰς *Chron. Toc.* 587

ἦγου πεντακόσα (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 23.19)

λοιπὸ ρωτᾶ τον *Nov. I* 156.6

3.7.2.2.2 *Geographical Distribution*

Deletion of final /n/ in the above environments surfaces as follows:

a) The areas where final /n/ is retained throughout fall to the East and South: Asia Minor, Cyprus and most Dodecanesian islands. In Cypriot texts, final /n/ is mostly retained in sources such as the mss of Machairas, Voustronios, *Fior de Vertu*, *Assizes*, and in non-literary documents. Additionally, the retention of final /n/ is betrayed by assimilatory phenomena at word boundaries, which result in word-initial geminate consonants (see 3.4), and by the entrenchment of an innovative analogical final /n/ in several morphological slots such as the neuter nouns and adjectives in -μα and -ύ. There is one MedG Cypriot source, the collection of documents known as the *Remembrances*, where final /n/ is completely absent from the notation. This is usually interpreted as a graphematic phenomenon attributable to the influence of Old French, where non-notation of nasals due to the phenomenon of nasalized vowels is common. In literary texts and in other documentary sources, absence of final /n/ is also attested, albeit more rarely than in other areas, in both nominal and verbal suffixes (BEAUDOIN 1884: 55; CHRISTODOULOU 1983: 383; KECHAYOGLOU 1997: 148*), in morphological slots disallowed both by Modern Cypriot and even by the less conservative SMG (see MENARDOS 1969: 17–20 for the modern Cypriot distribution).

Absence of final /n/ in Cypriot texts may also imply total assimilation and gemination of the following initial consonant, if it is not a stop; so, assimilation may be suspected in the case of a following /f θ x v ð γ m n l r/. Non-notation of initial gemination is especially common in the case of a following word beginning with ν-, usually νά, e.g. χρεωστοῦ νά ζητήσουν *Assizes A* 118.17; ἐπῆγε εἰς τὴν Ἀμόχουστο νά δουλεύγη *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 402.30–1; θέλομε νά σοῦ συντύχωμεν *ibid.* 388.21. Editorial practice sometimes

“restores” the assimilated -ν absent from the notation, e.g. ἀρνήθημ με (αρνίθι με ms) *Cypr. Canz.* 113.4; στο κλάμα μου (κλάμα μου ms) *ibid.* 112.8. Final /n/ is also lost when the following word begins with a consonant cluster, e.g. διὰ τὴ ψυχὴ της (1333, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 2.3). Examples, by morphological category:

νὰ ἔλθουν εἰς τὴν Ἀμόχουστο μοναῦτα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 174.6

κανέναν ξύλο εἰς τὴν Συρίαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 150.10

αποτικαλαμιά / ἀπὸ τὴ καλαμιά (1666, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 1, 1.4)

τῶν τέκνων της Assizes B 383.10; τῶν δύο ἀδελφάδω, ὅπου *ibid.* 420.15

τον αὐτ(ο) χοριο κ(αι) πραστιο / τῶν αὐτῶ χωρίω καὶ πραστείω (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.4)

τῷ τριακοσίῳ θεοφόρῳ πατέρῳ (1534, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 18, 232.10)

δείχνου καλὴν μούστραν Assizes B 251.29; καὶ λέγου οὕτως *ibid.* 475.25

κομπώννου μας, καὶ πλανοῦ μας! MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 656.5–6

καταστήνου ἕναν βαχλίωτην VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 28.3; εστέκα πολλὰ χαῖριασμένοι *ibid.* 92.15

ἐγύρευγά τους καὶ ἔκαβγά τους (1570, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.3) (3 pl.)

να μὲν εἶχου κακόν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 76.40 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)

As far as the medieval Pontic sources (acts, inscriptions, ms notes) are concerned, final /n/ is deleted only extremely rarely, mostly in the acc. sg. of nouns:

τὴ<ν> λαχοῦσα<ν> μου μοῖραν (1435, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 12, 6.3);

ἀπὲ τὸν Γεώργι[ον] τὸν Νομικὸ[ν] (*ibid.* 13, 6.6–7); τὸ ὀσπιτοέδρι μου (13th c., *ibid.* 108, 80.40)

τὸ Πυργί (1506, Trebizond, PRINZING 2000: 2, 304.3); τ(ὴν) Μουγάλα τ(ὴν) Ἀλευράβα (*ibid.* 2, 304.10)

Only the Athos *Gesprächbuch* shows regular deletion of final /n/, if indeed it can be considered an instance of Pontic Greek, and the same tendency is observable also in a 15th-c. document from the Crimea:

εἰς τὴμ πόρτα / εἰς τὴν μπόρτα (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 183); καματεμένο κερὶ (*ibid.* 2242)

αποκρηχηρη / ἀποκρισάρη (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.1); το δικό σας (*ibid.* 169.3–4)

νὰ φάγ<ω>με σύντομα (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 111); θέλομε νὰ σηκωθοῦμε τὸ πουρνό (*ibid.* 118–19); μαθεῖ θέλουσι (*ibid.* 337)

ἐκαρτέρου<ν> (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1480); ποῦ ἦσου; (*ibid.* 1869)

Texts from the Dodecanese and other eastern Aegean islands are less consistent in the notation of final /n/, displaying several attestations of deletion, from a variety of morphological environments. However, it must be noted that the modern Dodecanesian dialects present considerable local variation between islands with respect to the preservation of final /n/ (see PANDELIDIS 1929: 40–1 and 48–9), a situation possibly already established in the MedG period.

ἕνα μου ἐντιστεμένο ἄνθρωπον (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.14)

τῶν Χριστιανῶ καὶ Μουσουλμάνῳ γυρεύουσιν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83.10)

τεσσάρῳ πινακίῳ (1609, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 6, 21.5)

γιερέω και λαγικο / γιερέω και λαγικῶ (1722, Tilos, KOUTELAKIS 1979: 21, 54.2)

τὰ δουκάτα ἀποῦ ἀπομένου διὰ τὶς ὁδοὺς (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.16); θέλου
ἀνακατωθῶ οὗλοι οἱ Χριστιανοί (ibid. 9, 61.7)

κλαῖ σας οἱ ρύμες LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 62 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner: κλαῖν)

να μου μνημονεύγου δια τον κόπον (1502, Kalymnos, KOUTELAKIS 1981: 1, 29.9)

ἐτιμήθησα ὑπὸ 'κοδεσπότη (1603, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 5, 21.16) (3 pl.)

b) Areas where final /n/ tends to be deleted throughout: the typical representative of the tendency is Crete, and the phenomenon is also entrenched in the Cyclades, Cythera and Mani, and to a lesser degree in the Heptanese. In Mani, final /n/ deletion is documented in an inscription from the 11th c. and in documents from the 16th and 17th c.; it corresponds to modern dialectal tendencies, in concurrence with final /e/ addition as a prophylactic device (BASEA-BEZANDAKOU 2005: 285).

ἐτελειώθησα τὰ στηθία (1079, Mani, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 47, 306.1)

νὰ τὸ μεράζου (1547, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: I, 70.13); εὐρεθέντω ἀξιοπίστω μαρτύρων (1547, ibid. I, 70.19); ἐσυφωνήσαμε καὶ ἐπουλήσαμε (1547, ibid. I, 70.4); κατὰ τὴ σήμερο ἡμέρα

(1600, ibid. II, 70.2); πουλοῦμε τὶς ἐλὲς στὴ Γιάννιτζα (1600, ibid. II, 70.4–5); τῶν συκενῶ

μου (1600, ibid. II, 71.11–12); νὰ ἔχου, νὰ δεσπόζου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (1609, ibid. III, 71.17)

ἐδιαβάσαμε τήνε (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.4); τῶν ἀφεντάδω (ibid. VIII,

306.2); τῶν ὁμοίω Γραικῶν (1676, Corsica, ibid. IX, 311.34)

ἀν ἀπομείνου, νὰ περπατοῦ μὲ τὸ διάφορό τους (1690, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: IX, 76.5–6)

There is exhaustive documentation of final /n/ deletion in Cretan texts, in all morphological environments (CHATZIDAKIS 1915: 460–1; PIDONIA 1977: 218–23; BAKKER 1988/89: 284–6; HENRICH 1998b: 91–4). Again, the phenomenon appears in concurrence with final /e/ or /ne/ addition and with hypercorrect “parasitic” final /n/ addition (see 3.7.2.1). The picture corresponds to the modern distribution (for which see ΚΑΦΚΑΛΑΣ 2000: 66–76). Phonetic conditioning of the presence vs. absence of final /n/ depending on the initial sound of the following word is observed in some texts (e.g. the autograph of *Fortounatos*, cf. VINCENT 1980: οἱ—οε΄) but not in all: in non-literary documents, where final /n/ is much less frequently deleted, it is detectable only in very low-register texts (drafted by almost illiterate scribes).

τὸν Γεώργη τὸν Καραντινὸ (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 26.3)

τὸ λιβάδι μὲ τὸ δάσο (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 31, 50.4)

εἰς τὸ γκάτο ροῦκουνα τὸ βορινὸ (1613, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 196, 186.23)

σειω τη γη CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.376; νὰ βλέπητς πᾶσα μέρα id., *Katz.* II.26

δέσε τὸ γάιδαρο FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.371

ἄλογο φοβιτσάρι KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.2332

πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων αἶμα *P&N Diath.* 497

to gineco olono / τῶ γυναικῶ ὄλωνῶ CHORTATSI, *Erof.* III.203 transcr. X (Legrand)

κατὰ τὸ ὀρδενάριον τῶ γονικάρῳ (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 45, 66.14)

καλῶς ἔχομε τὸ σῶμα (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.8)

νὰ τὸ πᾶμε εἰς τὴν Μεσαράν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 22, 22.4)

νὰ κάμου δύο κλιζιόλες (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 148.39)

ἐγίνησα ξύδι (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.14)

νὰ μοῦ συγχωρέσου καὶ νὰ μοῦ συμπαθήσου ὅλοι (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 48.20)
δὲν ακούστησα ποτὲ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.32

Texts from Cythera and the Cyclades present the same picture as those from Crete: final /n/ deletion, in all potential morphological environments, in concurrence with final /e/ addition, with hypercorrect “parasitic” final /n/ addition, all corroborated by modern dialectal data. Phonetic conditioning of the presence of final /n/ depending on the initial sound of the following word is rarely observable.

μὲ βελουδένιο φηκάρι (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.31); εἰς τὸ βυθὸ (ibid. 132, 217.38)

τὸ μισὸ τράφο (1575, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 134, 255.1)

εἰς τὸν ἀφέντη τὸν κατῆ (1597, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 41, 188.19)

εἰς κάποια διαφορά (1597, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 5, 77.5)

μῖαν κασσέλα ὅπου ἔχει (1614, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 14, 317.8)

τῶ γεννητόρω μας γονέων (1556, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 146, 116.15)

τῶν αὐτῶν καλογέρω (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 11, 134.15)

τῶ σπιτιῶ (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.45)

τῶν ὑποκάτωθε ὑπογεγραμμένω (1676, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 23.16)

δίδομε καὶ τελεύγομε (1583, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 28, 168.3)

ὁμολογοῦμε πῶς τὰ ἐλάβαμε (1666, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 18, 85.9)

ἔχομε προσηλωμένο (1670, Naxos, SFYROERAS 1963a: 1, 491.9)

νὰ τῶν τὰ δώσωμε καὶ νὰ τῶν τὰ μετρήσωμε (1697, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 12, 27.9)

ὡς καθὼς γράφου καὶ λέγου τὰ πιτάκια (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 397.28)

νὰ τὸ κοπιάζου, νὰ τὸ κυβερνοῦ (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.8)

νὰ λάβου καὶ νὰ περιλάβου (1636, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1993: 2, 291.10)

τόνε θέλουσι ρωτήσῃ (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 277, 381.1–2)

θελόμε βάλῃ / θέλομε βάλει (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 19.13)

In the Heptanese, final /n/ deletion is more evident in nominal than in verbal morphology (again corroborated by modern dialectal evidence, cf. ALEXAKIS 2005: 22), and is in general countered by the addition of final /e/ or /ne/ (see 2.6.3).

τὴν ἀναθρεφθῇ μου (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.12)

κατὰ τὸν ὀρισμὸ σας TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 206

τὴν κάμαρη τὴν ἀφεντική (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 4, 5.6)

τὸν μισὲρ Ἀνδρία Φραγγόπουλο (1667, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2008: 3, 254.11)

ἓνα κομμάτι χωράφι ὅμπερ ἔχου (1685, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 362.8)

γέννημα ὀσπρίω, λάδι (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 257.37)

ριαλιῶνε τριῶ (1654, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 2, 53.17)

τῶν ὑποκάτωθε ὑπογεγραμμένω τιμίων μαρτύρω (1685, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 362.1–3)

τὸ σάλδο τῶ δουκάτω τετρακοσίω (1699, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 5, 166.2–3)

κάμαμε ἱμοιρασία (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 9, 28.9)

ἔδωκάμῃ του (1516, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 1, 1στ'.33)

ὑπαντρεῖομε τὴν θυγατέρα μας (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 2, 4.3)

νὰ μένου ὄλα (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 12, 30.24–5)
 τὸν εἶχα ἐβγάλει οἱ σύντιχοι (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 217.8)
 ὄλοι τοὺς ἐτρομάσσα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 21
 δίνου τῷ μαθητάδωνε (1667, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 3, 146.21)

c) Areas where final /n/ is mostly deleted, but retained in certain morphological environments: these include mainland Greece, the N. Aegean and most literary texts. In this type of text, deletion of final /n/ is possible but avoided in the acc. sg. of masc. and fem. nouns and adjectives, and in the nom./acc. of neuter nouns, and it is rare, verging on disallowed, in the gen. pl., which can serve as a diagnostic of the extent of the phenomenon. In verbal morphology, deletion of final /n/ is frequent in the 1 pl. active and in the active infinitive, but rare in the 3 pl. active (-ουν) and in other slots of the verbal paradigm. In the texts belonging to this category the most important factor determining the retention of final /n/ is register. Examples are to be found in the previous sections.

3.8 Consonant Changes

3.8.1 Manner Dissimilation

3.8.1.1 Definition

The most characteristic phonetic phenomenon affecting the MedG consonant system is the so-called manner dissimilation of voiceless stops and fricatives (NEWTON 1972a: 106–12; BROWNING ²1983: 76; HORROCKS ²2010: 281). Sequences of voiceless consonants with the same manner of articulation (stop + stop, fricative + fricative) are disallowed and subject to dissimilation, which leads to sequences of fricative + stop.

The phenomenon appears in this form in all areas and periods under examination; it must be considered an active synchronic process and not a lexicalized inheritance from earlier phases, because innovative lexical items and loanwords are also affected. However, it does not display complete regularity, its applicability depending mainly on register (of the text or of the lexical item). Higher-register texts consistently avoid manner dissimilation, although hypercorrection phenomena occasionally reveal its existence (see 3.8.1.4). Furthermore, words belonging to the ecclesiastical, legal or scientific vocabulary rarely exhibit the phenomenon. The clusters affected are the sequences of voiceless stop + voiceless stop (/pt/, /kt/) and the sequences of voiceless fricative + voiceless fricative (/fθ/, /xθ/). Schematically:

	Input		Result		Input
Cluster	[pt]	>	[ft]	<	[fθ]
Example	ἐπτὰ	>	ἐφτά φτάνω	<	φθάνω
Cluster	[kt]	>	[xt]	<	[xθ]
Example	ὀκτώ	>	ὀχτώ χτῆς	<	χθῆς

The phenomenon also includes the rare cluster /fx/, which arose secondarily after the consonantization of the diphthongs /au/ and /eu/ (2.4.8) and involves words like εὐχή, εὐχαριστῶ, καυχῶμαι etc. The same dissimilatory process also affects sequences of /s/ + fricative, the result being /s/ + stop (e.g. ἀσθένεια > ἀστένεια), again as a general register-conditioned phenomenon. The reverse sequence, fricative + /s/, is non-existent in MedG and EMG (because sequences of aspirated stop + /s/ were subject to deaspiration in AG), but from a synchronic point of view it may be considered to occur at morpheme boundaries, where the process of dissimilation results in sequences of stop + /s/, with absolute, morphophonologically conditioned, regularity (see 3.8.1.5).

As a dialectal phenomenon with more limited distribution, manner dissimilation also extends to sequences of /r/ + fricative, resulting in sequences of /r/ + stop (e.g. ἔρχομαι > ἔρκομαι, ἔρθω > ἔρτω). (See 3.8.1.3 for details concerning distribution.) In summary, the evolutions are as follows:

- [pt] > [ft], e.g. ἐπτὰ > ἐφτά
- [kt] > [xt], e.g. ὀκτώ > ὀχτώ
- [fθ] > [ft], e.g. φθάνω > φτάνω
- [xθ] > [xt], e.g. χθές > χτές
- [fx] > [fk], e.g. εὐχή > εὐκή
- [sθ] > [st], e.g. ἀσθένεια > ἀστένεια
- [sx] > [sk], e.g. ἐσχάρα > σκάρα
- [rθ] > [rt], e.g. ἤρθε > ἤρτε
- [rx] > [rk], e.g. ἔρχομαι > ἔρκομαι

The above description of the phenomenon is purely synchronic, and the term “manner dissimilation” should be considered as a convention rather than as an actual description, as the diachronic evolution leading to it presents several problematic points (see 3.8.1.2). Manner dissimilation in biconsonantal clusters has received a number of phonological interpretations: it has been considered an instance of application of the sonority hierarchy (see 3.3.2), which requires greater articulatory distance between members of the cluster, or as an instance of the Obligatory Contour Principle, a general phonological principle which bans sequences of identical segments, or as a process of lenition (weakening) in syllable-final position (PAGONI-TETLOW 1998; MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 2001: 207–12; SEIGNEUR-FROLI 2003). The bidirectionality of the dissimilation, i.e. the fact that the result is always fricative + stop irrespective of whether the origin is fricative + fricative or stop + stop (which means that in the first case dissimilation is progressive and in the second regressive) has been attributed to perceptual reasons (TSERDANELIS 2002): perception of stops is easier when they are adjacent to vowels.

3.8.1.2 Historical Overview

The beginnings of the phenomenon can be traced in AG inscriptions, where the spellings <ΣΤ> for <ΣΘ> appear occasionally in North-West Greek dialects, and more sporadically in other dialects, including Attic (see MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1985: 333–94 for attestations and discussion). These spellings have been variously interpreted: some scholars view them

as an indication of deaspiration in the phonetic environment after a sibilant, i.e. $\Sigma T = [st]$, resulting from $[st^h] > [st]$. Others view them as graphematic evidence of an inhibition of fricativization in the phonetic environment after a sibilant, i.e. $\Sigma T = [st^h]$ as a phonetic archaism, whereas in all other environments the fricativization $[t^h] > [\theta]$ takes place. In both scenarios, the MedG stage $[st]$ does not derive from a dissimilation $[s\theta] > [st]$, but is either a direct continuation of AG $[st]$ or the result of deaspiration $[st^h] > [st]$.

In papyri of the Hellenistic period, replacement of aspirated stops $\langle X \rangle$, $\langle \Theta \rangle$ and $\langle \Phi \rangle$ by their unaspirated counterparts $\langle K \rangle$, $\langle T \rangle$ and $\langle \Pi \rangle$ respectively, occurs occasionally after $\langle \Sigma \rangle$, but also before other aspirated stops, liquids and nasals (GIGNAC 1976: 87–9); however, the phenomenon is in these cases mostly attributable to native language interference, since Egyptian lacks aspirated stops and fricatives (HORROCKS ²2010: 112). In all probability the AG and Koine change after $/s/$ took place while $\langle \Theta \rangle$ and $\langle X \rangle$ still represented $/t^h/$ and $/k^h/$. The dialect of Pamphylia also shows early evidence of deaspiration of voiceless aspirates after $/s/$, from the 2nd c. BC onwards (BRIXHE 2013: 178–80).

The consonantization of the diphthongs $/au/$ and $/eu/$ to $/af/$ and $/ef/$ respectively (see 2.4.8), which also took place in the Koine, must have increased the environments where sequences of fricative + stop occurred, e.g. $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}s$ [autos] $>$ [aftos], $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ [eukairia] $>$ [efceria] (HORROCKS ²2010: 282; BRIXHE 2013: 180); it also created new environments for the application of a deaspiration change, e.g. $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ [euk^hɛ:] $>$ [efk^hi] $>$ $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\acute{\eta}$ [efci] or $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ [kauk^hion] $>$ [kafk^hi] $>$ $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}$ [kafci]. An evolution involving deaspiration instead of fricativization followed by dissimilation, i.e. an evolution [efk^hi] $>$ [efci] directly, rather than [efk^hi] $>$ [efçi] $>$ [efci], is more economical; but the relative chronology, i.e. whether the consonantization of diphthongs preceded or followed the fricativization of aspirated stops, is difficult to establish.¹⁶

Dissimilation in clusters of consecutive fricatives is not straightforward either: some scholars have difficulty in accepting that in AG the aspirated stop clusters $\langle \Phi \Theta \rangle$ $\langle X \Theta \rangle$ were articulated with double aspiration, as $[p^ht^h]$ $[k^ht^h]$ (LEJEUNE 1972: 69; ALLEN ³1987: 26–8); therefore, early deaspiration of part of the cluster, instead of fricativization followed by dissimilation, has been proposed as an alternative evolution, i.e. $[p^ht^h] > [pt^h]$ or $[p^ht] > [ft]$ rather than $[p^ht^h] > [f\theta] > [ft]$ (cf. RIX 1992: 96; HORROCKS ²2010: 282; SEIGNEUR-FROLI 2003, 2006).

For the EMedG period a full overview of developments is still lacking, but according to PSALTES (1913: 96–7), manner dissimilation is not graphematically attested in Byzantine chronicles, except for $[s\theta] > [st]$ and, rarely, $[sx] > [sk]$. The same holds good for the Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions (CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: B 428). The evidence for dissimilation in other consonant clusters, consisting of stop + stop or fricative + fricative, is scanty in the EMedG period. DIETERICH (1898: 96–9) does provide a few examples from bilingual Greek–Latin glossaries, and early Christian inscriptions and papyri offer a few more:

¹⁶ EMedG inscriptional evidence such as $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \epsilon\upsilon\phi\chi\eta\varsigma$ RECAM II 217 (Galatia) might be interpreted as favouring the second alternative.

φθωχῶν θρέφτηρα <ᾰ>μῶμη τε σοφή τε MAMA 7 23.2, l. 10–11, (Lycaonia)
 οφταλμ[ον] BGU.13.2338, AD 176
 συναφτῆναι τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῇ P.Lond. V 1708, AD 568
 πεμφτῆναι σοι P.Giss.Apoll 23, AD 120
 γλύφτ(ου) P.Lond 4 1419, AD 716
 εγραφτι μηνος Γορπιεου P.Ness. 57, AD 689
 νωμίσματα τιάκωντα ἐφτά P.Ness.3.58, 7th c. AD
 Θεοῖς Καταχτονίοις IG XIV 2003, Rome, AD 193–211
 ἐχτῆς P. Oxy. Hels. 33, 2nd c. AD
 ἐχ τεσσαρα[ρίου] O.Claud.3.596, AD 153
 εκχτισω (= ἐκτείσω) σοι τὸ μὲν προκείμενον κεφάλαιον PSI.12.1253, AD 186

Slight evidence since the 8th–9th c. is provided by Greek loanwords in Armenian present-ing aspirated stops instead of plain stops in such clusters, e.g. *ok'taedron* = ὀκτάεδρον, *tip'tikon* = δίπτυχον (THUMB 1910: 407–8). Evidence of the phenomenon is extensive and consistent in the 10th-c. inscriptions from Cappadocian rock-cut churches, e.g.:

βάφτισμα (10th c., Cappadocia, DE JERPHANION 1925/42: I 216); βαυτιστινε / βαφτισθῆναι (ibid. p. 217); Ἐγυφτος (ibid. I 160); τὰ δυο λευτα της χιρας / τὰ δύο λεφτά τῆς χεῖρας (ibid. I 340); τοὺς ευτα διακονας / τοὺς ἐφτά διάκονας (ibid. I 356); ἐξαφθέρυγον (hypercorrection, ibid. I165)

βρεφοχτόνος (10th c., Cappadocia, DE JERPHANION 1925/42: I 159); η δυοχται / οἱ διῶχται (ibid. I160); ἐχ τοῦ οὔρανοῦ (ibid. I 354)

παύσψαστε (10th c., Cappadocia, DE JERPHANION 1925/42: I 185); τοὺς αιψεβεις ημον βασιλης / τοὺς ἔψεβεῖς ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς (ibid. I 523); σπέπψον (ibid. II 282)

The evidence becomes abundant in later MedG, in texts from all areas. However, the spelling associated with the phenomenon is never completely regular or consistent. The main factor determining variation is register, both of texts as a whole and at the level of individual words. The picture of the distribution of manner dissimilation in MedG and EMG texts is obscured by the fact that modern editorial practice may (sometimes tacitly) introduce readings <φτ, χτ, στ, σκ> when the manuscripts display conservative spelling.

3.8.1.3 Detailed Description of the Phenomenon

Consonant clusters subject to this phenomenon occur almost exclusively word-initially and word-internally, since Greek phonotactics disallow final stops. However, in cases of apocope or specific stop-final words (mainly ἐκ), the phenomenon may also occur at word boundaries within phonological phrases.

ἐχ τὴν χώραν (1095?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: I, 1.4)
 ἀφ' τὴν θλίψιν *Velth.* 1154
 ἀφ' τοὺς ἄρχοντας LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 706
 ὁχ τὴ μιά μεριά CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* I.102

Occasionally, word-internal non-contiguous consonants may be subject to the phenomenon, after deletion of the intervening vowel (through syncope, see 2.7.2) or consonant (through cluster simplification, see 3.3.2.2):

adhelfoftumas / ὀδελφοφτού μας *P&N Diath.* 834 app. crit. (< ὀδελφοποιτός)
 ἀγαφτικούς *CHORTATSI*, *Katz.* I.92
 μ' ἀγαφτικὴν *TROILOS*, *Rodol.* I.402

The consonant clusters affected by manner dissimilation are the following:

1. The combinations stop + stop and fricative + fricative: evidence is ample from all areas throughout the period covered by the Grammar, starting from the 11th c., but no regularity is detectable.

/pt/ > /ft/

λεύτομερως / λεφτομερῶς (1080, S. Italy, *ROBINSON* 1929: 11, 186.10)
 καὶ ὅπου κλύεται οὐ διορίσουσιν οὔτε κλεύουσιν (1154, S. Italy, *MERCATI* et al. 1980: 23, 142.9)
 οἱ χυδαῖοι δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάπτω χάπτω φασὶ *Eustathios, Comment. ad Hom.* 1481.22
 θεοστεύτου / θεοστέφτου (1206, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 6, 378.10)
 πιπεροτρίφτας *Ptoch. III* 188 app. crit. (P)
 εὐτακαιδεκάτι / ἐφτακαιδεκάτη (13th c., Asia Minor, *DARROUZÈS* 1964a: [13], 35.1)
 φτελέας (1307, Athos, *OIKONOMIDÈS* 1984: 10, 115.110)
 τὰ σκῆφτρα *Pent. Gen.* 49.16
 τὰ φτερά του *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1065
 τὴ φτώση *CHORTATSI*, *Erof.* II.489

/kt/ > /xt/

τοῦ πάχτου (1059, Tayk province?, *LEMERLE* 1977: 23.84)
 πραχτικόν (1062, Athos, *LEFORT* et al. 1990: 35, 104.48);
 χτῶμεν (1139, Troina / Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. V: 3, 295.8)
 ὑποταχτικοὶ (1456, Unknown, *TSIRPANLIS* 1986: 1, 222.10)
 οἱ χτύποι *Liv.* V 3518
 εἰς τὴν διάλεχτόν του *Assizes A* 3.5
 ἐλάχτισεν *Achil.* O 452
 τὸ χτῆνο *Pent. Gen.* 1.25
 μὴ χτυπᾷς *CHORTATSI*, *Katz.* II.109
 Βίχτωρος (1634, Paros, *ALIPRANDIS* 1974/75: 2, 110.10)
 χτένια (1667, Corfu, *KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI* 2004/06: 3, 146.21)

/fθ/ > /ft/

γραφτεῖς (1190, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: XVI, 49.23)
 ἐγκατελήφτην / ἐγκατελείφτην (1193, Sicily, *GUILLOU* 1963: 15, 124.16)
 εὔ τιάσουν / εὐτιάσουν (1270, Athos/Macedonia, *BOMPAIRE* 1964: 9A, 81.49)
 ἐνταῦτα *Pol. Tr.* 182 app. crit. (A)
 ἐφτόνησεν *Achil.* N 1653
 ἐλεύθερον πάντη ἐλεύτερον (1513, Corfu, *KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1998: 13, 30.10)
 ἔφτασεν *Achil.* O 155
 ἐβουλεύθηκα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 2.1
 ci oftalmussu / τσι ὀφταμούς σου *CHORTATSI*, *Erof.* II.524 transcr. X (*Legrand*)

/xθ/ > /xt/

ὀρέχτην *Liv.* V 2659
 ἐτάχτηκα *Assizes B* 408.1
 ἐπροσδέχτην τον *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 8.10

προχτὲς *Thysia Avr.* 798

ἐδιατάχτη (1691, Venice, MERTZIOS 1936c: [1], 127.1)

/fx/ > /fk/

πεύχ(ης) (11th c., Thebes, SVORONOS 1959: 12.26) < πεύκης, hypercorrection

πεύκην / πεύκιν (ca. 1270–4, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 83.96) < ἐπεύχιον

εὐκαριστῶ (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.4); εφκαριστιμενος / εὐκαριστημένος (1598,

Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 43, 191.13)

τὴν εὐκούλα μου *Spanos A* 418; εὐκολόγιν (1572, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 3, 83.23)

ἡ εὐκὴ *Thysia Avr.* 41; τὴν εὐκὴ μου (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 139.28)

γιά νὰ καυκούσου *Cypr. Canz.* 104.30; ecafcatō / ἐκαυκάτο CHORTATIS, *Erof.* III.362 transcr.

X (Legrand)

τὸν καῦκο (1685, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [2], 13.2)

2. Sibilant + fricative: extensive attestations for this change are available without geographical restrictions, and without regularity, throughout the MedG and EMG periods.

/sθ/ > /st/

ἐπιμελεῖσται (1027, Sparta, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 43, 301.18)

πέμπεσται (1073, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 1, 7.56);

ζημιοῦσται (1123, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 4, 60.19)

περιοριστέντα (1184, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 218, 286.23)

ἐφθάστη (1288, Cos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 227.13)

μισταργὲ *Poulol.* 112

αἰστήσεις (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 45, 54.2)

ἐμαλακίστην τὴν ψυχὴν *Achil.* N 1445

στεναρὰ καρδία [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 458

/sx/ > /sk/

τὸ Σκοινάριν (1073, Constantinople?, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 50, 16.248)

ἰσκυρά (1159, Calabria, TRINCHERA 1865: 158, 210.5);

ἀγελάδιν σύμμουσκον (1216, Macedonia, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 12, 123.11)

σκάρα (1270–4, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.14)

εἰς τὸ σκολεῖον *Ptoch.* III 87 app. crit. (P)

σκέδος (1417, Crete, LAMBROS 1895: 1, 586.36)

πανάσκημον *Poulol.* 21 app. crit. (C)

τὴν ἀναισκυντίαν *Pol. Tr.* 1433 app. crit. (A)

πάσκουν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 207

μουσκαράκια SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 128.4

ἐκ τὸ σκολεῖο του ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 42.1

ὡς εἰπόσκειται / ὡς ὑπόσκειται (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 1, 79.15)

/sf/ > /sp/

Although the sequence /sf/ fulfils the general conditions necessary for manner dissimilation, this change does not occur except marginally (the MG dialectal data show presence of the phenomenon only in Pontos, Ikaria, Cythera and Mani; CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: A 7). Only Cythera shows evidence of the phenomenon in EMG, through the hypercorrect name-form Σφυρίδος (= Σπυρίδων): Σφηρίδος του μαστὸρ Μανολι / Σφυρίδος τοῦ μαστορ-Μανόλη (1687, Cythera, ΠΑΠΑΔΑΚΙ 2001: 97, 55.2). The variation between σφόνδυλος/σπόνδυλος and σφόγγος/σπόγγος, e.g. τὸν σφόνδυλα *Alosis* 199; και σφόγγισε το αἷμα

ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 23.3, pre-dates the period under investigation and is probably lexical. It has been suggested (CHATZIDAKIS 1927b: 6; MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2000: 291; BRIXHE 2013: 179) that the failure of manner dissimilation, or rather of deaspiration, to apply in the sequence /sp^h/ is due to the fact that the labial /p^h/ is not fully or partly homorganic with the preceding sibilant, in contrast to the sequences /st^h/ and /sk^h/.

3. Other combinations involving sequences of continuants:

/fs/ > /ps/

ἐρμηνέψαντες (1000, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 12, 12.12)
 ἐν το εψαιβι βασιλικο βεστιario / ἐν τῷ ἐψεβεῖ βασιλικῷ βεστιαρῷ (1008/9, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 13, 135.20) < εὐσεβῆς
 τοῦ Κλαψιάρη (1100–10, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 53, 269.283)
 χύμεψιν (1142, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 7, 75.48)
 ἔαν γυρέψει (1156, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 28, 160.16)
 τὴν δούλεψιν (1200, Nicotera / S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 249, 338.16)
 νὰ κλάψουν *Dig.* E 248
 ἐχορέψαν *Velth.* 1035
 τὴν ἐδόξεψεν *Achil.* O 375
 κατάκαψον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 635

/rθ/ > /rt/

ὀρτώνεται (1451, Constantinople, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 1, 198.19); ὀλόρπη *Phys.* 352; διαρτώνω
 GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. accommodare* (< διορθώνω)
 νὰ συρτῇ *Assizes* B 387.9
 ἦρτεν (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 86.10); νὰ ῥπη (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/
 PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.8); ἔρτιμον (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.4); ἦρταμε
 (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 177, 228.22); ἦρτα (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI
 2002b: 6, 33.29); ἦρτασι (1663, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 1, 11); ἄν ἦθελε ἔρτει (1668,
 Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 1, 277.11); ἦρτιν καλά / ἦρτιν καλά (1696, Thessaloniki,
 KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.5); ἔρτη (1697, Chios, TSELIKAS 2000: 99, 77.11)
 ἐξεγδάρτην *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 525
 ἐδιαφτεῖρτην *Pent. Gen.* 6.11
 ἐπάρτην (16th c., Lesvos?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.III, 42.1)
 ἐβάρτην *Cypr. Canz.* 44.3
 τὸν ἄρτηκα (1648, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (8), 152.3) = τὸν νάρθηκα

/rx/ > /rk/

καλὸν ἄρκον (14th c.?, Thessaloniki?/Macedonia, TURYN 1980: 62 (8v).4); εἰς ἄρκον ἄνθρωπον
Fior, Suppl. 273.26–7; τοὺς δύο ἄρκοντες (1638, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2004: 107.9)
 ἔρκοντα τοῦ κυροῦ Μανουὴλ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36.21; ἔρκομαι ἀκ τ' ἀνάθεμα *Anak.*
Konst. 9; ἔρκουντενε (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.5); ποὺ ἔρκεται (1667, Ikaria,
 TSELIKAS 2000: 37, 39.16)
 τοὺς ἀγελαρκίδες / τοὺς ἀγελάρκηδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 308.35
 ἥρκεψασιν τὸ πράγμα *Liv.* V 632; τραγουδίτζιν ἥρκισεν *Achil.* L 1211
 τὸ Ἄρκιπέλαγος (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.25)
 ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἑξαρκος πατριαρχικός (1618, Mani, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90: vol. 3: 24,
 271.24)

On the basis of the above, dissimilation involving /r/ + voiceless stop appears from the 14th c. onwards, and is less widely attested than the previous types, both geographically and from the point of view of register. However, this is partly due to the limited number of

lexical items presenting the relevant phonetic environment. So far, the change is attested in the following areas: Cyprus, Chios, Dodecanese, N. Aegean, Asia Minor, Macedonia, Peloponnese, Thrace, Heptanese.

On the other hand, dissimilation involving /r/ + voiced fricative, e.g. /rð/ > /rd/ or /rt/, /rɣ/ > /rg/ or /rk/ (MENARDOS 1969: 11; NEWTON 1972a: 109–10), has not been found in the texts examined, apart from two Cypriot examples: οἱ Βουρκάροι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 452.23 < Βουργάροι < Βουλγάροι; ὁ τὸ κάτερκον ἐνέβηκεν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 67 < κάτεργον. Another indirect piece of evidence for Cypriot comes from a word presenting consonantization of the semivowel /j/ after /r/, namely πιθάρια [piθarja] > πιθάρκα [piθarka], written in a Latin document as abl. pl. *pitarcis* (see 2.9.4). The establishment of this form of the change should probably not be placed before the 17th c.

More extreme cases of manner dissimilation, characterizing the South-Eastern dialect group, may be indirectly gauged from meagre Cypriot evidence. More specifically, the dissimilation process disallowing consecutive voiced fricatives such as /vɣ, vð, ɣð/ leads in Modern Cypriot to the corresponding voiceless fricative + stop clusters /fk, ft, xt/ (PANDELIDIS 1929: 36 and 43–4; NEWTON 1972a: 109–12). Such an evolution may lie behind the spelling <φγ> for <βγ> in ἀποφγαλμένοι *Assizes* B 274.24–5; νὰ ἀποφγῇ *ibid.* 254.29; τρύφγει / τρίφγει *ibid.* 435.19.

3.8.1.4 Hypercorrection of Manner Dissimilation

In several instances, consonant clusters in LMedG and EMG texts can be interpreted as hypercorrection of the phenomenon of manner dissimilation (SCHMITT 1898: 5–27; DAWKINS 1939: 26–7; JANNACONE 1951; CHARALAMBAKIS 1995), leading to a variety of non-etymological forms, devoid of phonetic reality, but providing important evidence for the distribution of the dissimilation change: because different consonant clusters have identical outcomes (e.g. both /kt/ and /xθ/ become /xt/, and both /pt/ and /fθ/ become /ft/), the dissimilated consonant cluster may, through hypercorrection, be replaced by the “wrong” original, a phenomenon also known as “inverse writing”, e.g.

ἐγράπτῃ (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 103.12)

κόφθει *Liv.* E 1739

φθωχολογία SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 25

φθέρνει ΡΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 519

με φθερῶ / με φθερὸ (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 298, 212.12)

ὠρέκτην *Liv.* S 1726

ἐκαταδέκτησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 242 app. crit. (P)

μαζωκτεῖτε *Thysia Avr.* 195

παρχατώττεροι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 256.10, cf. παρχατώτερος MEURSUS, *Gloss.* s.v.

Another possible source of hypercorrect spellings are original fricative + stop clusters that are reanalysed as results of dissimilation of stop + stop or fricative + fricative, e.g.

ἀπαρσάλεπτος (1168–9, Calabria, GUILLOU 1963: 10, 104.24)

εἶπέν της λόγους εἰς τ' ἄπτιν *Log. parig.* L 632; σκρόφαν κουτζάπταν μίαν (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 95.79)
 ἰ τειάπτει μαρτ(υ)ρία / ἡ τοιάπτη μαρτυρία (1051, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 3, 49.7)
 ναπτῶν (1548, Corfu, PANGRATIS 1999/2000: 1, 41.16)
 τοῦ ἀγορασθοῦ (1178, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 12, 111.13)
 ὕσθατους κληρονόμους (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.18)
 ἐπήσθευσαν / ἐπίσθευσαν *Chron. Mor.* P 57 app. crit. (P)
 κανισχί(ων) / κανισκίων (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 182.10)
 εὐχολα νὰ τὸ δώκης *Spaneas* Z 189

3.8.1.5 Morphophonological Manner Dissimilation

From a purely synchronic/ahistoric point of view, it may be assumed that MedG and EMG (as indeed SMG, for which see HOLTON et al. 2012: 21–2) possess a dissimilatory rule which affects morphologically derived sequences of stem-final fricative + suffixal sibilant, resulting in sequences of stop + sibilant. This apparent dissimilatory rule is the synchronic effect of an AG assimilatory process operating in the same morphophonological environment, whereby AG aspirated stops became deaspirated and voiced stops became devoiced before /s/ (see LEJEUNE 1972: 72–3; SIHLER 1995: 203–4). For MedG and EMG, this environment appears specifically in the formation of the perfective verbal stem, through the addition of the aorist formant {s} (see III, 2.2.1). More specifically, the sounds involved are the voiced and voiceless velar and labial fricatives, which are replaced by the corresponding voiceless stops before /s/. Dental fricatives are simply deleted before /s/, which again bears witness to the non-phonetic but rather inherited origin of the rule, as AG disallowed the sequence /ts/ (see above 3.2.6). Schematically:

τρέχ-ω ['trexo] → τρέχ-σ-ω ['trexso] → τρέξω ['trekso]
 διαλέγω [ðia'leɣo] → διαλέγ-σ-ω [ðia'leɣso] → διαλέξω [ðia'lekso]
 γράφ-ω ['ɣrafo] → ξ-γράφ-σ-α ['eɣrafsa] → ξγραψα ['eɣrapsa]
 κλέβω ['klevo] → ξ-κλεβ-σ-α ['eklevsa] → ξκλεψα ['eklepsi]
 πλάθω ['plaθo] → ξ-πλαθ-σ-α ['eplaθsa] → ξπλάσα ['eplasa]

3.8.2 Palatalization

Palatalization is a cover term for a variety of fronting phenomena involving sequences of consonant + front vowel or semivowel (see MANOLESSOU/PANTELIDIS 2013 for terminological issues). There are two main types of palatalization: (a) velar palatalization: velar consonant /k, g, x, ɣ/ + /e, i, j/ and (b) dental palatalization: /s, z, n, l/ + /j, i/.

3.8.2.1 Velar Palatalization

Velar palatalization can be assumed to exist in all forms of LMedG and EMG, similarly to MG: the velar consonants all have a palatal allophone before front vowels. The evidence for this phenomenon is only indirect, since the Greek spelling does not denote the velar vs. palatal allophonic distinction, and the letters <κ, γ, χ> serve for both variants. However, there is considerable indirect evidence of the phenomenon.

The Grammars of Germano and Portius clearly state that /k, ɣ, x/ are pronounced differently depending on whether they are followed by /a, o, u/ or /e, i/ (PERNOT 1907/46: I 50–1; PORTIUS, *Grammar* 9, 11). The palatalized pronunciation of velars before the front vowels /e, i/ is evident from transcriptions in the Arabic script, where two different symbols are used for the two allophones, [x] vs. [ç], [k] vs [c] and [ɣ] vs. [j] (LEHFELDT 1989: 57–60; KAPPLER 1999: 705–6). Transcriptions in the Old Church Slavonic alphabet also employ different letters to denote the palatal allophones (VASMER 1922: 5).

Occasionally, the Greek alphabet also indicates palatalization before /e/ by the addition of a non-etymological <ι> (cf. DAWKINS 1932: II 34):

σάρκiais / σάρκιες VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.19 app. crit.
 κιε πνεματικός / καὶ πνεματικός (1501, Cyprus, MALTEZOU 1987: 2, 12.19)
 νὰ διαγιέρνη (1514, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 115, 227.31)
 τις καλογιέρους (1576, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 19, 150.3)
 ἔγιες / αἴγες (1666, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 26, 22.99)
 οἱ πτωχοὶ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 80.20
 ἀποὺ διδαχίες *Pist. kekoim.* 13
 τζή Χιέρονίσος / τση Χερονήσος (1625, Crete, VLACHAKI 1986: 22, 445.5)

Similarly, the Latin alphabetic script in areas of Italian influence employs the trigraph <chi> and <ghi> in order to denote the palatal pronunciation of /k/ and /x/ before /e/:

istes filachies / εἰς τὲς φυλακὲς (1394, Crete, SANTSCHI 1976: 1597, 344.14–15)
 na ghierome / νὰ χαίρομαι CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.420 transcr. X (Legrand)
 chierós / καιρὸς *Thysia Avr.* 4 transcr. M
 chie icama chie ecraxassin / καὶ ἦκαμα καὶ ἐκράξασιν (1639, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 11, 112.11)

3.8.2.2 Strong Velar Palatalization

Apart from the palatalization of /k, ɣ, x, g/ > [c, j, ç, ʝ] which is common to all forms of MedG and EMG, certain dialectal areas exhibit a stronger form of palatalization which leads to affrication of the velar consonant (a phenomenon frequently referred to in the literature as “tsitakismos” in the case of /k/). The precise phonetic realization of the palatalized consonant is impossible to determine from the spelling, and it may vary from area to area and from period to period: /k/ must have varied between [tʃ] (as in Modern Cypriot), [tɕ]/[cʰ] (as in Modern Cretan), and [ts] (as in Modern Cycladic and Old Athenian), and /g/ between [dʒ], [dz] and [dz̥]; for terminological issues and geographical distribution in MG dialects see MANOLESSOU/PANTELIDIS 2013.

Indications as to palatalization type can be gleaned from the Early Modern testimonies of Martinus Crusius’s *Turcograecia* (1584: 209) concerning Cyprus and Crete, and Jacob Spon’s *Voyage en Grèce* (1677: II 194–5), concerning the language spoken in Athens, Boeotia and Euboea. In the first case, Crusius’s Cypriot informant, Stamatis Donatos, when describing the palatalization found in Crete, pronounces a “heavy” sound which differs from regular [ts], spelled <τζ>, and which Crusius renders as <τσχ> (ἀρνάτσχο). In all probability, this is the palatoalveolar affricate [tʃ] which characterizes the modern Cypriot dialect. Crusius again, in an unpublished ms (see MANOLESSOU/TOUFEXIS 2011),

records the Cypriot dialectal form ἄπέρκι (= ἄπ' ἔκει), which, rather than geminated and aspirated, could again be considered as an indication of palatoalveolar affrication. In the second case, Spon states: “Ils ont à Athenes, à Thebes & à Negrepont une prononciation toute particuliere du Ke & du Ki, qu'ils prononcent comme ci nous écrivions Tché, Tchi, de même qu le C. des Italiens.” Here again, a palatoalveolar [tʃ] is implied, although 19th-c. testimonies concerning the Old Athenian dialect show that it had simple alveolar [ts] (CHALKIOPULOS 1872: 357). A similar palatoalveolar realization is probable for S. Italy, given the influence of adstratal Romance and the evidence of the modern dialect.

It has been suggested that the modern variant realizations of palatalization are a reflection of the historical process of spread of the phenomenon (TRUDGILL 2003: 56–7): the most fronted modern realizations, i.e. [ts] and [dz], would represent the last stage, and therefore the areas where the change is oldest (and where it probably began), while the areas which exhibit less fronting, i.e. [tʃ] and [dʒ], would be those where the change took longest to reach. In this scenario, the change must have originated somewhere in mainland Greece (the Peloponnese or Attica) and have spread southwards, reaching first Crete and later the outlying areas of Cyprus and the Dodecanese. Unfortunately, the historical record shows the reverse picture, as the oldest attestations come from Cyprus, and there are no attestations from the Peloponnese and Attica before the late 17th c. Although this is partly due to historical accident (non-availability of earlier records), the notion of southward spread is hard to maintain, because the southernmost areas (Cyprus and the Dodecanese, but especially Crete) enjoyed a higher cultural level than the Ottoman-occupied mainland Greece, and were therefore less likely to be on the receiving end of a change spreading from these areas. Furthermore, the modern realization of the phenomenon varies in adjacent areas (e.g. North-West Maniot [ts] vs. South-East Maniot [tʃ]), something which cannot be accounted for through a straightforward wave-like spread of a sound change.

In the case of /x/, strong palatalization leads to sibilant [ʃ] or [s], which is detectable in manuscripts through the spelling <σ> before a front vowel. Because in some areas the same sound also results from the palatalization of /s/ before /i, j/ (see 3.8.2.3), the spelling <χι> may be used to denote palatalization of /s/. Thus, the spelling <χι> for palatalized /s/ constitutes evidence of both types of palatalization, dental (directly) and velar (indirectly).

The outcome [ʃ] or [s] results also from the combination of the cluster [sk] + front vowel, in Cyprus and Chios, in texts from the late 17th c. onwards: τοῦ χχύλλου (<σχύλου) KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 41; σσεπάρνην <σκεπάρνην (1678, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 453.9, see PERNOT 1907/46: I 244); cf. also the variant spellings of the Cypriot place name Ἀσκία/Ἀχέα/Asquie/Achia in the sources (DAWKINS 1932: II 164–5).¹⁷ In Pontic, a front vowel following the cluster /sk/ results in the palatalization of [sk] > [ʃk], which is attested in a 15th-c. text with Pontic elements written in Arabic script (HENRICH 1990: 363; for the phenomenon in Modern Pontic see ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1958: 28): πᾶχυον τὸν σκύλον σου (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 97.1d).

¹⁷ It has been suggested (KAHANE/KAHANE 1973: 13) that the form σχύβαλον appearing in a 12th-c. (1116) Sicilian document is an early indication of this phenomenon, which also characterizes the modern dialects of S. Italy; however, it is more likely that this is a simple case of hypercorrection of manner dissimilation in the cluster [sk] (for which see 3.8.1.4).

Strong palatalization of /k/ and /g/ is attested in the following areas in the LMedG and EMG periods: Cyprus, Rhodes, Kos, Kastellorizo, Chios, Kydonies, Andros, Naxos, Peloponnese (Corinthia, Achaia, Arcadia, Tsakonia),¹⁸ Skyros, Athens, Thebes, Euboea and S. Italy (Calabria) – a distribution corresponding to the modern one (MANOLESSOU/PANTELIDIS 2013). The oldest attestations come from 15th-c. Cyprus: the isolated forms βολίκιν (Fr. *volige*) and παπούγκια (Turk. *papuç*) in Machairas, a hypercorrection (DAWKINS 1932: II 34–5; PANDELIDIS 1922); but there are no other instances in 15th- and 16th-c. Cypriot texts, and attestations are very scarce even in the 17th c. In fact, Cypriot documents written in the Latin script occasionally betray the non-affrication of palatal [c]:

apo quinous tous vasilef (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 71, f.Iv.1–2); o Jazon epetanen is tin Quipron (ibid. 72, f.IIr.8); ton pion tou quirin (ibid. 73, f.IIr.8)
dou cazal de Quity (1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 49, 26.1) = Κίτιον; en leuq de Quiriaco tou Toupi (1468, Alyki, ibid. 15, 10.2)
apoclismeny is tin Querinian apou tous Saraquinous (15th c., Cyprus, BAGLIONI 2006: 202.34)

For Crete, there is only the indirect testimony of Crusius from the 16th c., but there are no traces of the phenomenon in Cretan literature or in Cretan documents, written in either the Greek or the Latin alphabet (see e.g. VINCENT 1980: ξε'–ξς'). A possible exception is the interchange of καί and σέ and the spelling τσ' for κ' in the manuscript of *Pistikos voskos* (JOANNOU 1962: 23), and also the hypercorrect spelling <γγ> for the name of the author Ἀνδρέας Σκλέντζας: Ἀνδρέου Σκλεγγίου SKLENTZAS, *Ain. Zood. Pig.* 71. Another meagre indication could be provided by two isolated lexical items implying permanent affrication of /k/ before /i/: λιάτσι *Katis* 31, 47 (<ήλιάκι) can be contrasted with a reverse hypercorrect rendering of the suffix -ίτσιν as -ίκιν, ἄστρίκιν *Liv.* E 2134 (if indeed any sort of Cretan influence may be recognized in this text, *pace* the objections of GEORGACAS 1982: 135). It could perhaps be assumed that the phenomenon was present in Early Modern Cretan without being recorded, if the spelling operated on an unconscious, allophonic level (cf. the similar practice in Modern Cretan dialectal texts). For S. Italy, attestations come from a single 16th-c. document (a manuscript note recording the transition from the Greek to the Latin rite), which is one of the last written in Greek script in the area. For Thebes and Euboea, owing to the lack of sources, there is only the 17th-c. evidence of the traveller Spon quoted above.¹⁹

Most of the instances of velar palatalization are detectable through hypercorrection, i.e. by the use of <κ, γκ, γγ> even in words with etymological [ts, dz].

¹⁸ Evidence for the phenomenon in Tsakonian comes from the 17th-c. Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi, who gives a transcription in the Arabic/Ottoman script of the words *tancala* (= τήν τσέλλα = τήν κέλλα = τὸ σπίτι) and *erzaci* (= ἐδιάτσε = ἐδιάβηκε) (PERNOT 1934: 503; KOSTAKIS 1980/81: 276). The Arabic script indicates a fronted realization of velar /k/ as [tʃ].

¹⁹ Two possible traces of strong velar palatalization in Euboea can be detected in the hypercorrect form ξενούκινη for ξενούτσικη *Poulol.* 453 app. crit. (C), and in the palatalized form λουρίτσι for the common λουρίκι in *Arm.* 163 (Eideneier), from a manuscript copied in 1461 in Frankish Euboea by a native of the area, Nikolaos Agiomnitis, who was of Athenian descent (REINSCH 2005: 43, further details in REINSCH 1998).

- τῆσαι τον ἐκάμεν / τσαι τὸν ἐκάμεν (1572, S. Italy, VIOLI 2006: 311.10); να εχούσυν ετζοίνοι / νὰ ἔχουσιν ἔτσεινοι (ibid. 311.20)
- τὸ ρυάτζι / τὸ ρυάτσι (1590, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 42, 64.4)
- τζίλιακόν GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. cacarella* (= τσοιλιακόν)
- στοὺς Ἀμπελοτζίηπους (1634, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 331.10–11)
- Περάτζις Τζικαλὰς / Περάτσης Τσικαλὰς (1649, Crete, ΠΑΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 2003: 2, 149.83) < Περάκης
- πλέκουν μετὰ του τοὺς κέστους, ἦγουν τζέστους MEURSIUS, *Gloss. s.v. τζέστος*
- Τζεργαζή τοῦ Φαμιλιώτη (1653, Kydonies, PATRINELIS 1993/94: 16.29) < Κυριαζή (?)
- τὸ Γιαννάτζη (1655, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 178.11)
- ὅλες τζ' οὐλές / ὅλες κι οὐλές *Pist. voskos* I.3, 128 app. crit.; τζ' ἐλπίδες / κ' ἐλπιδες ibid. I.4, 206 app. crit.
- οἱ τζαούρηδες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2212 < γκιαούρης
- εἰς τὸ Τζεφαλόβρυσσ (1683, Dimitsana / Peloponnese, YANNAROPOYLOU 1972: 95, 322.3)
- σκολαρίτζια / σκολαρίτσια (1688, Akova / Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 137.15)
- πατρογονιτζή (1672, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1982/83: 6, 96.5)
- παραδάτσα (1722?, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 481.14)
- ἐναν βολίκιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 572.25 < Fr. *volige*
- Γγιουζέπη Γγιουστινιὰ (1518, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 391.3)
- χαράκια (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 14.24); χαράκι (1635, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 182.4) < χαράτσι
- χωγγετι / χογγέτι (1583, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 28, 169.15); μὲ χουκέντιν καὶ μὲ ὀστρουμέντον (1666, Chios, FOTEINOS 1865: 254.2); χονκέτι (1672, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 6, 169.36) = χοτζέτι
- χαγκῆ Χασάνης / Χατζῆ Χασάνης (1597, Andros, POLEMIS 1982: 3, 90.4)
- τοῦ κιαοῦση *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 37.33 < Turk. *çavus*
- σαγκιάκιν / σαγκιάκιν (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.8) < hypercorrection of Turk. *sancak* [*sandzak*]
- τενκερέ / τεγκερέ (1627, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 240.23) < hypercorrection of Turk. *tencere*
- τεγγέρους (1687, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 10, 224.29)
- τοῦ Χακῆ Χαρίτου Ρεῖζη (1637, Kastellorizo, GRÉGOIRE 1922: 299, 101.11)
- Κελεπίς (1682, Patras / Peloponnese, TSELIKAS 1986a: 3, 672.37)
- ο Βενεκιανός / ὁ Βενεκιάνος (1686, Corinthia / Peloponnese, LAMBROS 1910: 315, 201.1)
- τοῦ Βενεκυάνου / τοῦ Βενεκιάνου (1687, Athens, LAMBROS 1910: 320, 202.2)
- γγιακομενοὶ / γγιακωμένοὶ PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 210 (see DAWKINS 1939: 26–7)

Since the sporadic change of etymological [ts] to [k] before front vowels is attested in certain MG dialects, as an established hypercorrect reaction to stigmatized velar fronting (“anti-tsitakismos”, cf. DAWKINS 1939: 26–30; ZEUGOLIS 1956 for Naxos, MANESIS 1964/65: 156 for Mykonos and KOUKOULES 1923: 290 for Kythnos, cf. also JOSEPH 2011: 41), the possibility that the hypercorrect spellings appearing in EMG documents may reflect actual pronunciation cannot be rejected; but in any case this phenomenon has its origin in the existence of strong palatalization in an area, and therefore constitutes indirect evidence for it irrespective of whether the hypercorrect variants are purely graphematic or also phonetic.

The geographical areas for which evidence of strong palatalization of /x/ is actually available are Cyprus, Pontos, Chios and Kalymnos (for the latter see KOLIOPOULOU 2009: 417). The earliest certain attestations come from 15th-c. Cyprus, but it is possible to lower the date to the 12th c. if a number of lexical items from a 12th-c. Latin–Greek glossary, written in Latin script (AERTS 1995), are interpreted as instantiations of the phenomenon with provenance from Cyprus:²⁰

ταψισικα / τὰ ψυσικὰ (1469, Paphos / Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.11)

= ψυχικά

ισεσ / εἶχες *Cypr. Canz.* 100.10

Ἀρσιπελάγου (app. crit.) (16th c., Northern Aegean?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.IV, 52.1–2)

εἰς θέσιν Ράση (1722?, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 481.4) = Ράχη

esquis sumin? / ξ[σ]χεις ψωμίν; (12th c., Cyprus?, AERTS 1995: 2, 206.1); surridia, probata /

χιουρίδια, πρόβατα (ibid. 2, 207.2)

A possible indication of the palatalization /x/ > [ʃ] in medieval Asia Minor is provided by the poems of Jalal ad-Din Rumi and his son Sultan Walad, written in the Arabic script. The first editor of these poems, G. MEYER (1895: 406, 410), already noted the systematic use of the Arabic grapheme “shin”, which has the phonetic value [ʃ], for the writing of /x/ before the front vowels /e/ and /i/, e.g. χείλη *šili*, ψυχὴν *bsišin*, and connected it with the corresponding modern dialectal evidence. Later editors of the poems (DEDES 2003: 12) prefer to view this spelling as simply a means of denoting a fronted palatal pronunciation of /x/ as [ç], for which there is no Arabic grapheme available. However, in view of the fact that the change /x/ > [ʃ] before front vowels is typical of both Pontic and Cappadocian, including the dialects of Pharasa and Silli (DAWKINS 1916: 45; MANOLESSOU/PANTELIDIS 2013: 281), it should be considered a relatively early feature of Asia Minor Greek, so a dating of the phenomenon to the 13th c. is not unlikely, and the graphematic evidence of Rumi’s poems need not be discarded out of hand. A recent edition of the Greek verses in another poem by Sultan Walad, the *Ibtidânâme*, also points out the consistent spelling of /x/ before the front vowels /e/ and /i/ with the Arabic grapheme “shin”, and interprets it as an indication of strong palatalization of [ç] > [ʃ] (KAPPLER 2010: 388 fn. 17): pšiši, = ψυχή, šilyus = χίλιους.

There is no evidence for strong palatalization of /y/.

3.8.2.3 Dental Palatalization

3.8.2.3.1 [n] > [ɲ] and [l] > [ʎ] before /j, i/

The dental nasal /n/ and the lateral /l/ undergo palatalization before front vowels and semi-vowels. One may distinguish palatalization before /j/, a semivowel resulting from synizesis of /i/ (for which see 2.4.7 and 2.9.4), which occurs in all areas displaying synizesis and is datable accordingly, and palatalization before the front vowel /i/, which is geographically restricted.

²⁰ A very early and isolated attestation from S. Italy, ἕτερον λασίδιν (1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 4, 58.14 = λαχίδιον < λαγγάνω), is puzzling and should probably be considered a graphematic error, as palatalization of /x/ is absent from the MG S. Italian dialects (see CARACAUSI, *Lex.* s.vv. λασίδιν, λαχίδιον; MANOLESSOU/PANTELIDIS 2013: 277 fn. 6 and references therein).

Evidence for palatalization before /j/ is difficult to establish, since the Greek alphabet has no way of denoting it. However, because in MG it appears in all dialects as well as in SMG (NEWTON 1972a: 137), it must have occurred comparatively early, probably simultaneously with the phenomenon of synizesis. Thus, spellings denoting synizesis through height dissimilation or stress shift (for which see 2.9.4) after /l/ and /n/ in all probability already involve a palatalized [ʎ] or [ɲ]:

- πλιόν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 459
 τριανταφιλιάς / τριανταφυλλιάς *Katal.* 5
 ληῶφητα / λιώφουτα (1571, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 216, 308.7)
 τῖς ἑλιές (1573, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 2, 18.15)
 λιόντα *Cypre Canz.* 1.1
 νιές BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 143; τὰ νιά KONДАР., *Paides* 988
 νιούτσιε TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 270
 τὴν νειότην LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 466
 γονίους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.7
 βουνιά FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 223

Furthermore, in Crete, Cyprus and Corfu the spellings <γν> and <γλ> are occasionally used in order to denote palatalized sounds, in imitation of Italian and French <gn> and <gl>, thus providing more direct evidence of the phenomenon (see also 3.5.2.3):

- ἀναμεγλιά TROILOS, *Rodol.* 2.465
 τὰ λεγόμενα κοπέγια (1660, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 15, 377.26); τὰ σταφύγια (ibid. 397.1)
 ἑγλιάν (1679, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 16, 41.17); περβογλοῦ (1699, ibid. 39, 95.6)
 ἰστιν κερῖγνιαν / εἰς τὴν Κερύγνειαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 100.37
 τοὺς φογνιάδες / τοὺς φογνιάδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 140.7–8
 εγνια / ἑγνιά (1640, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 4, 11.9)
 ἑγνιακόσιες (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 62.14)
 εἰς τὰ χρόγνια / εἰς τὰ χρόνια (1642, Crete, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 21, 16.41)
 τοῦ Γνιοχωρίου (1503, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 226, 190.2)
 μπεζουγνιάρει (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 62.35)

Another graphematic indication of the existence of palatalized [ɲ] involves /m/ followed by the semivowel /j/ in cases of synizesis: the combination [mj] + V results in [mɲ] + V, through consonantization of the palatal semivowel to a palatal nasal (for this see 2.9.4). This outcome is frequently spelled <μνι> in Cretan literary and non-literary texts, and occasionally in texts from other areas:

- μνιά νύκτα / μιὰ νύκτα *Rim. kor.* A 2 app. crit.
 νὰ ζημνιώση MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 316.2
 ἔπεθυμνιάς FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 75
 ὁ ἀναδεξιμνιός (1519, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 57, 107.35)
 ἀσημνιοῦ *Pent. Gen.* 23.15
 τὰ κορμνιά μας (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 9, 10.15)
 mnian hora / μνιὰν ὥρα CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* I.408 transcr. X (Legrand)
 ἐχλώμνιανεν *Thysia Avr.* 198 app. crit. (B)
 τοὺς Ρομνιούς / τοὺς Ρωμνιούς (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.41)

βαπτισμινιό της (1663, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 235, 147.11)

τὰ ποτάμνια (17th c., Unknown, ŠANGIN 1936: 4, 137.20)

ή μνιά, τής μνιάς KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 110.3

Evidence for the second type of palatalization, before /i/, comes from the testimony of EMG grammars. Thus Germano (GERMANO, *Grammar* 51.30; PERNOT 1907/46: I 335) and Portius (PORTIUS, *Grammar* 9–10, 88) state that in certain Greek-speaking areas the sounds [l] and [n] are pronounced like Italian <gli>, <gni>, giving the examples σώνει <sógni>, and παρακαλεῖ <paracagli>. Unfortunately Germano does not specify which areas present the phenomenon (though certainly not Chios), but it is emphasized that it is a dialectal feature best avoided. The modern dialectal distribution of the phenomenon includes the northern dialects, Zakynthos, East Crete, and parts of the Peloponnese (NEWTON 1972a: 137). Direct evidence is provided by the spellings <gn> in the Latin alphabet and <γν> in the Greek, which are quite frequent in Crete, and are also to be found in the *Corona Preciosa*.²¹

ossa bugli / ὡσὼν πουλὶ P&N *Diath.* 3421 app. crit.

thegli / θέλει CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* I.379 transcr. X (Legrand)

i angegli / οἱ ἀγγέλοι *Thysia Avr.* 6 transcr. M

na to pglithigni / νὰ τὸ πληθύνει FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.9 app. crit.

pepogni πεπόνη *Corona Preciosa* E 3^r.20–1

isse echigni / εἰς ἐκείνη CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* I.388 transcr. X (Legrand)

mu fagnistichie / μοῦ ᾿φανίστηκε *Thysia Avr.* 593 transcr. M; efagnichiemu / ἐφάνηκέ μου *ibid.* 594

dhen agnixte to stomandu / δὲν ἄνοιξε τὸ στόμαν του (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 198.151)

narghignisso / ν’ ἀρχινήσω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.97 transcr.

Palatalization before /e/ is rarely attested, through the spelling <νιε> instead of <νε>:

ηνιε / εἶναι (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468); ἡνγε / εἶναι (1537, Ierapetra region / Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 173.10); νάν ἡνηαι / νὰν εἶναι (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 1, 79.23)

πλάνιες σιδηρές (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 2, 284.34)

ἐπλάνιευε *Bertoldin.* 112.15

As a dialectal phenomenon (mostly in Crete), palatalization of /n/ also appears before back vowels, in specific lexical items. These should be considered lexical or analogical cases of palatalization, unconnected to phonetic reasons. The most frequent lexical items presenting the phenomenon are the verb φωνιάζω (φωνιάζω), the adjective μόνος (μόνιος) and the adverb συχνά (συχνιά):

φωνιάζω DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 58; μηδὲ φωνιάζεις *Thysia Avr.* 935

μόνιους νὰ μᾶς ᾠφῆσου CHORTATSIS, *Erof. Interm.* II.98

συχνιάζει LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 518; συχνιά LANDOS, *Geopon.* 248.12

²¹ Additional evidence of the phenomenon comes from an unpublished trilingual biblical glossary from the Cairo Genizah, probably datable to the 16th c. (Julia Krivoruchko, p.c.). It is written in the Hebrew script, and includes words which present (though not consistently) dental palatalization of /n/ and /l/ before /i/, such as θέλγημα, θρονj.

Another case of apparent palatalization of non-phonetic origin concerns a number of verbal forms belonging to the oxytone declension, which present an intrusive semivowel after the last consonant of the stem, mostly, but not exclusively, in texts from Crete:

τούς καλιοῦν εἰς πόλεμον *Assizes* B 464.23
 ζιώντας / ζιώντας (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 45, 54.2)
 ὥστε νὰ ζιῶ *CHORTATISIS, Erof. Interm.* I.152
 ζιῶ (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 8, 7.5); νὰ ζιοῦμε (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.14)

These should be interpreted as morphological variants deriving from the analogy of oxytone verb forms on the basis of stems ending in the vowel /i/, such as μηνύω > μηνῶ. For details see III, 2.1.2.2.4.1. For διῶ see 3.9.1.

3.8.2.3.2 /s/ > /ʃ/ before /j/

In certain areas, /s/ undergoes palatalization under the influence of the palatal semivowel /j/, resulting from synizesis of /i/. The phenomenon is detectable in LMedG and EMG texts through the spelling <χι> instead of <σι>, since the sequence /x/ + /i/ also results in [ʃ] in some areas (see 3.8.2.2). Thus, since both sequences /xi/ and /sj/ are pronounced the same, i.e. as [ʃ], they are written the same, as <χι>. There are abundant examples of this spelling from Cyprus, and one from the Crimea (DAWKINS 1932: II 32; HENRICH 1996b: 182; HENRICH 2002: 333–5; SYMEONIDIS 2006: 185):

κουρτεχία MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 472.10
 ἱχία MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 462.18; ἱχία *Fior* 89.11; ἱχιον *Fior*, Suppl. 279.8–9
 Λευκωχιάτες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 420.18
 ta carcha / τὰ καρτσά (15th c., Cyprus, BAGLIONI 2006: 202.37) [kartʃá]
 τοῦ Μαχομέτ Μπαχιά MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 100.33; παχίας VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 132.18; τοὺς παχιᾶδες του *Thrinós Kyp.* 5
 φανταχιά *Fior* 82.31
 τσαρχία IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 359
 του Ἀχαμετ(ι) σουπαχ(ι) / τοῦ Ἀχαμέτη σούμπαχη (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3–5.13)
 τετρακόχια (1692, Cyprus, Mitropoulos 1923: A, 325.5)
 ἀλλ' ἑφτακόχες τοῦ ὅδιεν KONST. ΔΙΑΚ., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 268
 αποκρηχηρη / ἀποκρισ' ἄρη (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.1)

Evidence for /s/ > /ʃ/ is also provided from reverse spellings of words containing /x/ + /i/ as <σι> instead of <χι> from Cyprus and Chios (see examples in 3.8.2.2).

Thus, the only areas for which the phenomenon is attested in the Medieval and Early Modern periods are Cyprus, Chios and the Crimea, because these areas, coincidentally, also show palatalization of /x/, which helps to identify the phenomenon in the written sources.

Another possible case of /s/ palatalization occurs in the adaptation of loanwords containing the fronted sibilant or affricate sounds [ʃ] or [tʃ], which may be represented, mostly in texts from northern areas, with the spellings <σι>, <τζι>. Furthermore, from the 17th c. onwards, the same spelling convention may be used to denote palatalization of /s/,

/ks/, /ps/, in native vocabulary, before /i/ and /e/, as a local phenomenon of the dialect of Thessaloniki, for which there is solid modern dialectal evidence (PAPADOPOULOS 1926: 27–8; ANDRIOTIS 1958: 148; KOSMAS 1972: 320; KATSANIS 2012: 91–2):

Καρατζεῖα / Καρατζιά (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 78.2) < *Karadja*

Χαραῖτην μπάσιας (16th c., Sozopolis/E. Thrace, SCHREINER 1975/79: 57, 7.1) < Turk. *paşa*

ἡ αλατζιάδης / οἱ ἀλατζιάδης (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 9, 73.24) < Turk. *alaca*

όπουτι ἦνι δεψιασμένοι / όπουτι εἴνι δεψιασμένοι (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 68.3)

δὲν ξιέρου (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 6, 63.13)

For the palatalization of /t/, i.e. the affrication /t/ > /ts/ before /i/ see 3.2.6.1. The phenomenon of depalatalization, i.e. deletion of the semivowel [j] after the consonants /s, z, r, l, n/ is discussed in 2.4.7.3–4.

3.8.3 Voicing and Devoicing

3.8.3.1 Definition and Historical Overview

The phenomenon of voicing affects voiceless stops when preceded by a nasal, and may be followed by the phenomenon of nasal deletion (see 3.6.2). Word-internally, it is a historical lexicalized phenomenon inherited from Koine Greek and constitutes a general phonotactic constraint in MedG (sequences of nasal + voiceless stop are disallowed; see 3.3.2). At morpheme and word boundaries, it is an active coarticulation (sandhi) rule. Post-nasal voicing is, cross-linguistically, a frequent and natural assimilatory phenomenon, whereby the feature [+voice] of the nasal spreads to the following stop.

Word-internal post-nasal voicing is attested since the 4th c. BC in inscriptions from Pamphylia (BRIXHE 2010: 234), but from no other area. It is present in papyri from the 1st c. AD onwards (DIETERICH 1898: 104–14; GIGNAC 1976: 81–3), possibly influenced by native language interference due to the absence of the voiced/voiceless contrast in Egyptian (HORROCKS 2010: 112). In all probability, the post-nasal voicing of voiceless stops is connected to the overall change of the Greek consonant system during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and to the fricativization of voiced stops. This is indicated by the fact that the original AG voiced stops were preserved in later Greek only after a nasal (DRESSLER 1966b). This phenomenon constitutes, along with borrowing, the main source of voiced stops in MedG and MG (see 3.2.1.2).

On the contrary, post-nasal voicing at word boundaries seems a specifically Medieval and not a Koine phenomenon (CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: B 420); its first attestations come from the 15th c., and it is absent from the earlier corpora of LMedG, i.e. from the monastery archives of Athos and S. Italy (although, admittedly, historical orthography would in any case “hide” the phenomenon). It is explicitly described in the grammar of Germano: “Π, ὦ, π, suona, p, ma dopo μ, ὁ ν, suona come il b, nostro. πέμπω, pémbo, mando. τὸν πατέρα, tom batéra” (GERMANO, *Grammar* 51.6).

MedG also exhibits a sporadic phenomenon of intervocalic voicing of stops and fricatives, also a natural assimilatory phenomenon, which appears only in low-register texts without regularity. This phenomenon is attested from the 12th c. onwards. There is also

very meagre evidence for voicing of fricatives adjacent to other voiced consonants, from the South-Eastern dialects.

Finally, devoicing of voiced stops concerns again only the South-Eastern dialects of Cyprus and the Dodecanese, where foreign voiced stops are adapted as voiceless ones, and the area of S. Italy, where interchange of voiced and voiceless stops occurs from the 11th c. onwards, prefiguring the modern dialectal situation.

3.8.3.2 Post-nasal Voicing

The phenomenon requires separate treatment for word-internal and word-initial positions. In the first case, because of the spelling conventions of the Greek alphabet, it is graphematically invisible, as voiced stops will in any case be spelled as combinations of nasal + voiceless stop, i.e. <μπ>, <ντ>, <γκ/γγ>. In MedG texts it is detectable only through hypercorrections of original nasal + voiced stop combinations, i.e. through spellings of <μπ> for <μβ> and <ντ> for <νδ> and the reverse, starting from the late Koine, e.g. κονδόν Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 441.21; σφοντύλιν *De adm. imperio* 53.325 and 345 (GIGNAC 1976: 81–2; PSALTES 1913: 93–4; JANNACONE 1951: 151). Examples from late MedG texts are abundant (cf. also MINAS ²2003: 64–5 for examples from S. Italian documents and 3.2.1.2):

Τζηάνι Καπονδίστρια / Τζιάνη Καπονδίστρια (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 183.19)

πονδικούς *Chron. Mor.* H 2932 app. crit. (H)

κονδαρέας *Achil.* O 673

μανδόν (1503, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 254, 213.1)

σύνδροπον (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 2, 54.13)

τόν Παντέκτην (1258, Philadelphia?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 15, 157.162)

χοντρικώς (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 86, 163.101)

Φρατζέσχω Βλάχκω (1355, Palatia (Militos), MANOUSAKAS 1962b: 1, 234.6) = Francesco

Blanco

Voicing of word-initial voiceless stops after a word-final nasal takes place within a phonological phrase, i.e. in phrases involving proclitic words such as forms of the definite article (τόν, τήν, τών), the conjunctions ἄν, ὥσάν, the negations δέν and μήν, and the particle θενα > θά (see III, 5.1.4–5), as well as other close-knit syntactic phrases such as combinations of adjective + noun, preposition + object etc. The phenomenon is regular and automatic, but not always noted in the spelling (since there is no conventional way of representing voiced stops). As already mentioned, attestations come from the 15th c. onwards:

τόν μπ(ατέ)ραν μου (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 273.15)

ἐν μπρώτοις (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 62, 179.6)

εις την μπώλην / εις τήν Μπόλιν (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 119.63)

dhe bolema / δέν πολεμᾷ CHORTATSI, *Erof.* 2.105 transcr. X (Legrand)

sto bollema / στόν πόλεμο *Thysia Avr.* 210 transcr. M

σα μπερασυ / σᾶ μπεράση (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 82.107)

τόν μπαπαῖ (1639, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 3, 112.9)

την μπαραπόνεσι (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 24.6)

ἄν μπατρευτοῦ (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 423, 643.27)
dhe bisteugu *P&N Diath.* 66 app. crit.

dhedin / δέν τήν [ἐβγάτισα] *P&N Diath.* 108 app. crit.; sti dripa / στὴν τρύπα *ibid.* 208 app. crit.

ti dossi / τὴν τόση *CHORTATISIS, Erof.* I.499 transcr. X (Legrand)

νάν τα κρατοί, νάν τα βόσκοι / νάν τὰ κρατῆ, νάν τὰ βόσκη (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 16, 94.8)

εἰδὲ νάν τὸ ἔχη τὸ μοναστήρι (1600, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 98, 131.12)

νάν τὸν ἐπροσκενήσω (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.24)

νάν τὸ δώσουν (1635, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 182.5)

νάν τὰ δίδουν (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 113.10)

νάν τοῦ λισεντζιάρειν (1687, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 277, 257.34)

τὴν {κ}γγάβαν / τὴν γκάβαν (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 9, 154.5)

ἐν γκόμη / ἐν κώμη (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 48.3)

κανέναν γκαιρὸν / κανέναν γκαιρὸν (1548, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 119, 233.17)

τὴν γκαθαροσίνην τὴν γκαθολήκην (1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 6.1, 241.10–11)

μασαρίαν τῶν γγελιῶ / μασαρίαν τῶν κελλιῶ (1655, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 2001: 96.4)

ανγκαλεσι / ἄν καλέση (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 113.11)

μὴν γγάνοντας / μὴν κάνοντας (1696, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 47, 141.15)

The regularity and extreme frequency of the phenomenon, combined with the equally frequent deletion of final /n/ which obscures phonetic conditioning, have led in certain cases to its lexicalization, i.e. to the permanent, lexical, voicing of a word-initial voiced stop irrespective of phonetic environment. Voicing of the enclitic forms of the personal pronoun is regular in Crete and the Cyclades, as is evident from the wealth of EMG attestations as well as modern dialectal data (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 63). For other lexical items, initial voicing is a sporadic phenomenon. Note that in manuscripts and modern editions the phenomenon is sometimes spelled as a non-etymological final /n/ attached to the previous word (see 3.7.2.1):

to prochion dis / τὸ προκίον (προυκίό?) ντης (1394, Crete, SANTSCHI 1976: 1597, 344.11)

το πιαзмаη dy / τὸ πλάσμαν του (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 21)

estilan don / ἔστειλάν τον (15th c., Cyprus, BAGLIONI 2006: 202.35)

τὰ παιδιάν τονε / τὰ παιδιά ντωνε (1544, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [2], 7.11)

i thigateradu / ἡ θυγατέρα ν-του *CHORTATISIS, Erof.* I.581 transcr. X (Legrand); sta plutidu / στὰ πλούτη ν-του *ibid.* I.582

to stomandu / τὸ στόμαν του (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 198.151)

οἱ κληρονόμοι ντου (1631, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 6, 136.22)

τοῦ πατέραν του (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 42, 193.17–18); οἱ γονοίν τος / οἱ γονοί ντως (1684, *ibid.* 414)

λέγει ντων (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.12)

εἰδαμένταις, idaméndes / εἰδαμέν τες GERMANO, *Grammar* 51.10

τὸ πλέον σὲ γκομπόνη / τὸ πλέον σὲ γκομπώνει *Spaneas* Z 357 app. crit.

ὁ μπρίγκηπας *Chron. Mor.* P 1327

τοῦ Μπίνδαρου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 143.33

κυρ μπαχουμηως / κύρ Μπαχούμιος (1595, Kefalonia, GARBIS 1999: 411.2)

ένα μπιθηάρι / ἕνα μπιθάρι (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 8, 86.26–7)

μισιάρικα μπατοτινά (1575, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 134, 254.4)
 να μπέρνι / νὰ μπάρνη (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 41.34); και τα μπράματα / καὶ τὰ
 μπράματα (ibid. 128, 119.10)
 το μπουκύμας / τὸ μπουγγί μας MONTSEL., *Evgena* 462 app. crit.
 na mi pleroni bglio / νὰ μὴ πλερώνη μπλιὸ (1661, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 10, 105.103)
 διὰ τὰ μπέντε ὀνόματα (1691, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 59, 201.11)
 tone dirate / τόνε ντηρᾶται BAROZZI, *Letter* 359.24
 τὸ ντεσταμέντο (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 81.102)
 τοὺς γκαρδινάλιους *Alosis* 175
 στὸν Ἀγιάννη γκοντὰ (17th c., Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 44, 315.2–3)

3.8.3.3 Intervocalic Voicing

Occasionally, voiceless stops are voiced in intervocalic position, a cross-linguistically common type of voicing assimilation. It appears especially frequently in areas in contact with Italian, specifically S. Italy and the Heptanese. Except for isolated lexical items (e.g. κροντήρι < κρυωτήριο, ἀγκάθι < ἀκάνθιον), the phenomenon does not appear in SMG, but is quite frequent in MG dialects (TRIANDAPHYLIDIS 1909: 44; MINAS 1987b: 274). It may in some cases be a purely graphematic instance of hypercorrect nasal addition (“irrational nasal”; see 3.5.2.4), and it is difficult to distinguish from true cases of nasal addition; the presence of the word in MG dialects preserving nasals before voiced stops is the only certain diagnostic.

τοῦσ πλοῦμπους / τοὺς πλούμπους (1100, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 15, 203.15)
 τόμπον (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1949: 273.14)
 καταμπαντοῦ / Καταμπαντοῦ *Chron. Mor.* P 1502 app. crit. (P)
 Φιλίμπο / Φιλίμπο (1478, Lefkada, MALTEZOU 1983: 3, 22.Address)
 ντζιμπούνι *Byz. Il.* 446
 τζίμπουρον / τσίμπουρον *Krasop.* AO 76 (reading of ms A, see Eideneier 1988: 35)
 ὅτι ἐμπούλησαν (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 5, 24.4)
 τὴν ἀμπιδούλα (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 144, 193.10)
 essoberbissa / ἐσσοπερμπίσσα *P&N Diath.* 988 app. crit. < Ital. *superbo*
 λουμπούνια FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.352 < λούπινο
 τὸ μονομπάτι (1632, Gortynia / Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 16, 177.11)
 διβλαντάριν *Ptoch. I* 59 < βλαττίον
 βλαντιὰ *Byz. Il.* 146; ἀπὸ βλαντίου *Velis.* p 38 app. crit. (P)
 κριοντήρια δέκα (1325, Macedonia, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 64, 357.111)
 καμηλοπερπαντάρη *Poulol.* 23 app. crit. (P)
 ὄνταν τὸ ἄνθος τῆς Φραγκίας *Chron. Mor.* P 348 (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ὅταν)
 στοιχημάντων *Assizes B* 334.27
 τοποτηρηνητὴν του *Assizes A* 222.6
 ὅποντες (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 41, 52.13)
 σοντιρίας / σωντηρίας (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 40.12)
 Ἐγκατερίνης / Αἰγκατερίνης (1128, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 13, 97.1); Σαγκοτρίπου /
 Σαγκοτρύπου (1156, ibid. 28, 161.26)
 σαγκέλλιον (1193, Messina / Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 15, 125.33)

Σιγγελίας *Liv.* E 155

τσουγκάλιν *Diig. Apoll.* 488

ἀγκάθι *Pent. Gen.* 3.18

δύο λουγγέτα / δύο λουγκέτα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.34)

ανγκίσιρα / ἀγκίσσηρα (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), 28.12)

ἤθελε σηνκωθῆν (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 180.3)

The same voicing assimilation is responsible, in rare cases, for the appearance of /b d g/ instead of /p t k/ in the environment between a vowel and a voiced consonant, usually a liquid:

ἐγκλησία / ἐγκλησία (1183, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: LV-100, 106.32)

ἡμπληκεύσασι *Dig.* G II.102

σαλμπίγγια *Chron. Mor.* P 643

ἐγκλέγει *Cyp. Canz.* 42.8

τὴν πάρντε του (1673, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 6, 581.8)

καρέγκλες (1731, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 18, 36.13) (but probably from Ven. *caregla*)

It has been suggested (SCHWYZER 1933/34; KAPSOMENOS 1953b: 329–30; KAPSOMENOS 1985: 110; FANCIULLO 1985: 97–9) that at least some of these cases of voicing (ἐγκλησία, ἄμπλικεύω, ἄμπιδία, σάγκος etc.) are due to geminate dissimilation, i.e. to a process [kk] > [nk], [pp] > [mp] etc., and an effort to preserve consonantal differentiation and syllable structure threatened by the phenomenon of degemination. This interpretation is possible but unnecessary, and would in fact push back the phenomenon to the late Koine, although in several cases it is obvious that the lexical items involved are new.

Very rarely and only as a sporadic irregular phenomenon, intervocalic voicing assimilation or voicing assimilation between a vowel and a voiced consonant may affect voiceless fricatives as well, resulting in the corresponding voiced fricative. The latter phenomenon is characteristic of Cypriot in the modern period, but rare traces may be found in MedG and EMG texts as well (HADJIIOANNOU 1988: 207–8; TSOPANAKIS 1988; SYMEONIDIS 2006: 188):

Κυβισσ(άς) / Κιβησσᾶς (11th–13th c.?, Athens, GRANSTREM et al. 1976: A1, 39.10); Κηβισά (15th c., Athens?, DARROUZÈS 1964b: 67, 311.2)

ἀποκεῖδες (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 157, 206.12)

Στεβανῆς (1623, Chios, KAVVADAS 1950: 48.16)

προσκεβαλάδε (1717, Skiathos, KARAVIDAS 2004: 2, 249.14)

πέστροβες *Don Kis.* 10.20

τὸ αἰγμάλωτον *Assizes* B 404.2

ἔξαυνα / ἔξαβνα (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 452.30)

The phenomenon may, equally rarely, also affect word-initial fricatives, presumably in coarticulation with a preceding word ending in a vowel:

για βοδρ(α) / γιά βόδρα (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 15, 13.6)

βουστάνια (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 44.34) < φουστάνι

δείαφι (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), 28.10) < θειάφι

3.8.3.4 Devoicing

/b d g/ > /p t k/. In the South-East area, i.e. in Cyprus and the Dodecanese, and in Asia Minor, devoicing of adopted voiced stops is a regular phenomenon, consistently noted in MedG and EMG documents, and corroborated by MG dialectal data (TSOPANAKIS 1940: 162–3; HENRICH 1994: 139–40; HENRICH 1996b: 178; SYMEONIDIS 2006: 170–3). The phenomenon applies to loanwords from Italian, French and Turkish and is attested, at least for Pontos, since the 13th c.:

κ' ἐγὼ δοῦλος τοῦ μεγάλου σουλτάνου Πατρατίνης Ὁπου Πάκης (1215, Pontos, BEES 1922: 53.3–54.4) (= *Badr-ad-Din Abu Bekr*)

Χητήρ πεγής ὁ Τζαλαπής (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 255.6)

τὴν σουπερπιάν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 24.31

μετὰ γυμνὰ τὰ πράτσα σου LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 215 (scr. μετὰ)

Δασπουσού (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.20) < Fr. *d'Aubusson*

Φρά Γαπριέλ (1502, Kalymnos, KOUTELAKIS 1981: 1, 28.1)

του παστάρδου του πατέρα της VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 6.15

Περνάρδος *Fior* 73.19

ρουπίνιν *Cypr. Canz.* 114.5

Παλής (1653, Kydonies, PATRINELIS 1993/94: 15.17)

περβανὰπέλουπαχίς / Περβανὰ Πελούπαχης (1666, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 1, 1.1) < Turk. *böyükbashi*

ἐπάρθη τὸ κάστρον ἡ Σινώπη παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου σουλτάνου Ἀζατίν Καϊ-Καούση (1215,

Pontos, BEES 1922: 53.1–3) = *Izz-ad-Din Kay Kawus*

εἰς τὸ Κουρτιστάν (1336, Trebizond, LAMBROS 1916a: 40.31)

τῆς ἄνωθεν τάμε Ἀλὶς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 40.26

τὸ τουέριν *Assizes* A 150.19

τῆς Ἐκλετέρας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 18.31

The phenomenon should not be confused with the purely graphematic notation of nasal deletion before voiced stops, i.e. /mb nd ng/ > /b d g/, which occurs in all Greek-speaking areas, with both native and borrowed lexical items (see 3.6.2.1).

/v ð γ/ > /f θ χ/. Devoicing of voiced fricatives is again attested in the South-Eastern area, especially Cyprus, very sporadically, corroborated by modern dialectal evidence (PANDELIDIS 1929: 36, 38; TSOPANAKIS 1988). The phenomenon appears mostly in intervocalic position. One potential interpretation would be to consider it some sort of false restitution/hypercorrection, after regular deletion of an intervocalic voiced fricative, although in such cases the expected outcome would be a voiced, not voiceless fricative (see 3.8.5.2). Alternatively, it could be viewed as a voicing dissimilation due to an adjacent voiced consonant (SYMEONIDIS 2006: 188).

μαχαζένια MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 115.5 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)

τιν αναλοχιν / τὴν ἀναλοχὴν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 292.48

ὁ Δαβίθ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.5

τὸ χέρι τὸ ζερφὸ PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 605

ἐμάθησεν τὰ γένειά του *Assizes* B 268.13 < μαδῶ

ἐνι μαθισμένες *Fior* 124.37

3.8.4 Fricativization and Occlusion

3.8.4.1 Sporadic Fricativization

In certain words, probably under the influence of non-phonetic factors such as analogy or folk etymology, the corresponding voiceless fricative appears instead of a voiceless stop (cf. TRIANDAPHYLIDIS 1909: 30–1; PANDELIDIS 1929: 35):

φισκίαν *Dig.* E 1648; ὑπᾶ πρὸς τὴν φισκίαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1298 < Lat. *piscina*
φλεμόνι τῆς αἰγας LANDOS, *Geopon.* 243.10 < πνεύμων
ἐφειδὴν ἦτον κρατημένος *Assizes* B 279.6 (cf. KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ἐπειδή)

βαθράκοι ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 17.1; βαθρακοὺς *Spanos* A 105 < βάτραχος
μοῦ ἀπαρθενεὺει (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 113.14–15) < Ital. *appartenire*
μηδὲ ἄλλου ποθέξ *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 39.17 < ποτέ

αἱ κοροῦχαι *Ptoch.* III 200 < Lat. *carruca*
διώχει τους *Pol. Tr.* 3186 app. crit. (AX); νὰ διώχουν LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 169
ἡ σύντηχή / οἱ σύντιχοι (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 217.8) < Ven. *sindico*
ἐχουνθήκεν *Diig. Alex.* F 54.2 (Konstantinopulos) < κουνῶ < κινῶ

A similar, sporadic and lexically determined, evolution occasionally leads to the appearance of the voiced fricative instead of the corresponding voiceless stop:

πούβοτας (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 9, 87.9) < πούποτε
τίβοτις (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 5, 25.30) < τίποτε
περβατοῦμεν (1549, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 51, 93.7); νὰ περβατοῦμε (1594,
Epirus, MERTZIOS 1936b: 5, 45.22); περβατοῦνε CHORTATSI, *Katz.* Prol. 35 < περιπατῶ
μέδ' ἔσου *Dig.* E 870; μεδ' ἔμας *Pol. Tr.* 1801 app. crit. (BV) < μετά
δεξιότης *Velth.* 32; τοῦ δεξιότη BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 417 < τοξότης
μερδικόν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 5, 25.14) < μερτικόν
ἀναγαράδες *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1193 < ἀνακαράς
γυψέλια (1681?, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARARA et al. 1982/83: 148, 317.26) < κυψέλη

The pronoun τίποτε has several variants involving /v/ (τίβετις, τίβοτας etc.), with a wide-spread distribution. For further details see II, 5.8.2.

Pontic retains some weak traces of an interchange between aspirated and non-aspirated stops, which was characteristic of the AG Ionic dialect. This concerns mainly the lexical item ἀχάντιον < ἀκάνθιον, noted by Eustathios (ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ 1953: 36; KAPSOMENOS 1985: 59), attested in MedG place names and personal names from the Vazelon archive, cf. τὸ Ἀχαντιώνιν (13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 62, 36.14); τοῦ Ἀχαντέα (1382, *ibid.* 125, 193.12), and corroborated by modern Pontic (ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1958 s.v.). The characteristically Ionic form οὐκί for οὐχί, preserved in modern Pontic, is also attested in the same archive: κάμνει οὐκί κάμνει (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 176, 120.2–3) (cf. DÖLGER 1929/30: 335; VAYAKAKOS 1964: 270).

The variation between /t/ and /ð/ in the suffixes -άτος/-άδος, -άτα/-άδα in loanwords is due to the different origin of the loan: Ital. -ato vs. Ven. -ado (KONDOSOPOULOS 1963: 150). Examples: σολδαδῶν CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.454 vs. σορδάτους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V

42.9; τὴν ἀρμάδα LIMEN., *Velis*. (Λ) 228, μὲ ἀρμάδα (17th c., Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.2, 72.2) vs. ἡ ἀρμάτα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 407.26. In general intervocalic and word-initial /v ð γ/ instead of /b d g/ in loanwords of Italian origin (e.g. γοῦστο, βελουδο, γουάρδια etc.) is largely due to the fact that the Venetian dialect, which is in most cases the immediate source, displays regular lenition (fricativization) of voiced stops in these positions (KONDOSOPOULOS 1963: 149–50).

The frequent instances of θρέφω/θροφή, e.g. θροφή CHORTATSIS, *Katz*. I.33; εἰς τὴν θροφήν του KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 338.27; ἀναθρέφη *Chron. Mor.* H 955, and of θάφος/θαφή, e.g. θάφος *Pist. voskos* I 1.21; ἐν ᾧ μέλλω θαφῆναι (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.6), are due to analogy with forms of the verb containing -θ- (ἐθρεψα, ἔθαψα etc.).

3.8.4.2 Fricativization due to Palatalization

/t/ > /θ/ before /j/. The characteristic Modern Cretan phenomenon of /t/ > /θ/ before the semivowel /j/ resulting from synizesis (termed “fricativity assimilation”, e.g. μάτια > μάθια, σπίτια > σπίθια; see KONDOSOPOULOS 2001: 30; NEWTON 1972a: 163–6) is not attested in Cretan literary and non-literary texts of the period, except for a few very dubious cases: μάθια PIGAS, *Chrysop.* 118.11 from an unreliable edition, the hypercorrect form Λασίτιν instead of Λασίθιν in BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 150.17 (both quoted by HENRICH 1998b: 90–1), and the ethnic name σιθηακοῦ / Σηθιακοῦ (1635, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 67, 177.4), quoted by CHATZIDAKIS (1934/77: A 374). The presence of the corresponding phenomenon affecting voiced /d/ (see below) has led to disagreement as to whether the dearth of attestations is due to the fact that the phenomenon took place after the 17th c. or to the deliberate “normalization” of scribes and printers.²²

/d/ > /ð/ before /j/. The corresponding phenomenon, involving the voiced /d/ instead of the voiceless /t/ appears, albeit rarely, in Cretan texts from the late 16th c. onwards. It is more consistent in Cypriot documents from the 17th c.:

ἀνάδια μου *Thysia Avr.* 913; ἀνάδια KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1797 < ἐνάντια
μπεργαδιά BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 312.25 (Xirouchakis)

Κιδιοῦ (1692, Cyprus, MITROPOULLOS 1923: A, 325.heading) = Κιτίου

νὰ κάμη τέδοιαν πέρκαν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 253

τὰ σπίδια του KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 23; τὸν σπηδγον / τῶν σπιδγιῶν (1699, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 39, 95.5); πασάνας εἰς τὰ σπίδια τους *Thrinis Kyp.* 348

It cannot be ascertained whether the Cypriot spellings represent the modern dialectal realization of the sequence /t/ + /j/ as [ðç] in varieties of Modern Cypriot and other South-Eastern

²² Further examples of the ethnic Σηθιακός in Cretan notarial documents are collected by KOURMOULIS (1938) in an effort to prove that the appearance of the phenomenon is dated earlier than the 17th c., despite the opinion of CHATZIDAKIS (1934/77: A 374) and KRIARAS (1938: 77–81). However, he too fails to find any direct evidence of the phenomenon in Cretan literature; the botanical term <lagochimithia> that he adduces from the 16th-c. travel account of Pierre Belon is irrelevant, since it may represent not λαγοκοιμητιά with fricativization, but original λαγοκοιμηθιά (i.e. with an original verbal stem κοιμηθ-).

dialects (PANDELIDIS 1929: 35–6) or whether they reflect a superseded, no longer attested intermediate stage [ðj]. Evidence for the more usual Modern Cypriot change, with /t/ > /θ/ before a semivowel (e.g. μάτια > μάθκια, σπίτια > σπίθκια, see NEWTON 1972b: 52) has not been found; it probably post-dates the period covered by this Grammar.

3.8.4.3 Fricativization due to Language Contact

In S. Italian documents there are occasional instances of interchange between stops and fricatives (MINAS ²2003: 56–7):

Ἰσκαριώθου (1193, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 15, 125.31–2)
 χαλεῖτε / καλεῖτε (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 307.23)
 ἡχουστοῦ / εἰκοστοῦ (1317, S. Italy, TURYN 1972: 129)
 χαρβουνεῖς (1124, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 95, 124.35–6); χρυσοθαρία ... ταρία (1005, ibid. 13, 13.13, 21)

Since the phenomenon appears also in the modern form of the S. Italian dialects (KARANASTASIS 1997: 35–6; COUTSOUGERA/KATSOYANNOU 2011), it could be due to influence of the local Romance varieties, which lack /x/ and /θ/, and the native speakers of which occasionally resort to hypercorrect forms; compare 3.8.4.6 for the change of fricatives to stops in S. Italy.

3.8.4.4 Fricativization due to Voicing Assimilation

/k/ > /g/ in compounds with ἐκ. When a stem starting with the voiced consonants /v ð l/ is prefixed with the preposition ἐκ, /g/ frequently appears instead of /k/:

διεγδικήσωμεν / διεγδικήσωμεν (984, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 9, 8.23); οὐκ ἐγδικοῦμεν αὐτό (1210, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 5, 35.18)
 ἐγλήωνται / ἐγλύωνται (1198, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 246, 333.19)
 ἐγδύνουν τον DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 440
 ἐγλανπροτατε / ἐγλαμπρότατε (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 49.1)
 πῶς ἐγδέχονται LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 199 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner: ἐγδέχονται)
 ἐγδοχή *Thysia Avr.* 500
 ἄστρα γλαμπρισμένα *Cypr. Canz.* 68.1
 ἐγδιμούντοστος / ἐκδημούντος του (1612, Chios, FOTEINOS 1865: 213.23)
 ἡγδαρέν τον PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1437

According to some scholars, the phenomenon also involves compounds with stems starting with /n/ such as γνέφω, γνέθω, if indeed they derive from ἐκ + νεύω, ἐκ + νήθω etc. (cf. BABINIOTIS, *Lex.* s.vv.), an etymology which is not generally accepted (see also 3.5.2.3 for /g/ anaptyxis). Examples such as διατὸ ἥτο ἐγνέας χηρέφοντα *Chron. Mor.* H 8022 < ἐκ νέας, would be an argument in favour of this analysis.

The origins of the phenomenon may be dated to Hellenistic times, as voicing of /k/ > /g/ in this environment is already attested in inscriptions and papyri of the period (GIGNAC 1976: 174; MINAS ²2003: 58; NICHOLAS 2007: 199; HORROCKS ²2010: 276). The overall evolution is therefore /k/ > /g/ > /g/ rather than directly /k/ > /g/. In the case

of a following /v/, an additional development occurs, the metathesis /ɣv/ > /vy/ (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.vv. βγαίνω < ἐκβαίνω, βγάνω < ἐκβάλλω for numerous examples from a variety of texts and areas). The earliest example of this development comes from the EMedG period: εὔγαλε Moschos, *Leimon* 3064A, a form perhaps due to a later copyist (NICHOLAS 2007). In some MG dialectal areas, such as Pontic, the change has not taken place (KRETSCHMER 1905: 196; KAHANE/KAHANE 1981: 112). DAWKINS (1932: II 36) notes several occurrences of the unmetathesized cluster in ms O of Machairas: νατὸν απογβάλῃς / νὰ τὸν ἀπογβάλεις MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 359.35–6 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari); διὰ ναπογβῇ / διὰ ν’ ἀπογβεῖ *ibid.* 413.39. However, the fact that the same manuscript also has readings such as κόγβοντα *ibid.* 349.12 shows that this <γβ> may simply be a scribal peculiarity.

3.8.4.5 Orthographic Fricativization after Rough Breathing

A special case of apparent fricativization is the change of the voiceless stops /p t k/ to the corresponding fricatives /f θ x/ before words historically bearing the rough breathing. This is not a true phonetic change, but an orthographic convention inherited from AG, where the coarticulation of a voiceless stop + following aspiration was denoted graphematically as an aspirated stop <φ θ χ> = [p^h t^h k^h] (LEJEUNE 1972: §§ 367, 378). The phenomenon occurs at morpheme and word boundaries (after elision) and constitutes a marker of archaism or high register. This excludes cases where this “aspiration” has been lexicalized in common univerted words, such as καθείς/καθένας, ἀφοῦ, ἀφότου etc.

καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν προσδοκῶς *Ptoch.* I 101
 καθ’ ἐκάστη ἐκδέχεται *Chron. Mor.* H 4649
 καθ’ ὀρισμὸν ἐκείνης [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2034
 ὁ ἐλθὼν μεθ’ ὑμῶν (1131, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 111, 146.8)
 μεθ’ ὄρκου τοὺς ἐμήνα *Chron. Mor.* P 680
 ἐσεῖς ἀρνιέστε μεθ’ ὄρκου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.35–6

3.8.4.6 Occlusion

/θ/ > /t/ and /x/ > /k/ in S. Italian. In the MedG documents from S. Italy several instances of the phenomenon occur (MINAS ²2003: 56–7):

προρειτέντα / προρρητέντα (1185, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 223, 292.10)
 συμφωνιτέντα / συμφωνητέντα (1201, Messina Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 19, 151.27)
 ἐπιτυμίαν (1271, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 324, 479.27)
 ὀλοψύκω / ὀλοψύκω (1190, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 16, 48.1); ἰσικῶς / ἡσυκῶς (1094?, *ibid.* Coll. IX: 5, 391.2); τῆς μονακῆς (1236, *ibid.* Coll. I: 16, 92.1)

Furthermore, S. Italian documents contain a number of instances of the reverse phenomenon, i.e. /t/ > /θ/ or /k/ > /x/ (see above 3.8.4.3), probably as a hypercorrection. The modern S. Italian dialects of Puglia also have a similar phenomenon of interchange between fricatives and stops, probably as a result of Italian influence, e.g. θερμός > τερμό

(KARANASTASIS 1997: 33). In all probability, this is a phenomenon of language interference between Greek and Romance, since the native Romance dialects do not possess the phonemes /θ/ and /x/.

3.8.4.7 Change to Nasals

/v/ > /m/ before /n/. The /v/ arising from the consonantization of the AG diphthongs /au/ and /eu/ before /n/ undergoes partial assimilation to the corresponding nasal /m/ (ANDRIOTIS, *Lex. s.v. μ*; MINAS ²2003: 58). The resulting /emn/ is occasionally written εὔμν- in an attempt at conservative spelling. The phenomenon affects a small number of words, which appear in their new form in the vernacular texts of this period, starting from the 12th c. There are no traces of this phenomenon in the Koine or in EMedG.

σηνεύμ(ου) / συνεύμνου (1173, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 51, 91.70) < σύνευνος
 ἐρευνήσαντες (1000, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 12, 11.34)
 ερεμνήσαμεν / ἐρεμνήσαμεν (1232, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 288, 398.37–8) < ἐρευνῶ
 ἔμνοστον *Dig. G IV.193* < εὔνοστος
 πανέμνοστη *Pol. Tr.* 1903 app. crit. (VX)
 διὰ τὴν εὔμνοστοτοπίαν *Liv. S* 2873
 ἄχαμνόν *Chron. Mor.* H 1675; ἄχαμνόν *Fior* 73.14 < χαῦνος
 μνούχου ὀρχίδια *Spanos A* 487; τοὺς μνούχους της *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 541 < εὔνουχος
 ἐλάμνοντα *Chron. Mor.* H 4681; λάμνοντα BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 332 < ἐλαύνω

3.8.5 Fricative Interchange

3.8.5.1 Voiceless Fricative Interchange

/θ/ > /f/. /θ/ occasionally changes to /f/, mainly in initial position (PERNOT 1907/46: I 308–10; JANNACONE 1951: 160). The phenomenon is more widespread in MedG and EMG than in SMG, although by no means regular. In all attestations, the vowel following initial /θ/ is /i/. The phenomenon appears at least as early as the *Chronicle of Morea* (only ms P), but there is also a single 12th-c. attestation from S. Italy. There are no traces of this phenomenon in the Koine or EMedG. Its origin probably lies in the perceptual similarity between the sounds [f] and [θ], as the same phenomenon is attested in several languages, including Venetian and English (BLEVINS 2004: 134–5).

φρησκεία (1141, Palermo / Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 5, 16.4)
 que figateres v / καὶ φυγατέρες ε' (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 72, f.IIr.2)
 στήν Φήβαν *Chron. Mor.* P 3302
 φρήνος *Chron. Mor.* P 2462
 φηκάριν *Arm.* 81; φηκάρια *Dig.* E 127; φηκάρια BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 468; φηκάρι (1609, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 8, 80.68); φουκάριν FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.11
 coltelliera. μαχαίροφικάρι, τό GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v.*
 φλίβεται (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 150)
 τὸ φυμιατόν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 66.21
 ἡ Φηρασσία (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 97.7)

φηλυκό (1662, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 27, 33.15); φηλυκό (1664, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1991: 1, 82.26); φηλυκό (1686, Corsica, VAYAKAKOS 1978: 123, entry 2)

Άφηνούς *Chron. Mor.* P 1554

ἔφιμον *Flor.* L 1344

Martinus Crusius makes special note of the phenomenon when discussing the Cypriot dialect, and gives several examples from Cypriot speakers, such as σπαφί, φηκάρι, φρονί, παραφύρι, σωφικά. The phenomenon is indeed corroborated in Modern Cypriot, but in Crusius's case the possibility of mis-hearing should not be ruled out (TOUFEXIS 2005: 201).

3.8.5.2 Voiced Fricative Interchange

MedG and EMG texts exhibit sporadic interchange of voiced fricatives, i.e. the appearance of a different voiced fricative from the etymologically expected one, usually in intervocalic and occasionally in word-initial position. This occurs already in the earliest documents, from 11th-c. S. Italian archives, and in all areas. In most cases, the change is due to sporadic assimilation or dissimilation, or even not due to phonetic causes but rather to morphological ones, such as analogy or folk etymology.

δισκόμης (1179, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 193, 254.35) < Lat. *vicecomes*
 χηρνηδῶξεστον / χιρνιδῶξεστον (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.14) < χερνιβῶξεστον
 δηλόθυρον (1442, Belgrade region/Serbia, ALEXOULIS 1892: 2, 280.14) < βηλόθυρον
 φλέγα SKLENTZAS, *Ain. Zood. Pig.* 10 < φλέβα; φλέγα, φλέβα, ή GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. vena*
 βιμῶσιον / βημῶσιον (1182, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 212, 278.25) < δημῶσιον
 κηβεύσειν (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 45.60) < κηδεύω (assimilation?);
 νὰ κηβεύει (1532, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 24, 74.21)
 βοῦγην / βούγιν (1500, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1 [A'], 236.6) < βούδιν

λαβοῦτον *Dig.* E 627 < λαγοῦτον < Ital. *lauto*

διά νὰ τραβουδήσουν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1218 < τραγουδῶ

βαρνίρουσι (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 311, 296.11) < Ven. *guarnir*

λαβῶνικα MONTSELI, *Evgena* 252 < λαγωνικά

However, a phonetic interpretation is also available for the phenomenon if it occurs in texts from the Dodecanese and Cyprus: hypercorrect restitution of the “wrong” fricative after the phonetic change of intervocalic fricative deletion (for which see 3.6.1.1), a regular phenomenon in the modern dialects (PERNOT 1907/46: I 532; JANNACONE 1951: 160; NEWTON 1972a: 72–3). In LMedG texts the phenomenon is extremely rare, but attestations become more frequent from the 16th c. onwards.

τὸν ἐβρούθησεν *Assizes* B 362.18 < γροθίζω

τὸ βρούθισμάν του *Assizes* A 112.4 < γρόθισμαν

βακρύζω *Cypr. Canz.* 64.8 < δακρύζω

βουργά *Cypr. Canz.* 2.30 < γοργά

λοτρίδιν (1502, Kalymnos, KOUTELAKIS 1981: 1, 28.2) < ἔλαιστριβεῖον

το περιγολη / τὸ περιγόλι (1603, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 5, 21.14) < περιβόλι

δίγω τω / δίγω το (1722, Tilos, KOUTELAKIS 1979: 21, 54.4) < δίδω

δύρου δύρου (1722?, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 481.15) < γύρω
 κε βοχαλilis / κι ἐβώ Χαλilis (1737, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1972: 5, 35.8–9) < ἐγώ

A similar, but much rarer, cause of apparent voiced fricative interchange is the hypercorrect restoration of the “wrong” fricative that was normally deleted before a nasal, e.g. πᾶν πᾶβμα ὄν ἀφιέρωσεν ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν (1116, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 80, 105.27) (see 3.6.1.3).

/v/ > /ɣ/ after /l/. A phenomenon unconnected with the previous one is the sporadic appearance of /ɣ/ instead of /v/ when it forms a cluster with /l/. This is a very rare and probably word-specific phenomenon. All the instances located date back to at least the EMedG period, and are recorded in the Lexicon of Hesychius: ἐπιγλέποι· ἐπόψεται Hesych. E 5066; γλέφαρ· βλέφαρ Γ 630; σουγλάριον· ἐργαλοθήκη Σ 1350 (cf. also BEEKES 2010 s.v. βλέπω).

σουγλισμόν *Chron. Mor.* H 631

ἐν σουγλα *Spanos* A 95; σουγλα (1627, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 240.24)

ἐγλέποντας (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.27)

κίανταγλεπε / κι' ἂν τὰ ᾿γλεπε CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.8 app. crit.

πίττες γλέπει *Paroim.* (Warner) 98.19

γλέφαρον MEURSIUS, *Gloss.* s.v.; εἰς τὸ γλέφαρόν του PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.229

3.8.6 Liquid Interchange

3.8.6.1 Introduction and Historical Overview

The two liquid consonants of MedG and EMG, /l/ and /r/, being both articulatorily and perceptually close, undergo interchange in two specific phonetic environments (PSICHARI 1905; SHIPP 1958; NEWTON 1972a: 112–13; MANOLESSOU/TOUFEXIS 2009). The phenomenon is of Panhellenic spread and is restricted only by register (of the text or the specific lexical item). The two changes in question are the following:

- change of /l/ > /r/ when it is the first member of a consonant cluster (e.g. ἀδελφός > ἀδερφός, ἀλμυρός > ἄρμυρός), a change also known as “delateralization”. Occasional hypercorrect changes of /r/ to /l/ (e.g. βάρκα > βάλκα) also occur.
- change of /r/ > /l/ when another /r/ sound follows in the same word (e.g. γρήγορα > γλήγορα, πρῶρη > πλώρη), with occasional hypercorrect changes of /l/ to /r/ (e.g. ἀλεύριον > ἄρεύριον). The phenomenon can be described as regressive dissimilation, i.e. the first syllable changes in order to become dissimilar from a following one.

The earliest attestations of liquid interchange are to be found in Koine inscriptions (cf. the examples in DIETERICH 1898: 107, JANNARIS 1897: 94–5 and PSICHARI 1905). Some of these, however, are misreadings of earlier scholars or refer to outdated editions; the most reliable information comes from THREATTE 1980: 483 and GIGNAC 1976: 105: Εὐέρπιστος IG II² 2245.222 (AD 262/3); χάρκεον Agora inv. no. IL 493.27 (3rd c. AD); ἐξερθῖν PMich.204.5 (AD 7); ἐρπὶς POxy 1059 (6th c. AD). For the EMedG period, PSALTES (1913: 76, 98) collects the few available examples: σκαρμός *De adm. imperio*

9.16; πλώρα *ibid.* 9.34. The NT contains two early instances of the dissimilation change: φραγγέλιον (< Lat. *flagellum*) *Ev. Jh* 2.15, *Matth.* 27.26; and πλώρη *Act. Apost.* 27.30.

3.8.6.2 Delateralization

In the period under investigation, the phenomenon is widespread and appears in all areas, starting from the 12th c., although no regularity is observable. It affects /l/ before any type of consonant (stop, fricative, nasal). According to a rough estimation based on data from the Kriaras *Lexicon* (MANOLESSOU/TOUFEXIS 2009), about 30 per cent of the words possessing the relevant environment exhibit the change of /l/ > /r/ in consonant clusters:

αρμῖρις / Ἄρμυρῆς (1159, Calabria, TRINCERA 1865: 158, 209.16); armira / ἄρμυρά (15th c., Crete?, KAKOULIDI 1958/59: 119.2)
 τοῦ Χάρκοματ(α) / τοῦ Χαλκωματᾶ (1307, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 10, 115.106);
 χαρκοματένιον (1557, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 11, κς'.49); χαρκώματα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 9, 88.6)
 μυροβρύτου (1325, S. Italy, TURYN 1980: 91)
 ὀρπίζαν *Dig.* E 532; ἀπῆρπισέν με *ibid.* 1129 app. crit.
 Βουργάρους *Chron. Mor.* P 1215
 ἐτόρμησες *Achil.* N 1071
 τὸ φαρκόνιν *Assizes* B 451.16–17
 ὁ ἀδερφός σου *Pent. Gen.* 4.9
 συχνοεπαρέγγερνεν *Liv.* V 1128
 βαρσάμου *Love poems* V 401; βάρσαμα *Katal.* 360
 Βάρτος (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 215, 202.5) (place name)
 ormingus / ὀρμίγκους BAROZZI, *Letter* 358.23 < ἔλμινς
 ἐστέρνανε ἓνα μέρος SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 34.31–2
 φαρτικὰ (1716, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 476.6)

Importantly, there are several instances of new native or borrowed lexical items undergoing the change, which shows that the phenomenon is not simply lexically inherited from the Koine, but was still active during the LMedG and EMG periods:

Μουρσουμάνοι (1448, Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 9.IV, 50.2)
 τὸ ἐρμὸ *Achil.* O 285 < OFr. *helme*
 βάρτε τὸ σκοπὸν *Cypr. Canz.* 2.7
 φαρτσουσύνην *Fior* 78.28 < Ital. *falsità*
 κάρσες / κάρσες (1678, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 453.7); κάρτζες (1687, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 10, 224.25) < Ital. *calza*

The general application of the change in the MG dialects also shows its vitality. From a linguistic point of view, this phenomenon is cross-linguistically frequent and can be attributed to a general tendency for more sonorant elements in syllable-final (coda) position (MANOLESSOU/TOUFEXIS 2009; VENNEMANN 1988).

The hypercorrect change of /r/ > /l/ in consonant clusters is much rarer than the reverse change /l/ > /r/ and seems to occur predominantly in words of foreign origin. This was already noted by Portius (PORTIUS, *Grammar* 10), with the example *scrima* > σκλίμα.

τὸν βοῦλχαν *Dig.* G IV.314 < Lat. *burrichus*
 φούλκας *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 237 < Lat. *furca*
 βουλγατόριον SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 49 < Lat. *purgatorium*
 βάλκας (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 117.24) < Lat. *barca*
 στέλγω (1585, Mani, LAMBROS 1905: 398.5)
 ὁ Ἀλγυρὸς (1687, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 20, 53.3)

3.8.6.3 Liquid Dissimilation

The dissimilatory change /r/ > /l/ is, like all long-distance dissimilatory changes, never completely regular, although it is quite well documented cross-linguistically. In MedG and the MG dialects it is much more sporadically attested than the delateralization change, affecting only about 1% of the words that possess the appropriate environment (MANOLESSOU/TOUFEXIS 2009). It does not seem to operate in compound words, i.e. words in which the two /r/ phonemes belong to different members of the compound, such as ἀσπρομαρμαροτράχηλος, μαυρόβουρκος, ἀκρογυρίζω etc., and has affected to the point of stabilization only a few specific words (mainly the family of γρήγορος).

ἐγλήγορα *Dig.* E 459 < ἐγρήγορα
 λεθρινάρια STAFIDAS, *Iatrosof.* 3.60 < ἐρυθρίνος
 Γληγόρης (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 2, 6.35)
 τὸν κλιάρον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 220.34 < κρίαρος
 διὰ ἀποκλισιάρην *Assizes* B 414.9
 κολιάνδρον ξηρόν (15th c., OIKONOMU-AGORASTU 1982: 95.22)
 νὰ ἀλατρεύση (1543, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 47, 249.7) < ὄροτρο
 φλάρος CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.415 < φράρος
 ραίνει καὶ λαντουρᾶ *Vosk.* 39 < ραντουρῶ
 μάραθρον, μάραθον, μάλαθρον, τό. GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. finocchio*

The hypercorrect change of /l/ to /r/, leading to assimilation instead of dissimilation, is found very occasionally in the texts examined (see KAPSOMENOS 1985: 109):

κρήρου (1027, Sparta, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 43, 301.21 app. crit.) < κλήρος
 καρδηναρίου (1200, Sicily, RE/ROGNONI 2008: 3, 145.8); καρδεναρίου (1267, Otranto / S.
 Italy, OMONT 1890: 387.4) < καρδινάλιος
 ἐπρηρόθησαν *Chron. Mor.* T 1082 app. crit. < πληρώνω
 καρόγερος (1689, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: XVII, 78.6)

3.9 Word-level Phenomena

3.9.1 Metathesis

Metathesis is a sporadic lexical phenomenon transposing adjacent segments. It has no geographical restrictions, but perhaps shows greater frequency in southern insular areas and is attested only in low-register texts. The most frequent sound undergoing metathesis is /r/, and less frequently /l/, while the voiceless stops /p t k/ are exempt from the phenomenon (PERNOT 1906; FAVIS 1939/40). The strong tendency of liquids towards metathesis

is a well-documented cross-linguistic phenomenon, amenable to phonetic interpretation (BLEVINS/GARRETT 2004: 128–35, including Greek data; VENNEMANN 2012: 24–6).

- δέρπανα (1007, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 1, 136.39); δερπάνιν *Liv.* V 914
 τὸν τράφον (1090–4, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 45, 164.56); τοῦ τράφου (1473, Corfu,
 KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 27, 163.6)
 τρουμάρχου (1102/3, Mani, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 48, 307, no. 49.2)
 γραμβός (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 130, 172.5)
 κήτηρνί / κίτιρνη (1442, Belgrade region, ALEXOULIS 1892: 2, 280.15); κίτιρνον (1582,
 Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 62, 142.18)
 κρουσάροι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 878; ἐκρούσευσε SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 108.15;
 ἐκρούσευσαν (16th c., Northern Aegean?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.IV, 52.1)
 πάντρεπνα *Dig.* E 1051 app. crit.; πάντρεπνος *Achil.* N 699
 κουρφά BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 192; τὰ κουρφά *Thysia Avr.* 230
 πρίκα (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.5); πρίκα CHORTATIS, *Erof.* IV.151
 τῆς κουρδελιτάς *Fior* 99.10–11 app. crit. (I)
 λιτρουγη(α) / λιτρουγία (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.40); λουτρουγιά (1692, Sifnos,
 SYMEONIDIS 1991: 2, 84.31)
 ταδρεφου μου / τ' ἀδρεφού μου (1655, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 374.15); ταξαδρεφου
 μου / τ' ἄξαδρέφου μου (*ibid.* 374.27)
 καλαμαύχιν *Ptoch.* II 26.12 app. crit. (H)
 ὀφθλαμούς (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 45, 54.2)
 τὸν λεγόμενο ἀδλεφó σου (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.10)
 σλουτάν (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 49.1)
 κλάτζαις / κλάτσες *Assizes* A 213.4
 φλίτσα (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 119, 132.15) < Ital. *filza*
 πιστακόν *Liv.* V 1986 < ψιττακός
 σατζιφάδα (1663, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1, 11.19) < σατισφάδος

Some cases may be interpretable as simple spelling or copying errors and not true phonetic changes; only multiple attestations of the affected form of a lexical item can settle the issue.

A special case of metathesis involves the transposition of a vowel and a consonant for the avoidance of sequences of contiguous vowels, as a means of hiatus resolution (see 2.9.1). Two instances are the most frequently mentioned in the literature: the derivational suffix -έινος > -ένιος (see II, 3.2.7) and the aorist subjunctive of the verb βλέπω, νὰ ἰδῶ > νὰ διῶ, typical of North-Eastern dialect areas (KRETSCHMER 1905: 124ff; PERNOT 1913: 263), e.g. νὰ διγεῖς (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 55.23).

The phenomenon of antimetathesis transposes non-contiguous segments, and is much rarer than metathesis. Liquids and, to a lesser extent, nasals are the most frequently affected (FAVIS 1939/40):

- ἀγρώνισεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 166.23 < γνωρίζω
 βολύμιν FORT., *Strat. pragm.* 654; βολίμι (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.10)
 < μολύβιν
 φαρακλούς Spanos B 222; τοῦ Φαρακλού (1683, Leros, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 37,
 29.19) < φαλακρός

ἀγελαῖδόβοδα *Diig. Alex.* F 170.18 (Lolos) < ἀγελαδόβοῖδον
 βούρλουδους *Bertoldin.* 145.27 < βούρδουλος
 ἑνοῦς ζγουράφο (1660, Crete, VOUDOUMBAKIS 1915: 15, 380.4) < ζωγράφος
 ἀδολλαποῦ (1703, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 420.1) < ἀλλοδαπός

Antimetathesis may also take the form of phonetic feature interchange, whereby two consecutive syllables with a fricative onset, one of which is voiced and the other voiceless, may reverse the order of the voicing feature:

εἰς τῖς Κοκορεφιδιές (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 56, 71.7) = Κακορεβυθιές
 οἱ δυχατέρεις (1675, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 21, 131.2–3) < θυγατέρα
 τοῦ παπαῦ Χριστοφόρου δυχατέρα (1692, Nauplion, DOKOS 1985: 1, 109.3)

3.9.2 Assimilation

Contact assimilation occurs in several specific consonantal environments and has been discussed in the relevant sections: assimilation of fricatives to a following nasal (see 3.4.2.4 and 3.6.1.3), assimilation of nasals to a following stop (3.2.3), voicing assimilation (3.8.3.2). Assimilation may also occur, however, at the word level, affecting consecutive syllables with consonantal onsets. The phenomenon is rare, non-systematic, probably non-lexicalized and without geographical restrictions; as a low-register phenomenon it is already attested since AG (SCHWYZER 1939: 257). Some instances may also be considered graphematic errors instead of true phonetic changes.

λωγγειουαρίας / Λογγιβαρβίας (1133, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 113, 150.6) < Λογγιβαρδία
 μαρθυρωθέν (1269, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 315, 459.31–2) < μαρτυρῶ
 καὶ πᾶπλωμα *Krasop.* L 12 < ἐφάπλωμα
 βέβρανον (1417, Crete, LAMBROS 1895: 1, 585.5) < μέμβρανος; βεβράνη (1472, Corfu,
 KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 4, 151.1)
 γοί φταῖφτις (1514, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 115, 227.31) < φταίχτις
 Φλεφάρης (1705, Symi, GEORGA-VOLONAKI 1974: 1, 204.heading) < Φλεβάρης

3.9.3 Dissimilation

3.9.3.1 Consonant Dissimilation

Dissimilation is a sporadic phenomenon which affects identical consonants in consecutive syllables, and normally results in the change of the first of the two (regressive dissimilation) into a different consonant, possessing similar articulatory/acoustic properties to the second. The phenomenon is more frequent in the case of liquids and nasals (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 328–31; PERNOT 1907/46: I 442–502; see also KONDOSOPOULOS 1969: 60–2 for modern Cretan).

καλονάρχος *Ptoch.* IV 64 app. crit. (PK) < κανονάρχος
 καλαναρχᾶ ἡ πολιτικὴ SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 410 (Vitti) < κανοναρχῶ
 ἀριφνισμὸν οὐκ εἶχαν *Chron. Mor.* H 2410 ἀριφνιμὸν SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 2 < ἀριθμημός
 ἀλιμένομεν (15th c., Rhodes, MINAS 2012: 18, 413.30) < ἀναμένω
 ὅλοι τῶς ξεσμηλῶνους FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.707 < ξεσμηνῶνω

λέμπρινον χαρτί GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. charta pergamena*; χαρτί μεμβρανώδη, ἡγουν
 ντέμπρινο LANDOS, *Geopon.* 169.36 < μέμβρινος
 ἔμαλιτζάριζεν (1685, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 32, 409.11–12) < μανιτζάρω
 γουβάλια (ca. 1700, Achaia, TSIOURAKI 1971: B', 172.5) < βουβάλι
 τὰ διβάρια τοῦ Βασιλαδιοῦ SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 56.4 < βιβάριο

In some cases, the identical consonants are not in contiguous syllables:

πλεμόνιν αἶγας STAFIDAS, *Iatrosf.* 6.163 < πνευμόνιν
 βήχαν, σφάκτην, πλέμοναν Spanos A 158 < πνεύμων
 τὸν μηλάδελφον Poulol. AZ 42 < ἀλληλάδελφος
 ἀλυσαντής Pent. Ex. 35.35 < ἀνυσαντής
 μιὰ φινοκάλα πιάνει FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 191 < φιλοκαλῶ
 παναθύρια (1705, Symi, GEORGA-VOLONAKI 1974: 1, 204.8) < παραθύριον

Some rather dubious assimilatory phenomena involving /t/ in MedG lexical items and place names have been proposed (HENRICH 2001), such as διβιτίσιος > διβικήσιος > διβίκιν. Further, there are a number of special cases of dissimilation, discussed in the relevant sections: dissimilation of liquids in consecutive syllables (see 3.8.6.3) and manner dissimilation of adjacent stops and fricatives (3.8.1).

3.9.3.2 Dissimilatory Consonant Deletion

The homophony resulting from the adjacency of phonetically similar syllables, i.e. syllables with onsets containing identical consonants or consonants belonging to the same class, may also be resolved through the deletion of one of the two consonants (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 326–8). The phenomenon was already present in AG, especially in the case of the liquid /r/ (DIETERICH 1898: 123–4; VINE 2011). Early MedG attestations of the phenomenon include the common word φοράδα < φορβάς, cf. Hesych. Φ 742 φοράδες· αἱ θήλειαι ἵπποι, and ἀφέντης < ἀφέντης (with manner dissimilation of consecutive fricatives) < αὐθέντης.

As a rare dialectal phenomenon, EMG displays deletion of /t/ in the cluster /st/, again probably interpretable as dissimilation from collocations with a definite article starting with /t/ or due to a preceding syllable with a stop onset. This is a feature of the Old Athenian dialect, which is attested since the 16th c. through the testimony of Zygomalas and Kavasilas, recorded by Crusius, and partly corroborated by modern dialectal data from the area:

Τούτων δι' ἀπασῶν [i.e. τῶν διαλέκτων] ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων χειρίστη· βουλόμενοι γὰρ εἰπεῖν·
 ἰδοὺ **πίστις**, **ὑπήνη** καὶ Ἑλλήνων δικαιοσύνη, λέγουσιν ἀντὶ τούτων· ἐπὰ **πίσι**, ἐπὰ **σολή**,
 ἐπὰ ρωμαϊκῇ κρίσει. (*Turcograecia*, p. 99; see CARATZAS 1952 for testimonies and analysis)

Note that early traces of such a phenomenon are available in Koine papyri (GIGNAC 1976: 66) through examples such as ἐπισόλιον, ἐσσί, σαδίου. The phenomenon is also characteristic of the Modern Pontic and Cappadocian dialects in specific syntactic environments, namely in the collocation of the preposition εἰς + the acc. definite article τόν, τήν, τό, i.e. εἰς τόν > στόν > σόν (PAPADOPOULOS 1958: 29). There is limited evidence for this in one MedG text from Asia Minor, the poems of Rumi: εἰς σὴ ἔστία μου RUMI, *Poem I 2* (if the reading is correct).

3.9.3.3 Dissimilatory Syllable Deletion

Dissimilatory deletion may also take the form of deletion of the whole syllable, normally the first and less usually the second (DIETERICH 1898: 124–5; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 323–5; TRIANDAPHYLIDIS 1909: 68–9; PSALTES 1913: 106–8; HADJIOANNOU 1988: 209; MINAS ²2003: 73). The phenomenon, also known as “dissimilatory haplology” is already attested in AG, with typical examples such as ἀμφιφορεύς > ἀμφορεύς, τετράπεζα > τράπεζα (SCHWYZER 1939: 262–5; LEJEUNE 1972: 291), and continues until MG (MARKOPOULOS 2013). It is to be found in a restricted number of lexical items, in low-register texts from all periods and areas, and its results are permanent/lexicalized.

Dissimilatory haplology frequently affects words whose stems displayed “present reduplication” in AG, e.g. καταβιβάζω > κατεβάζω, διαβιβάζω > διαβάζω, συμβιβάζω > συβάζω, διδάσκαλος > δάσκαλος. It is also responsible for the genesis of the MedG preposition μέ, starting from frequent collocations in which the preposition μετά was followed by an article or pronoun form beginning with τα-: μετά τὰ X or μετὰ ταῦτα > μέ τὰ X or μέ ταῦτα (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 153; DIETERICH 1898: 124). The apocopated form μέσ’ of the adverb μέσα is also due to dissimilatory syllable deletion, from collocations like μέσα στά > μέσ’ στά or μέσο στό > μέσ’ στό (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 249; PERNOT 1907/46: I 451; GEORGACAS 1940: 137). Furthermore, dissimilatory haplology lies behind the short forms of the pronoun οὗτος/τούτος found in Cypriot, originating from collocations with a following definite article, i.e. τοῦτον τὸν > τοῦντον (see II, 5.5.1.11).

Another lexical domain where the phenomenon is considered to have applied is the numerals from 30 to 90, which display loss of the syllable [ko] (i.e. τριάκοντα > τριάντα, πεντήκοντα > πεντήντα > πενήντα, ὀγδοήκοντα > ὀγδόντα etc.), but the homophony triggering the deletion is not entirely clear. It has been suggested that the origin lies in complex numerals containing the word καί, which would provide the required phonetic iteration (-κο- ... καί), e.g. τριάκοντα καὶ εἴς, ἑξήκοντα καὶ δύο etc. (THUMB 1900: 239), although the first instances of the innovative forms seem to have appeared in the late Koine, after the expression of complex numerals through conjunction with καί had been lost (GIGNAC 1981: 196). An alternative proposal is to dissociate the evolution of the numerals from the phenomenon of dissimilatory haplology, and to consider it a simple case of sporadic syncope, which applied due to the unwieldy length of the numeral words (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 150; JANNARIS 1897: 172; DIETERICH 1898: 125).

συβάζειν τὰς δύο μοίρας τῆς χώρας (1040, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 32, 38.30) < συμβιβάζω
νὰ καταβάσει [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 655

τὸ φλάμουρον ἀνήβασαν εἰς τὸν γουλᾶν ἀπάνω *Chron. Toc.* 3002

κακά πολλὰ εδιέβασεν πρᾶσινοκόκκινα *Spanos* A 351 < διαβιβάζω

φαινόμεθα πράσχοντις εἰς σέ (1163, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 163, 215.6) < πιπράσκω

ἡ Ὁροδάφνη (1073, Constantinople?, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 50, 16.249) <
Ροδοδάφνη

πιτραχήλιν (1334, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 43, 131.25) < περιτραχήλιον

τὸ ταρτερόν τὸ λέγουν *Ptoch. III* 149 < τεταρτηρόν

δασκάλους τῆς θεολογίας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.8 < διδάσκαλος

τὸ Δεμότειχον *Alosis* 974 < Διδυμότειχον
καλικεύω ΡΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 365 < καβαλικεύω
μὲ τὴν ρηγάτικην ἐξὰ ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* IV.1312 < ἐξουσία
Παλογίνα (1653, Kydonies, PATRINELIS 1993/94: 15.9) < Παλαιολογίνα
ἐκαρακιούρευεν (1671, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1395. 821.6) < καρaboκυρεύω
μὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ (1097, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 60, 78.7–8)
σεράκοντα καὶ δύο (1233, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 289, 401.25) < τεσσεράκοντα <
τεσσαράκοντα
μὲς στοὺς πολυπαθοῦντας FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 290
μὲς στὸν κῆπον (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 55.28)
καὶ μὲς στὸ στόμα μποῦσι ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* III.327; μὲς στὰ δάση μπαίνει *ibid.* III.359

4 Stress

4.1 Definition and Historical Overview

Stress in MedG and EMG is dynamic as in MG, i.e. stressed syllables are distinguished from unstressed ones through higher intensity/loudness (and perhaps non-distinctive greater duration), rather than through higher pitch as in AG. The transition from the AG to the MG stress system is connected to the loss of quantity distinctions and took place during the period of the Koine, around the 2nd–3rd c. AD (GIGNAC 1976: 325–7; DEVINE/STEPHENS 1994: 215–23); it is therefore not discussed here. The accentuation marks standardly used for the notation of stress in MedG and EMG (acute, grave and circumflex) are purely conventional: they reflect AG accentuation rules connected to pitch and quantity distinctions which are no longer present in the MedG and EMG phonological system. From a phonological point of view, accentuation marks serve only to indicate the syllable on which the stress accent falls.

In manuscript sources, especially in low-register non-literary texts, accentuation is erratic: words are left unaccented, or the stress is noted on the “wrong” syllable, or the “wrong” accentuation mark is used, usually circumflex instead of acute and vice versa. Furthermore, in vernacular verse texts many lexical items show unexpected (non-etymological) stress, which should be attributed to metrical reasons, i.e. the necessity to conform to the rhythm of the fifteen-syllable verse. This is especially the case at the invariable parts of the line, namely the syllable before the caesura and the fourteenth syllable. Many cases of stress shift *metri gratia* may be attributed to editorial intervention. Examples of metrical stress-shift:

ἔσθ' μὲν εἶσαι **ἄνδρειος** καὶ βριαρὸς δυνάστης *Pol. Tr.* 57 app. crit. (VX)
λοιπὸν τὸ **ξενοδόχειον** τῶρα ἐκ νέας τὸ ἐποῖκεν *Liv.* V 2751
καὶ δένδρων εἶδε καλλονὴν καὶ ἰσότηταν **εὐμόρφη**ν *Velth.* 287
μὲ **τήν λογχή** τοῦ κονταριοῦ τοῦτος ὁ σταυρωμένος FALIEROS, *Thrinus* 276
στὸν ὕπνον τοῦ 'δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἔνὰ 'μορφο **ὀνέϊρο** *Alex. Rim.* 665

Stress is of major importance in the diachronic phonology of MedG, as most phonetic changes are blocked by it. For example, the deletion of initial vowels affects only unstressed syllables, and the raising phenomena characteristic of the northern dialects involve only unstressed mid and high vowels. In more detail, the following vowel changes are contingent on the absence of stress on the affected syllable:

- “raising vocalism” (2.5.4)
- lexical aphaeresis (2.7.1)
- syncope (2.7.2)
- change to /e/ in the adjacency of liquids/nasals (2.8.1)

- labialization (2.8.2)
- raising of /o/ > /u/ (2.8.3)
- backing of /i/ > /u/ (2.8.4)
- assimilation (2.8.5).

The process of synizesis was also affected by the presence of stress, in that the phenomenon took place at a later date and with geographical restrictions when the first of the two vowels was stressed (see 2.9.4). The relationship of stress to spontaneous consonant gemination remains to be determined (see 3.4.2.5).

Despite the fundamental difference between the phonological systems of AG and MedG, stress placement has remained relatively stable (*mutatis mutandis*), and most lexical items continue to be stressed in MedG/EMG in the same syllable as in AG, e.g. ἔχω, ἀγαπῶ, δέκα, κάθημαι > κάθομαι, ὀμμάτιον > μάτι, ἐλπίς > ἐλπίδα, παιδίον > παιδί, καλός, -ή, -ό, εὐμορφος > ὁμορφος, -η, -ο. Diachronic changes in accent position are due either to phonetic or to morphological causes (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 418–40; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 82–158; KAHANE/KAHANE 1981: 117–18).

The main phonetic development involving change in the original stress position is synizesis, which is a hiatus resolution strategy affecting sequences of high vowel followed by mid or low vowel (see 2.9.4). The first vowel loses syllabicity (eventually becoming consonantized), so if it is stressed the stress shifts to the second vowel, e.g. καρδία > καρδιά, νέος > νιός. Also, prophylaxis against synizesis may cause accent shift to the first vowel, e.g. ἀνεψιός > ἀνεψίος, παλαιός > παλαῖος. A second, less frequent phonetic cause is again motivated by hiatus resolution: when lexical vowel deletion as per the vowel hierarchy takes place (see 2.9.2), if the deleted vowel is stressed, the stress is transferred to the surviving vowel, e.g. δεκάξι > δεκάξι, βοήθα > βόθα, ἀκούοντας > ἀκῶντας.

On a morphological level, alteration in the original stress position is caused by analogy. The domain of analogy may be:

- a) semantic: for example, καρπός has brought about the gender and stress change in τὸ ἄνθος > ὁ ἀνθός; πολὺς–πολύ has induced the stress shift in ὀλίγος > ὀλιγός–ὀλιγό; and πτηνόν has motivated the innovative form κτηνόν.
- b) a derivational paradigm: for example, the multiple oxytone adjectives in -νός (σκοτεινός, ὀρφανός, γυμνός, τρανός etc.) and -λός (καλός, χαμηλός, ὁμαλός) have influenced originally paroxytone adjectives such as χαῦνος > ἀχαμνός, στρογγύλος > στρογγυλός.
- c) two related inflectional paradigms: for example, the paroxytone stress of most active infinitive forms (ἔχειν, γράφειν etc.) has influenced the small group of 2nd aorist infinitives with variable results: λαβεῖν > λάβει, πεσεῖν > πέσει, ἐλθεῖ > ἔρθει/ἐρθεῖ vs. εὐρεῖ, (εἰ)πεῖ, (ἰ)δεῖ; similarly, the gen. pl. of the proximal demonstrative αὐτός, αὐτῶν, has caused stress shift in the gen. pl. of the distal demonstrative ἐκείνος: ἐκείνων > ἐκείνων.
- d) a single inflectional paradigm as part of a tendency towards columnar stress: for example, the historical stress shift in the gen. and acc. pl. of O-stem nouns has brought about an analogical stress shift in the nom. pl. in cases like οἱ ἄγγελοι, τῶν ἀγγέλων,

τοὺς ἀγγέλους → οἱ ἀγγέλοι, τῶν ἀγγέλων, τοὺς ἀγγέλους. By contrast, the tendency for columnar stress has acted in the reverse direction in the adjectival paradigm, eliminating stress shift in the gen. pl. of low-register adjectives, e.g. οἱ ὄμορφοι, οἱ κόκκινοι, οἱ μαργαριταρένιοι – τῶν ὄμορφων, τῶν κόκκινων, τῶν μαργαριταρένιων. In the verbal domain, a typical example is the stress of the 1st and 2nd person pl. active indicative, which has influenced the 3rd person in cases like ἐγράφαμε, ἐγράφετε, ἐγράφαν → ἐγράφαμε, ἐγράφατε, ἐγράφαν(ε).

4.2 Properties of the MedG and EMG Stress Accent

4.2.1 Overview

The position of stress within the word, as well as its function, is determined by rules/constraints similar to those of MG (for which see MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN/DRACHMAN 1989 and DRACHMAN/MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 1998; ARVANITI 1999: 171; KLAIRIS/BABINIOTIS 2004: 1047–53; HOLTON et al. 2012: 28–31). These are discussed and exemplified in the following sections.

a) Uniqueness: All words carry only one stress accent. There are two exceptions to this rule: first, a number of lexical items, mostly pronouns and grammatical words, are clitics, i.e. have no stress of their own but form a single phonological phrase with the preceding/following word (proclitic/enclitic, see 4.2.2). Secondly, under certain conditions creating a sequence of more than two consecutive unstressed syllables within a phonological phrase, a second accent may develop (see 4.2.3).

b) Positional limitation: The stress accent falls on one of the last three syllables of the word. Thus words may be oxytone (e.g. Διγενής), paroxytone (e.g. Ἀκρίτης) or proparoxytone (e.g. κοράσιον). This trisyllabic constraint is a continuation of the quantity-based AG “Law of Limitation” (STERIADE 1988; PROBERT 2006: 60–1), which limited the leftmost position of the pitch accent: the accent could recede up to the antepenultimate syllable if the final syllable was light (i.e. had a syllable nucleus with only one mora and a syllable coda with zero or only one consonant), or to the penultimate if it was heavy (i.e. had a syllable nucleus with two morae and/or a syllable coda with two consonants). With the loss of quantity distinctions during the period of the Koine, the Law of Limitation became syllable-based rather than mora-based: the stress cannot recede beyond the antepenultimate syllable, but the quantity/quality of the final syllable is indifferent (all syllables are of equal weight). However, the weight-dependent effects of the AG Law of Limitation are partially retained in MedG, albeit transferred to the morphological domain (see 4.2.4): in AG, stress shift to the right within inflectional paradigms was phonologically conditioned, due to the alternating weight of the inflectional suffixes forming the final syllable. For example, the nom. sg. ἄνθρωπος bears the pitch accent on the antepenultimate, allowed by the final light syllable, but the gen. sg. ἀνθρώπου displays accent shift to the penultimate, forced by the final heavy syllable. In MedG, stress shift to the right still occurs in many inflectional paradigms as a continuation of AG

inflectional patterns, but in most cases it is no longer required by the phonology: it has become a morphological (inflectional) rule.

The MedG version of the Law of Limitation has local exceptions, in that in certain areas/dialects stress may fall further back than the antepenultimate syllable, either within a word or within a phonological phrase (see 4.2.3).

c) Distinctiveness: Apart from the limitation to the three final syllables, the MedG stress accent is not fixed but free, i.e. which of the three final syllables will be stressed is an unpredictable lexical property. Therefore, as in AG and MG, stress is distinctive in MedG, in that there exist pairs of word-forms which are differentiated only through the position of the stress accent. These may belong to homonymous different lexemes, e.g. *ἔμενα* ['emena] vs. *ἐμένα* [e'mena], *πίνω* ['pino] vs. *πεινώ* [pi'no]; to different but cognate lexemes, e.g. *δέντρη* ['ðendri] vs. *δεντρί* [ðe'ndri], *ἀδελφή* [aðel'fi] vs. *ἀδέλφι* [a'ðelfi]; or to different inflectional forms of the same lexeme, e.g. *ἄγαπᾱ* [aɣa'pa] 3 sg. pres. indic. vs. *ἀγάπα* [a'ɣapa] 2 sg. pres. imp.

d) Synchronic movability and variability: The stress accent does not remain fixed on the same syllable in all the forms of an inflectional paradigm, but may shift to the right or to the left for morphological reasons, or as a result of hypercorrection, or, in verse texts, due to the demands of the 15-syllable verse. Stress placement on a certain syllable in a certain slot of the inflectional paradigm may be stable or variable (shift or absence of shift differing according to period, area and/or register); see 4.2.4.

e) Morphological exponency: As a result of the previous property, stress has a morphological function both in inflection and in derivation. It is an exponent of certain grammatical properties, such as case (e.g. genitive vs. nominative) or tense (e.g. past vs. non-past), or it may signal a derivational process (e.g. composition, substantivization); see below 4.2.4.

4.2.2 Proclisis and Enclisis

MedG and EMG have a number of (mostly monosyllabic) clitics which are inherently unaccented and form a single phonological word with the preceding or the following word (proclitics and enclitics). Clitic status may be signalled graphematically through lack of accent marking in conventional orthography, but this convention does not hold for all phonologically clitic words. In manuscript and early print sources, clitic status is often indicated through lack of word division within phonological phrases, especially in the case of the weak forms of the personal pronouns. The MedG and EMG clitics are the following:

a) proclitic:

- the definite article
- the weak forms of the personal pronouns
- the relative pronoun *τόν, τήν, τό*
- the verbal particles *νά, θά, ἄς*

- the prepositions
- the negation οὐ(κ)
- the conjunctions πού, καί;

b) enclitic:

- the weak forms of the personal pronouns
- the verb εἶμαι (and ἔχω only in the present) in certain areas (see III, 4.8)¹
- the indefinite pronoun τις
- the conjunction τε (a residual high-register item).

In the case of proclitic elements, the single stress of the phonological phrase is borne by the following host word, and even consecutive clitics are unstressed, e.g.

ἐνὺ μὲ ἐδῶκες τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ Ἀφράτης **μὲ τὴν παίρνει** *Arm.* 48
καὶ ἄν εὔρετε τὸ ἀδέλφι σας, εἰς μίαν **νὰ σᾶς τὸ δώσω** *Dig.* E 64
ἐκεῖ **τοῦ τὸν εἰδείχνασιν** ὅσοι τὸν ἐγνωρίζαν *Chron. Tōc.* 2837
ἵντα μαντάτο μοῦ ῥερες, ἄγγελε, **ἀποῦ τὸ θρόνο** *Thysia Avr.* 29

In the case of enclitic elements, when the host word is oxytone or paroxytone, the clitic bears no stress; when the host word is proparoxytone, a second stress accent develops on the final syllable of the host word:

φοβοῦμαι γὰρ **τὸ στόμαν της**, φοβοῦμαι **τὴν ὀργὴν της** *Ptoch.* I 33
ἐκείνη **βαπτιστήρα ἦτον**, ἐκείνη τσοῦκα οὐκ ἦτον *Ptoch.* IV 218
εἰς τοῦτο ὅπου μᾶς ἔποιεν Δεσπότης **ὁ ἀδελφός μου** *Chron. Mor.* H 3965
ἐδιέβησαν οἱ ἄρχοντες **καὶ στρώνουν του** τὸν μαῦρον *Arm.* 27
ἐγὼ Ρωμαίου **παιδὶν εἶμαι** καὶ ἐκλέψασίν με οἱ Φράγκοι *Poulol.* 355 (Tsavari)
οἱ πόνοι ἀψὰ σὲ εἰσέβησαν κ' **ἐκατεσκούρωσάν σε** *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 190
κ' ἐνίκησέ με εἰς πόλεμον, παρηγορίαν νὰ τὸ εἶχα *Chron. Mor.* H 5007
τὰ λαμπροκαλαμόστουλα, **ὀρθομαρμάρωσῖς τε** *Velth.* 476
καὶ τὰς κατοῦνας μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ **βαρέματά μας** [ANDR. PAL.] *Kallim.* 2517
σιμώσετέ τση ἀντήρητα, δέτε, **χορτάσετέ τη** *CHORTATISIS, Panor.* II. 179

In such cases, manuscript sources frequently note only the second enclitic stress, while the first one, probably felt to be weaker, is omitted:

διδοντά του (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 47.11)
ἐπεψέν τους **MACHAIRAS**, *Chron.* V 160.40-1 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari); ἔφερές μας ... καὶ
ἐξαπολυσές μας *ibid.* 332.20-2
ἐδωκαμέν τως θέλημα (1607, Kalymnos, KOUTELAKIS 1981: 3, 32.6 facs.)
ἐκλειδωσασμένην ... καὶ ἐφηκαμένη τη (1609, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 8, 81.119-20)
εἰδετέντον *GERMANO, Grammar* 50.9

A proclitic becomes the bearer of stress when the stress-bearing syllable of the host word is deleted as a hiatus resolution strategy (see 2.9.2), e.g.

ἐδέσποζές το τὸ βεργὶν καὶ μόνη σου **νὰ τὸ ῥης** *Velth.* 585
νὰ ῥτον καὶ αὐτὸ γραμμένον της ῥς τῆς τύχης τὰ χαρτία *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 31

¹ On the function of εἶμι as an enclitic and the relevant editorial practice see AGAPITOS 2006: 243 fn. 35.

τὶς ἄνθρωπος **νά 'χεν ἰδεῖ** τὸν θρηνισμὸν τὸν τόσον SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 63
 τὰ 'διδα (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 1, 360.13)
 μὲ ταίρι ὅπου ποτὲ κιανεῖς δὲν **τοῦ 'βρισκε** ψεγάδι KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.34

An enclitic becomes the bearer of stress in the case of a paroxytone host word followed by two consecutive clitics:

εἶπε με «Εἰς τὸν Λίβιστρον σύρε καὶ **δεῖξε τίς τα**» *Liv.* V 1233
 μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἀφήγημα καλὸν εἶναι καὶ **λέγε μᾶς το** *Liv.* E 2807 (scr. μᾶς το)
 μείνατε εἰς τὸ καλύβιν μου, πλὴν **παραγγέλλω σᾶς το** *Liv.* α 3061
 καὶ **ἐλάλεν τοὺς το** MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.20–1
 ἀφ' ἧνι τοῦ τηνε / ἀφήνει τοῦ τηνε (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 51, 132.5)
ἀφιδάρεψου μου τηνε, κὶ ἐγὼ τῇ ρεμεντιάρω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV. 50
 καὶ **δίδω τοῦ το**, πιάνει το, σιμώνει το στὰ χεῖλη KORNAPOS, *Erot.* V.948

In EMG verse texts, which exhibit more extensive vowel deletion in hiatus, even across phonological phrases, a second accent may appear on a word when the initial vowel of the following word is deleted, irrespective of whether that word is a clitic, both in proparoxytone and in paroxytone host words:

ὄνειρό 'δεν στὸν ὕπνο της, κ' ἦλθε θεὸς Ἀμμῶνος *Alex. Rim.* 101; ἦσαν καὶ σκυλοκέφαλοι,
στόμά 'χαν εἰς τὰ στήθη *ibid.* 2616
 δίχως νὰ δῇ **τιντὰ 'καμεν** μιτὰ μου *Cypr. Canz.* 19.6
δέκά 'μεσταν κ' ἐκεῖνοι δυό, π' ἀνάθεμα τὴν ὥρα KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.617; **πάντὰ 'μου** στῶ
 γονέω μου τοῖ δροσερές ἀγκάλες *ibid.* IV.627

In such cases it is difficult to evaluate whether the phenomenon, leading to two consecutive stressed syllables, is purely rhythmical or even graphematic, or whether it represents actual spoken usage, instead of the more natural outcome whereby the stress of the deleted vowel would simply be lost.

A special case of enclisis is recorded for the Cypriot dialect as represented by ms V of Machairas (DAWKINS 1932: II 32): disyllabic verbs become enclitic after the negation δέν, a phenomenon well documented for Modern Cypriot (see MENARDOS 1969: 22–3), as well as from related modern dialects. In LMedG and EMG Cypriot texts preserved in unaccented manuscripts, such as *Assizes B* or the *Cypriot Canzoniere*, it is impossible to detect the phenomenon.

το κούρσος **δέν ηνε** τηνὸς διαφορος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 160.10 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari);
 εἰ μουσθλουμένη **δέν εχουν** πτόν καμίαν ζωὴν *ibid.* 173.34; ὄνταν **δέν υδεν** τὰ χαρτία ὅπου
 ἔρυψεν εἰ σατία *ibid.* 189.49; καὶ **δέν υβρεν** γενοῦβίσικιν *ibid.* 199.15–16

The enclitic status of the verb “to be” in this environment is further demonstrable from its univerbation with the preceding negation in Cypriot texts, as well as in the related dialect of Rhodes (see also III, 4.8):

d' ene edi qui mas / δ' ἔνε ἐδικοί μας (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 66, f.IV.2)
 δέ 'νε μόδος νὰ πάρη ὁ σὶρ Τιπὰτ τὸ Κουρίκος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 562.17
 δεναυρέθη / δένα βρεθῇ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 290.9 app. crit. (δένα < δέν ἔναι νά)
 ἄν δέ 'ναι ἐγλήγορας (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83.7)
 καὶ δέν καιρὸς τῆς καύχησης LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 187

ποτέ μου δὲ νὰ σ' ἔλλαξα *Katal.* 505

A similar phenomenon, restricted geographically, is the enclisis of disyllabic verb forms in 15-syllable verse texts, in order to avoid or ensure a specific metrical stress pattern. Enclisis of the copula was an AG phenomenon which may have survived into MedG, while enclisis of verbs in the case of orally transmitted verse texts, as well as in emphatic contexts in everyday language, is a feature of Modern Cypriot, Dodecanesian and Cappadocian (MENARDOS 1969: 27–8; DAWKINS 1916: 43–4, 69; KOURMOULIS 1955/56: 449–52; MINAS 2005: 462). Consequently, the LMedG and EMG verse data could be considered as reflecting a true phonetic situation:

τὰ γράμματα τιμὴν ἔχουν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 214 (ed. τιμὴν ἔχουν); πολλά εἶσαι βαρεμένη *ibid.* 304 (ed. πολλά εἶσαι)
καλῶς ἦλθες, νεώτερε *Dig.* E 651; αὐτὰ τῶν χωριατῶν εἰσιν *ibid.* 745; ἐγὼ μονογενὴς εἰμαι *ibid.* 1299; καὶ μέριμναν οὐδὲν εἶχεν περὶ ἄλλας ἐμνοστίας *ibid.* 1616
καλὸν ἦτον νὰ μὴ ὁμονα *Liv.* V 2400
ἰσόκορμος οὐδὲν εἶσαι *Velth.* 579
αὐτοῦ στεκου καὶ θῶρει με *Achil.* L 698 (ed. στέκου)
ὅτι εἰς ἐντροπὴν σου ἔναι *Poulol.* 69
βάρος εἰς τοῦτο δὲν ἔχεις *Alfav.* 10 5 (ed. ἔχεις)
με λόγια δεν ἔναι πρεπό *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.412
τὰ δὲν εἶδαν τὰ μάτια μου *Rim. Sant.* 698 (δενήδαν diplomatic ed.)

4.2.3 Exceptions to the Law of Limitation

The limitation of the stress position to the three final syllables has several local exceptions: under certain conditions and in certain areas, stress on the fourth syllable from the end of a word or a phonological phrase is possible, whether or not accompanied by the development of a second stress on the penultimate syllable. The conditions where preantepenultimate stress may appear are the following:

- Extension of a proparoxytone verbal form through the addition of final /e/ or /ne/ (see 2.6.3 and III, 4.1), e.g. γράφουσιν → γράφουσινε, γράφετε → γράφετενε
- Extension of a disyllabic enclitic with a suffixal /e/ preceded by a paroxytone host word, e.g. γράφω την → γράφω τηνε, τὸν φόβο των → τὸν φόβο τωνε
- In verbal inflection, attachment of a plurisyllabic suffix with retention of columnar stress, e.g. γράφω → γράφομεστα, ἐκάλεσα → ἐκάλεσάμε, ἔστειλα → ἔστειλέτε.
- Non-development of a second stress accent in the case of proparoxytone words followed by an enclitic, e.g. γράφομεν → γράφομεν το.

The investigation of all aspects of the phenomenon is difficult in written sources, due to the inconsistent accentuation of manuscripts, editorial intervention (e.g. stress normalization even in diplomatic editions), and the script (texts written in the Latin or other alphabets). Inevitably, cases of transgression of the Law of Limitation are more secure in texts from areas for which there is modern dialectal evidence of the phenomenon, and impossible to detect in others. Even modern dialectal evidence is insufficient to determine the extent to which a second accent develops in the case of preantepenultimate stress, as

modern linguistic descriptions are frequently imprecise. Therefore, this possibility is not discussed here. The basic reference for the various instantiations of preantepenultimate stress, their causes, their geographical distribution and the relevant dialectological bibliography is KOURMOULIS 1955/56, where it is demonstrated that in all cases the driving force behind the stress changes is morphology: the analogical spread of final vowel (or syllable) addition, the tendency for columnar stress (i.e. stress levelling across an inflectional paradigm, with the stress accent kept on the same syllable throughout) or the necessity for differentiation of homophonous inflectional forms (cf. also PERNOT 1907/46: I 64–71).

Concerning the geographical distribution of preantepenultimate stress in LMedG and EMG, the cases where it is due to the development of final vowel addition (subcases (a) and (b) above) are attested in the areas where this phenomenon is characteristic, i.e. Crete, the Cyclades (Naxos, Mykonos, Santorini etc.), the Heptanese and Chios. At least for Chios, it is also secured through the testimony of Germano: “ma la Greca volgare usa metter l’Accento nella sillaba avanti l’antepenultima, che e la quarta cominciando dall’ultima ... L’esempio ἀναγάλλιασις, anagalliasis, & in Scio κάμετενε” (GERMANO, *Grammar* 55.20–4). In the case of Crete, it is amply documented in the textual tradition of Morezinos (KAKOULIDI-PANOU et al. 2007: ρς’–ρζ’). As a result, many editors of EMG texts choose to follow the modern dialectal accentuation without second stress, while others do mark second stress on clitics and verb forms. In verse texts, the second accent is frequently secured by the metre. In texts written in Latin script, dialectal accentuation is purely an editorial choice. The verbal forms involved in preantepenultimate stress of type (a) are the following:

Active voice

- 3 sg. -’ενε
- 1 pl. -’ομενε, -’αμενε
- 2 pl. -’ετενε,
- 3 pl. -’ουσινε, -’ασινε
- 3 pl. -’ουνε, -’ανε

Passive voice

- 3 pl. present -’ονταινε, -’ουνταινε
- 3 sg. imperfect -’ετονε
- 1 pl. imperfect -’ομεστανε, -’ουμαστινε
- 3 pl. imperfect -’ουντονε

Verbs

αὐτὸς ἐφάνισένε κάστρη PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 599; ἐγνώρισενε ὅτι πῶς ἀνδρεῖος θέλει γένει *ibid.* 1297

απο χομενε πα /ἀπῶχομενε ᾽πά (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 81.76)
να σέχομενε / νὰ σ’ ἔχωμενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O Prol. 9 app. crit.
γράφομενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 50.1

μοῦ γράφετενε εἰς τὴν γραφὴν σας (1666, Italy / author from Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 11, 115.1)

να με αγγηούτάρετενε / νά με άγκιουτάρετενε (1657, Ancona, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 8, 111.4)

ν' αλλάξουσίνε τη χαρά απ' έχουσι σε πρίκα CHORTATSI, *Panor.* IV.145

δε θέλουσινε (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 183.120)

καί παίρνουσινε θάνατον όγιά νά τά γλυτώσου KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.500

έδοξάζασινε τόν Κύριον MOREZINOS, *Klini* 90.37 app. crit. (K); είχασινε *ibid.* 233.8

εκάμασινε την πληγή τα μάτια τση κεράς μου CHORTATSI, *Panor.* II.156

ήχασηνε να κάμουσιν/ είχασινε νά κάμουσιν (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 211, 200.5)

πήγαν άπάνου εις τό αυτό τόπο καί έπαράδωσενέ τονε (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 190, 161.11)

έπιάσασινε τά χωριά, τούς Χριστιανούς έγδύσα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 149.13

μάς είπασινε πάλι *Diig. Sant.* 416

ναθέλασιννεσμήσουν / νά θέλασινε σμίξουν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1795 app. crit.

εκάμασινε τη μαλιάν εκείνη τήν ήμέρα KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.866

είπανε μου TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 201

δίνουνε τους (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 62.28)

ερκουντενε / έρκουνταίνε (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.5)

βρίσκουνταίνε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2543

καί λογίζεντονε τό έμισόν περιβόλεον (1557, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 11 [later copy], 63.7)

όπου λέγετονε Σεγρεδιαν(ή) (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 206, 195.7)

νά βρίσκεντονε in verità a bono patre natus FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.218

ερχουμαστίνε / έρχούμαστίνε (1584, Italy/author from Peloponnese, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.5)

εκεί απού κάθομέστανε CHORTATSI, *Panor.* IV.352; γιατί' ήμεστανε δίχως σου περίσσα πρικαμένες *id.*, *Erof. Interm.* I.126

παντοτινά κολαζόμαστανε *Apok. Theot.* 493.194–494.195

κείνη που όρέγομέστανε στό νοϋ μας τήνε βάνει KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1261

μεγάλος καλορίζικος έκράζουντονε τότες KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1069

Pronouns

άποθανόντας τωνε (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 6, 16.44)

έπήρα τονε άπάνω μου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 39, 37.3)

άφήνει τηνε (1589, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 338, 283.10)

κι η φύση τωνε να 'ναι αλλιώς' γιαδαύτος πορπατούσι CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.439; και κάμε τηνε ταίρι σου κι εμένα μην πειράξεις *ibid.* II.333

γιαγέρνει τονε (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 82.6–7)

κράξε τόνε παραμεράς, Σιμπάν, καί ρώτηξέ τον *Thys. Avr.* 589

είδατονε GERMANO, *Grammar* 51.2 (= είδα τονε)

θέλω καί αφήνω τονε κλερονόμο (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 198.152–3)

γνώθω τονε πολλά καλά, καί 'ντα θά πής για κείνο; FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.67

παρακαλόνταστηνε / παρακαλώντας τηνε (1660, Crete, KARATHANANIS 1973: 5, 34.6)

καί τρατάρω τονε δια άδελφό μου (1686, Milos, KATSOUROS 1948: 7, 20.28)

καί δώνει τον τωνε τών Τούρκω ... (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.11–12)

Type (c), i.e. columnar stress with plurisyllabic suffixes not involving addition of final -ε or -νε, is again to be found in Crete, the Heptanese and the Cyclades, but also in EMG texts from areas with “northern” vocalism, such as Sterea Ellada and Macedonia. (See, for

example, ΣΕΤΑΤΟΣ 1990/91: 22, 24 for Papasynadinos, a native of Serres; for the distribution of the phenomenon in modern “northern” dialects see ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1926: 48–9; NEWTON 1972a: 198.) The development or not of a second stress on the penultimate syllable in such cases is not easily detectable, while modern evidence points to the existence of both alternatives. The forms involved are the following:

- 1 pl. past -άμεν
- 2 pl. past -έτε
- 1 pl. -ομεστε, -ομεστα, -ομαστε

Examples of subcase (c):

- καὶ ὥρισάμεν τὴν ρηθείσαν μονὴν (1059, Athos, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 7, 92.6)
 ἐκάλεσάμεν ἄρχοντες πολλοὺς *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1224
 ἔτσι ἀνασκουμπώθηκάμεν καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* 84.8-9 (Kaftantzis); ἐμάζωνάμεν
 ἡμεῖς τὰ ἄσπρα *ibid.* 84.9
 ἐπροσκύνησάμε τὴν εἰκόνα (17th c., Meteora, VEIS 1984: 187, f.172v.1–2)
 μικρὸν ἐθρήνησάμεν ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 2766
 ἐλογαριασθηκάμαν (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 306, f.2r.19)
 ἐλογαριάστηκάμεν (1690, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 21, 14.6)
 ἔδινάμεν (1697, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B I/13, f.190r.12)
 ὡς ἡλιπίζάμεν ΒΑΤΑΤΣΙΣ, *Periig.* I 521
- πολλά υψηλά μου ἐστειλέτε *Diig. Alex.* K 347.3
 δὲν ἐφοβήθηκότε τὸν θεόν; δὲν ἐντράπηκότε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους; DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 13,
 μ8r.15–16 (1561)
- καὶ μὲ τὸ θάρρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅλοι ἀναπεύομεστε FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 298
 θαυμάζομεστε τὸ λοιπὸν ὅλοι στήν ἀφεντιά σου *Alex. Rim.* 789
 ἐμπλεγάρομάσταν (1546/51, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 64.22-3); δὲν
 μπατζαρομάσταν (1548, *ibid.* 25, 63.13)
 καὶ τὸ βεβαιώνομεσθεν ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* 60.5 (Kaftantzis)
 στέκομέστα *Pist. voskos* V 2.128; στέκομέσθα *ibid.* 7.38
 κ’ εὐρίσκομέσταν ζωντανοὶ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 2634
 ὁποῦ εὐρίσκομέσταν (1672, Vraniana / Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-
 THEODORIDI 1992: 96, 237.6)
 χαίρου λοιπό, παιδάκι μου, σὰ χαίρομέσταν ὅλοι KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1431

The fourth type of preantepenultimate stress is typical of the modern Cypriot dialect (MENARDOS 1969: 22; SYMEONIDIS 2006: 195–6) but is difficult to trace in LMedG and EMG textual sources from the area. However, despite the erratic accentuation of the manuscripts, indications of the phenomenon can be found in Voustronios (KECHAYOGLOU 1997: *78). Stress on the preantepenultimate syllable due to causes (c) and (d) is also attested in the modern dialects of Pontos and Cappadocia; again, it is traceable only with great difficulty in LMedG and EMG sources from these areas (some of which are written in non-Greek scripts), because of inconsistent ms accentuation. An indirect indication of the possibility of preantepenultimate stress in Cyprus and Pontos is the evolution of object clitic placement in these two dialectal varieties: while the general trend in all Greek-speaking areas is extension and fixation of proclisis, i.e. preverbal placement, in

Cypriot and Pontic enclisis, i.e. postverbal placement, seems to gradually extend even beyond the syntactic environments normal for LMedG (see PAPPAS 2006, 2010 and, in this Grammar, IV, 8.2). This entails a considerable increase in the environments in which preantepenultimate stress of type (d) may appear, since proclisis by definition eliminates consecutive post-tonic unstressed syllables caused by clitic attachment. The co-occurrence of the two phenomena (extension of enclisis and preantepenultimate stress of type (d)) in these two – and only these two – dialectal varieties may indicate a causal connection between them.

ἐπροσδέκτησαν τον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 129.18–19 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari); ἔπεψεν την
ibid. 178.32

εὐρίσκοντας μου εἰς τὴν Φάλειαν (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.1)

ἐχεροτόνησεν τον (1395, Pontos, BRYER 1976: 7, 133.3)

τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἐχάρισεν το (ca. 1401, Asia Minor, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [29], 37.1)

4.2.4 Stress Shift and Variation: Morphological Functions

Lexical stress in MedG and EMG is movable within its set limits, i.e. it may shift to the left or to the right within an inflectional or derivational paradigm. Stress shift is not motivated by phonological reasons as in AG, but is a purely morphological phenomenon. In inflectional morphology, stress shift is to a certain extent conditioned by register, whereas in derivational morphology it is lexically determined and stable. The only phonological motivation for lexical stress shift is the phenomenon of synizesis, which is also strongly influenced by register (see 2.9.4).

4.2.4.1 Stress in Nominal Morphology

Stress variability appears in the following cases (apart from the pervasive phenomenon of synizesis, which causes variation in many different paradigms):

1. In the gen. sg. and the nom./acc. pl. of neuter nouns in -μα (see II, 2.21), if lexical stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable, it shifts to the right, as these inflectional forms add an extra syllable which would otherwise lead to preantepenultimate stress, against the Law of Limitation: θέλημα(ν) vs. θελήματος/θελημάτων – θελήματα. Similarly, the higher-register inflectional variants of proparoxytone feminine nouns in -η deriving from AG nouns in -ις (see II, 2.12.4) exhibit stress shift to the right (a) in the gen. sg. and the gen. pl. due to the addition of an extra syllable, e.g. δύναιμι vs. δυνάμεως – δυνάμεων, and (b) in the nom./acc. pl. due to the “etymologically” long final syllable, e.g. δύναιμι – δυνάμεις.
2. In the gen. pl. of masc. and fem. nouns in -ας and -α (II, 2.2 and 2.11): since these inflectional paradigms consist in the conflation of the AG 1st declension, which displayed obligatory stress on the final syllable (e.g. ταμίας – ταμιῶν, θάλασσα – θαλασσῶν) and of the 3rd declension, which displayed obligatory stress on the penultimate (e.g.

κανών – κανόνων, ἐλπὶς – ἐλπίδων), the accentuation of the gen. pl. of the A-stem nouns is unpredictable from their synchronic inflectional class (see II, 2.11.2–3 and MERTYRIS 2014: 190–8). It normally continues the accentuation of the word's AG etymon, but extensive fluctuation is observable in lower-register texts, e.g.

τῶν τριῶν ἐκκλησίῳν (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 307.27–8)
 ἀνάμεσα τῶν ρέντων *Pol. Tr.* 986 app. crit. (X)
 μετὰ ράβδων καὶ ματσούκων *Spanos D* 754
 τῶν πόρτων *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 414.34
 τῶν σέλλων *Assizes A* 240.19
 τῶν ἀρχόντισσων (1628, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 99b, 241.61)
 δακρύων τε καὶ λύπων *Dig. A* 4367

3. In the gen. pl. of masc. and fem. nouns in -ης and -η (II, 2.3 and 2.12), the same fluctuation between historical/etymological stress on the final syllable and columnar stress on the penultimate is observable (see also MERTYRIS 2014: 198–201), e.g.

τουρμάρχων (1099, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: App. 1, 643.7–8)
 τον εραιμήτων / τῶν Ἑρεμίτων (1159, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 159, 210.15)
 τῶν ἀπελάτων *Dig.* E 644
 τῶν ναύτων *Assizes B* 298.1
 τῶν Τρωαδίτων *Pol. Tr.* 1436 app. crit. (A)
 τῶν Μοραΐτων *Chron. Toc.* 3920
 πρᾶξες καλῶν στρατιώτων *Chron. Mor.* P 1349
 τῶν μητροπολίτων *Alosis* 237

4. In the paradigms of nouns in -ος, -ο(ν) and -ι(ν) stress shift occurs with proparoxytone nouns when the case suffix contained a long vowel in AG, i.e. constituted a phonologically heavy syllable. The case-forms in question are the gen. sg., the gen. pl. and (for the masc. nouns only) the acc. pl. In these case-forms, LMedG and EMG present considerable variation: continuation of the AG pattern vs. retention of columnar stress (cf. MERTYRIS 2014: 35–8). The variation is mostly register-dependent, although a morphological motivation is also possible. For example, the masc. gen. pl. presents stress shift almost uniformly, as lack of shift would render the relevant forms homophonous with the acc. sg. (τὸν ἄνθρωπον – τῶν ἀνθρώπων). The necessity of distinction between acc. sg. and gen. pl. in this paradigm has led to analogical accent shift to the right even in paroxytone nouns (e.g. τῶν χρόνων – τῶν χρονῶν; see II, 2.1.2). Register-conditioned variable stress shift in the gen. sg. and pl. and the acc. pl. following the AG pattern is also observable in the paradigm of adjectives in -ος, -η, -ο in the case of proparoxytone lexical items (see II, 3.2).

καὶ ἐσύ, γαδάρου χαρμονή *Poulol.* 516
 τοῦ καλογέρου (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 134.73)
 vs.
 τοῦ Πρίαμου *Pol. Tr.* 1690 app. crit. (X)
 τοῦ ζέφυρου ὁ δρόσος *Theseid* V.99,3 (1529)

τῆς παραδείσου *Deft. Par.* 292

τῆς Αἰγύπτου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 125.22

vs.

τῆς ἄβυσσου *Deft. Par.* 318

τῆς ὁδοῦ *GERMANO, Grammar* 59.16

τοῦ κατόρου *Vios Aisop.* K 160.14

vs.

τὴν τσούκαν τοῦ ὀξύγαλου *Ptoch. III* 177

τοῦ θεμέλιου (1554, Crete, *ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI* 2002: 217, 192.5)

τῶν σιδέρω *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 493

καρβοπούλων *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 168.16

vs.

σμάραγδων *Achil.* N 838

τῶν βίτσιων *Fior* 147.35

Furthermore, there is a strong tendency for non-etymological stress shift to the right in the nom. pl. of the O-stem nominal paradigm, on the analogy of the gen. pl. and the acc. pl.: τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους → οἱ ἀνθρώποι.

5. In the pronominal domain, analogical stress shift has created extensive allomorphy due to mutual influence of the various pronominal subparadigms, e.g. αὐτός > αὐτός, ἐκείνων > ἐκείνων, ὅποιος > ὅποιος (see II, 5.5.1 and II, 5.9.2).

4.2.4.2 Stress in Verbal Morphology

In verb morphology stress plays a much more important functional role than in nominal morphology, as its position is less subject to variation and has a distinctive role in several parts of the verbal paradigm (see APOSTOLOPOULOS 1984: 67–71 for MedG and BABINIOTIS 1972: ch. III Γ for MG).

Stress functions as the main distinguishing characteristic of the two LMedG/EMG conjugations, i.e. barytone (γράφω) vs. oxytone (ἀγαπῶ). In more general terms, the two conjugations may be distinguished on the basis of whether the stress falls on the inflectional suffix or not. Due to the residual effects of the AG Law of Limitation, a proparoxytone verb conjugation could not develop, as the 1 sg. suffix -ω constituted a heavy syllable.

Stress also functions as a main indication of past tense: the imperfect and aorist, both active and passive, tend to be accentuated on the antepenultimate syllable, e.g. ἔγραφα – γράψαμε, ἀγάπησα – ἀγαπήσαμε, ἐγραφόμην > ἐγράφομουν/γραφόμουν, ἐγράφη > γράφτηκε. This leads to stress shift in the case of past forms of the verb showing penultimate stress due to phonetic accident, e.g. ἐχάωσα > ἐχάσα (with lexical vowel deletion) > ἔχασα.

The reverse development, i.e. stress shift to the penultimate syllable in 3 pl. past forms, is a very frequent phenomenon, e.g. ἔγραψαν > ἐγράψαν, ἐσκοτώναν > ἐσκοτώσαν; it should be attributed to a tendency for columnar stress in the three persons of the plural, i.e. to the analogy of the 1st and 2nd persons pl.: ἐγράψαμε, ἐγράφετε, ἔγραψαν → ἐγράψαν,

γράφανε. In dialects showing extensive deletion of final -ν even in verbal suffixes, stress shift to the penultimate in 3 pl. may help to distinguish it from the homophonous 1 sg.: ἔτρεξα – ἐπαρακάλεσα vs. ἐτρέξα, ἐπαρακάλεσα.

The attachment of plurisyllabic suffixes onto a stem normally triggers stress-shift to the right, so that the constraint limiting stress to the last three syllables may not be transgressed, e.g. γράφομαι → γραφόμεθα, ἔγραψα → ἐγράψαμε. However, as a geographically restricted phenomenon appearing from the 15th c. onwards, an alternative strategy also appears: preservation of the stress on the same syllable throughout the subparadigm (columnar stress), with development of a second accent on the penultimate syllable, e.g. γράφομαι → γράφομέστε, ἔγραψα → ἔγραψάμε. For more examples see 4.2.3, case (c), as well as III, 4.3.1.1, 4.4.1.1, 4.4.2 and 4.5.2.1. For further details on the phenomenon as it appears in MG dialects see KOURMOULIS 1955/56, MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN/DRACHMAN 1992 and MALIKOUTI-DRACHMAN 1993.

Finally, stress serves to distinguish the active indicative from the imperative in the oxytone verbs, as the imperative has recessive accentuation: ἀγαπᾷ vs. ἀγάπα, κρατεῖ vs. κράτει. In the small subparadigm of the 2nd aorist, the reverse is true: the imperative is distinguished from the indicative through final-syllable stress: εἶπε vs. εἶπέ, εἶδε vs. ἰδέ.

Verbal inflection involves several trisyllabic suffixes (e.g. -όμεσθε, -ούμαστων) which bring about stress shift to the right due to the trisyllabic constraint, except in the cases noted above when columnar stress prevails. For full details see the relevant paradigms (III, 4).

4.2.4.3 Stress in Derivation and Composition

Recessive accentuation, i.e. retraction of the stress as far as is allowed by the Law of Limitation, serves a variety of derivational and compositional functions (DIETERICH 1904a), such as:

- marking of substantivization of adjectives, e.g. δαμασκηνό > δαμάσκηνο, ξανθός > Ξάνθος, βραδύ > βράδυ.
- marking of prefixation, e.g. πεθερός → συμπεθέρος, ὄψέ → ἀπόψε, φιλόσ → κατάφιλος, ἐκεῖ → ἀπέκει.
- marking of composition, e.g. δίσκος + ποτήριον → δισκοπότηρον, εὐνοστος + λιβάδιον → ἐμνοστολίβαδον, ἄγριος + σκύλος → ἀγριόσκυλος, παλαιόν + κάστρον → παλαιόκαστρον.

The position of stress in nominal compounds depends, as in MG (for which see NESPOR/RALLI 1994; RALLI 2013: ch. 5), on the internal structure of the compound: if the compound has the form [stem] + [stem], i.e. when the compound is formed through a special inflectional or derivational affix, the accent retracts to the antepenultimate syllable (e.g. δισκ-ο-πότηρ-ο).

ἀσημοχρούσαφον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 346.24

ἡλιόκλιμαν CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 551

βροντοκούδουνα *Diig. tetr.* 763

γαίδουρόπετσον *Assizes* A 245.11
 ζαχαρόμελο *Peri Xen.* 531
 ἀγριογούρουνον *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 53.1
 αθόγαλο *CHORTATSI, Panor.* III.388
 αὐλότοπον (1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 717, 621.3)
 κοντυλομάχαιο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 142.14
 ἀμπελοχάρατσα *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §15.41
 κακοτσίκαλο *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.109

If the compound takes the form [stem] + [word], i.e. its second member is a whole word, the compound may inherit the stress properties of the right-hand member (e.g. ἀνεμ-ο-ζάλη), although this is not absolute and stress retraction may take place (e.g. γουρουν-ό-τριχα):

καλοκαβαλάρης *Ptoch.* III 71 app. crit. (G)
 ἀνθρωποφιλία *Chron. Mor.* H 2458
 ἀγριοτσουκνίδα *Kakop.* 119
 ἀναχαιοφυσάλλίδα *Spanos* A 222
 κουρφοκλεψιές *Rim. kor.* A 607
 γιαλοφεγγίτης *Flor.* 1347 (Kriaras)
 ἴδιοπαρδιαβασμός (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2335)
 ἔρωτογραφὴ *Liv.* S 698
 ἔρωτοσαῖτα *Theseid* V.39,8 (1529)
 Εὐτυχοκυρά *Logos Parig.* L 334
 κουζουλοκοπελιές *CHORTATSI, Panor.* IV.55
 γεροντογαίδουρι *CHORTATSI, Katz.* V.412; γεροδαίμονας *ibid.* III.516
 μαγγανοσανίδα (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 816, 712.13)
 καλαμαρθήκη *KORNAOS, Erot.* I.1424

 ψυχὴ μου κακοτύχε *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 196
 ἀκρόξανθος *STAFIDAS, Iatrosof.* 2.45
 κονταρόκρουσμα *Pol. Tr.* 4403
 διαβολόσκαλαν (post 1425, Athos, SCHREINER 1975/79: 8.II, 18.4)
 ἀνδράδελφος *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 546.13
 κλεισουρότοπον *Velth.* 220
 ἀμπαρόμοσχος *Achill.* N 1586
 ἀγριόμπουφος *Poulol.* 646
 λωλότραγον *Diig. tetr.* 459
 δρακοντόκαστρον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 176; κακεύνουχος *ibid.* 2294
 βαρύσκυλος *Synax. gadar.* 32
 κακόγερος *DEFAR., Log. did.* 255
 γουρουνότριχα *Bertoldos* 6
 τὸν ἀμπελότοπο (1664, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 13, 127.6)

The neuter compounds in -ι form a special category, in which stress appears to retract not to the antepenultimate but to the penultimate syllable; this is due to the fact that their original suffix was -ιον, with subsequent loss of the final /o/ (see CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 170–93 and II, 2.20).

ἀγιοζούμιν *Ptoch.* IV 375 vs. ἀγιάζουμιν *ibid.* 377
 κυμινोधέρμιν *Ptoch.* IV 337 vs. κυμινόθερμον *ibid.* app. crit. (H)
 ἔξωχώρια *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 52.31 vs. ἐξώχωρον *Chron. Mor.* P 8244

έρωτοτρυγόνι *Liv.* E 130 vs. έρωτοτρύγονον *ibid.* 3613
 έρωτοπιττάκιν *Liv.* V 1731 vs. έρωτοπίττακα *Liv.* S 2856
 βουνοτόπιν *Velth.* 769
 θυροπόρτιν *Byz. II.* 105
 καλαμοκάννια *Spanos* B 116
 καλιγοκάρφια *Dig.* E 13
 καμηλογόμαρον *Assizes* A 244.24

Obviously, verbal compounds are always exempt from accent retraction for two reasons: firstly, their second member is always an inflected verbal form, and secondly, in AG the verbal inflectional suffix was always heavy (-ω, -ῶ) and therefore retraction to the antepenultimate was phonetically impossible:

διπλογράφω *Chron. Mor.* H 7034
 δαμονογυρεύω *Liv.* S 1640
 βαρυκαρδίζουν *Epain. gyn.* 546
 γλυκοπεριπλέκεις *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 156
 άνοιγοσφαλίζει *CHORTATIS, Erof.* II 357

Part II

Nominal Morphology

1 Introduction

1.1 Overview of Developments in the Nominal System

Much morphological change affecting the nominal system had already taken place before the period covered by this Grammar, leaving few paradigms untouched. The evidence of the papyri (see GIGNAC 1981), the Byzantine chronicles (PSALTES 1913) and other texts that draw on the vernacular indicates the extent of analogical change, simplification and redundancy that affected the inherited paradigms. Of course changes in morphology cannot be isolated from developments in the domains of phonology and syntax, and there often appears to be a subtle interaction of different factors, insofar as it is possible to explain the causation of the changes observed in our texts.

Part II examines the nominal system in detail, by part of speech. We include: nouns, adjectives (and adverbs derived from adjectives), articles, pronouns and determiners, and numerals. Parallel developments can be adduced in various parts of the paradigms. To take a single example, the feminine nominative plural ending *-ες*, which in AG characterized the 3rd declension, is extended to the nominative and accusative plural of virtually all feminine nouns, as well as the corresponding cases of adjectives and determiners, and the feminine accusative plural of the definite article (*τές*) and the 3rd-person clitic pronoun (*τές/τες*). However, there are some interesting survivals against the general trend: while the AG 3rd declension is almost completely merged with the first as far as nouns are concerned (with the exception of those of neuter gender), adjectives ending in */is/* (*εὐγενής*, *βαθύς*), if they are not remodelled as adjectives in *-ος* (e.g. *ἀληθινός* < *ἀληθής*), preserve substantial parts of their original paradigms and therefore need to be discussed separately (3.3.1, 3.3.3).

Among other significant developments in MedG we may note the emergence of certain indeclinable forms: the relative pronoun *όπού* (5.9.1.1), the universal quantifier *πάσα* (5.13.1.4) and the distributive determiner *κάθε/κάθα* (5.13.2.4). Finally, many pronouns and determiners acquire extended forms (*ἀλλουνοῦς*, *ὀλωνῶν*, *ποιουνοῦ*, etc.), an analogical process that begins with the demonstrative pronouns and determiners (*ἐκεινοῦ*, *τουτουνοῦ*, *αὐτουνοῦς* etc.).

Despite the manifold changes, the nominal system as a whole has preserved the two main features of the AG system: gender and case. All nouns are assigned to one of the three genders and all associated modifiers must agree in gender, number and case. Nominative, genitive and accusative cases continue to exist in LMedG and EMG. The dative case, however, had gradually disappeared from the spoken language during the first millennium and its main functions were reassigned (see HUMBERT 1930, LENDARI/MANOLESSOU 2003, HORROCKS 2010: 183–5, 284, HOLTON/MANOLESSOU 2010: 546–7). Nonetheless, datives survive in many of the written texts that this Grammar is based on, though mainly

in documents and other texts in mixed or higher registers, and they may have a range of inherited functions. Particularly common are datives governed by the prepositions ἐν and σύν. Because the dative had ceased to be part of the spoken vernacular by about the 10th c., dative forms are not included in the paradigms set out in the chapters that follow.¹ Some examples of usage are given here, including innovations of various kinds.

Datives frequently occur in dates and other temporal expressions:

μηνὶ Δικεβρίῳ εἰς τὰς δυό, ἡμέρᾳ Τετράδῃ (1388, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 101, 99.1)
 ἦτο ἀρχιερεὺς τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ *Diig. Alex.* K 346.16–17 (Mitsakis)
 1596 μηνὶ Φεβρουάριος 23 (1596, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 20, 75.2) (note the lack of agreement)

They can also be found as the indirect object or complement of the verb:

ἀπέδωκε τοῖς στεναγμοῖς, ἀπέδωκε τοῖς θρήνοις [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2147
 βοηθεῖτε μοι! *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 63
 Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ ἐμῷ τιμίῳ διδασκάλῳ *Alex. Rim.* 1511

Prepositional phrases occur in a range of texts, often as fossilized expressions:

ἔζων σύν τοῖς μαθήμασι *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 25
 ἐν ἀληθείᾳ *Dig.* E 1677
 ἐν ὀνείρῳ *Liv.* V 324
 σύν βασιλίσσῃ τῇ λαμπρᾷ *Liv.* E 4329
 σύν μαλαγματένῃ θήκῃ *ERMON., Ilias* 12.125
 ἐν συντόμῳ λόγῳ [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1226
 ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῇ πόλει (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 9, 18.18)
 ὁ ἐν ἱερεῦσι χατζῆς (1662, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 81, 202.2)
 σύν τῇ κυρίᾳ μητέρα μου (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 306, f.1r.2)

Other adverbial expressions:

ἐκουσίᾳ ἡμῶν τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ αὐτοπροαιρέτῳ βουλήσει (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.9–10)
 προβλέποντας τῷ πνεύματι τοῦτα ποὺ ἐγενήκαν *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 267

In addition to instances like the above, which could be deemed grammatically “correct” (i.e. in accordance with AG morphology and syntax), we also find dative forms with innovative phonology, stress or morphology, or new lexical items:

ἐν τῇ τουποθεσίᾳ τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἄρχων (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 24, 64.4–5)
 οἰκοῦσα ἐν Ρεθέμνῃ (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 94, 175.2)
 σύν τοῖς βοθηρακοῖς *Spanos D* 1509

ἐν παρρησιᾷ *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 62
 ἐν τῇ Ὀγκριᾷ *Ekth. Chron.* 83.22 app. crit. (D)

Ἀράβοις *KAMAT., Astron.* 323 (< Ἀραβος); ἑταιρίδαις *ibid.* 632 (< ἡ ἑταιρίδα, for ἑταιρίσι < ἑταιρίς)

¹ The only exception that has been made is the dative reciprocal pronoun ἀλλήλοις, on the basis that its occurrence, which is quite rare, seems to be as much a lexical survival as a morphosyntactic feature (see 5.12).

ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς Κυκλάσι νήσiais (1263, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 68, 185.17)
 (for νήσiais)
 συνπάσois τοῖς τοίχοis *Assizes* B 360.5²
 ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήνοis ERMON., *Ilias* 7.271; καὶ δοράτοis γὰρ ὀξέois *ibid.* 18.144
 τοῖς ἐμπιστευτήδεis / τοῖς ἐμπιστευτιόδais *Assizes* A 160.5

Of particular interest is the use of dative forms for loanwords:

ἐν σούγλα *Spanos* A 95 (Lat. *subula*)
 τῷ μπασταρδικῷ γένει SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 18.15; ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ σεργαγίῳ *ibid.* 146.8
 ἐν τοῖς τῶν γενιτζάρων ὀντάσι *Ekth. Chron.* 53.10 (< Turk. *oda*)

Dative forms usually indicate an attempt on the part on the writer (or copyist) to elevate the register above the common vernacular. In the texts on which this Grammar is based – i.e. texts that are not *systematically* archaizing – such attempts may be unsuccessful because the writer lacks a formal knowledge of the classical language, as the unorthodox spelling of documents often indicates, e.g. εἰκέις χερσῆν / οἰκείαις χερσίν (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.5).

In the following sections (1.2–4) we present three geographically or dialectally restricted phenomena affecting the nominal system. Nominal inflection in MedG and EMG displays attrition/syncretism in certain case-forms, across inflectional paradigms. What is meant here by syncretism is not the accidental phonetic overlap between different case-forms, such as for instance, that between the nom. sg. and the acc. sg. of fem. nouns in -α and -η caused by the deletion of final /n/ (ἡ χώρα/τὴν χώρα, ἡ τιμή/τὴν τιμή, see I, 3.7.2.2), which may be disambiguated through the forms of the definite article, but rather the syntactic merger of two case-forms. Three varieties of case merger may be distinguished, each having different causes and different geographical and diachronic distribution.

- a) In Cyprus, the replacement of the genitive plural by the accusative plural of masculine nouns of all inflectional paradigms, e.g. τὸ δίκαιον τοὺς κριτάδες.
- b) In texts from the Cyclades, the replacement of the accusative plural by the nominative plural of masculine nouns, e.g. εἶδα τὶς ἀνθρῶποι.
- c) In Pontic, the replacement of the nominative singular by the accusative singular of masculine nouns in -ος, e.g. ὁ Κυριακόν.

The Introduction concludes with a section on synizesis, stress shift and accent notation in nominal morphology.

1.2 Cypriot Genitive Plural of Masculine Nouns

LMedG and EMG texts from Cyprus display a strong tendency for merger of the genitive plural and accusative plural of masculine nouns, adjectives, pronouns and determiners of all declensions, in favour of the accusative form. Previous studies of the phenomenon have

² The innovative dative plural πάσois, replacing AG πᾶσι, also occurs in legal documents from the Aegean: ἐπαφῆνου πάσois χριστιανοῖς (1562, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 9, 22.3); τοῖς πάσois Χριστιανοῖς (1601, Ikaria, STAMATIADIS 1893: 1, 153.1).

shown that it affects masculine nouns in all syntactic positions, such as possessive, indirect object, complement of prepositions. There does not appear to be any quantitative differentiation with respect to the grammatical or inflectional category of the affected nominal forms, and so the innovative syncretic genitive may belong to nouns in -ος (e.g. εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς, *Assizes* B 424.9; μετὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς καλοὺς ἀνθρώπους *Assizes* A 26.17–18; εἰς τὸ καράβιν τοὺς Βενετικούς *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 228.19), nouns in -ας (e.g. εἰς τὰ χέργια τοὺς πατέρες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 54.2; κληρονόμος τοὺς Τελαζανιάδες *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 152.3), nouns in -ης (e.g. εἰς τες αὐλάδες τοὺς ἀφέντες *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 14.14; τῖς γλῶσσαις τοὺς κακοὺς συντυχάρηδες *Fior* 83.37–8), nouns in -εύς (e.g. δίχως τὸ θέλημα τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῆς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN* 1981: 239.425–6); κοιμητήρια τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἐπισκόπους *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 30.13), adjectives or participles in -ος (e.g. οἱ ψυχῆς τοὺς ἀποθαμμένους *Pist. kekoim.* 629; εἰς τὴν Ζωὴν τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρες εὐρίσκεται *Fior* 95.5) and pronouns/determiners in -ος (e.g. ἀνε παρικι αλοὺς / ἂν ἔ πάροικοι ἄλλους (1468, Cyprus, *RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS* 1983: 3, 5.8; for ἔ see III, 4.8.1); νὰ ἀπολογηθῇ ἀπ' ἐκείνην τὴν κακοποιίαν ὅλους ἐκείνους *Assizes* A 217.24; ἔδωκέν τους τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐκείνους καὶ τῶν παιδιῶν τους *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 18.28; μήπως καὶ φανιστῇ κάποιους δύσκολον *Pist. kekoim.* 178).

Similarly, all syntactic environments requiring an adnominal, adverbial or adpositional genitive are available to the new syncretic form:

Possessive genitive

τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN* 1981: 254.929)

ἤρτεν τὸ ἀρμάτωμαν τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς (1425, Cyprus, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 28.I, 208.1.2) ἐστράφησαν εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς *Assizes* B 266.31

ἀπὲ τὴν συντροφίαν τοὺς ἄλλους κριτάδες *Assizes* A 28.10; ἕτερα φυλὴ τοὺς Συριάνους *ibid.* 238.19

ἐκόψαν τὲς κεφαλὰδες τοὺς κάτωθεν δηλούμενους *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 402.27; εἰς τὸ καράβιν τοὺς Βενετικούς *ibid.* 228.19; τὰ ραβδία τοὺς ραβδούχους τοὺς Βενετικούς *ibid.* 228.27

διὰ το κακόν τους ἄλλους ἔλαβεν ἐκεῖνος καλόν *VOUSTR., Chron.* B 233.14–15

εἰς τὴν χώραν τοὺς ζωντανούς *Pist. kekoim.* 111

καὶ δέχου νὰ μᾶς ἐβγάλει ἀπὸ τὰ χέρια τοὺς ἀπίστους (17th c., Cyprus, *MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER* 1860/90, vol. 3: 22, 269.4)

γυναῖκες τοὺς γυναικαδελοφούς (17th c., Cyprus, *CHRISTODOULOU* 1983: A, 418.859)

Subjective/objective genitive

διὰ ζημίαν τοὺς γονεῖς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN* 1981: 234.254)

ἤρταν εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν τοῦ(ς) συντρόφους τους *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 132.38–134.1

διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τοὺς συγγενάδες *Fior* 76.7; ὁ θυμὸς τοὺς πελλοὺς εἶναι πάντα εἰς τὰ λόγια καὶ τοὺς φρενίμους εἶναι μόνον εἰς τὰ ἔργα *ibid.* 95.9–10

Partitive genitive

τὸν ἕνα τοὺς ἐγγυτάδες *Assizes* B 471.5–6

Indirect object

νὰ τὸ δώσουν εἰδῇσιν καὶ τοὺς καλλιωτέρους συγγενεῖς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN* 1981: 241.513–14)

νὰ ἀπολογᾶται ὅλους ἐκείνους καὶ ὅλων ἐκείνων *Assizes* A 166.6

ἐχάρισεν καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς σωζομένους *Pist. kekoim.* 672

Ethical/personal dative

οὐδὲν ἄρέσουν τοὺς γονεῖς *Assizes* A 97.17

ἐβγάλαν τα πράματα τὰ ἐπῆραν τοὺς δύο ἀδελφούς *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 20.5–6

Prepositional complement

ἐμπροσθεν τοὺς λεγάδες *Assizes* B 280.13–14; ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βισκούντη καὶ τοὺς κριτάδες
ibid. 354.20–1

κατὰ πρόσωπα τοὺς καβαλλάριδες τοὺς φουμάτους *MACHAIRAS*, *Chron.* V 24.24; ἐμπροσθεν
τοὺς αὐθέντες, καὶ τοῦ πόπουλου ibid. 48.33

ἐμπροσθεν τοὺς κλογάδας *Assizes* A 31.18; μέσον τοὺς ἐγγυητάδες ibid. 65.29–30

Another syntactic environment, not discussed in previous studies, is the use of the genitive as a direct object, with verbs which in other areas are construed with the accusative. In such cases, Cypriot texts show genitive in the singular (ἐμπλάσεν μίας καμήλας *MACHAIRAS*, *Chron.* V 662.25–6; ἐμπλάσεν ἐνοῦ τζακρατόρου ibid. 654.4), but accusative only with the masc. acc. pl., e.g.

οὐδὲ νὰ τοῦ πιστεύσουν οὐδὲ ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ τοὺς σιργέντες του *Assizes* B 353.7–8

ἐμπλάζει τοὺς καβαλλικεμένους *Assizes* A A 70.8

ἐμπλάσεν ἧ Γενουβίσους *MACHAIRAS*, *Chron.* V 366.18; ἐμπλάσαν Σαρακηνοὺς ἀπεζοὺς ibid.
634.23–4

The development seems to be complete, in lower registers, by the 16th c., as the text of Voustronios, for example, does not contain a single instance of the “old” masc. gen. pl. form (MARKOPOULOS 2010: 99–100). Older texts, such as the *Assizes* and Machairas’s *Chronicle*, show a predominance of the innovative acc. for gen. form (ca. 75%), but the change seems to be still in progress.

The phenomenon was first noted and discussed in BEAUDOIN 1884: 66, 98–9, repeated in SYMEONIDIS 2006: 197–8, and has since formed the subject of several studies with respect to its interpretation. The oldest suggestion, first put forward by MENARDOS (1969 [1896]: 33), and adopted by HADJIOANNOU (1988: 208–9), was that the gen./acc. pl. form has as its origin the addition of final -ς to the gen. sg. of nouns in -ος (τοῦ Σαρακηνοῦ → τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς). This analysis, however, cannot account for the fact that the phenomenon is not specific to the /o/ stem masculine nouns, but affects all masculine nominals, irrespective of inflectional class, even in the earliest attestations.

An alternative proposal, formulated by PAPADOPOULLOS (1983: 222–3) and also considered by SITARIDOU/TERKOURAFI (2009) is that the genitive/accusative was at least partially motivated by the influence of Old French, which shows merger in several inflectional paradigms (though, crucially, not in the masculines). This is a rather unlikely scenario, given the relatively early appearance of the phenomenon in Cypriot texts (ca. 1300), too early for Old French to have so deeply penetrated the language as to affect a basic morphosyntactic category, and given that Old French influence is otherwise minimal on Cypriot, except perhaps in the domain of vocabulary.

According to a third proposal, elaborated by HENRICH (2002: 323–30), the innovative gen. pl. form was motivated by the necessity to disambiguate the homophonous acc. sg. and gen. pl. of masc. nominals in -ος (τὸν λόγον–τῶν λόγων). However, the innovation affects not only nouns in -ος, but also nouns in -ας and -ης; in these inflectional paradigms there is no ambiguity between acc. sg. and gen. pl., and, more significantly, the case merger

actually increases ambiguity, as in certain cases, such as the imparisyllabic plural in *-άδες*, it leads to an uninflected plural, where all four cases (nom., gen., acc., voc.) are identical.

A newer analysis was put forward by MARKOPOULOS (2010), according to whom the phenomenon is connected to the merger of dative and accusative and may go as far back as the Early MedG period, on the basis of 6th-/7th-c. inscriptional evidence from Palestine. Markopoulos was able to locate the earliest instances of the phenomenon in Cypriot, ca. 1300. Nevertheless, the gap of several centuries between these attestations and the Palestinian data render the connection less likely, especially since such an analysis would require the process of dative loss to have lasted several centuries longer than usually admitted.

The most likely proposal was put forward by MERTYRIS (2013, 2014), who also provides a balanced criticism of all earlier accounts. In his view, the merger must have started from the weak form of the 3 pl. personal pronoun, which shows fluctuation between *τῶν* and *τούς* already since the EMedG period, without geographical restrictions (see 5.3.2.6). This merger must have then spread to masc. nouns in *-ος*, and subsequently to all other masculine classes, probably starting from the syntactic environment of the indirect object, where *τούς* was usually preferred over *τῶν* (in contrast to the possessive clitic, which shows greater variability) and which, crucially, is the environment which shows the higher percentages of the new syncretic form in Medieval Cypriot (according to the statistics provided by MARKOPOULOS 2010).

A reasonable counter-argument would question why such a development does not appear in other MedG and MG varieties as well, since the replacement of the clitic *τῶν* by *τούς* is almost universal. A first answer would be to point out, along with MERTYRIS (2013, 2014), that this development does in fact appear in several other MG dialectal varieties not hitherto discussed in the literature.³ In the period covered by this Grammar, evidence for the phenomenon outside Cyprus is scarce, though not non-existent. Several examples found in the chronicle of Papasynadinos (Serres, Macedonia; see 2.1.3, 2.2.1, 2.3.3) and two in inscriptions in the Crimea (see 2.1.2 and 2.1.3) point to a wider geographical spread than our sources seem to reveal.

Additionally, it could be assumed that in the case of Cypriot, the tendency for replacement of the masc. gen. pl. was enhanced due to the undesirable phonetic coincidence of masc. acc. sg. and gen. pl. of /o/ stem nouns, which remained strong in Cypriot due to the non-deletion of final /n/ in the acc. sg., in contrast to most other regions. The retention of final /n/ was combined, in the case of Cypriot, with the retention of the genitive in direct objects for several semantic verbal subcategories, contrasting with the accusative in most other Greek varieties (see LENDARI/MANOLESSOU 2003), which may have added to the environments where a merger of genitive and accusative was possible.

³ This concerns mostly some “northern” dialects of MG (local sub-varieties spoken in Epirus, Thessaly and islands of the northern Aegean).

1.3 Accusative Plural of Masculine Nouns in Cycladic Texts

Masculine nouns in -ος show a tendency for syncretism of the nominative and the accusative plural, in a small number of EMG texts of Cycladic and Aegean provenance. This is a well-known phenomenon in MG dialectology, where the merger of nom. and acc. pl. of -ο stem nouns constitutes a basic dialectal isogloss which includes the areas in question (see KRETSCHMER 1905: 227–8; DIETERICH 1908: 117–18; PAPADOPOULOS 1926: 61; KONDOPOULOS 2001: 59 for the modern distribution). This merger has been plausibly interpreted as an analogical transfer of the inflectional pattern of the masc. nouns in -ας and -ης, where the nom. and acc. pl. have historically fallen together, e.g. οἱ στρατιῶτες–τούς στρατιῶτες, οἱ ἄρχοντες–τούς ἄρχοντες (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 29; DIETERICH 1908: 117).⁴

ἀποὺ τῖς ἄνωθε καλογιέροι (1576, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 19, 151.17)
 νὰ βάνωμε γερόντοι (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 19.11)
 διὰ κόποι τῆς ἄνωθε καλουγριᾶς (1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 8, 21.6)
 βάνομε παρακαλετοὶ μάρτυρες (1691, Ikaria/Chios?, TSELIKAS 2000: 81, 65.20–1)
 καὶ τῖς ἄλλοι σύντροφοι (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.34–5)
 μπεζόνιο ἀπὸ ἄρχοντες, ἡγουν ἀπὸ προεστοὶ (1696, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [42], 58.1)
 νὰ ἄρωτήσουνε καὶ πάρτε προεστοὶ (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 19, 34.18–19); νομινάριε τῖς ἄνωθεν σπιτότοποι (1702, Mykonos, *ibid.* 40, 53.10); καὶ νὰ βάνου ἀνθρῶποι νὰ τὸ μοιράζουν (1706, Mykonos, *ibid.* 67, 78.18); ἀπὸ τῖς κριτάδες καὶ ἀφέντες μπρεβετιτόροι (1706, Mykonos, *ibid.* 59, 71.11–12)

1.4 Pontic Nominative Singular of Masculine Nouns

An idiosyncrasy of the Pontic dialect, the appearance of the accusative singular form instead of the nominative singular form of masculine nouns in -ος, mostly when preceded by the definite article, is relatively well attested in the available LMedG sources from the Pontos area.⁵ Examples:

Ἰωαννάκης ὁ Βαλεντζιάκον μαρτυρῶν ὑπέγραφα (ca. 1275, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 60, 35.47); Ἰωαννάκης ὁ Γουσμάνον μαρτυρῶν ὑπέγραφα (*ibid.* 35.48); Θεόκτιστος ἱερομόναχος ὁ Μαῦρον ὑπέγραφα (1349, *ibid.* 48, 25.31); κριταὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως Γεώργιος ὁ Σοῦτον καὶ Παῦλος ὁ Σοῦτον (1350–1400, *ibid.* 131, 97.9–10); Μιχαήλ ὁ Σοῦτον (*ibid.* 132, 98.20); μάρτυρας Λέων ὁ Ξένον (15th c., *ibid.* 172, 119.16); ὁ Κυριακὸν (*ibid.* 173, 119.5); ἐγὼ ὁ Θεόπεφτον Κροκήρη (16th c., *ibid.* 186, 123.1)

⁴ Instances such as βάνου ἀποκοπταὶ (1561, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 129, 247.13), which apparently affect old 1st-declension nouns in -ας/-ης with the obsolete nom. pl. suffix -αί, if not due to transcription errors, are hyperdialectisms influenced by the phenomenon in question.

⁵ HENRICH (2011: 99) adduces a dubious additional example in a rather early text of Pontic origin: ὁ χειμῶν κάθυγρος (1336, Trebizond, LAMBROS 1916a: 39.5). He argues that the contrast between articular ὁ χειμῶν in the above example and non-articular χειμὸς in the following: πολλὺς χειμὸς (*ibid.* 45.17 app. crit.) constitutes an instance of the phenomenon, i.e. that the noun χειμῶν has already moved from the 3rd to the 2nd declension, and therefore χειμῶν should be read as an acc. sg. form (ὁ χειμὸς–τοῦ χειμοῦ–τὸν χειμὸν), triggered by the presence of the definite article. In view of the text's rather elevated style, however, a conservative 3rd-declension inflectional pattern cannot be excluded.

ἔγω Τηβράνο Κωσταντίνον (1430–5?, Pontos, ALEXAKIS/MAVROMATIS 2015: 5, 12.3); ὁ
 Γαριώτης ὁ κυρ-Θεόδωρον (ibid. 12.9)
 Σάββας ὁ Χρυσιοχὸν (1482, Pontos, BRYER 1976: 22, 135.1–2)
 ὁ Μανόλης ὁ Μανολόπλον (1506, Trebizond, PRINZING 2000: 2, 304.7–8) (< Μανολόπουλος)

In modern Pontic, the phenomenon affects masculine nouns in -ος in all subdialects, and masculine nouns in -ας and -ης only in some areas, and is further connected to the development of an innovative gen. sg. patterned after the AG /n/-stem 3rd declension, e.g. ὁ λύκος–τοῦ λύκου → ὁ λύκον–τῆ λύκονος (PAPADOPOULOS 1955: 159; OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 145–6; MACKRIDGE 1987: 124; DRETTAS 1997: 120). It has therefore been interpreted by most scholars as originating from a confusion between the AG 2nd-declension masc. /o/-stem nouns, and the 3rd-declension /n/-stem nouns (δαίμων, γείτων etc.). This is a suggestion originally put forward by HATZIDAKIS (1892: 372), subsequently adopted and modified in many studies (e.g. DAWKINS 1916: 94; CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: A 276; DAWKINS 1937: 31; HENRICH 1976: 242–7; HENRICH 1979; TOMBAIDIS 1988: 45–6, with further bibliography). It has also been proposed that the phenomenon is connected to the modern Cappadocian tendency for loss of case and gender distinctions, for which, however, there is no evidence during the LMedG or EMG period.

Furthermore, Dawkins suggests that the phenomenon may be of already Hellenistic date, pointing to a *defixio* from Cyprus first commented upon by THUMB (1906: 258): ὁ Κράτερον AUDOLLENT 30.22 = I. KOURION 135.22, 3rd c. AD. It is, of course, doubtful whether a single isolated instance is sufficient to establish the presence of the phenomenon at such an early date, as some scholars seem to accept (JANSE 2002: 218–19; HORROCKS ²2010: 402). Alternative accounts of the phenomenon include a syntactic interpretation as differential subject marking (JANSE 2004: 25–6; REVYTHIADOU/SPYROPOULOS 2009: 52–3, 60–1), a proposal to connect it with the AG masc. augmentative suffix -ων, supposedly first attached to adjectives and then to nouns (KIM 2008), and a proposal to view it as a compensation, a new means of marking the definiteness of the masc. nom. sg. due to the Pontic tendency for deletion of the definite article (HORROCKS ²2010: 402).

It should be noted that all of the examples located in MedG Pontic texts are proper names, most of which could also be interpreted as genitive plural forms in -ων/-ῶν expressing the notion of belonging to a family/kin, e.g. Ξένων, Χρυσοχῶν, Σκοτωμένων etc. This could provide an alternative trigger for the development of the phenomenon, which could be attributed to a reanalysis of a non-articular gen. pl. in -ων accompanied by the masc. nom. sg. definite article ὁ (an archaic syntactic pattern not available in vernacular MedG) as a nom. sg. and not as gen. pl., namely Γεώργιος ὁ (τῶν) Σκοτωμένων > Γεώργιος ὁ Σκοτωμένον. Nevertheless, the confusion with the 3rd-declension nouns in -ων remains the most likely interpretation, given the relatively early appearance of the innovative genitive -ονος for nouns in -ος in MedG documents from Pontos: Ἰωαννάκη τοῦ Βαλεντζιάκονος (1262, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 14, 7.15); Μιχαήλ τοῦ Σούτονος (1384, ibid. 128, 96.27). The two proper names appear in other documents with genitives Σούτου (1260, ibid. 37, 16.1–2) and Βαλεντζιάκου (1344, ibid. 99, 57.12) (for the plural formation of Pontic surnames see 2.10).

1.5 Synizesis, Stress Shift and Accent Notation

Stress shift as the result of synizesis may affect the following nominal paradigms: masculine nouns in -έας > -άς (see 2.4); feminine nouns in -έα > -ιά, and -(ε)ία > -(ε)ιά (see 2.11.4 and 2.11.5); neuter nouns in -(ε)ιο > -(ε)ιό (see 2.20.1); adjectives in -αῖος > -ιός (see 3.2.2); the paroxytone forms of adjectives in -ύς (e.g. βαθεία > βαθιά, etc., see 3.3.1); as well as pronouns such as (ὁ)ποῖος (see 5.7.1.1 and 5.9.1.3). It also occurs in verbs (see Part III) and other words such as certain numerals (see Chapter 6). For more information on synizesis in general, see I, 2.9.4.

Judging from manuscripts and early prints, accent placement does not always correspond to the actual position of the stress. As noted by HOLTON (²2002: 94) and others after him, often the accent is written on the first vowel (/e/ or /i/), even though the word needs to be read with synizesis for metrical reasons:

τὸν βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶ *P&N Diath.* 1909
καὶ νᾶ τὸ δώσω τὸν γναφέαν *Diig. tetr.* 211
καὶ μία κλοτσία τῆς διδῃ *Rim. Apoll.* E 1535
καὶ κονταρία τὸν ἔδωσεν *Chron. Toc.* 1073
ἦλθαν τοῦ Λάκκου τὰ χωρία *Chron. Mor.* H 1719
μὲ ᾽πελατίκια καὶ ραβδία *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 238
ὁ μὲν ἐντράπη τὸ φυγεῖον *Chron. Mor.* H 3859
το διάβα του σκολείου της *Apoll. Rim.* E 1182
οὕτως εἶχε τὸ δάσωμα τῶν ὁμαλλίων ἡ κόρη *Velth.* 690 transcr. (Lendari)
μετὰ μακρέας τὰς μύτας *Ptoch. III* 50
καὶ τότε θέλομεν ἰδεῖ ποῖος ἀγαπᾷ τὸν δούκα *Chron. Toc.* 1353
ο ποῖος εἰς τὴν Καλλίπολιν ἐξόρθωσεν τὰ πάντα *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ.*, *Pali* 2773

In modern editions these notations of the accent are usually attributed, in the best case to scribal “conservatism”, and in the worst to scribal “inadequacy”, and are therefore tacitly corrected to accommodate the modern reader, without being included in the critical apparatus.

But things are not as simple as that. Take the London version of the *Achilleid*: in ἔβλεπεν τοῦτον ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἐχαίρετον ἡ καρδία του (22), καρδία is to be read with synizesis; but in τὸ κορμίν μου δίδω το μὲ ὅλης μου καρδίας (583), it is not. This may indicate that in 22 [kar'ðja] is the phonetic realization of metrical, not grammatical, synizesis; it may also indicate that, at least for the scribe of this version of the *Achilleid*, the shift /'ia/ > /'ja/ had not yet taken full effect, allowing for two concurrent pronunciations. The fact that in SMG and most modern dialects the word is commonly pronounced as [kar'ðja] is in itself not a guarantee that it was pronounced in that way throughout the MedG and EMG periods. More evidence than metre alone is needed to establish when and in which regions stress shift as the result of synizesis came into effect.

Palatalization is a clear indicator of synizesis and stress shift. The spelling <χι> in μεγάλην ανακατωχίαν *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* B 81.8 and M 81.9 indicates that the sequence <σι> in ἀνακατωσιά is pronounced as [ʃ] [anakato'ʃa], but again the accent is written on <ι>. Such spellings also occur in the chronicle of Machairas: φοριχίης *MACHAIRAS*,

Chron. V 12.29; *κουρτεχία* *ibid.* 472.10; *ἐγκυμαχίαν* *ibid.* 520.34. The same can be said for the following examples: *ἐκείνον τὸν βγίον* *Assizes B* 425.1, 425.6, 425.25 (< βίος); *ὁ λαὸς τοῦ χωργίου* *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 178.13–14 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari); *σταργίου* (1597, Κρήτη, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 23.16); *τὸ μαγεργεῖον* (1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 721, 625.16) and *τοῦ ἄνωθεν μαγεργεῖου* (*ibid.* 625.19); *τὰ ὀπγία χοραφία* (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 5.18–19); *στὰ χεργία* *Thrinós Kypr.* 306 facs., in which the addition of <γ> clearly points to a consonantal pronunciation of <ι>, i.e. as /j/ (see I, 2.9.4 for details). There can be no doubt that in all these cases synizesis must have involved stress shift.

While in the examples above the accent is placed where one would expect it had synizesis and stress shift not taken place, something peculiar occurs in the following examples. In *με μεγάλην φουργίαν* *VOUSTR., Chron.* M 5.13–14, the addition of <γ> once again indicates that synizesis has taken place, but the accent is placed on the “wrong” syllable (φούρια in the other manuscript). The same goes for the Cypriot word *λαμπάχιον* (/lam'baʃon/) in *ἀποῦ εἶχαν λαμπάχιον* *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 64.23 (Dawkins), where the spelling <χι> for [ʃ] indicates that synizesis has taken place. Here, too, the accent is clearly not placed where the stress is.

There is in fact abundant evidence that accentuation quite often does not denote stress, but indicates that forms are to be read with synizesis:⁶

τ' αἰοφίρια (app. crit.) (14th, Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 206.1.5) (= τὰ γιοφύρια)
 ὡς γοιὸ νῆχαν εἴσταιν ἀδελφία *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 10.26 (= ἀδέλφια); τὰ καλὰ συνηθία
ibid. 24.36 (= συνήθια); δὲν ἐπίστευσεν τὰ λογία τοὺς *ibid.* 44.1 (= λόγια); ἐχάλασεν πολλὰ
 σπιτία *ibid.* 60.22 (= σπίτια); εἰς δ' ἄμαξια *ibid.* 572.24–25 (= ἄμάξια)
 καταστήνου ἕναν βαχλίωτην *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 28.3 (= βαχλιώτην); ἐποῖκεν καὶ ἄλλους
 πολλοὺς πολλὰ ἀπλαζίρια *ibid.* A 42.6 (< OFr. *aplaisir*, see GODEFROY, *Lex.*) (= ἀπλαζίρια)
 ἕνας παιδῖος ροδίτης *VOUSTR., Chron.* B 73.17 (= παῖδιος); ἐκάψαν καὶ πολλὰ ἀπλικία *ibid.*
 116.11–12 (= ἀπλικία); τοὺς Τελαζανιάδες *ibid.* 152.3 (< Fr. *De Lusignan*); ἐπῆρην καὶ τὰ
 προβιλιζία τῆς Μαριέττας *ibid.* 160.10 (< Occit. *privilegi*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.*)
 αἱ ἀρχόντισσες τῆς πολέως *Pol. Tr.* 3288 app. crit. (X) (2nd hemistich, read [ῥολος]); τινὰς οὐκ
 ἐπιάνε τα *ibid.* 8950 app. crit. (BCV)
 καὶ εἶδες ἐκεῖ παραδιάβασιν *Achil.* L 276 ms (tacitly corrected by Hesselning, but note that accent
 placement in this ms is generally correct)⁷

⁶ The same practice can also be observed in verbs, but seems much less common. This could, however, be due to the fact that these accentuations seem more “erratic” in verbs than in nouns, and are often tacitly corrected in modern editions. Some examples are: καὶ ὅταν ἐπεδιάβησαν ἄλλοι τέσσαρες χρόνοι *Achil.* L 18 ms (= ἐπεδιάβησαν); τινὰς οὐκ ἐπιάνε τα *Pol. Tr.* 8950 app. crit. (BCV) (= ἐπιάνε τα); κρατιέται *Liv.* V 1228 (= κρατιέται); νὰ σπαθοκαταλύουνται *Poulol.* 224 app. crit. (V) (-λυοῦνται in A, -λοῦνται in CPL); τὸ πρᾶγμα π' ἀγαπιέται *Theseid* IV.55,2 (1529) (= ἀγαπιέται); καὶ δὲν φτερνιέται *Bertoldos* 78.11 (= φτερνιέται).

⁷ See also HESSELING/PERNOT (1913: 160), who observe similar accent placements in the *Katalogia* (same scribe as *Achil.* L), giving telling examples such as *χολίαζης*, *γίομα* and *νίσση*, all to be read with synizesis.

γιάτηνε δεκεῖ *Theseid* Prol. E 32 (= γιατί 'ν' ἔδεκεῖ);
 ὁτίαρσεσκεινόνε / ὅτι ἄρεσε 'κρινῶνε *Theseid* III.19,5 (1529) (in the last example the spelling
 represents metrical synizesis between words)
 οἱ ἱερεῖς vel communius οἱ γερεῖαδες ROMANOS, *Grammar* 127.2 (= γερεῖαδες)⁸

One may even find two accents placed on words, one indicating stress and the other synizesis:

τὰ κοκαλάκία SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 235 transcr. (Lendari)
 καὶ ὄχι λόγια ἄπιαστα KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* IV.68
 εἰς τὰ κελλάργια τους *Thrinis Kypr.* 418 (facs.)
 εἰς τὰ σαράγια τους (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: f.3r.402.31).

Once one understands that medieval scribes and early modern editors regularly put accents to denote synizesis, it becomes clear that spellings such as <ία> for <ιά>, are not “conservative” but in fact innovative; not a sign of “scribal incompetence”, as some tend to believe, but a shorthand notation for synizesis. A good example is Tzanes Koronaios’s *Ἀνδραγαθήματα τοῦ Μερκουρίου Μπούα*. This early 16th-c. text has come down to us in a beautifully illuminated autograph manuscript, one of the rare and precious occasions where scribal intervention may safely be excluded, and where we expect to find the text as the author intended it to be. In the diplomatic edition by Angiolillo (2013), some telling spelling peculiarities can be found involving the combination /e/ + vowel. Take the word Μορέας, which has a common variant Μοριάς: whenever the word consists of three syllables, Koronaios writes it as follows: τὸν Μορέαν (I.112); however, whenever the metre requires the word to be read with synizesis, he writes it with an accented /i/ instead of /e/: κι εἰς τὸν Μορίαν τοὺς ἔστειλεν (I.109); καὶ τὸν Μορίαν ἀφέντευσε (I.115); ὅλος ὁ Μοριάς (I.118). When the word βασιλέας is trisyllabic, he writes: στὸν βασιλῆαν (VII.42), read: στὸν βασιλιάν; τοῦ βασιλῆος (VII.45), read: τοῦ βασιλιῶς. And Koronaios is not alone. The same practice occurs in the Venetian edition of the *Theseid* (1529) and in its printer’s manuscript (KAKLAMANIS 1997: 194), as well as in Voustronios: ἐφάνη τοῦ καλοῦ Θεοῦ *Theseid* XII.3,4 (1529) (read: Θεοῦ) and εἰς τὸν Θεοῖον νὰ πᾶσι *ibid.* II.14,7 (1529) (read: Θεοῖον) versus Θεσέος ὠνομάζετον *ibid.* I.6.5 (Follieri) and τοῦ πάγκαλου Θεσέου *ibid.* I.19,1 (Follieri); or εἴτι τῶν θίων ἀρέσει *Theseid* XII.6,7 (1529) vs. ὀργὴν γὰρ τῶν θεῶν μας *ibid.* V 55,2; τον φονίαν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 18.2.

There is little reason to believe that anyone ever said νίον or νίους, as in ἀπ’ ἑναν νίον κουρτέση *Theseid* VI 18,8 (1529) and ἔπειτα γιὰ τοὺς νίους τοὺς δύο *Theseid* Prol. E 161. It is also very unlikely that Koronaios pronounced “signor” as [si'nior]: πῶς ὁ Σινίωρ Μερκούριος KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VII.203. Spellings such as these simply denote synizesis and, hence, stress shift. Likewise, the spellings adopted in γλυκία καταφιλεῖ τον *Achil.* L 78 ms (γλυκεὰ in Hesseling) and καὶ τοὺς γονίους μου ἀφῆκα *Achil.* O 732 ms (γονιούς in Hesseling) almost certainly denote phonetic (and not just metrical) synizesis.

⁸ Another text with this type of accent notation is *Don Kisotis*: see KECHAYOGLU 2007: *108 σίερα, σινίωρα, σκαπιλιάτος, εκυλιουνταν in ms B and P. As KECHAYOGLU (2007: *110) points out, another way of denoting synizesis is the use of a breve below the vowels concerned, as in σινιόρα (387.26, app. crit.).

Of course, the problem with this graphematic representation of synizesis is that in non-metrical texts it is impossible to determine whether a form χωρίον or παιδίου actually represents a conservative paroxytone form, or whether the accentuation indicates that the form in fact needs to be read with synizesis and stress shift.

Another scribal rendering of synizesis appears to be restricted to Cretan scribes. As BAKKER (1988/89: 277) has rightly observed, the Cretan notary Varouchas puts a smooth or rough breathing above a vowel sequence undergoing synizesis, e.g. χριᾶζόμενο, Νέότερου, καιάνένα, παλέοπατίτιρο. The same phenomenon has been observed in the manuscript of *Erotokritos* (ALEXIOU 1980: κδ'), and it also occurs in the acts of Olokalos, e.g. Γεῶργιος, υἱὸν, πρηῶνια (1496, doc. 48); ὀγιᾶ, Μανόλη Στριᾶνο (1530, doc. 101) (see also I, 2.9.4.2).

2 Nouns

The well-known three declensions of school grammars of Ancient Greek, modelled on the five-declension system of Latin, were developed in 1635 by Jakob Weller (SCHWYZER 1936: 206). The three-declension classification was a simplification compared with the ten inflections of Chrysoloras that preceded it (ROBINS 1993: 239), which in its turn was a major simplification of the 56 paradigms, or *kanones*, of Theodosios of Alexandria (2nd half of the 4th c.?) and his commentator Choiroboskos (9th c.) (SCHWYZER 1936: 205–6).

The 1st declension comprised the α stems, both short and long: namely feminine nouns in $-\alpha/-\acute{\alpha}$ (long /a:/) and $-\eta/-\acute{\eta}$, feminine nouns in $-\alpha$ (short /a/), and masculine nouns ending in $-\alpha\varsigma$ (long /a:/) and $-\eta\varsigma/-\acute{\eta}\varsigma$. The 2nd declension comprised the $\omicron$ stems: masculine and feminine nouns ending in $-\omicron\varsigma/-\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, neuter nouns in $-\omicron\nu/-\acute{\omicron}\nu$, as well as contracted nouns such as $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ and $\delta\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu$. The 3rd declension comprised nouns with stems ending in a consonant, $-i$ or $-u$ (see e.g. SMYTH 1984: 48–72).

In post-classical Greek, the noun system had undergone various drastic processes of levelling and regularization. These developments had started with the gradual merger of masculine and feminine nouns of the 1st and 3rd declensions from Roman times onwards (HORROCKS 2010: 121), leading to the eventual demise of the masculine and feminine parts of the 3rd declension in the EMedG period (JANNARIS 1897: 122). In the Hellenistic period a new oxytone masculine paradigm in $-\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ had emerged.¹ The 2nd declension, on the other hand, held its ground, as did many 3rd-declension neuter nouns such as those in $-\mu\alpha$ and $-\omicron\varsigma$. However, there are fundamental differences between AG and later morphology, brought about by the loss of vowel-length distinction and changes in pronunciation, whereby for instance $\langle\eta\rangle$, in the 1st declension, historically a long /e:/, came to be pronounced as [i]; or whereby the $\langle\omicron\upsilon\rangle$ in $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ was no longer logically seen as a contraction of $\nu\acute{\omicron}\omicron\varsigma$, making its inclusion in the 2nd declension quite incomprehensible.

Dominant patterns of inflection developed (see SEILER 1958 and RUGE 1969a). For masculine nouns, with exception of those in $-\acute{\omicron}\varsigma/-\omicron\varsigma$, the dominant pattern of formation became: nom. sg. vowel + ς ; gen. acc. and voc. drop $-\varsigma$; acc. may or may not have final /n/, e.g. $\pi\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\pi\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}$, $\pi\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}(\nu)$, $\pi\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}$; $\sigma\tau\tau\alpha\tau\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\sigma\tau\tau\alpha\tau\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\eta$, $\sigma\tau\tau\alpha\tau\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\eta(\nu)$ (see the introduction to each paradigm for more details).

For feminine nouns, again with the exception of those in $-\acute{\omicron}\varsigma/-\omicron\varsigma$, the pattern is: nom., acc. and voc. sg. end in a vowel, gen. sg. adds $-\varsigma$; acc. sg. may or may not have final /n/, e.g. $\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$, $\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}(\nu)$, $\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$; $\kappa\omicron\rho\eta$, $\kappa\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$, $\kappa\omicron\rho\eta(\nu)$, $\kappa\omicron\rho\eta$.

¹ In the following description spelled with acute instead of circumflex in accordance with Triandafyllidian polytonic.

The plural for masculine nouns in -άς/-ας and -ής/-ης and feminines in -ά/-α and -ή/-η is -ές/-ες for nom., acc. and voc. and -ών/-ων for gen., though certain sub-paradigms develop imparisyllabic plurals in -άδες and -ήδες/-ηδες. In manuscripts and older editions these endings are often spelled with <ᾱ̃>/<αι> for <έ>/<ε>, as if it were the old dative plural (for which see 1.1). These spellings have been modernized in this Grammar.

Masculine and feminine nouns in -ός/-ος retain their inherited endings nom. sg. -ός/-ος, gen. sg. -οῦ/-ου, acc. sg. -όν(v)/-ο(v), voc. sg. -έ/-ε, nom. and voc. pl. -οί/-οι, gen. pl. -ών/-ων, acc. pl. -ούς/-ους, though in the case of the feminines there is some analogical pressure from the dominant pattern discussed above, resulting in nom. sg. in -ό/-ο and gen. sg. in -ός/-ος (HATZIDAKIS 1885: 83; SEILER 1958: 66). They also sometimes adopt the dominant nominative and accusative plural -ες ending (see 2.1).

A remnant of the 3rd declension is a clear preference for genitives in -ός in the disyllabic masculine -ας paradigm (e.g. ἄνδρός, μηνός) (see 2.2.2) and paroxytone feminine paradigms (γυναικός, νυκτός, μητρός). Regionally (south-western areas such as the Heptanese, Crete, S. Italy and the Peloponnese) the -ός ending is also employed with non-3rd-declension nouns (e.g. στρατός (< στράτα>); κοπελός (< κοπέλα>)) (see 2.11.2.1).

Neuter nouns of the old 3rd declension, such as those in -μα (2.21) and -ος (2.23) remain the same, with some innovative variation in endings and occasional transfers to other paradigms. Given the dominant patterns, many of the 3rd-declension neuter nouns may be viewed as irregular in the period covered by this Grammar (see 2.24).

In the MedG and EMG periods new paradigms emerge as well, such as masculine nouns in -ές/-ες (2.6) and -οῦς (2.5) and feminine nouns in -ού (2.13) and in -έ/-ε (2.16), all of which follow the dominant inflectional pattern in the singular, but have a clear preference for imparisyllabic plural formations; paroxytone feminine nouns in -ω (singular only); and neuter nouns in -ιμο, which in their inflection are clearly influenced by the -μα paradigm. Regional paradigms include oxytone masculine nouns in -ιός (Cyprus, see 2.8), and feminine nouns in -ιό(v) (areas under Italian rule, see 2.15).

Given all this innovation and variation it would be unhelpful to the reader to insist on the description of the LMedG and EMG noun system within the framework of the three declensions imposed on AG in the 17th c. Therefore an approach has been adopted that is somewhat closer to traditional descriptions of SMG grammar, dividing the material into various paradigms, based on the vowel in their ending. However, as LMedG and EMG are not a standardized language, there is infinitely more variation to take into account than in SMG. The following description, therefore, combines elements of the major classification systems proposed for SMG (such as TSOPANAKIS 1950; RUGE 1969a; SOTIROPOULOS 1972; MIRAMBEL 1978; RALLI 2005), but is more analytic in the distinction of paradigms in order to capture the fluidity, flexibility and mobility of LMedG and EMG noun morphology. This inevitably creates repetition of information in some sub-paradigms, but it facilitates the presentation of the historical data.

The first line of division is the division by (grammatical) gender: masculine, feminine and neuter, which was first introduced by Thumb in his *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache* (Strasbourg 1895). The second is by ending: -ός/-ος for masculines and feminines, -άς/-ας; -ής/-ης; -εύς/-έας/-ιάς; -οῦς; -ές/-ες; and -ιος and the regional -ιός for

masculines; -ᾱ/-α; -ῆ/-η and -ις/-η; -ῶ/-ω; -ἔ/-ε; and the regional -ί(ν) for feminines; and -ό(ν)/-ο(ν); -ιο(ν)/-ι(ν)/-ί(ν); -μα(ν); -ιμο(ν); and -ος for neuters. Where necessary, these paradigms are further divided into sub-paradigms based on stress position, stress shift in certain cases, plural formation (parisyllabic, imparisyllabic or both), the existence of alternative forms (e.g. the plural formation of proparoxytone masculine nouns in -ας), or other developments such as, for instance, the retention or loss of <ο> in the neuter /ion/ endings. Masculine and feminine nouns in /os/ constitute a special case: they have been divided into three paradigms (oxytone, paroxytone and proparoxytone), even though paradigms 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 could have been treated as one (cf. e.g. masculine nouns in /as/ and /is/). This decision was made for presentational reasons: merging the two paradigms would lead to a rather complex synoptic table, as it would have to include four paradigm nouns instead of two. Furthermore it would dramatically reduce the number of examples that could be given for each category.

The description starts with nouns in -ός/-ος, which are masculine or feminine, followed by the masculine nouns, the feminine nouns and the neuter nouns. Irregular and indeclinable nouns are treated by gender after each group of paradigms.

Each paradigm has an introduction in which relevant historical, diachronic and synchronic information is given. Because there is some fluidity and paradigms are far from rigid, transfers between various paradigms can be observed. Therefore, each introductory section concludes with an overview of transfers from other paradigms to the present one, and the description of each paradigm is concluded with a section entitled “transfers to other paradigms”, which list movements of nouns belonging to the present paradigm toward other paradigms, sometimes wholesale, sometimes on a more lexical level.

Phenomena that occur across the board and are often of a phonetic nature will be mentioned briefly in order to draw the reader’s attention to their existence, but for details the reader is referred to the relevant sections in Phonology. Such phenomena are, for instance: deletion of final /s/ in the nominative singular and accusative plural of masculines and the genitive singular of feminines; addition of -(ν)ε in the accusative singular and genitive plural; the change of /ia/ and /ea/ to /a/ or /e/ in the endings of feminine nouns. Idiosyncratic and clearly graphematic forms occur in a collection of documents from Ikaria, in which across parts of speech the vowel of the ending is repeated after the final consonant, e.g. υίόσο for υίός, Νικόλασα for Νικόλας, μάρατυρεσε for μάρτυρες, πέραμανα for πέραμαν, τὸ ἀληθέσε for τὸ ἀληθές, ἐδικόσο for ἐδικός, πουλοῦνου for πουλοῦν; such forms have not been included in the paradigm descriptions, but are discussed in I, 2.6.3.

MASCULINE AND FEMININE

2.1 Masculine and Feminine Nouns in /os/

The paradigms in this section comprise all inherited nouns in /os/, oxytone (2.1.1), paroxytone (2.1.2) and proparoxytone (2.1.3), of the former 2nd declension as well as new words in /os/ such as diminutives in -αρος, -ούτσικος and -όπουλος (including surnames) and compounds like καλόγερος or γυναικάδελφος. They also include masculine loanwords such as, among many others, δραγουμάνος, ἀμπασαδόρος, μόδος (< Ven. *modo*, masc. by

analogy with τρόπος). This is a fairly stable paradigm that shows variation mainly in stress position and regionally in endings.

The feminine nouns in /os/ are almost all inherited and, as in previous stages of the language, limited in number. An especially modest number of feminine examples has been found for the plural, and the examples occur mainly in grammars and in mixed- and higher-register texts. It is interesting to note that in his grammar Sofianos gives Ρόδος as the paradigm word for feminines in /os/ and, obviously, only in the singular, as geographical names generally do not have a plural. There appears therefore to be some truth to the observation of Romanos Nikiforou that the /os/ paradigm does not include feminine words anymore (ROMANOS, *Grammar* 3.25–4.1–3), although he clearly overlooked the geographical names.

Some feminines, such as ξξοδος and εἴσοδος, tend to adopt feminine plural endings from the 1st declension. In addition, some feminine nouns in /os/, among which ἄλυσος, ἄμμος, ἄμπελος, βάσσανος, εἴσοδος and ξξοδος, κιβωτός and τάφρος/τράφος, may change gender and become masculine (see also HATZIDAKIS 1885: 82–3). This is a development that had already set in before the LMedG period (see GIGNAC 1981: 39–41 for examples from the 2nd c. onwards). Feminine geographical names only rarely become masculine: εἰς τὸν Κύπρον (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 66, f.IV.1); τὸν Ἀμουργὸν (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 99.17); τὸν Νάπακτον (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 60A, 454.32.1); ἐπάρθη ὁ Ἐπακτος (16th c. [ms], Unknown, ibid. 74, 569.5.1) (= Ναύπακτος). Masculine examples of feminine words are listed among the masculine examples, marked with (< fem.). Masculine nouns in /os/ rarely develop feminine alternatives, with the exception of παράδεισος, first attestations of which can be found in the writings of Bartholomew of Edessa (12th c.) (see *LBG* s.v. παράδεισος, ἦ). Examples of ἡ παράδεισος are included with the feminine examples. For transfers from the /os/ paradigm to other paradigms see 2.1.4.

Feminine nouns may develop alternative nominatives in /o/ and genitives in /os/. These are the result of analogical levelling within the noun morphology system, in which the vast majority of feminine nouns end in a vowel in the nom. sg. and add a final /s/ in the gen. sg. (see also the introduction to Chapter 2).

Most nouns in /os/ have parisyllabic plural forms, though certain masculine nouns, and especially proper names, have alternative imparisyllabic plural forms in -άδες, -αῖοι or -ηδες, for which see 2.10.

Transfers between the sub-paradigms are limited: paroxytone nouns of which the stem ends in /e/ or /i/ may transfer to the oxytone paradigm due to synizesis or vowel deletion (for more information see I, 2.9.4 and I, 2.9.2.1). Some examples of synizesis are: ὁ νιὸς FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 9 (= adj. νέος used as a noun); θωρώντα ξόμπλια τῶν ἀρχιῶν ibid. 140 (= ἀρχαίων); τοῦ θειοῦ του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 92.4–5 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari); τοῦ Μαθιό (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 15, 54.24) (< Μαθιός < Ματθαῖος); τοῦ Μοσχολιό (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 233, 190.4) (< Μοσχολέος < Μοσχολέων); τῶν Ρωμιῶν SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* a2v.12 (1658) (< Ρωμιός < Ρωμᾶιος); ἡ Νιὸς (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 145.7) (= ἴλος); διὰ τὸ βιάντζο τῆς Χιὸς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 198, 197.4) (< Χιός). Conservative stress notation

may conceal the fact that a form was pronounced with synizesis. This is best visible in verse texts: ἀφότου οἱ ἄπιστοι Ρωμαῖοι *Chron. Mor.* H 833; ἐκείνοι γὰρ οἱ Κορωνάοι *ibid.* 1702. However, sometimes the accentuation may in fact indicate that a form should be read with synizesis; see 1.5 for a discussion. Some examples of vowel deletion are: Νικολάου Χρυσσοχοῦ (1007, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 13, 182.39) (< χρυσοχός);² ὡς χρυσοχοὶ τεχνῖται *Ptoch. II* 88. Proparoxytone nouns of which the stem ends in /i/ may also develop oxytone forms for the genitive singular and the genitive and accusative plural (after the shift of the stress to the penultimate): τοῦ ἡλιοῦ *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 256; ἡλιοῦ βασιλεύοντος (1518, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 12, 55.10); ὁποῦ μαι σύνθρονος ἡλιοῦ *Alex. Rim.* 698; τοῦ ἡλιοῦ οἱ γιαχτίνες *CHORTATSI, Panor.* III.561; σαράντ' ἁγίους καὶ ἄν' ἔκραζες *Alfan.* 10 71.

Sometimes an oxytone word may undergo a shift of the stress to the antepenultimate, e.g.: νὰ ᾔχεν ἐπιπέσειν κέραυνος *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 171 (< κεραυνός). A shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the ultimate may also occur with certain words, e.g.: τοὺς βαθρακοὺς *Ptoch. IV* 106; βοθρακοῦ *Spanos D* 32 (< βάτραχος); ἐνὶ ρίζα, θεμελιός ... ὄλων των ἀρετῶν *Fior* 74.37–8 (< adj. θεμέλιος).

Oxytone nouns derived from adjectives in -ικός may present a shift of the stress to the penultimate: οἱ Βενετικοὶ *Chron. Mor.* H 368; ἀπὸ τοὺς βενετικούς *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 68.25; νὰ συπιαστούν οὐλοὶ οἱ κλησιαστικοὶ *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 52.6; τῶν αἰρετικῶν (1514, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1963b: 166.86); των Βενετικῶν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6650.

Transfers from other paradigms to the /os/ paradigm are not uncommon. Already in AG there was a certain degree of interaction between the masculine /os/ paradigm and other paradigms, and this trend continues to manifest itself throughout the Postclassical, Medieval and Early Modern Greek periods (REINHOLD 1898: 53–7; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 36–46; GIGNAC 1981: 43–4). Thus neuter nouns in -ος and -ον may develop alternative masculine forms in -ος. Some had done so well before the LMedG period; e.g. ὁ βουνός < τὸ βουνόν can already be found in Herodotus (see LSJ) and also appears in mixed- to higher-register texts of the LMedG period: ὁ βουνός (1190, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 16, 49.23); βουνός καὶ φύσις ἄψυχος [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 111; ὁ λουτρός for τὸ λουτρόν can be found in Gregory of Nazianzos (4th c.; see the online *TLG*) as well as in the period covered by this Grammar: εἰς τὸν λουτρόν (ante 1425, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 21, 124.100), *Syndipas* 116.11 and *Vios Aisop.* K 178.6. Others are more recent developments, e.g.: ὁ ἄλγος < τὸ ἄλγος; καὶ τῶν ποδῶν τοὺς ἄλγους *KAMAT., Astron.* 1844; ὁ θάρρος < τὸ θάρρος; αὐτοῦ ἔναι ὁ θάρρος *Diig. Alex.* V 56.28; ὁ μέτωπος < τὸ μέτωπον; ὁ μέτωπος *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 4; ὁ τόξος < τὸ τόξον; καὶ τόξους εἶχαν *Pol. Tr.* 10705; με τοὺς τόξους *Theseid* I.3,5 (Follieri); ὁ μάκρος/πλάτος < τὸ μάκρος/πλάτος; ὁ μάκρος ... ὁ πλάτος (1665, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1974b: 2, 44.9–10). The neuter noun παιδίον has a masculine variant, which usually presents a shift of the stress to the first syllable (see also 2.20.4): ἐὰν δέ τις παῖδιος ὦν, ... φθαρεῖ δὲ ὑπὸ τινος ἀνδρός *ΝΙΚΟΝ, Logos* 3 188.21–2;

² Note that a plural χρυσοχοὶ can be found in a gloss in Hesychius, *Lex. s.v.* θερμαστρίς (5th/6th c.; 15th-c. ms); oxytone forms also appear in *De Ceremoniis* (10th c.; 10th-c. ms); see the online *TLG*.

ένας παίδιος ροδίτης VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 72.16; τήν καρδίαν τούς παίδιους *Fior* 106.22 (for this gen. pl. see 1.2); ὦ παίδιοι *Cypr. Canz.* 2.7. The chronicles of Machairas and Voustronios offer a paroxytone alternative παιδῖος, which is likely to represent παίδιος with synizesis (see 1.5 for discussion): ἕνας ἀπότορμος παιδῖος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 358.34; περίτου παιδῖοι παρὰ κείνον *ibid.* 258.2; εἶδεν γ' παιδῖους *ibid.* 650.5–6; ένας παιδῖος ροδίτης VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 73.17. Only very rarely do neuter nouns develop feminine alternatives, as is the case with the following geographical name, which from neuter plural becomes feminine singular: ἡ Γεράπετρος BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 249.11 (< τὰ Ἰεράπετρα).

Former 3rd-declension masculine nouns in -εύς (see 2.4) also develop innovative formations in -ος, namely paroxytone forms in -έος, which appear from the very beginning of the LMedG period, starting with the genitive singular and then spreading to the other cases as well (for discussion see 2.4.2). Forms in -έος have been found in a large geographical area from S. Italy to Constantinople, but notably not in texts from Cyprus:

διὰ τοῦ γραφέου (1065, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 35, 206.57 and 58)

τοῦ Θεσσαλονικέου (1085, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 43, 146.7)³

Ἰωάννην τοῦ Χαλκέου (1106, S. Italy, MÉNAGER 1957: 3, 325.28)

τοῦ χαλκέου (1143, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 6, 560.19)

τοῦ βασιλέου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 37.33

τοῦ ἀρχιερέου (1707, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1973: 1, 303.6)

Λέων χαλκός (1141, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 127, 169.17)

ὁ ἀρχιερός (1200, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 250, 340.17)

ὁ Τυδέος *Theseid* I.15,6 (Follieri)

ὡσάν γονέος του (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 140, 307.9)

ὡσάν καλὸς γονέος (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 303.34)

ἐκεῖνον τὸν γονέον GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208 app. crit. (P)

πρὸς βασιλέο *Jonas* 216.74

καὶ ἓνα γραφέο εὐρήκασι *P&N Diath.* 757

πρὸς βασιλέο *Jonas* 216.74

μὲ τὸν κυρ-Μαρτὴ Σαλονικέον (1548, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 3, 39–40.7); Δημήτρη

Σαλονικέο (1508 [copy of 1550], *ibid.* 40, 82.7)

τὸν ἄνωθε γραφέο (1660, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 15, 381.4)

ὡσάν Ἀχιλλέοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 84.23

οἱ γονέοι της (1640, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 28, 314.2)

καθὼς ἐχαλάσασιν καὶ τοὺς θεσσαλονικέους (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.16)

καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν γονέους (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 26, 165.19)

ὡς γονέους μου *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 792

τοὺς ἀρχιερέους *P&N Diath.* 2801

τσί γονέους FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.244

τοὺς γονέους τῶνε (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 303.36)

ἔτοιους γονέους ἀκριβούς KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.318

³ Forms of the word Θεσσαλονικεύς are often spelled with <αι> instead of <ε>, probably by analogy with nouns such as Ἀθηναῖος, Σιφναῖος, etc.

Regionally (Crete, Heptanese, Aegean islands) these forms in -έος may undergo synizesis and become oxytone; the ending is then usually spelled <ιός> to indicate it was pronounced as [ˈjos]:

γονιός GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. padre*

ό βασιλιός P&N *Diath.* 2126

ξετελειωμένος βασιλιός KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.31

ό γονιός μου *ibid.* V.1363

τοῦ βασιλιοῦ μου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.247

τοῦ βασιλιοῦ FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm.* I 20

τοῦ βασιλιοῦ KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.181

τὸ βασιλιό CHORTATIS, *Erof. Dedic.* 26

βασιλιό μέ λέσι TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.7 (Aposkiti)

τὸ γονιόν σας KONDAR., *Paides* 284

καί μὴν ἀργήσης, βασιλιέ KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1285

οἱ βασιλιοί CHORTATIS, *Erof. Prol.* 127

οἱ γουνιοί μου (1643, Andros, POLEMIS 1999b: 15, 39.5) (for /o/ > /u/ see I, 2.8.3)

οἱ γονιοί της (1700, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 24, 329.15)

ἐκ τοῦς γραφιοῦς BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 479

ὁκ τοῦς γονιοῦς τους Alex. Rim. 475

ἀπὸ τῖς γονιοῦς μας Rim. Sant. 125 (for the article τῖς see 5.2.1)

τσὶ βασιλιούς FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 39 (for the article τσὶ see 5.2.1)

σὲ βασιλιούς KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.216

στοῦς γονιοῦς *ibid.* III.1701

δίχως γονιοῦς Leilasia Par. 464

Two examples with haplography, in which the pronunciation is probably still palatalized [ɣoˈni], are the following (see also I, 3.8.2.3): οἱ γονοί *Chron. Toc.* 2713; οἱ γονοί (1686, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 763, 1035.30); however, depalatalized examples also occur (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details): ὁ μέγας βασιλός (1167/8, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 46, 71.13). Similarly, nouns in -αῖος denoting geographical provenance may undergo synizesis and become oxytone, e.g. τρεῖς Μυτιληνιοῦς (1668, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 3, 14.8); as do nouns of which the root ends in /e/ or /i/: τοῦ θειοῦ μας τοῦ πρίντζη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 370.22.

Sometimes the endings are spelled with an accent on <ι>, but from verse texts it becomes clear that these forms should often be read with synizesis, as in the following example: καὶ τοῦς γονίους μου ἀφῆκα *Achil.* O 732 ms (corrected to γονιοῦς in the modern edition). However, such spellings also occur in non-literary sources. And although it cannot be excluded that in the following examples the stress notation is conservative or even erroneous and that it in fact represents a form with synizesis (see 1.5 for a discussion), it must be borne in mind that certain MG dialects still resist synizesis (see I, 2.9.4.3 for details). The examples are from Kefalonia: Μαρτῆς ὁ Σαλονικίος (1548, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 3, 39.1); Δῆμος ὁ Σαλονικίος (1549, *ibid.* 14, 52.7). Forms in -ίους (acc./gen. pl. only) in texts from Cyprus, an area where forms in -έος have not been found, are likely to have

a morphological explanation and should be viewed as an analogical development, which renders γονεῖς more explicitly accusative/genitive: /γο'ni-s/ > /γο'ni-u-s/: τοὺς γονίους μας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.7 and 2.10; διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τοὺς γονίους του (1484, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 20, 232.7–8); cf. a similar case involving gender in the same area: ὁ παῖδιος < τὸ παιδὶν (2.20.4).

Former 3rd-declension nouns in -ας (γίγας, ἑλέφας, see 2.2.5), may also develop forms according to the /os/ paradigm from their dental stem (γίγαντ-, ἑλέφαντ-): ἐφαίνετον γίγαντος *Pol. Tr.* 2858 app. crit. (BVX); τὸν γίγαντον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 291.30; οἱ ἑλέφαντοι *Diig. Alex.* E 81.5 (Konstantinopulos); τοὺς αλέφαντους *Diig. Alex.* K 371.60.

Other former 3rd-declension nouns, which usually transfer to the /as/ paradigm (see 2.2), may also develop alternative forms in -ος (see also HENRICH 1976: 4–13); those that end in a consonant by adding -ος to their consonantal stem:

Ἄραβοι *Dig. G* V.177 (< Ἄραψ)
εἰς τὸν ἄρπαγον ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 141.B.10
ἄρπαγοι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.140 (< ἄρπαξ)
ὁ πρίγκιπτος *Chron. Toc.* 564 (< πρίγκιψ)
βιγλάτορον τοῦ σπιτίου σου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 220.27 (< βιγλάτωρ)
ο ἀσπάλαγκος ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 50.1 (< ἀσπάλαξ)
τὸν νάρθηκο MOREZINOS, *Klini* 175.36 (< νάρθηξ)

For those in -ων the ending is simply replaced with -ος:

εἶναι πολλὰ καλὸς ἄρχος (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.9) (< ἄρχων)
γεῖτος μου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.28
γεῖτος (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2362) (< γεῖτων)
τοῦ γέρου (1640, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 17, 156.10) (< γέρος < γέρων)
ὁ δράκος καὶ ὁ λέως *Achil.* N 1849 (< δράκων and λέων)
τοῦ Πανταλέου (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 135.89) (< Παντολέων)
Κλιτοβέ μου *Liv.* E 4246 (< Κλιτοβών)
τοῦ Σολομοῦ *Diig. Alex.* F 134.9 (Lolos) (< Σολομών)
τοῦ Ξενοφοῦ KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 109.4 (< Ξενοφών)
πολὺς χειμὸς (1336, Trebizond, LAMBROS 1916a: 45.17 app. crit.)
ὁ χειμὸς μέσος καὶ ὑετὸς ἀπλὸς (15th c. [ms], Unknown, BOUDREAUX 1912: 173.6)
τὸν χειμὸν *Phys.* 266; κατὰ χειμὸν (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 695) (< χειμών)

For nouns in -ως, the ending had become homophonous with -ος with the loss of vowel length distinction, thus facilitating a full transfer to the -ος paradigm: εἶναι ἔρου δουλευτῆς *Liv.* V 2433 (< ἔρος < ἔρωσ); τοῦ Αἰγοκέρου ΚΑΜΑΤ., *Astron.* 1866 (< αἰγόκερος < αἰγόκερωσ).

In the period covered by this Grammar the Koine word μεγιστάν (gen. sg. μεγιστᾶνος) also transfers to the /os/ paradigm: οὐ μεγιστᾶνος πούπετε *Pol. Tr.* 2015; κυρ Δημήτρης Μεγιστάνος (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 173, 171.12); ἡ μεγιστάνου *Pol. Tr.* 7403; ἡ μεγιστᾶνον *ibid.* 7403 app. crit. (C). Its plural formation usually follows the /os/ paradigm: νὰ σὲ τιμήσουν ἄρχοντες, ρηγάδες, μεγιστάνοι *Flor.* L 1099 (Cupane); πάντων τῶν μεγιστάνων *Eisit.* f.5r.6; τοὺς μεγιστάνους *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 365; though the imminent transfer to the /as/ paradigm, as in SMG μεγιστάνας, starts to become apparent in

the period under review: ἄρχοντες, μεγιστᾶνες *Dig.* G IV.486; ἐμήνυσε τοὺς σουμπάσιδας καὶ μεγιστᾶνας *Ekth. Chron.* 49.7–8 (μεγιστᾶνες in ms D); ἐνδοξοὶ μεγιστᾶνες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4137.

Originally indeclinable masculine proper names and forms of address may develop regularized declinable forms in /os/ (see also HENRICH 1976: 18–23), either by substituting a declinable ending for the indeclinable one or by adding a declinable ending to the indeclinable noun:

- τὸν Σαφὸν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 618.6–7
 τοῦ Σαμφοῦ *Diig. Alex.* E 231.8 (Lolos)
 σὺν Ἀχιλλέας καὶ Σαμφῶς BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 475.8 (< Σαμφῶν) (see 2.1)
 Γεδεοῦ ἱερομονάχου (1435, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 13, 6.10–11)
 τοῦ κύρ Γεδεοῦ (1506, Patmos, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 367.188) (< Γεδεῶν)
 τοῦ Ἀγίου Συμεοῦ τὰ χωράφια (1573 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17, 72.28–9) (< Συμεῶν)
 ὁ δὲ ρηθεὶς κύρ Σίμος ὁ Ἀλαμάνης (1447, Corfu, EFSTRATIADIS 1925: 50.1–2) (< Σίμων)
 Ἰωάσαφος ἱερομόναχος (14th/15th c., Trebizond, BRYER 1976: 4, 132.1–2) (< Ἰωάσαφ)
 μισέρο, κλέπτης, πιάσε τον *Poulol.* 362 (< μισέρ)
 λείποντας ὁ μισέρος μου *Stathis* II.182

Similarly, obsolete masculine participles may be reanalysed as nouns in /os/ (see also 3.7):

- τοῦ προεστοῦ (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 4, 128.5);
 οἱ προεστοὶ *Chron. Mor.* H 2011
 οἱ προεστοὶ καὶ ὁ ἐπίλοιπος ραγιάς (1677, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 24, 92.7) (< perfect active participle προεστῶς)
 ὁ τεθνεῶτος *Assizes* B 382.30 (< perfect active participle τεθνεῶς)
 τοῦ τεθνηκοῦ *Assizes* A 107.17 (< perfect active participle τεθνηκῶς)
 ὁ μεσάζος *Pol. Tr.* 170
 τῶν μεσάζων *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 607 (< present active participle μεσάζων)

Lexically, the noun κύριος and its compounds may make a full transfer to the oxytone sub-paradigm, based on the common oxytone form κυροῦ which pre-dates the LMedG period by many centuries (see 2.7.2 for discussion):⁴

- ὁ κυρὸς Ἀλιπέρτος (12th c., S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 68, 152.5)
 παρὰ τοῦ κυροῦ Θεοδώρου *Vulgärorakel* I.162
 τοῦ κυροῦ μου (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 182, 122.8)
 τοῦ κiuροῦ του (1714, Smyrna, SFYROERAS 1963b: 2, 177.7–8)
 ἱερομόναχον κυρὸν Νικηφόρον (1154, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 63, 325.19)
 οἱ карабокуроὶ να παν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 26.11
 νοικοκυροὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 26, 31.4)
 τῶν βοσκῶ καὶ νοικοκυρῶν (1642, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 19, 159.15)
 τοὺς λᾶς καὶ карабокуρούς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 102.32–3
 ἀπαντας τοὺς οικοκυροὺς IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1688

⁴ Note that this genitive is often used in combination with the nominative variant κύρης (see 2.3.4), but is treated here because morphologically it belongs with the /os/ paradigm.

In certain verse texts the noun ἦχος has an oxytone variant ἦχός: καὶ τὸ καθέναν τῶν ἦχῶν *Liv.* E 933 and *Liv.* α 1013; τὴν μελωδίαν τῶν ἦχῶν *DELLAP.*, *Erot. apokr.* 3070; ἐκεῖνον, λέγω, τὸν ἦχόν id., *Peri antapod.* 19.

An especially inventive new formation by the anonymous author of *Palaia kai Nea Diathiki* is the word ὁ πατερμός *P&N Diath.* 846, nom. pl. πατερμοί ibid. 840, acc. pl. πατερμούς ibid. 5169, formed from the phrase πάτερ ἡμῶν. Note that other authors substantivize this phrase as a neuter noun in -ό(ν) (see 2.19.1). Transfers from other paradigms to the feminine in /os/ are very rare: πᾶσα ἄκρος ἦτονε ἕναν πῆχαν μακρέα, ὅπου ἐπερίσσευε ἔξω *KARTANOS*, *P&N Diath.* 188.29–30 (< τὸ ἄκρος). They include some feminine nouns in -εια (e.g. ασθένεια, συμπάθεια), e.g. με ἀλήθειον σὲ τὸ λέγω *Chron. Mor.* H 1849; ὅς ἀστένειον βαρυτάτην ibid. 7216 (ms: εἰς ἀστένειον); καὶ δὲ με τὴν συμπάθειον *Liv.* V 3653; καὶ γένη ἡ συμπάθειος του *Liv.* α 425 app. crit. (N); as well as certain paroxytone nouns in /a/, such as ἄμαξα, γέφυρα, τράπεζα: ὁλόρθα εἰς τὴν ἄμαξον ἀνέβηκεν ἀπάνω *Theseid* II.22,2 (1529); ἐπέρασα τὴ γιόφυρο *P&N Diath.* 320; φαγὶ ἀπὸ τὴν τράπεζο ποὺ τρώγει αὐτὸς νὰ παίρνω *KONDAR.*, *Paidēs* 330. Only one example has been found of a feminine noun in -η transferring to the /os/ paradigm: τὰ βροῦλα δὲν ἐκοβγόντουσαν με τὴν ἄξιον, μόνον με σκεπαρνές (1667, Gortynia, *YANNAROPOULOU* 1972: 53, 317.12–13) (< ἡ ἄξινη).

For proparoxytone masculine nouns in -ιος (καβαλλάριος, κύριος, Βασίλειος) see 2.7. For Cypriot imparisyllabic masculine nouns in -ιός such as δανειστιός see 2.8. For indeclinable proclitic forms such as γερο-, μαστρο- and others see 2.18. For the Cypriot alternative plural formation in -οῦδες of the noun θεῖος see 2.10.5. For forms with deletion of /j/ such as ἀνηψός for ἀνηψιός see I, 2.4.7.3.

2.1.1 Oxytone Nouns

	General		Restricted		Rare	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
Singular						
Nom.	καιρός	όδός	-ό -όν			-ό
Gen.	καιροῦ	οδοῦ	-ό	οδοῦς όδός	-οῦν -οῦς -ός	
Acc.	καιρό(ν)	όδó(ν)	καιρόνε			
Voc.	καιρέ	όδέ	καιρό			

Plural							
Nom.	καιροί				όδοί		
Gen.	καιρών		καιρῶ καιρῶνε καιρούς		όδων		
Acc.	καιρούς		καιροί		όδους		όδές
Voc.	καιροί				όδοί		

Singular

Nominative

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ός

There is little variation in the nominative singular forms of masculine and feminine nouns belonging to this paradigm, apart from two regionally restricted alternatives (see below). The normal ending is -ός:

Masculine

- ό άλουπος (11th c., Mani, DRANDAKIS 1972/73: 2, 666.1)
 ένα σκυλίν, Σαρακηνός *Arm.* 92
 άδελφός Γκιώνης (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.1)
 ό Κλιτοβός *Liv.* E 835 (< Κλιτοβών)
 ό άγιος Κυριακός MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 4.21; ήλθεν εις Άταλίαν ώς γοιόν φευγός *ibid.* 302.14–15
 ό Σολομός *Fior* 76.23 (read Σολομός < Σολομών); ό άλουπτός *ibid.* 109.1–2
 ό θιός μās κατηράθη KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* XVIII.434 (= θεός, see I, 2.9.4.2)
 ο χλιμιτισμός παμμέγεθος *Diig. Alex.* K 354.13
 κυρ Μανόλης Σαλονικιός (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 4, 6.17) (< Θεσσαλονικεύς)
 κυρός Ίωακείμ (1555, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 57, 178.2) (< κύριος)
 ό κιβωτός *P&N Diath.* 1457 (< fem.); ό βασιλιός *ibid.* 2126 (< βασιλεύς)
 γίνε όδηγός τση στράτας μου CHORTATSI, *Erof. Dedic.* 59
 ό Ξενοφός KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 109.4 (< Ξενοφών)
 ό άδελφός αυτού ... Νικολός (1636, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 24, 313.4–5)
 κ' έγίνηκεν κλιαμός πολύς PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 167
 έγενέθηκε μεγάλος σκοτωμός EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.11

Feminine

- γή και σποδός όρώμαι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 557
 και έμιάνθη ή όδός *Dig.* G V.247
 και ούκ ένι όδός *Log. parig.* L 284
 έως ότου στήκει ή κιβωτός στο Άραράτ τó όρος *Chron. Mor.* H 4744
 τριβόλοι ή όδός σου ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 526
 νά ήτον όδός, όμμάτια μου Achil. N 1704

ἐκεῖ ἔναι ἡ κιβωτός KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 364.8
 πού ἔλαμπεν ἡ Δαμασκός *Thrinós patr.* O 68 (Luciani)

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ό

Masculine

Masculine nominatives in -ό can be found, especially with proper names, in areas under western rule, not only of foreign names, but also of Greek names and other words. Regionally /s/ may be omitted as a phonological post-lexical phenomenon when followed by a sibilant or affricate, as in the examples from *Panoria* and Varouchas (see I, 3.7.1.1 for details):

ό λογαριασμό του (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 2, 18.13–14)
 ό Μάρκο ῥόκαλος (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 24, 64.11–12)
 ἔσκοτώθη πολλός λαγό (1570, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.3) (< λάος)
 ἔγώ Νικόλδ Πουζέλης (1573, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75.2)
 ό κυρ-Γιάκουμος ό Τραυλό (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 10, 63.8)
 ο λογιισμό τση CHORTATIS, *Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 65; ο ύπνο τση *ibid.* II.237
 ό γαμπρό τση (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 273, 264.3); ό υιό τση (1613, *ibid.* 849, 740.13)

Feminine

Feminine nominatives in -ό are rare. The loss of final /s/ occurs by analogy with the majority of feminine nouns, which end in a vowel (HATZIDAKIS 1885: 83; SEILER 1958: 66): ἡ Ταρσό (1530–40, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: Z, 198.12); ἡ Λεμησό (*ibid.* 198.20); ἡ Δαμασκό (post 1640, Monemvasia, SCHREINER 1975/79: 79, 583.26.5–6); ἡ όδό τήν εἶχε βάλει FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.296.

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-όν

Masculine nominatives in -όν occur in documents from Pontos (cf. the paroxytone and proparoxytone paradigms in 2.1.2, 2.1.3). As in modern Pontic, the ending is used when the noun is preceded by the definite article (see 1.4 for details and more examples): ό και γαβρόν τῆς Λαζογιανίνας (1435, Pontos, MAVROMATIS/ALEXAKIS 2009: 13, 166.4–5); ό Ἐξιτικόν (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 173, 119.8).

Genitive

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-οῦ ! -οῦν

The inherited ending -οῦ is the most common ending for the genitive singular of masculine and feminine nouns:

Masculine

- τοῦ ... ἀδελφοῦ μου *Chron. Mor.* H 1851
 τὸ ἀμπέλιον τοῦ γιαιοῦ (14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.9)
 βάλε καὶ καρβούρους ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ *STAFIDAS, Iatrosof.* 2.49–50
 μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ μεγάλου *Achil.* O 19
 βοθρακοῦ ἀποσκέλλωμα *Spanos* D 32
 τὸ κοντάρι τοῦ Σαμψοῦ *Diig. Alex.* V 68.13 (< Σαμψών)
 τὴν στράταν τοῦ ἀτοῦ *Fior* 149.19 (= ἀετοῦ)
 τοῦ Νικολοῦ Χιώτη (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 5, 10.25)
 μισερ-Λαρέντζου Σολωμοῦ (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 36, 96.18) (< Σολωμών)
 νὰ ἔχει τὴν κατάρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (1585, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 23, 41.21)
 καὶ ὕγιου τοῦ μακαριτοῦ παπᾶ κύρ Γεωργίου (1557 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 11, 63.8)
 παιδὶ ἴνους κακομοίρη | κυροῦ *Pist. voskos* V 5.305–6 (< κύριος)
 τοῦ Ξενοφοῦ *KRITROPOULOS, Grammar* 109.4 (< Ξενοφῶν)
 ἦβγαν τοῦ γαμπροῦ τὰ μάτια *Paroim.* (Warner) 92.6
 τοῦ μισερ Συμεοῦ Φρατζέσκου (1692, Larnaca, MITROPOULLOS 1923: A, 325.2) (< Συμεών)

Feminine

- τὸ τρίτον τῆς ὁδοῦ *Assizes* B 454.17
 τῆς ὁδοῦ δεμοσίας (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 21, 160.6–7)
 ἐκ τῆς Ταρσοῦ τὸ κάστρον *Byz. Il.* 238
 τῆς Κιβωτοῦ τοῦ Νῶε *Poulol.* AZ 14
 ὁ πρίσκοπος τῆς Λεμεσοῦ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 46.27; τοῦ μητροπολίτου τῆς Ταρσοῦ *ibid.* 98.7
 εἰς τὴν πόρταν τῆς Λεμεσοῦ *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 118.18
 τὸν τόπον ὅλον τῆς Δαμασκοῦ *Diig. Alex.* F 88.13 (Lolos)
 κάτωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 26, 84.7)
 ἐκείνης τῆς ὁδοῦ *MILOITIS, Odoipor.* 640.36
 εἰς τας ἀγκάλας τῆς τροφῆς *MINIATIS, Didachai* 478.3

Addition of final /n/ is generally unusual, but may occur in texts from Naxos, where the addition of a non-etymological final /n/ is not uncommon (see I, 3.7.2.1.3): τοῦ γαμπροῦν τῶς (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 48, 198.9).

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ός

Masculine

Retention of the masculine nominative ending, not only with originally indeclinable proper names (e.g. Niccolò > Νικολός, Σαμψών > Σαμψός) but also with other nouns, occurs sporadically in the genitive in texts from southern areas:

- πλησίον τοῦ δαμινοῦ βουνός (1112, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 13, 408.4) (< ὁ βουνός < τὸ βουνό(ν))
 ἔως τοῦ βουνός (1132, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 112, 149.16)
 ἦτον μαθητῆς τοῦ Νικολός τε Ναοῦ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 296.24
 του ψαλμωδός ἐκείνου *Diig. Apoll.* 838; του ψαλμωδός το ρήμα *ibid.* 857
 τοῦ Λιγιά καὶ Σαμψός (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 3, 6.10) (< Σαμψών)
 τοῦ δούκα Σανταλός *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 114.2–3

Feminine

Feminine genitives in -ός have been found in texts from the Heptanese, Crete and the Cyclades. This may be viewed as an analogy with the majority of feminine nouns, the genitive of which ends in -ς (HATZIDAKIS 1885: 83; SEILER 1958: 66), but note that the Heptanesian language varieties show a marked preference for oxytone genitives in -ός in other feminine paradigms as well (see 2.11.2):

τῆς δεμοσίας ὁδός (1420, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 2 [B'], 21.10)
 στῆς Δαμασκός CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 993
 τὴν βάλην τῆς Ἑβρός KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 185.1 (< indecl. ἡ Χεβρών); τὸ μάκρος αὐτῆς τῆς
 κιβωτός *ibid.* 188.26; τῆς Δαμασκός *ibid.* 218.38
 τῆς Ἀμουργός (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 139.6)

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-οῦς

Genitives in -οῦς occur occasionally, mainly of the feminine noun ὁδός, with possible influence from feminine nouns in -ώ (see 2.14; cf. the nominative singular in -ό, above):⁵

Feminine

νὰ ἔχη ἀπάνω τῆς ὁδοῦς του *Assizes* B 454.17
 τῆς ὁδοῦς *Ptochol.* α 945 app. crit. (N)
 τῆς μακροτάτης γὰρ ὁδοῦς *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 2409

Masculine

τοῦ Νεκτεναβοῦς *Diig. Alex.* F 100.20 (Lolos)⁶

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ό

Genitives in /o/ are used in western-ruled areas, of both foreign and Greek masculine proper names and sporadically of other words (HENRICH 1976) (cf. paroxytone and proparoxytone nouns below):

τοῦ προγονό μου (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 62, 179.18)
 του Νικολό Τεμοράπιτου VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 154.7–8
 τοῦ Σολομώ *Fior* 73.22
 τοῦ Ζαρό (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 173, 171.3)
 ὑπὸ μαρτυρίας ... κύρ Νικολό Σιμοτᾶ (1559, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 231, 280.11)
 τοῦ κυρ Νικολό (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 219.33)
 τοῦ Σολομό *P&N Diath.* 1545
 τοῦ Νικολό CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.377

⁵ The adoption of this ending for the genitive may pre-date the period covered by this Grammar: a genitive τροφούς (< ἡ τροφός?) is found in inscriptions (see LSJ, who lemmatize as *τροφώ based on these genitive forms); the same form also occurs in Patm. 266 (late 10th c.): μετὰ τῆς τροφούς αὐτοῦ (see LUZZI 2012: 250).

⁶ The name Nectenabo appears in a variety of forms in the various versions of the *Alexander Romance*. The nom. sg. form in this particular version is Νεκτεναβός, Νεκτέναβος or Νεκτεναβόν (indecl.).

τοῦ κύρ Νικολὸ Βαρούχα (1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 729, 632.2)
 τοῦ ποτὲ Ξενοφὸ (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 235, 223.21) (< Ξενοφῶν)
 τοῦ ἐκλαμπροτάτου ἀφέντη Μαθιὸ Τζέν (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 38.9)
 τοῦ ποτὲ ὀσιότατου Ξενοφὸ (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 235, 222.5); τοῦ ἄνωθεν Κουμπανιὸ
 (1631, *ibid.* 591, 565.9)

Accusative

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ό(ν) -όνε

The inherited ending -ό(ν), usually with but sometimes without final /n/, is the normal ending for the accusative:

Masculine

διὰ τὸν ἐξυπνισμόν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 54.13; εἰς διακόνου βαθμόν *id.*, *Logos* 3 190.1–2
 ἔναν θεὸν *Spaneas* V 67
 δι' ἀνακουφισμόν *Liv.* E 11
 μήτε πιασμόν παιδίων (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.21)
 στὸν λογιισμόν TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 1; διὰ τὸ στερεμὸ σου *ibid.* 79
 τὸν θάρρον τὸν πολὺν ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 349.18 (< τὸ θάρρος)
 τὸν ξεχυτὸν τὸν κάτω (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 257.27)
 κυρὸν Ἰλαρίωνα (1555, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 57, 178.28) (< κύριος)
 ὅποιος κάμνει τὸν λογαριασμόν του (1564, Cythera, ΔΡΑΚΑΚΙΣ 1999: 132, 218.6)
 τὸ γυαλὶ ὅταν τσακιστῇ πλέον ἱατρεμὸ δὲν ἔχει *Paroim.* (Warner) 54.16
 εἰς τὸ γιὰλὸ νὰ πᾶς νὰ κολυμπήσης *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.470
 τὸν καιρὸ ἐκείνῳ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.27; ἐχάλασε τὸν τοῖχο τοῦ Ἐξαμιλίου *ibid.* 61.18
 ἐκ τῶν δεινῶν τὸν μυρισμόν *Dimotika Ivir.* I.8
 διὰ γαμπρὸ τὸν ἑπιθυμᾷ PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1620; ποῦ ἔχεις χαριτωμένον | γαμπρὸν *ibid.*
 1863–4
 τὸν σκοτωμὸ καὶ τὸν χαῦμὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ΕΦΤΗΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 16.20–1; μὲ τρελαμὸν
 κεφαλῆς *ibid.* 25.18–19

Feminine

κ' ἐδιάβη τὴν ὁδὸν του *Chron. Mor.* H 1567
 χρὴ ὀμνύειν ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν Κιβωτόν τοῦ μαρτυρίου *Assizes* B 485.16–17
 νὰ πάρω τὴν ὁδὸ μου *Liv.* V 3900
 ἐπέξευσε πρὸς τὴν Λεμεσόν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 4.10
 ὁ Νῶες μὲ τὴν κιβωτόν *Synax. gyn.* 146; καὶ πᾶει εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν της *ibid.* 356
 κ' ἐχάσα τὴν ὁδὸν μου *Cypr. Canz.* 144.2
 ἀπὸ τὴν Ταρσὸν (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 133.7); εὗρίσκεις τὴν
 Λαμφακό (1530–40, *ibid.* Z, 163.25)
 εἰς τὴν Κύπρον (post 1640, Monemvasia, SCHREINER 1975/79: 79, 585.36.2)
 ὁ Νῶε ἐμπήκεν εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 24.38
 στὴν Δαμασκὸν τὸν βάνουν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 8611
 νὰ κάμνη τὴν ὁδὸ του *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1858
 στὴν Λεμεσόν νὰ πγιάση *Thrinios Kypr.* 69

Addition of -(ν)ε can be found in texts from south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese). Only masculine examples have been found, but this may be due to the fact that feminine nouns in this category are in limited use:

τὸν πλίσιον σας θυμόνε *Pist. voskos* V 5.415

διὰ γαμπρόνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 216 ἔχει ἕναν υἱόνε *ibid.* 215; τὸν Θεόνε πάντα ἀρνᾷται *ibid.* 1524

μὲ τὸ(ν) ληγόνε (1569 [17th/18th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 475.15)

Vocative

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-έ

The inherited ending -έ is the normal ending for the vocative:

Masculine

πνευματικέ μου ἀδελφέ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 136.13

ἀμή ἄν θέλης, υἱέ καλέ *Arm.* 9

σκατοποντικέ *Diig. tetr.* 144

ὦ θεέ μου *Ptoch. IV* 179 app. crit. (P) (= θεέ)

φίλε μου, Κλιτοβέ μου *Liv. E* 4246 (< Κλιτοβών)

ἀνάπλοκέ μου κρεμασμέ *Liv. S* 500 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

ἀλεπέ (15th c., Trebizond region, TSAKALOF 1910: [3], 121.1)

ἔδᾶ συνάξου, λογισμέ *Diig. Ven.* 1

εἶπέ μοι, γέρον κηπουρέ [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2340

ὦ βρυγμέ τῶν ὁδόντων *Spanos A* 155

ἔλα Σαμψέ ἀνδρειότατε *Synax. gyn.* 169 (< Σαμψών)

ὦ σταυραῖτέ χρυσόπτερε ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Pittakin* 13

καὶ ἐσύ γαβρέ Ζαπάντη (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 237, 144.11) (= γαμβρέ); υἱέ Νικολό (*ibid.* 243, 147.12)

ἀδελφέ κύρ Μανοῦσο (1554, Bologna, CATALDI PALAU 2000: 1, 386.16)

κι ἐσύ ναέ τσ' αγιάς θεάς CHORTATSI, *Panor. V.* 387

κι' ἐσύ, λαιμέ MONTSEL., *Evgena* 723

ύστερινέ μου λογισμέ καὶ νὰ σέ εἶχα πρῶτα *Paroim.* (Warner) 80.18

ὦ γλυκύτατε καὶ παμφίλτατέ με ἀρραβωνιαστικέ *Don Kis.* 554.33–4

Feminine

λυχνία θεία, κιβωτέ VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 242

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-ό

Vocatives in -ό have been found with masculine proper names (see also HENRICH 1976):

ἐκεῖ πεζεύω, Κλιτοβό *Liv. E* 3069 (< Κλιτοβών); υἱέ Νικολό (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 243, 147.12); κύρ Νικολό μου CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.48.

Plural

Nominative

Masc. & Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-οί

For the masculine the nominative plural shows no variation before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar. A feminine nominative plural form has only been found in a mixed-register document (see the introduction to this section, 2.1):

Masculine

οἱ τῶν Τουρκῶν πειρασμοὶ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.8
οἱ κληρικοὶ (1395, Pontos, BRYER 1976: 7, 133.2)
οἱ νεφροὶ του *Dig.* E 774
οἱ ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς Δύσης *Chron. Mor.* P 40
οἱ Ἀμουχουστιανοὶ ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 150.18; οἱ γιατροὶ *ibid.* 232.25
τὴν ἡύρασιν οἱ κυνηγοὶ *Synax. gyn.* 370
τόσοι εἶναι οἱ κολασμοὶ τοῦ κόσμου *Fior Suppl.* 270.13
ὡς ἴδιοι νοικοκυροὶ (1518, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 390.21) (< οἰκοκύριος)
ἐγένοντο πολλοὶ σεισμοὶ (1521, Zakynthos, ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ 1967: (b), 221.5)
οἱ δύο μου οἱ γιοὶ (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 99, 146.18)
Γραικοὶ καὶ Λατῖνοι (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 23.166)
καὶ βασιλιοὶ ἐπομένα FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 70 (βασιλιός < βασιλεύς)
ἦτανε ἐχθροὶ τοῦ Μουσουλμάνου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 43.9
ἄλλονῶν γίνονται ὁδηγοὶ ἀπωλείας (1697, Cythera, PATRAMANI 2010: 1, 210.26)
οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἐκρύπτησαν *Thrinios Kypr.* 770

Feminine

συνέρχονται ὁδοὶ διάφοροι (1392, Athos, ΚΡΑΒΑΡΙ 1991: 13, 115.18)

Genitive

Masc. & Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν -ῶ -ῶνε

The standard ending for the genitive plural is -ῶν:

Masculine

ἡ χρεια τῶν ἀδελφῶν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 114.30
στὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐχτρῶν του *Chron. Mor.* H 3930
ἀντ' ἀδελφῶν *Liv.* V 95
τὰ πράγματα τῶν Ἀρτινῶν *Chron. Toc.* 2935
πτωχῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξένων *Imber.* 705
τῶν ἐχθρῶν ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 278.34; καὶ τῶν ἀλλουνῶν βοσκῶν *ibid.* 331.40
καὶ ἀλλουνῶν χριστιανῶν (1652, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 69, 179.8)
τῶν Γραικῶν ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 36.18
ποτὲ τῶν καιρῶν ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 58.26

Feminine

πλησίον των ὁδῶν τῶν δημοσιῶν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 53, 86.14)

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from Crete, the Heptanese and certain islands in the Aegean (see I, 3.7.2.2 for details):

τὸν Κύριο θεὸ τῶν οὐρανῶ *Jonas* 214.9
τῶν Χριστιανῶ καὶ Μουσλουμάνῶ (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83–84.10)
των αλλωνῶ βοσκῶ *CHORTATSI, Panor.* I.294; δυὸ βασιλιῶ μεγάλῳ *id., Erof.* II.251 (< βασιλιός); δυὸ ἀγαφτικῶ πιστῶ *ibid.* III.401

τὸν βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶ *P&N Diath.* 1909; τῶν ὀχθρῶ μας *ibid.* 4695; τὸ γένος τῶ Ὑστιανῶ
ibid. 5175 (= Χριστιανῶν)
 τῶν ἄνωθι ὀρφανῶ (1617, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 16, 320.24)
 τῶν βοσκῶ (1642, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 19, 159.15)
 ποτε τῶ καιρῶ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 61.15; τὰ φουσσᾶτα τῶν χριστιανῶ *ibid.* 72.3; τῶν
 Κομμενῶ *ibid.* 103.24
 κατέπροστε τῶν ... λαγικῶ (1722, Tilos, KOUTELAKIS 1979: 21, 54.2) (= λαϊκῶν)

Addition of -(v)ε occurs in texts from the Heptanese and possibly elsewhere (Crete, Peloponnese; see I, 2.6.3.1):

τῶν πτωχῶνε (1509, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1950: 1, 144.14)
 τοῦν ἀδελφῶνε μου (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 14, 39.11); τοῦν ἀνιψῶνε του, τοῦ κύρ
 Σταφανῆ καὶ τοῦ κύρ Μαρκα<v>τῶνη (*ibid.* 15, 39.7) (for the article τοῦ(v) see 5.2.1)
 τῶν λαγῶνε SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* C8v.23
 τῶν προεστῶνε (1666, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 4, 198.299) (προεστός < part. προεστώς,
 see also 3.7.5)
 ποτε τῶ καιρῶνε (1670, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1981: 1, 285.17)
 τῶν θεῶνε KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* I.205

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-οὺς

Genitives plural in -οὺς, morphologically identical to the accusative, occur with masculine nouns only in texts from Cyprus, and possibly elsewhere (see 2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.2.1, 2.3.3). For discussion and further examples see 1.2:

τὸ ἀρμάτωμαν τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς (15th, Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 208.1.2)
 τὸ ἱγλαμπρότατον γένος τοὺς Καντακοζηνοὺς (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 70,
 f.Iv.11–12)
 τὴν πίστην τοὺς χριστιανοὺς (15th c., Cyprus, BAGLIONI 2006: 202.40–1)
 ἔνδυμαν τοὺς μοναχοὺς *Assizes A* 133.8
 νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὴν βλέπισιν τοὺς ἀδελφούς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 54.8; τὴν νίκην τοὺς
 χριστιανοὺς τοὺς Κυπραίους *ibid.* 154.34–5; τὸ διάβαν τοὺς Ἀμοχουστιανοὺς *ibid.* 432.12
 τὸ φυσικὸν τοὺς θεοὺς *Fior* 78.31–2
 τὸ μερτικὸν τοὺς πτωχοὺς *Pist. kekoim.* 496–7

Accusative

Masc. & Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-οὺς

There is little variation in the accusative plural ending before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar. A feminine example has only been found in the high-register Grottaferrata version of *Digenis*:

Masculine

χωρισμοὺς ἔχουν NIKON, *Prol.* 14.16; εἰς διαφόρους καιροὺς *id.*, *Logos* 3 170.3–4
 ἀπὸ τοὺς Κορφοὺς (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 270.2)
 τινὲς ἐκ τοὺς σοφοὺς *Byz. Il.* 375

τούς άλλους β' σταυρούς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 4.15–16; ἔκτισες πολλούς ναούς *ibid.* 6.26
εἰς τοὺς Ἀπαξοὺς (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 72.18) (= Παξούς, see I,
2.6.1.2)

εἶχαν πέσει ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.29

ἀπὸ τῖς γονιούς μας *Rim. Sant.* 125 (< γονιός < γονεύς; for the article τῖς see 5.2.1)

ἀπὸ χαϊράμενους βοσκούς CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.14; με τσ' αθούς τσ' όμορφους *ibid.* I.414 (< ό
ἀθός < τὸ ἄνθος)

ὄσους χριστιανούς (1608, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 18, 179.70)

ρωτῶ την: ἀδελφούς ἔχεις *Vosk.* 177 app. crit.

ἐχάλα να τοὺς Γραικοὺς MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1313

Feminine

τὰς ὁδοὺς τῆς ἀγάπης *Dig.* G III.3

In specific phonetic environments final /s/ may be deleted in texts from south-western areas, e.g. τοῖ ἀδελφοφτοῦ μας *P&N Diath.* 834 app. crit. (= ἀδελφοποιτούς); τσι παραδαρμού μας CHORTATSI, *Panor.* V.408. For details and more examples see I, 3.7.1.1.

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-οί

A masculine accusative ending -οί, identical to the nominative, has been found in texts from the Cyclades (see 1.3 for details): μπεζόνιο ἀπὸ ἄρχοντες, ἦγουν ἀπὸ προεστοί (1696, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [42], 58.1); νὰ ἀρωτήσουνε καὶ πάρτε προεστοί (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 19, 34.18–19) (< part. προεστώς, see also 3.7.5).

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ές

One example has been found of a feminine accusative plural adopting the ending of the old 1st declension (cf. paroxytone and proparoxytone nouns (2.1.2, 2.1.3), for which this is more common): εἰς τὲς δύο ὁδέξ (17th c., Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: App. III, 324.27).

Vocative

Masc. & Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-οί

The vocative plural ending is identical to that of the nominative. No feminine examples have, however, been found:

φίλοι κι ἀδελφοί *Chron. Mor.* H 1613

χαίρετε λαοί *Spanos* D 1354

ὦ χρόνοι καὶ κακοὶ καιροί *Love poems* V 512

τῶν φαμελίτων, ἀδελφοί, τῆς Ἑρωτοκρατίας FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 1

ἠβλέπετε, ἔδελφοί KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 154.8 (for the prothetic /e/ in ἔδελφοί see I, 2.6.1.3)

ὦ λογιμοί, πῶς σφάνετε CHORTATSI, *Erof.* Prol. 121

φύγετε ἀπὸ λόγου μου, κακοὶ συλλογισμοί *Don Kis.* 567.18

2.1.2 Paroxytone Nouns

	General		Restricted		Rare	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
Singular						
Nom.	λόγος	ράβδος	-ους -ο -ον	(-ους) -ο		
Gen.	λόγου	ράβδου	-ο -ονος	-ος -ους	λόγουν -ον -ος	-οῦ -ο
Acc.	λόγο(ν)	ράβδο(ν)	λόγου(ν) λόγονε	ράβδου(ν)		
Voc.	λόγε λόγο	ράβδε ράβδο				
Plural						
Nom.	λόγοι	ράβδες		ράβδοι	-ηδες	-αι
Gen.	λόγων		λόγω λόγωνε -ῶ(ν) ἰ -ῶνε λόγους	ράβδων		
Acc.	λόγους	ράβδες		ράβδους ράβδοι	-ηδες	ράβδας
Voc.	λόγοι			ράβδοι		

Singular*Nominative**Masc. & Fem.*

Sg.	Nom.	-ος ἰ -ους

There is only little variation in the nominative singular. The normal ending is -ος:

Masculine

εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔνι Φράγγος ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 142.14; εἰ δὲ πάλιν φίλος ἔνι *ibid.* 142.24
 Ἰωάννης ἀρχιερέος (1180, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 201, 265.23) (< ἀρχιερέυς)
 ὁ τάφρος τοῦ ἀμπελίου (1321, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 108, 194.277) (< fem.)
 ὁ κουτρούλης Ἀλαμάνος *Vulgärorakel* I.287; ὁ μὲν στάμνος *ibid.* I.343 (< fem.)
 κάποιος σκλάβος *Assizes* B 447.15
 φράγκος γὰρ βασιλέος *Chron. Mor.* P 3048 (< βασιλεύς)
 ὁ κάτος κάπου ἔλειπεν *Synax. gadar.* 174

τοῖχος ἀσβεστόκτιστος (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 138, 119.6)
 γεῖτος μου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.28 (< γεῖτων)
 ἔναι ὡσὰν τροῦλος (1530–40, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: Z, 235.4)
 ἰδρος τον υπάει ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 42.4 (< ἴδρω < ἰδρώς)
 ἐγὼ Λέος Σοφολέος (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 217, 213.1) (< Λέων)
 ο φιότσος της (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.22) (< Ven. *fiozzo* see BOERIO, *Lex.* s.v.)
 ὁ κόλφος τῆς Ἐπάχτου ΜΙΛΟΙΤΙΣ, *Odoipor.* 641.4 (= κόλπος)
 ἦτον ἕνας ὄστος κ' εἶχε ὄσταρία *Nov. II* 161.1 (< Ven. *osto*)
 ἦτονε καὶ μάγος· Σπανιόλος τὸ γένος *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 32.10; τζιντιλόμος Βενετζάνος *ibid.*
 89.26–7 (< Ven. *zentilomo*)
 ὁ κιζιτόρος τοῦ Πάπα (1623, Bergamo, KORRE 2008: 2, 330.6) (< Ital. *inquisitore*)
 μεγιστάνος μοιάζει PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 528 (< μεγιστάν)

Feminine

ἡ λεγομένη βίβλος τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 3 109.23
 ἡ μεγάλη λίθος (1222/3, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 48, 247.12) (< masc.)
 ἡ ἄρκτος ἐστράφη *Dig.* G IV.133; ἡ ράβδος ἡ ἐμὴ *ibid.* VI.146
 ἡ βάτος ἀπὸ πέρα *Vulgärorakel* I.129
 ἦτον ἡ νῆσος τῆς Κολκοῦ *Pol. Tr.* 25
 ἐτελειώθη ἡ παρούσα δέλτος *Fior Suppl.* 281.5
 ἡ Ἄντρος (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 142.1); ἡ Λῆμνος (*ibid.* 142.20); ἡ
 Χίος (*ibid.* 143.6); Πάτμος καὶ ἡ Λέρος (*ibid.* 143.23); ἡ Σέρφος (1530–1540, *ibid.* Z, 235.25)
 (= Σέριφος, see I, 2.7.2)
 ἐδῶ ἡ Παρθένος, ἐκεῖ ἔναι ἡ ράβδος τοῦ Ἀαρών KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 364.8–9

Forms in -ους are phonetic rather than morphological (for raising of unstressed [o] to [u] see I, 2.5.4): ὁ φόρνους (1628/9, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 1, 43.24).

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-o

Nominatives in -o have been found of masculine proper names, of both foreign and Greek origin, and feminine geographical names. The loss of final /s/ in the nominative of feminine words occurred by analogy with the majority of feminine nouns, which end in a vowel (HATZIDAKIS 1885: 83; SEILER 1958: 66):

Masculine

ὁ μισὲρ Μάρκο Πριούλης καὶ ὁ μισὲρ Παρθολομαῖο Μαλό MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 288.31–2
 ἐγὼ ὁ Δῆμο Τοριὸς (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 30, 54.30)

Feminine

ἡ Ρόδο ἐθλίβηκε SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 189
 ἐδῶ κι ἡ Ρόδο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 14.3 (hapax; rhymes with μόδο)
 ἡ Τύρο δὲν τὸν προσκυῖ *Alex. Rim.* 636
 ἡ Νέλο μὲ τὸν κάβον τοῦ Καναλίου (1530–40, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: Z,
 147.13) (= ἡ Ἑλλη); ἡ Μπάφο (*ibid.* 154.7) (< Πάφος)
 ἡ Χίο νὰ διδῇ χαράτζί *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 112.25

The loss of final /s/ may be phonologically motivated in specific environments (for details see I, 3.7.1.1): τίς ἐστίν ὁ γεῖτο σας; (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT

1989: 174.2d) (= γείτος < γείτων; ed. γείτω); κι ο πόθο τση CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.24 (τσι in ed.).

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ον

Masculine nominatives in -ον occur in documents from Pontos (see 1.4 for details and further examples): Ἰωαννάκης ὁ Βαλεντζιάκον (ca. 1275, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 60, 35.47); ὁ Μανόλης ὁ Μανολόπλον (1506, Trebizond, PRINZING 2000: 2, 304.7–8) (< Μανολόπουλος).

Genitive

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ου

The most common ending for the genitive singular is -ου:

Masculine

ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀναξίου Νίκου ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 46.21 (< Νίκων)
περὶ τοῦ ὄρκου *Assizes* A 214.7
ἐπάνωθεν τοῦ ἄμμου *Pol. Tr.* 147 app. crit. (V) (< fem.)
Μανουήλου τοῦ Γρηγοροπούλου (1523, ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ/LAMBAKIS 2003: 84, 156.4) (< indecl. Μανουήλ)
όλονοῦ τοῦ χρόνου (1568, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 259, 350.1)
ἄρχου καὶ μωροῦ καθὼς τοῦ δόξη *Paroim.* (Warner) 40.16 (< ἄρχων)
τοῦ βασιλέου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 37.33 (< βασιλεύς); τοῦ Μουσουλμάνου *ibid.* 43.9
τοῦ προτετόρου μας (p. 1669, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1938: 2, 296.9) (< Ital. *protettore*)
τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Κήπου (1686, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1999: 6, 51.8)
τοῦ ἀρχιερέου (1707, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1973: 1, 303.6) (< ἀρχιερεύς)

The addition of final /n/ in the following example from *Assizes* is likely to be an error: τοῦ παρόντος βίβλουν *Assizes* B 273.1–2 (note also that the word βίβλος is normally feminine in this text).

Feminine

ἐνορίας Πάμφου (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 13.20) (< Πάφος, see I, 3.5.2.4)
ἄσπρον ἐν τῆς Ρόδου (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 56.49)
τὸ ρηγάτον τῆς Κύπρου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 18.27; τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Θεοτόκου *ibid.* 36.6
κυρὰ τῆς Νίου (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 172.35) (< Ἴος, see I, 3.5.1)
ταπέδα τῆς Ρόδου (1523, Crete, ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 10, 295.15)
τῆς νήσου (1594, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 1, 109.6)
ἀπὸ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἄρκτου *Bertoldin.* 94.3
τὸ πουλάρι τῆς ὄνου KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 12.15
τῆς νήσου Μύκονος (1687, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 6, 222.2)

A few examples have been found of feminine genitives with a shift of the stress to the ultimate. All three examples come from verse texts:

τῆς Κολκοῦ *Pol. Tr.* 25 and 232 (< Κόλχος)
ρῆγας Κυπροῦ μεγάλος VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 113; ὅς Κυπροῦ τῇ Λευκουσίᾳ *ibid.* 170

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ο ὁ -ον

Genitives in -ο are quite common with masculine nouns in texts from southern areas, and especially Crete (see HENRICH 1976) (cf. oxytone and paroxytone nouns). They occur with proper names of Italian and Greek origin as well as with other words. They are much rarer for the feminine, for which only one example has been found, in a text from Tilos (Dodecanese):

Masculine

τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Θαλελαῖο (1091?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 2, 386.9)
τοῦ γέρο <τοῦ> μισῖρ Ντζεφρέ *Chron. Mor.* H 7765 (< γέρος < γέρων)
τοῦ μάστρε Πέτρο τοῦ Πελεκάννο (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 47, 25.1)
τοῦ ποτέ μου κουινάδο (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 46.81)
τοῦ νοδάρο (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 11, 46.19)
τοῦ μαστρο Νήνφο Λέκα (1548, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1992: 15.13) (< Νήμφο < Νήφων)
διὰ τοῦ γαστάλδο (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 172, 170.6)
τοῦ Τοῦρκο (1553, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 177, 167.2)
τοῦ Παῦλο Βλαντῆ (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 388.14)
υἱὸς τοῦ ποτέ κυρ-Δράκο (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 41, 101.23) (< δράκος < δράκων); τοῦ μαστρο-Δῆμο (ibid. 46, 108.7–8)
τοῦ Χάρο ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1730 (< Χάρος < Χάρων)
καὶ μια καρδιά ἑνὺς δράκο CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.83
τοῦ ἄνωθεν ἄρχο (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 311, 296.13; and 1607, ibid. 459, 418.4)
ἐνὸς διάκο (1615, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 247, 234.27) (< διάκος < διάκων see the Introduction to 2.1)
τοῦ ποτέ Φραγγιᾶ Ζωγράφο (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 56.262)
τοῦ Ἀγίου Ματθαῖο (1631, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 3, 267.4)
τοῦ γέρο ἡ ἀγκαλιὰ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.378
τοῦ ἄνωθεν πανοσιωτάτο ἀφέντη Οἰκονόμο (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 4, 127.3–4)
τοῦ μακαρίτου Μάρκο *Ist. makaritou Marko tit.*
ἐκείνου τοῦ Μιχελέττο *Leilasia Par.* 116

In the archive of Varouchas there are instances of a gen. sg. with an added final /n/:⁷

τοῦ καβαλιέρον (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 247, 244.1); τοῦ [...] ἄρχον (1605, ibid. 308, 293.19), (ibid. 311, 296.10), (ibid. 328, 310.3; and 1612, ibid. 819, 715.4); τοῦ ἄνωθεν τεσταδόρον (1611, ibid. 716, 620.29)

Feminine

τῆς νῆσο Τῆλο (1686, Tilos, KOUTELAKIS 1979: 13, 45.8)

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ος

⁷ In the case of the word ἄρχος there is obviously confusion with the residual 3rd-declension nom. ἄρχων. Varouchas in fact spells this genitive with <ω>, even though his nominative is ἄρχος (see BAKKER 1988/89: 287, n. 66).

Genitives in -ος occur quite frequently with feminine nouns, and especially with place names, in texts from south-western regions and the Aegean, but they are much rarer with masculine nouns. These forms are the result of an analogy with the majority of feminine nouns, which have genitives in -ς (HATZIDAKIS 1885: 83; SEILER 1958: 66). No examples have been found before the 16th c.:

Feminine

- τῆς Ἄντρος (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 107.8)
 τῆς Φάρος τῆς Ἱεράπετρας (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 127, 125.2)
 τῆς παρούσας πόλεως καὶ νήσος (1561, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 12, κη'.3)
 ἀπὸ νήσου Σάμος ἕως νήσου Χίος MILOITIS, *Odoipor*: 636.21–2; τὸ κύκλος τῆς νήσος *ibid.* 637.1
 τῆς νήσου τῆς Πάρος (1594, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 1, 109.6)
 εἰκόνα τῇ εὐλογημένης Θεοτόκος (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 39, 59.18)
 τῆς Κυρίας Θεοτόκος Μαρουλάτικης (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.13)
 τὸ ἄμμος TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.615
 τῆς μεγαλειότητος κοινότης Νάξος (1650, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: (2), 29.7)
 τῆς Κύπρος (1664, Cyprus, MERTZIOS 1958b: 255.10) (author not from Cyprus)⁸
 τῆς Λήμνος τὰ Τουρκία IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 8423
 τῇ Ρόδος τὸ νησί BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 341.4; <σ>τῆς Χίος τὸ νησί 393.11
 τῆς Λέρος (1683, Leros, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 37, 26.17)
 τῆς Πάρος (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 744.3)
 τῆς Χίος (1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 8, 21.5)
 τὸ ρηγόπουλο τῆς Κύπρος KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.497
 μέσα στῆς Σκύρος τὸ νησί KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.142
 πρὸς τὴ μερὰ τῇ Σίφνος *Leilasias Par.* 191

Masculine

- ἀπὸ χωρίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ματθαῖος (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 64, 261.1)

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ους

Genitives in -ους, which have been found with feminine place names in 17th- and 18th-c. texts from the Cyclades and Cyprus, are either a conflation of the endings -ου and -ος, or the result of back-vowel raising (for which see I, 2.8.3; cf. proparoxytone nouns): τῆς Ἄνδρους (1685, Andros, POLEMIS 1995b: 5, 38.2); τῆς Πάφους (1646, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 5, 15.2); ἀφέντες μπρεβετιτόροι Τήνους (1706, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 59, 71.11–12).

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ονος

⁸ This document is an autograph letter from Nikiforos, the archbishop of Cyprus, to the doge of Venice. Judging from the language of the letter, Nikiforos is much more likely to have been from a south-western area (Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese?) than from Cyprus, e.g.: τζι ραγιάδες (253.1), εἴμεστανε (255.3 and 255.10), τζι χῶρες (255.9), φτάζει (255.10), οἱ γιαποδέλοιποι (255.14; the Cypriot word being προδέλοιπος or δελιοπός), νά τζι κάωμε (255.15), θέλεις ρωτήξει (255.16).

This genitive ending occurs as an alternative to -ου with masculine proper names in documents from Pontos (see 1.4 for discussion): Ἰωαννάκη τοῦ Βαλεντζιάκονος (1262, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 14, 7.15); Μιχαήλ τοῦ Σούτονος (1384, Pontos, *ibid.* 128, 96.27) (cf. σίγνον τοῦ Σούτου *ibid.* 37, 16.1–2; Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Βαλεντζιάκου *ibid.* 17.14).

Accusative

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ο(ν) ὁ -ου(ν)

There is little variation in the accusative ending. It usually appears in writing with final /n/:

Masculine

κατ' ἦχον α' ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 60.15; οὔτε εἰς φίλον *id.*, *Logos* 2 144.1
τὸν κόντον τῆς Κεφαλλονίας *Chron. Mor.* H 2894 (< OFr. *conte*)
εἰς τὸν Κακὸν Τράφον (14th c., Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 101, 156.13) (< fem.)
κάθα χρόνον (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 147.17)
κλότσον τὸν εὐεργέτησε *Spanos* D 16
εἰς τον μέγα μάστρον *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 126.19
τὸν ἄμμον *Cypr. Canz.* 36.8 (< fem.)
ἵς τὸν πάμφουμον Θησεὶον *Theseid* I.14,3 (Follieri) (< Θησεύς)
ἐτέθη εἰς τὸν τάφον (16th c., Serres?, LAMBROS 1904a: 339.22)
τὸν ἄμμον *Diig. Alex.* F 276.21 (Lolos) (< fem.)
μέ ἴδρο τῶν ρουθουινῶν σου νὰ φῆς ψωμί *Pent. Gen.* 3.19 (ἴδρος < ἴδρω < ἴδρῳς)
εἰς τὸν Κάμπτον (1650, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 2, 138.5)
μέ τέτοιον τρόπον φυσικόν *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* D3v.28
τοῦ φοῦρνο (1658, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 34, 117.4) (τοῦ = τὸ, see 5.2.1)
κρασί, σὲ πίνω γιὰ καλὸ καὶ σὺ μέ κροῦς στὸν τοῖχο *Paroim.* (Warner) 76.21
τὸν ἄνωθε γραφέο (1660, Crete, VOUDOUMBAKIS 1915: 15, 381.4) (< γραφεύς)
μέ ὅ,τι μὸδον ἤθελαν μπορέσου (1671, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 3, 220.8–9) (< Ital. *modo*)
μέ κάθεν κόπτον (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.7)

Feminine

εἰς τὴν Τράφον (1271, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 39, 300.4)
εἰς τῶν Κορφῶν τὴν νῆσον *Chron. Mor.* H 2224
εὐθύς τὴν ράβδον ἔρριψεν *Achil.* N 1612
ἔσσω εἰς Κύπρον (app. crit.) (14th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 206.2.2)
τὴν Πεντάπολιν καὶ Τύρον *Vulgärorakel* I.64
νὰ φουμίσωμεν τὴν ἀγία νῆσσον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 28.5
ἵς τὴν ἄμμον *Theseid* I.48,7 (Follieri)
κ' εὐρέθησαν στὴν νῆσο *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1409
καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἔφθασε *Dig.* A 1441
ἐπῆρεν ὁ σουλτὰν Σουλεϊμάνης τὴν Ρόδο (post 1570 [ms], Lamia?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 69.XIV, 541.79.1)
χώνουνται οἱ ἀχινέοι εἰς τὴν ἄμμον *LANDOS Geopon.* 131.15; ἔπαρε μίαν ράβδον χοντρήν *ibid.* 168.27
τὴν ἄμμον ἦν ἔχω (1650, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 2, 138.5)
ὁχ τὴ Σάμο (1671, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 230, 204.4)
μέ μιὰ ράβδο 'ποῦ 'βάστανε *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1318
ἀνθρωποὶ ἀπὸ τὴν Ἰο (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 521, 747.5)

Forms in -ου(ν) are phonetic rather than morphological variants of -ο (for back vowel raising see I, 2.5.4 and 2.8.3): τὸν γάμουν τους *Achil.* L 1127 app. crit. (Hesseling) and *ibid.* 1153 tit. transcr. (Lendari); τὴν Νήσσουν με τὰ πρᾶστεία τῆς VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 78.4; γυρεῦει τὸν κόπου του (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 28, f.61r.13).

Addition of -(ν)ε has been found in Heptanesian texts with masculine nouns only, but is likely to occur elsewhere as well (see I, 2.6.3.1):

ἔκ τὸν τάφονε τοῦ Σίρεως *Alex. Rim.* 548
 κέρασε τὸν ξένονε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1074
 με τὴν αὐλὴ καὶ κήπονε (1598 [late 17th–early 18th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 503.18); ἔνα κομμάτι τόπονε κήπονε διὰ σπιτότοπον (1604 [late 17th–early 18th-c. copy], *ibid.* 510.5–6)

Vocative

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-ε

In the LMedG period the inherited /e/-ending is the most common ending for the vocative of paroxytone nouns, and it continues to be in use throughout the EMG period:

Masculine

χρόνε, τῆς Τύχης δουλεπτά *Log. parig.* L 121
 Μιχαὴλ Παλαιολόγε *Vulgärorakel* I.178
 λύκε λυσσιάρη *Pol. Tr.* 6675
 σουλτάνε μου (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.1)
 ἄσυστατε χρόνε τοῦ βίου *Velth.* 726
 κάμπε με τὰ λουλούδια *Love poems* V 58
 ὦ κόσμε, κόσμε ἀνέγνωρε FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 299
 κουμπάρε, ἔλα! VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 266.11
 Κρόνε, πλανῆτα τ' οὐρανοῦ *Alosis* 413
 δέχου, Φράγκε *Achil.* N 1583
 θρόνε δικαιοσύνης KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* IX.53
 ρουφιάνε ἀπαρθινότατε CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.538
 ὦ νεανίσκε, ἐσένα λέγω KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 7.14
 ὦ Παύλε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 545
 ὦ φίλε Σάντσο *Don Kis.* 44.30; σινιόρ καβαλιέρε *ibid.* 50.7; μαστρο-Πέτρε *ibid.* 313.8

Feminine

ἄσπιλε Θεοτόκε DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinis* 507
 ὦ παρθένε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 48.26
 δέσποινά μου ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκε (1654, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 1, 52.1)
 χαῖρε ... στάμνε χρυσή VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 241

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-ο

In the EMG period certain nouns belonging to this paradigm develop alternative vocatives in -ο (see also HENRICH 1976). These are not, as in SMG, limited to masculine proper names, feminine geographical names and certain disyllabic masculine words such as γέρος

(HOLTON et al. 2012: 60, 68) but can also be found with loanwords (κουινιάδος, ρουφιάνος, τραδιτόρος, φράρος) and other disyllabic words (δρόσος, κοῦκκος, λύκος):

Masculine

κουινιάδο μου (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.10)
 λύκο αίματοπόπη *Poulol.* 370 app. crit. (A)
 κυρ λύκο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 71.26
 Κροῖσο βασιλεῦ *VENDRAMOS, Istor. Filarg.* 23
 κράτει τα ἑσύ, Βίδο (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.15)
 κύρ Μανοῦσο (1570, Venice, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 9, 482.1)
 κακὲ ρουφιάνο *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.540; ὦ γέρο κακορίζικε *ibid.* V.27 (< γέρος < γέρων)
 ὦ τραδιτόρο καὶ ἐπίβουλε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 86.8
 ὑψηλότατε καὶ ἀφέντη δούκα τῆς Ναβερσίας Παλαιολόγο (1618, Mani, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 24, 270.1)
 Μπερτολδῖνο ἔλα *Bertoldin.* 128.7; κοιμᾶσαι ἑσύ, κοῦκκο; *ibid.* 149.15
 ἄρχο χαριτωμένε *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Dedic.* 34 (< ἄρχος < ἄρχων); Φορτουνάτο μου *ibid.* I.11
 παμμέγιστε Σαν Πέτρο *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 544
 λέ' του: ὦ κακογέρο *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1535
 ιδέξ εκεί, ὦ φίλε Σάντσο *Don Kis.* 44.30
 ὦ λόγο *SPANOS, Grammar* 30.14

Feminine

ὦ δρόσο τῆς ἀγάπης μου *Rim. kor.* V 60
 ὦ Ρόδο *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 41.1
 Ρόδο καὶ Ἰντάλια ἐλευθερώθητε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 122.7

Plural

Nominative

Masc. & Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-οι

Masculine nouns show very little variation in the nominative plural ending, which is almost always the inherited ending -οι. Feminine nouns in -οι have only been found in mixed-register texts; they show a tendency to form plurals in -ες by analogy with the 1st declension (see below):

Masculine

ὅταν δὲ ἦλθαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.9
 οἱ πόνοι | κεντοῦσιν τὴν καρδίαν μου *Spaneas* V 17–18
 κ' οἱ Βενετικοὶ ἐστήκασιν *Chron. Mor.* 531
 τρεῖς χρόνοι *Pol. Tr.* 203; οἱ μεσάζοι ἦλθασιν *ibid.* 2570 (< pres. part. μεσάζων)
 οἱ χτύποι τῆς καρδίας του *Liv.* V 3518
 οἱ μεγιστάνοι *Velth.* 948 (< μεγιστάν)
 κόντοι καὶ καβελάροι *Diig. tetr.* 492 app. crit. (V) (< OFr./Ital. *conte*)
 ἐκατέλαβαν οἱ Λατῖνοι εἰς τὴν Κύπρον (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 25, 199.1.1)
 κλερονόμοι (1420, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 2 [B'], 21.20)
 ἔπεφταν ψύλλοι ἄσπροι *Spanos* A 257
 οἱ Γενουβίσοι *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 590.1–2
 ἦσαν καὶ ὅσον ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ὀνομάτοι *SANKTAM., Praxeis apost.* 17.37
 οἱ στιμαδόροι τῶνε (1587, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 1, 343.11)

Ἐβραῖοι εἶναι *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 497

ἐκεῖ ἔστεκόντησαν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 59.24; ὡσάν Ἀχιλλεῖοι *ibid.* 84.23 (<

Ἀχιλλεύς)

οἱ γονεοὶ τῆς (1640, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 28, 314.2) (< γονεύς)

ῆσαν κουμπάροι (1687, Cythera, PAPADAKI 2001: 95, 55.3)

Feminine

οἱ τράφοι τοῦ (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 57, 61.5) (< τάφος)

ὥσπερ τράφοι *FORTIOS, Strat. pragm.* 782

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ηδες

This ending of the masculine -ης paradigm (see 2.3.4), is sometimes employed with certain masculine nouns in -ος, but these are occasional formations that occur in verse texts and do not signify a true trend (cf. acc. pl.): ὅτ' εἶναι τραδιτόρηδες *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voen.* 1257 (Pidonia) (< τραδιτόρος); και ὅλοι οι κολονέληδες *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 2470 (< κολονέλος); ὅλοι οι μεγιστάνηδες *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 6965 (< μεγιστάνος < μεγιστάν); μικροί και μεγιστάνηδες *ibid.* 7396.⁹

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες ἢ -αι

Feminine nouns in -ος tend to adopt the -ες ending of the old 1st declension, e.g. τύχες. Sporadically even the obsolete -αι ending is found:

οἱ Δῆλες οἱ Μικρὲς (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 105.19); οἱ Δῆλες (1530–40, *ibid.* Z, 199.3) (< ἡ Δῆλος)

οἱ ράβδες *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 258.32

ῆσανε πολλὰς παρθένες *MOREZINOS, Klini* 152.35

αἱ παρθέναι *SKORD. MARAF. G., Evang.* 440.413

Genitive

Masc. & Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ων ἢ -ω ἢ -ωνε

The inherited ending -ων is found with paroxytone nouns throughout the period covered by this Grammar, though disyllabic nouns show a strong tendency towards oxytone genitive plural forms (see below). Feminine examples are restricted to mixed-register texts:

Masculine

περὶ εὐνούχων *ΝΙΚΟΝ, Logos* 3 156.4

τῶν Φράγκων κι Ἀλλαμάνων *Chron. Mor.* H 4056; ἵς ἀπάντησιν τῶν Τούρκων *ibid.* 5235

τῶν μεγιστάνων ὁλωνῶν *Pol. Tr.* 8814 app. crit. (B) (< μεγιστάν)

⁹ Ioakeim Kyprios clearly is partial to the /ides/ ending, which he uses freely to accommodate the metre or rhyme. Consider the following innovative forms: τοὺς ἀχρεϊάνηδες *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 4182 (< adj. ἀχρεῖος, see KAPLANIS 2012, *Glossary*); τοὺς Βενετικλήδες *ibid.* 5285; τοὺς Κρητικλήδες *ibid.* 5286.

μετὰ τῶν ἵππων τούτων *Velth.* 1107
 χῶρες τῶν Γενουβίσιων *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 354.36
 τῶν κληρονόμων του (1539, Naxos, *VISVIZIS* 1951: 26, 46.52)
 τῶν Κυπρίων *Pist. kekoim.* tit.
 πέντε χρόνων (1564, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 37, 117.7)
 διήγησις μακρῶν καὶ ανοήτων λόγων *Theophr. Char.* 121.2
 τῶν Ἀρμενίων ... τῶν Συργιάνων (1610, Athos, *KADAS* 1988: 100, 335.16)
 μερικῶν Τούρκων *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §15.35
 τῶν εὐγενεστάτων ... προκουραδῶρων (1675, Zakynthos, *ZOIS* 1939: 4, 128.12–13)
 τῶν πλανωμένων καβαλιέρων *Don Kis.* 47.11; δεκαεννέα χρόνων *ibid.* 307.35

Feminine

ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄρκτων τοὺς βρυγμοὺς *Dig.* G IV.139

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from Crete, the Peloponnese and the Aegean (Cyclades, Dodecanese):¹⁰

τῶν Χριστιανῶ καὶ Μουσλουμάνω γυρεύουσιν (1487, Rhodes, *LEFORT* 1981: 15, 83–84.10)
 καὶ σπίτια μεγιστάνω *Imb. Rim.* 64 (< μεγιστάν)
 τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀμπασαδῶρων (1571, Mani, *CHASIOTIS* 1970: 5, 239.15)
 ρήγας εἶν' τῶν Ἑβραίων *P&N Diath.* 2202
 τὴν ἀρμάδα τῶν Βενετζάνω *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 52.15
 τῷ δούλῳ καὶ ἀφεντάδῳ *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol.* 36
 τῷ κουνάδῳ μου (1680, Mani, *SKOPETEAS* 1950: XIV, 77.6) (< κουνιάδος)
 δώνει τον τῶνε τῶν Τούρκω ὡς ἦτονε (1695, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 11, 26.11–12)

Addition of -(v)ε has been found in texts from the Heptanese and the Peloponnese (see I, 2.6.3.1 for details):

τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀμπασαδῶρων καὶ κουμέσωνε (1571, Mani, *CHASIOTIS* 1970: 5, 239.15)
 τῶν Ρωμάνωνε *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 61; τῶν Βενετσιάνωνε *ibid.* 62
 τὸ κόρσο τοῦ Τούρκωνε (1644, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 288, 227.23–4) (for τοῦ see 5.2.1)
 μπάγκωνε δεκοχτῶ (1665, Zakynthos, *VAYAKAKOS* 1954: 9, 39.6)
 Ἀναστάση καὶ Φράγκου Πετράτῶνε (1698, Paxoi, *PETROPOULOS* 1958: 250, 158.2)
 πέθανε χρόνωνε ὀγδοῇντα (1708, Zakynthos, *SATHAS* 1865: 524.21)
 τῶν ἄνωθε ... ὀφιστιάλῶνε τοὺς (1716, Zakynthos, *KONOMOS* 1969d: 1, 42.2)

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν -ῶ -ῶνε

Oxytone genitive plural endings are very common with certain, mostly disyllabic, paroxytone masculine nouns that denote nationality (Τοῦρκος, Φράγκος; trisyllabic Καζακῶν in IOAKEIM KYPR.) (see also *HENRICH* 1996a). Such oxytone forms can be found in texts from the very beginning and throughout the period covered by this Grammar, including in middle- and higher-register texts such as *Ekthesis Chroniki*, the chronicle of Sfrantzis and Arsenios's *Vasileia kai aftokratoria ton Roson*:

¹⁰ As the ms of *Fortounatos* is written in Latin script and notation of stress is therefore lacking, it cannot be established with certainty if the following form is σκύλω or σκυλῶ, as both are metrically acceptable: σκυλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀθρώπων *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.458.

τῶν ἀθέων Τουρκῶν (1072, Constantinople, EVANGELATOU-NOTARA 1982: 240, 241.12)
 παρεκτός τῶν Φραγγῶν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 142.21; τῶν Τουρκῶν id., *Logos* 4 206.8
 τῆς ἁγίας μονῆς τῶν Σεργῶν (ca. 1290?, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 86, 64.7)
 λέγει τῶν Φραγκῶν *Chron. Mor.* H 418; ἐξοπτίσω τῶν Τουρκῶν ibid. 5158
 μηδέν πλανηθῆτε εἰς τῶν Φραγγῶν τὰ λόγια (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.15)
 τῶν Τουρκῶν (1442, Belgrade region, ALEXOULIS 1892: 2, 281.4)
 καὶ τῶν Φραγκῶν τὸ θράσος *Chron. Toc.* 3856
 Οὐγγρῶν καὶ Ἰσμαηλῖτων PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 192
 τῶν Οὐγγρῶν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 136.11; παρὰ τινων Τουρκῶν ibid. 136.13
 τῶν Φραγκῶν *Ekth. Chron.* 17.15; τῶν Οὐγγρῶν ibid. 73.6; τῶν Σεργῶν ibid. 73.14
 τοῦ φουσσάτου τῶν Τουρκῶν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.21–2
 τῶν Βλαχῶν STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 78 (Pidonia)
 τῶν Φραγκῶν (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 335.16)
 αυτοκρατορία τῶν Ρωσῶν ARSENIOS, *Vasil. Ros.* 298.1
 τῶν Τουρκῶν αἱ πράξεις ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 5263; τῶν Καζακῶν καὶ τῶν Ρουσῶν ibid.
 5950
 τὸ ἀσκέρι τῶν Τουρκῶν EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 39.2–3
 κῆκ τῶν Γαλλῶν εὐρίσκεται VATATZIS, *Periig. I* 573

In the LMedG period the oxytone ending spreads to certain other disyllabic words such as χρόνος (now the SMG form), and occasionally μύλος, σκλάβος, φίλος and others:

χρονῶν εἰκοσιπέντε *Chron. Mor.* H 142; τῶν Σκλαβῶν ὁ δρόγγος ibid. 4605
 πέντε χρονῶν τὰ ἐποῖκα *Dig.* E 671
 ὑπὸ τῶν φιλῶν *Ermon.* 3.120
 χρονῶν ὀλίγων SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 190.7
 παρακάτω τῶν δεκατριῶν χρονῶν *Assizes A* 113.12
 ἀμὴ ἀπὴν ἐγένεομουν χρονῶν δεκατεσσάρων SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 37
 ἀποῦ κε' χρονῶν καὶ ἀπάνω MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 310.34
 ἡ φοῦστα ... ἔναι εἰκοσιδυὸ παγκῶν TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 96–7
 ὄλουνδων τῶν χρονῶν (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 349, 248.12)
 νὰ τὰ δώσουν τῶν φραρῶν τοῦ Σὰν Φραντζέσκου (1567, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 6, 308.51–2)
 πακτωσίες μυλῶν (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 33, 26.6)
 τῶν τοιχῶν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 31.25; τῶν φιλῶν ibid. 263.21
 πόσων χρονῶν εἶσαι; (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.29)
 δύνων χρονῶν πληρωμὴ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.30
 ὡς κάτεργα παγκῶν κβ' (1609–18 [ms], Athos?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 55.II, 406.56.2–3)
 τῶν σκλαβῶν (1620, Ioannina, DOIKAS 1982: [6], 144.12)
 δὸς τὸ κορμί μου τῶν σκυλλῶν KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.536 app. crit. (A) (Xanthoudidis)

Finally, oxytone genitives plural may sporadically occur with trisyllabic loanwords:

Λατινῶν καὶ Σαρακηνῶν (1133, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 5, 516.3)
 σολδαδῶν CHORTATZIS, *Katz.* III.454
 τῶν σολνταδῶν BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 242.11

With the oxytone genitive plural deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from Crete, the Peloponnese/Heptanese and the Cyclades:

καὶ τέλος τῷ χρονῷ μου CHORTATZIS, *Panor.* II.532; κ' ἔδωκα τῷ φιλῷ χαρὰ id., *Erof.* I.352
 χρονῷ σὰ νὰ 'σου τράντα *Stathis* II.259; νὰ ἀρέσου τῷ φιλῷ ibid. III.580

παλληκάρι εἴκοσι πέντε χρονῶ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 142.10
 τριῶν κλονῶ (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 284, 479.28)
 τῶ Φραγκῶ *Leilasia Par.* 130

Addition of -(ν)ε has been found in texts from south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese), but may also occur elsewhere (see I, 2.6.3.1 for details):

τοῦν ἀνιψῶνε του (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 15, 39.7) (for τοῦν see 5.2.1; for deletion of /j/ see I, 2.4.7.3); χρονῶνε δύο (1637, *ibid.* 42, 60.14)
 τῶ Φραγκῶνε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 262.3; τῶν Τουρκῶνε *ibid.* 262.4
 τῶν ἔξι χρονῶνε (1680, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 255, 231.20)
 τὸ κράτος τῶν Φραγκῶνε KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.371

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ους

Genitives plural in -ους, morphologically identical to the accusative, occur with masculine nouns only in texts from Cyprus. An example has also been found in an inscription from Inkerman, Crimea, a region for which written sources are scarce (see also 2.1.3, 2.2.1 and 2.3.3 for further examples from Macedonia and 2.1.3 for another example from the Crimea). For discussion and bibliography see 1.2:

εἰς τὰ παιδιά τοὺς κληρονόμους (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.610)
 οἱ κρίσεις τοὺς θαλασσομάχους καὶ τῶν ναβῶν *Assizes B* 252.4
 τὰ σημάδια τῆς Γενουβέσους (15th c., Crimea, LATYSHEV 1896: 42, 46.1) (for the article τῆς see 5.2.1)
 ἐκεῖνου καὶ τοῦ<ς> κληρονόμους του (1484, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 20, 232.7)
 με β' μαρτυρίες Ἑβραίου *Assizes A* 58.6; εἰς τὰς βίβλους τοὺς νόμους τοὺς *ibid.* 235.20
 τὴν νίκην τοὺς ... Κυπραίου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 154.34–5; χῶρες τοὺς Γενουβίους *ibid.* 354.33–4; βουλὴν τοὺς παιδίους *ibid.* 402.12 (< παιδῖος); τὸ καράβιν τοὺς Καταλάνους *ibid.* 580.13
 εἰς τὰς τρεῖς τοὺς γενουβήσους VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 120.16; τα σπῖτια τοὺς φράγκους *ibid.* 302.11–12
 τοὺς Παρπαρόσους πῆρασιν τα κάτεργά τως ὅλα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 301

Accusative

Masc. & Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ους

For masculine nouns the most common accusative plural ending is the inherited ending -ους. Feminine examples are restricted to mixed-register texts:

Masculine

ὑπὲρ τοὺς θεῖους νόμους ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 32.8; εἰς τοὺς τόπους *id.*, *Logos* 2 152.14
 τοὺς ἀμέτρον πόνους *Spaneas* V 4
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Βενετικούς *Ptoch.* IV 121
 βασιλεῖς καὶ κόντους *Pol. Tr.* 2893 (< OFr. *conte*)
 ἔπαρον κοχλίου ΣΤΑΦΙΔΑΣ, *Iatrosof.* 7.193
 τοὺς λόγους ἐμάθαμεν (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.3)

όλους μας ἔχεις δούλους σου FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 82
 εἰς τοὺς λάκκους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 416.15–16; ἐπίασεν ἅ' Γενουβίους *ibid.* 590.5
 στρέφομαι ἔς τοὺς Οὐγκλέζους *Alosis* 345
 τοὺς πάππους CHEILAS, *Chron.* 349.16
 τοὺς ράβδους KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 258.33 (< fem.)
 εἰς τοὺς γονεὺς τους (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 243, 147.10) (< γονεὺς)
 ἐποίησε χρόνους τρεῖς (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.8)
 ἀπὸ τοὺς μεγιστάνους MOREZINOS, *Klini* 46.31 (< μεγιστάν)
 ὅλους μου τσι ἔδικούς καὶ φίλους (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 55.230)
 αὐτοὺς τους τραδιτόρους IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2615
 τσι ἄτους τοῦ νοδάρου (1674, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 3, 122.28) (< Ven. *atto*; for the article τσι
 see 5.2.1); με τοὺς κατωγεγραμμένους μόδους (1675, *ibid.* 4, 126.19–20) (< Ven. *modo*)
 εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄνωθεν Πελεκάνους (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 323,
 524.18)

Feminine

ἀπῆραν ... ράβδους *Ptoch.* I 254
 εἰς τὰς βίβλους *Assizes A* 235.20

In specific phonetic environments final /s/ may be deleted in texts from south-western areas, e.g. τσι γάμου μας CHORTATSI, *Panor.* V.367. For details and more examples see I, 3.7.1.1.

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-οι

An accusative ending -οι, identical to the nominative, has been found in texts from the Cyclades.¹¹ For further details see 1.3: τις ἄλλοι σύντροφοι τις εἶχαν μέσα στὴ γαλιότα (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.33–4); διὰ τις γονεῖοι τῶνε (1702, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 35, 49.10) (< γονεὺς) (for the article τις see 5.2.1).

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ηδες

This ending, which belongs to the masculine -ης paradigm (see 2.3.4), is sometimes employed with masculine nouns in -ος in verse texts to accommodate the metre (cf. nom. pl.): λέγω με κάτι πόρνηδες, della città baroni CHORTATSI, *Katz.* V.354 (< πόρνος); τους τραδιτόρηδες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2591 (< τραδιτόρος); με τους σενατόρηδες *ibid.* 6456 (< σενατόρος); μ' ὅλους τους μεγιστάνηδες *ibid.* 7836 (< μεγιστάνος < μεγιστάν).

¹¹ The following example in a literary text of unverified provenance: πᾶσα χρόνοι μοῦ τὰ κλέφτουν ὅλα *Νοι.* II 16–17, is probably a misreading (χρόνοι for χρόνον), or an innovative singular χρόνι based on the plural χρόνια (see 2.1.4).

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ες ἢ -ας

Feminine nouns show a clear tendency to adopt more overtly feminine endings from the old 1st declension (-ες, or even sporadically the more archaizing -ας ending):

τὲς Ντῆλες (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 144.3) (< ἡ Τῆλος); εἰς τὲς Δῆλες (1534, Unknown, *ibid.* A, 105.17) (< ἡ Δῆλος)
 εἰς ἄλλες νῆσες MILOITIS, *Odoipor.* 637.33–4
 ἐπὶ τὰς νήσας *Pol. Tr.* 14201 app. crit. (C)

Vocative

Masc. & Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-οι

The vocative plural is identical to the nominative, but has been found only of masculine nouns:

ἀφεῖτε, πόνοι τοῦ κορμιοῦ, τὰ χεῖλη νὰ λαλοῦσιν *Diig. Ven.* 6
 ὦ χρόνοι καὶ κακοὶ καιροὶ *Love poems V* 512
 ἀκριβοί, καλοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι φίλοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 380.32
 κόψετε τὸ κεφάλιν μου, χριστιανοὶ Ρωμαῖοι *Anak. Konst.* 37
 Πορτογαλέζοι, δράμετε *Alosis* 553
 ὦ Ρωμαῖοι φιλάργυροι, ... τραδιτόροι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.32
 οἱ Φράγκοι τοὺς ἐλέγασιν: πρε κάνοι τραδιτόροι IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2989 (< Ven. *can*)
 κάμποι, λυπηθεῖτε *DIAKR., Diig. Pol.* 652

2.1.3 Proparoxytone Nouns

	General		Restricted		Rare	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
Singular						
Nom.	ἄνθρωπος	σύνοδος	-ο -ον	-ο		
Gen.	ἀνθρώπου	συνόδου	ἄνθρωπου ἄνθρωπο -ος	σύννοδου -ος		-ους
Acc.	ἄνθρωπο(ν)	σύννοδο(ν)				
Voc.	ἄνθρωπε ἄνθρωπο	σύννοδε σύννοδο			ἄνθρωπεν	

Plural						
Nom.	ἄνθρωποι ἄνθρωποι	σύνοδες	ἄνθρωπε	σύνοδοι		σύνοδα -εις/-οις
Gen.	ἀνθρώπων		ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπωνε ἄνθρωπων ἀνθρώπους	συνόδων σύνοδων		
Acc.	ἀνθρώπους	σύνοδες	ἄνθρωπους ἄνθρωποι	συνόδους		σύνοδας -εις/-οις
Voc.	ἄνθρωποι		ἄνθρωποι			

Singular

Nominative

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ος

For the nominative singular of proparoxytone nouns, forms in -ος are the most common before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

Masculine

Χριστόδουλος, διάκονος ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 822.28

ὡς ἔνι κίνδυνος ψυχῆς *Spaneas* V 69

ἐλάκτισεν ὁ γάϊδαρος *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 274

ἄνθρωπος ὀλοφάρακλος *Log. parig.* L 549

ὁ Ἀριουρόπουλος *Arm.* 75

Στρατηγόπουλος ὁ Σκαντζιλέρης (1448, Constantinople?, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 9.I–IV, 99.51.4–5)

ὁ ἔξοδος (1473, Corfu, *KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS* 1996: 18, 158.24) (< fem.)

καὶ φαίνεται ὡσὰν Τούρκικος *Epain. gyn.* 82

ὅταν ἀνάτελνε ὁ ἥλιος *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.32

ὁ διάδοχος του (1576, Naxos, *VISVIZIS* 1951: 79, 99.31)

ὁ δὲ σκάνθαρος ἐπαρεκάλει τὸν ἀετὸν *Vios Aisop.* K 204.24

καὶ ἦτονε μανιῶδης ἄνθρωπος *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 28.1; ὡσὰν βασιλιόπουλλος ὅπου εἶσαι *ibid.* 104.9

ἦτον Ἄραβος [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P IV 342.17 (< Ἄραψ)

ὁ δίκταμος ἔχει δύναμιν *LANDOS, Geopon.* 130.25 (< τὸ δίκταμον)

ὁ χάτμανος (1654, Stockholm, *TCHENTSOVA* 2004: 4, 57.16)

Feminine

ἡ φυλακὴ καὶ κάμινος *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 139

ἡ ἐνθύμιος (ca. 1300, Cyprus, *SIMON* 1973: 33.84)

ἡ ἔμποδος ἐκείνων τῶν πελεγκρίνων *Chron. Mor.* H 443; καὶ προσκυνήση ἡ Κόρινθος *ibid.* 1448

ἡ κάμηλος ὀρχᾶται *Diig. tetr.* 1068

αὕτη ἡ σύζυγός του *Imb. Rim.* 33

ἡ ἄβυσσος ἐκείνη *Krasop.* AO 30

- ή παράδεισος *Fior* 150.17 (< masc.)
 η έλαφος *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 55.9
 ή σύμβιός μου (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 86, 159.18); έγω και ή σύννυμφός μου (1529, *ibid.* 134, 243.13)
 ή Σκαρτσάομηλος (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 102.14); ή Νίσουρος (*ibid.* 144.1); ή Κάρπαθος (*ibid.* 144.9); ή Σίφουνος (1530–40, *ibid.* Z, 235.6) (= Σίφνος, see I, 2.6.2); ή Σέριφος (*ibid.* 235.15)
 ή έκτη Σύνοδος KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 413.33; επάρθη ή Κόρινθος *ibid.* 422.22
 ή Γεράπετρος BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 249.11 (< τὰ ἱεράπετρα)
 ή σύνοδος SPANOS, *Grammar* 31.11

In documents from Pontos surnames in -όπουλος retain the masculine -ος ending in the feminine (instead of -οπούλα, -οπουλίνα or -οπούλαινα elsewhere; note that in the modern dialect -οπουλλίνα is used; see OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 376): έγω Θεοδώρα ή Θεοφιλόπουλος (ca. 1245, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 16, 7.1); έγω Άγνη ή Πρωτοπαπαδόπουλος (1260, *ibid.* 17, 8.1).

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ο

Feminine nominatives in -ο are the result of analogical levelling within the noun morphology system, in which the vast majority of feminine nouns end in a vowel in the nom. sg. and add a final /s/ in the gen. sg. (see the Introduction to this section; see also HATZIDAKIS 1885: 83 and SEILER 1958). Nominatives in -ο of masculine nouns appear to be restricted to proper names, probably influenced by Italian:

Feminine

- ή και σύνβιο (1226, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 274, 376.4) (< σύμβιος)
 ή Αμόχουστο επάρτην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 464.19–20
 ίντα μαντάτα έχει η Αμμόχουστο; VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 183.1
 ή σύμβιό του (1514, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 46, 55.1)
 ή Αἴγυφτο *Pent. Gen.* 50.3
 ή Ἐγριπο ἔναι κάστρο δυνατὸ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 117.10–11
 ή σύνοδο SPANOS, *Grammar* 31.11

Masculine

- έγω ἱερώνυμο Μαρουλιανὸς (1532, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 151, 272.37)

Regionally /s/ may be deleted in specific phonetic environments (see I, 3.7.1.1): ὁ πρόγονό τση (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 33, 52.8).

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ον

Nominatives in -ον occur in documents from Pontos (cf. the oxytone and paroxytone paradigms above, and see 1.4 for discussion): ὁ Γαριώτης ὁ κυρ Θεόδωρον (1430–35?, Pontos, ALEXAKIS/MAVROMATIS 2015: 5, 12.9); ὁ Θεόπεφτον (16th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 186, 123.1).

*Genitive**Masc. & Fem.*

Sg.	Gen.	-ου

Historically the genitive singular of proparoxytone nouns in /os/ displays a shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate. Forms with such a shift of the stress can be found throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

Masculine

- περί τοῦ μονοκέρου *Phys.* 989a (< μονόκερως)
 τοῦ ἐλάφου STAFIDAS, *Iatrosof.* 12.342
 τοῦ μαγείρου (1440, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 22, 224.11)
 τοῦ ρηθέντος μου ἐγγόνου (1497, Corfu, KARYDIS 1999b: 1, 305.25)
 καὶ ἐσὺ, γαδάρου χαρμονή *Poulol.* 516
 τοῦ καλογέρου (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 134.73) Μανουήλου τοῦ
 Γρηγοροπούλου (*ibid.* 84, 156.4)
 πιάνει μίαν κεφάλη γαδάρου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.36; δένδρον τοῦ ἡλίου *ibid.* 335.21
 στοῦ Παραδείσου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* III.224
 τοῦ ἀντραδέρφου τζι τοῦ πρώτου (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 54, 74.8)
 τ' Αντιχρίστου IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 6855
 ἐσένα τοῦ ἀφέντη γερομονάχου (1665, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 10, 418.2)
 διὰ χερὸς Εὐθυμίου Ἱερομονάχου EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.9

Feminine

- τῆς ὀκταήχου NIKON, *Logos* 1 48.8
 ἡ φυλακὴ καὶ κάμινος καὶ χεῖρων τῆς καμίνου GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 139
 τὴν θύραν τῆς εἰσόδου *Ptoch.* I 226
 στὸ κάστρον τῆς Κορίνθου *Chron. Mor.* H 1472
 τῆς Παραδείσου *Pol. Tr.* 2865 and 13076 (< masc.)
 ἡ φλόγα τῆς καμίνου *Liv.* E 3167
 τῆς συγκλήτου *Chron. Toc.* 1223
 ὅς τὰ μέρη τῆς Τενέδου *Anak. Konst.* 6
 τῆς Ἀμοχούστου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 434.19
 ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐπισκοπὴν τῆς Χερσονήσου (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 13, 22.3);
 εἰς τὴν εἰρημένην ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Περιβλέπτου (1511, *ibid.* 25, 45.56)
 τὸ νησὶν τῆς Φιλερήμου (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 88.16)
 στὴν περιοχὴν τῆς Πυλάρου (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 41, 101.9)
 τοῦ νησίου τῆς Ἐγρίπου MILOITIS, *Odoipor.* 640.15; τῆς Ἐπάχτου *ibid.* 641.4
 τοῦ σουλτάνου τῆς Αἰγύπτου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 125.22
 τὸ γέννημα τῆς ἀμπέλου KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 26.29
 τῆς συνόδου SPANOS, *Grammar* 31.11

However, forms without a shift of the stress can also be found from the very beginning of the period covered by this Grammar, not only in new words and compounds (as in SMG), but also in inherited words:

Masculine

- καὶ κεφαλὴ τοῦ Κάνθαρου KAMAT., *Astron.* 530
 τοῦ Πρίαμου *Pol. Tr.* 1690; τοῦ Θέλεφου *ibid.* 2767
 τοῦ Ἀλεξόπουλλου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 568.12

τοῦ Κωνσταντῆ Ἐξεδάκτυλου (1510, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 19, 33.9)
 τοῦ ζέφυρου ὁ δρόσος *Theseid* V.99,3 (1529)
 Δημήτρη Χαλκιοπούλου (1535, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 2, 20.5–6); τοῦ ποτε Ἀλίσανδρου
 (1537, *ibid.* 23, 31.3)
 τοῦ ἄγγελου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 324.20–1
 κυρ-Δήμου Νιόφουτου (1571, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 1, 53.1)
 τοῦ καπετάν Ἰππόλυτου Τζανώλη (1623, Bergamo, KORRE 2008: 2, 330.6)
 κύρ Τιμόθεου (1625, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 66, 192.20)
 καὶ ἐγκονιῶνε μου Ἀπόστολου καὶ Τζανῆ (1642, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 252, 202.31–2)
 ἡ συφορά τοῦ γάδαρου *Paroim.* (Warner) 33.6–7
 τοῦ χάτμανου (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.15–57.16)
 τοῦ πανοσιότατου ἱερομόναχου (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 3, 176.14)
 τοῦ πρωτόγερου (1671, Skyros, ANDONIAKIS 1982/83: 5, 96.2–3)
 τοῦ ἡλίου εἶπεν νὰ σταθῇ KONDAK., *Paides* 37
 τοῦ ποτε Θεόδωρου (1695, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 354.16)

Feminine

ὁ λαὸς δὲ τῆς Πύλαρχου *Pol. Tr.* 3377
 τῆς ἄβυσσου *Defl. Par.* 318
 τὰ χωράφια τῆς Γιόφουρου (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 58, 110.cod.6)
 τῆς ὁδοῦ GERMANO, *Grammar* 59.16

Addition of final /n/ is generally unusual, but may occur in texts from Naxos, where the addition of a non-etymological final /n/ is not uncommon (see I, 3.7.2.1.3): τάζειν τοῦ ἀρχοντόπουλόν του (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 485, 707.19–20).

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ο

Genitives in -ο have been found of masculine proper names in western-ruled areas: τοῦ μισέρ Γιάκουμο Μπαρότζη (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 174, 175.9); Βαρθολομαίου Συρόπουλο (1649, Crete, PANOPOULOU 2003: 1, 145.5).

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ος

Genitives in -ος are not uncommon for feminine nouns in texts mainly from southern areas (Heptanese, Peloponnese, Crete, certain islands in the Aegean such as Mykonos and Patmos) (cf. the same phenomenon, though much rarer, with adjectives in -ος, 3.2.1). These may be explained as an analogy with the majority of feminine nouns, which have genitives in -ς (HATZIDAKIS 1885: 83; SEILER 1958: 66). Only a few examples have been found for the masculine, which most probably serve to accommodate the verse:

Feminine

τὸ κάστρον γὰρ τῆς Κόρινθος *Chron. Mor.* H 1459; ὅλης τῆς Πολυπόνεσσος *ibid.* 2333
 τῆς παράδεισος CHOUNMNOS, *Kosmog.* 116
 τῆς Στάφυλος *Porikol.* I 174 and *Porikol.* II 44
 τῆς ἄβυσσος *Pent. Gen.* 7.11

κ' εἰς τὸ πλευρόν τῆς ἄμαξος πολὺς λαὸς ἐρχέτον *Theseid* IX.45,5 (1529) (< ἡ ἄμαξος < ἡ ἄμαξα)
 τῆς Νίσουρος (1530–40, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: Z, 230.24)
 διὰ πλήρωμα τῆς ἔξοδος ὁποῦ ἵκαμα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 88, 86.8)
 τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Τένεδος MILOITIS, *Odoipor*: 636.24
 τσῆ Παράδεισος CHORTATIS, *Erof*: II.358
 Ἀλβανίτες τῆς Ἠπειρος *Chron. Tourk. Soult*: 61.22; τὴν ἔσοδεῖα τῆς Αἴνος *ibid*: 107.17–18
 τσῆ Γεράπετρος (1614, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 1, 330.14) (ἡ Γεράπετρος < τὰ Ἱεράπετρα)
 τῆς τράπεζος καυχία ζ' (1610–20, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 23, 94.17) (< τράπεζα)
 εἰς τὸ νησί τῆς ... Ζάκυνθος IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 336.18–19
 πρὸς τὴ μερὰ τῆς Γιόφυρος BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol*: 357.23
 τῆς Ζάκυθος (1674, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1940: 153.8–9)
 τῆς νήσου Μύκονος (1687, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 6, 222.2)
 εἰς τσ' Ἐγριπος τὰ μέρη KORNAROS, *Erot*: II.203
 τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου τῆς Πάτινος (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 107.8–9) (< ἡ Πάτινος = Πάτμος)
 τῆς σύνοδος SPANOS, *Grammar* 31.11

Masculine

τοῦ κάραβος ἐκείνου *Pol. Tr*: 138 app. crit. (V); ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ τοῦ Θέλεφος *ibid*: 2767 app. crit. (A)
 καὶ τοῦ Πίνδαρος τὸν ὄρκον ERMON., *Ilias* 3.213

Note that Pontic feminine surnames in -όπουλος retain the nominative (masculine) -ος ending: τῆς θυγατρὸς μου Χατούνας Μαρκιανόπουλος (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 166, 116.2–3); Εἰρήνης τῆς Λαχονόπουλος (1432, *ibid*: 168, 116.2).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ους

This ending is either a conflation of -ου and -ος or the result of back-vowel raising (see I, 2.8.3). It has been found in documents from Mykonos (cf. paroxytone nouns): τῆς Μύκονους (1702, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 39, 52.8; and 1706, *ibid*: 72.8).

Accusative

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ο(ν)

There is no variation in the accusative singular ending, which appears usually with, though sometimes without, final /n/ in texts from all areas:

Masculine

τὸν ἄμπελον (1196, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 241, 325.16) (< fem.)
 εἰς ὄλον τὸν ἐξάφαλμον ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* I 58.4–5
 ἐδόθη πρὸς τὸν Κομνηνούτζικον ἐκείνον (1343, Constantinople, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 21, 161.8–9)
 τὸν ἀφεντόπουλόν του *Chron. Mor*: H 1266
 οὐ θέλει τὸν Παράδεισον *Dig*: E 841

τὸν μονόκερον *Phys.* 68 (< μονόκερως)
 ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἀχιλλῆς τὸν Πάντουρκλον *Achil.* O 253 (< Πάτροκλος)
 τοῦ δρόμου τὸν ἔξοδον *Diig. Alex.* V 32.17 (< fem.)
 τὸν σπλαχνικόν σου υἱούτζικον *Diig. Alex.* E 67.9 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἔως τὸν Ἑπαχτο ΜΙΛΟΙΤΙΣ, *Odoipor.* 641.14 (< fem.)
 τὸν θανάτὸν μου TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 71; τὸν θάνατό σου *ibid.* 80
 μήτε τὸν ἄρπαγον (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVI, 220.14) (< ἄρπαξ)
 δέσε τὸ γαῖδαρο FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.371
 μὴ δέχοντας ἐμένα ὡς ἀρχιεπίσκοπον (1653–5, Venice, FONKIC 2000: 240, f.1v.9)
 μὲ σπέζεις καὶ ἔξοδον ἐδικὸν τῶς (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 4, 127.14) (< fem.)
 ἄνθρωπο παιδεμένο KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.169
 μπλοκάροντας οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὸν Ἑπαχτο EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 44.23–4

Feminine

ὁ Κύριος ἔρριξεν ἄνεμο μεγάλην *Jonas* 213.4 (< masc.)
 στήν Κόρινθον *Chron. Mor.* H 1444
 Αἴγυπτον, Αἰθιοπίαν *Vulgärorakel* I.63
 νὰ μπῆς εἰς τὴν Παράδεισον FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 325 (< masc.)
 μὲν χάσωμεν ... τὴν Ἀμόχουστον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 434.16–17; τὴν ἄλυσον *ibid.* 482.26
 ὁ σύντεκνος τὴν σύντεκνον *Alosis* 222
 δίχως καμὶαν ἔμποδον *Theseid* I.128,5 (Follieri); στήν ἄμαξον ἀπάνω *ibid.* IX.47.1 (1529) (< ἡ ἄμαξα)
 σ' ποιά βρίσκομαι παράδεισο CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.18 (< masc.)
 εἰς τὴν ἄλυσον *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 129.21
 μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν κάμινον MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2559
 καὶ εὐρέθησαν σὲ σύνοδον (1613, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 2, 308.6)
 νὰ κερνοῦμεν εἰς τὴν τράπεζον (1634, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 58, 156.12–13) (< τράπεζα)
 εἰς τὴν ... Ἱεράπετρον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 146.19 (< τὰ Ἱεράπετρα)
 δὲν ἐκοβγόντουσαν μὲ τὴν ἄξιον (1667, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 53, 317.13) (< ἄξινη)
 στήν Πάτινο BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 261.2; στή Μύκονο *ibid.* 261.3
 εἰς τὴν Κίμουλον (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 139.3)
 καὶ ἀπεκεῖ ἐπῆγα στήν Ζάκυθο (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 507.23)
 μὲ κάθεν κόπον καὶ ἔξοδον (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.7)
 τὴν σύνοδο, τὴν σύνοδον SPANOS, *Grammar* 31.11

Vocative

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-ε

The inherited -ε ending is by far the most common throughout the period covered by this Grammar, at least for masculine nouns. As feminine proparoxytone nouns often have abstract meanings, not many examples have been found:

Masculine

Ἄγιε Στέφανε (10th/11th c.?, Tinos, FEISSEL 1980: 14, 490.1)
 ὦ χρυσόγαμβρε *Dig.* G IV.693
 ποῖσε το, ἀδελφούτισκε *Chron. Mor.* H 2741
 καὶ ἂν ἡμπορεῖς, υἱούτζικε *Spaneas* Z 4

τότε, ἥλιε, μὴ ἀνατεῖλῃς *Vulgärorakel* I.275

ὦ μισρὲ σκατόχοιρε *Diig. tetr.* 436

χαῖρε, κολοκυθοκέφαλε *Spanos* B 29; πρόδρομε τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου *ibid.* 39; σκορδοκόπανε *ibid.* 72

ὦ θάνατε σκοτεινέ, ὦ θάνατε πονιζάμενε *Fior* 91.37

κύρ γάδαρέ μου *Fyll. gadar.* 11; γλήγορα σκυλογάδαρε *ibid.* 159

ὦ βασιλεῦ Ἀλέξανδρε *Alex. Rim.* 2234; ὦ Βουκέφαλε *ibid.* 2917

ὕψηλόφρονε Τάρειε *Diig. Alex.* E 155.8 (Lolos)

νιούτσικε *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 270

ὀιμένα, σκύλε Μούστρουχε *CHORTATSI, Katz.* V.41; κι' ἐσύ, κακὲ Κατζάραττε *ibid.* V.277

τρῶγε καὶ πίνε, φίλε βάτραχε *Vios Aisop.* K 203.32

βούβαλε *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.137

ἐλεημοσύνη, καίσαρε *Zinon* I.175 (< καίσαρος < καίσαρ)

αὐθέντη κόνσολε *Thrinis Kyp.* 7

Feminine

ὦ σύνοδε *SPANOS, Grammar* 31.11

Addition of final /n/ is very rare: διατ' ἡ καντήλα σ', ἄνθρωπεν, δὲν ἔχει πλέον λάδι *Alfav.* 11 66 app. crit.

Masc. & Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-o

Vocatives in -o are occasionally found with both masculine and feminine nouns (see also HENRICH 1976): ὦ βασιλιόπουλλο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.5; τση πεθυμιάς παράδεισο *CHORTATSI, Panor.* II.534; ὦ σύνοδο *SPANOS, Grammar* 31.11.

Plural

Nominative

Masc. & Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-oi

The inherited nominative plural ending -oi is the only ending for masculine nouns, but no examples have been found of feminine nouns other than, sporadically, in grammars and mixed-register texts:

Masculine

καὶ ὡς ἤσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι *NIKON, Logos* 4 206.16

καὶ Ἄραβοι ἐξήσαν *Dig. G* V.177 (< Ἄραψ)

ἡμεῖς οἱ καλόγηροι (1415, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1979: App. XVII, 216)

τοιοῦτοι ἄνθρωποι *Assizes* B 282.31; ἐμέτρησάν τα οἱ φιλόσοφοι *ibid.* 284.15

ἐπνέασιν οἱ ἄνεμοι *Achil.* N 797

νὰ ζιοῦσιν οἱ κοιλιόδουλοι *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 323; διότι ἦσαν συνανάθροφοι *ibid.* 1354

τὸν εἶχα ἐβγάλει οἱ σύντιχοι (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 217.8) (= σύνδικοι)

οἱ ὀδεῖνες συμπεθεροι *Diig. Alex.* F 126.18–19 (Lolos)

οἱ ἀτσίγγανοι (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 220.25)

τοιαῦτα ἐκαρπώνουνταν οἱ ἅγιοι *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 227

οἱ Ἀτζάβολοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.11; οἱ Οὔγγαροι *ibid.* 97.25 (= Οὔγγροι)

οἱ Ἄραβοι τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 337.75) (< Ἄραψ)

ἀδελφοὶ Μαρκόπουλοι (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 733.2–3)
 κάπιοι ἐφημέριοι (1693, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 104, 301.7–8)
 οἱ ἔγγονοι (1694, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 47, 76.2)
 ἄγγελοι συντροφίασαν τὴν *Thrinos Kypr*: 143

Feminine

οἱ ἔρημοι GERMANO, *Grammar* 59.21

Forms with a shift of the stress to the penultimate have been found of masculine nouns only:¹²

οἱ διαδόχοι ἡμῶν (1243, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 293, 410.8)
 οἱ γαδάροι *Diig. tetr*: 691
 οἱ χρησμοὶ γὰρ καὶ ὄνειροι ERMON., *Ilias* 2.111 (< AG ὁ ὄνειρος)
 οἱ καλογέροι (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 176, 120.1)
 οἱ συντρόφοι σου (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 86.15)
 κινδύνοι φοβεροὶ *Byz. Il.* 395; τρεῖς καλογέροι ἐκάθοντα *ibid.* 444
 οἱ ἀνθρώποι SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 124
 οἱ δώδεκά του ἀγοῦροι *Achil.* N 462
 πολλοὶ ἅγιοι *Krasop.* V 81
 οἱ ἀνέμοι *Defi. Par.* 25
 ἐπηγαῖναν οἱ ἀνθρώποι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.25; ἦσαν ἀρχιεπισκόποι *ibid.* 28.8
 οἱ ἄγγελοι *Thysia Avr.* 6; οἱ ἄνθρωποι *ibid.* 610
 δέκα χιλιάδες Βουλγάροι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 38.35
 οἱ καλογέροι (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.35)
 οἱ διαδόχοι τῶν διαδόχων του (1576, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 79, 99.31)
 οἱ τουρκοκαλογέροι *Thrinos Konst.* (Zoras) 57
 γουμένοι καὶ γουμένισσες DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 666 (< ἡγούμενος)
 ἀναδόχοι ἦσαν (1695, Cythera, KALLIGEROS 2001: 21, 43.2)
 οἱ συνδῖχοι SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 37.21 (= σύνδικοι)

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες ἰ -αι

Feminine nouns in -ος show a clear tendency to adopt the more overtly feminine -ες ending (or even sporadically the archaizing -αι ending) of the old 1st declension (feminines in -α and -η):

οἱ ἔξοδες, τὰ πλευτικά πολὺ θέλουν κουστίσει *Chron. Mor.* H 601
 ἔξοδες νὰ γυρίσουν *Alex. Rim.* 687
 διὰ νὰ λείψουν κρίσες, ἔξοδες (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 31, 238.5)
 αἱ ἔξοδες οἱ ἐδικές σου (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 26, 31.21)
 διὰ νὰ λείψουν κρίσες καὶ ἔξοδες (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 157, 206.7)
 οἱ ἄμπελες καὶ οἱ σπορές MILOITIS, *Odoiopor.* MILOITIS, *Odoiopor.* 637.32
 οἱ ἐπτὰ σύνοδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §20.7
 οἱ ἄγνοι Κανόνες καὶ Σύνοδες (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 310.18)
 οἱ σύνοδες οἱ θεῖες KONDAR., *Paidēs* 1076
 βιβλία β' ὀκτώηχαι (1200, Patmos, ASTRUC 1981: 23.71)

¹² The form is likely to be masculine in the following example: ἀντὰ πληθυνίσκουσιν οἱ ὀξόδοι *Fior* 102.25.

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-εις/(-οις)

Sporadically one may even encounter what appears to be the ending of former 3rd-declension nouns in -ις (note the use of the archaizing article αἱ); for a discussion see the accusative plural below: αἱ ἐξόδεις καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα (1439–45, Florence, GILL 1953: II.10, 408.33).

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ε

This unusual ending occurs in a document from Pontos. It is likely to be phonological: a case of lowering of /i/ to /e/ in the environment of liquids and nasals (for details see I, 2.8.1; see also I, 2.5.2): οἱ καλογέρε τοῦ Βαζελών (15th c., Pontos, ALEXAKIS/MAVROMATIS 2015: 5, 12.7).

Genitive

Masc. & Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ων ὀ -ω ὀ -ωνε

Masculine

The standard ending for the genitive plural of masculine nouns is -ων, and the movement of the stress to the penultimate is generally observed. Examples for the feminine have only been found in grammars:

τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων *Vulgärorakel* I.379
 τόσων καλῶν ἀνθρώπων *Pol. Tr.* 5631
 βιβλία φιλοσόφων *Imber.* 72; μεγάλων διδασκάλων *ibid.* 73
 τῶν γαϊδάρων *Spanos* D 962
 νᾶ ἔναι τῶν καλογέρων βακούφια (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.45–6)
 ἄλλουῶν καλογέρων (1588 [17th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 464.25)
 τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνθρώπων (1653–55, Venice, FONKIČ 2000: 239, f.1v.2)

Feminine

τῶν ἐρήμων GERMANO, *Grammar* 59.22
 τῶν συνόδων SPANOS, *Grammar* 31.12

Occasionally forms may be found in which the historical shift of the stress to the penultimate is not observed:

καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς γεννητικὸς ἄνεμων τῶν ἀρκτῶν KAMAT., *Astron.* 2309
 φυλὴ δαιμόνων καὶ ἀγριότραγων *Spanos* D 849
 ἀνθρώπων χριστιανῶν (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 36, 37.8)
 μιὰ πενηταρὰ Ρωμιότουρκω γνῶμες (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 2, 27.6 facs.)

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from Crete, Mani and certain islands in the Aegean:

τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔν' δυνατὸ FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 117
 τῶν αὐτῶν καλογέρω (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 11, 134.15)

πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων αἶμα *P&N Diath.* 497; τῶν ἀγγέλων τῇ φωνῇ *ibid.* 4443
 τῶν Καλογέρων (1611, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: IV, 72.10)
 αὐτουνοῦ καὶ τῶν διαδόχων του (1630, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 41, 116.11)
 τὰ κορμιά ὀζῶ, δεντρῶ καὶ ἀθρώπων FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.369
 μιὰ πενηταρὰ Ρωμιότουρκων γνῶμες (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 2, 27.6 facs.)
 ἐφημέριο τῆς Κυρίας τῶν Ἀγγέλων (1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 5, 415.3)
 τῶν ἀπομοναρχῶ ἀθρώπων (1668, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 20, 425.14)
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 481.3)

Addition of *-(v)ε* occurs in texts from the Heptanese and the Peloponnese, and possibly Crete (see I, 2.6.3.1 for details):

ἐμπιστῶνε ἀθρώπωνε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 73, 81.5–6)
 τῶν αὐτῶνε συντρόφωνε (1689, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 40, 74.11)
 τῶν ἄνωθεν ἐπιτρόπωνε (1708, Peloponnese, PAPADOPOULOS 1976: 6, 124.25)
 τῶν συνόδωνε SPANOS, *Grammar* 31.12

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ους

Genitives plural in *-ους* occur routinely, with masculine nouns only, in texts from Cyprus. An example also occurs in the *Chronicle* of Papasynadinos (see 2.2.1 and 2.3.3 for more examples), and in a 10th-c. inscription from Paternit, Crimea (see 2.1.2 for a later example from the same area; both examples are discussed in MARKOPOULOS 2010). For a discussion see 1.2. These genitives show a shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate:

ἡγούμενος τῆς μονῆς τοὺς ἁγίους Ἀποστόλους (907, Crimea, LATYSHEV 1896: 69, 75.10–11)
 τὰ παιδιὰ ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 228.74); καὶ τοὺς
 ἀνθρώπους καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν (*ibid.* 254.929)
 μετὴν βουλήν τοὺς καλοὺς ἀνθρώπους *Assizes A* 26.17–18
 το ἕναν του σιρ Τζαν Τέρρας καὶ το ἄλλον τοὺς ἀθρώπους τῆς χώρας VOUSTR., *Chron. A*
 222.14–15
 τὰ φυσίσματα τοὺς ἀνέμους *Fior Suppl.* 270.9–10; τὸ τίμασμαν τοὺς ἄτυχους ἀνθρώπους *ibid.*
 273.15
 τὸ μαναστήρι τοὺς Ἀγίους Ἀποστόλους (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 2, 7.3–4)
 ἐνορίτης τοὺς Ἀγίους Θεοδώρους PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §18.1–2

Accusative

Masc. & Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ους

The accusative plural ending *-ους* is the most common ending for masculine nouns. With feminine nouns, which tend to either become masculine or undergo analogical influence from the feminine endings of the old 1st declension (see below), it is much less common. The accusative plural usually retains the historical shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate:

Masculine

τούς ἐλάφους *Dig.* E 1369 (< fem.)
 καὶ νὰ ἰδῆς τοὺς ἀγριοκάτους *Vulgärorakel* VII.11
 ἐξόδους ἔποικα πολλοὺς *Pol. Tr.* 1542 app. crit. (A) (< fem.); δύο παιδοπούλους 2546 app. crit. (B)
 τοὺς πολλοὺς βασάνους *Peri xen.* 350 (< fem.)
 γαδάρους ψοφισμένους *Poulol.* 572
 μὲ τοὺς αὐθεντοπούλους (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 290.19–20)
 μὲ ἐξόδους πολλοὺς (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 66.9–10) (< fem.)
 τοὺς θαλασσίμους, ἤγουν τοὺς ναύτας *Assizes A* 46.6; ὅλους τοὺς ἐξόδους *ibid.* 222.19 (< fem.)
 ἀπὲ τοὺς εἰσόδους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 52.23–4 (< fem.); καὶ κ' τουρκοπούλους *ibid.* 54.35;
 τοὺς παροίκους *ibid.* 540.13; ἀποὺ τοὺς ἐξόδους ἀποῦ 'πολομούσασιν *ibid.* 638.30 (< fem.)
 μὲ τοὺς ἐγγόνους καὶ δισεγγόνους CHEILAS, *Chron.* 354.8
 ἀνακατώθη ... μὲ παπαδοκαλογήρους (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 1, 290.20)
 διὰ τοὺς καλογέρους τοὺς (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.38)
 κ' ἐγέμωσαν οἱ ἐκκλησιῆς τοὺς τουρκοκαλογέρους *Thrinis Konst.* (Zoras) 55
 τετούς ἀρχιεπισκόπους (1653–5, Venice, FONKIC 2000: 240, f.1v.13)
 νὰ διώχνη τοὺς γαιδάρους *Vios Aisop.* K 205.31

Feminine

ἐξόδους ἔχοντες πολλὰς, εἰσόδους δὲ ὀλίγας *Ptoch.* II 84
 τὰς ἀπείρους ἐξόδους *Dig.* T 1534
 τὶς ἐρήμους GERMANO, *Grammar* 59.24

The accusative plural can sometimes be found without a shift of the stress:

εἰς χρουσοὺς ἄλυσους *Diig. Alex.* V 71.26–7 (< fem.)
 ἀπὸ τὸν Μιχαήλ καὶ Ἰωάννην Σαρακηνόπουλους (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 218.46)
 ὅτι χρεωστῶ σου τέσσερεις χοιρόπουλους (1539, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 964, 756.4–5)
 ὅχι μὲ ἔξοδους κακὲς DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 12, μ5v.22 (1561)
 ὡσάν ... ἐπίτροπους (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 6, 262.7)
 ἡδιωξες τοὺς ρηγόπουλους KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1411
 ma è meglio ἔξοδους GERMANO, *Grammar* 59.17
 διὰ τοὺς κάτοικους (1700, Demesticha, DOKOS 1975: 15, 175.6)

In specific phonetic environments final /s/ may be deleted in texts from south-western areas, e.g. μὲ τοὺς ἀξαδέλφου μας (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 19, 60.5). For details and more examples see I, 3.7.1.1.

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ες ἢ -ας

Feminine words in -ος, and especially prefixed forms of ὁδός such as ἔξοδος¹³ and σύνοδος tend to undergo analogical influence from the old 1st declension (feminines in -α and -η), adopting the -ες ending, or sporadically even the archaizing -ας ending:

¹³ In the case of ἔξοδος, this new plural normally means “expenses”, not “exits”, and one can sporadically even find a new singular formation based on this plural: μὲ χαρμοσύνην καὶ χαρὰ καὶ ἔξοδη μεγάλην *Chron. Mor.* P 8597; ἔνεκα τροφῆς καὶ ἐτέρας ἐξόδης ΔΟΥΚΑΣ, *Ist.*, 289.33.

μὲ ἔξοδες μεγάλες *Chron. Mor.* H 8597
 διὰ τὶς ὁδοὺς (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.15)
 μὲ ἔξοδες τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κωνσταντῆ (1535, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 4, 120.17)
 εἰς τὶς ἄμπελές τους *Pent. Gen.* 25.16
 ἀπὸ κακῆς ἔξοδες DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 19, ρ8v.2–3 (1561); μαζώνουνται εἰς τὲς σύνοδες
 id. *Logos* 21, φ4v.26
 μὲ σπέζες καὶ ἔξοδες ἐδικῆς του (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 31, 50.15)
 παράγραφες δὲν ἔχω μπλιὸ στὸ νοῦ μου *Stathis* I.293
 dicono anco l'Accusatiuo Plur. ὁδοὺς GERMANO, *Grammar* 59.16
 τὲς σύνοδες (1623, Bergamo, KORRE 2008: 2, 330.9)
 ἀπὸ τὲς ἔξοδός του PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §11.114
 διὰ χρέη καὶ ἔξοδες (1702, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 35, 49.10)
 καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐξόδας (1266, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 303, 434.19)
 ἔξοδας ἔχουσι πολλὰς *Ptoch.* II 84 app. crit. (H)

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-οι

An accusative ending -οι, identical to the nominative, has been found in texts from the Cyclades (see 1.3 for details):

ἀποῦ τὶς ἄνωθε καλογιέροι (1576, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 19, 151.17) (for the article τὶς see 5.2.1)
 καὶ τὶς ἄλλοι σύντροφοι (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.34–5)
 συνρωτήσας ἀνθρώποι πρατικοὶ (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 19, 34.20); καὶ νὰ
 βάνου ἀνθρώποι νὰ τὸ μοιράζουν (1706, *ibid.* 67, 78.18)

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-εῖς/-οῖς

With the noun ἔξοδος one may sporadically even encounter what appears to be the ending of former 3rd-declension nouns in -ις (see 2.12.4). However, it is likely that this plural is in fact modelled on the obsolete dative plural ἔξόδοις (as the notary Maras invariably spells it; he has many instances of the form, but always in the same phrase: ἀπάνω εἰς τὰς ἔξόδοις μου/σου/του, etc.). The dative plural regularly appears in stock phrases such as ἔξόδοις καὶ ἀναλώμασι (for the dative see 1.1; also note the use of the archaizing article τὰς in all of the examples below); cf. the nominative plural above:

πάσας τὰς ἔξοδεις (1439–45, Florence, GILL 1953: I.24, 222.29–30); ἔστειλαν κάτεργα καὶ
 ἔξοδεις (*ibid.* II.7, 391.16–17); τὰς ἔξοδεις εἰς οὐδὲν ἐλογιζόμεθα (*ibid.* II.10, 420.30)
 τὰς ἔξοδεις (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 85, 189.7; *ibid.* 189.14)
 ἀπάνω εἰς τὰς ἔξόδοις μας (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 1, 3.9)
 τὰς ἔξοδεις τοῦ ἐλαιοτριβείου (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 214, 214.9)

Vocative

Masc. & Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-οι

The vocative plural is identical to the nominative:

Masculine

- ἔγῳ ἔκυνήγουν, ἄγουροι *Dig.* E 505
 σύντροφοι, στρατιῶται *Achil.* O 154
 ὦ σύντροφοι ἐδικοί μου *Diig. Alex.* F 138.14–15 (Lolos)
 ὦ ἄνθρωποι Δελφοί *Vios Aisop.* D 243.14
 ὦ καλοί μου σύνδουλοι *Vios Aisop.* K 153.12; ὦ Σάμιοι *ibid.* 190.9
 ἔσεῖς, κουζουλότατοι ἄνθρωποι *AGAP., Mart. Ag. Deka* 305
 ὦ σύντροφοί μου *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2674

Feminine

- ὦ ἔρημοι *GERMANO, Grammar* 59.25

It can also be found with a shift of the stress to the penultimate (cf. the nominative):

- ἀγοῦροι ἀπὸ τοῦ Λύκαντος, ἀγοῦροι ἀπὸ τὴν βίγλαν *Dig.* E 921
 οὐαί, λέγει, κακότυχοι, ἐντροπιασμένοι ἄνθρωποι *Pol. Tr.* 3520
 συντρόφοι, στρατιῶται *Achil.* N 249
 συντρόφοι ἐδικοί μου *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 292
 τυράννοι, ἀκούσετε *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2513
 φίλοι καὶ συντρόφοι *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 380.32
 ἄγνωστοι γαῖδάροι *Diig. Alex.* F 232.18 (Lolos)
 συντρόφοι μου *KONDAR., Paides* 102

2.1.4 Transfers to Other Paradigms

Certain nouns in -ος may change gender and develop alternative forms belonging to other paradigms (for feminines see also HATZIDAKIS 1885). Some masculine nouns develop neuter alternatives in -ος (see also 2.23):

- τὸ ἔπαινός του *Assizes* B 274.27
 ὀλίγο δρόσος (15th c., Cyprus?, TSANGALAS 1983: 131.7)
 τὸ ζήλος *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 585
 ἐμάζωνε βίος πολὺ *VENDRAMOS, Istor. Filarg.* 115
 με μεγάλο θρήνος *Theseid* VI.62,4 (Olsen)
 τὸ θρήνος *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 948
 ποταμούς καὶ βράχη [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1477
 τὰ βράχη (1604, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 146.9)

Other masculine, and sporadically feminine, nouns develop alternative forms according to the neuter paradigm in -ο(ν): some for the plural only (e.g. ὁ βόρβορος, ὁ δεσμός, ὁ πηλός, ὁ λαγκός),¹⁴ while others form neuter singular forms as well (e.g. ὁ κίνδυνος, ἡ βάσανος) (see also 2.19):

- ἐκυλιέτον εἰς τὰ βόρβορα *Pist. kekoim.* 463
 ἄμμη δεσμά καὶ βάσανα *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 169; ὅπου δεσμά καὶ κάκωσις *ibid.* 325
 ὅμως ὅχι χωρὶς κίνδυνα (1682–9, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 11, 279.249)
 κυλιοῦνται εἰς τὰ πηλὰ *P&N Diath.* 368

¹⁴ Both δεσμά and πηλά pre-date the LMedG period, see LSJ, s.v. δεσμός and LAMPE, *Lex.* s.v. πηλόν.

να βρίσκεται εις τα δεσμά ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 3683
 στὰ λαγκά *Thysia Avr.* 1047
 ἐκεῖ ἤτονε τὸ πλεόν κίνδυνον *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 84.13
 πολλὰ κίντυνα (1710, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 32, 94.7)
 σὲ βάσανο περισσο *CHORTATSI*, *Erof.* I.77

Two paroxytone masculine words, namely λόγος and χρόνος, have alternative neuter plural forms in -ια of the neuter paradigms in -ιον/-ιν (see 2.20). The plural λόγια of τὸ λόγιον “oracle” had begun to mean “sayings, words” in Hellenistic times (see LSJ, s.v.) and thus attached itself as an alternative plural to λόγος. The form is still the most common SMG plural of λόγος meaning “word”. The word χρόνος developed neuter plural forms (now common in SMG) in the later EMG period. These alternative neuter plural forms are used mainly for the nominative and the accusative. Genitives are very rare, appearing for the sake of the metre in Ermoniakos and influenced by the learned original he was translating in Venetzas: τῶν ὑστάτων τῆς λογίων *ERMON.*, *Ilias* 23.196; με ... ἀκρόασιν τῶν θείων λογίων *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 33.9.¹⁵ Some LMedG and EMG examples are:

τίτοια λόγια ἤρηνεν *Log. parag.* L 642
 μηδὲν πλανηθῆτε εἰς τῶν Φραγγῶν τὰ λόγια (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.15)
 ἦσαν με λόγια ἑβραϊκά *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 6
 τῶν θείων λογίων *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 33.9
 τέτοια λόγια (1652, Milos, SYMEONIDIS 1989: 2, 118.7)
 χρόνια εἰκοσιένα *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 569.25
 τόσα χρόνια νὰ γυρίζουνε στὰ βουνὰ *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 30.1–4
 ἡμεῖς γνωρίζουμάσθε ἀπὸ μικρὰ μας χρόνια *Don Kis.* 131.8
 με λόγια ἄπρεπα *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 42.37

Sporadically other nouns in -ος may form alternative (non-diminutive) forms in /i(o)(n)/, e.g. με θρηνίον μέγαν καὶ κλαθμόν *Diig. Alex.* F 138.6 (Lolos) (< ὁ θρήνος); τὰ περικούλα καὶ τὰ φόβια τῆς στράτας (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.12) (< ὁ φόβος).

Quite a few masculine nouns in -ος develop alternative singular forms according to the proparoxytone masculine paradigm in -ας (note that the /os/ and the proparoxytone /as/ paradigms have the same endings for gen. sg. – e.g. ἀνθρώπου and κοράκου – and the plural of all cases, see 2.2.5 for details):

μάγειρος > μάγειρας
 ὄρισα τὸν μάγερα *Alex. Rim.* 1703
 εἰς μάγειρα πλησίον *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 25.1
 ὁ μάγειρας *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2143
 ἔγγονος > ἔγγονας
 ἔγγονας Φιλίππου (1047/8, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 4, 81.1)
 τὸν ἔγγοναν *Dig.* E 507

κάβουρος > κάβουρας
 ὁ κάβουρας παγαίνει τῆς ἀναποδίας (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 59.3)

¹⁵ In earlier texts τὰ χρόνια (adjective; sc. μνημόσυνα) means “first annual mass”, e.g. πρὶν διαβοῦν τὰ χρόνια τοῦ τεθνεώτος *Assizes* B 371.21; ἔφθασαν τὰ χρόνια τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Ἐκτόρου *Pol. Tr.* 7681 app. crit. (B); νὰ με μνημονεύς ἕως τὰ χρόνια (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 1, 3.15); εἰς τὰ χρόνια ὁ,τι ἐξοδίασα (1642, Crete, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 21, 16.41).

τράχηλος > τράχηλας

εἰς τοῦ φαρίου τὸν τράχηλαν *Achil.* L 851

κόνσουλος > κόνσουλας

τοῦ κούνσουλα (1582, Patras, ZOIS 1936/37: 17–18, λγ'.3)

Φίλιππος > Φίλιππας

υἱοὶ Φίλιππας καὶ Ἀκριβός (1649–69, Thessaly, SPANOS 2001: 340, f.83r.14)

Transfers to the -ης paradigm (see 2.3) are rarer: μ' ἕναν ἀφέντην Πορτογαλέζη (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 67, f.IV.3); Φραντζέσιδας ΔΟΥΚΑΣ, *Hist.* 52.12; Γενιτζάριδας *ibid.* 67.12; ἔλειπεν ὁ γάτης | κι ἀντὶς τὸν γάτον πῆγα ἐγὼ *Fyll. gadar.* 173–4 (< κάττος < Lat. *cattus*). However, they do occur routinely, through the attachment of a derivational suffix, with certain proper names such as Ἀγγελος, Αὔγουστος, Θεόδωρος, Λάζαρος, Πέτρος and others, some of which become oxytone in the process, e.g. τοῦ προειρημένου Θεοδωρῆ (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 183.24); τοῦ ποτὲ Ἀγουστῆ Κορφιάτη (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 55, 48.5); ὁ ἄνωθεν κύρ Ἀγγελῆς (1631, Kefalonia, PETROPOULOS 1962: B.1, 309.12); ὁ κύρ Θεοδωρῆς Καλιμάνης (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 2, 30.3); τοῦ ἄνωθεν κύρ Κωνσταντῆ (1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 703, 607.10–11); κύρ Στεφανῆ Πουλιώτη (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 200, 168.22); Πετρῆς Φρουδίτης στέργω (1685, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 3, 126.27).

Sporadically feminine nouns in -ος may become neuters in -ος (2.23): τὸ Σκιάθος (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 142.11); or in -ο(ν) (2.19): τὸ Σκούπελο ἔχει β' νησόπουλα (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 142.7) (< ἡ Σκόπελος). In the *War of Troy* the masculine word μεγιστάνος (< μεγιστάν) has a feminine counterpart (plural only): ὅλας τὰς μεγιστάνας *Pol. Tr.* 1840 (reading of mss AX); ὅλες τὲς μεγιστάνες *ibid.* app. crit. (BV).

MASCULINE

2.2 Masculine Nouns in /as/

The AG 1st-declension nouns in -ας, very limited in number, were paroxytone,¹⁶ parisyllabic and had gen. sg. in -ου, at least in Attic (e.g. νεανίας, νεανίου). Early on they started to follow the declensional pattern of the new paradigm in -ας in the singular, a pattern that would eventually become dominant for the singular of most masculine nouns ending in vowel + final /s/ (with the exception of those in /os/, see 2.1): nom. sg. in -ς; gen. acc. and voc. drop -ς; acc. may preserve -ν.¹⁷ Gen. sg. in -α instead of -ου can occasionally already be found in AG and had become common by the time of the grammarian Herodian (2nd c. AD); see DIETERICH 1898: 171, whose earliest example dates from the 5th c. BC (proper name Φιλέας); see also HATZIDAKIS 1892: 76–7; JANNARIS 1897: 108; SEILER 1958: 54; GIGNAC 1981: 14; PSALTES 1913: 139–40; HORROCKS 2010: 286. Their nominative

¹⁶ Unless they were the result of contraction, as is the case with βορρᾶς (< βορέας).

¹⁷ The development of the genitive in /a/ is clear: it is formed from the nominative by omitting final /s/. Writing the genitive of oxytone nouns with a circumflex, as if it were a contracted form, instead of an acute is therefore unnecessary.

plural ending was originally -αι and their accusative -ας, but both gradually changed to -ες by analogy with 3rd-declension nouns, which had followed the same development considerably earlier (JANNARIS 1897: 106–7; DIETERICH 1898: 156–7; SEILER 1958: 55; GIGNAC 1981: 46–7); cf. masculine nouns in /is/ (2.3) and feminine nouns in /a/ and /i/ (2.11, 2.12). By the beginning of the period covered by this Grammar this small group of nouns had become obsolete and occurs only residually, with the exception of proper names such as Ζαχαρίας and Ἀνδρέας.

In Ionic and later in Attic a group of oxytone masculine nouns in -ᾱς had emerged, consisting mainly of proper names and hypocoristics, i.e. pet names and nicknames (JANNARIS 1897: 110; DIETERICH 1898: 166–7; PETERSEN 1937: 121), and therefore largely lacking a plural. From the very beginning these nouns had genitives in -ᾱ, not in -οῦ. The origin of this group of nouns is unknown, but they have little to do with the 1st declension (CHANTRAINE ²1984: 56). When in Hellenistic and Roman times the oxytone -ᾱς ending started to be used to denote profession, they were in need of a plural (CHANTRAINE ²1984: 56 mentions κλειδᾱς and μαχαίρᾱς;¹⁸ also consider loanwords such as ἄββᾱς, a fully declined singular of which is frequent in the 4th-c. *Apophthegmata*). In Ionic and the Koine these nouns had genitives in -ᾱδος (JANNARIS 1897: 110–11; DIETERICH 1898: 166–7; CHANTRAINE ²1984: 56; see also PETERSEN 1937: 121–2, who provides inscriptional evidence from the 5th c. BC onwards), a formation similar to 3rd-declension oxytone nouns in -ᾱς such as νομάς, φαγᾱς and φυγᾱς, which had gen. in -ᾱδος and nom. pl. in -ᾱδες. What emerges then is in fact a new paradigm, with parisyllabic singular forms and an imparisyllabic plural.

The imparisyllabic plural in nom. -ᾱδες, acc. -ᾱδας, gen. -ᾱδων¹⁹ is securely attested from the MedG period onwards; see among others SOPHOCLES, *Lex.* 34; JANNARIS 1897: 111; DIETERICH 1898: 166–7 and PSALTES 1913: 168–70, who quote multiple examples from Theophanes (8th/9th c.) and *De Ceremoniis* (10th c.). According to HORROCKS ²2010: 287–8 the development is already apparent in texts of Hellenistic and Roman times, though he does not give any specific examples. The earliest examples so far of an imparisyllabic plural of one of the new non-1st-declension nouns can be found in the Acts of the Council of Constantinople/Jerusalem (a. 536), where there are seven mentions of a μονή τῶν Εὐκρατάδων (ed. Schwartz; see also the online *TLG*).²⁰ Further examples

¹⁸ PETERSEN 1937: 125 mentions the word ἐμβᾱδᾱς “cobbler” in Theopompos (5th/4th c. BC), which, however, still has a derisive connotation.

¹⁹ The use of the acute versus the circumflex was entirely graphematic after the loss of vowel length distinction. Therefore in this Grammar the acute will be employed.

²⁰ There is circumstantial evidence that -ᾱδες became productive for masculine nouns in /as/ quite early on. Consider the following example from Gregory of Nazianzos (4th c. AD; ed. Migne): ἀκτέανοι, κινυροὶ χαμαιευνάδες, οἰοχίτωνες | βαιὸν ἀναπνεύοντες, ἀγαστορες ... “poor, wailing, who sleep on the ground wearing only a tunic, barely breathing, fasting ...”. The plural χαμαιευνάδες is otherwise attested in Homer and in Euboulos (4th c. BC). In Homer it is a 3rd-declension feminine adjective: σῦες χαμαιευνάδες “sows that sleep on the ground”. In Euboulos it is used pejoratively referring to philosophers: οὗτοι ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιευνάδες ἀερίοικοι Euboulos, *Fragm.* 139.1 (ed. Kock) “those [philosophers] with their dirty feet who sleep on the ground and dwell in the air”; as such it could be interpreted as a feminine (“who are on-the-ground-sleeping [sows]”), though it cannot be excluded entirely that it was intended as a masculine. In Gregory of Nazianzos, however, the form is clearly masculine, referring in a positive sense to the humility of monks.

can be found in Leontios of Neapolis's *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool* and *Life of John the Almsgiver* (7th c.): ἤρξαντο καταλέγειν εἰς ἀββάδας Leontios, *Symeon* 91.17–18 (eds. Festugière/Rydén);²¹ τοῦ κυροῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ τοῦ κυροῦ Σωφρονίου τῶν εὐκρατάδων id., *John* 373.33–4. Imparissyllabic plurals in -άδες are also found in MedG high-register texts: ἵνα μὴ μόνον κρυπτοὶ κερατάδες ᾗτε Arethas, *Scripta minora* 26, 240.13 (10th c.; ed. Westerink);²² and the fact that the earliest examples within the period covered by this Grammar are place names clearly indicates that the ending was common in the spoken language, e.g. εἰς τὸ χωρίον Κλαπατουράδες (1047, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 29, 258.34);²³ νῆσος ἡ λεγομένη Καυκανάδες (ibid. 260.77); τὸ νησίον οἱ Καυκανάδες (1104 [14th-c. copy], Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 52, 233.194). The imparissyllabic plural then underwent a change in the ending from nom. -άδες/ acc. -άδας to nom./acc. -άδες, following a trend that had already set in with 3rd-declension consonant stems in the Roman period (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 379; DIETERICH 1898: 155–8; HORROCKS 2010: 117 and 286–7). The -άδες plural is the dominant plural for oxytone masculine nouns in -άς in the period covered by this Grammar, also extending to loanwords from Turkish and other languages.

New -ας paradigms emerged with the demise of the 3rd declension, which saw many words obtaining a new paroxytone or proparoxytone nom. sg. in -ας, built on the analogy of the accusative singular, which with the loss of vowel length distinction and the subsequent addition of final /n/ had become identical to the acc. sg. of the 1st declension (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 79–80 and DIETERICH 1898: 158–62). Written evidence for this transition, in the form of a nominative singular in -ας, has not been found before the 5th c. AD:²⁴ a proper name ὁ Ἰέρακας (< ἰέραξ) appears twice in the *Life of Epiphanius* (late 5th c.): τὸ δὲ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο Ἰέρακας (PG 41, 57B) and καὶ ἦν Ἰέρακας ἀναυδὸς διαμένων (ibid. 60A; both quoted in JANNARIS 1897: 122). An even earlier example appears to be the

²¹ Note that the word had also entered the derivational system, as the same Leontios in his *Life of John the Merciful* also has the following derived form, based on the extended dental stem ἀββαδ-: ἀληθῶς καλὸν ἀββαδόπουλον ἐγέννησας Leontios, *Ioannis Eleimon* 400.27 (eds. Festugière/Rydén).

²² “Archaized” nominatives plural in -άδαι, which conflate the new nom. pl. ending -άδες with the ending -αι of the old 1st declension, can occasionally be found in texts that aim at a high register, but have not been found in the texts examined for this Grammar.

²³ Cf. γῆς ... ὀνομαζομένης τοῦ Κλαπατουρά (1321, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 108, 195.304).

²⁴ An oft-quoted form ἀέρας in a 2nd/3rd-c. papyrus is unlikely to be an innovative nom. sg. of ἀήρ, as the passage does not make much sense: ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε πάση φωνῇ, τὸν τὰ πάντα περιέχοντα· καὶ πάση διαλέκτῳ ὑμῶν σε ἐγώ, ὡς πρῶτος ὑμνησέ σ' ὁ ὑπὸ σέ ταχθεὶς καὶ πάντα πιστευθεὶς τὰ αὐθεντικά, ἥλιος Ἀχεβυχρωμ'· ὁ ἡμνουέτ' τοῦ δίσκου τὴν φλόγα καὶ τὴν ἀκτίνα, οὗ ἡ δόξα· ααα, ηηη, ωωω, ὅτι διὰ σ' ἐνεδοξάσθη· ἀέρας, εἶθ' ὡσαύτως ἀλλομορφούμενος, τοὺς ἀστέρας ἱστάς, καὶ τῷ φωτὶ τῷ ἐνθῷ κτίζων τὸν κόσμον, ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἔστις τὰ πάντα (LEEMANS 1885: 117) “I call upon Thee loudly, Thee who comprises all; and I praise Thee in every language, as first praised Thee he who is subject to Thee and is entrusted with all things authoritative, [the] sun Achebychrom; who [...] the flame and the beam of the disk, to whom glory be; aaa, iii, ooo, as the Sun is glorified because of you; air (?), and then disguised in the same manner, having placed the stars [on the firmament] and building with Thy divine light the world, in which Thou made everything.” It is more likely that we should read ὅτι διὰ σ' ἐνεδοξάσθη [sc. <ὁ> ἥλιος, the sun, who here equals the demiurg]· ἀείρας (masc. aor. part. of ἀείρω) “having raised up ... and placed the stars, etc.”. There are other instances in the ms where the scribe confuses /i/ and /e/, see LEEMANS 1885: 79. Furthermore the lemma ρήγας in SOPHOCLES, *Lex.* s.v. is based on an accusative ρῆγαν in *Anon.* 358.9, which could be the old acc. ρῆγα (+ final /n/) of ρῆξ, and does not prove the existence of a nom. sg. ρῆγας in the 10th c.

following in a fragmentary work attributed to the astrologer Antiochos of Athens (2nd c. AD): μοιχαλὶς γενήσεται ἡ γυνή καὶ ὁ ἄνδρας βαιοθάνατος ANTIOCHOS, *Fragm.* 109.7 (ed. Boll); some caution is due, though, as the attribution seems far from secure and the text may well be Byzantine (the ms, Monac. gr. 287, dates to the late 14th c.). Some of these new former 3rd-decl. nouns in /as/ adopted the imparisyllabic plural in -άδες, but most of them did not (see below). In the period covered by this Grammar new paroxytone nouns in /as/ were also derived from loanwords from Italian, Turkish and Slavic. These new words demonstrate a clear preference for the plural in -άδες.

The LMedG and EMG nouns in /as/ can be divided into five sub-paradigms, each with their own characteristics. Sub-paradigm 2.2.1 comprises oxytone and paroxytone nouns with an imparisyllabic plural in -άδες:²⁵ the oxytone nouns denote profession, rank or title (μυλωνάς, παπάς, ἄββάς, ἀμνιάς), or physical/personal characteristics (κερατάς, παλληκαράς), and the paradigm also includes a group of later loanwords from Turkish (ἀγάς, καμουχάς, Μουσταφάς) and the regional form ξυλαλάς (< ξυλαλόη), which occurs in texts from south-eastern areas such as Cyprus and Rhodes. The group of paroxytone nouns includes later loanwords from Italian, Slavic and Turkish (πάπας, βοεβόδας, χότζας), personal and family names such as Νικήτας, Μιχολίνας, and pet names such as κύρκας, υἱόκας and γρίβας, which rarely form a plural; the sub-paradigm further includes the few inherited former 1st-declension nouns (e.g. Ζαχαρίας), which rarely appear in the plural, unless the word is used as a family name, e.g. οἱ ἄνωθεν Ἰωάννης καὶ Μανέας Ζαχαρίας (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 257α, 255.1); τοῦ κύρ Ἰωάννου Ζαχαρίου (ibid. 257, 254.2); τῶν ἄνωθεν Ζαχαριάδων (ibid. 255.19) (for plural formations of personal names see also 2.10). Some former 3rd-declension nouns, which usually transfer to sub-paradigm 2.2.5, are sometimes reanalysed as belonging to sub-paradigm 2.2.1: ἐλέφας, which usually is reformed to ἐλέφαντας:²⁶ ὥσπερ λέφας *Spanos* D 1687; τοῦ ἐλέφα *Diig. tetr.* 977; ἔμοιαζεν ὥσπερ λέφα *Alex. Rim.* 2071; Πεντακοσίους ἤφεραν τότε σ' ἐμὲν λεφάδες *Alex. Rim.* 2569; and γίγας, which usually becomes γίγαντας: τοῦ Ἰασοῦ τοῦ γίγα *Pol. Tr.* 137.

Sub-paradigm 2.2.2 consists of paroxytone nouns with a parisyllabic plural in -ες or, rarely, an imparisyllabic plural in -άδες; this sub-paradigm includes disyllabic nouns which derive from monosyllabic former 3rd-declension nouns such as μήνας (< μήν, acc. μήνα(ν)), γύπας (< γύψ, acc. γύπα(ν)); it also includes the word ἄνδρας (< ἀνὴρ, acc. ἄνδρα(ν)). These nouns have parisyllabic plural formations and a strong tendency to retain their 3rd-declension genitive singular in -ός. Their genitive plural usually retains the historical shift of the stress to the ultimate.

Sub-paradigm 2.2.3 is a two-word paradigm that covers the loanwords ρήγας (< ρήξ, acc. ρήγα(ν) < Lat. *rex*) and δούκας (< δούξ, acc. δούκα(ν) < Lat. *dux*). These two nouns show similarities with sub-paradigm 2.2.2 in the singular, but show a preference for the

²⁵ Note that an imparisyllabic plural of the paroxytone word Ἀκαρνάνας can be found in the *Souda Lexicon* (10th c.): οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνανάδες *Souda* s.v. ἀπαλγοῦντες.

²⁶ A proparoxytone form ἔλεφας appears in *Diig. tetr.* for metrical reasons (before the caesura): τότε ἐλθὼν ὁ ἔλεφας *Diig. tetr.* 904.

imparisyllabic plural in -άδες of sub-paradigm 2.2.1, probably because they belong to the same semantic field of profession/rank/title as many of the nouns in 2.2.1.

Sub-paradigm 2.2.4 covers paroxytone nouns in /as/ with a parisyllabic plural in -ες; this sub-paradigm includes words of more than two syllables (cf. the disyllabic paradigm 2.2.2), mostly derived from plurisyllabic oxytone former 3rd-declension nouns (liquid and nasal stems) such as ἀστέρας (< ἀστήρ, acc. ἀστέρα(ν)), λιμένας (< λιμήν, acc. λιμένα(ν)), πατέρας (< πατήρ, acc. πατέρα(ν)), χειμώνας (< χειμών, acc. χειμώνα(ν)). Not many new nouns are formed according to this sub-paradigm, though a few examples are words indicating a place with specific characteristics such as λιμ(ν)ιώνας (port), δενδριώνας (woodland) and παλιουρίλας (thicket of crown-of-thorns shrubs), formed by analogy with words such as ἀμπελώνας (vineyard), ἐλαιώνας (olive grove) and καλαμιώνας (reed-bed): ὅπου ἦτον ὁ λιμιώνας *Chron. Mor.* H 9203; ἦτον πολὺς δενδριώνας *Dig. E* 1623; καλαμιώνας, παλιουρίλας, Μαραθώνας *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 45.29.

Finally, sub-paradigm 2.2.5 includes all proparoxytone nouns in -ας with a parisyllabic plural in -ες or -οι, derived from paroxytone 3rd-declension nouns based on their consonantal stems, such as αὐτοκράτορας (< αὐτοκράτωρ, acc. αὐτοκράτορα(ν)); γέροντας (< γέρων, acc. γέροντα(ν)); δαίμονας (< δαίμων, acc. δαίμονα(ν)); ἔρωτας (< ἔρως, acc. ἔρωτα(ν)); κόμιτας (< κόμη, acc. κόμιτα(ν)); κόρακας (< κόραξ, acc. κόρακα(ν)); and many others. It also includes new proparoxytone nouns, including loanwords, such as ἀγκούτσakas, ζήτουλας, λούμπινας, κάπονας, κάρλακας, κόστινας, words in -ακας (e.g. μεθύστακας) and others. This -ας paradigm has alternative endings for gen. sg. and nom./voc. and acc. pl. influenced by the /os/ paradigm. These alternative endings had come into being long before the LMedG period, and become especially frequent in texts of the LMedG and EMG periods; see DIETERICH 1898: 163 and GIGNAC 1981: 44–5, who quote a genitive singular ἄλεκτόρου from a 4th-c. papyrus.

Transfers between the sub-paradigms are limited to compound words derived from oxytone nouns such as παπάς and ἀγάς, which may remain oxytone: πρωτοπαπὰς τῆς νήσου Ζίας (1594, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 57, 80.16); or become proparoxytone, thus transferring to sub-paradigm 2.2.5: τὸν ἀπόπαπαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 566.23; κύρ Νικόλας τοῦ Κουλίπαπα υἱὸς (1503, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 112, 222.2); γιανιτζάραγαν MAXIMOS, *Synax. Ag. Nik.* 137.8–9 (< Turk. *yeniçeri ağa*); πρωτόπαπας, ὁ Ντεβήσαγας PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §30.5. These compounds, however, retain the imparisyllabic plural of the oxytone sub-paradigm: φραγκοπαπάδες, λαϊκοὶ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 176.4.

Quite a few masculine nouns in -ος develop alternative nom., acc. and voc. sg. forms in accordance with the proparoxytone masculine paradigm in -ας (sub-paradigm 2.2.5) due to the fact that the proparoxytone /as/ paradigm shares alternative endings for gen. sg. and all cases in the plural with the /os/ paradigm (see below and 2.1.3). Thus, among many others, μάγειρος may become μάγειρας: ὅρισα τὸν μάγερα *Alex. Rim.* 1703; εἰς μάγειρα πλῆσιον ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 25.1; τὸν μάγειραν *Theophr. Char.* 121.27; τοῦ μαστρὸ Μαρτίνου μάγειρα *Bertoldos* 82.23; ὁ μάγειρας PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2143; ἔγγονος can become ἔγγονας (cf. fem. ἡ ἐγγόνα for ἡ ἐγγόνῃ, see the introduction to 2.11): ἔγγονας Φιλίππου

(1047/8, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 4, 81.1); τὸν ἔγγοναν *Dig. E* 507; ἔγγονας *Chron. Toc.* 1029; τοῦ ἔγγονά μου (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 8, 7.8); μετὰ τὸν αὐτὸ ἔγγονά της (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 610, 841.25); κάβουρος has an alternative κάβουρας: ὁ κάβουρας παγαίνει τῆς ἀναποδίας (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 59.3); με κάβουρα ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 69.1; ὁ κάβουρας, τοῦ καβούρου, τὸν κάβουρα, ὦ κάβουρα GERMANO, *Grammar* 60.2–6; κόνσουλος may become κόνσουλας (κούνσουλας): τοῦ κούνσουλα (1582, Patras, ZOIS 1936/37: 17–18, λγ'.3); Νικόλαος may become Νικόλας through vowel deletion (see I, 2.9.2.1): τοῦ Νικόλα Κάλπο (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 2, 18.13); Φίλιππος may become Φίλιππας: υἱοὶ Φίλιππας καὶ Ἀκριβός (1649–69, Thessaly, SPANOS 2001: 340, f.83r.14); and Ματθαῖος has a variant Ματθίας: ὁ Ματθίας SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 15.8. Transfers from the /os/ paradigm to the oxytone -άς paradigm are much rarer: εἰς τῶνο Καλογεράδω ἀμπέλια (1685, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 73, 60.9) (< place name Καλογεράδες < Καλογεράς; for τῶνο see I, 2.6.3).

Nouns derived from Turkish nouns in /e/ may also develop alternative forms in -άς (e.g. λουφές, μπαχτζές): ἐπερίσσευε τὸν λοφᾶ τοὺς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 125.14; καὶ τὸν μπαχτζιά ἐφκίασεν ὑπέρκαλα PAPASYNAD., *Chron. I* §19.17. Some Turkish nouns in /e/ appear only to have formed Greek nouns in -άς: ὁ ζαλαχανάς, ἤγουν τὸ μακελεῖον τῆς πόλεως (16th c., Constantinople?, BENEŠEVIĆ 1919: 408.14) (< Turk. *selhane*).

Occasionally feminine nouns in -α and feminine former 3rd-declension nouns may transfer to the masculine sub-paradigms 2.2.5 (proparoxytone) and 2.2.4 (paroxytone) through grammatical gender change: ὁ λαίλαπας ἐτοῦτος *Jonas* 214.33 (< ἡ λαίλαψ); εἰς τοὺς γαλιότες (1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9a, 70.21) (< ἡ γαλιότα); ᾗ τὸ μήλιγγάν του *P&N Diath.* 3046 (< ἡ μήνιγξ); διὰ τὸν Ἀλασσόνα (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 307, f.1r.14) (< ἡ Ἐλασσών); τοῦ Ἀλασσόνος (*ibid.* 307.15 (1r)); ᾗ τὸν Λάρνακαν *Thrinok. Kypr.* 162 (< ἡ Λάρναξ); even the foreign place name Ancona may sporadically become masculine, probably by association with ἀγκών/ἀγκώνας: στὸν Ἀγκόνα (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.Address); τοῦ Ἀγκόνος (*ibid.*).

Two especially inventive new formations are ὁ Φράντσας and ὁ Σπάνιας, derived from the genitives singular τῆς Φράντσας (of France) and τῆς Σπάνιας (of Spain) and denoting the respective kings of these countries (ὁ ρήγας τῆς Φράντσας/Σπάνιας): ὁ Φράτσας KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VI.221; τοῦ Φράντσα τὸ στρατόπεδον *ibid.* VII.300; τὸν Φράντσα νὰ διώξωμεν *ibid.* V.42; ὁ Σπάνιας *ibid.* VIII.11; τοῦ Σπάνια *ibid.* VIII.137; ἐπῆρεν ὁ Σπάνιας τὴν Γένουβαν (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 260.86.1); τοῦ ρηγὸς τοῦ Σπάνια (16th c. [18th-c. ms], Unknown, *ibid.* 59.IV, 444.32.5); εἶν' ὁ Σπάνιας ᾗ σιμὰ *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 165; μόνον θέλομε τὸν Σπάνια ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 49.23. In verse texts the noun Μάης (< Μάιος) may become Μᾶς through contraction: ἔρχεται ὁ Μᾶς *Flor. L* 1547 (Cupane); καὶ Μᾶ κατακαμμένη *Dimotiko* (Lambros) 5; ὁ βασιλείας τῶν μηνῶν ὁ Μᾶς λογιάζω εἶναι PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 2395.

A feminine noun in -ή that gave rise to a new masculine form is the word κεφαλή (pl. κεφαλές or κεφαλᾶδες), which has a plural-only masculine derivative οἱ κεφαλᾶδες meaning “heads, leaders”, belonging to paradigm 2.2.1: τοὺς κεφαλᾶδες *Chron. Mor. H* 2894; οἱ πρῶτοι κεφαλᾶδες ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 53.11, cf. καὶ κεφαλὴν τοὺς ἔδωσε ἄρχοντα

γιαννινιώτην *Chron. Toc.* 2076. The singular κεφαλάς has an entirely different meaning and is only used as a nickname (“big-head”) and by extension as a surname: Γιούργης Κεφαλάς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 256, 254.15). A similar innovative formation, derived from a feminine loanword, is the following: οἱ Σανιτάδες *Stathis* III.81 “health inspectors” (< Ven. *Sanità*); τῶν Σανιτάδων PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 118.15; οἱ Σανιτάδες *ibid.* 118.20. Other plural-only nouns include *dvandva* compounds such as the following: καὶ ᾠγουμενοπαπάδες *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1228 (“abbots and priests”); πατεροπαπάδες *P&N Diath.* 741 (“father-priests”).

The AG noun πῆχυς may occasionally transfer to the masculine -ας paradigm (as well as to feminines in -α and especially -η, see the introductions to 2.11 and 2.12): ἦσαν σκορπίοι φοβεροί, πασάνας ἔναν πῆχαν *Alex. Rim.* 2057; μέ κέρατα καὶ με αὐτία ἔναν πῆχαν *Diig. Alex.* V 30.29; ὁ πῆχας ἔναι μακρὺς ἐπτὰ ποδάρια KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 298.3–4; ἔναν πῆχαν *ibid.* 411.5–6.

Finally, an innovative plural formation is the following, derived from the neuter noun τὸ σέλας, reinterpreted as a masculine ὁ σέλας with an imparisyllabic plural: οἱ δὲ καὶ καθ’ ὑπόστασιν σελάδες καὶ κομῆται KAMAT., *Astron.* 3182.

For nouns in -έας, e.g. the old 1st-declension Ἄνδρέας, βορέας and new formations such as βασιλέας (< βασιλεύς) see 2.4. For the plural formation of surnames in /as/, which show more variation than other nouns, see 2.10.

2.2.1 Oxytone and Paroxytone Nouns with Imparisyllabic Plural

	General		Restricted		Rare	
Singular						
Nom.	παπάς/παπαῖς	μπάρμπας				
Gen.	παπαῖ	μπάρμπα	-ου -ός	-ου -ός	-οῦ -άδος	
Acc.	παπά(ν)	μπάρμπα(ν)				
Voc.	παπά	μπάρμπα				
Plural						
Nom.	παπάδες	μπαρμπάδες	-άς	-ηδες	-άδοι	-ες
Gen.	παπάδων	μπαρμπάδων	παπάδω παπάδωνε παπάδες	μπαρμπάδω μπαρμπάδωνε μπαρμπάδες	-αδῶν	-ων -ηδων
Acc.	παπάδες	μπαρμπάδες	παπαδάς -άς	μπαρμπάδας -ηδες	-άδους	-ας
Voc.	παπάδες	μπαρμπάδες				

Singular*Nominative**Masc.*

Sg.	Nom.	-άς -ας

There is very little variation in the nominative singular of this paradigm:

- Ἰωάννης ὁ Μαρμαρᾶς (1073, Constantinople?, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 50, 11.144)
 Γεώργιος ὁ Τσικαλᾶς (1103, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 51, 208.69)
 ἄμιράς (12th c., Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 19, 418.15)
 Βασίλειος Καρβουνᾶς (mid-12th c., S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 43, 224.105)
 ὁ μισίρ Μπελᾶς *Chron. Mor.* 7382 (< Fr. proper name *Bela (de Saint-Omer)*); ὁ μισίρ Ντζῆς *ibid.* 7740 (< Fr. *Jean*)
 ὁ καρκατσᾶς *Ptoch. I* 35
 ἔαν ἦμουν ὀξυγαλατᾶς *Ptoch. III* 176; καταβλαττᾶς ἂν ἔμαθον *ibid.* 181
 Νικόλαος ὁ Τοξαράς (ca. 1300, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 91, 105.64)
 ὁ δὲ παπᾶς Γαριάνος (1316, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 42, 298.8)
 οὔτε τζαγγάρης ἦ σελᾶς *Diig. tetr.* 389
 εἰς τὴν τζιμνίαν ξυλαῖας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 82.21
 χαλιναράς (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 5, 9.2)
 χαλκωματᾶς, βελονᾶς (1510, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 19, 34.28)
 ἄρσανᾶς (1547, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 56, 176.12)
 Νικολὸ Περιπτερᾶς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 38, 37.1)
 φεῖτιφᾶς αβγήκε MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 218.16–19
 ἀγουροφᾶς ἐκέρδιζε καὶ ὠριμοφᾶς ἐζήτα *Paroim.* (Warner) 31.5
 ὄλος ὁ ἀραστᾶς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.8 (< Turk. *arasta*); ἔαν ἐγίνονταν ἡ καβγάς ἡ αἶμα *ibid.* §29.37–8; ὁ πασιᾶς *ibid.* §31.213; εἶναι ... ὑπνοφᾶς *ibid.* III §31.27
 ὁ σιδεράς (1652, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 70, 180.3)
 ὁ ἐπίλοιπος ραγιάς (1677, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 24, 92.7)
 καμουχᾶς κόκκινος (1687, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 709, 961.34)
 ὁ Δαλαῖ Λαμᾶς VATATZIS, *Periig. II* 291
 ἦκουσε νεανίας *Dig. G* IV.629
 Θεόδωρος ὁ Γρίβας (1316, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1994: 74, 198.92)
 ὁ Πάπας, ὡς τὸ ἦκουσεν *Chron. Mor.* H 483
 ὁ πανευτυχέστατος βοῖβόδας (1369/70, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 29, 114.49)
 ὁ γρίβας μου *Dig. E* 1536
 ὁ υἱόκας *Arm.* 120
 εἷς μου μπάρπας εἶχε γυναῖκα (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.26–7)
 ἐγίνης κύρκας πέπανος *Love poems* V 494 (< κύρκος, see KYRIAKIDIS 1923)
 ἵνα χέζης ὀρθοστεκάμενος ὡσὰ λέφας *Spanos* B 107–8 (< 3rd-decl. ἐλέφας)
 ὁ νεανίας ἔρχεται *Anak. Konst.* 115
 ὁ ποδότας *Poulol.* 542 app. cr. (CV)
 ὁ Πτολομαῖος ὁ βοεβόντας *Diig. Alex.* F 140.21 (Lolos)
 παλιουρίλας, Μαραθῶνας SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 45.29
 ὁ μπάρμπας μου (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 36.12)
 ἐγὼ Ἰσαῖας ἱερομόναχος (1639, Cyclades, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 3, 112.3)
 κολέγας του (1709, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1938: 3, 298.10) (< Ital. *collega*)

Deletion of final /s/ has been found in documents from the Heptanese and the Aegean, probably influenced by Italian: ἐγὼ Δῆμος Ἀντριόλα βεβαιώνω (1619, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI

2001b: 1, 187.29–30); Νικόλα τοῦ Κουλουλία μαρατυρῶ (1675, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 53, 48.16) (= μαρτυρῶ, see I, 2.6.2). The following example: ἄσπρη, ξανθὴ πανέμνοστη, ὁ κύρκας τῆς μισσεύει *Dimotiko* (Lambros) 1, is likely to be influenced by the vocative, which is the most common case for this medieval “pet name” (for its etymology from κύρκος, “harrier”, see KYRIAKIDIS 1923). For invariable proclitic forms of address that also derive from the vocative, see 2.18.

Genitive

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ά -α

The most common ending for the genitive singular is /a/:

- Κύριλλον τοῦ Πιθαρχᾶ (1018, Athos, ŽIVOJINOVIC et al. 1998: 1, 94.4)
 τοῦ Μυλωνᾶ (ca. 1050, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972b: 172.156)
 Ἰωάννου νοταρίου τοῦ Ἀντζᾶ (1089, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 53.44);
 κυροῦ Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἀμπελᾶ (1271, *ibid.* 70, 201.28)
 τοῦ Κρεβατᾶ (1104 [14th-c. copy], Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 52, 235.247)
 τοῦ Κοσκινᾶ (1162, Thessaloniki, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 64, 331.8)
 τοῦ Ἀμυγδαλᾶ (11th–13th c.?, Athens, GRANSTREM et al. 1976: A1, 38.23)
 τοῦ Κολοκυνθᾶ (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 35.89)
 τὸν ρύακα τοῦ Καλαθᾶ (1300, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 90, 87.202)
 τοῦ Καθαροψωμᾶ (1316, Constantinople, ŽIVOJINOVIC et al. 1998: 33, 231.27)
 Δαμαλᾶ *Chron. Mor.* H 1498
 Ψησίου τοῦ λογαρά *Opsarol.* 6
 περὶ τοῦ ξυλαλᾶ *Assizes* B 488.23
 τοῦ ζευγᾶ (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 31, 69.39)
 ὁ Μηνᾶς, τοῦ Μηνᾶ SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.18²⁷
 τοῦ καθενὸς μαχαλᾶ (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 447.21)
 λέγει τοῦ πασά MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 219.29
 τοῦ πατᾶ (1654, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 15, 370.31)
 τὴν μιαρότατη τοῦ Σατανᾶ φιλενάδα EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 26.9–10
 τοῦ αγά τοῦ *Don Kis.* 47.30–31; κανενού ψαρά *ibid.* 337.6
- διὰ χειρὸς Νικήτα βιβλιοφύλακος (1042, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 26, 242.34)
 Χριστίνας ... καὶ Ζαχαρία (1098–1103, Athos, LEFORT ET AL. 1990: 48, 188.17)
 τοῦ πανευτυχεστάτου βοιβόδα (1369/70, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 29, 115.56)
 πατέρας τοῦ Ζαχαρία (1447, Corfu, EFSTRATIADIS 1925: 50.1–2)
 τοῦ βοηβόντα τοῦ τοῦ Πτολομαίου *Diig. Alex.* E 271.19 (Lolos)
 ὁ Ἀντίπας, τοῦ Ἀντίπα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.18–19
 τὰ χρυσὰ ἔπη τοῦ Πυθαγόρα (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.19)
 σύμπλια Μάμα Χάρου (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 168, 136.6)
 τὸ φουσάτο τοῦ Πάπα *Chron. Theod.* 22.4
 τ' ἄλωνιν τοῦ μπάρμπα τῶνε (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 853, 745.28)
 τοῦ Παπανικόλα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.56
 τοῦ μακαρίτη πατᾶ κυρ Ἰερεμία (1655, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 2001: 96.11)

²⁷ Both mss as well as Legrand's first edition (32.10) have ὁ μηνᾶς, τοῦ μηνᾶ; his second edition offers ὁ μῆνας, τοῦ μηνᾶ, which is clearly a typo.

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ου

The residual ending -ου can sometimes be found with original 1st-declension nouns in more formal contexts:²⁸

τοῦ ρηθέντος υἱοῦ του Ζαχαρίου (1447, Corfu, EFSTRATIADIS 1925: 50.3) (cf. τοῦ Ζαχαρία in the same document, see above)

Μανέα Ζαχαρίου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 257, 254.3)

Παυσανίου ἱστορία παλαιά (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 8, 17.15)

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ός ἢ -οῦ

A genitive in -ός occurs lexically with the word ἀμῖράς in texts of Peloponnesian provenance. The choice for -ός may be influenced by other words that belong to the same semantic field, such as ρήγας, gen. ρηγός and δούκας, gen. δουκός (cf. the same phenomenon with the word αὐθέντης, 2.3.1):

μεγιστάνου ἢ ἀμῖρός *Pol. Tr.* 7403 app. crit. (AX)

τοῦ ἄσεβοῦς καὶ ἀθέου ἀμῖρός (app. crit.) (15th–16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79:

33.III, 253.53.6); ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀμῖρός σουλτάν Σουλαιμάνη (16th c., Peloponnese?, *ibid.*

33.IV, 260.87.1); τοῦ ρηθέντος ἀμῖρός (*ibid.* 260.87.5); ἡ ἀρμάτα τοῦ ἀμῖρός (1523–36,

Peloponnese, *ibid.* 36.II, 295.29.10)

A genitive τοῦ ἀμῖροῦ appears once in *Chron. Toc.* 3075 (cf. the genitive τοῦ πατροῦ (< πατήρ/πατέρας) in the same text, 2.2.4).

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-άδος

In documents from S. Italy we find a genitive form in -άδος, on the analogy of 3rd-declension nouns such as φυγάς, gen. φυγάδος; τοῦ ἀμῖράδος (1141?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 7, 23.19; 1172, *ibid.*; 1201, *ibid.* Coll. II: 14, 89.2).

Accusative

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-ά(ν) ἢ -α(ν)

²⁸ In a document from S. Italy we find a genitive singular τοῦ ἀμῖρου (1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 6, 72.4), which is connected with ὁ ἀμῖρ rather than with ἀμῖράς (see CARACAUSI, *Lex.* s.v. and cf. gen. pl. ἀμῖρων). Several instances of a genitive πάπου (< πάπας) and a form σατανοῦ in *Hist. Imp.* IIb do not inspire much confidence, as the edition is generally unreliable. One of the mss used (Bern. 569) can be consulted online (www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/bbb/0596); for instance, where the editor prints οἱ συγγενεῖς τοῦ πρώτου πάπου Ἀδριανοῦ *Hist. Imp.* IIb 2630 and τοῦ πάπου *ibid.* 2638, the Bern manuscript has πάπα (f.168r); for σατανοῦ it reads σατανά (f.166v), readings that are not mentioned in the edition's app. crit.

The accusative ending is /a/. It often occurs with final /n/ but can also be found without:

- ὡς πρὸς βορρᾶν (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 53.55)
 Ἰωάννην Γαῖδαροφαγάν (1095, S. Italy/Sicily?, GUILLOU 1963: 2, 49.16)
 Νικόλαν Φαβατάν (1157?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 10, 316.3)
 τὸν παπᾶν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 271; τὸν ἑλᾶδαν *ibid.* 370
 κερατᾶν *Ptoch. I* 20; γείτοναν ἔχω κοσκινάν *ibid. III* 198
 Γεώργιον Τσικαλάν (ca. 1300, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 91, 104.54)
 χαλκωματᾶν *Poulol.* 28
 παπαγᾶν ἡμερωμένον *Liv. E* 2153
 εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν Κεφαλᾶ (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 146.5)
 μηδὲν μὲ πᾶν στὸν ἀμῖρᾶ *Anak. Konst.* 44
 τὸν ζαρκουλᾶ *Epain. gyn.* 83
 τὸν γαμπᾶν μου (1528, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 127, 233.54)
 τὸν γουλᾶ (1540, Monemvasia, MALTEZOU 1968: 41.3)
 υπήγεν εἰς τὸν πασιάν MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 218.37
 τὸν ποτὲ κύρ-Φραντζίσκο Φαβατᾶ (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 55, 118.7)
 ἕναν παλληκαράν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 88
 ἐλειτουργήθηκα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Γολγοθᾶ (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 335.3)
 εἶδες καβγᾶν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §22.10; νὰ κάμης καβγᾶ *ibid.* III §10.12
 ἕνα γαμπᾶ (1685, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 34, 64.4)
 εἰς τὸν αγάν του *Don Kis.* 47.29; ἀπὸ τὸν ματαρά *ibid.* 47.29–30; ἕνα μέγαλον κομμάτι
 παστιρμᾶν *ibid.* 232.16–17; τὸν μυταρά *ibid.* 241.21; με ονομάζει και φαγᾶν *ibid.* 545.17
 τὸν βοῦλχαν *Dig. G IV.* 314; τὸν νεανίαν *ibid.* IV 1004
 Βλαδίσθλαβον τὸν βοεβόδαν (1378, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 36, 136.25)
 τὸν Πάπαν *Chron. Mor.* H 473; εἰς τὸν Πάπα *ibid.* 479
 τὸν γρίβαν μου *Dig. E* 798; καὶ νὰ ἴδης κύρκαν τὸν φιλεῖς *ibid.* 894
 πρὸς κύρ Λούκαν Καντάρην τὸν Κρητικόν (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 270.3) (< Ital.
Luca)
 νὰ ποῖσουν καὶ ποδότα *Fyll. gadar.* 94 f
 αὐτόνο τὸν μεσίαν FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 147 facs. (τὸν Μεσσία in the edition)
 τὸν Πέτρον βοιβόνδα αὐθέντην (16th c., eastern Thrace, SCHREINER 1975/79: 57, 410.6.2)
 εἰςὲ βιβλίον ἔμορφον στὸν στορικὸν Σουῖδα *Alex. Rim.* 32
 τὸν μπάρμπα μου τὸν κύρ Κώστα (1526, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 52, 84.6)
 μὲ τὸν εἰρημένο Μάμα (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 168, 137.20)
 εὐρήκαμεν τὸν Μεσσίαν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 1.41
 εἶχεν ἐνορίες τὴν Ἁγίαν Παρασκευή, τὸν Σκυποδιάβα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §15.16²⁹
 τὸν ἄξιο νεανία PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 1918
 τὸν Γεωργάκη Μεραμπελιώτη τὸν κολέγα μου (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 110.18–19) (<
 Ital. *collega*)

Vocative

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-ά ἰ -α

²⁹ This *dvandva* compound is formed from the two imperatives σκύψε (stoop) and διάβα (enter), indicating it was a church with a low entrance (see KARANASTASIS 2010: 250).

There is no variation in the vocative ending, which is /a/:

γαμησά καὶ κλαδοτρυπολόγε *Diig. tetr.* 327
 ἀνακαρὰ τατάρικε *Poulol.* 625
 καὶ Μᾶ κατακαμμένε *Dimotiko* (Lambros) 5 (< Μάης)
 παλληκαρὰ μου φρόνιμε *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 329
 γερο-Λουκά (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 150.23)
 ἄνοστε, ἀδούλη καὶ φαγὰ *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.112; νιανιά μου *ibid.* II.322
 σῶπα, παπᾶ Νεόφυτε *ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, Achouri* 243
 μπρε γαῖδαρε καὶ μασχαρά *Don Kis.* 349.24
 κερατᾶ ξεχασμένε *ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, Rebelio* 49.22–3

 κάλλιστε νεανία *Dig.* G IV.1048; πανεύμνοστέ μου κύρκα *ibid.* VI.823
 θῶρει με, κύρκα, θῶρειε με *Achil.* L 1276 (Hesseling)
 ὦ Ἀντίοχε βοεβόντα *Diig. Alex.* F 136.8–9 (Konstantinopoulos)
 ἐσύ γελᾶς, μπόγια; *Bertoldos* 35.31 (< Ital. *boia*)
 μπάρμπα Γιάννη, ἐσύ μοῦ πούλησες τὸ σπῆτιν (1688, Naxos, ΣΙΦΟΝΙΟΥ-ΚΑΡΑΠΑ et al.
 1982/83, 726, 986.10)

Plural

Nominative

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-άδες ἢ -άς

The normal ending is -άδες,³⁰ even in higher-register texts such as the 13th-c. will edited by Bompaire et al. and the *Typikon* edited by Delehay:

νῆσος ἡ λεγομένη Καυκανάδες (1047, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 29, 260.10)
 τὸ νησίον οἱ Καυκανάδες (1104 [14th-c. copy], Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 52, 233.12)
 λυχνία δύο, μαστραπάδες τρεῖς (1258, Philadelphia?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 15, 158.189) (<
 Turk. *maşrapa*)
 οἱ ἀμυράδες *Dig.* G II.85
 οἱ κεφαλάδες ὅλοι *Chron. Mor.* H 138
 ἐνθα καταμένουσιν οἱ κοσκινάδες (14th c., Constantinople, DELEHAYE 1921: 1, 95.29)
 οἱ Μαλτζάδες (1348, Serres, LEMERLE 1988: 21, 92.13)
 οἱ λεγάδες τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας *Assizes* B 280.26–7 (< λογάς)
 χάσδια ἦταν ὀλόχρυσά ὁμοῦ καὶ καμουχάδες *Pol. Tr.* 237 app. crit. (A)
 οἱ σκουφάδες *Diig. tetr.* 403; σπαθαρομαχαιράδες τε καὶ σουβλομανικάδες *ibid.* 481
 ἀνακαράδες, βούκινα *Chron. Toc.* 1543
 εἷς ἡ δύο παπάδες (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.8–9)
 λογάδες νὰ ὑμνολογοῦν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 26.2
 οἱ ἀμαξάδες *Velis.* p 811; ἄλογα καὶ γιοργάδες *ibid.* 812
 οἱ σκουταράδες *Diig. Alex.* E 143.4 (Lolos)
 οἱ κεχαϊάδες *ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Rim. Andron.* 18
 αγάδες, φλαμπουραραῖοι *MALAXOS M., Ist. patr.* 222.9–10
 <οἱ> ἄνωθεν Κρασάδες (1591, Kefalonia, CHRYSOCHOIDIS 1977: 1, 207.39)

³⁰ A proparoxytone nominative plural in Voustronios: ἐτενῶσαν δυο ἀμύραδες *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 84.10 does not inspire much confidence, as the stress notation of the ms is not entirely consistent (see KECHAYOGLU 1997: 75*–7*).

οί νταβάδες είναι χαρκώματα (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 316.64)
 δύο παλιογαπάδες, ένας ἄσπρος και ἄλλος μαῦρος (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987:
 847, 739.7–8) (= παλιογαμπάδες < παλιο- + Ven. *gabàn*)
 οί κρασοποτηράδες ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2123
 οί Θωμάδες, οί Ἀββάδες ΚΡΙΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Grammar* 108.30
 οί σπαθάδες και οί σιδεράδες ΡΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §23.11
 οί βοράδες (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 508.34.3) (< βορράς)³¹
 γίνονται μασχαράδες ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 232 (< μασκαράς)
 μαγκουφαροί, βοεβοδάδες (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.15)
 ὁ παρὼν κύρ Θεωδωρῆς Ἀντριόλας και κύρ Δήμος και Γιώργος Ἀντριολάδες (1619, Kefalonia,
 ΖΑΡΑΝΔΙ 2001b: 1, 187.2–3)
 οί βοηβοντάδες τοὺς ἐρώτηξαν *Diig. Alex.* F 292.1–2 (Lolos)
 οί ἀνωθε Καραβιάδες (1636, Ithaca, ΖΑΡΑΝΔΙ 2002b: 17, 42.25) (< Καραβίας); οί παρπάδες
 (1637, *ibid.* 53, 68.31) (= μπαρμπάδες, see I, 3.6.2.1)
 ὅσοι χοτζάδες ἦτον ἔκει ΒΟΥΝΙΑΛΙΣ Μ., *Diig. Pol.* 150.8
 οί ασεβείς σέγγηδες και χοντζάδες ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 9813

In Cypriot texts the intervocalic /ð/ in -άδες may be deleted (see I, 3.6.1.1) and subsequently deletion of the weaker vowel /e/ after /a/ may occur, resulting in -άς (cf. acc. pl.): του Τούρκου ἐγιναν ραγιάς ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 5338 (see ΚΑΡΛΑΝΙΣ 2012: 762), though in this case the form could also be interpreted as a collective noun.

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-άδοι

Substitution of the 2nd-declension ending -οι for -ες has been found in two mss of the rhymed version of *Velisariada*: οί ἀμαξάδοι *Velis.* ρ 811 app. crit. (ME); γιοργάδοι *ibid.* 812 app. crit. (ME).

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ηδες

This -ης paradigm ending (see 2.3.4) occurs with paroxytone words in -ας. Examples have been found of πάπας, χότζας (cf. the accusative, below) and ἐλέφας (for the morphological variety in this noun see the introduction to this section). In the case of πάπας the form could be seen as a way of disambiguating between παπάς (pl. παπάδες) and πάπας (pl. πάπηδες):

τίνες εἰσιν οί πάπηδες οὓς ἡριθμήσατε; (13th c. [16th-c. ms], Athos, DARROUZÈS/LAURENT 1976: 18, 503.15)
 οί λέφηδες ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 287.15
 ἔκραξεν δύο χότζηδες ΡΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §15.58
 εἶναι κρατημένοι οί πάπηδες νὰ ἐξαγορεύονται RICHARD, *Targa pisteos* I 187.31
 χόντζηδες να λαλήσουν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 2020

³¹ It cannot be excluded entirely that this form represents βοριάδες (< βοριάς < βορέας, see 2.4) with deletion of /j/ (see I, 2.4.7.4).

καὶ πάπηδες νὰ προσκυνοῦν BOUNIALIS M., *Kat. ofel.* 286
 ἐσυναχθήκασιν οἱ χότζηδες DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 116

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες

The parisyllabic ending of the old 1st declension is only rarely employed: οἱ βοηβόντες
Diig. Alex. E 139.24 (Lolos) εἴκοσι λέφες τό ὕρπναν *Alex. Rim.* 2335 (< ἐλέφας).

Genitive

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-άδων ἰ -άδω ἰ -άδωνε ἰ -αδῶν

The normal ending for the genitive plural is -άδων:³²

παξαμάδων καὶ ὀλίγου φάκου NIKON, *Logos* 1 84.14 (< παξαμάς)
 ἀμυράδων (1140, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IV: 2, 117.3)
 χωρίου Κρεββαττάδων (1268, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 307, 441.32–3); χωρίου Ἀγίου
 Ἰωάννου Μανδηλάδων (1269, *ibid.* 315, 458.25)
 τῶν κεφαλάδων ὀλωνῶν *Pol. Tr.* 8814
 τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν κεφαλάδων, καὶ αὐθέντου πάσης δύσεως (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1],
 62.3)
 τῶν ἐπτὰ γουλάδων (16th c., Constantinople, PREGIER 1912: 470.30)
 τοῦ Λέοντος καὶ τοῦ Γεωργίου Πηγαδάδων (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 89,
 168.15)
 τῶν Τριβιζιάδων (1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 32, 63.7)
 τῶν ἀγάδων (1630, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 68, 195.12)
 τῶν μυλωνάδων τὰ παιδιὰ *Paroim.* (Warner) 90.12
 εχθρός των καβγάδων *Don Kis.* 48.32; ἐναντίον των μυλωνάδων *ibid.* 339.14
 ἐκ τὸ γένος τῶν Μπουάδων *Chron. Toc.* 2289 (< Μπούας)
 τῶν δύο μου μπαρμπάδων (1513, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 36, 62.19)
 τῶν ἄνωθεν Ζαχαριάδων (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 257, 255.19)
 Δημοσιανάδων καὶ Ἀντριολλάδων ἀγάπη (1619, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 1, 187.31)
 τῶν βοηβοντάδων (1653, Putyvl, TCHENTSOVA 2002: 4, 364, f.1r.24–5)

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from Crete and the Aegean (Ikaria). It must be borne in mind, however, that in Cretan literary texts the deletion of final /n/ is often editorial:³³ τῶν δύο παπάδω (1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 589, 520.12); πατέρω καὶ παππάδω *P&N Diath.* 214; εἰς τῶνο Καλογεράδω ἀμπέλια (1685, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 73, 60.9) (< Καλογεράς; for τῶνο see I, 2.6.3). When the word is followed by a word

³² In a document from S. Italy we find a genitive plural τῶν ἀμύρων (1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 6, 72.1), which is connected with ὁ ἀμύρ rather than with ὁ ἀμυράς (see CARACAUSI, *Lex.* s.v. and cf. a gen. sg. ἀμύρου).

³³ As is the case with the following examples: ἀγάδω καὶ τσαούσηδω, γιουρλάδω, σουμπασηδω BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 147.20; τῶν καλογέρω <ή> συντροφιά, παπάδω, κεῖ ἐβγήκαν *ibid.* 155.5; all these forms appear with final /n/ in the Xirouchakis edition. The choice to omit final /n/ is based on suspected scribal conservatism and on certain mss in the Latin script, notably that of *Fortounatos*, which is an autograph.

starting in /n/, the deletion may be graphematic (haplography): σὲ καρδιῆς πασάδω νὰ χορτάσω CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* II.47.

Addition of -(v)ε can be found in Heptanesian texts (for details see I, 2.6.3.1): πουλεῖ τοῦ Πεταλιάδωνε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 12, 37.11); κληρονομίας τοῦ Μαρουλάδωνε (1638, *ibid.*, 109.111) (for the article τοῦ see 5.2.1).

A shift of the stress to the ultimate is rather rare: τοῦ μοναχοῦ Κλήμη τῶν Παπαδῶν (1066, Athos, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 8, 101.35); τῶν ἁγίων ἀββαδῶν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 128.24.

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-άδες

This genitive ending, morphologically identical to the accusative, occurs in texts from Cyprus and in the chronicle of Papasynadinos (Serres) (see 1.2 and cf. 2.1.2, 2.1.3 and 2.2.1):

ἐμπροσθεν τοῦς λεγάδες *Assizes* B 280.14
 ἐππέσεν εἰς τὰ πόδια του καὶ οὐλοῦς τοὺς αμειράδες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 96.2–3
 ο κοινόττερος κληρονόμος τοῦς Τελοζουινιάδες VOUSTR., *Chron.* M 153.1–2 (< Fr. *de Lusignan*)
 εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Γεώργιον τοῦς Γουναράδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §10.4

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ηδων

This -ης paradigm ending (see 2.3.4) has been found with the word πάπας and is likely to have been used to disambiguate this plural from that of παπάς (pl. παπάδες). For other words that may adopt this ending cf. the nominative (above) and accusative (below): τῶν ἁγιότατων πάπηδων (17th c., Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [3], 14.4); εἰς καμίαν διαταγήν τῶν πάπηδων RICHARD, *Targa pisteos* I 185.12.

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ων

The old ending of the 1st declension occurs sporadically with nouns belonging to this paradigm: τῶν ἐλέφων *Diig. Alex.* E 81.4 (Konstantinopulos).

Accusative

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδας

This inherited ending is used in early texts and in later mixed-register ones:

εἰς τοὺς Παπάδας (1090–4, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 45, 163.41)
 εἰς τοὺς Καλαμαράδας (1262, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1994: 59, 101.93)
 Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Ἰωάννην Τσικαλάδας (1316, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1994: 74, 198.97)
 τοὺς λεγομένους Καλαθάδας (1346, Skopje?, LEFORT et al. 1995: 90, 121.38)

ἀτσουπάδας δώδεκα *Dig. E* 1076; ἀμιράδας ἐπόταξεν *ibid.* 1613
 ταπεινούς ἀββάδας *Ptoch. IV* app. crit. (P)
 ἄσπρα λ' εἰς τοὺς παπάδας (15th c., Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 225, 247, f.163v.3)
 κεφαλάδας μωρὸς καὶ ἀνοήτους *Hist. Imp. I* 3079–80
 ἀββάδας DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1484
 κεφαλάδας οὗς εἶχεν ὅλη ἡ Ἐγγλιτέρα LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 373
 ὅπως φέρωσι καμουχάδας *Ekth. Chron.* 82.6–7
 εἰς τοὺς ἐπτὰ γουλάδας (16th c., Constantinople?, BENEŠEVIĆ 1919: 408.3)

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδες -άς

The accusative ending -άδες, identical to the nominative plural, has not been found before the 14th c.:

τοὺς Βουτζαράδες *Chron. Mor. H* 1762; τοὺς κεφαλάδες *ibid.* 2894
 μετὰ τοὺς λογάδες *Assizes B* 280.29; ἀπαὶ τοὺς λαγηνάδες *ibid.* 494.19
 εἰς τοὺς μπασάδες του (1487, Chios?, LEFORT 1981: 13, 77.24) (= πασάδες)
 ξυλοφάδες δύο (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 47.18)
 τὸ καμίνιν ἐκαίγασιν μὲ τοὺς ξυλαλάδες *Achil. L* 523
 ἐκτύπησαν τοὺς ἀνακαράδες *Diig. Alex. F* 172.21–2 (Lolos)
 τοὺς ταυραμπάδες (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 3, 302.24–5)
 καὶ λαϊκούς καὶ πατεροπαπάδες *P&N Diath.* 741
 μήτε ἀββάδες μήτε παπάδες στέργει *Paroim.* (Warner) 28.2; ὅλους τοὺς κερατάδες *ibid.* 29.12
 τοὺς γλωσσάδες μερώνει (17th c., Unknown, ŠANGIN 1936: 4, 152.27–8)
 ἔγραφεν μὲ τὸ ζερβὶ τὸ χέρι κάτι μπακλαβάδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron. I* §35.3–4
 καβγάδες να ᾿χομεν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1906; με τοὺς τεμπελχανάδες *ibid.* 4110
 εἰς τὸ ἄρσενάδες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 528.12 (< ἄρσενάς < Ven. *arsenal*)
 τοὺς χοτζιάδες DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 107 tit.
 li nominavimο συκοφάδες PAPADOPOULI, *L'Occio* 135.23
 ὅς τῆς Λευκωχιάς ἀγάδες KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 97; διὰ τοὺς ἐσκκιᾶδες *ibid.* 245
 (< Turk. *eşkiya*)
 εἰς ἐσᾶς τῖς παπάδες (1687, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 6, 222.2) (for the article τίς see 5.2.1)
 νὰ ἔχωμεν μπελάδες *Diig. Vefa* 116 (< Turk. *belâ*)
 ἐκάμαμεν καὶ τρεῖς ὀντάδες (1703, Thessaly, SOFIANOS 1984: A, 42.8)
 ἐσκοτώσασι καμπόσους ζορπάδες EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 43.14
 ἀν ἦτον διὰ τακλάδες *Don Kis.* 567.34
 πεντακοσίους ἤφεραν τότε σ' ἐμέν λεφάδες *Alex. Rim.* 2569
 τοὺς βοηροντάδες *Diig. Alex. F* 284.19 (Lolos)
 τοὺς μπαρμπάδες (1638, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 100, 102.23)
 τοὺς βοῖβοντάδες *Alex. Fyll.* 63.19–20

The following forms in Ioakeim Kyprios's *Struggle* are the result of intervocalic deletion of /ð/ in the -άδες ending (see I, 3.6.1.1) and subsequent deletion of the weaker unstressed vowel /e/ after stressed /a/: ἀμπαρεῖς καὶ ξυλαλάς, χαμπέσικα ζαμπέτια IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 841; με ζιαχίλια, χακκαπάς *ibid.* 4259 (< Turk. *hokkabaz*; see KAPLANIS 2012: 788).

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδους

Substitution of 2nd-declension -ους for -ες in the imparisyllabic ending is rare: κεφαλάδους τούς ποιήσε *Chron. Toc.* 1595.

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ηδες

This ending of the -ης paradigm (see 2.3.4) occurs with a few paroxytone words only (cf. the nominative and genitive, above). In the case of πάπας the form could be seen as a way of disambiguating between παπάς (pl. παπάδες) and πάπας (pl. πάπηδες): ἔκραξεν δύο χότζηδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §15.58; με τους Αγίους Πάπηδες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 8897; καὶ ἀπὸ χόντζηδες *ibid.* 9203; ἐμάζωξε τούς χόντζηδες DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 109.

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

The use of the old parisyllabic 1st-declension ending -ας is rare within this paradigm: τούς λέφας *Alex. Rim.* 1853; διὰ τούς κολέγας του (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 110.24) (< *Ital. collega*).

Vocative

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-άδες

The vocative ending is identical to the nominative:

ἄρχοντες κεφαλάδες τῆς Λήμνου (1448?, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.2)

ἄγιοι παπάδες *Synax. gyn.* 158

αἰδεσιμώτατοι παπάδες καὶ πρόκριτοι (1650, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: (2), 28.3)

2.2.2 Paroxytone Nouns with Parisyllabic Plural

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	μήνας/μῆνας	μῆνα	-α
Gen.	μηνός	μηνοῦ ἢ μηνοῦς	-ό μηνίου ἢ μηνιοῦ μῆνα
Acc.	μήνα(ν)/μῆνα(ν)		
Voc.	μῆνα/μῆνα		

Plural			
Nom.	μήνες		-άδες -οι
Gen.	μηνῶν	μηνῶ μηνῶνε μήνας (ἰ μήνες)	
Acc.	μήνες	μήνας	-ους -άδες
Voc.	μήνες		

Singular

Nominative

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ας

No variation can be observed in the formation of the nominative singular other than the use of the residual 3rd-declension forms in more formal contexts and a regional form in /a/ (see below). The normal ending is -ας:³⁴

βλάκας: μωρός τις *Lex. Segueriana* 180.10 (10th-c. ms; ed. Bachmann)
 Γρηγόριος ὁ Βήχας (1321, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 109, 251.518)
 κανένας μήνας, δύο *Chron. Mor.* H 150; ὁ ἄνδρας τῆς Ζαμπέας *ibid.* 7942 app. crit.
 ἄνδρας φοβερός *Pol. Tr.* 6500; ὁ μήνας τῆς ἀγάπης *ibid.* 6559
 λείπει μήνας α' (post 1427, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 10, 20.3)
 βήχας, σφάκτης, φλεγμονή *Spanos* D 494
 ὁ ποτέ παῖδας τῶν ἐκτητόρων *Anak. Konst.* 116; ἄλλος παῖδας ἔφθασε *ibid.* 117
 ὁ χιούχας κ' ἡ ξυφτέρα *Cypr. Canz.* 142.15 (= σιούχας, see I, 3.8.2.2)
 ὁ ἄνδρας μου ὁ Φίλιππος *Alex. Rim.* 256
 ὁ ἄνδρας SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 41.13
 ὁ ἄντρας της (1614, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 14, 317.9)
 ὁ πόδας VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.33
 ἄνδρας πολλὰ ψηλός PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §15.49
 νὰ παύση ὁ βήχας LANDOS, *Geopon.* 231.31
 ὁ αὐτὸς μήνας *Diig. Sant.* 60.57–58
 εἶναι ὁ μήνας ἁλωνάρης (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.15–16)
 πῶς ἦρθε πόδας λιονταριοῦ KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.688; πόδας τὸν πόδαν ἤμπωθε *ibid.* II.1150
 Αὐγουστος μήνας EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 17.2

³⁴ In a Russian–Greek conversation book, in which the Greek is written in the Early Cyrillic alphabet, there is a single occurrence of *минос* /minos/ for μήνας. This form, however, can be explained through Russian phonetics (unstressed /o/ is pronounced as [a]) and is unrelated to Greek morphology (VASMER 1922: 130; see also TZITZILIS 1999: 85).

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-α

A form in /a/, in which final /s/ is dropped before a clitic pronoun, has been found in a document from Pontos (see OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 157 and HENRICH 1979 for the same phenomenon in modern Pontic): αὐτὸς ὁ ἄνδρα της (1506, Trebizond, PRINZING 2000: 2, 304.5).

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	<i>Residual</i>

Residual forms are used throughout the period under review in higher-register texts and more formal contexts. They often occur alongside forms in /as/: ὁ ρηθεὶς κυρ-Μάρκος ὁ ἀνὴρ μου (1528, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 124, 227.10) and ὁ ρηθεὶς κυρ-Μάρκος ὁ ἄνδρας μου (ibid. 227.21–2). The residual nominative is often treated as an indeclinable form that can also be used for the oblique cases (see below):

- ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ (1258, Philadelphia?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 15, 154.43)
 ὁ δέ γε παῖς *Dig.* G IV.592
 ἀνὴρ τίς ... ὀνόμ(α)τι Καππαδόξ (1365, Serres, LEFORT 1973: 27, 162.8–9)
 ὁ μὴν δὲ τῆς ἀγάπης *Pol. Tr.* 6559 app. crit. (X)
 ὁ γὰρ πολὺλόγος ἀνὴρ PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 98
 ὁ παῖς τοῦ βασιλέως *Achil.* N 91
 εἰς βασιλέως τράχηλον δὲν πρέπει πούς ἀνόμου *Anak. Konst.* 48
 ο μᾶταιος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ *Syndipas* 116.32
 ἐμεγάλυνεν ὁ ἀνὴρ *Pent. Gen.* 26.13
 ἀνὴρ τῆς ἀνωθεν κυρα-Μήλως (1571, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 2, 80.2)
 ο δε ο αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ *Vios Filaret.* 238.18–19
 ὁ ποτὲ ἀνὴρ μου (1673, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 70, 42.3)
 ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς (1686, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 257, 161.5)
 ποῖος νὰ εἶναι ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄξιος ἀνὴρ (1696, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 112, 307.9)

*Genitive**Masc.*

Sg.	Gen.	-ός ἢ -ό

The inherited oxytone genitive form in /os/ (ἄνδρός, μηνός, etc.) shows a remarkable resistance to linguistic change, changing to paroxytone -α only very reluctantly (see below). For this sub-paradigm it is by far the most common ending throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

- τοῦ μηνός *Chron. Mor.* H 7297
 τοῦ Δεκεβρίου μηνός (14th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 206.2.1)
 τοῦ Ὁκτουβρίου μηνός (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 41, 51.1)
 τοῦ παιδός *Achil.* N
 τ' ἄδόντι τοῦ ἀντρός *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 654

τοῦ Γεναρίου μηνὸς (1537, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 31, 35.7)
 ὁ ἄνδρας, τοῦ ἀνδρός, τὸν ἄνδρα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 41.13
 τοῦ ἀντρός μου (1547, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970b: 1, 226.7)
 εἰς τὲς πόσες τοῦ μηνὸς (ca. 1560, Ancona, MARKOS 1977: Ια, 27.7)
 τοῦ περασμένου μηνὸς (1572, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 136, 256.18)
 ὡσάν ἀπέρασεν ἡ πρώτη ἡλικία τοῦ παιδὸς VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.33
 τοῦ ὑστεροῦ της ἀνδρός *Vios Aisop.* D 220.13
 εἰς τὰς δέκα τοῦ Ὀκτωμβρίου μηνὸς (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.11)
 ᾧ τ' ἀνδρός τ' ἀνασκουμπώματα *Paroim.* (Warner) 38.4
 καὶ μὲ τ' ἀντρός τη<ς> τοῦ Νικόλα (1678, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 64, 54.4)
 τοῦ ἰδίου ἀνδρός πάλι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2195
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντρός της (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 142, 309.15)
 ἀντρός φωνὴ γροικοῦσι KORNAR., *Erotokr.* IV.1438
 εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τ' ἀνδρός της KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.71
 μηνὸς Φεβρουαρίου 9, Κίμουλος (1731, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 18, 36.1)
 πὲ τ' ἀνδρός σου *Leilasia Par.* 375

In specific phonetic environments final /s/ may be deleted in texts from South-West areas, e.g. τ' ἀντρό μου (1680, Mani, SKOPETAS 1950: XIV, 77.4–5). For details and more examples see I, 3.7.1.1.

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-οῦ ἢ -οῦς

Oxytone genitives in -οῦ, modelled on the inherited oxytone -ός ending but with substitution of 2nd-declension /u/ for /os/, occur occasionally. Genitives in -οῦς, which are a conflation of -ός and -οῦ (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 55; cf. fem. in -α, 2.11.2.1) have been found in texts from the Heptanese and the Cyclades (cf. similar developments in the indefinite article, see 5.8.5). The use of these endings appear to be limited to the common words μῆνας and ἄνδρας:

ἐνὸς μηνοῦ *Pol. Tr.* 13719 app. cr. (C)
 τοῦ μηνοῦ *Pent.* Gen. 7.11
 τοῦ ἀνδροῦ της (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 210, 206.2)
 μωρή, μωρή, τ' ἀντροῦ σου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* V.54
 γῆ ᾗ νοῦς μηνοῦ παιδάκια *P&N Diath.* 4811
 τοῦ ἄνωθεν ἀνδροῦς της (1631 [19th-c. copy], Santorini, KASAPIDIS 1990: (1), 58.4)
 τοῦ ἀντροῦς μου (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 6, 33.30)
 τοῦ ἀντροῦς μου (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 761, 1032.13)

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ίου ἢ -ιοῦ

The forms μηνίου and μηνιοῦ are conflations of μηνοῦ and the residual dative μηνί, which is not uncommon in formulaic contexts (see 1.1):

μηνιοῦ Μαρτίου (1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.33) (author from the Peloponnese)
 1590 μηνιοῦ Νοεβρίου εἰς 8 (1590, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 8, 308.2)

τοῦ ἐνεστώτου μηνίου (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 38, 40.10)
 μηνίου Σετεβρίου (1593, Andros?, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 151, 275.1)
 1597 μηνίου Δεκεμβρίου (1597, Syros, MILIARAKIS 1900: 697.1)

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-α

Genitives in -α, which represent the general trend followed by most nouns in /as/, /is/, /es/ and /us/ of dropping the final /s/ of the nominative in the genitive, are very rare with nouns belonging to this paradigm:³⁵

Γρηγόριος ὁ υἱὸς Μιχαήλ τοῦ Βήχα (1321, Thessaloniki, PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1986: 15, 140.9)

τοῦ μῆνα, αὐμθ' (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 302, 300.15)

τοῦ Ρουμπέμ τοῦ ἄντρα τῆς *P&N Diath.* 2503

The residual nominative form is sometimes used instead of the genitive:

τοῦ ἀνὴρ μου (1148, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 7, 82.6)

τοῦ ἀνὴρ ἐτουτουνού *Jonas* 214.17

τοῦ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς (1666, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 7, 22.9)

τοῦ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς (1684, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 409.13)

τοῦ ἀνὴρ μου (1688, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 126, 73.9)

An innovative formal-looking genitive based on the residual nominative is the following: τοῦ ἀνῆρος (1338, Sicily, DI MATTEO 1903: 464.3); ἀνῆρος καὶ κουμесаρίου (1528, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 124, 227.26).

Accusative

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-α(ν)

There is no variation in the ending of the accusative singular, other than that it may occur with or without final /n/ throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

κατὰ μῆναν ἕκαστον ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 112.5–6

ἄνδραν εἶχαν οἱ χῆρες *Chron. Mor.* H 7225 app. crit.

μῆναν ἐπεριπάτησεν *Log. parig.* L 40; ἄνδραν μακρύν, ἀσκεπαστον *ibid.* 52

ποτὲ οὐκ εἶδασιν ἄνδραν *Pol. Tr.* 10637

εἰσὲ βῆχαν ΣΤΑΦΙΔΑΣ, *Iatrosoph.* 8.233; διὰ βῆχα *ibid.* 12.344

τὸν πόδαν (*Assizes* B, 432.10)

τὸν πόδαν τοῦ *Diig. tetr.* 1027

εἶπέ το στὸν ἄνδραν τῆς (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 101.15)

τὸν πόδαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1166

ἔνα μῆναν *Synax. gyn.* 382

τὸν Σεπτέβριον μῆνα (1472 [copy of 1604], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 107, 216.6–7); ἄνδραν τῆς νόμιμον (1536, *ibid.* 116, 228.12)

³⁵ Legrand's second edition of Sofianos's grammar (repr. in PAPADOPOULOS 1977) offers ὁ μῆνας, τοῦ μηνᾶ (39.18). Both mss as well as Legrand's first edition have the proper name ὁ μηνᾶς, τοῦ μηνᾶ (32.10).

έναν μῆναν *Apoll. Rim. A 775* (for prothetic /i/ see I, 2.6.1.2)
 τὸν ἰούλην μῆναν *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 60.6*
 τὸν ἄνδραν τῆς (1586, Cythera, *CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 37, 29.12*)
 κάθα μῆνα Ἰαγουστο (1597, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 27.6*); ὀδὶ ἄνδραν τῆς
 (1598, *ibid. 18, 38.10*)
 τὸν ἄνδραν τῆς λεγόμενης Καλῆς (1614, Crete, *ILIAKIS 2008: 211, 200.6*)
 εἰσὲ βήχαν *LANDOS, Geopon. 231.20*
 πόδας τὸν πόδαν ἡμπωθε *KORNAROS, Erot. II.1150*

The residual nominative is sometimes used instead of the accusative:

τὸν ἐμὸν ἀνὴρ (1226, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA 1865: 274, 376.35*)
 νὰ ἐπάρη τὸν μισὶρ Τζεφρὲ ἀνὴρ καὶ σύμβιον τῆς *Chron. Mor. H 2519*
 ὅταν ἡπῆρεν ἀνὴρ (1398, Corfu, *ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.16*)
 κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὸν ἀνὴρ *Flor. L 57* (Cupane)
 μὲ τὸν ἀνὴρ τῆς κόρης *Byz. II. 935*
 εἰς ἀνὴρ ἄλλον *Pent. Gen. 29.19*
 τὸν ἐπιθύμιον ἀνὴρ *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik. 92*
 ἀπὸ τὸν ἄνωθεν ἀνὴρ (1699, Paxoi, *PETROPOULOS 1958: 280, 186.3*)

Vocative

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-α

The most common ending for the vocative is -α, reflecting the general trend in all masculine nouns apart from those in /os/ (see 2.1) of dropping the final /s/ of the nominative in the vocative:

Ὅκτώβρη, μῆνα δολερέ, μῆνα κατακαημένε *DELLAP., Erot. apokr. 112*
 ἀνδρα, εσύ χειρότερην ἔχεις ταλαιπωρίαν *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth. 72.14*
 τί λέγεις ἀνδρα μου; ὄνειρον εἶδες; *ZYGOM., Stef. Ichn. 182.25*
 ὦ ἀνδρα μου γλυκύτατε *[VLASTOS], Dig. P III 239.2*
 ἐγὼ δὲν σε καταλαβαίνω, ἀνδρα μου *Don Kis. 178.21*

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	residual

The residual vocative is sporadically used in higher-register texts: τί, ἄνερ μου, κατηγορεῖς *Dig. G II.211*.

The residual nominative form sporadically appears as vocative: χαῖρε βασίλισσας ἀνὴρ *Diig. Alex. Sem. B 765*.

Plural

Nominative

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες

The inherited parissyllabic plural in -ες is the regular form for all nouns belonging to this paradigm:

οἱ παῖδες τοῦ Χαλκίεα (mid-12th c., S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 43, 222.26)
 οἱ παῖδες ὑπάρχουν ἐδικοὶ του (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 67.V 72–3)
 οἱ ἄερες νὰ σᾶς εἶναι ἡμεροὶ καὶ γλυκύτατοι (1415, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1979: App. XVII, 216.9)
 οἱ πόδες του ὡς αἶγας *Phys.* 556
 ὡς γῦπες τοὺς ἐσύνθλασαν *Achil.* N 553
 ἐξέβησαν ἄδρες τε καὶ γυναικες *Achil.* O 326 (= ἄνδρες, see I, 3.6.2.2)
 νὰ συμπάψουν δύο ἄνδρες *Assizes B.* 278.11
 ὡς γῦπες εἰς τὸ βρώμα *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 278
 οἱ φωτισμένοι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἄνδρες *Pist. kekoim.* 567
 ἔτρεχαν ... ἄνδρες *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §14.21

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-οι

Substitution of the 2nd-declension ending -οι for -ες occurs only sporadically:³⁶ ὥσάν οἱ γῦπτοι εἰς τίποτες βρώμιον [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P VI 371.12.

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-αδες

The imparissyllabic plural very rarely extends to nouns belonging to this paradigm (cf. the accusative plural, below). One instance has been found of a proparoxytone form γύπαδες in the London version of the *Achilleid*: ὡς γύπαδες τοὺς ἔφαγαν οἱ τριάκοντα μόνον *Achil.* L 394 (Hesseling).

Genitive

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν ἢ -ῶ ἢ -ῶνε ἢ -ῶνε

The inherited ending -ῶν is the only ending for the genitive plural:

ἀποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν των *Vulgärorakel* I.191
 μέσον δύο μηνῶν (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.12)
 τῶν θ' μηνῶν *Lapid.* 187.19
 μηνῶν ια' (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 90, 170.21)
 ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν (1545, Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 2, 99.8)
 ὀρφανῶν παιδῶν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1071; μέλη ἀνδρῶν *ibid.* 2503
 ὅταν ἐγίνε τεσσάρων μηνῶν ἐγγαστρωμένη *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavrás) 75.18–19
 περὶ ἀμαρτημάτων ἀνδρῶν (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.25)
 τὰ ἴχνη τῶν πανιέρων ποδῶν σου (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.4)
 ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 290
 ἐννέα μηνῶν ἐπήγαινε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1212

³⁶ There is no evidence for a full transfer to /os/ (*ὁ γῦπος), but cf. ἡ τοῦ γύπου ἀνατομή (16th c. [ms], Unknown, BOUDREAUX 1912: 126.4).

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in a Cretan text: τῶν ἀντρώ την ἀπονιά CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.450.

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs in Heptanesian texts: ἔξι μηνῶνε (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2008: 2, 252.10). The following example shows a lack of stress shift, which should perhaps be viewed as a writing mistake for ἀνδρῶνε: τῶν ἀνδρωνέ τοὺς SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 58.24.

The paroxytone genitive of the residual word παῖς, which had long been superseded by the diminutive τὸ παιδί(ο)(ν), can sometimes be found in mixed- and higher-register texts: τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 67.79); ἐν καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν παίδων μου *Ptoch.* I 208; τῶν ἀμφοτέρων παίδων *Flor.* L 156 (Cupane); οἱ παῖδε<ς> τῶν παίδων (1611, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: IV, 72.20).

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	(-ες) ἰ -ας

This genitive, which is morphologically identical to the accusative (cf. all other masculine paradigms and see 1.2), has been found in a text from Cyprus: περὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 27.1).³⁷

Accusative

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ες

This inherited ending is the most common for the accusative plural:

τοὺς δ' παῖδες (1062, Sicily, ROGNONI 2004: 11, 117.16)
 ἄλλους τινὲς ἄντρες *Chron. Mor.* H 4403; διὰ μηνες δύο *ibid.* 6600
 νὰ σταθῇ δύο μηνες (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1991: 1, 234.24)
 ἄντρες νὰ τῶνε δώσης FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 285
 τοὺς ἄνδρες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 302.29
 ἄνδρες καλοὺς LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 125
 μηνες τέσσαρους (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2008: 2, 252.22)
 τσ' ἄντρες KORNAOS, *Erot.* IV.1645 (for the article τσί see 5.2.1)
 τὸν εἶχεν ἐφτὰ μηνες (1736, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 42, 144.3)

In specific phonetic environments final /s/ may be deleted in texts from south-western areas, e.g. τς ἄνδρε μας *Pist. voskos* II 1.169; οἱ παῖδε τῶν παίδων (1600, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: II, 70.10; and 1611, *ibid.* IV, 72.20). For details and more examples see I, 3.7.1.1.

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

This residual ending can be found occasionally throughout the period covered by this Grammar, usually alongside the more common forms in /es/ (e.g.: μετὰ μηνας τέσσαρους KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VII.90 and κ' ἔξε μηνες τότε ἔζησε *ibid.* VI.17):

³⁷ Note that in this text περὶ normally takes the genitive: περὶ τῆς προικὸς (*ibid.* 47.156); περὶ αὐτοῦ (*ibid.* 67.75); περὶ τούτων (*ibid.* 71.131) (N pl.).

εἰς μήνας β' (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 4, 16.1)
 πόδας δεν εἶχεν να σταθεῖ STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 258 (Pidonia)
 παντρεμένους ἄνδρας PIGAS, *Chrysop.* 115.14
 ἁγίους καὶ ἐναρέτους ἄνδρας PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §2.5
 τοὺς ἀπερασμένους μήνας (1687, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 277, 256.11)
 υποταγὴν εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας μας *Don Kis.* 179.11–12

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδες

The imparisyllabic plural is very rarely employed in nouns belonging to this paradigm (cf. the nominative plural, above). Note that Cypriot texts display the same preference with feminine nouns (see 2.11.1.1, 2.11.2.1): τοὺς ἀντράδες τοὺς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 263.24; χωρὶς ἀνδράδες PIGAS, *Chrysop.* 115.15; μὲ ἀνδράδες τῶν ἀδελφάδων (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: B, 462.580).

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ους

In the following example the ending is replaced by that of the /os/ paradigm: ἐκάθισε στὰ νησιά τρεῖς μήνους ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 42.9 app. crit. (B).

Vocative

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-ες

The vocative ending is identical to the nominative: ἔστι καιρός, ὦ ἄνδρες μου KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* XVI.145; ω μήνες καὶ βδομάδες μου CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* III.178.

2.2.3 Paroxytone Disyllabic Nouns with Imparisyllabic Plural

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	ρήγας		-α
Gen.	ρηγός	ρήγα	
Acc.	ρήγα(ν)		
Voc.	ρήγα		
Plural			
Nom.	ρηγάδες	ρήγες	-αι -οι -ηδες

Plural			
Gen.	ρηγάδων	ρηγάδω ρηγῶν ρηγάδες	
Acc.	ρηγάδες		ρηγάδας -ηδες -ας
Voc.	ρηγάδες		-οι

Singular

Nominative

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ας

The normal ending for the nominative singular is /as/:

Κωσταντῖνος ... αὐτοκράτωρ Ρωμαίων ὁ Δούκας (1060, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 33, 198.127)

δοῦκας τῆς Πουλίας (1144?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 312.2)

δοῦκας τῆς Κρήτης (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 265.23)

ὁ δοῦκας τῆς Βενετίας *Chron. Mor.* H 1028; ὁ ρήγας τῆς Φραγκίας *ibid.* 272

ὁκάπιοις ρήγας *Pol. Tr.* 2765; ὁ δούκας *ibid.* 2835

ὁ δούκας τῆς Ἀξίας (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 274.22)

ὁ ρήγας, ὡς ἐγροίκησε *Velth.* 940

ὁ ρήγας *Assizes A* 36.19

ὁ ρήγας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 18.30

ὁ βιτσορήγας τό 'μαθεν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* XVI.505 (< Ven. *vicere* + ρήγας)

ὁ ρήγας SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 41.26

εἶχα φουσάτα πάμπολλα, ἀρίθμητα ὡς ρήγας *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 971

ὁ λεγόμενος Δούκας (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 27, 41.7–8)

ο δοῦκας καὶ ἡ δουκέσσα *Don Kis.* 612.5

Deletion of final /s/ occurs sporadically, in the following example probably influenced by the Italian (for specific phonetic environments in which final /s/ may be omitted see I, 3.7.1.1): ὁ δοῦκα ντὲ Οὐρμπή KORONAIOS, *Pittakin* 47.

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	<i>Residual</i>

The residual nominatives ρήξ and δούξ occur in higher-register texts and contexts and are convenient for poets as a monosyllabic alternative to ρήγας and δοῦκας. The residual nominative is often treated as an indeclinable form that can also be used for the oblique cases (see below):

ὁ ἀγιότατος ρῆξ (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 309.13)
 ρῆξ Ἰταλίας καὶ δοῦκος τῆς Πουλίας (1144?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 312.2)
 ὁ δούξ Ἀθήνας Μενεστεύς *Pol. Tr.* 8040; ὁ εἷς ρῆξ καὶ ἄλλος δούξ *ibid.* 2287 app. crit. (B)
 ὁ δούξ ἡγνόμεν τὸ συμβάν *Flor.* L 760 (Cupane)
 δούξ Αἰγαίου Πελάγους (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 467.1–2)
 ὁ δούξ Φραντζέσκω Φούσκαρις SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 136.18–19
 ὁ ρῆξ τῆς Ἀρμενίας *Liv.* α 2775
 καὶ ποῦ ὁ ρῆξ καὶ ρήγαίνα *Velth.* 1166
 ὁ ρῆξ ὁ Λατζελάος *Chron. Toc.* 3338

Genitive

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ός

The inherited oxytone genitive form in /os/ (ρηγός, δουκός) shows a remarkable resistance to linguistic change, appearing throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

τοῦ μακαρίτου δουκός (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 22.70)
 μέ τοῦ ρηγός τὴν ἀδελφὴν, *Chron. Mor.* H 452; τοῦ δουκός ντὲ Καρεντάνα *ibid.* 7103
 καταπάνω τοῦ δουκός *Chron. Toc.* 716
 τοῦ ρηγός τῆς Κύπρου (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 209.5.2)
 τοῦ ρηγός ὁ κτίστης MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 656.19–20
 τοῦ αὐθεντός τοῦ δουκός (1527, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 220.82)
 ὁ ρήγας, τοῦ ρηγός SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 41.26
 εἰς τὸ παλάτι τοῦ δουκός *Stathis* III.16
 τοῦ ... πολυχρονημένου ρηγός (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 1, 281.7)
 στοῦ ρηγός KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.39
 ἀπὸ το καστέλι του δουκός *Don Kis.* 609.17

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-α

This ending, borrowed from the old 1st declension in -ας, pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar and is in line with the general trend that can be observed in masculine nouns, with the exception of those in /os/ (see 2.1), to form the genitive by deleting the final /s/ of the nominative. Forms in -α usually appear alongside forms in -ός (see above). In verse texts the different stress patterns of the two alternative forms are conveniently exploited: cf. τοῦ ἀφέντου μου τοῦ ρῆγα *Chron. Mor.* H 244 (verse end) and καὶ τὴν κατοῦνα τοῦ δουκός *ibid.* 7103 (before the caesura). Note that the family name Δούκας appears almost exclusively with the genitive in -α:

κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Δούκα (ca. 1110, Constantinople, GAUTIER 1985: 123.1848)
 Κομνηνοῦ Ἰωάννου Ἀγγέλου τοῦ Δούκα (1283, Thessaly, AVRAMEA/FEISSEL 1987: 21, 380.3)
 τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπεδάρχου Ἀγγέλου Δούκα (14th c., Constantinople, DELEHAYE 1921: 1, 81.18)
 περὶ τοῦ ρῆγα τῆς Φραγκίας, τῆς Ἀθηνοῦ τοῦ δοῦκα *Chron. Mor.* H 3465
 τοῦ δοῦκα τὰ μηνύματα *Flor.* L 884 (Cupane)
 τοῦ δοῦκα τοῦ ἀνδρός τῆς *Chron. Toc.* 9
 τοῦ δοῦκα τὸν τόπον (1430, Epirus, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.9)

ἔχω καὶ τὴν δονασιὸν τοῦ δοῦκα (15th c., Cyprus, BAGLIONI 2006: 202.31–2)
 τοῦ δοῦκα (1509, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [1], 5.8)
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκλαμπροτάτου αὐθέντη δοῦκα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 334, 319.6)
 τοῦ ... ρῆγα τῶν Σπανιόλων ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 368
 τοῦ Δοῦκα τοῦ Πουλάδη (1663, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 124, 88.5)
 ποῦ 'τονε 'νοὺς ρῆγα θυγατέρα KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.462
 νὰ εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Δοῦκα τὸ ἕμισὸ ἀμπέλι (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 27, 42.29)

Addition of final /n/ to the genitive is very rare and should perhaps be regarded as a scribal error (as the *Chronicle of Tocco* does not systematically avoid hiatus): τοῦ ρῆγαν Ἰταλίας *Chron. Toc.* 20.

The residual nominative form is sporadically used for the genitive, e.g. τοῦ δοῦξ βενετίας (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 265.22).

Accusative

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-α(ν)

The accusative ending /a/ may occur with or without final /n/:

κύρ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Δοῦκαν (1066, Athos, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 8, 99.11–12)
 τὸν εὐσεβῆ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν Γουλιάλμον ρῆγα (1153, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 11, 33.14–15)
 ἀπὸ τὸν ρῆγα Κάρλον *Chron. Mor.* H 6478; στὸν ρῆγαν Κατελώνιας *ibid.* 2490
 Γεώργιον τὸν Δοῦκαν *Ptoch.* IV 655
 ἐπιάσασαν τὸν ρῆγα (15th. c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 209–10.7.6–7)
 τὸν δοῦκα τὸν ἀφέντη *Chron. Toc.* 265
 διὰ τὸ ρῆγα τῆς Φραγκίας (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.8)
 τὸν δοῦκα δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνοῦ *Theseid* I.14,4 (Follieri)
 θωρῶντα ὁ σῖρ Τιπὰτ τὸν ρῆγα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 564.12–13
 τὸν δοῦκαν *Alosis* 365
 τὸν ἐκλαμπρώτατον αὐθέντη δοῦκα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 141, 141.8)
 τὸν βασιλέα Μιχαήλ Δοῦκαν (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 20.49)
 νὰ πᾶουν ἔως τὸν ρῆγα τὸν βασιλέα (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 2, 282.7)
 τὸ Δοῦκα Σοφιανό (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 27, 41.4)

The residual nominative is sporadically used for the accusative, e.g. τὸν ρῆξ LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 412.

Vocative

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-α

The vocative ends in /a/:

δοῦκα μου *Alosis* 374; ρῆγα πανένδοξε *ibid.* 516
 ὦ μέγα δοῦκα KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* V.21; ρῆγα χριστιανικώτατε *ibid.* IX.53
 συμπάθησέ μου, ρῆγα μου KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1378

The residual nominative is sporadically used as vocative, e.g. τρισεκλαμπρότατε μέγα ρῆξ (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.1).

Plural*Nominative**Masc.*

Pl.	Nom.	-άδες

The most common nominative plural ending is -άδες:

οἱ κατὰ καιροὺς δουκάδες (1185–1204, Constantinople, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 13, 322.12–13)

οἱ εὐγενικοὶ δουκάδες καὶ κοντάδες *Chron. Mor.* 2143

δουκάδες καὶ κοντάδες *Pol. Tr.* 258³⁸

πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ρηγάδες LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 760

ποῦ με κρατοῦσιν ... ρηγάδες *Poulol.* 404

ρηγάδες με ἐμηνύσασιν *Imber.* 284

ρηγάδες καὶ τοπάρχοι *Achil.* N 1869

οἱ ρηγάδες (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.8)

οἱ ρηγάδες ὁ ἕνας ὀπίσω τοῦ ἄλλου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.3

ἀξιώτατοι ἀφέντες καὶ ρηγάδες *P&N Diath.* 402

μικροὶ ἀφεντάδες, ἦγουν μικροὶ δουκάδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.6

πάπηδες καὶ ρηγάδες ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 161

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες

The parisyllabic plural in -ες of the old 3rd declension is the exception rather than the rule for ρήγας and δοῦκας: οἱ κατὰ χώραν δοῦκες (1088, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 7, 73.30); οἱ πρόγονοι μὲν αὐτοῦ ρήγες Σεββίας (1319, Constantinople, ŽIVOJINOVIC et al. 1998: 42, 268.52).

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-αι

The residual AG 1st-declension ending in -αι is only very rarely employed with this paradigm:³⁹ οἱ ρηγάδες καὶ δοῦκαι καὶ κόντιδες ΔΟΥΚΑΣ, *Hist.* XIV 5.6.

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-οι

Substitution of the 2nd-declension ending -οι for -ες is very rare:⁴⁰ οἱ δοῦκοι μας νὰ κάτσουσι *Zinon* V.34.

³⁸ Two instances of δοῦκες in this text (post 45 and 5546) are the result of editorial intervention.

³⁹ It is limited to the word δοῦκας, which as a personal name tended to adopt 1st-declension plural endings, e.g. in Anna Komnene and Theodore Metochites (see the online *TLG*).

⁴⁰ No evidence has been found for a complete transfer to /os/ (*ὁ δοῦκος), but cf. τοῦ μεγάλου δούκου in *Basilica* 11, title 2(CA), Chapter 3, section 16, line 5 (eds. Holwerda/Scheltema; see the online *TLG*).

Two especially inventive one-off formations are the following, inspired by the obsolete datives plural δουζί and ρηξί: δουξοί AXAGIOLIS, *Diig. Karolou* 738; ρηξοί τε πάσης τάξεως κύκλω παρισταμένοι *ibid.* 1236.

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ηδες

This ending of the -ης paradigm (see 2.3.4; and cf. paradigm 2.2.1), occurs with the word δούκας only: οί δούκιδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 142.39; της Ιταλίας δούκηδες ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 1602; καπετανέοι, δούκηδες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 518.18; οι δούκηδες το ευφράνθηκαν *Don Kis.* 612.8–9.

Genitive

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-άδων -άδω

The imparisyllabic ending is the most common for the genitive plural, appearing also in less vernacular texts and documents (*Dig. G* and the Patriarchal Register):

τῶν Δουκάδων *Dig. G* IV.43
καὶ ἐτέρων ρηγάδων (1354, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 196, 134.36)
τῶν Δουκάδων *Dig. E* 137
δουκάδων καὶ κοντάδων *Pol. Tr.* 3161; ἄλλων πολλῶν ρηγάδων *ibid.* 3202
εἰς αὐλὰς ρηγάδων *Diig. tetr.* 250
καὶ τῶν ρηγάδων ἡ τιμὴ *Katal.* 563
τῶν ευγενῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ρηγάδων *Diig. Apoll.* 10
τόσων ρηγάδων παιδίᾳ *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 588
τὸ γένος τῶν Δουκάδων [VLASTOS], *Dig. P* IV 342.18–19

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from Crete: ρηγάδω θυγατέρες *P&N Diath.* 1740; ρηγάδω, βασιλιάδω FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 35; καὶ τῷ ρηγάδω οἱ διαφορὲς KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1509.

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν

The parisyllabic ending, with a shift of the stress to the ultimate, is less common than the imparisyllabic one and appears mainly in mixed- and higher-register texts:

δουκῶν (1079, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 2, 18.21)
τῶν εὐγενεστάτων ρηγῶν (1361, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 262, 554.67)
ἐκ τῶν Δουκῶν τὸ γένος *Dig. T* 54
οἱ ἄλλοι ἀποκρισιάροι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ρηγῶν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 41
ἀπὸ τὸ γένος τῶν Δουκῶν κατὰγεται [VLASTOS], *Dig. P* II 323.16

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-άδες

This genitive ending, morphologically identical to the accusative, occurs in texts from Cyprus and elsewhere (see 1.2 for discussion): τὰς δόσεις τοὺς προκατόχους του ρηγάδες *Assizes* B 285.16–17; τὰ παῖδιά τοὺς ρηγάδες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 78.6–7.

Accusative

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδες

The most common ending for the accusative plural is -άδες:

τέσσαρες δουκάδες ἤφερε *Pol. Tr.* 2830 app. cr. (AX); ἐχάσαμεν ... δουκάδες *ibid.* 8005
 ἀπὸ ὅλους τοὺς ρηγᾶδες *Chron. Tōc.* 3333
 καὶ μὲ ρηγάδες ἔλεγα συμπεθερίαν νὰ ποίσω *Florios* 420
 ἀπὲ τοὺς ρηγᾶδες *Assizes* A 229.19
 εἰς ὅλους τοὺς ρηγᾶδες *Chron. Mor.* P 23
 κι ἐκ' εἶδα ἀφέντες, ἄρχοντες, στρατιῶτες καὶ ρηγάδες ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 283
 νὰ ζηγηθοῦμεν τοὺς ρηγάδες τοὺς λατίνους *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 16.25–6
 τοὺς ρηγάδες *Alosis* 176; δουκάδες, κούντους, πρίγκιπες *ibid.* 177
 εἰς πέντε ρηγάδες καὶ ἄρχοντες *Ekth. Chron.* 2.5
 ἐγὼ δοξεύω πρέντζιπους, ἀκόμη καὶ ρηγάδες *CHORTATSI, Katz.* Prol. 11
 τοὺς πλουσίους ἐκείνους Δουκᾶδες [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P V 351.35
 στοὺς ρηγάδες *KONDAR., Paides* 405

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδας

This obsolete accusative ending does not appear in texts frequently:

τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς συγγενούς, δουκάδας *Liv.* E 4338
 δουκάδας, φίλους γνήσιους *Liv.* V 3960
 τοὺς ἀρχηγούς δουκάδας του *Liv.* S 3184 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 δουκάδας, μεγιστάνους *Pol. Tr.* 780 (reading of ms X); δουκάδας, κόντους *ibid.* 2565 (reading of mss AX)

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ηδες

This -ης paradigm ending (see 2.3.4), has been found with δούκας only (cf. 2.2.1): καὶ γενεράλους, δούκηδες *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 568.19; εγευμάτισε με τοὺς δούκηδες *Don Kis.* 612.27.

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

This residual ending can be found occasionally, usually alongside the more common forms in -ες: καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους ρήγας (1361, Constantinople, *KODER et al.* 2001: 262, 554.48–49); δοῦκας καβαλλαρίου *Pol. Tr.* 4360 app. crit. (X).

*Vocative**Masc.*

Pl.	Voc.	-άδες

The vocative ending is identical to the nominative:

τοπάρχαι μου, δουκάδες *Liv.* S 3186 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 παρακαλῶ, αὐθέντες καὶ ρηγάδες *Alosis* 453; φθέντες, ρηγάδες, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν σᾶς
 γράφω *ibid.* 747

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-οι

Vocatives in -οι, an ending borrowed from the /os/ paradigm, have only been found in the Heptanesian tragedy *Zinon* (cf. the nominative, above): ἔχετε φόβο τὸ λοιπὸ, δοῦκοι *Zinon* I 279; δοῦκοι μου ὑψηλότατοι *ibid.* I 305; δοῦκοι, ὡς βλέπετε *ibid.* IV 282; Δοῦκοι, ἡ τόση πεθυμιὰ *ibid.* V 23.

2.2.4 Paroxytone Nouns with Parisyllabic Plural

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	ἀστέρας		
Gen.	ἀστέρα	ἀστέρος ἀστέρου	ἀστέραν -οῦ
Acc.	ἀστέρα(ν)		
Voc.	ἀστέρα		
Plural			
Nom.	ἀστέρες		-οι -ηδες
Gen.	ἀστέρων	ἀστέρω -ωνε	
Acc.	ἀστέρες	ἀστέρας	-ους -ηδες
Voc.	ἀστέρες		

Singular*Nominative**Masc.*

Sg.	Nom.	-ας

The most common ending for the nominative singular is -ας:

ὁ καλαμιώνας (1193/4, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 16, 131.28–9 and 31)
 ὁ ποῦ ἔνε καλαμεώνας δαφιλός (1333, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 15, 75.14)
 ἐσέβαινε ὁ χειμῶνας *Chron. Mor.* H 582; ὁ πατέρας του *ibid.* 3189; ὅπου ἦτον ὁ λιμιῶνας *ibid.* 9203
 ἔλαμπεν ὡς ἀστέρας *Pol. Tr.* 285; ὁ πατέρας της *ibid.* 320; ὁ ἀέρας ὅλος *ibid.* 5524
 ἄνδρας ὥσπερ ποιμένας *Liv.* V 895; ὁ πατέρας της *ibid.* 2426
 ἔρχεται χειμῶνας *Phys.* 620
 πατέρας τοῦ Ζαχαρία (1447, Corfu, EFSTRATIADIS 1925: 50.1–2)
 ἦτον ἀέρας ἐκ τῆς γῆς *Byz. Il.* 124
 φυσᾷ γλυκὺς ἀέρας BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 91; αὐγερινός ἀστέρας *ibid.* 92
 ἦτον χειμῶνας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 82.20
 ἕνας φωστήρας KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 142.21
 ὁ πατέρας ... ὁ σωτήρας SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 41.25; ἔλαιῶνας, καλαμιῶνας *ibid.* 45.29
 ποιμένας καὶ λυκόπουλον ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 70 τίτ.
 ὡς εὐσπλαχνος σωτήρας AXAGIOLIS, *Diig. Karolou* 113; ὡς παμφαῆς ἀστέρας *ibid.* 190
 ὁ ἀρραβῶνας ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 125.A.22
 ὁ ἀγκῶνας (17th c., Kefalonia, TZANNETATOS 1965: 2, 104.9)
 ἀμὴ ἦτον καὶ κρασοπατέρας PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §15.15
 ὁ πατέρας της (1670, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 31, 388.5–6)

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	Residual

Residual nominative singular forms are used in mixed- and higher-register texts, in more formal contexts (e.g. referring to emperors or biblical figures) and in verse texts, in which they conveniently serve metrical needs: cf. ὁ ἀφέντης καὶ πατήρ μας *Chron. Mor.* H 2733 at the verse end, and ὡσαύτως κὶ ὁ πατέρας του *ibid.* 3189 before the caesura (for the metrical constraints of the 15-syllable verse, see Volume 1, General Introduction, section 2). The residual nominative is sometimes treated as an indeclinable form that can also be used for the oblique cases (see below):

ὁ σὸς δεσπότης καὶ πατήρ *Eisit.* f.2r.3
 ποιμὴν εἶμαι εἰς πρόβατα, ποιμὴν διὰ τὸ γάλα *Liv.* V 900
 τῆς κόρης ὁ κοιτών *Liv.* α 2580
 φίλος ἐμὸς ὁ Κλιτοβῶν *Liv.* S 3192 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 τάχα πατήρ τοῦ Πάρι *Byz. Il.* 247
 ἐδιάβη ὁ ἀστήρ *Alex. Rim.* 2913
 εἶναι ... διδάσκαλος καὶ σωτήρ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 379.7; ὁ Ἰωσήφ ὁ μνηστήρ τῆς Θεοτόκου *ibid.* 356.39–40
 ἡ γῆς, ἡρ καὶ θάλασσα ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 452
 καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Κωστατῆς (1631, Lesvos, KADAS 1988: 152, 352.4–5)
 ὁ χιτών KALLIOUR., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 19.23
 πατήρ πατέρων ἐκεῖνος IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2660

Genitive

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-α

The most common genitive ending is /a/:

- καὶ τοῦ πατέρα (1101, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 7, 395.21)
 τοῦ πιστοῦ καὶ ἡγαπημένου μας πατέρα (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 46, 25.2)
 τοῦ πατέρα μας (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.13)
 τοῦ λιμένα *Theseid* I.70,3 (Follieri)
 του παστάρδου του πατέρα της VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 6.15
 τοῦ πατέρα τοῦ Ντόνο κορμιά δύο (1543, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 239, 226.38)
 τοῦ πατέρα μου *Fyll. gadar*: 148B
 τοῦ Πλάστη καὶ Πατέρα *P&N Diath.* 4282
 με του χειμώνα τσι βροχές CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.144
 τοῦ Σωτήρα Χριστοῦ (1613, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 188, 178.10)
 τοῦ πατέρα του (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 140.24)
 πρώτες τοῦ χειμώνα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 197.27
 τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ ἀρραβώνα (1675, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 39, 253.8)
 τοῦ ἀγέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπιτιοῦ (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 151, 322.10)
 (= ἀέρα)
 ἡδιοξε τοῦ πατέρα μου KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.808

Addition of final /n/ occurs in Cycladic texts before clitic pronouns starting in /t/, e.g. τοῦ πατέραν τως (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 19, 34.22) (cf. τὸν μπατέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ Τζαμπάτáκην (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 42, 192.5–193.1), where the word is not followed by a clitic pronoun; see I, 3.7.2.1.2 for details).

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ος (ὶ -ός)

The old genitive forms in /os/, paroxytone for all nouns belonging to this paradigm with the exception of πατέρας, occur in texts throughout the period covered by this Grammar, especially in more formal contexts:

- μετὰ τοῦ ὀδόντος *Diig. tetr.* 408
 πικροῦ χειμῶνος *Phys.* 630
 ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ δρυμῶνος *Synax. gadar.* 34
 γυνή τοῦ Σολομῶντος DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2095
 ὁ σωτήρας, τοῦ σωτήρος SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 41.25
 τοῦ ἀστέρος KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 2.7
 τοῦ Μακεδόνης (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 22.124); Συμεῶνος τοῦ Σήθ (ibid. 15, 31.41) (< indecl. Συμεών)
 τοῦ Σωτήρος Χριστοῦ EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.4–5

A shift of the stress to the antepenultimate occurs sporadically in versified texts to accommodate the metre: τοῦ κτίστου καὶ Μακέδονος ΚΑΜΑΤ., *Astron.* 693 (before the caesura).

The oxytone genitive πατρός (< πατήρ) is especially frequent and not restricted to formal contexts:

- τ' ὄνομα τοῦ πατρός του *Chron. Mor.* H 2447
 κοντάριν τοῦ πατρός σου *Arm.* 10
 ἐνοῦ πατρός καὶ πολλῶν μητέρων *Assizes* B 421.19
 ἦτο τοῦ πατρός Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Φιορεντίνου (1447, Corfu, EFSTRATIADIS 1925: 50.3–4)

τὸ ὀρκομωτικὸν τοῦ πατρός μου (1451, Constantinople?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 1, 198.23–4)
 τοῦ κάποτε μου ἀφεντὸς μακαρίτο πατρός (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983:
 117, 56.15)
 οἱ ἀγοῦροι τοῦ πατρός σου *Achil.* N 1007
 ἀπὸ μητέρος καὶ πατρός KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.136
 τοῦ πατρός του *Alex. Rim.* 390
 τοῦ πατρός μας τὴν κληρονομίαν (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 36, 37.13)
 εἶστεν ἐνοῦ πατρός παιδία *Diig. Alex.* F 206.1 (Lolos)
 πατρός τοῦ κακοδαίμονος, τ' ἄθλιου τοῦ Ψιχαρπάγου ZINOS, *Vatr.* 188
 τοῦ πατρός σου (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 35, 34.5)
 ὁ πατέρας, τοῦ πατρός SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 41.25
 νὰ γράψης τοῦ πατρός μας τὸ ὄνομα (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.30)
 τοῦ πατρός μου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 53.6

The following two examples may be viewed as attempts to bring the genitive of πατέρας into line with the rest of the paradigm: τοῦ ὑπερτίμου κρασσοπατέρος *Krasop.* AO tit.; ἐνούς πατέρος VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 1303.

A paroxytone form in -ους, a conflation of 3rd-declension -ου with 2nd-declension -ος (cf. HATZIDAKIS 1892: 55), occurs in a document from Corfu: εἰς τὸ μοναστήρι τοῦ μεγάλου Σωτήρους (1696, Corfu, KARATHANASIS 1972: 4, 320.5).

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ου ἢ -οῦ

Paroxytone genitives in -ου, which borrow their ending from the /os/ paradigm, pre-date the period covered by this Grammar,⁴¹ but do not occur very frequently. The ubiquitous alternative ending of the proparoxytone paradigm 2.2.5 (ὁ κόρακας, τοῦ κοράκου) may also have had some influence on this formation:

τοῦ ἀέρου ΚΑΜΑΤ., *Astron.* 4042
 τοῦ Τελαμῶνου *Pol. Tr.* 1124, 8177, 12824
 τοῦ ἀγκώνου (1539, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 1158, 895.8)
 γεῖναι τὸ Ἀγίου Σωτέρου (17th/18th c., Pontos, TURYN 1980: 144 (f.202r).1)

There are several examples of an oxytone genitive in -οῦ of the word πατέρας in the *Chronicle of Tocco*. This ending is modelled on the inherited oxytone /os/ ending but with substitution of 2nd-declension /u/ for /os/ (cf. paradigms 2.2.1, 2.2.2): τοῦ πατροῦ των *Chron. Toc.* 18; τοῦ πατροῦ τους *ibid.* 22 and 37.

The residual nominative form is sometimes used instead of the genitive:

τοῦ Κλιτοβῶν τοῦ φίλου *Liv.* E 4255
 παῖς ὁ δεύτερος πατήρ τοῦ Ροδοφίλου *Velth.* 384
 τοῦ Σολομῶν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2094
 τοῦ Σολωμῶν τὰ λόγια *Diig. Alex.* E 135.11 (Lolos)
 τοῦ ἀήρ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 107.37
 Βαλσαμῶν Θεοδώρου πατριάρχου (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.23)

⁴¹ Cf. the forms Μακεδόνου in a 3rd-c. AD inscription (see PANAYOTOU 1992b: 21) and λιμένου in a 3rd-c. papyrus (see GIGNAC 1981: 44).

τοῦ Σολωμών *Alex. Fyll.* 34.3–4

διὰ ὄνομα τοῦ μρ. Μανόλη Μακεδών (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 110.36)

An innovative formal-looking genitive based on the residual nominative is the following:
τοῦ ἀῆρος FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm. I* 1 and 22 and *Interm. II* 4.

Accusative

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-α(ν)

There is no variation in the ending of the accusative singular, other than that it may occur with or without final /n/ throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

ὡς πατέρα μου λέγω σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.10
τὸν τοιοῦτον μὲν καλαμῶναν (1154/5, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 5, 79.8)
τὸν ἐμὸν πνευματικὸν πατέρα (1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.11)
ἔδωκεν ἀρραβῶναν (1264, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 21, 163.11)
κρατήραν ἀσημένον (1334, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 43, 131.24)
ὁμοῦ μὲ τὸν πατέρα μου *Chron. Mor.* H 4276; πατέρα εἶχαν τὰ ὀρφανά *ibid.* 7225
χρυσὸν ἀστέρα εἶχεν *Dig.* E 11; τοῦ Ἀκρίτη τὸν πατέρα *ibid.* 738
λέγει τὸν Κλιτοβόντα *Liv.* E 80
καλὲς εἰς χαρακτήραν *Liv.* V 459; εἰς ἀέρα ἤλεγά το *ibid.* 1549
εἰς τὸν λιμέναν τῆς σωτηρίας *Assizes* B 295.22
ἔδιδαν τὸν πατέρα μου (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956 275.27)
τέτοιον γλυκὺν ἀέρα FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 370
καὶ πιστεύω πατέρα, υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.18
λαβωμένος εἰς τὸν ἀγκῶνα (1539, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 1158, 895)
ἀέρα χρυσοκόκκινον (1557, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 11, κς'.52)
τὸ χειμῶνα (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 15, 13.8)
τὸν ἀχειρίωνα (1592, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 37, 183.6)
ἐποίησεν ἡ θάλασσα χειμῶνα ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1150; ἐκ τῶν σπαθιδῶν ἀθήραν *ibid.* 2538
καὶ ὀδόντα μετὰ θήκης ἀργυρῆς (1596, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 27, 141.6)
ἐγέννησε τὸν Σολομών KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 1.6;⁴² εἶδαμεν τὸν ἀστέρα του *ibid.* 2.2
τὴν κάμαρα μὲ τὸν ἀγέρα τοῦ δωμάτου (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 180.26); πῶς τσῆ ἴστρεψες τὸν ἀρραβῶνα (1685, *ibid.* 580, 805.15)
ἐκλινε τον αυχένα MINIATIS, *Didachai* 478.11

The residual nominative is sometimes used instead of the accusative:

τὸν πατήρ του *Chron. Mor.* H 454
εἰς τὸν πατήρ του *Pol. Tr.* 3267 app. crit. (A)
ὁμοιάζω τὸν πατήρ μου *Synax. gadar.* 148
ἔδωσαμεν τὸν πατήρ (1503, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 8, 107.11)
ὑπάγει εἰς τὸν πατήρ του *Pol. Tr.* 3267 app. crit. (A)
τὸν πατήρ ἀντάμα μὲ τὴν μήτηρ *Achil.* N 360
πρὸς τὸν πατήρ του γράφει *Achil.* O 316
τὸν λεπτὸν ἀήρ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 143.2

⁴² The name Σολομών may form the oblique cases by adding the ending to the nominative instead of the dental stem Σολομώντ-. Examples can already be found in the *New Testament*.

As many of the nouns in -ών have alternative nominatives in -ός (see 2.1), it is difficult to establish whether the forms were perceived as belonging to the /os/ paradigm or whether they are instances of residual nominatives used as accusatives:

εἰς τὸν χειμῶν, τὴν κλύδωνα *Byz. Il.* 446
 τὸν χιτῶν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 467; χειμῶν καὶ καλοκαίριν *ibid.* 2006; τὸν Σολομῶν *ibid.* 2061
 τὸν Σολωμῶν *Synax. gyn.* 338
 νὰ εἶναι φυλαγμένα ... χειμὸν καλοκαίρι (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 8, 25.14)

Vocative

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-α

The most common ending for the vocative is -α, reflecting the general trend in all masculine nouns apart from those in /os/ (see 2.1) of dropping the final /s/ of the nominative in the vocative:

φίλε μου Κλιτοβῶντα *Liv.* α 4424 app. crit. (P)
 καλὲ πατέρα *Ptochol.* α 534
 ὦ τίμιε πατέρα μου *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1912
 καὶ ποῦ 'σαι 'δά, πατέρα»! *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 31
 σήκω, πατέρα *Diig. Alex.* F 136.11 (Lolos)
 φωστήρα τ' οὐρανοῦ *Thrinios Konst. (Zoras)* 24
 ἐσένα κράζω, τοῦ ὁρανοῦ φωστήρα *Zinon III.* 121
 γροίκησε, πατέρα μου *Apok. Theot.* 495.12

The residual vocative, mainly of the word πατήρ, is used in higher-register texts and more formal contexts, as the following examples illustrate:

πνευματικέ μου τίμιε πάτερ *NIKON, Logos* 9 310.6
 ἀνάστα, πάτερ *Dig.* G VII.119
 ὦ πάτερ, πάτερ βασιλεῦ [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 112
 κύριε, πάτερ, βασιλεῦ *Imb. Rim.* 442
 χαίρε, σῶτερ κλεινῆς Ἑλλάδος (1514, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1963b: 164.25)
 ὦ πάτερ, ἐσύ εἶσαι μέγας *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 51.1
 πάτερ πατέρων *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 16
 δόξα Σοι, Πάτερ ἅγιε *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1253
 παρακαλῶ σε, πάτερ μου *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1265

The residual nominative form sometimes appears as vocative:

αὐθέντα καὶ πατήρ *Dig.* G IV.73
 ἄκουσον, φίλε Κλιτοβῶν *Liv.* E 2464
 πατήρ μου, τί ἔνε τὸ θλίβεσαι *Achil.* O 129
 πατήρ καὶ δάσκαλέ μου *FALIEROS, Thrinios* 118 app. crit.
 ὦ Πατήρ *P&N Diath.* 857
 ἀφέντη καὶ πατήρ μου (1680, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 8, 301, f.1r.2)

Plural*Nominative**Masc.*

Pl.	Nom.	-ες ἢ -ις

The inherited parisyllabic plural in -ες is the normal ending throughout the period covered by this Grammar:⁴³

ἔδε κριταὶ καὶ δικασταὶ καὶ νόμοι καὶ κανόνες! GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 269
οἱ ἄρραβῶνες οὓς ἔλαβεν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 228.79)
ἔλαμπαν ὥς ἀστέρες *Pol. Tr.* 6334
οἱ ὀδόντες τοῦ παιδίου STAFIDAS, *Iatrosoph.* 7.202–3
᾿ς τοὺς ἔμορφους ἄερες *Chron. Toc.* 3456
πατέρες καὶ μητέρες *Kakop.* 1
οἱ γλυκοὶ μου ἀστέρες *Cypr. Canz.* 23.3
οἱ φωστήρες τῆς οἰκουμένης *Pist. kekoim.* 419–20
οἱ ἄερες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 211.10
οἱ ἄρραβῶνες ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 124.A.21
αν Μακεδόνες εἰμασθεν STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 160 (Pidonia)
οἱ ἀστέρες KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 13.25
καὶ καλοὶ κρασοπατέρες ὅλοι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.123
οἱ ὀδόντες τοὺς LANDOS, *Geopon.* 224.24
νά ᾿χουν τοῦτον τὸν καμὸν πατέρες καὶ μητέρες *Thrinios Kypr.* 37

Forms in /is/ are phonetic rather than morphological variants of /es/, reflecting mid-vowel raising of unstressed /e/ to /i/ (see I, 2.5.4 for details): ἄγιοι πατέρις (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2270).

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-οι

This ending, borrowed from the /os/ paradigm, occurs a few times with the word Μακεδών/Μακεδόνας in two versions of the *Alexander Romance*: ἔρχονται Μακεδόνοι *Alex. Rim.* 791; ποιοὶ ᾿ναι οἱ Μακεδόνοι *ibid.* 871 (not quite rhyming with ἀπομένη and τρομασμένοι respectively); οἱ Μακεδόνοι *Diig. Alex.* E 133.4 (Lolos). The form πάτεροι in the following example is derived from Latin *pater* rather than from πατήρ: Γεζουβῖται καὶ πάτεροι VATATSI, *Periig.* I 574.

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ηδες

⁴³ An instance of an imparisyllabic plural in -άδες, a nominative οἱ Πατεράδες (“Church Fathers”), in the modern edition of Damaskinos Stouditis’ *Thisavros* (16th c.) (DELIDIMOS 1941) is of much later date. The edition is based on a 19th-c. reworking of the text. The 1561 Venetian edition reads οἱ πατέρες.

This ending, borrowed from the /is/ paradigm, is only very rarely employed with nouns belonging to this paradigm: ἤλθαν οἱ πατέριδες εἰς τὸ σπηῖτι τοῦ Κάνλικη (1701, Vienna, LEGRAND 1903: 13, 36.1).

Genitive

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ων ἢ -ω ἢ -ωνε

The inherited ending -ων is the only ending for the genitive plural:

νόμους τῶν πατέρων *Ptoch. IV* 339
 τῶν ὀδόντων *STAFIDAS, Iatrosof.* 8.204
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 407.38
 πλησίον ἐλαιῶνων (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 229, 162.4)
 ὁλουνῶν τῶν πατέρων (1595, Kefalonia, GARBIS 1999: 412.3)
 τὸ σκαμνὶ τῶν πατέρων τοὺς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 43.23
 χαλασμός τῶν πατέρων, τιμωρία τῶν μανάδων *Bertoldos* 19.17
 ἔχουσι ἐλαιῶνων τόσην ποσότητα *LANDOS, Geopon.* 146.20
 πατήρ πατέρων ἐκεῖνος *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2660
 τῶν μπατέρων (1687, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 103, 323.5–6)

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in a Cypriot and a Cretan text, but is likely to occur in other areas as well (Mani, certain Aegean islands; see I, 3.7.2.2): τῶ τριακοσίῳ θεοφόρῳ πατέρῳ (1534, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 18, 232.10); πατέρῳ καὶ παππάδῳ *P&N Diath.* 214.

Addition of -(v)ε occurs in Heptanesian texts (see I, 2.6.3.1): τοῦ αὐτοῦ μοναστηρίου καὶ πατέρωνε (1603 [17th/18th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 506.9).

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ες ἢ -ας

In Cypriot texts genitives plural occur in which the ending is morphologically identical to the accusative (for discussion see 1.2): εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοὺς πατέρας τοὺς *Assizes B* 441.12; εἰς τὰ χέργια τοὺς πατέρες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 54.2.

Accusative

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ες

This inherited ending is the most common for the accusative plural:

καὶ οἶκον καὶ ἄμπελον καὶ καλαμιῶνες (1180, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 200, 262.37)
 ἄλλοι τὰ πλάγια ἐφύγασιν, ἄλλοι δρυμῶνες πάλιν *Pol. Tr.* 902
 τοὺς ἄερες *Flor.* L 526
 τοὺς δύο μὲν ἀστέρες *Cypr. Canz.* 127.6.
 εἰς τοὺς πατέρες (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 341.42)
 πνευματικούς πατέρες (1545, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 164, 106.5)
 εἰς τοὺς κανόνες (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.9)

ῥς τοὺς δρυμῶνες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 34.22
 ἄερες χρυσοὺς (1628/9, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 1, 41.6)
 τοὺς πατέρες (1656, Andros, POLEMIS 2001: 59, 178.4)

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

This residual ending can be found occasionally in higher-register texts and more formal contexts:

τοὺς ὀδόντας *Dig.* G III.102
 ἔσβειουν τοὺς ἀστέρας *Liv.* V 2565
 τοὺς ποιμένας *Ptochol.* P 38
 τοὺς φωστήρας KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 142.20
 ἔρωταποκρίσεις εἰς τοὺς κανόνas (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.23)

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ους

The occasional employment of the ending of the 2nd-declension /os/ paradigm is a phenomenon that pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar.⁴⁴ There may also be some influence from paradigm 2.2.5 (ὁ κόρακας, τοὺς κοράκους), which adopts this ending much more systematically:

τοὺς ἀγκώνους *Dig.* E 1707
 ἀπάνω ῥς Μακεδόνους *Alex. Rim.* 836
 τοὺς Μακεδόνους *Diig. Alex.* F 120.21 (Lolos)
 τοὺς Μακεδόνους *Diig. Alex.* V 36.14
 με τους Μακιδόνους *Diig. Alex.* K 365.14 (Mitsakis)

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ηδες

This ending, borrowed from the paroxytone -ης paradigm (see 2.3.4), occurs in a collection of documents from Naxos with the word ἄερας (meaning “right to extend (a property)”, not “air”): με πάσαν τως ἀγέρηδες (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 158, 330.13); με τοὺς ἀγέρηδές τως (ibid. 159, 331.10); τοὺς ἀγέρηδες τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπιτίου (1685, ibid. 558, 784.4).

Vocative

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-ες

⁴⁴ Cf. a very early (AD 128) accusative plural χιθώνους (for χιτώνας) quoted by GIGNAC 1981: 45 and a medieval example: καθὰπέρ τινας ἀειφανεῖς ἀστέρους Michael the Monk, *Encomium of SS. Isakos and Dalmatos* 277.10 (9th c., 10th-c. ms; ed. Hatlie).

The vocative ending is identical to the most common nominative ending. No variation has been found:

ἀλλὰ »κακόν«, ἐκραύγασαν, »πατέρες, τὸ λεγμένον«, *Ptoch.* IV 342
 σελήνη καὶ ἀστέρες *PLOUSIAD.*, *Thrinós* 84 (Vasileiou)
 στρατιῶτες Μακεδόνες *Alex. Rim.* 863
 να το ηξεύρητε καλά, εσεῖς Μακιδόνες *Diig. Alex.* K 369.20–1
 ἱερεῖς καὶ πατέρες *Pist. kekoim.* 10
 κι εσεῖς, ὡ ἀγιότατοι ποιμένες πατριάρχαι *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ.*, *Pali* 9938
 ἀστέρες, θρηνησιτῆτε *BOUNIALIS M.*, *Diig. Pol.* 177.11

2.2.5 Proparoxytone Nouns with Parisyllabic Plural

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	κόρακας	-ης	
Gen.	κόρακος κοράκου κόρακα	-η	
Acc.	κόρακα(ν)	-η(ν)	
Voc.	κόρακα	-η	
Plural			
Nom.	κόρακες κοράκοι	κοράκες κόρακοι	-άδες -ηδες
Gen.	κοράκων	κοράκω κοράκωνε	κόρακων -ουνε -άδων
Acc.	κόρακες κοράκους	κόρακας	-άδες -αίους
Voc.	κόρακες κοράκοι		

Singular

Nominative

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ας

The most common ending for the nominative singular is /as/. It appears before (see introduction to 2.2), throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

ὁ Φύλακας (ca. 1050, S. Italy, *GUILLOU* 1972b: 178.234)
 Λέων κοράτορας (1139, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 121, 162.14)
 πρίγκιπας τῆς Κάπουας (1144?, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 312.3)

νὰ γένη πρωτοστράτορας *Dig. G* II.69
 εἴτις ἐν ἄρχοντας (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 271.214)
 ὁ προνοιάτορας *Chron. Mor.* H 2001; ὁ κόμιτας *ibid.* 2194; ὡς φάλκοντας περδίκιν *ibid.* 4006
 ὁ βραχίονας *Pol. Tr.* 1089 (reading of ms X); ὅς ἦτον Ἀγαμέμνονας *ibid.* 1982
 ἂν δώση ὁ Παντοκράτορας *Florios* 1210
 ὁ μέρμηγκας *Achil. L* 1008 (Hesseling)
 ὁ γέροντας (1496, Pesaro, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 3, 132.31)
 ὁ φυλακάτορας SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 91; ὁ δαίμονας τοὺς ἔκαμε *ibid.* 125
 ὁ κερνάτορας *Diig. Alex.* V 75.5
 σώνοντας ὁ τέρμονας (1506, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 484, 345.13)
 ὁ Μπέντε Βόγιας ἄρπαγας KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* IX.65
 εἶναι διάκονας *Pist. kekoim.* 104
 ὁ πάτρωνας ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 135.1.84
 γεννᾶται ἕνας σκούληκας SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 434.204–5
 ὁ λάρυγγας MOREZINOS, *Klini* 229.27
 ὁ πούγουνάς της *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 8 (< πώγων)
 ὁ δὲ τζιντζίρας εἶπε *Vios Aisop.* K 191.27; ὁ πόντικας *ibid.* 203.29
 ὁ γιανιτζάραγας, ὁ κεχαγιάπεγης καὶ ὁ Πεκτάσαγας (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 400, f.2r.28–29) (< Turk. *yeniçeri ağa* and *Bektaş ağa*)
 εἶμαι ὡσάν ἀσπάλακας BOUNIALIS EM., *Epain. Korn.* 25
 ἕνας κάρλακας ζωντανὸς (1683, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 2011: 334, 328.3)
 ἕνα κελὶ μικρὸν, καὶ ὁ ἄρτηκας (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 17, 53.4) (< νάρθηξ)
 ὁ ... δέσποτας Μιχαήλ EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 25.6 (< Voc. δέσποτα < δεσπότης)

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ης

A small number of ex-3rd-declension nouns of Latin origin with /r/-stem, among which βιγλάτωρ, καῖσαρ, μάϊστωρ and πράκτωρ, as well as later formations making use of the ending -τωρ such as ἐννοικάτωρ, may develop alternative forms, for the singular only, by analogy with the /is/ paradigm (cf. the other cases):

ὁ Καῖσαρης τῆς Ρωμανίας *Chron. Mor.* H 5417
 βιγλάτορης (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 679)
 εἷς μάστορης (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 59, 48.1); ὁ μάστορης (*ibid.* 73, 56.7)
 ὁ μέγας μάστορης τῆς Ρόδου (1487, Chios?, LEFORT 1981: 13, 77.14–15)
 ὁ πράχτορης (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 143, 68.1)
 ὁ καῖσαρης ὁ μέγας *Velis.* χ 441
 ὁ βιγλάτορης *Synax. gyn.* 391
 ὁ Ἰωάννης Καῖσαρης (1577, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 8, 20.2)
 ὁ νοικάτορης ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 194.E.114 (< ἐννοικάτωρ)
 ὁ μάστορης GERMANO, *Grammar* 60.18
 πρωτόγερος ἢ πρωτομάστορης PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §11.99
 πρωτομάστορης τῶν ψωμάδων (1649–69, Thessaly, SPANOS 2001: 357, f.95r.5)

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	<i>residual</i>

Residual forms are used throughout the period under review in higher-register texts and more formal contexts. Verse texts are more likely to use them for metrical convenience; compare:

ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ τὸ ἤκουσεν *Chron. Mor.* H 1707 and καὶ μέγας πρωτοστράτορας *ibid.* 163. Some representative examples are:

ταῦτος ὁ ρύας (1126, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 98, 129.7) (for ταῦτος see 5.5.1.11)
 ὅταν ὁ κόραξ πούποτε καθίση καὶ φωνάξη GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 20
 ὁ καύσων σου δὲ καίει με *Spaneas* Va 31
 αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων (14th c., Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 21B, 162.2)
 ἀνὴρ τίς ... ὀνόμ(α)τι Καππάδοξ (1365, Serres, LEFORT 1973: 27, 162.8–9)
 ἐξέψυξεν ὁ ἥρωρ *Pol. Tr.* 7072
 ὁ νυκτοκόραξ *Phys.* 200; ὁ λέων ἔναι βασιλεὺς *ibid.* 942
 τιτιμημένος ἄρχων (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 271.4)
 ὁ γέραξ *Poulol.* 378
 ὁ καῖσαρ ὃν δουλεύεις *Spanos* A 117
 Ἔρωρ ἐγέννησέν την *Achil.* N 858
 πῶς καὶ διατὶ λέγεται βουλκόλαξ (16th c., Serres?, LAMBROS 1904a: 343.17)
 Ἀρχίλογος ὁ γίγας *Theseid* VI.51,1 (Olsen)
 ὡς δράκων τὰ πουλιὰ ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 8
 ὁ σκευοφύλαξ κύρ Γεωργάκη (1658, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 78, 198.2–3)
 γείτων ὁ δικός μας PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 209 (cf. γείτονας ὁ δικός σας *ibid.* 217)
 με τί τρόπον ἐμάντευε ὁ πίθηξ *Don Kis.* 326.31 (cf. ὁ πίθηκας *ibid.* 316.34)

Genitive

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ος

This inherited genitive ending remains in use throughout the period covered by this Grammar, often alongside the newer formations in -ου and -α (see below):

περνᾶ τὸ ἀκρωτήριν τοῦ Κόρακος (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 54.61)
 Λέοντος τοῦ Παχῆ (1109, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 11, 404.18)
 τοῦ γείτονος τοῦ πονηροῦ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 80
 τοῦ Τζιάνη τοῦ γέροντος (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.22–3)
 τοῦ πρίγκιπος ἐκείνου *Chron. Mor.* H 2758
 τοῦ ἐλέφαντος *Phys.* 2; τοῦ θώρακος *ibid.* 361
 ἔξ Ἑρωτος *Achil.* N 327
 μάγκιπος υἱὸς ὑπάρχω *Ptochol.* α 785
 παρὰ τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου ἄρχοντος κυροῦ Μαρίνου τοῦ Φαλιέρου FALIEROS, *Thrinis* tit.
 στοῦ δράκοντος τὸ στόμα BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 65
 ὀπίσω τοῦ φούντικος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 672.2 (< Arab. *funduq*)
 ἐκ την σποράν του μύρμηγκος *Theseid* VI.15,4 app. crit. (V) (Olsen)
 τοῦ εἰρημένου κύρ Λέοντος (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 11, 19.11)
 Λέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 20.48); ἱερέως καὶ
 νομοφύλακος (*ibid.* 12, 24.6)
 τὸ θέλημα δαίμονος ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 124
 τοῦ Ζήνωνος *Zinon* Prol. 127
 τοῦ ἁγίου γέροντος RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 79.2
 τοῦ Γολιάθ τοῦ Ἑλλήνος *Alex. Fyll.* 47.17
 του ἔρωτος *Don Kis.* 103.17–18; την πονηρίαν του δαίμονος *ibid.* 111.22; του γείτονος *ibid.* 590.16

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ου

This alternative ending, borrowed from the /os/ paradigm (see 2.1) pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar by centuries (see introduction to 2.2). Forms in -ου invariably present a shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate (cf. nom., acc. and voc. pl.). They often appear alongside forms in -ος (see above) and -α (see below). For poets the different stress patterns are especially convenient, cf. καὶ τὴν δρακόντου πόλιν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1380 and ὁ θάνατος τοῦ δράκοντος *ibid.* 2381. Genitives in -ου occur in texts from all regions and remained in widespread use throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar (see e.g. THUMB 1912: 48):

- ὁ τοῦ ἀρχόντου τῶν ἀρχόντων υἱὸς Μιχαήλ (1140, Sicily)⁴⁵
 τοῦ ἑτέρου ρυάκου (1143, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 6, 560.15)
 ἐν τῇ διακρατῇ Κροτόνου (1199, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 247, 335.10) (< Croton, S. Italy)
 μεγάλου περιγίπτου (1257, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 33, 458.1)
 Λέοντος τοῦ Μαστόρου (1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 18, 8.6)
 δουλευτῆς μαγκίπου *Ptoch.* III 165
 ἀπὸ φτοράν δαιμόνου *Chron. Mor.* H 3774
 τοῦ βουνοῦ τοῦ Κοράκου (1394, Athos?, KRAVARI 1991: 20, 144.35)
 τοῦ Ἐκτόρου *Pol. Tr.* 1320; τοῦ Νεστόρου *ibid.* 1456; τοῦ Ἀπολλώνου *ibid.* 11826 (reading of ms A)
 τοῦ ἥρώου *ERMON., Ilias* Prol. 8
 τοῦ γειτόνου μου *Assizes* B 360.29
 δρακόντου αἶμα *STAFIDAS, Iatrosof.* 13.366
 τοῦ περιγίπτου *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 42.22
 τοῦ κηρύκου *Assizes* A 215.9
 τοῦ βουλκολάκου (16th c., Serres?, LAMBROS 1904a: 349.19)
 τοῦ χανδάκου (1518, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 51, 168.31)
 τὸν λόγον τοῦ γερόντου *Alex. Rim.* 573; Ἰᾶμμου βασιλίας *ibid.* 1411
 στήν κάψαν τοῦ ἐρώτου *Theseid* Prol. E 95
 τοῦ Χανδάκου τῆς Κρήτης (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 181, 171.1–2)
 ὁ μύρμηγας, τοῦ μυρμήγγου *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 41.14–15
 τὸ σπίτιν τοῦ γειτόνου *Pist. kekoim.* 593
 τοῦ κοράκου *Dimotika Ivir.* IV.7
 ὁ κάβουρας, τοῦ καβούρου *GERMANO, Grammar* 60.2–3
 μοιάζεις ἑνοῦς δαιμόνου *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.59
 τοῦ παλαιοῦ δρακόντου *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 3859; ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀρχόντου *ibid.* 6022
 μά ᾗ γε γερόντου γνώση *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.79

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-α

This ending is in line with the dominant development in masculine nouns of forming the genitive by deleting the final /s/ of the nominative (as in SMG; see the introduction to

⁴⁵ Quoted in JOHNS 2002: 82, n. 139.

Chapter 2); it appears as an alternative from the very beginning of the period under review in texts from north to south and west to east:

τοῦ χάνδακα (1122?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 17, 415.8)
 τοῦ ρύακα (1144?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.26)
 παῖδες Σάρακα (1188, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 225, 297.32)
 τοῦ πρίγκιπα Γυλιάμου *Chron. Mor.* H 1193
 (τοῦ ...) ἱερομνήμονα (1432, Corfu, ASONITIS 1996/97: 3, 29.2)
 πλησίον ἀμπελίου Νέστορα Ρύκου (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 62, 179.12)
 τοῦ Κώστα Χαρτοφύλακα (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 55.10)
 στοῦ Μιχάλακα (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 48.28)
 τοῦ Κρέοντα, τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Θήβας *Theseid* II.10, tit. (1529); του μέρμηκα *ibid.* VI.15.4 (Olsen)
 του γέροντα *Kakop.* 57
 τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἄρχοντα (1548, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1992: 15.13)
 τοῦ ἄνωθε γέροντα (1588 [17th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 464.24)
 τοῦ κόρακα *P&N Diath.* 1478
 τοῦ γέροντα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 139.6
 ὁ κόρακας [τοῦ κόρ]ακα ROMANOS, *Grammar* 4.20
 τὸν τοῖχον τοῦ νάρθηκα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §3.4
 Χρῦσος τοῦ Πήδουλα (1649–69, Thessaly, SPANOS 2001: 357, f.95r.13)
 τοῦ Μιχαήλ τοῦ Λίμπωνα BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 25
 τοῦ δράκοντα KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1520

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-η

A small number of ex-3rd-declension nouns of Latin origin with /r/-stem, among which βιγλάτωρ, καίσαρ, μαῖστωρ and πράκτωρ, may develop alternative forms, for the singular only, by borrowing endings from the /is/ paradigm (cf. the other cases): τοῦ Καίσαρη ἦτον ἀδελφός *Chron. Mor.* H 5231.

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	<i>Residual</i>

The residual nominative is sometimes used as genitive. Some representative examples are:

τὸ χωράφιον μαῖστωρ Ἰωάννου (1180, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 199, 261.8)
 τοῦ Νέστωρ *Pol. Tr.* 1456 app. crit. (B); τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνων *Pol. Tr.* 2714 app. crit. (RVX)
 τοῦ προπάτωρ *Peri xen.* 576
 τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἄρχων (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 175, 176.8)
 τοῦ προφητάναξ Δαβίδ (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 13, 26.14)
 τοῦ ποτέ εὐγενῆ ἄρχων (1607, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 448, 410.1–2)
 τοῦ ἁγίου Σπυρίδων (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 511.41.1)

Accusative

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-α(ν)

This inherited ending is by far the most common ending for the accusative singular. It may appear without and with final /n/ throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

Λέονταν τὸν Πλουσιανόν (1042, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 3, 46.16)
τὸν διάκονα ἀπεδίωξεν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 822.33
εἰς τὸν ρύακαν (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 307.24)
τὸν γέροντα *Chron. Mor.* H 896; μέγαν πρωτοστράτορα *ibid.* 3279
τὸν γέρονταν ἐλάλει *Dig.* E 687 (Jeffreys)
τὸν καύσωνα τῆς ἡμεροῦ *Spaneas* Z 141
ὡς γέρονταν (14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.5)
ἀπαιτὶ τὸν φούντικαν καὶ κάτω *Assizes* B 494.12 (< Arab. *funduq*)
τὸν εἰρημένον ἄρχοντάν μας (1428, Lefkada, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 12, 253.20);
πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντά μας (*ibid.* 253.27)
ἐμένα τὸν ἱέρακα *Poulol.* 402
νὰ τὸν ἡγράψω κήρυκαν PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 14
εἰς τὸν φάρυγγα τοῦ Ἄδου *Ag. Nik. Strat.* 43.19
βήχαν, σφάκτην, πλέμοναν *Spanos* A 158 (= πνεύμοναν)
τὸν ἄνακταν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2451; τὸν ἄρπαγαν ἐκείνον *ibid.* 2471
τὸ σκούληκαν *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 73
ἐντάμα μετὰ τὸν δαίμονα *Synax. gyn.* 49
δράκοντ' εἶδα BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 61 (for apocope see I, 2.7.3)
τὸν λιόνταν *Fior* 127.1 (= λέονταν with synizesis, see I, 2.9.4)
τὸν μήλιγγα SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 464.1141 (= μήνιγγα)
εἰς τὸ Χάρακα (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 392, 364.5)
γιανιτζάραγαν ἢ σερτάρην MAXIMOS, *Synax. Ag. Nik.* 137.8–9 (< Turk. *yeniceri ağa*)
τὸν σκευοφύλακα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §4.1–2; τὸν ἀνθρωπον κάμει ... ζήτουλαν *ibid.* II §9.5–6
μετὰ ἄρτηκα (1696, Tripoli, DOKOS 1971/74: 11, 50.4) (< νάρθηξ)

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-η(ν)

A small number of ex-3rd-declension nouns of Latin origin with /r/-stem, among which βιγλάτωρ, καίσαρ, μαῖστωρ and πράκτωρ (cf. the other cases), may develop alternative forms for the singular by analogy with the /is/ paradigm:

μάστορην καὶ τεχνίτην *Ptoch.* III 163 app. crit. (G)
ἐκάμαν συμφωνίαν μετὰ ἕναν μάστορη (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 73, 56.1)
διὰ να τοὺς δώση πρωτομάστορην (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 48.16)
πρωτομάστορην τῶν κτιστῶν (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 7, 311.13)
κάλλιο παρὰ τὸν Καίσαρη *P&N Diath.* 3437 (< καίσαρ)
τὸν πρωτομάστορήν σου ... τὸν μάστορήν σου PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §8.26

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	<i>Residual</i>

Sometimes the residual nominative form is used as accusative:

τὸν ρύαξ (1157/8, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 20, 162.5)
μετὰ τὸν σεβαστοκράτωρ *Chron. Mor.* H 7971
ἐφύλαγαν τὸν Ἑκτωρ *Pol. Tr.* 3257

τὸν ὕδρωψ *Phys.* 1035

τὸν μέγαν αὐτοκράτωρ LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 48

τὸν σοφώτατον μέγαν ρήτωρ *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 237

τὸν Παντοκράτωρ *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 119

As many nouns deriving from 3rd-declension -ων and -ως have alternative nominatives in -ος (in which the residual ending -ων or -ως is directly replaced by -ος, see 2.1), it is likely that the following forms should be viewed as innovative accusatives in -ο(ν), the choice between <ω> and <ο> being just a matter of spelling:

Λέων τὸν Φώτην (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 307.11)

εἶς τὸν θεὸν Ἀπόλλων *Pol. Tr.* 2336 (Ἀπόλλω in X); ἐκοίμησαν τὸν ἥρων *ibid.* 7327 (ἥρω in X)

(cf. τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνου *ibid.* 2714 app. crit. (A))

τὸν Ἀγαμέμνων *ERMON., Ilias* 3.163 (cf. τοῦ Ἀπόλλου *ERMON., Ilias* 7.317)

ἔχει καὶ δράκων συγγενὴν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1276

εἰς τὸν χειμῶν *Byz. Il.* 446

τὸν λέων *Achil.* N 1411 (cf. ὁ δράκος καὶ ὁ λέος *ibid.* 1849)

τὸν ἥρων LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 472

τὸ Μίνω *CHORTATIS, Erof. Dedic.* 26

τὸν Γαλακτίων *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §31.190

Vocative

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-α

The normal ending for the vocative is -α:

Πρίγκιπα, ἐσὺ θεωρεῖς *Chron. Mor.* H 4222

ἄν σε ἀφήσω, λέοντα *Dig.* E 518; ἄκουσόν μου, γέροντα *ibid.* 672; στράτορα, πρωτοστράτορα *ibid.* 797

Ἔρωτα, ἃς εἶχες λυπηθεῖ *Love poems* V 541

παντάνακτα, δὲν γράφω οὐδὲ γράμμα *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* I.6

ὦ ... Ἀχιλλέα καὶ Ἔκτορα *Diig. Alex.* F 204.15–16 (Lolos)

ἐνδοξότατε ... πρίντζιπα (1571, Mani, *DOKOS* 1972: 4, 259.4)

σώπα, σώπα, γέροντά μου *Ptochol.* A 257

Ἔρωτα, πρέπει να σε λε τω σκληροκάρδω χάρο *CHORTATIS, Panor.* V.189; κακόμοιρε κι' ἀτύχουλα *id., Katz.* II.41

δὲ ντρέπεσαι, μεθύστακα; *Stathis* III.545

ὦ κάβουρα *GERMANO, Grammar* 60.6

Νικόλαε, θεράποντα *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 5

ὦ Χάρο, Χάρο, Χάροντα *MONTSEL., Evgena* 759

ἀποστολάτορά μου *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Interm.* I 175; γαϊδούρακα! *ibid.* III.60; μπουτζούρακα *ibid.* III.567

στό χαλασμό σου, Χάνδακα *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 548.4

κόρακα τῆς ἀβύσσου *Zinon* I.137

διὰ σέ, πιστέ μου Λίμπωνα *BOUBOULIS, Limbon.* 508

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-η

A small number of ex-3rd-declension nouns of Latin origin with /r/-stem, among which βιγλάτωρ, καίσαρ, μάϊστωρ and πράκτωρ (cf. nom., gen. and acc. sg.), may develop alternative forms for the singular by analogy with the /is/ paradigm: μάστορη, και την τιμήν ειπέ με ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 90.8.

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	<i>Residual</i>

The residual vocative is used sporadically. In the case of nouns in -ων and -ωρ it is indistinguishable from the residual nominative, as the distinction between <ω> and <ο> is merely a matter of spelling:

κύρ Νήφων (1213/14, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 44, 227.3)
 φεύγε πονηρὲ δαίμον (14th c., Pontos, VEIS 1939: 1–2, 199, f.3.9)
 ὦ κηπουρέ μου γέρον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1831
 γέρον πεπαλαιωμένε *Ptochol.* α 353
 γαληνότε αὐτοκράτωρ Βλαντομερίου (1652, Crete, TCHENTSOVA 2002: 1, 355.4)
 διαλάλησε, κῆρυξ, καὶ φώναξέ το ΚΟΝΔΑΡ., *Paidēs* 451
 ἄρχον ἀφέντη (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.1)
 “το κακὸν εἶναι, ἀρχων καβαλιέρη,” αποκρίθη ο χωρικός *Don Kis.* 20.18

Plural

Nominative

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες

The inherited ending -ες is used throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

οἱ ... διάκονες (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 271.220)
 ὡς δράκοντες ἐσύριζαν καὶ ὡς λέοντες ἐβρυχοῦντα *Dig.* E 33; οἱ γέρακες *ibid.* 327
 ἐπτακοσίοι ἥρωες ἀκολουθοῦν *Pol. Tr.* 1015
 οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐπεκρίθησαν *Achil.* L 106; λέοντες μὲ βλέπουσιν *ibid.* 647
 οἱ μύρμηγκες *Poulol.* 49
 πετρίτες δὲ καὶ φάλκονες οἱ ναῦτες *Velis.* χ 93
 ἐκεῖ οἱ πρῶτα υπῆγαιναν πένητες *Theseid* VI.4,6 (Olsen)
 γίνονται οἱ βουλκόλακες (16th c., Serres?, LAMBROS 1904a: 344.14)
 ὡς λιόντες νὰ φανοῦμεν ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* VII.304 (= λέοντες with synizesis, see I, 2.9.4)
 εἶσταν εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον λέοντες *Diig. Alex.* E 205.17 (Lolos) (read ἦσταν)
 οἱ μύρμηγκες τα εστεγνώνασιν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 115.2–3
 δράκοντες χώνουνται συχνιὰ *CHORTATISIS, Erof.* IV.110
 οἱ κόρακες *ROMANOS, Grammar* 4.21
 ἄρχοντες ᾽ τὸ ντιβάνι ΜΑΤΤΗΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 1247
 σκούληκες, ἀγριόγατοι ΒΟΥΝΙΑΛΙΣ Μ., *Kat. ofel.* 21; ἑλέφαντες, τίγρηδες *ibid.* 481
 ἦσαν δαίμονες *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 48
 οἱ δαίμονες τὰ κάμουν ΜΑΤΤΗΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 125
 οἱ ἐλέφαντες *Alex. Fyll.* 84.10
 τριάντα μεγαλότατοι γίγαντες *Don Kis.* 44.30; οἱ προπάτορές του *ibid.* 177.3–4

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-οι

Nominative plural forms in -οι, an ending borrowed from the /os/ paradigm, generally show a shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate (cf. gen. sg. and acc. and voc. pl.; cf. also the alternative stress patterns in *ἄνθρωποι* and *ἀνθρώποι*, for which see 2.1.3). Forms with this ending often occur alongside forms in -ες, and the different stress patterns are, of course, especially convenient for versifiers, cf. *αὐτοὶ οἱ βιγλατόροι Alex. Rim.* 1113 (verse end) and *καὶ τότες οἱ βιγλάτορες* *ibid.* 1119 (before the caesura). Forms in -οι can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar in texts from all areas:

οἱ φίλοι κ' οἱ γειτόνοι *Chron. Mor.* H 8447
 τρώγουν σε οἱ κοράκοι *Diig. tetr.* 792
 πολλοὶ μαστόροι (15th c., Cyprus?, TSANGALAS 1983: 132.19)
 βραχιόνιοι σιδηροὶ *Chron. Toc.* 3392; οἱ γειτόνοι *ibid.* 3591
 ὅλοι <οἱ> φυλακατόροι SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 73; ἔλεγα ὅτι εἶναι κοράκοι *ibid.* 134
 σκουλήκοι μὴν τὸ φᾶσι FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 91
 οἱ κύνες καὶ κοράκοι *Theseid* II.13,8 (1529)
 εἴμεσταν γειτόνοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.17
 οἱ γειτόνοι (1548, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 2, 38.21)
 τὸ ἤκουσαν οἱ γειτόνοι σου (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 49.8)
 ὡς οἱ μερμηγκοὶ ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 427
 μαρτύριοι νὰ τὸ ποῦσι *P&N Diath.* 3094
 οἱ συγγενεῖς καὶ οἱ γειτόνοι τοῦ PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.17–18
 οἱ καβούροι GERMANO, *Grammar* 60.2
 οἱ πρωτομαστόροι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §32.4; οἱ γειτόνοι *ibid.* III §33.3
 σκουλήκοι τοῦ μεταγνώμου γιὰ τοῦτο μοῦ τιμποῦσι TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.301 (Aposkiti)
 χίλιοι δαιμόνοι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.305
 πὼς νὰ εἶναι καὶ γειτόνοι PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 118
 οἱ κουράκοι (app. crit.) (1684–5, Moscow, ŠANGIN 1936: 3, 115.13) (= κοράκοι, see I, 2.5.4)
 μαρτυροῦν οἱ γειτόνοι ὅλοι (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 22, 56.2–3)

Confusion of old and new forms may lead to the transfer of stress patterns between forms that have the old or the new ending (for words that may also borrow their singular endings from the /os/ paradigm, among which *πρίγκιπας*, see 2.2.6):⁴⁶

οἱ βραχιόνες *Chron. Toc.* 3352
 οἱ κώδικοι (1238, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: App. 15, 676.1)⁴⁷
 μούρμουγκοι *Poulol.* 49 app. crit. (CP); μέρμηγκοι *ibid.* app. crit. (V)
 ὡς δεφένστοροι CHEILAS, *Chron.* 357.26
 ἦλθασαν ὡς ρογάτοροι *Chron. Mor.* P 8944 (cf. ὡς ρογατόροι ἦλθασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 8944)
 οἱ βουλκόλακοι (16th c., Serres?, LAMBROS 1904a: 340.5)

⁴⁶ The following form is based on Italian *eroe* rather than on *ἥρωας*: ἐτοῦτοι οἱ θαυμαστοὶ ἐρός ἀφεντέψα *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 69 (= ἥρωες).

⁴⁷ It cannot be excluded that the lack of stress shift in this example is an editorial mistake, as the edition of these documents is known to be unreliable.

οἱ Καππάδοκοι (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 286, 275.3)

οἱ ἐλέφαντοι *Diig. Alex.* E 81.5 (Konstantinopulos)

Ἄραβοι κ' Αἰθίοποι TROILOS, *Rodol.* V.57 (Aposkiti)

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-άδες

The imparisyllabic plural of paradigms 2.2.1 and 2.2.3 (see above) is employed with compounds of oxytone nouns such as παπᾶς and, conceivably, ἄγας: φραγκοπαπάδες, λαῖκοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 176.4. It is, however, rare with originally proparoxytone nouns. In the following examples it occurs by analogy with βασιλιάδες, ρηγάδες, δουκάδες and other titles: ἐνώθη ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοὺς πριγκιπᾶδες *Chron. Mor.* P 66; πολλοὶ γὰρ πριγκιπᾶδες *Theseid* Prol. E 208; αὐτεῖνοι οἱ πριντζιπάδες STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voen.* 315 (Pidonia).

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ηδες

Even though certain /t/ stem nouns of Latin origin may form alternative singular forms in /is/ (see above), they rarely adopt the imparisyllabic plural of the /is/ paradigm, as is the case in the following example: ὁποῦ γινίσκονται ... προκουρατούρηδες *Pist. kekoim.* 628.

Genitive

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ων -ω -ωνε

This is by far the most common ending for the genitive plural. The forms generally present a shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate (cf. gen. sg. and nom., acc. and voc. pl.):

ἀρχόντων (1079, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 2, 18.11)

ἡρώων ... κατάλογον *Ptoch. I* 116

τῶν σωματοφυλάκων *Ptoch. IV* 198

τῶν ἐλεφάντων *Phys.* 51

ἀρχόντων μεγιστάνων *Velth.* 785

τῶν φυλακατόρων SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 72

τῶν βουλκολάκων (16th c., Serres?, LAMBROS 1904a: 339.15)

των λεόντων *Diig. Alex.* K 351.3 (Mitsakis)

επεῖνα και εζήτα των μυρμήγκων να του δώσουσιν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 115.3–4

τῶν λεόντων KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 187.28; τῶν γιγάντων *ibid.* 291.27

τῶν γερόντων (1594, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 1, 109.4)

μετὰ τῶν ἱεράκων *Dig. A* 760

τῶν κοράκων ROMANOS, *Grammar* 4.21

τῶν καβούρων GERMANO, *Grammar* 60.3

οἱ ψαράδες τῶν καρλάκων *Bertoldin.* 125.17

τῶν ἐλεφάντων *Alex. Fyll.* 84.7–8

τῶν Ἑλλήνων EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.12–13
 ἀρχοντα των φυλάκων PORFYROP., *Prokop. paraphr.* 487.24

Forms without shift of stress occur in verse texts for metrical reasons: καὶ γέροντων καὶ γυναικῶν *Byz. Il.* 1047; τὸ δάνειο τῶν πένητων MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 222.

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from south-western areas and the Aegean:⁴⁸

τὲς Μοῦσες τῶν Ἑλλήνων FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 3
 τῶ γεννητόρω μας γονέων (1556, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 146, 116.15)
 καὶ τω γερόντω τσι φιλιές CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* III.344; σκουλήκω κατοικιὰ id., *Erof.* Prol. 89
 μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων ἀρχόντω τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 1, 280.3–4)
 τῶ κάτωθε γεγραμμένω μαρτύρω (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 51, 66.19)
 στή μέση τῶ δαιμόνω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.83
 τῶ μαστόρω (1672, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 48, 46.9–10; and 46.29–30)
 τῶν ὑποκάτωθε ὑπογεγραμμένω τιμίων μαρτύρω (1685, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 362.2–3)
 τῶ γερόντω *Leilasias Par.* 81

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs in Heptanesian texts:

τῶ μαστόρωνε (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 3, 176.11)
 τῶν Ἑλλήνωνε KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.651
 τῶν ἀρχόντωνε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 40.1

In the same area (Ithaca), the /o/ of the ending may become /u/ through raising of unstressed /o/ to /u/, for which see I, 2.8.3: τοῦ μαστόρουνε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 84, 87.26); τοῦ γερότουνε (ibid. 92, 96.17) (= τῶν γερόντωννε; for the article τοῦ see 5.2.1).

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-άδων

Adoption of the imparisyllabic plural in -άδες is quite rare. It occurs with the word λέοντας, possibly by analogy with (ἐ)λεφάδες (see 2.2.1) and cf. the accusative plural, below), and with πρίγκιπας by analogy with βασιλιάδες, ρηγάδες, etc.: κι ὁλῶν τῶν πριγκιπάδων *Theseid* XII.3,4 (1529); τῶν λεοντάδων *Diig. Alex.* F 240.24–5 (Lolos); την μπαρπούταν γεγραμμένην λεοντάδων *Diig. Alex.* K 352.27 (Mitsakis).

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-εῖς

This Cypriot genitive is morphologically identical to the accusative plural (see 1.2 for discussion): καὶ εἶπεν τοὺς ἄρχοντες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 322.2; ομπρός της κυράς μου καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντες VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 305.16.

⁴⁸ Note that in editions of Cretan literary texts the omission of final /n/ is often editorial, as in the following example: ἀπὸ τῶ φτωχῶνε | ἀρχόντω BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 250.5–6. The form appears with final /n/ in the Xirouchakis edition. The choice to omit final /n/ is based on suspected scribal conservatism and on certain mss in the Latin script, notably that of *Fortounatos*, which is an autograph.

*Accusative**Masc.*

Pl.	Acc.	-ες

This inherited ending remains in use throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

μέ ἄλλους νάπτες γέροντες *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 306
 βραχίονες εἶχεν στρογγυλούς *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 286
 μέ τοὺς Γίγαντες *Synax. gyn.* 144
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰλέφαντες *Peri pragm.* 20–1
 ἐπῆραν γέροντες τρεῖς (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 23, 37.2)
 προσεκάλεσαν γέροντες παλαιούς (1512/3, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1978: 8, 67.5–6)
 εἰς πέντε ρηγάδες καὶ ἄρχοντες *Ekth. Chron.* 2.5–6
 τοὺς ἄρχοντες (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.29)
 τοὺς λέφαντες *Alex. Rim.* 1831
 ρηγάδες καὶ ἄρχοντες *Ekth. Chron.* 2.5–6
 μέ γέροντες λάς *Fior Suppl.* 275.1
 τοὺς τιμιωτάτους ἄρχοντες (1587, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 147, 271.22–3)
 καλοῦς, φρονίμους, γέροντες *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 228
 εἰς τοὺς ἄρχοντες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.5
 τοὺς δαίμονες *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 95.33
 τοὺς ἐλέφαντες *Alex. Fyll.* 84.1

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ους

This innovative ending, borrowed from the /os/ paradigm, pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar by many centuries (see introduction to 2.2) and is as least as frequent as the inherited /es/ ending. Accusatives in -ους normally present a shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate (cf. gen. sg. and nom. and voc. pl.):

φίλους τε καὶ γειτόνους *Chron. Mor.* H 737; τζαγρατόρους ἑκατὸν *ibid.* 6715
 κακοῦς γειτόνους ἔχουν *Pol. Tr.* 1064; ἔκοψε τοὺς φυλάκους *ibid.* 1126
 ὅλους τοὺς βιγλατόρους *Katal.* 29
 τοὺς γειτόνους τους *Assizes A* 29.11
 ἀρέσει τοὺς μαστόρους *Imber.* 593
 δύο μαρτύρους (1494–6, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 39, 183.16)
 εἰς τοὺς φυλακατόρους *SACHLIKIS, Peri fylakis* 122
 μέ τερμόνους λιθίνους (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 23, 37.11)
 τοὺς βουλκολάκους (16th c., Serres?, LAMBROS 1904a: 339.6)
 τοὺς γεννητόρους (1516, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 80, 83.7)
 τοὺς δύο βωλάκους (1550, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 71, 96.8)
 νὰ βάνει μαστούρους (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 1, 79.18) (= μαστόρους)
 μέ ὅλους τοὺς γειτόνους (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 451.16)
 τοὺς καβούρους *GERMANO, Grammar* 60.5
 ὀρμήγκους καὶ ἄλλα μιὰρὰ *BAROZZI, Letter* 358.23
 τοὺς μαστόρους *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §32.8; μέ ἓνα δύο ζητούλους *ibid.* I §36.114–15
 τίς κάτωθεν μαρτύρους (1678, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 63, 53.2–3) (for the article τίς see 5.2.1)
 φίλους οὐδὲ γειτόνους *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 165

σκουλήκους κάνου ζωντανοὶ *Stathis* III.412

γερόντους, νέους καὶ γυναικόπαιδα *EFTHYM.*, *Chron. Gal.* 17.3–4

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

This residual accusative ending is not uncommon as a more formal variant, occurring throughout the period covered by this Grammar, alongside the more frequent endings -ες and -ους (see above):

τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐλάλει *Arm.* 21

μὲ τρισχιλίους ἥρωας *Pol. Tr.* 3176

καὶ σκώληκας *STAFIDAS*, *Iatrosof.* 9.250; τοὺς βραχίονας *ibid.* 15.417

τοὺς δώδεκα ἐλέφαντας *Phys.* 67

τοὺς γέροντας (1474, Athos, *OIKONOMIDÈS* 1968: 32, 166.2)

καὶ σκούληκας προγεύεσαι *Poulol.* 118

τοιούτους ἄρχοντας καλοὺς *Synax. gadar.* 245

μὲ τοὺς ἀλέκτορας *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ*, *Ais. Myth.* 10.2

τοὺς κόρακας *ROMANOS*, *Grammar* 4.21

τοὺς δαίμονας *Alex. Rim.* 15; ἐλέφαντας ἠύρίσκαμεν *ibid.* 2025

τοὺς δικαίους προπάτορας *ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ.*, *Chron.* III §13.16

τρώγουν μύρμηγκας *LANDOS*, *Geopon.* 131.3

τοὺς νέους καὶ τοὺς γέροντας *PROSOPSAS*, *Peri tyflou* 15

μὲ ἄρχοντας εὐγενικοὺς *MATTHAIOS MYR.*, *Ist. Vlach.* 1254

ἄλλους ἀποστελλάτορας εὗρε *KATSAITIS*, *Thyest.* II.253

αὐτοὺς τοὺς γίγαντας *Don Kis.* 46.14–15

Confusion between the old forms in -ες and the newer ones in -οι may lead to the borrowing of the other form's stress pattern:

διὰ τοὺς γιγάντες *CHOUMNOS*, *Kosmog.* 413 (rhymes with πάντες)

βραχιόνας θαυμαστοὺς *Achil.* L 39 (due to synizesis)

τοὺς μεγάλους ἀλεφάντας *Diig. Alex.* F 78.18 (Konstantinopoulos)

τοὺς ἄρτηκους (16th c., Corfu, *KARYDIS/TZIVARA* 1994/96: 4, 102.9) (< νάρθηξ)

τοὺς ἀλεφάντους *Diig. Alex.* K 371.6 (Mitsakis)

μὲ ἄρτηκους δύο (1696, Tripoli, *DOKOS* 1971/74: 12, 50.2)

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-οι

In Cycladic texts the accusative ending may be identical to the nominative (cf. masculine nouns in /os/ and see 1.3 for details): τὶς γερόντοι ὅπου θέλομε βάλει (1649, Mykonos, *ZERLENDIS* 1924a: [5], 19.13).

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδες

Adoption of the imparisyllabic ending -άδες occurs with proparoxytone compounds of certain oxytone nouns such as παπάς: εἰς κάτω Φραγγοπαπάδες *EFTHYM.*, *Chron. Gal.* 40.18–19. It is rare with other proparoxytone nouns: τοὺς λεοντάδες *Diig. Alex.* V 71.26.

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-αίους

This ending has been borrowed from the paroxytone -ιος paradigm (see 2.7), on a semantic analogy with similar titles in -άριος (e.g. καβαλλάριος, πρωτοσπαθάριος): εἰς τοὺς πρωτοστρατοραίους *Diig. Alex.* F 284.19.

Vocative

Masc.

Pl.	Voc..	-ες

The old vocative ending is used throughout the period covered by this Grammar. It is identical to the old nominative ending. As the vocative only appears in certain kinds of texts and contexts (dialogue and direct speech), a modest number of examples has been found, mainly of the word ἄρχοντας:

ἄρχοντες, ἄρχοντόπουλα *Achil.* L 146
 ἄρχοντες κεφαλᾶδες τῆς Λήμνου (1448?, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.2)
 πέτε, μεγάλοι ἄρχοντες PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 334
 ἄρχοντες, πῶς σᾶς φαίνεται SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 122
 ἄρχοντες, νὰ γροικήσετε, ἃ θέλετε, δαμάκι *Fyll. gadar.* 1
 ὦ κόρακες ROMANOS, *Grammar* 4.21
 μὴν μὲ θωρήτην, ἄρχοντες KONDAR., *Paides* 1
 ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀρχόντισσες, σᾶσε ευχαριστοῦμε KATSAITIS, *Thyest. Epil.* 37

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-οι

This innovative vocative ending is identical to the alternative nominative ending (see above):

ὅς ᾤστε μάρτυρες, ἀρχόντοι *Assizes* B 339.3
 ὦ βραχιόνιοι σιδηροὶ *Chron. Toc.* 3392
 εὐλογεῖτε, κοράκοι, τὸν ὁμυαλὸν τοῦ *Spanos* A 316
 ὦ καβοῦροι GERMANO, *Grammar* 60.6
 κ' ἐσεῖς, μαστόροι μου ἀκριβοὶ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 165.10

2.2.6 Transfers to Other Paradigms

Some former 3rd-declension nouns belonging to the /as/ paradigms may change grammatical gender and become feminine:

ἡ ρύαξ (1142, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 304.21)
 τὴν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ *Assizes* B 286.14
 τῆς σωλήνης ERMON., *Ilias* 5.280
 τὴν σπλήναν τοῦ STAFIDAS, *Iatrosof.* 3.85
 πολλές κανόνας ἔχεις (15th c., Trebizond region, TSAKALOF 1910: [3], 121.2)
 τὰς ἀρραβῶνας *Assizes* A 37.28; πούληση ... γῆς ἢ ἀμπελώνας *ibid.* 104.10

εἰς τὸν χειμῶν, τὴν κλύδωνα *Byz. Il.* 446
 καμπόσες μήνες *Apoll. Rim.* N 160
 τὲς κανόνες (1551, Venice, COUROPOU/GÉHIN 2001: 3, 161.3)
 τὰς κανόνας (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 2, 295.28); αἱ παροῦσαι κανόνες (*ibid.* 295.44–5)
 οἱ ὁμορφες βραχιόνες *P&N Diath.* 436
 οἱ μῆνες ὅλες πταίγουν με *Dimotika Ivir.* I.2
 στὲς ἀγκῶνες *Paroim.* (Warner) 127.11

Sporadically, new nouns denoting females are derived from masculine forms:

τῇ ἁγίας μεγαλομάρτυρας Μαρίας (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 99, 146.10)
 ὅλας τὰς μεγιστάνας *Pol. Tr.* 1840 (reading of AX); ὅλες τὲς μεγιστάνες *ibid.* 1840 app. crit. (BV)
 καὶ ἡ μήτηρ παῖδα τοῦ ρηγὸς AXAGIOLIS, *Diig. Karolou* 214

As paradigm 2.2.5 shares so many alternative forms with the masculine /os/ paradigm, it is unsurprising that these nouns sometimes make a full transfer to /os/, forming nom. sg. in -ος, acc. sg. in -ο(ν) and voc. sg. in -ε (for reanalyses of residual 3rd-declension forms, such as γείτος, λέος, Σολομός see 2.1):

nom.

ὁ αὐτὸς ἀναρύακος (1116, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 80, 105.17)
 ὁ φούντακος (1160, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: App. 7, 662.12)
 Ἀπόλλωνος ὀρίζει με νὰ ποίσω *Pol. Tr.* 2396 app. crit. (B); ἐφαίνετον γίγαντος *ibid.* 2858 app. crit. (BVX); καύσωνος τὸν ἡῦρισκεν *ibid.* 6451 app. crit. (BCX)
 ὁ πάνθηρος *Phys.* 482
 ὁ πρίγκιπος ᾗς τὸν Ἄγιον Ἡλία ἔναι *Chron. Toc.* 564
 ὁ Φίλιππος ὁ Ἑλληνας *Diig. Alex.* V 20.15
 ὁ Μίμαντος ἠπῆρην το φουσάτο του *Diig. Alex.* K 351.25 (Mitsakis)

acc.

τὸν ψευδορύακον (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 308.25)
 εἰς ὕδρωπον νὰ πᾶσι *Phys.* 132
 τὸν μᾶστορον *Assizes A* 94.7
 ἐκ τὸν πρίγκιπον *Chron. Mor.* P 7359;
 με ἀφῆκες βιγλάτορον τοῦ σπιτιοῦ σου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 220.27; ἐβάλαν τὸν Ἀρνὰτ
 Γιλιάμ βλεπάτορον *ibid.* 626.24; διὰ νὰ τὸν ποιήσουν πράκτορον *ibid.* 670.25–6
 εἰς πᾶσα ἀλέφαντον *Diig. Alex.* F 78.20–1 (Konstantinopoulos)
 τὸν γίγαντον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 291.30
 τὸν νάρθηκο MOREZINOS, *Klini* 175.36
 μήτε τὸν ἄρπαγον (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVI, 220.14)
 τὸν γαληνότατον πρίγκιπον IER. AVVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 336.5

voc.

Ἄγιε Στέφανε πρωτομάρτυρε (10th/11th c.?, Tinos, FEISSEL 1980: 5, 485.1)
 συνοικήτορε *Flor.* L 799 (Cupane)
 μὴ σὲ μέλη ἐξ αὐτό, ὦ γείτονέ μου (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 139.2d)

Transfers from paradigm 2.2.4 to the /os/ paradigm are much rarer:⁴⁹ τὸν λιμένο (1131, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 111, 146.11); ποιμένον ἄνδρα *Liv.* E 1029; μετὰ τὸν Τελαμῶνον *Pol. Tr.* 3877 app. crit. (B); σφοδρὸς χειμῶνος τε καὶ ὑέτος *Phys.* 255.

⁴⁹ Cf. the Koine accusatives ποιμένον (AD 518/27), ἀμπελόνον (AD 46/7) quoted by GIGNAC 1981: 44.

Proper names in -ας may develop alternative forms in -ης or -ής (see also 2.3): ὁ τιμιώτατος κύρ Νέστορης ὁ σιδεράς (1652, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 69, 180.3) (< Νέστορας); ὁ ρηθεις κύρ Κωνστής (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 7, 26.3) (< Κώνστας).

2.3 Masculine Nouns in /is/

The old 1st-declension masculine nouns in -ής/-ης were oxytone (κριτής) or paroxytone (κτίστης, στρατιώτης), with gen. sg. in -οῦ/-ου, voc. sg. in -ά/-α and a parisyllabic plural formation. They follow a path of evolution similar to that of the masculines in /as/ (see 2.2), though it was completed considerably later. For the singular they early on started to follow the declensional pattern that eventually became dominant for most masculine nouns ending in vowel + final /s/ (with the exception of those in /os/, see 2.1): nom. sg. in -ς, gen., acc. and voc. drop -ς, acc. may add -ν, thus being one step away from the SMG two-ending singular (nom. + ς; gen., acc. and voc. Ø). Gen. sg. in -ή/-η⁵⁰ instead of -οῦ/-ου can already be found with proper names in AG and is attested with other nouns from the 1st c. AD onwards (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 76–7; DIETERICH 1898: 170–1; SEILER 1958: 54; GIGNAC 1981: 14; HORROCKS 2010: 286); a vocative φιλοθεροσίτη can be found as early as Herodian (see the online *TLG*).

As for the plural, the nominative -αί/-αι becomes -ές/-ες: a nom. pl. form Αἰνείαδες for Αἰνείαδαι (< Αἰνείαδης) can be found in Malalas (6th c.) (PSALTES 1913: 140; see also SEILER 1958: 55). The accusative -άς/-ας becomes -ές/-ες as well; as in the singular, this is the last step towards the two-ending plural of the paradigm in SMG: nom., acc. and voc. in -ές/-ες, gen. in -ῶν/-ων (cf. PANAYOTOU 1992b: 18). For similar developments in the feminine /i/ paradigms see 2.12. In manuscripts, early printed editions and older modern editions the /es/ ending is often spelled -αῖς/-αις rather than -ές/-ες. Just like certain masculine nouns in /as/ (see 2.2.1, and 2.2.3), certain masculine nouns in /is/ then develop an imparisyllabic plural in -δες, but initially not, as might have been expected, in -ήδες/-ηδες.⁵¹ Instead nouns in /is/ borrow the -άδες plural from the masculine /as/ paradigm.⁵² Plurals in -ήδες (oxytone nouns) and -ηδες (paroxytone and proparoxytone nouns) are only attested from the LMedG period onwards with new formations (loanwords), but not normally with original 1st-declension nouns. PSALTES 1913: 169 lists examples from Doukas (15th c.), but not from earlier chronicles. The earliest examples so far date from the 13th/14th c.: they are plurals of Turkish proper names, spelled with <ι> as if they were 3rd-declension nouns:

⁵⁰ The development of the genitive is clear: it is identical to the accusative and is formed from the nominative by omitting final /s/. Writing it with a circumflex instead of an acute, as if it were a “contracted” form, is therefore unnecessary.

⁵¹ Despite the fact that, similarly to those in /as/, a plural could have been modelled on 3rd-declension words in -ις, -ιδες, this did not happen, probably due to the fact that 3rd-declension words in -ις are mainly adjectives and are more often feminine than masculine (cf. ὁ μάντις, οἱ μάντις/μάντιες; ἡ μάντις, αἱ μάντιδες).

⁵² As with the /as/ paradigm (see 2.2), “archaized” nominatives plural in -άδαι, which conflate the new nom. pl. ending -άδες with -αἱ of the old 1st declension, can occasionally be found in high-register texts, but have not been found in the texts examined.

Σαλαμπάξιδες καὶ Ἀλαΐδες PACHYMERES, *Hist.* II 389.2 (ed. Bekker) (cf. τοῦ Σαλάμπακι *ibid.* 211.10 and τῷ Ἀλάιδι *ibid.* 403.3).⁵³

The LMedG and EMG paradigm in /is/ consists of four sub-paradigms, each with their own characteristics. Paradigm 2.3.1 is a very large paradigm, which includes many oxytone and a limited number of paroxytone nouns in /is/ that develop a new alternative imparisyllabic plural in -άδες alongside the inherited parisyllabic plural in -ες. The nouns belonging to this sub-paradigm all denote human beings and include inherited 1st-declension words such as ἀγοραστής, ἀσκητής, βουλευτής, ληστής, μαθητής, μεθυστής, πραγματευτής, αὐθέντης/ἀφέντης, κτίστης, κυβερνήτης, μητροπολίτης; new formations in -ής such as καταπατητής, μοιρολογητής, φουμιστής (< φουμίζω < φημίζω) and compounds in -πούλης (< -πώλης), e.g. κηροπούλης, χαβιαροπούλης; as well as loanwords: ζαριστής (< Arab. *az-zahr*), ὀρδινιαστής (< ὀρδινιάζω < Ital. *ordine*), στιμαριστής (< στιμάρω < Ven. *stimàr*), τζενιαστής (< τζενιάζω < Fr. *engeigner*); and morphologically adapted foreign names (singular only): Ἀσελῆς (< Fr. *Ancelin*), Μπαντουῆς (< Fr. *Baudoin*). The imparisyllabic plural can be found with oxytone nouns from the very beginning of the period covered by this Grammar; they are more common than the parisyllabic ones and only words that belong to a higher register, such as ἐραστής and μιμητής, resist forming an imparisyllabic plural.

Most inherited paroxytone nouns do not develop imparisyllabic forms at all (see sub-paradigm 2.3.2), but the small group of nouns that does adopt the imparisyllabic plural appears to do it a few centuries later than the oxytone nouns. The picture may, however, be distorted by the material recorded in the written sources, as the paroxytone nouns are fewer in number and the most common of them (αὐθέντης, μητροπολίτης, δεσπότης) appear in the singular more often than in the plural.

Sub-paradigm 2.3.2 covers paroxytone animate and inanimate nouns with almost exclusively parisyllabic plural forms, such as the inherited 1st-declension nouns νούτης, πατριάρχης, στρατιώτης and ἄσβέστης, most words in -ιώτης and -ίτης (with the notable exception of μητροπολίτης, which belongs to sub-paradigm 2.3.1), as well as the loanwords σεργέντης/σιργέντης (< Fr. *sergent*) and κουρτέσης (< OFr. *cortéis* or Ital. *cortese*), which only very rarely form an imparisyllabic plural (see below).

Sub-paradigm 2.3.3 comprises new oxytone nouns, which mostly refer to human beings and are borrowed from other languages and adapted to the Greek morphological system, such as καδής/κατής (< Turk. *kadı*) and γαρμπής (< Ven. *garbin* or Turk. *garbi*). These nouns have an imparisyllabic plural in -ήδες. The paradigm also includes adjectives such as διγενής used as contemporary proper names,⁵⁴ as well as new forms in -ής derived from former 3rd-declension nouns in -εύς (see 2.4), such as βασιλής, γονής and ἱερής. These alternative forms first appear in writing in the 15th c. (ms date of *Assizes B*) and can be found in a large geographical area (Cyprus, Crete, the Heptanese and the northern mainland). They generally adopt the imparisyllabic plural of the paradigm, though for

⁵³ For the ways in which Pachymeres renders Turkish names see ZACHARIADOU 1978.

⁵⁴ Note that the contemporary name Διγενής always belongs to this paradigm, whereas the hero Διγενής Ἀκρίτης in the less vernacular versions of the text still follows the old 3rd-declension adjectival paradigm (see 3.3.3), forming a genitive Διγενοῦς e.g. in *Dig.* A 4366 and a vocative Διγενές e.g. in *Dig.* G II.291.

gen. pl. parisyllabic forms can also be found, e.g.: οὔτε ἱερῆς, οὔτε ἀναγνώστης *Assizes* B 358.20; τοῦ Ἀρκιερεῖ τῆς Ρώμης (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 310.4); τὸν ἱερῆ CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2124; τὸν γονή σας VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 297; λοιπόν, γονή μου KORNAPOS, *Erot.* III.831; οἱ πρῶτοι βασιλῆδες *Diig. Alex.* K 350.12 (Mitsakis); ὁ εἷς τῶν βασιλίδων VATATIS, *Periig. II* 277; but also: τῶν ἀρχιερέων *P&N Diath.* 3284; μὲ ἐφτὰ ἱερῆδες (1665, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 11, 419.3); κεῖς δύο βασιλίδες VATATIS, *Periig. II* 274.

Sub-paradigm 2.3.4 includes paroxytone inherited nouns denoting human beings, such as Πέρσης, but the majority of nouns belonging to this paradigm are paroxytone and proparoxytone nouns borrowed from other languages and adapted to the Greek declensional system, e.g. ἄζαπης (< Turk. *‘azap* < Arab. *‘azab* “infantryman”, not to be confused with the adjective ἄζαπης “wretched” (< Arab. *‘adāb* or *‘azāb*), for which see 3.4.1), ἀράπης (< Turk. *Arap*), βεζίρης (< Turk. *vezîr*), βισκούντης (< OFr. *visconte*), γενεράλης (< Ven. *general*), μπαρούνης (< Occit. *baroun*), πολγάρης (< Rom. *pîlgar*), πρίντζης (< Fr. *prince*), σουμπάσης (< Turk. *subaşı*) and surnames in -ίδης and -ογλης. The sub-paradigm also covers paroxytone formations of proparoxytone nouns in -ιος, e.g. καβαλλάρης (< καβαλλάριος), κύρης (< κύριος), Βασίλης (< Βασίλειος), Στράτης (< Εὐστράτιος), Μάης (< Μάιος), examples of which can be found for the singular already in the 1st c. AD (see 2.7.2). Finally, the sub-paradigm also covers diminutives in -άκης and -ούδης used as proper names. It has a certain overlap and mutual influence with adjectives in -άρης such as ζηλιάρης and ψεματάρης which are often used as nouns (see 3.2.6). The nouns belonging to this paradigm normally form their plural in -ηδες (ἀράπηδες, καβαλλάρηδες, βεζίρηδες, μπαρούνηδες, σουμπάσηδες) and only very rarely in -ες. The endings are usually spelled with <η>, although in some modern editions they are spelled with <ι> when the word in /is/ is derived from a noun in -ιος (e.g. καβαλλάριδες). Some editors chose to spell the ending with <ι> for other nouns as well, as if they were former 3rd-declension nouns (e.g. ἀβιτισιάλιδες).

Nouns for which no plural forms have been found, notably given names, are categorized according to their behaviour in the singular. For instance the name Ἰωάννης can be found under paradigm 2.3.2, as it easily forms its genitive in /u/ in more formal contexts; however, its more colloquial counterpart Γιάννης belongs to paradigm 2.3.4, as it normally forms its genitive in /i/.

Transfers between these sub-paradigms are quite limited: one sometimes finds oxytone variants of paroxytone words, and whereas one could argue that the forms κυβερνητής in the *Chronicle of Morea* and σφακτής in *Apokopos* A appear mainly to serve the metre – κυβερνητής, διορθωτής εἰς ὅλα τὰ φουσσᾶτα *Chron. Mor.* H 237; εἰς τοῦ σφακτῆ τὸ χέρι BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 349 – a similar form has also been found in non-literary sources: τὸν κτιστὴν (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 83, 100.9; and 1612, *ibid.* 780, 678.8), as well as with a proper name in Machairas: ὁ Θεοτοκῆς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 656.19 (< Θεοτόκης). Furthermore, the loanword κόντης (< OFr./Ital. *conte*), which also has alternative forms belonging to other paradigms, namely κόντες (singular only; see 2.6.2) and κόντος (see 2.1.2), may form its plural according to both 2.3.1 and 2.3.4: δουκάδες καὶ κοντάδες *Pol. Tr.* 258; δύο κόντηδες (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981:

3, 45.25). Similarly εὐγενής and συγγενής, originally adjectives (for their declension as adjectives see 3.3.3), when used as nouns may form their plural according to 2.3.1 or, less frequently, 2.3.3, adopting -άδες or -ῆδες: οἱ συγγενάδες του *Assizes A* 118.16; ἀμῖρ ἢ τινῶν εὐγενάδων *Pol. Tr.* 7403; με τοὺς συγγενάδες του (1515, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 70, 75.7); τῆς Τροίᾳς οἱ εὐγενῆδες *ERMON., Ilias* 21.32. A plural form in -ηδες of a noun ending in -πούλης appears to be a one-off in Machairas, as nouns in -πώλης/-πούλης normally follow paradigm 2.3.1, having a plural in -άδες:⁵⁵ ψέμα λαλεῖτε ... λύκοι ψαρπούλιδες! *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 486.30.

There is also some fluctuation in the stress pattern of plural forms, especially of words borrowed from Turkish and other oriental languages: proparoxytone nouns, which usually have a proparoxytone plural in -ηδες, may present a shift of the stress to the penultimate, e.g. ὀνομάζονται ἑλληνικά Ραχμανῆδες *Diig. Alex.* F 38.2 (Konstantinopulos); Μιχαλογλῆδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 76.31 (< Μιχάλογλης); ζορπαπασῆδες *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §16.7 (< ζορμπάμπασης). The reverse may also occur: ἔχει ἀλουφατζηδες (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 11.11), from ἀλουφατζής; cf. οἱ ἀλοφατζῆδες in the same text (*ibid.* 12.38). In addition, compound words ending in -(μ)πασης (< Turk. *başı*), which normally have a plural in -ηδες, may adopt the plural ending -άδες, probably influenced by the word πασάς (< Turk. *paşa*) (see 2.2.1), which belongs to the same semantic field of Ottoman titles: σουμπασάδες (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.14–15).

Apart from the above-mentioned masculine nouns in -εύς, which develop alternative forms in -ής belonging to paradigm 2.3.3, and nouns in -ιος, which develop alternative forms belonging to paradigm 2.3.4, certain other nouns may also transfer to the imparisyllabic /is/ paradigms 2.3.3 (oxytone) and 2.3.4 (paroxytone and proparoxytone), e.g. former 3rd-declension nouns in -ις such as μάντις, ὄφης, Λούκαρις, τίγρις,⁵⁶ as well as proper names in -ης and -ῆς such as Θεοφάνης, Ἡρακλῆς and others:

οἱ μάντιδες, τῶν μάντιδων καὶ μάντεων, τοὺς μάντιδες, ὦ μάντιδες *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 39.14–16

ῥέφαντες, τίγρηδες *BOUNIALIS M., Kat. ofel.* 481

ὄφιδες φοβεροὶ *Apok. Theot.* 496.193

οἱ ὄφιδες, τῶν ὄφιδων, τοὺς ὄφεις-φίδες, ὦ ὄφιδες *SPANOS, Grammar* 28.29–30

Λουκάριδες καὶ ἄλλους ὁμοίους των *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 54.17–18

τοὺς τίγριδες *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1039

τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀθηνογένη (1054, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 1, 40.22)

πρεσβυτέρου Θεοφάνη (1063, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 46, 60.7)

ὁ Δημοσθένης, τοῦ Δημοσθένους-νη, τὸν Δημοσθένην-η, ὦ Δημοσθένη *SPANOS, Grammar*

28.27;⁵⁷ τοῦ Ἡρακλῆ (1133, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 5, 516.17)

τοῦ Παλαμήδη *Pol. Tr.* 3127a app. crit. (B)

⁵⁵ Note, however, that the word is not used meaning “fishmonger”, but is used as a swear word. It can, therefore, not be excluded that it is originally a feminine form meaning something like “fishwife”.

⁵⁶ Note that the grammatically feminine noun ἡ τίγρις already had an alternative plural τίγριδες in Antiquity (see LSJ, s.v.).

⁵⁷ For the sake of paradigmatic completeness, Spanos also gives a plural: οἱ Δημοσθένηδες, τῶν Δημοσθένηδων, τοὺς Δημοσθένηδες, ὦ Δημοσθένηδες *SPANOS, Grammar* 28.28.

Foreign proper names and forms of address that were originally indeclinable, such as Γαβριήλ, Ἑμμανουήλ, Μιχαήλ, Μουράτ, μισέρ and others, may transfer to paradigm 2.3.4:

τοῦ Καμπανέση τὰ ἔδωκαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1840 (< Fr. *Champenois*, via Ital. *Campanese*)
 ἐζήτησεν τὸν Τζέμη (1487, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 16, 87.8–9) (< Turk. *Cem*)
 Ὀτμάνης τὸ ὄνομάν του (16th c., northern Aegean?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.Π, 543.4.1–2)
 τοῦ κύρ Μιχαήλ (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 32, 72.1)
 μισέρη, κλέπτης, πιάσε τον *Poulol.* 362 app. crit. (V)
 ἐσκότωσεν ὁ Κάϊς τὸν Ἄβελ *Diig. Alex.* F 32.14 (Konstantinopulos) (< Κάιν)
 ἀπέθανεν ὁ σουλτάν Σελίμης (1575 [copy of 1653], Epirus, LAMBROS 1916b: 8, 135.1)
 τοῦ σουλτάν Μουράτη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.30–1
 μα κείνοι οἱ Μαγώγηδες *ibid.* 4311 (< *Magog*)
 ὁ Μανόλης Κορινιάκός (1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 701, 605.2)
 ὁ προφήτης Δαβίδης (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 89, 93.8)
 ἐγορασέν το ὁ κύρ Μιχαήλης (1640, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 3, 9.11)
 ἀδελφός μου Βενιαμής (1694, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 188, 124.2) (ed. Βενιαμής)
 τοῦ ἄνωθεν Παπαγαβριήλη (1694–1704, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 3, 78.9)
 οἱ νυν αὐτοὶ Οτμάνηδες ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 3822
 ὁ Ἀδάμης *P&N Diath.* 968
 τοῦ ἱερομονάχου Σεραφεῖμη (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 22, 36.11)
 ὁ Χασάνης (1704, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 2, 54.1)

Proper names in /os/ and less frequently those in /as/ may develop alternative forms in /is/: ὁ δὲ ρηθεῖς κύρ Σίμος ὁ Ἀλαμάνης (1447, Corfu, EFSTRATIADIS 1925: 50.1–2) (< Ἀλαμάνος); ἀποθανόντας τοῦ ρηθέντος Κυριάκη (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 5, 25.11) (< Κυριάκος); τὸν κυρ-Λάζαρη (1573, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 24, 81.8) (< Λάζαρος); ὁ τιμιώτατος κυρ-Νέστορης ὁ σιδεράς (1652, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 69, 180.3) (< Νέστορας). Sometimes an oxytone derivational suffix is adopted:

τοῦ προειρημένου Θεοδωρῇ (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 183.24) (< Θεόδωρος)
 τοῦ Κωσταντῇ *Dig.* E 42 (< Κωνσταντίνος)
 τοῦ κύρ Μπερναρδῇ Κλόντζα (1525, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 99, 184.3) (< Μπερνάρδος)
 κυρ-Στεφανῇ Μαντζαβίνο (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 6, 59.17) (< Στέφανος); ὁ κύρ Ἀγγελῇ ὁ Ποταμιάνος (*ibid.* 32, 91.3) (< Ἀγγελος)
 ἐγὼ Θεοδωρῇ Προσαλέντης (1585 [later copy], Ithaca, KALLINIKOS 1980: 56.4)
 ὁ ρηθεῖς κύρ Κωνστῇς (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 7, 26.3) (< Κώνστας)
 τοῦ μισέρ Φιλιππῇ Πατέ (1574, Andros, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 137, 257.2) (< Φίλιππος)
 ὁ Χατζῇ-Αὔγουστῇς (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.11) (< Αὔγουστος)
 ὁ παπὰ κύρ Ἀλεξανδρῇς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §25.1 (< Ἀλέξανδρος)
 τοῦ Μαστρο-Νικολῇ Βλατά (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 4, 128.19) (< Νικόλαος)
 Πιτρῇς Φρουδίτης στέργω (1685, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 3, 126.27) (< Πέτρος)
 ὁ χατζῇ-Λουκῇς (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 30, 121.79) (< Λουκάς)

The same shift of stress occurs sometimes with proper names originally in -ιος: τοῦ λεγόμενου κύρ Γεωργῇ (1516 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 2, 51.6–7); τοῦ

Γιωργῇ KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 699 (< Γεώργης < Γεώργιος). A similar innovative transfer is the following noun, derived from the adjective τρελλός (see also MITSAKIS 1983: 385–7): τὸν Πῶρον τὸν γάϊδαρον καὶ τρέλλη *Diig. Alex.* F 62.15–16 (Konstantinopulos) (τρέλλην in *Diig. Alex.* E 63.13); κύρ τρέλη, γάϊδαρε *Diig. Alex.* V 80.14; καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς οὐ θέλει | ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἔχει ὡς τρέλλη *Epain. gyn.* 215–16.

Regionally (Cyprus, Rhodes?) the word κοντοσταῦλος/κοντόσταυλος (< MedLat. *comestabulus*, see *LBG* s.v. κομηστάβουλος) has a variant κοντοστάβλης/κοντοσταύλης: τοῦ κοντοστάβλη (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 46, 25.2); ὁ κοντοσταύλης τῆς Κύπρου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 21–2; τοῦ κοντοστάβλη *Katal.* 451; να σκοτώσουν τον κοντοστάβλην VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 56.16.

Feminine nouns do not often transfer to the masculine paradigms in /is/, although a few clear examples of just such a transfer (to paradigm 2.3.2) are ὁ ἀσβέστης (< ἡ ἀσβέστη < ἡ ἄσβεστος), ὁ πλάτης (< ἡ πλάτη) and ὁ χαίτης (< ἡ χαίτη): ὄλον τὸν ἀσβέστην τοῦ καμινιοῦ μου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 276, 271.4); ἔλειψε ἀσβέστης *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 79; ὁ χαίτης (1092, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 3, 388.4); τὸν χαίτην (1142, *ibid.* Coll. V: 6, 304.22). Masculine examples of ἡ πλάτη occur in texts of south-western provenance (Heptanese, Peloponnese): ἐπῆρα εἰς τὸν πλάτην μου πέτραν *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 27; εἰς τὸν πλάτην μου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 373.4; εἰς τοὺς πλάτες τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν *ibid.* 378.17; εἰς τοὺς πλάτες σου ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 2.6 and *Bertoldos* 67.31; ἀλείφω σου τοὺς πλάτες *Bertoldin.* 149.22.

Finally, an interesting derivative is the word ὁ Κουτλουμούσης (< τὸ Κουτλουμούσι), which denotes a monk of the Athonite monastery of Kutlumus: Γρηγόριος ἱερομόναχος ὁ Κουτλουμούσης (1287, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 79, 49.33); τὸ κελλίον τοῦ Κουτλουμούση ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀγίου (14th c., Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 15, 74.93).

For alternative plural formations of proper names, surnames and names of peoples/tribes (-αῖοι, etc.) see 2.10. For the regional alternative plural in -οῦδες of the noun κύρης, see 2.10.5. For undeclined proclitic forms such as χατζη- see 2.18.

2.3.1 Oxytone and Paroxytone Nouns with an Alternative Plural in -άδες

	General		Restricted		Rare	
Singular						
Nom.	μαθητής	κτίστης			-ές	
Gen.	μαθητῆ	κτίστη	μαθητοῦ	κτίστου -ός -ος	-άδος -έ	
Acc.	μαθητή(ν)	κτίστη(ν)			-έ	
Voc.	μαθητή	κτίστη	μαθητά	κτίστα		

Plural						
Nom.	μαθητές μαθητάδες	κτίστες κτιστάδες	μαθηταί	κτίσται		
Gen.	μαθητῶν μαθητάδων	κτιστῶν κτιστάδων	μαθητῶ μαθητάδω μαθητάδωνε μαθητάδες μαθητές	κτίστων κτιστῶ κτιστάδω κτιστάδωνε κτιστάδες κτίστες		
Acc.	μαθητές μαθητάδες	κτίστες κτιστάδες	μαθητάς -άδης	κτίστας	μαθητάδας -άδους	κτιστάδας
Voc.	μαθητές μαθητάδες	κτίστες κτιστάδες			μαθηταί	κτίσται

Singular

Nominative

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ής ἰ -ης

Apart from one regional alternative (see below), there is little variation in the nominative singular endings:

πλὴν ἔνι καλοφουνιστής *Ptoch. III* 114; ἐὰν ἦμον παραζυμωτής ἢ δουλευτής μαγκίπου *ibid.* 165
ὁ πρῶτος ὁ μισὶρ Ἀσελής *Chron. Mor.* H 1321 (< Fr. *Ancelin*); κι ὁ Βαλδουβῆς ἐκέϊνος *ibid.* 1335
(< Fr. *Baudoin*)

ὁ ἀγοραστής *Assizes* B 286.22

πολεμιστής καὶ νικητής *Velis.* χ 339

καλλωπιστής ἐγίνη [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1990

ὁ ζαριστής ὀρέγεται νὰ κάτση ᾽ τὸ παιχνίδιν *SACHLIKIS, Symvoules* 160

ἦτον ὁ μαῦρος μεθυστής *Achil.* O 180

καὶ ἐγίνουν ὕβριστής *Spanos* A 35–6

ὥσπερ <ἵππος> τσινιστής *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 194

ἐνι φουμιστής τούς παιγνιδοφουμιστάδες *Fior* 131.14–15

ο ληστής καὶ φονέας *DIONYS., Istor.* 253.37

ἦτον καὶ πρωτοκαλεστής *Dimotika Ivir.* IV.3

ἐμπῆκε ἐγγυητής *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.34–5

ὁ ἄνωθεν μοιραστής (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 733.18)

ὕβριστής, ἄδικος *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §9.17; (ἦτον ...) διαβαστής *ibid.* I §17.12; διὰ
νὰ γένης καὶ σὺ μιμητής *ibid.* I §29.10; μὴ εἶσαι ... κλησοχάλαστής *ibid.* II §5.21 (<
ἐκκλησιοχάλαστής)

ὁ Διοικητής ἢ ἄλλος κανένας *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 107–8; καὶ ὁ κριτής *ibid.* 126–7
νὰ εἶναι καὶ ἐξουσιαστής (1694, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 47, 76.8–9)

ἀφέντης μας ἔν κι ἀγαποῦμεν τον RUMI, *Poem II* 1

ὁ ἀφέντης του *Assizes B* 269.4

τῆς Ἐφθίας δεσπότης *Achil.* N 25

οὔ ναι χρεοφελέτης (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.29–30)

τοῦ ρηγός ὁ κτίστης *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 656.19–20

ἔσωσεν εἰς ἡγήτης *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 435

αφέντης των αφεντάδων όλων *Diig. Alex.* K 344.1 (Mitsakis)

εἰ εἶναι τινὰς ράπτης (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.69–70)

ἐγὼ ὁ Δῆμος ὁ Χαράκης (1546/51, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 64.23)

κύρ Δῆμος Χαράκης (1551, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 49, 91.1–2)

ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης *Vios Aisop.* K 175.28

τὸ πληρώνει ὁ κυβερνήτης τῶν πάντων *Bertoldin.* 169.7–8

ψάλτης κοινός *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §28.11

ἦμπε ὁ δεσπότης (1646/7, Patmos?/Crete?, LAMBROS 1910: 266, 190.21)

ὄλου τοῦ Αἰγίου Πελάου μετροπολίτης (1655, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 122.2–3) (=

μητροπολίτης, see I, 2.8.1)

ἦλθε ἄλλος κυβερνήτης *Soumakis, Rebelio* 36.10–11

In specific phonetic environments final /s/ may be deleted in texts from south-western areas, e.g. ὁ αὐτὸς κυβερνίστη τους (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 310.28) (= κυβερνήτη) (author from Mani). For details and more examples see I, 3.7.1.1.

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ές

In a collection of 17th-c. documents from Naxos there are quite a few examples of an oxytone variant in -ές, alongside many more common forms in -ής. As these endings are only employed in the singular (cf. the genitive and accusative, below), this is not a full transfer to a different paradigm (cf. the Cypriot paradigm in -ιός, 2.8). The following list of examples is not exhaustive, but the ending does seem to be lexically limited to the words ἀγοραστής and πωλητής:⁵⁸

ὁ αὐτὸς πωλητὲς (1630, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 4, 133.13); ὡς πωλητὲς τὸ βεβαιώνει (1631, *ibid.* 6, 136.31); ὁ ἀγοραστὲς (1633, *ibid.* 9, 144.13; and *ibid.* 144.21); ὁ πωλητὲς (*ibid.* 144.13); ὁ πωλητὲς Λιανὸς (1640, *ibid.* 17, 156.14); ὁ ἄνωθεν Σταμάτης ὁ πωλητὲς (1658, *ibid.* 28, 174.14)

Unrelated to these is the following peculiar shortened form of ἀφέντης, which appears in the Cretan comedy *Stathis*: ἀφὲς ὁ Στάθης *Stathis* I.226 and III.270 (ἀφὲς = ὁ ἀφές).

⁵⁸ Note that in the same area there is a corresponding feminine form ἡ πωλητέ (see 2.16.1).

*Genitive**Masc.*

Sg.	Gen.	-ῆ ἢ -η

The most common ending for the genitive is /i/:

- κυροῦ Κοσμά τοῦ Ἀττικῆ (1147 [13th-c. copy], Constantinople, KRUMBACHER 1895: 410, f.18r.2)
 ὄχρι τοῦ δρόμου τοῦ Ληστῆ (1154, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 4, 76.5)
 τοῦ δουλευτῆ σου τοῦ Σταμάτη (1489, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 19, 100.8)
 περὶ τοῦ ἐγγυητῆ *Assizes* A 91.30
 ἐκ τοῦ ληστῆ τὸ στόμα FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 172; τοῦ Ποιητῆ μου *ibid.* 286
 τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ καλοῦ ληστή MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 6.35; εἶπαν τοῦ διαλαλητῆ *ibid.* 456.13
 τοῦ Κωνσταντῆ Ἐξεδάκτυλου (1510, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 19, 33.9)
 τοῦ ποτὲ κυρ-Κωσταντῆ (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 2, 54.5)
 τοῦ μισέρ Θεοδωρῆ Τάγαρη (1586, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 145, 268.1) (< Θεόδωρος)
 τοῦ πουλητῆ (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 149, 119.16)
 λέγει τοῦ πραγματευτῆ *Vios Aisop.* D 215.13
 εἰς τοῦ σφακτῆ τὸ χέρι *Thysia Avr.* 827 (< σφάκτης)
 τοῦ Θεριστῆ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 373.3
 τοῦ ἄνωθεν ἀγοραστῆ (1673, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 10, 173.22)
 μέγα διερμηνευτῆ (1679, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 18, 32.5)
 ν' ἀκούση τοῦ τραγουδιστῆ KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.491
 τοῦ κριτῆ ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 54.1
 Ἰωάννου Κτίστη (1133, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 113, 151.17)
 τοῦ Μιχάλη τοῦ Ράφτη (1157/8, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 19, 158.9)
 ἐκείνου τοῦ δεσπότη *Chron. Mor.* H 1086; τοῦ μητροπολίτη τῆς Πατροῦ *ibid.* 1955
 τοῦ χριοφελέτη *Assizes* B 303.24; περὶ τοῦ ράφτη ὅπου ράβγει τὰ ροῦχα τοὺς λᾶς *ibid.* 322.11–12
 ὅμως οὐ μὴ σὲ βαρεθῶ, ὁψαροπούλη τέκνον *Poulol.* 366 ap. crit. (V)
 τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ Μορέως (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 71, f.Ir.12)
 τοῦ καλοῦ σας ἀφέντη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 46.12
 τοῦ ἀφέντη (1556, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 146, 116.8)
 ἐνοῦ παπαῖ ἢ ψάλτη (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 2, 295.44–5)
 τὸ ἄλογον τοῦ γαλατοπούλη *Bertoldin.* 157.35–6
 τοῦ πανιερωτάτου μητροπολίτη (1654, Kastoria, Drakopoulou 2005: 18, 36.3)
 τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ ὁλονοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.5)
 τοῦ αἰνδεσιμωτάτου ἀφέντη (1672, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 5, 17.24–5) (= αἰδεσιμωτάτου, see I, 3.5.2.4)
 τοῦ Μελοπούλη (1694, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 32, 79.2)
 παρὰ τοῦ ποτὲ αὐθέντη καὶ δεσπότη EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.5–6

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-οῦ ἢ -ου

This residual ending of the old 1st declension is much rarer than the common ending in /i/ (above) and is used mainly in mixed- and higher-register texts and more formal contexts:

σου τοῦ ἀγορασθοῦ (1178, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 12, 111.13) (with <σθ> for <στ>, see I, 3.8.1.4)
 ἀπὸ σαλοῦ καὶ μεθυστοῦ *Paroim.* A 7
 τοῦ μεριστοῦ (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 15, 22.2)
 τοῦ ληστοῦ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 4.22
 τ' ὄνομαν τοῦ δικαστοῦ *Pist. kekoim.* 496
 το ὄνομα του ελευθερωτοῦ σου *Don Kis.* 51.12
 τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότη *Dig.* G III.215
 Ἰωάννου τοῦ δεσπότη *Chron. Mor.* H 3085
 ὡς δοῦλοι τοῦ δεσπότη *Alosis* 140
 τοῦ μητροπολίτου τῆς Ταρσοῦ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 98.7; τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ Μορεᾶ *ibid.* 682.16
 τοῦ αἰδεσίμου μητροπολίτου (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 42, 73.24)
 του Λαζάρου δεσπότη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 63.31
 τους τρεις σταυρούς που ἐκρυσαν, ληστῶν καὶ του Δεσπότη *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 9757

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ός ἰ -ος

The deployment of these endings is entirely lexical, limiting itself to the word αὐθέντης/ἀφέντης, probably by analogy with semantically related words such as ρήγας and δούκας (see 2.2.3). The oxytone variant occurs frequently in texts from north to south and west to east, whereas the paroxytone one is much rarer:

τοῦ ... ρηγός ... καὶ αὐθεντός ἡμῶν (1188, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 20, 338.22)
 μὴ δώκης δῶρα αὐθεντός *Spaneas* Z 239
 οἱ ὀρισμοὶ τοῦ ἀφεντός *Synax. gyn.* 396
 τοῦ αὐθεντός (16th c., Constantinople, PREGER 1912: 468.24)
 του αφεντός μου *Diig. Alex.* K 357.2 (Mitsakis)
 κόντρα τοῦ ἀφεντός μου TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 295
 τοῦ ἀφεντός του (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 21, 32.7–8)
 τοῦ ἀφεντός τοῦ καδῆ (1596, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 20, 75.31)
 τοῦ αὐθεντός ὁποῦ κρατεῖ τὸ Κάερος *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 47
 τ' ἀφεντός τωνε *CHORTATIS, Erof.* IV.151
 τοῦ ἀφεντός τῆς Μολδαβίας *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.10–11
 τοῦ ἀφεντός τοῦ Θεοῦ (1617, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970b: 3, 230.6)
 τοῦ ἐκλαμπροτάτου ἀφεντός (1624, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2000: 2, 515.8)
 τοῦ ἀφεντός τοῦ χάτμανου (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56–7.15–16)
 τοῦ πανιερωτάτου ἡμῶν ἀφεντός (1707, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1973: 1, 303.15)
 ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἀφέντος (1440, Crimea, LATYSHEV 1896: 3, 4.5–6)
 τοῦ αὐθέντος (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 61, 51.7)
 ἦφεράν τον τοῦ αὐθέντος (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 38.II, 307.28.2)
 τὰ μισὰ τοῦ ἀφέντος τοῦ Καδῆ (1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 153, 278.31)

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-έ

In a collection of 17th-c. documents from Naxos there are quite a few examples of an oxytone variant in /e/, alongside many more common forms in /i/ (for discussion see nom. sg. in -ές, above; see also acc. sg. in -έ, below):

τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγοραστέ (1628, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 2, 130.37); τοῦ ἄνωθεν ἀγοραστέ (1630, *ibid.* 4, 133.14); τοῦ ἀγοραστέ (1633, 9, 144.12; and 1640, *ibid.* 17, 156.12); τοῦ πωλητέ (1630, *ibid.* 4, 133.13; and 1636, *ibid.* 13, 149.9)

Unconnected to these is the following shortened form of ἀφέντης, which appears in the Cretan comedy *Stathis*: τ' ἀφέ τοῦ Στάθη *Stathis* III.438.

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-άδος

A genitive in -άδος, a pseudo-archaism modelled on the imparisyllabic plural (see below), appears once in one manuscript of the *War of Troy*, where the other mss have a plural (εὐγενάδων): ἀμῖρος ἢ τινὸς εὐγενάδος *Pol. Tr.* 7403 app. crit. (X).

Accusative

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-ή(ν) ἢ -η(ν)

With the exception of one regional variant (see below) there is no variation in the acc. sg. ending, other than that it can occur with or without final /n/:

χειρώνονται τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 16.31–2
πολλὰ τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208
νὰ βάλῃ τὸν διαλαλητὴν *Chron. Mor.* H 3894
ὁποῦ τὸν ἔβαλεν ἐνκυτὴν *Assizes* B 315.15 (< ἐγγυητής)
εἰς τὸν κριτὴν (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 86, 66.2)
γίνονται ὥσάν τὸν μεθυστὴν SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 201
τὸν Μέντζην τὸν κατηχητὴν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 610.26–7
ἐβάσταξεν τὸν Ποιητὴν *Synax. gyn.* 63
τὸν μαῖστρο-Αὐγουστή (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 144, 144.4–5) (< Αὐγουστος)
μ' ἓνα ληστὴν μὲ κράζετε νὰ κάμω τὴ μαλέα; *Alex. Rim.* 808
τὸν Ντουέλε τὸν ἀσκητὴν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 128.24; ἐπῆρε ἓνα του δουλευτὴ καὶ ἐφύγανε *ibid.* 143.4
ἀναγέλασεν τὸν πραγματευτὴν *Vios Aisop.* I 252.17
τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Βαπτιστὴν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 11.11
ἀπὲ καὶ πλερωτὴ καὶ σακκὶ ἄχερο *Paroim.* (Warner) 101.12; πραγματευτὴν ἐγύρευα *ibid.* 105.9
γὰ τὸν τραγουδιστὴν KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.436; κριτὴ μ' ἐβάλαν *ibid.* I.1659
Λουκὰν κυβερνήτην (1015, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 15, 15.23)
ἓναν κλέρην *Chron. Mor.* H 2329 (< Fr. *clerc*); τὸν μητροπολίτην τῆς Πατροῦ *ibid.* 7867
ἓνα αὐθέντην ἔσχον *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 21
καὶ τὸ παιδὶν ὠνόμασε δεσπότην Ἀχιλλέαν *Achil.* L 11
ἐκοπίασεν εἰς τὸν ἀφέντη τὸν ρήγα (1406, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 35, f.115v.2)
τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν πατέρα τους (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.11–12)
ἐρμάσαν την μὲ τὸν ἀφέντην ... τὸν δεσπότην τοῦ Μορέως MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* 58.33–4
τὸ ὄνομά του λέγασι δεσπότη κυρ Μουρίκη KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.85
εἰς τὸν ἀφέντη τὸν κατὴ (1597, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 41, 188.19)
καὶ χαίρετοῦμε καὶ τὸν ἀφέντη τὸν Κωσταντὴ (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.PS)
πανιερώτατον μητροπολίτην (1610, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 6, 360.2)

διά τὸν ἀφέντη τὸ δεσπότη τὸν ἐδικό μας (1652, Milos, SYMEONIDIS 1989: 2, 118.4)
 τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν χάτμαν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.27)
 ἡ νύχτα πύσκοπο γεννῆ, ἡ αὐγὴ μετροπολίτη *Paroim.* (Warner) 92.20 (= μητροπολίτη)
 τὸν ποιητὴ καὶ κτίστη ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 1059

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-έ

In a collection of 17th-c. documents from Naxos an oxytone variant in -έ occurs, alongside many more common forms in /i/ (for discussion see nom. sg. in -ές, above; see also gen. sg. in -έ): τὸν ἀγοραστέ (1630, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 4, 133.19; and 1640, *ibid.* 17, 156.14); ἀπὲ τὸν ἄνωθεν ἀγοραστέ (1645, *ibid.* 21, 161.13); νὰ στερεώνουν τὸν ἀγοραστέ (1658, *ibid.* 28, 174.14).

Unrelated to these is the following shortened form of ἀφέντης in the Cretan comedy *Stathis*: τὸν ἀφὲ τὸ Στάθη *Stathis* III.483.

Vocative

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-ή ἰ -η

The most common ending for the vocative is /i/:

γνήσιε συγγενή του *Liv.* E 339
 ἦλθες καὶ ἐσύ, φονέα, ληστή *Poulol.* 370
 ἀγαπημένε συγγενή *Achil.* L 962
 ὦ ποιητὴ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 437.31
 βόηθα μου, μαθητὴ μου CHORTATSI, *Katz.* V.475
 Πλάστη καὶ Ποιητὴ μου *Thysia Avr.* 215
 κακοθελητὴ του οσπιτίου μου, τι ἦτον οπού ἐκαμες; *Vios Filaret.* 242.25
 λυτρωτὴ μου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol. Prol.* 6
 ἀφέντη μας, δεσπότη *Chron. Mor.* H 1116
 ἄφισ με ἀφέντη μου καλέ *Dig.* E 953
 αὐθέντη μου *Pol. Tr.* 530 app. crit. (A)
 στράφου, αὐθέντη εὐγενῆ *Achil.* O 472
 αὐθέντη, νὰ ἐγνωρίσεις (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 85.3)
 ἔλα 'φέντη μου, ὅς φιλοῦμεν *Katal.* 451
 καλῶς ἦλθες, ἀφέντη SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 157
 ἀφέντη καβαλλάρη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 474.25
 καὶ λέγει του: δεσπότη μου *Theseid* V.87,3 (1529)
 ἀφέ<ν>τη μισέρ Μανούσο (1570, Venice, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 9, 482.1)
 Κύριε, Θεέ καὶ Κτίστη *P&N Diath.* 871
 νὰ ἡξεύρης, δεσπότη μου (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.10–11)
 ἀφέντη καὶ πατὴρ μου (1680, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 8, 301, f.1r.2)
 δεσπότη μου γλυκύτατε, αὐθέντη μου ποθεινότατε VAROUCHAS, *Logoi* 469.22

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-ά ἰ -α

This residual ending is used mainly in more formal contexts. Note that the vocative of the word δεσπότης also preserves its historical shift of stress to the antepenultimate (see 2.3.5 for innovative formations based on the residual vocative):

Χρόνε, τῆς Τύχης δουλεπτά *Log. parig.* L 121 (< δουλευτής)
καὶ σὺ, πολιτευτά *Phys.* 545
μέγα αὐθέντα καὶ ἐξουσιαστά (1652, Crete, TCHENTSOVA 2002: 1, 355.7)
ἐλελῶ καὶ λυτρωτά *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 84

εἶδες, δέσποτα, ἀφέντη μου *Chron. Mor.* H 4922
ἀφέντα μου *Dig.* E 750
οὐκ ἐγνωρίζεις, δέσποτα, τὸν Πρόδρομον τὸν ἔχεις *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 42
δέσποτα Λίβιστρε *Liv.* V 3893
κατάβε, δέσποτα (15th c., Trebizond region, TSAKALOF 1910: [3], 121.3)
φύγε, διῶκτα *Poulol.* 375
δέσποτα παπά (1497, Crete, MAVROEIDI-POUMIDI 1971: 6, 143.33)
πλάνε καὶ ψεύστα κόσμε *Plani kosmou* 145
ἐκλαμπρότατε ἡμῶν αὐθέντα καὶ ἀδελφε (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.1)
δέσποτά μου (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.23–4)
πολλῶν αὐθεντάδων μέγα αὐθέντα (1653, Putyvl, TCHENTSOVA 2002: 4, 363, f.1r.3)
Θεὲ παντάναξ, ἄγιε, Ἄδωναϊ καὶ Κτίστα *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 83
αὐθέντα ὑψηλότατε *KONDAR., Paides* 168
δέσποτα πολυέλεε Θεέ! *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 25.12–13

Plural

Nominative

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ές ἰ -ες

With oxytone nouns the inherited parisyllabic ending /es/ is much less common than the newer imparisyllabic one (see below). With paroxytone nouns, which adopt the imparisyllabic ending later than the oxytone ones, it is more common, especially with the word αὐθέντης/ἀφέντης:

οἱ κακοθελητές του *Pol. Tr.* 13373 app. crit. (A)
διορθωτές τῆς ψυχῆς μου (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 82, 154.8)
νὰ μεθαν καὶ οἱ δυὸ ἀπιλογητές σου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 90, 88.14–15); ἐγγυητές καὶ καθολικοὶ πληρωτές (1549, Crete, *ibid.* 98, 96.3)
οἱ αὐτοὶ τιμητές (1649, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 1, 51.17–18)
ἀπόστολοι καὶ μάρτυρες, συνασκητές ἀλήθεια *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 9516

μητροπολίτες κι ἀρχιερεῖς *Chron. Mor.* H 2664; πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ἀφέντες *ibid.* 3889
ζιοῦν οἱ μητροπολίτες *Assizes B* 280.7
τὲς χάριτες τὲς ἔχουν οἱ ἀφέντες *Chron. Toc.* 1271
αὐθέντες ... εἰσὶν (1453, Gallipoli, DARROUZÈS 1963: 2, 84.28)
ὡς αὐθέντες, βασιλεῖς [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2111
τῆς θαλάσσου αὐθέντες *Byz. Il.* 542
ἀγελαδοὶ καὶ σκάπτες *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 172
οἱ δολεροὶ καὶ πονηροὶ δεσπότης *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 834

οἱ κτίστές MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 592.11–12
 γέροντες μικροὶ καὶ ἑκοδеспότες BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 125
 οἱ ὅποιοι ὅλοι χρεοφελέτες φαίνονται (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 50, 88.37–8)
 οἱ αὐθέντες οἱ δεσπότες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 422.14
 οἱ δεσπότες ἐγυρίσανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 95.9
 οἱ ... λογιότατοι ἀφέντες (1667, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [6], 23.13)

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-άδες

With oxytone nouns this innovative imparisyllabic ending appears from the very beginning and throughout the period covered by this Grammar and is more common than the inherited parisyllabic ending /es/ (see above). Examples of paroxytone nouns, however, have not been found before the 14th c. (see introduction to 2.3 for discussion):

οἱ ἐξουσιαστάδες (1121, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 88, 116.11); καὶ ἐγγυητάδες (1146, *ibid.* 142, 189.19)
 ἐὰν ἔναι ζαριστάδες (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 23.173)
 οἱ κριτάδες *Assizes* B 276.17; οἱ πραγματευτάδες *ibid.* 299.17
 ὅλλοι πραγματευτάδες (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 273.18)
 κριτάδες νὰ τὸν φουρκίσου (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 92.15) (= κριτάδες, see I, 3.9.1)
 οἱ μεθυστάδες οἱ ναῦτες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 148.20
 οὐδέ ἔσου οὐδέ οἱ δουλευτάδες σου VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 54.15
 ὅλοι οἱ βουλευτάδες *Alex. Rim.* 562
 οἱ τζενιαστάδες *Fior Suppl.* 273.1; οἱ μουρμουριστάδες *ibid.* 278.29
 ὅλοι οἱ Εὐαγγελιστάδες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 363.20
 ἐγγυτάδες καὶ πλερωτάδες (1543, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 119, 82.18)
 νὰ εἶναι ἀπιλοητάδες (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 218, 183.19) (< ἀπολογητής)
 οἱ ἀνωθεν ἄγοραστάδες (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 344, 323.12)
 ἔγιναν τιμωρητάδες *Vios Aisop.* I 283.11
 οἱ ληστάδες KRITTOPOULOS, *Grammar* 108.28
 οἱ ἀποκοφτάδες (1630, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 4, 133.10); οἱ κοπιαστάδες (1651, *ibid.* 23, 166.26)
 οἱ τοποτηρητάδες RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 104.13
 εἶναι γογγυστάδες, κατηγορητάδες KALLIOUP., *Ioud.* 16; οἱ μαθητάδες *id.*, *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.12
 οἱ ἀνυφαντάδες (1667, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 3, 146.8–9)
 οἱ πουλητάδες (1680, Peloponnese, PAPADOPOULOS 1976: 1, 118.8)
 περίσσιοι ἐξουσιαστάδες καὶ κυβερνητάδες SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 52.35–53.1
 τινὲς πλεῖστοι κλεράδες *Chron. Mor.* H 514
 εὐρίσκονταν ραφτάδες *Chron. Toc.* 1788
 ὡς ἀρσενοκοιτάδες CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1068
 νὰ κάμουν οἱ κτιστάδες *Alex. Rim.* 561
 ἐμεῖς οἱ Κοντομανολάδες (1559, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 231, 280.13)
 οἱ μητροπολιτάδες ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 174.E.7
 οἱ χριστιανοὶ οἱ ἀφεντάδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.24
 οἱ μητροπολιτάδες ROMANOS, *Grammar* 2.11
 ὅλοι οἱ αὐθεντάδες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 6965; τοὺς μητροπολιτάδες *ibid.* 9255

χρεοφειλετάδες όπου μου βρίσκονται (1677, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 2, 125.25–6)
οἱ δύο ραφτάδες (1680, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 26, 57.2)
τοῦ κλήρου κυριτζάδες KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 436
Στώσιος καὶ Ζώτος καὶ Κωτζῆς, Ἀρβανιτάδες (1683, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 84,
320.3) (< Ἀρβανίτης)
νὰ εἶναι κυβερνητάδες (1705, Chios, KAVVADAS 1950: 39.7)

In the following surnames the /i/ of the sg. ending is retained before -άδες (cf. gen. pl.): οἱ ἄνωθεν Χαρακτιάδες (1546/51, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 65.33; and 1551, *ibid.* 49, 91.8) (< Χαράκτης); οἱ Μακριάδες (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 60, 73.6) (< Μακρής); οἱ αὐτοὶ Μισινιάδες (1639, *ibid.* 152, 133.5) (< Μισίνης).

Forms in -άδης are phonetic rather than morphological variants of those in -άδες (for mid-vowel raising see I, 2.5.4): τοῦ λέγουν οἱ κριτάδης τοῦ Ζώτου (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.46r.5).

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-αὶ ἢ -αι

This residual 1st-declension ending, which had long been replaced by /es/ (see the introduction to Chapter 2), is sometimes used in more formal contexts and in texts that strive for a higher register:

οἱ ἔρασταὶ καὶ φίλοι τῆς ἀνδρείας *Dig. G VIII.223*
πραγματευταὶ (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.54)
οἱ ἄνωθε ἀποκοπταὶ (1561, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 129, 247.28–248.1)
οἱ τοποτηρηταὶ RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 105.26
οἱ μαθηταὶ του KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 5.1

καὶ δοῦλοι καὶ δεσπότες *Ptoch. II* 74
οἱ δεσπότες κείτονται *Pol. Tr.* 9208
οἱ μητροπολίται *Diig. tetr.* 918
ρηγάδες καὶ δεσπότες *Poulol.* 404
ὅλοι οἱ αὐθένται *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1572) 17
αυθένται καὶ τοπάρχαι IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 323

In documents from Naxos we find a plural in -αὶ with the word πουλητής, which possibly is not the archaizing ending (note πουλ – for πωλ-). Cf. the peculiar sg. forms in -ές of the words πουλητής and ἀγοραστής, above.

οἱ πουληταὶ ὁμολογοῦσι (1596, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 20, 76.14–15)
οἱ αὐτοὶ πουληταὶ (1628, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 3, 132.22); οἱ πουληταὶ (1639, *ibid.* 16, 155.18); τ' ἀδελφία οἱ πουληταὶ (1645, *ibid.* 21, 162.17–18)

Genitive

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν ἢ -ῶ ἢ -ων

With oxytone nouns the inherited parasyllabic ending, with a shift of the stress to the ultimate, is not as frequent as the imparisyllabic one (see below), though it can be found in

texts throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. With paroxytone nouns it is the only ending used in the LMedG period, and it remains common after they adopt the new imparisyllabic ending:

κριτών ... καὶ λοιπῶν ἀπαιτητῶν (1079, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 2, 18.11)
 τῶν ἀνωτέρων ἐξουσιαστῶν (1224, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 30, 448.29)
 τῶν εὐγενῶν, τῶν συγγενῶν *Eisit.* f.7v.7
 τῶν δανειστῶν μου *Ptoch.* III 285
 ἄν εἶχα φύσιν τῶν ληστῶν *Liv.* E 351
 βίβλοις ποιητῶν *Achil.* N 1902
 περὶ ... ψαλτῶν *Alosis* tit.
 τῶν ὑποκριτῶν SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 98.2
 τῶν μαθητῶν του MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 335.9
 τῶν εὐρισκομένων εἰς αὐτὴν κοπιαστῶν IER. AVVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 336.17
 μύθους τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ἄλλα ὅμοια φλυαρίσματα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 132.14–15
 τῶν πραγματευτῶν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1413
 τῶν ραφτῶν (1674, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 3, 122.1)
 διαμέσον των πρεσβευτῶν MAKOLAS, *Ioust.* 424.18
 των επιμελῶν εραστῶν *Don Kis.* 100.19

ἐποπτῶν (1079, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 2, 18.11)
 στεφηφορούντων δεσποτῶν *Eisit.* f.3r.7
 τάξιν λαβεῖν κυβερνητῶν *Ptoch.* III 197.18 app. crit. (K)
 πρωτομάστορη τῶν κτιστῶν (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 7, 311.13)
 μητροπολιτῶν κ' ἐπισκόπων *Diig. tetr.* 506 app. crit. (P)
 τὸ σκαμνὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν *Chron. Toc.* 1524
 σὰν πρέπει γὰρ τῶν ἀφεντῶν *Imb. Rim.* 274
 κόντρα τῶν αὐθεντῶν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 103, 102.6)
 τῶν δυναστῶν τοὺς ἐμπαιγμοὺς *Dig.* A 4001
 τῶν μεγάλων αὐθεντῶν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 18

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in Cretan texts and possibly elsewhere (see I, 3.7.2.2): ἄμε ᾽ς τῷ μαθητῷ μου *P&N Diath.* 4208; μεγάλῳ ἀφεντῷ παιδιὰ *ibid.* 1740.

Absence of stress shift to the ultimate may occur in the genitive plural of paroxytone words:

ἐπισκόπων μητροπολίτων *Diig. tetr.* 506 app. crit. (V)
 τῶν ψάλτων (15th c., Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 225, 247, f.164r.17)
 αὐθέντων καὶ ἀρχόντων *Byz. Il.* 839
 ψάλτων *Alosis* tit. transcr. (Lendari) (Legrand: ψαλτῶν); τῶν μητροπολίτων *ibid.* 237
 τῶν χρεοφειλέτων μου ὁλονῶν (1525, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 106, 197.14)
 τῶν ἄλλων σου χρεοφειλέτων (1553, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 206, 183.8–9)
 τῶν χρεοφειλέτων τως (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 218, 183.14–15)
 τῶν αὐθέντων τῶν παπάδων (1628, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 2, 129.26)

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ἄδων ἰ -ἄδω ἰ -ἄδωνε

With oxytone nouns the imparisyllabic ending is by far the most common for the genitive plural, from the very beginning of the period under review. Paroxytone nouns appear to

adopt this ending considerably later, as no examples have been found before the 16th c. (ms date of *Alosis*) (for discussion see the Introduction):

- ἐκ τῶν ἔμῶν δουλευτάδων (1099, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: App. 1, 644.1)
 τῶν συμμεριστάδων (1216, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 23, 108.13)
 τῶν ἄλλων κριτάδων *Assizes* B 278.31
 τῶν δύο κριτάδων (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 44.12–13)
 ἐτέρων ἀληθεστάτων πλησιαστάδων (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 71, 184.10)
 περὶ τῶν πραγματευτάδων σας (1481, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 11, 316.14–15)
 τῶν ληστών SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.12
 ἀπὸ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν μαθητάδων SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 15.7
 τῶν ἐδυσσίων κοπιαστάδων (1597, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 156, 281.18)
 τῶν δύο πτωχῶν ἀσκητάδων *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 113.18
 ὁ φόβος τῶν κριτάδων (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVI, 220.11)
 τῶν πολεμιστάδων *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 86.1
 τῶν νικητάδων *Pist. voskos* IV. 4.2
 τῶν κληρονομητάδων ντου (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 199.189–90)
 τῶν συγγενάδων του (1645, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 20. 160.20)
 τῶν διαλλαχτάδων VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 42.29
 ὑποκριτάδων ἀνθρώπων RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 107.20–1
 τῶν τρυγητάδων LANDOS, *Geopon.* 146.4
 στῶν ποιητάδων τὲς γραφεὶς BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol. Dedic.* 4
 τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγοραστάδων (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 256, 447.18)
 τῶν μεγαλυτέρων καὶ ἐξουσιαστάδων SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 53.5–6
 τῶν Βαρυπρατάδων (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 27, 61.2); τῶν Βασιλακάδων (1501, *ibid.* 65, 99.12–13)
 εἰς χεῖρας τε τῶν αὐθεντῶν, ρηγάδων, αὐθεντάδων *Alosis* 1011
 ἡ συνήθεια τῶν αὐθεντάδων *Diig. Alex.* F 94.5–6 (Lolos)
 ἀφέντης τῶν αφεντάδων ὅλων *Diig. Alex.* K 344.1 (Mitsakis)
 τῶν Κοπτάδων (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 335.16–17)
 τῶν ἀφεντάδων τῆς Βλαχιάς MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 79
 τῶν κηροπουλάδων PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.11 (< κηροπώλης)
 τῶν αὐθεντάδων τοὺς KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 15.27
 τῶν κυβερνητάδων (1707, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 2, 35.11)
 τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀδελφῶν Κατσαϊτάδων (1720, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 8, 169.4)
 [τῶν μητροπολιτ]άδων ROMANOS, *Grammar* 2.11

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from Crete, the Aegean (Chios, Mykonos) and Mani (see I, 3.7.2.2 for details):⁵⁹

- τῶν ἄνωθεν πουλητάδω (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 82, 99.12); τῶν ἄνωθεν
 ἀγοραστάδω (1606, *ibid.* 351, 328.11)
 τῶ δουλευτάδω σου *Thysia Avr.* 612
 τῶ δούλω καὶ ἀφεντάδω FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 36
 τῶν δουλευτάδω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 235
 τῶν ἄνωθεν σιμαριστάδω (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 28, 43.18–19)

⁵⁹ In Cretan literary texts the omission of final /n/ is often editorial, as in the following example from *Erotokritos*: ἀπ' ἀφεντάδω προξενιὲς KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.288, where both the London ms and the Venetian edition read ἀφεντάδων.

τῶν ἀφεντάδω (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 306.2)

᾿ς ταῦτιά τῶν ἀφεντάδω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 236

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs in 17th-c. Heptanesian texts (see also I, 2.6.3.1):

τοῦ ἀγοραστάδωνε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 27, 47.17); τοῦ αὐτῷ ἀγοραστάδωνε (ibid. 44, 61.16) (for the article τοῦ see 5.2.1)

τῷ μαθητάδωνε (1667, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 3, 146.21)

τῶν δουλευτάδωνε (1672, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 16, 49.6–7)

τοῦ Μαρουλάδωνε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 36, 54.11–12) (cf. ὁ Καλογιάννης Μαρούλης (ibid. 54.4)) (for the article τοῦ see 5.2.1)

A form in -άδωνε in a document from Ithaca is a phonetic rather than a morphological variant of -άδωνε (for mid-vowel raising see I, 2.8.3): τοῦ ἄνωθε ἀγοραστάδωνε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 46, 62.19) (for τοῦ see 5.2.1).

In the following example the /i/ of the singular ending is retained before the plural ending (cf. nom. pl.): τῶν ἄνωθεν Χαρακτιάδων (1546/51, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 65.31) (< family name Χαράκτης).

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ές ἰ -ες ἰ -ας ἰ -άδες

These genitive endings, morphologically identical to the accusative, have been found in texts from Cyprus (for discussion see 1.2):

ἐκόντεψεν ὁ ἀμράλλης κοντὰ τοὺς ἀφέντες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 256.14; τοὺς ἄλλους β' σταυροὺς τοὺς ληστῆς ibid. 4.15–16

εἰς τες αὐλάδες τοὺς αφέντες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.14

τὰ δικαιώματα τοὺς ἐνκυτάδες Assizes B 309.15 (< ἐγγυητής)

τὰ ἀμάχια τοὺς ἐγγυτάδες Assizes A 8.26

τινάς να μεν δώσει φαστίδιον τους δουλευτάδες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 220.4–5

τὴν ἀγάπην τοὺς συγγενάδες Fior 76.7; ἔνι φουμιστής τοὺς παιγνιδοφουμιστάδες ibid. 131.14–15

περὶ ... τοὺς συνεσκάρδους τοὺς ἀφέντας Assizes B 410.8–9

Accusative

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ές ἰ -ες

With the oxytone nouns belonging to this paradigm, the inherited parisyllabic ending is much less common than the imparisyllabic one (see below). It is more common with the paroxytone nouns, which start to adopt the new imparisyllabic ending a few centuries later than the oxytone ones:

τοὺς τέσσερις εὐαγγελιστές (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.143)

εἰς τοὺς ἀπάνου Κεραμουτές (1524, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 1, 15.3) (= Κεραμωτές, see I, 2.5.4)

μητροπολίτες τέσσαρους *Chron. Mor.* H 6151
 εις τούς δεσπότες ὅλους *Chron. Toc.* 2120
 τούς χρεοφελέτες (1549, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 51, 93.9)
 τούς εὐγενεῖς αὐθέντες (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 286.2); ἀπὸ τῆς χρεοφελέτες (ibid. 283, 388.29) (for the article τίς see 5.2.1)
 μέ τούς δεσπότες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 95.5–6
 τὸν μαστρο-Θωμὰ Καντζιπὰ καὶ μαστρο-Γαρόφο Κρητικό, χτίστες (1630, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 4, 133.10–11)
 μέ τούς ἀφέντες (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.17–18)
 σπαχήδες ἔχω ἀφέντες μου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 572.4

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδες

For oxytone words this ending is the most common for the accusative plural from at least the 14th c. onwards. Examples of paroxytone nouns have not been found before the 16th c. (ms date of the *Byzantine Iliad*):

τούς καταπατητάδες *Chron. Mor.* H 1049
 πραγματευτάδες ξενικούς *Florios* 914
 τούς καρδιοφλογιστάδες *Katal.* 551
 τούς καταλυτάδες *Chron. Toc.* 1014
 τούς ἔξαγορευτάδες LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 25
 μέ τούς δουλευτάδες μου (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.11)
 εἰς ἀπαὶ τούς συγγενάδες του *Assizes A* 39.1 (< adj. συγγενής)
 μέ τούς τραγουδιστάδες SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 57 (Lendari)
 τούς κατατιμωτάδες LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 188
 μέ ὅλους τούς ἀσκητάδες *Synax. gyn.* 157
 εἶχα ... ὀρχηστάδες *Fior* 76.31; νὰ ἀγαπήσουν τούς συγγενάδες τους ibid. 77.39–40
 κουμεσαρίου καὶ ὀρδινιασάδες (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 132.10)
 εφονεύθηκα ὑπὸ τους αναθρεφτάδες μου *Diig. Alex.* K 365.27 (Mitsakis)
 κολυμβητάδες MOREZINOS, *Klini* 207.24
 τσι προξενητάδες CHORTATSI, *Erof.* II.284 (for the article τσι see 5.2.1)
 ὡσάν τους ὑποκριτάδες KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 6.5; εἶδε τους μοιρολογητάδες ibid. 9.23
 δὲν εἶχε ... στιμαριστάδες (1657, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 4, 51.11)
 τούς φονευτάδες BOUNIALIS M., *Kat. ofel.* 349
 ἐκλέγει ... ἐπιθεωρητάδες (1681, Chios, KAVVADAS 1950: 38.8)
 τούς τέσσερους εὐαγγελιστάδες (1685, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1940: 301.27–8)
 στέλνοντας διαλαλητάδες EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22–3.25, 1
 τῆς κακοπλερωτάδες (1707, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 16, 34.20) (for the article τίς see 5.2.1)
 ὅλους τούς αὐθεντάδες *Byz. Il.* 701
 ἑσᾶς τους αὐθεντάδες *Diig. Alex.* F 132.8 (Lolos)
 τούς κληρικούς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ μητροπολιτάδες MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2849
 ἔφθειρεν πολὺν κόσμον καὶ ἀφεντάδες (1624, Skopje?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 72A, 563.16.2)
 εἰς τους κηροπουλάδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §24.3
 νὰ δουλεύει δύο αὐθεντάδες KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 6.24
 καὶ αὐτοὺς τους μητροπολιτάδες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 9255
 ὑψηλότατους ἀφε<ν>τάδες (1667, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [6], 24.16)

τοὺς κυβερνητάδες (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1955: 516.16)
 με τοὺς καπετανέους καὶ δεσποτάδες τῆς Ρούμελης (1708, Zakynthos, SATHAS 1865: 524.30–1)
 ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁμοίους χρειοφειλετάδες (1707, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 16, 33.11)
 τοὺς αὐθεντάδες *Don Kis*. 612.25

Forms in -άδης are phonetic rather than morphological variants of those in -άδες (for mid-vowel raising see I, 2.5.4): ἀπὸ τοὺς πραγματιφτάδης (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PARASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.13); τοὺς πραγματευτάδης (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 53.5) (= πραγματευτάδες).

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδας

This accusative ending, which is the old imparisyllabic ending of the /as/ paradigm (see 2.2.1), is used only occasionally:

ληστάδας ὑποτάξεις; *Dig.* G III.308
 <τοὺς> ληστάδας ἐπάταξα *Dig.* E 1790
 τοὺς ἀποφουμιστάδας *Diig. tetr.* 22 app. crit. (VC)
 ἐκ τοὺς Φουσκωματάδας *Poulol.* 276; ἀπὸ τοὺς Λασκαράδας *ibid.* 276 app. crit. (E)
 ἀπὲ τοὺς ληστάδας *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 4.22
 στοὺς εὐαγγελιστάδας *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 13
 τοὺς πρώτους αὐθεντάδας *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 374

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδους

This is a hybrid ending that combines the innovative imparisyllabic ending with the acc. pl. ending of the /os/ paradigm: ἐπιτρόπους καὶ ἐκδιγητάδους (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 129, 171.26–7).

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-άς ἢ -ας

This residual parasyllabic ending is mainly restricted to mixed- and higher-register texts and formal contexts:

δύο τῶν μοναχῶν μαθητάς (1258, Philadelphia?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 15, 154.43)
 τοὺς ληστάς *Dig.* G IV.15
 τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ πραγματευτάς (1481, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 13, 319.12)
 θέλεις ὁσίους ἀσκητάς *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 677 (< ἀσκητής, see I, 3.8.1.4)
 εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους τοῦ μαθητάς *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 31.2
 βλέποντας τοὺς μαθητάς *VAROUCHAS, Logoi* 467.24
 ἀπ' ὅλους τοὺς μητροπολίτας *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 408.16
 με αὐθέντας τε καὶ βασιλεῖς *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 8901
 ἔχεις φίλους αὐτοῦ γεζοβίτας (1692, Bucharest, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 4, 54.183) (= ἰησουίτας)

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-αι

An accusative ending -αι has been found in a document from Naxos. It is a hypercorrection of the parasyllabic /es/ ending, which is identical to the nominative ending (for the influence of nouns in /is/, /as/, /es/ and /us/ on masculine nouns in /os/ in Cycladic texts see 1.3 and 2.1): βάνου ἀποκοπταί (1561, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 129, 247.13).

Vocative

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-ές ἰ -ες

The inherited parasyllabic ending is restricted to paroxytone nouns, which do not appear to adopt the imparisyllabic ending (see below) until the 16th c.:

ἀκούσατε, τοπάρχες μου *Liv.* V 3962
 νὰ τὸ ἤξεύρετε, αὐθέντες (1456, Unknown, TSIRPANLIS 1986: 1, 222.5)
 καὶ ἐσεῖς, αὐθέντες LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 19
 αὐθέντες μεγιστᾶνοι *Alosis* 359
 καὶ εἶπε τους: ἀφέντες μου *Alex. Rim.* 1341
 ἀφέντες κριτάδες (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 50.4)

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-άδες

For oxytone nouns the vocative ends in -άδες. Examples of paroxytone nouns have not been found before the 16th c.:

ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει: πραγματευτάδες *Florios* 1053
 ὦ ληστὰδες SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.12
 ἀφέντες κριτάδες (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 50.4)
 ὦ μαθητάδες VEST., *Pathi* 111
 καλῶς ἦλθετεν, ... ἄξοι ἀκροατάδες PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 429
 ᾽πέτε μου, δουλευτάδες μου KONDAR., *Paides* 89
 ἄμετε καὶ σεῖς, κολακευτάδες κατάρατοι *Irodis* V 126
 αὐθεντάδες *Diig. Alex.* E 95.11 (Lolos)
 [μητροπολιτ]άδες ROMANOS, *Grammar* 2.11
 νὰ ζεῖτε, αὐθεντάδες μου *Bertoldin.* 98.35
 ἀξιώτατοι καὶ ἐγλαμπρότατοι ἀφεντᾶδες (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.1)

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-αί ἰ -αι

The residual vocative appears only sporadically in more formal contexts: εὐλογημένοι μου ἀκροαταί *Diig. Sant.* 59.26; ἐνδοξότατοι ἐκλαμπρότατοι καὶ περιβλεπτοι αὐθένται

σινιὸρ καπετάνιοι (1415, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1979: App. XVII, 216.1); αὐθένται καὶ τοπάρχαι ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 9937.

2.3.2 Paroxytone Nouns with Parisyllabic Plural

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	στρατιώτης	-η -ες	
Gen.	στρατιώτη	στρατιώτου	
Acc.	στρατιώτη(ν)	-εν	
Voc.	στρατιώτη	στρατιῶτα	
Plural			
Nom.	στρατιῶτες	στρατιῶται	-ηδες -οι
Gen.	στρατιωτῶν	στρατιώτων στρατιῶτες	στρατιώτας
Acc.	στρατιῶτες	στρατιώτας	-ηδες -ους
Voc.	στρατιῶτες	στρατιῶται	-οι

Singular

Nominative

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ης

With the exception of one regional variant (see below), there is no variation in the nom. sg. ending:

- ὁ προλεχθεὶς κύρης Λεόντιος (11th c.?, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1982: 1, 11.24)
 γραμματικὸς τεχνίτης *Ptoch.* III 81
 ὁ μακαρίτης αὐθέντης ὁ θεὸς μου (1437, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXXI, 297.2)
 ὁ σεργέντης *Assizes* B 321.24
 ἔδε κουρτέσης ἄγουρος, ἔρωτικός στρατιώτης *Achil.* L 1113
 ὁ Νῶες ὁ προφήτης *CHOUNNOS, Kosmog.* 425
 πταίστης ἐγὼ οὐκ εἶμαι *Velth.* 209
 ὡσάν παιγνιώτης *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 26; νὰ ἐν' καὶ νάπτης ἔτοιμος *ibid.* 327 (= ναύτης, see I, 3.8.1.4)
 ὁ σώστης τῶν σφαλμάτων *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 237
 Κωνσταντινουπολίτης *Ekth. Chron.* 28.8
 ὁ Πλάστης μετὴν φρόνα *Synax. gyn.* 78

τίτοιος δοσιώτης ἔναι *Diig. Alex.* F 172.11 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἐνορίτης τῆς Ἁγίας Παρασκευῆς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §7.3; ὁ κύρ Ἀνδριανὸς ὁ λογοθέτης *ibid.*
 I §23.25; ἐγίνην οἰνοπότης *ibid.* I §31.178–9; ὁ πατριάρχης *ibid.* I §31.199
 ἄλλα ἐμέτρα ὁ ἀγωγιάτης *Paroim.* (Warner) 33.18; ἄλλα λέγει ὁ ζευγηλάτης *ibid.* 33.22; εἶνε
 βουβαλοκλέφτης *ibid.* 44.24
 ὁ προφήτης τως IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 90
 Ἰουδας καὶ προδότης BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 476.8; ἔγινε καταδότης *ibid.* 476.9
 εἶναι συνοριάτης ... ὁ Ἰωάννης (1671, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 69, 318.6)
 ὁ καθρέπτης της σωφροσύνης *Don Kis.* 131.19

Final /s/ is sometimes omitted, probably under the influence of Italian: ἐγώ, Ἰωάννη
 Ὀλόκαλος (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 25, 64.3); Ἰωάννη ἱερές (1623, Bergamo,
 KORRE 2008: 2, 330.22) (author from Mani) (cf. Ital. *Giovanni*).

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ες

Forms in -ες have been found of paroxytone surnames in documents from Pontos (see I, 2.5.2; cf. acc. sg. in -εν, below; cf. PAPADOPOULOS 1955: 14–17 and OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 44 for the modern dialect):

Θεόδωρος ὁ Τζανιχίτες (1306, Trebizond, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1886: 1, 114.14–15)
 Βασίλης ὁ Πολίτες καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Πολίτες (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927:
 164, 115.5)
 ὁ Ἅγιος Θεόδωρος ὁ Στρατηλάτες (15th c., Trebizond region, TSAKALOF 1910: [2], 120.1–6)
 Ἰωάννης Ἀγιανάνιτες (1411, Trebizond, MILLET 1895: 435.7–8)

Genitive

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-η

The most common ending for the genitive singular is the inherited ending -η (see also introduction to 2.3):

χήρας Καλῆς τῆς τοῦ Κουρτέση (ca. 1300, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 18A, 141.10)
 τοῦ στρατιώτη *Pol. Tr.* 8237
 περὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ σιργέντη *Assizes B* 320.31
 ἕτερου τεχνίτη *Assizes A* 73.17
 τοῦ μακαρίτη κοντοσταύλη τῆς Κύπρου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 52.28–9
 ἐνοῦ στρατιώτη ἐψόφησε τὸ ἄλογόν του *Diig. Alex.* F 24.19 (Konstantinopulos)
 τοῦ προφήτη SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.3
 τοὺς Τούρκους τοῦ Προφήτη μας *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 37.26
 ἐμένα τοῦ ἐπτωχοῦ τοῦ παπα-Μανιάτη (1623, Bergamo, KORRE 2008: 2, 330.4–5)
 τοῦ οἰνοπότη *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 53.11
 τοῦ πατριάρχη PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §24.22
 τοῦ μακαρίτη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς (1682, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 3, 671.6)

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ου

This residual ending occurs mainly in mixed- and higher-register texts or contexts:

- τοῦ μακαρίτου δουσὸς (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 22.70)
 τοῦ μακαρίτου πατριάρχου ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 822.28
 ἔς τὸ μῆμαν τοῦ προφήτου *Dig.* E 250
 τοῦ μακαρίτου μισὲρ Λογίζου (1523, Cyprus, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1894: III, 258.19)
 τοῦ μακαρίτου τοῦ ἀντρός μου (1547, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970b: 1, 226.7)
 Ἰωάννου τοῦ Σούτζου (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 10, 19 tit.)
 τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.17
 ἐνορίτου παπαὶ κύρ Μαλάκη PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §10.3; ὁ λόγος τοῦ προφήτου *ibid.* III §7.108
 τοῦ τιμίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου Προδρόμου (1657, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 75, 191.2)
 τοῦ μακαρίτου Στάθη Παπαὶ (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.11–12)

Forms in /o/ are the result of hypercorrection of back vowel raising (unstressed /o/ to /u/, see I, 2.8.3 for details): τοῦ κάποτε μου ἀφεντός μακαρίτο πατρός (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.15) (cf. συναφουρμῆς for συναφορμῆς *ibid.* 56.6); τοῦ μακαρίτο Σιβαστάκη (1711, Skiathos, KARAVIDAS 2004: 1, 248.1–2) (cf. ἀποδείχνου for ἀποδείχνω *ibid.* 248.1).

Accusative

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-η(ν)

With the exception of one regional variant (see below), there is no variation in the acc. sg. ending, other than that it can occur with or without final /n/:

- ὡς ἕναν δυνάστη τῆς χώρας *Assizes* B 317.8; ἔχει α' σεργέντην *ibid.* 321.23
 ἀγελάρχην ἔχουσι *Phys.* 397
 καὶ κεφαλὴν τοὺς ἔδωσε ἄρχοντα γιαννινιώτην *Chron. Toc.* 2076
 τὸν μακαρίτην τὸν αὐθέντην (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.11–12)
 τὸν Μαχομέτην τὸν προφήτην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.9–10
 ἀπὸ ἑνὰ νέον κουρτέση *Theseid* VI 18,8 (Olsen)
 ὅλον τὸν ἀσβέστην τοῦ καμινιοῦ μου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 276, 271.4)
 ψεύτης τον ψεύτην ἠύρηκεν *Apoll. Rim.* A 609
 εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν *Diig. Alex.* F 238.18 (Lolos)
 τὸν προφήτην SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.4
 τὸν φράκτη ὅπου ἔναι πεσομένος (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 20, 75.110–11)
 κάποιον Τοῦρκον Σερριώτη συντοπίτην του PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §9.21
 τὸν κρυσταλλένιον καθρέφτην *Bertoldos* 13.7
 ἕνα καλυβάκι κατωμένον ἀπὸ φράχτην *Bertoldin.* 94.8–9
 ἀπὸ κανένα πατριάρχη (1653–5, Venice, FONKIC 2000: 239, f.1r.18)
 κάμε τὸν κλέφτη κελλάρη *Paroim.* (Warner) 70.19; τίμα τὸ χωριάτη *ibid.* 125.10
 ὀπρίζει τοῦ μακαρίτη Στάθη Παπαὶ (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 28, f.61r.8)
 (τοῦ = τὸ, see 5.2.1)
 τὸν ἀρχιμανδριτῆ (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 136.104)

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-εν

A form in -εν has been found of a paroxytone proper name (Βαζελιώτης) in a document from Pontos (cf. nom. sg. in -ες, above): τὸν Βαζελιώτεν (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/ΒΕΝΕΧΕΒΙΤΣΧ 1927: 147, 109.10).

Vocative

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-η

The most common ending for the vocative singular is -η:

στρατιώτη, λέγει *Pol. Tr.* 333 app. crit. (ABV)
 ξμαθες, στρατιώτη μου *Achil.* L 1020; ἀφέντη μου, κουρτέση μου *ibid.* 1219
 ἀνόσιε διώκτη *Flor.* L 732 (Cupane)
 κι ἔπαρ' κι ἐσύ, Ἰωάννη *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 95
 κλέπτη *Spanos D* 65
 ἐσού, Πλάστη, *Cypr. Canz.* 26.13
 ἐργάτη πάντων τῶν καλῶν *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VII.48
 ψεύτη μπαστάρδε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 287.32
 ὦ προφήτη *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 39.5
 ω κλέπτη, ψεύστη *Apoll. Rim.* V 1701
 ὦ Πλάστη *P&N Diath.* 857
 νὰ σὲ σαλέψου δὲμποροῦ, στρατιώτη *CHORTATIS, Erof. Interm.* II.112
 κλέφτη Χρύσιππε *Stathis* II.293
 πῶς ἔκαμες, καταδότη; *Bertoldin.* 144.3
 πλάστη καὶ λυτρωτή μου *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. Prol.* 6
 Νεόφυτε, Νεόφυτε, γέροντα μακαρίτη *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 145
 κάθισε χωριάτη *Don Kis.* 353.20

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-α

The residual ending -α can still be found occasionally in higher-register texts and more formal contexts:

προστάτα *Dig. G* II.120
 ἀήττητε μονάρχα *Eisit. f.* 1v.2
 δεῦρο τεχνίτα δεῦρο *Ptoch. III* 163
 στρατιώτα, λέγει *Pol. Tr.* 333
 δικαιοκρίτα ἀληθῆ *Flor.* L 701 (Cupane)
 Κρόνε, πλανῆτα τ' οὐρανοῦ *Alosis* 413
 τῶν παθῶν μου ρῦστα *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 84
 κ' ἐσύ, ὦ ἀνγνώστα μου *PETRITSIS, Dig. O* 2396
 ἀχ υπηρέτα ἀχάριστε *Don Kis.* 599.19–20

Plural

Nominative

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες

The most common nom. pl. ending is the inherited ending -ες (see also Introduction):

οἱ ἐρεμίτες (1125, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 96, 125.1–2) (= ἐρημίτες); οἱ κλέπτες τῶν χοιριδίων (1133, *ibid.* 113, 151.17)
 ἐμεῖς οἱ πράτες (1134, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 43, 192.13)
 σιργέντες καὶ καβαλλαροὶ *Chron. Mor.* H 3281
 ὅλοι συγκοινωνῖτες μου καὶ συμπονοπασχῖτες *Pol. Tr.* 13003
 οἱ δεκαρχῖτες χωρίου τῶν Κρητικῶν (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.12)
 χωριάτες ὀνειδίζουσιν μας *Dig.* E 231; ἄνδρες ἀρπάκτες ἐνι *ibid.* 327; οἱ ἀπελάτες *ibid.* 640
 ἀμπατάρουσιν του ... ἀργάτες γ' (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.29) (= ἐργάτες)
 οἱ Ροδίτες (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 206.45)
 πετρίτες δὲ καὶ φάλκονες οἱ ναῦτες *Velis.* χ 93
 σεργέντες καὶ ἄλλοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 52.13; οἱ μεθυστάδες οἱ ναῦτες *ibid.* 148.20; κάτινες Λευκωχιάτες *ibid.* 420.18 (= Λευκωσιάτες, see I, 3.8.2.2); ἄν τὸ 'ξεῦραν οἱ τεχνίτες *ibid.* 592.14
 ἀν δὲν εἶχαν νώσειν οἱ βαχλιώτες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 28.8 (< OFr. *vaslet*, see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.)
 οὐρανοπολίτες ἀσκητάδες τῆς ἐρήμου *Pist. kekoim.* 420
 οἱ Ναυπακτίτες (1523–36, Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 36.II, 295.29.6)
 Κεφαλονίτες καὶ Ζακυθινοὶ (1615, Lefkada, PENDOGALOS 1977b: 2, 148.24)
 ἀρσενικοῖτες, κλέπτες, ... κλεπτοσπίτες PAPASYNAD., *Chron* I §36.140
 οἱ σποργίτες ἀπομένουν *Paroim.* (Warner) 104.20 (< σπουργίτης)
 οἱ Ρεθυμνιώτες οἱ πτωχοὶ DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 898
 πού 'ναι καθρέφτες τῆς ἀντρείας KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.2226
 εἴκοσι δύο Γαλαξειδιώτες, τρεῖς Βουνοχωρίτες, δύο Πεντεορίτες, τρεῖς Ἀγιαθυμιώτες ΕΦΤΗΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 53.12–13
 δύο αγωγάτες ... πεζοὶ *Don Kis.* 49.9

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-αι

This residual ending is used occasionally in texts that aim for a somewhat higher register and in more formal contexts:

Βαρβαριῶται κόπελοι *Poulol.* 261 app. crit. (E); ἄρχοντες καὶ στρατιῶται *ibid.* 264 app. crit. (E)
 ἐμεῖς οἱ Γιαννινιώται *Chron. Toc.* 1409
 στέκονται οἱ προφῆται *Diig. Ven.* 21
 προφῆται δὲ ἀγάλλονται DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 361
 πατριάρχαι ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 161
 βασιλεῖς, πατριάρχαι, ἀρχιερεῖς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §3.3
 αὐθένται καὶ τοπάρχαι ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 323
 οἱ δὲ Χανιώται οἱ πτωχοὶ DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 719

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-οι

The loanword *κουρτέσης* (< OFr. *cortéis* or Ital. *cortese*), whether used as an adjective (see 3.4.1) or a noun, usually borrows its nominative plural ending from the /os/ paradigm in

order to distinguish the masculine form (οἱ κουρτέσοι) from the feminine one (οἱ κουρτέσες < ἡ κουρτέσα). With other nouns (πατριάρχης) this ending is very rare (cf. the accusative and vocative, below):

κουρτέσοι *ERMON.*, *Ilias* 7.68
 κουρτέσοι καβαλλάροι *Pol. Tr.* 10968 app. crit. (B)
 κουρτέσοι ἀπεσταλμένοι *Poulol.* 261
 οἱ Φράγκοι καὶ κουρτέσοι *IOAKEIM KYPR.*, *Pali* 7825
 οἱ πατριάρχαι *P&N Diath.* 4825

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ηδες

The imparisyllabic plural ending -ηδες of paradigm 2.3.4 (see below) is not generally employed with nouns that belong to the parisyllabic paradigm. Occasional examples are:

οἱ σεργέντιδες του *Assizes B* 353.5 (hapax)
 εἶστε κουρτέσηδες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 342.41 and R 342.39 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 ἄλλοι στρατιώτηδες διαλεκτοὶ Μακεδονίτες *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* I.208
 πίσκοποι, πατριάρχηδες *P&N Diath.* 401

Genitive

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν ἢ -ων

Inherited forms in -ῶν, with a shift of the stress to the ultimate, are in use throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἀπελατῶν *Dig. G VIII.104*
 αὐτὰ τῶν χωριατῶν εἰσὶν *Dig. E* 745
 τῶν ἀλβανιτῶν *Chron. Toc.* 80
 θαυμάζω χεῖρας τεχνιτῶν [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 320
 αὐτὰ ἵνα λόγια τῶν κλεπτῶν καὶ ψευματολογίης *Fyll. gadar.* 349
 εἰς τὸν χορὸν τῶν προφητῶν *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 271
 τῶν Σιναΐτων (1509, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 16, 27.2)
 τῶν Κελτῶν *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua XVIII.197*
 τοὺς πρώτους τῶν στρατιωτῶν *Alex. Rim.* 2725
 τῶν προφητῶν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 39.8
 τῶν παμμεγίστων Ταξιαρχῶν (1597, Ioannina, *LAMBROS* 1910: 234, 183.3–4)
 τῶν ὀπλιτῶν *Dig. A* 4455
 ἡ κόλασις τῶν Σοδομιτῶν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 11.24; σπηλιὰ τῶν κλεπτῶν *id.*, *Louk.* 19.46
 τῶν καλῶν ναυτῶν γυναικες *Paroim.* (Warner) 39.5
 των Ισμηλιτῶν, των Πολιτῶν Τουρκίων *IOAKEIM KYPR.*, *Pali* 5666
 στὰ χέρια τῶν Ἀραβιτῶν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 630
 ὄλωνων τῶν προφητῶν *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 430
 τῶν εἰδωλολατρῶν *Alex. Fyll.* 44.24; ἐπιστολὴ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν *ibid.* 44.29
 των υπηρετῶν σας *Don Kis.* 546.18

Paroxytone forms are not uncommon and are not restricted to verse texts:

τουρμάρχων (1099, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: App. 1, 643.7–8)
 τῶν Ἑρημίτων (1144, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 17, 117.26)
 τῶν παμμεγίστων Ταξιάρχων (1255, Kastoria, KALOPISSI-VERTI 1992: App. 2, 104.2)
 ὡσὰν καὶ τῶν χωριάτων *Chron. Mor.* H 3721
 τῶν ἀπελάτων *Dig.* E 644
 διὰ τῶν ναύτων *Assizes* B 298.1
 τὴν διάμετρον τεχνίτων *ERMONT., Ilias* 22.135
 πῶς ἔκοψεν τὰ γένεια τῶν Γιαννινιώτων *Chron. Toc.* 1808 tit.; τῶν Μοραΐτων *ibid.* 3920
 τῶν Ἰσμαηλίτων *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 192
 τὸ φοῦμος τῶν προφήτων *Diig. Ven.* 22
 πρᾶξες καλῶν στρατιῶτων *Chron. Mor.* P 1349; ὅπου βολὴ δοξιώτων *ibid.* 6689
 μετὰ τῶν πατριάρχων *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 361; τῶν ἰδιώτων *id., Erot. apokr.* 2697
 τῶν φαμελίτων *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 1
 τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἀπελάτων *Diig. Alex.* E 205.7 (Lolos)
 τῶν Μαρωνίτων (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 335.17)
 εἰς τὴν σπεράντσα τῶν Ἀγιοκυριακίτων (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.21)
 θρῆνος τῶν Ρεθεμνιώτων *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 195.6
 τῶν Χανιώτων *DIAKR., Diig. Pol.* 440a app. crit.
 τῶν Ἀγιαννιώτων τῶν καλογέρων (1693, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 32, 136.4)
 οἱ φωνές των πολεμάρχων *Don Kis.* 380.2; των υπηρέτων του *ibid.* 553.23

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ες ἰ -ας

These genitive endings, morphologically identical to the accusative, occur in texts from Cyprus (for discussion see 1.2):

τὰ στουβέρια τοὺς κανπίτες *Assizes* B 464.22–3 (= καμπίτες)
 τὴν τάξιν τοὺς Τεμπλιῶτες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 10.27–8
 ἐπολόμαν πολλά κακά και περισσές αντροπές τους κυπριώτες *VOUSTR., Chron.* M 141.17–18
 περὶ τοῦ βισκούντη καὶ τοὺς σεργέντας *Assizes* B 258.28; κατὰ τὸ πεῖν ... τοὺς ναύτας *ibid.* 296.15–16
 περὶ τοὺς ἀρσενοκοίτας καὶ γυναικῶν *Assizes* A 21.24

Accusative

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ες

The most common ending for the accusative plural is the inherited ending -ες:

ἔθεσεν κλέπτες εἰς τὸ κατέλλιον (1133, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 113, 151.1)
 ὅλους καλοὺς δοξιώτες *Chron. Mor.* H 3599; τοὺς σιργέντες τῶν καστρῶν *ibid.* 8655
 ἀπείρους ἀπελάτες *Dig.* E 1309
 ἔχουσιν καὶ κάτοπτρα τὰ λέγουσιν καθρέπτες *Diig. tetr.* 928
 εἰς τοὺς ρκδ' χιλιάδες προφήτες (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.18–19)
 ἐπιάσασιν πολλοὺς ἄρχοντες γιαννινιώτες *Chron. Toc.* 1754
 ὀνομαζομένους Χαρκίτες (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 55.8) (< Χαλκίτης, see I, 3.8.6.2)

τούς μεσίτες *Assizes* A 102.27
 ὥσπερ γοργούς πετρίτες *Achil.* O 510
 εἶχα παιγνιώτες καὶ ὀρχηστάδες *Fior* 76.31
 τούς προφήτες *ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, Grammar* 39.9
 πόσους στρατιώτες ἔπιασα *CHORTATIS, Erof. Interm.* III.15
 τσί Δεκαρχιώτες (17th c., Crete, *SPANAKIS* 1971: [1], 179.18) (for the article τσί see 5.2.1)
 ἐτζάκισε τούς Ἀλβανίτες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 61
 με τούς πατριάρχες (1653–5, Venice, *ΦΟΝΚΙῸ* 2000: 240, f.1v.7)
 ὅς βάλῃ ἐργάτες *Paroim.* (Warner) 35.21; τ' ἀμπέλι θέλει ἀμπελουργόν, καὶ τὸ καράβι ναῦτες
ibid. 35.23; τούς διαβάτες *ibid.* 102.18
 τούς καμένους Κυδωνίτες *Diakr., Diig. Pol. Stichoi* 145
 τούς ἄλλους σκλάβους συντοπίτες μας, Μανιάτες (1681, Genoa, *ΒΑΥΑΚΑΚΟΣ* 1988b: 506.16–17)
 δεῖξε τούς συκοφάντες μου *Zinon* IV.276

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

The residual -ας ending is used occasionally with more formal words or in more formal contexts:

εἰς τούς Γιαννινιώτας *Chron. Toc.* 1356 tit.
 εἰς τούς χωριάτας *Assizes* A 228.25
 με τούς προφήτας καὶ με τούς πατριάρχας *ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, P&N Diath.* 394.41–2
 ἔβλεπαν τούς τεχνίτας τούς περισσότερους ψεύστας *Bertoldin.* 112.15
 κἄν τε πατριάρχας *ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., Chron.* III §2.6
 ἐκατέβασε δυνάστας ἀπὸ τὰ θρονιά τους *ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 1.52

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ηδες

The imparisyllabic plural ending -ηδες of paradigm 2.3.4 (see below) is only rarely found with nouns that belong to the parisyllabic paradigm: τούς ἀγέλαρχηδες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* R 308.35 (< ἀγελάρχης); προφήτες, πατριάρχηδες, ὅλους νὰ τούς λυτρώσῃ *P&N Diath.* 2713; νὰ ζωγραφίσει ἱεράρχηδες ἢ ἀποστόλους (1664, Kefalonia, *PENDOGALOS* 1974b: 1, 42.21).

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ους

The employment of this ending of the /os/ paradigm (see 2.1), is rather rare (cf. nom. and voc. pl.): καὶ με τσί πατριάρχους *P&N Diath.* 4402; καὶ με τούς ταξιάρχους *ibid.* 4403; ποῦχεν σηκώσει τούς πατριάρχους (1709, Chios, *ΠΑΠΑΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ* 1981: 34, 135.52–3).

Vocative

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-ες

The most common ending for the vocative is -ες:

ἀκούσατε, τοπάρχες μου *Liv. V 3962*
 κάλλιο ἔνε, στρατιῶτες μου *Achil. O 230*
 ἔσεῖς ναῦτες *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 486.32*
 ἀλίμονον, Ροδίτες μου *LIMEN., Than. Rod. 38*
 τεχνίτες εἰς τὸν πόλεμον *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua XVI.260*
 ὦ προφῆτες *SOFIANOS, Grammar 39.10*
 στρατιῶτες μου πιστότατοι *CHORTATSIS, Erof. IV.607*
 ὦ χώρα Μονοσπιτιῶτες *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I §36.185*
 στρατιῶτες μου, τρέξετεν *KONDAR., Paidēs 220*

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-αι

This residual vocative ending is not very common: ἄρχοντες γιαννινιῶται *Chron. Toc. 1382*; αὐθένται καὶ τοπάρχει *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali 9937*; ὦ αγιότατοι ποιμένες πατριάρχαι *ibid. 9938*.

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-οι

Vocatives plural in -οι, borrowed from the /os/ paradigm, are rare (cf. the nominative and accusative): ὦ πατριάρχαι χαίρεστε *P&N Diath. 4178*.

2.3.3 Oxytone Nouns with Imparisyllabic Plural in -ῆδες

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	κατῆς		
Gen.	κατῆ		
Acc.	κατῆ(ν)		
Voc.	κατῆ		
Plural			
Nom.	κατῆδες		
Gen.	κατῆδων	κατῆδες	κατῶν
Acc.	κατῆδες		
Voc.	(κατῆδες)		

Singular*Nominative**Masc.*

Sg.	Nom.	-ής

There is no variation in the nominative singular ending:

- τὸ ἰδεῖν ὁ Διγενής *Dig.* E 934
οὔτε ἱερής, οὔτε ἀναγνώστης ὁμοίως *Assizes* B 358.20 (< ἱερεύς)
ἀνεφάνη τις ἐκ Περσίας ὀνόματι Σάχ Κουλής *Ekth. Chron.* 48.14–15
ὁ ρηθὲς κύρ Ἀγγελλής (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 32, 91.4–5) (< Ἀγγελλος)
ὡσὰ γονὴς μ' ἐρώτα *P&N Diath.* 696 (< γονεύς); ἀρχιερής ἐπιάσεν το *ibid.* 1646 (< ἀρχιερεύς)
ὅποιοις χριστιανὸς κἂν ἱερής κἂν λαϊκός (17th c., Athos, KADAS 1988: 120, 352.13)
ὁ Διγενής Ἀκρίτης *Dimotika Ivir.* IV.3
ὁ Χακη-Αὔγουστής (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.11) (< Αὔγουστος; Χακη – = Χατζη-, see I, 3.8.2.2)
νὰ γένη χατζής PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §18.11; μαυρογένης, τζελεπής *ibid.* I §18.16; ὁ Κυριαζής
ὁ χρυσοχός *ibid.* I §19.2; ὁ Θεοδωρής *ibid.* I §21.12; ὅποιοις σπαχής καὶ ἂν ἤρχουνταν *ibid.* I §29.98; ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Τραπεζουνλής *ibid.* I §36.112; νὰ μὴν εἶσαι μπεκρής *ibid.* II §9.12
ὁ κακορίζικος γονής MONTSEL., *Evgena* 181
μουφτής με τους κατήδες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1432
ἐγὼ παπα-Θεοδωρής Ψαρός (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 151.20) (< Θεόδωρος)
ὁ ποτὲ ὀσιότατος Φιριπής (1672, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 5, 17.9)
Ἄχᾶν Κελεπής (1682, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 3, 672.37)
Πετρῆς Φρουδίτης στέργω (1685, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 3, 126.27) (< Πέτρος)
κι ὡσὰ γονὴς μανίζει KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.900 (< γονεύς)
ὁ καπετὰν Θεοδωρής EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 58.9; ὅπου καὶ ἐγενέθηκε χατζής *ibid.* 64.9–10 (< Turk. *hacı*)
ἀξίος μπεκρής *Don Kis.* 233.15 (< Turk. *bekri*)

*Genitive**Masc.*

Sg.	Gen.	-ῆ

The genitive singular ends in -ῆ:

- τοῦ Διγενῆ τ' Ἀκρίτη *Dig.* E 442
καὶ τοῦ κατῆ (1474, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 32, 166.10)
τοῦ εἰρημένου Δαμουλή (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 46.81)
πρὸς τὴν μεριὰν τοῦ γαρμπῆ (1515 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 1, 50.6–7); τοῦ
ἀφεντός τοῦ καδῆ (1596, *ibid.* 20, 75.31)
εἶναι τοῦ Διγενῆ τοῦ Κοντογιάννη (1627, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 13, 311.11)
τοῦ ἄνωθεν ἱερῆ (1631, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 591, 565.19) (< ἱερεύς)
χωρὶς τοῦ κατῆ τὸν λόγον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §18.17
τοῦ ἀφεντός κατῆ (1672, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 5, 16.3)
τοῦ Ἀρκιερῆ (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 310.4) (< ἀρχιερεύς)
πλησίον τοῦ Μπαλῆ τσαχαγιά (1696, Nauplion region, DOKOS 1971/74: 93, 110.8)
τοῦ γονῆ μου KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.805 (< γονεύς)

*Accusative**Masc.*

Sg.	Acc.	-ή(ν)

The only variation in the accusative singular is that it can appear with and without final /n/:

- τὸν Διγενὴν *Dig.* G VII.214
 τὸν ἱερῇ CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2124 (< ἱερεύς)
 τῶν Περσῶν τὸν βασιλῆ *Alex. Rim.* 731 (< βασιλεύς)
 τὸν γονή σας VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 297 (< γονεύς); μὲ τὸν γαρμπὴν ἀρμένιζαν *ibid.* 322
 Μιχαὴ Τζελεππὴ τὸν λέγουν ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Rim. Mich.* 29
 εἰς τὸν ἀφέντη τὸν κατὴ (1597, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 41, 188.19)
 εἰσὲ πάσα καλὸ γονή (1598, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 1, 212.2)
 τὸν κύρ Κωσταντὴ Διγενή (1614, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 1, 330.9)
 τὸν Ἀλεξανδρὴ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §22.2; τὸ σπαχὴν του *ibid.* I §35.39; ἔναν μπεκρῆ *ibid.* II §9.64
 ἔκαμαν αὐτὸν μουφτῆ (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 402, f.3r.16)
 ἔκραξε δὲ καὶ <τὸν> μουφτὴν DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 111
 τὸν Διγενὴ ἐκάλεσαν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1703
 νὰ κρένονται εἰς τὸν κατὴ μας (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.51r.6)
 τὸ γονή σου ἐπαίνα KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.2029

*Vocative**Masc.*

Sg.	Voc.	-ή

The vocative singular ends in -ή:

- μ' ἐνέθρεφες γονή μου *Thysia Avr.* 807 app. crit. (B) (< γονεύς)
 κύρη γονή, νὰ ζήσης *Vask.* 409
 βοηθᾶ σε ὁ τόπος, Διγενή, καὶ φαίνεσαι ἀντρειωμένος *Paroim.* (Warner) 57.20
 ὄνταν σου λε: «τζανή μου» IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 54
 μὴν λυπᾶσαι, Διγενή μου PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2515
 εἰπές με, Τουρασῆ ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 307
 ξέρεις, χατζή, αὐτὸ ὅπου ἐπιχειρίσθηκα νὰ κάμω (1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 34, 134.23)

Plural*Nominative**Masc.*

Pl.	Nom.	-ῆδες

The imparisyllabic nominative plural ending is the only one used for this paradigm, although not all words that have alternative formations belonging to this paradigm make use of this ending:⁶⁰

⁶⁰ E.g. γονῆς does not appear ever to form *γονῆδες (though it is regionally attested in 19th/20th-c. Greek), opting for inherited γονεῖς or innovative γονέου/γονιοί instead; see 2.4.1, 2.1.

οίπραματευτάδες ττογατζήδες (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D’ALESSIO 1939: 118.50) (< ντογαντζής < Turk. *doğancı*)
 τούς όλουφατζήδες (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 86.16) (< Turk. *ulüfeci*)
 οί Γουρρίδες, ... οί Γουλίδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 354.32–3 (< family names *Gurri* and *Guli*)
 οί άλοφατζήδες μέ τās τέντες τωνε (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 13.59)
 οί δέ Καραμανλήδες *Ekth. Chron.* 49.13
 όσοι βασιλήδες και κάστρη *Diig. Alex.* K 344.3
 πενταλμαντζήδες (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.15)
 νοπετσήδες, τουτέστι γενίτσαροι MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 221.33; σπαήδες και άλλοι *ibid.* 222.10
 οί λεγόμενοι Ότμανλήδες (16th c., SCHREINER 1975/79, *ibid.* 59.III, 422.27.4)
 κآن τε μουφτήδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §16.5–6; έγίνηκαν πολλοί νταουτζήδες *ibid.* I §22.5
 (< Turk. *dāvacı*); οί άτακτοί σπαχήδες *ibid.* I §29.100; οί κατήδες ήλεγαν *ibid.* I §29.102;
 μπεκρήδες ... χαραμήδες *ibid.* I §36.140–1
 διακόσοι βασιλήδες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3025 (< βασιλεύς); ελτζήδες και οί πάίλοι *ibid.* 4042
 πασηδες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 163.9; σπαχήδες άπομείνα *ibid.* 508.1; θά μπούσινε
 τζαμήδες *ibid.* 548.2
 οί Βαρυσηδες (1683, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 95, 322.5–6)
 όλοι οι τζεβαχερτζήδες *Don Kis.* 105.10 (< Turk. *cevahirci*); οι δύο μεγάλοι μπεκρήδες *ibid.* 233.36

Genitive

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ήδων

The imparisyllabic ending is the most common ending for the genitive plural:

των βασιλήδων *Diig. Alex.* K 370.14 (Mitsakis) (< βασιλεύς)
 έκ τών ... Τουλκατηρητήδων *Ekth. Chron.* 48.17
 χιλίων διακοσών σπαχήδων ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 202
 τών Χαμπεσήδων (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 335.16–17)
 όλα τά έργαστήρια τών τακιατζήδων PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.10 (< Turk. *takkeci/takiyesi*;
 see KARANASTASIS 2010: 268)
 ό είς τών βασιλίδων VATATSI, *Periig. II* 277
 τών άμπατζήδων (1724, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 8, f.56r.1) (< Turk. *abacı*)

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ών

The parisyllabic plural ending of paradigm 2.3.2 is sporadically employed with words in -ής that derive from former 3rd-declension nouns in -εύς: τών άρχιερών *P&N Diath.* 3284.

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ήδες

This genitive plural ending, which is morphologically identical to the accusative plural, occurs in texts from Cyprus and in the *Chronicle* of Papasynadinos (Serres). Given that with the paroxytone /os/ paradigm an example has been found in the Crimea (see 2.1.2), the ending will have had a wider geographical spread than our sources reveal (for discussion see 1.2):

περί τούς έμπαλῆδες *Assizes* B 265.14 (< Fr. *bailli*)
 μέ τῇ βουλή τούς σπαχῆδες (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 2, 7.3)
 τόν Ἅγιον Νικόλαον τούς Μποσταντζῆδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §11.5; εἰς τήν ἄκρη τούς
 ἀπατζῆδες *ibid.* I §22.19

Accusative

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ῆδες ἰ -ῆδες

The only ending for the accusative plural is /iðes/. Normally the form bears the stress on the penultimate:

τούς έμπαλῆδες *Assizes* B 410.8 (< Fr. *le bailli*)
 τούς ὀλουφατζῆδες (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 86.16) (< Turk. *ulüfeci*)
 φρατζῆδες Χριστιανούς κακοῦς *Alosis* 751 (perhaps < Turk. *frasiz*, see REDHOUSE/WELLS, *Lex.* s.v. French)
 καί βασιλῆδες φοβερούς ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 284 (< βασιλεύς)
 ἀπό τούς ἀτζαμῆδες (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 13.51) (< Turk. *acem*)
 εἰς τούς καθῆδες (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.2)
 μέ κατῆδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.94; τούς Μποσταντζῆδες *ibid.* I §36.144
 μέ έφτά ιερῆδες (1665, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 11, 419.3) (< ιερεύς)
 τούς ὁποίους τούς λέγουνε ντελῆδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 72.28
 τους ελτζῆδες ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 341; τους κατῆδες *ibid.* 1432; τους τσελεπήδες *ibid.* 7565
 καί σουμπαρῆδες ἔκραξε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 403.23 (< Turk. *süvarî*)
 κι ἔβαλαν χαρατζῆδες (1678, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 454.2)
 μέ μερικούς χατζῆδες (1698, Sinai, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 7, 60.10)
 κείς δύο βασιλίδες VATATSI, *Periig. II* 274
 τους πλέον εξαιρέτους μπεκρῆδες *Don Kis.* 233.26–7

A shift of the stress to the antepenultimate is quite rare (see introduction to 2.3): ἔχει
 ἄλουφατζηδες (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 11.11).

Vocative

No examples found.

2.3.4 Paroxytone and Proparoxytone Nouns with Imparisyllabic Plural in -ῆδες

	General		Restricted		Rare	
Singular						
Nom.	βεζίρης	σούμπασης	-η			
Gen.	βεζίρη	σούμπαση			-ου βεζίρ'	
Acc.	βεζίρη(ν)	σούμπαση(ν)			βεζίρ'	
Voc.	βεζίρη	σούμπαση				

Plural						
Nom.	βεζίρηδες	σουμπάσηδες			-άδες -αι -οι	-άδες -ες
Gen.	βεζίρηδων	σουμπάσηδων	βεζίρηδω βεζίρηδες βεζίρων βεζίρωνε	σουμπάσηδες	-άδων -ήδες	-ήδες
Acc.	βεζίρηδες	σουμπάσηδες			-ήδες -ηδας -ήδας -ες -ας -ους	
Voc.	βεζίρηδες	σουμπάσηδες			-οι	

Singular

Nominative

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ης -η

There is no variation in the nominative singular, other than that final /s/ is occasionally omitted. The ending is usually spelled with <η>, although in some modern editions it is spelled with <ι> when the word in -ης is derived from a noun in -ιος (e.g. κύρις < κύριος):

ὁ μακελλάρης (ca. 1050, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972b: 166.62)

ὁ δὲ κύρις Πέτρος ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 822.32

πρίντζης τῆς Ἀμούρεας (1281, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 329, 491.7) (< Fr. *prince*)

ὁ κύρης μου *Dig.* G IV.284

ὁ μέγας προφήτης ρασούλης (1346/47, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 255.19) (< Arab. *rasūl*)

ἐχθρὸς μόνον τοῦ δράκοντος ὑπάρχει ὁ πανθήρης *Phys.* 483⁶¹

οὔτε τζαγγάρης ... ἢ ραπτοδερματάρης *Diig. tetr.* 389

ὁ Κελλάρης ὁ Θεοτόκης (1442, Belgrade region, ALEXOULIS 1892: 2, 280.21)

ὁμοιάζεις ἀγριοκάτης *Katal.* 328 (Hesseling)

φλαμπουιάρης (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.4)

ὁ ἀβανπαρλιέρης *Assizes A* 99.13 (< OFr. *avant-parleur*, see OUDIN, *Lex.* s.v.); καὶ τὸ σιτάρην

ἀξιάζει τίτοιαν ὦραν ὁ μόδης λοκοτίνιν ἓνα *ibid.* 52.1–2 (< ὁ μόδιος)

ὁ νοτάρης ΜΑΧΑΪΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 52.1; ὁ πατρίτζης *id.*, *Chron.* R 94.17–18

ὁμπρὸς ὁ καπετάνης ἔτον *Diig. Ven.* 75 app. crit. (V)

νὰ τὰ ἔχει ὁ κύρ Γεώργης (1516, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 2 [later copy], 51.8)

ένας καρβουνιάρης ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 12.1

γένου ἀτός σου ἀποκρισάρης *Diig. Alex.* F 270.7 (Lolos)

⁶¹ This form has been created by analogy with τίγρης from πανθήριον or πάνθηρος, according to Kriaras, *Lex.* s.v. Note that the form also occurs as a proper name (Πανθήρης, but < Πανθήριος) in the *Patriarchatsregister*: πρεσβύτερός τις, Πανθήρης καλούμενος (1325, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 92, 524.8).

ὅποια θέλει ὁ Βασίλης (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 171, 139.37)
 αὐτός ο γαρδινάλης STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 608 (Pidonia) (< Ital. *cardinale*)
 ἕνας κακὸς ἄνθρωπος ζουράρης (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 179.1)
 ὁ προφήτης Δαβίδης (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 89, 93.8) (< Δαβίδ)
 ὁ Παπαδημήτρης PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §6.7; ὁ παπὰ κύρ Δημητρούδης ὁ Καργούδης *ibid.* I §15.13; γραμματικὸς καλεμκιάρης *ibid.* I §19.6; καὶ μὴ μαχαιροβγάλτης *ibid.* II §5.17
 ἀκριβὸς κελλάρης, πάντα κελλάρης *Paroim.* (Warner) 32.20; κάποτες ἤμουν κηπουρὸς καὶ
 κάποτες δραγάτης *ibid.* 70.13; πότε Μάης πότε λουλούδια *ibid.* 83.13
 ὁ караβοκύρης (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.3)
 εἶναι ὁ μήνας ἁλωνάρης (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.15–16)
 Γεωργάκης Τάγαρης (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 323, 523.3)
 ὁ βεζίρης ἔρθε ἀτός του καὶ ἐπῆρε τὸν Μορέαν ὄλονε (1715, Peloponnese, LAMBROS 1910: 362, 213.2) (for ἔρθε see III, 3.1.4.4)
 ο σινιόρης σου *Don Kis.* 152.7 (< Ital. *signore*); ἕνας περίφημος κουκλαμπάζης *ibid.* 326.4–5 (< Turk. *kuklabaz*⁶²); ο μπαρμπέρης *ibid.* 498.22; να γίνεις μουσαφίρης *ibid.* 533.31
 Δημήτριος Λίπαρης (1316, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1994: 59, 195.23)
 ἤλθεν Πέρσης ὁ Ἀρόμπακης (15th, Thessaloniki?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 49, 351.4.1)
 κανένας φλαμπουριάρης ἢ σούμπασης (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.4)
 ὁ μποσταντζήμπασης (16th c., Constantinople, PREGER 1912: 468.25)
 μαγκουφάρης ἢ σούμπασης (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.18)
 ὁ ἀμηνῶς Ἀμουράτμπεης (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 34.I, 270.17.1); ὁ ἀμηνῶς
 Μεεμέτμπεης (*ibid.* 277.33.1); ὁ Γιαχαλιπασάογλης (16th c., Constantinople, *ibid.* 63A, 485.13.1)
 Ἀλοῖζε Λούκαρης (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 145, 119.1)
 ὁ κύρ Σταμάτης ὁ Σταβερης (1573, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 24, 81.3)
 ετούτος εἶναι ο Γύπαρης CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.49
 ἐσὺ εἶσαι Τάταρης *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 40.24; ἦτονε Βούλγαρης *ibid.* 75.11–12 (< Βούλγαρος)
 ὁ Παπασίδερης καὶ ὁ Καραπάτζης PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §17.15; ὁ Κούλογλης *ibid.* I §18.15
 Στάθης Γούναρης (1649–69, Thessaly, SPANOS 2001: 338, f.51v.15)
 ὁ κεχαγιάτσης (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 400, f.2r.28)
 Πιέρος Σκούταρης (1665, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 2, 13.14)
 Γεωργάκης Τάγαρης (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 323, 523.3)
 φούρναρης εἰς τὴν Γαρίτσα (1683, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 56, 266.37)
 ὁ Θύμιος Πούρκαλης (1690, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 13, 8.2)
 ἔτερον χωράφι ὀνομαζόμενον Γούναρης (1696, Nauplion region, DOKOS 1971/74: 93, 110.8)
 βάμεσης ποτὲ τῆς Μπόιτζας (1726, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: Δ: 9, f.6v.2–3) (< Rom. *vameş*)

Deletion of final /s/ occurs, with given names and forms of address, probably based on the vocative (see also I, 3.7.1.1 for instances where final /s/ is omitted for phonological reasons):

ὁ παπα-Γεώργη Ὁλόκαλος (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 65.12)
 ὁ κυρίτζη Γγόγγος (1601, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 31, 111.7); ὁ σκευοφύλας κύρ
 Γεωργάκη καὶ ὁ δικητὰς κύρ Ζαγωράκη (1658, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 78, 198.2–3)
 (δικητὰς = διοικητής, see 2.3.5)

⁶² The word *kuklabaz* (“puppeteer”) seems to have escaped the notice of lexicographers of Turkish but is found in the 17th-c. travel writings of Evliya Efendi (see: J. von Hammer-Purgstall (ed.), *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa in the seventeenth century*, by Evliya Efendi, vol. 1, London 1834, p. 229).

Στρατήγη Τριβόλης (1609, Mani, SKOPETAS 1950: III, 71.3–4); ὁ Μιχάλη ὁ Τρουπάκης (1622, *ibid.* VI, 73.12); ὁ Δημήτρη ὁ Τρουπάκη (*ibid.* VI, 73.20); ἐγὼ Δημητράκη Ματσουκομητάκης (1666, *ibid.* IX, 75.11)

Genitive

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-η

There is little variation in the genitive singular. The ending is usually spelled with <η>, although in some modern editions it is spelled with <ι> when the word in -ης is derived from a noun in -ιος (e.g. κύρι < κύριος):⁶³

τοῦ παπαῖ Βασίλη (1112, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 32, 148.11)
 τοῦ Σπαθάρη (1154, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 4, 77.21)
 Ἰωαννάκη τοῦ Σαπούα (1268, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 50, 27.23)
 οἰκονόμου καὶ προκουρατούρη (1336, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 51, 158.16)
 καλλίστου τυμπανάρη *Ptoch.* III 154
 τοῦ Γληγόρη (14th c., Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 16, 123.230)
 τοῦ μπαρόνη (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 73, f.III.5) (< Fr. *baron*)
 τοῦ κοντοστάβλη γιασιμίν *Katal.* 451
 τῆς μάνας τοῦ Τζέμη (1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 14, 79.4) (< Turk. *Cem*)
 ἐνώπιον τοῦ βισκούντη *Assizes A* 104.9–10
 τοῦ πρίντζη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 40.16 (< Fr. *prince*); μηνὸς φεβρουάρη *ibid.* 172.34
 δοῦλος τοῦ Σάχ Ἰσμαίλη *Ekth. Chron.* 48.15
 παπα-Μιχαήλ Κουνούκη (1564, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 181, 121.4)
 γυνὴ ποτὲ μισέρ Μανόλη Δὲ Στάη (1582, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 62, 142.4)
 καταπάνω τοῦ κνέζη (1624, Skopje?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 72A, 561.10.2)
 τοῦ Σταματάκη (1635, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 182.4)
 τοῦ Τσαγγάρη τ' ἀλώνι (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 56, 71.8)
 εἶχεν ἐνοῦ ἐμίρη γυναῖκα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.8
 εἰς τοῦ Πετράκη (1659, Hydra, KARATHANASIS 1972/73: 240.6)
 τοῦ χακη-μεμέτη (1694, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 4, 90.2) (= χατζη-, see I, 3.8.2.2)
 ἡγούμενος τοῦ Κάτζαρη (996 [13th-c. copy], Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 12, 132.26)
 ἡγούμενος μονῆς τοῦ Σαράβαρη (1057, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 5, 59.53)
 Λέοντος Κόρδαρη (1193/4, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 16, 131.19)
 Νικολάου Γούναρη (1242, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 292, 407.8)
 Βασιλείου τοῦ Μούσγαρη (14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.11)
 τοῦ Μιχάλμπεϊ SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 22.2; Μανουήλ τοῦ Μπόχαλη *ibid.* 162.3
 τοῦ Ἀμουράτμπεη (15th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 35.II, 286.7.2)
 τοῦ Χουσαήν σούμπαση (1489, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 19, 100.7)
 τὴν πόρταν τοῦ Μποστοαντζήμπαση (16th c., Constantinople, PREGER 1912: 468.24)
 τοῦ ποτὲ Ἰακώβου Βούλγαρη (1572, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 136, 256.4)
 ὑπὸ μαρτυρίας μαστρ-Ἀλυσάνδρου Δάσκουλη (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 44, 106.16)
 ν' ἀκλουθὰς τοῦ Γύπαρη ἀποπίσω CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.255
 τοῦ Δούναβη τα ρεύματα STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 391 (Pidonia)
 ὑπὸ χερὸς τοῦ Ἀχαμέτη σούμπαχη (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3–5.13) (< Turk. *subaşı*;
 for <χ> representing [ʃ], see I, 3.8.2.2)

⁶³ For the common genitive κυροῦ of κύριος/κύρης and its compounds, see 2.7.2.

καταπάνω τοῦ κνέζη Λάζαρη (1624, Skopje?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 72A, 561.10.2) (< Λάζαρος)
 εἰς τοῦ Καράπατζη τὸ σπίτι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §21.1; τοῦ Μποσταντζόογλη *ibid.* I §21.1
 τοῦ Πελοῦπαχη Ταπαζᾶ (1704, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 2, 54.1) (< Turk. *bölükbaşı*)
 τοῦ ἄρχον πολυγαρ-Μέστιρη (1728, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: Δ: 13, f.9r.5)
 του κολοβού τέτζερη *Don Kis.* 611.25–6 (< Turk. *tencere*)

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ου

In texts that aim for a higher register, the residual ending of the old 1st declension is sometimes employed:

Πέτρου ἐκείνου τοῦ Τρυγόνου (1176, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 2, 367.1) cf. τοῦ
 λεγομένου Τρυγόνη (*ibid.* 369.2)
 ἀπὸ προσενέξεως τοῦ Κρυβοπούστου (1320, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1994: 77, 250.181)
 βιζίρου ὄντος SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 20.11

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	φ

A rare form in which the unstressed /i/ of the ending is deleted has been found in a document from Pontos (cf. OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 165–6 for the modern dialect; see also the accusative singular below): τοῦ Ἀγάπ' Πεῖζη (17th c., Pontos, VEIS 1939: 15, f.1.1) (< Ἀγάπης < Ἀγάπιος).

Accusative

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-η(ν)

The accusative ending -η occurs with and without final /n/. It is usually spelled with <η>, although in some modern editions it is spelled with <i> when the word in -ης is derived from a noun in -ιος (e.g. κύριν < κύριος):

ἰὼβ τὸν κελλάρην (1085, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 47, 253.4)
 τάχα ψευδοτσαγγάρην *Ptoch.* III 113
 ἀδηφάγον γουλάρην *Ptoch.* IV 297
 στὸν κύρ Μιχάλην *Chron. Mor.* H 3103; πρωτοβιστιάρην ἄλλαξε ὁμοίως καὶ τριζουριέρην *ibid.* 7936
 τὸ σκύλον Μαχουμέτην *Anak. Konst.* 44
 ὀρδινιάσαμέν το<ν> διὰ ψαράρην (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 15, 10.2)
 ἐκώλυσα τὸν Ἑμινάκη ἀπὲ τὸν τόπον (1470, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.2–3)
 τὸν Χατζη-Ἰμπραήμη (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.27)
 ἔχουν τὸν λογισμὸν παπά, τὸν Θεὸν ἐξαγοράρην BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 201
 τὸν μαρκέζη KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.201 (< Ital. *marchese*)
 πεζὸν ἢ καβελάρη *Alex. Rim.* 873; ἀποκρισάρην ἄρχοντα *ibid.* 1094
 εἶχε μάχην μεῖ ἓνα κούντην *Fior* 93.4 (< Fr. *conte*)
 μισερ Γγιουζέπη Γγιουστινιά (1518, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 391.3) (< Ital. *Giuseppe*)

αὐτὸν ὁποῦ ὀνομάζομεν ἡμεῖς κουμερκιάρην DAM. SToud., *This.*, *Logos* 21, υ3v.8–9 (1561)
 εἶπε πρὸς τὸν γεροντάκη *Ptochol.* A 160
 με τὸ θεῖό μου τὸ Γληγόρη (1585 [later copy], Ithaca, KALLINIKOS 1980: 57.19–20) (<
 Γρηγόριος)
 τὸν ὁποῖον ἄφηνεν κύριν καὶ νοικοκύριν *Bertoldin.* 92.29–30 (< κύριος)
 γιὰ τὸν ἅγιον Ἀντώνη *Paroim.* (Warner) 29.18; εἶδες Χιώτην φρόνιμον *ibid.* 35.2
 τὸν ποθεσάρη του (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.51r.21) (= ὑποθεσάρη <
 ὑποθεσάριος)
 πεῖτε τὸν Χατζηκυριάκη (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 136.103)
 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Σαουτζίμπεη (1448, Constantinople?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 9.I, 96.30.1)
 εἰς τὸν ἔκλαμπρον αὐθέντην σούμπασην (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 203.6–7)
 τὸν μπισστατζήμπαση *Ekth. Chron.* 64.7 (< Turk. *bostancıbaşı*)
 μα'δὼ θωρῶ το Γύτπαρη CHORTATSI, *Panor.* II.425
 εἰς τὸν κνέζην Λάζαρην (1624, Skopje?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 72A, 561.6.2) (< Λάζαρος); πρὸς
 τὸν Μουσίπεη (17th c. [ms], Unknown, *ibid.* 96, 637.7.3)
 ἀπάνω ἀπὸ τον Δούναβην STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 132 (Pidonia)
 εἰς τὸν Μάτζαρη (post 1640, Monemvasia, SCHREINER 1975/79: 79, 587.44.1)
 ἔβαλε χάψι τὸν ποστατζίπαση (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 401, f.2r.78–9) (<
 Turk. *bostancıbaşı*)
 τὸν μεγάλον τέντζερη (1656, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 6, 162.11)
 Ἰωάννην τὸ Μούρμουρη ρήτορα CHORTATSI, *Erof.* Dedic. 3 tit.
 τὸν Μανόλη τὸν Μπισταντζόγλη PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §4.1; με τὸν Ἀβράμπακη *ibid.* I
 §21.17; με τὸν Καραπάτση *ibid.* I §29.62
 τὸν Μάρκον Γούναρην (1697, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 30,
 25.10)
 τον σούμπασην *Don Kis.* 166.15

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	φ

An accusative in which the unstressed /i/ of the ending is deleted has been found in a document from Pontos (cf. OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 165–6 for the modern dialect; see also the genitive singular above): τὸν Λευθέρ' (17th c., Pontos, VEIS 1939: 15, f.1.1) (< Λευθήρης < Ἐλευθέριος).

Vocative

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-η

The vocative ends in /i/, which is usually spelled with <η>, although in some modern editions it is spelled with <ι> when the word in -ης is derived from a noun in -ιος (e.g. κύρι < κύριος):

κατέβα κύρι σύτεκνε (11th c., Mani, DRANDAKIS 1972/73: 2, 666.2–3)
 πνευματικέ μου ἀδελφὲ κύρι Λουκά NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.5
 ἔδά, Μιχάλη ταπεινέ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 518
 πόσους δύνασαι, Βασίλη, ἀπαντήσαι; *Dig.* E 686

κάτη κάκιστε *Diig. tetr.* 155
 κράλη Μπερνάρδε PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 173 (< Slav. *kral'*)
 Σαχλίκη κακομοίρη SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 162 (Lendari)
 Ὀκτώβρη, μήνα δολερέ DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 112
 ὦ κλανομουστάκη *Spanos D* 411
 ἀφέντη καβαλλάρη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 474.25; ἀφέντη πρίντζη *ibid.* 550.7 (< Fr. *prince*)
 εἶπε· Μερκούρη KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.409
 ἀράπη καὶ Σαρακηνέ *Poulol. AZ* 9
 τί ὅδες, λέγει, γεροντάκη *Ptochol. A* 226
 ὄφου ἀφεντάκη μου γλυκύ *Thysia Avr.* 493
 ἐγδέρνε, ἐγδέρνε, κασάπη *Paroim.* (Warner) 68.2; τόσο τ' ἔχω, νοικοκύρι *ibid.* 91.16
 ἄρχων κλοτζιάρη NEOFYOTOS, *Achouri* 297 (= κλουτζιάρη, see I, 2.5.4.3); Ἀσάνη καμασάρη *ibid.* 305
 χτύπα, παλιομουρτάτη EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 56.22
 εὐὶ τρελέ δασκαλάκη *Don Kis.* 145.11–12; υποθεσιάρη ἀγνωστε *ibid.* 464.24 (< ὑποθεσάριος)
 θαυμαστὲ Μουράτμπεη PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 213
 Γύπαρη, πέ μου CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.55; εὐγενέστατε Μούρμουρη *id.*, *Erof. Dedic.* 27

Plural

Nominative

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ηδες ὁ -ῆδες

The most common nom. pl. ending is /iðes/. The ending is usually spelled with <η>, although in some modern editions it is spelled with <ι> when the word in /is/ is derived from a noun in -ιος (e.g. κουρσάριδες < κουρσάριος). Some modern editors choose to spell all /iðes/ endings with <ι>. Examples have been found from at least the 15th c. onward (ms date of *Assizes B*), but only with paroxytone nouns:

οἱ ἀβάντ παρλιέριδες *Assizes B* 284.26–7 (< OFr. *avant-parleur*, see OUDIN, *Lex.* s.v.);
 γίνονται τζικλούριδες *ibid.* 439.13–14 (< OFr. *juggleor*, see KRIARAS, *Epit.* s.v. ζιγκλούρης);
 οἱ Ρωμάιοι, ὅπου ἔνι ρεντάπλιδες (< OFr. adj. *rentable*, see *Petit Robert*, s.v.)
 οἱ τορνάρηδες *Diig. tetr.* 617
 οἱ πουρβεούρηδες (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 143, 68.1) (< Occit. *pourvouyur*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)
 ἦρθαν ... δύο κόντηδες (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.25); οἱ μαμαλούκηδες (1487, Unknown, *ibid.* 13, 77.8); οἱ ἀπεκρουσιάρηδες μου (1487, Rhodes, *ibid.* 18, 97.11)
 Σαρακηνοί, ἡ κουρσάριδες *Assizes A* 89.13
 εσηκωθήσαν ... φρέρηδες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.3–4; οἱ ἀνωθεν καβαλλάρηδες *ibid.* 22.10; ἦρταν ψαράρηδες *ibid.* 68.20 (< ψαράρης)
 τοῦτοι οἱ τίτοιι ἀμουρούζηδες *Fior* 81.32 (< ἀμουρούζης < Occit. *amourous*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)
 ἐσέβησαν οἱ ἀζάπιδες (16th c. [ms], Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 34.II, 279.47.5); ἦλθαν δύο τζαούσιδες (16th c., Peloponnese?, *ibid.* 63A, 485.12.8)
 ὡσάν οἱ Πέρσηδες *Diig. Alex.* F 298.9 (Lolos)
 οἱ τσαγκάρηδες ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 86.7
 πολλοὶ κατάμαυροι ἀράπηδες DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 22, χ8r.30 (1561)
 ἐσηκώθηκαν οἱ σπαογλάνηδες (1589 [copy of 1653], Epirus, LAMBROS 1916b: 3, 135.1–2) (= σπαχογλάνηδες)
 ομπρός του ἦτον Νέμτσηδες STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 929 (Pidonia) (< Slav. *němcy*)

οἱ Πάλληδες ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Rim. Mich.* 31
 ἐγυρίσανε οἱ Κουζιλμπάσηδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 130.19 (< Turk. *qızılbaş*, see MORAVCSIK 1983: 160, s.v. κιζιλμπάσης)
 οἱ νοικοκύριδες, οἱ καρaboκύριδες GERMANO, *Grammar* 62.9–10
 ἦλθαν Ἀρμένηδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.212; ζαπίτηδες ἦσαν *ibid.* I §36.205 (for ἦσαν see III, 4.8.2)
 εἶναι Ἀλλάτζηδες ἐδικοὶ σου (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.7)
 οἱ κοπιαστάδες Ρουτζιέρηδες (1651, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 23, 166.26)
 οἱ τερβίσηδες ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 91; οἱ καπιτάνηδες *ibid.* 2539; οἱ τζαβούρηδες *ibid.* 3313; οἱ γενεράληδες *ibid.* 4137
 οἱ ἀφέντες οἱ Μπαρόντζηδες (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 166, 338.2) (< Ital. proper name *Barozzi*)
 να μη περιπατοῦν εἰς τοὺς φόρους ματραπάζηδες *Don Kis.* 492.17 (< Turk. *matrabaz*)

Forms with a shift of the stress to the penultimate have been found with a handful of words of oriental provenance. In the case of Περσῆδες there may be a pun, as this form is homophonous to the feminine Περσίδες, and is often used in mocking contexts that stress the alleged Persian cowardice (cf. the accusative, below):

αὗτοι οἱ Περσῆδες εἶναι γυναῖκες *Diig. Alex.* F 246.5–6 (Lolos); οἱ Περσῆδες οὐδὲν ἠμπόρεσαν νὰ βαστάξουν τὰ ἀκονητὰ σπαθία τῶν Μακεδόνων *ibid.* 246.19–21; οἱ Περσῆδες ἐσκιάσθηκαν *ibid.* 288.12 (same in *Diig. Alex.* E); ὀνομάζονται ἑλληνικὰ Ραχμανῆδες *ibid.* 38.2 (Konstantinopulos)
 καὶ ὀταπασῆδες κἄν τε ζορπαπασῆδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §16.7 (< ὀντάμπασης and ζορμπάμπασης)

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες

The parasyllabic ending -ες is sporadically used with irregular former 3rd-declension nouns that have moved over to this paradigm: φρόνιμοι μάντες *Byz. Il.* 381 (for μάντεις).

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-αι

Sporadically the residual ending of the 1st declension is used with original 1st-declension nouns that have transferred to this paradigm: ὅλ' οἱ Πέρσαι *Pol. Tr.* 6816 app. crit. (X).

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-οι

Equally sporadically the parasyllabic ending of the 2nd declension is used. In this example there is also a shift of stress from the penultimate to the antepenultimate: οἱ σπαόγλανοι ἔχουν τὴν ἡμέραν ἀλοφάν (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 12.34).

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-άδες

Sporadically certain nouns denoting profession (τσαγκάρης, μπακάλης, cf. the genitive, below) may adopt the -άδες ending of sub-paradigm 2.2.1: μαστόροι τσαγγαράδες (1647, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 2, 173.1).

Genitive

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ηδων -ηδω -ήδων

From at least the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Assizes B*), the most common ending for the genitive plural is imparisyllabic /iðon/:⁶⁴

- τῶν βουργέσηδων *Assizes B* 294.21
 τῶν δύο βεζιρηδων ΔΟΥΚΑΣ, *Hist.* 169.8 app. crit. (P)
 ἐκ τῶν Βαρσάκιδων *Ekth. Chron.* 48.17; ἀλλὰ καὶ βεζήριδων *ibid.* 56.2; τῶν Ἀράπηδων 68.24
 τῶν μάντιδων SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.15
 τῶν σπαχογλάνηδων *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 41.10
 γράφοντας τῶν καπετάνιων καὶ γενεράληδων τοῦ VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.26–7 (< γενεράλες < Ital. *generale*)
 τῶν ἄνωθεν ταμπάκηδων (1647, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 2, 174.24)
 τῶν ἄνω λεγομένων Ροντζέρηδων (1651, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 23, 165.15)
 τῶν ἐτέρων πριόρηδων (1691, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 145, 84.1) (< πριόρες < Ital. *priore*)
 τῶν Τουρκμένηδων VATATSI, *Periig. II* 109
 τῶν ὁμωσμένων πολγάρηδων (1684 [18th-c. copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B 22, f.184r.10) (< Rom. *pîrgar*)
 τῶν κατεργάρηδων *Don Kis.* 166.16–17; τῶν ἀράπηδων *ibid.* 321.5; τῶν χοκαμπάζηδων ἡ τῶν κουκλαμπάζηδων *ibid.* 326.4–5 (< Turk. *hokkabaz* and *kuklabaz*)
 τῶν γιαμπάσιδων *Ekth. Chron.* 53.18; τῶν Ματζάριδων *ibid.* 73.15
 κατὰ Περσῶν ἦγουν τῶν Κιζιλμπάσιδων (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.5)

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in documents from Naxos. It is likely to appear in Cretan texts as well, although no secure examples have been found:⁶⁵ τῶ Τζουκάνηδω (1591, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 149, 273.10); τῶ Σαλιαράκηδω (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 483.22).

An historicizing shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs in mixed- to higher-register texts and in verse texts for metrical reasons: τῶν καπηγητλήρηδων (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 12.22); περὶ τζαουχίδων (*ibid.* 11.16 tit.); τῶν μπεϊλαρμπεϊδων SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 166.4; ἐκ τῶν γιαγειμπασιδων *Hist. Polit.* 66.5 (< Turk. *yaya başı*).

⁶⁴ The following 14th-c. example: πλησίον τῶν Κατζυλά<κη>δων (1321, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 109, 244.403) is the result of editorial intervention based on the singular, which appears in the same document as Κατζυλάκης: Ἰωάννης ὁ Κατζυλάκης (*ibid.* 240.323). There is, however, some fluidity in the formation of surnames, which often appear with or without the diminutive ending -άκης. In the same collection of documents (Megistis Lavras) we encounter an alternative of the surname in the form Κατζιλάς: ὁ γαμβρὸς τοῦ Κατζιλᾶ (1409, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 161, 157.23), which justifies the reading Κατζυλάδων.

⁶⁵ In Cretan literary texts the omission of final /n/ is often editorial, justified on the basis of the modern dialect and certain manuscripts written in Latin script (e.g. that of *Fortounatos*, which is an autograph). This is the case with the following example from Bounialis: ἀγάδω καὶ τσαούσηδω, γιουρλάδω, σουμπασηδω BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 147.20; all these forms appear with final /n/ in the Xirouchakis edition.

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-άδων

Nouns that denote profession may sporadically appear with the -άδων ending of sub-paradigm 2.2.1: τοῦ ἀγίου Νικολάου τῶν ντζαγγαράδων (1706, Zakynthos, Zois 1941: 1, 107.5); τῷ πακαλάδων (1724, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 8, f.85r.1 and f.87v.1) (= μπακαλάδων, see I, 3.6.2.1).

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ηδες ἢ -άδες

In texts from Cyprus and elsewhere (see 2.1.2, 2.2.1 and 2.3.3) the ending -ηδες, morphologically identical to the accusative plural, can be found for the genitive (for discussion see 1.2):

τὰ στουβέρια τοὺς κανπίτες (= καμπίτες) λεγόμενους τζαντιούνιδες *Assizes* B 464.22–3 (< Occit./OFr. *champion*); εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοὺς βουργέζηδες *ibid.* 484.2–3 (< βουργέσιος < OFr. *burgeis*)
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς Νεστούριδες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 84.1; τὰ παιδιά τοὺς πουρζέζιδες *ibid.* 88.3; ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ρηγὸς ... καὶ ... τοὺς καπιτάνιδες *ibid.* 474.27–8
 τῆς ρήγαινας καὶ τοὺς κουβερνούρηδες *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 208.12
 ἐνὶ εἰς λογιῆς τοὺς μάντηδες *Fior* 122.33 (< μάντις); εἰς τὸν κάμπον τοὺς Γρέτσηδες *ibid.* 136.39 (< Ital. *Greci*)

In the following examples the ending of the masculine /as/ paradigm (see 2.2.1) occurs for the sake of the rhyme: τὰ παιδιά τοὺς ἄρχοντες καὶ τοὺς καβαλλαράδες *Thrinós Kypr.* 461.

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ων ἢ -ωνε

Substitution of the parisyllabic plural ending -ων for -ηδων is not very common:

τῶν αὐτῶν Μαγνέντων (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 194, 118.23)
 τῶν σπαχόγλανων *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 141.6 (cf. τῶν σπαχογλάνηδων *ibid.* 41.10)
 ἡ σκόλα τῶν Τσαγγάρων (1675, Zakynthos, Zois 1939: 4, 126.3)
 τῶν μπακάλων (1724, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 8, f.1v.4)

It has also been found with the addition of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.1) in the same document from Kefalonia: τῶν ἄνωθεν Μανέντωνε (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 194, 118.10); τῶν αὐτῶν Μανέντωνε (*ibid.* 118.21).

Accusative

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ηδες ἢ -ῆδες

From at least the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Assizes* B) the most common ending for the accusative plural is -ηδες:

μέ δλην τήν κουμπανίαν, ντενέτιδες, σιγούντες (1415, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1979: App. XVII, 216.7)

ἀπέ τοὺς μπαρούνηδες *Assizes* B 479.10–11 (< Occit. *baroun*)

μ' ὄφιδες τοὺς παιδεύει CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2623 (< ὄφης)

ποῖσε ἀβιτζιάλιδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.25 (< Ital. *uffiziale*); δέκα συντρόφους σορδιέριδες *ibid.* 54.33–4 (< OFr. *soldier*); ἄλλους κριτάδες καὶ νοτάριδες *ibid.* 318.2

έφερεν κουρσάρηδες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 20.15; με πολλοὺς μαμουλούκηδες *ibid.* 78.6; έφερεν ... τοὺς χαλφούσηδες *ibid.* 98.4 (< Arab. *harfūsh*; see KECHAYOGLU 1997: 497)

(έβγαλεν ...) μπαλεστρέρηδες LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 127; σκεύη καὶ πουμπαρδιέρηδες *ibid.* 128

τοὺς Γαβρίληδες (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 44, 76.8)

αγάπα τοὺς Πέρσηδες *Diig. Alex.* K 367.32

σολδάδους καὶ τσαούσηδες CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.45

στέλνει τοὺς βεζίρηδες STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 71 (Pidonia); Καζάκους καὶ Τατάρηδες *ibid.* 992

πολλοὺς ... μπέτηδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 28.4–5; τοὺς ἔστειλε ... σεργούνηδες *ibid.* 37.9; τοὺς ἔκαμε σπαχογλάνηδες *ibid.* 109.26 (< Turk. *sipahi oĝlan*); ἔστειλε κιαούσηδες, οὐλάκηδες *ibid.* 144.11

τοὺς ταβερνάρηδες *Bertoldin.* 112.21

τοὺς ζαμπίτηδες τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους (1639, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 69, 197.21)

μέ τοὺς χασάσηδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §22.3; τοὺς συγκεφίληδες σου *ibid.* III §30.15

ὅποιος ἀπὸ τοὺς ταμπάκηδες (1647, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 2, 174.27)

με τοὺς πλησίον κράληδες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 364

τοὺς παρόντες πριόρηδες (1692, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 170, 103.2) (< πριόρες < Ital. *priore*)

ποὺ ᾔγιάνναν χαρατζάρηδες KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 111

χτυπάτε, μωρὲ παιδιά, τοὺς παλιομουρτάτηδες EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 59.14–15

εσκότωσε τόσους ἀράπηδες *Don Kis.* 46.33–4; τοὺς ἀχρείους υποθεσιάρηδες *ibid.* 452.24 (< ὑποθεσάριος)

ἔχει γιανιστάρηδες χιλιάδες δεκαπέντε *Alosis* 751 (< Turk. *yeni çeri*)

διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς λέγουνε Κουζιμπάσηδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 128.27

A shift of the stress to the penultimate may occur with words of Turkish provenance (cf. nom. pl. and see also the Introduction to this section): μηδὲ Μιχαλογλῆδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 76.31 (ms μιχάλογλῆδες); με ζορπαμπασῆδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.94.

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ηδας ἢ -ήδας

Substitution of the more formal-looking 1st-declension accusative ending /as/ for the /es/ of -ηδες occurs in mixed- and higher-register texts: μετὰ τοὺς ζηγκλούριδας *Assizes* A 187.28; οὓς καλοῦσι γενιτσάρηδας DOUKAS, *Hist.* 97.31; ἐμήνυσε τοὺς σουμπάσιδας *Ekth. Chron.* 49.7; ἀπὸ τοὺς Πέρσηδας *Diig. Alex.* V 71.10. The following example from version E of the *Alexander Romance*, with a shift of the stress to the penultimate, is likely to be a pun, as the form Περσῆδας is homophonous to the feminine form Περσίδας (cf. the nominative plural, above): ἔνδυσαν τοὺς Περσῆδας ὅλους ὥσ' ἂν τὲς Μακεδόνες *Diig. Alex.* E 309.19–20 (Lolos).

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ες

The parisyllabic ending of the old 3rd declension is employed sporadically:

καὶ Πέρσες δοξάρατους *Pol. Tr.* 5147 app. crit. (V)
οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔτρεχαν τοὺς Πέρσες κ' ἔσκοτῶναν *Alex. Rim.* 1221
εἰς μάντες *Theophr. Char.* 129.4

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

The residual parisyllabic ending of the old 1st declension is sporadically used, in the following example with the original 1st-declension word Πέρσης: καὶ Πέρσας δοξάρατους *Pol. Tr.* 5147 app. crit. (AX).

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ους

Even the parisyllabic ending of the 2nd declension is employed sporadically: σπαογλάνους, ἦγουν ἀρχοντόπουλα ἐξακοσίους (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 11.7–8); καὶ τεγγέρους 2 καὶ τηγάνι 1 (1687, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 10, 224.29) (< τέντζερης, see I, 3.8.2.2).

Vocative

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-ηδες

The vocative, identical to the nominative, ends in -ηδες:

γῆς τῆς ἐμῆς μπαρούνηδες καὶ τίμιοι ἐδικοί μου *Liv.* V 765
ἡγαπημένοι μας πουρβεόρηδες (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 49, 26.1) (< Occit. *pournouyur*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.); ὁρισμός μας ἔνι, κυβερνούρηδες (1468, *ibid.* 83, 41.1)
ἐσεῖς ναῦτες κατεργάριδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 486.32
ἐσεῖς, αὐθέντες, φρέρηδες LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 19
ἐξαγοράρηδες πιστοί *Synax. gyn.* 158
ὦ μάντιδες SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.14–16 (< μάντις)
γραν πέκκο καὶ φορφάντηδες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 9137 (< Ital. *furfante*, see KAPLANIS 2012, *Glossary*)
ὦ ὄφιδες SPANOS, *Grammar* 28.29–30 (< ὄφεις)

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-οι

Vocatives in -οι, an ending borrowed from the masculine /os/ paradigm (see 2.1), appear to be an idiosyncrasy of *Palaia kai Nea Diathiki* (cf. paradigm 2.3.2). There may be some influence of adjectives in -άριος/-άρης (see 3.2.6): στέκετε ἐσεῖς ζουράροι *P&N Diath.* 4853.

2.3.5 Transfers to Other Paradigms

Certain oxytone nouns belonging to paradigm 2.3.1, such as πουλητής, δανειστής and a few others, form an alternative paradigm in -ίος in texts from Cyprus (for which see 2.8).

Transfers to the masculine /os/ paradigm occur in the following examples:

< χάρτης

ὁ τοιοῦτος χάρτος (1059, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 7, 170.63)

τὸν παρόντα χάρτον (1139, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 3, 296.5)

τοὺς ἀγοραίους ἡμῶν χάρτους (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 131, 173.13) (< χάρτης)

< αὐθέντης

τὸν αὐθέντον (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 535.11)

αὐθέντος καὶ κύριος (1172, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 179, 235.15)

οἱ αὐθέντοι (1099, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: App. 1, 643–644.8)

τίμα τους ὡς ἀφέντους σου *Spaneas* V 103

τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἀγίου μου αὐθέντου (13th c.?, Thessaly?, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 6, 343.16)

τοῦ ἀφέντου μου τοῦ ρῆγα *Chron. Mor.* H 244 (ms: αὐθέντου)

ἀφέντοι, ξεῦρετε πῶς ... MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 248.35–6

τοῦ ἀφέντου (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 377, 588.2)

< μπαρούνης

μπαρούνος τῶν Κορυφῶν (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 38, 32.1)

Innovative formations in /as/ based on the residual vocative in /a/, as indicated by the stress shift in δέσποτας (< ὦ δέσποτα < ὁ δεσπότης) can occasionally be found throughout the period under review:

Θεόδ(ω)ρος τοῦ Ἀκρίτα (1104 [14th-c. copy], Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 52, 234.235)

ἐγὼ Ρουμβέρτος αὐθέντας (1121, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 90, 118.1)

ἄξιον ἀρχιμανδρίταν (1173, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 51, 87.12)

νὰ γίνεται μεσίτας δι' ἐσένα *Liv.* E 328

καὶ ἀποστάτα κι' ἄδικο κι' ἄσπλαχνο μ' ὀνομάζου *CHORTATIS, Katz.* Prol. 33

πρὸς τὸν ἀφέντα (17th c., Unknown, ŠANGIN 1936: 4, 152.26–7)

τοῦ Ἀγίου ποροφήτου καὶ βαπτιστᾶ (1645, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 11, 24.2–3) (for ποροφήτου see I, 2.6.2)

κύρ Ζαγοράκη τοῦ διοικητᾶ (1655, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 74, 188.3)

ὁ δικητᾶς κύρ Ζαγωράκη (1658, *ibid.* 78, 198.3)

περιφημισμένος δέσποτας *ΕΦΘΥΜ., Chron. Gal.* 25.1–2; τὸν δέσποταν *ibid.* 27.8

In texts from Pontos surnames in -της may transfer to the /as/ paradigm (for their plural formations see 2.10.4): ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης ὁ Μουλίτας (1264, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 32, 14.6); Ἀποστόλου τοῦ Σιμελίτα (1704, *ibid.* 187, 123.8); τοῦ Αὐλίτα τὸ μερτικόν (15th c., Pontos, ALEXAKIS/MAVROMATIS 2015: 6, 15.10–11). In verse texts the noun Μάης (< Μάιος) may be contracted to Μᾶς: ἔρχεται ὁ Μᾶς *Flor.* L 1547 (Cupane); καὶ Μᾶ κατακαμμένε *Dimotiko* (Lambros) 5; ὁ βασιλέας τῶν μηνῶν ὁ Μᾶς λογιάζω εἶναι *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2395.

Only very rarely do masculine nouns in /is/ change gender and become feminine: τῆς καλῆς βασιλῆς Ἀμαζόνης *Pol. Tr.* 11959; ἕως τὴν φράκτη τοῦ Ἀγιώτη (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 36, 38.44); ὀμπλιγάρεται αὐτήνη ἢ πουλητῆς καὶ οἱ κληρονόμοι της (1596, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 20, 75.26–7).

2.4 Masculine Nouns in -εύς, -έας, -ιάς

The ending -εύς of the old 3rd declension had become incompatible with the phonological system, as due to the sound change /eus/ > /efs/ it ended in two consonants (JANNARIS 1897: 131). It had ceased to be productive by the EMedG period (PSALTES 1913: 254), and only a limited number of these nouns survive in the LMedG and EMG periods. From the very beginning of the period covered by this Grammar, the inherited words belonging to this paradigm show a strong tendency to transfer to other paradigms (see below), and new singular forms had already emerged based on the old accusative -έα (CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: A 50): -έας for the nominative and -έα for the genitive and the vocative. Thus the -εύς paradigm followed the general tendency of 3rd-declension nouns with opaque nominative endings to adopt the morphology of nouns in /as/ by forming new nominatives based on the acc. sg., with an added masc. nom. marker /s/, and new genitives in which the nominative marker /s/ is dropped (see the introduction to Chapter 2): βασιλεύς, acc. βασιλέα(ν) > nom. βασιλέας > gen./voc. βασιλέα.

The chronology of the transition from -εύς to -έας is not quite clear and the bibliography is rather vague on the subject. Nominative singular forms in -έας appear in texts from the very beginning of the LMedG period, but not in texts from the preceding centuries (DIETERICH 1898, PSALTES 1913 and GIGNAC 1981 offer no examples). This, however, must be attributed to a certain conservatism that is characteristic of MedG written texts, as there are a few unambiguous examples in papyri and ostraca of the Roman period: καλχέας *O.Claud.* 4 656 (for χαλκέας (< χαλκεύς); ostracon datable 98–117 AD); Καλλίνικος ὁ καὶ Κοπρέας *P.Oxy.* 12 1463 (< κοπρεύς (see the online *TLG*); papyrus dated AD 215); [Αὐρήλιος] Κοπρέας *P.Lond.* 3 939 (papyrus dated 01/11/225); Χαλκέας *O.Mich.* 2 849 (ostracon dating from the 3rd/4th c.) (for these examples see www.papyri.info). As for the plural formation of these nouns, the inherited nom. and voc. pl. ending -εῖς remains in use throughout the period covered by this Grammar, as does the gen. pl. ending -έων. The AG acc. pl. ending -έας had started to be replaced by the nom. pl. ending -εῖς already in the 4th c. BC (DIETERICH 1898: 154), and -εῖς is by far the most common ending for the accusative in the LMedG and EMG periods.

Due to the fact that paroxytone plurisyllabic nouns are quite rare and that the oxytone paradigms are by far the largest for masculine nouns, nouns in -έας tend to become oxytone as well, in four different ways: (1) by transferring to the oxytone -ής paradigm (see 2.4.2 and 2.3.3); (2) by transferring to the oxytone -ός paradigm (see 2.4.2 and 2.1.1); (3) through synzesis (βασιλέας > βασιλέας, usually spelled βασιλιάς indicating [e] has become [j]; see I, 2.9.4) – these oxytone forms then begin to form an imparisyllabic plural in -ιάδες, by analogy with the oxytone -ας paradigm (see 2.2.1) (HORROCKS 2010: 287–8); (4) by forming oxytone forms in -ές (see I, 2.9.4.3 for discussion), after which the innovative declensional pattern of nouns in /as/ and /is/ could once more be applied (nom. in /s/: ὁ βασιλές; gen. and voc. drop /s/: (τοῦ) βασιλέ; acc. drops /s/ and may add /n/: τὸν βασιλέ(ν)). Examples of nom. sg. in -ές have been found as early as the mid-11th c. in Athos and subsequently in a large geographical area. Examples of gen. sg. and acc. sg. are fewer and appear much later than the nom. sg. In the EMG period this new oxytone ending -ές would become

productive in the adaptation of Venetian and Turkish loanwords to Greek morphology, e.g. ὁ μαγατζές (< Ven. *magazén*); ὁ καφές (< Turk. *kahve*). Contrary to βασιλές, which appears in the singular only, these loanwords form imparisyllabic plurals in -έδες and thus constitute a new paradigm, for which see 2.6.1.

Old 1st-declension nouns in -έας such as Ἀνδρέας and βορέας had already developed a gen. sg. in -έα instead of -έου⁶⁶ and the overlap in the singular between these nouns and the new paradigm in -έας led to these words transferring to this new paradigm, occasionally borrowing the old endings of the -εύς paradigm (e.g. τοῦ βορέως),⁶⁷ undergoing synizesis (e.g. ὁ Ἀνδριάς), and where applicable forming imparisyllabic plurals in -(ι)άδες (e.g. βοριάδες).

In Cretan texts words in -έας may drop /a/ and become oxytone, especially when they denote surnames or place names, e.g. ὁ Κουρτεσέας > ὁ Κουρτεσές. Interestingly, this only applies to nouns originally in -έας, in other words, to words that do not derive from nouns in -εύς. In fact, paroxytone forms in -έας (all cases in the singular and gen. pl.) from nouns that formerly ended in -εύς are very rare in Cretan texts, appearing only occasionally in non-literary texts with less regional colouring (e.g. the notarial documents of Grigoropoulos), and in verse texts for metrical reasons. The majority of forms in -έας in Cretan verse texts are a matter of conservative spelling and should be read with synizesis (as [ˈjas]). It is quite likely, though impossible to establish, that the same holds true for prose and non-literary texts. Significantly, there are only three real paroxytone examples in the whole of *Erotokritos*, one in *Stathis* and two in *Erofilis* (not counting occurrences in stage directions, which are in prose), four in *Palaia kai Nea Diathiki*, six in Bounialis's *Cretan War*, one in *Panoria* and none in *Katzourbos*. They are absent in the works of Sachlikis, *Fortounatos* and Landos's *Geoponikon*. In most of these works, forms in -ιός (see 2.1.1) and to a lesser degree -ιάς (see below) are by far the most frequent. As -ιάς presupposes the previous existence of -έας, this indicates that Cretan will have moved from -έας (< -εύς) to other oxytone forms (-ιός, -ιάς, -ής) quite early on. For similar developments in the feminine paradigm in -έα see 2.11.4.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ An early example is: ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνδρέα *Acts of Andrew* 59.1 (2nd/3rd c. AD; ed. Prieur; see the online *TLG*).

⁶⁷ The same holds true for the later place name Μορέας, which is not attested before the 12th c., see BON 1969: 307.

⁶⁸ The theory of CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: B 354–5 and 402) regarding the change from /'ea/ to /'e/ in feminine nouns in /'ea/ (e.g. ἀπιδέα) and masculine nouns in /'eas/ (e.g. ὁ φονέας < φονεύς) when they occur in West Crete, Ikaria and Lesbos illustrates the heavy dependence of historical linguistics on modern dialectology. According to him forms such as βασιλέας and φονέας are phonological in the above-mentioned areas (βασιλέας > βασιλέας (with assimilation) > βασιλέας (vowel deletion)), but when they occur in Chios and Kyzikos, they should be viewed as a simplification of βασιλεύς, a form with which people were still familiar through the language of the Church. He thus ignores the fact that dialects, too, change over the centuries and that a phenomenon that is now restricted to a small geographical area may have had a wider geographical distribution in the Middle Ages and the early modern period, or vice versa (compare, for example, the EMG distribution of the now SMG ending -όμασσε (III, 4.1.1.2)).

Apart from the above-mentioned handful of old 1st-declension nouns in -έας (Ἀνδρέας, βορέας, etc.) and a few old 1st-declension words in -ίας such as καυχηματίας > καυχηματέας and κυκνίας > κυκνέας, nouns do not generally tend to transfer from other paradigms to the one under discussion. New formations in -έας are limited to proper names such as Βαβουλέας, Βατέας, Μαλλέας and others, as well as a few other nouns denoting physical characteristics or a habitual action such as μαυρέας, γαμέας and ὀλεθρέας, a word made up by Ermoniakos: ὥς κακὸν καὶ ὀλεθρέαν ERMON., *Ilias* 6.75. Most of these nouns, with the exception of βορέας, do not normally form a plural. For alternative plural formations of personal names see 2.10.

Despite these innovations, the old forms of the -εύς paradigm are still used quite widely in LMedG and EMG written sources, especially of the noun βασιλεύς. The irregular noun Ζεύς (AG gen. Διός, acc. Δία) tends to move to the residual side of this paradigm, forming an innovative gen. and acc. sg. Ζεύ. The residual nominative in -εύς and vocative in -εῦ are sometimes treated as indeclinable forms and used for the other cases as well.

As the number of nouns in -εύς/-έας is limited and as most of the words in this group are semantically restricted and appear in specific contexts only (βασιλέας “king”, γραφέας “scribe”, φονέας “murderer”, χαλκέας “blacksmith”, Ἀχιλλέας “Achilles”, Ὀδυσσεύς “Odysseus”), it is not always possible to determine the geographical spread of the different forms.

2.4.1 The Paradigm

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	βασιλέας βασιλιάς	βασιλεύς βασιλιάς βασιλές	βασιλεῦ
Gen.	βασιλέως βασιλέα βασιλιᾶ	βασιλιός/βασιλιῶς -εός/-εῶς βασιλέ -έου -ία	-έους βασιλεύς -έω -ιῶ/-ιό -ίου
Acc.	βασιλέα(ν) βασιλιά(ν)	βασιλέ(ν) βασιλεύ	-ία(ν) βασιλεύς
Voc.	βασιλέα βασιλιά	βασιλεῦ βασιλέ	βασιλεύς -ία

Plural			
Nom.	βασιλεῖς	βασιλιάδες	βασιλέες -εάδες
Gen.	βασιλέων	βασιλέω βασιλιῶν βασιλιῶ βασιλιάδων βασιλιάδω βασιλιάδωνε	-εάδων
Acc.	βασιλεῖς	βασιλιάδες	βασιλέες βασιλέας -εάδες
Voc.	βασιλεῖς	βασιλιάδες	

Singular

Nominative

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-έας ἰ -εάς/-ιάς ἰ -ίας

This ending occurs with original 1st-declension nouns and new nouns in -έας in texts from all areas. As noted in the Introduction, forms in /eas/ also developed from former 3rd-declension nouns in /efs/, a development which pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar by many centuries. With these words the ending occurs in texts from most areas and is by far the most common, with the notable exception of Crete, where it is rather rare (see the introduction to this section):

- Νικόλαος ἱερέας (1126, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 98, 129.19)
 Λέων Μαυρέας (mid-12th c., S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 43, 223.54)
 Νικηφόρος διάκονος ὁ Μαλλέας (1265, Athos/Thessaloniki?, ŽIVOJINOVÍČ et al. 1998: 7, 126.31)
 Θεόδωρος ὁ Κεραμέας (1284, Thessaloniki, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 75, 30.2)
 Γεώργιος Κοντοστέφανος ὁ Καλαμέας (1309, Meleniko, LEFORT et al. 1994: 71, 178.1)
 Ἰωάννης ὁ Χαλκέας (14th c., Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 16, 116.2)
 νὰ εἶσαι βασιλέας *Chron. Mor.* H 664; ὅσον κρατεῖ ὁ Μορέας *ibid.* 1447
 οὗτος ὁ βασιλέας *Pol. Tr.* 178; ὁ κύρ Δυσσέας *ibid.* 12560 (< Ὀδυσσεύς)
 καὶ ὁ τοικνέας ἤρξατο τὸν γερανὸν ὑβρίζει *Poulol.* 58 (< κυκνίας)
 ὁ εὐτελής ἱερέας (1432, Corfu, ASONITIS 1996/97: 3, 31.113)
 Μενεσὲς Βεργιώτης βαφέας (1497, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: App. 1, 310.27)
 φονέας τοῦ κόσμου ὀλουνοῦ *Diig. Alex.* E 143.2 (Konstantinopulos)
 καρβουνιάρης καὶ γναφέας *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 13 tit.
 Μάρκος Μυξέας (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 85, 65.6)
 σὰ βασιλέας φρόνιμος *Stathis Interm.* II.89 (hapax)
 Κώστας Ἀσπρέας (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 374, 348.13)
 οὐδὲ ἀρχιερέας *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2195
 διαβαστής, καλογραφέας *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §15.24

Γέργος βαφέας (1649–69, Thessaly, SPANOS 2001: 364, f.100r.6)
 πού ἤθελε γενῆ ἱερέας (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 482.3)
 ὁ ἀρχιερέας μας (1693, Nauplion, TSELENDI 1978: 5, 242.24)
 ὁ βασιλέας τῇ Βλαχιᾷς KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.859 (hapax)
 καὶ χριστιανὸς βασιλέας EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 25.2–3
 ο σοφὸς συγγραφέας *Don Kis.* 4.17

The -έας ending may undergo synizesis and become oxytone. The ending is spelled as -εάς or as -ιάς, indicating that [e] has become [j] (through an intermediate stage in which /e/ and /a/ are pronounced as one syllable ['ɛa] without presenting a full glide; for details see I, 2.9.4):

Δυσσιὰς καὶ Διομήδιος *Pol. Tr.* 5545 app. crit. (C) (< Ὀδυσσεύς)
 ὁ βασιλιάς ἀρώπησε *Fior* 126.18
 σάν μακελάρης καὶ φονιάς ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 67
 γραφεᾶς *Pent. Gen.* 49.10
 Ἰωάννης Κατζοματός, χαρκιάς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 442, 444.141) (< χαλκεύς)
 κακὸς φονιάς καὶ κλέφτης *P&N Diath.* 3733; ὁ Καίσαρης ὁ βασιλιάς *ibid.* 4572
 ὁ βασιλιάς σας πολεμᾷ *Stathis Interm.* I.13
 κάλεσμα κάμνει ὁ βασιλιάς *Dimotika Ivir.* IV.1
 βασιλεύς, βασιλιάς GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *re*
 Τριαντάφυλλος χαλκιάς (1649–69, Thessaly, SPANOS 2001: 364, f.100r.2)
 καὶ ὁ βασιλιάς τί θέλει τ' ἀποδώσει; BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 351.16
 ἀλιάς εἰς τὴν τέχνην (1683, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 56, 266.26) (< ἀλιεύς)
 καὶ ὁ βασιλιάς καὶ ἡ ρήγισσα KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1373
 βρέθεται ἕνας παπ' Ἀντριᾷς KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 119 (for βρέθομαι see III, 2.4: εὐρίσκω/βρίσκω)

It cannot be established precisely when synizesis first started to occur in this ending (for details on synizesis in general see I, 2.9.4). From verse texts it becomes clear that, due to conservatism in the writing practice, forms are often written as -έας, whereas they should be read with synizesis (whether as ['ɛas] or as ['jas]):

ὁ βασιλέας τῆς δόξης *Chron. Mor.* H 346
 ὁ βασιλέας ἐθλίβη *Pol. Tr.* 703 app. crit. (E)
 ἄν τὰς ἐκράτει ὁ Χαλκέας *Synax. gyn.* 191
 ἀρχιερέας τὸν ἤκραξε *P&N Diath.* 1848

Deletion of final /s/ occurs in Cretan texts in a specific phonological environment (see I, 3.7.1.1 for details): ὁ ἄξος βασιλιά μας CHORTATIS, *Erof. Interm.* III.64.

Sometimes the ending is spelled <ιάς>. From verse texts it becomes clear that this spelling may in fact stand for ['jas], as in the following example (before the caesura): κ' ἔγμεν ὅλος ὁ Μορίας KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.118. However, these spellings also occur in prose texts and in non-literary sources. And although it cannot be excluded that in each of the following examples the stress notation is conservative or even erroneous and that they in fact represent forms with synizesis (see 1.5 for discussion), it must be borne in mind that in certain MG dialects synizesis still does not occur in the vowel sequence ['ia]. Examples have been found, especially with the name Ἀντρέας, in texts from S. Italy, the Heptanese, the Aegean and Athos (cf. gen. sg. and acc. sg.) (see also see I, 2.9.4):

Ἰωάννης Φυτίας (1198, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 243, 328.37)
 γρικώντα ο μισέρ Αντρίας VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 192.3, B 193.2–3 and M 193.3
 κύρ Αντρίας ὁ Ἀσπρογένης (1519, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 64, 94.1)
 βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἕ Ἀμμώνου βασιλίας *Alex. Rim.* 1411
 ὁ κυρ-Ἀντρίας Ζακυνθινός (1539, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 46, 43.3)
 καὶ ποῖος φονιάς ἔνι ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος *Diig. Alex.* E 143.1 (Konstantinopulos)
 ὁποῖος μισέρ Ἀντρίας (1580, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 139, 260.7)
 κυρ-Ἀτρίας Μεγαλογένης (1643, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 262, 209.5)
 ὁ ποτὲ Sr Ἀνδρίας Τυπάλδος (1680, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 255, 231.6)
 Ἀντρίας Ταταδάκης (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 551, 775.3); Ἰωάννης καὶ
 Ἀντρίας (ibid. 775.14)
 Ἀντρίας Οδοόσης (1695, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 354.5)
 ἰνφεταρίστη καὶ ὁ Ἀντρίας ὁ Κακαβᾶς PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 121.10
 ὁ Ἀντρίας καὶ Πιέρως ἀδελφοὶ Δρόσοι SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 55.16–17

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ές

This ending appears as an alternative form for nouns in -έας that derive from former 3rd-declension nouns in -εύς shortly before and throughout the period covered by this Grammar. It can be found in texts from most areas, with the exception of Crete (for discussion see the introduction to this section (2.4); and cf. the much rarer ending -έ for gen. and acc. sg., below):

Ἰωάννης ἱερές (1056, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 31, 80.54)
 Θωμάς ἱερές (1143–5, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 1, 56.1)
 πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων (14th c., Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 21B, 162.2)
 ὡσὰν ὀρίσει καὶ πληρωθῶ ἱερές (1357/60, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 237, 364.3)
 γραφεὺς καὶ μάρτυρας (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 172, 119.18) (ed. γραφε<ύ>ς)
 ὁ Ἀχιλλέας *Pol. Tr.* 2380 app. crit. (B); ὁ δὲ Δυσσέας ὁ θαυμαστὸς ibid. 3060 app. crit. (B) (< Ὀδυσσεύς)
 ἔνε βασιλεὺς *Chron. Mor.* T 1620
 ὁ εὐλαβέστατος ἱερές (1482 [later copy], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 109, 218.4)
 ὁ Ἀχιλλέας *Achil.* O 591; ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐγέλασεν ibid. 640
 ὁ φονὲς κατὰ τὸν νόμον θνησκέτω (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 414.701)
 Ἰωάννη ἱερές (1623, Bergamo, KORRE 2008: 2, 330.22)
 Ἰάκωβος ἱερές (1669, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 1, 577.9)
 ὁ γονέας του (1674, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 4, 177.11)
 Γεώργιος ἱερές (1674, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 31, 25.17)
 ἦτον δὲ τότε βασιλεὺς PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2153
 ὁ εὐλαβέστατος ἱερέας (1695, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 354.6) (ed. ἱερε<ύ>ς)

Examples derived from words (surnames) originally in -έας occur in Cretan texts (cf. gen. and acc. sg. below; cf. also similar developments in the feminine paradigm in -έα (2.11.4); for the underlying phonological process see I, 2.9.4.3):

ὁ Ἰωάννη Φουλέας (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 18, 60.9) (cf. pl. τοῦ<ς> Φουλιάδες (1527, ibid. 59, 90.4)); Μανόλη Χαγέας (1543, ibid. 239, 227.66) (cf. the MG surname Χαγιάς)

ὁ κύρ Γαλιάτσος Βαρούχας Παρθενές (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.3–4);
Μανούσος Σετενές (1602, *ibid.* 158, 170.7) (cf. Μανούσος Σετενέας (1612, *ibid.* 762, 662.12));
μαστρο-Ἰωάννης Κουρτεσές (1613, Crete, *ibid.* 841, 733.10–11) (cf. τὸν Κουρτεσέα (1600, *ibid.* 98, 113.3))

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	<i>Residual</i>

Residual nominatives in -εύς are used routinely throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, especially of the word βασιλεύς, and not only in mixed- and higher-register texts, probably because it sounded more elevated and appropriate for kings and emperors:

ὁ εὐτελής ἱερεὺς Ἰωάννης (1357, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 240, 386.10)
ὁ βορεὺς ΕΡΜΟΝ., *Ilias* 13.256 (hypercorrection < βορέας)
μέγιστος βασιλεύς βασιλέων (1489, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 19, 100.1)
ὁκάπποιος ἄλλος βασιλεύς *Liv.* α 2933
ἐνώθη ὁ βασιλεύς μετὰ τοὺς πριγκιπᾶδες *Chron. Mor.* P 66
κι ὁ Βασιλεύς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ΡΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 339
ὁ σπορεύς *Planī kosmou* 10
ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* IV.111
ποῖος φονεύς νά γενῇ *Diig. Alex.* F 142.1 (Konstantinopulos)
ὅποιος ἱερεὺς ἤθελεν λειτουργᾷ μέσα (1537, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 117, 232.5)
βασιλεύς των βασιλέων όλων *Diig. Alex.* K 344.1–2; ἤτο ἀρχιερεὺς τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ *ibid.* 346.16–17
ὁδεῖνας ὁ ἱερεὺς ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 351.8
ο φθορεὺς των ημετέρων ψυχών ΜΑΡΓ., *Vioi* 273.10
ὁ Βασιλεύς τοῦ κόσμου *Thysia Avr.* 726
βασιλεύς, βασιλιάς GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *re*; ἀρχιερεὺς *ibid.* s.v. *pontefice*
ἦτον ... φιλοκλήσιος, καλὸς ἱερεὺς ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §13.10
εἶπεν του ὁ Βασιλεύς *Bertoldos* 28.7
ὁ βασιλεύς ἐννοιάζετο *Thrinios Kypr.* 16
ο συγγραφεὺς αὐτῆς τῆς ιστορίας *Don Kis.* 53.9

Forms without final /s/, which are, in fact, residual vocatives singular (see below), are sometimes used as nominatives, which underlines the residual nature of the -εύς endings:

θεὸς γὰρ ὀνομάζεται καὶ ὁ βασιλεῦ, παιδί μου *Spaneas* V 77
Γεώργιος Ἱερεῦ (1357, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 240, 386.12)
ἐστέφθη ... βασιλεῦ (app. crit.) (15th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 32, 230.11.2)
ὁ δὲ βασιλεῦ ἀκούσας *Ptochol.* α 445
ὁ σοφὸς ὁ Ζεῦ *Cypr. Canz.* 147.2
ὁ βασιλεῦ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 51.29

Genitive

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-έα ἰ -εά/-ιά ἰ -ία

The emergence of the genitive ending -έα pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar and appears with old 1st-declension and new words in -έας as well as with nouns in -έας

derived from former 3rd-declension nouns in -εύς. It is by far the most common ending in most areas for both groups of nouns. The exception to this is Crete, where the ending is normal for words originally in -έας, but rare with former 3rd-declension nouns in -εύς (see introduction (2.4) for discussion):

- Κωνσταντῖνος τοῦ Ἀνδρέα (1104 [14th-c. copy], Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 52, 246.15)
οἱ παῖδες τοῦ Χαλκεία (mid-12th c., S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 43, 222.26); Πέτρου Μαυρέα
(ibid. 223.56)
τοῦ Κουβαλέα (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 35.84); τοῦ Βατέα (ibid. 46.235)
Νικηφόρου τοῦ Μαλλέα (1265, Athos/Thessaloniki?, ŽIVOJINOVIĆ et al. 1998: 7, 126.27)
Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Καλαμέα (1271, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 70, 201.19)
τοῦ Λιγδέα (1300, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 90, 88.216)
καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ φονέα *Spaneas* Z 640
καὶ εἰπέτε τοῦ βασιλέα σας *Diig. Alex.* V 77.11
τοῦ Ἀνδρέα (1506, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 475, 339.13)
Ἰωάννου Βαβουλέα (1526, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 113, 206.10)
κυροῦ Ἀνδρέα τοῦ Ντόνου (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 8, 17.32)
τοῦ μαστρ-Ἀντρέα Χαραζά, τοῦ χαρκέα (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010:
137, 109.5) (<χαλκεύς)
τοῦ ἱερέα MOREZINOS, *Klini* 165.33
παιδὶ τοῦ βασιλέα CHORTATISIS, *Erof.* V.348
[τοῦ βασιλ]έα ROMANOS, *Grammar* 5.23
εἰς τοῦ βαφέα (1644, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 1, 130.9)
ἐμὲ τοῦ γραφέα (1661, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 109, 257.3)
εἰς τοῦ Φονέα τὸ Λαγγάδι (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 72.3)
τοῦ Ἀχιλλέα (1688, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 126, 74.10)

The forms may become oxytone through synizesis, and the ending is then spelled either <εᾶ> or <ιᾶ> (representing ['ɛa] or ['ja]; see I, 2.9.4):

- τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ Μορεᾶ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 682.16
εἶδε Ξέρξου βασιλιᾶ ἐκείνου τὸ μνημούρι *Alex. Rim.* 1295
τοῦ βασιλιᾶ μας CHORTATISIS, *Erof.* II.518; τέτοιου φονιᾶ ibid. *Interm.* III.40
εἰς τοῦ Χαρκιᾶ τὸ Χάρακα (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 366, 342.3)
μέσα εἰς τὸν Μοριᾶ (1613, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 2, 308.22)
τοῦ βασιλιᾶ τοῦ κόσμου *Zinon* I.251
σύμπλιο ... μαστρὸ Μιχελῆ Βαφιᾶ (1667, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 597, 825.8)
τοῦ Ἀνδριᾶ τοῦ Φραγκούλη (1670, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 4, 15.2)
Πέτρου Παπαδάτου, ἄλιᾶ (1683, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 57, 267.7)
τοῦ Ἀντριᾶ (1689, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 914, 1219.2–3)
πλησίον Νικολάου Χαλκιᾶ (1691, Chios, TSELIKAS 2000: 83, 66.7–8)

In verse texts it becomes clear that even when the ending should be read with synizesis it may be spelled -έα: εἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριν τοῦ χαλκέα *Poulol.* 438 (reading of PVL); τοῦ βασιλέα ἐπροφήτεψε *P&N Diath.* 2135; ἀπῶχου τσι παλληκαριές τοῦ Ἀχιλλέα γραμμένα *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.255 (spelled *tu Aghilea* in the Latin-script manuscript). Sometimes the ending is spelled <ιᾶ>, which may in reality represent ['ja] (or ['ja]), as the following example illustrates (before the caesura): εἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριν τοῦ χαλκία *Poulol.* 438 app. crit. (E) (see 1.5 for discussion), or it may point to height dissimilation (see I, 2.9.4.3 for details). It is especially frequent with the proper name Ἀνδρέας:

τοῦ Φιλίππου Χαλκία (1144?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 314.3)
 τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου κυροῦ τοῦ Χαλκία (1301, Athos, LEFORT 1973: 10, 79.3)
 Μιχαήλ ὁ τοῦ Χαλκία (1355, Lemnos, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 136, 65.133)
 του μισέρ Αντρία VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 44.3, B 45.3 and M 45.3
 κύρ Ἀντρία Ἀρμενιακοῦ (1524, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 127, 159.45; and *ibid.* 151, 187.39)
 τοῦ γράψαντος παπα-Ἰωάννη Χαλκία (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 36, 37.12)
 τοῦ ποτὲ κυρ-Ἀνδρία (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 25, 82.3)
 τοῦ ποτὲ Ἀντρία Δέντια (1662, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 31, 20.1)
 εἰς τὴν ἐνορία τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀνδρία (1683, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1940: 1, 179.7)
 τοῦ Ἀντρία Ξενάκη (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 601, 829.21)

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-έως ἰ -εός ἰ -ῶς/-ῖός ἰ -έω/-ῶ/-ῖό

Similarly to ex-3rd-declension genitives singular in /os/ (see 2.2.2, 2.2.3), the gen. sg. in -έως of former 3rd-declension nouns in -εύς shows remarkable resilience. Although innovative genitive forms based on the ending -έως come into being in the LMedG period (see below), there is little doubt that -έως remained in general use alongside other endings. It sometimes appears with old 1st-declension nouns in -έας (βορέας, Ἀνδρέας) and is by far the most common gen. sg. ending for the LMedG toponym Μορέας:

ἀφέντης τοῦ Μορέως *Chron. Mor.* H 1192; περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως *ibid.* 3045; στὸ πέραμα τοῦ Ἀλφέως *ibid.* 8328 (< Ἀλφείας < Ἀλφειός)
 ὅτι εἶσαι βασιλέως υἱός *Flor.* L 1145 transcr. (Panayotopoulou/Lendari)⁶⁹
 τοῦ ἄρχοντος Δυσσεύς *ERMON., Ilias* 8.74 (< Ὀδυσσεύς)
 τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ Μορέως (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 71, f.Ir.12)
 τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἀνδρέως (15th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 32, 230.10.1; and 16th c. [ms], *ibid.* 33.I, 248.30.5); οἱ Ἀλβανίτες τοῦ Μορέως (*ibid.* 33.II, 250.41.2)
 περὶ τοῦ ἱερέως *Assizes* A 113.30
 ὁ τοῦ Μουρέως πρίγκιπας *Chron. Toc.* 529 (for /o/ > /u/ see I, 2.5.4)
 τὸν βουν(όν) τοῦ Βορέως (1430–48, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 99, 169.34)
 εἰς τὸ παλάτιν τοῦ βασιλέως *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 36.28–37.1
 τοῦ πέμποντος γραφέως *Cypr. Canz.* 141.3
 τοῦ ἱερέως τῆς ἐκκλησίας (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 2, 5.18); ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ βορέως (1510, *ibid.* 19, 33.9)
 ὁ βασιλέας, τοῦ βασιλέως *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 41.23; ὁ ἱερέας, τοῦ ἱερέως *ibid.* 41.26–7
 Νικηφόρου τοῦ Κεραμέως (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 9, 18.21); τοῦ βασιλέως Λέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ (*ibid.* 11, 20.48); Γεωργίου ἱερέως (*ibid.* 12, 24.6)
 τοῦ Μορέως (1571, Mani, CHASIoTIS 1970: 6.1, 241.12)
 τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.17; δεσπότη τοῦ Μορέως *ibid.* 35.4
 τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος βασιλέως (1610, Mani, FLORISTAN 2008: 1, 281.7)
 στοῦ βασιλέως τὰ νερά *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 574.16
 τοῦ βασιλέως ὑψηλοῦ *KONDAR., Paidēs* 244
 Διομήδους τοῦ Τυδέως *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 253; τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Χριστοῦ *ibid.* 3080
 Ρούμελης καὶ Μορέως *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 34.23

⁶⁹ The edition of Cupane (v. 1131) reads: ὅτι εἶσαι βασιλὲς υἱός. This is one of quite a few unfortunate typos; see www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_8241 for the ms (at f.133v). Hesselning prefers to read βασιλεῶς with synizesis and υἱός without rather than the other way around. The form occurs in the text with and without synizesis.

In the following two examples /u/ for /o/ is due to mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.8.3), or perhaps to confusion of former 3rd-declension paradigms:⁷⁰

τοῦ Μορέους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 51.17 and 99.10

Παναγιώτου κεχαγιᾶ δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου ἑρμηνέους τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Τουρκῶν (ms note in Bodl.

E. D. Clarke 15 (11th-c. ms; note dates to ca. 1661–73), quoted in LAUXTERMANN 2012: 196)

The genitive singular may present a shift of the stress to the ultimate, spelled <εῶς>, <εός>, <ιῶς> or <ιός> and pronounced with synizesis as ['ɛos] or ['jos] (see I, 2.9.4 for details):

πρὸς τὴν μερεὰν τοῦ Μορεῶς *Chron. Toc.* 3438

τοῦ βασιλεῶς τῆς Πόλης *Alosis* 388 and 527

εἰς τὸν θυμὸν τοῦ Βασιλῖος *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 865

τοῦ Μοριῖος *Chron. Mor.* P 2270 app. crit. (P)

τοῦ βασιλῖος *Chron. Mor.* T 2493

κόρη τοῦ βασιλῖος *Fior* 126.10

τοῦ βασιλῖος ἐσύντυχε *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VII.45

καὶ τὸ τσεκούρ' ἀσήκουσε τοῦ βασιλιῶς νὰ δώση *Alex. Rim.* 957

τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἀτρεὸς (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 29, 49.3) (= Ἀντρεός, see I, 3.6.2)

τοῦ βασιλιῶς *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 632 (βασιλῖος in the diplomatic transcription)

Ostensibly conservative spelling practice may conceal the stress shift, but from verse texts it becomes apparent when the forms need to be read with synizesis in order for the verse to scan, e.g. καὶ χαϊρετᾶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκείνου τὴν θυγάτηρ *Chron. Mor.* H 2493. For more information on synizesis and accent placement, see 1.5.

Deletion of final /s/ occurs in the following examples: θάνατος Ὀφρεμίου βασιλέω παρ' Ἀχιλλέως *Pol. Tr.* 5173 tit. app. crit. (V); τοῦ Ἀχιλλέω *Achil.* N 1624 and 1910; chie ci oftalmous tu vassiglio se tuto na tiflossi (τοῦ βασιλιῶ) *CHORTATIS, Erof.* II.84 transcr. X (Legrand). In the example from *Erofil* the form is followed by a word starting in /s/; this is likely to be a case of haplography (even though it appears before the caesura, but the question is how much attention a scribe would pay to the caesura when he was copying). It cannot be excluded that the instances from the *War of Troy* and the *Achilleid* are simple writing mistakes.

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-έ

This genitive ending occurs with former 3rd-declension nouns, but it is much less common than its nominative counterpart in -ές (see above and cf. acc. sg.) and appears considerably later. It has only been found in 17th-c. texts from Chios: κ' εὐρίσκουμουν στοῦ βασιλέ κοντά του καὶ σιμά του *KONDAR., Paidēs* 91; γυνὴν τοῦ βασιλέ μας *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 601; ἔμοιαζεν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέ *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 251.

⁷⁰ Note that a genitive in -έως (< -εύς) appears sometimes with Ἡρακλῆς (AG Gen. Ἡρακλέους), e.g. τοῦ Ἡρακλέως, λέγω δὴ *Dig.* A 1346 app. crit.; ὅς νανόν τοῦ Ἡρακλέως *Alex. Rim.* 2881 (see the online *TLG* for older examples).

With nouns (proper names and place names) originally in -έας, not < -εύς, the ending can be found in Cretan texts (for discussion see the introduction to this section (2.4); cf. nom. and acc. sg.; see also I, 2.9.4.3):

τοῦ Μανούσο Φουλῆ (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 19, 60.15) (cf. pl. τοῦ<ς> Φουλιάδες (1527, *ibid.* 59, 90.4)); τοῦ ποτὲ Γεώργη Χαγέ (1528, *ibid.* 68, 96.1)
ἀποῦ τὸ ἀμπέλι τοῦ Βατέ (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 7, 29.5); στοῦ Παρθενὲ τὸ λιβάδι (1598, *ibid.* 27, 47.3); τοῦ Διαβαῖδέ (1606, *ibid.* 351, 328.5) (cf. στοῦ Διαβαῖδέα 289, 277.9); τοῦ Λεπρὲ τὸ χωράφι (1606, *ibid.* 405, 377.5)

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-έου ἰ -ίου

The residual genitive ending -έου of the 1st declension is sometimes encountered with originally 1st-declension words, especially in higher-register documents. The ending can also be found with former 3rd-declension nouns in -έας (< -εύς), but as these nouns had developed an alternative paradigm in -ος (e.g. χαλκέος), the genitive in -έου is more likely to belong to that paradigm (for which see below and 2.1.2). It has also been found with the new noun Μορέας:

τοῦ αὐθεντὸς τοῦ παντὸς Μορέου (1540, Monemvasia, MALTEZOU 1968: 41.2)
Ἀνδρέου μητροπολίτου Ρόδου (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 13, 25.10)
τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου παπᾶ κύρ Ἀνδρέου Βαρούχα (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 6, 28.2–3)
ἄγια λείψανα Ἀνδρέου τοῦ πρωτουκλήτου (1628–9, Macedonia, ODORICO 1998: 1, 42.16)
νὰ κάνει μία λουτρογιά τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἀντρέου (1692, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1991: 2, 84.31–2)

With /i/ for /e/ (cf. -ία above and see nom. sg. for discussion) it appears in a document from Sicily, though some caution is due, as the edition is known to be unreliable: σίγνον χειρὸς Ἀνδρίου (1192, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: App. 13, 672.1).

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	<i>Residual</i>

Residual nominative forms are sometimes treated as indeclinable and used for the genitive as well:

ἐγὼ Κωνσταντίνος τοῦ χαλκεύς (1279, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 35, 463.19)
Νικόλαος τοῦ χαλκέψ (1328, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: App. I 18, 195.8) (for /fs/ > /ps/ see I, 3.8.1)
τοῦ Ἐρκουλεὺς *Pol. Tr.* 325 app. crit. (BEX)
τοῦ Ζεὺς CHORTATIS, *Erof.* III.296 transcr. X (Legrand)
τοῦ μέγα Ζεὺς παιδί μαι ΤΡΟΙΛΟΣ, *Rodol.* Prol. Mell. 57 (Aposkiti)

The use of -ές for the genitive points to confusion with residual -εύς, if it is not a simple writing mistake: τοῦ εὐλεβεστάτου ἱερές (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 201, 168.12).

Forms in -εῦ could be viewed as residual vocatives used as indeclinable forms, but they also conform to the general trend in most masculine nouns to form the genitive by dropping

the final /s/ of the nominative (see the introduction to Chapter 2): τοῦ βασιλεῦ *Pol. Tr.* 2869 app. crit. (V); τοῦ Ζεῦ ἡ δικαιοσύνη *CHORTATSI, Erof. Prol.* 107.

Accusative

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-έα(ν) ἢ -έα(ν)/-ιά(ν) ἢ -ία(ν)

The most common accusative singular ending is the inherited ending -έα, which may occur with and without final /n/ throughout the period covered by this Grammar. It is used with nouns originally in -έας as well as with nouns derived from former 3rd-declension nouns in -εύς, though with the second group the ending does not usually appear in Cretan texts (see the Introduction to this section for discussion):

εἰς τὸν Βορέα (ca.1050, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972b: 165.50)
πολλὰ τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ἐκείνον τὸν γονέα *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 208
ὄρισεν τὸν Κεραμέα (ca.1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.32)
ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέαν *Chron. Mor.* H 8715; κ' ἦλθαν εἰς τὸν Μορέαν *ibid.* 8773
ἄνεμος ... τὸν λέγουν βορέαν (1387, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 37, f.162r.2)
ἔως ἐκεῖ ἀκούμπισε, ὅ τὸν πύργον τὸν φονέα *Chron. Toc.* 250
νὰ ἔχει ἄδειαν νὰ στήσῃ ἱερέαν (1446, Jerusalem, TSIRPANLIS 1964: 19.14)
τὸν βασιλέαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 20.11; νὰ πέψω ἀρχιερέαν *ibid.* 26.8
τὸν Ἀχιλλέα *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* I.19; τὸν βασιλέαν *ibid.* I.20
τὸν Ἀντώνιον Γιαλέαν (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 5, 23.5)
επαρράκαλει ... ἕναν γναφέα ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 13.2; νὰ ποιήσουν βασιλέα *ibid.* 47.1
τον βασιλέα *Diig. Alex.* K 344.9 (Mitsakis); εἰς βασιλέαν *ibid.* 344.28
τὸν Ἀνδρέαν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 39.13; τὸν βασιλέα *ibid.* 41.14
καὶ πλήρωσε ἐκείνον τὸν γραφέα (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 2, 296.74)
τὸν μισὸν Μορέαν (1571, Mani, CHASIoTIS 1970: 6.1, 241.18–19)
τὸν ἀρχιερέαν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 35
πρὸς Βορέαν (17th c., Kefalonia, TZANNETATOS 1965: 2, 104.17)
ὅ τὸν Ἰωάννη βασιλέα Παλαιολόγο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.11; τὸν φονέα Σέρβον *ibid.* 27.33
κρίμα εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν νεοῦτζικον *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §14.11; τὸν ὡς φονέα μισημένον
ibid. I §31.94–5
ἀποὺ τὸ βορέα (1650, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 12, 371.12)
μὲ ἔχει διὰ ἄρπαγον καὶ φονέα *Alex. Fyll.* 43.1
καὶ ἐπῆρε τὸν Μορέαν ὅλονε (1715, Stefani, LAMBROS 1910: 362, 213.2)

Synizesis renders the form oxytone (spelled <εά> or <ιά>, representing ['ɛa] or ['ja]; see I, 2.9.4). Note that oxytone forms, contrary to paroxytone forms, of former 3rd-declension nouns in -εύς do occur in texts from Crete, though never very frequently (see introduction to 2.4):

στὸν βασιλέαν ὑπάσιν *Achil.* L 69
ὅτι ἔκαμεν καὶ εἰς τὸν Μορέαν *Chron. Toc.* 2163; ἐλπίζουν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ὅπως νὰ τὸν ἀρέσῃ
ibid. 3638
καὶ νὰ ᾄχες εἴσται ὅ τὸν Μορέαν *Alosis* 66; λοιπὸν μὴ ὀνειδίζετε τὸν βασιλέαν *ibid.* 230
νὰ ᾄτες βαφεὰν ὁμοιάζω *Ptoch. III* 273.79 app. crit. (P)
φέρνουν τὴν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα *Florios* 68; νὰ σὲ φορέσω, βασιλέαν νὰ σὲ ἀνακηρύξω *ibid.* 1119

καὶ βασιλιά τὸν κρᾶζουν *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 83
 νὰ τὸν-ε κάμου βασιλιά *P&N Diath.* 3396
 ἐσκότωσαν τὸν βασιλιά *Thrinis Konst. (Zoras)* 17
 ἀποὺ τὸ Βορεά (1605, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 289, 277.6)
 μέσα εἰς τὸν Μοριά (1613, Mani, *LASKARIS* 1957: 2, 308.22)
 τὸν Ἀτριά (1671, Naxos, *TOURTOGLOU* 1995: 1, 509.3) (< Ἀνδρέας)
 ποῦναι στὸ Μοριά *MATESIS, Chron.* 65.20
 κατὰ τὸν βοργάν (1692, Larnaca, *MITROPOULLOS* 1923: A, 325.6) (= βοριάν)
 φονιά μὴν τόνε βγάλη *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.108

Ostensibly conservative spelling practice may conceal the stress shift, but from verse texts it becomes apparent when the forms need to be read with synizesis in order for the verse to scan, e.g. καὶ νὰ τὸ δώσω τὸν γναφέαν *Diig. tetr.* 211. Sometimes the ending is spelled <ία(ν)>. This spelling may bear witness to height dissimilation ([^hea] > [^hia]), for which see I, 2.9.4.3, or it may in fact represent [^hja] (or [^hia]), as the following example illustrates: κὶ ἀφῆτε ἐμένα τὸν Μοριάν *Chron. Mor.* P 4247. For more information on synizesis and accent placement, see 1.5.

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-έ

Just like the genitive (see above), this accusative ending is much rarer and appears considerably later than its nom. sg. counterpart in -ές. With former 3rd-declension nouns it has been found in texts from Chios and texts of unknown origin of the 16th c. (ms date of *Achil.* O) and later:

καὶ ἦλθαν εἰς τὸν βασιλὲ *Achil.* O 19
 ἐσκότωσαν τὸν βασιλὲ *Thrinis Konst.* 17 (P-K); νᾶχουν Ρωμαῖον βασιλὲ *ibid.* 29
 δέξαι το οὔν σὰν βασιλὲ *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* Dedic. 19
 τρέξετεν εἰς τὸν βασιλὲ *KONDAR., Paides* 122
 εἰς τὴν Συρία βασιλὲ ἐσένα νὰ καθίσουν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1028; τοῦτον τὸν νέον Ἀχιλλὲ *ibid.* 1258

With nouns originally in -έας (i.e. not derived from -εύς) the ending occurs in texts from Crete (for discussion see the Introduction to this section; cf. nom. and gen. sg.; see also I, 2.9.4.3):

μὲ τὸν κύρ Ἀντώνη Φουλὲ (1536, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1994a: 160, 164.2)
 ἀποὺ τὸν κύρ Μανὸ Βαρούχα, λεγόμενο Παρθενέ (1598, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 27, 47.4); καὶ τὸ ἄλλον στὸ Βατέ (1604, *ibid.* 211, 216.4) (cf. στὸ Βατέα (1602, *ibid.* 147, 160.4);
 νὰ φράξου τὴ πόρτα τὴν ἄνωθεν νὰ τὴν ἀνοίξου ἀποὺ τὸ Βορέ (1606, *ibid.* 353, 331.22); στὴ Πλάκα, στὸ Λεπρέ (1613, *ibid.* 840, 732.24) (cf. εἰς τὸ Λεπρέα (1612, *ibid.* 779, 677.53))

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	<i>Residual</i>

Residual nominative forms are sometimes treated as indeclinable and used for the accusative as well: τὸν Ἰασοῦν καὶ Ἑρκουλεύς *Pol. Tr. app. crit.* (X). Forms in -εῦ could be viewed

as residual vocatives used as indeclinable forms, but they also conform to the general trend in most masculine nouns to have nominatives in -ς and accusatives without -ς (see the Introduction to Chapter 2), and therefore may be written with acute accent:

διὰ βασιλεῦ *Chron. Mor.* H 588
 τὸν Ἀχιλλεῦ πολλά παρεκαλεῖ τον *Pol. Tr.* 2786 app. crit. (B); τὸν Ὀδυσσεῦ τὸν φρόνιμον *Pol. Tr.* 4072 app. crit. (BX)
 μέ τὸν βασιλεῦ τῆς Τραπεζόντας (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 71, f.Ir.19)
 εἰς τὸν Ἀχιλλεῦ *Achil.* O 280
 διὰ τὸν Ζεῦ *Cypr. Canz.* 141.14
 τὸν βασιλεῦ *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 27
 τὸ Ζεῦ *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.337
 αὐτὸ κ' ἐγὼ παρακαλῶ τὸ Ζεῦ *KONDAR., Paides* 423

Vocative

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-έα -ιά -ία

The paroxytone ending is the most common for nouns originally in -έας and for nouns derived from former 3rd-declension nouns in -εύς, though for the second group it is rare in Cretan texts (see the introduction to 2.4 for discussion and cf. nom., gen. and acc. sg.):

δέσποτα, βασιλέα *Chron. Mor.* H 597
 εἰπέ τους, Ἀχιλλέα *Pol. Tr.* 2352
 ὦ καυχηματέα πλάνε *ERMION., Ilias* 16.235 (< καυχηματίας)
 ἔλεινέ, χαλκέα *Poulol.* 72; ἦλθες καὶ ἐσύ, φονέα *ibid.* 370
 δέσποτα παπά, κυρ Ἀνδρέα (1497, Crete, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 6, 143.33)
 τράγε ... σπανέα *Spanos* D 1544
 Ἀλέξανδρε βασιλέα *Diig. Alex.* K 365.19 (Mitsakis)
 ὦ Ἀνδρέα *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 39.13
 ἄράπη καὶ Σαρακηνέ, μαυρέα, κακομύτη *Poulol.* AZ 9
 ὦ Βασιλέα τ' οὐρανοῦ *Thysia Avr.* 33
 βασιλέα μου πολυχρονημένε (1653, Putyvl, TCHENTSOVA 2002: 4, 363, f.Ir.8)
 γιὰ τοῦτο, βασιλέα μου *KONDAR., Paides* 239
 [βασιλ]έα *ROMANOS, Grammar* 5.23

A shift of stress and synizesis may occur. The ending will then have been pronounced as ['ɛa] or ['ja] (see I, 2.9.4) and is often spelled <ιά>. Ostensibly conservative spelling practice may, however, conceal the synizesis:

λοιπόν, ἀφέντη βασιλέα *Chron. Mor.* H 4287
 γνώρισ', αὐθέντη βασιλιά *Alex. Rim.* 1045
 βασιλιά μου *TROILOS, Rodol.* III.359 (Aposkiti)
 ποῦ φεύγεις, πῖβουλε, φονιά *Zinon* I.183; ψηλότατέ μου βασιλιά *ibid.* I.324
 πρίντσιπε, βασιλιά μου *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 567.25
 ἀπάνθρωπε φονιά *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 1386
 βασιλιά μου *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1361

This ending may also be spelled <ία>. In some cases this may represent ['ia] (see I, 2.9.4.3 for details), but at least in the only example found so far the spelling clearly stands for ['ja]

(2nd hemistich): χαλκία καλιπολίτα *Poulol.* 72 app. crit. (E). For more information on synizesis and accent notation see 1.5.

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-έ

Vocatives in -έ are the counterpart of the much more common nom. sg. in -ές, though in the first example it may be a case of haplography (final /f/ of Ἀχιλλεῦ omitted before <φ>): Ἀχιλλῆ φρικτότατε *Synax. gyn.* 174; θεοφρούρητε μέγα αὐθέντα, βασηλῆ (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 399.2).

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	<i>Residual</i>

The residual vocative is sometimes used, especially of the word βασιλεύς:

χαίρου τῆς Ρώμης βασιλεῦ *Eisit.* f.1v.1
 λαμπρὲ αὐθέντη βασιλεῦ *Liv.* V 435
 γίνωσκε, θεῖτε βασιλεῦ *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 14
 λοιπόν ἀφέντη βασιλεῦ *Chron. Mor.* P 4287
 ὦ βασιλεῦ γαπρέ μας *Achil.* O 25
 γινώσκεις, βασιλεύ *Diig. Apoll.* 289
 σήκω βασιλεῦ *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 2, β3v.35 (1561)
 ὦ Ζεῦ θεέ μου *Vios Aisop.* I 282.28
 μέγιστε βασιλεῦ (1652, Crete, TCHENTSOVA 2002: 1, 355.4)
 λέγει τ', ἀφέντη βασιλεῦ *Thrinis Kypr.* 11

Instances in which the residual nominative is used instead of the vocative also occur:

θεοφιλέστατε ἱερεύς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 51.25)
 βασιλεὺς βασιλέων (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 65.1)
 δέσποτα, λέγει, βασιλεύς *Pol. Tr.* 1568 app. crit. (B); βασιλεύς, λέγει, Πρίαμε *ibid.* 2574 app. crit. (V)
 δέσποτα, αὐθέντη, βασιλεύς *Byz. Il.* 96
 νὰ ἡξεύρης, βασιλεύς *Diig. Alex.* E 91.6 (Lolos)
 «Ζεὺς», λέγει, «βούηθησέ μου *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 69

Plural

Nominative

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-εῖς

Words originally in -έας do not usually have a plural, but the few that do (βορέας and personal names, for the varied plural formations of which see 2.10) do not normally adopt this inherited ending of the former 3rd-declension nouns in -εύς. With words in -έας that derive from -εύς this ending remains in use throughout the period covered by this Grammar, even when new alternative endings emerge (see below):

τὰ παιδιὰ ... ὅπου δαιμονίζονται οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῶν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 228.74)
 τῆς οἰκουμένης οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς *Chron. Mor.* H 790; οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐκεῖνοι *ibid.* 1334
 κ' ἔθανον οἱ γονεῖς του *Dig.* E 1095
 οἱ γραφεῖς *Assizes* B 497.13
 ἐσθίουν με οἱ βασιλεῖς *Diig. tetr.* 297; χρῶνται αὐτὸ οἱ ἀλιεῖς *ibid.* 629
 ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς *Anak. Konst.* 103
 οἱ ἄτυχοι γονεῖς *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 32
 νὰ χειροτονοῦνται ... ἱερεῖς *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 26.22–3; οἱ γονεῖς μας *ibid.* 94.17
 ὅλοι οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς Ἀσίας *Diig. Alex.* K 344.6–7
 ἀλιεῖς *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 157.28
 οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς *P&N Diath.* 2836
 καὶ βασιλεῖς ρηγάδες τε ἐσέναν ἐπεθύμουν *Diig. Apoll.* 26
 ὥσάν τὸ εἶχανε συνήθειαν οἱ βασιλεῖς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.4–5
 οἱ ἱερεῖς vel communius οἱ γερειάδες *ROMANOS, Grammar* 127.2
 καὶ ἑσεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς, μόνον ἄνθρωποι ἐπτωχοὶ *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §36.231–2
 ἐκεῖ που ἱερεῖς κάνουν τὴν λειτουργίαν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 556; ἰδιώτες καὶ οἱ ἀλιγεῖς *ibid.*
 10090 (= ἀλιεῖς)
 ὅλοι οἱ βασιλεῖς *Alex. Fyll.* 6.5; χίλιοι ἱερεῖς *ibid.* 46.4; οἱ φονεῖς τοῦ Δαρείου *ibid.* 68.29
 οἱ γονεῖς του *Leilasia Par.* 465 app. crit.
 σ' ἐτούτونه οἱ βασιλεῖς πᾶνε συχνά *KATSAITIS, Thyest.* IV.66

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ιάδες/-εάδες

This imparisyllabic ending, borrowed from the oxytone -άς paradigm (see 2.2.1) after the change of ['eas] to ['jas] through synizesis (see I, 2.9.4), first appears in written texts in the 15th c. (cf. acc. pl.) with both words originally in -έας and words derived from the former 3rd-declension paradigm in -εύς. It is usually spelled <ιάδες>, and only occasionally <εάδες>:

ὅσοι εἶναι φονιάδες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 334.36–7
 ἱεριάδες οἱ ἀλειμμένοι *Pent. Arith.* III 3
 ἀλιάδες ἐψάρευσαν *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 16.1
 νὰ ἔλθουν οἱ χαλκιάδες ὅλοι *Diig. Alex.* E 143.3 (Lolos)
 οἱ Χαρικεάδες (1541, Thasos?, *KRAVARI* 1987: App. II, 341.39–40)
 οἱ βασιλιάδες, λέγω *P&N Diath.* 2129
 σὰ νὰ ἴσα βασιλιάδες *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.548; ἐσηκωθήκαμε σύνναυγα σὰ χαλκιάδες *id., Katz.* I.25
 οἱ βασιλιάδες *ROMANOS, Grammar* 5.23–4; οἱ ἱερεῖς vel communius οἱ γερειάδες *ibid.* 127.2
 οἱ ἄνωθε Καραβιάδες (1636, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 17, 42.25)
 ἦτον θαφιάδες *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §36.114 (< ταφεύς); πόρνοι, φονιάδες *ibid.* I §36.140–1
 ἐτοῦτοι οἱ βασιλιάδες *Zinon* I.11
 ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴ δὲν ἦσα οἱ βασιλιάδες *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol.* 55
 σὰν σκύλοι καὶ φονιάδες *KONDAR., Paidēs* 102
 οἱ βασιλιάδες τοῦτοι *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1229 (hapax)
 νὰ συναχθοῦν οἱ χαλκιάδες *Alex. Fyll.* 21.1
 μόνον ὅλον βοριάδες ξεροὶ (1713, Chios, *LAMBROS* 1910: 350, 209.6)

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-έες

This ending should probably be viewed as an attempt to form a regular plural for singular -έας. It has only been found in one text (see also acc. pl., below): οἱ ἄρχιερέες *Irodis* V 170.

Genitive

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-έων ἢ -εῶν/-ιῶν

The inherited ending -έων remains in use throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar with nouns that derive from the 3rd-declension -εύς paradigm, but it is not usually adopted with other nouns in -έας. Similarly to the singular (see above), paroxytone forms in -έων are not very common in texts from Crete (see introduction to 2.4 for discussion):

- καὶ τῶν γονέων μου (1114, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 76, 99.21)
καὶ χωρισμὸν γονέων *Dig.* E 704
σπίτια καὶ παλάτια μεγάλων βασιλέων *Diig. tetr.* 400
τῶν δύων βασιλέων *Achil.* N 1825
βασιλεὺς βασιλέων (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 65.1)
τῶν ἱερέων *Assizes* A 43.30
ἐμένα καὶ τῶν γονέων μου (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 45.49)
τῶν ἀρχιερέων *Diig. Alex.* F 224.12 (Lolos)
καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν βασιλέων (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 20.48)
τὸ πλῆθος ... τῶν ἱππέων *Dig.* A 3026; τῶν βασιλέων καύχημα *ibid.* 4287
τῶ γονέων του (1573 [17th-c. copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17, 72.26)
τῶν ἐπτωχῶν τῶν ἱερέων (1623, Bergamo, KORRE 2008: 2, 330.4)
τῶν ἀνωθεν ἱερέων (1628, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 523, 496.6)
τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 5.20
ἄλλονῶν καλλιοτέρων μου συγγραφέων RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 74.30
των πρώην βασιλέων τως IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5616
τῶν γονέων μου (1672, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 4, 118.19)

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from S. Italy, Crete, the Heptanese and the Aegean:

- τῶν ἐμετέρων γονέω (1131, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 42, 188.12) (= ἡμετέρων, see I, 2.5.4.3)
καὶ τῶ γονέω της (1573 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17, 71.8)
τῶν ἴδιω ἀρχιερέω *P&N Diath.* 2385
τα λόγια τω γονέω ντως CHORTATIS, *Panor.* V.254⁷¹
καὶ τῶν γονέω τους (1686?, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 360.15–16)
γιερέω καὶ λαγικῶ (1722, Tilos, KOUTELAKIS 1979: 21, 54.2) (= ἱερέων καὶ λαϊκῶν; see I, 3.5.2)

Deletion of final /n/ is ostensible when the form is followed by a word starting in a nasal:

- τῶν γονέω μας (16th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 186, 123.3)
τῶ γονέω μας (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 27.29)
τῶ γονέω μου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 575.16
καὶ τῶ γονέω μαχαιριὰν KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.276; στῶ γονέω μου *ibid.* IV.627

⁷¹ The spelling γονέω ντως in this example points to a pronunciation /yon'eo dos/; see I, 3.7.2.1.3 for details.

Synizesis may occur in this ending, though when spelled with <ι> the form could also be considered to be part of the alternative -ός paradigm (βασιλιός; see below and 2.1.1):

ἰδὲς τὰ ἔργα τῶν γονιῶν FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 163
 Σαλονικιῶν ὁμάδα Alex. Rim. 425; ἐκ' εἶδε τάφους βασιλιῶν ibid. 1289
 τῶν γονεῶν του *Paroim.* (Warner) 51.8
 ἐσὺ 'σαι βασιλιῶν παιδὶ KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.87
 τῶν προγονιῶν μας (1710, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 32, 94.18) (conflation of γονέας and πρόγονος)

Synizesis may be concealed by conservative spelling, as becomes clear from verse texts: ὠσαύτως καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων *Chron. Mor.* H 1970; κ' ἡ εὐχή γὰρ τῶν γονέων μας ibid. 4004 (see 1.5 for information on synizesis and accent notation). Epenthesis of an intervocalic /y/ (see I, 3.5.2.1) indicates that synizesis has not taken place: τῶν γονέγων μου (1686, Tilos, KOUTELAKIS 1979: 13, 45.7).

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in Cretan texts:

βασιλιῶ χάρισματὰ CHORTATSI, *Erof.* II.264
 τῷ βασιλιῶ ποὺ φταίξουσι *Zinon* III.180
 σ' ἔβγαλε ἀπὸ τὸ σπῆτι σας καὶ χέρια τῷ γονιῷ σου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.248
 εἰσὲ παλάτια βασιλιῶ KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.187; τῷ γονιῷ τὴν ἐντροπὴ ibid. I.701

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ιάδων/-εάδων

The new imparisyllabic ending of the oxytone -ός paradigm (see 2.2.1) occurs from the 15th c. onwards (cf. nom. and acc. pl.). The ending is usually spelled with <ι> and only rarely with <ε>:

βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλεάδων *Diig. Alex.* F 288.1 (Lolos); ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλιάδων ibid. 76.10 (Konstantinopulos)
 εἶσαι βασιλέας των βασιλιάδων ὁλων *Diig. Alex.* K 363.18
 τῷ βασιλιάδων ὁλωνῶν CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.130
 [βασιλ]ιάδων ROMANOS, *Grammar* 5.23–4
 τῶν φονιάδων RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 86.28
 τῶν βασιλιάδων ἡ βουλή BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 549.5
 στῶν Χαρικεάδων τὰ μελισουρία (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.19)

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in Cretan texts: τῷ βασιλιάδῳ σάζου CHORTATSI, *Panor.* V.31; δυὸ βασιλιάδῳ προξενιὲς id., *Erof.* IV.27; τῷ βασιλιάδῳ *Zinon* I.120, I.363, III.225; ρηγάδῳ, βασιλιάδῳ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 35.

Addition of -(v)ε has been found in a document from Ithaca, but is likely to have had a wider geographical spread (see I, 2.6.3 for details): νὰ πάγει εἰς τοῦ Χαλκιάδωνε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 38, 56.11) (for the article τοῦ(ν) see 5.2.1).

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-εῖς ἰ -ιάδες

These genitive endings, morphologically identical to those of the accusative plural, have been found in texts from Cyprus and they are likely to have had a wider geographical

spread (see 2.1.2 for an example from the Crimea and 2.3.3 and 2.2.1 for examples from Macedonia; see 1.2 for discussion):

δίχως τὸν ὀρισμὸν τοὺς γονεῖς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 238.404)

ἀνευ τῆς εἰδησης τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῆς *Assizes* A 96.28

τὴν στενὴν ζῶν τὸς ἀρχιερεῖς τῆς Κύπρου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.31–2

ἀποῦ θέλουν πάρειν βεντέτταν ἀπὸ ᾧ αὐτῶν τοὺς φονιάδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 128.18–19

Accusative

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-εῖς

This inherited accusative form is used throughout the period covered by this Grammar with nouns in -έας that derive from 3rd-declension nouns in -εύς, but not with other nouns in -έας:

εἰς τοὺς ἱερεῖς (1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.11)

γονεῖς ἀτέκνους καθιστᾷ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 35

ἀφίνω καὶ ἐπτά ἱερεῖς ἀπὸ δύο ὑπερπύρων σιτάριν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.55)

ἄρνούμαι τοὺς γονεῖς μου *Dig.* E 897

τοὺς βασιλεῖς *Flor.* L 1119 (Cupane); διαγέρνει εἰς τοὺς γονεῖς του *ibid.* 1786

καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς μας *Chron. Toc.* 3417

τοὺς Φαρισαίους καὶ γραμματεῖς FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 19; ᾧ τσ' Ἀρχιερεῖς *ibid.* 155

διὰ τοὺς γονεῖς μου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 208.29

ἐμένα καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς μου (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 45.57)

ὅτι νὰ ἐρωτοῦμεν τοὺς γονεῖς του KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 351.9–10

τοὺς βασιλεῖς αὐτόνους SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 437.317

ἀπὸ γονεῖς εὐγενεῖς καὶ φιλάρετους MOREZINOS, *Klini* 42.3

νὰ δίδουν διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς σὲ ἱερεῖς (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 37.5–6)

εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς *Vios Aisop.* I 275.8

τσὶ ἄνωθεν ἱερεῖς (1628, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 523, 496.8)

τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρειωμένους PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 13; αὐτὸς γονεῖς δὲν ἤξευρεν *ibid.* 165

ἀπὸ τοὺς γονεῖς του *Don Kis.* 96.20

τοὺς ἱερεῖς, ὅπου θὲ νὰ τὸν κηδέψου (1733, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 28, 49.17)

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ιάδες/-ιάδε

This imparisyllabic ending, borrowed from the oxytone /as/ paradigm (see 2.2.1) after the change of /'eas/ to /'jas/ (see I, 2.9.4), first appears in written texts in the 15th c. with both words originally in -έας and words derived from the former 3rd-declension paradigm in -εύς:

τοὺς φονιάδες (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 92.30)

εἰς τοὺς φονιάδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 318.33

τοῦ<ς> Φουλιάδες (1527, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 59, 90.4)

τοὺς φονιάδες μου ἀγάπα *Diig. Alex.* F 304.11–12 (Lolos)

ἐκραξαν τοὺς φονιάδες *Diig. Alex.* K 368.1–2

πλούσους βασιλιάδες CHORTATIS, *Erof.* 1.542
 μεγάλους βασιλιάδες STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 407 (Pidonia)
 ἐχάλασε τοὺς φονιάδες ἐκείνους KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 22.7
 στοὺς βασιλιάδες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 557.14

Deletion of final /s/ has been found in a document by Olokalos (see I, 3.7.1.1 for details): με
 τοὺς ἀξαδέλφου μας τοὺς Φουλιάδε (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 19, 60.5).

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	<i>Residual</i>

The archaizing accusative ending -έας, which had been replaced by -εῖς many centuries before the LMedG period (see the introduction to 2.4), is used sporadically in mixed- and higher-register texts: δι' οὗ ἄρνοῦμαι συγγενεῖς, γονέας ὑστεροῦμαι *Dig. G* IV.512; δύο παιδιά ἀτιμάσασιν ἄτσαλα τοὺς γονέας BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 162; τοὺς γονέας KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 7.11.

Sporadically the residual vocative singular in -εῦ is used as an indeclinable form even for the plural: apo quinous tous vasilef / ἀπὸ κείνους τοὺς βασιλεῦ (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 71, f.Iv.1–2).

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-έες

This ending must be viewed as an innovative attempt to form a regular plural for singular -έας. It has only been found in one text (see also nom. pl., above): πόσους βασιλέες *Irodis* V 179.

Vocative

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-εῖς

The vocative is identical to the nominative and ends in -εῖς: ὦ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 173; ὦ βασιλεῖς SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 41.24; ὦ ... ἱερεῖς καὶ πατέρες *Pist. kekoim.* 9–10.

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-ιάδες

From the EMG period an alternative ending emerges, again identical to the innovative alternative nominative (see above), which ends in -ιάδες: ἄνδρες ἀνήμεροι καὶ φονιάδες *Vios Aisop.* I 282.22; [βασιλιάδ]ες ROMANOS, *Grammar* 5.23–4.

2.4.2 Transfers to Other Paradigms

Nouns belonging to this paradigm may undergo various transfers to other paradigms. It is worth noting that such transfers are restricted to former 3rd-declension nouns originally in -εύς. The handful of inherited 1st-declension nouns in -έας (βορέας, ἄνδρέας) and

the innovative names in -έας (e.g. Κουβαλέας, Μαυρέας, Μορέας) do not transfer to other paradigms.

The -έας ending may become -έος and thus transfer to the paroxytone /os/ paradigm (see 2.1.2). Due to the merger between former 3rd-declension nouns in -εύς and old 1st-declension nouns in -έας, former 3rd-declension -έας came to be viewed as 1st-declension, forming a genitive -έου (possibly with influence of the gen. pl. γονέων as suggested by CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 3–4):⁷²

τοῦ Χαλκέου (ca. 1050, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972b: 173.172)
 διὰ τοῦ γραφέου (1071, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 35, 206.57 and 58)
 κύρ Νικολάου τοῦ Κεραμέου (1284, Thessaloniki, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 75, 30.9)
 ἀπὸ ὀρισμὸν τοῦ βασιλείου *Jonas* 216.77; υἱὸς ποτὲ Νικολάου ἱερέου (1543, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 239, 224.2)

For more examples see 2.1.2. These forms were then reinterpreted as belonging to the 2nd-declension -ος paradigm and a full transfer was realised. Examples have been found in texts from S. Italy, the northern mainland, Crete, the Heptanese, the Peloponnese and the Aegean, but notably not from Cyprus:

nom. sg.

Ἰωάννης ἱερέος (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 127, 169.15)
 ὁ λαμπρὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς Αἰγέος *Theseid* I.6,3 (Follieri)
 ὡσάν γονέος του (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 140, 307.9)

acc. sg.

τὸν κύρ Λεόντιον τὸν Θεσσαλονικέον (1018, Athos, ŽIVONJINOVÍČ et al. 1998: 1, 94.4)⁷³
 ἐκεῖνον τὸν γονέον GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208 app. crit. (P)
 πρὸς βασιλέο *Jonas* 216.74
 ὅς τὸν πάμφουμον Θησέον *Theseid* I.14,3 (Follieri)
 τὸν ἄνωθε γραφέο (1660, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 15, 381.4)

nom. pl.

ἐκάμνασι ὡσάν Ἀχιλλέοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 84.23;
 οἱ γονεοὶ της (1640, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 28, 314.2)
 παίρνου οἱ γονεοὶ καὶ χαίρουνται KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.324

acc. pl.

καὶ τοὺς γονέους μου (1114, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 76, 99.26);
 τοὺς γονέους *Achil.* O 315
 ἀπὸ τοὺς γονέους του (1582, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 27, 167.5)
 τοὺς ἀρχιερέους *P&N Diath.* 2801

Regionally (Crete, Heptanese, certain Aegean islands) these forms may subsequently transfer to the oxytone -ός paradigm through synizesis (e.g. βασιλέος > βασιλιός); for details see 2.1.1; for synizesis in general see I, 2.9.4.

Former 3rd-declension nouns in -έας (< -εύς) may also transfer to the masculine -ής paradigm (2.3.4). Examples have been found from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms date of

⁷² The familiarity with plural forms in -έοι/-αῖοι in the proparoxytone -ος paradigm (see 2.1.3) may also have played a role in this development.

⁷³ Forms of the word Θεσσαλονικεύς are often spelled with <αι> instead of <ε>, probably by analogy with nouns such as Ἀθηναῖος, Σιφναῖος, etc.

Assizes B) in texts from Cyprus, Crete, the Heptanese, Mani and the northern mainland. Some representative examples are:

οὔτε ἱερής, οὔτε ἀναγνώστης *Assizes* B 358.20
 τὸν ἱερῇ *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 2124
 καὶ βασιλῆδες φοβεροὺς *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 284
 τῶν βασιλῆδων *Diig. Alex.* K 370.14 (Mitsakis)
 στὸν βασιλῆ Ἀλέξανδρον *Alex. Rim.* 2538
 εἰς ἐπᾶσα καλὸ γονή (1598, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1979: 1, 212.2)
 ὡσὰ γονῆς μ' ἐρώτα *P&N Diath.* 696
 κἂν ἱερῆς κἂν λαϊκός (17th c., Athos, *KADAS* 1988: 120, 352.13–14)
 ὁ ἄνωθεν ἱερῆς (1620, Crete, *XANTHOUDIDIS* 1912: 22, 71.11)
 ὁ κακορίζικος γονῆς *MONTSEL., Evgena* 181
 διακόσοι βασιλῆδες *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 3025
 τοῦ Ἀρκιερχῆ τῆς Ρώμης (1676, Corsica, *BLANKEN* 1951: IX, 310.4)
 κεῖς δύο βασιλίδες *VATATIS, Periig. II* 274

It goes without saying that variant forms can often be found side by side in the same text, especially in verse texts, as the following examples illustrate: ξετελειωμένος βασιλῖδς *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.31; ὁ βασιλέας τῇ Βλαχιᾷ *ibid.* IV.859; κι ὁ βασιλιάς κ' ἡ ρήγισσα *ibid.* V.1373; οἱ βασιλιάδες τοῦτοι *ibid.* IV.1229; οἱ βασιλῖοι ν' ἁμνόσου *ibid.* IV.1598.

Transfers from the masculine /eas/ paradigm to the feminine /ea/ paradigm are rare: ἄλευρον ... εἰς τὴν ἀφορέαν ἐμβάλε (λατροσόφ. 44¹⁶) (cited from *KRIARAS, Epit.* s.v. ἀμφορέα).

2.5 Masculine Nouns in /us/

This is a small paradigm comprising the new noun παπποῦς and several innovative reformations of former 3rd-declension proper names (singular only): Ἰασοῦς < Ἰάσων, Σαλαμοῦς < Σολομών. The occurrence of the ending -οῦς with proper names pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar; see *GIGNAC* 1981: 60 for examples from the 1st c. AD onwards. The paradigm also includes adaptations of foreign proper names and surnames, both inherited and new (Ἰησοῦς, Ντακορφοῦς, Σιμοῦς (< Occit. *Simoun*)), and other foreign nouns: τρίτος μπαροῦς *Chron. Mor.* H 1925 (< Occit. *baroun*). The majority of words belonging to this paradigm do not have a plural at all, but the plural of παπποῦς is imparisyllabic -οῦδες.

First attestations of the word παπποῦς occur in S. Italy in the 12th c. and a genitive παπποῦ is attested in Kekaumenos (late 11th c.; 14th/15th-c. ms): τοῦ παπποῦ μου Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 196.7 app. crit. (ed. Litavrin). With the noun παπποῦς, but not with the other nouns belonging to this paradigm, paroxytone forms also occur, with first appearances simultaneous to παπποῦς; it is impossible to establish which variant precedes the other, though the likely scenario is that πάππους derives from παπποῦς with influence from πάππος. When prefixed with προ-, the stress usually shifts to the penultimate (προπάππους, see below), or, sporadically, to the antepenultimate: ὁ ὀποῖος ἦτον τοῦ Ἀκρίτου πρόπαππους [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P IX, 405.2–3. Oxytone forms of προπάππους are equally rare: ὁ προπαπποῦς μας (1382, Pontos, *OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH* 1927: 125, 93.7); but: τοῦ προπάππου μου (*ibid.* 93.8).

The genesis of παπποῦς is not quite clear: according to CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 129, followed by ANDRIOTIS, *Lex.* s.v., it derives from an (ill-attested) noun παππούα(ς),⁷⁴ which in its turn derives from παππίας (meaning “daddy” in AG (< πάππας) (LSJ), and “guard”, and eventually “majordomo”, a courtly title, in later times (*LBG*)). *LBG* and KRIARAS, *Lex.*, following TSOPANAKIS 1968: 295, take παπποῦς to derive from πάππος by analogy with nouns such as ἀδελφιδοῦς and with influence from ἀδελφός, ἐγγονός where the oxytonization is concerned, even though, as Tsopanakis concedes, an intermediate form *παππρός is unattested. Neither of these explanations is entirely satisfactory.

Even though the evidence is scarce, it is perhaps worth assuming that πάππος first developed an imparisyllabic plural παπποῦδες, which in its turn gave rise to a new singular in -οῦς. There is a strong tendency in Greek to form imparisyllabic plurals for nouns denoting family relations (cf. nouns such as ἀδελφή, ἀδελφάδες and ἀδελφῆδες (2.12.1); ἀνεψιά, ἀνεψιάδες (2.11.5); μάνα, μανάδες (2.11.2.1); συγγενής, συγγενάδες (see 2.3.1, 3.3.3), the (late) form πατεράδες (2.2.4) and others). As the -άδες ending was already assigned to παπάς, and -ηδες to πάπας (see 2.2.1), with πάππος -οῦδες was employed. Even though plural examples are few and have not been found before the second half of the 16th c., there is indirect evidence that the extended stem παππουδ- is older, in the form of an adjective παππούδικος, which occurs in the 14th-c. *Chronicle of Morea*: οὐδὲν τὸν ἔχω [sc. τὸν τόπον] ὥς γονικὸν οὔτε παππούδικόν μου *Chron. Mor.* H 4272. Moreover, the -οῦδες ending occurs twice in a mid-11th-c. document from S. Italy to form the plural of a family name in -ός: τῶν Κουτζοῦδων (see CARACAUSI, *Lex.* s.v. Κουτζός) and is regionally found with words belonging to other paradigms but to the same semantic field of family relations from the 15th c. onwards (θειοῦδες, κυροῦδες, see 2.10.5).

Transfers to the -οῦς paradigm are limited to the singular and include the contracted nouns νοῦς⁷⁵ and χοῦς and several innovative reformations of the former 3rd-declension nouns βοῦς and πούς.

	General	Restricted
Singular		
Nom.	παπποῦς/παππούς	πάππους
Gen.	παπποῦ	πάππου
Acc.	παπποῦ(ν)/παππού(ν)	πάππουν
Voc.	παπποῦ/παππού	

⁷⁴ The form, recorded as *pappua*, has not been found in the texts examined nor in earlier texts, but occurs in the modern dialect of Bova, S. Italy, see KARANASTASIS, *Lex.*).

⁷⁵ A plural νοῦδες mentioned by JANNARIS 1897: 118 and others and attested in the satirical writings of Georgios Souris (19th/20th c.) has not been found in the texts examined. Plural forms have only been found in Portius's grammar, which offers uncontracted AG forms: οἱ νόοι, τῶν νόων, τοὺς νόους PORTIUS, *Grammar* 20.34–6. Even a singular νός has been found: ὁ νός του *Alex. Rim.* 1231; μὴ φιτάνοντας ὁ νός μου (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 11, 81.12), which is possibly based on the genitive νοῦ, or formed by analogy with adjectives such as ἀπλοῦς > ἀπλός (HOLTON 2002: 62).

Plural		
Nom.	παπποῦδες	παπποῦδοι
Gen.	παπποῦδων	*παπποῦς ⁷⁶
Acc.	(παπποῦδες)	
Voc.	(παπποῦδες)	

Singular

Nominative

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-οῦς/-οὺς ἢ -ους

The most common ending for the nominative singular is oxytone -οῦς:

- ὁ παπποῦς μου (1264, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 39, 19.22)
 ὁ παπποῦς *Dig.* G IV.37
 ἕνας μπαροῦς *Chron. Mor.* H 3405 (< Occit. *baroun*); ὁ μισῖρ Ντζᾶς ὁ Τζαρδεροῦς *ibid.* 7820 (< Occit. *de Chauderoun*); τὸ ἀκούσει το ὁ μισῖρ Σιμοῦς *ibid.* 8342 (< Occit. *Simoun*)
 τί ἔποικεν ὁ παπποῦς σου *Dig.* E 254
 ὁ Ἰασοῦς ὁ θαυμαστός *Pol. Tr.* 116 (< Ἰάσων); ὁ Νέστωρ καὶ Ἀμφιμακοῦς *ibid.* 2820 (< Fr. *Phimacus* < Ἀμφίμαχος); ὁ Ρεμοῦς *ibid.* 4706 (< Fr. *Remus*)
 ἀπεφύσησεν ὁ βοῦς *Diig. tetr.* 1019
 ὁ παπποῦς αὐτῶν (15th c., Lesbos, SCHREINER 1975/79: 30, 221.6.5)
 εἰς βασιλέως τράχηλον δὲν πρέπει ποῦς ἀνόμου *Anak. Konst.* 48
 κάγῳ Σταμάτης ὁ Τουροῦς (1472 [copy of 1604], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 107, 216.16)
 ὁ γλυκὺς Ἰησοῦς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 18.5; ὁ παπποῦς του ὁ ρέ Οὔνγκες *ibid.* 94.7–8
 ὁ Τζώρτζης ὁ Πουστρούς VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 98.15
 κι ὁ νοῦς ἀναγυρίζοντα ὁμάδι μὲ τ' ἁμάτι FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 1
 ὁ Σαλαμούς εἶπεν *Fior Suppl.* 277.3
 Ἰησοῦς ὁ του Ναυή *Diig. Alex.* K 349.5–6
 Μάξιμος Ντακορφοῦς (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 164, 156.1); Νικολὸς Τουτοῦς (*ibid.* 169, 162.9)
 ὁ ποτές της παππούς (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 85, 65.10)
 ὁ γέρων ὁ Φιλοπαπποῦς *Dig.* A 1603
 ὁ παπποῦς μου *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 87.32
 ὁ κύρ Γεώργης Πετοῦς (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 181, 355.3)

Paroxytone forms are the norm for προπάππους, but also occur as an alternative to παπποῦς, most probably influenced by πάππος. Other paroxytone nouns in -ους include adapted forms of Turkish surnames in -oğlu:

- τῆς θείας σου ποῦττος πάππους μου *Spanos* B 145
 ὁπού ἔσπειρεν ὁ πάππους μας *Theseid* V 57,2 (1529)
 ὁ Ἀδάμ ὁ προπάππους μας *Diig. Alex.* F 198.17 (Lolos)
 ὁ πάππους [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P II 324.3 and IV 342.23

⁷⁶ For the validity of this form, see the discussion below.

ο πάππους του *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 103.26

πάππους ό GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *nonno*

ό Πγερής ό Καπιτανόγλους (1677, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 14, 35.4)

Omission of final /s/ may occur in texts from Crete when the form is followed by a sibilant or affricate (see I, 3.7.1.1): ό παπποϋ σου (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 51, 54.10); ό παπποϋ τση (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 365, 341.2–3); ό προπάππου τση (ibid. 341.3).

Genitive

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-οϋ -ου

The genitive is formed by deleting the final /s/ of the nominative:

τοϋ παπποϋ μας (1140, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 122, 162.11); εις τοϋ παπποϋ (1198, ibid. 246, 334.4)

τοϋ Βοϋ το Πηγάδιν (1329, Constantinople, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 68, 375.79)

Φιλοπαπποϋ τοϋ γέροντος *Dig.* G IV.33

τοϋ Ίασοϋ τοϋ γίγα *Pol. Tr.* 137

τοϋ νοϋ *Assizes* B 439.17

ουδέν έχουν άλλην όρεξην του νοϋ *Anthos Ch.* G 21.9

τοϋ λεγομένου ποτέ παπποϋ μου (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 845, 660.20)

τοϋ ποτέ κυρ-Ίάκουμο Μπουλντοϋ (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 226, 214.2)

τοϋ νοϋ SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 105.6

τοϋ ποτέ παπποϋ αϋτοϋ (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 251, 211.10)

τοϋ παπποϋ μας ό παπποϋς *Paroim.* (Warner) 97.24

τοϋ παπποϋ σου [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P V, 364.26

The noun παπποϋς has a paroxytone alternative, most probably influenced by the old form πάππος. For the prefixed form προπάππους paroxytone forms are the norm: τοϋ πάππου ... ή τοϋ προπάππου RICHARD, *Targa pisteos* I 249.1.

Accusative

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-οϋ(ν)/-οϋ(ν) -ου(ν)

The accusative ends in -οϋ and occurs with and without final /n/:

τόν βοϋν (1049, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 4, 154.64)

τόν παπποϋν ήμων (1234, Smyrna region, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 7, 33.1)

Φιλοπαπποϋν τόν γέροντα *Dig.* G VI.548

τόν Ίασοϋν τόν πάγκαλον *Pol. Tr.* 7; τόν παπποϋν του ibid. 14169

τόν ποϋν τόν δεξιόν τε ERMON., *Ilias* 5.246

ἐν βοϋν κόκκινον (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 26, 163.3)

μέ τόν παπποϋν του τόν άλλον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 94.8

τόν άνδραν άπό χοϋ τής γής έδημιούργησέν τον *Synax. gyn.* 89 app. crit.

τόν ποϋν τοϋ βασιλέως *Velis.* p 242

εις τόν παπποϋν του *Thrinós Tam.* 45

στὸν νοῦ σου *Theseid* Prol. E 226
 τὸν παπποῦν του SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 437.296
 τὸν παπποῦ του (1590, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 8, 309.28)
 οἱ ἐχθροὶ χοῦν ἔλειξαν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 10.13
 νοῦν σαλεμένον DAM. STOUDE., *Dial.* 93.22
 τὸν ἄνωθεν ἀφέντη Μπουστρουῦ (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 297, 284.9–10)
 τὸν παπποῦ μου (1635, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994b: 1, 166.50)
 τὸν νοῦν σου PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 935
 χωράφι διὰ βοῦν καὶ ἀγελὲ (1698, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 100, 78.13)

The noun παπποῦς has a paroxytone alternative, a conflation of παπποῦς and πάππος. The noun προπάππους is usually paroxytone: ἐκ τὸν ἡμέτερον προπάππου (1185, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 18, 334.5–6); τὸν πάππου, τὸν προπάππου μας *Chron. Toc.* 3417.

Vocative

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-οῦ/-οῦ

The vocative singular ends in -οῦ:

ἄλλην μίαν, Φιλοπαπποῦ γέρον μου *Dig.* G VI.222
 τοῦτο ἐξεύρω, Ἰασοῦ *Pol. Tr.* 381
 ὦ νοῦ σκοτεινισμένη *Fior* 92.2
 νοῦ μου διασκορπισμένη *Erof.* II.439
 ἔλα, παπποῦ, νὰ σὲ δειξῶ τὰ πατρογονικά σου *Paroim.* (Warner) 97.22

Plural

Nominative

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-οῦδες

No nominative plural examples have been found before the late 16th c.: οἱ παπποῦδες μας (1569/70, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 20, 130.11); γονεῖς, παπποῦδες, προπαπποῦδες RICHARD, *Targa pisteos* I 249.13; πού εἶναι παπποῦδες καὶ προπαπποῦδες μας; CANTEMIR, *Krit.* 447.12.

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-οῦδοι

This ending, with substitution of <οι> for <ες>, occurs in a document from Mykonos. Though it cannot be excluded that it derives from an alternative form παπποῦδος (see fn. 78 at gen. pl.), no such singular has been found in the texts examined: οἱ παπποῦδοι τῶς (1702, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 40, 53.16).

*Genitive**Masc.*

Pl.	Gen.	-οῦδων

The genitive plural ends in -οῦδων. The examples date to the 17th c.: καὶ τῶν παπποῦδων αὐτοῦ MEURSIUS, GLOSS. s.v. παπποῦδος;⁷⁷ τῶν παπποῦδων RICHARD, *Targa pisteos* I 249.7.

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-οῦς

If this genitive form is valid, it is most probably the result of intervocalic deletion of /ð/ in the -οῦδες ending and subsequent deletion of the weak unstressed vowel /e/ (see I, 3.6.1.1). Genitive plural endings that are morphologically identical to the accusative occur with most masculine paradigms and have a strong presence in texts from Cyprus (see 1.2). However, as the manuscript, Par. gr. 1390, lacks any form of stress notation (παππους), the form is equally likely to represent παππους: εἰς τὴν ἑξουσίαν τοῦς πατέρας τοὺς οὗ τοὺς παππούς τοὺς *Assizes* B 441.12–13.⁷⁸

Accusative and Vocative

No accusative or vocative plural forms have been found in the texts examined, but they can be assumed to be identical with the nom. form in -οῦδες.

2.6 Masculine Nouns in /es/

This paradigm comprises innovative formations of foreign loanwords from French and Italian/Venetian, among which ἀποστολές, βιτισορές, μαγατζές, λεβάντες, κόντες and πρίντσιπες and proper names such as Ντζεφρές, Μαφρές, Τζάνες, Μικέλες, Κρέοντες and others. In the EMG period the paradigm expands with loanwords from Turkish, such as καφές, καφενές, φερεντζές and many others.

The oxytone sub-paradigm develops an imparisyllabic plural in -έδες towards the end of the EMG period, with first written evidence in the 17th c. The paroxytone and proparoxytone nouns in -ες do not develop a distinctive plural, but rather borrow plural endings from

⁷⁷ Meursius, based on this genitive plural form, supposed that the nominative singular would be παπποῦδος, a form that has not been found in the texts examined, although nowadays it does occur as a surname (cf. also the nom. pl. ending -οῦδοι). He quotes this form from a manuscript of Bartholomew of Edessa, the 12th-c. author of an anti-Muslim pamphlet. In Leiden Meursius's colleague Scaliger copied the text of this manuscript and his copy forms the basis for the modern edition (K.-P. Todt, *Bartholomaios von Edessa. Confutatio Agareni. Kommentierte griechisch-deutsche Textausgabe* von Klaus-Peter Todt, Würzburg/Altenburge 1988). However, Scaliger's version offers παππων, making it quite clear that he normalized the text of the manuscript he copied. Unfortunately the original as seen by Meursius now appears to be lost and there is no information on its date: it may have been 16th-c., but it may also have been older.

⁷⁸ The only other form of this noun in *Assizes* is an equally uncertain genitive singular τοῦ παπποῦ *Assizes* B 441.11 (ms: παππου). Unfortunately, the other manuscript of *Assizes* (Par. Suppl. gr. 465), which does have stress notation, does not mention any grandfathers.

paradigms in -ης, -ος and -ας; at the same time they show a strong tendency towards a full transfer to these paradigms, especially to -ης and -ος (see 2.6.3).

For forms in -ές that are alternatives to -εύς/-έας (singular only) see 2.4.1.

2.6.1 Oxytone Nouns

	Restricted	More restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	μαμελές		
Gen.	μαμελέ		
Acc.	μαμελέ(ν)		
Voc.	μαμελέ		
Plural			
Nom.	μαμελέδες	(μαμελές)	
Gen.	(μαμελέδων)		
Acc.	μαμελέδες	μαμελές μαμελέδισ	-ήδες -άδες
Voc.	(μαμελέδες)		

Singular

Nominative

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ές

There is no morphological variation in the nominative singular, examples of which have been found from the very beginning of the period covered by this Grammar:

ἐγὼ Τζεφρές, υἱὸς τοῦ κόμητος Ρογερίου (1111, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 2, 511.2) (< Fr. (Norman) *Geoffrey*)

Ἰωάννης Μαντζές παρὼν μαρτυρῶ (1188?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 12, 530.1) (< Fr. *Manchez?*); Γοῖδος Δετρές (1141, *ibid.* Coll. XII: 6, 562.2) (< Fr. *De Treux, Detrez?*); Μανφρὲς υἱὸς κόμητος (*ibid.* 562.10) (< OFr. *Mainfroi*)

ὁ μισίρ Ντζεφρές *Chron. Mor.* H 188 (< OFr. (Occit.) *Geoffroi*); ὁ μισίρ Βηλές *ibid.* 1325 (< Fr. *Vilain*); τὸ ἰδεῖ τον ὁ ροῖ Μαφρές *ibid.* 5787

ἦτον α' ἀποστολές, ἔτι ὑποφήφις MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 624.27 (< OFr. *apostoile*, see GODEFROY, *Lex.* s.v.)

ὁ βιτσορές τσ' Ἀνάπολης KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.55⁷⁹ (< Ital. *vicere*)

⁷⁹ Note that the Italian title may also occur in unadapted form: ὁ βιτσορέ ντ' Ἀνάπολι KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.75.

εἷς μαγατζές καὶ ὁσπίτιον (1510, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 23, 40.9) (< Ven. *magazèn*)
 ὁ μαγαντζές (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 10, 22.21)
 ἐγὼ Τζανὲς Σιγάλας (1573, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75.30)
 ὁ σερ-Γιαννούλης Τζές (1590, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 33, 176.13) (< Ven. *Zen*)
 ἄβγατίσθην ὁ λοφές του *Ptochol.* A 181 (< Turk. *ulûfe*)
 καὶ τόπεσεν ὁ φερεντζές STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voenv.* 242 (Pidonia) (< Turk. *ferace*) (τόπεσεν = τοῦ ἔπεσεν, see I, 2.9.5)
 δὲν εὐρίσκονταν κερεστές PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.19 (< Turk. *kereste*)
 ὁ αὐτὸς μισὲρ Μικές (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 428, 649.2) (< Ital. *Miche*)
 ὁ σερμεγές τοῦ Ἰωάννου (1690, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 12, 7.7) (< Turk. *sermaye*); ὁ μπαχτζές (1697, *ibid.* 30, 25.98) (< Turk. *bahçe*)
 νὰ ἡ χαρὰ κι ὁ ἐγλεντζές *Diig. Vefa* 1164 (< ἡ ἐγλεντζέ (see 2.16.1) < Turk. *eğlence*)
 χασές φράγκικος (1708 [later copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B 15, f.179r.14) (< Turk. *haşe*)
 δὲν εἶναι κανένας κουμπές *Don Kis.* 12.16–17 (< Turk. *kubbe*); ὁ μπερδές διὰ τες κούκλες *ibid.* 317.17 (< Turk. *perde*)

Genitive

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-έ

The genitive singular is formed by deleting the final /s/ of the nominative:

τοῦ μισὲρ Ντζεφρὲ *Chron. Mor.* H 200 (< OFr. *Geoffroi*); τοῦ ροῖ Μαφρὲ *ibid.* 6784 (< OFr. *Mainfroi*)
 τοῦ αποστολὲ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 8.3 (< OFr. *apostoile*, see GODEFROY, *Lex.* s.v.)
 τοῦ μαγαντζέ μας (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 260, 259.8) (< Ven. *magazèn*)
 τοῦ πρίντσιπου τοῦ Τζεντεφρὲ IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 380 (< OFr. *Godefroi/Geoffroi*)
 τοῦ μισὲρ Μικέ (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 428, 649.2); τοῦ αὐτοῦ μαγαντζέ (1685, *ibid.* 558, 783.10)
 τοῦ μπαχτζέ (1697, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 30, 25.100) (< Turk. *bahçe*)
 τοῦ εκλαμπροτάτου Καμοέ *Don Kis.* 533.23 (< Port. *Camões*)

Accusative

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-έ(ν)

The accusative ends in -έ. Addition of final /n/ is variable:

μισὲρ Ντζεφρὲ τὸν ἔλεγαν *Chron. Mor.* H 162 (< OFr. *Geoffroi*); κ' ἔστεψασιν τὸν ροῖ Μαφρὲ *ibid.* 5975 (< OFr. *Mainfroi*)
 μὲ τὸ μαγατζέν τὸ μικρόν (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 147.15) (< Ven. *magazèn*)
 τότες ἔστειλεν ὁ σολτάνος τὸν ἀποστολὲ (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 67, f.IV.7) (< OFr. *apostoile*, see GODEFROY, *Lex.* s.v.)
 ὑπῆρχον δὲ σεῖτηδες ἔχοντες τεκὲν *Ekth. Chron.* 59.13–14 (< Turk. *tekke*)
 καὶ βιτισορὲ ἀπέστειλεν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.127 (< Ital. *viceré*)
 ἔνα φερεντζέ (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 230, 163.12) (< Turk. *ferace*)

εἰς πένα καὶ τζερεμέν τῶν ἐμίνηδων (1587, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 146, 270.5–6) (< Turk. *cerime*)
 τὸ αὐτὸν ἔτον ἔσθησε μιναρὲ (1597, Ioannina, LAMBROS 1910: 234, 183.2–3) (< Turk. *minare*)
 διὰ νὰ κάμουσι λοφέ των παιδίων του *Theophr. Char.* 126.21 (< Turk. *ulûfe*)
 τεγκερὲ ἔνα (1627, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 240.23) (< Turk. *tencere*)
 ἐκεῖ όπου εἶχαν τινάξει τὸν λουλέ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.4 (< Turk. *lule*); θέλω δώσει καὶ
 ἐγὼ τὸ ρεφενέ μου *ibid.* III §33.12 (< Turk. *refene*); ὅποιος ἐπῆρεν βερεσέ τίποτες *ibid.* III
 §31.3 (< Turk. *veresiye*)
 οὔτε μὲ κεφιλιμέν (1655 [18th-c. copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B 1, f.157v.18) (<
 Turk. *kefilime*)
 εἰς τὰ Φηρὰ ἔνα μαγατζέ (1656, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 9, 405.38–9)
 λεφέν τρία ἀσπρα κάμαν του IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 380 (< Turk. *ulûfe*); ἀπόξω ἀπὸ τον περδέ
ibid. 651 (< Turk. *perde*); σαν ἔκαμαν μουσαβερέ *ibid.* 1451 (< Turk. *müşavere*);
 ἀπὸ τὸν σερμεγέν τους (1687, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 4, 3.13)
 (< Turk. *sermaye*); μὲ μπαχτζέν (1699, *ibid.* 30, 62.15) (< Turk. *bahçe*)
 βγάνει τὸ πελκεσέν του (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.11) (< Turk. *bel-kese*)
 (σὲ ἔστειλα ...) καὶ καφέν (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 66.12)
 στὸν χαζνέ μέσα *Diig. Vefa* 119 (< Turk. *hazne*); βλέπεις ἐτοῦτον τὸν τζεσμὲ *ibid.* 245 (< Turk. *çesme*)
 μὲ ντεσκερὲ χρωστημιᾶς EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 56.11–12; μέσα στὸ τζιμπιχανέν *ibid.* 58.21 (<
 Turk. *cebehane*)
 ἐγὼ ἔχω ζαχερέν *Don Kis.* 232.22 (< Turk. *zahire*); σκεπασμένος με μαύρον καδιφέν *ibid.* 603.3
 (< Turk. *kadife*)

Vocative

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-έ

The vocative ends in -έ, but not many examples have been found: “μιοῖρ Ντζεφρέ”, τὸν λέγει *Chron. Mor.* H 1847 (< OFr. *Geoffroi*).

Plural

Nominative

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-έδες

The imparisyllabic plural of this paradigm, now the SMG norm for the limited number of nouns that have escaped the 19th-century purification of the Greek language, has not been found before the second half of the 17th c.:

καὶ αὐτεῖνοι οἱ τετέδες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 91 (< Turk. *tete*); οἱ ναμέδες σας *ibid.* 435 (< Turk. *name*)
 οἱ μαμελέδες ποῦπαιρνα ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 53 (< Turk. *muamele*); μὲ γείνηκαν μπερδέδες *ibid.*
 54 (< Turk. *perde*)
 καμχανέδες ... χασέδες τρανοί (1708 [later copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B 15,
 f.179r.10–13) (< Turk. *kamhane* and *haşe*)

Genitive

No examples have been found, but it can be assumed that the ending would be -έδων.

Accusative

Pl.	Acc.	-έδες -ές -έδεις

The accusative is identical to the nominative. In the texts examined no examples have been found before the 17th c.:

εἰς μαμελέδες καὶ τζερεμέδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §15.41 (< Turk. *muamele* and *cereme*);
 ἐχάλασεν τοὺς καφενέδες *ibid.* I §16.4 (Turk. *kahve-hane*); ἀπὸ χανέδες *ibid.* I §29.15 (<
 Turk. *hane*); πᾶσα λογῆς πωρκὰ καὶ μεζέδες ἔχεις εἰς τὸ τραπέζιν σου *ibid.* II §7.15 (< Turk.
meze; πωρκὰ = πωρικά, see I, 2.7.2)
 ἀνωκάτησε πόλι, κάστρο καὶ μιναρέδες (1650–4, Leros/Patmos, LAMBROS 1910: 273, 193.2) (<
 Turk. *minare*)
 ἀποὺ τίς μαγατζέδες (1665, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 10, 419.5) (< Ven. *magazèn*; for the masc.
 article τίς see 5.2.1)
 με ἀπειρους τεστέδες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 23 (< Turk. *deste*); με ζαχιρέδες, με φαγιά *ibid.* 1982
 (< Turk. *zahire*); λεφέδες τους δεν θέλουσιν *ibid.* 2872 (< Turk. *ulûfe*); μουσαβερές κάνουν
ibid. 5379 (< Turk. *müşavere*); καὶ μουναρέδες ἔκαμαν *ibid.* 9817 (= μιναρέςδες)
 τοὺς μαμελέδες NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 41; τοὺς ἔχει διὰ μεζέδες *ibid.* 42; τοὺς ντζερεμέδες *ibid.* 53
 τεντζερέδες δύο (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 137.14–15) (< Turk. *tencere*)
 βρίσκεις σωστοὺς σαράντα χοτζερέδες *Diig. Vefa* 257–8 (< Turk. *hiücre*)
 εἰς τρεῖς ἄβαντέδες (1684 [18th-c. copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B 22, f.184v.2) (<
 Turk. *vade*, possibly with influence from Romance *avant*-)
 τοὺς εἶχαν κρεμίνισι τοὺς κουμπέδες *Don Kis.* 12.16–17 (< Turk. *kubbe*); τοὺς εγλεντζέδες *ibid.*
 562.7 (< ἡ ἐγλεντζέ < Turk. *eğlence*)

Deletion of intervocalic /ð/ and subsequent loss of the weak unstressed vowel /e/ resulting in oxytone forms in -ές occur in the work of the Cypriot Ioakeim (see KAPLANIS 2012, *Gloss.* s.v. ζερδές and μουσαβερές; cf. masculine nouns in -άς (2.2.1) and feminine nouns in -ού (2.13.1): μ' όλους τους ζαχιρές τους IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1951 (< Turk. *zahire*); με όλους τους ζερδές τους *ibid.* 1952 (< Turk. *zerde*); μουσαβερές που κάνουν *ibid.* 8503 (< Turk. *müşavere*).

Raising of /e/ to /i/, resulting in -έδεις, has been found in a document of northern origin (see I, 2.5.4 for details): ἔχει δούου σιντζατέδεις (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 55.14–15).

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ῆδες

In the following example the word μαγατζές (< Ven. *magazèn*) borrows the ending of the masculine -ής paradigm (2.3.3). The validity of the form could not be checked, but some caution is due, as the facsimiles of other documents included in the edition show discrepancies when compared with the transcription:⁸⁰ εἰς τὸν γιάλὸν δύο μαγατζήδες (1656, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 9, 405.40).

⁸⁰ To give just a few examples: on p. 409 the facsimile reads: τα ανοθε οπου, which is transcribed as τὰ ἀνωθεν ποῦ; ταφεντι becomes τοῦ αὐθ[έντη]; δια γινεκα μου βλογιτικι becomes διὰ γυναῖκα μου εὐλογητικὴν.

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδες

In the following example the noun μαγατζές appears with the ending of the masculine -άς paradigm (2.2.1): τσι μαγατζάδες *Leilasia Par.* 142.

Vocative

No examples have been found.

2.6.2 Paroxytone and Proparoxytone Nouns

Singular		
Nom.	λεβάντες	πρέντσιπες
Gen.	λεβάντε	πρέντσιπε
Acc.	λεβάντε(ν)	πρέντσιπε(ν)
Voc.	(λεβάντε)	(πρέντσιπε)

Singular

Nominative

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-ες

The nominative singular invariably ends in -ες. Examples have been found from the 15th c. onwards:

ὁ Νῶες CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 425

στὸ ὁποῖον θρονὶν καθέζεται ντοῦζες τῆς Βενετίας *Diig. Ven.* 42 (< Ven. *dose*)

ὁ κόντες Φλάντρας *Chron. Mor.* P 402 (< OFr. *conte*)

ὁ λεβάντες KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.26 (< Ital. *levante*)

ὁ πριόρες τῆς Σάντα Μαρίας (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 1, 3.8) (< Ital. *priore*)

ὡς ἀφατόρες (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 25, 64.3) (< Ital. *fattore*)

φράσσει σε ... ὁ γριεγολεβάντες (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 76.9–10) (< Ven. *grego levante*)

νὰ γίνεται ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ ὅλος ἑνας μόντες (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 14, 19.12–13) (< Ital. *monte*)

ὡσάν ἐρέντες ἐκεινοῦ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 48, 48.9) (< Ital. *eredede*)

ἀληθινὸς ντεμπιτόρες (1552, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 166, 158.3) (< Ital. *debitore*)

παῖσα ὁποῦ νὰ γένη νέος καρδηνάλης (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1) (< Ital. *cardinale*)

ἐγίνηκε δοττόρες CHORTATIS, *Katz.* IV.160 (< Ital. *dottore*)

ἦτον γκενεράλης (16th c. [18th-c. ms], SCHREINER 1975/79: 59.IV, 444.31.11) (< Ital. *generale*)

ὁ Λαντίσλαος καὶ ὁ γαρδενάλης *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 72.5 (< Ital. *cardinale*)

Ἐμμανουήλ Βλαστός ὁ δετόρες (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 7, 177.28)

<ὁ> ἀφέντης ἀγιουτάντες (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.7) (< Ital. *aiutante*)

ὁ γενεράλης τό 'ξευρε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 446.13; ὁ μαρκέζες *ibid.* 450.3 (< Ital. *marchese*)
 ὁ ὑψηλότατος ἀφέντης καπετάν τελε-νάβες (1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 7, 20.5) (< Ven.
capitàn del le nave, see BOERIO, *Lex.* s.v. *governatòr*)⁸¹
 ἐκλελεμένος ... διὰ ἀσιστέντες (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.2) (< Ital.
assistente)
 ὁ μισερ Ζάννες Δουράτζος ὡσάν προκουρατόρες (1700, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 24, 329.6) (<
 Ital. *procuratore*)
 Μικέλες Ντζές ὑπογράφω (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 110.25)
 "Ερκολες ἐπόθανεν καλόιρος (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 72, f.II.8) (καλόιρος =
 καλόγηρος)
 ὁ Κρέοντες ὁ ἄτυχος *Theseid* V 59,5 (1529)
 ὁ ὁποῖος ἔγινε ἔπειτα πρίντζιπες (16th c. [18th-c. ms], Unknown, SCHREINER 1975/79: 59.IV,
 444.31.12) (< Ital. *principe*)
 ὁ μπρέντζιπες (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.22) (< Ven. *prencipe*)
 ὁ ὑψηλότατός μας Πρέντζιπες *Chron. Theod.* 21.21

Genitive

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-ε

The genitive is formed in the most common way, by deletion of the final /s/ of the nominative:

τοῦ λεβάντε (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 55.2); τοῦ πουνέντε (*ibid.* 57.20)
 (< Ital. *levante* and *ponente/punente*)
 τῶν ... μαρτύρων: κυρ-Τζιανῆ Μαντηλᾶ, φατόρε τοῦ μισερ ... (1536, Crete, MAVROMATIS
 1994a: 165, 167.15)
 καὶ μισερ-Τζουάνε, τοῦ ἀδερφοῦ του (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 122, 134.2)
 φορῶ ντοττόρε βέστα *Stathis* I.294 (< Ital. *dottore*)
 τοῦ γαληνοτάτου πρέντζιπε (post 1669, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1938: 2, 295.3) (< Ven. *prencipe*)
 τοῦ πρέντζιπε (1675, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 87, 51.3)
 τοῦ πρέντζιπέ τους SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 58.29

Accusative

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-ε(ν)

The accusative ends in -ε and may occur with and without final /n/:

τὸν Νῶεν CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 439
 στὸν κόντε τῆς Τσαμπάνιας *Chron. Mor.* P 175 (OldFr. *conte*)
 εἰς τὸν πουνέντεν (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 57.15); εἰς τὸν λεβάντεν
 (1534, *ibid.* 69.8) (< Ital. *ponente/punente* and *levante*)
 νὰ πιάσω ἕνα ντοττόρε | ... γῆ ἕνα ψηλὸ ἀουτόρε *Stathis* III.207–8 (< Ital. *dottore* and *autore*)
 τὸν ἐκλαμπρότατον ἀφέντην του Τζουάνε Ντεσουνία (1630, Patmos, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 1,
 401.23)

⁸¹ For the undeclined form cf. ὁ καπετάν δελενάβε MATESIS, *Chron.* 66.10.

τὸν μαρκέζε πέψανε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 447.5 (< Ital. *marchese*)

ἤγουν σ' αὐτὸν τὸν πρίντσιπε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 6099

Vocative

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-ε

One example has been found, though it cannot be excluded that it derives from the alternative πρίντσιπος rather than from πρίντσιπες. Ioakeim uses both alternatives, but those in -ος are more frequent in his text: Πρίντσιπε, ἐγὼ στὸν ὀρισμὸν σου IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2117.

2.6.3 Transfers to Other Paradigms

Oxytone nouns in -ές do not show a strong tendency to transfer to other paradigms. In the documents of the Cretan notary Maras the word μαγατζές may transfer to -ος through the addition of this ending to the original Venetian word *magazèn*:⁸² τοῦ μαγαντζένου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 37, 36.4 and 257, 254.6–7); καὶ τὸν μαγαντζένο (ibid. 48, 47.16). Certain nouns derived from Turkish words in /el/, e.g. λουφές (< *ulûfe*) may transfer to the masculine -άς paradigm (2.2.1); the word μπαχτζές (< *bahçe*) has a regional variant *bahça* in Turkish. A form μπαχτζιά occurs in the *Chronicle* of Papasynadinos (Serres): οἱ σπαόγλανοι ἔχουν τὴν ἡμέραν ἀλοφᾶν (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 12.34); ἐπερίσσευε τὸν λοφᾶ τοὺς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 125.14; δώσω σοι λοφᾶν, ὅσον θέλεις (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 259.84.6); τοὺς λοφάδες τῶν Οὐγγῶν ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1102; καὶ τὸν μπαχτζιά ἐφκίασεν ὑπέρκαλα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §19.17.

From the very beginning of the period covered by this Grammar, paroxytone nouns in -ες may transfer to the masculine paradigm in -ης (2.3.4), to that in -ος (2.1.2) or sporadically to that in -ας (2.2.5), by substituting -ης, -ος or -ας for -ες, though in documents from S. Italy and Sicily there is no evidence for intermediate forms in -ες of the nouns κόντης and πριόρος.⁸³

-ης:

ἐγὼ Ρογέριος κόντης στέργω (1111, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 2, 511.15)

πριούρην τοῦ ὀσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικολάου (1193, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 232, 313.6) (< Ital. *priore*)

δύο κόντηδες (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.25)

τοῦ κούντη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.28

⁸² Comparable is the indeclinable surname Τζέν (< Ven. *Zen*), which appears in the same collection of documents (Maras) in its original form, e.g. τοῦ μισερ Νικολὸ Ντζέν (ibid. 96, 94.15), as well as with an added -ος ending: ἡμεῖς Φραντζέσκος Ντζένος καὶ Λορέντζος Ντζένος (ibid. 116, 113.1); τοῦ κυρ-Στεφάνου Ντζένου (ibid. 142, 141.2). Elsewhere it appears as a declinable noun in -ές: Μικέλες Ντζές ὑπογράφω (1706, Zakynthos, ΖΟΙΣ 1941: 1, 110.25).

⁸³ In Sicily, forms in /es/ occur only in the oxytone paradigm, with proper names of (Norman) French origin.

τοῦ πουνέντη (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 61.27); εἰς τὸν λεβάντη (1530–40, Unknown, *ibid.* Z, 176.1)

-ος:

ὁ ρηθεὶς πριόλος Ρουπέρτος (1100, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 15, 202.8) (< Ital. *priore*; for the change of /r/ to /l/ see I, 3.8.6.3)

τὸν κόντον τῆς Κεφαλλονίας *Chron. Mor.* H 2894

κόντοι *Diig. tetr.* 492 app. crit. (VC)

ὁ κόντος ὁ Μερκούριος ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* I.241

δουκάδες, κούντους *Alosis* 177

ἄξιος φατόρος Σαντορίνης (1548, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 119, 234.17–18)

ὁ πρίντζιπος τῆς Ποδολίας *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 111.31

ὄλους τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ πριόρους (1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 46, 28.5)

τοῦ πρίντσιπου ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 380 (< Ital. *principe*)

-ας:

τοῦ πρίντζιπα Βενετίας (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 135.48)

να μην εἶναι πρίντσιπας *Don Kis.* 181.27

(both examples with obvious influence from the noun πρίγκιπας).

2.7 Masculine Nouns in -ιος

This paradigm comprises all proparoxytone masculine nouns in -ιος, with only a few exceptions such as δῆμιος, ἥλιος, ἴσκιος and σύμβιος, which follow the proparoxytone masculine -ος paradigm (2.1.3). The majority of nouns belonging to this paradigm end in -άριος and mostly consist of Latin loanwords in *-arius* (see FILOS 2009), e.g. δρουγγάριος (< *drungarius*), καβαλλάριος (< *caballarius*); new formations based on Greek roots, e.g. γονικάριος (< γονικόν), ὑποθεσ(ι)άριος (< ὑπόθεσις); and loanwords from Italian and French, e.g. τζεσιονάριος (< Ital. *cessionario*), λίζιος (< Fr. *lige* < MedLat. *ligius*). These nouns show developments similar to adjectives in -άριος, for which see 3.2.6. The paradigm also covers names of months in -ιος (Ἰανουάριος, Φεβρουάριος, etc.) as well as proper names in /ios/ such as Ἀντώνιος, Βασίλειος, Ἰσαάκιος and others, both of which categories seldom appear in the plural. In addition it covers nouns denoting geographical provenance (Αἰγύπτιος, Πελοποννήσιος, etc.) and the noun κύριος and its compounds. In the singular this paradigm does not differ much from the proparoxytone paradigm in -ος (2.1.3), but it is different from proparoxytone -ος in its alternative plural formations and in its systematic transfer to the -ης paradigm (see 2.7.2).

An alternative plural formation in -αῖοι/-εῖοι can be found alongside -ιοι from the 1st c. AD onwards with nouns denoting geographical provenance and names of (exotic) tribes, e.g. Γανδαράων in the anonymous *Periplus of the Red Sea* (1st c.) (< Γανδάριοι); Μαρθωναίους in Ps. Caesarius, *Erotapokriseis* (6th c.); and Πελοποννησαῖοι and Ζακυνθαίους in *De Administrando Imperio* (10th c.) (for these examples see the online *TLG*). This alternative plural is rather common in the period covered by this Grammar, occurring over a large geographical area. However, among the well-documented areas Crete and Cyprus appear to be the exception, as no examples of this alternative plural have been found. The ending -αῖοι/-εῖοι could become ['ji] through synizesis (see I, 2.9.4), after which

loss of /j/ occurred, resulting in oxytone forms: σιργέντες καὶ καβαλλарοί *Chron. Mor.* H 3281 ἐκάμνασιν τα οἱ νοικοκυροί (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 277, 381.10); τοὺς πορταροὺς *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 122; με ὀλίγους καβαλαροὺς *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 87.27. Occasionally resyllabification occurs, a form of hypercorrection of synizesis (see I, 2.9.4), resulting in paroxytone forms in -ιοί, no doubt also helped by the existence of the inherited gen. pl. -ίων and acc. pl. -ίους (see above): καβαλλαριοί *Pol. Tr.* 576 app. crit. (X); ὀφικιαλίοι LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 134.

In addition the inherited -ιοί ending could undergo deletion of the repeated vowel [i] resulting in paroxytone forms in -οί (see I, 2.9.2.1). Examples can be found as early as the 2nd c. AD with names of foreign tribes: Βαντουράροι and Κασσούροι appear in the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy (see the online *TLG*). After this a new accusative plural in -ους and genitive plural in -ων were formed based on the nominative ending. These forms continue to occur in the period covered by this Grammar:

ἀγγαράροι (1173, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 51, 88.20)
 ἐκείνοι οἱ ἀποκρισάροι *Chron. Mor.* H 568
 μεγάλων καβαλάρων *Diig. tetr.* 251
 ἀποκρισάρους ἄρχοντες *Alex. Rim.* 763
 ἔχει δὲ γερακάρους (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 12.32).

Alternative forms can often be found side by side in the same text, especially in verse texts, in which the different stress patterns are convenient to accommodate the rhythm: ἦ καὶ κατεργοκύριοι εἶτε ὀφικιαλίοι LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 134; ἀπαντας τοὺς οἰκοκυροὺς κυρίου Βενετσάνους ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 1688; τῶρα ἔναι οἰκοκύροι *ibid.* 9911; but also in prose texts: οἱ κουμμερκιαροί *Vios Aisop.* K 159.24; οἱ κουμμερκιαρέοι *ibid.* 159.25.

As paroxytone nouns in -ιος started systematically to produce alternative forms in -ης (see 2.7.2), it comes as no surprise that new words in -ης belonging to paradigm 2.3.4, and especially those in -ρης, may sometimes transfer to the -ιος paradigm:

γκουβερνούριος (1310, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 31, 163.[24]4) (< κουβερνούρης)
 ὁ Λεοθέτιος *Pol. Tr.* 2305 (= Φιλοκτήτης); ὁ Διομήδιος *ibid.* 11988; ὁ Παλαμήδιος *ibid.* 13174; Ὁρέστιος ὡς ἤκουσε *ibid.* 13444
 μαγκουφαροί (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.14–15) (< μαγκουφάρης)
 οἱ κατωγραμμένοι κατεργάροι (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 115, 93.1) (< κατεργάρης)
 αὐτουῶν τῶν ιδίων κατεργάρων (1554, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 216, 191.28)
 ὅλοι οἱ γιανιτσηραῖοι τῆς Πόλης (1589 [copy of 1653], Epirus, LAMBROS 1916b: 3, 135.1–2) (< γιανίτσαρης)
 ζουράροι *P&N Diath.* 394, 801 and 4853

The word ὄφης (< ὄφης) develops a variant ὄφιος: ὄφιος ἱπὶ (= ἐπὶ) μονοπάτι *Pent. Gen.* 49.17; ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ ὄφης, τοῦ ὄφιος, τὸν ὄφιν λέγουσιν ὁ ὄφχιος τοῦ ὄφχιου KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 109.16 (palatalized, see I, 2.4.7). Nouns belonging to other paradigms do not usually transfer to the paroxytone /ios/ paradigm, though there are several ad hoc formations in the *War of Troy* and Ermoniakos's *Iliad*, two texts that can be surprisingly inventive in adapting morphology to metre. In both texts one finds alternative forms in /ios/ for various proper names of the former 3rd declension: ἐσκόπα Λαομήδιος *Pol. Tr.* 971

(< Λαομέδων); ὁ Καστόριος *ibid.* 985 (< Κάστωρ); Τελώνιος ἐλέγεται *ibid.* 5427 *app. crit.* (ACV) (< Δόλων); ὁ Σαρπεδόριος *ibid.* 8241 (< Σαρπεδών); Ἰούλιος Καισάριος *ibid.* 10536 (< Καῖσαρ); ὁ Ἀχιλλῖος ἀκούσας *ERMONT., Ilias* 15.125 (and with transfer to /is/: φοβερώτατε Ἀχιλλῆ *ibid.* 8.108) (< Ἀχιλλεύς); καὶ Δευκάλιος ἐκκόπτει *ibid.* 19.300 (Δευκαλίων).

The noun κύριος has two shortened indeclinable forms: κύρ and κυρο-, for which see 2.18. For nouns in /os/ see 2.1; for Cypriot oxytone nouns in -ίος see 2.8.

2.7.1 The Paradigm

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	καβαλλάριος		-ος
Gen.	καβαλλαρίου	καβαλλάριου καβαλλαριού -οῦ	-ου -ιο/-ο
Acc.	καβαλλάριο(ν)		-ο(ν) -αῖο/-έο
Voc.	καβαλλάριε	καβαλλάριο	
Plural			
Nom.	καβαλλάριοι καβαλλάρροι καβαλλαραιῖοι/καβαλλαρέοι	καβαλλαρῖοι καβαλλαροῖ	
Gen.	καβαλλαρῖων καβαλλάρων καβαλλαραιῶν/καβαλλαρέων	καβαλλάρων καβαλλαριῶν καβαλλάρω † καβαλλάρω καβαλλαρῶν	
Acc.	καβαλλαρῖους καβαλλάρους καβαλλαραιῖους/καβαλλαρέους	καβαλλάριους καβαλλαρούς	
Voc.	καβαλλάριοι καβαλλάρροι καβαλλαραιῖοι/καβαλλαρέοι	καβαλλαρῖοι καβαλλαροῖ	

Singular

Nominative

Masc.

Sg.	Nom.	-(ε)ιος † -ος

The most common ending for nom. sg. is /ios/:

μὴν Ἀπρίλλιος ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 130.9
 Νεσθόριος (1171, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 178, 234.4) (for hypercorrect /θ/ for /t/ see I, 3.8.1.4)
 αὐτὸς δὲ καβαλάριος διηνεκῶς ὁδεύει *Ptoch.* IV 74
 Μανουήλ ὁ Τζαγγάριος (1304, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 99, 146.80)
 πρωτοβιστιάριος ὅλου τοῦ πριγκιπάτου *Chron. Mor.* H 7681
 κυρο-Ἀλέξιος ὁ Μέγας Κομνηνός (1390, Trebizond, BRYER 1976: 1, 131.2)
 Ἰούλιος Καισάριος *Pol. Tr.* 10536; Ὁρέστης καβαλλάριος *ibid.* 13420
 ὁ Ἰούνιος *Liv.* V 910; ὁ δὲ Δικέβριος *ibid.* 943
 οὔτε ὁ οἰκοκύριος ἐπλήρωσε τὸν μάστορα (15th c., Unknown, SEARBY 2003: 3, 693.3)
 ὁ κύρης Ὁμύδιος *Opsarol.* 38 (< ὁμύδιον < μύδιον < μῦς, see ANDRIOTIS, *Lex.* s.v. μύδι)
 ἦλθεν ἀποκρισιάριος (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 271.4)
 κουσουλιέριος εἰς τὴν Μεθώνην (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 21.3) (< κουσουλιέρης < Ital. *consigliere*)
 ὁ Ἀρμένιος *Assizes* A 57.7
 ὁ ἄγιος Γεώργιος ὁ Μαχαιρωμένος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 34.34; νοτάριος τὸν ἔφερεν ὁ ρὲ Πιερ
 μετὰ του *ibid.* 296.24–5
 ἐπιμελητὴς καὶ κουμεσάριος (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 31, 55.8)
 αφέντης Ἀπολλώνιος *Apoll. Rim.* A 261; ευτεῖνος ὁ Στραγγίλιος *ibid.* 1076
 ἦτονε καπετάνιος τζενεράλες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 89.27; ὁ δεσπότης Δημήτριος *ibid.* 94.26
 ὁ σκαελλάριος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §26.1; ὁ παπὰ κύρ Δημήτριος ... καὶ ... ὁ ρεφενδάριος
ibid. I §32.13–14
 ὁ Κύριος Ἀδωναΐ ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 3782
 Βασίλειος ὁ Διγενὴς PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1234

Synizesis is most easily detectable in verse texts, although sometimes the spelling in other texts may give it away as well, when <γ> is substituted for <ι>, or when the second accent is absent before the enclitic possessive pronoun. The result is paroxytone forms ([ios] > [jos]; see I, 2.9.4):⁸⁴

κύρ Σάκιος ὁ Βατάτσης *Chron. Mor.* H 557
 αὐτὸς ὁ Εὐλάλιος καὶ ἄν ἔλθῃ *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 43 (but read: ἐλθῇ)
 ὁ καπετάνιος τοὺς αὐτὸς *Chron. Toc.* 628
 ὁμπρὸς ὁ καπετάνιος ἔτον *Diig. Ven.* 75
 ἄς ἔναι καπετάνιος μας SACHLIKIS, *Vouli pol.* 759 (Papadimitriou)
 σκορδιαλὸν ὁ σμυρίλιος *Poulol. AZ* 127 (verse end)
 ἀμέ βαρέθηκεν πολλὰ ὁ Κύριος τὴν ζωὴν του *Apoll. Rim.* A 55
 μουλάρι, ποιὸς εἶνε ὁ κύριος σου; *Paroim.* (Warner) 90.4
 ὁ κύργος Μπάνουγλου (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 6, f.43r.15)

The /j/ in these forms may then be deleted, which is visualized by the omission of <ι>, although in the case of the noun καπετάνιος, influence of Italian *capitano* may be suspected:

ὁ κύρος Θεόδωρος ὁ Στουδίτης λέγει *Palaia* 218.12 (11th/12th c., ?Constantinople, VASSILIEV 1893: 218.12)
 ὁ ἡμέτερος αὐθέντης κύρος Ρωκέριος (1101, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 70, 88.7–8)
 ὁ ... δεσπότης κύρος Λεόντιος (1119, S. Italy, SCHNEIDER 1907: 2, 262.35)

⁸⁴ The fact that no examples of nom. sg. with synizesis have been found for nouns in -άριος must be considered a coincidence; see gen. pl. for several examples.

ἔσηκώθησε ὁ καπιτάνος Βετόριος (17th c., Cyprus, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 22, 269.8)

Γεώργος Μιχολίνας (1609, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: III, 71.20)

ὁ Γιῶργος Στούκουλας (1684, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 90, 321.1)

Genitive

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-(ε)ίου ἢ -(ε)ιου ἢ -(ε)ιοῦ

The old genitive ending can be found throughout the period under review. The historical shift of the stress to the penultimate is often observed:

Βασιλείου Λυσσάρη (1155, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 24, 146.2)

μετά συγχαριαρίου *Eisit.* f.2r.10

Βασιλείου τοῦ Γουδουριαρίου ... καὶ Σεργίου τοῦ κτίστη (1290/91, Methoni, VRANOUSI 1981: A, 24.13–15)

Μιχαήλ Τζαγγαρίου (1300, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 90, 79.17)

εἰς τὸ ἔμπα τοῦ ἀπριλίου *Chron. Mor.* H 147

Τζώρτζη Γεωργίου (1383, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 89, 98.1–4)

τοῦ Ἀρμενίου *Assizes* A 8.6; τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ Νεστορίου *ibid.* 57.15

τὸ αἶμαν τοῦ Κυρίου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 4.17–18; Ἀθανασίου, Εὐσταθίου *ibid.* 28.28

τη ιε' Νοεμβρίου VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 194.4

τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ZINOS, *Alex. Rim. Epil.* 57; τοῦ Δημητρίου *ibid.* 58

τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀλεξίου (1530–40, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: Z, 165.23)

τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως *Diig. Alex.* F 70.3 (Konstantinopoulos)

τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου καρδινάλιου Ἰουλιανοῦ (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 13, 26.20)

καταπάνω τοῦ δεσπότη Γεωργίου τῶν Σεβίων *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 95.17–18

ἔμοῦ τοῦ Ἰγνατίου PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 3092

στὶς 12 τοῦ ἄνωθε Μαρτίου (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 611, 844.1)

διὰ χερὸς Εὐθυμίου Ἱερομονάχου EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.9

Forms without a shift of the stress to the penultimate are not uncommon (cf. the proparox-ytone -ος paradigm, 2.1.3):

μὲ τὴν μπληρωμὴν τοῦ νοτάριου (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 52.57)

τοῦ πρώτου, τοῦ Ἑρκούλιου *Chron. Toc.* 2637

καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Σελήνιου *Byz. Il.* 241

τη ιε' Νοέμβριου VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 195.4

στην χώραν τ' Απολλώνιου *Apoll. Rim.* A 192; τοῦ Βασίλειου *ibid.* 1899

τοῦ Ἰούλιου Καίσαρος KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 322.20

μισερ Σέργιου Κορέση (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 54, 52.2)

τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου Ροζάριου (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 55.232)

τοῦ περιβολιάριου *Bertoldin.* 134.20–1

τοῦ Εὐδόξιου PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2347

τοῦ ὑπογράφοντος νοτάριου (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 6, 148.2)

τοῦ μονσινιὸρ σεκρετάριου (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 182.24)

In forms that show absence of stress shift synizesis may or may not occur. Forms with synizesis are easily recognizable in verse texts, but the absence of a second stress when the form is followed by the possessive pronoun is also a give-away: τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σου τοῦ

λίξιου *Chron. Mor.* H 5815 (verse end); τοῦ καπετάνιου τὸν γαβρὸν *Chron. Toc.* 1517 (1st hemistich); καὶ κουμεσάριου μου (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 86, 162.85); τοῦ καπετάνιου τοὺς SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 34.23. When synizesis occurs, [i] becomes [j] (see I, 2.9.4), and is then sometimes omitted:

Μιχαήλ τοῦ Περδεκάρου (1097, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 60, 77.24–5); Νικολάου Ἀββεστάρου (1139, *ibid.* 121, 162.13)
 Φώτιος, υἱὸς Σχολάρου (1169, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 8, 77.15)
 Μανόλης τοῦ Γεώργου (1448?, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.12)
 τοῦ Νεστούρου *Assizes B* 307.4–5
 ἔτι καὶ καρδινάλου LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 8
 Γεώργου καὶ Σταματέλου (1653, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 215, 187.61)
 ὑγιου τοῦ ἀνωθεν Γιώργου (1673, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 73, 319.6)

Paroxytone forms in -ίου may become oxytone through synizesis (see I, 2.9.4): καβαλαριοῦ γυναικὰν *Poulol.* 243 app. crit. (P); στὸν αὐλακα τ' Ἀγιοῦ Γιωργιοῦ ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 720, though this sometimes appears to be concealed by stress notation (see 1.5 for discussion): εἰς τοῦ Κυρίου τὸν τάφον *Chron. Mor.* H 131 (2nd hemistich); ὀκάπριου τοῦ καβελλαρίου *ibid.* 5752 (before the caesura).

Masc.

Sg.	Gen.	-(ε)ιο ἰ -ο

Genitives in -ο are found occasionally in Italian-influenced areas (cf. masculine nouns in /os/, 2.1):

τοῦ ἀνω εἰρημένου Σάμιο (1515, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 8, 53.4)
 τοῦ καπουράλιο (1519, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 55, 103.3) (< Ven. *caporàl*; BOERIO, *Lex.* s.v.)
 τοῦ μ(ισέρ) Ἀντώνιο Μεγιστάνο (1597, Crete, EVANGELATOS 2000: 23, 57.1)
 ὑπὸ μαρτυρίας κὺρ Γιώργο Τραυλοῦ (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 21, 33.15)

Accusative

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-(ε)ιο(v) ἰ -ο(v)

The inherited proparoxytone ending remains in use throughout the period covered by this Grammar. It occurs with and without final /n/:

ἐπικαλοῦ τὸν Κύριον GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 525
 ἔχεις με προσμονάριον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐκκλησιάρχην *Ptoch.* I 98
 ὅλοι τὸν Διομήδιον ἐπαρεκάλεσάν τον *Pol. Tr.* 13374
 εἶχεν γὰρ καπετάνιον *Chron. Toc.* 159
 τὸν γαβρό σου Γεώργιο τὸ Καραντινὸ (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 20.3)
 ἔχω καὶ τὸν Ρεβίθιον τὸν κουκουβαῖομύτην *Porikol.* I 48
 τὸν μέγαν καντσιλάριο SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 88
 τὸν Ἡράκλειον τὸν βασιλέα *Diig. Alex.* F 122.1–2 (Lolos)
 διὰ ὅλον τὸν Ἰούλιον (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 54, 117.10)

νά βάλης ἄλλονε κουμέσιο (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 3, 362.11) (< Ven. *comesso*)

τὸν Φεβρουάριον μῆναν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.4

ἐφημέριο τῆς Κυρίας τῶν Ἀγγέλων (1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 5, 415.3)

λιμῶνα τόνε λένε Ἅγιο Δημήτριο (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 508.61–2)

Βασίλειον τὸν ἔβγαλαν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1237

ἀφίνων τὸν ἄντρα μου κύριο νοικοκύρην (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 77, 231.10)

νά μὲ στείλει ... διὰ μισιονάριον (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 182.26–7)

μόνου νά παρακινήσετε τὸν κύρ Μελέτιο (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 135.55–6)

The accusative may become paroxytone through synizesis, after which <ι> will have been pronounced as [j] (see I, 2.9.4 for details); this is best visible in verse texts, but it also can be seen in other texts when the form is followed by an enclitic possessive pronoun and there is no notation of second stress:

Ἀλέξιον τὸν ἐλέγαν *Chron. Mor.* H 449

μετὰ τὸν Τελαμώνιον *Pol. Tr.* 3877

Γαλάσσιον τὸν ἐλέγασιν *Chron. Toc.* 1060

εἶπαν τὸν καπετάνιον μας SACHLIKIS, *Vouli pol.* 761 (Papadimitriou)

κι ἐγώ, ἡ πτωχή, τὸν Κύριο μου τὸν εἶχα γεννημένο FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 90

Βασίλειον τὸν Ἀκρίτην *Dig.* A 620

καὶ τέτοιο πλάσμα θαυμαστὸ νά λαβα ἐκ τὸν Κύριο *P&N Diath.* 1686

ὁμπροσθὰ εἰς τὸν καπετάνιον τοῦς *Bertoldos* 46.3

These forms may then undergo deletion of /j/, which is visualized by the omission of <ι>, though the case of the noun καπετάνιος is likely to be influenced by Italian *capitano*:

κύρον Νιέλην (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.39)

κῦρον Παῦλον (1234–9, Smyrna region, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 7, 33.16)⁸⁵

ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν καπετάννον *Ekth. Chron.* 78.5

ἀπὸ τὸ Γιῶργο τὸ Μελά (1609, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: XVI, 78.4)

ἀπὸ τὸ Γιῶργο Πάλμο (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 232, 189.46–7)

Masc.

Sg.	Acc.	-αῖο/-έο

A form καπετανέο, which occurs in BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 298.1 and 353.5, is formed on the basis of the alternative plural in -αῖοι/-έοι to serve metrical needs.

Vocative

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-(ε)ιε

The most common ending for the vocative is /ie/:

κῦρι δεῖνα σακελλάριε (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 51.25)

μνησθητι αὐτὸν Κύριε (1390, Trebizond, BRYER 1976: 4, 132.1–2)

⁸⁵ An acc. κύρον occurs in the *Peira* (10th/11th c.), Philes (13th–14th c.) and elsewhere, see the online *TLG*.

ἀφέντη καπετάνιε *Chron. Toc.* 1442
 ὦ Γεώργιε! *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 650.8
 Φρύγιε πρωτοσπαθάριε *Porikol.* I 76
 ἱμπέριε, καρδιά μου *Imb. Rim.* 149
 ἐλθέ, Σινιὸρ Μερκούριε *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VII.183
 ἀτυχέ Απολλώνιε *Apoll. Rim.* V 323
 θέλω ἐσὺ νοτάριε νὰ γράψης οὕτως (1515, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 45, 77. 7)
 υψηλότετε και μέγα χογγέριε *Diig. Alex.* K 371.20
 Κύριε, καὶ λυπήσου με *Thysia Avr.* 51
 ἔλα ἐδῶ, Ἑρμίνιε *Bertoldin.* 162.33
 μέγα κνέζη Ἀλέξιε Μιχαήλ (1652, Crete, *TCHENTSOVA* 2002: 1, 355.4)
 υἱὲ Βασίλειε *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1361

As with the other cases (see above) the vocative may become paroxytone through synizesis, after which <i>i</i> will have been pronounced as [j] (see I, 2.9.4 for details); this is perceptible mainly in verse texts and when the word is followed by a possessive pronoun but the second stress is absent: καὶ εὔξου με, κύριε, Λίβιστρε *Liv.* S 255 (Lambert-van der Kolf); ἐμέννα, Κύριε, σκότωσε *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 348; Κύριε μου, νὰ ᾤλωθῃ *Apoll. Rim.* V 615; τόμου σοῦ δώσω, Σίλβιε μου *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* F1r.9. Forms with deletion of /j/ also occur: Σμυρίλε *Poulol. AZ* 27 app. crit. (Z).

Masc.

Sg.	Voc.	-(ε)ιο

Vocatives in /io/ are found occasionally in areas under western rule (cf. masculine nouns in /os/, 2.1): Σμυρίλιο κακοθώρετο *Poulol. AZ* 27; ὦ καπετάνιο Γίουστινιανέ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 91.14–15; ἀφέντη καπετάνιο μου *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.720.

Plural

Nominative

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-ιοι ὁ -οι

The old proparoxytone ending -ιοι can be found in texts throughout the period covered by this Grammar, but it is not as common as the innovative alternative endings below:

ὡς γονικάριοι (1234–9, Smyrna region, *MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER* 1860/90, vol. 4: 7, 39.14)
 ἐκεῖνοι καθαλάριοι διαβαίνουσιν τὴν πόλιν *Ptoch. IV* 306
 οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀποκρισιάριοι (1361, Constantinople, *KODER et al.* 2001: 262, 554.51)
 οὗ Σαμαρίται, οὗ Νεστούριοι *Assizes B* 486.21
 οἱ κοιτωνάριοι *Opsarol.* 46
 καὶ ἕτεροι καθαλάριοι *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 538.8
 οἱ εἰρημένοι κουμεσάριοι (1506, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 2, 5.14); ὡς κύριοι (1499, *ibid. Inv.* 2, 311.26)
 οἱ σεκρεττάριοι *Pist. kekoim.* 81
 οἱ Στρασσαλβάνιοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 66.31
 κύριοι ἐγένησαν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 7141
 νὰ ᾤγουν ἀποκρισάριοι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 513.19
 κάπιοι ἐφημέριοι (1693, Corfu, *KAPADOCHOS* 1990: 104, 301.7–8)

Synizesis ([ii] > [ji]; see I, 2.9.4 for details) is demonstrable mainly in verse texts, though in other texts the addition of <γ> or the absence of a second stress before an enclitic possessive pronoun may reveal that synizesis has taken place and the forms have become paroxytone:

ἀποκρισιάριοι ἦλθμεν *Flor.* L 931 ms⁸⁶
καὶ καβαλάριοι παρευθὺς *Achil.* N 723
πάντες οἱ καβαλλάριοι *Pol. Tr.* 135 (reading of ms X)
οἱ ἐντόπιοι *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 24.16 (< adj. ἐντόπιος with palatalization; see I, 2.4.7)

The [j] glide may then be deleted, or this may be viewed as a simplification of the repeated vowels /i/ (see I, 2.9.2):

ώραῖοι καβαλλάριοι *Dig.* G VI.176
ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἀποκρισάριοι *Chron. Mor.* H 568; οἱ καβαλλάριοι ὅλοι *ibid.* 8901
β' λίζοι *Assizes* B 457.31
πάντες οἱ καβαλλάριοι *Pol. Tr.* 135 app. crit. (V)
οἱ ἀποκρισιάριοι *Diig. tetr.* 87 app. crit. (PCA); κόντοι καὶ καβελάριοι τε *ibid.* 492 app. crit. (V)
μυροψοὶ καὶ τζαγκάριοι ΚΑΝΑΝΟΣ, *Diig.* 60.169–70
οὔλοιοι οἱ λίζοι ἐποῖκαν τοῦ ὄρκου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 308.20
αὐθέντες καὶ οἰκοκύριοι *Diig. Alex.* V 69.24
οἱ κουμεσάριοι μου (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 15, 27.46); βουτικλάριοι (1525, *ibid.* 97, 182.25)
ὡς δύο καλοὶ κοτουβερνάριοι (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.9–10)
οἱ ἀδελφοὶ μου Μάρκο καὶ Λέο Μεταξάριοι (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 261, 204.5)
<οῖ> ὑποθεσιάριοι (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 165, 215.21)
διότις οἱ νοικοκύριοι δὲν εἶναι κλέφτες (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 218.14); ἄλλοι μακελλάριοι ἐπουλῆσαν (1565, *ibid.* 283, 387.16)
γράφονται γονικάριοι (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 122, 135.7)
πεζοὶ καὶ καβαλλάριοι ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 183
altri dicono οἱ νοικοκύριοι GERMANO, *Grammar* 62.11
νὰ εἶναι νοικοτσύριοι (1676, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 23, 132.10) (= νοικοκύριοι, see I, 3.8.2.2)

Masc.

Pl.	Nom.	-αῖοι/-εῖοι -αιοί/-εοί -οί ιοι

The ending -αῖοι/-εῖοι appears as an alternative to -ιοι many centuries before the LMedG period (see the introduction to this section, 2.7) and continues to be in use throughout the period covered by this Grammar across a large geographical area, though, as noted in the introduction, not in texts from Crete and Cyprus.⁸⁷ The spelling <έοι> versus <αῖοι> is a matter of orthography:

ἐμνοστοὶ καβαλλαρεῖοι *Pol. Tr.* 2735 app. crit. (X)
οἱ ἀποκρισαρεῖοι *Diig. tetr.* 87; καβαλλαρεῖοι τε *ibid.* 492 app. crit. (L)

⁸⁶ Tacitly corrected to ἀποκρισιάριοι in the edition of Cupane; for the ms reading see www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_8241_f078r.

⁸⁷ Note that Ioakeim Kyrios shows a great morphological variety that is not always consistent with his Cypriot background. During his travels he easily adopted linguistic elements from other regions.

οἱ ρηθέντες κανισχαράοι (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 15, 51.25)
 Λονταράοι *Velis*. χ 315 (< Λεοντάριος); οἱ ἀποκρισαράοι *ibid.* 550
 οἱ προδιαβασμένοι πακτωνάροι (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 38, 33.11)
 οἱ αποκλισιαράοι *Diig. Alex.* K 344.24–5 (= ἀποκρισιαράοι, see I, 3.8.6.3); οἱ πορταράοι *ibid.* 362.25
 νὰ εἶναι νοικοκερέοι (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.22) (= νοικοκυρέοι, see I, 2.8.1)
 φλαμπουραράοι MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 222.9–10
 οἱ δὲ κουμμερκιαρέοι *Vios Aisop.* K 159.23
 νὰ εἶναι αὐτοὶ ἴδιοι νοικοκυράοι (1647, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 1, 669.16)
 νοικοκυρέγοι (1658, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 5, 652.18)
 καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ αφιτσιαλέοι ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 2470; αὐτοὶ οἱ γαρδενάλεοι *ibid.* 2657 (< καρδινάλιος)
 συναυλακαράοι οἱ Καραβασιαῖοι (1671, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 69, 319.3)
 δύο καπεταναῖοι ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 34.18; ὡσὰν νοικοκυράοι *ibid.* 53.38

At this point there is a fundamental difference in development between nouns in -άριος and the other nouns belonging to this paradigm. As discussed in the introduction to this section (2.7), in nouns in -άριος synizesis and stress shift may occur with this ending, after which [e] becomes [j]. Conservative stress notation may conceal the synizesis, but in verse texts it is apparent enough when ['ei] should be read as one syllable: προβαταράοι, ἀπείραστοι *Chron. Toc.* 2404 (1st hemistich); σεργέντες καὶ καβαλλαρέοι *Chron. Mor.* P 3281 (before the caesura). Subsequently /j/ may be deleted, resulting in oxytone forms in -οί:

καβαλλαροὶ κι ἀρχόντισσες *Chron. Mor.* H 2479; ὡσαύτως κ' οἱ φλαμουριαροὶ *ibid.* 5286
 καβαλλαροὶ ἐξήλθασιν *Pol. Tr.* 684 app. crit. (AV)
 οἱ ἀλυκαροὶ Θεσσαλονίκης (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 31, 30.1)
 μαγκουφαροὶ, βοεβοδάδες (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.14–15)
 οἱ πορταροὶ *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 70 and *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 122
 οἱ κουμμερκιαροὶ *Vios Aisop.* K 159.24
 τρεῖς ἄρματωμένοι ἀπελάται καβαλλαροὶ [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VII 379.6
 σπαχήδες καὶ γιαννιτσαροὶ ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 8072

Sporadically resyllabification (i.e. hypercorrection of synizesis, see I, 2.9.4) may occur: ἐκ τὴν γῆν καβαλλαρίοι *Pol. Tr.* 576 app. crit. (X); καλοὶ καβαλλαρίοι *ibid.* 2735 app. crit. (A); κόντοι, καβαλαρίοι τε *Diig. tetr.* 492 app. crit. (C).

Genitive

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	
		-ίων † -ιῶν † -ιω

This inherited ending remains in use throughout the period covered by this Grammar. The historical shift of the stress to the penultimate is often observed:

πρωτονοταρίων ... χαρτουλαρίων (1079, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 2, 18.20)
 καβαλλαρίων (post 1306, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 31, 163.[23]8–9)
 τῶν ἀδελφῶν πραιδεκατουρίων (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 471 tit.)
 παρὰ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀποκρισιάρων (1361, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 262, 554.55)
 τῶν φλαμουραρίων *Chron. Mor.* H 135; καὶ τῶν γαρδιναρίων *ibid.* 5985 (= καρδινάλιων)
 δοῦλος πολλῶν κυρίων *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 15
 καὶ τῶν καβαλαρίων *Liv.* E 3219, *Liv.* V 2970 and *Liv.* α 2439

ἡ μαρτυρία τῶν β' λίζιων *Assizes* B 458.12
 ἐκ τῶν καρβαλαρίων *Flor.* L 1382 (Cupane)
 πούλησις οὐ δύναται γενέσθαι βουργεζίων *Assizes* A 170.23 (< OFr. *burgeis* < MedLat. *burgensis*)
 τῶν εἰρημένων κουμεσαρίων (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 2, 5.16)
 πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀποκρισιαρίων *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 43
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκρισαρίων MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 222.22
 διὰ παρακαλίας τῶν Σαμίων *Vios Aisop.* D 230.8
 τῶν κουμμερκιαρίων *Vios Aisop.* K 159.19 app. crit. (A)
 καταπάνω τῶν Αἰγυπτίων *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 116.36
 τῶν Ἀρμενίων (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 335.16)
 εἰς το ἀξίωμα τῶν πατρικίων PORFYROP., *Prokop. paraphr.* 492.23

Synizesis may render the forms oxytone ([ˈion] > [ˈjon]; see I, 2.9.4): πλῆθος πολλῶν καρβαλαρίων *Imber.* 783 (reading of ms H) and *Velis.* χ 393 (reading of ms N); ἐκ χειῖρας τῶν Μακεδονίων *Alex. Rim.* 1566 (< Μακεδόνιος < Μακεδών), although this is not always reflected in the accentuation (see 1.5 for discussion): πλῆθος πολλῶν καρβαλλαρίων *Florios* 30 app. crit. (V) and *Flor.* L 30 (before the caesura).

Forms without a shift of stress to the penultimate also occur (cf. proparoxytone nouns in /os/, 2.1.3), though not many examples have been found: ἡ μαρτυρία τῶν δύο λίζιων *Assizes* A 206.11; σοφία τῶν Αἰγύπτιων *Alex. Rim.* 1; λογίων ἀνδρῶν Αἰγύπτιων (app. crit.) (1684–5, Moscow, ŠANGIN 1936: 3, 123.14–15). Deletion of final /n/ has been found in a text from Crete: τῶν καπετάνιω ἐχάρισε πλούτη BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 328.26.

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ων ὁ -ω

This genitive ending has been modelled on its nominative counterpart -οι (see above):

μεγάλων καρβαλάρων *Diig. tetr.* 251
 ἡ τέχνη τῶν λουμπαρδάρων (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.19)
 τῶν μαγγανάρων (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 57, 61.18)
 αὐτουπῶν τῶν ἰδίων κατεργάρων (1554, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 216, 191.28)
 τῶν καρβαλάρων τῶνε (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 41, 61.26)
 ὁλονῶ μου τῶν γονικάρων (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 51.112)
 ἡ σκόλα τῶν Τσαγγάρων (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 4, 126.3)

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from Crete:

κατὰ τὸ ὀρδενάριον τῶ γονικάρω (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 45, 66.14)
 τῶν καρβαλάρω ὁλονῶ (1603, Crete, VIOLIDAKIS 2006: 2, 266.13–14)
 τῶ γονικάρω (1622, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 385, 358.15)
 τῶ Τζαγγάρω (1665, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 10, 419.3)

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-αίων/-έων ὁ -αίων/-εὼν ὁ -ῶν

This alternative ending had come into being long before the LMedG period (see 2.7, introduction) and remains in use in most of the Greek-speaking area, with the notable exception

of Crete and Cyprus. The spelling <έων> versus <αίων> is, of course, just a matter of orthography:

τῶν βουλγησέων *Pol. Tr.* 2711 (<βουργέσιος)
καὶ τῶν καβαλαρέων *Liv.* α 2439 app. crit. (N)
καὶ τῶν καβαλαραίων *Imb. Rim.* 363
καὶ τῶν γαρδιναλέων *Chron. Mor.* P 5985 (<καρδινάλιος)
καθολικῶν ἐνεντριταρέων (1506, Patmos, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 362.4) (<ἐντριτάρσιος)
τῶν πρωτοκαβαλλαραίων *Diig. Alex.* V 37.28; τῶν ἀποκρισταραίων *ibid.* 75.1
μὲ θέλημα καὶ ἐξουσίαν τῶν ποθεσσαραίων (1540, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 85, 62.2)
καραβοκυρέων μυτιληναίων (1548, Corfu, PANGRATIS 1999/2000: 1, 41.6)
τῶν κουμερκιαρέων *Vios Aisop.* K 159.19
τῶν συναυλασκαραίων (1665, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 54, 317.3)
καβαλλαρέων καὶ πεζῶν VATATSI, *Periig.* I 740
τῶν ἄνωθε καπεταναίων (1716, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969d: 1, 42.2)

Synizesis is often essentially concealed by the stress notation, but becomes visible in verse texts (for details on stress notation and synizesis see 1.5). Consider the following example, in which the ending clearly needs to be read as one syllable ([ˈjɔn], see I, 2.9.4): τῶν ρυμπαραίων τοῦ δούκα *Chron. Toc.* 967. After synizesis deletion of /j/ may occur: τὸ αἶμαν τῶν γενιτσαρῶν PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 343; πλῆθος πολλῶν καβαλαρῶν *Velis.* χ 393 app. crit. (V); ὄχλος πολλὺς τῶν κουμερκιαρῶν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 5.29.

Masc.

Pl.	Gen.	-ίους -ίους -ους

These genitive endings are morphologically identical to those of the accusative (see below) and have been found in texts from Cyprus, though they are likely to have had a wider distribution, as with other paradigms examples have also been found in the *Chronicle* of Papasynadinos (Macedonia) and in an inscription from the Crimea (see 2.1.3, 2.2.1 and 2.3.3; for a discussion see 1.2). The accent in -ίους may or may not indicate synizesis (see 1.5 for details):

ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Λευκουσίας καὶ τοὺς ἀβικαρίους αὐτοῦ *Diat. Kypr.* 504.2–4
τὸν πόλεμον τοὺς καβαλλαρίου *Assizes B* 467.21
ἐμήνυσεν ὅλους τοὺς λιζίους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 308.21
μὲ δίκαιον ἐποίησε τοὺς λιζιούς σου ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἐποίησε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 250.12 (= λιζιούς σου with omission of the first accent)
χωρὶς βουλὴν τοὺς καβαλλάρους *Assizes A* 99.22
επῆρεν καὶ πολλὰ χαρκαματικά τοὺς νοικοκύρους VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 116.16

Accusative

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ίους -ίους -ιούς

The inherited ending -ίους is used in texts throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, The historical shift of the stress to the penultimate is often retained:

εἰς τὴν πρὸς Κορινθίους ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 90.12
 Μιχαήλ, Μπεζάνον καὶ Σθλάβον, τσαγγαρίου (1316, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1994: 74, 199.104)
 τινὰς καβαλλαρίου *Dig.* G IV.105
 τοὺς χεροτεχναρίους *Ptoch.* III 157
 ἐξέπεμψεν ... ἀποκρισαρίου (1361, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 262, 554.41–2)
 καὶ δύο φλαμουριαρίου *Chron. Mor.* H 1832; πέντε γαρδιναρίου *ibid.* 6150 (= καρδιναλίου)
 ἑκατὸν εἶχεν καβαλαρίου *Achil.* L 370
 ἐστείλεν ... αποκρισαρίου MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 222.16
 τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους *Vios Aisop.* K 196.21
 νὰ κρεμάσουν τοὺς ἀποκρισαρίου *Alex.* Fyll. 42.25

Synizesis may occur in the paroxytone -ίους ending, resulting in a shift of stress and oxytone forms:

δὸς μοι χιλίους καβαλλαρίου *Pol. Tr.* 4035
 ἐπῆρε τοὺς καβελαρίου *Chron. Mor.* T 224 app. crit.
 ρηγάδες καὶ καβαλλαρίου *Imber.* 480 (reading of mss GV)
 μὴ στείλῃς ἀποκρισαρίου *Alex.* Rim. 1099

As with the genitive singular and the other cases of the plural the stress notation may obscure the fact that synizesis has taken place (see 1.5 for discussion): τοὺς ἀποκρισαρίου τους *Chron. Mor.* H 1632 (2nd hemistich); φρεμενουρίου ἀπέστειλεν *ibid.* 2659; ρηγάδες καὶ καβαλλαρίου *Imber.* 480 app. crit. (NOH); καβαλλαρίου ἀνδρείους *Byz. Il.* 239 (2nd hemistich).

Forms without the historical shift of the stress to the penultimate also occur:

νὰ ὁδηγήσουν τοὺς λίζιους *Assizes* B 215.20
 λίζιους νὰ τοὺς κάμω *Achil.* L 88
 ὡσὰν κομεσάριους (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 156, 168.9–10)
 εἰς τοὺς ἄρχοντες καὶ πατρίκιους τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.5
 πῶς ἔστειλεν ὁ βιζήρης ἀποκρισιάριους εἰς τὴν χώραν BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 531.17 tit.

Conservative stress notation sometimes masks the absence of stress shift, as becomes clear in verse texts: καὶ ὅλους τοὺς φλαμουραρίου *Chron. Mor.* H 2597 (1st hemistich; read φλαμουράριους); μὲ ἀποκρισιάριους ἐκλεκτοὺς LIMEN., *Velis.* Λ 618. When there is no shift of the stress, synizesis is likely to take place, though it is usually only visible in verse texts, e.g. πεζοὺς καὶ καβαλλάριους *Chron. Mor.* H 6802 (2nd hemistich), in which the ending should be read as [jus] (see I, 2.9.4). In non-verse texts the absence of a second stress when the noun is followed by a possessive pronoun confirms that synizesis has indeed taken place: κουμεσάριους μου (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 2, 5.10).

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-ους

This accusative ending has been formed by analogy with its nominative counterpart in -οι (see above):

τοὺς καβαλάρους μου *Dig.* E 1393
 τοὺς χαρατσάρους (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 302.70)
 οὐκ ἔχει Νεστούρους μάρτυρες *Assizes* B 306.25 (< Νεστόριος)

καὶ δύο φλαμουριάρους *Chron. Mor.* P 6383
καλούς καβαλλάρους ψουμάτους *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 22.25
ἔχει δὲ γερακάρους (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 12.32)
καὶ ἔξε καπετάνους *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VIII.325
ἐπῆρεν σκύλους καὶ λαγωνάρους *MOREZINOS, Klini* 83.10–11 (< λαγωνάρης)
ἄπου τζι γονικάρους (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 53, 74.22)
ὄλους τοὺς κυνηγάρους *Poulol. AZ* 90 (< κυνηγάρης)
ἄπεζούς καὶ καβελλάρους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 28.1; με τοὺς γιανιτζάρους *ibid.* 60.4–5 (< γιανίτσαρης)
με τοὺς συνηθισμένους του καβαλάρους *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 39.30
κατεργοκύρους κι ἄρχοντες *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 342.6

Masc.

Pl.	Acc.	-αίους/-έους † -αιούς/-εούς † -ούς

The very common alternative ending -αίους/-έους pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar and can be found in a large geographical area, though, as noted in the introduction to this section (2.7), the ending is virtually absent from texts from Crete or Cyprus.⁸⁸ The spelling with <αι> or <ε> is just a matter of orthography:

τοὺς Κορινθαίους ἐνταῦθα *Chron. Mor.* H 2810 (but read with synizesis)
πεζούς, καβαλλάρους *Chron. Toc.* 201; συγχαραραίους ἔστειλαν *ibid.* 640
τὸν πάπαν καὶ τοὺς καρδιναλέους (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.16–17)
τοὺς ἀποκρισιάρους *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 22. app. crit. (N)
καβαλλάρους, ἄρματα *Pol. Tr.* 96 app. crit. (V)
καὶ δύο φλαμουριάρους *Chron. Mor.* T 1832
ἄλλους Μαραθωναίους *Velis.* p 382
καπετανέους δέκα (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 484.11.4)
ἔστειλὲν τοῦ ἀποκρισαραίους *Diig. Alex.* F 158.3 (Lolos)
ἠρώτησαν τοὺς πορταραίους *Diig. Alex.* K 362.24–5; χίλιες χιλιάδες καβαλλαραίους *ibid.* 350.20
τοὺς ὑποθεσαρέους (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 7, 44.12–13)
με τοὺς καπετανέους τουνε (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.8) (for τουνε see 5.2.1)
με γερακαρέους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 40.20; τέσσαρους φλαμπουριάρους *ibid.* 119.8
γιανιτζαρέους παλαιούς *ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 1192; καὶ τοὺς χαρατζαρέους *ibid.* 1521
εἰς τοὺς κουμερκιάρους *Bertoldin.* 114.28
τοὺς τσοπαναίους *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ KYPR., Pali* 3501 (< τσοπάνης); γιαννιτσαραίους *ibid.* 3502
ἀπὸ τοὺς χαρατσαρέους (1673, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 4, 221.10–11)
τοὺς νοικοκυρέους (1674, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 84, 49.8)
σκοτώνει τοὺς ἀποκρισαραίους *Alex. Fyll.* 101.24–5
με τοὺς καπετανέους καὶ δεσποτάδες τῆς Ρούμελης (1708, Zakynthos, SATHAS 1865: 524.30–1)

Synizesis may take place in this ending, although it is often masked by conventional stress notation (see 1.5 for discussion): τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ βουργησέους *Chron. Mor.* H 2256

⁸⁸ Note that Ioakeim, although Cypriot by origin, shows great morphological variety and happily borrows elements from other regions. There are 14 examples in Bounialis's *Cretan War*, remarkably few for a text of this length, but it must be borne in mind that the text has come down to us in one Venetian edition, which was most probably edited by a Corfiot (the person who added the encomiastic verses at the beginning of the edition).

(before the caesura); τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ βουργισέους *ibid.* 5848 (before the caesura); καβαλλάρεους νὰ φέρουσιν *Pol. Tr.* 1644 app. crit. (V); ἐπῆρεν δύο καβαλλάρεους *Chron. Mor.* P 172 (before the caesura). After synizesis [j] may be deleted:

τινὰς ἐκ τοὺς καβαλαροὺς *Imb. Rim.* 94

τοὺς πορταροὺς ἐχαιρέτησεν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 153 and B 122; ἄρχοντας καὶ φλαμπουραροὺς *ibid.* B 1089

νέους πεζοὺς καὶ καβαλαροὺς *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 85.35

σπαχήδες καὶ γιαντισαροὺς *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1719

Vocative

Masc.

Pl.	Voc.	-ιοι -οι -αῖοι/-έοι (-ίοι) (-οί)

The vocative endings are identical to those of the nominative and show the same variation, though predictably the number of examples found is limited (for discussion of the variants, see the nominative, above):

περίβλεπτοι αὐθένται σινιὸρ καπετάνιοι (1415, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1979: App. XVII, 216.1)
ὦ Σάμιοι *Vios Aisop.* K 190.9

ἐλᾶτε καβαλάροι *Dig.* E 1237

ὦ καπετάνιοι *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VIII.143

σώφρονες καβαλλάροι *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 918

ὦ συντρόφοι μου ... πρωτοκαβαλλαραῖοι *Diig. Alex.* F 94.11 (Lolos)

2.7.2 Transfers to Other Paradigms

The majority of nouns belonging to this paradigm may make a full transfer to paradigm 2.3.4 of masculine nouns in /is/, with the notable exception of most nouns denoting geographical provenance such as Αἰγύπτιος, Πελοποννήσιος, Σάμιος, though a form Ἀρμένης does exist: ἔναν Ἀρμένην *Assizes A* 57.5. For a similar development in neuter nouns in /ion/ > /in/ see 2.20; in adjectives, see 3.2.6. There is some disagreement in the literature whether the reasons for the change are phonological, morphological or a combination of both (for an overview see FILOS 2009), but as far as the singular is concerned the development certainly pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar by many centuries. Gignac's earliest examples date to the 1st c. AD and they consist of proper names such as Διονῦσις (< Διονύσιος), Ἀντώνις (< Ἀντώνιος), nouns denoting profession, e.g. γέρδης (< γέρδιος), and the word κύρις (< κύριος) (GIGNAC 1981: 25–7). Such forms can be found in texts throughout the subsequent period, e.g. among many others: voc. κύρι in *Philogelos* and in Ephraem the Syrian (4th c.); κύρις in Theodoret of Cyrrhus (4th/5th c.), δρακονάρις in Moschos (6th c.), καβαλλάρης and Βηλίσάρην (< Βελισάριος) in *Chronicon paschale* (7th c.); τὸν φακτιονάριν in *De Ceremoniis* (10th c.) (for these examples see the online *TLG*); and Μαυρίκις ὁ εὐσεβέστατος καὶ θεοφύλακτος ἡμῶν δεσπότης (582–602, Crimea, LATYSHEV 1896: 99, 109.3–4). Some LMedG and EMG examples are:

τὸν κύρ Εὐφήμην (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 307.11)
 Ἰωάννης καβσάλης (1149, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 18, 121.3)
 τοῦ κελλάρη (1154, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 63, 324.5); σίγνον Ἀθανασίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ
 τζαγγάρη (ibid. 324.8)
 χωρικὸν νοτάρην *Ptoch.* 199
 ὁ Μάρτης *Liv.* V 887
 ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰωαννίκης (ca. 1406, Pontos, BRYER 1976: 9, 133.1)
 σιτάρην ἀξάζει ο μόδης πέρπυρον ἓνα *Assizes* B 300.28 (< ὁ μόδιος)
 καὶ γὰρ Σταμάτης ὁ Τουροῦς (1472 [copy of 1604], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13:
 107, 216.16)
 βουτηκλάρης τὴν τέχνην (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 43, 75.25)
 τὸν ταβερνάρη (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 218.7)
 τοῦ ἐγγονιοῦ τῆς τοῦ Ἀναστάσης (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 108.18)

The plural formation of these nouns remains with the -ιος paradigm until the imparisyllabic plural in -ηδες becomes available for -ης, the first written evidence for which dates to the 15th c. (see 2.3.4).

Lexically, the noun κύριος and its compounds may make a full transfer to the oxytone -ός paradigm (2.1.1).⁸⁹ The starting point for this development is an oxytone genitive form κυροῦ, which pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar by many centuries, appearing e.g. in a 2nd-c. papyrus (*BGU* 1 204; see www.papyri.info) and in Malalas (6th c.; see the online *TLG* for more examples; see also *LBG*, s.v. κύρος).⁹⁰ This oxytone genitive remains in general use throughout the period under review, also spreading to new compounds such as καρaboκύριος:

κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Μονομάχου (1056, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 31, 77.3);
 τοῦ κυροῦ Ζωσίμου (1113, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 75, 97.28)
 κυροῦ Θεοδώρου *Ptoch. I* tit.
 τοῦ καρaboκυροῦ *Assizes* A 48.27
 κυροῦ Ἀνδρέα τοῦ Ντόνου (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 8, 17.32)
 διὰ χρέος τοῦ κυροῦ του τοῦ Κωσταντῆ (1587, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 147, 271.7)
 τοῦ οἰκοκυροῦ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 13.27; τοῦ κιουροῦ τῶνε (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 27, 41.7) (= κυροῦ, see I, 2.4.6.2)

From here the stress pattern spread to all cases singular and plural:

τὸν κυρὸν Νιέλην (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 208.16)
 τὸν τιμιώτατον καθηγούμενον κυρὸν Ἠλίαν (12th c., Macedonia, PETIT 1900: 3, 90.7)
 ὁ βασιλεὺς κυρὸς Μανουήλ ὁ Κομνηνός (1181, S. Italy, LAMBROS 1910: 23, 133.2)
 ὁ κυρὸς Παῦλος (1288, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 228.25)
 τὸν ἱερομόναχον κυρὸν Κλήμην τὸν Παλαιολόγον (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 16, 28.8)

⁸⁹ Note that other nouns in -ιος develop oxytone forms in the plural, but that it is in principle a phonological development with a different geographical spread, as these forms do not occur in Crete and Cyprus, whereas those of κύριος do.

⁹⁰ Oxytone nominatives, datives and accusatives can also be found in learned Byzantine texts, e.g. κυρῶ in Moschos and John of Damascus, κυρὸν in the *Diataxis* of Michael Attaleiates (11th c.) and in the historical poems by Theodore Prodromos (12th c.); κυρὸς in the *Letters* of Nicetas Stethatos (11th c.) (see the online *TLG* for numerous examples).

ὡς γνήσιοι καὶ κύριοι οἰκοκυροὶ (1422, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 19, 132.15)
οἱ καραβοκυροὶ οἱ Γενουβίσοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 138.3
ἀμ' ἦτονε νοικοκυροὶ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 528.10
νά 'ναι ἐσᾶς τῶν νοικοκυρῶν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 26, 26.14)
αυτοὺς τους καραβοκυροὺς IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 984

2.8 Masculine Nouns in -ιός

Words belonging to this paradigm have only been found in LMedG and EMG texts from Cyprus. In all cases these words are local variants of masculine words in -τής (BEAUDOIN 1884: 71; HADJIOANNOU 1964: 300; SYMEONIDIS 2006: 207; for masc. nouns in -τής see 2.3.1). Only words consisting of more than two syllables appear to follow this paradigm, as no examples of e.g. *κριτιός for κριτής have been found. The earliest examples are from *Assizes B* (15th-c. ms).

	Restricted	Rare
Singular		
Nom.	δανειστιός	
Gen.	δανειστιοῦ	
	δανειστιό	
Acc.	δανειστιόν	
Voc.	—	
Plural		
Nom.	δανειστιόδες	δανειστιότες
Gen.	δανειστιόδες	δανειστιούς
Acc.	δανειστιόδες	
Voc.	—	

Singular

Nominative

ὁ πουλητιός *Assizes B* 286.22; ὁ δανειστιός *ibid.* 309.29; ὁ πρῶτος ἀγκαλειτιός *ibid.* 353.12
ὁ δανειστιός *Assizes A* 9.17; ὁ ἀμαχευτιός *ibid.* 64.27
νά εἶσαι δυνατός καὶ βουθιστιός ἀπὲ τὸ κορμί σου *Fior* 126.34

Genitive

τοῦ πουλητιοῦ *Assizes B* 250.21; τοῦ ἀγκαλειτιοῦ *ibid.* 275.10; τοῦ ἀπολογητιοῦ *ibid.* 275.13
τοῦ δανειστιοῦ *Fior* 149.39
τοῦ πουλητιοῦ *Assizes A* 5.22

Several examples of a genitive in -ιό have been found in *Assizes* B, cf. genitives in -ό in the masculine /os/ paradigm (2.1):

τοῦ πουλητιό *Assizes* B 251.18; τοῦ ἀγοραστιό *ibid.* 286.11; τὸ χριωστεῖ τοῦ δανειστιό *ibid.* 304.30; ἐνοῦ πουλητιό *ibid.* 448.8 (spelled -ιῶ in the edition)

Accusative

The accusative singular always retains final /n/:

ἐναν μεταπουλητιόν *Assizes* B 293.12; τὸν δανειστιόν *ibid.* 294.7

Vocative

No example of a vocative has been found.

Plural

The plural of Cypriot words in -ιός is usually imparisyllabic:

Nominative

οἱ ἐμπιστευτιόδες *Assizes* A 160.9

One example of a form in -ότες has been found in *Assizes*. If this is not a simple writing mistake, it could represent a hypercorrect form, which can be explained by fluctuation between /ð/ and /d/ and the fact that in this dialect [t] often replaces [d] (see 3.8.3.4 for details):

οἱ ἐμπιστευτιότες *Assizes* B 411.24

Genitive

As these plural endings are unique to Cypriot, the genitive plural endings are identical to those of the accusative (see 1.2 for discussion). There is no interference from a “dominant” paradigm and therefore no pressure to form the genitive in *-ιόδων. In *Assizes* there is one instance of a parasyllabic genitive plural:

τὰ δικαιώματα τοὺς δανειστιόδες *Assizes* B 309.14
να τὸν παραδῶση τοὺς ἐνπιστευτιοὺς *Assizes* B 411.21

Accusative

τοὺς δανειστιόδες *Assizes* B 309.14 and 388.14
να πλερώση τοὺς ἐμπιστευτιόδες *Assizes* A 160.10–11

Vocative

No example of a vocative has been found.

2.9 Irregular and Indeclinable Masculine Nouns

With the demise of the 3rd declension most masculine nouns had become regularized by transferring to the 1st and 2nd declensions. However, certain nouns remain in use, showing varying degrees of morphological innovation. Compared with the dominant paradigms these nouns may be viewed as irregular in the period covered by this Grammar.

Greek being an inflected language throughout its history, indeclinable nouns in Greek are – with very few exceptions – loanwords, which may remain indeclinable or adapt to

Greek morphology. Loanwords that have been fully adapted to Greek morphology are included in the relevant conjugation sections, whereas indeclinable loanwords are included below.

This overview does not aim to be comprehensive. For nouns not included here the reader is referred to the dictionary of Kriaras.

2.9.1 Irregular Nouns

2.9.1.1 δρῦς

The originally feminine noun δρῦς (for which see 2.17.1) may undergo gender change and become masculine, a development that pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar (see LSJ s.v.). The feminine article is sometimes reinterpreted as being part of the noun, leading to ὁ ἰδρῦς:

τοῦ ξηροῦ δρυός (1062, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 35, 103.25); τοὺς δύο μεγάλους δρύας (1090–4, *ibid.* 45, 161–162.17)
 ἐκ τούς δρύας ERMON., *Ilias* 21.310
 ἰδρὺς μέγας (1496, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 39, 185.14)
 ὁ ποῖος δρῦς (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 25, 44.3–4); τοῦ λεγομένου δρυῖ (*ibid.* 44.4); τὸ δρῦν ὅπου ἔχου (1609, *ibid.* 572, 508.3)
 σὲ ἔναν δρῦν Bertoldin. 113.27; ὁ ὁποῖος δρῦς *ibid.* 113.28
 τὴν φλούδαν τοῦ δρυός LANDOS, *Geopon.* 254.4

Sporadic attempts occur to regularize the noun, e.g. by lending it a 2nd-declension ending: ἄγριους ἰδρύους γεμάτος *Theseid* VII.37,1 (1529).

Furthermore, it has an alternative imparisyllabic plural δρυάδες; a corresponding singular δρυάς has not been found in the texts examined: ἀμπέλι ... μὲ δρυάδες κληματερούς (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 64, 84.5); δρυάδες δέκα μισσοῦς μεγάλους (1611, *ibid.* 726, 629.8–9); τοὺς δρυάδες (1684, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 19, 51.20).

2.9.1.2 ἰχθύς

The noun ἰχθύς, which had long been superseded by its morphologically more transparent synonym ὀψάριον, clearly belongs to a more formal register, and is not very common in the period covered by this Grammar. The ancient variant ἰχθῦς for acc. pl. is much rarer than ἰχθύας:

σήμερον ἰχθύς οὐ τρώγεται *Ptoch.* IV 141; ἰχθύν γὰρ οὐκ ἐσθίομεν *ibid.* 318
 ἰχθύων *Phys.* 116; ὁ ἰχθύς *ibid.* 120; ἄρρενες ἰχθύες *ibid.* 126
 οἱ ἰχθύες ἀπαξάπαντες εἶπαν *Opsarol.* 85
 τὸ δικαίωμαν τοῦ ἰχθύος τοῦ ἄρμυροῦ *Assizes* 489.6
 <καί> ἐποίησεν βιβάρια πανθαύμαστα ἰχθύων *Dig.* E 1638; τοὺς ἰχθύας *ibid.* 1811
 πετραίους ἰχθύας STAFIDAS, *Iatrosof.* 4.97
 ὥς ἔνι ἡ θάλασσα ἀλμυρά, διατί οἱ ἰχθύες εἰσὶ γλυκεῖς; *Paroim.* B 112
 τοὺς ἀδόλους τοὺς ἰχθῦς *Plani kosmou* 45
 ὥσπερ ἰχθύας IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5730

An attempt at regularization is the following genitive singular, which is formed by dropping the final /s/ of the nominative (cf. masc. nouns in /is/, 2.3): στοῦ ἰχθὺ τὴν καρδιά *Theseid* III.5,8 (1529).

2.9.1.3 πῆχυς

The masculine noun πῆχυς has an alternative masculine in -ας, and feminines in -η as well as -α (see the introductions to 2.2, 2.11, 2.12). The old forms occur only occasionally: ἔξη πήχεις *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 67; ἐν ταβλομάντηλον πήχεων τριῶν (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 14, 24.15–16); πανὶ πήχεις τριανταδύο (1531, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 20, 66.12). The old forms are sometimes reinterpreted as feminine: πανίον πήχεις τετρακόσται (1325, Veroia?/Macedonia, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 64, 355.58).

2.9.2 Indeclinable Nouns

2.9.2.1 ἀγαπῶ

This substantivized verbal form is a reanalysis of the relative clauses τὸν ἀγαπῶ “the one I love” (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ἀγαπῶ ὅ), e.g.: ὧς ποτε ζῶ καὶ φαίνομαι, τὸν ἀγαπῶ οὐκ ἄρνούμαι *Katal.* 72; νὰ ᾿χω περίσσιους ἀγαπῶ ΣΟΥΜΜΑΚΙΣ, *Past. Fid.* C2r.21 and *Pist. voskos* I 3.179. For a different interpretation see 5.9.1.2.

2.9.2.2 λάς

The noun ὁ λάς occurs in Cypriot Greek. It is considered to be a “contraction” of λαός (e.g. KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. λαός), hence the circumflex in many modern editions. However, it is much more likely to be a loanword, from Occitan *las* meaning “commoner”, “peasant”, “minion” or “serf” (see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v. *las* (7) and GODEFROY, *Lex.* s.v. *las* (2)), which underwent a semantic generalization and came to mean “men”, “people”, both in the (collective) singular and in the plural:

πολλὸς λᾶς (14th, Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 206.3.6); ὁ πρόλοιπος λᾶς τῆς χώρας (*ibid.* 209.4.3)

τὰ σπίτια τοὺς λᾶς (15th, Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 210.8.4)

ἐπυρῶνουνταν οἱ λᾶς (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.6)

τοὺς καλοὺς λᾶς *Assizes* A 50.14

οἱ λᾶς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.15; ψέμα λαλεῖτε, λᾶς τῆς μέσης *ibid.* 486.30

τους λας της χώρας VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 6.18; τον ορισμόν τοὺς λας του αρχιπίσκοπου *ibid.* 230.15

ἡ ποιὰ δὲν εἶναι εἰς τὸ πογέριν τοὺς λᾶς *Fior* 82.14–15

μὲ γέροντες λᾶς *Fior Suppl.* 275.1

τοὺς λᾶς τοῦ φουσάτου *Pist. kekoim.* 73

2.10 Alternative Plural Formations of Masculine Nouns

There is more than average variation in the plural formations of surnames, and to a lesser degree given names and names denoting geographical provenance. Regionally and lexically

an alternative plural -οὔδες occurs with two nouns denoting family relations, namely κύρης and θεῖος. With one exception (2.10.7) there is a clear preference for imparisyllabic plurals.

2.10.1 -αῖοι

The ending -αῖοι is used with proper names in -ος, -ας and especially -ης. Its declension is that of masculine nouns in -ος (2.1.2), and it shows the same variation in the genitive plural regarding addition of -(ν)ε and deletion of final /n/ (for which see also I, 2.6.3.1 and I, 3.7.2.2):

- καὶ Κατακουζηναῖοι *Velis*. χ 313 app. crit. (V) (< Καντακουζηνός); καὶ Κοντοστεφαναῖοι *ibid.* 316 (< Κοντοστέφανος)
οἱ Παπαδαταῖοι (1551, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 46, 88.7) (< Παπαδάτος)
τοῦ Μπολαίωνε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 89, 94.49) (< Ποῦλος); τοῦν Ἀμαρανταῖω (1645, *ibid.* 322, 247.3) (< Ἀμάραντος)
ἀδελφοὶ Μπουλτζαῖοι (1686?, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 360.4) (< Μπουλτζος)
οἱ Μιχολιναῖοι (1547, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: I, 70.8) (< Μιχολίνας)
τοὺς Γαβραίους (post 1666, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 52, 316.3) (< Γαβράς)
εἰς τοὺς Μαζαρακαίους *Chron. Toc.* 1492 (< Μαζαράκης); ὅλοι οἱ Ζενεβεσαῖοι *ibid.* 3194 (< Ζενεβέσης)
τῶν Μποχαλαίων SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 154.18; Μποχαλαῖοι *ibid.* 162.1 (< Μπόχαλης)
Λονταραῖοι *Velis*. χ 315 (< Λεοντάρης)
Ραλλαῖοι KORONAIOS, *Pittakin* 81; Μποχαλαῖοι *ibid.* 82
οἱ Τορναραῖοι (1535, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 4, 120.13) (< Τορνάρης); τῶν Μουζακαίων (1589, *ibid.* 31, 172.5) (< Μουζάκης)
οἱ Πουχαλαῖοι (1547, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: I, 70.8) (< Πούχαλης); τῷ Ματριταῖω (1666, *ibid.* IX, 75.5) (< Ματρίτης); τῶν Ματριταίωνε (1691, *ibid.* XVIII, 79.23)
τῶν Μαζαρακαίων (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 35, 76.9)
οἱ Χαρατσαράοι (1575 [copy of 1653], Epirus, LAMBROS 1916b: 8, 135.4–5) (< Χαρατσάρης)
τῶν ἔνωθεν Ποργιαραίων (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 222, 133.12) (< Πόργιαρης)
τῶν Κοντογιαννιάουε (17th c., Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1960: II.B 32, 132.13) (= -αίωνε, see I, 2.8.3)
οἱ Ἀμυγδαλαῖοι (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969k: 18, 111.15) (< Ἀμυγδάλης)
τοῦ Καταποδαίωνε (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 179, 153.10); εἰς τῷ Κοντομανωλαίωνε (*ibid.* 201, 168.9); τοῦ Μαρουλαίωνε (1644, *ibid.* 292, 230.15) (< Μαρούλης)
τοῦ Γιαννικακαίωνε (1653, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 215, 187.61)
τοὺς Διγενάους (post 1666, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 52, 316.3) (< Διγενής)
ἀπὸ τὴν γενεάν τῶν Γουζελαίων (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: I, 108.19–20) (< Γουζέλης)

Sometimes the ending is employed with nouns denoting geographical provenance: ἄς ποῦμε καὶ Ἰταλαίων *Synax. gyn.* 344 (< Ἰταλός); τῶν Πουρτογαλαίων *Alosis* 509 (< Πορτογάλος); οἱ Παλαιστιναῖοι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.30 (< Παλαιστίνος).

2.10.2 -άδες

The plural ending -άδες is not only used with proper names in -ας (for which see 2.2.1) and -ης (2.3.1), but also with names in -ος and sometimes with foreign proper names. In the genitive final /n/ may be deleted (I, 3.7.2.2) or -(ν)ε may be added (I, 2.6.3.1):

Περατικάδων, Κυπριανάδες (1347, Corfu, KARYDIS 2016: 2, 175.5) (< Περατικός, Κυπριανός)
 από τους Κινναμάδας *Poulol.* 275 (< Κίνναμος); από τους Σεβαστάδας *ibid.* 277 (< Σεβαστός)
 από τους Άργυράδες (1501, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 65, 99.12) (place name < family name
 Άργυρός)
 τῶν Ἀγαπητάδων (1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 32, 63.6) (< Ἀγαπητός)
 οἱ ἄνωθεν Βαλοσαμάδες (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 38, 40.7) (< Βάλσαμος); τοὺς ἄνωθεν
 Τρουγιανάδες (1582, *ibid.* 159, 100.5) (< Τρουγιάνος)
 τοὺς Ἀβλιχάδες (1600, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 29, 22.10) (< Ἀβλιχος)
 Δημοσιανάδων καὶ Ἀντριοιάδων ἀγάπη (1619, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 1, 187.31) (<
 Δημοσιάνος)
 τοῦ ἄνωθε Βρετάδωνε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 82, 87.9) (< Βρετός; for the article τοῦ(ν)
 see 5.2.1); οἱ ἄνωθε Βρετάδες (*ibid.* 88.10); τῷ Βλασποουλάδω (1643, *ibid.* 261, 208.26) (<
 Βλασπόπουλος); κύρ Νικολὸς Ἀμάρατος καὶ κύρ Νικολὸς Μαυρίκης ... οἱ ἄνωθε Νικολάδες
 (*ibid.* 263, 209.6)
 ἀδελφοὶ Βλαχάδες (1669, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 2, 277.2) (< Βλάχος)
 καὶ ἦσαν τὸν τόπον οἱ Λαζανιάδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 142.9 (< Fr. *Lusignan*)
 τοὺς Τελαζανιάδες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 152.3 (< Fr. *de Lusignan*); τοὺς Τελουζουνιάδες *id.*,
Chron. M 153.2–3

2.10.3 -ηδες

The plural ending -ηδες is not only used with proper names in -ης (for which see 2.3.4), but also with proper names in -ος and with nouns in -ος that denote geographical provenance. It is probably a coincidence that no genitive forms have been found:

οἱ δύο Λέηδες (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 15, 13.14) (< Λέος)
 με τσι Ἀνέστηδες (1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 721.22–3) (< Ἀνέστος)
 οἱ Πελεκάνηδες (1683, Naxos, SIFONΙΟΥ-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 323, 524.25–6) (< Πελεκάνος)
 Ἀνδρέας καὶ Πιέρος ἀδελφοὶ Δρόσιδες SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 43.1–2 (< Δρόσος)
 με τοῦ(ς) Σπανιόλιδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 672.16 (< Σπανιόλος)
 Σπανιόλους καὶ Μουρλάκηδες *Stathis* III.15 (< Μορλάκος)
 Σκλαβούνοι καὶ Καζάκηδες 8361; που πήσαν οἱ Μαλτέζηδες ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 5482 (<
 Μαλτέζος)
 Σαπνιόλοι καὶ Βαλόνηδες STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 934 (Pidonia) (< Βαλλόνος); Σέρβοι καὶ
 Μολδοβάνηδες *ibid.* 936 (< Μολδοβάνος)

2.10.4 -άντοι

Pontic surnames may have an imparisyllabic plural formation in -άντοι (nom.), -άντων (gen.) and -άντας (acc.) (cf. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1958: 383–6 for the modern dialect):

τῶν Γενακάντων (13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 105, 64.1)
 (< Γενάκης); ἀπὸ τοὺς Γουσμανάντας (1292, *ibid.* 115, 85.21) (< Γουσμάνος); τῶν
 Αὔλιανιτάντων (15th c., *ibid.* 6, 3.8) (< Αὔλιανίτης); τῶν Μαρκιανάντων (15th c., *ibid.* 166,
 116.6) (< Μαρκιανός); με τοὺς Χαψάντας (15th/16th c., *ibid.* 145, 108.3) (< Χαψάς); οἱ
 Λαλατζάντοι (16th c., *ibid.* 186, 123.1) (< Λαλάτζης); πλησίον τῶν Κουνουκάντων (1564,
ibid. 181, 121.2–3) (< Κουνούκης); με τοὺς Κουνουκάντας (*ibid.* 121.6).

2.10.5 -οὔδες

Lexically this ending is employed with the nouns κύρης (in its meaning “father”) and θεῖος (“uncle”) by analogy with the semantically related noun παπποῦς (“grandfather”, see 2.5) (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 18), which appears in written sources from the 11th c. onwards (see *LBG*, s.v.).

The plural κυροῦδες occurs regionally, in texts from Cyprus, Crete, Chios, Rhodes:

τῶν κυρούδων *Alosis* 198; κυροῦδες, μάννες καὶ παιδία *ibid.* 257
 ἀπὸ δύο κυρούδες (1530, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 137, 248.8)
 οἱ κυροῦδες *P&N Diath.* 761
 ὁ κύρις ... οἱ κυρούδες GERMANO, *Grammar* 62.7
 οἱ δύο κυροῦδες (1628, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 2, 334.7)
 δύο κυρούδων *Pist. voskos* V 5.346; δυὸ κυροῦδες, σὲ καὶ μένα *ibid.* V 6.375
 δυὸ κυροῦδες ἔχεις FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.154; οἱ κυροῦδες *ibid.* V.286
 κυροῦδες καὶ ἄλλους συγγενεῖς AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 164

In specific phonetic environments final /s/ may be deleted in texts from south-western areas, e.g. οἱ κυροῦδε μας TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.129 (Aposkiti). For details and more examples see I, 3.7.1.1. Deletion of final /n/ in the genitive has been found in a text from Crete (see I, 3.7.2.2 for details): κυρούδω καὶ μαννάδω *P&N Diath.* 213.

The plural θειοῦδες occurs in the chronicle of Machairas (Cyprus): οἱ θειοῦδε<ς> σου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 404.25 (with omission of final /s/ to avoid a geminate pronunciation, see I, 3.4); τοὺς θειοῦδες μου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 404.32; οἱ θειοῦδες τοῦ ρηγὸς *ibid.* 450.33.

In a document from S. Italy, the ending -οὔδες is used with two proper names in /os/ (see CARACAUSI, *Lex.* s.v.): τῶν Πουτζοῦδων ... τῶν Κουτζοῦδων (ca. 1050, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972b: 165.37–9) (< Πούτζος and Κουτζός).

2.10.6 -άτοι

This ending, now typical of Kefalonian surnames in both the singular and the plural, occurs twice in the *Chronicle of Tocco* as well as in documents from Icaria (cf. CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 454–5): τοὺς Κατακουζηνάτους *Chron. Toc.* 2155 tit. and 2174 (< Καντακουζηνός); τῶν Λαγουδάτων (1656, Icaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 21, 30.4–5) (< Λαγός, with addition of a morpheme <ουδ>); τῶ Ρουσιάτωνο (1670, *ibid.* 42, 42.4) (< Ροῦσος) (for vowel addition see I, 2.6.3); οἱ Λαγουδάτοι (1678, Icaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 61, 52.3–4). In one instance -άτοι becomes -άτες: μὲ τοὺς Λαγουδάτες (1656, *ibid.* 21, 30.6).

2.10.7 -οι

In the archive of the Cretan notary Varouchas we find plural forms in -οι, -ων, -ους for his own surname: οἱ ἄνωθεν ἀφέντες Βαρούχοι (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 311, 296.14); τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀφεντῶ Βαρούχων (*ibid.* 296.25); τσι ἄνωθεν ἀφέντες Βαρούχους (*ibid.* 297.30).

FEMININE

2.11 Feminine Nouns in /a/

The AG 1st-declension nouns in -ά and -α comprised oxytone, paroxytone and proparoxytone nouns; e.g. ἄγορά, δόξα, μέλισσα. In Attic the <α> in these endings was either long or short, resulting in two sets of singular endings, e.g. long $\bar{\alpha}$: οἰκία, οἰκίας, οἰκία, οἰκίαν, οἰκία; short α: δόξα, δόξης, δόξη, δόξαν, δόξα. With the loss of vowel length distinction these two groups converged, through an initial period of confusion, into a paradigm in which the vowel [a] of the nominative prevailed in all cases of the singular (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 77; see GIGNAC 1981: 3–11 for numerous examples of mutual borrowing in the Roman period). In the same period, the nom. pl. ending -αι/-αί of the 1st declension came to be replaced by the nom. pl. ending -ες/-ές of the 3rd declension. From the 2nd century onwards the -ες/-ές ending also started to spread to the accusative plural (see DIETERICH 1898: 157–8 and GIGNAC 1981: 46–7).

New nouns in -α emerged when the 3rd declension was remodelled (cf. masculine nouns in /as/, 2.2), which saw many words obtaining a new paroxytone or proparoxytone nom. sg. in -α, built on the analogy of the accusative singular, which with the loss of vowel length distinction and the subsequent optional addition of final /n/ had become identical to the acc. sg. of the 1st declension (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 79–80; DIETERICH 1898: 160; HORROCKS 2010: 285–8). Thus: ἀκτίς > ἀκτίνα; γυνή > γυναίκα; ἑβδομάς > ἑβδομάδα; εἰκών > εἰκόνα; ἑλπίς > ἑλπίδα; θρίξ > τρίχα; φλόξ > φλόγα; μήτηρ > μητέρα; ἀνθρωπότης > ἀνθρωπότητα; ἔρις > ἔριδα; κλίμαξ > κλίμακα. The full transition is usually dated in the first centuries AD. The earliest example found so far of a fem. nom. sg. in -α is θυγατέρα, which occurs twice on an Egyptian mummy label datable to the 3rd c. AD (SB 1 1735)⁹¹ (cf. masculine nouns in /as/, so far with first written evidence in the 5th c. AD).

The LMedG and EMG feminine nouns in /a/ can be divided into five paradigms, each with their own characteristics. Paradigm 2.11.1, the oxytone paradigm, consists of two sub-paradigms, which comprise a fairly limited number of nouns: 2.11.1.1 includes old 1st-declension nouns such as ἄγορά, ἀναφορά, γενεά, διαφορά, θεά, οὐρά, σπορά, συμφορά, φορά, φωλεά, χαρά and others, as well as newer words such as βολά. These nouns have a parasyllabic plural formation and develop imparisyllabic plural forms only regionally; 2.11.1.2 covers nouns with a widespread alternative imparisyllabic plural, consisting of inherited nouns such as πε(ν)θερά, newer formations such as βαβιά and κυρά/κερά, and loanwords such as ἄμπά (< Turk. *aba*), ὀκά (< Turk. *okka*), ζαφορά (< Ven. *zafaràn*) and nouns in -ιτά borrowed from Italian such as σιγουριτά.

Paradigm 2.11.2, the paroxytone paradigm, is much larger and also consists of two sub-paradigms: 2.11.2.1 comprises inherited paroxytone 1st-declension nouns with a parasyllabic plural formation and a historical shift of the stress to the ultimate in the genitive plural, which is often though not always observed, such as γλώσσα, ἡμέρα, κατάρα, μοίρα, ρίζα, τρύπα, χήρα, χώρα; innovative paroxytone forms of old 3rd-declension nouns with

⁹¹ See www.papyri.info. This example is not in GIGNAC 1981: 63, whose first occurrence, ἡ μητέρα in P. Michael. 39, is datable to the 4th–7th c.

the same characteristics, such as, among others, αῖγα, γυναῖκα, νύκτα, προῖκα; newer words such as μύγα (< μύγια < AG μυῖα), ζέστα, πίτ(τ)α, προβάτα (< πρόβατον); and singular formations of place names that were originally plural, such as Ἀθήνα (< Ἀθηναί), Θήβα (< Θῆβαι), Πάτρα (< Πάτραι). The paradigm also includes loanwords such as κάπα (< MedLat. *capa*), κάτα (< MedLat. *catta*), κασέλα (< Ven. *cassèla*), κορτίνα (< MedLat. *cortina*), κερέλλα (< Fr. *querelle*), γκέρρα (< Fr. *guerre*); κόττα (< Fr. *cotte*/Ital. *cotta*), λουμπάρδα (< Ital. *lombarda*), σκρόφα (< Lat. *scrofa*), σπέζα (< Ital. *spesa*), στράτα (< Ital. *strada*), τσάμπρα (< Occit. *chambra*). Imparissyllabic plural forms are lexical for this paradigm (μάννα and χήρα).

Sub-paradigm 2.11.2.2 consists of paroxytone nouns with a parisyllabic plural but historically without a shift of the stress in the genitive plural. This group includes innovative forms of former 3rd-declension plurissyllabic oxytone nouns such as ἄκτινα, ἄμαζόνα, ἀκρίδα, γαστέρα, ἑβδομάδα, εἰκόνα, Ἑλλάδα, ἐλπίδα and paroxytone ones such as θυγατέρα, μητέρα. Also included are newer formations such as ἀγελάδα, γαϊδάρα, diminutives in -ούδα, -ούλα, -οπούλα, -ίτσα and italianate -έτα (e.g. καθενέτα). The sub-paradigm also covers loanwords such as βερτούδα (< Ital. *vertute*), ἰντράδα (< Ven. *intràda*). Many nouns belonging to this paradigm do not appear to form a genitive plural at all (as in SMG).

Paradigm 2.11.3, the proparoxytone paradigm, is also very large and can be divided into two sub-paradigms: 2.11.3.1 includes inherited 1st-declension nouns in -α such as βασιλίσσα, δέσποινα, θάλασσα, μέλισσα, τράπεζα, nouns in -αῖνα and -εσσα, and nouns in -εῖα such as βοήθεια, συμπάθεια and others, which all have a parisyllabic plural formation and often retain the historical shift of the stress to the ultimate in the genitive plural. It also covers place names of Slavic origin in -ιτζα/-ιτσα (singular only) such as Κράβιτζα, Ἰωάννιτζα, Ρίμνιτζα, Στρούμπιτζα, and loanwords such as νέσπολα (< Ven. *nespola*). Proparoxytone nouns in -(ε)ῖα may become paroxytone through synizesis, which is best visible in verse texts: ὦ πάπια σεισοκῶλα *Poulol*. AZ 45 app. crit. (Z) (trisyllabic in A: πάπια σεισοκῶλα); μόσχος τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας *Katal*. 349; στα μέρη τσ' Αντιόχειας *Apoll*. Rim. N 1678; γιατί τσ' ἀλήθειας μοιάζου *KORNAOS*, *Erot*. V.1444.

Sub-paradigm 2.11.3.2 consists of innovative formations of former 3rd-declension paroxytone nouns, which have a parisyllabic plural and present a shift of the stress to the penultimate in the genitive plural, e.g. ἄλωπεκα (< ἄλώπηξ), κλίμακα (< κλίμαξ), λάρνακα (< λάρναξ), ὄρνιθα (< ὄρνις), πέρδικα (< πέρδιξ), πτέρυγα (< πτέρυξ), χάριτα (< χάρις). The sub-paradigm also includes nouns in -τητα (< -της), a very productive ending used in both inherited nouns such as γλυκύτητα, ἡμερότητα, μεγαλειότητα, νεότητα, and new nouns, e.g. ἐδικότητα “family” (< ἐδικός), πανιερότητα, σπουδότητα. Other new words in this category include ἄργητα, ἄργητα, ἔχθητα, κάκητα and μάνητα. These words are sometimes spelled with <ι> instead of <η>.

Nouns in which the ending -α is preceded by /e/ or /i/ are treated as separate paradigms because they show their own characteristics and (regional) variation. For the sake of descriptive convenience /e/ and /i/ are treated as belonging to the ending rather than the stem of the noun. Paradigm 2.11.4 covers paroxytone nouns in -έα, both inherited, such as ἀπιδέα, γραῖα, ἐλαῖα, μηλέα, and newer formations, such as ζυγαρέα, καρυδέα, κονταρέα,

μερέα, ποδέα, σπηλαία (< σπήλαιον) and many others. Nouns in -έα tend to become oxytone and may undergo synizesis (μερέα > μεριά; see also I, 2.9.4).⁹² This tendency towards a shift of the stress to the ultimate pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar: for example, the form ἀμυγδαλιά for ἀμυγδαλέα can be found in Aelius Herodian's treatise on prosody (see the online *TLG*).

There is some regional variation to be noted (for similar developments in feminine adjectival forms see 3.2.6 and 3.3.1): in the singular ['ea] may become ['a] when preceded by /t/ (examples from Crete, Cythera, the Peloponnese, Epirus and Paros), or a sibilant or affricate (Crete), due to two different phonological processes (for details see I, 2.4.7.3 and I, 2.4.7.4). In the noun γραία and its compound καλογραία /j/ is often deleted after synizesis for ease of pronunciation, resulting in γρά, a form found in a large geographical area: evidence is abundant in texts from Crete but can also be found in texts from the Peloponnese, certain Aegean islands and the northern mainland, including Constantinople.

Furthermore, in texts from West Crete, Cythera and Ikaria [e] and [a] may coalesce to [e] (see I, 2.9.4.3).⁹³ It is important to note that variant forms often occur side by side in the same areas and even in the same texts, as the following examples demonstrate: ἀπὸ μιὰ μεριά BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 169.17; στὴν ἀπάνω μερὰ (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 15, 36.10); στὴν ἐκεῖθεν μερεὰ (1603, *ibid.* 200, 207.4); ἀποὺ τὴν ἀπάνω μερεῖ (1604, *ibid.* 213, 218.4–5); ἀποὺ τὴ κάτω μερέα (1606, *ibid.* 366, 342.3); με γρια καμιά στο πλάι τῆς CHORTATSI, *Panor.* II.26; τση γρες *ibid.* III.291; τση γριας *ibid.* I.240. The ending -έ may occasionally spread to nouns not originally in -έα, e.g. τὴν ἀμπελὲ τοῦ Βουβοῦ (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 795, 691.26), by analogy with nouns belonging to the same semantic field (e.g. ἀπιδέα, καρέα, μουνρέα).

The plural of nouns in /ea/ may become oxytone through synizesis (μερέες > μεριές; see I, 2.9.4) or through vowel simplification (μερέες > μερές; see I, 2.9.2.1).

Imparissyllabic plural forms are lexical for this paradigm, limited to γραία and its compounds: μικροὶ καὶ γράδες *P&N Diath.* 4671; με τοὺς καλογέρους καὶ καλογριάδες (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.14); γριάδες ἔχουν τὸν καιρό *Paroim.* (Warner) 73.12.

Paradigm 2.11.5 covers inherited nouns in -ία and -εία, such as ἀδικία, βία, δοκιμασία, δουλεία, ἐστία, ἐκκλησία, θεία, καρδία, Λευκωσία, οὐγγία (< Lat. *uncia*), πανουργία, ὑπανδρεία and many others, as well as later formations such as ἀβροχία, ἀγγαρεία, ἀδιαντροπία, αἱματοχυσία, ἐσοδεία, παπαδία, πυροστία, and σουπία (< σηπία) and regional loanwords such as τζιμνία ("chimney") (< Occit. *chemineia*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.). Most of these nouns show a strong tendency to become oxytone and be affected by synizesis, e.g. φορεσία > φορεσιά. This tendency toward oxytonization pre-dates the period

⁹² Only nouns that are not very common in the period under review, such as ἰδέα, resist the tendency to become oxytone, unless metrical synizesis is involved: ἐκ τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ ἀγγέλου *Dig.* E 1770 and 1771.

⁹³ It has also been found in a text that was probably written in Athos by a Russian monk with a good knowledge of Greek: μερεν / μερέν (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1870). For a different explanation see I, 2.5.3.

covered by this Grammar,⁹⁴ although it is often masked by conservative stress notation (for details on synizesis and accent notation see 1.5). Paradigm 2.11.5 also includes loanwords from French and Italian such as ἀβοερία (OFr. *avoerie*) and φαμελία, as well as the handful of inherited oxytone nouns in -ιά such as ἀνεψιά, λαλιά and μητρυιά. The oxytone suffix -ιά becomes very productive in the period covered by this Grammar, producing innovative nouns such as ἀγκαλιά, ἀνακατωσιά, ζευγιά, κοπελιά, παλουκιά, πορπατηγιά and many others. In all cases of the singular and in the genitive plural (forms with /a/ and /o/ in their ending), deletion of /j/ may occur regionally in the oxytone variant forms when the noun stem ends in a sibilant or affricate (see I, 2.4.7.3) or in /r/ (see I, 2.4.7.4): ἡ ἐξουσά σου *Alex. Rim.* 2677; ἀπὸ τὴν ἀγορασάν (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 90, 1670.24–5); τῶν ἐκκλησῶ (1645, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 11, 25.22); τῆς φορεσῶς (1656, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 9, 405.60); τὲς βρισῆς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §4.13; τὴ ζωὴ τῆς μοναξιάς KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.602.

In plural forms with /e/ in their ending (nom., acc., voc.) apparent omission of <i> occurs in a larger geographical area and not only after sibilants, affricates and /r/, but also after other consonants. These apparent omissions are graphematic, as omitting <i> will not have altered the pronunciation of <γ> and <κ> before /e/: ἐξῆντα ὀργές κι ἂν ἔσκαψα *Ekatol.* (Meteoron) 63 (< ὀργυία>); ᾽πὸ τσι δύο κατοικίες (1631, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 598, 572.13) (< κατοικία>).

Transfers between the sub-paradigms are not uncommon: nouns in -τρια (e.g. πολυλήτρια) may lose the <i>, probably on the analogy of other nouns in -τρα, thus transferring to sub-paradigm 2.11.2.1. Examples have been found in a large geographical area, including Sicily, the Heptanese, Crete, the Cyclades and the northern mainland:

ἡ μακαρία αὐθέντρα ἡμῶν (1142, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 303.20–1)
καὶ πεθυμῶ σε, ἀφέντρα *Love poems* V 215
ἐγγύτρα καὶ πλερώτρα (1529, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 114, 225.19)
ὡς κυβερνήτρα τῶν παιδιῶν τῆς (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 46, 46.3)
τσῆ πολυλήτρας (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 846, 738.25–7)
λούστρα, πλύστρα καὶ μαμμή *Paroim.* (Warner) 81.2
λεμενταρίστρα *Stathis* III.382
ἄρμιρίστρες (1617, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 16, 320.17)
οἱ μοιρολόητρες (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 82.109)
οἱ αὐθέντρες *Bertoldos* 64.29
χαλάστρα | ... καὶ σγουροφτειάστρα KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.393–4

Regionally, loss of /j/ may occur (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details and discussion): ἡ ζήλα ἐνέβην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 56.30 (= ζήλεια); εὐρίσκονται μεγάλες ζήλες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.14; ἐπίσκοπος Κυρήνας (1609, Cyprus, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 20, 267.15) (= Κυρήνειας); καθὼς ἔναι οἱ συνήθες *Chron. Toc.* 817 app. crit. (V) (= συνήθειες).

⁹⁴ See for instance the lemma τροχιλία in LSJ, which has an oxytone alternative τροχιλιᾶ in Theophrastos and Galen and even an alternative τροχιλέα in Aristotle and a 1st-c. BC papyrus (BGU 1116.24) (see below for the same phenomenon in the period under review). Oxytone forms such as τῆς ἀφωνιάς, τῆς ἐκκλησιᾶς and τῆς κοιλιᾶς occur in the hymns of Romanos the Melode (6th c.). From the metrical appendix in MAAS/TRYPANIS 1963: 514 it becomes clear that these forms are oxytone but that synizesis has not taken place.

The reverse phenomenon of a noun in /a/ developing an alternative form with an added /j/ occurs with ἄκρα, which has an alternative ἄκρια (for proposed etymologies see ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, *Lex.* s.v. ἀκρά). Examples have been found in texts from Chios: με τὲς ἄκριες (1606, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 3, 81.42); ἄκρια, ἄκρα, ἡ GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *estremità*; εἰς τὴν ἄκρια PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 364; τὲς ἄκριες τριγυρίζει *ibid.* 2135.

Sometimes, and especially in verse texts, proparoxytone nouns may transfer to the paroxytone/oxytone paradigm in -ία/-ιά (2.11.5): τοῦ νὰ κρατῆτε ἐδῶ προνοῖες *Chron. Mor.* P 2696 (read προνοίεσ, before the caesura); διὰ νὰ ἔχη τὴν ἀκριβειάν *Fior* 105.18–19; αὐτήνη ἡ Μηδεῖα *Synax. gyn.* 363; ἀπὸ ζηλειῆς περισσες *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. theas* 43; τῆς ἀρρωστίας μου *ibid.* II.530; τῇ ζηλειᾷ τὴν πράξη *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.708. The reverse may also occur: κὶ ἡ περιστέρα γύρισε *Poulol. AZ* 8 (< περιστερὰ). Several examples of stress shift in nouns in -ισσα occur in documents from S. Italy, possibly by analogy with the residual genitive in -ισσης and possibly influenced by Romance nouns in -essa (e.g. *comitessa*). It must also be borne in mind, however, that the edition is far from reliable: Ἀδελάσια κομητίσσα (1101–13?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 6, 394.8); ἡ συγγενίσσα (1145, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 9, 27.12 (col. B)). A paroxytone noun that has a sporadic proparoxytone variant is κατάρα: τὴν κατάρα του (1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.28); εἰς τὴν κατάρα της (1582, *ibid.* 196, 120.17); καὶ γράφει του με κατάρα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 879; τὴν κατάρα της *ibid.* 885.

Originally paroxytone nouns in /'ia/ may sporadically transfer to the proparoxytone paradigm: καὶ λείπουν οἱ δυνάστεις *Chron. Toc.* 1227 (< δυναστεία); τὴν πελελὴν ἀγγάρεια *SACHLIKIS, Symvoules* 239 (< ἀγγαρεία); τὴν πραγμάτειαν τοὺς *Bertoldin.* 114.7 (< πραγματεία); with influence from Italian: τῇ Πέρσιᾳ ὁ πόλεμος *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.206 and ποὺ ἡ Πέρσια δὲν ἀξιώθηκε *TROILOS, Rodol.* II.240 (Aposkiti); πολλὴ ἐπτῶχεια (post 1666, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 23, 313.18) (< πτωχεία); τὴν Νήστειαν *KONDAR., Paidēs* 568 (< νηστεία). The same holds true for the noun ἀποκρέα, which has a proparoxytone alternative ἀπόκρια, derived from its oxytone alternative ἀποκριά: οἱ Ἀπόκριες (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 303, f.1r.8). The noun κυρία developed an oxytone variant κυρά (2.11.1.2) before the LMedG period (see the online *TLG* for examples from the *Life of Aesop G*, *Philogelos*, Byzantine Saints' Lives and others).

Oxytone nouns in -έα (2.11.1) may transfer to paroxytone -έα (2.11.4): εἰς τὴν θέαν Ἀρτέμην *Pol. Tr.* 204 app. crit. (C); τῆς θέας τῆς Διάνας *ibid.* app. crit. (BV); φωλέαν *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 1.2; ἦτανε γενέα με τὸν Μπαγιαζίτη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.15–16; τῆς γενέας τοὺς *ibid.* 51.4. The same also occurs with the noun ἡ στερεά (< adj. στερεός): θάλασσα καὶ στερεά *Chron. Toc.* 3108; εἰς τὴν στερεά (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 132.10).

Nouns belonging to paradigm 2.11.4 (-έα) may develop forms in -ία by analogy with paradigm 2.11.5, as both groups of nouns tend to become oxytone through synizesis, resulting in the identical ending /'ja/, e.g.: εἰς τὰς πτελίας (1307, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 10, 114.15) (< πτελέα); εἰς τὶς Σπηλίες (1564, Cythera, ΔΡΑΚΑΚΙΣ 1999: 84, 167.1) (< σπηλαία); καβαλλάρειαν γυναικῶν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 260.16; τὴν ἄλλην μερία (1624, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 11, 311.2). Regionally these spellings may represent forms in which height dissimilation has taken place ([^hea] > [^hia]; see I, 2.9.4.3 for details).

However, these spellings may also represent forms in which synizesis has taken place, as in the following example, in which the word should clearly be read as /kondar'jan/ in order for the verse to scan: τὴν κονταρίαν μὲ δώσει *Diig. E 1557* (< κονταρέα). For synizesis and accent placement in poetry, prose and non-literary texts see 1.5. The reverse development, -ία > -έα, a form of hypercorrection, is less common, though examples can be found from the very beginning of the period covered by this Grammar, and long before (see above fn. 94):

ἀπὸ μεσημβρέας (1123, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 93, 122.10) (< μεσημβρία)
τὴν ἀνθρωπέαν *Chron. Mor. H 1646* (< ἀνθρωπία)
κрасин καὶ χοιρινομαγερέαν *Spanos A 19* (< μαγειρία)
παλαιές ἐντριτές (1525, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 103, 193.19) (< ἐντριτία)
εἰς τὴν καντζελλαρέα (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 26, 165.13) (< καντζελλαρία)

The noun γραῖα/γριά when compounded usually remains paroxytone/oxytone: τὸ κελλὶν ὅπου στέκει ἡ καλογρέα (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 173.13); μὲ τοὺς καλογέρους καὶ καλογριάδες (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.14); ἡ καλουγριά (1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 8, 21.3). Proparoxytone forms, as in SMG, are rarer: καὶ γραῖες καὶ μεσόγρες *Diig. tetr. 927* app. crit. (P) (with simplification of /ee/ to /e/); ἡ λουλόγρια *Synax. gadar. 180*; ἀταμῶς μὲ μία καλόγρια (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 29, 49.5).

The feminine noun σύμβιος may transfer to the feminine /a/ paradigm: ἦτον πρώτη σύμβια *Chron. Mor. H 8004*; ἡ συβία μου (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 181.24). In a document from Cythera we find an alternative ἡ ἐγγόνα for ἡ ἐγγόνη (cf. masc. ὁ ἐγγονας for ὁ ἐγγονος, 2.1.4): ἡ ἐγγόνα της (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 172, 141.25); τὴν ἐγγόνα τση (ibid. 141.26).

Certain nouns belonging to other paradigms may transfer to the feminine /a/ paradigms by changing gender. Former 3rd-declension masculine nouns, especially those in -ών and -ων, may change gender and become feminine (a development that pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar; see e.g. PSALTES 1913: 177; DIETERICH 1898: 160):

τὴν ἀρραβῶνά του *Assizes B 286.14*
τὰς ἀρραβῶνας *Assizes A 37.28* (< ὁ ἀρραβών)
καὶ εἰς τῆς πρωτομάρτυρας Θέκλας *Diig. Apoll. 811*
πολλὰς κανόνας ἔχεις (15th c., Trebizond region, TSAKALOF 1910: [3], 121.2)
τὲς κανόνες (1551, Venice, COUROPOU/GÉHIN 2001: 3, 161.3)
αἱ παροῦσαι κανόνες (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 2, 295.44–5); τὰς κανόνας (ibid. 2, 295.28) (< ὁ κανών)
οἱ ὁμορφες βραχιόνες *P&N Diath. 436* (< ὁ βραχίων)
τὴν κύναν *Flor. L 382* (Cupane) (to distinguish biological sex < ὁ κύνας < ὁ κύων)
τὴν κλύδωνα *Byz. Il. 446* (< ὁ κλύδων)

The masculine noun πῆχυς has an alternative feminine in -α (as well as a feminine in -η and masculine in -ας, see 2.12 and 2.2): μὲ κέρατα ἀνάμεσα τὰ αὐτῖα μία πήχα *Diig. Alex. F 118.10–11* (Lolos); τὴν καθε πήχα (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 245, 175.16).

Sporadically indeclinable neuter nouns in /a/ may be reanalysed as feminine (for a similar development of feminine singular forms being interpreted as neuter plural, see 2.19): οἱ δύο ἄλφες καὶ τὸ ρ, τὸ θαυμαστὸν κομμούνι BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion. 1382*; τὶ πράγμα ἔναι ἡ βήτα ... τὶ ἔναι ἡ ἄλφα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath. 345.1–2*; ὅστις ἤθελε διασείσει μίαν ἰώτα

(1615, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 9, 6.56); κι απόκεις δέν κατέχουσι τήν ἄλφα σκιᾶς νὰ ποῦσι KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1530. Neuter nouns in -ιν (originally diminutives) may transfer to the feminine /a/ paradigm by adopting the augmentative suffix -α: τήν πιγούναν *Spanos* D 1185 (< πιγούνα < πιγούνιν); πέτρες κι ἀγκάθες βάνει KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.582 (< ἀγκάθα < ἀγκάθιν).

For numerals in -άδα and -αριά see 6.3. For undeclined proclitic forms such as κυρα-/κερα- see 2.18.

2.11.1 Oxytone Nouns

2.11.1.1 Nouns with a Parisyllabic Plural

	General	Restricted
Singular		
Nom.	φορά	
Gen.	φορᾶς	
Acc.	φορά(ν)	
Voc.	φορά	
Plural		
Nom.	φορές	φοραί -άδες
Gen.	φορῶν	(-άδων)
Acc.	φορές	φοράς -άδες
Voc.	φορές	-αί άδες

Singular

Nominative

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ά

There is no variation in the nominative singular:

καὶ ὥσει σκιὰ διέβηκες GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 199; αἶ συμφορὰ μεγάλη! *ibid.* 271
 ἐνὸς φαρίου μας ἡ φορὰ νὰ ρίξη δεκαπέντε *Chron. Mor.* H 4730
 (ἐνι ...) περιστερὰ τὸ ἀδελφι μας *Dig.* E 329
 ἡ χαρὰ ἐκείνη *Achil.* L 6
 ὦ συμφορὰ μεγάλη *Chron. Toc.* 1776

μιά γενιά κακή και ξένη FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 76 (< γενεά)
 ούλη ή σπορά έχάθηκεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.23–4; ἦτον ή γ' φορά *ibid.* 438.2
 ή φθορά τ' άνέμου BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 395; ή χαρά των *ibid.* 409
 ή γενεά σου (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.14)
 'σαν είναι πλέα διαφορά *Rim. Apol.* A 1195; όντε το μήλον η θεά τ'όδωκε *ibid.* 1589
 ποῦ εἶναι ή οὔρα σου; *Vios Aisop.* K 161.34–5
 εἶναι ένα γέλιον ή άγορά του *Vios Aisop.* I 253.30
 έτούτη ἦτον τότε τρίτη φορά KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 21.14
 ή συφορά του γάδαρου *Paroim.* (Warner) 33.6–7 (= συμφορά)
 άστόχησε ή σπορά μας (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.4)
 ποιά ή χαρά σου, αὔθεντη μου KONDAK., *Paidas* 208
 ή όρα του ώσαν του πάρδου *Alex. Fyll.* 11.1 (= οὔρα)
 είναι ολίγη η αγορά του *Don Kis.* 121.8; δεν με λείπει άλλο παρά μία ουρά *ibid.* 335.15

Genitive

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ᾶς

The genitive singular shows no morphological variation:

διὰ πρώτης φορᾶς (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 27.209)
 ἀπό ... άγορᾶς μουλαρίων (1079, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 2, 17.4)
 φεῦ τῆς συμφορᾶς *Ptoch.* III 142
 τῆς θεᾶς τῆς Διάνας *Pol. Tr.* 1734
 μετά χαρᾶς μεγάλης *Achil.* L 70
 ἐάν αἱ τῆς σκιᾶς πῆχες θ' με δίδουν ξύλου ὕψος πῆχας ς' (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 17, 22.3–4)
 μετά πάσης χαρᾶς (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 103.10)
 περὶ τῆς δωρᾶς *Assizes* A 17.6 (= δωρεᾶς, see I, 2.4.7.3); ἀπό πρώτης άγορᾶς *ibid.* 192.29
 τοῦ κινδύνου τῆς φθορᾶς BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 362
 εἰς ὁμοίωσιν μιᾶς περιστερᾶς KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 389.16–17
 κρασωμένοι ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς σπορᾶς SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 96.18
 τὰ ἥμιση στάμενα τῆς άγορᾶς (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 293, 208.10)
 τῆς ξαγορᾶς (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 6, 29.17)
 τῆς ἐτᾶς νά πανδρευτεῖ (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 142.86) (< Ital. *età*)
 ν' ακολουθῶ τσ' άσκιᾶς σου TROILOS, *Rodol. Dedic.* 34 (= σκιᾶς)
 διὰ θαλάσσης καὶ ξηρᾶς DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 168
 πολλὰ μετά χαρᾶς ὑπογράφομεστέν (1674, Paros, ZERLENDIS 1922: (3), 54.3–4)
 τῆς διαφορᾶς γενομένης (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 27, 41.4)

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ά(ν)

The accusative shows no variation other than that it may occur with or without final /n/:

τὸ χωράφιον τὸ ἄπερ ἔχω άγοράν ἐκ τὴν κυρίαν Χαράν (1145, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 15, 140.3–4)
 τὴν ἀράν (1168/9, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 36, 191.13)

ἀπὸ φτορὰν δαιμόνου *Chron. Mor.* H 3774
 τὴν ἀγορὰ τὴν ἐποίκεν *Assizes* B 286.18; ἀπαὶ τὴν φρουρὰν *ibid.* 476.17
 τὴν ὀχρὰν *Liv.* E 2549
 μὲ ἐξαγορὰν *Chron. Toc.* 416; εἰς τὴν φρουρὰν ἀπέσω *ibid.* 1806
 τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 436
 καὶ ἂν ὁμιλήσῃ μιὰ φορά *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 362
 μὲ μία χροιά *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 251
 κ' ἐγλύτωσα τὴν συμφορὰν *Synax. gadar.* 331
 τὴν ἄρνάν σου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 220.33 (= ἄρνάδαν, see I, 3.6.1.1); πολλὰ μεγάλην
 διαφορὰν ἔχει *ibid.* 570.25
 στὴν ὀχρὰν *Cypr. Canz.* 2.21
 μίαν βολὰ ἐδιέβηκα *Diig. Alex.* F 178.21 (Lolos)
 τὴν διαμφορὰν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008:55, 118.12) (= διαφορὰν, see I, 3.5.2.4)
 ἄλλη φορά γυρίσετε *Apoll. Rim.* A 625
 εἰς τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 7.35; τὴν πλευρὰν του *ibid.* 20.20
 ὅπ' ἔχει δυὸ ἀγαπητικίες, ἔχει χαρὰν μεγάλην *Paroim.* (Warner) 28.11
 ὅταν ἦλθεν ἡ ἀφεντιά σου τὴν ἄλλην βολὰν (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 37.48–9)
 ἀπὸ τὴν γενεὰν τῶν Γουζελαίων (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 108.19–20)

Vocative

Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-ά

The vocative singular is identical to the nominative. As most nouns belonging to this paradigm refer to abstract notions, it is unsurprising that not many examples of the vocative have been found:

περιστερὰ μου πάντερπνε *Dig.* G III.265
 κυρὰ Κουβά, βασίλισσα *Pol. Tr.* 10465 (< Fr. *Hécuba*)
 εἰπέ με γοῦν, περιστερὰ *Poulol.* 524
 ὦ χαρὰ καταλυμένη *Fior* 92.3–4
 θεὰ τῇ δόλιας μου καρδιάς *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.533
 ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστε καὶ διεστραμμένη *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 17.17

Plural

Nominative

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ές

The most common ending for the nominative plural is -ές. In manuscripts and older editions the ending is often spelled with <αι> instead of <ε>. The number of examples found is modest, not least because the very common words *φορά* and *βολά* seldom appear in the nominative plural:

αἱ χαρὲς καὶ ὁ γάμος τῶν θαυμαστικῆς, μεγάλης *Pol. Tr.* 13580
 αἱ συμφορὲς μου [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 1676 (hapax)
 χαρὲς ἐδῶ δὲν γίνονται *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 140

λογιές ὀχρὲς μετὰξιν LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 173
 διὰ τοῦτο εἶναι οἱ ορές των μαδισμένες *Anthos Ch.* A 161.4 (= οὐρές)
 κι ἄς πάσουν ὅλες οἱ ζηλειές *CHORTATSI, Erof.* I.70 (< ζήλεια)
 ἐμεῖς οἱ κατωγεγραμμένες γενές (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 130, 143.3) (with
 simplification of -εές to -ές, cf. 2.11.4)
 ὅλες οἱ αὐτὲς γενεές *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 76.36
 ὅλες οἱ γενεές KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 1.48
 ἔσοντας καὶ νὰ ἦτανε διαφορὲς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τους (1661, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009:
 225, 200.16)
 καὶ θε νὰ πάψουν οἱ χαρὲς BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 510.24
 καὶ τῷ ρηγάδῳ οἱ διαφορὲς KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1509

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-αί

The residual nominative ending -αί of the 1st declension can be found in mixed-register texts: αἱ συμφοραί, ὧ πικρασμοὶ καὶ πόννοι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2391; αἱ περιστεραί εσιωπούσαν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 84.4.

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-άδες

The imparisyllabic plural of paradigm 2.11.1.2 is regionally employed with nouns belonging to this paradigm. Examples have been found in texts from Cyprus and certain Cycladic islands (cf. acc. pl. below):

ἐνι μαθισμένες ἴτσου οἱ νουράδες τους *Fior* 124.37 (< οὐρά)
 ὀχράδες δὲν στέκουν καλὰ σ' αὐτόν μου *Cypr. Canz.* 2.21
 ἀγοράδες ἀπὸ τοὺς κόπους των (1695, SYROS, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 303.43)
 οἱ ἄνωθεν ἀγοράδες (1706, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 68, 79.11)

Genitive

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν

The inherited oxytone ending -ῶν is the normal ending of the genitive plural:

τῶν συμφορῶν τὸ πλῆθος *Dig.* G I.68
 διὰ πλείστων καὶ πολλῶν φορῶν *Chron. Mor.* H 6081
 ὧ τῶν μεγίστων σου δωρεῶν *Diig. Sant.* 57.57
 περὶ τῶν δωρεῶν τῶν δίδει ὁ ἀνθρωπος τῆς γυναικὸς *Assizes* A 15.12
 πάθη συμφορῶν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2198
 πολλὰς τῶν φορῶν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 114
 ἔπαρε νερόν ἀπὸ περιστερῶν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 229.4

So far no examples have been found of an imparisyllabic plural genitive in -άδων (cf. nom. and acc. pl.).

*Accusative**Fem.*

Pl.	Acc.	-ές

This ending, identical to the nominative, had started to be used for the accusative long before the beginning of the LMedG period (see the introduction to Chapter 2). It is the most common ending throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

κι ἂν τὸ λυγίστης τρεῖς φορές *Arm.* 14
περὶ πουλήσεις καὶ ἀγορές *Assizes* B 286.5
ἐγὼ χαρὲς πολλὰς ἔχω *Achil.* L 902
διὰ νὰ κρίνουν καὶ εξετάσουν τινὲς διαφορὰς (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 31, 65.5–6)
τὲς οὐρὰς *Pol. Tr.* 1466 app. crit. (B)
ἐπεσαύτες φορές *Assizes* A 163.18
χολὲς καὶ συμφορὰς τοῦ βίου *Diig. Apoll.* 687
δύο βολὲς ἐπολέμησαν *Diig. Alex.* F 288.13 (Lolos)
νὰ μὲ μνημονεύει πέντε φορές τὸν χρόνον (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 45,
78.44–5; ἀφήνω εἰς τὲς Ἀπεζωνὲς δουκάτα δέκα (1523, *ibid.* 80, 151.13–14) (= Ἀπεζανές)
κ' ἐκάναν τες φωλὲς τοὺς DEFAR., *Sos.* 47 (Holton) (with simplification of -εές to -ές, cf. 2.11.4)
μία καὶ δύο καὶ πολλὰκις βολὲς (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 46, 46.3)
καὶ τσι σπορὰς καρπίζεις *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.285
οἱ ἀλεποῦδες ἔχουσι φωλιὰς *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 8.20
τὲς πλέα φορές *LANDOS, Geopon.* 129.24–5
εἰς τόσες χαρὲς *VAROUCHAS, Logoi* 469.35
καλῶς τες τὲς σεμνὲς θεές *Zinon Prol.* 157
τὲς προγαμιαῖες δωρεές (1696, Proikonnisos, KAMBOURIS 1976: A.8, 199.2)
εἰς τὶς γραφὲς ὅπου μὴ ἔσταις (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.19)
ἀπὸ ὅλες τὶς γενεές *Alex. Fyll.* 82.10; ἐκτυποῦνταν ὅλον μὲ τὲς ὀρές τοὺς *ibid.* 103.25 (= οὐρὰς)

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-άς

The old accusative ending is not uncommon in mixed-register texts and more formal contexts:

ἔχει καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς τῶν ἁγίων ΤΗΗ θεοφόρων πατέρων (1358?, Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App.
II C, 231.11–12)
κι ὅσον ἀπῆλθεν τρεῖς φορές *Chron. Mor.* H 5065
τὰς πλευρὰς ὠραιοκάλλους *ERMON., Ilias* 2.261
τὰς οὐρὰς *Pol. Tr.* 1466
εἰς τὰς τοσοῦτας συμφορὰς *Liv.* S 3193 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
πολλὰς φορές φλογοτομᾶται *Assizes* A 204.8
εἰς τὰς σκιὰς ἐχαίρεντον *Achil.* N 1031
τὰς ἐξαρωμένους σου παρειὰς *Spanos* D 626
τὰς διαστάξεις καὶ διαφορὰς (1543, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 48,
249.3–4)
εἶδε τας περιστεράς *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 84.1
πολλὰς καὶ πλήστας φορές (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 10, 63.5)

να ξένουν τας πλευράς του *Martyr. Vlas.* 246.37
 περισσότερές και όρνιθας *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ.*, *Pali* 9287
 νὰ ἔχη τὰς ἀράς τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πατέρων (1678, Laconia, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 1917.1,5)

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδες

The imparisyllabic plural ending of paradigm 2.11.1.2 is adopted in texts from Cyprus and certain Cycladic islands (cf. nom. pl. above).⁹⁵ The single occurrence in the versified translation of Aesop's fables by Aitolos does not constitute sufficient evidence for its currency in texts from Corinth, where he was born, or Constantinople, where he spent most of his life:

περὶ ... ἀγοράδες *Assizes B* 250.18
 σταυρούς, ἀναφοράδες *Assizes A* 43.29
 ἐπήραν μετάξιν οχράδες λίτρες κ' *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 108.2–3
 δὲν ἔχει πλέον πρᾶξες καὶ ἀγοράδες *Pist. kekoim.* 161
 ψάριν μέ δύο νουράδες *Fior* 108.7
 τες ουράδες τους *ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 7.4
 εἶ τι ἀγοράδες ἔκαμε (1662, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 6, 55.20)
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγοράδες (1676, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 1, 123.22)
 εἰς ὅλες των τὲς ἀγοράδες (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 303.46)
 διὰ κάποιες ἀγοράδες (1706, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 68, 79.5)

Vocative

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-ές ἰ -αί ἰ -άδες

The vocative is presumed to be identical to the nominative (see above). So far no examples have been found.

2.11.1.2 Nouns with an Imparisyllabic Plural

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	ὀκά		
Gen.	ὀκάς	-ᾱ	-ῆς -άδος
Acc.	ὀκά(ν)		
Voc.	ὀκά		

⁹⁵ Cf. the following late 18th-c. example from Serifos: καὶ ἐκεῖ κάτω βάλλει ἀγοράδες (1781, Serifos, Liata 1986: 1, 166.34) (the publication can be consulted at <http://thesis.ekt.gr/thesisBookReader/id/0025>).

Plural			
Nom.	ὀκάδες		-ές
Gen.	ὀκάδων		-ῶν
Acc.	ὀκάδες		-ές -άδας
Voc.	ὀκάδες		-ές

Singular

Nominative

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ά

There is no variation in the formation of the nominative singular:

κυκλέαν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἢ κερά νὰ σὲ δώση KAMAT., *Astron.* 1508
 ὡς οἰκοκυρά εἰς αὐτά (1330, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 102, 582.36)
 ἢ Κυρά τοῦ Μορέως *Chron. Mor.* H 8480
 καὶ εὐθὺς περιλαμβάνει τὸν αὐτὸν ἢ πενθερά του *Achil.* N 1510
 ἢ γλυκιὰ κυρά μου *Cypr. Canz.* 2.3
 κυρά καὶ νοικοκυρά (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.14)
 δὲν εἶν' ἐπὰ κερά μου *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.101
 νὰ κάθεται στὸ σπῖτιν του κερά καὶ νοικοκερά (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 117, 129.8–9); ἢ ποτέ τση λαλά (*ibid.* 118, 130.5); οἱ ὅποιοι ἦσανε ... φρατερνιτά (1604, *ibid.* 238, 236.8)
 πολυπραγμοσύνη (ἦγουν κοριοζιτά) *Bertoldos* 38.16
 ἀγόραζεν σουπὲς ἀπὸ Τοῦρκον ἢ ὀκά δώδεκα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §9.3; πῶς τὸν ἀδίκησεν ἢ κερά του *ibid.* IV §7.39
 ἦτον συμπενθερά μὲ τὸν Πῶρον τὸν βασιλέα *Alex. Fyll.* 92.4
 ἦθελεν ἐβγει μία οκά μετὰξί *Don Kis.* 454.16

Genitive

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ᾶς ἢ -ᾶ

The genitive singular normally ends in -ᾶς:

κυρᾶς Θεοδοσίας (1202, S. Italy, NADAL CAÑELLAS 1983: III, 164.7)
 μετὰ τῆς κυρᾶς μου (1330, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 102, 582.28)
 μετὰ τῆς πεθερᾶς τῆς *Achil.* L 1102 (Hesseling)
 τῆς πεθερᾶς τῆς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 682.12–13 (see I, 3.4)
 ἐποίκειν ὄρκον τῆς κυρᾶς τῆς ρήγαινας VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 44.16–17
 τῆς νοικοκυρᾶς (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 3, 287.53)
 ἀπο κληρονομίαν τῆς ποτέ Ἀνούσας βαβᾶς αὐτῶν (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 246, 177.6)
 Κατερίνας τῆς ἀγοραστᾶς (1596, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 20, 75.16–17)
 μὲ ἀμπέλι τῆς ἐρεντιτᾶς (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 819, 715.5)
 τῆς κερᾶς μὰς *Thysia Avr.* 593

τση λαλᾶς τση Σοφίας Καλοχουσπούλας (1620, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 347, 323.7)
 ὅταν ἔβγη τῆς ζαφορᾶς ὅλη ἡ δύναμις LANDOS, *Geopon.* 264.15–16
 τῆς κιουρᾶς (1655, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 123.2) (= κυρᾶς)
 τῆς μακαρίτισσας τῆς πεθερᾶς μου (1688, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 119, 325.3)

When the genitive -ᾶς is followed by a sibilant or affricate, the final /s/ is sometimes deleted in writing (see I, 3.7.1.1): τση κερᾶ τση μάνα τση (1608, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 559, 496.7); τση λαλᾶ τση (1609, *ibid.* 571, 507.2).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ῆς

The old -ῆς ending of most 1st-declension paroxytone and proparoxytone nouns is sporadically employed hypercorrectly with oxytone nouns, though it cannot be excluded that this single example is a writing mistake or a misreading by the editor: τῆς ἐμῆς πενθερῆς (1173, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 51, 91.71).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ᾶδος

Sporadically this ending of the old 3rd declension is employed as a pseudo-learned formation, based on the imparisyllabic plural in -ᾶδες: ὥς ἔπρεπε κυράδος *Chron. Toc.* 10; μετὰ ζαφαράδος STAFIDAS, *Iatrosoph.* 21.106.

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ά(ν)

The accusative ends in -ά and can be found with and without final /n/:

τὴν πρωτοβαβᾶν τῆς *Ptoch. I* 36; παρὰ βαβᾶν καλλίστην *ibid.* 91
 τὴν Εὐτυχοκυράν σου *Log. parig.* L 334 (Lambros)
 κερὶ λίτραν, ἦγουν ὀκὰ μιά (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 341.40)
 εἰς τὴν οἰκοκυράν DAM. STOUDE., *This., Logos* 19, σ5r.17 (1561)
 διὰ σιγουριτάν (1580, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 24, 161.15)
 τοῦ ὁποίου δίδει ἀουτοριτάν (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4); ἀποῦ τὴν
 ἔρεντιτὰ τοῦ ποτέ τση ἀδελφοῦ (1603, *ibid.* 177, 188.5–6)
 ν' ἀποδεκτῇ τὴν ἄλλη σου κερὰ *Stathis* III.519
 μέ κοσμιτὰ (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173.23)
 ἐπουλοῦσαν ἀγνὸν μοῦστον ἀπὸ ἔναν ἄσπρο τὴν ὀκὰ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.4
 διὰ πιλιο σεγουριτὰ (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.14–15) (< Ven. *segurtà*)
 διὰ σιουριτὰ (1661, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1974/78: 4, 423.13–14) (= σιγουριτὰ, see I, 3.6.1.1)
 τὴν πεθερά τῆς IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 769 tit.
 τὴν ἀγουτουριτὰ (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 720, 979.6) (= ἀουτοριτὰ,
 see I, 3.5.2)
 μιστὴν οκάν κηρί *Don Kis.* 238.12

*Vocative**Fem.*

Sg.	Voc.	-ά

The vocative is identical to the nominative:

καί τὸ «κυρά μου» προσειπὼν *Ptoch. I* 227
 κερά μου *Ptoch. III* 127
 κυρά μου *Chron. Mor.* H 4455
 κερά μου *Liv.* V 1301
 κυρά μου ἔρωτοδέσποινα, ποθοκρατόρισσά μου *Katal.* 84
 κυρά μου, ἀπὸ δικοῦ σου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 611
 κυρά γουμένη *Alex. Rim.* 131
 τί λέγεις, κυρά μου! *Vios Aisop.* I 256.28
 μὴ ντρέπεσαι, κερά μου *Stathis III.* 524

Plural*Nominative**Fem.*

Pl.	Nom.	-άδες

The most common ending for the nominative plural is imparisyllabic -άδες:

ὀκάποσαι κεράδες *Ptoch. III* 193
 πῶς οἱ κεράδες κάθονται *Pol. Tr.* 6072 app. crit. (A)
 ὀκάδες ζ' (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 29, 30.1)
 κυράδες καὶ κουρτέσες *Poulol.* 160 app. crit. (C)
 οἱ νοικοπεθεράδες σου *Spanos B* 153
 οἱ κυράδες *Epain. gyn.* 668
 οἱ κυράδες μου βασιλίσσες καλοῦνται *ZINOS, Alex. Rim. Epil.* 37
 οἱ κυράδες *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 40.13
 ὅλες εἶναι νοικοκυράδες (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.4)
 ἦσαν δύο χιλιάδες ὀκάδες *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1118
 ὡς κυρίες καὶ καθολικὲς οἰκοκεράδες (1628, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 99b, 241.64)
 ἔστεκον κυράδες καὶ κορίτσια *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 750
 (δίδεται ...) κερὶ ὀκάδες πέντε (1679, Nauplion, CHORAS 1975: 2, 258.8)

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ές

The parisyllabic plural of paradigm 2.11.1.1 is only rarely employed with nouns belonging to this paradigm: οἱ μελλοπεθερὲς αὐτοῦ *Spanos A* 481.

*Genitive**Fem.*

Pl.	Gen.	-άδων

The imparisyllabic ending -άδων is likely to be the most common ending for the genitive plural (cf. the other cases), though only a modest number of examples has been found:

ὡς πρέπει τῶν κεράδων *Pol. Tr.* 392 app. crit. (A)
 τῶν δύο κυράδων *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 230.15
 τῶν κυράδων *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 40.13
 ἡ ἀδιάντροπος ἐλευθερία των κυράδων *Don Kis.* 122.9

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν

The parisyllabic genitive ending -ῶν is quite rare with nouns belonging to this paradigm: δύο νοικοκερῶν *Spanos* B 143.

Accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδες

The imparisyllabic ending -άδες, identical to the nominative, is the most common for nouns belonging to this paradigm:

μέ τές κυράδες ὅλες *Chron. Mor.* H 4392
 τές οἰκοκυράδες *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 27
 οχράδες μετὰξιν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 108.2
 φοροῦν πλατιές ἀμπάδες *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 187 (ἡ ἀμπά < ὁ ἀμπάς < Turk. *aba*)
 κυράδες *ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., Ist. Vlach.* 2841
 τές κυράδες *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 40.13
 μέ ὅλες των τές κομοντιτάδες (1589, Crete, *VLACHAKI* 1986: 9, 397.8)
 μέ σιγουριτάδες (1597, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 1, 24.37); μέ τσι νόμους καὶ
 σολενιτάδες (1598, *ibid.* 26, 46.33)
 ἐπῆρεν των 5 ὁκάδες καφέ (1670, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 4, 15.5)
 κερὶ ὁκάδες πέντε (1679, Nauplion, *CHORAS* 1975: 2, 258.8)
 δύο στάμνες ... μέ γλώσσες βουβαλινές ὁκάδες 24 (1681, Ioannina, *VELOUDIS* 1987: 9, 306, f.2r.22)
 τὶς κυράδες τους ἐδέξαν *ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΙΣ, Klathmos* II.400

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδας

This hybrid ending, consisting of the innovative imparisyllabic ending -άδες with substitution of the old accusative ending -ας for -ες, is only very rarely employed in the period covered by this Grammar:⁹⁶ εἰς κεράδας *Pol. Tr.* 5649 app. crit. (A).

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ές

⁹⁶ But see the online *TLG* for several 18th/19th-c. examples of ὁκ(κ)άδας.

The parisyllabic accusative ending is rare for this paradigm: καὶ μὲ ἄλλες σιγουριτὲς (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 214, 218.6–7) (hapax).

Vocative

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-άδες

The vocative is identical to the nominative:

κεράδες χειρομάχισσες *Ptoch.* III 190
 νὰ ἡγνωρίζετε, αὐθέντες καὶ κυράδες *Assizes* A 116.22
 κυράδες φουμισμένες *Theseid* I.23,8 (Follieri)
 κι' ἀληθινά, κέραδες μου *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.322
 ὦ κυράδες *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 40.14

2.11.2 Paroxytone Nouns

2.11.2.1 Nouns with a Shift of Stress to the Ultimate in the Genitive Plural

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	χώρα		χώραν
Gen.	χώρας	-α -ης -ός -οῦ	-οῦς
Acc.	χώρα(ν)		
Voc.	χώρα		
Plural			
Nom.	χώρες	χώραι -άδες	-άδαι
Gen.	χωρῶν χώρων	χωρῶ χωρῶνε χώρω χώρωνε -άδων	
Acc.	χώρες	χώρας -άδες	-άδας
Voc.	χώρες	χώραι (-άδες)	

Singular*Nominative**Fem.*

Sg.	Nom.	-α

There is little variation in the formation of the nominative singular:

χήρα ἡ Κουρτιστάβα (1268, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 50, 27.14)
 ἡ γυναῖκα μου *Ptoch.* II 47; ἐπαρεκλάσθη ἡ θύρα μας *ibid.* 57
 ἡ σὴ γὰρ φλόγα φλέγει με *Spaneas* Va 30
 ἐπεὶ ἔνι δόξα καὶ τιμὴ *Chron. Mor.* H 290
 ἡ κούρβα ἡ Μαξιμουῦ *Dig.* E 1518
 ἐσέβηκεν ἡ νύκτα *Pol. Tr.* 815; ἦτον ἡ χώρα πλούσιος *ibid.* 2733 app. crit. (R)
 ποντικοῦ βουλὰς κόψει κατὰ *Paroim.* F 40
 ἦτον μία γάτα (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 89, 76.1)
 εἷς ἄνθρωπος κοσμικός, οὐ μία γυναῖκα *Assizes* B 290.23
 γλώσσα νὰ ἐλῆξεται καὶ χεῖρα νὰ συγγράψῃ *Byz. Il.* 12; οὐκ ἔναι αὐτὴ γυναῖκα *ibid.* 861
 νὰ ἔστραπτεν ἡ κοῦπα *Krasop.* V 24
 πάλιν Ἀθήνα κόπτεται, πάλιν Ἀθήνα κλαίει *Analos. Ath.* 43
 αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ προῖκα (1509, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1950: 1, 153.2)
 ἡ ὁποία πόρτα (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 14.104)
 ἡ μάνα τῆς Θεοτόκου Μαρίας KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 355.7–8
 πουτάνα δίχως πονηριά, δίχως ὀνύχια ἡ γάτα CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.219; ἡ πλάκα ἡ μαρμαρένη
id., *Panor.* I.135
 ὥσάν κοπέλλα ὅπου ἦτουν (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 138.27)
 καὶ νένα τοῦ παιδιοῦ σου KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.532
 με πόσην υπερηφάνειαν περιπατεῖ ἡ σκρόφα *Don Kis.* 176.22–3; νὰ φανερωθεῖ ἡ τρέλα σου
ibid. 423.5

Addition of /n/ to the nominative ending occurs in texts from Naxos, indicating that the following voiceless stop /t/ had a voiced pronunciation [d] (see I, 3.7.2.1.2): ἡ μάνναν της (1623, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 1, 128.13).

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	<i>Residual</i>

Residual forms of former 3rd-declension nouns are occasionally used throughout the period covered by this Grammar, in mixed-register texts and especially in verse texts, which benefit from the possibility of using different stress patterns:

καθάπερ φλόξ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν καρδίαν ἐπεισῆλθεν *Dig.* G V.232
 ἡ νύξ γὰρ ὑπαγαίνει *Pol. Tr.* 853 app. crit. (X) (ἡ νύκτα in the other mss)
 ἡ χεῖρ μου ἐκράτειεν τὸ χαρτὶν *Katal.* 334
 ἡ χεῖρ *Achil.* N 851
 νύξ ἔναι πλεωτέρα *Alex. Rim.* 1959
 ὡς γοῦν ἡ νύξ κατέλαβεν *Diig. Apoll.* 235
 ἡ δὲ προῖξ (1628, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 17, 94.10)
 δὲν ἤθελε σωθεῖ καμία σάρξ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 13.20
 ἐφάνη φλοξ θαυμασία LANDOS, *Kalok.* 339.5

*Genitive**Fem.*

Sg.	Gen.	-ας † -α

The genitive singular ending -ας, which is employed with all nouns belonging to this paradigm, has the widest geographical spread:

- τῆς Πλάκας (1093, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 58, 75.19)
 ἐντὸς τῆς κασέλας (14th c. [copy], Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9B, 85.55) (< Ven. *cassèla*)
 τῆς γυναίκας (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 35.111)
 τῆς μάννας μου (1330, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 102, 582.28)
 τῆς χώρας *Chron. Mor.* H 855; τῆς προίκας *ibid.* 3123
 πλεμόνιν αἶγας STAFIDAS, *Iatrosaf.* 6.163
 τῆς Φράγκας κυρᾶς Σοφίας (1448, Constantinople?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 9.I–IV, 98.48.2)
 τῆς νύκτας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 902
 ἔξω τῆς πόρτας ἔβγηκεν *Byz. Il.* 907
 γραίας αἶγας ἀνακάρωμα *Spanos* A 10
 τῆς γεναίκας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 578.13 (= γυναίκας)
 τῆς σκληρῆς καὶ τρομερῆς βεντέττας *Fior* 73.25–6 (< Ital. *vendetta*)
 τρίχας σγουρῆς *Theseid* VI.30,5 (Olsen)
 τὴν ἀγορὰν τῆς ἔμισθης βάρκας (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 11, 14.3)
 ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 293, 208.13)
 τοῦ κοπέλας του (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 759, 660.3)
 τοῦ γυναικάς μου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.495–6
 διὰ τὴν πραγματείαν τῆς μουστάρδας *Bertoldin.* 164.7
 τοῦ στέρνας (1664, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 7, 416.9)
 τῆς αὐτῆς σκόλας (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 4, 126.9–10) (< Ven. *scola*)

Deletion of final /s/ may occur when the following word starts in a sibilant or an affricate (see I, 3.7.1.1): τοῦ κερᾶ τοῦ μάννα τοῦ (1608, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 559, 496.7).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ης

This residual ending of the 1st declension is found occasionally in mixed- and higher-register texts and more formal contexts:

- ἀπὸ τῆς πόρτης (1172, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 10, 81.1)
 ὦ γλώσσης ψευδηγόρου GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 71
 ἐκ τῆς ρίζης *Dig.* G V.33
 τοῦ Κυρίου τῆς Δόξης *Chron. Mor.* H 667
 τῆς γλώσσης *Dig.* E 21
 μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 557
 ἐκ τῆς βίγλης *Dig.* T 2367
 ἀπὸ Προύσης (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.Address)
 τὸ Μοναστήρι τῆς Ἀγίας Μαρίνης (1664, Kea, VISVIZIS 1949: 9, 66.6)
 καὶ τὴν μεγαλειότητα τῆς δόξης Σου θαυμάζουν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 10190

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ός

The old ending -ός of the 3rd declension remains in use with former 3rd-declension nouns throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

- αυτῆς τῆς γυναικός του *Diig. Apoll.* 622
 περὶ τῶν δωρεῶν τῶν δίδει ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς γυναικός *Assizes A* 15.12
 ἐπάνω τῆς προικός *Spanos B* 131
 ἡ αἶγα, τῆς αἰγός *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 42.1
 ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός (1567, Corfu, *VERRA et al.* 2007: 293, 208.13)
 τῆς κάθε νυκτός (1572, Achaia, *VEIS* 1956: 451.19)
 χάρι προικός δίδει τῆς τοῦ Πολιχνίου τὸ χωράφι (1573 [later copy], Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1955: 17, 71.8–9) (= προικός)
 τῆς γυναικός μου (1636, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 3, 31.27)
 ἰδὲς τί μοῦτρο σφιγγός ἤγουν μπαμπουίνου *Bertoldos* 23.16
 ἔως ὥρες δύο τῆς νυχτός (1660, Zakynthos, *BOUBOULIDIS* 1957: 2, 115.1–2); τῆς νυκτός (1665, *ibid.* III, 116.2)
 τῆς σαρκός τους *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 959
 ὑπὸ χειρός τως (1673, Mykonos, *ZERLENDIS* 1918b: 4, 221.24–5)
 τόσον τοῦ ἀνδρός ὥσαν καὶ τῆς γυναικός (1680, Naxos, *SIFONIU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 31, 181.15)
 ἦτον δύο ὥρες τῆς νυκτός (1708, Chios, *PAPASTRATOU* 1981: 23, 99.83)
 ἡ ἀγάπη τῆς γυναικός μου *Don Kis.* 613.36–7
 στὴν γνῶμη μιανῆς γυναικός *KATSAITIS, Ifig. Prol.* 9

It is sometimes even used with the new noun stem χερ- instead of χερ-:

- ἀπὸ χερὸς τοῦ μισερ Νικολοῦ Μιχελῆ (1580, Naxos, *KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS* 2012/13: 139, 260.3–4)
 ὑπὸ χερὸς τοῦ Ἀχαμέτη σοῦμπαχη (1619, Cyprus, *PERDIKIS* 1998: 1, 3–5.13) (= σοῦμπαση, see I, 3.8.2.2)
 ἀπὸ χερὸς τοῦ Καντζηλλιέρη (1709, Syros, *DRAKAKIS* 1967: 27, 332.21–2)
 διὰ χερὸς Εὐθυμίου ἱερομονάχου *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 13.9

Regionally the ending spreads to non-3rd-declension nouns as well. These forms are very common in texts from the Heptanese, but they also occur in S. Italy, the Peloponnese and Crete:

- ἄχρι τῆς στρατός τῆς μεγάλης (1124, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 95, 124.21–2)
 τῆς ἐμῆς μοιρός (1152, Sicily, *GUILLOU* 1963: 8, 88.17) (< μοῖρα)
 τῆς γιστερνός (1264, Kefalonia?, *TZANNETATOS* 1965: 1, 47.246); τῆς Βιγλός (*ibid.* 55.377); τῆς γιστερνός (17th c., *ibid.* 2, 118.1)
 τῆς κληρονομικῆς μου μοιρός (1302, Sicily, *ROGNONI* 2007: 334.5)
 εἰς τῆς Ἀθηνός τὰ μέρη *Theseid Prol.* P 160
 τῆς κοπελός μου (1530, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1978: 17, 54.26)
 τῆς κοπελός τωνε (1534, Nauplion, *MANOUSAKAS* 1984: 264.24)
 ἡ κοπέλα, τῆς κοπελός *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 42.2–3
 τῆς κοπελός (1561, Corfu, *VERRA et al.* 2007: 64, 56.86–7)
 τῆς κοπελός τῆς (1581, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 19, 31.19)
 τῆς κοπελός μου (1658, Zakynthos, *BOUBOULIDIS* 1957: 1, 114.47)
 τῆς βαρκός (1680, Zakynthos, *VAYAKAKOS* 1954: 27, 58.9)
 τσῆ στρατός (1685, Cythera, *ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI* 1982: 74.19)
 τῆς αὐτῆς βαρκός (1686, Zakynthos, *VAYAKAKOS* 1954: 36, 65.6)
 τῆς κοπελλός μου (1688, Peloponnese, *GRITSOPOULOS* 1954: (4), 138.21)
 τῆς κοπελλός *PYRRIS, Diig. panouklas* 118.16

The noun (ή)μέρα has an alternative genitive singular (ή)μερός, modelled on νυκτός, which often appears in the collocation νυκτός καὶ ήμερός in texts from various areas:

νυκτός καὶ ήμερός *Spaneas* Z 432
 νυκτός καὶ ήμερός *Diig. Alex.* V 74.5
 νυκτός καὶ ήμερός *Diig. Alex.* F 274.3 (Lolos)
 νυχτός καὶ ήμερός (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.10)
 μισῆς μερός δρόμος *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 136.20
 μερός καὶ νυκτός PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §29.51
 τῆς ήμερός (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 112.2)
 τῆς μερός DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 707

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-οῦ

This ending may replace the oxytone /os/ ending, but is employed with specific nouns only, such as γυναίκα, ήμέρα, νύκτα, in a large geographical area.⁹⁷ In west/south-western areas (Heptanese, Peloponnese) the ending also occurs with place names that were originally plural such as Ἀθήνα, Θήβα and Πάτρα. Here the shift of the stress to the ultimate occurs by analogy with the inherited genitive plural (Ἀθηνῶν, Θηβῶν, Πατρῶν):

γυναικοῦ ἐξαγορίαν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 318.21
 τὸν καύσωνα τῆς ήμεροῦ *Spaneas* Z 141
 τῆς γυναικοῦ του (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 231.155)
 τῆς Πατροῦ *Chron. Mor.* H 1401; τῆς Ἀθηνοῦ *ibid.* 1554; ὁ μητροπολίτης τῆς Θηβοῦ *ibid.* 3309;
 μιᾶς ήμεροῦ τὸ διάστημα *ibid.* 3671
 τῆς Ἀθηνοῦ *Chron. Mor.* P 1561; τῆς Θηβοῦ *ibid.* 6304
 μιᾶς ήμεροῦ δρόμον *Ag. Nik. Strat.* 45
 ὥρα πρώτη τῆς νυκτοῦ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 382.12
 τῆς Πατροῦ SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 62.14 app. crit. (N)
 τῆς Ἀθηνοῦ *Theseid* I.14.4 (Follieri); μιᾶς ήμεροῦ *ibid.* I.18.4; τῆς νυκτοῦ *ibid.* V.29.1 (1529)
 ἀπὸ τὴν σήμερον μεροῦ *Fyll. gadar.* 344 f
 μιᾶς ήμεροῦ δρόμον SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 17.2–3
 τῆς Ἀθηνοῦ *Diig. Alex.* F 170.8 (Lolos)
 τῆς νυκτοῦ (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.40)
 τῆς γυναικοῦ του (1690, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 80, 64.8)
 ὡς ἔξ ὥρες τῆς ήμεροῦ *Thrinios Kypr.* 364

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-οῦς

This ending is a conflation of the previous two endings, /os/ and /u/ (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 54–5; and cf. masc. in -ας 2.2.2). It has been found with the nouns νύκτα and ήμέρα, a distorted version of the proper name Κλεοπάτρα and with place names that were originally plural:

⁹⁷ Cf. CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 93 fn. 1, who mentions the form ήμεροῦ as being typical of modern Kefalonian.

ὥρα πρώτη τῆς νυχτοῦς (1418, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 24, 139.[3]5)
 τῆς Πατροῦς *Chron. Mor.* T 1401
 τῆς Ἀφηνοῦς *Chron. Mor.* P 1554 (= Ἀθηνοῦς, see I, 3.8.5.1)
 τῆς ἡμεροῦς ... τῆς νυχτοῦς *Pent. Gen.* 1.16
 τῆς βασιλισσας τῆς Αἰγύπτου τῆς Κλεοπατοῦς *Diig. Alex.* F 182.20–1 (Lolos)
 τῆς ἡμεροῦς MONTSEL., *Evgena* 863 app. crit.

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-α(ν)

There is very little variation in the accusative singular, except that it can be found with and without final /n/:

τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναικάν (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 27.215)
 μὰ τὴν γλυκέαν του μάναν *Arm.* 61
 ἐκούμπισα εἰς τὴν ρίζαν *Dig.* E 1197; τὴν νύκταν *ibid.* 1355
 τὴν θύραν ἀκριοχτύπησεν *Chron. Mor.* H 937
 εἰς μίαν κοπέλλαν μοναχὴν *Pol. Tr.* 5684; διὰ τὴν ζέσταν τὴν φρικτὴν *ibid.* 10562
 μὲ τὴν χεῖραν τως (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 48.18)
 εἰς τὴ τσάμπρα μας (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.10) (Occit. < *chambra*)
 ὡς μίαν τρίχαν (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 302.49)
 νύκταν καὶ ἡμέραν (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.5)
 τὴν ἴσαν στράταν *Assizes* A 4.10
 ἐπῆγεν νύκτα πρὸς αὐτὴν, τὴν ἄνομη, τὴν Τούρκα *Synax. gyn.* 392
 σκρόφαν κουτζάπταν μίαν (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 95.79) (< Lat. *scrofa*)
 τότε κατὰ τὴν ὥρα *Alex. Rim.* 554
 τὴν σαγίταν του *Diig. Alex.* F 172.12 (Konstantinopulos)
 εἰς πλάκαν πέτρινη KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 198.24
 ἀπὸ Μπροῦσσα (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.Address)
 γῆ μὲ τὴ χέρα μου (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 48.15) (γῆ = ῆ)
 μέραν τὴν ἡμέραν γιανίσκει PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §3.4
 ἔρχοντας μιὰ φούστα ν' ἀγοράση FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.202
 νὰ ἔχει τὴν κατάραν τοῦ Θεοῦ (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.16–17)
 τὴν σάρκα μας ἐφόρεσες *Thrinis Kypr.* 120

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	<i>Residual</i>

The residual nominative of former 3rd-declension nouns is sporadically regarded as indeclinable and used for the accusative as well: εἰς προῖξ (1200, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 249, 339.10).

Vocative

Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-α

The vocative is morphologically identical to the nominative:

καὶ εἶδα, μάνα μου, νεκρούς *Dig.* E 551
καὶ μίλειε, γλώσσα, φρόνιμα *Diig. Ven.* 2
ὀρωτική, ἐξαιρετὴ κουρτέσα *Achil.* N 935
(εἰπέ ...) δούλη καὶ σκλάβα τῶν Φραγκῶν *Poulol.* 328
καλή μου γυναῖκα *Spanos* B 98
φλέγα ψυχοπονέσεως SKLENTZAS, *Ain. Zood. Pig.* 10; γυναῖκα, σοῦ ἴπαν *id.*, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 151
ὦ περισσότερα ταπεινὴ *Poulol.* AZ 1 (< περιστερὰ)
ὦ καλοριζικότατη καὶ πλουμισμένη σκάλα CHORTATSI, *Katz.* V.24
Ἀθήνα, πρώτη χώρα *Paroim.* (Warner) 32.14
βαλετέ σουλτάνα IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 800
ὦ Κρήτης, χώρα μου χρυσή *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 1185 (for Κρήτης see 2.12.2)
μηδὲν θαρρῆς, κουρτέσα μου [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P V 355.30–1
θρόνε καὶ πλάκα νόμου *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 243; διόπτρα πάντων προφητῶν *ibid.* 245
φοβοῦμαι σε, γλυκιὰ Χώρα *Thrinis Kypr.* 321

Sometimes the articular nominative is used instead of the vocative (for details see IV, 5.1.2):

ᾶ, πῶς λαλεῖς, ἡ μάνα μου; [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1077.

Plural

Nominative

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες

The most common ending for the nominative plural is -ες:

θύρες καὶ φενέστρες (1178, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 12, 111.19)
οἱ χῆρες *Chron. Mor.* H 7225
οἱ φάρες ἄν σε ἀκολουθοῦν *Dig.* E 281; οἱ ρίζες ἦσαν σμάραγδοι *ibid.* 1680
λέγουσιν οἱ κουρτέσες *Liv.* V 1945
πολλὲς σπῖθες ἱατρικὲς *Pol. Tr.* 10582
οἱ τέντες τους *Achil.* N 424; αἱ βίγλες *ibid.* 478
ἦρταν ... σ' φοῦστες τούρκικες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 318.7 (< Ital. *fusta*)
ἐκοιμούντησαν ... ὡς σκρόφες BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 151
πολλὲς γυναῖκες γίνονται τότε ἐκεῖ χηράδες *Alex. Rim.* 1212
οἱ τρουμπέτες οἱ χρυσὲς *Diig. Alex.* E 241.23 (Lolos)
κόλλες μεταξωτὲς (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.35–6)
οἱ ἄνωθεν κοπέλες (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 208, 214.4)
οὐδὲ μυζήθρες ἀπαλὲς ZINOS, *Vatr.* 68
οἱ βράκες οἱ ὀλοκοφτὲς CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.182; οἱ ξακουστὲς Ἀθῆνες *id.*, *Erof.* I.26
τὰ χεῖλη του ἐκρεμόντησαν ἔξω ὡσὰν μελιτζάνες *Vios Aisop.* K 147.9
οἱ μοιρολόητρες (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 82.109) (< μοιρολογήτρια)
ἔστοντας καὶ ... νὰ ἐκάμασιν οἱ αἴγες ... μερικὴ ζημία (1625, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 393.1–2)
γυναῖκες τότε ἐκλαίγασιν *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 645; οἱ μάνες ἐθρηνούσανε *ibid.* 674
ὡσὰν να ἦτον τηγανίτες *Don Kis.* 164.8–9

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-αι

The obsolete nominative plural ending of the 1st declension is sometimes used in mixed- to higher-register texts, not only with original 1st-declension words, but also with reformed 3rd-declension nouns such as γυναίκα and χείρα:

αί καρούχαι *Ptoch.* III 200
 ποῦκλαι χρυσαί (1325, Veroia?/Macedonia, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 64, 355.55) (= μποῦκλαι < Fr. *boucle*)
 ὁμοῦ τε καὶ αἱ χεῖραι *Phys.* 459
 αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς χαρᾶς τοὺς *Achil.* N 1597; αἱ ρίζαι σου *ibid.* 1632
 αἱ χεῖραι PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 5
 αἱ γλῶσσαι τῶν Λατίνων *Alosis* 958
 ὡς χῆραι SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 432.150–1
 πολλὰ αὔραι τῆς φωτίας *Vios Aisop.* D 219.7
 γυναῖκαι τῶν ἀρχόντων (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 149.9)
 αἱ Μιαραὶ Γλῶσσαι *Alex.* Fyll. 91.10–11; αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς ζωῆς σου *ibid.* 104.14

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-άδες

The imparisyllabic plural in -άδες is adopted lexically with the words μάνα and χήρα, similarly to other words that denote family relations or status of females such as ἀδελφή, ἀδελφάδες; ἀνεψιά, ἀνεψιάδες; λαλά, λαλάδες and others:

ὑπανδρες καὶ χηράδες *Anak. Konst.* 73
 πολλές γυναῖκες Οὐγγρισσες ἐγίνηκαν χηράδες STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 640 (Pidonia)
 οἱ ἄλλες χηράδες (1640, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2011: 8, 220.24)
 οἱ ἄνωθε χηράδες (1649, Kefalonia, PETROPOULOS 1962: B.3, 311.14)
 μονάδες κλαίουσιν τὰ παιδιὰ DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 650; οἱ πτωχῆς χηράδες *ibid.* 666
 ὡσάν εἶναι οἱ χηράδες PIGAS, *Chrysop.* 115.15–16

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-άδαι

Sporadically the obsolete nominative plural ending -αι is substituted as the second syllable of this innovative ending: αἱ μονάδαι μας SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 432.150.

Genitive

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν -ῶ -ω -ῶνε -ωνε

This inherited ending is the most common for the genitive plural. The historical shift of the stress to the ultimate is usually observed, even with loanwords such as βάρκα, λουμπάρδα, πόρτα, στράτα and others:

ποτὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν μου GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 545
 τῶν τσαγρῶν *Chron. Mor.* H 854; μὲ τὸν ἀφέντην Ἀθηνῶν *ibid.* 3176
 τῶν ναβῶν καὶ τῶν καρabiών *Assizes* B 294.13 (< Occit. *navei*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)
 κακῶν καὶ συμβουλευτῶν γυναικῶν *Anthos Ch.* G 203.8–9 (< συμβουλευτρά < συμβουλεύτρια)
 περὶ τῶν χηνῶν *Assizes* A 20.25; περὶ τοὺς ἀρσενοκοίτας καὶ γυναικῶν *ibid.* 21.24

᾿ς τὲς ἀραμάδες τῶν πορτῶν SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 73
 ἀρπάζεις τους ἀπὸ τριχῶν *Plani kosmou* 95
 σενδόνην ἕνα πετσῶν τριῶν (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 14, 24.12–13) (< Ven. *pezza*)
 ᾿κατὸν λιτρῶν τὸ βάρος του *Alex. Rim.* 2190
 τῶν τεσσάρων σκροφῶν σου (1539, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 964, 755.6)
 καρτελλῶν ἑνέα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 46, 44.5) (< Ven. *cartèla*)
 τῶν βαρκῶν (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 34.4)
 τὴν φρόνησιν Μουσῶν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 56; τῶν αἰγῶν *ibid.* 647
 νὰ ᾿ναι τὸ γέλιο ὀλωνῶν τῶν πουτανῶν CHORTATIS, *Katz.* IV.402
 τῶν Πατρῶν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 105.32 (ms: τῆς, an apparent confusion with τῆς Πατροῦ, see above); ἀπὸ τῆς χαλάστριες τῶν λουμπαρδῶν *ibid.* 117.33
 τῶν στρατῶν (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 3, 31.20)
 σκαελλάριος Σερρῶν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §34.15
 τὰ σπῆττα τῶν χηρῶν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 20.47
 ο μέγας αφανισμός των κουκλῶν *Don Kis.* 321.35; τὰ νιαουρίσματα των γατῶν *ibid.* 445.20–1

Deletion of final /n/ (see I, 3.7.2.2) occurs in texts from Crete. Examples have also been found in documents from Cyprus and Naxos:

ἡμερῶ δέκα (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.9)
 τῶ γυναικῶ την ὀρεξη CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.404; τῶ γυναικῶ ὀλωνῶ *id.*, *Erof.* III.203
 ὀλωνῶ τῶ γυναικῶ (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 39.66)
 τῶ Μεγάλω Πετρῶ (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 26, 173.7)

Addition of -(v)ε can be found in Heptanesian texts (see I, 2.6.3.1 for details):

καμιὰ τῶν γυναικῶνε MONTEL., *Evgena* 1512
 τῶν ἄνωθε γυναικῶνε (1649, Kefalonia, PETROPOULOS 1962: B.3, 311.11–12)
 τῶν κοπελλῶνε (1670, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1948: 241.4)
 τῶν ἄξιων γυναικῶνε KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.419

Forms that lack the shift of the stress to the ultimate are less common and often occur with loanwords:

πρὸς δὲ χώρων Εὐρώπης KAMAT., *Astron.* 314
 ἀνάμεσα τῶν ρέντων *Pol. Tr.* 986; ἔμπροσθεν τῶν τέντων *ibid.* 10806
 τῶν πούκλων *Assizes A* 240.18 (= μπούκλων); τῶν σέλλων *ibid.* 240.19; τῶν μαμούνων *ibid.* 241.29
 τ' ἀνοικταρία τῶν πόρτων MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 416.33–4
 τὸ στάτε τῶν χώρων *Fior* 118.10
 τῶν μαούνων *Ekth. Chron.* 43.1
 τῶν μπάλλων (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 64.5)
 δι' ἵππων καὶ καμήλων VATATIS, *Periig.* II 348

These paroxytone forms, too, may be extended with an added -(v)ε in Heptanesian texts (see I, 2.6.3.1 for details): τῶν κουσερβωνέ του (1716, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969d: 1, 42.11) (read κουσέρβωνέ του); or lose their final /n/ in texts from Crete and possibly elsewhere (see I, 3.7.2.2): πέντε λίτρω (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 39.53); τῶν δέκα κολόνω τῶ μεγάλω (1639, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 6, 273.38).

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-άδω(v)

This imparisyllabic plural occurs only lexically with the words μάννα and χήρα (cf. nom. and acc pl.). Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from Crete:

- ἄς εἰποῦμε τῶν χηράδων *Epain. gyn.* 666bis
 τῶν μανάδων ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 296
 τῶν χηράδων ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1071
 τῶν χηράδων (1617, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 16, 319.6)
 χαλασμός τῶν πατέρων, τιμωρία τῶν μανάδων *Bertoldos* 19.17
 τὰ σπίτια τῶν χηράδων KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 23.14
 εἴμεστα Χριστιανῶν παιδιὰ κυρούδω καὶ μαννάδω *P&N Diath.* 213
 οἱ ἄνδρες τῶν ἄνωθεν χηράδω (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 84, 101.8)
 ἐκλαῖγαν τῷ μανάδω τῶς BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 260,16

Accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ες

The normal ending for the accusative plural, identical to the nominative, is -ες:

- σιτάριν ροῦβες ἐπτά (1243, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 293, 408.30) (< Arab. *rub‘ah*, see CARACAUSI, *Lex.* s.v.)
 σκρόφες δύο ἐπίμοσχος (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A’], 19.21)
 τές τσάμπρες *Pol. Tr.* 12268 app. crit. (BV) (< Occit. *chambra*)
 παρέξω ἐκ τές κοπέλης *Achil.* L 691; ἀπάνω στές καπούλης *ibid.* 1002
 στές φλέγες SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Ag. Frang.* 22 (= φλέβες, see I, 3.8.5.2)
 ἐστένησα κάμποσες ἡμέρες (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 78.4) (< ἀσθενῶ)
 καὶ ἐπτοῖκαν τές ἀσίζες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.28–9; ἀρμάτωσεν ... β’ νάβες *ibid.* 178.24 (< Occit. *navei*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)
 κ’ ἔριξεν τές σαγίτες της BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 418; μὲ τές χρυσές κουρτίνες *ibid.* 550
 οἱ ἀλοφατζήδες μὲ τὰς τέντες τῶνε (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 13.59)
 ἐξέβγαλάν του κούπες σαράντα *Diig. Alex.* K 355.17–18
 ἄρχισαν καὶ ἐδιηγούνταν ξένες γλωσσές KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 403.6
 τῖς σοφίτες (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 68, 66.7) (< Ven. *sofita*)
 ἐπαρέλαβον οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὰς Σέρρες (16th c. [ms], Unknown, SCHREINER 1975/79: 74, 568.1.1)
 δὲν ἔχει ἐτοῦτος ὁ ποντικός τρίχες (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 58.22)
 ἀπὸ τες Αθήνες DIONYS., *Istor.* 255.13
 με βάρκες μεγάλες καὶ μικρές *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* 230.37–8
 τσί δυὸ παλιοπιστόλες CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.60
 μὲ τές τρύπες τῆς μύτης πλατεῖες *Bertoldos* 6.9; μεσοφαγωμένον ἀπὸ τές μύγες *ibid.* 12.4
 εἰς τές δόξες τές πρόσκαιρες VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 35.2
 με δουκέσες, με μαρκέζες μήτε με κοντέσες; *Don Kis.* 458.25–6

In areas that display raising of unstressed /e/ to [i], the ending may surface as [is] (see I, 2.5.4 for details and more examples): μὶ κάμποσις μέρη φορτώνου ὅλα τὰ πράματα (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.16).

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

The old accusative plural ending -ας occurs in mixed- and higher-register texts, not only with inherited nouns, but also with loanwords and newer formations:

εἰς ὀλιγὰς ἡμέρας *Eisit.* f.1v.14
 κασέλας δύο (1314, Athos, ŽIVONONIC et al. 1998: 30, 216.41)
 μετὰ τρεῖς ἄβρας *Dig.* E 530; ὁκτώ τέντας ἐπήδησεν *ibid.* 929
 τὰς τσάμπρας *Pol. Tr.* 12268 (< Occit. *chambra*)
 ποιοῦν κουρίνας ἔμορφας *Diig. tetr.* 488
 εἰς τὰς χείρας μου (1471, Athos?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 173, 197.3)
 εἶχεν καὶ πόρτας σιδηρὰς *Achil.* N 766
 ὄσας ὥρας *Velth.* 277
 μὲ τὰς φρικτὰς σαγίττας *Byz. Il.* 516
 ἐμαγάρισαν γυναῖκας *Analos. Ath.* 24
 φλέβας ἀργυρίου *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 142.B.13
 ἐκ τὰς χρυσὰς καὶ λαμπρὰς Ἀνθήνας (1599, Attica?, LAMBROS 1904b: 6, 9.2) (= Ἀθήνας, see I, 3.5.2.4)
 ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας δεκαπέντε *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 19–20
 εἰς τὰς μικρὰς καλύβας *LANDOS, Geopon.* 254.16

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδες

The imparisyllabic accusative plural in -άδες is lexical, occurring with the nouns μάννα and χήρα:

εἰς χηράδες (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 148.32)
 πτωχοὺς, χηράδες καὶ ὀρφανὰ *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 289
 χηράδες, λέγω, καὶ ὀρφανὰ καὶ Χριστιανοὺς *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1234
 καὶ τὲς μανάδες θλίβει τὲς ΡΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 318
 εἰς ὀρφανὰ καὶ χηράδες *Chron.* 1619 898
 τὲς μανάδες *Bertoldin.* 112.17

In texts from Cyprus, where the -άδες ending is more generally employed, and not only with animate nouns (cf. 2.11.1.1 and 2.12.1), we find the following examples: ἐπήραν του μουρουπάδες πιλωμένες *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 106.2 (< ἡ μουρούπα, “unspun wool”); μὲ γλυκόμενοστες τροφές, φιντούτια, φιστουκάδες *Pist. kekoim.* 41–2 (< φιστούκα). Such examples are likely to occur across a wider area, including the Cyclades (cf. 2.11.1.1), but so far no examples have been found.

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδας

Sporadically the second syllable of this innovative ending is replaced with the obsolete accusative plural ending -ας: ἄκο ᾿δὰ διὰ τὰς χηράδας *Epain. gyn.* 667.

Vocative

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-ες ἢ -άδες

The vocative is identical to the nominative and shows the same lexical variation:

ὦ μάνες, συμπονέσετε τὸ τέκνο FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 52; ὦ ξύλα, πέτρες, *ibid.* 223
 εἶπα πρὸς αὐτάς· γυναῖκες ... CHEILAS, *Chron.* 356.23
 σκύλες ἀφορισμένες *Synax. gyn.* 80
 γυναῖκες μου ομορφότατες CHORTATISIS, *Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 54; ὦ μέρες μου καὶ νύχτες μου *ibid.*
 III.177
 ὦ μάνες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 834
 γυναῖκες μου χαρήτε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 300.9
 καὶ σεῖς, πέτρες, ραγίσετε DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 651
 κυροῦδες καὶ μανάδες *Pist. kekoim.* 10

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-αι

As with the nominative plural (see above), the obsolete vocative plural ending of the 1st declension is sometimes used in mixed- to higher-register texts, not only with original 1st-declension words, but also with reformed 3rd-declension nouns such as γυναῖκα: ἐπάρετε δρουβανιστὸν ὀξύγαλον γυναῖκαι *Ptoch. III* 179.

2.11.2.2 Nouns without a Shift of Stress in the Genitive Plural

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	πεταλούδα		
Gen.	πεταλούδας	-ος -ός	-ου
Acc.	πεταλούδα(ν)		
Voc.	πεταλούδα		
Plural			
Nom.	πεταλοῦδες		-αι
Gen.	πεταλούδων	πεταλουδῶν	
Acc.	πεταλοῦδες	-ας	
Voc.	πεταλοῦδες		

Singular

Nominative

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-α

This is the normal ending for the nominative singular:

ή αὐτή μου θυγατέρα (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 23.88)
 νά ἐκόλλησεν λιγδίτσα *Ptoch. IV* 222
 παρίσταται ή (δεῖνα) θυγατέρα τοῦ (δεῖνος) (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 49.11)
 νά ἐργάζεται ή φουδούλα *Liv. E* 1237
 ἀπ' αὐτήναν ἔστεκεν ή Ἑλπίδα *Liv. V* 869
 νά ἔξηβην ή ψυχίτσα μου *Katal.* 641
 καὶ ἦλθεν ή Συναγρίδα *Opsarol.* 11
 ή Αἰμίλια ἀμαζόνα *Theseid Prol.* P 158
 ή μητέρα *Imb. Rim.* 227
 ἐφύσησεν πολλή ἀκρίδα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 682.4
 ρουφιάνα δίχως ψόματα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.220
 ή πορτοπούλα (16th c., Constantinople?, BENEŠEVIĆ 1919: 408.4–5)
 ή θυγατέρα ντου (1617, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 4, 35.6)
 ή τρυγόνά ROMANOS, *Grammar* 4.23
 ή δυχατέρα (1664, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 13, 127.3–4) (= θυγατέρα, see I, 3.9.1)
 η σουλτάνα η Μαλτεζίνα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 530a
 ή φοράδα καὶ ή ἀγελάδα (1672, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 5, 167.9)
 ή αὐτή λαμπάδα νά βάνεται εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ μνημα (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1955: 519.8–9)
 ή ἀρκούδα ἐγριώθηκεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1332
 οδηγώντας τους η φρονιμάδα *Don Kis.* 423.14; εσιώπησεν η βοσκοπούλα *ibid.* 533.33

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	Residual

Residual nominatives of the former 3rd declension can occasionally be found, sometimes even displaying innovative phonological characteristics, as in the 1675 example from Gortynia:

τοῦ Πρίαμου εὐρίσκετο θυγάτηρ *Pol. Tr.* 1690
 ή θυγάτηρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλληλοῦα (1431, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 18, 217.5)
 ὡς ἀκρις καὶ μέμμηκας PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 165 app. crit. (C)
 καὶ ποῦ ὁ ρήξ καὶ ρήγαινα, πατήρ ἐμὸς καὶ μήτηρ *Velth.* 1166
 ή θυγάτηρ τοῦ κυροῦ Μανουήλ (1551, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 16, 32.12)
 θυγάτηρ ποτὲ μαστρο-Μιχάλη (1623, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 416, 388.6–7)
 θυγάτηρ Νικόλα Ψωμᾶ (1636, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 43, 119.5–6)
 ή δὲ θυγάτηρ μου (1655, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 4, 148.4)
 μήτηρ καὶ θυγατέρα (1671, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1982/83: 5, 96.10)
 ή δυχάτηρ (1675, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 80, 320.2) (= θυγάτηρ, see I, 3.9.1)

Genitive

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ας

The most common ending for the genitive singular is -ας:

τῆς Χαλκεδόνας (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 25.158)
 τῆς λιοπετρίδας (1132, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 112, 149.19)
 πλησίον τῆς αὐτῆς κουλούρας (1145, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 15, 140.9)
 τῆς Ἑλλάδας *Chron. Mor.* H 3815

ἐμπροσθεν τῆς μητέρας της *Pol. Tr.* 12479
 τῆς πινακίδας *Liv.* V 260
 τῆς θυγατέρας μου τῆς Νικολέτας (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 48.24–5)
 τῆς ἡμῶν ἀδελφίτσας *Achil.* N 1441
 τῆς νυκτερίδας *Poulol.* 175 app. crit. (AZ)
 τῆς ἐβδομάδας *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 122
 ἀποκάτω τῆς γαστέρας (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 64.12)
 τῆς γράς Μπέλας, τῆς γράς Σταμάτας (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 171, 139.15) (for γρά < γραία see 2.11.5 and I, 2.4.7.4)
 τῆς μερίδας ὅπου στέργει (1596, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 154, 279.16–17)
 τῆς μητέρας της (1615, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 15, 319.25)
 τῇ Σοφίας Καλοχουσοπούλας (1620, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 347, 323.7)
 τῆς προβατίνας οἱ κλωτσιές τοῦ λύκου νεῦρα γίνονται *Paroim.* (Warner) 105.12
 τῆς κορασίδας (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 114.59)
 τῇ Σοῦδας (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 72.20)
 τῆς ἄνωθεν κυράτσας Βασιλικῆς (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 65.9–10)

Deletion of final /s/ may occur when the following word starts in a sibilant or an affricate (see I, 3.7.1.1): καὶ τῇ θυγατέρα τῇ (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 849, 740.09).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ος

The old genitive ending of the 3rd declension remains in use in more formal contexts. The use of this ending for the nouns μητέρα and θυγατέρα instead of the oxytone forms μητρός and θυγατρός is not uncommon in AG poetic texts (Homer, Euripides and others), but highly unusual in post-classical Greek. Its appearance in vernacular texts should probably be viewed as an unconnected innovation, an attempt to bring these forms in line with the rest of the paradigm; in other words, a matter of history repeating itself:

βατμίδος διακόνων (1193, Cyprus, EVANGELATOU-NOTARA 1982: 471, 217.2) (= βαθμίδος)
 μητέρος θηλαζούσης *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 37
 εἰς τὸ ἔμπα τῆς Λευχάδος *Chron. Toc.* 62
 τῆς θαυμαστῆς εἰκόνος *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 100.28
 ἀπὸ μητέρος καὶ πατρός *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* I.136
 τῆς θυγατέρος μου τῆς Μαρούλας (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 36, 38.51)
 τὰ ἐμῖα τῆς μερίδος (1557 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 11, 64.30)
 ἔφυγε τῆς πατρίδος *Dig. A* 2431
 εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἑλλάδος *Vios Aisop.* K 148.6
 τῆς θυγατέρος του (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1955: 519.34)
 τῆς ἁγίας εἰκόνος τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 107.5); μετὰ τὸν
 ἐξολοθρεμὸν τῆς πατρίδος τους (*ibid.* 107.6–7)
 τῆς πυραμίδος *Don Kis.* 183.16

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ός

The old oxytone genitives of μήτηρ/μητέρα and θυγάτηρ/θυγατέρα are used in mixed-register texts and in more formal contexts. The different stress patterns are, of course,

convenient for versifiers: τῆς μητέρας του *Alex.* Rim. 362; τῆς μητρός του *ibid.* 378, but it must be borne in mind that regionally (in south-western areas and especially the Heptanese) the oxytone -ός ending is very common:

τῆς μητρός μου (1264, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 34, 15.1–2)
 τῆς θυγατρὸς μου *Eisit.* f.8r.18
 τὸ γράμμα τῆς μητρός σου *Dig.* E 384
 ἔμπροσθεν τῆς μητρός της *Pol. Tr.* 12479 app. crit. (AX)
 μετὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς μου (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 166, 116.2–3)
 ἔμὲν καὶ τῆς μητρός σου CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 307
 τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ προγονοῦ μου (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 62, 179.18)
 ἀπὸ κοιλίας μητρός σου DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 538
 θυγατρὸς τοῦ Πανταλέου (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 135.89); νὰ δίδουν
 τῆς μητρός μου (1524, *ibid.* 88, 167.25)
 ἡ μητέρα, τῆς μητρός SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 42.1; ἡ θυγατέρα, τῆς θυγατρὸς *ibid.* 42.2
 τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς Καλῆς (1562, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 9, 22.8)
 τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς τῆς Γληγορίας (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 8, 86.25)
 τῆς μητρός τῶνε (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 24, 19.4)
 βάνει λογισμὸν τῆς μητρός τῆς MOREZINOS, *Klini* 233.2
 κάνομε προικοσύφουνο τῆς θυγατρὸς μου (1687, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 10, 223.3)

The use of the old oxytone ending with the stem θυγατερ- has been found in a large geographical area:

τῆς θεγατερὸς μου (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 148, 109.8)
 τῆς θυγατερὸς αὐτοῦ (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 5, 25.2)
 τῆς θυγατερὸς μου τῆς Εὐγένως (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 31, 70.5)
 τῆς θυγατερὸς τῆς (1563, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969i: 2, 136.11)
 τῆς θυγατερὸς τῆς (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 37, 117.2)
 τῆς θυγατερὸς μας (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 8, 34.5)
 τῆς θυγατερὸς τῆς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §6.42
 τῆς κάθε μιανῆς θυγατερὸς μου (1673, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 73, 43.4)
 τὸ μιστικὸ τῆς θεγατερὸς μου (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.11)
 τῆς θυγατερὸς μου (1713, Nauplion, LIATA 1998a: [1], 265.3)

In a Heptanesian document the oxytone ending also extends to other words (note that the oxytone genitive ending -ός is rather popular in this area; cf. 2.11.1.1 and 2.12.1): τῆς σταφιδὸς (1683, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 5, 56.4).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ου

A rare genitive in -ου can be found once in the *Chronicle of Tocco*, alongside the more common form Λευχάδος:⁹⁸ τὸ νησὶ Λευχάδου *Chron. Toc.* 42.

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	<i>Residual</i>

⁹⁸ Cf. a similar form in Gennadios Scholarios's interpretations of Aristotle (15th c.): ἐκ τῆς Ἰλιάδου τὸ ἔπος (ed. Jugie et al.; see the online *TLG*).

Given that the most common genitive ending for the paradigm is -ᾶς, the residual nominative in -άς is sometimes used as a genitive: τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάς (1614, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1988: A, 159.5); τῆς Ἡρωιδιᾶς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV 6.42.

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-α(ν)

The normal ending for the accusative singular is -α. It occurs with and without final /n/:

τὴν πρώτην καὶ γνησίαν μου θυγατέραν Εἰρήνην (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 23.83)
 ἐκάμμυσεσ ὠρίτισαν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 166
 ἀγελάδαν μίαν γεννημένην καὶ ἀγελάδαν ἀ' στέρφον (1254, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 19, 91.22)
 ἄμε μὲ τὴν εὐχίτισα μου *Chron. Mor.* H 1388; καὶ τὴν φαγοῦραν *ibid.* 6128
 φοράδαν ἤμισην (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.20)
 στριγγέαν φωνίτισαν ἔσυρεν *Arm.* 46
 ἀκτίναν τοῦ ἡλίου *Dig.* E 184
 ἔχει τὴν αὐτὴν βερτοῦδα *Lapid.* 185.18 (< Ital. *vertude*)⁹⁹
 θυγατέραν τοῦ ποτὲ ... (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 92.8); στανιάδα μίαν
 (*ibid.* 94.71)
 λαβίδα μία ἀργυρή (1557, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 11, κζ'.53)
 ὄσσην τρομάραν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 817
 τὴν σφραγίδα *Dig.* A 412
 ἔλαβεν τὴν Κασταμῶνα (post 1640, Monemvasia, SCHREINER 1975/79: 79, 581.11.1)
 οὐδὲ εἶχεν μία ὀμνοστάδα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §19.20
 μίαν ἀγαστέρα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 229.6; θαυμάζεσαι τὴν νοστιμάδα *ibid.* 252.2
 ἐγὼ μὲ τὴν τρελλίτισα μου, | γεμῶζω τὴν κοιλίτισα μου *Paroim.* (Warner) 113.15–16
 να εἰπούμεν περὶ διὰ τὴν Μαλτεζάνα τὴν σουλτάνα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 506 tit.
 ἔλαβε καὶ μίαν ἀμουνάδα (1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 62, 38.10) (< ἀμνάς)
 μία καδενέτα μαλαματένην (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 179.19)

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	<i>Residual</i>

The residual nominative of former 3rd-declension nouns is sometimes regarded as indeclinable and used for the accusative as well. These forms are restricted to verse texts and more formal contexts:

κ' ἐπῆρε τὴν θυγάτηρ του βλογητικὴν γυναιῖκαν *Chron. Mor.* H 7973
 τὴν μήτηρ της *Pol. Tr.* 12855
 τοῦ Πριάμου τὴν θυγάτηρ ERMON., *Ilias* 23.34
 τὸν πατὴρ ἀντάμα μὲ τὴν μήτηρ *Achil.* N 360
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσπάσατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγάτηρ *Achil.* O 624
 ἔχει θυγάτηρ, ἡ ὁποία ἐπονομάζεται Ἄννη (1500, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 2, 48.3);
 παραλαμβάνει θυγάτηρ (1510, *ibid.* 5, 50.5)
 ὑπάνδρευσαν τὴν θυγάτηρ (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 256.12)

⁹⁹ Loanwords such as these also sometimes appear in unadapted form: τίτοιαν βερτοῦδε *Lapid.* 187.10, at the most with an added final /n/: καὶ ἔχει τοῖαν βερτοῦδεν *ibid.* 187.13.

μέ τήν θυγάτηρ των (1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 152, 276.5)
τήν Ἡρωδιάς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §6.39

Very sporadically there is even confusion with the residual vocative: *εχωτα θιγατερ* / *ἐχο<ν>τα θυγάτερ/θύγατερ* (1609, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 6, 21.3); and even the residual dative may be recycled as an innovative accusative: *μέ τή μητρί μου Alex. Rim.* 464 (for the residual dative see 1.1).

Sporadically residual 3rd-declension forms are reformed based on a different paradigm: *τήν θυγατήρ Chron. Mor.* P 6319 (θυγάτηρ > θυγατέρα > θυγατήρ, by analogy with e.g. γαστήρ, γαστέρα).

Vocative

Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-α

The vocative, identical to the nominative, normally ends in -α:

παράκυψαι, βαγίτζα μου *Dig.* G IV.282
ἀγάπη, δούλη τοῦ Ἑρωτος καὶ γνήσια συγγενίδα *Liv.* V 368
ἐξύπνησε, κυράτσα μου *Achil.* N 1308; ψυχίτσα μου, ἄς ὑπᾶμεν *ibid.* 1335
καλογυναικίτσα μου *Spanos* B 98
βλέπεσαι, θυγατέρα μου *Fyll. gadar.* 159
λέγει: μαννίτσα κάτσε [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1091
γλυκειά μου μητέρα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 648.17
ἀπαντοχή, ἐλπίδα μου *Imb. Rim.* 244
ὦ ... ψυχίτζα μου *Diig. Alex.* F 98.3–4 (Lolos); ὦ μητέρα ἐδική μου *ibid.* 196.1
(Konstantinopulos)
λαμπάδα γὰρ τοῦ σκότους μου *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1204; τρυγόνα μου *ibid.* B 1209
φαγάνα καὶ βουβάλα *Stathis* III.382
τοῦ κόσμου ἀνοστάδα *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* G5r.11; γαῖδάρα πομπιωμένη *ibid.* G5r.23
τὸ σκύλο μου μοῦ δόσε, κορασίδα *Pist. voskos* II 2.193
πατρίδα κακοτύχιστη *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 195.10
ὦ εἰκόνα ὑψωμένη *KONDAR., Paidēs* 487
θυγατέρα μου *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1079

Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	Residual

Residual vocative forms of former 3rd-declension nouns are occasionally used in more formal contexts:

ὦ Κύρια μας καὶ μητερ μας *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 269
ἄκουσον οὔν, ὦ θύγατερ *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 275
ὦ γλυκυτάτη μου πατρίς *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 9621
Κυρία, μητερ τοῦ Χριστοῦ *Thrinos Kypr.* 85

Sometimes the residual nominative of former 3rd-declension nouns is used as a vocative and thus treated as indeclinable:

σώπασε, μήτηρ μου *Dig.* E 543
 κοπελορίκτουσα, πόρνη, θυγάτηρ πόρνης *Poulol.* 223
 τοῦτο, μήτηρ, | τὸ μὲ λέγει αὐτὸς ὁ γέρον *Ptochol.* P 306–7
 ὦ θυγάτηρ μου [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P II 325.30
 θυγάτηρ μου γλυκύτατη *DEFAR., Sos.* 216 (Holton)
 σκέπε καὶ διαφύλαττε, Τριάς, τοὺς σὲ ὑμνοῦντας *DIKR., Diig. Pol.* 1233

Plural

Nominative

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες

The normal ending for the nominative plural is -ες:

στουλάρια καὶ καννίτσες (1201, Sicily, *GUILLOU* 1963: 19, 150.24)
 ὅλες αἱ εὐγενίδες *Pol. Tr.* 10619
 ὅλες οἱ συγγενίδες *Liv.* V 3059
 ἀρχόντων θυγατέρες *Achil.* N 1033
 οἱ νέες κοπελοῦδες *Diig. tetr.* 929
 οἱ ἀκτῖνες *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 917
 τὰ δουκάτα καὶ οἱ μονέδες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 82.23 (< Occit. *moneda*, see *HONNORAT, Lex.* s.v.)
 οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ βαγίτσες *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 160
 αἱ μητέρες τοὺς *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 99.13
 ἀρνάδες ἰδ' ... καὶ κατσικάδες γ' (1553, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2001: 116, 165.49–50)
 οἱ ἄνωθε μερίδες (1561, Naxos, *KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS* 2012/13: 129, 247.9)
 οἱ ρουφιάνες *CHORTATIS, Katz. Prol.* 34; οἱ ασπριλάδες τῷ μαλλιῷ *id., Panor.* I.261
 οἱ ἀπομοναρεὲς μουρνοπούλες (1613, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 841. 734.36)
 φιληνάδες καταπολλὰ ἡγαπημένες *Bertoldos* 45.20–1
 κ' οἱ κοπελλοῦδες οἱ μικρὲς ποὺ ἔταν κορασσοπούλες *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 102
 οἱ θυγατέρες μου (1693, Gortynia, *GRITSOPOULOS* 1950: 32, 136.2)
 πατέρες καὶ μητέρες *Thrinios Kypr.* 37; δὲν νὲν παραξενάδες *ibid.* 459
 ἐπειδήτης καὶ νὰ ἦτανε οἱ φοράδες ἐγγαστρωμένες (1708, Lefkada, *GRAPSA* 2006: 7, 41.22)

In language varieties that are affected by raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4 for details), [e] may become [i]: οἱ ἀκτίνις (app. crit.) (1684–5, Moscow, *ŠANGIN* 1936: 3, 114.9); οἱ χιλιδόνις (app. crit.) (*ibid.* 115.4); οἱ καλοικούδις (app. crit.) (*ibid.* 115.13) (< καλοικούδα; cf. *MG* καλιακούδα).

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-αι

The residual ending of the 1st declension is sporadically employed with former 3rd-declension nouns, as well as with the newer words belonging to this paradigm: αἱ δύο μου θυγατέραι (1059, Tayk province?, *LEMERLE* 1977: 25.168); λαβίδαι ὅμοιαι ε' (1200, Patmos, *ASTRUC* 1981: 21.31); ἕτεραι εἰκονίτσαι μικραὶ (1142, Athos, *LEMERLE et al.* 1982: 7, 74.22); αἱ κοπελλοπούλαι *SKORD. MARAF. G., Evang.* 442.456.

*Genitive**Fem.*

Pl.	Gen.	-ων ὀ -ω ὀ -ωνε

The inherited unstressed genitive ending of the 3rd declension is the most common for this paradigm:

ἀγελάδων, βουβαλίων (1079, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 2, 17.6)
 εἰς τάξιν μητέρων (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 246.671–2)
 τῶν θείων καὶ σεβασμίων εἰκόνων (1313, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 8, 52.26–7)
 τῶν κοπελούδων των (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 102.19)
 ἄνωθεν δὲ ὀκτάγωνος μετὰ λαμπρῶν θυρίδων *Dig. A* 3986
 μετὰ ράβδων καὶ ματσούκων *Spanos D* 754
 εἴπαμε τῶν κορασίδων *Epain. gyn.* 665
 ἤλθαν μετὰ φανῶν καὶ λαμπάδων KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 366.7
 των κορασίδων *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavrás) 137.9
 [τῶν τρυγ]όνων ROMANOS, *Grammar* 4.23

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from Crete:

μὲ θέλημα τῷ μερίδω (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 9 [Θ'], 241.6)
 νὰ δίδης τῷ ρουφιάνω CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.58; στολή τω βοσκοπούλῳ id., *Panor.* III.481
 πέντε λίτρω (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 39.53)
 τῶν ἔξι εἰκόνων (1639, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 6, 273.37)

Addition of -(v)ε occurs in Heptanesian texts: τῶν σταφίδωνέ του (1653, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 215, 186.48) (though note that the original lacks stress notation; therefore a reading σταφιδῶνε (see below) cannot be excluded).

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν ὀ -ῶ ὀ -ῶνε

As the majority of feminine nouns present a shift of the stress to the ultimate in the genitive plural, the stress shift is sometimes also applied to this paradigm:

καὶ τῶν συγγενιδῶν σου *Eisit. f.*5r.4
 τῶν μητερῶν *Pol. Tr.* 12166
 τῶν θυγατερῶν (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 136.112)
 τῶν φοραδῶν τρίων (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 395.35)
 των βοσκῶν καὶ βοσκοπουλῶν *Don Kis.* 539.3

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in Cretan texts: τῶν δύο τση θυγατερῶ (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 15.7); ἀφήνει τῷ τεσσάρῳ τση θυγατερῶ (1600, ibid. 61, 81.10).

In Heptanesian texts addition of -(v)ε can be found (see also I, 2.6.3.1): τοῦ θυγατερῶνε μου (1639, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 139, 125.19) (= θυγατερῶνε, see I, 3.6.1.1).

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-άδων

The imparisyllabic plural is sporadically employed with this paradigm, by analogy with other nouns belonging to the semantic field of family relations/status of females (cf. θειάδες, μανάδες, πεθεράδες, χηράδες and others): τῶν δυὸν θεγατεράδων (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 114.54).

Accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ες

This accusative ending, identical to the nominative, was adopted many centuries before the LMedG period (see the introduction to Chapter 2), and is the normal ending throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

θυγατέρες βασιλέων *Pol. Tr.* 1103 app. crit. (B); ὅλες μου τὲς ἐλπίδες *ibid.* 6517 app. crit. (BV);
τὲς νταμιζέλες της *ibid.* 11970 app. crit. (CV) (< Occit. *dameisela*)
ῥ τὲς ἀραμάδες τῶν πορτῶν *SACHLIKIS, Symvoules* 73
τὰ δάκρυα της ἐποίησαν βρυσίτζες ἔμπροσθέν της *Byz. Il.* 399
δούλους, δουλίδες περισσὲς *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 240
(δίδομεν ...) ματσούκες ἀγνὲς *Spanos D* 1683
τὲς μητέρες *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 93
εἰς τὲς μουράδες τῆς χώρας (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, *MORGAN* 1954: 60.26–7) (< Ven. *murada*)
στανιάδες β' (1525, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 98, 183.27–8); ὀδιὰ τὶς ποστίλες
(1527, *ibid.* 120, 221.117–18) (< Ven. *postila*, see *BOERIO, Lex.* s.v.)
νερά, ἀγριάδες (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2009: 442, 451.328)
μὲ δικές του σπέζες (1598, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 31, 50.6) (Ven. *spesa*)
τσ' αταξάδες | δεν ἀφηκες *CHORTATIS, Panor.* III.295 (< ἀταξάδα)
τόσες τεντίτζες ἔστησεν *Thrinis Konst.* (Zoras) 83
ἀπίδια θέλει ὁ κορωνιὸς καὶ ὄχι πεταλοῦδες *Paroim.* (Warner) 38.10
τὲς παπαδοπούλες *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 664
νὰ σφαλίσουν τὲς φινέστρες *Kaloandros f.50v* (*DANEZIS* 1989: 70)
τὲς ἐβδομάδες τὲς περασμένες *MAX. PELOPON., Kata Ioud.* 317.12
βλέπει πολλὰς ἀρκοῦδες *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1309
μόνον μὲ ἐταῖρες παλλακίδες συναναστρέφεται (1684, Corfu, *KAPADOCHOS* 1990: 64, 272.9)
μὲ τσι ἰντράδες τως (1685, Cythera, *ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI* 1982: 74.24–5) (< Ven. *intràda*)
τὲς τιμημένες πριντσιπέσες *Don Kis.* 49.36 (< Ital. *principessa*)

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

This residual ending can be found in mixed- and higher-register texts and in more formal contexts, not only with inherited nouns, but also with loanwords (νταμιζέλα, γαλιότα) and newer formations (diminutives in -ίτσα):

τὰς αὐτῶν μητέρας *Dig.* G 2.107
πάσας του συγγενίδας *Eisit.* f.3r.2
καὶ τὰς κεντούκλας νὰ ἔπαιρναν *Ptoch.* III 194
καὶ σταπιδίτσας χιώτικας *Ptoch.* IV 328; ψιχίτσας ζεματίσετε μικρὰς εἰς τὸ γαβάθιν *ibid.* 594
βασιλέως θυγατέρας *Pol. Tr.* 1103; ὅλας μου τὰς ἐλπίδας *ibid.* 6517; τὰς νταμιζέλας της *ibid.*
11970 (< Occit. *dameisela*)

τόσας γαλιότας *Velis*. N² 268 (< Ven. *galiòta*)
μία ἐκ τὰς βαγίτσας *Velth*. 876
γεμάτον πεταλούδας *Krasop*. AO 2
ἄπτει τὰς εἰκόνας *Pist. kekoim*. 410
τὰς τρυγόνας *ROMANOS, Grammar* 4.23

Vocative

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-ες

The vocative is identical to the nominative:

ἀκούσατε, μαυλίστρες *SACHLIKIS, Katalogi* 17 (< μαυλίστρια)
ὦ θυγατέρες τῆς Σιών *SKORD. MARAF. G., Evang.* 426.7
ὦ μακαροῦνες με τυρὶ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.61; ὦ μήνες καὶ βδομάδες μου *id., Panor.* III.178;
στην ψη μου, θυγατέρες μου *ibid.* IV.90
φιλήσετε, Νεράιδες μου *Stathis* III.504
κορασίδες | ἡγαπημένες καὶ χρυσές τοῦ λαιμοῦ μ' ἄλυσίδες *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 107–8
ἐλπίδες μου, χαθῆτε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 208.17

2.11.3 Proparoxytone Nouns

2.11.3.1 Nouns with a Shift of Stress to the Ultimate in the Genitive Plural

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	μέλισσα		
Gen.	μέλισσας	μελίσσης -ου	-ος -ους
Acc.	μέλισσα(ν)		-ο(ν)
Voc.	μέλισσα		
Plural			
Nom.	μέλισσες	μέλισσαι	
Gen.	μελισσῶν	μελίσσων μέλισσων -ῶ -ω	
Acc.	μέλισσες	μέλισσας	
Voc.	μέλισσες	μέλισσαι	

Singular*Nominative**Fem.*

Sg.	Nom.	-α

There is no variation in the nominative singular:

ή πρωτοστρατόρισα *Chron. Mor.* H 7703
 ή στρατήγισσα *Dig.* E 1004
 ή χάλαζα *Spaneas* Z 661
 νά γένη ξενοδόχισσα *Liv.* E 2957
 καί ποῦ ὁ ρήξ καί ρήγαινα *Velth.* 1166
 ὅς ἔλθη ή δέσποινά μου *Achil.* N 697
 καμμία μπουργέζαινα *Assizes* A 111.18
 ή βιλλάναινα ή Κώτισσα ή γραία *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 429
 ή παραβάτισσα, ή Εὔα *Synax. gyn.* 56bis
 τούτη ή θάλασσα *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 135.12; ή ἐνέργεια τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος *ibid.* 403.15
 ή μεγαλειοτάτη ἀρχόντισσα Κατερίνα Γρίσπαινα (1592, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1955: 19, 74.5)
 ή ὁποία κάμαρα (1594, Naxos, *KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS* 2012/13: 152, 276.8)
 ή ξεδέλφισσά μου (1599, Zakynthos, *ZOIS* 1957: 55.33–4) (= ξεαδέλφισσα)
 ή τράπεζά σου φιλοσοφίας εἶναι γεμάτη *Vios Aisop.* K 172.20
 τοῦ κόσμου γενοῦ μεσίτρια *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §24.30
 η θεία πρόνοια *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 506 tit.
 ή γιάτρισσα (1688, Paxoi, *PETROPOULOS* 1958: 202, 121.4)
 εἶναι ή ὁμοία Ἐρήνη καπετάνισσα (1701, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 14, 31.10–11)
 μία λοιμική ἀσθένεια *ΕΦΤΗΥΜ., Chron. Gal.* 20.1

*Genitive**Fem.*

Sg.	Gen.	-ας

The genitive singular normally ends in -ας:

τῆς μακαριωτάτης δούκαινας (1059, Tayk province?, *LEMERLE* 1977: 22.70)
 Βασιλείου τῆς Κωσταντίνεβας (1100–10, Athos, *LEFORT* et al. 1990: 53, 256.55)
 τῆς ἐμῆς συγγένισσας (1202, S. Italy, *NADAL CAÑELLAS* 1983: III, 164.7)
 ὁ γαμβρὸς τῆς Λινάρδαινας (1284, Athos? Lemnos?, *LEMERLE* et al. 1977: 74, 26.70)
 ὁκάποιας κὰν γειτόνισσας *Ptoch.* III 162
 τῆς συνάφειας *Assizes* B 535.18
 τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τῆς παίδαινας *Assizes* A 98.28; τῆς μπουργέζαινας *ibid.* 111.31
 τῆς Κουρουκιώτισσας *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 100.28; τῆς Ἀτάλειας *ibid.* 106.12–13
 τῆς ἀκρίβειας (1503, Corfu, *PANDAZI* 2007: 279, 279.12)
 τῆς χαλάστριας *Ekth. Chron.* 14.11
 ἥτινος ἀρχόντισσας ἀφήνω τὸ ἀμπελάκι μου (1508, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 9, 16.9); τῆς λεγομένης ντεμεσόριας (1529, *ibid.* 129, 237.31) (< Ven. *dimissòria*)
 μιᾶς ἀγγέλισσας τὸ χάδι *Cypr. Canz.* 116.4
 ή ἀλήθεια, τῆς ἀλήθειας *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 40.14–15 (ms P; ἀληθείας in ed.)
 τῆς γερόντισσας (1583, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1999a: 15, 29.11)
 νά πῶ τσῆ κερ' Ἀρμένισσας *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.427

τῆς γράτσιας ἥνπερ ἔχει (1602, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969k: 21, 115.5) (< Ital. *grazia*)
 βοήθειας αὐτείνης ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 5717
 τῆς μακαρίτισσας τῆς πεθερᾶς μου (1688, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 119, 325.3)
 βάμεσης ποτὲ τῆς Μπόιτζας (1726, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: Δ: 9, f.6v.2–3)
 τῆς χωριάτισσας *Don Kis*. 387.9

The historical shift of the stress to the penultimate in inherited nouns in -(ε)ῖα is often observed:

ἡ καθαμία τάξις συγγενείας (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.600)
 τῆς Κερυνείας VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 80.1
 εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς καθολικῆς Ὁδηγητρίας (1516, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 27, 91.2)
 δὲν εἶναι καιρὸς τῆς βοηθείας *Pist. kekoim*. 159; λειψοπραξία τῆς μετανόας *ibid.* 483
 ὑπὸ ἐνεργείας διαβόλου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 434.42–3
 μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας ἔγραψα (1594, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 57, 80.16)
 μητροπολίτην Φιλαδελφείας (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.12)
 τῆς ἀμαθείας μου VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas*. 29.6

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ου

This ending occurs throughout the period covered by this Grammar in a variety of texts, from north to south and east to west, and is especially frequent with the word θάλασσα. These forms usually display a shift of the stress to the penultimate (cf. a similar development in the proparoxytone masculine paradigm in -ας, 2.2.5):¹⁰⁰

ἐν πέλαγο θαλάσσου *Jonas* 215.7
 ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας τῆς Παντανάσσου (1327–8, Peloponnese, VRANOUSI 1981: B, 26.2–3)
 τὸν γῦρον τῆς θαλάσσου *Chron. Mor.* H 863; τῆς Λαρίσσου *ibid.* 2591
 αὐθέντην τῆς Λαρίσου *Pol. Tr.* 5039
 τὴν σμύρναν τῆς θαλάσσου *Liv.* V 174
 τῆς Βοδίτζου *Chron. Toc.* 89; διὰ θαλάσσου καὶ ξηρᾶς *ibid.* 164
 τῆς θαλάσσου (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 271.7)
 τῆς θαλάσσου (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 60.3)
 τὸ ρέμαν τῆς θαλάσσου *Assizes* A 50.25
 τοῦ ἀφέντου Καρυταίνου *Chron. Mor.* P 8120
 τῆς θαλάσσου ὁ κίνδυνος BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 395
 θαλάσσου καὶ κυμάτων SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 4
 τὴν μίξιν τῆς θαλάσσου (1512, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS 1978: 8, 67.19)
 καὶ τῆς θαλάσσου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.3
 τὸν ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσου *Diig. Alex.* V 74.26
 δὲν ἦτον ἄνθρωπος τῆς θαλάσσου (1578, Cyprus, TSELIKAS 1977: 1, 253.11)
 τῆς θαλάσσου *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1108
 τα βάρη τῆς θαλάσσου CHORTATSI, *Panor.* IV.279
 τῆς Λαρίσσου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.30
 τῆς θαλάσσου KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* II.332

Forms without the shift of stress are metre-induced (before the caesura): τῆς Λάρισσου *Pol. Tr.* 3580 and 4113.

¹⁰⁰ Note that a genitive πόλεως Λαρίσσου can be found in the *Narrations* of Paul of Monemvasia (10th c.); see the online *TLG*.

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ος

This ending, adopted from the old 3rd declension, is used occasionally in texts from various areas from very early on:

ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει τῆς γέφυρος (1027, Sparta, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 43, 301.10–11)
 μὲ τὸν λαὸν τῆς Λάρισος *Pol. Tr.* 3580 app. crit. (V)
 τῆς τράπεζος καυχία ζ' (1610–20, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 23, 94.17)
 τσῆ Γεράπετρος (1614, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 1, 330.14)
 περιτόριον τῆς Γεράπετρος (1628, Crete, DETORAKIS 1994: 1, 126.3)
 τῆς Γεράπετρος (1632, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2000: 4, 517.3)

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ους

Conflation of -ου and -ος has been found in the *Pentateuch*, an editorially problematic text: τῆς θαλάσσοις *Pent.* Gen. 1.16 and 32.13 (ed. θαλασσοῦς, but the stress notation is editorial; see also HATZIDAKIS 1892: 55).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ης

This residual ending with the historical shift of the stress to the penultimate appears occasionally in mixed-register texts and more formal contexts:

χειρὸς Ἀρχοντίσσης (1192, Sicily, RE/ROGNONI 2008: 1, 142.1)
 βασιλίσσης Ἀγγελίνας Δούκαινας (1375, Ioannina, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 146, 103.5)
 τῆς θαλάσσης SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 146.15
 μετὰ ἐρεύνης ἀκριβῆς *Velth.* 643
 ἀντὶς ἀβροτραπέζης | νά 'χει ψωμὶν καμπανιστὸν LIMEN., *Velis.* Λ 103–4
 ὡς πλῆθος τῆς μελίσσης *Analos. Ath.* 35
 εἰς τὸν ἀφέντη ... Ριθύμνης (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.6)
 τῆς Νεκρᾶς Θαλάσσης (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 337.67)
 ὁ προχὸς τῆς ἀμάξης PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §11.66
 τὴν κρίσιν τῆς γεέννης KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 23.23
 διὰ θαλάσσης καὶ ξηρᾶς DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 168

Absence of stress shift in these forms is rare and clearly occurs to accommodate the metre: βασιλίσσης μεγάλης *Alex. Rim.* 2202. The following forms are hybrid formations with retention of the historical stress shift but substitution of the old ending with the newer ending -ας: ἐγγονίσσας τοῦ κυρ-Γεννάκη (1155, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 24, 146.1); τῆς ἀρχοντίσσης (1197–8, S. Italy, *ibid.* 42, 219.38); θαλάσσας (1191, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 12, 85.4); τῆς Τραπέζας *Anak. Konst.* 109.

*Accusative**Fem.*

Sg.	Acc.	-α(ν)

The accusative normally ends in -α and occurs with and without final /n/:

ἔχεις με κουρατόρισσαν *Ptoch.* 194
 κ' ἐπέζεψαν στὴν Πρέβεζαν *Chron. Mor.* H 9119
 τοῦ Ἑρωτος τὴν συμπάθειαν *Liv.* E 358
 εἰς τὴν ρέγουλαν τῶν τριῶν (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 72, 56.6) (< Lat. *regula*)
 τὴν κυρὰν τὴν Μαργαρίταν πρίντζαιναν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 52.30 (< πρίντζης (< Fr. *prince*) + -αῖνα)
 καὶ πέ μας τὴν ἀλήθειαν *Synax. gadar.* 256
 ἐπῆρεν ὁ Σπάνιας τὴν Γένουβαν (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 260.86.1)
 τὴν βασιλίσσαν *Diig. Alex.* F 22.19 (Konstantinopulos)
 μὲ ὀρθωσιν μεγάλην καὶ μὲ δίαιταν *Diig. Alex.* E 209.12–13 (Lolos)
 τὴν ξυλόγατα ZINOS, *Vatr.* 87
 ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχόντισσάν του (1570, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 16, 70.8)
 ἔπαρε τὴν μάχαιραν (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 24.4)
 πουλοῦμε τίς ἐλὲς στὴ Γιάννιτζα (1600, Mani, SKOPETAS 1950: II, 70.4–5)
 ἐποίκεν ἐπιτρόπισσαν κυρὰν τὴν Ὀδηγήτρια *Thrinios Konst.* (Zoras) 63
 τρῶγε καμπόσον συτυπικόν ... ἦγουν ... ἀχλάδα ἢ νέσπολα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 182.6–7 (< Ven. *nespola*)
 ἔφαγε τὴν πικραμυγαλόπιττα *Paroim.* (Warner) 100.21
 ἤφεραν τὴν κράλεσσαν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.12)
 ἔλειπα εἰς τὴν Ντάντζικα (1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 34, 134.9) (= Danzig)
 με τὴν σκυλόσκουπα *Don Kis.* 167.24

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ο(ν)

This ending, borrowed from the /os/ paradigm, has been found with the nouns τράπεζα and Λάρισσα. In the case of Λάρισσα confusion may be suspected with the (masculine) river Λάρισις:

στὴν Λάρισσον *Chron. Mor.* H 2599
 ἠφέρασι ἐκ τὴν Λάρισον *Pol. Tr.* 2302
 εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Τράπεζον MOREZINOS, *Klini* 36.21
 νὰ κερνοῦμεν εἰς τὴν τράπεζον (1634, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 58, 156.12–13)
 στὴν Ἁγία Τράπεζο (1644, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1990: 486.390)
 φαγὶ ἀπὸ τὴν τράπεζο KONDAR., *Paidēs* 330
 τὴν Λάρισσο (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 305, f.1v.29)

Vocative

Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-α

The vocative, identical to the nominative, ends in -α:

κατάβα, βάρια μου καλή *Dig.* G IV.320 (but disyllabic due to synizesis)
 καὶ δὸς με ἀπὸ τοῦ κήπου σου μῆλον, ἀφέντριά μου *Achil.* L 915
 κυρὰ οἰκοδέσποινα *Poulol.* 35; κοπελορίκτουσα *ibid.* 223

κυρά μου έρωτοδέσποινα, ποθοκρατόρισσά μου *Katal.* 84; σκούφια μου παγκλασίδωτη *ibid.* 435

ὦ Κύρια καὶ Δασκάλισσα *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 57; ὦ Ρήγισσα *ibid.* 81

ἀγγέλισσά μου *Cypr. Canz.* 116.4

καὶ θάλασσα, βρυχήσθησε *Thrinos Konst. (Zoras)* 10

φίλαινα καὶ μαστόρισσα *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.342; σώπασε, ἀμίρισσά μου *id.*, *Erof.* V.291

δέσποινά μου ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκε (1654, Kefalonia, *PENDOGALOS* 2008: 1, 52.1)

Μεσοπαντίτισσά μου *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 554.24

ἔχε θάρρος, βασιλίσσά μου *Alex. Fyll.* 8.21

Plural

Nominative

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες

The most common ending for the nominative plural is -ες:

καὶ οἱ βάγιες ραίνουν τους μετὰ ροδοσταμάτων *Dig.* E 584

χίλιες καβαλλάριες *Pol. Tr.* 3292

οἱ βάγιές της ὅλες *Achil.* L 670

ὡς γονικάρχισσες καὶ κτητόρισσες *CHEILAS, Chron.* 356.27

αἱ δὲ ἀρχόντισσες *Achil.* N 1233

οὐδὲ καλὲς αὐγόπιτες *ZINOS, Vatr.* 65

οἱ ἀπομοναρεὲς μέλισσες (1541, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1994a: 222, 213.21)

ἔφερον καὶ τὸν Διγενῆ αἱ βαῖές του μέσα *Dig.* A 1268

μεγάλες ἔγνοιες ... | μ' ἔχουν ἐδῶ φερμένο *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.65–6

ᾠχθηρτες, ζήλειες *Zinon* II.410

πολλὲς γυναῖκες Οὐγγρισσεὲς ἐγίνηκαν χηράδες *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voev.* 640 (Pidonia)

τὲς δύο χώρες, ὅπου λέγονται Φώκιες (post 1640, Monemvasia, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 79, 581.10.1–2)

ἄλλες ἀσθένειες διάφοραι *LANDOS, Geopon.* 176.12; ἤγουν ... ὄστριες *ibid.* 224.12 (< *MedLat. ostromia*); τὰ σοῦρβα καὶ οἱ νέσπολες εἶναι στυπτικά *ibid.* 218.1 (< *Ven. nespola*)

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-αι

This residual ending of the 1st declension occurs occasionally in mixed-register texts and more formal contexts:

καβούροι ποτάμιοι καὶ πέστρουφαι *STAFIDAS, Iatrosf.* 3.61 (< *Bulg. pŭstŭrva*)

καὶ κάμεραι δύο (1518, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 54, 102.17)

οἱ δουλεύτριαι αἱ δικαί σου *Vios Aisop.* K 160.26–7

ποῖται εἶναι αἱ ἀσθένειαι ἀνιάτρευται *Bertoldos* 9.2

ἤλθασιν αἱ Μέλισσαι *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 53–4

Genitive

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν -ων -ῶ -ω

The genitive plural often retains its historical shift of the stress to the ultimate:

τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἐκείνων GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 404
 χορευτρίων λυγίσματα *Dig.* G IV.890 (but read χορευτρίων for the metre)
 ἄνευ τῶν τόπων καὶ προνοιῶν *Chron. Mor.* H 2859
 μετὰ κλοτζάτων καὶ τυμπανιστριῶν *Opsarol.* 55
 ἄλλων γυναικῶν καὶ γειτονισσῶν PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 113.19–20
 τῶν δουλευτρίων *Vios Aisop.* K 161.4
 ὡσαν νέφος μελίσσων *Alex.* Fyll. 29.22
 περιέχεται ὑπὸ δύο θαλασσῶν NEKT. IEROSOL., *Ierokosm. Ist.* 395.29–30
 τῶν μπούφων καὶ κουκουβαΐων CANTEMIR, *Krit.* 449.20

A stress shift to the penultimate (as in paradigm 2.11.3.2), which pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar,¹⁰¹ occurs occasionally:

ἀσθενείων τοῦ σώματος (1105, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 8, 397.29)
 καὶ ὀδύνες τὴν καρδίαν μου | κατέτρωναν μερίμνων *Eisit.* f.8r.3–4
 τῶν μαυλιστρίων MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 218.30
 τῶν μελίσσων (1548, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 47, 76.14)

From verse texts it becomes clear that the stress notation may not correspond to the pronunciation (see I.5 for discussion), as in the following example, where we should clearly read προνοιῶν (before the caesura): ἀπὸ τὰ δίκαια τῶν προνοιῶν *Chron. Mor.* H 2651.

A complete absence of stress shift also occurs occasionally:

τῶν μάγισσων BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 1236
 τῶν ἀρχόντισσων τῶν Γρίσπαινων (1560 [copy of 1691], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 128, 245.2–3)
 τῶν μάντισσων (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 429.1382)

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from Crete and Naxos:

ἐκείνη ἐπιλογήθη | συντροφισσῶ *P&N Diath.* 1812–13
 τῶν λεγομένω ἀρχόντισσῶ (1568, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 14 [later copy], 68.20)

Accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ες

The most common ending for the accusative is -ες:

θάλασσεσ μεγάλες (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 85.5)
 τὲς δύο κάμαρες (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 9, 154.4–5)
 ἀπὸ τὲς κάναβες (1480, Methoni, GERLAND 1903: 27, 237.4–5) (< Ven. *càneva*)
 τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐπῆρεν τὲς δύο Φώκιες (16th c., Lesbos?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.III, 546.27.1)
 τὶς μέλίσσές μου (1518, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 14, 57.14)
 τὲς δύο μαστόρισσες (1539, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 1032, 802.9)
 πληρῶνω τρίτο καὶ ρεγάγιες (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 247, 247.27) (< Ven. *regàlia*)

¹⁰¹ Similar forms occur e.g. in Socrates of Constantinople (Λαρίσσων; see the online *TLG*) and in Romanos the Melode; see MAAS/TRYPANIS 1963: 514.

ὅσες φάλιες καὶ ἂν εὔρετε (1574, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61.17) (< Occit. *falia*; see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)
 ὅλες τὲς τελετές, ἤγουν τζερεμόνιες *Pist. kekoim.* 91 (< Occit. *ceremonia*; see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)
 μὲ νήστειες καὶ μὲ δέησες *P&N Diath.* 1529 (< νηστεία)
 καὶ τσ' ἔγνοιες κατατάσσω *CHORTATIS, Erof. Prol.* 20; ὅλες τὲς ἄλλες τζόγιες *ibid.* IV.727
 κι ὦρες τὲς βάρδιες ἔλλασσα *Stathis* III.32
 εἶχεν ... δουλεύτριες *Vios Aisop.* K 161.7
 τοῦ ἔδωκεν ἓνα ζευγάρι μπόλιες μεταξωτὲς (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 149, 162.10–11)
 ἀπὸ τὶς χαλάστριες τῶν λουμπαρδῶν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 117.33
 τσί ντεσγράτζιες ὅπου μᾶς ἐβρήκασι (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 50.85) (< Ven. *desgrazia*)
 τὶς Τούρκισσες (1672, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 5, 167.14–15)
 τσ' ἀλήθειες φανερῶνομε *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.596

A shift of the stress to the penultimate may occur, especially in verse texts to accommodate the metre:

ἔδωκέν τους προνοῖες *Chron. Mor.* H 5736
 μὲ τὲς ἀκάνθες τὲς πικρὲς *PLOUSIAD., Thrinos* 19 (Vasileiou)
 ἐξέλκουν τὲς μαχαῖρες *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 480

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

The residual -ας ending of the 1st and 3rd declensions, which had fallen into disuse long before the LMedG period (see the introduction to Chapter 2), can occasionally be found in mixed- and higher-register texts, with or without the historical shift of the stress to the penultimate:

καὶ τὰς βοήθειάς του *Liv.* V 3964
 μὲ τὰς ἀρχόντισσάς των *Imber.* 480
 νὰ βάλης τὴν κοπρίαν, ἥτις κάμνει δύο ἐνεργείας *LANDOS, Geopon.* 156.27; καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς ἀσθενείας ἰάτρευσεν *ibid.* 188.7

Vocative

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-ες

The most common ending for the vocative, identical to the nominative, is -ες:

χειρομάχισσες, καλοοικοδέσποινές μου *Ptoch.* III 190
 ἀρχόντισσες εὐγενικὲς *Pol. Tr.* 1178
 κί ἔσεῖς μου μυζηθρόπιτες πολλὰ μου ἡγαπημένες *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.62
 ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀρχόντισσες, σᾶσε ευχαριστοῦμε *KATSAITIS, Thyest. Epil.* 37

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-αι

This residual 1st-declension ending is used occasionally in mixed- and higher-register texts and in more formal contexts: ἄρourke <μου> ἐξάκουσται *Analos. Ath.* 56; ἐλᾶτε καὶ σεῖς θάλασσαι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.67.

2.11.3.2 Nouns with a Shift of Stress to the Penultimate in the Genitive Plural

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	νεότητα	νεότης	
Gen.	νεότητος νεότητας		-ου
Acc.	νεότητα(ν)		
Voc.	νεότητα		
Plural			
Nom.	νεότητες		
Gen.	νεοτήτων		νεότητων
Acc.	νεότητες	νεότητας	
Voc.	νεότητες		

Singular

Nominative

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-α

There is little variation in the nominative singular:

- ἡ πέρδικα ἐξεπέτασεν *Dig.* G IV.587
 ἡ ἀλώπεκα *Diig. tetr.* 27
 ἡ ἰσιότητα ὀρίζει ὅτι ... *Assizes A* 38.19; ἡ ὀρνιθα *ibid.* 199.24
 ἡ μεγαλότητα τοῦ νησιῦ σου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 642.20–1
 ἡ μάχητά τους *Cypr. Canz.* 118.52
 ὦ γλυκύτητα ἡμέρας ταύτης *KANANOS, Diig.* 73.512
 νά 'νι χάριτά τως (1523, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 71, 134.62)
 γυναῖκα χήρα καὶ ὀρνιθα *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 22 tit.
 ἐσέβη ἡ ὠραιότητά της εἰς ἐμένα *Diig. Alex.* E 309.12 (Lolos)
 ἡ ἐμὴ ταπεινότητα (1572, Achaia, *VEIS* 1956: 452.38)
 ἡ μάνιτά μου *CHORTATSI, Katz.* V.488
 ἡ κρυότητα τοῦ δάσου *Vosk.* 120
 ἡ πανιερότητά του (1692, Smyrna, *KOSTIS* 1901: 4, 170.14)
 τοῦ κυροῦ μου ἡ ὀργητα *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.81
 τί ἦτον ἡ ὀργητά σου *Alex. Fyll.* 97.24

Addition of final /n/ to the nominative is very unusual: ἡ ὄρνιθιν *Synax. gadar.* 188.

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	Residual

Residual 3rd-declension nominatives, especially those ending in -ότης, occur routinely in mixed-register texts and more formal contexts:

- ἡ δὲ ποσότης τοῦ χωραφίου (1136–7, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 1, 61.8)
 ἡ πέρδιξ ὄρνειον ἐστίν *Phys.* 683
 ἐδηλοποιήθη ἡ κραλότης μου (1345, Serres region, GUILLOU 1955: 39, 127.1) (< Slav. *kral*)
 ὄλη ἡ ἀνθρωπότης *Diig. tetr.* 498
 ἐφαυλίστην ἡ φαυλότης *ERMON., Ilias* 3.117
 ἡ κοσμική λαμπρότης *Plani kosmou* 132
 ἡ ρηθείσα κοινότης (1539, Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 1, 97.12)
 ἡ κακότης *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 43.16
 ἡ ἔξω ὡραιότης τοῦ κορμιοῦ της *MOREZINOS, Klini* 42.6
 ἡ γὰρ νεότης *Dig. A* 2370
 ἡ νιότης *Kakop.* 181
 ἡ ἀτελειότης τοῦ πράγματος *Bertoldin.* 167.28
 ἡ θέρμη ἢ ἡ ὑρότης *LANDOS, Geopon.* 173.8
 αὐτὴ ἐκείνη ἡ χάρις *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 121.6
 ὡς εἶν' θεότης μία *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 5250
 ἡ σοβαρότης τοῦ προσώπου της *Don Kis.* 115.11–12

Genitive

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ας

There are two main endings for the genitive singular, the inherited one in -ος (see below) and the newer ending -ας:

- φωλεὰν πέρδικας *Phys.* 690
 τῆς ὄρνιθας *Fyll. gadar.* 182 f
 με αἶμαν ὄρνιθας ἄσπρης (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 76.21)
 τῆς Βέρροιας (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 249.40)
 ἡ μάννα τῆς σπλαχνότητος *P&N Diath.* 1788; ἡ βρύση τῆς γλυκότητος *ibid.* 1789
 τῆς ὑψηλότητάς σου *CHORTATIS, Erof.* V.325
 ὁ θυμὸς τσῆ μάνητας *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.342
 πλουσιότητος περβόλι *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.442 app. crit. (X)

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ος

The old ending -ος of the 3rd declension can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar, with both inherited 3rd-declension words and new formations (ἄργητα, ἐδικότητα):

- τῆς ὑπεράγνου μου Θεομήτορος (1284, Athos? Lemnos?, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 73, 18.4)
 τὸ παρὸν πρόσταγμα τῆς κραλότητός μου (1345, Serres region, GUILLOU 1955: 38, 123.13–14)

δίχως ἄργητος *Pol. Tr.* 13265 app. crit. (AC)
 χάριτος ἐπληρώθη *Achil.* N 710
 τῆς ὑψηλότητος σου (1481, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 11, 315.7)
 τῆς κακότητος SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 42.16
 ἄνευ τινὸς ἐναντιότητος (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.20)
 ὁδὶ ἁγάπην ἐδικότητος (1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 703, 607.6)
 τῆς χάριτος *Don Kis.* 51.15–16

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ου

This ending is employed sporadically by analogy with proparoxytone masculine nouns in -ας, for which it is a very common alternative (see 2.2.5):¹⁰² τῆς ἀλωπέκου *Synax. gadar.* 114.

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-α(ν)

The normal ending for the accusative is -α. It can occur with and without final /n/:

καὶ χάριταν ἀνέκφραστον *Eisit.* f.5r.1
 καὶ ἔχε ἡμερότητα *Dig.* E 445
 τὴν χωρικότητα *Pol. Tr.* 372; τὴν χάριταν *ibid.* 1328; καὶ ἡπιεξιότητά του *ibid.* 2029
 ἔστεκαν καὶ εἰς ἔριταν *Chron. Toc.* 3887 (= ἔριδα, by analogy with e.g. μάνητα, ὄρητα)
 τὴν πέρδικαν *Phys.* 715
 ἐντροπὴν καὶ ὕβριταν *Velis.* χ 543
 εἶχεν καὶ ὀρνιθὰν χοντρή *Synax. gadar.* 162
 ἄργηταν καμίαν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 232; τὴν μάνιτα *ibid.* 716
 διὰ τὴν ολιγότητα τῶν ψαρίων ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 146.4–5
 ἔχετε τὸν βασιλέα σας κάκητα *Diig. Alex.* E 215.12 (Lolos); τὴν προμήτοράν μας τὴν Εὐάν *ibid.* 48.3 (Konstantinopulos)
 εἰς τὴν αὐξότητα ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 199.6–7; ἀπὸ τὴν πιτηδειότητά του *ibid.* 203.5 (= ἐπιτηδειότητα)
 τὴν γλυκύτητα *Vios Aisop.* K 179.13–14; εἰς μίαν λάρνακα *ibid.* 185.26
 πρὸς τὴν πανιερότητα σου (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.7)
 διὰ ὅλη τους τὴν ἐδικότητα (1619, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 1, 187.5–6)
 νὰ μὲ κρατῇ σ' ἔχθριτα FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.462
 ἔχει ἀπὸ λόγου του πείνα, δίψα, γυμνότητα (1689, Corfu, ΚΑΠΑΔΟΧΟΣ 1990: 59, 268.8)
 καὶ ἦλθαμεν εἰς τὴν Σιάτισταν (1690, Siatista, ΠΑΝΔΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ/ΤΣΟΥΡΚΑ-ΠΑΠΑΣΤΑΘΗ 1974: 21, 14.5)
 τὴν κλίμακα τοῦ Ἰακώβ (1692, Palermo region, ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1994: 2, 181–2.18)

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	<i>Residual</i>

¹⁰²In the following example it cannot be established whether the form was intended to be feminine or masculine: μέγας πρωτοπαπὰς Λαρνάκου (1609, Cyprus, ΜΙΚΛΟΣΙΧ/ΜÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 20, 267.21), as a masculine variant of the place name Λάρνακα is attested elsewhere cf. ἡ τὸν Λάρνακαν *Thrinus Kypr.* 162.

The residual nominative of former 3rd-declension nouns is sometimes used as an accusative, especially in verse texts: ὄρνιξ φαρμακεμένην *Flor.* L 353 (Cupane) (an apparent confusion of ὄρνιξ with πέρδιξ; the form is also attested in Doric).

Vocative

Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-α

The vocative is identical to the nominative:

εἰπέ μοι, κυρά πέρδικα *Poulol.* 166
 ὦ κακότητα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 43.16–17
 πέρδικα καὶ τρυγὸνα μου *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1209
 χαῖρε, βάτε καὶ κλίμακα VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 241
 δουλεύτριά μου *Don Kis.* 180.7

Plural

Nominative

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες

The nominative plural normally ends in -ες:

οἰκέτιδές τε εὐπρεπεῖς λαμπρῶς ἡγλαϊσμένοι *Dig.* G IV.845
 οἱ κακότητες SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 43.17
 ὕπουλοι δ' ὡς ἀλώπεκες AXAGIOLIS, *Diig. Karolou* 188
 ἄτακτοι σὰν ὄρνιθες ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2504
 ὄχθηρες ... μάνητες *Zinon* II.410
 οἱ ὄρνιθες (1645, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 398.4)

Genitive

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ων

The genitive plural usually presents a shift of the stress to the penultimate. As many nouns belonging to this paradigm appear not to have a genitive plural at all, a modest number of examples has been found:

μετὰ λαμπρῶν χαρίτων *Liv.* V 663
 τὰ ἄκρα τῶν μεγάλων πτερύγων STAFIDAS, *Iatrosf.* 15.436
 τῶν κακοτήτων SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 43.17
 τῶν θεραπεινίδων *Vios Aisop.* K 161.4

Forms without a shift of the stress to the penultimate are quite rare: τῶν ὄρνιθων *Assizes* A 199.15.

Accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ες

The most common ending for the accusative, identical to the nominative, is -ες:

τὲς χάριτες *Chron. Toc.* 1271
 ὀρνίθες ἐπιτὰ (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 4, 151.17)
 τὶς ᾽πιδεξότῃτες *Byz. Il.* 163 app. crit.
 μαυλίστριες καὶ πολιτικὲς ἤθελα νὰ γυρεύω *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 54
 τὲς κακότητες *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 43.17
 ὅλες τὲς τελετές, ἤγουν τζερεμόνιες *Pist. kekoim.* 91 (< Ital. *ceremonia*)
 πέρδικες ἔγεμεν ἡ σκουτέλα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1206
 εἰς τὲς λάρνακες *Vios Aisop.* K 185.23
 μάστιγες, πληγὰς *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 77 (ending added to residual nominative)
 με ταύτες τες χάριτες *Vios Filaret.* 240.18–19
 τὲς ἄγριτὲς τως λιῶσε *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Interm. Il* 23; τοῖ μάνητές μου *ibid.* III.60

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

Residual forms in -ας can occasionally be found in mixed-register texts:

τὰς ὕβριτας *Pol. Tr.* 1513a app. crit. (A)
 καὶ δωρεὰς καὶ χάριτας *Achil.* N 267
 ἀφῆνουσιν τὰς χάριτας [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 168; τὰς πολυτελεῖς λαμπρότητας *ibid.* 1424
 με δολιότητας καὶ με πολλὰς κακίας *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 7190; περιστερὰς καὶ ὀρνίθας *ibid.* 9287

Vocative

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-ες

The vocative is identical to the nominative: ὦ κακότητες *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 43.17–18; σωπαῖτε, σκληρὲς σάλπιγγες *Zinon* I.1.

2.11.4 Paroxytone Nouns in /ea/

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	ἄπιδέα ἄπιδεά/ἄπιδιά	-ά -έ	
Gen.	ἄπιδέας ἄπιδεᾶς/ἄπιδιᾶς	-ᾶς -ές	
Acc.	ἄπιδέα(ν)	-ά(ν)	
	ἄπιδεά(ν)/ ἄπιδιά(ν)	-έ	-έν
Voc.	ἄπιδέα ἄπιδεά/ἄπιδιά	-ά	

Plural			
Nom.	ἄπιδέες ἄπιδέες/ἄπιδιές ἄπιδές	ἄπιδέαι	-άδες
Gen.	ἄπιδεῶν/ἄπιδιῶν ἄπιδέων	ἄπιδιῶ	-άδων -άδω
Acc.	ἄπιδέες ἄπιδέες/ἄπιδιές ἄπιδές	ἄπιδέας	-άδες
Voc.	ἄπιδέες ἄπιδέες/ἄπιδιές ἄπιδές		

Singular

Nominative

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-έα/-αία

The inherited ending /'ea/ remains in use throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

ροϊδέα μία (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 54.68)
καὶ ἀπαλαρέα μουχρούτινος *Ptoch. IV* 215
ὀνομάζεται Βουλκαρέα (1321, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 108, 209.608)
ἐκείνη ἡ Ζαμπέα *Chron. Mor.* H 8484
ἡ κεφαλαρέα *Achil.* L 804
ὁ τόπος ὅλος ἀνοιξε· θάλασσα καὶ στερέα *Chron. Toc.* 3108 (< adj. στερεός)
μία γραῖα ἐπούλειεν αὐγὰ (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 86, 66.)
ποδέα κόκκινη (1442, Belgrade region, ALEXOULIS 1892: 2, 280.14)
ελάμπεν ἡ Ταρσέα *Diig. Apoll.* 441 (< Ταρσία)
ἦτον γραῖα *Fyll. gadar.* 169
ἡ βοσκαρέα ἡ καλοκαιρινή (1506, Patmos, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 367.190)
ἡ μία κερατέα (1529, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 92, 114.6); τὸ κελλὶν ὅπου στέκει ἡ καλογραῖα
(1573, *ibid.* 173, 173.13)
νὰ σῶναι γιαγερμένη ἡ μισὴ βουδέα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 261, 205.17)
ἦτον ὥσαν ἀνθισμένη ἀμυγδαλέα PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 108.3–4
ἡ μία μερέα (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 137, 109.9)
ὄντεν ἔν' καὶ καρπέα ἐλίω (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 77, 94.17); ὥσαν
κομεσαρέα (1601, *ibid.* 103, 118.8–9); ἡ ἄνωθεν ἀργοφυτέα (1609, *ibid.* 568, 505.21)
ἡ κακὴ σπορέα *P&N Diath.* 3686
καὶ ἡ σαῖττεα ἦτονε θανατίσιμη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.21
ποδέα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (1628–9, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 1, 42.9)
ἄχλαδέα μία (1749, Athens, MOMFERRATOS 1892: 1, 28.16)

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-εά ἰ -ιά

The paroxytone forms may undergo a shift of the stress to the ultimate and undergo synizesis, which becomes apparent through the spelling <ιά> for <εά>, although, judging from versified texts, in the case of γριά the form tends to remain disyllabic as the cluster /ɣrj/ is difficult to pronounce (see I, 3.3.2.2 for triconsonantal clusters):

καὶ ἡ μιὰ μεριά *Velis*. χ 211
 ἦτον ἐκεῖ καλογριά *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 397.34 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 ζευγιά μία (1513, Corfu, *KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1998: 45, 55.17)
 ἐσηκώθηκεν δὲ ἡ γριά *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 864
 κι ὡσά γριά τη νιότη τση *CHORTATISIS, Panor.* V.243
 ἄν εἶναι μηλεὰ θέλει ἀνθίσει *Paroim.* (Warner) 88.22
 ἡ καλουγριά (1686, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 8, 21.2)
 μήτε να γίνει καλογριά *Don Kis.* 140.2

Synizesis may be disguised by conservative stress notation. This is, however, only visible in verse texts; in prose texts and non-literary sources it may be suspected but cannot be proved: ἑκατσεῖ ὡς κουβουκλαρέα *Poulol.* 167 (1st hemistich). For a discussion of synizesis and accent placement see 1.5.

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ά

Regionally the ['ea] sequence may become ['a] when it is preceded by /r/ (see I, 2.4.7.4 for details). Examples have been found in texts from Crete, Cythera, the Peloponnese, Epirus and Paros (cf. gen. and acc. sg.):

ἡ ρηθεῖσα μου κουμεσαρά (1508, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 7, 13.20–1)
 ἡ ἀπάνω μερά (1518, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1994a: 12, 56.20)
 ὄλο κοπρά γεννᾷται *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 100 (< κοπρέα < κοπρία)
 ἡ ζυγαρά ἡ ἀσφαλτος *Thysia Avr.* 663
 ἡ ὕγρα μερά *LANDOS, Geopon.* 143.1
 ἡ κονταρά ἔτονε βαρά *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1401

The noun γριά has an alternative γρά, which is the result of deletion of /j/ from the cluster /ɣrj/ for ease of pronunciation (see I, 3.3.2.2 for triconsonantal clusters). These forms occur in a larger geographical area than the above-mentioned alternative forms in -ά (also in the northern mainland, including Constantinople; cf. the other cases):

καὶ βλέπει με ἡ κακογρά *Fyll. gadar.* 177
 ὡς καλογρά *Imb. Rim.* 651
 ἡ γρά τὸν ἐχαιρέτησεν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 786
 ἡ ἄνωθεν κερα–καλογρά (1601, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 116, 128.8)
 μα ὄα ῥμαι γρα κι ἀνήμπορη *CHORTATISIS, Panor.* I.259
 ἦτανε πλιά γρά *P&N Diath.* 2082
 ἦτο γρά κι ἀνήμπορη *Thysia Avr.* 44
 ἄν ἦθελα ἴσται γρά *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* V.24
 σὰ γρά καὶ φρόνιμη *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.121

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-έ

In texts from west Crete and Ikaria (cf. the genitive and accusative) the vowels in the ending /'ea/ may coalesce into ['e] (see I, 2.9.4.3 for more details and examples from other paradigms and parts of speech). Examples have not been found before the 16th c.:

δεν είσαι τόσα γρε CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.297
 ἄσπρη ρασέ (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 22, 42.13); ἀρχίζοντας ἡ πρώτη χρονὲ
 ἀπού τσι,αχε' (1604, *ibid.* 256, 251.6)

Genitive

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-έας/-αίας

This inherited paroxytone ending is used throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

τῆς ἀγριοαπιδέας (1085, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 43, 147.29–30)
 ἀπὸ μεσημβρέας (1123, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 93, 122.10) (< μεσημβρία)
 τῆς Παχέας Ἀπιδέας (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 43.200)
 τῆς κεκαυμένης καστανέας (1320–1, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 20, 170.7)
 εἰς τὸ ἀναρροφίσμα τῆς ἐγκαρισματέας *Diig. tetr.* 718
 ἄντρας τῆς Ζαμπέας *Chron. Mor.* H 7942
 ὁ πατριτίτης τῆς Γαλιλαίας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 94.17–18
 τῆς Γραίας τὸ Λιμιωνάριν (1506, Crete, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 364.48)
 τῆς θυγατέρας μου τῆς καλογραίας (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 172.8)
 μὲ ἕνα κλωνάρι τῆς ἐλαίας KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 191.20
 τῆς γραίας Κυδωνέας (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 171, 139.15)
 τῆς γενέας τους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 51.4 (< γενεά)
 τσ' ἀλλῆς μουνέας (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 734.28–9)
 τῆς γραίας ἀγελάδας LANDOS, *Geopon.* 193.10
 κλαρία τῆς ἱτέας Bertoldin. 145.27
 τῆς ασυγκρίτου καὶ εὐμορφῆς Δουλτσινέας *Don Kis.* 51.14–15

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-εᾶς/-αιᾶς ἢ -ιᾶς

Forms with a shift of the stress to the ultimate, which may undergo synizesis, are found from the very beginning of the LMedG period:

τῆς τελευτῆς τῆς γριᾶς (1096–1100, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 26, 121.15)
 τῆς ποδαριᾶς (1304, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 23, 175.51)
 τῆς ζερβῆς μεριᾶς (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 49, 40.6)
 τῆς στερεᾶς, τῆς θάλασσας Byz. *Il.* 555
 ὡσεὶ σκατιᾶς Spanos A 427
 ἀμoureύτηκεν μιᾶς καλογριᾶς Fior 147.9
 τῆς Στερεᾶς τὸ Ξερόμερο ὄλον (17th c., Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.2, 72.3–4)
 τῆς κλωσσαριᾶς μας Bertoldin. 153.4
 τοῦ μοναστηργοῦ Κανακαργιᾶς (1703, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 8, 113.11) (< adj. κανακάρης, see 3.4.1)

Conservative stress notation may conceal synizesis, which becomes clear from verse texts: ὃ τῆς φοινικέας τὴν ρίζαν *Arm.* 50 (VP verse end); καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς συκέας τὸ γάλα *Epain. gyn.* 721 (octosyllable). For synizesis and accent placement see 1.5.

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ᾶς

This ending is the genitive counterpart to the nominative ending -ᾶ (see above):

τῆς μιᾶς μερᾶς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 60, 58.19)

τοῇ μίας μερᾶς καὶ τοῇ ἄλλῃς (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 238, 236.8)

ἀγριαγγουρᾶς ρίζαν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 249.24

The form γρᾶς (< γρᾶῖα) is the result of deletion of /j/ from the cluster /ɣtj/ for ease of pronunciation (see I, 3.3.2.2 for triconsonantal clusters). These forms occur in a larger geographical area (not only in the above-mentioned areas, but also in the northern mainland, including Constantinople, cf. the other cases): εἰς τοῇ Γρᾶς τὸ Πήδημα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 920, 722.8); τῆς γρᾶς Μπέλας, τῆς γρᾶς Σταμάτας (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 171, 139.15).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ές

This ending is the genitive counterpart to the nominative ending -έ (see above): τοῇ γρῆς CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.291 (reading of ms D).

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-έα(ν)/-αῖαν

Paroxytone forms in /'ea/, with or without final /n/, are common throughout the period under review:

εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν χρονέα (1226, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 274, 376.18)

ἐτέρα φυτέα (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.23–4)

ὁ δέ γε κατηγοούμενος καλεῖ θερμαλατέαν *Ptoch.* IV 376

ἀπὸ τὴν στερέαν *Chron. Mor.* H 641 (< adj. στερεός); κ' ἐδῶκεν κονταρέαν *ibid.* 4020

τὴν Ἀποκρέα *Spaneas* Z 452

μοῦλαν ἐκαβαλλίκευσεν, μαύρην ὥσαν ἐλαίαν *Achil.* L 136 (Hesseling)

λακτέαν νὰ τὰς δώσω *Achil.* N 1005

μαγνέα α' (1508, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 3, 49.14); δίδει του μίαν ἀγελέα (1524, *ibid.* 31, 69.49)

(ἀφήνει τὴν ἀδελφὴ τῆς ...) κουμεσαρέα (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.14)

τὴν λαβωματέαν (1539, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 1158, 895.7)

τὴν Ἀπάνω Μερέαν (1547, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: I, 70.9); μὲ τὴ σουκέα (1618, *ibid.* V, 73.29)

(= συκέα; see I, 2.4.6.2)

εἰς τὴν Ἀγρέα (1562, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969i: 1, 135.3) (< Ἀγρία)

εἰς τὴν καντζελαρέα (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 26, 165.13) (< καντζιλαρία)

ἔχει σπηλαία (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 12, 11.7) (< σπήλαιον);

τὴ χρονέα τὴ πρώτη (1587, *ibid.* 167, 135.19); μίαν ἀγριολαία (1588, *ibid.* 276, 233.19) (=

ἀγριοελαία)

μιὰ ρίζαν ἐλαία (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 9, 31.5–6); τὴ ρασέα ὅπου φορεῖ

(1600, *ibid.* 92, 108.21)

ἀπουκάτου εἰς τὴν ἀπιδέα *Nov. II* 162.34–5
 εἰς τὴν ξερβὴ μερέα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 49.28; ἔσυρε μία λουμπαρδέα *ibid.* 82.21
 ἔκοφεν μίαν μεγάλην καρέα *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §15.22
 εἰς μίαν συκομορέαν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 19.4
 τὴν μονοκονδυλέα του (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 307.6)
 εἰς τὴ μοσκέα κάνουσι μνημα *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 347.5 (< Ven. *moschèa*)

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-εά(ν)/-αιά(ν) † -ιά(ν)

Oxytone forms, with or without (metrical) synizesis (see I, 2.9.4), are very common as well and occur throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. When the ending is spelled <ιά(ν)> or when a <γ> is added before <ι> (see the example from Machairas) or even replaces <ι> (see the 1704 example from Cyprus), synizesis is evident:

εἰς τὴν κάτω μεριάν (ca. 1050, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972b: 178.231)
 ἵνα θρέψουν τὴν γριάν (1096–1100, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 26, 121.15)
 εἰς τὴν μεριάν τῆς Πάμφου (1333, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 29, f.35.1)
 με τὴν γραιάν τὴν ἀλωποῦτζαν *Vulgärorakel* I.6
 ὄξω εἰς τὴν στεριάν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 92.24)
 καὶ ἑλστικιάν τὸν ἔδωκεν *Achil.* O 695
 ἀπὸ τὴν μεργιάν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 91.42 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 καὶ κονομά τη καλογριά *Apoll. Rim.* A 1043
 στὴ συκιά ἀποκάτω (1613, Crete, Bakker/Van Gemert 1987: 841, 734.36)
 στὴν Κορφοξουλιά (17th c., Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 44, 315.1–2)
 ἀπὸ ὄγοιαν μερεὰν θέλει ὁ γα<μ>πρὸς (1606, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 4, 4.13)
 εἰς τὴν Παχιά Κερατιά (1611, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 126, 122.3)
 ἔδωσά του ... μία μουργιά (1631, Kea, VISVIZIS 1949: 7, 65.4)
 σεβαίνει τὸ πουλὶ εἰς τὴν βατζινιά *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §15.16
 στὴν ἀπάνω Μερεά (1645, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 22, 17.46)
 τὸ ξύλο με μιά τσικουριά δὲν κόφτεται *Paroim.* (Warner) 93.18
 ἀρκομπουζιάν ἐσύρα *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 192.1
 μίαν ἐλιά ὅπερ εἶχε εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν του (1699, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 282, 187.4)
 ἀπὸ τὴν ἔξω μεργάν (1704, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 9, 121.4–5)
 με καμίαν λαβωματιάν *Don Kis.* 50.17

In verse texts it becomes apparent that synizesis may be masked by conservative stress notation: καὶ εἶδεν τὴν γραῖαν ἀπὸ μακρέα *Log. parig.* L 238; τὴν ὠνομάζασιν ἡ Ζαμπέα *Chron. Mor.* H 6422 (read: Ἰζαμπέα < *Isabelle/Isabeau*); ἡμέραν νύκταν τὴν ρειχέαν ἀνάσπας καὶ ἑκαυτές τὴν *Poulol.* 432; ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐκ τὴν στερέα στὴν Ἀρκαδία ἐσῶσεν *Chron. Mor.* P 1679. For synizesis, stress shift and accent placement see 1.5.

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ά(ν)

Regionally the vowel sequence ['ea] may become ['a] when preceded by /t/ (cf. nom. sg.) or a sibilant or affricate (for the two different phonetic processes underlying these developments, and for their regional distribution, see I, 2.4.7.4 and 2.4.7.3):

ἀπὸ ἐκείνην τὴν μερὰν *Chron. Toc.* 981 (< μερέα)
 νοικοκερὰν καὶ κουμεσαρὰν (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 172.5)
 τὴν πέρα μερὰ (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 181, 171.6)
 ἀπὸ τὴν ζερβὴν τοῦ μερὰν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1631) 231.6
 μία κλοτσά τσὴ δίδει *Apoll. Rim.* N 1535
 στὴ κάτω μερὰ τοῦ γκάμπου (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 676.27)
 τὴν Πέρα Μερά (1632, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 16, 177.4)
 ἀφήνω ὀγιά κομεσαρά (1646, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994b: 2, 168.19–20)
 μὲ μιά γλοτσά *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.154
 πρὸς τὴ μερὰ τσὴ Σίφνος *Leilasia Par.* 191

In the noun γριά /j/ is deleted for ease of pronunciation (the cluster [γρj] being rather difficult to pronounce; see I, 3.3.2.2 for triconsonantal clusters) in a larger geographical area (cf. the other cases):

τὴν γρὰν ἐπιβουλεύουμουν *Fyll. gadar.* 166
 τὴν γρὰν [ANDR. PALAIOI.], *Kallim.* 1162
 τὴ γρὰ Μαρία (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 182.88)
 νὰ πὰ γυρεύγης ... μὲ γρὰ *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.323

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-έ(ν)

Forms in -έ, the result of coalescence of [ʼe] and [a] (see I, 2.9.4.3 for details), have been found in texts from West Crete and Ikaria from the 16th c. onwards:¹⁰³

εἰς τὴν Πρινέ (1573, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 2, 18.27); τὴν μικρὴ καρὲ (1612, *ibid.* 8, 23.19); μίαν ἔλῃ (1652, *ibid.* 19, 29.4); εἰς τὴν Ὁξὲ (1681, *ibid.* 70, 58.21) (< adj. ὀξύς, see 3.3.1); εἰς τὴν Συκαμνὲ (1694, *ibid.* 87, 69.24) (< συκαμινέα); χωράφι διὰ βοῦν καὶ ἀγέλε (1698, *ibid.* 100, 78.13)
 εἰς σου δίδω μια ραβδέ *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.85; τὴν κοπρέ *ibid.* III.310; στὴν αποκαλαμέ σου *ibid.* III.329
 ἄσπρη ρασὲ (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 22, 42.13); τὴν ἀπάνω μερέ (1604, *ibid.* 213, 218.4–5); μία τραχηλὲ μὲ σταυρό (*ibid.* 274, 265.6–7); τὴ βουϊδέ (1605, *ibid.* 336, 317.4); στὴ Λαχανέ (1610, *ibid.* 673, 585.9–10); ὅπου νὰ ἔχουν τὴ καρπέ (1613, *ibid.* 848, 740.8–9)
 εἰς τὴν Μονοβολὲ (1640, Ikaria, STAMATIADIS 1893: 3, 155.7)

Addition of final /n/ appears to be rather rare: τὴν Καλαμὲν (1640, Ikaria, STAMATIADIS 1893: 3, 155.14); εἰς τὴν καρέν (1681, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 70, 58.22).

Vocative

Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-έα/-αία ἰ -ιά ἰ -ά

¹⁰³ The *hapax* πορπατέ (< περπατιά < *περ(ι)πατέα?), transmitted in ms D of Chortatsis' *Panoria* at III.298, is dubious. The other manuscripts offer plural forms: τοῖ πορπατέ σου (N) (= πορπατέες with omission of <ς> before <σ>) (< πορπατιά, see 2.11.4)) and τοῖ περβάτισέ σου (A) (= περβάτισες).

The vocative is identical to the nominative and is likely to have shown the same regional variation. Due to its restricted use in written texts, only a modest number of examples has been found:

στραβοκεραία καὶ βυζοῦ *Diig. tetr.* 468

μωρὴ ... κατουροποδέα *Spanos A* 243

χαίρου, γραῖα *Spanos B* 71

μωρὴ ... κατουροποδιά *Spanos B* 64

καὶ πότε, γρά μου, τοῦτο; [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1197

Plural

Nominative

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-έες/-αίες

Paroxytone forms are much rarer in the plural than they are in the singular (see above):

ἀπαλαρές ξύλινες δ' (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 79.10); θημωνέες τρεῖς (*ibid.* 80.19)

καὶ γραῖες καὶ μεσόγρες *Diig. tetr.* 927 app. crit. (P)

εἶναι γραῖες SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 440.409

ἡ συκία, κερασσία καὶ μερικές ἐλαῖες LANDOS, *Geopon.* 147.8; οἱ γραῖες ὄρνιθες εἶναι

κακοχώνευτες *ibid.* 195.5–6

ὑπανδρες, νέες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 181.7 (< adj. νέος)

οἱ περικεφαλαῖες τους *Alex. Fyll.* 40.30

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-εές/-αίες ἢ -ιές

A shift of the stress to the last syllable, often in conjunction with synizesis (see I, 2.9.4), results in oxytone forms, which can be found in a variety of texts:

καὶ καλογριές εὐγενικές (... ἡρπάγησαν ἀνηλεῶς) *Anak. Konst.* 74

ὄντεν γενοῦσιν οἱ μηλιές *Rim. kor.* V 593

ἐλιές καὶ κερατζιές MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 624.4 (< κερατέα; see I, 3.2.6)

οἱ νιές ὅπου ἐχῆρεψαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 143 (< adj. νέος)

το γύρο ᾿σαν χαντάκια, | μερτιές καὶ δάφνες DEFAR., *Sos.* 45–6 (Holton) (< μυρτέα)

ἔναι δένδρη πολλά, κουκουναρέες *Portul. compl.* 33.12

τις ἐλιές τοῦ κιουροῦ τῆς (1573, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 2, 18.15)

οὐδὲν ἐλεῖπα κτύποι, καὶ σφεντυλιές *P&N Diath.* 3109–10; κὶ ἐστράφτα οἱ ποδιές τῇ *ibid.*

4329

ποδιές ἔξι (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 339, 256.12)

ἄρφηνητες ἀρκουμπουζιές ... νὰ γροικιοῦνται CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.28

οἱ ζιζυφιές πρὶν τοῦ χειμῶνος φυτεύονται LANDOS, *Geopon.* 157.7–8

τῆς προβατίνας οἱ κλωτσιές τοῦ λύκου νεῦρα γίνονται *Paroim.* (Warner) 105.12

οἱ σαῖτιές ἐπάψανε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 555.9; οἱ τουφεκιές οἱ πλῆσες *ibid.* 555.10; οἱ

λουμπαρδιές *ibid.* 569.16

οἱ λογισμοὶ εἶναι σαῖτιές KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.269; νιές καὶ στεμένες τοῦ καιροῦ *ibid.* III.1597 (< adj. νέος)

τα επρόσφεραν κάποιες καλογριές *Don Kis*. 451.19–20
 συτζές τέσσερις (1749, Athens, MOMFERRATOS 1892: 1, 28.16) (= συκιές; see I, 3.8.2.2)

Sometimes the accent is placed on <ι>, even though the form should clearly be read with synizesis, e.g. οί νίες όπου ἐχήρεψαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 143 (< adj. νέος). This is a spelling practice in many manuscripts and early prints; see 1.5 for discussion.

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ές

Simplification of the two identical adjacent vowels (see I, 2.9.2.1) leads to oxytone forms in -ές, which occur in a large geographical area (cf. the accusative):

ἐὰν ἔλειπαν οἱ σαγιττές *Chron. Mor.* H 4920
 καθαλλαρές, ἀρχόντισσες *Pol. Tr.* 11466 app. crit. (ACV); λαντσόνια πίπτουν, σαγιττές *ibid.* 8497
 οἱ καλογρές μαζώνουνται *Imb. Rim.* 980
 καὶ γὰρ κοπρές εἰς τὰ γένια του *Spanos D* 365
 ἦσανε περαταρές (app. crit.) (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 37.II, 300.13.3)
 ὅλες αἱ καλογρές (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 26, 48.19)
 μερτές ἦσαν μὲ τ' ἄνθος *Theseid* VII.57,8 (1529) (< μυρτέα)
 οἱ ὀποῖες ἔλες (1536, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 5 [E'], 238.5)
 οἱ γελες ὀπου ἔχω (1543, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 239, 227.70–1) (< ἀγγελέα)
 αὐτές αἱ λεγόμενες δυὸ χρονές (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 37, 36.5)
 ἐπετάξανε πλέο παρὰ 150 λουμπαρδές *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 82.25
 οἱ ζυλοκερατές (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 382, 354.6–7); οἱ τρεῖς καρπές (1613, *ibid.* 848, 740.9)
 ὅλες οἱ ροδακινές LANDOS, *Geopon.* 151.28–9; οἱ συκές πάλιν *ibid.* 157.3
 σὲ μάχη ὀπ' ἀρκομπουζές ... ἐβρέχα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 157.1; νέες, καλογρές, ὅλες ἐπῆγαν ἴσα *ibid.* 181.7
 εἰς τὰς Ἀπιδές (1681, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 70, 58.13)

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-άδες

This imparisyllabic ending, borrowed from paradigm 2.11.1.2, occurs lexically with the noun γριά/γρά (< γραία) and its compounds, which belong to the semantic field of status/family relations of females (cf. γραία, 2.11.4; ἀνηψιά and θεία, 2.11.5; μάννα and χήρα, 2.11.2; ἀδελφή, 2.12.1):

ἔζησαν ὡσὰν καλογριάδες RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 60.2
 κοπέλλες κατατάξετε, γριάδες ἔχουν τὸν καιρό *Paroim.* (Warner) 73.12
 οἱ καλογράδες *Apoll. Rim.* N 1053
 οἱ καλογράδες (1543, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 239, 227.71)
 μικροὶ καὶ γράδες *P&N Diath.* 4671
 κι οἱ γράδες εἰς τὰ νιότα τὼς πάλι ξαναγυρίζου CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.276
 ὅλες αἱ κερα-καλογράδες (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.3) (for κερα- see 2.18)
 οἱ καλογράδες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 214.24

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-έαι/αίαι

The residual 1st-declension ending occurs occasionally in mixed- to higher-register texts: ἐλαῖαι δύο (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 54.68); ποδέαι β' μεταξωταί (1375, Ioannina?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 147, 107.15); αἱ ἐλαῖαι ἦτον χοντρὲς ὥσάν κίτρα *Alex. Fyll.* 97.32.

*Genitive**Fem.*

Pl.	Gen.	-εῶν/-αῖων ἢ -ιῶν

Given the modest number of examples found, the genitive plural appears not to have been in abundant use in the period under review. The following inherited forms with a historical shift of the stress to the ultimate may or may not have been pronounced with synizesis (see I, 2.9.4):

τῶν ἐλαίων (1073, Constantinople?, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 50, 10.138)
 ἐν τῇ περιοχῇ τῶν Ἀπιδεῶν (1317, Athos, ŽIVOJINOVIĆ et al. 1998: 35, 241.79–80)
 τῆς σεβασμίας Λαύρας τῶν Καρεῶν (1369, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 27, 106.16); κατέναντι τῶν
 καστανεῶν (ibid. 106.22)
 τὸ δικαίωμαν τῶν ἐλαίων *Assizes* B 492.7
 τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαίων KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 21.1 (as in the NT)

Synizesis becomes evident when the forms are spelled with <ι> for <ε> or <αι>:

τῶν ἐλιῶν (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 58.15)
 τῶν συκιῶν (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 566, 792.14)

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-έων/-αίων

Forms without a shift of the stress to the ultimate also occur. They could be viewed as a form of hypercorrection of synizesis:

τῶν δύο ἀγριαπιδέων (1019, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 18, 19.14–15)
 τῶν καλογραίων (1140, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IV: 2, 117.3)
 συκέων ... ἀμυγδαλέων (1190, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 16, 48.24–5)
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐλαίων (1213, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 263, 359.13)
 τῶν συκομορέων (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 37.117)
 τῶν τεσσάρων μεταξωτῶν ποδέων (1313, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 8, 52.27)
 τῶν Ἀχλαπιδέων (1506, Patmos, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 363.31)
 τῶν καλογραίων (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 86, 161.63)
 τῶν τριῶν μουζουρέων (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 366, 342.6)

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-άδω(ν)

The imparisyllabic ending of paradigm 2.11.1.2 is employed with the noun γριά/γρά (< γράϊα) and its compounds, which belong to the semantic field of status/family relations of females (cf. ἀνηψιά and θεία, 2.11.5; μάννα and χήρα, 2.11.2; ἀδελφή, 2.12.1):

τῶν καλογριάδων ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 236.M.52

τῶν καλογριάδων (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 60.88)

ἀφίημι τῶν καλογράδων (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 86, 160.44)

τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης τῶν Καλογράδων (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 30, 30.1)

μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν πρώτων γερόντων καλογράδων (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 7, 176.2–3)

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in a document from Crete: τῶν καλογράδω (1661, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 10, 106.128).

Accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-έες/-αῖες

The paroxytone accusative ending is less common than its oxytone alternatives (see below):

καὶ ἐλαῖες καὶ ἀππιτιδίες (1213, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 263, 360.15)

τὲς καλογραῖες (1140, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IV: 2, 118.2)

τὲς μηλέες (1172, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 179, 235.5)

ἔχω καὶ ἐλαῖες (1222–3, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 48, 248.19)

παλαιῖες ἐντριτέες ἀποὺ ἐχρεώστειν ὁ ἄνδρας μου (1525, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 103, 193.19) (< ἐντριτεῖα)

εἶναι ὥσάν τὲς ἐλαῖες πράσινα καὶ ἄσπρα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 220.35

τῖς ἐλαῖες (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 257, 355.11–12)

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-εές/-αῖές -ιές

Forms with a shift of the stress to the ultimate are common and can be found in a large geographical area. They are usually spelled <ιές> or even <γ(ι)ές> to indicate that synizesis has taken place (see I, 2.9.4):

νὰ τὴν ἔκρουγα βουκιές *Ptoch.* III 187 app. crit. (P)

(νὰ φύτεψα ...) τὸν δρόμον σου τριανταφυλλιές *Katal.* 5

στὶς μεριές ἐκείνες (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.10)

κροῦσιν τὰς σπαθιές PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 361

ἔμεινεν ὡς τὲς ἀποκριές MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 542.27

εἰς τὲς κουμαριές (1518, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 389.7)

εἰς τὲς δυὸ ἐξαμηνιές (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 244, 242.19)

τὶς ἐλιές τοῦ κιουροῦ τῆς (1573, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 2, 18.15)

γροθιές τὸν ἐγεμίσα *P&N Diath.* 3393; καὶ φτύσματα καὶ σφεντυλιές *ibid.* 3577

τὲς ἀμυγδαλιές (1602, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 2, 80.8)

(ἀφίνω ...) δύο ρίζες ἐλιές (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 11, 35.12–13)

καλὲς ραβδιές χαρίζουν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 380.25

κόψε μαραθιές LANDOS, *Geopon.* 252.17–18

τὲς δὲ συκιές (1656, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 6, 164.28)
 τὶς μουριές τὶς ἔδωσα (1666, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 15, 128.14)
 καὶ ἑτερες δύο μεργές (1675, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 11, 27.9)
 στὶς Κιτριές MATESIS, *Chron.* 70.33
 ἔρριξε τρεῖς κανονιές *Reb. Evr.* 103.24
 τον ἔδωσαν τόσες κλοτσιές *Don Kis.* 50.33–4
 ἐκτυποῦσαν κονταριές *Alex. Fyll.* 14.3

Conservative stress notation may conceal synizesis, but this is visible only in verse texts: καὶ κονταρέες ἄς δώσουσιν *Liv.* V 2054; ραβδέες καλές ἐπῆραν *Achil.* O 565. A spelling with an accented <ι> may point to height dissimilation (see I, 2.9.4.3) or may, in fact, denote synizesis (see 1.5), as in the following example: καὶ τὲς μερτίες τὲς δροσερές SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 45 (< μυρτέα).

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ές

Oxytone forms in -ές, the result of simplification of the two adjacent identical vowels (see I, 2.9.2.1), are very common, occurring from north to south and west to east throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

τὲς ἔλές ὅπου ἔχω (1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.9)
 ἀπὸ τὲς ἀμυγδαλές (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 42.186)
 νὰ κροῦν τὲς σφονδυλές *Arm.* 60
 νὰ τὴν ἔκρουα κοπανές *Ptoch.* III 187 app. crit. (K)
 πολλὰς σπαθές τὸν ἔδωκεν *Pol. Tr.* 672; ἀπὸ τὲς δύο τὲς μερές *ibid.* 5156
 ρίκει πετρές ἀπόκει SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 104 transcr. (N) (Lendari)
 εἰς τὰς ἀλογοπατουματές των *Spanos A* 200 (< ἀλογοπατηματέα)
 τρεῖς μαχαίρες σοῦ δώσου *Rim. kor.* A 168
 ἐκ τὲς ξυλές ὅπου ἔπαιρνε *Fyll. gadar.* 4j
 ἀπὸ τὲς ἔλές ὅπου ἔχω μὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (1524, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 153, 189.15)
 ἀπὲ τὲς κοπανές *Theseid* V.103,5 ms (P); τὲς λαβωματές τους *ibid.* V.103,6
 εἰς τὲς ὁποῖες χρονές πέντε (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 139, 139.13); εἰς τὲς δυὸ
 ἑξαμηνές (*ibid.* 259, 257.22–3); ἔναι φορτωμένο ἀγγουρές (*ibid.* 266, 263.6)
 νὰ τῆς ἐδίδουσι ... ἔλές (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 145, 115.16–17)
 νὰ φτέψει ... σκές (1593, Andros?, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 151, 275.11) (< συκέα)
 μὲ γλοτσές καὶ μὲ γροθές *P&N Diath.* 3524; ὅς ἐκεῖνες τὲς μερές *ibid.* 4754
 νὰ ἰδῆς καὶ τὲς μικρές μὴλές *Ekatol.* (Meteoron) 14
 τσι Νερατζές (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 26, 46.19); φέρνοντας τσι προβές
 (1602, *ibid.* 159, 171.8–9); τσι χρονές ὅπου σκάφτει (1605, *ibid.* 321, 305.13)
 πούλουμ τὶς ἔλές στὴ Γιάννιτζα (1600, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: II, 70.4–5)
 τὲς ἀπιδές (1655, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 4, 148.6)
 ἄρκομπουζές νὰ ρίχτου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 329.1; καλογρές καὶ ἄρχους *ibid.* 234.14
 παραπετρές μοῦ ρίχνει KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.882; σὲ γρές ξόμπλια πολλὰ θωροῦμε *ibid.* III.1612

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-έας

This obsolete accusative ending is used occasionally in mixed- and higher-register texts and in more formal contexts:

καρέας τρεῖς (1330, Athos, LEFORT et al. 2006: 70, 65.34)
 μερικός τινας λιθοσωρέας (1407, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 17, 124.35)
 ἐλαίας καὶ ἕτερα δένδρη (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 14, 50.31)
 οὐκ ἔμαθες πῶς κρούγουν κονδαρέας; *Achil.* O 673
 κερατέας ὄσας ἔχω (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 92, 173.14)
 σουπέας, καλαμάρια, στακούς *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1104 (< σουπία < σηπία)

In verse texts even residual forms may need to be read with metrical synizesis (see I, 2.9.4.2): ραβδεάς, σπαθεάς ἐχάρισα *Achil.* L 1059 (ms: ραβδέας, σπαθέας); νὰ ἐπάρης τὰς ποδέας σου *Poulol.* 37.

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδες

Only the noun γριά/γρά (< γραία) and its compounds borrow the imparisyllabic ending of paradigm 2.11.1.2, because they belong to the semantic field of status/family relations of females (cf. ἀνηψιά and θεία, 2.11.5; μάννα and χήρα, 2.11.2; ἀδελφή, 2.12.1): τὲς καλογράδες πιάσσασι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 234.28.

Vocative

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	(-έες/-αίες ἰ -έες/-αίες ἰ -ιές ἰ -ές ἰ -άδες)

The vocative is identical to the nominative and is likely to have presented the same variation in endings and stress. So far no examples have been found.

2.11.5 Paroxytone/Oxytone Nouns in /ia/

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	καρδία καρδιά	-ά	
Gen.	καρδίας καρδιᾶς	-ᾶς	
Acc.	καρδία(ν) καρδιά(ν)	-ά(ν)	
Voc.	καρδία καρδιά	-ά	

Plural			
Nom.	καρδίες καρδιές	καρδίαι -ές	-(ε)ιάδες
Gen.	καρδιῶν	-ῶν καρδίων	
Acc.	καρδίες καρδιές	καρδίας -ές	-(ε)ιάδες
Voc.	καρδίες καρδιές	-ές	

Singular

Nominative

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-(ε)ία

The inherited paroxytone ending -(ε)ία remains in use in texts from all areas throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

- ή παππαδία αὐτοῦ χήρα ή Κουρτιστάβα (1268, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 50, 27.14)
- προστάσει ή βασιλεία μου (1329, Constantinople?/Athos?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 118, 7.240)
- ή φτωχολογία *Chron. Mor.* H 4087
- καί ή βία τῶν παιδίων μου *Ptochol.* α
- ἀπέλυκεν ή λειτουργία (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 33.530)
- έ δουλεία (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.3) (for the article έ see 5.2.1 and I, 2.5.2)
- ἐνι χρεία νά φροντίζει ή αἰδεσιμότη σου (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.19)
- ἐχάλασεν ή Ἁγία Σοφία (1491–1508, Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.II, 212.17.3)
- επήγεν η κυρά η ρήγαινα ... καβαλλαρία VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 316.11–12 (< καβαλλαρέα)
- ἀπό ὅσην λειψοπροικία τοῦ χρεωστοῦν (1516, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 41, 73.8)
- ή Τζία (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 104.18) (< Κέα)
- ή μία μερία καί ή ἄλλη (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 143, 192.9) (< μερέα); οὐδὲ ὁ μύλος οὐδὲ ή νεροτριβία (1555, *ibid.* 177, 228.16)
- ή παπαδία (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 37, 117.9)
- ἀπό κάτω λογίς ξυλοκαρπία (1575, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 1, 3.16–17)
- ή πουλησία νά εἶναι ἱμόπιλη (1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 152, 276.28)
- κι ἂν εἶμαι τόσα ἀνήμπορη καί γρία, σά θεωρεῖτε *Zinon Prol.* 149 (< γραία)
- ή Καβουρία *Bertoldos* 45.20
- ὅλη ή Μακεδονία PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §24.12; ή ἐπτῶχεια μεγάλη ταλαιπωρία εἶναι *ibid.* IV §11.8
- ή καρδία του (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 58.8)

Addition of final /n/ is found occasionally in texts from Naxos: ή πουλησιάν της Κοπριάς (1587, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 147, 271.3); ή ἀρχόντισσα Μαρίαν (1594, *ibid.* 153, 278.4).

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-(ε)ιά

Forms in -(ε)ιά may become oxytone and be affected by synizesis (for more information see I, 2.9.4). The few nouns that were originally oxytone such as λαλιά and μητρυιά also belong here. Examples have been found throughout the period under review in both literary and non-literary texts. Verse texts aside, they are much more common in texts from southern regions and the Aegean than from the northern mainland:

ή παπαδιά παρέπεσεν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 270
 πυροστιά, σχάρα (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.14)
 λιγοθυμιά τὸν ἐπιάσεν *Achil.* L 472; τὸ σχῆμαν καὶ ἡ πορπατησιά *ibid.* 560
 διαβαίνει ἡ μανιά του SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 93
 ἡ φορεσιά του κόκκινη *Achil.* O 84
 ἡ παρηγοριά *Krasop.* AO 48
 ὅπου ἔτον χρειά *FALIEROS, Thrinios* 292
 ἡ ἐλικιά σας *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 40
 γειά σου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 48.2 (ed. γιά)
 ἐκεῖ ἐδείχθη(ν) ὑπεριψιά *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 294 (< ὑπεροψία); ἡ συννεφιὰ ἑπονᾶτον *ibid.* 347
 ἐκείνη ἡ σταλαματιά (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.34–5)
 ἡ ὀκνιά *Fior* 73.24; ἡ ζουλουζιά *ibid.* 121.15–16 (< Occit. *jalousia*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.);
 εἶναι μιὰ δοκιμαχιά *ibid.* 126.35 (= δοκιμασιά, see I, 2.9.4.1)
 ἡ ἀδελφή του καὶ μητριά του *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 206.32 (= μητρυιά)
 ἡ πτωχειά τῆς θεογονώσας *Pist. kekoim.* 14
 ὅτι ἐδῶ εἶναι Τουρκιά (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 49.7)
 μὰ τό ἔθελεν ἡ πεθυμιά *CHORTATIS, Erof. Dedic.* 31
 φιλιὰ ... μακαριὰ ..., che altri pronuntiano φιλία, μακαρία *GERMANO, Grammar* 56.20–1
 τοῦ Τσιτσερόνε ἡ λαλιά *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Dedic.* 5
 ἡ πραγματειά *KONDAR., Paidēs* 959
 ἡ κυρία θειά μου (1680, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 8, 301, f.1r.3)
 ἡ ἀνασπριά μου (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 182.21) (< ἄ – + ἄσπρα); ἡ
 δουλειά τούτη (*ibid.* 182.30–1)

Synizesis may be concealed by conservative spelling, but from verse texts it becomes clear that forms spelled with -(ε)ιά may in fact represent oxytone forms (for metrical synizesis see I, 2.9.4.2; for synizesis and accent placement see also I.5):

καὶ ἡ θεία μου μὲ τὰ ὀμμάτια τῆς δι' ἐσένα νὰ ἔχη κλαύσει *Pol. Tr.* 8173
 νὰ μὴ μαυρίζη, λυγερή, στὸν ἥλιον ἡ ἐλικιά σου *Katal.* 8
 σὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρες νὰ γενεῖ τούτη ἡ θυσία τυχαίνει *Thysia Avr.* 23
 πρέπεται ἡ σοφία κι' ἡ τέχνη μου *MONTSEL., Evgena* 8

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ά

Regionally in the oxytone forms /j/ may be deleted when preceded by a sibilant or affricate (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details). Examples have been found in texts from Crete and in the

Heptanesian rhymed version of the *Alexander Romance* and are likely to occur in texts from certain Cycladic islands (cf. the other cases below):

τὸ κάτω, λέγω, τοῦ φιδιοῦ ἔναι ἡ ἐξουσία σου *Alex. Rim.* 2677
 ἡ φορεσά μου *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. theas* 9; τοῦτ' ἡ κορασά *ibid.* I.377; ἡ μοναξά *ibid.* II.237
 ἡ φορεσά σου *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.262
 ὦφου, ἀλλαξά ποῦ θὰ γενεῖ *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 555.5
 τὸ ψόμα μηδ' ἡ καυχησά *KORNAOS, Erot.* II.890

Genitive

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-(ε)ίας

The inherited ending -(ε)ίας is very common throughout the period under review:

τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας μου (1216, Macedonia/region of Serres?, *BOMPAIRE et al.* 2001: 12, 123.18)
 τῆς Λευκουσίας (ca. 1300, Cyprus, *SIMON* 1973: 19.108) (= Λευκωσίας, see I, 2.8.3)
 χωράφιον (...) τὸ ὅπερ ἔχω ἐξ ἀγορασίας (14th c., Athos, *BOMPAIRE et al.* 2001: 43.XIX, 253.105)
 πάσης τιμῆς, ἀξίας *Chron. Mor.* H 336
 τῆς Φράγκας κυρᾶς Σοφίας (1448, Constantinople?, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 9.I–IV, 98.48.2)
 ἔσω κατὰ καρδίας *Velth.* 409 (Cupane); χωρὶς ἀμφιβολίας *ibid.* 693
 τῆς λουτουργίας *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 514.2 (= λειτουργίας)
 τῆς ἐμπαρουνίας αὐτοῦ (1501, Corfu, *KARYDIS* 2001: 66, 101.36) (for prothetic /e/ see I, 2.6.1)
 ὡς πρέπει τῆς ἵουσίας *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VI.24 (for the article τῆς see 5.2.1)
 τῆς ἀνωθεν μοιρασίας (1518, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1994a: 12, 56.23–4)
 τῆς πλαγίας (1550, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2001: 35, 76.28)
 τῆς ἀνωθι δεκαρχίας (1574, Corfu, *ASONITIS* 1999/2000: 2, 167.18)
 ἔδωσά τα τῆς ἀνεψίας μου (1583, S. Italy, *CHASIOTIS* 1966: 6, 194.6) (hypercorrect for ἀνεψιᾶς)
 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (1619, Crete, *KAZANAKI* 1974: 2, 260.6) (for the article τῇ see 5.2.1)
 τῇ Στείας (1622, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1986: 3, 49.63) (= Σητείας)
 τῆς φωτίας *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 37.19
 τὸ ἀμάρτημα τῆς μαλακίας (17th c., Sifnos?, *TSELIKAS* 1986c: 4, 41.21–2)

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-(ε)ιᾶς

The forms may become oxytone and undergo synizesis (for details see I, 2.9.4). Examples have been found in a variety of literary and non-literary texts from a large geographical area. Verse texts aside, they have a strong presence in texts from southern areas (Crete, Cyprus), but appear to be less common in texts from the northern mainland:

ὁ κόσμος τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας *Anak. Konst.* 109
 τῆς βασιλείας του ὅλης *Diig. Apoll.* 347
 τῆς φορησιᾶς *Assizes A* 134.16
 ὦ μαρτυριὰ τῆς ἀληθείας *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 237 (< ἀλήθεια)
 οὐλῆς τῆς ἀνοριᾶς του *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 380.8 (< ἐνορία)
 τῆς πτωχειᾶς *Fior* 87.16; τῆς διπροσωπιᾶς *ibid.* 125.20
 ἀπὸ βιᾶς *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 31; τῆς σωτηριᾶς μου *ibid.* 59; τῆς ἀλαζονειᾶς *ibid.* 302

τῆς φορεσιᾶς *Alex. Rim.* 1124; τῆς σοφιᾶς *ibid.* 1910; τῆς βαβυλωνιᾶς *ibid.* 2708
 τῆς ἀρχοντιᾶς *Apoll. Rim. A* 748; τῆς γιαιτρείας *ibid.* 1008
 τῆς Μονοβασιᾶς (1548, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1992: 15.9)
 τῆς ἀφεντιᾶς σου (ca. 1560, Venice, MARKOS 1977: Πα, 28.14)
 τὰ φύλλα τῆς καρδιᾶς μου CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.2; τὸ ἐμιλιάς μου *id.*, *Panor.* I.61; χαλασμός τῆς
 γειας μου *ibid.* II.530 (< ὑγεία)
 τῆς δυστυχιᾶς *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 42
 τὲς ἄξες διάξες τῆς Μαριᾶς *P&N Diath.* 1677
 τῶν ἀφεντάδων τῆς Βλαχιᾶς MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Valach.* 79
 δεξιὰ τῆς γειτοنيᾶς μου *Thrinios Konst.* (Zoras) 74
 εἰς τὸ ναὸ τῆς κυριᾶς τῆς Θεοτοκοῦ (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 113.12)
 τῆς Β'νιτιᾶς (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.29) (< Βενετία; see I, 2.5.4)
 ὅς τῆς Λευκωχιᾶς ἀγάδες KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 97 (< Λευκωσία, see I, 3.8.2.3)
 ἀσλάνια τῆς Τουρκιᾶς (1697, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 30, 23.45)

Even when synzesis is apparent for metrical reasons, the accent may still be written on <ι>.
 For this spelling practice see 1.5:

αὐτὸς ὁ ρῆγας τῆς Φραγκίας *Chron. Mor.* H 1804; τὸν κόντον τῆς Κεφαλλονίας *ibid.* 2894
 τῆς ξενιτειᾶς τὴν στράτα *Velth.* 67 (Cupane); ἀποτολμίας ζωνάριν *ibid.* 928
 κορμὶν τῆς βασιλείας σου LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 773
 μιᾶς ἡλικίας καὶ χρόας *Defl. Par.* 12

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ᾶς

In the oxytone forms /j/ is sometimes deleted when it follows a sibilant, affricate or /r/ (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details, and cf. THUMB 1912: 12 for the phenomenon in modern times). Examples have been found in texts from Crete, Santorini, the Heptanese and Ikaria (cf. the other cases of the singular and gen. pl.):

στὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς Περωᾶς *Alex. Rim.* 116 (< Περωσία)
 τῆς πακτωσᾶς (1526, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 114, 208.14)
 τῆς πουλησᾶς τως (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 227, 225.5)
 τῆς ἀπομοιρασᾶς (1598, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 1, 214.31)
 τῆς πορπατηξᾶς CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.426; μιᾶς κορασᾶς *ibid.* II.499
 τὴ θέληση τῆς κορασᾶς *Stathis* I.45; τῆς Μονοβασᾶς *ibid.* III.323
 ἀμπέλι τῆς ἀλλαξᾶς (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 41, 61.9); τῆς ἀνηψᾶς του
 (1606, *ibid.* 388, 359.3); τῆς ἐκκλησᾶς τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος (1612, *ibid.* 772, 670.3)
 τῆς μοιρασᾶς (1633, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 649, 626.16)
 τῆς ἀνηψᾶς μου (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 6, 33.24)
 τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησᾶς (1640, Crete, PENDOGALOS 1972: 5, 204.11)
 τῆς φορεσᾶς (1656, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 9, 405.60)
 τῆς ζωῆ τῆς μοναξᾶς KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.602; τὸ ἄρματωσᾶς *ibid.* IV.1801

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-(ε)ία(ν)

This inherited ending occurs throughout the period under review:

οὔτε τινὰ λαλίαν *Dig. G I.308* (< λαλιά)
 ἐποίησεν ζημίαν μεγάλην (1387, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 37, f.162r.2); ἐξηρίζωσε καὶ μίαν
 καρύαν (1433, *ibid.* 29, f.35r.4)
 νὰ ἐποίησεν ἄλλην κλεψίαν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 276.30)
 ὅση στίαν καὶ ἄ βάλης *Lapid.* 186.23 (< ἐστία)
 εἰς καλὴν συντροφίαν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.8)
 μὲ τοιοῦτην συμφωνία (1550, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 16, 102.3)
 ἐκάμαν ἀλλαξίαν τέλειαν (1557, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 199, 247.4)
 τὴν ἐφεντία σας (ca. 1560, Ancona, MARKOS 1977: Ia, 27.1)
 διὰ ἐμπασία τουνε (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 257, 356.15) (for τουνε see 5.4.1.4)
 νὰ ἐβγάνουν τόσην ἐντριτεία (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 122, 135.19–20)
 ἔχομεν τὴν ὑγεία μας (1615, Lefkada, PENDOGALOS 1977b: 2, 148.4)
 ὡς γιὰ τὴν ἀποκοτία TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 11; μὲ συντροφία *id.*, *Re Skotsias* 153
 ἀπὸ μίαν κακογρία MONTSEL., *Evgena* 103 (< γράια)
 εἰς μεγαλοτάτη ἀποθυμία (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.23)
 ἔστειλε ὀρδινία *Reb. Evr.* 103.25
 με δυσκολίαν *Don Kis.* 48.15

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-(ε)ιά(ν)

The paroxytone ending may present a shift of the stress to the ultimate and undergo synizesis. Oxytone forms can be found in a variety of texts (for more information see I, 2.9.4). In non-verse texts they have by far the strongest presence in southern areas and the Aegean:

ὑποδησιὰν οὐκ εἶχεν *Ptoch. III* 60 app. crit. (M)
 ἀνάβγασιν ὁ κάτα εἰς ἡσιτιὰν του *Chron. Mor.* H 3718
 τὴν ἀποχωρισιὰν των *Velth.* 74 (Cupane)
 καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσιά σου *Poulol.* 317 app. crit. (A)
 εἰς τὴν Συργιὰν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 156.30–1 (< Συρία)
 τὴν ἁλυσθριὰν του LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 285; τότε νὰ βάλουσι φωτιά *id.*, *Velis.* (Λ) 254
 κ' ἔδειξεν τότ' ἔξαστεριά ὁμοίως κ' εὐδιὰ μεγάλη BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 341
 καὶ τὸ κερὶ ἔκανε λαλιά *Alex. Rim.* 16; κ' ἐγρίκησε ὁκ τὴν μαντειά χάνει τὴν βασιλεία του *ibid.* 37
 ἔκτισεν τὴν Ἀγιὰν Σοφιά *Anak. Konst.* 99
 ἐκ τὴν κληρονομιά (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 11, 223.5); ἐὰν
 ἐρθοῦν ἀπὸ τὴν σκλαβιά (1542, *ibid.* 16, 227.9–10)
 ἔκαμα φιλιὰ TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 197 (< φιλία)
 νὰ ἔχει ἐμπασιά (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 157, 247.25)
 τὴν Μαργιὰ (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 152.4) (< Μαρία)
 τὸ τομάρει καὶ τὴν συκωταριὰν (1597, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 156, 281.28)
 διὰ νὰ μποροῦσι μ' εὐκολιά SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* a2v.13
 στὴ Βενετιά τιμᾶσαι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 145.3
 στὴν συντροφ<ι>ά τους (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 3, f.39r.6)
 νὰ κάνει μία λουτρογιά (1692, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1991: 2, 84.31–2) (< λειτουργία)
 ἔδωσεν ὀρδινία *Alex. Fyll.* 11.16–17
 καὶ δίδεις καθανὸς σωστή, σὰν πρέπει, τιμωριά του KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* I.145
 ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλην βραδιά *Don Kis.* 48.14; τὴν ἴδιαν βραδιὰν *ibid.* 116.21

Even when synzesis is apparent, as is the case of versified texts, the accent may still be written on <i>. For this spelling practice see 1.5:

εἰς μοναξίαν τὸν ἡῦρασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 740; εἶχεν εἰς ἀβοερίαν αὐτοῦ *ibid.* 8043 (< OFr. *avoerie*)
 οὔτε μιλίαν τῆς εἶπα *Dig.* E 166
 ἰστίαν, φαρμάκιν, ἄρματα *Pol. Tr.* 545; ποτὲ ὑγείαν οὐκ ἔχει *ibid.* 3475
 τὴν εὐγενείαν σου *Katal.* 10; στήν γειτονίαν μου *ibid.* 22 (verse end)
 μὲ τὴν κλεψίαν νὰ πᾶμεν *Achil.* L 349
 καὶ ἄν εἶχες τίποτες θωρία *Poulol.* 19
 καὶ τῶν πουλιῶν τὴν μελωδίαν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 30; μὲ βίαν πολλὴν καὶ κόπον *ibid.* 37
 γυναικὰς τε εἰς εὐμορφίαν ὀρίζεις ἵνα κρίνω *Velth.* 543
 μὲ ὅλη του τὴν φαμελίαν *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VI.328

In the following example the /s/ of the stem undergoes affrication after synzesis (see I, 3.2.6): στή τζιλοτζά τζη νὰ βρεθῶ *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.276 (spelled *sti zilozacì* in the Latin script) (< Ven. *zilosìa*, see *BOERIO, Lex.* s.v.).

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ά(ν)

In the oxytone forms when /j/ is preceded by a sibilant or affricate it may be deleted. Examples are abundant in texts from Crete, but have also been found in Heptanesian texts and are likely to occur in texts from Santorini and Ikaria (cf. the other cases of the singular and the genitive plural and see I, 2.4.7.3):

τὴν φορεσὰ τῶν γυναικῶν *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 191 γιὰ κουρτεσάν του *id.*, *Thrinós* 334
 τῆς Παλαιστίνης εμπασάν *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 706; εἰς μοναξάν *ibid.* 1667
 κλαῖσιν τὴν χωρισάν τῆς *Imb. Rim.* 644
 τὴν αγνωσὰ γεμάτοι *Katis* 26
 ἀπὸ τὴν ἀγορασάν (1524, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 90, 1670.24–5); εἰς τὴν
 μοιρασάν (1530, *ibid.* 141, 254.35); ἀπὸ τὴν πακτωσάν (*ibid.* 143, 258.20)
 τὴν φορεσὰ τ' ἀλλάζει *Alex. Rim.* 39; στήν ὑπνοφαντασὰ του *ibid.* 154; στήν ἐξουσὰ μου *ibid.*
 1693
 ἀπὸ τὴν Λευκωσάν τῆς Κύπρου (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 10, 10.1)
 τὴ μοναξὰ ἔχω συντροφιά, τα κλάηματα δροσὰ μου *CHORTATIS, Panor.* III.557; τὴν
 πορπατηξὰ ντου *ibid.* V.96
 τὴν χωρισάν τῶνε *Apoll. Rim.* E 882; τὴν μοναξὰ τῆς *ibid.* 1173; τὴν μαύρην φορεσάν *ibid.*
 1450
 ἔλαβε ... μετρησὰ βλίσιδι φλορία ἰβ' (1549, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2001: 51, 93.2)
 σκατζὰ μία (1608, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 535, 477.3) (< Ven. *scanzia*)
 εἰς τὴ μερασὰ (1636, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 16, 40.19)
 βράσε κατασταλακτὴν, ἦγουν ἀλουσὰ *LANDOS, Geopon.* 247.30
 μὲ πιδεξοσὰ *Zinon* III.213; καὶ προδοσὰ νὰ κάμουνι *ibid.* IV.195
 μὲ μιὰ γλοτσὰ *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.154; νὰ μοῦ δώση ἐντυμασὰ *ibid.* V.39
 τὴν κοπρὰ *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 1102
 μὰ τὴ μεταλαμπασὰ μου *PAPADOPOULI, L'Occio* 217.35
 τὴν παραφαντασὰ *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1246; μὲ κλεψὰ *ibid.* II.1870; μὲ τὴν ρηγατικὴν ἐξὰ *ibid.*
 IV.1312 (< ἐξουσῖα with influence from ἀξία, which can have the same meaning; see *KRIARAS, Lex.* s.v.)

*Vocative**Fem.*

Sg.	Voc.	-(ε)ία ! -(ε)ιά ! -ά

The vocative is identical to the nominative and shows the same variation in the position of the stress:

ὁ μὲν τόπος, κυρία μου *Dig. G VI.457*
καλὰ λέγεις, κοράσιον, γλυκέα μου συνοδεία; *Dig. E 957*
πρὸς σέ, μωρὴ κατουρλοποδία *Spanos D 655–6*
Κυρία μου Ἑλένη *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 6.25*
ὦ Βλαχία πολὺθλιβη, Σερβία πονεμένη *Alosis 588*
καρδία μου Ὀλυμπιάδα *Diig. Alex. F 98.4 (Lolos)*
ὦ Παναγία *P&N Diath. 787* (< adj. πανάγιος)
Θεοτόκε Μαρία | ἐτοῦτο σὲ παρακαλῶ, ἀγία μου κυρία *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. Prol. 133.12–13*
καὶ σύ, καρδιά, βόησε *DIAGR., Diig. Pol. 1198*
λυχνία θεία, κιβωτέ *VEST., Prol. Theot. 242*
καρδιά, οὐ θεωρεῖς με *Ptoch. I 228*
ψυχὴ μου καὶ καρδιά μου *Achil. L 596*
ἔλα, δροσιά μου, νὰ σὲ δῶ *Katal. 710*
ὦ Παναγία, ποῦ τὰ ἔμαθες *Rim. kor. A 115*
εἰπέ με, Πόθοτσουστουριά *SACHLIKIS, Katalogi 15*; ἴντὰ ἔχεις, συνοδεία μου, | ...
γλυκοπαρηγοριά μου; *id., Symvoules 300–1*
ὦ κουρτεσιά διωγμένη *Fior 92.3*; ὦ εὐγεννεὶα ξιλειμμένη *ibid. 92.4–5* (< εὐγένεια)
αιτιά του πόνου μου *CHORTATIS, Panor. II.525*
ἀλήθεια λέγεις, Βενετία *Thrinis Konst. (Zoras) 59*
κάμε, κορασιά, τὰ λόγια νὰ τελειώσης *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid. E8v.25*; βρομισμένη σιχασιά *ibid. G5r.11*

As elsewhere, synizesis may be indicated by placing the accent on <ι> (see 1.5 for details):
παρηγορία μου τῆς ψυχῆς *Liv. E 1602*; ἐπεθυμία μου, Φλόριε, καρδιά μου, ἀπαντοχὴ μου
Flor. L 1010; ὦ Παναγία, ποῦ τὰ ἔβρηκες *Rim. kor. V 113*.

Deletion of /j/ in the oxytone forms has been found in a Cretan text (but cf. the nominative): μὴν κλαίγης τόσα, κορασά *Stathis Interm. I.1*; καὶ γύρισέ τα, κορασά *ibid. 8*.

Plural*Nominative**Fem.*

Pl.	Nom.	-ίες/-εῖες

Paroxytone forms in -ίες/-εῖες can be found throughout and beyond the period under review:

ὀλογραφίες χρουσές διάφορες (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.136)
οἱ νηστεῖες ταῦτες *NIKON, Logos 4 214.1*
παρηγορίες εἶναι *Dig. E 1330*
ἐνταῦτα ἀπεχωσιάσασιν γύρωθεν οἱ χωσίες *Chron. Mor. H 1066*
οἱ ἄγιες ἐκκλησίες *Assizes B 280.2*

ὄσες ζημίες ἐγίνονταν (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 302.55)
 ὄλες οἱ στίες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 134 (< ἐστία); ὄλες οἱ προφητεῖες *ibid.* 235
 καὶ κιτρομηλίες καὶ οὐλα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 624.4 (Dawkins)(< κιτρομηλέα)
 οὐλές οι καθαλλαρίες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 316.13 (< καθαλλαρέα)
 ἔναι αἱ ἐσοδεῖες (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 172.28)
 νὰ γενοῦν τόσες λειτουργίες (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 217.13)
 ὥσπερ φωτίες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 137.8; ὅπου εἶναι τρεῖς Μαρίες ἀδελφάδες *ibid.* 355.21
 ἦταν καλογρίες (1583, Athens?, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.14) (< καλογραῖα)
 εἶναι πενήντα πατημασίες (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 335.13)
 αἱ ὀχθρίες (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.39) (= ἐχθρίες)
 οἱ μακρὲς θερμασίες LANDOS, *Geopon.* 209.26–7
 ἡ παροῦσαν τὼς διαθήκην καὶ παραγγιλίες (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 181.17) (= παραγγελίες)

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-(ε)ιές

As in the singular, paroxytone forms may become oxytone and undergo synizesis, resulting in -(ε)ιές:

οἱ κλεψιές (15th. c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 210.8.16)
 ἐφάνησαν φωτίες *Diig. Sant.* 56.44.45
 εἰς τὲς δουλλειές σου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 520.15–16
 οἱ αδικιές VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 32.1
 ποῦ οἱ νηστειές Ρωμίων τε *Alosis* 151
 ἴντα δουλειές σ' εὐρήκασι CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.359
 οἱ παραγγελιές *Thysia Avr.* 700; παρηγοριές πολλῶ λογιῶ *ibid.* 1024
 αἱ καυχισιές *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 405
 κ' ἐγέμωσαν οἱ ἐκκλησιές *Thrinis Konst.* (Zoras) 55
 μῆδ' ἀφεντιές μῆδ' ἐπαρχιές FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 56
 ἄντρες, γυναῖκες, κορασιές BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 210.6; κακοριζικιές ἐγίνηκαν *ibid.* 247.16
 οἱ προφητεῖες VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 5
 ὄλες οἱ γειτονιές GAVRILOP., *Diig. panouklas* 100.2
 οἱ ἐμιλιές του ἦσα σκολειὸ KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.32 (< ὀμιλία); κ' οἱ γειτονιές ἐχαίρουνταν *ibid.* I.56

Synizesis can be apparent in verse texts, even when the accent is placed on <i> (for a discussion see 1.5): καὶ ξέτρεχε τὶς ἐκκλησιές BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 212.

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ές

In oxytone forms with /e/ in their ending (nom., acc., voc.) omission of <i>, indicating deletion of /j/ (see I, 2.4.7.3), is not uncommon in texts of south-western provenance:

τοῦ Ἀσκ<λ>ηπίου ἱατρὲς *Theseid* III.25.2 ms (P) (< ἱατρεῖα)
 οἱ κορασές *P&N Diath.* 1618
 νὰ σας θωροῦν οἱ κορασές CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* V.399; οἱ αἵματοχυσές *id.*, *Erof.* V.263
 οἱ πουλησές (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 344, 323.3); ἡ γιάγορασές (1609, *ibid.* 586, 518.9)
 ἄμε καὶ νὰ 'ναι ἡ στράτα σας γάλα, δροσές καὶ μέλι *Thysia Avr.* 398

οί σταλαγματὲς (app. crit.) (1684–5, Moscow, ŠANGIN 1936: 3, 114.15) (provenance of scribe unknown)

γίνονται ματοκυλίσες KORNAOS, *Erot.* IV.1111 (< αἵματοκυλισία)

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ίαι -εῖαι

The residual ending of the 1st declension is occasionally found in mixed- and higher-register texts and in more formal contexts. Some examples are:

ἀνδραγαθία ἄρχονται ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ Ἀκρίτου *Dig.* G IV.1; εἰς παραμυθία *ibid.* VI.333

αἱ αἵματοχυσίαι *Byz. Il.* 902

αἱ λειτουργίαι (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 118, 213.15)

αἱ ἱστορίαι αἱ παλαιαί (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.2–3)

εἶναι παρηγορία *Dig.* A 3280; τῶν δένδρων εὐωδίαι *ibid.* 4053

διὰ τῆς γλώσσης πολλαὶ ... βλασφημίαι *Vios Aisop.* K 174.18–19

αἱ ἀμπασσιαρεῖες, ἤγουν αἱ πρεσβεῖαι *Bertoldos* 22.14–15

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-(ε)ιάδες

The imparisyllabic ending of paradigm 2.11.1.2 is employed lexically with the nouns ἀνηψιά and θεία (see the genitive, below), and could conceivably be employed with μητριά, given that these words belong to the semantic field of female status or family relations (cf. γράια, 2.11.4; μάνα and χήρα, 2.11.2; ἀδελφή, 2.12.1): ἡ οἱ ἀνηψιοὶ του, ἡ ἀνηψιάδες του *Assizes* A 119.29.

Genitive

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-(ε)ιών

This inherited ending, with a shift of the stress to the ultimate, remains in use throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

οὐδὲ γὰρ μύθους παλαιῶν ἱστοριῶν σοι γράφω *Ptoch.* IV 29

τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκλησιῶν (1316, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 39, 292.7)

διὰ εὐλογιῶν εὐλογῆσω τον *Spanos* A 420

τῶν ρ' ὀργυιῶν (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 89, 76.21)

νὰ μανθάνομεν τῶν ὑγειῶν σας (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.14–15)

περὶ τῶν συντροφιῶν *Assizes* A 82.15; τῶν καλῶν συνηθειῶν *ibid.* 83.4

καὶ μαργαρίτην ὀγγιῶν δύο (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 46.85)

κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν Βενετιῶν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 61, 125.11)

διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῶν παμμεγίστων Ταξιάρχων (1597, Ioannina, LAMBROS 1910: 234, 183.3–4)

στῶ λουμπαρδιῶν τῇ μέσῃ *CHORTATZIS, Katz.* II.32

τῶν τόσων εὐεργεσιῶν *Bertoldin.* 169.6

διαλογισμοὶ πολλῶν καρδιῶν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 2.35

τῶν ... πολλῶν αὐθεντιῶν μέγα αὐθέντα (1652, Crete, TCHENTSOVA 2002: 1, 355.6–7)

τῶν Ὀλυνθίων καὶ ἄλλων δημοκρατιῶν *Alex. Fyll.* 5.9–10
κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (1706, Zakynthos, Zois 1941: 1, 108.13)
τὸ τέλος τῶν επιθυμιῶν τῆς *Don Kis.* 113.32; τῶν μεγάλων μου δυστυχιῶν *ibid.* 539.26

Absence of the historical stress shift occurs occasionally:

τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (1145, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 9, 26.6)
ἐκ ζημιῶν μεγίστων *KAMAT., Astron.* 431; ναυμαχιῶν *ibid.* 1305
τετρακοσίων εὐρίσκετον ὀργυίων εἰς τὸ ὕψος *Pol. Tr.* 1260 app. crit. (VX)
ἀνδραγαθίων πλήθη *Dig. A* 1293

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from Crete and in documents from Cyprus (Paphos area) and Ikaria (see immediately below), though when the form is followed by a word starting in /n/, the deletion could be graphematic, as in the example from *Rodolinos*:

να μη δουλεύγεις κορασιῶ *CHORTATSI, Panor. Dedic.* 5
καὶ τῶν καρδιῶ ἢ γιαφέντρα *Stathis* I.34
ξόμπλι τῶν ἄλλων ὠπαρχιῶ νὰ δείξει *TROILOS, Rodol. Prol. Mell.* 12 (Aposkiti)
τῶν κορασιῶ *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.204
τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλίῳ (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 848, 740.17) (< ἐλαία)
τῶν ἐλλίῳ (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 2, 7.8) (< ἐλαία)

Deletion of /j/ after sibilants has been found in documents from Crete and Ikaria and is likely to occur in the Heptanese and Santorini (cf. all cases of the singular and see the introduction (2.11) for discussion): τῶ πουλησῶν (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 216.4); τῶν ἐκκλησῶ (1645, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 11, 25.22).

Addition of -(v)ε has been found in a Heptanesian text, but is likely to have had a wider geographical spread (see I, 2.6.3.1 for details): καὶ μὴν πιστεύη μαγικά, λέγω, οὐδὲ μαντεῶνε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1512.

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-(ε)ιάδων

The imparisyllabic ending of paradigm 2.11.1.2 is employed lexically (θεία and ἀνηψιά, cf. the nominative and accusative) with nouns that belong to the semantic field of female status or family relations (cf. γράια, 2.11.4; μάνα and χήρα, 2.11.2; ἀδελφή, 2.12.1): τῶν τριῶν μου θειάδων (1517, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 48, 83.30).

Accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-(ε)ίεσ

The inherited paroxytone ending is very common throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

τὲς δύο πριονίες (1118, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 85, 112.7); τὲς φορεσίες (1166, *ibid.* 170, 224.12)
ἀπὸ τὲς πικρίεσ τῆς *Log. parig.* L 726

καὶ τὲς οἰκονομίες *Chron. Mor.* H 6128; κι ὅλες τὲς ἐξουσίες *ibid.* 8657
τὰςπραματεῖες τοὺς *Assizes* B 295.19
τὰς δουλεῖγες (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.4) (for the addition of <γ> see I, 3.5.2.1)
τὲςπραματεῖες των (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 206.46)
ὡς διὰ τὲς μεθυσίες SACHLIKIS, *Katalogin* 74; διὰ τὲς κλεψίες τὲς πολλές *ibid.* 75
μὲ ὅλες του τὶς ὀρδινίες (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 8, 86.25)
ἤκουσε σουρισματίες (1579, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 7, 96.16)
μὲ τὲς ἀνοψίες μου (1600, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: II, 70.3) (< ἀνεψιά, see I, 2.8.5)
ἐκαμναν αταξίες και λουλίες και ατοπίες και πολλές ατσάλιες *Vios Iosif* 269.26–7 (= λωλίες, see I, 2.8.3)
ἐκ τὲς τοῦ καιροῦ ἀνωμαλίες (1657, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 75, 191.4)
τες πανουργίες *Don Kis.* 46.18; να πῖω και δύο σταλαγματίες *ibid.* 61.32–3
λέγοντες περίστιες συκοφαντίες καὶ ἀβανιές ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 42.17

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-(ε)ιές

The paroxytone ending may undergo a shift of the stress to the ultimate and synizesis (see I, 2.9.4). Oxytone forms occur throughout the period covered by this Grammar and have the strongest presence in texts from southern areas:

ἐπιάσαν τὲς μαντεῖες τοὺς *Chron. Mor.* H 5305
ξυλίες να σε φορτώσουν *Spanos* D 1758
ἐνὶ τὸ μήκος οὐργιές γω' SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 10.3 (< ὀργυία)
κι ἐσεῖς οἱ πρόλοιπες Μαριές FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 88
ἔμεινεν ὡς τὲς Ἀποκριές MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 542.27
σπίτια μὲ τὲς φαμιλίες *Alosis* 495
τὲςπραγματεῖες ἐκείνες ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 232
τὲς ὁμορφιές της πέτε *Cypr. Canz.* 40.6
τὲς σταλαματίες τοῦ νεροῦ MOREZINOS, *Klini* 276.23–4
τὶς θωριές CHORTATZIS, *Katz.* Prol. 7 (< θεωρία); τὶς πονηριές *ibid.* I.113; οἱ ρουφιανιές σου *ibid.* V.398
δύο καρδιές ἐμάρανες *Ekatol.* (Meteoron) 24
στὶς Σκαρουχιές (17th c., Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 33, 185.2)
τὶς λαβωματίες (1638, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2004: 107.10)
τσ' αἰτίες TROILOS, *Rodol.* Dedic. 56
τὲς καταλαλίες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.120–1
μαριολίες καὶ ἀντραγαθιές γυρεύγεις FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.42; εὐχαριστίες σᾶς δίδομε *ibid.* V.409
ἐδῶ δουλειές δὲν ἔχει *Paroim.* (Warner) 32.2; ὅλο μουγκρισματίες ἀκούει *ibid.* 51.21
τὲς πείραξες καὶ κακομοιργές (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 36.28)
εἰς τὶς Τροχαλίες (1671, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 69, 318.8)
μ' ἄλλες πολλές, κ' εἰς ἀντρεῖες ἐξακουστός ἐγίνη KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.28 (stress shift without synizesis); φαρμακεμένες μαγεριές πάντα μᾶς μαγερεύγει *ibid.* I.278 (< μαγειρία)

Synizesis is often ostensibly concealed by conservative stress notation, which is evident only in verse texts (see 1.5 for a discussion of what is in fact a spelling practice in many manuscripts and early prints):

ἐκ τὲς ἀνδραγαθίες μου *Dig.* E 750
εἰς τὲς καρδιές ἀπέσω DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 328

τῆς νύκτας τὲς κρυφοκλεψίεις *Rim. kor.* V 30
 τὲς φορεσίεις τὲς στολισίεις μὲ ἔρωτίας τάξιν *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 157
 τὲς ἐμνοστίεις τοῦ κόσμου *Liv.* E 4163
 ὅλεις τὲς οἰκονομίεις *Chron. Mor.* P 6128
 δὲ θέλει πλιὸ θυσίεις ἀρνιῶ *Thysia Avr.* 9
 νὰ μάθεις τὲς ἀνδραγαθίεις τοῦ νέου Ἀχιλλέως *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 18

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ές

In the oxytone forms <ι> is quite often omitted in writing (see the introduction (2.11) for discussion and cf. nom. pl.), not only after sibilants and /r/ (cf. the singular and gen. pl.), but also after various other consonants (for a discussion of /j/ deletion after sibilants and /r/ see I, 2.4.7.3 and 2.4.7.4). Examples occur in texts from Crete, Cyprus, the Heptanese, the northern mainland and the Aegean,¹⁰⁴ but may have had a different pronunciation in different areas:

ἀτιμαξὲς παράξενες *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1667
 διὰ τὲς ἀνδραγαθίεις τοὺς *SACHLIKIS, Katalogi* 7
 τὴν πιγούναν στὲς κοπρέεις *Spanos* D 1185
 ἐγέμωσαν τὲς κοιλίεις τοὺς ὠσγοιὸν τὰ χοιρίδια *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* R 448.22–3
 τὲς γιαιτρέεις τῶν *Theseid* III.25,7 ms (P); τὲς συμφωνίεις ὅπερ ἔποικεν *ibid.* V.91 tit.
 ἡ κεφαλὴ σου συντροφέεις θεῖ κάμει μετὰ κείνεις *Apoll. Rim.* E 159; τσ' ἀρματωσέεις *ibid.* 686
 εἰς φορεσέεις καὶ στολίδει (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 6, 7.12–13); ἀπὸ τὲς
 πουλησέεις (*ibid.* 309, 307.31)
 κι ἐκάναμὲ σας φορεσέεις *P&N Diath.* 795; 'ς τσι ἐκκλησέεις *ibid.* 2333; μ' ἀρίφνητες καταβαλσέεις
ibid. 3334
 ἐξῆντα ὀργέεις κι ἂν ἔσκαψα *Ekatol. (Meteoron)* 63 (< ὀργυία)
 τσι κορασέεις *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.444; τσι πορπατέ σου *ibid.* III.298 app. crit. (N) (with
 omission of <ς> before <σ>)
 καὶ εἶχα καὶ τὲς ἐκκλησέεις *Thrinos patr.* O 61
 τὰ νέφαλα γιὰ λόγου του πάντα δροσέεις νὰ βρέχου; *Thysia Avr.* 676
 τὲς βρισέεις *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §4.13; ἀγόραζεν σουπέεις ἀπὸ Τοῦρκον *ibid.* I §9.2
 ἀπὸ δροσέεις μεγάλες *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* V.301
 τὲς κοπρέεις τοῦ *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 356
 ὅσες ἀγορασέεις κάμει (1688, SYROS, *DRAKAKIS* 1967: 22, 327.12)
 γίνονται ματοκυλισέεις *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1111
 ροῦχα, φορεσέεις (1709, Chios, *PAPASTRATOU* 1981: 34, 135.48)

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-(ε)ίας

The residual accusative plural ending -(ε)ίας occurs throughout the period under review in mixed- and higher-register texts and in more formal contexts:

καρδίαις ἀνασπάει *Dig.* G IV.10
 πολλὰς παρανομίαις *Ptoch.* IV 641

¹⁰⁴The examples from the Aegean are few and relatively late. See *PERNOT* 1907/46: I 332–47 for the phenomenon in Chiot.

ταύτας τὰς ἱστορίας *Log. parig.* L 436
 εἰς τὰς ἀγγαρείας (1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.11)
 ἀνδραγαθίας ἔποικεν *Pol. Tr.* 3692
 οὐργίας γ' (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 33, 67.6)
 ἀρνεῖσαι συντροφίας μας *Velth.* 148 app. crit.; καὶ ποίσης τον δουλείας του *ibid.* 177
 ἐβγάνουν κλάηματα πολλά, μεγάλας δὲ λαλίας *Imb. Rim.* 581 (< λαλιά)
 ἀφ' τὰς γωνίας LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 685
 εἰς τὰς κάτωθεν συμφωνίας (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 17, 32.3)
 μὲ βίους καὶ ἱστορίας VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.3
 ἀπὸ βαρὲς ὑπηρεσίας LANDOS, *Geopon.* 266.7

Even residual forms may need to be read with metrical synizesis (see I, 2.9.4.2) in verse texts: ὅσας κλεψίας ἐποίησες *Synax. gadar.* 256.

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-(ε)ιάδες

The imparisyllabic ending of paradigm 2.11.1.2 is employed lexically with the nouns ἀνηψιά and θεία (see the genitive, above), words belonging to the semantic field of female status or family relations (cf. γράια, 2.11.4; μάνα and χήρα, 2.11.2; ἀδελφή, 2.12.1): τὲς ἀνεψιάδες μου (1582, Patras, ZOIS 1936/37: 17–18, λδ'.44); τὲς ἄνωθέν μου πέντε ἀνηψιάδες (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 59.22).

Vocative

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-(ε)ίεσ (↓ -(ε)ιέσ ↓ -έσ ↓ -(ε)ιάδες)

The vocative is identical to the nominative and is likely to have had the same variation in stress position. The number of examples found is very limited: ὦ ... θεριά καὶ στίες FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 223 (< ἐστία).

2.11.6 Transfers to Other Paradigms

Certain nouns in -α may transfer to the feminine /os/ paradigm. Examples have been found of τράπεζα, γέφυρα and nouns in -εια such as ἀσθένεια, συμπάθεια, but only in the singular: ᾿ς ἀστένειον βαρυτάτην *Chron. Mor.* H 7216; τὴν συμπάθειόν σας *Pol. Tr.* 12335 app. crit. (AV); τὴ γιόφυρο ἐνέβηκα *P&N Diath.* 314; νὰ κιρνοῦμεν εἰς τὴν τράπεζον (1634, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 58, 156.12–13). From there these nouns may even be re-analysed as masculine: ἐσηκώθηκαν ἀπὸ τὸν τράπεζον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §24.23; ὁ τράπεζος ἐγίνη ἀπάνου καὶ ἐξαπάνου *ibid.* I §32.22–3.

Sometimes a feminine noun in -α is reanalysed as being a neuter plural, especially feminine nouns in -εια.¹⁰⁵ As the latter clearly transfer to sub-paradigm 2.20.2.2, not 2.20.2.1, it would perhaps be preferable to spell the ending with <ι> in stead of <ει>:

¹⁰⁵ The following example is perhaps dubious: τὸ συντέλειο ἦτον *Pent. Gen.* 7.6, as the manuscript was written in Hebrew script, in which the vowel marks are not always easily distinguishable.

πρὸς τὰ συνήθεια *Chron. Mor.* H 1250
 ὡς ἐνι τὸ συνήθειον *ibid.* 7519 (ms: συνήθιον)
 καὶ ἐπάρη το συνήθειον *Dig.* E 1341 (ms: συνήθιον)
 καὶ ἄς ἔλθῃ τὸ συμπάθειον σου *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 88
 τῶν γυναικῶν τὰ συνήθεια *Corona Preciosa* E 3^r.26
 εἶναι συνήθι (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 49.53)
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ νὰ μὴν εἶναι ἐτοῦτο τὸ συνήθι εἰς τὸ τόπο μας (1703, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 46, 60.27–8)
 καὶ ἐγὼ ἡῤῥηκα σκίον δενδροῦ *Dig.* E 1197 (< σκιά; ms: σκίον but with synizesis).

In Cypriot texts one finds a neuter plural τὰ γέννα (< ἡ γέννα) (cf. Χριστούγεννα), but the feminine stress shift is retained in the genitive plural: τὰ Γέννα οὐ τὸ Πάσχαν *Assizes B* 427.5; τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν γεννῶν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 40.32.

As mentioned elsewhere (2.2.6), masculine nouns in /as/ may sporadically change gender and become feminines in /a/. The reverse phenomenon may also occur: διὰ τὸν Ἀλασσόνα (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 307, f.1r.14); τοῦ Ἀλασσόνος (1681, Ioannina, *ibid.* 10, 307.15 (1r)); ὅς τὸ μῆλιγγάν του *P&N Diath.* 3046 (< μῆνιγξ); τοῦ μῆλιγγου *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1913; ὅς τὸν Λάρνακαν *Thrinios Kypr.* 162.

A transfer to the feminine /i/ paradigm may occur with certain nouns, among which ἄκρα, ζέστα, κάμαρα and ξέρα:

ὅπου εἶνι ἡ ἄκρη τῶν Σκορτῶν *Chron. Mor.* H 7201
 ἡ ἔτερη ἄκρη τῆς χώρας *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 34.29
 εσέβῃ εἰς τὴν κάμαρὴν τῆς *Anthos Ch.* A 167.7
 τὴν κάμαρην *Diig. Alex.* E 283.5 (Lolos)
 τὴν κάμαρη (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 4, 5.6)
 ἀντίκρυ ἀπὸ τὴν ξέρη *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6371
 κ' ἡ ζέστη νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.1111

Moreover there are several one-off inventions in /i/, some of which are based on obsolete genitive and dative forms (for the latter see 1.1), as is often clear from the position of the stress. Genitive: ἡ ρίζη (1044, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 3, 146.5); κοιμητίσση (1131, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 111, 146.14); τὴν τραπέζην (1092, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 3, 388.6). Dative: ἡ χειρὶ σου *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 5; ὅταν γὰρ ἔλθῃ ἡ νυκτί *Peri xen.* 13; μὲ τῇ μητρί μου *Alex. Rim.* 464. They may even be based on non-existent residual forms (ἡ στράτα, *τῆς στράτης): ἀπὸ τὴν στράτην (1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 618.26–7).

2.12 Feminine Nouns in /i/

The AG 1st-declension feminine nouns in /ε:/ included oxytone and paroxytone nouns such as τιμή, ψυχὴ and τέχνη, τύχη, many of which survive in MedG. The paradigms are very stable and show limited variation in endings. In the singular the endings of the surviving cases are graphematically, though not phonologically, identical to those of AG: nom. in -ή/-η, gen. in -ῆς/-ης, acc. in -ή(ν)/-η(ν) and voc. in -ή/-η. In the plural the AG nom. -αί/-αι and acc. -άς/-ας had been replaced by -ές/ες long before the LMedG period (see e.g. DIETERICH 1898: 157–8, GIGNAC 1981: 46–7 and HORROCKS ²2010: 286–7).

Certain nouns belonging to the oxytone paradigm in -ή have an alternative imparisyllabic plural in -άδες (for the -άδες plural in general see HORROCKS ²2010: 287–8). This imparisyllabic plural is especially common with ἀδελφή/ἀδερφή, in line with other feminine nouns denoting status or family relations of females (cf. 2.11.2, 2.11.4 and 2.11.5); but it is used with other nouns as well, in a rather large geographical area, and especially frequently in Cypriot texts. Forms with this imparisyllabic plural have been found from the 11th c. onwards (see below).

Another imparisyllabic plural that is used within the oxytone paradigm, but only with a handful of nouns such as ἀδελφή/ἀδερφή and μαμή, is /'īdes/. The development of this ending is puzzling: it appears to pre-date the period covered by this Grammar and the first securely datable examples are the following: οὐκ ἀδελφῶν οὐκ ἀδελφιδῶν *P.Herm.* 31 (6th c.) and λέγουσα: ἀδελφίδες μου ΝΙΚΕΤΑΣ, *Vios Philaret.* 490 (9th c., 11th-c. ms).¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, in the period covered by this Grammar, the ending appears to be narrowly restricted to south-western areas (Crete and Cythera), and does not surface in texts before the 16th c. It is therefore likely to be a new formation, unrelated to the earlier, rather rare, plural in -ίδες. There may be some analogical influence from the substantivized adjectives συγγενής and εὐγενής, which had developed alternative feminine forms according to the 3rd-declension paradigm in -ίς, -ίδος in Hellenistic times (see LSJ s.v. and see 3.3.3). In this Grammar, the /'īdes/ plural will be spelled with <η>.

With the transformation of the 3rd declension some nouns had moved over to the paroxytone feminine paradigm in -η (others to paradigms in /a/, see 2.11). These include nouns in -τη, gen. -της (< -της, gen. -τητος), e.g. ἡ μεγαλειότη, ἡ νιότη (< νεότης); ἡ ὀξύτη; as well as isolated cases such as μύτη (< μύτις, -ιδος), attested from the 10th c. onwards (see *LBG* s.v.); χάρη, gen. χάρης (< χάρις, gen. χάριτος; acc. χάριν already in AG); γυνή, gen. γυνῆς (< γυνή, gen. γυναικός) (singular only);¹⁰⁷ ἐλπῆ, gen. -ῆς (< ἐλπίς, gen. ἐλπίδος).

The suffix -τη is quite productive in the period covered by this Grammar, producing many innovative nouns, e.g.:

ἔχει πολλήν κρυότην *Assizes* B 435.5

στέμμα της παρθενιότης *Laikos Akath.* 1; πουλάκι της σπλαχνιότης *ibid.* 3

¹⁰⁶ LAMPE, *Lex.* lemmatizes as ἀδελφίς based on plural examples from the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*: ὑμῶν τῶν ἀδελφιδῶν *Prax. Thom.* A 203.6 (3rd c.; ed. Bonnet), and the Greek Ephraem: παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφιδῶν Ephraem 2.394E (4th c.; ed. Assemani); see LAMPE, *Lex.* s.v. ἀδελφίς: “sister; of Christian women”, “of nuns”. However, both texts have very complicated text traditions, and the occurrence of an imparisyllabic plural in them by no means proves a date as early as the 3rd/4th c. Singular forms of ἀδελφίς are very rare. Only one example has been found before the period covered by this Grammar, in an undated (LA?) inscription from Asia Minor (Korykos, Cilicia): τῆς αὐτῶν ἀδελφίδος MAMA 3 598. Another example in a 17th-c. document from Crete is very likely to be a reanalysis based on the -ῆδες plural (see below).

¹⁰⁷ For γυνή see KRUMBACHER 1885: 529–35, who gives AG examples but doubts their validity as they all appear in comedies; he equally doubts the validity of the MedG examples and views them as “literary”. He may be right, given that the LMedG and EMG examples mostly come from literature, and documents that strive for a higher register. Most Late Antique and Byzantine grammarians (Apollonios Dyskolos, Aelius Herodianus, Georgios Choiroboskos) warn that a gen. γυνῆς does not exist, but Sophronios the Grammarian (9th c.; ed. Hilgard) notes such forms are found sporadically, but should be avoided: ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι σπανίως εὐρέθησαν πλάγιοι γυνῆς καὶ γυνήν, αἷς οὐ χρηστέον (see the online *TLG*).

ἀπὸ τὴν ἐκλαμπρότην σου (1481, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 10, 315.12)

ἡ φύση τῆς χοντρότης FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 177

φωτιά στην κοκκινότη CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.357

ἡ παναγιότη σου (1653–5, Venice, FONKIČ 2000: 239, f.1r.27)

ὄλην τὴν χριστιανότην *Thrinis Kypr.* 102

Alongside forms in -τη, nouns in -της also develop forms in -τητα, for which see 2.11.3.2. Another suffix that is very productive in the period under review is -σύνη. Apart from common words such as δικαιοσύνη and καλοσύνη, derived from adjectives, more inventive examples, derived from adjectives, nouns, verbs and loanwords, include:

διὰ τὴν πρεποσύνην *Diig. tetr.* 306

μέ παρακαλεσύνη *Theseid* XII.18,1 (1529)

τὴν ἀλεγροσύνην *Fior* 79.31

ἡ γεροντοσύνη *Fior Suppl.* 270.18 (< γέρων)

μεγάλη λεμοσύνη *Alex. Rim.* 654 (< ἐλεήμων)

στραβοσύνη εἰς τὸ μέσος δὲν ἦτον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §32.23 (< στραβός)

διὰ νὰ μάθει τὴν τέχνη τῆς κτιστοσύνης (1670, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 10, 41.6) (< κτίστης)

ἀπὸ δισπεραροσύνην τῆς SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 45.1 (< δισπεράρω < Ital. *disperare*)

τὰ ρούχα του καὶ παπουσοσύνη του (1703, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 47, 61.36–7) (= παπουτσοσύνη; possibly a calque of Ital. *calzature*; for deaffrication of /ts/ see I, 3.2.6.2)

When the 3rd declension began to collapse, feminine nouns in -ις, gen. -εως (φύσις, δύναμις) also started to develop alternative forms according to the 1st-declension /i/ paradigm. GIGNAC 1981: 75 mentions genitives singular in -ης in papyri from the 1st c. AD onwards, though according to DIETERICH 1898: 160–1 nominatives in -η are not found before the 9th c. (διάλυση in the *Glossarium Laodicea* 117,2); see also HATZIDAKIS 1892: 80. As for the plural formation of these nouns, that, too, eventually moved over to the most common one for feminine nouns (nom. and acc. in -ες). There is some evidence this change had started to take place by the 12th c.,¹⁰⁸ but some caution is due, as the early examples constitute circumstantial evidence (unmatched endings and stress positions), and come from an edition that is known to be unreliable: ἐλεημοσύνη καὶ πίσται (1192, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 11, 634.6), in which the adoption of the old 1st-declension -αι ending with πίστις indicates that the by then more common -ες ending was already available; similarly in the following example: αἱ ... γινομέναι ἀφιερῶσαις (1192, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 21, 339.1–2) the new ending /es/ appears to be adopted, but with retention of the historical shift of the stress, though it cannot be excluded that this is a writing mistake or a typo for ἀφιερῶσεις. In τὰς ... ὑστέρησεις (1155, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 3, 361.2–3), we find the old ending, but with the new stress pattern.

More secure examples are datable to the 13th/14th c. and they also occur in mixed-register texts: a strong indication that they had been around for a while. Thus in the LMedG period these nouns develop an almost full set of alternative endings according to paradigm

¹⁰⁸ A form προσφωνήσεις in a 5th-c. papyrus (*Trismeg.* 64804) can certainly not serve as proof, because the papyrus is too fragmentary to judge whether it is even a noun (see www.papyri.info).

2.12.2, e.g. φύση, gen. sg. φύσης, nom. pl. φύσες (< φύσις, gen. φύσεως, nom. pl. φύσεις); δύναμη, gen. δύναμης, nom. pl. δύναμες (< δύναμις, gen. δυνάμεως, nom. pl. δυνάμεις). The exception is the genitive plural, which continues to end in -εων; and although it must be noted that these forms are not in very common use, they were not routinely replaced by forms in -ων or -ων, which are very rare indeed. With the transfer of the proparoxytone nouns in -ις (δύναμις > δύναμη), a new proparoxytone paradigm in -η is created (see 2.12.4).

However, more than in most other paradigms, many of the old forms remain in use, though mainly in mixed-register texts and more formal contexts, and the result is often a mix of both inherited and innovative forms. This concurrence of old and new forms, combined with the fact that the accusatives singular in -ι(ν) and -η(ν) are homophonous and that the genitive plural remains that of the old paradigm, demands a separate treatment of these nouns (paroxytone at 2.12.3 and proparoxytone at 2.12.4). The co-existence of old and new forms appears not only in poetry, in which the different stress patterns of certain forms are convenient (see HINTERBERGER 2001), e.g. καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς θλίψης τῆς πολλῆς *Achil.* N 47 and ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τάξεως *ibid.* 1827; στρεβλώσεις, μάστιγες, πληγὰς *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 77; it also occurs in prose and non-literary texts, e.g.:

τοῦ μεγάλου δομέστικου τῆς Κωνσταντινόπολης (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 70, f.IV.15); μέγας δομέστικος τῆς Κωσταντινοπόλεως (*ibid.* 71, f.IV.27–8)
ἐκ πίστεως καὶ κρίσης *Assizes A* 25.3–4
κρίσεις καὶ ἔξοδες (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 157, 206.7) and ἔξωθεν κρίσεως (*ibid.* 206.10)
μὲ κάποιες προφάσεις *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 130.A.49 and μὲ ἑλαφρὰς ἐπίπληξες *ibid.* 133.A.63
εἰς ὦραν εὐλόγησεως (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 16, 37.11–12) and εἰς ὦραν τῆς εὐλόγησης (1606, *ibid.* 379, 352.8)
ἀπὸ μέσα ἀπὸ τὲς πόλεις *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 13.22 and ἀπάνου εἰς δέκα πόλεις *ibid.* 19.17
τὲς μάθησες *Don Kis.* 264.34 and τὰς ... μαθήσεις *ibid.* 265.25.

It even appears in EMG grammars: ἡ φύσις, τῆς φύσεως, τὴν φύσιν, ὃ φύσι. οἱ φύσες, τῶν φύσεων, τὲς φύσες, ὡ φύσες *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 43.1–20; ἡ πόλις τῆς πόλεως-λις τὴν πόλιν-λι ὡ πόλι οἱ πόλεις τῶν πόλεων τὰς πόλεις-λες ὡ πόλεις *SPANOS, Grammar* 28.24–5.

A few new proparoxytone words not originally in -ις also follow this paradigm (2.12.4), though usually only the innovative part of it; among these are πόλβερη/πούλβερη, σίκαλη and the place names Ροῦμελη and Χόβολη.

The vast majority of the inherited nouns in sub-paradigms 2.12.3 and 2.12.4 are derived from (the perfective stem of) verbs,¹⁰⁹ as are innovative nouns that are created in the period covered by this Grammar. They include nouns such as ἀντίλλαξη, ἄξιση, ἀποφάνηση, βλέπηση, ἔβγαλση, ξεφάντωση, συνίβαση and many others. The vast majority of innovative nouns belong to the proparoxytone paradigm. Innovative nouns in paradigm 2.12.2 are restricted to a handful of new formations based on inherited verb stems, such as κόψις/κόψη (< κοψ- < κόπτω) and the Cretan word βιάση (< βιασ- < βιάζω): κέκ τοῦ δόσματος τὴν κόψιν *ERMON., Ilias* 12.86; διὰ τὴν βιάσην τζῆ ὀκαζιός (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 36.13–14); plus innovative formations of inherited nouns, such as γνέψη (< νεύσις):

¹⁰⁹ Among the rare exceptions are πόλις, ράχις and ἔπαυλις.

ἐποίησέν του γνέψη *Imber*. 405; and Cypriot νῶσις/νῶση (< γνῶσις according to KRIARAS, *Lex.*; < νόσις according to YANGOULLIS 2002): νὰ τὸν ποίσουν νῶσι *Assizes* B 403.24. The new nouns tend to follow the innovative part of the paradigm (nom. sg. -η, gen. sg. -ης) rather than the old one, although some examples in -ις can be found, e.g. ἡ ἀγρώνις *Fior* 74.14–15 (< ἀγρωνίζω < γνωρίζω).

Feminine loanwords in /i/ are quite rare, though some examples have been found: ἐκρεμμάσεν τα εἰς τὴν πιλλιρήν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 76.1 (< Occit. *pilerin*, see GODEFROY, *Lex.* s.v. *pilorin*); τσακίζεις τους τὴν μούρη *KORONAIOS, Pittakin* 108 (< Ven. pl. *muri* < *muro*); *Μεριεμή < Μεριεμίν (< Turk. *Meriemin*): τῆς ἄνωθεν κερα-Μεριεμῖς / Μεριεμῖς (1672, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 6, 168.12).

Transfers between paradigms 2.12.1 and 2.12.2 are quite rare: the noun κεφαλή has a paroxytone variant, probably influenced by τὸ κεφάλι(ν) (< dim. κεφάλιον). Most of the examples occur in Heptanesian (Zakynthian) texts:¹¹⁰ τῆς λωλῆς του κεφαλῆς *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 437; εἰς τὴν κεφάλην *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VIII.327; ἀπάνω στὴν κεφάλη *Alex. Rim.* 113; ἡ κεφαλή του *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 187.10.

Transfers between the paradigms 2.12.3 and 2.12.4 are quite rare too: the forms ἔσμιξις (< μίξις) and ἔδοσις (< δόσις) in the following examples are the result of the assignment of a pseudo-augment to verbal derivatives (for details see III, 1.1.3): εἰ (ed.: ἡ) τὰς ὀφρῦς σου ἔσμιξις ἂν ἔλειπεν *Velth.* 573; μ' ἄς ἐν' κρυφῇ ἡ ἔδοσις *DEFAR., Log. did.* 146. The Cypriot paroxytone form γιάση (< ἴασις) is the result of synizesis (see I, 2.9.4): ἂν ἦτον νὰ γράψω τὲς γιάσες του, ὥς τοῦ νᾶζουν δὲν ἔφταννα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 32.33–4 (but read ὥστου).

Transfers from other paradigms are limited as well. They include feminine loanwords in -ε (κόρτε, πάρτε), which may transfer to paradigm 2.12.2: εἰς τὸν ἀφέντη τὸ ρετούρη κούρτης Ριθύμνης (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.6); ἡ πάρτη μου (1656, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 6, 164.28); as well as the occasional feminine noun in -α, e.g. ἄκρη (< ἄκρα): ἡ ἕτερη ἄκρη τῆς χώρας *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 34.29; πλώρη (< πλώρα < πρῶρα): εἰς ὅποιαν σταυροφόρον πλώρην σας (1415, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1979: App. XVII, 216.13); τρούλλα (< τρούλλα < Lat. *trulla*): πορφυροχρουσομάρμαρον ἔκαμεν στὴν τρούλλην *Achil.* L 519. The AG masculine noun πῆχυς also transfers to paradigm 2.12.2 (as well as occasionally to the masculine -ας and feminine -α paradigms, see 2.2 and 2.11): τὰ κέρατα ἀνάμεσα τὰ αὐτία μία πῆχη *Diig. Alex.* E 119.9–10 (Lolos); καμίαν πῆχην *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 6.27; χῶμα μιὰ πῆχη *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 507.13.

Transfers from other paradigms to 2.12.3 and 2.12.4 occur mainly in the proparoxytone paradigm, and usually follow the alternative set of endings in -η, -ης rather than those in -ις, -εως. They include the noun κάμαρα, which has an alternative proparoxytone form κάμαρη, as well as certain proparoxytone neuter nouns in -ι(ν), which are generally rare (see 2.20.3): ευωδεστάτη ἀμπαρη *Don Kis.* 463.15 (< τὸ ἄμπαρι < EMedG τὸ ἄμπαρ, τοῦ ἄμπαρος < Arab. *anbar*); only sporadically do they adopt the old endings of this paradigm,

¹¹⁰This variant also occurs in astrological and medical texts and in *Scholia* (see the online *TLG*), texts that are usually difficult to date and localize.

e.g. ἀμπάρεις και ξυλαλάς IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 841, in which, however, the original stress is retained.

Occasional transfers to the feminine /i/ paradigms include: τήν θαυμαστήν τήν πλάτανην καὶ πάλιν θαυμασίαν *Achil.* L 970 (< ὁ πλάτανος); ἐκ τήν πολλήν ἰδρώτην *Achil.* O 298 app. crit. (< ὁ ἰδρώτας < ἰδρωτός); ἀλουπτή (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 50.943) (< ἀλουπούς); reanalyses within the 3rd declension: καὶ ἡ ὀσφὴ τοῦ Λέοντος KAMAT., *Astron.* 798 (< ὀσφύς); να κάμω καμίαν ἔριν *Don Kis.* 239.5 (< ἔρις, acc. ἔριδα); as well as the adoption of the old -εις ending with original 1st-declension nouns: πρὸς μάχεις καὶ παραταγὰς *Achil.* O 8; or with other 3rd-declension nouns: τὰς ἐν τούτῳ χάρεις [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 771 (< χάρις, acc. pl. χάριτας).

Finally, there are a few one-off formations based on obsolete 3rd-declension datives: ἡ νυκτί *Peri xen.* 13, ἡ χειρί σου SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 5; μετὰ τῇ μητρί μου *Alex.* Rim. 464; or on obsolete 1st-declension genitives in -ης: ἡ ρίζη (1044, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 3, 146.5); κομητίσση (1131, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 111, 146.14); τήν τραπέζην (1092, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 3, 388.6); μετὰ τιμὴν καὶ δόξην MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 87.

The monosyllabic noun γῆ has an indeclinable variant γῆς (singular and sporadically plural), and an irregular plural γῆες, for which see 2.17.

2.12.1 Oxytone Nouns in -ή

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	ψυχή		
Gen.	ψυχῆς	-ῆ	
Acc.	ψυχή(ν)		-ίδα/-ήδα
Voc.	ψυχή		
Plural			
Nom.	ψυχές	ψυχαί -ῆδες -άδες	
Gen.	ψυχῶν	-ήδων -άδων	
Acc.	ψυχές	ψυχάς -ῆδες -άδες	-ῆδας -άδας
Voc.	ψυχές	(ψυχαί) -ῆδες -άδες	

Singular*Nominative**Fem.*

Sg.	Nom.	-ή

The nominative singular invariably ends in -ή:

- ή άγία έορτή (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.144–25.145)
ή παρούσα μου ταύτη χαριστική (1065, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 34, 202.26) (< adj. χαριστικός)
ό,τι λέγει ή έδεποία γραφή NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.34
άπηρέ με ή χολή GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 285
ή άγία μονή (1220–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 16, 78.7)
έχαίρετον ή ψυχή της *Achil.* L 9
τοιούτη βουλή νά γένη *Pol. Tr.* 833
έδόθη εις αυτόν και άλλη γή (late 14th–early 15th c., Athos?/Lemnos?, KRAVARI 1991: App., 196.68)
ή 'φχή τως μετά 'σε (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 20.6) (= εϋχή)
πάσα σου πληγή πληγώνει την καρδιά μου FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 45
ή μονή MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36.18; πολλή άντροπή εις αυτόν μας *ibid.* 234.10
τόμου έδωκεν ή αύγή *Diig. Alex.* V 71.1
έναι ή μεγαλύτερη πολιτική *Vios Aisop.* E 292.34 (< adj. πολιτικός)
ήρθε μία γραφή εις τās χείρας μας (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 49.8)
καθολικά άδελφή του (1570, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 16, 70.8)
μά πώς τό θέλ' ή ψή σου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.230 (= ψυχή)
ώσα βροντή, σάν άστραπή θέ νά χαθείς *Thysia Avr.* 382
έπειδή και ή όργή είναι θεϊκή *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 9
και τούτη ή πλερωμή (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 311.40)
η ταραχή των κουκλών *Don Kis.* 324.25

*Genitive**Fem.*

Sg.	Gen.	-ής ! -ή

The genitive normally ends in -ής:

- ξύλης ή μετακομιδής (1079, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 2, 17.9); έκβολής χρειών ... φοσσάτων διατροφής (*ibid.* 18.12)
μετά χαρμονής *Eisit.* f.5r.7
της ύποταής *Assizes* B 283.18 (= ύποταγής, see I, 3.6.1.1); τοιούτης τιμής *ibid.* 301.5
τόν Θεόν τοϋ οϋρανοϋ και της γής (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.17)
διά προσευχής και νηστείας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 66.24
μετά βουλής έδικής μας (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.3–4)
έκ της ζωγής (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 167.2d) (= ζωής, see I, 3.5.2.1)
τό περίσσευμα της ψωλής *Corona Preciosa* E 8r.28
της θυγατρός της Καλής (1562, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 9, 22.8)
να τας χαλάσουν εκ βάθρων γης MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 218.3–4
διχωστάς καμίας λογής κοντράστο (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.8–9)

οί ημέρες τῆς ζωῆς μας *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 263
 τέτοιας λοῆς (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 148.53) (= λογῆς, see I, 3.6.1.1)
 τοῦ φλακῆς *Thysia Avr.* 501 (= φυλακῆς, see I, 2.7.2)
 τοῦ ἀναθρεφτῆς μου (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 38.57–8)
 ἔπειτα τῆς θανῆς μου (1660, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 2, 115.9)
 δύο χαρὰν τῆς ρακῆς (1687, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 714, 971.28)
 ἦτονε τοῦ ἀρετῆς πηγῆς *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.82; κιαμιᾶς λογῆς ἀνάπαψη *ibid.* III.14
 τό ρέστος τῆς ψυχῆς της (1700, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 4, 128.23–4)
 μέ κάθε λογῆς μηχανές *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 16.7–8; μέ τρελαμὸν κεφαλῆς *ibid.* 25.18–19

Deletion of final /s/ before a sibilant or affricate occurs in texts from Crete (see I, 3.7.1.1):
 γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ θανῆ τοῦ (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 9, 31.14); τοῦ προγονή
 τοῦ (1599, *ibid.* 42, 62.4).

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ή(ν)

The accusative singular ends in -ή and occurs with and without final /n/:

νὰ πάρεις τὴν ἐ<ὸ>χή μου (11th c., Mani, DRANDAKIS 1972/73: 2, 666.3–5)
 εἰς τὴν πρωτὴν γυνή μου (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 129, 171.17)
 τὴν παροῦσαν καθαρὰν ἀνταλλαγὴν (1153, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 11, 33.13)
 τὴν ἔχω ὁμμάτια καὶ ψυχὴν *Eisit.* f.8r.9
 διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν της (1333, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 2.3)
 καὶ νὰ μὴδὲν ἔχῃς ὀχλησιν ἢ ταραχὴν πολέμου *Achil.* L 91
 εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν μου, καὶ εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν μου (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.19)
 γιὰτὶ ἔχω φανερὴν ὀλπήν *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 588 (= ἑλπήν < ἑλπίς; see I, 2.9.3)
 νὰ χεῖς τὴν εὐκὴ μου (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 2, 18.8) (= εὐχή, see I, 3.8.1)
 εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 18.4; κ' ἔβαλεν φωνὴν *ibid.* 64.18–19
 εἰς τὴν Αλυκὴν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 98.14–15
 εἶπε τοῦ τὴν ἀθιβολή *Alex. Rim.* 273
 ἀπέστειλε δευτέρην ἐπιστολὴν *Diig. Alex.* F 152.1 (Lolos); ἐποίησαν πλέον ἐντροπὴν *ibid.*
 292.19–20
 εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 120, 93.6)
 τὴν Κυριακὴν ἔστειλε γράμμα (17th c., Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.2, 72.5)
 μ' ἀπομονὴ *Thysia Avr.* 147; μόνο τὴν ψὴ ταλαιπωρᾶς *ibid.* 468 (= ψυχὴ, see I, 3.6.1.1)
 εἰς ὅλην τὴν γῆν (1605–32, Preveza?, LAMBROS 1910: 241, 184.4)
 τὴν ρακὴν πολλὰ τὴν ἔπινεν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §31.178
 τὴν ἑλπήν μας *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1064 (< ἑλπίς; ed. ἑλπί)
 ἔκαμε μιὰ νεροποντὴ *MATESIS, Chron.* 66.3
 πρέπει νὰ ἡξεύρουν τὴν γραμματικὴν *Don Kis.* 162.14; μήτε με τὴν ευχὴν μου *ibid.* 176.9–10

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ίδα/-ήδα

Sporadically the imparisyllabic plural -ῆδες, which is employed with the noun ἀδελφή, may lead to the reanalysis of the noun as belonging to the old 3rd-declension nouns in -ίς, acc. -ίδα: ἐκονσομάρειζεν τὴν ἄνωθὲν τοῦ ἀδελφίδα (1628, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 510, 486.20).

*Vocative**Fem.*

Sg.	Voc.	-ή

The vocative is identical to the nominative:

ψυχή μου κακορρίζικε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 198
 ψυχή μου, αναπνοή μου *Dig.* E 228
 άφέντη μου, κουρτέση μου, τιμή τών άνδρειωμένων *Achil.* L 1219
 και έσύ, γαδάρου χαρμονή *Poulol.* 516
 ώ δαιμόνων πομπή *Spanos* D 1143
 σκέπη κι άπαντοχή μας FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 269
 (ώ ...) γή της Ρόδου LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 91
 ζήση μου και πνοή μου *Thysia Avr.* 995; γυνή μου, δέ σοϋ τό λεγα *ibid.* 1127
 (ώ ...) ζωή χαριτωμένη *Fallidos* 157
 ώ γή, και άνοιξε άπό τούς τάφους κανέναν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.132
 θαράπιο τοϋ προσώπου μου κ' έλπη τση παιδωμής μου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.464 (< έλπης)
 ω τιμή και έσοπτρον του γένους της Ισπανίας! *Don Kis.* 190.15

Plural*Nominative**Fem.*

Pl.	Nom.	-ές

This ending was adopted from the 3rd declension long before the period covered by this Grammar (see the introduction to Chapter 2) and it is the most common ending for the nominative plural:

στολές ιερέων πέντε (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.127)
 οί ψυχές μας *Dig.* E 61; οί κεφαλές των *ibid.* 80
 οί κορυφές *Achil.* N 771
 οί άστραπές *Achil.* O 145; οί παραταγές μου *ibid.* 219
 νά ξναιν ό τοίχος πιθαμές δώδεκα (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 48.13)
 οί ποιές ήτον Κατακουζηνές VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 132.18 (= Καντακουζηνές)
 οί γραφές (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.29)
 τοϋτες οί τέσσαρες βουλές έγίνηκαν *Diig. Alex.* E 141.20–1 (Lolos)
 οί άδελφές (1583, Athens?, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.17)
 αί γλυκές φωνές MOREZINOS, *Klini* 79.13
 όσες θέλου ταραχές κι άνέμοι νά γερθοϋσι CHORTATISIS, *Erof. Dedic.* 61
 νά γενοϋ κάποιες γραφές (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.10)
 νά γράφονται οί θανές (1671, Cythera, PAPADAKI 2001: [a], 41.1)
 οί όποϊες δύο άδελφές (1680, Naxos, SIFONIU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 53, 205.2)
 ποιές τοϋ καιροϋ μεταβολές είν' τοϋτες; *Zinon* II.363
 οί ουλές *Don Kis.* 161.14; οί πληγές *ibid.* 168.6

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-αί

The residual ending of the 1st declension is used in mixed- and higher-register texts and in more formal contexts:

μή κρότοι δειλιάσωσι, πληγαί σε ἐκφοβήσουν *Dig.* G I.135; περιγραφαί ἀτυχιῶν *ibid.* VI.334
 ἀστραπαί καὶ βροντή (1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.5–6)
 ἀπειλαί μὴν σὲ καταπτοήσουν *Dig.* E 1; ὥσαν βρονταί καὶ κτύποι *ibid.* 469
 καὶ τοῦτο λέγουν αἱ γραφαί *Diig. tetr.* 68
 στολαί, παραταγαί [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 129
 αἱ δύο μου ἀδελφαί (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 116, 211.22)
 φαίνονται βουλωμένες αἱ κεφαλαί αὐτῶν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 339.29–30
 αἱ ψυχαί ἐκεῖναι τῶν ἀγίων ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1319
 αἱ πληγαί, οἱ δαρμοὶ ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 271.Π.71
 καὶ τῶν ἀνέμων αἱ πνοαί *Dig.* A 4053
 οἱ διδαχαί σιμά σου *Vios Aisop.* K 157.18; διὰ τῆς γλώσσης πολλαί ... ὄργαί *ibid.* 174.18–19
 αἱ φωναί τῶν ἀνδρῶν *Alex.* Fyll. 31.27; αἱ ψυχαί τους *ibid.* 105.29

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ῆδες

This ending appears in texts from south-western areas (Crete and Cythera) and is lexically restricted to the nouns ἀδελφή/ἀδερφή and μαμμή (< μάμη; see acc. pl.). No examples have been found before the 16th c.:

ἀδελφῆδες τοῦ ἀνωγραμμένου (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 685a, 531.3)
 ἀδελφῆδες αὐτοῦ (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 145, 119.2)
 ἀδελφῆδες ἡμεῖς ἡ Ναχαμά καὶ ἡ Στασοῦ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 240, 232.3)
 οἱ δύο ἀδερφῆδες (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 74, 57.12–13)
 ἀδελφῆδες τῶν ἄνωθεν παπάδω (1628, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 510, 485.10)
 οἱ ἄνωθε ἀδελφῆδες (1645, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 7, 361.20)

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-άδες

Imparissyllabic -άδες appears in writing from the 14th c. onwards (see the acc. pl. example from the *Chronicle of Morea*, below). It occurs in texts from southern and western areas and the Aegean (cf. the other cases), especially with the noun ἀδελφή/ἀδερφή, in line with the tendency to employ this ending with nouns denoting status or family relations of females (cf. γραιά, 2.11.4; ἀνηψιά and θεία, 2.11.5; μάνα and χήρα, 2.11.2). Its use with other nouns (κεφαλή and others) is especially common in Cypriot texts (cf. acc. pl. below, and see 2.11.1.1):

οἱ δύο ἀδελφάδες *Assizes* B 266.12
 αἱ ἀδελφάδες *Pol. Tr.* 4217 app. crit. (BV)
 ἦτον ἀδελφάδες τοῦ κυρ-Γιώργη (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 72, f.Ir.3)
 οἱ δύο κεφαλάδες τοῦ ἀγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 38.13
 καὶ δὴ ἀδελφάδες εὐμορφες *Alosis* 214
 ὁποῦ εἶναι τρεῖς Μαρίες ἀδελφάδες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 355.21
 οἱ ἀδελφάδες τῆς Κερῆς *P&N Diath.* 3990

*Genitive**Fem.*

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν

The normal ending for the genitive plural is -ῶν:

διὰ πλῆθος ἀρετῶν *Dig.* G III.152
 τῶν δώδεκα Ἀρετῶν *Liv.* E 1015; τὰ λόγια τῶν γραφῶν μου *ibid.* 1641
 ὁ βρῶμος τῶν πληγῶν σου *Diig. tetr.* 826
 καὶ εἰς τὸ σκολεῖον τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐγύρεψα κ' ἐμπῆκα *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 60 (< adj. πολιτικός)
 τὲς κόπιες τῶν γραφῶν ὅπου ἔπεψεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 298.9
 σὺν μπασῶν νομῶν (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIAZI 1998: 13, 30.9)
 τῶν σοφιστικῶν παραβολῶν *Vios Aisop.* D 236.9–10
 κατὰ τοὺς μόδους ... τῶν γραφῶν μου (1522, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 65, 122.29–30)
 ἀπὸ Ἀνατολῶν ἕως Δυσμῶν *Diig. Alex.* E 211.15 (Lolos)
 πολλῶν πληγῶν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 427.33
 ψυχῶν παρηγορία *Dig.* A 3281
 ἡ δικαιοσύνη εἶναι μητέρα καὶ κυρία ὅλων τῶν ἀρετῶν *Anthos Ch.* I 283.46
 παραβάτης τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali Prol.* 7
 αὐτονῶν τῶν γραφῶν *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 128.14

Deletion of final /n/ may occur in texts from Crete: βρύση ὀλωνῶ τῶν ἀρετῶν *CHORTATIS, Erof.* V.458.

The fact that addition of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.1), which occurs regionally with most genitives plural, has not been found in the texts examined should probably be seen as a coincidence.

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ήδων ! -ηδῶν

This ending has been found in texts from Crete, and is likely to occur in texts from Cythera as well (cf. nom. pl.): καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῆδων τοῦ (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 798, 695.8); ἡ ζωὴ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀδελφῆδων (1622, Crete, DETORAKIS 1992: 2, 290.17); τῶν ἀλλῶ τριῶ ἀδελφῆδων (1643, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 683, 664.19–20).

One example with a shift of the stress to the ultimate has been found in a document from Chios. The shift of the stress may be explained by the fact that historically the majority of feminine nouns have oxytone genitives plural, though, as the edition does not provide facsimiles or information on the state of the documents, it cannot be excluded entirely that the accent is editorial:¹¹¹ κ(αὶ) τῶν ἀδελφεῖδων μου (1643, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 4, 99.18). A similar form occurs of the substantivized adjective συγγενής (for which see 3.3.3): καὶ τῶν συγγενιδῶν σου *Eisit.* f.5r.4.

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ἄδων

¹¹¹ Any connection with the rare LA form ἀδελφιδῶν (see 2.12, introduction) seems rather far-fetched.

This imparisyllabic ending is used especially with the noun ἀδελφή/ἀδερφή in southern and western areas and the Aegean, by analogy with other nouns denoting status or family relations of females (cf. γράϊα, 2.11.4; ἀνηψιά and θεία, 2.11.5; μάννα and χήρα, 2.11.2). It also occurs with nouns denoting days of the week (cf. acc. pl.) and liturgical terms such as ἑορτή and σαρακοστή. In texts from Cyprus it is likely to have been employed with other nouns as well (cf. the other cases and see also 2.11.1.1):

- περὶ τῶν δύο ἀδελφάδων *Assizes* A 18.29
 τῶν δύων του ἀδελφάδων *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 54.6
 τὲς λειψοπροικίες τῶν ἀδελφάδων (1506, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 475, 339.15)
 τῶν δύων του ἀδερφάδων (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 157, 206.11) (for δύων see 6.1.2)
 μὲ ἀνδρᾶδες τῶν ἀδελφάδων (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: B, 462.580)
 τῶν ἑορτάδων καὶ σαρακοστάδων (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.32)
 τῶν αὐτῶν δύο ἀδελφάδων (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 53, 205.8)
 τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀδελφάδων (1687, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 91, 53.4)
 τῶν ἀδελφάδων τους (1704, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 64, 81.24–5)

Accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ές

This accusative ending pre-dates the LMedG period by many centuries (see the introduction to Chapter 2) and is the normal ending throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

- πρὸς τὲς ἀγίες τοῦ Θεοῦ ταῦτες μονές (1102, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 2, 550.17)
 ἀλλαγές δύο (1138?, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 14, 102.21)
 τὲς μοναχές (1140, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IV: 2, 117.13)
 τὲς κεφαλές *Dig.* G I.232
 θέλε μικρές ἀποδοχές *Flor.* L 1130 (Cupane)
 τὲς περιοχές τῆς θαλάσσου (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 204.24)
 περὶ φόνους, κλοπές *Assizes* A 23.15
 διὰ τρεῖς ἀφορμές ἐνὶ νᾶ φύγωμεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 234.10–11
 ὅλες τὲς λαμπρές (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 172.26) (< adj. λαμπρός)
 ἑκατὸ ζυγές ἀνακαράδες *Diig. Alex.* F 296.4–5 (Lolos)
 τὲς ἡγές / τὲς ἰ-γές *Pent. Gen.* 26.3 (rare plural of γῆ)
 τὲς ἀφορμές *Pist. kekoim.* 8; ἀποῦ διδαχίς *ibid.* 12 (see I, 3.8.2.1); ἀπ' ἀρετὴν εἰς ἀρετὲς *ibid.* 16
 εἰς τὲς γραφές μας (1571, Mani, CHASIOITIS 1970: 6.1, 242.23)
 τὴν γυναῖκα, τῆς ὁποίας τὲς ἀρετὲς ἐδιηγούντανε *MOREZINOS, Klini* 58.7
 μὲ ἀστραπές καὶ μὲ βροντές *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 665
 τον Δεκέμβριον ἔχομεν τόσες εορτές *Theophr. Char.* 121.11
 στέλνει ὁ Θεὸς τὲς πολλές του ὀργές *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §6.18
 μὲ πορδές αὐγὰ δὲ βάφουν *Paroim.* (Warner) 104.4
 μὲ κάθε λογιῆ μηχανές καὶ συνέργεια *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 16.7–8
 τὲς ἀγαπητικές τους *Don Kis.* 48.5 (< adj. ἀγαπητικός); νὰ ἀκούομεν βοές, βροντές *ibid.* 173.21–2

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-άς

The residual accusative ending -άς is used throughout the period covered by this Grammar in mixed- and higher-register texts and more formal contexts:

εἰς δεσποτικὰς ἑορτὰς ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 214.9
 συνταγὰς γὰρ ποιήσατε *Dig.* G III.43
 τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ ἐπιβουλὰς *Ptoch.* IV 464
 φωνὰς ἀγρίους ΚΑΝΑΝΟΣ, *Diig.* 63.267
 τὶς εὐχὰς (1417, Crete, LAMBROS 1895: 1, 586.32)
 ὤμωσαν εἰς τὰς ἀγίας γραφὰς (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.15)
 τὰς δύο σεβασμίας μονὰς (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 27, 61.13)
 εἰς μάχας καὶ παραταγὰς *Achil.* O 173
 ποντικοῦ βουλὰς κόψει κάττης *Paroim.* H 87
 τὰς ἡδονὰς ... τὰς καλλονὰς [ANDR. PALAIOI.], *Kallim.* 279
 εἰς πόσας γνώμας καὶ μορφὰς *Plani kosmou* 126
 τὰς κραυγὰς ἐκείνων LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 405
 να κάμνουσι τιμωρίες καὶ σφαγὰς ἀδίκους *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 58
 γραφὰς δημοσίας χρειώδεις (1548, Corfu, PANGRATIS 1999/2000: 1, 42.3)
 ἀπὸ τὰς συνεχεῖς βροντὰς ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 1306
 τὰς ορμὰς *Don Kis.* 158.10–11; τὰς επαναστροφὰς *ibid.* 159.18

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ῆδες

This imparisyllabic plural of ἀδελφή and μαμή has been found in texts from Crete from the 16th c. onwards. It is likely to have had a slightly wider geographical spread (see the nom. pl. example from Cythera, above):

τὲς ἀδελφῆδες μου (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 685, 530.29–30)
 δύο μαμηδες ἤρρηκε ὁ Ἰωσήφ *P&N Diath.* 2080; εἶχε ἄλλες δυὸ ἀδελφῆδες *ibid.* 2492
 ἀπὸ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀδελφῆδες (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 798, 696.24)
 τὲς ἄνωθέν του γυναικαδελφῆδες (1634, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 687, 668.16)
 ἐχωρίζανε ἀδερφοὺς ἀπὸ ἀδερφῆδες *Apok. Theot.* 493.159

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδες ἢ -άδας

The imparisyllabic plural ending -άδες is adopted with the noun ἀδελφή/ἀδερφή in southern and western areas and the Aegean, following a trend of employing this ending with nouns denoting status or family relations of females (cf. γραία, 2.11.4; ἀνηψιά and θεία, 2.11.5; μάνα and χήρα, 2.11.2). It also appears in a larger geographical area with certain other nouns, denoting the names of days such as Παρασκευή and Κυριακή, and ἑορτή

in a liturgical sense (cf. the other cases). In texts from Cyprus and possibly elsewhere (Cyclades?) the ending is used with other nouns as well: αὐλή, ἀφορμή, γραφή, κεφαλή, φυλακή (see 2.11.1.1):

τὲς δύο της ἀδελφᾶδες *Chron. Mor.* H 6056
 μετὰ τὲς ἀδελφάδες του *Pol. Tr.* 6081
 τὲς τρεῖς τους ἀδελφάδες (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 70, f.Iv.16)
 τὲς δύο του ἀδελφάδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 52.24–5; ἀπὸ τὲς φυλακάδες *ibid.* 204.31–2; τὲς κεφαλάδες κάτω καὶ τὲς μοῦττες ἀπάνω *ibid.* 484.20–1
 εἰς τες αὐλάδες τους ἀφέντες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.14; κ' ἐκόψαν τες κεφαλάδες τους *ibid.* 102.10–11
 ἀφ' τὲς ἀδελφάδες LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 198
 ἔκτισα σπίτια, αὐλάδες *Fior* 76.26; μετὴν μάναν του οὐ μὲ τὲς ἀδερφάδες του *ibid.* 135.20
 με τες ἀδελφάδες του *Anthos Ch.* A 193.15
 (ὅσοι ἔχετε ...) φρόνιμες ἀδελφάδες VENDRAMOS, *Istor. gyn.* 4
 τὲς ἀφορμάδες *Pist. kekoim.* 380–1
 (νὰ ἱστορήσει ...) ἑορτάδες (1590, Corfu, KARYDIS 2004/06: 3, 49.8)
 ἔαν πέσει εἰς δύο ἀδελφάδες ἡ γυναικαδελφάδες (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 418.850); νὰ νηστεύσει ... γ' Παρασκευάδες (*ibid.* 428.1360) (for addition of /γ/ see I, 3.5.2.2)
 τσι Κυριακάδες (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 276, 267.6)
 μετὲς ἀδελφάδες αὐτῆς (1674, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 9, 222.10)
 ἀδελφάδες δὲν ἔχω καμίαν (1683, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 56, 266.56)
 τῖς ἀδελφάδες (1693, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 32, 137.10–11)
 ἔστειλές μου γραφάδες KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 571
 γυναικες ὅπου πᾶν Κυριακάδες (1716, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 475.13)

In texts belonging to a mixed or higher register, the more formal-looking ending -άδας is sometimes employed:

τὰς ἀγίας Τετραδοπαρασκευάδας (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 26.182)
 εἰς ὅλας τὰς αὐλάδας *Assizes* B 350.11
 γ' Κυριακάδας τὸ ἄρτυμα οὐ μὴ φάγω STAFIDAS, *Iatrosyf.* 12.334

Vocative

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-ές -ῆδες -άδες

The vocative is identical to the nominative and shows the same variation. Predictably only a limited number of examples has been found:

Ροδογυνή, Ρωξάνη, ἀδελφές μου *Alex. Rim.* 1481
 ὦ τιμές SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 40.12
 ὦ ἀρετές GERMANO, *Grammar* 58.28
 ἀδελφίδες μου MOREZINOS, *Klini* 224.27
 ὦ ἀδελφάδες μου γλυκές FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 37

2.12.2 Paroxytone Nouns in -η

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	κόρη	-ης	
Gen.	κόρης		
Acc.	κόρη(ν)		
Voc.	κόρη	-ης	
Plural			
Nom.	κόρες	κόραι -άδες	
Gen.	κορῶν	κόρων -άδω(ν)	
Acc.	κόρες	κόρας -άδες	-εις
Voc.	κόρες	κόραι -άδες	

Singular*Nominative**Fem.*

Sg.	Nom.	-η

This is the normal ending for the nominative singular:

- ἐθήκη ξύλινος (1142, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 7, 75.46) (= θήκη, see I, 2.6.1.1)
 ή ζάλη τούτη νά διαβῆ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 314
 καί ή μέση ἔδαπανᾶτον *Arm.* 86
 ή κόρη τόν ἐδέκτηκεν *Achil.* L 1049
 καί πέση ή μύτη σου *Spanos* D 310
 η τοσαύτη πλάνη *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 244–5
 ή διαθήκη ή πρώτη νά εἶναι ἴουλάδα (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.24)
 λόγχη μία σιδερένια (1557, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 11, κζ'.55)
 ζέστη πῶς εἶναι μπορετὸ τὸ χιόνι νά γεννήσει CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.9
 ἔπεκε στάκτη ἓνα δάκτυλο (1605–32, Preveza?, LAMBROS 1910: 241, 184.4) (for ἔπεκε see III, 2.2.1.10)
 ποιά τύχη σ' ἔφερε *Thysia* Avr. 1059; ή χάρη σου *ibid.* 1143 (< χάρις)
 ή ὀλόττη ἄσπρα σκ' ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §30.7–8; ἀμή ἦτον ... πολλή ἐμπιστοσύνη *ibid.* I §32.23–4
 ή ζωντανοσύνη τοῦ νοῦ *Bertoldos* 4.31
 ή πάρτη μου (1656, Skyros, ANDONIADES 1983: 6, 164.28) (< πάρτε)

αυτείνη ἡ δάφνη ὅπου βαστᾷς *Zinon* III.62
 ἐρχομένη καμμία ὑψηλοτάτην δικαιοσύνη (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.14–15)
 ἐχάθην ἔτοια νιότη *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.16 (< νεότης); μὰ κάποια ἀγάπη ἐκίνησε *ibid.* V.113
 ἐγενέθηκε μεγάλος σκοτωμός καὶ φοβερὴ ἀμάχη *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 16.11–12
 ἡ ἕτερη ἄκρη *SOU MAKIS, Rebelio* 34.29 (< ἄκρα)

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ης

Nominatives in -ης occur with certain nouns such as τύχη, ὕλη, Κρήτη and Ἀφροδίτη (cf. XANTHOUDIDIS 1915: 438). The first examples are datable to the 15th c.:¹¹²

τὴν σ' ἔδωκεν ἡ τύχης σου *Achil.* L 1041 (ms) (ed. τύχη σου)
 πῶς ἡ Ἀφροδίτης τὸν γεννᾷ *Liv.* α 326 app. crit. (P)
 καὶ τί ἤφερεν ἡ τύχης *Chron. Toc.* 1155
 αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀφροδίτης *Achil.* O 4
 ἡ Ἀφροδίτης ἔστεκε *Alosis* 423
 κ' ἐσὲν διώκει <ἡ> τύχης μου *Imb. Rim.* 217
 ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου ἐβγάζει με ἡ ἄτυχή μου τύχης *Byz. Il.* 441
 τὴν ζημιά, τὴν σ' ἔδωκε ἡ τύχης *FALIEROS, Rim. Par.* 7
 ἡ Κρήτης ἀποκρίνεται *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 179
 γιὰ ὅδε πῶς εκατήφερεν ἡ τύχης νὰ τον σύρει *Apoll. Rim.* A 107
 διότις τύχης τό ἔφερε *Alex. Rim.* 1382
 ἡ τύχης ἀμποδίζει *CHORTATISIS, Erof.* IV.285
 ἡ ὕλης τῶν νοσημάτων *VENDRAMOS, Istor. gyn.* 99; ἡ ρόδα τύχης κράζεται *id., Istor. Filarg.* 3
 ἐξέβη ἡ πανθαύμαστος ἐκείνη Ἀφροδίτης *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 247
 ἡ τύχης τους ἐπήγαινε ἀπὸ κακὸ εἰς χειρότερο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 60.28–9
 ὅπου πολέματον ἡ Κρήτης (1646–7, Patmos?/Crete?, *LAMBROS* 1910: 266, 190.3)
 ἡ πλανεμένη τύχης *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 112
 Κρήτης ἡ φημισμένη *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 2
 εἰς ἄλλον στάτον εὐρίσκεται ἡ Κρήτης (1670, Crete, *TSELIKAS* 1986c: 3, 37.48)
 μὰ ἡ τύχης τότες θέλει *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 322.20
 ἡ τύχης ἔτζί τό ἔφερεν *Thrinis Kypr.* 459

Genitive

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ης

The genitive normally ends in -ης:

ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους ἔρης *NIKON, Logos* 23 684.17 app. crit. (S) (< ἔρις, -ιδος)
 τῆς κοινότης (1359, Albania, *SAKKELION* 1887a: 472.3) (< κοινότης, -ότητος)

¹¹² A comparable but not identical development can be seen in the alternative form γῆς for γῆ (see 2.17.2), which, however, is used for all cases of the singular, and sporadically the plural, and has thus become an indeclinable variant of γῆ. CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: A 654) explains γῆς as deriving from the frequent collocation κατὰ γῆς. The same explanation, however, cannot apply to τύχης, ὕλης, Κρήτης and Ἀφροδίτης. In the case of Ἀφροδίτης, there is perhaps some influence from the name of the planet Venus, which in the LMedG period may be masculine. It occurs e.g. in the London version of the *Achilleid*. In the other cases there is perhaps some analogical influence from the paradigm in -ις (for which see 2.12.3).

δίχως καμίας ανάγκης *Dig.* E 1193
 τῆς ωραιότης *ERMON.*, *Ilias* 2.241
 γλυκείας ἀγάπης *Liv.* V 3635
 τῆς θαυμαστῆς τῆς κόρης *Achil.* L 570
 τοιοῦτης καλοσύνης *Assizes* B 301.5
 τῆς ἀρσενικότης | ... τῆς γυναικότης *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 501–2
 πουλάκι της σπλαχνιότης *Laikos Akath.* 3
 χάρην της ταπεινοφροσύνης *Anthos Ch.* G 203.11; της υψηλότης την ὀρεξιν *ibid.* G 203.13–14
 ἐτούτης τῆς τέχνης (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, *MORGAN* 1954: 60.7)
 εἰς τὸ νησὶν τῆς Κρήτης (1504, Constantinople, *HUNGER* 1970: 362.12)
 τῆς πάρτης (1549, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2001: 8, 46.13) (< πάρτε < *Ital. parte*)
 μετὰ θήκης ξυλένιας (1598, Athos, *PAVLIKIANOV* 2006: 27 Suppl., 145.36)
 τῆς ἀδελφосύνης μου ὁληνῆς (1641, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 239, 193.34)
 μετὲς τρύπες τῆς μύτης πλατεῖες *Bertoldos* 6.9
 ὅλα τὰ στραβὰ ψωμιὰ τῆς νύφης *Paroim.* (Warner) 92.2
 ταύτης τῆς κοινότης (1663, Mykonos, *PETROPOULOS* 1960: 28, 31.14)
 μετ' ἐντάμωσεν ἕνας ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Μάνης (1681, Genoa, *VAYAKAKOS* 1988: 507.23–4)
 τῆς μιᾶς πάρτης (1683, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 393, 609.36) (< πάρτε)
 χωρίς γράμμα τῆς μακαριότης του (1692, Bucharest, *PAPASTRATOU* 1981: 4, 54.172–3)

Deletion of final /s/ occurs in texts from Crete before sibilants and affricates (see I, 3.7.1.1):
 τῆς πανιερότη σου (1610, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 2, 168.3).

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-η(ν)

The accusative ends in -η and occurs with or without final /n/:

τὴν ποσότην (1257, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. IX: 33, 457.17)
 εἰς κούρτην τοῦ αὐθέντου (1397, Patras, *GERLAND* 1903: 6, 184.8)
 τοῦ κράτου σου τὴν μάμμη *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 22
 καὶ ἤμπεν εἰς τὴν μέσην *Achil.* L 438; τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὴν φρικτὴν *ibid.* 575
 παρὰ πᾶσαν γὰρ ὀξύτην *ERMON.*, *Ilias* 20.125
 ἀσηκώθη εἰς βεβράνη (1472, Corfu, *KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS* 1996: 4, 151.1) (< βεμβράνη < μεμβράνη)
 εἰς τὴν ἀδελφοτέκνην της *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 60.31; καὶ ἄς κοιμήση τὴν κακοσύνην του *ibid.* 168.19
 ἡ στράτα τοῦ βρεφιοῦ εἰς τὴν κοπελλοσύνην του *Fior* 149.21
 ἀμὴ ἤκαμα καὶ ἤκαμε καὶ ἀγάπη (1501, Crete, *MANOUSSACAS* 1976: 5, 26.11)
 τὴν Μπέφτη ἀργὰ (1518, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1994a: 12, 56.16 (= Πέμπτη, see I, 3.8.1)
 πιάνει μίαν κεφαλὴν γαδάρου *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 278.36 (< κεφαλή)
 ρινοκοπεῖσθω, νὰ κόψουν τὴν μύτην του *ZYGOM.*, *Synopsis* 214.K.49
 τὴν πάρτη ἐτούτη (1594, Naxos, *KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS* 2012/13: 153, 278.35) (< πάρτε)
 παρεκαλῶ σε, Χάρο, κάμε μου μία χάρη *Nov. II* 162.29 (< χάρις)
 προσκυνοῦ τὴ μπανιερότη σου (1610, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 3, 169.2–3)
 τοῦ ἀνάστασης τὴ σκόλη *Thysia Avr.* 1134
 εἰς ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην (1670, Lefkada, *TSILIMINGRA* 1955: I.1, 72.1–2) (< part. οἰκούμενος, see 3.2.1)
 τὴν ὑψηλότη σου (1689, Gortynia, *GRITSOPOULOS* 1950: 30, 136.22)

διὰ κάποια ἀνάγκη τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1691, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 89, 214.14)
 δίχως προσθήκην *Don Kis*. 176.12–13

Vocative

Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-η ἰ -ης

The vocative is identical to the nominative and shows the same lexical variation where the forms in -ης are concerned:

θλίβομαι, κόρη εὐγενική *Achil*. L 626
 ὦ νιότη *Love poems* V 477
 (εἰπέ ...) δούλη καὶ σκλάβα τῶν Φραγκῶν *Poulol*. 328
 σκέπη κι ἄπαντοχὴ μας *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 269
 κ' ἐσύ, σελήνη τ' οὐρανοῦ *Thrinos Konst.* (Zoras) 8
 ὦ γνώμη τυφλωμένη *CHORTATIS, Erof. Prol.* 121; κ' ἐσύ, Ἀφροδίτη μου θεά *ibid.* III.231
 νύφη, ἄναψε κερί νὰ σέ ψειρίσω *Paroim.* (Warner) 92.1
 μούρη γαϊδουρωμένη *Soummakis, Past. Fid.* G5r.24
 ὦ Κρήτη, ποῦ εἶν' τὰ πλούτη σου *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 1143
 Φροσύνη μου, Φροσύνη μου, ἄφισ τὰ παραμύθια *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1521
 Κρήτης, ἡ Ρόδο ἐθλίβηκεν *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 189
 ω τύχης, ὅδεν ἐχόρτασες τὰ μῶχεις κατωμένα; *Apoll. Rim.* E 301 (same in A and V)
 ὦ τύχης ἐναντία! *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 91.14
 Κρήτης, ποτάμια κίνησε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 195.9
 Κρήτης, τὰ χεῖλη μου δειλιοῦν *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 1135

Plural

Nominative

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες

This ending was borrowed from the 3rd declension long before the period covered by this Grammar (see the introduction to Chapter 2):

οἱ Σκάφες (ca. 1050, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972b: 185.330)
 παλάμες δύο ὀκτάφωτες (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.139)
 ὀδύνες τὴν καρδίαν μου | κατέτρωναν *Eisit.* f.8r.3–4
 καὶ οἱ πιδεξιοσύνες σου *Achil.* L 1271
 παρθένες κόρες εἴμεθεν *Flor.* L 835 (Cupane)
 οἱ ρύμνες *Pol. Tr.* 1246
 οἱ κόρες τῶν ὀμμάτων σου *Diig. tetr.* 149
 οἱ εὐμορφοσύνες *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 56; ἄψεγες κόρες ἦσαν *ibid.* 114
 εἶναι πῆχες τριακόσες πενήντα (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 94.55) (< ὁ
 πῆχυς)
 τοῦτες οἱ πῆχες *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 188.23
 ποῦ τόσες γνώσες | καὶ τέχνες *CHORTATIS, Erof. Prol.* 24–5; μάχες καὶ πρίκες καὶ ζηλειές *ibid.*
 II.223
 οἱ ψηλότες *TROILLOS, Rodol. Prol.* Mell.84 (Aposkiti)

οἱ γλυκότες *Pist. voskos* III 6.369
 εἶναι διάφορες γνώμες *Don Kis.* 159.30

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-αι

The residual ending of the 1st declension can be found in mixed- and higher-register texts, and in more formal contexts:

ἐλεημοσύναι καὶ πίσται (1192, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 11, 634.6)
 νὰ παύσουν αἱ ὀδύναι μου GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 163
 διὰ τῆς γλώσσης πολλὰ μάχαι *Vios Aisop.* K 174.18–19

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-άδες

The imparisyllabic -άδες plural is employed lexically with the noun νύ(μ)φη, in line with various other nouns that denote family relations or status of females (cf. 2.11.2.1, 2.11.4, 2.12.1): οἱ δόλιες σου οἱ νυφάδες *Spaneas* Z 470; οἱ νυφάδες του KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 188.7; οἱ γιοί του καὶ νυφάδες *P&N Diath.* 1434; ὥσὰν νυμφάδες ἐστολισμένες (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVI, 221.35).

Genitive

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν ἢ -ων

The genitive plural ends in /on/, and the historical shift of the stress to the ultimate is often observed:

τῶν ὀδυνῶν παρηγορίαν *Dig. G* V.51
 ἀνέβην μέχρι νεφελῶν *Liv. E* 2339
 περὶ τῶν παρακαταθηκῶν *Assizes* A 11.5; περὶ τῶν διαθηκῶν *ibid.* 15.31
 τῶν συνθηκῶν ἐκείνων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 765
 ἕως τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ *Diig. Alex.* V 71.6
 τὰ σχολεῖα τῶν ἐπιστημῶν *Bertoldin.* 106.30–1
 μετὰ ... καλῶν συνθηκῶν *MAKOLAS, Ioust.* 423.17

Occasionally, stress shift is absent, not only in versified texts:

σκελῶν, κνήμων καὶ νεύρων KAMAT., *Astron.* 1571
 τῶν τέχνων *Pol. Tr.* 1670; εὐμορφουσύνων *ibid.* 12477 app. crit. (A)
 τὴν βυζαστρίαν τῶν κόρων MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 228.11
 τῶν κακοσύνων σου *Pist. kekoim.* 657
 δακρύων τε καὶ λύπων *Dig. A* 4367
 μετὰ πολλῶν ὀδύνων PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §9.25–6

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-άδω(ν)

The imparisyllabic plural is employed lexically with the noun νύ(μ)φη, as with several other nouns that denote family relations or status of females (cf. 2.11.2.1, 2.11.4, 2.12.1). In the example found it occurs without final /n/ (see I, 3.7.2.2.1): τῶν τριῶν του νυφάδω (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 257, 355.12).

Accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ες

This ending, borrowed from the 3rd declension long before the period covered by this Grammar (see the introduction to Chapter 2), is the most common for the accusative plural:

μάχες δριμοτάτες *Pol. Tr.* 58 app. crit. (AX); πολλές ρύμνες *ibid.* 2710 app. crit. (BRV)
 μέ κόρες ἐμνοστούτσικες *Flor.* L 769 (Cupane)
 ὅσες διαθήκες ἐπροεποίησα (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 44, 75.8)
 καὶ τὲς ἀράχνες βγάνει *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 192
 εἰς τὲς βαρέες μου ἀνάγκες *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 3138
 τὲς χάρες του τὲς τόσες *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 3 (< χάρις, with Acc. pl. χάριτας in AG)
 εἰς τὲς τέσσαρες κόχες *Diig. Alex.* V 73.21–2 (= κόγχες)
 τὲς μοῦττες ἀπάνω *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 484.21
 τὲς κόρες τὲς ἀνέγλυτες *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 27
 εἰς ἀγκάλες νὰ σεβῶ *Achil.* N 1052
 ἀπὸ χωρίον τὲς Νύμφες (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 18, 34.3)
 ὅλες τὲς κρουδελοσύνες *Fior* 99.26 (< Occit. adj. *crudel*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)
 τὶς πόρνες *VENDRAMOS, Istor. gyn.* 210
 εἰς ὅσες καταδίκες ἔχουσι θάνατον *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 199.Θ.6
 εἰς ἔτοιες γνῶμες *MOREZINOS, Klini* 30.13
 τοὶ δικοσύνες διασκορπῶ *CHORTATIS, Erof. Prol.* 18; τοῖ ἀγάπες τοῖ ἄπρεπες *ibid.* II.101
 τὲς ζάλες τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1601, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 31, 111.7)
 τον Δεκέμβριον ἔχομεν τόσες εορτές, καὶ την Λαμπρὴν τόσες σκόλες *Theophr. Char.* 121.11–12
 κι ἐκεῖνα που ἔχαν δύναμιν, λόγγες καὶ τα βερτόνια *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6538
 πανδρεύοντας τὲς ἄλλες κόρες (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 138.27)

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

The residual accusative ending -ας is used throughout the period covered by this Grammar, but only in mixed- and higher-register texts and more formal contexts:

τὰς αὐταδέλφας (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 26.206)
 μέ τὰς μακρέας τὰς μύτας *Ptoch.* IV 56
 ὀδύνας τὰς τοσαύτας *Spaneas* Va 15
 εἰς τὰς βαρέας ἀνάγκας *Dig.* E 1736
 τὰς ἀβαστάκτους λύπας μου *Liv.* V 768
 εἰς πόσας γνῶμας καὶ μορφὰς *Plani kosmou* 126
 ἀγάπας πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς *Spanos* A 284
 τόσας λύπας καὶ πικρίας *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 102.4

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-άδες

The noun νύ(μ)φη may adopt the imparisyllabic -άδες plural, just like various other nouns that denote family relations or status of females (cf. 2.11.2.1, 2.11.4, 2.12.1):

νά θωροῦν ὑπαντρες τὲς νυφάδες BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 230 (same in A)
 κι ἄρπῳ νυφάδες καὶ γαμπρούς CHORTATSI, *Erof.* Prol. 84
 γαμπρούς μὲ τὲς νυφάδες MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2842
 γαμπρούς μὲ τὲς νυμφάδες PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1472

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	εις

Sporadically, the ending of former 3rd-declension nouns in -ις/-η (see below) is employed: τὰς ἐλύπεις μου Liv. E 904 (for the prothetic /e/ see I, 2.6.1.1).

Vocative

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	(-ες) † (-άδες) † (-αι)

The vocative is normally identical to the nominative. However, no examples have been found.

2.12.3 Paroxytone Nouns in -ις/-η

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	φύση	φύσις	
Gen.	φύσης	φύσεως	-έου
Acc.	φύση(ν)/φύσι(ν)		
Voc.	φύση/φύσι	φύσις	
Plural			
Nom.	φύσες	φύσεις	-αι
Gen.	φύσεων		-ῶν † -ων
Acc.	φύσες	φύσεις -ας	
Voc.	φύσες	φύσεις	

Singular*Nominative**Fem.*

Sg.	Nom.	-η

The adoption of this ending of the -η paradigm with nouns originally in -ις pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar (see the introduction to this section (2.12)). In manuscripts and older editions the ending is sometimes spelled with <ι> instead of <η>:

ή παρούσα πράση (1123, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 4, 60.20)
 εκείνη ή δόσι *Assizes* B 406.20
 έχάθηκεν ή θλίψη της *Achil.* L 1
 μεγάλη θνήση ἐγένετο *Pol. Tr.* 2733a app. crit. (R); όπου θλίψη τούς ἤλθεν *ibid.* 6555
 το χῶμα νά 'ναι βρώση του CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 94
 καί ἦτον ὕβρη μεγάλη (1496, Pesaro, MAVROEIDI-POUMIDI 1971: 3, 132.51)
 ή φιλεμένη κρίση FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 507; ή φύση τους *ibid.* 705; ή γνώση μας *id.*, *Thrinis* 44
 ἀλλά οὐδὲ βρύση εὐρίσκεται DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 76
 τίτσια εἶναι τοῦ χρουσαφιοῦ ή φύση *Cyp. Canz.* 76.8.
 ἦτον χρήση να συντύχει VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 20.19
 και να σγομπιάζει η ράχη του σαν τον λαιμό της χήνας *Kakop.* 140
 ή λάμψη του KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.32
 τούτη ή κρίση ή φοβερή *P&N Diath.* 4690
 ἐπὰ ή γλυκιά μου ζήση *Thysia Avr.* 407; ή ὄψη σου *ibid.* 1060
 βρύση, ή GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *fontana*; σκόνη, ή *ibid.* s.v. *polvere* (< κόνις)
 ή πόλη KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 109.19
 ή ὄψη του ἀλλάζει DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 44

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ις

The old ending -ις of the nominative is found throughout the period covered by this Grammar, but mainly in mixed-register texts and more formal contexts:

ή καθαμία τάξις συγγενείας (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.600)
 ἐπιάστη ἐτότε ή Πόλις *Chron. Mor.* H 860
 ή λειψις τοῦ ψωμίου *Ptoch.* III 273.5 app. crit. (P)
 ή κτίσις CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 22
 θέλει γένει κρίσις (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.18–19) (= κρίσις, see I, 3.9.1)
 ἔδε θλίψις *Achil.* N 1725
 ή τάξις τούς Τεμπλιῶτες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 14.38; δεύτερον εἶνε ή γνώσις *ibid.* 328.8–9
 ή θραύσις αὕτη τοῦ πικροτάτου θανάτου (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 72, 136.2); καθώς θέλει ή κρίσις τῆς λαμπροτάτης μας Αὐθεντίας (1524, *ibid.* 86, 164.123–4)
 πρώτη κλίσις SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 38.17; ή φύσις *id.*, *Paidag.* 99.22
 καί βρύσις ὑπερκάθαρη *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 691
 κι ή φύσις δὲν τὸ θέλει *Thysia Avr.* 44
 ὄψις, ή GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *aspetto*; δύσις, ή *ibid.* s.v. *occidente*
 ή φύσις μου εἶναι τέτοιας λογιῆς *Bertoldos* 10.24
 ἐὰν εἶναι μεσαιῶς φύσεως κρᾶσις PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.71

ἡ ὄψις του ἐσβήσθην *Thrinós Kypr.* 76
 ἡ πολυανθρωπότερος πόλις VATATSI, *Periig.* I 475

Genitive

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ης

This ending appeared in the former -ις paradigm long before the LMedG period (see introduction, 2.12). It is the most common ending throughout the period covered by this Grammar. As some scholars, among whom Gignac and Dawkins, (mistakenly) consider this to be the use of the nominative in -ις as genitive, these forms are sometimes spelled with <ι>:

τῆς ἀνατολῆς καὶ δύσης (981, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 8, 6.20)
 τῆς βρύσης (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 40.145)
 περὶ τῆς πράξης (1334, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 46, 145.15)
 τῆς Κωνσταντίνου Πόλης *Chron. Mor.* H 6274
 ἀπὲ τῆς βρύσης τὸ νερόν *Liv.* E 2682
 ἀπὸ μεγάλης θλίψης *Pol. Tr.* 1215; τῆς πόλης *ibid.* 3288 app. crit. (A); μίας ράχης *ibid.* 10928
 τῆς κρίσης *Assizes* B 277.13
 τὸ νερόν τῆς βρύσης (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 14, 50.40–1)
 κι ἄλλα θηριά τῆς φύσης CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 21
 ἐκ πίστεως καὶ κρίσης *Assizes* A 25.3–4
 δὲν ἔν' αὐτὸς τῆς φταίσης FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 326
 πολλοὶ ἔνε τέτοιας πράξης LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 566
 τοῦτο το σαλμίτριο τ' ἐκείνης τῆς βράσης (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.39–40)
 τῆς φύσης FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 23; τῆς θλίψης τὸ φαρμάκι *id.*, *Thrinós* 34
 τῆς βρωμισμένης τοὺς τάξις MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.27; οἱ ἄρχοντες τῆς δύσεως *ibid.* 154.35
 χαῖρε ἄκουσμα τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ ὄνομα τῆς Δύσεως *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 779
 γιέ μου, πνοή τσῆ ζήσης μου *Thysia Avr.* 781
 τὸ ἀγάπης καὶ τσῆ φύσης TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.362 (Aposkiti)

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-εως

The old ending of the genitive can be found throughout the period under review, though mainly in mixed-register texts and in more formal phrases and contexts:¹¹³

ἀπὸ δύσεως (1178, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 12, 111.18)
 πόλεως Κροτόνου (1199, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 247, 336.28)
 πόλεως καὶ ἐνορίας Πάφου (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 39.27); τῆς σκέψεως (*ibid.* 39.39)
 νὰ ἐξεχειμάσουσιν ἐκεῖ εἰς τῆς Πόλεως τὴν χώραν *Chron. Mor.* H 583

¹¹³In a document from Cyprus written in the Latin script we find the following form: *tis poleo* (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 71, f.Iv.1), which, if it is not a simple writing mistake, is likely to represent πόλεως with deletion of final /s/, as elsewhere the full form is used: *tis poleos* / τῆς πόλεως *ibid.* 71, f.Ir.18. However it cannot be excluded entirely that it stands for πολέου (see below) with lowering of /u/ to /o/ (see I, 2.5.4), a phenomenon that does occur in this document (cf. *Cantacozini* / Καντακοζινοί *ibid.* 71, f.Iv.1 and *torcos* / Τόρκος *ibid.* 71, f.Ir.3 for Καντακουζινοί and Τοῦρκος).

ἀπὸ τῆς θλίψεως *Dig.* E 395
 αὐθέντου πάσης δύσεως (1430, Ioannina, Rigo 1998: [1], 62.3)
 ἐκ πίστεως καὶ κρίσης *Assizes* A 25.3–4
 οἱ διαλαλητάδες τῆς πίστεως *Pist. kekoim.* 147
 ποὺ νᾶν' τῆς φύσεως *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 348
 ὅσα εἶναι τῆς φύσεως τῶν γυναικῶν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.34–5
 ἐν κρίσει καὶ ἔξωθεν κρίσεως (1549, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 11, 49.10)
 εἰς ὥρα κρίσεως *P&N Diath.* 4968
 τῆς πόλεως *ROMANOS, Grammar* 5.12–13
 κόντρα τῆς φύσεώς σου *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 33.30
 πονηρὸς καὶ κακῆς φύσεως *Bertoldos* 4.33–4
 τῆς ἰδίας τάξεως *IER. ANVATIOS, Diig. Seismou* 335.13
 εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῆς πόλεως *Ζακύνθου* (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 112.3)
 τὸ ξύλον τὸ τῆς γνώσεως *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 34
 τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πίστεως (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.5)
 ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως (1688, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 113, 324.11–12)

Synizesis in these forms occurs in verse texts, but is never reflected in the spelling. Note, however, the addition of the superfluous particle γάρ in the example from the *Chronicle of Morea* to avoid the reading /'po-le-os/:

τῆς δύσεως τὴν καλλίαν *Eisit.* f.1v.10
 τὸ ἔτος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐτρέχεν τὸ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου *Chron. Mor.* H 124; τῆς Πόλεως γὰρ νὰ σὲ ἔχω
 εἰπεῖ τὸ πῶς κεῖται ἡ χώρα *ibid.* 532
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βρύσεως τὸ νερόν *Liv.* S 1534 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 αἱ ἀρχόντισσες τῆς πόλεως *Pol. Tr.* 3288
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψεως ἔβλεπεν *Achil.* O 149

Some scribes indicate synizesis by placing the accent on the first of the two vowels that are to be read with synizesis, irrespective of the actual stress of the word (see 1.5 for discussion): αἱ ἀρχόντισσες τῆς πολέως *Pol. Tr.* 3288 app. crit. (X) (2nd hemistich, read /'po-ljos/).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-έου

This ending has been found in the *Chronicle of Morea* (16 examples) and the *War of Troy* (5 examples), both verse texts from the Peloponnese. It appears to be used only with the noun πόλις/πόλη.¹¹⁴ Whereas in the *War of Troy* the form appears as an alternative to πόλεως only at the verse end, which indicates a stress on the penultimate, in the *Chronicle of Morea* πολέου is more frequent than πόλεως (6 occurrences), and is also found before the caesura, where the metre would require πόλεως, and the only “remedy” would be to read πολιοῦ, which again indicates that an accent on the first of the two adjacent vowels may serve as a signal for synizesis (see 1.5 for details):

¹¹⁴The form actually had a wider geographical spread than the sources used for this Grammar reveal, as it also occurs in the abridged prose version of the Sicilian *Life of St. Leo of Catania* (8th/9th-c., oldest ms 10th/11th c.; ed. Acconcia Longo): αἰφνιδίως ἐθεάσαντο ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον τῆς Πολέου §10.21. The reading occurs in three of the four S. Italian mss. See also the previous fn. for a possible example from Cyprus.

ἦτον βασιλέας τῆς πολέου *Chron. Mor.* H 447; τὴν στρατὰν τῆς Πολέου *ibid.* 505; ὅπου ἔνι
 γῦρον τῆς Πολέου *ibid.* 537; τοὺς πρώτους τῆς Πολέου *ibid.* 595
 διὰ νὰ τοὺς ἀσαλίσουσιν ἔνδοθεν τῆς πολέου *Pol. Tr.* 2907; ἐξῆλθον τῆς πολέου *ibid.* 5801

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ι(ν)/-η(ν)

The accusative ends in /i/, spelled either <ι> according to the old 3rd declension, or <η> according to the -η paradigm. The choice is often editorial. The ending occurs with and without final /n/:

ἐποησάμεν σου τελεία πράση (1134, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 43, 192.16)
 καὶ ἀπὸ δύση (1134, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 115, 154.8)
 εἰς τάξιν μητέρων (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 246.671–2)
 πρᾶξιν νὰ ποιήσετε εἰς αὐτοὺς *Chron. Mor.* H 1630
 ἔχει καὶ βρύσιν ἑρωτικὴν *Achil.* L 491
 θαυμαστὴ εἰς γνῶσιν *Chron. Toc.* 1847
 ὅπου ποτὲ στὴν ράχην σου ποκάμισον οὐ βάνεις *Poulol.* 237
 τὴν πᾶσα κτίση *Anak. Konst.* 94
 κ' ἐλπίζουν εἰς τὴν γνώση σου *Chron. Mor.* P 239
 τὴν τόσην ζέση *Theseid Prol.* P 60
 χρῆση μὲν νὰ ποίσω *Cypr. Canz.* 79.10
 ἐππέσαν εἰς μεγάλην πληξίν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 224.14
 ἂν ἐπερπάτησεν Ἀνατολὴν καὶ Δύση *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 79
 κ' εἶχα στὴν ζωσιν μου σπαθίν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 7
 μὴν κάμει χύση αἰμάτων *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 352.24
 εἰς τὴν Μπόλη (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 48.5)
 τὴν ὅψιν σου νὰ χάσης *MONTSEL., Evgena* 722 app. crit.
 μακρυγένης ἔως εἰς τὴν ζώση *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §3.2; καὶ βάνει ζέση καὶ εἰς τοὺς δύο *ibid.* II §1.6
 ἀπὸ τὴ βιάση μου *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.95
 νὰ ᾔχουν γνώση *KONDAR., Paidēs* 174; καὶ ἔκαμεν τὴν κτίσιν *ibid.* 685

Vocative

The vocative is identical to the nominative and normally ends in /i/, which is usually spelled with <η>, according to the innovative part of the paradigm:

ἔδᾱ συνάξου, λογισμὲ καὶ λεπτινή μου γνώση *Diig. Ven.* 1
 Πόλι, τὸ πᾶσχεις πᾶσχω το *Thrinōs Konst.* (Zoras) 35
 βρύση, πιντώθου *Cypr. Canz.* 77.29
 ὦ κρίση χαμηλωμένη *Fior* 92.2–3
 ὦ βρύση μου *CHORTATZIS, Panor.* II.483; βρύση ὁλωνῶ τῶν ἀρετῶ *id., Erof.* V.458
 ζήση μου καὶ πνοή μου *Thysia Avr.* 995
 ὦ πόλι *SPANOS, Grammar* 28.24

Because in the innovative part of the paradigm and in the majority of feminine paradigms the vocative singular is homophonous with the nominative, sometimes the old nominative ending -ις is employed for the vocative: βρύσις ἑρωτικόβρυτε *Liv.* V 14; ὦ πόλις *ROMANOS, Grammar* 5.12–13.

Plural*Nominative**Fem.*

Pl.	Nom.	-ες

This ending was adopted from the -η paradigm and begins to surface in written texts perhaps as early as the 12th c. (note that the earliest example below (13th/14th.-c.) comes from a text that is clearly mixed- to higher-register, and see the introduction (2.12) for discussion):

βρύσες κρυσταλλορεϊθρες *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 52
 κ' οἱ πρᾶξεις οἱ μεγάλες *Chron. Mor.* 1856
 κρίσεις θανατηφόροι *Assizes B* 284.6; δόσεις, πούλησες *ibid.* 284.7
 καὶ τάξεις, ἐπιστήμια *Chron. Toc.* 3118
 αἱ πράξεις σου αἱ θαυμαστές *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 6
 πόλες καὶ χῶρες *Velis.* χ 56
 οἱ γνῶσες *FALIEROS, Rim. Par.* 131; οἱ στάξεις τῶν αἱμάτων σου *id., Thrinos* 47
 θλίψες πολλές καὶ πόνοι *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 12
 πολλοὶ ἀνθρώποι, πολλές γνῶσες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 232.21
 οἱ κρίσεις *Alosis* 733
 διὰ νὰ λείψουν κρίσεις (1542, Corfu, *RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1996: 31, 238.5)
 πτώσες πέντε *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 36.23; κλίσεις ἑφτά *ibid.* 38.14–15
 διὰ νὰ λείψουν κρίσεις (1550, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2001: 18, 55.6)
 ποῦ εἶναι τόπος ἐνδροσος καὶ βρύσες τῶν χαρίτων *Dig.* A 79
 ποῦ τόσες γνῶσες *CHORTATIS, Erof. Prol.* 24; οἱ καλές του διάξεις *ibid.* I.59
 αὐτὲς οἱ τάξεις *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §30.66; καὶ θλίψες καὶ ἀναστεναγμοὶ πολλοὶ *ibid.* §31.15
 καὶ συντροφιάζου γνῶσες *TROILOS, Rodol. Dedic.* 2
 τῶν Τουρκῶν αἱ πράξεις *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 5263

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-εις

Not many examples have been found of the nominative of the old paradigm, an indication that these forms had begun to belong to a more formal written register; cf. the accusative plural, with more examples, but mostly from mixed- and higher-register texts and in formal phrases and contexts:

ἐδῶ ὅπου βρύσεις καὶ νερά *Liv.* α 695
 σχέσεις τοῦ δούκα μὲ τὸν σουλτᾶνον *Chron. Toc.* 1959 tit.
 δι' ἧς ἀπόλωνται πόλεις *Achil.* N 1873
 αἱ πόλεις δὲ στὸν βασιλιὰ *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* XI.111
 αἱ πόλεις *ROMANOS, Grammar* 5.13
 ἐγίναν τόσα αἵματα καὶ θνήσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 4227
 καθὼς οἱ πράξεις φαίνονται *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 1337

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-αι

When nouns in -ις start to adopt the -η endings of the 1st declension, a scribe who strives for a formal register has the option to adopt the residual 1st-declension -αι ending: ἐλεη-μοσύναι καὶ πίσται (1192, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 11, 634.6); βρύσαι κρύαι, χιονᾶται *Dig. A* 78.

Genitive

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-εων

The genitive plural normally ends in -εων, but the limited number of examples found indicates that these forms were perhaps not very much in use:

καὶ κυκεῶνα θλίψεων *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 75
 ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν φονικῶν κρίσεων τε κ' ὑποθέσεων *Chron. Mor.* H 2015
 θλίψεων τε καὶ πόνων *Dig. T* 112
 τῶν κρίσεων *Assizes A* 154.16
 τὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῶν πράξεων *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 605
 τὰ δεκαεννέα κεφάλαια τῶν Πράξεων *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 404.1
 ὀλωνῶν τῶν πόλεων *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 34.34
 τῶν πόλεων *ROMANOS, Grammar* 5.13
 τῶν κακῶν σὰς πράξεων *Don Kis.* 50.2

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ων

There is no evidence for a strong tendency to adapt the genitive plural to that of the -η paradigm, in which case oxytone -ῶν would normally be expected. Only two forms in /on/ have been found, without the historical shift of the stress to the ultimate, in texts from Cyprus (cf. proparoxytone nouns): τῶν βρύσων *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 2.25; τῶν αἰσθητῶν τῶν πλάσων *Cypr. Canz.* 135.2.

Accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ες

This innovative accusative ending appears in written texts from the 13th/14th c. onwards. As mentioned in the introduction (2.12), the adoption of this ending possibly dates to the 12th c.:

καὶ θλίψες ἀμετρήτους *Log. parig.* L 7
 τὲς τῶν Φραγκῶν γὰρ πράξεις *Chron. Mor.* H 1050; εἰς κρίσεις *ibid.* 2012
 τὰς ὄψεις ἔβλεπεν ὀλῶν, τὲς πλάσες, ἡλικίης *Pol. Tr.* 2056
 δόσες, πούλησες, ἀγοράδες *Assizes B* 284.7
 καὶ πόλεις ἐξοικῆσαν *Velis.* χ 160
 μὲ θλίψες καὶ μὲ κλάηματα *Imber.* 216
 διὰ νὰ ἀκοῦς πράξεις καλῶν στρατιώτων *Chron. Mor.* P 1349
 καὶ τάξεις καὶ παραταγὲς νὰ ποίση *Byz. Il.* 594

τῶν γυναικῶν τὲς διάξεις FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 263; ἀντρίκειες ἔχει πράξεις *ibid.* 264
 εἰς ὅλες τοὺς τὲς χρήσεις MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 160.30
 πλήξεις καὶ χολὲς βαμμένες *Cypr. Canz.* 2.2
 ὅλες τὲς πρῶξεις (1551, Venice, COUROPOU/GÉHIN 2001: 3, 161.2)
 κατὰ τὶς τρόπους καὶ τάξεις (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 26, 106.4) (for masc. τίς see 5.2.1)
 νὰ στέργη τὲς ὀρισμένες τάξεις τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 240.294)
 σμίγεται μὲ ὅλες τὲς πτώσεις SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 443.508
 σ' τοῖ διάξεις καὶ σ' τοῖ πράξεις σου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.142
 εἰς τὲς κρίσεις PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §35.38–9; ἔκαμεν κακὲς πρῶξεις *ibid.* III §2.4
 τάξεις, λέγω, καὶ φρόνησης DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 1170

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-εις

The old accusative ending, with more examples than its nominative counterpart, can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar. Note, however, that it appears mainly in mixed-register texts and formal contexts, and that it is absent from regional literature such as the works of the Cretan Renaissance and the Cypriot chronicles:

τὰς ἀμεληθέντας ... πράξεις ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 316.18
 τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 319
 τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 47.151)
 ὁ γύψος πτώσεις ἀπολεῖ *Ptoch.* II 54.2 app. crit. (H)
 τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ ἐπιβουλὰς *Ptoch.* IV 464
 ὀνειδισμοὺς καὶ θλίψεις *Dig.* E 227; τὰς πράξεις τοῦ νεωτέρου *ibid.* 779
 γέμει ἡ καρδιά μου συμφοράς, γουμάρια καὶ θλίψεις *Liv.* V 1494
 τὰς ὄψεις ἔβλεπεν ὁλῶν, τὲς πλάσες, ἡλικίης *Pol. Tr.* 2056
 ἐκ τὰς δυσκολούσας λέξεις ERMON., *Ilias Prol.* 24; καὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν τὰς πόλεις *ibid.* 5.367
 πολλὰς δὲ οἱ ἀνθρώποι ποιοῦν καὶ ἄλλας πράξεις *Diig. tetr.* 960
 τὰς δόσεις τοὺς ἄλλους ρηγάδες *Assizes A* 36.25
 τὰς πράξεις κυρ-Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Βαρύ (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 57, 48.4)
 τὰς δικαίας κρίσεις *Diig. Alex.* E 277.1 (Lolos)
 νὰ ἔχουν καὶ διπλὰς τὰς βρύσεις τοῦ γάλακτος SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 99.23
 τὰς πόλεις ROMANOS, *Grammar* 5.13
 νὰ ξοφλήσει τὲς κρίσεις καὶ φιλονικίης *Bertoldos* 84.32
 ἔχει αὐτὸς ὁ στῦλος δώδεκα πόλεις *Vios Aisop.* D 240.2–3
 τὰς τοῦ Κυρίου κρίσεις IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4648
 εἰς πράξεις καὶ ἀρετὲς PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 15; τάξεις τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων *ibid.* 1094
 διὰ τὲς κακὲς τοὺς πράξεις EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 43.15–16

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

As the -ις paradigm had begun to adopt most of the endings of the old 1st declension in -η, it comes as no surprise that a scribe who strives for a more formal register may be tempted to use the residual accusative ending of the 1st declension: τὰς κατάκρυας βρύσας *Dig.* E 1026 and *Dig.* A 2180; τὰς βρύσας *Liv.* V 204 and elsewhere and *Liv.* α 210; τὰς κρίσας

Assizes B 209.25, 250.13 and elsewhere; καὶ ποταμούς καὶ βρύσας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 856.

Vocative

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-ες ἰ – εις

The vocative is identical to the nominative. Very few examples have been found, and only in grammars: ὦ πόλεις SPANOS, *Grammar* 28.25; ὦ πόλεις ROMANOS, *Grammar* 5.13–14.

2.12.4 Proparoxytone Nouns in -ις/-η

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	δύναμη	δύναμις	
Gen.	δύναμης	δυναμέως	
Acc.	δύναμι(ν)/δύναμη(ν)		
Voc.	δύναμι/δύναμη	δύναμις	
Plural			
Nom.	δύναμες	δυναμεις	(δύναμεις)
Gen.	δυναμέων		-ῶν ἰ -ων
Acc.	δύναμες	δυναμεις	δύναμεις δύναμας
Voc.	δύναμες	(δυναμεις)	

Singular

Nominative

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-η

As noted in the introduction to this section (2.12), the adoption of this ending of the -η paradigm with nouns originally in -ις pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar. In manuscripts and older editions the ending is sometimes spelled with <ι> instead of <η>:

ἡ δεύτερη ὑπόθεσι ἔνι *Assizes* B 438.15–16

ποταπὴ ὑπόθεσι; (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 84.30)

τὸ ὅποιον εἴσται ἤθελεν κόλαση *Chron. Mor.* P 6258

δεύτερη πάλε σύνταξι *Pol. Tr.* 3244 app. crit. (V)

ἄφόντις στοιβαχτῇ ἡ πόλβερη (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.38)

ἡ συνίβαση ὅπου ἐκάμαν (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 18, 56.9)

ἀπόκριση κυρ-Ἀνδρέα (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 387.1)
 ἡ δέησί της *Pist. kekoim.* 185
 ἡ γευλόγηση (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 24.30) (= εὐλόγηση, see I, 3.5.2.1)
 κ' ἡ ντήρησή σου ἡ τόση CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.176; ἄπονη ἀπόφαση πολλὰ ibid. IV.349
 ἡ Κωνσταντινόπολι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 34.33
 ἡ ὄρεξη μοῦ λέγει *Thysia Avr.* 1083
 ἡ γεμπόρεσή μου (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 80.62) (= ἐμπόρεση, see I, 3.5.2.1)
 μὲ ἤρχουνταν ὄριξη PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.67 (= ὄρεξη, see I, 2.5.4); ἡ σίκαλη ibid. §35.44–5
 ἄν βρεθεῖ ἀνέχληση (1666, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 35, 38.9) (= ἐνόχληση)
 ὅς λείπη ἡ σύχυσή σας KONDA., *Paides* 3 (= σύγχυση, see I, 3.6.2.2)
 δὲν θέλουν διαρρέουν κακοὶ χυμοί, ἀλλὰ ευωδεστάτη ἀμπαρη *Don Kis.* 463.14–15

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ις

The old nominative singular ending can be found regularly in mixed- and higher-register texts and in formal contexts and phrases:

καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδόλωτος ἀφιέρωσις (1159, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 158, 210.5)
 ἡ ἀπόφασις (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 73.171)
 ὅς γένεται κατὰθεσις *Chron. Mor.* H 7921
 ἡ τοιαύτη πώλησις (1400, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 10, 194.17)
 τῶν νέων ἡ παράταξις *Achil.* L 133
 ἔτερη ἐξήγησις *Chron. Toc.* 517a; ὡς πάρδαλις ἐγόγγυζεν ibid. 3385
 κατήχησις βαβύκινη (1442, Belgrade region, ALEXOULIS 1892: 2, 280.10)
 ἡ παρῶν ἀπόφασις (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1991: 1, 234.28–9)
 διήγησις ἐξαίρετος Βελθάνδρου τοῦ Ρωμαίου *Velth.* tit. (Cupane)
 ἐξέτασις τῆς δέσποινας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2345
 ἐξήγησις τῆς γλυκείας χώρας Κύπρου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2 tit.; ἡ ἀφεντική διάβασις τοῦ
 λαοῦ ibid. 10.1
 μόνη ἡ νεκρανάστασις BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 82
 τόση διακυβέρνησις (1530, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 143, 258.16)
 προσωδία εἶναι κάποια ἐξάπλωσις τῆς φωνῆς SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 37.2
 διάλογος, ἦγουν ἐρωταπόκρισις SANKTAM, *Praxeis apost.* 15.5
 αὕξησις, ἡ GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *accrescimento*; δύναμις, ἡ ibid. s.v. *fortezza di corpo*;
 διαφέντεψις, ἡ ibid. s.v. *difesa*¹¹⁵
 ἡ κακή του ὑπόληψις (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83.10) (= ὑπόληψις)
 αὐτὴ ἡ διαίρεσις (1645, Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 10.2)
 ἡ παροῦσα συμφωνητικὴ ἀπόδειξις (1665, Proikonnisos/Marmaras, KAMBOURIS 1976: A.2,
 195.21)
 αὐτὸ εἶναι μεγάλῃ ὑπόθεσις *Don Kis.* 159.26

Final /s/ is sometimes omitted in writing when the form is followed by a clitic starting in /s/: ὅς ἐνι ἡ ὑπόληψι σου *Spaneas* V 59 app. crit. (note that this text offers no nominatives in -η, only in -ις).

¹¹⁵The fact that Germano almost invariably gives forms in -ις in his *Vocabulary* is surprising, firstly because he is certainly not an archaizer, recording what he hears in Chios instead, and secondly because he does not have the corresponding paradigm in his *Grammar*.

*Genitive**Fem.*

Sg.	Gen.	-ης

The newer alternative genitive singular is formed in the most common way for feminine nouns, by adding final /s/ to the nominative in -η. As some scholars (mistakenly) consider this to be the use of the nominative in -ις as genitive, these forms are sometimes spelled with <ι>. In these innovative forms the stress normally remains on the antepenultimate:

- τῆς αὐτῆς ἀφιέρωσης (1108, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 17, 215.33)
 τὸ χαρτὶν τῆς πάκτωσης (1330, Crete, LAIOU 1982: 2, 123.2)
 τῆς πούλησης *Assizes* B 286.25; τῆς ἀγανάκτησης *ibid.* 455.12–13
 τὴν τελείωσιν τῆς ἀπόφασις (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1991: 1, 234.28)
 μετὰ τῆς σύνταξίς του *Pol. Tr.* 6753
 μετὰ ... ἔπαρσις μεγάλῃς PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 111
 τῆς πείκασίς σου FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 308 (= ἀπεικασίς)
 τῆς συνειδησίς μου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 642.32; νὰ ποίσει τῆς ὁρεξίς του *id.*, *Chron.* O 678.24–5 (ed. τὶς ὁρεξεῖς του, but note that Machairas does not use the old plural endings at all)
 τῆς πόλβερης (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.38)
 εἰς τρόπον φύλαξης (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 111, 108.11)
 δύο μανιέρες ἐνὶ τῆς δουλεψῆς *Fior Suppl.* 273.25
 τῆς ὁρεξίς του (1554, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 124, 239.13)
 ὅσο ἦτον ὑπὸ τῆς δύναμὸς μας (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 234.78–9)
 μετὰ Σεμίραμης βασίλισσας *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B tit.
 τῆς πτωχῆς τῆς μητρόπολης (1613, Naxos, CHASIOTIS 1966: 15, 206.15–16)
 τοῦ ἀνάστασης τῆ σκόλη *Thysia Avr.* 1134
 τοῦ ἐγδίκησις *Zinon* I.21 (= ἐκδίκησις, see I, 3.8.4.4)
 τοῦ εἰδησις (1664, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 7, 416.13)
 τῆς ἐξέφλησις τῆς διαφορᾶς (1672, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 5, 16.3) (= ἐξόφλησις, see III, 1.1.3)
 τῆς αὐτῆς προσήλωσις (1695, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 359.7)
 τῆς Ρούμελης (1708, Zakynthos, SATHAS 1865: 524.30–1)

The following example combines the new ending with the stress shift of the old form in -εως (see below): ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀμφιερώσεως (1140–1, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 15, 106.17).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-εως

The old genitive ending -εως remains in use throughout the period under examination, but clearly only in mixed- and higher-register texts and in more formal contexts:

- τῆς ἀμφιερώσεως (1124, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 9, 80.15) (= ἀφιερώσεως, see I, 3.5.2.4)
 χάριν ... διοικήσεως (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.43) (= διοικήσεως)
 τῆς μέσης ἀποφάσεως (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 43.92); διὰ συγκαταθέσεως (*ibid.* 47.147)
 τῆς ἁγιοτάτης μητροπόλεως Δυρραχίου (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 474.10)
 εἰς ποῖον κρεμνὸν ἐνέπεσεν κακώσεως ὁ νοῦς μου *Liv.* V 1800

καὶ τῆς δυνάμεώς του *Chron. Toc.* 3036
 χωρίς λόγου τινὸς ἢ προφάσεως (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.13–14)
 πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 40.5
 περὶ ποίας ὑποθέσεως *Assizes A* 13.16; διὰ παρακλήσεως *ibid.* 218.30–1
 ἕως ὥρα ἀφηλικιώσεως αὐτῆς (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 15, 26.22)
 τῆς ρηθείσης ὑποθέσεως (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 256.9)
 πρὶν τῆς εὐλογήσεώς σας (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 12, 13.14)
 τῆς θεϊκῆς δικαιοσεως *Pist. kekoim.* 104
 με οἰκείας μου βουλῆς καὶ ἡθελήσεως καὶ ὀρωτήσεως τῶν ἐδικῶ μας (1666, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: IX, 75.3)
 καὶ ἄλλα συμβεβηκότα ἀξία διηγήσεως *Don Kis.* 172.6

The following is a clear example of a scribe trying to squeeze the old form into the metre (the other two mss have σύνταξις του): μετὰ τῆς σύνταξιός του *Pol. Tr.* 6753 app. crit. (B).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ος

Sporadically, nouns not originally in -ις may acquire the -ος ending of the old 3rd declension (cf. proparoxytone nouns in -α, 2.11.3): τῆς Ρούμελος (1699, Vostitza, MERTZIOS 1968: 3, 243.2–3).¹¹⁶

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ι(ν)/-η(ν)

The accusative ends in /i/ and occurs with and without final /n/. The spelling with <ι> or <η> is really a matter of editorial choice:

ἔχει ἡ ἐκκλησία ... σύστασι (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 307.5) (but: σύστασιν *ibid.* 307.4)
 εἰς ἀναζήτησιν τοῦ τοιοῦτου τόπου (13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6)
 ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν ἄρνησιν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 45.116); μετὰ τὴν σύσμιξιν (*ibid.* 47.157)
 ὑπόσχεσιν τοῦ ἐποιήσαν *Chron. Mor.* H 221; νὰ ποιήσωμεν συμβίβασιν *ibid.* 1626
 εἰς κάμαρην τὴν ἔβαλεν *Chron. Toc.* 322 (< κάμαρα)
 διὰ τὴν βλέπισιν τοῦ τόπου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 88.16
 πολὺν σάλμιτρο, μπόλμπερη τοῦδωσε *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 585
 ὑπόσκησιν τοῦ ἐποίησαν *Chron. Mor.* P 221
 ἀπ' ὅ,τι ἐγγύησιν ἔχουν καμωμένη (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 134.71)
 εἰς τὴν κάμαρὴν του *Diig. Alex.* E 283.5 (Lolos) and *Diig. Alex.* K 361.30
 εἰσὲ ἀντίλλαξιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωραφίου (1545, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 101, 148.12);
 διὰ πλεόν ἄξισην (1554, *ibid.* 144, 193.18)
 νὰν τοῦ δώσω ὄροξιν (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.3) (= ὄρεξιν, see I, 2.8.5)

¹¹⁶ Although Mertzios's editions are not always reliable, he tends to paraphrase and normalize rather than "make up" unusual forms.

τὴν συγχώρεσιν (1573, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75.11) (= συγχώρεσιν, see I, 3.6.2.2)
 μὲ πλῆσο | δρόσος καὶ περιδιάβαση CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.11–12
 τὴ παρὸν σύβαση (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 122, 135.5–6) (= σύμβαση, see I, 3.6.2.2)
 ὅποιος δώσει ἀνόχληση (1610, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 7, 22.7–8) (= ἐνόχληση)
 στούπισε κάππαρη LANDOS, *Geopon.* 229.36
 μ' ἔκλειψη παντοτινὴ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 112
 ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὴν ἀκρόασιν (1672, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 5, 16.3)
 ἔκαμε παραίτηση (1687, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 43, f.2r.1)
 μία ὑπόθεση πολλὰ χριαζούμενη νὰ τελειώσω (1696, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 3 [Γ'], 254.8)

Vocative

Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-η/-ι -ις

The vocative is identical to the nominative, and normally ends in /i/:

ἄμπαρη μοσκοφόρε *Pittakin* 2 (ed. ἄμπαρι) (< ἡ ἄμπαρις < τὸ ἄμπαρι < τὸ ἄμπαρ < Arab. *anbar*)
 Χρυσόνομη, ἔσφαξές μου | μετὸ μαντάτο τὴν καρδιάν CHORTATSI, *Erof.* IV.45–6

As in the innovative part of the paradigm and in the majority of feminine paradigms the vocative singular is homophonous to the nominative, sometimes the old nominative ending -ις is employed for the vocative: ἀνάπαυσις τοῦ γήρους μου, ψυχὴ μου καὶ πνοή μου *Achil.* L 225; Χαίρε, συγχώρησις αμαρτιῶν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 10187.

Plural

Nominative

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ες

This innovative ending was adopted by analogy with the -η paradigm. It begins to surface in written texts perhaps as early as the 12th c. (see the introduction (2.12) for discussion).¹¹⁷

ἔδε παραπόνεσες *Ptoch.* IV 428 app. crit. (C)
 ὅσες δύνამες εἰσὶ *Pol. Tr.* 663 app. crit. (E); τοῦτες οἱ δύο σύνταξες *ibid.* 3889
 οἱ κράτησές τους *Assizes* B 280.6; πούλησες, ἀγοράδες *ibid.* 284.7; οἱ ἀγανάκτησες *ibid.* 455.15
 οἱ συνήβασες ἐκεῖνες (1493, Venice, MALTEZOU 2004: 85.30–1)
 ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρόβλεψες *Theseid* VI.5,2 (Olsen)
 οἱ κακοὶ λογισμοὶ καὶ κακιῆς συνείδησες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 254.14
 (γίνονται ...) δέησες καὶ ἐγκράτειες LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 309; ἡ ὑπόληψες *ibid.* 606
 οἱ πρῶτες ποιήσες ... εἶναι τοῦτες *Fior* 83.39; οἱ ἐξήγησες ὅπου ξηγοῦνται οἱ διδάσκαλοι *ibid.* 84.16

¹¹⁷ The following example appears to be a case of the new ending being employed with retention of the old shift of the stress (see below), but the form may equally represent ἀφιέρωσες, or ἀφιερώσεις with a simple typo, as the edition is known to be unreliable: αἱ ... γινομένη ἀφιερώσαις (1192, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 21, 339.1–2). Similar forms do occur occasionally in other, albeit later, texts (see acc. pl., below).

ἐρώτησες περὶ ἁμαρτημάτων ἀνδρῶν (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.25)
αἱ ὀχθρίες καὶ ἀνακάτωσες (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.39–40)
οἱ αἴρεσες RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 73.8
ἐγκλισες εἶναι πέντε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 46.24
κι ἀπόφασες γιαμιὰ γιαμιὰ χίλιες στὸ νοῦ μου ἀλλάσσου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* III.212
ἀπὸ τότε ἄρχισαν οἱ σύγχυσες (1616, Pogoniani, SCHREINER 1975/79: 64.IV, 497.31.3–4)
οἱ διάλεξες Bertoldos 71.34
οἱ πρόκοψες FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 41
νὰ γράφονται οἱ βλόησες (1671, Cythera, PAPADAKI 2001: [A], 53.1) (< εὐλόγηση)
οἱ ἀπόκρισές τους (1672, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 96, 238.30)
ὁμως εἶναι ἀπόδειξες εἰς αὐτό (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 30, 119.31)
οἱ συχνές εξέταξες *Don Kis.* 70.15; εἶναι διάφορες υπόληψες *Don Kis.* 149.18

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-εις

The old ending is used mainly in mixed- and higher-register texts and more formal contexts:

καὶ φοβεραὶ κολάσεις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 521
μετὰ τοὺς δείπνους οἱ χοροὶ, μετὰ χοροὺς ὀρχήσεις *Achil.* N 721
οἱ περισκέψεις τοῦ δεσπότη *Chron. Toc.* 2764 tit.
στρατηγικαὶ δυνάμεις [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 57
αὐτὲς εἶναι πάλαι οἱ τέσσαρες ζωτικὲς δυνάμεις DAM. STOUD., *This.*, *Logos* 2, α6ν.31–2 (1561)
ἐρωταποκρίσεις εἰς τοὺς κανόνες (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.23)
ποῦναι φανερὲς αἱ ἀποδείξεις ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 124.A.17
αἱ πολλότατές του δυνάμεις KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 11.20
αἱ υποσχέσεις οὐοῦ με ἔδωσε *Don Kis.* 123.25–6

The following is a clear example of a scribe trying to fit the old form into the metre, where the other mss have σύνταξης: τοῦτες αἱ δύο σύνταξεις *Pol. Tr.* 3889 app. crit. (X).

Genitive

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-εων

The genitive plural of the old paradigm remains in use, though it appears mainly in mixed-register texts and more formal contexts:

ἐρωτήσεων καὶ ἀποκρίσεων (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 47.144)
ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν φονικῶν κρίσεων τε κ' ὑποθέσεων *Chron. Mor.* H 2015
τῶν αὐτῶν ὑποθέσεων *Assizes* B 329.25–6
ἐγράψαμεν περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ὑποθέσεων (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 5, 309.6)
τῶν ἀποκρίσεων *Assizes* A 28.18
μὲ πᾶσα ἐβγάτισεων τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀσπιτίου (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 45, 54.11) (< ἀβγάτιση)
περὶ ... ἐτέρων ἀποδείξεων KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 361.28
διὰ μέσου τῶν κανισκίων καὶ παρακαλέσεων *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 129
τῶν ὑποθέσεων μου IER. AVVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 336.28

ἦσυνε μία βρύσις τῶν ἀποφάσεων *Bertoldin*. 130.12–13
 περὶ τῶν δεήσεων καὶ προσευχῶν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 530a
 μετὰ βεβαίῳ ἀποφάσεων MAKOLAS, *Ioust.* 423.17

Synizesis may occur with this ending. This becomes clear in verse texts (as in the example from *Chron. Mor.* H above), though it is not usually betrayed by the spelling. However, a very clear example has been found in a document. In this example ἀποφασιδῶν τῶνε (< ἀποφάσεῶν τῶνε) the primary stress on -φα-, being the weaker of the two stresses, is deleted because two consecutive syllables cannot bear stress: τῶν ἀγιότατων πάπηδων καὶ ὁλονῶν τῶν ἀποφασιδῶν τῶνε (17th c., Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [3], 14.4–5).

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-ων

The following genitive in -ων is based on the innovative part of the paradigm. As the manuscript lacks stress notation, it cannot be established with certainty whether the form was intended to be proparoxytone or oxytone, but cf. paradigm 2.12.3 for similar examples from the same region (Cyprus), which do not present a shift of the stress to the ultimate: διὰ πόσων ὑπόθεσων ὁ πατήρ, οὗ ἡ μήτηρ ἡμποροῦν νὰ ἀποκληρώσουν τὸν υἱὸν τους *Assizes* B 438.10–11.

Accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ες

This innovative accusative ending appears in written texts from the 13th/14th c. onwards (cf. paradigm 2.12.3). As mentioned in the introduction (2.12), the appearance of this ending possibly dates to the 12th c.:

ὑπόσχεσες τοῦ ἐποΐκεν *Chron. Mor.* 2430; με πρόφασες καὶ ἀφορμές *ibid.* 8435
 σύνταξες ἃς χωρίσωμεν *Pol. Tr.* 856; ν' ἀκούωμεν ἀφήγησές σου *ibid.* 2680 app. crit. (R)
 νὰ θέλεις ἔπαρσες πολλές *Flor.* L 1128 (Cupane)
 τὰς ὄρεξες *Assizes* B 363.16
 εἰς ὄχλησες, εἰς συμπλοκές *Chron. Toc.* 356; ἐπτὰ σύνταξες ἔκαμεν *ibid.* 769
 με τὲς δέησές σου SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 224
 (ἔχω ...) καθημερινὸ περιβάρεσες (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 97.18–19)
 στὲς ἀναγάλιασές μου FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 474
 ἀπὲ τὲς πέντε αἰσθησες τὲς καθολικὲς *Fior* 74.19
 καὶ εἰπά σας δρόμον καὶ βουλὲς ᾗ πόθεσες ποῦ συμβῆκαν TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 359
 τὲς ἐγγύσες (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 134.65) (= ἐγγύησες, see I, 2.9.2.1)
 τὲς τοιαῦτες ὑπόθεσες (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 249.33)
 τὲς ὀρθωσες ἐποίησεν *Diig. Alex.* F 176.13 (Konstantinopulos)
 τὶς πολλὰς τοῦ ζήτησες (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.18)
 ἀπὸ κάποιες ἐνθύμησες (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 452.15)
 ἂν ἔχει καὶ ἄλλες διόρθωσες καμωμένες (1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.23–4)
 με ἐλαφρὰς ἐπίπληξες ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 133.A.63

κι' ἔδ᾽ τὰ τόσα ψόματα καὶ καύχησές του γρίκα! CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.14; (νὰ ᾿χουσι ...) χιλιά
 λογιῶ ξεφάντως id., *Panor.* Prol. theas 24; δειλοσκοπήσες πάντα τότε γεμίζει ibid. I.202
 δὲ θέλω ἀποφάνησες (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 81.105)
 μὲ πολλές παρακάλεσες (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.16)
 τάξες, λέγω, καὶ φρόνησες DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 1170
 δίχως περίφρασες *Don Kis.* 155.4

In the following example the form ἀποδειξοις, although normalized as ἀποδείξεις in the edition, is very likely to represent ἀπόδειξες, with mid-vowel raising of unstressed /e/ to [i], a common phenomenon in this collection of documents (see I, 2.5.4 for details): βγάζο<ν>τάς ω μπάσά Θάνασοις ἀποδειξοις / βγάζοτας ὁ μπάσά Θανάσης ἀπόδειξις (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.5) (for βγάζοτας, see I, 3.6.2.1). The same may apply to the following example: ἄλλοι [sc. ἔποικαν] φουσσατοκίνησεις *Byz. II.* 483, which might equally represent φουσσατοκίνησες with vowel raising (cf. e.g. τζικούριν *Byz. II.* 142 for τζεκούριν).

In the following examples the new ending is employed with retention of the shift of the stress of the old forms (see above for the reverse phenomenon). Examples occur in poetry, prose and documents:

δείχνουν καλὲς ὀρέξεις *Spaneas* Z 301 (verse end, where ὀρέξεις would have fitted)
 ἀντάμα συνετύχασιν, εἴπασιν ὑποθέσες *Flor.* L 1264 ms
 ν' ἀκούωμεν ἀφηγήσες *Pol. Tr.* 2680 app. crit. (V)
 β(ε)βαιώνει τὲς δεῖσες *Pist. kekoim.* 117
 τὲς δυνάμεις (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 308, 284.7)
 νὰ γυρεύουν ... ὑποσχέσες *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 147.B.32
 ἦκανες καὶ τὲς δεῖσες *MOREZINOS, Klini* 235.7

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-εις

The old accusative plural ending is found throughout the period under review, though after the spread of the new -ες ending to this paradigm, it is used mainly in mixed-register texts and more formal contexts, as becomes clear from the frequent choice of the old, more formal-looking article τὰς instead of τὲς or, later, τίς (see 5.2.1). They even occur alongside newer forms in -ες, not only in poetry, where the different stress patterns are metrically convenient, but also in prose texts e.g. τες ἀπόκρισες ... εἰς τας ἐρωτήσεις *Don Kis.* 166.8–9. The historical shift of the stress is normally observed:

τὰς εἰδήσεις NIKON, *Logos* 4 208.1–2; τὰς ἐπικυρώσεις id., *Logos* 9 310.26
 εὐχὰς καὶ δεῖσεις (1101, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 7, 395.4)
 πάντας τὰς ὑποθέσεις (1143?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 15, 537.1)
 καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δυνάμεις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 32
 τὰς πατρικὰς ἡμῶν ... παραδόσεις (13th c., Constantinople, DARROUZÈS/LAURENT 1976: 1, 191.4)
 τὰς ἀποδείξεις (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.140)
 καὶ πολλὰς ὑποσχέσεις *Dig.* G III.43
 ταύτας τὰς τρεῖς κολάσεις *Ptoch. III* 226; τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις τὰς πολλὰς ibid. 273.6 app. crit. (P)
 τὰς ἀποκρίσεις *Assizes* B 277.8

φλογίζει τὰς αἰσθήσεις *Flor.* L 882

τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτοῦ *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 82.25

τὰς ἀποφάσεις τούτων *Synax. gadar.* 86; οὐ θέλομεν τοιαύτας διηγήσεις *ibid.* 259

ὥς διὰ ... ὑποθέσεις, τὲς εἶχεν, | κερά μου, τὸ Κουμουνι μας *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1255–6
(ἀφίνω αὐτῆς ...) κρεβατοστρώσεις φουρνίδες (1509, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 15,
26.15)

ύγιης δὲ τὰς αἰσθήσεις (1527, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 117, 212.5)

τὰς ἐτέρας αἰσθήσεις (1542, Corfu, *RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1996: 16, 227.2);

ἠκούσαμεν τὰς ἀναγυρεύσεις (1544, *ibid.* 59, 256.8)

μὲ κάποιες προφάσεις *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 130.A.49

στρεβλώσεις, μαστίξεις, πληγὰς *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 77

τὶς ταιριάσεις (1708, Peloponnese, *PAPADOPOULOS* 1976: 6, 124.27)

τὰς υποσχέσεις του ἀγὰ του *Don Kis.* 47.30–1; τὰς ἐπτὰ μου, ἡ πέντε αἰσθήσεις, ἡ ὅσες καὶ ἀν
έχω *ibid.* 176.27–8

Occasionally proparoxytone forms are found, without the shift of the stress to the penultimate, clearly influenced by the new proparoxytone forms in -ες (see above). If the example from Sicily is to be trusted (cf. nom. pl. and see the introduction (2.12) for discussion), the evidence for proparoxytone forms in -ες, again, points to a date in or prior to the 12th c.:¹¹⁸ τὰς ... ὑστέρησεις (1155, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. VII: 3, 361.2–3); ὅλας τὰς ὄρεξεις τοὺς *Pol. Tr.* 714 app. crit. (X) (ὄρεξές τοὺς in the other mss); εἶδαμεν τὲς ἀναζήτησεις τοῦ ἑνὸς μέρους καὶ τὲς ἀπόκρισεις τοῦ ἑτέρου μέρος (1575, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS* et al. 2008: 10, 63.4–5).

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ας

When the -ας paradigm had started to adopt most of the endings of the -η paradigm, scribes who strive for a more formal register tend to adopt the obsolete accusative plural ending -ας of the old 1st-declension nouns in -η. Given the fact that these forms are modelled on the innovative proparoxytone ones in -ες, the stress in these hybrid forms falls on the antepenultimate (note that the ms of *Assizes B* (Par. gr. 1390) lacks stress notation and the editor is not always consistent in his placement of accents):¹¹⁹ τὰς ὄρεξας τῆς *Assizes A* 121.21 ms (ed. ὄρεξας); ἐτέρας παράκλησας *Assizes B* 378.13; ὑπόθεσας *ibid.* 334.9, 405.31 and elsewhere (ed. ὑποθέσας).

Vocative

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-ες ἰ (-εῖς)

The vocative is normally identical to the nominative, but very few examples have been found: σκοτεινιασμένες θύμησες! *Zinon* I.5.

¹¹⁸The proparoxytone form in the following example clearly is the result of a typographical error in the modern edition, as the manuscript (Par. gr. 1390) lacks stress notation: περὶ πούλησεις καὶ ἀγοράδες *Assizes B* 250.18.

¹¹⁹Cf. εἰς ὑπόθεσας *Assizes B* 455.16 and: τὰς ὄρεξες *Assizes B* 363.16, but τὰς ὑποθέσες *ibid.* 329.27.

2.12.5 Transfers to Other Paradigms

An example has been found of a transfer from paradigm 2.12.1 to the /ia/ paradigm: τῆς ἐγγονιάς μου τῆς Μήλως (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 8, 7.10) (< ἐγγόνη/ἐγγονή), possibly by analogy with ἀνιψιά. The same noun has an alternative in -α, which has been found in a document from Cythera: ἡ ἐγγόνα της (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 172, 141.25).

Transfers from paradigm 2.12.2 to the masculine /is/ paradigm include the name ὁ Ἄφροδίτης, which is used for the planet Venus: ὡσάν τὸν ἥλιον ἔλαμπεν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἄφροδίτην *Achil.* L 15; Κρόνος, Ἄρης, Ἄφροδίτης, Ἑρμῆς, Ἥρα, Δίας, Ἥλιος καὶ Σελήνη *Diig. Alex.* V 29.15–16; other feminine nouns that may become masculine are ἡ χαίτη and ἡ ἀσβέστη: ὁ χαίτης (1092, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 3, 388.4); διὰ τὰ ἀνακατώνουν τὸν ἀσβέστην *Diig. Ag. Sof.* ω 530.19; and ἡ πλάτη in texts from the Heptanese and the Peloponnese: ἐπῆρα εἰς τὸν πλάτην μου πέτρην *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 27; εἰς τὸν πλάτην μου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 373.4; ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν ἕναν πλάτην *Bertoldin.* 145.23–4.

The noun ἰθάκη has a neuter alternative in -ι(ν): τὸ Θιάκι (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 167.9); εἰς το νησι τοῦ Θιακιοῦ (1585 [later copy], Ithaca, KALLINIKOS 1980: 56.4); εἰς τὸ Θιάκι (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 29, 48.1); ἀπὸ τὸ Θιάκι (1669, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 2, 281.25–6). The noun δόση/δόσις develops alternative forms according to the same paradigm in the plural: ἔπαιρνες ... δόσια καὶ λιζάτον *Diig. Alex.* V 73.29–30; τὰ δώσης δόσια αὐτάρκετα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.33; τὰ δόσια μάτια παίρνουνε *Paroim.* (Warner) 58.11; τὰ δόσα MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 172 (= δόσια, see I, 2.4.7.3). The same noun may also transfer to the feminine -ία paradigm: γίνονται ... δόσιες χρονῶν ἐπτὰ (1489, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 19, 100.21).

In Cypriot texts the noun ἀπόφασις/ἀπόφαση may lose its last syllable, resulting in an unusual alternative in -α: καὶ θέλεις ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀπόφαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 258.29; ἐποῖκαν ἀπόφα τὰ μποῦν *ibid.* 392.22; ἐποῖκεν ἀπόφαν τὰ τοὺς κόψει ὅλους VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 146.12.

2.13 Feminine Nouns in /u/

In the period covered by this Grammar these nouns generally have an imparisyllabic plural in -οῦδες. They include nouns such as ἄλουπού/ἄλεπού (< ἄλουπός < ἄλωπηξ), μαϊμού (< Arab. *maymūn*), nouns that denote professions (e.g. ἀνυφαντού) and characterizations of women such as γλωσσού and μεθού, which generally have masculine counterparts in -άς or -ής (2.2.1, 2.3.1). The paradigm further includes nouns modelled on Romance words in -on and -oun (French/Occitan and Italian), which occur regionally (Cyprus, Rhodes, Peloponnese and elsewhere), e.g. βερτού (< Occit. *vertut* and Ital. *vertu(de)*); ραζού (< Occit. *rasoun*), βενεζού (< Occit. *venesoun*) and others (for the Occitan originals see HONNORAT, *Lex.*).

In the singular the paradigm also covers names in -ού developed from those in -ώ (see 2.14; see also HENRICH 1991) via an intermediate phase in which a new acc. sg. in -ούν and nom. sg. in -ούς appeared, modelled on the gen. sg. in -οῦς; see DIETERICH 1898: 168, who

mentions two inscriptional examples in -ού that pre-date the 10th c. Names in -ού can also be found in lower-register EMedG texts such as Saints' Lives.¹²⁰ Proper names in -ού are also derived from given names in -ία and -α, e.g. Εὐδοκού (< Εὐδοκία), Μαρού (< Μαρία), Ἀννεζού (< Ἀννέζα); Ποθού (< Πόθα), as well as from masculine names such as Γιαννού (< Γιάννης), Πετρού (< Πέτρος) and others. Furthermore the ending is used in feminine surnames derived from masculine surnames. Examples have been found in texts from Crete, Mani and the Aegean (Naxos): κάγώ Ἐργίνα Χαλκωματού (1510, Crete, ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ/LAMBAKIS 2003: 21, 36.7); τὴν κερα-Ζαμπέταν τὴν Χρυσολουρούν, γυναίκα τοῦ κυρ-Μανούσο Χρυσολουρά (1523, *ibid.* 74, 141.22–3); κερα-Μαρίαν Κουρεψούν (1524, *ibid.* 86, 159.10); ἡ Ἀντρεοῦ ἡ Φουκοῦ (1547, Mani, ΣΚΟΡΕΤΕΑΣ 1950: I, 70.2–3); τοῦ Νικόλα τῆς Πολυδοκατοῦς (1682, Naxos, ΣΙΦΟΝΙΟΥ-KΑΡΑΡΑ *et al.* 1982/83: 206, 383.5). The paradigm also includes place names such as Ἀκανθοῦ.

The ending -οῦς of the genitive singular is identical in the paradigms in -ού and -ώ. It is, therefore, not always possible to determine to which of the two paradigms a genitive form in -οῦς belongs. If an /o/ variant is attested, they will be treated at paradigm 2.14, even though the /o/ forms may reflect scribal conservatism. They will be treated at 2.13 if no /o/ forms have been found, if the form has an unambiguously vernacular feel about it (e.g. τῆς Καλοκρασοῦς, τῆς Τρελοῦς), or if /u/ forms are exclusive in a certain area (such as Crete, Cyprus and the Aegean) or text (as is the case with the name Μαξιμού in the Grottaferrata and Escorial versions of *Digenis*).

Transfers to this paradigm are fairly limited: apart from the above-mentioned feminine names in -ώ that developed into -ού, a group of nouns that may transfer to this paradigm are loanwords from Romance (Occitan, French and Italian, depending on the region) originally in -ό(ν) (see 2.15), e.g. κονδισιού < κονδισιό(ν), κομεσιού < κομεσιό(ν), ὀπινιού < ὀπινιό(ν). The Cypriot dialect has a variant in -ού for the noun μάμμη (midwife): ὅσα ὠρδινιάζαν οἱ γιλλοῦδες γ-οἱ μαμμοῦδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 216.4–5.

2.13.1 The Paradigm

	General	Restricted
Singular		
Nom.	ἄλουπού	
Gen.	ἄλουπούς	
Acc.	ἄλουπού(ν)	
Voc.	ἄλουπού	

¹²⁰E.g. γυνή τις Φωτοῦ ὀνόματι in the *Life and Miracles of St Anastasios the Persian* (7th c., ed. Flusin; see the online *TLG*); εἶχε δὲ καὶ σύμβιον τοῦνομα Θεοσεβοῦν *Vios Philaret.* 16 (9th c.; 11th-c. ms); Κοσμοῦ καὶ Ὑπατίας *ibid.* 480 app. crit. (G).

Plural		
Nom.	άλουποῦδες	-ούς
Gen.	άλουπούδων	
Acc.	άλουποῦδες	-ούς
Voc.	άλουποῦδες	

Singular

Nominative

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ού

The only ending for the nominative singular is oxytone -ού. The ending is sometimes spelled with a circumflex instead of an acute:

Βασιλοῦ σὺν τῶν παίδων (1097, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 60, 77.24–5)
 ἰδοῦ μόνη ἡ Μαξιμοῦ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ κάμπῳ *Dig. G VI.734*
 ἡ μαῖμοῦ ἀπέμεινεν *Diig. tetr.* 1074¹²¹
 διλετσιοῦ καὶ χάριτα *Fior* 74.10 (< Occit. *dilection*); γεννᾶται ... μία δισποζετσιοῦ *ibid.* 76.17
 (< Occit. *disposition*); ἡ φυσικὴ ραζοῦ εἶναι τούτη *ibid.* 83.14 (< Occit. *rasoun*)
 ἡ α' βερτοῦ τῶν κορμιῶν *Fior Suppl.* 274.3 (< Occit. *vertut*)
 ἡ δ' ἄλουποῦ ἡ πονηρά, ἡ δολιοπανοῦργος *Fyll. gadar:* 44
 ἡ ρηθεῖσα Εὐδοκοῦ (1510, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 20, 35.18); ἡ Ποθοῦ ἡ
 Μπιλένα (1521, *ibid.* 30, 113.29); ἡ λεγομένη Μαροῦ (1523, *ibid.* 69, 128.16); ἐγὼ Κανακοῦ
 Μιχαλίτσαινα (*ibid.* 83, 155.2)
 ἡ Καλὴ καὶ ἡ Χεονοῦ (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 94, 116.3) (= Χιονοῦ)
 ἄλουποῦ καὶ μαῖμοῦ ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 27 tit.
 ἡ ἄλουποῦ ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, *Grammar* 42.15; ἡ μαῖμοῦ ... ἡ γελοῦ *ibid.* 42.19
 ἡ Ἄντρεοῦ ἡ Φουκοῦ (1547, Mani, SKOPETAS 1950: I, 70.2–3)
 ἡμεῖς ἡ Ναχαμὰ καὶ ἡ Στασοῦ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 240, 232.3)
 ἡ Φλουροῦ τσι βγάνει *Stathis* II.56
 ἡ ὁποία ἄνωθεν κερα-Μπαλασοῦ (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 88, 243.7)
 ἡ κερ' Ἄννεζοῦ (1703, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 48, 61.5)
 ἐγὼ εἶμαι παλαιὰ ἀλεποῦ *Don Kis.* 604.34–5

Genitive

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-οῦς

The genitive is formed by adding the feminine genitive singular marker -ς to the nominative:

τῆς λούστρας τῆς Τρελοῦς (1104 [14th-c. copy], Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 52, 241.459)
 χωράφιον τῆς Καλτζοῦς (1100–10, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 53, 255.25)

¹²¹ The form is found in a Hebrew gloss by Hillel ben Eljakim, a 12th-c. rabbi from Chandax, in Cod. Merzbacher 97 f.270, translated in the German modern edition as: “der Affe heißt auf griechisch μαῖμοῦ”.

όσπίτιον τῆς Καπασοῦς (1110–16, Constantinople, GAUTIER 1985: 150.22)
 τῆς Μαξιμοῦς *Dig.* G VI.452
 τὸ τῆς Ἀλωποῦς λεγόμενον ρυάκιον (1300, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 90.255); τῆς
 Καλοκρασοῦς (1321, *ibid.* 108, 204.540); τῆς Παπαμιχαηλοῦς (1321, *ibid.* 109, 258.633)
 Βασίλειος ὁ τῆς Βασταΐωνανοῦς (1318, Athos, LEFORT 1973: 14, 103.47)
 τῆς Μαξιμοῦς τῆς κούρβας *Dig.* E 1577
 τῆς ἄλωποῦς τὰς ὕβρεις *Diig. tetr.* 237
 τῆς Κατσικοπουρδοῦς *Spanos* A 467
 οἱ ὑπεξοῦσιοι τῆς Ρελιγιοῦς (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 205.27) (< Fr. *religion*)
 τῆς Εὐδοκοῦς Ἀξιότισσας (1510, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 20, 35.10); τῆς λεγομένης
 κερα-Ποθοῦς (1521, *ibid.* 60, 113.30); τῆς λεγομένης Μαροῦς (1523, *ibid.* 69, 128.9)
 μετ' εὐλαβοῦς καὶ ταπεινῆς ἀρεκουμαντισιοῦς (1511, Chios, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol.
 3: 17, 261.2–3) (< Occit. *arrecoumandation*)
 τῆς βερτοῦς *Fior* 75.29 (< Occit. *vertut*); μῖς κομπλετσιοῦς *ibid.* 83.1 (< Occit. *couplexion*)
 μῖς κονδετσιοῦς καὶ ἐνοῦ τέλου *Fior* Suppl. 270.12–13
 συνεγγὺς τῆς Ἀλουποῦς (1542, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 104, 73.3)
 τῆς ἄλουποῦς SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 42.15; τῆς μαίμοῦς *ibid.* 42.19; τῆς γελοῦς *ibid.* 42.20 (<
 γελλώ)
 τσῆ χήρας Μπουραμπουροῦς (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 217, 220.3)
 τράγου ἢ ἄλουποῦς LANDOS, *Geopon.* 249.5
 θέλω γυρίσει στσῆ Πετροῦς FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.48
 τοῦ Νικόλα τῆς Πολυδουκατοῦς (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 206, 383.5);
 κερα-Μοσκοῦς (*ibid.* 234, 417.8–9)

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-οῦ(ν)

The accusative ends in /u/ and can be found with and without final /n/. Some editors spell the forms with a circumflex instead of an acute:

καὶ τὴν δούλη σου Θεφανοῦν (10th/11th c.?, Tinos, FEISSEL 1980: 12, 488.3) (< Θεοφανώ)
 πρὸς Μαξιμοῦν ἀπῆλθε *Dig.* G VI.385
 ἔχει ... θυγατέρα Εὐγενοῦν (1302, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 93, 121.15) (< Εὐγενώ)
 τὴν λέουν οἱ Φράγκοι κομεσίουν *Chron. Mor.* H 7994 (< Fr. *comission*) (read κομεσιούν)
 ἀμὴ ἄγωμε εἰς τὴν Μαξιμοῦ *Dig.* E 1352; ᾽ς τὴν Μαξιμοῦν ὑπάγει *ibid.* 1358
 ὅπου φορεῖ τὴν τσαπεροῦν *Poulol.* 103; τὴν ἐμπαλωματοῦν *ibid.* 335
 τὴν μαίμοῦν ἐλάλει *Diig. tetr.* 970
 ἄπασα χάριτα ἀπου ἔλαβεν ἀπου τὴν Ρελιζιού (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1991: 1, 233.13)
 εἰς ρετιτζιοῦν *Assizes* A 115.20 (< Occit. *reddition*)
 διὰ μίαν κεστιοῦν τὴν εἶχεν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 170.19 (< Fr. *question*)
 ἀγάπην καὶ δισκριτιοῦν *Fior* 74.2–3 (< Occit. *discretion*); κατὰ τὴν ὀπνιοῦν τινῶν
 φιλοσόφων *ibid.* 79.20 (< Occit./Fr. *opinion*); εἰς κουμπαρατσιοῦν *ibid.* 94.19 (< Old Ital.
comparacion/comparaciun, see *TLIO* s.v. *comparazione*); τὴν ἄλουππουν *ibid.* 121.28–9
 κατὰ τὴν κουντετζιού του (1536, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 116, 229.35) (<
 Ven. *condizìon*); ἐκάμασιν τῆς κοντρατζιού (1537, *ibid.* 117, 231.28)
 δίχως ραζοῦν καὶ δίχα κέρδος *Pist. kekoim.* 149 (< Occit. *rasoun*)
 νὰ μὴν ἔχει ἀπελατζιοῦν (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 9, 25.12); νὰ ἡκούσει τὴν
 πομπλικατζιού (1582, *ibid.* 162, 102.2); ὥς φαίνεται στὴν κοντσεσιού (1582, *ibid.* 347,
 196.6–7)

μέ την κοντετζιού έτούτη (1593, Andros?, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 151, 275.23–4)
 τήν Τουρλουρού *Stathis* I.75; (γυναίκα μιὰ εἶχα ...) γλωσσού *ibid.* II.398
 σύμβιον ονόματι Θεοσεβού *Vios Filaret.* 238.13
 ἄλλο πανί στούππινο όπου λέσι καί εἶναι στήν ἀνυφαντού (1608, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT
 1987: 486, 438.10)
 νά πὰ γυρεύγω μιὰ γελλού *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.317; νά πὰ γυρεύγης μιάν πορδού *ibid.* I.323
 εἰς τήν Καλαθοῦν (1672, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 18, 96.21)

Vocative

Fem.

Sg.	Voc.	-ού

The vocative is identical to the nominative:

οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεῖς, Μαξιμοῦ *Dig.* G VI 771
 ἄλωπτου τρυπολόγισσα καί βουνοαναθρεμμένη *Diig. tetr.* 240
 ἦλθες, βρωμούσα, τσαπερού, εἰς ἀτιμίαν τοῦ γάμου *Poulol.* 40; Γίλλου μέ τὸ καρκάλλιν *ibid.*
 429
 ὦ κυρά μαϊμού, τέτοιαν τρελάδαν ἔχεις *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 27.8
 ὦ ἄλουπτου *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 42.15
 κερα-Φλουρού μου *Stathis* I.54; λεμενταρίστρα καί γλωσσού *ibid.* III.398
 ὦ Πετροῦ *ROMANOS, Grammar* 6.4–5
 κυρά ἄλεπτου, ποιὸς σ' ἔμαθε νά μοιράζης; *Paroim.* (Warner) 33.6
 ὦ ἄλουπτου πολύξερη *Zinon* IV.272

Plural

Nominative

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-οῦδες

The most common nominative plural ending is imparisyllabic -οῦδες. A limited number of examples has been found due to the fact that the numerous proper names in -ού belonging to this paradigm do not have plural forms:

ὅσα ὠρδινιάζαν οἱ γίλλοῦδες γ-οἱ μαμμοῦδες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 216.4–5
 οἱ ἄλουπτοῦδες *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 42.16
 ὡς φαίνονται οἱ κουμεσιοῦδες (1569, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 1999: 26, 392.34)
 οἱ ποσεσιοῦδες τως (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 149.32) (< Ven. *possesso*)
 οἱ ἄλεπτοῦδες ἔχουσι φωλιές *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 8.20
 οἱ μεθοῦδες *Apok. Theot.* 494.210
 τα βούκινα επαίξασιν, ποροῦδες ελαλούσαν *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 1087 (< Turk. *boru*; cf.
 modern Cypriot η πουρού)
 νά ἴθουσιν ἄλεπτοῦδες *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1797

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-οῦς

In Cypriot texts the intervocalic [ð] in -οῦδες may be deleted (see I, 3.6.1.1) and subsequently deletion of the weaker vowel [e] after [u] may occur, resulting in -οῦς (cf. acc. pl.; cf. also masculine nouns in -άς and -ές, 2.2.1, 2.6.1): οἱ βερτούς ἀλεγριάζουν τὴν καρδίαν *Fior* 78.16 (< Occit. *vertut*, pl. *vertutz*).

Genitive

Fem.

Pl.	Gen.	-οῦδων

The only ending found for the genitive plural is imparisyllabic -οῦδων: τῶν ἀλουπούδων *SOFIANOS*, *Grammar* 42.16; μετὰ μαλλιά καὶ δέρματα ἀλπούδων τε καὶ λύκων *Dig. A* 4731.

Accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-οῦδες

The most common ending for the accusative plural is imparisyllabic -οῦδες:

ὀψάρια καὶ βενιζοῦδες ... | ... ἐσύνηθαν ἐστῖιν *Pol. Tr.* 2852–3 (< Occit. *venesoun*)
 εἰς τρεῖς ραζοῦδες *Fior* 100.20 app. crit. (I) (< Occit. *rasoun*); εἰς ἓνα πύργον μὲ τσερτετατοῦδες
 ibid. 150.12 (< conflation of Fr. *certitude* and Ital. *certità*)
 στὴν λίμνην κείνην εἶδαμε ἐτότες ἀλεποῦδες *Alex. Rim.* 2079
 ἐκεῖ εἶδαν ἀλεπούδες μεγάλες καὶ χοντρές *Diig. Alex. K* 377.14 (Mitsakis)
 πιάνει ἀλουποῦδες ζωντανές *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 278.27
 τὲς ἀλουποῦδες *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 42.16
 εἰς ἀλαποῦδες καὶ ἄλλα ζῶα *Vios Aisop.* I 247.13–14
 (ἔφερον ...) καστόρχια, ἀλεποῦδες *NOTARAS, Kitaia* 345.17

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-οῦς

As with the nominative plural (see above), in texts from Cyprus the intervocalic [ð] of -οῦδες may be deleted (see I, 3.6.1.1), after which the unstressed /e/ is deleted after /u/, resulting in -οῦς. The spelling <ίους> is likely to represent <ιοῦς> with synizesis (see 1.5 for discussion):

τὲς ποσεσίους τοῦ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* R 217.17 (< Occit. *poussession*)
 ἀπὸ δύο βερτούς *Fior* 76.12 (< Occit. *vertut*); τὲς ἄλλες δελεκτατσιούς ibid. 80.20 (< Occit. *delection*); εἰς τρεῖς ραζούς ibid. 100.20 (< Occit. *rasoun*)
 ἀλεγριάζοντα ἄξες ραζούς *Fior Suppl.* 280.21
 τὲς ἰουριδιστίους (1523, Cyprus, *PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS* 1894: III, 260.5) (< Occit. *jurisdicción*)

Vocative

Fem.

Pl.	Voc.	-οῦδες

The vocative plural is identical to the nominative. Predictably not many examples have been found: ὦ ἀλουτοῦδες SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 42.16–17.

2.13.2 Transfers to Other Paradigms

The name Μαξιμού has a pseudo-learned conservative alternative Μαξιμῶ in *Digenis* versions A and T: ἡ Μαξιμῶ τὸν ἔρωτα ἐξήπτεν *Dig.* T 2643 and A 3814; πρὸς Μαξιμῶ *ibid.* T 2259 and A 265.

In documents from Sicily loanwords from Italian may be adapted to Greek morphology by transferring to the feminine -η paradigm: ὀβληκατζούνην (1329, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 12, 51.9); ὀβληκατιούνην (*ibid.* 19, 67.3).

2.14 Feminine Nouns in /o/

Feminine nouns in -ῶ and -ω appear in the singular only as they consist mainly of proper names, nicknames, a few other nouns denoting females such as βάρω and place names such as Λιβᾶθῶ. Oxytone nouns in -ῶ, gen. -ῶς are attested from Hellenistic times onwards but they are proper names only (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 25); AG abstract nouns such as ἡχώ and πειθῶ appear not to have survived into the MedG period, at least not in vernacular texts.¹²² Paroxytone nouns in -ω are newer formations influenced by Slavic names/nouns in -o (ANDRIOTIS 1952: 29–33).

The oxytone nouns in -ῶ show a strong tendency to transfer to the oxytone -ού paradigm (see below 2.14.2; see also HENRICH 1991), and it may be suspected that oxytone forms in -ῶ often reflect scribal conservatism. This is corroborated by the fact that these nouns adhere to the AG paradigm in -ῶ, never occurring with final /n/ in the accusative singular and often retaining the AG genitive singular in -οῦς.

Feminine nouns in /o/ occur in a large geographical area including the northern mainland (cf. ANDRIOTIS 1952: 32–3), the Heptanese and the Peloponnese; however, in the texts examined no examples have been found from well-documented southern areas such as Crete and Cyprus and from most of the Aegean. Texts from these areas show a marked preference for oxytone forms in -ού (see 2.13).

Transfers to this paradigm from other paradigms are limited: there is the name Μαξιμού, which has a conservative alternative Μαξιμῶ in versions T and A of *Digenis Akritis*.¹²³ Moreover, the AG former 3rd-declension noun αἰδῶς may transfer to this paradigm, but it is not very common, appearing mainly in grammars and dictionaries.¹²⁴ The irregular noun Κῶς (ἡ Κῶς, τῆς Κῶ, τὴν Κῶ(ν)) may transfer to this paradigm: ἀγνάντια τῇ Γκῶ *Portul.* II 248.22; ὁ κάβος τῆς Κῶς *ibid.* 248.28, or keep its inherited declension: ἡ Γκῶς καὶ ἡ Λέρος (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 143.25). Sofianos treats the name

¹²² The form ἀλωπῶ, which Chatzidakis quotes from Hesychius is, in fact, ἀλώπα (see LSJ, *Suppl.* s.v.).

¹²³ Note that the name is Μαξιμού even in the linguistically conservative *Grottaferrata* version.

¹²⁴ This development precedes the period covered by this Grammar by many centuries; e.g. ἡ αἰδῶ in Herodian, quoting a 3rd-c. BC source (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 25; TSOPANAKIS 1968: 289), and elsewhere: see the online *TLG*; cf. the example from Kritopoulos below.

as indeclinable: ἡ Κώ, τῆς Κῶ, τὴν Κώ, ᾧ Κώ SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 42.18–19. For the substantivized verb ὁ/ἡ ἀγαπῶ, see 2.9.2 and 2.17.2.

2.14.1 The Paradigm

	Restricted		More restricted		Rare	
Singular						
Nom.	Ἀσημῶ	Μάρω		Μάρως		
Gen.	Ἀσημοῦς	Μάρως	Ἀσημῶς		-οῦ	Μάρους Μάρωνος
Acc.	Ἀσημῶ	Μάρω(ν)				
Voc.	Ἀσημῶ	Μάρω				

Singular

Nominative

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ῶ ἰ -ω ἰ -ως

The nominative singular normally ends in /o/:

- χήρα Θεοτοκῶς ἡ γυνὴ Ἰωάννου ἱερέως τοῦ Ποτηρᾶ (1301, Athos, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 30, 203, 24)
- χήρα ἡ Λαχανῶς (1320, Athos/Thessaloniki, LEFORT et al. 1994: 79, 263.37)
- Μαρία χήρα ἡ Τζυκαλῶς (1321, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 109, 257.617–18); χήρα ἡ Εὐγενῶ (ibid. 274.928)
- χήρα ἡ Δρακοντῶς (1338, Athos, PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1986: 25, 192.65); χήρα ἡ Ἀλεξανδρῶ (ibid. 194.97)
- χήρα ἡ Σαπωνῶς (1341, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 87, 84.49)
- ἡ Λητῶς, τῆς Λητοῦς, τὴν Λητῶ, ᾧ Λητῶ SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 42.18
- ὡς ἤκουσεν ἡ Μαξιμῶ *Dig.* T 2310 and A 3399 (< Μαξιμού)
- ἡ αἰδῶ, τῆς αἰδοῦ ... ἀντὶ τῆς αἰδῶς, τῆς αἰδόος αἰδοῦς KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 109.26–7
- καὶ ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ κυράτσα Λάμπω (1539, Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 1, 98.2–3)
- ἡ Κατέρω (1549, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 51, 93.5)
- νὰ εἶμαι ὀμπλιγάδῃ ἐγὼ ἡ Μάρω (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 241, 146.6)
- ἐγὼ ἡ Ζαφείρω (1606, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 26, 102.17–18)
- ἡ Ἀγγέλω ... Καλόχων ... Μάρω ROMANOS, *Grammar* 6.1
- ἀπέθανεν ἡ θυγατέρα μου ἡ Ἀσάνω PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §12.1
- ἡ ἄνωθεν κυράτσα Μήλω (1662, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 31, 21.5)
- ἡ Ἀγγέλω καὶ ἡ Ἀνέστω (1675, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 21, 131.3–4)
- ἡ μὲν Στάμω (1690, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 11, 6.2); ἡ δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Στάθω (ibid. 6.2); ἡ Χάιδω (1692, ibid. 23, 15.2); ἡ Εὐδω (1693, ibid. 28, 20.2); ἡ Κυράνω (ibid. 29, 21.2)

Addition of final /s/ has been found in a collection of documents from Siatista, occurring alongside forms in -ω (see above). This indicates a certain degree of interaction between feminines in -ω and -ος (see 2.1): παρεστάθη ή Κάλλως (1668, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 2, 1.1 and 2.8); ή Κυράνως (17th c., *ibid.* 3, 2.4).

Genitive

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ῶς ἢ -ως

The genitive singular is formed by adding the genitive marker /s/ to the nominative. This ending is the normal one for paroxytone names, but less common with oxytone names, which belong to a more conservative paradigm:

- οἱ παῖδες τῆς Λεοντῶς (1221 or 1236, Patmos, Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1980: 62, 147.9)
 τῆς Βελισκῶς (1387, Athens?, BUCHON 1843: XL, 221.2)
 στήν περιοχὴν τῆς Λιβαθῶς (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 173, 106.8)
 καὶ ἡ στολὴ τῆς Μαξιμῶς *Dig.* A 3543 (< Μαξιμού)
- τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Στάμως (1447, Corfu, EFSTRATIADIS 1925: 48.8)
 Φράγκως τῆς ἀνιψίας μου (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 62, 179.17)
 τῆς βάβως του (1524, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 153, 189.28)
 τῆς κυρα-Ρόδως (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 82, 272.12–13)
 τῆς Εὐγένως (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 31, 70.5)
 τῆς ἄνωθεν κυρα-Μάρως (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 241, 146.5–6)
 τῆς θυγατερὸς τῆς Ζαφείρως (1606, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 26, 103.29)
 τῆς ἐγγονιάς μου τῆς Μήλως (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 8, 7.10); τῆς Λούργως (*ibid.* 18, 13.1)
 τῆς Δέσπως (1682, Corfu, DOIKAS 1982: [8], 145.2); ὁ ἄνδρας τῆς Ἀνθούσως (*ibid.* 145.5–6)
 τῆς Μάρως (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 138.21)
 τῆς Στάθως (1690, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 11, 6.2); καταπάνου
 τῆς Στάμως (1692, *ibid.* 20, 14.12); τῆς Γεώργως (1697, *ibid.* 30, 23.32)

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-οῦς ἢ -οῦ ἢ -ους

The genitive of oxytone nouns is not uncommon, though the texts in which it occurs are mainly in mixed or higher registers:

- καὶ τῆς δούλης σου Σεργοῦς (10th/11th c.?, Tinos, FEISSEL 1980: 6, 485.2–3); τῆς δούλης σου
 Θεοφυλακτοῦς (*ibid.* 14, 490.1)
 Μιχαὴλ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Σαπωνοῦς (1234–9, Smyrna region, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 7, 38.16–17)
 καὶ τῆς συμβίου Λεοντοῦς (1288/9, Naxos, KALOPISSI-VERTI 1992: 38d, 89.1)
 χήρας Θεοδώρας τῆς Δαμασκοῦς (ca. 1300, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 91, 103.30)
 πλησίον τῆς Τζυκαλοῦς (1321, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 109, 258.630); ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ
 Κριβαβέτση ἡτοῖ τῆς Ἀθανασοῦς (*ibid.* 109, 268.811)
 τὰ δίκαια τῆς Ρεπανοῦς (1322/3, Athos, PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1986: 19, 161.62)
 ἡ ἀδ(ε)λ(φ)ὴ τῆς Ἀλεξανδροῦς (1338, Athos, PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1986: 25, 194.98)
 καὶ τῆς παντόλμου Μαξιμοῦς *Dig.* A 2438 (< Μαξιμού)

Deletion of final /s/ is mentioned in the grammar of Kritopoulos. As Kritopoulos was an educated man who looked down upon the vernacular language, there is no reason to doubt the validity of his observations: ἡ αἰδῶ, τῆς αἰδοῦ ... ἀντὶ ἡ αἰδῶς, τῆς αἰδόος αἰδοῦς ... ἡ Λητῶ, τῆς Λητοῦ ... ἀντὶ ἡ Λητῶ, τῆς Λητόος Λητοῦς KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 109.26–8.

Forms in -ους of paroxytone names are either the result of “raising vocalism” (see I, 2.5.4) or due to influence from the oxytone feminine names in -ῶ: σίγνον χειρὸς Νικήτου<ς> συμβίου Νικολάου (1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 6, 71.1) (with deletion of /s/ due to the following /s/ (haplography)); τῆς Πάνους (1611, Ioannina, MERTZIOS 1936a: (1), 19.13); τῆς Ζαφύρους (1696 [18th-c. copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B 25, f.186r.18 and 27).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ωνος

The following example is a one-off use of the residual genitive ending of 3rd-declension nouns in -ων with a proparoxytone noun: τῆς Μάρωνος (1678, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 63, 53.17–18).

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ῶ ἢ -ω(ν)

The accusative ends in /o/. Addition of final /n/ has only been found with paroxytone names, whereas the oxytone names follow the conservative (AG) paradigm:

ἔχει ... θυγατέρας Μοσχῶ καὶ Θεοτοκῶ (1263, Leros, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 186.32)

ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἰωαννῶ (ca. 1300, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 91, 108.108); ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀργυρῶ (1321, *ibid.* 109, 242.360); θυγατέρας Θεοδώραν καὶ Ἀρχοντῶ (*ibid.* 253.554)

ἔχει νύμφην ... Παρασκευῶ (1301, Athos, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 30, 203.24–5)

ἔχει γυναῖκα Χιονῶ (1320, Athos/Thessaloniki, LEFORT et al. 1994: 79, 275.420)

ἔχει ἐγγονὴν Εὐγενῶ (15th c., Lemnos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 7, 307.15)

εἰς τὴν Λιβαθῶ (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 36, 37.15–16)

ὅταν ἐπολεμοῦσαν τὴν Ἰεριχῶ (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 236.121)

τὴν Μαξιμῶ ἐνίκησε *Dig. A* 3877

τὴν πρῶτην ἔλεγαν Μάρων (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 71, f.Ir.2–3) (describes a Constantinopolitan member of the well-known Kantakouzinos family)

μὲ τὴν κυρὰ-Κιούρῶ τὴν Τετράδαινα (1516, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 41, 73.8)

τὴν κυρὰν Μάρων, ἥ ὑπῆρχε γυνὴ τοῦ σουλτάν Μουράτη *Ekth. Chron.* 22.22

μὲ τὴν μπαροῦσαν συμβία του κυρὰ-Στάμῶ (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 78, 269.2)

τὴν ἀνωθεν κυρατσα-Μάρῶ (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 241, 146.2)

τὴν Ἀλέξῶ (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 116, 164.20)

τὴν μητέραν του Δημήτρῶ ... τὴν κυρὰ του Ἀνάστῶ (1631, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 17, 312.3–4)

τὴν Θεοδώραν καὶ Χάιδῶ (1691, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 19, 13.3)

*Vocative**Fem.*

Sg.	Voc.	-ὦ ἰ -ω

As most of the proper names belonging to this paradigm occur in documents, not many vocatives have been found:

ὦ Λητώ SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 42.18

μὴν ἀπεράσης, Μαξιμῷ *Dig.* A 3572

μηδὲν περάσης, Μαξιμῷ *Dig.* T 2405

ὦ Κλώθω *Zinon* IV.111

2.14.2 Transfers to Other Paradigms

Oxytone nouns in -ὦ, such as γελῶ/γίλλῳ, and especially proper names (Ἀσημῷ, Θεοφανῷ) show a strong tendency to transfer to -οῦ. This tendency pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar (see the introduction to 2.13), and in certain areas forms in -οῦ are exclusive.

2.15 Feminine Nouns in -ιό(ν)

This is a small paradigm consisting mostly of Italian loanwords in -ιόν, which are adapted to Greek morphology by forming the genitive singular in -ς and an imparisyllabic plural in -όνες based on Italian *-ioni*. The paradigm shows similarities with loanwords from Latin that are found in older legal texts, such as δεφενσίων, κονβεντίων, ρελεγατίων and others, which are declined according to 3rd-declension nouns in -ων.¹²⁵ The paradigm in -ιό(ν) is defective in that no vocatives or genitives plural have been found.

Examples are limited to areas under Italian rule and the vast majority have been found in documentary texts. Literature, even vernacular literature, is linguistically conservative and thus, unsurprisingly, nouns in -ιό(ν) have mainly been found in comedies and similar works (*Katzourbos*, *Stathis*, *Bertoldos*, *Bertoldinos* and *Fortounatos*),¹²⁶ which reflect the spoken language more than other literary texts, and in texts with lower literary aspirations such as chronicles. Occurrences in other verse texts (Falieros, Bounialis) are rare.

¹²⁵ Thus: ἡ δεφενσίω, gen. sg. δεφενσίονος, dat. sg. δεφενσίονι, acc. sg. δεφενσίονα, nom. pl. δεφενσίονες, gen. pl. δεφενσιόνων, dat. pl. δεφενσίοσι, acc. pl. δεφενσίονας. These Latin loanwords are quite common in Byzantine legal texts such as the Basilica; see the online *TLG* for examples.

¹²⁶ Forms in -ιό(ν) can still be found in the Zakynthian Dimitrios Gouzelis's comedy *O Chasis* (e.g. σὲ τί ντεσπερατισὶ βρίσκομαι GOUZELIS, *O Chasis* I.140; στήν κοβερατσισὶ ibid. I.192), the final version of which dates from 1795 (ed. Synodinos).

2.15.1 The Paradigm

	Restricted	More restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	κονδιτσιό(ν)	κονδιτισό	κονδιτσιός
Gen.	κονδιτσιός	κονδιτισός	κονδιτσιόνος -ιόνες
Acc.	κονδιτσιό(ν)	κονδιτισό	κονδιτσιός κονδιτσιόνα
Voc.	(κονδιτσιό(ν))		
Plural			
Nom.	κονδιτσιόνες		
Gen.	(κονδιτσιόνων)		
Acc.	κονδιτσιόνες		
Voc.	(κονδιτσιόνες)		

Singular*Nominative**Fem.*

Sg.	Nom.	-ιό(ν) † -ό(ν)

The normal ending for the nominative singular is -ιό(ν). The final /n/ of the Venetian originals is often retained:

καθώς φαίνεται ἡ τερμενατσιό (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 44.23–4) (< Ven. *terminaziòn*)

εἰς ... τελείωσιν, ὃ λέγεται ἐκζεκουντσιόν (1547, Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 3, 101.11) (< Ven. *esecussiòn*)

ὡς καθὼς δηλοῖ ἡ κουντσεσιόν τοῦ πατρός μου (1548, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 200, 126.3) (< Ven. *concessiòn*)

ἡ ἄνωθεν κομεσιόν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 24, 24.9) (< Ven. *comissiòn*)

νά 'νε ἡ λεγόμενη κομεσιόν κομμένη καὶ ἀνουλάδα (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 38, 58.10–11); δίχως νά φαίνεται καουτσιόν (1606, *ibid.* 410, 381.6) (< Ven. *cauziòn*); ἡ λεγόμενη ἰντιματσιόν (1610, *ibid.* 661, 575.4) (< Ven. *intimaziòn*); ἡ ἄνωθεν πορτσιόν τσῆ πουλήτρας (1613, *ibid.* 846, 738.25–6) (< Ven. *porziòn*)

τοῦτ' εἶναι σοτισφατσιόν *Stathis* III.491 (< Ven. *sodisfaziòn*)

καὶ ποιά 'ναι ἡ ἐδική σου | προφесиό FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.249–50 (< Ven. *professiòn*)

νιβελατσιό τοῦ Βλάχη (1695, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 361.1) (< Ital. *nivelazione*)

Forms in -ό(ν), in which /j/ is deleted after the sibilant or affricate of the stem (see I, 2.4.7.3), occur in texts from Crete and the Heptanese: ἀμπολλάκις καὶ ... τοῦ ἔρθη κουντουναζόν

(1528, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 139, 91.7–8) (< Ven. *condannàr*); ἡ σμπουρατσὸ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.274 and I.277 (< Ven. *sboràr*) (BOERIO, *Lex.* does not mention any corresponding nouns).

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ιός ἰ -ός

Since, after the demise of the 3rd declension, feminine nominatives in /'on/ had become alien to the Greek morphological system, the nouns belonging to this innovative paradigm are sometimes reanalysed as belonging to the feminine -ός paradigm (2.1.1):

- ἡ κουμεισιὸς ἀπού ἴκαμα ... ἔστι ψευδής (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 11, 19.12)
 ἡ λεγομένη τερμενατσιὸς (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 187, 176.9)
 ἡ κομεισιὸς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 18, 18.5 and *ibid.* 127, 126.21)
 ἡ παρούσα ντονατσιὸς (1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 178, 189.14–15)

Genitive

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ιός ἰ -ός

The genitive singular ends in -ιός. This could be viewed as either a regular addition of final /s/ to the nominative in -ιό(ν), or as an uninflected form, given the fact that nominatives and accusatives in -ιός also occur:

- τῆς τιμῆς καὶ κοντοτζιὸς αὐτῆς (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 15, 26.19)
 μὲ δύναμιν τουνῆς τως τῆς κομεισιὸς (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 115, 94.9)
 τῆς κοντσεσιὸς μου (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 165, 158.18)
 τῆς τσεσιὸς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 220, 218.2) (< Ven. *zessiòn*); τῆς λεγομένης τερμενατσιὸς (*ibid.* 293, 290.18–19)
 τσῆ μαλτσιπατσιὸς (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 411, 381.4) (< Ven. *mancipaziòn*); τσῆ παρούσας ντονατσιὸς (*ibid.* 662, 576.5)
 τῆς κοντσεσιὸς (1624, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2000: 2, 515.1)
 διὰ τὴν βιάσσην τσῆ ὀκαζιὸς (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 36.13–14)
 τσῆ κοντιτσιὸς του (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 73.14–15)
 διήγησις περὶ τῆς ρεμπελιὸς *Reb. Evr.* 103 tit.

In texts from Crete and the Heptanese (cf. nom. and acc.) we find genitive forms in -ός, in which /j/ is deleted after the sibilant or affricate of the stem (see I, 2.4.7.3): τῆς λεγομένης τως ντελιβραζὸς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 209, 209.14) (< Ven. *delivràr*).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ιόνος

This ending, formed on the analogy of the learned pseudo-3rd-declension paradigm in -ίων (see the introduction to this section, 2.15) but maintaining the stress pattern of Italian, occurs in texts that strive for a more formal register: μετὰ καὶ δεφενσιόνος (1061, S. Italy, ROBINSON

1929: 8, 174.45 and 1172, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 179, 234.10–11); δετερμινατσιόνος τοῦ μεγαλειοτάτου Ρετζιμέντου (1547, Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 3, 101.12).

Fem.

Sg.	Gen.	-ιόνες

Sporadically genitives occur that are derived from the Italian noun in *-ione*, not the Venetian variant in *-ion*, by adding /s/: εἶναι τῆς σοτισφατζιόνες του (1685, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954/55: 33, 63.4).

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ιό(ν) ἢ -ό(ν)

The accusative is identical to the nominative. Here, too, the final /n/ of the Venetian originals is usually retained:

- δὲν ἦσανε εἰς μία ὀπινιόν (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 44.11)
 μὲ τέτοιαν κοντετσιόν (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 147.21)
 δίχως καμίαν κοντραδιτσιόν (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.15)
 ἔχω καὶ τὴν δονασιόν τοῦ δοῦκα (15th c., Cyprus, BAGLIONI 2006: 202.31–2)
 τὴν δονατσιόν ποιούμεθα σοι (1499, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: App. 2, 311.37);
 καθὼς φαίνεται μὲ πετετσιόν (1506, *ibid.* 1, 3.11); ὡς καθὼς τοῦ ἔκαμα ἐγὼ κουμεσιόν (1509, *ibid.* 11, 19.9–10)
 ὄλην ἐκείνην τὴν κοντετσιόν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.20); τὴν σιγουρτά καὶ τὴν κονφερματσιόν (*ibid.* 174.43)
 φίλησε τὴν σουπλικατσιόν αὐτὴν (1514, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1963b: 165.57)
 κομεσιόν κάμνω ἐγὼ Γεώργης Κλήμης (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 2, 3.1); διὰ συμβετσιόν τοῦ ἀμπελιοῦ μου (*ibid.* 13, 14.2); μὲ ὀμπλεγατσιόν νὰ μοῦ τὰ μετρήσετε (*ibid.* 60, 58.8)
 χωρὶς καμίαν σιγουρατσιόν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 57α, 59.5); ὀδιὰ τὴν ἀπελατσιόν (*ibid.* 111, 110.5–6)
 κάνει τελείαν ριφουδατσιόν (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 311, 181.4)
 νὰ μὴ βαριέται τὴ λετσιὸ CHORTATIS, *Katz.* IV.142
 δίδοντας ντεφινιτσιόν *Stathis* III.128; γρίκησε μιὰ ὀρατσιόν *ibid.* III.135
 τὴν ἄνωθεν ἄσολοτσιὸ (1601, Crete, ΣΙΑΚΟΤΟΣ 2006: 1, 190.7–8)
 μὲ δίχως καμίας λογιῆς κοντραντιτσιὸ (1603, Crete, VIOLIDAKIS 2006: 2, 266.36)
 τὴ ζαμινατσιὸ (1638, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 129, 119.7); τὴν αὐτὴ διφινετσιὸ (1643, *ibid.* 265, 211.21)
 τὴν παρὼν ντονατσιὸ (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 89.57)
 μὲ δίχως ντεσκριτσιὸ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.99; γιὰ δέτε τὴν κερα-Μηλιά ντεσκριτσιὸ τὴν ἔχει! *ibid.* V.37
 ἔτυχε κ' ἔπεςεν ἰστιὰ εἰς τὴ μονετσιὸ του BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 524.3 (< Ven. *monizìon*)
 μὲ μίαν σταθεράν καὶ γενναίαν ρεσουλουτσιὸ *Ist. Enet.* 417.34
 διὰ προβιζιόν PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 119.34; ἔκανε τρεῖς ἡμέρες ἀράδα προτσεσιόν *ibid.* 120.22; νὰ σταμπιλίρουν τὴν πρεπαρατσιόν *ibid.* 122.23–4

Deletion of /j/ (after sibilants and affricates, see I, 2.4.7.3) occurs in texts from Crete and the Heptanese (cf. nom. sg.): κατὰ τὴν κοντετζό σου FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 217; τὴν λεγομένην

ρεφουδαζόν (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 65, 71.20); εἰς τὴν ντελιβραζόν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 48, 47.18); με̃ δίχως ντεσκριτσό FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.99.

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ιός

Accusatives in -ιός occur regularly in the archive of notary Maras, alongside forms in -ιόν, which are more frequent. The single instance in Varouchas (κοντετσιός) is likely to be a writing mistake:

εἰς ὀμπλιγατσιός (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 78, 75.4); εἰς ὀμπλεγατσιός (ibid. 125, 124.27, ibid. 128, 128.39 and ibid. 318, 317.19; and 1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 13, 18.24); χωρὶς καμίαν κοντραντισιός (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 240, 234.45); ἀπὸ σατισφατσιός μου (ibid. 341, 325.14)
με̃ τὴ κοντετσιός τσῆ ξαγοράς (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 130, 143.15)

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ιόνα † -όνα

Addition of /a/ is another way of adapting these nouns to Greek morphology (cf. the nominative). The use of this ending follows the pattern of former 3rd-declension nouns in -ών (e.g. ἀμαζών, ἰνδικτιών): με̃ τὴν γκοντασιόνα τούτη (1586, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 145, 268.3–4) (< Ven. *condizìon*).

Vocative

No examples found

Plural

Nominative

Fem.

Pl.	Nom.	-ιόνες

The nominative plural is imparisyllabic and an adaptation of the Italian plural *-oni*:

οἱ παροῦσες ντονασιόνες (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 120, 133.20–1 and 1603, ibid. 178, 190.16–17)
οἱ ρατζιόνες ποῦ μιλά *Stathis* III.197
κάθε ἡμέραν δὲν λαχαίνουν τοιοῦτες ὀκαζιόνες *Bertoldos* 62.8

Forms in which /j/ is deleted have not been found, but cf. the accusative.

Genitive

No examples found.

Accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Acc.	-ιόνες † -όνες

The accusative is identical to the nominative:

εἰς πολὺ κλόμε, καὶ πολλὰς κοντετσιόνες *Lapid.* 187.12–13
 ἔχω ... σπῖτια καὶ ποσεσιόνες (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.36)
 κατὰ τοὺς μόδους ὅλους καὶ κοντετσιόνες (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 98.181)
 μὲ ... ἀκτσιόνες καὶ γιουριντιτσιόνες (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 308, 284.7)
 καὶ προμεσιόνες νὰ κάμνεις (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 127, 126.14)
 τὲς μεγάλες προβεζιόνες ἀποὺ ἔκαμε ἡ ἀφεντία σου (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 146.11)
 γιὰ τσί κλαούζουλες καὶ κοντιτζιόνες (1607, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 431, 397.11);
 ὀρισμούς, σεντέντσιες, ἀπελατσιόνες, κοντραντιτσιόνες (ibid. 497, 447.10–11)
 κρίμα εἰς τὶς λετσιόνες μου CHORTATSI, *Katz.* IV.133
 εἴτις ἄλλες καουτσιόνες ἔχου ἐ<ν> τῷ μέσῳ τους (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 88, 92.10)
 εἰς τοιοῦτες ἀφορμές, ἤγουν ὀκαζιόνες *Bertoldin.* 99.28
 μὲ τσεσιόνες πριβάτες (1665, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 3, 116.12)
 ἐδειάζασινε τὸ ἐκκλησές, λίμπρα, μονετσιόνες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 546.17
 εἰς ὅλες τὲς ἀνωθεν πάρτες καὶ ἐσπρεσιόνες (1672, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1938: 1, 295.8–9)
 μὲ τοὺς κατωγεγραμμένους μόδους ... καὶ ὀπλιγατσιόνες (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 4, 126.19–20)
 φυλάσσοντας τὶς κοντετσιόνες (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 180.15)
 κάτεργα ... μὲ ἀνθρώπους καὶ μουνιτσιόνες MATESIS, *Chron.* 66.14
 διὰ προτενσιόνες (1695, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 357.14)
 μὲ προτσεσιόνες PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 109.9–10; ἔβαλε προκλαματσιόνες ριγορόζες ibid. 110.20

In texts from Crete and the Heptanese (cf. the singular) we find forms in -ό(ν), in which /j/ is deleted after the sibilant or affricate of the stem (see I, 2.4.7.3): εἴτι ἄλλες διαφορὲς καὶ καουτσόνες ὅπου ἔχου (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 37, 55.11); εἴτι ἄλλες καουτσόνες ἔχου (ibid. 69, 79.8).

Vocative

No examples found.

2.15.2 Transfers to Other Paradigms

Feminine nouns in -ιό(ν) may develop alternative feminine forms in -ού (2.13): κατὰ τὴν κοντετζιού του (1536, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 116, 229.35); οἱ ποσεσιοῦδες τως (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 149.32); νὰ ἡκούσει τὴν πομπλικατζιού (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 162, 102.2); περὶ διὰ τὴ πρετενσιοῦ (1703, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 46, 60.25).

In documents from Sicily these loanwords may be adapted to Greek morphology by transferring to the feminine -η paradigm (2.12.2): ὀβληγατιόνης (1329, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 11, 47.26); ὀβληγατιόνην (ibid. 13, 54.9).

They also occasionally change gender and transfer to the neuter paradigm in -ιό (2.20.1.1): τὸ κουτουνασιό (1638, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 129, 119.9); ἕνα ἱτιμασιό ποὺ ἔκαμε ὁ Γιάννης κόντρα τοῦ Στάθη (1644, ibid. 301, 236.13); κανένα <ᾶ>πελατζιό νὰ μὴν ἔχει (1645, ibid. 328, 250.15); διήγησις του ρεμπελιού των ποπολάρων SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* tit.; διὰ νὰ σηκωθῇ τὸ ρεμπελιό EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 42.22.

2.16 Feminine Nouns in /e/

This is a small paradigm consisting mostly of feminine Venetian/Italian, as well as French and Turkish, loanwords in -έ, and -ε. Plural forms are hard to locate, but tend to be imparisyllabic in -έδες for the oxytone sub-paradigm (2.16.1), and parisyllabic in -ες for the paroxytone one (2.16.2). The genitive singular of the paroxytone paradigm is formed regularly, by adding -ς to the nominative. For the oxytone paradigm only uninflected genitives in -έ have so far been found. This may be explained by the fact that oxytone nouns in -έ are quite rare and entered the Greek language relatively late: leaving aside feminine biblical names that are generally indeclinable, no examples have been found before the 16th c. The paradigm is defective in that very few vocatives and no genitives plural have been found.

Examples are limited to areas under Italian, French and Turkish linguistic influence, and the majority of them have been found in documentary texts. Innovative forms based on a Greek root are quite rare, but they include the unusual Naxiot variant πουλητέ for πουλήτρια.

For feminine forms in -έ that are the result of coalescence of /e/ and /a/ (e.g. καρέ for καρέα, μερέ for μερέα), see 2.11.4. For neuter nouns in -ε derived from masculine Venetian/Italian nouns see 2.24.3.

2.16.1 Oxytone Nouns in -έ

	Restricted	Rare
Singular		
Nom.	βαλετέ	-ές
Gen.	βαλετέ	
Acc.	βαλετέ	
Voc.	βαλετέ	
Plural		
Nom.	βαλετέδες	
Gen.	(βελετέδων)	
Acc.	βαλετέδες	
Voc.	(βαλετέδες)	

Singular

Nominative, genitive, accusative and vocative

Fem.

Sg.	Nom., Gen., Acc. & Voc.	-έ

As noted above, for the genitive singular no inflected forms have been found. Therefore, the normal ending for all cases of the singular is -έ. For the accusative, no examples with an added final /n/ have been found:

Nominative

- ή λεγόμενη κερα-Κατερίνα ή πουλητὲ (1598, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 158, 284.13)
 ή ἄνωθεν Καλή ή πουλητὲ (1628, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 3, 131.16)
 ή παλαιὰ βαλετὲ τοῦ σουλτάνου (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 400, f.2r.46) (< Turk. *vâlîde*)
 που ἔχεν την στείλει η βαλετὲ ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 160
 ή κερα-Χατιτζέ (1672, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 6, 168.4)
 ή ... κερα-Ζαμπέταν ή πουλητὲ (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 256, 447.14)

Genitive

- τῆς Μπερσαπέ *Fior* 96.10 (= Βηρσαβεέ)
 τῆς κερα-Μαρίας τῆς πουλητὲ (1623, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 10, 50.21)
 τῆς κερα-Χατιτζέ (1672, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 6, 168.21)

Accusative

- ἀπὲ τὴν ἄνωθεν Καλή τὴν πουλητὲ (1628, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 3, 132.27)
 τὴν καινούργια τὴν βαλετὲ (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 400, f.2r.47)
 εἰς τὴν βαλετὲ σουλτάνα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 769cap

Vocative

- καθολικὴ μητέρα μου και βαλετὲ σουλτάνα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 800

Fem.

Sg.	Nom.	-ές

A nominative singular in -ές occurs in the early-18th-c. translation of *Don Quixote*, possibly as a result of confusion with the masculine noun ὁ ἐγλεντζές (for which see 2.6.1), which also occurs in the text: εἶναι η πλέον νόστιμη και η πλέον ἀβλαβος ἐγλεντζές *Don Kis*. 163.20 (< Turk. *eğlence*).

Plural*Nominative, Accusative and Vocative**Fem.*

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-έδες

Although only accusative examples have been found, it may safely be assumed that the endings for the nominative, the accusative and the vocative are identical: εἶχε καὶ αὐτὴ μερικὰ κορίτσια ἐδικὰ τῆς, τζεπέδες <σ>τημένες (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 401, f.2r.69) (< Turk. *cephē*); ἔχουν ἄλλες ἀσκησες και ἄλλες ἐγλεντζέδες *Don Kis*. 195.11 (< Turk. *eğlence*).

2.16.2 Paroxytone Nouns in -ε

Restricted	
Singular	
Nom.	πάρτε
Gen.	πάρτες
Acc.	πάρτε(ν)
Voc.	(πάρτε)
Plural	
Nom.	πάρτες
Gen.	
Acc.	πάρτες
Voc.	(πάρτες)

Singular*Nominative**Fem.*

Sg.	Nom.	-ε

The nominative singular ends in -ε:

- ή βάλλε τοῦ μαστόρου ἔναι λιμένας (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 76.23) (< Ital. *valle*)
 ή πάρτε τῇ ἄνωθεν κερα-Μαρίας (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 129, 142.6) (< Ital. *parte*)
 ή θυγάτερα του ή Βιολάντε (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 3, 32.33)
 πάρτε ἀπό τοὺς ὁποίους μαραγκοὺς ἤρθασιν εἰς ... (post 1669, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1938: 2, 296.11)

*Genitive**Fem.*

Sg.	Gen.	-ες

The genitive is formed by adding -ς to the nominative, as with most other feminine paradigms:

- τῆς Βάλλες (1134, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 115, 154.9) (< Ital. *valle*)
 τὸ δικαίωμαν τῆς κιφίρες *Assizes* B 491.1 (< OFr. *képhir*, see YANGOULLIS 2002 s.v.)
 τῆς ἀγίας κονγγρεγατζιόνες (17th c., Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [3], 14.4–5) (< Ital. *congregazione*)
 τὸ ποσέσον τῇ ἄνωθεν πάρτες (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 147, 160.9) (< Ital. *parte*)
 τῆς Βιολάντες (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 3, 32.37)

τῆς κυράτσας Διαμάντες (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 113.32)
 διὰ τῆς παρούσης φέδες (1692, Nauplion, DOKOS 1985: 1, 109.2) (< Ital. *fede*)
 τῆς πάρτες (1698, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1991: 3, 86.40)
 ἀπὸ τοὺς Κρητικούς τῆς ἄρτες (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 108.30–1) (< Ital. *arte*)

Accusative

Fem.

Sg.	Acc.	-ε(ν)

The accusative is identical to the nominative, with the only difference that it may appear with an added final /n/:

ἀπαὶ τὴν κιφίρε *Assizes* B 491.1 (< OFr. *képhir*, see YANGOULLIS 2002 s.v.)
 τὴν πάρτε μου (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 11, 15.15) (< Ital. *parte*)
 ρεφουδάροντα πᾶσα λέντζε (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 25, 25.15) (< Ven. *lege*)
 εἰς τὴν πάρτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ Δημητρίου (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 5, 83.8)
 ἀποὺ τὴ μπάρτε τοῦ ἑρετιτᾶς (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 53, 73–4.19)
 ἐτούτην τὴν φέδε καὶ μαρτυρίαν (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.18) (< Ital. *fede*)
 εἰς τὴν φέδε τοῦ ὁποίου τὰ ἐρεκομαντάρανε (1674, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 3, 122.6–7)
 στὴν μπάρτεν του (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.29–30)
 ἤγουν τὴν πάρτεν του (1536, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 116, 229.4)
 τὴν πάρτεν του (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 102, 77.12); εἰς τὴν
 μπάρτεν του (*ibid.* 110, 85.22)
 τὴν πάρτεν ὁποῦ εἶχεν (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 85, 102.6)

Plural

Nominative and accusative

Fem.

Pl.	Nom. & Acc.	-ες

For the plural only nominative and accusative examples have been found, but it may be assumed that the ending for the vocative is identical:

Nominative

οἱ τρεῖς πάρτες (1549/1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 34, 74.16)
 οἱ τρεῖς πάρτες (1608, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 488, 440.4)

Accusative

ἀπὸ ἑξὶ πάρτες τὴ μία (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 36, 56.10); ὅλα τὰ μισὰ ἀποὺ
 τοῖς πάρτες (1602, *ibid.* 167, 178.11)
 εἰς ὅλες τὲς ἄνωθεν πάρτες (1672, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1938: 1, 295.8–9)

2.16.3 Transfers to Other Paradigms

Nouns belonging to sub-paradigm 2.16.2 may transfer to feminine nouns in -η (see 2.12.2). Their plural formation remains as above, in -ες: τὴν πάρτη ἐτούτη (1594, Naxos,

KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 153, 278.35); μαζί με τήν ... κερα-Βιολάντην (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 3, 31.8); ή μία πάρτη καί ή άλλη (1619, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 1, 187.6).

2.17 Irregular and Indeclinable Feminine Nouns

Most of the 3rd declension feminine nouns had become regularized by transferring to the 1st and 2nd declensions by the LMedG period. Only very few of them remain in use, notably *δρῦς*, demonstrating a certain degree of morphological innovation.

Greek being an inflected language throughout its history, indeclinable nouns are very uncommon, restricted to the rare substantivized verb form *ή άγαπώ*, and *γής*, a rather common variant of *γῆ*.

2.17.1 Irregular Nouns

2.17.1.1 *δρῦς*

The noun *δρῦς* clearly belongs to a more formal register and is not very common in the period covered by this Grammar: *ὑπὸκάτω τῆς κουτουλῆς δρυός* (1341, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 86, 64.107–8); *οἱ δρύες τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς* (1271, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 70, 200.6); *τῶν δρυῶν* (ibid. 200.14); *κλαδί μιας δρυός* *Don Kis*. 46.32.

Several attempts at regularization may be observed, such as deletion of final /n/ in acc. sg. *δρῦν*, the appearance of the nom. pl. ending -ες in acc. pl., or the formation of a new singular *δρύα(ν)*, based on the plural *δρύες*: *εἰς τήν μεγάλην δρῦ* (1112, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 32, 148.10); *εἰς τήν δρύαν* (ibid. 148.12); *ἀπὸ τῆς λ' δρύες* (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 534.5). Furthermore, this noun may undergo gender change and become masculine (see 2.9.1 for details).

Sometimes the noun is treated as indeclinable: *ἄχρι τῆς δρυς* (1154, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 151, 200.27).

2.17.1.2 *ἰσχὺς*

The noun *ἰσχὺς* only occurs in the singular, and is restricted to mixed-register texts:

μόνη τῶν ἔργων ἡ ἰσχὺς GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 418
ἰσχὺς εἰς τὰ μαχαίρια σας *Alosis* 697
μετὰ πολλῆς ἰσχύος *Pol. Tr.* 5116 (reading of one ms)
ἐν πλήθει τῆς ἰσχύος *Diig. tetr.* 1079
ὥσαν τυγχάνει τάξις δὲ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἰσχύος *Alosis* 953
κατὰ τῶν λόγων τὴν ἰσχὺν *Ptoch. IV* 19
πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν τοῦ ὄφι *Pol. Tr.* 668
θεὸς γὰρ νέμει τὴν ἰσχὺν *Diig. tetr.* 10
τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τὴν ἔχει *Achil. N* 16
ἂν τύχη δράκοντος ἰσχὺν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 496
θὲ δῆς τὴν ἰσχὺ μάς PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2488

2.17.2 Indeclinable Nouns

2.17.2.1 ἀγαπῶ

The finite verbal form ἀγαπῶ sporadically may produce an indeclinable noun ἡ ἀγαπῶ, which is a reanalysis of the relative clause τὴν ἀγαπῶ “the one I love”, e.g. τώρα ἄλλος φιλεῖ τὴν ἀγαπῶ *Katal.* 434 (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ἀγαπῶ ὁ): ὥσπου μὲ βλέπ’ ἡ ἀγαπῶ *Cypr. Canz.* 139.1 and 151.1. For a different interpretation see 5.9.1.2.

2.17.2.2 γῆς

There is no obvious reason why the noun γῆ should develop an indeclinable variant γῆς. HATZIDAKIS (1892: 277; cf. CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 654) explains γῆς as deriving from the frequent collocation κατὰ γῆς, but that is a rather *ad hoc* explanation, as Greek has so many such collocations that did not produce new indeclinable nouns. Moreover, similar alternatives have been found for Ἀφροδίτη, Κρήτη, τύχη and ὕλη (see 2.12.2). Indeclinable γῆς occurs in texts from various areas (S. Italy, the Aegean, Crete, the Heptanese, the northern mainland) for nom. sg., acc. sg. and voc. sg., and sporadically the plural:

- (ἡ) γῆς κλονεῖται (10th/11th c.?, Tinos, FEISSEL 1980: 36, 496.1)
 βλαστεισάτω ἡ γῆς (1036, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 2, 32.22)
 οἱ γῆς ρόδα γεμίζουνσιν καὶ οἱ πεδιάδες ἄνθη *Flor.* L 1549 (Cupane)
 γῆς κι ὁ κόσμος *Love poems* V 62
 ἄνοιξε γῆς! BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 110
 φύτρωσε, γῆς, *Def.* *Par.* 65
 ὦ μητέρα ἐδική μου, γῆς, ὅπου μὲ ἐπαίρνεις *Diig. Alex.* F 196.1 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἡ γῆς (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 32, 72.1)
 ἡ γῆς, ἀήρ καὶ θάλασσα ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 452
 εἰς τόση γῆς (1597, Kefalonia, CHRYSOCHOIDIS 1977: 2, 212.51)
 κάτω στη γῆς CHORTATIS, *Panor.* Prol. Apoll. 72
 εἰς ποιά γῆς *Zinon* V.212
 νὰ πάρουν τόση γῆς (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 11, 36.27)
 δὲν ἦτον γῆς πολλή KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 13.5
 ἡ γῆς εἶναι ἁγία VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 291
 τὴν ἡμισὴ γῆς (1671, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 232, 206.5)
 εἰς τὴ γῆς (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 25.6)

2.18 Invariable Masculine and Feminine Proclitic Forms

In certain frequent collocations consisting of a masculine or feminine noun denoting rank, status, age, etc. and a proper name or noun denoting profession, the first noun of the collocation may become indeclinable. The point of departure is very likely to be the vocative, with which these forms will have been frequent as a form of address. The two nouns behave very similarly to a compound: the first word loses its stress and in fact becomes proclitic to the second. The most common ones involved are: γερο- (< γέρος), κυρο- (< κυρός), μαῖστρο-/μαστρο- (< μαῖστωρ and Ven. *mastro*), παπα- (< παπάς), πριγκιπα- (< πρίγκιπας), χατζη- (< χατζής), κυρα-/κερα-, κυρατσα- and γρια-. Apart from these, there

are certain shortened forms and loanwords that behave in the same way: κυρ-, μισιρ-, πρε-, σερ-, φρε-, φρα-. -The shortened form κυρ pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar, appearing e.g. in Theophanes Continuatus (10th c.; see *LBG* s.v.). These proclitic forms are sometimes unnecessarily accented in modern editions.

γερο-, κυρο-, μαῖστρο-/μαστρο-, παπα-, πριγκιπα-, χατζη-
 τοῦ κυρο-Γιοσφρέδου (1136, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 11, 155.7); τοῦ μαστρο-Ἀ<ν>δρέα
 (1141, *ibid.* 130, 172.13)
 ὁ γερο-μισιρ Νικόλαος *Chron. Mor.* H 7421; τοῦ γερο-μισιρ Νικόλα *ibid.* 8658
 κυρο-Ἀλέξιος ὁ Μέγας Κομνηνός (1390, Trebizond, BRYER 1976: 1, 131.2)
 ὁ πριγκιπα-Ντζεφρὲ *Chron. Mor.* P 2621
 ὁ μαῖστρο-Γεώργιος Χωματιανός (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 6, 12.31); ὁ
 μαστρο-Νικόλὸς Καλλιόπουλος (1523, *ibid.* Inv. 14, 300.8–9)
 τὸν ἄνωθεν παπα-κυρο-Θωμά (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 26, 84.10)
 ἄμε στὸ γερο-δαίμονα *Stathis* III.399
 ὁ μαστρο-Πέτρος, ὁ μαστρο-Παῦλος ROMANOS, *Grammar* 94.9–10
 ὁ παπα-κυρ-Σίδερης PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §2 1–2
 ὁ γερο-πνευματικός (1664, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 31, 36.7–8)
 ἐγὼ ὁ Νίκος χατζη-Μάρκου (1690, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 21,
 14.9); ἀπὸ τὸν παπα-Τριαντάφυλλον (1697, *ibid.* 30, 26.122)
 τοῦ ἄρχον πουλγαρ-Μέστιρη (1728, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: Δ: 13, f.9r.5) (<
Rom. pîrgar)

κυρ-, φρα-, φρε-/πρε-
 ὁ ἱερομονάζων κυρ-Νικόδημος (1127, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 10, 83.6)
 ὁ κυρ-Μιχαήλ (14th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1956: [4], 40.4)
 τοῦ βασιλέως κύρ Σάκη τοῦ Βατάτση *Chron. Mor.* H 1211
 τοῦ παπα-κυρ-Διονυσίου (1395, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 8, 76.20)
 κύρ Ἡλῖε, τί να ποιήσωμεν *Dig.* E 91
 ὁ κυρ-Θεόδωρον (15th c., Pontos, ALEXAKIS/MAVROMATIS 2015: 5, 12.9)
 δέσποτα παπά, κυρ-Ἀνδρέα (1497, Crete, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 6, 143.33)
 φρά Λιβέρη *Poulol.* 254
 ἐθάφτην εἰς τοὺς Φρὲ Μενούριδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 276.37; ὁ σῖρ Ραμούν Παπῆς ... ὁ φρὲ
 Τράν *ibid.* 368.19–20 (σῖραμοῦν in Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 με τον ἄνωθεν φρε Γιλιάμ VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 14.20; και τον φρα Χριστόφορον *ibid.* 82.17
 πρὲ Μάρκος ὁ Σουμαρίπας (1535, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 4, 120.3)
 ἐγὼ ὁ ρηθεῖς φρα Πιέρο Σουρίας (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 232, 231.21); τοῦ
 μισερ φρα Μπενέτο Τάντολο (*ibid.* 258, 256.2–3)
 κυρ-Γεώργιος (1551, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 16, 33.7)
 τὸν αὐτὸν κυρ Ἀνδρέα (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 349, 248.24–5)
 ὁ κύρ Θεοφάνης PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §3.1
 νὰ πᾶμε νὰ τὸν εὔρωμε αὐτὸ τὸ Φρά Καποῦτσο FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.124
 ὁ δέσποτας Κύρ Μιχαήλ EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 26.13–14 (for δέσποτας see 2.3.5)
 τὸν κυρ-Σπηλιωτάκη (1708, Peloponnese, PAPADOPOULOS 1976: 6, 124.15)
 τὸν κύρ Μελέτιο (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 135.55–6)

κυρα-/κερα-, κυρατσα-, γρια-
 τῆς κυρά Ἑλένης *Pol. Tr.* 6283 app. crit. (CX); τῆς κυρά Θέτης *ibid.* 14136
 τῆς κυρα-Ἰππόλυτας *Theseid* I.86,6 (Follieri) (κυρά ed.; unaccented in the Venetian edition)
 τῆς ἄνωθεν κυρα-Μάρως (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 241, 146.5–6)
 τῆς ἄνωθεν κυρατσα-Γούστως (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 6, 59.13)

τῆς λεγούμενης τῆς κυρα-Πατολίνας (1577, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 21, 155.5–6)]
 τῆς θηγατέρος τῆς τῆς κυρατσα-Λάγουρας (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 13, 27.6); τῆς
 προειρημένης κυρατσα-Ἀγάθης (ibid. 55, 49.15)
 τσῆ κερ' Ἀρμένισσας CHORTATSI, *Katz*. IV 426
 ἡ κερα-ἡγουμένη ... καὶ ὅλες αἱ κερα-καλογράδες (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.2–3)
 ἡ κερα-Μανολέσα (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 24.22); ἀπ' ὄνομαν τσῆ κερα-
 παπαδιάς (ibid. 6, 28.9–10); τσῆ κερα-Μπουστρουδένας (1606, ibid. 401, 374.6–7)
 εἰς τῆς γρια-Καλῆς τὸ χωράφι (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 56, 71.9)
 τσῆ κερα-Μηλιᾶς FOSKOLOS, *Fort*. III 308
 κυρὰ ἀλεπού, ποιὸς σ' ἔμαθε νὰ μοιράζης; *Paroim.* (Warner) 33.6
 τότες καὶ ἡ γρια-ρήγισσα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1191 app. crit. (to be read with a hiatus between
 καὶ and ἡ; γρια is monosyllabic)¹²⁷

NEUTER

2.19 Neuter Nouns in /o(n)/

The inherited neuter /on/ paradigms are fairly stable paradigms with limited variation in endings. They include numerous inherited words as well as a large number of new formations, among which proparoxytone diminutives in -όπουλο(ν) (νησόπουλο(ν), ψωμόπουλο(ν) and many others) and -ούτζικον (e.g. δενδρούτζικον, τυπικούτζικον); innovative compound words such as e.g. παλιόσπιτο(ν) (παλιός + σπíti(ν)) or σκουπόραβδο(ν) (σκούπα + ραβδί(ν)), as well as many substantivized adjectives (e.g. τὸ ἄρωματικό(ν), τὸ κακό(ν), τὸ ὑποστατικό(ν), to name just a few) and loanwords, e.g. τὸ σκρίτο(ν) (< Ven. *scrito*); τὸ στάτο(ν) (< Ven. *stato*); τὸ φοῦντο(ν) (< Ven. *fondo*); τὸ κιλό(ν) (also spelled κοιλόν or κυλλόν) (< Turk. *kile* < Arab. *keyl*); τὸ μάρκον (< Fr. *marc* < Germ. *Mark*).

As in earlier stages of the language, there is a degree of interaction between various paradigms (REINHOLD 1898: 53–7; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 36–46; GIGNAC 1981: 43–4). Thus certain masculine, and sporadically feminine, nouns in /os/ may develop alternative forms in -o(ν). Some for the plural only (ὁ βόρβορος, ὁ δεσμός, ὁ νεφρός, ὁ πηλός):¹²⁸ καὶ ᾿ποντίστην μὲ τὰ βόρβορα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 496.24–5; τὰ δεσμὰ τοῦ πόθου *Liv.* α 162; καὶ τὰ νεφρά σου σαποῦν *Spanos* D 311; καὶ ἀνασκάπτει τὰ πηλὰ *Diig. tetr.* 447, while others form neuter singular forms as well (e.g. ὁ βάλτος, ὁ κίνδυνος, ὁ μισθός, ὁ μυαλός, ἡ βάσανος, ἡ ἔξοδος):

εἰς βάλτα κρυβηθέντες *Dig.* G 2485
 ἡύρέθη βάλτο καὶ ἔπεσε *Chron. Tourk Soult.* 73.19

το κίνδυνο, ᾿πόπέρασε *Apoll. Rim.* A 1062;
 νὰ λυτρωθοῦν τὰ κίνδυνα *Chron. Toc.* 1294

καὶ κάμε το τὸ μιστό (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.11–12)
 ἔλεημοσύνης καὶ μιστὰ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 267.8

¹²⁷ There are several other instances of such hiatus in the text, e.g. ὁ ρήγας καὶ ἡ ρήγισσα ibid. 62; τὰ ἄρματα καὶ ἡ στολή ibid. 205.

¹²⁸ Both δεσμὰ and πηλὰ pre-date the LMedG period: see LSJ, s.v. δεσμός and Lampe, s.v. πηλόν.

στὰ μυαλά του KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1586

ὑπομείνασιν βάσανα *Dig.* E 711

τοῦτα ὅλα τὰ βάσανα (1653–5, Venice, FONKIČ 2000: 240, f.1v.14)

ἐπλήθαινε καθημερινὸ τὸ βάσανο KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.383

τὸ ἥμισον ἔξοδον (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 256.16)

ἔξοδα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας του MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 368

It is rare for feminine words in /a/ to become neuter, though an example is the word ἡ ὀπώρα > ἡ ὀπωρα > τὰ ὀπωρα, a collective noun meaning “fruit”, which was easily re-interpreted as a plural. Examples can be found in the EMedG period (e.g. in Theodore of Mopsuestia and recension ε of the Alexander Romance; see the online *TLG*): περὶ δὲ τῶν ὀσπρίων καὶ ὀπώρων NIKON, *Logos* 1 82.10. Similarly, the loanword ἡ σπέζα (< Ital. *spesa*) is sometimes interpreted as a neuter plural: μὲ σπέζα ἐδικὰ τους (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 108.9).

Although many words belonging to the neuter /os/ paradigm have alternative singular forms in -ο(ν) (see 2.23), only a few of them may transfer completely to the paradigm in -ο(ν), forming a plural in -α: τὰ ὡς εἴρηται χρεωστούμενά μοι χρέα (1284, Thessaloniki, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 75, 32.46); τῷ νησιῷ τὰ πέλαγα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 162.8; ἤπληρσεν καὶ κτῆνα πολλά (14th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 206.1.5). An especially inventive new formation is the plural form πατερ(η)μά which is the result of a reanalysis of the phrase πάτερ ἡμῶν “our Father” to πατερ(η)μόν, meaning either the prayer itself or “rosary”: βαστοῦσιν τὰ πατερημά BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 187; νὰ λέη τὰ πατερμά του *Fyll. gadar.* 309a; στὰ πατερμά μου | θέλω παρακαλεῖ γιὰ σέ CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.404–5; ἔνα ζευγάρι πατερημά μαλαματένια (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 142.71). A comparable form is the plural κυριελέσα in the following example: δὲ μᾶς-ε ξάζου οἱ πατερμοὶ μουδὲ τὰ κυριελέσα *P&N Diath.* 840 (< κύριε ἐλέησον) (for οἱ πατερμοὶ see 2.1).

Former 3rd-declension masculine nouns in -ων only sporadically transfer to the neuter /on/ paradigm. An example is the word νομοκάνονον, formed from the extended stem of the EMedG word νομοκάνων (< νόμος + κανών; see *LBG*, s.v.): τὸ τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ λεγόμενον νομοκάνονον NIKON, *Logos* 4 214.15; νομοκάνονα ἔχετε, τὰ ἅπερ ἔχουν γεγραμμένας τὰς ἀγίας συνόδους id., *Logos* 9 310.19–20; βιβλίον τὸ μέγα νομοκάνονον (12th c., Macedonia, PETIT 1900: 3, 121.28). Comparable formations are the following geographical names: Εἰς τὸ Καταστρόμονον (1262, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1994: 59, 102.106); εἰς τὸ Παραστρόμονον (ibid. 103.119) (< κατὰ/παρὰ + Στρυμών).

Already in AG certain nouns in -ον had developed alternative plural forms in -ατα borrowed from the /ma/ paradigm and other 3rd-declension nouns (JANNARIS 1897: 113), e.g. προσώπατα can already be found in Homer, ὀνείρατα in Aeschylus; as well as the occasional gen. sg. in -ατος, e.g. ὀνείρατος, which can be found in Plato (for these forms see SCHWYZER 1939: 515, 518; see also MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 436; PSALTES 1913: 176). These forms continue to be in use in the period covered by this Grammar, and the /ata/ ending spreads to a few other nouns, such as ἔργον(ν), ἔργατα and ὑπέρπυρον(ν), (ὑ)περπύρατα (regional).

Nouns in this category may be oxytone, paroxytone or proparoxytone. There is one paroxytone noun of which the stem ends in a vowel, namely the word ζῶο(ν), which may become oxytone through word-internal vowel deletion (see I, 2.9.2.1 for details). It is then sometimes extended to two syllables through the addition of a prothetic /o/ (see I, 2.6.1.2). The spelling <ω> for <ο> in the ending is, of course, graphematic: ἀφῆκεν την ὠσάν τὸ ζῶ *Synax. gyn.* 100 app. crit.; ἐναν οζῶ (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 388.10); ἄλλου ζοῦ FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 21; πενήντα κεφάλια ζᾱ (1646 [Later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 58, 149.54). Certain disyllabic words, such as δένδρο(ν), κτήνο(ν) (< τὸ κτήνος) and νεῦρο(ν), may undergo a shift of the stress and become oxytone:

εἰς κανέναν δενδρόν *Assizes A* 200.21
ἀπὸ τὰ κάλλη τοῦ δενδροῦ *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 29
εἰς τὰ δεντρὰ ποκάτω *Achil.* L 669
᾿ς τὸ στένωμα τῶν δενδρῶν *IER. AVVATIOS, Diig. Seismou* 331.4–5
ἀπάνου εἰς τὸ κτηνόν του *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 10.34
ἐκείνου τοῦ κτηνοῦ *Assizes A* 19.8
ῆσαν ὡς κτηνὰ *Chron. Toc.* 3898
οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ κτηνὰ *Fior Suppl.* 270.12
ἀχάμνισάν μου τὰ νευρὰ *Fyll. gadar.* 338
περὶ τῶν νευρῶν μου *Diig. tetr.* 622

A shift of the stress in proparoxytone nouns from the antepenultimate to the penultimate may occur in verse texts for metrical reasons: ἐνά ᾿μορφο ὀνεῖρο *Alex. Rim.* 665.
For nouns in -εῖο(ν), -ειο(ν), -ῖο(ν) and -ιο(ν) see 2.20.

2.19.1
Oxytone Nouns

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	λουτρό(ν)		
Gen.	λουτροῦ		
Acc.	λουτρό(ν)		
Voc.	λουτρό(ν)		
Plural			
Nom.	λουτρά		
Gen.	λουτρῶν	λουτρῶ λουτρῶνε	
Acc.	λουτρά		λουτράν
Voc.	λουτρά		

Singular*Nominative, Accusative and Vocative**Neut.*

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ό(ν)

The inherited ending -ό(ν), with and without the final /n/, is in general use throughout the LMedG and EMG periods for the nominative, the accusative and the vocative:

Nominative

τὸ κοιλιακὸν τὸν ἔπιασεν *Chron. Mor.* H 8200
 τὸ κιλὸν τὸ στίον πουλιέται αγ' (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 48, 40.2) (< Turk. *kile*)
 ποθῶ σε τὸν ἐζάλισεν τὸ ποθοοργιστικὸ μου *Liv.* V 1872
 τοῦτο ἐνι τὸ πτερόν μου *Liv.* α 587
 τὸ κτηνὸν μου ἐλαβώθην *Assizes A* 433.18–19 (< τὸ κτήνος)
 κι ἦδραμεν αἶμα καὶ νερόν *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 282
 ἦτον τὸ πρῶτον φονικὸν τὸ ἐγίνην εἰς τὸν κόσμον *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 355
 θανατικὸν ἐπέσωσεν εἰς τὸ νησίον τῆς Ρόδου *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 4
 ἀνατολικά ἔναι τὸ στενὸ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 280, 277.8)
 τί κακὸν ἐσυνέβη *Vios Aisop.* D 212.38
 λογιάζοντας πῶς νά 'ναι γιαιτρικὸν μου *Vosk.* 40 app. crit.
 καὶ ἦτονε πουρνό *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 132.29
 ἐθάρρουν καὶ ζωτικὸν νά 'ν' κείνη *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1237
 τὸ μερικτὸ τοῦ ἄνωθεν Sr Γιάκουμου νά ἔνε τοῦ αὐτοῦ Sr Γιάκουμου (1665, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 3, 117.16)
 νά μεράζεται τὸ νερό (1694, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 47, 76.17)
 ἐκείνο ἦτυχε τὸ κακὸ μας ριζικὸ (1720, Folegandros, GAVALAS 1887: 513.1)

Accusative

ἡῦρα νερό νά λούνη *SULT. WALAD, Poem II* 3
 ἀμέτε τον εἰς τὸ λουτρόν *Arm.* 187
 καὶ χύνουν ἐκ του στόματος ... | νερό καθάριον *Dig.* E 1654–5
 (νά πλερώση ...) ἔνα μάρκον ἀσημιν *Assizes B* 288.29 (< Fr. *marc*)
 ξηγᾶται διὰ τὸ φυσικὸν τοὺς θεοὺς *Fior* 78.31–2
 βάλε, κηπουρέ, νερό [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1626
 ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐποιήσατε τὸ φονικὸν ἐτοῦτο *Velth.* 210
 εἰς τ' ἀβγὸ *Alex. Rim.* 212
 ἔχουν ἀπὸ γονικὸν τῆς ... σπίτια (1592, Naxos, KATSOUROU 1955: 19, 74.6)
 ἄλλος ἔψηνε τὸ αὐγὸ *Paroim.* (Warner) 34.9; ἄλλος φυτεύει τὸ δεντρό *ibid.* 34.19 (< δέντρο(ν))
 τὸ ψιμικὸν ὅπου θέλουσιν τὸ βάλε (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 227, 228.9–10)
 μηδὲν κυτάξης τὸ σκατόν σου *Vios Aisop.* I 267.10
 ὅπου ποτὲ δὲν ἐνθυμοῦνται τέτοιον θανατικὸν (1621, Sicily, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 1, 90.10–11)
 ὅταν ἦταν εἰς χερουβικὸν *LANDOS, Geopon.* 254.1
 νά παίρνει τόσο ὑποστατικὸ ἀρεσοῦμένό τῆς (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 114.70)
 νά πίνετεν ἀφ' τὸ πιωτὸ *KONDAR., Paidēs* 295
 εἰς τὸ δεξιὸ πλευρό μου *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2506

ἀν τὰ ἔδωσες, τοῦ πράμα καὶ ἀσημικὸ καὶ ἄλλα (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.46r.5–6)

δὲν εἶχενε ριζικὸ (1694, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 10, 24.8)

Vocative

ὦ παρικὸ μου ἀχόρταγο FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 509

ὦ ἀπίστο καὶ ἀτίμητο ριζικὸ ἐδικὸ μου! *Diig. Alex.* K 363.14

ποῦ πᾶς, δανεικός; *Paroim.* (Warner) 55.23

ὦφου, πρικὺ μου ριζικὸ CHORTATSI, *Erof.* V.485

ὦ ντροπιασμένον θηλυκὸ SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* G3v.17 (< adj. θηλυκός)

ὦ ριζικὸ ἀκατάστατον KORNAOS, *Erot.* IV.717

Genitive

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-οῦ

The inherited ending -οῦ is the only ending before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

καὶ νὰ εὐρῆς τὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῦ ρητοῦ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 312.4

τοῦ Γλυκοῦ Νεροῦ (1321, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 108, 203.518)

ὡς κληρονόμος ὅπου ἦτον τοῦ ἱγονικοῦ τῆς ὅλου *Chron. Mor.* H 7402

ἀπὸ πτεροῦ τὴν παίρνουν *Arm.* 35

τοῦ λουτροῦ ἐκείνου *Achil.* L 518

ἀπάνω τοῦ νεροῦ *Assizes* A 50.27–8

ἐνοῦ γλυκομυρωδάτου ποτοῦ *Pist. kekoim.* 35–6

τὶ ἔναι τοῦ ριζικοῦ μου *Alex. Rim.* 269; ἀπὸ πλευροῦ *ibid.* 340

αὐτουνοῦ τοῦ μερτικοῦ (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 220.95)

μὴ γένεσιν αἷτιος κακοῦ (1576, Macedonia, CHASIoTIS 1964/65: 3, 253.27)

ἄρχου καὶ μωροῦ καθὼς τοῦ δόξῃ *Paroim.* (Warner) 40.16

ἔως τὸ βουνὸ τοῦ Πρασσοβοῦ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 66.17–18 (= Βραζον)

ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ βουνοῦ *Vios Aisop.* K 206.11

τοῦ φαγητοῦ *Bertoldin.* 98.19

τὴν λοίμην τοῦ θανατικοῦ AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 621

ψηλοῦ δεντροῦ κλωνάρι KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.658 (δεντρό(ν) < δέντρο(ν))

Plural

Nominative, Accusative and Vocative

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ά -άν

The inherited ending -ά is the only ending for the nominative, accusative and vocative plural throughout the period under review:

Nominative

τὰ πλευτικά πολὺ θέλουν κουστίσει *Chron. Mor.* H 601; πατέραν εἶχαν τὰ ὀρφανὰ *ibid.* 7225

εἰ δὲ χιονίστη δυνατὰ καὶ τὰ νερά παγώσουν *Poulol.* 93

τὰ νεφρά σου σαποῦν *Spanos* D 311 (< ὁ νεφρός)

οὐλα τὰ νερά τῶν βρύσων ξεράναν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 2.24–5
 ἔγινε σεισμός καί ἐχάλασαν τὰ βοδενά (16th c., Lamia?, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 69.II, 530.7.1)
 τὰ ἀνωθεν καλά καί ὑποστατικά εἶναι ... (1591, Kefalonia, *CHRYSOCHOIDIS* 1977: 1, 207.40)
 τα δεντρά εκαρπίζα *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.318 (< δεντρό(ν) < δέντρο(ν)); τα ζα τση
 προσεγέρνουντα *ibid.* I.320 (< ζῶον)
 ἔπεσαν τὰ αὐγά καί ἐτσακίσθησαν *Vios Aisop.* I 282.10
 δὲν γνωρίζεις τί εἶναι τὰ γεράκια καί τὰ λαγωνικά *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 40.25–6
 διατὶ πλέγουσι τὰ φαγητὰ εἰς τὸν στόμαχον *LANDOS, Geopon.* 181.34
 ἐκαγήκανε τὰ δεντρά (post 1647, Crete?, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 65.III–V, 512.42.2)
 ἐχρειάστηκαν τοῦ σκύλου τὰ σκατὰ *Paroim.* (Warner) 107.21

Accusative

καὶ χάσης τὰ νερά σου *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 537
 καὶ τὰ πλευρά του δέρνει *Dig.* E 1127
 νὰ τὰ ἔχωσιν, τὰ γονικά τους, τὰ ὑποστατικά τους (1430, Ioannina, *RIGO* 1998: [1], 62.24–5)
 πουνά καὶ δειλινά *Liv.* α 2266
 καὶ τὰ στενά τοῦ Κάστρου μας τριγύρου νὰ τὰ γυρίζω *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 42
 ἐρπετά κι ἄλλα θηριὰ τῆς φύσης *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 21
 καὶ ἐκ τα κακά εἰς τα καλά θέλει νὰ σε γυρίσει *Apoll. Rim.* A 520
 αὐγά ἐγέννα δίκροκα *Fyll. gadar.* 255
 γιὰ θαφτικά καὶ μνημόσυνα ἐκεινῆς (1597, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 9, 31.13)
 ἄλλοι βάνουσιν ἀβγά *LANDOS, Geopon.* 166.35–167.1
 ἀπ' ὅξω ἀφ' τὰ μυαλά μου *KONDAR., Paidēs* 92; ἀφ' τὰ πιωτὰ ποὺ πίνεις *ibid.* 318
 ἄγρια ζᾶ ... νὰ τὰ ἀποκομίσει *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1262 (< ζῶον)
 ἔνα ζευγάρι πατερημὰ (1680, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 31, 179.26) (<
 πατερημόν < πᾶτερ ἡμῶν)
 εἰς χοντρά φαγητὰ (1692, Palermo region, *PAPADOPOULOS* 1994: 2, 183.48)
 μὲ τρία δεντρά (1698, Sifnos, *SYMEONIDIS* 1991: 3, 86.16) (< δεντρό(ν) < δέντρο(ν))

Vocative

ὄρη καὶ κάμποι καὶ βουνά *Velth.* 129
 ὦ βουνὰ καὶ κάμποι καὶ ὄρη *Diig. Alex.* F 120.20 (Lolos)
 ὄρη, βουνὰ θρηνήσετε *Thrinis Konst.* (Zoras) 6; κ' ἐσεῖς, νερά τρεχάμενα *ibid.* 9
 ἐσεῖς βουνά ... ἐρπετά ..., ἔλατε *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §31.135–7
 βουνὰ καὶ ὄρη κλαύσατε *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 652

Addition of final /n/ is not very common and has only been found in the acc. (see I, 3.7.2.1.3): πόνος εἰς τὰ νεφράν του *Chron. Toc.* 1532; ἐκ τὰ γλυκιά του τὰ νεράν *TROILOS, Rodol.* III.334 (Walton).

Genitive

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	
		-ῶν -ῶ -ῶνε

There is little variation in the gen. pl. ending, which is the inherited ending -ῶν:

τῶν δενδρῶν τὰς φύσεις *Liv.* V 1604
 τὸ ρέμαν τῶν νερῶν *Assizes B* 299.13
 τῶν δύο πρώτων ποσῶν (post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 4, 16.4)
 τὸ δικαίωμαν πάντων τῶν ἀρωματικῶν *Assizes A* 238.31

τῶν πτερῶν του *Velth.* 300

εἰς δῆγματα ἐρπετῶν *Lapid.* 187.21

τῶν ζευγαρικῶν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 100, 99.17)

πόσων κακῶν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 107.4–5

τῶν φυτῶν τὰ ὀμμάτια LANDOS, *Geopon.* 147.38; τὸ ἄσπρον τῶν ἀβγῶν *ibid.* 167.1

τὰ φροῦτα τῶν ὑποστατικῶν μου (1660, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 2, 116.28–9)

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from Crete: ἐκ τῶ δεντρώ τσι κλώνους CHORTATSI, *Panor. Prol. theas* 56; τῷ σωθικῷ *Thysia Avr.* 326; ὅλα τὰ κορμιὰ ὀζῶ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.369 (< ζῶο(ν)).

Addition of -(ν)ε has been found in Heptanesian texts (Kefalonia, Zakynthos): τῶν ὑποστατικῶν του (1653, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 215, 186.42); τῶν ὑποστατικῶν του PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 114.25.

2.19.2 Paroxytone and Proparoxytone Nouns

	General		Restricted		Rare
Singular					
Nom.	ὄπλο(ν)	πρόβατο(ν)	-ου		
Gen.	ὄπλου	προβάτου		πρόβατου -ατος	
Acc.	ὄπλο(ν)	πρόβατο(ν)	-ου		
Voc.	ὄπλο(ν)	πρόβατο(ν)	-ου		
Plural					
Nom.	ὄπλα	πρόβατα	-ατα	-ατα	-ι/-η
Gen.	ὄπλων	προβάτων	ὄπλω ὄπλωνε ὄπλῶν -άτων	πρόβατων προβάτω προβάτωνε -άτων	
Acc.	ὄπλα	πρόβατα	-ατα	-ατα	-ι/-η
Voc.	ὄπλα	πρόβατα	-ατα	-ατα	-ι/-η

Singular

Nominative, Accusative and Vocative

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ο(ν)

The inherited ending -ο(ν), with and without the final /n/, is in general use throughout the LMedG and EMG periods for the nominative, the accusative and the vocative:

Nominative

- φύλλον θροεῖ σε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 148
 τὸ ράσον τὸ σὲ δίδουσιν καὶ ἐκεῖνο ψυχικόν ἐνι *Ptoch.* IV 472.1 app. crit. (H)
 κ' ἐγίνη τὸ πασσάντζο *Chron. Mor.* H 157; τὸ κοῦρσο ... | οὐδὲν ἐδιήρκεσεν πολλὰ ibid.
 9103–4
 τὸ τόξο σου ἐτρίβη *Liv.* V 3681
 ὀκάτι ἔργον νὰ γένη *Spanos* B 23
 ἐκεῖτον τοῖνυν τὸ λαμπρὸν ἄστρον *Achil.* N 1671; τὸ ρόδον ... τὸ Ἴον καὶ τὸ κρίνον ibid. 1675
 ἡ Ἀθήνα ἦτον κάστρο μέγα πολλὰ *Diig. Alex.* F 160.19–20 (Lolos)
 γιὰ σένα πάσα φύτρο πρασινίζει *CHORTATISIS, Erof.* I.609; σκῆπτρο νὰ σᾶς βαραίνει ibid.
 V.469
 τὸ ρόδο τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀνθῶν *Stathis* I.35
 φακῇ εἶναι τὸ δεῖπνον μας *Vios Aisop.* K 165.22
 ἐγύρισεν ... σὰν ἓνα μοῦτρον ἀναποδιασμένον *Bertoldos* 28.10–11
 ἔσκασεν τὸ ξύλο PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §15.27
 δῶρον ἂν εἶναι χαμηλὸ *TROILOS, Rodol. Dedic.* 43
 σὲ ὠφελεῖ τὸ σκόρδον *LANDOS, Geopon.* 206.24–5
 ἐσίμωσε τὸ ξύλο μου *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.1527
- τὸ ἄλογο ἐθυμώθηκε *Chron. Mor.* H 5074
 μάρμαρον ἦτον πρᾶσινον *Liv.* α 324
 ἓναν βιβλόπουλον (1417, Crete, *LAMBROS* 1895: 1, 586.30)
 τὸ πρόβατον δ' ἀπόμεινεν *Diig. tetr.* 452
 τὸ παλιοφούστanon ... | ἐχαρβαλῶθη *Poulol.* 433–4
 καὶ κάτεργον τὸ ὑπάντησε *Anak. Konst.* 7
 τὸ πρῶτον μάγγανον ἦτον ἓναν ξυλόκαστρον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 482.35
 γυρίζει τὸ φιδόπουλο *Alex. Rim.* 211; σὰν βούκινο βαρέση ibid. 839
 βάσανο τὸ λογισμὸ μου κρίνει *CHORTATISIS, Erof.* I.398 (< ἡ βάσανος)
 τὸ μέτωπόν του ἔμπροσθεν ἀπετακτὸν *Vios Aisop.* K 147.8
 ἐκεῖ ἦτονε τὸ πλεόν κίνδυνο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 84.13 (< ὁ κίνδυνος)
 τὸ ἀμυγδαλόλαδο καὶ σαμόλαδο ... ἔχουσι τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν *LANDOS, Geopon.* 190.28–9
 ἔπεκε στάκτη ἓνα δάκτυλο (1605–32, Preveza?, *LAMBROS* 1910: 241, 184.4) (for ἔπεκε see III,
 2.2.1.10)
 τὸ κάρβουνό μου στὴν καρδιὰ πάντα σοῦ θέλει βράζει *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1244
 τί βάλαμον εἶναι αὐτό; *Don Kis.* 61.22
 ξανοίγεται ὅλο το πέλαγο *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 35.2 (< τὸ πέλαγος)

Accusative

- στὸ κάστρον *Chron. Mor.* H 2897
 ἀπέταξε τὸ ἔλμον *Pol. Tr.* 6030 (< Ital. *elmo*)
 ἄστρον ἐν τῇς Ρόδου (1493, Rhodes, *Tsopanakis* 1970: 56.49)
 κακώσεως τίποτι κέντρον ἔχεις *Velth.* 53
 δῶρα τὸν ἀποστέλνει | λιθαρομαργαρίταρο καὶ χρυσωμένον ροῦχον *Imber.* 445–6
 καὶ θέλειν χάσειν το ρηγάτον *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 34.5
 ἔχει καλὸν φοῦντον (1534, Unknown, *Tselikas/Koromila* 2003: A, 63.15)
 ἔλεγον δένδρον τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ ἓνα *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.21
 ἔδωκέν τον τὸ φοσσάτον (1565–75, Constantinople, *Foerster* 1877: 7, 15.4)

μέ τεχνικάτο ζάλο *Stathis* III.215

και ένα άλογον και ένα όνον *Vios Filaret*. 239.9 (< ό όνος)

νά φέρη τό γράμμαν ... ήγουν τό σκρίτον (1613, Naxos, CHASIOTIS 1966: 15, 206.6–7) (< Ven. *scrito*)

(βάνουσιν ...) τό άσπρον τών άβγών LANDOS, *Geopon*. 167.1; βράσε ... όργον άψητον *ibid*. 267.6–7

ένα μερί βιδέλο FOSKOLOS, *Fort*. V.69 (< Ven. *vedelo*)

σ' ήτα στάτο εύρίσκεται KORNAROS, *Erot*. III.34 (< Ven. *stato*)

<έν δέ> και πέμψη ό Χριστός τυρίτζιν ή όβγούτζικον NIKON, *Logos* 1 86.15–16

πλησίον εις τό λεγόμενον Νερούτζικον (1304, Lemnos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 99, 144.18–19)

τό σεντοκόπουλον ... έσήκωσε (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 277.7)

έπαρε σύ τό φλάπουλο *Achil*. O 255 (= φλάμπουρο)

τίς άπεδιάβην άτρομος τό στενογιόφυρόν σου *Plani kosmou* 12

τό Σάββατο τής άποκρέου *Pist. kekoim*. tit.

έβαλέν το εις το δάκτυλο του Αλεξάνδρου *Diig. Alex*. K 367.21–2

τό γυναικόπαιδον έκαμαν σκλάβους (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 37.II, 301.20.5)

τό όποίο παλαιόσπιτο τό ειχεν ψυχικό (1543, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 42, 245.5)

ώσαν φαίνεται μέ όμόλογον άπό την Άλεσάνδρια (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 60, 57.7)

εις τό στρατόπεδον (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.8)

στού Νικολό τό μεσότοιχον (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 853, 744.7–8)

έδωσα άπό τό πογγί μου ένα πρόβατον PAPASYNAD., *Chron*. I §23.46–7

εις όποιον πρόσωπον (1678, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1999: 4, 49.11)

του όποιου του έδωσα και ένα βρακοπουκάμισο (1680, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 8, 301.16)

τό λένε Παλιογαλάξειδο EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal*. 61.14

Vocative

πανώραιόν μου δένδρον *Dig*. G 900

τέκνον μου, μάθε γράμματα *Ptoch*. III 57; ώ κομνηνοβλάστητον άπό πορφύρας ρόδον *ibid*. 274

ώ στρατηγέτα φοβερέ και δένδρον τής ψυχής μου *Chron. Toc*. 3394

ρόδον μου εύθαλόφυτον, μήλον μου μυρισμένον *Dig*. T 1991 and A 2955

έγλήγορα, τέκνο μου Άλέξανδρε *Diig. Alex*. F 270.6–7 (Lolos)

άστρο μου και πρώτον άστρον του ούρανοϋ (17, Unknown, ŠANGIN 1936: 4, 161.8)

ώ Κάστρο μου περιόδοξο BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol*. 573.21

ρόδο μυρισμένο, | μήλο μου ώραιότατον άξιο και πλουμισμένο PETRITSIS, *Dig*. O 1755–6

άκουσε εσύ, ζών *Don Kis*. 175.17

φλάμμουλόν μου εύγενικόν *Pol. Tr*. 7176

ώ σπλαχνικό μου σκάνδαλο FALIEROS, *Ist. On*. 473

ώ ήγαπημένο μου άλογον *Diig. Alex*. F 200.7 (Konstantinopulos)

τριαντάφυλλό μου κόκκινο PETRITSIS, *Dig*. O 1755

ω τιμή και έσοπτρον του γένους της Ισπανίας! *Don Kis*. 190.15

Forms in -ου are phonetic rather than morphological variants of -ο (see I, 2.5.4): του ρούχου νά μη άπλώνει κανείς (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 6, f.43r.14); εις του κάστρου τής Μυτιλήνης (1713, Lesbos?, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1884: 7, 27.2).

*Genitive**Neut.*

Sg.	Gen.	-ου

The normal ending for the genitive singular is -ου:

τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ κάστρου (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 52.17–18)
 δουκάτου Ἀπουλίας καὶ πριγκιπάτου Κάπουας (1217, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 15, 90.4)
 κεφαλὴν κάνστρου ὁδεῖνα (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 255.8)
 τοῦ πριγκιπάτου *Chron. Mor.* H 2895
 ἐπάνωθεν τοῦ ἔλμου *Pol. Tr.* 8129 (< Ital. *elmo*)
 ἂν ἦτον λιθοκάρδιος ἢ φύσιν εἶχεν ξύλου *Achil.* N 1681
 τὸ τοῦ ρόδου φύλλον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 834; περίξ τοῦ μήλου γράμματα *ibid.* 1406
 τὰς τέτας τοῦ φουσάτου *Achil.* O 188 (τέτας = τέντας, see I, 3.8.3.4)
 τοῦ ρηγάτου τῆς Κύπρου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.3; τὸ πλάτος τοῦ ξύλου *ibid.* 70.28
 βαστώντα τα κλειδιά του κάστρου MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 219.2–3
 ἐτουνοῦ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἱνστρουμέντου (1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 703, 607.4)
 τοῦ τεσταμέντου (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 57.300)
 τὸ κέντρωμα τοῦ ξύλου LANDOS, *Geopon.* 148.18–19; τριγύρου τοῦ δένδρου *ibid.* 152.10

In the genitive singular of proparoxytone nouns the shift of the stress to the penultimate is usually observed:

τοῦ λεγομένου νομοκανόνου NIKON, *Logos* 4 236.4 (< τὸ νομοκάνονον)
 τοῦ χωρίου Παλαιοκάστρου (1152, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1994: 56, 81.246)
 τοῦ σκουποράβδου *Ptoch. I* 184
 μετὰ καὶ τοῦ Νοβογραδοπούλου (1361, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 262, 550.9–552.10)
 τοῦ τερμένου *Assizes A* 63.13
 τοῦ κατέργου *Chron. Mor.* P 2190
 καλοῦ βαρσάμου ρίζα *Love poems V* 401
 ᾽νού κατέργου φλουρουντινίκου VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 12.14–15
 ἔρρικταν τοῦ ἀλόγου θροφὴν *Diig. Alex.* E 119.15 (Lolos)
 τὰ ἀγγεῖα τοῦ μέλιτος καὶ βουτύρου ZYGOM., *Stef. Ichn.* 253.16–17
 ὄξω τοῦ σοπάτου (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 4, 27.6–7)
 τριγύρου του κουτέλου τως CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.417
 ἡ βρόμα τοῦ κατούρου *Vios Aisop.* K 160.14
 τοῦ ἀντρογύνου (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 3, 32.31)
 ἕνας κτύπος ἐνού αλόγου *Don Kis.* 551.11

Forms that do not display a shift of the stress to the penultimate are much rarer:

τοῦ Ἄροτρου τὸ ἥμισυ KAMAT., *Astron.* 800
 τοῦ εἰρημένου παλαιόσπιτου (1543, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 42, 245.6–7)

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-ατος

This ending, the gen. sg. counterpart to the plural in -ατα (see below), has been found only for the word *ὄνειρος/ὄνειρον*, and only in a handful of texts, namely all versions of *Livistros*, the *Byzantine Iliad* and *Kartanos*. As noted in the introduction (2.19), this form existed already in AG:

τὸν βυθὸν τοῦ ὄνειρατος *Liv.* E 564
 ἐκ τὴν παραχὴν τοῦ ὄνειρατος *Liv.* V 2482 and S 1549
 τοῦ ὄνειρατος τὴν πλάσιν *Liv.* α 761
 τοῦ ὄνειρατος τὴν πρᾶξιν *Byz. Il.* 43
 τὴν διάλυσιν τοῦ ὄνειρατος *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 242.41

Plural

Nominative, Accusative and Vocative

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-α

This inherited ending is the most common for the nominative, accusative and vocative plural throughout the period under review:

Nominative

ὅσα ἄστροι εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ φύλλα εἰς τὰ δένδρη *Arm.* 144 app. crit. (P)
 τὰ μαντάτα ἐγλήγορα σπέρνονται *Pol. Tr.* 1744; τὰ ἔλμα κουδουνίζουν *ibid.* 5058 (< *Ital. elmo*)
 τὰ ζῶα τὰ μικροῦτζικα, τὰ οὐδετιποτένια *Diig. tetr.* 551
 μαντάτα ἐπεσώθηκασιν *Achil.* N 195; ὥσπερ ἐπικεύουσιν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὰ ἄστροι *ibid.* 1244
 πῶς ἐμποροῦσιν δυὸ ἄστροι γλαμπρισμένα *Cypr. Canz.* 68.1
 τὰ μὲν ροῦχα ἦσαν ἀληθῶς ἐδικὰ μου (1509, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 11, 19.10)
 ἦσαν δύο δένδρη *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.19
 τα φύτρα και τα λούλουδα *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 17
 ἐφαίνονται τὰ ἄστροι (1605, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1959: 33, 37.3)
 ἐδόθησαν ἄσπρα χιλιάδες ιε' (17th c., Monemvasia, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 77, 576.7.2)
 τὰ χοντρά ζῶα ὅλα ἐχαθήκανε (1650, Santorini, *ZERLENDIS* 1922: (1), 28.7)
 ἔφθασαν μαντάτα (1660, Crete, *KARATHANASIS* 1973: 2, 27.1)
 καὶ εἶν' ὁ Σπάνιας ἑκεῖ σιμὰ κι ἄλλα πολλὰ ρηγὰτα *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 165
 οὕτως ψάλλονται τὰ ἀπόδειπνα *NIKON, Logos* 1 52.8
 διὰ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα (1349, Egypt, *SCHOPEN/NIEBUHR* 1832: IV.14, 97.22)
 στὸν Ποντικὸν ἐπιάσασιν τὰ κάτεργα λιμιῶνα *Chron. Mor.* H 1190
 τὰ ὄνειρα ἐψεύστησαν *Pol. Tr.* 13995 app. crit. (A)
 τὰ ἐντεληνοπροστέλινα ... | κόκκινα συρματένα ὅσαν *Achil.* L 804–5
 τέσσερα τρυγονόπουλα στοὺς οὐρανοὺς πετοῦσιν *Katal.* 706
 ἐὰν ἐξολοθρευθῶσιν ἅπαντα τὰ εἰρημένα πρόσωπα (1515, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 46, 80.33)
 τα κόκκινά του μάγουλα ἐγέμιζαν το ἄνθος *Theseid* VI.30,3 (Olsen)
 ἦταν εἰς το κρέας κολλημένα κάρβουνα αναμμένα *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 1.14–15
 τ' ἄντερα του βράζου *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.414
 ἄς εἶναι τὰ λάχανα αὐτὰ ἀντιμοιβή σου *Vios Aisop.* I 258.38
 νὰ τὸ φάσιν τὰ πρόβατά του (1649, Mykonos, *ZERLENDIS* 1924a: [5], 20.22)
 καὶ ἤρχονταν δύο καραβόπουλα σαντορινεῖκα (1650, Santorini, *LAMBROS* 1885: 110.24)
 νιάκαρ νὰ λαλοῦσι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 166.23 (< *Ven. gnacara*)

τὰ βούκινα δίδου μεγάλη ζάλη KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.2173
 κι ἄλλα πολλά μωρούλλικα ἦσαν τουλουππισμένα *Thrinós Kypr.* 371

Accusative

ᾠρισε καὶ ἠφέραν ξύλα *Chron. Mor.* H 2036
 κάστρα ἐπαρέλαβα *Dig.* E 151; εἰς τὰ δένδρα *ibid.* 923
 εἴδασι καὶ τὰ σκρίτα (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 46.22–3)
 ὅλοι ἐκατευοδώνασιν τὰ λοῦρα καὶ τὰ ῥία SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 133 (< ῥία)
 στὰ κόπρα νὰ μὴν πηαίνει FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 104 (for the reading see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.)
 ὡς ροῦχα ἐδικὰ τους (1524, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 1, 15.9)
 δουκάτα δύο ὅπου τῆς ἐχρεώστα (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.24)
 κάνουν φουσάτα καὶ ὑπᾶνε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.31; ἔκαναν μῆλα μεγάλα *ibid.* 335.36
 ἐγεννήθη ὁ υἱός μου ὁ Καντακουζηνός, ἡμέρα γ', τὰ δεῖπνα (16th c., Thessaloniki, SCHREINER 1975/79: 107.1, 669.8.2)
 εἶναι γραμμένοι στὰ δύο ἀδελφάτα (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 55.231)
 ἀπὸ τὰ ὁποῖα ζῶα (1642, Patmos, MICHAELARIS 1998: 1, 193.6)
 τὰ ἱντερμέντια ἔχουνε βέρσα n° 369 FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm. IV* end, app. crit. (< Ven. *verso*)
 μὲ ἄσπρα εἰς τὴν Πόλιν κάνει κανεῖς (1653–5, Venice, FONKIČ 2000: 240, f.1v.6–7)
 (νὰ τοῦ στείλετε ...) ροῦχα (1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9a, 71.30)
 ὡς εἴκοσι τριάντα μέρες θέλω τ' ἄσπρα μου (1687, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 6, 223.1)
 ὅπου ῥον εἰς τὰ ξένα KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1782 (< adj. ξένος; pl. only)
 μὲ τὴν ἐντροπή στὰ μοῦτρα EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 58.23–4
 τὰ ἱστάμενα πλησίον τοῦ ποταμοῦ δρυετούτζικα (1090–4, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 45, 164.35); εἰς τὰ ἱστάμενα συχνὰ δενδρούτζικα (*ibid.* 165.26)
 Ἄδην καλῶ τὰ Νούμερα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 87
 φορεῖ τὰ μακρομύτικά του *Ptoch. III* 61
 ἐκ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὰ κόλλυβα *Poulol. AZ* 4
 τὸ πλάγιν εἶχεν κράκορα *Chron. Toc.* 2840 (< Aromanian *creac.*, pl. *creacuri*)
 πάντα τῷ ἄμρᾳ παραδέδωκεν ὡς λάχανα κήπου SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 150.19
 ἀνθρώπους ἔφτειρε καὶ μερικά ἄλογα (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.II, 212.18.3)
 τὰ κάτεργα ἔκαυσα *Velis.* p 295
 μεγαλύτερα σκάνδαλα θέλη ἐνεργήσει (1653–5, Venice, FONKIČ 2000: 240, f.1v.22)
 ἀπὸ τὰ πρόσωπα τῆς ἡγῆς *Pent. Gen.* 6.7
 γιὰ θαφτικά καὶ μνημόσυνα ἐκεινῆς (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 9, 31.13); (νὰ μοιράσει ...) τὰ δύο σωχωρόπουλα (1613, *ibid.* 841, 733.5)
 κάμε μικρὰ ψωμόπουλα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 244.28–9
 οὐδέ πίφαρα οὐδέ ὄργανα ἠμπόρειες ν' ἀκούσεις IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1305 (< Ven. *pifaro*);
 (πουλοῦν ...) κείνα τα τουρκοκόριτσα *ibid.* 4098
 μὲ κίντυνα μεγάλα KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1426 (< ὁ κίνδυνος)
 ἀπὸ παλαιὰ χερόγραφα EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.1–2; νέους καὶ γυναικόπαιδα *ibid.* 17.3–4

Vocative

ὦ τέκνα ποθεινότατα *Dig.* G I.70
 πρὶν νὰ στραφῶ σ' αὐτόν σας, ἔγλαμπρ' ἄστρα *Cypr. Canz.* 106.25
 ζῶα τετράποδα ... ὅπου νοῦν οὐκ ἔχετε *Diig. Alex.* F 232.18 (Lolos)
 ὦ κάκιστα ζῶα NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 104.6
 ἐσεῖς ... ξύλα ... ἐλάτε PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.135–7
 δένδρα, ξεριζωθεῖτε DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 651
 στραφῆτε, ἀρχοντόπουλα *Pol. Tr.* 10968

ὦ ξύλα, πέτρες, σίδερα FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 223
 ω πρόβατά μου θλιβερά CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.515
 ἐσεῖς ... πασσαλούλουδα ... τετράποδα, ... ἐλάτε PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.135–7
 ἄνοστά μου λάχανα *Paroim.* (Warner) 80.2

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ατα

This alternative ending occurs lexically with certain words belonging to the /on/ paradigm, namely ἔργο(ν), ὄνειρο(ν) and πρόσωπο(ν). The proparoxytone words undergo a shift of the stress to the antepenultimate. A plural περπύρατα of the word (ύ)πέρπυρο(ν) occurs in texts from Cyprus, ὄργατα (< ὄργο(ν)) in texts from Crete, and ἔλματα (< ἔλμο(ν)) in one ms of the *War of Troy* (X):

Nominative

τῆς μάχης τὰ ἔργατα ἐτοῦτα προξενούσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 8682
 σκουτάρια ἐσυντρίβονταν, ἔλματα καὶ λουρίκια *Pol. Tr.* 3451 app. crit. (X)
 τί φαίνονται τὰ ἔργατα KORONAIOS, *Pittakin* 22
 ὄργατα φιλά χοντρά (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 1, 282.26)
 σιγανὰ ἄς γενοῦσι, | τὰ ἔργατά σας *Theseid* X.3,7–8 (1529)
 ὅλα τὰ ἔργατά σου | εἶναι γεμάτα πονηριὰ SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* D2v.10–11 (1658)
 ἔργατα ὄχι λόγια (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 4, 59.19)
 ἀλύπητα πολλὰ τὰ ἔργατά του KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.264
 τὰ ὀνείρατα ἐψεύσθησαν *Pol. Tr.* 13995
 τοῦ κρασιοῦ τὰ ὀνείρατα προλέγουσιν τὸ μέλλος *Krasop.* V 76
 ἄγγελοι καὶ προσώπατα *Diig. Alex.* E 275.2 (Lolos)
 τὰ ὀνείρατά του KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 241.1
 τὰ προσώπατά τους γνώριμα εἰς ὅλους *Pist. kekoim.* 678–9
 εὐρίσκονται ἐκεῖνα τὰ προσώπατα MOREZINOS, *Klini* 276.18–19
 τ' ἀγγελικά προσώπατα CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.463
 ὡς ὀνείρατα τὰ πλούτη *Charon* II 47
 ἦλθας ντακόρδο τὰ ἄνωθεν τέσσερα προσώπατα (1628, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 510, 485.12)
 προσώπατα ἀποῦ μιλοῦσι εἰς τὴν κωμωδίᾳ FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Ind. Pers.* I
 νὰ τὰ μοιράζουν τὰ ἄλλα προσώπατα (1691, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 16, 11.15)
 εἰς ὥρα ποῦ τὰ ὀνείρατα ὅλα τὰ πλιὰ ἀληθεύγου KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.111
 εἶναι προσώπατα εἰς τὴν οστάρια *Don Kis.* 313.13

Accusative

ἐκεῖ νὰ εἶδες ἔλματα *Pol. Tr.* 1856 app. crit. (X)
 νὰ βάλῃ τὸ κορμὶν του καὶ τὰ ἔργατά του *Assizes* B 332.23
 ἔργατα πόσα κάμνουσιν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 74
 μέ τὰ ἔργατά σου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 316.18–19
 τὰ γλυκὰ λόγια σύρνουσιν κακὰ ἔργατα *Fior* 108.19
 ἔτι ὄργατα ψημένα καὶ ἀνήφητα (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 8, 293.26–7)
 γιὰ τὰ κακὰ τοὺς ἔργατα DEFAR., *Sos.* 272 (Holton)
 (ἐλαβα ...) ὄργατα κλοσμένα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 174, 172.8)

τ' ασύστατά της ἔργατα νά σᾶς ἀναθιβάνω VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 2

ὄργατα, πανιά, σεντόνια (1623, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 5, 76.116)

τὰ μαγικά ἔργατα τῆς Κέρκης Bertoldos 4.5

μὲ ἔργατα τῆς δικαιοσύνης (1694, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 205, 125.5)

ἀλύπητα πολλὰ τὰ ἔργατά του KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* 1.264

πραγμάτων ποσομένων περπύρατα τόσα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 63.15) (< ὑπέρπυρον)

τρεῖς βαθμούς ἤγουν τρία προσώπατα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.604)

ἀπὲ τὰ περπύρατά του Assizes B 330.11

αὐτὴ ἡ φαντασία ἐνεργεῖ καὶ εἰς τὰ ὀνείρατα DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 2, α7r.7–8 (1561)

ἐβλεπεν εἰς ὀνείρατα ἐκεῖνα οἱ ποὺ ἐμελλε νὰ γίνονται Vios Iosif 270.2–3

διὰ τὰ προσώπατα ὅπου ἐποίησαν εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Νικόλαον (1596, Corfu, KARYDIS 2004/06: 6, 51.16–17)

δείχνει κακὰ ὀνείρατα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 195.18

ὀμπρὸς σὲ καλὰ προσώπατα (1654, Athos, MOŠIN/SOVRE 1948: 17, 51.10–11)

(τοὺς ᾔηγάται ...) αὐτὰνα τὰ ὀνείρατα IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1021; αὐτὰνα τὰ προσώπατα ibid. 4591

μὲ τὰ ἴδια τοὺς προσώπατα (1708, Peloponnese, PAPADOPOULOS 1976: 6, 124.23)

εἰς σὲ πᾶσα ἐκλαμπρα καὶ τίμια προσώπατα (1724, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1973: 3, 307.4)

Vocative

No examples found

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ι/-η

Sometimes the Italian/Venetian plural of loanwords is retained in the Greek. There is clearly some association with the neuter /os/ paradigm, which also has a plural in /i/ (see 2.23), and therefore these forms are often spelled with <η>:

Nominative

εἶναι ὄλα βέρσι n° 1820 FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interim. IV* end, app. crit. (< Ven. *verso*; written *uerssi* in ms)

Accusative

ἡ μαῦρα ράσι ἐβάλασιν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 145 app. crit. (< It. *raso*)

εἰς τὰ ἄτη ἐμοῦ (1557, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 11, κε'.6) (< Ven. *ato*)

τὰ φρούτι τὰ φετινὰ νὰ τὰ ἡμοιράσουν (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 23, 80.14) (< Ven. *fruto*)

θέλει νὰ καλογερευτεῖ, στα ράση ν' ἀποθάνει Apoll. Rim. V 1020

εἰς τὰ ἄτη (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 10, 8.2)

Vocative

No examples found

*Genitive**Neut.*

Pl.	Gen.	-ων ὶ -ω ὶ -ωνε

The inherited ending -ων is the most common before, during and after the period under review:

- φοσσάτων διατροφῆς (1079, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 2, 18.12)
 τῶν ἀγίων δώρων NIKON, *Logos* 1 100.29
 τῶν τοιοῦτων ἐλαϊκῶν δένδρων (1251, Smyrna region, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 28, 81.10)
 χωρὶς ὀπλῶν *Diig.* G VI.521
 τῶν κάστρων τῆς Βλαχίας *Chron. Mor.* H 3656
 ἐφοβούντησαν τὸ πέζεμα τῶν ξύλων *Pol. Tr.* 2928; τῶν ἔλμων τὸν κουδουνισμόν *ibid.* 9265
 τῶν καθαρῶν τῶν ζώων *Diig. tetr.* 1040
 τριῶν δὲ σωρῶν ἄσπρων (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 60, 48.1)
 μετὰ πολλῶν φουσάτων *Achil.* N 1383
 τῶν αὐτῶν ρηγάτων MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 306.7
 δουκάτων δεκαεννέα (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 90, 170.18)
 στίμα ρούχων (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 59, 72.2)
 ἐκ τῶν ἔργων σου (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.19)
 ἐτούτων τῶν ζώων *Bertoldin.* 112.9
 τὰ κρόσσια τῶν ρούχων τοὺς KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 23.5

Proparoxytone nouns generally display a shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate:

- προβάτων ... καὶ λοιπῶν τετραπόδων (1079, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 2, 17.6)
 τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων NIKON, *Prol.* 46.2–3
 τῶν προσώπων (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.602)
 τῶν κατέργων *Pol. Tr.* 12957; τῶν ὀνείρων τοὺς λόγους *ibid.* 14037
 τοὺς ἦχους τῶν βουκίνων *Achil.* N 281
 τῶν ἀχέρων (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 46.30) (< ἄχυρο(ν))
 εἰς τὴν σκόλην τῶν Χριστογέννων (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.25–6)
 ἐν τῶν Κορυφιατικῶν караβοπούλων SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 168.15–16
 τῶ συνόρων (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.10)
 καμπανὸς τῶν σιδέρων (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1946: 500.13)
 τῶν ἀλόγων *Diig. Alex.* F 142.10 (Lolos)
 ὑπερπύρων χιλίων διακοσῶν (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 1, 4.20)
 περὶ κρέατος τῶν τετραπόδων (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 14, 28.29)
 ὄλων τῶν ὀπῶρων *Porikol.* III tit.
 πόσων σκανδάλων RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 107.5
 μουσικῶν ὀργάνων IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1333; κιθαρικῶν, τυμπάνων *ibid.* 1334

Absence of stress shift in proparoxytone words occurs occasionally:

- ἐκεινῶν τῶν παιδόπουλων *Chron. Mor.* H 4818
 τῶν μουσκοκάρυδων *Assizes* A 237.30
 τῶν ἀρχοντόπουλ (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 610, 841.15–16)

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from Crete, the Heptanese and Naxos:

τὸ σάλδο τῷ δουκάτῳ τετρακοσίῳ (1699, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 5, 166.2–3)

ὁ σφάκτης τῶν σιδέρῳ FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 493

χάρκωμα ἕνα, ὑπερπύρῳ γ´ (1560, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 24, 103.4)

τῶν ἀρχοντόπουλῳ (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 610, 841.15–16)

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs in texts from the Heptanese:¹²⁹

δῶδεκα δουκάτῳ ἀμπέλι (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 37, 55.35)

δουκάτῳ εἴκοσι ἑφτά (1649, Kefalonia, PETROPOULOS 1962: B.3, 311.8)

κασέλα μία δουκάτῳ δέκα (1654, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 2, 53.15–16)

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν -ῶ

As noted in the introduction to this section (2.19), some paroxytone words such as ζῶο(ν) and δένδρο(ν)/δέντρο(ν) may undergo a shift of the stress to the ultimate and cross over to the oxytone paradigm (see 2.19.1). Certain other paroxytone words develop an alternative oxytone gen. pl. only.¹³⁰ Examples come from texts from various regions, such as the northern mainland, including Constantinople, the Heptanese, Crete and the Aegean (Andros, Naxos, Karpathos):

μετὰ ροδῶν καὶ κρίνων *Diig. sebast. Thom.* 56

ἐὰν ἔχη χρεῖαν καὶ ἀσπρῶν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 84.6

διὰ μέρος δουκατῶν χιλιαδῶν ἑκατόν (1481, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 10, 315.11)

ἐκ τῶν δουκατῶν *Imb. Rim.* 717

ἀσπρῶν τριῶν χιλιαδῶν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 60, 58.11)

εἰς ἐστίμα ρουχῶν (1550, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 76, 99.7)

ἡχους ὀπλῶν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 4

τρίων δουκατῶν (1599, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 95, 127.9)

δύο ἀσπρῶν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 244.13

τὴν ἀγάπην τῶν ἀσπρῶν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §11.46

τῶν χορτῶν *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 41

ἀσπρῶν χιλιάδας δέκα μόνας (1662, Karpathos?, ZERLENDIS 1918d: Δ, 302.1)

φατοῦρα τῶν κάτωθεν μερτσῶν (1680, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 8, 302, f.1v.1) (< τὰ μέρτσα)

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from Crete and the Heptanese (Zakynthos):

τῷ χορτῷ τσι χάρες CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.271

εἰς τόσην στίμα ρουχῶ (1631, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 591, 565.11)

τῶν ἀσπρῶ ΤΡΟΙΛΟΣ, *Rodol.* III.339 (Aposkiti)

ἀσπρῶ πέντε (1643, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 361.15)

καὶ βγῇ ἡ ἀκτίνα τῷ ρουχῶ KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.420

¹²⁹This single instance in *Assizes* is not a case of addition of -(ν)ε, but an undeclined loanword from the French (cardamone): τῶν καρδάμουε *Assizes* B 489.27 (with /u/ for /o/, see I, 2.5.4).

¹³⁰This may be influenced by the fact that some neuter nouns in /on/ have neuter variants in /os/, which have oxytone genitives plural, e.g. τὸ μέτρος (< μέτρο(ν)); τὸ ἄστρος (< ἄστρο(ν)); see 2.23.

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-άτων

This ending is the gen. pl. counterpart to nom./acc. imparisyllabic -ατα. The expected shift of the stress to the penultimate appears to be observed. From the LMedG period onwards it is not very common and has only been found in early mixed-register texts: τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ ὀνειράτων ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 26.4; περπυράτων τόσων (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 71.V 120).

2.19.3 Transfers to Other Paradigms

In the period covered by this Grammar, as in earlier stages of the language, nouns belonging to the neuter /on/ paradigms may develop alternative neuter forms in /os/ (for more examples see 2.23), e.g.:

εἰς ἄκρος *Dig.* G I.32 app. crit. (G) (< ἄκρον)
 ὡς ἄστρον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 17 (< ἄστρον)
 εἰς τὸ μέσος (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.71) (< μέσον)
 εἰς τὸ δεῖπνος *Diig. Alex.* F 278.4 (Lolos) (< δεῖπνον)
 τὸ ἔργος ἐτοῦτο ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 37.2 (< ἔργον)
 τὰ κάστρον *Chron. Mor.* H 8652 (< κάστρον)
 μὲ τὸ μέτρος LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 104 (< μέτρον)
 τὰ πᾶκτη (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 280, 261.15) (< πᾶκτον)
 τὸ σπλάγχχνος FALIEROS, *Erot. En.* 1 (< σπλάγχχνον)
 καὶ δῶρος τῇ καρδιάς σου CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.232 (< δῶρον)

In Cypriot texts one finds a regional variant τὸ διάφορος (< διάφορον) (nom. and acc. sg. only): δομένον διὰ διάφορος *Assizes* A 45.31.

Sporadically neuter nouns in /on/ develop alternative masculine forms in /os/ (see also 2.1), e.g. εἰς τὸν λουτρόν (ante 1425, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 21, 124.100) (< τὸ λουτρόν); καὶ τόξους εἶχαν *Pol. Tr.* 10705 (< τὸ τόξον); βουνὸς καὶ φύσις ἄφυχος [ANDR. PALAIOI.], *Kallim.* 111 (< τὸ βουνόν); ὁ μέτωπος *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 4 (< τὸ μέτωπον). Only very rarely do neuter nouns develop feminine alternatives, as is the case with the following geographical name, which from neut. pl. becomes fem. sg.: ἡ Γεράπετρος BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 249.11 (< τὰ ἱεράπετρα).

Nouns in /on/ do not easily transfer to the -μα(ν) paradigm (2.21), although a few examples have been found in a document from Pontos. It is the result of a reanalysis of the word πρόστιμο(ν) as belonging to the -ιμο(ν) paradigm (see 2.22), which has an alternative gen. sg. ending -ίματος, borrowed from the -μα(ν) paradigm: λόγου προστίματος (1264, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 39, 20.62); χάριν προστίματος (1283, ibid. 71, 43.9). Based on this genitive, a new nom./acc. in -μα(ν) was formed: νὰ δώση καὶ πρόστιμαν (13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.7). Similarly, the geographical name τὰ ἱεροσόλυμα was sometimes reinterpreted as a singular belonging to the -μα(ν) paradigm: ὦ Γεροσόλυμα πτωχόν FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 73; του ἱεροσολυμάτου VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 280.14; ἀπέστειλεν εἰς ἱεροσόλυμαν ἰβ' λίβρες ἀσήμιν *Pist. kekoim.* 75.

2.20 Neuter Nouns in /io(n)/ and /i(n)/

This paradigm covers neuter nouns in /io(n)/ and /i(n)/, and it includes nouns in -εἶο(ν) and -εἰο(ν), as well as nouns in -ίο(ν), -ῖο(ν) and -ι(ν). The originally diminutive suffixes -ιον and -ῖον had become popular in the Koine as an easy way to adapt irregular-looking 3rd-declension nouns to a more regular paradigm (HORROCKS 2010: 175). Certain paroxytone and proparoxytone nouns in -ῖον/-ιον such as παιδίον and ὀψάριον started to lose the /o/ in the ending, resulting in forms in -ῖν/-ιν. This development pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar by many centuries; see GIGNAC 1981: 27–8 for examples of loss of /o/ in forms such as ἄργυριν, ὀψάριν and κέραμιν in papyri dating from the 1st c. AD onwards. For a similar development in masculine nouns in -ιος (> -ης) see 2.7; in adjectives, see 3.2.6. There is some dispute in the literature whether the reasons for the loss of /o/ are phonological, morphological or a combination of both, but this is not discussed here, as this change occurred outside the period under investigation; for an overview and discussion of views see FILOS 2017. Subsequent loss of final /n/ in the /in/ ending (< /ion/) is less common in post-classical and EMedG than it is in LMedG and EMG, but Gignac does have an example as early as the 1st c. AD and a few more dating from the 5th/6th c.

LMedG and EMG neuter nouns in /i(o)(n)/ can be divided into three groups, comprising five distinct sub-paradigms.

Sub-paradigms 2.20.1.1 and 2.20.1.2 consist of originally paroxytone nouns: 2.20.1.1 covers nouns in -εἶο(ν) and -ῖο(ν), with variable realization of final /n/. These nouns normally retain the /o/ in the ending of the nominative and accusative singular, e.g. βιβλίο(ν), μεγαλεῖο(ν), σχολεῖο(ν). Most of these nouns may undergo a shift of stress and become oxytone, though some are more reluctant to do so than others, e.g.: θηρίο(ν) > θηρίό(ν)/θερίό(ν); μακελλεῖο(ν) > μακελλειό(ν); σχολεῖο(ν) > σκολειό(ν); and even βιβλίο(ν) > βιβλίό(ν); but ταμειό(ν), μνημειό(ν) and μουσειό(ν) (mosaic) rather than *ταμειό(ν), *μνημειό(ν) and *μουσειό(ν), as these nouns belong to a more formal register. In the nouns that do present a shift of the stress to the ultimate in the nominative and accusative singular, a shift of the stress to the last syllable may also be observed in the other cases: σκολειοῦ, σκολειά, σκολειῶν.

Sub-paradigm 2.20.1.2 covers inherited nouns in -ῖον, many of them originally diminutives, and later formations. As mentioned above, from long before the LMedG period these nouns show a strong tendency to lose the /o/ from their ending in the nominative and accusative singular and become oxytone, e.g. παιδίον > παιδί(ν); βυζιον > βυζί(ν). Whereas in the residual -ῖον ending final /n/ is normally retained, it becomes variable after the loss of /o/. The other cases may also present a shift of the stress to the ultimate: παιδιοῦ, παιδιά, παιδιῶν. The substantivized infinitives πιεῖν (> πῖ(ν)), φαγεῖν (> φαγί(ν)) and φιλεῖν (> φιλί(ν)) may follow this paradigm, e.g.:

περὶ φαγίου καὶ πίου NIKON, *Logos* 4 214.7
 μήτε φαγίου καὶ ποτοῦ LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 120
 τὰ φαγία (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 510.38.1)
 ὁ ἔρωσ τίκτει τὸ φιλὶν καὶ τὸ φιλὶ τὸν πόθον *Dig.* E 702
 (ἀδελφία μου ...) τοῦ φιλιοῦ δοσμένα *P&N Diath.* 559
 κλεφτάτο σκίας ἓνα φιλί δροσάτο να σου δώσω CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.220
 τὰ τόσα σου φιλιὰ *Thysia Avr.* 527

A substantivized infinitive δειν occurs quite frequently in the well-known collection of Cypriot love poetry (nom., acc., voc. sg. only): μέ τὸ δειν της *Cypr. Canz.* 94.35. It is likely that the noun φυγεῖτο(ν)/φυγίο(ν) (< perfective stem φυγ- of φεύγω), is a reinterpretation of the aorist infinitive φυγεῖν (φυγεῖν, interpreted as φυγίν, becomes declinable with a genitive φυγίου, which leads to φυγίον). It is the precursor to the later, and SMG, φευγεῖό/φευγιό (< imperfective stem φευγ-).

Sub-paradigms 2.20.2.1 and 2.20.2.2 cover proparoxytone nouns: 2.20.2.1 comprises inherited nouns in -(ε)ιο(ν), in which final /n/ is optional. These nouns normally retain the /o/ in the ending of the nominative and accusative singular, e.g. βασιλαιο(ν), εὐαγγέλιο(ν), θεμέλιο(ν). The sub-paradigm also covers newer formations such as σάλιο(ν) (< AG σίαλον), and certain loanwords, e.g. βίτσιο(ν) (< Ital. *vizio*), δεσδένιον (< OFr. *desdeign*) and ρένιο (< Ital. *regno*).

Sub-paradigm 2.20.2.2 covers inherited and innovative, originally proparoxytone nouns. These nouns normally lose the /o/ in the ending in the nominative and accusative singular and become paroxytone, after which the final /n/ may be deleted as well. As noted above, this development pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar by many centuries: ἀλλάγιον > ἀλλάγι(ν); ἀμπέλιον > ἀμπέλι(ν); κοιμητήριον > κοιμητήρι(ν); μοναστήριον > μοναστήρι(ν));¹³¹ Ναύπλιον > Ἀνάπλι(ν); (ὀμ)μάτιον > μάτι(ν); (ὀ)σπίτιον > σπίτι(ν); περιβόλιον (< περιβόλαιο(ν) > περιβόλι(ν); χωράφιον > χωράφι(ν); diminutives in -άριον > -άρι(ν), -διον > -δι(ν), -ίτσιον > -ίτσι(ν) and -άκιον > -άκι(ν).¹³² The nouns δάκρυον > δάκρυ(ν) and δίκτυον > δίκτυ(ν)¹³³ also follow this paradigm, as does βράδυ(ν)/βράδι(ν) (< βραδύ < adj. βραδύς).

The sub-paradigm further covers certain ex-3rd-declension nouns such as μέλι(ν) (< μέλι, gen. μέλιτος); loanwords such as μόδιον > μόδι(ν) (< ὁ μόδιος < Lat. *modius*, see LSJ s.v. μόδιος) and ὀφφίκιον > ὀφφίκι(ν) (< Lat. *officium*); as well as later formations and

¹³¹ Note that nouns in -τήριον that belong to a more formal register such as ἀσκητήριον, δικαστήριον, εὐκτήριον and κριτήριον usually retain the /o/ in their ending.

¹³² These diminutives pre-date the period covered by this Grammar, occurring in lower- and middle-register Byzantine texts, e.g. βιζάκιον ("small stone") in a 6th-c. text (*Barsanuphius and John, Questions and Answers*; ed. Chitty; see *LBG* s.v.). The *Notitiae episcopatum* nos 9 and 10 (10th and 10th/11th-c. respectively) offer the Slavic place names Γραδίτзин and Χαβτζίτзин (see the online *TLG*), and *De administrando imperii* (10th c.) records an otherwise unattested noun ἡνίτзин (see *LBG* s.v.). For the disputed origin of the -ίτσιν ending, see GEORGACAS 1982. Diminutives such as βιβλιδάκιον and ἐργοχειρίδιον occur in letters of Theodore of Stoudios (early 9th c.; see *LBG* s.v.). The ending -διον can also be found in the 5th-c. *Life of Hypatios* in the word ἐκκλησιδιον (10th-c. ms). The diminutive -άκιον has its origin in AG. It was originally -ιον used with 3rd-declension nouns in -αξ (e.g. μείραξ, κλίμαξ, ἄνθραξ and others). From these forms a new diminutive ending -ακιον emerged, which then started to spread to other types of nouns (JANNARIS 1897: 292; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 422), e.g. φαρμάκιον (< φάρμακον) in papyri of the 3rd c. BC; πιστάκιον (< ἡ πιστάκη) in Galen; σπινθηράκιον (< ὁ σπινθήρ) in Gregory of Nyssa (see the online *TLG*). The ending -διον shows a similar development, starting from words with a dental stem, such as, to name just a few, ἀσπίς, ἀσπίδ- > ἀσπίδιον, θερραπαινίς, θερραπαινίδ- > θερραπαινίδιον, λαμπάς, λαμπάδ- > λαμπάδιον, σελῖς, σελίδ- > σελίδιον, σανίς, σανίδ- > σανίδιον, and then spreading to other nouns as well, e.g. γραῦς > γραῖδιον, κρέας > κρεάδιον, σάρξ > σαρκίδιον (see LSJ). Double diminutives such as βιβλαρίδιον (< βιβλάριον < βίβλος) are also old, occurring e.g. in the *Apocalypse* 10.2, 10.9, 10.10.

¹³³ When around the year 1000 the pronunciation of <u> changed from /y/ to /i/ (see I, 2.4.6), the spelling of these nouns with <u> became a matter of mere orthography.

loanwords in *-i(v)* that do not derive from previous forms in *-ιον*. These innovative nouns include, among many others, ἀγόρι(*v*), ἀπλαζίρι(*v*), ζιπούρι(*v*), μουζούρι(*v*), μούλκι(*v*), νταβάνι(*v*), ξύδι(*v*), παξιμάδι(*v*), παραμύθι(*v*), πογέριν, χάψι(*v*),¹³⁴ as well as loanwords in *-ίκι(ο)(v)*, a suffix that denotes profession. This suffix appears to have entered the Greek language from two different sources, namely Latin (*-ίκι(ο)v* < adjectival suffix *-icius*, neuter *-icium*, which in Latin denotes “names of magistracies”¹³⁵) and Turkish (*-λίκι(v)* < *-lik*, *-lık*). The Latin suffix appears in the noun διδασκαλίκιον in a Byzantine law text (ed. Zepos), in Theodoros Balsamon (12th c.), and in a 12th-c. *Typikon*, of which, however, the original is lost: τὸ διδασκαλίκιον (1136 [18th-c. mss], Constantinople, GAUTIER 1974: 107.1317–18) (for these references see *LBG*, s.v.). The Latin ending also occurs in Machairas: τὸ κοντοσταυλίκιν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 88.28 (< κοντοσταυλος/ κοντόσταυλος + *-ικιν*, modelled on MedLat. *comestabulus*, see *LBG* s.v. κομηστάβουλος). The Turkish suffix *-λίκι* becomes productive in the EMG period and not only occurs in loanwords of Turkish origin, e.g. ἔκαμεν ὁ Σπανακτζόγλης χαϊνιλίκι (16th c., Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 485.12.7) (< Turk. *kha'inlik*); ἦτον εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν ... διὰ καλποζανλίκι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.61–2 (< Turk. *kalpazanlık*); ἂν λάχη καὶ δὲν εἶναι καλαμπάλικι *ibid.* III §7.53 (< Turk. *kalabalık*), but is also used with Greek roots: τοῦ γειτόνου σου τὸ οἰκονομενλίκι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §8.7; οὔτε τὸ πρωτογεργλίκιν του οὔτε τὸ πρωτομαστοργλίκιν του καὶ οὔτε τὸ φοργλίκιν του *ibid.* III §8.7.

In texts striving for a higher register, nouns originally in *-i(v)* may receive the old *-ιον* ending, e.g.: ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ παζάριον *Vios Aisop.* D 214.9 (< Turk. *pazar*); νὰ ὑποτάσσωνται μὲ χαράτζιον εἰς τὸν βασιλεᾶ Κροῖσον *ibid.* 234.23–4 (< Turk. *haraç*); ἀπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ σαράγιον (16th c., Constantinople, PREGER 1912: 468.10–11) (< σαρὰ(γ)ι < Turk. *saray*); καλόγερος ... τὸ ἐπίκλιον Εὐδαιμονοϊωάννης (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 61, 58.1–2) (< τὸ ἐπίκλιν < AG adv. ἐπρίκλιν); καὶ ἔκαμεν ἓνα κατσίκιον βρασμένον DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 18, π6r.22 (1561).

The fifth sub-paradigm in *-i(v)* (2.20.3) covers a very small group of proparoxytone nouns, which do not derive from nouns in *-ιον*, such as κιννάβαρι (< AG κιννάβαρι, gen. κινναβάρεως), πέπερι (< AG πέπερι, gen. πεπέρεως) and φίλντισι (< Turk. *fil-dişi*), and for which only few examples have been found (singular only).

Transfers between the sub-paradigms usually occur in verse texts and constitute ad hoc solutions dictated by the metre, e.g.: Θεέ, φανέρωσέ μου το τοῦτο τὸ μυστηρίο! *Vios Ag. Nik.* 176. In the following form there is a shift of the stress from the ultimate to the penultimate to make the word rhyme with μαχαίρι: τὸ ζερβί του μέρι MONTSEL., *Evgena* 850 (< μερίν < μηρίον). A paroxytone variant πεπερί for πέπερι is already post-classical (see *LBG* s.v. πεπερί), as is a proparoxytone variant παιδίον for παιδίον (see *LSJ* s.v.).

¹³⁴ Note that loanwords may also occur in morphologically unadapted form, e.g. εἰς τὸ Παρίς *Chron. Mor.* H 2139; μεγάλο δισπλαζίρ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.3; ἂν ἔποικαν ... τὸ ντέβερ τους (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.14) (ed. τοντεβερους / τὸ τέβερ τους) (< Occit. *dever*), though we should probably read ντεβέρ. The word does not appear to have survived in modern Cypriot, as it is absent from dictionaries of the modern dialect.

¹³⁵ For the Latin suffix see FRUYT 2001: 164.

Transfers to the /ion/ paradigms include certain feminine nouns in -ία/-ιά, which may develop neuter alternatives in -ίο(v)/-ίν according to paradigm 2.20.1 when the -ία ending is reanalysed as neuter plural: εἰς τ' ὀσταρίο αὐτό *Nov. II* 161.2 (< ἡ ὀσταρία < Ven. *ostaria*); ἔναι στὴν μπουκα δύο σταρία *Portul. II*, 186.19–20; οἱ Βολάνες ἔχουν ἕνα σταρί *ibid.* 186.24; κάτου εἰς τὸν γιάλὸν εἶναι δύο ὀσταρία *ibid.* V, 325.16–17; ο βοσκὸς δροσιό γυρεύγει *Vosk.* 463 (< ἡ δροσιά); ὅλοι ἐκατευδῶνασιν τὰ λοῦρα καὶ τὰ ῥία *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 133 (= τὰ ῥνία < ἡ ῥνία).¹³⁶

Similarly, proparoxytone feminine nouns in -εια, such as συνήθεια, συμπάθεια and a few others, may develop neuter alternatives according to sub-paradigm 2.20.2.1. Some editors prefer to spell the ending with <ι>, while others retain the <ει> of the feminine original:

πρὸς τὰ συνήθεια *Chron. Mor.* H 1250
καὶ ἐπάρη το συνήθειον *Dig.* E 1341
καὶ ἄς ἔλθῃ τὸ συμπάθειον σου *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 88
τῶν γυναικῶν τὰ συνήθεια *Corona Preciosa* E 3r.26
τὸ συντέλειο ἦτον *Pent. Gen.* 7.6
εἶχαν συνήθειον οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνθρωποι *Diig. Alex.* E 21.18 (Konstantinopolus)
καὶ πρέπει ἀλήθειο τ' ὄνειρο νά ῥναι *Stathis* III.263
συμπάθιο εἰς τοὺς ἀμαρτωλοὺς *P&N Diath.* 5209
συμπάθιο νά σοῦ ῥζήτουνα *Thysia Avr.* 897

Regionally (Crete, Cyprus, Cyclades), the noun συνήθειον may lose /o/ from its ending and thus effectively transfer to sub-paradigm 2.20.2.2: ἦτον συνήθι *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 347; ἔναι συνήθι (1622, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1986: 3, 49.53); ἐπειδὴ καὶ νά μὴν εἶναι ἐτοῦτο τὸ συνήθι εἰς τὸ τόπο μας (1703, Mykonos, *TOURTOGLOU* 1980/81: 46, 60.27–8).

Neuter nouns in -ος, pl. -η, such as ἄνθος, ὄρος, στῆθος, χρέος and others may transfer to sub-paradigm 2.20.2.2. This change is likely to have started with the addition of the neuter plural ending -α to the opaque plural ending -η (*HATZIDAKIS* 1892: 44): /'stiθi/ > /'stiθi-a/, which led to a new singular in -ι(v):

μὲ τ' ἄνθια *Dig.* A 2836
εἰς τ' ἀστήθιν του *Katis* 40
εἰς τὸ ὄρι *Apok. Theot.* 489.1
διὰ νὰ σολδάρεῖ τὸ ἄνωθεν χρέι (1669, Kefalonia, *BALLAS* 1999a: 2, 280.16)
νὰ χρεωστοῦσαν χρέγια (1696, Paxoi, *PETROPOULOS* 1958: 244, 154.2)
διὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν χρέι (1716, Smyrna, *SFYROERAS* 1963b: 3, 179.18)

Neuter nouns in -αῖον and -αῖον, derived from adjectives in -αῖος and -αῖος, may transfer to sub-paradigms 2.20.1.1 and 2.20.2.2 respectively. It may be suspected that these forms are generally to be read with synizesis, irrespective of the position of the written accent (see 1.5 for discussion), e.g.: τὸν ποῖον θέλομεν νά ἔχῃ μηνίον (1468, Cyprus, *RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS* 1983: 48, 26.2); ἐπλέρωσεν τὸ μηνιόν τους *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 188.3 (< μηναῖον); βάρει καὶ δίκιο ἔχεις *P&N Diath.* 3079 (< δίκαιον)

Other transfers are lexical, as there is no general tendency for feminine nouns in -ις/η and -η and masculine nouns in -ος to form non-diminutive alternative forms in /ion/:

¹³⁶ Any connection with the poetic AG noun τὰ ῥνία (see *LSJ*, s.v.) is unlikely.

δίδε καὶ δόσια SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 332

νὰ δώσης δόσια αὐτάρκετα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.33 (< ἡ δόσις/δόση)

εἰς τὸ νησί τοῦ Θιακιοῦ (1585 [later copy], Ithaca, KALLINIKOS 1980: 56.4)

εἰς τὸ Θιάκι (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 29, 48.1)

τὴν Κεφαλονία καὶ τὸ Θιάκι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 134.8 (< ἡ ἰθάκη)

μὲ θρηνίον μέγαν καὶ κλαθμὸν *Diig. Alex.* F 138.6 (Lolos) (< ὁ θρήνος)

τὰ περικόουλα καὶ τὰ φόβια τῆς στράτας (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.12) (< ὁ φόβος)

The noun Τοῦρκος has a derogatory (diminutive) derivative in -ίν: νὰ ἴθῃ στὴν Κύπρον τὸ Τουρκίν *Thrinós Kypr.* 29; Οὐγγροι, Τατάροι καὶ Τουρκιά STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 846 (Pidonia).

As mentioned above, the nouns in both sub-paradigms of 2.20.1 may become oxytone: in 2.20.1.1 through stress shift and synizesis in all cases (χωρίο > χωρίό; χωρίου > χωριοῦ, etc.) and in 2.20.1.2 through deletion of /o/ in the nominative and accusative singular (παιδίον > παιδί(ν)) and stress shift and synizesis in the other cases (παιδίου > παιδιοῦ; παιδία > παιδιὰ, etc.). In these cases, very often an accent is written on <i>, even though it is clear that synizesis has taken place and that the pronunciation of <i> has shifted from [i] to [j]. This is a spelling habit that occurs in many manuscripts and early prints. The problem this scribal habit poses is that in non-metrical texts it is impossible to determine whether a form χωρίον or παιδίου actually represents a conservative paroxytone form, or whether the accentuation indicates that the form needs to be read with synizesis. For more information see 1.5.

2.20.1 Paroxytone Nouns in /'io(n)/

2.20.1.1 Paroxytone/Oxytone Nouns in -ίο(ν)/-εῖο(ν) > -(ε)ιό(ν)

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	χωρίό(ν)	χωρίον -ίν -ό	
Gen.	χωριοῦ	χωρίου	
Acc.	χωρίό(ν)	χωρίον -ίν -ό	
Voc.	χωρίό(ν)	χωρίον	
Plural			
Nom.	χωριά	χωρία	-έα
Gen.	χωριῶν	χωρίων χωριῶ χωριῶνε	
Acc.	χωριά	χωρία	-έα
Voc.	χωριά	χωρία	

Singular*Nominative, Accusative and Vocative**Neut.*

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ιο(ν)/-εῖο(ν)

Paroxytone forms in /'ion/, with retention of final /n/, can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar, though only in verse texts and in mixed-register prose texts and documents can there be some degree of certainty that the accent notation corresponds with the intended stress position (see the introduction (2.20) for discussion):

Nominative

τὸ δὲ βιβλίον τὸ πανηγυρικὸν (11th c.?, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1982: 1, 11.27)
 βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀγίου Νικολάου (1363, Cyprus, COUROPOU/GÉHIN 2001: 3, 157.21) (= βιβλίον, see I, 2.6.2)
 χιλιάδες ἐξήντα ὑπέρπυρα ἦτον γὰρ τὸ προικίον *Chron. Mor.* H 3127
 λέγει το *Βιβλίον του Ελαττωμάτου Anthos Ch.* G 225.16
 καὶ εἶναι σημεῖον τοῦ πολέμου *Anthos Ch.* A 225.11
 ἐκεῖ μνημεῖον τοῦ λοιπόν ἐξω στο ακρωτήρι *Diig. Apoll.* 502
 ὡσὰν κακὸν θηρίον *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 52
 ἦλθε θηρίον ἄγριον *Alex. Rim.* 1307
 ἦτον διδασκαλεῖον *Diig. Alex.* V 43.25
 ὅπου ἂν ἦτον βιβλίον πολῦτιμον *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 213
 ὡς ἐλάφρυνε τὸ φορτίον τοῦ *Vios Aisop.* K 154.12–13
 (εὐρίσκεται ...) προικίον τῆς αὐτῆς Αἰκατερίνης (1678, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1999: 4, 49.5) (= προικίον, see I, 2.8.4)

Accusative

τὸ χωρίον τὸ Ὀφιδοβούνι (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 22.59)
 εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ βιβλίον *NIKON, Logos* 3 178.19
 εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον *Ptoch. III* 87
 νὰ δοθοῦν εἰς προικίον ἄλλων παιδίων (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 148.29)
 εἰς πολλὴν ἀκριβὸν ... μεγαλεῖον (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 66.12)
 ἀπάνου εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον *Achil.* N 1858
 νὰ νομευτῇ ... τὸ χωρίον *Assizes* A 115.8; ἦσαν εἰς ἄλλου ἀγγεῖον *ibid.* 197.31
 εἰς τὸ πολιτικαρεῖον *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 51
 πόσον πωλεῖς ἐτοῦτο τὸ κακὸν ἀγγεῖον; *Vios Aisop.* D 212.25
 εἰς βιβλίον ἕμορφον στὸν στορικὸν Σουῖδα *Alex. Rim.* 32
 ἐξω ἀκ το χωρίον *Diig. Apoll.* 498; εἰς το πορνείον μ' ἐστείλεν *ibid.* 734
 διὰ δὲ προικίον ... τάσσεται (1548, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1992: 15.7)
 εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.1)
 ἐπῆγαν καὶ εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον *Vios Aisop.* I 283.6
 σύρε εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον μου *Bertoldin.* 168.17
 εἰς τὸ σχολεῖον τοῦ *Alex. Fyll.* 11.34; καλὸν σημεῖον μοῦ ἔστειλες *ibid.* 25.2–3
 νὰ κτίσουν καὶ καμπαναρίον (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 108.10)

Vocative

No examples found.

Contrary to the oxytone variants (see below), deletion of final /n/ is not very common with the paroxytone forms. In fact the example from *Poulologos* shows that the form χωρίο, despite its stress notation, should actually be read with synizesis (as χωρίό, see below), and it may be suspected that the same holds true for the other examples (see 1.5 for discussion):

μετὰ τὸ κεραμαρεῖο (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27–8)
 ἐκ τὸ χωρίο τῆς Ρίμνης *Poulol.* 489 app. crit. (A)
 ἐκ τὸ σκολεῖο του ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 42.1
 ὡς καθὼς τὸ εἶχε πρικίο (1535, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 3, 21.7)
 τοῦ ὁποίου τοῦ τὸ εἶχεν δώσει ἡ αὐτὴ προικίο (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 145, 115.10)

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-(ε)ιό(ν)

Most nouns belonging to this paradigm may present a shift of the stress to the ultimate and undergo synizesis. Examples have not been found before the 14th c. (date of *Chron. Mor.* H), but this is likely to be due to scribal conservatism and a scribal tendency to indicate synizesis by placing an accent on /i/, irrespective of the actual position of the stress (see 1.5 for discussion).¹³⁷ Forms without final /n/ are more common than those with final /n/:

Nominative

συμπεθερεῖον νὰ ποιήσουσιν, τὸ ἔνα νὰ γενοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 6357
 καὶ τῆς ἀλαζονειᾶς ἀγγειὸν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 302
 θεριὸν ἐβγήκε ἔκ τὸ νησί *Alex. Rim.* 2018
 τὰ ... μόμπελε νὰ γροικοῦνται προικίον τῆς λεγομένης θυγατρὸς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 96, 94.24–5)
 ὁποῦ ἔτον τὸ πατριαρχεῖον *Thrinios Patr.* M 42
 κι ἐκεῖνο τὸ κακὸ θεριὸ φάγει με θέλει, ἐθώρουν ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 20
 ἦτονε το διδασκαλειὸ *Apoll. Rim.* N 960
 θηριὸ ἐξέβη εἰς αὐτοὺς *Alex. Rim.* 2046
 ὄντα προικίο τση κορασάς ἦτον ἡ προκοσύνη CHORTATZIS, *Panor.* V.246 (= προικίο, see I, 2.8.4)
 ὁποῦ ἔτον τὸ πατριαρχεῖο *Thrinios Patr.* O 42
 εἶναι πρικίο τῆς γυναικὸς του (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 46, 62.22)
 ποιὸ θεριὸ σ' ἐγέννα *Zinon* I.89
 (δὲν εἶναι ...) οὐδ' ἄκερο καμπαναρεῖο BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 491.2; καὶ τὸ τειχίὸ πῶς θὰ ριχτεῖ *ibid.* 500.21
 τὸ χωρίο ἐκεῖνο λέγεται Σεργούνη ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 39.28–40.1; διὰ νὰ σηκωθῇ τὸ ρεμπελιὸ *ibid.* 42.22 (< Ven. *rebeliòn*)

Accusative

εἰς τὸ χωρίον Πρινίτσας *Chron. Mor.* H 4758
 εἰς τὸ σκολεῖον *Ptoch. III* 87 app. crit. (P); εἰς μακελλεῖον μὲ πᾶγει *ibid.* 273.31 app. crit. (P)
 διδεῖ το εἰς προικίον *Assizes A* 19.14 (for διδεῖ see III, 2.4)

¹³⁷ Note that in the comparable feminine paradigm in -ία oxytone forms occur occasionally already in AG and are evident in the kontakia of Romanos the Melode (see 2.11.5).

ἐκ τὸ τευχιδόν τοῦ κάστρου *Byz. Il.* 1027
 ἐπῆγεν στὸ ξενοδοχεῖον *Florios* 1478
 ἦτον εἰς τὸ χωργιδόν του *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 44.6; τάσσομένς σου προικιδόν περισσόν *ibid.* 328.12–13 (read: τάσσομέν σου; see I, 3.4.3); ἀνοῖξαν τὸ ὄργιδόν *ibid.* 438.30 (< EMedG ὠρεῖον < Lat. *horreum*, see DAWKINS 1932, *Gloss.* s.v.); ἐπιντώσαν τὸ μηνιδόν του *ibid.* 446.16–17 (< μηναῖον)
 χωράφιον τὸ ἔχω προικιδόν (1539, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 3, 17.2)
 διὰ προικιδόν αὐτῆς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 6, 7.9)
 τὴν ἔχει εἰς τὸ προικιδόν της ζιγανεμένη (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 37, 117.22); εἴστε εἰσὲ νοικοκυριδόν (*ibid.* 132, 217.5–6)
 μέσα εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ἐκεῖ θεννά κριθοῦσιν *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 434
 καὶ πέμπει τὴν εἰς τὸ σκολειό *Apoll. Rim.* A 1138
 καὶ τὸ θηριό σκοτώνουσι *Alex. Rim.* 2074
 εἰς τὸ χωριό τοῦ Βαθιοῦ (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 40.1); εἰς τὸ Βολιό (1641, *ibid.* 210, 174.12)
 σκιὰς κολατισιὸ ἄς εἶχαμε κάμει *CHORTATSI, Katz.* I.27 (< Ven. *colaziòn*); σὲ τσικνιασμένο μαγερεῖο *ibid.* I.45; τα νέφελα τὸ ἐδίδασι σκιανιό *id., Panor.* I.321; γυναῖκα στο τυροκομεῖο *ibid.* II.103
 ὅς κοντολογιὶ *Stathis* I.125; γιὰ προικιό ντου *ibid.* IV 465
 στὸ σκολειό μου *Thysia Avr.* 928
 ὅ,τι προικιό ἐπεριελάβαμε (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 189, 159.25); κανένα πελατισιό νὰ μὴν ἔχει (1641, *ibid.* 218, 179.17–18) (< Ven. *apelaziòn*, see BOERIO, *Lex.* s.v.)
 ἄφες τὸ κοιμησιό, τώρα μὴδὲν κοιμᾶσαι *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 239
 τὸ δριμύ τὸ ξύδι τὸ ἀγγεῖο του βλάβει *Paroim.* (Warner) 93.12
 εἴτι προικιό ἦφερα (1663, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 37, 24.3)
 ἀπάνω στὸ καμπαναρεῖο *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 473.6
 τώρα ἐμὲν τὸ γερατειό τίς νὰ γηροβοσκήση *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1885
 ἀπὸ χωριό Βουνοχώρα *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 53.3; ἔγλυσε ἀπὸ τὸ μακελειό *ibid.* 53.7–8
 στὸ σκολειό (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 136.114)
 τὸ χωράφι ... ὅπου μοῦ εἶχανε προικιό οἱ Φαρμακαῖοι δομένο (1720, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 35, 186.2–4)

Vocative

ἄγωμε, βιβλιδόν παραδαρμένον *Cypr. Canz.* 2.9 (= βιβλίον, see I, 2.6.2)
 μισάνθρωπε, μισότραγε, κι ὅλος θηριό καθάριο *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* G5r.10

Forms with the accent placed on <ι> often represent oxytone forms with synizesis, as is evident in verse texts (see 1.5 for discussion):

καὶ ὅ ποιόν σκολεῖον ἐμπῆκες *Rim. kor.* V 115
 τὴν γύμνωσιν καὶ τὸ φευγιδόν *Velth.* 1293 transcr. (Lendari) (Kriaras: φευγιόν)
 εἰς τὸ σκολεῖον μὲ ἐβάλαν *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 32; εἰς τὸ χωρίον μ' ἐπῆγε *ibid.* 124
 κράξε τον εἰς τὸ μαγερεῖον *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2383
 καὶ τῆς ἀλαζονείας ἀγγεῖον καὶ τῆς διπλῆς τῆς γνώμης *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 302
 καὶ ὅπαν τὴ στο διδασκαλεῖο *Apoll. Rim.* A 967
 στὴν χώραν οὔ ποῦ τῶδωκεν ὁ πεθερός προικιδόν του *Apoll. Rim.* V 1861

However, even in non-verse texts it may sometimes be suspected that the written accent does not actually represent the position of the stress, as in the following examples, which are all derived from adjectives in -αῖος, which may undergo synizesis, /'eos/ > /'jos/, but there is no evidence for an intermediate stage /'ios/ (see I, 2.9.4.1):

κρατεῖ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἑναν ἀμάλωτον κλεψιμίον *Assizes* B 403.15–16 (< adj. κλεψιμαῖος)
τὸν ποῖον θέλομεν νὰ ἔχη μηνίον (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 48, 26.2) (<
μηνᾶϊον)
μήνα ἔνι κρυψιμίον τοῦ Ταρείου *Diig. Alex.* E 177.1–2 (Konstantinopulos)

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ό(ν)

Regionally in the oxytone forms /j/ may be deleted when preceded by a sibilant or affricate (see I, 2.4.7.3). Examples have been found in texts from Crete, but are likely to occur in texts from other areas as well: ἀπέρασε το κολατσό κι ἀκόμη δεν εφάνη *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.51 (< Ven. *colaziòn*); νὰ ἔβρει δροσό νὰ κάτσει *Katis* 32 (< τὸ δροσιό < ἡ δροσιά).

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ί(ν)

This ending, borrowed from paradigm 2.20.1.2, occurs lexically with the noun προικίον. Geographically it appears to be restricted to the Aegean (for the phonetic variants προικί(ν) and πουρκί(ν) see I, 2.8.4 and 3.9.1).¹³⁸

Nominative

εἶναι προικὶν τῆς αὐτῆς κερα-Ρήνης (1572, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 135, 255.8)

Accusative

(πουλεῖ ...) τὸ προικὶ τῆς μάνας τοῦ (1664, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 31, 36.4)
νὰ δοθοῦν εἰς τῆς Ἑρήνης τὸ προικί (1678, Andros, POLEMIS 1977: 1, 30.25) (= Εἰρήνης, see I, 2.8.1)
καὶ τὰ δίδει τῆς ἐκκλησίας παντοτινὸν πουρκί (1482 [copy of 1688], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 108, 217.23–4) (< προικίον)
δίνει διὰ πουρκὶν τῆς (1692, Naxos, PANDELIA-GRITSOPOULOU 1995/97: 2, 212.9)
ἀπὸ τὸ προικί τοῦ (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 303.45)
νὰ ἔχει ἀρεκετὸ τὸ πουρκί τοῦ (1710, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 32, 94.18–19)

Vocative

No examples found.

Genitive

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-(ε)ίου

Inherited forms in -(ε)ίου can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar, though mainly in verse texts and in mixed-register prose texts and documents. In other

¹³⁸ The fact that the phonological variants προικί and πουρκί exist indicates that these forms were part of the spoken language. It is therefore unlikely that προικί would be the result of reinterpretation of the old dative as a nominative.

texts there can be no certainty regarding the intended stress position in these forms, even if the accent is written on <ι> (see the introduction (2.20) for discussion, and see below for unambiguous examples from verse and prose texts):

ἐκ τὴν τοῦ μαγερείου διακονίαν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 94.11
 ἦτον ὁ τεῖχος του ὑψηλός, ὅλος μετὰ μουσείου *Achil.* N 765
 ἦλθον ἐκ τοῦ σχολείου (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 84.1d)
 τὴν ἄμπελόν μου, ἥτις ἔστι μοι εἰς τόπον προικίου (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 93, 174.8)
 κ' εἶσαι τοῦ μακελείου *Alex. Rim.* 738
 τὰ παιδία τοῦ σχολείου *Diig. Alex.* E 109.16 (Lolos)
 τοῦ πατριαρχείου (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 16.8)
 τοῦ μνημείου *Vios Aisop.* K 186.9
 τοῦ χωρίου *Bertoldin.* 121.19
 ὁ Διγενὴς μὲ τὸ ραβδί ἔδοσεν τοῦ θηρίου PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2418

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-(ε)ιοῦ

Forms with a shift of the stress to the ultimate do not surface in writing before the 15th c.:

κ' εἰς τοῦ θηριοῦ τὸ στόμα *Anak. Konst.* 36
 το διάβα του σκολείου της *Apoll. Rim.* A 1182
 τὰ παιδία τοῦ σκολείου *Diig. Alex.* F 108.16
 ἀκόντε τοῦ προικίου μου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 14, 15.12)
 τιμὴ τοῦ γερατειοῦ μου *Dig.* A 1028
 ογία τη χρεία του προικίου CHORTATIS, *Panor.* V.244
 καὶ μὲ τὴν ὥρα τοῦ σκολείου *Thysia Avr.* 494
 τοῦ σπλετσερείου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.214 (< Ven. *speciaria*)

Forms with the accent written on <ι>, e.g. γιατί 'τονε ἀπὸ 'δεκεῖ το διάβα του σκολείου της *Apoll. Rim.* E 1182, may in fact represent oxytone forms with synzesis (for details see 1.5).

Plural

Nominative, Accusative and Vocative

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ία/-εῖα

Paroxytone forms in /'ia/ can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar. However, only in verse texts and in higher-register prose texts and documents can there be a degree of certainty that the accent notation actually reflects the intended stress position (see the introduction to this section for a caveat regarding the actual stress position in such forms):

Nominative

ἄν ξνι γῆ, ... χωρία *Assizes* A 35.11–12
 ἐκεῖ ἦλθαν τὰ θερία του τόπου *Diig. Alex.* K 377.7–8

για νὰ ἐβλέπουσι καὶ τὰ ἕτερα χωρία (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.20–1)
 κι ἐπάψα τὰ θερία *P&N Diath.* 144
 εἶναι τὰ σχολεῖα τῶν ἐπιστημῶν *Bertoldin.* 106.30–1
 τὰ ἀνωθεν χωρία εἶναι κοντὰ στοῦ γιολό (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 508.61) (author from Mani)

Accusative

διαβαίνοντα ομπρός, ἐπέσεν εἰς τινὰ χωρία *Anthos Ch.* A 225.2
 καὶ κάθησαι συνέπαρτος εἰς τοῦτα τὰ χωρία *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 260
 ἐδιάλεξεν ὁ ρήγας χωρία τὰ τοῦ ἀρέσαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 52.35–6
 ταῦτα τὰ εἰρημένα προικία (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 3, 7.14); ἀπὸ τὰ ὅποια
 μου προικία (1511, *ibid.* 25, 43.11) (= προικία, see I, 2.8.4)
 τίς εἶδε τέτοια φοβερά σημεῖα ἕξ τὸν καιρὸν μας *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 139
 ἔδωκε τὰ αγγεῖα *ZYGOM., Stef. Ichn.* 253.16
 εἶδεν ἐτοῦτα τὰ στοιχεῖα *Vios Aisop.* D 231.33–4; ἐργαλεῖα τῆς κτιστικῆς *ibid.* 238.35

Vocative

θηρία καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἔλατε *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §31.136–7
 θηρία τῆς ἐρήμου δὲ κλαύσατε μετὰ μένα *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 1196

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-(ε)ιά

Forms with a shift of the stress to the ultimate are more common than the old paroxytone forms, though they do not surface in writing before the 14th c.:

Nominative

ηῦρίσκονται κι ἄλλα θηριά καὶ εἶναι θυμωμένα *Alex. Rim.* 1543
 δρώνουσιν αἶματα ... τοῦτα τὰ τειχιὰ *CHORTATIS, Erof.* II.125–6
 ἕνα μὲ τ' ἄλλο τὰ θεριά *P&N Diath.* 84
 ποιά ἂν αὐτάνα τὰ προικιά *KONDAR., Paidēs* 1082

Accusative

κ' ἐχάναν τὰ χωριά τους *Chron. Mor.* H 3308
 θηριά τῆς φύσης (... ἐγέμισεν ἡ κτίσις) *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 21
 εἰς τὰ τειχιὰ ἐπηδῆσαν *Velis.* ρ 366
 στα γερατειά μου *Apoll. Rim.* A 1788
 ὀρίζω γιὰ νὰ πάρουσι ἀπὸ τὰ κουρσιμιά μας *Alex. Rim.* 1433 (< κουρσιμαῖα); καὶ εἶδαμε κακὰ
 θηριά *ibid.* 1552
 (δίνωμεν ...) τὰ προικία των (1601, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 1, 79.10–11)
 στὰ γερατειά μας *Thysia Avr.* 188
 τώρα στὰ γερατειά μου *Zinon IV.* 278

Vocative

ἐσεῖς, θηριά τοῦ Πλούτωνος *Zinon I.* 43

As in the singular, forms with the accent written on <i>i</i> may in fact represent oxytone forms with synizesis (see 1.5 for details), e.g.: ἦλθαν τοῦ Λάκκου τὰ χωρία *Chron. Mor.* H 1719; κρατοπουλεῖα, ψαρτοπουλεῖα ψουνίζουσι σ' τέτοιον μόνον *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 561 transcr. (Lendari).

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-έα

A form *τειχέα* occurs ten times in the *Chronicle of Morea* (H), but all instances should be read with synizesis ([tix'ja]), which indicates the form is graphematic, a form of hypercorrection, probably by analogy with other paradigms (feminine nouns in -ία and -έα, which both develop alternative forms in -ιά (/ja/) and masculine nouns in -έας > -ιάς; cf. also the form *χωραφαιοῦ* in a document from Athos, 2.20.2.2): *νὰ στέκη ἀπάνω εἰς τὰ τειχέα τῆς χώρας τῆς Πολέου Chron. Mor.* H 855; *εἰς τὰ τειχέα τὲς ἔστησαν* *ibid.* 857.

Genitive

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-(ε)ίων

Paroxytone forms in -(ε)ίων can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar, though as is often the case with the genitive, not many examples have been found:

καὶ τῶν ὠμῶν θηρίων KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* IX.160
 μετὰ μουσείων καὶ πλακῶν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VIII 399.18
 τῶν διδασκαλείων *Bertoldin.* 106.31

Deletion of final /n/ is very rare. It has been found in a document from Cyprus that displays various scribal problems. Note that in Cypriot texts final /n/ is normally only deleted in specific environments (see I, 3.7.2.2.2): *τῶν αὐτῶ χωρίω καὶ πρᾶστέλω* (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.4).

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-(ε)ίων ἢ -(ε)ιῶ ἢ -(ε)ιῶνε

In the genitive plural, too, a shift of the stress to the final syllable may occur:

καὶ τῶν χωρίων (11th c., Sicily/S. Italy, SCHREINER 1975/79: 45, 336.38.2–3)
 καὶ οἱ χωριάτες τῶν χωρίων *Chron. Mor.* H 1648
 τὰ κτηνὰ τῶν χωργίων του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 54.12–13

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from south-western areas and the Aegean:

διὰ ὄνομα προυκιῶ (1590, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 8, 309.12) (= προικίων, see I, 2.8.4)
 τῶ γερατειῶ μου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* II.376 and *Stathis* III.486
 οἱ πύργοι πάλι τῶν τειχιῶ *Zinon* III.341

Addition of -(ν)ε has been found in a document from the Heptanese, but is likely to occur elsewhere as well (see I, 2.6.3.1): *τῶν αὐτῶ χωριῶνε* (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.9); *ὅλονῶνε τῶ χωριῶνε* (1666, *ibid.* 4, 198.299).

2.20.1.2 Paroxytone/Oxytone Nouns in -ίο(ν) > -ί(ν)

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	παιδί(ν)	παιδίον	παιδίο
Gen.	παιδιοῦ	παιδίου -οῦ	
Acc.	παιδί(ν)	παιδίον	
Voc.	παιδί(ν)	παιδίον	
Plural			
Nom.	παιδιά	παιδιά -ά	
Gen.	παιδιῶν	παιδίων παιδιῶ παιδιῶνε -ῶν ἢ -ῶ	παιδίουν
Acc.	παιδιά	παιδιά -ά	
Voc.	παιδιά	παιδιά -ά	

Singular*Nominative, Accusative and Vocative**Neut.*

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ίο(ν)

The old ending -ιον, even though it had lost its /o/ (see below) before the period covered by this Grammar, is still occasionally used in mixed-register texts:

Nominative

τὸ δὲ παιδίον ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς *Achil.* N 212
 δὲν θέλουν σοῦ λείπει σολδία μήτε ψωμίον *Bertoldin.* 132.4
 τὸ παιδίον ... θέλει εἶναι ἀρσενικὸν *Alex.* Fyll. 9.21–2

Accusative

οἱ μὲν ζατρίκιν ἔπαιζαν, ἄλλοι δὲ τὸ ταβλίον *Pol. Tr.* 259
 ἔβαλε σχοινίον περὶ τον τράχηλον αὐτοῦ *Anthos Ch.* E 265.31; σφάξας παιδίον μικρόν *ibid.* 269.27
 νὰ τοῦ δώσουν κρασίον νὰ πῆ *Vios Aisop.* D 226.36; νὰ δουλώσω τόσον μεγάλον νησίον *ibid.* 235.16–17
 (ἡῦραν ...) τὸ καυκίον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος *Vios Aisop.* K 201.23
 ἐκεῖνο ὅπου εὐγαίνει ἀπὸ τὸ βουτσίον, σὰν τελειώνει τὸ κρασίον *Bertoldos* 33.26–7

ἀπὸ τὸ ἕνα μερίον *Bertoldin*. 145.25 (< μηρίον)
ἐπῆρεν ἕνα πουλίον *Alex. Fyll.* 10.7; ἐπῆρεν ἕνα σκαμνίον *ibid.* 15.26–7

Vocative

ἄνθρωπος εἶσαι, ὦ παιδίον *Vios Aisop.* E 287.21
ὦ καίμενον ψωμίον, ποῖος σὲ τρώγει; *Bertoldin.* 144.17–18

As can be expected, deletion of final /n/ is rare here: ἔτεκεν τὸ παιδίον *Byz. Il.* 85, which might be a simple writing mistake for παιδίον; να βάλω εἰς χαρτίο *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 5730 (rhymes awkwardly with δικτύο, for δίκτυο).

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ί(ν)

This ending is the result of deletion of /o/ in the old -ίον ending (see above), a development that pre-dates the LMedG period by many centuries (see the introduction to this section, 2.20). After the deletion of /o/, the ending may lose its final /n/:

Nominative

τὸ φακὶν καὶ τὸ ριβίνθιν, ὅταν εἶν ἐκζεστά *ΝΙΚΟΝ, Logos* 1 82.11–12; ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ ἀνάξιον παιδὶν σου *id., Logos* 9 312.9
ἤμουν παιδὶν, ἐγήρασα *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 1; κουκκὶν-κουκκὶν ἄν σωρευθῇ *ibid.* 183
νὰ νομευτῇ τὸ ψουμὶν ἐκεῖνον *Assizes A* 115.8 (= ψωμὶν, see I, 2.8.3)
τὸ νησὶν ἔμεινεν χωρὶς τινὰν χρόνους *ΛΣ' MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 4.4 (= νησὶν, see I, 3.4.2.5)
νὰ τὰ ἔχει καὶ αὐτὰ τὸ παιδὶν μου (1515, Corfu, *KARYDIS* 2001: 71, 107.10)
νὰ δοθεῖ ... τόσον κρασὶν (1527, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 120, 218.35)
ἐμὲν τὸ φαγὶν μου ἔνι ἀπὸ τὸ ξύλον ἐτοῦτο *Diig. Alex.* E 43.3–4 (Konstantinopulos) (< inf. φαγεῖν)
νὰ ἄλθῃ στὴν Κύπρον τὸ Τουρκὶν *Thrinós Kypr.* 29
ἡῤῥισκε καὶ τὸ ἴνιν (1713, Chios, *LAMBROS* 1910: 351, 209.3) (< ὕνιον < ἡ ὕνις; cf. the same form in ὅσον ἐξέπεσε τὸ νὶν *Paroim.* H 17 app. crit.)
καὶ μὴ δοκῇτε τίποτε ὅτι παιδὶ ὑπάρχω *Achil.* O 221
ὁ κύρης βλέπει τὸ παιδὶν καὶ τὸ παιδὶ τὸν κύρη *Alosis* 206
ὥσπερ τὸ ἴδιόν του κορμί (1540, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2002a: 76, 57.4)
ἐβγήκεν ἕνα πουλὶ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 334.43
ἐμένα τὸ φαῖ μου ἔναι ... *Diig. Alex.* F 42.3 (Konstantinopulos); τὸ πετζὶ τὸ ἐδικό μας ἔναι δυνατὸν *ibid.* 58.11–12
τὸ πί μου ἔνι ἀπὸ τὴν βρύσην τούτην *Diig. Alex.* E 43.4 (Konstantinopulos) (< inf. πιεῖν, see III, 4.6.2.3)
τὸ ψωμί *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 41.4
ἄς ἔχη τὸ χαρτί σου *Pist. kekoim.* 495–6
εἴτι παιδὶ ἤθελε βάλει σκάνταλο (1583, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1999a: 15, 29.4)
τὸ χειρότερο σκαλί τῆς σκάλας τρίζει *Paroim.* (Warner) 107.11
καὶ τὸ φορτὶ ἐχάθηκε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 501.11 (< Ven. *fortin*)
εἶναι το φαγὶ τοὺς παρωικά *Alex. Fyll.* 47.7–8

Accusative

καὶ κουσκούνιν γ' δηνάρια καὶ ἄρνιν (1108–9, S. Italy, *GUILLOU* 2009: 29, 135.32)
νὰ τελειώσεις τὸ χαρτὶν τῆς πάκτωσης (1330, Crete, *ΛΑΙΟΥ* 1982: 2, 123.1–2)
ἔδωκα καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν τὸ λωρίν (1435, Pontos, *MAVROMATIS/ALEXAKIS* 2009: 13, 166.6)
(ἐποίησα ...) τὸ κептίν (15th c., Pontos, *OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH* 1927: 170, 117.4) (= κηπίν < κηπίον, see I, 2.5.2)

ἔδωκεν ... χαρκὶν ἔναν (1346, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 32, f.79r.1) (= χαλκὶν, see I, 3.8.6.2)
 ἔσὺ ἔταξές μου τὸ φιλὶν *Katal.* 20 (< inf. φιλεῖν)
 νὰ τὸν δέσου εἰς τὸ πιλιρὶν (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1991: 1, 234.21) (< OFr. *pilorin*, see
 GODEFROY, *Lex.* s.v.)
 παιδὶν νὰ μὴν ποιήσῃ *Achil.* N 44
 ἐδιέβη εἰς τὸ κελὶν τῆς *Anthos Ch.* A 233.13
 εἰς τὸ βουνὶν *Synax. gadar.* 201
 διότι εἶχεν ὁμορφον κορμὶν *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 40.19
 ἐκ τὸ θρονὶν *LIMEN.*, *Velis.* (Λ) 88; φιλεῖ τὸ τσαγκὶν του *ibid.* 223
 κ' εἶχα στὴν ζῶσιν μου σπαθὶν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 7
 ἐπίασα ἀπὸ τὸ κερὶν *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 39
 ἀπού νὰ δῇ τὸ λασμαρὶν *Cypr. Canz.* 115.1 (= ροσμαρὶν, see I, 2.8.5 and 3.8.6.3)
 εἰς φαρὶν μέγα *Theseid* VI.33,1 (Olsen)
 ἔδωκεν κονταρέα τὸ ἄλογόν μου εἰς τὸ μερὶν [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P VII 388.29 (< μηρ(ο)ν)
 ὃς τὸ σκαμνὶν του *Thrinis Kypr.* 3

εἰς τὸ σπαθὶ τοὺς ἔβαλαν *Chron. Mor.* H 619
 κόπτε τὸ ἐν ψηφί (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 31, 30.4) (< ψηφίον)
 κ' ἐχόρτασέν την τὸ φιλί *Katal.* 318 (< inf. φιλεῖν)
 κρατῶντας τὸ κλειδί ὁ εὐρισκόμενος βικάριος (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 33, 67.26)
 εἰς τὴν χώραν τὸ Πυργί (1506, Trebizond, PRINZING 2000: 2, 304.3)
 καὶ τὸ σφυρὶ γιὰ παίγνιο *Alex. Rim.* 685 (σφυρὶ = σφαίρα, see HOLTON 22002: 213)
 εἰς τὸ ἄσκι (1541, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 222, 213.24)
 τὸ ψωμί *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 41.4
 εἰς ἓνα σπυρὶ πιπέρι *Diig. Alex.* V 42.9–10
 στοῦ φιλαδέλφου τὸ βουνί *Dimotika Ivir.* II.2
 εἰς τὸ φαγὶ ἐγκράτειαν *LANDOS, Geopon.* 179.11 (< inf. φαγεῖν)
 νὰ μὴν εἶσαι πολὺς εἰς τὸ κρασί *PAPASYNAD.*, *Chron.* II §9.12
 εἰσὲ ὅλο τὸ νησί (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 88.53)
 ποτές βρακὶ δὲ βάνει *Paroim.* (Warner) 45.12; νύφη, ἄναψε κερί *ibid.* 92.1
 εἰς τὸ μαγαζί του (1692, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 25, 19.23)
 δὲν τρώγουν τὸ ψωμί χαράμι *Don Kis.* 173.26–7; νὰ κοπανίζει νερόν εἰς τὸ γουδί *ibid.*
 179.30–1

Vocative

δὶ' αὐτὸ, παιδὶν μου, πρόσεχε *Spaneas* P 58
 τοῦ κοντοστάβλη γιαισιμίν *Katal.* 451 (Panayotopoulou)
 κρασὶν μου δοκιμώτατον *Krasop.* AO 80
 παιδὶν μου Ἀλέξανδρε *Diig. Alex.* E 151.8 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἔδε <τὰ> ἐθάρρουν ἀπ' ἑσέν, παιδί μου, νὰ κερδήσω *Spaneas* V 24
 παιδί μου Ἀλέξανδρε *Diig. Alex.* E 150.8 (Konstantinopulos)
 ὦ ψωμί *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 41.4
 κρασί, σὲ πίνω γιὰ καλὸ *Paroim.* (Warner) 76.21
 ἄγγριον πουλί, μερώθου μου ... | ὦ χρυσόν, ὦ χρυσόν πουλί *Dimotika Ivir.* X.1–2

Genitive

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-ίου

The old paroxytone genitive can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar, though only in mixed- and higher-register texts can there be some degree of certainty that the accent placement reflects the intended stress position (see the introduction (2.20) for discussion):

περὶ φαγίου καὶ πίου ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 214.7 (< inf. φαγεῖν and πιεῖν)
 σπαθίου τὴν ὑποδοχὴν *Dig.* G I.158
 ἀπὸ ἐνὸς φαρίου *Dig.* E 1759
 τοῦ παιδίου 4.202–3; τοῦ φαίου *ibid.* 15.415
 χωρὶς ἄλλην τίποτις ὀρεξὴν του κορμίου *Anthos Ch.* G 21.10–11
 ἔβλεπεν δὲ τὴν θαυμαστὴν ἀνδρείαν τοῦ παιδίου *Achil.* N 224
 τοῦ φαγίου (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 165.1d)
 μῆτε φαγίου καὶ ποτοῦ LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 120
 ὀλονοῦ τοῦ παιδίου (1528, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 113, 224.26)
 τὸ ψωμί, τοῦ ψωμίου SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 41.4
 σοφίαν του σκυλίου DIONYS., *Istor.* 254.23
 ὁ μπάρμπας τοῦ παιδίου *Nov.* I 156.19
 ἀπὸ σπαθίου καὶ κονταρίου ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 15.4
 ἡ δύναμις του σπαθίου μου *Don Kis.* 46.18

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-ιοῦ

Synizesis and a shift of the stress to the ultimate is common:

καὶ τοῦ ψωμιοῦ τὴν μάνναν *Ptoch.* III 82
 ᾽ς τὴν πόρταν τοῦ κελιοῦ τῆς *Liv.* V 1162
 τοῦ νησιοῦ *Imber.* 552; τοῦ ψαριοῦ *ibid.* 612
 ἀγούρους θαυμαστούς, σπαθιοῦ δοκιμασμένους *Achil.* O 268
 τοῦ ψουμιοῦ τους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 398.19
 γιὰ τοῦ παιδιοῦ τὴ γέννα *Alex.* Rim. 88
 τοῦ βουνιοῦ (1515 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 1, 50.15)
 ὅταν ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τοῦ φαγιοῦ *Vios Aisop.* I 251.34 (< inf. φαγεῖν)
 τοῦ σκυλιοῦ *P&N Diath.* 378
 ᾽ς τόπον ἀρνιοῦ *Thysia Avr.* 11; ὄφου κορμιοῦ τρομάρα *ibid.* 172
 εἰς τὴν Πόλη καὶ γάλα πουλιοῦ εὐρίσκεις *Paroim.* (Warner) 102.2; σκαμνιοῦ ποδάρη *ibid.* 107.14
 τὸν τόπο τοῦ φορτιοῦ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 500.24 (< Ven. *fortin*)
 τοῦ βρακιοῦ *Diig. Vefa* 202

In verse texts it becomes clear that forms that are accented on <i>i</i> often represent oxytone forms (see 1.5 for discussion), as in the following example: φαρίου του τὰ λαγκέματα *Achil.* N 1210.

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-οῦ

Forms in -οῦ develop after synizesis through deletion of /j/ when preceded by a sibilant or affricate. Examples have been found in texts from Crete and Santorini, but see I, 2.4.7.3 for

details on chronology and geographical spread of the phenomenon across paradigms and parts of speech: τοῦ νησοῦ ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 124; σὰν τοῦ βουτσοῦ τὸν πίρο *Stathis* II.12; εἰς τὸν πόρον τοῦ βουτσοῦ LANDOS, *Geopon.* 244.22; ὁδὶα συμφέρον τοῦ νησοῦ μας (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.11).

Plural

Nominative, Accusative and Vocative

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ία

Paroxytone forms in -ία can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar. However, only in verse texts and in higher-register prose texts and documents can there be some confidence that the accent notation actually reflects the intended stress position (see the introduction to this section, 2.20, for a caveat regarding the actual stress position in such forms):

Nominative

ἐτελειώθησα τὰ στηθία (1079, Mani, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 47, 307, no. 47.1)
 θρονία δύο, σελλία δύο (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.16)
 καὶ νησία καὶ τόποι (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 271.7)
 (ἤφεραν ...) δέκα χιλιάδες φλουρία (1481, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 11, 316.13)
 καὶ τὰ φαγία ἔτοιμα *Velth.* 1337 (< inf. φαγεῖν)
 καὶ εἶναι τὰ χαρτία κόλλες μεταξωτές (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.35–6)
 εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ παιδία τὰ δύο ἀποθάνουν (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 37.2)
 ἐκεῖνα τ' ἀσεβέστατα καὶ μιὰρὰ Τουρκία IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4579
 σμίγοντας τὰ δύο παιδία *Reb. Enr.* 103.27–8

Accusative

(νὰ ἔχουν ...) τὰ μαγαζία των (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 117.22)
 πόσον ἀπομένει ἀπὸ τὰ ,ας' φλωρία (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.21–2)
 νὰ λάβουν β' κουκία εἰς τὸ μάρκον *Assizes* A 245.4
 (δίδει ...) κομπία ἀργυρὰ ν' (1500, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1 [A'], 236.15)
 ἀφῆνω ὕσθατους κληρονόμους τὰ δύο μου παιδία (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.18)
 φλασκία κολοκυθένα (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 95.79)
 καὶ ἐσκέπασα τὰ κελλία ὅπου κατοικοῦμε (1539, Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.10)
 νὰ κρατίζη ... κορμία κ' (1548, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 47, 76.13–14)
 μὲ πέντε ψωμία καὶ δύο ψάρια ἐχόρτασε πέντε χιλιάδες λαόν DAM. SToud., *This., Logos* 20 κ1v.1 (1561)
 καὶ νὰ ἔχω ὅλα θηλυκὰ παιδία (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 222, 186.48)
 (νὰ παίρνουσιν ...) τὰ φαγία (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 510.38.10) (< inf. φαγεῖν)
 ὁπότεν τὰράξω τὰ σχοινία *Alex. Fyll.* 103.19
 μὲ τὰ σπαθία τους EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 53.1

Vocative

ὦ ψωμία SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 41.5
 ὦ τραδιτόροι, λέγει τους, γραν πέκοι καὶ σκυλία IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2559
 νὰ οπού σας ἐγνώρισα, σκυλία ἀπιστα! *Don Kis.* 50.12

Sometimes the articular nominative is used as a vocative (see IV, 5.1.2): «οὐκ ἔναι, τὰ παιδιά μου, δόλος, μηδὲ φοβήσθε» *Liv.* V 2781.

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ιά

Oxytone forms in -ιά are the result of synizesis (see I, 2.9.4). Examples have not been found before the 15th c., but they are common enough to assume that they will have existed in the spoken language before surfacing in written texts. Synizesis is most visible in verse texts, and evidenced by the variant in -ά, below, the result of deletion of /j/, which presupposes synizesis:

Nominative

ἑσείς καὶ τὰ παιδιά σας *Chron. Mor.* H 4246
 τὰ παιδιά του ἐγεννήθησαν *Assizes* A 126.20
 καὶ ἀνὲ μυρίζου τὰ βουινὰ *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 90
 ὡς λέγουν τὰ χαρτιά μου *Alex. Rim.* 74; ἦσαν καὶ ἀφεντῶν παιδιὰ ἐννέα *ibid.* 335
 τὰ κορμινὰ μας (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 9, 10.15)
 ὅλα τὰ πουλιὰ ... νὰ τότε δοῦσι *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.134; πῶς τρέμουσι τ' ἀτζιά σου *ibid.* I.282
 (< *MedG* ἀντζιον < ἡ ἀντζιά < *Frank. ancia*; see *D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, Lex.* s.v. *ancio*-)
 ἡ ἄνωθεν κερα-Ἐργίνα καὶ τὰ παιδιὰ τση (1601, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 131, 145.25)
 κ' ἦρθαν κακὰ σκυλιὰ *Vosk.* 327
 μάνα, τὰ τόσα σου φιλιὰ σ' ἔγνοια πολλὴ μὲ βάνου *Thysia Avr.* 527 (< *inf.* φιλεῖν)
 μαυρογένης, κατζαρά τὰ μαλλιὰ του *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §15.15
 ἀν καὶ περάσουν τα Τουρκιά *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2224
 εὐκαιρά 'ν' τὰ καυκιά μου *KONDAR., Paidēs* 355

Accusative

ἄνθρωπός τις ἔδωκεν πρὸς τινα φλουριὰ β' (post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 12, 22.1–2)
 μὲ τὰ μαλλιὰ σὰν πρόβατον ἦτονε φορεμένος *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 800
 χώρισε ἵππους δώδεκα, φαριὰ δοκιμασμένα *Achil.* O 112; ἐπάνου ἐκ τὰ κορμιά τους *ibid.* 296
 πανδρεῦουν μὲ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ τὰ παιδιὰ των *BERTOS, Eis evd. aion.* 49
 παρὲς τὰ κεριά (1473, Corfu, *KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS* 1996: 18, 158.6); (νὰ ... πληρώσει ...)
 φλωρία ε' χρυσᾶ καὶ καρφιὰ τ' (*ibid.* 78, 187.8–9); ἔβαλαν τὰ κρασιὰ αὐτῶν (*ibid.* 37, 167.3–4)
 μέσα εἰς τὰ Χανιά (1497, Crete, *MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI* 1971: 6, 143.29) (< *Arab. Al Chanea*)
 (νὰ δώση ...) ἐπεσαῦτα καρτζιά *Assizes* A 181.3 (< καρτσίν, see also the form καρτσά below)
 σὰν εἶδεν τ' ἄνομα σκυλιὰ *Anak. Konst.* 21
 ἔχω τὰ χαρτιά τως (1518, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 52, 93.23)
 ὀρθῶνασι τ' ἀφτιά τους *Alex. Rim.* 1654
 πρόβατα ἔξ μὲ τὰ ἀρνιά τως (1606, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 361, 338.6)
 κι' ἄλλοι μὸπιάναν τὰ βυζιά *CHORTATIS, Katz.* IV.6; μ' ὀλόχρουσα πανιά *id., Erof. Dedic.* 35
 ἔλυσε τὰ βρακιά του *Bertoldos* 48.30–1
 αὐτὰνα τὰ σακκιά ἠθέλησες νὰ κλέψεις *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 427.19
 ἀφ' τὰ φαγιά που τρῶς ἐσὺ κι ἀφ' τὰ πιστά πού πίνεις *KONDAR., Paidēs* 318
 τ' ἀκονισμένα μας σπαθιά εὐθύς ἄς τοὺς θερίσου *Zinon* IV 359
 ἀπὸ τὰ πιδηγιά (1690, Sibiu, *TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI* 2011: A 6, f.43r.16) (= παιδιὰ, see I, 2.5.4)
 γιὰ τὰ κηργιά (1696, Thessaloniki, *KATSANIS* 2012: 1, 50.9) (= κεριά, see I, 2.5.4)

Vocative

σκυλιά, λουρικωθήτε *Arm.* 72
 ἐσεῖς, παιδιά μου *Anak. Konst.* 34
 ὦ ... βουνιά, θεριά *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 223
 τσ' ὀχθρούς, παιδιά μου, ἄς βγάλομε *Zinon Prol.* 52

From verse texts it can be gathered that forms that are accented on the penultimate often represent oxytone forms (see the introduction (2.20) for discussion), as in the following examples:

κ' ἐκεῖνοι ὡς εἶδαν τὰ σπαθία γυμνά ἐξελαμπρισμένα *Chron. Mor.* H 4821
 τὰ μαλλία της ἐκαίγασιν ἀπὸ ὑψηλῆς θεωρίας *Achil.* L 556 ms; ἐδᾶ ἄς ἰδῶ παιδιά μου *ibid.*
 1196 ms
 ἡμεῖς καὶ τὰ παιδιά μας *Achil.* N 562 (2nd hemistich)
 μὲ ᾠδὴν καὶ ραβδία *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 238 (1st hemistich)
 εἶχαν γερᾶκια καὶ σκυλία *Theseid* VI.8,5 (Olsen) (1st hemistich)

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ά

In a large geographical area, /j/ may be deleted in the oxytone forms with synizesis when it is preceded by a sibilant or an affricate, resulting in -ά. Examples have been found in texts from Crete, Mani, the Aegean and the Heptanese, but see I, 2.4.7.3 for full details:

Nominative

ἐγεμον τὰ βυζά της *Hist. Imp.* I 2207–8
 κβ' βουτσά (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 8, 293.32–3)
 καθὼς πωληθῶσιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κρασά (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 3, 8.8)
 εἶναι καὶ τὰ πετσά βουβάλικα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 309, 307.11)
 καὶ πάντα νά 'ναι τὰ βουτσά, νά πίνωμε, γεμάτα *Stathis* III.545
 εἰ δὲ καὶ φράξουν τὰ βυζά της *LANDOS, Geopon.* 266.22
 νησά καὶ περιγιάλια *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 31
 τρέμουσι τ' ἀτζά μου *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.316 (< MedG ἀντζιον < ἡ ἀντζά < Frank. *ancia* < Old Germ. *anchâ*, see D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Lex.* s.v. *ancio*-)

Accusative

ὁ Τόρκος ἐζήτην τὰ καρτσά του (15th c., Cyprus, BAGLIONI 2006: 202.37) (καρτσίν < χαλκίον;¹³⁹ see I, 3.8.2.3 for details; Τόρκος = Τοῦρκος)
 ἀπὸ τὰ εἴκοσι βουτσά τὰ κρασά (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 218.28)
 τὴν Μάλτα καὶ ὅλα τὰ νησά *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 130
 διὰ τὰ πετσά (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 264, 154.3)

¹³⁹The etymology of καρτσίν given in KRIARAS, *Lex.* (< Ven. *carzi*) is based on a misinterpretation of LIA-TA 1996: 148, who claims that *carzi* derives from Greek χαλκίον (probably χαλκίν > χαρκίν > χαρτσίν > καρτσίν?): this Cypriot coin was introduced when Cyprus was under French rule, acquired the name χαλκίον or καρτσίν in the 14th/15th c., and continued to be in use during the Venetian occupation of the island. The Venetian noun *carzi*, used only for the Cypriot coin, and not in BOERIO, *Lex.*, is therefore a Cypriot loanword in Venetian.

εἰς τὰ Δεξά (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 53, 68.23) (place name < adj. δεξιός); εἰς τὰ νησὰ
(ibid. 82, 87.8)
εἰς τὰ βουτσά τους LANDOS, *Geopon.* 169.2–3; γνάφουσι τὰ πετσά ibid. 272.25–6
μαζί με δύο μαγαζά ξυλή (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 106.50); ἔχω ... δύο βουτσά κρασί
(ibid. 110.139)
πολλά βουτσά γεμίζουν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 186
κι ἀνοίξανε τὰ μαγατζά καὶ τὰ κρασὰ εὐρῆκα ΒΟΥΝΙΑΛΙΣ Μ., *Diig. Pol.* 409.11
ὡς τὰ βυζά τως *P&N Diath.* 717
κατὰ τὰ κρασὰ ποὺ θέλει ἔχει μέσα ὁ μαγατζές (1677, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 24, 92.13)

Vocative

No examples found.

Genitive

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-ίων ἢ -ίω ἢ -ίουν

Paroxytone forms in -ίων can be found throughout the period under investigation. However, only in verse texts and in higher-register prose texts and documents can there be some certainty that the accent position reflects the intended stress position (see the introduction (2.20) for a caveat regarding the actual stress position in such forms):

ἄφέντες τῶν νησίων *Chron. Mor.* H 93
περὶ τῶν χαρτίων *Assizes* B 354.16
μήτε πιασμὸν παιδίων (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.21)
ἡ μήτηρ ἐκείνων των παιδίων *Martyr. Vlas.* 248.3–5
καὶ τῶν μπαιδίων του (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 52.5)
ἡ ἄθεσμη προσθήκη τῶν φλωρίων (1547, Jerusalem, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1891: X, 217.26)
τὰ ψωμιά, τῶν ψωμίων SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 41.4–5
τὰ μαθήματα τῶν παιδίων (1563, Corfu, TZIVARA 2003: 31, 491.6)
ὄλονῶ τῶν παιδίων μου (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 222, 187.52)
των μιαρότατων αὐτῶν παγκάκιστων Τουρκίων ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 6248

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from Crete, the Peloponnese and the Aegean (see I, 3.7.2.2 for details):

τοῦ υἱοῦ μου τῶν παιδίω (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 31, 69.58–9)
τῶν παιδίω της (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.17–18)
ἕνα χωράφι καυσίω πέντε (1599, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 94, 126.3) (< καυκίον, see I, 3.8.2.2)
μὲ σπῖτι τῶ παιδίω τῇ ἄνωθεν κερα–Καλίτσας (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 388, 360.9)

In the following example /o/ has become /u/ through raising (see I, 2.8.3 for details): τῶν παιδίουں τως (1687, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 709, 962.35).

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-ιῶν ἢ -ιῶ ἢ -ιῶνε

A shift of the stress to the ultimate by analogy with the innovative oxytone singular forms has not been found before the 15th c., though the following example from the *Chronicle of Morea* (14th c.): καὶ τὰ φουσσᾶτα τῶν νησίων κ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ Εὐρίπου *Chron. Mor.* H 4877, indicates that the change will have occurred earlier, given that the form νησίων clearly needs to be read as νησιῶν (see the introduction (2.20) for discussion):

ἀπὸ τὸ κλάιμα τῶν παιδιῶν *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 868
καὶ τῶν παιδιῶν τοὺς *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 24.1–6
ἡ παραμάνα των παιδιῶν *Diig. Apoll.* 445
τὸ ρέστος τῶν τομαριῶν καὶ ἄσκιῶν (1565, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 283, 388.22)
ὡς κυβερνήτρα τῶν παιδιῶν τῆς (1581, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 46, 46.3)
τῶν δύνου μου παιδιῶν (1600, Zakynthos, *KONOMOS* 1969b: 36.4)
νὰ εἶναι τῷ παιδιῶν τοῦ (1602, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 140, 152.10)
τῶν σκουτιῶν (1676, Corfu, *KAPADOCHOS* 1990: 44, 257.18)
καὶ μόνο τῷ σπαθιῶν τῶς *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.621

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from Crete, the Aegean, the Peloponnese and the Heptanese (see I, 3.7.2.2 for details):

τῶν παιδιῶ τοῦ ποτὲ κυρ-Νικόλα (1591, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1995a: 35, 179.11–12)
νὰ ἔνε τῷ παιδιῶ τοῦ (1598, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 14, 35.12)
οἱ ασπριλάδες τῶ μαλλιώ *CHORTATSIS, Panor.* I.261; μέρος τῶ βυζιώ *ibid.* I.425
τῷ γερατειῶ μου *Stathis* III.486
τῶν παιδιῶ τοῦ *Nov.* II 162.33–4
τῶν παιδιῶ τοῦ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 55.9
δὲ θέλει πλιὸ θυσίες ἄρνιῶ *Thysia Avr.* 9
τοῦ Χάντακος καὶ τῶν Χανιῶ *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 134.17
μηδὲ παιδιῶ ἐθυμᾶτο *Leilasias Par.* 282

Addition of -(v)ε occurs in texts from south-western areas (see I, 2.6.3.1):

τοῦ μανδριῶνε (1563, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 15, 93.23) (for the article τοῦ see 5.2.1)
τοῦ παιδιῶνε μου (1636, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 16, 41.45; and 1637, *ibid.* 89, 94.57)
τῶν μπαδιῶνε (1604 [late 17th-/early 18th-c. copy], Zakynthos, *MAVROS* 1980: 509.18)
τῶν θυλικῶν παιδιῶνε (1672, Zakynthos, *BOUBOULIDIS* 1957: 4, 119.89)
τῶν σολδιῶνε (1687, Kefalonia, *ALEXOPOULOU et al.* 2009: 279, 259.31–2)

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν ἢ -ῶ

Regionally /j/ may be deleted in the oxytone forms with synizesis when it is preceded by a sibilant or affricate, resulting in -ῶν. Examples have been found in texts from Crete and the Peloponnese, but see I, 2.4.7.3 for full details. The ending also occurs without final /n/, in texts from south-western areas and possibly elsewhere (see I, 3.7.2.2):

τριῶν βουτσῶν κρασῶν (1549, Crete, *DRAKAKIS* 2004: 28, 33.4)
τῷ βυζῶν *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1228
ἐννιακόσω βουτζῶ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 108.16
τῷ βυζῶ μου *Thysia Avr.* 377

2.20.2 Proparoxytone Nouns in /io(n)/

2.20.2.1 Proparoxytone Nouns in -(ε)ιο(ν)

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	βασίλειο(ν)	-ι(ν)	
Gen.	βασιλείου	βασίλειου	
Acc.	βασίλειο(ν)	-ι(ν)	-ίο -ιό
Voc.	βασίλειο(ν)		
Plural			
Nom.	βασίλεια		
Gen.	βασιλείων	βασίλειων	
Acc.	βασίλεια		
Voc.	βασίλεια		

Singular

Nominative, Accusative and Vocative

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-(ε)ιο(ν)

This inherited ending can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar. Deletion of final /n/, as in SMG, does not appear to be very common and has not been found before the 15th c.:

Nominative

ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον κυριακοδρόμιν (1258, Philadelphia?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 15, 157.150)
εἰς τὸ βιβλίον ὅπου ἔνι γραμμένον τὸ Εὐαγγέλιόν τους *Assizes* B 485.20–1
ἐναι θεμέλιον εἰς ὅλες τέες χάριτες *Anthos Ch. G* 5.11; το ἔλαιον και ο ιχθύς *ibid.* 15.7
καὶ ἄς ἔλθῃ τὸ συμπάθειον σου *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 88 (< συμπάθεια)
τὸ ποῖον βίτσιον ἔνι ἀρχή, ἀφορμή καὶ ρίζα πᾶσα κακοῦ *Fior* 73.17–18
ἦλθεν συμπάθιον ἐκ τὸν μέγαν θεὸν *Diig. Alex. V* 65.15 (< συμπάθεια)
ὥσαν ἐβγήκε τὸ δαιμόνιον *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 9.33
αὐτὸ εἶνε ἀλλουνοῦ παπᾶ εὐαγγέλιον *Paroim.* (Warner) 96.10
εἰς ἐσένα θέλει ἔλθῃ τὸ βασίλειον *Alex. Fyll.* 12.15

τὸ συμπάθιο μοναχὰς στὸν κόσμo γεννημένο | βρίσκεται ἀπὸ τοῦ φταίσιμο *CHORTATSIIS, Erof.*
V.626–7
ἐχάθη τὸ μεγαλώτατο βασίλειο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 57.26
θεμέλιο τῆς ζωῆς του *Zinon* I.105; πὼς ὅλο τὸ βασίλειο στέκεται νὰ χαλάσει *ibid.* II.132
τοῦ Ἑρωτα ἐγενήκασι παιγνίδι του καὶ γέλιο *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.280

Accusative

τὸ εὐαγγέλιον σὺν καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου (11th c.?, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1982: 1, 11.27)
 ἐκάψασιν τὸ ἐμπόριον *Chron. Mor.* H 4666
 καὶ ἐπάρη το συνήθειον *Dig.* E 1341
 νὰ μὲν πάρεις δεσδένιον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 220.32 (< OFr. *desdeign*)
 ἐγύρεψέν του συμπάθειον *Vios Aisop.* D 237.11 (< συμπάθεια)
 χωρὶς κουντράστιον κανέναν (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.20)
 εἰς κιβώτιον ἀργυρὸν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P IX 403.30
 εἰς τὸ μερίδιόν του (1687, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 5, 4.11)
 εἰς τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον *Alex. Fyll.* 13.24
 με το θεμέλιόν της *Don Kis.* 183.17

εἰς τὸ μπόριο *Chron. Toc.* 2540 (= ἐμπόριο)
 τοῦτο το σαλιμίτριο ... τὸ βγάνουν ὄξω (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.39–40)
 καὶ τὸ σφυρὶ γιὰ παίγνιο *Alex. Rim.* 685
 καὶ ἔλεγαν του διὰ μπαίγνιο KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 375.40 (= παίγνιο, see I, 3.8.3.2)
 εἶχες το θαράπειο σου μεγάλο *Stathis* I.242
 ἐζήτησε συμπάθειο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.1
 τὸ δάνειο τῶν πέννητων τὸ δίδει ἡ δεξιὰ σου MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 222
 ὁπού 'χε ξεριζώσει | τῆς Τρόγιας τὸ βασίλειο *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 15–16
 συμπάθιο εἰς τοὺς ἀμαρτωλοὺς, Πνεῦμα χαριτωμένο *P&N Diath.* 5223
 ἀπὸ τὸ ρένιο τῆς Κρήτης (1709, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1938: 3, 298.1) (< Ital. *regno*)

Vocative

καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων παίγνιον SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* G5r.12

Synizesis is visible in verse texts or when the noun is followed by the enclitic possessive pronoun and no second accent is present: καὶ γίνου πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον σου ὑπομονῆς λιθάριν SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 6; ἡ τῶρα μέλλει νὰ γενῇ τὸ φοβερὸν κριτήριον *Defi. Par.* 46; νὰ μὴ χαθῇ τὸ δίκιο μου *Stathis* II 327; βάρει καὶ δίκιο ἔχεις *P&N Diath.* 3079; ἐπερίλαβε τὸ βασίλειον μου ὅλον *Alex. Fyll.* 56.7.

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ι(ν)

Lexically, the noun συνήθ(ε)ιο(ν) (< ἡ συνήθεια) may lose the /o/ in its ending, thus conforming to sub-paradigm 2.20.2.2. Examples have been found in texts from southern areas (Crete, Cyprus, Mykonos), with and without final /n/:

συνήθιν εἶχες καὶ ἔχεις DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1146
 κατὰ τὸ συνήθιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 126.8; εἶχαν συνήθιν *ibid.* 628.11
 ἐποίκαν ὅρον κατὰ τὸ συνήθιν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 44.18; πράμαν ἀπού δεν ἦτον συνήθιν *ibid.* 242.13
 εἶχεν συνήθιν ἡ Ταρσία *Diig. Apoll.* 504

καθὼς ἦτον συνήθι DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 347
 κατὰ τὸ συνήθι τση CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* IV.171
 ἔναι συνήθι (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 49.53)
 σὰν ἦτονε συνήθι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 148.21

ἐπειδὴ καὶ νὰ μὴν εἶναι ἐτοῦτο τὸ συνήθη εἰς τὸ τόπο μας (1703, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 46, 60.27–8)

The *Chronicle of Tocco* shows variation in the stress position on the word (ἐ)μπόριο (< AG ἐμπορεῖον): μέσα εἰς τὸ μπορίο *Chron. Toc.* 363 (verse end); νὰ διαφεντέψουν τὸ μπορίο *ibid.* 3792 (before caesura).

Genitive

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-(ε)ίου ἢ -(ε)ίου

The genitive may preserve the historical shift of the stress to the penultimate, as in SMG, though forms without such a shift have also been found:

μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου (1313, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 8, 52.27)
καὶ κατέσκαψεν ἀπὸ θεμελίου τὴν πατρίδα τοῦ SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 105.15
εἶχε πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 4.33
νὰ τὸ χαλάσωμεν ἐκ θεμελίου PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.39
οὕτως φησὶν ὁ Κύριος διὰ εὐαγγελίου IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3805

ὅτι δι' ἀρχὴν θεμελίου *Chron. Mor.* T 1344
τοῦ θεμελίου (1554, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 217, 192.5)

Plural

Nominative, Accusative and Vocative

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-(ε)ια

There is no variation in the formation of the nominative, accusative and vocative plural:

Nominative

ἐκίνησαν τὰ σάλια μου *Ptoch.* IV 219
τὰ δαιμόνια ἔφευγαν φωνάζοντας KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.27–8
ὅλα τὰ βασιλεια τοῦ κόσμου αὐτὸν ἐπλήρωναν λιζάτον *Diig. Alex.* F 86.16 (Lolos)
τὰ σάλια των–ε ἐτρέχασι *P&N Diath.* 3333
ὁ,τι ορίσουν τα θεμέλια *Don Kis.* 176.17

Accusative

δῶχνει τὰ δαιμόνια MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36.3
τὰ αὐτὰ σαλμίτρια (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.19)
ξηγᾶται διὰ ὅλα τὰ βίτσια τὰ ἀνθρώπινα *Fior* 73.6
νὰ τῆς δώσει τὰ ἐγκώμια MOREZINOS, *Klini* 4.33
ἂν εἶναι γυνὴ νὰ μὴν ἔχη τὰ συνήθεια LANDOS, *Geopon.* 251.34–5; εἰς τὰ ἐντόσθια *ibid.* 260.4
σώπα τὰ σάλια, φτοῦ σου *Stathis* III.564
εἰς τὰ μερίδια (1687, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 5, 4.13)
ἀπὸ νεγότης τῆς Βενετίας (1697, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 30, 22.11–12)

Vocative

ὦ σπήλια δροσερότατα CHORTATSI, *Panor.* II.482 (< σπήλαιο)

*Genitive**Neut.*

Pl.	Gen.	-(ε)ίων ! -(ε)ίων

The genitive plural may or may not present the historical shift of the stress to the penultimate. As is often the case with the genitive plural, not many examples have been found:

τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν δαιμονίων *KALLIOUP.*, *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 11.15
ἀπὸ θεμελίων *Diig. Sant.* 57.35

τῶν ὀροθέσιων τοῦ ρηγάτου *Assizes A* 173.10–11
εἰς τὴν Ὀμάδα τῶν βίτσιων *Fior* 147.35

2.20.2.2 Proparoxytone/Paroxytone Nouns in -ιο(ν)/-ι(ν)

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	χωράφι(ν)	χωράφιον	
Gen.	χωραφιοῦ	χωραφίου	-εοῦ
Acc.	χωράφι(ν)	χωράφιον	χωράφιο -εον
Voc.	χωράφι(ν)	χωράφιον	
Plural			
Nom.	χωράφια	-α	
Gen.	χωραφιῶν	χωραφίων	χωράφρων
Acc.	χωράφια	-α	
Voc.	χωράφια	-α	

Singular*Nominative, Accusative and Vocative**Neut.*

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ιο(ν)

The old ending -ιο(ν), even though it had lost its /o/ (see below) before the period covered by this Grammar, can still routinely be found, especially in mixed- and higher-register texts. Deletion of final /n/ in words of Greek origin is not very common. In the Romance loanwords in -ιο that follow this paradigm (e.g. ὁμάτζιο, πρεβελέγιο), forms with addition of final /n/ are less common than those without:

Nominative

πῶς δὲν ἐμαράνθη τὸ χέριον ἐκείνου [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P II 322.22
 ἐτραβήχθη εἰς τὸ παλάτιόν του *Bertoldos* 16.8–9; τὸ ἀδράχτιον *ibid.* 33.16
 ἐδιαμοιράσθηκεν τὸ ὀφίτζιον του *Bertoldin.* 107.24–5 (= ὀφίτζιον του, with omission of the primary accent)
 δὲν ἔλειπεν τὸ δάκρυον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.88
 τὸ κοράσιον δὲν ἀπέθανεν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 9.24
 εἶναι κανενοῦ ἄλλου πνεύματος κατοικητήριον (1653–5, Venice, FONKİÇ 2000: 240, f.2r.1–2)
 προσκέφαλο τῇ κλίνῃ μου εἶν' το κατώφλιό σου CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.580 (= κατώφλιο, see I, 2.6.2)

Accusative

εἰς τὸ μοναστήριόν μου (11th c.?, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1982: 1, 11.26)
 δεδώκατέ μοι ... τὸ χωραφίσιον (1085, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 43, 148.35)
 εἰς τοῦ Κολεκροῦ τὸ μανδράκιον (1284, Athos?/Lemnos?, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 74, 24.18)
 διὰ τινὰ χωράφιον (1295, Athos, ŽIVOJINOVİĆ et al. 1998: 15, 161.4)
 ἵνα ἐκβάλῃς τὸ ρηθὲν ἀμπέλιον ἔρημον (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.34–5)
 καὶ ἀφόντις ἐπλησίασαν μίλιον ἕναν τόπον *Achil.* O 252; ἀκούσετε μυστήριον *ibid.* 393
 ἔδωσαν ... τὸ παλαιοκκλήσιον (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 27, 163.4)
 καὶ ξέτρεχε τ' ὀφίτζιον σου SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 288
 εἶχεν δε ο Ἀρχίστρατος κοράσιον ωραῖον *Diig. Apoll.* 184
 νὰ τοὺς βάλλῃ εἰς τὸ σακέλλιόν τους *Assizes* A 105.28–9
 ἔδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Αἰσώπου τὸ χαράτζιον *Vios Aisop.* D 240.35 (< Turk. *haraç*)
 νὰ δώσῃ τὸ φαρμάκιον *Alex. Rim.* 2706
 ρεφουδάροντα ... πᾶσαν πρεβελέγιον (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 25, 25.21–2) (< Ven. *privilegio*)
 ἔπαρε ἐπιδέξια τὸ σεντούκιον DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 25, B2r.34 (1561) (< Turk./Arab. *sanduk*)
 ἔπαρε ἕνα πιάσμα ἀψίνθιον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 229.19
 ἀφιερῶ τὸ ἡμέτερον χωράφιο (1170, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 21, 167. 6–7); ἀνατολὴ τὸ χωράφιο τοῦ Ραβέτου (*ibid.* 167.9)
 ἔδωκεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν μονὴν ... σκροφάδιο (1333, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 2.2–3)
 νὰ ποιήσωμεν τὸ ὁμάτζιο *Chron. Mor.* H 8642 (< Occit. *homagi*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)
 νὰ πεθυμᾷ κοράσιο *Theseid* VI.31,2 (1529)
 εἰς τὸ αρμελίνιο *Anthos Ch.* G 247.17 (< Ital. *armellino*)
 νὰ μὲ γράψουσιν φράγκικον πρεβελέτζιο *Chron. Mor.* P 7689
 νὰν τὸ παῖρνει τὸ σπιτάλιο (1617, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970b: 3, 232.24)

Vocative

καλὰ λέγεις, κοράσιον *Dig.* E 957
 καταραμένον ἀνθρωπάριον *Vios Aisop.* D 210.2
 (υἱέ μου, ...) παραμύθιον ψυχῆς *Dig.* A 1028
 κοράσιον (ἔσένα λέγω), σήκω ἀπάνου KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 5.41

The following single singular example, rather than representing a case of depalatalization of /ion/ > /jon/ > /on/, is probably a morphological reanalysis based on the more common depalatalized plural (γρόσα < γρόσιν): διὰ γρόσο μισὸ (1706, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 59, 71.13); cf. τὰ τρία γρόσα (*ibid.* 72.36).

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ι(ν)

Nominative

- τὸ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Σκύρῳ κτηματίσιν οἰκία μὲν ἦν γονικὴ (1012, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 16, 143.9–10)
- τραπεζόφορον σκαραμάγγιν ὀξύν (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.130); καὶ Θεοτοκίσιν μικρόν (ibid. 24.134)
- κοσμηταρίσιν χυτὸν (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 55.101–2)
- τὸ δὲ ὀσπίτιν τὸ ἔχω ἄνω εἰς τὸ καστέλλιν (11th c.?, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1982: 1, 10.18)
- τὸ φαβάτιν, ... καὶ τὸ ριβίνθιν, ὅταν ἦν ἐκζεστά, ἓνα γομάτον κρασοβόλιν εἰς κατὰ ἓνα ἀδελφόν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 82.11–12 (for ἦν read εἶν, see III, 4.8.1); τὸ δὲ ὀρύζιν ἓνα ρίγλον ibid. 82.12–13
- τὸ μόδιον νὰ γεμίση GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 183; ἄν ἔχη τὸ κοντάριν του φθάσειν ibid. 348 (εἰσι ... βοῖδια ...) καὶ ἀγελάδιν σύμμουσκον (1216, Macedonia/region of Serres?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 12, 123.11); ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον κυριακοδρόμιν (1258, ibid. 15, 157.150)
- ὀσπίτιον ... λιθοκτίστον, μακρωναρίσιν (1104 [14th-c. copy], Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 52, 238.347)
- κῦρι δεῖνα σακελλάριε – ἡ ὡς ἀκούει τὸ ὀφφίκιν του (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 51.25)
- ἔδωκεν εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν μονὴν βούδιν (1333, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 2.2)
- ντὲ Ἀντουλο τὸ ἐπίκλιν του *Chron. Mor.* H 336 (ed. ἐπίκλην, as < AG adv. ἐπίκλην)
- ψαλτήριν, ὠρολόγιν (1363, Cyprus, COUROPOU/GÉHIN 2001: 3, 157.10–11)
- ὡς πολεμᾷ τὸ λάφιν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 464
- το αρμελίνιν ἀρχισεν νὰ φεύγειν *Anthos Ch.* G 249.5 (< Ital. *armellino*)
- καὶ το αρκούδιν ἀφήνει το μέλιν *Anthos Ch.* A 55.16
- εἶναι ὥσπερ τὸ πιπέριν *Diig. Alex.* V 42.9
- τὸ ἀμπέλι κρατεῖ τὸν βάσταγα (1010, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 15, 140.13)
- καταβαίνει ξηρορουάκι (1034, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 29, 34.25) (for /u/ < /i/ see I, 2.4.6.2)
- ὑπάρχει κελλίτζι σμικρότατον (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 58.166)
- καὶ ὅλον τὸ γενεολόγι σου καλοὺς στρατιώτας εἶχεν *Spaneas* V 107
- ὡς τὸ κλουβὶ τὸ ἀηδόνη *Chron. Mor.* H 2910; ντὲ Νουιλὴ τὸ ἐπίκλι του ibid. 3162 (ed. ἐπίκλη, as < AG adv. ἐπίκλην)
- ὅπου τὸ δεῖχνην τὸ αὐτὸν προβελίτζι *Assizes* B 478.5 (< Occit. *privilegi*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)
- τὸ καράβι τοῦτο εἶναι τοῦ ἀγίου Γεωργίου (1415, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1979: App. XVII, 216.10–11)
- εἰς τὸ λάδι (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 10, 47.12)
- ὅς ἔλθει ἐγλήγορας τὸ οὐλάκι (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.14) (Turk. *ulak*)
- καὶ το αρκούδι ἀφήνει το μέλι *Anthos Ch.* G 55.16
- νὰ ἔχη ἓναν βολίκιν καρφωμένον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 572.25–6 (< Fr. *volige*)
- ἀνθεὶ ὥσάν τὸ λουλούδι τοῦ κρίνου *Diig. Alex.* F 164.5 (Konstantinopulos); δακῶνει τὸ ὀφίδι ibid. 191.5
- τῆς Αρχιστράτας ἔδωκε τὸ νὰ μερίδι νὰ ᾗχει *Apoll. Rim.* A 1791
- πάσα ἄλλο κυνήγι (1601, Crete, SIAKOTOS 2006: 1, 190.9)
- ἀσπρίζει γληγορότερα τὸ κεφάλι *Bertoldos* 33.11; τὸ σίδερον ἡ τὸ δρεπάνι ibid. 33.36
- ἔβαλε χάψι τὸν ποστατζίπαση (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 401, f.2r.78–9) (< Turk. *habs*)
- καθὼς φαίνεται τὸ λευτεροχάρτι μου τὸ Τούρκικο (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.20–1)
- ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ βρεθῇ ὀλίγο χρεὶ (1685, Skyros, ANDONIADES 1980/81: 8, 331.5) (< τὸ χρέος)
- ἦλθεν ἓνα μικρόν σου γραμματάκι (1698, Sinai, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 7, 60.10–11)
- ἡ ασπράδα τῆς χιόνι *Don Kis.* 85.4–5; εἶμαι βέβαιος ὅτι το μπόι του νὰ ἦτον μεσιακόν ibid. 150.9 (< Turk. *boy*)

Accusative

- τὸ ἐπὶ κλινὶ ὁ Ψελλάκης (1016, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 20, 160.81)
 εἰς τὸ αὐχενίτισιν (1047, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 29, 256.13)
 ἕτερον δισκοποτήριν ξύλινον (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.124–5)
 εἰς τὸ μικρὸν ρυάκιν (1062, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 35, 103.30); περνᾶ τὸ ποταμίτισιν (1085, ibid. 43, 147.30)
 περνᾶ τὸ ἀκρωτήριν τοῦ Κόρακος (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 54.61)
 καὶ κουσκούνιν γ' δηνάρια (1108–9, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 29, 135.32)
 καὶ σιτάριν (1112, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: App. I, 1, 511.19); εἰς τὸ συνόριν (1113, ibid. 75, 98.9)
 Χριστέ μου, δὸς ὑπνίτισιν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 161; κρύον οἰνάριν ρόφησε ibid. 268; εἰς τὸ Δυρράχιν ibid. 348
 ἕτερον ἀμπέλιν (1216, Macedonia/region of Serres?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 12, 122.8)
 καὶ ἔχει παιδὶν ἀγόριν *Ptoch. III* 109; νὰ τρίβετε πεπερίν ibid. 192
 μέ τὸ κοράσιν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 13.16)
 οἱ μὲν ζατρίκιν ἔπαιζαν, ἄλλοι δὲ τὸ ταβλίον *Pol. Tr.* 259
 ὥσάν γυρίσει τὸ καράβιν (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.13)
 ἐγὼ ἀπ' τ' Ἀνάπλιν ἤμουνα *Anon. Naupl.* 6 (< Ναύπλιον)
 (ὑπόσχεται νὰ ὀφείλει δίδειν ...) νοίκιν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 33, 67.34–5) (< ἐνοίκιον)
 μέσα εἰς τὸ κοφινίδιν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1446
 καὶ ἔχουν δισπλαζέριν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 204.1 (< Occit. *desplazir*)
 θωρώντα τον ο ρήγας με το ζιπούνιν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 40.18 (< Occit. *jupoun*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)
 ἡ ποιά δὲν εἶναι εἰς τὸ πογέριν τοὺς λάς *Fior* 82.14–15 (< Occit. *poer*)
 τὸ παρασπώριν τοῦ ζευγαῖ νὰ ἐβγάνου ὁπὸ τὴν μέση (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 31, 69.39) (ὁπό = ἀπό)
 σύρε εἰς τὸ παρακλήσιν μας DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 25, B2v.33–4 (1561) (= παρεκκλήσιν)
 (ἔχω ...) τὸ κηπουρίτσι (1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 4, 58.23)
 κρατεῖ τὸ κάτω μονοπάτι (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 54.76)
 εἰς τὸ πόδι τοῦ χωραφίου (1112, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 32, 148.11)
 ἔδωκεν ... καματερόν βοῖδι (1333, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 29, f.26v.2–3)
 μέινετε εἰς τὸ καλύβι μου *Liv.* V 2713
 ἤθελαν κτίσει τὸ σπῆτι (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 76, 58.3)
 ἔχοντας ὁ ρηθεῖς κυρ-Ματθαῖος τὸ ἐμπασοεβγασίδι του (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 33, 67.21)
 εἰς τὸ σαράϊ (15th–16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 254.59.4) (< Turk. *saray*)
 σύρει τὸ ἀπελατίκι *Velth.* 207
 καὶ ἴψικι μέγα, θαυμαστὸν ἐποίκασιν ἐτότες *Velth.* 1318 (< ὀψίκιν < Lat. *obsequium*, see LBG s.v.)
 ἔβαλε μέσα σαλμίτριον καὶ τειάφι (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.14–15) (= θειάφι)
 μέ βελουδένιο φηκάρι (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.31) (= θηκάρι; see I, 3.8.5.1)
 τὸ λιβάδι μέ τὸ δάσο (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 31, 50.4); τὴν σήμερον κάμνου
 τὸ παρὸν προουκοχάρτι (1611, ibid. 701, 605.3)
 ἄλλη κράτηση νὰ μὴν ἔχου μόνον τὸ μουκάτι τῆς βασιλείας (1616, Naxos, KARABOULA/
 RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 144, 267.1) (< Turk. *mukâta'a*; see REDHOUSE/WELLS, *Lex.* p. 805)
 (αφήνω ...) ἔνα τσικίνι (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.14) (< Ven. *zechin*)
 δὲν εὐρίσκειν τις πωρικό, οὔτε λεμόνι οὔτε νεράτζι (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 512.42.2–3)
 μία κολάινα μαργαριτάρι μέ τὸ γκόλφι της (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 114.43) (< ἐγκόλπιον)

ἀν εἶναι πολγάρης, νὰ τὸν βγάζουν ἀπὸ τὸ πολγαρίκι του (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.96v.22–3) (< Hungarian *polgár*/Rom. *pîlgar* + *-(λ)ίαι*)
 σὲ ἓνα σκοτεινὸ μπουντρούμι ΕΦΤΗΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 51.28 (< Turk. *bodrum*)
 δὲν τρώγουν το ψωμί χαράμι *Don Kis.* 173.26–7 (< Turk. *haram*); εἶδεν ἓνα μικρὸν καῖκι ...
 δεμένον εἰς ἓνα κιουτούκι *ibid.* 336.12–13 (< Turk. *kayık* and *küttük*)

Vocative

τοῦ σπιταλιοῦ σημάδι *Katal.* 450; λαγήνιν, τί λιμπίζομαι τὰ πάντερπινά σου κάλλη *ibid.* 454;
 πουλάκιν φυλακίζόμενον *ibid.* 699

κοπέλι, τίνα φοβέισαι; (1496, Pesaro, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 3, 132.43)
 καὶ φέρε με, παιδίτσι μου, τυρὶν σταμεναρέαν *Ptoch. III* 118 app. crit. (M)
 ἔσύ, παιδίτζι μου *Spaneas B* 42
 στάσου, καράβι, νὰ χαρῆς *Anak. Konst.* 16
 ὦ σπίτι τοῦ Θεοῦ μου *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 73
 χαῖρε ὁλονῶν τῶν κεφαλίων κεφάλι! *Diig. Alex.* F 40.17 (Konstantinopolus)
 ἔμην τὰ λέγεις, ἄτυχε, σκοτίδι μαυρισμένον *Poulol. AZ* 10
 πέ μου, παλληκάρι μου *Zinon I.75*; ἀδέλφι μου *ibid.* V.311
 παιδάκι μου, μὴν πικραίνεσαι *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §27.24–5
 μουλάρι, ποιὸς εἶνε ὁ κύριος σου; *Paroim.* (Warner) 90.4

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ΕΟΝ

The following form is likely to be graphematic, a form of hypercorrection by analogy with other paradigms (feminine nouns in *-ία* and *-έα*, both of which develop alternative forms in *-ία* (/ʼja/) and masculine nouns in *-έας* > *-ιάς*; adjectives in *-αῖος*, e.g. the substantivized *δίκαιον* > *δίκιο(ν)*): τριμοδιαῖον χωράφειον (1290–1300, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 88, 68.9).

Genitive

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-ίου

The inherited genitive ending with a shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

εἰς τὸ πόδι τοῦ χωραφίου (1112, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 32, 148.11)
 τοῦ καστελλακίου (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 5, 300.20)
 χάριν ἐλαδίου (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.51); χάριν κουρτσουβακίου (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52)
 μετὰ βηματισίου (1104 [14th-c. copy], Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 52, 235.263)
 περὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου ἐρημαπελίου (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.7)
 πλησίον ὀσπιτίου Ἰωάννου Σεπάτρου (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 53, 86.12)
 εἰς ἀνταλλαγὴν τοῦ ἀμπελίου (1507, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1958: 114.11)
 εἰς τοῦ πιπερίου τὴν καύχα *Diig. Alex.* F 156.12 (Lolos)
 πόσα σιναπίου θέλουν σεβῆ εἰς ἓνα σπυρὶ πιπέρι *Diig. Alex.* V 42.9–10
 τὸ μέλι, τοῦ μελίου *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 41.6–7
 εἰς ὑπόσχεσιν τοῦ προικίου της (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 28, 36.3–4)

ἡ ἡγουμένη καὶ οἰκοκυρά τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.3)
 πρὸς τὴ μερὰ τοῦ ργιακίου (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 853, 745.35)
 τοῦ Θιακίου (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 40.1) (< ἡ ἴθακη)
 τοῦ Φικκέτου, κοπελίου τῆς Αὐλῆς *Bertoldos* 82.33
 ἀπὸ σπαθίου καὶ κονταρίου EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 15.4

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-(ε)ιοῦ

Synizesis and a shift of the stress to the ultimate are likely to pre-date the period covered by this Grammar (see I, 2.9.4). It is in line with a general tendency to oxytonize genitives in the /ion/ paradigms:

τοῦ κασσιδιοῦ *Florios* 573 (Ortolá Salas); τοῦ λιθαριοῦ *ibid.* 1201
 τοῦ κονταριοῦ *Imber.* 88; τοῦ παγωνιοῦ *ibid.* 393
 ἦτον καὶ λόγγος ἐκ πλαγιοῦ *Chron. Toc.* 2325
 τοῦ ἀγοριοῦ (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 45, 38.10)
 εἰς τὸ πανηγύριν τοῦ Ναυπλιοῦ *Anon. Naupl.* 8
 τὲς γυναῖκες τοῦ σπιτιοῦ FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 183
 τὰ ἀνθη τοῦ μελιοῦ *Anthos Ch.* G 125.2 (< AG μέλι, gen. μέλιτος)
 τὸ κόμμαν τοῦ χεργιοῦ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 88.5
 κανενοῦ διλιτιοῦ *Fior* 88.15 (< διλίτιν < OFr. *delit*, see GODEFROY, *Lex.* s.v.)
 τοῦ κομματιοῦ (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.3)
 εἶπεν ἐκείνου τοῦ κουπελλιοῦ *Fior* 128.17
 μουζούρια τοῦ σιταριοῦ δύο (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 95.83)
 ὥσάν τοῦ πιπεριοῦ τὰ σπιυρία *Diig. Alex.* F 216.7–8 (Lolos)
 τοῦ ἀλατσοῦ (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 363, 339.2) (< ἀλάτι(v); see I, 3.2.6.1 for details)
 τοῦ χρουσαφιοῦ CHORTATSI, *Erof.* III.374
 ὁ τόπον ριφιοῦ *Thysia Avr.* 11; κοπελιοῦ γλώσσα *ibid.* 358
 τοῦ Θιακίου (1634, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 348, 262.1) (< ἡ ἴθακη)
 τ' ἀμαξιοῦ PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 488; τοῦ παλατιοῦ *ibid.* 533; τοῦ ταξιοῦ *ibid.* 718
 τοῦ χωραφιοῦ (1695, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 33, 81.17) (= χωραφιοῦ, see I, 2.9.4.2)
 τοῦ ἄλλου σπιτακιοῦ (1697 [18th-c. copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 119, 272.16)
 τοῦ κονακιοῦ τοῦ (1705 [later copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B I/4, f.166v.27)

It is not uncommon for the accent to be written on <ι>, even though the stress in fact falls on the ultimate, e.g. τοῦ λουρικίου τὸ αἶμα *Pol. Tr.* 9300; ὁ ἄνωθεν τόπος τοῦ σταργίου (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 23.16). See 1.5 for discussion and more examples.

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-εοῦ

The following form with /e/ for /i/ is likely to be graphematic, a form of hypercorrection (see nom., acc. & voc., above). As the stress falls on /u/, it should probably be read with synizesis, as [xoraf'ju] (cf. also the form τειχέα in the *Chronicle of Morea*, above): τριμοδιαίου χωραφιοῦ (1290–1300, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 88, 68.18–19)

Plural*Nominative, Accusative and Vocative**Neut.*

Pl	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ια

The normal ending for the nominative, accusative and vocative plural is inherited -ια (also spelled -εια or -υα, according to the relevant AG derivation). Often synizesis occurs, through which the unstressed /i/ becomes /j/ (see I, 2.9.4). This is most visible in verse texts or when the noun is followed by a weak possessive pronoun and the second accent is absent, e.g.: τὰ δάκρυα της ἐτρέχασι *Theseid* XII.2,7 (1529); τὰ γένεια μου μαδίω *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 108; τοὺς ἔκαψαν τὰ σιτάρια τοὺς *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 278.30–1 (more examples below). Sometimes synizesis becomes visible through the spelling, e.g. by addition of <γ>: τὰ καράβγια τὰ κρουσάρικα (1671, Santorini, *TSELIKAS* 1985: 20, 91.6); τομάργια (1697, Kastoria, *MERTZIOS* 1947a: 51, 235.9), or when the text is written in a foreign script, as in the following examples. The first is transcribed from the Arabic script: ke-rōdjā καὶ ρόδια (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, *LEHFELDT* 1989: 175.4d); the next example is rendered in Cyrillic script: πιποηῖα, πιπόνιγ (15th c., Athos?, *VASMER* 1922: 49.933) (= πεπόνια); and the following in the Latin script: peristergia / περιστέρια *CHORTATIS, Erof.* III.67 transcr. X (*Legrand*). Synizesis is absent when a second accent is present: δακρύζουν τὰ ῥμάτιά του *DAM. STOD.*, *This., Logos* 22, χ6v.4–5 (1561); τα χέριά της *Don Kis.* 85.4.

Nominative

εἶχεν ἡ τραχηλέα του καὶ τὰ μανίκια γῦρον | λιθάρια πανυπέρλαμπρα *Achil.* N 369–70
 ἔθελέν μου φανῆν γλυκύν σὰν μέλια *Cypr. Canz.* 152.14 (< AG μέλι, nom. pl. μέλιτα)
 τὰ δίκτυα σου νὰ σύρνουσιν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 117; καὶ νὰ θεωροῦν τὰ ὀμμάτια σου *ibid.*
 118

ἄν ἔνι γῆ, χωράφια, περιβόλια *Assizes A* 35.11–12
 τ' ἀδέρφια σου πολλὰ σὲ καταφιλοῦ (1502, Crete, *MANOUSSACAS* 1976: 6, 29.7)
 τὰ δόσια μάτια παίρνουνε *Paroim.* (Warner) 58.11 (< ἡ δόση)
 ἄν ἦσα ἑκατὸ χρονῶ γῆ ἵνους μηνοῦ παιδάκια *P&N Diath.* 4812
 νησὰ καὶ περιγιάλια *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 31
 ἀπέθαναν τρία κορίτζια καὶ τρία ἀγόρια *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §31.109
 ἔδῶ καράβια πνίγονται *Paroim.* (Warner) 67.5
 τὰ μάτια του κόκκινα ... τὰ φρύδια του μακρὰ *Bertoldos* 6.4–5; τὰ γένεια του συχνὰ καὶ
 πολλὰ *ibid.* 6.7
 τὰ δύο χοιρίδια πόσα ποδάρια ἔχουσι; *Vios Aisop.* D 222.5
 διὰ νὰ εὐρίσκονταν καὶ βερεσέδια (1688, Siatista, *PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI* 1974:
 10, 6.5) (< Turk. *veresiye*)
 νὰ ἵνι βελόνια καὶ ξουράφια κυπαρισσένια (1697, Thessaloniki, *KATSANIS* 2012: 2, 53.13) (= *ξυράφια*, see I, 2.8.4)
 κάμποσα σπίτια γαλαξειδιώτικα ... ἐπέσασι *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 58.16–18
 ἐβγήκαν τέσσαρα ιτσιογλάνια *Don Kis.* 447.19–20 (< Turk. *iç oğlani*)

Accusative

καταβαίνει ἔως τὰ β' πατητήρια (1062, Athos, *LEFORT et al.* 1990: 35, 103.33)
 τὴν ἔχω ὀμμάτια καὶ ψυχὴν *Eisit.* f.8r.9

ἔδωκεν ... βοῖδια δύο (1333, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.19v.1–2)
 μέ τὰ ὁμάτζια ποῦ ἔχει *Chron. Mor.* H 7678 (< Occit. *homagi*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)
 λέγουν τὰ συχαρίκια *Achil.* L 325
 (χρεωστοῦν ...) σιτάρι μόδια δύο (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 56, 87.4)
 ἐφόρεν δ' δακτυλίδια MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 84.22–3
 νὰ κερδέσουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ... τὰ κουστούμια τὰ ἡθικά *Fior* 73.9 (< OFr. *custume/coustume*)
 ἐχειροτονοῦσαν τὰ ὀφίκια SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 121.19
 δίδουσι σας καὶ τορνέσια (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.8)
 μέ ὅλα τως τὰ πριβιλέγια (1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 152, 276.22) (< Ven. *privilegio*)
 ἀπὸ τὰ χρέγια (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 61.35–6) (< το χρέος)
 διδαι καὶ τὰ χωράφια του ὅλα (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 132, 146.8–9)
 μελίσσια εἴκοσι ὅπου τὰ ἔδωσα τοῦ συμπεθέρου (1634, Peloponnese, LAMBROS 1908b: 339.6)
 νὰ βράση εἰς τὰ ἀνθράκια LANDOS, *Geopon.* 229.23–4
 ἐβάλαμε οἱ πτωχοὶ τὰ βούδιά μας (1659, Hydra, KARATHANASIS 1972/73: 240.5)
 μέ τὰ δάκρυα εἰς τὰ μάτια (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.2)
 ἀπὸ τὰ τελπιζίκια μου NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 64 (< Turk. *telbizlik*); ὅς τὰ αὐθεντικά τὰ χάνια
 ibid. 82
 εἰς μουσικά κανάκια *Zinon* V.29; εἰς χίλια παιγνιδάκια ibid. V.30
 δίχως τα μασκαράλκια του δούλου *Don Kis.* 153.7–8 (< Turk. *maskaralik*); εἰς τα κατσίκια της
 γῆς ibid. 420.4

Vocative

Βέλθανδρε φῶς μου μάτια μου *Velth.* 1158
 καὶ σεῖς, κοράσια, ξεύρετε *Rim. kor.* A 180
 ὦ χορταράκια δροσερά CHORTATISIS, *Panor.* II.199
 ἀδέλφια μου κοσμόφιλα *P&N Diath.* 558
 ἐσεῖς ... | τραγοῦδια ... | κ' ἐσεῖς, στεφάνια *Zinon* I.1–3
 ἀκούετε, παλληκάρια μου STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 953 (Pidonia)
 ἐσεῖς ... λιθάρια, ποτάμια PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.135–6
 ὦ χέρια μου ... | κ' ἐσεῖς, ποδάρια δυνατά PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 3030–1

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-α

Forms in -α are the result of /j/ deletion in the forms with synizesis when it is preceded by a sibilant or affricate (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details). They occur in a large geographical area, in texts from Crete, Mani, the Aegean, the Heptanese and northern areas from the very beginning of the LMedG period:¹⁴⁰

Nominative

τίποτες τὰ βιβλίτζα οὐκ ἔχουν περὶ δόγματος NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.17
 τὸ ἐν ἀγόρι καὶ τὰ τρία κορίτσα (1449–55, Silymnvia, SCHREINER 1975/79: 98B, 647.4.9)
 τὰ ὅποια δέκα γρόσα εἶναι στο σπίτι τῆς Καλίτσας (1687, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1972: 16, 285.9)

¹⁴⁰ A form βουνίτζα occurs in a (probably late-10th-c.) military treatise; λιβαδίτζα occurs in an 11th-c. ms (J) of the *Patria*: ἡ δὲ μονὴ τῆς Εὐφροσύνης τὰ Λιβαδίτζα *Patria* III, §77, 243.13–14 (ed. Preger, vol. 2); also: εἶχον νομισματίτζα in TZETZES, *Epist.* 70.1 (12th c.; ed. Leone); see LBG.

Accusative

ἀπελάβαμεν τὰ πιττακίτζα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.5; εἰς τὰ βιβλίτζα id., *Logos* 9 310.8
καὶ ἕτερα δύο ἀμπελίτσα (1271, Pilion, ΜΙΚΛΟΣΙΧ/ΜÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 27, 395.7)
πολλὰ ἐσυνελυπηθήκα ἐκεῖνα τὰ πουλίτσα *Liv.* V 149; μικρὰ μονοπατίτσα *ibid.* 2357
(χαιρετῶ ...) τὰ ἀνίψα σου τ' ἄρφανά (1498, Crete, ΜΑΝΟΥΣΣΑΚΑΣ 1976: 2, 18.3)
λίθους, μαργαριτάρια, χρυσάφι καὶ μπαλάσα *Velis* ρ 487 (< Ital. *balascio*)
παπούτσα ἀγοράζεις *DEFAR.*, *Sos.* 311 (Holton)
ὅταν ἔχουν μελίτσα μέσα στὰ μελισουρία (1541, Thasos?, ΚΡΑΒΑΡΙ 1987: App. II, 341.40)
τὰ τορνέσα τοῦ τὰ ἔδωσα ἐγώ (1564, Cythera, ΔΡΑΚΑΚΙΣ 1999: 132, 214.25)
σφογγίξε τὰ παπούτσα μου *CHORTATSI*, *Katz.* I.247
ἔδωκεν τὰ τορνέσα (1600, Crete, ΒΑΚΚΕΡ/VAN GEMERT 1987: 92, 108.7)
ἔριπεν ὁ ἅγιος τὰ δόσα *MOSCH. THEOL.*, *Vios Ag. Nik.* 172
κάμανε καὶ ἀμάξα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 79.27
μὲ τὰ κρασοβούτσα (1622, Crete, ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ 1986: 3, 55.247)
νὰ χάσει ὁκτῶ γρόσα (ante 1662, Sifnos, ΤΣΕΛΙΚΑΣ 1986c: 2, 31.28)
διὰ τὰ χαράτσα (1662, Sifnos, ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ 1958a: 1, 107.66) (= χαράτσια < Turk. *haraç*)
καὶ τὴν ἐπούλησεν δυὸ γρόσα τὸν κάδο (1670, Lefkada, ΤΣΙΛΙΜΙΝΓΡΑ 1955: I.1, 72.7)
ἔλαβε πλερωμὴ δύο γρόσα (1674, Ikaria, ΤΣΕΛΙΚΑΣ 2000: 52, 48.5)
(δίνει της ...) κρεββατοστρώσα (1692, Naxos, ΠΑΝΔΕΛΙΑ-ΓΡΙΤΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 1995/97: 2, 213.31)
τυριὰ καὶ ρύζα *Leilasias Par.* 144

Vocative

ὀρνέα μου πουλίτσα, μικρά τε καὶ μεγάλα *Poulol.* 654 app. crit. (E)

Genitive

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-ίων

Genitives with a historical shift of the stress to the penultimate can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

τῶν ποταμιτσίων (1062, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 35, 192.17)
ἀγορᾶς μουλαρίων (1079, Constantinople, ΒΡΑΝΟΥΣΙ 1980: 2, 17.4); βουβαλίων καὶ λοιπῶν
τετραπόδων (*ibid.* 17.6)
γομαρίων ὁκτῶ (1182, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 22, 424.22) (= γομαρίων; see I, 2.5.4)
ὑπὸ σανιδίων σκευασμένον (1196, S. Italy, ΓΥΙΛΛΟΥ 2009: 13, 69.11)
λόγους γραϊδίων *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 4
μεγάλων μαχαίριων *Diig. tetr.* 923
τῶν ἐγγονίων μου τῶν ἀλλῶν (1518, Crete, ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 99.199)
χαῖρε ὅλονῶν τῶν κεφαλίων κεφάλι! *Diig. Alex.* F 40.17 (Konstantinopulos)
τῶν χωραφίων του (1612, Crete, ΒΑΚΚΕΡ/VAN GEMERT 1987: 795, 690.13–14)
ἔχει στράτα τῶν καραβίων *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 30.22–3
τῶν πουλακίων *Bertoldos* 45.27–8
των δουλαπίων *Don Kis.* 159.33 (< Turk. *dulap*); διηγούμενοι τες ιστορίες των αμορίων τους
ibid. 228.14 (< Ital. *amore*); των τουφεκίων και κανονίων *ibid.* 560.22–3

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in documents from Crete, the Heptanese and the Aegean: τῶν δύο κοπελίω (1538, Crete, ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ 1994a: 177, 178.32); τεσσάρω
πινακίω (1609, Ikaria, ΤΣΕΛΙΚΑΣ 2000: 6, 21.5); ταγαρίω τριωνῶ (1643, Ithaca, ΖΑΠΑΝΔΙ
2002b: 270, 216.12).

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-(ε)ιῶν

Forms with a shift of the stress to the ultimate occur from the very beginning of the LMedG period:

μοδιῶν πεντήκοντα (956 [12th?-c. copy], Constantinople?, BOMPAIRE 1964: 1, 39.11)
 τῶν ἄλωνιῶν (1124, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 94, 122.8)
 εἰς τὴν λακκάδα τῶν Βαμβακιῶν (14th c., Athos, PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1986: App. II, 238.111)
 τῶν δύο της φρυδιῶν *Pol. Tr.* 2072 app. crit. (V)
 ἡ χωραφιῶν *Assizes A* 108.14; περὶ τῶν γερακιῶν καὶ τῶν ξυπτεριῶν *ibid.* 200.8
 πλήθος μελισσιῶν *Anthos Ch.* G 125.7
 τῶν λεγομένων χωραφιῶν (1516 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 2, 51.10–11)
 αὐτουῶν τῶν λεγομένων σπιτιῶν (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 26, 31.21)
 τὸ ρέστος τῶν τομαριῶν καὶ ἄσκιῶν (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 388.22)
 τῶν γελαδιῶν (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 20, 32.5)
 τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀμματιῶν μου *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 101–2
 τῶν χειρῶν της *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1246
 τῶν παιδικιῶν της (1698, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 27, 38.18)
 τῶν δυσονῶν ἀδελφιῶν (1710, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 32, 94.4)

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from Crete and the Heptanese:

να μη δουλεύγεις κορασιῶ *CHORTATIS, Panor. Dedic.* 5; παιγνίδι τῶ χειρῶ σου *ibid.* II.214;
 τῶν ὀμματιῶ *id., Erofi* II.315; τῶ λιονταριῶ του τό ὄωκε *ibid.* V.196
 τῶν παλικάριῶ *Stathis* I.128
 τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀμματιῶ μου *Thysia Avr.* 314; τὸν τόπο τῶν ποδιῶ του *ibid.* 856
 δύο πόλους τῶν φελονιῶ χρυσούς (1674, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 3, 124.1)

Addition of -(ν)ε has been found in texts from the Heptanese and Roumeli (see I, 2.6.3.1 for details):

τοὺν ἐγγονιῶνε της (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 51, 132.8) (for τοὺν see 5.2.1)
 δαχτυλίδι ἕνα ριαλιῶνε τριῶ (1654, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 2, 53.17) (< ρέαλι(ν));
 ἄμπέλια βατζελιῶνε ξῆι (*ibid.* 53.18) (< Ital. *vascèllo*)
 τῶν ἀδελφιῶνε μου (1688, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 110, 64.7); τῶν τσεκινιῶνε (1696, *ibid.* 198, 118.5) (< Ven. *zechin*)
 τῶν κανονιῶνε-ε *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 58.18–19
 τῶν αὐτῶν δύο σπιτιῶνε (1721, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 10, 172.27)

Sometimes the accent is placed on <ι>, even though the stress clearly falls on the ultimate (see 1.5). This is most clearly seen in verse texts: μέσα τῶν δύο της ὀφρυδιῶν *Pol. Tr.* 2072 app. crit. (V); τῶν κουδουνιῶν τοὺς κτύπους *Achil.* N 1210; οὕτως εἶχε τὸ δάσωμα τῶν ὀμαλλιῶν ἡ κόρη *Velth.* 690 transcr. (Lendari) (Kriaras: ὀμαλλιῶν).

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-(ε)ιῶν

Absence of stress shift occurs in a document from Sicily. It must, however, be borne in mind that the edition is unreliable. Similar forms may occur in versified texts for metrical reasons. *Erofilis* offers an example with deletion of final /n/:

τῶν μικρῶν ρυάκιων, καὶ φθάζει ἕως τῆς <σ>μίξεως τῶν δύο ρυάκιων (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 5, 18.19–20)

κ' οἱ κόρες τῶν ὀμμάτιων σου *Diig. tetr.* 149 app. crit. (L)

βρύση τῷ δάκρυω καὶ σκολειὸ τῇ πρίκας καὶ τοῦ πόνου *CHORTATSI, Eraf.* V.4

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶ(ν)

Regionally in the forms with synizesis /j/ may be deleted when preceded by a sibilant or affricate (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details): τῷ τορνεσῶ (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 9, 31.15; and 1600, *ibid.* 82, 99.12); τῷ τριάντα γροσῶ (1703, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 47, 61.23).

2.20.3 Proparoxytone Nouns in -ι(ν)

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	κιννάβαρι(ν)		
Gen.			
Acc.	κιννάβαρι(ν)		
Voc.			

As mentioned in the introduction (2.20), this proparoxytone paradigm is defective in that it lacks a plural formation, and no examples have been found of the genitive or the vocative. It also comprises just a handful of nouns.

Singular

Nominative

που ἦτον ἀσπρον ὡς τὸ φίλτισι *MAKOLAS, Ioust.* 427.17–18 (< Turk. *fildişi*)

τὰ χεῖριά της φίλδισι, ἡ ασπράδα της χιόνι *Don Kis.* 85.4–5

Genitive

No examples found.¹⁴¹

Accusative

διὰ νάγοράσει πέπερι καὶ κανέλλα (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 64, 50.1)

τὰ χεῖλῃ του ἦσαν κόκκινα, κιννάβαρι βαμμένα *Imber:* 83

βάλε του μέσα εἰς τὸ κόκκαλον κιννάβαριν *LANDOS, Geopon.* 151.35

Vocative

No examples found.

¹⁴¹ In higher-register texts the nouns κιννάβαρι and πέπερι have the old genitive in -εως; see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. κιννάβαρι and πιπέρι for examples.

2.20.4 Transfers to Other Paradigms

A few lexical transfers occur, mainly in texts from Cyprus. The noun *παιδίον* has a masculine variant *παίδιος*, derived from LA *παίδιον* (see LSJ s.v.), which is preserved in the modern Cypriot dialect as *παίδικιος*. It occurs in LMedG texts such as the writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain (11th c.) and in LMedG and EMG Cypriot texts: *ἐὰν δέ τις παίδιος ὦν, ... φθαρή δὲ ὑπὸ τινος ἀνδρός ΝΙΚΟΝ*, *Logos* 3 188.21–2; *ο ποίος παίδιος VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 4.6; *εφουρκίσαν και τον παίδιον* *ibid.* 166.5–6; *ὦ παίδιοι, βάρτε τὸ σκοπὸν* *Cypr. Canz.* 2.7; *ὁ παίδιος ἀπολογήθηκέν του Fior* 150.29. The chronicles of Machairas and Voustronios offer a paroxytone alternative *παίδιος*, which in fact represents *παίδιος* with synizesis (see 1.5).¹⁴² In Cypriot the noun *θεμέλιο(ν)* (< adj. *θεμέλιος*) has a masculine variant with a shift of the stress to the ultimate: *ἐνι ρίζα, θεμελιός Fior* 74.37–8; *μὴ ἔχοντα ... θεμελιὸν κανένα ἀληθινόν* *ibid.* 86.6.

In documents from S. Italy, feminine alternatives in *-η* occur for *χωράφι(ν)* and *ἀμπέλι(ν)*: *τὴν χωράφη* (1122, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 91, 119.10–11); *(πουλῶ ...) τὴν ἀμπέλη καὶ μὲ τὴν χωράφην ἀργῶ* (1130, *ibid.* 108, 143.5). How seriously we need to take these forms is debatable, as errors such as the use of the accusative instead of the nominative in *κεῖται τὴν ἀμπέλην ταύτην* (*ibid.* 143.10), and a seemingly undeclined genitive in *ἐπάνω τοῦ γεφυρίτσι* (*ibid.* 143.10–11) indicate that the scribe's command of Greek was limited.

2.21 Neuter Nouns in *-μα(ν)*

The *-μα(ν)* paradigm is a fairly stable one with relatively little variation. It is a productive paradigm that comprises a large group of inherited paroxytone and proparoxytone nouns as well as a fair number of new ones, formed from verb stems, e.g.:

πάπλωμα χρυσόν Dig. E 180 (< *ἐπαπλώνω*)
εἰς τὸ τζιληπούρδισμα Diig. tetr. 729a (< *τσιληπουρδίζω*)
τοῦ καλλιοτερισμάτου Assizes B 369.11 (< *καλλιοτερίζω*)
ἀπὸ τὸ δόσμαν Synax. gadar. 237 (< *δίδω*)
τινάς μηδὲν ποίση μάλλωμαν MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 362.18–19 (< *μαλλώνω*)
ἐξημέρωμα (1522, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 65, 123.45) (< *ἐξημερώνω*)

New nouns in *-μα* are also formed from verbs of foreign origin:

τὸ δεσδένιασμα Fior 94.13–14 (< *δεσδενιάζω* < Occit. *desdegnar*; see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)
τοῦτα εἶνε τὰ προμουτιάσματά σας MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 526.3 (< *προμουτιάζω* < Occit. *proumettre*)
βιζιτάρισμα Bertoldin. 117.21 (< *βιζιτάρω* < Ven. *visitàr*)
τεπελέτισμα PAPASYNAD., Chron. I §31.27 (< *τεπελετίζω* < Turk. *tepelemek*)

¹⁴² A single similar example in *Dig.* A, interpreted as a masculine form in Kriaras, *Lex.* s.v. *παίδιος* based on the accompanying adjectival form: *δράκων, μορφώσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς εὐειδῆ παιδίον Dig.* A 1926, is in fact a neuter (see 3.3.3).

When no verb is available, the noun may be derived from a fictitious verb stem: σὲ φαγοπότια καὶ σὲ ἄτσαλα μπεκριλεύματα (1705 [later copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B I/4, f.166r.27–8) (< *μπεκριλευ- < μπεκρής < Turk. *bekri*). New forms in -μα(ν) are only very rarely derived directly from other nouns; the following example appears to be a one-off: τοῦ παιγνίματος Byz. II. 675 (< παίγνιον).

An added final /n/ to the nominative, accusative and vocative singular forms, on the analogy of nouns in -ον, appears in texts from the very beginning of the LMedG period, including mixed-register texts, which indicates that it had become established in the spoken language well before that, though earlier written evidence is scarce: ψηλαφήσας εὔρεν δέμαν ἐν *Miracles of St Nicholas of Myra*, no. 9, l. 11 (7th c.; 13th-c. ms; ed. Anrich); καταλαβὼν εἰς τὸ Ἄρμαν *Chronikon Paschale* 730.18 (7th c.; oldest ms 10th-c.; ed. Dindorf).

Already in AG the -μα paradigm exercised strong influence on other paradigms, such as certain proparoxytone nouns in -ο(ν), which had developed alternative plural forms in -ατα (e.g. πρόσωπο(ν), προσώπατα); see 2.19. These forms continue to be in use in the period covered by this Grammar, and the -ατα ending spreads to other paradigms as well, such as paroxytone nouns in -ο(ν) (e.g. ξύλο(ν), ξύλατα); nouns in -ιμο(ν), for which imparisyllabic gen. sg. and pl. forms are the most common in the period covered by this Grammar (γράψιμο(ν), γραψίματος/γραψιμάτου, γραψίματα, γραψιμάτων; see 2.22); and even new substantivized imperatives such as τὸ ἔμπα and τὸ διάβα (τὰ ἔμπατα, τὰ διάβατα; see 2.24.4). However, neuter nouns belonging to other paradigms do not easily transfer to the -μα(ν) paradigm in the singular as well, though a few exceptions have of course been found: in a document from Pontos a singular in -μαν has been found of the word πρόστιμο(ν), which, incidentally, does not belong to the -ιμο(ν) paradigm, but to the -ο(ν) paradigm (see 2.19.2):¹⁴³ νὰ δώση καὶ πρόστιμαν (13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.7); cf. λόγου προστίματος (1264, *ibid.* 39, 20.62) and χάριν προστίματος (1283, *ibid.* 71, 43.9). In the following examples the geographical name τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα has been reinterpreted as a singular noun in -μα: ὃ Γεροσόλυμα πτωχόν FALIEROS, *Thrinus* 73; τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμάτου (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 210.8.13); the same genitive occurs in *Assizes A* 42.11–12, MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 78.17, VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 280.14 (and 16th c., Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: 120.20 and 22); εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμαν *Pist. kekoim.* 75. The following examples from *Katzourbos* are a rare case of reinterpretation of an adverb (ἀνάλαιμα) as a neuter noun in -μα: οἱ γάμοι αὐτῆνοι ἀνάλαιμα νὰ τσ' ἔβγουσι μεγάλο CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.410; πρικὺ νὰ σῶβγη ἀνάλαιμα *ibid.* V.15.

¹⁴³ A pl. πρόστιματα appears in the 10th-c. *Suda Lexicon*, s.v. “τῶν τριῶν κακῶν ἓν”: ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἃ Θηραμένης ὥρισε πρόστιματα. Comparable forms are (see also PSALTES 1913: 176): συσσημάτων (< σύσσημον) in Malalas, *Chronogr.* 8, 3.22 (6th c., ed. Thurn); ἐθίματα (< ἔθιμον) in *De Ceremoniis* 606.12 (10th c., ed. Reiske); and ἀντίτιματα (< ἀντίτιμον) in Nicetas of Herakleia (11th c.; see the online *TLG*).

2.21.1 Paroxytone and Proparoxytone Neuter Nouns in -μα(ν)

	General		Restricted		Rare	
Singular						
Nom.	γράμμα γράμμαν	ὄνομα ὄνομαν	-μας			
Gen.	γράμματος γραμμάτου	ὀνόματος ὀνομάτου			γράμματος -μάτουν -ματιοῦ	-μάτου -ματιοῦ
Acc.	γράμμα γράμμαν	ὄνομα ὄνομαν	-μας			
Voc.	γράμμα γράμμαν	ὄνομα ὄνομαν				
Plural						
Nom.	γράμματα	ὀνόματα			(γράμματα)	
Gen.	γραμμάτων	ὀνομάτων	γραμμάτω γραμμάτωνε	ὀνομάτω ὀνομάτωνε	-ματίων	
Acc.	γράμματα	ὀνόματα			γράμματα	
Voc.	γράμματα	ὀνόματα			(γράμματα)	

Singular*Nominative, Accusative and Vocative**Neut.*

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-μα

The inherited ending -μα is used for the nominative, the accusative and the vocative throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

Nominative

τί ἐστιν σχίσμα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 30.18
 προφητικόν τὸ ρῆμα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 315
 σφάλμα γὰρ μέγαν ἦτον *Chron. Mor.* H 3882
 ἂν ἔν' τὸ γιόμα του κακόν *Arm.* 106 (= γεῦμα)
 ἰδοῦ τὸ σῶμα φαίνεται *Dig.* E 108
 εὐτύχησεν τὸ πρῶτο του τὸ κροῦσμα *Chron. Toc.* 169
 ἐβεβαιώθη τὸ πράγμα (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 302.57)
 ἦτον τὸ κτίσμα θαυμαστὸν *Velth.* 446 (Cupane)
 κ' ἔτρεχε τὸ αἶμα LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 525
 τὸ καῦμα γὰρ οὐκ ἴσχυεν *Achil.* O 191
 νὰ σὰς δώσει χάριν καὶ γνώσιν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 232.3–4
 ἦτονε πλάσμα του KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 336.41

τὸ στρώμα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 44.1

ἔτσι ἔγινε τὸ παρὸ γράμμα (1586, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 64, 54.17–18)

λεφτόκαρον τὸ στόμα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 8

τὸ κρίμα GERMANO, *Grammar* 62.22

τὸ τῆς ἀγίωσύνης ιδίωμα ἔστιν ἡ ταπεινοφροσύνη NIKON, *Prol.* 22.20–1

ὅλα ἦσαν λόγια εὐκαιρα, καύχημα τῶν Ρωμαίων *Chron. Mor.* H 3836

πορπάτημα τριῶν ἡμερῶν *Jonas* 216.68

ὥσάν σκιά καὶ φάντασμα διαβαίνει *Achil.* L 1289

ο οἶκος τοῦ ἐγίνετον ἀρπαγμα δημοσίου *Diig. Apoll.* 797

τὸ ἔντυμά τοῦ κόκκινον *Assizes* A 213.4

μὲ σώζει πρόγεμα *Krasop.* V 65

θέλει γένηται ἀνακάτωμα *Ekth. Chron.* 17.14

καθὼς μολογάει χερόγραμμά τοῦ (1549, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 51, 93.1)

ἦτονε χάλασμα (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 139, 109.12)

νά τουτονὲ τὸ χάρισμα! CHORTATSIS, *Katz* III.467

να σας ευφραίνει πάντοτε ... | το ευτελές μου πόνημα IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4391–2

στράτευμα ἐμαζώκτηκεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2338

ἔπαψε τὸ φούσκωμα τῆς θάλασσας EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 62.15–16

Accusative

κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν λεγομένων Εὐσταθιανῶν NIKON, *Logos* 1 94.19

μὲ ἀκάνθινον τὸ στέμμα *Chron. Mor.* H 110

ἤρκεψασιν τὸ πράγμα *Liv.* V 632

ὁμολογῶ τὸ κρίμα μου SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 339

κ' ἐποῖκα[ν] σχῆμα σιωπῆς BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 153

μὲ διῶμα καὶ κανάκι LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 162

ὡς πράμα ἐδικόν τοῦ (1539, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 5, 19.5–6)

τὸ ψέμα ἐσυντύχασιν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 494

νὰ ξεστοματίσει ἔτοιον ψόμα (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83.10)

στρώμα ἓνα (1662, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 31, 20.3)

διὰ πείσμα ἔσφαξε τὴν ἀνεψιὰ τοῦ δεσπότη EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 39.5–6

εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον ... δικαίωμα NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.27–8

νὰ ἔχη τὸ ἀνάθεμα (1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 619. 6)

εἰς τὸ σκῆνωμα SULT. WALAD, *Poem* I 8

εἰς φουσσάτεμα ν' ἀπέλθωμεν *Chron. Mor.* H 2704

εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἔγκρυμμα ἀπέθανεν (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 208.2.4)

τὸ βάδισμα, τὸ κίνημα καὶ τὴν πορπατησιάν τῆς *Velth.* 614 (Cupane)

τῶν ἵππων τὸ χλιμίτρισμα *Achil.* N 231

ἐποῖκεν τοῦ κάλεσμα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 198.29

τότες δουπιτιάζει διὰ τὸ περικοῦλιασμα *Fior* 103.30; τοῦτον κράζουν το κούρτσεμα *ibid.* 117.36

ἀπήδησε ἓνα ἀπήδημα μέγα NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 14.3

τὸ πάπλωμα ὅπου εἶχεν τάξει (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 37, 117.1–2)

τὸ κόνισμα ἔδωσα (1569, Crete?, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 4, 473.5)

στὸ φύτεμα (1619, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 1, 169.19)

πολὺ κρύωμα μὲ χιόνι ἔκαμεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.10–11

φίλημα δὲ μοῦ ἔδωσεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 443

διὰ παράδειγμα ἀλλουνῶν γυναικῶν (1696, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 2 [B'], 253.23)

νὰ τοῦ συνάζει τὸ ὁδόημα (1697, Chios, TSELIKAS 2000: 99, 77.10)

Vocative

οὐαί, αἶμα βασιλικόν, εἰς τὴν ντροπὴν γὰρ εἶσαι *Theseid* IV.24,3 (1529)
 στόμα μου μυρισμένο CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.195
 ὦ κρίμα PORTIUS, *Grammar* 18.35
 ὦ πρᾶγμα κακογέννητον *Bertoldos* 60.33
 ἀγλάισμα τοῦ στέφους | καὶ τῆς πορφύρας καύχημα *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 3–4
 χαῖρε, τράγε ... | καὶ βοθρακοῦ ἀποσκελλωμά | γραΐας μὲν αἶγας | ἀνακακάρωμα *Spanos* D
 31–2; ἔλθε ὧδε, κακότυχε, κακῆς μὲν ὥρας γέννημα *ibid.* 624
 ὦ Γεροσόλυμα πτωχόν FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 73 (< τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα)
 κι ἐσύ, Χρυσή μου, ζήση μου, μάκρεμα τῶ χρονῶ μου *Stathis* III.469
 σιώπα, μαγάρισμα! *Vios Aisop.* D 218.38
 χαῖρε ἄκουσμα τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ ὄνομα τῆς Δύσης *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 779
 σίγχαμα, μηδὲν ἔμπης μέσα *Vios Aisop.* D 218.18
 κάθαρμα *Vios Aisop.* K 152.6; ναί, βδέλυγμα *ibid.* 185.12
 μέγα καύχημα τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν (1652, Crete, TCHENTSOVA 2002: 1, 355.7)

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-μαν

The inherited ending -μα with an added final /n/ appears regularly in texts from the very beginning of the LMedG period, including mixed-register documents and texts such as the writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain, *Kallimachos* and *Ermoniakos*. Examples have been found in texts from all regions, usually alongside forms in -μα, though texts from south-eastern areas (Cyprus, Rhodes) show a marked preference for forms in -μαν. In verse texts the added /n/ may be editorial (avoidance of hiatus when the following word starts with a vowel):

Nominative

ἐγεγόνει τὸ παρὸν ... γράμμαν (1288, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 228.31)
 οὐδ' ἔν' τὸ γιόμαν μου κακὸν *Arm.* 111
 ἔφυγεν τὸ αἶμαν ἀπ' ἐκεῖνον *Liv.* V 3542
 ἐὰν ἦτον πρᾶμαν ἑτεσαῦτον *Assizes* B 299.3
 τὸ παρὸν γράμμαν ἐπεδώθη (1422, Meteora, VEIS 1911/12: 15, 54.19)
 τὸ πρᾶγμαν ἔναι μὲ τοιοῦτην στράταν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 65.3)
 εὐρέθη στρώμαν κείμενον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 798
 ὡς γοιὸν ἔναν μικρὸν πρᾶμαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 32.25
 καὶ ἐδιάβην τὸ πρᾶμαν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 44.8
 ἀλλὶ κρίμαν ὅπου ἔναι! BERGADIS, *Apok.* V and A 510
 τὸ κύμαν τὸν ἐπέρασεν τῆς Τρίπολης τὰ μέρη *Diig. Apoll.* 139
 εἶμαι χῶμαν τοῦ *Diig. Alex.* F 274.15 (Lolos)
 κρίμαν εἰν' νὰ χάσει CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.450
 νὰ ἔναι τὸ πρᾶμαν τοῦ ὅλον ἐκείνῳ (1645, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 10, 367.2)
 κεῖται ... βάσταγμαν λαρνακίου (1098–1103, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 48, 187.8)
 ὡς δὲ τὸ τίτιον μήνυμαν | ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κρατοῦντα *Eisit.* f.7v.1–2
 εἰ ἔστιν θέλημαν τοῦ κράτους σου (1231–2, Cyprus, BEIHAMMER 2007: 29, 181.49)
 ἀνάθεμαν τὰ γράμματα *Ptoch.* III 85

καὶ ἂν σ' ἔλθῃ ξενοδόχημαν *Flor.* L 1126 (Cupane)
 ἦρτεν τὸ ἀρμάτωμαν τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 208.1.2)
 χέρωμαν ἦτον δυνατὸν *Chron. Toc.* 2049
 ὅσον χάλκωμαν πωληθῇ (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 43, 75.8)
 ἰδοὺ καὶ σὲ τὸ τρόχωμαν τῆς τύχης περιφέρει [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 252
 τὸ διάστημα τῆς Ἀμοχούστου εἶνε κοντὰ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 438.24
 Ὀτμάνης τὸ ὄνομάν του (16th c. [ms], northern Aegean?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.II, 543.4.1–2)
 τὸ παλάτι του ἦτον ὅλο ἀγνὸ μάλαμαν μέσα *Diig. Alex.* K 359.33–4
 καὶ τ' ὄνομάν του νὰ κραστῇ ἡησοῦς εὐλογημένος *P&N Diath.* 1892
 τὸ ὄνομάν της Γαρδῖνα (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 436, 659.14)

Accusative

εἰς τὸ θέμαν (1027, Sparta, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 43, 301.19)
 ἐκ τὸ ὕδωρ ἢ ἐκ τὸ νάμαν NIKON, *Logos* 1 100.29 app. crit. (S)
 εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ κλεῖσμαν (1154–5, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 5, 79.6)
 καὶ ἔλαβαν γράμμαν (1288, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 227.17)
 φοβοῦμαι γὰρ τὸ στόμαν τῆς *Ptoch.* I 33
 καὶ μὴ δώσης ... αἶμαν ἀθῶο *Jonas* 214.37–8
 ἔ[χ]ει θέλημαν ἢ βασιλεία μου (14th c., Trebizond, GRÉGOIRE 1909: 2, 492.5)
 εἶδαμεν κάστρου κτίσμαν *Liv.* α 1000
 νὰ κάηκα ἐκ τὸ κάμαν *Katal.* 487
 οὐ παρεῖδεν τὸ πλάσμαν του (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 21.21)
 ὥς εἶδα τὸ γράμμαν σας (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.2)
 νὰ φαν γιόμαν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 46.12
 τὸ κλάμαν ἀρχινίζει MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 198
 ὅπου τὼς ἐπῆρεν τὸ πράμαν τως (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 180.50)
 νὰ φέρῃ τὸ γράμμαν (1613, Naxos, CHASIOTIS 1966: 15, 206.6)
 εἰς τὸ Χτήμαν (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.10–11); εἰς τὸ χῶμαν (1646, *ibid.* 5, 15.4)
 τάμαν νὰ τοῦ ποίσουν *Thrinis Kypr.* 176; ἔβαλά το εἰς γράμμαν *ibid.* 345
 ἴνα ἔχεις τ' ἀνάθεμαν (1027, Sparta, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 43, 301.36–7)
 εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον θέλημάν τε καὶ δικαίωμα NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.27–8
 καὶ ἐζητήσαμεν δικαίωμαν (1271, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 70, 201.27)
 ἔλαβον τὸ τίμημαν (1280, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 82, 48.6)
 καὶ δράμε ἐπὶ τὸ Πέραμαν *Ptoch.* IV 120
 πέτρα χάραμαν τετράγωνον ἔχουσα (1333, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 15, 75.12)
 μὲ ὅλον καὶ καλόν τως θέλημαν (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 47.11)
 ἔκτισεν τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφιά, τὸ θέαμαν τὸ μέγα *Anak. Konst.* 99
 χωρὶς τὸ θέλημάν τως (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 57.59)
 λογοκολάκευμαν ἤρξατο νὰ τὴν λέγῃ *Imber.* 276
 σφακέλωμαν ἐποῖκεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1165; μὲ τὸ κηποπότισμαν *ibid.* 1695
 δίχως τζαλούντζιασμαν *Assizes* A 6.1; νὰ πλερώσῃ τὸ πλέρωμαν *ibid.* 44.13
 εἰς τὸ ὄρωμαν του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36.26 (= ὄραμα)
 εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμαν *Pist. kekoim.* 75; καὶ κάμνει ὀλοκαύτωμαν *ibid.* 409
 νὰ ἔχουν κανέναν δικαίωμαν (1578/83, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 2, 1.16)
 νὰ σηκώσῃ τὸ πιά ἀλαφρὸν φόρτωμαν *Vios Aisop.* I 251.26
 (ἀφήνει ...) τὸ πάπλωμάν τῆς τὸ γερανιὸ (1628, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 2, 130.40)
 νὰ ἵνα εἰς τὸ θέλημάν ντου (1639, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 11, 113.45)
 θέλουν ἀπογράψου ἑκατὸ τὸ ὄνομάν τως (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 88.17)

Vocative

ὦ στόμαν ὁποῦ ᾿διάτασσε FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 367

σκόρπισε, χῶμαν ἄλαλον! BERGADIS, *Apok.* V and A 110

ἔτσι τὸν χαίρετῃσε· βαθρακοῦ ἀποσκελλῶμαν *Spanos* A 10

Neut.

Sg.	Nom. & Acc.	-μας

Addition of /s/ to the -μα ending occurs with certain paroxytone words (αἷμα, κρῖμα, χῶμα) in both the nominative and the accusative. CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: B 462) considers them to be formed on the analogy of κρέας, presumably on the basis of their similar plural and genitive formations (κρέατα, αἷματα, κρέατος, αἵματος). Examples have been found in texts from south-western regions from the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Armouris* 1461):

τὸ αἷμας του νὰ πίνω *Arm.* 180 app. crit. (C) (Eideneier) (Athenian scribe living in Euboeia)

νὰ χύσομε τὸ αἷμας (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.5)

κρίμας στο ψοῦνι CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.73; κρίμας στο νιο *ibid.* III.539

καὶ τίς ἐγεμίσανε χῶμας *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 79.23; ἔδραμε τὸ αἷμας ἕως εἰς τὴν θάλασσα *ibid.*

133.13–14; εἰς τὸ αἷμας τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ὀτωμάνου *ibid.* 137.37–8

Genitive

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-ματος ὁ -ματος

The most common ending for the genitive singular is the inherited ending -ματος. It appears in texts from all areas, though it is perhaps interesting to note that the genitive singular of nouns in -μα is not very frequent in texts from the northern mainland: Papasynadinos has only nine instances, five in the stock phrase ὦ τοῦ θαύματος and the other four in biblical contexts. Kallioupolitis, too, has only 20 examples in his translation of the *New Testament*. Romanos Nikiforou in his grammar overlooked the paradigm altogether, although he does have a few examples of -ματος in other contexts:

ἀπὸ στόματος εἶπες με NIKON, *Logos* 31 810.8

ἀσθενείων τοῦ σώματος (1105, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 8, 397.29)

ὦ τοῦ μεγάλου πτώματος *Ptoch.* IV 346; καὶ θήσῃ τὰ τοῦ κλάηματος *ibid.* 487

ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματός του *Dig.* E 1743

τοῦ αὐτοῦ τάγματος (1432, Corfu, ASONITIS 1996/97: 3, 29.32)

κανενοῦ πράγματος *Assizes* A 102.12

τοῦ δόσματος [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 568

τοῦ στέμματος *Achil.* N 351

τὸ κρίμαν τοῦ αἵματος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 208.31

ὦ του θαύματος! DIONYS., *Istor.* 253.23

τοῦ παρὸν γράμματος (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 54.31)

τὸ πρᾶγμα, τοῦ πράγματος SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 43.21

διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 23.139)

διὰ τοῦ παρόντος νοταριακοῦ γράμματος (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 26, 84.5–6)

εἵχε κίνησιν αἵματος KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 9.20

τοῦ γράμματος SPANOS, *Grammar* 31.26
 μέχρι τοῦ βαστάματος (1073, Miletos, VRANOUSI 1980: 50, 18.286)
 τοῦ λακκοστάματος (1090–4, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 45, 162.25)
 παντὸς χριστιανικοῦ συστήματος NIKON, *Logos* 1 68.12
 παῦσε τοῦ ἀνασθενάγματος *Liv.* E 3679
 ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ μαλάγματος *Liv.* V 292; ἀπὸ συβάματος *ibid.* 2644
 ἐκείνου τοῦ παραπτώματος *Assizes* B 280.30
 μετὰ ὀρισμὸν προστάγματος *Diig. tetr.* 697
 μετὰ ἀγιάσματος STAFIDAS, *Iatrosaf.* 9.243
 τοῦ συμβάματος *Chron. Toc.* 30; τέχνη ἐπιτηδεύματος *ibid.* 393
 διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 66.2
 τοῦ κακοῦ συναντήματος *Spanos* D 624–5
 μετὰ θυμιάματος *Pist. kekoim.* 408–9
 τοῦ μαγερέματος ROMANOS, *Grammar* 116.26
 τοῦ κεντρίσματος LANDOS, *Geopon.* 150.2
 νὰ ᾔναι τοῦ ἀναθέματος (1667, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1960: II.A 6, 123.12)
 τοῦ ὀνόματος EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 42.8

A form with raising of (unstressed) /o/ to /u/ in the last syllable (see I, 2.5.4) has been found in a method for learning Arabic. This form shows that no second stress was present, or /o/ would not have become /u/:¹⁴⁴ τοῦ πνεύματος μου (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 148.4d).

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-μάτου ἢ -ματος

This alternative ending, which borrows /u/ from the 2nd declension, had come into being long before the LMedG period (GIGNAC 1981: 44 records a form γεννημάτου in a 2nd/3rd-c. papyrus). It is almost as frequent as the inherited ending -ματος (see above). Texts from Crete show a marked preference for this ending over inherited -ματος (see above), and it is noteworthy that it is the only ending in Germano's Grammar (Chios). The shift of the stress to the penultimate is nearly always observed:

διὰ γραμμάτου NIKON, *Logos* 31 810.17
 τερμάτου (1165, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 168, 221.14)
 τοῦ κλημάτου *Katal.* 347
 τοῦ πραγμάτου *Assizes* A 51.8
 χαίμοῦ σωμαίου *Deft. Par.* 263
 τοῦ πραγμάτου *Fior* 74.15
 ἐξ ὕδωρ καὶ χωμάτου SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 5
 τοῦ στρωμάτου (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 50, 87.30)
 τὸ στρώμα, τοῦ στρωμάτου SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 44.1–2
 χωράφιν τοῦ αἱμάτου SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 17.48
 τοῦ λεγόμενου πραγμάτου (1602, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 8, 163.29)
 μετὴν ἐκκλησά τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνευμάτου (1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 174, 185–6.6)

¹⁴⁴ It seems very unlikely that this rare instance would constitute an intermediate form between πνεύματος and πνευμάτου (as proposed by HENRICH 1990: 370).

τοῦ κριμάτου GERMANO, *Grammar* 62.22 and PORTIUS, *Grammar* 18.33

τῇ τιμῇ τοῦ πραμάτου (1656, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 21, 30.15)

τοῦ χωμάτου BOUNIALIS M., *Kat. ofel.* 1

ῶρα ἀνατελμάτου *Chron. Mor.* H 5053

τοῦ εἰκονισμάτου *Pol. Tr.* 515; τοῦ θελημάτου *ibid.* 1660

τοῦ θελημάτου *Liv.* E 452

πλερωμάτου *Assizes B* 250.22; τοῦ χαρισμάτου *ibid.* 265.6; ἄνευ κανενοῦ κωλυμάτου *ibid.* 468.30–1

ῶρα τοῦ προγεμάτου *Achil.* L 100

εἰς το *Βιβλίον του Ελαττωμάτου Anthos* Ch. G 181.1

ἐκ τοῦ θυμιαμάτου *Diig. tetr.* 333

λάδι του μυρωμάτου *Laikos Akath.* 9; του αγιασμάτου *ibid.* 10

συνεβασμάτου *Assizes A* 48.21; τοῦ ἀναγιωμάτου *ibid.* 200.5–6

εἶμαι μερτικάρης τοῦ μάλλωμάτου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 322.3; τοῦ ἄρματωμάτου σας *ibid.* 354.15

με τον κοντοστάβλην του ἱεροσολυμάτου VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 280.14 (< τὰ ἱεροσόλυμα)

κανενοῦ διλιτιασμάτου *Fior* 82.31 (< διλιτιάζω < Occit. *delectar*)

περὶ ἄρραβωνητικοῦ συναλλαγμάτου (1514, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 46, 55.3)

τοῦ ῥονισμάτου (1569, Crete?, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 4, 473.3–4)

τοῦ χαλασμάτου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.328; τοῦ κατουρημάτου *ibid.* III.70

ἦτονε ὄνειροφαντασμάτου *Thysia Avr.* 699

τοῦ καλεσμάτου KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1445

Forms without a shift of the stress are very rare. In the following example it clearly serves to accommodate the metre (verse end) and rhyme: πὸκάμναν δόξα τοῦ ὀνόματός μας KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.600 (rhymes with ἐδικούς μας).

Addition of final /n/ is very rare, but may sporadically be found in texts from Naxos, where the addition of non-etymological final /n/ is rather common (see I, 3.7.2.1.3): ὀλονοῦ τοῦ πραμάτου (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 76, 231.6).

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-ματιοῦ

Although it cannot be excluded that the following forms are derived from the diminutive forms στρωμάτι(ο)ν and γεννημάτι(ο)ν rather than στρῶμα and γέννημα, these may be early examples of the ending -ματιοῦ, which is now characteristic of Peloponnesian and other dialects (see GEORGACAS 1951 for details; and cf. KARATSAREAS 2011: 123–4 for similar developments in Cappadocian): τοῦ στρωματιοῦ (1662, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 31, 21.6); γεννηματιοῦ (1662, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 30, 20.4). Cf. gen. pl. φορτωματίων below and see 2.24.1 for similar forms of κρέας, κέρας and φῶς (derived from their dental stems).

Plural*Nominative, Accusative and Vocative**Neut.*

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ματα -ματαν

There is no real variation in the nom., acc. and voc. pl. endings: the inherited ending -ματα is the only one used. Paroxytone nouns show no shift of the stress (πρᾶγμα > πράγματα); with proparoxytone nouns the stress shifts to the antepenultimate (ὄνομα > ὀνόματα). Predictably, not many examples have been found of the vocative outside of grammars:

Nominative

- ὡς πρὸς αὐτῶν τὰ σχήματα ἦτασιν *Liv.* V 886
 νὰ δοθοῦν ὀπισθεν καὶ τὰ πράγματα (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 273.15)
 ψέματα ἦτον ὁ λόγος (1487, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 16, 87.10–11); τὰ πράματα νὰ πᾶσιν
 καλὰ (1487, Rhodes, *ibid.* 18, 96.6–7)
 μάθετε πῶς παρέρχονται τὰ πράγματα τοῦ κόσμου *Achil.* N 1915
 ἐσχίστησα τὰ σώματα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1984
 ψέματα τῶν ψεμάτων, ὅλα εἶνε ψέματα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.12
 τὰ ὁποῖα ρήματα γράφονται διὰ στίχου *Alosis tit.*
 ἐχάλασεν τὰ ἔξω κτίσματα (16th c., northern Aegean?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.II, 544.8.3)
 ἂν ἦθελαν μπεῖ κτήματα (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 150, 239.5–6)
 ἀπουκάτω ρέμα, ἀποπάνω μνήματα (17th c., Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 33, 185.4)
 ὅσα πράματα εὔρεθηκάν (1697, Chios, TSELIKAS 2000: 99, 77.12)
 θαύματα ξεθαύματα, ἐγὼ δεν ηξεύρω *Don Kis.* 162.25
 λέγονται τὰ ἀναγνώσματα NIKON, *Logos* 1 48.17
 πετσώματα, πετσία *Ptoch.* II 36
 ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ὀνόματα τῶν Τουρκῶν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 4.10 app. crit. (N)
 ἐνὶ παλαιοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀποκλάσματα *Paroim.* E 59
 εἶναι καλὰ καμώματα, Χάρο μου, τὰ ἐποῖκες; LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 202
 πολλὰ χαιρετίσματα (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 26.2)
 ὅλα τὰ εἰσοδίσματα *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 131
 περάσοντας τα συναπαντήματα τοῦ χρόνου (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 55.224–5)
 νὰ μνημονεύονται ὀνόματα (1648, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (8), 153.17)
 τὰ ὀνόματά μου εἶναι πολλά FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 17
 ἂν εἶναι ... τῆς ψυχρᾶς γεννήματα (1665, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-
 THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 172.12)
 ἦρταν τὰ φορτώματα (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.8–9)

Accusative

- ἐὰν δὲ ἐκλεψεν κεφαλαίωδη κλέμματα NIKON, *Logos* 3 190.11–12
 ἄρματα ἐβαστοῦσαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1471
 καὶ ἐνέγνωθεν τὰ γράμματα *Dig.* E 303
 κακὸς εἰς τὰ ἄρματά του *Pol. Tr.* 1452
 εἰς τὰ ἄνωθεν πράματα (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.27–8)
 νὰ ἔχουν τὰ πράματά των (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 117.21)
 ἐσύχναζε εἰς γιόματα *Velth.* 1053 (< γεῦμα)
 ἀπὸ τὰ στόματά των FALIEROS, *Thrinos* 7

ἐχάλασεν τὰ ἔξω κτίσματα (16th c., northern Aegean?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.II, 544.8.3)
κόπτει τὰ δέματα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.35–6
ἀπὸ τὰ κλήματα (1572, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 1, 17.11)
ρουφιὰνα δίχως ψόματα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.220
ἐφέραν τα με κλάματα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 892
κ' ἔκαμνεν θαύματα πολλὰ KONDAR., *Paidēs* 42
(εἶχε δώσει ...) γῆς καὶ κλήματα (1680, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 255, 231.7)
με ... ἄρματα λαμπερὰ EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 19.2–3
μην ηξεύροντας τί ψεύματα να ειπεῖ πλέον *Don Kis.* 112.17

καὶ τώρα τὰ νομίσματα γέμει τὰ μανοηλάτα *Ptoch.* III 65
προστάγματα τοῦ ἐποίκασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 316
με τὰ δικαιώματα (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 277.7)
ἀπὲ τ' ἀναστενάσματα *Liv.* E 16
φοβοῦμαι τὰ συμβάματα *Liv.* V 1092
νὰ εἶδες, σκατοποντικέ, γυρίσματα τοῦ κάτου *Diig. tetr.* 144
εἰς πόσα πηδήματα νὰ φθάση ὁ σκύλος τὸν λαγῶν (15th c., Unknown, SEARBY 2003: 11, 698.3)
πολλὰ προσκυνήματα ἀπὸ ἑμέναν τὸν υἱόν σας (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.2)
με πολλὰ περισσέματα *Assizes A* 30.28
νὰ πῶ τὰ ποιήματα ἐκείνους *Fior* 83.35
νὰ σύρνωμεν βαρέματα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 973; ὁκάτι ψιθυρίσματα λαλεῖ *ibid.* 1164
πόσα βρουχίσματα ἔποικε *Byz. Il.* 118
τοὺς δεσμούς καὶ τὰ κρατήματά σου *Plani kosmou* 58
ὅ,τι καλυτερίσματα ἠθέλασι κάμει (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.9–10); νὰ
ῥχουν κτισμένα τὰ λεγόμενα καταλύματα (1601, *ibid.* 122, 135.8–9)
με γλυκεῖα φιλήματα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1202
σκανδαλανακατώματα κάμνουσι ... | ἐχθοροδιαβολοπείσματα NEOFYOTOS, *Achouri* 237–8
εἰς τα χαρίσματα *Don Kis.* 112.19

Addition of final /n/ has been found in a document from Naxos, an area where the addition of a non-etymological final /n/ across parts of speech is quite common (see I, 3.7.2.1.3): εἰς τὰ πράματάν της (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.10).

Vocative

εὐχομαι, τέκνα μου καλὰ, θρέμματα τῆς ψυχῆς μου *Achil.* N 1530
ὦ πνεύματα πονηρά, ἐξέλθατε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 391.4
ὦ πράγματα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 43.22
ὦ κρίματα PORTIUS, *Grammar* 18.35
ὦ γράμματα SPANOS, *Grammar* 31.26

κ' ἐσεῖς, ἀναστενάματά μου, δέτε *Cypr. Canz.* 40.3

Genitive

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-μάτων ἰ -μάτω ἰ -μάτωνε

The inherited ending -μάτων is the only ending for the genitive plural. Both paroxytone and proparoxytone nouns undergo a shift of the stress to the penultimate:

- τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μάθησιν (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 27.220–1)
 τὴν ποιότητα μὲν τῶν βρωμάτων NIKON, *Logos* 1 124.16
 τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 319
 τὴν ταφήν ... εὐαγῶν σωμάτων *Dig.* G VIII.300
 διὰ λατινικῶν γραμμάτων (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.4–5)
 οἱ κόρες τῶν ὀμμάτων σου *Diig. tetr.* 149
 κι οἱ στάξες τῶν αἱμάτων σου FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 47
 καμπόσους λᾶς τῶν ἄρμάτων MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 106.27
 με το ἔμπα και το ἔβγα των κυμάτων *Kaloandros* 406.10
 ἐγὼ εἶμαι θεραπευτὴς τῶν ρημάτων VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 40.4–5
 ἄνδρες αἱμάτων DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 1095
 τῶν ἄλλωνῶ πραγμάτων (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 311, 510.8)
 στῶν σφαλμάτων τοὺς γκρεμνοὺς KATSAITIS, *Thyest. Prol.* 74
- τῶν τριῶν καθισμάτων NIKON, *Logos* 1 64.12–13
 γῆν νομισμάτων πεντήκοντα (1387, Athens?, BUCHON 1843: XL, 221.2–3)
 τῶν λαβωμάτων SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 46.19
 πασῶν τῶν δικαιωμάτων (1440, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 22, 225.13)
 εἰς ἀπολογία τῶν ζητημάτων (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 302.69)
 τῶν μετανωμάτων *Assizes A* 117.4
 τῶν ἀκροπυργωμάτων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 181
 τῶν ἀπογεννημάτων (1539, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 964, 755.5)
 ἡ δῖφα τῶν ἱερῶν μαθημάτων *Pist. kekoim.* 12
 τῶν πλημμελημάτων MOREZINOS, *Klini* 77.23
 ἐρώτησες περὶ ἁμαρτημάτων ἀνδρῶν (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.25)
 των ηρωικῶν μου κατορθωμάτων *Don Kis.* 4.16

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in texts from Crete and the Cyclades (Naxos). In Cretan literary texts the omission of final /n/ is sometimes the result of intervention by modern editors, who seek to correct what they consider to be scribal conservatism. Such instances have not been included here. The single example from Machairas has a phonological rather than a morphological explanation, namely absence of gemination, as the following word starts in /n/ (see I, 3.4). It cannot be excluded that the sole example in the Paris ms of the *Chronicle of Morea* is a writing mistake:

- εἰς ἄρμάτω συμμαχίαν *Chron. Mor.* P 2007
 βάλει καὶ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἄρμάτω νὰ τὸν βλέπουσιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 106.36
 ἄλλονῶ πραγμάτω (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 59, 72.2)
 πλιὰ παρὰ τῷ γραμμάτω *Stathis* III.185
 τὸ στούντιο τῷ γραμμάτω *P&N Diath.* 39
 τῶν μπραμάτω (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 482.13)
 τῶν ἄρμάτω οἱ ταραχές KORNAROS *Erot.* I. 5; ἡ φύση τῶν πραγμάτω *ibid.* III.1278 etc.
 τω γλυκοφιλημάτω CHORTATISIS, *Panor.* IV.313

Addition of $-(\nu)\epsilon$ occurs in a document from the Heptanese (see I, 2.6.3.1): τοῦ μπραμάτῳνε (1644, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 296, 233.5) (for the article τοῦ see 5.2.1).

Neut.

Pl.	gen.	-ματίων

The following example may be an instance of the alternative ending $-\muατίων$, which is now characteristic of Pontic (OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 149–50; and cf. KARATSAREAS 2011: 123–4 for similar developments in Cappadocian) and in its extended form $-\muατιῶνε$ of the Peloponnesian dialects (PANDELIDIS, forthcoming); however, it cannot be excluded entirely that this is an instance of an otherwise unattested word $*\phiορτωμάτι(ο)ν$ (in this context the word does not mean “load”, but denotes some kind of measure): κάδη μια φορτωματίων η’ (1682, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 3, 671.9).

2.21.2 Transfers to Other Paradigms

Neuter nouns in $-\muα$ do not usually transfer to other paradigms, with the exception of a regional variant in $-\muατον$, formed from the plural in $-\muατα$, which has been found only of the word ἄρμα (< Lat. *arma*) in texts from Cyprus: ἐβγάλλει τὸ μαχαῖρίν του, ἢ ἕτερον ἄρματον *Assizes A* 226.33; πᾶσα ἄρματον *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 238.21; ἐφέρον πᾶσα λογὴν ἄρματον *ibid.* 426.30–1; μηδὲν τορμήσει τινὰς να βαστάξει ἄρματον *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 186.16; να μεν βαστάξει ἄρματον *ibid.* 258.18 and 308.1, *id., Chron. B* 247.14 and *M* 247.14.

2.22 Neuter Nouns in $-\muο(ν)$

The singular of this paradigm is originally derived from the substantivized use of the neuter of AG adjectives in $-\muος$ (CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: A 164–72), e.g. φύξιμος > τὸ φύξιμον (in Homer); δράσιμος > τὸ δράσιμον (in Aeschylus); θύσιμος > τὸ θύσιμον (in Plutarch). The ending $-\muο(ν)$ becomes productive as an ending in its own right in the medieval period (CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: A 178), creating new words such as κρίσιμον, στέψιμον, δέξιμον and others, all derived from perfective verb stems: ἀνατρέψει τὰ ἴδια κρίσιμα καὶ τοὺς λόγους *AHMET, Oneirocriticon* 137.3 (9th c.; oldest ms 11th/12th c.; see *LBG s.v.*); καὶ ποιοῦσι δέξιμον *De Ceremoniis* 482.21 (10th c.; ed. Reiske); τοῦ στεψίμου καὶ στεφανώματος αὐτῶν *ibid.* 632.7; εἰς τὸ σάξιμον τῆς τραπέζης *ibid.* 778.3–4; εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ δέξιμον ἐπιτελοῦνται πάντα τὰ δέξιμα *ibid.* 93.10 (ed. Vogt, vol. 2). In the same period these words start to form new alternative endings, modelled on the $-\muα$ paradigm (SOPHOCLES, *Lex.* 35; JANNARIS 1897: 126; CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: A 179; HORROCKS ²2010: 283), for the genitive singular and for the plural: gen. sg. $-\muάτου/-ιματος$; nom. and acc. pl. $-\ιματα$; gen. pl. $-\ιμάτων$: τὰ δεξιματα τῶν βασιλέων *Parastaseis syntomoi* 67.3 (8th/9th c.; 11th-c. ms; ed. Preger); ὅλα τὰ πλείονα αὐτοῦ μετασασίματα *De Ceremoniis* 51.14; εἰς τὰ

μεταστασίματα Theoph. Cont., *Chronogr.* 430.2 (10th c.; 11th-c. ms; ed. Bekker); πολλά δικάσιματα καὶ συνζητήσεις ἐσχηκότες (1080, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 40, 225.8). For more examples see MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 436; PSALTES 1913: 176. In the period covered by this Grammar these endings become even more productive, generating various new words. SMG retains some of those formed from verbs with a sigmatic aorist stem that express a verbal action (e.g. γράψιμο “writing”, κλάψιμο “crying”, τρέξιμο “running”), but not the non-sigmatic ἔλθιμο(ν)/ἔρτιμο(ν) “arrival”, nor those medieval nouns that denote objects or abstract notions (e.g. πλεύσιμο(ν) “ship”, δόσιμο(ν) “gift”, κρίσιμο(ν) “court case”).

Unlike most nouns, neuter nouns in -ιμο(ν) do not tend to transfer to other paradigms, not even to the /ma(n)/ paradigm, from which, as noted, they only borrow certain endings. A likely reason for this is the fact that nouns in -ιμο(ν) mostly express a verbal action, whereas those in -μα(ν) express a result (cf. κτίσιμο(ν) “(the act of) building” versus κτίσμα “edifice”).¹⁴⁵

	General	Rare
Singular		
Nom.	γράφιμο(ν)	
Gen.	γραφίματος γραφιμάτου	γραφίμου ἢ γράψιμου
Acc.	γράφιμο(ν)	
Voc.	(γράφιμο(ν))	
Plural		
Nom.	γραφίματα	γράψιμα
Gen.	γραφιμάτων	γραφίμων
Acc.	γραφίματα	γράψιμα
Voc.	(γραφίματα)	(γράψιμα)

Singular

Nominative, Accusative and Vocative

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ιμο(ν)

¹⁴⁵ The single ostensible exception, τάπισα τοῦ ππέσιμάν του attested in *Fior Suppl.* 273.9–10, appears to be a textual corruption, as a genitive in -μα(ν) would be unique. We should probably read: τοῦ ππεσιμάτου. The lemma πέσιμαν in ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, *Lex.* confuses forms of πέσμα(ν) and πέσιμο (pl. πεσίματα). With the exception of the problematic genitive in *Fior Suppl.*, πέσιμα(ν) is otherwise unattested.

This ending is used for the nominative, the accusative and potentially the vocative, of which, predictably, no examples have been found. In our written sources it is more common with the final /n/ than without:

Nominative

ἐάν οὐδὲν γένεται κράξιμον (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 61.192)
 ἐάν γὰρ οὐκ ἐγυρεύετο ράψιμον *Ptoch. III* 161
 τὸ μέψιμον ἔρχετον εἰς ἐμέναν *Chron. Mor.* H 7656
 τοιοῦτον κρίσιμον μέλλει νὰ κριθῇ *Assizes B* 376.11
 πέσιμον τοῦ Γιοσοῦμπεκη *Chron. Toc.* 440cap
 τὸ φταίσιμο θέλει εἶσται ἀποῦ τὴν μεγάλην σου αὐθεντίαν (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.9–10)
 τίνος ἐν' τὸ πέσιμον *Liv.* α 865
 τὸ κράξιμον ψυχὴν ἐξανεσπᾶτο [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1625; ὁ κόπος καὶ τὸ σκάψιμον *ibid.* 2344
 πολλὰ δυσνόητον τὸ κρίσιμον ὑπάρχει *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1061
 τὸ κάτζιμόν σου εἰς τὴν Λευκωσίαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 372.11
 εἶναι τὸ κλάψιμόν τους *Theseid II*.16,2 (1529)
 τὸ ρίξιμον τῶν κακῶν ἔργων *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 6, ζ6v.25 (1561)
 τὸ παύσιμον τοῦ κακοῦ *MOREZINOS, Klini* 259.15
 βλάψιμο τσ' ἴδιας φύσης *CHORTATSI, Erof.* II.484; τὸ φταίσιμό μου *ibid.* IV.365
 ὥσπερ σκιάξιμον νὰ τὰ φοβερίζω *Vios Aisop.* K 152.13–14
 ὅλον το παταίσιμον εἶναι ἐδικόν του *Martyr. Nikif.* 251.31
 τὸ κλαύσιμον καὶ τὸ τρίξιμον τῶν ὁδόντων *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 25.30
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἦταν βαρὺ το σφάλσιμό τους *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 5047
 ἀποφασίζουν ὅτι εἶναι βγάλσιμον *GAVRILOP., Diig. panouklas* 97.27
 τόσον κόψιμον καὶ αἵματοχυσία ἐγινεν *Alex. Fyll.* 54.15

Accusative

καὶ πλύσιμον οὐ δέχεται *Ptoch. IV* 116
 τὸ ἔλθιμον του μπάιλου *Chron. Mor.* H 6562
 καὶ τὸ ἔρτιμον τὸ δικό σας ἐχάραμεν το (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.4)
 εἰς τὸ στέψιμον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 214.3; εἰς τὸ κάτζιμον τῆς πρώτης πέτρας *ibid.* 592.12
 εἶνα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαπητικὸν σμίξιμον *Fior* 78.22–3; εἰς τὸ φωνάξιμον τοῦ φτωχοῦ *ibid.* 139.34
 νὰ μηδὲν δώσουν κανένα δόσιμον (1523–36, Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 36.II, 295.29.7–8)
 νὰ καταλάβετε καὶ τὸ λείψιμον τοῦ λόγου *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 8, θ1v.38 (1561)
 καὶ κρίσιμο δὲν ἔδιδε *Stathis III*.59
 παρακινούμενοι ἀπὸ τὸ κοιτάξιμον *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 36
 περισσότερον μοῦ ἔξίζει νὰ τὸ μάθω ἐτοῦτο παρὰ τὸ βρέσιμον *Vios Aisop.* I 270.32
 στὸ κτίσιμο (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 84, 87.26)
 ἀπὸ λίθον ... ἢ ἄλλο κρούσιμον *LANDOS, Geopon.* 264.14
 τὸ φεύξιμο νὰ μάθουσιν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 874
 τέτοιον φταίσιμον (1684, Naxos, SIFONIU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 475, 699.4)
 ὅποιος ταράξη τὸ δέσιμο (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 8, f.43v.3)
 δὲν ἤφηνα τὸ ράψιμο *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.986; τὸ τρέξιμον ἀναζητοῦν *ibid.* IV.1654
 ἀπὸ ... τὸ σείσιμο τῶν κανονίων *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 58.18–19
 τρελὸς διὰ δέσιμον *Don Kis.* 208.31–2; ἀπὸ το ξηροβήξιμον καὶ πτύσιμον *ibid.* 255.31–2

*Genitive**Neut.*

Sg.	Gen.	-ίματος

This ending is modelled, as noted in the introduction to this section, on the -μα(ν) paradigm (for which see 2.21):

ἀνευ φταισίματος μας *Chron. Mor.* H 5130
 λόγους ὡς δικασίματος *Liv.* α 365, *Liv.* V 333 and *Velis.* χ 411
 φοβοῦμαι ἐκ πεσίματος (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 109.2d)
 τοῦ στασίματος σου (17th c. [ms], Unknown, DELATTE 1924: 10, 79.16)
 τιμωρίαν του πταισίματος του *Don Kis.* 116.4–5

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-ίματος

Forms in -ίματος, with a shift of the stress to the penultimate, are no less common than those in -ίματος. This ending, too, is modelled on the alternative ending -μάτου of the -μα(ν) paradigm (2.21):

περὶ κανενοῦ δικασίματος *Assizes* B 438.28
 τοῦ ριψίματος *Assizes* A 47.30
 εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ στεψίματος του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 320.22–3; μετὰ τὰ καρτὰ τοῦ
 ραψίματος *ibid.* 540.30
 ὀκαζὶν γκαλεσίματος (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 130, 143.15–16)
 μετὰ μαστορίαν πολλήν τοῦ κτισίματος KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.394

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-ίμου ἢ -ιμου

The old ending -ίμου, with a shift of the stress to the penultimate, is used sporadically. In verse texts it sometimes occurs without a shift of the stress:¹⁴⁶ δι' ἄλλου πλευσίμου SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 94.17; τάσσιμου αἰτία FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 163 app. crit. (N); τοῦ κλάψιμου καὶ θρήνου *Theseid* III 41,4 (1529).

Plural*Nominative, Accusative and Vocative**Neut.*

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ίματα

¹⁴⁶In the following examples from the *Pentateuch*, written in Hebrew script, the position of the stress is uncertain as its notation is editorial: τοῦ κλάψιμου του *Pent.* Gen. 50.4; τοῦ φταισίμου *ibid.* Lev. 5.9.

This ending, borrowed, as noted in the introduction to this section, from the -μα(ν) paradigm (for which see 2.21), is the most common ending for the nominative, the accusative and potentially the vocative, of which, unsurprisingly, no examples have been found:

Nominative

πλευσίματά ῥχονται πολλὰ ZINOS, *Alex. Rim. Epil.* 17
 ἐρχονται τα κάτεργα και όλα τα πλευσίματα *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1631) 232.21–2
 αὐτὰ εἶναι τὰ ταξίματα τῶν φιλοσόφων *Vios Aisop.* D 232.35
 πλυσίματα ποτηρίων KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 7.4
 πλευσίματα οκτακόσια IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2087

Accusative

γράφει ὁ νοτάριος καὶ τὰ ταξίματα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 63.9)
 βαψίματα, ραψίματα *Ptoch. II* 36
 ἐκάτσαν εἰς κρίσιματα *Chron. Mor.* H 7519
 εἰς τὰ ἄλλα κρίσιματα *Assizes A* 66.16
 ὁμοίως καὶ ... τὰ κοψίματα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 506.31
 ἐπῆραν και τα γραψίματα VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 178.13
 εἰς τὰ κρυφοκλεψίματα *Fyll. gadar.* 146
 τὰ ἀπομονάρια εὐτιασίματά του (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 703, 546.12)
 πῶς νὰ πληρώσει τὰ βασιλικά δοσίματα DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 4, γ8r.26–7 (1561)
 (νὰ δίδωμεν ...) τα πολλὰ δοσίματα MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2576
 εἰς τὰ στασίματα *Bertoldin.* 109.33
 εἰς τὰ ψαλσίματά σου PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §1.15; μερικά βλαψίματα *ibid.* III §4.6
 ἔκοπτε τὰ δεσίματα KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 8.29
 ἀπό τα συδοσίματα αὐτά IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4231
 θυμήσου τὰ ταξίματα VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 14
 διὰ ἄλλα πολλὰ πταισίματα (1689?, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 868, 1161.30)
 εἰς ὅλα τὰ κρίσιματα (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 303.52)
 τὰ κτισίματα φυσὰ τα KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.126
 διὰ τὲς κακὲς τοὺς πράξεις καὶ φερσίματα EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 43.15–16; με χίλιες
 παρακάλεσες, ταξίματα καὶ δοσίματα *ibid.* 46.2–3
 με τέτοια δεσίματα *Don Kis.* 108.2–3

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ιμα

The old ending -ιμα is used sporadically: εἰς παραστάσιμα καὶ λειτουργίας SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 32.8; ἦσανε τὰ εὐρέσιμά του θαυμαστά MOREZINOS, *Klini* 19.37.

Genitive

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-ιμάτων

Although not many examples have been found, -ιμάτων, with a shift of the stress to the penultimate, is the most common ending for the genitive plural:

περὶ τῶν δικασιμάτων *Assizes* B 349.9

τῶν ἄλλων κρισιμάτων *Assizes* A 112.12

ἔξοδες ἐγκαλεισμάτων (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 2, 25.5)

τῶν γραφισμάτων MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 239.47

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-ίμων

The old ending -ίμων is used sporadically in mixed-register texts: τετρακοσίων πλευσίμων ὄντων SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 132.7; ἐρχόμενοι μετὰ των πλευσίμων *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* 232.43.

2.23 Neuter Nouns in -ος

The paradigms in this section include a large group of inherited nouns such as paroxytone βάθος, βάρος, ἦθος, θράσος, κράτος, λάθος, etc. as well as innovative paroxytone nouns derived directly from verbs (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 62–4) such as γράφος (Cypri.), δέϊλος, ἔλθος, σκέπος, στέργος, φοῦμος (< φουμίζω < φημίζω), and a plural θώρη (< θωρῶ);¹⁴⁷ nouns formed by analogy with nouns in the same semantic field, e.g. ψῆλος (cf. ὕψος, βάθος, πλάτος, μάκρος); and nouns formed from foreign loanwords: ἰνκάντος (< Ven. *in-canto*), κάρος (< Ven. *caro*); κόστος (< Ven. *costo*), ρέστος (< Ven. *resto*), φοῦντος (< Ven. *fondo*); πάττος (< Ital. *patto*); φόρος (< Ital. *foro*). The paradigms also include proparoxytone inherited nouns such as μέγεθος, ὄφελος, πέλαγος, etc., which are, however, few in number, rarer in use, and display less variation in endings.

Already in AG there was a certain degree of interaction between this paradigm and others, which continues to manifest itself throughout the Postclassical, Medieval and Early Modern Greek periods (REINHOLD 1898: 53–7; GIGNAC 1981: 43–4; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 36–46). Thus 2nd-declension masculine nouns in /os/ may change gender and develop alternative neuter forms in /os/. Some had done so long ago, e.g.:

τὸ σκότος (< ὁ σκότος), which can already be found in the 5th c. BC (see LSJ s.v.) and continues to exist until well into the modern period: ἦρθεν τὸ σκότος KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.655;

τὸ βύθος (< ὁ βυθός), in Demosthenes (4th c. BC) (see the online *TLG*) and is still in use today, e.g. στο βύθος κατεπόντισαν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 3052;

τὰ βράχη (τὸ βράχος < ὁ βράχος) in Strabo and Diodorus Siculus (1st c. BC) (see the online *TLG*) and well into the EMG period, e.g. πορπατώντας τὰ βράχη (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 146.9);

¹⁴⁷ This type of word formation is older than CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: B 63) realized. For example, τὸ βλέπος can be found in Aristophanes, τὸ γέμος in Aeschylus (see the online *TLG*); τὸ νίκος appears in the *Septuagint* and a 1st-c. BC papyrus (see LSJ s.v.) and continues to be in use: νά 'χης ἐσὺ τὸ νίκος *Liv.* V 2057. A neuter form τὸ καῦχος can be found in Romanos the Melode (6th c.; see *LBG* s.v.), and also e.g. in the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy*: μόνι τὸ καῦχος ἔχουν *Chron. Mor.* H 800; διὰ καῦχος *Pol. Tr.* 4358.

τὸ ἔλεος (for AG ὁ ἔλεος) in the *Septuagint* (see LSJ s.v.), throughout the period covered by this Grammar and in SMG;
 τὸ πάγος and τὸ πλοῦτος again in the *Septuagint* (see LSJ s.v.) and e.g. in *Phys.* 323; τὸ ἀναθεματισμένον πλοῦτος *Bertoldos* 61.5 (note that SMG still uses the plural τὰ πλούτη);
 τὸ ζῆλος in Clement of Rome (1st c.) and Ignatius of Antioch (1st c.) (see LAMPE, *Lex.* s.v.) and e.g. in Falieros: τὸ ζῆλος γεννᾶται FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 585;
 τὸ κρότος in a *Catena* on the *Epistle to the Hebrews* (11th-c. ms Par. Coisl. 204; see the online *TLG*) and e.g. in ἀπήρασι τὸ κρότος *Chron. Mor.* H 4034;
 τὸ γάρος (for AG ὁ γάρος) in a papyrus (POxy.937.27 (3rd c. AD); see LSJ, s.v.) and in LMedG: e.g. τὸ γάρος *Ptoch. IV* 186.

Others appeared more recently:

τὸ θρήνος (for ὁ θρήνος) in Theodore of Stoudios (8th/9th c.) (see *LBG* s.v.) as well as in the period covered by this Grammar, e.g. μέγαν θρήνος ἐποίησαν *Achil.* N 1831; με πόνους καὶ με θρήνη FALIEROS, *Thrin.* 83;
 τὸ ἔπαινος (for ὁ ἔπαινος) in a letter of Photios (9th c.) (see *LBG* s.v.) and well into the EMG period: διὰ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἔπαινος *Chron. Mor.* H 1889; ἔπαινος ... τόσα μεγάλο FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Dedic.* 25.

In the period covered by this Grammar other masculine words in /os/ also develop neuter variants, mainly in the singular, among which, to mention just a few:¹⁴⁸

δίχως κανέναν δόλος *Assizes A* 27.29
 ὁ ἵπισκοπος τῶν Λευκάρων ἐπῆγεν με τὸ κλῆρος του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 64.26–7
 ὅ,τι μίσσος καὶ ἄνε φᾶς FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 100 (spelling according to KRIARAS, *Lex.*)
 με μαυρισμένο λίθος ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 262
 τὸ Κούρκος (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 133.7) (< ὁ Κόρυκος)
 ἐμάζωνε βίος πολὺ VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 115 (< ὁ βίος)
 τὸ φτόνος δὲν φοβοῦνται *Cypr. Canz.* 43.3
 στὸ μόλος πᾶσινε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 225.9

The case of τὸ βύθος (< ὁ βυθός) is an interesting one, as it not only changed gender but also underwent a shift of the stress because the neuter /os/ paradigm cannot normally be oxytone. As both masculine and neuter forms continued to exist side by side, this sometimes led to confusion, resulting in oxytone neuter forms: κ' ἔδερνεν τάχα τὸ βυθός *Liv.* V 2288; νὰ κύπτῃ 'ς τὸ βυθός *ibid.* 2289; ρῖξε το εἰς τὸ βυθός STAFIDAS, *Iatrosoph.* 22.140. Nouns of which the stem ends in /e/ or /i/ may become oxytone due to synizesis (see I, 2.9.4 for details):¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Even though there is nowadays a Cretan village called το Θρόνος (see CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 42, 52), note that no examples of a neuter variant have been found in the texts examined. The following example does not actually exist. The whole verse is editorial, an adaptation of a verse from Defaranas, in which, among other things, θρόνου is changed to θρόνη for the sake of the rhyme: στοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰ θρόνη FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 154.

¹⁴⁹ Note that oxytone forms of χρέος can be found in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (11th c.): ὀφείλημα χρεοῦς διαφέρει· ὀφείλημα ἔστι δημόσιον χρεὸς θεῶ· ὀφειλόμενον ἢ βασιλεῖ· χρεὸς δὲ τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἰδιωτικῶ· *Etym. Gud.* s.v. ὀφείλημα (ed. Sturtz).

διὰ τὸ χριός του *Assizes* B 251.28 (spelled χρεῖός in the edition) (< τὸ χρέος)
 τὸ βιός σου *Cypr. Canz.* 15.6 (< ὁ βίος)¹⁵⁰
 ἐγὼ τὸ χριός μου μέλλει νὰ πλερώσω *ibid.* 86.31
 μὲ πολὺ ἴκ τὸ βιός του *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VI.328
 ἀφοῦ ἴκάμε τὸ χριός του *ibid.* VIII.92
 γιὰτ' ἔτσι ν' ὀριζάμενο τὸ χριός σου νὰ πλερώσης *Alfav.* 10 8
 τὸ χριός μου *Vosk.* 58; ἀπόκτησεν βιός (1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 34, 135.53)

The Cypriot *Fior de Vertù* offers the following interesting oxytone form, which retains the stress of the Occitan loanword: φερμισσένος εἰς τὸ πρεπός του *Fior* 20–1 (< Occit. *prepaus*). These oxytone variants do not appear to form genitives singular or any plural forms. Lexically, the noun χρέος has a regional variant χρέ for the plural (Cyprus, Rhodes; note that the ms of Bertos was copied in Rhodes): ὑπερπληθαίνουσιν τὰ χρέ ἄνω τῆς κεφαλῆς του BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 1141; νὰ πλερώσει ὁ ρήγας τὰ χρέ του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 430.6–7.

Sporadically feminine nouns in /os/ may develop neuter alternatives. Examples are:

τὸ κόπρος (< ἡ κόπρος), which can be found in Ahmet's *Dream Book* (9th c.; oldest ms 11th/12th c.; see *LBG* s.v.) and e.g. in Kartanos: τὸ κόπρος, ἦγουν ἡ κοπρία KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.40;
 τὸ δρόσος (< ἡ δρόσος, perhaps via ὁ δρόσος),¹⁵¹ which is more recent: νὰ βάλεις καὶ ὀλίγο δρόσος (15th c., Cyprus?, TSANGALAS 1983: 131.7); τὸ δρόσος τῆς ψυχῆς μου *Liv.* α 3993 app. crit. (N);
 τὸ ψῆφος (meaning “counting, account”, rather than “pebble, vote”), e.g. ψῆφος νὰ μὴ ἔχη BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 466;
 τὸ ἄβυσσος: τ' ἄβυσσος ἐχοχλάκιζε *P&N Diath.* 1447;
 τὸ Σκιάθος (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 142.11).

Neuter nouns in /on/ may also develop alternative forms in /os/. Some existed since Antiquity, e.g. τὸ δένδρος (< δένδρον) is found in Herodotus and elsewhere (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: II 37; see also LSJ). Others are more recent developments:

τὸ κοῦρσος (< τὸ κοῦρσον or perhaps ὁ κοῦρσος, both attested since the 6th/7th c., see *LBG* s.v.): τὰ κούρση τὰ πολλὰ *Dig.* G IV.212; καὶ ἐποίησεν κοῦρσος (post 1402, Ankara?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 95, 634.4.2–3);
 σύνορος (< σύνορον): τὸ σύνορος (1184, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 218, 286.21);
 ἄκρος (< ἄκρον): τὸ ἄκρος (1123, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 4, 60.8), εἰς ἄκρος *Alex.* Rim. 2022;
 βάνδος (< βάνδον): πριμικήριος βάνδους Ματζουκάων (1278, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 63, 37.18);
 ἄστρος (< ἄστρον): ὅσα ἄστροι *Arm.* 77; τῶν ἄστρον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 107.39;
 δεῖπνος (< δεῖπνον): εἰς τὸ δεῖπνος *Diig. Alex.* F 278.4 (Lolos); ἔλα ᾽ς τὸ δεῖπνος PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1703;

¹⁵⁰The form is derived from ὁ βίος, “life” > τὸ βίος, with a change of meaning to “livelihood, wealth”. The form is clearly unrelated to the Homeric form ὁ βίός meaning “bow”.

¹⁵¹Some but not all of these nouns also have masculine alternatives in /os/, e.g. ὁ δρόσος *Theseid* V.99,3 (1529); τί ψῆφος ἐν δικός σας; *Diig. tetr.* 410.

ἔργος (ἔργον): τὸ ἔργος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §18.4;
 κάστρος (< κάστρον): εἰς τὸ Κάστρος (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 219.15), παρέλαβε
 τὴν Ἄρταν καὶ ἄλλα κάστροι (post 1425, Athos, SCHREINER 1975/79: 8.II, 80.30.2–3), τῶν
 καστρῶν *Chron. Mor.* H 8655;
 Κάερος (< Κάερο): τοῦ αὐθεντὸς ὁποῦ κρατεῖ τὸ Κάερος *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 47; ἐπῆρεν ... τὸ
 Κάερος (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 258.78.1);
 μέσος (< μέσον): τινὰς δὲν ἐσέβην εἰς τὸ μέσος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §27.63; στὸ μέσος *Leilasias*
Par. 257;
 μέτρος (< μέτρον): παρὰ μέτρος *Achil.* L 358; δὲν εἶχεν μέτρος BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 466; στὰ
 μέτρη *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* XIII.37;
 πάκτος (< πάκτον): τὸ πάκτος (14th c., Trebizond, GRÉGOIRE 1909: 2, 492.2); τοῦ πάκτους
 (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 38, 32.4); τὰ πάκτη (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 280,
 261.15);
 σπλάχνος (< σπλάγχνον): τῶν συγγενῶν τὸ σπλάχνος *Chron. Mor.* H 8883; ἀδελφικοῦ σου
 σπλάγχνους *Velth.* 49;
 δῶρος (< δῶρον): τὸ δῶρος τὸ λιγάκι FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Dedic.* 47; ἐκεῖνο τὸ δῶρος (1706,
 Siatista, MERTZIOS 1947b: 269.14 transcr. (Korre));
 μέλλος (< μέλλον): προλέγουσιν το μέλλος *Krasop.* V 76;
 πρέπος (< πρέπον < pres. part. πρέπων): διπλὴν τιμὴν τῆς ἑκάμεν, πλεον παρὰ τὸ πρέπος
Chron. Toc. 2616;
 Ρέθεμνος (< Ρέθυμνον < Ριθύμνα): στὸ Ρέθεμνος (1607, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 448,
 410.6–7); Ρέθεμνος, ποῦ κρατοῦσουνε ἄξιο καὶ τιμημένο BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 196.11
 (nom./acc./voc./ only).

In Cypriot texts one finds a regional variant τὸ διάφορος (< διάφορον) (nom. and acc. sg. only): διὰ τὸ διάφορος ἐκείνου *Assizes* B 294.5; εἰς τὸ διάφορός του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 24.33; διάφορος δὲν εἶχαν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 128.19; διάφορος ὀλπίζει *Cypr. Canz.* 20.7; τὸ διάφορός τους *Fior* 83.15; οὐκ ἔχει ο κόσμος διάφορος *Diig. Apoll.* 681; εἰς τοὺς ἐχθρούς των διάφορος IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7740. An example of a neuter noun in -(ο)ν transferring to this paradigm is the following: ψοῦνος, τὸ. ψώνι, τὸ GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *vitto*; ἐφάγασιν τα ψούνη τως IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1951 (< ψώνιν).¹⁵²

Another innovative form is τὸ σύνηθος, which, given the position of the stress, was clearly derived from the neuter form of the adjective συνήθης, σύνηθες, possibly via the plural συνήθη (cf. τὸ πέλαγος, τὰ πελάγη), e.g.: ὡς τὸ ἔχουν γὰρ τὸ σύνηθος *Chron. Mor.* H 2393; καὶ πάντα στέκει σύνηθος *Pol. Tr.* 11980 app. crit. (CV); ὑπόγραφα κατὰ τὸ σύνηθος (1458, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 3 [Γ'], 26.22).

Former 3rd-declension masculine nouns in -ως may also transfer to the neuter paradigm in -ος, e.g. τὸ γέλος (< ὁ γέλως), found in the poetry of Christopher Mitylenaios (11th c.) (see *LBG* s.v. γέλος), also appears in EMG texts: τὸ γέλος του γνωρίσας *Ptochol.* α 342; τὸ γέλος LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 355 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner: γέλως); and τὸ ἴδρος (< ὁ ἴδρος < ὁ ἴδρως): σηκώνεται το ἴδρος φορτωμένος *Diig. Iosif* 237 (example from KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.). However, very few plural examples have been found: τὰ ἴδρη καὶ οἱ κόποι ΝΕΟΦ. ENKLEISTOS, *Logoi peri tou Christou* VII 42.10 (12th c.; ed. Stefanis/Sotiroudis; see the online *TLG*).

¹⁵² A noun ψοῦνος (masc. or neut.?) occurs with a different meaning and different etymology (< Serb. *psunji*) in the Acts of Lavra: ἡ ψοῦνος τοῦ ποταμοῦ (1350–1?, Athos?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 130, 45.25).

Alternative forms in -ο(ν) (nom., acc.) and -ου (gen.) had begun to appear long before the LMedG period; e.g. GIGNAC 1981: 44 mentions among others μέρον and ξτου in 1st-c. papyri; a genitive singular ἐδάφου can be found in the fragmentary work of Memnon of Heraclea (1st c.?) (see the online *TLG*). See also DIETERICH 1898: 163–4. These forms are treated as alternative forms within the /os/ paradigm rather than transfers to the /on/ paradigm, as corresponding plural forms in -α do not occur across the board, but appear only lexically (e.g. πέλαγος > πέλαγο(ν) > πέλαγα). Regionally, namely in Crete and the Heptanese, certain nouns in /os/ develop alternative plural forms in -ητα, in which -τα is added to the plural ending -η, on the model of the -μα(ν) paradigm (see 2.21) (cf. a similar development with neuter nouns in -ο(ν), e.g. πρόσωπο(ν), προσώπατα; see 2.19.2).

2.23.1 Paroxytone Nouns

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	μέρος μέρο(ν)	μέρους	
Gen.	μέρους μέρου	μέρος	μερός μέρο
Acc.	μέρος μέρο(ν)	μέρους	
Voc.	μέρος μέρο(ν)	μέρους	
Plural			
Nom.	μέρη	-ητα	(-ετα)
Gen.	μερῶν	μέρων	-έων
Acc.	μέρη	-ητα	-ετα
Voc.	μέρη	(-ητα)	

Singular

Nominative, Accusative and Vocative

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ος

The inherited ending -ος is in general use throughout the LMedG and EMG periods for the nominative, the accusative and the vocative:

Nominative

καὶ ὑποπτεύεται βλάβος NIKON, *Logos* 2 150.16
καὶ νέφος ἀπροσδόκητον ἦλθεν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 201
τὸ βάθος τοῦ γιалоῦ *Chron. Mor.* H 535; τὸ φοῦμος τῶν στρατιώτων *ibid.* 4058
μέρος ἡμισον (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.19)
ἡ πίττα εἶν' τὸ νίκος *Vulgärorakel* I.124; ἦλθεν νέφος *ibid.* I.216; τὸ ξανθὸν τὸ γένος *ibid.* I.253
πᾶν πρᾶγμα ὅπου δηλοῖ τὸ γράφος *Assizes A* 104.15
τὸ φρόνος τῶν Ἑλλήνων *Achil.* N 1348
τὸ ζῆλος τοῦτο FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 585 (< ὁ ζῆλος)
ἔνε ἄλλον γένος (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 66, f.IV)
καθὼς πῆσσει τὸ πάγος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 34.4–5 (< ὁ πάγος); τὸ ψῆλος τοῦ νεροῦ *ibid.* 60.23
τὸ ξερόν δέντρος *Cypr. Canz.* 150.15 (< τὸ δέντρον)
ἐγένετο μέγα θρῆνος (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 58.II, 430.45.13) (< ὁ θρῆνος)
τῆς εὐμορφίᾳς τὸ ξάθος DEFAR., *Log. did.* 685
τὸ δρόσος με ξεραίνει CHORTATSI, *Erof.* III.216 (< ἡ δρόσος)
ἦτονε τέντα καὶ σκέπος τῆς πατρίδας *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 89.16–17
ἔγινεν σκότος μέγα (1624, Skopje?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 72A, 564.24.1)
μήτε κρύος τοῦ νεροῦ AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 242
καὶ ρούφηξε το φούντος IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3484
καὶ ἐξεσκλαβώθηκε τὸ γένος EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22.16–17

Accusative

διὰ τὸ ἔθος *Spaneas Z* 28; κέρδος ἔχει ἀδιάδοχον *ibid.* 154
με τὸ γάρος *Ptoch.* IV 186 (< ὁ γάρος)
τὸ ἰδεῖ τὸ πληθὸς τῶν Φραγκῶν *Chron. Mor.* H 555; κὶ ἀφότου ἐχορτάσασιν κοῦρσος *ibid.* 649
κέρδος ἐκέρδισαν *Pol. Tr.* 2464; μέγαν φόβον καὶ δέϊλος *ibid.* 4404
εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔχει δόλος τίποτε *Flor.* L 1334 ms (< ὁ δόλος)
νὰ μηδὲν ἔχουν κανένα στέργος (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 44, 75.9–10)
μέγαν θρῆνος ἐποίησαν *Achil.* N 1831 (< ὁ θρῆνος)
εἰς τῆς Βλάσαινας τὸ κάρος SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 673 (< Ven. *caro*)
τὸ βάθος τῆς θαλάσσου *Fior Suppl.* 271.1; κρατοῦν το εἰς μεγάλον φοῦμος *ibid.* 273.15
εἰς τὸ φόνος ἐτοῦτο (1539, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 47, 44.7) (< ὁ φόνος)
με τὸ μύρος *Pist. kekoim.* 393 (< μύρον); διὰ τὸ βρέφος *ibid.* 412
ἐμάζωνε βίος πολὺ VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 115 (< ὁ βίος)
διὰ τὸ ἔλθος ἐκείνου τοῦ σκλάβου (1575, Corfu, DOIKAS 1982: [5]b, 142.17)
στοῦ ψῆλος τοῦ τροχοῦ CHORTATSI, *Erof.* III.221
ἐπουπλικαρίστη εἰς τὸ φόρος τῆς Σητείας (1601, Crete, SIAKOTOS 2006: 1, 190.11–12) (< Ital. *foro*)
γὴ νὰ τὰ βάλου στοῖ ἰκάντος (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 344, 323.15) (< Ven. *incanto*)
τὸ ἔχομε καὶ γράφος ὑπὸ χειρὸς τοῦ παπα-Γιώργη Γιαννιώτη (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 40.15)
νὰ τῆς κάμει ὡς ἄνωθεν τὸ ρέστος τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς (1700, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 4, 128.23–4)
τὸ δρόσος ἐγροικοῦσα KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.10; στοῦ πόνου τῆς τὸ βύθος *ibid.* V.966 (< ὁ βυθός)
εκράτησε το γέλος του *Don Kis.* 7.22 (< ὁ γέλως)

Vocative

μέλος τῆς σαρκός μου *Spaneas V* 2
εὐγενικέ, φοῦμος τῶν ἀνδρειωμένων *Pol. Tr.* 3154; τεῖχος καὶ κάστρον φοβερὸν *ibid.* 7177

φέγγος μου *Liv.* α 1862, *Liv.* E 1750 and *Liv.* V 1612
 άνθος μου, άπαντέχει σε θέλει *Achil.* O 451
 ὦ γένος άνεγνώριστο *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 143
 ὦ δρόσος τῆς άγάπης μου *Rim. kor.* A 60 (< ἡ δρόσος)
 οἰμένα, θυγατέρα μου, θάρρος μου και ψυχή μου *Apoll. Rim.* V 1551
 σπλάχνος μου, παμφίλτατε υἱέ μου *Diig. Alex.* F 168.12 (Konstantinopolus) (< τὸ σπλάχνο(ν))
 Ρέθεμνος, ποὺ κρατούσουνε ἄξιο *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 196.11 (< τὸ Ρέθυμνο(ν))

Sometimes the articular nominative is used as a vocative (see IV, 5.1.2 for details): ὦ παωικό μου άχόρταγο και τῆς καρδιάς μου τ' ἄθος *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 509; Χριστιανῶν τὸ φοῦμος *LIMEN., Velis.* Λ 161; ω ψυχή μου, σινιόρα Δουλτσινέα, το άνθος της ευμορφίας *Don Kis.* 52.21.

Regionally forms in /o/ may be the result of omission of final /s/, which occurs in a specific environment, namely before the clitic pronoun μας (dissimilation of /s/; see I, 3.7.1.1 for details): τὸ γένο μας *TROILOS, Rodol.* II.258 (Aposkiti) (cf. στο βράχος *ibid.* II.10; εἰς πάσα βάρος *ibid.* II.362).

Forms in -ους are phonetic rather than morphological variants (see I, 2.5.4 for details): μὲ τοῦ δεῖπνους τοῦ μυστικού (1628–9, Serres region, *ODORICO* 1998: 1, 42.11).

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ο(ν)

This alternative ending had come into being long before the LMedG period (see the introduction to this section, 2.23). Although it is less common than the inherited -ος ending, it continues to be in use throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

Nominative

και τὸ ἕτερον μέρος (1127–8, S. Italy, *MERCATI et al.* 1980: 11, 90.23)
 τὸ κοῦρσον ὅπου ἐποίκετε *Chron. Mor.* H 691
 ἄσπριζε τὸ στῆθο της *Pol. Tr.* 2255 app. crit. (V)
 τὸ βάθο τοῦ γιαλοῦ ἔνε βαθὺ *Chron. Mor.* T 535
 τὸ δόλον ψεματάρικον εὐρίσκετον *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1378 (< τὸ δόλος < ὁ δόλος)
 τὸ χτῆνο εἰς τῇ λογή του *Pent. Gen.* 1.25 (< κτῆνος)
 εἶναι ὁ γεῖς τὸ κέρδο τῆς κερᾶς μου *Stathis* II.329
 τὸ κόρσο τοῦ Τοῦρκωνε (1644, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 288, 227.23–4) (= κοῦρσο; for τοῦ see 5.2.1)

Accusative

ἐκ τὸ μέρος (1154, S. Italy, *ROGNONI* 2011: 4, 77.14)
 στο σὸν τὸ χεῖλο *SULT. WALAD, Poem V* 5
 χρεωστεῖ δουλεύει διὰ τὸ χρέο του *Chron. Mor.* H 1987; εἶχεν τὸ θάρρον του ὅλον *ibid.* 3225
 μὴ ὀργιστῆς τὸ βρέφο *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 2075
 μὲ ... θράσον θηριῶδες *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 397
 κέρδον ἐκέρδισαν *Pol. Tr.* 2464 app. crit. (V)
 στο στῆθο της *Rim. kor.* A 146 app. crit.
 ἐχ τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ σκότον *Cypr. Canz.* 144.4
 διὰ τ' ὁμορφὸ του κάλλο *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 88
 μάκρο, πλάτο και ψήλο (1582, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 198, 121.13)

τὸ αὐτὸν ἔτον ἔστησε μιναρὲ (1597, Ioannina, LAMBROS 1910: 234, 183.2–3)
 τὸ λιβάδι μὲ τὸ δόσο (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 31, 50.4)
 τὸ σκότο γεμισμένος *P&N Diath.* 114
 ἄφης' ἐμὲ τὸ βάρο MONTSEL., *Evgena* 832
 πλεότιρο χρέο ἱπῆρις (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.31–2)
 ἐπῆρε θάρρο EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 33.9–10

Vocative

No examples found.

Genitive

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-ους

The inherited ending -ους is employed throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

ἀπὸ βάρους καρδίας ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 30.25; τοῦ Μαύρου Ὅρους id., *Logos* 1 58.26
 τοῦ ἀντιδίκου μέρους (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 15.34)
 πλησίον τοῦ τείχους *Eisit.* f.6r.1
 τοῦ πλήθους *Chron. Mor.* H 854; ἐκ μέρους ἐδικοῦ του ibid. 7852
 ἐκ γένους *Liv.* V 3188
 ἐνοῦ βάρους, καὶ ἐνοῦ μάκρους καὶ ἐνοῦ πάχους *Assizes* B 467.9–10
 ὁ ἄρχοντας τοῦ σκότους *Phys.* 287
 ἄν ἀπὸ ξίφους ἔλαβες [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1390
 τοῦ βρέφους (1531, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 22, 69.17)
 ἐλεύθεροι ἀπὸ παντὸς βάρους (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 167.6)
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄργους τὲς μεριὲς SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* D2v.27
 τοῦ χρέους (1674, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 94, 226.15)
 του ἀνθρωπίνου γένους *Don Kis.* 11.4; τα τείχη του χάους ibid. 513.24

When the noun is followed by a clitic pronoun starting in /s/ the final /s/ is sometimes omitted in writing (haplography): τοῦ κράτου σου *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 22 app. crit.

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-ου ἢ -ο

This alternative ending, the genitive counterpart to the nominative in -ο(ν), had come into being long before the LMedG period (see the introduction to this section, 2.23) and continues to be in use throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

τοῦ ἔθνου (1041, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 2, 142.64)
 τοῦ ἡμετέρου μέρους (1134, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 43, 192.18)
 τοῦ ὕφους γραφεύς (1153, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 11, 33.18)
 πληθὸς κέρδου *Chron. Mor.* H 649; τοῦ Ἄργου ibid. 1585; τοῦ μέρους τῆς Μονοβασίας ibid. 2982
 ἔμαθε ἐκ στήθου διδασχὰς *Imber.* 76

τοῦ βάρθου *Assizes* B 284.21; ἄνω μέρου *ibid.* 298.5; τοῦ μάκρου *ibid.* 430.5; τοῦ πλάτου *ibid.* 430.6

τοῦ μάκρου καὶ τοῦ πλάτου *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 739

ἐκ βάρθου τῆς καρδίας *Velth.* 835

εἰς ὁμοίωμα γνέφου λαμπροῦ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 267.3 (= νέφου, see I, 3.5.2.3)

τοῦ φάρδου της *Pent. Gen.* 13.17

ἐνοῦ τέλου *Fior Suppl.* 270.12–13

τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρου (1581, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 9, 26.16); τοῦ ὕψου (1582, *ibid.* 155, 89.6)

τοῦ χείλου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 96.8

τοῦ δάσου *Vosk.* 120

τοῦ μάκρου (1675, Zakynthos, *ZOIS* 1955: 513.9)

τοῦ ὕψου καὶ τοῦ βάρθου *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.164

In the following example the ending -ο instead of -ου is the result of hypercorrection of back vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4.3), which is quite common in this collection of documents from Sibiu, Transylvania (see τοῦ for τό in the same example): τοῦ μέρος τοῦ χρέο (1691, Sibiu, *TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI* 2011: A 17a, f.46r.7)

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-ος ὁ -ός

Genitives in -ος can occasionally be found in papyri pre-dating the period covered by this Grammar (see DIETERICH 1898: 155 and GIGNAC 1981: 66 for examples from the 1st c. onwards). In the period under review they are very rare: genitives in -ος have been found in the London version of the *Achilleid* and in documents from Zakynthos and Kefalonia, though it cannot be excluded that these are just writing mistakes. The oxytone example found in Diakrousis clearly serves to accommodate the metre: τινὸς ἔθνος *Achil.* L 169; εἶδαμεν τὲς ἀναζήτησεις τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρου καὶ τὲς ἀπόκρισεις τοῦ ἑτέρου μέρος (1575, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2008: 10, 63.4–5); ἐξ ἐνὸς μέρος (1659, Zakynthos, *AVOURIS* 1973: 219.3); σαράντα πέντε τοῦ ἐτός, λέγω, ἑξακοσίους *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 185.

Plural

Nominative, Accusative and Vocative

Neut.

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-η

This inherited ending is the most common for the nominative, accusative and vocative plural throughout the period under review:

Nominative

καὶ λοιπὰ δένδρη (1018, Athos, *LEMERLE et al.* 1970: 24, 172.16) (< τὸ δένδρο(ν))

τοῦτον τὸ ἀμπέλιον γίνεται μέρη δ' (1127–8, S. Italy, *MERCATI et al.* 1980: 11, 90.22)

καὶ τὰ ἄστρον παρασκύπτουσιν *Dig.* E 1062 (< τὸ ἄστρο(ν))

νά ᾗσιν τὰ χεῖλη μου *Ptoch. III* 197.14 app. crit. (P)

πολλά τὰ ἔτη *Liv.* V 2167

νὰ παύσουν τὰ κούρη (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 210.8.16)

καὶ θρύβουνται τὰ ξίφη *Flor.* L 1182

οὐδὲ σοῦ λείπουν θρήνη *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 236 (< ὁ θρήνος); τ' ἄκρη μου μνοιάζει νὰ 'ναι κρυὰ
id., *Ist. On.* 73 (< τὸ ἄκρο(ν))

καὶ ἐκόπησαν τὰ μέλη μου *Katal.* 174; τὰ χεῖλη μου τὸ λέγουν *ibid.* 649

τα νέφη ἔσκοτεινιάσαν *Diig. Apoll.* 629

τα δρόση του στομάτου του *VENDRAMOS, Istor. gyn.* 132 (< ἡ δρόσος)

τὰ χρυσὰ ἔπη τοῦ Πυθαγόρα (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.19)

τὰ πάθη μου κ' οἱ πόνοι μου *CHORTATIS, Erof. Dedic.* 11

ἐτέλειωσαν τὰ ἔτη μου *Thysia Avr.* 194; τὰ χεῖλη μου ἴντα λέσι *ibid.* 628

ἡ σελήνη καὶ τὰ ἄστρο (1624, Skorje?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 72A, 564.24.2)

νεκρώνουνται τὰ μέλη μου *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.926; εἰς ἐσὲν εἶν' ὅλα μας τὰ θάρρη *ibid.* IV.296

Addition of /n/ occurs in texts from Naxos, in which the addition of a non-etymological /n/ is quite common (see I, 3.7.2.1.3): θέλου καὶ ποιοῦσι τὰ παρόντα μέρην (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 257, 448.7).

Accusative

ἐλαιὰς δένδρη κε' (1000, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 12, 11.32) (< τὸ δένδρο(ν))

διὰ μούρτη εἰς τὰ φουσσάτα *Dig.* E 140 (< ὁ μούλτος); νὰ ἐπιχαρῆς τὰ κάλλη μου *ibid.* 1141

τὰ ἄστρο ἐσυντύχαινα *Liv.* V 2741 (< τὸ ἄστρο(ν))

ἀπὸ τὰ κούρη τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 210.8.18)

ποταμούς καὶ βράχη [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1477 (< ὁ βράχος)

καὶ τρώγουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ ἄκρη μου κρασάτα; *Poulol.* 85 (< τὸ ἄκρο(ν))

εἰς τὰ κάστρο μου *Alex. Rim.* 1420 (< τὸ κάστρο(ν))

παιδὶν ἀπὸ τὰ σπλάχνη μου *Diig. Alex.* E 99.24–5 (Lolos) (< τὸ σπλάχνο(ν))

τα βάθη της θαλάσσου *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.279

ὥσάν καλὴ καρδιά κι ὠραία στὰ θώρη *Vask.* 10; τὰ πάθη μου στὰ ὄρη νὰ δηγοῦμαι *ibid.* 442

πορπατώντας τὰ βράχη (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 146.9)

μὲ τὰ δικά σου θάρρη *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 1578

ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ εἶχεν ἰδεῖ τὰ πλούτη μου *Bertoldos* 58.16 (< ὁ πλοῦτος)

διὰ τὰ χρέη (1638, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 13, 86.4)

που δείχνουσιν τα κάστρο μου *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 382

σπαθὶ εἰς τα ζερβά του μέρη *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2638

μὲ ὅλα τως τὰ δένδρη (1685, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1918a: 129.4–5)

Vocative

ὦ ... στήθη μαρμαρεῖνα *Chron. Toc.* 3392

δέντρη μου πανώραια *Analos. Ath.* 51

ὦ βουνὰ καὶ κάμποι καὶ ὄρη *Diig. Alex.* F 120.20 (Lolos)

ὦ δάση μου πυκνότεα *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.1; χεῖλη γλυκιά καὶ ονόστιμα *ibid.* II.195

δένδρη μου, συγχωρᾶτε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 625

θάρρη μου, ... χαθῆτε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 208.17; δέντρη μου ἀνθισμένα *ibid.* 552.4

βουνὰ καὶ ὄρη κλαύσατε *DIKR., Diig. Pol.* 652; κλαύσατε, δάση, κλαύσατε *ibid.* 1195

Neut.

Pl.	Nom. & Acc.	-ητα ! -ετα

In texts from Crete and the Heptanese certain nouns in /os/, such as βάθος, βάρος, δάσος, κέρδος and others quite regularly have alternative nominative and accusative plural forms in -ητα, in which -τα is added to the plural ending -η on the model of the -μα paradigm (for which see 2.21). Isolated instances have also been found in *Diig. tetr.* (Constantinople?, Thessaloniki?), in a document written in Naxos¹⁵³ and in an early-18th-c. forged chrysobull from Athos:

Nominative

ποῦ τὰ κέρδητα CHORTATSI, *Erof.* Prol. 28
 ἄν οἱ πολλές σου χάριτες ἦτα τὰ βάρητά σου *P&N Diath.* 445
 οἱ κάμποι καὶ τὰ δάσητα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1266
 τοῦτα τὰ δάσητά σου SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A1v.19
 ποιά 'ν' τῆς τιμῆς τὰ κέρδητα KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.710; τὰ βάρητα τοῦ νοῦ τὸ πνέμα δὲν
 παιδεύγου *ibid.* III.112

Accusative

νὰ εἶδες καὶ τὰ δάσητα *Diig. tetr.* 104 (hapax)
 ὅλα μὲ δίχως πάθητα FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 366
 καὶ δάσητα καὶ πετρωτά *Imb. Rim.* 588
 μὲ δώρητα καὶ μὲ μεγάλη κανίσκια *Diig. Alex.* E 141.22–3 (Konstantinopulos) (< δῶρο(ν))
 εἰς βάθητα βουλῶ CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.35; εἰς τὰ δάσητα *id.*, *Panor.* II.84; σὰν κάμου κέρδητα
id., *Erof.* Prol. 38
 νὰ πουλεῖ ὁ ἄνδρας τῆς γυναικὸς του τὰ εἶδητα (17th c., Unknown, GINIS 1966: 100, 94.26)
 μὲ ὅλα τως τὰ βάρητα (1620, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 368, 341.8)
 εἰς τὰ δάσητα TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.485
 δάσητα ... θὰ ξετρέχει *Pist. voskos* II 5.189
 διὰ νὰ σηκῶση βάρητα BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 38
 εἰς χρέητα (1689?, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 868, 1161.36)
 στὰ βάθητα τῆς γῆς KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.367; μὴ δῆς μεγάλη βάρητα *ibid.* I.1187
 δὲν πληρώνει βάρητα καὶ ἀγγαρίαν (18th c. [ms], Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: App. III, 152.31)

A form in -ετα appears once in the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*. This may be viewed as a phonetic variant of -ητα, due to lowering of /i/ to /e/ in the vicinity of a liquid (see I, 2.8.1), but there is probably also influence of the adjective θαρρετός: εἶχε τὰ θάρρετα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ του *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 110.5.

Genitive

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-ῶν -ῶ -ῶνε

The inherited oxytone ending is the most common for the genitive plural throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

¹⁵³ This example has been found in the archive of the notary Ioannis Miniatis. The document, however, was not written by Miniatis himself, but by the complainant, whose provenance is unknown.

τῶν λοιπῶν εἰδῶν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 100.7
 τῶν καστρῶν *Chron. Mor.* H 7937 (< τὸ κάστρος < τὸ κάστρο(ν))
 ἐτῶν γὰρ δέκα *Pol. Tr.* 11766
 τῶν ἄλλων καστρῶν (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.20)
 εἰς τοὺς κλώνους τῶν δενδρῶν *Liv.* α 320 (< τὸ δένδρος < τὸ δένδρο(ν))
 ἐκ τῶν χειλῶν *Velth.* 312
 ἕως ὅπου νὰ γενοῦν ζ' ἐτῶν *Assizes A* 124.12
 τῶν δενδρῶν *Achil.* N 1031
 τῶν δύο εἰρημένων μερῶν (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 138, 119.6)
 μετρῶν γ' (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.9–10) (< τὸ μέτρος < τὸ μέτρο(ν))
 τῶν ἀστρῶν ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 107.39 (< τὸ ἄστρος < τὸ ἄστρο(ν))
 ὁλονῶν τῶν ἔθνων ΔΑΜ. ΣΤΟΥΔ., *This., Logos* 2, α8r.9 (1561)
 τῶν δύο μερῶν (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 37, 29.6)
 τὴν τυραννίδα τῶν παθῶν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.1
 ὅς τὸ στένωμα τῶν δενδρῶν IER. ΑΥΒΑΤΙΟΣ, *Diig. Seismou* 331.9–10
 τῶν παθῶν μου ρῦστα ΠΡΟΣΟΠΑΣ, *Peri tyflou* 84

Deletion of final /n/ may occur in Cretan texts, though it is often the result of editorial intervention:

ἀγγεῖα μετρῶ τεσσάρω (1573, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17 [later copy], 72.37–8) (τὸ μέτρος < τὸ μέτρο(ν))
 ἐκ τῶ δεντρῶ τσι κλώνους CHORTATSI, *Panor. Prol. theas* 56 (< τὸ δέντρος < τὸ δέντρο(ν))
 ἡ δροσεράδα τῶ δεντρῶ *Stathis* II.204 (δετρον in the ms)
 καὶ κλωναράκια τῶ δεντρῶ *Thysia Avr.* 534
 τὰ κορμιὰ ὀζῶ, δεντρῶ καὶ ἀθρόπῳ ΦΟΣΚΟΛΟΣ, *Fort.* IV.369
 ἀνθούς δεντρῶ ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* II.266 (δεντρῶν in A; δεντρὰ in X)

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-ων ἰ -ω ἰ -ωνε

Genitives plural that do not display a shift of the stress to the ultimate pre-date the period covered by this Grammar, as they can already be found in Eusebius (4th c.) (κτῆνων), Cyril of Alexandria (4th/5th c.) (ἔθνων), Ps-Justin (5th c.?) (μέρων), Dorotheos of Gaza (6th/7th c.) (πάθων) and other Late Antique and Byzantine authors (see the online *TLG*). Such forms are not very common in the LMedG and EMG periods:

μεταξὺ τῶν μέρων ἐκατέρων (1081, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 6, 61.5)
 ἕως μέρων τριῶν (1153, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 11, 32.8)
 τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡθων (1162, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 31, 172.33)
 ἐκ βάθων *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 142
 τὴν ἀπιστίαν τῶν ἔθνων *Chron. Mor.* H 783
 ἐκ βάθων *Phys.* 83

Neut.

Pl.	Gen.	-έων

This archaic poetic ending is sometimes used with the word ὄρος in mixed- and higher-register texts:

καὶ κορυφὰς ὀρέων *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 374
 ὀρέων ἀντηχούντων *Dig. G VI.113, Dig. A 2965 and Dig. T 2001*
 καὶ κορυφὰς ὀρέων *Dig. E 1366*
 τῶν ὀρέων *Flor. L 1357*
 εἰς χάσματα ὀρέων *Diig. tetr. 242*
 εἰς σχισμὰς ὀρέων *Spanos D 470*

2.23.2 Proparoxytone Nouns

	General	Restricted	Rare
Singular			
Nom.	πέλαγος	πέλαγο(ν)	
Gen.	πελάγου	πελάγους	πέλαγου
Acc.	πέλαγος	πέλαγο(ν)	
Voc.	(πέλαγος)	πέλαγο(ν)	
Plural			
Nom.	(πελάγη)		
Gen.	(πελαγῶν)	(πελάγων)	
Acc.	πελάγη		
Voc.	(πελάγη)		

Singular

Nominative, Accusative and Vocative

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-ος

This inherited ending is the most common in texts of the LMedG and EMG periods. However, as there is just a handful of proparoxytone nouns in -ος, a fairly modest number of examples has been found:

Nominative

τοῦ κράτου σου τὸ ἔλεος *Chron. Mor. H 3570*; μέλλει στήκει τὸ ἔπαινος *ibid. 4745*
 τὸ ἔπαινός του *Assizes B 274.27*
 τὸ ἔπαινος καὶ ἡ φήμη *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas 369*
 τὸ ἔπαινος μεγάλου Ἀχιλλέως *Achil. N 189*
 καὶ ρίχνει τον τὸ πέλαγος *Fyll. gadar. 449*

τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἔλεος *Diig. Alex.* F 62.14 (Konstantinopulos)
 τὸ ἔδαφος μὲ τ' ἀνθία ἦτον δὲ στολισμένον *Dig.* A 2836
 τὰ ποδάρια μου ἤθελε κατακαύσει τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς γῆς *Vios Aisop.* K 160.12–13

Accusative

εἰς τὸ πέλαγος *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 123
 ἔλεος ... εἶχον *Dig.* G VI.641; τὸ ἔδαφος ἐφαίδρυνεν *ibid.* VII.48
 ἤϋραν τὸ πέλαγος κακόν *Chron. Mor.* H 1680; ὡς τὸ ἔχουν γὰρ τὸ σύννηθος *ibid.* 2393 (< N. sg. adj. σύννηθες)
 εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀπάνωθεν *Pol. Tr.* 10097
 πῶς τὸ θαλασσοπέλαγος τὸ τόσον παρατρέχει *Liv.* E 154
 στὸ πέλαος μὲ ἐξοριάζει *Imber.* 801
 διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ θεοῦ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 306.17–18
 τοὺς εἶχα φοῦμος καὶ ἔπαινος *Analos. Ath.* 46
 εἰς τὸ Ἀρκιπέλαγος (1508, Ios, *PATRAMANI* 1989/90: 3, 173.25)
 ἀπὸ τὸ Καστέλι Τέμενος (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 299, 297.2)
 ἃ μοῦ τύχει θάνατος εἰς τὸ πέλαγος (1600, Zakynthos, *KONOMOS* 1969b: 36.3)
 ὄφελος ὁ κόσμος εἶχε πάρει *Soummakis, Past. Fid.* a2r.8
 τὸ ἔλεός σου δῶσε μας *ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2493
 εἰς τὸ πέλαγος εὐρισκόμενος (1656, Amorgos, *TSELIKAS* 1988/92: 3, 49.30)
 στὸ Τέμενος ἐπῆγαν *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 239.5; στ' Ἀρτσιπέλαγος *ibid.* 364.14
 διὰ νὰ ξανοίγουν ὅλον τὸ πέλαγος *Soumakis, Rebelio* 34.22

Vocative

No examples found.

Neut.

Sg.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-o(v)

This alternative ending is less used than -ος and is often found alongside forms in -ος in the same text. It is more common for the accusative than for the nominative:

Nominative

τὸ μέγεθον *Etym. Gud.* s.v. ὀγκάνος (ed. Sturz)
 <καὶ> πάλιν διὰ τὸ σύννηθον *Chron. Mor.* P 8952 (< σύννηθος < N. sg. adj. σύννηθες)
 εἶχεν ἡ κόρη σύννηθον *Byz. Il.* 654
 ἴντα θὰ πῆ πέλαγο *Stathis* II.295
 ξανοίγεται ὅλο τὸ πέλαγο *Soumakis, Rebelio* 35.2

Accusative

στὸ πέλαγο τῆς θάλασσας *Chron. Mor.* P 603
 διὰ ὄφελόν της *Theseid* I.86,3 (Follieri)
 διὰ ὄφελον τῆς συντροφίας αὐτῶν (1502, Corfu, *PANDAZI* 2007: 57, 48.13)
 μὴν εὐρης πέλαγο βαθὺ *Stathis* II.279
 ἐγύρισε ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ πέλαγο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 80.36
 μὲς στὸ ἀγριόδασον *MONTSEL., Evgena* 642
 σ' ἕνα πέλαγο ἄμετρο *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Dedic.* 12
 σ' ὅλο τ' Ἀρτσιπέλαγο *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 261.3
 εμπαίνει με τα ποδάρια της στο πέλαγο *Kaloandros* 406.16
 δὲν τὸν ἐχαιρετήσασι στὸ πέλαγο μὲ σινιάλο *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 55.15

Vocative

No examples found.

Genitive

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-ους

Inherited forms in -ους, always with a shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate, are not very common in texts of the LMedG and EMG periods:

μέχρι τρίτου ἐδάφους *Dig. G I.98*
 σὺ γὰρ ἐλέους εἶ πηγή *Ptoch. III 14*
 ἐρρύσατο τὸν Πέτρον ἐκ πελάγους *Ptoch. IV 658*
 τοῦ μεγέθους *Assizes B 284.20*
 ἕως ἐδάφους *Syndipas 110.29*
 τοῦ πελάγους *Synax. gadar. 313*
 τὸ κάλλος τοῦ ἐδάφους *Dig. T 2781*
 γενεράλης του πελάγους *Ist. Enet. 419.29*

Neut.

Sg.	Gen.	-ου

Forms in -ου, the genitive counterpart to nominatives in -ο(ν), are rather more common than those in -ους. They normally undergo a shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate:

ἕως ἐδάφου (11th c., Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 1, 41.6.3)
 τοῦ Αἰγαίου πελάγου (1087, Unknown, EVANGELATOU-NOTARA 1982: 261, 174.3)
 ἕως ἐδάφου γῆς (1195, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 17, 140.6)
 ἀνάμεσα πελάγου *Dig. E 1057*
 κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ πελάγου (1442, Lemnos, KRAVARI 1991: 25, 169.233)
 ἐμεῖς Ἰάκωβος Κρίσπος, δούξ Αἰγαίου Πελάγου (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 467.1–2)
 τοῦ σοῦ μεγέθου [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim. 2565*
 τοῦ πελάγου (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.5)
 τὰ νησιά ὅλα τοῦ Ἀρχιπελάγου (16th c., northern Aegean?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.IV, 550.52.1–2)
 ἕως ἐδάφου τῆς γῆς *Vios Aisop. K 194.8*
 τοῦ πελάου MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik. 266*
 τοῦ πελάγου FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol. 113*
 τοῦ Αἰγαίου πελάου (1655, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 122.2)
 ἐκεῖθεν του πελάου IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali 2216*
 τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ πελάου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol. 248.8*

Absence of shift of stress is very rare:

τὸ χωριὸ τοῦ Τέμενου ἐπίασα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol. 240.9*

Plural*Nominative, Accusative and Vocative**Neut.*

Pl.	Nom., Acc. & Voc.	-η

Inherited forms in -η, with a shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate, are not very common in the period covered by this Grammar. No nominatives or vocatives have been found, and even accusatives are quite rare:

Nominative

No examples found.

Accusative

καὶ τὰ ἐλέη σου ἡμῖν θαυμάστωσον *Dig.* E 1842
 τὰ φοβερὰ μεγέθη *Pol. Tr.* 12148 app. crit. (AVX)
 ἐλέη σου τὰ πλούσια MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2569
 να φέρει τα ἐλέη Του IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4727

Vocative

No examples found.

Genitive

No examples of the genitive plural have been found in the texts examined, though one would expect to find the oxytone inherited ending -ῶν (ἐδαφῶν, μεγεθῶν, πελαγῶν, etc.), or forms without a shift of the stress (ἐδάφων, πελάγων), which can be found in texts as early as Hellenistic times (e.g. ἐδάφων in Polybius (3rd/2nd c. BC; see the online *TLG*)).

2.23.3 Transfers to Other Paradigms

Though most words belonging to the above paradigms have alternative singular forms in -ο(ν) (see above), only a few of them can occasionally transfer completely to the neuter paradigm in -ο(ν) (2.19) forming a plural in -α:

τὰ ὡς εἴρηται χρεωστούμενά μοι χρέα (1284, Thessaloniki, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 75, 32.46)
 εἰς πλείονα χρέα τῶν χιλίων διακοσίων οὐγγιῶν (1370, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 29, 114, 38)
 στὰ πέλαγα τῆς θάλασσης *Chron. Mor.* H 603
 ἤπλησεν καὶ κτῆνα πολλά (14th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 206.1.5)
 με χεῖλα πικραμένα *Thysia Avr.* 153 app. crit. (M) (see BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1996: 149)
 εἰς κτῆνα ἔστιν συμφέρων (17th c. [ms], Unknown, ŠANGIN 1936: 4, 158.5)

Some neuter nouns in -ος belonging to the paroxytone paradigm may transfer to the -ι(ο)(ν) paradigm (for which see 2.20.2.2). This development postdates the loss of /o/ in the endings of these nouns (see the introduction to 2.20), as no forms in -ιο(ν) have been found. This development started with the addition of the neuter plural ending -α to the opaque plural ending -η (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 44): /'stiθi/ > /'stiθi-a/ (cf. the similar procedure in /'ðasi/ > /'ðasi-ta/, above), after which a new singular emerged, in line with the existing

neuter paradigm in -ι(ν) (< -ιον), pl. -ια. Examples come from texts from southern areas, the Heptanese and the Aegean from the 15th c. onwards:

τὸ στῆθι *Phys.* 273
 τὰ μάγουλα καὶ στήθια τως BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 530.8
 καὶ μὲ τὸ στῆθι VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 80 (< στῆθος)
 τριαντάφυλλα καὶ ἄνθια ποικιλάτα *Achil.* N 773
 μὲ τ' ἄνθια *Dig.* A 2836 (< ἄνθος)
 τὸ πάχτι ὅπου πληρώνει (1591, Kefalonia, CHRYSOCHOIDIS 1977: 1, 207.52) (< πάχτος < πάκτος)
 οὐδένα μέλι ἐσάλευγε CHORTATSI, *Erof.* V.129 (< μέλος)
 τοῦ βρεφιοῦ *Fior* 149.20 (< βρέφος)
 τὸ Σινᾶιον ὄρι CHOUNMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2641
 εἰς τὸ ὄρι *Apok. Theot.* 489.1 (< ὄρος)
 τ' ἀχέλι ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 42 (< χεῖλος)
 Φυσίγναθος μὲ τ' ὁμορφόν του ἦθι ZINOS, *Vatr.* 105 (< ἦθος)
 διχῶς κανένα βάρι MONTSEL., *Evgena* 810 (< βάρος); μέσα εἰς τὸ δάσι *ibid.* 1063 (< δάσος)
 διὰ νὰ σολδάρει τὸ ἄνωθεν χρεὶ (1669, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 2, 280.16)
 ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ βρεθῇ ὀλίγο χρεὶ (1685, Skyros, ANDONIADES 1980/81: 8, 331.5)
 νὰ χρεωστοῦσαν χρέγια (1696, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 244, 154.2)
 οἱ ὅμοιοι ἐπλέρωσαν τὸ ὅμοιο χρεὶ (1703, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 46, 59.13)
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρεγιοῦ (1705, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 7, 168.6)
 τὸ ἄνωθεν χρεὶ (1716, Smyrna, SFYROERAS 1963b: 3, 179.11) (the subject of the debt settlement is from Mykonos) (< χρέος)
 εἶχε πολλὰ πλοῦτια EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 37.11 (< τὸ πλοῦτος < ὁ πλοῦτος)

Some paroxytone neuter nouns in -ος may develop masculine alternatives in -ος:

ἐβγαίνω ἀπὸ τὸν δάσον *Liv.* α 2336 app. crit. (N)
 κρύβονται εἰς τοὺς δάσους PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 273
 μάζωξε ἀπὸ τὸν δάσον ἄγρια μουσκέλα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 163.33
 εἰς τὸν μέρος ἐκεῖνον *Byz. Il.* 895
 τὸν θάρρον τὸν πολὺν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 349.18
 γιὰ τοῦτο εἶν' ὁ θάρρος μου MONTSEL., *Evgena* 193
 ὦ πάθος πῶναι ἀγιάτρευθος VENDRAMOS, *Istor. gyn.* 61
 ὁ ρῖγος *P&N Diath.* 349
 ἀπὸ τὸν βάρον *Diig. Ag. Sof.* ω 536.6 app. crit. (Ω¹)
 ὁ μάκρος (1665, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1974b: 2, 44.9); ὁ πλάτος (*ibid.* 44.10)

In texts from southern areas and certain Aegean islands (Chios) the word ἄνθος developed a masculine alternative with a shift of the stress to the ultimate:

ὅταν τὰ δέντρα κάμνουσιν ἀνθούς *Achil.* L 503
 μερτιές καὶ δάφνες με ανθούς DEFAR., *Sos.* 46 (Holton)
 ἀπὸ ἄλλους ἀνθούς *Assizes A* 199.3
 με τσ' αθούς τσ' ὁμορφους CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.414; οἱ ανθοί σας *ibid.* II.203
 με τους ανθούς του RODINOS, *Martyr. Neof.* 321.36
 ἡ ἀγάπη εἰς τὸν ἀνθόν SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* C4v.14
 στολίζει δένδρα μὲ ἀνθούς PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2399
 με τὸν ἀνθὸ τὸν καμωμένο *Pist. voskos* I 4.53
 οἱ ἀνθοὶ τῆς ἀρχοντιᾶς KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.294

Transfers from the neuter to feminine paradigms are the result of reanalysis of the plural in -η as a feminine singular, but they are very rare: καὶ Ἄραβοι ἐξήρσαν ἄφνω ἀπὸ τῆς ἔλης *Dig. G V.178* (< ἡ ἔλη < τὰ ἔλη); ἔχει μεγίστην κάλλην *Dig. E 1333* (< ἡ κάλλη < τὰ κάλλη); πῶς ἦνοιξας τὰς χεῖλας σου *Diig. tetr. 584 app. crit. (C)* (ἡ χεῖλη < τὰ χεῖλη).

2.24 Irregular and Indeclinable Neuter Nouns

Of the irregular neuter nouns certain common ones remain in use (e.g. γάλα, φῶς), whereas other are brought in line with regular paradigms for instance by using the diminutive ending -(ο)(ν). Indeclinable neuter nouns are loanwords. This overview includes the more common irregular and indeclinable neuter nouns. For nouns not included here the reader is referred to the Kriaras dictionary.

2.24.1 Nouns with Dental Stem

A small group of 3rd-declension nouns survives, some of them until the present day. These are nouns that, like the -μα paradigm, have a dental stem in /t/ that is used for gen. sg. and all cases of the plural. This group includes neuter nouns in -ας such as ἄλας, κέρας, πέρας and τέρας. The nouns γῆρας and κρέας also belong to this group, but show various developments that are unique to them, which is why they are discussed separately. Other nouns with a dental stem are γάλα, γόνυ, μέλι, φάβα and φῶς, which are also discussed separately.

2.24.1.1 ἄλας, κέρας, πέρας and τέρας

The inherited nom. and acc. sg. ending -ας remains in use throughout the period covered by this Grammar, though more commonly with some nouns (ἄλας) than with others (πέρας):

καὶ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας τε ὁ παῖς ἀποπληρώσας *Dig. G IV.647*
 τέρας ἰδεῖν δυσάντητον *GLYKAS, Stichoi 56*
 μέ τὸ ἄλας νὰ τὸν φάγη *Chron. Mor. H 4481*
 τὸ κέρας μου *Diig. tetr. 348*
 βάνει ὀλιγοστὸν ἄλας *Imber: 640*
 ἄπαστον ἄλας καὶ θαλάσσιον βούτυρον *Spanos A 183*
 βάλε ἄλας τριμμένον *ΣΤΑΦΙΔΑΣ, Iatrosoph. 1.5*
 ἐκ τὸ ἄλας (1502, Corfu, *PANDAZI 2007: 93, 78.3*)
 ὥσπερ φαγὶν χωρὶς ἄλας *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos 16, ο1ν.32 (1561)*
 ψωμί καὶ ἄλας *ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., Chron. III §29.32*
 ἂν τὸ ἄλας γένει ἀνόλατον *ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., Kaini Diath. Matth. 5.13*
 το κραταῖον του κέρας *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali 9128*
 τρίψε ἀπάνω αὐτῆς κριθάρην καὶ ἄλας (1684–5, Moscow, *ŠANGIN 1936: 3, 118.3–4*)

For κέρας new nom. and acc. sg. forms in -ο(ν) develop based on the dental stem κερατ- (*CHATZIDAKIS 1910: 221*):

καὶ ὄλον του τὸ κέρατον *Diig. tetr.* 1021
 σκρόφας κέρατον *Spanos A* 450
 τὸ κέρατο αποπίσω τως *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.22

The inherited genitive in -ος has an alternative in -ου with a shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate (cf. neuter nouns in -μα, 2.21):

ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ ἄλατος (post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VÖGEL* 1963: 36, 32.7)
 τοῦ κέρατος *Diig. tetr.* 349
 τοῦ ἄλατος (1502, Corfu, *PANDAZI* 2007: 93, 78.4)
 ἀπὸ ὕδατος ἔως ἄλατος (1511, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 24, 42.17)
 τοῦ ἀλάτου (1453, Thrace?, *DARROUZÈS* 1963: 3, 86.14 and 86.21–2)
 τοῦ ἀλάτου *Pent. Gen.* 14.3
 τοῦ κεράτου *Stathis* III.273

In the following example the gen. sg. receives an innovative ending -ιοῦ: τὸ κέρατον, τοῦ κερατchioῦ *KRITOPoulos, Grammar* 109.30 (for <χ> representing consonantization of /j/ see I, 2.4.7.2). This ending occurs with other dental stems as well (see κρέας and φῶς in this section and cf. nouns in -μα, 2.21.1).

As for the plural, these nouns generally retain their inherited forms, though for ἄλας no plural forms have been found, and genitives are generally rare:

εἰς πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς *Diig. tetr.* 499
 τὰ κέρατά του *Fior* 113.29
 μὲ κέρατα μεγάλα *Alex. Rim.* 86
 τέρατα καὶ σημεία *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 15
 τέρατα καὶ φαντάσματα τοῦ ᾿Αδῆ, ἔλατε *Zinon* V.323
 στὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 554.10
 εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης *KASIMATIS, Varl. & Ioas.* 499.3
 ἐκ τῶν κεράτων *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 2.6–7

2.24.1.2 γάλα

The inherited noun γάλα remains in use throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

ποιμὴν διὰ τὸ γάλα *Liv.* V 900
 ἀπὸ γάλα βουβαλίνας *Ptochol.* α 464
 ἀπὸ εἶτι γάλα ἢ τυρὶ κάμει (1522, Corfu, *LITSAS/LEONDIADOU* 2011: 69, 99.9)
 θέλει ζητάειν γάλα τῆς μητρός του *Diig. Alex.* F 148.15–16 (Lolos)
 καμπόσον γάλα ζέστανε *LANDOS, Geopon.* 260.9
 Εἰς τὴν Πόλιν καὶ γάλα πουλιοῦ εὐρίσκεις *Paroim.* (Warner) 102.2
 τῶ βυζῶν τὸ γάλα *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1228

It may occur with addition of final /s/ or /n/. Final /s/ is added by analogy with the other nouns with a dental stem such as κρέας (*CHATZIDAKIS* 1905/07: B 462):

τὸ γάλας (1270, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 321, 472.29)
 ἀκόμη καὶ τὸ γάλας μου *Diig. tetr.* 597 app. crit. (PV)
 ἔτρωγεν τὸ γάλας ὅλον *Ptochol.* α 486
 ἐκεῖ τὸ γάλας εἶχαν BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 654
 μαστοὺς γεμάτους γάλας VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 172
 ἔριπεν τὸ γάλας (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 401, f.2r.72)
 καὶ ἐβύζανεν τὸ γάλαν του *Dig.* E 788
 ἐχενώθη τὸ γάλαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 32.18; ἔναν λαγήνιν γάλαν *ibid.* 492.19
 κ' ἔκαμαν πάλιν γάλαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 180

The inherited gen sg. γάλακτος, though quite infrequent, is still in use, as is its alternative γάλατος, which pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar by many centuries (see JANNARIS 1897: 136):

περὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦ γάλατος *Diig. tetr.* 537
 τοῦ γάλακτος SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 99.23
 τοῦ γάλακτος *Bertoldos* 34.17
 ἡ κορφή τοῦ γάλακτος LANDOS, *Geopon.* 189.3

The genitive has an alternative form γαλά(κ)του, which shows the same development as neuter nouns in -μα (see 2.21): ἀπὸ γαλάκτου *Diig. Alex. M* 1578; ὁ τόπος τοῦ γαλάτου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 32.19; τοῦ γαλάκτου (1628–9, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 1, 42.21).

In the texts examined plural forms are quite rare: τὰ τυρία, τὰ γάλατα (15th c. [ms], Athos, MEYER 1894: VI, 163.25); καὶ γάλατα καὶ ρύζα CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.547.

2.24.1.3 γῆρας

The noun γῆρας can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar. It has an alternative stem γερ- influenced by the semantically related noun γέρων/γέροντας:

καὶ τὸ κακό μου γῆρας *Dig.* E 535
 ἕως το γήρας σου *Anthos Ch.* G 109.8
 ὁ χρόνος γάρ, παιδίτζιν μου, τὸ γέρας ἢ τὰ ροῦχα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1089
 βοήθειαν εἰς τὸ γῆρας μου *Byz. Il.* 264
 στὸ γῆρας μου (1545, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 164, 107.14)
 τὸ γῆρας, τοῦ γήρατος SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 43.27
 γῆρας πεπλουτισμένος (1526, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 115, 209.5)
 εἰς τὸ γῆράς σου τὸ βαθύ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §11.21
 εἰς γῆρας βαθύ (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 399, f.2r.9)
 το γήρας τον εφθάσε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 9580

Sporadically final /s/ is deleted: εἰς γῆρα *Pol. Tr.* 14058.

One example has been found in which the ending of neuter nouns in -ι(ν) is employed (see 2.20): εἰς γέρι βαθύ (1673, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 69, 41.1).

There is variation to be noted in gen. sg., borrowing -ους from the neuter paradigm in -ος (2.23), a tendency that pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar, with occurrences in Hippocrates and the *Septuagint* (see LSJ s.v.); or even -ου from the -ο(ν) paradigm (2.19):

ἀνάπαισις τοῦ γήρους μου *Achil.* L 225
 λευκόθριξ ἐκ τοῦ γήρους *Pol. Tr.* 2437 app. crit. (A)
 μέχρι μακρὰ τοῦ γήρους *Achil.* O 635
 μέχρι μακροῦ τοῦ γήρους *Achil.* N 352
 τοῦ γήρους μου (1685, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1940: 302.6)
 τοῦ γήρου (1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.6)

The noun develops a plural γέρατα in the LMedG period, with first attestations in the 15th c., formed by analogy with other nouns with dental stems (CHATZIDAKIS 1910: 220–2):¹⁵⁴

᾽ς τὰ γέρατά σου *Dim. poiim.* 1.86
 κι ἂν ἔχουν χρειὰ ᾽ς τὰ γέρατα DEFAR., *Log. did.* 169
 διὰ τὰ γέρατά του PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §28.13; εἰς τὰ γέρατά μου *ibid.* II §9.61
 ἀπὸ πολλὰ γέρατα (1671, Cythera, PAPADAKI 2001: 3, 41.1)
 ἐκοιμήθη ... ἀπὸ γέρατα (1698, Cythera, KALLIGEROS 2001: 101, 59.2)

In texts from south-western areas a plural γέρα is found:

ἀπ' τὰ γέρα τὰ πολλὰ *Dig.* E 1520
 ἀπὸ τὰ γέρα τὰ πολλὰ CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1350
 μηδέ θωρεῖς τὰ γέρα μου CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.319
 στὰ γέρα μου τὰ ὀπίσω *Thysia Avr.* 384
 ἂν ἔρθουσι γέρα τοῦ ἀνωθεν κυρ-Μανόλη (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 753, 654.10)
 διατὶ ἡῦραν με τὰ γέρα Montsel., *Evgena* 25
 ὁμάδι με τὰ γέρα TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.389 (Aposkiti)
 στὰ γέρα KORNAPOS, *Erot.* III.832

Sometimes γήρας is reinterpreted as a formal feminine accusative plural: εἰς τὰς γήρας μου (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 90, 94.13).

2.24.1.4 γόνυ

This noun retains its inherited plural forms γόνατα (nom. and acc.) and γονάτων (gen.), as well as its inherited gen. sg. γόνατος. New nom. and acc. sg. forms develop, namely τὸ γόνα by analogy with the -μα paradigm and τὸ γόνατο(ν), based on the extended stem γονατ- (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 14–15). Just like the -μα paradigm and the neuter nouns in -ας discussed in this section, gen. sg. has an alternative in -άτου:

τὰ γόνατα PLOUSIAD., *Thrinor* 173 (Vasileiou)
 στὸ γόνα *Imb. Rim.* 600
 ἐφιλῆσεν τὸ γονατὸν του VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 102.2–3
 τὸ γόνα, τοῦ γονάτου, τὸ γόνα, ὃ γόνα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 43.23; τὰ γόνατα, τῶν γονάτων,
 τὰ γόνατα, ὧ γόνατα *ibid.* 43.23–4
 κ' ἐτρέμασι τὰ γόνατα KORNAPOS, *Erot.* III.938
 γόνυ καὶ γόνατο καὶ γόνα SPANOS, *Grammar* 32.3–4

¹⁵⁴ This plural would eventually be superseded by other nouns derived from the stem γερ-, namely τὰ γερατεῖα and τὰ γεράματα.

The form γόννα may sporadically be interpreted as masculine: ὡς τὸν γόννα (1665–76, Ioannina, VAKATSAS 1992: 3, 153.7).

2.24.1.5 κρέας

This noun retains its inherited forms κρέας (nom., acc., voc. sg.) κρέατος (gen. sg.) κρέατα (nom., acc., voc. pl.) and κρεάτων (gen. pl.) throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

διὰ τὰ κρέατά σας *Diig. tetr.* 361
 κρέας ἀπὸ τὴν σάρκα σου FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 230
 ορίζει δίδουν τους ὡμὴν και κρασὶν και κρέας *Diig. Apoll.* 368
 ὅταν ἔχω χρεῖα κρέας (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 122, 120.14)
 περὶ κρέατος τῶν τετραπόδων (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 14, 28.29)
 ἀμὴ τὸ κρέας τουτονέ; CHORTATSI, *Katz.* IV.378
 τρώγοντας ἄψητα κρέατα EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 20.10

Like other neuter nouns in -ας, κρέας has an alternative κρεάτου for gen. sg.: κρεάτου *Pent. Levit. XVII* 11.

Stressed glide formation (see I, 2.9.4) may occur in this noun:

ἀπὲ τὰ κριάτά τους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 92.12
 ἔναι σάπια τὰ κριάτα του *Alex.* V 81.20–1
 σ' τόσον κρίας (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 252, 149.6)
 φαγία, κριάτα και ποτά IOAKEIM KYPR, *Pali* 4074
 τὸ κρέας-ηᾶς, τοῦ κρέατος-τηοῦ, τὸ κρέας-ηᾶς, ὃ κρέας-ηᾶς, | τὰ κρέατα-ηᾶτα, τῶν κρεάτων-ηῶν, τὰ κρέατα, ὃ κρέατα-ηᾶτα SPANOS, *Grammar* 31.28–9

Sometimes a conservative spelling is maintained, as in the following examples, where κρέας should be read as one syllable in order for the verse to scan: ἐκέϊ ἦῦρα κρέας καὶ ψήνασιν *Ptoch. III* 273.32 app. crit. (P); καὶ φαίνεται τὸ κρέας του BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 62; καὶ πῶς στὸ κρέας ἐπλήγωσε KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.712.

In these forms /j/ may subsequently be deleted. Examples have been found in texts from Crete (see I, 2.4.7.4 for details):

τὲς λιπαριὲς τοῦ κράτου FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 53
 τὰ κράτα μου DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2022
 καὶ ὡρικὰ καὶ κράτα CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2541
 ὁ τσουδισμὸς τοῦ κράτου *P&N Diath.* 4650
 τὸ κράς ἀπὸ χει ἀπάνω του FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.98
 θρέφονται μὲ κράς KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.503; τὸ κράς ὁποῦ ἔλε νεκρὸ *ibid.* IV.1582

In the same area /e/ and /a/ may coalesce into /e/ (see I, 2.9.4.3): τὰ κρέτα του ἑδακάνασι *P&N Diath.* 3523; νὰ σύρνουσι τὰ κρέτα μας FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.474; κρασιὰ καὶ κρέτα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 277.17.

In the following examples the gen. sg. is formed with an innovative ending -ιοῦ: τὸ κριάς, τοῦ κριατχιοῦ KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 109.30 (for <χ> representing consonantization of /j/ see I, 2.4.7.2); τὸ κρηᾶς, τοῦ κρηατιοῦ SPANOS, *Grammar* 30.24–5.

This ending occurs with other dental stems as well: see κέρας and φῶς in this section and cf. nouns in -μα, 2.21.1.

Loss of final /s/ in nom. and acc. sg. may occur. This development pre-dates the period covered by this Grammar with attestations in Egyptian papyri (DIETERICH 1898: 165) and e.g. in Leontius, *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool*.¹⁵⁵ Examples in the texts examined include:

τυρόν καὶ ὠδὸν καὶ κρέα οὐχί ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 3 158.23–4; τὸ κρέα ibid. 160.11
κρέα, (δ)ψάριν καὶ ἄγνὰ *Diig. tetr.* 133 app. crit. (CA)
τὸ κρέα φαγεῖν (1439–45, Florence, GILL 1953: I.7, 32.12) (perhaps read: κρεοφαγεῖν)
ἔτρεχαν ὥς οἱ κόρακες εἰς βρωμισμένον κρέα *Chron. Toc.* 2447
νηστεύοντες τὸ κρέα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1513

For the plural the inherited alternatives κρή (nom. and acc.) (for AG κρέα) and κρεῶν (gen.) (AG) still exist. The nom. and acc. ending occurs on the analogy of neuter nouns in -ος (see REINHOLD 1898: 53 for examples in apocryphal texts):

τῶν κρεῶν *Ptoch. III* 202
κρή κυνῶν καὶ ὄνων *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 323
νὰ ρίξουσιν τὰ κρή σου *Diig. tetr.* 294
τὰ κρή σου οὐ τρώγουν *Poulol.* 48
μηδὲ παστὰ κρή ΣΤΑΦΙΔΑΣ, *Iatrosoph.* 4.96
διὰ νὰ σαπίσουν τὰ κρή τους *Anthos Ch. G* 33.16
καὶ ἴπωρικά καὶ κρή ΧΟΥΜΝΟΣ, *Kosmog.* 2541 app. crit. (V)
τὰ κρή ὅλα *Diig. Alex. F* 58.10 (Konstantinopulos)
τὰ κρή ὀλωνῶν ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 131.7
τὰ ἡμέρα κρή LANDOS, *Geopon.* 194.8

2.24.1.6 μέλι

This noun makes a full transfer to the neuter paradigm in -ι(ν), for which see 2.20.2.2. Inherited forms based on the dental stem μελιτ- continue to be in use in mixed-register texts:

ὥς γὰρ μέλιτος γλύκασμα *Dig. G VII.* 171
διὰ τὰ ἀνθη τοῦ μέλιτος *Anthos Ch. E* 269.10
ἔδωκε τὰ ἀγγεῖα τοῦ μέλιτος καὶ βουτύρου ΖΥΓΟΜ., *Stef. Ichn.* 253.16–17
περὶ μέλιτος καὶ μούστου LANDOS, *Geopon.* 190.1
ἦσαν ψωμία, τυρία, σῦκα, μέλιτα *Vios Aisop.* E 295.12
ἐλές, μέλιτα (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 86, 163.98)

2.24.1.7 φάβα

The Latin loanword φάβα (see LSJ s.v.), feminine in Latin and in SMG, continues to be neuter in the period covered by this Grammar. It also occurs with an added final /n/:

¹⁵⁵ Examples are: τὸ κρέα τρώγει Leontius, *Life of Symeon* 148.10; τὸ δὲ κρέα ἔμπροσθεν πάντων ἦσθιεν ibid. 148.11 (7th c.; ed. Rydén).

ὅταν τὸ φάβα σπέρνη *Poulol.* 447

νὰ τὰ βρόσης ὥσάν φάβαν *LANDOS, Geopon.* 198.12; κουκκία τσακισμένα ὥσάν φάβα *ibid.* 242.20

φάβαν μόδιοι πέντε (1073, Patmos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 50, 10.119)

κ' εἶχαν φάβαν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 554

The plural is formed from the dental stem φάβατ-:

φάβατα μόδια ιε' (1192, Smyrna region, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 105, 202.20)

σὺ δὲ ψηφίζεις φάβατα *Ptoch.* IV 86

τὰ ὄσπρια, τὰ φάβατα *Diig. tetr.* 668

καὶ ἐσὺ σωρεύεις φάβατα *Poulol.* 449

φακὴν μὴ τρώγει, μηδὲ φάβατα *STAFIDAS, Iatrosoph.* 4.93

2.24.1.8 φῶς

The inherited forms φῶς (nom., acc., voc. sg.), φωτός (gen. sg.), φῶτα (nom., acc., voc. pl.) and φώτων (gen. pl.) remain in use throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

δρόσος τῶν Φώτων (15th c., Cyprus?, TSANGALAS 1983: 131.7)

τῶν φώτων *Cypr. Canz.* 144.3

Βέλθανδρε φῶς μου μάτια μου *Velth.* 1158

καὶ δίδει φῶς τοῦ καθενός *KORONAIOS, Pittakin* 111

καὶ ὑστέρου ἦλθε τὸ φῶς του *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.28

ὅσον ὅπου ἐβγῆκεν τὸ ἅγιον φῶς (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 335.11)

μουρμουρίζει σὰν ὁ διάβολος στὰ φῶτα *Paroim.* (Warner) 57.5

ποιὸς ἦτον ποὺ σοῦ ἔδωκεν φωτός σου τὴν λακτάρη; *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 436

τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν Φώτων (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1955: 519.9)

σήκω, γλυκύτατό μου φῶς *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1757

ἦψασιν φῶς (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 744.13)

ὦ λαμπρότατον φως *Don Kis.* 190.14

τοῦ φωτός *SPANOS, Grammar* 31.30

There is remarkably little variation with this noun. The variants for gen. sg. and stress shift in gen. pl. given by Kanellos Spanos in his grammar have not been found in the other texts examined: τὸ φῶς τοῦ φωτίοῦ *SPANOS, Grammar* 30.24 (the stress notation represents both φωτίου and φωτιοῦ); τῶν φωτῶν-ώτων *SPANOS, Grammar* 31.31. The innovative gen. sg. ending -ιοῦ occurs with other dental stems as well: see κέρας and κρέας in this section and cf. nouns in -μα, 2.21.1.

2.24.2 The Invariable Noun σέβας

The noun σέβας has only been found in the nominative and accusative singular. In his grammar Sofianos lists it among indeclinable nouns:

ἔσμιξα τὸ αἶμα μου καὶ σέβας *Pol. Tr.* 7886

διὰ σέβας τοῦ πατρός του *ERMON., Ilias* 22.243

ἄκλιτα δὲ εἶναι τοῦτα· τὸ σέβας SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 46.16
 νὰ ἀρνηθῇ τὸ σέβας του MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 74
 ἔχασαν τὸ σέβας τους PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §22.24
 τὸ σέβας σου θυμήσου PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 586

2.24.3 Indeclinable Nouns

Indeclinable neuter nouns are limited to loanwords from French, Italian and Turkish, mainly ending in /e/ or a consonant, which are less easily adapted to Greek morphology than for instance those in /o/. Sometimes these nouns make a full transfer to other paradigms (e.g. τὸ λεβάντε > ὁ λεβάντες), or an ending is added in an attempt to adjust a form to Greek morphology, as in the case of κ(ο)λόμε and παλαφρέ. Other nouns remain invariable. Etymologies are mainly taken from KRIARAS, *Lex.* Some representative examples of nouns in -ε are:

εἰκοσιτέσσερα καβαλλαρίων τὰ φῖε *Chron. Mor.* H 1914 (< Occit. *fieu*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v. *fief*)
 καλὸν φαρίν ἢ παλαφρέ *Pol. Tr.* 2190; παλαφρέ τὴν ἡφέρασιν *ibid.* 5750 (< Old. Fr. *palefroil/palefreid*)
 τὰ παλαφρέ τους *Achil.* N 493
 ὅλα τὰ παλαφρέ τους *Velis.* χ 450
 εἰς τέρμε (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.8) (< Occit. *terme*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)
 ἔως τὸ τάρμε *Fior* 150.13
 εἰς τὸ κανάλε (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 37.II, 300.13.3) (< Ital. *canale*)
 ἔναι εἰς τὸ κλόμε τῆς βιόλας *Lapid.* 186.9 (< Ital. *colore*)
 τοῦ λεβάντε (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 55.2) (< Ital. *levante*)
 τὸ κολόμεν της (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 28, 34.11)
 σπῖτι ... μὲ ἄερε (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 110, 124.12) (< Ital. *aere*);
 στρομάτζο μὲ καβατζάλε (1602, *ibid.* 145, 158.15) (< Ven. *cavazzal*); τὸ μόντε ὄλο (1613, *ibid.* 846, 738.24) (< Ital. *monte*)
 ρίχτουν τὰ ἀλτάρε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 177.18 (< Lat. *altare*)
 βάλε δραγάντε εἰς τὸ ροδόσταμα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 268.12 (< Ital. *dragante*)
 ποὺ ἴκάνναν τὰ μουσαβετέ KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 298 (< Turk. *müs(e)vedde*)
 τὰ ὀρδενε της χώρας τως (Βενετσάς, Δαμασκηνοῦ Βαρλαάμ 66.28 (< Ven. *ordene*))

The following examples show isolated attempts at morphological adaptation, with substitution with the genitive ending -ου in κλόμεν; an inversion of φῖε to φέη/φότη, as if the noun belonged to the neuter -ος paradigm (see 2.23.1); and addition of the plural ending -α to παλαφρέ:

εἰς παλαφρέα πανέμνοστα *Pol. Tr.* 2543
 ὅλα τὰ παλαφρέα τους *Velis.* χ 450 app. crit. (V)
 καὶ ἔναι λαμπρὰ κλόμεν *Lapid.* 185.17
 εἴκοσι τέσσαρα καβαλλαρίων φέη *Chron. Mor.* P 1914
 εἰκοσιτέσσερις καβαλλαρίων τὰ φότη *Chron. Mor.* T 1914

The combination <έα> in παλαφρέα may be replaced with <ία>. This may point to synize-sis (see 1.5) or height dissimilation (see I, 2.9.4.3): εἰς παλαφρία ἐκάτσαν *Pol. Tr.* 1392 app. crit. (V); φαρία εκαβαλικεύασιν και πότε παλαφρία *Theseid* VI.9,2 (Olsen).

It has an indeclinable masculine variant in the London version of the *Achilleid*: τοὺς παλαφρέ τους *Achil.* L 286 and 339, and perhaps a singular in -ές, though it cannot be excluded that the following accusatives are neuter, with addition of /n/: εἰς παλεφρὲν ὀρωτικὸν *Theseid* I.129,1 (Follieri); ἦτον ἀπάνω σ' πελεφρὲν *ibid.* V.79,1.

Finally, this noun also developed a masculine alternative in -άς: καλὸν φαριν ἢ παλαφρά *Pol. Tr.* 2190 app. crit. (B); ἀπὲ τοὺς παλαφράδες *Imber.* 209.

Foreign nouns that end in a consonant may remain invariable:

εἰς τὸ Παρίς *Chron. Mor.* H 2139 (< Fr. *Paris*)

τὸ δικαίωμαν τοῦ ἁρμονιάκ *Assizes* A 240.3 (< Occit. *armoniac*); τὸ τέλος τοῦ χαλῆζ *ibid.*

240.11 (< Turk. *hâlis*)

μεγάλο δισπλαζίρ *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 4.3 (< Fr. *displaisir*); μέγαλον απλαζίρ *ibid.* 14.5

(< Fr. *plaisir*)

They are sometimes adapted through addition of -ι(ν) (cf. 2.20.2.2):

καὶ κανέναν δισπλαζίρι νὰ μὲν ἔχουν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 516.1–2

αν ἔχεις απλαζίριν *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 8.12; ἐποίκεν και ἄλλους πολλοὺς πολλὰ απλαζίρια *ibid.* 42.6

ἀπλαζίριν ἀποὺ τὸ βρομισμένον βίτσιον *Fior* 73.15

2.24.4 Substantivized Verbal Forms

Certain imperatives of verbs of motion such as prefixed forms of βαίνω (ἀνάβα, διάβα, ἔβγα/ἔξέβα, ἔμπα, κατάβα/κατέβα), as well as ἄμε, ὕπα and ἔλα and sporadically others such as ἀνάστα and δός, can be substantivized and turned into neuter nouns. Some of them even show a certain degree of inflection, to the extent that they can form plural nom. and acc. in -ατα, modelled on the -μα paradigm (for which see 2.21). Addition of final /n/ to nom. and acc. sg., again influenced by the -μα paradigm, may also occur. Genitive forms have not been found in the texts examined:

τὸ ἔβγα τοῦ Ἡρακλῆ ἐκ Περσίδος *NIKON, Logos* 31 818.11

ἔδω τὸ δός, ἐκεῖ τὸ δός *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 281; τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάβα τὸ γοργὸν ἔχει καὶ ὀξὺν κατὰβαν *ibid.* 363

εἰς τὸ ὕπα του *Pol. Tr.* 715 app. crit. (A)

εἰς τὸ ἔμπα τῆς κλεισούρας *Chron. Toc.* 2392

διὰ τὸ ἔλα τοῦ ἀδλεφοῦ σου (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.4) (for ἀδλεφοῦ see I, 3.9.1)

τὸ ἔλα σου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 77; τὸ ἔβγα μας *ibid.* 392

εἰς τὸ διάβαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 50.12–13

εἰς τὸ ἄμε τῆς ἐγίνην μέγαν κλάμαν *Voustr.*, *Chron.* B 319.2

ἀπὸ δὼ ἔως τὸ Τάραντον ὕπα καὶ τὸ ἔλα εἰσὶν μίλια υ' (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 82, 67.20)

εἰς τὸ ἔβγα τοῦ Ἡλίου (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 84.11)

εἰς τὸ ἐξέβα του *Diig. Alex.* F 102.15 (Lolos); ἔως τὸ ἔβγα τοῦ ἡλίου *ibid.* 284.19–20

τὸ ἔβγαν του *Diig. Alex.* E 103.15 (Lolos)

εἰς τὸ ὕπα ὡσάν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔλα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 448, 456.10)

τὸ ἄμε καὶ ἔλα ἀπὸ τόπον εἰς τόπον *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 81.6

ἔκαμε τὸ ἀνάστα ὁ Θεός *Paroim.* (Warner) 36.19

ἀπὸ τὸ ἔμπα ὦς τοῦ Λουκᾶ τὴν βρύση (1659, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 17A, 129.6)

διατὶ εἶναι τὰ ἔμπατα στενὰ *Chron. Mor.* H 5045; καὶ νὰ κρατοῦν τὰ διάβατα *ibid.* 6699

ἐκ τὰ διάβατα *Spaneas Z* 478

ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ διάβατα *Chron. Toc.* 3616

The “contracted” infinitive φᾶν (< φαγεῖν) may be substantivized, but is used only in nom. and acc. sg.:

νὰ τοῦ δίδη τὸ φᾶν του *Assizes B* 405.22

κ’ ἔδωκε ὁ νοῦς του πρὸς τὸ φάν *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 495

εἰς τὸ φᾶν καὶ τὸ π<ι>εῖν *Spanos A* 284–5

το φαν ἀπού ὀρδινίασεν *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 46.15–18

For inflected substantivized infinitives in /i(n)/, see 2.20.

3 Adjectives

3.1 Introduction

Developments in the morphology of adjectives must be viewed in the context of developments in the noun system, since many changes are common to the two systems. For example, the endings of feminine forms of adjectives in -ος coincide with those of feminine nouns in -α or -η and follow the same historical evolution. In other respects the paradigms of adjectives in -ος, with feminine in -η or -α (3.2) are remarkably stable. Two new subtypes with the suffixes -άριος/-άρις and -ένιος (3.2.6–7) come into existence in the medieval period and both are quite productive. We treat them separately from other adjectives in -ος, because some declensional forms undergo synizesis and other phonological developments. The other phenomenon affecting adjectives in -ος is the tendency to keep the stress on the same syllable as the masculine nominative singular (“columnar” stress), i.e. in the case of proparoxytone words, the stress does not move to the penultimate syllable in certain case-forms, as AG accentuation rules would require. The tendency had certainly begun several centuries before the period covered by this Grammar, but forms with stress movement continue to occur in LMedG and to a lesser extent EMG, particularly in texts in a higher or mixed register.

Adjectives that have what were originally 3rd-declension endings, i.e. those in -ύς, -ης and -ων, present a more varied picture; indeed, such adjectives already showed signs of instability in Late Antiquity. While we can observe a tendency to adopt 1st- and 2nd-declension endings for the plural of adjectives in -ύς (which remained in wide use throughout the period; see 3.3.1), those in -ης (oxytone or paroxytone) only rarely exhibit such plural forms, except for masc. acc. pl. -ους. On the other hand analogical changes are more prevalent in singular forms of -ης adjectives (3.3.3). In effect it has become a mixed paradigm, a tendency already apparent in the early Christian centuries. Adjectives in -ων, including “learned” comparative forms such as μείζων, are low-frequency items in LMedG and EMG, except for texts that aim at a more elevated register (3.3.4). Some lexical items, e.g. ἐλεήμων, remain in use in certain contexts, and in these cases various kinds of analogical reformation can be observed (e.g. masc. nom. sg. -ονας from the 14th c.), but no consistent pattern can be determined. In EMG the paradigm has essentially become marginal.

Two new adjectival paradigms appear in the period covered by this Grammar, or slightly earlier: compounds such as μακρυγένης are well attested from the 11th c. onwards, particularly as proper names. The feminine is usually in -α, while two different sets of neuter forms are found (3.4.1). The second new type is oxytone adjectives in -ής, mainly referring to colour or material, which are first recorded in the 13th c. and remain in use in SMG (3.4.3).

Declined participle forms, with the exception of those in -μένος or -μενος, are merely a vestigial feature in LMedG and EMG, more or less confined to documents and some other texts in mixed or higher registers (3.7). Certain morphological innovations can be observed, as well as ad hoc adaptations, and even indeclinable forms. With few exceptions, such declined participles are absent from vernacular literary texts after the 13th c.

The picture offered by the comparative forms of adjectives in the period that concerns us is extremely varied. New ways of forming analytical comparatives and superlatives come into existence, exhibiting a significant degree of regional variation (3.8). The absolute superlative in -τατος also remains in quite widespread use in LMedG and EMG and, since new lexical items can acquire such forms, it is clearly still productive (3.8.7).

In addition to the paradigms discussed above, a number of “irregular” adjectives inherited from AG preserve many of their forms but may also acquire “regularized” forms as a result of analogical processes: ἥμισυς (3.3.2.1), θήλυς (3.3.2.2), μέγας (3.6.1), πολλός (3.6.2), and comparatives in -ων such as πλείων and καλλίων (3.8.6).

For an overview of the main developments in the morphology of adjectives see HORROCKS ²2010: 289–92.

3.2 Adjectives in -ος

3.2.1 Adjectives in -ος with Feminine -η

This category of adjectives is very large, productive, and remarkably stable in terms of its morphology throughout the period of the Grammar, and indeed to the present day. We include here all types of adjective that have masculine -ος and feminine -η (with the exception of those with the suffix -ένιος, for which see 3.2.7), irrespective of whether they are oxytone, paroxytone or proparoxytone.¹ Consequently, the following are also covered in this section:

- a) adjectives formed with a variety of suffixes such as -ινος, -ινός, -άτος, -ούτσικος, -ικος, -ικός (but see below for κρητικός, which can have a feminine in -ιά);
- b) adjectives transferred from other categories (by metaplasm), such as ἀκριβός, εὐπρεπός, εὐτυχός, καλόθελος, πανεύγενος, πανεύτυχός, παμμέγεθος, ψευδός, all from adjectives in -ης (see PAPANASTASIOU 1992); γλυκός from γλυκύς (see 3.3.1); παράφρονος, ἀλάζονος etc. from adjectives in -ων (see 3.3.4); and a few other words, such as ἄρπαγος from AG ἄρπαξ, or μελανός from μέλας (see ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, *Lex.* s.vv.);
- c) participles in -μένος (perfect passive), -όμενος, -ούμενος, and -άμενος (present passive; for the connecting vowels /u/ and /a/ with stems of barytone verbs, see III, 2.3);
- d) absolute superlatives in -ότατος, -ύτατος and -έστατος.

We also include here adjectives that were “two-termination” in AG, i.e. there was no separate set of endings for feminine gender (e.g. ταλαίπωρος). A tendency for such adjectives

¹ We exclude originally three-termination adjectives in -ος (including comparative forms) where the preceding phoneme is /r/. For these see 3.2.3.

to acquire separate feminine forms is observed from the Koine onwards (JANNARIS 1897: 115; GIGNAC 1981: 105–13; HORROCKS 2010: 289–90). By the period covered by this Grammar, two-termination adjectives had normally been brought into line with the dominant paradigm, having three terminations -ος, -η, -ο(ν). (For those that have fem. -α, or fluctuate between -α and -η, see 3.2.2 and 3.2.3.) However, in certain contexts or registers the use of masculine endings for feminine referents can still be found throughout the period. For examples, see 3.2.4.

A few adjectives in -ος move over to the -ύς paradigm: μακρός > μακρύς and πικρός > πικρύς/πικρύς.² Both older forms from masculine singular -ός and newer forms from -ύς exist for these two words in the period covered by this Grammar. The latter forms are dealt with in 3.3.1, while examples of the former will be given below.

One other adjective requires discussion at this point, since it presents some peculiarities, but does not conform fully to two different paradigms: ζερβός, “left”. Although its etymology has not been satisfactorily explained (KRIARAS, *Lex. s.v.*), it exists as a personal name already in the 11th c.: Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Ζερβοῦ (1071, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 40, 127.35). In the following examples it follows the -ος, -η, -ο(ν) paradigm quite regularly:

τῆς ζερβῆς μεριᾶς (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 49, 40.6)
 τὸ ζερβόν Ag. *Nik. Strat.* 44.48
 τὴν ζερβὴν *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 95.20
 τὴν ζερβὴν χεῖραν (1539, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 1158, 895.8)
 τὸ ζερβόν SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 103.11
 εἰς τὴν ζερβὴ μερὰ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 341, 334–335.1)
 στή ζερβή σας χέρα *Pist. voskos* I.5.107
 τὴ ζερβή μου χέρα *Stathis* III.224; τὸν πόδα τὸ ζερβόν *ibid.* III.204
 ἀπὸ τὴν ζερβὴν του μεράν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1631) 231.6
 εἰς τὴν ζερβὴ μερέα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 49.28
 εἰς τὸ ζερβὸ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας (17th c., Kefalonia, TZANNETATOS 1965: 2, 102.10); τοῦ Ζερβοῦ (*ibid.* 118.16)
 εἰς τὸ ζερβὸ μου πόδαν (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 183.49)

There is also a form ζαρβός, found in texts from Cyprus and Rhodes:

εἰς τὸν ζαρβὸν ρέτινον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 310.10
 εἰς τὴν χέραν τὴν ζαρβὴν *Alosis* 1023

Forms of the feminine singular with -έα or -ία/-ιά begin to appear in the 16th c. The first examples are in a ms of the *Theseid* (ca. 1500), another is from a ms of the *Alexander Romance*, and two are from the 1547 Constantinopolitan *Pentateuch*:³

εἰς τὴν ζερβία του τὴν μερίαν *Theseid* VI.38,1 and VI.48,1 (Olsen)
 ἀπὸ τὴν ζερβίαν *Diig. Alex.* E 147.20 (Lolos)
 ἔχων μὲν εἰς τὴν ζερβίαν ἰστίαν FORTIOS, *Strat. pragm.* 508
 εἰς τὴ ζερβιά *Pent. Gen.* 13.9; τὴ ζερβιά του τοῦ φάρδου της *ibid. Gen.* 48.14

² In SMG ἑλαφρός and ἑλαφρύς are both in use. In the LMedG and EMG texts we have examined, almost invariably the form is ἑλαφρός (or ἀλαφρός); a single 17th-c. mention of (ἐ)λαφρύς (written -ής), fem. (ἐ)λαφριά has been found: agile, leggiere, λαφρή, ἑλαφρός, ὁ. Fem. λαφριά, ἑλαφρή, ἡ GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v.*

³ For a form ζερβέα in a verse text by Arsenios of Elasson (16th–17th c.), see KRIARAS, *Lex. s.v.*

In three of the above instances the antonym δεξιά(ν) occurs in balancing phrases in the immediate context, and it is surely that parallelism that gives rise to the change of ending. Compare also: ὑπάγει ὡς τὴν ζερβιὰν μεριὰν (17th c., Kefalonia, TZANNETATOS 1965: 2, 102.23) and ἀπὸ τὴν ζερβιὰν μεριὰν (RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 96.22). Masculine and neuter forms in -ύς, -ύ(ν) (often spelled with <ι>) emerge later:

τὸ ζερβί του μέρι MONTSEL., *Evgena* 850

μὲ τὸ ζερβί τὸ χέρι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §35.4; τὸν ζερβὺν ὥμον *ibid.* III §18.11

Finally, we may note an odd feminine form with -αν, again parallel with δεξιάν, occurring in a 16th-c. text: εἰς τὴν δεξιάν του τὴν μεριὰν καὶ εἰς τὴν ζερβάν του KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 181.7; εἰς τὴν ζερβάν *ibid.* 217.20.

Some other oxytone adjectives in -ός occur with alternative feminine singular forms that are normally associated with adjectives in -ύς (see 3.3.1); examples will be given below. In the case of στριγγός, “shrill”, the texts present alternative forms (of the accusative): στριγγή(ν) and στριγγιά(ν) (or στριγγέαν).

στριγγέαν φωνίτσαν ἔσυρεν *Arm.* 46; στριγγίαν φωνὴν ἐλάλησεν *ibid.* 71

στριγγιάν φωνὴν ἐφώναξεν *Achil.* L 145

στριγγὴν φωνὴν ἐλάλησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1014 (στρηγγκοιά T); *ibid.* H 1784 (στρην γκία T);

στριγγὴν φωνίτσαν ἔσυρεν *ibid.* H 4061 (στριγγέαν P, στρὴνγκιά T), H 4817⁴

The forms στριγγέαν and στριγγίαν (which are, in metrical terms, disyllabic) occur in *Armouris*, preserved in two 15th-c. mss (one of which is dated 1461); στριγγιά(ν) is found in ms L of the *Achilleid* (second half of the 15th c.), and a few times in the 16th-c. mss (P and T) of the *Chronicle of Morea*. However, the oldest ms of the *Chronicle* (H, 14th c.) always has στριγγήν. The word always occurs in a formulaic phrase with φωνή or φωνίτσα. It seems that στριγγή and στριγγιά function as alternative feminine forms of (presumably) στριγγός, an adjective that has not otherwise been found in our texts.

Other adjectives in -ός that have been found with feminine -ιά, in the texts examined, are ἀντρικός, κακός, κρητικός, ξενικός and (perhaps) σπλαχνικός:

σπλαχνικιά, σὰ θέλει ἡ τέχνη, νὰ ᾿σαι CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.322 (ex corr. ms σπλαχνικά)

τῆς κυρα-Σοφίας τῆς Κρητικιάς (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: I, 114.56)

τῆς Κρητικιάς (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.8)

τῆς κρητικιάς τῆς Ἀννεζίνας (1670, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1981: 2, 286.28–9)

τὴν ξενικιά γαδάρα (1680, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1665, 976.31)

ἡ κερά Μαρκέτα ἡ κρητικιά (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 16, 162.7); τῆς

κρητικιάς γυνῆς τοῦ Κάπου Κωνσταντῆν (1682, *ibid.* 241, 427.3); εἰς τὴν ἀντρικιά μεριά (1684, *ibid.* 437, 661.16)

Φραντζοῦ Πενταβοπούλλα Κρητικιά (1681, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 28, 59.3)

μὴ ἔχεις τίποτας καρδιά κακιά ἀπάνου μου (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 54.7)

στέκει ἐκεῖ εἰκόνα ... κρητικιά (17–18th c., Sinai, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 35, 140.11)

ἦτανε καὶ πρωτύτερα ἀμαρτωλή, καὶ Κρητικιά SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 42.14

⁴ Further examples of στριγγὴν occur at *Chron. Mor.* H 4379, 5117 and 5439. Cf. στριγγή φωνὴν ἐλέγασιν *Moirol. Konst.* 110.

There is also a proparoxytone adjective that occurs with fem. -ια: ρωμέ(ι)κος. One example has been found: ἄφησα ἕνα σεντούκι στὴν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ρωμέκῃ (1699?, Λνόν?, ΠΑΠΑΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ 1981: 9, 66.10–11) (author from Smyrna).

These examples are from 17th- or 18th-c. texts (the ms of Soumakis is actually from the 19th c.), but they cover a wide geographical span: the Heptanese, Cyclades, Smyrna, Thessaloniki. They seem to be the first examples of a phenomenon familiar in SMG affecting a small group of adjectives most of which have a stem ending in a velar consonant, e.g. βρόμικος, κακός, μαλακός, φτωχός, and the emphatic possessive δικός (μου): they have an alternative feminine form in -ια/-ιά.⁵ It would be difficult to regard the alternative feminine forms of στριγγός as early examples of the same phenomenon, in view of their isolated occurrence and formulaic context (always with the noun φωνή or its diminutive φωνίτσα). All other adjectives with stems ending in velars have only feminine -η in the texts examined. Examples are incorporated in the discussion below.

Returning to the “normal” -ος, -η, -ο(ν) paradigm, we can observe that allomorphic variation, excluding the usual fluctuation of final /n/, is limited to the following:

- 1) The feminine plural forms in the nominative and accusative appear with the inherited endings -αι and -ας as well as the newer ending -ες (nom. and acc.), frequently spelled -αις in our sources and in older editions. The change is exactly parallel to that which occurred with feminine nouns in -η and -α. This levelling of originally 1st- and 3rd-declension endings seems to have begun in the period of the Koine, but substantial evidence from written texts only becomes available from the LMedG period onwards (HORROCKS ²2010: 286–7).
- 2) In the case of proparoxytone adjectives there is a possibility of stress movement to the penultimate syllable. The quantity rules of AG did not allow the accent to fall earlier than the penultimate when the last vowel was long. Consequently, for the -ος, -η, -ο(ν) adjective paradigm, the accent of proparoxytone words moved obligatorily to the penultimate syllable with the endings -η(ν), -ου, -ης, -ους, -ας and -ων, as well as in all datives. The tendency to keep the stress on the same syllable for all forms may perhaps be observed in forms such as ἀναμάρτητου, τυραννούμενων, ἄγιων, ἄδικοις, found in 6th-c. hymnographic texts by Romanos (MAAS/TRYPANIS 1963: 514–15). Because accents were rarely marked in texts such as documentary papyri (GIGNAC 1976: 326–7), and since copyists may have “corrected” accentuation “errors” in lower-register texts, it is impossible to conclude a more precise dating for this tendency towards fixed, or “columnar”, stress (which is the norm in MG).⁶ Early examples of fixed stress include:

ἔγγραφην (984, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 9, 7.8)

πλησίον τοῦ Ὀλιγούτζικου (1100–10, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 53, 260.126)

⁵ See HOLTON et al. ²2012: 91. For alternative explanations of this development as either analogical or phonological, see CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 69–70 and B 520, TSOPANAKIS 1994: 256 and THOMADAKI 2001.

⁶ The 17th-c. grammarian Germano cites the absolute superlative forms ἀγιώτατος, ἀγιώτατη (sic) (GERMANO, *Grammar* 56.5) and adds the following comment: “ma la Greca volgare lascia l’Accento, doue era, & non lo muta; per ciò dice, ἀγιώτατος, ἀγιώτατη, santissimo, santissima, ἄδικος, ἄδικη, ingiusto, ingiusta. & nell’ Accusativo plurale ἄδικους, ingiusti, douendosi dire, ἄδίκους. Quelli però che vogliono parlar politamente, s’accomodano alla regola, & dicono ἡ ἀγιωτάτη, καὶ μακαριωτάτη παρθένος.”

κόκκινη *Ptoch. IV* 177 app. crit. (H)

ἄρετὴν γλυκύτατην *Diig. sevast. Thom. 73*; ἡδονὴν τερπνότατην *ibid. 321*

γενναῖκα ὕπανδρη *Assizes B* 282.18

ἦτον ἡ κόρη φρόνιμη *Pol. Tr. 273* app. crit. (X)

ἀμέριμνη *Assizes A* 167.14

However, stress movement, in accordance with AG rules, is frequently found in texts in higher or mixed registers.

- 3) The addition of final /e/ to the masculine accusative singular and genitive plural is a geographically restricted phenomenon, which occurs in the Heptanese and certain other areas. (See I, 2.6.3.) It affects only oxytone and paroxytone adjectives.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	καλός	καλή	καλό(ν)
Gen.	καλοῦ	καλῆς ἢ -ος	καλοῦ
Acc.	καλό(ν) ἢ καλόνε	καλή(ν)	καλό(ν)
Voc.	καλέ	καλή ἢ (καλέ?)	καλό(ν)

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	καλοί	καλές ἢ καλαί	καλά
Gen.	καλῶ(ν) ἢ καλῶνε ἢ καλούς	καλῶ(ν) ἢ (καλῶνε)	καλῶ(ν)
Acc.	καλούς	καλές ἢ καλάς	καλά
Voc.	καλοί	καλές	(καλά)

The tables below present both unaccented endings and accented (oxytone) ones, although the actual endings do not otherwise differ.

Singular

Masculine

M	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	-ος ἢ -ός		
Gen.	-ου ἢ -οῦ		-ο
Acc.	-ο(ν) ἢ -ό(ν)	-ονε ἢ -όνε	
Voc.	-ε ἢ -έ		

The masculine singular forms exhibit little allomorphy: in the accusative singular the final /n/ is frequently omitted, except in higher-register texts; and a geographically restricted form with added /e/ also occurs.

Nominative

The form is unchanged throughout the period:

ἦν γὰρ ὁ τόπος ἔρημος, ἄβατος *Dig. G* V.40
 πτωχοῦλλικός MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 86.26
 ζωντανὸς κι ἀποθαμμένος *Cypr. Canz.* 69.16
 ἄνδρας σκανδαλοποιὸς, μανιώδης, μνησικάκος, ἄρπαγος *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1572) 79
 ἦτον δὲ καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ ἄσχημος *Vios Aisop.* K 147.7
 ὁποῦ ἦτονε πρωτύτερα τυφλωμένος *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.27
 νὰ τὸ φθιάνη ἐκεῖνος μοναχὸς τοῦ (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 853, 744.9)

Genitive

Forms with fixed stress are rare before the 15th/16th c. (but see above for a 12th.-c. example); despite the scarcity of examples in the texts examined, they must have existed in informal use.

τ' ἀνήμερου FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 225
 πᾶσα ἐνός μου νόμιμου συγγενοῦ (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 148, 267.34)
 τοῦ ἀτυχώτατου ποδότα ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 563
 τοῦ ποτὲ εὐγενέστατου μας Πιέρου (1612, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 7, 361.3–4)
 τοῦ εὐμορφου τοῦ νέου *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 91
 τοῦ πανοσιότατου ἱερομόναχου (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 3, 176.14)

Stress movement seems to be particularly favoured in absolute superlative forms and in titles:

παρὰ τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου ἄρχοντος FALIEROS, *Thrinios* tit.
 τοῦ γενναιοτάτου καὶ ἀνδρικοτάτου μεγάλου βελισσαρίου (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 10, 19.22)
 τοῦ γλυκυτάτου μου Χριστοῦ VEST., *Pathi* 112
 τοῦ γαληνοτάτου πριγκίπου IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 337.32

There is a rare instance of a genitive in -ο, which may be a simple scribal error: τοῦ Σταυρομένο (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 18, 61.31). Alternatively, it may be an extension of the -ο genitive of masc. nouns in -ος (unusually) to a word of Greek origin (see the editors' note, *ibid.* 64, and this volume, 2.1.2).

Accusative

The form occurs with and without final /n/ throughout the period:

ἔναν σας καλὸν χρήσιμον καβαλάρην (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.13–14)
 τὸν εὐγενέστατον *Chron. Mor.* P 2422
 ἐχάσετε τὸ δάσκαλο τὸν πολυαγαπημένο FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 90
 μὲ ἀφέντην ξευράμενον MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 374.25
 ἀέραν χρυσοκόκκινον (1557, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 11, κς'.52)
 ἔχομε κουρσεμένον τὸν μισὸν Μορέαν (1571, Mani, CHASIOITIS 1970: 6.1, 241.18)
 φοβιζάμενη τὸν πικρύτατον θάνατον (1646, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 22, 163.6)

In texts from the Heptanese and Peloponnese, forms with addition of final /e/ can be found (see I, 2.6.3):

ζουρλόνε τονέ λέσι *CHORTATIS*, *Katz.* I.158 (ms from the Heptanese)
 τὸν ἐγνωρίσαμε οὐλοῖ ἐμπιστεμένονε, ἀληθινόνε καὶ ἄξιο (1665, Mani, *BLANKEN* 1951: VIII, 307.20)
 ἐκεῖνος ὅπου εἶχε παχτωμένονε (1678, Kefalonia, *ALEXOPOULOU* et al. 2009: 246, 222.35)
 νὰ μὴν τονε ἀφήση χέρισονε (1708, Lefkada, *GRAPSA* 2006: 47, 83.8) (= χέρσον)
 καλύτερὰ ἔχει τοὺς πολλοὺς παρὴ ἓνα μοναχόνε *KATSAITIS*, *Ifig.* II.676

Vocative

The ending is invariably -ε:

ἀήττητε μονάρχα *Eisit.* f.1v.2
 φίλτατε *Dig.* G II.275
 ἀμὴ ἂν θέλῃς, υἱὲ καλέ, *Arm.* 9
 μακρόρουρε, μακρόμυτε, μεγαλομουστακάτε *Diig. tetr.* 127
 ὦ βασιλεῦ παγκάκιστε, ἀνόσιε διώκτη *Flor.* L 732 (Cupane)
 πᾶσα χάριν γεμάτε ἀφέντη *MACHAIRAS*, *Chron.* V 640.24
 ἐγνώρισε, σερενίσιμε ἀφέντη (1571, Mani, *CHASIOITIS* 1970: 6.1, 241.13–14)
 ἔπτωχέ *MOREZINOS*, *Klini* 29.22
 ὕστερινέ μου λογισμέ καὶ νὰ σέ εἶχα πρώτα *Paroim.* (Warner) 80.18
 ἐκλεχτὲ ἄρχο χαριτωμένε *FOSKOLOS*, *Fort. Dedic.* 34
 εσύ τρελέ δασκαλάκη *Don Kis.* 145.11–12

Special mention should be made of the word μωρέ, originally the masculine singular vocative of the adjective μωρός.⁷ Examples with masculine referents (or explicit masculine nouns) abound throughout the period:

μωρέ, φέρε τὸ ἵππάρι μου, μωρέ, τὸν τουρκομάνον *Chron. Mor.* H 4819
 μωρὲ Σαρακηνέ *Arm.* 58
 μωρέ, πάντες σὲ ξεύρουσιν *Poulol.* 241
 μωρὲ σπανέ *Spanos* A 244
 γρικά, μωρὲ βαρόμοιρε *FOSKOLOS*, *Fort.* I.226; καὶ ἄμε, μωρέ, ρουφιάνευγε *ibid.* III.520

In LMedG the word has taken on the function of an exclamation or form of address (see *KRIARAS*, *Lex.* s.v.); by the end of our period it can be found with all genders and numbers, e.g. χτυπᾶτε, μωρὲ παιδιὰ, τοὺς παλιομουρτάτηδες! *EFTHYM.*, *Chron. Gal.* 59.14–15.

Feminine

F	General	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-η ἰ -ή	
Gen.	-ης ἰ -ῆς	-ος
Acc.	-η(ν) ἰ -ή(ν)	

⁷ This adjective has been classified here, rather than with other adjectives in -πος (for which see 3.2.3), because it does not occur with fem. -α in the LMedG and EMG texts we have examined.

The paradigm is stable throughout the period, apart from the usual fluctuation of final /n/ in the accusative. Forms of the genitive in -ος occur in verse romances and may be seen as a literary cliché or analogical formations.

Nominative

There is no variation in the ending, and forms without stress movement, e.g. κόκκινη, occur already in verse texts dating from the 12th c. (though the mss are of later date):

- καθέζομαι γυμνή και παραπτονεμένη *Ptoch. I* 54; κόκκινη μεγάλη φιλομήλα *ibid. IV* 177 app. crit. (H)
 διότι θέλω γενῶ ἐγνώριμη με ἐσέναν *Pol. Tr.* 334 app. crit. (A)
 ἡ γλώσσα ἡ γλυκύτατη *PLOUSIAD., Thrinos* 10 (Vasileiou)
 αὐλή και ἀφθαρτή *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 153
 ἡ φλόγινη ρομφαία *Diig. Alex.* K 368.29–30
 ἡ θηλυκὴ δαγκάνει τὴν ἀρσενικὴν ὀχία *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 149.8
 Στραβὴ πόρτα (16th c., Constantinople, *PREGER* 1912: 470.11)
 πᾶσα παρακάλεσι ἀπρακτὴ και ἀνωφέλετη *Pist. kekoim.* 160
 φοβούμενη (1561, Corfu, *VERRA et al.* 2007: 64, 53.5)
 ἡ στερινὴ ἡ γραφή (1565, Prousa, *PATRINELIS* 1988/89: 1, 48.15)
 καὶ τούτῃ θέλω νὰ στέκει και νὰ ἔνε φέρμη (1625, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1986: 6, 79.2)⁸
 χοντρή, γεμάτη, γερὴ *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §36.174

Movement of stress from the antepenultimate syllable to the penultimate may be due to a variety of factors, such as a more formal register or metrical convenience, as in the following two examples:

- ἦτον ἐτούτῃ ἐξαίρετῃ, ὁμορφοτάτῃ *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1802
 ἡ μεγαλειοτάτῃ ἀρχόντισσα (1592, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1955: 19, 74.5)

Genitive

As in the other cases, stress movement may or may not occur:

- τῆς Ἄρκτου τῆς μικροῦτζικης τὰ ὀπισθεν τὰ μέρη *KAMAT., Astron.* 527
 τῆς ἀγιοτάτης και θεοφρουρήτης ἀγίας μονῆς (1142, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 133, 176.4–5)
 τῆς δίγνωνης *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1519
 μετὰ και πρασίνης τζόχας *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 56.21
 θυγατρὸς νόθης τοῦ ποτὲ κύρ Λέω (1509, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 17, 31.22)⁹
 τῆς ἀναθρεφθῆς μου τῆς Νικολοῦς (1513, Corfu, *KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1998: 2, 22.8)
 τῆς φρόνιμης και δόκιμης *Diig. Alex.* F 202.15 (Lolos)
 ἔμορφης θεωρίας *Chron. Toc.* 350; σύντομης καρδίας *ibid.* 379
 τῆς προειπωμένης κερα-Λένας (1606, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 396, 369.4)
 ἀχαμνῆς φύσεως ἀνθρωπος ἦτον *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §21.6
 αὐτηνῆς τῆς ευγενικῆς αὐθέντρας *Bertoldin.* 164.15–16

⁸ For a further example of the loanword φέρμος (< Ital. *fermo*) with fem. -η, see below under Accusative. The word is frequent in Cretan documents.

⁹ In the documents of the same notary, we find a single example of a fem. form of νόθος with /a/: τῆς θυγατρὸς μου τῆς νόθας (1527, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 120, 217.14). It may perhaps be the result of influence from the higher-register nom. and acc. pl. forms νόθαι, νόθας.

A few instances of feminine genitive singular in -ος are found in texts belonging to the genre of romance.¹⁰ In all cases the adjective is preceded by the definite article; all the adjectives are compounds and all refer to a woman's exceptional beauty. As compounds, these words are often used with two terminations (i.e. masculine endings are also used for the feminine), especially in higher or mixed-register texts (see 3.2.4). The genitive ending -ος may be modelled on either AG 3rd-declension nouns or the new 2nd-declension feminine nouns in -ο (ή Ἑγριπο, gen. τῆς Ἑγριπος, see 2.1 and especially 2.1.3). Four examples have been found:

- τῆς βεργόλικος *Dig.* E 1579
 τῆς παράξενος κουρτέσας τῆς ροδάμνης *Liv.* V post 4015 app. crit.
 τῆς παράξενος *Liv.* E 825
 τῆς ἐξαίρετος Σεμιράμης *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1308

Accusative

The forms are essentially the same as the nominative, except that final /n/ may be added.

- τὴν μεγάλην κουτουλὴν καρέα (1090–4, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 45, 164.50)
 μὴν με ἀφήσης μοναχὴ *Dig.* A 2624
 πετρίνην γνώμην [ANDR. PALAIOI.], *Kallim.* 746
 τὴν ἀναθρεφθὴ μου τὴν Νικολοῦ (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.12)
 εἶναι ὀπλεγάδος νὰ δίδῃ φέρμην ἰντάδα (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 330, 312.4)
 μιὰ γαϊδάρα μαύρη (1611, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 126, 122.9)
 me fonin athropinin / με φωνὴν ἀθροπινὴν BAROZZI, *Letter* 358.11
 θαυματουργὴ εἰκόνα *Pist. voskos* I 2.233; με καρδιὰν τρεμάμενην περίσσια *ibid.* V 7.40
 μετετέθη ... εἰς ρομαίικην ὁμιλίᾳ (1630, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 111, 222.18)
 τὴ στραβὴ εἰς τ' ἀκρωτήρι, γαῖτανόφρυδὴ τὴ λέσι *Paroim.* (Warner) 110.22
 στήν πελελὴν ὀλπίδα KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.12
 εἰς δυνατὴν καὶ σκοτεινὴν φυλακὴν SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 55.19

Proparoxytone forms (without movement of stress) are common in all kinds of text:

- χαρὰν ἐξαίρετην *Dig.* E 592
 εἰς λέξιν ἀκριβέστατην *Velis.* χ 561
 τὴν βασιλίσσαν ὠραιότατη *Diig. Alex.* F 22.19 (Konstantinopulos)
 κοκκινόξανθην φορεσίαν *Vios Aisop.* K 196.29
 τὴν γλυκιὰν καὶ χαϊράμενην ὄψιν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 68.36
 συνταρχίαν ἄπειρην *Chron. Toc.* 337
 με χαρούμενην ψυχὴν *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 39
 κ' ἔρημη τὴν ἀφῆσαν *DIAKR., Diig. Pol.* 318
 με μεγαλώτατη φωνὴ *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1056
 τὴν μαρότατη τοῦ Σατανᾶ φιλενάδα *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 26.9–10

¹⁰ A similar example occurs in a document from Naxos, unless the epithet of the Virgin Mary is here indeclinable: τῆς Κεῤῥᾶς μας τῆς Ἀγγελολαίρετιστος (1576, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 79, 98.20).

Vocative

The forms are identical to the nominative:

ἔδ᾽ συνάξου, λογισμέ καὶ λεπτινή μου γνώση *Diig. Ven.* 1
 ὀρωτική, ἐξαίρετη κουρτέσσα *Achil.* N 935
 ταλαίπωρη κόρη *Ag. Nik. Strat.* 43.25–6
 τί κλαίεις, κακότυχη; ΠΑΡΑ-ΛΑΥΡ., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 126.29
 μοίρα κακή κι ἀντίδικη *CHORTATIS, Erof.* III.9
 πατρίδα κακοτύχιστη καὶ χώρα τοῦ Ρεθύμνου *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 195.10
 γλυκυτάτη | γυνή μου *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 933–4
 εὐμορφή μου σινιόρα *Don Kis.* 51.8

The form of address *μωρή*, often combined with another feminine adjective, or participle or noun, is particularly common:

μωρή καμήλα μυσερή *Diig. tetr.* 796
 σύρε, φέρε μου, μωρή *Kakop.* 103
 μωρή, κάνεις ἐκεῖνο ποῦ σοῦ ἴπα ἢ νὰ σὲ σκοτώσω (1579, Kefalonia, *PENDOGALOS* 1975: 7, 97.34–5)
 μωρή, μωρή, τ' ἀντροῦ σου | μὴν κάνης τέτοιαν ἐντροπή *CHORTATIS, Katz.* V.54
 γειά σου, στήν πίστη μου, μωρή *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.361
 νένα μωρή καημένη *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1246 app. crit. (A)

Neuter

N	General
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ο(ν) ἰ -ό(ν)
Gen.	-ου ἰ -οῦ

Apart from the fact that final /n/ may be deleted, the endings are unchanged from AG.

Nominative

ὡς δένδρον ἔμνοστούτζικον *Flor.* L 643 (Cupane)
 ἦτον κι ἐτοῦτο πρὸς ἐμᾶς χρειαζόμενο μαντάτο! *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 238
 ἔναι τὸ ὄνειρόν μου ψευδὸν *Diig. Alex.* F 66.8 (Konstantinopulos)
 τὸ μεγαλώτατο βασίλειο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 57.26
 νὰ γένη ξύδι καλότατον *LANDOS, Geopon.* 244.19–20
 βολετόν δὲν ἦτονε *KONST. ΔΙΑΚ., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 76
 ἔνα καράβι Τούρκικο (1681, Genoa, *ΒΑΥΑΚΑΚΟΣ* 1988b: 506.15)

Genitive

ἐκ γένους χαμηλότατου *Velis.* χ 29
 μέχρι μακροῦ τοῦ γήρους *Achil.* N 352
 τοῦ νοθογέννητου παιδίου *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 791
 ἐνὸς καραβίου χοντροῦ (16th c., *DELATTE* 1946: 493.12)

The following examples (from the 16th and early 18th c. respectively) have shift of stress, which is often associated with a higher register:

τὸ ἐμπαντίκιον τοῦ λεγομένου χωραφίου (1557, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1955: 11 [later copy], 64.23)
 του ἀνθρωπίνου γένους *Don Kis.* 11.4

Accusative

τὸ ἐν ἀργυρὸν καὶ τὸ ἕτερον κασσιτέρινον (1189, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: App. II, 210.51)
 καρυδάτον ὀλιγὸν *Ptoch.* IV 329
 ἀλλάζονον ἀλλάγιν *Pol. Tr.* 8955 < ἀλαζών
 τί καλὸν ἐμπόρουν νὰ σοῦ ποίσω; FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 196
 μεγαλώτατον προικιὸν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 330.30
 πᾶσα φύλλον | τρεμούμενον *Pist. voskos* IV 2.26–7
 δὸς μου τὸ ψωμί τὸ ἀγορασμένον GERMANO, *Grammar* 54.3
 νὰ παίρνῃ τόσο ὑποστατικὸ ἀρεσούμενὸ τῆς (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: I, 114.70)
 ἔχω μερικὸ κηρὶ ἔτοιμο (1697, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 42, 228.5)
 καὶ λὲν πῶς τὸ ἔχει φυσικὸ KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.36

Vocative

τέκνον μου ποθεινότατον *Dig.* E 228 and 561
 ὦ Γεροσόλυμα πτωχόν, ὦ σπῖτι τοῦ Θεοῦ μου FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 73
 ὦ ἀπίστο καὶ ατὶμητο ριζικὸ ἐδικὸ μου! *Diig. Alex.* K 363.14
 τέκνο σπλαχνικὸ *Thysia Avr.* 767
 ὦ πελελὸ κοπέλι *Pist. voskos* I 1.79
 τέκνο κακὸ καὶ πῖβουλο, τοῖ πονηριῆς γεμάτο KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.431

Plural

Masculine

M	General	Restricted
Nom./Voc.	-οι -οί	
Gen.	-ων -ῶν	-ω -ῶ -ωνε -ῶνε -ους -ούς
Acc.	-ους -ούς	

The basic endings are completely stable: -οι, -ων, -ους. Proparoxytone adjectives may exhibit stress movement to the penultimate syllable in the accusative and genitive (see above). This can also occur in the nominative, by analogy with the other cases, or on the model of proparoxytone masculine nouns in -ος, or possibly (in verse texts) for metrical reasons. In the genitive a number of regionally restricted phenomena come into play: deletion of final /n/ (mainly in Cretan texts; see I, 3.7.2.2); addition of /e/ (Heptanesian, Peloponnesian, Cretan); and substitution of the ending -ους, for animate referents (Cypriot; see 1.2).

Nominative

εἰ μὲν ἀνάξιοι εἴμεθα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 140.21
 τὸ χαρτὴν τὸ ἐπεύσασιν οἱ εὔπρεπτοι ἄνθρωποι (1456, Unknown, TSIRPANLIS 1986: 1, 221.1)
 (the adjective has no accentuation in the ms)
 γαῖδάροι πουλιέζικοι *Spanos* D 1196; οἱ πονηρευόμενοι σπανοί *ibid.* D 1330
 κρᾶζονται φεγγαριασμένοι *Fior* 113.5–6
 οἱ καστρινοί *Diig. Alex.* K 354.24
 οἱ ξένοι καὶ οἱ πτωχοῦλλικοί *Pist. kekoim.* 545
 ἐσηκώθησαν ὅλοι οἱ αὐθένται ὀρθοί *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 17–18
 ἐπομείνα κοντέντοι καὶ ἀνεπαμένοι καὶ οἱ δύο μερίδες (1573, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17
 [later copy], 72.39)
 αὐτὸ τὸ κάμουσι οἱ μωροὶ καὶ λωλοὶ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §11.1

In the following examples, which come from texts of different genres and provenances, from the 15th c. onwards, the stress moves from the antepenultimate to the penultimate; where this occurs at the end of a line of political verse, metrical convenience is a possible factor, but there are also instances from prose texts such as Machairas and Kartanos (cf. proparoxytone masc. nouns in -ος, 2.1.3):

- φρονίμοι *Pol. Tr.* 488 app. crit. (A) (end of verse); ὁ γὰρ λαὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σοῦ εἶναι ἀντιδικοί
 ibid. 2575 app. crit. (AX) (end of verse); οἱ περιφανεστάτοι ibid. 3194 app. crit. (BV) (end of verse)
 καὶ φίλοι καὶ γνωρίμοι *Achil.* N 742; cf. οἱ ἀγοῦροι ibid. 1007
 οἱ φρονίμοι *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 30
 οἱ καταδικοί του *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 44.4
 οἱ ἄρρωστοι *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 211.25
 οἱ φρονίμοι *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 601 (end of verse)

Genitive

The usual form has the ending -ων, with stress movement to the penultimate in the case of proparoxytone adjectives:

- ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτόθι ἐρχομένων (1361, Constantinople, *KODER et al.* 2001: 262, 552.28–9)
 ἑτέρων ἀληθεστάτων πλησιαστάδων (1472, Corfu, *KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS* 1996: 4, 151.11)
 τῶν ἀθέων Τούρκων *CHEILAS, Chron.* 347.8–9
 τῶν ἀδυνάτων (1545, Corfu, *KARYDIS/TZIVARA* 1994/96: 2, 99.15)
 τῶν κατωγεγραμμένων καὶ παρακαλεμένων μαρτύρων (1597, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 9, 31.3)
 τῶν τρελῶν καλογέρων (1692, Bucharest, *PAPASTRATOU* 1981: 4, 50.13)
 τὸν χαῖμὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 16.21

Forms without stress movement are not uncommon:

- χρήσιμων ἀνθρώπων *Chron. Mor.* H 2416
 παρὰ σαλῶν καὶ ἄτακτων ἀνθρώπων ἐδιδάχθη *Dig.* E 1565
 τῶν νόμιμων καὶ ἀξιόπιστων μαρτύρων (1690, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 9, 23.23)

Deletion of final /n/ occurs mainly in texts from southern areas, particularly Crete, e.g.

- φτωχῶ καὶ ἀνήμπορῳ *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol.* 36
 ἀμαρτωλῶ σωτηρία (1668, Naxos, *KEFALLINIADIS* 1971/73: 483.34)
 κατέμπροστε ἐμοῦ νοταρίου καὶ τῶν ὑποκάτωθε ὑπογεγραμμένῳ τιμίων μαρτύρῳ (1685, Zakynthos, *MAVROS* 1984: 362.2–3)
 τῷ φρόνιμῳ καὶ τῷ γραμματισμένῳ *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.166

The contrary phenomenon, addition of /e/ to the genitive plural, is found in texts from the Heptanese and certain other areas (see I, 2.6.3):

- τῶν πτωχῶνε (1509, Zakynthos, *VAYAKAKOS* 1950: 1, 144.11)
 ἐμπιστῶνε ἀθρώπωνε (1637, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 73, 81.5–6)

In Cypriot texts we find the ending -ους (see 1.2), e.g. εἰς χεῖρας τοὺς καλοπίχερους *Assizes A* 122.12.

Accusative

The ending -ους is invariable:

ἐκ τούς ἐπιλεγμένους *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 46
 τοὺς δύο ἀκρινούς (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 60, 48.2)
 ἄρχοντας πλούσιους καὶ πτωχοὺς μικροὺς τε καὶ μεγάλους *Byz. Il.* 1086
 καλοὺς, φρονίμους, γέροντες *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 228

Forms without movement of stress are common in texts from at least the 14th c. onwards:

λουλοὺς τοὺς ἔχω κι ἄτυχους *Chron. Mor.* H 3889; ἀνθρώπους ἐλαφρότατους, φρόνιμους,
 παιδευμένους *ibid.* P 6972
 εὐτολμούς, ἀνδρειωμένους *Velis.* χ 91 app. crit. (N)
 εἰς τοὺς τόπους τοὺς πρεπάμενους *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 364.4–5
 εἰς τόπους περικουλούζικους *Fior* 108.10
 ἀνθρώπους, λέγω, λοῖδορους, γαστρίμαργους *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 315
 τοὺς τιμιώτατους κληρικούς *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 233
 ἀπὸ γονεῖς εὐγενεῖς καὶ φιλάρετους *MOREZINOS, Klini* 42.3
 τοὺς ἄρπαγους *BOUNIALIS M., Kat. ofel.* 357
 τοὺς χριστιανούλλικους *Thrinios Kypr.* 504

Vocative

The vocative is identical with the form of the nominative:

φύγετ' ἀπ' ἐδῶ, μωροὶ ἀγριότραγοι *Spanos* D 1529–30
 ἐλᾶτε, μωροὶ σπανοὶ *Spanos* A 177
 ὦ φρόνιμοι κι ἀξότατοι και πλούσα γεροντάκια *CHORTATSI, Panor.* V.405
 ὦ Ρωμαῖοι φιλάργυροι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.32
 νέοι ὁμορφοὶ καὶ πλοῦσοι, *Fallidos* 1
 μὴ φεύγετε, δειλοὶ και ουτιδανοί! *Don Kis.* 45.24

Feminine

F	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-ες -ές		-αι -αί
Gen.	-ων -ῶν	(-ωνε) (-ῶνε)	
Acc.	-ας -άς -ες -ές		

The feminine plural endings have followed the same development as the corresponding nouns in -α and -η (for which see 2.11–12). The nominative ending -αι is rather rare in LMedG texts, and must be seen as belonging to a higher register, i.e. it is an archaism. This is not true to the same extent for the accusative ending -ας, which continues to occur in both literary and non-literary texts of mixed register. The newer ending for both nominative and accusative, -ες, is attested from at least the 11th c. It is often spelled with <αι> in mss, early printed editions, and by (mainly) 19th-c. editors. For the position of stress see below.

Nominative

The nominative in -αι is, as mentioned above, rare in LMedG texts, but some examples occur in documents or mixed-register texts such as the Grottaferrata *Digenis*:

αἱ δὲ ρίζαι του χυμευταὶ *Dig.* G IV.222; αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ ... κεκτημέναι *ibid.* VI.27
 ὅλαι αἱ πτωχαὶ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ζιοῦσι ἀπὸ δικόν του (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.37–8)

Forms in -ες are well attested from the 11th c. onwards:

εἰκόνες διάχρυσες ἔγκαυστες (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.132)
 καὶ ἄλλες γυναῖκες περισσὲς εἰστέκασιν *Log. parig.* L 453
 οἱ κλάτσες κόκκινες *Assizes* B 465.13
 ἀνέγλυτες πανεύφημες, ὕπανδρες καὶ χηράδες *Anak. Konst.* 73
 ὅλες καλές, εὐγενικές, ἀρχόντων θυγατέρες *Achil.* N 1033
 οἱ ἄπιστες, οἱ δολερές καὶ πονηρές γυναῖκες *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2074
 οἱ μάννες οἱ ταλαίπωρες *Alosis* 208
 οἱ σάρκες οἱ λευκές *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 56
 καὶ εἶναι τὰ χαρτὰ κόλλες μεταξωτές (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.35–6)
 αἱ πολλότατες του δυνάμεις *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 11.20

The following example shows shift of stress to the penultimate, perhaps an attempt to elevate the linguistic level: ἐμπόλιες δ, οἱ τρεῖς σκουλίνες (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 2, 4.5).

Genitive

In the case of proparoxytone adjectives the stress normally shifts to the penultimate; an exception can be seen in the last example below, from Epirus. No example of addition of final /e/, as for the masculine forms (see above), has been found in the texts examined.

μερίμων, | ἀνυποφόρων, φοβερῶν, | μεγάλων, ἀβαστάγων *Eisit.* f.8r.4–6
 τῶν φονικῶν κρίσεων *Chron. Mor.* H 2015
 εἶπαμε τῶν κορασίδων, | εἶπαμεν καὶ τῶν ὑπάνδρων *Epain. gyn.* 665–6
 φέρνει νὰ μοιράση τῶν πτωχῶν, νὰ τὰς πασχάση (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.39)
 τῶν ἐπίλοιπων (1680, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 8, 302, f.1v.4)

Accusative

The older ending -ας continued to be used in mixed-register texts long after the appearance of forms in -ες. It is remarkable, however, that the old ending often co-exists with fixed stress. (Since the <α> of the ending was long in AG, the accent could not fall earlier than the penultimate.) The ending -ας seems to be selected, often along with the definite article τὰς, as a conscious choice of a higher register, whether by an author or a copyist, but without regard to the AG rules of accentuation.¹¹

μετὰ τὰς ἀφωρισμένας καὶ σημαδευμένας ἑορτὰς ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 214.17–18
 ἀπαλαρίας κύπρινας γ' (1189, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: App. II, 210.52)
 τὰς ἔμορφας βισκίνας, τὰς ἱστορίας τὰς αἰσθητὰς *Liv.* V 283–4; τὰς λύπας τὰς ἀμέτρητας *ibid.* 1094

¹¹ The opposite phenomenon – the ending -ες combined with shift of stress to the penultimate – can be seen in the following example, where metrical convenience is the likely explanation: πίκρες βαρυτάτες *Dig.* A 1854.

τὰς φρόνιμας βουλὰς *Pol. Tr.* 4671 app. crit. (A) (τὲς φρόνιμες βουλῆς mss BV)
 χάριτας παράξενας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 832
 εἶχαν μακρὰς τὰς μύτας *Alex. Rim.* 2618

The ending -ες, the same as that of the nominative, with fixed stress, rapidly becomes the norm (as in MG). Examples:

νὰ ἔχωμεν ἡμεῖς αὐτὲς ἐλεύθερες (1170, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 231, 231.21)
 πέτρες πολλές ἄσπρες (1333, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 15, 75.9)
 εἰκόνες ὀλοχυμευτὲς *Dig.* E 1078
 μὲ κόρες ἔμνοστούτσικες *Flor.* L 769 (Cupane)
 μὲ ἀξιόπιστες μαρτυρίες (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1991: 1, 233.6)
 ἀποὺ πονιζάμενες ἐννοῖες *Fior*, Suppl. 269.3
 μὲ τέσσερεις τόρτσες ἄσπρες (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 38.31)
 μερικὲς ἐλιὲς μοναστηριακὲς (1639, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 9, 363.1)
 εἰς τὲς γκρεμισμένες ἐκκλησίες IER. AVNATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 337.5
 εἰς ἐ διάφορες χῶρες καὶ τόπους τοῦ γαληνοτάτου πρέντζιπε (post 1669, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1938: 2, 295.3)
 καλουγερκὲς προθέσες (1691, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 89, 214.11)
 εἰς κάτι παράμερες σπηλιὲς EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22.5

Rarely, a shift of stress to the penultimate is found with proparoxytone adjectives (cf. nominative above): εἶχεν γυναικὲς νομίμες ἑπτακοσίες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 300.29.

Vocative

The forms coincide with those of the nominative, though no example of the older -αι ending has been found in the texts examined:

ἀκούσετε γειτόνισσες καὶ συνανατροφές μου *Rim. kor.* A 179
 μιὰρὲς ... ἐπὶβούλες, σκύλες ἀφορισμένες *Synax. gyn.* 80
 κί' ἐσεῖς μου μυζηθρόπιτες πολλὰ μου ἡγαπημένες CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.62
 τί πράγμα λέγετε ἐσεῖς, ζουρλές; *Bertoldos* 18.22
 σωπαῖτε, σκληρὲς σάλπιγγες *Zinon* I.1; σκοτεινιασμένες θύμησες *ibid.* I.5

Neuter

N	General	Restricted
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-α ἰ -ά	
Gen.	-ω(ν) ἰ -ῶ(ν)	(-ωνε) ἰ (-ῶνε)

The forms of the nominative and accusative are unchanged from AG to the present. The genitive exhibits the same range of variation as the masculine genitive plural.

Nominative

δένδρα δρύινα (1071, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 40, 127.47)
 ἄς ἔναι ἡτοιμασμένα *Eisit.* f.1v.16
 τὰ γινόμενα (1243, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 293, 408.8)
 νὰ ἔλθουν τὰ ὠμόβορα καὶ τὰ ἀνδρειωμένα *Diig. tetr.* 856
 κάτεργα καὶ καράβια ... πραγματευτάδικα (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 274.24)
 τὰ φορέματά μας εἶναι τρίχινα *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 115.31

Genitive

Some of the examples below, from documents from the Cyclades and Heptanese and from a Cretan literary work, show deletion of final /n/.

- βουβαλίων καὶ λοιπ(ών) τετραπόδ(ων) (1079, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 2, 17.6)
 ἡ εὐθεΐα τῶν ἐνικῶν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 40.2; τῶν πληθυντικῶν *ibid.* 40.7
 τῶν ἄνωθι ὀρφανῶ, τῶν μπουδιῶν του (1617, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 16, 320.24)
 εἰς ἐὶ ὀμπλιγατσίων πασῶν τῶν καλῶν τῶς (1630, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 111, 222.5)
 τοῦν ἐπίλοιπῶ ἀδελφίωνε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 14, 39.9)
 περβολιῶ ὁμορφότατῶ καὶ μοσκομυρισμένῶ ΤΡΟΙΛΟΣ, *Rodol.* I.148
 τῶν ἀνιψιῶν του τῶν ἄρφανῶ (1680, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 25, 102.16–17)

Accusative

- τὰ μαύρα εφορούσασιν *Diig. Apoll.* 623
 τὰ λεγόμενα χωράφια καλὰ καὶ οἰκοκυράτα καὶ ἀρεσκόμενα (1557, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 11 [later copy], 63.14)
 τὰ καημένα ψόματα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.298
 τὰ οὐγγρικά φουσάτα ΜΑΤΤΗΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1110
 λόγια πολλὰ ἡγαπητὰ PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2646
 ἐμιλούσαμεν ... φραντζόζικα καὶ ἰταλιάνικα (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.14)
 ἄψητα κρέατα ΕΦΤΗΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 20.10; αὐτὰ τὰ θεοτικὰ λόγια *ibid.* 26.14
 μὲ λόγια ἄπρεπα καὶ σκανδαλοποιὰ ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 42.37

Vocative

- καλὰ παλληκαράκια LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 38
 χόρτα μου δροσοφύτευτα *Cypr. Canz.* 112.10; δέντρη τρυφερά *ibid.* 125.3
 ἀδελφία μου κοσμοφίλα καὶ κοσμοαγαπημένα *P&N Diath.* 558

3.2.2 Adjectives in -ος with Feminine -α

This is another large group of adjectives, originally inherited from a category existing in AG. The only difference between this group and those in 3.2.1 is in the endings of the feminine singular, which have the vowel <α> instead of <η>, because in Classical Attic the change of long <α> to <η> was blocked when preceded by a vowel or <ρ> (for the latter case see 3.2.3). This historical distinction is preserved in MedG and subsequent stages of the language. Thus, the great majority of these adjectives have a vowel preceding the personal endings. They may be proparoxytone (e.g. ἄξιος), paroxytone (ἀνδρεῖος), or oxytone (παλαιός).

Some adjectives do not fit easily into a single category. Certain oxytone adjectives occur with feminine in <η>, where <α> would be expected, e.g. τὴν στράταν τὴν ἀγαθοποιή DEFAR., *Log. did.* 269; νὰ μένη στερεή καὶ ἀπαρασάλευτη (1695, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1960: III.3, 134.12). A similar tendency appears in the case of βέβαιος, but not of other adjectives that have a vowel other than /i/ before the endings, e.g. ἀκέραιος, βίαιος, δίκαιος, μάταιος, etc., which in SMG would normally have fem. -η. This development has not been

found before the mid-17th c.¹² Otherwise, adjectives ending in -αῖος or -εος have feminine singular forms with <α> (unless they are used with only two terminations).

A few other adjectives of Greek origin (e.g. παρθένος, στεῖρος and certain compounds such as κακοῦργος) may also follow this pattern, i.e. with feminine singular in -α. However, in the course of the period covered by this Grammar, a large number of loanwords, mainly from Italian or Venetian,¹³ were assimilated to this paradigm; examples include: κομποῦνος, κοντέντος, ὀμπλεγᾶδος (and numerous other words, originally past participles, ending in -ᾶδος or -ῖδος),¹⁴ ὀνέστος, σκέτος, σοτοσκριτός, φίνος. These words are found particularly in legal documents from areas under western rule. (See BAKKER 1988/89: 316 for a list of such adjectives occurring in the acts of the Cretan notary Manolis Varouchas.)

The adjectives that end in vowel + <ος> may, in certain circumstances, undergo phonological developments. Firstly, the first vowel may be subject to glide formation and synizesis (see I, 2.9.4), initially becoming consonantal /j/. However, this change cannot usually be detected in the spelling of mss and early printed editions; even in verse texts, we cannot be sure whether it is a pre-metrical phenomenon or merely a metrical device. This development may be carried a stage further: when the preceding consonant is /s/, depalatalization can occur (see I, 2.4.7.3). This is particularly common in texts from Crete (but also occurs in some texts from the Heptanese and Peloponnese), from the 16th c. onwards, resulting in adjectival forms such as ᾶξος (fem. ᾶξα), πλῆσος, πλοῦσος.

A further factor affecting proparoxytone adjectives is movement of stress. Like the <η> in the adjectives in 3.2.1, the <α> of the feminine endings was a long vowel in AG and therefore caused the accent of proparoxytone words to move to the penultimate. The resulting forms in LMedG and EMG are found particularly in mixed- and higher-register texts, e.g. ἄγῖα.

Adjectives in this group may also be affected by glide formation and shift of stress, when they contain two adjacent vowels of which the first is stressed, e.g. νέος > νιός, ρωμαῖος > ρωμιός. We also occasionally find forms like ἀρχιῶν from ἀρχαίῳν, which may simply be deployed as metrical expedients in the case of words that are not in everyday use.

Because it is only the feminine singular that differs from the adjectives in 3.2.1, we shall focus mainly on these forms in the notes and examples that follow, with the addition of a small number of examples of masculine and feminine forms.

¹² Two instances have been located, the first in a text (1st ed. 1646) written by someone of Heptanesian origin, the second in a document from Mykonos: εἶμαι πλέον παρὰ βέβαιη *Bertoldin*. 158.1; βέβαιη καὶ ἄκοπη (1701, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 14, 31.23). Otherwise, βέβαιος has fem. forms with <α> (examples below).

¹³ There is also an earlier stratum of adjectives borrowed from Latin, e.g. βάδεος or βάδιος < *badius*.

¹⁴ Such loanwords normally have fem. -α, and consequently are fully assimilated to the inherited paradigm of adjectives in -ος with fem. -α. Occasional exceptions may be noted, e.g. ἐπειδὴ εἶσαι τόσα ὀσπενάδη MOREZ-*INOS*, *Klini* 53.3; διὰ τοῦτο θέλω νὰ 'νε κομμένη καὶ ἀνουλάδη ἐκείνη ἢ προμοσιόν (1622, Crete, ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑ-*TIS* 1986: 2, 44.22–3). In such cases the fem. ending -η is the same as for adjectives with the suffix -άτος, for which see 3.2.1. For other adjectives borrowed from Romance languages, which are unassimilated or only partly assimilated to Greek paradigms, see 3.5.1–2.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	τέλειος	τέλεια	τέλειο(ν)
Gen.	τέλειου ἢ τελείου	τέλειας ἢ τελείας	τέλειου ἢ τελείου
Acc.	τέλειο(ν)	τέλεια(ν)	τέλειο(ν)
Voc.	τέλειε	τέλεια	τέλειο(ν)

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	τέλειοι	τέλειες ἢ τέλεια	τέλεια
Gen.	τέλειων ἢ τελείων	τέλειων ἢ τελείων	τέλειων ἢ τελείων
Acc.	τέλειους ἢ τελείους	τέλειες ἢ τέλειας	τέλεια
Voc.	τέλειοι	τέλειες ἢ (τέλεια)	(τέλεια)

The tables below present both unaccented endings and accented (oxytone) ones, although the actual endings do not otherwise differ.

Singular

Masculine

M	General
Nom.	-ος ἢ -ός
Gen.	-ου ἢ -οῦ
Acc.	-ο(ν) ἢ -ό(ν)
Voc.	-ε ἢ -έ

The masculine singular forms exhibit very little variation: in the acc. sg. the final /n/ is frequently omitted, except in higher-register texts.

Nominative

The form is unchanged throughout the period:

ἀκέραιος μὲ τὸ γάρος *Ptoch.* IV 186

κι ἀκόμ' ἀπὸ τὰ χέρια σου εἶν' ἄξιος νὰ μᾶς βγάλη *KONDAR., Paidēs* 705

ἦβγενε εἰς τὸ κυνήγι φῖνος *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1356

Genitive

As with the adjectives in 3.2.1, forms occur both with and without stress movement:

τοῦ μακαρίου ἐκκεινοῦ *Chron. Mor.* P 7
 τ' ἄθλιου τοῦ Ψιχαρπάγου *ZINOS, Vatr.* 188
 τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντώνη *Paroim.* (Warner) 29.21

The following example should not be taken as a genitive form in -ο, but rather as a truncated form of the adjective in close combination with the name it precedes: ἅγιο-Φωτίνου (1143–5, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 1, 55.24) (see 2.18).

Accusative

The form occurs with and without final /n/ throughout the period:

πρὸς τὸν κοσμοσωτήριον ... λιμένα *Ptoch. III* 9
 νὰ μετρήσουν τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μεσαῖον (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 60, 48.1–2)
 αὐτὸν τὸν ἅγιο θάνατον ὁποῦ ἔκλινε νὰ πάρη *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 72
 εἶδα τόπον ἄγριον *Alex. Rim.* 2557
 τὸν ἄξιο νεανία *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1918
 ἦρτα τὸν ὅμοιο χρόνο (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.7)

Vocative

The ending is always -ε:

πνευματικέ μου τίμιε πάτερ *NIKON, Logos* 9 310.6
 γίνωσκε, θεῖτε βασιλεῦ *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 14
 ὅμοιε μουλαρίων *Spanos* D 1017
 μαριόλε *CHORTATIS, Katz.* IV.202¹⁵
 δὲν αἰσχύνεσαι, ἄθλιε *AGAP., Mart. Ag. Deká* 198
 ἀχρεῖε καὶ ουτιδανέ *Don Kis.* 152.13–14

Feminine

F	General
Nom./Voc.	-α ἰ -ά
Gen.	-ας ἰ -ᾶς
Acc.	-α(ν) ἰ -ά(ν)

The paradigm is stable throughout the period, apart from the usual fluctuation of final /n/ in the accusative.

¹⁵ In the same text we also find a vocative in -ο: ποῦ πᾶς, μωρὲ μαριόλο; *CHORTATIS, Katz.* IV.196. According to KRIARAS, *Lex.* the word μαριόλος (< Ven. *mariol*) is an adjective; but, as the vocative in -ο indicates (cf. 2.1.2), it can also be regarded as a noun.

Nominative

There is no variation in the ending.¹⁶ In the case of proparoxytone adjectives, movement of stress to the penultimate tends to be associated with the use of a more formal register, or words of learned origin. Such forms occur throughout the period:

ἀγάπη σου ἡ βεβαία *Dig.* G IV.567

ἡ τελευταία διαθήκη ἔσται ἰσχυρά καὶ βεβαία (1513, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 36, 62.22)

ἡ φύσις ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη δὲν ἔναι ἀξία νὰ τὰ ἰδεῖ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 125.28–9; αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἔκραζαν ἀγία *ibid.* 363.19–20

ἡ γραφὴ νὰ ᾖ βεβαία καὶ ἀχάλαστη (1603, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968 : 1, 27.22)

οὐ αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.6–7

Forms with fixed stress are, however, very common in both literary and non-literary texts. In the case of paroxytone adjectives (the second group of examples below), stress movement is not of course a factor:

τόσα ἦτον πλούσια καὶ εὐμορφῇ *Pol. Tr.* 477 (the metre requires πλούσια to be disyllabic)

ποδέα ὅμοια (1442, Belgrade region/Serbia, ALEXOULIS 1892: 2, 280.13)

περιστερὰ ἀκέραια *Phys.* 637

ἡ πόλις αὕτη | ἄξια ἔναι DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 995

ἡ διαθήκη ἔσται ἰσχυρά καὶ βέβαια (1513, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 35, 61.36–7)

ἡ Ἐλισαβέτ ἡ δίκαια *P&N Diath.* 2013

πανώρια λυγερή, πανώρια κόρη *Vosk.* 9

μία φορεσιά γαλάζια (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 140, 307.2)

νὰ πουληθῶ ὡς κακούργα! *Flor.* L 1035 (Cupane)

γὰ νὰ βρεθῇς μητέρα καὶ παρθένα FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 62¹⁷

καὶ λέγει του Μακάριου πῶς ἦτονε παρθένα *Apoll.* Rim. V 1366

νὰ ᾖ πριβάδα (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 151, 271.12)

ἡ μία κεντημένη καὶ ἡ ἄλλη σκέτα (1536, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 116, 229.18)

στεῖρα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 224.9

εἶμαι πληρωμένη καὶ σατισφάδα (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 79, 82.15)¹⁸

νὰ ποθάνω ντεσπεράδα (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 79.15–16)

ἔνα κομμάτι ἐντριτία, ὅπου νὰ ᾖ ὄνιστα (1638, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 24, 79.14)

νὰ κάμης τὴν κερα-Μηλιά κοντέντα ν' ἀπομείνη FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.460

Examples of forms with depalatalization of a sibilant (see I, 2.4.7.3):

σοφία τῶν Αἰγύπτιων ἦτον πολλὰ περίσσα *Alex.* Rim. 1

᾽ς τὸ παρακάλιο πληῖσα, | κι εἰς τὴν ἐλεημοσύνη τση, ᾽ς τὴν ἐσπλαχνιά, περίσσα *P&N Diath.* 4336–7

χώρα πλούσα κατὰ πολλὰ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 62.19

¹⁶ A single example of a fem. in -η has been found, in a 17th-c. Heptanesian text: εἰς ποιά γῆς τόσα ὄγρη *Zinon* V.212.

¹⁷ Note that παρθένος is very often used as a noun, especially with the definite article to refer to the Virgin Mary: ἡ Παρθένος. (Indeed, the categories of noun and adjective are often difficult to distinguish.) Some feminine plural forms of the adjective are given below.

¹⁸ The same phrase, but with fem. ending -η, occurs in a document from Naxos: εἶναι πληρωμένη καὶ σατζιφάδη (1587, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 147, 271.8).

κ' ἡ ἄξα πράξη, ὄντε χωστεῖ, πᾶσα τση δόξα χάνει TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.472
 ἄξα καὶ παινεμένη KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.915

Genitive

There is no variation in the ending. A few examples are given below, in order to illustrate fixed or movable stress, an assimilated loanword, and depalatalization of a sibilant:

σοῦ τῆς ἀθλίας ἔνεκεν *Dig.* E 1797
 τῆς Στράτας τῆς Κομμούνας (1598, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 158, 284.2)
 τῆς παλιᾶς πούτανας CHORTATIS, *Katz.* V.40
 ἀγάπης πλήσας TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.677

Accusative

The forms are essentially the same as the nominative, except that final /n/ may be added. Forms with movement of stress to the penultimate often occur in the context of more formal expressions:

ἐποιήσαμέν σου τελεία πράση (1134, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 43, 192.16)
 νὰ τὴν ἔχωμεν φέρμαν καὶ παραφέρμαν (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.17–18)
 τὴν ἀγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ *Fior* 150.16
 βεβαίαν τὴν φιλίαν τοὺς ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* Epim. (a) 4
 μὲ βεβαίαν πίστιν *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* IV 6
 τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ ἀγιωτάτη ὁσίαν Θεοδώραν EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 25.7–8

In verse texts, variation of stress may be occasioned by metrical necessity (and possibly editorial practice); for example, in a 15th-c. text, within the space of a few lines, we read: διὰ τὴν ἀγίαν τὴν πόλιν *Alosis* 32, τὴν Πόλιν ἄγίαν τὴν εἰπεῖ πάλιν ὑπεραγίαν *ibid.* 34, and ἀγιάν, ἀγίαν τὴν εἰπεῖ *ibid.* 37.

However, fixed stress (i.e. on the same syllable as in the masc. nom. sg.) can be regarded as the default option, in texts of all kinds, throughout our period:

δίκαιαν προτίμησιν (1190, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 16, 48.2)
 τὴν βάδεαν *Dig.* G II.95; μούλαν ἐκαβαλλίκευσε βάδεαν, ἀστεράτην *ibid.* III.261
 βέβαιαν νὰ τὴν ἔχουν *Pol. Tr.* 5505 app. crit. (A)
 αἰσθησὶν ἀκέραιαν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 29
 εἶδες γυναικίαν κτίσιν *Synax. gyn.* 206¹⁹
 ἀπὸ τὴν δεξιάν του μερίαν *Diig. Alex.* F 146.19 (Lolos)
 τὴν ἄθλιαν καρδίαν *Diig. Alex.* E 99–101.26–1 (Lolos); κάλλιαν ἀνδραγαθίαν *ibid.* 247.6
 τὴν πρεπάμενην καὶ ἄξιαν βοήθειαν *Pist. kekoim.* 140
 ἐκάμαν ἀλλαξίαν τέλειαν (1557, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 199, 247.4)
 εἰς τὴν ἄνωθεν γραφή, δομένη καὶ ... σοτοσκρίτα (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 846, 737.19–20) < Ital. *sottoscritto*
 κρίση τὴν αἰώνια *Vosk.* 24
 καὶ μίαν δράχμα φίνα κανέλλα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 237.9–10
 μὲ πλήσιαν ἀναγάλλιασιν SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* a2v.16
 ἀγάπη στέρεια (1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 13, 10.2)
 θέλω τη, μὰ ποστίτσα μου *Stathis* III.543 < Ital. *posticcio*

¹⁹ Note the proparoxytone form of the adjective, γυναικίος. For further examples see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. γυναικίος.

Some examples of forms with depalatalization of sibilants:

δῶσ' του τήν μοίρα πλήσα DEFAR., *Log. did.* 278

εἰς τή δεξιά πλευρέα P&N *Diath.* 3795

τήν ἄξα χώρα ἐκείνη KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.27

The following is a rather rare example of glide formation and shift of stress to the final syllable: πλησίον τήν δημοσιάν ὁδόν (1543, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 42, 246.14–15).

Vocative

The forms are identical to the nominative:

ώραία μου Velth. 620

δήμια τύχη DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 92

ἅγια Παρασκευή CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.286

Ἄγια Μαρίνα, μάραϊνε ὅλους τοὺς κερατάδες *Paroim.* (Warner) 29.12

παρθένα τῶν παρθένων Rim. Sant. 39

Neuter

N	General
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ο(ν) ἰ -ό(ν)
Gen.	-ου ἰ -οῦ

Apart from the fact that final /n/ may be deleted, the endings are unchanged from AG, and in fact the same as for the adjectives in 3.2.1. Movement of stress may occur in the genitive of proparoxytone words.

Nominative

τὸ ἀνάξιον παιδὶν σου NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.9

καὶ ἔναι τὸ χαρτὶ σταμπάδο (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 25.31)

τὸ περίσσο χαλνᾶ τὸ ἴσιο *Paroim.* (Warner) 99.20

τὸ μῆλο τὸ δικασμιῶ FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm.* II 74

Genitive

τὸν νέον ἄμπελον ἀποῦ εἶναι σιμὰ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀμπελίου (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/

LAMBAKIS 2003: 15, 26.28)

τοῦ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος μετονομασθεῖς (1565–75, Constantinople,

FOERSTER 1877: 11, 23.139)

ἐκάστου οἰκείου γράμματος (1644, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 1, 120.7)

τοῦ θεριοῦ τ' ἄγριου KORNAOS, *Erot.* II.1082

Accusative

τὸ στέργον πάντα καὶ τὸ βέβαιον (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 473.28–9)

ὀξύν φίνον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 224.32

νὰ τὸ ἔχουσι στέρεο (1610, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 6, 360.19)

μὲ τὸ δεξιό μου χέρι VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 251²⁰

²⁰ For the adjective δεξιός, no instances of SMG forms like δεξής or δεξι have been found in the texts examined (see ILNE s.v. δεξιός for early attestations of variant forms).

κρύο νεράκι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2464; εἰς τὸ δεξιὸ πλευρό μου *ibid.* 2506
ἐτοῦτο το σπαθὶ στᾶ χέρια μου τὸ φῖνο *Stathis* I.91

Plural

Masculine

M	General	Restricted
Nom./Voc.	-οι ῑ -οί	
Gen.	-ων ῑ -ῶν	-ω ῑ -ῶ
Acc.	-ους ῑ -ούς	

As for the adjectives in 3.2.1, the basic endings are completely stable: -οι, -ων, -ους. Proparoxytone adjectives may have movement of stress to the penultimate syllable in the accusative and genitive. In the genitive, deletion of final /n/ can occur (mainly in Cretan texts; see I, 3.7.2.2).

Nominative

καβοῦροι ποτάμιοι STAFIDAS, *Iatrosof.* 3.60
καὶ οὕτως ἤμασταν κοτέντοι (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 6, 7.22); ἤμασταν
σατισφάδοι (*ibid.* 72, 70.7)
ἄξιοι τῶν ἱερῶν εὐχῶν *Pist. kekoim.* 100
νὰ εἶναι ὀμπλεγάδοι (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 27.5–6)

With depalatalization of sibilants:

καρaboκῦροι ἔντιμοι, πλοῦσοι DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1275
τόποι πλοῦσοι (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 151.5)
οἱ πλῆσοι τοῦ χοτζάδες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 563.14

Genitive

Shift of stress frequently occurs, but genitives of proparoxytone adjectives without stress movement are not uncommon:

τῶν Παλαίων Λάκκων (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 45.227)
τῶν παλαίων *Chron. Mor.* H 1353 (for the form παλαῖος see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. παλαιός)
ἀπελάτων ... εὐγενικῶν καὶ ἀνδρείων *Dig.* E 624
καὶ τῶν νέων κάμνουν μάτια *Epain. gyn.* 144
νὰ ξετάξη τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἀναξίων DAM. STOUD., *Dial.* 104.13
τέτοιων πλουσιῶν γονέων VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 73.16
κατέμπροστε ἐμοῦ νοταρίου καὶ τῶν ὑποκάτωθε ὑπογεγραμμένω τιμίῶν μαρτύρῳ (1685,
Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 362.2–3)

τῶν δίκαιων ἡ ἀγέλη *Deft. Par.* 185
τῶν ἄξιων ἀφεντῶν KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* II.850

Synizesis, with shift of stress, may occur, e.g. ὁ νόμος τῶν ἀρχιῶν FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 23. Depalatalization of sibilants and deletion of final /n/ may be found in texts from Crete (and perhaps elsewhere): χιλίων διακοσῶν σπαχήδων ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 202; πλουσῶ FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 36; ὁ βασιλιὸς ἐσύ 'σαι τῷ μαριόλῳ *Stathis* I.125.

Accusative

δυνατούς καὶ ἀνδρείους *Dig.* G I.15

τρεῖς μῆνας ἀκεραίους *Dig.* E 1083

ἔπειτα γιὰ τοὺς νίους τοὺς δύο *Theseid* Prol. E 161 (the metre requires νιούς, with synizesis)

γιανιτζαρέους παλαιούς ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 1192

τοὺς νέους καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ΠΡΟΣΟΨΑΣ, *Peri tyflou* 15

Forms without movement of stress are very common:

ἄρχοντας πλούσιους καὶ πτωχοὺς *Byz. Il.* 1086

τοὺς ἐνάντιους *Deft. Par.* 190

τοὺς δίκιους *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 40

ἄγριους *Diig. Alex.* F 30.8 (Konstantinopulos)

κλέφτει τὸ λᾶδι καὶ ἄφτει στοὺς ἄγιους *Paroim.* (Warner) 29.15

Depalatalization can also occur (the second text was possibly written by a Cretan):
ἔμορφους, πλούσους, εὐγενεῖς *Theseid* Prol. E 154; πτωχοὺς καὶ πλούσους *Leilasia Par.* 410.

Vocative

The vocative is identical with the form of the nominative. The second and third examples show depalatalization:

δίκαιοι φίλοι καὶ συντρόφοι ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 380.32

νέοι ὄμορφοι καὶ πλοῦσοι, *Fallidos* 1

ὦ Βενετζιάνοι φρόνιμοι, πρακταῖοι καὶ ᾗτιδέξοι *Alosis* 875

Feminine

F	General	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-ες -ές	-αι -αί
Gen.	-ων -ῶν	
Acc.	-ας -άς -ες -ές	

For the development of the feminine plural endings, see the corresponding section of 3.2.1. The nominative ending -αι should be seen as an archaism in the period covered by this Grammar. The ending -ες is already in existence well before this period: an 11th-c. manuscript of the *Life of St Philaretos* has the form ὠραίαίς *Vios Philaret.* 19 app. crit. (G) (= ὠραῖες). The accusative ending -ας, however, is less rare than the corresponding nominative, though mainly found in mixed- and higher-register texts.

Nominative

The residual form in -αι is rare: αἱ ἱστορίαι αἱ παλαιαί (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.2–3). Forms in -ες are well attested throughout our period:

οἱ ἄγιες ἐκκλησίαις *Assizes* B 280.2

νές BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 171 (from νέες, with simplification of the sequence of two identical vowels; see I, 2.9.2.1)

νά 'νι καὶ αἱ δύο περιβάδες (1521, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 60, 113.18)
 ριζιμαῖες πέτρες (1528, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 53, 172.20)
 ἦτανε παλὲς καὶ κομμένες (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 219.36) (from παλαιές, with
 simplification of two identical vowels; cf. νές above)
 στερεές βέβαιες καὶ ἀμετάτρεπτες (1588 [copy of 1695], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 465.3)

Forms like the following, with shift of stress to the penultimate, are occasionally found, particularly in documents where an “elevated” style is aimed at (see 3.2.1 for a similar nom. form and below for some acc. examples): ἄν στέκουν οἱ παραγγελίες μου καθαρώτατες καὶ βεβαῖες (1639, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 3, 113.35).

The plural of παρθένα is normally παρθένες, but a learned form may also be found:

καὶ καλογριές εὐγενικές, παρθένες, ἡγουμένες *Anak. Konst.* 74
 παρθένες κόρες εἰμεθεν, ἄγαμες, δίχα δόλου *Flor.* L 835 (Cupane)
 αυτοὶ εἶναι παρθένοι καὶ παρθένες οὐποῦ ἐφύλαξαν τὴν παρθενίαν τους *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 139.33–141.1

αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθέναι KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 25.11

Genitive

πλησίον των ὁδῶν τῶν δημοσιῶν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 53, 86.14) (with shift of stress and synizesis, for which see I, 2.9.4)
 ὠραίων γυναικῶν *Velth.* 549
 τῶν κουμμούνων στρατῶν (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968 : 3, 32.25)
 μοναστήριον παρθένων γυναικῶν IER. AVVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 334.6
 τῶν ἄξιων γυναικῶν KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.419

Accusative

As noted in 3.2.1, the older ending -ας continues to be used in mixed- or higher-register texts of the period covered by this Grammar. It is often accompanied by the definite article form τὰς, as in: τὰς φρένας στέρεας (1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.4). However, mss of the same literary work frequently diverge, as in the following example: ἀπὸ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς πολλὰς ἀρχόντισσας, παρθένας *Pol. Tr.* 12262 (mss AX); ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς πολλῆς ἀρχόντισσας παρθένες *ibid.* (mss BV) (παρθένες could be either adjective or noun). The ending -ες, the same as that of the nominative, is the normal one (as in SMG):

παρθένες κορασίες *Flor.* L 789 (Cupane)
 διάλεξε τες φίνες *Apoll. Rim.* V 693
 μὲ ἐλίες ἄγριες καὶ ἡμερες (1632 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968 : 70, 174.27)
 τῆς χῆρες σκανδαλοποιῆς *Bertoldin.* 112.19
 στερεές καὶ βέβαιες καὶ ἀμετάτρεπτες (1708, Peloponnese, PAPADOPOULOS 1976: 6, 124.28)
 ἔβαλε προκλαματζιόνες ριγορόζες PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 110.20

As mentioned above with respect to the nom. pl., forms with movement of stress to the penultimate syllable sometimes occur:

μαρτυρίες ὁμοῖες τοῦ γένους του *Assizes A* 58.9
 τῆς δικαῖης κρίσης *Diig. Alex.* F 274. (Lolos)
 τῆς τελεῖης καθάρισες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.123

Depalatalized forms also occur: τόσες πλήσες ομορφιές CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* Prol. Apoll. 36.

Vocative

The vocative is presumed to be the same as the nominative, but so far no forms have been found.

Neuter

N	General
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-α -ά
Gen.	-ων -ῶ(ν)

The forms exhibit no significant variation (cf. the corresponding forms for the adjectives in 3.2.1). The examples below include some depalatalized forms: πλοῦσα, ἀδέξα (see I, 2.4.7.3). In the gen. pl., as for other genders, forms with and without shift of stress are found.

Nominative

πέμματα ἐκάπνιζον παντοῖα *Dig.* G VI.38
 ἐκεῖνα ἅπερ θέλουν εἶσταιν αἰώνια KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 112.4
 τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια τὰ καθημερούσια· καὶ εἶναι φιγουράδα (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.17); πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα (ibid. 14, 28.42)
 καὶ ποῖα παλάτια βρίσκονται σὰν τὰ δικά σας πλοῦσα KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.680

Genitive

τίποτε τῶν ἀγρίων *Dig.* E 427
 ἐξομπλισμένην ἐκ πασῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκαῖων DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1263
 ἐτουτωνῶν τῶν οὐρανίων μυστηρίων MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 326.7
 ψόφιων ζώων *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 113.3
 τῶν δόλιων ἀδελφιῶ μου KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.647

Accusative

εἰς τὰ παλαιὰ παλάτια *Chron. Mor.* H 1299 (ms παλαῖα)
 εἰς πράματα ὀνέστα καὶ βερτιούζικα *Fior* 75.24
 ἔχομεν καὶ ἄλλα δύο νησία τεσμπιτάδα (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.32–3) < Ital. *disabitato*?
 ἀδέξα τὰ ἐπεράσαμεν πολλὰς φορές (1553, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 177, 167.14)
 ἔτσι ἀπὸ τὰ παλιὰ ὥσάν καὶ τὰ νιά (1596, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 154, 279.11)
 μέσα ’ς τὰ ἄγρια δάση PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1338
 να του τα πληρώσω ὅλα σώα καὶ ἀνελλιπή *Don Kis.* 20.20

Vocative

ὦ ἄγια ποδάρια του διδασκάλου μου VAROUCHAS, *Logoi* 469.30
 ἄγρια θεριά τῆς βασιλειᾶς, σκληρά, καταραμένα *Zinon* I.4

3.2.3 Adjectives in -ος with Feminine -α or -η

We treat here, as a separate category, those adjectives that had feminine singular in -α in Classical (Attic) Greek but have tended to follow the paradigm with feminine in -η (see 3.2.1) in MedG and MG. All of these adjectives end in <ρος>/<ρός>, e.g. ἐλεύθερος, λαμπρός, μικρός, πικρός,²¹ φοβερός.²² We also include comparative forms in -ότερος, -ώτερος, -ύτερος and -έστερος, and the ordinal numeral δεύτερος.

The Attic forms with -α in the feminine singular were adopted into the Koine. In time, adjectives with stems ending in /r/ came to employ the same feminine forms as those with stems ending in other consonants. The earliest examples are from Egypt in the 5th and 6th c., e.g. μικρήν, φανερῆς (GIGNAC 1981: 113–15; see also HATZIDAKIS 1892: 84). The forms with older -α are also usually distinguished by stress movement to the penultimate syllable, in the case of proparoxytone adjectives, e.g. δευτέρα, ἐμμορφότερα, μικρότερα (but see below for exceptions). By contrast, the forms with -η normally have fixed stress, e.g. δεύτερη, καθαρώτερη. Although the forms with -α occur throughout the period covered by the Grammar, in general they are found in higher- or mixed-register texts, in more formal contexts, and in formalized expressions. For the contrastive pronoun and determiner ἕτερος, which behaves in the same way, see 5.10.2.

Since it is only the feminine singular that differs from the adjectives in 3.2.1, we shall limit ourselves to these forms in the discussion and examples that follow. The table below gives examples of oxytone and proparoxytone adjectives (the few paroxytone examples, such as ἄσπρος, have fixed stress).

F	General	Restricted
Nom./Voc.	μικρή / δεύτερη	μικρά / δευτέρα
Gen.	μικρῆς / δεύτερης	μικρᾶς / δευτέρας
Acc.	μικρή(ν) / δεύτερη(ν)	μικρά(ν) / δευτέρα(ν)

3.2.3.1 Nominative in -η

νὰ μένη ἡ ρηθεῖσα ἐκκλησία ἐλεύθερη (1414, Corfu, MALTEZOU 1991a: (1), 316.18)

καλύτερη οὐκ ἦτον *Pol. Tr.* 291 app. crit. (V)

κ' ἡ ξέλαμπρη Φιαμέτα *Theseid* Prol. E 33

ἡ ἀγάπη ἡ καθαρὴ *Fior* 83.21

εἶμαι καὶ εὐμορφότερη *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 939

γιατὶ πολλὰ ἴαφρ' ἔσου *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.380

ἦτονε πλέο ἐλεύθερη καὶ ὀγλήγορη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.14

πλιὰ λαμπρὴ κι ἄσπρύτερη *TROILOS, Rodol.* V.274

ὡς χήρα ἐλεύτερη (1661, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 225, 199.4)

²¹ The adjective πικρός also exists in a newer form πικρύς (by analogy with γλυκύς) and, with metathesis, πικρύς. For these forms see 3.3.1.

²² It does not follow that all adjectives in -ρος can have a fem. in -α. Those that have only -η include newer formations such as ἀνέγνωρος and μαῦρος.

εἶνε ἀκόμη τρυφερή PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1279
 ἡ σέλα ἐπόμεινε ὄφκαιρη KORNAOS, *Erot.* II.1516
 φοβερὴ ἀμάχη EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.12

3.2.3.2 Nominative in -α

ἡ μικρότερα (unknown, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1994: 1, 286.39)
 καλλιωτέρα οὐκ ἦτον *Pol. Tr.* 1122 (καλλιωτέρη ms B supra lineam; see below for similar forms)
 καμμία οὐκ ἐφάνηκεν ἐμμορφώτερα *Flor.* L 922 (Cupane)
 ἡ λυγερὰ *Achil.* O 611 (but λυγερή is by far the commoner form in such texts)
 ἡ τελευταία διαθήκη ἔσται ἰσχυρά καὶ βεβαία (1513, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 36, 62.22)
 ἡ δ' ἄλουπου ἡ πονηρά, ἡ δολιοπανοῦργος *Fyll. gadar.* 44
 ἡ λαμπρά της θεωρίας MOREZINOS, *Klini* 54.4; ἡ φθονερά καὶ ἄπρονος γυναῖκα *ibid.* 135.20
 ἡ ὑγρά μερά LANDOS, *Geopon.* 142–143.1

Sometimes the two forms can be found side by side: πολλὰ λαμπρὴ καὶ ὀχυρά *Pol. Tr.* 240 app. crit. (AVX). In the same text we find, unusually, a feminine form in -α with stress on the antepenultimate: πλουσιώτερα οὐχ εὐρίσκετον πόλις *ibid.* 1112.

3.2.3.3 Genitive in -ης

This form, without stress movement in proparoxytone words, is found in literary and non-literary texts throughout the period.

τῆς πλέον μεγαλιώτερης *Pol. Tr.* 11511
 τῆς τρίτης τῆς ἀσβολερῆς *Alosis* 195
 τῆς σκληρῆς καὶ τρομερῆς βεντέττας *Fior* 73.24
 τῆς Μικρῆς Βρύσης (1500, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 3, 4.3)
 ταῖς (sic) καλύτερης κονσιέντζιας (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 132.14)
 τοῦ μεγαλύτερης μαλίας CHORTATIS, *Erof. Interm.* IV.40
 τῆς ἄσπρης καὶ κόκκινης παπαρούνας LANDOS, *Geopon.* 263.20–21

3.2.3.4 Genitive in -ας

The older ending is found particularly in mixed-register texts or in religious or other formal contexts, but there are texts that use both types.

τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς μιανῶς GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 445
 τῆς πανευμόρφου καὶ λαμπρῶς *Velth.* 388
 μετὰ πικρῶς, ὀδυνηρῶς καρδίας [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 1379
 ἐκ τῆν μεγάλην συμφορὰν πικρῶς αἰχμαλωσίας *Alosis* 224
 τῆς δευτέρας KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 356.25
 τῆς δευτέρας ποιότητος LANDOS, *Geopon.* 139.35–140.1; ψυχρῶς ποιότητος *ibid.* 174.27–8
 τῆς φθονερῶς ψυχῆς τίποτες δὲν ἀρέσει *Diig. Vefa* 1435

3.2.3.5 Accusative in -η(ν)

There are abundant examples of this form in LMedG and EMG texts.

ἄχρι εἰς τὴν σιλλίδην τὴν μικρὴν (1144?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 314.6)
 συνβουλὴν τὴν ὑπερκαλλιώτερην *Assizes* B 278.24; μίαν ἐλεύτερην γυναῖκα *ibid.* 399.2
 μίαν μικρὴν ἀλεποῦν *Achil.* L 1165
 βουλὴν ἐπῆρε δολερή *Chron. Mor.* P 63
 εἰς τιμωρίαν | εἰς πικρὴν καὶ δουλοτάτην *Ptochol.* α 349–50
 εἰς ἀπώλειαν ... φοβερή *Theseid* Prol. P 5–6
 τὴν κακὴν καὶ πονηρὴν ἀγάπην *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 833
 μακρύτερην ζωὴν *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 278; γιὰ μικρὴν ἀπόλαυσιν *ibid.* 577
 παντὶ ἐλεύθερην (1572, Achaia, *VEIS* 1956: 452.22)
 γυναῖκα πλιὰ καλύτερη *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.277; καλύτερή τζη κοπελιὰ *ibid.* III.405–6
 τὴν γλῶσσαν του καθαρὴν (1613, Syros, *DRAKAKIS* 1967: 9, 311.7)
 γυναῖκα νέαν καὶ τρυφερὴν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §11.23

There are also examples of proparoxytone words that undergo stress movement. Most of the examples below are in Cypriot texts (with one Cretan instance). However, alternative forms occur in different mss of the *Chronicle* of Voustronios. It is probably not a regional feature, but simply an attempt at a more formal morphology.

τὴν δευτέρην ὥραν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 384.36
 τὴν καλλυττέρην στράταν *VOUSTR., Chron.* B 13.7 (but τὴν καλλιόττερην στράτα *ibid.* A 12.8); τὴν καλλιόττερην στράταν *ibid.* A 14.10 (but τὴν καλλιόττερην στράταν B 15.9–10);
 μεγαλλυττέρην χαράν *ibid.* A 144.4 (but μεγαλύττερην χαράν B 145.4)
 εἰς τὴν δευτέρην ἐρχομένην βεντέμα (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 140, 140.10–11)

3.2.3.6 Accusative in -α(ν)

The older ending, as being more formal or learned, usually occurs with final /n/ and, in the case of proparoxytone words, with shift of stress:

καθαρὰν ἀγάπην *Spaneas* P 40
 ἀνδρείαν περισσοτέραν *Dig.* E 1334
 πόρταν ἐποίησαν μικράν *Dig.* A 95
 τόπου μικράν αναπτυχὴν ευρών υψηλότεραν [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 272
 τὴν λαμπράν ἱππόλυταν *Theseid* Prol. E 169
 μακράν εἶχεν τὴν ἡλικίαν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 280
 τὴν πικράν παρακοὴν *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 105.23
 φοβερὰν ἡμέραν *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 438
 τὴν πικράν τυραννίδα *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 283
 διὰ μικράν αἰτίαν *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 1415
 ὅτι νὰ φυλάξουν τὴν παρθενίαν τοὺς καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμόλυντον *Chron.* 1619 466
 εἶδασιν τὴν ζημίαν τὴν πρῶτην καὶ δευτέραν (1625, Chios, *KANELLAKIS* 1890: 393.7)

Aberrant forms without shift of stress occur sporadically. These examples are from an 11th c. document and a 17th-c. verse text: καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν μονὴν ἔστερξα καὶ ἐβράβευσα ἐλεύθεραν (1097, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 2, 5.3); χερότεραν ὕτροπὴ νὰ λάβωσιν ἐμέλλαν *Markada* 606.

3.2.3.7 Vocative

Although few examples have been found, the forms are identical with the nominative. The following have the ending -α and shift of stress: καὶ ἀλληθώρα καὶ στραβὴ καὶ χαμηλοβλεποῦσα *Diig. tetr.* 845; ὑπερενδοξότερα, | τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ οὐρανῶν καὶ πάντων πλατυτέρα *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 239–40.

The commonest adjective occurring in the vocative with feminine -η is μωρός. For examples see 3.2.1.

3.2.4 Two-Termination Adjectives in -ος, -ο(ν)

The AG class of adjectives in -ος that had a single form for masculine and feminine genders had disappeared from active use in the vernacular by the LMedG period, although it probably survived in certain locutions, particularly in religious contexts. Numerous examples are, however, found in written texts, especially those in mixed or higher linguistic registers. Recourse to such forms can be viewed as a stylistic trait – a conscious choice for purposes of formality, solemnity, erudition or humour – or it may be occasioned by specific lexical collocations.

By and large, the adjectives in -ος that are used with two terminations in LMedG and EMG texts are adjectives inherited from Classical Greek, where they never – or only rarely – occur with separate feminine forms. They are, typically, compounds of various kinds, or negative adjectives with the prefix ἀ-, but certain other words (e.g. ἥσυχος, φρόνιμος) follow the same pattern. In MedG, and more rarely in EMG, we find some other adjectival words that occur sporadically with masculine forms for feminine referents, particularly ordinal numbers and absolute superlatives, but also some other words. (For examples from Byzantine chronicles, see *PSALTES* 1913: 188–9.) Examples of this rather rare usage will be given separately below.

As such forms are essentially archaizing, proparoxytone words normally undergo shift of stress to the penultimate (gen. sg. and gen. and acc. pl.), in accordance with AG rules of accentuation.

In this section, we give a range of examples of such usages, i.e. ostensibly masculine forms used for feminine referents, in all grammatical cases, singular and plural. When the same lexical items are used as three-termination adjectives, they follow one of three paradigms: -ος, -η, -ο(ν) (see 3.2.1), -ος, -α, -ο(ν) (3.2.2), or with alternative feminine forms -α/-η (3.2.3). Examples are given in the relevant sections above.

Singular

F	General
Nom./Voc.	φρόνιμος
Gen.	φρονίμου
Acc.	φρόνιμο(ν)

Singular forms are not uncommon in documents from S. Italy and Macedonia (11th–14th c.) and in literary texts, especially – but not only – verse texts (12th–15th c.). Thereafter they become rarer, found most often in religious contexts or in legal documents, where they have a formulaic quality.

Nominative

- ἡ παροῦσα μου ὑπαρχει ἐκούσιος καὶ βέβαιος (1032, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 25, 29.10)
 ἀπαλαρέα μουχροῦτινος *Ptoch. IV* 215
 ἡ πανέμορφος *Dig. E* 184
 ἡ κόρη ἔναι ἔμορφος καὶ ἀσύγκλιτος εἰς πόθον *Liv. V* 1227; ἡ κακόμοιρος ἡ μάγισσα *ibid.* 2583;
 ἡ ἀσύστατος ἡ τύχη *ibid.* 3984
 θλῖψις ἀπαραμύθητος *Anak. Konst.* 2
 ἂν εἶσαι ἔγκυος, κυρά *Flor. L* 104 (Cupane)
 ἡ πάναγνος Θεοτόκος *Chron. Mor. P* 4792
 ἡ πάντερπνος Αἰμίλια *Theseid Prol. E* 200
 ἡ Πόλις ἡ κακότυχος *Alosis* 135
 εὐγενική καὶ φρόνιμος καὶ ὁμορφος ... νοικοκυρά καλή καὶ ὀγλήγορος (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.21–4)
 ἡ δ' ἄλουπτου ἡ πονηρά, ἡ δολιοπανοῦργος *Fyll. gadar.* 44
 ἐπιθυμία θεοχαρίτως *Pist. kekoim.* 15
 ἡ φθονερά καὶ ἄπονος γυναῖκα MOREZINOS, *Klini* 135.20
 (ἡ ἄρρωστία ...) ἦτον ἀγιάτρευτος *Thavm. Nikon Metan. IV* 4
 ὅλη ἔγινεν ἀκατάδεκτος *Bertoldos* 23.15

Adjectival words which were not two-termination in AG:

- ἐθήκη ξύλινος τζαπωμένη ἄνωθεν διάχρυσος (1142, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 7, 75.46)
 ἀπέσω κείται κόκκινος μεγάλη φιλομήλα *Ptoch. IV* 177 (κόκκινη ms H)
 ἦτον ἡ χώρα πλούσιος *Pol. Tr.* 2733 app. crit. (R)
 τρίτος ἡ ἡμέρα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 918
 ἡ πύρινος ἡ κόλασις *Defi. Par.* 64
 ἡ γενεὰ ἡ κάκιστος *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 108

Genitive

- γυναίκας κακομάγου *Liv. V* 2462; τῆς ἀσυστάτου τύχης *ibid.* 3454; ἐκ τύχης ἀσυστάτου *ibid.* 3622
 βασιλικοῦ μου τύχης [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1773
 μετὰ ἐξ οἰκείας βουλῆς καὶ διακρίτου γνώμης τως νὰ γένῃ (1573 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17, 71.6–7)
 τῆς ασυγκρίτου καὶ εὐμορφῆς Δουλιτσινέας *Don Kis.* 51.14–15

Accusative

With only two exceptions, the forms given below have final /n/:

- τὴν παρούσαν ἐκούσιον κατάρθεσιν (1032, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 25, 27.7)
 τὴν ἀνέκπλοκον, τὴν ἀνεκλύτωτόν μου *Eisit. f.8r.* 7–8
 τὴν ἐκρατοῦμεν ἄγαμον *Paroim. D* 119
 τὴν ἔμνοστον ἡλικίαν *Dig. G IV.* 193
 τὴν βεργόλικον *Dig. E* 1587
 τὴν ἄθλιο μου καρδίαν *Liv. V* 3641; ἀπὸ ὀλόθλιβον ἐρωτικὴν καρδίαν *ibid.* 3704
 τὴν ἀμέτρητον πικρίαν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1337

τὴν ἄπρονόν τους φταῖση FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 226; ὦ βάλαει ἔμέν, τὴν ἄτυχον *ibid.* 247²³
 πύρινον ... γλώσσαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 440
 τὴν Πόλιν τὴν θεόκτιστον *Alosis* 128
 κουρτῖναν μπλαβόχρυσον (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 94.58)
 εἰς τὴν Παμμακάριστον τὴν Παναγίαν (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.1)
 τοῦ ἤδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς μίαν λέπραν κακὴν καὶ ἀνίατον MOREZINOS, *Klini* 56.20–1
 ὅτι νὰ φυλάξουν τὴν παρθενίαν τους καθάραν καὶ ἀμόλυντον *Chron.* 1619 466
 αὐτεῖνη τὴν περιφήμον καὶ ἀκουσμένη πόλην ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 1184
 τὴν νόμιμο γυναικὰ του PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2948

The following examples involve absolute superlatives or ordinal numerals, which had separate feminine forms in AG. These, and the corresponding nominative examples given above, could perhaps be regarded as cases of hypercorrection or “pseudo-archaism”.

ζημίαν νὰ ποίση μέγιστον *Pol. Tr.* 1605 app. crit. (A)
 πρὸς δεῦτερον ἡμέραν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 884; ὅλην αὐτὴν τὴν δεῦτερον, τὴν τρίτον
 ὅπως ἴδουν *ibid.* 1153
 τὴν τέταρτον ἡμέραν SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 106
 τὴν δεῦτερο ἡμέρα (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 404, f.4r.13)

Vocative

ψυχὴ μου κακορρίζικε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 198
 βεργόλικε *Dig.* E 889
 κυρὰ οἰκοδέσποινα ... ἀκρόκωλε *Poulol.* 35; πολιτικὴ ἀδιάντροπε *ibid.* 221
 τύχη μου, λέγω, ἀντίδικε DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 92
 ζωοπάροχε Δέσποινα! MOREZINOS, *Klini* 29.26
 ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστε καὶ διεστραμμένη KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 17.17

As with the nominative and accusative, the vocative of the absolute superlative may also be attracted to the “two-termination” pattern. One example has been found: φίλτατε *Dig.* G II.275.

Plural

F	General
Nom./Voc.	φρόνιμοι
Gen.	φρονίμων
Acc.	φρονίμους

Plural examples are very much rarer. In any case the genitive plural of the feminine would be identical with the masculine, so the question does not arise there. It is possible that the mismatch of endings in the nominative (noun -αι, -ες, or -εις; adjective -οι) was generally avoided for euphonic or other reasons. A few examples of nominative and accusative forms are given below. They include one absolute superlative (*Bertoldinos*).

²³ See further BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 2002: 102 and n. 6.

Nominative

μύριοι μυριάδες ἀγγέλων KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 366.25
αἱ χαριέστατοι καὶ ἄξιοι γέλωτος ἀπλότητες τοῦ Μπερτολδίνου Bertoldin. tit.

Accusative

θλίψεις ἀμετρήτους *Log. parag.* L 7
τὰς ἀβαστάκτους λύπας μου *Liv.* V 768; τὰς ἀμετρήτους συμφορὰς *ibid.* 3832
τὰς ἀμυθῆτους χάριτας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1430
ὁδύνας ἀμετρήτους *Liv.* α 752
σφαγὰς ἀδίκους *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 58
εἰς ἐκ διαφόρους χώρας καὶ κάστρον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 131.36–7
τὰς ἀχορτάγους ἐπιθυμίας των Bertoldos 15.8
ἀπὸ τὰς πολυτίμους πέτρας *Alex.* Fyll. 39.19

3.2.5 Contracted Adjectives in -οῦς with Alternative -ός

This category of adjectives in -οῦς is a residual one, in the sense that (a) the contracted forms rarely occur in texts that do not have some learned or higher-register features, (b) very few new lexical items are formed in the same way,²⁴ and (c) its assimilation to the predominant category of adjectives in -ος (see 3.2.1) was already well under way in the EMedG period (PSALTES 1913: 53, 187–8). In the papyri and other texts of the period of the Koine these words are mostly contracted, but uncontracted (“open”) forms of these adjectives, e.g. χρυσέα, are sometimes found, possibly a legacy from Ionic (GIGNAC 1981: 120). Many of the contracted forms shared the same endings as oxytone adjectives in -ος, and this is one of the factors that led to their eventual assimilation. The adjectives that belong in this category are:

- 1) adjectives denoting material or colour, e.g. χρυσοῦς, πορφυροῦς (contracted from -εος);
- 2) multiplicative numerals, e.g. ἀπλοῦς, διπλοῦς (contracted from -όος).²⁵

The endings are the same, irrespective of the original vowels involved in the contraction. However, those words that have a stem ending in <ρ> had, in Classical Greek, feminine singular forms with /a/, e.g. ἀργυρᾶ, ἀργυρᾶς, ἀργυρᾶν. As with adjectives in -ρος (see 3.2.3), that distinction was gradually lost (see examples below).

In the period covered by this Grammar, the “regularized” forms are the most common. The contracted forms are, by and large, restricted to higher- and mixed-register texts. Uncontracted forms are even rarer.

²⁴ The only exceptions found are compounds based on existing words, e.g. κοκκίνοχρυσοῦς. Among productive suffixes that replace -οῦς are: -ινος and -ένιος (for material; see 3.2.1 and 3.2.7 respectively for the paradigms) and -ής (for colour; see 3.4.3).

²⁵ A few other isolated lexical items, mostly compounds, have forms that result from contraction, e.g. ἄπνους, acc. ἄπνουν (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.). They are not included here as it is not possible to construct a complete paradigm for them. The difficulty that writers had in handling such words can be seen in the following example: κείτουνται ἄπνουν καὶ νεκρά *Phys.* 655 (neuter plural, or indeclinable).

The table below shows the inherited contracted forms, variants where they exist, and (when they differ) the “regularized” forms that follow the -ος paradigm. Some of the differences relate only to accentuation, which may (sometimes) be simply a matter of editorial preference.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	χρυσοῦς ἢ χρυσός	χρυσῆ/χρυσή -ᾶ/-ᾷ	χρυσοῦν ἢ χρυσό(ν)
Gen.	(χρυσοῦ)	χρυσῆς ἢ χρυσέας -ᾶς	(χρυσοῦ)
Acc.	χρυσοῦν ἢ χρυσό(ν)	χρυσῆν ἢ χρυσήν -ᾶ(ν)/-ᾷ(ν)	χρυσοῦν ἢ χρυσό(ν)
Voc.	χρυσέ	(χρυσῆ/χρυσή) (-ᾶ/-ᾷ)	-

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	χρυσοῖ ἢ χρυσοί	(χρυσᾶι) ἢ χρυσές	χρυσᾶ ἢ χρυσά
Gen.	χρυσῶν	χρυσῶν	χρυσῶν
Acc.	χρυσοῦς ἢ χρυσούς ἢ χρυσέους	χρυσᾶς ἢ χρυσάς ἢ χρυσές ἢ χρυσέας	χρυσᾶ ἢ χρυσά -έα
Voc.	χρυσοῖ ἢ χρυσοί	-	-

Singular

Masculine

M	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	-ός	-οῦς	-ύς/-ής
Gen.	-οῦ		
Acc.	-ό(ν)	-οῦν	-ύν/-ήν
Voc.	-έ		

The forms in -ος and -ο(ν) are found from the 11th c. onwards. Contracted forms of the nominative and accusative occur sporadically in texts that employ higher-register features.

The genitive would be identical in both open and contracted forms, but no examples have been located in the texts examined.

The multiplicative numeral ἀπλοῦς/ἀπλός is found in two texts of the 14th and 15th c. with masculine forms proper to the -ύς or -ής paradigm:

ἀπλῆς ὁ τόπος *Chron. Mor.* H 6603; εἶδαν τὸν τόπον ἔμνοστον, ἀπλῆν *ibid.* H 1740
ἀπλὺς καὶ μεταδοτικός, ἐλεύθερος ὅς τὸν χέριν *Chron. Toc.* 1948 (ms ἀπλῆς)

These rare by-forms may perhaps be symptomatic of anxieties about the “proper” masculine forms of this group of adjectives.

Nominative

ὁ Ἄργυρος (1032, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 25, 28.15)
ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς Καλλίμαχος [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2379
χρυσὸς αἰτὸς KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1347

διπλοῦς [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2405
ἀπλοῦς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §18.3

Accusative

κόμπους ἄργυρους στ' καὶ ἐν χαλκὸν (1200, Patmos, ASTRUC 1981: 23.67)
διπλὸν μισθὸν λαμβάνωσιν KAMAT., *Astron.* 3998
τὸν τριπλὸν ὄφιν *Ag. Nik. Strat.* 45.65
σταυρὸν χαρκὸν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.4
χρυσὸν στέφανον *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 161.2
τὸν Λέων Χρυσοῦν (1157?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 10, 316.2) (if the text is secure)
διπλοῦν τὸν στεναγμόν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2500

Vocative

χρυσέ μου [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1275

Feminine

F	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-ή/-ῆ	-ά/-ᾶ	
Gen.	-ῆς	-ᾶς	-έας
Acc.	-ή(ν)/-ῆν	-ά(ν)/-ᾶ(ν)	

In the above table, “restricted” forms apply only to adjectives with a stem ending in /r/, e.g. σιδηροῦς, which can have a feminine σιδηρᾶ. Differences of accentuation are not materially significant. Nominative and accusative forms differ only in the variable addition of /n/ in the accusative. Consequently, only a limited number of examples is given below. One instance of an uncontracted form of the genitive has been found, in a toponym (Χρυσεία or Χρυσεία Πόρτα/Πύλη).

Nominative

μιά στοκοκόπα ἀργυρή (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 80.64)
 μία κούπα ἀργυρή (1681?, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 129, 293.14)
 ἄσπρη ἀργυρή μετὰ τὰ χρουσὰ ἢ φορεσὰ του ἐγίνη KORNAPOS, *Erot.* II.91

Genitive

ἁγίας Θεοτόκου Πανόρμου τῆς λεγομένης χρυσῆς (1140, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IV: 2, 117.5)
 τῆς διπλῆς τῆς γνώμης BERGADIS, *Apok.* 302
 μετὰ θήκης ἀργυρῆς (1596, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 27, 141.6)
 τῆς πόρτας τῆς Σιδηρᾶς (ca. 1050, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972b: 178.236)
 ἐκ τῆς Χρυσέας Πόρτας (1448, Constantinople?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 9.I, 12.2)

Accusative

λαβίδα ἀργυρὴν (1189, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: App. II, 210.51)
 διὰ διπλῆν δεκατίαν (1400, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 10, 194.5)
 μίαν κούπαν ἀργυρὴν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 33, 166.8)
 ὑπὲρ χρυσὴν ἀκτῖναν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 813; διπλῆν τὴν ζάλην *ibid.* 2500
 σιδηρὴν καρδίαν *Alf. Xen.* A 3
 μετὰ σιδηρὴν καδηνέλαν (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 1, 282.28)
 ἀργυρῇ (1557, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 11, κστ'.48)
 τὴν χρυσὴν φιάλην *Vios Aisop.* K 201.23
 σιδηρὴ καρδιά *Thysia Avr.* 444
 μία τση καντήλα ἀργυρὴ (1639, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 6, 274.87)
 μίαν λόγχη σιδηρὴ (1644, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1990: 486.399)
 γνώμην σιδηρᾶν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 505; πρὸς σιδηρᾶν καρδίαν *ibid.* 745
 λεκάνην σιδηράν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 271.30

Vocative

ὦ Κρήτης, χώρα μου χρυσή DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 1185

Neuter

N	General	Restricted
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ό(ν)	-οῦν
Gen.	(-οῦ)	

The neuter singular endings are similar to the masculine: nominative and accusative forms in -ό(ν) are found throughout the period covered by this Grammar. Forms in -οῦν are restricted to texts with higher-register features. The genitive (-οῦ) can be assumed to be stable, although no forms have been found in the texts examined.

Nominative

δισκοπότηρον ἕνα, τὸ καυκὶ ἀργυρὸ (1557, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 11, κς'.49)
 ἕνα θυμιατὸ ἀργυρὸ (1644, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1990: 476.62); ἕνα σημαντήρι σιδηρὸ (*ibid.* 486.412)
 τὸ σιδηρὸ κασίδι KORNAPOS, *Erot.* II.2140
 ἦν γὰρ χρυσοῦν τὸ στρώμα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 375
 θυμιατήριον χρυσοῦν VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 376

Accusative

πορφυρόν (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.127)

τὸ ἐν ἀργυρόν (1189, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: App. II, 210.51)

λουρίκιν ἀργυρόν *Dig.* E 1491

τὸ δακτυλίδιν τὸ χρυσόν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 260; μῆλον ... τὸ χρυσόν *ibid.* 1308

ἀνεπετάριν χρυσόν βαρὺ (1682, Cyclades, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 231, 409.6)

κρεμαστάλιν σιδηροῦν (1196, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 240, 325.6)

ποκάμισον λινοῦν (1255, Smyrna region, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 23, 74.13)

ἀπῆρε δισκοποτήριον ἀργυροῦν καὶ χουλιάριον (1316, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 42, 298.10)

χαλκοῦν *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 65

τὸ μῆλον τὸ χρυσοῦν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1213

χρυσοῦν κιβούριν *Byz. Il.* 1083

νὰ τὸ κάμουν διπλοῦν MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 315.23

Plural

Masculine

M	General	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-οί/-οῖ	
Gen.	-ῶν	
Acc.	-οὺς/-οῦς	-έους

Contracted and “regularized” forms are effectively the same (except for the conventions of accentuation), and identical with the forms of the adjectives in 3.2.1. An uncontracted form of the accusative occurs in an 11th-c. document.

Nominative

ἀργυροὶ δὲ οἱ πάλαι *Dig.* G IV.910

κ' ἐπέφτασι διπλοί, τριπλοί οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ τοὺς ἑνίκα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 272.29

Genitive

ἐκ τῶν χρυσῶν δακτύλων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1785

Accusative

διπλοὺς ἔχοντας λόγους KAMAT., *Astron.* 4005

βραχίονας χαλκοὺς καὶ σιδηροὺς *Dig.* A 4679

περὶ τοὺς πόδας τοὺς χρυσοὺς [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 518

σκλάβους δύο σιδηροὺς (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 2, 284.35)

δυὸ χρυσοὺς αἰτούς KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1669

σταυροὺς ἀργυρέους (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 27.237)

Vocative

Vocative forms, which are identical with the nominative, are understandably rare: ὦ βραχιόνιοι σιδηροὶ *Chron. Tōc.* 3392.

Feminine

F	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-ές	(-αί ! -αῖ)	
Gen.	(-ῶν)		
Acc.	-ές	-άς ! -ᾶς	-έας

The forms are identical with those of adjectives in -ος (3.2.1). Here the -άς/-ᾶς forms are classified as “restricted”; very few examples have been found in LMedG texts and even fewer in EMG. An uncontracted form of the accusative plural occurs in a 15th-c. text in mixed register.

Nominative

ὕλογραφίης χρουσές διάφορες (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.136)

Genitive

No examples have been found in the texts examined.

Accusative

βέργες χρυσές (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 48.25)
 πλάνιες σιδηρές (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 2, 284.34)
 εἰς τὲς λεκάνες τὲς χρυσές *Alex.* Rim. 1290
 ἐπαράλαβα χρυσές βέργες (1546, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 11, 48.3)
 δύο κατίνες σιδερές (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 118, 131.13)
 μὲ ἀργυρὲς μαγέτες (1632 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 70, 175.37)

μὲ τὰς χρυσᾶς νεράδας *Dig.* E 1685
 μπούκλας χρουσᾶς *Assizes* B 295.26
 νὰ ἔχουν καὶ διπλᾶς τὰς βρύσεις τοῦ γάλακτος SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 99.23
 ἀγγύρας σιδηρέας ΚΑΝΑΝΟΣ, *Diig.* 65.314–315

Neuter

N	General	Rare
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ά ! -ᾶ	-έα
Gen.	-ῶ(ν)	

The forms exhibit no significant variation (cf. the corresponding forms for the adjectives in 3.2.1). Deletion of final /n/ in the genitive occurs in a Cretan text. A single example of an uncontracted form has been found: κοκκινοχρυσέα. As it comes at the end of a 15-syllable verse, metrical pressure may be suspected.

Nominative

ἕτερα σκεύη ἀργυρά χρουσά ἔγκαυστα (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.131);
 μανουάλια χαλκὰ δύο καὶ σιδερά πέντε (ibid. 24.138)

διπλᾶ (1591, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1949: 162.10)
 λόγια εἶναι πολλὰ ἀπλὰ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §13.15
 τὰ ἡθη οἱποῦ εἶναι ἐπίβουλα καὶ ὄχι απλὰ *Theophr. Char.* 120.6

Genitive

τῷ χρουσῷ μαλλιῷ KORNAOS, *Erot.* IV.470 (for deletion of final /n/ see I, 3.7.2.2.)

Accusative

μὲ τὰ χρυσὰ λιλούδια *Dig.* E 1489
 διπλᾶ βυζία SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 99.22; ἐνδύματα πορφυρᾶ *ibid.* 117.8
 νὰ πληρώνη διπλὰ ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 157.Γ.23
 μία τραχηλέα τοτίνια ἀργυρὰ (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 24, 44.12)
 μὲ δαμάσκα πορφυρὰ (1663, Venice, MALTEZOU 2000: 17.16); τὰ ξῆ μανουάλια τὰ ἀργυρὰ
 (*ibid.* 17.25)
 χρυσά, βαριά (1682, Cyclades, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 231, 407.23)
 ἄρματα διπλὰ KORNAOS, *Erot.* IV.1643
 γομάτες νὰ ἵναι τὰ φλουριά, τὰ κοκκινοχρυσέα LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 672

3.2.6 Adjectives in -άριος/-άρης

Adjectives in this category are formed with the suffix -(ι)άριος, originally derived from the Latin *-arius* and *-iarius*. They must be seen in close association with masculine nouns in -άριος/-άρης, for which see 2.7. The earliest items in this category must have been loanwords from Latin, but the suffix was then used to form new nouns and adjectives, based on Greek roots. This process began in Late Antiquity, and continued in EMedG. (For the suffix -άριος/-άρις see FILOS 2009 and for older views CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 421–2 and B 581–2; see further *ibid.* B 527, where the MG suffix -άρης, denoting some infirmity or defect, is claimed to derive from Latin *-aris*. See also PSALTES 1913: 258–60; and for nouns in -άριος and -αρία in S. Italy, MINAS 2003: 134 and 140. For the change of unstressed /io/ to /i/ that pre-dates the period of this Grammar, see I, 2.9.2.1.)

The early history of these formations, comprising both Latin loanwords adapted to Greek morphology and new words consisting of a Greek (usually nominal) stem + suffix -άριος, need not be discussed here. What is clear is that the suffix was productive in the EMedG period, as the following examples show: δαμονιάρης Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool* 82.8 (see also *LBG* s.v. δαμονιάρης), and (in proper names) ὁ Μυξιάρης Symeon Magister, *Chron.* 699.13; τὸν Στραβοτριχάρην Μιχαήλ Cedrenus, *Chron.* II.515.5. Such adjectives initially followed the regular paradigm of other adjectives in -ιος (see above, 3.2.2), i.e. -άριος, -αρία, -άριον (with paroxytone feminine, though no example has been located); the masculine singular forms (nom. and acc.) subsequently underwent the change of /io/ to /i/ (perhaps by analogy with the corresponding nouns; see I, 2.9.2.1), resulting in nominative -άρης (the spelling -άρις is frequent in manuscripts and older editions). The development of feminine forms is more difficult to chart. By the beginning of the LMedG period a feminine in -αρέα is well established. This is usually explained (CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: B 227–9) as comparable to, and on the analogy of, the feminine of adjectives in -ύς, e.g. βαρέα < βαρεῖα, for which see 3.3.1. However, more

research is needed on the dating and origins of these forms. In the course of the LMedG period, the feminine forms undergo synzesis, although it may not always be apparent in the writing system (see I, 2.9.4). An alternative development, however, is regression of stress to -άρια. This form occurs in a Cypriot text of the late 15th c., but there is too little evidence to determine whether it had a broader geographical distribution.

In Cretan texts, from the early 16th c. onwards, feminine forms in -αρά occur. This development, resulting from deletion of the first vowel of the sequence /ea/ after the liquid /r/, is exactly parallel to what happens to the feminine of the adjective βαρύς (see I, 2.4.7.4 and II, 3.3.1). In the feminine plural, the forms ending in -αρές result from the simplification of two identical vowels. Texts with West Cretan connections, however, may show a phonological change of /ea/ to /e/ after the liquid /r/, e.g. κοψαρέ, a change which also occurs in feminine nouns (see I, 2.4.7.4 and II, 2.11.4). The only evidence for the existence of a feminine in -άρα (the SMG form) is a plural ἀπομονάρες in a 17th-c. Cretan literary text. This form, for adjectives with masculine in -άρης, seems to be a rather late development.²⁶

The masculine plural forms exhibit considerable variation, not dissimilar to that found for nouns of related paradigms. See below for the details. Finally, neuter forms present one of two distinct patterns: either sg. -άρι(ν) pl. -άρια, or sg. -άρικο(ν) pl. -άρικα. The evidence so far gathered does not permit any firm conclusion as to whether the variation is word-specific or subject to other variables.

This category includes numerous adjectives referring to personal appearance, physical states, qualities, age and a mixed bag of other lexical items. It cannot be overemphasized that adjectives are often indistinguishable from nouns in terms of their morphology and syntax.

In the synoptic table below, some forms which are plausible (but unattested in the period covered by this Grammar) are given in brackets. In other cases we have not attempted to reconstruct hypothetical forms for which no evidence is available.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	ἀπομονάριος † ἀπομονάρης	ἀπομοναρία † ἀπομοναρέα † ἀπομονάρια † ἀπομοναριά † ἀπομοναρά † (ἀπομοναρέ)	ἀπομονάρι(ν) † ἀπομονάρικο(ν) † (ἀπομονάριο)
Gen.	ἀπομονάρη † ἀπομονάρου	ἀπομοναριᾶς † ἀπομοναρέας † (ἀπομοναράς)	ἀπομοναριοῦ
Acc.	(ἀπομονάριο(ν)) † ἀπομονάρη(ν)	(ἀπομοναρία(ν)) † ἀπομοναρέα(ν) † ἀπομονάρια(ν) † (ἀπομοναριά(ν)) † ἀπομοναρά(ν) † ἀπομοναρέ	ἀπομονάρι(ν) † ἀπομονάρικο(ν) † ἀπομονάριο
Voc.	ἀπομονάρη	(ἀπομοναρία) † ἀπομοναρέα † ἀπομοναρά † (ἀπομοναρέ)	(ἀπομονάρι(ν)) † ἀπομονάρικο(ν)

²⁶ There is one further piece of problematic evidence: ἡ γυναῖκα μου εἶναι σιγχασιάρα *Vios Aisop.* I 66.29 (Paphomopoulos), but the reading is uncertain.

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	ἀπομονάροι ἢ ἀπομονάρηδες ἢ ἀπομοναραῖοι ἢ ἀπομοναροί	(ἀπομοναρές) ἢ ἀπομοναρές	ἀπομονάρια ἢ ἀπομονάρικα
Gen.	ἀπομοναρίων ἢ ἀπομοναριῶν ἢ ἀπομονάρων(ν) ἢ ἀπομοναῶν(ν)	—	ἀπομοναρίων ἢ ἀπομοναῶν(ν)
Acc.	ἀπομονάρους ἢ ἀπομοναραίους ἢ ἀπομονάρηδες	ἀπομοναρέας ἢ ἀπομοναρές ἢ ἀπομονάρες	ἀπομονάρια ἢ ἀπομονάρικα
Voc.	(ἀπομονάροι) ἢ ἀπομονάρηδες	—	—

Singular

Masculine

M	General	Rare
Nom.	-άρης	-άριος
Gen.	-άρη	-άρου
Acc.	-άρη(ν)	(-άριο(ν))
Voc.	-άρη	

There is little variation in the masculine singular forms. The nominative in -άριος is rare in adjectives of this type, the normal form being -άρης, sometimes written as -άρις in older editions. For the genitive the normal form is -άρη. It might be expected that -αρίου would appear in higher-register texts, but no clearly adjectival example has been found. A few instances of -άρου have been recorded; this form must derive directly from the nom. in -άρης, rather than from -αρίου with deletion of /j/ after /t/ (cf. the masc. acc. pl.). The accusative appears with and without final /n/, but otherwise exhibits no allomorphy. The vocative is quite common, normally with the ending -άρη (see below for a dubious case).

Nominative

Only two examples of -άριος have been found, the second being an imitation of Italian. The form -άρης is common throughout the period, particularly in literary texts:

δαιμονιάριος (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 239.414)

ἕνας ἄνθρωπος ὀρδινάριος *Bertoldos* 10.7–8

πτωχὸς ... καὶ καυχησάρις ΚΑΜΑΤ., *Astron.* 435

ὑπνιάρης *Ptoch.* IV 628

ψεματάρης *Chron. Mor.* H 5799

κοιλιάρης ΕΡΜΟΝ., *Ilias* 4.236

ἦτον τριακοντάρης PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 408

ὑπνιάρης γοῦν καὶ μεθυστής, μᾶλλον καὶ καυχουλάρης *Spaneas* Z 384

δαιμονιάρης DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2931
 ό ζηλιάρης *Fior* 88.1
 εύτυχιάρης *Diig. Alex.* F 106.6 (Lolos)
 τούς χρόνους δωδεκάρης *Alex. Rim.* 247
 ο saliaris / ό σαλιάρης BAROZZI, *Letter* 359.27–8
 άναμαλλιάρης *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 46
 κλινάρης *Ekth. Chron.* 49.22
 άρχάρης MOREZINOS, *Klini* 172.18
 γελασιάρης *Vosk.* 385
 ώσάν άφορμάρης (1628, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 2, 332.10)
 διατὶ ἔναι σκιαζάρης MONTSEL., *Evgena* 443
 άνθρωπος πεισματάρης *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 41.24–5
 ἦτον άνθρωπος ξευλογιάρης PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §35.5; ψειργιάρης *ibid.* III §29.13
 δέν είμαι ζουλιάρης όσον είμαι παραπτονιάρης *Paroim.* (Warner) 61.10
 νά μήν είνι θεληματάρης (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.51r.9)

Genitive

The form -άρου (see above) has been found only in texts from S. Italy and Cyprus, and in a 16th-c. prose version of the *Alexander Romance*. A single example of oxytone -αροῦ has been found. The latter form derives from -αρίου, which underwent synizesis and subsequent deletion of /j/ following the liquid /r/. Otherwise, -άρη is the normal form.

Ἰωάννου τοῦ Σαραντάρου (1054, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 41, 51.2)
 τοῦ Λυσσάρου (1154, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 149, 197.7)
 οἱ τοῦ δαιμονιάρου παῖδες (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 241.509–10)
 τοῦ ριζικάρου *Diig. Alex.* F 112.6 (Lolos)
 τοῦ ριζικαροῦ ἔκεινοῦ βασιλέως [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 342.25
 Βασιλείου Λυσσάρη (1155, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 24, 146.2)
 τοῦ ριζικάρη *Diig. Alex.* E 113.6 (Lolos)
 τοῦ καυχισάρη CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.165
 ἴνους σαλιάρη ... ἴνους κατσιποδιάρη FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.367–8
 τοῦ άρρωστάρη KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.900
 ζηλιάρη *Diig. Vefa* 1433
 του ζηλιάρη ανδρός της *Don Kis.* 4.25

Accusative

άδηφάγον γουλάρην *Ptoch.* IV 297
 τσαγγάρην άχρηστον όμοιάζεις καί βρωμιάρην *Poulol.* 27
 σάν τόν λυσσάρη σκύλον CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 210
 νά σκοτώσω τό σκύλλον τόν ψωριάρην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 232.15–16; τόν κιτρινιάρην *ibid.* V 594.17–18
 τόν λυσσιάρην *Alosis* 471
 φοβητσιάρην *Fior* 129.6
 ἴτι δέν εύρίσκω πούπετε όμοιο σου ριζικάρη KORONAIOS, *Pittakin* 64
 ζουλιάρη *Epain. gyn.* 626
 εύτυχιάρην *Diig. Alex.* E 107.5 (Lolos)
 τόν άζιγανιάρη *P&N Diath.* 607; ἦκαμε ... τόν Ἰησοῦν χρονιάρη *ibid.* 4312
 άναμαλλιάρη *Vosk.* 419; δαιμονιάρη *ibid.* 420
 ἔναν περηφανιάρη *Pist. voskos* I 3.47
 τό φοβιτσάρην άφοβο, πρόθυμο τόν όκνιάρη KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.549

Vocative

ὦ λύκε, λυσσιάρη *Pol. Tr.* 3432b app. crit. (V)

ὦ ὀκνιάρη *Fior* 109.34

ὦ παραφρασιάρη *Diig. Alex.* F 154.8 (Lolos)

κανακάρη μου *P&N Diath.* 2816

ξύπνησε, κανακάρη μου *Thysia Avr.* 483

ποῦ τς ἔχω ἐγὼ τς ἀγαφτικές καὶ λές το, ψοματάρη *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.545

λωλὲ καὶ δαιμονιάρη *KONDAR., Paides* 978

δειλιάρη *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2978

ποῦ σὲ πρέπει, κασσιδιάρη, μαργαριταρένια σκούφια; *Paroim.* (Warner) 68.6

One instance of vocative in -άρη has been found: *σιγχασάρε Vios Aisop.* I 68.24 (Papathomopoulos), but the text is dubious. The Eideneier edition offers *σιγχασερέ*; it may result from confusion with the adjective *σιχαμερός*.

Feminine

F	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-αρέα † -αριά	-άριαί -αρά † (-αρέ)	-αρία
Gen.	-αρέας † -αριᾶς	(-αράς)	
Acc.	-αρέα(ν) † -αριά(ν) †	-άρια(ν) † -αρά(ν) † -αρέ	(-αρία(ν))

Texts which are presumed to date from the 12th–14th c. generally have -αρέα. The late-15th-c. Cypriot adaptation of the *Fior di virtù* has nominative and accusative forms in -άρια, which are otherwise uncommon; they do, however, occur in loanwords from Italian used as legal terms in Cretan documents.²⁷ In grammars and dictionaries (17th and 18th c.), forms with synizesis (e.g. *φεμματριά*) are presented as standard, while in Cretan texts, both literary and non-literary, from the early 16th c. onwards we encounter forms with synizesis and vowel deletion, as mentioned above: -αρά is characteristically Cretan but also occurs in some Heptanesian texts (e.g. Montselese). Mention must also be made of feminine forms with the nominal derivational suffix -ισσα, e.g. *ἀλλ' εἶσαι φεμματάρισσα Diig. tetr.* 285, although these might better be regarded as nouns. Conversely, these adjectives may borrow the adjectival suffix -ικος, as in, for example: *διὰ τὴν φονιάρικην γνώ<μην> RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 105.17. Only three genitive forms have been located in the texts examined.

Nominative

The usual form in LMedG texts is -αρέα. New forms begin to appear from the late 15th c., as discussed above. Accusative forms follow the same pattern.

ἡ θύννα ἡ βρομιαρέα *Ptoch.* IV 109

μαγγαναρέα, μιαρή *Diig. tetr.* 286; ἡ βρωμομυξαρέα ... ἡ προβατίνα *ibid.* 413–14

²⁷ Adjectives such as *ἀρμπιτράριος*, *λιβεράριος* and *ὀρδενάριος* (BAKKER 1988/89: 316) should rather be seen as belonging to the category of adjectives in -ος with fem. -α.

ὥσπε (sic) δαιμονιαρέα *Pol. Tr.* 6667 app. crit. (A)
 ἐγίνη λυσσαρέα *Pol. Tr.* 12483 app. crit. (ACX); λυσσαρία *ibid.* app. crit. (V)
 ἡ γυναῖκα ἡ λυσσαρία *Fior* 84.32; λυσσαριά *ibid.* app. crit. (I)
 ἡ γυναῖκα μου εἶναι σιγχασαρία *Vios Aisop.* I 253.31
 ψοματάρης, ψοματαριά GERMANO, *Grammar* 64.28–9
 bugiardo. ψεματάρης ... Fem. ψεματαριά, ψεύτρια GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v.; geloso. ζηλιάρης ...
 Fem. ζηλιαριά *ibid.* s.v.
 διακονάρης ..., διακοναριά PORTIUS, *Grammar* 24.27
 νὰ μὴ βρεθῶ ψεματαριά VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 204
 κανακαριά ... τζαμπουνιαριά ... τζαμπουναριά ... χαδιαριά ... ψεματαριά ... ψωματαριά
 SOMAVERA, *Lex.* s.vv.

Examples of forms with -αρά in Cretan and Heptanesian texts:

ἀρχαρά MOREZINOS, *Klini* 220.13
 αἶγα μια σκουληκιαρά CHORTATSI, *Panor.* IV.52; ντροπιαρά *ibid.* IV.165
 ζηλιαρά MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1525
 κι ἐκείνη εἶναι κατεχαρά FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.279
 ἀπού τῇ σπορά ἀπού θελε τοῦ τοκάρει ἀπομοναρά (1660, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 15,
 378.27)
 ἀφορμαρά KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1014 and V.977

Genitive

τῆς δαιμονιαραίας ὁ γάμος μένει στερεός (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 234.259); τῆς
 γυναικὸς τῆς δαιμονιαραίας (*ibid.* 234.267)

τοῦ ἡγούμενου Κανακαριάς (1704, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 2, 54.5)

Accusative

ἡ θύνναν βρωμιαρέαν *Ptoch.* IV 237
 τὴν σκύλα ... τὴν λυσσαρέαν *Synax. gyn.* 240 (ms λιγαρέαν; for the correction see KRIARAS,
Lex. s.v. λιγαρέα)
 μία σκρόφαν χαλιζάρια *Assizes A* 251.17
 γυναῖκα θυμωτάρια *Fior* 84.21–2
 ὀγιά λιβελάρια πλερωμή (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 652, 569.6)
 τὴν ἀπομοναράν (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 11, 19.16)
 ὡς κανακαρά *Apoll. Rim.* A 513
 ζηλιαρά *Stathis* III.379
 τὴν κανακαρά FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.396

While the West Cretan feminine ending -έ is common for nouns (see 2.11.4), only one adjectival form has been found, in a text which otherwise uses -αρά: σα μιαν αἶγα κοψαρέ CHORTATSI, *Panor.* II.82.

Vocative

κοντοποδαρέα *Diig. tetr.* 844; προβατομουξαρέα *ibid.* 431
 ψοματαρά *Pist. voskos* II 3.37
 κανακαρά FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.483

Neuter

N	General	Rare
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-άρι(ν) -άρικο(ν)	-αριό
Gen.	-αριοῦ	

There are two alternative neuter forms in use, essentially throughout the period covered by this Grammar; for both forms the earliest examples located are in the *Ptochoprodromic Poems* (presumed 12th c., but earliest mss 14th c.). In some cases the choice appears to be word-specific: ἀπομονάρης does not seem to have -άρικο forms in either the singular or the plural. Other adjectives, however, e.g. ροζ(ι)άρης, χρον(ι)άρης, exhibit both types of neuter form. A third form, in -αριό, has been found only in a 17th/18th-c. religious drama from Syros. Only one genitive form has been located in the texts examined.

Nominative

ὀρνίθιν κορυζιάριν *Ptoch. IV* 471
γελατσάρι CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2033
κοιλιάριν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2968
ἀνεψητάρι πανίν (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 5, 289.13)
τὸ φουσσᾶτον | τὰπομονάριν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2510–11
τὸ ἐν ἧτον σκαρλάτον ἐξηγτάρι (1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 179.16)
φθειριάρικον, κοντριάρικον *Ptoch. IV* 470; ψειριάρικον, κοντριάρικο, *ibid.* app. crit. (P)
ζηλλιάρικον *Fior* 87.11; τὸ περίτου ξιππαστάρικον ζόν *ibid.* 129.1; ἓνα πουλλὴν τόσον
γουλλιάρικον *ibid.* 144.36
τὸ κανακάρικό μου SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 73
σκουληκιάρικο (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 400, 396.12)
ὥσαν πῶς ἓνα χρονιάρικον παιδὶν DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 24, ω7r.9 (1561)
τὸ δόλον ψεματάρικον εὐρίσκετον ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1378
τὸ κανακάρικό μου *Thysia Avr.* 313
ψοματάρης ... ψοματάρικον GERMANO, *Grammar* 64.28–9
ροζάρικον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 158.18
εἶναι πολλὰ καλὸ δουλευτάρικο (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 303, f.1r.16)
κανακάρικον παιδί SOMAVERA, *Lex.* s.v.
ζουλιάρικο πράγμα εἶναι ἡ βασιλεία *Irodis II.* 183; τὸν ἔφαγεν τὸ δαγκανιάρικο σκουλήκι τῆς
συνειδήσεως *ibid.* 325–6

Genitive

τοῦ ἀπομοναριοῦ λιβαδιοῦ (1609, Crete, PENDOGALOS 1972: 2, 189.9) (no accent in the ms)

Accusative

τ' ἄδυναμάρι CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1111
δένδρον ροζιάριν SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 20
ἓνα ταυρὶ χρονάρι (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 118, 131.16)
τὸ ἀπομονάρι ξάμπελο (1607, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 463, 421.3–4)
μικρὸν παιδί ἀνήλικο βυζανάρι (1615, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2011: 4, 215.1)
ἄλογο φοβιτσάρι KORNAPOS, *Erot.* II.2332

τὸ ὄνικόν, ἐκεῖνο τὸ ψωριάρικον *Poulol.* 440 app. crit. (E)

δέντρο ροζάρικον *DEFAR., Log. did.* 117

βλαστάρι χρονιάρικον *LANDOS, Geopon.* 149.29

τὸ ψωριάρικον πρόβατον *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §5.14

μεταμορφώνεται εἰς βυζαναριὸ παιδί *Irodis* I.191; εἰς ἓνα γυμνὸ καὶ βυζαναριὸ παιδί *ibid.* II. 11
(for pl. βυζανάρικα in the same text, see below)

Vocative

ἄσκιν βρωμιάρικον *Poulol.* 56

ξύπνησε, κανακάρικο *Thysia Avr.* 433

ὑπερηφανιάρικο κοπέλι *Pist. voskos* I 2.365

Plural

Masculine

M	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-ἄροι -ἄρηδες		-αροί -αράϊοι
Gen.	-αρίων -αριῶν -ἄρω(ν)	-αρῶ(ν)	
Acc.	-ἄρους -ἄρηδες		-αράϊους

The two most common endings for the nominative plural are -ἄροι and -ἄρηδες, and for the accusative -ἄρους and -ἄρηδες (cf. the corresponding noun paradigm, 2.7). Neither type has been found before the late 15th c. The -ἄροι and -ἄρους forms occur mainly in texts from Crete, the Peloponnese and the Heptanese. An original -ἀριοί became -ἄροι by simplification of the consecutive identical vowels (see I, 2.9.2.1); the accusative is then formed on the analogy of the nominative. The other forms, regarded as “rare”, require some explanation: the oxytone -αροί found only in two texts of the 17th c., one written by a Heptanesian, the other from Macedonia, may be compared with the oxytone feminine forms, though they are not necessarily analogical. The forms with -αράϊοι, occurring in two 16th-c. manuscripts of the *Alexander Romance* and a late-17th-c. document from Transylvania, are modelled on the corresponding noun paradigm (see 2.7). A corresponding accusative with -αράϊους has also been found in a 16th-c. Heptanesian document.

For the genitive plural – as usual, occurrences are rare – both oxytone and paroxytone forms are found in the texts examined. The form in -ἄρω(ν) follows the pattern of nominative -ἄροι and accusative -ἄρους. The form -αριῶν would result from synizesis of -αρίων. The Cretan -αρῶ should probably be regarded as analogical. However, examples are too few to permit firm conclusions.

Nominative

The form in -ἄροι is the best represented, with examples from southern and south-western regions; texts from Cyprus, in particular, appear to have a preference for -ἄρηδες.

πολλὰ εἶν' θεληματάροι *Chron. Mor.* H 604; ὅλοι θεληματάροι *ibid.* 6935

ἀφορμάροι CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1869
 πολλοὶ γὰρ εἶναι κι ἄνανδροι καὶ φοβητσάρ' ὡς λάφια KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VI.241
 τριαντάροι *Deft. Par.* 14
 γοὶ ἀπομονάροι ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1946
 ὀκνιάροι *P&N Diath.* 52; ζηλιάροι *ibid.* 381; οἱ ἀπομονάροι *ibid.* 787
 ἐμεῖς οἱ ἀπομονάροι (1604–5, Cythera, ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΙ 1978: 150.92–3)
 καὶ φοβητσάροι οὔλοι FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 71; οἱ ἀγογιάροι *ibid.* I.236
 ψωριάροι KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1473
 ὡς ἀφορμάροι *Leilasia Par.* 417

λυσσαροὶ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.9
 ὥσπερ κύνες λυσσαροὶ DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 334

σκιασταραῖοι *Diig. Alex.* F 74.23 and *Diig. Alex.* E 147.24 (Konstantinopulos)
 νὰ μὴ εἶνι θιλιματαραῖοι (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.51r.4–5)

ἐνι ψεματάρηδες *Fior* 131.35
 ὅτ' εἶναι φοβητσάρηδες ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 56.2
 εἴστε φοβητσάρηδες KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 8.26
 ἄς μὴν γενόμεσθεν ὀκνιάρηδες RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 112.9

Genitive

ὅτι ἔνε παῖδες μωρῶν ἢ δαιμονιαρίων (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 242.516)
 τῶν σκύλων τὲ τῶν λυσσαρίων KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* IX.160
 ὁμπρὸς τῶν ἀπομοναρῶ *P&N Diath.* 3091
 τῶν ἀπομοναρῶ ἀθρόπῳ (1668, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 20, 425.14)
 τῶν πεισματάρῳ CHORTATIS, *Panor.* V.190 (in rhyme)

Accusative

ὡσὰν λυσσάρους σκύλους SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 279
 ἀπομονάρους MOREZINOS, *Klini* 25.8
 ζηλιάρους *Pist. voskos* I.3.108
 τσὶ ἀπομονάρους σπάρους (1620, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 363, 337.12)
 τσὶ παραθεσμιάρους ... τς ἀνεπαψάρους FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 23–4
 τοὺς μανισάρους BOUNIALIS M., *Kat. ofel.* 423
 ἀφορμάρους KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.214
 ἀπὸ τοὺς σκιαχταραῖους τοὺς ἄνδρες *Diig. Alex.* K 369.14
 τοὺς ζηλιάρηδες *Fior* 122.31
 χαλαζιάρηδες LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 238
 ὅσους λωβοὺς καὶ κασσιδιάρηδες ἐκαθάρισεν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 121.14–15

Vocative

κατεχάροι τη καρδιάς CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.486 (though the adjective here functions more like a noun: it is paralleled with γνώστες)
 ζουλιάρηδες VEST., *Pathi* 274
 ἰδέτε οἱ ζηλιάρηδες, ὅσοι κι' ἂν μ' ἀγροικᾶτε KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.705

Feminine

F	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	(-αρέες)	-αρές	
Gen.	–		
Acc.	-αρέας	-αρές	-άρες

The picture offered by the very limited number of occurrences is incomplete: almost all the examples are from Cretan texts. The nominative -αρές can be assumed to derive from *-αρέες, with simplification of the repeated vowel (see I, 2.9.2.1); cf. the accusative βρομιαρέας, with the older ending -ας, in a 15th-c. text. The alternative form in -άρες, of which a single example has been located, may be formed on the analogy of the masculine plural. Examples of the genitive are lacking.

Nominative

οἱ ἀπομοναρές μέλισσες (1541, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 222, 213.21)
οἱ ἀπομοναρές μας *P&N Diath.* 1795

Accusative

καὶ ἀπὸ βρομιαρέας μὴ ἐγλύσης *Opsarol.* 83
τὲς ἀπομοναρές (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 56, 54.10)
βυζασταρές *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.537, V.66
μὲ τσι ἀπομοναρές ἑλές (1660, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 15, 378.21)
παρὰ τς ἀπομονάρες *Pist. voskos* I.3.138

Neuter

N	General	Restricted
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-άρια ἰ -άρικα	
Gen.	-αρίων	-αρῶ(ν)

For the two types of neuter plural form, see under neuter singular (above). There are too few examples to determine regional differences. Two genitive plural forms have been found: one (from S. Italy) in -αρίων, which we would expect to be the “normal” form, with possible synizesis; the other (-αρῶ(ν), in Cretan texts) is identical with one of the masculine forms discussed above.

Nominative

τὰ ἀπομονάρια στάμενα (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 97.136)
ἀλησμονιάρικα *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 114.6
χροινιάρικα (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 832, 727.5)

νὰ μὴ γένουνται τὰ ἀπίδια σκουληκιάρικα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 153.6–7; νερουλιάρικα *ibid.* 219.12
 μικρὰ παιδιὰ βυζανιάρικα *Diig. Sant.* 56.79

Genitive

τῶν δύο βινιαλίων πεντηνταρίων (1033, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 26, 30.21)
 τῶν ἀπομοναρῶν παιδιῶν (1543, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 239, 225.17)
 τῶν ἀπομοναρῶ ἀδελφιῶ (1598, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 1, 213.27)

Accusative

δύο ἀμπελότοπα πεντηκοντάρια (1116, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 79, 103.10)
 εἰς τὰ ἀδέλφια του τὰ ἀπομονάρια (1394, Crete, SANTSCHI 1976: 1597, 344.9)
 μὲ τὰ ἀπομονάρια μου μέλη (1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 98.2)
 τὰ ἀπομονάρια εὐτιασίματά του (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 703, 546.12)
 στὰ ἵπομονάργια μερδικὰ (1598, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 1, 213.28)
 τ' ἀπομονάρια *Pist. voskos* I.5.80
 διὰ τὰ ἀπομονάρια μου παιδιὰ (1628, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 504, 480.8)
 τ' ἀπομονάρια KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.830
 διὰ τὰ πράγματα τὰ ριζικάρικα *Assizes A* 46.4
 νὰ δώκη τὰ αὐτὰ χωράφια ... διὰ μερτικάρικα (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 31, 71.11)
 ὡσάν καλά τση καὶ θεληματάρικα παιδιὰ (1598, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 1, 213–214.30)
 κλήματα ... χρονιάρικα (1607, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 463, 421.3)
 πηχιάρικα μαντήλια ὀκτώ (1636, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 3, 216.12)
 ζῶα ψωριάρικα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 242.33
 τὰ βυζανάρικα σήμερον παιδιὰ ἔπνιξεν *Irodis* II.406–7

3.2.7 Adjectives in -ένιος

This category of adjectives originates from AG adjectives in -έϊνος, formed by the addition of the suffix -ινος to nouns ending in -έα or -έως (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 117–18). These adjectives also appear in MedG and MG with the suffix -ένιος, as a result of metathesis, although the forms in -έϊνος continue to be used for certain lexical items and in higher-register texts. The derivational suffix -ένιος becomes very productive in the period covered by this Grammar. Such adjectives usually denote the material from which something is made, e.g. ἀσημένιος, δρυένιος, μαρμαρένιος, but note also οὐδετιποτένιος and μηδετιποτένιος (“of no account”).

An alternative development of the suffix -έϊνος is to -ένος, as a result of deletion of the second vowel (see I, 2.9.2.1). Forms in -ένος are found mainly in Cyprus, the Dodecanese and the Cyclades. When /n/ is followed by /i/ in the ending, it is likely to have been pronounced with some degree of palatalization (i.e. approaching [ɲ]), which the writing system does not indicate. On this issue see I, 3.2.3 and I, 3.8.2.3. While the forms in -ένιος give rise to feminine -ένια (like adjectives in 3.2.2), those in -ένος have feminine singular forms in -ένη etc. (like adjectives in 3.2.1). The allomorphy depicted in the tables below should therefore be regarded as derivational rather than inflectional.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	μαρμαρένιος ἰ μαρμαρένος ἰ μαρμαρέινος	μαρμαρένια ἰ μαρμαρένη ἰ (μαρμαρέινη)	μαρμαρένιο(ν) ἰ μαρμαρένο(ν) ἰ (μαρμαρέινο(ν))
Gen.	μαρμαρένιου ἰ (μαρμαρένου)	μαρμαρένιας ἰ μαρμαρένης	—
Acc.	μαρμαρένιο(ν) ἰ μαρμαρένο(ν)	μαρμαρένια(ν) ἰ μαρμαρένη(ν) ἰ μαρμαρέινη(ν)	μαρμαρένιο(ν) ἰ μαρμαρένο(ν) ἰ μαρμαρέινο(ν)
Voc.	μαρμαρένιε	μαρμαρένια ἰ μαρμαρένη ἰ (μαρμαρέινη)	(μαρμαρένιο(ν)) ἰ μαρμαρένο(ν)

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	(μαρμαρένιοι) ἰ μαρμαρένοι ἰ (μαρμαρέινοι)	μαρμαρένιες ἰ μαρμαρένες	μαρμαρένια ἰ μαρμαρένα
Gen.	μαρμαρένιων	—	-
Acc.	μαρμαρένιους ἰ μαρμαρένους ἰ μαρμαρέινους	μαρμαρένιες ἰ μαρμαρένες ἰ μαρμαρένας ἰ μαρμαρέινες	μαρμαρένια ἰ μαρμαρένα
Voc.	(μαρμαρένιοι) ἰ μαρμαρένοι	—	(μαρμαρένια) ἰ μαρμαρένα ἰ μαρμαρέινα

Singular

Masculine

M	General	Restricted
Nom.	-ένιος	-ένος
Gen.	-ένιου	
Acc.	-ένιο(ν)	-ένο(ν)
Voc.	-ένιε	

The endings of the masculine singular forms correspond to those of adjectives in -ος. Forms with -ένος, which occur regularly in texts from Cyprus, are also found sporadically in texts from Sicily, the Dodecanese, Naxos and Santorini.

Nominative

- τζέντανος βελουδένιος (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.46)
 γείς κρουσταλλένιος τράχηλας CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.81 (misprint τράχηλος in ed.)
 ένας μαρμαρένιος σταυρός RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 83.2
 ὡσάν οὐδετιποτένιος KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 9.12
 ένας συρματένιος (1693, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 10, 407.25–6)
 ὡς πύργος σιδερένιος *Katal.* 52 (Panayotopoulou)
 εἶσαι ένας οὐδετιποτένιος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 480.11–12
 μαργαριταρένιος LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 133
 μαργαριταρένιος φουρνίδος (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 141.57)

Genitive

- μύθος ξυλένιου θεοῦ AITOLOS, *Ais. Myth.* 127 tit.

Accusative

- έναν ἵππον χαλκένιον *Pol. Tr.* 12023 app. crit. (B)
 νὰ σοῦ τότε ξανακτίσω ἀσβεστένιον (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 84, 83.4)
 ὦ τὸν Πῶρον τὸν οὐδετιποτένιον, τὸν γάδαρον *Diig. Alex.* V 80.8
 ἄθον δρυένιον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 212.20
 τὸν κρουστελλένιον οὐρανὸ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 190.8
 τὸ σκοπὸ, τὸ γλυκοζαχαρένιο KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.521
 κρατήραν ἀσημένιον (1334, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 43, 131.24)
 ένας πάγκο ταλπεδένο (1609, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 8, 78.8)

Vocative

- οὐδετιποτένιε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 5.22 marg.

Feminine

F	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-ένια	-ένη	
Gen.	-ένιας	-ένης	
Acc.	-ένια(ν)	-ένη(ν)	-έινη(ν)

Forms with -ένια have a wide geographical spread throughout the period. Those with -ένη are restricted to texts from Cyprus, Crete, Mykonos, Naxos, Santorini, Chios, the Heptanese and Thrace (although other areas cannot be excluded); only in Cyprus does -ένη seem to be the sole form. Different manuscripts of the same literary text can also exhibit this variation (see examples below). A single example of -έινη, from Crete, has been found.

Nominative

- ἡ μαρμαρένια πλάτη GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 66
 ποῦ σὲ πρέπει, κασιδιάρη, μαργαριταρένια σκούφια; *Paroim.* (Warner) 68.6
 ἡ μαρμαρένια χέρα KORNAPOS, *Erot.* II.70

γίνεται ἀλατσένη | καὶ κατεστάθη ἡ ὄψη της ὥσάν καναβατσένη *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1141–2
 μία γούρνα μαρμαρένη *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 254.34–5
 μηδὲν εἶναι ἡ καρδιά σου διαμαντένη *Cypr. Canz.* 92.13
 ἡ πλάκα ἡ μαρμαρένη *CHORTATSI, Panor.* I.135
 μιά κόττα ὀρμιζένη κίτρινη (1612, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 813, 709.7)
 καμουχένη (1632, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1958/59: 8, 142.63)
 ἡ κερα-παπαδιά Μαλαματένη (1668, Mykonos, *PETROPOULOS* 1960: 939, 562.5) (adjective
 used as a proper name)
 ψεματένη εἶναι ἡ δόξα *Charon* II 45
 καρένη (1687, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 714, 967.23)
 καμουχένη (1693, Santorini, *STEFANIDOU* 1996/97: 10, 407.18)

Genitive

μετὰ θήκης ξυλένιας (1598, Athos, *PAVLIKIANOV* 2006: 27 Suppl., 145.36)
 ἄνευ μιᾶς οὐδὲ τιποτένης δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀσχημοσύνης *Assizes* B 415.1
 πετρένης καρδίας συντυχάνομεν *Pist. kekoim.* 589
 τῆς θύρας, | τῆς κρυσταλλένης *VATATSI, Periig.* I 781–2

Accusative

κούπα σταγονένια (ca. 1270, Athos, *BOMPAIRE* 1964: 9A, 80.14)
 τὴν σέλαν ... τὴν μαργαριταρένιαν *Dig.* E 1059
 μὲ μπάλλα βολιμένια, καὶ μὲ μπάλλα σιδερένια (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, *MORGAN* 1954: 60.4)
 μία σίγλα νερική, χαρκωματένια (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2009: 97, 98.30)
 κούπα ἀσημένια (1560, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 24, 103.11)
 μία κασέλα ταλπεδένια (1609, Santorini, *TSELIKAS* 1985: 8, 80.83)
 τὴν πετρένια τὴν γούρνα (1652, Serres region, *ODORICO* 1998: 69, 179.10)
 μία καργιόγλα σιδερένια (1656, Santorini, *STEFANIDOU* 1996/97: 9, 405.45)
 εἰς τὴν κρυσταλλένια κασέλλα *Alex. Fyll.* 103.17
 μίαν καλαμένιαν σφυρίστραν *Don Kis.* 10.17
 εἰς τάβλαν κερένη *Assizes* B 395.2; ἀποῦ πᾶσα ἐργασίαν γαστρένη *ibid.* B 494.19
 σέλλαν εἶχεν ... μαλαμματένην *Achil.* L 803
 ἔξακανθὲνην ζόγιαν *PLOUSIAD., Thrinis* 70 (Vasileiou)
 μίαν σέλλαν ὁμορφὴν μαργ(αρ)ιταρένην *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 576.11–12
 κασέλαν ἄλλην ταλπεδένην (1518, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 52, 93.41);
 κασσελοπούλαν κυπαρισένην μίαν (*ibid.* 52, 93.43)
 στὴν κερένη *Alex. Rim.* 96
 κουβέρταν χρυσοπέταλην καὶ μαργαριταρένη *Imb. Rim.* 418
 τὴν μαρμαρένην στράταν *Pist. kekoim.* 367–8
 μίαν κοῦπαν ἀσιμένη (1561, Corfu, *VERRA et al.* 2007: 64, 54.28)
 μία κασελοπούλα ταλπεδένη (1609, Santorini, *TSELIKAS* 1985: 8, 80.70)
 μὲ ἀσημένη λάμα (1683, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 331, 534.12); μία
 κυπαρισένη καὶ μία κοκκαλένη (1684, *ibid.* 485, 711.16–17)
 καμιζόραν τσοχένην (1692, Chios, *VISVIZIS* 1948: 30, 111.25)
 καλαμαρθήκη ... μαργαριταρένη *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1424; μὲ λαλιά γλυκειά καὶ ζαχαρένη
ibid. II.1658
 μία καργιόλα καρένη (1609, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 626, 547.20)

Vocative

μαλαματένια μου *Rim. kor.* V 93, but μαλαματένη μου *ibid.* A 95

Neuter

N	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ένιο(ν)	-ένο(ν)	-έινο(ν)
Gen.	—		

The common form in -ένιο(ν) is attested in vernacular texts from the 15th c. onwards, but must have existed long before that. The variant -ένο(ν) is found in Cypriot texts from the *Assizes* (13th c., but ms of the 15th c.) onwards, and occasionally in texts from Pontos, Crete, Rhodes, Santorini and Naxos. There is also a form with -έινο(ν), attested in 16th- and 17th-c. documents from Crete and Skyros. No genitive forms have been found in the texts examined.

Nominative

κοπέλλιν ἄτυχον καὶ οὐδετιποτένιον *Pol. Tr.* 8790 app. crit. (AB)
 τὸ ἄλλον εἶναι μαρμαρένιον (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 93.46)
 τὸ πόδι χαλκωματένιο (1597, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969k: 17, 109.10)
 μεταξένιο (1598, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 27 Suppl., 145.39)
 τὸ σκληρὸν καὶ μηδετιποτένιον φαητόν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 157.1
 ἕνα φακίολι μαργαριταρένιον (1693, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 10, 407.32)
 νερό ἄσπρο κρουσταλλένιο KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.207; τὸ ζαχαρένιο στόμα *ibid.* II.1348
 εφορούσεν ... σπαθὶ μαλαγματένιον *Don Kis.* 551.16–17
 νῆμαν καναβένον (ca. 1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 22, 9.2)
 ὕδιν μαρμαρένον (1476, Cyprus, SAKKELION 1887b: 261.6–7)
 ἀπλίκιν πλιθθαρένον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 78.11

Accusative

κιβούριον ... μαρμαρένιον *Pol. Tr.* 11625
 φουστανόπανον μπερετένιον (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 93.41)
 ἕνα φουστάνι μπουκασένιο (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 9, 41.20)
 ἕνα κρεββάτι πουπουλένιο (1582, Patras, ZOIS 1936/37: 17–18, λδ'.13)
 εἰς σακούλι καμουχένιον (1596, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 27, 142.11)
 ἕνα κτένι κοκαλένιο (1609, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 8, 80.53)
 ἕνα βουλωτήρι μαλαματένιο (1616, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968 : 2, 29.23)
 ἕνα χαρτί βαμπαγκένιο (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 84, 89.2)
 χαρκουματένιο σαχάνι (1687, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 10, 224.27)
 ἐμπρός στο σεντούκι τὸ μαρμαρένιο (17th–18th c., Sinai, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 35, 140.5) (ms unaccented)
 ἕνα καντήλι εὐμορφο, μαλαματένιο EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.20–1
 παλοῦκιν ξυλένον *Assizes* B 415.5
 ἕνα ζιπούνιν βίλουσένον VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 114–116.20–1; τὸ κιβούριν το πορφυρένον *ibid.* A 156.7
 ξυλένο δεκανίκιν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 689
 στρωμάτζον ἕνα καναβατσένον (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 1, 282.21)
 ἕνα πάγκο ταλπεδένο (1609, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 8, 78.8)
 ἕνα σεπετάκι μικρόν ἀσημένον (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 143.94)

ὀρμιζένο δξὺ (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 484.1–2)
καμουχένο (1684, Naxos, ΣΙΦΟΝΙΟΥ-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 485, 711.10)

ἕνα καμιζότο φοιρετέινο (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 24, 44.11); ἕνα σκαμνὶ
κυτταρισσέινο (1609, *ibid.* 626, 547.20)
τὸ κυτταρισσείνόν μου σεντούκιον (1656, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: VI, 162.9)

Vocative

χοιρίδιν δετιποτένον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 206.33
χέριν ἄσπρον καφουρένον *Cypr. Canz.* 127.1

Plural

Masculine

M	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-ένοι † (-ένιοι)		
Gen.	-ένιων		
Acc.	-ένιους	-ένους	-έινους

The expected nominative form -ένιοι has not yet been found in texts of the period, although the corresponding vocative occurs, editorially, in Bounialis. In any case, the simplification of two identical vowels (see I, 2.9.2.1) would normally lead to -ένοι. However, genitive and accusative forms in -ένιων and -ένιους occur in texts from various regions. A few examples of -ένοι and -ένους (from Santorini, Crete, Epirus/Heptanese, and a text – the *War of Troy* – that has been linked with the Peloponnese) are given below. The single instance of -έινους occurs in a 16th-c. text with northern features in its phonology and vocabulary.

Nominative

οἱ δύο σερασερένοι καὶ δύο βελουδένοι (1693, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 10, 407.26)

Genitive

διαμέσου τῶν σιδερένιων κούσπων RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 121.9

Accusative

μὲ σιδερένιους πάλους *P&N Diath.* 136
ἄερες ἀτλαζένιους (1628–9, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 1, 41.6)
εἰς δύο σιδερένιους κούσπους RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 79.4–5
καὶ τοίχους χωματένιους ... οὔτε καὶ μὲ ταβλένιους BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 253.7–8
(χωματένιους ... ταβλένους Xirouchakis)

τοὺς φρικτοὺς τοίχους τοὺς μαρμαρένους *Pol. Tr.* 12060 app. crit. (CV)
μὲ λόγους ψεματένους *Chron. Toc.* 1626
τροχοὺς χρυσομαλαματένους ... λίθους ἁδαματένους βαρὰ TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.89–90 (Walton)
(the editor changes to χρυσομαλαματένιους ... ἁδαματένιους TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.89–90)

τοὺς ουδετιποτένιους ενδειότες *Diig. Alex.* K 369.14–15

Vocative

ὦ κρουσταλλένοι μ' οὐρανοί BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 208.13 (Xirouchakis) (but
κρουστελλένιοι in the edition of Alexiou/Aposkiti)

Feminine

F	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-ένιες	-ένες	
Gen.	—		
Acc.	-ένιες	-ένες	-ένας † -έινες

The data are very limited, but the commonest ending for both the nominative and the accusative is -ένιες. The form in -ένες has only been found in texts from Cyprus, Crete, Patmos, Naxos and Macedonia; in the *Chronicle* of Machairas one ms has an accusative form in -ένας, which matches (and may be influenced by) the preceding noun. The form -έινες occurs once in a Cretan text. No genitive forms have been found in the texts examined.

Nominative

- οἱ πόρτες οἱ μαρμαρένιες *Diig. Alex.* F 172.12 (Lolos)
 ἔτερες κολαῖνες δύο ποστάδες μαργαριταρένιες (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.44)
 σκούφες δικτένες δύο, αἱ δύο κλωστένες (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 5, 289.18)
 ἀκόμη τρεῖς καμουχένες (1656, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 9, 405.70)

Accusative

- μὲ δίκτοις (sic) κλωστένιες (1521, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 59, 112.33)
 τὲς θύρες ἐκείνες τὲς σιδηρένιες τὲς κλεισμένες PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 110.34–5
 γαμπέτες κλωστένιες (1597, Crete, VISVIZIS 1965: 17, 104.17)
 μὲ ἀσημένιες ρουμανέτες (1630, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1951: [3], 171.29)
 κασέλες καρένιες (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 485, 711.16)
 με κόψες μαλαγματένιες *Don Kis.* 551.15
 τσὶ κασέλλες τὼς τσὶ καρυδένιες *Leilasia Par.* 535
 ἐποῖκεν πολλὰς λαμπάδας κερένας χοντρὲς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 102.5
 ἐποῖκεν πολλὰς λαμπάδας καφουρένες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 102.5
 σίγλες χαλκωματένες (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 93.44)
 βέργες μαργαριταρένες (1587, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 4, 2.8)
 μία ζυγή βέργες ἀσημένες (1606, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 26, 102.9)
 δυὸ κασέλες καρένες (1646 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968 : 58, 148.36)
 πενήντα τάβλες ντελαριζέινες πλατέες (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169–170.14)

Neuter

N	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ένια	-ένα	-έινα
Gen.	-		

Forms with -ένια have the widest distribution, including Asia Minor, the Heptanese, Macedonia and certain Aegean islands. Cypriot texts have a clear preference for -ένα, with

numerous examples from legal and literary texts ranging from the *Assizes* (13th c., but 15th-c. manuscript) to the late 17th-c. *Thrinis*. Texts from Crete and Naxos show examples of both types, with no clear preference. The form in *-είνα* is rare: one example has been recorded, in a text of West Greek provenance (Epirus/Heptanese). No genitive forms have been located in the texts examined.

Nominative

ἐγχείρια βλατενία (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.125)
 τὰ ζῶα τὰ μικρούτζικα, τὰ οὐδετιποτένια *Diig. tetr.* 551
 δυο μάτια ζαφειρένια *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.79
 προσκέφαλα ἀτλαζένια (ca. 1650, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 6, 219.12)
 ξουράφια κυπαρισσένια (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 53.13)
 τὰ χέρια μαρμαρένια *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.1087
 σκουτέλλια μαρμαρένια *Assizes* B 495.22
 τὰ δετιποτένα κορμιά *Fior* 92.24
 λόγια ζαχαρένια *Cypr. Canz.* 116.25; χείλη κουρελλένα *ibid.* 116.27
 ὅλα τὰ τειχιά φαίνονται μολυβένα *Thrinis Kypr.* 900

Accusative

τὰ φρικτὰ τείχη τὰ μαρμαρένια *Pol. Tr.* 12060 app. crit. (X)
 μὲ σιδερένια δόντια *Chron. Toc.* 3674
 μανίκια δαμασκένια (1540, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 80, 60.12)
 καρμιζένια (1561, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 12, κη'.34)
 σιδερένια μάτια *P&N Diath.* 3968
 στήθη τ' ἀσημένια, | στὰ κοραλένια χείλη *CHORTATIS, Erot.* I.619–20
 προσκέφαλα ... καμπουχένια (1636, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 3, 216.14)
 φελόνια καμουχένια *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I 29.49
 μπαμπακένια ρούχα *Bertoldin.* 108.37
 ένα βρακί και ένα τζεπούνι διπλαρένια (1674, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 4, 176.6)
 εἰς ἑπτὰ δουκατόνια ἀσημένια (1692, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 168, 101.10)
 μὲ τὰ μαλαματένια μπουτόνια (1693, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 10, 407.35)
 μὲ λόγια ζαχαρένια *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.423; σκουτάρια σιδερένια *ibid.* IV. 1643
 τὰ φανάρια ἐκεῖνα τὰ γυαλένια *Leilasias Par.* 489
 ἀναματούρια ἀσημένα (1334, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 43, 131.25)
 τὰ φρικτὰ τείχη τὰ μαρμαρένια *Pol. Tr.* 12060 app. crit. (A)
 τὰ δερματένα ρούχα *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 154 app. crit. (M)
 καρτζὰ ἀσημένα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 76.18; γ' στέμματα μαργαριταρένα *ibid.* V 606.28–9
 οὐδετιποτένα ἐννοιόσματα *Fior* 120.37–8
 φλασκία κολοκυθένια (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 95.79)
 βλαττία ... μαργαριταρένα *Imb. Rim.* 502
 καβαδόπανα καμουχένα (1576, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 1, 1.3)
 τὰ ξανθὰ μαλλιά τὰ χρουσαφένα *Cypr. Canz.* 7.2
 πιρούνια ἀσημένα (1629, Milos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 14, 10.15)
 τὰ μπρατζόλια του μαργαριταρένα (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 141.57)
 τὰ τειχιά φαίνονται μολυβένα *Thrinis Kypr.* 900
 πουστομάνικα μπουκασένα (1692, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 30, 111.32)

Vocative

νερά μου χρυσταλλένα *Cypr. Canz.* 112.6
 ὦ βραχιόνιοι σιδηροὶ καὶ στήθη μαρμαρένια *Chron. Toc.* 3392

3.3 Adjectives with Originally 3rd-Declension Endings

3.3.1 Oxytone Adjectives in -ύς

The AG paradigm βαρύς, βαρεῖα, βαρύ incorporates endings of the 1st declension (fem. sg. and pl.) and the 3rd declension. This relatively complex paradigm already shows signs of analogical change early in the first millennium AD. In particular, the replacement of the masculine (and neuter) genitive singular ending -έος²⁸ by -έου, -ούου or -ήου is attested in papyri from the 3rd c. AD onwards, e.g. παχῆου *POxy.* 1535, V.9–10 (AD 249); τοῦ ὀξέου δρόμου *POxy.* 2115.6–7 (AD 346); κλυκύου (= γλυκύου) *PSI* 831.26 (4th c.) (GIGNAC 1981: 127). In later centuries the distinct stem endings of the feminine (-ει-) and neuter (-ε-) are often interchanged, in forms like βαρέας, ἡδέα (fem.) and τραχεῖα (neut. pl.) (PSALTES 1913: 188; for fem. -έα see CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: B 227–9). With the merger of the vowels /y/ and /i/ (see I, 2.4.6.1) a homophony develops between the masculine singular and nouns in -ής, and between the neuter singular and nouns in -ί(ν), giving rise to further analogical developments (HORROCKS ²2010: 290–1).

In most regions (but with certain exceptions) the stem vowel /e/ or /i/, when followed by another vowel, undergoes synizesis with the stress moving to the following vowel; e.g. βαρεῖα or βαρέα > βαριά (see I, 2.9.4). However, this change may be concealed by conservative orthography. In Cretan texts the sequence <ρέα> can give rise to <ρά> (broadly speaking, in the east of the island) or <ρέ> (west) (see I, 2.4.7.4). The earliest example of this development that has been located is in a late 15th-c. text: neut. pl. βαρά *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1688. Forms such as βαρούς (< βαριούς) may be regarded as analogical spreading of forms without /j/, although the alternative explanation of /j/ deletion after /r/ cannot be excluded. After /s/ depalatalization takes place in Crete and certain Aegean islands: no Cretan examples have been found, but ὀξά for ὀξιά occurs in texts from Skyros and Naxos (see I, 2.4.7.3 and examples below). These geographically restricted and phonetically conditioned forms are excluded from the synoptic table below, but will be examined in the discussion of allomorphs which follows.

There is a rather stable set of adjectives belonging to the -ύς paradigm in LMedG and EMG texts, including βαθύς, βαρύς, γλυκύς, δασύς, δριμύς, θρασύς, ὀξύς, παχύς, πλατύς, ταχύς, τραχύς, φαρδύς. In parallel to γλυκύς (though less common), the alternative formation γλυκός, -ή, -ό(ν) is found from the 14th c. onwards: τοῦ Γλυκοῦ Νεροῦ (1321, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 108, 203.518). Similarly, a form ἀψός from ἀψύς occurs sporadically, e.g. ἀψός, γοργός ἐπήδησεν ὁ ταπεινός ὁ κάτης *Diig. tetr.* 125; ἀψὴν ἀγάπην *Fior* 73.14; ἴτσου ἀψόν *ibid.* 130.13; νὰ μηδὲν οὐζιάσης σκληρὰ καὶ ἀψὰ λόγια *Fior, Suppl.* 277.25 (the last three in texts from Cyprus).

By contrast, two adjectives originally in -ός acquire forms in -ύς: μακρύς and πικρύς/πικρύς (< πικρός; the form with metathesis occurs in texts from Crete and the Heptanese).²⁹

²⁸ Strictly speaking, the <ε> is here a stem vowel, which underwent contraction with the endings. For the sake of simplicity, we treat them together as “endings”.

²⁹ Sporadic examples of other adjectives in -ός acquiring -ύς forms can be found in literary texts: ἀρύς < ἀραιός, μισύς < μιστός (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.vv.). For the rare form ἀπλύς < ἀπλούς, see 3.2.5.

The reason for the shift of paradigm is probably frequent semantic oppositions in both cases: respectively, with βραχύς (“short” vs. “long”) and γλυκύς (“sweet” vs. “bitter”). The earliest occurrences of forms of μακρύς, both as personal name and as simple adjective, are in 11th- and 12th-c. texts from Athos and S. Italy. They appear in a document from Kefalonia in the 13th c. and are common in literary texts of the LMedG period (the earliest datable ms is from the 14th c.). In the case of πικρός, the change to -ύς seems to occur somewhat later. No forms have been found before the 16th c. Forms of μακρύς and πικρύς/πικύς are included in the examples below.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	βαθύς	βαθεία ἰ βαθέα ἰ βαθ(ε)ιά	βαθύ(ν)
Gen.	βαθέου ἰ βαθιοῦ ἰ βαθύ/-ή	(βαθείας) ἰ βαθέας ἰ βαθ(ε)ιάς	βαθέου ἰ βαθίου ἰ βαθιοῦ ἰ βαθύ
Acc.	βαθύ(ν)	βαθεία(ν) ἰ βαθέα(ν) ἰ βαθ(ε)ιά(ν)	βαθύ(ν) ἰ βαθέον
Voc.	βαθύ	(βαθεία) ἰ βαθέα ἰ βαθ(ε)ιά	βαθύ(ν)

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	βαθέοι ἰ βαθιοί	βαθέαι ἰ βαθεῖες ἰ βαθ(ε)ιές	βαθέα ἰ βαθεά ἰ βαθία ἰ βαθιά
Gen.	βαθέων ἰ βαθίων ἰ (βαθίων)	βαθέων ἰ (βαθ(ε)ίων)	βαθέων ἰ βαθίων ἰ (βαθίων)
Acc.	βαθέους ἰ βαθίους ἰ βαθιούς	βαθέας ἰ βαθείας ἰ βαθεῖες ἰ βαθ(ε)ιές	βαθέα ἰ (βαθεά) ἰ βαθία ἰ βαθιά
Voc.	βαθέοι ἰ (βαθιοί)	(βαθεῖες ἰ βαθειές)	(βαθέα ἰ βαθεά ἰ βαθία ἰ βαθιά)

Residual forms, e.g. βαθέος, βαθεῖς, are not included in the above table, but will be discussed below where relevant.

Singular*Masculine*

M	General	Restricted
Nom.	-ύς	
Gen.	-έου -ιοῦ	-έος -ύ
Acc.	-ύ(ν)	
Voc.	-ύ	

The nominative form presents no variation (other than of spelling) and the accusative is also stable: loss of final /n/ occurs, particularly in the latter part of the period, but scribal practice and the preferences of modern editors also come into play. The genitive is remodelled on the analogy of adjectives in -ος, but the /e/ vowel is retained, e.g. βαρέου (see under neuter). This change, from inherited -έος to -έου, appears to have begun well before the period covered by this Grammar (see above). A further expected phonological development involving synizesis and shift of stress gives rise to forms in -ιοῦ (the earliest examples are found in 17th-c. grammars; cf. the corresponding neuter form, below). However, an alternative form ending in /i/ (variously spelled) is attested from S. Italy, Sicily, Kos, Macedonia, Crete and the Heptanese, from the 11th c. onwards, the earliest examples occurring in personal names. These forms generalize the /i/ of the nom. and acc. masculine and neuter to the corresponding genitives. It is interesting to contrast the forms given by two grammars of the 16th and 17th c. respectively: τοῦ γλυκῆ (Sofianos), τοῦ γλυκέος (Romanos). The latter belongs (only) to higher, archaizing registers throughout our period.

Nominative

Although the spelling may vary, the ending /is/ remains constant throughout the period:

- Ἰωάννης Μακρῆς (= Μακρύς) (1097, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 60, 77.5)
 κάμπος πλατύς *Chron. Mor.* H 6969
 μακρύς ἦτον ὡσάν κυπάρισσος *Achil.* L 32
 παχύς ἀτμός νεφώδης [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 307
 ἄγριος καὶ θαρσύς *Defi. Par.* 90 (metathesis from θρασύς; see I, 3.9.1)
 γλυκὺς ἀέρας BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 91
 ὁ βαρύς SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.16
 γλυκὺς *Cypr. Canz.* 17.3
 κι ὥρες γλυκὺς μοῦ φαίνεται κι ὥρες πρικὺς περισσά CHORTATSI, *Erof.* III.29
 γεῖς πόνος μ' ἔσφαξε δριμύς *Thysia Avr.* 113
 ἦτον ἀνθρωπος μακρύς, λιγνός PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §8.7

Genitive

The forms in -έου have been found in texts from south-western areas, but are likely to have been more widespread (cf. the corresponding neuter form). Forms in -ύ or -ῆ have a wide distribution throughout the period, especially as personal names:

- τοῦ Πλατέου Πόρου (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 30.22)
 τοῦ θαρσέου πολέμου *Chron. Mor.* H 1414
 ὄρθρου βαθέου DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 563
- Λέοντος Μακρῆ (1099, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 68, 85.22)
 τοῦ Παχῆ (1109, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 11, 404.18)
 σίγνον Νικήτα τοῦ Βαρυ (1288, Cos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 226.5)
 τῶν ἀμπελώνων μέχρι τελευτῆς μου τῶν τοῦ Πλατύ (1325, Veroia?/Macedonia, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 64, 357.104) (it is unclear whether the adjective is masc. or neut.)
 τοῦ Γερασίου τοῦ Παχὺ (1400, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 9, 79.1)
 κύρ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Βαρυ (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 57, 48.4)
 τοῦ βαρυ ἤχου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 104.11
 τοῦ ποτὲ κύρ Νικολ(ὸ) Βαρούχα, λεγομένου Παχῆ (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 280, 219.3)
 τοῦ βαρῆ SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.16; τοῦ γλυκῆ *ibid.* 39.17
 τοῦ βαθὺ τοῦ Μύλου (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 451.22)
 Γιαννάκη Μακρῆ (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969k: 18, 111.19)
 τοῦ δασκάλου τοῦ γλυκῆ *P&N Diath.* 3145
 τοῦ Πλατὺ Γιαλοῦ (1664, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 322, 202.14)

The residual form in -έος occurs mainly in texts that aim at a higher register:

- τοῦ Ὁξέος βουνοῦ (1081, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 6, 62.42)
 πρὸ βραχέος χρόνου *Ptoch. I* 5
 τοῦ γλυκέος ROMANOS, *Grammar* 5.15–16

The form in -ιοῦ, resulting from synzesis of -έου, has not been found before the 17th c. (cf. the corresponding neuter form):

- μακριοῦ GERMANO, *Grammar* 64.18
 τοῦ βαρυοῦ PORTIUS, *Grammar* 21.17

Accusative

No allomorphy occurs, other than the variable realization of final /n/.

- τὸν πλατὺν λίθον (1144?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 314.7)
 μὰ τὸν κυρ Ἥλιον τὸν γλυκὺν *Arm.* 76
 μακρὺν εἶχε τὸν τράχηλον *Pol. Tr.* 2242
 ὕπνον βαθὺν καὶ μέγαν PLOUSIAD., *Thrinos* 7 (Vasileiou)
 θρήνον ἐκόπτετον δριμὺν *Flor.* L 399 (Cupane)
 τέτοιον γλυκὺν ἀέρα FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 370
 εἰς τὸν Μακρὺ Γιαλὸν (1588 [copy of 1695], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 464.31)
 μὲ τὸν πρὶκύ μου θάνατο CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.80 and *id.*, *Katz.* I.110
 καμουχὰ ὀξὺ (1682, Cyclades, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 231, 411.31); καμουχὰ ὀξὺν
 ξνα (1686, *ibid.* 639, 877.13)
 εἰς μακρὺν δρόμον *Theophr. Char.* 126.32
 μὲ βαρὺ αναστεναμὸ KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.163; εἰς ἔτοιο κίντυνο βαρὺ *ibid.* IV.1756; πρὶκύ
 αναστεναμὸ *ibid.* III.1572; μὲ λογισμό πολλὰ βαρὺν *ibid.* IV.1228; ὕπνο γλυκὺ *ibid.* II.664
 and 1238

Vocative

The form is invariable.

ὦ βαρύ SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.16

ἀφεντάκη μου γλυκύ *Thysia* Avr. 493

κύρη μου γλυκύ TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.196

Feminine

F	General	Restricted
Nom./Voc.	-εία -έα -(ε)ιά	(-έ)
Gen.	-είας -έας -(ε)ιάς	
Acc.	(-εία) -έα(ν) -(ε)ιά(ν)	-έ

The vowel to which the feminine endings are added is either the inherited /i/ (as in AG) or /e/, the latter on the analogy of the neuter plural or genitive singular (masc. and neut.) of the same paradigm. The two types alternate from the beginning of our period, and both continue in written usage. Synizesis and shift of stress must have occurred early in the period but are often not detectable except in certain metrical contexts (e.g. the examples below from *Armouris* and *Digenis* E). For the phenomenon see I, 2.9.4. Except in areas where synizesis does not take place, the difference between -εία, -έα and -(ε)ιά may well be purely graphematic rather than phonological. A feminine form in -έ (a phonological development from -έα; see I, 2.9.4.3) may occur in texts from West Crete. One example of such an accusative has been located.

Nominative

Both -εία (variously written) and -έα are commonly found in texts of all kinds:

ἡ βαθεία (1188, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 225, 298.36)

καὶ ἡ οὐρά του εἶν' μακρεῖα, πλατεῖα καὶ μεγάλη *Phys.* 161

πλατεῖα καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 579

τούτῃ ἡ θάλασσα ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦτονε γλυκία KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 135.12

ἡ γλυκεῖα ROMANOS, *Grammar* 5.15–16

τὴν βέσταν, ὅπου ἦτον μακρία *Bertoldos* 70.6

ἡ βαθέα (1108, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 17, 215.42) (ἡ βαθεία also occurs in the same document, ll. 52, 53)

μακρέα, λιγνή *Pol. Tr.* 2250 app. crit. (AX) (μακρία, λιγνή BV)

ἐκείνη νὰ ἐνὶ παχέα καὶ λιπαρὰ STAFIDAS, *Iatrosof.* 17.1

ἐκείνη <ἡ> ὦρα ἡ βαρέα Alosis 122 transcr. (Lendari) (Legrand: βαρεά)

εὐθέα AXAGIOLIS, *Diig. Karolou* 520 (in rhyme with βιαία)

λίμνη ... μακρέα σαράντα, καὶ πλατία ἑξακόσιες ὀργιές *P&N Diath.* 211.18

μία τζάταρα ἡ σκάλα-ταράτζα ξύλινη ... πλατέα πεντακόσες ὀργυῖες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 81.15–17

μία λίμνη πολλὰ βαθέα LANDOS, *Amart. sot.* 331.3

ἡ β' εἶναι παχέα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 188.12

ἡ ζωὴ μας εἶν' βραχέα *Charon* II 24 app. crit.

In the following examples synizesis is indicated (although editorial intervention cannot be excluded). The last example, in a Cretan text, shows vowel deletion after /r/.

- ή μούρη της είναι μακριά *Phys.* 428
 ή μία μακριά (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 46, 79.47–8)
 ή ἀγάπη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι πολλά βαθιά MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 402.3 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 ή τρίτη δξιά τζαντουινά (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 141.54)
 θύμηση πρικιά TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.239
 ή κονταρά 'τονε βαρά KORNAPOS, *Erot.* II.1401

Genitive

Genitive forms are infrequent, but forms with -είας and -έας and -ειᾶς occur in the texts examined.

- τῆς βαθείας (1195, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: XLVI-9, 143.41–2)
 τῆς Παχέας Ἀπιδέας (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 43.200)
 μετὰ βαθέας | ὀργῆς ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 43 (rhyming with βασιλέας)
 μελαχρινὸς βαθειᾶς βαφῆς ἐγίνη KORNAPOS, *Erot.* IV.898

Accusative

The ending -εία(ν) occurs mainly in texts which aim at a higher register, both at the beginning and at the end of our period; otherwise -έα(ν) is the commonest form:

- ἀναβαίνει τὴν βαθειάν (1142, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 304.12)
 με τὴν γλυκειάν ενθύμησην *Don Kis.* 48.17
 ἔως εἰς τὴν βαθέαν (1141, Coll. V: 5, 300.17)
 δασέαν βάλτον *Dig.* G V.30
 προφώνεσιν γλυκέα *Chron. Mor.* H 2453
 μά τὴν γλυκεάν του μάναν *Arm.* 61 (but γλυκίαν app. crit. (P))
 βαθέαν αὐγὴν SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 138; με δριμέαν φωνήν *ibid.* 109
 εἰς τὴν βαρέαν μου ἀνάγκην DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 806; ὡς διὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν βαρέαν *ibid.* 1299
 τὴν οὐρὰ μακρέα *Fyll. gadar.* 170
 ἔκαμαν μίαν γέφυραν πλατέαν καὶ μεγάλην ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 612
 με ἀνάγκαση βαρέα *P&N Diath.* 3794
 εἰς τὴ Βαθέα Λαγκάδα (1631, Cythera, SEREMETIS 1962: 2 (ii), 132.9)
 βαρέαν ὑπηρεσίαν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 182.17 (but βαρείαν ἀσθένειαν *ibid.* 264.31); ἔχουσι τὴν φλούδαν παχέαν *ibid.* 147.7

Forms with apparent synizesis:

- βαθιάν αὐγὴν *Love poems* V 565
 ὀρνιθα παχιά *Fyll. gadar.* 162
 με γλυκιάν καὶ ταπεινὴν καὶ γαληνὴν φωνήν *Fior, Suppl.* 279.26
 με γλυκιά φωνή *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 296
 εἰς τὴν γλυκιά θεότη *Alfav.* 10 94 (ms γλυκία)
 καὶ με τὴ σφάκα τὴν πρικιά γλυκειά μηλιά ταιριάζει CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.110
 τὴν γλυκιάν καὶ χαϊράμενην ὄψιν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 68.36
 στὴν Μακριὰ Ἄρμακα (17th c., Kefalonia, TZANNETATOS 1965: 2, 118.16)

εἰς τὴν Παχιά Κερατιά (1611, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 126, 122.3)
 μιὰ μπόλια κεντητὴ βαριά (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 16, 163.20)
 στὴν Παλιά Γλυκιά (1696, Nauplion region, DOKOS 1971/74: 92, 109.17)

Forms showing vowel deletion after /r/ or depalatalization of /s/ have been found in 16th- and 17th-c. texts from Crete and Naxos:

μακράν καδένα ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1673
 Μακρὰ Πεζούλα (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 104, 119.6)
 μέ βαρὰν καρδιὰν *Pist. voskos* III 7.6
 σ' ἔγνοια μεγάλη καὶ βαρὰ KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.42; στὴν πρικεῖά της μοῖρα *ibid.* IV.734
 καμιζόλα μία ὀξά, μπουχαγερένη (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968 : 3, 33.58)

By contrast, West Cretan texts may have -έ: στὴ Πλατὲ Στράτα (1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 177, 188.6) (for the phenomenon see I, 2.9.4.3).

Vocative

Examples have been found with -έα and with synizesis:

γλυκέα μου συνοδεῖα *Dig.* E 957
 γλυκειά μου μητέρα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 648.17
 ἦσοῦ Χριστέ, γλυκιά ἀγάπη *Fior* 89.12
 πρικιά καρδιά μου MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1130

Neuter

N	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ύ(ν)		-έον
Gen.	-έου ὀ -ιοῦ	-έος	-ύ

The presence or absence of final /n/ in the nominative and accusative may be occasioned by metrical requirements, in the case of verse texts, but otherwise presents no discernible pattern of variation (and may even be editorial). (For the preservation or addition of final /n/ in certain areas, see I, 3.7.2.) A form in -έον (ὀξέον) has been found only once. It is clearly an analogical development (based on AG gen. ὀξέος or neut. pl. ὀξέα), but one which did not catch on. The genitive follows the same development as the corresponding masculine form: either -έου > -ιοῦ or levelling of /i/, though few examples have been found. The different accentuations of the genitive of the place name Βαθύ are likely to be purely orthographic. The form παχεοῦ occurs only in a single text known for its morphological idiosyncrasies.

Nominative

σκαρμάγγιν ὀξύν (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.130)
 Μακρύν Ἀμπέλιν (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 45.222)
 τόσα βαρύν *Pol. Tr.* 394 app. crit. (ABEV); μακρύν τὸ πρόσωπόν του *ibid.* 2232
 τὸ ποῖον εἶνε πολλὰ μακρύν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 4.18–19
 μέγα, θρασύν καὶ ἀφυρόν τὸ κάστρον Ἐγγλιτέρας *Velis.* ρ 317
 πικρὺ *Corona Preciosa* A 7v.25–6
 πρικὺ γλυκὺ (1543, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 131, 88.8)
 τὸ στόμα του πλατὺ ὡσὰν βατράχου *Vios Aisop.* K 147.11–12

ένα φελόνι ὀξύ (1598, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 27 Suppl., 145.39)
 μακρὺ ἦτονε πλήσα *P&N Diath.* 2726
 ένα μίστατο ξύδι δριμύ LANDOS, *Geopon.* 163.6
 ἐποδιάβη τὸ γλυκὺ κι ἦρθε τώρα τὸ πρικό *Fallidos* 239
 ὀρμίζιν ὀξύν (1687, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 714, 971.18)

Genitive

Forms in -έου (and once -εοῦ) occur in texts up to the 15th c.:

μετὰ βλαττίου παλαιοῦ ὀξέου (12th c., Macedonia, PETIT 1900: 3, 120.26)
 παχεοῦ ERMON., *Ilias* 11.55
 μετὰ βαρέου καταράχου SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 58.2

The forms in -ίου and (with synizesis) -ιοῦ cannot, in practice, be distinguished as the orthography of mss and modern editions is not a reliable guide:

περὶ τοῦ γλυκείου STAFIDAS, *Iatrosoph.* 14.382
 εἰς τοῦ Τραχιοῦ τὸ μέρος (1626, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 2, 215.15)
 τοῦ Βαθίου (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 6, 32.1); τοῦ Βαθιοῦ (1637, *ibid.* 54, 68.5; 1640, *ibid.* 160, 138) (place name)
 τοῦ βαροῦ *Pist. voskos* I 1.315 (with deletion of /j/ after /r/; see I, 2.4.7.4)
 πρικοῦ μαντάτου TROILLOS, *Rodol.* IV.358
 εἰς τοῦ Τραχιοῦ τὸ μέρος (1672, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1982/83: 6, 96.5)

Rarely, a form in -ύ is found, as for the masculine. It may have been more widespread than the surviving evidence indicates: τοῦ μακρὺ λιθαρίου (1091?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 2, 386.11); τοῦ Παχὺ Δάσου (1620, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 363, 337.16).

Accusative

Like the nominative, the accusative form does not exhibit any variation, apart from the fluctuation of final /n/. A single exception has been found, in -έον (see discussion above): ἐπιλούρικον ... ὀξέον *Dig.* G III.259.

ὀξύν βουνὶν (1015, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 15, 15.32)
 τὸ δασὺν ρυάκιν (1047, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 29, 260.83)
 εἰς τὸ νερόν τὸ γλυκύν (1102, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 2, 550.9)
 εἰς τὸ βαθύν τὸ ρυάκιν *Dig.* E 1585
 γλυκύν ἀδέλφιν *Peri xen.* 343
 ὀξύν ἐσωκουρτσούβακον *Achil.* N 367
 ὀξὺ μεταξωτόν (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 10, 23.35)
 κράζω γλυκύν πάσα μου πράμαν *Cypr. Canz.* 51.6
 ποτάμιν φαρδὺν *Diig. Alex.* F 16.9 (Konstantinopulos)
 τὸ γλυκὺ πρικόν καὶ τὸ πρικό γλυκόν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 154.17
 κριάς παχὺ CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.56
 βαρὺ μαντάτο καὶ πρικό *Thysia Avr.* 121
 ρούχο ὀξὺ (ca. 1650, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 6, 219.12)
 καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ τοῦ ταίρι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 931
 τὸ μακρὺ λάκκωμα (1671, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 69, 319.3)

Vocative

παιδὶν μου γλυκύν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.13
 πρικό μου ριζικό CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.485

Plural*Masculine*

M	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-έοι -ιοί	-εῖς	
Gen.	-έων		-ίων
Acc.	-έους -ίους -ιούς	-εῖς	

The paradigm has been remodelled since Antiquity: the original masculine plural ending -εῖς (nom. and acc.) occurs only infrequently in vernacular texts of the period covered by this Grammar. Instead, the plural endings of adjectives in -ος are added to the vowel /e/, and these forms may undergo synizesis and shift of stress. The forms with -έοι etc. tend to be found in earlier texts, or those that aspire to a higher register. In verse texts the accusative ending -έους often needs to be read as a single syllable, i.e. synizesis may be assumed. This is also the case with forms in -ίους (γλυκίους, δριμίους), which perhaps simply reflect an orthographic convention. (See I, 2.9.4 and this volume, 1.5 on synizesis and spelling conventions.) By the end of the period covered by the Grammar, family names derived from adjectives in -ύς may have a plural in -ύδες (often written -ῆδες), like imparisyllabic masculine nouns (see 2.3.3), e.g. οἱ γλυκεῖς-ύδες-κοὶ τῶν γλυκύδων-κῶν τοὺς γλυκύδες-κοὺς ὦ γλυκύδες-κοὶ SPANOS, *Grammar* 29.4.

Nominative

βαρέοι *Liv.* V 1951

βαρέοι *Liv.* S 1039

οἱ βαρέοι SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.16–17

δριμέοι (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 183.49) (author from Sifnos)

The following two examples (from Cretan texts) have vowel simplification and deletion of /j/ after /r/ respectively (see I, 2.9.2.1 and 2.4.7.4):

οἱ παχοὶ καὶ χοντροὶ LANDOS, *Geopon.* 181.3

χερότεροι καὶ πλιὰ βαροὶ ἀπομεῖνα KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1212

The residual form in -εῖς is quite rare: ὅσοι εἶναι παχεῖς εἰς τὴν σάρκα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 177.1.

Genitive

τῶν βαρέων SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.16–17

ἀπὸ μακρέων τόπων *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 601

μετὰ λόγων γλυκίων KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* IX.69 (rhyming with ὁμνύων)

Accusative

The examples include some instances of deletion of /j/ after /r/ in Cretan texts:

εἰς τοὺς πλατέους τοὺς κάμπους *Chron. Mor.* H 3603

εἰς τοὺς βαρέους πολέμους *Dig.* E 1785

λόγους δριμέους, βρυχιστοὺς *Velis.* χ 376 (δριμίους βρυχητικούς in ms V)

εἰσὲ τόπους πλατέους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 111.6

μίσσους πολλούς καὶ ἀρίφνητους, γλυκίους DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1851
 γλυκιούς νιώθω τούς πόνους *Cypr. Canz.* 51.3
 τρεῖς κριούς παχιούς (1644, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1990: 487.434)
 τόσους λογισμούς βαρούς TROILOS, *Rodol.* II.47; τσι χρόνους τσι βαρούς *ibid.* IV.78;
 χαλασμούς πρικιούς *ibid.* Chor. II.4
 λάκκους ... βαθιούς BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 215.20
 με στύλους μακριούς (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 444, 669.9)
 λογισμούς πολλά βαρούς KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.807
 μέσα εἰς βράχους βαθειούς EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22.5–6

Some examples with the residual ending -εῖς:

νὰ ἔχη τούς πόνους ὡς γλυκεῖς *Liv.* α 2190 app. crit. (P)
 λόγους γλυκεῖς ανωφελεῖς *Diig. Apoll.* 23
 τα δένδρη εκείνα με τους γλυκεῖς καρπούς CANTEMIR, *Krit.* 449.16

Vocative

Few examples have been found: a single example of -έοι (from a grammar) and some instances of residual -εῖς:

ὦ βαρέοι SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 39.16–17
 ἄγρυπνοι φύλακες, ὄξεῖς τοῦ τηλικούτου κάστρου [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 191
 ὦ ἄγνωστοι καὶ βραδεῖς KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 24.25
 ὦ ἄγνωστοι καὶ ἀνόητοι, βραδεῖς εἰς τὲς καρδίες VEST., *Pathi* 399

Feminine

F	General	Restricted
Nom./Voc.	-εῖς -(ε)ιές	-έαι
Gen.	-έων	
Acc.	-εῖς -(ε)ιές	-έας -είας

The feminine plural follows the same development as feminine nouns in -α (see 2.11): the older endings -αι (nom.) and -ας (acc.) are replaced by -ες, a process which probably began in the Koine period. These “new” endings are preceded by the vowel, which is either /i/ (as in the fem. sg.) or /e/ (as in other masc. and neuter forms); synizesis can then occur, though the orthographic system may ignore it. Only a limited number of examples of relevant forms has been found in the texts examined. The accusative plural form πλατέες can be explained as a simplification of the two adjacent identical vowels (< πλατέες; see I, 2.9.2.1).

Nominative

σταταρέαι λεπταὶ μακρέαι δύο (12th c., Macedonia, PETIT 1900: 3, 124.1)
 μακριαῖς *Phys.* 469
 μπορίνες θέλουν νὰ εἶναι μακρίες (16th c., ?, DELATTE 1946: 493.1); μακρὲς (*ibid.* 493.16) (with deletion of /j/ after /r/)
 γλυκιῖς οἱ παραπόνησες *Cypr. Canz.* 51.2
 ἐκουγούντανε αἱ γλυκίες φωνές MOREZINOS, *Klini* 79.13 app. crit. (K)
 οἱ μακρὲς θερμασίες LANDOS, *Geopon.* 209.26
 οἱ μέρες οἱ πρικέες σου *Zinon* V.160 (better: πρικιές)

Genitive

τῶν δώδεκα τραχέων λιτρῶν (1090, Unknown, LEFORT et al. 1990: 44, 155.15)
ἀπὸ μακρέων τόπων *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 601

Accusative

μὲ τὰς μακρέας τὰς μύτας *Ptoch. IV* 56
εἰς τὰς βαρέας ἀνάγκας *Dig. E* 1736

ἄλλας βαρείας ὑπηρεσίας *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 143.B.13

πλατὲς ἀμπάδες *BERGADIS, Apok. V* 187
μακριές (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 62.17)
μὲ πλατὲς μανίκες (1632, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 610, 584.16)
στὶς Μακριές Φυτεῖς (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 11, 36.17)
εἰς τὰς Πλατυές *IER. ANVATIOS, Diig. Seismou* 336.33
μὲ δύο ρωμανέττες ραζάδες πλατεῖες (1659, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 2, 29.11)
μπόλιες βαριές καὶ ἀλαφρές (1682, Cyclades, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 231, 409.7)
μακριές σκάλες *Don Kis.* 7.19

Cretan, and occasionally Heptanesian, texts may have vowel deletion after /r/. This should be probably seen as simplification of two adjacent /e/ vowels rather than deletion of /j/:

τὲς βαρὲς μου ἀνάγκες *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 3138
σ' τόσες βαρὲς ἀντάρες *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 176
ἀπὸ βαρὲς ὑπηρεσίας *LANDOS, Geopon.* 266.7
γενειάδες ... | καὶ καθ' ἄργά τοι ἐβάνασι μακρές, ξεχουρδισμένες *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.578

Vocative

ὦ ἀδελφάδες μου γλυκές *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 37

Neuter

N	General
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-έα -έα -ία -ιά
Gen.	-έων -ίων (-ιῶν)

For the nominative and accusative the original AG form in -έα continues to predominate in our texts until the 15th c. As a result of synizesis and shift of stress, this ending develops into -ία, in most regions, with the earliest examples appearing in texts written in the 15th c. Thereafter, the continued appearance of the ending -έα may reflect stylistic choice and/or a shift to a higher register, or simply conservative orthography. Forms in -ία (sometimes written -εῖα) admit of a number of possible explanations: (i) analogical spread of the /i/ vowel of feminine forms; (ii) a conservative way of writing -ία (i.e. synizesis may have occurred but the scribe, consciously or unconsciously, avoids indicating it in his orthographic practice); or (iii) that synizesis does not occur in the geographical area from which the text originates. The last possibility is the case in texts from the Heptanese, particularly Zakynthos (Kartanos). Occasionally -έα is found in texts from Crete and elsewhere. For the genitive plural we might expect -ιῶν, from -έων as a result of synizesis, but no instance

has been found. The form in -ίων occurs in a text by the Zakynthian Kartanos. (For height dissimilation and lack of synizesis in such forms see I, 2.9.4.3.)

Nominative

We give, first, examples with the inherited ending -έα, then with -έα, finally with -ια, whether or not synizesis is indicated.

- εἴτε ἔν' [mss εἶναι] βαρέα τὰ σίδερα *Arm.* 109
 γλυκέα σου ἀδέλφια *Peri xen.* 288
 μέ τὰ γλυκέα της λόγια *PLOUSIAD., Thrinos* 10 (Vasileiou)
 τὰ σπυρία ... ἀψέα *Diig. Alex.* F 216.8 (Lolos)
 τὰ βουνά της ἔναι πλατέα (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 107.3)
 μακρὰ καὶ πλατέα *Bertoldos* 6.13
 τὰ δύο πλατέα (1510, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 23, 41.31)
 τὰ γλυκιά *Dig.* E 314
 ὦτα γὰρ οὔτε βραχία *ERMON., Ilias* 2.204
 πικρία *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 624 (end of verse, no synizesis)
 τὰ γλυκιά τὰ λόγια *Fyll. gadar.* 294a
 τὰ γλυκία σου λόγια *Diig. Alex.* E 161.11 (Lolos)
 τὰ ἑπτὰ βόδια τὰ παχία *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 243.30
 ἦταν παχιά (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 387.8)
 τὰ γλυκιά μμάτια *Cypr. Canz.* 7.1; γλυκιά ἔν τὰ πάθη *ibid.* 51.1
 τὰ πρικιά του χεῖλη *CHORTATIS, Erof.* V.161
 δάκρυα πρικιά, φαρμακερὰ *P&N Diath.* 3915

Deletion of /j/ after /r/ is common in Cretan texts:

- βαρὰ τῶν ἐφανήκασι *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1688
 βαρὰ βαρὰ ἔν' τα ζάλα σου *Thysia Avr.* 567
 εἶντα πολλὰ βαρὰ <ν> τὰ ὄνειρά τζη *Vosk.* 374
 βαρὰ ἦσανε τὰ μάτια σου *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.816

Genitive

Examples are few, but both -έων and -ίων have been found:

- κονταρίων μακρέων *KANANOS, Diig.* 65.311
 τῶν βοδίων τῶν παχίων *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 243.32

Accusative

Examples below are listed as for the nominative:

- εἰς σίδηρα βαρέα *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 248
 βλαττία πολύτιμα ἄπειρα καὶ ὀξέα *Dig.* G IV.919
 βαθέα καλίγια *Ptoch.* IV 55; ἀφῆκα καὶ τὰ μαλακὰ στρώματα καὶ πλατέα *ibid.* 622
 εἰς τὰ λιβάδια τὰ πλατέα *Chron. Mor.* H 5023
 δασέα πολλὰ τὰ φρύδη *Pol. Tr.* 2071 app. crit. (A)
 ἄς θέτουν σκυλόπουλα λιπαρὰ καὶ παχέα *STAFIDAS, Iatrosof.* 16.466
 ἤφεραν τὸν πατέρα του μηνύματα βαρέα *Achil.* O 119
 ὀξέα ροῦχα *KANANOS, Diig.* 74.548
 δακτύλια εἶχεν μακρέα *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 288
 μακρὰ μίαν πιθαμήν καὶ πλατέα μίαν παλάμην *LANDOS, Geopon.* 141.29
 τὰ πλατέα ροῦχα *Bertoldin.* 110.11

τουβία ὀξεῖα *Achil.* N 1199
 πολλά κακὰ βαρία *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 111 (rhyming with χρεῖα)
 παχιά γουρούνια *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 187 (cf. παχεὰ γουρούνια *DEFAR., Log. did.* 315)
 ἔκαμαν τρία κλωνάρια μακρία *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 186.18; δύο κατσίκια παχία *ibid.* 231.1
 σ' αὐτὰ τὰ λόγια τὰ γλυκιά *VENDRAMOS, Istor. gyn.* 162
 τὰ πρική σου λόγια *Thysia Avr.* 443
 τὰ γλυκιά του τὰ νερά *TROILOS, Rodol.* III.334; κλάηματα πρική *ibid.* I.554
 μακρία αὐτία *Bertoldin.* 107.34
 χρυσά, βαριά (1682, Cyclades, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 231, 407.23)
 κανίσκια ... πρική *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.620

Examples with depalatalization after /s/ or deletion of /j/ after /r/:

μανίκια ὀξά (1687, Skyros, *ANDONIADIS* 1995: 10, 224.25)
 πιάνου κοντάρια δυνατά, βρά *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1985

Vocative

No examples of a vocative have been found.

3.3.2 The Irregular Adjectives ἥμισυς and θῆλυς

There are two adjectives which, in AG, followed the declension of adjectives in -ύς but differed from them in accentuation, i.e. they were not oxytone. They are: ἥμισυς (proparoxytone) and θῆλυς (properispomenon), with feminine, respectively, ἡμίσεια and θήλεια (although some poets also used θῆλυς as fem.). Both words continued in use in MedG and, to some extent, followed the same developments as the oxytone adjectives in -ύς (see 3.3.1), but with significant differences. The two words will be discussed separately in the following two subsections.

3.3.2.1 ἥμισυς

The AG fractional adjective ἥμισυς, “half”, can be found, in papyri from the 1st c. AD onwards, with certain endings of the -ος declension: neuter singular ἥμισον (with orthographic variations) and a possible genitive in -ου (see *GIGNAC* 1981: 128–9 for details). There are also a few instances of indeclinable ἥμισυ in papyri, the New Testament and the Septuagint (*BLASS et al.* 1961: 28, §48), and many more in Byzantine chronicles (*PSALTES* 1913: 159).

These innovative forms, together with further developments comparable to those for oxytone adjectives in -ύς (e.g. neut. sg. ἡμίσειον, cf. βαθέον etc., 3.3.1), are also found in LMedG texts; however, inherited forms of the -υς declension continue to be used, particularly the neuter ἥμισυ, which is frequently substantivized and also functions as an indeclinable form. At the same time, the metaplastic form ἥμισος³⁰ is fully employed, and

³⁰ There is some evidence that the transfer to the -ος declension was already underway in the Koine; see *DIETERICH* 1898: 177.

is even found with pseudo-learned feminine forms, on the analogy of AG two-termination adjectives (see 3.2.4).

By the EMG period, forms based on ἡμισός (like adjectives in -ος, -η, -ο(ν), for which see 3.2.1), with shift of stress to the final syllable, have become very common. A variant which occurs in texts of Cretan provenance from the 15th c. onwards is ἐμισός. (The initial /e/ may be analogical, or a prothetic vowel, following deletion of /i/.) Deletion of the unstressed initial vowel (aphaeresis; see I, 2.7.1) results in the SMG form μισός, which has been found in one 15th-c. non-literary text of unknown provenance, and becomes more widespread from the 16th c.

Examples are listed below under the appropriate form of the nominative masculine singular: (i) ἡμισυς (both with inherited forms and with morphological developments similar to those of adjectives in -ύς); (ii) ἡμισος; (iii) ἡμισός; (iv) ἐμισός; and (v) μισός. Additional variants are noted where relevant.

i) ἡμισυς

τὸ ἡμισ(υ) τοῦ κάστρου (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 52.17–18) (substantivized)

σὺν πάντων τῶν ἡμισέων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ (1190, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 16, 48.6)

ἕως ἡμισυ ἡμέρας *Pol. Tr.* 2551 app. crit. (AX)

ἔχω δὲ χρόνον καὶ ἡμισυ *Liv.* V 2669

ἕως ἡμισυ ἡμέρας περπάτημαν *Diig. Alex.* E 17.7 (Konstantinopulos)

φυλάζοντας πάντα τὰ ἡμίση τῆς μερίδος (1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 75.23)³¹

καὶ ἦτονε πρᾶτσα δέκα ἡμισυ (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.4)

ἐβασίλευσεν ἐννέα ἡμισυ χρόνους RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 62.12

Examples of morphological developments comparable to those for oxytone adjectives in -ύς (3.3.1):

οἱ μὲν ἡμισεῖς τοῦ κυρ Νικολ(άου) (καὶ) ἡμισεῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας (1138?, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 14, 102.25)

τὸ ἡμίσειον τοῦ ὄλου βουνοῦ (1190, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 16, 48.3);³² μετὰ τοῦ καταληφθέντος ἡμισέου (*ibid.* 48.16)

In the following examples ἡμισυ (variously spelled) may be regarded as indeclinable:

τοῦ ἡμισυ κάστρου (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 53.44)

σὺν τοῦ ἡμισυ τοῦ νεροῦ (1099, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 1, 357.13)

τὰ ἡμιση (1397, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 6, 184.8)

τὴν μὲν ἡμισυ τῆς ρηθείσης ποινῆς ζημιούσθω (1447, Corfu, EFSTRATIADIS 1925: 50.8–9)

τῶν κουρσεμάτων τὰ ἡμισυ *Alex. Rim.* 1318

τὰ ἡμιση (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 15, 54.16)

τὰ ἡμιση (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 253, 349.14)

τὰ ἡμιση στάμενα (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 293, 208.10)

τὰ ἡμισυ τῆς μερίδος (1560 [copy of 1691], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 128, 246.36–7)

³¹ The neut. pl. ἡμίση (rather than -εα, perhaps on the analogy of the pl. of neuter nouns in -ος) is very common from the Hellenistic period onwards, though stigmatized by the Atticists.

³² On the range of forms that occur in S. Italian documents, see further MINAS ²2003: 92–3, 96.

ii) ἥμισος

τὴν ἄλλην ἐτέραν ἥμισιν χώραν (1198, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 246, 333.27)
 τὸ ἥμισον τοῦ κόσμου *Chron. Mor.* H 3248
 μόνον τὰ εἰρημένα ἥμισα πρ(ά)γμ(ατα) (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.17);
 φοράδαν ἥμισιν (*ibid.* 19.20)
 παρὰ ζ' σολδία καὶ ἥμισον *Assizes* B 337.28; τὸ ἥμισον τοῦ τείχους *ibid.* 361.3; παρὰ τὸ
 ἥμισο *ibid.* 421.21
 (ποινήν ...) τὴν ἥμισιν ταύτην (1414, Corfu, MALTEZOU 1991a: (1), 317.19)
 ἕως ἥμισον ἡμέρας *Pol. Tr.* 2551 app. crit. (V) (ἥμισο B)
 τὴν ἀφεντιὰν τὴν ἥμισιν *Chron. Toc.* 1370; τοὺς ἥμισους καὶ πλέον *ibid.* 2556
 οἱ ἥμισοι *Achil.* O 540
 τὸ ἥμισον τοῦ νησιῦ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.26–27; ὅλα τὰ ἥμισα *ibid.* V 24.14
 ἀφ' τὰ μισὰ τῶν ἥμισων LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 151 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner: αὐτὰ)
 τὸ ποτήριον τὸ ἥμισον *Diig. Alex.* E 235.12 (Lolos)
 σχεδὸν ἡ ἥμιση γῆς τοῦ κόσμου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 198.5
 τὰ ἥμισα (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 341.36)
 ἀπὸ μία ἐλαία τὸ ἥμισον (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 16,
 227.7); τὰ ἥμισα χωράφια (1545, *ibid.* 101, 284.2)
 τὰ ἥμισα ἐργαστήρια (1550, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 16, 123.13)
 τὸ ἥμισον προυκίον (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 672, 584.4)
 τὴν ἥμιση γῆς ... ἡ ἄλλη ἥμιση (1671, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 232, 206.5–6)
 τὴν ἥμισή σου ἐπαρχία KATSAÏTIS *Thy.* III.62

Occasionally, in documents from S. Italy and Corfu, the adjective is treated as being of two terminations, i.e. masculine forms are used with feminine nouns: ὑπάρχει ἡ ἥμισος [χώρα] θεώρετρον τῆς ἐμῆς γυνῆς (1198, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 246, 333.26); τὴν ἐτέραν ἥμισον ἐσοδεῖαν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 30, 164.7); τὴν ἥμισον ρηθεῖσαν ἐκκλησίαν (*ibid.* 189.5).

iii) ἡμισός

This form is the necessary intermediary between ἥμισος and μισός, but rather few examples have been found in the texts examined. The earliest occurs in *Ptochoprodromos* (12th c. but 14th-c. ms), the latest in a 16th-c. text of unknown origin.

βίτσαν συνάγει καὶ ἡμισὴ *Ptoch.* IV 256
 τὸ ἡμισὸν (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1946: 492.18); ἡμισὸν ποδάριν *ibid.* 496.4; ἡμισὸν
 πανίν *ibid.* 497.8
 τὰ ἡμισὰ ἐκ τὰ εἰρήθη ποστατικά (1524, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 4, κ'.33)
 νὰ ἔχη καὶ ἀπ' αὐτὰ ὁ ἀδελφός μου τὰ ἡμισὰ (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 36, 37.20)
 τὸ ἡμισὸ ἀπ' αὐτο (1545, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 164, 106.9)
 φυλάσσοντα τὰ ἡμισὰν (1572, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 135, 255.22–3)
 τὰ ἡμισὰ τὰ ἄσπρα (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 237.156)
 ἕως ἡμισὴ ἡμέραν περπάτημαν *Diig. Alex.* F 16. (Konstantinopoulos)

iv) ἐμισός

This form has been found only in texts originating from Crete and Naxos (15th–17th c.):

τὰ ἔτερα ἐμισὰ (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 46.22); τὸ ἐμισὸ ἀπὸ τὰ ἄνωθε μουζούρια (*ibid.* 48.35)
 νὰ λογοῦνται τὰ ἥμισα ... καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐμισὰ (1517, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 3 [later copy], 51.15–16)

τῆς ἑμισῆς βάρκας (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 11, 14.3)
 τοὺς ἑμισοὺς σπαθιστάδες (1568, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 133, 254.4)
 οἱ ἑμισοὶ *P&N Diath.* 3036, 4440, 4475
 μὲ τὸ ἑμισὸ *Stathis* III.453
 ὄλα τα ἑμισά (1607, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 448, 410.9)
 νὰ βάνει ὄλη τὴν ἑμισὴ προύκα (1608, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 559, 496.18)
 ἐβγάνοντας τὸ ἑμισὸ λιόφυτο (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 50.90)

ν) μισός

The SMG form, with loss of initial vowel as a result of aphaeresis, has been found first in the 15th c. and is widely attested from the 16th c. onwards.

νὰ πάρη τὰ μισά (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 42, 36.1–3)
 νὰ ἔχη πάσα εἰς τὸ μισό (1562, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 9, 23.16–17)
 τὸν μισὸν Μορέαν (1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 6.1, 241.18)
 τὰ μισὰ τοῦ ἀφέντ(ος) τοῦ Καδῆ (1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 153, 278.31)
 τὸ μισὸν μοναστήρι (1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 703, 606.2)
 καὶ ἔδωσε τοῦ υἱοῦ του τὸ μισὸ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο μισὸ ἐπῆρε ἀτός του *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.14–15; μισῆς μερὸς δρόμος *ibid.* 136.20
 νὰ κάμω τὸ μισὸν ὄφτὸ *Stathis* III.213 (ms μισο)
 τὸ σκουτάρην ἤκοψε κι ὡς τὰ μισὰ τ' ἀνοίγει KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1699; στὸν κάμπο πέφτει τὸ μισό, τ' ἄλλο μισὸ ἀπομένει *ibid.* IV.1764
 ὁποῦ φυλάγει τὰ ροῦχα του ἔχει τὰ μισά *Paroim.* (Warner) 106.15
 μισοὶ ἀπὸ δαύτους ἤρθασι *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 15.7

3.3.2.2 θῆλυς

This adjective is quite rare in MedG and EMG, mainly because it has been replaced by the alternative form θηλυκός (which has the meaning “female” already in the 3rd c. BC); θηλυκός follows the regular paradigm of adjectives in -ος (see 3.2.1). Some examples from the period covered by this Grammar:

τῶν θηλυκῶν *Phys.* 130; ἡ θηλυκὴ *ibid.* 415
 ἡ θηλυκὴ (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 3, 6.10)
 ἡ θηλυκὴ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 149.8; τῆς θηλυκῆς *ibid.* 149.7
 ἐνὸς σομαρικοῦ, θηλικοῦ, μαῦρου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 417, 415.5)
 τῶν θηλυκῶν τῆς παιδιῶν (1625, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 99, 239.22)
 τὰ θηλυκὰ παιδιὰ τους (1659, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 2, 28.9)
 ἡ ἄλλη θηλυκὴ SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 45.8

Forms of θῆλυς occur mainly in texts that strive for a higher register, or a more formal style, such as romances, certain non-literary texts, and, most notably, the *Physiologos* (mss of the 15th and 16th c.). Forms which are undeniably masculine, i.e. agreeing with a masculine referent, are (not surprisingly) very rare for this word. Examples of feminine and neuter forms are given below.

Feminine θήλεια and, with shift of stress, θηλεία are quite common in Late Antiquity, in Byzantine texts and more generally in higher-register texts until LMedG. Θηλεία often

functions virtually as a noun (gen. pl. θηλειῶν and θηλείων are both found). These examples are from texts in a mixed register:

πάντας τοὺς κατίοντας καὶ ἀνδρας καὶ θηλείας (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 245.622)
τὴν θηλεῖαν *Phys.* 412

There exist some innovative forms for the feminine singular, based on a nominative θήλη, replacing the inherited form θήλεια. They have been found in the *Physiologos* (probably 15th c.) and the romance *Velthandros* (16th-c. ms of a work of the 13th/14th c.):

τὴν θήλην *Phys.* 11; ἡ θήλη *ibid.* 12; τῆς θήλης *ibid.* 55 and 229
κ' ἐκόπτετο τὴν συμφορὰν τῆς θήλης οἷα θήλη *Velth.* 1142

Another development of the AG paradigm may be observed in the feminine form θήλεα, comparable to new feminine forms of oxytone adjectives in -ύς (3.3.1), but with the stress remaining on the first syllable: θήλεα παῖδα θαυμαστὴν *Dig.* A 37.

The neuter singular θῆλυ (gen. sg. θήλεος) and plural θήλη are sporadically attested in both literary and non-literary texts, throughout the period:

τὴν τοῦ θήλεος γένους ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 120.4; μετὰ τοῦ θήλεος *ibid.* 120.18
ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ὑπήρχασιν ἄρκοπούλια δύο *Dig.* G IV.108
τὰ δὲ τὰ τρία θήλη *Pol. Tr.* 1158; τὰ δὲ θήλη *ibid.* 10633 (ACX; τὰ θηλυκὰ B)
τὸ θῆλυ *Phys.* 10
ἡ στέρησις τοῦ θήλεος ὡς ξιφερῆς περόνη *Dig.* A 34
παῖδιν ἐν αὐτῶν θῆλυ *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 12.6
νά 'νι τοῦ παιδίου ἀποῦ εἶμαι ἐγκάστριος εἶτε θῆλυν εἶτε ἄρσεν ἂν εἶναι (1522, Crete,
KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 63, 118.11–12)
ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ τοὺς ἔκαμεν ὁ Θεός *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 10.6
θῆλυ θὲ γεννήση *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 43

One instance has been found of a neuter plural θήλεια: ὀνικά ἄρρενα (καὶ) θήλ(εια) δεκαπέντε (1258, Philadelphia?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 15, 161.23–4). This variant (if the transcription is reliable) can be compared to the forms in -ία found for oxytone adjectives in -ύς (see 3.3.1).

3.3.3 Adjectives in -ης (Oxytone or Paroxytone)

In AG, adjectives in this category were of two terminations, i.e. they had one set of forms for both masculine and feminine gender and another set for the neuter. We include here four types of word, which differ only in their patterns of stress: (i) oxytone adjectives like ἄσθενής; (ii) paroxytone adjectives (often, though not always, with a prepositional or other prefix), where the stress is regressive in the nominative and accusative of the neuter singular and moves to the penultimate syllable in the gen. pl., e.g. συνήθης; (iii) adjectives in -ώδης, e.g. δασώδης, which keep the stress on the penultimate except for the gen. pl. (-ωδῶν); and (iv) those in -ήρης, e.g. φρενήρης, which are paroxytone in all forms. By the period covered by this Grammar, all of these have acquired 1st- and 2nd-declension endings in some of their forms, in addition to the original 3rd-declension ones. We do not include here adjectives that have acquired a full paradigm in -ος, -η, -ο, like ἀκριβός < ἀκριβής, or

metaplasms of the type παμμέγεθος (< παμμεγέθης) or δύστυχος (< δυστυχής).³³ Forms of the older type will be dealt with here, but for the new adjective formations in -ος, see 3.2.1 above.³⁴ Other variant forms will be referred to in notes, but not included in the main paradigm.

Two adjectives can have an imparisyllabic plural in -ῆδες (cf. masc. nouns in -ῆς, 2.3.3, and certain fem. nouns in -ή, 2.12.1), in addition to the inherited forms, when used as nouns: εὐγενής (which is often used as a noun) and συγγενής (which is almost always substantivized).³⁵ The form συγγενάδες (which disambiguates masc. and pl. forms that both end in /is/) is common in Cypriot texts and occasionally found elsewhere (cf. fem. nouns in -ή, 2.12.1):

τοὺς συγγενάδες *Assizes A* 39.1; οἱ συγγενάδες του *ibid.* 118.16
οἱ συγγενάδες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 238.12; με τοὺς συγγενάδες του *ibid.* V 550.13
τὴν ἀγάπην τοὺς συγγενάδες *Fior* 76.7
τοὺς συγγενάδες μου καὶ φίλους *Pist. kekoim.* 477
με τοὺς συγγενάδες του (1515, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 70, 75.7)

οἱ εὐγενίδες *Pol. Tr.* 10619 (but note that this text also has sg. forms, e.g. ἡ εὐγενίδα *ibid.* 10753)
οἱ εὐγενῆδες *ERMON., Ilias* 21.32 (ms C οἱ εὐγενεῖς γαρ) (it is unclear whether εὐγενῆδες is masc. or fem.)
οἱ εὐγενίδες ὅλες *Poulol.* 52
οἱ εὐγενάδες *Pol. Tr.* 10619 app. crit. (BC)
ἡ μεγιστάνου ἡ ἀμιρᾶ ἡ τινῶν εὐγενάδων *Pol. Tr.* 7403

Adjectives in -ης/-ῆς already exhibit instability in the 1st c. AD: forms with 2nd-declension endings can be found in the papyri, e.g. ὑγιοῦ *PMich.* 122 I 27 (AD 49), τοὺς ἐνγενοῦς *MChr.* 159.16 (AD 51/53), and the addition of final /n/ to the masc. and fem. acc. sg. is not uncommon (GIGNAC 1981: 135–8). As with other two-termination adjectives, there is a tendency for new forms to be created for the feminine, by analogy with other classes of adjective. (On the remodelling of such adjectives, see further HATZIDAKIS 1892: 381–2; JANNARIS 1897: 139.) As a consequence, the paradigm presented below is necessarily a “mixed” one; unless there is a shift of stress (e.g. εὐπρεπος < εὐπρεπής) it is impossible to determine when full metaplasm has occurred. However, when a masculine nominative singular in -ος is found, together with other related forms, we assume that the adjective has moved over to that category (for which see 3.2.1 and 3.2.2); but the inherited forms of the -ης paradigm will continue to be found in higher registers.

³³ The adjective ὑγιής illustrates the difficulty of assigning forms to a particular lemma: alongside inherited forms (e.g. τὸ δέρμα εὖρον ὑγιές *Dig. A* 2937), we find innovative oxytone forms like neut. pl. ὑγιά *MONTSEL., Evgena* after 1158, but also forms with regressive stress that imply a metaplasm ὕγιος, e.g. δὲν ἀπόμεινε ὕγιο κανένα ράμμα *ZINOS, Vatr.* 310; ὕγιους καὶ ἄβλαβους *ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, Rebelio* 51.14.

³⁴ Very occasionally, the change is in the opposite direction. An example is εὐσπλαχνής (ms εὐσπλαγχνεῖς) from εὐσπλαχνος: ὁ Θεὸς γάρ, ὡς εὐσπλαχνῆς *Chron. Mor.* P 624. (The older, 15th-c., ms H reads εὐσπλαχνος at this point.)

³⁵ These forms should not be confused with the plurals of the fem. nouns συγγενεῖς and εὐγενεῖς, the first of which is found in Koine and EMedG texts, but also occurs in LMedG; εὐγενεῖς is probably an analogical formation. Examples: πάσας του συγγενίδας *Eisit.* f.3r.2, καὶ τῶν συγγενιδῶν σου *ibid.* f.5r.4 (with shift of stress on the analogy of 1st-declension nouns, or perhaps *metri gratia*); οἱ εὐγενίδες *Poulol.* 52.

In general, those adjectives that constitute frequently used lexical items, in all registers, tend to be adapted to the paradigm of adjectives in -ος, with three terminations. Conversely, those adjectives that continue in written use occur mainly in texts that aim at a more formal, stylized or mixed register, for example legal documents and certain literary texts, such as verse romances. However, it must be stressed that innovative (i.e. “non-classical”) forms also occur in such texts, as well as apparently undeclined forms, as in: μετὰ πάντων τῶν χρειώδη ἐργαλείων αὐτοῦ (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 293, 208.7). The word πλήρης is also found as an indeclinable adjective, and as an adverb (see 4.2.5 and KRIARAS, *Lex. s.v.*).

Finally, it is noteworthy that many new adjectives formed with the suffix -ώδης, e.g. δυσβατώδης, δυσκολώδης, come into existence in LMedG. One text that is particularly rich in such formations is the romance *Kallimachos and Chrysorroï*; for details see APOSTOLOPOULOS 1984: 184.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	εὐγενής	εὐγενής ἢ εὐγενή	εὐγενές ἢ εὐγενή(ν) ἢ εὐγενό(ν) ἢ -ος
Gen.	εὐγενοῦς ἢ εὐγενοῦ ἢ εὐγενῆ	εὐγενοῦς ἢ εὐγενῆς	εὐγενοῦς
Acc.	εὐγενή(ν) ἢ εὐγενό(ν)	εὐγενή(ν)	εὐγενές ἢ εὐγενή(ν) ἢ εὐγενό(ν) ἢ -ος
Voc.	εὐγενή	(εὐγενή?)	(εὐγενές ἢ εὐγενή(ν))

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	εὐγενεῖς ἢ εὐγενοί	εὐγενεῖς ἢ εὐγενές	εὐγενῆ ἢ εὐγενά εὐγενέα
Gen.	εὐγενῶν	εὐγενῶν	εὐγενῶν
Acc.	εὐγενεῖς ἢ εὐγενοῦς	εὐγενεῖς ἢ εὐγενές	εὐγενῆ ἢ εὐγενά
Voc.	(εὐγενεῖς ἢ εὐγενοί)	(εὐγενεῖς ἢ εὐγενές)	(εὐγενῆ ἢ εὐγενά)

In the tables of allomorphs below, differences of accentuation are not shown.

Singular*Masculine*

M	General	Rare
Nom.	-ης	
Gen.	-ους -ου -η	
Acc.	-η(ν)	-ο(ν)
Voc.	-η	

Nominative

The nominative is entirely stable throughout our period (the ending -ος would imply metaplasma to a different paradigm).³⁶

ὁ λόγος ὁ δημώδης GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 19; ζοφώδης Ἄδης *ibid.* 487
καὶ ἦσαι καὶ αὐθάδης *Spaneas* P 97
δασώδης τόπος *Chron. Mor.* H 6688; κλαστώδης τόπος *ibid.* H 6968
μὴ φαίνεσαι ὡς κατηφής *Flor.* L 316 (Cupane)
πῶς συριγμός ἐξήρχετο φρικτώδης, ἀγριώδης *Velth.* 251
πραῆς FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 63
ὁ τόπος ἦτον πετρώδης MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 546.5; ἀστενής *ibid.* V 371.26
ἀληθῆς κληρονόμος (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 3, 23.13)
ἔναι συνήθης καὶ πρακτικὸς SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 111.21
μανιώδης ἄνθρωπος *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 28.1; θυμώδης εἰς τὸν πόλεμον *ibid.* 45.4
τὸν Μιχαήλ παρακαλεῖ νὰ μὴ γενεῖ προπέτης STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 534 (Pidonia)
τόπος ρευματώδης *Vios Aisop.* D 244.4
ἥβρισκόμενος ἀστενῆς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ του (1692, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 162, 162.1)

Genitive

The inherited genitive in -ους/-οῦς continues to be found, particularly in texts that aspire to a higher register. Two alternative innovations must be dated to the MedG period: (i) assimilation to the -ος declension by deletion of final /s/; and (ii) adoption of the ending /i/ (<η>) on the analogy of 1st-declension nouns. Although it is extremely difficult to date these changes, the evidence so far collected suggests that the -ου/-οῦ ending (first attested in a 10th-c. document from S. Italy) is established before the -η/-ῆ form appears in written texts.

τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ εὐτελοῦς *Dig.* G IV.991
τοῦ πολυπαθοῦς *Liv.* V 28
τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἄρχον (1530, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 98, 118.5)
τοῦ εὐτελοῦς καὶ ἀμαθοῦς MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 9
τὰ λόγια τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς MOREZINOS, *Klini* 25.16–17

³⁶ Unusually, the masc. nom. sg. of πλήρης is found in the form πλήρος (i.e. metaplasma to the -ος declension) in a 15th-c. text: πλήρος οὐρανός (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2864). Cf. plural πλήροι below.

τοῦ οἰκογενεοῦ (975, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 7, 5.14); συγγενοῦ (1141, *ibid.* 129, 171.19)
 τοῦ χριστοῦ ἀληθοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 5, 16.6)
 εὐτελοῦ (1202, S. Italy, NADAL CAÑELLAS 1983: III, 165.23–4)
 συγγενοῦ (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.592)
 τοῦ εὐγενοῦ ἀνδρός (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 4, 151.10; 1473, *ibid.* 21, 160.5)
 σύγαμπρον τοῦ πανευτυχοῦ Λιβίστρου Κλιτοβόντος *Liv.* E 4357
 πᾶσα εὐσεβοῦ καὶ ὀρθοδόξου ἀνθρώπου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 453.13
 τοῦ ἀσθενοῦ *Pist. kekoim.* 395
 τοῦ ἑτέρου ρύακος πετρώδου (1613, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 61, 183.11) (perhaps a scribal error)
 τοῦ εὐτελοῦ δούλου σου (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 399, f.2r.13)
 τοῦ Ἀψευδῆ (1395, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 154, 129.41) (proper name)
 τοῦ πολυπαθῆ *Liv.* V 1
 τοῦ ἀσθενῆ *Assizes* B 437.25
 ὥς πρέπει πᾶσα εὐγενῆ ἀνθρώπου νὰ τὸ ποίση *Chron. Mor.* P 7458
 τοῦ ἀσεβῆ (1497?, Rome, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 4, 136.27)
 τοῦ εὐγενῆ ἄρχων (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 29, 29.4)
 τοῦ εὐγενῆ (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 177, 228.23)
 τοῦ υἱοῦ μου τοῦ μονογενῆ *Diig. Alex.* E 164.21 and 165.18 (Konstantinopulos)
 τοῦ ἀσεβῆ MOREZINOS, *Klini* 48.12
 τοῦ ἀπειθῆ καὶ χοντροῦ λαοῦ (1622, Karpathos?, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.26–7)
 τοῦ εὐγενῆ ἄρχο (1628, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 2, 332.18)
 τοῦ σοφωτάτου κ' εὐγενῆ τοῦ Καβαλιέρ Γουαρίνη SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* a2v.7

Accusative

The usual fluctuation of final /n/ is observed, even in texts that aim at a higher register (e.g. the romance *Kallimachos*), where the original AG ending -η might be expected.

πετροκρημνῶδη τόπον *Log. parig.* L 242
 εὐγενῆν νέον (1387, Athens?, BUCHON 1843: XL, 220.10)
 εἶχα πατέρα εὐγενῆν *Liv.* V 3189
 σκλάβον ἀστενῆν *Assizes* B 436.25
 κρυσταλλῶδην ποταμόν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 151; κρημνῶδην τόπον *ibid.* 170; πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν συνήθη *ibid.* 2232
 ὅς τὸν ἀσεβῆν, *Alosis* 745; τὸν εὐγενῆν τὸν δοῦκαν *ibid.* 398
 εὐγενῆν ἄνδρα (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 1, 149.3)
 τὸν λογγῶδη τόπον (1528, Corfu, ZARIDI 1992: 4, 75.15)
 τὸν νουνεχῆ *ZINOS, Penth. Than.* Prol. 3
 εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν σκοτώδην KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 119.40; εἰς ἕναν θεοσεβῆν ἄνδραν *ibid.* 226.36; τὸν ἀπειθῆν *ibid.* 484.6
 διὰ τὸν ἀπειθῆ λαόν (1622, Karpathos?, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.15)
 ἕναν χωριάτην ... τερατώδη, ἀλλὰ ἐπιμελῆ *Bertoldos* 4.13

An accusative in -ο(ν), in the case of words that have not generally gone over to the -ος paradigm, is rather rarely found. Examples have been found in Heptanesian texts:

ἐδιώρθωσε ἀληθὸν καὶ νόμιμόν του κομμέσσο (1519, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1950: 4, 158.5–6)
 εἰςὲ κάθε εὐσεβὸ καὶ ὀρθόδοξο χριστιανό (1644, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 297, 234.46)

Vocative

Only forms in -η occur.³⁷

ἔπλασεν ὁ Ἔρως, συγγενῆ, πλάσμα φρικτὸν ὀνείρου *Liv.* α 655
 δικαιοκρίτα ἀληθῆ *Flor.* L 701 (Cupane)
 στράφου, αὐθέντη εὐγενῆ, *Achil.* O 472
 ὦ Ἥησοῦ μονογενῆ, μονογενῆ *P&N Diath.* 3902
 εὐγενὴ καὶ ἡγαπημένε μου κουμπάρε (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 1, 359.1)

Feminine

F	General
Nom.	-ης ἰ -η
Gen.	-ους ἰ -ης
Acc.	-η(ν)
Voc.	(-η?)

Nominative

Alongside the inherited form (which is identical to the masculine nominative), a distinct feminine in -η, on the analogy of adjectives in -ος, appears from the 12th c. onwards.

πάσα ψυχὴ καλοθελῆς *Liv.* V 10
 ἐγὼ, Εἰρήνη ἢ Βίβα ἀστενῆς οὔσα (1497, Corfu, KARYDIS 1999b: 1, 305.3)
 ξιφερῆς περόνη *Dig.* A 34
 δαιμονώδης φύσις [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1066; δαιμονώδης γραῖα *ibid.* 1431
 ἦν δε ἡ κόρη ευγενῆς *Diig. Apoll.* 185
 ἡ τρίτη εἶναι φλεγματώδης *LANDOS, Geopon.* 188.13
 ἡ εὐαγὴ μονὴ (1156, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 7, 87.11)
 ἡ καλοθελὴ παρ εμοῦ γεναμένη (1198, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 246, 334.31)
 ἡ διηνεκὴ προσευχὴ (1334, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 43, 131.16)
 κυρὰ χαρίτων εὐγενή, βασίλισσα Ροδάμνη *Liv.* E 2467
 ἡ ευγενὴ ἀρχόντισσα *Diig. Apoll.* 218
 διήγησις ... πονετικὴ καὶ πλήρη *Alosis* 1
 ἀσθενοῦσα καὶ κλινήρη (1516, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 102, 101.13)
 ἀσθενὴ εἰς τὸ κορμὶν της (1614, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 14, 317.4)
 ευγενὴ καὶ αὐτὴ *Vios Filaret.* 237.11
 εἶμαι ἀληθὴ Θεοτόκος *MOREZINOS, Klini* 14.15
 τί κτηνώδη ὑπερηφάνεια *Bertoldin.* 108.5–6

³⁷ There is a single exception, hard to explain unless it is simply a *lapsus calami*: καὶ γνήσιε συγγενό της *Liv.* α 402 app. crit. (N).

Forms like the following, with the feminine nominal suffix -ισσα, accusative -ισσα(ν), are sometimes found, but are marginal to the adjective paradigm:³⁸

ώσαν τὴν εἶδε προπέτισσαν *Chron.* 1619 937
 ἡ ταλαίπωρη κλινήρισσα (1682, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: VIII, 184.12)

Genitive

The inherited form -ους is found mainly in texts that aspire to a higher register. The innovative ending -ης (the same as that of adjectives in -ος, with fem. -η) has been found from the 13th c. onwards, though it was probably in use some centuries earlier.

τῆς εὐγενοῦς κόρης *Dig.* G VI.29
 τῆς εὐγενοῦς ἐκείνης τῆς κουτέσας *Achil.* N 793
 τῆς θηλείας τῆς αἰσχροῦδους *Ptochol.* α 683
 τερατώδους φύσεως *LANDOS, Amart. sot.* 334.40
 τῆς εἰλικρινοῦς ἀγάπης (1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 209.135)
 τῆς εὐαγῆς μονῆς (1232, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 287, 397.19)
 τῆς δυστυχῆς τῆς γραΐας *Log. parig.* L 328
 κυρᾶς Χαρίτων εὐγενῆς *Liv.* V 2273
 τῆς εὐγενῆς μου θυγατρὸς *Velth.* 952
 διὰ πάσης πλήρης ἐξουσίας (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 7, 13.7);³⁹ τῆς
 συγγενῆς (app. crit.) (1531, *ibid.* 148, 268.26)
 καὶ εὐγενῆς κυράτσας *Διατζέντας* (1665, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: III, 117.19)

Accusative

With or without final /n/, the form occurs throughout the period covered by the Grammar.

τελείαν καὶ ἀνελλιπὴν (1137, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Col. XI: 8, 522.3)
 χάριν πλήρην *Spaneas* P 183
 μὲ εἰλικρινὴν τὴν γνώμην *Chron. Mor.* H 5645
 εἶχεν ὁ ρῆγας εὐγενήν, ὁμορφὴν θυγατέραν *Liv.* E 3502
 ὁδὸν ... κρημνώδην *Velth.* 1096
 σθεναρὰν καὶ εἰλικρινὴν (1497, Crete, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 6, 143.27)
 τὴν χρυσαυγὴν κόρην [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2011; εἰς ἀσπλαχνώδη φύσιν *ibid.* 753
 θυγατέραν μονογενὴν *Diig. Alex.* F 174.3 (Konstantinopulos)
 σὰν ἀσεβὴν τὴν ἔχομε *Alex. Rim.* 2546
 ἀπὸ καζάδα παλιὰ εὐγενῇ (1605, Koroni, MERTZIOS 1960: 21.16)
 γιατί 'ς τὰ πάντα δίκαια καὶ ἀληθῇ σε εὔρε *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 942

Vocative

No examples have been found.

³⁸ Fem. συγγένισσα can certainly be regarded as a noun: τῆς ἐμῆς συγγένισσας (1202, S. Italy, NADAL CAÑEL-LAS 1983: III, 164.7). Another rare form borrows the fem. ending of the present participle: τὴν εὐγενοῦσαν, τὴν καλήν *Poulol.* AZ 61.

³⁹ Here πλήρης could be a gen. sg. form, but, as mentioned above, the adjective is sometimes used indeclinably, a usage already found in papyri from the 1st c. AD onwards; see GIGNAC 1981: 138–9.

Neuter

N	General	Rare
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ες ἢ -η(ν)	-ο(ν) ἢ -ος
Gen.	-ους	

The inherited ending -ες for nominative and accusative continues to be used in a wide range of (mainly literary) texts. However, forms in -η(ν), perhaps by analogy with the neuter of adjectives in -ύς (see 3.3.1), as well as neuter nouns in -ι(ν), are found in texts dating from the 12th c. onwards. (Note that the pronunciation of <υ> merges with /i/ from ca. 10th/11th c.; see I, 2.4.6.1.) More rarely, neuter forms in -ον can be found. Since some adjectives of this type do move completely to the -ος, -η, -ο(ν) paradigm, e.g. ψευδός from ψευδής, this sort of fluidity is to be expected. An odd hybrid in -ος, only for the word σύννηθος, occurs in the *Chronicle of Morea*, *War of Troy* and a Corfiot document. For the genitive, only forms in -ους have been found.

Nominative

αἶμα πολὺ φρικῶδες *Pol. Tr* 7530
 τὸ νερόν ἢ {το}ν δροσερόν, ὥσει χιῶν ψυχρῶδες *Dig. A* 1611
 αἵματῶδες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 108.23
 ἔναι ἑλλιπές SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 97.5
 διότι ἔτζι ὀρίζει τὸ ἀψευδές στόμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §22.29–30
 εὐῶδες καὶ καλοχώνευτον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 203.1
 ὡς σύννηθες PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 2107
 τὸ χειμαρροειδῆ ξηρορσικήτην (1297, Athos, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 27, 193.23)
 ἐτοῦτο εἶναι κινδυνώδη MOREZINOS, *Klini* 130.31
 κρασὶν ... κίτρινο καὶ εὐώδη LANDOS, *Geopon.* 184.17
 καὶ πάντα στέκει σύννηθος *Pol. Tr.* 11980 app. crit. (CV)

Genitive

τοῦ κάστρου τοῦ περιφανοῦς *Eisit.* f.6r.3
 τοῦ δρακοντώδους κάστρου [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 1225

Accusative

δέρμα ... ὑγιές *Dig. A* 2937
 βουνὶν ... δυσκολῶδες [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 2515; λεπτὸν λυγῶδες ξύλον *ibid.* 507
 εὐῶδες καὶ δυσῶδες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 111.20
 εἶχε Σωσάννα σύννηθες DEFAR., *Sos.* 95 (Holton)
 τὸ διηνεκές αὐτοῦ παρρησιῶδες μνημόσυνον (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 238.221)
 θέρος πολλὰ καυσῶδες AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 27
 ἀραγές (1685, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1940: 303.1)
 τὸ περατῶδες πρόσωπον *Bertoldos* 23.14–15
 τόπιον ἄχρηστον καὶ πετρώδη (1101, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 70, 83.17)
 περικαλλῆν καὶ ὠραῖον *Pol. Tr.* 303
 ὠραῖον, παμμεγέθη *Velth.* 326
 δράκων, μορφώσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς εὐειδῆ παιδίον *Dig. T.* 1926
 χαρτὶ μεμβρανώδη *LANDOS, Geopon.* 169.36

πρᾶγμα ἀγιασμένον, οὐδὲ εὐσεβόν *Assizes* B 406.25

<καί> πάλιν διὰ τὸ σύννηθον *Chron. Mor.* P 8952

εἶχεν ἡ κόρη σύννηθον *Byz. Il.* 65

ὡς τὸ ἔχουν [ms ἔχη] γὰρ τὸ σύννηθος *Chron. Mor.* H 2393

ὑπόγραφα κατὰ τὸ σύννηθος (1458, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 3 [Γ'], 26.22)

Vocative

No examples have been found.

Plural

Masculine

M	General	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-εις	-οι
Gen.	-ων	
Acc.	-εις ἢ -ους	

Nominative

The inherited ending -εις continues in use. Very occasionally, forms in -οι are found, for adjectives that do not appear to have undergone metaplasm to the -ος paradigm. They may simply be ad hoc formations, indicating the general tendency to adopt 2nd-declension endings.

ὡς θρασύτεροι νεώτεροι καὶ αὐθάδεις *Spaneas* P 220

ὕγιεις *Chron. Mor.* H 1535, but ὕγειοι στὰ κορμιά *Chron. Mor.* P 1535 (app. crit. οἶγιοι τὰ)

ἄσυντελεῖς ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ λόγοι *Diig. tetr.* 70

ψευδῶδεις *Dig.* A 1328

μάρτυρες ἀψευδεῖς (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 16, 30.51)

καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κατηφεῖς *Spanos* A 191–2

ὅσοι δυστυχεῖς (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 167.12)

εἶναι ἀμαθεῖς *Vios Aisop.* I 270.9

διδάσκαλοι φιλαλήθεις PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §3.15–16

οἱ χολερικοὶ καὶ θυμῶδεις LANDOS, *Geopon.* 179.26

ὡς εὐσεβεῖς οἱ ποῦ ἔναι IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 6849; οἱ ἀσελγεῖς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς *ibid.* 8694

καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας πληροὶ *Pol. Tr.* 808 app. crit. (V)

οἱ εὐγενοὶ ἄρχοντες (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 182, 145.8)

θὲν συγχυσθοῦσιν οἱ ἀσεβοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳς *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.87

Genitive

The genitive plural, though not very common, always has the ending -ων. Only forms from oxytone adjectives have been found.

τῶν εὐγενῶν ἀνθρώπων *Chron. Mor.* H 4185

κοκκίνων λίθων τηλαυγῶν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 373

ἀσθενῶν GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 602

τῶν πιστῶν καὶ εὐσεβῶν ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 122.A.6

ἐτούτων τῶν δυσσεβῶν AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 509

εὐλαβῶν χριστιανῶν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.22
 τὴν οφρύν των ασεβῶν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 8341
 των επιμελῶν εραστών *Don Kis.* 100.19
 ἐνάντιος τῶν ἀπειθῶν ... ἀνθρώπων SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 53.33

Accusative

The inherited ending -εις remains in widespread use. However, the innovative ending -ους, on the analogy of adjectives in -ος, is attested from the 11th c. and becomes common from the 14th c. onwards. It is noteworthy that this transfer to the 2nd declension is much more common for the accusative than for the nominative.

κλαυσώδεις ὀλοφυρμούς *Dig.* G. V.35
 ψευδεῖς λόγους *Dig.* E 1365
 τόπους ... δυσβατώδεις [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 76
 ναοὺς πολυτελεῖς *Alex.* Rim. 2323
 τοὺς εὐγενεῖς αὐθέντες κριτάδες (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 286.2)
 κάποιους ἱεροπρεπεῖς ἄνδρας MOREZINOS, *Klini* 16.8–9
 διαυγεῖς μαργαρίτας AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deká* 51; πετρώδεις τόπους *ibid.* 275
 εἰς ἀστενεῖς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.91
 τοὺς φρενήρεις LANDOS, *Geopon.* 192.34

 διηνεκοὺς χρόνους (11th c., S. Italy, NITTI DI VITO 1900: 46, 94.48)
 ἁλσώδους κρημνῶδους τόπους (1054, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 1, 41.37)
 εἰς εὐαγούς οἴκους ἀφιερεῖν (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 473.17)
 συγγενούς *Chron. Mor.* H 2042, 2345, 3306 (but συγγενεῖς *ibid.* 737 etc.)
 τοὺς ἀληθοὺς οὐκ ἀστοχεῖς *Liv.* E 960
 φρικώδους ὄρκους ERMON., *Ilias* 3.192
 νὰ ἀρμισθῆς καὶ συγγενούς *Achil.* L 207
 ἀνθρώπους ὅλους εὐσεβοὺς *Flor.* L 37 (Cupane); τοὺς ἀληθοὺς Χριστιανοὺς *ibid.* 54
 λόγους ψευματώδους *Dig.* A 3212
 ἀληθοὺς καὶ νόμιμους αὐτοῦ κουμέσιους (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 39, 33.5)
 ὅλους θωρῶ κακοθελοὺς κι ὅλους χολικεμένους FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 23 app. crit.
 λόγους τοὺς ξεύρεις ἀληθοὺς εἰπὲ *Did. Solom.* 140
 τοὺς ἀληθοὺς μάρτυράς μου (1530, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 138, 249.21)

Vocative

ἄρχοντες, φίλοι κι ἀδελφοί, συντρόφοι, συγγενεῖς μου *Chron. Mor.* H 345
 ἀκούσατε, τοπάρχες μου καὶ ὅλοι συγγενεῖς μου *Liv.* V 3962
 <ῶ> ἄρχοντες πανευγενεῖς *Pol. Tr.* 2314
 ἀλήθεια μὰ τοὺς Ἑρωτας, ῶ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι *Achil.* O 29 and N 69

Feminine

F	General	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-εις	-ες
Gen.	-ων	
Acc.	(-εις)	-ες

Forms that have feminine plural referents occur very rarely in texts of the period covered by this Grammar. The reason is perhaps partly the lack of a distinct feminine form in the inherited paradigm. Rare examples of an innovative form in -ες have been found in the Cypriot *Assizes* and in an 18th-c. text (and perhaps, as vocative, in the *Synaxarion gynaikon*, but see note below). Otherwise the inherited forms continue to be used, though examples are few.

Nominative

οἱ παρόντες εὐγενεῖς<ς> συμβίεις τῶν μακαριτῶν (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 262, 153.2–3)

λέγονται οἱ ἀγανάκτησες θυμῶδες *Assizes* B 455.15–16

Genitive

τῶν εὐγενῶν Χαρίτων *Liv.* V 7

Accusative

γυναίκας εἶχες εὐγενεῖς *Liv.* V 3074

τὰς πλευράς ... στρογγυλοειδεῖς οὐκάτι *ERMON., Ilias* 2.262

χιονώδεις σάρκας *Dig.* A 4678

ἔχων ἀκτῖνας τηλαυγεῖς [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 433; τὰς πολυτελεῖς λαμπρότητας ἐκείνας *ibid.* 1424

γραφὰς δημοσίας χρειώδεις (1548, Corfu, PANGRATIS 1999/2000: 1, 42.3)

τὲς θυσίες ἐκείνες τὲς σκιώδεις *MAX. PELOPON., Kata Ioud.* 325.24

ἀπὸ τας συνεχεῖς βροντάς *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1306

μ' αἰσθησες πανυγιές *VATATSI, Periig.* II 444

Vocative

μιαρὲς, γλωσσῶδες, ἐπίβουλες, σκύλες ἀφορισμένες *Synax. gyn.* 79 app. crit.⁴⁰

Neuter

N	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-η	-α	-έα
Gen.	-ων		

The form of the nominative and accusative is normally inherited -η (-ῃ when stressed), and that of the genitive is -ων (-ῶν). There is, however, limited evidence of innovative forms: nom./acc. -α is found in some documents from Sicily (12th–13th c.); interestingly, a form ὕγιᾶ occurs in two texts of Zakynthian provenance (a document of 1591 and a dramatic work by Montselese).⁴¹ An uncontracted form ψευδέα is found in the Grottaferrata *Digenis*, at the line-end.

The difficulty of using adjectives of this type is illustrated by the fortunes of the word ἀνελλιπής (“not deficient”), which occurs quite often in legal texts. In addition to ἀνελλιπῇ and ἀνελλιπᾶ (see examples below), we also find neuter plural forms in -ές and -εῖς:

⁴⁰ Some doubt has been cast on this form. *KRIARAS, Lex.* s.v. γλωσσού, amends to γλωσσούδες.

⁴¹ Cf. the fem. acc. pl. in -άς, in a document from the same island: ἔχοντας τὸ νοῦν καὶ τὰς φρένας ὕγιᾶς (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 113.7) (the adjective is unaccented in the original, so it could be ὕγιας; cf. the examples in footnote 33 in the introduction to this section).

σῶα καὶ ἀνελλιπές (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.24)
 σῶα καὶ ἀνελλιπές (1543, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 119, 81.7)
 σῶα καὶ ἀνελλιπές (1570, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 4, 22.10)
 σῶα καὶ ἀνελλιπείς (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 138.28–9)

Nominative

τὰ συνήθη *Chron. Mor.* P 7334
 πνευματώδη LANDOS, *Geopon.* 197.33
 ὅσον κινδυνώδη καὶ ἀν ἦτον *Don Kis.* 47.32
 ἅπερ εἰςὶ ψευδέα *Dig.* G IV.28
 τέλεια καὶ ἀνελλιπὰ (1164, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IV: 3, 119.1)
 νὰ εἶναι καλοῦ κορμιοῦ, διπλαῖ, ὕγιᾶ (1591, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1949: 162.10)

Genitive

τῶν εὐγενῶν καὶ εὐαγῶν σωμάτων *Dig.* G VIII.300
 ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πολυτελῶν ὀρθομαρμαρωμάτων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 304
 τῶν χρειδῶν τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 235.80)

Accusative

σῶα καὶ ἀνελλιπῇ (1221, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 7, 379.17)
 τὰ ζωαρκῇ τοῦ βίου *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 23
 χρειώδη πρὸς τὴν τέχνην *Diig. tetr.* 487
 ὁ πόλεμος οὐδὲν παραδέχεται σώματα γυναικῶδη SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 111.18
 ρόδα εὐώδη LANDOS, *Geopon.* 269.17
 λόγια ψευματώδη *Dig.* A 3367; μετὰ [better: μετὰ] ψευδῇ φορέματα *ibid.* 4736
 σῶα καὶ ἀνελλιπῇ *Don Kis.* 20.20
 τέλεια καὶ ἀνελλιπᾶ (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 131, 173.23)
 ἔβαλε τὰ χέρια τῆς κομμένα εἰς τὸ νερόν καὶ ὕγιᾶ τὰ ἔβγαλε MONTSEL., *Evgena* after 1158

3.3.4 Adjectives in -ων, -ων, -ον

In AG these adjectives were of two terminations (i.e. the same set of forms was used for masculine and feminine referents). Essentially the same paradigm was followed by two categories of lexical item:

- 1) adjectives with nasal stems <ον>, including words such as the following (many of which are also found in LMedG and EMG texts): ἀνελεήμων, αὐτόχθων, ἄφρων, δοκόφρων, ἐλεήμων, εὐγνώμων, εὐδαίμων, κακοδαίμων, οἰκτίρμων, ὁμόφρων, παράφρων, σῶφρων, ὑψηλόφρων, φιλοικτίρμων, etc. Very few new items are generated, other than compounds of existing words, e.g. κακογνώμων.
- 2) inherited comparative adjectives in -ων: βελτίων, καλλίων, μείζων, πλείων/πλέων, χείρων. (See also 3.8.6.)

As happened with other adjectives that had endings of the AG 3rd declension, these adjectives were easily attracted to more common paradigms. Consequently, alongside the inherited forms we find new forms, or reanalyses of existing forms. As with masculine nouns in -ων (2.2.5), a new nominative emerges, ending in -ονας, e.g. ἐλεήμονας. Alternatively, more rarely and at a somewhat later date, the inherited genitive ἐλεήμονος was reanalysed

as a nominative. It could then be fully utilized as an adjective in -ος, -η, -ο(ν) (see 3.2.1). Usually the syllable <ον> of the oblique cases was retained. A rare exception is the following, from a text of the 14th c.:⁴² Κύριος οἰχτιρμος, ἐλέημος, μακρύθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος *Jonas* 216.26–7.

Comparative adjectives in -ων, which are in any case rare in non-learned texts, seldom exhibit a transfer to the -ος, -η, -ο(ν) declension: nom. forms like *μείζονος have not been found. However, an important exception must be made for καλλίων, which is the most common word of this group, particularly in its neuter singular form κάλλιο(ν). Two new adjective formations emerge in the LMG period: καλλίος and κάλλιος, following the regular declension of adjectives in -ος. For further information and examples see 3.8.6.

Adjectives in -ων, including the inherited comparative forms (with the exception of καλλίων), are low-frequency items in non-learned texts. These adjectives were difficult for those not versed in AG grammar to handle. Various solutions were adopted when the need arose to use particular lexical items. The paradigm is consequently a mixed one, but some forms (e.g. feminine plural) are extremely rare.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	ἐλεήμων ἢ ἐλεήμονας ἢ ἐλεήμονος	ἐλεήμων	ἐλέημον ἢ ἐλεήμονο(ν)
Gen.	ἐλεήμονος	ἐλεήμονος ἢ ἐλεημόνης	(ἐλεήμονος)
Acc.	ἐλεήμονα(ν) ἢ ἐλεήμονο(ν)	ἐλεήμονα(ν) ἢ ἐλεήμονο(ν) ἢ ἐλεήμονην	ἐλέημον ἢ ἐλεήμονο(ν)
Voc.	ἐλεήμωνι ἐλεήμονα ἢ ἐλεήμονε	—	—

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	ἐλεήμονες ἢ ἐλεήμονοι	(ἐλεήμονες)	ἐλεήμονα
Gen.	(ἐλεημόνων)	(ἐλεημόνων)	(ἐλεημόνων)
Acc.	ἐλεήμονας ἢ ἐλεήμονες ἢ ἐλεημόνους	(ἐλεήμονας)	ἐλεήμονα
Voc.	ἐλεήμονες ἢ ἐλεήμονοι	(ἐλεήμονες)	—

⁴² For metaplasms of the type ἀγνώμων > ἄγνωμος, see PAPANASTASIOU 1992. Occasionally the nom. ending functions as an acc.: τον εωσφόρον αλαζών *IOAKEIM KYPR.*, *Pali* 4016.

Singular

Masculine

M	General	Restricted
Nom.	-ων ἢ -οντας	-ονος
Gen.	-ονος	
Acc.	-ονα(ν)	(-ονο(ν))
Voc.	-ων ἢ (-ον) ἢ -ονα	-ονε

Nominative

The inherited form in -ων continues to be used, particularly in texts that aim at a more formal register and in religious contexts:

ὁ πανοικτίρμων Θεὸς ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 810.12
 κι ὡς ἦτον πάντα ὁ πρίγκηπας φρόνιμος, ἐλεήμων *Chron. Mor.* H 5893; ὅτι ἐν' καλλίων σου
 ἄνθρωπος *ibid.* 4121
 πᾶς ἄνθρωπος εὐγνώμων *Liv.* α 1122
 ὁ πάντα ἐλεήμων *Peri xen.* 148 (καὶ ὁ παντελεήμων *app. crit.* (A))
 ἀνελεήμων ἄνθρωπος *Florios* 1340 (Hesseling)
 χείρων ὑπὲρ τὸν ἄλλον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2359
 να εἶναι ἐλεήμων ... και να εἶναι σώφρων *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 79.20–1
 δοκίφρων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καλόφρων *CHEILAS, Chron.* 355.26
 εἶναι τόσον ἐλεήμων (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.36–7)

The emergence of a nominative in -οντας, comparable to what happens with masculine nouns in -ων/-οντας (see 2.2.5), has been noted only from the 14th c. onwards:

πολλὰ ἐνι ἐλεήμονας καὶ χριστιανὸς εἰς πάντας *Chron. Mor.* H 5538
 ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπερήφανος ἦτον καὶ ἀλαζόνας *Pol. Tr.* 6111; οὐδέποτε ἀλάζοντας *ibid.* 11533 *app. crit.* (A) (with shift of stress)
 ὁ πανοικτίρμονας θεὸς *Phys.* 315
 ὁ ἐλεήμονάς σου Υἱὸς MOREZINOS, *Klini* 75.34
 οὐδὲν εἶμαι ἀνελεήμονας *Diig. Alex.* K 360.23
 ἐλεήμονας ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Valach.* 90 and 1891

A new nominative in -ονος, identical with the inherited genitive form, has a rather limited occurrence. It has been found in some 16th-c. prose versions of the *Alexander Romance* and in a 17th-c. ms of *The Tale of Alexander and Semiramis*:

οὐδὲν εἶμαι ἀνελεήμονος *Diig. Alex.* F 276.5 (Lolos)
 ὑψηλόφρονος *Diig. Alex.* E 259.2 (Lolos)
 ἐγὼ ο ταλαίπωρος Δάρειος και υψηλόφρονος *Diig. Alex.* K 355.29–30
 παράφρονος ... ἐγέννη *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 96; γίνεται παράφρονος *ibid.* S 122

Genitive

The inherited form in -ονος is the only form that has been found:

τοῦ λατινόφρονος (1390/1, Constantinople?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 7.I, 5.3)

τοῦ κακοδαίμονος ZINOS, *Vatr.* 188

ἐκείνου τοῦ ἄφρονος MOREZINOS, *Klini* 80.10; τοῦ κακογνώμονος ἀνθρώπου *ibid.* 276.34–5⁴³

Accusative

No variation has been noted in the texts examined, except for the variable addition of final /n/:

ἐλεήμοναν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2610

κ' εἰς βασιλιά ἀλάζονα *Alex. Rim.* 1816 (with shift of stress *metri gratia*)

τὸν παντοδύναμον καὶ πανοικτίρμονα Χριστόν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 463.25–6

παρακαλῶ τὸν ἐλεήμονα θεὸν *Diig. Sant.* 55.35

τὸν οἰκτίρμονα Θεὸ *ΔΙΑΚΡ., Diig. Pol.* 1205

Vocative

Vocatives do not occur often, and their rarity in middle- and low-register texts may explain the observed variation: AG -ον with proparoxytone stress has not been found; instead we find the nominative in -ων used as vocative, in addition to both -ονα and -ονε, corresponding to the alternative nominatives -ονας and -ονος:

Θεὲ πανοικτίρμων *Dig. E* 781; οἰκτίρμων *ibid.* 1842

ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἐλεήμονα *Diig. Alex. E* 117.10 (Konstantinopulos)

ὦ παραφρασίαρη καὶ ὑψηλόφρονα Τάρειε *Diig. Alex. F* 154.8–9 (Lolos)

περίλαμπρε καὶ πάμφρονα ΒΟΥΝΙΑΛΙΣ Μ., *Diig. Pol.* 142.16 (Xirouchakis)

ἐλεήμονε αφέντη Αλέξανδρε *Diig. Alex. K* 355.6

ἐλεήμονε βασιλέα *Diig. Alex. F* 102.1 (Konstantinopulos)

παραφρασίαρη καὶ ὑψηλόφρονε *Diig. Alex. E* 155.8 (Lolos)

Feminine

F	General	Rare
Nom./ Voc.	-ων	
Gen.	(-ονος)	-όνης † -ου
Acc.	-ονα(ν) † -ονο(ν)	-ονην

Nominative

No variation has been found in the texts examined:

λευκοβραχίων *Velth.* 706

αὐτήνη ἡ σώφρων MOREZINOS, *Klini* 52.22

ἡ σώφρων καὶ τιμημένη γυναῖκα *Don Kis.* 106.10

Genitive

Of the expected (and inherited) -ονος no instances have been found with feminine referents. Two odd forms occur: σωφρόνης, formed as if from *σώφρονος, -ης, -ο(ν), with shift of stress to the penultimate (cf. 3.2.1); and κακοδαίμου, which implies an unattested masc. nom. sg. *κακόδαιμος:

⁴³ There is also an adjective κακόγνωμος. See KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.

τῆς ώραίας καὶ σωφρόνης *ERMON.*, *Ilias* 4.204
τῆς κακοδαίμου μοίρας *Velth.* 36; τῆς κακοδαίμου τύχης *ibid.* 48

Accusative

The inherited form -ονα is found sporadically, including for the older comparative adjectives:⁴⁴

διότι θέλουσιν ἔχει τὰ παιδία πλείονα συντροφίαν (1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 287.2)
μείζονα ... χάριν [*ANDR. PALAIOIOL.*], *Kallim.* 285
εἶχεν γυναικα σώφρονα *VEST.*, *Prol. Theot.* 163

Innovative forms in -ονον (as if two-termination; see 3.2.4) and -ονην also occur:

καὶ μὲ ἀνελεήμενον ψ[υχ]ήν *DELLAP.*, *Erot. apokr.* 26
τὴν ὑψηλόφρονην *Diig. Alex.* F 264.15 (Lolos)

Vocative

Again, forms are rare and when they occur they tend to be idiosyncratic. The following is formed with the feminine ending -οῦσα, like a present participle: τύχη ἀνελεμονούσα *Theseid* IV.11,4 (1529).⁴⁵

Neuter

N	General	Rare
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ον	-ονο(ν)
Gen.	(-ονος)	

The nominative and accusative generally keep the inherited form in -ον. Most of the examples that have been located are “irregular” comparatives (e.g. κάλλιον, κρεῖττον, μείζον, χειρόν), and tend to occur in texts that aim at a higher register. In *Livistros* ms E, innovative forms in -ονο(ν) are found. No genitive forms have been located.

Nominative

χειρόν τῶν χειροτέρων *Chron. Mor.* H 5010; κάλλιον ἦτον νὰ ἀπόθανεν ἐκεῖνος *ibid.* 4485⁴⁶
τὸ μείζον τούτων [*ANDR. PALAIOIOL.*], *Kallim.* 439
ἐπεὶ ἔνι κάστρον φοβερό, τὸ κάλλιον τοῦ Μορέως *Chron. Mor.* P 1445
κάλλιον νὰ ἀποθάνω *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 22.38

Accusative

κάλλιον τὸ ἔχω *Chron. Mor.* H 1134
εἰς κρεῖττον *Pol. Tr.* 829 app. crit. (A); ὅπου οὐκ εἶχαν κάλλιον *ibid.* 767 app. crit. (A); εἰς κάλλιον *ibid.* 829 app. crit. (X)
νὰ μάθετε τί κρεῖττον [*ANDR. PALAIOIOL.*], *Kallim.* 890; ἀλλὰ καὶ τίποτε κακὸν ἄλλον πανθάνω χειρόν *ibid.* 1859; εἶχα το, τύχη, κάλλιον, κάλλιον ἔκρινά το *ibid.* 2373
ἐκ τὸ ἀνελεήμενό σου *Liv.* E 1989; ἀπὸ τὸ ἀνελεήμεμόν σου *ibid.* 1991

⁴⁴ The form μείζων in the following instance from *Kallimachos* is perhaps best regarded as indeclinable or adverbial: τρανὴν καὶ μείζων τῆς προτέρας [*ANDR. PALAIOIOL.*], *Kallim.* 1271.

⁴⁵ Cf. the accusative form τὴν ἀνελεημονούσαν *Pol. Tr.* 13813.

⁴⁶ Ms H of the *Chronicle of Morea* (14th c.) also has neuter forms καλ(λ)ίον (2522, 3235, 4723), which need to be scanned as disyllabic. They are early evidence for a new oxytone form καλλιός. See also 3.8.6.

Plural*Masculine*

M	General	Rare
Nom./Voc.	-ονες	-ονοι
Gen.	(-όνων)	
Acc.	-ονας † -ονες	-όνους

The inherited forms, nominative -ονες and accusative -ονας (or, as for other acc. pl. forms, -ονες), are found mainly in texts that aim at a higher register. The innovative forms -ονοι (nom. and voc.) and -όνους (acc.) have been found in texts dating from the 14th c. onwards (ms date of *Ptochoprodromos IV*), but are rather rare. These forms are comparable to the -ος forms that occur for the singular (see above), though the latter have not been found before the 16th c.

Nominative

ὅσον εἶναι πλείονες καὶ ἐλαφρότεροι (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.1–2)
 ἐλεήμονες DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2595
 σώφρονες καβαλλάρει ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 918
 οἱ φθονεροὶ καὶ ἀγνώμονες MOREZINOS, *Klini* 79.23
 ἐλεήμονες VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 59.16
 σώφρονες καβαλλάρει DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 1029
 οἱ ἄφρονες καὶ παράνομοι IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 8693
 εἶναι τινὲς δοκόφρονοι DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1149
 αὐτόχθονοι LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 136

Genitive

No examples have been found in the texts examined.

Accusative

οὐδὲ ἀλαζόνες τίποτε *Pol. Tr.* 11533
 τοὺς ἄφρονας νέους MOREZINOS, *Klini* 43.33
 τοὺς ἄφρονας VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 48.8
 ἀπὸ τοὺς λωλοὺς καὶ ἀνελεήμονες τοὺς Μακιδόνους *Diig. Alex.* K 364.6
 τοὺς ὁμοφρόνους πάντας *Ptoch. IV* 265
 τοὺς ὁμοφρόνους PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §3.21

Vocative

ὦ ἀνελεήμονοι θεοὶ *Theseid* XI.42,4 (1529) (with synizesis)

Feminine

F	General
Nom./Voc.	-ονες
Gen.	—
Acc.	(-ονας) † (-ονες)

Forms with a feminine referent are extremely rare, almost as if they were deliberately avoided. Only nominative -ονες has been found: ξνι χῶρες μείζονες εἰς ὅλον τὸν Μορέαν *Chron. Mor.* P 1753.

Neuter

N	General
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ονα
Gen.	—

The forms are very rare and there is no allomorphy. Only a few accusative examples have been found.

Accusative

χείλη ρόδου κρείττονα φιλήσας [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 1916

μὲ μάτια ἐλεήμονα ἐθώρειε ἡ Ἑμίλια *Theseid* IX.73,1 (1529)

λέγουσι ... τὰ ὅμοια καὶ χείρονα CHEILAS, *Chron.* 357.5

3.4 New Adjectives in /is/

In the same period as the inherited (3rd-declension) adjective paradigm in -ης is in retreat (see 3.3.3), several new types of adjective with masculine ending in /is/ (paroxytone or oxytone) come into existence. All have separate forms for the feminine gender, but in all genders they present a good deal of allomorphy. They are distinguished here into three basic groups: (1) the largest consists of paroxytone words with feminine -α or -ισσα (3.4.1); (2) diminutives with the suffix -ούλης are a rather limited set of lexical items (3.4.2); (3) new oxytone formations in -ής are mainly adjectives referring to colour or material, a high proportion of which are loanwords (3.4.3). All three types continue to be productive in SMG (see HOLTON et al. ²2012: 93–4, 97–8).

3.4.1 New Paroxytone Adjectives in -ης (Feminine -α/-ισσα)

Many adjectives that appear for the first time in LMedG texts have the masculine nominal ending -ης, but their corresponding feminines are formed in a number of different ways. It might be argued that they are not really adjectives but nouns, since they are often substantivized with the definite article and almost always refer to human beings. For the neuter forms, where they are attested, either (i) the neuter form of an adjective formed with the suffix -ικος, or (ii) the ending -ι(ν) is used. This paradigm encompasses three types of new lexical items:

- 1) compounds formed of two elements, of which the second is typically a part of the body, e.g. μαυρομάτης, κουτσοχέρης, or some other noun e.g. κακομοίρης (from μοίρα);

- 2) loanwords that have been adapted to Greek morphology, e.g. ἀζάπης, κουρτέσης,⁴⁷ φουδούλης;
- 3) negative adjectives formed from nominal stems, e.g. ἀδούλης, ἀκαμάτης.⁴⁸

The origins of such adjectives have not been adequately researched. Compounds of type 1 are well attested from the 11th c. onwards, often as personal names (Ραφομάτης is an obvious example).⁴⁹ The selection of the {is} -ης ending may perhaps have been facilitated by the fact that the second element of the compound is often a neuter noun ending in -ιν (ὀμμάτιν, χέριν, πόδιν); the masculine forms could then readily conform to the paradigm of paroxytone masculine nouns like πολίτης (see 2.3). The only adjective of type 3 for which there is evidence in the EMedG period is ἀκαμάτης (see below under masc. voc. sg.). Certain loanwords from Arabic, Turkish and Romance were also accommodated to this paradigm. The feminine forms are usually based on a nominative -α, although a suffix -ισσα is also found (but only for loanwords in the texts examined; details below), and sporadically -ρ(ι)α for stems ending in /t/ (not included in the table). The neuter singular has two alternative forms, in -ι(ν) and -ικο(ν), of which the first appears to be the older. For the neuter plural only -ικα has been found, but neuter forms are in any case not very common.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	μαυρομάτης	μαυρομάτα ἢ μαυρομάτισσα	μαυρομάτι(ν) ἢ (μαυρομάτικο(ν))
Gen.	μαυρομάτη	(μαυρομάτας ἢ μαυρομάτισσας)	μαυρομάτη
Acc.	μαυρομάτη(ν)	μαυρομάτα(ν) ἢ μαυρομάτισσα(ν)	μαυρομάτι(ν) ἢ μαυρομάτικο(ν)
Voc.	μαυρομάτη ἢ μαυρομάτα	μαυρομάτα	(μαυρομάτικο(ν) ἢ μαυρομάτι(ν))

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	μαυρομάτηδες ἢ μαυρομάτοι	(μαυρομάτες) ἢ μαυρομάτισσες	μαυρομάτικα
Gen.	μαυρομάτηδω(ν) ἢ μαυρομάτω(ν)	—	
Acc.	μαυρομάτηδες ἢ μαυρομάτους	μαυρομάτες ἢ μαυρομάτισσες	μαυρομάτικα
Voc.	μαυρομάτηδες	—	—

⁴⁷ The word often functions as a noun, masc. ὁ κουρτέσης, fem. ἡ κουρτέσα, especially in the late-medieval romances.

⁴⁸ The diminutives in -ούλης strongly resemble this category. However, in view of the rather limited data available for many of the forms, especially for the plural, it was decided to treat them separately (3.4.2).

⁴⁹ For several examples in S. Italian texts see MINAS ²2003: 154.

Singular*Masculine*

M	General	Restricted
Nom.	μαυρομάτης	
Gen.	μαυρομάτη	
Acc.	μαυρομάτη(ν)	
Voc.	μαυρομάτη	μαυρομάτα

The masculine singular forms are well represented in texts of all kinds throughout our period. As might be expected, the descriptive compounds (e.g. πλατυπόδης), which probably began as nicknames, often become proper names. This is a very stable paradigm with no variation other than the presence or absence of final /n/ in the accusative and the (rare) alternative vocative form.

Nominative

- ὁ Ματζουκλοπόδης (ca. 1050, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972b: 178.238)
κατήλθεν ὁ Κονδομύτης (11th c., Sicily/S. Italy, SCHREINER 1975/79: 45, 14.1)
Κωνσταντῖνος ἱερεὺς ὁ Ραφομάτης ὑπέγραψα (1288, Cos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 226.31)
ὁ Μαυροζούμης (1375, Ioannina, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 146, 104.36)
διπλοπόδης *Dig.* E 674
ὁ κουτσοχέρης *Arm.* 125
γερακομύτης ... ἦτον *Pol. Tr.* 2131 app. crit. (AX)
ὁ κουτρούλης Ἀλαμάνος *Vulgärorakel* I.287
ἔδε κουρτέσης ἄγουρος *Achil.* N 1515
ὁ μέγας μακρυμύτης ... σπανός *Spanos* D 1482; ἀναχесоμύτης *ibid.* D 590
θέλεις εἶσταιν κουρτέσης *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 472.10
ὁ μαῖστρο-Μιχελῆς Πλατυπόδης (1530, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 145, 262.7)
ἀκαμάτης καὶ ὀκηρός *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 120.12
γαῖδουράφτης γαρδουμομύτης *BAROZZI, Letter* 358.32
νέος καὶ μαυρομάτης *Vosk.* 386
κιτρινογένης, πολυγένης, μακρυγένης *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §3.2; γουρλομάτης *ibid.* I §28.10;
ἀκαμάτης ἢ ἀδούλης *ibid.* I §29.34 (both words also occur at I §35.11)
ἦτον καμπούρης ... στραβομύτης ... πρησκοκοίλης *Vios Aisop.* D 209.19
ἀσπρογένης (1654, Athos, MOŠIN/SOVRE 1948: 17, 51.8)
ἔδῶ στέκω ἀκαμάτης (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 181.17)
ὁ Ρώκριτος ὁ ἀζάπης *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.643
στρογγυλοπρόσωπος, στραβομύτης καὶ μεγάλόστομος *Don Kis.* 158.18

Genitive

- τοῦ Μακρυγένη (1048, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 4, 50.46)
Γεωργίου Στραβοσκέλη (ca. 1050, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972b: 173.169)
τοῦ Παχυπόδη (1103, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 51, 208.65)
τοῦ Στραβομύτη (1112, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 3, 72.72)
Βασίλειος τοῦ Ὀμορφογένη (1154, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 4, 77.22)
τοῦ Λαγοδόνη (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 43.200–1)
τοῦ Μακρογένη (ca. 1322, Athos, PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1986: 18, 155.54)
Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σπινομάτη (1400, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 10, 195.9)

τοῦ Σγουρομάλλη Παλαιολόγου SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 164.8
 Ἰωάννου Ζουλομύτη (1506, Patmos, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 365.121)
 Ἀντωνίου Μαυροπόδη (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 328, 232.1)
 να μου ἴδιδες τ' ἀζάπη CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.382
 τοῦ διπλοκακομοίρη FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.349
 τοῦ ἀζάπη KORNAOS, *Erot.* II.1289; τοῦ ἀζάπη τοῦ ἐρωτάρη *ibid.* II.1295

Accusative

Θεόδωρον τὸν Σγουρομάλλην (1316, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 35, 276.35)
 τὸν κουτσοχέρην *Arm.* 126 ms C (τὸν κουτσοχέρην)
 λαγὸν τὸν μεγἀλάπτην *Diig. tetr.* 44
 τὸν θεῖον σου τὸν ἀγριεμπηξομύτην *Spanos A* 246–7
 τὸν μισκὴν *Synax. gyn.* 390
 τὸν ταπεινὸν ἀζάπτην *Cypr. Canz.* 147.11 3
 εὐμορφον παῖδα, εὐμορμομάτην *Vios Aisop.* K 163.2–3
 Φασούλιον τὸν κοιλοπρήστην καὶ μαυρομάτην *Porikol.* III 60–1; Ροβίθιον τὸν
 κουκουβαγιομύτην *ibid.* III 59
 καὶ σκυλοκάρδη καὶ τυφλὸ κι ἄπονο μὲ λαλοῦσι CHORTATIS, *Erof. Prol.* 10; τὸ βασιλιὸ ... τὸ
 σκυλοκάρδη *ibid.* V.223
 τὸν κουτσάφτην *P&N Diath.* 3045
 κουτσοχέρην καὶ κουτσοπόδη (1657, Kefalonia, ANDONAKATOU 1989: 63.6)
 στὸν ἀζάπη KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.1251; τὸν κακομοίρη *ibid.* III.981

Vocative

ὦ σπαταλοκρομμύδη *Ptoch. IV* 294
 Σαρακηνέ, κουτρούλη *Poulol.* 70
 ὦ Ἀργυρομύτη φίλε *Ptochol.* α 18
 Σαχλίκη κακομοίρη SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 150
 ὦ κλανομουστάκη *Spanos D* 411
 ἀζάπη CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.86, II.479
 ὦ κακομοίρη Νικολό CHORTATIS, *Katz.* V.111
 ὦ ἀκαμάτη PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §10.13
 ἄνοστε, ἀδούλη καὶ φαγά FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.112
 ὦ μακρογένη SPANOS, *Grammar* 29.1

A vocative in -α has also been found, first in the 9th-c. *Life of St Philaretos* (11th-c. ms):
 σύ, ἀκαμάτα *Vios Philaret.* 153.⁵⁰ The form occurs occasionally in later texts, mainly those
 in a mixed register:

παλὶν δρεπανομύτα *Poulol.* 24 (δρεπανομύτη *app. crit.* (C))
 μελισσοφάγα μυσαρέ, κοντοποδαρομύτα *Diig. tetr.* 844 *app. crit.* (V), κονδοποδαρομύτα (CL)

Feminine

F	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	μαυρομάτα	-ισσα	-ρ(ι)α
Gen.	(μαυρομάτας)		
Acc.	μαυρομάτα(ν)	-ισσα(ν)	-ρ(ι)α(ν)

⁵⁰ This archaizing form is modelled on the vocative of AG masculine 1st-declension nouns like πολίτης.

The usual nominative form is -α, both for compound adjectives (e.g. μαυρομάτα) and for loanwords (e.g. φουδούλα). However, an alternative form in -ισσα is also found in loanwords (άζάπισσα in a 17th-c. document from Naxos, and καμπούρισσα in an early 18th-c. literary text), and also in the plural (see below). This ending has not been found with compound or ἀ- privative adjectives, but only for loanwords. It is arguable that these forms are closer to nouns in terms of their morphology. We may also note the sporadic occurrence of feminine forms in -ρ(ι)α, from masculine adjectives in -της, on the analogy of agent nouns. Examples are: μελανομήτρια *Poulol.* 327 (< μελανομήτης); ἀκαμάτριαν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1664 (< ἀκαμάτης).⁵¹

Another type of feminine form, which relates to these compound adjectives but has not been included in the paradigm above, employs the suffix -ούσα. Examples: ἀσχημοποδαρούσα *Poulol.* 327; καμαροφρυδοῦσα κόρη *Love poems* V 121; χρυσομαλλοῦσα μου κερὰ *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.219. (For this nominal suffix, see *ANDRIOTIS, Lex.* s.v. -ούσα.)

No occurrences of the feminine genitive singular have been found in the texts studied. The vocative is normally identical with the nominative (examples below). However, a feminine ἀζάπη is found in the early editions (though not the manuscript) of the Cretan romance *Erotokritos*: ἀζάπη νένα *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.423.

Nominative

ἔμεινεν κουτσομούτα *Poulol.* 496 app. crit. (P) (ἔμεινες κουτζομούτρα VL)
 ἡ στραβοκαμποῦρα *Vulgärorakel* VI.14
 ἔδὲ φουδοῦλα καὶ ἄγουρος *Achil.* O 619
 νὰ γένη κακομοῖρα *ΡΙΚΑΤ., Rima thrin.* 546
 ἄσπρη καὶ μαυρομάτα *Imber.* 267 app. crit. (O)
 κουτσοχέρα *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1062 and 1195
 μεγάλη καλομοῖρα | θὲ νὰ 'ναι ἀπού μέ πάρη ἐμέ *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.548–9
 ἂν ἦτονε κι ὁλότυφλη, κουτσή καὶ ζουγλοχέρα *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.261; ἡ κακομοῖρα μάνα
ibid. III.1752; εἶσαι καλομοῖρα *ibid.* IV.278
 καμπούρισσα *Don Kis.* 24.15; στραβολαίμισσα *ibid.* 454.29–30

Accusative

μαυροπλουμιστομάταν *Flor.* L 192 (Panayotopoulou/Lendari); ροῖδοκοκκινοχεῖλαν *ibid.* L 193
 σκρόφαν κουτζάπταν μίαν (1518, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 52, 95.79)
 αὐτὴν τὴν κακομοῖρα *Fyll. gadar.* 191a
 ὅπου δὲν ἔχει μαυρομάτα φιλᾷ καὶ τὴν τσιμπλομάτα *Paroim.* (Warner) 86.8
 εἰς τὴν κακομοῖρα πόλιν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 94.1
 ψειρομασκάλα *Stathis* III.381
 μία φοράδα κόκκινη ἀσπρομούτα (1689, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 871, 1163.5)
 κουτρούλα *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.476 app. crit. (X)
 ἀζάπισσαν (1683, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 379, 592.4)

Vocative

γαῖτανοφρύδα καὶ ... μαρμαροτραχήλα *Love poems* V 235; μαυρομάτα μου ἔμορφη *ibid.* 544
 ὦ κακομοῖρα μας κερὰ *CHORTATIS, Erof.* V.537
 κακομοῖρα νένα *TROILOS, Rodol.* IV.347

⁵¹ This form is also given in a 17th-c. grammar: ἀκαμάτης, ἀκαμάτρια *GERMANO, Grammar* 64.25. With vowel deletion after /t/ it also appears in an 18th-c. dramatic text: χαλάστρα | καὶ ἀκαμάτρα ... καὶ σγουροφτειάστρα *KATSAITIS, Thyest.* V.393–4.

Neuter

N	General
Nom./Acc./Voc.	μαυρομάτι(ν) ἢ μαυρομάτικο(ν)
Gen.	μαυρομάτη

Two types are found: in -ι(ν) and in -ικο(ν). The first appears to be the older of the two, although the evidence is very limited. The first appearance of the -ικο(ν) type is in the *Chronicle* of Machairas (15th c., but 16th-c. manuscript). Only two instances of a genitive have been found, with the ending -η, which is identical to the masculine form.

Nominative

πιλωτόν, ὁξύν πρασινοβούλιν *Dig.* E 1684
 χοντρομούριν, χοντροκότσιν *Ptochol.* α 440

Genitive

ένος μουλαρίου θηλυκού ... τρουλαύτη (1538, Crete, ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ 2009: 528, 412.6)
 ένος σομαρικού ἄσπρου κοτσάφη (1549, Crete, ΔΡΑΚΑΚΙΣ 2004: 149, 144.5)

Accusative

καί ἄλογον τοῦ ἔστρωσαν μαῦρον, ἀλλὰ φουδούλην *Achil.* O 413 (scr. φουδούλιν)
 εἶτι κάμη μακούλι τὸ στέργομε ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §29.102–3; δὲν ἔχει οὔτε μπαϊάτι ψωμί
 νὰ φάγη *ibid.* II §7.16
 ἔπεψεν ἕναν χαρτὶν πολλὰ κουρτέσικον ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 300.20–1
 ἕναν ἄκρωτήρι ... κουτζομύτικον *Portul. compl.* 35.34–5
 τὸ πιθαρόπουλο τὸ κουτσάφτικο ΒΑΡΟΖΖΙ, *Letter* 359.32

Vocative

No examples have been found.

Plural*Masculine*

M	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	μαυρομάτηδες ἢ μαυρομάτοι		-αι
Gen.	μαυρομάτηδων ἢ μαυρομάτων	μαυρομάτηδω ἢ μαυρομάτω	
Acc.	μαυρομάτηδες ἢ μαυρομάτους		

The masculine plural is most commonly formed in the same way as the plural of imparisyllabic masculine nouns (see 2.3.4): -ηδες etc. We have examples of both compounds and loanwords that follow this pattern, for all cases. However, there are also instances of nom. pl. -οι (acc. -ους). In Cretan documents this type of plural is frequently used for family names, e.g. τοῖ Μακρυμάλλους (1611, Crete, ΒΑΚΚΕΡ/VAN GEMERT 1987: 721, 625.22);

οἱ ἄρχοντοι οἱ Βαροῦχοι οἱ Μακρυμάλλοι (1612, *ibid.* 702, 804.9). The plural κουρτέσοι (examples below) should perhaps be viewed as a noun form (cf. 2.3.2).⁵²

Nominative

εἶστε κουρτέσηδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 342.41 and R 342.39 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)

οὔλοι οἱ γέροντες ἐνι καθολικά σουσπετούζηδες *Fior* 121.9–10

εἶναι κάποσες ἡμέρες ζαπούνηδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.75

οἱ μακρογένειοι-ειδες SPANOS, *Grammar* 29.2⁵³

κουρτέσοι ERMON., *Ilias* 7.68

κουρτέσοι ἀνασταλμένοι *Poulol.* 261 app. crit. (E)

οἱ σκληροκάργοι CHORTATSI, *Erof.* V.12; οἱ ἄπνοιοι καὶ σκληροκάργοι δοῦλοι *ibid.* V.105

A “learned” form in -αι has been found in a 13th-c. document from S. Italy: καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀκαματήσωμεν, ἴνα ὥς ἀκαμάται διωκώμεθα (1232, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 286, 396.10).

Genitive

αὐτὰ ὅλα εἶναι πλάσματα τῶν ἀβάνηδων καλογήρων (1692, Bucharest, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 4, 54.174–5)⁵⁴

τῶν μακρογένειδων SPANOS, *Grammar* 29.2

Forms with deletion of final /n/ (Crete and Naxos) are found for both types:

τῷ σκληροκάρδῳ CHORTATSI, *Panor.* V.189

τῶν ἀζάπηδῶ (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 611, 844.4)

Accusative

τοὺς μακρογένειδες SPANOS, *Grammar* 29.2

Vocative

ὦ μακρογένειδες SPANOS, *Grammar* 29.2

Feminine

F	General
Nom./Voc.	μαυρομάτες ἢ μαυρομάτισσες
Gen.	—
Acc.	μαυρομάτες ἢ μαυρομάτισσες

Examples are extremely few, but it is likely that the earlier form, for both nominative and accusative, is -ες, with -ισσες appearing later, along with the singular -ισσα. No instances of the genitive have been found in the texts examined.

⁵² Also problematic is σκύλοι ματοπίνιοι *Anak. Konst.* 85. The adjective may be from ματοπίνης (see glossary of the edition). Alternatively, it may be a normal plural of αἵματοπίνος (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.).

⁵³ Spanos, in his early 18th-c. grammar, offers two alternatives here: the first would be from a higher-register (and AG) adjective μακρογένειος, while the second, with the ending -ηδες, is the vernacular one.

⁵⁴ In KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ἀβάνης is categorized as a noun.

Nominative

ἀζάπισσες (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 331, 533.28)

Accusative

τὲς λαμπρομάτες *Dig. A* 71

τὶς ἀζάπισσες (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 223, 397.6)

Neuter

N	General
Nom./Acc./Voc.	μαυρομάτικα
Gen.	—

Although a plural form in -ια might have been expected, only -ικα has been found in the texts examined. It occurs with compound adjectives as well as loanwords. No genitive forms have been located.

Nominative

καὶ γένονται μπατάλικά (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 308, f.2r.32)

ὥσποτε εἶναι τὰ παιδία ἀζάπικα (1689, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 881, 1175.8–9)

Accusative

φορεῖ τὰ μακρομύτικά του *Ptoch. III* 61

βαστοῦσαν γεράκια μεγαλομύτικά [VLASTOS] *Dig. P IV* 344.3

εἰς ἀβάνικα χέρια PAPASYNAD., *Chron. II* §5.23

διὰ τὰ παιδία ὅπου ἔχομε ἀζάπικα (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 77, 231.8)

3.4.2 Diminutives in -ούλης

Forms of these adjectives are found for all three genders. Like all adjectives they can also function as nouns, and indeed some scholars have regarded them as nouns. Jannaris, for example, alludes to possible influence of the Italian suffix *-ullo* on the emergence of a “class of diminutive nouns in -ούλης, fem. -οὔλα” (JANNARIS 1897: 298). We treat them as adjectives, as do most grammars of MG. All the examples located in our texts derive from adjectives: μικρούλης < μικρός, ταπεινούλης < ταπεινός etc. However, this group of adjectives is limited in number, and they were apparently not widely used in written texts; we lack evidence for genitive forms, and for the masculine and feminine plural. These diminutives are in many respects similar to other new paroxytone adjectives in -ης (3.4.1), but they do not appear to have feminine forms in -ισσα or neuter in -ικο(ν) that those adjectives can have.

As to when these diminutives in -ούλης first appear, the earliest examples are in a Cretan text believed to have been written in the first half of the 15th c. (Falieros). Most of the examples collected are from southern areas (Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese), though we

cannot exclude the possibility that such formations were more widely distributed in the period covered by the Grammar. Very few examples have been found in non-literary texts.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	μικρούλης	μικρούλα	μικρούλι(ν)
Gen.	(μικρούλη)	(μικρούλας)	-
Acc.	(μικρούλη(ν))	μικρούλα(ν)	μικρούλι(ν)
Voc.	μικρούλη	μικρούλα	-

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	-	-	μικρούλια
Gen.	-	-	-
Acc.	-	-	-
Voc.	-	-	-

Singular

Masculine

M	General
Nom.	-ης
Gen.	(-η)
Acc.	(-η(ν))
Voc.	-η

There are no allomorphs. The endings are the same as those of the new adjectives in -ης in the previous section (3.4.1). No accusative or genitive forms have been found.

Nominative

ὁ Μικρούλης (1611, Mani, SKOPETAS 1950: IV, 72.6) (used as surname)

μικρούλης ἐπαντρεύτηκε KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.33

Vocative

διατί, πτωχούλη, ἐβάλθηκες σὲ τοῦτο τὸ σακκίον *Bertoldos* 57.3–4

Feminine

F	General
Nom./Voc.	-α
Gen.	(-ας)
Acc.	-α(ν)

There are no allomorphs. A genitive form has not been found. In the examples so far located, nominative, accusative and vocative have the same form.

Nominative

μοναχοῦλα DEFAR., *Log. did.* 474; ἡ ταπεινοῦλα *ibid.* 559
 πασίχαρη καὶ σπλαχνικοῦλα KORNAOS, *Erot.* III.1016⁵⁵

Accusative

μὲ βάρκα ... μικρούλα *Theseid* XII.85,2 (1529)
 σ' ἔκαμε μικρούλα, | κοιλιὰ μου CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.197–8
 τάβλινη μικρούλα PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 122.11 (referring to a church)

Vocative

μικρὴ μου ταπεινοῦλα DEFAR., *Log. did.* 473

Neuter

N	General
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ι(ν)
Gen.	—

Only two examples have been found, both from the same text and without final /n/.

Nominative

ἦτον πολλὰ ῥμορούλι FALIEROS, *Erot. En.* 14

Accusative

ἓνα παιδὶ μικρούλι FALIEROS, *Erot. En.* 13

Plural*Neuter*

N	General
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ια
Gen.	—

⁵⁵ A further example of a fem. sg. form is cited in KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. μοναχούλης: μοναχούλα SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* Δ' [83].

A single example of the neuter plural has been found, from the 16th c. The alternative ending -ικα, available for some innovative adjectives in -ης (3.4.1), has not been discovered.

Nominative

καὶ ταῦτα που σ' ἀνήφερα εἶνε πολλὰ λιγούλια KORONAIOS, *Pittakin* 53

3.4.3 New Oxytone Adjectives in -ής

This innovative paradigm consists exclusively of adjectives referring to colour or material. The model may be δξύς, in the sense of “deep red”, for which see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. and examples given there, or the /i/ may be of Turkish provenance, cf. *LKN* s.v. -ί 4, ANDRIOTIS, *Lex.* s.v. -ί, BABINIOTIS, *Lex.* s.v. χρώμα. There is a single example of the new formation from the 13th c. (Asia Minor) and two examples from the 14th/15th c. By the 17th c. the paradigm is well established, although very few masculine forms and no genitive or vocative forms (for any gender, singular or plural) have been found. There is no significant allomorphic variation in this paradigm, but see below for a few puzzling instances.

The paradigm closely resembles that of δξύς (following synizesis), except that the /i/ is usually spelled – by modern editors and linguists – with <η> rather than <υ>. The following lexical items have been located in LMedG and EMG texts: γερανής, γκιουλγκιουλής, δαμασκής, καρτσής, κιρμιζής/κιρμιζής/χριμιζής/χρεμεζής, λαχανής, λεμονής, μαβής, μελιτζανής, μενεβισής, ροζής, σαρκεσής, σε(ν)τεφκιαρής, τζαντουνης, φιστικής.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	(κιρμιζής)	κιρμιζιά † κιρμιζή ?	κιρμιζί(ν)
Gen.	-	-	-
Acc.	κιρμιζή(ν)	κιρμιζιά(ν)	κιρμιζί(ν)
Voc.	-	-	-

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	-	κιρμιζιές	κιρμιζιά
Gen.	-	-	-
Acc.	-	κιρμιζιές	κιρμιζιά
Voc.	-	-	-

Singular*Masculine*

Nominative

M	General
Nom.	(-ής)
Gen.	–
Acc.	-ή(ν)

It can be assumed that the nominative would end in -ής (as in MG), though no examples have been found. The accusative occurs with and without final /n/.

Accusative

καβάδιν χρεμεζήν χαμουχάν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 58.1
 φερετζέ ἄσπρο καὶ μαβή (1613, Athens, VISVIZIS 1965: 22, 111.15)
 καμουχά κριμιζήν (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 12, 82.27)
 μέ ἔναν κιτζέν μαβήν τυλιγμένο (1708 [later copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B 15, f.179r.6)

Feminine

F	General	Rare
Nom.	-ιά	-ή
Gen.	–	
Acc.	-ιά(ν)	

The feminine forms have the endings -ιά, -ιά(ν), like adjectives in -ύς (3.3.1). A further development may occur when the stem consonant is one that can, in certain areas, undergo depalatalization (see I, 2.4.7.3). Thus, ροζιά may become ροζά, as in the example from Santorini below; in the example from Skyros, καρτζά is also depalatalized (from καρτσιά).

There are two apparent examples of feminine in -ή, μαβή and σετεφκιαρή (see below), which must be treated with caution. In the first case, the form may be influenced by other adjectives ending in -η in the immediate context. Another possibility is that these should be interpreted as neuter forms, i.e. μαβί = the colour blue.

Nominative

ή τρίτη ὀξιά τζαντουσιά (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 141.54); ροζιά (ibid. 141.55)
 ή ἄλλη τζαντουσιά (1656, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 9, 405.69)
 κόκκινη ροζιά (1687, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 714, 968.16)
 μία βελουδένη κ[α]ὶ ἄλλη τζαντουσιά (1693, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 10, 407.27)
 ή ἄλλη ροζά (1693, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 10, 407.29)

καὶ ἑτέρα κεντητὴ καὶ ἄλλη πράσινη καὶ ἑτέρα μαβὴ (1596, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 27, 144.29),
 τραπέζα σετεφκιαρη / τράπεζα σετεφκιαρή (17–18th c., Sinai, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 35, 140.88–9)

Accusative

τὴν καρτζὰ τὴ φοράδα (1602, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 1, 300.7)⁵⁶
 μία σάγια γκιουλγιουλιά (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 307, f.1r.20)
 πατοβὰν λαχανιά (1688, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 6, 4.2–3)

Neuter

N	General
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-i(v)
Gen.	—

There is no variation, other than the presence or absence of final /n/.⁵⁷ No examples of the genitive have been found.

Nominative

ἕτερον σαρκεσίν (1258, Philadelphia?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 15, 157.173)
 φεστεκὶ πράσινον (1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 179.17); φεστεκὶ ἕνα (ibid. 1, 190.11–12)
 κόκκινο κριμεζίν⁵⁸ (1687, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 714, 968.2)
 τὸ ἄλλο τζαντουνὶ (1693, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 10, 407.30)
 τὸ σετουκι τὸ σετεφκιαρη / τὸ σεντούκι τὸ σετεφκιαρί (17th–18th c., Sinai, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 35, 140.10)

Accusative

βαμμένα μὲ τὸ χριμιζίν, ὅλα μὲ τὸ μετάξιν *Diig. tetr.* 762
 ἕτερον λεμονὶ (1503, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 266, 226.11)
 ἕνα πάπλωμα γερανὶ βαθὺ (1524, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 4, κ'.39)⁵⁹
 κόκκινον κριμιζὶ μεταξωτόν (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 10, 23.35)
 φελόνι ἕνα δαμασκὶ ἄσπρο (1557, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 11, κζ'.62)
 κριμιζὶ (1626, Venice, MERTZIOS 1936b: 8, 47.4); ἀτλάζι κριμιζὶ (1628, Venice, ibid. 1, 42.9)
 κ' ἕνα μελιτζανὶν γιλέκιν (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 140, 307.1); ροζίν (ibid. 140, 307.2)
 μενεβισὶ καβάδι (1687, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 10, 223.23)

Plural

In the plural, the available examples are limited to the nominative and accusative of feminine and neuter genders.

⁵⁶ For the meaning of the adjective, “γκρίζα με βούλες”, see ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 301 and footnote.

⁵⁷ For the neuter adjective δαμασκί/διμισκί, pl. δαμασκιά/διμισκιά, referring to knives, see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. δαμασκί. No other forms have been found in our texts.

⁵⁸ The neuter of κριμεζή/χριμιζή is also used as a noun; see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. κριμιζής.

⁵⁹ For other forms of this adjective see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. γεράνιος. A neuter γερανιό is also found: τὸ πάπλωμάν της τὸ γερανιό (1628, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 2, 130.40).

Feminine

F	General
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ιές

There is no difference between nominative and accusative. Loss of palatalization may occur, in certain regions, when the stem ends in a sibilant (cf. the feminine singular of this paradigm): ροζές for ροζιές in the example below.

Nominative

ὀκτώ κமிழόλες, οἱ δύο τζαντουιές (1656, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 9, 405.67–8)

Accusative

ζευγάρι ἓνα κάρτζες ροζιές (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 257, 449.2)

ροζές [κάρτζες] (1693, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 10, 407.31)

Neuter

N	General
Nom./Acc./Voc.	-ιά † -ία

Examples are very few, and mainly from the 17th c. The forms with -ία, apparently without synzesis, should probably be viewed as reflecting conservative orthographic practice.

Nominative

τὰ ἀνθιά της εἶναι μαβία (1684–5, ŠANGIN 1936: 3, 131.10 app. crit.)⁶⁰

ἀναλοηα σετεφκαρία / ἀναλόγια σετεφκριαιά (17th–18th c., Sinai, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 35, 140.20–1)

(τα χείλη της ...) εἶναι μαβιά *Don Kis*. 454.18

Accusative

μανίκια δαμασκία (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 187, 159.18)

τὰ λοιπὰ κρεμιζία (1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 190.9)

βελοῦτα κριμιζιά (1631, Venice, MERTZIOS 1936b: 18, 54.8); ράζα κριμιζιά (ibid. 18, 54.9)

μὲ δαμάσκα κρεμεζιά (1663, Venice, MALTEZOU 2000: 17.13)

3.5 Adjectives Borrowed from Romance Languages

As a result of close cultural contacts, a considerable number of adjectives were borrowed from Romance languages, particularly French, Occitan, Italian and Venetian, in both the LMedG and EMG periods. (There is, of course, also an earlier stratum of loanwords from Latin.) Such words are found in written texts mainly from areas where there was a long-standing French or Italian presence (Cyprus, Crete, Peloponnese, Heptanese, Cyclades, etc.); they occur particularly in texts of a legal, administrative or historiographical kind, but also in some literary texts, especially comedy.

⁶⁰ The ms reads μαβύα, which the editor “corrects” to μαβέα. It should rather be seen as a conservative spelling of the form with synzesis: μαβιά.

Many such adjectives could be easily, and fully, adapted to Greek declensional patterns, particularly those that ended in *-o* (*-ato*, *-ito*, *-ado*, *-ido* etc.), which could become adjectives in *-ος*. Such fully assimilated borrowings are included in 3.2.1 and 3.2.2. Below, we first discuss adjectives that were partly assimilated to Greek paradigms (3.5.1), and then those that remained unassimilated, indeclinable for number, gender and case (3.5.2). However, the distinction between these two groups is not absolute. The second type may, in some cases, be viewed as intra-sentential code-switching, that is to say: a word or phrase from another language is incorporated in the discourse in order to convey a specific meaning, when corresponding terms in the first language may not be regarded as adequate. Whether the first type, with partial assimilation to Greek morphology, may also be regarded as code-switching is impossible to say, since it will depend on the linguistic competences and perceptions of those involved.

3.5.1 Adjectives Partly Assimilated to Greek Morphology

Many foreign adjectives are minimally adapted to Greek morphology, where it is felt necessary to indicate case, gender or number. It is not possible to construct a complete paradigm in such instances, because the relevant words tend to occur in a few, formulaic contexts. Whether or not such adjustment occurs, and in what particular form, seems to result from ad hoc choices rather than a consistent policy. We can merely offer some examples of how writers resolved the problem of using adjectives of foreign origin:

Masculine Nominative Singular with Addition of /s/

Καπιτάν Γενεράλες (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 35.20)

ὁ ποῖος ἀφέντης Τζώρτζης εἶναι ἀψέντες, μὰ ὁ ἄνωθεν ἀφέντης Τζανής ... εἶναι πρεζέντες (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 311, 295.3) < Ital. *absente*, *presente*

μάρτυρας παρακαλεμένος πρεζέντες εἰς τὰ ἄνωθε (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 58.325);

ὁ νατουράλες τοῦ λιγόχρονου τοῦ γιοῦ μου (ibid. 4, 68.79) (in the last example the adjective is substantivized) < Ital. *naturale*

ἤμουνε πρεζέντες καὶ μαρτυρῶ (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.40)

A nominative in *-ος* has also been found (perhaps formed analogically from a plural in *-οι*, for which see below): ὁποῖος κύρ Μανόλης εἶναι ἀψέντες, μὰ πρεζέντος ὁ ἄνωθεν παπὰ κύρ Μανόλης (1608, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 3, 351.18–19)

Feminine Nominative Singular in /a/

ἔτις ἐγὼ πρεζέντα ὡσὰν ἀψέντα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 414, 326.5)

πρεζέντα καὶ κοτέντα (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 253, 349.28)⁶¹

Feminine Genitive Singular with Addition of /s/

τσῆ ἀληθινῆς, ρεάλες καὶ ἱρεβοκάμπιλες ντονατσιός (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 662, 576.19–20) < Ital. *reale*, *irrevocabile*

τσῆ θυγατέρας μου τσῆ νατουράλες (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 54.191)

Masculine Nominative Plural in *-οι*

πρεζέντοι διὰ μαρτύροι (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 40.110)

καὶ ἐπομένασινε σοσπέζοι (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 183.133) < Ital. *sospeso*

⁶¹ For further examples of κο(ν)τέντος < Ital. *contento* see 3.3.2 and KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.

Masculine Nominative or Accusative Plural in -ες

- ἀψέντες ὥσπερ καὶ πρεζέντες (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 27, 106.7)
 ἀνθρώπους ἀψέντες (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 210, 176.7)
 νὰ εἶναι πρεζέντες τρεῖς ἀδελφοὶ (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 4, 127.35–6)

Masculine Accusative Plural in -ους

- νὰ πηγαίνου εἰς τοὺς πλέα πρόξιμους (1528, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 113, 225.1–2)

Feminine Nominative or Accusative Plural in -ες

- καὶ πᾶσα μία ἀπὸ τὲς δουλειές μου, γενεράλες, ινσπετζιάλες καὶ οὐνιβερσάλες (1539, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 1066, 829.5)
 ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ εἶναι ὅλες οἱ ἄνωθε μερίδες πρεζέντες (1630, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 3, 335.16)

3.5.2 Unassimilated Adjectives

Adjectives that are simply transliterated, without any morphological adjustment, are also common in historiographical texts and legal documents. The source language may be Old French (e.g. *crudel*), Italian (*presente, naturale* etc.), Venetian (*desùtele*), or even Medieval Latin; in fact, it is often impossible to determine the specific branch of Romance involved. The phenomenon, as discussed above, may sometimes be a type of code-switching, involving the use of lexical items from a different language for specific purposes. The following examples are not grouped by case or gender, since they are invariable. Examples with a singular referent are given first, in chronological order, followed by plural.

Singular

- εἰς μίαν βουλὴ πρεζέντ καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος κύρ Γεώργης Πλαταράς ἀψέντ (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 44.14)
 βικάριος τζενεράλ ὅλου τοῦ πριγκιπάτου *Chron. Mor.* P 7992
 ἦτον τόσον κρουδέλ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 18.7
 διότι ἦτον μάστρος καὶ βαλέντε ἄνθρωπος VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 147.5–6
 περίτου κρουδέλ πράγμα *Fior* 129.9; δὲν εἶναι ποσίμπλε *ibid.* 146.19; ἐνι βίτσιον νατουράλ *ibid.* 146.34
 ἐγὼ Ἀννέζα ... ἀψέντε ὡσὰν καὶ πρεζέντε (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 59, 57.3)⁶²
 νὰ κάμη ἓνα σπίτι σοφιτζιέντε (ed. σοφίτζι ενται) (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 14.21–2)
 πρεζέντε καὶ κοτέντα καὶ ἡ ἄνωθεν κερα-Μαριέτα (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 103, 118.20–1); ὅλον τὸ ἡμισον πράμα, ἔτις στάμπιλε ὡσὰν καὶ μόμπιλε (*ibid.* 103, 118.9–10)
 τοῦ φραρόπουλου τοῦ νατουράλε (1623, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 5, 75.132); τσῆ ἀδερχῆς μου τσῆ νατουράλε (1640, Crete, *ibid.* 9, 99.179–80)
 ἀδιάντροπε, ντεζούτελε, θρεμμένε με γουρούνια! FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.240

Plural

- ὡ' ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἄρμάτων, βαλέντε τοῦ πολέμου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 554.5–6
 εἰς τσέρτε καιροὺς τὸν ἀγέραν *Fior* 113.3; διὰ νὰ πιάσω τσέρτε πράματα τὸν ἀγέραν *ibid.* 147.22–3

⁶² It would also be possible to regard such forms as having feminine morphology: derived from a masc. in -ες with deletion of final /s/.

τῶν ἐγγονιῶ μου τῷ νατουράλε (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 81.95–6)
 ἔτσι τὰ ἄνωθεν μέρη εἶναι πρεζέντε καὶ κοτέντα (1641, Crete, KONSTANDOUDAKI 1975: 9,
 120.47–8)

The adjective κίτες, from Provençal *quite*, is a special case, since it appears to be partly assimilated (addition of /s/ to create a masc. sg.), although the form is in fact used for both singular and plural referents. It occurs only in the Cypriot *Assizes*, in the technical sense of “acquitted of blame or obligation”.⁶³

Singular

ἐν τούτῳ μένει ἀμέριμνος, τοὔτέστιν κίτες *Assizes* B 289.5
 νὰ ἔνη κήτες *Assizes* A 40.8; ὁ ἐγγυτῆς ἐνι κίτες *ibid.* 62.3; διὰ τὸ θέλω νὰ ἦμαι κίτες *ibid.*
 92.16–17; νὰ μείνη ἀμέριμνος, ἦγουν κίτες *ibid.* 205.16

Plural

ὅτε οἱ ἐνκυτάδες ἐνι κίτες *Assizes* B 311.6
 νὰ παῖσιν κήτες *Assizes* A 54.2; σὺν τούτῳ μένουν ἀμέριμνοι, ὃ λέγεται κίταις *ibid.* 140.18–19

3.6 Irregular Adjectives

In a system which is continually undergoing change, with analogical processes playing a major part, it is difficult, if not impossible, to say what is “regular”. In this section we group together for convenience two particular, high-frequency, lexical items, and a small set of adjectives that display various kinds of irregularity and cannot be accommodated in the foregoing paradigms. They are: (1) μέγας, which has become fully regular in SMG as μέγας but preserves some forms inherited from AG in the period covered by this Grammar (3.6.1); (2) πολὺς, which has elements of irregularity in both AG and MG, and certain other variations in MedG and EMG (3.6.2); and (3) diminutives in -άκι(ν), which have both indeclinable and (to a limited extent) declined forms (3.6.3).⁶⁴

3.6.1 μέγας

The inherited forms of this very common adjective are based on two different stems: the masculine and neuter nominative, accusative and vocative singular have a stem μέγα-, while the remaining forms are based on a stem μεγάλ-. The latter have exactly the same endings as adjectives in -ος, -η, -ο(ν) (see 3.2.1), and consequently only a few examples need to be given here. For the forms which originally have the stem μέγα-, in the course of our period new analogical forms emerge based on the stem μεγάλ-, which is eventually generalized to the whole paradigm (as in SMG).

⁶³ For further examples see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.

⁶⁴ It has not been thought necessary to deal specifically with certain other “irregular” adjectives inherited from AG, which appear sporadically in texts of the period. Examples are: βαρύπους, βριαρόχειρ, μάκαρ, μέλας, μεσήλιξ, μονόχειρ, σύννους. These are sometimes adapted morphologically to regular patterns, e.g. masc. nom. sg. μονόχειρος DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2932. In some cases, new words have replaced the AG lexeme, e.g. μαῦρος for μέλας. However, residual forms can also be found (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* for specific lexical items). A particularly striking example involving a mixture of AG and MG elements is the following: ἐνὸς σομαρικοῦ ποντικόχρου (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 777, 605.6).

In the later papyri a few variant usages are found, notably the accusative masculine singular μέγα in place of the dative (GIGNAC 1981: 143), but there is no evidence that the forms with stem μέγα- are falling out of use. In fact they continue to be used in both literary and non-literary texts throughout the period covered by this Grammar; the masculine forms are very common in official titles (examples below).

Forms for the masculine and neuter nominative and accusative singular based on the stem μέγαλ- have not been found before the 14th c. From the 14th to the 17th c. both types occur in texts of all kinds. In the case of verse texts the choice may be, at least partly, a matter of metrical convenience. Other factors which may favour the selection of the older variants μέγας and μέγα(ν) include: a formal context requiring a higher register, religious subject matter, honorific titles, or a comic purpose. However, by the end of the period covered by this Grammar, masculine μέγας and neuter μέγαλο(ν) are undoubtedly the commoner forms.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	μέγας ἢ μέγας	μεγάλη	μέγα(ν) ἢ μέγαλο(ν)
Gen.	μεγάλου ἢ μέγα	μεγάλης	μέγαλου
Acc.	μέγα(ν) ἢ μέγαλο(ν)	μεγάλη(ν)	μέγα(ν) ἢ μέγαλο(ν)
Voc.	μεγάλε ἢ μέγα	(μεγάλη)	-

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	μεγάλοι	μεγάλες ἢ (μεγάλαι)	μεγάλα ἢ μέγα?
Gen.	μεγάλω(ν)	μεγάλω(ν)	μεγάλω(ν)
Acc.	μεγάλους	μεγάλες ἢ μέγας	μεγάλα ἢ μέγα?
Voc.	(μεγάλοι)	(μεγάλες)	-

Singular

Masculine

M	General	Restricted
Nom.	μέγας ἢ μέγας	
Gen.	μεγάλου	μέγα
Acc.	μέγα(ν) ἢ μέγαλο(ν)	μεγάλωνε
Voc.	μεγάλε	μέγα

The nominative μέγας continues to be available and in some texts co-exists with μέγαλος, with no apparent distinction. This also holds good for the accusative forms. As noted above, the forms with stem μεγάλ- have not been found before the 14th c. The innovative genitive μέγα is used particularly with titles or official positions; it may be explained either as analogical (in accordance with masculine nouns in -ας) or as a kind of indeclinable prefix (cf. 2.18). The vocative is not often used, but both the inherited form μέγα and the “regularized” μεγάλε are found.

Nominative

- ἀφέντης μέγας *Chron. Mor.* H 4168
 μέγας περδικοπιάστης *Fyll. gadar.* 30 c
 καὶ ψιθυρισμός μέγας γίνεται (1576, Macedonia, CHASIOTIS 1964/65: 3, 253.20)
 κουρσάρις μέγας, δυνατός *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2317
 εἰς τὴν ἀνδρείαν μεγάλος *Chron. Mor.* H 3555
 μεγάλος τὴν καρδίαν *Chron. Toc.* 1061
 μεγάλος εἰς κορμὶν *Pol. Tr.* 2078
 ἄερας ... μεγάλος *Byz. Il.* 124
 θέλ' ἀκουστὴ μεγάλος *Alex. Rim.* 749; ναὸς μεγάλος *ibid.* 2100

Genitive

- τοῦ μέγα Μαχουμέτη *Dig.* E 247
 τοῦ Μέγα Δεμεστικού *Chron. Mor.* P 4816; τοῦ μέγα πρωτοστράτῳρος *ibid.* P 8099
 μέγα Διὸς *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 731; Μέγα Μαστόρου *ibid.* 2132
 τοῦ Μέγα Θεολόγου (1608, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 18, 177.7)
 τοῦ μέγα Ἀρχιστρατήγου (1619, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 2, 260.6)
 τοῦ μέγα Ζεὺς παιδί'μαι *TROILOS, Rodol. Prol. Mell.* 57
 μέγα διερμηνευτὴ (1679, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 18, 32.5)
 μεγάλου ρηγὸς καὶ μεγάλου πριγκίπου (1257, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 33, 458.1)
 ἀπὸ θυμοῦ μεγάλου *Achil. L* 1170
 τοῦ μεγάλου μαστόρου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 280.2
 μεγάλου ἀνθρώπου ἐκγόνοι *Om. Nekl. Vas.* 51

Accusative

- τὸν μέγαν ποταμόν (1017, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 21, 164.12)
 τὸν μέγαν Μαχουμέτην *Dig.* E 165
 μέγαν πόλεμον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 110.23
 ὕπνον βαθὺν καὶ μέγαν *PLOUSIAD., Thrinos* 7 (Vasileiou)
 μέγαν καιρόν *Fior* 116.16
 τὸν μέγαν βασιλέαν *Achil. O* 397
 τον μέγαν βασιλέα τον Πώρον *Diig. Alex.* K 368.32–3; μέγαν αφέντην ἔχω *ibid.* 374.1
 εἰς τὸν Μέγαν Γεώργιον *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 2
 κόπτο μέγα βάνεις *Stathis* II.133
 μεγάλον θρῆνον *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1723
 ὄρκον μεγάλον *Byz. Il.* 209
 φόβον μεγάλον εἴχασιν *Pol. Tr.* 1384
 μεγάλον ἀνθρωπον *Alex. Rim.* 78
 τὸν μέγalon τόπον *Imb. Rim.* 916
 πόθο μεγάλο βάνει *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.93

One extended form with addition of /e/ has been found, in the Heptanesian ms of a Cretan comedy: καὶ οἱ ρουφιάνες φίλο τους μεγάλονε μὲ κράζου CHORTATSI, *Katz.* Prol. 34 (for the phenomenon see I, 2.6.3.1).

Vocative

μέγα βασιλέα Φίλιππε *Diig. Alex.* F 106.18 (Lolos)

ὦ μέγα δοῦκα KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* V.21

θεοφρούρητε μέγα αὐθέντα, βασιλὲ (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 399, f.2r.2)

μέγα κνέζη Ἀλέξιε Μιχαήλ (1652, Crete, TCHENTSOVA 2002: 1, 355, f.1r.4)

Μεγάλε Δεμεστίκε *Chron. Mor.* H 4982

μεγάλε ρήγα KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.172; μεγάλε βασιλιέ *ibid.* V.1335

Feminine

F	General
Nom./Voc.	μεγάλη
Gen.	μεγάλης
Acc.	μεγάλη(ν)

There is no significant variation in the feminine singular forms;⁶⁵ as usual, the accusative may appear with or without final /n/.

Nominative

μεγάλη τσίκνα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 124

ἐγίνην πείνα μεγάλη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 1.24

μιά κερά μεγάλη KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.923

ἡ κάμαρη ἡ μεγάλη *Leilasia Par.* 555

Genitive

τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης *Eisit.* f.6r.2

τῆς μεγάλης πέτρας (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 43.189)

μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης *Pol. Tr.* 423

τισ μεγαλίσου βασιλλίαις / τῆς μεγάλης σου βασιλείας (1469, Paphos, RICHARD/ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΛΟΣ 1983: 117, 56.2)

μεγάλης χάρης KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.608, II.108 etc.

Accusative

ἐποίησεν ζημίαν μεγάλην (1387, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 37, f.162r.2)

εἰσέ μεγάλην χρεία DEFAR., *Sos.* 348 (Holton)

ψυχὴν μεγάλην *Chron. Toc.* 160

εἶχα χαρὰ μεγάλη *Thysia Avr.* 422

δίψα μεγάλη KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.893

⁶⁵ A single aberrant example of μέγαν as fem. acc. has been found: κ' ἡῦρε πίτταν μέγαν μόνην *Vulgärorakel* VII.5.

Neuter

N	General
Nom./Acc./Voc.	μέγα(ν) ἢ μεγάλο(ν)
Gen.	μεγάλου

Forms of the nominative and accusative with final /n/ appear from the beginning of the period, but its presence or absence has no particular significance. The “regularized” form μέγαλο(ν) occurs in texts composed from the 14th c. onwards, though the first surviving ms occurrence is from the 15th c. (*Chronicle of the Tocchi*). The last of the nominative examples given below shows northern vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4): μέγαλου for μέγαλο. There is no variation in the genitive form.

Nominative

- τὸ μέγαν ρυάκιν (1124, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 94, 122.10)
 βαθὺ καὶ μέγα *Chron. Mor.* H 535; πλατὺ καὶ μέγα *ibid.* 2802
 πληθὸς μέγαν PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 112
 γεράκιν | μέγαν, μούτατον, ἔμορφον *Achil.* N 1063–4
 μέγαν ὑστέρημαν *Pist. kekoim.* 483
 ἀλυσίδην ἀργυρὸν μέγα ἓνα (1528, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 125, 229.38–9)
 ἀκουσμα μέγα εβγάνει DEFAR., *Sos.* 279 (Holton)
 ἂν εἶναι μέγα καὶ βαρὺ τὸ ἔγκλημα ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 161.Γ.42
 ἦτον μέγα καὶ πανθαύμαστον μοναστήριν (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 336.36)
 θαύμασμα μεγάλο *Chron. Toc.* 2435
 μεγάλον θαῦμα ἱασοῦς *Pol. Tr.* 1265
 ἱατροσόφιον μεγάλο (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.10)
 ποτήρι μεγάλου τοῦ γαλάκτου (1628–9, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 1, 42.21)

Genitive

- ἐνὸς βουττίου μεγάλου (1101–2, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 5, 67.44)
 ἀπολάκτισμαν μεγάλου λαβρακίου *Ptoch.* IV 188
 μετὰ ὀψικίου μεγάλου *Dig.* E 1063
 μετὰ μεγάλου θράσους *Byz. Il.* 92
 ἐνοῦ σπιτίτιου μεγάλου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 345.14

Accusative

- εἰς ὄρεινὸν λιβάδιν τέτοιον μέγα *Log. parig.* L 133
 νὰ ᾿χα μέγαν κέρδος *Ptoch.* III 197.18 app. crit. (P)
 μέγαν δυναμάριν *Chron. Mor.* P 8092
 εἶχεν μέγαν διλίτιν *Fior* 109.4; ἓνα μέγαν λαμπρόν *ibid.* 129.22
 πάθος ... ἔρωτικὸν μεγάλον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1079
 προσκεφαλάδιον ἀτίμητον μεγάλον *Byz. Il.* 147
 θράσος μεγάλον ἔποικεν *Achil.* O 270
 ἓνα πάπλωμαν λινοδύμητον παλαιὸν μεγάλον (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 50, 88.54) ἔν' ἄλογο μεγάλο *Alex. Rim.* 241
 ἐκ μεγάλον γένος *Imb. Rim.* 277; μετὰ τὸν μεγάλον κράτος *ibid.* 524
 μετὰ τὸ ἀμπέλι μου τὸ μεγάλο (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 179, 176.5)

Plural*Masculine*

M	General	Restricted
Nom./Voc.	μεγάλοι	
Gen.	μεγάλω(ν)	μεγάλωνε
Acc.	μεγάλους	

As with the adjectives in 3.2.1, the basic endings are completely stable: -οι, -ων, -ους. Final /n/ of the genitive plural may be deleted in texts from Crete and certain other areas (see I, 3.7.2.2). There is also a gen. pl. with the addition of final /e/ in a Heptanesian text (see I, 2.6.3.1).

Nominative

οἱ μεγάλοι κριταὶ ἐπρόσταξαν (1173, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 15, 329.1)
οἱ μεγάλοι ἄνθρωποι *Chron Mor.* H 5697
μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι DEFAR., *Sos.* 280 (Holton) (the phrase is formulaic and very common, especially in verse texts, throughout the period)
σὰν ὅταν ξεχωρίζουνται πολλὰ μεγάλοι φίλοι ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 993

Genitive

μικρῶν γὰρ καὶ μεγάλων *Chron Mor.* H 1907
μεγάλων διδασκάλων *Achil.* N 1903
μεγάλω ἀφεντῶ *P&N Diath.* 1740
τῶν μεγάλων αὐθεντῶν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 18
κάδων δύο μεγάλωνε (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 32, 68.6)

Accusative

τοὺς δύο μεγάλους δρύας (1090–4, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 45, 161–162.17)
εἰς ναοὺς μεγάλους *Dig.* E 102
τόσους μεγάλους φόβους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 498.13
ἀπὸ μεγάλους καὶ μικροὺς DEFAR., *Sos.* 40 (Holton)
βρουχισμοὺς μεγάλους KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.955

Vocative

πέτε, μεγάλοι ἄρχοντες, PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 334
μικροὶ μεγάλοι κλαύσατε εἰς τὸ κακὸν τοῦ ἐγίνη DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 648

Feminine

F	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	μεγάλες		μεγάλαι
Gen.	μεγάλω(ν)		
Acc.	μεγάλες	μεγάλας	

For the development of the feminine plural endings, see the relevant section of 3.2.1. A single example of a residual nominative in -αι has been found in the texts studied, but accusative forms in -ας occur more frequently in higher-register contexts. Final /n/ of the genitive may be deleted in texts from Crete (and certain other regions; see I, 3.7.2).

Nominative

ἂν ἦτονε τόπος νὰ περιπατοῦσαν ὄλαι, μικραὶ καὶ μεγάλαι (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.28–9)

εἰκόνες μεγάλες (1192, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 21, 340.13)

ἀρχόντισσες μεγάλες *Velth.* 1323

ἐγκρεμνίζονταν πέτρες μεγάλες IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 331.11

εὐκὲς μεγάλες KORNAOS, *Erot.* III.1636

Genitive

μερίμων, | ... μεγάλων *Eisit.* f.8r.6

τῶν δέκα κολόνω τῷ μεγάλῳ (1639, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 6, 273.38)

Accusative

ραβδέας ἀποπατητὰς μεγάλας *Diig. tetr.* 222

ἀνδραγαθίας μεγάλας *Dig.* E 154; φιλοτιμίας μεγάλας *ibid.* 604

μεγάλας δουλοσύνας *Velis.* p 645

θάλασσες μεγάλες (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 85.5)

μεγάλες εὐεργεσίας (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.14)

μέριμνες μεγάλες *Peri xen.* 220

χρυσογραμμίες μεγάλες *Achil.* N 140

μικρὲς καὶ μεγάλες (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 214, 152.4)

τὲς μεγάλες προβεζιόνες (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 146.11)

Neuter

N	General	Rare
Nom./Acc./Voc.	μεγάλα	μέγα
Gen.	μεγάλω(ν)	

The forms exhibit no variation (cf. the corresponding forms for the adjectives in 3.2.1), except for a solitary example of μέγα instead of μεγάλα; this may be an indeclinable form (cf. the masculine genitive singular), or simply a *lapsus calami*.

Nominative

βιβλία στιχεράρια μεγάλα δύο (12th c., Macedonia, PETIT 1900: 3, 121.23)

καύματα μεγάλα *Dig.* E 1710

τὰ παραπονέματά μου εἰσὶν μεγάλα (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 4, 303.20–1)

Genitive

τὰ δὲ τυπικὰ τῶν μεγάλων μοναστηρίων ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 214.14

μεγάλων δωρημάτων *Ptoch.* IV 646

ποιοῦν μαχαιρομάνικα μεγάλων μαχαίριων *Diig. tetr.* 923

Accusative

εἰς τὰ ὄρη τὰ μεγάλα *Dig.* E 755

τοῦτα τὰ δένδρα ἔκαναν μῆλα μεγάλα *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.36

εἶχεν εἰς τὴν ράχην της τέσσαρα πτερὰ μεγάλα πουλίου *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 23, ψ3r.30–1 (1561)

καμώματα μεγάλα *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1165; σ' ἔτοια μεγάλα σφάλματα *ibid.* I.1934

μέγα χαρίσματα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 38.3

3.6.2 πολὺς

In Classical Greek, as well as in MG, the adjective quantifier πολὺς follows the regular adjectival declension -ος, -η, -ο(ν) with stem πολλ- for most of its forms, except for the nominative and accusative singular of the masculine and neuter, which have stem πολ- and endings corresponding to those of adjectives in -ύς (see 3.3.1). In MedG and EMG we can observe the following deviations from this pattern:

- 1) masculine and neuter singular forms πολλός and πολλό(ν) occur occasionally, by analogy with the majority of forms of the word. In fact, πολλός already appears in AG, particularly in Ionic and Epic. In LMedG and EMG such forms occur quite frequently in Cypriot texts.⁶⁶ We should not, however, assume that they are inherited from an earlier stage of the language; they could easily have developed analogically.
- 2) the form πολὺ, belonging to the -ύς paradigm, may be extended to the genitive singular of the masculine (cf. 3.3.1).

In other respects πολὺς follows the usual developments in the nominal system: the feminine plural endings -αί and -άς give way to the spread of the ending -ές, and the final /n/ of the masculine and feminine accusative singular may be deleted; conversely, the neuter singular πολὺ may acquire final /n/. As vocative forms occur extremely rarely for this word, they are not discussed.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	πολύς ῑ πολλύς ῑ πολλός	πολλή	πολύ(ν) ῑ πολλύν
Gen.	πολλοῦ ῑ πολὺ	πολλῆς	πολλοῦ
Acc.	πολύ(ν) ῑ πολλύν	πολλή(ν)	πολύ(ν) ῑ πολλύν
Voc.	-	-	-

⁶⁶ When forms with double <λ> are found in texts from regions where gemination is known to occur, such as Cyprus, it is likely that consonant doubling is present (see I, 3.4). However, forms of πολλύς and πολλύ(ν) are also found in papyri of the 6th–7th c., where they are probably just an orthographic variant (*GIGNAC* 1981: 144).

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	πολλοί	πολλές ἢ πολλαί	πολλά
Gen.	πολλῶ(ν) ἢ πολλῶνε	πολλῶ(ν)	πολλῶ(ν)
Acc.	πολλούς	πολλές ἢ πολλάς	πολλά
Voc.	-	-	-

Singular

Masculine

M	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	πολύς	πολλύς ἢ πολλός	
Gen.	πολλοῦ		πολύ
Acc.	πολύ(ν)	πολλύν	

Forms of the nominative and accusative with double <λ> occur in certain Cypriot (and sporadically Dodecanesian) texts from the 14th c. onwards; although the texts are not consistent (see below for neuter singular forms), there is good evidence for assuming a geminate pronunciation (see I, 3.4). The other development found in Cypriot texts, i.e. the spread of endings of adjectives in -ος to the masculine and neuter singular (πολλός, πολλόν), is attested only sporadically. For the genitive form πολύ (by analogy with other adjectives in -ύς), a single example has so far been located, in a 16th-c. text. Otherwise no variation is found.

Nominative

πολύς χειμὸς (1336, Trebizond, LAMBROS 1916a: 45.17)
 κορνιακτὸς πολὺς *Dig.* E 1177
 οὗτος ὁ δοῦκας ὁ πολὺς *Chron. Toc.* 3
 ὁ πόθος ὁ πολὺς PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 967
 καιρὸς πολὺς νὰ διάβη KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.2117

Examples of πολλύς and πολλός from Cypriot texts:

ἐγίνετον ὁ φόβος τοιούτως πολὺς (ms πολλοίς) (1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.10–11)
 καὶ ἐσκοτώθησαν λαὸς πολλός (14th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 1.4); πολλός λαός (ibid. 27, 3.6)
 λαὸς πολλὺς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 238.6
 καὶ ἐσκοτώθη πολλὺς λαός MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 70.13–14
 ἐσκοτώθη καὶ πολλὸς λαγὸ (1570, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.3)

Genitive

μετά πολλοῦ του πόθου *Achil.* L 623
 μετά τοῦ πλούτου τοῦ πολλοῦ *Byz. Il.* 762
 γυναίκα, πολλοῦ καιροῦ κακοπατισμένη *Spanos A* 232

Although the genitive is relatively uncommon, the above is the normal form. The rare form πολὺ occurs in a 16th-c. text by a native of Zakynthos: τοῦ πολὺ πλούτου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 447.14.

Accusative

ἀπὸ τὸν κτύπον τὸν πολὺν *Dig.* E 37
 πολὺν καιρὸν θέλεις διαβάσειν ἐδῶ; (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1881–2)
 ἀπὸ τὸν πόνον τὸν πολὺν *Achil.* O 13
 διὰ τὸν πόθον τὸν πολὺν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1422
 λαὸν ἐμάζωσε πολὺ KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.860

Examples with double <λ> from Cypriot texts (16th-c. mss and later) and one earlier instance from the Dodecanese:

πολλὺν καιρὸν (15th c., Rhodes, MINAS 2012: 18, 413.10)
 ἔπνιξεν πολλὺν λαὸν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.23
 πολλὺν καιρὸν *Fior* 136.23
 πολλὺν καιρὸν *Cypr. Canz.* 109.3 and 112.16
 ἀπὸ τὸν φόβον τὸν πολλὺν *Thrinis Kypr.* 76

Feminine

F	General
Nom.	πολλή
Gen.	πολλῆς
Acc.	πολλή(ν)

There is no significant variation in the feminine singular forms; as usual, the accusative may appear with or without final /n/.

Nominative

δουλειά ἔναι πολλή (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 97)
 φλόγα πολλή ἀπὸ φωτιᾶς ἦτονε προβαλμένη CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1106
 ἀμὴ ἦτον πολὺς κόπος καὶ πολλή ἐμπιστοσύνη PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §32.23–4
 πολλή βαβούρα ἐγίνη KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.841, II.1195

Genitive

μετά πολλῆς χαρᾶς, (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 208.13)
 ἀπὸ τῆς θλίψης τῆς πολλῆς *Achil.* N 47
 μετά πολλῆς παράταξης [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 94
 μετά πολλῆς πληροφορίας (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 149, 269.19)
 μετά πολλῆς μανίας PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1248

Accusative

πολλὴν μανίαν *Arm.* 41
 ἔχει πολλὴν κρυότην *Assizes B* 435.4–5

δολιότητα πολλήν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 924
 τὴν πολλήν τη<ς> σκληροσύνην *Cypr. Canz.* 77.10
 σ' ἔγνοια πολλή *Thysia Avr.* 527

Neuter

N	General	Restricted
Nom./Acc.	πολύ(ν)	πολλύν
Gen.	πολλοῦ	

Again, forms with double <λ> occur in some Cypriot texts, but they are not found, for instance, in the edition of the *Assizes* (the earlier ms is dated to the 15th c.). Otherwise, no significant variation occurs.

Nominative

πολὺν κακὸν *Assizes* B 446.28
 καὶ τὸ φουσσάτον τὸ πολὺν *Achil.* L 358
 ἔγινεν θανατικὸν πολὺν *Chron.* 1619 548
 τὸ λίγο ἐγίνηκε πολὺ *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.101
 πολλὺν ἔναι τὸ γένος σου *Achil.* L 109a transcr. (Panayotopoulou/Lendari)
 εἶναι να τραβενιάσει εἰς τὴν χώραν πολλὺν κακὸν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 276.11–12

Genitive

μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ τάχους *Ptoch.* I 255
 μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ θάρσους *Velis.* χ 37
 πυρὸς πολλοῦ *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VIII.213

Accusative

καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ σείσμαν τὸ πολὺν καὶ τὸ πολὺ τὸ διῶμαν *Ptoch.* III 273.71 app. crit. (P)
 μετὰ πολὺν θράσος *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1889
 τὸ πολὺν (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1946: 493.25)
 εἰσὲ πολὺ φουστάτο *Thysia Avr.* 688
 ἔχει πολλὺν βάθος νερόν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 34.3
 οἱποῦ θέλαν πολλὺν κακὸν τοῦ αποστολέ *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 22.1
 μετὰ τὸ κλάμαν τὸ πολλὺν *Cypr. Canz.* 132.12
 διὰ τὸ πολλὺν πλῆθος *Pist. kekoim.* 38–9
 ποῦ ἔπγεν πολλὺν φαρμάκιν *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 131

Plural

Masculine

M	General	Restricted
Nom.	πολλοί	
Gen.	πολλῶ(ν)	πολλῶνε
Acc.	πολλοὺς	

As for the adjectives in 3.2.1, the basic endings are completely stable: -οί, -ῶν, -ούς. In texts from the Heptanese (and perhaps other southern regions) a genitive form with addition of /e/ can be found (see I, 2.6.3).

Nominative

πολλοὶ ἐδοκίμασαν *Dig.* E 862
 πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐνι *Assizes* B 282.8
 πολλοὶ θέλουν θανατωθῆ *Pol. Tr.* 3162
 καὶ πολλοὶ Γενουβίσοι ἐλαβώθησαν πικρά *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 342.8–9
 καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τὴν ἐπεριπατήσασιν *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 30.8
 ἐγένηκαν πολλοὶ νταουτζήδες *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §22.5

Genitive

καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ρηγάδων *Pol. Tr.* 3202
 τῶν πολλῶν χρονῶν *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 203
 πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρῶπος ἤμουν ὀνομασμένος *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 55
 πολλῶν μαρτύρων *Pist. kekoim.* 377
 τῶν πολλῶνε *SOU MAKIS, Rebelio* 42.36

Accusative

πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔσφαξε δίχως νὰ ἔχουν πταῖσμα *Pol. Tr.* 1454
 καὶ τελείως ἠφάνισε πολλοὺς (1565–75, Constantinople, *FOERSTER* 1877: 7, 15.6)
 κι εἶδα πολλοὺς ἀγαφτικούς γιὰ μένα κι ἐκαγήκα *CHORTATIS, Panor.* 1.249
 ἐκατάσφαξε πολλοὺς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.13
 τσι πολλοὺς μόδους (1617, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1988: B, 161.53)
 πολλοὺς κύκλους *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2418

Feminine

F	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	πολλές		πολλαί
Gen.	πολλῶ(ν)		
Acc.	πολλές	πολλάς	

For the development of the feminine plural endings, see the relevant section of 3.2.1.

Nominative

γιατὶ πολλές εἶν' οἱ πικρίες κι ὀλίγα τὰ καλὰ σου *Theseid* IV.69,5 (1529)
 θλιψες πολλές *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 12
 οἱ βρύσες οἱ πολλές *Diig. Alex.* F 120.17 (Lolos)
 πολλές χῆρες ἦταν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 4.25
 πολλές γυναῖκες *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1821

The higher-register form πολλαί is rare: πολλαί λογιές πουλιὰ *Achil.* L 500.

Genitive

ὕπὸ τῶν πολλῶν σου δωρεῶν (1182, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 212, 277.15)
 διὰ πλείστων καὶ πολλῶν φορῶν *Chron. Mor.* H 6081
 πολλῶν μητέρων *Assizes* B 421.19
 τῶν προαναειρηθέντων πολλῶν αὐθεντιῶν (1652, Crete, *TCHENTSOVA* 2002: 1, 355, f.1r.6–7)

Accusative

πέτρες πολλές ἄσπρες (1333, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 15, 75.9)
 πολλές σπαθές τὸν ἔδωκεν *Pol. Tr.* 672; πολλές ρύμνες *ibid.* 2710 app. crit. (BRV)
 πολλές φορές *Cypr. Canz.* 104.57
 πολλές τῶν φορῶν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 114
 διὰ τές πολλές μας ἁμαρτίες (1574, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61.5)
 γιὰ τσι πολλές τση χάριτες CHORTATIS, *Panor. Dedic.* 13
 πολλές βολές PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2209

The form πολλές is found in mixed- and higher-register texts, often matching the ending of the noun it modifies:

βίγλας ἔστησεν πολλές *Dig.* E 1029
 μετὰ πολλές ἡμέρας *Liv.* V 1061; πολλές πικρίας *ibid.* 1365
 πολλές φορές *Assizes B* 455.4 (but πολλές φορές *ibid.* 455.15)
 ἐπὶ πολλές ἡμέρας *Achil.* N 963
 διὰ τὰς πολλές τὰς ἁμαρτίας DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 971
 περάσοντας πολλές ἡμέρας AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 227

Neuter

N	General
Nom./Acc.	πολλά
Gen.	πολλῶ(ν)

The forms exhibit no significant variation (cf. the corresponding forms for the adjectives in 3.2.1). In Cretan texts the final /n/ of the genitive is sometimes deleted (see I, 3.7.2.2). The adverbial form πολλά is widely used in LMedG and EMG as the normal intensifier, meaning “very (much)” (see 4.2.2).

Nominative

πολλά πουλάκια *Achil.* L 383
 πολλά τὰ ἔτη σου DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 715
 τὰ πάθη σου θεὸς νὰ ᾽νὰ πολλά KORNAOS, *Erot.* III.1165

Genitive

μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων *Dig.* E 90, 476 and 1861
 περὶ πολλῶν βιβλίων *Assizes B* 279.24
 πολλῶ λογιῶ *Thysia Avr.* 1024
 πολλῶ λογιῶ CHORTATIS, *Erof.* III.267
 κι’ ἄλλα πολλῶν λογιῶνε KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.155

Accusative

ἐξηρίζωσεν πολλά δέ(ν)τρα (1433, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 29, f.35r.2)
 ἐμεῖς πολλά ἔχομε, ἐσύ οὐδὲν ἔχεις οὐδετίποτε (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 286–8)
 ἐστοντα να γεννούσιν αυγά πολλά NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 5.8
 με ὄργανα, με τούμπανα καὶ με πολλά παιγνίδια PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 139
 πολλά μαντριά *Thysia Avr.* 57

3.6.3 Diminutive Adjectives in -άκι(ν)

Two very common adjectives have a neuter diminutive form in -άκι(ν) which may function as an indeclinable adjective. They are (ὀ)λιγάκι(ν) < (ὀ)λίγος and μικράκι(ν) < μικρός, the former generally referring to quantity, the latter to size (but they are often interchangeable). We can also include here δαμάκι(ν), diminutive of the adverb (originally noun) δαμί(ν), “a bit”.⁶⁷ For all these words we need to distinguish adjectival from adverbial uses. The adverbial forms are the starting point: (ὀ)λίγο(ν), μικρό(ν) (acc. neut. sg. of the adjective), δαμί(ν) and δαμάκι(ν) are all used adverbially in the sense of “a little”, usually with reference to time or quantity (“for a short while”, “to a small degree/extent”). For the first two words such usages go back to AG; δαμίν does not seem to be attested before the LMedG period.

The diminutive forms in -άκι(ν), initially as adverbs, are first found in the LMedG period (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* for information on each word). The adjectival use of these words, uninflected but sometimes substantivized, seems to begin in the 15th c., although it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the form is to be construed as an adverb or an adjective. Examples of indeclinable (ὀ)λιγάκι(ν), μικράκι(ν) and δαμάκι(ν) are given below. However, they sometimes acquire declensional endings, as if from the following paradigm: masc. sg. -ης, pl. -(ι)οι; fem. sg. -η, pl. -(ι)ες; neut. sg. -ι(ν), pl. -ια. Some forms are susceptible of various spellings (it is impossible to determine whether {i} occurring with a feminine noun is a declined feminine form or uninflected form in -ι). Examples are given below for each of these words, indeclinable forms first, then declined ones, although such a distinction is not always possible. These forms are found particularly in 16th- and 17th-c. texts of Cretan provenance, but it cannot be excluded that they had a wider geographical distribution.

(ὀ)λιγάκι(ν)

μὰ θεὸ νὰ πῆ ἕνα μερτικό, λιγάκι, γῆ μοιράδι CHORTATSI, *Katz.* IV.227; πάγω κι' ἐγὼ καὶ θέλουνσι λιγάκι σκιάς μοῦ δώσει ibid. V.342

θέλει συγκλίνει νὰ δεχτῇ τὸ δῶρος τὸ λιγάκι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Dedic. 47; κι' ἐξε λιγάκι ἀπομονή ibid. I.181, IV.452; ὅς λιγάκι | ὥρα ibid. IV.566–7

ὁπού 'τονε λιγάκι γῆς BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 326.6

λιγάκια (καράβια) ἐφυλαχτήκασι TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.269; ἀπ' ἀχαμνά ἔχει τὰ σκοινιά τσ' ἄγκουρας κ' ἐλιγάκια ibid. III.159 (for the prothetic vowel /e/ see I, 2.6.1); φτερά λιγάκια ibid. Dedic. 67

λιγάκοι ὅπ' ἐφύγασι σμίγουσιν ὅλοι ἀντάμι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 240.19; λιγάκοι ἐγλυτώσανε, στὰ κόπανα ἐγυρίσα ibid. 327.13; λιγάκια ρούχα ibid. 196.3

λιγάκις ἦτονε (ὁ πόνος) KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1563; εἰς ἐλιγάκιν ὥρα ibid. II.163, IV.1946; ὥρα λιγάκι ἀνὲ διαβῆ ibid. IV.315; κι' ἄλλη λιγάκι πείραξη βούλεται νὰ τῆς δώση ibid. V.872

μικράκι(ν)

καὶ θέλεις εὐρεῖν ἕνα νησὶν μικράκιν *Portul. compl.* 23.26–7

ἕνα ἀρνὶ μικράκι *P&N Diath.* 2154

⁶⁷ For the adverbial usage of δαμί(ν), see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. Some examples: λοιπόν, βαστάξετε δαμίν *Diig. tetr.* 732; δαμίν ἐπιστοπόδησα *Dig.* E 1254.

από μικράκι τόπο CHORTATSI, *Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 40
 σ' πάσα μικράκι σου όρισμό CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.370
 κι ένα περιτερόπουλο, άμ' ήτονε μικράκι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.56
 ένα μικρό άφήκασι καράβι ... άμ' ήτονε μικράκι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 207.1–2

καί δυό μικράκια μου παιδιά CHORTATSI, *Erof.* III.297 transcr. X (Legrand)⁶⁸
 τών κοπελιώ, όνταν είναι | μικράκια δίχως νόησην TROILOS, *Rodol.* II.17–18; (όρυάκια) ώς και
 τά πλιά μικράκια *ibid.* Dedic. 48
 άποϋ τά όρυακάκια ... κι άς είναι και μικράκια FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Dedic. 61–2
 θυμήσου πώς μικράκια | όμάδι άναθραφήκαμε *Stathis Interm.* II.71–2

δαμάκι

The word is also found with the vowel /u/ or /i/ in the first syllable (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.vv. δαμάκι(ν), δαμάκιοι).

έκεϊνο τó δαμάκι (= ψωμάκι?) CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2134
 και άν νικήσης σύ έμέν, όλίγον έν δαμάκι *Alex. Rim.* 751
 μέ λϋπηση δαμάκι *P&N Diath.* 3379 (it is uncertain whether δαμάκι is adjectival here)
 ώσαν και δαμάκι παραχώραφο (1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 577, 511.10)
 ήκαμεν δαμάκιν καιρόν (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 179.6)
 ώσα δαμάκι άλάφρωση *Thysia Avr.* 1085
 ξειδωτό κρασί δαμάκι *Vosk.* 197
 दें είμαι τόσο άφορμαρά, μά 'χω δαμάκι γνώση KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1014

δαμάκιους χρόνους (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 4, 68.70)
 διμάκες ήμέρες (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 17, 63.13–14); θέλω βρίσκει σκιάς διμάκια
 χόρτα (*ibid.* 23, 70.9)⁶⁹
 δαμάκια [κάτεργα] έξεχώρισανε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 322.13; σταματίζου | δουμάκια για
 να 'ρδιαστοϋ *ibid.* 412.6–7; δουμάκιους έλαβώσα *ibid.* 460.16

3.7 Participles in Restricted Use

The range of participle formations in AG was unusually wide; it was embodied in a complex set of morphological paradigms that related to present, future, aorist and perfect tenses, and active, middle and passive voices. Not surprisingly, the system was already beginning to unravel in the period of the Koine. The morphological complexity of 3rd-declension participles in particular created problems for users (HORROCKS ²2010: 178–83). GIGNAC (1981: 130–1) gives examples from the papyri of lack of agreement between participles and their referents, in gender and case; the use of masculine participle forms instead of feminine is frequent. For further discussions of post-classical and EMG developments in the morphology of participles, and of the emergence of the gerund, see MANOLESSOU 2005.

By the period covered by this Grammar, the gerund had developed as a separate grammatical category: an indeclinable adverbial form of the verb. Such gerundial forms are examined separately as part of verb morphology (III, 4.7). In this section we restrict ourselves to the morphology of participles used as adjectives (whether attributive or predicative).

⁶⁸ The only declined form that has been found for this word is the neuter plural μικράκια.

⁶⁹ To judge from facsimiles included in this edition, the transcription may not be completely reliable.

It is clear that by the LMedG period the 3rd-declension participles had fallen out of everyday use and had to be learned. They occur particularly in documents and in some other written texts, from all areas. While they never completely disappeared from written texts in non-learned registers, they underwent various analogical developments, as they were adapted or adjusted to more familiar paradigms (3.7.2–3). As a result there can be considerable divergence from the inherited AG forms; some participles may even become indeclinable (3.7.4), while others give rise to new adjectives that follow a “regular” paradigm (3.7.5).

The inherited declensional patterns for the participle types that are encountered in LMedG and EMG texts are the following:

- ων, -ουσα, -ον (present active of barytone verbs)
- ῶν, -οῦσα, -οῦν (present active of oxytone verbs with E- or O-stem)
- ῶν, -ῶσα, -ῶν (present active of oxytone verbs with A-stem)
- ών, -οῦσα, -όν (strong aorist active; εἶμι/εἶμαι and derived verbs with prepositional prefixes)
- ας, -ασα, -αν (aorist active)
- ώς, -υῖα, -ός (or, in the case of certain verbs, -ώς, -ῶσα, -ός) (perfect active)
- εῖς, -εῖσα, -έν (aorist passive)

Participles in -μένος and -μενος do not present morphological problems as far as their endings are concerned: they are declined exactly like adjectives in -ος, -η, -ο (see 3.2.1, where examples will be found). For the formation of the perfect passive participle see III, 2.3.2; for present passive participles and variations in the connecting vowel see III, 2.3.1.

3.7.1 Participles that Conform to AG Morphology

Below we give a few examples of (adjectival) participles that follow AG morphological paradigms with respect to their endings. Note that the stem may sometimes be a “new” one, replacing the original AG stem, e.g. σύρν-οντα (< σύρ-), βάν-οντος (< βάλλ-) (for stem formation see III, 2). The examples are listed by type, following the order given above:

-ων, -ουσα, -ον

τοῦ χειμάρρου τοῦ ἐξέρχοντος (1005, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 13, 13.12) (N.B. active ending on a deponent verb)

ἡ δὲ κόρη στενάζουσα τὸν ἀμιρᾶν ἐλάλει *Dig. G II.271*; εἰς ἑλὴν τὸν ἐσκέψαντο σύρνοντα τὰ θηρία *ibid. IV.164*

ἐγίνετο ὁ ἐνάγων ἐναγόμενος *Paroim. F 72*

περὶ τοῦ βάνοντος πῦρ εἰς χώραν *Assizes A 222.24*

τὸν θέλοντα καὶ ἀγοράζοντα (1515, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 76, 80.4)

πολλὰ μέλλοντα πράγματα *KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 335.18*

ἐρμηνεῖαι πρέπουσαις *ZYGOM., Synopsis 133.A.63*

ὁμπροστὰ εἰς ἐμένα τὸν ὑπογράφοντα νοτάριον (1596, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 20, 75.3–4)

τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 32.14–15*

τούτ' εἶν' ἡ στάμνος ἡ χρυσή, ἡ ἔχουσα τὸ μάννα *VEST., Prol. Theot. 299*

τοῦ ὑπογράφοντος νοτάριου (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.2)

τοὺς κατακαίοντας κεραυνούς *Don Kis. 145.13*

-ῶν, -οῦσα, -οῦν

ἦλθον ἐγὼ ἐνοχλοῦσα καὶ ζητοῦσα (1196, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 13, 87.7)

στεφηφορούντων δεσποτῶν *Eisit.* f.3r.7

ὄλων τῶν εὐτυχοῦντων *Log. parig.* L 658

οἱ ἀγαποῦντες *Dig.* E 590 (with /u/ in place of /o/, for which see III, 2.3.1.2)

Θεοῦ κατευδοῦντος (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.9) (genitive absolute)

εἰ δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἀστενοῦσα ἀπαὶ τὸ κελῆφιον *Assizes A* 124.15

γελοῦντες *Spanos D* 457

εἶδον γυναικὰν ὀξέα ροῦχα φοροῦσαν καὶ περιπατοῦσαν ΚΑΝΑΝΟΣ, *Diig.* 74.548

-ῶν, -ῶσα, -ῶν

ἡμεῖς οἱ προγεγραμμένοι πωλῶντες (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 124, 165.7)

ἄνθρωπον φορῶντα ἄρμα *Pol. Tr.* 607 app. crit. (V) (A-stem ending on an E-stem verb)

εμένα εἰς τὰ ζῶντα του μέγα ἐποίησεν βασιλέαν *Diig. Alex.* K 360.13–14 (the phrase means “when he was alive”)

-ῶν, -οῦσα, -όν

τὰ αὐτοῦ ὄντα βιβλίτζα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 310.9

στεφηφορούντων δεσποτῶν *Eisit.* f.3r.7

τὴν οὔσαν στάσιν (1243, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 293, 409.21)

τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς ὄντας ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ *Pol. Tr.* 11758

Θεοῦ κατευδοῦντος (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.9)

ἡ παροῦσα μου οὔτῃ γραφῇ (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 45, 55.22)

ἔκραξαν τὸν παρόντα πατᾶ Ἰωάννην Μακρὴ (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 36.7)

διὰ τοὺς ἀπλουσθέρους, τοὺς ὄντας ὡς ἐμέ VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 29.7

εἰς τὸ σπιτάλε τῆς παρούσης χώρας (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: I, 113.8–9)

ἐπούλησε τῶν παρόντων ... ἓνα σκλάβον (1669, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 2, 281.24)

ἀποθανόντος ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτηλοῦ Βελισαρίου (1683, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 95, 322.14) (genitive absolute)

For new participle formations from the verb εἰμί/εἶμαι, see III, 4.8.5.

-ας, -ασα, -αν

καθισάντων οὖν τοῦ βοδὸς ἅμα μὲ τὸ βουβάλιν *Diig. tetr.* 50

ὁ ἀλληλογόησας νὰ τὰ ζημιώνεται (1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 75.22)

-ῶς, -υῖα, -ός (-ῶς, -ῶσα, -ός)

The perfect participle is purely residual, since the perfect tense has long disappeared from the spoken language. Its use is restricted to certain lexical items:

τὸ γεγονὸς χωματοβούνιον (1090–4, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 45, 161.5)

τὸν τεθνεῶτα *Assizes B* 346.17; τοῦ τεθνηκότος *ibid.* 369.25⁷⁰

⁷⁰ The perfect participles τεθνεῶς and τεθνηκώς undergo various morphological transformations in the Cypriot *Assizes*. In addition to forms that correspond to AG morphology, we find new “regularized” paradigms based on masc. nominatives in -ος or -ης. E.g. (1) ὁ τεθνεῶτος B 382.30; τοῦ τεθνεώτου A 142.12; τὸν τεθνεῶτον B 302.21; τῆς τεθνεώτης A 131.14; (2) ὁ τεθνεώτης B 382.6; τὸν τεθνεώτη B 459.25; τῆς τεθνεώτας (for τεθνεώτης?) B 370.1; (3) τοῦ τεθνηκοῦ B 387.8, A 107.17; τὸν τεθνηκόν B 346.17; ἡ τεθνηκὴ A 140.7; τῆς τεθνηκῆς A 139.31; τὴν τεθνηκὴν B 346.22. In the following example, from Naxos, the masc. gen. sg. ending of the present participle is employed: τοῦ τεθνηκόντος (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 336, 541.8–9). In 17th-c. documents from Cyprus and Cythera we find a gen. in -ός: τοῦ τεθνηκός (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: B, 457.423); νὰ γράφονται οἱ θανῆς μὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τεθνηκός (1671, Cythera, PAPADAKI 2001: [a], 41.1).

τοὺς ἐγγυτάδες τοὺς τεθνεώτας *Assizes* A 65.12; τοῦ τεθνεώτος *ibid.* 139.31
 τῶν παρεστῶτων μαρτύρων (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 270.2–3)
 το νόστιμον συμβεβηκός *Don Kis.* 44.23; και άλλα συμβεβηκότα *ibid.* 44.25

-εῖς, -εῖσα, -έν⁷¹

τὰ χωράφια τῆς τῆς ρηθείσας μονῆς (1143, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 6, 560.1)
 τὲς δηλωθεῖσες ἐλαῖες καὶ ἀππιδιές (1213, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 263, 36.5) (with acc. pl.
 ending -ες instead of AG -ας)
 τὸ ἐάθη πρὸς τὴν ρηθείσαν μονὴν (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.15); τὸ δηλωθὲν
 ἀμπέλιον (*ibid.* 472.28–30)
 τοῦ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος μετονομασθεῖς (1565–75, Constantinople,
 FOERSTER 1877: 11, 23.139) (note the lack of agreement between article and participle)
 ἡ ἀρπαγεῖσα κόρη ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 132.A.61
 οἱ μὲν μὲ πολλὰ μαρτύρια βασανισθέντες VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 29.18–19

3.7.2 Innovations in the Morphology of Participles

Two particular developments may be noted in the morphology of participles: (1) in EMedG the masculine accusative singular termination -ντα begins to be used also for the neuter singular (nom./acc.), and this usage continues to be found in texts until the 14th c. and sporadically until the 16th (for early examples see JANNARIS 1897: 206–7, and for discussion MANOLESSOU 2005: 246–8; further examples will be given below);⁷² (2) in the EMG period, a new masculine nominative singular form appears in place of the inherited -ων: -οντας, with genitive -οντα (and correspondingly for other stems), a development that exactly parallels that of masculine nouns like γέρων (see 2.2.5).

Neuter Singular -ντα

τὸ χωράφιον τὸ ὄντα καὶ διακείμενον ... τὸ ρυάκιν τὸν καταβαίνοντα ἕως τοῦ προειρημένου
 χειμάρρου (1005, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 13, 13.9–16)
 χωράφιον ... τὸ γειτνιάζοντα (1050–1, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 5, 87.7–8)
 τὸ κτημά μου ... πληρὲς τυγχάνοντα (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 22.56)
 τὸ καράβι ... τὸ ἐλθόντα ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας (1131, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 111, 146.10); τὸ
 προρηθέντα χανδάκιον (1175, *ibid.* 185, 243.17–18)
 χωράφιον ... ἔχοντα εἰς τὸν φραγμὸν (1217, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 15, 90.14)
 τὸ ὄντα ... τὸ συμπλησιάζοντα (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 91.967)
 κυνήγι ... διὰ σοῦ θηρευθέντα *Dig.* G IV.1076
 χαρτὶν ἀπέσω ἀπὸ Συρίας | θρήνους γέμοντα *Dig.* E 227
 τῷ χρόνῳ ἤδη διαφθαρέν καὶ εἰς ἀπορίαν ἀποκλίναντα (1404, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 11,
 196.3–4)
 ὄλον τὸ μένοντα τῶν πραγμάτων τοῦ ρηθέντος κλέπτῃ *Assizes* B 443.8
 τὸ παράξενον λουτρὸν ... τὸ γέμοντα τὰς ἡδονὰς [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1721
 τὸ μέλλοντα κριτήριον VENDRAMOS, *Istor. gyn.* 80

⁷¹ The aorist passive participle is particularly problematic. In documents, the word εἰρηθεῖς is sometimes declined as a masc. noun in -ής: acc. sg. τὸν προειρηθῆ (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 25, 35.6) and gen. sg. τοῦ εἰρηθῆ μ(ισέ)ρ Νικολοῦ (1630, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 4, 133.12).

⁷² The extension of the -οντα/-ῶντα ending to other persons and numbers must be related to the emergence of the indeclinable adverbial form (gerund). For the whole issue see MANOLESSOU 2005, and III, 4.7.

Masculine Nominative Singular -ντας

- ὁ παρόντας μας ὀρισμός (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 168.21)
 ὁ εἰρηθέντας Λιανός (1640, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 17, 156.8); ἐγὼ ὁ ὑπογράφοντας
 νομικός (1660, *ibid.* 29, 175.3)
 ὁ ὑπογράφοντας νοτάριος (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 284, 480.8); ὁ
 ὑπογράφοντας νοτάριος (1684, *ibid.* 463, 687.16)

A genitive singular also occurs: τοῦ ὑπογράφοντα (1623, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 1, 127.2). In a Cypriot text we also find an accusative with final /n/: ἐὰν πιάσῃ ἕνα κλέπτην κλέφτονταν τὰ πράγματά του *Assizes B* 441.20–1.

Forms in -οντας also occur as proper names: ὁ ἅγιος Σώζοντας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36.4.

3.7.3 Participles with Irregular Morphology

The use of masculine endings for feminine referents (see above, introduction to 3.7) continues in LMedG texts. Unlike the use of -ντα for neuter nom. sg. (above), this is a rather sporadic phenomenon and might perhaps be regarded as lack of gender agreement, rather than morphological levelling. The following examples are limited to attributive and predicative uses:

- τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν διαχωρίζοντα (1126, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 98, 129.1–2); τὴν ἐμὴν πρόπτιαν
 κουλούραν ... τὴν ὄντα ἐν τῇ διακρατήσει (1131, *ibid.* 111, 146.38)
 ὑμῶν τῶν ρηθέντων καλογραίων (1140, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IV: 2, 117.10)
 τὴν ρηθέντα μονὴν (1213–14, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 44, 227.9)
 τὲς ρηθέντες ἐλαῖες (1272, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 326, 484.12); τὰς ρηθέντας ἐλαίας (*ibid.*
 485.5–6)
 ἡ παρὼν ἀπόφασις (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1991: 1, 234.28–29)⁷³
 τὴν παρόντα ζήτηση (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 51.67–8)

Some further examples of participle use, where the inherited morphological system seems to have broken down:

- ἡ ... στερχθέντα διάταξις (1198, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 246, 334.32)
 εἰς τόπον ἀπελθῆναι λεγόμενον Ἀερινόν, ἔχον μεγίστους κάμπους *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 49
 παρελθουσῶν γὰρ τῶν χρονῶν ἑκατὸν πληρωμένων *Chron. Mor.* H 122
 οἱ ἐγκαλῶντα *Assizes B* 337.13
 ὁ εἰς οὐρανούς οἰκοῦντα ERMON., *Ilias* 7.80
 πύργον μέγαν πολὺ, καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἀφίρον ὑπάρχων *Byz. Il.* 103
 συναχθεῖσα καὶ ἐκλεχθεῖσα πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877:
 14, 28.42)
 ἐπωλήσαμεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ρηθέντι κελλίον (1569/70, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 19, 128.6)
 ὅπου ἔτανε παρόντος στο γάμο (1648, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 1, 33.12)
 νὰ γράφονται οἱ θανῆς μὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τεθνηκὸς (1671, Cythera, PAPADAKI 2001: [a], 41.1)

⁷³ Alternatively, παρὼν could be seen as an indeclinable form, as in 3.8.4.

3.7.4 Indeclinable Forms

Some participles in frequent use, especially in legal texts and other documents, become in effect indeclinable. The form adopted is normally the neuter singular (ending in /on/ or /en/), although masculine participles used as accusative or genitive may also occur with the spelling <ων> (homophonic with the neuter <ον>). The most common participle that becomes indeclinable is παρόν, widely used in notarial documents.

- εἰς τὸν λίθον τὸν σχισθὲν (1144?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 314.15)
 Θωμᾶν ἱερομονάζων (1177, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 39, 199.6–7)
 ὁ προγραφὲν Ἰωάννης (1191, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 228, 305.12)
 τὸν ρηθὲν ἡγούμενον (1206, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 6, 377.16)
 διδομένων τῶν παρὸν προβαλμάτων (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.136)
 ἐβλέποντας τὸν παρὸν μας ὀρισμόν (1428, Lefkada, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 12, 254.14)
 τοῦ ἀγκαλῶν *Assizes* B 343.9
 εἰς τὸν δεσπότην *Velis*. χ 577
 ἐκ τοῦ νηπίου τοῦ τεχθὲν *Byz. II*. 81
 τοῦ παρὸν γράμματος (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 54.31)
 τὰ ὑπολειφθὲν (1542, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 115, 79.17)
 μεσ' τὸ παρὸ πρᾶμα (1561, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 129, 247.11–12) (with deletion of final /n/)
 τὰ δὲ ἐναπολειφθὲν ὄζα (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 276, 380.13)
 τὴν παρὸν συνίβασιν (1589, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 31, 173.12)
 τὰ ἀνωθεν ἐναπολειφθέν μου καλὰ νὰ διαμένουν (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 37.4–5)
 μετὰ τούτῃ τὴ παρὸν σύβαση (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 122, 135.5–6)
 τὴν παρὸν ντονατζιό (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 89.57)
 τὰ δὲ ἐναπολειφθέν πράγματα (1680, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 41, 68.11)
 κάνομε τὴν παρὸν σύβασιν (1719, Patmos, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 16.3)
 ὅλοι ἐκεῖνοι οὐποῦ ἦτον παρών *Don Kis*. 145.21

3.7.5 New Adjectives Formed from Participles

Finally, participles that presented morphological difficulties could be adjusted to more familiar declensional patterns (similar to the variants for τεθνεώς and τεθνηκώς mentioned above). New adjective formations emerged, such as δευτερεῦος or δευτερέος (< δευτερεῦων), προεστός (< προεστώς), σιγός (< σιγῶν), ἀλγός (< ἀλγῶν), and ξεεστηκός (< ξεεστηκώς), as in the examples below (on declined forms of προεστός and similar words, see HENRICH 1976: 36–8). The accusative παρὴν and genitive παροῦ in the Naxian and Cretan examples below further illustrate the tendency to replace 3rd-declension endings with 2nd-declension ones, though a nominative *παρός has not been found:

- τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ δευτερεύου (1155, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 25, 148.9)
 ἱερέως Παπακυριαζῇ καὶ δευτερέου Κασ[τορίας] (1654, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 5, 16.10)
 ο παρὸν εὐλαβέστατος καὶ δευτερέος παπα Ατονέλος Παγιάτης (1658, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 5, 652.19)

οἱ προεστοί *Chron. Mor.* H 2011; αὐθέντην προεστόν *ibid.* H 2557 ms; χῶρες προεστές *ibid.* H 1753

τῶν προεστῶνε (1666, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 4, 198.299) (with addition of final /e/)

ἀποὺ τσὶ προεστούς (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 4, 127.36); τοῦ προεστοῦ (*ibid.* 4, 128.5)

οἱ προεστοί καὶ ὁ ἐπιλοιπος ραγιάς (1677, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 24, 92.7)

νὰ ἀρωτήσουνε καὶ πάρτε προεστοί (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 19, 34.18–19) (acc. in -οι)

καρτερεῖ ... σιγὸς ὁ κριτής (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 33.101)

ἐκάθεντον σιγὸς ὑπάρχων *Achil.* N 1285

εἰμὶ ἀλγὸς (1566, S. Italy?, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 6, 478.3)

ἐξεστηκὴ ἐγίνην *Liv.* V 2698

ἐξεστηκὸν μὲ ἔποικε *Theseid* Prol. P 62

ἐγένονται ἐξεστηκοὶ ὀλότελα *Diig. Alex.* F 124.15 (Konstantinopulos)

εξεστηκὸς ἐγίνη *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 245; ἐξεστηκές ... ἐπόμειναν *ibid.* 830

μὲ τοὺς παρούς των υἱοῦς (1518, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 12, 55.9)

ἔγραψα τὴν παρὴν (1596, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 154, 279.25)

ἐτουνοῦ τοῦ παροῦ ἰνστρουμέντου (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 31, 50.3)

3.8 Comparative Forms

3.8.1 Historical Overview

In AG there were two types of monolectic comparative adjective formation: in -τερος and, more rarely, in -(i)ων. The second type is usually seen as irregular: it is limited to a small group of lexical items, and is sometimes based on a different root from the positive form; examples are: μείζων (the comparative of μέγας), χείρων (κακός), ἐλάσσων or μείων (ὀλίγος). Some of these words continued to be used in MedG, particularly in texts that aspired to a more formal register (for the paradigm and morphological developments see 3.3.4).

Corresponding to these two types of comparative, AG had superlative forms in -τατος (e.g. σοφώτατος) and -ιστος (e.g. μέγιστος, ἐλάχιστος) respectively. In the Koine the -ίων and -ιστος forms were often replaced with new formations in -τερος and -τατος (GIGNAC 1981: 146–7).

Comparison by means of periphrasis has existed as an alternative since classical times (CHEILA-MARKOPOULOU 1991). In AG the adverb which modified the positive form of the adjective was usually μᾶλλον. In MG it is πῖο or, more formally, πλέον. The historical development of the periphrastic, or “analytic”, construction of comparative adjectives will be discussed in detail below.

The superlative forms of AG (-τατος and -ιστος) became restricted to functioning as absolute superlatives; apart from learned, “residual” uses, this is the situation we find in LMedG texts. Their function as relative superlatives was assumed by the comparative preceded by the definite article, as in MG: positive λαμπρός, comparative λαμπρότερος, relative superlative ὁ λαμπρότερος. This is also the case for the analytic forms with πλέον

(and its alternatives, which will be discussed below), which become increasingly common in the LMedG period, without, however, supplanting the monolectic forms.⁷⁴

3.8.2 General Observations

Comparatives (and relative superlatives) in -τερος and absolute superlatives in -τατος are declined like the relevant type of adjective in -ος (see 3.2.3 for the former and 3.2.1 for the latter, where examples are given). The following sections therefore concentrate on stem formation rather than endings. For the older type of comparative in -(i)ων see 3.3.4. Irregular comparatives, including the resilient and adaptable πλείων and its derivatives, are discussed in 3.8.6. Because comparative and relative superlative forms are identical (except that the latter are preceded by the definite article), they are discussed together in these sections. Synthetic (i.e. monolectic) and analytic comparison are treated separately; in addition, we give examples of intensified or double comparatives, where the comparative marker (πλέον etc.) is combined with a comparative form (cf. “more bigger”) (3.8.5).

The normal MG adverb used in analytic comparison, πίο, is usually assumed to derive from πλέον, the neuter of πλείων (KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. πλέον (I)), via πλιό(ν), with synizesis and shift of stress (see I, 2.9.4). However, the picture offered by LMedG and EMG texts is complex and confused.⁷⁵ The commonest words used to form periphrastic comparatives are indeed πλέο(ν) and πλιό(ν), but there are also forms with /a/: πλέα and πλιά. It is necessary to assume a phonological change involving deletion of /l/ – a change not otherwise attested in MedG or EMG.⁷⁶ By a similar process, the MG adverb πιά is usually derived from the plural form πλέα (ANDRIOTIS, *Lex.* s.v.). Evidence for the forms πίο(ν) (or πιον) and πιά is rather scarce in the period covered by the Grammar. The following instances have been found in the texts examined:

a) πίο(ν)/πιον or πιά with adjectives or adverbs (i.e. analytic comparison)

- τὸν πιον μακρὺν τόπον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 14.25–26; τοὺς πιον χαμηλοὺς id., *Chron.* O 24.12
 μὰ ᾧ πρεπε πιδ πρωτύτερα αὐτῆγο νὰ ᾔθεν κάμης *Alfan.* 11 86
 πιά ᾧκολον *Cypr. Canz.* 35.7; πᾶ ᾧσπρην παρὰ χιόνιν ibid. 108.2
 νὰ σηκώση τὸ πιά ἀλαφρὸν φόρτωμαν *Vios Aisop.* I 251.26; τὸ πιά βαρὺ φόρτωμα ibid. 251.27; ἐπεριπάτειεν πιά πρόθυμα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ibid. 251.36; πῶς εἶναι ἔτοιμος νὰ τοὺς βοηθήσῃ καλλεότερα καὶ πιά γλήγορα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ibid. 275.17; ἡῦρα σας χειρότερους καὶ πιά ἀναξιότερους παρὰ ὅλους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ibid. 280.21–2; πιά εὐχαριστημένη ἦθελα εἶσται ibid. 282.36; ἦθελεν φαίνεσθαι καὶ πιά δίκαιον ibid. 282.40

b) adverbial πιά, πίο(ν) or πιον

- δὲν πρέπει πιδ νὰ φέγγῃς *Anak. Konst.* 60
 οὐδὲν ἐχρῶστέν πεῖον τίποτες *Assizes A* 166.29–30

⁷⁴ One reason for the increasing use of analytic formations is that they were the only possibility for words that functioned as adjectives but lacked monolectic comparative forms, e.g. the participles.

⁷⁵ MARKOPOULOS 2012 and 2015 argues that the analytic comparative is a contact-induced phenomenon.

⁷⁶ More precisely, the change is from [ʎ] to [j]. On πλιό/πίο see ΜΟΥΣΙΑΔΗΣ 2005: 91. For this sound change in Cretan see ΚΟΝΔΟΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1969: 63–5.

δὲν ἔχουν πῖον καμία ζωήν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 184.7–8; καὶ ποῖκαν ὄρκον πῖον *ibid.* 134.11; πῶς ν' ἀποθαρῃσώμεν πῖον νὰ μείνωμεν *ibid.* 352.8–9
 καὶ ἐδώκαν ὀρδινον μέσον τοὺς ὅτι πῖον νὰ μεν ἀφήσουν τον ἀποστολὲν VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 51.15; ὅτι πῖον ζωήν δὲν εἶχαν *ibid.* B 134.7; νὰ μεν ἀφήσουν πῖον τινάν *ibid.* A 210.10
 δὲν σώννω πῖον νὰ ζήσω *Cypr. Canz.* 5.4; τόπον δὲν ἔχω πῖον νὰ μὲ πληγώσης *ibid.* 10.3 etc.
 (frequent in this text)
 νὰ μὴν ἔχου πιά (1688, Andros, POLEMIS 2001: 8, 107.10)

What conclusions can we draw from this evidence? Deletion of /l/ in the words that would become MG πῖο and πιά is found in mss dating from the (late) 15th c. onwards. The earliest is the Paris ms of the *Anakalima*; the poem is of unknown origin, but Cyprus (or the Dodecanese) has been proposed.⁷⁷ The other texts containing these forms are predominantly Cypriot (*Assizes*, Machairas, Voustronios, the *Canzoniere*) and preserved in 16th-c. mss. However, they also occur in 17th-c. texts from Crete (*Alfavitos*) and Andros, while version I of the *Vita Aesopi* has possible indications of a south-eastern provenance (see EIDENEIER 2011: 417–18). The forms πιά and πῖο(ν) do not appear to be differentiated according to meaning or function. The absence of evidence from other areas may suggest (though it does not prove) that the phonological change begins in south-eastern regions and spreads to Crete and the Aegean by the 17th c.

Forms with /l/, such as πλέο(ν) or πλεῖο(ν), continue to be widely used throughout our period. They may undergo synizesis and shift of stress (see I, 2.9.4), as the following example from a 16th-c. verse text indicates: καὶ πλεὸν ἐμπιστεμένος DEFAR., *Log. did.* 315 (the accent is probably editorial but the word certainly has to be scanned as a monosyllable).⁷⁸ In Cretan literary texts from the late 16th c. onwards a functional distinction can be observed between the monosyllabic forms πλιά (analytic comparison) and πλιό or μπλιό (temporal adverb).

Certain other words for “more” are sometimes used in analytic comparison: πλιότερα, πλιότερον, πιότερο(ν) and, in Cypriot texts, περίτου are all found in association with the positive form of an adjective. However, these periphrases do not appear to have the same degree of grammaticalization as those with πλέον, πῖον etc. Some examples will be included below; for further examples see the entries for the relevant words in KRIARAS, *Lex.*

In the following sections we deal in turn with: the regular formation of synthetic comparative and superlative forms (3.8.3), analytic (or periphrastic) comparatives and superlatives (3.8.4), “double” comparatives (3.8.5), irregular formations (3.8.6) and the absolute superlative (3.8.7).

3.8.3 Synthetic Comparative and Superlative

Comparative and superlative forms are distinguished only by the fact that the latter are normally preceded by the definite article and are therefore considered together here, although examples will be listed separately. As in AG, the regular comparative form of adjectives in

⁷⁷ KRIARAS 1965: 7–13. Kriaras argues for Cyprus, rather than the Dodecanese, on linguistic grounds, and rejects earlier notions of a Cretan provenance.

⁷⁸ See further CHEILA-MARKOPOULOU 1991.

-ος ends in {oteros}. Following the loss of vowel length, there is no significant distinction between the historical spellings -ότερος and -ώτερος (which depended on the quantity of the previous syllable, <ω> being used when the preceding vowel was short). Oxytone adjectives in -ύς form their comparative in -ύτερος; two-termination adjectives in -ης become -έστερος; those in -ων become -ονέστερος; and contracted adjectives in -οῦς become -ούστερος. All of these follow the declension of those adjectives that can have a feminine in either -α or -η (see 3.2.3, where examples are given). A synthetic comparative form is not normally available for the newer types of adjective discussed in 3.4 or 3.5, or for participles.⁷⁹

Instead of the normal connecting vowel /o/, comparative forms of adjectives in -ος frequently have /i/, which may be spelled as <η>, <ι>, <υ> or even <ει>. Some of these forms, apparently first attested in LMedG, are standard in MG, e.g. καλύτερος, μεγαλύτερος, πρωτύτερος. Other common forms in LMedG and EMG, which may co-exist with “regular” -ότερος forms are: άσπρύτερος, εύμορφύτερος, κοντύτερος, μαυρύτερος, τρανύτερος. Such forms with connecting vowel /i/, from adjectives in -ος, are included in the examples below.⁸⁰

In Cypriot texts, the comparative and superlative forms often have gemination of intervocalic /t/ (see I, 3.4.2.5), e.g. ό Δημήτρης ήτον άσχημόττερος του βοσκαριδίου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 492.29–30; δια νά του δώσης μεγαλύτετερην δόξαν *Pist. kekoim.* 135.

Comparative

- ώς θρασύτεροι νεώτεροι καί αυθάδεις *Spaneas* P 220
 ποιεί κράξιμον εις μεγαλύτερον κριτήν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 19.106–7)
 ήσαν έλαφρότεροι *Chron. Mor.* H 3704
 άν εισαι άναισθητότερος *Liv.* E 3593
 καλύτερη ούκ ήτον *Pol. Tr.* 291 app. crit. (V); εύμορφύτερον *ibid.* 981 app. crit. (A)
 όπου καμμία ούκ έφάνηκεν έμμορφωτέρα εις κόσμον *Flor.* L 922 (Cupane)
 ένι δια καλύτερον *Chron. Mor.* P 507 (ms H gives καλλιώτερον)
 μεγαλλυττέρην χαράν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 144.4 (with shift of stress)
 εις γλυκωτέρους καί καλούς ώσαν μαλθακωτέρους [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 755
 μακρύτερην ζωήν GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 278; με ποίαν καθαρώτερην άλλην βεβαιουσύνην *ibid.* 387
 ποία έναι βαρύτερη καί ποία έναι άλαφρότερη KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 464.23
 όμορφύτερο BAROZZI, *Letter* 358.26
 εις είναι δυνατότερός μου KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 3.11
 μά πλιά λαμπρή κι άσπρύτερη παρά τώ χιόνι έφάνη TROILOS, *Rodol.* V.274
 εις εις έτούτο λειψότεροι LANDOS, *Geopon.* 131.22; κάμνει τά μήλα γλυκότερα *ibid.* 152.11;
 κάμνει τόν καρπόν γλυκύτερον *ibid.* 153.6; δυνατή καί βασταγερότερην *ibid.* 272.24–5
 εις έ κοντύτερο τόπο (1674, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1940: 154.24); εις έ μακρύτερο τόπον (*ibid.* 154.26–7)

⁷⁹ Very rarely, comparatives formed from participles may be found, e.g. εις είναι ό ένδιάθετος λόγος βασταμενώτερος καί πολυχρονιώτερος DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 5, ε1r.19–20 (1561).

⁸⁰ The reverse process is much rarer, but a form δριμνιώτερη (from δριμύς with a palatalized dental nasal, for which see I, 3.8.2.3) is found in a Cretan text: δέν εις είναι ... μεγαλύτερη κόλασις ούδ έ φοβερότερη ούδ έ δριμνιώτερη *Apok. Theot.* 497.101.

ή ἐκκλησία εἶναι μεγάλη, πλατύτερη ἀπὸ τὸν Ἅγιον Γεώργιον (1693, Nauplion, TSELENDI 1978: 5, 242.18)
 ὁ ἄλλος τρανύτιρος (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 55.15) (for the mid-vowel raising see I, 2.5.4)
 χολήν μαυρύτερην ἀπὸ αὐτό το ζωμί *Theophr. Char.* 130.26

Superlative

ὅλες τὲς εὐμορφότερες *Pol. Tr.* 1120 app. crit. (A); ὁ τρανύτερος *ibid.* 6567 app. crit. (BCVX)
 τὸ μεγαλλίτερον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 48.11; νὰ ἐγκλέσωμεν τὸ καλλίτερον τὸ νὰ θελήσῃ ὁ θεός *ibid.* V 234.3–4
 οἶον ἂν ἔνι τὸ μεγαλότερον καὶ πολυεισοδότερον SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 50.4 (cf. comparative μεγαλότερον *ibid.* 124.19–20)
 καὶ γίνεται ἐπιστημονικώτερος τῶν ἀνθρώπων (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 151.1d) (acc. to HENRICH 1990: 360 the omission of the article is a Pontic feature)
 θέλεις κάμει ἐκεῖνο ἀποῦ νὰ σὲ φανῇ τὸ καλύτερον (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 97.22)
 καὶ εἰς ἀπ’ αὐτοὺς, ὁ γεροντότερος, εἶπεν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 146.6
 τῶν παιδίων τῶν μικρότερον ὁλοννῶν (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 172, 222.11)
 ὅς τὲς δελοιπότερες κρίσεις ΜΑΤΤΗΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 1417
 ὅτι διὰ τοὺς ἀπλουσθέρους, τοὺς ὄντας ὡς ἐμέ, ἔγραψα οὕτως VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 29.7
 (for the hypercorrection of /st/ see I, 3.8.1.4)
 δυὸ ποκάμισα ἀπὸ τὰ καινουργιότερα (1639, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 11, 114.130–1)
 τὸν τρανύτερόν του υἱὸν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §9.17
 τὶς ὁμορφύτερες (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/92: 3, 49.21)
 τὸ ὀγληγορότερον πράγμα *Bertoldos* 8.20; ποῖον εἶναι τὸ ἀσπρίτερον πράγμα ὅπου νὰ εἶναι; *ibid.* 34.4
 ἡ ὁμορφύτερη FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm.* I 51
 τὸ καλύτιρου (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 12, 82.18) (for the mid-vowel raising see I, 2.5.4)
 ἐγὼ ὁ τρανίτερος εἶχα πρεσβυτέρα (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 134.11)

3.8.4 Analytic Comparative and Superlative

The analytic (or periphrastic) comparative and superlative consist of the positive form of the adjective preceded by an adverb meaning “more”. For the development of πλέον to πλιό(ν) and πιό, and πλέα to πλιά and πιά, see 3.8.2. Other words that have the same function are πλεώτερο(ν), πλιότερα, πλιάτερα, πλιότερον and πιότερο(ν), and in Cypriot texts περίτου (for which see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.).

Various factors may influence the choice of a periphrastic rather than a synthetic comparative formation; they include euphony, a preference for shorter words, emphasis, and, in verse texts, metrical considerations. The form with πλεό(ν) is attested right up to the end of the period covered by the Grammar, particularly in texts that aim at a more formal register. As far as other forms are concerned, regional variation is not marked, except that πλιά appears to have become the normal form in Cretan texts from the 16th c. onwards, but has not been found elsewhere; as already mentioned, περίτου occurs only in texts from Cyprus.

Comparative

πλεώτερον ἤτον ἄγριος λέοντος ἢ παρδάλου *Pol. Tr.* 6712
 ἐγένετον παντάπασιν ὥσπερ ὁ Ἰούδας ... καὶ πλέα θερμός καὶ ἀδιάκριτος (1496, Pesaro, ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΙ-ΠΛΟΥΜΙΔΙ 1971: 3, 132.25)
 καὶ τούτῃ ἡ παραπρόνεση μὲ κάμνει πλιά πρικούσα FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 170; μὲ πλιά σωσμένο τρόπο *ibid.* 198
 ἦτον περίτου κακὴ παρὰ τὸ φαρμάκιν ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* O 386.20–1
 περίτου ἄξιες *Fior* 73.4
 πολομὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον περίτου ἐγλήγορον καὶ περίτου ὀδηγημένον καὶ περίτου θαρρούμενον *Fior*, *Suppl.* 273.32–4; περίτου πελλὸν παρὰ ποῦ ἐνι *ibid.* 277.16
 πλιὸ ἡγαπημένον ΤΡΙΒΟΛΙΣ, *Re Skotsias* 244
 ἔκαμε ἄλλην πινιάττα πλέο χοντρή (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.13); κατὰ ποῦ νὰ ᾿ναι τὰ κομμάτια πιγλιὸ δυνατὰ (*ibid.* 62.10)⁸¹
 πλιά φτηνὸ (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 150.26)
 ἦτονε πλέο ἐλεύθερη καὶ ὀγλήγορη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.14
 πλιά δροσερὴ ἀπὸ ρόδο | ταχυτερνὸ *Pist. voskos* I 1.95–6
 γιατί κορμί πλιά τέλειο δὲν ἔχω γνωρισμένα ΤΡΟΙΛΟΣ, *Rodol.* III.408; πλιάτερα τιμημένα *ibid.* V.112
 κι ἐλπίζομεν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν πλιὸ ἴμορφοι νὰ γενοῦμεν ΚΟΝΔΑΡ., *Paidēs* 335
 τέχνη ... κιαιμὰ πλιότερα κοπιασμένη ΦΟΣΚΟΛΟΣ, *Fort.* III.240
 αὐτὸς εἶνε πλειὸ ἀνδρειωμένος ΡΕΤΡΙΤΣΙΣ, *Dig.* O 3031
 καὶ μία καργιόλα σιδερίτικη τὴν πλιά μεγάλη ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλην (1685, Naxos, ΣΙΦΟΝΙΟΥ-ΚΑΡΑΡΑ et al. 1982/83: 610, 842.14–15)
 πλέον ἀπόκοτος *Don Kis.* 147.21
 θεμελιωμένοι πλιά βαθιά καὶ πλιότερα μεγάλοι ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* I.1534

Superlative

ὁ πλέον πτωχὸς ἀπ' αὐτεινούς *Pol. Tr.* 2895 app. crit. (X)
 ἦτον ὁ πλέον καταφρονημένος καὶ ἀστοχημένος καὶ πτωχὸς ἄνθρωπος ΔΑΜ. ΣΤΟΥΔ., *Dial.* 93.30–1
 τὰ πλι' ἀκριβὰ μου πράματα ΒΕΝΔΡΑΜΟΣ, *Istor. Filarg.* 172
 γαλιότες ... τὲς πλέτερά του θαρρετὲς ΑΧΕΛΙΣ, *Malt. Pol.* 1499 (for the form πλέτερα see 3.8.6.1)
 τὰ πλιά ἀληθινὰ κομφίνια (1598, Crete, ΒΑΚΚΕΡ/VAN GEMERT 1987: 32, 51.14)
 ποιὸς εἶναι ὁ περίτου γλήγορος ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* R 391.34–5
 τὸ παιδί, τὸ πλιά ἀκριβὸ ποῦ νὰ ᾿χει *Thysia Avr.* 649
 νὰ σηκῶση τὸ πιά ὀλαφρὸν φόρτωμαν *Vios Aisop.* I 251.26; τὸ πιά βαρὺ φόρτωμα *ibid.* 251.27
 φυλαζόμενοι οἱ πλέο βέβαιοι πλησιασμοὶ (1685, Zakynthos, ΜΑΥΡΟΣ 1984: 362.11–12)
 οἱ πλιά ἄσκημοι θανάτοι νὰ μ' εὐροῦσι ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* V.343

3.8.5 Double Forms

The two types of comparative, synthetic and analytic, are sometimes combined for added emphasis. This usage may be regarded as a stylistic device, or a predilection of certain authors, but in fact it occurs quite widely, in all kinds of texts. The following examples include some irregular comparative forms, which will be discussed in 3.8.6.

⁸¹ For the use of <γλ> to represent a palatalized /l/ see I, 3.8.2.3 and for the anaptyxis of /i/ see I, 2.6.2.

Comparative

πλέον ἀποκοτώτερος καβαλλάρης οὐκ ἦτον *Pol. Tr.* 3103 app. crit. (AVX)
 γιὰ πλίο ἡδονικότερον *Theseid* Prol. E 115
 περίτου δυνατότερος *Fior* 84.19
 πλέον δυνατότερος KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 108.3; πλέο ἀχαμνότεροι καὶ ὀλιγότεροι *ibid.* 194.2
 ὁπού εἴχασι πλέον χειρότερα ὀζά (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 387.16)
 πλέον πραχτικότερος (1567, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 6, 308.41–2)
 γυναίκα πλιά καλύτερη CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.277
 τὰ πλέα τελειότερα RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 63.20–1
 δὲν εὐρίσκεται τὸ πλέον χειρότερον κτήνος ἀπὸ τὸν χωριάτην *Bertoldin.* 106.21 (comparative in meaning but with def. art.)
 ἄλλον τελώνιο πλιά ἀδυνατώτερο καὶ ἀγριώτερο *Apok. Theot.* 495.37
 ὁπού ἔμαι πλιὸ μικρότερος ἀπ’ ὅλους κοπελλάκι KONDAK., *Paidēs* 124
 διὰ πλέον καλύτερη φύλαξη SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 34.33–34.1
 πιλιο ἡγγυτότερος (1695, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 189, 113.2)
 γιὰ πιλιο καλύτερό μου KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.798

Superlative

τές πλέον εὐμορφότερες *Pol. Tr.* 1120 app. crit. (B) (τὰς πλέον εὐμορφότερας X)
 οἱ πλέα καλύτεροι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 202.18; εἰς τὸν πλέον δυναμότερον τόπον *ibid.* 477.27
 εἴμεστεν οἱ πλέα δυστυχέστεροι καὶ ταλαίπωροι ἄνθρωποι DAM. STOUD., *Dial.* 98.3
 τὴ μπλέα εὐχολότερη στράτα (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 236, 224.17)
 με τές πλέον ευμορφύτερες *Don Kis.* 454.14

3.8.6 Irregular Formations

Already in papyri of the first centuries AD new comparative forms can be found with the suffix -τερος attached to the stem of comparatives in -ων. Examples: καλλιότεροι (1st. c.), μειζοτέρᾱ (2nd c.), πλεωτέραν (6th c.) (see GIGNAC 1981: 157–8, there called “double comparison”; see also PSALTES 1913: 190). For certain lexical items such formations have become the norm in SMG, e.g. χειρότερος < AG χείρων.

Analogical developments such as these led, by and large, to greater regularity in the system. However, certain of the old AG comparative forms continue in use but undergo a variety of morphological developments, which, since they are word-specific, must be regarded as “irregular” in terms of the system of comparatives as a whole. Two particular lexical items are examined in the following sections: (1) πλείων, with its derivatives πλέος and πλεότερος (and their phonological variants), as well as indeclinable forms (3.8.6.1); (2) καλλίων and its derivatives καλλίος, κάλλιος, καλλιότερος, καλύτερος (3.8.6.2). Some other irregular forms are noted in 3.8.6.3.

One other word should be mentioned here: μέγας (see 3.6.1 for the positive forms) and its various comparatives. The residual AG form μείζων can be found mainly in texts that aim at a higher register (see 3.3.4 for the paradigm and examples). It is replaced by various forms in -ότερος and -ύτερος. The first form to appear is μεγαλώτερος (or -ότερος, the difference being merely a matter of spelling), in a 9th-c. legal text (preserved in a 12th-c. ms): ὁ φόβος ὁ ὑπάρχων περὶ αἰσχροτήτος ἀσελγείας μεγαλώτερός ἐστι *Prochiron Leg.* XL.21.1. This form is widespread, until at least the 16th c.:

εἰς μεγαλύτερον κριτ(ήν) (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 19.107)
 ἡ μεγαλύτερη (14th c.?, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1994: 1, 286.38)
 μεγαλύτερον δίκαιον *Assizes* B 416.1
 ὄλον τὸ μεγαλώτερον γομάριν *Pol. Tr.* 867 app. crit. (AB)
 μεγαλωτέρα *Chron. Toc.* 358; ἐγίνη μεγαλώτερος ἐξ ὅλους τοὺς ἀφέντες *ibid.* 3727
 μεγαλύτερον *Chron. Mor.* P 602
 τῶν μεγαλωτέρων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1080
 μεγαλύτερον (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 101.12)
 μεγαλύτερόν ἐστι *Krasop.* V 17
 ἐστοντας ὅτι το ἐδίωχναν ἄλλα ψάρια μεγαλύτερα ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 16.3

An alternative form μεγαλιώτερος (or -ότερος) has been found from the 14th c. onwards. It results from confusion with the comparative of AG μεγαλειός (and, consequently, is sometimes written with <ει>), perhaps also influenced by an analogy with καλλιότερος (for which see below). In literary texts preserved in more than one ms, the two forms sometimes alternate. However, this variation does not follow any obvious geographical distribution.

μεγαλιώτερον *Chron. Mor.* H 602
 ὄλον τὸ μεγαλιώτερον ἀλλάγι *Pol. Tr.* 867 app. crit. (X); οἱ πλέον μεγαλιώτεροι θεοὶ *ibid.* 6584 app. crit. (C)
 μεγαλειότερες *Theseid* I.56,3 (Follieri); τοὺς μεγαλειότερους Ἑλληνες *ibid.* I.98,5
 μεγαλιότερος (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 222.4)
 μεγαλιώτερα ἤθελεν μοῦ δώσειν *Diig. Alex.* F 232.17 (Lolos)
 χώραν μεγαλιώτερην ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* X.272
 μεγαλιώτερα *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 271.Π.71
 ο μύθος λέγει πως τινὲς οἱ τοῦ φιλονικοῦσι με τοὺς μεγαλιότερους τοῦ λόγου τοὺς λυπούσι
 ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 106.9–10

Finally, the form which will become standard in MG, μεγαλύτερος (variously spelled in the texts), also emerges in the LMedG period. The earliest examples found are in Cypriot texts, often with gemination of /t/ (see I, 3.4.2.5). By the 16th c. it is quite widespread; it occurs frequently in Cretan literary texts of the 16th and 17th c.

τὸ μεγαλλίτερον ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 48.11; μεγαλλήττερον ἀδελφὸν *ibid.* 258.3; διὰ
 μεγαλλήττερην στερέωσιν *ibid.* 506.13
 μεγαλλυττέρην ΒΟΥΣΤΡ., *Chron.* A 144.4
 μεγαλύτερος πόνος *Fior* 102.30
 σ' ἔναν μεγαλείτερον ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* 18.15
 τὴν μεγαλύτερην ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 239.21
 διὰ νὰ τοῦ δώσης μεγαλύττερην δόξαν *Pist. kekoim.* 135–6
 εἰς ἄλλην μεγαλύτερην ΔΑΜ. ΣΤΟΥΔ., *Dial.* 99.16–17
 λόχη μεγαλύτερη ΧΟΡΤΑΤΣΙΣ, *Panor.* I.334; ἅπ' ὅλους μεγαλύτερος *id., Erof.* I.44
 πλιά μεγαλύτερες (1644, Crete, ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ 1990: 483.287)
 στοὺς μεγαλύτερος ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* I.660; μεγαλύτερα σημάδια *ibid.* V.726

3.8.6.1 πλείων etc.

Residual forms of AG πλέων or πλείων are occasionally found in texts of the period covered by this Grammar (for these see 3.3.4). The shorter forms in -ω may also be found, though very rarely; in the following example this form (properly masc. and fem. acc. sg.

or neuter pl. in AG) is used for fem. acc. pl.: ἐγὼ τὰς πλέω καὶ τὰς καλὰς τὰς χάριτας τὰς ἔχω *Diig. tetr.* 468 app. crit. (C).

New forms based on a masc. nom. sg. πλέος (or πλεῖος) occur from the 15th c. onwards, declined regularly like adjectives in -ος with fem. -α (3.2.2):

πλέα καὶ καλύτερα (1422, Meteora, VEIS 1911/12: 15, 54.14)
 ὁ πόνος ἔναι πλέος *Liv.* V 3658; σιγοπατῶ τὰ πλέα *ibid.* 3939
 οἱ πλέοι ἀπὲ τὰ Ἰωάννινα τὸν δούκαν ἡγαποῦσαν *Chron. Toc.* 1412; ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἀπίστησεν ὁ πλέος *ibid.* 3519
 αὐτὰ καὶ ἄλλα πλέα *Chron. Mor.* P 2459
 διὰ πλέαν ἀσφάλειαν (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 48.17)
 διὰ πλέα φερμασιόν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.51)
 ὁ λαὸς δὲ ὁ πλεῖος τῶν χωρῶν καὶ καστρῶν ἔφυγον *Ekth. Chron.* 74.22
 κ' ἔχουν πιλέο μέταλλο (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 64.16–17) (for the anaptyxis of /i/ see I, 2.6.2)⁸²
 τὸ πλέο κίνδυνο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 84.13; cf. the oddly formed double superlative ὁ πλέος ὁμορφύτερος *ibid.* 142.10–11

Forms of πλιός, deriving from πλέος or πλεῖος, after synizesis, are found from the 15th c. onwards:⁸³

πλιά τρομάρα *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 235; μὲ πλιά καρδιά *ibid.* 608; σ' ὅσο ζοῦμε πλιὸν καιρὸν *id., Rim. Par.* 148
 σε πλιά φωτιὰν *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.245; μὲ πλιὰν ἀγάπη *id., Erof.* III.123
 πλιά βιά'χω καὶ πλιά πεθυμιά *Stathis* II.263
 πλιά 'ναι ἡ φωτιά τοῦ νέκταρος, τοῦτο πλιά δύναμη ἔχει *Zinon Prol.* 183
 σ' πλιά πάθη *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.132; πλιά δύναμη καὶ πλιά καρδιά *ibid.* I.1166; πλιάς τέχνης καὶ πλιάς μαστοριάς *ibid.* II.1068; σ' πλιά μάνηταν *ibid.* II.2375; ὅλα τὰ πλιά *ibid.* IV.111
 ὀγιά πλιά βεβαίωσι *Leilasia Par. Dedic.* 21

The forms πλέο, πλιά and πλιό (see I, 2.6.2) are also used indeclinably:

μὲ πλέο τέχνη καὶ ὑψηλότητα (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.20); μὲ τοὺς πλέο ἀνθρώπους (*ibid.* 60.22–3); δίνει πλιό δύναμη (*ibid.* 62.4)
 νὰ δώσει πλιά κριτήριο *Thysia Avr.* 302
 οἱ πλιά κλαῖσι *TROILOS, Rodol. Prol.* Mell.104
 οἱ ὁποῖες ἔρχονται τὲς πλέα φορές *LANDOS, Geopon.* 129.24–5
 διὰ πλιό σεγουριτὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγάπης (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.14–15)
 εἰς τὲς πλιά χαρὲς *Zinon Prol.* 188
 πλιά λαὸν *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.971; σ' πλιά φόβο *ibid.* IV.1121

Like other AG comparative forms in -ων, πλέων/πλείων acquires new forms through the addition of {oteros} to the stem πλε- or πλει-. These forms are first attested in the EMedG period (see above) and are well established by the beginning of the LMedG period. The form πλεώτερος (or πλεότερος) seems to be preferred in texts that aim at a more formal

⁸² Forms with anaptyxis of /i/ – πλιά, πλιό, πλειότερα, πλειότερος – are also found in the works of the 18th-c. playwright and poet Katsaitis, who was a native of Kefalonia. With a different anaptyctic vowel, the form πουλιό, which occurs in modern Heptanesian idioms, is found in a 17th-c. document from Zakynthos: παρόντας καὶ πουλιό μέρος ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνορίτες (app. crit.) (1659, Zakynthos, AVOURIS 1973: 219.10–11).

⁸³ Cf. the prefixed form περίπλεος or περιπλέος (KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.), also found with synizesis, e.g. τοὺς περιπλιὸς ἀνθρώπους (1509, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [1], 5.9–10); μὲ τὴν περιπλιὰν τῶνε συντροφία (1544, *ibid.* [2], 7.4–5).

register. Forms from πλ(ε)ίτερος are likely to have undergone synzesis, as indicated by the evidence of verse texts. A form πλιάτερος (perhaps influenced by the adverb πλιά) is found in certain texts of the 17th c. from West Crete, while πλέτερος occurs in the 16th-c. poem of the Rethymniot Achelis.

τὸ πλεότερον *Poulol.* 39
 δύναμιν πλεωτέραν *Pol. Tr.* 220 app. crit. (AEV); δύναμιν πλειοτέραν *ibid.* 220 app. crit. (X)
 γράψειν εἶχα καὶ πλεότερα *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 45
 ἢ γῆς εἶναι πλεότερη *Diig. Alex.* K 376.13
 λίζατον πλεώτερον *Diig. Alex.* E 171.10 (Konstantinopulos); οἱ πλεώτεροι *ibid.* 161.7
 πλείοτερα καὶ καλλιότερα (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.7)
 ἄν ἤθελε ἡύρηθεῖ πλεώτερον (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 32, 44.13)
 ἐκάη τὸ πλεότερον μέρος τοῦ κάστρου (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 34.II, 47B'B².10)
 παρὰ πάντας ἄνθρωπος πλεώτερος λογαῖσαι *Alex. Rim.* 1777
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ πλιότερου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 238, 225.18)
 ἢ πλιότερα ἢ λιγότερα (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.6)
 οἱ πλειότεροι *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 174.E.7
 χίλιες φορές καὶ πλιότερες *CHORTATSIS, Panor.* IV.84 (Bancroft-Marcus);⁸⁴ ἐκεῖνο ἀπ' ἔχω
 πλιότερο *id., Erof.* III.299; ἔβγα, νὰ ζήσης, μετ' αὐτὴ ἵς πλιότερα μὴν ἐρθῆτε *id., Katz.*
 III.338; γρίκησ' ἐδὰ τὸ πλιότερο· δὲ θεὸ νὰ τοῦ τὴ δώση *ibid.* III.376
 ὅτινος ξάζη πλιότερα (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 396, 369.16)
 εἰς τὶ ὀλιγότερον νὰ βάλῃ τὸ πλιότερον *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 80.5
 τοὺς πλειότερους *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1474
 πλεότιρο χρέο ἱπῆρις (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.31–2) (with
 mid-vowel raising; see I, 2.5.4)
 πλέτερην προθυμίαν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 710; μὲ πλέτερὴν τοὺς δύναμιν *ibid.* 2024
 σὲ πλιάτερην ἀγάπη *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.132; πλιάτερος ἐγένηκε ... ὁ θυμός του *ibid.* I.175;
 πλιάτερου ξασμοῦ *ibid.* III.166; πλιάτερην ὥρα *ibid.* IV.552a; τοῖ πλιάτερες φορές *ibid.*
 IV.164
 μὲ πλιάτερη χαρὰ *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 300.15

3.8.6.2 καλλίων, καλλιώτερος etc.

Residual forms of AG καλλίων, the comparative of καλός, are sometimes found in texts of the period covered by this Grammar (for these see 3.3.4). Two new developments can be observed in LMedG:

- 1) Masculine καλλίων is adapted to the -ος declension, but with paroxytone stress retained and, potentially, a full paradigm.

νύμφην ὥραϊαν, πανεύγενον, | τῆς δύσεως τὴν καλλίαν *Eisit.* f.1v.9–10; ἀλλὰ τὰ εὐγενικώτερα
 | καὶ τὰ καλλία τοῦ κόσμου *ibid.* f.4r.9–10
 καὶ ποῦ καλλίον εἰς κόσμον; *Spaneas Va* 515

⁸⁴ The edition of *Panoria* by Kriaras and Pidonia here reads πιότερες, but this form is not found in any of the mss, as R. Bancroft-Marcus has kindly confirmed.

Forms with synizesis (i.e. καλλιός) also occur:

καλλιόν μας ἔνι *Chron. Mor.* H 4723 (ms καλίων; metre requires a disyllable)
 καλλιός ἔναι ὁ θάνατος *Love poems* V 782
 καλλιόν ἔνι *Fior* 103.32 (cf. *ibid.* 130.36–131.1)
 πάντα λογιάζει νά 'ν' καλλιὰ παρά κιαμιὰ κοπέλα *CHORTATSI*, *Panor.* III.292
 ἄλλη δὲν ἔν' καλλιὰ σου *FOSKOLOS*, *Fort.* III.104; γιὰ τὰ καλλιὰ σου *ibid.* IV.240

- 2) From the neuter κάλλιο(ν) a new paradigm emerges: κάλλιος, fem. κάλλια, neut. κάλλιο(ν) (declined like the adjectives in 3.2.2).

ὁ κάλλιος φίλος ὅπου εἶχεν *Chron. Mor.* H 3218
 κάλλια κόρη οὐκ ἦτον *Pol. Tr.* 291 app. crit. (A); ὅπου οὐκ εἶχαν κάλλιον *ibid.* 767 app. crit. (A)
 τοὺς κάλλιους ἄνδρας τῶν Ἑβριῶν *CHOUMNOS*, *Kosmog.* 2602
 ἦν δὲ καὶ νέος καὶ εὐγενικός καὶ κάλλιος ἐκ τοὺς δέκα *Achil.* N 309; τὴν κόρην τὴν
 ἀσύγκριτον, τοῦ κόσμου τὴν καλλιάν *ibid.* 1684
 κόρην τὴν κάλλιαν *Liv.* α 1302
 κάλλιοι ἔν οἱ κυνοκεφάλοι *SACHLIKIS*, *Peri fylakis* 334 (Wagner)
 τὸ μερτικόν τὸ κάλλιον *BERGADIS*, *Apok.* A 296
 τὰ κάλλια παλληκάρια *Alex. Rim.* 497
 καὶ κάλλιον καιρὸ μὴν ἀκαρτερῇ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 144.5
 τὸ κάλλιο μερτικόν *TROILOS*, *Rodol.* V.250
 κιαμιὰ κάλλια μου δὲ λογιάζω *FOSKOLOS*, *Fort. Interm.* I 62
 τὸ κάλλιο παλληκάρι *KORNAROS*, *Erot.* II.1990; ἀπὸ τοὺς δυὸ τὸν κάλλιο νὰ διαλέγῃ *ibid.*
 IV.1733

In Cretan texts, and in the Rhodian Limenitis, we find the neuter plural or adverbial forms κάλλια and καλλιὰ used as indeclinable adjectives:⁸⁵

μὰ θεὲ κουτάλες δυνατὲς παρὰ τὲς πρώτες κάλλια *LIMEN.*, *Than. Rod.* 435
 παρὰ ζωὴ ὁ θάνατος βλέπω πῶς εἶν' καλλιὰ μου *CHORTATSI*, *Panor.* II.542; γιὰτὶ καλλιὰ δὲν
 εἶν' ὁ γέϊς τίβοτσι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλο *id.*, *Erof.* II.22; ποῖός ἐκ τοὺς βασιλιάδες | γιὰ νὰ τσῆ πείς
 εἶναι καλλιὰ *ibid.* II.283–4
 ὁ παλιὸς φίλος κι ὁ πλιὰ καλλιὰ σου *TROILOS*, *Rodol.* II.104
 ὡσὰν καλλιὰ τεχνίτης *KORNAROS*, *Erot.* II.869; ὅχι νὰ 'ν' ὁ Κυπρίδημος κάλλια του παλληκάρι
ibid. II.1830; κι ὀπίσω του δὲν ἤφηκε καλλιὰ του *ibid.* IV.1952

A new comparative of καλός, with the suffix -τερος, came into existence in Late Antiquity (see LSJ s.v. καλός). This form, καλλιώτερος (or -ότερος), scorned by the Atticists, occurs in all kinds of texts and remains in use throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

τὴν ὑπερκαλλιώτερον *Assizes* B 278.24
 τοὺς καλλιώτερους *Pol. Tr.* 777 app. crit. (EVX); καλλιώτεροι *ibid.* 823 app. crit. (BV)
 καλλιότερος (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 7, 311.13)
 πλειότερα καὶ καλλιότερα (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.7)
 τοὺς πρώτους καὶ καλλιώτερους *Chron. Mor.* P 6362
 τὴν καλλιόττερην στράταν *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 12.8 (for the gemination of /t/ see I, 3.4.2.5)
 καλλιότερον ἔνι *Fior* 102.27
 τοῦ κόσμου καλλιότέρα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 694 (vocative)

⁸⁵ KAFKALAS (1995: 102) mentions the use of καλλιὰ in place of an adjective in Crete.

ωσάν να ἦτον και καλλιότερον *Vios Filaret.* 241.5
 ἄλλονῶν καλλιότερων μου συγγραφέων *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 74.30
 θέλεις γενεῖς καὶ καλιώτερος *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.6
 τὰ σημαδικὰ τὰ καλιώτερα [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VI 369.36
 τὸ καλλιότερον κρασί νὰ τοὺς κεράση *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §29.83–4
 εἰς τὸ καλλιώτερο (1696, Albania, *MERTZIOS* 1947a: 11, 215.2)
 τὸ καλλιότερον καὶ συμφερότερον (1698, Sinai, *PAPASTRATOU* 1981: 7, 61.70)

Towards the end of the LMedG period, the MG form καλύτερος (variously spelled) begins to appear in written texts; the first attested occurrence is from Corfu, in a Greek version of a Hebrew biblical text: καλλίτερος ὁ θάνατός μου *Jonas* 216.97 (14th-c. ms). The second datable occurrence is from the first half of the 15th c.: νερὰ ἐκ τὰ καλύτερα *Chron. Toc.* 2114. The form becomes more frequent from the late 15th c. onwards:⁸⁶

τὸ καλύτερον (1487, Rhodes, *LEFORT* 1981: 18, 97.22)
 καλύτερον (1502, Corfu, *PANDAZI* 2007: 57, 48.13)
 καλύτερη οὐκ ἦτον *Pol. Tr.* 291 app. crit. (V); τὲς καλύτερες ... βουλὲς *ibid.* 4341 app. crit. (ABX)
 διὰ καλίτερον *Chron. Mor.* P 507; τοὺς πρώτους καὶ καλλίτερους (ms καλήτερους) *ibid.* P 6885
 νὰ ἐγκλέσωμεν τὸ καλλιίτερον τὸ νὰ θελήσῃ ὁ θεὸς *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 234.3–4
 τὴν καλύτερην (1538, Naxos, *VISVIZIS* 1951: 10, 23.42)
 τὴν καλλυπτέρην στράταν *VOUSTR., Chron.* B 13.7
 καλύτερό 'ναι εἰς ἐσέν *Alex. Rim.* 2443
 καλός, καλλίτερος *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 44.21
 ποτάμια καλλιίτερα *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 3, γ3v.25 (1561); καλλίτερος εἶναι ἐκεῖνος *ibid.* *Logos* 13, v3r.10
 καλύτερο μοῦ φαίνεται τοῦτο *CHORTATIS, Erof.* IV.635; καλύτερή τζή κοπελιά στὴ χώρα δὲν κατέχω *ibid., Katz.* III.405–6
 θέλει διαλέξωμεν τὸ καλύτερον (1654, Chios, *ZERLENDIS* 1917: 3, 244.25–6)
 τ' ἄρματα τὰ καλύτερα *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1285; τὴν πλιά καλύτερη βουλὴν *ibid.* IV.32

3.8.6.3 Other Irregular Forms

Monolectic comparative forms that deviate from the usual patterns tend to be word-specific and consequently belong more to the domain of lexicography. We note a few examples of irregular comparative/superlative forms to illustrate their diverse nature.

-ότερος added to AG comparatives in -ων
 ἐλαττώτερος *Achil.* N 1082

τῶν θεῶν ἡ κρειττοτέρα *ERMON., Ilias* 1.227; ὁ κρειττότερος τῶν ὄλων *ibid.* 7.298
 πασῶν τὴν κρειττοτέραν *Velth.* 533
 κρειττότερον *Ptochol.* α 135
 οἱ κρειττότεροι ἄνθρωποι (16th c., Constantinople, *PREGES* 1912: 468.28–9)

⁸⁶ Although some of the literary texts cited here are assumed to have been written in the 14th or 15th c., most of the mss containing the form καλύτερος date from the 16th c. The only exceptions (found so far) are mss A and X for the *Pol. Tr.* (15th c.).

μειζότερας (1134, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 4, 14.22)
 ἀκόμη τὸ μειζότερον τὸ κάμνει τὸ μαλλὶν μου *Diig. tetr.* 497
 τῆς μειτζότερας ἐκκλησίας Βοῶς (1572, S. Italy, VIOLI 2006: 311.23)

-έστερος instead of -ότερος
 γνησιεστέρου SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 60.17

-έστερος instead of -ύτερος
 ὁ παχέστερος λέγω ΚΑΜΑΤ., *Astron.* 3906

Comparative formed from a noun
 νὰ εἶναι ἐγγυτότεροι (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 5, 219.13)
 (presumably from ἐγγυητής)

Superlative from words that are already comparative or absolute in meaning
 οἱ πρωτότεροι *Pol. Tr.* 1318
 ἦτον ὁ ὑστερώτερος καλὸς καὶ πιδέξιος *Chron. Mor.* P 1375
 ἀπὸ κανένα ἀπὸ τοὺς πρωτύτερούς του RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 62.22⁸⁷
 οἱ πρωτύτεροι VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.10

3.8.7 Absolute Superlative

The AG relative superlative in -τατος became restricted to use as an absolute superlative. These absolute superlatives tend to have a more formal ring and are therefore less common in lower-register texts (except perhaps in honorific forms of address). Since they are declined like adjectives in -ος with feminine -η, examples to illustrate variation in morphology (endings) and stress are given in the relevant section (3.2.1). Here we are concerned with the way absolute superlatives are derived from the positive form of the adjective. We first discuss regular formations (-ότατος, -ύτατος, -έστατος etc.), then the so-called irregular forms (-στος) from AG comparatives in -ων.

3.8.7.1 Regular Forms

We include forms that, although differing from both their AG and MG equivalents, are nonetheless formed by the application of a regular morphological process, e.g. καλότατος (< καλός), λιγότατος (< (ὀ)λίγος), μεγάλότατος (<μεγάλος). Further indications that the process is still productive are: (1) new lexical items can acquire the form, e.g. ἀπαρθινός -ότατος, κουζουλός -ότατος; (2) phonological change in the positive form also applies to the absolute superlative, e.g. ἄξότατος (< ἄξιος, with depalatalization; see I, 2.4.7), ὁμορφότατος (< εὐμορφος), φρενιμότατος (< φρόνιμος; see I, 2.8.1 for the sound change). In other words, the absolute superlative forms are not merely inherited as lexical items from AG, but remain a productive part of the morphological system, at least for certain registers. As in the comparative, the difference in spelling of the linking vowel (<ο> vs. <ω>) relates to AG quantities and is not significant in MedG. Movement of stress to the

⁸⁷ For further examples of πρωτύτερος see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.

penultimate (where AG accentuation rules would have required it; see 3.2.1) is quite common, but forms without stress movement are also found, e.g. ἀνθρώπους ἐλαφρότατους *Chron. Mor.* P 6972.

From adjectives in -ος

τοῦ εὐγενικοτάτου ἄρχοντος (1182, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 212, 277.13)
 ἐκ γένους χαμηλότατου *Velis.* χ 29
 ὡς μάνα του γλυκότατη FALIEROS, *Thrinus* 21
 μεγαλώτατον προικιόν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 330.30; τρισεντιμότητε *ibid.* 640.24
 φρενιμότητος ἐνι *Fior*, *Suppl.* 276.16
 ἓνα περιστέρι ἀσπρότατον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334–5.43, 1
 τοῦ ἀτυχώτατου ποδότα ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 563
 ἡ μεγαλειοτάτη ἀρχόντισσα (1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.5)
 δυο γάμοι ἀξότατοι CHORTATIS, *Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 86; σοφώτατος νὰ κράζωμαι *id.*, *Katz.* III.493; ρουφιάνε ἀπαρθινότατε *ibid.* III.537–8
 ἡ ἀγιότατη Γῆς MOREZINOS, *Klini* 40.34–5
 κουζουλότατοι ἄνθρωποι AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 305
 ἀτοπώτατον καὶ παρανομώτατον RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 127.19–20
 ἓνα παιδί, πολλὰ εὐμορφότατον VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.32
 περβολιῶ ὁμορφότατω καὶ μοσκομυρισμένῳ TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.148
 ρεάλια περισσότατα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 452; κί' εἰσὲ λιγότατον καιρὸν *ibid.* 1207
 νὰ γένῃ ξύδι καλότατον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 244.19–20
 τῶν ἀγιότατων πάπηδων (17th c., Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [3], 14.4)
 γιὰ σέν, ποθεινοτάτη PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 456; με̐ μεγαλώτατη φωνή *ibid.* 1056
 ἀπομένω ἑτοιμότητος στὶς ὀρισμού[ς] σας (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 507.33)
 καὶ εὗρηκα μεγαλότατες κίνησες (1699, Salona, DOKOS 1975: 12, 173.1–2)
 ἄλλογο ἀγριώτατο KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.335; μιὰ λαμπυρότατη φωτιά *ibid.* IV.66
 εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν φοβερότατη στιγμή EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.4–5

From adjectives in -ης

εἰς λέξιν ἀκριβέστατην *Velis.* χ 561
 τρεῖς χρόνοι πληρεστάτοι *Pol. Tr.* 203 app. crit. (EVX)⁸⁸
 ἐτέρων ἀληθεστάτων πλησιαστάδων (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 71, 184.10)
 ἔμπροσθεν τῶν εὐγενεστάτω καὶ παρακαλετῶ μαρτύρων (1528, Naxos, KARABOULA/
 RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 113, 223.3)
 ἀσεβέστατε *Fyll. gadar.* 264 m
 αὐτὸς ὁ Ἡρώδης ὁ ἀσεβέστατος KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.4–5
 κρίνον εὐωδέστατον MOREZINOS, *Klini* 41.12–13
 ὁ εὐλαβέστατος παπᾶς (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 396, 369.2)
 τοῦ ποτὲ εὐγενέστατου μας Πιέρου (1612, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 7, 361.3–4)
 κάπιοιο χοτροειδέστατον Γκουρτζῆ Μεχεμέτ πασᾶ (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 403, f.3r.65–6)
 χριστιανοὶ μου εὐσεβέστατοι AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 41
 ὦ ευγενέστατη πατρίς, Κύπρος ευλογημένη IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 9623

⁸⁸ Such forms, with movement of stress to the penultimate where it is not justified by AG accentuation rules, occasionally occur for the absolute superlative, particularly in verse texts. Cf. δριμοτάτες and βαρυτάτες in the next group of examples, and see 3.2.1.

From adjectives in -ύς

ἀρετὴν γλυκύτατην *Diig. sebast. Thom.* 73
 μάχες δριμοτάτες *Pol. Tr.* 58 app. crit. (AX)⁸⁹
 ἡ γλυκύτατη PLOUSIAD., *Thrinios* 10 (Vasileiou)
 πίκρες βαρυτάτες *Dig.* A 1854
 εἰς ποῖον γλυκύτατον καὶ φωτεινότατον τόπον ΠΑΡΑ-ΛΑΥΡ., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.8–9
 τὲς ἀνάπαυσεσ καὶ ἀπόλαυσεσ τοῦ γλυκυτάτου κόσμου VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.35–6
 τὸν πρικύτατον θάνατον (1646, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 22, 163.6)
 ὦ γλυκυτάτῃ μου πατρίς ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 9621
 γλυκυτάτῃ γυνὴ μου PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 933–4; σήκω, γλυκύτατό μου φῶς *ibid.* 1757

3.8.7.2 Irregular Forms from Comparatives in -ων

The most common lexical items that appear with forms in -στος are: κάκιστος, κάλλιστος, μέγιστος and πλείστος.⁹⁰ Some examples:

βουλὴν ἔβαλα κάλλιστην *Pol. Tr.* 531 app. crit. (BEVX)
 μέγιστος βασιλεὺς βασιλέων (1489, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 19, 100.1)
 ὦ συμφορῶν μεγίστων *Dig.* A 2642
 αὐτὸν τὸν κάκιστον Ἀρχέλαον ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 337.6–7
 με πλείστην ἀφοβία PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2296

Occasionally such words are treated as “two-termination”, i.e. masculine forms are used with feminine referents (see 3.2.4):

ζημίαν νὰ ποίση μέγιστον *Pol. Tr.* 1605 app. crit. (A)
 ἡ κάκιστος ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 108

3.8.7.3 Other Irregular Forms

One new form which is common in EMG (but does not occur in SMG) is πολλότατος, from πολὺς.⁹¹

αἱ πολλότατές του δυνάμεις KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 11.20
 πολλότατον πλοῦτον VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 73.31–2
 με ἄρχοντες πολλότατους MONTSEL., *Evgena* 101
 σκουληκοὶ πολλότατοι *Apok. Theot.* 491.96
 κλάηματα πολλότατα (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 1, 25.2)
 με λουμπαρδιές πολλότατες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 213.14
 ἡ θλίψη μου ἡ πολλότατη *Zinon* II.16; πολλότατες βολές *ibid.* III.77
 διὰ τὶς πολλότατές των πείραξες καὶ δούλεψες (1667, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [6], 24.19)

⁸⁹ This form implies a positive form δριμός, instead of δριμύς, but the mss of this text present a number of linguistic oddities.

⁹⁰ The inherited superlative form πρῶτιστος (for which there is no comparative in -ων) can also be found, mainly in mid- and higher-register texts, e.g. πρὸς τὸν πρῶτιστον γάμον ΚΑΜΑΤ., *Astron.* 249; τὸ πρῶτιστον ἁμάρτημα ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 1601 (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. for further examples).

⁹¹ The 17th-c. grammar of Romanos gives for the superlative of πολὺς only the forms: πολλότατος, πολλοτάτη, πολλότατον ROMANOS, *Grammar* 13.12.

πολλότατα ἀργύρια *Alex. Fyll.* 14.21

ἔβαλαν ἀφορεσμούς πολλοτάτους *PYRRIS, Diig. panouklas* 109.10 (with shift of stress to the penultimate)

Finally, the texts occasionally have peculiar forms like the following, where there is an apparent mismatch of stem and suffix:

ἡ καὶ κανεῖς τῶν πλανητῶν τῶν κακεστάτων φύσει *ΚΑΜΑΤ., Astron.* 1527

πλουσιέστατον *Ekth. Chron.* 83.27 (instead of πλουσιότατον)

ἐλεημονότατοι (1583, Athens?, *MERTZIOS* 1954: 1, 123.2) (instead of ἐλεημονέστατοι)

ἐλεημονωτάτη *ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, Rebelio* 59.8

θυγατέραν ἀχρειεστάτων γονέων *Don Kis.* 175.3

4 Adverbs

4.1 Historical Overview

Adverbs form a large and varied lexical group, subject to continuous phonological, morphological and analogical developments over the centuries. New formations and semantic shifts further complicate the historical study of Greek adverbs, which in large measure belongs to the domain of lexicography. In this chapter the main focus is on adverbs formed from adjectives and from certain pronouns or determiners (τόσος, καμπόσος etc.), either by suffixation (-ως) or by the specialized use of a neuter form (-α, -ον etc.), or by a combination of these processes (e.g. -α + /s/). Attention will, however, be given to some other productive adverbial suffixes, of which the most important are -ις/-ις and -ου.

Adverbs in both -ως and -α, formed from adjectives in -ος, are found throughout the period covered by this Grammar, and indeed both types already existed in AG (JANNARIS 1897: 149–50; PAPADOPOULOS 1940: 15–56). The use of the neuter plural (accusative) form in -α increased over time, and by the LMedG period it appears to predominate in lower-register texts. (For a rather general survey see PAPADOPOULOS 1940.) It has been proposed that the form with -α came to be preferred because the ending -ως had become phonetically identical with masc. nom. sg. -ος (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 307; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 208; PSALTES 1913: 341), although this would only apply to certain classes of adjective.

The adverbial use of the neuter accusative singular of the adjective (or determiner) is also found in AG for certain words, e.g. μικρόν, μόνον, πολύ, πρώτον, τόσον, and similar usages can also be found in the Byzantine chronicles (see PSALTES 1913: 340). (For the comparative degree of adverbs this was in fact the normal formation in AG; see below.) In MedG it is limited to adverbs of quantity or degree, adverbs from ordinal numerals, and certain words relating to time and speed. The intensive adverb “very” is found in both singular (πολύ) and plural (πολλά) forms in LMedG and EMG, with the latter being the more common in lower-register texts.

A final /s/ is often added to various words with adverbial function, as well as certain prepositions and conjunctions (I, 3.7.1.2) and the present participle of the verb (functioning as a gerund; see III, 4.7).¹ Examples of the spread of this “adverbial” suffix include: πρότες, (ἐ)τότες, άλλοτες, πάντοτες, τάχατες, τίποτες, ὁψές, ἀλλήλως etc. (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 53).

This tendency is normally dated to the 14th c. Since by this time the inherited adverbial forms in -ως had usually been replaced by forms in -α in the vernacular, the spread of final

¹ The argument that the -οντες ending is adverbial in origin has been advanced most recently in GORTON 2013. For a different explanation see III, 4.7.

/s/ to other categories of adverb (and other parts of speech)² could either be viewed as an archaism or explained as analogy with adverbs and conjunctions in -ως that continued in use, e.g. ἀλλέως/ἀλλιώς, ἴσως, καθώς, ὅμως, ὅπως, πάντως, ποσώς, πώς, τοιούτως. The new forms with final /s/, e.g. ἀργάς, μοναχάς, πρώτας, occur from the 15th c. onwards, and are particularly common in Cretan texts.³

The only example encountered of an adverb in -ε formed from an adjective (or, rather, as a variant of an adverb in -ο(ν)) is μόνε. It is found in texts from various geographical areas, from the 15th c. to the end of the 17th.

ὁ πύργος μένει μοναχός, μόνε με κάτι Φράγκους *Chron. Toc.* 2703
 μόνε ἡ νεκρανάστασις BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 82
 μόνε νά 'ναι προτιμητίος (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 43, 53.6)
 οὗτος ὁ συβασμός νά ἔναι μόνε εἰςέ μίαν ἔσοδιά (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 31, 61.44)
 κ' ἡ Φαιδροκάζα μετ' αὐτούς, οἱ τέσσαρες καὶ μόνε *Velth.* 1059 (μόναι transcr. Lendari, μόνοι Kriaras)
 μόνε φαρμάκια καὶ πικριεῖς TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 175
 καὶ ἀπόμεινεν μόνε ὁ Νοαχ *Pent. Gen.* 7.23; μόνε κρεάς με τῇ ψυχῇ του, τὸ αἷμα του, νά μὴ
 φᾶτε *ibid.* 9.4
 ὄχι, ἀφέντη, μόνε μοναχός μου ἔπεσα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 344.17
 μόνε ὀλίγο ἄφησε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 37.7; μόνε ἔβαλε τὴν ὀλιπίδα του *ibid.* 86.32
 καὶ Τοῦρκοι δὲν εἶναι παροῦ μόνε ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες (1609, Cyprus, CHASIOTIS 1972: 35, 59.11–12)
 μόνε θέλουσι νά μαριολεύουσι (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.28)
 μόνε τὰ χέρια τῆς τὰ δυὸ ἔχουσι νά τῆς πάρου MONTSEL., *Evgena* 111
 μόνε νά μοῦ ἀκούσης MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2106

An alternative form μόνι occurs in the *Chronicle of Morea*:

μόνι τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ πολὺ τῶν βρύσων καὶ πηγάδων *Chron. Mor.* H 2813; μόνι καὶ θηλυκὰ παιδιά
 ἔχει διὰ κληρονόμους *ibid.* 6284 (and 17 further instances in this text – ms H only)

A comparison may perhaps be made with πάλι/πάλε. The AG πάλιν is found without final <ν> from the Hellenistic period onwards. The variant πάλε (perhaps due to confusion with πάλαι) is common from around the 13th c.⁴ An analogy between these two adverbs (πάλι/πάλε and μόνε/μόνι) may be suspected.

ὁποῦ τὸν φοῦρνον ἔκτισε, πάλε ἄς τὸν χαλάση GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 282
 κ' ἐκεῖνη πάλε ἐγέννησεν *Chron. Mor.* H 8467
 οἱ δὲ ἐμέναν ἤθελαν πάλε νά δοῦν τὸ νίκος *Liv.* V 2120
 καὶ τότε πάλε ὁ Διγενῆς οὕτως ἀπιλογᾶται *Dig.* E 808
 ἀρκέσαν πάλε τὰ σκάνταλα VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 50.1–2
 καὶ πάλε στὴν πατρίδα σου πῶς νά στραφῇς ἐκεῖθες BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 80
 καὶ ὅποια πάλε ἐξ ἐμᾶς, ὁποῦ ν' ἀνδραγαθήσῃ *Alex. Rim.* 2503
 ἀποθανόντας τῶς νά εἶναι πάλε ἐδική τῶς (1604, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 10, 166.53–4)

² The adverbs ἀντικρύ and ἄντικρυς both already exist in AG. For variations of stress and ending in LMedG and EMG see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ἀντίκρυ.

³ For an extensive survey of adverbs in Cretan dialect, including EMG literary texts, see KAFKALAS 1995.

⁴ For other extremely rare forms ἐπάλι, πάλεν and πάλες see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. πάλιν.

Finally, we may note that adverbs may also be combined lexically with the verb: adjective stems (functioning adverbially) are often prefixed to verbs to form compounds, particularly in lower-register texts, e.g. ἀργοθωρῶ, βαρ(ι)αναστενάζω, γλυκοφιλῶ, γοργογυρίζω, κακοπικραίνομαι, καλοβλέπω, καλογορκοῖω, καλοξημερώνει, πολυπικραίνω, σιγοτρομάσσω, συχναναντρανίζω, συχνοέρχομαι, συχνοσυντηρῶ (see relevant lemmata in KRIARAS, *Lex.*, where available).

4.2 Endings

4.2.1 Adverbs in -ως

Adverbs in -ως (-ῶς) continue to be used throughout the period covered by this Grammar. By the end of the LMedG period, such adverbs are mainly to be found in mid- or higher-register texts, with certain lexical exceptions, e.g. καλῶς (in greetings), εὐτυχῶς. They derive from adjectives in -ος (with movement of stress to the penultimate in the case of proparoxytone adjectives) or adjectives of the AG 3rd declension (ending in -ης, -ής, -ύς, -ων). They may also be formed from present and perfect passive participles (with obligatory stress on the penultimate). Note also the adverb ὄντως (“really, truly”), from the present participle of the verb “to be”, which exists already in AG. Below we give some examples of each kind.

From adjectives in -ος⁵

- ἃ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπεδείξαμεν ἀρτίως (1142, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 303.30)
 συνετῶς *Krasop.* AO 82
 καὶ φέρνει ἐγγράφως (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 15.49)
 ὅσα κἂν λέγει βάσταζε καὶ φέρε τα γενναίως *Ptoch.* I 159
 ὅτι πολλοὶ ἐδοκίμασαν ἀγνώστως νὰ μὲ πάρουν *Dig.* E 862 (but also ἄγνωστα *ibid.* 1355); καὶ ἐπούλησαν καὶ ἐσφάξαν τας ἀνόμως καὶ ἀδίκως *ibid.* 171; μεγάλως τὸ ἐχάρη *ibid.* 1041
 λεπτῶς τοὺς ἐφηγήσετον *Chron. Mor.* H 2572
 ἀραδικῶς (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 60, 48.4) (probably derived directly from the noun ἀράδα + -ικῶς, since no corresponding adjective is attested)
 νὰ ἐνδύνωνται λατινικῶς (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.15)
 φαμλικῶς *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 12.2
 καὶ καθαρῶς τὸν λάλησε *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 120
 καθημερνῶς *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 79
 μεγάλως τὸ θυμώθη *Alex. Rim.* 419
 ξενοπροσώπως τὸ διγοῦ *Spaneas* D 333
 συμβαστικῶς (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 853, 744.3)⁶
 καλῶς τὴ θυγατέρα μου *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.333
 ἐξόχως (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 179.19)
 νὰ τῆς δώκω εἴδηση ξεστοματικῶς πᾶσα των ὑπόθεση (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 507.29)
 μὴν ἔλθῃ αἰφνιδίως καὶ ἀλπάσῃ με (1684, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1956: [2], 348.15)
 ἥπειρες θεληματικῶς εἰς μίαν ἀπώλειαν φανερὴν *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 35.25
 σπουδαίως καὶ τρεχάτα *KONDAR., Paidēs* 407
 τρέχοντας, ἔλεγεν μεγαλοφώνως *Don Kis.* 45.23

⁵ Included here for convenience is the very common μεγάλως from μέγας/μεγάλος.

⁶ This seems to be a new formation. For the adj. συμβαστικός see *CHORTATIS, Erof.* II.401: συμβαστικοί.

From adjectives in -ης/-ής

παντελῶς ἐγλυθέντες (1179, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 194, 255.19)
 καὶ θέλω δεῖξαι προφανῶς τὴν ταύτης μοχθηρίαν *Ptoch. I* 26
 ἀληθῶς ἡμουν εἰς τὴν διαθήκην του *Assizes B* 418.22
 ἀκριβῶς *Chron. Mor. P* 2081
 λεπτομερῶς τοῦ ἐμήνυσεν κ' ἐπληροφόρεσέ τον *Chron. Mor. H* 7825
 ἐχαίρουντα συνήθως *Achil. N* 1060
 ἐξέταξαν ἀκριβῶς *Porikol. I* 122
 λοξοειδῶς τὸν στόχαξε *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua VIII.83*
 κρῖνε πάντα ὑγιῶς *Spaneas Z* 206
 μία γυναῖκα χριστιανὴ ἐπῆρε τα ἅγια λείψανα καὶ τιμίως καὶ ευλαβῶς τα ἔθαψε *Martyr. Vlas. 248.38–9*
 ἀληθῶς ἐτοῦτα εἶναι λόγια (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 216.22)

From adjectives in -ύς

ταχέως νὰ τὸν νικήσης *Dig. E* 31, 47
 ταχέως νὰ ὑπάτε εἰς τὸν -όδεῖνα- ἄνθρωπον (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 30.17)
 καὶ ὅσους ἀνθρώπους πιάσουσιν εὐθέως νὰ ἀποθάνουν *Chron. Mor. H* 5664
 σύρνει εὐθέως τὸ σπαθὶν *Pol. Tr. 671* app. crit. (X); Ἄνδρομαθὰ ἐθρήνησε, βαρέως ἀνασπενάζει
ibid. 6611
 ἔπρεσεν εἰς ἀσθένειαν, ἀπόθανεν εὐθέως *Chron. Toc. 3173*
 εὐθέως ἐνεπήδησαν *LIMEN., Velis. (Λ)* 318
 καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐθρήνησεν καὶ ἔκλαυσεν θαρσέως *Achil. N* 921

From adjectives in -ων

As discussed in 3.3.4, adjectives in -ων are rather uncommon in non-learned texts and, additionally, they are often subject to analogical adaptation to other paradigms. The corresponding adverbial forms are extremely rare in LMedG and EMG texts. One example has been located: καὶ κατασφάζω ἑμαυτὴν ὡς πράξασαν ἀφρόνως *Dig. G IV.145*. Adverbs formed from comparative adjectives in -ων are equally rare, but for an example of the form κρειττόνως see below, 4.3.1.

From participles

κεκρυμμένως [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim. 2222*
 ἐμένα γοῦν προηγουμένως φαίνεται μοι (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.5)
 πεπαρησιασμένως *Dig. G IV.1026*
 βεβαιωμένως *NEOFYTOS, Achouri 348*
 ἐκείνοι ὅπου ἐπεράσασιν ὄντως οἱ ἐδικοί σου *Rim. than. 50 ms*
 καὶ ναῦτες ὄντως νὰ εἰπῇς φάλκονες καὶ πετρίτες *LIMEN., Velis. (Λ)* 126
 πόθος ὄντως χαριτωμένος *Pist. kekoim. 15*
 τὸ ὄνομά τ' Ἄνδρόνικος καὶ ὄντως ἀνδρειωμένος *PETRITSIS, Dig. O 7*
 ὄντως, κυρὰ συντέκνισσα *Synax. gadar. 219*

4.2.2 Adverbs in -α

Adverbs in -α and -έα (i.e. the neuter acc. pl. of adjectives in -ος or -ύς respectively) become increasingly common in the LMedG period and indeed in lower-register texts they have largely superseded the forms in -ως. Special mention should be made of πολλά: this is by far the most common adverbial form of πολὺς in MedG, rather than the neuter singular πολὺ (which is the normal form in SMG). It is used both alone (“very much”)

and to modify an adjective or adverb. Examples of both uses of πολλά are included in the following list of examples of adverbs in -α.

ὅτι πολλά ἡγάπουν συνδιαλέγεσθαι ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 810.10
 καὶ μετὰ πάντων θαρρὶκὰ δύνασαι συντυχαί[νεῖν] *Spaneas* V 168
 ἀναρθρα καὶ παρακεκομμένα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 48; ἐδειλαινόμεν ἄμετρα, πολλά συνεστελλόμεν
 ibid. 55; οἱ πόνοι ἄψά σέ εἰσέβησαν κ' ἐκατεσκούρωσάν σε ibid. 190
 καὶ στερεὰ τὴν σύρῳ *Ptoch. I* 187; σκοτεινὰ καὶ παραπονεμένα ibid. 224
 καλὰ ἔφαγαν, καλὰ ἔπιαν *Dig. E* 680; εἰ δὲ ἀγαπᾷς τὴν περισσὰ ibid. 282; βαρέα ἀναστενάζει
 ibid. 382; τὸ δακτυλίδιν ἤβγαλεν, γλήγορα τοῦ τὸ δίδει ibid. 475
 εἰ δὲ καὶ σταθῇτε πεισματικά (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.26–7)
 ἔξελθε σύντομα, γοργὰ σκοτώσης τὸ θηρίον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 557; λέγει τους
 φοβισμένα ibid. 907
 τόσοσιν σκληρὰ καὶ ἀντροπιασμένα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 144.2; δῆγα το νὰ τὸ βλέπη
 πρεπάμενα ibid. 502.13–14
 πολλά ἠθέλαν βαρεθῇ *Chron. Mor.* H 2818 (πολλά occurs frequently in this text)
 γλυκέα καταφιλοῦνταν *Pol. Tr.* 524 app. crit. (A)
 καὶ ἀποστρέφεται τὸν φανερά (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.17–18); νὰ τοὺς ποιήσῃ νὰ
 ζοῦν φράγκικα (ibid. 287.13) (but νὰ ἐνδύνωνται λατινικῶς, ibid. 287.15)
 ὅταν κινήσῃ μεθ' ἡμῶν δριμέα νὰ συντυχαίνει; *Defl. Par.* 58
 συχνέα ν' ἀλλάσσοι τὴν θωρίαν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 285 (/ea/ instead of /ja/ may be regarded
 as hypercorrection; see I, 2.9.4.2)
 μετὰ τὸ κορμί του σωματικά (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 75, 72.4)
 πολλά βαρὶα λυπήθηκε KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.187
 ὡσάν πράματα ἐδικὰ του καὶ λεγίτιμα ἀγορασμένα (1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS
 2012/13: 152, 276.23–4)
 δυσικά καὶ βορινὰ μετὰ ποταμὸ καὶ νοτικά μετὰ ἀμπέλι (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987:
 92, 108.12)
 συχνιὰ ἐψυγομαραίνονται KORONAROS, *Erot.* III.17; ν' ἀδυναμίση τόσα ibid. III.35

4.2.3 Addition of Final Consonant (/n/ or /s/)

Forms with added final /n/ are very occasionally found. They are probably simply graphematic.

καὶ τόσαν τὸν ἡγάπησεν αὐτὸν *Pol. Tr.* 311 app. crit. (E)
 καὶ ἂν οὐκ ἴδω σε σύντομαν *Achil.* N 1105

More common is the addition of /s/ to adverbs in -α, presumably on the analogy of other adverbs and similar words (see introduction above). However, it is limited to a relatively small group of words, of mainly temporal or spatial meaning: ἐγλήγορας, πρῶτας, ἄργας, μοναχάς/μονάχας. The form μακράς (μακρᾶς) is probably not derived from μακρά(ν) (as implied by KRIARAS, *Lex. s.v. μακράν*), but either from μακρέα or from a prepositional phrase. Although it occurs most commonly preceded by the preposition ἀπό, there appears to be no evidence for the existence of an established expression, such as ἀπὸ μακρᾶς ἀποστάσεως, that might explain a genitive ending. The most likely derivation is therefore from the adverb μακρέα/μακριά (neuter plural of the adjective μακρύς, for which see 3.3.1), with the addition of /s/. Editors and lexicographers nowadays normally write ἀπομακρέας

or ἀπομακρ(ι)άς as one word (KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ἀπομακριά). For the synizesis and deletion of /j/ see I, 2.4.7.4.

ἀπὸ μακρέας φωνάζουσιν *Dig.* E 1153
 ἐχύθηκεν κ' ἐπῆρεν το ἀπάνω ἔπὸ μακρέας *Imb.* Rim. 918
 κι ἀπομακριάς ἐφώνασε ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 98
 ἀπὸ μακρέας ἀνεντράνισα *Liv.* E 188; ἀπὸ μακρέας μὲ εἶδε *ibid.* 2066
 καὶ ἀπὸ μακρᾶς τοῦ ῥμῆνευσεν *CHOUMNOS Kosmog.* 1559
 καὶ τὸ μελίσσιν μὲ θυμὸν ἀπομακρὰς μ' ἐδέχθη *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 36
 καὶ νὰ φωνιάξει ἀπομακρὰς *Thysia Avr.* 1015
 καὶ ἀπομακρὰς ἐτήρηξε *P&N Diath.* 3162
 ἀπομακρὰς μ' ἐχαιρετοῦσα *Fallidos* 26
 κ' οἱ Βλάχοι νὰ τόνε θωροῦν ἀπομακρὰς ἐτρέμα *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.938; κι ἀπομακρὰς
 ἐδείχνασι τὸν πόνο τὸ μεγάλο *ibid.* IV.1966

ἐγλήγορας (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.13)

πρῶτας ἐντύσου κι ὕστερα θέλομε συντυχαίνει *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 70
 λέγω πρῶτας (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 286.8)
 εἶχεν πρῶτας ταμένα (1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 193, 202.4)
 μὰ πρῶτας μὲ τὸ θάνατο τέλειωσε τὴ ζωὴ μου *CHORTATIS, Erof.* II.362; μὰ κατὰ τὸ συνήθι
 τση πρέπει σὰν πρῶτας πάλι *ibid.* IV.171
 με λόγια θέλω ταχτικά πρῶτας νὰ τση μιλήσω *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.369
 ἐμεῖς ἄς πᾶμε, Λύνκο, στοὺς θεοὺς μας | πρῶτας νὰ προσκυνήσωμεν *Pist. voskos* I 1.28–9
 πρῶτας γιὰ πόθο κορασᾶς δὲ θὰ σ' ἀναθιβάνω *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.351
 νὰ μάθη ἂν ἔναι ἀληθινὰ πρῶτας *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.51
 πρῶτας τοῦ ἡλίου θέλει ἰδεῖς τσ' ἀκτίνες ματωμένες *Zinon* III.115
 ὥσὰν καὶ πρῶτας σμίγει *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.820; πού πρῶτας τὴν ἐκλαίγασι *ibid.* V.1216

ὀψὲς ἀργὰς *Thysia Avr.* 419
 ὀφαργὰς *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.88
 ὀψὲς ἀργὰς *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1036

ἀποταχιάς⁷ στο σπίτι μας *CHORTATIS, Panor.* V.85; Αλέξης ἦρθε ἀποταχιάς *ibid.* V.117
 ἀποταχιάς εἰς τὴ λοτζέτα ἐβγήκα *Stathis* II.323

ὄχι τὴν Μάλτα μοναχὰς νὰ πᾶσιν νὰ νικήσουν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 157
 καὶ νὰ πλερώνου μοναχὰς τοῦ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Τζανῆ (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 669, 581.6)
 γιὰτί λογιᾶζω μοναχὰς νὰ ῥθε ξετρέχοντάς με *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.242; καὶ τίνος ἦμουνε
 παιδὶ μονάχας μετὰ σένα *id., Erof.* I.139; καὶ μοναχὰς μὲ τὶς θωριὲς σώνουνται καὶ
 πλανοῦντα *id., Katz. Prol.* 7; θάμασμα τό ἔχε μοναχὰς πῶς καίγομαι ὁ καημένος *ibid.* II.183
 μοναχας οτι εγλυτωσα τα κορμια τως (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.18) (the
 document has no accents)
 καὶ ὄχι μονάχας ἀπαντονάρισες τὴν ἐδικὴν μου φιλίαν καὶ δόξαν *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.*
 33.28–9; ὄχι μονάχας τοῦ εἴπασιν πῶς ἀθετᾷ τοὺς θεοὺς *ibid.* 40.13–14
 καὶ εἰς ἓνα δέντρος μοναχὰς, σ' αὐτὸ νὰ μὴν ὑπᾶτε *P&N Diath.* 1061

⁷ Strictly speaking, it is the adverb ταχιά which is derived from an adjective (ταχύς), then combined with the preposition ἀπό. See further KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ἀποταχιά.

καὶ τοῦτο φτάνει μοναχὰς τῇ νίκῃ νὰ χάριση | στοῦ λόγου μου FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm.* I 64;
 ξόμπλι τῶν ἄλλωνῶ φραρῶ μονάχας γιὰ νὰ δώσω id., *Fort.* III.78
 καὶ μοναχὰς καλόγερο τὸν κάνει ZINON Prol. 96

4.2.4 Neuter Singular Forms

The neuter singular, rather than plural, form of the adjective (or determiner) is used adverbially for a restricted range of lexical items, that can be broadly divided into four categories: (1) adverbs of degree or quantity; (2) adverbs from ordinal numerals (“firstly”, etc.); (3) adverbs referring to time or speed; and (4) a few other miscellaneous instances.

4.2.4.1 Degree or Quantity

Included here are words such as τόσο(ν) “so much”, καμπόσο(ν) “quite a lot”, ἄλλο(ν) “any more, any longer”, (ὀ)λίγο(ν) or μικρό(ν) “a little”, μερικόν “partly”, πολὺ “much”, πλέον “more, any longer” (for other comparative forms see 4.3). These forms are extremely common before, during and after the period covered by this Grammar. We therefore give only a few examples:

τὸ ποιὸν εἶναι τόσο ζηλιάρικον *Fior* 87.11
 τόσον εὐτράπιλον παιδί *Chron. Tōc.* 3490
 καὶ ὅσον ἐπέρναν ὁ καιρός, τόσον ἐκαταλυέτον CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 215
 τόσο γιὰ ὄνομά μου | δὲν τό 'χω CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.471–2

κάμποσον κάτω στὴ γῇ ἐπιάστηκεν SULT. WALAD, *Poem I* 15
 ἄλιμονο, συγκλάψετε καμπόσο μετὰ μένα FALIEROS, *Thrinos* 17
 σῦρε καμπόσον, μάκρυνε, καὶ λείψ' ἀπὸ κοντὰ μας GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 224
 ἀφ' οὗ καμπόσω στάθησαν / ἀφοῦ καμπόσο 'στάθησαν *Theseid* X.6,1 (1529)
 ὁ ναύτης ἐν καμπόσον ναπαμένος *Cypr. Canz.* 20.5
 ἀμὴ ἦτον καὶ καμπόσο ἀκριβούζικος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §12.18

οἱ πόνοι ἀψὰ σὲ εἰσέβησαν κ' ἐκατεσκούρωσάν σε | καὶ οὐκ ἔχουν ἄλλο ἐνθύμησιν, ὡς βλέπω,
 νὰ σὲ ἀφήσουν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 190–1
 ἄλλον, αὐθέντη, οὐ βλέπεις με, ὁ θάνατος μὲ δράσσει *Achil.* N 1711

πολλὰ ἐλιγοθύμησεν, ὀλίγον νὰ ἐξεψύχει *Pol. Tr.* 676
 ἀπόλιγον ἀπόλιγον ὅλους μας θανατώνει *Alex. Rim.* 998
 ἤξευρεν λίϊον Τούρκικα KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 120
 ἀμέτε ἰδέτε ὀλλίγον *Pist. kekoim.* 71

μικρὸν μὴ ἀναπαγοῦμεν *Dig.* E 884
 ἀποκριθεὶς ‘καρτέρησε μικρὸν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔχω’ *Ptoch.* IV 526
 στήκει μικρὸν παρέξω [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1098
 τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν μικρὸν ἐθρήνησάμεν MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2766

καὶ νῦν, ἂν ζήσης μερικόν, ἂν ἀνασάνης μόνον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2028; νὰ
 συμπαθήση μερικόν τὰ θλιβερά τὰ τόσα *ibid.* 2053
 νὰ σὲ διδάξω μερικόν ἐκ τὰ κακὰ τὰ ἐποίκε DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 302

ἐνα τράφον πολὺ βαθὺν *Diig. Alex.* E 51.7 (Konstantinopulos)
 πολὺ ἐθαυμαχτήκα *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 400
 γιατί ἔμαι πολὺ θλιμμένη (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 81.104)
 εἶναι πολὺ καλὸ διὰ λόγου σου (1637, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 3, 94.2)
 πολὺ ἐχάρηκε καὶ ἐπῆρε θάρρο *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 33.9–10
 μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας | εἰς ἣν ἐθάρρει πλεόν *Eisit.* f.3r.9–10
 εἰς τὰς λ', πρόσεχε πλέο παρὰ πάντων *STAFIDAS, Iatrosf.* 15.424
 ἔλεον θέλει ὁ κύριος πλέον παρὰ θυσία *Alfan.* II 9
 φελοῦκες πλέον παρὰ ἐξήντα (17th c., Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.2, 72.3–4)
 δὲν θέλω νὰ μ' ἰδῇ πηλιό *Soummakis, Past. Fid.* D4r.5 (for this form of πλέον/πλιό see 3.8.6.1)

4.2.4.2 Ordinal Numerals

The neuter singular is the normal adverbial form, but plural forms are also found occasionally, e.g. πρῶτα τὸ θεὸ καὶ δεύτερα τῇ πανιερότῃ σου (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.8–9). (See also πρῶτι(ς), 4.2.5 below, which often means “formerly, originally”).

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐλάλησέν με διὰ χειροτονίαν *NIKON, Logos* 31 810.27
 ἀφῆνναι πρῶτον τοῦ αὐθ[έντου] μας τοῦ ρηγός (1476, Cyprus, SAKKELION 1887b: 260.7)
 πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι εἶχα τὴν, δεύτερον ὅτι ἐντράπη, | τρίτον καὶ περισσότερον ἐχάσε τὴν ἀνδρείαν
 τῆς *Dig.* E 1597–8
 πρῶτα τοῦ ἔδωκε ὁ βασιλεὺς ... δεύτερον ... τρίτον ... καὶ τέταρτον *Chron. Mor.* H 2603–7;
 ἐνταῦτα πρῶτο ἐλάλησεν ὁ ἀφέντης τῆς Καρυταίνου | καὶ δεύτερον ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀφέντης
 τῆς Ἀκόβου *ibid.* 6637–8
 εἰ μὴ καὶ πάλιν τέταρτον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πάλιν πέπτον *Achil.* N 1780
 πρῶτον διὰ τὴν φιλαργυρίαν θέλω νὰ σὲ διδάξω *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2465; δεύτερον νὰ σοῦ
 δηγηθῶ ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀσπλαγχνίαν *ibid.* 2481
 καὶ δεύτερο ὁ βασιλιός ἀπού 'τονε στὴ Ρώμη | ἕνα σημάδι φοβερό εἶδε *P&N Diath.* 2126–7

4.2.4.3 Expressions of Time and Speed

ἔχω ... καθημερινὸ περιβάρεσες (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 97.18–19)
 μάλιστα ποὺ παράγγειλεν καθημερινὸν νὰ φέρνω *KONDAR., Paidēs* 330
 νὰ γυρεύγουν καθημερινὸν τὲς ἀφορμὲς *Pist. kekoim.* 8
 τὰ ὁποῖα θαύματα καθημεροῦσιον ἐγινόντησαν *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 11
 ἔποικεν ἐγρήγορον, συντόμως *Pol. Tr.* 657 app. crit. (V)
 γοργὸν ἂν σὲ οὐκ ἐκβάλουσιν, ἐκεῖ νὰ ἐξεψυχῇς *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 229
 γοργὸν ἄς ἀγοράσουν *Ptoch.* II 58
 ὥσπερ ἐκράτει τὸ χαρτίν, γοργὸν τὸ ἀποτυλίσσει *Log. parig.* L 94
 πολλὰ ἀγαπᾷ καὶ βιάζεται γοργὸν νὰ καταλάβῃς *Chron. Mor.* H 1805
 δράμε γοργὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς *Pol. Tr.* 564; πολλὰ γοργὸν ἐσπούδαξαν *ibid.* 2031
 καὶ τὸ ἐπεθύμα ἡ Μαξιμού γοργὸν τῆς τὸ ἐποίκα *Dig.* E 1576 (and 24 other occurrences of
 γοργόν in this text)
 αὐτὲς τὲς πρίκες λίγανε, ὅτι γοργὸν θὲς ἔχει *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 123
 γοργὸ γοργὸ ἀπὸ λόγου μου θες δεις τὴν πεθυμιὰ σου *CHORTATISIS, Panor.* I.400

ἐπήγασι τρέχοντας γοργὸν ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 16.19; γοργὸν νὰ παγαίνης *ibid.* 26.11

ὕστερον ἐσιάστηκαν *Chron. Mor.* P 1197

ὅλο ἐγύρευε ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 30.18

καὶ γὰρ βραδύ, παρακαλῶ, πέμψον μικρὰν ἀκτῖναν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1683

ἐχθὲς βραδὺ τοῦ ἔδωκα μιὰν συμβουλὴν μεγάλη *KONDAR., Paides* 93

μὰ λέγω εἰς τὴν χώρα σου θέλ' εἶσαι αὐριον βράδου *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1048

τότες ἐσубαστήκασι νὰ τοῦ τὴ δώση βράδου *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.100

νὰ ταχίζου ἀργὰ κ(α)ὶ ταχύ ὅσους χριστιανοὺς θέλουν πάγει (1608, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 18, 179.70)

ἔως ταχύ *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 1021; ἀπὸ ταχύ ἔως βραδὺ *ibid.* 4366

The words ταχύ and βραδύ/βράδου are often substantivized:

τὸ βραδὺ *Ptoch.* III 183

ἀπὸ τὸ ταχύ ἕως τὸ δειλινόν *Diig. Alex.* F 250.5–252.1 (Lolos)

καὶ τὸ ταχύ καλύτερα τῇ τάσσῃ νὰ χορτάσου *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.525

τὸ ταχύ *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §11.11; ὅταν ἐσηκώθησαν ἀπὸ τὸν τράπεζον τὸ βράδου *ibid.* I §24.23

καὶ τὸ ταχύ νὰ κάμομε τὸ ἄνστασης τὴ σκόλη *Thysia Avr.* 1134

4.2.4.4 Other Neuter Singular Forms

Occasionally other neuter singular forms may be found functioning as adverbs:

ἔβλεπεν μόνον ἀτενές [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 460; καὶ σύντομον νὰ γυρισθῇ *ibid.* 1847

καλῶς καὶ λεπτομερές (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 108.8)

ὅλα τὰ ξύλα ἐσπούσασιν κ' ἐτζάκιζαν φρικτῶδες *Theseid* I.53,5 (Follieri)

4.2.5 Adverbs in -ι(ς), -ί(ς)

A number of adverbs are formed with the suffix /is/, which may be stressed or unstressed, according to the derivation: typically, those formed from the stem of an adjective are proparoxytone or paroxytone (e.g. γλήγορις, πρῶτις), while oxytone words derive from nouns or prepositional phrases (e.g. ἀποσπερίς). Forms without final /s/ are also found.⁸ It is difficult to establish which of the two forms is the earlier (see below). For the addition of /s/ to adverbial and other words ending in a vowel, see I, 3.7.1.2.

Here we are primarily concerned with adverbs formed from adjectives, but since the two categories are interconnected, a few comments should be made about adverbs deriving from prepositional phrases. According to CHATZIDAKIS (1934/77: A 255), the phrase κατὰ γῆς undergoes univerbation to become καταγῆς and then serves as the model for new adverbial formations such as καταμεσῆς, μεσουρανῆς. These spatial adverbs are usually

⁸ Several other adverbs have alternative forms in -ι or -ις, but they will not be discussed specifically here. Examples include αὐρι < αὐριο(ν), σήμερις < σήμερο(ν), τῶρι < τῶρα.

spelled -ῆς to indicate this derivation. By contrast, temporal adverbs in /is/ allegedly arise by analogy with ἐνωρίς, which derives from AG ἐν ὥρᾳ, becoming ἐνωρί on the analogy of ἄωρί (“at an untimely hour”), which then acquires final /s/ (see ANDRIOTIS, *Lex.* s.v. ἐνωρίς for further details and references). Unfortunately ἐνωρίς and νωρίς (with aphaeresis, for which see I, 2.7.1) are poorly attested in MedG, though in the phrase ἀπὸ νωρίς, usually written as one word, the adverb is quite common in EMG, particularly in Cretan literary texts. A form ἄνωρίς also occurs in a Cypriot text.

περίτου ἄνωρίς παρὰ ποῦ ἔθελεν *Fior*, Suppl. 278.3
 κινήσετε νὰ πάμε | ἀπονωρίς νὰ σφάξομε δυο βούγια νὰ τα φάμε *CHORTATIS, Panor.* V.375–6
 στὸ σπῆτι δὲ γυρίζομεν ἀπονωρίς νὰ φάμε; *Thysia Avr.* 518
 σ’ ἔβγαλεν ἔτσι ἀπὸ νωρίς παρὰ φορὰ κιὰμι’ ἄλλη *TROILOS, Rodol.* II.501
 ἀπονωρίς στὴν κλίνη του ἦθετε *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.775; κι ἀπὸ νωρίς τ’ ἀπόγεμα
 συντροφιαστὲς κινουῦσι *ibid.* I.1383; κι ὅπου σπουδάζει τὴ δουλειὰν ἀπονωρίς σκολάζει
ibid. II.1872

However, some other temporal adverbs in -ίς or -ί are quite widely found, e.g. ἀποσπερί(ς), ὀλομερί(ς), ὀλονυκτί(ς). Dating is difficult, but in general the forms in -ί are earlier than those in -ίς. The -ίς ending occurs more frequently from the 15th c. onwards. Of this group, the only one that appears to be formed from an adjective is ὀλημερνίς, which could, in theory, derive from ὀλημερ(ι)νός. However, given the existence of the parallel formations ὀλημερίς and ὀληνυκτίς, the form ὀλημερνίς may be a later development influenced by the alternative adverb ὀλημερ(ι)νῶς. For bibliography and details of the variants found in LMedG and EMG texts, see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ὀλημερίς. We give a few examples:

ὀλημερί τὰ μάρμαρα τοῦ τέμπλου νὰ πριονίζη *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2088
 καὶ ὀλημερίς μ’ ἐκράτει *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 10
 ἄν μ’ ἔβανε νὰ μέτρουνα ὀλημερίς τὴν ἄμμο *MONTSEL., Evgena* 406
 ὀλομερίς *Diig. Sant.* 57.68
 ὀλημερνίς ἐδίδασκε *P&N Diath.* 2802
 ὀλημερνίς ἐμάζωνε χόρτ’ ἀπού το λιβάδι *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.93; ἐλπίδα κάνει τοῖ
 γιωργοὺς κι ὀλημερνίς δουλεύγου *id., Erof.* I.283
 ὅσοι καθεύδονται ἄργοι ὀλημερνῆς *LANDOS, Geopon.* 175.29
 ὀλημερνίς ἐσκάφτασι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 211.15
 μὰ ὀλημερνίς κι ὀληνυκτίς ἀναπασημὸ δὲν ἔχει *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.621; ὀλημερνίς νὰ πολεμᾷ
ibid. IV.885

Adverbs in /is/ that derive from adjectives constitute a rather small group of words, of which the most common is πλήρης, also spelled πλήρις. This adjective is often used indeclinably in Koine texts, including papyri (see GIGNAC 1981: 138–9 and n. 6). An adverbial usage (“completely”, “extremely”) is said to be attested in Byzantine chronicles, though it is quite rare (see PSALTES 1913: 160). It is found mainly in LMedG literary texts (see also KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.)

μὲ τὸ ραβδῖν τὸν ἔδωκε πλήρης εἰς τὴν μεσίαν *Dig. G* III.99; κρούει τὸν κατὰ κεφαλῆς πλήρης
 εἰς τὴν μεσίαν *ibid.* IV.185
 καὶ ἀφότου τὸ ἐκατέβηκεν πλήρης κάτ’ εἰς τὴν ρίζαν *Log. parig.* L 391

πλήρης κατησχυμένος *Dig.* E 1600
 καὶ βρύσες ὠραιόποτιστες, πλήρης ὠραιωμένες *Liv.* V 563
 ἀπὸ φουσκίνας πάντρεπνου καὶ πλήρης πανευμόρφου *Achil.* N 777
 ἐκεῖ λουτρόν πανεύμορφον, πλήρης χαριτωμένον *Velth.* 457
 πλήρης φαρμακωμένα LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 439

As an alternative to γλήγορα (or γρήγορα) a form in -ι or -ις is found in texts of the 16th and 17th c.

καὶ οἱ γερανοὶ ἀπέταξαν, γλήγορι διαβήκαν AITOLOS, *Ais. Myth.* 59.4
 πού νά ποθάνης γλήγορι καὶ Χάρος νά σὲ πάρῃ AITOLOS, *Voev.* 313
 ἀμμή οἱ πασάδες γλήγορι ἐσηκώσανε τὸν υἱόν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 124.21
 γλήγορις σῶσε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1677; γλήγορις καταπάνω τους ἄμε καὶ μὴν ἀργήσης *ibid.* 2128
 καὶ μποροῦνε νά μπαρκαριστοῦνε γλήγορις (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 508.62–3)

In place of πρῶτα, we find πρῶτι(ς) in (mainly) Cretan texts of the 15th to 17th c.

τὲς μπουμπαρδὲς καὶ ἀρκομπουζὲς σὰν πρῶτι δὲν ἀπόλει ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1852
 ὡσὰν τὰ εἶχε καὶ πρῶτι (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 295, 282.11); ὅπου εἶχεν
 καὶ πρῶτι (*ibid.* 311, 296–7.29)
 ὁ ἀβουκάτος τὸν θωρεῖ καὶ πρῶτις λογαριάζει SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 364
 νά σέβῃ ἐκεῖνος πρῶτης *Defi. Par.* 200
 εἶπέ μου, τίμιε σταυρέ, ὅπου ἦσουν πρῶτις ξύλον DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 515
 φίλε, γιὰ νά ᾗχης τὸ λοιπὸν πρῶτις τὸν Θιὸν γιατρὸ σου FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 287
 καὶ εἶχεν καὶ πρῶτις (1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 181, 193.21); τὰ πρῶτα ὅπου
 εἶχεν πρῶτις ἐπαρμένα (1604, *ibid.* 213, 207.17)
 ἐξύστερις καὶ πρῶτις *P&N Diath.* 2497

Finally, the adverb ὀλοτελῶς (from ὀλοτελής) has an alternative form ὀλοτελῖς, again found mainly in texts originating from Crete. (For other alternative adverbial forms see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ολοτελῖς.)

καὶ εἰς τὸ παντὸς ὀλοτελῖς νά τὸν ἐλευθερώσῃ DELLAP. *Epit. Thrinos* 236
 ὀλοτελῖς ἢ Μοῖρα μου μοῦ τὸ ἤθελε ξεφλήσει FALIEROS, *Erot. En.* 124
 νά ξοριστῇ ὀλοτελῖς ἀπὲ τὸν φόβον ποὺ ᾗχε *Theseid* V.2,6 (1529)

4.2.6 Adverbs in -ου

A number of adverbs in -ου derive from adjectives, as well as from other parts of speech, such as nouns (e.g. ἐγγράφου, κολύμβου). In some cases the origin as a prepositional phrase is clear, e.g. κελεύει ἐπαίρνουν ἀπομπρὸς τὰ ἄνθη διασυντόμου *Flor.* L 1583; νὰ τοὺς δώσετε διασυντόμου ὄρδινον (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.25–6). Note that there is also an adverb διασυντόμως (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.) but the corresponding adjective is not attested. Adverbs deriving from such prepositional phrases will not be discussed here, as they are purely lexical developments.

The two most common adverbs in -ου formed from adjectives have a temporal meaning, e.g. ταχ(υ)τέρου (“in the morning”, “the next day”), ύστέρου (and έξυστέρου; “afterwards”, “later”).⁹ Although both of these are, strictly speaking, comparative forms, they are included here for convenience.

σηκώνου ταχύτερου (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 98)
 ἀμ’ ἦτον ταχύτερου CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 522; σὰν αὐριον ταχύτερου *ibid.* 2707
 ἐγὼ ἀνθρώπους ἔπεψα ποὺ πᾶνε ταχύτερου *Alex. Rim.* 913
 ταχτέρου πάντα γέρνουντο ὡγιά τὴν προσευκὴ τῆς *P&N Diath.* 1711; ὅχι πολλὰ ταχτέρου *ibid.* 4142 (for syncope see I, 2.7.2)
 ταχύτερου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.19; τὸν εἶδα ταχύτερου *ibid.* IV.153
 καὶ ταχύτερου, ὄντε ξημερώνει, ἅμε ὀμπροστὰς τοῦ βασιλέως VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 42.5–6
 νὰ σηκώνομαι νὰ πορπατῶ ταχτέρου TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.560
 ταχτέρου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.92, V.11
 ταχτέρου τὴν Παρασκευὴ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 148.5; Τρίτῃ ταχτέρου *ibid.* 191.15; κάθε ταχτέρου *ibid.* 303.1; νὰ πᾶσινε ταῦτέρου *ibid.* 423.5 (for fricative deletion between vowels see I, 3.6.1.1)
 συχνιάζουσιν ἀργὰ καὶ ταχύτερου KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.1124; καὶ τοῦ ρηγὸς ἀπόφασῃ νὰ δώσω ταχύτερου *ibid.* IV.294
 καθὼς ἐφάνη ύστέρου *Chron. Toc.* 563
 νὰ μὴ μετανοήσετε κ’ ύστέρου νὰ θλιβῇτε *Alosis* 396
 καὶ χαίρετᾶτε καὶ ἐμὲν κ’ ύστέρου ἐρωτᾶτε *Alex. Rim.* 2292
 καὶ ύστέρου ἦλθε τὸ φῶς του *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.28; ἀμμή ύστέρου ἐπέσανε *ibid.* 54.3
 ὡς ἔμαθα έξυστέρου *Liv.* α 1353
 καὶ ἐξ ύστέρου πέφτουσι ’ς μεγάλη γὰρ πενία *Alex. Rim.* 1796
 ξυστέρου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 138.12 (for the aphaeresis see I, 2.7.1); μήτε προτοῦ μήτε ξυστέρου *ibid.* 327.37; καὶ έξυστέρου τὸ ἔβαλαν *ibid.* 408.8

4.3 Comparative Forms

The degrees of comparison of adverbs follow a similar pattern to those of adjectives, with both synthetic and analytic formations being in use. The comparative synthetic forms possess the same alternatives as the positive forms, i.e. both singular (-τερο(ν)) and plural (-τερα) neuter forms can be found, as well as forms ending in -ας in one particular case. The analytic forms are essentially the positive degree preceded by one of the adverbs meaning “more”, e.g. πλέον, πλεῖον, πλιά, πλιότερα, πλιότερο(ν) or (in Cypriot texts) περίτου.¹⁰ The relative superlative forms are usually in the singular with the ending -τερο(ν) and preceded by the definite article. They are mainly used in expressions of time or degree, e.g. τὸ γρηγορώτερον “most quickly, as quickly as possible”.

⁹ A less secure example of such a form is ἀμερέμνου (from ἀμέριμνος with vowel assimilation), which has been found only once: ἐτρῶγαν κ’ ἐκοιμούντανε κ’ ἐπίνασι ἀμερέμνου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 182.11. The fact that it rhymes here with Ρεθέμνου makes it suspect.

¹⁰ PIDONIA (1977: 215–16) states that in Cretan dialect texts the comparative and superlative degrees are formed periphrastically, apart from a few common words which used the synthetic types.

4.3.1 Synthetic Comparative and Superlative

The forms in -ως should be regarded as residual; they are limited to formal locutions and mixed- or higher-register texts. Plural forms in -α have a broad geographical and chronological distribution, while singular forms in -ο(ν) are less common and mainly restricted to certain lexical items. The only form with addition of final /s/ that has been located is πρωτύτερας, exclusively in texts of Cretan provenance. For the superlative, only forms in -ο(ν), preceded by the definite article, have been found.

Comparative

- οἱ ἀνωτέρως ρηθέντες πράκτωρες (1223, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 29, 444.11)
 ταῦτα καλῶς ἐπίστασαι καὶ παρ' ἐμὲ κρείττονως [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2544
 καθὼς πλατυτέρως φαίνεται παρὰ ἰνστρουμέντου (1500, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 3, 4.9)
- ἡ κοντώτερα ἢ μακρύτερα *Assizes* A 49.6
 προτήττερα ἐπαρακαλοῦσαν τοὺς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 590.6
 ἀγαποῦσιν πρωτύτερα τὸ διάφορός τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ξένον *Fior* 83.15
 γουργότερα FORTIOS, *Strat. pragm.* 504 (for the vowel raising /o/ > /u/ see I, 2.8.3)
 εἰ δὲν καὶ τὰ ἤθελεν δώσει ἐπρωτύτερα (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 5, 219.11) (for the prothetic vowel see I, 2.6.1)
 νὰ τὰ κοπιάζουν καλλιότερα (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.25)
 καὶ ἔτσι εὐκολότερα ἐκυβερνήθησαν (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 451.34)
 χειρότερα ἀπὸ λαϊκοὺς γυρίζου οἱ παππᾶδες *P&N Diath.* 48
 τί στέκομέστα πλιότερα ...; CHORTATIS, *Erof. Interm.* II.90
 καὶ ἐκεῖ οὐποῦ ἦτονε τεντωμένος ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης πρωτύτερα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.3
 περιπατοῦσι σπουδαιότερα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 131.10; δεκαπέντε ἡμέρας πρωτύτερα καὶ
 ὑστερώτερα *ibid.* 142.24
 μίλησε ξαστερότερα *Bertoldos* 66.15
- καὶ συντομώτερον ἡμεῖς ἀπομελανωθοῦμεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2035
 κάλλιο νὰ ᾔμαι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.17
 λοιπὸν προγενέστερον ἂν εἶχε ποιήσῃν τοῦτο SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 60.18
 ἤξευρε καλύτερον ἀπὸ τοὺς τέσσαρους *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 77.10
 πῶς καλοῦνται τουρκικότερον (16th c., Constantinople?, BENEŠEVIĆ 1919: 408.2)
 πλεότερον δὲν ἤθελεν κάθεται KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 340.4
 ἀξίζει τὸ ἕνα πλειότερον ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλλον (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 2, 81.11)
 πρωτύτερον γῆ ὑστερότερον (1629, Milos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 14, 11.41)
 περισσότερον δὲ πόλεμον καὶ θυμὸν ἐσήκωσεν εἰς τὸ σχῆμα τῶν μοναχῶν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.28
 κάλλιο διορθῶνου τῶρα *Charon* II 19
- πρωτύτερας *P&N Diath.* 1032, 1168
 τούτ' ἔπρεπε νὰ τα θωρεῖς πρωτύτερας λιγάκι CHORTATIS, *Panor.* V.201; μαγάρι καὶ
 πρωτύτερας νὰ ἔθελς μοῦ γρικήσει *id.*, *Katz.* II.319
 ἡ ὁποία πρωτύτερας εὐρίσκετον μαυρισμένη VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.24–5; καθὼς καὶ
 πρωτύτερας *ibid.* 38.26
 ἡ Ἀρετὴ κάνει πῶς δὲν κατέχει | πρωτύτερας KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1438; ἦρθαν
 παραπρωτύτερας ρηγόπουλοι μεγάλοι *ibid.* II.113

Superlative

- καὶ ὁμοιάζουν, τὸ χειρότερον, ὅτι εἶναι μεθυσμένοι, *Ptoch.* II 93
 εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ τροφὴν ἀλόγων τεσσάρων τὸ ὀλιγώτερον (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.1–2)

γράψε μου τὸ συντομότερον (1496, Pesaro, MAVROEIDI-POUMIDI 1971: 3, 133.64)
 τὸ γληγορότερον (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.52)
 νὰ τοῦ στείλῃς τὸ λιγότερο (ms πολλογότερο) μιὰ εἰκοσαριά σκοῦδα (1584, Italy,
 ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1978: 1, 318.11)
 στὸν Ἄδη τὸ γοργότερο γιὰ νὰ μπορᾶ περάσω CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.280
 τὸ γληγορότερον (1613, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 3, 310.28)
 τὸ γληγορώτερον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §30.17
 φύγε τὸ γληγορότερο KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.923

4.3.2 Analytic Comparative and Superlative

Comparative expressions with the plural form of the adverb are quite common, while singular forms occur more rarely. The analytic superlative seems to be very rare: only one occurrence has been found, in the *Chronicle of Morea*, where adverbs in -ως (κρυφῶς) and -α (σιγαλά) are linked.

ἀλλιῶς καὶ πλιὰ εὐκόλα (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 97.17)
 γιὰ νὰ κατέχω πλιὰ σωστὰ FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 146; καὶ τὰ δικά σου πλιὰ γοργὸ σ' ἐμένα ν'
 ἀληθέψου *ibid.* 548
 ἐθέλησεν ὁ πάπας νὰ μάθῃ περίτου καθαρὰ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 14.8–9
 ὡς γοιὸν ὁ προφήτης ὁ Ἰεζεκιήλ γράφει περίτου πλατιά Fior 73.26–7
 δὲν ξεύρω πλεῖο τιμητικά τέτοιαν αἰτία νὰ χύσω DEFAR., *Log. did.* 494
 πλιὰ δυνατὰ τὴν κρούει KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.2462
 τὸ πλεῖον κρυφῶς καὶ σιγαλά ὅπου νὰ ἡμπορέσουν *Chron. Mor.* H 3851

4.3.3 Double Forms

As with the comparative adjectives, we sometimes find a synthetic comparative form of the adverb preceded, for emphasis, by a word meaning “more”. A reinforced superlative periphrasis can also occur, as in the example below from Rhodes.

ἄς πάγω πλιὸ σιμότερα VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 284
 τὴ Μάλτα πλιὰ εὐκολότερα μποροῦ νὰ πολεμήσου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 182.2; κι ἂπ'
 ὅλους πλιὰ χειρότερα *ibid.* 405.19
 νὰ τήνε παίζῃ πλιὰ καλλιὰ ποτέ μου ἄλλο δὲν εἶδα Stathis I.124; πλιὰ γληγορότερα ἦφην νὰ
 βάλου στὸ λαιμό μου | σκοινὶ *ibid.* III.369–70
 πλιὰ γληγορότερα πονῶ KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.88
 διὰ νὰ πᾶσιν τὸ πλιὰ ἐγληγορότερον (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.14)

4.3.4 Absolute Superlative

The form is often regarded as a higher-register feature in EMG texts, but in fact it is quite common in the case of certain specific words, e.g. καλότατα, πολλότατα.

ὀλόγυμνοι ἐκοιμούντησαν, γλυκύτατα φιλοῦνται *Pol. Tr.* 524 app. crit. (BX)
 νὰ ξουριστῶ, μακρύτατα τοῦ κόσμου *Love poems* V 340
 φανερῶτατα ἀγιτιάζονται καὶ εὐεργετοῦνται *Pist. kekoim.* 220

συχνότατα CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.102; γιατί κ' ἐσὺ πιστότατα πῶς μ' ἀγαπᾷς γνωρίζω id., *Erof.* III.124; τούτη τὴν ὥρα καθεεῖς γλυκότατα κοιμᾶται id., *Katz.* I.23; καλότατα ibid.

III.262; κλιτότατα ibid. IV.264

σὲ περνᾷ εὐκολώτατα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 175.2

καλότατα κατέχω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.468

ξεύρεις πολλά καλώτατα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1043

πολλότατα Bertoldin. 147.14

5 Articles, Pronouns and Determiners

5.1 Introduction

In contrast to the definite article, which shows remarkable stability, diachronic developments in the pronominal domain involve a large number of radical changes; these include not simply inflectional changes or changes in the stems of pronouns, but the general restructuring of most pronominal subsystems. As such, they lie between the levels of morphology and syntax. Therefore, the obsolescence of certain pronouns, and the change in function of others, although not strictly morphological issues, are taken into account in the description of the innovative MedG pronominal forms provided in this section. The lack of a vernacular “standard” for such innovative forms imposes no restrictions on the operation of analogy, which produces considerable variation, especially in the Early Modern period.

These developments may be summarized as follows:

- a) Simple changes in inflectional suffixes, in the case of pronouns and determiners that follow adjectival paradigms (mostly the adjectives in -ος, -η, -ο(ν)). Such changes are the addition/deletion of final /n/, the addition of a final vowel /e/, stress movement or lack of it, etc.
- b) Inflectional changes specific to or characteristic of pronouns and determiners: this involves mostly the appearance of extended forms with a final syllable (-νου, -νων etc.), the addition of a final /a/, and the appearance of uninflected pronouns (e.g. όπου, ίντα, τίποτε).
- c) Analogical changes affecting the stem form of pronouns: within the nominal domain, the role of analogy is inevitably stronger in the closed and contrastive classes of the various pronominal subsystems, which, furthermore, display very high frequency. Examples include σύ–έσεϊς, αὐτός–αὐτεῖνος/ἐκεῖνος–ἐκειός, οἶος/ὄγοιος.
- d) Changes in the function of pronouns and the development of new pronouns: the development of new pronouns is comprehensible only within the structure of the overall pronominal subsystem of which they form part. New pronouns derive from other pronouns (e.g. τέτοιος, ποταποῖος), from the grammaticalization of words or phrases (e.g. δικός μου, εἶς), or from univerbations of frequent collocations (e.g. δαῦτος, καθεῖς, κανεῖς, ίντα).

Some developments had already begun during the EMedG period (e.g. πού, ἐμένα), while others first appear in the LMedG period (e.g. κάποιος/όκάποιος, τίντα/ίντα, καθεῖς/καθένας). In other cases, specific pronouns or pronominal variants are innovations datable to the EMG period (e.g. αὐτόνος, ἐδαῦτος, ταδεποῖός). Further particulars concerning diachronic developments in each pronominal system and in the definite and indefinite articles are provided in the introduction to the relevant subsection.

5.2 Articles

5.2.1 The Definite Article

The definite article is diachronically one of the most stable elements of Greek nominal morphology. Most of its forms are identical to those of AG (for which see ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1922, SIHLER 1995: 388–9), allowing for phonological change, and in particular the loss of final /n/ in certain environments (see I, 3.7.2.2). In general, the definite article follows the inflection of adjectives in -ος (see 3.2.1). The principal areas of change are in the plural; some new forms are purely regional, while others have a more widespread distribution. With the possible exception of the fem. nom. pl., these innovations have taken place within the period covered by this Grammar.

The combination of the preposition εἰς/σέ with the definite article to produce forms such as στόν, στήν etc., as in MG, is partly a matter of orthography. These forms are often written as ὃ στόν, etc., both in manuscripts and in older modern editions.

For the relative pronoun τόν, τήν, τό see 5.9.1.2.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	ὁ ἢ οὐ	ἡ	τό ἢ τοῦ
Gen.	τοῦ	τῆς ἢ τοῦ ἢ τοῦ	τοῦ
Acc.	τόν(ν) ἢ τοῦ(ν)	τήν(ν)	τό ἢ τοῦ

Plural			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	οἱ	αἱ ἢ οἱ	τά
Gen.	τῶ(ν) ἢ τοῦ(ν)		
Acc.	τούς ἢ τῖς ἢ τσί ἢ τσοῦ	τάς ἢ τές ἢ τῖς ἢ τσί	τά

Singular

Masculine

Nominative

General	Restricted
ὁ	οὐ

Practically no forms other than ὁ occur in the texts examined. However, there is a single 17th-c. attestation of the form οὐ with “raising vocalism” in a document from Skiathos. The example of οὐ cited by KRIARAS, *Lex.* (ὁ Χάρης καὶ οὐ ἄνθρωπος στέκου καὶ

ρεσπουτάρου *Charon* III 6; the form is not listed in the revised *Epitome*) is probably a copying/editing error, since this text does not otherwise exhibit features of northern-type “raising vocalism”. The masculine dialectal form *ή /i/*, which is characteristic of several MG northern dialects (see e.g. SYMEONIDIS 1983), is not attested. For the deletion of the definite article *ό* in hiatus, e.g. *δὲν εἶναι ἐπὰ μετανιωμός κι Ἀφέντης μου τὸ θέλει*, *Thysia Avr.* 653, see I, 2.9.2.2.

- ὁ λόγος ὁ δημῶδης GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 19
 νὰ ἔχη ὁ Δημήτριος (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.58)
 ὁ θαυμαστός ὁ Κίναμος *Dig.* E 1602
 ὁ Παντουήν ὁ κελεφός MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 18.17
 ὁ μακαρίτης ὁ κύρης μου Νικόλας Μαθὰς (1686, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 38, 30.90)

οὐγιανακίς οὐ Καζάζης / οὐ Γιαννάκης οὐ Καζάζης (1653, Skiathos, EVANGELIDIS 1913: 66.20)

Genitive

General
τοῦ

The inherited form *τοῦ* remains stable through the MedG and EMG period. No other forms are attested, apart from occasional post-lexical deletion of the final vowel within phonological phrases (see I, 2.9.2.2).

- τοῦ κυρ Ἀρμούρη ὁ υἱός *Arm.* 3
 τοῦ ἀντρός FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 654
 τ' ἀγοραστῇ (1598, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 158, 284.23)
 μέρος τω βυζιώ και κάτω τ' αστραγάλου CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.425
 ἐνοῦς τ' ἄλλου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 221.24

Accusative

General	Restricted
τό(ν)	τού(ν)

For the variation in the realization of final /n/ see I, 3.7.2.2. The form *τούν* with northern “raising vocalism” is attested very rarely, only since the 17th c. in texts of Macedonian origin. Rare instances of apparent addition of final /e/, e.g. *οὐδεκὰν τόνε λάκκον εὐρήκασι* MOREZINOS, *Klini* 83.36, should rather be interpreted as instances of vowel prothesis on the noun (see I, 2.6.1).

- φύλαττε τὸ γράφοντα (10th/11th c.?, Tinos, FEISSEL 1980: 5, 485.1)
 εἰς τὸν βεστιάρην μου (1140, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IV: 2, 117.12)
 τὸν φονέαν *Chron. Toc.* 250
 τὸν Ἑρωταν *Achil.* N 2
 τὸ μύλον του (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 27.4)

ἐδῶσαμε τοῦ φόρνο (1644–5, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 4, 47.1)

γὰ τοῦ κουπάρου μου τοὺν ὕγιόν (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 10, 78.8)

ἡγόρασιν ἓνα καματιρὸ ἀποὺ τοὺν Γιώργη (1711, Skiathos, KARAVIDAS 2004: 1, 248.3)

Feminine

Nominative

General
ἡ

The form ἡ is the the main variant throughout the MedG and EMG period. As a hiatus resolution phenomenon, an epenthetic [j] may appear after the definite article ἡ mostly in texts from Crete and the Cyclades, e.g. ἡ γιάρχοντισσά μου (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 49.43) (see I, 3.5.2.1). The epenthetic [j] may appear, more rarely, before the definite article, e.g. γιAιμίλια γιάμαζόνα *Theseid* Prol. E 158; μιλεῖ γή γραφή τως (1575, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 134, 254.3).

In a text of Pontic provenance, a form ἐ is found once: ε δοῦληα / ἐ δουλεία (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.3), corroborated by the acc. sg. τὲν βούλαν a few lines below (ibid. 169.12). Considering that in the modern Pontic dialect the feminine form of the article is ἡ as in standard Greek, despite the fact that Pontic in general displays retention of the AG pronunciation of <η> as [e] (see I, 2.5.2), this isolated instance can be interpreted in two ways. A plausible analysis would be that Pontic displayed archaic retention in this morphological environment in the MedG period, only to lose it in later times under the influence of “standard” Greek (MANOLESSOU/PANDELIDIS 2011: 266–7, cf. also PAPADOPOULOS 1941a: 175); an argument in favour of this interpretation is the existence of EMedG inscriptional evidence from Pontos showing ἐ as the feminine article form, e.g. ἐ δούλε τοῦ Θεοῦ Γεγορία (MITFORD 1991: 35, 228). Alternatively, the Crimean forms ἐ/τὲν could be dissociated from the phenomenon of the archaic pronunciation of <η> and interpreted as the result of hypercorrection of northern “raising vocalism” which characterizes the Pontic dialect of the Crimea (HENRICH 1996b: 182). Examples of ἡ:

ἡ Συναγρίδα καὶ ἡ Λαβρακότουρνα *Opsarol.* 11–12

ἡ ἐξαίρετος ἡ κόρη *Achil.* N 1037

ἡ διαθήκη ἡ πρώτη (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.25)

ἡ Ἀντρεοῦ ἡ Φουκοῦ (1547, Mani, SKOPETAS 1950: I, 70.2–3)

κ' ἐγὼ ἡ νουνά της (1683, Leros, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 37, 29.18)

Genitive

General	Restricted	Rare
τῆς	τσῆ	τσῆς

The normal form remains τῆς throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. The form τσῆ, which may be reduced to τσ' before vowels (alternatively written as τς, while older texts normally have τζῆ/τζ'), appears in Cretan texts from the late 15th c. onwards, and rapidly

The form τσῆς, characteristic of the modern Heptanesian dialects (ALEXAKIS 2005: 24), appears very rarely in texts from the Heptanese and Crete. It is absent from the notarial corpus of Corfu (cf. KARANTZOLA/LAVIDAS 2016: 141).

Μάρκο τῆς Ἐφέσου (1644, Crete, ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ 1990: 478.119)

 $\tau_h(v)$

τὴν ἀγλάδα (1152, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1994: 56, 80.188)

εἰς τὴ Λακκοδαίμονίαν *Chron. Mor.* H 6688
τὴ βιβλὸν ταύτην (15th c., Unknown, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 2080, f.264v.1)

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General	Restricted
τό	τού

The regular form is τό throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. The form τού with northern “raising vocalism” appears in texts from Macedonia and the North Aegean from the 15th c. onwards. A few instances of τού have also been located in 12th-c. documents from S. Italy and Sicily, where raising phenomena of a different nature are attested (see I, 2.5.4). As a hypercorrection, an intrusive final /n/ may appear in non-literary documents, e.g. εἰστον χειριτουλουκ(α) / εἰς τὸν χέρι τοῦ Λουκᾶ (1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 48, 26.5).

- τὸ ἀνάβα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 363
τὸ μερίδιν της (14th c.?, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1994: 1, 286.24–5)
τὸ κριάς *Assizes A* 204.7
τὸ γένι σου *Spanos A* 66

τ’ ἀνάθεμαν (1027, Sparta, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 43, 301.37)
Ὅλυμπιάδος τ’ ὄνομα *Alex. Rim.* 96
τ’ ἄλλον *CHORTATSI, Erof.* II.155
τ’ ἄρνι *Thysia Avr.* 600
τ’ ἄλῶνι (1622, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: VI, 73.6)

τοῦ ρουάκι (1034, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 29, 34.24); τοῦ πλήρουμα (1101, *ibid.* 69, 87.7)
τοῦ ἀνάθεμα (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 9, 523.14)
εἰς τοῦ Πρωτάτου (1493–4, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 36, 179.12)
κατὰ τοῦ ἔτους ζριςῶ (1607–8, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 17, 78.1); με τοῦ δεῖπνους τοῦ
μυστικοῦ (1628–9, *ibid.* 1, 42.11); τοῦ Κοσμᾶ τοῦ ἀμπάρ(ι) (*ibid.* 1, 43.29); τοῦ σπῖτι (*ibid.*
1, 43.32);
μι του ἴδιον μο θέλιμα / μι τοῦ ἴδιον μο θέλημα (1653, Skiathos, EVANGELIDIS 1913: 67.2)
τοῦ ροῦχου νὰ μι ἀπλώνει (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 6, f.43r.14)
πάγου εἰς τοῦ Τουρράτζου (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 51.25); τὸ θικό μας τοῦ
βιλαέτι (1697, *ibid.* 2, 52.23)
εἰς τοῦ κάστρου τῆς Μυτιλήνης (1713, Lesvos?, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1884: 7, 27.2)

Genitive

General
τοῦ

The inherited form τοῦ remains stable throughout the MedG and EMG period. Prevocalic deletion of /u/ occurs mainly in verse texts.

τοῦ καστελλακίου (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 5, 300.20)
 τοῦ γραμμάτου (1513, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 37, 64.39)
 τοῦ πλήθους *Defi. Par.* 11

τ' αλαφιού μοιάζω CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.147
 τ' ἀλόγου KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.66; μέ τ' ὄνειρου τῇ ζάλη *ibid.* IV.76

Plural

Masculine

Nominative

General
οἱ

The form οἱ is the main variant throughout the MedG and EMG period. As a hiatus resolution phenomenon, an epenthetic [j] may appear before or after the definite article οἱ in texts from Crete, the Cyclades and Cyprus, e.g. καὶ γ-οἱ ἰδ' ἐπισκόποι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 52.19; γοῖ φταῖφτις (1514, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 115, 227.31); ἰ γιᾶδεφρί τζι / οἱ γιᾶδεφροί τση (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 849, 740.11).

οἱ κλέπτες (1133, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 113, 151.7)
 οἱ ἀγοῦροι *Dig.* E 515
 οἱ καλογέροι (1586, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 30, 171.5)
 οἱ γειτόνοι (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 22, 56.2)

Genitive

General	Restricted
τῶ(ν)	τοῦ(ν)

The regular form of the gen. pl. is τῶν throughout the LMedG and EMG period. Deletion of final /n/ in this form is geographically restricted, as it is prevalent only in the following areas: Crete, Cyclades, Cythera, Mani. Nevertheless, it may appear in all areas, even those where retention of final /n/ is the norm, such as Cyprus, e.g. το τριακοσίον θεοφόρο πατέρω / τῶ τριακοσίων θεοφόρῳ πατέρω (1534, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 18, 232.10). In many cases the final /n/, although deleted, is understood through the voicing of the following voiceless stop, e.g. τῶ παπάδω is probably pronounced [tobapaðo] (see I, 3.8.3.2 and 3.6.2.1).

The variant τοῦ (and probably also τοῦν, though no masc. example has yet been found) occurs in texts from the Peloponnese and Cythera as well as from Ithaca. It is probably to be explained not as the result of vowel raising, but rather as analogical influence from the masc. and neut. sg. form τοῦ and the acc. pl. τούς (KOUKOULES 1908: 175; PERNOT 1907/46: II 55). However, it must be noted that, at least in Mani, vowel raising cannot be excluded, in view of the fact that the change /o/ > /u/ is widespread in the modern dialect (BASEA-BEZANDAKOU 2005: 284). In Cyprus, the gen. pl. form τῶν is often replaced by the acc. pl. form τούς, as a regular feature of the Cypriot dialect affecting masc.

noun classes in general, as well as the agreeing modifiers. For the phenomenon see 1.2. The same replacement is attested once in an inscription from the Crimea: τὰ σημάδια τῖς Γενουβέσους (15th c., Crimea, LATYSHEV 1896: 42, 46.1), in which, for the article form, one may assume a phonetic evolution τοὺς > τ'ς (with high vowel deletion) > τῖς (with epenthetic vowel).

- ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν δουλευτάδων (1099, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: App. 1, 644.1)
 τῶν Δουκάδων *Dig.* G IV.43
 τῶν καδῆδων (15th c., Rhodes, MINAS 2012: 18, 414.52)
 περὶ τῶν κακῶν χριστιανῶν *Assizes* B 252.16
 τὰ κομπώματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων *Fior* 86.2
 τῶν ἄλλων μακελλαρῶν (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 17, 16.7)
 τῶν σκλάβωνε (1617, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970b: 3, 232.15)
- τῷ σκυλῶν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2023
 τῷ γονέω μας (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 27.29)
 τῷ γεννητόρῳ μας γονέων (1556, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 146, 116.15)
 τῷ Κρητικῷ (1580, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 139, 260.11)
 εἰς τὸ μετόχι τῷ Σαχλίκῳ (1618, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 4, 354.3)
 τῷ τιμίῳ μαρτύρῳ (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 6, 32.2)
 πλουσιῶ, φτωχῷ καὶ ἀνήμπορῳ, τῷ δούλῳ καὶ ἀφεντάδῳ, FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 36
 τῷ Ματριτέῳ (1666, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: IX, 75.5); τῷ κουνάδῳ μου (1680, *ibid.* XIV, 77.6)
 τῷ μαθητάδωνε (1667, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 3, 146.21)
 ποτὲ τῷ καιρῶνε (1670, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1981: 1, 285.17)
 τῷ μαστόρῳ (1672, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 48, 46.9–10)
 τῷ μικρῶν ἀνθρώπῳ KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.530
- τοῦ δύο, Λέο καὶ Λέο (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 15, 13.10)
 τοῦ ἀγοραστάδωνε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 27, 47.17); τοῦ Καταποδαίωνε (1640, *ibid.* 179, 153.10); τὸ κόρσο τοῦ Τούρκωνε (1644, *ibid.* 288, 227.23–4)
 τοῦ Γιαννικακαίωνε (1653, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 215, 187.61)
 τοῦ Τζουτιμαίων (1683, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 95, 322.5)
 γραφὴ τοῦ Πιλαρδαίωνε (1695, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 362.2)
- τὰ παιδιὰ ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 228.74)
 ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ<ς> κληρονόμους του (1484, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 20, 232.7)
 εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς *Assizes* B 424.9
 τὸ ἰγλαμπρότατον γένος τοὺς Καντακοζηνοὺς (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 70, f.Iv.11–12)
 τοὺς ἄλλους β' σταυροὺς τοὺς ληστές MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 4.15–16
 εἰς τες αὐλάδες τοὺς ἀφέντες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.14
 τὸ φυσικὸν τοὺς θεοὺς *Fior* 78.31–2
 τὰ ἀμάχια τοὺς ἐγγυτάδες *Assizes* A 8.26
 τὸ μερτικὸν τοὺς πτωχοὺς *Pist. kekoim.* 496–7
 τὸ μαναστήρι τοὺς Ἀγίους Ἀποστόλους (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 2, 7.3–4)

Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
τούς	τίς ἰ τοί	τσού

Two new forms are found in addition to τοὺς, which remains the standard variant: τίς and τοί, which both may be reduced to τσ' (τς) before a vowel.

The origin of τίς as a masculine accusative plural form is discussed by PSICHARI (1886: 138) and PERNOT (1907/46: I 315–16 and II 52), who claim that it does not represent an extension of the feminine form (otherwise one should also find τὰς ἄντρες and τὲς ἄντρες, and not only τίς ἄντρες as is always the case), but is rather due to an analogy with the /i/ vowel of the nom. pl. An alternative, phonological, explanation is proposed by MÉNDEZ DOSUNA (1995: 80), according to whom the evolution /tus/ > /tis/ is due to deletion of unstressed /u/ and epenthesis of /i/. In some cases, such as the few instances from Northern Greece, this is most certainly the case (see also I, 2.6.2). From a chronological viewpoint, however, the τίς form appears rather earlier than the τς/τοί forms (see below), unless one were to consider it, in some cases at least, as a simple graphematic expression of τς. Furthermore, the appearance of masc. τίς as a definite article should be connected to the appearance of masc. τίς as a pronominal clitic form, which also appears in the 15th c., i.e. before the corresponding clitic forms τς/τοί. It must also be noted that the forms τοὺς and τίς may co-occur in the same text, and the same is true of the forms τοί/τσ' and τοὺς (e.g. τοί παπαινοὺς δὲ λεημονῶ, τοὺς ἄγριους δὲ φοβοῦμαι CHORTATIS, *Erof.* Prol. 80). However, this is very rarely, if ever, true of the forms τίς and τοί, which may be an indication that they could be alternative graphematic realizations of the same phonetic form.

The masculine form τίς was a regional feature of the Cyclades and some parts of mainland Greece in the EMG period. The same is true for Chios, since the form appears in documents and literary works from the area, and is also mentioned by the Grammar of Germano, with the observation that it is a regional form not in general use. Examples of τίς are found in 15th- to 17th-c. texts from Crete, Cythera, the Cyclades (Andros, Santorini, Mykonos, Sifnos, Syros, Kimolos, Sikinos, Naxos), Mani, Ikaria, Leros, Patmos, Chios.¹ The form τίς (written τοῖς) is listed in the Grammar of Romanos, as well as that of Germano: οἱ παπάδες, τῶν παπάδων, τοῖς παπάδες, ὧ παπάδες ROMANOS, *Grammar* 1.18–19; τοῖς ἀνθρώπους GERMANO, *Grammar* 57.16.

The form τοί derives from deletion (syncope) of a weak vowel between /t/ and /s/ in proclitic words, followed by secondary anaptyxis of a euphonic /i/ (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 575–6 and 1915: 460; MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1995: 80–1). It is attested mostly in Crete, from the 15th c. onwards; a few later examples from Syros, Naxos and Cythera have also been found. The form is prevalent in Cretan texts from the 16th c. onwards, but is absent from early authors of Cretan literature such as Sachlikis, Dellaportas and Bergadis. The variant τσ' occurs only before a vowel. The choice between τοὺς and τοί/τσ' in Cretan texts is mostly an issue of register or conscious preference for, or avoidance of, dialectal features.² In verse texts, metrical factors may also be involved.

¹ The modern distribution of this form includes areas such as Eastern Thrace, Imbros, Bithynia, Rhodes, Samos, Paros, Serifos (LENDARI/MANOLESSOU 2003: 396), but no EMG attestations from these areas have yet been located.

² Some texts present variation, biased in favour of τοί/τσ' (e.g. *Erotokritos*, *Erofili*, *Panoria*, *Fortounatos*, *Thysia*, notarial documents by Manolis Varouchas), others display a preference for τοὺς (Bounialis's *Kritikos Polemos*, *Stathis*), while in a number of texts τοί/τσ' is completely absent (e.g. notarial documents by Olokalos, Grigoropoulos, and texts such as those of Morezinos, Pikatoros, Landos, and the *Thrinis Theotokou*); see also the statistics in KARANTZOLA/CHALVATZIDAKI 2014: 697.

The form τσοῦ is a feature of modern Heptanesian dialects (KONDOSOPOULOS ³2001: 68). The sole example so far encountered in our texts is τζουφελοῦς / τσοῦ φελούς CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.249 app. crit. (the scribe of the ms is from Kefalonia). The form is to be interpreted similarly to τσί, i.e. as deletion of unstressed /u/ followed by anaptyxis of /u/ (MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1995: 86).

τοὺς δύο μεγάλους δρύας (1090–4, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 45, 161–162.17)

τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐλάλει *Arm.* 21

τοὺς γονίους μας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.7

μὲ τοὺς δουλευτάδες μου (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.11)

ἀπὸ τοὺς γονέους του (1582, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 27, 167.5)

στοὺς ὀχθροὺς *Zinon* Prol. 47

tis dhillicus / τὶς θηλικούς (15th c., Crete?, KAKOULIDI 1958/59: 120.4–5)

διὰ τὶς κληρονόμους του (1514, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 115, 227.1)

φανερὰ στὶς πάντας *Byz. Il.* 117 app. crit.

στὶς Καλογέρους (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 17, 59.3)

νὰ μαντινιέρου τὶς λεγόμενους ἀγοραστάδες (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.25)

τὶς ἄνω εἰρημένους κρουσεμένους (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 177, 177.11)

στὶς ἀξιόπιστους καὶ παρακαλετοὺς μαρτύρους (1544, Santorini, FOSKOLOS 2012: Δ', 139.)

ποῖος νὰ τύχει ἀπὸ τὶς δύο διαλεκτεῖ *Apoll.* Rim. E 614

τὶς Φράγκους (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 218.18); διὰ τὶς τρεῖς κριούς (1565, *ibid.* 277, 381.5)

τὶς πρώτους (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.22)

μὲ τὶς καλογέρους (1576, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 19, 150.2–3)

τὶς παλαιούς VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 245

τὶς γονέους του (1617, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 16, 320.24)

τούτους τὶς τρεῖς λόγους σοῦ πέπω (1637, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 3, 95.11)

τὶς τόπους (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 88.11)

τὶς γερόντοι (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 19.13)

πάγει μὲ τὶς Τούρκους (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.48–9)

εἰς τὶς μύλους (1664, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1991: 1, 82.23)

ἀπὸ τὶς μαγατζέδες (1665, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 10, 419.5)

τοὺς τόπους τὶς τούρκικους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 67.5

τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὶς πλανήτας *Diig. Alex.* F 108.20 (Lolos)

τὶς Νιῶτες (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 140.20)

ἔ<μ>προστε τὶς κάτωθεν μαρτύρους (1678, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 63, 53.2–3)

τὶς κόπους (1680, Naxos, SIFONIU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 38, 188.17)

τὶς συγγενεῖς μας (1683, Leros, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 37, 29.26)

μὲ τὶς Γιαννιώτις (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 66.28)

τὶς θόλους (1700, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 35, 28.34)

τὶς πρόσιμους (1731, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 18, 38.83–84)

μὰ χαρίζουσιν του τσί δύο (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 46–48.29)

ποῖος νὰ τύχει, ἀπὸ τσι δύο νὰ διαλεκτεῖ *Apoll.* Rim. N 614

μὲ τσί μόδους (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 50.27)

τσὶ δέκα χρόνους (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 23.16)

τσὶ καημούς μου *Vosk.* 95

τσὶ κόπους CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.140

τσὶ πτωχοὺς (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 147.39)

τσὶ ἐδικούς (1615, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 15, 319.30)

- τσί παπάδες (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 49.63)
 τσί μαρτύρους (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 183.120)
 πρὸς τσί φίλους τοὺς γκαρδιακοὺς *Trag. Ag. Dim.* I.71
 τς' ἀσπάλαθους *Rim. kor.* A 23
 μέ τσ' ἀγρουλίδους (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 34, 53.9)
 τς ἀπόκοτους καὶ τοὺς ἀνεργισμένους FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 19
 εἰς τσ' ὀρανοὺς *Thysia Avr.* 28
 τσ' ὀχθροὺς τως *Zinon Prol.* 87
 τς ἄνδρε μας *Pist. voskos* II 1.169
 στοσ' ὀρισμούς *Trag. Ag. Dim.* I.38
 τσοὺ φελούς CHORTATISIS, *Katz.* I.249 app. crit.

Feminine

Nominative

General	Restricted
οἱ	αἱ

The AG fem. nom. pl. αἱ began to be replaced by οἱ in Late Antiquity or the EMedG period. There are sporadic examples of such a usage in papyri (DIETERICH 1898: 152–3; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 10, 310; MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1995: 79, 84; curiously the phenomenon is not mentioned in GIGNAC 1981: 173). Feminine οἱ is absent from EMedG texts such as chronicles (PSALTES 1913: 139), and from the earliest LMedG literary texts such as Glykas and *Ptochoprodromos*. Psycharis went so far as to reject the few papyrological examples and to consider MedG οἱ as an independent evolution which must be dated to the 13th c. (PSICHARI 1886: 64). However, the very wide distribution of the form, throughout all Greek-speaking areas, speaks against a late evolution. Furthermore, a relatively early instance is to be found in a 10th-c. inscription from Cappadocia: ἰ πυλῆς / οἱ πυλῆς (DE JERPHANION 1925/42: I 376).

Feminine οἱ is mostly viewed as the effect of morphological change: either as the analogical spread of the masc. nom. pl. to the feminine (PSICHARI 1886: 34–85; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 10–11; BROWNING ²1983: 60–1) or as an analogical influence of the /i/ vowel of the singular ἡ-τῆς-τὴν spreading to the plural (JANNARIS 1897: 159; PERNOT 1907/46: II 48). It has also been suggested that the phenomenon is phonetic in origin, caused by the tendency for synizesis of unstressed αἱ /e/ before a vowel (MEYER 1889: 114–15; MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1995, adopted in HORROCKS ²2010: 289), although such drastic influence of synizesis on MedG morphology is unlikely at such an early date (see I, 2.9.4).

For the LMedG period, the earliest examples located date from the 11th to 13th c.:

- οἱ Σκάφες (ca. 1050, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972b: 185.330)
 οἱ νηστεῖες ταῦτες NIKON, *Logos* 4 214.1
 οἱ μὲν ἡμισίες (1138?, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 14, 102.25)
 ὅπου ὑπάρχει [sic] οἱ ἀγριοσυκίες (1139, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1968: App. I, 52.16)
 οἱ προειρημέναι (1265–6, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 22, 168.15)

There are numerous examples in early vernacular literary texts, preserved in mss from the late 14th c. onwards:

οἱ συμφωνίες *Chron. Mor.* H
 ὅλες οἱ συγγενίδες *Liv.* V 3059
 οἱ ἄγιες ἐκκλησίαις *Assizes* B 280.2
 οἱ ἀρχόντισσες καὶ οἱ ξαθῆς κουρτέσες *Diig. tetr.* 927 c app. crit. (C)
 ὤρμησαν οἱ τρεῖς εὐθύς γὰρ *ERMON., Ilias* 1.253
 οἱ τραχηλές *Velis.* χ 243.
 οἱ ρύμνες *Pol. Tr.* 1246 app. crit. (BV)
 οἱ δουλεῖγες (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.6)
 οἱ φοῦστες (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 205.30)
 οἱ τέντες τους *Achil.* N 424
 οἱ τέντες, οἱ παραταγές, οἱ παρρησιές, οἱ δόξες *Byz. Il.* 488
 οἱ ἄλλες (1506, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: 1, 224.19)
 οἱ καθέδρες του *Def. Par.* 242
 οἱ ἄπιστες, οἱ δολερές *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2074
 οἱ σάρκες οἱ λευκές καὶ οἱ εὐμορφοσύνες *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 56
 οἱ τέσσαρες ζωτικαῖς δυνάμεις *DAM. STOD., This., Logos* 2, α6ν.30–1
 οἱ μέρες / ἡμέρες οἱ δεκαπέντε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 1, 80.2)
 οἱ γραφές (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.29)
 οἱ ὁμολογίες (1672, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 70, 319.5)
 οἱ στράτες (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 4, 5.1)
 οἱ Ἀπόκριες (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 303, f.1r.8)

The earlier form αἱ remains available either as a marker of higher register or simply as a formal writing convention. The Grammar of Sofianos admits only οἱ (SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 37.21), but as late as Germano and Portius both variants are given as available options: αἱ, & ἡ, le. GERMANO, *Grammar* 57.7; αἱ vel ἡ PORTIUS, *Grammar* 14.23.

αἱ πράξεις σου αἱ θαυμαστές *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 6
 ἔναι αἱ ἐσοδεῖς (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 172.28)
 αἱ ἡμέρες του θέλουν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 393.37
 αἱ ἔξοδες οἱ ἐδικές σου (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 26, 31.21)
 αἱ ἱστορίαι αἱ παλαιαί (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.2–3)
 οἱ δουλεύτριαι αἱ δικαί σου *Vios Aisop.* K 160.26–7

Genitive

General	Restricted
τῶ(ν)	τοῦ(ν)

The regular form of the gen. pl. is τῶν throughout the LMedG and EMG period. Deletion of final /n/ in this slot of the paradigm is geographically restricted; for its distribution see masculine above. The variant τοῦ(ν) for the feminine has so far been located only in Ithaca. Examples:

τῶν καλογραίων (1140, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IV: 2, 117.3)
 τῶν φονικῶν κρίσεων *Chron. Mor.* H 2015
 ἀπὲ τὰς πάπιας ... τῶν παπίων *Assizes* B 492.23

τῶν κοπελούδων (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 102.19)
 τῶν βρύσων MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.25
 τῶν θυγατερῶν (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 136.112)
 τῶν τριῶν του νυφάδω (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 257, 355.12)
 τῶν ἑορτάδων καὶ σαρακοστάδων (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.32)
 καμιά τῶν γυναικῶν MONTESEL., *Evgena* 1512

τῶ μερίδω (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 9 [Θ'], 241.6)
 τῶ βοσκοπούλῳ CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.481
 ὁλωνῶ τῶ γυναικῶ (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 39.66)
 τῶν δέκα κολόνῳ τῶ μεγάλῳ (1639, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 6, 273.38)
 τῶ [Με]γάλῳ Πιτρῶ (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 26, 173.7)

τοῦ θυατερῶνε μου (1639, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 139, 125.19) (for deletion of intervocalic /y/ see I, 3.6.1.1)

Accusative

General	Restricted
τάς ἰ τές	τίς ἰ τοί

The inherited AG form is τάς, which was replaced by τές and later τίς. The form is retained throughout LMedG and EMG as a marker of high register; it cannot be excluded, however, that in some areas it remained the only available vernacular form, as is e.g. the case in some local sub-varieties of the modern dialects of Chios and Ikaria (as reported by CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 381 and PERNOT 1907/46: II 49–50).

μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας *Eisit.* f.3r.9–10
 τὰς σὰς λαμπράς εὐεργεσίας *Ptoch.* I 1–3
 τὰς ἐκκλησίας των νὰ τὰς ἔχουν (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 118.37)
 στὰς δεκάξι τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός (1479, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 6, 89.3)
 τας δούληγες/ τὰς δουλεῖγες (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.4)
 ἄπτει τὰς εἰκόνας *Pist. kekoim.* 410
 ἐχάνουνταν εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.34
 οἵτινες κροῦσιν τὰς σπαθές PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 361 app. crit. (C)
 εἰς τὰς Ἀπιδές (1681, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 70, 58.13)
 στὰς ιγ', Αὐγουστος μήνας EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 17.2
 τας υποσχέσεις του αγά του *Don Kis.* 47.30–1

The form τές exists throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. It is explained as a generalization of the nominal ending -ες, which had begun to serve for both nominative and accusative feminine nouns since the Koine period (JANNARIS 1897: 159, CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 571–3, TONNET 2003: 172–3, MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1995: 78–9). Of course, it is also phonologically identical to the dative form τᾱῖς; confusion between the functions of the dative and the accusative may be a contributory factor (it is normally spelled τᾱῖς in mss, early printed editions, and 19th-c. editions).

The form τές is first recorded at the end of the 11th c. in documents from S. Italy, which provide frequent attestations of this form throughout the LMedG period. In other areas it surfaces sporadically in the 14th c., but it seems to have become prevalent in vernacular

texts from the 15th c. onwards, without geographical restriction. It appears frequently in the *Chronicle of Morea* (160 times in ms H and 139 in ms P, according to AERTS/HOKWERDA 2002) and must thus have been quite well established in the 14th c. Most 15th-c. texts, however, show τὰς and τές in co-occurrence. The form τές is retained up to the late EMG period, competing at a later stage with τῖς, frequently within the same text. The presence of τές in many MG dialects (e.g. S. Italy, Cyprus, Silli) shows that it was never completely abandoned. For Sofianos, τές (written ταῖς) is the only available variant (SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 37.22), while Germano comments that although in Chios τῖς is prevalent, there are many areas which still use τές preferentially: “Et si come nel Nominatiuo plur. è più frequente ἡ, che αἱ, nel Feminino, così più si dice nell’Accusatiuo plurale dell’ istesso genere τῆς, che ταῖς, τῆς χαραῖς, le allegrezze: altri Greci dicono meglio ταῖς” (GERMANO, *Grammar* 57.17–20).

- τὲς ἀρίες (1094, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 4, 390.5); εἰς τὲς τρεῖς ἀππιδίες (1096, *ibid.* Coll. V: 1, 290.14)
 τὲς συκίες (1108–9, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 29, 135.27)
 τὲς ἐλές (1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.8)
 ἀπὸ τὲς ἀμυγδαλές (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 42.186)
 τὲς ἡμέτερες ἐλαῖες (1272, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 326, 484.1)
 τὲς ἐλές (1327–8, Peloponnese, VRANOUSI 1981: B, 26.9)
 τὲς τέσσαρες γωνίες *Ptoch. III* 99 app. crit. (P); ἐδίωχες τὲς κουροῦνες *Ptoch. IV* 78 app. crit. (P)
 ἐχαλάσαμεν τὲς ἐκκλησίες (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.28)
 μὲ τὲς πόρτες (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 148.39)
 τὲς καλές καὶ εὐκαριστημένες (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 467.2)
 τὲς παροῦσες (1447, Corfu, EFSTRATIADIS 1925: 50.6–7)
 πρῶτα νὰ κροῦν τὲς σφονδυλές *Arm.* 60
 ἀπὸ τὲς βίγλες (1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 48, 26.6–7)
 τὲς ὄρνιθες *Assizes* B 488.8
 τὲς περιοχὲς τῆς θαλάσσου (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 204.24)
 τὲς δύο κάμαρες (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 9, 154.4–5)
 τὲς πραγματεῖες τοὺς (1482, Adrianople, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 22, 317.6)
 τὲς τρεῖς τοὺς ἀδελφάδες (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 70, f.Iv.16)
 εἰς τὲς ἀρχές τοῦ πόνου FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 37
 εἰς ὅλες τὲς ὁμορφες (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.22)
 ἔκρουγεν τὲς ὥρες (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 222.5)
 εἰς τὲς κουμαριές (1518, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 389.7)
 τὲς δύο Φώκιες (16th c., Lesbos?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.III, 27.1)
 τὲς ζάλες (1601, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 31, 111.7)
 εἰς τὲς Μουριγγιές (1615, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 1, 310.2)
 μὲ τὲς μурές (1634, Laconia, Simopoulos 1966: 149.3)
 τὲς βρισές PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §4.13
 τὲς δὲ συκίες (1656, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 6, 164.28)
 εἰς τὲς γκρεμισμένες ἐκκλησίες IER. AVVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 337.5
 εἰς τὲς ἄλλες δύο ἐκκλησίες (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 71.4)
 ὁποῦ ἔκλεψε τὲς γαδάρες<ς> τοῦ Γεώργη (1691, Ikaria/Chios?, TSELIKAS 2000: 81, 64.7)
 τὲς καμπάνες (1693, Nauplion, TSELENDI 1978: 5, 241.11)

The variant τῖς derives from an analogy with the nominative plural, i.e. sg. ὁ-τόν, ἡ-τήν, pl. οἱ-τίς (MEYER 1889: 116; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 575; TONNET 22003: 174). This

implies that the change $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma > \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ post-dates the change of the feminine nom. pl. $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota} > \acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}$, as indeed the evidence indicates, but $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ and $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ co-exist (and are found side by side in the same texts) for several centuries. PSICHARI (1886: 147–8) and PERNOT (1907/46: II 51), on the other hand, believe that the /i/ could also be the result of some sort of vowel weakening, i.e. a phonological and not an analogical change, due to the proclitic nature of the article. The form $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ is not attested in EMedG. In the LMedG sources, apart from a single, dubious 12th-c. attestation from S. Italy: $\tau\eta\varsigma \beta\rho\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ / $\ddot{\tau}\acute{\iota}\varsigma \beta\rho\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\ddot{\tau}$ (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 9, 523.9), $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ first appears in the early 15th c., without geographical restrictions.

- $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \epsilon\upsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (1417, Crete, LAMBROS 1895: 1, 586.32)
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ *Chron. Toc.* 1129
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma$ (1432, Corfu, ASONITIS 1996/97: 3, 30.89)
 $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 92.18–19)
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \pi\rho\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ *Chron. Mor.* P 1973
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$ *Theseid* I.48,3 (Follieri)
 $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma$ *Rim. kor.* A 159
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$ DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2095
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon$ (1518, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 14, 57.14)
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\Lambda}\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ (1543, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 118, 81.4)
 $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \delta\upsilon\omicron$ (1560, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 24, 103.21)
 $\mu\acute{\epsilon} \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \varphi\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma \mu\alpha\varsigma$ (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.26)
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\iota\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon \tau\eta\varsigma$ (1573, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 2, 18.15)
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \pi\omicron\eta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma$ CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.113
 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma$ (1625, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 66, 192.1)
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \delta\upsilon\omicron \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ (1634, Peloponnese, LAMBROS 1908b: 339.5)
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ (1638, Andros, POLEMIS 1999b: 9, 32.22)
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$ (1638, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 13, 86.3)
 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \Lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ (1639, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 3, 113.29)
 $\mu\acute{\epsilon} \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\iota}\delta\iota\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\sigma\kappa\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$ (1658, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 5, 654.78)
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (1667, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [6], 24.19)
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \sigma\upsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma$ (1671, Syros, VISVIZIS 1965: 11, 95.10)
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\varphi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$ (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 310.8)
 $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon$ PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 9

The form $\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}$ (normally reduced to $\tau\omicron\sigma'$ before a vowel) first appears in late 15th-c. texts from Crete, and is attested, in the texts examined, apart from Crete, also in Cythera, Naxos and Ithaca. It constitutes a standard feature of Cretan literature. For its etymology and distributional patterns see masc. acc. pl. $\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}$; see also the statistics in KARANTZOLA/CHALVATZIDAKI 2014: 698, which indicate avoidance of this form in Cretan notarial texts.

- $\tau\omicron\acute{\iota} \delta\upsilon\omicron \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\acute{\iota} \delta\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon$ (1497, Crete, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 6, 142.21)
 $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\acute{\iota} \kappa\alpha\nu\tau\sigma\alpha\delta\omicron\upsilon\eta\varsigma$ (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 33, 33.21)
 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\omicron\acute{\iota} \text{Καρέ}\varsigma$ (1554, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 216, 190.15)
 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\omicron\acute{\iota} \text{Φρίκ}\epsilon\varsigma$ (1585 [later copy], Ithaca, KALLINIKOS 1980: 56.16)
 $\tau\omicron\acute{\iota} \sigma\pi\acute{\acute{\epsilon}}\zeta\epsilon\varsigma$ (1587, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 1, 343.21)
 $\mu\acute{\epsilon} \tau\omicron\acute{\iota} \gamma\rho\alpha\varphi\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \mu\epsilon \tau\omicron\acute{\iota} \kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \tau\eta$ CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.319
 $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron \tau\omicron\acute{\iota} \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \sigma\pi\acute{\acute{\epsilon}}\zeta\epsilon\varsigma$ (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 146.24)
 $\tau\omicron\acute{\iota} \pi\rho\omega\tau\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon \tau\iota\mu\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma$ AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 347

ὅλες τζῖ φροντίδες τοῦ κόσμου VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.20
 τοῖ βίζιτες ἐρνήθηκα FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.75
 με τοῖ ἰντράδες τως (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 74.24)
 στζῖ Ροδινές / ὅς τοῖ Ροδινές (1692, Naxos, PANDELIA-GRITSOPOULOU 1995/97: 2, 212.26)
 με τοῖ τέχνες σου *Trag. Ag. Dim.* III.245
 νὰ σοῦ τονέ σφαλίσω ὅς τς ἀγκάλες σου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.401–2
 ἐστιμάρισεν τσ' ἐλές (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 209, 214.2)
 τσ' ἐλιές (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 86, 241.21)
 τσ' ὀχθρητες τους *Zinon Prol.* 14
 τοῖ κινήσεις καὶ τς ἀστραπές *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 7
 ἐγδῦσαν τσ' ἐκκλησιές KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* II.397

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General
τὰ

The nom./acc. pl. form τὰ is entirely stable, without evolution or variation, from AG up to MG. It is the only form attested in the corpus examined.

τὰ β' πατητήρια (1062, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 35, 103.33)
 τὰ δένδρια (1123, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 93, 122.6)
 τὰ ζ' κορεσσά καὶ μουσάφια (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 255.25–6)
 τὰ κάστροι SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 36.
 τὰ κοπέλια *Poulol.* 97
 τὰ ὀνείρατα KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.111
 ἀπὲ τ' ἀναστενάσματα *Liv.* E 16
 τ' ἄστροι BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 92
 τ' ἀποδιαφωτίσματα *P&N Diath.* 501
 τ' ἀνεπλόμιστα βάσανα (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.9–10)
 με ὅλαν του τ' ἀδέλφια (1703, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 46, 59.4)

Genitive

General	Restricted
τῶ(ν)	τοῦ(ν)

The regular form of the gen. pl. is τῶν throughout the LMedG and EMG period. Deletion of final /n/ in this form is geographically restricted; for its distribution see masculine above. The variant τοῦ(ν) has been located only in Cythera, Ithaca and Zakynthos.

καὶ τῶν χωρίων (11th c., Sicily/S. Italy, SCHREINER 1975/79: 45, 38.2–3)
 τον pediomou / τῶν παιδίω μου (1394, Crete, SANTSCHI 1976: 1597, 344.1)
 τῶν ἀκροπυργωμάτων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 181
 τῶν κορμιῶν *Fior, Suppl.* 274.3
 τῶν ὀρνιθίων *Fyll. gadar.* 158b
 τῶν περιβολιῶν (1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 32, 63.7)

μασαρίαν τῶν κελλιῶ (1655, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 2001: 96.4)
 τῶν σκουτιῶν (1676, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 44, 257.18)

τῷ χωραφίῳ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ (1528, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 113, 224.38); τῷ
 παιδίῳ μου καὶ τῶν κληρονόμῳ μου (1582, *ibid.* 143, 266.8)
 ὁλωνῶν τῷ σκρίτῳ (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 4, 364.2)
 οἱ ασπριλάδες τῷ μαλλιώ CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.261
 τῷ βυζῶν τὸ γάλα KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1228
 τῷ σπιτιῷ (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.45)
 ὁλονῶν τῷ χωριῶν (1666, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 4, 198.299)
 τῷ τριάντῳ γροσσῷ (1703, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 47, 61.23)

τοῦ μανδριῶν (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 15, 93.23); τοῦν ἐγγονιῶν (ibid. 51,
 132.8)
 τοῦ Χανίων (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 18, 15.9)
 τοῦν ἀδελφιῶν μου (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 6, 33.30); τοῦ παιδιῶν μου (ibid. 16,
 41.45)
 ὁμοίῳ καὶ τοῦ καραβιῶν *Reb. Evr.* 105.7

5.2.2 The Indefinite Article

The indefinite article in LMedG and EMG is an evolution of the indefinite pronoun εἴς/ἐνας, which in turn derives from the numeral εἴς/ἐνας. For details of inflection and evolution see 5.8.5. For its function see IV, 5.3.2.2.

5.3 Personal Pronouns

The AG system of personal pronouns underwent far-reaching developments during the first millennium AD. According to the most recent studies, the new system began to appear ca. 500 and was largely established by the beginning of the period covered by this Grammar (HESSELING 1892a; FLORISTÁN IMÍZCOZ 1990; see also DRESSLER 1966a; MERTYRIS 2011). These developments resulted in a full set of unstressed (clitic) forms, alongside the stressed (strong) forms, which also underwent various analogical processes. Initial ἐ- was generalized to all forms of the 1st and 2nd person: ἐσύ, ἐσέ(ν), ἐμεῖς, ἐσεῖς etc. For the 3rd person, both singular and plural, the demonstrative αὐτός came to be used as a personal pronoun (see 5.3.1.5 and for the forms see 5.5.1.2). This was reduced by the loss of the first syllable to serve as the corresponding weak (clitic) form for the oblique cases τον, την, το etc. (nominative forms are very rare).³ Further details in relation to each pronoun and their allomorphs will be given below. Dative forms continue to appear in texts aspiring to a higher register and in certain contexts (e.g. religious subject matter). However, as forms such as μοι, ἐμοί, σοί, ἡμῖν, ὑμῖν do not belong to the spoken language in the period covered by this Grammar, they are not included in the paradigms.

³ In the modern Pontic dialect there is a disyllabic clitic pronoun ἄτος (see PAPADOPOULOS 1955, OIKONOMIDIS 1958). Possible indications of such forms survive in a text of the 15th/16th c. but it is difficult to classify them with certainty as clitics. For a 3 sg. form see 5.3.2.3.4 and for a 3 pl. possessive 5.4.1.4. See also LAMPIDIS 1952: 231.

The strong forms, used for emphasis and after prepositions, are discussed in detail in 5.3.1. (For strong third-person forms see 5.5.1.2.) The weak forms, for all persons, are presented in 5.3.2. Conventional accentuation rules distinguish between forms that precede the verb (μέ, σέ etc.) and those that follow a verb, noun, determiner or adverb (for the position of clitic pronouns in the verb complex see IV, 8.2–3). The latter are enclitic and therefore written without an accent (unless they are followed by another clitic pronoun). In the period covered by this Grammar this distinction is purely orthographic, but both accented and unaccented forms are given in the paradigm tables.

In 5.3.3 we present the periphrastic pronoun (τοῦ) λόγου μου etc., which can replace strong personal pronouns and may also function as an intensive or reflexive pronoun.

5.3.1 Strong Forms

It will be noted that there are close parallels between the range of forms for the 1st and 2nd persons singular. The forms ἐμένα and ἐσένα are already established at the beginning of the period covered by this Grammar, but they do not completely replace the shorter forms ἐμέ(ν) and ἐσέ(ν). All the forms beginning with ἐ- can undergo aphaeresis when preceded by a vowel in the same phrase. The forms resulting from this phonological process (e.g. μένα, μᾶς) are not strictly allomorphs, but examples will be given below in order to illustrate the contexts in which they may occur.

5.3.1.1 1st Person Singular

	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	ἐγὼ ἢ ᾿γώ	ἐώ ἢ ἐβώ	ἱγώ
Gen.	ἐμέ(ν) ἢ ἐμένα ἢ ἐμέναν	ἐμοῦ ἢ ἐμένανε	ἔμου ἢ ἐμενός
Acc.	ἐμέ(ν) ἢ ἐμένα ἢ ἐμέναν	ἐμένανε(ν)	ἐμένε

Nominative

The basic form of the nominative is the same before, throughout, and after the period covered by this Grammar.

δέδουκα ἐγὼ κόμης Ρουκέριος (1094, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 59, 76.2)

ἐγὼ ἑλκεινὸς εἶμαι ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.3

ἐβραῖος ἐγὼ καὶ τὸν Κύριο τῶν οὐρανῶ ἐγὼ φοβοῦμαι *Jonas* 214.9

ἐγὼ πονῶ *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 11

ἐπλήρωσα ἐγὼ ὁ Λιτζελῆς (1327, Crete, LAIOU 1982: 1, 123.1)

ἐγὼ, τὸμ ποιὸν ἀκούσετε | λυπητικά τὰ διάβασα *Cypr. Canz.* 125.5–6

νὰ πάρω ἐγὼ (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 50.22)

κείτου ἐδευτοῦ, μεθύστακα, κι' ἐγὼ πηγαίνω ἀπάνω *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.540

γιατί ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐτίμησα κι αὐτοὶ μ' ἀναγελοῦσι *KONDAR., Paidēs* 749

When the pronoun is preceded by a word ending in a vowel, particularly /a/, the initial vowel may be deleted (aphaeresis; see I, 2.7.1). When the previous word is *καί*, modern editorial practice is to divide as *κ' ἐγώ* or *κι ἐγώ*; in older editions forms like the following may be found: *καί γ' ὡς πολλὰ βαριοῦμαι Chron. Mor. T 845*. Examples of aphaeresis after /a/, /o/ or /u/:

δὲν θέλω γ' ὡς νὰ φάγω *Achil. L 901*
 θωρώντα γ' ὡς τῶν ζωντανῶν τὴν ἀνθρωπινὰν καὶ πράξιν *LIMEN., Than. Rod. 600 transcr.*
 (Lendari) (Wagner: τ' ἀνθρώπινα)
 μὰ γ' ὡς σὲ συμβουλεύομαι *Alex. Rim. 1101*
 ν' ἀφήσω γ' ὡς *Cypr. Canz. 101.36*
 κόρη μου γ' ὡς τὸν θάνατον ποσῶς δὲν τὸν φοβοῦμαι *Diig. Alex. Sem. S 1057*
 μὰ γ' ὡς τὸ πρᾶμα ἀλλιᾶς λογῆς ... κρίνω *CHORTATSIS, Erof. V.244*
 γιατί δὲν ἦρτα τώρα γ' ὡς ἐδῶ συναφορμά σας *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou 65*
 μὰ γ' ὡς καλλιὰ τὸ ξεδιλυῶ *Stathis I.246*
 μὰ γ' ὡς θωρῶ *KORNAROS, Erot. I.1212*

Occasionally the shortened form *γ' ὡς* (γῶ) may be found even after a consonant, perhaps for metrical reasons: *γρικῶντας γ' ὡς τὴν δύναμιν Alex. Rim. 1515*, but cf. *γρικῶντα γ' ὡς ibid. 1545*. Deletion of the intervocalic fricative is found sporadically (see I, 3.6.1.1 for the phenomenon): *νὰ δῶ καὶ ἐὼ φτωχὸς (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.25)*. In some texts from Rhodes (18th c.) a change of /ɣ/ to /v/ can be found: *κι ἐβῶ Χαλῖλης (1737, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1972: 5, 35.8–9)*; *καὶ ἐβῶ ὁ παπα-Κωσταντῆς (ibid. 5, 35.13)*. A purely euphonic addition of final /n/ can be found in texts from Naxos: *ἐγῶν Ἀντώνης Ταπουσὸς γράφω (1575, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 134, 255.3)*; *ἐγῶν τοῦ ἐπούλησαν (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 761, 1032.10)*. A form *ἰγῶ*, with “raising vocalism” (see I, 2.5.4), has been found in a 17th-c. text from Skiathos: *γραφοῦγοοῦγιανakis / γράφω ἰγῶ οὐ Γιαννάκης (1653, Skiathos, EVANGELIDIS 1913: 66.20)*.

The form *κὰγῶ*, exhibiting AG crasis of *καὶ ἐγώ* (see I, 2.9.5), sometimes occurs as a lexical archaism: *θέλω κὰγῶ ἐζήτημα Byz. Il. 207*.

Genitive

The forms used for the genitive are of two main types: those derived from AG gen. *ἐμοῦ* and those derived from AG acc. *ἐμέ*. By the beginning of the period covered by this Grammar, *ἐμοῦ* had largely fallen out of use. We continue to find it, but mainly in texts in a mixed or more formal register; in verse texts, in the phrase *μετ' ἐμοῦ*, there is sometimes a shift of stress to the first syllable (possibly for metrical reasons):

διὰ ἐμοῦ τὴν ἀφορμὴν *Chron. Mor. H 284*; λέγουσιν λόγους περὶ ἐμοῦ *ibid. H 942*
 ἐμοῦ τῆς ἀναξίας *Dig. E 1837*
 μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐσυνεκτίσθης *DELLAP., Erot. apokr. 146*
 ὁ κύρης ἐμοῦ τοῦ Μανόλη (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIIOU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 51.34)
 ἀφίει καὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ νοταρίου διὰ τὸν κόπον μου ὑπέρπυρα εικοσιπέντε (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 165.42)
 εἰς τὸ ἀμπέλι ἐμοῦ, τοῦ νοταρίου (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 649, 566.1)
 ἔτσι κ' ἐμοῦ ἢ δούλεψις ὅπου ἔχω ἐβαλμένη *MONTSEL., Evgena 7*

μετ' ἔμου *Chron. Mor.* H 2402, 5397, 8199

μετ' ἔμου *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 118, 256, 350

The accusative ἐμέ takes the place of ἐμοῦ as a genitive, and appears with a range of extended forms (discussed below, under accusative). However, the basic form ἐμέ continues to function as a genitive, particularly in Crete but also elsewhere:

σίμωσε, πέ μου το κι ἐμέ *Thysia Avr.* 99; κι ἐμέ τὰ γηρατειά μου *ibid.* 1107

κακή γυναικα, | ἐμέ τὰ λές αὐτήνα; | Ἐσὲ τὰ λέγω, ἐσένα. | Ἐμένα, σκρόφα; Ἐσένα, κάππο,

ἐσένα *Pist. voskos* II 8.159

τόσον ἐμέ, ὅσον καὶ τῆς μητέρας μου (1643, Chios, *PAPADOPOULOS* 1989: 4, 99.17)

δὲν ἔναι ἐμέ δικό μου *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol.* 15

μὰ ἐμέ ποτὲ δὲ μοῦ ῥεσε *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1551

καὶ ἐμέ τῆς ἀμαρτωλῆς (1683, Leros, *PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS* 1990: 37, 29.6)

The form often appears with addition of final /n/, ἐμέν. The extended forms ἐμένα and ἐμέναν(ε) are found as genitives in texts from the 15th c., but as accusatives they occur much earlier (see below). The choice of form may be influenced by phonological considerations (whether a vowel or consonant follows), the number of syllables (especially in verse texts) or euphony. There appears to be no significant geographical differentiation, except that ἐμένανε has only been found in texts from the Peloponnese and Heptanese.

μέ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐμέν καὶ τῶν γονέω μας *Chron. Mor.* P 1388

καὶ ἐμέν τὴν ἐδικὴν μου τὴν ἄθλιαν καρδίαν γυρίσεις εἰς χαράν *Diig. Alex.* F 98.24 (Lolos)

ἐνέμπροστας ἐμέν, τοῦ νοταρίου (1597, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 9, 31.3)

εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐμέν νοταρίου (1603, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1968: 1, 26.3)

τῆς ταπεινῆς ἐμένα *Flor.* L 1020

ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ρηγὸς καὶ ἐμέναν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 474.27

φαίνεται μοι κ' ἐμέναν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 52.14

ἀπὸ ἐμένα (1503, Corfu, *PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* et al. 1997: 3, 23.7)

ἐμένα τῆς ἀμαρτωλῆς (1508, Ios, *PATRAMANI* 1989/90: 3, 173.18–19)

διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐμένα καὶ τοῦ ποτὲ κύρ Γεωργίου (1508, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 8, 14.11)

διὰ ψυχικὴ σωτηρίαν ἐμένα καὶ τῶν γονέων μου (1538, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2002a: 36, 37.25)

καὶ εἶπεν ἐμένα τοῦ κατωγεγραμμένου νοδάρ(ο) (1605, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 344, 323.8)

ὅπου μοῦ ῥωκες ἐμένα καὶ τῇ Σάρρας *Thysia Avr.* 41; τὰ σφάλματά μου ἐμένα *ibid.* 66

εἰς τὸ σπῖτι ἐμένα τοῦ Ἀντώνη Ντακορόνια (1625, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1968: 99, 238.2)

ἐμένα τοῦ Ἀθανασίου (1634, Paros, *ALIPRANDIS* 1974/75: 2, 111.23)

τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἐμένα τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 151–2

τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐμένα καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου του (1653–5, Venice, *FONKIC* 2000: 239, f.1v.2)

ἐμένα τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου (1673, Sikinos, *ZERLENDIS* 1913a: 138.2)

ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐμένα τοῦ ἰδίου (1692, Palermo region, *PAPADOPOULOS* 1994: 2, 181.18)

ἐμέναν τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ τὸν νοῦν μου νὰ φωτίσῃ *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 33

ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν ἐμένανε τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 114–15

ἤθελεν μοῦ εἶσεν ἐμένανε *Bertoldin.* 146.22

σ' ἐμένανε *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.552

δῶσε μοῦ το ἐμένανε (1712, Nauplion, *LIATA* 1998b: 232.12)

Finally, there is an odd form *ἐμενός*, perhaps on the analogy of *ένός*, which has been found in a single text: *μή μου στείλῃ ἐμενός Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 38.2; *βοηθοῦσι τοῦ Μουράτη καὶ ὄχι ἐμενός ibid.* 59.18; *θέλει μου τὸ κάμει καὶ ἐμενός αὐτὸς ἢ ἄλλος ibid.* 140.12.

Accusative

AG *ἐμέ* is found with the addition of /n/ already in papyri from the 2nd c. AD, and *ἐμένα* and *ἐμέναν* are attested from the 4th c. (GIGNAC 1976: 162–3). The first stage is in line with the tendency to add final /n/ to all accusative forms (see I, 3.7.2.1). The subsequent addition of /a/ is perhaps on the analogy of *ἐνα* or *τίνα/τινα* (JANNARIS 1897: 154; GIGNAC 1976: 162–3; HORROCKS 2010: 296), and a further /n/ can be added to that. All these forms are in existence before the period covered by this Grammar. The only innovation in our period is the form *ἐμένανε* (mainly in texts from the Heptanese and Peloponnese), first found in the 17th c. (An example from a 15th-c. Cretan text must be regarded with suspicion.) It parallels other nominal forms with the addition of final /e/ (see I, 2.6.3). After prepositions ending in a vowel, the initial *ἐ-* is normally deleted. This essentially phonological process affecting vowels in contact (see I, 2.7.1) gives rise to forms written as *μέ(ν)*, *μένα*, *μέναν* and *μένανε*. After the prepositions *σέ* and *μέ*, the alternative orthographies are purely a matter of editorial preference: *σ' ἐμένα* or *σέ μένα*, *μ' ἐμένανε* or *μέ μένανε* etc.

On the analogy of common phrases like *μετ' ἐμένα* (as an alternative to *μ' ἐμένα*), other prepositions may also acquire a /t/ when they appear before a personal pronoun. Thus we find, rather frequently, *διατ'* and *γιατ'* (giving rise to the assumption of a prepositional form *γιατά*), but also *ἀπὸ τ'* and *εἰς τ'*, often written as separate words. Since there is no difference in the morphology of the pronoun itself, examples with these prepositional forms are included in the lists below.⁴

εἰς ἐμέ Spaneas Va 39

ἄς εἶχες θυμηθῇ κι ἐμέ κι ἄς μέ 'θέλεις τελειώσῃ FALIEROS, Thrinos 138

δὲν κάμνει τοῦτο γιὰ τ' ἐμέ ZINOS, Vatr. Prol. 7

*μέ παλληκάρι σὰν ἐμέ νά 'σαι συντροφιασμένῃ; CHORTATIS, Katz. III.*460

*τὸ ἴδιο ἐγίνῃ κ' εἰς ἐμέ KORNAOS, Erot. I.*313

εἰς ἐμέν (1054, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 30, 131.15)

ὦνείδισες δὲ καὶ ἐμέν Diig. tetr. 814

ἀπὸ μέν FALIEROS, Ist. On. 282

καὶ ἐλάλειν μετὰ ἐμέν Diig. Alex. K 347.15

ἀπὸ ἐμέν (1546, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 180, 116.6)

ἐμένα Ptoch. (Maiuri) 41

διατ' ἐμένα Liv. V 1399

ἐμένα ὀρέσῃ με πολλὰ Chron. Mor. P 281

αὐτὸς ἐμένα ἐμπροσύτερα εἶχε με βασιλέα καμωμένον Diig. Alex. V 73–74.30, 1

ἔστειλες διὰ τ' ἐμένα νὰ ἔλθω Diig. Alex. F 148.14 (Lolos); *εἰς τ' ἐμέναν ibid.* 152.11–12

γιατ' ἐμένα Alex. Rim. 2863

νὰ κοιμηθῇ μέ ἐμένα TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias 311

⁴ For the analogical derivation of *ἀποτ'* etc. see KORAIS 1828/35: I 69–70. Further: AMANDOS 1918: 134–5, BORTONE 2010: 206.

εἰς ἑμένα (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 50.19)
 διαβασμένα καὶ δωμένα ἀπὸ μένα (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 795, 690.4)
 ἔλα μ' ἑμένα τὸ λοιπὸν MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1171
 γιὰτ' ἑμένα KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* III.155

ἑμέναν καίει μόνον GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 131
 ἔρχεσαι μετ' ἑμέναν *Dig.* G II.129
 καὶ ἄς ἤφηνες ἑμέναν *Ptoch.* I 105
 ἀπὸ μέναν *Spaneas* Va 41
 ἑμέναν (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.2)
 ὥσπερ ἑμέναν *Krasop.* AO 88
 κατὰ μέναν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.10
 ἑμέναν καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς κριτᾶδες (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 10.2)
 διὰ ἑμέναν (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 63.24)
 ἀπὸ τ' ἑμέναν τὸν ἀμαρτωλὸν *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 139

εἰς ἑμένανε FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 328 (but the text is problematic)
 μ' ἑμένανε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 437
 ἀπὸ μένανε ἄν τὸ ἀπογενώση (17th c.?, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 43, 122, f.161v.3)
 ἔπεσαν ὀμπροσθὰ εἰς τὸν πρωτοπαπᾶν, καὶ εἰς ἑμένανε *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 54
 ἑμένανε νὰ παρακινήσεις *Bertoldos* 21.4
 ἑμένανε χαρίζου *Zinon* I.161
 κ' ἑμένανε ἀκόμη KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* Prol. 176

ἐπάρτην ἐσὺ διὰ τ' ἑμένανεν *Bertoldin.* 149.19–20

Finally, there is a rare form ἑμένε that occurs in certain LMedG literary texts (cf. 2 sg. ἔσένε):

τί ἔχετε μετ' ἑμένε *Spaneas* Z 510 app. crit.
 δίχως ἑμένε, λέγω σας *Pol. Tr.* app. crit. (B)

5.3.1.2 2nd Person Singular

	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	σύ ἐσύ	ἐσοῦ σοῦ ἱσύ	
Gen.	σοῦ ἐσοῦ ἐσέ(ν) ἐσένα(ν)	ἐσένανε	ἔσου ἐσενοῦ
Acc.	ἐσέ(ν) ἐσένα(ν)	ἐσένανε	ἔσε ἔσένε

Nominative/Vocative

Alongside AG σύ, which continues in use, a form ἐσύ, with prothetic vowel on the analogy of ἐγώ, appears in Late Antiquity (first attested in a 4th-c. papyrus; see GIGNAC 1976: 164), is well established in LMedG and will become the normal form in MG. When the pronoun follows καὶ (or certain other words ending in /e/), it is often impossible to determine whether it is a disyllable or a monosyllable (κ' ἐσύ or καὶ σύ). Generally speaking, σύ

is restricted to texts that aim at a more formal register, although rhythm and (in verse texts) metre may also play a part.

ἐκεῖνος τηγανίζεται καὶ σὺ κἂν ψίχα οὐ γνώθεις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 122
 σὺ δὲ ψηφίζεις φάβατα *Ptoch.* IV 86
 σὺ, κόρη, ἀπεμερίμνησες *Dig.* E 847
 καὶ σὺ στὸ πανηγύριν *Spanos* D 267
 ἴνα με εὕξεσαι ἐσὺ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.30–1
 ἐσὺ ἂν ἰσθήκης εἰς βουνὸν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 119
 ἐσὺ δὲ βλέπε *Log. parig.* L 149
 ἔλα ἐσὺ ἐκ τὴν μίαν μερέαν *Chron. Mor.* H 7001
 ἐσὺ μικρόν καὶ ἀνέλικον, καβάλα δὲν σὲ πρέπει *Arm.* 8
 ἐσὺ νὰ ἀπέλθης (1428, Lefkada, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 12, 254.15)
 νὰ τὸ γράψης καὶ ἐσὺ (1431, Ragusa, LAMBROS 1930: 29.3)
 καὶ ἐσὺ νὰ τὸν ἐγνωρίσης *Achil.* N 1086
 γλῆγορα σὺ, διαλάλησε, κῆρυξ, καὶ φώναξέ το ΚΟΝΔΑΡ., *Paides* 451
 ἐσὺ εἶσαι μέσα στὴ φλακὴ ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* IV.1541

Cypriot texts commonly, and S. Italian documents occasionally, have a different form, ἐσοῦ (or σοῦ), which may preserve the AG pronunciation:⁵

τὸ ἔχεις ἀγορὰν ἐσοῦ ὁ ἀγοραστὴς (1134, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 43, 192.12)
 ἐσοῦ ὁμνύεις (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.2)
 ἐσοῦ νὰ τοὺς πέμπης (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.7)
 πότε ἔχασες ἐσοῦ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα *Assizes* B 427.4; ἐσοῦ ὁμνὲς *ibid.* B 466.29
 καὶ σοῦ ἀναπαμμένος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.29; ἐσοῦ μὲ τὴν ὀρεξίν σου *ibid.* V 212.2
 οὐδὲ ἐσοῦ, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 77.29–30 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 οὐδέ ἐσου οὐδέ οἱ δουλευτάδες σου VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 54.15 (mss B and M have οὐδ' ἐσοῦ)
 ἐσοῦ ὅπου πάγεις γυρεύγοντα *Fior* 77.12
 ἐσοῦ, Πλάστη, *Cypr. Canz.* 26.13; ἀνίσως κ' ἐσοῦ στέκεσαι χωσμένη *ibid.* 45.4
 θωρεῖς ἐσοῦ, *Pist. kekoim.* 116
 ἔδωκάν σου πράγμα εἰς φύλαξιν ... καὶ ἐσοῦ ἐκράτησές το; (17th c.?, Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 403.74)

Towards the end of the period we can also find examples of ἐσύ with northern vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4): ἰσὺ εἶχες λάχει PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.36.

Genitive

AG σοῦ (gen.) and σέ (acc.) acquire an initial ἐ- on the analogy of the first-person forms. For the genitive, the new form ἐσοῦ is found from the 1st c. AD onwards, particularly after a preposition (GIGNAC 1976: 163–4). In LMedG σοῦ and ἐσοῦ are residual forms, found mainly in more formal registers. After a preposition, we occasionally find forms with stress on the first syllable: ἔσου (cf. ἔμου above).

Just as for the 1st person singular, the accusative form also serves as genitive, and a similar range of extended forms is found: ἐσέν, ἐσένα, ἐσέναν. The form ἐσένανε has been located only in texts associated with the Heptanese. A single occurrence of ἐσενοῦ has been

⁵ MINAS (2003: 98) notes a single occurrence of ἐσοῦ in a S. Italian text.

found, in a text connected with Constantinople. The additional syllable -voũ is probably by analogy with forms such as αὐτουνοũ (see 5.5.1.6), although here the referent is feminine.

ἀπὸ σοῦ κύρ Παχχουμ(ίου) ἡγουμένου (1124, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 9, 80.12)
παρὰ σοῦ (1169, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 8, 76.11); ἐξ ἐσοῦ (1171, *ibid.* Coll. VII: 4, 363.27)

διὰ σοῦ θηρευθέντα *Dig.* G IV.1076

περὶ σοῦ *Assizes* B 475.11

ἄς μάθω ἀπὸ σοῦ (1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.16)

κατὰ σοῦ *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 58.7

ἔλαβα ὑπὸ σοῦ (1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 32, 63.8)

μετ' ἔσου *Chron. Mor.* H 4232 (and 5 more occurrences in this text)

μεδ' ἔσου *Dig.* E 870 and 1292

ὅταν ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐσὲν καὶ τῶν γονέων σου *Chron. Mor.* H 4110

ἐσὲν τῆς συμβίας (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 172.7); πουλοῦμεν ἐσὲν τοῦ
καλογέρου (1538, *ibid.* 175, 176.4)

αν πρώτα δεν το δείξω ἐσὲν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 27.5

ἐσὲ τὰ λέγω, ἐσένα *Pist. voskos* II 8.160

κακὰ ἀποδόματα θωρῶ ἐσὲ καὶ τοῦ κυροῦ σου ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* I.194

καὶ ἔδωκά σου ἐσένα (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 1, 3.12)

ἐσένα τοῦ Μανόλη Γεωργᾶ (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 50.7)

ἐσέναν ὀρκίζω (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 63.13)

τίνος ἔστειλα τὲς μερίδες; Οὐχὶ ἐσένα; *Vios Aisop.* K 170.4

ἐσένα τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου παπᾶ (1607, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 13, 15.6)

ἐσένα τοῦ ἀφέντη (1665, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 10, 418.2)

γὰ πλῖο ἡδονικότερον ἐσένανε, κυρά μου *Theseid* Prol. E 115

πάντα στὸ φαγητὸν εἶναι ἐσένανε ὁ νοῦς σου *Bertoldin.* 155.26

ὄχι ἐσενοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀγαπητικῆς του *Vios Aisop.* I 261.9

Accusative

The form ἐσέ, or ἐσέν with addition of final /n/, remains in use throughout the period and beyond. The extended forms ἐσένα and ἐσέναν are attested from at least the 13th c. (probable date of *Spaneas* V and the *Eisitirioi*). All these forms may lose their initial vowel (aphaeresis, for which see I, 2.7.1) when they follow a preposition (or other word with which they are syntactically connected, e.g. a verb) ending in a vowel.

εἰς ἐσέ (1015, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 15, 16.38)

ἀπ' ἐσέν *Spaneas* V 24; ἐσέν δὲ τί σέ ἑντρέπονται *ibid.* 99

ὡς ἐκεῖ παίζει μετ' ἐσέν *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 242

ἐπώλησα ἐσέν παπᾶ Θεόδωρον τὸν ἐξάδελφόν μου τὸ ὁσπίτιν (1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/
BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 17, 8.1–2)

εἰς νομὴν ἔθεσα ἐσέν τὸν προρηθέντα (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 183.22)

ὅλα εἰς ἐσέν τὰ ἀφῆκα (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 100.3)

οὕτως τὰ ἔχω καὶ ἐγὼ ὥσπερ καὶ σέν τὸν πάρδον *Diig. tetr.* 887

καὶ γὰρ ποῦ κρέμομαι ἀπὸ σέν *Love poems* V 222

κι ἔπαρ' κι ἐμένα μετὰ σέ *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 259

πάντα μ' ἐσέν θέλ' εἴσταιν ἡ καρδιά μου *Cypr. Canz.* 59.8

πάντα στὰ πατερμά μου | θέλω παρακαλεῖ για σέ CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.404–5
για σέν, ποθεινοτάτη PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 456
νὰ συμπαθήση ἐσέ κ' ἐμέ KORNAPOS, *Erot.* V.1141
ποὺ τ' ἄφησαν οἱ παλαιοὶ διὰ τὰ 'σέν, καλέ μου *Thrinus Kypr.* 662
θέλω γνωρίσω | τούτῃ τὴν χάριν ἀπὸ ἐσέ KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* I.5–6; πόνο ὁπῶχω γιατὰ σέ *ibid.* I.120

[χωρίζετ' ἀπ'] ἐσέναν *Spaneas* V 35; πρὸς ἐσένα *ibid.* 79
τὸν μέγαν αὐτοκράτορα | καὶ πενθερὸν ἐσέναν *Eisit.* f.8v.17–20
δι' ἐσέναν ANAGN., *Stich. pol.* 6
ὥσάν ἐσέναν ἔχει, *Ptoch.* III 57
καὶ ὥσάν ἐσένα, ἀδελφὲ *Log. parig.* L 405
στὸν ρῆγαν κ' εἰς ἐσέναν *Chron. Mor.* H 7925
μετ' ἐσέναν (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 46, 38.3)
διὰ σέναν *Liv.* E 2234; ἐσέναν *ibid.* 2237
καὶ ἐσέναν σὲ κατέχουν *Poulol.* 124
κοιμοῦμαι μετὰ σένα *Achil.* N 1257
διατ' ἐσένα *Love poems* V 92
διατ' ἐσένα (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.10)
σ' αὐτόν σου σέναν *Cypr. Canz.* 47.5
διὰ τέσένα DAM. SToud., *This.*, *Logos* 17, ο7v.26
διὰ τ' ἐσένα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 205
εἰς τ' ἐσέναν (17th c., Pontos, VEIS 1939: 28, 216.)
ἐσένα για νὰ πιάσει PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 622
ἐγὼ δὲν ἤξευρα αὐτὸ ἀπὸ τ' ἐσένα (1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 13, 215.5)
μῆδὲν σὲ μέλη σένανε καὶ μέριμναν μὴ ἔχης *Theseid* V.53,2 (1529)
εἰς ἐσένανε *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 244 (of unknown origin)
ἔχε τα μετὰ σένανε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 304
εἰς ἐσένανε φέρνει τὴν λευθερία SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A2v.28
κ' Ἐσένανε ἀφήκασι, τὸν ποιητὴ καὶ κτίστη ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 1059
κ' ἐσένανε, ἀξάδεφε *Zinon* III.188
δοῦλο ὥσάν ἐσένανε KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* I.2

Finally, there are two rare forms ἐσένε (cf. ἐμένε) and ἔσε, for each of which a single example has been located: εἰς ἐσένε *Pol. Tr.* 8646 app. crit. (A); νὰ δικαστῇ μετέσε i.e. μετ' ἔσε *Spaneas* Z 216 app. crit. The latter is in a manuscript claimed to be of Epirot provenance.

5.3.1.3 1st Person Plural

	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	ἡμεῖς ἐμεῖς		
Gen.	ἐμᾶς	ἡμᾶς	
Acc.	ἡμᾶς ἐμᾶς		ἔμας

Nominative

The inherited form ἡμεῖς is often found in LMedG and EMG texts, both literary and non-literary, that employ a mixed register. It cannot be excluded that it is sometimes the result of scribal intervention. By the end of the period covered by this Grammar, ἡμεῖς is certainly a residual form, with learned, religious and formal associations. The question is: when (and where) does the new form ἐμεῖς first appear in written texts? An 11th-c. example from S. Italy has been regarded with suspicion (HESSELING 1892a: 387) because of its early date: ἵνα διεκδικοῦμεν ἐμεῖς καὶ ποιοῦμεν (1015, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 15, 16.28). The next instance we have located is in a 12th-c. document from S. Italy, but that should perhaps also be viewed with some caution.⁶ Ms H of the *Chronicle of Morea* (dated 1375) has mainly ἡμεῖς, with a single instance of ἐμεῖς. The 16th-c. ms P of the same text has 12 examples of ἐμεῖς, almost as many as ἡμεῖς. The new form also occurs in a variety of texts dated to the 15th c., including the *Chronicle of the Tocchi*, which has the new form exclusively. Since a reduced form μεῖς is also found, mainly after a vowel, it is possible that the change of initial vowel from /i/ to /e/ is, at least partly, the result of collocations like καὶ ἡμεῖς, pronounced as καὶ ῥεῖς. The reanalysis with initial /e/ is also supported by analogy with singular forms like ἐμέ and ἐμένα. We can conclude that the period of transition is roughly the 14th and 15th centuries. We give, first, examples of the inherited form and then of the innovative form ἐμεῖς.

ἡμεῖς δὲ πάλιν τρώγομεν *Ptoch.* IV 412

καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄς ἀπομείνωμεν ἐδῶ στὰ ἱγονικά μας *Chron. Mor.* H 607

καὶ ὅς θαροπποῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς *Dig.* E 1382

ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τὸ μέρος ἡμῶν νὰ ἤμεθεν ξένοι καὶ ἀλλότρι(οι) (1457, Arcadia, MANOUSSACAS 1981: 319.14)

ἡμεῖς καὶ τὰ παιδιά μας *Achil.* N 562

ἡμεῖς εἴμεσταν ἔτοιμοι τοῦ ρηγὸς καὶ κείνος ἐμᾶς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 248.36–7

εἴμεσταν καὶ ἡμεῖς μοναχῆς (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.48)

ἡμεῖς εἴμεσταν ὥσάν τὸ λιθάριν τὸ ἀδαμάντινον *Diig. Alex.* E 217.15 (Lolos)

επειδὴ ἡμεῖς τόσον ἐχάρημαν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 146.8

καὶ ἡῦραμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς LANDOS, *Geopon.* 245.4

ἡμεῖς τοὺς ἀκούομεν καὶ φοβούμεσταν (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVI, 220.10)

ἐμῖς ὑ πράτες / ἐμεῖς οἱ πράτες (1134, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 43, 192.13)

ἐμεῖς οἱ Φράγκοι *Chron. Mor.* H 6964 (sole example in this ms)

ἐμεῖς ἐσέναν ἔχομεν ζωὴν καὶ ἀναπνοήν μας *Dig.* E 408

ἐμεῖς οἱ δύο *Liv.* V 2312

καὶ μεῖς νάβγοῦμεν τώρα *Achil.* L 377

ἐμεῖς οἱ Γιαννινιώται *Chron. Toc.* 1409; ἐμεῖς φοβούμεθα πολλὰ *ibid.* 2985 (and another 6 instances, but none of ἡμεῖς)

ἐμεῖς ... θέλουμε τοὺς πέψειν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83.5)

καὶ μεῖς νὰ καθοῦμεθσαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 338.14–15; ἐμεῖς ὅλοι ἀντάμα θέλομέν σε *ibid.* 380.24–5

γὰρ σένα μεῖς νὰ γένωμεν ἀφέντες γεναμένοι *Alex. Rim.* 1338; νικώντας μεῖς τὸν Δάρειον *ibid.* 2029; ἐμεῖς γυναῖκες εἵμασθαι *ibid.* 2507

ἐμεῖς οἱ δουλεπτάδες (1547, Mani, SKOPETAS 1950: I, 70.8)

⁶ Note, however, that the 2 pl. forms ἐσεῖς and ἐσᾶς are attested in the same period (see below).

ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς λέγομεν(εν) *Pist. kekoim.* 65
 ἐμεῖς οἱ Μανιάτες (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.1)
 ἐμεῖς οἱ ἀπομονάροι (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 150.92–3)
 ἐμεῖς φτωχοὶ καὶ σκλάβοι (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), 27.2)
 τότες κ' ἐμεῖς ἀξίζαμε κ' ἡμαστέ γυρεμένες CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.310
 τὸ πῶς ἐμεῖς νὰ εἴμεσταν γλυκοὶ *Bertoldin.* 116.1

An instance of northern vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4) has been found in a 17th-c. text: γλέποτας ἡμεῖς τὲς ἀπόδειξες (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.7).

Genitive

In LMedG and EMG the inherited genitive ἡμῶν survives only as a residual form, in higher- or mixed-register texts, in religious expressions or formulae, and especially as a possessive pronoun, less often after a preposition. A handful of examples will suffice: ἐλθὲ εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν ἡμῶν τῶν δεομένων *Dig.* E 1841; μεθ' ἡμῶν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2517; διὰ τὴν παράβασιν ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ πρῶτος ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 453.23–4. It belongs to formal and ecclesiastical language, not to the vernacular.

It is difficult to locate clear examples of the genitive of the strong form of the pronoun (unlike the weak, clitic form), which has become ἐμᾶς at some stage in the development of the MedG pronoun system. Not only is it identical with the accusative form, but it is often impossible to determine whether a given example should be viewed as accusative or genitive.⁷ The following are clearly genitive:

καὶ ἐμᾶς τῶν ταπεινῶν ἱερέων (1327–8, Peloponnese, VRANOUSI 1981: B, 27.13)
 ὅποιοις ἐνὶ ἡ βοῦλλα του καὶ ἐμᾶς ὁλῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ *Chron. Mor.* H 81 (ms P has ἡμᾶς ὁλῶν μετ' αὐτον); ἀφέντη, ἐμᾶς ἀρέσει μας *ibid.* 2516
 ὁγιά νὰ δώσωμε κι ἐσὲν κι ἐμᾶς παραμυθία FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 85
 ἐμᾶς εἶν' ἡ πατρίδα μας BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 291
 ἡμεῖς εἴμεσταν ἑτοιμοὶ τοῦ ρηγὸς καὶ κείνος ἐμᾶς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 248.36–7
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτον ἐμᾶς φαίνεται μας VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 22.4
 ἡ γυναικα σου καὶ ἐμᾶς ἀνεψιά (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 240, 234.41–2)
 τὸ τέκνο μας δὲν εἶναι ἐμᾶς *Thysia Avr.* 169
 καὶ τῶν προπατόρων μας καὶ ἐμᾶς ἀκόμη (1685, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1918a: 131.19–20)
 κ' ἐμᾶς ἡ χέρα μας KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1330; κὶ ἂν εἶν' κ' ἐμᾶς τόσο ἄρεσε *ibid.* IV.29

Accusative

The inherited form ἡμᾶς continues to occur in texts until the EMG period, but by this time it is an archaism found mainly in formal registers:

ἡμᾶς αὐθέντης πέφυκεν *Achil.* N 164 (probably acc., as this text often uses acc. for indirect object)
 ὁμῶς στείλαν ἡμᾶς καὶ ὅλη τὴ σύναξη (1528, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 53, 173.46)
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διώκετε ἡμᾶς CHEILAS, *Chron.* 356.29
 ἔθεντο ἡμᾶς διὰ αἰρετοῦς κριτᾶς (1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 174.5)

The change of ἡμᾶς to ἐμᾶς parallels the development in the nominative and must be closely related. Again, the dating of the new form is not without problems. A small number of

⁷ See MERTYRIS 2011 for an examination of the syncretism of genitive and accusative in the personal pronoun system.

examples are found in documents of the 11th and 12th c. from S. Italy (see MINAS ²2003: 98), and in a letter of Nikon of the Black Mountain (12th c.):

παρ' ἑμᾶς (1034, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 29, 34.28)
 ὅπερ καὶ εἰς ἑμᾶς ἐποίησες (ms αἰμάς) (1196, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 241, 325.11)
 τούτους ἐχώρισαν ἀπ' ἑμᾶς NIKON, *Logos* 9 316.14

From the late 14th c. it is found frequently in all kinds of texts, but not to the complete exclusion of ἡμᾶς. Manuscripts of the same literary work often differ in their preferred form and the same ms may vacillate.

ἀπὸ ἑμᾶς τοὺς ἀγαπᾶς *Chron. Mor.* H 276; εἰς ἑμᾶς *ibid.* 697; ἑμᾶς τοὺς Φράγκους *ibid.* 760
 ἀπὸ ἑμᾶς (1414, Corfu, MALTEZOU 1991a: (1), 316.12)
 ἔρχου εἰς ἑμᾶς συχνά (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 283)
 ἔρχονται πρὸς ἑμᾶς (1440, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1995: 126, 401.4)
 ἑμᾶς ἂς μᾶς ὁμόση *Dig.* E 412; πῶς ἐσυνέβην εἰς ἑμᾶς *ibid.* 1319
 πρὸς ἑμᾶς ἐλάλει *Liv.* V 2729
 ἀπὸ ἑμᾶς *Pol. Tr.* 2502, 2512 app. crit. (V), 2650
 νὰ ἀφεντέψη ὡσὰν ἑμᾶς *Chron. Toc.* 1347
 ἕνας ἀπ' ἑμᾶς τοὺς δύο *Theseid* V.11,7–8 (1529)
 νὰ γένεται εἰς ἑμᾶς *Deft. Par.* 23
 καὶ ποίησε εἰς ἑμᾶς ἐλεημοσύνη καὶ συμπάθιον *Diig. Alex.* V 43.5 (frequent in this text)
 μετ' ἑμᾶς BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 315
 ἃ θέλῃς νὰ ᾔθῃς εἰς ἑμᾶς *Alex. Rim.* 1918 (and frequently)
 ὡς μᾶς φανῇ ἑμᾶς (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 703, 546.22); διὰ μᾶς (*ibid.* 703, 546.25)
 καὶ στέψε εἰς ἑμᾶς βασιλέα *Diig. Alex.* F 132.15–16 (Lolos) (frequent in this text)
 διὰ τ' ἑμᾶς RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 73.4
 κάμε νὰ ᾔλθῃς καὶ ἀτός σου μετ' ἑμᾶς *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 8
 ἀπὸ ἑμᾶς τοῖ ραγιαδες σου (1664, Cyprus, MERTZIOS 1958b: 253.1)

A form with stress on the first syllable (cf. the genitives 1 sg. ἔμου and 2 sg. ἔσου) is found in two verse texts, always after the preposition μετ' or μεδ':

μετ' ἔμας *Chron. Mor.* H 5283, 5661, 5918, 6034 etc.
 φιλίαν μεδ' ἔμας *Pol. Tr.* 1510 app. crit. (B); μεδ' ἔμας *ibid.* 1801 app. crit. (BV)

In the following example, which exhibits vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4), it is impossible to say whether the pronoun is acc. or gen., or whether a preposition should be understood (σ' ἱμᾶς):

ἰρωτήθηκαν ὁμπρὸς ἱμᾶς (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 2, f.38v.13)

5.3.1.4 2nd Person Plural

	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	ἔσεῖς	ύμεῖς	
Gen.	ἔσᾶς		
Acc.	ἔσᾶς	σᾶς	ἔσας

The change from AG ὑμεῖς to LMedG and MG ἐσεῖς is a big one, which must have had several intermediate stages, but has not been satisfactorily explained. It is probable that the need to distinguish between the 1st and 2nd persons plural, as the pronunciation of <υ> was converging with that of <η> around the 9th–10th c. (see I, 2.4.6.1), was a significant factor. However, it is also necessary to explain the change from /m/, which was common to both 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns of AG (ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς), to /s/. The pattern of the accusative forms of the 1st and 2nd persons singular, ἐμέ and (ἐ)σέ, served as the analogy for a new 2nd person plural with /s/. The earliest evidence for the new forms is in the clitic pronoun σας, found both as the object of a verb and as possessive in the *De ceremoniis* (10th c.; see HESSELING 1892a: 379–80; PSALTES 1913: 194).⁸ Presumably the clitic was “reinforced” by a prefixed /e/, on the analogy of ἐσύ etc., to function as a strong personal pronoun.⁹ As no textual evidence is available for this series of changes, the order of events must remain hypothetical.

Nominative/Vocative

The residual form ὑμεῖς can occasionally occur in higher- and mixed-register texts: ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐποιήσατε τὸ φονικὸν ἐτοῦτο *Velth.* 210.

The new form ἐσεῖς is already established at the beginning of the LMedG period, as indicated by the first examples below, from a text of the late 11th/early 12th c.

ἐρωτᾶτε με καὶ ἐσεῖς καὶ ἕτεροι ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 140.32; ἀκούετε τὰ ἐσεῖς καὶ πάντες *ibid.* 150.31–2

προσπίπτειν εἶχετε καὶ ἐσεῖς *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 282

ἐσεῖς ἐξεύρετε καλὰ τὸν φτόνον τοῦ διαβόλου *Chron. Mor.* H 710

εἶστέν ἐσεῖς *Pol. Tr.* 824 app. crit. (AB)

ἐσεῖς καλὰ τὸ ἐξεύρετε (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.4)

μ' ἂν ἔν' κι ἐσεῖς συνθλίβετε, οἱ ξένες, καὶ συγκλαῖτε *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 40

ἐσεῖς ὅπου θέλετε τὸ διαβάσειν *Fior* 74.3

Genitive

The genitive is invariable: ἐσᾶς.

ἄνευ βουλῆς, θελήματος ἐσᾶς ὅπου ἔχω ἀφέντες *Chron. Mor.* H 269; ἀφέντης σας, ἐσᾶς τῶν Μωραΐτων *ibid.* 2252

ὅλων ἐσᾶς τὸ φαίνεται *Pol. Tr.* 1661

καὶ κάμνω τὴν ἔγγυσιν ἐσᾶς τῶν ἄνωθεν Ζαχαριάδων (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 257, 255.19)

ἐσᾶς τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀμπασαδῶρ (1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 5, 239.15)

ἐσᾶς τῶν δύο ζευγάδων (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 240, 227.6)

Accusative

The accusative has the same form as the genitive. After prepositions, the pronoun often appears without the initial vowel /e/. In later texts this is probably to be regarded as the result of aphaeresis (see I, 2.7.1), but it is possible that the monosyllabic form pre-dates

⁸ See further MERTYRIS 2011: 482, where possible evidence from the 9th c. is adduced, in the prepositional phrase ἀπ' ἐσᾶς. The date of the mss should be checked before the evidence can be accepted at face value.

⁹ A further factor could be co-articulation with καὶ.

the form ἑσᾶς (see the discussion above). In two verse texts, the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy*, a form stressed on the first syllable is found, after the preposition μετ(ά); we may compare similar forms for the 1st and 2nd persons singular and 1st person plural.

ὁ Θεὸς νὰ τὸν διαφυλάξη καὶ ἑσᾶς πάντας NIKON, *Logos* 2 136.19; εἰς ἑσᾶς *ibid.* 140.36
 εἰς ἑσᾶς (ms ἦσε σας) (1097, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 60, 78.12)
 πρὸς σᾶς (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 5, 557.7)
 μετ' ἑσᾶς (1346–7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.30)
 ἦλθα νὰ ἰδῶ ἑσᾶς *Chron. Mor.* H 270; πρὸς ἑσᾶς *ibid.* 423 (and frequently after a preposition)
 εἰς ἑσᾶς *Dig.* E 153; μετὰ σᾶς *ibid.* 177
 τίς ἀπὸ σᾶς *Pol. Tr.* 1037 app. crit. (A); καὶ λέγω το καὶ πρὸς ἑσᾶς *ibid.* 1417 app. crit. (A)
 νὰ χαιρετήση καὶ ἑσᾶς (1447, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1952: 273.4)
 μὴ σᾶς φᾶν καὶ ἑσᾶς *Spanos* D 1531
 κ' ἑσᾶς *Pist. kekoim.* 9; μηδένas ... ἀποῦ σᾶς *ibid.* 389
 ὅστις ἀπὸ σᾶς (1548, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 41, 71.11)
 διὰ τοῦτο ὀρίζομεν ἑσᾶς πάντας (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 167.15)
 τοῦτος ὁ ἡσοῦς ὁποῦ ἀνελήφθη ἀποτ' ἑσᾶς SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 16.25
 εσᾶς οποῦ εἰστέν ἀμαθοὶ θέλω νὰ τ' ἀναφέρω *Kakop.* 8
 ἀπὸ τ' ἑσᾶς KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 11.11
 εἰς ἑσᾶς δέ, ὁποῦ εἶσθε ὅλον σάρκες VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.9
 δὲν ἐδέχθηκεν ἑσᾶς (1653–5, Venice, FONKIC 2000: 240, f.1v.10)
 ἐμένα δὲν με τυχαίνει νὰ λογοφέρνω με εσᾶς *Don Kis.* 50.11
 μὰ ἔχω φόβον γιὰτὰ σᾶς KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* III.156
 μετ' ἑσας *Chron. Mor.* H 695, 8444
 μετ' ἑσας *Pol. Tr.* 5451 app. crit. (A), 7473 (μεδ' ἑσας BV)

5.3.1.5 3rd Person

There is no inherited 3rd person personal pronoun in MedG; this function is covered by the demonstrative pronoun αὐτός, αὐτή, αὐτό (deriving from the AG intensive pronoun αὐτός). The use of αὐτός as a 3rd person personal pronoun first appears in the Koine (Ptolemaic period) (see MAYSER 1926: 64; BLASS et al. 1961: 145, §277; GIGNAC 1976: 166; HORROCKS 2010: 107), continues during the EMedG period (PSALTES 1913: 194) and is well established in early texts of LMedG, e.g.:

νέμεσθαι αὐτὰ (908 [12th c. copy], PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1975: 2, 185.53)
 ἐρμηνέψαντες αὐτό (1000, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 12, 12.4); δίδωμε σοὶ αὐτὲς (1097, *ibid.* 64, 81.11)
 ἐρωτήσαμεν αὐτοὺς τὸ τί γινώσκουσι (1095, S. Italy/Sicily?, GUILLOU 1963: 2, 50.2)
 καὶ αὐτὴ νὰ προσκυνήσῃ *Eisit.* f.6v.18
 ἔλεγον καὶ αὐτοὶ (12th c. [post 1139], Athos, LEFORT et al. 1994: 54, 63.18)
 οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν εἰς αὐτήν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 234.275)
 αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τὸ ἠθέλησαν (14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.8)

Αὐτός inflects as a regular adjective in -ος, -η, -ο(ν) (see 3.2.1), with a wide variety of later variant forms, due to analogical levelling, for which see 5.5.1.2. Most of these forms are also used as personal pronouns. This function is present in the earliest attestations of each form, e.g.:

νὰ παίξῃ καὶ μετ' αὐτόν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 369
 εἰς αὐτεινούς σύντυχε *Chron. Toc.* 1352
 ἦσαν συνανάθροφοι αὐτοῦνοι DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1354
 παραδαρμός αὐτόναν παραδέρνει *Liv.* V 2276
 μήτε αὐτεῖνοι μήτε τὰ παιδιά τους (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 341.27)

In the nominative case, αὐτός has an emphatic function, while the corresponding weak (clitic) form τος is extremely rare (see 5.3.2.3.2). In the oblique cases the use of the strong form gradually recedes in frequency, replaced by the corresponding weak form, and acquires a learned nuance after the 14th c., unless used for special emphasis, e.g.: ἀνάθεμά τονε κι αὐτόν CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.291; κ' ἔτο' ἠπίασεν κ' ἔφαν αὐτὴ κ' ἐπάτησεν καὶ μένα VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 57.

The strong form is the regular option throughout the LMedG and EMG periods (as well as in MG) as a complement of the simple prepositions (ἀπό, διά/γιά, δίχως/δίχα, ἐκ, εἰς/σέ, ἕως, κατά, μέ, μετά, παρά, περί, πρό, πρὸς, σύν, ὑπέρ, ὑπό, χωρίς); on prepositions and prepositional phrases see IV, 6.

ζῆλος ἐνέπεσε εἰς αὐτοὺς *Dig.* E 1152
 ἤφερεν μὲ αὐτόν τὴν θυγατὴρ του *Chron. Mor.* P 6464
 τρόμος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ φόβος καὶ δειλία *Achil.* N 1392
 οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν χωρὶς αὐτὴν ἀποστραφῆναι θέλει *Dig.* A 480
 ἀφέντης δὲν ἠύρισκετον μ' αὐτόν νὰ πολεμήσῃ *Velis.* ρ 10
 χαρα νὰ πάρεις απ' αὐτὰ CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.618; πάντα ἄς μισεύγουν ἀπ' αὐτὴ id., *Katz.* II.349

The other demonstratives, ἐκεῖνος and οὗτος/τοῦτος (see 5.5.1.8, 5.5.1.11) may also serve as emphatic personal pronouns, e.g.:

ἐκεῖνος τηγανίζεται καὶ σὺ κἂν ψίχα οὐ γνώθεις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 122
 ἐκεῖνοι τρώγουν βατραχοὺς, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἀγιοζοῦμιν *Ptoch.* IV 394
 καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἦτο ἐγλήγορος *Dig.* E 767
 τὴν ρήγαιναν ἀσπαστήκεν καὶ λέγει πρὸς ἐκείνην *Chron. Mor.* H 296
 ἀλλὰ συνεπαράκυπτεν ἐκεῖνος μετ' ἐκείνης [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 924
 τοῦτην ἀναλαβότες παρὰ σοῦ (982, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 5, 133.24)
 τοῦτη οὖν ὡς εἴρηται ἡ σκιογραφηθεῖσα ἡμῶν γῆς (1034, Athos, LEFORT 1973: 1, 41.15)
 τὴν ταύτης μοχθηρίαν *Ptoch.* I 26
 ἐτοῦτοι δὲ ἄρματώθησαν *Pol. Tr.* 8486 app. crit. (AV)
 οὗτος ὡσὰν ἀπίστησεν *Chron. Toc.* 3125
 ἔχει καὶ τοῦτος τόσῃν ἐλευθερίαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 260.13

In legal documents (and more rarely in literary texts), the role of an emphatic personal pronoun may also be assumed by the demonstrative pronoun τοιοῦτος, preceded by the definite article:

ὁ τοιοῦτος δὲ μὴ θελήσας (1065, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 34, 202.20)
 ἐμμένειν τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπαρασάλευτον (1152, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 8, 89.44)
 ἔχειν σε τὸ τοιοῦτον (1172, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 179, 235.13)
 ἀπῆλθε γοῦν ὁ τοιοῦτος (1274, Athos, ŽIVONINOVIČ et al. 1998: 9, 133.20)
 ὥστε πολλοὶ ἐθαύμασαν ἰδόντες τὸ τοιοῦτον *Velis.* N² 32
 καὶ μὲ μανίαν καὶ θυμὸν λέγει πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην *Diig. tetr.* 269a app. crit. (CA)

Furthermore, the definite article *ὁ* may serve as a nominative personal pronoun when accompanied by the particles *μέν*, *δέ* (not to be confused with the contrastive function of *ὁ μέν* ~ *ὁ δέ*), a use which should be considered an archaism.¹⁰ Examples:

- ὁ δὲ ἐφ' ἵππου ἐπιβάς *Dig.* G I.146
 ἡ δὲ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις μου μὴ καταδεχομένη *Ptoch.* I 123
 οἱ δὲ «τί λέγεις;» λέγουσιν [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 1416
 ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος αὐτὸ μετὰ περιχαρίας *Achil.* N 959
 ἡ δὲ τὰῦτα ὡς ἤκουσε *Vios Aisop.* D 219.12; ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν τοὺς *ibid.* 241.8
 ὁ δέ, λαβὼν αὐτό, ἐπήγε χαρούμενος *Vios Filaret.* 242.21
 ὁ δε ἀπεκρίνατο *LANDOS, Amart. sot.* 333.37
- οἱ μὲν συγκατετίθεντο [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 654
 ὁ μὲν ἐντράπη τὸ φυγεῖον *Chron. Mor.* H 3859

The use of *ὁ δέ* in oblique cases is very rare but attested, e.g. τὸν δὲ φόβος ἐλάβανε *Dig.* G VI.263.

5.3.2 Weak Forms

The weak forms of the personal pronoun form part of a stress group with another word, typically a verb or noun, but they may also be dependent on an adjective, adverb or preposition. After a noun they function as possessives; for these possessive uses of the genitive forms see 5.4.1.

While AG had weak (clitic) forms for the 1st and 2nd persons singular, which were inherited by MedG, there were no clitic forms for the 3rd person, or at least none that survived into the Koine. A new set of 3rd-person clitic pronouns emerged during the 1st millennium, derived from the intensive pronoun/demonstrative αὐτός, with loss of the first syllable by aphaeresis (see I, 2.7.1).

It is often difficult to determine whether the 1st and 2nd person plural forms *μας* and *σας* are accusative or genitive in a given context, because many texts fluctuate between use of genitive and accusative for the indirect object. An attempt has been made to assign a case on the basis of the prevailing practice in the relevant text, but such “labelling” should not be regarded as authoritative.

Residual dative forms (*μοι*, *σοι*) can be found in higher- and mixed-register texts, but are excluded from the paradigm tables below.

Regarding accentuation, these clitic forms have no stress of their own, but traditional orthography distinguishes between pre-verbal forms (*μοῦ*, *μάς* etc.), which bear a written accent, and post-verbal, enclitic forms, which are unaccented. (For the position of clitic pronouns in the verb complex see IV, 8.2–3.) In the tables we give both accented and unaccented forms, separated by an oblique slash. Third-person extended forms, such as *τονε*, *τηνε*, are treated variously by editors (the same editors may even apply different principles

¹⁰ In rare cases, γάρ also appears in this function, e.g. ὁ γάρ κρατῶν τὸν λογισμὸν [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 1101.

in different texts). While *enclitic* disyllabic forms such as *τονε*, *μασε* and *τουσε* are usually unaccented, proclitic occurrences may be accented on either syllable, according to the editor's preference. The examples given below illustrate this editorial variety.

5.3.2.1 1st Person Singular

	General
Gen.	μοῦ / μου
Acc.	μέ / με

Since there is no allomorphic variation, we give only a few examples.

Genitive

τὸ ὅπερ μοῦ ἀφῆκε (1200, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 249, 338.14)
 νὰ ἰσθήσουν δὲ καὶ σταυρὸν ἐπάνω μου (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.54)
 καὶ μνήσκου μου διὰ παντός *Dig.* G IV.448
 νὰ ἐβλέπω ... ἐμπρός μου τοὺς ἐχτροὺς μου *Chron. Mor.* H 1131
 ἐχάρισάν μοῦ (sic) τὴν *Assizes* B 422.7
 πλὴν θέλω νὰ μοῦ θυμοῦνται (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 14, 24.32)
 τὰ ὁποῖα μοῦ τὰ χρεωστεῖ (1560, Ancona, MARKOS 1977: III, 29.3)
 ὁποῦ μ' ἄφησε ὁ μπάρμπας μου (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 36.11–12) (for the apocope of μοῦ see I, 2.7.3)
 ἀφῆτε μοῦ τὴνε (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 181.54)
 μοῦ τὰ αἰχμαλώτισε (1696, Ioannina, MICHAELARIS 1976: 2 [B¹], 253.22)

Accusative

καθὼς βλέπετέ με, εἴ τις καὶ ἐρωτήσῃ με ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 140.33
 με μέλλουν ἐνταφισαῖ (1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.12)
 καὶ ἔμψυχον ἔχει με νεκρὸν *Spaneas* V 10
 ἐσὺ μόνος με κέρδισε καὶ ἄλλος μὴ με κερδίση *Dig.* E 1566
 νὰ με τὴν πάρῃ *Byz. Il.* 565
 ἐβαλὸν με εἰς τὸν κουλᾶν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 46.15
 δός με το (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 189.4d)
 ὅς με τὸ μὴνύση (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 102.25)
 ὅς με ἔθελες τελειώσῃ FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 138
 με διδάσκουν (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 84.4)
 καὶ λέσι με Πετρίτη KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.227

5.3.2.2 2nd Person Singular

	General	Rare
Gen.	σοῦ / σου	
Acc.	σέ / σε	σεν

As with the 1st person, there is no allomorphic variation, except for the rare accusative form σεν.

Genitive

νὰ τὸ εὗρης ἔμπροστέν σου *Spaneas* V 42
 νὰ σοῦ βοηθήσει (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.119)
 ποτὲ Ρωμαίου μὴ ἐμπιστευτῆς διὰ ὅσα καὶ σοῦ ὁμνύει *Chron. Mor.* H 3932–4
 οὐδὲν σοῦ θέλω δώσει ἀπολογίαν *Assizes* A 64.18
 ποτὲ μου δὲ σοῦ εἶπα τίποτας *Nov. I* 156.15
 εἶπα σου πὼς ταμένη | εἶχε τὴν κακορίζικη ἐτούτη *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.364–5
 διῶξε καὶ πάσα σαρκική λύπη ἀπὸ κοντὰ σου *Thysia Av.* 162
 ὅτι ἐμεῖς σοῦ στέλνομεν πράγμα (1697, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 34, 224.8)

Accusative

λέγω σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου *NIKON, Logos* 9 312.10
 οὐκ ἡμπορῶ καταλεπτὸν γράφειν σε *Spaneas* V 26; ἐσὲν δὲ τί σε ἔντρέπονται *ibid.* 99
 πρὶν σὲ καταδεσμώσωσι καὶ χάσης τὰ νερά σου *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 537
 ἀπὲ τὸ σὲ θέλομεν ἐρωτήσιν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.144)
 πλὴν νὰ σὲ εἶπω καὶ ποῖσέ το τὸ σ' ἔχω παραγγείλει *Log. parig.* L 165
 παρακαλῶ σε νὰ μὲ εἰπῆς *Alfan.* I 15
 μεθ' ὅρκου σὲ τὸ λέγω *Achil.* N 216
 νὰ σὲ ἀπολαύσωμεν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 48.5)
 μωρή, κάνεις ἐκεῖνο ποῦ σοῦ ἔπα ἡ νὰ σὲ σκοτώσω (1579, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 7, 97.34–5)
 νὰ σὲ ἔχα συντροφιά μου *Vosk.* 240

The addition of /n/ is rather rare: παρακαλῶ σε νὰ μοῦ εὗρεις κάμποσα ρεάλια (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 53, 205.11).

5.3.2.3 3rd Person Singular

For the 3rd person it is necessary to consider the three genders separately. The forms are very similar to those of the definite article (see 5.2.1), but the range of variation is somewhat greater. Nominative forms can occasionally be found in EMG texts (cf. SMG νὰ τος, πούν' τος). However, we shall first consider the invariable form τῖς/τις.

5.3.2.3.1 Invariable /tis/

This form functions as the indirect object of the verb, when the 3rd person singular pronoun is followed immediately by another 3rd-person pronoun form. The existence of this invariable form was not recognized until recently (see LENDARI/MANOLESSOU 2003 for details), and in consequence it has often been “corrected” and/or relegated to the apparatus criticus of editions. Examples have been found from the 14th c. onwards and they have a wide geographical distribution.¹¹ In mss and editions the form is frequently spelled τῆς. While it most often has a masculine referent, instances with feminine referent, written as τῆς, should perhaps also be interpreted as invariable τῖς when they occur in texts that

¹¹ For further information, including the modern dialect distribution of the form, see LENDARI 2007: 119–21.

otherwise have only accusative clitics for the indirect object (for the case of the indirect object see IV, 5.1.3–4).

Masculine Singular

νά τις τὰ χαρίζει (1355, Palatia (Miletos), MANOUSAKAS 1962b: 1, 234.11)
 εἰς τὸν Λίβιστρον σύρε καὶ δεῖξε τις τα *Liv.* V 1233; νά τις τὴν δώσω σύζυγον, σύγαμπρον νά
 τὸν ποίσω *ibid.* 3974
 ζητεῖ νά τις τὴν δώσετε *Pol. Tr.* 1371 app. crit. (A)
 νά τις τὰ μολογήσω *Peri xen.* 251 app. crit. (V)
 νά τις τὴν δώσω *Velth.* 969 transcr. (Lendari) (τῆς τὸν Kriaras)
 ἐζήτησέ τις το *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 54.11 app. crit. (NOT); νά τις τὸ ἐπάρωμεν *ibid.* 120.15 app.
 crit. (OT)
 σύντομα τῆς τὴν ἔδωκεν *Synax. gyn.* 398 app. crit.
 τις τὸ ἔλυσεν *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 226 app. crit.
 νά τις τὰ χρεωστεῖ (1624, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 393.2)
 ὁ Θεὸς τις τὰ ἐσυγχώρησεν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §22.29; τις τὸ ἔκαμεν *ibid.* I §31.213; ὡσὰν
 τις τὰ γυρεύσης καὶ αὐτὸς δὲν ἔχη *ibid.* III §31.10
 ἀφῆνω τις τα (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 109.118)
 τις τὴν ἐπῆραν (ed. τοῦ τὴν) *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 119 app. crit.; νά τις τὸ πάρει (ed. νά τῆς το
 ᾽πάρη *ibid.* 2500; νά τις τὸ ᾽ποῦσι (ed. νά τῆς το ᾽ποῦσι) *ibid.* 3020

Feminine Singular

νά τῆς τὰ φανερώσω *Liv.* V 3203; εἴτι ἐὰν μὲ εἴπε ὁ Λίβιστρος ὅλα νά τῆς τὰ δείξω *ibid.* 3316

5.3.2.3.2 Masculine

	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.			τος
Gen.	τοῦ / του	ντου	
Acc.	τό(ν) / το(ν)	τόνε / τονέ / τονε	τονα

Nominative

This form has been found only towards the end of the period covered by this Grammar. It is therefore most probably a new form, derived from the accusative, not part of a complete paradigm inherited from αὐτός. As in SMG it has a restricted range of functions; in the two instances located so far it occurs after the verb εἶναι:

καὶ τώρα πού ᾽ναι τος αὐτός *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6701
 πὼς εἶναι τος ἀπὸ τὴν σποράν του *Alex. Fyll.* 12.30

Genitive

The only variation is the variable voicing of the initial consonant, which can occur in texts from Crete and the Cyclades, from the late 16th c. onwards. Compare the corresponding possessive, where voicing is much more common because there is often an underlying nasal at the end of the preceding word (see 5.4.1.2).

ὁπίσω ἀκολουθῶν του *Liv.* E 5; κατόπισθεν του *ibid.* 14
 κανείς ἄνθρωπος ἐχρῶστέν του κανένα βίον *Assizes* B 357.18
 θέλει νὰ τοῦ τὴν δώσετε *Pol. Tr.* 1371 app. crit. (BV)
 τοῦ ἔδωσαν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 27, 163.9)
 τοῦ τὴν ἡπῆρεν *Chron. Toc.* 859
 τοῦ τὸ ἐπούλησεν *Assizes* A 41.21
 καὶ ἐφαίνεται του *Spanos* D 403
 καὶ ἐδῶκαν του *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 280.24
 διατὶ ἤξευρε ὅτι ὅλοι τοῦ ἤθελαν κακὸν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 337.9
 καὶ ὅ,τι ἄλλον τοῦ θέλει τοκάρει (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 34, 53.13)
 εἶπα σου πὼς ταμένη | εἶχε τὴν κακορίζικη ἐτούτη νὰ τοῦ δώση *CHORTATSI, Katz.* III.364–5
 κὶ ἴσια ντου κακορίζικος λέγει πῶς δεν εφάνη *CHORTATSI, Panor.* I.37
 λέγει ντου (1694, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 10, 24.6)

Accusative

The basic form τόν/τον, already established at the beginning of our period, may lose final /n/ in certain environments. It may also undergo addition of final /e/ (see I, 2.6.3). Such extended forms are particularly common in southern areas from the 15th c. onwards, but can also occur sporadically in more northern regions (e.g. Macedonia, Thrace). A rare extended form with /a/ (probably by analogy with αὐτόνα etc.) has been found only in a 17th-c. translated romance: καλῶς τονα τὸν ἥλιον *Diig. Vefa* 995.

μόνον νὰ τὸν προσέχης *Spanos* V 109
 λέγουν τον *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 264, 267; ἄφες μὴ τὸν ζηλεύης *ibid.* 368
 ραβδέας καλὰς τὸν δὸς ἂν μὲ ἀγαπᾷς καὶ διῶξε τον ἀπ' ὧδε *Ptoch. IV* 518 app. crit. (H)
 νὰ τὸν δώσουν καρτζίνα νὰ ἐβγῇ (1355, Palatia (Miletos), MANOUSAKIS 1962b: 1, 234.12)
 τὴν θύραν ἀκροχτύπησεν διὰ νὰ τὸν ἀγκραστούσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 937
 καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀρνᾷται τον *Assizes* B 357.20
 εἶς αὐθέντης ὅπου τὸ λέγουν (1487, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 16, 87.2–3)
 τὸν κύρην τῆς Τύρου ἐσφάξεν τον εἰς τὴν ἀναπάν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58.26–7
 ἐτοῦτόν μου τὸν λόγον ἐπαρομοίασα το *Pist. kekoim.* 35
 δὲν τὸν ἐπῆρα τίποτες, οὐδὲ φόλα *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §23.47
 ὅποιος δὲ λαλεῖ τὸ θάφτουν *Paroim.* (Warner) 79.2
 θέλοντας νὰ τόνε εὐκαριστήσωμεν (ms νατονέ) (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 467.5)
 νὰ τόνε κοπανίσωμεν *Dig.* E 1408
 νὰ τόνε μαθητεύσης *Alex. Rim.* 258; νὰ τόνε φᾶνε *ibid.* 962; ρωτᾷ τονε *ibid.* 1172
 καὶ δίνοντάς τονε καλὰ *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 275
 γνωρίζοντά τονε (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 286.12)
 καὶ ἐπλήρωσέν τονε (1572, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 136, 256.8)
 ἀρχισε νὰ τόνε κατατρέχει *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 65.8
 ἔξω τόνε λαλοῦσιν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 805
 νὰ τονε σάση καὶ νὰ τονε λιπεράρη (1601, Crete, ΣΙΑΚΟΤΟΣ 2006: 1, 190.5–6)
 καὶ νὰν τόνε πάρης σιμά σου (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 307.15) (the ed. reads ν'
 αὐτόνε)
 καὶ ἐφίλησέ τονε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.4
 παρακαλεῖ τονε (1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 7, 20.18)
 Θεὸς χωρὲς τονε (1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.10)
 καὶ πλιά τόνε πειράζει *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.4

πριχοῦ νά τόνε χάσης *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.46

ἀνάθεμά τονε κι' αὐτόν *KATSAITIS, Ifig.* II.351; νά τονε π' ἀσηκώθηκε *id., Thyest.* V.79

5.3.2.3.3 Feminine

	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	?		
Gen.	τῆς / της	τσῆ / τση	τσῆς
Acc.	τή(ν) / τη(ν)	τήνε /τηνέ / τηνε / ντηνε	τηνα

The basic range of forms for the feminine singular corresponds to that for the masculine, but with additional variants for the genitive. No instance of a nominative form has been found.

Genitive

The basic form τῆς/της must have been widely in use at the beginning of our period (cf. possessive της, 5.4.1.2), but it is difficult to find early examples. This form occurs throughout the period. Cretan texts often (and Heptanesian texts sometimes) have the spelling τζῆ/τζη, as for the corresponding case of the definite article (see 5.2.1). In modern editions this is usually written τσῆ/τση, but editorial practice varies. In Latin-script mss it appears as <ci>. Before another vowel the final vowel may be elided. Rarely, an alternative form τσῆς can be found in texts from Crete, and perhaps elsewhere (cf. the corresponding definite article, 5.2.1).

ἴσως νά ἀπλώση ἐπάνω σου καί νά σέ σύρη ἐμπρός της *Ptoch. I* 162

εἰπέν της λόγους εἰς τ' ἀπτὶν *Log. parig.* L 632

προστυπήνησάν της *Dig.* E 1413; γοργὸν τῆς τὸ ἐποῖκα *ibid.* 1576

τῆς κύρα Ἰππόλυτας, πίστευε, ἐβάρυνέ της *Theseid* I.86,6 (Follieri)

ὅλα τῆς φαίνονται πικρὰ *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 43

θρηνήσετε καὶ ᾗτῃ τῆς ὁκάτι καταλόγι *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 36

δῶστε της *Cypr. Canz.* 4.7

χάρι προυκὸς δίδει της τοῦ Πολιχνίου τὸ χωράφι (1573 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17, 71.8–9)

νά τῆς δώση μία μακριὰ καὶ καλορίζικη ζωή (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.51)

εἶδε αγνάντια της μακρὺ καὶ υψηλὸ νησί *Kaloandros* 405.21

καὶ τῆς ἐδώσαμε τῆς αὐτῆς Μαρίας (1680, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 41, 68.6–7)

νά τσῆ δώση (1510, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 5, 50.20)

διὰ τὰ πράμματα ὅπου τσῆ ἔδωκα (1533, Naxos, MILIARAKIS 1888: 58.45) (but normally της in these documents)

νά τσῆ δίδη (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 24.26)

λέσι τση *P&N Diath.* 1975; οὐδ' ἔπλυνε οὐδ' ἔρραφε οὐδ' ἔλλασσε ποτέ τση *ibid.* 4328

πρέπει τση τσῆ Κασσάντρας σου νά τσ' ἔχης πλήσια χάρη *CHORTATSIS, Katz.* I.39

νά τσῆ φανεῖ *Thysia Avr.* 116

τσῆ ᾗπα *Vosk.* 205

egho ci chi alla peninda dhosmena / ἔχω τση κι ἄλλα πενήντα δοσμένα (1639, Crete, ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ 1986: 11, 113.82–3)

τση ξαναφανήκανε ΜΟΝΤΣΕΛ., *Evgena* 1246

πέ τση ΦΟΣΚΟΛΟΣ, *Fort.* I.307

οί λογισμοί κ' οί πόνοι της τση κάναν καλοσύνη ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* III.20

νά τση δώσου *Leilasia Par.* 3

νά μήν τσης μοιάση ΧΟΡΤΑΤΣΙΣ, *Panor.* II.103 app. crit. (NA)

Accusative

The basic form τήν/την is established before the start of our period (PSALTES 1913: 194 cites an example from the 6th-c. *Chronicle* of Malalas, but does not specify the ms date). Final /n/ is often deleted when it is not followed by a vowel or unvoiced stop in the same phrase. The extended form with /e/ (cf. the masc. τόνε/τονε), variously accented, appears in texts from the 15th c. onwards, and is particularly common in Crete, the Heptanese and the Aegean islands, but can also be found in texts from the Peloponnese and further north. A single example of an extended form with /a/ (cf. masc. τονα) has been found: εθλίβηκέν τηνα πολλά *Apoll.* Rim. E 1183.

τήν ἐπιστολή ... νά τήν πέμψεις τόν ἄββᾶν Γεράσιμον, ἀνάγνωσέ την ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.15–16

καί κατακόπτουσίν την *Spaneas* V 18

πρίν τήν εὐρῆς, ἐχάσες την, πρίν τήν ἰδῆς, ὑπάγει GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 206

πάλιν κατὰτρεχέ την *Ptoch.* I 169

ὁ Θεός νά τήν ἀναπαύσῃ (1391, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 2, 88.3)

τήν τένταν τοῦ Δεμέστικου θεωρῶ την ἀπ' ἐδῶθεν *Chron. Mor.* H 4753

τοῦ τήν ἠπῆρεν *Chron. Toc.* 859

γλυκεῖα τήν ἐπερίλαβεν, συγχοκαταφιλεῖ την *Achil.* N 1349

επιάσαν την οἱ πόνοι *Diig. Apoll.* 390

καί ἐγὼ τήν ἤκτισα καί ἐσκέπασά τη (1549, Crete, ΜΑΡΜΑΡΕΛΙ/ΔΡΑΚΑΚΙΣ 2006: 349, 333.12–13)

παίρνει την νιάν ο γέροντας και τρω την σαν απίδι *Kakop.* 32

πειράζω τη να τση ζητώ βοήθεια να μου δώσει ΧΟΡΤΑΤΣΙΣ, *Panor.* I.235

ἀλησμόνησέ τη *Vosk.* 395

ἐκεῖνός την ἐδέκτηκεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1855

καί ἐντασάρασίν τηνε (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 46.19)

νά τήνε ντεφεντέρομεν (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.18–19)

ἐν τηνε *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 248

νά σέ τηνε σηκώση *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 453 app. crit. (L)

καί κονφερμάρει των τηνε (1544, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [2], 7.9–10)

ἀναστῆσαν τηνε (1564, Cythera, ΔΡΑΚΑΚΙΣ 1999: 22, 100.17)

εσιάστη, να τηνε γιάνει *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 19.2

πόρνη νά τήνε ποίση *VENDRAMOS, Istor. gyn.* 50

καί τήν ἔτερην ἀποληφθέν ἀπὸ τήν αὐτήν νά τήνε μοιράζουν ἐφ' ἡμισείας (1579, Kefalonia, ΖΑΡΑΝΔΙ 2001a: 5, 23.14–16)

ἀφῆτε μού τηνε (17th c., Crete, ΣΠΑΝΑΚΙΣ 1971: [1], 181.54)

κι ὅλοι τήνε λυποῦνται *Dimotika Ivir.* VII.3

νά τοῦ τήνε δώσουν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.12

ἤξεύρω τηνε *GERMANO, Grammar* 50.3

νὰ τήνε χαιρετήσει *Bertoldin*. 111.30
 ἐδεαλέασέν τηνε (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 31.22)
 ἐδιαβάσαμε τηνε (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.4)
 καὶ εὐρήκασίν τηνε (1689, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 852, 1138.7)
 ἔχω τηνε τὴν ὄρεξιν *Trag. Ag. Dim*. III.403
 νὰ ντηνε κλεῖ μὲ τοῖχο (1721, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 10, 172.29–30)

5.3.2.3.4 Neuter

	General	Restricted
Nom.	?	
Gen.	τοῦ / του	
Acc.	τό / το	τού / του

For the neuter singular the only variation is the possible mid-vowel raising of /o/ to /u/ in regions where this phenomenon occurs (see I, 2.5.4). Otherwise, the forms are identical with the definite article. No instance of a nominative has been found. There is a possible example of a Pontic disyllabic clitic ἀτο in a text of the 15th or 16th c. However, it is impossible to determine from the writing system whether the form has true clitic status: ἐνοχλεῖ α<ὺ>τό / ἐνοχλεῖ ἀτο (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 147, 109.8).

Genitive

There is no uncertainty about the form, but examples of the neuter genitive (for example, as indirect object) are difficult to locate.

καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἦτο ἐγλήγορος καὶ ἀπάνω του ἐκατέβην· | καὶ οὐκ ἐσυνέφθασεν γοργόν, ἵνα
 ραβδέα τοῦ δώση *Dig.* E 767–8 (referring to a female bear, τὸ θηλυκόν)
 μὲ ταίρι ὅπου ποτὲ κιανεῖς δὲν τοῦ ἔβρισκε ψεγάδι *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.34

Accusative

ἐκεῖ νὰ τὸ εὐρίσκης *NIKON, Logos* 9 310.21; ὁ χρήζων το ἄς τὸ ἐπάρη καὶ ὁ μὴ χρήζων το ἄς
 τὸ ἀφήση *ibid.* 312.14–15
 νὰ τὸ εὖρης ἔμπροστέν σου *Spaneas* V 42
 ἔχεις, ἡλιέ μου! παιδὶν, ἀγούριν, παλληκάριν; | βάλε σχοινὶν καὶ πνίξε το καὶ μὴ τὸ
 γραμματίσης *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 210–11
 ἄς τὸ φορῶ *Dig.* G II.270
 ἡ ἦκουσες το; (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 59.148)
 κινῶ πρὸς τὸ κουβούκλιν, | καὶ σφαισμένον τὸ εὔρηκα *Ptoch. I* 249–50
 τοῦ δράκοντος τὸ σῶμα | εἰς ὤμους του τὸ ἔθηκεν, ἐξήβαλὲν το ἔξω [ANDR. PALAIOL.],
Kallim. 639
 ἡπῆρεν τὸ στέμμα ἀπὸ τὸ κεφάλιν του καὶ ἔρριπέν το εἰς τὴν γῆν *Diig. Alex.* V 84.20–1
 ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπιάσεν το, τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ θυσιάζει *P&N Diath.* 1641
 φανέρωσέ μου το *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 176
 μὲ ἄλλο θέ[λει] σοῦ τὸ στείλω (1637, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 3, 95.13)

τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ... καὶ ἐφιέρωσά το εἰς τὸν ναὸν (17th c.?, Amorgos?, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 2167, f.12r.1–2)

ἐν το τὸ βρακολούρι σου ἐδεπᾶ *Stathis* II.309

With mid-vowel raising:

τὸ γράμμα σου εἶδαμεν του (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.3)

νὰ τοῦ ἔχον (1644–5, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 4, 47.3)

τί τοῦ θέλου; (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.18)

5.3.2.4 1st Person Plural

	General	Restricted
Gen.	μᾶς / μας	μᾶσε
Acc.	μᾶς / μας	μᾶσε

The form μᾶς derives from the accusative of the strong personal pronoun ἡμᾶς. We can assume that it was already in existence at the beginning of our period, because the corresponding form for the 2nd person plural is found in a 10th-c. text; the earliest example of μᾶς/μας which has been located is from the 11th c. Conservative tendencies may account for the relative paucity of examples until the 15th c.: when the form ἡμᾶς is closely linked to a verb, it may be an orthographic archaism for μᾶς/μας. As the same form serves for both accusative and genitive cases, it is not always possible to assign case.

An extended form with /e/ is found, in preverbal position, from the late 15th c. onwards, and is common in Cretan literary and non-literary texts of the 16th and 17th c., and in documents from the Aegean islands. It may well have had a wider geographical distribution.

Genitive

καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντός μας κατασκήνωσιν εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους μας (1059, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 9, 109.8)

καθὼς μας ἔγραψες ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.6; καὶ ἐπαρέδωκάν μας id., *Logos* 9 316.11

ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἀναλιβάδον τὸ εἶναι ἀντίκρυτά μας *Liv.* E 3068

καθὼς μᾶς τὴν ἐποίησαν *Pol. Tr.* 1329

νὰ μᾶς γράφουν (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.14)

εἶτι μᾶς ἦθες εἰπεῖν *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 144

καὶ ὄμοσαν καὶ εἵπανέ μας (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 45, 87.9)

μᾶς τὶς ἀπάριασε *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 13

δὲ μᾶσε μιλεῖ *Thysia Avr.* 294; θὲ νὰ μᾶσε δώσει id. 515

παιγνίδι μᾶσε φαίνεται *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1629; καλὸ νὰ μᾶσε δώση id. IV.18

τὸν νοῦν μᾶσε γιομώνεις *KATSAITIS, Ifig.* II.337

Accusative

ἀπήγαμεν ὅπου μᾶς ἐχρεώστειν καὶ ἐχρεωστοῦμάν τον *GLYKAS, Eis tas aporias* 4.62 t (from *TLG*)

εἰ δ' οὐ, θανάτωσόν μας *Dig.* G I.259; μὴ μας ἀποχωρίσουν id. IV.626

ἀντέγραφάν μας *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 42.11 (indirect object in acc.); θέλεις μᾶς εὐεργετήσῃν id. 106.1

ὅς μᾶς τὸ γράψῃ (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 102.25)
 λυπηθῆτε μας, ψυχοπονέσετέ μας *Rim. than.* 129
 μᾶς ἐπρόσταξε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.9)
 ο μύθος λέγει μας ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 70.16
 ἐλευθερώνοντάς μας ἀπὸ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.33–4

νὰ μᾶσε φέρῃ CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 676
 θέλει μᾶσε πατάξῃ SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 144
 νὰ μᾶσε φάγῃ *Katis* 108
 καὶ θέλῃ μᾶσε κόψῃ *Imb. Rim.* 543
 κὶ ὅλους μᾶσε κομπώνου CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* I.462; νὰ μᾶσε ξεχωρίσει *ibid.* II.297; δὲ μασὲ
 χώνου *id.*, *Erof. Interm.* II.56 (the accentuation of μασὲ is editorial); νὰ μὴ μασὲ γροικῆσῃ
ibid. II.133; ἀνάθεμά τονε κὶ αὐτὸν κὶ ὅσοι μᾶσε κρατίζου *id.*, *Katz.* III.291
 μᾶσε ρίχνου TROILOS, *Rodol. Chor.* II.4
 μᾶσε φοβερίζου (1659, Hydra, KARATHANASIS 1972/73: 241.2)
 πῶς εἴμεστα πρόντοι ὅ,τι ὥρα μᾶσε κράξῃ (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 5, 34.3)
 μᾶσε κουμαντάρουν (1696, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 47, 141.31)
 στὸν πόθο μᾶσε κρᾶξῃ *Stathis* II.219
 κὶ ἡ ὥρα μᾶσε βιάξῃ KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1871
 νὰ μᾶσε βοηθήσῃ *Trag. Ag. Dim.* III.435

5.3.2.5 2nd Person Plural

	General	Restricted
Gen.	σᾶς / σας	σᾶσε
Acc.	σᾶς / σας	σᾶσε

The form σας is attested as a weak (clitic) pronoun already in the 10th c., after verbs and as a possessive, e.g. Τριὰς κατευοδῶσῃ σας, εὐλογῶν τὸν γάμον σας *De ceremoniis* II.181.17; τὴν ἀγίαν βασιλείαν σας *ibid.* II.185.9. The only variation, apart from the vagaries of scribal and editorial accentuation, is the extended form σᾶσε, parallel to the first-person form μᾶσε. It is common in Cretan texts of the 16th and 17th c., but has also been found in a text from the Mani, and in a lament (dubiously) attributed to the Rhodian Limenitis. Editors are often unsure whether the /e/ belongs to the pronoun or the following verb. The assignment of a given example to genitive or accusative encounters the same problems as for μᾶς.

Genitive

ἔδουκά σας (1101, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 69, 87.3)
 τοῦ δοῦναι σας τὴν τιμὴν τετραπλὴν (1221, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 7, 380.12)
 καὶ λέγω σᾶς τὸ ῥάρα *Pol. Tr.* 1794
 ὅπου σᾶς παρακεῖται *Achil.* N 451
 σᾶς ἔδειξα καὶ ἐρμήνευσά σας *Assizes* A 36.1
 παραγγέλνω σας, καὶ τοῦτο λέγω σᾶς τὸ *Achil.* O 164
 ἐδείξα σας τὰς ἰδ' ἐπισκοπές· νὰ σᾶς δείξω καὶ πόσα σώματα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 28.35–6
 νὰ σᾶς εἰπῶ τὸ τί ἴδα *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 1

κ' ἴτσου μεσόν σας νά παρηγοῶστε *Cypr. Canz.* 155.8
 θέλω σᾶς δώσει ἄλλην χώραν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 58.24–5
 ζητᾶτε, καὶ θέλει σας δοθεῖ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Louk.* 11.9
 σᾶς γράφομεν (1650, Naxos, *ZERLENDIS* 1922: (2), 28.16)
 ἂν ἔχετε ὑποκάτω σας τετοίους ἀρχιεπισκόπους (1653–5, Venice, *ΦΟΝΚΙΟ* 2000: 240, f.1v.13)

να σᾶσε φανερώσω *CHORTATSIS, Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 9
 θέλει σᾶσε φανῇ (1668, Crete, *LYDAKI* 2000: 15, 421.5)
 ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω καὶ δειλιῶ νά σᾶσε πῶ μὲ γράμμα *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.1497

Accusative

λαλῶ σας καὶ οὐ λυπεῖσθε *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 115
 διὰ τοῦτο σᾶς παρακαλῶ νά τὸ ἔχετε στὸν νοῦν σας *Chron. Mor.* H 5363
 ἀπέλθω ἔχω καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ νά σᾶς θαραπεύσω *Dig.* E 1420
 τώρα ἤλθαν καὶ ἐπῆραν σας οἱ Ἑλληνες ὡς σκλάβες *Pol. Tr.* 1180 app. crit. (A)
 ἔχει σας κερδεμένους *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 61
 τιμῶ σας ὡς γονέους μου *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 792
 ἐγέλασέ σας ὁ Θεός *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 48
 νά σᾶσε φωτίση *Alosis* 473 transcr. (Lendari) (Legrand: σᾶς ἐφ.)
 σᾶσε στέλνομε (1571, Mani, *DOKOS* 1972: 6, 262.7)
 μὴ σᾶσε κάψου σήμερο *CHORTATSIS, Panor.* I.2; πόσες φορές σᾶσε ζητῶ id., *Katz.* I.63
 τὰ σᾶσε θέλω ὀρίσει *Thysia Avr.* 249
 πῶς να σας πιστέψω; *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voev.* 602 (Pidonia)
 καὶ γιὰ ἀφεντάδες ἀκριβοὺς ὅλους σᾶσε κρατοῦμε *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* V.410
 ἄρχοντες καὶ ἄρχόντισσες, σᾶσε εὐχαριστοῦμε *KATSAITIS, Thyest. Epil.* 37

5.3.2.6 3rd Person Plural

Masc.	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	–		
Gen.	τῶν / των	τῶνε / τωνε ἢ τῶς / τως ἢ τῶσε ἢ τοῦν ἢ τοὺς / τους	τοῦνε / τουνε ἢ τούσε
Acc.	τούς / τους	τούσε / τουσε ἢ τίς / τισ ἢ τσί / τσι	τίσε ἢ τῶς / τως

Fem.	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	–		
Gen.	τῶν / των	τῶνε / τωνε ἢ τῶς / τως ἢ τῶσε ἢ τοῦν ἢ τοὺς / τους	τοῦνε ἢ τούσε
Acc.	τές / τες	τάς / τας ἢ τίς / τισ ἢ τσί / τσι	τσίς ἢ τέσε

Neut.	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	—		
Gen.	τῶν / των	τῶνε / τωνε τῶς / τως τῶσε τοῦν τοῦς / τους	τοῦνε τοῦσε
Acc.	τά / τα		

No evidence has been found for the existence of nominative forms in the texts examined.

5.3.2.6.1 Genitive Plural (All Genders)

All three genders will be treated together, since the forms of the genitive are the same, as is often the case for pronouns, determiners and adjectives. First we shall consider the forms based on τῶν, then those based on τῶς, next the form τοῦν, and finally the forms based on τοῦς. The same forms also function as possessive pronouns (see 5.4.1).

The basic form τῶν/των, which derives from αὐτῶν, must have been established before the beginning of the period covered by this Grammar, although examples are few before the 15th c. (For some earlier examples of των as possessive, see 5.4.1.) It continues to be used in texts of various kinds until the end of the period; it may be seen, at least in some areas, as a more formal alternative to τοῦς and other regional variants.

An extended form τῶνε/τωνε is found from the 16th c. (date of the Falieros ms), mainly in Cretan texts. From the 17th c. it is also found in texts from the Peloponnese and Cyclades.

τῶν/των

- καὶ τῶν δύο τῶν εὐχήθηκεν *Dig. E* 1065; τὰ τέτοια τῶν ἐλάλει *ibid.* 499
πολλὰ τῶν εὐκαρίστησεν *Chron. Toc.* 109
ὅλα τῶν ἐδηγήθηκεν, CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 383
λέγει των *Velth.* 113
οἱ δύο των *Byz. Il.* 666; ἀλλήλως των *ibid.* 695
λέγει των [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 875 (ex corr.; mss λέγουν τον)
ὅ,τι τῶν φανῇ (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 217.27)
τῶν ἀποκρίνομαι καὶ λέγω τως (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 218.10)
νὰ τῶν τὰ ἀφήσει (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.13); τὸ χαρτὶ τοῦ τῶν ἔχει
καμωμένον (1586, Andros, *ibid.* 30, 171.6)
νὰ τῶν τὰ κονφερμάρης (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.45)
καλὰ καὶ ἀθυμᾶσαι των *Alfan.* 10 44
ἐπῆρες των τὸν νοῦν των *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 561
καὶ ἔδωσέ των τον *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 32.33
νὰ τῶν δοθεῖ πάλι *Bertoldin.* 113.8
ἐπῆρεν των 5 ὁκάδες καφέ καὶ εἶπεν των (1670, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 4, 15.5)
νὰ μὴν τῶν δώκω θάνατο τὴν ὥρα τοῦτ' ἀτός μου KONDAR., *Paides* 755
ὁπού 'τουνε κοντά των *Thrinis Kypr.* 429
νὰ τῶν τὴν κάμουν καλὴν (1705, Chios, KAVVADAS 1950: 39.9)
πέτε των νὰ πᾶνε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 56.26

τῶνε/τωνε

- ἀποθανόντας τωνε (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 6, 16.44)
 εἰς τὸν καιρόν τως γύρευσε ἄντρες νὰ τῶνε δώσης FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 285
 τὸ τί τῶνε φωνάζει *Imb. Rim.* 818
 νὰ μὴ μπορῇ νὰ τῶνε πάρη περισσότερο (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.10–11)
 μὲ σπέζες ἀνάμεσά τωνε (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 853, 744.7–8)
 πλὴν φαίνεται τῶνε πὼς εἶναι μίαν σκλαβίαν (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.12)
 μοναχὰ τωνε CHORTATIS, *Erof. Prol.* 5
 δῶς τῶνε τὸ φῶς CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.15
 ταῦτα τῶνε δίδει μπάρμπας τῆς (1653, Skiathos, EVANGELIDIS 1913: 66.16)
 τὴν πληρωμὴ τους τῶνε ἀνέβασε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 51.5–6
 δῶς τῶνε σωτηρία *Rim. Sant.* 127
 οἱ δυό τωνε (1672, Milos, CHATZIDAKIS I. 1927: A, 295.14)
 ἀπὸ τὰ ὁποῖα 150 ριάλια τῶν ἐδίδου ὀμπρὸς ριάλια 50 (1676, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 6, 18.11) (read: τῶνε δίδου)
 τὰ σπαθιά τῶν ξῆ τῶνε παίρνω *Stathis* III.42
 θέλει τῶνε δώσω νοτίσια (1707, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 16, 34.22)
 νὰ τῶνε τραγουδήση *Leilasia Par.* 436

τῶς/τως

The innovative form τῶς/τως, presumably with /s/ on the analogy of the other plural personal pronouns (μᾶς, σᾶς), is also found first in Cretan texts. With respect to the modern Cretan dialect, (ν)τως or (ν)τωσε is usually said to be the East Cretan form, while (ν)τωνε is used in the west (KONDOSOPOULOS 1969: 69). In the texts examined the distinction is not so clear-cut, as τῶς/τως can also be found in texts from western Crete; however, it does appear that τῶς/τως is the predominant form in East Cretan texts.¹² The forms with /s/ are also found in 17th-c. texts from other southern areas (Cyclades, Dodecanese, Cythera) and from Chios, and in texts from the Danubian Principalities (including the play *Achouri*, possibly written there). The extended form τῶσε has been found almost exclusively in Cretan texts.

- καὶ ἐφάνην τως (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.30)
 τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἦτον ἀπὸ κοντά τως CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 12
 καὶ ἐχρεωστοῦμαν τως *Paroim.* H 8
 ὁποῦ νὰ ἀπὸ κάτω τως (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 34, 40.5)
 καὶ οἱ δυό τως (1597, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 5, 77.22)
 νὰ τῶς δώσωμεν (1607, Kalymnos, KOUTELAKIS 1981: 3, 31.5)
 ἐστιμάρισέν τως το (1624, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2000: 2, 516.18)
 καὶ σαν οἱ λύκοι ἐκίνησαν ἀπάνω τως, καλέ μου STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 924 (Pidonia)
 ἐσυμβιβάστησαν ἀναμεταξύ τως (1630, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1993: 1, 289.8)
 ἀπ' ἐλεφάντες ἑκάτον ἀπάνω τως βαστοῦσι TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.106
 ἐπῆγα νὰ τῶς μιλήσω καὶ νὰ τοῖ κονσολάρω (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 1, 25.4); νὰ
 τῶς ἀκολουθᾷ (*ibid.* 2, 27.6)
 εἶπαν τως ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ KYPRI., *Pali* 2840

¹² In the documents of the Rethymniot notary Manolis Varouchas, the usual forms are τῶ, τῶν and τῶνε; τῶσε occurs only very rarely (BAKKER 1988/89: 289). See also the statistics in KARANTZOLA/CHALVATZIDAKI 2014: 699.

τῶς ἐπομείναν ἐτουνῶ πηρέτες τως καὶ δοῦλοι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 72
 δὲν θέλετε τῶς πάρει (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.143)
 ὑγίειαν τῶς ἀφίνει PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 958
 διδόντας τως (1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9b, 72.13)
 συνανάμεσάν τως (1694, Naxos, PANDELIA-GRITSOPOULOU 1998/2000: 1, 229.11)
 εἶπα τως τὴν ἀλήθεια NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 375
 κι ἀλλήλως τως KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.26
 ὅσοι τῶς ἀπαντήσα *Leilasia Par.* 415

τῶσε

τῶσε δίδουν (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 13.51)
 ἀποὺ τὸ ἀμέλι ὅπου κρατεῖ ὅ,τι τῶσε τοκάρει (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 41, 61.27)
 πᾶσα ἄλλον ἀποὺ τῶσε τοκάρει (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 50.95)
 ὡς καθὼς τῶσε φαίνεται (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 198.138–9)
 νὰ τῶσε δώσει *Thysia Avr.* 503
 κι ἀφτιά νὰ μὴν τῶσε γροικοῦ KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.26; νὰ τῶσε συμπαθήση *ibid.* V.878

τοῦν

This form, accented editorially as either τοῦν or τοῦν, is probably formed on the analogy of the singular τοῦ rather than as a result of vowel raising. It occurs mainly in texts from Cythera, where the gen. pl. of the definite article takes the same form (see 5.2.1). An extended form τοῦνε/τουνε also occurs. One example has also been found in a 17th-c. document from Skyros:

καὶ δίδει τουνε (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 15, 93.4); ὅπου τοῦν ἔκαμεν (1565, Cythera, *ibid.* 257, 356.18); ὅ,τι τοῦν ἐφαινέτονε (*ibid.* 277, 381.10)
 νὰ τοῦνε δώσει (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 15, 13.12)
 ξωφλησμένα ἀπ' ὅ,τι τοῦν ἔδωσα (1664, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 8, 221.6)

τούς/τους

It is easier to trace the evolution of the corresponding possessive form (see 5.4.1.4), which is attested quite early in the period covered by this Grammar. In non-possessive uses, it is often difficult to determine whether the form τούς should be interpreted as accusative or genitive. In many literary texts of the LMedG period, we encounter both cases used for the indirect objective, and it is impossible to establish whether this variation is due to the author or a later copyist (see LENDARI/MANOLESSOU 2003). The use of what is originally an accusative form (< αὐτούς) for the genitive is parallel to what happens with the other plural personal pronouns, where μᾶς and σᾶς serve for both cases (see above; cf. MERTYRIS 2011: 489). The earliest text to show clear uses of τους as genitive is the *Chronicle of Morea* (ms H, dated 1375).¹³ The form occurs mainly in texts from the Peloponnese, Heptanese, Cyclades and Cyprus; by the late 17th c. its use has become more widespread.

¹³ There are no indisputable examples of gen. personal pronoun τους in the Grottaferrata and Escorial versions of *Digenis Akritis*. In the first, we find an instance of “ethic dative” which is probably accusative: ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἡγέρθην τους, ἀλλ’ ἐκαθούμην μᾶλλον *Dig.* G VI.181. In the second, both gen. and acc. are used for the indirect object. It would therefore be unsafe to assume that τους is a genitive in phrases such as: κ’ ἐδῶκεν τους τὰ γράμματα *Dig.* E 292. (We do, however, find τους as possessive in this text; see 5.4.1.4.)

ένας από τους δώδεκα, ό φρονιμώτερός τους *Chron. Mor.* H 975; έσέβην έξοπίσω τους *ibid.* 4681; και γράφει τους πιττάκια *ibid.* 8319
 αρχεί κυρά και λέγει τους *Theseid* I.23,8 (Follieri)
 να τους δώσουν βοήθειαν *Assizes* A 31.21
 όταν τους είπεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.14; και έπηραν τους οί χριστιανοί πολλά πολεμικά *ibid.* 176.17–18; και έδωκαν τους τά χαρτία *ibid.* 280.21–2
 καλά τους φαίνεται Άλωνών *Alex. Rim.* 1106; και είπε τους Άλέξανδρος *ibid.* 1199
 ανάμεσόν τους (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 16, 95.2); τά όσα τους αφήνει (1565, *ibid.* 257, 356.19)
 εγώ έχω δύο βοΐδια οπού, χωρίς να τους ειπώ τίποτις ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 46.3–4
 έδώσαμέν τους άφορεσμών (1581, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 11, 114.1)
 να τους έμαντινιέρουν εισέ κάθα κρίσι και εισέ κάθα ένα που να τώσ δώσουν πείραξι (1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 75.21–2)
 έδωσά τους (1631, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 12, 175.9)
 και ώμιλήσανε μαζί τους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25–26.31, 1
 λέγοντας τους πώς ... *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 39
 να τους ήθελαν μαδήσει τó κεφάλι *Bertoldin.* 112.33 (neuter, referring to τά πουλιά)
 έδώσαμέν τους τόπον (1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9a, 70.12)
 την Κόλασην τους δείχνεις CANTEMIR, *Krit.* 448.12
 έχύθηκε καταπάνου τους ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 17.28
 τους δίδουν ένα θέλημα τών άνωθεν έπιτρόπωνε (1708, Peloponnese, PAPADOPOULOS 1976: 6, 124.25)

In the following example τούς loses its vowel (syncope; see I, 2.7.2), perhaps as a result of metrical pressure: και τότε τών βαριόμοιρων τς έρθε μεγάλη πρίκα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 892.

An extended form with /e/ is occasionally found (cf. acc. below):

να τούσε δώση έλευθεριά FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 198
 νατούς έδόσει LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 75 transcr. (Lendari) (scr. τούσε δώση)
 θα τούσε δίδω CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.221.

5.3.2.6.2 Masculine Accusative Plural

The basic form of the accusative is τούς/τους from the beginning of the period covered by this Grammar, and remains so in SMG. However, there is a good deal of regional variation, from the 15th c. onwards. The extended form τούσε/τουσε, which occurs mainly in pre-verbal position, is found in texts from various regions, including Crete and other southern areas as well as further north.

τούς/τους

εάν τους παρέχετε τίποτες ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 138.17
 τίμα τους ώς άφέντους σου *Spaneas* V 103
 μη ούν άποχωρίσης τους μηδ' άποπέμψης μάλλον, | ώς κοδιμένα δέξου τους *Ptoch.* I 12–13
 ποιώ τους δε και γράμμαν δια άσφάλειαν (1375, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 15, 117.12)
 όταν τους ζητούν εις την αύλήν *Assizes* B 278.19
 όρίσαμέν τους (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 47.8)
 ένίκαν τους *Achil.* N 287
 άν τους φανή δριμύ ή πικρόν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 128.15

ὡς καθὼς τοὺς πρέπει (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.7)
 φαγοποτίζει τοὺς καλά, ἀπ' ἄλογον τοὺς χαρίζει *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 806
 νὰ τοὺς εὔρωμε *Thysia Avr.* 1019
 τὸ ἄλλο μεράδι τοὺς ἔκαμε σπαχογλανήδες καὶ τὸ ἄλλο μέρος τὶς ἔκαμε γιανιτζάρους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 109.26 (this text has mainly τοὺς, but also sporadic instances of τὶς, perhaps due to scribal intervention)
 τοὺς εἶπα τὴν πᾶσαν ἀλήθειαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.36
 καὶ εὐεργέτησές τοὺς ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 181
 ὁποῦ τοὺς ἔπιασαν πρὶ μὲν ἀπὸξω ἀπὲ τὴν Κόρσικα (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.17)
 νὰ τοὺς διασείση (1697, Proikonnisos?/Marmaras, KAMBOURIS 1976: A.5, 197.10)
 μοῦ τοὺς ἔδειξε (1707, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 13, 311, f.1r.29)

τούσε/τούσε

τὸν κύριν καὶ τὴν μάναν του, εἰς κρίσιν τούσε σταίνου *Byz. Il.* 243 (ed. τοὺς ἑσταίνου)
 σὲ κοῦρτες τούσε βάνεις ΡΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 127; μὴδὲν τούσε δοξεύης *ibid.* 304
 νὰ τούσε φέρης εἰς καλὸν *Alosis* 607 transcr. (Lendari) (Legrand: τοὺς ἐφ.)
 νὰ μὴν τούσε λυπούμεν ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 64.12
 νὰ τούσε δεηθοῦμεν MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 46
 οπίσω τουσε πεύει ΣΤΑΥΡΙΝΟΣ, *Diig. Mich. Voen.* 562 (Pidonia)
 πῶς εἶχανέ τουσε κόψει ὅλους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.2; τοὺς Τούρκους νὰ μὴν τούσε σκοτώνουσι *ibid.* 39.34–5
 αὐτοὺς στὴ σβίγα μου ζερβὰ πάλι τούσε γυρίζω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 25
 γιὰ νὰ τούσε ρωτήσῃ ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 397
 δὲ θέλουν τούσε σώσει *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 64
 νὰ τοῦσε βοηθοῦμε *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.24

The masculine plural form τὶς/τις (cf. the corresponding form of the definite article, 5.2.1) occurs from the 15th c. onwards in certain regions, particularly the Peloponnese and Cyclades, but examples have also been found in texts written by natives of Thessaloniki and Smyrna. An extended form τίσε also occurs, but is not common; examples have been found in texts from Cythera, Mykonos and the Peloponnese, always in preverbal position.

τίς/τις

ὁποῦ τὶς ἐφώτισεν ὁ Θεὸς (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 44.13) (perhaps for Cretan τσί)
 ἐρώτηξέν τις (1509, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [1], 6.10)
 δεμένους τὶς ἤφεραν *Diig. Alex.* F 196.5 (Lolos)
 ἀπὸ σπαθίου τὶς κόψασι, ὅλους τοὺς τελειῶσα VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 318
 ἔπιασε πολλοὺς σκλάβους καὶ τὶς ἔστειλε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 102.9
 τὶς ἄνωθεν καλογέρους ... ποὺ τὶς θέλει εὔρει (1577, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 21, 156.25)
 νὰ τὶς ἐβγάνωμε (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 19.11–12)
 βγαίνομεν καὶ θωροῦμεν τὶς *Rim. Sant.* 624
 σ' ὅ,τι ἤθελε τὶς φωτίση (1669, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 1, 577.2)
 χρεοφειλετάδες ... ὁποῦ θέλω τὶς παραγγεῖλη (1677, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 2, 125.25–6)
 τὶς εἶχαν μέσα στὴ γαλιότα (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.35)
 καὶ τὶς ἔδωκα κινί (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 56.18)
 ὅπου τὶς ἔδωκίς (1698, Albania, KATSANIS 2012: 11, 79.28) (author from Thessaloniki)
 νὰ τὶς χαιρετήσω (17th–18th c., Sinai, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 35, 140.36) (author from Smyrna)
 εὐχόμουν καὶ βλογῶ τὶς *Trag. Ag. Dim.* III.319 app. crit.

τίσε

κριούς ... καὶ αὐτὸς δὲν τίσε βάνει (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 388.25–6)

νὰ τίσε πουλήση *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 34.3–4

νὰ τίσε δαίρει (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.22)

τσί/τσι (τσ')

In Crete and some other southern areas a form τσί emerges in the late 15th c., comparable to forms of the definite article. Before vowels it can appear as τσ'. It is possible that the form derives from a syncopated [ts] with the subsequent development of the vowel [i]. In mss and older editions it is written with <τζ> (see I, 3.2.6). It is particularly common in Cretan texts, both literary and non-literary, of the 17th c.

καὶ ὁ Κύριος τσ' ἐβαρέθηκεν, μ' ὄφιδες τοὺς παιδεύει CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2623 (τσ' is the editor's correction; mss have τοὺς); κοπιάζει, δέρνει τσ' ἄνομα *ibid.* 2224 (τζ' app. crit. (M))

νὰ τσ' εὕρη θάμα *P&N Diath.* 3493

νὰ χαλάση τις τράφους νὰ τσί παστρέψη (1593, Andros?, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 151, 275.11)

γιά νὰ τσ' εὕρω *Thysia Avr.* 1048

νὰ μποροῦν οἱ ἄνωθεν καβαλάροι νὰ τσί βγάνουν (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 122, 135.9)

τσὶ τυραννοῦσι CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* I.140; βάνε τσι νὰ ζηλεύουσι ὁ ἕνας μὲ τὸν ἄλλο *ibid.* II.345

νὰ τσί ἔχω βλαμμένους (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 48.21)

καὶ σύρνει τζι ὅλους μὲ τοῦ λόγου του VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 40.15–16

θωρώντας τσι τέτοιαις λοῆς κι ἐγὼ εἰδάρισά τσι FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 129

καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς παίρνου καὶ πουλοῦ τσι τῶν Πονεντίνω (1660, Crete, KARATHANANIS 1973: 2, 27.15–16)

νὰ τσί κάμωμε (1664, Cyprus, MERTZIOS 1958b: 255.14) (the author is probably from Crete)

νὰ τσί ἐμολογήσουσι (1665, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 9, 418.16)

νὰ καταφρονᾷς τσ' ὅλους καὶ νὰ τσί ψέγης KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.884

καὶ ὅσοι τῶς ἀπαντήσα ὅλους τσί πιάσα *Leilasia Par.* 415¹⁴

Finally, the form τῶς/τως has also been found as an accusative. Since it is extremely rare, it should be treated with some caution:

καὶ πάλιν ἀφηγοῦμαι τως τοῦ ὀνείρατος τὴν πλάσιν *Liv.* V 730

νὰ μὴν ἡμπορῇ κανεῖς νὰ τῶς πειράξη (1598, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 85, 117.12–13)

5.3.2.6.3 Feminine Accusative Plural

The inherited form τὰς/τας occurs sporadically, mainly in texts written in mixed or higher registers. It is something of an oddity, since clitic forms of the 3rd person are associated with lower registers, whereas the {ας} ending is learned. It may perhaps be seen as a scribal affectation, influenced by the corresponding residual form of the definite article.

νὰ τὰς ἐξωπροίκισης *Ptoch.* I 65

καὶ πάντες ἡγαποῦσαν τας κ' ἐμαγείρευάν τας *Ptoch.* IV 248.5 app. crit. (K)

ἐσφάξαν τας *Dig.* E 171

¹⁴ Some scholars, including the editor Kriaras, regard this text as the work of a Cretan, but a Parian origin cannot be excluded.

τὰς ἀβαστάκτους λύπας μου συνελυπήθητέ τας *Liv.* V 768
 νὰ τὰς ἀριθμῆσῃ *Achil.* N 41; τὰς ἐπῆραν *ibid.* N 690
 εὐτὺς τὰς θέλει ἔχει *Chron. Mor.* P 1754
 τὰς ἐκκλησίας των νὰ τὰς ἔχουν (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 118.37)
 οὐκ ἔμπορεῖ τὰς φύγειν *Plani kosmou* 59
 καὶ ἂν τὰς ἐκράτει ὁ Χαλκέας καὶ ἂν τὰς ἐπελέκα *Synax. gyn.* 191 (cf. *ibid.* 472–3)
 καὶ νὰ τὰς ἐσφεντουρίσῃς *FORTIOS, Strat. pragm.* 346
 νὰ τας χαλάσουν ἐκ βάρων γῆς *MALAXOS M., Ist. patr.* 218.3–4
 ὅποιοι τὰς ἰδῇ κλαίει τὴν λύπην τωνε (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.31)

The “standard” form in use in LMedG and EMG is *τές/τες*; it is often written *ταῖς* in mss and older editions, because it coincides phonetically with the residual feminine dative plural. It is found in literary texts presumed to have been composed in the 12th c., and thereafter across the whole Greek-speaking area up to (and beyond) the end of the period covered by this Grammar. From the 15th c. it is in competition, in certain areas, with innovative forms which will be discussed below. An extended form *τέσε* has also been found, in a 16th-c. text by Georgios Aitolos and in the Cretan play *Panoria*, but it is rare: *τες ξένες δεν τέσε θωρεῖς ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 121.7; *ωσάν τέσε δοξέψεις CHORTATSIS, Panor.* IV.383 (mss DN; *τίσε* A).

ταῖς ἐλαλοῦμεν *Dig.* G I.225 (scr. *τές*; *λαλῶ* has indirect object in acc. in this text)
 καὶ πάντες ἀγαπήσαν *τες* κ' ἐμαγειρεύσασιν *τες Ptoch.* IV 248.5 app. crit. (P)
τές χώρες ἐκούρσεύασιν κ' αἰχμαλωτίζανέ *τες Chron. Mor.* H 3304
 νὰ *τές* ποιήσῃ *Assizes* B 479.15
 ἔδε ποῦ ξεύρει *τές* βουλές νὰ *τές* διδασκαλεύῃ *Pol. Tr.* 2695a app. crit. (R) [Rhodes?]
 νὰ *τές* φέρουν *Chron. Toc.* 611
 νὰ *τές* πάρουν *Anak. Konst.* 78; νὰ *τές* διασκορπίσουσιν *ibid.* 79
τές μετρά *Krasop.* AO 3; *φυσᾷ* *τες* καὶ *χασμᾷ*ται *Krasop.* V 4
 καὶ *τες* ἐπίασαν αὖ στρατιώται καὶ *τες* ἐπήγασιν εἰς τὸν Ἀγρικόλαον *Martyr. Vlas.* 246.42–4
 ἂν τσὶ πλερώσῃς, νὰ σοῦ *τές* κάμνω καλὰ (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 33, 33.21)
τές ἐπούλησε (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 116, 164.46)
 νὰ μοῦ *τές* συγχωρήσετε (1574, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61.17)
 ἂν *τές* ἤθελα ἐφθάσει (1615, Lefkada, PENDOGALOS 1977b: 2, 148.21)
τές πέντε νὰ *τές* δώσῃ (1625, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 66, 192.13)
 ἤφερά *τες* CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* Prol. 14; *φέρει* μοῦ *τες* *ibid.* I.331
εἰδαμένταις, *idaméndes* / *εἷδαμέν* *τες* GERMANO, *Grammar* 51.10
 νὰ ὑπᾶμε νὰ *τές* μαζώξομε; KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 13.28
 νὰ *τές* συμπαθήσῃ (1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 13, 10.3)
 δὲν *τές* ἡῦρα (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 306, f.1r.12)
 νὰ μοῦ *τές* φέρῃς *τές* γαζέτες (1683, Glarentsa, KONOMOS 1969e: 63.15)

Examples of the new form *τίς/τις* appear sporadically from the 15th c. onwards, as is the case for the corresponding form of the definite article (see 5.2.1). There is insufficient evidence to suggest where the form first appears. In the 16th c. its distribution includes Crete, the Heptanese, and certain Aegean islands, but nowhere is it the sole variant. Even in the 17th c. examples are not numerous. Thus, the predominance that it came to have in MG is a relatively recent development.

ὅλες τις κακεύουν *Pol. Tr.* 9314 app. crit. (C) (Peloponnese?); νὰ τις στήσουν *ibid.* 10431 app. crit. (V)

πήχας ζ' ἐπούλησέν τις (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 1, 16.2)
τίτοιες δουλειές πρέπει νὰ τις κάμη κανείς (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.8)

ὅλες διώξει τις ἤθελαν *Theseid* I.73,7 (Follieri)

νὰ σὲ τις μάθω *Achil.* O 572

νὰ τις πάρη (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 173.29)

τις ἔβγαλε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.37)

νὰ τις ἔχη (1573, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 2, 19.39)

μὴν τις κάμης *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.30

τις εἶχε παρμένες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 102.1

τις ἔκαμαν (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 4, 5.1)

τις μουριές τις ἔδωσα (1666, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 15, 128.14)

νὰ τις πάρει *Bertoldos* 47.3–4 (sole occurrence in this text)

ἠφάνισέν τις *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 147

ἐμαζώνασίν τις (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 86, 241.13)

τις πῆρα καὶ λάβι τις (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.16)

μᾶς τις ἀπάριασε *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 13

νὰ τις κρατοῦνε (1708, Peloponnese, PAPADOPOULOS 1976: 6, 124.27)

κοὶ Τοῦρκοι τις εὐρίσκαν καὶ τὸ ἐκόβαν *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* II.383

The form τσί/τσι, which can appear before vowels as τσ' (sometimes written τς), is first attested as a fem. acc. pl. clitic pronoun in Cretan texts in the 16th c. However, similar forms with the dental affricate /ts/ (written <τζ> in mss and older editions) also exist for the fem. gen. sg. and masc. acc. pl. of the weak pronoun (see above), as well as for the definite article (see 5.2.1, where the evolution of these forms is also discussed). The fem. acc. pl. form is found particularly in Cretan texts, both literary and non-literary, and occasionally in Heptanesian texts (cf. the last example below from an 18th-c. text by Katsaitis).

ἂν τσί πλερώσης, νὰ σοῦ τές κάμνω καλὰ (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 33, 33.21)

τὲς ὁποῖες ἔλès τοῦ ἔδωκεν καὶ ἀσενιάρισέν του τσι (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 149, 162.11–12)

νὰ μοῦ τσί στείλης τσί τάβλες (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.25)

ci elavame / τσί ἐλάβαμε (1633, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1998: 9A, 315.4)

ὅλοι ποὺ τσί θωρούσινε *CHORTATIS, Erof. Dedic.* 4; διώξε τσί πρίκες, διώξε τσι *ibid.* I.497;

ὅλες τς ἀναμερίζω *id.*, *Katz.* I.94; νὰ τῆς τσί πάρω *ibid.* I.329; ἔπαρ' τσι *ibid.* I.337

τσὶ πρωτύτερές μου τιμωρίες δὲν τσί ἐλογιάσετε *AGAP., Mart. Ag. Deka* 347

ἀποὺ δὲν τσί γεμίζουνσι μηδὲ εἴκοσι ἀγαστέρες *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.290

όλοι νὰ τσί θωροῦσι *Stathis Int.* I.36

καὶ πελελές τσί κράζουσιν *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.690; ἤλεγε πὼς τές δυσκολιές ἡ ἀπομονὴ τσ'

ἐνίκα *ibid.* II.478; ἀφῆτε τσι τές διαφορὲς *ibid.* II.937

κ' οἱ Τοῦρκοι τις εὐρίσκαν καὶ τὸ ἐκόβαν *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* II.383

An isolated example of τσίς, which appears to combine τσί with τίς, may be simply a *lapsus calami*: μὰ λογιάζω νὰ μὴν τσίς ἔλαβες (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.9–10).

5.3.2.6.4 Neuter Accusative Plural

The neuter accusative form (no nominative has been found) is constant throughout the period covered by this Grammar and in all regions:

καὶ ρίκτηι τὰ ἴσα εἰς τὸ φράξον (1124, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 94, 122.10)
 διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔβαλα εἰς τὰ βιβλίτζα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 310.29 (12th-c. ms)
 ἂν τὰ εἶδες *Spaneas* V 20; καὶ θες τὸ νοῦν σου καὶ ἄκο τὰ καλὰ *ibid.* 46
 ἀκούετε τὰ καὶ οὐ θλίβεσθε *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 115; ὅσα κ[αί] ἂν εἶδες ἄφες τὰ *ibid.* 519
 καὶ πίνει τὰ καὶ ἐρεύγεται *Ptoch. III* 122
 ἐπροσκομίσανέ τὰ *Chron. Mor.* H 1840
 ἄπαξ τὰ ἔρισαν καὶ ἐμέτρησάν τὰ οἱ φιλόσοφοι *Assizes* B 284.15
 ὅλα τοὺς τὰ ἠπῆραν *Chron. Toc.* 76
 δεχτήτε τὰ (1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 50, 27.5)
 θέλω σοῦ τὰ πέψει (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.16–17)
 εἴ τις ἔρχοτον νὰ τὰ ἐρωτήσῃ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.35
 καὶ βάλῃ τὰ στὸ στήθος σου καὶ φά τὰ, ὅντε διψάσεις *Thysia Avr.* 539
 ἤδωκέν τως τὰ (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 745.17)
 καὶ θὰ τὰ παίρνῃ (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 2, f.38v.25)

5.3.3 The Periphrastic Personal Pronoun (τοῦ) λόγου μου

This pronominal phrase consists of the genitive singular of the noun λόγος followed by the possessive (clitic) pronoun appropriate to the person it refers to. In EMG it may be preceded by the definite article τοῦ. It can sometimes function as a personal pronoun, which may be the subject or object of a verb, but most often it is governed by a preposition. Examples of these uses:

δὲν ἔχει τί νὰ κάμῃ τοῦ λόγου του (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.7) (subject)
 τὸν πάτερ Σωφρόνιο, καὶ ἐλόγου μου *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 65.10–11 (object)
 νὰ μάθῃς ἀπὸ λόγου μου τίς καὶ τίνος ὑπάρχω *Velth.* 1244 (after a preposition)

It sometimes refers back to the subject (i.e. it is used reflexively) or it can resemble an intensive pronoun (“I myself” etc.), e.g.:

λέγοντας τοῦ λόγου του μακαριώτατον (1692, Bucharest, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 4, 51.43–4)
 (reflexive)
 τοῦ λόγου σας νὰ το φτιάσετε *Diig. Alex.* K 359.14 (intensive)

In addition, it may function, in the 2nd and 3rd persons, as a politeness strategy, in place of the simple personal pronoun.¹⁵ For some further information on usage, see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. λόγος.

The origins and development of the periphrasis have been discussed at some length in PERNOT 1923 and SPYRIDAKIS 1939, but a number of problems remain. Spyridakis follows Meyer in tracing the periphrasis back to the phrase εἰς λόγον, “for the sake of, on account of”, via διὰ λόγου + gen. He further notes that λόγος frequently has a financial sense (= λογαριασμός) in post-classical Greek, in expressions of the type εἰς λόγον τοῦ δεῖνος (e.g., in the New Testament, εἰς λόγον ὑμῶν, “to your account”, Philippians IV.17).

¹⁵ There are various other periphrases used as polite forms of address in LMedG and EMG: ἡ ἀφεντιά σου, ἡ βασιλεία σου, ἡ ἐξοχότητά σου, ἡ εὐγενειά σου etc. In addition we can find metonymic periphrases such as ἡ ψυχὴ μου, τὸ κορμί μου etc. However, unlike λόγου μου, none of these has fully grammaticalized pronominal status.

He argues that since such expressions had the same sense as prepositional phrases involving personal pronouns, there arose new constructions of the type ἀπὸ λόγου μου etc., and later with μετὰ and διὰ. Pernot claims that τοῦ λόγου σου presupposes a nominative ὁ λόγος σου, but recognizes that the genitive case indicates that it was originally preceded by a preposition, specifically ἀπὸ, as Korais had suggested.

There is a dearth of evidence, in both the EMedG and LMedG periods, which would support these arguments. On the basis of the data collected so far, the following conclusions may be drawn:

- 1) Examples with the definite article are not found in LMedG. In the following excerpt, the phrase does not appear to be used as a pronoun equivalent, but locutions such as this may explain how the article came to be incorporated: κὶ ἂν ἔνι ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου σου κὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρίσμοῦ σου *Chron. Mor.* H 3460 (ms dated 1375). Otherwise, indisputable examples of the pronominal phrase with the article have not been located before the 16th c.
- 2) The most common use, in the texts examined, is after the preposition διὰ/γιά. Indeed, in Cypriot texts it has been found only in that combination.

We might therefore postulate the following stages of development: the phrase διὰ λόγου + gen., in the sense of “on the orders of, with the agreement of, or in favour of someone” is reanalysed as preposition + pronominal phrase consisting of λόγου + clitic pronoun.¹⁶ Other prepositions (εἰς/σέ, μετὰ, μέ, ἀπὸ) can then be substituted, so that, for example, ἀπὸ λόγου σου is equivalent to ἀπὸ σένα. On its own, the phrase can also function as subject or object. The later addition of the article τοῦ may be to convey definiteness or on the analogy of the reflexive pronoun phrase τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ μου. (In verse texts it may also serve metrical needs.) However, even in the latter part of the EMG period, the pronoun phrase is less widely attested with the definite article than without it.¹⁷

However, an alternative line of development is suggested by the occurrence of dative λόγῳ in corresponding expressions. Earlier studies (PERNOT 1923: 66–7; SPYRIDAKIS 1939: 47) proposed a passage in the *Prodromic Poems* as the first identified occurrence of the pronominal phrase: καὶ λόγου μου νὰ λέγουσι “ρωμάνισε τὴν πόρταν” *Ptoch.* IV 308. The pronoun phrase serves as an indirect object (“to me”); however, other mss actually have λόγῳ μου (H, 14th c.) or λόγου μας (V, 14th–15th c.). Pernot suggested that λόγῳ was simply a “correction savante” by the copyist of H. But it is not the only example. We may compare: νὰ σ’ ἐνθυμίση λόγῳ μου νὰ μὲ χειραγωγήσης *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 6 (15th-c. ms) (the meaning is perhaps “on my account, in regard to me”). A dative also occurs twice in a late 13th-c. monastic document from Asia Minor: ἔξωθεν γοῦν τοῦτων ἐκράτησα

¹⁶ Two interesting examples of somewhat different uses of λόγου can be found in early vernacular texts: ἐκράτησεν ὁ ρῆγας | διὰ λόγου κ’ ἰμοιράδι του, τίποτε ἄλλον οὐ χρειάστη *Chron. Mor.* H 7101–2 (“on his own account and as his portion”); τὴν κόρην τὴν ἐφύλαγα λόγου τοῦ Γιαννακίου *Dig.* E 1373 (“on behalf of/for Giannakis”).

¹⁷ In the Cretan romance *Erotokritos*, for example, of the 60 occurrences of λόγου μου etc. only 5 are with τοῦ (and only after μέ, which may suggest that it is inserted for euphonic reasons). In this text (τοῦ) λόγου is only used after prepositions, never as subject or object.

λόγῳ μου ὥσπερ μερίδιόν τι (1294, Smyrna region, ΜΙΚΛΟΣΙΧ/ΜÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 180, 286.17–18); καὶ τὰ ἄπερ ἐκράτησα λόγῳ μου εἰς μικράν μου περιποίησιν (1294, *ibid.* 286.32–3). Here the sense is reflexive: “for my own use or benefit, for myself”.¹⁸

It is conceivable, therefore, that in these texts of the 13th to 15th centuries (the verse texts were composed in the 12th c., but the mss are later) λόγῳ represents the original form of the expression. We would then be dealing with an extension of the common use of λόγῳ (and later λόγου) + genitive noun in Byzantine texts, in the sense of “for, with respect to, as” (*LBG* s.v. λόγος and see also CARACAUSI, *Lex.* for S. Italian examples of both λόγῳ and λόγου + noun, e.g. λόγου τιμίματος, λόγῳ τῆς μονῆς), but now followed by a clitic pronoun. It is noteworthy that the examples with λόγῳ appear to be from areas under Constantinopolitan influence. The λόγου μου etc. forms could be a separate, parallel development, from prepositional phrases such as διὰ λόγου μου. But we cannot rule out the possibility that λόγου μου/σου/του developed from λόγῳ by assimilation to the vowel of the singular clitic forms.

Once the λόγου μου form is grammaticalized as a periphrastic pronoun, there is very limited variation. In the *Chronicle of Morea* we find several instances where the syllable *o* precedes λόγου + clitic pronoun. It is debatable whether this should be regarded as the masculine nominative of the definite article or as a prothetic vowel, i.e. *o*λόγου (PERNOT 1923: 66 n. 1; see also SPYRIDAKIS 1939: 50). In the last of these examples it is clearly not a nominative:

εἶχεν καὶ ἐπὶ κλην ὁ λόγου του, τὸν ἐλέγαν ντὲ Σαλοῦθε *Chron. Mor.* H 1380; κάστρον ἐποίησε ὁ λόγου του καὶ Πασσαβᾶν τὸ ἐκράξε *ibid.* 3164; ἔποικειν κάστρο ὁ λόγου του κ' ἐκράξέ το Γεράκιν *ibid.* 3166; διὰ εὐεργεσίαν κι ὁ λόγου του μερίδιν τοῦ πολέμου *ibid.* 7106; νὰ τὸ κρατῇ διὰ ὁ λόγου του ἢ ἄλλου νὰ τὸ δώση *ibid.* 8394

We can also find, much later, a form with prothetic vowel /e/ (but never with the definite article), e.g. ἐβουλήθηκα νὰ ἔλθω καὶ εἰς ἐλόγου σας *Alex. Fyll.* 88.30. A further phonological variant is gemination of /l/ (see I, 3.4.2.5): in Cypriot texts, from at least the 16th c., the usual form is διὰ λλόγου (or γιὰ λλόγου), which some editors write as one word: διαλλόγου.

The periphrastic pronoun (τοῦ) λόγου μου has a wide distribution throughout the Greek-speaking world, including Cyprus, where it co-exists with alternative expressions such as (ἐ)ξαυτὸν μου (see the following section), and it is found both in literary texts and in documents. In the examples below, listed by person, instances without the definite article are given first:

1st Person Singular

προσκύνησε τὸν ... κύρι Γερόντιον ἀπὸ λόγου μου (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 101.9)

καὶ ἄς στέκουσιν διὰ λόγου μου, νὰ ἔν' εἰς τὸ θέλημά μου *Achil.* L 86

εξεύρε πως ἔμαθα και λαλεις πολλὰ λόγια διὰ λλόγου μου! *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 270.13

¹⁸ The phrase is occasionally found with an acc., perhaps from a desire for grammatical “correctness”, as in this 16th-c. text: μακρὰ ἀπὸ λόγον σου *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 236 app. crit.

ή δική μου πιντώννεται διὰ λόγου μου καὶ ἡ δική σου παρκατεβαίνει διὰ λόγου σου *Fior* 136.15–16

γιὰ λόγου μου *Cypr. Canz.* 104.17

νὰ σπουδάζουν διὰ λόγου μου *Pist. kekoim.* 479

διὰ λόγου μου (1583, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 15, 29.6)

γοργό γοργό από λόγου μου θες δεις την πεθυμιά σου *CHORTATZIS, Panor.* I.400

ὀδιά λόγου μου (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 4, 364.4)

καὶ καμίαν ἔννοιαν μὴ ἔχοντος τινὰς διὰ λόγου μου (1653, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 3, 144.10)

ἂν ἐρωτᾷτε διὰ λόγου μου (1680, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 8, 301, f.1r.5)

ὑποσχόμεθα διὰ λόγου μας (1685, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1918a: 130.32–3)

ἀπό λόγου μου (1699?, Lvov?, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 9, 69.158)

θέλεις τίποτε από λόγου μου *Don Kis.* 144.15

εἰς ἐλόγου μου (1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 55, 237.21)

τὸν πάτερ Σωφρόνιο, καὶ ἐλόγου μου ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 65.10–11

καὶ θέλω μὲ τοῦ λόγου μου τὴ συντροφιά τοῦ γιοῦ μου *Thysia Avr.* 254

ἐγὼ δὲν ἄφηνα τοῦ λόγου μου νὰ κλεισθῶ *Bertoldos* 63.29

νὰ γένης πατέρας εἰς τοῦ λόγου μου (1696, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 4 [Δ'], 256.6)

αλίμονον εἰς του λόγου μου *Don Kis.* 185.12

προσεύχου διὰ τοῦ λόγου μου *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.55

2nd Person Singular

κι ὀρέγεσαι ἀπὸ λόγου σου νὰ τὸ ἔχης καταπιάσει *Chron. Mor.* H 6107

καὶ ἄλλος καμῆλιν διὰ λόγου σου *Liv.* E 2835

πολλὰ ἴπαθα γιὰ λόγου σου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 85

νὰ λάβω γραφὴ ἀπὸ λόγου σου (1554, Bologna, CATALDI PALAU 2000: 1, 386.9) (author from Corfu)

ποῦ γίνεται γιὰ λόγου σου, κυρά μου *Cypr. Canz.* 37.7

ἀπὸ λόγου σου *Thysia Avr.* 608

ἔχω μεγάλο παράπνο ἀπὸ λόγου σου (1638, Andros, POLEMIS 1999b: 9, 32.24)

χαρτιά ἀπὸ λόγου σου (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 24.4)

ἐγὼ δὲν ἤμου μὲ λόγου σου σύντροφος (1699?, Lvov?, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 9, 69.161) (author from Smyrna)

ρίξε τοῦ λόγου σου κάτω *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 4.4

ἂν εἶναι ἐκεῖνοι ἀμάδι μὲ τοῦ λόγου σου *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 34.1

εσύ θέλεις κρατήσῃ του λόγου σου καλορίζικον *Don Kis.* 47.3

3rd Person Singular

ὁ κατὰ εἷς διὰ λόγου του τοῦ νὰ ἔχη κουγκεστήσῃ *Chron. Mor.* H 1395 (but with the article in the later ms P: ὁ κάθε εἷς τοῦ λόγου του)

τὸ λαβάνει διὰ λόγου του *Assizes* B 265.11

ἔναν παλάτιν χωριστὸν διὰ λόγου του ἐποῖκε *Pol. Tr.* 1268 app. crit. (A)

ἐπάσχισεν διὰ λόγου του καὶ οὐδὲν τὸ ἐδυνήθη *Chron. Toc.* 2035

εποίκεν μάτζε της ρήγαινας διὰ λόγου του καὶ οὐλους αντάμα *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 160.12; κ' ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν πολλὴν κακὸν διὰ λόγου της *ibid.* 284.8–9

νὰ ποῦν διὰ λόγου του *Fior* 137.17

νὰ δώσῃ ὅλον τὸ πλοῦτος τοῦ παιδιοῦ χάρισμαν διαλλόγου του *Pist. kekoim.* 123

ὀδιά λόγου του (1550, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1970: 5 [E'], 295.11)

μηδὲν πάψης | γὰρ λόγου της νὰ γράψης *Cypr. Canz.* 94.74–5
 διὰ λόγου του καὶ ὁδὶα τοὺς ἀδελφούς του (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS
 2010: 65, 51.52)

τὰ ροῦχα του γὰρ λόγου τση νὰ βάψη *Vosk.* 392 (γὰρ amended from διὰ)
 οὐτεὶς διὰ λόγου του οὐτε διὰ τὴν χώραν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §30.97 (with final /n/ added)
 γῆ ὅποιος ἄλλος ἤθελε εἶσται διὰ λόγου του (1674, Milos, IMELLOS 1985/90: 330.13)
 ἀπὸ λόγου τῆς (1686, Naxos, SIFONΙΟΥ-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 647, 889.10)
 ὁμπλιγάρεται διὰ λόγου της καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐρχομένους (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e:
 65.10)
 διὰ ἐλόγου του (1681, Andros, PASCHALIS 1924: 170.4)

ὄσους ἄλλους χριστιανούς εὐρουσι με του λόγου του *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.14
 καὶ πόσον φουσάτον ἔχει με τοῦ λόγου του; *Diig. Alex.* F 218.12–13 (Lolos)
 δὲν ἔχει τί νὰ κάμη τοῦ λόγου του (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.7)
 ἐγὼ ἔχω παράπονον εἰς τοῦ λόγου του (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 1, 289.6)
 ὅστις σκοτώση τοῦ λόγου του, αὐτοφόντης λέγεται *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 133.A.64
 διὰ τοῦ λόγου του *MAX. PELOPON., Kata Ioud.* 314.24
 νὰ μνέσκη τὸ σπῖτι λίμπερο στοῦ λόγου του (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 13, 39.9)
 δὲν ἔχει τοῦ λόγου του γερόν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §11.49
 ὁ ὅποιος ἐρχοτον πρὸς τοῦ λόγου της *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* III 14
 ἔγραψε τὸν μπεθερό του καὶ τοῦ λόγου του ἐν τῇ Ἁγίᾳ Προθέσει (1673, Gortynia,
 YANNAROPOYΛΟΥ 1972: 78, 320.2)
 λέγοντας τοῦ λόγου του μακαριώτατον (1692, Bucharest, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 4, 51.43–4);
 ἄφησα καὶ τὸ κλειδὶ στοῦ λόγου του (1699?, Lvov?, *ibid.* 9, 66.12–13)

1st Person Plural

διὰ λόγου μας (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.29)
 ἀπὸ λόγου μας *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 112.16
 ὅπου ἤκουσε διὰ λόγου μας (1654, Karpenisi, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI
 1992: 7, 82.5)
 ὀνομάζομεν τοῦ λόγου μας φιλοχρίστους *DAM. STOUD., Dial.* 96.30
 παστρεύοντας τοῦ λόγου μας *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 112.13
 νὰ κλαύσωμεν τοῦ λόγου μας νὰ κλαύσωμεν τὴν Πόλι *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2391
 νὰ δοθῇ καὶ εἰς τοῦ λόγου μας ὁλονῶν, καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν *MAXIMOS, Synax. Ag. Nik.*
 145.343
 ἐκατεδέχθη καὶ ἔλαβε σταυρὸν καὶ θάνατον διὰ τοῦ λόγου μας *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 30.36
 ἦλθε πρὸς τοῦ λόγου μας (1645, Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 10.1)
 καὶ τίποτες στοῦ λόγου μας κακὸν δὲν θὲ μᾶς βλάψει *KONDAR., Paidēs* 741
 ἤρχουνταν πρὸς του λόγου μας *Don Kis.* 473.18

2nd Person Plural

διὰ λόγου σας *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 276.11
 μὴν κλαίγετε δι' ἐμέ, ἀμὴ κλαίγετε διὰ λόγου σας καὶ διὰ τὰ παιδία σας *KARTANOS, P&N*
Diath. 437.14–15
 τὴν βασιλείαν ... ὅπου ἔναι ὁδηγημένη διαλλόγου σας *Pist. kekoim.* 700
 γιὰτὶ οἱ χαρὲς γὰρ λόγου σας δὲν ἔναι *Cypr. Canz.* 94.81
 χίλιες γὰρ λόγου σας φωτιές στο στήθος γνώθω ὁμπρός μου *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 52
 καθέννας ἀπὸ λόγου σας εἶστε ἐδεπὰ ἐρθωμένοι *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol.* 134
 αὐθέντης μου γὰρ λόγου σας θὲ με φιλοδωρήση *KONDAR., Paidēs* 292
 σὲ λόγου σας *Diig. Vefa* 846

του λόγου σας να το φτιάσετε *Diig. Alex.* K 359.14

ὄχι μόνον τοῦ λόγου σας βλάβετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 236.141)

ἡ ἐπιθυμία, ἐνεργῶντας εἰς τοῦ λόγου σας *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 34.11

3rd Person Plural

τὴν ζημίαν τὴν ἐξωδίασεν ὁ караβοκύρης διὰ λόγου τους *Assizes A* 48.29

ὅσοι δὲν ἔχουν, ἔχεις Ἑσοῦ διαλλόγου τους *Pist. kekoim.* 481–2

διὰ λόγου τους (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 8, 129.6)

ἀπὸ λόγου τους ἐγινεν (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 237.34)

ἐκόπη ἡ γραφή διὰ λόγου τῶνε (1622, Crete, MALTEZOU 1989: 358.16)

οἱ Τοῦρκοι εἶναι μακρεῖα ἀπὸ λόγου των ἀνάμису μέρα (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 508.62–3)

λάβε ἀπὸ λόγου τους ἓνα βιβλίον (1692, Bucharest, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 4, 54.184)

ο μῦθος λέγει πῶς τινές οποῦ φιλονικούσι | με τοὺς μεγαλιότερους τοῦ λόγου τοὺς λυπούσι
AITOLOS, Ais. Myth. 106.9–10

ἐπούλησαν τοῦ λόγου τῶς RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 73.28

ποιά δένδρη ἡμερὰ δέχονται ἄλλα φυτὰ εἰς τοῦ λόγου τους *LANDOS, Geopon.* 148.31–2

5.3.4 The Periphrastic Personal Pronoun αὐτόν μου etc.

The periphrastic personal pronoun αὐτόν μου or (ἐ)ξαυτόν μου (and their variants) occurs almost exclusively in Cypriot texts, with a range of functions: it may be an intensive or reflexive pronoun, or the equivalent of a strong pronoun functioning as the object of a verb or preposition. The origins and development of these forms have never been satisfactorily explained (for examples see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.vv. αὐτός (3), ἐξαυτής, ἐξαυτόν, ἐξαυτού).

The phrase essentially consists of the demonstrative αὐτός, in the accusative or genitive singular, masculine or feminine, followed by a genitive clitic pronoun in any person or number. It is normally preceded by a preposition.¹⁹ For the incorporation of a clitic in periphrastic pronouns we may compare λόγου μου, the intensive αὐτός μου, the reflexive τὸν ἑαυτό(ν) μου, and the reciprocal ἀλλήλως μας (see 5.6.1, 5.11.1, 5.12.2). Given the similarity of function, the phrase αὐτόν μου may have been formed principally on the analogy of λόγου μου. However, the stages of development remain obscure, and no explanation has been offered for the fact that forms that appear to be feminine (αὐτήν, αὐτῆς) co-exist with “masculine” ones, without any gender differentiation.²⁰ One possibility is that the expression is elliptical, and a feminine noun such as ψυχή or καρδιά has been lost, or rather replaced by a demonstrative pronoun. A further hypothesis is that the phrase may originate in a reflexive expression, where the gender would relate to the referent, e.g.

¹⁹ Rarely, the phrase is found without a preposition; this example is from a Cretan rather than a Cypriot text: πῶς δὲν τήνε θωρῶ θὰ κάμω αὐτῆς μου *Pist. voskos* II 4.76 (probably an intensive pronoun, “I myself”, or “as for me”).

²⁰ SIAPKARAS-PITSILLIDÈS (1975: 348) asserts that in these periphrases the accusative αὐτήν refers only to feminine nouns, whereas the genitive αὐτῆς is an invariable form used for all genders. Given that accents are editorial, as is the gemination in αὐτήσου, and given that there is at least one example of αὐτήν σου with masculine referent (listed below), that argument cannot be sustained. The texts examined do not systematically distinguish between masc. and fem. forms of αὐτός in this periphrasis, though a distinction for gender may have existed at an earlier stage of its development.

εις ἑαυτήν, ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐξ ἑαυτῆς. Note, for example, the reflexive pronoun with accompanying clitic in the 13th-c. (15th-c. manuscript) Cypriot *Assizes*: ἐκεῖνος ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ του ἀδικᾷ τοὺς ὄρκους του *Assizes* B 286.3, where the meaning is “of himself”, “of his own volition”, which is very similar to the intensive pronominal phrase αὐτός του (see 5.6.1).²¹ Since the latter form occurs only rarely in Cypriot, it could be argued that Cypriot “found” a different way of expressing the sense, by means of prepositional phrases consisting of εἰς or ἐξ and the reflexive/demonstrative pronoun (ἐ)αυτόν/(ἐ)αυτοῦ (cf. the alternative intensive pronoun phrase ἀπατός μου). While αὐτός/ἀπατός μου only occurs in the nominative (declined for gender and number), the Cypriot periphrases only occur with oblique cases of αὐτός in the singular.²²

Examples are numerous in Cypriot texts from the 13th to the 17th centuries.²³ Since many variants co-exist in the same text, it is difficult to plot the stages of development. What is clear is that at some point the forms preceded by ἐξ become grammaticalized as periphrastic personal pronouns (ἐ)ξαυτόν μου etc. Consequently they can themselves follow another preposition, typically ἀπό: e.g. ἀπό ξαυτῆς μου, ἀπό ξαύτου του (for the shift of stress cf. αὐτός; see 5.5.1.4).

Further research is needed on the origins and development of these forms, as well as on their semantics and grammatical functions. Below we set out some examples of the different forms.²⁴ Sometimes we give notes on meaning, where this might be helpful, but it is often difficult to determine the precise function of the periphrasis.

εἰς/σ' αὐτόν + clitic

ἐντέχεται νὰ γένη εἰς αὐτόν του *Assizes* B 253.7; ἔρχεται εἰς αὐτόν του *ibid.* 310.23
πολλή ἀντροπή εἰς αὐτόν μας *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 234.10; ἂν δὲν ἔρτης εἰς αὐτόν μας,
θέλομεν ἔρτειν ἐμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν σου *ibid.* 654.38–656.1
σ' αὐτόν μου *Cypr. Canz.* 2.21; σ' αὐτόν σου σέναν *ibid.* 47.5; σ' αὐτόν σας *ibid.* 106.25
καὶ ἔχουν τὰ θαρ<ρ>ικὰ τοὺς εἰς αὐτόν Σου *Pist. kekoim.* 484
εἰς αὐτόν σας *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* R 271.48
νὰ ᾿χη ᾿ς αὐτόν του πίστιν *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 448

εἰς/σ' αὐτῆς + clitic

ὅπου μοῦ ἐποίκετε εἰς αὐτῆς μου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 94.10 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
πὼς ἐπήγεν εἰς αὐτῆς του *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 144.16
εἰς αὐτῆς του *Fior* 123.1 (“to him”)
σ' αὐτῆς μου *Cypr. Canz.* 51.8; σ' αὐτῆς μας *ibid.* 153.4

εἰς/σ' αὐτήν + clitic

ἀμμέ καρδιά μου πάντα ᾿ναι σ' αὐτῆς σου²⁵ *Cypr. Canz.* 43.8; νὰ δοθῶ σ' αὐτήν σου *ibid.* 58.2;
σ' αὐτῆς σου *ibid.* 69.5, 124.6
γλυκιὰ ἦλθα σ' αὐτήν σου *Alfav.* 10 11 (text, which has some Cypriot features, published 1586)

²¹ For further examples of the reflexive pronoun with a clitic but with the definite article, see 5.11.1. Not all instances are in texts from Cyprus.

²² According to KOUNDOURIS (2009: 26) there are 10 instances of gen. pl. αὐτῶν (e.g. ἐξ αὐτῶν του) in the *Assizes*, but he attributes this to scribal (or editorial?) correction of αὐτόν, due to the homophony.

²³ Much of the data is presented in KOUNDOURIS 2009: 26–30, but with little discussion of the origins or the semantics of the phrase.

²⁴ Further examples can be found in the glossaries of the relevant editions.

²⁵ For the assimilation of the final /n/ see I, 3.4.2.4.

ἐξ αὐτόν + clitic²⁶

ἐντέχεται νὰ γένη ἐξ αὐτόν του *Assizes* B 267.2–3; ἄς ἔρτη νὰ ἀνκαλέσῃ ἐξ αὐτόν του *ibid.* 301.21–2 (perhaps “in person”, or “on his own authority”); νὰ περιλάβῃ ἐξ αὐτόν του *ibid.* 305.22–3 (“from him”); θελήσουν νὰ ἔχουν ἐλεημοσύνην ἐξ αὐτόν του ὅπου τὴν ἐξηπαρθένευσεν *ibid.* 347.4–5 (the sense seems to be “to have mercy on him”) θελήσουν νὰ ἔχουν ἐλεημοσύνην ἐξ αὐτόν του ὅπου τὴν ἔφθειρεν *Assizes* A 97.6–7 ἔμαθεν ἐξαυτόν του ὅλα τὰ τοὺς ἀποθα<μ>μένους βάσανα *Pist. kekoim.* 196–7

ἀξ αὐτόν + clitic²⁷

ἀξ αὐτόν τους *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 322.12–13
δὲν ἦπορῶ, ὁδελφάκι μου, νὰ βαστακτῶ ᾧ αὐτό σου *Charon* III 25

ἀξ αὐτοῦ + clitic

δῶξέ την ἀξαυτοῦ σου *Fior* 90.7 (“from yourself”)

ἀξ αὐτῆς + clitic

νὰ ἔχη ἀξαυτῆς της *Fior* 119.24 (either object “her” or partitive “some of her”); πασαμιά ἀξαυτῆς τους ἀγγαστρώθην *ibid.* 123.31–2 (“of them”); ἀξαυτῆς του *ibid.* 132.9 (perhaps “on account of him”); ἐμίσευσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀξαυτῆς τους *ibid.* 145.29 (“from them”) ἰντραβενιάζει ἀξαυτῆς τους, ὡς γοιὸν λαλοῦσιν διὰ τὸ κρασίν *Fior, Suppl.* 271.20

ἀξ αὐτή(ν) + clitic

κ’ ἔρκεται ἀξ αὐτήσ σου *Cypr. Canz.* 99.3; ἔξ αὐτήσ σου *ibid.* 59.1, 134.1

ἀπὸ ξαυτόν + clitic

ἀποῦ ᾧ αὐτόν σου / ἀποῦ ᾧ ξαυτόν σου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 22.2
ἀπὸ ξαυτόσ σου *Cypr. Canz.* 22.2
λαμβάνουν ἀπὸ ξαυτόν τους κληρονομικά *Pist. kekoim.* 626–7
αποξαυτόντους / ἀπὸ ξαυτόν τους (app. crit.) (17th c., Unknown, ŠANGIN 1936: 4, 149.25)

ἀπὸ ξαύτου + clitic

ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐθέλησε νὰ τ’ ἀφήσῃ νὰ φύγῃ ἀπὸ ξαύτου του *Fior* 116.22 (“from him”);
ἐβγαίνουσιν ἀπὸ ξαύτου της *ibid.* 145.7–8 (“from out of her soul”)

ἀπὸ ξαυτῆς + clitic

καὶ θέλεις ἐβγάλῃν τὸν θυμὸν ἀποῦ ᾧ αὐτῆς τους *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 254.23–4
ἀπὸ ᾧ ξαυτῆς σου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 77.26–7 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
ἀνίσως καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ποίσει τὸ θέλημάν του ἀπὸ ᾧ ξαυτῆς μου *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 150.15–16 (B ἐξ αὐτῆς μου) (the meaning is adversative: “against me”); ἰντα θέλετε νὰ μάθετε ἀπὸ ᾧ ξαυτῆς μου; *ibid.* 278.1–2
πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ξαυτῆς τους *Fior* 144.23
ἀποῦ ξαυτῆς μου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* R 76.47; ἀποῦ ξαυτῆ σου *ibid.* 77.28; ἀπὸ ξαυτῆς μας *ibid.* 77.29–30; θέλομεν πληρωθῇν ἀπὸ ξαυτῆ σας *ibid.* 375.41

5.4 Possessive Pronouns and Determiners

The possessives “my, your, her” etc. assume various grammatical forms in LMedG and EMG. The weak (i.e. non-emphatic) forms are clitic pronouns, specifically the genitive case of the relevant weak personal pronoun; they are discussed below in 5.4.1. Emphatic

²⁶ Whether ἐξ αὐτόν is written as two words or as one is largely an editorial decision. Sometimes the form is written as a single word when the preposition clearly retains its prepositional function.

²⁷ For the change of vowel from /e/ to /a/, probably due to assimilation to the following vowel in this instance, see I, 2.8.5.

forms (“my own, mine” etc.) employ an adjective meaning “one’s own, personal”, such as ἰδικός, (ἐ)δικός, ἴδιος, together with a clitic personal pronoun; for these see 5.4.2. Finally, in 5.4.3, we give some examples of the residual adjectival forms inherited from AG, which exist only for the 1st and 2nd persons and are in very restricted use in the period covered by this Grammar.

5.4.1 Weak (Clitic) Forms

The weak possessive pronouns are identical with the genitive forms of the weak personal pronouns. For the evolution of these forms see 5.3.2. The possessive pronouns occur in the noun phrase and are enclitic: they immediately follow the noun or an adjective that agrees with it. While the forms for the 1st and 2nd person, singular and plural, do not exhibit any variation, those for the 3rd person have a similar allomorphic range to the genitive forms of the corresponding weak personal pronoun.

There is a general phenomenon which may affect the 3rd-person possessive pronouns: voicing of /t/ to /d/, when the previous word ends with a nasal /n/, as, for example, an accusative or a neuter singular. (For details see I, 3.8.3.2; CHATZIDAKIS 1915: 461; DRESSLER 1966b.) Since the noun and possessive were normally written as one word in LMedG and EMG (τὸ στόμαντου), word division can be a problem for modern editors in such cases. We find both τὸ στόμαν του and τὸ στόμα ντου, largely according to editorial preference: the second version implies loss of the nasal. (In other words this is essentially a matter of phonology rather than morphology.) In some areas the forms with voiced consonant are generalized, irrespective of the preceding phoneme. This phenomenon is found mainly in texts from Crete and the Cyclades. It gives rise to forms such as ντου, ντης, ντζη, ντους, ντως, etc. Many editions of literary texts do not exhibit such forms, largely because their editors have systematically avoided them. Conversely, other editors introduce them in an attempt to restore “genuine” dialect features. For example, whereas the Xanthoudidis edition of *Erotokritos* (1915) gives τὰ πάθη ντως (III.590), perhaps influenced by modern dialect usage, the edition of S. Alexiou (1980) has τὰ πάθη τως. (In the first edition of 1713 we find τὰ πάθη τως, while the London ms has ταπαθιτους.) Examples will be given from texts and editions which contain such forms, but it should be borne in mind that editorial decisions are almost always involved.

5.4.1.1 1st and 2nd Persons Singular

	General
1 sg.	μου
2 sg.	σου

The first- and second-person forms μου and σου are invariable throughout the period:

μέ τήν ἀδελφή μου (1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLLOU 1967: 4, 58.12)
 τοῦ μύλου τοῦ κληρικοῦ μου (1085, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 43, 146.7)
 παιδί μου *Spaneas* V 24
 ἔδωκα ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς μου σωτηρίας (ca. 1245, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 16, 7.1)
 τοῦ ἀφέντου μου τοῦ ρῆγα *Chron. Mor.* H 244
 σουλτάνε μου (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.1)
 κατὰ τὸν ἀχαμνόν μου σκοπόν *Fior* 73.14
 ὀγι' ἀγάπη μου ἐμέ *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 364
 ἡ παλαιογουνέλα μου καὶ τὰ δύο μου φουστάνια (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 14, 24.18)
sisimu chie pnoimu / ζήση μου καὶ πνοή μου *Thysia Avr.* 995 transcr. M
 ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ ἀνάξιον παιδὶν σου ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 312.9
 τίμα τους ὡς ἀφέντους σου *Spaneas* V 103
 ἐδὰ, Μιχάλη ταπεινέ, φέρε τὸν λογισμόν σου *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 518
 ὁ πατέρας σου *Chron. Mor.* P 6310
 τὸ κορίτζιν σου *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 160.6
 τὸ χρυσό σου τὸ κεφάλι (1487, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 16, 87.1)
 ὡσὰν ἐχθρός σου νά 'μουνα 'ς ὅλες τὲς ὀρεξές σου *Theseid* I.102,2 (Follieri)
 καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄντρα σου ἡ ὀριξή σου *Pent. Gen.* 3.16
 λέγω σηκώσου, πάγαινε, διάβα στὰ γονικά σου *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 276
 ἐδίωξες τὴν ἀγγελικὴν σου γυναῖκα *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 26.6

5.4.1.2 3rd Person Singular

	General	Restricted
M	του	ντου
F	της	ντης ὶ τση
N	του	(ντου)

Masculine

The basic form is του. (In texts that aim at a higher register, we may also find the residual form αὐτοῦ, which may follow the noun but is not enclitic.²⁸) The only variation concerns the initial consonant, which in some circumstances is voiced to /d/: ντου (see discussion above). The form ντου occurs quite frequently in texts from Crete and the Cyclades, from the 17th c. onwards.

πλησίον τοῦ ἁλωνίου του (1100–10, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 53, 254.10)
 καθ' ὕπνου του *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 266
 ἀπόθαναν οἱ γονεῖς του *Dig.* E 1095 app. crit.
 ἐκ τὰ δάκρυα του *Liv.* E 7
 εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ στεψιμάτου του *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 320.22–3

²⁸ We can even find the reflexive ἑαυτοῦ used in this way: ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσπάσατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγάτηρ *Achil.* O 624.

ο Μίμαντος ηπήρεν το φουσάτο του *Diig. Alex.* K 351.25
 ἦρτε ἡ ἀρμάδα του (1570, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.1)
 ὅσον ὁ νοικάτορης πληρώνει τὸ ἐνοίκιον του ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 194.E.114
 καὶ ἀπόθανε εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν ἀπὸ τὸ φαρμάκιν του SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 41.4

In these examples of ντου we sometimes give a Latin-script original which indicates the voicing:

ἡ θυγατέρα ντου (1617, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 4, 35.6)
 ἰ γιορεξιν του / ἡ γιόρεξή ντου (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 38.6)
 ton cleronomitadhon du / τῶν κληρονομητάδων ντου (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 199.189–90)
 οἱ κληρονόμοι ντου (1631, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 6, 136.22)
 το θάνατό ντου κράζει CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.44
 na ne is to theliman du / νά 'ναι εἰς τὸ θέλημάν ντου (1639, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 11, 113.45)
 γυναίκα ντου καὶ ταίρι του FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.329
 με τὸν ἀγέρα ντου (1672, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 4, 166.15)
 τοῦ συντρόφου ντου (1676, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 6, 18.10)
 τὴν ὀλπίδα ντου *Stathis* I.6; εἰς τὸ σπίτι ντου *ibid.* I.22
 τοῦ θειοῦ ντου *Trag. Ag. Dim.* I.200

Feminine

Although we may assume that της (like the masculine του) was in use at the beginning of the period covered by this Grammar, the earliest example we have located dates from about 1300; the mss of *Ptochoprodromos* are later. (Similarly, there are few early examples of the corresponding genitive of the weak personal pronoun; see 5.3.2.3.) This της continues to be the normal form until the end of our period (and beyond, including SMG). The main variant is τση, which occurs in texts from Crete and the Cyclades, found from the late 16th c. onwards. In Latin-script mss it is rendered as <ci>. The spelling <τζη> is used in mss and printed editions of the period, as well as in some modern critical editions. It may – but does not necessarily – indicate a voiced pronunciation as /dz/. The other variant which can be found in some editions is ντης, comparable to the masculine ντου and plural ντως etc. (see 5.4.1).

κάλλιον ἔναι τὸ θέλημάν της, παροῦ τὸ θέλημαν τοὺς γονεῖς της (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 239.421–3)
 τὸ στόμαν της *Ptoch. I* 33; ἐμβαίνει εἰς τὸ κουβούκλιν της *ibid.* 126
 ἀνὴρ καὶ σύμβιον της *Chron. Mor.* H 2519
 οἱ μὲν φιλοῦν τὰ χεῖλη της, οἱ ἄλλοι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς της *Dig.* E 195
 μίαν της μαστόρισσαν *Pol. Tr.* 468
 ἂν ἔρτη νὰ ἔχη τὸ μερτικό της (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 116, 164.45)
 γροικῶντας ὅτι ὁ λεγόμενος Μιχάλης καὶ ἡ συβία του ἡ Καλὴ ἔχουν ἀπὸ γονικόν της ... σπίτια (1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.6)
 ἔως νὰ βγῇ ἡ ψυχὴ της (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 13, 316.8)
 εἰς τὸ τέλος της VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.8–9
 με τοὺς ἐρχομένους της (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 65.14)
 οἱ λογισμοὶ κ' οἱ πόνοι της τσῇ ἐκάναν καλοσύνη KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.20 ms A

τὴν ἐ<γ>κόνᾳ τῆς (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 172, 141.25)
 τοῦ προκίου τῆς (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 24.24)
 ἡ ὀρεξηντῆς / ἡ ὀρεξή τῆς (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 181.73–4); τὰ ροῦχα τῆς ἡγουν
 τὸ φουστάνιν τῆς καὶ τὸ ποκάμισόν τῆς (ibid. 182.92–3)
 ὁδὶ ἄνδρα τῆς (1614, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1988: A, 159.8)
 tu adhe[r]fu ci / τοῦ ἀδε[ρ]φοῦ τῆς (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 199.189–90)
 τοὶ δόξες τῆς τοὶ πρωτινές τῆς CHORTATIS, *Erof. Dedic.* 205; με τοὶ γραφές δουλεύεται καὶ
 με τοὶ κουτρουλές τῆς id., *Katz.* III.31
 στὰ γέρα τῆς *Thysia Avr.* 45
 τὰ ὄνειρά τῆς *Vosk.* 374
 τὴ σπλαχνικὴ τῆς ἀγκάλῃ *Stathis* Int.I.11; τὸν ἄντρα τῆς ibid. II.47; ὁ κύρης τῆς ibid. I.157
 τοὶ ἄνθρώπους τῆς *Leilasia Par.* 4
 με τὸ λαμπρό ντῆς πρόσωπο *Stathis* I.14; τ' ὄνειρό ντῆς ibid. I.235; τὴ γνώμη ντῆς ibid. Int.
 II.84

Neuter

The neuter form is identical to the masculine.

τὸ ζουμί του βγάνει *Alex. Rim.* 93
 καὶ με πᾶσα ἄλλον του δικαίωμα (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 34, 53.10)
 ἀνθὸς του εἶναι θανατερός, τὸ πωρικὸ του βλάφτει *KORNAROS, Erot.* I. 179

5.4.1.3 1st and 2nd Persons Plural

	General
1 pl.	μας
2 pl.	σας

Since the forms of the 1st and 2nd person are already established as the normal ones before the beginning of the period, we merely give a few early examples (11th–14th c.). There are no variants.

ὑπὲρ λύτρου καὶ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν τῶν γονέων μας (1034, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 29, 34.20); εἶτε ἴδιος μας εἶτε υἱός μας (1034, ibid. 29, 34.29)
 περὶ ψυχικῆς μας σωτηρίας (1127–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 11, 89.4)
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 215
 ὁ πατήρ μας *Dig. G* I.267
 εἰς τὰς δουλείας τὰς αὐθεντικὰς μας (1348?, Macedonia, LEFORT et al. 2006: 101, 229.5)
 ἐπαρεκλάσθη ἡ θύρα μας *Proch. II* 57
 βασιλεύοντας ἡ ἐκλαμπροτάτη κυρία μας Ἰωάννα (1371, Corfu, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 3, 67.1–2)
 ἃς ἀπομεινῶμεν ἔδω στὰ ἰγονικά μας *Chron. Mor.* H 607
 [ὁ] ἀφέντης μας (1394, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 15, 90.1)
 τὴν ἀγάπην σας *NIKON, Logos* 31 810.10
 νὰ ὑποδέχεσθε ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀδελφούς σας (1170, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 176, 231.32)
 εἰ οὐκ ἀπαξιῶνετε τοῦ ἔχειν με γαμβρόν σας *Dig. G* I.304

ὅτι οἱ γείτονές σας εἶπον (14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001: 245, 438.170)

εἰς νοῦν σας *Log. parig.* L 747

νὰ τὸ ἔχετε στὸν νοῦν σας *Chron. Mor.* H 5363; ἀπῆρα τὲς προνοῖες σας *ibid.* 2690

5.4.1.4 3rd Person Plural

	General	Restricted	Rare
3 pl.	των ἰ τους	τωνε ἰ τως ἰ τουνε	ντως

Here matters are much more complicated. Unlike the 3rd person singular, the plural has no distinctions of gender, so forms are given below without regard to the gender of their referent. The range of forms is similar to that for the corresponding weak personal pronoun (see 5.3.2.6) and our discussion will follow the same order. The basic form *των*, derived like other 3rd-person clitic pronouns from the demonstrative *αὐτός*, is very common throughout the period. It is the usual form in literary texts up to the 15th c. and thereafter it may perhaps be regarded, in areas where alternative forms exist, as more formal (though not, of course, as formal as the full form *αὐτῶν*). Consequently it appears sporadically in documents and other texts from a wide area, up to the end of the 17th c. (and beyond). From the early 16th c. we also find an extended form *τωνε* in texts from (mainly West) Crete, Nauplion, Cythera, and throughout the Cyclades. One example of what appears to be a disyllabic clitic has been located in a text from the Pontos: *τὸ μερτικὸ νὰ τον / τὸ μερτικὸν ἄτων* (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 145, 108.4). For this form see LAMPSIDIS 1952: 231. First we give examples of *των* and *τωνε*:

των

τοὺς ἵππους των *Dig.* G I.226; τὰ ἄρματά των *ibid.* VI.708

ἡ μάσσα των *Ptoch.* I 256

καὶ νὰ ἔπια τὸ ζωμίν των, *Ptoch.* IV 180

ἀπὲ τοὺς οἴκους των (1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.13)

τῶν κοπελούδων των (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 102.19)

τὸ μασιγίδιν των *Dig.* E 247

τὰ πράματά των (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 117.21)

ἀποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν των *Vulgärorakel* I.191

τοῦ πατροῦ των *Chron. Toc.* 18

τὰ λιθάρια των καὶ τὴν εὐκόσμησίν των *Anak. Konst.* 69

ἐπεμερίμνησαν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν των (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 229–30)

οἱ ἄνδρες των LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 161

ὡς ἤκουσεν τοὺς λόγους των *Diig. Alex.* F 40.4–6 (Konstantinopulos)

τῆς ἐξουσίας των (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.15)

ἐκουσίας των βουλῆς (1604, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 10, 165.10)

ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς θησαυροὺς των KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 2.11

στὸν νοῦν των δὲν σὲ βάνουν; KONDAR., *Paides* 517

νὰ τῆς δώκω εἴδηση ξεστοματικῶς πᾶσα των ὑπόθεση (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 507.29)

τωνε

- για την χωρισιά τωνε *Apoll. Rim.* A 882
 οί αλοφατζίδες με τὰς τέντες τωνε (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 13.59)
 αὐτοί καὶ τ' ἄλογά τωνε KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VII.162
 τῆς κοπελός τωνε (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.24)
 εἰς τὴν θυγατέραν τωνε (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 6, 15.10); με τὸ χαράστιν τωνε (*ibid.* 6, 16.46)
 οἱ δύο τωνε *Imb. Rim.* 133
 με τὴν περιπλιάν τωνε συντροφία (1544, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [2], 7.4–5)
 ὡς πρᾶγμα τωνε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 22, 100.18)
 τὰ ἐπιλοιπά τωνε καλὰ (1591, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 35, 179.22)
 τ' ἄλλα τωνε ἀδέρφια (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 2, 25.12); νὰ πιάνη τὰ ὀζὰ τωνε (*ibid.* 5, 28.16)
 διὰ πολλὰ τωνε ἀμποδίσματα (1622, Crete, MALTEZOU 1989: 358.20) (West Crete: Apokoronas)
 σ' τοῖ καρδιές τωνε CHORTATIS, *Erof.* II.205; τ' ἀφεντός τωνε *ibid.* IV.151
 οἱ φωτιές τωνε πληθαίνου *Pist. voskos* II 1.68
 τῶν δύον ἀδελφῶν με τὴν μάνα τωνε (1655, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 20, 30.12–13)
 με τὴν φελούκα τωνε (1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 7, 20.7) (but also διὰ τὸ σπῖτιν τους in l. 15)
 τὰ πράγματά τωνε (1686, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1999: 6, 51.5)
 καὶ τίς βανοῦσι εἰς τὴν μέσην τωνε (1694, Paros, ZERLENDIS 1888: A', 248.4)
 τῆς θυγατέρας τωνε (1696, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 47, 141.8)
 στὰ δικά ντωνε σπῖτια *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.25
 τὴν εὐχὴν τωνε (1731, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 18, 38.79)

τως

This innovative form (presumably on the analogy of the 1st and 2nd person plural possessives, which also end in /s/) is found in texts from Crete (mainly East) and the Dodecanese from the mid-15th c. onwards. Its distribution extends, however, to the Cyclades, Cythera and even (late-17th c.) Moldavia. It will be noted that των and τως can sometimes be found alongside one another in the same areas.²⁹

- διὰ χειρός τως (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 52.56–7)
 καλόν τως θέλημαν (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 47.11)
 ὅλα τως τὰ καλὰ (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 206.42) (this document also has τους and των)
 καὶ ὥσπερ τὰς γυναῖκας τως *Diig. tetr.* 767 app. crit. (P); καὶ βλέπουσιν τὸ σκίον τως *ibid.* 929 app. crit. (P) (this ms may have been written in Crete)
 ἀπὸ τὰ πεζικά τως *Chron. Mor.* P 1686 (sole occurrence in this text)
 ἡ ὄρεξι τως DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1244
 τὰ χαρτιά τως (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 93.23)
 τῶν κληρονόμων τως (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.12)
 οὐδὲ τὴ μυρωδιά τως *Alex. Rim.* 1618 (in rhyme)
 ἐγνώρισε τὴν φύσιν τως FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 269
 ὅλα τως τὰ ψέματα θέλουσι πάει εἰς τὸ βυθὸ (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.38)

²⁹ In the documents of the Rethymniot notary Manolis Varouchas, τως and τῶνε (sic) are the most common forms (in that order), while των and τους are rare. See BAKKER 1988/89: 290. On the distribution of τῶν(ε) and τῶς in Cretan notarial documents see also KARANTZOLA 2005a.

τὸ ἴδιο τως χέρι (1631, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 17, 321.12)
καὶ τὰ γένειά τως νὰ ξερνοῦσι *Porikol.* III 130
κι οἱ γράδες εἰς τὰ νιότα τως πάλι ξαναγυρίζου *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.276; τσι βράκες τως *id.*,
Katz. II.10
στὰ γερατειά τως *Thysia Avr.* 871
τοῦ ἄλλουνοῦ τως ἀδελφοῦ (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 88.15–16)
ἡ αρμάδα τως *IOAKEIM KYPR.*, *Pali* 2087
ἡ γνώμη τως καὶ ἡ ὀρεξί τως (1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9b, 72.14)
διὰ πληρωμὴν τοῦ κόπου τως *CANTEMIR, Krit.* 448.11–12
δούκας τως νὰ ᾿σαι *Zinon Prol.* 68; τσ' ὀχθροὺς τως *ibid.* 87
ἀπὲ τὸν πατέρα τως (1697, Chios, TSELIKAS 2000: 99, 77.12)
τσί παλάμες τως *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.2157 (very frequent in this text)

A form with initial voicing is occasionally found in texts written in the Cyclades: τὰ ροῦχά ντως *Leilasia Par.* 248; ἀνοιξε τὰ μάτια ντως *Trag. Ag. Dim.* I.66.

ΤΟΥΝ/ΤΟΥΝΕ

Although τουν (τοῦν) occurs as a genitive plural form of the weak personal pronoun (see 5.3.2.6) and of the definite article (see 5.2.1), no example has been found for the possessive pronoun. However, an extended form τουνε does occur, mainly in texts from Cythera, the Peloponnese and (rarely) Crete:

εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τουνε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 22, 100.17); τὰ δικαιώματά τουνε (*ibid.* 37, 117.21); ἐμπασία τουνε (1565, *ibid.* 257, 356.15); εἰς τὶς ὑπόθεσές τουνε (*ibid.* 274, 379.2)
μὲ τοὺς καπεταναίους τουνε (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.8)
ἡ μάνα τουνε (1589, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 338, 283.12)
κληρονόμους τουνε (1622, Crete, MALTEZOU 1989: 359.32)
στὴν ἴδια τουνε λαῦρα *Pist. voskos* II 1.69

ΤΟΥΣ

For much of the period covered by this Grammar, τοὺς and τῶν are in competition as alternative forms of the 3 pl. possessive pronoun. While τῶν is the expected form (< αὐτῶν), τοὺς is found as early as the beginning of the 13th c. (date of ms V of *Spaneas*). In literary texts the two forms often alternate in different mss or versions of the same work, or even in the same manuscript. To take the *Chronicle of Morea* as an example, the oldest ms (H, dated 1375) has exclusively τοὺς in the possessive function. The 16th-c. ms P, however, has five examples of τῶν, against 187 τοὺς.

It is difficult to establish a geographical pattern, since many early literary texts cannot be precisely located. The form τοὺς, which completes the plural series μας, σας, τοὺς, all originating from accusative forms, is widespread by the 15th c., including the Peloponnese and south-eastern areas. By the 16th c. it can also be found in texts from Crete and the Heptanese. However, alternative forms continue to be used: besides the more formal τῶν, there are the geographically restricted forms such as τως, τουνε etc. (discussed above).

ὅς ᾿ῃσαι εἰς τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς *Spaneas* V 93
τὸ ζουμίν τοὺς *Ptoch.* IV 180 app. crit. (C) (but τῶν ms H)
τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοὺς *Dig.* E 83

τάςπραματεῖς τοὺς *Assizes* B 295.19
 κτενίζουσι τὰ μάλ' αἷα τοὺς *Diig. tetr.* 927a app. crit. (C)³⁰
 τὸ στόμαν τοὺς *Poulol.* 161
 οἱ συντρόφοι τοὺς *Pol. Tr.* 257 app. crit. (EVX); ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματός τοὺς *ibid.* 358 app. crit. (EX)
 κ' ἀποπάνω κεφαλῆς τοὺς *Vulgärorakel* I.193
 τὰ ἀσῆμια τοὺς *Anak. Konst.* 66
 μέ τὰ καλὰ τοὺς καὶ τὲς πραγματίες των (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 206.43)
 οἱ τέντες τοὺς *Achil.* N 424
 ἡ φύση τοὺς *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 705
 τὴν κληρονομίαν τοὺς *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 2.7–8; τὸ φᾶν τοὺς, τὸ πγεῖν τοὺς, τὴν ἐντυμασιάν τοὺς *ibid.* 12.32–3
 διὰ τὴν ζωὴν τοὺς (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.15)
 τὴν ὑπόθεσίν τοὺς (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 45, 87.5)
 φαίνεται ἡ ἀτυχία τοὺς *Synax. gyn.* 119
 αἱ μητέρες τοὺς *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 99.13
 μάρτυρές τοὺς (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 2, 81.24)
 ἡ τιμή τοὺς *GERMANO, Grammar* 53.24, with the following comment: “ἡ τιμή τοὺς, l'honor di quelli, sendo il Genitiuo Plurale, τῶν, douerebbono dire, ἡ τιμή των. ma mettono, τοὺς, Accusatiuo”
 εἰς τὸ ὄνειρόν τοὺς *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 2.12
 ἦτον ὁ λόγος τοὺς (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III, 25.5)
 εἰς τὴν συνείδησίν τοὺς (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 65.4)

5.4.2 Emphatic Forms

The emphatic possessive consists of an adjectival form ἰδικός/ἐδικός/δικός (declined like adjectives in -ος, fem. -η; see 3.2.1) followed directly by a possessive clitic pronoun (μου, σου, του etc.). It may be preceded by the definite article when the noun it modifies is definite. There is a less common alternative employing ἴδιος, which will be discussed below. The usual meaning is “mine” etc. or “my own”. It is often found substantivized; e.g. the masculine plural οἱ ἰδικοί μου may mean “my own people/kinsfolk” and the neuter singular or plural τὸ ἰδικό μου / τὰ ἰδικά μου “my possessions/property”. (For further information on meaning and usage, see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ἰδικός.)

The adjective ἰδικός is already in existence in post-classical Greek, in the sense of “proper, one's own” (LSJ, LAMPE, *Lex.* s.v.). The grammaticalization with the clitic pronoun as an emphatic possessive has not been located before the 12th c.: a ms of Nikon of the Black Mountain has the phrase ἐδικά του (see below). We also find οἱ ἰδικοί μου in the work of a learned author of the 12th c., Eustathios of Thessaloniki (*On the improvement of monastic life* 115.3). We can therefore be confident that the phrase is established in popular usage by the 12th c. Although it occurs only rarely in documents from S. Italy, there is one telling instance: ἀμπέλον ὅπερ ἔχομεν μεμειγμένον μετὰ τὸ ἐδικόν σου (1154, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 152, 201.8–9).

³⁰ The normal form in this text is των; τοὺς appears only four times, in a group of verses (927a–g) found only in ms C, very possibly an addition of the scribe Nikolaos Agiomnitis (1461), who came from Euboea.

It appears, therefore, that the form with initial /e/ was already in existence in the 12th c. It is presumably an analogical development, influenced by the personal pronoun forms ἐμέ, ἐμᾶς etc. and the demonstrative ἐκεῖνος (cf. CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 341). The two forms ἰδικός and ἐδικός co-exist as alternatives for several centuries, often in the same texts. For example, in the romance *Kallimachos and Chrysorroï* forms of ἐδικός occur six times and of ἰδικός three times. There seems to be a tendency for texts of northern provenance to use ἰδικός. However, this form also occurs sporadically in non-northern areas, such as Rhodes, Crete and Gortynia (see examples below).

By the 17th c. ἰδικός has become rather rare, but may be associated with more formal registers, as in, for example, the printer's address to the readers of the 1676 edition of *Erofilī*: με ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἔξοδον ἰδικήν μου (CHORTATSI, *Erof. Eis anag.* 8). By contrast, ἐδικός is in wide use across most of the Greek-speaking world until the end of the EMG period and beyond. However, the form with aphaeresis (see I, 2.7.1), δικός, which may also arise from reanalysis when preceded by prepositions such as μέ or σέ or the verb "to be", steadily gains ground from the 15th c., and will eventually become the normal form in SMG. Germano, in his 1622 Grammar, testifies to fluctuation in usage: "Communemente dicono, ἐδικόστους, ἐδικήτους, ἐδικόντους, mettendo τους, in vece di των, cioè l'Accusativo per il Genitivo, ... Levano anco l'ε, & in luogo di dire, ἐδικόσμου, ἐδικόσσου, ἐδικόστου, dicono δικόσμου, δικόσσου, δικόστου, & dicono bene" (GERMANO, *Grammar* 67.8–12).

ἰδικός μου etc.

ὁ δὲ ἰδικός μου ὁ στόμαχος *Ptoch.* IV 299

νὰ τὸ διαφενδεύητε ὡς ἰδικόν σας (1415, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1979: App. XVII, 216.14)

γράμματα ἰδικά μου (1417, Crete, LAMBROS 1895: 1, 585.4) but γράμματα ἐδικά μου (*ibid.* 1, 585.6)

ἀκόμη καὶ τὸ γάλα μου μεῖζον τοῦ ἰδικοῦ σου *Diig. tetr.* 597 app. crit. (C)

ἰδικόν των ἔναι (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 736); ἐπροσέθεκα καὶ ἰδικό μου (*ibid.* 1134–5)

γυναῖκες ἰδικές σας *Velth.* 202; κ' ἐπεὶ ὡς οἰκείαν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτὸς τῆς ἰδικῆς μου *ibid.* 968

τῆς ψυχῆς ... τῆς ἰδικῆς σου [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1689; σφάκτην ἰδικόν μου *ibid.* 2304

ἀλλὰ καὶ συγενήτορες πάντες οἱ ἰδικοί της *Achil.* O 17

τοῦ πόθου τοῦ ἰδικοῦ σου *Liv.* S 505; τὸν ἰδικόν σου πόθον *ibid.* 2929

τὸν ἰδικόν σου θάνατον *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 460

γένου ἰδικός μου *Diig. Alex.* E 93.15 (Konstantinopulos); με τοὺς ἀτιμωμένους τοὺς ἰδικούς σου τοὺς ρυμπαραίους *ibid.* E 213.8 (Lolos); ἔπεσα ἐκ τοὺς ἰδικούς μου παρεκάτω *ibid.* E 269.6 (*passim*)

εἴ τις χριστιανὸς ἰδικός μου ἢ ξένος (1671, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 69, 319.14)

ἐδικός μου etc.

καὶ λέγει τίποτ' ὡς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐδικά του *NIKON, Logos* 9 316.2–3

οἱ παῖδες ὑπάρχουν ἐδικοί του (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 67.V 72–3)

κανεῖν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐδικούς του *Chron. Mor.* H 2154; νὰ στείλω ἐκεῖ φουσσαῖα ἐδικά μου *ibid.* 4233; ἐκ μέρους ἐδικοῦ του *ibid.* 7852

ἐδικόν σου ἔναι τὸ νίκος *Dig.* E 55

βλέπε το εἰς ἐνθύμησιν καὶ πόθον ἐδικό μου *Liv.* V 3774

αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλογον ἐνι ἐδικόν μου *Assizes* B 445.17

εἴμεθεν ἐδικοί σου *Chron. Toc.* 1652; ἐφάνηκε τὸ νίκος ἐδικόν του *ibid.* 1794

μετὰ βουλῆς ἐδικῆς μας (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.3–4)

μὲ ἐδικά μου ἐδουλεύονμου (15th c., Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.2)
 καὶ τὸ σπαθὶν μου γένηται θάνατος ἐδικός του [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 888
 ἐσυντύχαμεν ἀλλήλως τὰ ἐδικά μας DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1329
 ὡς ροῦχα ἐδικά τους (1524, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 1, 15.9)
 ὦ ἀπίστο καὶ ἀτίμητο ριζικό ἐδικό μου! *Diig. Alex.* K 363.14
 αἱ ἔξοδες οἱ ἐδικές σου (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 26, 31.21)
 ὡς κτητορικόν ἐδικόν τους (1594, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 1, 109.3)
 νὰ εἶναι ἐδικό τῶνε (1600, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 98, 130–131.11)
 ἐδικόν μας αὐθέντη (1609, Cyprus, CHASIOIS 1972: 33, 55.33)
 σὰ μάνας ἐδικῆς σου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.400
 τὸ ἐδικόν σου γράμμα ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 1585
 τὶς ἐδικούς μας (1625, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 99, 240.39)
 εἶναι ἐδικός μας ὁ τόπος (1654, Athos, MOŠIN/SOVRE 1948: 17, 51.4)
 τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἐδικά μας (1669, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-
 THEODORIDI 1992: 84, 216.22–3)
 στὴν ἐδική τῶς χώρα ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* I.1768
 μὲ σπέζα ἐδικά τους (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 108.9)
 εἰς τὴν ἐδικήν μου γλυκιάν κυράν *Don Kis.* 2.26

δικός μου etc.

ἂν ἔν' τὸ γιόμα του κακόν, νὰ φάγη ἐκ τὸ δικόν μου *Arm.* 106
 νὰ φυλάξῃ τὸ δικόν μου *Assizes* B 263.19
 καὶ τὸ ἔρτιμον τὸ δικό σας (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.3–4)
 διδοντά του ὅ,τι μοῦ ᾔδωκε νὰ ᾖ δικός του (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 47.11)
 ἀνὲν βρεθοῦν πεντήκοντα δικοὶ σου δουλευτάδες CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1068; κάμε τῆς
 γυναικός σου | τὸ θέλημάν της, ὅ,τι θέ, ἀμ' ὅχι τὸ δικό σου *ibid.* 1218
 τὰ πάντα ἐγίνοντα καὶ πάλιν εἶν' δικά σου *Achil.* N 685
 μὰ τὸ δικό μου κίνδυνο FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 711 (and 7 more times)
 νὰ ᾖ δικός τῶνε ὁ καρπός (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 173.11)
 ὡς γοῖον νὰ ᾔχεν εἰσταν δικόν του VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 12.17–18
 ἦτανε δικά μου (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.3)
 ἦθελαν κλαῖν διὰ μένα τὰ δικά σου | μμάτια *Cypr. Canz.* 55.5–6
 μὲ δικές του σπέζες (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 31, 50.6)
 γιὰ τοὶ δικές της κότες CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.427
 ἐκ τῆ δικῆς σου χέρα *Thysia Avr.* 8
 ἔβλεπε κάποια πρόβατα δικά τζή *Vosk.* 11; ἐτοῦτονέ τὸ σπῆγλιο εἶναι δικό μας *ibid.* 192
 τὸν ὄρκον τὸν δικόν σου ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 1000; μὲ τὰ δικά σου θάρρη *ibid.* 1578
 ἀτός μου, ἀτός μου ἔβγαλα τὰ μάτια τὰ δικά μου ΚΟΝΔΑΡ., *Paidēs* 356; νὰ τιμηθῇ μ' εὐλάβεια
 εἰκόνα ἢ δική μου *ibid.* 392
 ὥσαν καὶ τὸ δικόν τῶνε προυκί (1700, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 24, 12)
 τ' ὄνομα τὸ δικό του ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* II.2270
 τῆς Κύπρου ἐνθυμήθηκεν κι εἶπεν πῶς ἔν δική του *Thrinos Kypr.* 4
 στὰ δικά ντῶνε σπῆτλια *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.25

There is an alternative, but much less common, form of the emphatic possessive, consisting of the adjective ἴδιος, declined like adjectives in -ος with fem. -α (see 3.3.2), normally preceded by the definite article (when referring to a specific entity) and followed by the appropriate clitic possessive pronoun. The adjective has the meaning “one’s own” already in AG and is sometimes linked with a possessive adjective (LSJ s.v.). In the Byzantine

chronicles this usage is sometimes accompanied by a personal pronoun in the genitive: προσεφώνησε διὰ φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἰδίας “with his own voice” (Theodosius Melitenus 43 (ed. Tafel),³¹ quoted in PSALTES 1913: 197). In the 12th c., in a S. Italian document, we encounter (for the first time) ἴδιος with a clitic pronoun, which, however, follows the noun: ὁ ἄδε(λφός) ἀλοκόπησεν καὶ ἐφύτευσεν τοῦτο καὶ ἴδιον κτῆμαν μας ὑπάρχ(ει) (1127, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 10, 83.15). The fully grammaticalized form with the clitic immediately following ἴδιος (cf. ἰδικός μου) is also found from the 12th c. onwards.

The phrase functions as an equivalent to ἰδικός μου etc. (They sometimes even appear together: νὰ ἐνι ἴδιον ἐδικόν του (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 20, 35.9).) The masculine plural without an accompanying noun can mean “my own people” or “my men”, and the neuter is also substantivized to mean “my own property”, “my native place” (examples in the list below).

It occurs, frequently in stereotyped expressions, in texts that aim at a higher or more formal register, and perhaps for this reason it often appears with a second, enclitic accent, implying that synizesis does not take place (although conservative writing practices may also be a factor). However, its use is not confined to documents and other non-literary texts, since we also find it in works of vernacular literature from at least the 14th c., including Cretan texts of the 16th–17th c. The phrase is still in use at the end of the period covered by this Grammar, although, as already stated, it occurs less frequently than (ἐ)δικός μου.

- τοὺς ἰδίους μου τοὺς ἐξαδέλφους μου (1192, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 229, 308.32–3)
 τὸ ἴδιον του σαλπίγγι *Chron. Mor.* H 5450
 φεύγει ... εἰς τὸν ἴδιον του τόπον *Achil.* O 290
 δὲν ἔχεις ἴδιο σου πράμα *FALIEROS, Rim. Par.* 250
 προστάττω διὰ τοὺς ἰδίους μου, ὅπου με λατρεύουσιν *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 32.17
 μὲ τὸ ἴδιο σου τὸ χερράκι *Synax. gyn.* 389 (Krumbacher)
 καὶ δίδου το μὲ τὸ ἴδιο μου θέλημα (1539, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 3, 17.3)
 με το γίδιον του θέλημα (1542, Cyprus, MALTEZOU 1987: 3, 13.4) (with /ɣ/ epenthesis: see I, 3.5.2.1; the text is unaccented)
 ὑπογράφωμεν μὲ τὸ ἴδιόν μας χέρι (1585, Constantinople, PATRINELIS 1967/68: 28, 109.24)
 ὑπόσχονται τὰ ἰδιά τους καλὰ (1591, Kefalonia, CHRYSOCHOIDIS 1977: 1, 206.18)
 ἀποὺ τὴν ἴδια του ψυχὴ *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.488
 ὡς πράμα ἴδιόν του (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 216.18)
 στὴν ἴδια τουνε λαῦρα *Pist. voskos* II 1.69; τὸν ἴδιον του ἑμαυτὸ εἶχε θανατώσει *ibid.* V 5.342
 τὰ ἴδια του λόγια, le stesse sue parole *GERMANO, Grammar* 54.9
 μὲ τὸ ἴδιο τως χέρι (1631, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 17, 321.12)
 τὸ ἴδιον τως τὸ φταίσιμον *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol.* 34
 ὡς ἂν νὰ ἦσουν ἰδιός του πατέρας (1695, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 1 [A'], 251.17)
 ὑπογράφοντας κάτωθεν μὲ τὸ ἴδιόν του χέρι (1698, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1968/69: 3, 335.10–11)
 μὲ τὸ ἴδιο σου τὸ φύσισμα *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.235
 βάνουν διὰ ἴδιό τους ἐπίτροπον (1708, Peloponnese, PAPADOPOULOS 1976: 6, 124.15)

³¹ This text, sometimes attributed to Symeon the Logothete, is now known as the *Chronicle of the Logothete*. It exists in several versions.

5.4.3 Residual Forms

Classical Greek had possessive adjectives for the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural: ἐμός, σός, ἡμέτερος (which may appear in MedG, in texts from S. Italy, as ἐμέτερος), and ὑμέτερος. These declined forms disappeared from spoken use in the first millennium,³² with the exception of some survivals in Asia Minor dialects, leaving only the “weak” clitic forms and the emphatic forms discussed in the preceding sections.

When these residual possessive adjectives appear in texts of the period covered by this Grammar, they may either be features of a more formal or elevated style, or quotation from (or imitation of) older texts, especially biblical and religious ones. We give a few examples:

1st Person Singular

ἐκδίδωμι ἕνα ἐμὸν ἄν(θρω)πον (ca. 1109, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 28, 214.5)
 εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν καρδίαν *Dig.* G IV.445
 ἐκ τοὺς ἐμούς τοὺς συγγενεῖς *Chron. Mor.* H 1880; με τὸν ἐμὸν ἀφέντην *ibid.* H 4433
 ὁ ἐμός πατήρ *Pol. Tr.* 1780
 τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἐμὴν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 637
 ἐμός αὐθέντης πέφυκεν, ἐσὸς υἱὸς τυγχάνει *Achil.* O 99
 τὰ ἐμὰ ρούχα ... τῆς ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς (1506, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: 1 [A⁷], 224.14–15)
 τὴν ἐμὴν θυγάτηρ (1549, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 60, 86.4)
 περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 1, 289.11)

2nd Person Singular

περὶ τοῦ σοῦ Προδρόμου *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 14
 σὸς δὲ υἱὸς τυγχάνει *Achil.* N 164 (cf. the reading of *Achil.* O above)
 ἡ σὴ δύναμις *Alex. Rim.* 1842
 ὑπὲρ τῶν σῶν προβάτων *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 243

1st Person Plural

τῶν ἐμετέρων γονέω (1131, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 42, 188.12); τὸ ἐμέτερον ὀσπίτιν (1134, *ibid.* 43, 192.10)
 τὲς ἡμέτερες βοῦλλες τῶν κερίων (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 309.12)
 τὲς ἡμέτερες ἐλαῖες (1272, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 326, 484.1)
 ἀδελφὴν ἡμετέραν *Dig.* G I.220
 τὸ παρὸν ἡμέτερον γράμμα (1331, Athos?, LEFORT et al. 2006: 72, 74.8)
 εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἰδιωτικὴν τὴν τῶν Κυπραίων γλῶττα *Pist. kekoim.* tit.
 τῆς ἡμετέρας νήσου (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 167.3)
 τιμιώτατοι καὶ εὐγενέστατοι ἄρχοντες πρέσβεις τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας (1693, Nauplion, TSELENDI 1978: 5, 241.1)

2nd Person Plural

τὰ ὑμέτερα κτηνὰ (1080, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 11, 187.39)
 εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγιότητα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 17.81–2)

³² For information on their use in the papyri and a new form ἐσός for 2 sg., see GIGNAC 1981: 172.

5.5 Demonstrative Pronouns and Determiners

5.5.1 Spatio-temporal Demonstratives

5.5.1.1 Introduction and Historical Overview

The main demonstrative system in MedG and EMedG functions on the basis of the binary distinction proximal–distal: the first subcategory is represented by two pronouns and their variants, αὐτός and οὗτος/τούτος, while the second is represented by the pronoun ἐκεῖνος. The MedG system is an evolution of the AG tripartite system ὅδε – οὗτος – ἐκεῖνος: in the Koine and EMedG, ὅδε fell out of vernacular use and was replaced in its functions by οὗτος, while the role of the latter was taken over by a new demonstrative pronoun evolving out of the AG intensive pronoun αὐτός (for details see MANOLESSOU 2001; LENDARI/MANOLESSOU 2013 with relevant literature).

The demonstrative pronouns inflect as regular adjectives in -ος, -η, -ο (see 3.2.1), but have no vocative forms. All demonstrative paradigms are subject to extensive levelling and mutual analogical influence, leading to a wide variety of forms, of which some are widespread and some geographically restricted. Furthermore, demonstrative pronouns in deictic function may be reinforced with affixes deriving from locative or deictic adverbs such as ἐδῶ, ἔδε, ἔδᾶ, νᾶ.

The demonstrative pronouns may function both as nominal modifiers and as pro-forms, although some variant forms may be exclusive to the pronominal use.

5.5.1.2 αὐτός

Αὐτός as a demonstrative pronoun is an EMedG evolution from the AG intensive pronoun αὐτός, first appearing in the Koine period (GIGNAC 1981: 176; MANOLESSOU 2001; HORROCKS ²2010: 128–9). Its earlier history is reflected in the retention of the word order definite article + pronoun + noun, still quite widespread in LMedG, instead of pronoun + definite article + noun, which is regular for the other demonstratives (see IV, 5.3.2.3). From an inflectional point of view, the paradigm of αὐτός has remained unchanged from AG to MG (excluding, of course, the expected inflectional innovations of the A- and O-stem adjectives).

However, several innovative variant forms have developed as a result of phonetic, analogical or levelling processes (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 439–40; JANNARIS 1897: 154–5, 159–62; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 504, 155–6; PERNOT 1907/46: II 169–78; POLITIS 1964: 4; KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.vv.; *ILNE* s.v. αὐτός; MINAS 2004 [1990]: 435–8; HORROCKS ²2010: 295–6). These are the following:

- 1) addition of final vowel (see also I, 2.6.3). The acc. sg. may be extended through the addition of the vowel /e/ (αὐτόνε) or /a/ (αὐτόνα);
- 2) analogical influence of οὗτος through the feminine form αὐτή, leading to the creation of the form αὐτός. For LMedG αὐτή should be considered as belonging to the paradigm of αὐτός rather than οὗτος (see below). The influence of οὗτος/τούτος also creates the rare “mixed” pronominal form εὐτοῦτος (see 5.5.1.7);

3) analogical influence of ἐκεῖνος, leading to “mixed” forms or blends such as αὐτεῖνος, αὐτοῦνος, αὐτόνος, εὐτός, ἐτοῦνος (see below 5.5.1.6–7).

The pronoun αὐτός is in general rare in Cypriot texts, and its frequency decreases over time. The highest frequency appears in the *Assizes*, while the pronoun is less common in Machairas (DAWKINS 1932: II 245) and even less so in Voustronios and the Cypriot *Canzoniere*. Attestations become very scarce in *Fior de Vertu*, Sanktamavras and Damaskinos (ΚΟΥΝΔΟΥΡΙΣ 2009: table 11), although instances do occur in these and other late texts, e.g. με αὐτὸν τὸν κομιστήν (1609, Cyprus, CHASIOTIS 1972: 33, 55.28). The gradual loss of the pronoun is corroborated by the fact that it is no longer a feature of the modern Cypriot dialect (MENARDOS 1969: 63; ΣΙΑΠΚΑΡΑΣ-PITSILLIDÈS 1975: 348; ΣΥΜΕΟΝΙΔΙΣ 2006: 215). However, the archaic article + αὐτός + noun order appears in legal documents from Cyprus until the end of the 17th c., while the innovative forms αὐτεῖνος, αὐτόνος, αὐτοῦνος are totally absent from Cypriot texts.³³

Extension of the inflectional suffix through the syllable -νε is attested marginally from Naxos: ζητοῦν καὶ αὐτοῖνε τὰ ὅμοια (1684, Naxos, ΣΙΦΟΝΙΟΥ-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 432, 653.11) and Crete: apu ta nichia aftane / ἀποὺ τὰ νοίκια αὐτανέ (1626, Crete, ΜΑΛΤΕΖΟΥ 1995: [1], 199.199–200).

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	αὐτός	αὐτή	αὐτό(ν)
Gen.	αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτουνοῦ	αὐτῆς ἢ (αὐτηνηῆς)	αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτουνοῦ
Acc.	αὐτό(ν) ἢ αὐτόνε ἢ αὐτόνα(ν)	αὐτή(ν) ἢ αὐτήνα(ν)	αὐτό(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	αὐτοί	αὐτές ἢ αὐταί	αὐτά
Gen.	αὐτῶν ἢ αὐτονῶν ἢ αὐτουνῶν ἢ αὐτῶ ἢ αὐτῶνε	αὐτῶν ἢ αὐτῶ	αὐτῶν ἢ αὐτῶ ἢ αὐτονῶν ἢ αὐτουνῶν
Acc.	αὐτούς ἢ αὐτουνούς	αὐτάς ἢ αὐτές	αὐτά

Singular

Masculine

Nominative

General
αὐτός

³³ On the other hand, later authors of Cypriot origin whose texts also contain non-Cypriot features, such as Neofytos Rodinos and Ioakeim Kyprios, do have several instances of the pronoun in their texts.

The variants αὐτός, αὐτεῖνος, αὐτοῦνος and αὐτόνος, as they involve levelling of the whole paradigm and not just the nominative case, are discussed in a separate section below (5.5.1.6).

- αὐτός ὁ Δημήτριος (1095, S. Italy/Sicily?, GUILLOU 1963: 2, 49.10)
 ὥσπερ αὐτός ὁ λυγίρος *Ptoch.* IV 551
 αὐτός ὁ Εὐάλιος καὶ ἂν ἔλθῃ καὶ ὁ Χήναρος ἐκεῖνος *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 45
 αὐτός ὑπάρχει, γίνωσκε, ὁ τὴν κόρην κατέχων *Dig.* G 482
 αὐτός ὁ ρῆγας τῆς Φραγκίας *Chron. Mor.* H 1804
 αὐτός ὁ Σολομών τοῦ Ἀβραχᾶ κρατεῖ καὶ τι τόπον (1486, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 19, 218.16)
 αὐτός ὁ πενθερός σου ἐστὶν καὶ δι' ἐμᾶς ἐξῆλθε *Dig.* E 1040
 αὐτός ὁ Βελισάριος, ὃν ἔποικες μέγαν *Velis.* L 85
 μέσα σ' αὐτεῖνους ἦτονε κι αὐτός ὁ κύρ Νικόλας *Alex. Rim.* 334
 τί ἔκαμε αὐτός ὁ Ἡρώδης ὁ ἀσεβέστατος; KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.4–5
 πέφτει αὐτός ὁ γέρος πρόμυτα PAPASYNAD. *Chron.* I.§29.66
 αὐτεῖνος ὁ τραγουδιστὴς κι αὐτός ὁ λαγουτάρης KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.607

Genitive

General	Restricted
αὐτοῦ	αὐτουνοῦ

The genitive αὐτουνοῦ, due to its great frequency and wide distribution, should be considered also a case-form of αὐτός, on the pattern of ἐκείνου-ἐκεινοῦ, rather than merely as a case-form of the variant αὐτοῦνος, where a more comprehensive list of examples is provided. As described below (5.5.1.6), it is also the stepping stone, the initial stage of the whole levelling change leading to the innovative stems of αὐτοῦνος, αὐτόνος etc. Αὐτοῦ is the inherited form and has no geographical, chronological or register restrictions, while αὐτουνοῦ appears from the 15th c. onwards, and is more frequent in lower-register texts.

- ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τράφου (1110, Thessaloniki?, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 59, 308.11)
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ (1265, Athos/Thessaloniki?, ŽIVOJINović et al. 1998: 7, 125.10)
 μέσον αὐτοῦ τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ καὶ τερπνοῦ παραδείσου *Dig.* G VII. 42
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως *Chron. Mor.* H 969
 ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὁδεῖνος *Assizes* B 404.10
 καὶ μετὰ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιάριου *Ekth. Chron.* 51.12
 αὐτοῦ λοιπὸν τὴν ζωὴν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 58.14
 ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύρ Γεωργάκη (1612, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 12, 66.7)
 τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ αὐτοῦ θρόνου (1645, Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 10.3–4)
 καὶ τοῦ Μωάμεθ ἔγγονος, αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεωργίστου IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3296
 ὅλοι αὐτουνοῦ ἀκούετε *P&N Diath.* 2430
 αὐτουνοῦ GERMANO, *Grammar* 70.1
 αὐτοὶ ὅλοι ἦτον ἐξάδελφοι αὐτουνοῦ (1691, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 18, 12.5)

Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
αὐτό(ν)	αὐτόνε	αὐτόνα(ν)

The form αὐτόν, with variable realization of final /n/, is the standard form for all periods and areas. Addition of final /e/ may occur in areas where the phenomenon is a regular feature of nominal inflection, such as the Heptanese, Crete, Chios. The rarely encountered addition of final /a/ appearing with αὐτός, as well as οὗτος/τούτος and ἐκεῖνος, has been attributed to the analogy of the 1 sg. and 2 sg. strong personal pronouns, i.e. ἐμέ > ἐμέν > ἐμένα (see JANNARIS 1897: 154; MINAS 2004 [1990]: 436–7; and above, 5.3.1.1). Therefore, the evolution is αὐτόν > αὐτόνα, (ἐ)τούτονα, ἐκείονα, with subsequent reanalysis and identification of the final /n/ + suffixal /a/ with the emphatic deictic particle νά, which causes shift of stress to the final syllable and the creation of a new suffix /na/. This suffix may subsequently be independently added to case-forms other than the accusative, e.g. ἡ τέτοιανα δουλεία SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 167; ἀποθαίνουν τούτοينا (τούτοι νά ms) LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 258 transcr. (Lendari) (see 5.5.2.3, τέτοιος).

εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον (1053, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 22, 101.10)
 ἀφείλατο αὐτὸν τὸν μύλον (1123, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. X: 1, 471.4)
 διεχωρίσαμεν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον οὕτως (1294, Athos, ŽIVOJINOVIC et al. 1998: 14, 156.41)
 αὐτὸν τὸν ρύακαν (1333, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 15, 75.12)
 αὐτὸν τὸν ναὸν (1365, Serres, LEFORT 1973: 27, 162.9)
 θεωρεῖς αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγουρον *Dig.* E 1507
 εἶδεν αὐτὸν τὸν μισθαργόν, τοῦ κήπου τὸν δραγάτην [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2433
 καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν νιότερον *Rim. kor.* A 16
 αὐτὸν τὸν μέγα βασιλιά *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 27
 γὰρ τ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ταγιαπιέρα *TRIVOLIS, Tagiap.* 272
 αὐτὸν τὸν Ἄλυ ποταμόν *VENDRAMOS, Istor. Filarg.* 32
 αὐτὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέαν *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1572) 35
 εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 57.30
 τὸν αὐτὸν πασᾶ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.23–4

εἰς αὐτόνε *Rim. kor.* A 156
 ἐξ αὐτόνε (1564, Corfu, TZIVARA 2003: 32, 491.11)
 ἀπὸ αὐτόνε (1669, Zakynthos, MOSCHOPOULOS 1986: 1, 232.34)
 ἔλειπε ἀπ' αὐτόνε *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 56.8
 τὸν σευδᾶ αὐτόνε *Diig. Vefa* 282

ἐβγάν(ει) ἀπ' αὐτόναν κρασὶ (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 82, 64.3)
 παραδαρμὸς αὐτόναν παραδέρνει *Liv.* V 2276
 ἐνίκησαν αὐτόνα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 43
 σέρνω τὸν πελιάν αὐτόναν (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 6, 64.22); αὐτόναν τὸν
 Γιάννη (1698, *ibid.* 9, 74.33)

Feminine

Nominative

General
αὐτή

The form αὐτή functionally competes with αὐτή, the fem. nom. sg. of the other proximal demonstrative, οὗτος/τοῦτος, due to their formal similarity (see 5.5.1.11). The paradigm with accent retraction αὐτός (see 5.5.1.4) also includes a fem. sg. αὐτή, formally indistinguishable from the feminine of οὗτος (apart from the breathing). The same observations are valid for the full fem. sg. paradigm of this pronoun.

αὐτή ἡ συμπεθερία *Chron. Mor.* H 2584
 ἡ σκατοβορβορόκοιλη αὐτή ἡ προβατίνα *Diig. tetr.* 414
 αὐτή ἡ πρόρηρμ(έ)ν(η) κυρα Ζαμπετ(α) (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 12, 48.10)
 αὐτή ἡ συγκλυογάλαζα *CHOUNMNOS, Kosmog.* 2356
 αὐτή ἡ φαντασία ἐνεργεῖ καὶ εἰς τὰ ὄνειρατα *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 2, α7r.7–8
 αὐτή ἡ διαίρεσις (1645, Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 10.2)
 αὐτή ἡ ἀτιμία *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 52.28
 αὐτή ἔναι ἕνα χόρτον ὅπου ἔχει ἀγκίδας *LANDOS Geopon.* ρπς' (ρπη')

Genitive

General
αὐτῆς

τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικήρου *Spaneas* P 106
 μετ' αὐτῆς τῆς μηχανῆς [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 1728
 αὐτῆς τῆς θάλασσης *Chron. Mor.* P 536
 ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Τροίας *ERMON., Ilias* 16.55
 τῆς αὐτῆς ἐχρονίας (1468, Alyki, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 15, 10.4)
 'κ τῆς λαμπρᾶς αὐτῆς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας *Alex. Rim.* 1411
 τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς (1697, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 12, 665.131)

Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
αὐτή(ν)	αὐτήνε	αὐτήνα(ν)

For the addition of final /e/ and /a/ see masculine above.

τὴν κουδούπαν σου αὐτὴν τὴν μαδισμένην *Ptoch. I* 154
 ἐτέλεπεν αὐτὴν τὴν σύνοδον τοῦ ἄνωθεν Βαρλαάμ (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 71, f.Iv.6)
 αὐτὴν τὴν ἀθερίναν *Poulol.* 345
 συνέπαιζεν ὅλην αὐτὴν τὴν νύκταν [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 2097
 ἀπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁρμασίαν *Assizes A* 114.10
 αὐτὴν τὴν κοπροπιγούναν σου *Spanos D* 625

γι' αὐτήν ἐδὰ τὴν συμβουλὴ FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 443
κατέχεις τὴν Πανώρια αὐτὴ CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.95
κι αὐτὴ τὴν ὥρα ἐκείνη *Thysia Avr.* 306
εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν γενεὰν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 73.14
τὴν γλώσσα αὐτὴ τῶν Ἰταλῶν SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* a2v.14

αὐτὴνε νὰ ἀμπατάρωμεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 391, 387.31)
κάγηκεν γι' αὐτὴνε VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 981

τὰς ἔπαθα δι' αὐτήναν *Liv.* V 1094; ἀπ' αὐτήναν ἔστεκεν ἡ Ἑλπίδα *ibid.* V 869
χωρὶς αὐτήνα *Diig. Vefa* 782

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General
αὐτό(ν)

Although the ancient form of the neut. sg. is αὐτό without final /n/, in LMedG texts forms with final /n/ do occur, as part of the general tendency for fluctuation between the presence or absence of final /n/ (see I, 3.7.2).

αὐτὸ τὸ ρηθὲν τοπίον (1030, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 28, 184.11)
αὐτὸ τὸ χωράφιον (1095, S. Italy/Sicily?, GUILLOU 1963: 2, 49.9)
εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ κελλίον (1108?, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 57, 298.6)
αὐτὸ τὸ πῶς τὸ λέγουν *Ptoch.* IV 412
αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλογον *Assizes* B 445.17
τὸ αὐτὸ μοναστήρι (1469, Paphos, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.9)
αὐτὸ θέλει εἶσταιν εἰς ἐτοῦτον τὸν κερὸν (1611, Cyprus, CHASIOITIS 1972: 49, 82.32)
ἂν εἶν' καὶ κάμης το αὐτὸ ποὺ λές νὰ κατορθώσης KONDAK., *Paidēs* 131
αὐτὸν τὸ χωράφιον (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 130, 172.12)
καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ θέλημά [σου] *Spaneas* V 32
ἵνα ἐκβάλῃς τὸ ρηθὲν ἀμπέλιον ἔρημον, καὶ εὐτειάνῃς αὐτόν (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.34–5)
καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνὶ δίκαιον *Assizes* B 369.2
ἡγόρασαν αὐτόν ἀπὸ τὸν παπὰν (1493–4, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 36, 179.5)
αὐτὸν τὸ καλομύρωδον εἶδος *Spanos* A 277
μέσα εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν κάτεργον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 350.19–20 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)

Genitive

General	Restricted
αὐτοῦ	αὐτουνοῦ

τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου Λυσένων (1000, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 12, 11.10–11)
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βουνοῦ (1010, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 15, 140.8)
δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τείχους (1134, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 4, 14.12)
αὐτοῦ τοῦ χωραφίου (1263, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 69, 194.22)
διὰ ἐνοίκιον αὐτοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου σπιτιοῦ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 80, 78.6); αὐτοῦ τοῦ πλιότερου (*ibid.* 238, 225.18)

καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κρούσματος ἀπῆρε τὸ ραβδὶν μου *Diig.* T 2079
 τοῦ μετοχίου αὐτουνοῦ τὸ εἰσόδημα (1706, Constantinople, LEGRAND 1903: 21, 58.10)

Plural

Masculine

Nominative

General
αὐτοί

αὐτοὶ ποὺ χάironται ἔχουν ἐδῶ μοιράδιν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 138
 καὶ πάλι αὐτοὶ μὲ τοὺς καλοὺς ἐσμίγουνται LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 239
 αὐτοὶ οἱ χρεωφελέτες οἱ δύο (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 50, 88.35)
 εσεῖς εἴστε λύκοι κι αὐτοὶ εἶναι πρόβατα *Diig. Alex.* K 352.17
 διαγινώσκω π' εἶν' αὐτοὶ ποῦ στέκουν στὸν λιμένα ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2377
 καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ κεχαϊάδες ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Rim. Andron.* 18
 αὐτοὶ οἱ ἄγιοι RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 57.16
 καὶ λέγονται αὐτοὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι φιλαλήθεις PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §3.15–16
 κι αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀποστολάτοροι κι αὐτοὶ οἱ μαντατοφόροι KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV. 209

Genitive

General	Restricted
αὐτῶ(ν) ἢ αὐτονῶν	αὐτῶνε

The gen. pl. αὐτῶν, although relatively frequent in texts from a morphological point of view, is mostly, almost exclusively, used as a personal or possessive pronoun. The extended form αὐτονῶν, appearing since the 15th c., is more frequently attested in the masculine as a demonstrative than the simple form αὐτῶν, although the reverse can be said for the neuter (see below). The addition of final /e/ is very rare, and attested up to now only in the Heptanese, while deletion of final /n/ is equally rare, and attested so far only in Crete.

κανεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν μαρτύρων (1244, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 294, 413.2)

αὐτονῶν (1451, Constantinople, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 1, 197.16)

αὐτονῶν (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 86.15)

αὐτονῶν *Diig. Alex.* E 95.15 (Lolos)

αὐτονῶν τῶν ἐπισκόπων RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 80.22

αὐτονῶν GERMANO, *Grammar* 70.1

τῶν αὐτῶνε συντροφῶνε (1689, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 40, 74.11)

αὐτῶ ἀποῦ ἐγκρεμνιστήκασι ἀπάνω ἐξουρανόθε *P&N Diath.* 998

Accusative

General
αὐτούς

αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐρημίτας (1165, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 167, 220.39)
καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνθρώπους (1319, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 106, 176.26)
καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς λογισμοὺς *Liv.* E 4200
αὐτοὺς τοὺς βουλατόρους *Chron. Toc.* 1200
καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἑκατόν, οὓς ἤθελεν ἐκείνη [ANDR. PALAIOI.], *Kallim.* 1223
αὐτοὺς τοὺς λεγομένους δ' χοιρόπουλους (1539, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 964, 756.10)
αὐτοὺς τοὺς λογισμοὺς *Thysia Avr.* 681 (app. crit. B)

Feminine

Nominative

General	Rare
αὐτές	αὐταί

Αὐταί is a rare hypercorrection, as the high-register form would be αὐταί, belonging to the paradigm of οὔτος; αὐτές is the most frequent form.

αὐτὲς ἦσαν οἱ τρεῖς γενεὲς *Chron. Mor.* H 2948
aftes i tris despoteses / αὐτὲς οἱ τρεῖς δεσπότεσσες (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 72, f.Ir.3)
καὶ αὐτὲς ὠραιωμένες *Achil.* N 889
αὐταῖς [= αὐτὲς] εἶναι πάλαι οἱ τέσσαρες ζωτικαῖς δυνάμεις DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 2, α6ν.30–1
αὐταί με τὴν βοήθειαν τότε τοῦ Φιλεμένη *Pol. Tr.* 10769 app. crit. (X)
καὶ αὐταὶ λέγουν θένα ὑποκλιθοῦν εἰς τὸ κοινῶβιον (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.56)

Genitive

General
αὐτῶ(ν)

The fem. gen. pl. case-form of the demonstrative pronoun is very rare, for general morpho-syntactic reasons. Deletion of final /n/ is attested from Crete.

τὴ τέλεια ἀποπλερωμὴ τῶν αὐτῶ χιλιάδω πέντε (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 795a, 692.9–10)

Accusative

General	Rare
αὐτές	αὐτάς

As in the nominative, the form αὐτάς is a rare learned hypercorrection.

δίδωμαί σοι αὐτὲς (1097, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 63, 81.11); νὰ ἔχωμεν ἡμεῖς αὐτὲς ἐλεύθερες (1170, *ibid.* 176, 231.20); περιορίζονται δὲ αὐτὲς οὕτως (1272, *ibid.* 326, 484.5)
καὶ πουλῶντας αὐτὲς, νὰ κάμουν λογαριασμὸν (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 112, 92.10)
καὶ αὐτὲς παράσημες *Spanos* D 241

πόσοι δι' αὐτὲς τὲς δυὸ ἁμαρτιῆς μεγάλοι ἐκομπωθῆκαν, FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 117
 νὰ τὲς πάρῃ καὶ αὐτὲς (1584, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1976: 151.141)
 μία ἀπ' αὐτὲς τὲς ὁμορφες σὲ θέλει νικήσῃ *Diig. Alex.* F 106.2 (Konstantinopulos)
 εἰς αὐτὲς τὲς γραφαῖς RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 128.19
 ποῖα ἀπ' αὐτὲς νὰ τὸν πάρῃ ἄνδρα *Vios Aisop.* D 218.7
 δῆς θὲς αὐτὲς οἱ προξενιὲς πῶς ἔχουσι νὰ πᾶσι KORNAROS, *Erot.* V 852

διὰ καμμίαν ἀπ' αὐτὰς τὰς αἰτίας *Assizes* B 376.17
 τὰς ποδέας σου | αὐτὰς τὰς κακοεντύλικτας *Poulol.* 37–8
 καὶ λέγει τας ὁ Βέλθανδρος αὐτὰς τὰς τρεῖς ὥραιας *Velth.* 602

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General
αὐτά

εἰς αὐτά (1042, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 3, 44.10)
 αὐτά εἰσι πλοῦτος ἀληθής *Spaneas* P 76
 αὐτά σοῦ ἀπομένουν *Spaneas* Z 51
 αὐτά τὰ τρία κάστη *Chron. Mor.* H 4443
 καλὰ 'ν' αὐτά τὰ συντυχαίνεις; *Dig.* E 543
 αὐτά τὰ ἐνκλήματα *Assizes* B 380.6
 ἦσαν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτά (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 37.II, 13.2)
 κι ἴτις λοιπὸν ἐδόθηκε νὰ πάθῃ αὐτά τὰ πάθη FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 69
 αὐτά τὰ λεγόμενα περιβόλαια (1537, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 117, 231.17)
 ἀπ' αὐτά τὰ παιδία (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 37.1)
 καὶ αὐτά τῆς τάξου (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 3, 32.27)
 αὐτά τὰ λόγια γραμματικά ὑπάρχουν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 500
 ὅσ' τα αὐτά τὰ φαγητά CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.111
 αὐτά εἶναι, δὲν τ' ἄρνοῦμι, δικά μου εἶναι (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.20)

Genitive

General
αὐτῶ(ν) ἰ αὐτονῶν

The variant αὐτονῶν is attested more rarely, and is perhaps restricted mainly to human entities. Deletion of final /n/, in the texts examined, is limited to the Heptanese and Crete.

ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν συνόρων (13th–14th c.? copy, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 3, 49.40)
 αὐτῶν τῶν πλευτικῶν *Chron. Mor.* H 430
 τῶν αὐτῶν περπύρων *Assizes* A 80.20
 αὐτῶν τῶν βοδίων KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 243.32
 αὐτῶν τῶν παιδίων PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 110.2
 δι' αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων *Vios Aisop.* D 231.39

ἡ πακτωσιὰ τῶν αὐτῶ χωραφίων (1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 729, 632.14–15)
τῶν αὐτῶ χωριῶνε (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.8–9)

διὰ πάκτος αὐτονῶν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 148, 147.8)

Meaning and Usage

Αὐτός as a demonstrative determiner/modifier (always accompanied by the definite article) is attested in literary texts assumed to date from the 12th c., e.g.:

τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικήρου *Spaneas* P 106
καὶ αὐτόν τὸ θέλημα [σου] *Spaneas* V 32
αὐτὸς ὑπάρχει, γίνωσκε, ὁ τὴν κόρην κατέχων *Dig.* G 482
τὴν κουδούπαν σου αὐτὴν τὴν μαδισμένην *Ptoch.* I 154

Purely deictic exophoric uses appear comparatively late:

θωρεῖς αὐτόν τὸν ἄγουρον ποῦ στέκει εἰς τὸ λιθάριν *Dig.* E 1507
βλέπεις ἔτοῦτο τὸ δενδρόν, θωρεῖς αὐτὴν τὴν βρύσιν; *Liv.* V 3781
αὐτοὶ οἱ Φράγκοι, ὅπου θωρεῖς, πολλὰ εἶν' θεληματάροι *Chron. Mor.* P 604
αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλογον τὸ καβαλλικεύει ἦτον ἐδικόν μου *Assizes* B 445.10

In the earlier non-literary texts (legal documents) the meaning of αὐτός is, in the majority of attestations, close to the original (= “the very same”), despite the innovative word order. The pronoun anaphorically refers to an entity already present in the discourse, with the meaning “the aforementioned”; purely deictic uses do not seem to occur:

ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κανάλου (996, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 10, 171.49)
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βουνοῦ (1010, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 15, 140.8); αὐτὸ τὸ ρηθὲν τοπίον
(1030, *ibid.* 28, 184.11); εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ κελλίον (1108?, *ibid.* 57, 298.6)
αὐτὸν τὸν ρύακαν (1333, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 15, 75.12)
ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν συνόρων (13th–14th c.? copy, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 3, 49.40)
αὐτὸν τὸν ναόν (1365, Serres, LEFORT 1973: 27, 162.9)

In the S. Italian documents αὐτός as a demonstrative is very rare, and occurs almost exclusively with the archaic post-articular order (MINAS ²2003: 99; CARACAUSSI, *Lex.* s.v. αὐτός; see also 5.6), e.g. ἡ αὐτὴ μοναχὴ Δομνέλλα (984, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 9, 8.6); τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου Λυσένων (1000, *ibid.* 12, 11.10–11). However, the innovative order is also attested, e.g. αὐτὸ τὸ χωράφιον (1095, S. Italy/Sicily?, GUILLOU 1963: 2, 49.9); αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐρημίτας (1165, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 167, 220.39); αὐτὸς ὁ Δημήτριος (*ibid.* 2, 49.10); αὐτὸν τὸ χωράφιον (1141, *ibid.* 130, 172.12).

The archaic post-articular order occurs in prose texts as late as the 19th c. (for its history see MANOLESSOU 2001) and is probably a feature of official language, comparable to ὁ τοιοῦτος (5.5.2.2), ὁ ρηθεῖς etc.:

ἐξηρίζωσε καὶ μίαν καρίαν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν περιβόλι (1433, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 29, f.35r.4)
νὰ εἶναι κρατημένος ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀνδρέας (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.9)
καὶ ἀπέθανεν ὁ αὐτὸς Παντουήν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 18.21
καὶ ἠβλέποντας ἔτοῦτο ὁ αὐτὸς μάστορας (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.13)
ἡ αὐτὴ συβίο μου (1597, Kefalonia, CHRYSOCHOIDIS 1977: 2, 211.29)
νὰ πολεμήσουν μετὸν αὐτὸν πασσᾶ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.25
ἐπῆρεν ἡ αὐτὴ θάλασσα χιλιάδων μουζουριῶν χωράφια *Diig. Sant.* 57.34–5

εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσι (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.16)
 ἡ αὐτὴ λαμπάδα νὰ βάνεται εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ μνημα (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1955: 519.8)
 ὁ αὐτὸς μισερ Μικὲς (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 428, 649.2)

This order is regular in all the Cypriot texts (KOUNDOURIS 2009: 68–70), while the order αὐτός + article + N is very rare. Of the few examples attested in the *Assizes*, most appear in prepositional phrases: αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλογον *Assizes* B 445.17; κανέναν ἀπ’ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα *Assizes* A 106.8; ἀπ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ὁρμασίαν *ibid.* 114.10; αὐτὴν τὴν γυναῖκα *ibid.* 116.12.

5.5.1.3 ἄτός

The form ἄτός, normally used as an intensive pronoun (see 5.6.1 for details and etymology), is also attested as a demonstrative, although the available examples are isolated and rather dubious: there is a single instance in literary texts, several attestations in the documents of a 17th-c. notary from Chios and a small number of occurrences from Santorini and Corfu. There is also an attestation of ἄτός as a personal pronoun from literary texts (if not a scribal error), as well as a few examples of this usage from Pontos, in the Vazelon codices (LAMPSIDIS 1952: 231). Indeed, ἄτός as a personal pronoun, both as a strong and a weak (clitic) form, is still a feature of the Pontic dialect (PAPADOPOULOS 1955: 58).

ἀν εἶναι δι’ ἄτόν *Liv.* E 4026
 τὸ μερτικὸ νὰ τον / τὸ μερτικόν ἄτων (15th–16th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 145, 108.4); ἐνοχλεῖ α<ὐ>τό / ἐνοχλεῖ ἄτο (15th c., *ibid.* 147, 109.8)
 πρὸς τὸν γαπρὸν ἀτοῦ (1601, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 1, 79.11); σύζεξον ἀτὴν μετὰ τὸν {ν}υῖον ἀτοῦ Νιαμονίτη (1602, *ibid.* 2, 80.4)
 νὰ τοὺς μαντινιέρομε καὶ ἀτούς (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.19); ὁποῦ ἄτός Γιαννάκης (1676, *ibid.* 23, 91.4–5); ἡ ἀτὴ κερά Μαργαρίτα (*ibid.* 23, 92.6); ποὺ ἀτοὶ θέλου (1677, *ibid.* 24, 92.14)
 ὅλα δὲ τὰ ἀτὰ ἱερὰ σκεύη (1697, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 12, 665.133); νὰ τὰ δώση καὶ ἀτὰ (*ibid.* 12, 666.166)

The form is not listed as a demonstrative by Germano or Portius, while in the modern dialect of Chios, as well as in the dialect of Corfu, it occurs exclusively as an intensive pronoun. On the other hand, the form occurs in the modern dialect of Santorini as a locative adverb ἀτοῦ (PETALAS 1876: 35).

Alongside the processes which create innovative inflectional forms within the paradigm of αὐτός by the addition of a syllable, analogy and levelling create entire inflectional paradigms. The new pronominal variants are examined in the following sections.

5.5.1.4 αὔτος

The stress shift leading to the creation of the variant αὔτος is due to the analogy of οὔτος/τοῦτος reinforced through the formal similarity of the feminine form αὐτή ~ αὔτη (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 155; HORROCKS 2010: 295). It has also been suggested that the stress retraction is a type of anastrophe, due to the frequent use of the pronoun αὐτός governed by a preposition, i.e. ἀπ’ αὐτόν > ἀπ’ αὔτον stressed as a monolectic compound

just like ἀπ' ἐκεῖ > ἀπ' ἔκει, ἀπ' ὁψέ > ἀπόψε (PERNOT 1907/46: II 173–4). The earliest examples appear in literary texts from the 12th c. onwards. Initially αὐτός is equivalent to a personal pronoun and used exclusively in conjunction with prepositional phrases; this remains its predominant function throughout the LMedG and EMG period. Among the rare cases of nominative pronominal and demonstrative adjectival uses, the prevalent form is the feminine αὐτή, where the influence of the AG αὐτή is still strong. The form appears mostly in verse texts, where the choice between αὐτός and αὐτός must be, to some degree, determined by metrical considerations. For example, the 15-syllable verse has obligatory stress on the penultimate syllable, which makes the use of αὐτός instead of αὐτός inevitable in this position, e.g. οἱ μὲν τὴν ρόγαν ἔπαιρναν κ' ἐρχόντησαν μετ' αὐτον *Chron. Mor.* H 1392. The possibility that these pronominal forms with stress retraction are purely literary devices initially created for metrical reasons should be rejected, in view of (a) their presence in some modern dialects and (b) their syntactic behaviour in such dialects, which is similar to their medieval usage, i.e. overwhelmingly in conjunction with prepositional phrases (cf. PERNOT 1907/46: II 174, KARANASTASIS, *Lex.* s.v. αὐτο, *ILNE* s.v. αὐτός). Their presence in prose texts, albeit rather restricted, also argues against a purely literary origin, e.g. νὰ δοξεύουν μετ' αὐτον *Diig. Alex.* V 32.2; ἀπ' αὐτο *ibid.* 29.6. In non-literary documents, the only attestations so far come from the Heptanese.

The masc. nom. sg. αὐτός and the gen. pl. αὐτῶν are extremely rare and therefore possibly artificial, and the neut. nom. sg. αὐτο has yet to be located.

Personal Pronoun in Prepositional Phrases

- νὰ παίξη καὶ μετ' αὐτον GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 369
 εἰς αὐτον ὑπαγαίνει *Dig.* E 9; εἰς αὐτον κατεβαίνει *ibid.* 938
 καὶ συγχαρῶ μετ' αὐτον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1804
 λέγει ὁ Χριστὸς πρὸς αὐτον DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinis* 107
 τίποτες δὲν ἐκέρδισες ἀπ' αὐτον *Diig. Alex.* F 154.18 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν *Theseid* I.31,2 (Follieri)
- ἀπ' αὐτοὺς ὁποῦ κάμνουσιν τὰ κλαπωτὰ *Ptoch.* III 90
 μ' ἐχώρισεν ἀπ' αὐτοὺς *Peri xen.* 268
 γίνεται μέγας πόλεμος, καταλυμὸς εἰς αὐτοὺς *Byz. Il.* 520
 οἱ πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτοὺς *Deft. Par.* 317
 ἔνας ἀπαύτους SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 18.55–6
 δέομαι συχώρεση ἀπ' αὐτοὺς (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 189, 159.10)
 χιλιάδες δέκα Ἀγαρηνοὶ ἐξ αὐτοὺς ἐχαθῆκαν DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 875
- καὶ διέκρινα εἰς αὐτὴν *Ptochol.* α 677
 εἰς αὐτὴν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 307
- ἐπολέμησε μετ' αὐτὲς *Theseid* Prol. P 167
 ἀπ' αὐτὲς *Theseid* I.31,8 (Follieri)
 ἦσαν καὶ ἄλλες περισσὲς ἀρχόντισσες μετ' αὐτὲς DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2151
 δὲν ἤξευρεν ὁ ἔρρημος εἰς αὐτὲς τὶ νὰ ποίση, MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 154
 νὰ ζωγραφῆσιν εἰς αὐτὲς (1664, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1974b: 1, 42.19)
- ὦ, τι θέλω ἐξ αὐτο *Pol. Tr.* 396
 ἀπ' αὐτο ν' ἀπολυτρωθῶ ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 19
 ἐπλάσε μ' αὐτο τὴ γυνή *P&N Diath.* 1046

Personal Pronoun used as Subject/Object

ὁ Κοντοστέφανος συνών καὶ αὐτός μετ' ἐκείνους LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 449

ἀποχωρίζουντ' αὐτον *Pol. Tr.* 12782

εἶχον δὲ τὴν στίλβαν αὐτοὶ ERMON., *Ilias* 2.231

ῥ' ἄν αὐτοὺς *Theseid* I.30,6 (Follieri)

καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλυτρώθησαν MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 127

καὶ αὐτοὶ τότε ἐπήγασι DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 657

ἔπαρε καὶ αὐτὴν *Dig.* E 283

αὐτὴ καὶ τὸν πατέρα τῆς τὸν βασιλέα λέγει *Pol. Tr.* 1693

αὐτὴ νὰ πίπτῃ ἀναίσθητα *Liv.* S 2705

Demonstrative Use with Article + Noun

εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν σκοπὸν *Liv.* S 1525

τὴν τόσῃ καταφρόνησιν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν υπούλων IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 9504

ἀπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐνθύμησιν *Chron. Toc.* 3172

ἕως τῆς ὥρας αὐτῆς *Achil.* N 1409

δι' αὐτὴν τὴν αἰτίαν *Velth.* 521

ἡ ἀρετὴ σου αὐτὴ *Synax. gadar.* 219

αὐτὴ γὰρ Ὀλυμπιάδα *Alex. Rim.* 103

ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς δύο KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 113.26

ἀπ' αὐτὰ τὰ ὑποδήματα τὰ φόρειες ἀπὸ πρῶτα *Poulol.* 310 app. crit. (A); μετ' αὐτὸν τὸ
κουκουδωτόν, ἐμπαλωτόν σου ροῦχον *ibid.* 602

In non-literary texts, forms of αὐτός are very rare and always in prepositional phrases, excepting of course the ancient form αὐτὴ. In some cases one may be dealing simply with an erroneous, purely graphematic displacement of the accent, common in non-literary vernacular manuscripts:

ἀπ' αὐτοὺς (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 27, 62.26)

νὰ ἱεουργῶ εἰς αὐτὸν (1492, Venice, MAVROEIDI-POLOUMIDI 1971: 1, 127.5)

μετ' αὐτὰ (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 81, 152.10)

εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀγάπην (1540, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 79, 59.5)

ὁποῖος ἤθελεν καλεσθῇ ἀπ' αὐτοὺς (1546, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 173, 112.18)

ἡ γραφὴ αὐτὴ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 160, 161.20)

διὰ νὰ λείψουν ἀπ' αὐτοὺς κρίσεις (1573, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 12, 65.5)

με ταύτους / μετ' αὐτοὺς (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 3, 362.11)

μετ' αὐτὴ τὴ κυρὰ κουμπάρα μου (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 5, 32.8)

εἰς αὐτὸ (1647, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 1, 668.9)

Final /n/ in the neut. sg. is rarely attested, e.g. ἐξ αὐτὸν τὸ λιβάδι *Dig.* E 1627; μετ' αὐτὸν τὸ κουκουδωτόν, ἐμπαλωτόν σου ροῦχον *Poulol.* 602.

Addition of final /e/ in the masc. acc. sg. is rare, and appears only in areas which regularly present the phenomenon in nominal and verbal morphology (see I, 2.6.3):

εὐτὺς λαλεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸνε τὸν μισὲρ Γαλεράνον *Chron. Mor.* P 6747 (hapax)

νᾶνε πρὸς αὐτὸνε πιστός KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* 57.233

ἔκαμε γλήγορα γραφὴ, εἰς αὐτὸνε τὴν πέβει *Alex. Rim.* 1004

ἐπήγασι μετ' αὐτὸνε VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 308

καὶ ἔμεινε ἀπ' αὐτὸνε καὶ δὲν τὴνε γάμησεν (1579, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 7, 97.39)

γιά ταύτονε / γιατ' αὔτονε (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.44)

μετ' αὔτονε (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 311, 260.32)

ἀπό ταύτονε / ἀποτ' αὔτονε (1698, Peloponnese, GRITSΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1968/69: 3, 335.5)

The analogical influence of μετά/μέ leads to prepositional forms ἀποτά, διατά, εἰστά appearing before personal and demonstrative pronouns. In some editions, erroneous word division leads to apparent forms ταῦτος, -η, -ο after prepositions; cf. a similar phenomenon with ἐκεῖνος (5.5.1.8).

δια ταῦτο *Theseid* VI.7,2 (Olsen); ὅλοι ἔλεγον δια ταῦτους *ibid.* VI.7,7

ταῦτο ἃ γένη τέλος, *Defl. Par.* 81

διά ταῦτον *Diig. Alex.* F 284.14 (Lolos)

εἰς ταῦτους σκλαβωμένοι *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* Proem.80

ζουή διά ταῦτο σοῦ ζητώ *Alfan.* 11 23

On the homophonous form ταῦτος in S. Italian documents see 5.5.1.11.

5.5.1.5 ἔδαῦτος/δαῦτος

This pronoun results from the prefixation of αὔτος with the deictic adverb ἔδε (< AG ἰδέ, see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.). Deletion of initial ἐ- was caused through the frequent collocation with the prepositions μέ, σέ. The earliest examples are dated to the 16th c., from both literary and non-literary texts. The overwhelming majority of instances come from the Peloponnese and the Heptanese.³⁴ The only case-forms attested are the acc. sg. and pl. The pronoun seems to be used similarly to αὔτος: as a personal pronoun complement of prepositions.³⁵

Masculine Accusative Singular

μέ δαῦτον θέ νά μείνω *Alex. Rim.* 110

ἐσυναναθράφηκα μέ δαῦτον (1575, Zakynthos, ΠΑΝΑΥΟΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 1975: 6, 352.69)

ἐπαρπονέθησαν εἰς δαῦτον *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.9; ὠμίλησε μέ δαῦτον *ibid.* 30.1

ἦλθε μέ δαῦτον *Nov. II* 162.32

νά ὑπάγῃ εἰς τήν πόλιν μέ δαῦτον (1621, Kefalonia, ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1998/2000: 1, 66.34)

τό θαῦμα ὅπου ἐγένηκε σέ δαῦτον *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 39–40 (ed. σέ δ' αὔτον)

Feminine Accusative Singular

νά σταθῇ μέ δαύτην (1553, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 254, 153.20)

μέ δαύτην (1599, Zakynthos, ΖΟΙΣ 1957: 56.5)

ἀπό δαύτη (1617, Zakynthos, ΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ 1970b: 3, 232.12)

³⁴ The only example from a Cretan text comes from a stage direction in the second Interlude of *Stathis* (Inter. II post v. 32), and could therefore be of Heptanesian origin. A single instance has been found in a document from Andros. However, a locative adverb ἐδαύτου also occurs in a Cretan document: νά εὔρω ξύλο ὅπου νά ἔρχεται ἐδαύτου (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 36.24).

³⁵ Ioakeim Kyprios's text is the only one to offer the forms δαυτόν, δαυτήν with final accentuation, and the analogical forms δαυτεῖνον, δαυτούνους, δαυτουνούς, which should be considered artificial, pending corroboration from other sources. Examples: νά πάγῃ με δαυτεῖνον ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 7913; καί ο ἀδελφός του με δαυτόν *ibid.* 7399. Influence of the preposition μεδέ (itself a result of false segmentation from μέ + δαῦτον, see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. μετά) is possible, in which case the analogical forms at least should be considered the result of blurred word division.

ἐπαναχώρα ἀπὸ δαύτην (1621, Kefalonia, PAPADOPOULOS 1998/2000: 1, 66.17)
 δὲν ἦτανε μὲ δαύτην (1678, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 24, 55.9)
 παίρνοντες ἀπὸ δαύτην *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 102–5

Neuter Accusative Singular

μὲ δαῦτο περπατοῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 1668
 γιὰ δαῦτο δὲ γράφω εἰς τὴν Ἀνάπολη (1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.22)
 εἰς ἐδαῦτο (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 8, 34.8)
 ἀπ' ἐδαῦτο (1644, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 4, 122.16)
 εἶναι σὲ δαῦτο (17th c., Kefalonia, TZANNETATOS 1965: 2, 123.4)
 πὸ δαῦτο δὲν ἐγλύσαν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 8637
 ἀπάνω σὲ δαῦτο *Zinon* I.68 (did.)

Masculine Accusative Plural

διὰ δαύτους (1546, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 172, 111.8)
 ἀπὸ δαύτους (1617, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970b: 3, 232.25)
 δὲν πρετεντέρει τίβοτις ἄλλο ἀπὸ δαύτους (1673, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 18, 51.6)
 διὰ δαύτους (1694, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1940: 3, 184.4)
 καὶ ὁ θεὸς μεδ' αὐτοὺς / καὶ ὁ θεὸς μὲ δαύτους *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 150; σιμὰ εἰς ἐδ' αὐτοὺς /
 σιμὰ εἰς ἐδαύτους *ibid.* 155–6
 ξνας ἀπὸ δαύτους *Bertoldos* 46.15

Feminine Accusative Plural

εἰσὲ δαῦτες (1678, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 246, 222.23); πᾶσα μία ἀπὸ δαῦτες
 (1661, *ibid.* 225, 200.35)
 τὸν θυμόν μου διὰ δαῦτες *Bertoldos* 21.30; σὲ δαῦτες *ibid.* 117.28

Neuter Accusative Plural

νὰ ζῇ μ' ἐδαῦτα (1542, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 115, 79.16)
 τίποτε ἀπὸ δαῦτα (1626, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 47, 199.10)
 ἀπὸ δαῦτα (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 189, 160.58)
 ἀπὸ δαῦτα (1694, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1940: 3, 183.19)
 σὲ δαῦτα (1645, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 5, 123.12)
 ἦτανε ἀπάνου σὲ δαῦτα κομαντάντες ὁ Γριμάνης ΜΑΤΗΣΙΣ, *Chron.* 67
 μὲ δαῦτα (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 11, 44.16)

Masc. and fem. acc. forms with addition of final /e/ appear predominantly in the Heptanese, again from the 16th c. onwards:

μὲ δαύτονε (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 252, 347.20)
 ἔπεσε εἰσὲ πᾶτους μὲ δαύτονε *Nov. II* 162.52
 μὲ δαύτονε (1575, Zakynthos, PANAYOTOPOULOU 1975: 6, 352.73)
 ὅχι νὰ γυρίση εἰσὲ δαύτονε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 65.16
 ἐθυμώθη πρὸς ἐδαύτονε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 41.37
 νὰ σταθῇ μὲ δαύτονε (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 3, 175.3–4)
 ἀπὸ δαύτονε (1670, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1981: 2, 287.49)
 γιὰ δαύτονε (1670, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 11, 43.4)
 λαβαίνει ἀπὸ ἐδαύτονε (1678, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 243, 218.11)
 δὲν πρετεντέρει ἄλλο ἀπὸ δαύτονε (1709, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 10, 43.4)
 παῖον ξεσκισμὸν σὲ δαύτηνε νὰ κάμω SOUMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* D4r.18
 μὲ δαύτηνε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 42.9
 ἀπὸ δαύτηνε (1670, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1981: 1, 285.16)

5.5.1.6 αὐτεῖνος/αὐτοῦνος/αὐτόνος

As described above, the pronoun αὐτός gives rise to a variety of entire sub-paradigms exhibiting innovative stem allomorphs, without functional/semantic differentiation. These sub-paradigms result from a multiplicity of analogical processes, the prevalent interpretation for which was proposed by MEYER 1889: 169–71, HATZIDAKIS 1892: 439–40 (reproduced in CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 155–6) and THUMB 1912: 92. A detailed description of these complex evolutions is provided in LENDARI/MANOLESSOU 2013.

The first stage must have been the analogical influence of oxytone αὐτός on paroxytone ἐκεῖνος, which led to new forms: αὐτοῦ → ἐκεῖνοῦ, αὐτῶν → ἐκεῖνων, αὐτούς → ἐκεῖνούς. Especially for the genitive plural, the stress shift may have been partly motivated by the necessity of disambiguation between the homophonous accusative singular and genitive plural of paroxytone O-stem nominal forms, e.g. τὸν χρόνον ~ τῶν χρόνων → τῶν χρόνων (MEYER 1889: 170; KRETSCHMER 1905: 260–2 and HENRICH 1996a: 14–16; for the phenomenon see 2.1.2).

The next stage was the shift of the morpheme boundary between stem and suffix in the oblique forms of the pronoun ἐκεῖνος and consequently the creation of the new suffixes -νοῦ, -νῶν, -νούς, which, at a third stage, were attached to the simple forms of many pronouns, i.e. αὐτοῦ → αὐτουνοῦ, αὐτῶν → αὐτωνῶν, αὐτούς → αὐτουνοῦς, and similarly τουτουνοῦ, ποιουνοῦ, κανενοῦ, όλωνῶν, άλλωνῶν etc. Finally, in the case of αὐτός, levelling of all forms took place, i.e. the same stem-form spread throughout the paradigm, leading to the full paradigms αὐτοῦνος (from the gen. sg. and acc. pl.) and αὐτόνος (from the gen. pl.). The form αὐτεῖνος, according to Chatzidakis, derives from the generalization of the fem. gen. sg. αὐτηνῆς; however, a derivation on the analogy of ἐκεῖνος is more likely (ILNE s.v. αὐτός, KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. αὐτεῖνος).

The alternative interpretations by JANNARIS (1897: 161) and PERNOT (1907/46: II 170–2), which attribute the new forms to “emphatic” repetition of the final syllable of αὐτός in all case-forms and infixation of /n/, must be dismissed as they involve a reduplicative mechanism non-existent in Greek morphology. However, the phonetic identity between the final stem vowel and the suffix vowel in some forms (αὐτεῖνη, αὐτουνοῦ) may have produced further changes: a schema similar to that proposed by Jannaris and Pernot would have come into play in the last stage of morphological levelling, i.e. the analogical principle may have been copying of the vowel of the final syllable into the stem, e.g. αὐτεῖνη, αὐτουνοῦ → αὐτένες, αὐτάνα, αὐτόνος.

The new analogically reformed paradigms appear from the 14th–15th c. onwards.³⁶ Their first (but still extremely rare) attestations come from the *Chronicle of Morea*, the *War of Troy* and *Livistros*. They become more frequent in the 16th c. and they are quite common in Cretan literature, as well as in documents from Crete and the Cyclades, but they are absent from Cypriot texts.³⁷ Some case-forms, particularly the fem. gen. pl., are not attested in the texts examined. The case-forms for each sub-paradigm are set out in the tables below.

³⁶ Taking into account the dating of the manuscripts in which these works are transmitted.

³⁷ Authors such as Neofytos Rodinos and Ioakeim Kyprios, whose language has a less strong regional colouring, do use such forms.

The later history of these pronominal forms, i.e. the fact that in SMG the gen. sg. and pl. (αὐτουνοῦ, αὐτηνῆς, αὐτωνῶν) and the acc. pl. (αὐτουνοῦς) are acceptable (though colloquial) morphological variants of αὐτός (MACKRIDGE 1985: 144, HOLTON et al. 2012: 114) in a way that nominative forms like αὐτεῖνος, αὐτοῦνος, αὐτόνος etc. are not, could be an indication that the process of analogy started from the gen. sg. and pl., as described above. Similarly, the grammatical descriptions of the 16th and 17th c. give only genitive sg. and pl. forms.³⁸ Another indication for the chronological precedence of the genitive is the existence of similar morphological variants in other pronominal paradigms, e.g. ποιουνοῦ, ἀλλουνοῦ/ἀλλουνῶν, όλουνοῦ/όλουνῶν (for these see 5.7.1.1, 5.10.1, 5.13.1.1), without the concomitant presence of nominative forms (*ἀλλοῦνος, *ποιοῦνος etc.). Although probable, this hypothesis cannot be confirmed on the basis of the textual data, because the nom. and acc. forms are attested simultaneously with the gen., and only occasionally later. Neither is it possible to determine which of the three stem variants (αὐτειν-, αὐτουν-, αὐτον-) appeared first. An indirect indication is perhaps furnished by the relative frequency of the variants, since αὐτόνος is much less frequent in texts than the other two. The relatively late (15th c.) spread of the innovative variant paradigms is supported by their absence from Cypriot.

The variation between final and paroxytone stress in the gen. sg. and pl. cannot be described more precisely or be attributed to specific factors other than metrical considerations; in general, the first alternative appears more frequently. The choice between the analogical variants αὐτειν-, αὐτουν-, αὐτον- is also hard to explain, as often two or three variant forms occur within the same text (for the co-occurrence of the variants in the *Chronicle of Morea* cf. EGEA 1988: 61).

Evolution of αὐτός and its Variants

Stage 1

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	αὐτός	αὐτή	αὐτό(ν)
Gen.	αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτουνοῦ	αὐτῆς ἢ αὐτηνῆς	αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτουνοῦ
Acc.	αὐτό(ν) ἢ αὐτόνε ἢ αὐτόνα(ν)	αὐτή(ν) ἢ αὐτήνα(ν)	αὐτό(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	αὐτοί	αὐτές	αὐτά
Gen.	αὐτῶν ἢ αὐτονῶν ἢ αὐτουνῶν	αὐτῶν	αὐτῶν ἢ αὐτονῶν ἢ αὐτουνῶν
Acc.	αὐτούς ἢ αὐτουνοῦς	αὐτάς ἢ αὐτές	αὐτά

³⁸ ἐκείνου, αὐτουνοῦ (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 739); τουτουνοῦ, τουτηνῆς, τουτουῶν, αὐτουῶν, ἐκειῶν (SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 78–9); τουτουνοῦ, τουτονῆς, τουτονῶν, αὐτουνοῦ, αὐτονῶν, ἀλλουνοῦ, ἀλλονῆς, ἀλωνῶν, όλουνοῦ, όλονῆς (GERMANO, *Grammar* 69–70); ἐνοῦ, τουτουνοῦ, τουτηνῆς, τουτονῶν, ἐκεινοῦ, ἐκεινῆς, ἐκειῶν (PORTIUS, *Grammar* 22, 23, 29); ἐνοῦ, δυονῶν, τουτουνοῦ, τουτηνῆς, τουτονῶν (TRIBBECHOVIUS, *Grammar* B4).

Stage 2i: Generalization of /u/

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	αὐτοῦνος	αὐτοῦνη	αὐτοῦνο(ν)
Gen.	αὐτουνοῦ ἢ αὐτόνου	αὐτουνῆς	αὐτουνοῦ ἢ αὐτόνου
Acc.	αὐτοῦνο(ν)	αὐτοῦνη(ν)	αὐτοῦνο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	αὐτοῦνοι	αὐτοῦνες	αὐτοῦνα
Gen.	αὐτουνῶν(ε)	(αὐτουνῶν)	αὐτουνῶν
Acc.	αὐτουνούς ἢ αὐτόνους	αὐτοῦνες	αὐτοῦνα

Stage 2ii: Generalization of /i/

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	αὐτεῖνος	αὐτεῖνη	αὐτεῖνο(ν)
Gen.	αὐτεινοῦ ἢ αὐτείνου	αὐτεινῆς	αὐτεινοῦ ἢ (αὐτείνου)
Acc.	αὐτεῖνο(ν)(ε)	αὐτεῖνη(ν)(ε)	αὐτεῖνο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	αὐτεῖνοι	αὐτεῖνες	αὐτεῖνα
Gen.	αὐτεινῶν(ν)	(αὐτεινῶν)	αὐτεινῶν
Acc.	αὐτεινούς ἢ αὐτείνους	αὐτεῖνες	αὐτεῖνα

Stage 3: Generalization of final vowel

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	αὐτόνος	αὐτεῖνη	αὐτόνο(ν)
Gen.	αὐτονοῦ	αὐτεινῆς	(αὐτονοῦ)
Acc.	αὐτόνο(ν)	αὐτεῖνη(ν)	αὐτοῦνο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	αὐτόνοι	αὐτένες	αὐτάνα
Gen.	αὐτονῶν ἢ αὐτόνων(ν)	αὐτονῶν	αὐτονῶν
Acc.	αὐτονούς	αὐτένες	αὐτάνα

The evolution and distribution of the innovative variants of αὐτός will now be examined in more detail. The form αὐτεῖνος is a blend of αὐτός and ἐκεῖνος (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 155; KRIARAS, *Lex. s.v.*).³⁹ All case-forms, except the fem. gen. pl., are attested in the texts examined, the earliest ones stemming from the 14th–15th c. It is documented from a wide variety of texts, both literary and non-literary, and displays a broad geographical distribution (Heptanese, Cyclades, Peloponnese, Crete, Macedonia) but is absent from Cyprus⁴⁰ and Pontos. The most frequent forms in the gen. sg., gen. pl. and acc. pl. are those stressed on the final syllable. The stress variation in the genitive follows the corresponding variation of the pronoun ἐκεῖνος (5.5.1.8). Forms with addition of final /e/ are quite rare, attested from the 16th c. onwards.

The form αὐτοῦνος originates from the generalization of the masc. gen. sg. vowel [u] (see above). It first appears in the 14th–15th c., and is attested both in literary and non-literary texts, without specific geographical restrictions, although it is not attested in Cyprus and Pontos. The fem. gen. pl. is unattested so far. The stress pattern of the gen. sg., gen. pl. and acc. pl. forms presents variation, with final stress being more common (see table above).

In grammatical treatises the genitive αὐτουνοῦ, αὐτουνων is included as a legitimate form of αὐτός. Sofianos (*Grammar* 79.13–15) lists the gen. pl. αὐτουνων for all genders, while Germano mentions the forms αὐτουνοῦ and αὐτωνων as special variants in Chios (“in Scio il genitivo singolare αὐτουνοῦ. Genit. pl. αὐτωνων”, GERMANO, *Grammar* 70).

The form αὐτόνος arises from the generalization of the vowel of the inflectional suffix /o/ (see general remarks and evolutionary tables above). It first appears in the 14th–15th c., like the other two variants, αὐτεῖνος and αὐτοῦνος, but its frequency is much lower. Some case-forms are extremely rare: the masc. gen. sg., nom. pl. (which so far is dubious, the only attestation coming from the app. crit. of a Heptanesian text) and acc. pl., and the gen. pl. of all genders. The fem. sg. coincides with the fem. of αὐτεῖνος and is therefore indistinguishable.

Masculine Nominative Singular

- αὐτεῖνος ἦτον ὁ εὐγενής *Liv. E* 1
 αὐτεῖνος νὰ κερδέση *Pol. Tr.* 10266 app. crit. (A)
 αὐτεῖνος ὁ μαρκέζης *Chron. Mor.* P 1009
 ὁ νέος αὐτεῖνος ἔσωσε *Rim. kor.* A 36
 καὶ αὐτεῖνος ὁ Πορτάρης *Velis.* p 510
 αὐτεῖνος θέλει σ' ἀγαπᾶ *DEFAR., Log. did.* 459
 αὐτεῖνος εἶναι ὁ θάνατος, αὐτεῖνη καὶ ἡ λακτάρᾳ *P&N Diath.* 1306
 αὐτεῖνος ὁ Θεός *Tzabl.* 106
 νέος κι αὐτεῖνος *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.117
 ἀνηψιός της αὐτεῖνος (1662, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 214, 184.20)
 αγίασεν και αυτεινος *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 8704
- αὐτοῦνος ὁ μαρκέσης *Chron. Mor.* H 1009
 ὁ νέος αὐτοῦνος *Rim. kor.* V 36
 αυτουνος ἔλεγεν *Apoll. Rim.* 96
 αὐτοῦνος ἔναι ὁ θάνατος *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 225

³⁹ Modern editors adopt a variety of spellings (αὐτειν-, αὐτην-, αὐτοιν-), depending on the assumed derivation.

⁴⁰ Again, with the exception of authors whose language has a less strong regional colouring.

ἐσέβη(ν) αὐτοῦνος μετ' ἐμαῖς BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 315

αὐτοῦνος δὲν προσέχει DEFAR., *Log. did.* 394

αυτόνος, Απολλώνιος, *Apoll. Rim.* V 161

αὐτόνος ἐγὼ πιστεύω (1567, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 5, 306.22)

αὐτόνος ὁ Γόρας (1568, Crete?, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 3, 471.7)

δὲν θέλω νὰ κάμει μήτε αὐτόνος (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.22)

αὐτόνος ὁ θεόρημος MOREZINOS, *Klini* 73.20

μ' αὐτόνος *Pist. voskos* V.6.205

αὐτόνος ἔναι ἀδεξωπὸς FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.68

τὴν ζωὴν αὐτόνος τήν δώνει KONДАР., *Paidēs* 687–8

αὐτόνος ἐνικήθηκεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1557

εἶχε κι αὐτόνος γράμματα KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.177

κι αὐτόνος τὸν παρακινᾷ *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.5

Masculine Genitive Singular

εἶπτε τοῦ αὐθέντη σας αὐτεῖνου τοῦ Θησέου *Theseid* II.41,1 (1529)

νὰ τοῦ γλυτώσης τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνου τῇ γυνὴ του *Alex. Rim.* 2235

διατὶ αὐτίνου πρέπει ἡ δόξα *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 41

έδωκέν την αυτηνού *Diig. Alex.* K 367.4–5

αὐτηνου ὅπου ἐγεννήθη KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.20

τὴν ἐχάρισα αὐτεινοῦ (1584, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1976: 152.176)

τοῦ νιοῦ αὐτεινοῦ CHORTATISIS, *Erof.* III.319

αὐτεινοῦ καὶ τῶν κληρονόμων του (1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 174, 186.7)

αὐτηνου καὶ τῶν διαδόχων του (1636, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 43, 119.20)

αὐτεινοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποθαμένων του (1645, Crete, VOUDOUMBAKIS 1915: 10, 367.10)

ξοπίσω του αὐτεινοῦ ἐπρόβαλε κοντάρι KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.185

ἡ αὐτεινοῦ ἡ τῶν κληρονόμων του (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 40, 76.23)

μετ' αὐτουνοῦ τὴν πελελίαν *Pol. Tr.* 2661 app. crit. (AX)

ἐκείνου, αὐτουνοῦ (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 739)

τὴν βούλλαν ἔκράτει αὐτουνοῦ *Dig.* A 4078

δὲν εἶναι τὸ πταίσιμον ἐδικὸν μου ἀλλὰ αὐτουνοῦ ὅπου τὰ ἔφερεν *Spanos D*

αὐτουνοῦ καὶ τῶν κληρονόμων του (1539, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 26, 46.52)

διὰ πάκτος αὐτουνοῦ τοῦ μύλου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 62, 60.9)

νὰ ἔχω καὶ αὐτουνοῦ ταμένα (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 22, 186.34)

τοῦ αὐτουνοῦ πουλητῇ (1593, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 55, 77.8)

αὐτουνοῦ ποῦ κρατεῖ τὰ ὁμόλογα *Vios Aisop.* K 180.33 app. crit. (AST)

ἔφθασεν καὶ αὐτουνοῦ τὸ τέλος *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1326

καὶ εἶπα αὐτουνοῦ (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 40.85)

καὶ αὐτουνοῦ θάνατος (1629, Milos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 14, 10.29)

καὶ αὐτουνοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴ (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 403, f.3r.43)

απ' αὐτουνοῦ το χέρι STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* (Pidonia)

ἦτον ἐξάδελφοι αὐτουνοῦ (1691, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 18, 12.5)

αὐτοῦνου ποῦ ἀγαπάει DEFAR., *Log. did.* 375

τοῦ ἐδώσανε αὐτοῦνου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 28.9

αὐτοῦνου τοῦ πατρός του MONTSEL., *Evgena* 136

θάνατο αὐτοῦνου μεριμνᾷ *Zinon* III.230

αὐτοῦνου θέλει ἀκούσετεν VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 121; αὐτοῦνου τοῦ Μεσσίου id., *Pathi* 503

αὐτονοῦ ποῦ κρατεῖ τὰ ὁμόλογα *Vios Aisop.* K 180.33 app. crit. (M)
μόνο αὐτονοῦ ἀνοιξα *Vios Aisop.* I 270.9

Masculine Accusative Singular

καὶ εἰς αὐτεῖνον ἤλπιζεν *Spaneas* Z 57
διὰ τὸν λαὸν αὐτεῖνον *Chron. Mor.* P 6741
κι αὐτεῖνο τὸν Πιλάτο *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 19
δίχως αὐτεῖνον *ΡΙΚΑΤ., Rima thrin.* 368
ἐπῆρεν καὶ αὐτεῖνον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1324
ποῦ ἡ Πέρσια δὲν ἀξιώθηκε ὥσαν αὐτεῖνον ἄλλο *TROILOS, Rodol.* II.240
ἀπ' αὐτεῖνον ἠθικὲς ἀπόφασες μανθαίνου *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* a2v.17
αυτεῖνον τὸν Σινάν πασιὰ *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voev.* 239 (Pidonia)
πρὸς αὐτεῖνον ἦκαμε *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1536 app. crit. (X)

αυτεῖνονε νὰ εὐρῆς *DEFAR., Sos.* 376 (Holton)
'ς αὐτεῖνονε μὴ θαρρευτῆς *DEFAR., Log. did.* 464
αὐτεῖνονε τὸν γάμο *MONTSEL., Evgena* 224 (Spadaro)

διὰ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦνον *Chron. Mor.* H 6741
μετ' αὐτοῦνον *Dig.* E 1401 app. crit.
αὐτοῦνον *Pol. Tr.* 10497 app. crit. (CV)
οὐκ ἤθελε αὐτοῦνον συγχωρῆσαι *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2269
αυτοῦνον θέλω γι' ἄντρα μου *Apoll. Rim.* E 577
ἀπ' αὐτοῦνον (1566, Venice, *PATRINELIS* 1992: 3, 302.10)
αὐτοῦνο τὸν καλὸν χριστιανὸ (1568, Crete?, *CATALDI PALAU* 2003: 3, 471.10)
ἀπ' αὐτοῦνον (1576, Naxos, *VISVIZIS* 1951: 79, 99.26)

αὐτόνον γὰρ τὸν ροῖ Μαφρὲ *Chron. Mor.* H 6183
αὐτόνο τὸν στρατιώτην *Achil.* O 660
αὐτόνο τὸ Μεσσία *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 147
αυτόνον εχαιρέτησε *Apoll. Rim.* V 141
αὐτόνον εἶδαν *Alex. Rim.* 1112
δι' αὐτόνον ν' ἀποθάνουν *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VIII.225
δι' αὐτόνο τὸ ψεύτη (1568, Crete?, *CATALDI PALAU* 2003: 3, 471.19)
σ' αὐτόνον τὸν καιρὸν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 165
ἔρχεται εἰς αὐτόνον *MOREZINOS, Klini* 15.34
τὸ λογισμὸν αὐτόνο *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.243
εἰς αὐτόνο ρέπει *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2304
θανατώνει αὐτόνο *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1168

Feminine Nominative Singular

αὐτεῖνη ἐνὶ ἀνασασμός *Pol. Tr.* 1912 app. crit. (X)
ἡ ἀρχόντισσα αὐτεῖνη *Chron. Mor.* P 7474
αὐτεῖνη γὰρ ἐξέβαλεν *Spaneas* Z 287
αὐτεῖνη ἔναι ἡ κυρά μου *Theseid Prol.* P 32
αὐτεῖνη ἐπαρὰβγῆκε *ΡΙΚΑΤ., Rima thrin.* 503
αὐτήνη ἡ Μηδεῖα *Synax. gyn.* 363
καὶ αὐτεῖνη νὰ μὲ ὀρδινιάσει (1532, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1978: 24, 74.21)
νὰ τὰ ἔχει αὐτεῖνη (1538, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2002a: 36, 38.51)
αὐτεῖνη μοναχοῦλα *DEFAR., Log. did.* 559
ὕπάγει καὶ αὐτήνη (1590, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1995a: 32, 174.9)
νὰ εἶναι καὶ αὐτεῖνη ὅλη ἐδικήν του (1597, Syros, *MILIARAKIS* 1900: 697.21)
ὥσαν αὐτήνη χώρα *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 49

αυτείνη εἶν' ἡ λύτρωσις VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 227
 καὶ αυτείνη ἡ μοῖρα τῆς MONTSEL., *Evgena* 99 (Spadaro)
 ἡ ἄνωθεν καλουγιά αυτείνη (1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 8, 21.9)

αυτούνη ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2345
 αυτούνη ἡ στράτα FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 153
 αυτούνη <ή> Μαργαρώνα Imb. Rim. 392
 αυτούνη θέλησε VENDRAMOS, *Istor. gyn.* 231

Feminine Genitive Singular

αυτεινῆς τῆς ἐγγυήτρας (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 314, 303.8)
 αυτηνῆς *Diig. Alex.* E 251.24 (Lolos)
 τῆς ἡμέρας αυτηνῆς τῆς ἀγίας DAM. SToud., *This., Logos* 2, α8v.4–5
 αυτεινῆς τῆς κερ' Ἀγγελίνας (1576, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 81, 101.34)
 καὶ αυτεινῆς (1619, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 20, 66.28)
 αυτηνῆς δὲ τὸ ὄνομα [VLASTOS], *Diig.* P I 313.6
 αυτηνῆς καὶ τῶν διαδόχων τῆς (1663, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1, 11.15)
 ποὺ βοηθοῦσιν αυτεινῆς DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 166
 ἀπ' αυτεινῆς τὴν πρεσβείαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §14.23
 εἶναι καὶ αυτηνῆς μὲ τὸ θέλημάν τῆς (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 57, 57.16)

κι αυτεινῆς τὸ Μελλούμενο TROILOS, *Rodol. Chor.* III.3
 αυτήνῆς τῆς κιθάρας Bertoldos 21.32

κάμε αυτουνῆς τὸ θέλημα CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 942
 καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην αυτουνῆς οὐδὲν τήνε κατέχει *Apoll.* Rim. E 536
 τοῦ προικιοῦ αυτουνῆς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 48, 46.3)

Feminine Accusative Singular

αυτείνην τὴν ντάμα Ζαμπέαν *Chron. Mor.* H 8564
 ὅλην αυτείνην τὴν ψυχὴν *Liv.* E 2628
 εἰς τὴν δουλείαν αυτείνη (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 46.35–6)
 μετ' αυτείνην *Theseid* I.129,4 (Follieri)
 κι ἔπαρ' κι ἐσύ, Ἰωάννη, | αυτείνην ὀγιά μάνα σου FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 95–6
 γι' αυτείνην τὴν αἰτία SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 159
 ἄς τὴν ἔχη καὶ αυτείνη (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 36, 38.50)
 πρὸς αυτήνη τὴν μάντρα (1544, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [2], 7.12–13)
 αυτείνην τὴν κουρτέσαν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 211
 αυτήνη τὴν κακὴ μαριόλα *Stathis* II.295
 νὰ ἔχη καὶ αυτήνη (1640, Andros, POLEMIS 1999b: 10, 34.14)
 σ' αυτείνη τὴν κακοστρατιά *Rim. Sant.* 236
 αυτείνη ἐγὼ τὴν γραφὴν (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 57.35)

αυτείναν τὴν καλότυχη τὴν ταρτάνα (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 5, 61.6)

αυτεινῆνε ν' ἀφήσουν DEFAR., *Sos.* 266 (Holton)

αυτούνην τὴν ντάμα Ζαμπέαν *Chron. Mor.* H 8521
 μ' αυτούνη διὰ νὰ μείνη CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 684
 αυτούνην τὴν ἐπόταξες DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1631
 αυτούνην τὴν γουμένην Imb. Rim. 652
 αυτούνην τὴν καρποφορίαν *Apoll.* Rim. E 16

Neuter Nominative/Accusative Singular

- μέ αὐτεῖνο τὸ καμάρι σου *Spaneas* Z 559
 αὐτεῖνο τὸ βοτάνι *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 655
 αὐτῆνο νά 'θεν κάμης *Alfav.* 11 86
 αὐτεῖνο λέγω τὸ παιδί *Alex. Rim.* 224
 νά ἔναι καὶ αὐτεῖνο χάρισμα της (1584, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1976: 151.112)
 κάωμα σάν αὐτεῖνο *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.441
 τὸ παιδὶν αὐτεῖνο *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.561
 αὐτεῖνον τὸ ἐξεσκισμένον καὶ παλαιὸν ποκάμισον *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 82.26
 ὀδιὰ τὸ μοναστήριν αὐτεῖνον (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 36.9)

 νά ἔτρωγες αὐτοῦνον τὸ μελάνιν *Ptoch. III* 273.62 app. crit. (P)
 αὐτοῦνο εἴχασι πολὺ *Chron. Mor.* T 2815
 σ' αὐτοῦνο 'δεν μετέχει *Apoll. Rim.* V 535
 αὐτοῦνο τὸ προειρημένον σπῖτι (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 15, 54.21)
 μ' αὐτοῦνο νὰ χαρούμεν *Katis* 22
 αὐτοῦνο τὸ θέλει πλερώσει (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 3, 32.40)

 αὐτόνο ἔχει *Poulol.* 122 app. crit. (V)
 αὐτόνον τὸ βουλήθηκε *Imb. Rim.* 351
 τὸ νησὶν αὐτόνο *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 74
 αὐτόνο τὸ ἔδωκα τῆς θυγατέρας μου (1585, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 18, 73.17)
 αὐτόνο εἶναι τὸ τέκνο σου *P&N Diath.* 3933
 σ' αὐτόνο τὸ λειβάδι *Vosk.* 128
 αὐτόνο τὸ λεγόμενο στάρι (1614, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 13, 49.29)
 αὐτόνο τὸ σώχωρο (1622, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 385, 358.8)
 στὸ πρόσωπό σου αὐτόνο *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.503
 αὐτόνο τὸ τραγούδι σου *Zinon* II.56
 ἀπ' αὐτόνο τὸ κακὸ *Rim. Sant.* 608

Neuter Genitive Singular

- αὐτηνοῦ τοῦ βουνοῦ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 159.27

 αὐτουνοῦ τοῦ κάστρου *Diig. Alex.* V 32.28
 αὐτουνοῦ τοῦ ἀμπελιοῦ (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 750, 581.9)
 πλησίον αὐτουνοῦ (1543, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 239, 225.23)
 ἡ πόρτα αὐτουνοῦ (1607, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 1, 3.14)
 αὐτουνοῦ τοῦ ἄντρογυνου (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968 : 3, 32.31)
 τοῦ μετοχίου αὐτουνοῦ (1706, Constantinople, LEGRAND 1903: 21, 58.10)

 αὐτούνου τοῦ παιδιοῦ μου *MONTSEL., Evgena* 172

Masculine Nominative Plural

- αὐτεῖνοι οἱ Ρωμαῖοι *Chron. Mor.* H 794
 αὐτεῖνοι με ἀξίωσαν *Pol. Tr.* 7415; αὐτεῖνοι τοὺς ἐσκότωσαν *ibid.* 11207
 αὐφθινί / αὐτεῖνοι (1487, Chios?, LEFORT 1981: 13, 77.21)⁴¹
 αὐτεῖνοι εἶχαν τὴν ἀξιάν *Theseid* I.31,1 (Follieri)
 νά ἔχουν αὐτεῖνοι ὑποταγούς *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 470
 δύνανιν δὲν εἴχασι ποτὲ αὐτεῖνοι *AITOLOS, Voev.* 187
 μήτε αὐτεῖνοι μήτε τὰ παιδιά τους (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 341.27)
 αὐτεῖνοι οἱ ἄρχοντες (1541, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 92, 66.4)

⁴¹ For the hypercorrection see I, 3.8.1.4.

αυτεῖνοι ἦρθαν (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.4)
 τοῦ ᾧσαν οἱ μάρτυρες αυτεῖνοι; SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 450.710
 αυτοῖνοι, ὅπου εἶναι ζηλωταὶ τοῦ Νόμου MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 339.1
 νὰ τὰ τελειώσω αυτεῖνα *Rim. Sant.* 30
 αυτεῖνοι τήνε παίρνουνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 109 (Spadaro)
 αυτοῖνοι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2252
 αυτεῖνοι οἱ πριντζιπάδες STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 315 (Pidonia)
 αυτεῖνοι οἱ Ὁβραῖγοι (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 11, 79.31–2)
 αυτοῦνοι γὰρ οὐ πολεμοῦν *Chron. Mor.* H 1121
 ἦσαν συνανάθροφοι αυτοῦνοι DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1354
 αυτοῦνοι φανερώουσιν *Imb. Rim.* 981
 διότι αυτοῦνοι ὁμοιάζουσιν (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 218.5)
 αυτοῦνοι ἀπ' ἀνεβάζουν (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 149.26)
 αὐτόνοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ σας DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 388 app. crit.

Masculine Genitive Plural

ἔδωσέν την αυτηνῶν *Diig. Alex.* E 301.22 (Lolos)
 εἰς τοὺς κληρονόμους καὶ διαδόχους αυτεινῶν (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 59.10)
 αυτεινῶ καὶ τσῆς ἐρεντιτᾶς τωνε (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 107, 122.11)
 τῶν πτωχῶν αυτεινῶν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 71.13
 κάνει τως αυτεινῶν χρεῖα (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 13, 158.24)
 νὰ τοὺς δώσει αυτουνῶν *Chron. Toc.* 3507
 γιὰ νὰ μὲ δώσουν αυτουνῶν *Theseid* VIII.96,6 (1529)
 τὰ σπαθία αυτουνῶν *Diig. Alex.* F 94.15 (Lolos)
 δίδοντα αυτουνῶν πληρεστάτην δύναμιν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 163, 163.4)
 αυτουνῶν τῶν ἰδίων κατεργάρων (1554, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 216, 191.28)
 εἰς τὸ πρᾶμαν αυτουνῶν (1562, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 130, 249.33)
 καὶ ἀπάνω τους αυτουνῶν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 32.18
 νὰ συμπαθήσει καὶ αυτουνῶ (1630, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 4, 336.23)
 καὶ τοῦ κύρ Νικηφόρου καὶ αυτουνῶν (1645, Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 10.14)
 τ' ἄσπρα αυτουνῶν ὅπου ἦλθαςι (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/92: 3, 49.10)
 καὶ διὰ ὄνομ' αυτουνῶν MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2128
 δὲν τοὺς πρέπει αυτουνῶνε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 47.18
 αὐτόνων τῶν Ρωμαίων *Chron. Mor.* H 6582
 τὰ ὀνόματα ὅς ἐκραξεν αυτωνῶν ὁ πατέρας του *Pent. Gen.* 25.18
 ἡ τῆς θαλάσσου ἡ τῆς γῆς αὐτόνων νὰ μαχήση ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 497
 αυτώνω ἐδηγοῦντα *P&N Diath.* 2111; αυτώνω ἀποῦ σὲ ζητοῦ *ibid.* 3455
 αυτονῶν καὶ τῶν παιδιῶν ὅπου θέλουν κάμει (1613, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 23, 185.56)
 νὰ δώση καὶ αυτονῶν (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 180.26)
 ἀναμέσον δὲ αυτωνῶν ὄλων [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 400.24
 αυτονῶν τῶν ἐπισκόπων RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 80.22
 διὰ μαρτυρίαν αυτωνῶν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 5.14

Masculine Accusative Plural

κι αυτεινους ὑποτάσσει *Alex. Rim.* 890
 ᾧ αυτεινους τοὺς ἀμπόρετους DEFAR., *Log. did.* 136

αυτέινους συντυχαίνει *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1077

τούτος μ' αυτέινους ἦτονε *P&N Diath.* 3164

ὁ πλέον πτωχὸς ἀπ' αυτεινούς *Pol. Tr.* 2895 app. crit. (X)

μετ' αυτεινούς *Spaneas Z* 124

εἰς αυτεινούς σύντυχε *Chron. Toc.* 1352

ἀπ' αυτεινούς *Alex. Rim.* 2182

μὲ ταυτεινούς / μετ' αυτεινούς *Diig. Alex.* E 65.12 (Konstantinopulos)

κι' ἀπ' αυτηνούς νὰ κυβερνοῦν ἐπέψα *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 70

ἀπ' αυτουनों *Pol. Tr.* 2895 app. crit. (BV)

απ' αυτουनों *Theseid* VI.8,4 (Olsen)

τούς λόγους σου αυτουनों *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1058

ἀπ' αυτουनों κρατεῖτε *Vios Aisop.* K 201.4

ἀπὸ αυτουनों ὅλους (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.74)

εἰς αυτουनों (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIDI 1996: 82, 273.38)

ἀπ' αυτουनों (1550, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 16, 122.3)

καὶ μετ' αυτουनों τούς Ἑβραίους *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 23, B1v.8

ἀπ' αυτουनों *VENDRAMOS, Istor. Filarg.* 342

αυτουनों τούς συγκεφίληδές σου *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §30.14

τὸ εἶπαν αυτουनों *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 8.36

μετ' αυτουनों (1648, Athos, PETIT/KORABLEV 1911/1915: 167, 353.7)

σ' αυτουनों *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voev.* 968 (Pidonia)

εἰς αυτουनों *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 185

αυτούνους νὰ διδόξη *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 439

τούς ἀσεβεῖς αυτούνους τούς Ἑβραίους *PLOUSIAD., Thrinos* 88 (Vasileiou)

μ' αυτούνους ἐκ τὰ βάσανα ἐσὺ νὰ τούς ἐβγάνης *DEFAR., Log. did.* 166

τούς βασιλεῖς αυτούνους *SKORD. MARAF. G., Evang.* 437.317; 446.591

ἐντήρηση πρέπει σ' αυτούνους νὰ ᾔχη *Stathis Int.* II.106

απο αυτούνους (1640, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2011: 8, 219.12)

θωρώντας τους αυτούνους (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 1, 25.7)

μὴ τσι λυπᾶσαι, Παναγία μου, αυτούνους *Apok. Theot.* 492.141

γι' αυτούνους *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2037

αυτούνους τους Φραντσέζους *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2591

αυτονούς εἶναι πρέπειν καὶ δίκαιον νὰ κλαύσωμε *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §35.79; δύσκολα εἶναι

εἰς αυτονούς *ibid.* II §9.82

Feminine Nominative/Accusative Plural

ἀπ' αυτεῖνες *Pol. Tr.* 5778 app. crit. (V)

μ' αυτεῖνες τὲς ομάδες *Alex. Rim.* 490

και αυτεῖνες οι αρματωσές είχαν μεγάλη χάρη *Apoll. Rim.* E 702

αυτεῖνες αφωνάζει *DEFAR., Sos.* 144 (Holton)

δὲ μὲ φελοῦσι αυτεῖνες οἱ λουμπάρδες μου *DIAKR., Diig. Pol.* 468

τες εκκλησίες του Χριστού να πάρουσιν αυτεῖνες *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2078

μ' αυτεῖνες οἱ λαβωματιές δὲν ἔχουνε τὴ χάρη *KORNAOS, Erot.* II 1084

ἀπ' αυτοῦνες *Pol. Tr.* 5778 app. crit. (C)

αυτοῦνες οἱ λογάδες *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 300

αυτοῦνες τὲς πολιτικές, νὰ σοῦ τὰς διαλαλήσω *Synax. gyn.* 473

αυτοῦνες ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ μισεύσουν *Bertoldos* 45.24

αυτένες οι αρματωσίες *Apoll. Rim. V* 702
 αυτένες οί ταλαίπωρες *P&N Diath.* 249
 αυτένες αἱ πληγές *VEST., Pathi* 579
 αυτένες αι δουλειές *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 5416
 νὰ ἐγροικᾶται γιὰτ' αὐτόνες (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 8, 25.23)
 κι αυτένες τές ἀτίμαξες *P&N Diath.* 244
 τὴν ἐλπίδα του εἰς αυτένες (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 4, 364.12)
 μ' αυτένες τες ἀντάρες *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 441

Feminine Genitive PLural

αὐτονῶν τῶν γραφῶν *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 128.14; αὐτονῶν *ibid.* 113.30

Neuter Nominative/Accusative Plural

κι αὐτεῖνα ἔκλαψάν τον *Chron. Mor. P* 7222
 αὐτεῖνα ποὺ μὲ τρῶσι *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 649
 ἀπ' αὐτεῖνα τα καλὰ *Apoll. Rim. A* 1302
 αὐτεῖνα ὅλα δείχνασι *VENDRAMOS, Istor. Filarg.* 21
 αὐτεῖνα μὲ ἔκαψαν πολλὰ (1567, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 5, 305.11)
 αὐτεῖνα ὅλα (1584, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1976: 149.37)
 ἐμὲ τὰ λὲς αὐτῆνα; *Pist. voskos II* 8.159
 ἐδιάβησαν αὐτεῖνα *FOSKOLOS, Fort. III.* 415
 αὐτεῖνα τὰ παιδιὰ σου *MONTSEL., Evgena* 303 (Spadaro)
 τὰ ρεφουδάρει καὶ αὐτεῖνα (1678, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 246, 222.28)

δι' αὐτοῦνα *Liv. E* 877

αὐτοῦνα οὐδὲν τὰ λέγεις *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1627
 γι' αὐτοῦνα τὰ καλὰ *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 208
 αὐτοῦνα τὰ σημάδια *Diig. Alex. F* 218.22 (Lolos)
 αὐτοῦνα τὰ προειρημένα (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 5, 25.19)
 αὐτοῦνα τὰ χωράφια (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 10, 133.13)
 γι' αὐτοῦνα *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1228,
 ἥ κἀνε αὐτοῦνα τὰ μακριὰ τὰ τράγινα τ' αὐτιά σου; *Soummakis, Past. Fid. G5r.* 18

ὁποῖος αὐτάνα ὀρέγεται *DEFAR., Log. did.* 239

ὅλα αὐτάνα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 4, 5.12)
 αὐτάνα τὰ λεγόμενα [χωράφια] (1614, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 13, 49.23)
 τὰ σάλια αὐτάνα *FOSKOLOS, Fort. I.* 139
 γιὰτὶ νὰ βάζης, ἄνθρωπε, αὐτάνα εἰς τὸν νοῦν σου *Alfan.* 11 9
 ἀπ' αὐτάνα τὰ βάσανα *Apok. Theot.* 490.54–5
 αὐτάνα τὰ προυκιά *KONDAR., Paidēs* 1082
 καὶ αὐτάνα εμαυρίζαν *Rim. Sant.* 686
 αὐτάνα τὰ σακκιά ἠθέλησες νὰ κλέψεις *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 427.19

Neuter Genitive Plural

τῶν αὐτεινῶν δύο πρᾶμάτων (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 64, 218.6);
 τῶν αὐτεινῶν παιδίων (1684, *ibid.* 485, 711.34); τῶν αὐτεινῶν δύο παιδίων (1685, *ibid.* 610, 842.29)

αὐτουινῶν τῶν λεγομένων σπιτιῶν (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 26, 31.21)
 αὐτουινῶν τῶν λεγομένων δύο τρίτων (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 154, 153.26)

διὰ πᾶκτος αὐτονῶν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 148, 147.8)

5.5.1.7 εὐτός/εὐτοῦνος/εὐτεῖνος/εὐτόνος

The form εὐτός owes its initial /e/ to the analogy of ἐγώ, ἐσύ, ἐκεῖνος (JANNARIS 1897: 155–6, 161; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 504; PERNOT 1907/46: II 175 and n. 2; PROMBONAS 1968: 375–6; HORROCKS 2010: 295). The first attestations of these forms, as a personal pronoun, come from papyri of the 3rd c. AD (GIGNAC 1976: 234),⁴² but these are probably unconnected to the later phenomenon and should be attributed to special phonetic factors involving the pronunciation of the diphthongs /au/ and /eu/ in general (SCHWYZER 1939: 198). Although well attested in MG dialects (*ILNE* s.v. αὐτός; THUMB 1912: 85), εὐτός is rare in LMedG and EMG texts. In the corpus examined, forms with initial ἐ- seem to be limited to the Cyclades and the Heptanese (including the Heptanesian manuscripts of certain Cretan texts),⁴³ a distribution which is corroborated by modern dialectal data.

οὕτως εὐτός ἐπέρνα *Byz. Il.* 590
 ἄν ἔναι εὐτός ὁ λόγος *Diig. Alex.* F 280.6 (Lolos)
 τί ἵναι εὐτά τὰ πῆρες *FALIEROS, Rim. Par.* 247 app. crit. (L)
 τὸ ἔχει καὶ εὐτὸ μισάρικο (1635, Naxos, KORRES 1931: 3, 274.13)
 ἀπὸ ῥπῆ (1666, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 11, 23.22)
 εὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ καλά τους (1666, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 578, 351.19); εὐτός καὶ τὰ καλά
 του (1670, *ibid.* 1188, 705.14)

ευτείνη, ὄντεν ἀρχισε, *Apoll. Rim.* N 1341
 ευτεῖνος ὁ Στραγγίλιος *Apoll. Rim.* A 1076
 εὐτεῖνος ἔν Ἀλέξανδρος *Alex. Rim.* 1178; κ' εὐτεῖν' ἀκολουθοῦσαμε *ibid.* 1720 (n. pl.)
 εὐτεῖνοι οἱ καλοὶ χριστιανοί (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 237, 144.5)
 καλομοιριά δὲν ἦτονε στὸν κόσμο σὰν εὐτείνη *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.42 app. crit.; οἱ γάμοι
 εὐτεῖνοι *ibid.* III.410 app. crit.
 ἡ ἄνωθεν Πάουλα εὐτήνη (1663, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 14, 21.17); τῆς ἄνωθεν
 Ἑλένης εὐτηνῆς (*ibid.* 153, 104.6)

εὐτοῦνο τ' ἄχαρο καὶ τ' ἄσφαλο ταξίδι *FALIEROS, Rim. Par.* 41 app. crit. (L)
 τοῦ ἄνωθεν Γεώργη εὐτουνοῦ καὶ τῶν διαδόχων (1663, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 8,
 16.10); τῶν ἄνωθεν τριῶν εὐτουνῶν (*ibid.* 13, 20.14)
 εὐτουνοῦ καὶ τῶν διαδόχων καὶ κληρονόμων του (1686, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 33, 116.26)
 ὅλα εὐτάνα *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 662 app. crit. (A)

5.5.1.8 ἐκεῖνος

Ἐκεῖνος is the distal demonstrative throughout the period under investigation. It is the direct descendant of the AG distal demonstrative pronoun ἐκεῖνος, retaining the same meaning,

⁴² The information in JANNARIS (1897: 155–6) and DIETERICH (1898: 10) that the form appears in an inscription from mainland Greece dated to the Roman period (Cauer 224 εὑτους) is incorrect, as in later editions this reading is not adopted (IG IX I.42 <α>υτους).

⁴³ A mixed form εὐτοῦτος has also been located in non-literary sources from the early 18th c. All the attestations occur in documents compiled in Nauplion by (or on behalf of) speakers from Athens, published by the same editor. This form does not seem to be regular in the Old Athenian dialect (which prefers τοῦνος, cf. THUMB 1891: 111; ALEXANDRIS 1958: 149; PANDELIDIS 2016b: 128); καὶ εὐτοῦτος εἶναι ἀσθενὴς ἄνθρωπος (1712, Nauplion, LIATA 1975: 2, 121.3); εὐτούτη τὴν ὥρα (1715, *ibid.* 6, 123.12); εὐτουτηνῆς (1713, Nauplion, LIATA 1998a: [1], 263.44); εὐτοῦτο ὁποῦ ἔκαμα (1712, Nauplion, LIATA 1998b: 233.12).

syntactic behaviour and function; that is, it occurs as a pronoun or as a determiner, followed or preceded by the group definite article + noun (ἐκεῖνος ὁ X / ὁ X ἐκεῖνος; for further details see IV, 5.3.2.3). Since the use of ἐκεῖνος is uninterrupted since Antiquity, evidence for this pronoun appears already in the earliest sources of the LMedG period.

Ἐκεῖνος inflects like adjectives in -ος (see 3.2.1), with the standard inflectional variants of this paradigm. The presence of final /n/ in the neut. sg. (an innovation) is variable, and so is the choice between fem. pl. -αι, -ας and -ες. Variant forms with shift of stress to the final syllable are attested from many areas from the 14th c. on, and variants with final vowel addition appear from the 15th c. (see below for interpretation and distribution). A single form presenting fronting (“tsitakismos”) of the velar /k/ of the stem is attested in a 16th-c. document from S. Italy: να εχούσυν ετζοῖνοι που έδωκα / νά ἔχουσιν έτσείνοι που έδωκα (1572, S. Italy, VIOLI 2006: 311.20).

Ἐκεῖνος underwent analogical influence from αὐτός, leading to final stress in the gen. sg. and pl. (MEYER 1889: 170; JANNARIS 1897: 160–1, CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 155; HENRICH 1996a; LENDARI/MANOLESSOU 2013; see also αὐτός). The form ἐκείνων is recorded by Sofianos (SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 78.21, 79.3, 79.10), while Germano and Portius list ἐκεινοῦ, ἐκεινῆς and ἐκείνων (GERMANO, *Grammar* 70 and PORTIUS, *Grammar* 29). Meyer attributes the stress shift to the identity of the gen. pl. and the masc. acc. sg., which requires differentiation through the stress accent, an interpretation also endorsed by Henrich. Pernot on the other hand (PERNOT 1907/46: I 220) considers the stress of ἐκεινοῦ analogical, on the basis of the extended pronoun forms αὐτουνοῦ, τουτουνοῦ. The presence of ἐκεινοῦ in Cyprus, where the αὐτουνοῦ, τουτουνοῦ forms are absent, disproves this hypothesis, according to Pernot’s own admission. The earliest secure attestations of the stress shift in the gen. sg. come from the Peloponnese in the 14th c., while final stress spreads to the masc. acc. pl. in the 15th c.⁴⁴ The forms with stress shift are quite frequent both in literary and non-literary texts, and they seem to co-occur with the paroxytone forms; in verse texts their variation may also be attributable to metrical needs. Such forms are to be found in texts from the Peloponnese, Crete, Cyprus, Naxos, Andros, Milos, Cythera and the Heptanese.⁴⁵ There are isolated attestations of final accentuation in the fem. acc. sg. and the masc. nom. pl. from the *Chronicle of Morea* and Voustronios’s *Chronicle*, which should not be considered as true forms of spoken language.

Addition of final /e/ (in the masc. and fem. acc. sg. and the gen. pl.) is a restricted phenomenon in the texts examined, appearing from the 15th c. onwards (see also I, 3.7.2.1). Addition of final /a/ (only in the acc. sg.) is also restricted, but with a wider geographical distribution. Extended forms with final stress appear from the 17th c. in Crete and Chios; their provenance has not been satisfactorily accounted for, but they become regular in these dialects at a later period (JANNARIS 1897: 161; MINAS 2004 [1990]: 435–8;

⁴⁴ The presence of forms with final accentuation in MG dialectal varieties that were separated from the main body of Greek during the medieval period, such as Pontic and Cappadocian, also testifies to a relatively early dating of this phenomenon (see DAWKINS 1916: 124; PAPADOPOULOS 1955: 62–3).

⁴⁵ The data are insufficient for other areas, although the modern dialectal distribution shows that forms with final accentuation are also widespread in northern dialects (KRETSCHMER 1905: 267–70; PERNOT 1907/46: II 224–5).

ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1926: 169–70). These forms have been reanalysed as combinations of a demonstrative + the deictic suffix -νά. The new demonstrative reinforcer -νά can be added to a fully inflected pronoun form. The first testimony of this evolution is the neut. pl. form ἐκείνανά recorded by Germano (*Grammar*, 49.30; repeated in PORTIUS, *Grammar*, 68.5).

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	ἐκεῖνος	ἐκεῖνη	ἐκεῖνο(ν)
Gen.	ἐκεῖνου ἢ ἐκεινοῦ	ἐκεῖνης ἢ ἐκεινῆς	ἐκεῖνου ἢ ἐκεινοῦ
Acc.	ἐκεῖνο(ν) ἢ ἐκείνονε ἢ ἐκείνονα(ν)	ἐκεῖνη(ν)(ε) ἢ ἐκεινήν	ἐκεῖνο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	ἐκεῖνοι ἢ ἐκεινοί	ἐκεῖναι ἢ ἐκεῖνες	ἐκεῖνα
Gen.	ἐκείνων(ε) ἢ ἐκεινῶ(ν)(ε)	ἐκείνων ἢ ἐκεινῶ(ν)	ἐκείνων ἢ ἐκεινῶ(ν)
Acc.	ἐκείνους ἢ ἐκεινοὺς	ἐκεῖνας ἢ ἐκεῖνες	ἐκεῖνα

Singular
Masculine
Nominative

General
ἐκεῖνος

καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐξέθετο (1059, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 9, 110.14)
καὶ ἐνέμετον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος (1095, S. Italy/Sicily?, GUILLOU 1963: 2, 49.6)
ὁ δέ γε λίζιος καβαλλάριος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Συργαρῆς (1251, Smyrna region, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 28, 81.20)
ἐκεῖνος ὁ τσαγγάρης *Ptoch.* III 140
ὁ αὐθέντης μου ὁ πατήρ μου ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἀσάνης (1349, Thessaloniki, BOMPAIRE 1964: 26, 195)
κ' ἐκεῖνος ἀπομένει *Anak. Konst.* 32
ἐκεῖνος ἀρνᾶται *Assizes A* 52.29
ἐκεῖνος ὁ Δανιήλ ὁ Βούλγαρις (1501, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 7, 105.3)
ὡσάν ἐκεῖνος ὁποῦ ἱτραβενίρει (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 24, 19.5)
ὁποῖος ἐκεῖνος ἤθελε εὔρεθῃ (1655, Gortynia, YANNAROPOΥΛΟΥ 1972: 39, 315.8)

Genitive

General
ἐκεῖνου ἢ ἐκεινοῦ

τοῦ Δημητρίου ἐκεῖνου τοῦ λεγομένου Λάμαρη (1024, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 25, 175.5)
ἅπ' ἐκεῖνου τοῦ ρύακος (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 5, 18.26)

παρά ἐκείνου ἀποικομένου Βασιλείου Καρδοπάτου (1229, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 283, 389.19)

ἀπὸ τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ Κοστομύρη (1258, Philadelphia?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 15, 160.248)

ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐρώτου *Achil.* N 659

ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου *Chron. Toc.* 2732

ἐκείνου τοῦ πατέρα μας *Theseid* IV.14,2 (1529)

τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου (1503, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 244, 203.8)

τοῦ καιροῦ ἐκείνου *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 55.5

μὲ τῇ στράτεψι ἐκείνου (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: 9, 310.20)

τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου (1327–8, Peloponnese, VRANOUSI 1981: B, 26.10)

ἐκείνου τῆς Ἀλαμάνιας *Chron. Mor.* H 452

ἐκείνου *Pol. Tr.* 1404 app. crit. (X); ἐκείνου *Pol. Tr.* 3041

ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀποθανόντος (1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 99.17)

τὸν ἀδελφόν του ἐκείνου εἶχε τὸν ὁ σουλτᾶνος *Chron. Toc.* 1971

ἐκείνου ὅπου ἔνι ὁ τοῖχος *Assizes A* 111.11; ἐκείνου τοῦ συγγενοῦ του *ibid.* 138.10

τοῦ μακαρίου ἐκείνου *Chron. Mor.* P 7

ἐκείνου τὰ γένια ἀνάπτει *Ptochol.* α 96

κατ' ἐκείνου ὅπου ἐμίσσευσεν *Theseid* I.35,7 (Follieri)

μὲ τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἐκείνου *Synax. gyn.* 249

τοῦ καιροῦ ἐκείνου (1553, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 192, 176.10)

ἐκείνου τοῦ λόγου (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 218.6)

εἶπεν ἐκείνου *MOREZINOS, Klini* 65.11–12

υἱὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ Γεώργη Λούπεση (1591, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 47, 69.2)

τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 143.37

ἐκείνου καὶ ὅτινος ἄλλοινοῦ (1623, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 1, 128.9)

κάνοντάς του καὶ ἐκείνου προκοσύμφωνον (1662, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 6, 55.13)

τοῦ ριζικαροῦ ἐκείνου βασιλέως [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 342.25

νὰ τοῦ κάμουν καὶ ἐκείνου κακὸ *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 56.8

Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
ἐκεῖνον	ἐκεῖνονε	ἐκεῖνονα(ν)

κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον (1194, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 239, 323.6)

ἐγεύθη μετ' ἐκεῖνον *Arm.* 192

θέλομεν ἰδεῖν ἐκεῖνον (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.10)

εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 5, 309.13)

φόνεψέ τονε ἐκεῖνον *VENDRAMOS, Istor. gyn.* 72

ἐκεῖνον νὰ ὑβρίζωμεν *DAM. SToud., This., Logos* 2, ἀ6ν.23

ἐκεῖνον τὸν γραφέα (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 2, 296.74)

εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνο μέσα εἰς τὸ ψυχικὸν ἐκεῖνο (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.13)

καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸν ἐπάνδρεψα (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 53.164–5)

τὸν Θανάση, ἐκεῖνον ὅπου ἦτον σκλαβωμένος (1695, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 1, 250.11)

ἐκεῖνονε ἐκλέξασι *Chron. Mor.* P 7867

κ' ἐκεῖνονε παρακαλῶ *Theseid* Prol. E 257

τὸν καιρὸ ἐκεῖνονε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.27; μὴν ἔχης ἔννοια εἰσὲ κείνονε *ibid.* 138.33

ἐκεῖνονε ὅπου ἔχει (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1955: 517.16)

καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ καλότυχον ἐκείνονε πιστεύγω KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* I.14; ἐκείνονε τὸν ταπεινὸ κ' ἐπίβουλο ὁδελφὸ σου id., *Thyest.* II.395

ἐκείνοναν ὅπου δειλιάζει αἶμα *Liv.* V 813
στὸν χοτζερὲ ἐκείνονα *Diig. Vefa* 344

ἐκεῖνονά GERMANO, *Grammar* 86.22
echinonà olonobros na sossi / ἐκεινονά ὀλονομπρὸς νὰ σώση FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.287

Feminine

Nominative

General
ἐκείνη

ἐκείνη, μὴ ἡξεύροντας τὴν πονηρίαν *Chron. Toc.* 890
ἐκείνη ἡ πράτα (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 92.22)
ἡ γαιδάρα ἐκείνη (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 5, 58.13)
ἐκείνη ἡ δύναμις DAM. STOUDE., *This., Logos* 2, α6ν.18–19

Genitive

General
ἐκείνης ἢ ἐκεινῆς

τὴν οὐσίαν ἐκείνης (1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 6, 72.8)
ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης τῆς ὥραιας *Pol. Tr.* 243
ἐκεινῆς τῆς Κωνσταντίνου *Chron. Mor.* H 447
ἐκεινῆς *Pol. Tr.* 11881 app. crit. (AV)
ἐκεινῆς τῆς νιάς FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 704
ἡ θυγατέρα ἐκεινῆς *Apoll. Rim.* V 1993
νὰ 'ναι τὸ μισὸν ἐκεινῆς (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 17, 54.26)
καὶ τῶν διαδόχων ἐκεινῆς (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 148, 268.54)
καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ἐκεινῆς δὲν δύνομαι ν' ἀφήσω *Dig.* A 299
μὲ δίχως τσῆ ἐκεινῆς δὲ μοῦ 'ναι μπορεμένο | πράμα κιανένα CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.317
τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκεινῆς MOREZINOS, *Klini* 230.28
ἐκεινῆς GERMANO, *Grammar* 70.6
οὐδ' ἐκεινῆς κάνει τὸ θέλημά τζη FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.334

Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
ἐκείνην	ἐκείνηνε	ἐκεινήν

ἀπ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 234.274)
νὰ ἔξουν ἀπ' ἐκείνην *Ptoch.* III 91
κ' ἐκείνην ἀφεντεύγει KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.489

διὰ ἐκεινήν τὴν πουμπάρδαν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 84.16

ἤθελα βλέπει κείνηνε *Theseid* III.75,6 (1529)

σ' ἐκείνηνε *Alex. Rim.* 2848

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General
ἐκεῖνο(ν)

τὸ δένδρον ἐκεῖνον (1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 618.30)

ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνο τὴν ζημίαν *Ptoch. III* 265

ἐκεῖνον τὸ ὄρνιον *Assizes B* 451.23

εκείνον, το εφάνην της βουλῆς μου *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 52.14

ἐκ τὸ νησὶν ἐκεῖνον *Velis.* ρ 313

ἐκεῖνον ὅπου ἔχουν κτισμένον (1535, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 4, 120.13)

ὄλον ἐκεῖνον ποὺ ἐμίλει ἡ πρώτη γραφή (1622, Crete, MALTEZOU 1989: 358.16)

ἐκεῖνο μὴδ' ἐννοιάσης το *Spaneas V* 42

ἐκ τὸ νερόν ἐκεῖνο *Chron. Mor. H* 8205

ἐμφανισθὲν ἐκεῖνο τὸ πρόσταγμα (1414, Thessaloniki, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 54, 285.37)

ἐκεῖνο ὅπου σὲ γράψαμε (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.5)

ἀντάμα μ' ἐκεῖνο ὅπου ἀγόρασα (1553, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 254, 152.11)

ἐκεῖνο τὸ βαμπάκι *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I* §23.5

ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ εἶναι καὶ ἐκεῖνο γονικόν της (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 2, 19.13)

Genitive

General	Restricted
ἐκείνου	ἐκεινοῦ

μεταξὺ τοῦ τοπίου ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ ἀγροῦ (1012, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 17, 198.44)

ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀμπελίου (1134, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 4, 14.12)

ἐκείνου τοῦ φουσσάτου *Chron. Mor. H* 4706

ἐκείνου τοῦ παραπτώματος *Assizes B* 280.30

ἐκείνου τοῦ θηρίου *Dig. A* 2938

κατασκοπῶν τὰς χάριτας τοῦ Ἑρωτοκάστρου ἐκείνου *Velth.* 547

εἶπεν ἐκείνου τοῦ κουπελλιοῦ *Fior* 128.17

ἐκείνου τοῦ δένδρου *LANDOS, Geopon.* 153.24

τοῦ τέρμενου ἐκεινοῦ *Chron. Mor. H* 2118

ἐκεινοῦ τοῦ θηλυκοῦ (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 69, 128.16)

τοῦ λεγομένου πραγμάτου ἐκεινοῦ (1608, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 3, 352.6–7)

τοῦ σημαδίου ἐκεινοῦ *Vios Aisop.* I 271.9

Plural

Masculine

Nominative

General	Rare
ἐκεῖνοι	ἐκεινοί

ἐκεῖνοι νά λαμιώνουσιν *Ptoch.* IV 291
 ἐκεῖνοι ἐπέπεσάν με *Liv.* V 214
 ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ἐδέχθησαν *Chron.Toc.* 251
 ἐσέβησαν εἰς τὸ λουτρόν, ἐλούθησαν ἐκεῖνοι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 770
 ἐκεῖνοι οἱ γονεῖς μου *Synax. gadar.* 143
 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι νά εἶναι κρατημένοι (1555, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 114, 89.12)
 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου δὲν μποροῦνε (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 315.33)
 τὸ πῶς τὴν μάχην ἄρχισαν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ Ρωμαῖοι *Chron. Mor.* P 7180
 κ' ἐκεῖνοί VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 42.9

Genitive

General	Restricted	Rare
ἐκείνων ἢ ἐκεινῶν	ἐκεινῶ	ἐκείνωνε ἢ ἐκεινῶνε

ὑπνιάρης δὲ καλούμενος καὶ πάλιν παρ' ἐκείνων *Ptoch.* IV 628
 καὶ ἄλλους νά στήσω δυστυχεῖς εἰς τὸ σκαλὶν ἐκείνων *Log. parig.* L 113
 τῶν ἐλεφάντων τὰς φωνὰς καὶ τὰς κραυγὰς ἐκείνων *Phys.* 51
 νά πάγω κατ' ἐκείνων PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 353
 ἐκείνων καὶ ἀνοίγεται ἡ ἄνω βασιλεία BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 768
 τὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν κόπων | ἐκείνων νῦν λαμβάνετε GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 606
 ἐπήγαμε σ' ἐκείνων τὰ κρεβάτια *Alex. Rim.* 1577
 ἔγινεν ὁδηγὸς ἐκείνων ὅπου ἔπιασαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 17.40
 συμπαθεῖ ὁλωνῶν ἐκείνων, ὅπου τοῦ ἑφταίξας (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.11–12)
 ὁλων δὲ ἐκείνων *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 98
 ἐκείνων τῶν ὑψηλότατων κριτάδων (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 475, 698.14)

ἐκείνων τῶν πελεγρίνων *Chron. Mor.* H 443
 ἀπὸ τὸ γένος ἐκεινῶν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.129
 τῶν τριῶν Μάγων ἐκεινῶν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.20
 εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐκεινῶν (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 676, 522.21)
 ἐκεινῶν ὅπου ἔχουσι τὰ τορνέσα (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 2, 295.19)
 ἐκεινῶν ποὺ κατοικοῦν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1719
 τὰ κεφάλια [...] | ἐκεινῶν [...] τῶν νέων *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 169
 νά δώσουν ἐκεινῶν (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 92, 108.18)
 ἐκεινῶν GERMANO, *Grammar* 70.6
 τὰ σκαμνία ἐκεινῶν ὅπου ἐπουλοῦσαν τὰ περιστέρια KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 11.15
 ἐκεινῶν τῶν ξένων *Vios Aisop.* I 249.20
 μὲ βίους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐκεινῶν ὅπου ἐπροπεριπατήσας VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.3
 ἐκεινῶν τῶν ἀφεντάδων *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 38.24
 μαθαίνοντες καὶ ἐκεινῶν τὴν ἰδίαν συμφορὰν IER. AVVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 334.15
 ἐτοῦτον εἶναι φυσικὸ κεινῶν ὅπ' ἀγαποῦσι KORNAOS, *Erot.* III. 577

πόσες ἐχάλαστῆκα | χῶρες ἐμένα κ' ἐκεινῶ *CHORTATZIS, Erof.* II.387
 ἐκεινῶ (1645, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 10, 367.2)
 ἐκεινῶ ὅπου δώσουν (1672, Milos, CHATZIDAKIS I. 1927: A, 299.21)

καὶ ἀληθῶς τῆς φαίνεται ὅτι ἄρεσε <ἐ>κεινῶνε *Theseid* III.19,5 (1529); τὸ ὄνομα ἄκεινῶνε *ibid.* X.8,7
 ἐκείνωνε τῶν περισσότερων (1716, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969d: 1, 42.18–19)

Accusative

General	Rare
ἐκείνους	ἐκεινούς

ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀγρίους GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 173
 εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.19)
 ἀπὸ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκείνους τοὺς Μονεμβασιώτας CHEILAS, *Chron.* 346.5
 ἀπ' ἐκείνους ἐγεννηθήκετε *Vios Aisop.* K 201.4
 ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 8, 129.9)
 νὰ δοθοῦν τὰ στάμενα πρὸς ἐκείνους (1579, Corfu, KARYDIS 1994: 6, 107.21)
 θε' νὰ ἐκδέχονται ἀπ' ἐκείνους (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.50)
 ἐκείνους τοὺς Χριστιανούς VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.23
 ἐκείνους τοὺς κακόγλωσσους KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1537
 τοὺς χρόνους ἐκεινοὺς *Chron. Mor.* H 781
 ἔνι καὶ τέτοιοι ἀπὸ ἐκεινοὺς *Arm.* 64
 ἐκεινοὺς *Pol. Tr.* 1871 app. crit. (X); ἐκεινοὺς *ibid.* 1871 app. crit. (BV)
 δι' ἐκεινοὺς τοὺς δύο ἀγαπημένους *Theseid* Prol. E 111
 ἐκεινοὺς οποῦ θέλεν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 16.13
 ἐκεινοὺς ὅπου ἀπέθαναν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 401.19
 ἐκεινοὺς τοὺς ἀφεντάδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.9; ἐκεινοὺς *ibid.* 28.5
 σ' ἐκεινοὺς *Diig. Vefa* 1398

Feminine

Nominative

General	Restricted
ἐκεῖνες	ἐκεῖναι

καὶ ἐκεῖναι, ὡς τὸ χρῆζουσιν, σύντομον νὰ ξεπεύλουν *Ptoch.* III 180
 ὅλαι ἐκεῖναι ἔπαινον φλόγας μεγάλας τότε *Dig.* A 2903
 κ' ἐκεῖνες *Ptoch.* III 180 app. crit. (PK)
 οἱ καλόφρονες ἐκεῖνες οἱ βαῖτσες *Liv.* V 1942
 ἐκεῖνες οἱ γυναῖκες *Chron. Mor.* P 4400
 ἐκεῖνες ποῦ 'νι ὀλόφκαρες FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 85
 ἐκεῖνες οἱ γλώσσες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 402.38
 ἐκεῖνες οἱ αρμάδες ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 2778
 νὰ εἶναι καὶ ἐκεῖνες ἐδικές της (1676, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 1, 123.27)
 οἱ σγουραφιές ἐκεῖνες KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.171

Genitive

General
ἐκείνων ἢ ἐκεινῶν

τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκείνων *Pol. Tr.* 10611
 ἐκείνων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (post 1669, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1938: 2, 295.7)

νά 'ναι ἐκεινῶν (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 136.113)
ἐκεινῶν τῶν καλογράδ(ων) (1550, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 68, 93.21)

Accusative

General	Rare
ἐκεῖνες	ἐκείνας

νά δώσουν ἐκείνας τὰς κλήρας *Assizes B* 381.14

τὲς συμφωνίες ἐκεῖνες *Chron. Mor.* H 371
καὶ ἀποκρίθη μία ἀπ' ἐκεῖνες (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 46, 38.2)
εἰς στὶς μεριὲς ἐκεῖνες (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.10)
ὁδὶὰ ἐκεῖνες τὲς πακτωσίεις (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 33, 26.6)
μὲ τὲς δύναμες ἐκεῖνες (1618, Mani, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 24, 270.9–10)
ἐκεῖνες τὲς ἡμέρες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §8.43
πρὸς ἐκεῖνες τὶς μύγες *Bertoldin.* 145.33
ἐκεῖνες τὲς πενήντα χιλιάδες (1657, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 75, 192.13)
εἰς ἐκεῖνες τὶς παίδευσεις (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 475, 699.3)
εἰς τὲς ἡμέρες ἐκεῖνες (1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9a, 70.16)
ἐκεῖνες τὲς λέξεις MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 316.33
ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνες τὲς καμπάνες (1693, Nauplion, TSELENDI 1978: 5, 241.11)

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General
ἐκεῖνα

ἀμὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ὀλιγοστὰ *Ptoch. IV* 392
τί 'ναι ἐκεῖνα, ὁ θεῖος μου, ὅπου ἀπηδοῦν καὶ φεύγουν; *Dig.* E 739
ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐνθυμοῦνται *Chron. Toc.* 732
ἐμὲ λῦσον καὶ ἐκεῖνα δέσε *STAFIDAS, Iatrosoph.* 12.331
μὲ τὰ χέρια τὰ ἔμορφα, τὰ ὀρωτικὰ ἐκεῖνα *Theseid* I.97,6 (Follieri)
ἐκεῖνα τὰ ὑπέρπυρα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 377, 371.8)
δίχως ἐκεῖνα ὅπου ἔλαβε (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 177, 228.21)
καὶ ἐκεῖνα εἰσὶν μιζουριῶν ἔξε (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 156, 245.23)
ἐκεῖνα ὅλα ὅπου ἐπαράδωσεν (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 8, 129.12)
ἐκεῖνα ὅπου ἔδωκεν τοῦ υἱοῦ του (1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 193, 203.7)
ὅλα ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωράφια (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 240, 227.8)
σ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ νερά *P&N Diath.* 381
ἐκεῖνα ὅπου ἔχει (1658, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 5, 652.8)
ἐκεῖνα ποὺ εὐρίσκονται (1668, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 39, 40.13)
εἰς τὰ ἐκεῖνα σπῆττια (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 590, 817.7)

Genitive

General
ἐκεῖνων ἢ ἐκεινῶ(ν)

ἐκείνων τῶν φουσσάτων *Chron. Mor.* H 2904
 τῶν παλατίων ἐκείνων *Velth.* 321
 ἐκείνων τῶν ρημάτων *Achil.* O 742
 τὸ κάλλος τῶν παιδίων ἐκείνων PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 100.33
 ἡ μήτηρ ἐκείνων των παιδίων *Martyr. Vlas.* 248.3–5
 ἀντικρὺς ἐκείνων εἰς τὸ ἀκρωτήριον RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 64.20
 ἐκείνων λέγεται μάννα *Vios Aisop.* D 220.14
 ἔδωσαν τὴν τιμὴν ἐκείνων εἰς τοὺς δανειστάς (1657, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 75, 192.8)
 ἐκείνων τῶν παιδόπουλων *Chron. Mor.* H 4818
 ἀπανωθεὸς των ἐκείνων *Diig. Ven.* 21
 ἐκείνων τῶν παιδιῶν *Vios Aisop.* I 258.26
 ἐκείνων τῶν πραγμάτων KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 21.26
 γιὰ χάρη τῶνε κι ἐκείνῳ σήμερο νὰ θελήση CHORTATSI, *Erof.* IV 591

Variant Forms and Usages

Variant forms of ἐκείνος are created through phonological processes affecting vowels at word boundaries. When the pronoun is preceded by a word ending in a vowel within the same syntactic phrase, the resulting hiatus is resolved through vowel deletion according to the vowel hierarchy (aphaeresis; see I, 2.7.1). When the previous word is καί, modern editorial practice usually divides as κ' ἐκείνος or κι ἐκείνος; older editions may adopt the word division καὶ ἑκείνος. Similarly, after μέ and σέ the form with aphaeresis may be found in mss and older editions. Examples of aphaeresis after /a/, /o/ or /u/:

αὐτάδελφος ἦτον μπασιᾶ, κείνου τοῦ Παγιαζίτου *Chron. Toc.* 3186
 μετὰ κείνους *Byz. Il.* 315
 μεγαλύτερη παρὰ κείνους (1440, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1995: 126, 401.2)
 περὶ τοῦ παιδίου παρὰ κείνον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 258.2
 τὸ κτίσμα κείνον LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 57
 νὰ ᾿χει ἀπὸ κείνον ἢ ἀπὸ κείνους (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 88, 167.24)
 γιὰ κείνους ποὺ ἐμάζωξες *Alex. Rim.* 687; εἰς τὸ καράβι κείνο *ibid.* 1671; τοῦ τόπου κείνου *ibid.* 2056
 ἀπὸ κείνον τὸν τόπον (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 150.14)
 ἀπὸ κείνα (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 171, 139.24)
 διὰ ἑκείνον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 71
 καὶ σὺ ἀπὸ κείνους εἶσαι *P&N Diath.* 3154
 γὴ κείνοι ἀποὺ σκορπούσανε τὰ πλούτη CHORTATSI, *Erof.* Prol. 44
 ἀπὸ ἑκείνο (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 37, 55.29)
 διὰ κείνους (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.26)

Occasionally the shortened form κείνος (ἑκείνος) may be found even after a consonant, or at the beginning of a sentence, which entails lexicalization of aphaeresis in some areas or speakers. Metrical considerations are also a factor:

κείνα τὰ ψευδοκάτιργα μήνα τὰ ἀνησπίαση *Chron. Toc.* 1132; ὁ δούκας, καθοῦ ἐστράφηκεν
 κείνος ὁ φαμιλίτης *ibid.* 1325
 τὸ νησὶν κείνο τῆς Ἑγγλιτέρας LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 363
 κ' ἔκλαιεν κείνη στὴν μίαν μερίαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 387
 ὄνομαν λέσιν κεινῆς τῆς χώρας *Imb. Rim.* 549
 ὁ μάγος κείνος *Alex. Rim.* 128
 εἰς κείνον ὁποῦ ἔχει ἀγοραστὸ (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 256, 353.15)

ποῦ ἔκείνοι ἀπὸ τὰ χεῖλη τως τὰ μέλη ἐκυματοῦσα; CHORTATSI, *Erof.* Prol. 65
 ὁ κόσμος κείνος FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.33
 καὶ ποῖος εἶν' κείνος KORNAOS, *Erot.* II 968
 κείνος τοὺς ἐπρουμύταρεν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 115

In some cases, deletion takes place according to the rules of AG, i.e. the final vowel of the preceding word is deleted irrespective of the vowel hierarchy, or the hiatus is resolved through crasis following the AG rules (see I, 2.9.5):

καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἕτεροι *Dig.* G IV 878
 ὅπου ἤφερν μετ' αὐτον ἀπ' ἐκείνον *Chron. Mor.* H 2325
 νὰ ὑπάγω μετ' ἐκείνους *Dig.* E 309
 ὅτι ἀπ' ἐκείνον ἐνι *Liv.* α 1451
 δι' ἐκεῖνα τὰ μαντᾶτα *Chron. Mor.* P 5849
 ἀπεκίνον / ἀπ' ἐκείνον (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 3, 302.10)
 καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ καιροῦ κἀκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας *Diig. tetr.* 724 app. crit. (PVCA)
 κἀκείνη, ὡς ἐγροίκησε τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Βελθάνδρου *Velth.* 635
 κἀκείνος ὡς τὰ γροίκησε τὰ λόγια τοῦ ποπούλου LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 531
 κακεῖνα ἠγόρασαν ἐκ τὸν Ἑμῖνη (1568–9, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.27)

In rare cases, the pronoun ἐκείνος appears preceded by the definite article, probably under the influence of ὁ αὐτός. Occasionally, the article is pre-posed or repeated for metrical reasons:

εὐρίσκεται πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ κάστρου *Chron. Mor.* H 2803
 καὶ εἷς ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐκείνους τοῦτον τὸν λόγον λέγει *Anon. Naupl.* 62
 διὰ τὴν θανὴν τοῦ ἐκείνου ἀφέντη καὶ ἀδελφοῦ μου *Chron. Mor.* P 1816
 μὲ τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἐκείνου *Synax. gyn.* 249
 τοῦ ἐκείνου παιδίου (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 485, 709.12); εἰς τὰ ἐκεῖνα σπίτια (1685, *ibid.* 590, 817.7)

Apparent instances of ἐκείνος preceded by the definite article in prepositional phrases should rather be interpreted as false word division involving the prepositional forms ἀποτά, διατά/γιατά. Such prepositional forms are created on the analogy of μέ/μετά before personal and demonstrative pronouns (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 99, 444; AMANDOS 1918: 134–5; *ILNE* s.v. ἀπό; BORTONE 2010: 206 n. 13; see also 5.3.1.1 and 5.5.1.4).⁴⁶

διὰτ' ἐκείνην [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 313.18
 ἀπὸ τ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἀσθένειαν *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 17 (= ἀποτ' ἐκείνην)
 ἕνας ἀπὸ τ' ἐκείνους *Bertoldos* 71.32 (= ἀποτ' ἐκείνους)
 διὰ τ' ἐκείνους ὅπου τὸν ἀγαποῦν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §17.22 (= διατ' ἐκείνους)
 διατ' ἐκεῖνες τες φωνές IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 846

A syncopated form ἐκεῖν before the definite article is sporadically attested in Cypriot texts. This form, present in Modern Cypriot and other dialects (cf. PERNOT 1907/46: II 224), can be interpreted as a haplology resulting from the collocation of the demonstrative ἐκείνος

⁴⁶ In very rare cases the final /t/ of these prepositional forms is reinterpreted as a definite article and appears independently, e.g. τοῦτο το σαλμίτριο τ' ἐκείνης τῆς βράσης (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.39–40).

+ a form of the definite article starting with /t/: ἐκεῖνον τόν > (ἐ)κεῖν τόν, ἐκεῖνην τήν > (ἐ)κεῖν τήν (PERNOT 1907/46: II 221; MENARDOS 1969: 63; ΣΙΑΡΚΑΡΑΣ-PITSILLIDÈS 1975: 361; SYMEONIDIS 2006: 215).

νά τοῦ στρέψη ἐκεῖν τήν τιμήν *Assizes* B 402.18; ἐκεῖν τήν κακοεργίαν *ibid.* 407.31; ἐκεῖν τήν κλεψίαν *ibid.* 424.20
 κεῖν' τόν ἥλιον *Cypr. Canz.* 106.17; κεῖν' τῆς ἀρετῆς *ibid.* 150.12; κεῖν' τήν ἐφροσύνην *ibid.* 16.11;
 κεῖν' τὸ σπλάχνος τῆς φιλιᾶς ὀφῆκα *ibid.* 137.2; κεῖν' τ' ἄρματα ποῦ σὲ φουμίζουν *ibid.* 153.13; μετὰστρεψε κεῖν' τ' ἄρματα *ibid.* 156.10

5.5.1.9 ἐκειός

An innovative form ἐκειός is attested from the 16th c. onwards, mainly from the Heptanese, with isolated instances from Crete, Syros and Naxos. PERNOT (1907/46: I 488–9) attributes it to dissimilatory deletion of /n/ in ἐκεῖνον, but the interpretation offered by KRETSCHMER (1905: 267) and CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: B 155), that it is built on the analogy of αὐτός, is more likely.⁴⁷

ἐκειὸ ποῦ ζητοῦσι τινὰν δὲ βλάπτει (1509, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [1], 6.8)
 εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖον (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 52.3)
 νὰ βλέπη ἐκειὸ τὸ σέβεσαι, νᾶχη πληροφορίαν DEFAR., *Log. did.* 304; νὰ θαρρευτῆς 'ς ἐκειὸν ποῦ σὲ κοιτάζει *ibid.* 461
 ἐκειὰ ποῦ λέγω (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 149.26)
 echió / ἐκειό *Thysia Avr.* 272 transcr. M
 κ' ἐκειός, σὰν πιάση τὴν γραφήν MONTSEL., *Evgena* 137
 χωρὶς νὰ εἶναι κ' ἐκειός *Reb. Evr.* 103.33
 καὶ ἐκειὰ τὰ δόλια τὰ παιδιὰ KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* IV.54

5.5.1.10 ἔδεκεῖνος

An emphatic demonstrative ἔδεκεῖνος is created through prefixation of ἐκεῖνος with the deictic adverb ἔδε (< AG ἰδέ) (JANNARIS 1897: 161), cf. ἔδαῦτος (5.5.1.5). The form is extremely rare in the corpus examined.

εἰς ἔδεκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν *Pol. Tr.* 10642
 στὴν ὥραν ἔδεκεῖνην PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 186

5.5.1.11 οὔτος/τοῦτος

The pronoun οὔτος/τοῦτος is a proximal demonstrative and derives from the AG proximal demonstrative pronoun οὗτος. It is used both as a pronoun and as a nominal modifier, occurring before or after the combination article + noun (οὔτος ὁ X or ὁ X οὔτος). It has the

⁴⁷ The form appears very rarely in the texts examined, but its presence in Crete and the Heptanese is confirmed by modern dialectal data (ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1926: 170; LIOUDAKI 1938: 422; PERNOT 1907/46: II 224; PANGALOS 1955: 298–9; ZOIS 1963: s.v. ἐκειά, ἐκειό; KONOMOS 1960: s.v. ἐκειός). The case of Naxos remains dubious.

same range of meaning as αὐτός; however, its use as a deictic demonstrative is more pronounced, while αὐτός is more frequently used in an anaphoric context (for the later history of this pronoun and its usage see MANOLESSOU 2001; LENDARI/MANOLESSOU 2013). Similarly to αὐτός and ἐκεῖνος, the pronoun οὗτος/τοῦτος functions both as a personal and as a demonstrative pronoun.

Because of its complex morphological paradigm, a long process of levelling had already begun before the LMedG period, leading to the generalization of the stem allomorph {τουτ} to all case-forms (see GIGNAC 1981: 174). Also, the analogy of ἐκεῖνος brought about prothesis of an initial /e/. Finally, the analogy of αὐτός and ἐκεῖνος produced the extended genitive forms τουτουνοῦ, τουτηνῆς etc., which may (in Crete only) take the form τουνοῦ, τουνηῆς etc. through haplology.

Οὔτος/τοῦτος inflects like a regular O-stem adjective (see 3.2.1), with the expected addition of final /n/ to the neut. nom. and acc. sg. (see GIGNAC 1981: 174). The levelled stem {τουτ} normally does not combine with archaic inflectional suffixes (such as -αι, -ας).

The generalization of the stem {τουτ} is already attested in the ancient Doric dialect (JANNARIS 1897: 160; PAPADOPOULOS 1941b: 32; BUCK 1955: 100; cf. Hesychius, *Lex.* s.v. οὔτος) but it is doubtful whether this feature is connected with the EMedG development. The earliest non-Doric instances of the spread of {τουτ} are to be found in 4th-c. AD papyri and inscriptions (DIETERICH 1898: 197; GIGNAC 1981: 174; cf. also the early attestations in *ID* 2583; *IGBulg* I2 12, 361 AD and *IK Estremo Oriente* 30).⁴⁸ It seems to be an acceptable variant by the 9th c., e.g. ἀνεκινήθη ὁ πύργος τοῦτος ἐπὶ Βασηλήου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου (879, Eastern Thrace, SAYAR 1998, inscr. 299). Despite the morphological evolution, the original forms of the pronoun are retained and are, as expected, more common in higher-register texts. Also, rare hypercorrect forms without τ- are attested.

Prothesis of /e/ results from the influence of ἐκεῖνος and possibly also of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns ἐγώ, ἐμένα, ἐσύ etc. (JANNARIS 1897: 161; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 504; PERNOT 1907/46: II 187). False segmentation in cases of collocation with words ending in /e/, such as a preceding conjunction καί, δέ etc. (a very common environment) and 3 sg. verb forms (e.g. ἔλεγε, εἶπε, ἔγραψε, λέγε etc.), should also be considered as a contributing factor. Prothetic forms first appear in written sources around the 12th c.: πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἑστέραν καὶ ἐτούτων ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 138.19; καὶ ἐτούτῳ ὑπὲρ τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου φίλου ἀναπεμπόμενοι (1186, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 40, 205.7); ἂν γὰρ ἐτοῦτος ὁ πλανήσας αὐτήν *Nomocanon* (ed. Cotelarius) (12th/14th? c.) §477.⁴⁹ In the EMG grammatical treatises the first to mention this form are Romanos Nikiforou (BOYENS 1908: 9) and Portius (MEYER 1889: 28–9), followed by Tribbechovius (B4). There do not seem to be any geographical restrictions in the distribution of this variant (which is in any case used alongside the variant τοῦτος), but it appears to belong to a lower register.

⁴⁸ Note that the information provided by Jannaris concerning the attestation of the form τοῦτην in a non-Doric text of the 2nd c. BC is no longer valid as the reading has been corrected in later editions.

⁴⁹ In fact, the distinction between forms with and without prothetic /e/ is a matter of orthography or word division when a word ending in /e/ precedes it (e.g. καὶ τοῦτος ~ κ' ἐτούτος ~ κι ἐτούτος).

The extended forms *τουτουνοῦ*, *τουτουνών* etc. derive from the analogy of *αὐτός* and *ἐκεῖνος*: the final stress of *αὐτοῦ*, *αὐτῶν* spread to *ἐκεῖνος*, and created the forms *ἐκεῖνοῦ*, *ἐκεῖνών*, subsequently producing, due to a shift of morpheme boundary, the new suffixes *-νοῦ*, *-νών*. These suffixes, attached to the levelled pronominal stem *τουτ-* followed by (part of) the inflectional suffix, led to the creation of the new forms *τουτ-ου-νοῦ*, *τουτ-η-νῆς* etc. For details on the historical process and relevant literature, see 5.5.1.6. Such variant forms occur only in the gen. sg. and pl. for all three genders and in the masc. acc. pl. The variant gen. pl. form *τουτουνών*, instead of *τουτονῶν*, is probably due to assimilation. The form *ἐτουτηνῆν*, located so far only in Ioakeim Kyprios, is perhaps artificial.

The earliest available examples of extended forms date to the 14th–15th c., though with very low frequency. They become more common from the 16th c. onwards, mainly in the Heptanese and Chios (cf. the direct testimonies of SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 78–9 and GERMANO, *Grammar* 69), with occasional attestations from the Cyclades, the Peloponnese and northern areas, including Constantinople.⁵⁰ It must be noted that the extended variants of *(ἐ)τοῦτος* appear with much lower frequency than those of *αὐτός* throughout the LMedG and EMG period (possibly due to the higher deictic force of *οὗτος/(ἐ)τοῦτος*, the expression of which would be less expedient in written texts).

While the extended forms have a wide geographic distribution, the oxytone genitive variants *(ἐ)τουνοῦ*, *(ἐ)τουνῆς* and *(ἐ)τουνῶ(ν)* appear only in Crete, from the 16th c. onwards, and in isolated instances from Naxos and Santorini.⁵¹ The origin of these variants has been attributed to haplology from the extended forms *τουτουνοῦ* etc. (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 156), although this intermediate stage is not attested in Cretan texts.

The nominative form *ἄτοῦνος* preserved by Michael Choniates (see 5.5.2.3) should be seen as unrelated to the Cretan and Naxiot oblique forms, because the nominative form in these areas (both in the MedG and the modern period) is *τοῦτος*. The Athenian form given by Choniates (and corroborated through modern dialectal evidence)⁵² does not appear in LMedG and EMG texts.

Addition of final /e/ in the masc. and fem. acc. sg. of the pronoun *(ἐ)τοῦτος* is attested mostly from areas where the phenomenon constitutes a regular feature of nominal inflection, such as the Heptanese, Crete, the Cyclades and the Peloponnese. This phenomenon appears around the 15th c. although the available textual evidence is limited. Distinction must be made between addition of unstressed /e/, which is a recurrent morphological

⁵⁰ In view of the substantial textual material, the absence of these forms in Crete is notable. So far, only one instance has been located in Dellaportas and a few more in the late work of Marinos Tzane Bounialis. It is also absent from the modern Cretan dialect (ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1926: 169–70; LIOUDAKI 1938: 424; PAN-GALOS 1955: 299–300). In Cretan texts (as well as in the modern Cretan dialect) the oxytone acc. forms with addition of final /e/ or /a/ are preferred; see below.

⁵¹ Such genitive forms occur in the modern dialect of Crete (LIOUDAKI 1938: 424) and Naxos (OIKONOMIDIS 1952: 236), as well as in Amorgos (THUMB 1897: 12). For the distribution see LENDARI/MANOLESSOU 2013.

⁵² The form is characteristic of the so-called Old Athenian dialect group: see KAMBOUROGLOU 1910: 48 and PANDELIDIS 2016b: 128 for Athens; BENARDIS (2006 s.v. *τοῦνος*) and SYRKOU (2006: s.v. *τοῦνος*) for Megara; THUMB (1891: 111) for Aegina and FAVIS (1911: 42) for Euboea. It also occurs in areas of the Peloponnese (PANDELIDIS forthcoming) and in S. Italian Greek (ROHLFS 1977: 92–3; KARANASTASIS 1997: 69–70).

change in nominal and verbal morphology, attributable to phonological reasons (see I, 2.6.3), and addition of stressed /e/, which is strongly deictic and restricted to Cretan texts from the late 16th c. onwards. Characteristically, in Crete it applies even to the neuter nom./acc. sg., a feature which is completely absent from other areas and nominal paradigms.⁵³

Addition of unstressed /a/ is due to the analogy of pronouns such as ἐμένα (see 5.5.1.2), whereas addition of stressed /a/ involves reanalysis of final /n/+a/ as the deictic particle νά (see 5.5.1.8; cf. also PERNOT 1907/46: II 204). Both types appear from the 15th c. but the textual evidence is very scarce. Only in Cretan texts can one find stressed final /a/ spreading to other cases without /n/ (e.g. ἐτουτεσά τς ἀθιβολῆς FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.88).⁵⁴

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	οὔτος ἰ (ἐ)τοῦτος	(ἐ)τούτη ἰ ταύτη	(ἐ)τοῦτο(ν) ἰ (ἐ)τουτονέ ἰ (ἐ)τουτονά
Gen.	(ἐ)τούτου ἰ (ἐ)τουτουνοῦ ἰ (ἐ)τουτονοῦ ἰ (ἐ)τουνοῦ	ταύτης ἰ (ἐ)τούτης ἰ (ἐ)τουτηνῆς ἰ (ἐ)τουτουνῆς ἰ (ἐ)τουτονῆς ἰ (ἐ)τουνῆς	(ἐ)τούτου ἰ (ἐ)τουτουνοῦ ἰ (ἐ)τουνοῦ
Acc.	(ἐ)τοῦτο(ν)(ε) ἰ (ἐ)τούτον(α)(ν) ἰ (ἐ)τουτονέ ἰ (ἐ)τουτονά ἰ ἐτούτονά(ν)	ταύτην ἰ (ἐ)τούτη(ν)(ε) ἰ (ἐ)τουτηνέ ἰ (ἐ)τούτηνα ἰ (ἐ)τουτηνά(ν)	(ἐ)τοῦτο(ν) ἰ (ἐ)τουτονέ ἰ (ἐ)τουτονά
Plural			
Nom.	οὔτοι ἰ (ἐ)τούτοι ἰ τουτοινά	ταῦτες ἰ (ἐ)τούτες	ταῦτα ἰ (ἐ)τούτα
Gen.	(ἐ)τούτων(ε) ἰ (ἐ)τουτουνώ(ν)(ε) ἰ (ἐ)τουτονῶ(ν)(ε) ἰ (ἐ)τουνώ(ν)	(ἐ)τούτων(ε) ἰ (ἐ)τουτουνώ(ν)(ε) ἰ (ἐ)τουτονῶ(ν)(ε) ἰ (ἐ)τουνώ(ν)	(ἐ)τούτων(ε) ἰ ((ἐ)τουτουνώ(ν)(ε)) ἰ (ἐ)τουτονῶ(ν)(ε) ἰ (ἐ)τουνώ(ν)
Acc.	(ἐ)τούτους ἰ (ἐ)τουτουνοῦς ἰ (ἐ)τουτονοῦς	ταύτας ἰ ταῦτες ἰ (ἐ)τούτες ἰ τούτας ἰ	ταῦτα ἰ (ἐ)τούτα

⁵³ As in the case of fluctuation between the oxytone and paroxytone extended forms of αὐτός (see 5.5.1.2), such a distinction is inhibited by the fact that many Cretan texts may have been transmitted in Latin script, which only occasionally stress notation. The position of the accent is often the choice of the modern editor.

⁵⁴ This must be the earliest attestation of the inflectional paradigm which is normal in the modern Cretan dialect (see LIOUDAKI 1938: 424; PANGALOS 1955: 299–300).

Singular*Masculine*

Nominative

General	Restricted
τούτος	ούτος ἢ ἐτούτος

- ούτος επικατάρατος μάλλον καὶ ἀπηλπισμένος *Spaneas* V 57
 μὴ οὗτος ἔνι ὃν λέγουσι Βασίλειος Ἀκρίτης; *Dig.* G VI.190
 οὗτος ὁ Σκουριπέκης (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.3)
 οὗτος τὸν ἀπεκρίθηκεν *Pol. Tr.* 106
 οὗτος ὁ δούκας *Chron. Toc.* 3; οὗτος ὥσάν ἀπίστησεν *ibid.* 3125
 ὁ κόσμος οὗτος *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 76
 ἠρώτησέ με ὁ νοτάριος οὗτος (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 76, 144.20)
 οὗτος ὁ συβασμός (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 31, 61.44)
 ὁ γλυκὺς οὗτος ἥλιος *Krasop.* V 16
 οὗτος ἦλθε καὶ ἐκάθισε *Spanos* D 385
 οὗτος ὁ Αἴσωπος *Vios Aisop.* D 209.13
 κίνησεν οὗτος, ποῦ ἦν Σπανιόλος ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1182
 οὗτος ὁ Αδόλιος LANDOS, *Kalok.* 340.33
- τούτος ὁ Παλαιολόγος (1256, Palatia (Miletos), NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 289.13)
 τούτος [ὁ τοπ]ος / τούτος ὁ τόπος (1306, Trebizond, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1886: 1, 114.1)
 μὴ τοῦτος εἶν' τὸν λέγουσιν ὁ Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης; *Dig.* E 1216
 τοῦτος ὁ γάμος *Assizes* A 116.31
 τοῦτος ὁ σταυρωμένος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.8
 ὁ κόσμος τοῦτος *Spaneas* Z 149
 τοῦτος ὁ φαιλίτης *Chron. Toc.* 1464
 τοῦτος ὁ νέος *Byz. Il.* 625
 ἂν ἦτον δάσκαλος τοῦτος SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 36
 ποῖος ἔνι τοῦτος *Diig. Alex.* V 33.4
 τοῦτος μ' αὐτείνους ἤτονε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath* 3164
 τοῦτος μὲ θάρρος κράζει *Cypr. Canz.* 100.22
 τοῦτος τὰ ἐκατέγραφεν ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 125.A.24
 τοῦτος μεθεῖ, κί' ἄς πηαίνω CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.513
 θλίβει με τοῦτος ὁ καιρός, λυπεῖ με ὁ χρόνος τοῦτος *Dimotika Ivir.* I.1–2
 τούτος φυλάγει το σπίτι *Theophr. Char.* 121.30
- ὁ λαίλαπας ἐτούτος *Jonas* 214.33
 ἐτούτος γὰρ ἐκόμπωσε τοῦ Πέτρου τὴν γυναῖκα *Chron. Toc.* 882
 ἐτούτος ὁ δραγάτης [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2477
 ἐτούτος ὁ ἀνθρώπος (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 86.18)
 ἐτούτος μ' ἀποκράτηξε *Apoll. Rim.* V 1825
 ὅτι ἐτούτος νὰ βασιλεύσει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 336.25
 ἐτούτος ὁ ποντικός (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 58.22)
 ὁ ὄστος ἐτούτος *Nov. II* 161.8–9
 ὁ γάμος ἐτούτος *Pist. voskos* I 2.373 app. crit.
 ὁ ἰοβόλος ἐτούτος δράκων RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 51.20
 ὁ λαὸς ἐτούτος (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: 8, 305.22)

ἐτούτος μὴ ἔχοντας τί κάμη (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 745.12)
τέτοιος ἦτον ὁ ἄγιος ἐτούτος MAXIMOS, *Synax. Ag. Nik.* 139.72

Genitive

General	Restricted
(ἐ)τούτου ἢ (ἐ)τουτουνοῦ	(ἐ)τουνοῦ ἢ (ἐ)τουτονοῦ

- ἡ τούτου γυναικαδελφή *Dig.* G IV.942
 τῆς τούτου μυωξίας *Ptoch.* IV 15
 διὰ ὁδοῦ τοῦ νοτάρου τούτου (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.54)
 τούτου τοῦ ρέ Πιέρ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 98.34
 ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου CHEILAS, *Chron.* 350.18
 ἐρωτήθηκα ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νοτάρου (1530, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 142, 257.28)
 τούτου τοῦ τύραννου VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 902
 τὴν τούτου ἐνόχληση (1661, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 31, 54.7)
 ἐκ τοῦ Αἴαντος ἐτούτου ERMON., *Ilias* 22.55
 τοῦ τόπου ἐτούτου (1503, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 244, 203.8)
 ὡς ἤκουσεν τὸν ἐρχομὸν ἐτούτου *Dig.* A 2185
 ἐτούτου τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ (1609, Cyprus, CHASIOIS 1972: 33, 55.29)
 τοῦ τόπου ἐτούτου (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.8)
 τὴν σκόνην ἐτούτου LANDOS, *Geopon.* 250.22
 ἐτούτου τοῦ πρώτου SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 36.11
 ἐκ τουτουνοῦ τοῦ κόσμου *Alex. Rim.* 2368
 ἕως τὲς ἰβ' τουτουνοῦ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου (1551, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 47, 89.3)
 in Scio il Genitiuo fa τουτουνοῦ, τουτονῆς, τουτουνοῦ GERMANO, *Grammar* 69.27
 ἀπὸ τουτουνοῦ τοῦ κόσμου [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 345.21
 ἀνδραγαθίαν τουτουνοῦ παναξίαν θυμοῦ *Irodis* I.10–11
 τοῦ ἀνὴρ ἐτουτουνοῦ *Jonas* 214.37
 ποῖος ληστής χειρότερος ἐτουτουνοῦ εἰς τὸν κόσμον DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1130
 τοῦ κόσμου ἐτουτουνοῦ τοῦ φθαρτοῦ DAM. STOUΔ., *This., Logos* 4, γ8r.22
 ἐτουτουνοῦ τοῦ ἐμπιστεμένου λαοῦ (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.18)
 τοῦ ἦλθαν ἐτοῦτα ἐτουτουνοῦ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.3
 εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἀπλότητα ἐτουτουνοῦ *Bertoldin.* 149.7
 ἐτουτουνοῦ τοῦ κόσμου PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1884
 τοῦ τόπου ἐτουτουνοῦ (1688, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 39, 73.3)
 ἐτουτουνοῦ τοῦ ἀναθεματισμένου ἀνθρώπου SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 45.5
 ἐτουτουνοῦ τοῦ τόπου (1723, Lefkada, KONDOMICHIS 1957: 307.24)
 ἐτουτονοῦ τοῦ καιροῦ *Vios Aisop.* I 273.1
 ἀρχίζοντα ἀπὸ τὴν α" τουνοῦ τοῦ Μάρτη (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 105, 86.5)
 τουνοῦ τοῦ μηνός (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 257, 254.9)
 ὅς τουνοῦ τοῦ πύργου CHORTATISIS, *Erof.* V.42; τουνοῦ τοῦ καυχισάρη id., *Katz.* I.165
 τουνοῦ τοῦ γάμου *Pist. voskos* I 4.153
 τουνοῦ τοῦ παναγίου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 411.6

έτουνου τοῦ νοταρίου (1607, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 16, 18.10)
 κ' έτουνου καί όλονῶ μου τῶν έγγονιῶ (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 80.65)
 έτουνου τοῦ γάμου *Pist. voskos* I 2.150
 έτουνου τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ κρήνου MOREZINOS, *Klini* 40.13; τοῦ κόσμου έτουνου *ibid.* 73.19–20
 έτουνου τοῦ αἰῶνος VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 35.16
 όλωνῶν τῶν χρόνων καί έτουνου ποῦ τρέχει (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 163, 335.8)

Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
τοῦτον ἢ έτοῦτο(ν)	(έ)τούτονε ἢ (έ)τουτονέ ἢ (έ)τουτονά	(έ)τούτονα(ν) ἢ έτούτονά(ν)

ὁ δέ τοῦτον δεξάμενος *Dig. G* I.175
 διδάσκων τοῦτον *Spaneas* Va 4
 τόν ὄρκον μου τοῦτον (1346–7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 257.69)
 ὡς εἶδεν τοῦτον ὁ ἀμειράς *Dig. E* 517
 τοῦτον τόν λόγον ἤλεγαν *Peri xen.* 301
 τόν τόπον τοῦτον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1246
 ἀπό τόν κόσμον τοῦτον *Theseid* X.19,4 (1529)
 ὕδωρ τοῦτον ἤτησαν *Krasop.* AO 36
 τοῦτον τόν λίθον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 10.11
 γυμνός ἦρτα εἰς τοῦτον τόν κόσμον *Fior* 77.9
 εἰς τοῦτον γάρ τόν κόσμον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 410
 στόν κορμό τοῦτον *Thysia Avr.* 866
 μέ τοῦτον τόν ταιριασμόν (1615, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 46, 197.14)
 τόν έξορκισμόν έτοῦτον STAFIDAS, *Iatrosof.* 14.384
 ὅλον τόν μήναν έτοῦτον (1546, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 175, 113.8)
 έτοῦτόν μου τόν λόγον *Pist. kekoim.* 35
 έτοῦτο τόν καιρόν (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 51.31)
 ἔχω έτοῦτον τόν σκλάβον *Vios Aisop.* D 258.15
 έτοῦτον τόν λογισμόν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.28
 έτοῦτον εκλέγομεν, έτοῦτον ζητοῦμεν (1679, Sovana, Tuscany, PAPADOPOULOS 1979: 1, 472.10–11) (author from Mani)
 ἀπό τόν κόσμον έτοῦτον (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 345, 553.17)
 ἦλθα στόν κόσμον τούτονε ποῦ γέμει τὰ φαρμάκια *Theseid* IV.81,2 (1529); κ' εἰς τόν δρυμῶνα
 τούτονε *ibid.* V.37,8; ἀπέ τούτονε *ibid.* VI.53,6 (Olsen)
 τούτονε, όπου *Poulol.* 408 app. crit. (V)
 στόν πόλεμον έτοῦτονε KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* III.113
 ἴς τόν κόσμον τούτονε VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 181
 γιά τόν τόπον έτούτονε (1571, Mani, CHASIoTIS 1970: 5, 239.13)
 στόν φόβο τούτονε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 424
 εἰς καιρόν έτούτονε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 36.8.
 εἰς τοῦτονέ τὸ φόνον *Zinon* II.97; έτοῦτονέ νά καρφωθεῖ *ibid.* V.262
 γιατί εἶδα τοῦτονέ νεκρό BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 186.8
 έτούτονα *Peri xen.* 130 app. crit. (V)
 ἀπ' τόν σευδα έτούτονα *Diig. Vefa* 426; μέ τόν τρόπον τούτονα *ibid.* 1020

τούτονά GERMANO, *Grammar* 86.22

τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐτούτονάν / τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐτούτοναν (app. crit.) (1684–5, Moscow, ŠANGIN 1936: 3, 123.3–4)

Feminine

Nominative

General	Restricted
τούτη ἡ ἐτούτη	ταύτη

ἡ παρούσα μου ταύτη χαριστική (1065, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 34, 202.26)

ταύτη ἐστὶν ἡ διακράτησις (1143?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 15, 537.13)

ταύτη ἡ πρᾶσις (1176, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 2, 369.28)

ταύτη ἡ ἀγία μονή (1199, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 247, 336.11)

ἡ βασίλισσα ταύτη *Pol. Tr.* 12224

ἡ ποινὴ ταύτη (1420, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 2 [B'], 22.22)

ἡ γὰρ σιγὴ μου ταύτη [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2006

ταύτη δὴ ἡ κενὴ καὶ ματαία ἐλπὶς ΚΑΝΑΝΟΣ, *Diig.* 63.259

ἡ ἀδελφὴ μου ταύτη *Chron. Mor.* P 7430

ἡ γραφὴ ταύτη (1513, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1978: App. III (b), 104.22)

τούτη οὖν ὥς εἴρηται ἡ σκιογραφηθεῖσα ἡμῶν γῆς (1034, Athos, LEFORT 1973: 1, 41.15)

ἡ ζάλη τούτη νὰ διαβῇ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 314

τούτη ἡ πεθυμία μου *Theseid* Prol. E 116

τούτη εἶνε εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.10

τούτη ἡ ὕστερὴ μου ὀρδουνία (1530, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 142, 257.29)

τούτη ἡ ἀγάπη (1540, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 78, 59.6)

ἡ κομεσιὸς τούτη νὰ στέκη παντοτινὰ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 127, 126.21)

τούτη σκληρὴ *Cypr. Canz.* 14.13

τούτη εἶναι ἡ μοιρασία (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 451.20)

τούτη ἡ κρίσις ἡ φοβερὴ *P&N Diath.* 4690

ἡ παρρησία τούτη *Tzabl.* 96

τούτη ἡ δουλειὰ ἃς γένει *Thysia Avr.* 283

διότι τούτη ἐπάλιωσε (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.11)

τούτη εἶναι ὅπου σὲ ἀγαπᾷ *Vios Aisop.* D 224.2

τούτη μου ἡ παραγγελία (1677, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 2, 125.36)

τούτη εἶναι ἡ αἰώνιος Κόλασις PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 112.13

ἐτούτη <ή> ὑστερινή (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.25)

ἐτούτη ἔναι ἡ ἀληθινὴ ρέγουλα (15th/16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.1)

ἐτούτη εἶναι πολλὰ φρόνιμη *Diig. Alex.* V 33.24

ἐτούτη ἡ διαθήκη (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 237, 144.15)

ἐτούτη ἡ συμφορὰ *Vios Aisop.* I 281.16

ἐτούτη ἡ μέρα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 89.32

ἡ ἀφορμὴ ἦτον ἐτούτη (1663, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 39, 136.16)

ἡ πρώτη καὶ ὕστερη παραγγελία εἶναι ἐτούτη (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 138.2)

ετοτε η φηλαδα / ἐτότη ἡ φυλλάδα (1690, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 48, f.54v.1)

Genitive

General	Restricted
τούτης ἰ ἐτούτης	ταύτης ἰ (ἐ)τουτηνῆς ἰ (ἐ)τουτονῆς ἰ (ἐ)τουτουνῆς ἰ (ἐ)τουνηῆς

τὴν ταύτης μοχθηρίαν *Ptoch. I* 26
 τῆς ταύτης χώρας ὄνομα *Liv. E* 2618
 τῆς Τύχης ταύτης νὰ ἔλειπα *Velth. 436*
 ἀπὸ τῆς μήτρας γυναικὸς ταύτης *Byz. II. 26*
 τῆς γυναικὸς μου ταύτης *Achil. O* 30
 τὰ ταύτης πανουργεύματα *Synax. gadar. 140*
 ἔνεκα ταύτης (1559, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 1, 225.3)
 οἱ ἀποδράσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς ταύτης χώρας (1264 [17th c. copy], Kefalonia, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 99.1102)
 ταύτης τῆς κοινότης (1663, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 28, 31.14)

τούτης τῆς δημηγερείας *Pol. Tr.* 10076
 τῆς γαστέρας τούτης *ERMON., Ilias* 2.265
 τούτης τῆς μάχης *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 292.33
 τῆς γεννήσεως τούτης *KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 331.12*
 τούτης τῆς ζωῆς *Cypr. Canz. 107.6*
 τούτης τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ καλῆς ἀγάπης *Fior* 78.37
 τούτης τῆς δούλεψης *SANKTAM., Praxeis apost. 17.42*
 ἔλα νὰ πὰ χτυπήσωμε τούτης τῆς Πουλισένας *CHORTATSI, Katz. IV.215*
 τούτης τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς (1603, Kefalonia, ANDONAKATOU 1980: 398.3)
 τούτης τῆς μεγαλειότητος κοινότης (1650, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: (2), 29.7)
 τούτης τῆς πολιτείας μας *Zinon I.292*
 τούτης τῆς τετραετίας (1696, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 112, 308.21)

ἀπὸ ἐτούτης τῆς ἀφορμῆς *Chron. Mor. H* 3748; ἐτούτης μου τῆς ἀδελφῆς *ibid. 7433*
 πρὸς τὴν ἔξουσιν ἐτούτης *Theseid VI.5,2 (Olsen)*
 ἐτούτης τῆς τέχνης (15th/16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.7)
 τῆς γενᾶς ἐτούτης *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Louk. 7.31*

ἐτουτεινῆς *Theseid I.47,5 (Follieri)*
 τουτηνῆς τῆς ζωῆς *KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 171.33*
 ἐτουτηνῆς *Pent. Gen. 7.13*; ἐτουτηνῆς *ibid. 29.27*
 ἐτουτηνῆς τῆς χώρας (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 33.6)
 ἐτουτηνῆς τῆς γραφῆς (1576, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 79, 99.40)
 ἐτουτηνῆς τῆς πτωχῆς τῆς μητρόπολης (1613, Naxos, CHASIOITIS 1966: 15, 206.15–16)
 ὁ ἀπάνθρωπος τουτηνῆς ἄνδρας *Irodis III.248*
 τουτηνῆς τοῦ ἀσβολωμένης μάχης *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 432.24*

ἐτουτουνῆς τῆς ὥρας *Diig. Alex. Sem. S* 1290

τουνηῆς τὼς τῆς κομεσιὸς (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 115, 94.9)
 τουνηῆς τῆς σετέντζιας (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 316, 311.194)
 τοῦ ἔγνοιᾶς μόνον ἐτουνηῆς *CHORTATSI, Erof. II.370*; τουνηῆς τοῦ νίκης *id., Erof. Interm. III.124*
 ἐτουνηῆς τῆς γυναικὸς *MOREZINOS, Klini 67.33*
 ἐτουνηῆς τοῦ πάρτες (1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 569, 506.21)
 τουνηῆς τῆς χώρας (1609, Crete, PENDOGALOS 1972: 2, 189.3); ἐτουνηῆς τῆς χώρας *ibid. 189.9*
 κε τουνυς / καὶ τουνηῆς (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 80.60)

έτουνῆς τσῆ γραφῆς (1633, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 62, 164.9)

τουνηῆς τσῆ χώρας FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.3; έτουνῆς id., *Fort. Interm.* II 113; τουνηῆς τσῆ λευτεριᾶς μας id. *Fort. Interm.* IV 126

Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
τούτη(ν) ἰ έτούτη(ν)	ταύτην ἰ (έ)τούτηνε ἰ (έ)τουτηνέ	(έ)τούτηνα ἰ (έ)τουτηνά(ν) ἰ (έ)τουτηνήν

στέργω ταύτην (1400, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 10, 194.17)

τὴν ἡμισιν ταύτην (1414, Corfu, MALTEZOU 1991a: (1), 317.19)

τὴν δουλείαν ταύτην (1453, Thrace/Black Sea?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 4, 87.5)

τὴν παρούσαν μου ταύτην διαθήκην (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 44, 75.6)

διὰ ταύτην τὴν πρόβλεψιν (1482, Unknown, LEFORT 1981: 1, 34.21)

ταύτην τὴν βίβλον *Achil.* N 1881

ἀπῆρε ταύτην μοναξιάν, ἐρώτησεν κάκεινην *Velth.* 957

ταύτην τὴν πονηρίαν *Assizes* A 101.6

πόθεν ἠπῆρες τὴν βουλήν, ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν *Byz. II.* 251

καὶ καλῶς δέσετε ταύτην *Ptochol.* α 140

τὴν ὥραν ταύτην DELLAP., *Peri antapod.* 95

ταύτην τὴν ἀξίαν (1524, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 2, 1η.24)

ἐκ ταύτην τὴν χώρα τῶν Χανίων (1548, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1992: 15.5)

πολλὰ ἐπειράχτηκες διὰ ταύτην *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 900

ταύτην τὴν γραφήν (1607, Kalymnos, KOUTELAKIS 1981: 3, 29.7)

λαουντάροντας ταύτην τὴν μπερλατσιόν (1608, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 36, 37.23)

ἔγραφα ταύτην τὴν φυλλάδα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §34.9

ἀπὲ ταύτην τὴν ἀνάγκην (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), 28.13)

ταύτην τὴν γυνή μου, τὴν Καλή (1673, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 7, 175.9)

βλέπεις τὴν πύλην ταύτην VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 346

τούτην ἀναλαβότες (982, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 5, 133.24)

τούτην τὴν ὑπόστασιν (1059, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 9, 110.12)

τούτην δὲ τὴν καθαρὰν καὶ τέλειαν ἀφιέρωσιν (1083, S. Italy, HOLTZMANN 1926: 1, 340.24)

ἡσυχολήθη τούτην *Spaneas* Va 466

διὰ τούτην τὴν αἰτίαν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 234.247)

μέσα εἰς τούτην τὴν φιλίαν *Chron. Mor.* H 8511

τούτην τὴν στράταν ὅλην *Dig.* E 887

τούτην τὴν νύκταν *Liv.* S 1800

τὴν ὥραν τούτην PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 303

εἰς τούτην τὴν ἡμέραν *Assizes* A 116.14

τούτην τὴν γῆν *Alfan.* II 18

τούτην τὴν κοντετζιόν (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 50, 89.62)

εἰς τὴν ζωὴν μας τούτην *Pist. kekoim.* 126

καμωμένη πρώτη ἀπὸ τούτῃ (1562, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 9, 23.22)

διὰ τούτην τὴν μίαν ὑπόθεσιν (1584, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1976: 150.97)

τούτην τὴν σκληρὴν του ὀργὴν (1617, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970b: 3, 230.14)

τὴν παρὸ τούτῃ πρώτη καὶ ἐστάτῃ διαθήκῃ (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 40.9)

τούτην τὴν παραπόνεσιν (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 24.6)

έτούτην τήν βουλήν μου *Spaneas* Z 89
τήν συνήθειαν έτούτην (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.1)
βεβαιώνου έτούτη (1562, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 9, 23.22)
τήν φορά έτούτη (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 392.1)
τήν φοράν έτούτην (1590, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 2, 347.18)
έτούτη τήν όμοιαν κάμαρα (1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 152, 276.6–7)
ταμένη | είχε τήν κακορίζικη έτούτη νά τοϋ δώση CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.364–5
άπό τήν γραφήν έτούτην (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.30)
έτούτην τήν ύστερινήν και τελευταίαν μου διαθήκη (1672, Milos, CHATZIDAKIS I. 1927: A, 299.1)
κάνει τήν παραγγελίαν έτούτη (1676, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 1, 123.14)
εις έτούτην μου τήν ανάγκην (1696, Ioannina, MICHAELARIS 1976: 3 [Γ], 254.11)
έτούτην τήν ώραν (1699, Salona, DOKOS 1975: 12, 173.1)

έτούτηνε *Peri xen.* 237 app. crit. (A)

τήν νύκτα τούτηνε KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VI.216
έδω στήν πόλιν τούτηνε *Theseid* III.71,5 (1529); στήν μάχην τούτηνε *ibid.* V.44,3
νά τούτηνε, και τούτηνε άλλην, | και τούτηνε άκομή, και ύστερα τούτην *Pist. voskos* III.3.19–20
τούτηνε τήν αύτή ντονατζιό (1646, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 77, 194.10–11)
σε τούτηνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 83

στή βάρδια τουτηνέ CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.79; θές κι άλλες; Νά και τουτηνέ! *ibid.* III.539–40

τήν καλωσύνην τούτηνα *Dig. Vefa* 848

έτουτηνάν *Peri xen.* 237 (ms V)

ετουτηνήν την ώραν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1871; *ibid.* 458, 1142

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General	Restricted
τουτο(ν) έτοϋτο(ν)	(έ)τουτονέ (έ)τουτονά

και τουτον οϋκ άρεστον τω Θεω (1137, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 8, 627.4)
τουτον το άμπέλιον (1186, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 221, 289.11)
και δια τουτο σώζονται οι κληρονομίαι (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.595)
τουτον θέλω το γράμμα (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.24)
εις τουτο μας, ω δέσποτα, το τωρινόν ταξίδιν *Achil.* N 292
έτοϋτον πούλησέ το (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1119)
το τροπάριν έτοϋτο STAFIDAS, *Iatrosoph.* 24.196
εις έτοϋτο το έγράψαμεν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 276.17)
εις έτοϋτο (1493–4, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 36, 179.20)
έτοϋτο το βοτάνι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 45
πρός έτοϋτον και αι μαρτυρίαι (1500, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 102, 179.18)
και έτοϋτο όπου τους έπειράσαμεν (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 237.34)
και έτοϋτο έτοϋτον το καλόν όπου ήκαμες (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.16)

καὶ ἐτοῦτον ἐμπουμπλικαρίστη (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 289, 407.23)
 εἰς ἐτοῦτον ἰδίνω (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 2, 11.6)
 ἐτοῦτο ποτέ μου δὲν τὸ ἔβαλα εἰς τὸ νοῦν μου (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.34)
 ἐτοῦτο πού σέ λέγω *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 358
 ἐτοῦτον τὸ σκάνδαλον ὅπου μέλλει νὰ ξάψη (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 7, 177.33)
 εἰς ἐτοῦτο ἔδωσα τὴν ὁμολογία μου (1661, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 11, 125.7)
 ἐτοῦτο τὸ συνοικέσιον (1695, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 110, 306.20)
 νὰ τουτονὲ τὸ χάρισμα! CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.467; τὸ κρέας τουτονὲ *ibid.* IV.378
 ἐτοῦτονὲ τὸ σπήλιο εἶναι δικό μας *Vosk.* 192⁵⁵
 εἰς τουτονὰ νὰ πῶ καὶ νὰ ριμάρω LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 184 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner: τοῦτο
 ὄδα)

Genitive

General	Restricted
τούτου ἢ ἐτούτου ἢ (ἐ)τουτουνοῦ	(ἐ)τουνοῦ

τούτου τοῦ χωραφίου (1227–50, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 20, 157.10)
 τοῦ κάστρου τούτου *Pol. Tr.* 2460
 τούτου του καστελλίου *Achil.* N 481
 τοῦ ἐντροπιασμένου τούτου προσώπου *Vios Aisop.* D
 ἐτούτου τοῦ πλήθους (1609, Cyprus, CHASIoTIS 1972: 33, 55.2)
 τουτουνοῦ τοῦ караβίου (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1946: 500.13)
 ἕτερον συνεγγὺς τουτουνοῦ (17th c., Kefalonia, TZANNETATOS 1965: 2, 112.16); ἕτερο
 χώραφι πλησίον ἐτουτουνοῦ (*ibid.* 116.4)
 τουτουνοῦ τοῦ νησίου (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 139.6–7)
 ἐτούτου του χορίου / ἐτουτουνοῦ τοῦ χωρίου (1516, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011:
 8, 38.16)
 τουνοῦ τοῦ ἱστρουμένου (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 579, 450.23)
 ἐτουνοῦ τοῦ χωριοῦ (1583, Crete, MERTZIOS 1965: 61, 129.4)
 ἐτουνοῦ τοῦ παροῦ ἱστρουμένου (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 31, 50.3)
 του νεροῦ ετουνοῦ CHORTATSI, *Panor.* II.145
 ἐτουνοῦ τοῦ δεινοῦ πάθους MOREZINOS, *Klini* 60.5
 μὲ δύναμην ἐτουνοῦ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἱστρουμένου (1603, Crete, VIOLIDAKIS 2006: 2, 265.12–13)
 ἐτουνοῦ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἱστρουμένου (1608, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 36, 37.10)
 ἐτουνοῦ τοῦ ἱστρουμένου (1614, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 1, 331.11)
 ἐτουνοῦ τοῦ χωριοῦ (1616, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 2, 221.82)
 ἐτουνοῦ μου τοῦ τεσταμένου (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 57.300)
 τοῦ παιδιοῦ ἐτουνοῦ *Zinon* II.420
 ἐτουνοῦ τοῦ νησοῦ (1716–29, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 38, 96.6)

⁵⁵ τούτονὲ τὸ θεμέλιο *Pist. voskos* I 2.369 should be considered a dubious reading. The neuter form τούτονὲ is otherwise unattested.

Plural
Masculine
Nominative

General	Restricted
τούτοι έτοῦτοι	οὔτοι τουτοινά

ήνικά δέ καί [οί] πέντε οὔτοι τελειωθοῦν (1430, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 24, 134.30)
ἐκάθισαν γοῦν οὔτοι οἱ ἄρχοντες *Porikol.* I 112
καί ὁ σελάς καί σαμαράς χρῶνται καί οὔτοι ταῦτα *Diig. tetr.* 626
ἦσαν οἱ στίχοι οὔτοι *PARASPOND.*, *Machi Varnas* 115
ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι οὔτοι *Achil.* N 925
οὔτοι εἶναι, ποῦ θέλουσιν νά κρούουν *Dig.* A 3170
λοιπὸν ὡς εἶδασι καλῶς ὡς οὔτοι οὐ γλυτώνουν *Velis.* N² 228
οὔτοι ... οἱ παρόντες δ' κουμέσοι (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 77, 74.6)
οὔτοι λέγονται Μακάριοι *Diig. Alex.* K 267.2
τίνος εἶναι οὔτοι οἱ παῖδες ΠΑΡΑ-ΛΑΥΡ., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 100.39
καί οὔτοι ἠθέλησαν (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 24, 44.18)
οὔτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ἀνακαινιστάδες (1611, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1977a: 48.23)
πῶς οὔτοι | έμελλαν νά πληρώσουν *Ist. Enet.* 418.39–40

τούτοι δέ ἀρματώθησαν *Pol. Tr.* 8486 app. crit. (X)
καί τοῦτοι εἶναι δυνατοὶ *Chron. Toc.* 410
μαντατοφόρους εἶδασιν τοῦτοι ἀπὸ μακρόθεν *Achil.* O 196
κι ἀπὸ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐβγαῖνα οἱ λόγοι τοῦτοι *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 94
τοῦτοι ἐσκοτώσαν τὸν ρέ Πιέρ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 404.1
τούτοι ἦσαν οπού εμοβίαζαν *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 50.13
καί τοῦτοι οἱ βασιλιοὶ *CHORTATZIS, Erof. Prol.* 127
τούτοι θέλουν πᾶσα δυὸ χρόνους (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.14)
καί τοῦτοι ὅπου γυρίζουσι καί νυκτοπαρωροῦσι *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.685

έτοῦτοι δέ ἀρματώθησαν *Pol. Tr.* 8486 app. crit. (AV)
ἀποθνήσκοντας έτοῦτοι (1558, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 226, 275.8)
έτοῦτοι μοῦ τ' ἀκούσασι καί τοῦτοι ἄς σοῦ τὸ ποῦσι *P&N Diath.* 3073
έτοῦτοι εἶναι γογγυστάδες *KALLIOUP.*, *Ioud.* 16
ποῖοι εἶναι έτοῦτοι *Apok. Theot.* 490.65
έτοῦτοι οἱ έχθροὶ *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 34.5
έτοῦτοι οἱ ὀγδονταπέντε γιαντισάροι (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 28, 78.3)
έτοῦτοι ... τοὺς ἐναντιονόντανε *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 38.37

πῶς ἀποθαίνουν τουτοινά *LIMEN.*, *Than. Rod.* 258 (Wagner and ms: τοῦτοι νά)

Genitive

General	Restricted	Rare
τούτων έτούτων (έ)τουτουνῶν	τουνῶ(ν)	τουτονῶν(ε) έτουτουνῶνε

τὸν πόνον τούτων *Spaneas* Va 433
πολλοὺς τούτων ἀνέϊλον *Dig.* G V.184
οἱ τούτων κατώτεροι (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.587)

ἐγγύς τῶν οἰκῶν τούτων *Dig. A* 598
 τὴν ἀτυχίαν τούτων *LIMEN., Velis. (Λ)* 247
 τὰς ἀποφάσεις τούτων *Synax. gadar.* 86
 τούτων τῶν χρόνων *SKORD. MARAF. G., Evang.* 438.340
 δια τούτων τῶν πολλῶν ἐπαίνων *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1631) 232.41
 καὶ μετὰ τούτων ὁ Μουσούρ τοῦ Ταρσίτου ὁ υἱός [*VLASTOS*], *Dig. P* 405.10
 ὁ Ἀδάμ καὶ ὁ Σῆθ καὶ οἱ τούτων ἀπόγονοι *LANDOS, Geopon.* 129.31

καὶ ἐτούτων *NIKON, Logos* 2 138.19
 ἐτούτων τῶν Ἑλλήνων *Theseid* I.78,6 (Follieri)
 ἐτούτων τῶν δυσσεβῶν *AGAP., Mart. Ag. Deka* 509

ἐτουτουνῶν τῶν πονηρῶν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 242; τὰ μάγια τουτουνῶν *ibid.* 2703
 τουτουνῶν τῶν Ἑβραίων *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 376.32–3; ἡ μάνα τουτουνῶν *ibid.* 355.27
 ἐτουτουνῶν τῶν λόγων *MAX. PELOPON., Kata Ioud.* 316.29
 πῆς το λοιπὸν τουτουνῶν *Bertoldos* 25.18
 ἐτουτουνῶν χαρίζει *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 76
 ὥσάν τὸ στόμα ἐτουτουνῶν *KORNAROS, Erot. V.150 app. crit. (X)*

τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐτουτωνῶν *Pent. Gen.* 19.8

τουτονῶν *GERMANO, Grammar* 69.27

συμπάθησε τουνῶν *P&N Diath.* 3604
 τουνῶ τῶ δυον ἀγαφτικῶ *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.300; τουνῶ τῶν νιῶν *id., Erof.* IV.113
 τουνῶ τῶ συμπεθέρω *Stathis* III.437

τουτωνῶνε *PORTIUS, Grammar* 68.12

Accusative

General	Restricted
τούτους ἢ ἐτούτους	(ἐ)τουτουνοῦς ἢ (ἐ)τουτονοῦς

μὴ περικόπτης τούτους *Spaneas Va* 484
 μὴ περικόπτης τούτους *Spaneas P* 242
 τούτους ἰδὼν ὁ δοῦλος σου *Ptoch. III* 243
 μετὰ τούτους τοὺς πέντε χρόνους (1355, Palatia (Miletos), *MANOUSAKAS* 1962b: 1, 234.10)
 τούτους τοὺς λόγους εἶπεν *Chron. Mor. H* 5894
 ὅλους τοὺς λόγους τούτους *Diig. tetr.* 179
 πότισον τούτους *STAFIDAS, Iatrosoph.* 2.3
 τούτους τοὺς ζαγάνους (1489, Rhodes, *LEFORT* 1981: 20, 102.7)
 τούτους τοὺς παίρνεις ἐκ τὴν γῆν *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 352
 τσὶ γάμους τούτους *CHORTATIS, Panor.* V.5.374
 βάστα τούτους τσὶ δαυλοῦς *Thysia Avr.* 740
 τούτους τὶς τρεῖς λόγους (1637, Chios, *PAPADOPOULOS* 1989: 3, 95.11)
 νὰ στέκουνται μὲ τούτους τοὺς πάτους (1649, Mykonos, *ZERLENDIS* 1924a: [5], 19.13)
 διὰ ἐτούτους τοὺς καλοὺς τοὺς εὐγενεῖς στρατιῶτες *Chron. Mor. P* 8937
 ἐτούτους τοὺς λόγους *Diig. Alex. F* 140.14 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἐτούτους τοὺς δυὸ μῆνες *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.294
 ἀπὸ τοὺς πονηροῦς δούλους ἐτούτους *MOREZINOS, Klini* 48.34
 ἐτούτους τσ' ὁμορφους καρπούς *KORNAROS, Erot.* 2168

ἀπὸ τουτουνοὺς *Pol. Tr.* 8059 app. crit. (BX)
εἰς ἐτουτουνοὺς τοὺς κακοποιοὺς ἀνθρώπους *Diig. Alex.* E 171.3 (Lolos)
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτουτουνοὺς *Pent. Ar.* 1.17
ἕνας ἀπὸ τουτουνοὺς τοὺς βασιλεῖς *Vios Aisop.* K 189.24 app. crit. (SMT)

ἐτουτονοὺς τοὺς χρόνους *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* Proem.86
ἐτουτουνοὺς τοὺς χρόνους *ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2466
ἐτουτουνοὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους *Bertoldin.* 94.12; ἕνας ἀπὸ τουτουνοὺς τοὺς καβαλιέρους *ibid.*
137.29–30
εἰς τουτουνοὺς τοὺς χρόνους *ΔΙΑΚΡ., Diig. Pol.* 77

Feminine

Nominative

General	Restricted
τοὔτες ἰ ἐτοὔτες	ταὔτες

τοὔτες αἱ δύο σύνταξεις *Pol. Tr.* 3889 app. crit. (X); ἐκεῖ ὅπου τοὔτες τραγουδοῦν *ibid.* 13775 app. crit. (V)
καὶ τί δουλεῖες εἶν' τοὔτες *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 590 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner: δουλειαῖς εἶν)
τοὔτες οἱ πῆχες *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 188.23
τοὔτες οὔλες οἱ πέντε μανιέρες *Fior* 127.27
τοὔτες οἱ τέσσαρες βουλές *Diig. Alex.* E 141.20 (Lolos)
καὶ τοὔτες οἱ διδασκαλίες *DEFAR., Log. did.* 16
οἱ σαῖτες μου τοὔτες οἱ χρυσωμένες *Stathis Prol.* 5–6
ποιές τοῦ καιροῦ μεταβολές εἶν' τοὔτες; *Zinon* II.363
τοὔτες οἱ τέχνης *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.2196

ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐτοὔτες τραγωδοῦν *Pol. Tr.* 13775 app. crit. (AC)
ἐτοὔτες εἶναι γυναῖκες ὅπου ἐσκοτώσασι *Apok. Theot.* 490.71

οἱ νηστεῖες ταὔτες *ΝΙΚΟΝ, Logos* 4 214.1
ταὔτες ὅπου ἐξορίσθησαν *Spaneas Z* 411
ταὔτες οἱ δύο σύνταξεις *Pol. Tr.* 3889 app. crit. (BV)

Genitive

General	Restricted
τούτων	τουτουνῶν ἰ ἐτουτωνῶν

καὶ μέσον τούτων ἴστατο ἡ ἐξαίρετος ἐκείνη *Achil.* N 656
τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 177, 175.11)

τουτουνῶν ὁλωνῶν τῶν θυσιῶν *MAX. PELOPON., Kata loud.* 327.19

ἐτουτωνῶν τῶν κεφαλῶν *CHIKAS, Monod. Sev.* 37.114

Accusative

General	Restricted
τοὔτες ἰ ἐτοὔτες	τούτας ἰ ταὔτες ἰ αὔτας

τούτες τοίνυν τές ρηθέντες ἑλᾱῖες (1272, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 326, 484.11)
 εἰς τοῦτα τὰ βουνά, εἰς τοῦτες τές κλεισοῦρες *Chron. Mor.* P 5361
 ἀπ' ὅλες τοῦτες *Deft. Par.* 92
 εἰς τοῦτες τες ανακάτωχιες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 208.19
 εἰς τοῦτες τῖς παρτίδες (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 387.23)
 ὅς τούτες τσι μερές CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.297
 μὲ τοῦτες τῖς δύναμες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 43.20
 τοῦτες τές δύο ἑορτές (1615, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 9, 5.41)
 εἰς τοῦτες τές δύο ὑπόθεσεις (1680, Naxos, SIFONIU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 34, 184.16)

στὶς μεριές ἐτοῦτες (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 92.18–19)
 ἐτοῦτες τές ἡμέρες (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 3, 302.5)
 ἐτοῦτες τῖς ντεφερέτσιες (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 51.36)
 ἐτοῦτες τές δόξες VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.8
 μὲ τῖς σταφίδες ἐτοῦτες (1653, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 215, 186.37)
 ἐτοῦτες μας τές δικαιολοημένες ζήτηξες (1716–29, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 38, 96.13)

εἰς τούτας τὰς ἡμέρας GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 186
 τούτας τὰς συντυχίας *Liv.* V 3961
 εἰς πάντας τούτας τὰς ὀπλάς *Assizes* B 333.24
 εἰς τας ἡμέρας τούτας IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5951

ταύτας ἐγὼ τὰς φυλακάς GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 470
 ταύτας τὰς ἱστορίας *Log. parig.* L 436
 ταύτας δὲ τὰς μονάδας (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 22, 26.5)
 διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 57.78)
 εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας (1497?, Rome, MAVROEIDI-POUMIDI 1971: 4, 136.2)
 ἔξαπορῶ μὲ ταύτας τὰς τσερδέλας *Ptoch.* IV 248-21 app. crit. (P)
 καὶ ταύτας ὀλογυρίζουσι δύο γυναῖκες *Vios Aisop.* E 290.29
 ἰδὼν ταύτας ὁ Βέλθανδρος *Velth.* 551
 εἰς ταύτας τὰς ὑποθέσεις (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 452.12)
 ταύτας τὰς χάριτας LANDOS, *Geopon.* 187.34
 εἰς ταύτας τας αἰτίας IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5340

πρὸς τές ἁγίες τοῦ Θεοῦ ταῦτες μονές (1102, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 2, 550.17); ἔλαβε
 ταῦτες τές δύο ὀγγίες (1171, *ibid.* Coll. VII: 4, 364.14)
 ἠφάνισε τές χώρες ταῦτες (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III, 27.4)

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General	Restricted
τοῦτα ἢ ἐτοῦτα	ταῦτα

ταῦτα τὰ σύνορα (1142, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 303.25–7)
 ἀφήμι ταῦτα τῶν ἀνηψιῶν μου (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 44, 76.44)
 γρικῶντα ταῦτα (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.7)
 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα *Porikol.* I 39
 ταῦτα τὰ εἰρημένα προικία (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 3, 7.14)
 ταῦτα καλὰ τὰ γνώθουν *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 33
 ταῦτὰ ἔλεγεν ὁ γάδαρος *Synax. gadar.* 42

καὶ ταῦτα μόνον ἐφόρτωσε (1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 175.14)

τὰ δύο μέρη ταῦτα (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 3, 31.6)

των οἱσίων τα ονόματα εἶναι τὰύτα LANDOS, *Kalok.* 338.8

τοῦτα εἰσὶν τὰ χοιρίδια τὰ ἐκλέψαν (1133, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 113, 151.25)

τὰ τοῦτα καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνα; GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 280

τοῦτα εἶνε τὰ προυμουτιάσματα σας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 526.3

τοῦτα τὰ δένδρα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.36

τοῦτα τὰ ἔκαμα (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 116, 165.56)

τοῦ ἀποκρίνομαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.22)

τούτα ὅλα τα λυπητερὰ VAROUCHAS, *Logoi* 467.29–30

τοῦτα τὰ λόγια VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 41.27

ἐτοῦτα γοῦν ἐκατηράθη ὁ βασιλεὺς Κυδωνίος *Porikol.* I 174

ἐσεῖς καλὰ τὸ ἐξεύρετε ἐτοῦτα (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.4)

ἀπὸ τὰ μέρη ἐτοῦτα (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 103.9)

ἐτοῦτα νὰ τὰ κρίνη LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 262

τὰ Ρεβέντα ἐτοῦτα (1509, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [1], 6.21)

τὰ σύννορα εἶναι ἐτοῦτα (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 341.30)

τὰ κελλία ἐτοῦτα (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.19)

μὴ δείχνοντας ἐτοῦτα (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 392.1)

ἐτοῦτα ἀκούγοντας ἡ τιμία ἐκείνη MOREZINOS, *Klini* 43.1

ἐτοῦτα τὰ ὕστερα (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 135: 149.13–14)

ἐτοῦτα τὰ τρία εἶναι χωριστὰ (1674, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 9, 222.10)

ἐτοῦτα εἶναι τὰ βιβλία ὅπου χρειάζονται (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 308, f.1r.28)

τὰ ὁποῖα ὀνόματα εἶναι ἐτοῦτα (1696, Andros, POLEMIS 2001: 10, 110.14)

Genitive

General	Restricted
τούτων ἢ ἐτούτων	ἐτουτωνῶν ἢ ἐτουτωνῶν ἢ τουνῶν

τούτων τῶν τυπωμάτων *Ptoch.* II 29

τούτων τῶν πριγκηπάτων *Pol. Tr.* 10600

εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν τούτων (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 270.6)

ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τούτων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 118

σκόρδον ἢ κρομμύδι ἢ ἄλλο φαγὶ τούτων ὅμοιον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 183.33

τῶν κακῶν ἐτούτων RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 74.5

ἐτούτων τῶν ζώων *Bertoldin.* 112.9

τῶν σκανδάλων ἐτούτων SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 45.13

ἐτουτωνῶν τῶν οὐρανίων μυστηρίων MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 326.7

ἐτουτωνῶν τῶν θηλυκῶν *Bertoldos* 35.27

τω κορασὼ τουνῶ *CHORTATSI, Panor.* V.294

ἐτουτωνῶν τῶν προσκαίρων πραγμάτων VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.13–14; ἡ γλυκότης

ἐτουτωνῶν *ibid.* 41.19

Other Forms

In several cases, literary and non-literary texts contain forms of the pronoun οὗτος/τούτος which present levelling of the stem form in the “wrong” direction. These should not be considered as regular variants of the pronoun, but as hypercorrections due to imperfect command of the higher registers of the language:

- προκατεῖχε καὶ πτωχοὺς οὐτους (1284, Athos?/Lemnos?, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 74, 25.34)
 οὔται δοραὶ τίνες εἰσὶν *Diig. Alex.* M 4941
 οὔτη ἡ ὀρμασία *Assizes* B 368.6
 οὔτες αἱ δύο σύνταξες *Pol. Tr.* 3889 app. crit. (A)
 τὸν καιρὸν οὔτον *Spanos* B 35
 ἡ παροῦσα μου οὔτη γραφή (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 45, 55.22)
 οὔτα εἰσὶν τὰ ὀφειλούμενα πράβματα (1533, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 39, 80.5)
 εἰσὲν οὔτον μόδον (1659, Zakynthos, AVOURIS 1973: 219.12)
 ταῦτος ὁ ρύαξ (1126, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 98, 129.7)
 ἐγράφη ταῦτον τὸ ἔγγραφον (1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 618.22)
 τὸ χωράφιν ταῦτο (1194, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 237, 320.6)
 ταῦτο ἃ γένη τέλος *Defi. Par.* 81
 εἰς ταύτους σκλαβωμένοι *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* Proem.80

Early Modern texts from Cyprus offer rare instances of a syncopated form of the pronoun τοῦτος, resulting from haplology in coarticulation with a following definite article, i.e. τοῦτον τον > τοῦν τον (SIAPKARAS-PITSILLIDÈS 1975: 411). The form appearing hapax in the *Cypr. Canz.* is an editorial correction: τούν τήν λλίγην τήν ζωήν *Cypr. Canz.* 136.5 (τούν ed. τουτιν ms), but it can be found in later texts, e.g. τοῦν τὸ χάρισμα KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 163. The form is regular in the modern Cypriot dialect, as well as in S. Italy (MENARDOS 1969: 63; ROHLFS 1977: 95; SYMEONIDIS 2006: 215), and parallels the evolution ἐκεῖνον τον > ἐκείν τον attested since the *Assizes* (see 5.5.1.8).

An emphatic demonstrative ἐδετοῦτος is created through prefixation of τοῦτος with the deictic adverb ἔδε (< AG ἰδέ) (JANNARIS 1897: 161; KRIARAS, *Epit.* s.v.). The form is extremely rare in the corpus examined, e.g. καὶ γιὰ ᾽δετοῦτο μοῦ χρωστεῖς FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 641 app. crit. (N).

5.5.2 Qualitative Demonstratives

5.5.2.1 Introduction and Historical Overview

The qualitative demonstrative function is fulfilled by the AG demonstrative τοιοῦτος, appearing in the oldest LMedG texts such as the Athos and S. Italian archives and continuing throughout the period in higher-register texts, and the innovative demonstrative τίτοιος/τέτοιος/ἔτοιος. All are inflected like adjectives in -ος (see 3.2.1–2) and function both as pronouns and as determiners, optionally preceded by the article, depending on the meaning and type of text.

The provenance of the new forms τίτοιος/τέτοιος/ἔτοιος has not up to now been satisfactorily explained. One set of proposals considers them evolutions of the AG demonstrative

τοῖος, whether through reduplication (MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 606) or through blending with the interrogative or indefinite τί (MEYER 1889: 177; PERNOT 1907/46: II 227) or through an intermediate step ἔτοιος (with prothesis of /e/) followed by analogical reduplication based on τοῦτος (CHATZIDAKIS 1934; KRIARAS 1976). The alternative theories derive τίτοιος/τέτοιος from τοιοῦτος (JANNARIS 1897: 162, §584; BOUTOURAS 1911: 50–1) through a dissimilatory or weakening process which remains unclear. Chatzidakis's analysis is the one commonly accepted in standard MG dictionaries (ANDRIOTIS, *Lex. s.v.*, BABINIOTIS, *Lex. s.v.*, LKN, *s.v.*); however, it faces the serious difficulty that its requisite intermediate step, ἔτοιος, is first attested much later than τίτοιος and, apart from an isolated instance in the medical formulary of Stafidas (see below), is found only in Cretan texts and in the modern Cretan dialect. Additionally, ἔτοιος cannot be used with the same range of meanings and functions as τίτοιος and τέτοιος (see below). If ἔτοιος is not considered as an intermediate step of the derivation of τέτοιος, then it must be seen as a later evolution of τέτοιος resulting from haplography (JANNARIS 1897: 162, §584).

Furthermore, the form τοῖος, supposedly the first step in the derivation (either a direct descendant of AG poetic τοῖος according to Mavrofydis, or an analogical medieval creation based on ποῖος and οῖος according to Chatzidakis), has only very few and dubious attestations in the medieval period. The forms in question are the following:

- τατηατονε λαλη / τὰ τοῖα τὸν ἐλάλει (11th c., Mani, DRANDAKIS 1972/73: 2, 666.1–2, and plate 13)
 ἡ τίας οὖν περιστάσεως / ἡ τοῖας οὖν περιστάσεως (1266, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 302, 431.17)
 ὅτι τοῖοι ἐπῆγαν εἰς τὴν Κερυνίαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 422.12–13; μὲ τοῖαν τάξιν *ibid.* 620.1 app. crit.
 καὶ ἔχει τοῖαν βερτοῦδεν / καὶ ἔχει τοῖαν βερτοῦδεν *Lapid.* 187.13
 πάλιν τὰτῖα λέγει / τὰ τοῖα (?) λέγει *Dig.* E 1329 app. crit.

The early testimony from Mani is part of an inscription which is open to alternative interpretations (see DRANDAKIS 1972/73: 667–8, corrected by KRIARAS 1976: 167–9); the two isolated examples from Machairas, as well as the *Lapidary* and *Digenis* E, could easily be viewed as haplographies from τίτοιος and τέτοιος respectively.⁵⁶ The example from S. Italy is one of ten identical passages in an equal number of documents (dated 1266 to 1272, all drawn up by the same compiler), and in every case is used as a variant – most probably erroneous – of the learned indefinite pronoun οἴοσοῦν (= whoever). Therefore, there is no conclusive evidence for the existence of a MedG demonstrative pronoun τοῖος, as postulated in older literature.

⁵⁶ It is worth noting that the interpretation τὰ τοῖα in *Digenis* E was suggested by Kriaras, while KARAGIANNI (1976: 116, 239) and subsequently the editor, Alexiou, corrected to τὰ τέτοια on the basis of several parallels in the text (the phrase τὰ τέτοια is also frequent in the version of *Livistros* transmitted in the same manuscript). Also, in Machairas's *Chronicle* the hypothesis of haplography is further strengthened by the fact that the previous word is ὅτι (τίτοιος is the standard form in the text). Crucially also, in the *Lapidary* the exact same phrase ἔχει τίτοian βερτοῦδε occurs in the paragraph just above the one in question (*ibid.* 187.13).

The demonstratives τοιοῦτος, τίτιος, τέτιος may have other meanings beyond that of a qualitative demonstrative; they may also function as indefinite or personal pronouns or determiners (see also 5.3.1.5). The relative chronology of appearance of the various innovative forms is partly reflected by their meaning and use in texts since not all functions are covered by all forms. In more detail, the demonstratives τοιοῦτος, τίτιος, τέτιος, ἔτιος are used in the following ways in MedG:

- 1) As qualitative demonstratives with the meaning “such”, “such a”, “of such a kind”, “this sort of”, used both as pronouns and as determiners. Actually this is the most common use and is covered by all forms:

τοιοῦτος ἄς ἦσαι πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ οὐ μὴ σὲ λείψῃ φίλος *Spaneas* P 28
τοιοῦτου μεγάλου ἀνθρώπου *Pol. Tr.* 12701 app. crit. (A)

εἰς τίτιον φόρον τίτια πρέπει (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1137–8)
τίτια τέχνη ποττὲ δὲν χάννεται *Fior* 102.35

τέτια στράτα καλή (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.11)
δὲν ἐφάνη ποτὲ τέτιος εἰς τὸν κόσμον [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P V 363.38

Special mention must be made of the phrase τοιούτης/τέτιος/ἔτιος λογῆς (“of such kind”), which is very common throughout the MedG and EMG periods, and gradually becomes fossilized as a demonstrative adverb (“in such a way”, “thus”), e.g.:

τοιούτης λογῆς ἤμασταν τότε *IER. ANVATIOS, Diig. Seismou* 333.9

τέτιος λογῆς παιδάκι *P&N Diath.* 1670

τέτιος λογῆς ἀγάπησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν κόσμον *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Ioan.* 3.16

ἔτιος λογῆς μανίζει *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.111

The co-occurrence of the qualitative pronoun with the indefinite article is very rare but seems to increase in frequency towards the end of the period under examination. The chronology of this construction is connected with the development of εἷς/ἕνας as an indefinite article (see 5.2.2): καὶ μὲν ἕνα τέτιον σχῆμα *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 251; βλέποντας ἕνα τέτιο μεγάλο θάμα *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 62.18. In late texts the same construction appears with τοιοῦτος, most probably as an attempt to elevate the style, e.g.: νὰ σταυρώσετε ἕναν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 431.33; διὰ τὸν θάνατον ἐνοῦ τοιοῦτου θαυμαστοῦ βασιλέως *Alex. Fyll.* 110.31; ἕνα τοιοῦτον παράδειγμα *ibid.* 117.6; ἕνας τοιοῦτος βασιλεὺς *Diig. Vefa* 125.

- 2) The co-occurrence of the definite article with τοιοῦτος, τίτιος, ἔτιος is quite frequent throughout the MedG and EMG periods, both in pronominal and in determiner function. However, in this case they are used quite often (but not always) as intensive or personal pronouns with the meaning “the aforementioned”, “the same” (see also *PSALTES* 1913: 195).⁵⁷

⁵⁷ The articular usage appears with the pronoun ἔτιος only once in a very problematic passage in Dellaportas: ὁ ἔτιος γυμνὸς ὡς ἔπεσεν ὁ κόκκος *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2921.

καὶ σύ, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ἐξαίρετος ὁ νέος *Liv.* V 240
 ἐκομπῶσαν τὸν τοιοῦτον καὶ τηλικοῦτον σὶρ Τζουὰν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 388.11
 τῶν τοιούτων ἀγίων *AGAP., Mart. Ag. Deka* 70

ἐζήτουν τὰ τίτεια τὸ κατὰ δύναιν μου ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 19 566.14–15 app. crit. (S)
 τὰς τίτειας μυριοχάριτας *Liv.* V 324
 τὴν ἀφήγησιν τὴν τίτειαν καὶ τοσαύτην *Liv.* S 2288

ἐμὲν τὰ τέτεια ἐλάλησεν *Dig.* E 1130
 τὰ τέτεια ξεφαντώματα καὶ τέτεις γλυκασίες *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 371

This is particularly characteristic of the pronoun τοιοῦτος, which appears in an articular construction as a standard formula in legal texts:

ἐγράφη ἡ τοιάπη ἀφιέρωσις (1053?, S. Italy, *GUILLOU* 1972a: 26, 117.16)⁵⁸
 ὁ τοιοῦτος τόπος ἐδόθη (1162, Thessaloniki, *LEMERLE et al.* 1970: 64, 333.87)
 εἰς ἀναζήτησιν τοῦ τοιούτου τόπου (13th c., Pontos, *OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH* 1927: 20, 9.6)
 ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων τεσσάρων ἀνθρώπων (1319, Athos, *LEMERLE et al.* 1977: 106, 176.37)
 ἡ τοιαύτη πώλησις (1400, Patras, *GERLAND* 1903: 10, 194.17)
 διαίρει ὁ τοιοῦτος ποταμὸς (1407, Athos, *LEMERLE et al.* 1982: 17, 124.37)

- 3) A special and limited use of τίτεις and τέτεις appears in texts under Romance influence, specifically the *War of Troy* and Cypriot texts such as the *Chronicle* of Machairas and *Fior de Vertu*.⁵⁹ In these texts the meaning is that of a contrastive pronoun, i.e. “some” ... “others” (see also *KOUNDOURIS* 2009: 81). This is possibly a calque from the corresponding function of Romance *tel, tale* (see e.g. *DMF*, s.v. *tel*; *ROHLFS* 1968: 226 §509).

τέτεις χαρὰν ἐχαίρονταν, τέτεις καὶ πάλιν θλίψιν *Pol. Tr.* 4207 (only in ms B)⁶⁰
 τίτεις ἐσκοτώθησαν, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐλαβώθησαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 314.20; καὶ τίτεις
 ἐκρεμίσαν καὶ ἐσκοτώσαν καὶ ἄλλους ἐκατακόψαν *ibid.* 322.9
 τίτεις μέλισσες ἐνὶ ὀρδινιασμένες ... τίτεις ἄλλες *Fior* 114.28; καὶ τίτεις ἀπὸ τοὺς ρηγάδες
 ἐνὶ μαῦροι καὶ τίτεις κόκκινοι *ibid.* 115.2

5.5.2.2 τοιοῦτος

The AG demonstrative τοιοῦτος remains in use throughout the MedG and EMG periods, even in texts of low register. It is the preferred pronoun in legal texts of all registers and the exclusive option in higher-register texts. Note that ὁ τοιοῦτος in legal texts is mostly a simple locative demonstrative with the meaning “this/the afore-mentioned”; see 5.3.1.5. The replacement of τοιοῦτος by τίτεις/τέτεις is gradual and both alternatives may be used in the same text.

⁵⁸ For the hypercorrection see I, 3.8.1.4.

⁵⁹ There is also one instance of such a use of τοιοῦτος in Machairas: καὶ πολλοὶ Γενουβίσοι ἐλαβώθησαν πικρά, καὶ τοιοῦτοι ἐπεθάνασιν, καὶ πισταρίου ἐκατέβησαν καὶ ἐθάψαν τοὺς εἰς τὸ νησί *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 342.9.

⁶⁰ Cf. the Old French original (*Roman de Troie*, 10192): Li un joiant, li autre irié.

Concerning the inflection of τοιοῦτος, one may observe a gradual paradigm levelling with the generalization of the stem form τοιουτ- instead of τοιαυτ-. This evolution appears already in the earliest texts of the period under investigation and has most probably started in Late Antiquity (see, e.g., τοιούτη ἄώρῳ περιπέσοιτο συνφορᾷ *MAMA* 10: App. 1, 182.21, 2nd c. AD).

Again, hypercorrect forms generalizing the stem τοιαυτ- instead of τοιουτ- appear, though not very commonly, from the 12th c. onwards as a reaction to this levelling change.

So far, only a single instance of an extended form with /e/ has been located (με τιουτινε συμφωνία / με τοιούτηνε συμφωνία (1550, Athos, ΠΑΥΛΙΚΙΑΝΟΝ 2006: 16, 102.3).

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	τοιοῦτος	τοιαύτη ἢ τοιούτη	τοιοῦτο(ν)
Gen.	τοιούτου ἢ τοιουτουνοῦ	τοιαύτης ἢ τοιούτης	τοιούτου
Acc.	τοιοῦτον	τοιαύτην ἢ τοιούτη(ν)	τοιοῦτο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	τοιοῦτοι	τοιοῦτες ἢ τοιαῦται	τοιαῦτα ἢ τοιοῦτα
Gen.	τοιούτων	τοιούτων	τοιούτων
Acc.	τοιούτους	τοιαῦτες ἢ τοιοῦτες ἢ τοιαύτας ἢ τοιούτας	τοιαῦτα ἢ τοιοῦτα

Singular

Masculine

Nominative

General
τοιοῦτος

ὁ τοιοῦτος σεισμὸς (11th c., Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 1, 2.9)

τοιοῦτος ὃς ἦσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ μὴ σὲ λείψῃ φίλος *Spaneas* P 28

ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ (1258, Philadelphia?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 15, 154.43)

ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀρχοντόπουλος (1319, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 106, 176.12)

εἰς τὰς γενέας ἅπασας τοιοῦτος οὐκ ἐφάνη *Dig.* E 1702

λοιπὸν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔχοντα ἀλήθειαν καὶ κρίσι *Assizes* B 273.19

ἂν εἶναι τοιοῦτος ὁ Χριστὸς *MAX. PELOPON., Kata Ioud.* 320.6

ποῖος νὰ εἶναι ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄξιος ἀνὴρ (1696, Corfu, ΚΑΡΑΔΟΧΟΣ 1990: 112, 307.9)

Genitive

General	Restricted
τοιούτου	τοιουτουνοῦ

ἔνεκεν τοῦ τοιούτου τόπου (ca. 1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/ΒΕΝΕΧΕΒΙΤΣ 1927: 21, 9.10)
 διὰ τιμὴν τοιούτου μεγάλου ἀφέντου *Chron. Mor.* P 3432
 περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου ἵππου *Ptochol.* α 446
 διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου ἀποκρισιαρίου SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 16.23
 τὰ καμώματα του τοιούτου ἀνδρός *Vios Iosif* 269.15
 τοῦ τοιούτου περιορισμοῦ (1264 [17th c. copy], Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 38.122)
 ο θάνατος τοιουτουνοῦ φίλου (1503, Rhodes, MINAS 2012: 14, 409.26)

Accusative

General
τοιούτον

τὸν τοιούτον οἶκον (1169, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 8, 76.12)
 τοιούτον οὐκ ἐξορθώνουσι *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 45
 ἐπαρεκάλεσεν τὸν τοιούτον (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.8)
 τὸν τοιούτον ἄνθρωπον *Liv.* α 3686
 τοιούτον λόγον εἶπαν *Dig.* E 188
 τοιούτον ἄγουρον *Achil.* N 277
 εἶχεν υἱὸν τοιούτον *Byz. Il.* 1031
 μέ τοιούτον τρόπον (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 193, 117.8)
 εἰς τοιούτον λογισμόν (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 145, 115.6)
 εἰς τοιούτον τρόπον (1590, Corfu, KARYDIS 2004/06: 3, 49.5)
 τοιούτον δεσπότην *Vios Aisop.* K 160.1
 μέ τοιούτον τρόπον (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999b: 17.11)
 νὰ εὐτρεπίσῃ τὸν τοιούτον νάον (1692, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 49, 38.19)
 μέ τοιούτον τρόπον (1695, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 192, 115.3)

Feminine

Nominative

General	Rare
τοιαύτη	τοιούτη

ἐγράφη ἡ τοιάπτη μαρτυρία (1051, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 3, 49.7) (for the hypercorrection of the consonant cluster see I, 3.8.1.4)
 ἔνι κληρονόμος ἡ τοιαύτη μονή (1361, Thessaloniki?, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS 1984: 34, 207.23)
 νὰ ἔνι τοιαύτη φιλία (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 6, 310.15–16)
 τούτη ἡ τοιαύτη φιλιά *Fior* 78.27
 τοιαύτη πλάνη σκοτεινὴ ἐκατάλαβε τὴν χώραν *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 59.168
 ἐπροξενήθη ἡ τοιαύτη ζημία (1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 175.29)

ἡ τοιαύτη ἀνάγκη *Vios Aisop.* D 217.30

τοιοῦτη βουλὴ νὰ γένῃ *Pol. Tr.* 833

ἡ τοιοῦτη ἀγάπη τῆς πορνείας *Fior* 81.35

Genitive

General
τοιαύτης ἰ τοιοῦτης

τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς (975, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 7, 5.5)

τῆς τοιαύτης πράσιως (1176, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 2, 369.14)

μετὰ τοιαύτης συμφωνίας (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 18, 158.16)

τῆς τοιαύτης ὑπηρεσίας *Vios Aisop.* D 213.6

τῆς τοιοῦτης νήσου (1117, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 1, 384.13)

τῆς τοιοῦτης προσηκούσης προνοίας (1369, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 28, 109.6)

τοιοῦτης καλοσύνης καὶ τοιοῦτης τιμῆς *Assizes* B 301.5

τοιοῦτης ὀπλῆς *Assizes* A 48.27

τοιοῦτης ἀπαλλαγῆς KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 423.31

τοιοῦτης γενεάς *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 59.188

μορφὴν τοιοῦτης σόρτας *Cypr. Canz.* 137.11

νὰ ᾖ τοιοῦτης χάρης MONTSEL., *Evgena* 444,

τοιοῦτης λογῆς σεισμὸς IER. AVVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 335.28

διὰ τῆς τοιοῦτης διαθήκης (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 610, 841.11–12)

Accusative

General
τοιαύτην ἰ τοιοῦτη(ν)

τὴν τοιαύτην ἀφιέρωσιν (981, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 8, 6.31)

εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπόθεσιν (1337–8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.51–2)

ἐλάλησα παραγγελίαν τοιαύτην *Dig.* E 1473

τοιαύτην δίδω τὴν τιμὴν PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 25

ἐρώτησιν τοιαύτην *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 202

καὶ μὲ μανίαν καὶ θυμὸν λέγει πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην *Diig. tetr.* 269a app. crit. (CA)

ποίησον θεραπείαν τοιαύτην STAFIDAS, *Iatrosof.* 4.105

μὲ τοιαύτην συμφωνίαν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 27, 62.24)

τοιαύτην εὐχὴν τὸν δίδει *Achil.* N 348

τοιαύτην πομπὴν *Spanos* D 610; τοιαύτην καὶ τοσαύτην ὑπομονὴν *Spanos* D 640

εἰς τοιαύτην τάξιν *Fior* 75.7

ὁποῦ ἔπλασεν τοιαύτην *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 15

τοιοῦτην θλίψιν *Pol. Tr.* 13737

ἀπόκρισιν τοιοῦτην *Chron. Mor.* P 273; τοιοῦτην γὰρ ἀπόκρισιν *ibid.* 7338

εἰς τοιοῦτην ὥραν *Assizes* B 297.9

εἰς τοιοῦτη συμφωνίαν (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 18.10)

εἰς τοιοῦτη μανιέρα (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.16 app. crit.)

μὲ τοιοῦτην στράταν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 65.3)

μέ την τοιούτην γυναῖκαν *Assizes A* 116.13
 μέ τοιούτην συμφωνίαν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 5, 25.9)
 μέ τοιούτην διπροσωπιάν *Fior* 123.31
 τοιούτην δοξολογίαν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.22
 εἰς τοιούτην συνίβαση (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 189, 156.7)
 εἰς τοιούτην λογήν *Pist. kekoim.* 6
 τοιούτην δούλεψιν κάμνει *Vios Aisop.* I 253.28
 ἦλθας εἰς τοιούτη συμβίβαση (1625, Crete, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 11, 7.6)
 τοιούτην ἀρέσκεϊαν *Bertoldos* 44.34

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General
τοιούτο(ν)

τὸ τοιούτον μοναστήριον (1015, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 15, 16.3)
 τὸ τοιούτον μυλοστάσιον (1123, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll.X: 1, 471.13)
 τὸ τοιούτο οὖν ἄμπελον (1169–70, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 19, 126.10)
 εἶχεν καὶ κείνη τὸ δενδρόν τοιούτον *Log. parig.* L 539
 τοιούτον πρᾶγμα *Pol. Tr.* 369 app. crit. (A)
 τοιούτον κρίσιμον μέλλει νὰ κριθῇ *Assizes B* 376.11
 τοιούτον μὴ συνέβη *Anon. Naupl.* 4
 τοιούτον πλέρωμαν *Assizes A* 30.9
 ὥστε πολλοὶ ἐθαύμασαν ἰδόντες τὸ τοιούτον *Velis.* N² 32
 μέ τοιούτο νὰ πλερώνουνται MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.24–5
 τοιούτο πρεμετέρει καὶ ἡ ἄνωθεν (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 205, 172.8)
 τοῦτο μὲν τὸ θαῦμα εἶναι τοιούτον *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* I 11–12
 τοιούτον καθὼς εὐρίσκεται (1630, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 111, 221.18–19)
 ἕνα τοιούτον παράδειγμα *Alex. Fyll.* 117.6

Genitive

General
τοιούτου

μέχρι τοῦ τοιούτου ρυακισίου (1324, Thessaloniki, LEFORT et al. 1994: 80, 285.29)
 τοιούτου πραγμάτου *Assizes B* 448.30

Plural

Masculine

Nominative

General
τοιούτοι

εἶχον μετ' ἔμου φίλους ἑκατὸν τοιοῦτοι ὅλοι *Liv.* α 803 app. crit. (P)
 τοιοῦτοι ἄνθρωποι *Assizes* B 282.31
 οἱ κριτάδες πρέπει νὰ ἔνη τοιοῦτοι *Assizes* A 28.22; τοιοῦτοι λαὸς *ibid.* 74.25
 οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄς κοιμῶνται *LANDOS, Geopon.* 177.17–18

Genitive

General
τοιοῦτων

τις τῶν τοιοῦτων (1172, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 179, 235.19)
 παρὰ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀποκρισιarίων (1361, Constantinople, *KODER et al.* 2001: 262, 554.55)
 τοιοῦτων μεγάλων ἀνθρώπων *Chron. Mor.* P 1003
 τῶν τοιοῦτων μετασημένων εἶναι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν ουρανῶν *ANDONIOS, Vios Sym. Styl.* 244.43
 τῶν τοιοῦτων εἶναι ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 10.14
 τῶν τοιοῦτων ἁγίων *AGAP., Mart. Ag. Deka* 70

Accusative

General
τοιοῦτους

τοὺς τοιοῦτους τόπους (1017, Athos, *LEMERLE et al.* 1970: 21, 165.15)
 ἐκ τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀνθρώπους (1165, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 167, 220.20)
 τοιοῦτους συντρόφους *Pol. Tr.* 793; τοιοῦτους χιλίους ἐρρίψασι *ibid.* 6018 app. crit. (X)
 τοιοῦτους λόγους *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 106
 τοιοῦτους μάρτυρας *Assizes* B 395.23
 τοιοῦτους ἄρχοντας καλοὺς *Synax. gadar.* 245
 τοιοῦτους λόγους λέγει *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 125

Feminine

Nominative

General	Rare
τοιοῦτες	τοιαῦται

καὶ σύντομον ἄς γένωνται τοιαῦται ἱατρεῖαι *Ptoch.* IV 569
 τοιοῦτες ἐνὶ οἱ μαρτυρίες *Assizes* B 485.1
 ἄλλες ποτὲ τοιοῦτες δὲν ἔγιναν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 418.28
 τοιοῦτες ὀκαζιόνες *Bertoldos* 62.8

Genitive

General
τοιοῦτων

τὰς ὁμοίας τῶν τοιούτων *Assizes* B 413.20

τῶν τοιούτων χαρίτων (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 12, 48.10)

Accusative

General	Rare
τοιάυτας ἰ τοιοῦτες	τοιαῦτες ἰ τοιούτας

ἀφορμὰς προβάλλεσαι τοιάυτας *Dig. G* IV.476

χολὰς πολλὰς ἀπλήρωτας, τοιάυτας καὶ τοσαύτας *Velth.* 509

τοιάυτας διηγῆσεις *Synax. gadar.* 259

διότις ἐφατρίασαν τοιάυτας ἀνομίας ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡΡ., *Pali* 2674

τοιαῦτες ὑποθέσεις *Pol. Tr.* 6596 app. crit. (A)

τὲς τοιαῦτες ὑπόθεσες (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 249.33)

οὐκ ἔχει τοιοῦτες μαρτυρίες *Assizes* B 485.12

ἔδωκε τοιοῦτες τὸν Ἀχιλλέα *Pol. Tr.* 4450 app. crit. (X); τοιούτας νὰ μὲ εἶχε δώσει *ibid.* 8661

διὰ τοιοῦτες ἀφορμὲς *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 592.11

τὲς τοιούτες γνώμες *Theophr. Char.* 120.6

τοιούτας ὑποθέσεις *Pol. Tr.* 4987 app. crit. (A)

ἐφειδὴ οὐκ ἔχει τοιούτας μαρτυρίας *Assizes* A 235.9

τοιούτας διαλέξεις *Bertoldos* 10.13–14

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General	Rare
τοιαῦτα	τοιοῦτα

τὰ τοιαῦτα δύο λαχίδια (1036, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 2, 30.11)

τοιαῦτα πέπονθα δεινὰ *Ptoch. I* 268

τὰ τοιαῦτα πράγματα *Assizes* B 292.1

ὁ λύκος ἔφησε τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἄρκον *Diig. tetr.* 843

τοιαῦτα τοὺς ἐλάλει *Achil.* N 518

ὡς ἤκουσεν ἡ κόρη τὰ τοιαῦτα *Ag. Nik. Strat.* 44.35–6

τοιαῦτα ἀναφέρει *Synax. gadar.* 261

τοιαῦτα εἶπεν MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 225

τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπέρπυρα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 26, 105.12)

τοιαῦτα λόγια *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1190

θαυμάζοντας τοιαῦτα πράγματα PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 110.20

τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.70

ἀσασιναιμένα καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III, 26.3)

λέγε τα τοιαῦτα *Theophr. Char.* 120.5

τὰ τοιοῦτα χωράφια (1053?, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 26, 117.10)

τὰ τοιοῦτα χωράφια (1092, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 54, 71.19)

ἀποστρέφεται τὰ τοιοῦτα μνηστρα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 13.)

τοιοῦτα κορμιά *Assizes* B 282.24; μὲ τοιοῦτα βοτάνια καὶ μὲ τοιοῦτα δροσάτα *ibid.* 437.16

ἀπογλύτωσαν τὰ τοιοῦτα κς' βιβλία (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.9)
 τοιοῦτα λόγια λέγει *Imb. Rim.* 1011
 τοιοῦτα πράγματα ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 15.6–7

Genitive

General
τοιοῦτων

τῶν τοιοῦτων χωραφίων (1183, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 24, 433.20)
 τῶν τοιοῦτων ἐλαϊκῶν δένδρων (1251, Smyrna region, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 28, 81.10)
 τῶν τοιοῦτων χωραφίων (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 38.123)
 τῶν τοιοῦτων νησιῶν (1346–7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.50)
 τῶν κακῶν ποιημάτων τῶν νὰ ποιήσῃ εἰς καλλικᾶς τοῦ κτηνοῦ μου, τοιοῦτων ὡς γιόν νὰ ἔνη διὰ τὴν κακοπραξίαν του *Assizes B* 434.3
 νὰ ποιῇ πολλὴν φροντίδα περὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων (1481, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 12, 317.25)
 τοιοῦτων χαρισμάτων *Dig. A* 3515
 τῶν τοιοῦτων ζώων *Assizes A* 198.9

Hypercorrect Forms

ὁ τοιαυτὸς ὁ ἀδελφός μου (1135, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 34, 17.14)
 ὁ τοιαῦτος περιορισμός (1264 [17th c. copy], Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 33.64)
 τοῦ τοιαύτου οἴκου (1200, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 249, 339.15)
 τὸν τοιαῦτον κῆπον (1162, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 9, 98.28)
 καθὰ τοιαῦτοι λέγουν (1137, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 8, 628.9); οἱ τοιαῦτοι μάρτυρες (1183, *ibid.* Coll. IX: 24, 433.22)
 οἱ τοιαῦτοι μοναχοὶ (1358?, Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.8)
 τὸ τοιαῦτον χωραφίτισιν (1196, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 241, 325.14); τοῦ τοιαύτου τιμήματος (1200, *ibid.* 249, 339.6)
 ἀφήγημα τοιαῦτον *Liv. E* 2372 (Lambert)

5.5.2.3 τίτοιος/τέτοιος/ἐτέτοιος/ἔτοιος

The pronoun τέτοιος is the main qualitative demonstrative of the LMedG and EMG period. It inflects as a regular O-stem adjective, and has several stem allomorphs due to its complex etymological history.

Τίτοιος is the oldest of the innovative qualitative demonstrative forms; the earliest attestations are found in 11th/12th-c. texts (Nikon, *Spaneas*), and it also appears in other comparatively early vernacular sources (*Eisitirioi*, *Assizes*, *Livistros*, *Logos parigoritikos*, *Velthandros*), often in variation with τέτοιος (see below). Its frequency diminishes gradually from the 15th c. onwards (the last attestations being the vocabularies of Germano and Portius s.vv. *tale*, *talis*), and it seems to remain the regular form only in Cyprus, where it is attested in literary texts of the 15th and 16th c. (Machairas, Voustronios, the *Cypriot*

Canzoniere, Fior),⁶¹ and is maintained in the modern dialect under the form τίθιος, τίθκοιος (SAKELLARIOS 1891: ξθ'; MENARDOS 1969: 15). Τίτοιος does not seem to occur in legal documents, as the standard form there is τοιοῦτος. Due to its gradual obsolescence, some case-forms are very scantily attested, or even totally unattested. Furthermore, because of its comparatively early disappearance from areas other than Cyprus, it has not developed extended forms, except for very rare examples: τιτοιουνουῦ ἀνθρώπου *Diig. Alex. F* 162.21 (Lolos).

The paroxytone forms τιτοῖος, τιτοία, τιτοῖον appear only in Cypriot texts (Machairas and Voustronios) and could be interpreted either as relics of an original derivation from τοῖος (if one accepts this etymology) or, more likely, as a hypercorrect stress shift on the archaizing model of adjectives in -ος, e.g. ἄξιος ~ ἄξία → τίτοιος ~ τιτοία → τιτοῖος. Another possible origin for the analogy is provided by the interrogative pronoun ποῖος, ποία.

The form τέτοιος first appears in the *War of Troy*, the *Chronicle of Morea*, *Armouris* and *Digenis E*, and continues in use in the LMedG and EMG periods, with increasing frequency. The only sources from which the form seems to be absent are Cypriot texts, where the prevalent form is τίτοιος; however, τέτοιος appears in texts of Cypriot origin that have less pronounced regional characteristics, such as Ioakeim Kyprios's *Pali*. Τέτοιος is also the form proposed by the EMG grammars (e.g. SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 45.22–3; PORTIUS, *Grammar* 30.27; ROMANOS, *Grammar* 11.8–10).

The phenomenon of /e/ prothesis is attested only in the *Chronicle of Morea* (H). The restriction to a single text suggests that we are dealing with an idiosyncratic feature that does not correspond to actual usage, but is dictated by metrical needs. This is supported by the fact that such prothetic forms are also absent from MG dialects.⁶² The development of the prothetic /e/ in this case can be attributed to the analogy of other demonstrative pronouns, such as ἐκεῖνος and ἐτοῦτος (see EGEA 1988: 62–3) or to the more general phenomenon of morphophonetic prothesis due to re-segmentation at word boundaries (see I, 2.6.1.3).

Addition of final /e/ is attested in the EMG period by Germano (τέτιονε / τέτοιονε GERMANO, *Grammar* 50.2) but does not seem to be widespread. On the other hand, there are a few isolated instances of final /a/ addition from the medieval and later periods, which should perhaps be better interpreted as suffixation with the demonstrative particle -νά, as the manuscript tradition leaves room for either interpretation, given the uncertain placement of the accent. Spread of the extended forms in the inflectional paradigms of τέτοιος appears from the end of the 17th c. onwards. The extended oblique form τετοιανῆς should probably be seen as an analogy on the basis of the main demonstrative pronouns ἐκεινῆς, αὐτεινῆς.

The variant ἔτοιος is almost exclusively Cretan, and functions only as a determiner in a strictly qualitative sense, while some case-forms are unattested. It is not normally

⁶¹ The pronoun survives in modern Cappadocian, in the form τῖτος, not as a demonstrative but as an indefinite pronoun, equivalent to τᾶδε, δεῖνα (ARCHELAOS 1899: 270–1; MAVROCHALYVIDIS/KESISOGLOU 1960: 27).

⁶² Some MG dialects do exhibit forms with an accented prothetic /e/ which, however, has a strongly deictic function (KRETSCHMER 1905: col. 260), e.g. ἔτιτοιους in Lesbos (KRETSCHMER 1905: cols. 270–1), ἔτιτοιους in Samothrace (TSOLAKI 2009: 285).

accompanied by the definite or indefinite article.⁶³ It appears in the early 15th c., continues throughout the EMG period, and is maintained in the Cretan dialect (XANTHOUDIDIS 1915: 549; ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1926: 170). In Cretan texts *ἔτοιος* alternates with *τέτοιος*, but in the modern dialect only *ἔτοιος* remains. So far, only two exceptions to the exclusively Cretan attestations of the pronoun have been found: one is the genitive form *ἐτοίου* in the medical formulary (ἱατροσόφιον) of Stafidas, whose provenance may be Constantinople and which does not have any other Cretan features, and the other is the neuter form *ἐτοιον* in the 16th-c. ms of the Cypriot *Assizes* (A). For the etymology of the form see 5.5.2.1.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	τίτοιος τέτοιος ἔτοιος	τίτοια τέτοια ἔτοια	τίτοιο(ν) τέτοιο(ν) ἔτοιο(ν) τιτοῖον
Gen.	τίτοιου τέτοιου ἐτοίου	τίτοιας τέτοιας ἔτοιας	(τίτοιου) τέτοιου (ἐτοίου)
Acc.	τίτοιον τέτοιο(ν) ἔτοιον τιτοῖον ἐτέτοιον	τίτοια(ν) τέτοια(ν) ἔτοια(ν) τιτοῖαν ἐτέτοιαν	τίτοιο(ν) τέτοιο(ν) ἔτοιο(ν) τιτοῖον
Plural			
Nom.	τίτοιαι τέτοιαι ἐτέτ(οι)οι	(τίτοιαι) τέτοιαι (ἔτοιαι) τέτοιανα	τίτοια τέτοια ἔτοια ἐτοῖα ἐτέτοια
Gen.	(τίτοιων) τέτοιων (ἔτοιων)	(τίτοιων) (τέτοιων) (ἔτοιων)	(τίτοιων) (τέτοιων) (ἔτοιων)
Acc.	τίτοιους τέτοιους ἔτοιους ἐτέτοιους	τίτοιας τίτοιαι τέτοιας τέτοιαι ἔτοιαι	τίτοια τέτοια ἔτοια

Singular

Masculine

Nominative

General	Restricted	Rare
τέτοιος	τίτοιος	ἔτοιος

τίτοιος [ἄς ἦσαι] *Spaneas* V 80

τίτοιος μέγας, δυνατός *Chron. Toc.* 1533

τίτοιος ὡς γοιὸν παραμπρὸς *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 642.6

⁶³ An exception occurs in a problematic passage from Dellaportas quoted in 5.5.2.1.

τίτοιος ἐνι *Fior*, *Suppl.* 272.1

τίτοιος δοξιώτης ἐναι *Diig. Alex.* F 172.11 (Konstantinopulos)

tale. τέτοιος, τήτοιος, ἐδεποιός, ὀδεῖνα GERMANO, *Vocab.*, s.v.

τέτοιος ἦτον *Chron. Mor.* H 5475

ἤμπορεῖ τέτοιος νὰ πιασθῇ *Pol. Tr.* 4938

ἐκαταστάθη τέτοιος *Spaneas* Z 650

τέτοιος ἄνθρωπος *Byz. Il.* 249

τέτοιος ἐγίνης ὕδιος FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 312

τέτοιος καιρὸς *Diig. Alex.* F 128.18 (Lolos)

ὁ ἀσύκινθος τέτοιος ἐνι *Diig. Alex.* E 107.23 (Konstantinopulos)

τέτοιος ἄνθρωπος (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.42)

τέτοιος καλὸς ἄνθρωπος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.73

μηδὲ εἶναι τέτοιος MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 317.9

ἔτοιος λοιμὸς CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1749

έτοιος αφέντης ακριβός *Apoll. Rim.* A 1504

ἔτοιος ὑγιὸς KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1292; ἔτοιος λαιμὸς *ibid.* III.82

Genitive

General	Restricted	Rare
τέτοιου	τίτοιου	ἔτοιου

τίτοιου φρονίμου *Diig. Alex.* F 122.4 (Konstantinopulos)

τέτοιου μεγάλου ἀνθρώπου *Chron. Mor.* H 6420

τέτοιου φονιᾶ CHORTATSI, *Erof. Interm.* III.40

τέτοιου ἀφεντὸς KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.2200

ἀπὸ ἐτοίου τινὸς φόβου STAFIDAS, *Iatrosof.* 24.184

ἔτοιου κηπουροῦ KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.76

Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
τέτοιον(ν)	τίτοιον	ἔτοιον(ν) † τιτοῖον † ἐτέτοιον

τίτοιον ἔλεγεν σκοπὸν *Log. parig.* L 205

εἰς τίτοιον τόπον ἔρημον *Liv.* V 3276

τίτοιον οἶον ἠθέλαν *Chron. Toc.* 2697

τίτοιον ἀπιλογήθηκεν ἡ Φαιδροκάζα λόγον *Velth.* 986

καὶ τότε τίτοιον ἔρωτα καὶ ἀγάπην τοιούτης κόρης *Liv.* S 2208

εἰς τίτοιον ἄνδραν θαυμαστὸν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 37

᾽ς τίτοιον λιμῶναν *Cypri. Canz.* 107.16

εἰς τιτοῖον μόδον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 29.30

τέτοιον σκοπὸν *Log. parig.* L 216

εἰς τέτοιον τόπον ἔπεσεν *Pol. Tr.* 5240 (V)

τέτοιον γλυκὺν ἄερα FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 370

μὲ τέτοιο τρόπο CHORTATSI, *Erof.* IV.501
 εἰς τέτοιον μόδον (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 148.45)
 τέτοιον ἔξοχον ἥρωα BOUNIALIS EM., *Epain. Korn.* 138
 εἰς τέτοιον τρόπον (1691, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 95, 296.16)

εἰς τὸν ἐτέτοιον τρόπον *Chron. Mor.* H 3589

σ' ἔτοιον μέγαν κίνδυνον ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1833
 εἰς ἔτοιο τόπο *P&N Diath.* 5173
 ἔτοιον θησαυρόν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 8.2
 μ' ἔτοιο θάνατο *Thysia Avr.* 176; μ' ἔτοιο βαρὺ κανόνα *ibid.* 639
 ἔτοιο θυμὸ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.128
 μὲ ἔτοιον μόδον (1625, Crete, VLACHAKI 1986: 22, 447.30)
 μ' ἔτοιον μόδο (1634, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 704, 685.5)
 ἔτοιον ἄγουρο KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1940

Feminine

Nominative

General	Restricted	Rare
τέτοια	τίτοια	ἔτοια ἢ τέτοιανα

ἐγίνην τίτοια παρανομία MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 218.32
 τίτοια φιλιὰ *Fior* 78.22

τέτοια μάχη ἐγένετον ἐκεῖ τὴν ὥραν ταύτην *Pol. Tr.* 10941
 τέτοια εἶναι ἡ πίστη τῶς ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 196

τέτοιανα δουλεῖα LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 432 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner: τετοιανὰ)
 ἢ τέτοιανα δουλεῖα SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 167

έτοια δουλειὰ CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.318
 ἔτοια δὰ ἡ γνώμη μου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.450
 ἐχάθην ἔτοια νιότη KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.16

Genitive

General	Restricted	Rare
τέτοιας	(τίτοιας) ἢ τετοιανῆς	ἔτοιας

τέτοιας κόρης *Liv.* E 3390 (Lambert)
 τέτοιας πράξης LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 566
 τέτοιας γλυκιᾶς αἰτίας FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 2
 τέτοιας λογῆς ἀνθρώπων (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.11)
 τέτοιας λοῆς (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 148.53)
 τέτοιας λογῆς καλὰ VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 31.26–7
 ἔπεσε εἰς τέτοιας λογῆς ἐλαττώματα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 45.5
 τετοιανῆς λογῆς (1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 51, 235.33)
 τετοιανῆς λογῆς πιστό KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.36

ἔτοιαις λογιῇς *P&N Diath.* 2925

ἔτοιαις λογιῇς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 6, 7.6)

ἔτοιαις λογιῇς *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 66

ἔτοιαις κορασῶς *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.369

Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
τέτοια(ν)	τίτοια(ν)	ἔτοια(ν) † τιτοῖαν † ἐτέτοϊαν

πῶς τίτιαν ἀνυπόφορον ὁδύνην νὰ βαστάξω; *Eisit.* f.8v.1–2

τίτοϊαν ὡς τὴν λέγω *Log. parig.* L 132

τίτοϊαν ποθοανάμνησιν *Liv.* V 126

τίτοϊαν ὥραν *Assizes* A 52.1

νὰ ποίση τίτοια κρίση *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 98

τίτοϊαν παραβουλίαν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 62.1

τίτοϊαν οὐδὲν εἶδαν *Diig. Alex.* F 176.1 (Lolos)

τιτοῖαν μωρίαν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 294.3

τέτοϊαν στράταν *Log. parig.* L 238; εἶχεν σφραγίδα τέτοϊαν *ibid.* 707

φιλίαν ... τέτοϊαν οἶαν *Pol. Tr.* 4266

εἰς τέτοϊαν τάξιν *Theseid* VI.26,5 (Olsen)

τέτοϊαν ἄν ἔχης *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1649

σὲ τέτοϊαν ἐπαρχίαν *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 95

τέτοϊαν καλοσύνη (1571, Mani, *DOKOS* 1972: 4, 260.7)

μηδὲ ἔχω τέτοια διάκριση (1582, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 126, 86.35)

τέτοϊαν ὥραν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 848

τέτοϊαν χάρη *MONTSEL., Evgena* 858,

τέτοϊαν ὑπηρεσίαν *Vios Aisop.* D 215.25

εἰσὲ τέτοια παϊνεμένη προσκύνησην (1684, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 475, 699.1)

ἔχοντας τέτοϊαν ἐποψίαν (1691, Corfu, *KAPADOCHOS* 1990: 95, 296.18)

εἰς ἀξίαν ἐτέτοϊαν *Chron. Mor.* H 6063

ἔτοϊαν ἀσωτίαν *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1771

μὲ ἔτοϊαν κοντισιόν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 375, 369.14)

σ' ἔτοια τιμή *Apoll. Rim.* A 1325

σ' ἔτοια σκληρότατη καρδιά *CHORTATSI, Erof.* IV.432

ὁδὶά ἔτοϊαν ὑπόθεσιν (1634, Crete, *KAZANAKI* 1974: 5, 270.26)

ἔτοια μπιστοσύνη *Zinon* IV.31

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
τέτοιο(ν)	τίτοιον	ἔτοιο(ν) † τιτοῖον

τὸ τίτιον μήνυμαν *Eisit.* f.7v.1

τίτοιον ἀπ' τὴν γλυκύτητα *Log. parig.* L

εἰς κάλλον τίτοιον *Liv.* P 2577 transcr. (Lendari)

- τίτοιον οἶον ἡθέλαν *Chron. Toc.* 2697
 τίτοιον πολλά παράξενον *Velth.* 326
 μέτωπον ἄσπερο τίτοιον ὡς τοῦ χιονίου κομμάτων *Liv.* S 1281
 τίτοιον κακὸν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 22.39
 να γίνει τίτοιον κακὸν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 34.2
 τίτοιον φυσικὸν *Fior* 75.12
 να ποίσω τίτοιον πράμαν και τιτοίαν παραβουλίαν *VOUSTR., Chron.* M 61.18
 να γινεῖ τιτοίον κακὸν *VOUSTR., Chron.* M 35.2
 τέτοιον πρᾶγμα *Pol. Tr.* 369 app. crit. (BEV)
 τέτιον πρᾶγμα *Anon. Naupl.* 52
 τέτοιο λίγο χάρισμα *CHORTATIS, Erof. Dedic.* 37
 τέτοιο κορμὶ ἀκριμάτιστο *Thysia Avr.* 342
 εἰς τέτοιον φταίσμιον (1675, Corfu, *KARADOCHOS* 1990: 43, 256.47)
 ὄντας ψεῦδος τέτοιον πράμα (1689, Corfu, *KARADOCHOS* 1990: 84, 288.35–36)
 καὶ ποτὲ νὰ μὴν ἔγινε τέτοιο ἔργον (1690, Naxos, *TOURTOGLOU* 1985/1990: 1, 251.13)
 καὶ τέτοιο παλληκάρι *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1940
 ἔτοιον θέλημα *Assizes A* 197.7
 δὲν τοῦ ἐζήτηξεν ἔτοιον πράγμα (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2009: 316, 307.69)
 ἔτοιον ψῶμα (1636, Crete, *TSELIKAS* 1985: 11, 83.10)
 ἔτοιο βουβάλι *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.173
 εἰς ἔτοιο πράμα (1665, Crete, *LYDAKI* 2000: 12, 420.10)
 κ' ἔτοιο μαντάτο ξαφνικὸ *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1062

Genitive

General
τέτοιου

- τέτοιου κορμιοῦ *CHORTATIS, Erof.* V.120
 τέτοιου γένους ποίημα *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* a2v.8

Plural

Masculine

Nominative

General	Restricted	Rare
τέττοιοι	τίττοιοι	ἐτέτ(οι)οι

- τίττοιοι ἐσκοτώθησαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 314.20
 τοῦτοι οἱ τίττοιοι ἀμουρούζηδες *Fior* 81.32
 ἐνὶ καὶ τέττοιοι ἀπὸ ἐκεινούς *Arm.* 64
 τέττοιοι στρατιῶται *Pol. Tr.* 1590
 τέττοιοι καὶ πάλε ἀλλέως *Theseid* VI.26,6 (Olsen)
 τέττοιοι μαστόροι ἦσαν *Diig. Alex.* F 108.2 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἐτέτο μεγάλοι ἀνθρώποι *Chron. Mor.* H 279 app. crit. (H)

Genitive

General
τέτοιων

τέτοιων μεγάλων ἀνθρώπων *Chron. Mor.* H 1003

τέτοιων πλουσίων γονέων *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 73.16

ἀμμ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ εἶμαι γυμνὴ κάλλους τέτοιων φωστήρων *BOUBOULIS, Limbon.* 77

Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
τέτοιους	τίτοιους	ἔτοιους ἢ ἐτέτοιους

τίτοιους λόγους *Liv.* V 3493

καὶ τίτοιους ἐκρεμίσαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 322.9

εἰς τίτοιους λᾶς *Fior* 136.28

πόσους τέτοιους ὥσαν ἐσὲν *Chron. Mor.* H 3763

τέτοιους συντρόφους *Pol. Tr.* 793; τέτοιους χιλίους ἐρρίψασι *ibid.* 6018 (BCV)

εἰς τέτοιους φρονίμους *Chron. Toc.* 1371

τέτοιους ζητᾶ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Ioan.* 4.23

τέτοιους βαρετοὺς συλλογισμοὺς *Kaloandros* 405.42

εἰς τέτοιους ἀνευλαβεῖς καὶ διεστραμμένους *GAVRILOP., Diig. panouklas* 94.9

ἐτέτοιους τρόπους κι ἀφορμές *Chron. Mor.* H 7345

ἔτοιους κόπους (1635, Crete, *XANTHOUDIDIS* 1912: 66, 176.1)

ἔτοιους γονέους *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.318

Feminine

Nominative

General
τέτοιες

τέτοιες χιλιάδες εἴκοσι τὸν διώχνουν ἐξοπίσω *Pol. Tr.* 5242

διὰτ' ὅσαν τέτοιες φοβερές *Theseid* I.57,7 (Follieri)

καὶ στοὺς δικοὺς μας χρόνους ἢ βρίσκονται τέτοιες γριές *Diig. Vefa* 478

Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
τέτοιες	τίτοιες ἢ τέτοιαις	ἔτοιες ἢ τίτοιαις

μὲ τὰς ποθομέριμνας τὰς τίτοιαις *Liv.* α 1669

τὰς τίτοιαις μυριοχάριτας *Liv.* V 324

τίτοιες δουλειές (1486, Rhodes, *LEFORT* 1981: 4, 50.8)

τίτοιες ἀντροπὲς νὰ ζηγᾶται *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 222.2

τίτοιες τές δὲν θέλουν νὰ δοῦν LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 200 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner: τίτοιαις δὲν θέλουν νὰ ἰδοῦν)

νὰ γράψω τίτοιες λέξεις Alosis 572

μὲ τίτοιες ἔννοιες Cypr. *Canz.* 108.32

εἰς τέτοιες συμφωνίες Chron. *Mor.* H 2779

εἰς τέτοιες πραγματεῖες ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 240

οὐ θέλομεν τέτοιες μυθολογίες Fyll. *gadar.* 259

εἰς τέτοιες μεγάλες ὑπόθεσες (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: 8, 306.8)

ἀπὸ τέτοιες ἀμαρτίες (1689, Corfu, ΚΑΡΑΔΟΧΟΣ 1990: 81, 286.10)

τέτοιας συμφορὰς Liv. E 184

τέτοιας χάριτας Liv. α 214

διὰ τέτοιας ὑποθέσεις Pol. *Tr.* 4987

εἰς ἔτοιες γυνῶμες MOREZINOS, *Klini* 30.13

εἰς ἔτοιες χρεῖες Thysia *Avr.* 610

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
τέτοια	τίτοια	ἔτοια ἰ ἔτοῖα ἰ ἐτέτοια

ἐζήτουν τὰ τίτοια τὸ κατὰ δύνανμίν μου ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 19 566.14–15 app. crit. (S)

τίτοια λόγια ἠῤῥηκεν Log. *parig.* L 642; τὰ τίτοια νὰ τὸν λέγη ibid. 457

τίτοια τὴν ἐσύντυχεν Liv. V 1370; καὶ τίτοια μὲ ἠλέγασιν ibid. 3065

καὶ τίτοια τὴν λέγει Liv. S 2955

εἰς τίτοιον φόρον τίτοια πρέπει (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1137–8)

τίτοια λόγια LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 87

εἰς τίτοια ἀρωτήματα Fior 136.29

τίτοια λόγια νὰ μιλήση Cypr. *Canz.* 116.45

καὶ τέτοια λόγια μὲ λαλεῖ Dig. E 1103

ἀκούσας τέτοια λόγια Byz. *Il.* 273

τέτοια μικρὰ ἀνθρωπάρια DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2700

τέτοια λόγια (1652, Milos, SYMEONIDIS 1989: 2, 118.7)

ἐτέτοια τὸν ἐλάλει Chron. *Mor.* H 273

μ' ἔτοῖα μαντάτα FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 375 app. crit. (N)⁶⁴

εἰς ἔτοια πράγματα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 47, 47.9)

The Spurious Variant τεῦτος

Standard reference works on the language of MedG documents from S. Italy cite a small number of forms as belonging to a variant of the qualitative demonstrative τέτοιος or τοιοῦτος, which in the modern dialect of S. Italy takes the form τεῦτος/τεύτοιος (GUILLOU 1963: 159; CARACAUSI, *Lex.*, s.v. τεῦτος; ΜΙΝΑΣ ²2003: 100; TZITZILIS 2004: 471). The forms in question are εἰς τέπτιν στοίχημα (1129, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 105, 137.27); τοὺς παρ(όντας) μάρ(τυρας) τευτάδ(ου)ς (1264, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 21, 163.9); ἡ

⁶⁴ The accentuation is probably due to the metrical irregularity of the line, as transmitted in ms N of the poem.

παρ(όντες) μά(ρτυρες) τευτὲ *ibid.* 163.13. Unfortunately, the relevant evidence is spurious, as two out of the three cited instances are in fact non-existent: they are merely erroneous readings by A. Guillou, for the forms πράμμάτευτάδες (= πραγματευτάδες) and πράμμάτευτὲ (= πραγματευταί). KAMBYLIS (1967) had already pointed out the error, but his article escaped the attention of more recent scholarship. This leaves only the single attestation from Trinchera (which is in any case syntactically problematic) as evidence of a form τεῦτος in the MedG of S. Italy; as a result, it cannot be considered sufficient without verification or further corroboration.

The form τεῦτος is also recorded by Michael Choniates in a comment on the dialect of Athens in the late 12th c.: καὶ τοῦ ὑποκορύζειν δενδρύφια, προβατύλλια, παιδύλλια καὶ τὰ γε λοιπά, ὅτεῦτος καὶ ἀτοῦνος καὶ τὰ τούτοις σύστοιχα (*Epist.* 28. 21–2, ed. Kolovou; see also MINAS 2003: 100 and n. 6). Choniates's testimony finds no support in the Athenian dialect of the modern era in the case of τεῦτος, unlike ἀτοῦνος/τοῦνος (for which see 5.5.1.11).

5.5.2.4 τοιόσδε

The pronoun τοιόσδε, τοιάδε, τοιόνδε is a learned survival from AG. It appears in higher-register texts, especially legal documents from Athos; in vernacular texts its presence is rare, predominantly in the accusative case, with the meaning “the following”. It inflects internally (before the suffix -δε) following the pattern of adjectives in -ος. In vernacular texts the final /n/ of the masc. and fem. acc. sg. is often deleted.

λόγον εἶπε τοιόνδε *Dig.* G IV.315

τοιούσδε λέγουσιν αὐτῇ λόγους παραμυθίας *Dig.* T 410

μέ τοιόδε τρόπον (1566, Corfu, ZARIDI/MICHAELAS 2008/13: 13, 131.4)

ἀπόκρισιν τοιάδε *Chron. Mor.* P 5514

τοιάδ' ἐτοιμασίαν AXAGIOLIS, *Diig. Karolou* 531

κύριος καὶ ἀγοραστής τοῦ τοιοῦδε ἀμπελίου (1400, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 10, 194.27)

εἶπον εἰς νοῦν τοιάδε *Ptoch.* I 157

ἄλλα τινὰ τοιάδε *Ptoch.* II 60

φθεγγόμενοι μετὰ θυμοῦ τοιάδε *Ptoch.* IV 263

τοιάδε τὸν διατάσσει *Pol. Tr.* 600

ἔφασκον δὲ τοιάδε *Velth.* 383

τοιάδε τοῦ μηνούσιν *Chron. Mor.* P 5986

λέγει τοιάδε πρὸς αὐτὸν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 50; γράφοντα καὶ τοιάδε *ibid.* 775

5.5.3 Quantitative Demonstratives

5.5.3.1 Introduction and Historical Overview

The main quantitative demonstrative in MedG and EMG is τόσος, which appears in texts of all registers and areas; its morphology and inflection remain stable throughout the period examined. The other quantitative demonstratives, τοσοῦτος and τηλικούτος, are archaic survivals with limited distribution. Both have developed innovative analogical forms.

5.5.3.2 τόσος

The MedG pronoun and determiner τόσος, τόση, τόσον is a direct continuation of AG τόσος. It is used throughout the period as the main quantitative demonstrative and retains this role in MG. It inflects as a regular adjective in -ος (see 3.2.1).⁶⁵ No extended forms have been located in the texts examined.

Prothesis of /e/ occurs sporadically with the pronoun τόσος; it is more frequent in Cretan texts.⁶⁶ The phenomenon can be interpreted as an analogy from other demonstrative pronouns with initial /e/, such as ἐκεῖνος, ἐτοῦτος, or as a result of the more general phenomenon of morphophonetic prothesis due to re-segmentation at word boundaries (see I, 2.6.1.3). A fuller picture of the distribution of prothetic /e/ can be acquired if the adverbial ἐτόσο(ν), ἐτόσα is also considered. The dating of the phenomenon is uncertain; the earliest (ca. 1300) appearance of the prothetic form seems to come from Cyprus, but it involves a stressed /e/ (in contrast to all subsequent attestations) and does not occur in other Cypriot texts. If, instead, it is connected with the exclusively Cypriot forms ὀτοσος/ὀτόσος, the earliest attestations of /e/ prothesis come from the *Chronicle of Morea* (compare also ἐτέτοιος, 5.5.2.3).

Prothetic /o/ seems to be an exclusively Cypriot feature; it has been interpreted as an analogy from other pronouns with initial o- (MENARDOS 1969: 63; KOUNDOURIS 2009: 82), such as ὄγιος, and compared to other pronominal forms with prothetic /o/ such as ὀδεῖνα, ὀκάπιοις (see 5.8.13, 5.8.15). The form appears more frequently as proparoxytone, rather than paroxytone (in some cases the manuscripts offer unaccented readings).

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	τόσος	τόση ἢ ὀτόση	τόσο(ν) ἢ ἐτόσο(ν) ἢ ὀτόσον
Gen.	τόσου	τόσης	τόσου
Acc.	τόσο(ν)	τόση(ν) ἢ ἐτόση	τόσο(ν) ἢ ἐτόσο(ν) ἢ ὀτόσον
Plural			
Nom.	τόσοι	τόσαι ἢ τόσες	τόσα ἢ ὀτόσα
Gen.	τόσων	τόσων	τόσων
Acc.	τόσους	τόσας ἢ τόσες ἢ ἔτοσας ἢ ἐτόσες ἢ ὀτόσες	τόσα ἢ ὀτόσα

⁶⁵ For the S. Italian forms with geminate /s/ see I, 3.4.2.

⁶⁶ Cf. the modern Cretan ἐτόσος (XANTHOUDIDIS 1915, Glossary, s.v. ἐτόσα; XANTHAKIS 2009 s.v. ἐτόσος).

Singular*Masculine*

Nominative

οὐκ ἦτον τόσος ὁ λαός *Chron. Mor.* H 407
 τόσος λαός ὀλίγος *Pol. Tr.* 1792; ἐσκοτώθηκε τόσος λαός μεγάλος *ibid.* 9366
 ὁ τόσος πόνος τὸν πονεῖς *Liv.* S 2149
 γιὰ νὰ μηδὲν περνᾷ ὁ καιρὸς ὁ τόσος μ' εὐκαιρία! *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 374
 ἔλαχε χειμῶνας τόσος *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 43.5

Genitive

εἰς τόσου πόνου πέλαγος *Liv.* V 1837
 μετὰ τόσου στεναγμοῦ καὶ μετὰ τόσου θρήνου [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 724
 μετὰ κινδύνου τόσου *Deft. Par.* 75

Accusative

εἰς τόσον κίντυνον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 194.4
 τόσον φόβον τῆς εβάλαν εἰς τὴν καρδιάν της *VOUSTR., Chron.* B 33.15
 τὸν τόσον κορνιακτὸν *Alex. Rim.* 876
 τοῦ δίδῃ τόσον τόπον (1591, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1995a: 36, 181.10)
 μὲ τόσο φόβο *CHORTATIS, Erof.* IV.1
 τόσον καιρὸν (1602, Santorini, *STEFANIDOU* 2004: 8, 163.30)
 ἔχασα τόσον κόπον, τόσες νηστεῖες *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §3.14
 τόσον καιρὸν (1688, Peloponnese, *GRITSOPOULOS* 1954: (4), 138.26–7)

Feminine

Nominative

καὶ τόση ἐστὶν ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ μεταξιοῦ (post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 29, 30.3)
 ἡ τόση κατεφρόνες *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 376.10
 στὴ Βενετία δὲν εἶναι τόση μποντάντζια στὸ στάρι *MATESIS, Chron.* 82.4
 ἡ χάρη του εἶναι τόση *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.1423
 ὅτοσ' εἶν' κ' ἡ πεθυμιά μου *Cypr. Canz.* 27.13

Genitive

ἀπὸ τῆς τόσης ταραχῆς *Chron. Mor.* H 933
 μετὰ τῆς ὥρας τόσης *Pol. Tr.* 10720
 ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς τῆς τόσης *Achil.* O 106
 τῆς δούλης σου τῆς τόσης *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.171
 τῇ τόσῃ δούλεψής μου *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Dedic.* 32

Accusative

εἰς τόσῃν ἀμαρτία *VENDRAMOS, Istor. gyn.* 192
 ἡβλέποντες οἱ Ναυπακτίτες τόσῃν ἀρμάτα (1523–36, Peloponnese, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 36.II, 29.6)
 τόσῃν ζημίαν καὶ κακὸν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 646
 τόση σταφίδα (1584, Kefalonia, *PENDOGALOS* 1976: 150.92)
 τόση πέτρα (1587, Cythera, *CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS* 2010: 182, 150.24)
 νὰ 'χει τόσῃν χάρη *Thrinops patr.* O 10 (Luciani)
 εἰς τόσῃν στίμα (1631, Crete, *ILIAKIS* 2008: 591, 565.11)
 νὰ πάρουν τόση γῆς (1636, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 11, 36.27)
 μὲ τόσῃν ἀγνωσιὰ *TROILOS, Rodol. Prol. Mell.* 38
 κόψε τόσῃν φλούδα, ὅση εἶναι ἡ ἡμερὴ ὅπου θέλεις νὰ βάλῃς *LANDOS, Geopon.* 149.31

σὲ λησμονιὰ ἐτόση *P&N Diath.* 785
 χαρὰν ἐτόση *Stathis* II.322
 ἀντιμοιβὴν ἐτόση *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Interm. IV* 104
 μὲ προπετεῖαν ἐτόση *KATSAITIS, Thyestis. Dedic.* 21; μ' ἀποκοτιὰν ἐτόση *ibid. Dedic.* 31

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

ὡς εἶδεν τόσον πλήθος *Dig.* E 1035
 θωρώντα τόσον κλάμα *VOUSTR., Chron.* B 149.4
 ἐκ τὸ κακὸν τὸ τόσο *Velis.* [ρ] 750
 ἄλλον τόσον τυρί, ὅσον φανῇ καὶ κάμω (1538, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 2009: 749, 580.11)
 τόσον αἶμα τρέχει *KORNAPOS, Erot.* II.1493
 τόσον πλήθος ἀσπρῶν ἔχω *Theophr. Char.* 132.7
 τόσου πράμα καὶ κάν τὸ μισὸ νὰ μὴν ἔρτη (1698, Thessaloniki, *KATSANIS* 2012: 7, 67.20) (for the mid-vowel raising see I, 2.5.4)
 ἐτόσο κρῖμα κι ἐντροπὴ *P&N Diath.* 1919
 θε νὰ δώσει βάσανο ἐτόσο *CHORTATIS, Panor.* V.216
 σφάλμα ἐτόσο *Stathis* II.298
 τῷκαμε ἐτόσο μεγάλο ἀφρόντε *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 59.22
 ἂν ἦτον ὅτσον πρᾶγμα *Assizes* B 358.20–1 (οτοσον ms)
 καὶ ὅτσον ἀσήμιν ἔχουν τὰ καρτζὰ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 76.17; ἡῦραν ὅτσον λογάριν *ibid.* 434.34 (ὄτοσον ms)

Adverbial use

μιάς ἡμεροῦ τὸ διάστημα, ἐτόσον τοὺς ἀπεῖχαν *Chron. Mor.* H 3671
 μ' ἔβλαψεν ἐτόσο *CHORTATIS, Erof. Interm.* III.23
 ἐτόσο πλιὰ τὰ λογικὰ μοῦ βάνεις ἄνω κάτω *Thysia Avr.* 150
 κεράν ἐτόσα μπιστεμένη *KORNAPOS, Erot.* V.508
 ἐκεῖ δὲν ἀνέβη ἐτόσον ὕψηλὰ ἢ θάλασσα *Diig. Sant.* 57.31
 το θέλημάν του εἶναι ὅτοσα πολλὰ κακὸν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 22.15
 ἀντάν ἔρτη εἰς ὅτοσον *Fior* 92.20

Genitive

τοῦ τόσου κακοῦ *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 54.2
 τὴν πλημύραν τοῦ τόσου νεροῦ *IER. ANVATIOS, Diig. Seismou* 332.30

Plural

Masculine

Nominative

τόσοι γὰρ ἐσκοτώθησαν, ἠθέλαν οὐκ ἠθέλαν *Pol. Tr.* 6836
 τόσοι πρᾶματευτάδες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 182.30
 τόσοι εἶναι οἱ κολασμοὶ τοῦ κόσμου *Fior, Suppl.* 270.13
 ἐγὼ δὲν ἤθελα λοιπὸν τόσοι νὰ σκοτωθοῦσι *Alex. Rim.* 1415
 νὰ φαῖνε τόσοι ἄνθρωποι *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 360.27
 τόσοι βασιλιοὶ *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.534

Genitive

τῶν τόσων ἡγουμένων (1288, Kos, *NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU* 1980: 75, 228.27)
 τόσων καλῶν ἀνθρώπων *Pol. Tr.* 5631
 ἡ τοσαύτη ταραχὴ τῶν τόσων τῶν ἀνθρώπων *Liv.* α 862 (= P 522)
 τῶν πόνων μου τῶν τόσων *Liv.* V 52
 τῶν τόσων βασιλέων *Theseid* VI.68,6 (Olsen)

τόσων ρηγάδων *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 588
 γιατί τὸ αἷμα σὰ χυθεῖ τόσῳ σκληρῶν ἀνθρώπῳ *Zinon Prol.* 21
 τόσων ἀθλιῶν χριστιανῶν *MINIATIS, Didachai* 477.14

Accusative

τοὺς τόσους χρόνους *Poulol.* 146
 ἐκείνους καὶ ἄλλους τόσους *Chron. Toc.* 3259
 τοὺς τόσους δρόμους *Spanos A* 78
 καὶ εἶχεν τόσους μέσα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 586.25
 ἄλλους τόσους μουνούχους (1549, Crete, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 219, 218.9)
 τόσους ἀνθρώπους *Vios Aisop.* I 266.19
 λείποντας τόσους χρόνους (1643, Naxos, *KORRES* 1931: 4, 275.18)
 Ὀβραίου 300 καὶ Μόρους ἄλλους τόσους *MATESIS, Chron.* 75.35

Feminine

Nominative

αἱ τόσαι βασιλεῖαι *Pol. Tr.* 7954
 ἐπαρέδραμαν ... ἡμέραι τόσαι *Liv.* S 55
 οἱ πρόβλεψες οἱ τόσες *Theseid* I.121,5 (Follieri)
 οἱ τόσες πλοῦσες καὶ μπορεζάμενες χώρες *CHORTATSIS, Erof. Prol.* 23

Genitive

τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν τόσων *Liv.* α 2869
 τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῶν τόσων *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 29
 μετὰ χαρίτων τόσων [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 1880

Accusative

εἰς τὰς τόσας (1291, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 13, 639.4)
 εἰς τόσας ἡμέρας (15th c., Unknown, *SEARBY* 2003: 2, 692.6)
 τόσας γαλιότας *Velis.* N² 268
 τόσας λύπας *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 102.4
 ὀγκίας τόσες (1291, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 13, 640.2)
 τόσες χιλιάδες ἔλμα *Pol. Tr.* 3905
 τόσες ὀργυιᾶς ἔκαμνε ὁ ποντικός (post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 89, 76.24–5)
 τόσες ευεργεσίαις *Theseid* VI.7,5 (Olsen)
 σ' τόσες βαρὺς ἀντάρεις *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 176
 εἰς τόσες ταῦλες ταλπεδένιες (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 92, 92.5)
 εἰς τὰς τόσες τοῦ μηνὸς *Apok. Theot.* 495.20
 ἄλλες τόσες πέτρες (1564, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 132, 215.39)
 τόσες πεντίτζες ἔστησεν *Thrinios Konst.* (Zoras) 83
 εἰς τόσες χιλιάδες λαὸν *ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛΟΠ., Diig. panouklas* 97.16
 τόσις λοτρίνις καὶ τόσα μαχοῦτια (1697, Thessaloniki, *KATSANIS* 2012: 3, 57.24)
 εἰς τὰς ἔτοσας (ca. 1300, Cyprus, *SIMON* 1973: 15.39) (5 identical attestations in the text)
 ἄμαν ἔτοσες χάριτες σὲ χάρισεν ἡ τυχὴ σου *Achil.* L 1030
 ἡῦραν ὁτόσες ψυχὰς καὶ τόσον λογάριν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 670.32 (ὁτοσας ms)
 τίς εἶχεν χάρες ὁτοσες *Cypr. Canz.* 114.13 (οτοσε ms)

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

εἰς τόσα κάστρη καὶ νησιά *Chron. Mor.* H 8039
 ἦσαν τόσα πεζικά *Chron. Toc.* 2508

τόσα χαρίσματα έδιδαν *Theseid* VI.7,5 (Olsen)
 δέν έσωναν τὰ τόσα πού σ' έποϊκαν FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 279
 μέ τόσα πλήθη ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 623
 διὰ τόσα όπού έκαμεν καλά (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 37, 29.20)
 έπαρε τόσα νεράντζα γλυκά LANDOS, *Geopon.* 167.17
 νὰ τοῦ δώση τόσα κάρβουνα (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005b: 4, 93.5)
 έβαστοῦσαν τόσα πράματα (1699, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 13, 29.7)
 νὰ ζητήσουν άπέ τόν ρήγαν κάθα καιρόν ότόσα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 546.10 (ότοσα ms)
 ότόσα κάλλη είδεν; *Cypr. Canz.* 71.7 (οτοσον ms)

Genitive

περπυράτων τόσων (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 71.V 120)

Τόσος is mostly used as a determiner but can also function as pronoun (especially in the plural),⁶⁷ e.g. τόσοι μ' έκαταπέσασι πιττάκια νὰ μέ δώσουν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 481; δέν έσωναν τὰ τόσα πού σ' έποϊκαν FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 279; κι όσοι άπ' αὐτό χαθούσινε, τόσοι άπό μέ γεννοῦνται *Stathis* Prol. 19.

It is optionally preceded by the definite article, e.g. τήν τόσην ζέση *Theseid* Prol. P 60; νὰ σοῦ τὰ πλερώση τὰ τόσα καλά (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 146.21), including determiner spreading constructions, e.g. τόν δαρμόν τόν τόσον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2129; τῆς πίκρας μου τῆς τόσης *Rim. kor.* A 61. The neut. acc. sg. and pl. may also function adverbially with the meaning “so”, “so much”, continuing ancient usage, e.g. καί τόσον τόν έπλάνεσεν ή έπαρσις *Chron. Toc.* 2211; καλέ, δεν είσαι τόσα γρε *Panor.* III.297. Τόσος may also modify an adjective, e.g. καί τόσος ήτον φιλόξενος ότι τὸ τραπέζιν του δέν τὸ έσήκωνεν άπό μία έβδομάδα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §30.61 (see also MENARDOS 1969: 63).

5.5.3.3 τοσοῦτος

The pronoun τοσοῦτος is a direct continuation of AG τοσοῦτος and constitutes a rather rare and learned feature in MedG and EMG texts. It shares the inflectional endings of a regular adjective in -ος (see 3.2.1), but its stem form presents two allomorphs: τοσοῦτ- and τοσαῦτ-, in accordance with the inflection of οὔτος, αὐτή, τοῦτο (see 5.5.1.11), of which it is a compound form. There is a tendency for analogical levelling of the stem in favour of either allomorph.

Forms of the pronoun τοσοῦτος with prothetic /e/ or /o/ appear only in early Cypriot texts and more specifically in the *Assizes* and in the *Chronicle* of Machairas (in the latter only in adverbial function). For this phenomenon, see τόσος above (5.5.3.2). In the *Assizes* (both recensions) the pronoun τοσοῦτος has acquired a number of analogical variants based on the allomorph τοσαῦτ-, namely έτεσαῦτος, ότεσαῦτος, alongside ότοσαῦτος and έτοσαῦτος. The confusion is probably due to the co-existence of the /e/ and /o/ prothesis in the language, and to progressive assimilation.

⁶⁷ In the neut. sg. the pronominal use verges on the adverbial, e.g. εις τόσο αὐτοί έπεζεύσασιν εις τὸ Σιναιὸν ὄρι CHOUNNOS, *Kosmog.* 2641; τόσον ήξευραν να ποίσουν, και καταστήνου έναν βαχλίωτην VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 28.3; γιά τόσο δέν τὰ πιάνει KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.373.

Furthermore, the *Assizes* also contain variant forms based on a stem ποσαυτ-, with the same (demonstrative) meaning as τοσαῦτος, namely ἐπεσαῦτος, ἐποσαῦτος and even ὀπεσαῦτος, πεσαῦτος, probably due to conflation with ὁποῖος, ὁπόσος, triggered by the prothetic /o/.⁶⁸ (These Cypriot forms are excluded from the synoptic table.)

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	τοσοῦτος	τοσαύτη ἢ τοσοῦτη	τοσοῦτο(ν)
Gen.	τοσοῦτου	τοσαύτης ἢ (τοσοῦτης)	τοσοῦτου
Acc.	τοσοῦτον	τοσαύτην ἢ τοσοῦτην	τοσοῦτον(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	τοσοῦτοι	(τοσαῦται) ἢ τοσαῦτες	τοσαῦτα ἢ τοσοῦτα
Gen.	τοσοῦτων ἢ τοσαύτων	(τοσοῦτων)	τοσοῦτων
Acc.	τοσοῦτους	τοσαύτας ἢ τοσοῦτας ἢ τοσαῦτες	τοσαῦτα ἢ τοσοῦτα

Singular

Masculine

Nominative

εἰς τὴν ἀνδρείαν τοσοῦτος *Liv.* α 112; καὶ σύ, ὁ τοσοῦτος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ἐξαίρετος καὶ νέος *ibid.* 254

ἐτελεῦτησεν ὁ τοσοῦτος καὶ τηλικοῦτος *Ekth. Chron.* 68.31

Genitive

ἐντὸς καιροῦ τοσοῦτου *Pol. Tr.* 12546

ἐξ ἔτασμοῦ τοσοῦτου [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 609

τοσοῦτου χαλασμοῦ *Bertoldin.* 112.28

Accusative

πικρασμὸν τοσοῦτον νὰ ὑπομείνω *Eisit.* f.8r.19–20

τὸν τοσοῦτον τὸν βουνὸν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1267

τὸν τοσοῦτον καιρὸν *CHEILAS, Chron.* 353.14

νὰ ἀφήση ἐτεσαῦτον καρπὸν *Assizes* B 327.18; νὰ ἔχη ἐτεσαῦτον νοῦν *ibid.* 344.12

Fem

Nominative

ἡ ὄργη τοσαύτη *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 203

τίς ἡ τοσαύτη θορυβή *Liv.* α 862 app. crit. (P)

ἡ τοσαύτη πλάνη *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 244

ἡ τοσοῦτη εὐτυχία *Ekth. Chron.* 39.4; νόσος λοιμικὴ τοσοῦτη *ibid.* 81.4

⁶⁸ KRIARAS, *Lex.* lists these forms under an unattested lemma ?ποσαῦτος.

Genitive

εἰς πέλαγος γλυκύτητος τοσαύτης *Liv.* α 3526
 τοσαύτης μεγάλης οικοδομῆς *Ist. Enet.* 418.31

Accusative

ἀσχόλησιν τοσαύτην *Spaneas* V 101
 τὴν ἀφήγησιν τὴν τίτοιαν καὶ τοσαύτην *Liv.* α 3587
 μή με τοσαύτην κατιδεῖν παραχωρήσης θλίψιν *Dig.* E 1858
 τοσαύτην κάκωσιν *Liv.* V 3170
 τοσαύτην τόλμην *Byz. Il.* 249
 τὴν τοσαύτην βίαν [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 2281
 τοιαύτην καὶ τοσαύτην ὑπομονὴν *Spanos* D 640
 τὴν ἀρετὴν τοσαύτην *Synax. gadar.* 136
 μὲ τὴν τοσαύτην πληροφορίαν *CHEILAS, Chron.* 353.9
 τοσαύτην μελωδίαν *LANDOS, Amart. sot.* 333.21
 ἐπῆσαν τοσαύτην τὴν νοβέλλαν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2287
 ἔχει τοσοῦτην δύναμιν *Log. parig.* L 35
 τοσοῦτην ἀδιάκρισιν *Chron. Mor.* H 949
 χαρὰν τοσοῦτην *Pol. Tr.* 13892
 ἀπ' ἀφεντίας τοσοῦτην *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 314
 ἐτεσαύτην ἀναθεώρησιν *Assizes* B 447.22
 ἂν θέλουν ἔχουν ὅτεσαύτην ἐξουσίαν *Assizes* A 29.10
 ἐπεσαύτην ἀνομίαν *Assizes* A 86.18; ἐπεσαύτην ζημίαν *ibid.* 127.18
 ὀπεσαύτην σκαμωνίαν *Assizes* B 436.2

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

τοσοῦτον κράτος ἔχων *Diig. sebast. Thom.* 136
 τοσοῦτον πλοῦτος *Achil.* N 323; καὶ θράσος τὸ τοσοῦτον *ibid.* 384
 διὰ τοσοῦτον κάλλος *Byz. Il.* 924
 τὸ τοσοῦτον πλοῦτος [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 141
 τοσοῦτον πλοῦτος *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 43
 νὰ σᾶς εἰπῶ τὸ τέτοιον καὶ τοσοῦτον *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 166
 εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀκροατήριον *Vios Aisop.* K 164.24
 εἰς τὸ τοσοῦτο δίκαιο *SOU MAKIS, Rebelio* 41.31
 εἰς τοσοῦτον στράτευμα *MAKOLAS, Ioust.* 424.22
 τὸ ἐπῆρεν ἐτοσαῦτον *Assizes* A 83.21
 ἐὰν ᾗτον πρᾶμαν ἐτεσαῦτον *Assizes* B 299.3
 νὰ ἔχη ἐτεσαῦτον δίκαιον *Assizes* 173.18; μὲ ἐτεσαῦτον εἰς ὅσον μπορεῖ *ibid.* 173.19
 νὰ ἔχη ἐπεσαῦτον δίκαιον *Assizes* A 173.18

Genitive

τοῦ ὕψους τοῦ τοσοῦτου *Liv.* E 115
 τοῦ τοσοῦτου κάλλους, οὐπὲρ οἶδας *Ptochol.* α 706

Plural*Masculine*

Nominative

ὄσαι γενέσεις εἰσί, τοσοῦτοι βαθμοί (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.603)
 βασιλεῖς τοσοῦτοι *Pol. Tr.* 8828

Genitive

τοσοῦτων πολεμίων *Dig. G VI.694*
 τοσοῦτων ἀνθρώπων KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 360.5
 τοσοῦτων γενεραλαίων (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 168.20)
 μετὰ τοσαύτων λογισμῶν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1817

Accusative

τοσοῦτους χρόνους *Log. parig.* L 597
 τοὺς τοσοῦτους πειρασμούς [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2105
 τοσοῦτους χρόνους DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2304
 ἔμπροσθεν ἑτεσαύτους μάρτυρας *Assizes A* 139.23
 ἑπεσαύτους ἀνθρώπους *Assizes B* 268.23

Feminine

Nominative

ἡμέρες οἱ τοσαῦτες *Liv P* 1144 (transcr. Lendari)

Accusative

ὁδύνas τὰς τοσαύτας *Spaneas Va* 15
 τοσαύτας χάριτας *Achil.* N 1433
 τοιαύτας καὶ τοσαύτας *Velth.* 509
 τὰς τοσαύτας χιλιάδας *Ptochol.* α 344
 ἡμέρες τοσαῦτες, ὅσες τὰ ἔπραττε (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 26, 28.8)
 τοσαύτας βλέπων χάριτας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 465
 εἰς τὰς τοσοῦτας συμφορὰς *Liv.* α 4532
 τὰς τοσοῦτας χιλιάδας *Ptochol.* α 344 app. crit. (N)
 ἑπεσαύταις φοραῖς *Assizes B* 415.6

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

ἐνὶ κρατούμενος νὰ δώση τοσαῦτα *Assizes B* 376.19
 τοσαῦτα ἤξευρεν νὰ εἰπῇ *Chron. Mor.* H 997
 καὶ κάλλη τὰ τοσαῦτα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 697
 εἰς τοσοῦτα φουσσᾶτα *Chron. Mor.* H 3779
 πιττάκια τοσοῦτα *Liv.* S 533
 ἔλεγε τοσοῦτα λόγια *Vios Aisop.* E 292.8
 ἀποῦ ἑτοσαῦτα ὁποῦ ἔξαζεν τὸ ἀμάχιν *Assizes A* 61.6
 ἐὰν οὐδὲν πουληθῇ ὀτοσαῦτα ὀγιὸν ἐνὶ τὸ χρέος *Assizes A* 40.31; ἄργησες ὀτοσαῦτα νὰ μὲ
 πλερώσης *ibid.* 161.27
 θεωρῶντα τὸν ρῆγαν ὀτοσαῦτα θυμωμένον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 264.7; καὶ ὀτοσαῦτα
 ἐποῖκαν ὅτι ἐψηλῶσαν τα *ibid.* V 358.14

νὰ πούληση ἔτεσαῦτα *Assizes* B 387.28; νὰ νομευτῇ ἔτεσαῦτα πράγματα *ibid.* 393.19;
 ἔτεσαῦτα ὅσα ἐκούστεψε *ibid.* 430.10
 καὶ ἂν οὐδὲν ἔχη ἔτεσαῦτα *Assizes* A 33.5; νὰ πούληση ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἔτεσαῦτα ὥστε νὰ
 πληρωθῇ *ibid.* 65.13; διὰ ἔτεσαῦτα ὅσα τοῦ ἔδωκεν *ibid.* 39.9
 ἄμμε ὅτεσαῦτα ὀρίζει τὸ δίκαιον *Assizes* B 426.5; θέλει νὰ τοῦ δώση ὅτεσαῦτα *ibid.* 287.26
 ἐπουλήθη διὰ ἐπεσαῦτα *Assizes* B 289.28; νὰ τοῦ δώση ἐπεσαῦτα *ibid.* 313.25
 νὰ τοῦ δώση ἐπεσαῦτα *Assizes* A 39.2; νὰ πάρουν ἐπεσαῦτα πράγματα *ibid.* 66.27
 διὰ πεσαῦτα *Assizes* A 124.2
 ἔβαλεν ἐποσαῦτα πράγματα *Assizes* A 178.17

Genitive

τοσούτων γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν *Dig. G VII.216*

5.5.3.4 τηλικούτος

The pronoun and determiner τηλικούτος, “so great”, appears only as a learned relic from AG, mainly in literary texts and high-register documents. It inflects as an O-stem adjective and has two stem allomorphs, τηλικούτ- and τηλικαύτ-:⁶⁹

ὁ τηλικούτος νέος *Pol. Tr.* 10115 app. crit. (AX)
 ὁ τηλικούτος κῆπος [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 286
 ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ τοσοῦτος καὶ τηλικούτος *Ekth. Chron.* 68.32
 κινδύνου τηλικούτου *Pol. Tr.* 13789
 τοῦ τηλικούτου τόπου [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 96
 τηλικούτον νέον *Pol. Tr.* 9671 (ACVX)
 τὸν τοιοῦτον καὶ τηλικούτον σὶρ Τζουὰν τε Μόρφου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 388.11
 τοὺς τηλικούτους λίθους [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 380
 τὴν τηλικαύτην τόλμαν *Ptoch. IV* 14
 τὰς τηλικαύτας μου πληγὰς [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 701
 εἰς τὰς τοσαύτας καὶ τοιαύτας καὶ τηλικαύτας ἀνάγκας ΚΑΝΑΝΟΣ, *Diig.* 67.35
 τηλικούτον ὄρος [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 95
 τοῦ τηλικούτου κάστρου [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 191

5.6 Intensive Pronouns

Intensive pronouns, or, more accurately, intensive pronominal phrases, add emphasis to a noun or pronoun; in the latter case the pronoun may be either explicit, or else the implicit subject of the verb (Eng. “myself”, “herself”, “themselves” etc.). Intensive pronouns must

⁶⁹ The presence of modern dialectal forms such as τελεκούτος, τελεκός (Cyclades), as well as the S. Italian *teddeko* (see ANDRIOTIS, *Lex. Arch.* s.vv. τηλίκος, τηλικούτος; ROHLFS 1977: 96) testifies to the survival of the AG pronoun τηλίκος, τηλικούτος in the spoken language during the medieval period, but there is no evidence for this in written sources.

be distinguished from reflexive pronouns (see 5.11), which function as the direct or indirect object of a verb, or are governed by a preposition, and refer back to the subject of the verb.

In the period covered by this Grammar, the function of intensive pronouns is performed by various phrases: *αὐτός μου* or *ἑαυτός μου* etc., which normally occur only in the nominative case (see 5.6.1–2); *ὁ ἴδιος*, which is available in all cases (5.6.3); and *μόνος/μοναχός μου* (5.6.4), which behaves in a similar way to *αὐτός μου*.⁷⁰ See also the periphrases (*τοῦ λόγου μου*, *αὐτόν μου*, *(ἐ)ξαυτόν μου* etc., which can also function as intensive pronouns (5.3.3, 5.3.4).

The pronominal phrase *αὐτός μου* consists of a form derived from the AG pronoun and determiner *αὐτός* followed by the weak (clitic) genitive form of a personal pronoun (see 6.6.1). The AG personal and intensive pronoun *αὐτός* appears in papyri of the 1st c. AD onwards with <α> instead of <αυ>, probably indicating the loss of the second element of the original diphthong (GIGNAC 1976: 226–9).⁷¹

Residual uses of *αὐτός* as an intensive pronoun can be found in the period covered by this Grammar, e.g. *ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ οὐχ ἔξωμεν ἄδειαν* (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 473.23) (“we ourselves”). A related use of *αὐτός*, preceded by the definite article, is to refer back to something or someone already mentioned: “the very same”, “the aforementioned”.⁷² This usage is particularly common in legal texts, but also more generally:

μακρινήσκονται τὰ αὐτὰ πράγματα *Assizes A 46.17*
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ δουκός (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 65–6.5)
 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον λεγόμενον Τόγνην *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 8.4*
 μέσα εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν κάτεργον *MACHAIRAS, Chron. O 350.19–20* (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 ὁ ἐφημέριος τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας (1531, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 22, 69.13)
 ὁ αὐτός δὲ πρωτοστράτωρ (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.6)
 ὁ αὐτός Μαμουῆς (1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 175.23)
 ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀδελφῆδες (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 798, 696.24)
 τῶν αὐτῶν χωριῶν (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.8–9)
 ὁ αὐτός Ἀργυρός (1695, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 33, 81.7)

For the forms of *αὐτός* as a personal pronoun and demonstrative, see 5.5.1.

5.6.1 αὐτός μου

The word *αὐτός* is declined like adjectives in -ος (3.2.1) with feminine *αὐτή*, and with masculine and feminine plural forms. Since the intensive pronoun usually implies an act of will, it is used mainly of persons. Consequently, neuter forms (sg. *αὐτό*, pl. *αὐτά*) are quite

⁷⁰ Another way of expressing the idea of “of one’s own accord”, “for oneself” is the phrase *ἀπὸ δικοῦ* followed by a clitic pronoun in the gen. These two examples are both from Cretan texts: *ἔπρεπε, κυρά μου, ἀπὸ δικοῦ σου | νὰ μ’ ἐσπλαχνίστης* FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 611–12 (ms A; app. crit. *δικὸς N, δικὰ V*); *ἀπὸ δικοῦ τοῦ ἄς κρίνη* KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1501.

⁷¹ CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: A 173) derives *αὐτός* from the reflexive pronoun *ἑαυτόν*. See also JANNARIS 1897: 155–7. The fact that *αὐτός* remains unchanged in MedG and MG when used as a personal pronoun or demonstrative (but note Pontic *αὐτός*) has not been satisfactorily explained.

⁷² For examples of *αὐτός* used in this way, see 5.5.1.3.

rare. The second element of the pronominal phrase is a clitic possessive pronoun, which may be 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, singular or plural (see 5.4.1 for the forms). The forms of the 3 sg. pronoun (τοῦ, τῆς etc.) agree in gender with their referent. The pronominal phrase refers to the grammatical subject of the clause and therefore normally only occurs in the nominative.⁷³

Instead of αὐτός, a form with αὐτός occurs in documents from S. Italy and Athos, and occasionally in later texts; it should probably be considered as an archaism or an attempt at a more elevated style:

αὐτός μου ἐπερίορισα (1122, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 16, 413.8); αὐτή μου (1182, *ibid.*

Coll. IX: 22, 424.6–7)

αὐτός μου ὑπάγω (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1321)

τὸ ὑπογράφουν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶς (1713, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992a: 2, 75.17)

αὐτὸ θέλεις το διακριθεὶ αὐτός σου *Don Kis.* 104.28–9

θρόνος νὰ ἦτον ἔκπαλαι λὲν οἱ Πέρσαι αὐτοὶ τοὺς VATATSI, *Periig.* I 505 ms L

The phrase αὐτός μου etc. occurs frequently in texts of all kinds from at least the 14th c. until the end of the period covered by this Grammar.⁷⁴ It has a wide geographical distribution; however, it seems to occur only rarely in texts from Cyprus and other south-eastern areas.

1st Person Singular

ἐγὼ αὐτός μου *Chron. Mor.* H 1878

ἐγὼ κρίνω αὐτός μου νὰ σφάξω τὸ κορμί μου *Achil.* L 66

αὐτός μου τὴν παρηγορίαν ἀπάνου μου νὰ βάνω *Theseid* Prol. P 46

ἂν δὲν ἴδῳ ἀτή μου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.5–6

ἐγὼ τὸ εἶδα αὐτός μου μὲ τὰ μάτια μου PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.7

ἐπήγα ἀτή μου (1596, Crete, VLACHAKI 1994: 297.7)

καὶ θὰ ὑπογράψῃ καὶ αὐτός του (1598, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 82, 111.24)

κι αὐτός μου μὲ τὴ χέρα μου νὰ πάρω τὴ ζωὴ μου CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.278

αὐτός μου, αὐτός μου ἔβγαλα τὰ μάτια τὰ δικά μου KONDAR., *Paidēs* 356

καθὼς αὐτός μου λέγω PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 133

αὐτός μου ὁ ἴδιος SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A1v.6

ἠθέλησα αὐτός μου (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 69.6)

2nd Person Singular

κ' ἐβλέπεις το αὐτός σου *Chron. Mor.* H 4222

ἀτή σου SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 182

νὰ πᾶς αὐτός σου PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 347

μὲ τὰς χεῖρας σου αὐτός σου Ptochol. α 727

αὐτός σου FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 321

ἄμε εἰς τὸν χορὸν ἀτή σου *Epain. gyn.* 117

ἐσύ νὰ πᾶς αὐτός σου Alex. Rim. 1101

αὐτός σου (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 49.35)

κάμε νὰ ἔλθῃς καὶ αὐτός σου μετ' ἐμᾶς *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 8

⁷³ For non-nominative forms of ἀπατός (μου) see the following section.

⁷⁴ One instance of a form ἐτός του has been found, in a document from Naxos: ὡσὰν νὰ ἦτον ἐτός του σωματικὰ (1635, Naxos, KORRES 1931: 3, 274.22). It can be compared with εὐτός instead of αὐτός, which is probably influenced by ἐκείνος (see 5.5.1.7).

3rd Person Singular

ἄτός του γίνεται ἱατρός *Ptoch. IV* 589 app. crit. (P)
 ἐσέβη ἄτός του εἰς τὸν γουλαῖν κ' ἐκατεστόχασέ το *Chron. Mor.* H 8223
 ἄτός του μὲ τὸ χέριν του *Chron. Toc.* 1782
 ἄτός του ἐξυπολύθη *Rim. kor.* A 149
 ἄτός του ἐφουρκίστη *VENDRAMOS, Istor. Filarg.* 126
 ἐλόγιασεν ἄτός του *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1196
 εἰς τοὺς ὁποίους ἐφάνη ἄτός του *SANKTAM., Praxeis apost.* 15.4–5
 ἂν τὸ ὁμολογήσῃ ἄτός του *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 132.A.59
 ὀμπλιγάρεται ἀτὴ της (1598, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1999a: 83B, 113.4)
 ἄτός του ὁ ἱερεύς (1599, Zakynthos, *ZOIS* 1957: 60.39)
 καθὼς τὸ σημειώνει καὶ ἄτός του *MAX. PELOPON., Kata Ioud.* 314.12
 μόνον ἂ θέλῃ ἀτὴ της *MONTSEL., Evgena* 639
 (τοῦτο τὸ παιδί ...) ἀτό του ἀνοίγωντας τὴν θύραν *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 118.22
 ἀτὴ της πάγει μὲ τὶς Τούρκους (ante 1662, Sifnos, *TSELIKAS* 1986c: 2, 32.48–9)
 ἐκείνη ἀτὴ της (1684, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 428, 649.8)
 ἦτονε ἄτός του μέσα σ' αὐτὸ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.25
 ἄτός του *Irodis* III.253

1st Person Plural

ἀτοί μας νὰ ποθάνωμε *Theseid* V.55,8 (1529)
 ἦ νὰ σφαγοῦμεν ἀτοί μας [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P 322.25

2nd Person Plural

ὡς τὸ εἶδετε ἀτοί σας *Chron. Mor.* H 5510
 ἐσεῖς φταίγετε ἀτοί σας *Epain. gyn.* 485
 ἐσεῖς ἀτοί σας ἠβλέπετε *Diig. Alex.* F 286.3–4 (Lolos)
 ἀτοί σας ἀφιερῶσατε τὰ μερτικά σας (1572, Achaia, *VEIS* 1956: 450.15)
 ὦ, τι θέλετε ἀτοί σας (1574, Crete, *ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI* 2007: 147.9)
 ἐλᾶτε ἐσεῖς ἀτοί σας *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.31
 ἐλᾶτε ἀτοί σας *Zinon.* V.323
 ποῦ εἴστενε ἀτοί σας *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 56.37

3rd Person Plural

ἀτοί τους ἐπαινοῦνται *Chron. Mor.* H 761
 καθὼς τὸ εἶπον ἀτοί τους (1506, Corfu, *PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al.* 1997: 475, 338.11)
 ἀτοί τους (1532, Macedonia, *DELIALIS* 1969: 249.44)
 (τὰ ζῶα ...) ἦλθαν ἀτά τους *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 189.4
 πρέπει οἱ πατέρες ἀτοί τους συχνὰ νὰ δοκιμάζουν τὰ παιδιά *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 113.21–2
 κατὰ πῶς τὸ ἐσυνορέψασιν ἀτοί τους (1598, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1999a: 89, 121.3–4)
 ἀτοί τως (1617, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1968: 4, 35.10)
 αὐτὰ ὅλα, ἀγκαλὰ καὶ ἀτά των νὰ εἶναι ἀρκετὰ *RODINOS, Mart. Ag. Mam.* 218.6–7
 τὸν Διγενὴ λογάριαζαν ἀτοί τως νὰ σκοτώσουν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2612
 ἀτοί τους *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.303

5.6.2 ἄπατός μου

As a stronger form of the pronominal phrase, ἄπατός μου (< ἀπό + ἄτός μου) is also found from the 15th c. onwards. It is usually in the nominative, with the sense of “by or for myself”, “on my own” or “of my own volition”, and consequently, like ἄτός μου, it normally refers to a human subject; neuter forms are rare. Oblique cases can be found occasionally (perhaps only in Cretan texts), with the function of a periphrastic personal pronoun or even

a reflexive pronoun, e.g. παιδί 'ναι τ' άπατοῦ σου *Stathis* III.303; ἐγώ, ἃ μ' ὀργίζεσαι, μπορῶ νά ὀργίζομαι άπατῆς μου *TROILOS, Rodol.* III.243.⁷⁵

An early 17th-c. grammar gives both άτός and άπατός, implying that the latter is the more usual (at least in Chios): “Dicono anco, άτόσμου, άτόσσου, άτόστου, &c. in luogo di άπατόσμου, &c.” (GERMANO, *Grammar* 68.14–15). Some editors write it as two words: άπ' άτός. Note also the adverb άπατά, “exactly, certainly, also” (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. άπαῦτα).

1st Person Singular⁷⁶

ἐπεὶ άπ' άτός μου γνώθω το *Chron. Mor.* H 5834

καὶ μὲ τὰ συλλογίσματα ξενίζομαι άπατός μου *Theseid* Prol. P 2; κ' ἐγώ άπατή μου *ibid.* I.27,3 (Follieri)

νά τὸ λαβοράρω άπατός μου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 425, 422.7)

ἤθελα ἔρθει άπατός μου μὲ τὸ κορμί μου (1573, Ancona, CATALDI PALAU 2000: 2, 388.5)

κι εἰς άπατή σου ξεύρεις τα *CHORTATSI, Panor.* II.287; πρίχου τὸ πῶ άπατός μου *id., Erof.* IV.213

γνωρίζω το άπατή μου *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1613, III.199; παίρνω το άπατός μου *ibid.* II.954

2nd Person Singular

κυνήγα άπατός σου *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 218

καθώς θέλεις το ειπεί και άπατός σου *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 307

'πειδὴ άπατή σου ἐθέλησες *P&N Diath.* 1150

γιατί δὲν εἶσαι κατὰ πῶς τὸ θάρρεις άπατή σου *CHORTATSI, Erof.* II.46

σὰ θέλεις άπατή σου *Stathis* II.227

3rd Person Singular

ὁ ρήγας άπατός του *Chron. Mor.* H 7841

ὁμολόγησε άπατός του (1506, Trebizond, PRINZING 2000: 2, 304.8)

άπατός του | δὲ δύνεται νά βουθηθῇ *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 189–90

φουσάτο μέσα ἄφησε, ὅσ' άπατός του χρῆζει *Alex. Rim.* 671

νά τὰ κάμη άπατή της (1551, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 47, 89.8)

νά εἶναι άπατός του ἢ ἄλλος διὰ λόγου του (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 130, 101.11)

τὸ πρᾶμα, άπού 'ναι φανερό στὸν κόσμον άπατό του *CHORTATSI, Erof.* IV.37

ἃ θέλη νά τὸ γυρέψη άπατή τη (1598, Rethymno region / Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 38, 58.8)

ἢ γῆ άπατή της κάμει καρπὸν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 4.28

ἢ Ρήγισσα άπατή της *MONTSEL., Evgena* 549

ὡς λέγει άπατός του (1668, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 356.8–9)

ἐπῆγεν άπατός του *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 430.18

άπατός του ξεύρει τὴν ζημίαν του (1705 [later copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B I/4, f.167r.1)

⁷⁵ In the verse history of Bounialis we find several instances of accusative uses, mainly equivalent to τὸν ἴδιο “him himself” (and not someone else): κ' ἐκεῖνο ἐφέρανε νεκρὸ τότες τὸν άπατό του *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 347.9; καὶ τὸ βεζίρη ... κράζει τον, άπατό του *ibid.* 404.12; σὰν καὶ τὸν άπατό του *ibid.* 536.22. It can also refer back to the subject, i.e. it has a reflexive function: γιατί πολλὰ ἐφοβᾶτο, | μὴ νά 'χου μίνα κι ἄψουν τη καὶ κάψουν τὸ λαό του | ... κι ὅλο τὸν άπατό του *ibid.* 559.24–6. In all these cases the phrase is in rhyme.

⁷⁶ A marginal use is found in a 16th-c. Cypriot poem: τί λέγω, ποῦ 'μαι καὶ τίς μὲ ζενιάζει | ἄλλος παρὰ 'παυτός κ' ἢ πεθυμιά μου; *Cypr. Canz.* 90.31–2. If the clitic pronoun is assumed to belong to 'παυτός as well as the following noun, in this elliptical construction, (ἃ)παυτός μου must mean “I myself”.

1st Person Plural

ἐμεῖς τὸ δίκαιον ἄς πάρωμεν ἀπατές μας *Theseid* I.35,6 (Follieri)
 κ' εμπαίναν και εβγαίνανε σαν ἡθελαν ἴπατοί τους DEFAR., *Sos.* 77 (Holton) (with aphaeresis:
 see I, 2.7.1)
 μόνο νά μὴ θελήσουμε νά λείψουμε ἀπατοί μας CHORTATIS, *Erof. Interm.* IV.19
 ἐμεῖς ἀπατοί μας (1628, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 504, 480.9)

2nd Person Plural

None found.

3rd Person Plural

καὶ τοῦτα τὰ λόγια ἐλέγασιν ὅλοι μέσα τους ἀπατοί των *Achil.* L 174
 οἱ ἀνεψιὲς τοῦ Μπέλου ἀπατές τους *Theseid* I.8,1 (Follieri)
 ἀφήκασιν οἱ Φράγγοι τὴν Κορώνην ἀπατοί τους (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79:
 63D, 3.1)
 νὰ τὸν ἐξετιμήσουν ἀπατοί τους (1551, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 106, 153.23)
 τὰ ἀπόκοψαν ἀπατοί τους (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 112, 195.12)
 μὴδὲ αὐτοὶ ἀπατοί τους DAM. STOUD., *Dial.* 101.7
 τὰ ὅποια δένδρα ... ἀπρεζιάρασιν ἀπατοί τως (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987:
 672, 584.6)
 μόνον ὅτι εσφράγισε τας θύρας, ἀνοίγονται ἀπατές τους *Thavmata Ag. Nik.* 263.28–9
 συμμαζώνουνται ἀπατοί τωνε (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 28, 78.11)

5.6.3 ὁ ἴδιος

This phrase, the normal intensive pronoun in SMG, has not been found with this specific function in MedG texts. It is necessary to distinguish this pronominal use from the adjective ἴδιος “same, similar, familiar, own”, which may also be preceded by the definite article. As an intensive pronominal phrase, ὁ ἴδιος (declined like adjectives in -ος with fem. -α; see 3.3.2) functions in the same way as ἀτός μου, giving emphasis to a noun or (explicit or implicit) pronoun, but it can also appear in the oblique cases, “himself” etc. (and not someone else), and – rarely – may be followed by a clitic pronoun in the genitive. This usage of ὁ ἴδιος has not been found before the 16th c. and the earliest occurrences are in Cretan texts. Some influence of Ital. *stesso* cannot be ruled out. However, it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between adjectival uses of ἴδιος and its use as an intensive pronoun or emphatic possessive (for which see 5.4.2).⁷⁷ For further information on the various meanings of the word see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.

τούτην τὴν ἱστορίαν, | κρασμένην ἐκ τὸν ἴδιον Μάλτας πολιορκίαν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 16
 κὶ ἐδίδασκε ὁμπρός των–ε τῶν ἴδιω ἀρχιερέω *P&N Diath.* 2385
 με τὴν ἀσπριά τζη εθάμπωνε τὸν ἴδιο ἥλιο CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.314; κὶ ἐσέ τὴν ἴδια ... μὴ
 θανατώσεις *ibid.* II.284; μάρτυρα τὸν οὐρανὸ κ' ἐσέ τὸν ἴδιο βάνω *id.*, *Erof. Interm.* III.37
 εἶναι ἀρκετοὶ οἱ ἴδιοι Χριστιανοὶ (1609, Cyprus, CHASIOTIS 1972: 35, 59.8)

⁷⁷ In late texts the adjective ὅμοιος sometimes appears to function like ἴδιος: ποσσεδέροντας ἐτούτη τὴν ὅμοιαν κάμαρα (1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 152, 276.6–7); ἤρτα τὸν ὅμοιο χρόνο (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.7); ἡ ὁμοία παπαδιά (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 20, 34.12); μεσ' τὸ ὅμοιο σπῆτι (*ibid.* 24, 38.15); οἱ ὅμοιοι ἐπλέρωσαν τὸ ὅμοιο χρεῖ (1703, *ibid.* 46, 59.13).

ἐμεῖς οἱ ἴδιοι ἀκούσαμεν καὶ εἶδαμεν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 4.42
οἱ ἴδιες τὸ στολίσσα TROILOS, *Rodol.* Dedic. 18; μᾶλλιος ἐσὺ ᾿σαι τσῆ τιμῆς τσ’ ἴδιας καθάρια
εἰκόνα *ibid.* 21
νὰ μὴν εἶναι ὁ ἴδιος Βασιλεύς, ὅπου ἔρχεται *Bertoldin.* 119.6–7; μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἡ ἴδια δὲν ἡξεύρω
νὰ σοῦ εἰπῶ *ibid.* 139.18
τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐμένα καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου του (1653–5, Venice, FONKIC 2000: 239,
f.1v.2) (with addition of clitic pronoun, as in other pronominal phrases)
αὐτὸς αὐθέντης ἴδιος IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2746 (definite article omitted, perhaps for metrical
reasons)
τῖς ἴδιους ὅπου τὸ ἀφιέρωσαν (1683, Andros, POLEMIS 1999b: 29, 52.20) (= “the actual
people”)
ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐμένα τοῦ ἰδίου (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 181.18)
ἡ ἴδια τὸ μεσημέρι | θέλω ῥθει μὲ τὸ Χρῦσιππο *Stathis* II.231–2
το να την ηξεύρεις ἐσὺ ο ἴδιος *Don Kis.* 104.26
ἐπῆγε ὁ ἴδιος EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 26.14–15

5.6.4 μόνος μου and μοναχός μου

These pronominal phrases, which are also common in SMG, function in the same way as ἀτός μου and ἀπατός μου, “myself”. They resemble Eng. “by myself, on my own”, i.e. without assistance. The adjectives μόνος (also μόνιος, with palatalization, in Cretan texts; see I, 3.8.2.3) and μοναχός, declined like adjectives in -ος (see 3.2.1 and for μόνιος 3.2.2), are followed by a clitic pronoun in the genitive, which agrees in number (and, for the 3rd person, gender) with its referent. In its function as an intensive pronominal phrase, it can occur only in the nominative.⁷⁸ The phrase μόνος μου etc. can exist in other cases, as well as in the nominative, with a simple adjectival sense (“alone”, though a clear distinction is not always possible in nominative phrases), e.g. τὴν ὁδὸν, ὥσπερ εἴωθα, μόνος μου διοδεύων *Dig.* G V.26; ἀδέρφι, ἀπτόμεινε κι ἄφισ με μοναχό μου KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1657. From such a usage, the intensive pronominal phrase had developed by at least the 15th c., and by the 16th c. had spread across a wide geographical area, as the following examples illustrate. Instances of μόνος, μόνιος and μοναχός are listed together, in view of the fact that two of them are often linked.

μόνη μου ἐποῖκα τὸ κακόν, μόνη μου ᾄς ἀπολάβω *Dig.* E 954
μέσον εἰς δάσος κρύφθησε, μόνος καὶ μοναχός σου *Liv.* V 1927; ἐγὼ τὰ ἡξεύρω μόνος μου *ibid.*
3897
κρύβησε μοναχός σου *Liv.* S 1013
μοναχός μόνος του ἐρματώθην *Achil.* O 240; μόνος σου γὰρ νὰ φονευτῆς, μόνος σου ν’
ἀποθάνης *ibid.* 365
νὰ ἀντιτείνομεν τὸν ρήγα μοναχοί μας KORONAIOS, *Andrag.* Bua V.25
ἄν ἐσοῦ μόνος σου δὲ κρατέσαι κρυφός *Fior*, Suppl. 277.1–2
διὰ τοῦτο ἐθέλησεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μόνος του νὰ ἔλθῃ νὰ σαρκωθῇ DAM. STOUD., *This.*,
Logos 1, ¶ 7v.7–8

⁷⁸ There may be an early example in the 14th-c. romance *Kallimachos and Chrysorroë* (16th-c. ms). The ms, as edited, reads: τὰς πόρτας λέγει μόνας των, ἀνοίγουν παραυτικά [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 1280. KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. μόνος tacitly amends to λέγει, μόναι των, i.e. the doors open “of their own accord”.

τις ἐλιές όπου ἔχει εἰς τὰ Κελία νὰ τις ἔχη μοναχή της (1573, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 2, 19.39)
μόνιος του θε νὰ διάβη *P&N Diath.* 1565

μάτια σου ἔχουσι μόνια τως τόση χάρη CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.342; εσύ τα ορίζεις μόνια σου
ibid. IV.280

καὶ πεθυμήσει τό 'θελα μόνος καὶ μοναχός μου *Thysia Avr.* 725

μόνια σου μολογᾷς πῶς μιὰ ἀγγελιά 'σαι *Pist. voskos* II 7.54

ἀνίσως καὶ εἶχε πάει κανένας μοναχός του (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 78, 84.15–17)

καὶ τὸ ἐμαρτύρησαν μοναχοὶ τους (1654, Athos, MOŠIN/ŠOVRE 1948: 17, 51.10)

σφαμένον εἶχεν ὡς ἐδὰ μόνιος του τὸ κορμὶν του FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.41

νὰ κάνει καὶ σώνει τις 'κόνες μοναχός του (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 1, 144.8)

ἐγὼ τὸν Ζῆνον σήμερο μόνιος μου θὰ νικήσω *Zinon Prol.* 181

ἔμπαινε μέσα στὴ φωτιά κ' ἐκέντα μοναχός του KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.104; νὰ κάμη τζόγια

ωρίοπλουμη, σὰ θέλει, μοναχή τη ibid. I.1348; ν' ἀντρευτῆς ὅσο μπορεῖς, μόνια σου νὰ
βουηθήθης ibid. III.157

ἐφαρμακέσθη μοναχή της SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 44.38

5.7 Interrogative Pronouns

The LMedG and EMG interrogative pronouns can be divided into two categories: (a) simple interrogatives, with the meaning “who”, “what”, “which”, and (b) qualitative/quantitative interrogatives, with the meaning “how much” and “of what kind”, forming correlative pairs with the corresponding quantitative/qualitative demonstrative pronouns (see 5.5.2–3). In each category, some pronouns are continuations from AG, while others constitute morphosyntactic innovations. Both types may be used either as pronouns or as determiners, and may introduce either main or dependent interrogative clauses. The pronouns in question are the following:

- Simple interrogatives: ποῖος/ποιός, τίς-τί, τίνα/ἴντα
- Quantitative/qualitative interrogatives: πόσος, ὅπόσος, ποταπός, ποταποῖος

5.7.1 Simple Interrogatives

5.7.1.1 ποῖος/ποιός

Ποῖος is a continuation of the AG interrogative pronoun ποῖος “of what kind”. The semantic merger between τίς and ποῖος, and the gradual replacement of the former by the latter, caused by the irregular paradigm of τίς and by the preference for interrogative forms starting with π- (πότε, ποῦ, πόσος etc.), had already started long before the period under investigation (MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 615–17; HATZIDAKIS 1892: 207–8; JANNARIS 1897: 163; PSALTES 1913: 200; HORROCKS 2010: 293). In LMedG and EMG ποῖος means simply “who, which”, and is fully synonymous with τίς, but is employed much more frequently.

Ποῖος inflects as a regular adjective in -ος (see 3.2.2). The major phonetic change affecting it is the process of synizesis, creating monosyllabic forms. The onset of the change is difficult to establish, due to the conservative nature of the written evidence, as well as possible scribal and editorial interventions and conventions adopted (for synizesis see

1.5 above and I, 2.9.4); nevertheless, it may be placed around the 15th c. on the basis of forms involving spelling of a consonantized <γ>, e.g. πγῆσαν / ποιοί'σαν CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 56 app. crit. (MB). Since the graphematic evidence is often uncertain, monosyllabic and disyllabic variants are not distinguished in the list of examples below.

Two innovative phenomena affect the pronoun, with rare instances from the 17th c. onwards: addition of a final vowel in the acc. sg. (ποιόνε, ποιόνα) and stem extension with a final syllable starting with /n/ (ποιουνού, ποιανού, ποιονών). The latter phenomenon is connected with the development affecting demonstrative pronouns (αὐτοῦ > αὐτουνοῦ, αὐτουνών), and is probably due to analogy with the pronoun ἐκεῖνος (see CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 156, KRETSCHMER 1905: 273–4; and 5.5.1.6 above). The preference for the feminine stem in the extended forms (ποιανού instead of ποιουνού), retained in MG, is difficult to explain, but there is no doubt that the /a/ is an analogy on the basis of the feminine, given the existence of indefinite forms such as μιανού, καμιανού (CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: 539; see also 5.8.5, 5.8.9 below). The addition of final /a/ (ποιόνα) also follows the pattern of the demonstratives αὐτός and ἐκεῖνος, which display acc. sg. forms αὐτόνα and ἐκεῖνονα (see 5.5.1.2, 5.5.1.8), on the analogy of the personal pronouns ἐμένα, ἐσένα.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	ποῖος ἢ ποῖός	ποῖα ἢ ποιά	ποῖο(ν) ἢ ποιό(ν)
Gen.	ποίου ἢ ποιοῦ ἢ ποιουνού ἢ ποιανού	ποίας ἢ ποιάς	ποίου ἢ (ποιοῦ) ἢ (ποιουνού)
Acc.	ποῖο(ν) ἢ ποιό(ν) ἢ ποῖονε ἢ ποιόνε ἢ ποιόνα	ποῖα(ν) ἢ ποιά(ν)	ποῖο(ν) ἢ ποιό
Plural			
Nom.	ποῖοι ἢ ποιοί	ποῖες ἢ ποιές	ποῖα ἢ ποιά
Gen.	ποίων ἢ ποίων ἢ ποιονών	ποίων ἢ ποίων ἢ ποιονών	ποίων ἢ ποίων ἢ ποιονών
Acc.	ποίους ἢ ποιούς	ποίας ἢ ποῖες ἢ ποιές ἢ	ποῖα ἢ ποιά

Singular

Masculine Nominative

- ποῖος ἱερεὺς ἦτον; (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 23.159)
καὶ τότε θέλομεν ἰδεῖ ποῖος ἀγαπᾷ τὸν δούκα *Chron. Toc.* 1353
ποῖος ἄνθρωπος ἀγγελικὸς SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 1
ποῖος ἔναι ὁ ἐχθρὸς; *Phys.* 1020
τὸ ποῖος νὰ ἔναι ἀπὲ τοὺς δύο οὐδὲν τὸ φανερώνω *Theseid Prol.* P 127
ποῖος τοῦ καλοῦ ληστοῦ καὶ ποῖος τοῦ πονηροῦ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 4.23
δεῖξε μου ποῖος εἶναι ὁ καλογιὸς μου DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 302
δὲν μὲ ἐγνωρίζετε ποῖος εἶμαι ἐγώ; KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 246.18

ποιὸς δρόμος σ' ἔφερεν ἐδῶ, ποιά στράτα, παλικάρι ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 106
 ποῖος ἀνθρῶπος μὲ στίχους του μπορεῖ νὰ ξεδιαλύσῃ ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1552
 τὰ χέρια ποῖος σοῦ τὰ ἔκοψε μὲ ἄπονη καρδιά; MONTSEL., *Evgena* 802
 ποιὸς ἄθρῶπος μοῦ τό ἔθελε παινέσει | καὶ ποιὸς θεὸς μοῦ τό ἔχε συχωρέσει; VOSK. 65–6 (ποῖος
 both times in 1627 ed.)
 ποιὸς νὰ ἔδωκε τοῦ ἀφέντη μου τόσα κακὰ μαντάτα FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.350
 ποῖος νὰ ἐναὶ ὁ δοτὴρ καὶ ποῖος ἡ αἰτία MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 179
 ποιὸς ἦτον ποῦ σοῦ ἔδωκεν φωτὸς σου τὴν λακτάρη; PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 436
 ποῖος νὰ μὴ θαυμάσει; DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 130
 νὰ ἰδῇ, ποῖος ἔφαγε τὰ σῦκα VIOS AISOP. D 210.10

Masculine Genitive

καὶ μετὰ δόλου ποίου Liv. V 2297
 καὶ μετὰ φόβου ποίου Liv. E 3616
 νὰ ἡγνωρίζονται ποίου βασιλέως εἶναι Diig. Alex. V 37.18; δεῖξε μου ποίου θεοῦ εἴστεν ἐσεῖς
 ibid. 67.3
 ποιοῦ ἡ λαλιὰ ποῦ βγαίνει; Thysia Avr. 98
 ποίου ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐπτὰ θέλει εἴσται ἡ γυναῖκα; KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 22.28
 τίνος νὰ κάμω θέλημα καὶ πάλι ποιοῦ ν' ἀφήσω KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.1656
 ποιουνοῦ θεοῦ εἴστε ἐσεῖς; Diig. Alex. F 226.11 (Lolos)
 ἐτοῦτο τὸ ποκάμισο ποιανοῦ ναι Diig. Vefa 442

Masculine Accusative

ποῖον νὰ ποίσουν ρῆγαν Chron. Mor. P 100
 εἰς ποῖον τόπον Assizes B 294.11
 καὶ ποῖον θέλει ἀπαντᾷ καὶ ποῖον θέλει διώχνει Chron. Toc. 662
 με ποῖον ἀφέντη τὸ λοιπόν, με ποῖον βασιλέα Alex. Rim. 807
 εἰς ποῖον γλυκύτατον καὶ φωτεινότατον τόπον PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.8–9
 ποῖον ἄλλο καρτεροῦμε; CHORTATIS, *Erof. Interm.* II.90
 λέγει τως: «Ποιὸ γυρεῦγετε;» P&N Diath. 3019
 ἀπὸ ποῖον τόπο εἶσαι; FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.286
 πότε νὰ σ' ἀνιμένωμε, ποιὸ μήνα, ποῖαν ἡμέρα KORNAPOS, *Erot.* III.1707
 εἰς ποῖον γρέμνο νὰ πάγω PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.132
 ἀπὸ ποῖον τόπον εἶσαι; VIOS AISOP. D 215.2
 με ποῖονε τὴν ἔστειλες MONTSEL., *Evgena* 869,
 ποῖονα φιλοῦν καὶ δὲν καμαρώνει; Paroim. (Warner) 118.19

Feminine Nominative

ποιά ἐκ τὴν ἔρημον ἐτούτην ἀναβαίνει SKLENTZAS, *Ain. Zood. Pig.* 43
 ποιά κι ἄλλη μάννα ἀλλάσσει υἱὸν DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinis* 334
 ποιὸς δρόμος σ' ἔφερεν ἐδῶ, ποιά στράτα, παλικάρι ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 106
 ποιά ψυχὴ καὶ ποιά καρδιά δὲν ἤθελεν βουρκώσει Imb. Rim. 969
 ποιά δράκαινα VENDRAMOS, *Istor. gyn.* 149
 ποια ν' ἡ αἰτιά που σε κινά CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.57
 «ποιά ἴσαι;» τῇ λέγω, «Πῶς ἀκούς; Πῶς λέσι τ' ὄνομά σου; P&N Diath. 420
 ποιά ἀκοὴ νὰ τὴν ἀκούσῃ; (1650, Santorini, LAMBROS 1885: 110.29)
 καὶ ποιά ἀφορμὴ τὴν ἔκανε περισσα καὶ λυπᾶται BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 178.24
 καὶ ἂν ἐρωτᾷτε ποιά εἶμαι ἐγὼ BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 9

Feminine Genitive

μετὰ δὲ ποίας λαμπρότητος Eisit. f.6v.20
 καὶ μιτὰ ποίας προθυμίας (1303, Thessaloniki, CONSTANTINIDI-BIBICOU 1956: 2, 126.3)

ποιᾶς γενεᾶς ὑπάρχετε *Dig.* E 134
 καὶ μετὰ ποῖας μηχανῆς, ἄκουσε νὰ θαυμάσῃς *Liv.* V 298
 περὶ ποῖας ὑποθέσεως *Assizes* A 13.16; περὶ ποῖας αἰτίας *ibid.* 113.9
 χώρας ποῖας ποταπῆς *Byz. Il.* 628
 νὰ ιδεῖτε ποῖας τύχης εἶναι το παιδί μου *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 135.25
 ποῖας Πουλισένας μοῦ μιλεῖς; *CHORTATSI, Katz.* V.45
 ποῖας γυναικας *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1214

Feminine Accusative

τὸ ποῖαν ὁδὸν νὰ πιάσουσιν κ' εἰς ποῖον μέρος νὰ ἀπέλθουν *Chron. Mor.* H 6594
 καὶ ποῖαν ἔκατεδίκασεν καὶ ποῖαν τὸ μῆλον δίδει *Liv.* V 303
 καὶ ποῖαν πατρίδαν, ἐρωτᾷς *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 290
 δὲν ξεύρω ποῖαν νὰ ῥέγεσαι καὶ βούλεσαι νὰ πιάσῃς *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 149
 διὰ ποῖαν αφορμὴν *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 83.21
 ποῖα ἐμιλιά ... μπόρεῖς νὰ μου χαρίσῃς *CHORTATSI, Panor.* II.555
 εἰς ποῖαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐχειροτονήθης; (1637, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 61.20–1)
 ὅς μᾶς γράψῃ αὐτὴ τὴν ἡμέραν, ποῖαν θέλει νὰ γίνεταί (1654, Chios, ZERLENDIS 1917: 3, 215.2)
 ποῖαν ὁματιά, ποῖον ἄντερο, ποῖα φούσκα νὰ γεμώσῃ! *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.288
 διὰ ποῖα ἀφορμὴν (1683, Naxos, SIFONIU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 323, 524.3)
 πότε νὰ σ' ἀνιμένωμε, ποῖο μῆνα, ποῖαν ἡμέρα *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1707
 σὰν ποῖαν περιέργειαν νὰ κάμῃ δοκιμάζει *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 364

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

ἐρώτησα αὐτοὺς διὰ ποῖον πρᾶγμαν ἐπικρατοῦσι οἱ μοναχοὶ (1125?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 416.12)
 ποῖον θέμα οἰκεῖτε; *Dig.* G I.264
 ποῖον ἱμάτιον μὲ ἔρραψας; Ποῖον δίμιτον μὲ ἐποῖκες; *Ptoch.* I 46
 καὶ ποῖον ἔνι τὸ κάστρον σου καὶ τίνες οἱ γονεῖς σου; *Log. parig.* L 90
 μετὰ ποῖον πρόσωπον τὴν Μαξιμοῦ νὰ ἰδοῦμεν; *Dig.* E 1438
 καὶ ποῖον γράψιμον χρήζει καὶ ποῖον δὲν χρήζει *Assizes* B 354.16–17
 ποῖο ζὸ πονηρὲμένο ἀπάνω σ' ὅλα τὸ λοιπὸν νὰ 'ν διδασκαλεμένο; *Alex. Rim.* 1945
 ποῖον μέρος τοῦ καραβίου μέλλει νὰ πνιγεί πρῶτον *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 25.4
 ποῖον τοῦ ἀρεσεν καλλιότερον *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 135.37
 ποῖον θηρίον θηλυκὸν *VENDRAMOS, Istor. gyn.* 147
 ποῖον ἄντερο, ποῖα φούσκα νὰ γεμώσῃ! *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.288
 εἰς ποῖον μοναστήριον (1689, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 81, 286.26)

Neuter Genitive

γένους ποίου τυγχάνετε; *Dig.* G I.264
 περὶ ποίου πραγμάτου *Assizes* B 356.2
 ποίου γένους ὑπάρχεις *Dig.* T 1176

Plural

Masculine Nominative

νὰ ἴδω τίνες εὐτυχοῦν καὶ ποῖοι ἀτυχοῦσιν *Log. parig.* L 111
 νὰ καθαρίσουν ποῖγοι εἶνε Γενουβίσοι καὶ ποῖγοι εἶνε ὅπου κράζονται Γενουβίσοι
MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 135.15–16; ποῖγοι εἶνε τοῦτοι *ibid.* 264.34
 ποῖοι εἶναι; *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 117
 ποῖοι ἔναι ἐτοῦτοι; ΠΑΡΑ-ΛΑΥΡ., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 111.26
 ποῖοι εἶναι οὖν οἱ ἐχθροὶ οἱ δύο γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 411
 ποῖοι 'ναι ὅπου κατοικοῦ ἐδῶ *P&N Diath.* 195
 ποῖοι εἶναι ἐτοῦτοι *Apok. Theot.* 490.65

ἔρωτήθη ποῖοι ἦτανε ὁποῦ ἐσυλλειτούργησαν (1637, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 61.10–11)
 ποιοὶ διώχουσι τὸν ὀχουθρὸ καὶ ποιοὶ τὸν οἱ μαχίτες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 280.11
 καὶ ποῖοι τὸν ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ τίνες ἦσαν κεῖνοι BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 368

Masculine Accusative

περὶ ποίους καὶ ποταποὺς κριτὲς ἐντέχεται νὰ ἔχη *Assizes B* 483.17
 καὶ ποίους ἔσφαξαν ἐδῶ ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 258
 ποιοὺς ν' ἀγαπῶ εἶναι τὸ πρεπὸ καὶ ποιοὺς ν' ἀναμερίζω CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.450
 γυρεῦει ποίους νὰ φονεύσῃ, ποίους νὰ νικήσῃ RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 51.7
 σ' ποιοὺς ἐγκρεμνοὺς ὁδεύγω; *Zinon V.*212

Feminine Nominative

καὶ οἱ ποῖες νὰ μὴδὲν πουληθοῦν *Assizes A* 136.14
 ποῖες εἶναι αὐτές; *Apok. Theot.* 494.195
 ἀποὺ νὰ μὴν ἐγνώριζε ποῖες εἴμεστα καὶ οἱ τρεῖς μας FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm. I* 31
 ποιές τοῦ καιροῦ μεταβολὲς εἶν' τοῦτες; *Zinon II.*363
 ποιές δύναμες μποροῦσι KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1213

Feminine Accusative

ποιὰς τρικυμίας ὑπέμεινα εἰς τὰς βαρέας ἀνάγκας *Dig.* E 1736 (ms καὶ πόσας)
 ποιές μοῦδες μοῦ δηγᾶσαι; CHORTATSI, *Katz.* V.45
 ὅς ποιές στράτες ταξιδεύγου *P&N Diath.* 176
 εἰς ποιές ἐμπαίνεις | στράτες κακὲς *Zinon I.*17

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

ποῖα εἶναι τὰ δύο ἐκεῖνα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 421
 ποῖα δένδρα εἶναι ἐκεῖνα ὅπου ἀμελήθησαν SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 98.11
 νὰ ἐγγνωρίζουν ποῖα καμώματα εἶναι καλὰ DAM. STOUD., *Dial.* 100.12
 σε ποῖα γκρεμνὰ γυρίζεις; CHORTATSI, *Panor.* II.77
 ποῖα μάτια δὲν ἐκλάψασιν DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 750
 καὶ ποῖα καράβια κρᾶζονται BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 440.18
 καὶ ποῖα παλάτια βρίσκονται σὰν τὰ δικά σας πλοῦσα; KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.680

Masculine/Feminine/Neuter Genitive

περὶ ποίων πραγμάτων *Assizes B* 337.5
 καὶ ποίων γραφῶν οὐδὲν ἀξιάζει *Assizes A* 13.10
 ποίων φρονίμων λογισμὸς BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 231.8

διὰ ποιωνῶν μέσων (1697 [18th-c. copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B I/13, f.190r.4)

Meanings and Usage

Ποῖος functions both as a pronoun and a determiner, in direct and indirect questions:

καὶ ποῖος νὰ τὸ ἐγκωμιάσῃ; *Chron. Mor.* H 1460
 δὲν ἤξέρομε ποῖος ἔχει νὰ γλυτώσῃ (1617, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970b: 3, 230.8)
 ποιὸς πελλὸς ἤθελεν εἶστον *Cypr. Canz.* 130.15
 εἰς ποῖα μεράν, σ' ποιοὶ χῶμα KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1662 app. crit.

In indirect questions it may be preceded by the definite article:

ἡμπορεῖς νὰ ἀκούσεις ἀπὸ ποῖα πράγματα ἐμποροῦν νὰ ἀγκαλεστοῦν εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τὰ
 ποῖα οὐδὲν ἡμποροῦν *Assizes A* 35.6
 οἱ ἀθρῶποι νὰ τεχνεύονται ὁ ποιὸς νὰ βγάλῃ ρίσσα *P&N Diath.* 4728

The pronoun ποῖος/ποιὸς can be found with an indefinite distributive meaning (“one ... one”, “some ... some”):

διότι ποία λέγει ἔτσι καὶ ποία λέγει ἀλλέως KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 200.28–9
 ποιὸς τοῦ ἔδνε τὰ πόδια του, ποιὸς τὸ λαιμὸ του ἐπάτειε, | ποιὸς τοῦ ἔερνε κ' ἐκόρδιζε τὴ
 χέραν ἀπὸ κράτειε, | ποιὸς τοῦ ἔερνε τοὶ πλάτες του, ποιὸς τὶς πατοῦχες κάτω, | ποιὸς
 τοῦ ἔφρασε μὲ τὸ πανὶ τὸ στόμα ἀπὸ μουγκᾶτο CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.111–14
 τότες ποιὸς ἔμπωθε βουτσί, ποιὸς ἔριχνε βαρέλα, | ποιὸς ἤδειαζε τὰ ροῦχα του κι ἐπέτα τὴν
 κασέλα Stathis III.395–6
 μὰ τοῦτοι ποιὸς ποκάμισο μὰς δίδει, ποιὸς φιστάνι, ποιὸς μπόλια, ποιὸς ἄλλος ποδιά, ποιὸς
 τὰ παπούτσια κάνει FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.33–4

5.7.1.2 ὅποῖος

As an archaic survival, it is possible to find in vernacular texts the use of the pronoun ὅποιος to introduce indirect interrogative clauses, with the meaning “who” (MINAS ²2003: 101). This usage may also, in some cases, be interpreted as a collocation of the definite article ὁ + the interrogative pronoun ποῖος, since the syntax whereby an indirect interrogative clause is preceded by the definite article is common with all MedG interrogative pronouns. Furthermore, the same pronoun occasionally introduces indirect interrogative clauses with the meaning “what kind”.

ἐρωτηθέντες παρ' ὑμῶν οἱ γέροντες Τραϊνῶν ὅποιος γινώσκει εἰ ἐγένοντο σύνορα (1142, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 303.11)
 ἡρώτα μαθεῖν ὅποιον κέκτηται δίκαιον ὡς ἐπίσκοπος (1250, Nymphaion/Macedonia, LEFORT et al. 1995: 57, 86.19)
 λοιπὸν ὅποιος σὲ ἔσφαξεν στὸν ἄδην ἔστειλέ σε<ε>. *Dig.* A 467
 εθώρουν τὴν μάχην οἷος θέλει πέσει ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 132.2
 νὰ ὧ ὅποιος τό ἔποιεν MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 192
 προσγραφομένη ὅποιόν τε τὸ χαρτίον ἐστὶ καὶ τίς ὁ τοῦτο ἀναλαβόμενος (1110–16, Constantinople, GAUTIER 1985: 65.841)
 μὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνος θέλει φανῇ ὅποιος εἶναι SKOUFOS, *Grammat.* 56.21

5.7.1.3 τίς, τί

Τίς (masc. and fem.), τί (neuter) is a continuation of the AG interrogative and indefinite pronoun τίς “who, what”. There is no distinction between masculine and feminine, while the neuter form τί may be used for all three genders.

The inflection of τίς shows no significant changes since AG. One development is the variable addition of final /n/ in the masc./fem. acc. sg., attested since the Koine (see GIGNAC 1981: 181), which is more frequent than the older variant in vernacular texts. A nom. sg. τίνας, re-formed according to the paradigm of masc. nouns in /as/ on the basis of the acc. sg., is attested only twice in a poetic anthology from Cyprus, although the corresponding indefinite τινάς is relatively frequent in many areas (see 5.8.1): τίνας ὅτ' ὅσα κάλλη εἶδεν πλασμένος; *Cypr. Canz.* 71.7; τίνας εἰς τὴν ζωὴν του, | ἔχ' τὸν Πόθον ἐπληγώθη | κ' ἔζησεν γοιὸν ἐμὲν μαρτυρημένος; *ibid.* 93.43. Isolated instances of τίνους as gen. sg.⁷⁹ and as acc. pl. have also been located: – τίνους; – μοναχοῦ (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1996); νὰ

⁷⁹ Probably an instance of “raising vocalism” /o/ > /u/ (VASMER 1922: 129, TZITZILIS 1999: 84).

δείξω τὸν πατέρα σου τίνους ἀγούρους ἔχει *Achil.* N 1575. The latter form, an analogy based on the acc. pl. of nouns in -ος, is corroborated by a similar instance in the homophonous indefinite pronoun τις: εἰς τὰ ἀμπέλια καὶ τόπους τινούς ὅπου ἔχομεν (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 9, 28.3). An acc. sg. τίνανε with addition of final /e/ is attested from the 17th c.

The pronoun appears in texts from all areas and periods, in both literary and non-literary sources, although legal texts normally contain very few instances of interrogative clauses. Forms with a feminine referent are much less frequent than masculine and neuter ones. In general, τί is the only form displaying high frequency, whereas all other case-forms are much less common than the synonymous pronoun ποῖος (see 5.7.1.1).

	Masculine and Feminine	Neuter
Singular		
Nom.	τίς ἢ τίνας (masc. only)	τί
Gen.	τίνος	(τίνος)
Acc.	τίνα(ν) ἢ τίνανε	τί
Plural		
Nom.	τίνες	τίνα
Gen.	τίνων	τίνων
Acc.	τίνας	τίνα

Singular

Masculine/Feminine Nominative

- τίς εἶσαι οὐδὲν γνωρίζω *GLYKAS, Stichoī* 538
τίς ἡ ἀδημονία; *Dig. G VIII.45*
τὸ «τί θαρρεῖς;» τὸ «τίς εἶσαι;» τὸ «βλέπε τίνα δέρεις» *Ptoch. I* 142
τίς νὰ ἀπομείνη καὶ τί νὰ ἔχη ὁ καθ' εἷς (1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 286.23)
τίς τὸ ἔπεν; Τίς τὸ μῆνυσε; *Anak. Konst.* 5
τίς νὰ ραβδίση τὸν καρπὸν *Analos. Ath.* 52
τίς ἀπεδιάβην ἄτρομος τὸ στενογιόφυρόν σου *Planī kosmou* 12
τίς εἶσαι; Τί γυρεύεις; *BERGADIS, Apok. A* 77
τίς ἡ αἰτία ἦτονε *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 390
τίς ἡ ὠφέλειά μου; *Krasop. AO* 63
τίς νὰ μὲν μείνη πιασμένος; *Cypr. Canz.* 123.6
καὶ τίς νὰ μὴ λυπᾶται; *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 562
καὶ τίς μπορεῖ νὰ δηγηθεῖ *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 268.26
καὶ τίς νὰ μὴ τὰ λυπηθεῖ καὶ τίς νὰ μὴ τὰ κλάψει *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 298
ἐσὺ ὅπου ἤξεύρεις τίς ἡ αἰτία *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I* §24.10
τίς ἡ μερίς Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ διαβόλου *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 9149
τίς νὰ γιαιτρέψη τὴν πληγὴ; *KORNAROS, Erot. III.*312

Masculine/Feminine Genitive

- τίνος ἐντέχεται νὰ ἐνι *Assizes B* 289.8
ἐγύρευσαν τὸ τίνος γάρ ἐστιν τὸ δίκαιον *Porikol. I* 119

πουλάκιν, πόθεν ἔρχεσαι, τίνος χαρτί βαστάζεις; *Peri xen.* 393
 τὸ τίνος ἦσαν τὰ παιδιὰ καὶ ποιὸν εἶχαν πατέρα *Chron. Toc.* 3703
 τίνος ψυχὴ νὰ εὐρεθῇ νὰ μὴν χαρῇ καὶ θάλλῃ *Velis.* N² 294
 ποσῶς οὐκ ἐφανερώσε τίνος καὶ πόθεν ἔναι *Byz. Il.* 589
 τίνος ἀπ' αὐτοὺς δεν ἐκλεψες το κρέας; *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 113.4
 γιὰ δέτε τίνος ἤθελα νὰ στέκω ν' ἀφουκροῦμαι! *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.93
 καὶ τίνος ἀντιστένεσαι, κλαίγεις καὶ δὲν ἀρνεύγεις; *Thysia Avr.* 367
 τίνος εἶναι ἡ εἰκόνα αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ ἀπανωγραφὴ; *ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 22.20
 λόγιασε τίνος πρέπει | νὰ δώσεις τὸ βασίλειο *Zinon* I.365
 τίνος νὰ κάμω θέλημα καὶ πάλι τοιοῦ ν' ἀφήσω *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1656

Masculine/Feminine Accusative

τίνα ζητεῖτε, ἄγουροι *Dig.* G I.218;
 κοπέλι, τίνα φοβεῖσαι; (1496, Pesaro, ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΙ-ΠΛΟΥΜΙΔΙ 1971: 3, 132.43)
 τίνα δὲ κόρην κράζεις; [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 1416; τίνα λοιπὸν ἠδίκησεν, νὰ φά τὸν
 κάματόν του; *ibid.* 2483
 ἰδέ με, τίνα ἄνθρωπον μοιάζω; *Spanos* B 72
 καὶ λύκος πρόβατον ἂν φᾶ, ποῦ, τίνα τὸ γυρεύει *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 261 transcr. (Lendari)
 (Wagner: τίνα (νὰ) γυρεύῃ)
 νὰ ἰδῇς εἰς τίνα σύρνεις σπαθὶν ἐσὺ *Diig. Alex.* E 147.8 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἐσεῖς τίνα μὲ λέγετε νὰ εἶμαι; *ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 16.15
 καὶ ἐκ τὴν ραβδέαν, Μαξιμού, νόησε μὲ τίναν ἔχεις *Dig.* E 1545
 λέγει, ἐγόρασά το! καὶ ὀρωτοῦν τον, ἀπαί τίναν; *Assizes* B 444.2
 τίναν γυρεύει; (15th c., Athos?, *VASMER* 1922: 194)
 τίναν τὰ συντυχαίνεις *Poulol.* 42
 τίναν νὰ μὴδὲν νικήσῃ; *Cypr. Canz.* 123.5
 ποιὸς εἶναι τὸν γυρεύετε; Γιὰ τίνα πορπατεῖτε; *P&N Diath.* 3011
 εἰς τίναν ἀφήνω τὰ γίδια μου; *Bertoldin.* 102.23
 τίνανε *GERMANO, Grammar* 50.2

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

καὶ τί ὠφελοῦν τὰ περισσά, τὰ τοῦτα καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνα; *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 280
 τί μαγειρεύουν σήμερον; *Ptoch.* IV 379
 ἐσεῖς γὰρ ἐπλουτύνετε κι ὁ βασιλέας τί ἔχει; *Chron. Mor.* H 5114
 τὸ τί πρᾶγμα καὶ συμφορὰ ἐσυνέβην εἰς ἐμένα *Anon. Naupl.* 3
 ὁ Γεώργιος ὅπου τὸ ἤξεύρει τὸ τί ἔχομεν (1508, Ios, *PATRAMANI* 1989/90: 3, 173.41)
 τὸ τί ἐμέναν ἔποικες εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ὀπίσω *Theseid Prol.* P 120
 καὶ τί κακὸν καὶ ὀδυνηρὸν ἐπράθη εἰς ἐτοῦτο *Byz. Il.* 162
 ἐποίησαν βουλὴν, τὸ τί νὰ κάμουν *Diig. Alex.* V 46.25
 ὄρισε ὁ καθεὶς τί νὰ πληρώνῃ *Diig. Alex.* K 289.19
 τί εἶναι τὰ φανταζόμεσταν καὶ τί νὰ ταῖς θάρροῦμεν; *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 254
 τί λαλεῖτε; *ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 78.3
 τώρα τί νὰ γένῃ σ' ἐμένα (1579, Kefalonia, *PENDOGALOS* 1975: 7, 96.18)
 τί εἶν' τὸ ζητᾶς, τί εἶναι τὸ γυρεύεις; *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 124
 τί ἄλλον καλὸν θὲ νὰ ἐκδέχονται ἀπ' ἐκείνους (1615, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 6, 175.50)
 τί θὲς ἐδῶ, κύρ Κύριλλε, μαῦρε, σκοτεινιασμένε; *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 51

Neuter Nominative/Accusative (with masculine or feminine referent)

τί πόλεμος εἶναι ἀπὸ ὅδω καὶ ὀμπρός; *Diig. Alex.* F 30.22 (Konstantinopulos)
 εἶπε του ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. «Τί τόλμη γὰρ ἐποῖκες *Alex. Rim.* 963
 διὰ τι αἰτίαν δεν ἔρχεσαι μέσα; *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 118.7
 διὰ τί αἰτίαν ἀλλάξες τὴν τιμὴν με ἐντροπὴν *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 194

αν ήξερες δια τι υποθεσην τον θέλω, ήθελε μου ανοίξει *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 91.33
 τί συμφορά με ήλθεν τόν ἄθλιον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.40
 ἀπό τί τόπον ἔρχεσαι και ποῦ τώρα πηγαίνεις; MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1050

Plural

Masculine/Feminine Nominative

νά ἴδω τίνες εὐτυχοῦν και ποῖοι ἀτυχοῦσιν *Log. parig.* L 111
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠρώτησε τίνες και πόθεν εἶναι *Pol. Tr.* 264 (EVX)
 και νά με ἀναδιδάξετε τίνες και πόθεν εἶστε *Liv.* α 3031
 και τίνες κατετόλμησαν τὰς χώρας μου κουρσεύουν; *Achil.* N 201
 τίνες ὑπῆρχον οἱ σκληροί, παράφρονες τε νέοι *Dig.* A 3009
 γοργὸν ὀρίζω νά μοῦ εἰπῆς τίνες σέ συμβουλέψαν *Chron. Mor.* P 668
 τίνες και ὅποιοι κατέλαχον τότες (1513, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS 1978: App. III (b), 104.24)
 και τίνες εἶναι οἱ ἐχθροὶ οἱ τοῦ μοῦ λέγεις *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 114
 νά μὰς εἰποῦν τίνες εἶναι τοῦτοι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 351.10
 ἐρωτῶμενος τίνες ἦσαν οἱ γονεῖς του, ἔλεγε τα ονόματά τους LANDOS, *Kalok.* 341.39

Masculine/Feminine/Neuter Genitive

εἶχε τὸν τοιοῦτον ὑδρομύλωνα και γινώσκει τίνων ἐστὶ (1370, Constantinople, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS 1984: 39, 223.10)
 ἐπάνω ᾽ς τίνων νά πέση ἡ ζημία; *Assizes B* 325.26
 τίνων γονέων πέφυκεν ἄς τὸ γροικῆσούν ὅλοι *Dig.* A 10
 με φωναῖς πολλαῖς και ἰσχυραῖς, τίνων; κάτωθεν μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων DAM. STOUD., *This.*, *Logos* 9, 13v.29–30

Masculine/Feminine Accusative

τί σχῆμα χαρετίσματος, τίνας λόγους νά τήν εἴπω *Liv.* α 2338 app. crit. (P)
 τίνας λόγους τήν ἐρώτησες και τί ἀφήγημα τήν εἶπες; *Liv.* P 2735 (f.78v) transcr. (Lendari)
 αν δεν ηξεύραμεν ποῖοι εἶσταν και τίνας πολεμεῖτε ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 88.3–4

Neuter Accusative

και τίνα τὸν ἐσύνταχα και τί με ἀπεκρίθην *Liv.* α 2231
 τίνα δὲ ἦτον και αὐτηνῆς τὰ λόγια; DAM. STOUD., *This.*, *Logos* 7, 12v.24–5

Meanings and Usage

The interrogative τίς is employed both as a pronoun and as a determiner. It introduces direct and indirect interrogative clauses, which may also be preceded by the neuter definite article, e.g. ἐρωτήσαμεν αὐτοὺς τὸ τί γινώσκουσι (1095, S. Italy/Sicily?, GUILLOU 1963: 2, 50.2); τὸ τί ἀξῶνει τῶν ᾽σοδίων (1227–50, Sicily, *ibid.* 20, 157.10); πρὶν ἴδωμεν τὸ τί δηλοῦν τὰ σιγίλλια (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 307.21).

και τίς νά τοὺς τὸ ἔλεγεν; και τίς νά τὸ ἐνθυμεῖτον; *Chron. Toc.* 3025
 τίνος σοῦ φαίνεται ὅτι ὁμοιάζω; *Spanos D* 664

τίς ἄνθρωπος νά ᾽χεν ἰδεῖ τὸν θρηνησμὸν τὸν τόσον SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 63
 τίς λόγος νά τήν διηγηθῇ, ποῖα ἀκοή νά τήν ἀκούσῃ; (1650, Santorini, LAMBROS 1885: 110.29)

The neuter form τί may also have the meaning “of what kind”, and, in fixed uninflected form, may be used in exclamations (already since the Koine, see JANNARIS 1897: 164).

τί κρίμα ὁποῦ ἐγίνετο και τί ζημία μεγάλη! *Pol. Tr.* 3155 app. crit. (B)
 ω τι εὐμορφη κεφαλή ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 8.3

τί κακὸν τὸν ἔσυναπάντησε τὸν αὐθέντη μας! *Vios Aisop.* K 153.1
 ἀπέθαναν περισσοί, καὶ τί Τοῦρκοι, τί Χριστιανοί, τί Ἑβραῖοι, τί Ὀγύφτοι PAPASYNAD.,
Chron. I §15.8–9

5.7.1.4 τίντα/ῖντα

Τίντα/ῖντα is an uninflected pronoun with the meaning “what”. It constitutes a LMedG innovation, deriving from the grammaticalization and univerbation of the interrogative cleft sentence τί ἔν’/εῖν’ τὰ (λέγεις, κάμνεις etc.) “what is it that [rel.] you (say, do, etc.)”. This etymology was already proposed by Korais (KORAI 1828/35: I 299, II 149–50) and repeated in MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 614, MEYER 1889: 174–5, HATZIDAKIS 1892: 287, CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 326 and JANNARIS 1897: 164. More recently it was discussed and elaborated by NICHOLAS 2004; cf. also HORROCKS ²2010: 293.⁸⁰ According to this analysis, the cleft sentence τί εἶναι τὰ is first univerbated to τεῖντα, the chronologically earlier form to appear, and the new pronoun then loses its initial /t/ through dissimilation or haplology. The etymological attribution affects the orthography of the word, which is variously spelled, both in sources and by modern editors and scholars, as εῖντα (< τί + εἶναι), ῖντα (< τί + ἔναι) or ῆντα (< τί + ῆν). Three issues require discussion concerning this etymology:

- a) The MedG form of the 3rd person sg. and pl. of the copula is by far more frequently ἔνι/ἔναι than εἶναι. Therefore, the resulting form might have been expected to be *τέντα, *ἔντα, considering that, according to the vowel hierarchy (I, 2.9.2), /i/ is the weakest vowel and is normally deleted in adjacency with /e/. As already pointed out by JANNARIS (1897: 164), in this case it should be assumed that the strong stress accent of the interrogative τί contributed to its preservation, combined with the fact that the copula in MedG may sometimes be unstressed/enclitic (see I, 4.2.2). It is occasionally the case that a stressed weaker vowel prevails over the one immediately preceding in the hierarchy if the latter is unstressed (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 313; see also I, 2.9.2). Therefore, the origin of the univerbation must actually have been the cleft τί ἔνι τὸ/τὰ, with enclitic ἔνι liable to delete either or both of its vowels depending on context. In fact, ἔν is already frequently attested since the EMedG period, mostly in collocation with τί (see III, 4.8.1). From this viewpoint, the etymologically “correct” spelling of the pronoun is ῖντα and not εῖντα, since the initial /i/ belongs to the interrogative τί and not to the copula (JANNARIS 1897: 164).
- b) The cleft sentence appears in LMedG and EMG texts as both τί ἔναι τὸ and τί ἔναι τὰ, but the new uninflected pronoun never ends in /o/ (*τίντο/*ῖντο), although this variant is mentioned by Pachomios Roussanos (see above note) and is attested in MG dialects,

⁸⁰ In fact, the first to propose this etymology was Pachomios Roussanos in the 16th c.: καὶ Κρητες ῖντα θές ἀντὶ τοῦ τί θέλεις, καὶ τί λές ἕτεροι ἀντὶ τοῦ τί λέγεις, ἅπερ κατὰ ἀφαίρεσιν, ἢ ἀποκοπὴν τε καὶ συγκοπὴν τῶν συλλαβῶν οὕτω φέρεται, ἥτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐδὲν ἀττικοῦ δὲν, ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τί ἔνι τὸ καὶ τί ἔνι τὰ, τίντο καὶ τίντα, ὥς παρὰ Λεσβίοις, ἐξ οὗ παρὰ Κρησὶ καὶ ἄλλοις ραθύμοις, τὸ ῖντα (PACH. ROUS., *Peri ofel.* 70.24–30).

mainly in Pontic (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 326; PERNOT 1907/46: II 239). It should perhaps be assumed that ἵντα underwent the analogical influence of the acc. sg. τίνα or the adverbial suffix -α. The adverbial analysis is corroborated by rare forms with addition of final /s/, a phenomenon common in adverbs (see 4.2.3), e.g. ἵντας λογιῆς ἢ γνώμη του εἶναι MONTSEL., *Evgena* 436.

- c) The deletion of the initial /t/ in τίντα cannot be explained phonetically, as there is no process in MedG regularly deleting initial consonants. This has led some scholars to propose alternative etymologies for ἵντα: according to THUMB (1891: 112) it should be derived from the AG interjection ἦν (=“ἰδοῦ”) and the interrogative τί; this analysis lacks both credibility and MedG attestations. According to TARABOUT (1978) it derives from the EMG form γιάιντα (<γιά εἶναι τά) through loss of γιά.⁸¹ This analysis, as pointed out by NICHOLAS (2004), goes both against the historical record, as τίντα/ἵντα appears much earlier than γιάιντα, and against the normal syntactic rules of MedG and MG, which do not provide for a syntagm “γιά εἶναι τά”. Therefore, the “standard” etymology is still the best one available, and a non-phonetic motivation for the loss of initial /t/ must be sought. It is usually proposed that it is due to dissimilatory haplology occurring either when the interrogative clause is introduced by a definite article (τὸ τίντα λέγεις > τὸ ἵντα λέγεις, MEYER 1889: 174), or when the pronoun is preceded by a word ending in /n/ (τὸν τίντα εἶχε > τὸν ἵντα εἶχε, NICHOLAS 2004).

As for the chronology and the distribution of the pronoun, the first instances of the new construction are to be dated to the EMedG period, when the cleft sentence τί + copula + relative τόν, τήν, τὸ first appears, e.g. τί ἔν τὸ ἔχεις, κύριε Μόσχε; Moschos, *Leimon* 3064.23. The cleft construction, both in the singular and in the plural, is attested in several LMedG literary texts, without geographical restriction:

καὶ τί ἔν τὸ συντυχαίνεις *Ptoch.* IV 465
 τί ἔν τὸ τζυγαρίζεσαι *Log. parig.* L 563
 ἀφέντη, τί ἔν' τὸ κάμνεις; *Chron. Mor.* H 3907
 τί ἔν τὸ τζαμπουνίζεις; *Diig. tetr.* 199
 νὰ μάθης τί ἔν' τὸ λέγω *Achil.* N 327; οὐκ οἶδα τί ἔν' τὸ πάσχεις *ibid.* 950
 καὶ τί ἔν' τὸ ἐμποδίζονται *Achil.* O 203; ἄκου τ' ἔν' τήν λέγειν *ibid.* 661
 τί ἔναι τὸ ζήτημά σου; *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 458
 τί ἔν' τὸ λές; *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 55

The unverbated form τίντα first appears in the 15th c. The earliest attestations are to be found in the older of the two manuscripts of the *Assizes* (dated 1469), where it occurs several times, in contrast to ἵντα, which is unattested in this witness of the text. It also appears in *Digenis E* (τίντα only) and *Livistros E* (τίντα and ἵντα), two texts transmitted in the same Escorial manuscript (late 15th c.). The attestations in other works, which may have been composed in the 14th c. or earlier (e.g. the poems of Sachlikis), cannot be securely dated, as none of the manuscripts in which they are preserved is dated before the end of the 15th c., and therefore the instances of τίντα/ἵντα could be later features/interpolations. An

⁸¹ The form γιάιντα/γιάιντα (= “why”) is common in Cretan texts, and also appears in texts from Cyprus with the meaning “for which”, see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.

indication for the chronological precedence of *τίντα* over *ἵντα* is the fact that in Cypriot sources it appears with higher frequency in earlier than in later texts (HADJIOANNOU 1988: 203–4; KOUNDOURIS 2009: 121–2), and that in general the use of *τίντα* recedes in all areas, to be replaced by *ἵντα*.

Concerning the distribution of the pronoun, it occurs mostly in literary texts, as direct and indirect questions are rare in legal sources. The areas in which the pronoun has been located are: Cyprus, Crete, Cythera, Naxos, Santorini, Sifnos and Chios, a distribution which is corroborated by modern dialectal evidence (CONTOSSOPOULOS 1983/84). The only exceptions are a few instances to be found in literary works from the Heptanese (*Zinon*, *Evgena* and the early 18th-c. *Ifigeneia* and *Klathmos Peloponnissou*), but these should rather be attributed to the strong influence of Cretan drama.

τίντα

- ἄκο τὸ τίντα λέγει *Dig.* E 517
καὶ πόσα τὴν ἐσύντυχᾶ καὶ τίντα μὲ ἀπιλογήθη *Liv.* E 2074
τίντα δύναται γενέσται *Assizes* B 251.24; τίντα μέλλει νὰ γένη *ibid.* 403.18
ἄκο τὸ τεῖντα κάμνει *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 347
κυρά, διὰ τίντα διάφορον, κυρά, διὰ τίντα κέρδος *Katal.* 81 (Panayotopoulou)
γνώθει τὸ τεῖντα πᾶσχει *Flor.* L 1543
τίντα ἐμπαίνει νὰ δώσῃ *Assizes* A 5.2
τί χολιάζεις, τίντα πλήσσεις; *Ptochol.* P 177
μὲ τεῖντα πρόσωπον *DELLAP., Peri antapod.* 15
τίντα μέλλει νὰ γινῇ; *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 66.32
ἔγω ξεύρω τίντα χάνει *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 243 (τ' ἵντα ed.)
ἐθαυμάζουμου τὸ τίντα νὰ γυρεύῃ *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 194
πε μου τίντα πράμαν θέλεις νὰ ποίσεις! *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 142.3
διὰ τεῖντα ἀφορμὴν *Fior* 147.16; τεῖντα ἔνι ἡ παράδεισος καὶ ἡ κόλασις *ibid.* 150.17
τίντ' ἀφορμὴ σ' ἐβιάσεν, ριζικόν μου *Cypr. Canz.* 9.1
ἰδέτε ὀλλίγον τεῖντα λέγει ἡ θεία Γραφή *Pist. kekoim.* 71
ἀκούσατε τίντά 'τον *Thrinios Kypr.* 39

ἵντα

- τὸ ἵντα θέλεις πάθειν *Liv.* E 492
περὶ τοῦ Ρωμαίου καὶ τοῦ Φράγκου καὶ ἵντα μάρτυραν χρῆζονται *Assizes* A 8.4
τεῖντα καλὸν θωρεῖς λοιπόν, εἵντα παρηγορία *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 240
ἵντα δύναμιν ἔχουν οἱ ἀσίζες σας *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 94.30
εἵντα κακὸ θές νὰ γροικῶ *Rim. kor.* A 77
κυρά, καὶ ἵντα σὲ φελεῖ νὰ κάθῃ στὸ σπῆτι *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 209
ἂν τύχη νὰ γνωρίσωμεν ἵντα νὰ φέρῃ φέλος *FALIEROS, Thrinios* 336
καὶ ἵντα πρόφασιν νὰ βρῶ *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 77
ἵντα ὀρδινον νὰ ποίσουν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 86.19
ἵντα βουλή νὰ κάμωμε, τί στράτα νὰ κρατοῦμε *Fyll. gadar.* 10a
μὲ εἵντα μόνον *SKORD. MARAF. G., Evang.* 445.568
δια ἦντα ὑπόθεσι εἶναι / διὰ ἵντα ὑπόθεση εἶναι (1546, Crete, *ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI* 2002: 11, 48.4)
μὲ ἵντα μόνον εἶναι καμωμένος (1564, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 132, 216.11)
οὐδὲ νιώθει ἵντά 'ν ἡ βράστη *Cypr. Canz.* 109.11
σ' ἵντα σκουνοτύφλα βρίσκεσαι, ἀνεμικὴ κι ἀντάρα; *Thysia Avr.* 68
νὰ ζαμιναριστῇ ἵντά 'χει καμωμένα (17th c., Crete, *SPANAKIS* 1971: [1], 180.66)

διὰ νὰ φαίνεται ἴντα εὐρίσκεται τὴν σήμερον (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 141.52)
 γιὰ νὰ γενῆς ἴντα; VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.33
 δὲν ἤξερω ἢ ἀφορμὴ ἴντὰ 'τονε (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 24.7)
 ἴντὰ 'ναι τοῦτα ποὺ μοῦ λὲς MONTSEL., *Evgena* 543,
 φαίνεται ἴντα 'χει βαλμένα ἀφέντης ὁ Μιχελέτος (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 109.111)
 ἄς κρᾶξω τὸν Εὐφημιανό, ἴντα θὰ πεῖ νὰ δοῦμε ZINON I.66
 ἴντα καρδία λογιᾶζετε πὼς νὰ εἴχαμεν οἱ καημένοι Rim. Sant. 437
 μωρὲ σκύλοι, ἴντὰ 'ναι τοῦτα (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 769, 1045.13)
 εἴντα εἶναι αὐτὲς οἱ ἀποκοτιές AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 189
 καὶ δὲν ἤξεύρω τί νὰ 'πῶ μὴδ' ἴντα λογαριάζω VEST., *Pathi* 186
 καὶ δὲν ἐγνώριζεν ποτὲ ἴντὰ 'ναι ἢ ἐσπέρα PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 156

Τίντα/ἴντα may be used both as a pronoun and as a determiner, and both in direct and indirect questions, as well as in exclamatory clauses. Its use exactly parallels that of the neuter interrogative τί (see 5.7.1.3).

τίντα μέλλει νὰ γένη Assizes B 403.18
 πε μας! ἴντα ζητάτε; VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 302.2
 τεῖντα ἔνι ἢ παράδεισος καὶ ἢ κόλασις Fior 150.17
 ἐγὼ τὸ κατέχω ἴντα θέλει (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173.34)
 εἴντα τὸν θέλομεν τὸν πλοῦτον, δὲν βλέποντας νὰ τὸν θωροῦμεν! Diig. Sant. 58.2.3
 πε μου τίντα πράμαν θέλεις νὰ ποίσεις! VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 142.3
 τίντ' ἀδικιὰ | νὰ λέπω 'ποὺ τὰ πλάγη της! Cyp. Canz. 125.39
 ἴντα σφάλμα ἔναι ἐτοῦτο MOREZINOS, *Klini* 154.16
 εἴντα τέλος νᾶχουε ἐτοῦτα τὰ σημάδια (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.IV, 43.2–3)
 σ' ἴντα γκρεμό, σ' ἴντα βυθὸ σὲ πάει τὸ ριζικό σου KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.152

In indirect questions, it may be preceded by the substantivizing neuter definite article, e.g.:

ἀπλῶνω, πιάνω τὴν γραφὴν, θιωρῶ τὸ τεῖντα γράφει Liv. E 1941
 ἐζήτησέν τοὺς βουλὴν τὸ τίντα νὰ ποίση MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 160.33
 νὰ σοῦ ἐρμηνεύσουσιν τὸ τεῖντα θέλεις ποίσει DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 86
 ἐγνωρίσαμεν τὸ ἴντα μᾶς ἐβγατίζει (1554, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 216, 191.23)
 νὰ μάθω τὸ ἴντα ἐγίνη KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.588

5.7.2 Quantitative/qualitative Interrogatives

5.7.2.1 πόσος

The MedG pronoun and determiner πόσος, πόση, πόσον is a direct continuation of AG πόσος. It is used throughout the period as the main quantitative interrogative pronoun and retains this role in MG. It inflects as a regular adjective in -ος (see 3.2.1). No extended forms have been located in the corpus examined. Very rarely, as an archaic survival, the pronoun ὀπόσος may be found, introducing direct exclamatory clauses, e.g.: ὀπόσους ἐκ τὸν κίνδυνον τοὺς ἔχεις λυτρωμένους | κι εἰσὲ καλὸν καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν τοὺς ἔχεις ἀφερμένους DEFAR., *Log. did.* 763–4.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	πόσος	πόση	πόσο(ν)
Gen.	πόσου	πόσης	(πόσου)
Acc.	πόσο(ν)	πόση(ν)	πόσο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	πόσοι	πόσαι ἢ πόσες	πόσα
Gen.	πόσων	πόσων	πόσων
Acc.	πόσους	πόσας ἢ πόσες	πόσα

Singular

Masculine Nominative

καὶ πόσος ἐπαρέλαβεν κλόνος τὸν λογισμόν μου *Liv.* α 2091
 ὦ πόσος ἦτονε βαθὺς ὁ τόπος ὁ θλιμμένος, *P&N Diath.* 113
 πόσος καιρὸς ἀπέρασεν ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 75
 πόσος ἀσβέστης *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 92
 πόσος λαὸς ἐχάθηκεν ἐκεῖ τὴν ὥρα κείνη! ΒΟΥΝΙΑΛΙΣ Μ., *Diig. Pol.* 451.20
 πόσος λαὸς πρεμαζωμένος τρέχει ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* II.1464

Masculine Genitive

ἔμαθα τὰ γραμματικά πλην μετὰ κόπου πόσου *Ptoch.* III 80
 τὸ πόσου χρόνου διάστημα παρέδραμα διὰ σένα *Liv.* V 1143
 καὶ μετὰ πόσου στεναγμοῦ καὶ μετὰ πόσου πόνου [ΑΝΔΡ. ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛ.], *Kallim.* 1382
 καὶ τὸ παιδί πόσου καιροῦ νὰ 'τονε ὄντε τὸ 'τιάσα; ΦΟΣΚΟΛΟΣ, *Fort.* IV.535

Masculine Accusative

πόσον πόθον εἶχες *Spaneas* V 30
 εἰς πόσον φόβον *Liv.* E 2946
 πόσον καιρὸν ἐκράτουναι καὶ οὐδὲν σὲ ἐγροΐκουν *Liv.* E 1670
 βλέπετε εἰς πόσον τρομασμόν στέκει ἡ Χριστιανότης *Alosis* 990
 ὦ πόσον ἀναγαλλιασμὸ εἶχαν οἱ γαμουλιῶτες *P&N Diath.* 2414
 νὰ λογιᾷσαι πόσον πόνον καὶ λύπην ἐπήρασιν ΜΟΡΕΖΙΝΟΣ, *Klini* 25.13
 κ' ἐδὰ σὲ πόσο κίντυνο στέκομαι *CHORTATSI, Erof.* II.331
 πόσον καημὸν ὅπου βαστᾷ διὰ σένα ἡ καρδιά μου! ΜΟΝΤΣΕΛ., *Evgena* 968
 πόσον φόβον καὶ τρόμον ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛΟΠ., *Diig. panouklas* 95.22

Feminine Nominative

ἔ, πόση παραπρόνεσις εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν μου κεῖται *Ptoch.* IV 634
 γίνεται πόση ταραχὴ καὶ ἀπάντησις μεγάλη *Liv.* V 3953
 πόση χαρὰ καὶ αγαλλίασις μου ἦλθεν ἐξαίφνης! ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 110.4
 νὰ μετρήσῃ πόσον εἶναι τὸ κρίμα καὶ πόση εἶναι ἡ ἐντροπὴ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ του ΜΟΡΕΖΙΝΟΣ, *Klini* 44.3
 πόση μεγάλη καὶ πολλή εἰν' ἡ γεμπόρεσή σου *CHORTATSI, Panor.* IV.378

πόση μεγάλη ἀμαρτία εἶναι ἡ παρακοὴ PAPSYNAD., *Chron.* III §27.14
 πόση χαρὰ ἐγένηκεν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 8403
 καὶ πόση περιδιάβαση σ' ὅλη τὴ χώρα ἐγένη KORNAPOS, *Erot.* V.1458

Feminine Genitive

καὶ μετὰ πόσης ἡδονῆς [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1957
 πόσης λίγης εἶσαι καρδιάς *Pist. voskos* II.5.290

Feminine Accusative

τὸ πόσῃ δ' εἶχες προσοχὴν *Spaneas* Va 39
 γὰρ δέτε πόσῃ ἀδικία ὁ ἀσεβὴς ἐποίκειν *Apoll. Rim.* N 105
 πόσῃ τιμῇ νὰ δώσω; ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 90.23
 πόσῃ ζημίαν ἀριθμεῖς τότε σ' αὐτοὺς νὰ κάμα; ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1749
 πόσῃ καλῇ καρδίᾳ, πόσῃ γλυκότη ... εἶχα οἱ ἀθρῶποι γνωρισμένη! CHORTATISIS, *Erof. Chor.* II.486
 πόσῃ ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ εὐλάβειαν εἶχες MOREZINOS, *Klini* 29.22
 πόση χαρὰ τ' ἀντρώγων ἐπήραμεν ἀντάμι *Thysia Avr.* 385
 πόσῃ ὁμορφίᾳ θωρῶ MONTSEL., *Evgena* 771
 εἶδες μὲ πόσῃν εὐκολίᾳ, μὲ ἴντα πιδεξοσύνη FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.257

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

καὶ πόσο σπλάχνος ἀπειρον, οὐκ ἡμπορῶ νὰ λέγω *Liv.* V 3948
 μὲ πόσον παρηγόρημα ἐδιέβηκα ἐκ τὴν Τροίαν *Pol. Tr.* 1176 (X)
 τότε θέλετε ἰδεῖ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον πόσον εἶναι καὶ πόσον ἀπομένει (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.21)
 ἀθυμίζω σε πόσον κακὸν θέλειν γινεῖν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 480.15
 πόσον κανίσκιν ἔφερον αὐτοὶ τὸν βασιλέαν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 668
 πόσο χάρισμα βλέπω τὴν ὥρα ὁμπρὸς μου; *Apoll. Rim.* A 1786
 πόσον κακὸν λογιάζεται νὰ πάρει MOREZINOS, *Klini* 13.29
 πόσο εἶναι τὸ χρέος τῆς (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.31)
 πόσον πράγμα τοῦ ἐπήρασιν (1678, Rome, DOKOS 1963: I, 45.8)
 ὦ πόσον κρίμα θαυμαστὸν ἐγένετον εἰς ἐκείνους *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 176

Plural

Masculine Nominative

κι ὅσον τοὺς περιεσώρψεν, ἐγνώμιασεν πόσοι ἦσαν *Chron. Mor.* H 4699
 καὶ πόσοι ἐβουλήθησαν νὰ μὲ τὴν ἀφαρπάξουν *Dig.* E 1737
 τὸ πόσοι θέλουν χωριστῇ νὰ σέβουν εἰς τὸ κάστρο *Chron. Toc.* 2784
 οὐκ οἶδα πόσοι νᾶταν *Achil.* O 563
 πόσοι δι' αὐτὲς τὲς δυὸ ἀμαρτιῆς μεγάλοι ἐκομπωθῆκαν FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 117
 πόσοι νὰ καταλύθησαν καὶ νὰ σᾶς τ' ἀναφέρω SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 25
 δὲν βλέπεις ἐδῶ πόσοι ἀνθρώποι σὲ ταυρίζουν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 359.13
 δὲν ἤξεύρει καλᾶ πόσοι χρόνοι εἶναι (1581, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 9, 105.22)
 δὲν κατέχω ποὺ καὶ πόσοι νὰ εἶναι ἐκεῖνοι ἀποὺ νὰ κρατοῦσι τὴν στράταν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 130.9
 γὰρ ἰδὲς πόσοι εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἀπέθαναν PAPSYNAD., *Chron.* IV §1.12
 πόσοι δόλιοι Χριστιανοὶ μέλλουσι ν' ἀποθάνου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 216.13
 νὰ εἰπῶ τόσοι καὶ πόσοι DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 277
 πόσοι ποντικοὶ νὰ θέλασινε σμίξουν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1795
 πόσοι χρόνοι ὁποῦ τὸν ἐστεφανώθη (1683, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 56, 266.10)

Masculine Accusative

- πόσους ἔφερε δούλους; *Dig. G* II.61
 πόσους νὰ πλέξω στίχους *Ptoch. III* 142
 πόσους τέτοιους ὥσάν ἐσὲν ἔχει στὴν ἐξουσίαν του; *Chron. Mor.* H 3763
 σὺ δέ, καλὲ νεώτερε, πόσους δύνασαι κρούειν; *Dig. A* 1633
 μὲ πόσους τρόπους *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 301
 πόσους στρατιώτες ἔπιασα *CHORTATSI, Erof. Intern.* III.15
 πόσους νέους ἐσκότωσεν ἀδίκως, χωρὶς πταίνειν! *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 869

Feminine Nominative

- πόσαι εἰσὶν αἱ κακαὶ σου ἡμέραι *Spanos D* 1262
 οὐ γινώσκει πόσες εἰσὶν (1334, Sicily, *CANTARELLA* 1937: 43, 134.17)
 καὶ ἐπηρώτησα μαθεῖν, Πόσαι εἰσὶν ἡμέραι *Dig. G* V.155
 κουροῦνες πόσες ἤμποροῦν ἀετοῦ βρῶμα νὰ πάρουν; *Dig. E* 880
 πόσες ἐμείναν χῆρες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 392.9
 πόσες φωτιεὶς τὰ μέλη μου καΐσινε τὰ καημένα *CHORTATSI, Panor.* II.360

Feminine Accusative

- πόσας χορταίνουν ἡδονὰς *Log. parig.* L 730
 πόσας ἡμέρας ἤθελεν γένει (post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 59, 48.5)
 διὰ πόσας αἰτίας *Assizes B* 439.28
 εἰς πόσας γνώμας καὶ μορφὰς *Plani kosmou* 126
 περὶ τοῦ πόσας πόρτας ἔχει ... ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις (16th c., Constantinople?, *BENEŠEVIĆ* 1919: 408.1 app. crit.)
 διὰ πόσες ἡμέρες (post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 43, 36.2)
 πῶς νὰ βιγλίζουν καὶ πόσες βίγλες νὰ πολομοῦν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 384.14
 οὐδὲ κατέχουσι πόσες χιλιάδες χρῆζω *Ptochol.* P 124
 πόσες πικρίες, πόσες χολές καὶ συμφορές του βίου; *Diig. Apoll.* 687
 καὶ πόσες τέχνες πολεμεῖ *Theseid* V.7,7 (1529)
 πόσες φορές *Cypr. Canz.* 104.21
 εἰς τὲς πόσες τοῦ μηνὸς (ca. 1560, Ancona, *MARKOS* 1977: Ia, 27.7)
 πόσες γλῶσσες *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1551
 πόσες ξυλὲς καὶ πόσα στρεβλώματα παθαίνουν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §1.15
 πόσες ἐσκοτωθῆκασιν, πόσες ἐζουγλαθῆκα *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 295.11
 αὔριο πόσες ἔχομε; *Paroim.* (Warner) 40.9

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

- καὶ πόσα μυξοκλάματα καὶ παρακαλεσίαις *Ptoch. IV* 315
 νὰ εὕρης, πόσα ἐμοίρασε πασάντας (post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 9, 20.6)
 νὰ πῇ ὀμπρός του πόσα τοῦ χρεωστεῖ *Assizes B* 309.2
 πόσα κακὰ παθάνουσιν οἱ δυστυχοτυχοῦντες *Log. parig.* L 725
 πόσα κοράσια ἐποίκειν τότες ν' αναστενάξουν *Theseid* VI.18,5 (Olsen)
 το πόσα παύει ο θάνατος, πόσα κατασχολάζει *Diig. Apoll.* 686
 πόσα χίλια βάσανα *CHORTATSI, Katz.* III.293
 τὰ δύο χοιρίδια πόσα ποδάρια ἔχουσι; *Vios Aisop.* D 222.5
 καὶ πόσα κύματά ρχονται, ὅταν μανίαν ἔχουν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1560
 δεν ξέρει πόσα εἶναι (ante 1662, Sifnos, *TSELIKAS* 1986c: 2, 3235.)
 ἀποφασίζει χωρὶς λογαριασμόν τὰ πόσα κάνουσι (1665, Mykonos, *TOURTOGLOU* 1980/81: 4, 21.25)
 ὦ πόσα δάκρυα ἐχύθησα, πόσες φωνὲς ἐβγαῖνα *P&N Diath.* 4046
 ὦ πόσα δάκρυα ἤθελε χύση *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2386

Masculine/Feminine/Neuter Genitive

πόσων υπόθεσων *Assizes* B 438.10

καὶ πῶς μὲ πόσον πειρασμὸν καὶ μετὰ πόσων πόνων *Liv.* V 3850

πόσων χρόνων πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ πόσων ἡ γυναῖκα πρὶν ὀρμαστοῦν *Assizes* A 14.13

μετὰ χαρίτων πόσων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1915

παρὰ πόσων ὑποθέσεων *Pist. kekoim.* 53.525

πόσων κακῶν καὶ πόσων σκανδάλων *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 107.4–5

πόσων χρόνων εἶσαι; (17th c., Cyprus, *CHRISTODOULOU* 1983: A, 401.29)

Meaning and Usage

Πόσος is used both as a pronoun and as a determiner, and introduces direct and indirect interrogative clauses, as well as exclamatory clauses. The neut. acc. sg. and pl. may also function adverbially with the meaning “how much”, continuing ancient usage, e.g.:

πόσον μακριὰ εὐρίσκεται τῆς κορυφῆς, ν' αθροίσεις *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 9368

ὦ, πόσον καλὰ ὁπού ἔκαμεν ὁ πατέρας σου *Bertold.* 129.1

πόσο ἡ καρδιά μου ἀναγαλλιᾷ, πόσο τὰ σωθικά μου *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* V.325

εἰπέ με πόσα μὲ ἀγαπᾷς, τόσα νὰ σὲ ἀγαπήσω *Katal.* 34 (Panayotopoulou)

πόσα στενάζει δι' ἐμὲ ἡ πάντερπνος ἀηδόνα *Dig.* A 946

τ' ἀμάρτια δὲ μποροῦσι πόσα πιστὰ καὶ σπλαχνικὰ τὸν ἀγαπῶ *CHORTATIS, Erof.* III.164

5.7.2.2 ποταπός

The pronoun ποταπός “of what kind” derives from the AG interrogative pronoun ποδαπός, with the original meaning “from what country” (cf. ἄλλοδαπός). The meaning of the pronoun was generalized to “of what kind” already since the late Koine (ΜΑΥΡΟΦΡΥΔΙΣ 1871: 619; JANNARIS 1897: 164; DIETERICH 1904a: 13; PSALTES 1913: 73–4), and the variant ποταπός is first attested in the same period. In LMedG and EMG vernacular texts, the form ποδαπός appears very rarely, and the normal form is ποταπός, with the meanings “from what country”, “of what kind” and “how big/how great” (KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.).

The pronoun inflects as a regular adjective in -ος (see 3.2.1). There are also variants with stress shift to the penultimate (ποτάπος) and to the antepenultimate (πόταπος). CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: B 438) suggests an analogy to other interrogative pronouns with penultimate stress, such as πότε, πόσος or τίνος, but the oxytone ποιός is a counter-argument to this analysis. It is more likely that the stress shift is connected to the innovative exclamatory meaning “how big/great” which brings this pronoun closer to quantitative/qualitative demonstrative pronouns such as τόσος, τοιοῦτος and τέτοιος. The pronoun ποταπός does not have a specific geographical distribution and appears mostly in literary texts; its use declines from the 17th c. onwards, although it is retained in some MG dialects (ANDRIOTIS, *Lex. Arch.* s.v. ποταπός).⁸²

⁸² There is a dubious attestation of a form πεταπός from Chios, τὴν ὁποίαν κούπαν τὴν ἡξεύρουν οἱ ἐπιτρόποι τοῦ πεταπῆ εἶναι (1612, Chios, ΦΟΤΕΙΝΟΣ 1865: 213.24), which, if valid, is probably influenced by the form ἅπτε for ἅπό.

The older form ποδαπός appears in isolated cases, e.g.: ἄμα «ποδαπὴν», τώρ' εἶπες, «νὰ γένη ὡς ἐγίνη», | καὶ ἡ κρίση σου, ὡς τὴν ἔκρινες, παντοτινὴ νὰ μείνη *Def. Par.* 297.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	ποταπός ποτάπος (πόταπος)	ποταπή ποτάπη	ποταπό(ν) ποτάπο(ν)
Gen.	ποταποῦ	ποταπῆς	ποταποῦ ποτάπου
Acc.	ποταπό(ν) ποτάπο(ν)	ποταπή(ν) ποτάπη(ν)	ποταπό(ν) ποτάπο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	ποταποί ποτάποι	ποταπές	ποταπά
Gen.	(ποταπῶν)	(ποταπῶν)	(ποταπῶν)
Acc.	(ποταπούς)	ποταπάς (ποταπές)	ποταπά

Singular

Masculine Nominative

πόθεν ἦν καὶ ποταπὸς *Log. parig.* L 92
ποταπὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐντέχεται νὰ ἔνι ὁ δεσπότης *Assizes* B 273.13
ποταπὸς ἔνε; (15th c., Athos?, *VASMER* 1922: 1331)
νὰ τῆς δεῖξη διὰ τὸ παιδί, ποταπὸς θέλει γένη *Diig. Alex.* V 27.6
ἔρώτα τὸν Φιλόνην· «Ποταπὸς ἄνδρας ἔνι ὁ Πῶρος; *Diig. Alex.* E 93.27 (Konstantinopulos)
ἰδέτε, ἀδελφοί, ποταπὸς ἔναι ὁ φθόνος *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 471.13
ποταπός, ποταπή, ποταπόν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 45.19
νὰ σὰς εἶπουν ποτάπος ἀντρειωμένος ἦτον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 238.20

Masculine Genitive

ποταποῦ ἀνθρώπου δίδει τὸ ἐσπίτιν του *Assizes* A 160.1

Masculine Accusative

ποταπόν ἄνθρωπον ἐντέχεται νὰ ποίσουν βισκούντην *Assizes* B 274.30
ὕπνον ποτάπον, φίλε μου, μυριομεριμνημένον *Liv.* V 1965
καὶ εἰς τὴν καρδιά μου ἐσέβασα πόθον, ἀλλὰ ποτάπον! *Katal.* 507 (Panayotopoulou)

Feminine Nominative

ἡ κουμέρκι εἰς τὸν φόρον, ὅπου ἂν τύχη, ἡ ποταπή δουλεία αὐθεντική (1350–1?, Athos?,
LEMERLE et al. 1979: 130, 45.26)
νὰ τὴν ἰδῇ ποταπή ἔναι καὶ ποία *Log. parig.* L 34
ποταπή ὑπόθεσι; (15th c., Athos?, *VASMER* 1922: 1884)
ποταπή γλῶσσα τὴν χάριν εἶπη; [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 790
ἡβλέπετε, ἀδελφοί, ποταπή ἔναι ἡ παρακοή *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 305.22; διὰ νὰ
ἐνθυμούμεσθην τὴν αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν ποταπή ἦτονε *ibid.* 460.22
ὦ, τίνα κλάμαν, καὶ ποτάπη λύπη ἐγίνετον! *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 522.23

Feminine Genitive

μετὰ δὲ ποίας λαμπρότητος καὶ ποταπῆς *Eisit.* f.6v.20
 καὶ χώρας ποίας καὶ | ποταπῆς, καὶ τί γενέας ὑπάρχεις *Flor.* L 1381; καὶ πόθεν ἐγεννήθησαν,
 καὶ ποταπῆς θρησκείας *ibid.* 1747
 χώρας ποίας ποταπῆς *Byz. Il.* 628
 καὶ μετὰ πόσης ἡδονῆς καὶ ποταπῆς καρδίας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1957
 χώρας ποίας, ποταπῆς εἶν' τὰ συγγενικά σου *Imb. Rim.* 868
 νὰ ἔχομεν ἐπιμέλειαν ποταπῆς λογῆς καὶ καταστάσεως ἔναι ὁ διδάσκαλος SOFIANOS, *Paidag.*
 101.5

Feminine Accusative

καὶ ποταπὴν ἀντίληψιν ἔδειξεν *Spaneas* V 85
 ποταπὴν ὑπόληψιν ἔδειξεν *Spaneas* P 33
 στράταν ποταπὴν *Log. parig.* L 127
 μὲ ποταπὴν ὑπόθεσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 2115
 πῶς ποταπὴν παρὰξενον ἐκράτειεν ἐκ τὸ χέριν *Liv.* V 3338
 ποταπὴν τιμωρίαν ἐντέχεται νὰ ἔχη *Assizes* B 281.21
 ποταπὴν νὰ εἶχεν φύσιν *Plani kosmou* 125
 χαρὰν ἐχάρην ποταπὴν, χαρὰν, ἀλλὰ μεγάλην *Flor.* L 906
 μὲ ποταπὴν φροντίδαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1014
 ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Γοργίας ποταπὴν γνώμην ἔχει περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως SOFIANOS,
Paidag. 105.20–1
 ἠρώτησεν ο θυρωρός τί ἐζήτει καὶ ποταπὴν ἐπιστήμην ἤξευρεν LANDOS, *Amart. sot.* 333.6; καὶ
 ποταπὴν φύσιν ἔχουσι, θερμὴ ἢ ψυχρὴ *id.*, *Geopon.* 173.22
 ποταπὴ ἀγάπη καὶ ὄρεξι ἔχει ὁ λαὸς (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.22)
 ποτάπην νὰ εὖρω ἀντίχαριν, φίλε, εἰς τὴν σὴν φιλίαν; *Liv.* S 2592 (= α 3891 Agapitos)
 ποτάπην τιμωρίαν καὶ ζημίαν ἐντέχεται νὰ πλερώσουν *Assizes* A 116.2
 με συντροφία ποτάπη *Theseid* II.3,8 (1529)

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

ποταπὸν δίκαιον χρὴ γενέσται *Assizes* B 266.27; νὰ δοῦμεν ποταπὸν πρᾶγμα ἐνὶ τὸ δανεικὸν
ibid. 294.4
 πάθος ὑπέστη ποταπὸν *Velth.* 390
 ἐν ἑκαστον πόσον καὶ ποταπὸν ἔναι, ὅς σκοπήσωμεν SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 115.7
 ἴδε ποταπὸν ἀνθρωπάριον μὲ ἐμπόδισε *Vios Aisop.* D 235.26
 φαρίν ποτάπον σύντομον νὰ διώκη τοὺς ἀέρας *Flor.* L 526; μάθε λοιπὸν τὸ πύργωμαν
 ποτάπον ἐν' τοῦ πύργου *ibid.* 1316
 ποτάπον δίκαιον νὰ γένηται *Assizes* A 211.30
 νὰ ἰδοῦμεν τὸ θέλημάν σου πόταπον εἶνε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 280.4

Neuter Genitive

γένους ἐγένου ποταποῦ καὶ χώρας ἀπὸ ποίας *Liv.* S 1966 (= α 3262); μετὰ καὶ μηχανήματος
 ποτάπου οὐκ ἐξεύρω *ibid.* 2074 (= α 3371)

Plural

Masculine Nominative

ποταποὶ ἀνθρωποὶ ἐντέχεται νὰ ἐνὶ οἱ ὀρκισμένοι *Assizes* B 276.15
 ποταποὶ ἀνθρωποὶ πρέπει νὰ ἐνὶ οἱ κριτάδες *Assizes* A 4.4
 νὰ ὅῃς τὸν λόγον μας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους μας ποτάποὶ ν'ἂνε βεβαιωμένοι καὶ στερεωμένοι
 MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 534.24

Feminine Nominative

ἦσαν οἱ ρύμνες ποταπὲς ὅλες μὲ τὸ μαντοῦνιν *Pol. Tr.* 1246 (XV)
ποταπὲς κρίσεις ἐθεσπίστηκαν *Assizes A* 203.28

Feminine Accusative

τὰς ποταπὰς τὰς ἡδονὰς τὰς ἐρωτοενηδόνους *Liv.* S 2689 (= α 3988)

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

εἶδες τεχνίτην πανάριστον ποταπὰ κατεσκεύασε φάρμακα; Neophytos Engleistos,
Pentikontakefalon 29.23

Ποταπός is used both as a pronoun and as a determiner (the latter use being much more frequent), and introduces direct and indirect interrogative clauses, e.g. ποταπὴν ἀντίληψιν ἔδειξεν *Spaneas* Va 95; ποτάπην νὰ εὕρω ἀνταμοιβὴν νὰ ποίσω πρὸς ἐσέναν *Liv.* V 3804; ποταπὸς εἶσαι; *Vios Aisop.* K 157.34. It may also introduce exclamatory clauses, e.g. καὶ κατὰ σοῦ κινᾷ θυμὸν καὶ ὀργὴν ἀλλὰ ποτάπην *Flor.* L 620; χαρὰν γὰρ εἶχε ποταπὴν, χαρὰν πολλήν, μεγάλην *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 430.

5.7.2.3 ποταποῖος

The pronoun ποταποῖος is a blend of ποταπός and ποῖος (KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.), first appearing in the 15th c. It has the meaning “of what kind” and is attested in a small number of texts (mainly literary), from Crete and other areas. It inflects as an adjective in -ος (see 3.2.2), and presents variant forms with stress shift to the ante-penultimate (ποτάποιος), probably on the analogy of κάποιος.

ὕπνον ποτάποιον, φίλε μου, μυριομεριμνισμένον *Liv.* E 2128; φίλον μου σὲ ἀπέδειξεν – καὶ ποταποῖον φίλον! *ibid.* 3756

φίλε, ποτάποιαν χάριν νὰ εὕρω εἰς τὴν φιλίαν τὴν καλὴν πολλὴν τὴν ἐδικὴν σου *Liv.* E 3758;
ποτάποιαν νὰ εὕρω ἀνταμοιβὴν νὰ ποίσω εἰς τὴν φιλίαν σου *ibid.* 4148
ποταποῖαν ἔχει ἀγάπη πρὸς αὐτὸν *Diig. Alex.* F 124.4 (Konstantinopoulos)
ἰδὲ ποτάποια πίστη! (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 1, 295.21)

καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐλάλησα καὶ χώρας ποταποῖας *Liv.* E 3637

ποτάποιο νὰ ’ν’ τὸ ἔλα σου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 77; καὶ ὁ νοῦς μου ἐδιαλογίζετο τὸ τέλος νὰ ’ν’ ποτάποιο *ibid.* 175

νὰ ἀνασταθοῦν, εἰπέ μου ποταποῖοι *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2822

ὁ νοῦς μου στὰ φερνάμενα ποτάποια νὰ ’ν φοβώντα *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 12

5.8 Indefinite Pronouns

LMedG and EMG present a great variety of indefinite pronouns. Some are inherited from earlier phases of the language (τις, δεῖνα, οὐδεῖς, μηδεῖς) and may or may not present innovative forms and functions or be restricted to specific registers, while others are MedG innovations, deriving from re-formation of various AG pronominal forms, e.g. ποιός > κάποιος, εἷς > κανεῖς, τι > κάτι, οὐδέ τι ποτέ > οὐδετίποτε. One may distinguish three main indefinite pronominal functions: (i) indefinite specific, appearing in positive clauses,

and corresponding to English “someone, some, something”; (ii) indefinite non-specific, appearing in conditional and interrogative clauses, and corresponding to English “anyone, any, anything”; and (iii) indefinite non-specific appearing in negative clauses, and corresponding to English “no one, none, nothing”. Some pronouns serve only one function, while others may fulfil different functions depending on the syntactic context. The distribution of the MedG and EMG indefinite pronouns with respect to these function is the following:

Indefinite specific positive “someone/some/ something”	Indefinite non-specific interrogative “anyone/any/anything”	Indefinite negative “no one/no/nothing”
τις	τις	τις
τίποτε	τίποτε	τίποτε
		οὐδετινάς
		οὐδετίποτε
εἷς		
κανείς (?)	κανείς	κανείς
		οὐδεκανείς
		μηδεκανείς
		οὐδείς
		μηδείς
κάποιος		
(ὁ)κάτις/κάτι		
καμπόσος		

One may also observe a certain diachronic progression within this schema (see also HORROCKS 2014a): the pronoun *τις* originally fulfilled, in AG, only functions (i) and (ii), but spread to (iii) in MedG. The resulting over-extension of usage may have led to the necessity of creating new pronouns to serve specific functions only, and therefore the new pronouns *κάποιος* and *κάτις* were created to serve function (i) exclusively, while a similar role was also assumed by the numeral *εἷς* “one”, which developed into an indefinite pronoun serving function (i). The new pronoun *κανείς* was created to serve function (iii), largely supplanting the AG negative pronouns *οὐδείς* and *μηδείς*, but spread almost immediately to function (ii) as well.

Outside this main tripartite distinction, there is also a small set of pronouns which lie somewhere between indefinite and demonstrative pronouns, and which have the meaning “so-and-so”: *δεῖνα*, *ὅτωποῖος*, *ἐδεποῖος*, *ταδεποῖος*.

5.8.1 τις

Τις is a direct continuation of the corresponding AG indefinite pronoun. However, it presents differences from its AG counterpart both formally, as it has developed innovative inflectional suffixes (see below), and functionally, as it has acquired new meanings and appears in a more extensive set of syntactic environments. In more detail, τις is used on the one hand in negative and affective environments, with the meaning “no one” (e.g. δέκα μῆνας τὸ κάμνασιν, τινὰς οὐκ ἤξευρέν το *Velth.* 1057; κόπτει τῶν νέων τὰς κεφαλὰς, τινὰν οὐδὲν λυπᾶται *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 98), or “any (one)” (e.g. δύνεται τινὰς ἄνθρωπος νὰ πῇ τὴν θάλασσαν; *Vios Aisop.* D 229.4; νὰ δεῖ τινὰς νὰ φοβηθεῖ τόσα κορμιὰ καημένα *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 223.6), and on the other in positive environments with the meaning “one” or “some” (e.g. ἔναι τινὲς καὶ ἡξεύρουσιν τὴν τέχνην τῆς μαγείας *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2673; ἦτονε τινὰς ἀφέντης *MOREZINOS, Klini* 42.1–2).

Τις has no separate feminine gender in the singular or plural. Because of its irregular inflectional pattern, it presents innovative forms in several inflectional slots, similarly to the homophonous interrogative pronoun (see 5.7.1.3). It is difficult to establish, on the basis of the written sources, whether τις retains its enclitic status in MedG, especially in the innovative disyllabic forms, i.e. whether these were indeed unstressed, with stress retraction to the previous word. Insofar as the pronoun may appear in first position in negative clauses (e.g. τινὰς οὐκ ἐμαζώνετον, μόνον ὁ κουτσοχέρης *Arm.* 125), and in indefinite clauses (e.g. τινὲς δὲ τῶν χιρεκάκων ἠνέφεραν τὸν αὐθέντην μου (ca. 1270, Athos, *BOMPAIRE* 1964: 9A, 80.31)), its status as a clitic is doubtful (on the topic see also IV, 5.3.2.2 and *HORROCKS* 2014a: 55–7). Therefore, the accentuation of this pronoun remains largely a matter of editorial choice.

The morphological re-formations in the masc./fem. tend towards conformity with the A-stem inflection (see 2.2), probably starting from the simple addition of final /n/ to the masc. acc. sg., which is attested already in the Koine (*CHATZIDAKIS* 1905/07: B 13, 18; *GIGNAC* 1981: 181): τινά > τινάν → τις > τινάς, τινές > τινάδες. Hypercorrect forms not reflecting true usage may appear as isolated instances, e.g. fem. nom. sg. τινά, fem. gen. sg. τινῆς and masc. acc. pl. τινούς; τινὰς ἄνθρωπος, τινὰ γυναῖκα, τινὰ πρᾶγμα, aliquis homo, aliqua mulier, aliquod negotium *ROMANOS, Grammar* 12.4–5; οὔτε καρποφορίας τινῆς (1269, S. Italy, *TRINCERA* 1865: 318, 465.31); τόπους τινούς ὅπου ἔχομεν (1513, Corfu, *KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1998: 9, 28.3).

	Masculine and Feminine	Neuter
Singular		
Nom.	τις ἢ τινάς (masc. only)	τι
Gen.	τινὸς	
Acc.	τινά(ν)	τι ἢ τινά(ν)

	Masculine and Feminine	Neuter
Plural		
Nom.	τινές ἢ τινάδες	τινά
Gen.	τινῶν ἢ τινάδων (masc. only)	τινῶν
Acc.	τινάς ἢ τινές ἢ τινάδες (masc. only)	τινά

Singular

Masculine/Feminine

Nominative

The inherited form is *τις*, which continues to be used throughout the period under investigation and cannot be considered an exclusively learned element, despite being the older, conservative variant preferred in higher register texts. However, after the 15th c. its frequency decreases markedly in vernacular texts, due to competition both from the innovative form *τινάς* and from the new indefinite pronoun *κάποιος*.

The masc. nom. sg. *τινάς* seems to be well established already in the 15th c., and its great frequency and wide distribution in 15th c. texts would suggest that it is an earlier development.

General
τις ἢ τινάς

ἐὰν δέ τις παίδιος ὦν ... φθαρή δὲ ὑπὸ τινος ἀνδρὸς *NIKON, Logos* 3 188.21–2
εἰ μὲν ποτὲ καιροῦ ἀναφύη τις ἐκ τοῦς υἱοῦς (1142?, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 308.28)
καὶ οἷος ἀπὸ τὸ γένος μου ἢ ἄλλος τις ἕτερος ξένος (13th c., Pontos, *OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH* 1927: 95, 55.5)

ὦ τις Ἀκρίτης ἕτερος ἐκεῖ νὰ εὐρέθην τότε *Ptoch. IV* 189; καὶ νὰ ἔνι τις κὰν δόκιμος, νὰ ἔχη
ψυχὴν θρασείαν *ibid.* 486

ἐὰν τύχη τις τῶν εὐγενῶν κερδίσει τοιαύτην κόρην *Liv. V* 1961

ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ κόντος ἢ ἄλλος τις ἀπὸ τοῦς συγγενούς του *Chron. Mor. H* 2345

ἂν τις Βενέτικος ποίση χρέος (1478–9, Constantinople, *GILLILAND WRIGHT/MACKAY* 2007: 270.19)

ὥσπερ τις πύργος ἀσφαλῆς καὶ κατωχυρωμένος *Diig. tetr.* 906

μὴ μὲ προλάβῃ ἄλλος τις καὶ λάβῃ το ἐκεῖνος *Dig. A* 1205

σκλάβος Σαρακηνὸς ἢ ἕτερός τις *Assizes A* 32.28; ἐὰν τις εἷς ἀνθρώπος ἐγγυέται ἕτερον
ἀνθρώπον *ibid.* 68.29

ὥσπερ τις μέγας βασιλεὺς, δυνάστης ἐπηρμένος [*ANDR. PALAIOIOL.*], *Kallim.* 430

εἰδέ τις πρόθυμος φανῇ καὶ πράξῃ ἀνδρειωμένα *Velis. p* 293

ὥσπερ τις τρώει τὸ φαρμάκι καὶ σύντομα ἀποθνήσκει *Diig. Alex. V* 23.12

ἂν ἴσως καὶ τις ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων μου ἐνοχλήσῃ (1521, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 61, 115.18)

καὶ μὴ ἔχῃ τις παρ' ἡμῶν ἀντιλέγει (1615, Skyros, *ANDONIAKIS* 1980/81: 2, 303.16)

ἀνθρώπος τις μαζώνοντας ἀκρίδας ἐπίασε καὶ ἕναν τζιτζικὰ *Vios Aisop. D* 235.21

ἐὰν γένηται τις ζημία (1346–7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.40)
 γυνή τις ἔθαψε τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς *Vios Aisop.* E 294.10
 γυνή γάρ τις πολῦπειρος καὶ δαιμονώδης φύσις [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 430 1066
 ὑπῆρχε τις γυνὴ πρεσβυτέρισσα *Ekth. Chron.* 36.19

μήτε βουργισαῖος μήτε τινὰς ἕτερος (1414, Corfu, MALTEZOU 1991a: (1), 317.1)
 ἂν ἔναι τινὰς ὅπου δὲν σὲ ἀκούει (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 100.5)
 ὁπότεν ἔρχεται τινὰς ἐνταῦθα (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.14)
 τινὰς ἢ τουρκοπουλλιέρης ἦν σινεσκάρκος (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 56.29)
 οὕτως ἐμὰς ἂν γυριστῇ, τινὰς νὰ μὴν τὸν δώση *Dig.* E 1514
 τινὰς νὰ μὴν ἀπελπιστῇ ἁμαρτωλὸς μεγάλος SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 225
 κι οὐδὲν ἔλθῃ ἐδῶ τινὰς τὸν τόπον νὰ ἐπάρῃ *Chron. Mor.* P 1884
 καὶ τινὰς ὅπου ἀγάπαν τὸν ρήγαν ἔμαθέν το MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 56.35
 νὰ μὲν ἀπεξεύσει τινὰς VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 16.7–8
 ἔναι δύσκολον τινὰς νὰ τὸ πιστεύσῃ DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1685
 δὲν ἐνι τινὰς ἴσου κακότυχος ἄνθρωπος *Fior, Suppl.* 273.16
 ὅταν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους ... φανῇ τινὰς κλέπτης (1518, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 391.9)
 ἢ εἶναι τινὰς ράπτῃς καὶ παίρνει ραπτικά (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.70)
 νὰ μὴν ἡμπορῇ νὰ κοντραδίσῃ τινὰς (1537, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 117, 231.14)
 νὰ μὴν ἔμπορῇ τινὰς νὰν τοῦ ἀντιτείνῃ (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 257, 355.22)
 κ' εἶναι βαρὺ τινὰς νὰ τὸ πιστέψῃ *Vosk.* 103
 τινὰς δὲν το ἡξεύρει πότε ἀποθαίνει *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 91.3
 καὶ τινὰς νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ νὰ τοὺς ἐνοχλήσῃ εἰς αὐτὰ τίποτε (1634, Laconia, SIMOPOULOS 1966: 149.7)
 δὲν τὸ ἔπινεν τινὰς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §16.4–5
 δὲ τοῦ ἀβοήθησε τινὰς ἀπὸ τὰ παιδιά μου (1642, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 246, 197.31)
 νὰ μὴν τὸν διασείσῃ τινὰς (1664, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 32, 37.7)
 εἰς κάθε καιρὸν ποὺ ἤθελε τὸν ἐναντιωθῇ τινὰς (1670, Paros, ALIPRANDIS/SYMEONIDIS 1985: 1, 129.)
 καὶ ἄλλος τινὰς μὴν ἔχῃ ἐξουσίαν (1675, Amorgos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 32, 25.8)
 τινὰς δὲν βεβαιώνει ὅτι εἶναι πανούκλα GAVRIILOP., *Diig. panouklas* 97.28

Genitive

General
τινός

Τινός is the only available variant throughout the LMedG and EMG period.

ἐὰν δέ τις παίδιος ὦν ... φθαρῇ δὲ ὑπὸ τινος ἀνδρὸς NIKON, *Logos* 3 188.21–2
 μὴ ἐμποδιζόμενος παρὰ τινος (1141, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 125, 166.22)
 περὶ τοῦ σκλάβου ὅπου ἐποίησεν κανένα κακὸν τινός *Assizes* B 264.29
 ὅλα νὰ τὰ ἔχουν χωρὶς τινός λόγου (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.26)
 νὰ τὸ ἀφήσῃ τινός (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 147.12)
 κανεὶς νὰ μὴ τολμήσῃ | εἰς σπῆτιν πούπετε τινός ἀδέξιον νὰ ποιήσῃ *Chron. Toc.* 647
 μηδὲν τὸ πῆς τινός *Fior, Suppl.* 277.1
 τινός δὲν εἶπαν τίποτες DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinis* 599
 τίποτες μὴ μιλήσεις | τινός γι' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀφορμὴ *Apoll. Rim.* A 820

νά δώση τὰ εἰρημένα χωράφια τινός (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 5, 219.13)

νά ἡμπορῇ δίχως τινός ἀμπόδισμα (1550, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1970: 5, 295.6)

ἀντὰν τὸ πρόσωπον τινός βιγλίζη *Cypr. Canz.* 49.2

μηδὲ ἐγὼ νά ἡμπορῶ πλέον νά τὸ διατάξω ἄλλου τινός (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 2, 11.11)

ἐκολούθησα τινός ἄρχοντος MOREZINOS, *Klini* 224.30

ἐὰν ἔτυχε καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὀφίδι ἀπὸ τὸ στόμα τινός εἰς τὰ ἐντόσθια LANDOS, *Geopon.* 260.4

παρακινώντας την νά σιωπήσῃ καὶ νά μὴν τὸ εἰπῇ τινός (1679, Corfu, PLOUMIDIS 2008: 4, 177.15)

διὰ νά ἀποξενώσῃ ἀπὸ τὸ ἄνωθεν μερτικὸ τινός τίποτις (1694, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 184, 110.6)

ὡς δ' οὐ φωνῆς ἀκήκοα οὐδέ τινος λαλίας *Ptoch. I* 230

ἄλλης τινός ἐπηρείας εἰσερχαμένης (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 182.8)

παρέδραμεν τὸ δίχρονον δίχα τινός ὁδύνης *Liv. V* 3002

ἐκτός ἀμαρτίας τινός KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 423.36

χωρὶς τινος ξανέγκασης (1578, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 9, 21.3)

δίχως τινός κρίσεως καὶ ἐναντιότητος (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 1, 145.25)

Accusative

The variation in the presence or absence of the innovative final /n/ appears even before the period under investigation. In the LMedG period, τινάν is attested in the earliest available texts (already in the 10th c.) apparently without geographical restrictions; it is quite common, and follows the general variability of the language with respect to the addition of final /n/ (see I, 3.7.2.1).

General

τινά(ν)

φίλον τινὰ οὐκ ἔχει GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 240

τινά τίποτε οὐ χρεωστῶ (1291, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 78, 46.20)

οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γνησίων μου χρεωστῶ τινὰ ἢ τὸν γαμβρόν μου Ἀριανίτην (1325, Veroia?/Macedonia, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 64, 359.172)

ἔδωσεν ... τινὰ τόπον λόγγον (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 20, 55.5)

ἄνθρωπός τις ἔδωκεν πρὸς τινὰ φλουριά β' (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 12, 22.1–2)

ἄρχον τινὰ οὐδὲν θεωρεῖς SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 158

μὲ μέρος τινὰ τοῖχον (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 148, 127.6)

πλέον παρ' ἄλλωνε τινὰ KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* XVIII.476

διὰ τινὰ τόπον (1560, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 32, 29.4)

διὰ τινὰ τόπον καὶ ὁροθέσιον (1581, Athos, PETIT/KORABLEV 1911/15: 164, 350.5)

ἀλλὰ ὅχι εἰς τινὰ ὡσὰν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Ἄννην MOREZINOS, *Klini* 6.20

ὅτι ἄλλο τινὰ δὲν ἔχω στὸ κόσμον κανένα (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.7–8)

ὅταν τον καλέσουν εἰς τινὰ γάμον *Theophr. Char.* 126.31

ἄλλον τινάν ... ὀχλησιν τινάν (982, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 5, 134.38); ἕτερον δὲ τινάν οὐκ οἶδα δεσπύζοντά το (1008, *ibid.* 15, 189.39)

- καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι δέ τιναν τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν χωρήσεις μήτ' ἡμᾶς μήτε τιναν τῶν ἐμῶν κληρονόμων (1173, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 180, 236.23–4)
- ἐσᾶς ἢ τινὰν ἀπὸ ἐσᾶς (1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 99.9)
- παιδιά ποτὲ εἰς γενιτσάρους νὰ μηδὲν πάρω, μήτε τινὰν ἰστανέον (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 124.43–4)
- ὁποῦ οὐκ ἔχει ἀφέντην τινὰν *Assizes* B 450.15
- ποτὲ τινὰν ἢ εὐγενικὴ οὐκ εἶχεν ἀγαπήσει *Pol. Tr.* 310 app. crit. (EV)
- εἰς τὸ κοντάριν του τινὰν οὐδὲν ἐντράπη *Chron. Toc.* 2345
- καὶ μηδὲν τορμῆση τινὰς νὰ ζημιώση τινὰν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 316.2
- ἂν ἐν' καὶ ἰδῆς πτωχὸν τινὰν καὶ στάμενα νὰ μὴ ἔχη DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2353
- τινὰν δὲ βλάφτει (1509, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [1], 6.8)
- ὄχι νὰ ὀργίζεσαι τινὰν χωρὶς ἀφορμὴν DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 2, ἀ6ν.28
- ἐποθυμῶ νὰ ἔβανες τινὰν νὰ μᾶς ἔγραφε τὸν Πτωχοπρόδρομον (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 1, 289.8)
- μὴν ἀφήσης τινὰν ἰδιώτην *Vios Aisop.* K 185.9
- νὰ μὴν ἀφήσουσι τινὰν νὰ ἐμπαίνει εἰς τὸ ... μοναστήρι (1622, Crete, DETORAKIS 1992: 2, 289.13)
- ἐκηρύττασιν, ὄχι μὲ φόβον τινὰν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.10–11
- καὶ ἄνθρωπον τινὰν δὲν ἐβλέπανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 111.22–3
- μὴν βρίσκοντας τινὰν (1688, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 110, 64.3)
- ἢ ἐνοχλῆσαι ἔκ τινὰ δουλείαν (1099, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: App. 1, 643.16)
- νομεύει τινὰ ποσότητα χωραφίων (1269, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 318, 464.22)
- ἀπὸ δέ τινὰ τρύπα (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 55, 46.15)
- ἢ δὲ τινὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ζηλοτυπίαν εἶχεν *Dig.* A 3829
- ἄλλην τινὰ πόδεση (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.69)
- νὰ δοθοῦν αὐτὰ τὰ λεγόμενα δουκάτα ... εἰς ἀνάστασιν τινὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου μοναστηρίου (1532, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 152, 275.codicil 5)
- νὰ κάμνης ὑπηρεσίαν τινὰ LANDOS, *Geopon.* 175.26
- δι' αἰτίαν τινὰν (1382, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 2, 89.7)
- τίποτας τινὰν διενόχλησι (1428, Lefkada, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 12, 254.12)
- ἀπὸ ὅχλησιν τινὰν *Anon. Naupl.* 6
- πρὸς τινὰν ὀρφανὴν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 16, 52.32)
- ἔχουνε τινὰν διαφορὰν (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 279, 163.6)
- δίχως τινὰν ὑστερινὴν μου δυστροπίαν (1655, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 5, 156.14)

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

Τι is the inherited form, and the most common variant throughout the LMedG and EMG period. The form τινὰ, appearing already since the 10th c., should be compared to the corresponding EMedG evolution of the active neut. sg. participle, e.g. τὸ ὄν > τὸ ὄντα (see 3.7.2) and should be attributed to the formal identity of masc. acc. sg. and neut. nom./acc. sg. in many inflectional paradigms (see also MINAS ²2003: 101). It is attested mostly in non-literary texts from S. Italy, Athos and the Heptanese.

General	Restricted
τι	τινὰ(ν)

καὶ μὴ ἔχοντα ἡμεῖς τι ἀντιχάριτα ἀντιστρέψαι σοι (1182, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 212, 277.16)

μὴ πάθῃς τι μικρόψυχον καὶ νὰ χαροῦν οἱ ἐχθροί σου GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 301

ἢ κὰν σκουμπρὶν ἢ ἄλλο τι ἢ θύνην βρωμιαρέαν *Ptoch.* IV 237

φοβούμεστε μὴ μᾶς γένη τι (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.16)

κρατεῖ καὶ τὸ τόπον, ὄνπερ καὶ ἀνάστησε παραδείσιον (1486, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 19, 218.16)

οὐδὲ ἄλλον διόδημα, μήτε ἄλλον τι πρέπον *Flor.* L 340

μὴ ἔπαθές τι, Χρυσάντζα μου; *Velth.* 934 transcr. (Lendari) (ἔπαθες τί Kriaras)

μὴ τὶ δεινὸν συνέβηκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀπροσδοκῆτων; *Achil.* N 1456

ἢ ἕτερόν τι νὰ ἔνε εἰς ἀσήμιν, ἢ εἰς χρυσάφιν *Assizes* A 55.8

λαβὼν τι κείμενον ἐκέῖ λεπτὸν λυγῶδες ξύλον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 507

ἔτρεμεν ἡ καρδοῦλα του, μὴ τὶ δεινὸν συμφέρῃ LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 572

ἢ τορνέσια ἢ ἄλλον τι τίποτε πράμαν (1529, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 80, 105.12)

ἐχάρισα μέρος τι ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μου (1634, Peloponnese, LAMBROS 1908b: 339.2)

δεν εἶχαμεν τι φάμεν *Rim. Sant.* 248

κὰν σπέρνει, κὰν θερίζει ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐργάζεται LANDOS, *Geopon.* 274.27

μήτε κουκκίον μήτε ἄλλο τι λεγούμι (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III, 36.3)

ἢ εἰς ἕτερον σέκρετον ἢ τινὰ πρόσωπον (985, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 7, 150.42)

καὶ εἴ τινα χρυσόβουλλον εἴτε καὶ ὑπόμνημα ... τοῖς τοιοῦτοις μετοχίοις κέκτῃνται οἱ μοναχοὶ (1062, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 34, 97.25)

ἐλάβαμεν ἀφ' ὑμῶν ... τινὰ χωράφιον (1242, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 292, 406.17)

διὰ τινὰ χωράφιον (1295, Athos, ŽIVOJINOVIĆ et al. 1998: 15, 161.4)

δῶσομέν σοι τινὰ χωράφιον ἐρημάμπελον (1304, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 23, 173.10)

μαρτυρῆσαι ἔγγραφον τινὰ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν (1329, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 14, 57.20)

μὲ δίχως φταίσιμον τινὰ FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 282

ἠύρίσκεται νὰ ἔχῃ ἡ μονὴ τινὰ ἐξάμπελον (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 59, 49.4); ἀπολειπᾶδι ἀπὸ τινὰ κρασί (ibid. 108, 89.3)

ἔδωσεν [...] τινὰ κομμάτιον χωράφιον (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 348, 247.4)

ἀνίσως καὶ τινὰ ἀπὸ τὰ αὐτὰ χωράφια (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005b: 1, 91.18)

Genitive

General
τινός

ἄλλου τινός προσώπου (1223, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 29, 445.6)

δίχα τινός προσκόματος, δίχα τινός ἀνάγκης *Liv.* V 2251

χωρὶς καμίαν ἐγγαρείαν ἢ ἄλλου βάρου τινός MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 222.20

καρπούς τινός ὑποστατικοῦ ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 135.A.84

Plural

Masculine/Feminine

Nominative

Τινές is the regular form throughout the LMedG and EMG period. The pl. forms τινάδες -ων, on the analogy of the paradigm of masc. nouns in -ας, are exclusively Cretan, and

appear only in poetic texts dating from the 15th c. onwards (transmitted in later manuscripts). Their position exclusively at the end of the line, and always in rhyme, casts doubt on their status as features of spoken language. Their meaning, furthermore, is closer to that of a noun (“people”) than a pronoun.⁸³

General	Rare
τινές	τινάδες

- καθώς τινές ἐπαρέδωκαν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 312.35–6
 ἐάν εἰσιν τινές οἱ γινώσκοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα σύνορα (1224, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 30, 447.19)
 τὸ ὅποῖον χωράφιον ἐπροεκάτεχάν τινες κρυφίως (1431, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXIX, 290.9)
 εὐρέθησαν τινές καὶ ἐκάμασινε σύγχυσιν (1481–96, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 61, 313.6)
 οὐδὲν ἐγλύτωσαν τινές, μόνη ἡ φτωχολογία *Chron. Mor.* H 4087
 τινές ὅπου τὸν ἔβλεπαν *Byz. Il.* 609
 εἶναι τινές δοκόφρονι, ὑπόκριτοι DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1149
 ὅτι τινές ἀλλογενεῖς τὲς χώρες τοῦ κρουσεύουν *Achil.* O 120
 τινές ἄνθρωποι (1503, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 244, 203.4)
 τινές καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι *Synax. gadar.* 391
 πολλοὶ τινες ἄνθρωποι (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 217.6)
 τινές ἰδιῶτες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.21
 τινές ποτὲ δὲ μ’ ἄθθυμοῦνται *Cypr. Canz.* 23.6
 τινές οἱ φιλονικούσι με τοὺς μεγαλιότερους τοῦ λόγου τοὺς λυπούσι ΑἰΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 106.9
 τινές δὲ τοῦ βάνουσι καὶ κομμάτι κἀντίον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 261.25
 τινές γοῦν τῶν Καρπενησιωτῶν (1648, Karpenisi, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 4, 79.24)
 ἦσαν τινές ἀρχόντισσες ἀπὸ μακρέα καὶ ἐβλέπαν DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 440
 οἱ ἄθλιβοι τινάδες *P&N Diath.* 740; φίλοι τοὺς φίλους τῷ φιλῶ, τινάδες τοὶ ἐδικούς τως *ibid.* 762; οἱ φίλοι τως καὶ οἱ συγγενοί, οἱ ξένοι καὶ τινάδες *ibid.* 1619; ἐμαζωκτῆκασι πολλοὶ καὶ φίλοι καὶ τινάδες *ibid.* 1726

Genitive

The only regular variant in the period under investigation is τινῶν/τινων. The variant τινάδων, as the nominative τινάς above, is exclusively Cretan and exclusively poetic, appearing mainly at the end of a line.

General	Rare
τινῶν/τινων	τινάδων

⁸³ BAKKER et al. 2008: 68 n. 19, and 269; cf. the gen. and acc. pl. examples below. The semantic shift is corroborated by modern dialectal evidence, as the meaning “people” is recorded for the form τινάδες in the dialect of Karpathos (MINAS 1977: 292). Dialectal evidence also constitutes an argument in favour of viewing τινάδες as a feature of spoken language in the EMG period.

ἀπὸ ὀχλήσεώς τινων ἀνθρώπων χαιρεκάκων *Ptoch.* II 71
 διὰ παρακλήσεώς τινων φίλων (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 284.9)
 ὑπάρχει καὶ τινῶν ἐτέρων τόπος (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 14, 50.51)
 παρὰ τινων Τουρκῶν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 136.13
 πῶς ἀποχωριζόμεθεν ἀπὸ τινῶν ἀνθρώπων! *Katal.* 341 (Panayotopoulou)
 ἂν τινων γὰρ ἀφήσετε αὐτῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας DELLAP., *Epit. Thrin.* 634
 κατὰ τὴν ὀπινιούν τινῶν φιλοσόφων *Fior* 79.20
 καὶ θέλετε δώσει καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν (1554, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 211, 187.9)
 ὅσοι πέρνουσι τινῶν ὀσπήτια ΖΥΓΟΜ., *Synopsis* 239.M.80
 ἐγράψαμεν περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ὑποθέσεων (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 5, 309.6)
 κάπιοι ἐφημέριοι τινῶν ἐκκλησιῶν λειτουργοῦσι νύκτα (1693, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 104, 301.8)
 νὰ τοὺς ἀρπάξης μὲ σφαγὴ 'κ τὰ χέρια τῶν τινάδων ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 295
 παλάτια τῶν κριτάδων | ἐκκλησιῶν καμπαναρία καὶ ἄλλων πτωχῶν τινάδων SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 22

Accusative

General	Rare
τινάς ἢ τινές	τινάδες

For the innovative form τινάδες see the comments above on the nom. pl.

ἐθεώρουν τινὰς, ὅτι ἐκρατοῦσαν τὸ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.6
 διὰ τινὰς ὑποθέσεις *Diat. Kypr.* 504.2
 εἶπασιν τινὰς λόγους (1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.15)
 μερικός τινὰς λιθοσωρέας (1407, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 17, 124.35)
 οὐκ ἔχει τινὰς μάρτυρας *Assizes B* 391.3–4
 καὶ τινὰς δουλείας (1447, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1952: 293.)
 πατέρας μας {ἐ}ξωρίσθηκεν διὰ τινὰς μωρίας *Dig.* A 495; καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς, τοὺς ἀδελφούς του λέγω *ibid.* 1184
 ἔχεις μάρτυράς τινας; *Porikol.* I 42
 ἔχετε μάρτυρας τινὰς νὰ δείξετε εἰς τοῦτο *Velis.* χ 50
 εἶχεν δώσει πρὸς τὸν παρόντα κυρ Λάζον τὸν Στρατηγὸν τινὰς τόπους (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 328, 232.4)
 μετὰ ἡμέρας τινὰς *Vios Aisop.* D 231.31
 ἐποίησε τινὰς ἡμέρας PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.19
 σὰς γράφω ἐδῶ παρεμπρὸς τινὰς νουθεσίας LANDOS, *Geopon.* 173.17
 ὅσα θέλουν τύχει πράγματα καὶ ἀφιερωθοῦν ὑπὸ τινὰς χριστιανούς (1692, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 49, 38.27)
 κὶ οὐκ εἶχασιν ἄλλους τινὲς ἄντρες ἐκεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν *Chron. Mor.* H 4403
 ἄλλους τινὲς (1414, Corfu, MALTEZOU 1991a: (1), 317.10)
 ὡς ἔμαθα παρὰ τινες *Chron. Toc.* 726
 ἀπὸ τινες κρίσεις καὶ διαφορὲς ὅπερ εἶχαν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 45, 171.3)
 ἀπὸ τινὲς σαρδέλες ὅπερ ἀκαρτερεῖ νὰ ἡμοιράσῃ (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 112, 92.14)
 τινὲς βολὲς τὰ ἦθ σου μὲ κάμνουν καὶ φοβοῦμαι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 574
 ἀπὸ τινὲς καρτέλες ὅπου ἔκαμε (1537, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 22, 31.3)

ἔχουνε τινές διαφορές (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 347, 198.5)
 διὰ τινές Ἀγαρηνές όπου εὐρέθησαν εἰς τὴν μονήν (1583, Athens?, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 123.11)
 τινές ἄρχοντες *Theophr. Char.* 126.20–1

κ' ἐπῆρε καὶ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὄχι ἄλλον ἢ τοὺς τινάδες CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1250
 ταῖς ἰδία ἐδῶ δὲν γίνονται νὰ δέχονται τινάδες PIKAT., *Rima thrin.* 154
 ὁδὲν εἶχετε τινάδες *Apoll. Rim.* A 1434
 ποὺ τὸ Χριστὸ ἐφῆκας ξένο δίχως τινάδες *P&N Diath.* 3193

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General
τινὰ

οὗ ἕτερα τινὰ στοιχήματα τὰ ἔχουν μέσον τους *Assizes B* 356.8
 ἔχει δὲ συναξάρια τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ (1417, Crete, LAMBROS 1895: 1, 587.5)
 τινὰ ἦθη καὶ συνήθεια (1436, Corfu, ASONITIS 2000: 1, 408.27)
 περὶ τινὰ κάστρον (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 9, 313.8)
 ἀπολειπάδι ἀπὸ τινὰ χοιρίδια ἅπερ τοῦ εἶχεν πωλήσει (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 101, 84.4)
 καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ πράγματα (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 132.3)
 ἐξεγυμνωμένον ἀπὸ τινὰ ἴδια αὐτοῦ ὑποστατικά (1511, Chios, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 17, 261.)
 διὰ τινὰ ἄλογα ὅπερ ἔχασε ὁ κυρ Ἀντρέας (1543, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 120, 82.2)
 ἐπέδωσαν πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἱερομόναχον τινὰ γίδια (1561, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 75, 65.2)
 εἶχαν αὐτοὶ παρμένα | ζῶα τινὰ ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1571
 ὀλίγα τινὰ φαίνονται πῶς νάναι τὰ δικά μου BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 69
 διὰ τινὰ ἀγελάδια όπου εἶχαν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 52, 115.4)

Genitive

General
τινῶν

ἐστερημένην τινῶν καματικῶν χωραφίων (1134, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 4, 13.9)
 θηρίων τινῶν (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 68.15)
 οὐχὶ δὲ πλοῦτου ἔνεκα, οὔτε τινῶν χρημάτων *Dig.* A 2138
 τινῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ὑποστατικῶν (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 246, 177.5)

The pronoun *τις* functions both as a pronoun and as a determiner. Examples:

Pronoun

ἐὰν δώση τις καὶ ψυχικὸν ἀπὸ τοὺς φιλοχρίστους *Ptoch.* IV 142
 στανεὸ μου οὐδὲν μοῦ ἐμίλησαν, τινὰς μὴ τὸ καυχᾶται *Dig.* E 361
 καὶ μηδὲν τορμῆση τινὰς νὰ ζημιώσῃ τινὰν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 316.2
 κόπτει τῶν νέων τὰς κεφαλὰς, τινὰν οὐδὲν λυπᾶται *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 98
 νὰ στερηθῇ τινὰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ DAM. STOUΔ., *Dial.* 94.36

Determiner

εἰ δ' οὕτως κατακρίνεις με δίχα τινὸς αἰτίας *Ptoch.* II 70
 γυνή τις γραῦς ὑπόσχεται νὰ δώση θεραπείαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1108
 ἀπὸ δέ τινα τρύπα (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 55, 46.15)
 δὲν ἀμποδίζοντα τινὰς νόμος (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 281, 219.11)
 ἂν ὑπάγη τινὰς ἀποκρισάρης *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.34–5
 δίχως τινὸς δόλου (1667, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005b: 2, 92.8)

Also, occasionally τις may have a distributive meaning (= “one ... another ...”):

ὁ ἡγούμενος ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τινὸς βοΐδιον, τινὸς ἄλογον (1125?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.2)
 τις εἶχεν πόθον ἀγούρου καὶ τις κοράσιων πάλι *Theseid* VI.70,8 (Olsen)
 ὑπῆρε τις πολὺ τις ὀλίγο ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 267.18; τις τὸν-ε πιάνει ἐκ τὰ μαλλιά καὶ τις τὰ γένεια ἐβγάνει *ibid.* 3035
 τινὲς γιὰ κέρδη κ' ἔπαινος, τινὲς γιὰ τὴν τιμὴν τοὺς ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 639
 τις πιλαλεῖ στή μιὰ μερὰ καὶ τις γλακᾶ στήν ἄλλη ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* II.2174; τις γιὰ 'ναὶ πράμαν ἔρχεται, τις ἄλλο νὰ ζητήξῃ *ibid.* IV.225; τις τό 'λεγε μ' εὐλάβεια καὶ τις μὲ γέλιο πάλι *ibid.* IV.2171

5.8.2 τίποτε

The indefinite pronoun τίποτε derives from the univerbation of the AG neuter indefinite pronoun τι (see above 5.8.1) and the enclitic indefinite adverb ποτέ, due to their very frequent collocation. The univerbation was already in place in the late Koine (see examples in MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 621–2; JANNARIS 1897: 165; DIETERICH 1898: 202) and is also attested in EMedG texts (PSALTES 1913: 198). In the LMedG period, τίποτε is a common vernacular pronoun and develops a series of innovative variants.

Τίποτα, on the analogy of adverbs in -α (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 55, 189, B 100; *LKN* s.v. τίποτε) or on the analogy of ἓνα, κανένα (GEORGACAS 1938: 145), is attested since the 11th c. Τίποτι, attested after the 15th c., is formed on the analogy of τι and κάτι (CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77 A 225–6; GEORGACAS 1938: 145). All three variants may appear with addition of final /s/, a common development in adverbs and words of similar function (see 4.2.3): τίποτες, τίποτας, τίποτις (cf. also πάντα > πάντις, σήμερα > σήμερις). The analogical ending -α first appears in the mid-11th c. in S. Italian documents, while the earliest attestation of final /s/ addition comes from the late 11th-/early 12th-c. mss of Nikon of the Black Mountain (τίποτες). Τίποτις is attested since the 14th c., although the variant without final /s/ (τίποτι) is recorded only later.

The stem of the pronoun may display various sporadic phonetic phenomena such as lenition of intervocalic /p/ > /v/ (τίβοτες, τίβοτας, τίβοτα, τίβοτσι, τίβετις, τίβετσι) and change of /o/ > /e/ possibly on the analogy of ἔτις/ἔτσι (τίπέτις, τίβετις, τίβετσι). A single attestation of τίοτα (νὰ μὴν ἡμπορῇ πλέον μήτε ἐτοῦτος μήτε ἄλλος νὰ διασεισῇ τίοτα (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 5, 17.7)) derives from deletion of lenited intervocalic /v/. The forms in -τσι arose through syncope and anaptyxis of a following euphonic /i/ (JANNARIS 1897: §562, cf. also PERNOT 1934: 356–7). These new stem forms

are geographically restricted to Crete, the Heptanese and the Cyclades (apart from a late Dodecanesian attestation) and begin to appear from the 15th c. onwards.

General	Restricted	Rare
τίποτε ἰ τίποτες ἰ τίποτις ἰ τίποτι ἰ τίποτα ἰ τίποτας ἰ τίπετις	τίβοτες ἰ τίβετις ἰ τίβετσι ἰ τίβοτα ἰ τίβοτας	τίβοτε ἰ τίβοτι ἰ τίοτα

τίποτε

οὔτε διὰ χρέος, οὔτε διὰ τίποτε ἀνάγκη (1034, S. Italy, Trinchera 1865: 29, 34.19)
 ἵνα μὴ ἐπιδώσω αὐτοῦ τίποτε (1146, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 142, 189.15)
 τινὰ τίποτε οὐ χρεωστῶ (1291, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 78, 46.20)
 κουτσοπαρδάλαν τίποτε, γυμνήν, ἡπορημένην *Ptoch. I* 108
 νὰ κάμη τρόπον τίποτε ᾗ ἐκεῖνον τὸν Γιαγούπηνη *Chron. Toc.* 2653
 ἐὰν χρειασθῇ τὸ ὀσπίτιον τίποτε ἔξοδον (1445, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 170, 191.13)
 καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ ζητήσης κανεῖς τίποτε (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 46, 25.5)
 ὥς διὰ νὰ κυνηγήσωμεν τίποτε τῶν ἀγρίων *Dig. E* 427
 χρεωστῇ τίποτε χρεῖος κανενοῦ ἀνθρώπου *Assizes B* 385.12
 νὰ ἀφήσῃ τίποτε μέρος (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 16, 52.31)
 τίποτε πληροφορήμαν, τίποτε πρᾶγμα ἄλλον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1154
 ἢ τορνέσια ἢ ἄλλον τι τίποτε πράμαν (1529, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 80, 105.12)
 καὶ νὰ φκιάνῃ καὶ τὸ νερό, ἐὰν χαλάσῃ τίποτε, καὶ μηδεῖς τὸν διασείσῃ τίποτε (1582, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 58, 179.6)
 νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ νὰ πληρωθῇ διὰ ἱκάμπιον τίποτε (1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 175.20)
 καὶ ἂν εἶναι ὅτι οἱ ἄγιοι ἔχουν τίποτε δύναμιν MAXIMOS, *Synax. Ag. Nik.* 139.102
 μὰ ἔχοντας τίποτε φόβο ἀπὲ τὸν αὐτὸ Ἀντώνη (1674, Milos, IMELLOS 1985/90: 329.5)
 ἐχάρισε τὸ τίποτέ του διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν του (1680, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 41, 68.4)

τίποτες

ἐὰν δὲ καὶ πολλὰκίς πέμψῃ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἄλλο τίποτες ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 76.6–7; ὅταν καὶ εὗρῃ
 τίποτες βαρὺ εἰς τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον id., *Logos* 3 174.4
 ἕτερον τίποτες γομάριν *Assizes B* 361.31
 τίποτες νὰ μὴ λείπῃ *Pol. Tr.* 134 app. crit. (X)
 οὐδὲν ἔγινεν τίποτες ζημία (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 85.11)
 νὰ μηδὲν τοὺς ζητήσης τίποτες (1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 49, 26.2)
 εἰ δὲ καὶ δὲν ἰδῇ τὸ παιδίον τίποτες (15th c., Cyprus?, TSANGALAS 1983: 132.13)
 τινὸς δὲν εἶπαν τίποτες DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinis* 599
 τίποτες βιβλίον νέον ΖΙΝΟΣ, *Vatr. Prol.* 2
 καρπὸς δένδρου ἢ ἄλλο τίποτες ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 143.5
 νὰ μηδὲν χρεωστῇ ... νὰ τοῦ δίνη τίποτες (1571, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 1, 53.11)
 κανέναν νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ τίποτες νὰ τὸ λέγῃ ἐδικό του (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 235.92–3)
 νὰ μὴν χρεωστοῦσιν ... νὰ ἀποκρένουνται τίποτες (1599, Zakynthos, PLOUMIDIS 1995/98: 87.18)
 καὶ γὼ ποῦ κρέμομαι ἀπὸ σὲν τίποτες οὐ κερδίζω *Love poems V* 222
 καὶ ἃ γυρέψουν νὰ ἀνοχλήσου τὰ ἀγόρια μου τίποτες (1627, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 403.3)
 θέλει νὰ καὶ τὸ σπῆτιν ὅλον καὶ τὸ τίποτές του ὅλο PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.61–2
 δὲν τὸν χρεωστοῦμεν τίποτες (1652, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 71, 184.15)
 δὲν ἔχει νὰ κάμη πλέον τίποτες (1682, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 3, 672.13)

διὰ νὰ μὴν πέση εἰς τίποτες σατανικὲς παγίδες (1696, Ioannina, MICHAELARIS 1976: 2 [B⁷], 253.13)

ὥσαν νὰ ἦτον τίποτες πρᾶγμα ἄχρηστον GAVRIILOP., *Diig. panouklas* 96.1

τίποτις

νὰ μηδὲν ἀπαιτῇ τίποτις (1355, Palatia (Miletos), MANOUSAKAS 1962b: 1, 234.14)

τίποτις οὐδὲν ἔλειψεν (1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 99.8)

καὶ μὴ ἄργεῖτε τίποτις τοῦ χρόνου ἢ τῶν χρόνων *Alosis* 262

τίποτις δὲν ἐτρόμου FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 10

δίχως νὰ τοῦ πάρουν τίποτις (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 62.27)

δὲν σᾶς γυρεύω τίποτις ἀδικία (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 1, 360.13)

ἔχεις τίποτις νὰ μοῦ δόκεις; GERMANO, *Grammar* 71.25

ποτὲ δὲν μοῦ ἔστειλες τίποτις (1638, Andros, POLEMIS 1999b: 9, 32.25)

ὄχι τίποτις ὀλιγότερο (1646, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1970: 1, 251.28)

τίποτις δὲν φεῖται SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* D4r.24

τίπουτις πιὸ ἀπὸ τὰ σπίτια (1653, Skiathos, EVANGELIDIS 1913: 67.3)

ἂν ἠχρεωστοῦσαν τίποτις ροῦχα (1664, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 3, 20.14–15)

τίποτις βάρος (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005b: 1, 91.19)

ἂ σοῦ ᾔφταισα καὶ τίποτις PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1979

καὶ λάχει τοὺς τίποτις (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.13)

δὲν μπροτεντέρει πλέον τίποτις (1674, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 83, 48.3)

τίποτις ἀπ' ὅ, τι τῆς ἠθελε εὐρεθῆν (1675, Amorgos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 32, 25.9)

μήτε ἄλλο τίποτις (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 138.30)

δὲν μοῦ ἔδωκες τίποτις (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.30)

εἰς χαράτσιν ἢ εἰς ἄλλον τίποτις (1692, Samos, IOANNOU 1992: 1, 457.10)

τίποτι

διὰ νὰ τρώγουν τίποτι *Pol. Tr.* 2727 app. crit. (R)

τίποτι οὐχ εὐρίσκει *Velth.* 1138

για νὰ τοῦ πάρη τίποτι KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.82

νὰ μηδὲν ἠθελεν ἔχει τίποτι ἀπὸ τὰ ἀγαθὰ μου (1524, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 135, 168.29)

τότε ζητῶντα διάβηκε τίποτι βοηθείαν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 580

νὰ πουλήσουν τίποτι (1615, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 9, 5.48)

βλέπε νὰ μὴν σοῦ κάμουνε τίποτι (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.8)

τίποτα

ὁ πατήρ μου εἰς αὐτὰ τίποτα οὐκ εἶχεν (1042, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 3, 44.10)

νὰ μηδὲν ἔχη ἄδειαν νὰ σᾶς ἀνοχλήση τίποτα (1440, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1995: 126, 401.11)

καὶ μόνην κόρην ἔλαβα καὶ τίποτα οὐ χρήζω *Dig.* E 1300

ἔλα νὰ τὸν ἰδοῦμεν | καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ ξεύρη τίποτα διὰ νὰ μᾶς ὀρμηνεύση *Liv.* V 2525

καὶ κλέψης τίποτα νὰ φᾶς ἢ τίποτα νὰ ἐγγίσης *Diig. tetr.* 221 app. crit. (C)

τίποτα δὲν τὸν ἔβλαβεν *Chron. Toc.* 3260

ἔως νὰ μάθῃ τίποτα δι' ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ρουμπέρτον *Chron. Mor.* P 2234

οὐδὲ πιστεύω τίποτα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα κόσμον *Theseid* VI.69,4 (Olsen)

εἰς ἑσᾶς δὲ θέλω τίποτα *Nov. II* 161.6

καὶ τινὰς νὰ μὴν διασεῖση τίποτα (1543, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 239, 225.26)

χωρὶς νὰ πλερώνουν τίποτα (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.23)

νὰ μὴν ἀποκρίνεται τίποτα (1579, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 21, μγ'.131)

δὲν ἐπῆρα τίποτα ἀπὸ τοὺς γονέους μου (1584, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1976: 151.128)

τίποτα μὴ βαραίνει *Thysia Avr.* 165

ὄγοιον μου παιδί τὸν ἀνοχλήση τίποτα (1607, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 8, 86.32–3)
 ἐπαρεκάλει τους νὰ τοῦ δώσουν τίποτα ἐλαφρὸν πρᾶγμα *Vios Aisop.* D 213.5
 νὰ μὴν ἀξίζη τίποτα (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 189, 159.13)
 νὰ δώσω ἐγὼ τὰ τίποτά μου τὰ καλούτζικα ἕναν μπεκρῆ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §9.63
 νὰ μὴν ἀπιλογᾶται τίποτα (1660, Paros, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 25, 21.9)
 καὶ δὲν ἔχω πλέον νὰ κάμω τίποτα εἰς ἐδαῦτο (1661, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 11, 125.7)

τίποτας

τίποτας ὁσπίτιον (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 18, 158.22)
 εἰς πολὺν ἀκριβὸν καὶ πρεπούμενον τίποτας μεγαλεῖον (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 66.12)
 δὲν τοῦ τὰ ἐβάλασι ὁδοδὸν τίποτας διὰ τὰ ἀλωναυτικά (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.31)
 καὶ σὺ οὐκ ἤξεύρεις τίποτας καὶ χάνεις με ἀπὲ τώρα *Flor.* L 1013
 τίποτας οὐκ ἔλειπεν ἀπέκει BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 132
 ἡ καταναλωθῆ τίποτας ἀπὸ τὸ Μοναστήριον (1518, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 390.28)
 καὶ πάρη σου τίποτας στάμενα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 52, 51.11)
 νὰ οἰκοδομήσουν τίποτας πόλιν ἢ μεγάλον παλάτιον MOREZINOS, *Klini* 5.36
 ἐγὼ δὲν λέγω τίποτας MONTSEL., *Evgena* 476
 καὶ ἃ μοῦ βρεθῆ καὶ τῶρι κάποιον τίποτας (1650, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 76, 193.32–3)
 δὲν τῆς ἤδωσεν τίποτας (1673, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 15, 30.9)
 νὰ κάμετε δίχως ἐμὲ τίποτας δὲν μπορεῖτε *Zinon* Prol. 150
 ὅταν χάσης τίποτας (1684–5, Moscow, ŠANGIN 1936: 3, 122.23)
 ἐγὼ τίποτας δὲν κάμνω KONDAR., *Paides* 354
 δὲν μοῦ ἔδωσες τίποτας (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.29)

τίπετις

ὁ αὐτὸς Γεωργάκης δὲ χρεωστεῖν πλέα τίπετις (1672, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 8, 170.18)

τίβοτε

ὄχι ἄλλον τίβοτε (1512, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 32, 56.15)

τίβοτες

καὶ ὅπου τοῦ λείπει τίβοτες κλωνάρι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 602 (ms A)
 τίβοτες δὲν ἐφῆκες *Rim. kor.* A 116
 ἐστάθηκεν πολὺν καιρόν, τίβοτες γιὰ νὰ μάθει *Apoll.* Rim. E 1017
 ἐρωτηθεῖς παρὰ τοῦ νοταρίου εἰ θέλω ποιήσῃν ἄλλο τίβοτες (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 43, 75.18)
 ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τίβοτες θὲ νὰ ποίση *Alex.* Rim. 2240
 κι ὅταν κερδέση τίβοτες DEFAR., *Log. did.* 99
 εἶδὲ καὶ ἠθέλεν παντρευτῆ ἢ καὶ ξεπέση τίβοτες (1555, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 114, 89.8)
 νὰ μὴδὲν χρεωστεῖ νὰ δίδῃ τίβοτες (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 62, 126.14)
 νὰ μὴν τοῦ δώσῃ πλέον τίβοτες (1593, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 18, 136.20)
 τίβοτες *Pist. voskos* IV.8.55
 μὲ φωτίες ἢ μὲ πέτρες ἢ μὲ ἄλλα τίβοτες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 81.11

τίβοτα

δὲν μοῦ ἔδωκεν τίβοτα (1513, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 37, 64.44–5)
 μὰ τοῦτο δὲν εἶν' τίβοτα CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.83
 νὰ μὴν τοὺς κάμῃ τίβοτα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 118.11

τίβοτας

- ἄ μοῦ ἔρθη τίβοτας (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.21)
 ἀπό τὰ χρειασίδια τίβοτας (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.30); κανεῖς οὐδὲν τοῦ
 λέγει τίβοτας (1501, *ibid.* 5, 26.11)
 ἄς ποῦμεν ἄλλον τίβοτας νὰ πάρω σὰν ἀέρα FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 257
 ὅστις γυρεύσει τίβοτας ἀπὸ μένα (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 151, 274.29)
 νὰ μὴν ἡμπορῇ τινὰς ... νὰ γυρέψῃ τίβοτας (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 212, 305.3)
 νὰ βροῦμε τίβοτας καλὸ ὀλονομπρὸς νὰ φάμε CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.116
 σὲ κιανένα τίβοτας (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 759, 660.8)
 καὶ δὲν εἶχε ... ἀπὸ τοῖ γονέους τοῦ τίβοτας πράμα (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: 179.12)
 ὄβερ καὶ τίβοτας ἐνάντιον δὲν τοῦ ἤθελεν τύχει (1633, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 640, 616.14)
 na min xasi tivotas / νὰ μὴν ξάζῃ τίβοτας (1646, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994b: 2, 168.15)
 γῆ κριθάρι γῆ πούρι ἄλλο τίβοτας (1665, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 11, 419.8)
 νὰ μὴν ἀξίξῃ τίβοτας (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 27, 41.24)
 μήτε ἄλλον τίβοτας (1733, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 28, 49.11)

τίβοτις

- ἦ νὰ τοὺς γυρέψωμεν πλέα εἰςὲ τίβοτις (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 19, 61.21)
 ἀνὲν καὶ τίβοτις ἐγὼ ἐλησμόνησα (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 5, 25.30)
 φοβοῦμαι νὰ μὴν πάθῃ τίβοτις (1584, Genoa/Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.10)
 τοῦτῃ τὴν ὥρα τίβοτις τορνέσα θὰ τοῦ φάγῃ CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.352
 μαντάτο τίβοτις καὶ θὲ νὰ 'ναὶ τοῦ σὲ βιάζει *Thysia Avr.* 246
 δὲν εὐρίσκομαι νὰ ἔχω τίβοτις (1643, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1960: 3, 3.11)
 δὲν πρετεντέρεϊ τίβοτις ἄλλο ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς (1673, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 18, 51.6); ἂ
 λάχῃ τίβοτις ζημία (1678, *ibid.* 24, 55.14)
 ἂν εἶναι κανένas ὅπου νὰ ἔχῃ τίβοτις ἐνάντιο δικαίωμα (1685, Tinos, PASCHALIS 1935: 136.12)

τίβετις

- νὰ μὴν ἡπαίρην ἀπὸ τὰ εἰρημένα πράγματα καὶ κόπον ὅπῳ τίβετις (1546, Crete, ILIAKIS/
 CHRONAKI 2002: 15, 51.13); ἔδωκά σου ... πράγματα κάποια τίβετις (1547, *ibid.* 24, 58.6)
 ὅποιος ἤθελεν ἀποθάνει μέσα στὰ λεγόμενα μοναστηράκι καὶ ἀφήσει τίβετις (1655, Sifnos,
 SYMEONIDIS 2001: 96.30)
 δὲν ἤδωκε ἄλλο τίβετις (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.44)
 μήπως καὶ εἶχε περισσεύσει ἀπὸ ἰντράδα κάποιο τίβετις (1674, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 94,
 227.36)
 νὰ μὴ ἔχῃ κανεῖς νὰ κάμῃ τίβετις ἀπὸ τοὺς κληρονόμους μου (1705, Kos, KAMMAS 1974: 3,
 136.9)

τίβοτσι

- γιατὶ καλλιὰ δὲν εἶν' ὁ γεῖς τίβοτσι ἀπὸ τὸν ἄλλο CHORTATSI, *Erof.* II.22; πούρι νὰ ψήνου
 τίβοτσι *id.*, *Katz.* I.46
 καὶ οὐχὶ ἄλλο τίβοτσι (1615, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 257, 243.15)
 ἀπὸ μέρος μου γῆ ἀπὸ ἄλλον τίβοτσι (1615, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 14, 52.27)
 νὰ δοῦνε ἂν τσῆ ρεστάρει ἐλίγο τίβοτσι (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 39.62)
 τίβοτσι πρᾶμα δροσερὸ ἐζήτα ἢ ψυχὴ μου *P&N Diath.* 5005
 δύο ἀλλαγωγὲς ρούχα γυναίκεια καὶ ἄλλα τίβοτσι (1633, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 652, 630.11)
 δὲν ἐβγάνοντας ὁ ἄνωθε πανοσιώτατος ἀφέντης Παντόγαλος τίβοτσι ἀπὸ αὐτὸ (1644, Crete,
 VINCENT 1967: 3, 64.18)
 νὰ μὴν τοὺς πειράζῃ τινὰς τίβοτσι (1646 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 58, 148.35)
 γιὰ νὰ 'βρῃ κι ἄλλο τίβοτσι το' ἀγάπης, νὰ τὸ πάρῃ KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1488

τίβετας

τίβετας η μπόρεση να κάμου δε τζι φέρνει CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.322
 και νά μήν λογιαίσει και ή βασίλισσα τίβετας MOREZINOS, *Klini* 140.33
 δέν ἔχομε νά κάμωμε πλέο ἀναμεσῶς μας τίβετας (1644, Crete, VINCENT 1968: 4A, 143.7)
 μέ τίβετας ἄλλην αἰτιά νά τὸ κατασκεπάσει TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.182
 ἄν τήνε θέλω τίβετας, νά ῥθῶ νά τήν ξεδράμω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.3

τίβετι

νά μήν ἐπάθαν τίβετι καὶ εἶναι πικραμένοι; MONTSEL., *Evgena* 864
 δέν λείπει τίβετι (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 107.16)

τίβετσι

νά ῥρω τίβετσι τρόπο νά σοῦ βοηθήσω CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.114
 ἐγὼ δέν ἔχω νά κάμω τίβετσι μετ' αὐτὸ (1607, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 10, 12.13)
 εἰς τοῦ Πιλᾶτο ἐδράμασι, τίβετσι ἐθυμηθῆκα *P&N Diath.* 4104
 νά κάμουσι τίβετσι ἀνάστεμα στήν ἐκκλησά (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 81.94); δέν
 ἔχω ἄλλο τίβετσι (ibid. 6, 82.122)
 οχι ἄλον τίβετσι / ὄχι ἄλλον τίβετσι (1631, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 4, 267.11)
 τίβετσι μὴ σᾶς πέση FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.95
 ἄν ἦτο τίβετσι ἡμερον εἰς τὴν καρδιά τοῦ ρήγα KORNAOS, *Erot.* IV.457

Meanings and Usage

Τίποτε is uninflected, and functions normally as a pronoun, with the meaning “anything” or “nothing”:

ὅτι ἐσοῦ δέν ἡξεύρεις τίποτες *Fior*, *Suppl.* 270.33
 καὶ ἄβουλα τοῦ ἀφεντὸς τίποτας δέν κινᾶται ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 360
 χωρὶς να τους εἰπῶ τίποτις NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 46.5
 καὶ νά φκιάνη καὶ τὸ νερό, ἐὰν χαλάση τίποτε, καὶ μηδεὶς τὸν διασείση τίποτε (1582, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 58, 179.6)

It may also function as a determiner, with the meaning “some”, “any” or “no”:

δὸς με τίποτε καλὴν φιλοτιμίαν *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 63
 ἕτερον τίποτες γομάριν *Assizes B* 361.31
 νά πουλήσου τίβοτας πράμα τως (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 26, 45.7)
 διχῶς τινὸς ἀπεντιμέντο καὶ βάρος τίβοτσι (1627, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 488, 461.23)
 ἄν ἡχρωστοῦσαν τίποτις ροῦχα (1664, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 3, 20.14–15)

Τίποτε may be preceded by the neuter definite article, in which case it functions as a noun with the meaning “possessions, property”:

νά κληρονομοῦν τὰ ἀδέρφια μου τὰ ἀσερνικά τὸ τίποτές μου (1558, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 212, 261.14)
 εἰς τὸ τίποτές μας (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 239, 193)
 τοῦ καθενὸς τὸ τίποτες ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2150
 ἀφῆνοντες ὅλα τως τὰ τίποτες VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 31.24–5
 μοιράσαμε μοναχοὶ μας τὰ τίποτα τοῦ πατρός μας PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §30.1
 νά δίνη ἀποῦ τοῦ μακαρίτη τὸ τίποτας ἀσλάνια 800 (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.21)

It may also function as an adverb of quantity, with the meaning “somewhat, a little, in some way”: τίποτα ἡμερότερον νά γένῃ ἡ καρδιά μου *Liv.* V 2396; κάποιον τίποτις λιγότερο (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 64.23).

5.8.3 οὐδετινᾶς

The pronoun οὐδετινᾶς, “no one, not a single one”, results from the univerbation of the negative adverb οὐδὲ and the indefinite pronoun τις. The univerbation is difficult to detect in written sources, as the pronoun may also be interpreted as a simple collocation of οὐδὲ + τινᾶς. A univerbated reading is obvious only in the case of aphaeresis of the initial unstressed vowel /u/, οὐδέτινας > ὀδέτινας. The pronoun is attested since the 15th c., but collocations of οὐδέ + τις with the meaning “not one” in earlier and more learned texts may also be considered as precursors, e.g. ἀλλ’ οὐδέτις τῶν διαδόχων ἡμῶν (ca. 1200, Athos?, BOMPAIRE 1964: 8, 70.21). In any case, the collocation οὐδέ + τις with the meaning “and not any” is already in existence in the AG period; the difference in MedG is the optional presence of verbal negation, e.g. οὐδέ τινας σὲ φθάνει *Dig. A 674* vs. δὲν τὸ θυμοῦντο οὐδέτινας *Diig. Sant. 59.28*.

Concerning its form and inflection, it appears mostly in the nominative case (οὐδέτινας), but rare instances of an accusative οὐδέτινα(ν) and even rarer instances of a genitive οὐδέτινος can be found. The accentuation of the pronoun (οὐδέτινας vs. οὐδετινᾶς) is also doubtful in view of the uncertainty of manuscript tradition, as well as metrical considerations and the varying orthographic and editorial practices of modern editors.

Οὐδέτινας does not seem to be geographically restricted. It functions exclusively as a pronoun.

οὐδὲ τινὰς γὰρ θέλει ἄνθρωπον, ὅπου τὸν ὀνομάζει ἄπιστον (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.16)

οὐδὲ τινὰς ἐγλύτωσεν PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 417

τὰ ἄστρον οὐδέτινας δύνεται ν’ ἀριθμῆση CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 979

οὐδέ τινας σὲ φθάνει *Dig. A 674*

οὐδετινᾶς ἡμπόρεσε νὰ τήνε μάθη ἀπ’ αὐτόν *Theseid* IV.29,7 (1529)

καὶ ὥσπερ σέν’ οὐδετινᾶς ὄνομα θέλει ἀφήσει KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* X.184

οὐδέτινας εἰς τὴν Σουριὰν ὥσάν αὐτὸν στήν χάριν *Imb. Rim.* 712

μουζοῦρι ὅδεν εὐρίσκεται ουδετινᾶς νὰ πάρει *Apoll. Rim.* N 248

περίτου κακορίζικες ἡμέρες | δὲν ἔχει ὀδέτινας *Cypr. Canz.* 110.2

οὐδετινᾶς δὲν τοῦ ἔδιδεν ζωὴν, οὐδὲ ἤτονε ὀδία νὰ ζήσει MOREZINOS, *Klini* 273.9–10

οὐδετινᾶς δύνεται νὰ τὴν κλείση CHIKAS, *Monod. Sev.* 37.134

οὐδὲ τινὰς ἐκατάλαβε τὸν λογον *Vios Aisop.* K 185.17

οὐδετινᾶς ἐξώθηκε ὀπίσω νὰ γιγαίρη *P&N Diath.* 296

ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ τινὰς ἐνύσταξεν νὰ κοιμηθῇ [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 335.5

κι οὐδὲ τινὰς τοὺς ἔθαψε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 236.8

καὶ οὐδέ τινος ἐφάνη καλὴν καρδιά, ὅπου τὴν ἤφεραν *Diig. Alex.* F 198.8 (Lolos)

διὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν αἰτίαν, οὐδέ τινα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἔστειλεν εἰς συνάντησιν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 16.1

κι οὐδετινᾶν ἐκεινοὺς ἐξάφηκε νὰ δράμη KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VI.278

5.8.4 οὐδετίποτε

The uninflected pronoun οὐδετίποτε derives from the univerbation of the negative adverb οὐδὲ and the indefinite pronoun τίποτε. It presents several variants, due to the considerable allomorphy of the pronoun τίποτε (see 5.8.2). The earliest attestation is found in a version

of *Spaneas*, transmitted in a 14th-c. ms. Its meaning is mostly negative, “nothing, not a single one”, but very occasionally it may also carry an indefinite meaning “anything, a little bit”. It functions both as a pronoun and as a determiner.

ἐποίησας οὐδετίποτε *Spaneas* P 263

εἰς οὐδετίποτε *Pol. Tr.* 4980 app. crit. (BX); ἄχρηστον καὶ οὐδετίποτε λαχαίνει νὰ σὲ κρᾶζουν
ibid. 8351

εἶσαι οὐδετίποτε, ἀπὸ ἐμὲν πληροφορήθησέ το *Liv.* α 272

ἐσὺ οὐδὲν ἔχεις οὐδετίποτε (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 287–8); οὐδὲν ἤκουσα οὐδετίποτε
ibid. 408–9

ὁμπρός εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν οὕλα εἶνε οὐδετίποτε *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 572.2

τὸν κόσμον οὐδετίποτε καὶ πλάνον ἄς τὸν κρᾶζει *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 78

καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Τάφον νὰ δίδουν οὐδὲ τίποτε (1706, Constantinople, LEGRAND 1903: 21,
58.9)

ἐλπίζουν διὰ οὐδετίποτες νὰ μᾶς ἀντισταθοῦσιν *Pol. Tr.* 2490; ὅταν διὰ οὐδετίποτες ὑπομένεις
το οὕτως ibid. 8353 (AX)

οἱ καβαλλάριδες ὁμπρός του εἶνε οὐδετίποτες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 572.3

ἔχει ἕναν μῶλο, ὁ ὅποιος ἔναι οὐδὲ τίποτες (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A,
158.3–4)

ἀγωνίζω πῶς εἶμαι οὐδετίποτες *Fior* 77.11

δεν τα ἐμέτρησεν ὡς οὐδετίποτες *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 91.29

δὲν τοὺς ὠφελοῦν οὐδετίποτες *Pist. kekoim.* 29.58

οπού ἔναι οὐδετίποτες, μικρὸν ζῶον στο μήκος *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 2.44

οὐδετίποτες δὲν τοῦ λείπει *Vios Aisop.* K 176.17

ὁ κλέπτης διὰ οὐδὲ τίποτες χαλνᾷ τὸ κεφάλιν του *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §1.29

δὲν λογιζομαι ὁμπρός σου οὐδετίποτες (1643, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 4, 98.14)

έχοντας δια οὐδετίποτες ὅλα τα γήινα *MARGOUNIOS, Vioi* 273.5

διὰ ὀλίγην ἢ οὐδετίποτις ἀτοπίαν *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 94.13

οὐδετίποτα ἔδωσα οὐδετίποτα ἀγόρασα *Vios Aisop.* D 212.20

ἀπὸ οὐδετίποτας ἄλλον δὲν ἐτρέφετονε *MOREZINOS, Klini* 53.37

καὶ λίγος κι οὐδὲ τίποτας πόνος νὰ σ’ ἀπομείνει *Thysia Avr.* 576 app. crit. (B)

μὲ ὀλίγην δύναμιν καὶ μὲ οὐδετίβοτας φουσάτο *MOREZINOS, Klini* 26.35

μὰ τοῦτο εἶν’ οὐδὲ τίβοτας *TROILOS, Rodol.* II.57

καὶ λίγο κι οὐδὲ τίβοτις πράμα νὰ σ’ ἀπομείνει *Thysia Avr.* 576

δὲν ξάζουσι οὐδὲ τίβοτσι *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1590; γιὰ λίγη κι οὐδὲ τίβοτσι χάρη πού μοῦ
γνωρίζεις ibid. V.278

5.8.5 εἶς

Following a common cross-linguistic evolutionary path, the numeral εἶς “one” gradually develops into an indefinite pronoun, and subsequently, into an indefinite article (on the phenomenon see GIVÓN 1981; HEINE/KUTEVA 2002: 220–1 and references therein). As an indefinite pronoun, εἶς appears only in positive contexts, as a positive polarity item with the meaning “someone”.

From a morphological point of view, the results of this development are threefold: firstly, the inflectional forms of the numeral εἶς and the indefinite pronoun/article are identical,

and are therefore examined together in the current section; secondly, it is difficult to distinguish, in many textual instances, the syntactic status of εἷς, which again dictates a unified morphological treatment; thirdly, the increased pronominal status of the numeral “one” leads to analogical influence from pronominal paradigms on its inflection.

Rare instances of the use of εἷς as an indefinite pronoun appear already in AG (MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 576–9; KUHLMANN 1997), but the indefinite pronominal function seems established in Koine Greek (JANNARIS 1897: §623; BLASS et al. 1961: §247; TURNER 1963: 195–6; CHEILA-MARKOPOULOU 2000), as well as in EMedG chronicles (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 207; PSALTES 1913: 191). Εἷς further develops in the direction of an indefinite article, although the chronology and the details of the evolution, as well as the criteria for distinguishing between the functions of indefinite pronoun and indefinite article in MedG, remain unclear. For a first approximation see CHEILA-MARKOPOULOU 2000, GUILPIN 2002a, 2002b.

The clearest instances of pronominal function are constructions where εἷς stands alone, not as a determiner to a noun, e.g. καὶ μιὰ ἀπ’ αὐτέσ ἐλάλησε CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1303, and especially where it is itself preceded by the definite article, e.g. ὁ εἷς ἀπ’ αὐτοὺς θυμῶνεται SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 115.1.

The most likely candidates for articular status are constructions where εἷς functions as an indefinite specific determiner, which appear since at least the 15th c., e.g. ἐζωγραφῆσαν ἕνα εἰκόνισμα τὸν ἅγιον Χριστόφορον μάρτυρα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 40.3. This development is mostly attested in vernacular texts; in texts of a higher register εἷς usually functions as a numeral only, although innovative functions do occur, e.g. τὰς δὲ ἱερὰς καὶ θείας εἰκόνας ... ἱστορημένας εἷς ἐν σανίδιον (1093, Euboea, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 6: 20.I, 84.1); βυθισθέντος ἐνὸς φρέατος τῶν κήπων προσεκλήθη παρὰ τῶν Ἀργυροπούλων ὡς τεχνίτης ἀνακτίσαι καὶ κατασκευᾶσαι αὐτό (1421, Thessaloniki?, LEFORT et al. 1995: 97, 160.45).

Another environment where εἷς may be interpreted as an indefinite article involves constructions where it has a generalizing function., e.g. νὰ τριγυρίξης νὰ ζητᾷς σὰν ἕνας διακονιάρης LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 722; ἔαν ἕνας Ἀντώνιος Ρεστάς ἤμπόρεσεν πολλοὺς χρόνους ... πόσον δύνονται οἱ προρρηθέντες μοναχοί; (1511, Chios, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 17, 262.16); ὅ,τι ἄλλο χρειάζεται ἐνοῦ ζευγᾶ (1698, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1991: 3, 86.37). In any case, it should be assumed that the indefinite article status has been established by the late 15th c., judging from the appearance of εἷς/ἕνας as a determiner preceding uncountable or abstract nouns, e.g. ἄνευ μιᾶς οὐδετιποτένης δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀσχημοσύνης *Assizes* B 415.1 (ms dated 1469); καὶ ἦτον μίας μεγάλης ψυχῆς VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 6.18; εἷς μιὰ μεγάλη συμφορὰ, εἷς μιὰ περίσσια θλίψι BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 1.

Turning now to morphological evolutions, the masc. is reformed according to the inflection of the nouns in -ας, following the pattern of the handful of AG 3rd-declension monosyllabic masculine nouns such as μῆν, πούς, γύψ, βῆξ etc. (see 2.2.2). The change begins from the acc. sg., with the addition of final /n/ from the 1st c. AD. The neuter follows the pattern of the masculine, acquiring a nom./acc. ending -α(ν), while the feminine μίᾱ retains in general the AG inflectional pattern, as a regular feminine in -α.

All morphological variants of εἷς will be discussed here regardless of syntactic function, with special note of allomorphs attested only in a specific function. Examples are mostly taken from contexts with an indefinite pronominal or adjectival function, supplemented by numerals when necessary for the full illustration of the paradigm. Furthermore, the earliest attestations of some allomorphs of εἷς are to be found in the paradigm of complex derived pronouns, such as καθείς (5.13.2.3), κανείς (5.8.9), οὐδείς (5.8.6), πᾶσαις (5.13.1.5); they are included here in order to provide a comprehensive diachronic and diatopic illustration of evolutions.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	εἷς ἢ ἕνας ἢ ἐνεῖς ἢ νεῖς ἢ γεῖς	μία ἢ μιᾶ	ἓν ἢ ἕνα(ν)
Gen.	ἐνός ἢ ἐνοῦ ἢ (ἐ)νοῦς ἢ ὀνοῦς	μίας ἢ μιᾶς ἢ μιανῆς	ἐνός ἢ ἐνοῦ ἢ (ἐ)νοῦς ἢ ὀνοῦς ἢ μιανοῦ
Acc.	ἕνα(ν)(ε)	μία(ν) ἢ μιᾶ(ν)	ἓ(ν) ἢ ἕνα(ν)

Masculine

Nominative

The inherited nom. sg. εἷς is in constant variation with the innovative form ἕνας throughout the LMedG and EMG period, and is preferred in more formal or legal texts. The innovative form ἕνας is first attested only through the composite form καθ' ἕνας, from the 12th c. onwards (e.g. καὶ οὕτως ὁ καθ' ἕνας ἐκείνοις ἀρκεῖται (1142 [13th. c. copy], Serres?, LEFORT et al. 1994: 55b, 69.20), although, judging from the inflectional pattern of the paroxytone nouns in -ας (2.2.2), the change must have already taken place sometime during the EMedG period.

The forms νεῖς and ἐνεῖς, attested only in texts from Cyprus, from the 15th c. onwards, and also appearing in complex pronouns formed on the basis of εἷς (cf. κανεῖς 5.8.9, πᾶσανεῖς 5.13.1.5), may be accounted for in two different ways: on the one hand, they may be viewed as the result of analogical levelling, i.e. of the spread of the stem form ἐν- of the genitive and accusative to the nominative (PERNOT 1907/46: II 243), with subsequent aphaeresis in the case of νεῖς. Alternatively, they may be considered as the result of two consecutive processes of false segmentation causing first consonant and then vowel prothesis: (a) εἷς > νεῖς (deriving from frequent collocation with words ending in /n/; see I, 3.5.1 and cf. also BEAUDOIN 1884: 56–7; the orthography ν-εῖς is adopted by Dawkins in his edition of Machairas's *Chronicle*), and (b) νεῖς > ἐνεῖς (deriving from frequent collocation with words ending in -ε, e.g. ἥρθε-ν-εῖς > ἥρθ' ἐνεῖς).

Another phonetic phenomenon affecting the masc. nom. is the anaptyxis of a palatal glide [j] between consecutive vowels at word boundaries (see I, 3.5.2.1), which leads to the form γεῖς. This form may subsequently be detached from its original phonetic environment and appear also after a consonant or clause-initially. Attestations come from literary texts of Cretan and Cypriot provenance.

General	Restricted	Rare
εἷς ἢ ἕνας	γεῖς	(ἐ)νεῖς

- ὁ εἷς ἦτον νεώτερος, ἀγένειον παλληκάρην *Dig. E* 1200
 ὁ εἷς νὰ ἔναι χύτης λεπτός (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 7, 311.11)
 καὶ ἔπιασέν τον εἷς μου φέρρης (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 65.3)
 ἂν λάχει ὅτι εἷς ἀνθρώπος δανεῖζει τὸ ἐδικόν του ἐνοῦ ἀνθρώπου *Assizes A* 53.10
 ἦλθεν εἷς πραγματευτής, Συριάνος τὸ γένος *Ptochol. P* 141
 ἦλθεν εἷς ψύλλος ἄπρονος κι ἐκαρδιοδάκασέ με FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 751
 ἦτον εἷς κόρακας ὁ ποίος ἐκράτεν ἕναν τυρὶν στὸ στόμαν του *Fior* 108.39
 ἦστον εἷς ἱατρός ἐνοῦ αὐθεντός *Anthos Ch. A* f.64r.11
 εἷς βοσκὸς ἐβαλε τὰ πρόβατα καὶ ἐβόσκασιν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 104.1
 ὁ εἷς ἀπ' αὐτοὺς θυμῶνεται SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 115.1
 εἷς γούμενος ἦτον ἐκεῖ καὶ κατετάνος μπαίνει BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 250.13
 ἐπρόβαλεν ἀπὸ μακρὰ εἷς νιὸς καμαρωμένος KORNAROS, *Erot. II.* 284
- στρατιώτης ἦτον ὁ Κηδάρ, ἕνας ἐκ τὴν Τρωάδαν *Pol. Tr.* 958; ἕνας μεγάλος ἀετός *ibid.* 11802
 διαβόντα γὰρ ἕνας καιρός, ἐγύρισεν ὁ ἄλλος *Chron. Mor. H* 1048
 ἀν ἕνας ἐκ τὴν φυλακὴν ἐφυγεν *Theseid VI.* 67,3 (Olsen)
 ἕνας εἶχε μητριὰ κ' ἐκράτειε τὴν *Nov. I* 156.1
 ὥσπερ ἕνας ὁποῦ ἀλείφει *Pist. kekoim.* 393
 ἕνας ψαριάρης ἔρριξε τὴν νύκτα παραγάδι VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 159
 ἔδραμεν ἕνας βαστόντα σπαθὶ μικρόν *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1572) 412
 ἦτον ἕνας ὀνόματι Μιχαήλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.3–4)
 ἀπέθανεν ἕνας καὶ ἀφηνεν κληρονόμον ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 125.A.24
 ἕνας ἠσθένησεν ποτὲ κι ἠθέλησε ν' ἀφήσει | παραγγελίαν ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 21.1
 ἕνας δὲ ἀπὸ τοὺς πρῶτους τοῦ βασιλέως, γενεράλες εἰς τὴν ἁσίαν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.2
 ἕνας γιὰ τὸ πείσμα τῆς γυναικας τοῦ ἔκοψε τὰ ὀρχίδια τοῦ *Paroim.* (Warner) 99.9
 ἕνας λέοντας στὴν κόρ' ἀπάνω πάγει PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 2423
 ὡς γίνεται πολυξευρος ἕνας ποῦ θέλει πράξη BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 121
 ἕνας καπετάνιος Μηλιώτης (1691, Cythera, KALLIGEROS 2001: 9, 41.2)
 ἕνας γιατρός Ὁβραῖος εἶνι ἐδῶ (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 4, 59.26)
- ἔμοσεν ὁ γ-εῖς τοῦ ἄλλου MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 546.19
 εἶπεν γεῖς φρένιμος *Fior, Suppl.* 272.1; τίτοιος ἔνι γεῖς ἀνθρώπος χωρὶς φίλους *ibid.*
 ὁ γεῖς ἐβάστα τὸ χαρτί κι ἄλλος τὸ καλαμάρι *P&N Diath.* 757
 βρίσκεται γεῖς παλιὸς βοσκὸς τσι χρόνους φορτωμένους CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.265
 γεῖς πόνος μ' ἔσφαξε δριμύς *Thysia Avr.* 113
 γεῖς φρόνιμος βοσκὸς *Vosk.* 81
 γεῖς κοπελιάρης ἀγαπᾷ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.346
 γεῖς μόρος τὸν φτάνει BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 353.23
 γεῖς τ' ἄλλοῦ τως λέγει *Fallidos* 136
 μέσα σὲ κύματα σκληρὰ ... γεῖς ναύτης ὄντα λάχνη *Stathis I.* 2
- ἦρτεν εἰς τὴν Ἀμόχουστον ἐνεῖς Κατελάνος MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 84.9
 οἱ ἄρχοντες ν-εῖς ὀπίσω τοῦ ἄλλου MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 26.27; καὶ ν-εῖς ἀπότομος παιδίος *ibid.* 464.7–8

αποσκεπάστην ο νεις του άλλου VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 40.16–17

ο νεις επαρπονάτον διατί εσήκωσεν τα χωριά του VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 143.10

Genitive

The most frequent genitive variant is the inherited form *ένός*, which should not be considered as an archaism or learned form. It appears in variation with the innovative formations *ένοϋ*, by analogy with the gen. sg. -οϋ of oxytone masculines in -ος, and *ένοϋς*, which is a blend of the 2nd-declension -οϋ with the 3rd-declension -ος (MEYER 1889: 151; HATZIDAKIS 1892: 55; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 16–17 and 93). The first variant does not seem to be geographically restricted, while the second is attested mostly in texts from Crete, the Cyclades, Chios and Ikaria. The encroachment of the 2nd-declension ending -οϋ on the indefinite pronoun *ένας* may also be due to the analogy (and frequent collocation) with the demonstrative and contrastive pronoun forms *έκεινοϋ*, *αϋτεινοϋ*, *άλλουνοϋ*. The form *ένοϋ* appears already in the 12th c. for neuter gender. It may also occur with initial vowel deletion (*’νοϋ*, *’νοϋς/’νούς*), which leads to the appearance, very rarely, of a non-etymological initial vowel *ὀ-* (*ὀνούς*). The hapax form *ένους* (*Chron. Mor.* P 1022), if not a scribal error, should be attributed to stress retraction on the analogy of the nom. *ένας*.

The rare genitive *μιανοϋ* has not been located so far, but its existence in EMG can be postulated from the corresponding neuter form, as well as from the composite form *καμιανοϋ* (see 5.8.9).

General	Restricted	Rare
<i>ένός</i> † (<i>έ</i>) <i>νοϋ</i>	(<i>έ</i>) <i>νοϋς</i> /(<i>έ</i>) <i>νούς</i>	<i>ὀνούς</i> † (<i>μιανοϋ</i>)

έκροτίσθητε δια λόγον *ένός* πρεσβύτου *Pol. Tr.* 1629 app. crit. (A); *ένός* άρπάσσει τὸ σπαθίν

καί κατ’ *έκείνους* τρέχει *Pol. Tr.* 13957

κ’ *ένός* τὰ παραδώσουσιν *Def. Par.* 222

έδωκες *ένός* στρατιώτη (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 46, 44.16)

μὰ κάποιος *άν* *ένός* δέν *έχει* *άμάνταν* *Cypr. Canz.* 138.13

έκάλεσέν τον *εις* *δεῖπνο* *εις* *σπίτιν* *ένός* *πλουσίου* *Vios Aisop.* I 281.20–1

ένεφανίστηκεν *ένός* *άρχοντος* *νά* *πάγει* MOREZINOS, *Klini* 220.18

δια *χειρός* *ένός* *διάκο* (1615, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 247, 234.27)

ενός *αφεντός* *ανομοτάτου* *Vios Filaret.* 239.33

έχρεωστοϋσαν *ένός* *κάποιου* *δανειστοϋ* KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 7.41

ένός *vel* *ένοϋ* PORTIUS, *Grammar* 22.41

θυμήσου *ένός* *όπου* *γιά* *σέ* *έβάλθη* *ν’* *άποθάνη* KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1380

ένοϋ *έτέρου* *άνθρώπου* *Assizes* B 304.23

ένας *δοϋλος* *λεγόμενος* *Μπαξής* *’νοϋ* *σακκουμάνου* *τόν* *έκράζαν* *Κοσμᾶ* *Μαχαιρά* MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 440.18

έμπλασεν *’νοϋ* *μοναχοϋ* MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 36.35

εμπλάσαν *ενοϋ* *παιδίου* VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.5

ώς *ένοϋ* *τσαγκάρη* *Velis.* ρ 730 app. crit. (E)

ήστον *εις* *ιατρός* *ενοϋ* *αυθεντός* *Anthos Ch.* A f.64r.11

τοϋ *ένοϋ* *καί* *τοϋ* *άλλουνοϋ* (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 36, 77.13)

εις *χείρας* *ένοϋ* *παπαῖ* *ή* *ψάλτη* (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 2, 295.44)

ύπό *χειρός* *’νοϋ* *Μάρκου* (1574, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61.10)

- σ' ενού οπού τα έφτιανε ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 90.6
 ενού λέντος βρυχισμόν *Diig. Alex.* K 353.21
 ένού άρχου βενέτικου (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 37.II, 20.9–10)
 ένός vel ένού PORTIUS, *Grammar* 22.41
 είχεν ένού έμیره γυναίκα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.8
 δέν ξεύρει τί είναι ή δούλεψη ένού πτωχού MONTSEL., *Evgena* 2
 νά είναι και ένού και άλλου συμβάσματα (1665, Vraniana/Central Greece, STEFANIS/
 PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 172.18)
 ένού πριντζίπου τόσον γλυκότατου (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.16)
 ένού ζευγά (1698, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1991: 3, 86.37)
 και δέ θωρεί πώς ήτανε 'νου ρήγα θεγατέρα KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.462 ms X
 ένού και άλλου του ποπολάρου SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 42.18
- ένους καιρού και ένους καιρού όσα έθανατώσα *P&N Diath.* 4186
 μιλιά και γέλιο αγγελικό και μια καρδιά 'νους δράκο CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.83; 'νους γέρου
 κακοπόδαρου id., *Katz.* I.230
 ένους τ' άλλου μας *Vosk.* 135
 ένους γέρου *Pist. voskos* I 1.153
 'νους Σατανα 'νους βούβαλου και 'νους κακού σου χρόνου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.60
 γενέα 'νους άνδρειωμένου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 35.25
 ζηλειάν 'χουσι ένους χωριάτη TROILOS, *Rodol.* II.55
 έδωσε ένους Άξιώτη ριάλια (1678, Andros, POLEMIS 1977: 1, 30.30)
 όταν προτρέχουν βάσανα 'νους όπου τυραννάται, BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 534.21
 ένους τυράννου τό μαθημένον χέρι *Irodis* I.13
 ένους βασιλιού KORNAPOS, *Erot.* III.1160
- όνους άργάτη (1632, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 621, 595.6)
 όνους παπα (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 377, 589.22)

Accusative

The earliest recorded change in the development of εις is the addition of final /n/ to the masc. acc. sg., which is quite common already from the 1st c. AD onwards, following general trends (see I, 3.7.2.1). Addition of final /e/ is attested since the 16th c. and appears mostly in texts from the Heptanese, Crete and Chios. The masc. acc. forms εν and ειν are rare hypercorrections, although the composite κανειν is quite frequent (see 5.8.9).

General	Restricted	Rare
ενα(ν)	ένανε	έν † ειν

- εις ένα των αύτου λόγων λέγει ούτως ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 98.2–3
 εις ένα τόπον δύσβατον *Log. parig.* L 49
 ένα μου ένπιστεμένο άνθρωπον (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.14)
 κ' εις ένα τόπον ύψηλόν, εις ένα βουνοτόπιν *Velth.* 769
 έπήγεν και έγκρέμισε εις ένα σκυλόκουμο (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 87, 170.12)
 εις ένα μεγάλον και θαυμαστόν κάμπον ΡΑΡΑ-ΛΑΥΡ., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 108.26
 ένα άράπη *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 62
 ένα σαν έκείνο πεισματάρη, έναν περηφανιάρη *Pist. voskos* I 3.47
 ώσαν ένα σταυρόν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 86.10
 ένα καιρόν έπίστευα SOUMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* D3v.1

ἐπροσέταξέν με τοῦ δοῦναι ἕναν ἄνθρωπον (1127–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 12, 93.3)
 διὰ ἕναν βελλάνον (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 534.29)
 ἐκεῖ σιμὰ στὸν πρίγκιπα ἀπέσω εἰς ἕναν βάτον *Chron. Mor.* H 5075
 εἰς πύργον ἕναν παλαιόν, ἔνδοθεν μίας τσάμπρας *Pol. Tr.* 12391
 ἕναν σας καλὸν χρήσιμον καβαλάρην (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.14)
 καὶ τό 'μπεὶ μέσα καὶ σταθῇ, εἶδα ἕναν μαυροφόρο ΡΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 58
 καὶ ἕναν καιρὸν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Γάζαν ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 278.19
 ἐπαντρεύτη καὶ ἐπῆρε ἕναν παπᾶ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.35

νᾶχω 'νανε κοντά μου ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* V.51
 ἕνανε ἄλλονε (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 3, 362.4)
 εἰσὲ πάσα ἕνανε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 11, 36.24)
 ἕναν vel ἕνανε PORTIUS, *Grammar* 22.42
 ἕνανε ποῦ 'χε κλέπτει ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΙΣ, *Klathmos* I.735
 ἐν λόγον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 228 app. crit. (B)

καὶ πάλιν ἄλλος εἷς πρὸς εἷν διὰ τὴν εὐταξίαν *Diig. tetr.* 117 app. crit. (προσὶν C)

Feminine

Nominative

It is difficult to gauge the position of the accent in manuscript sources, but it seems that both the inherited paroxytone μία and the innovative μιά with synizesis are attested. The forms with synizesis are ascertained either through the metre (in verse texts) or through the spelling μνιά (see also I, 3.8.2.3).

General

μία ἰ μιά ἰ μνιά

καὶ ἀποκρίθ(η) μία ἀπ' ἐκεῖνες (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 46, 38.2)
 εὐρίσκεται μία γούρνα μαρμαρένη ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 254.34–5
 καὶ μιά ἀπ' αὐτὲς ἐλάλησε ΧΟΥΜΝΟΣ, *Kosmog.* 1303
 ἐχωρίσθη μιά ἐξ αὐτῶν *Velth.* 554
 ἔκαμε μία τροῦπα μεγάλην (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.16)
 μία χήρα ἄπορος *Synax. gadar.* 161
 μνιά νύκτα / μιά νύκτα *Rim. kor.* A 2 app. crit.
 σᾶς θέλει φέρει μιά γενιά κακή καὶ ξένη ἄλλη! FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 76
 εἶναι μιά δοκιμαχιά *Fior* 126.35
 ἦρθε μία γραφή εἰς τὰς χεῖρας μας (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 49.8)
 ἔν μιά φρόνιμη βουλή γραμμένη *Cypr. Canz.* 45.6
 μία ἄρρωστία πολλὰ βαρά ΜΟΡΕΖΙΝΟΣ, *Klini* 15.34
 ἡ μία πάρτη καὶ ἡ ἄλλη (1619, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 1, 187.6)
 ἔτσι ἡ μία ὥσάν καὶ ἡ ἄλλη (1622, Crete, DETORAKIS 1992: 2, 289.13)
 ἡ μνιά ΚΡΙΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Grammar* 110.3
 μία σουλτάνα ἠθέλησε νὰ πᾶ νὰ προσκυνήσει ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 17
 μιά βολὰ (1688, Naxos, ΣΙΦΟΝΙΟΥ-ΚΑΡΑΠΑ et al. 1982/83: 824, 1108.7)

Genitive

Again, the position of the accent is doubtful in manuscript sources; the oxytone genitive μιᾶς is the inherited form, but a new paroxytone genitive μίας develops on the analogy of

the nominative. An innovative genitive μιανῆς appears from the 16th c., on the analogy of ἄλλης – ἄλληνῆς, which in turn was influenced by the demonstrative inflectional pattern αὐτεινῆς, ἐκτεινῆς etc. It is attested mainly in texts from the Heptanese.

General	Restricted
μίας ἢ μιᾶς	μιανῆς

ἄνευ μιᾶς οὐδετιποτένης δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀσχημοσύνης *Assizes* B 415.1
περὶ μίας κούπας (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 22, 57.6)
εἰς πύργον ἕναν παλαιόν, ἔνδοθεν μίας τσάμπρας *Pol. Tr.* 12391 (μιᾶς ACV : μίας BX)
διὰ μίας γυναικὸς τὴν ὠραιότητα, τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς Ἑλένη *Diig. Alex.* V 57.4
ἀμουρεύτηκεν μιᾶς καλογριάς *Fior* 147.9
τὴν ἄρκλαν ἀποῦ τ'ονε ποτὲ μιᾶς Σβηρούδαινας (1530, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 139, 250.20)
θέλοντας μιᾶς πού φεύγει ν' ἀκλουθήσει *Cypr. Canz.* 13.2
ἐπαρομοίασα το μιᾶς γλυκόμνοστης τροφῆς *Pist. kekoim.* 35
ἠῦρεν καὶ ἐκατήνησεν εἰς μίας γραίας σπίτι *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 62
ἡ μνιά, τῆς μνιάς KRITROPOULOS, *Grammar* 110.3
ἐπίστευσα μιᾶς λωλῆς γυναικας λόγια PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §15.41
οὗτος ἦτον υἱὸς μιας ευγενούς πατρικίας LANDOS, *Neos Parad.* 345.6
τίς νὰ γιατρέψη τὴν πληγὴ μιᾶς ὁποῦ ξεψυχήσῃ; KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.312
ἐμπῆκε εἰσὲ μιᾶς φτωχῆς σπίτι SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 42.8
διὰ μερτικὸν μιανῆς ἀγελάδος (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 329, 191.6)
μιανῆς γειτόνισσας *Bertoldos* 33.2; ἄλλης μιανῆς *ibid.* 70.16
τῆς κάθε μιανῆς (1673, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 73, 43.4)
τῆς κάθε μιανῆς (reading from facsimile) (1693, Venice, MERTZIOS 1935: 1, 22.23) (author from Epirus)
στὴν γνῶμη μιανῆς γυναικὸς KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* Prol. 9

Accusative

As in the nom. sg., both paroxytone (inherited) and oxytone (innovative) variants are attested, and it is often difficult to make a distinction on the basis of the manuscript sources. Apart from this, the only variation in the acc. is the variable deletion of final /n/, which dates back to the Koine.

General
μιά(ν) ἢ μιά(ν)

ἡ μιὰ δουλεία, οἷα καὶ ἂν ἔνι (1350–1?, Athos?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 130, 45.25)
καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν κυριακὴν, εἶχον χαρὲς μεγάλες *Chron. Mor.* H 6023
εἰς κάμπτον μέγαν, ὁμαλόν, εἰς μίαν πεδιάδα *Diig. tetr.* 107
καὶ μίαν μικρὴν ἀλεποῦν εἶδες καὶ ἐφοβήθης *Achil.* L 1166
εἰς τέντα μιὰ παρέξωθεν εἰς ἄκραν τοῦ φουσσάτου *Byz. Il.* 853
ἔχοντα πάντα εἰς λογισμὸν μίαν ἀπ' ἄλλην χώρα *FALIEROS, Erot. En.* 11
καὶ ἔφερον μιτὰ του μίαν πέτραν πρετζιούσαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 84.10
μίαν ἀπὸ τούτες τες ἡμέρες *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavrás) 85.13

διὰ μίαν μαγαρισμένη γυναῖκαν *Diig. Alex.* E 205.10 (Lolos)
ο Απολλώνιος μια νύκταν ονειρεύτη *Apoll. Rim.* A 1625
παρεκαλῶ σε, Χάρο, κάμε μου μία χάρη *Nov. II* 162.29
ἐκρυφθήκανε εἰς μιὰ μεριά τοῦ δάσου *Alex. Rim.* 954
πιάνει μίαν κεφάλη γαδάρου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.36
μία γραφή VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 145
εἶδα καὶ μία γυναῖκα πόρνην PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 109.14
ἐλάβωσεν μίαν γυναῖκα (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 11, 10.5)
σ' ἔνα περβόλι εὐρίσκομου, ὅς μιὰ τάβλα μαρμαρένια CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.545–6
μία μακριὰ καὶ καλορίζικη ζωὴ (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.51)
πηγαίνει μίαν τῶν νυκτῶν MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 161
νὰ πὰ γυρεύγεις μίαν πορδού, μιὰ γρά ξεκωλωμένη FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.323
ἐπρόσταξα νὰ κάμουν μίαν ὑψηλὴν εἰκόνα χρυσήν KONDAR., *Paidēs* 210
ἐρεστάραν καὶ ἔτζι μοῦ ἔδωκαν μία γραφή (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 507.27–8)
διὰ νὰ κουμουδάρω μία μου ὑπόθεση (1696, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 4, 256.14)

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

The neut. acc. is reformed on the pattern of the masc. through the addition of final /a/ (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 13). The first attestations of the neut. acc. sg. ἔνα come from the first centuries AD (GIGNAC 1981: 183), and are also to be found in EMedG texts, e.g. τὸ ἔνα Malalas, *Chronogr.* 346.11, καθ' ἔνα ἑκαστον βῆμα *De ceremoniis* 121.1 (DIETERICH 1898: 185; PSALTES 1913: 191). Addition of final /n/ to the innovative neut. acc. sg. ἔνα is recorded already in the 4th c. AD (GIGNAC 1981: 184–5). The inherited AG form ἔν is also retained; it tends to be preferred in more formal registers and, when appearing in vernacular texts, it is more often used as a numeral (see 6.1.1). Deletion of final /n/ in this form, most likely a casual scribal error, is extremely rare and unrelated to spoken language, e.g. ἀπὸ ἑ μέρος (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 88, 92.5).

General	Restricted
ἔνα(ν)	ἐν

ἤφεραν τὰ εἰκονίσματα ... εἰς ἐν ἁλώνι *Pol. Tr.* 11984 (ἐν ἁλώνι A : ἔναν ἁλώνιν CV)
εἰς ἐν κοφίνιν ἔσωθεν τὸν Φλώριον ὀσεβάζει *Flor.* L 1566
καὶ πᾶσα ἐν ἀλάγιον καὶ πᾶσα ἔνα σκηπτρον *Achil.* N 402
πρόβλημα ἐν *Vios Aisop.* E 290.42
παρευθὺς ἐτήρησεν εἰς ἐν μέρος *Velth.* 548
ἐν μικρὸν πορδόπουλον *Spanos* D 1789
βάλ' τα εἰς ἐν κακάβι FORTIOS, *Strat. pragm.* 356
ἔχω κι ἐγὼ ἐν ἐρώτημα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 713
ἐνα τὸ ἄλλο οὐ<κ ἐ>συμφωνοῦσαν NIKON, *Prol.* 46.3
ἐποίησεν ἔνα κάστρον *Chron. Mor.* H 3006
θέλω νὰ βρῶ ἔνα πουλὶν, πονετικὸν πουλάκιον *Peri xen.* 359
ἐφάνιστή μου νὰ περνῶ σ' ἔνα λεφτὸ λαγκάδι PIKAT., *Rima thrin.* 5
ἡ γούλα δὲ καὶ ἡ πορνεὶὰ τὸ ἔνα σύρνει τὸ ἄλλο FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 109
εσέβηκεν εἰς ἔνα καράβι DIONYS., *Istor.* 255.17

σ' ἓνα περβόλι εύρίσκομου CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.545
εἰς ἓνα νησί σάν τοῦτο (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.26)
ἔκαμαν ἓνα εἰδῶλον χρυσόν, ὅμοιον τοῦ Αἰσώπου *Vios Aisop.* D 240.39
ἐβάσταν καὶ ἓνα παιδάκιν μικρόν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §15.30
μὴν μὲ θωρήτην, ἄρχοντες, ἓνα μικρὸ παιδάκι KONDAK., *Paidēs* 1
ἓνα καστέλι σάν αὐτὸ νὰ στέκει ἐνάντιά του DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 393

ἐκεῖ ἓναν κάστρον ἡύρασιν, τὸ λέγουσιν τὰ Σέρβια *Chron. Mor.* H 3676
ἓναν σκυλὶν, Σαρακηνός, σκυλὶν μαγαρισμένον *Arm.* 92 app. crit. (C)
ἓναν καλὸν καράβι *Pol. Tr.* 107 app. crit. (V)
καὶ κάτω ἐκατέβηκαν εἰς ἓναν κατατόπι *Chron. Toc.* 1722
ὥσαν ἓναν πουλὶν εἰς τὸν κάμπον (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 11, 68.3)
ὀφείλου νὰ ποίσουν ἓναν καμπαναρίον (1498, Corfu, KARYDIS 1999b: 2, 306.12)
ἔκαμεν ἓναν παιδὶν (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 73, f.IIr.7)
εἶδεν ἓναν ὄρωμαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 6.24
ἀρχεύγει ἓναν ἔργον *Fior* 73.5
μπήξον ἓναν καρφὶν (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 67.15)
ἔκαμεν ἓναν νερόν (1713, Chios, LAMBROS 1910: 351, 209.1)

Genitive

For the gen. sg. ἑνοῦ, attested since the 12th c., see masc. above. The form μιανοῦ is formed on the basis of the feminine and is attested since the late 17th c., in documents from the Heptanese. It occurs only in the sense of the numeral “one”.

General	Restricted	Rare
ἑνός (ἐ)νοῦ	(ἐ)νοῦς/(ἐ)νοῦς	ὀνοῦς μιανοῦ

χελιδόνια τρία πιάσε ... καὶ δέσε καὶ εἰς τὸ ποδάριν τοῦ πάσα ἑνός STAFIDAS, *Iatrosof.* 11.295
εβόσκασιν υποκάτωθεν ἑνός δένδρου ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 104.2
ἑνός караβίου χοντροῦ (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1946: 493.12)
εἰς ἑνός δένδρου σκιὰν *Vios Aisop.* K 149.18
ἑνός του ἀρσενικοῦ παιδίου MOREZINOS, *Klini* 50.2

ἐγὼ ἦμον ἐνδεδυμένην ἀπὸ ἑνοῦ ἀμπελίου (1175, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 184, 241.16)
ἑνοῦ ἐσπιτίου *Assizes* B 343.17
ὄνομα τοῦ ἑνοῦ Πισον *Pent. Gen.* 1.11 (sc. ποταμοῦ)
ἑνοῦ γλυκομυρωδάτου ποτοῦ *Pist. kekoim.* 35–6
G. ἑνοῦ PORTIUS, *Grammar* 22.41
ἑνοῦ πτωχοῦ παιδίου (1680, Skýros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 41, 68.4)

ἐπάντησε ἑνοῦ караβίου σαρακήνικου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 272.26
εμπλάσαν ἑνοῦ κατέργου φλourounτινίκου VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 12.14–15

νοῦς καστελλιοῦ ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 775
στρατιώτη ἑνοῦ κοράσου CHORTATSI, *Erof. Interm.* II.112
ἓνα δερμάτι | ἑνοῦς λιονταριοῦ KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.349–50
πληρωμῆς ὀνοῦς κονισμάτου (1623, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 47, 126.7)

πινακίου μιανοῦ (1691, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 142, 82.1); μιανοῦ κανταρελιοῦ (1713, *ibid.* 322, 211.2)

5.8.6 οὐδείς

The negative indefinite pronoun οὐδείς is a direct inheritance from AG. It is quite common in LMedG and EMG texts, and has no connotations of archaism, although some inflectional forms which remain close to AG inflectional patterns are preferred in texts of a more formal register. Οὐδείς competes with κανείς and τις/τινάς in vernacular texts, but is less common than either of these. In some instances it is difficult to distinguish (as in the case of οὐδεκανείς) the complex pronoun οὐδείς, οὐδένας, οὐδεγείς from the collocation of negative conjunction οὐδέ + indefinite pronoun εἷς, ἕνας, γ-εἷς, and editorial practice in this respect may vary.

Οὐδείς develops a series of innovative inflectional forms, following the pattern of εἷς/ἕνας (for which see 5.8.5), but does not exhibit the full range of variants. The innovative forms of the pronoun οὐδείς first appear, as in the case of εἷς/ἕνας, in the 15th c. The forms with anaptyxis of intervocalic /γ/ are restricted to Crete and appear from the 16th c. onwards.

The neuter paradigm of the pronoun is very rarely attested in vernacular texts. The only form that appears with any regularity is the innovative variant οὐδένα(ν). The genitive οὐδενός/οὐδενοῦ has not been located so far, and the inherited form of the nom./acc. sg. οὐδέν lacks attestations because it evolves, during the MedG period, into a negative particle. Οὐδέν functioned already in AG as a reinforcer of the main sentential negator οὐ, and came finally, in the MedG period, to replace it, following a frequent cross-linguistic path of evolution; for detailed textual, chronological and syntactic analysis see LANDSMAN 1988/89, KIPARSKY/CONDORAVDI 2006, CHATZOPOULOU 2012, WILLMOTT 2013. As a result, although the form οὐδέν is abundant in vernacular texts, its meaning is that of a simple sentential negator, e.g. τις εἶσαι οὐδέν γνωρίζω GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 538; οὐδέν ἐγλύτωσαν τινές, μόνη ἡ φτωχολογία *Chron. Mor.* H 4087. It is only in higher-register or more formal texts/contexts that the original pronominal meaning of the form οὐδέν is to be found.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	οὐδείς ἰ οὐδένας ἰ οὐδεγείς	οὐδεμία ἰ οὐδεμιά	οὐδέν ἰ οὐδένα(ν)
Gen.	οὐδενός ἰ οὐδενοῦ ἰ οὐδενενοῦ	οὐδεμίας ἰ οὐδεμιᾶς	(οὐδενός)
Acc.	οὐδένα(ν)	οὐδεμία(ν) ἰ οὐδεμιά(ν)	οὐδέν ἰ οὐδένα(ν)

Masculine*Nominative*

General	Restricted
οὐδείς ἰ οὐδένας	οὐδεγείς

ἡ δαγάλ' ἄς ἀκολουθῇ, καὶ οὐδείς οὐ μὴ σὲ φθάσῃ *Dig.* G II.96

οὐδείς ἄνθρωπος ἔμεινεν μέσα τοῦ κάστρου *Liv.* E 2340

οὐδείς ἄνθρωπος τῆς αὐθεντίας μου νὰ μὴδέν τολμήσῃ νὰ ποίση ζημίαν (1478–9, Constantinople, GILLILAND WRIGHT/MACKAY 2007: 269.25)

οὐδεις ἄνθρωπος πέθανε χωρίς πικρίαν τοῦ κόσμου *Peri xen.* 191
καὶ οὐδεις ἀπὸ τοὺς δώδεκα ἴσχυσε νὰ τὸν ρίψη *Achil.* N 1557
πλὴν οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν οὐδεις τὸν πρῶτον τῆς ἀρμάδας *Velis.* N² 100
οὐδεις ἄλλος τὸ ἔποιεν εἰ μὴ οἱ ἁμαρτίες μας *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 814
οὐδεις ἐκ τὰς παραταγὰς *Imb. Rim.* 27
οὐδεις τοὺς δὲν ἐδύνετον ποσῶς νὰ ὑπομένη *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1691
οὐδεις γὰρ ἀναμάρτητος εἰς τὸν τροχὸν ἐτοῦτον *Tzabl.* 105
ἐχαίρονταν, εὐφραίνονταν ὥς οὐδεις ἄλλος ᾗς κόσμον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1306
πλέον οὐδεις δὲν τολμᾷ νὰ ἐπιχειριστεῖ (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 403, f.3r.55)
οὐδεις εὐρέθη νὰ τοὺς κηδεύση (post 1666, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 23, 313.11)
οὐδεις ἄλλος κανεὶς νὰ μὴν ἔχη νὰ κάμη (1685, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 245, 154.16)
οὐδεις ἦτον ἀξιότερος *ΜΑΚΟΛΑΣ, Ioust.* 424.13

οὐδένας δὲν ἀπόμεινεν εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ καὶ μόνη *Diig. tetr.* 932
οὐδένας εἰς τὴν χώραν τοῦ στρέφεται *Pol. Tr.* 8915
οὐδένας ἔρχεται ἐδῶ, οὐδένας ἀναβαίνει *Dig.* A 3342
καὶ οὐδένας καβαλλάρης δὲν ἐθέλησεν νὰ μπῇ *ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, Chron.* V 394.18
νὰ μὴν γυρίσει οὐδένας ἀπὸ σᾶς *ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, P&N Diath.* 245.31
οὐδένας ἀπ' ὅσους ἦλθαν *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 139.7
οὐδένας στὸν κόσμον ἐμπορεῖ νὰ τ' ἀγνωρίζῃ *Cyp: Canz.* 49.7
οὐδένας ἀπὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδυνήθη νὰ τὸν σταυρώσῃ *ΑΝΔΟΝΙΟΣ, Vios Sym. Styl.* 244.24
νὰ μὴ γυρίσει ἀπὸ σᾶς οὐδένας εἰς τὴν Πόλιν *ΔΙΑΚΡ., Diig. Pol.* 452
οὐδένας ἀπ' αὐτοῦς *SKORD. ΜΑΡΑΦ. G., Evang.* 437.288
καὶ οὐδένας τὸ ἐσήκωσε *Vios Aisop.* K 178.21
καὶ οὐδένας νὰ μπορῇ (1607, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 448, 410.2)
οὐδένας, μηδένας *GERMANO, Grammar* 71.9
νὰ μὴν ἡμπορῇ οὐδένας ἄνθρωπος νὰ βάλῃ οὐδεμία ντεφικουλτά (1645, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 10, 367.16)
κι οὐδένας τὴ σκληρότη τῇ δὲ ζεῖ νὰ μὴ γνωρίζῃ *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.432
οὐδ' ἕνας δὲν ἀποκοτᾷ τὸ ἐνάντιο νὰ μιλήσῃ *ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, Erot.* II.1204

οὐδεγεὶς ἐσώσθηκε *P&N Diath.* 5084
κι οὐδὲ γεῖς ρίζα μπορεῖ νὰ κάμῃ *CHORTATSIS, Erof.* III.199
καὶ οὐδεγεὶς μπορὰ τὴ μεταστρέψῃ *ΦΟΣΚΟΛΟΣ, Fort.* III.398
κι οὐδεγεὶς μπορεῖ νὰ σᾶς τὴ σβήσῃ *Stathis Interm.* II.94

Genitive

General	Rare
οὐδενός	οὐδενοῦ ἢ οὐδενενοῦ

οὐδενὸς πρόσωπον βλέπεις *Pol. Tr.* 6118 app. crit. (X)
μὴδὲ μὲ δώσης οὐδενός *Imb. Rim.* 333
οὐδενὸς ἐκλεψα χρυσάφι *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 49.2
οὐδενὸς δὲν ἐδύνετον νὰ δείξῃ καλὸν πρόσωπον *MOREZINOS, Klini* 47.32
οὐδενοῦ βασιλέως *Diig. Alex.* V 65.9
οὐδενενοῦ βασιλέως *Diig. Alex.* K 346.24–5

Accusative

General
οὐδένα(ν)

οὐδέναν εἶχε πλέον *Pol. Tr.* 271 app. crit. (X)
οὐδέναν κράτει δειλόν, οὐδ' ἄτυχον κανένα *Theseid* VIII.93,3 (1529)
ὄλους τοὺς ἑκατέσφαξαν, οὐδέναν ἔλεῃσαν *Chron. Mor.* P 1538
διατὶ δὲν εἶχε ζωντανόν οὐδέναν *Cypr. Canz.* 31.3
εἶ τινα πιάσουν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, οὐδέναν ζωντανόν δὲν ἀφήνουν *Diig. Alex.* K 268.25
ἐγύρευσαν τοὺς θεοὺς μας. Καὶ οὐδένα ἤρρηκα *Diig. Alex.* F 70.9 (Konstantinopulos)
εἰς οὐδένα καιρὸν (1530, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 141, 254.32)
οὐδὲν ἔχει οὐδέναν τόπον σιγοῦρον (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 158.8)
δὲν ἤρρε οὐδέναν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 240.30
δεν εὐρίσκουσι οὐδένα φίλον NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 113.7
δὲν εἶναι δίκαιον εἰς οὐδένα MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 333.9
οὐδένα δὲ γνωρίζω *P&N Diath.* 713
κι οὐδέναν εἰσὲ ψέγωση λόγῳ ποτὲ νὰ ποῦσι CHORTATSI, *Erof. Dedic.* 20
εἰς οὐδένα τόπο (1639, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 6, 274.80)
κι οὐδένα δὲν κακολογῶ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 197.18

Feminine*Nominative*

General
οὐδεμία ἢ οὐδεμιά

ἀλλὰ ὅδεμιά ὅδε ἦτονε νὰ ἔχει την ομορφιά τῆς *Apoll. Rim.* N 476
οὐδεμία δὲ βρίσκεται καλομοιριά μεγάλη CHORTATSI, *Erof. Intern.* I.173
δὲν μοῦ ἔμεινε οὐδεμία *Vios Aisop.* D 216.20

Genitive

General
οὐδεμίας ἢ οὐδεμιᾶς

ἄνευ οὐδεμίας προφάσεως (1332, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 35, 111.17)
καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς εἶναι τὸ ἴδιον SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 443.509

Accusative

General
οὐδεμία(ν) ἢ οὐδεμιά(ν)

οὐδεμίαν ἀπόκρισιν δύνασαι ὑποδείξει (1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 363.26)
οὐδεμίαν δικαιοσύνην ἔσχεν (1241, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 18, 87.16)
χωρὶς ἐμοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσι μυρωδιὰν *Diig. tetr.* 383

οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀγάπην οὐδεμίαν *Pol. Tr.* 9476 (οὐδεμίαν ms C : οὐδεμία ms V)
οὐκ ἀπεστάθην ἀπὸ σοῦ εἰς οὐδὲ μίαν ὥραν *Dig.* A 1963
ὅτι ἀπ' ἔμην οὐκ ἔχρηζεν χάριταν οὐδεμίαν *Chron. Mor.* P 7667
τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἔχει μέριμναν, ἂν εἴποις, οὐδεμίαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 17
λύπην σ' αὐτόν της οὐδεμιά | εἶδα ποτὲ *Cypr. Canz.* 125.25
οὐδεμίαν ἐντροπὴ τὸ ἔχομεν, ὅτι εἴμεσθε γυναῖκες *Diig. Alex.* F 100.22 (Konstantinopulos)
καὶ οὐδεμιά 'κ τῆς χώρες των οὐδόλως νὰ ἀφήσουν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* XI.12
οὐδεμίαν ἀπαθιβολὴ ἐκίνα νὰ εἴπῃ MOREZINOS, *Klini* 39.15
νὰ μὴν ἡμπορῇ ... νὰ βάλλῃ οὐδεμία ντεφικουλιτά (1645, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 10, 367.16)
ἀπ' οὐδεμίαν ἀνάπαψην εὐρίσκαμε κ' οἱ δυό μας TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.234

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General	Rare
οὐδένα(ν)	οὐδέν

καννάτιν ἐλάδιν καὶ πλέον οὐδέν (1139, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 121, 161.19)
οὐ κληρονομοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν πατρικῶν οὐδέν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 243.580)
οὐδέν τὸν ἡφελοῦν εἰς οὐδέν *Assizes* B 306.19
δεν ἐπόμεινεν κάτεργον ουδέν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3492 tit.
λύουσιν γλήγορα πολλά, οὐδένα ἀπομένει *Dig.* A 4687
ουδένα 'δέν γυρίζει *Apoll. Rim.* V 1514
οὐδένα θερὸν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ὁμοιάζει VENDRAMOS, *Istor. gyn.* 7
ὅ,τι λέγει ἐκεῖ οὐδένα εἶναι τοῦ Σολομώντος MOREZINOS, *Klini* 10.5
νὰ μὴ μπορῇ νὰ 'χῃ οὐδένα δικαίωμα (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 759, 660.10)
νὰ μὴν μπορῇ ... νὰ λείψῃ ἀπὸ αὐτὰ εἰς οὐδένα (1634, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 65, 173.11)
κακό, Πετρίτη, οὐδένα δὲν ἔχεις, φαίνεται μου, παθημένα *Pist. voskos* II 3.1–2
πάντοτε ἔχουν σκάνδαλα καὶ ὄφελος οὐδένα MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1332
οὐδένα πράγμα γίνεται χωρὶς τὸ θέλημά του DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 871
μὴ ἔχοντας οὐδένα γοβέρνον (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 183.50)
κι οὐδένα σ' κείνα π' ἀρχισεν ὄφελος δὲν ἐδόθη KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.478
εἰς οὐδέναν κράτημαν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 231.161)
οὐδέναν ἤθελεν εὐρεθῇ (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.18)
λουτρόν οὐδέναν βλέπεις *Ptoch. IV* 91 app. crit. (P)
οὐδέναν πρᾶμαν *Cypr. Canz.* 104.52
ἀπ' ὅσα πρᾶματα δανείζονται τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδέναν ἀφανίζεται *Pist. kekoim.* 37.222
οὐδέναν γνώθῃ ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1391
ρισπέτο οὐδέναν ἄτσαλα νὰ σ' ἀτιμολογήσω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.79

5.8.7 μηδεῖς

The negative indefinite pronoun *μηδεῖς* is a direct inheritance from AG. The syntactic restriction of *μηδεῖς* to subjunctive and interrogative clauses that was operative in AG applies only in the earlier and higher-register MedG texts. The frequency of this pronoun is much lower than that of *οὐδεῖς* and its main competitors, i.e. *κανεῖς* and *τις/τινάς*.

Μηδείς inflects like εἷς (see 5.8.5) but presents fewer inflectional variants. It develops innovative forms from the 15th c. onwards. The stem variants μουδ- instead of μηδ- are exclusively Cretan and appear in the late 16th c. only in a few literary texts. They may be due to backing of /i/ > /u/ caused by the adjacent labial /m/ (see I, 2.8.4), or to the analogical influence of οὐδέ. The forms with anaptyxis of intervocalic /γ/ are also restricted to Crete and appear since the 16th c. Editorial practice with respect to word division varies, and therefore some potential instances of the pronoun may appear as μηδ' ἕνας etc.

As in the case of οὐδείς–οὐδέν, the neut. sg. form of μηδείς, namely μηδέν, develops from the late Koine into a negative particle, but one that is used predominantly in subjunctive and imperative contexts (JANNARIS 1897: 425–7; KAPSOMENAKIS 1938: 71–2; CHATZOPOULOU 2012: 222–33), e.g. σεαυτῇ πρόσεχε, μηδέν δίσταζε περὶ ἑμοῦ P.Mich. 8 491 (2nd c. AD); μηδέν οὖν μεριμνᾷς περὶ ἡμῶν P.Oxy. 56.3865.25 (5th c. AD). In LMedG, attestations of μηδέν functioning as a negative are to be found among the earliest texts available, e.g. καὶ μηδέν ἔχοντός μας κατασκήνωσιν εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους μας (1059, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 9, 109.8); ἵνα μηδέν ἔχουν ἐξουσίαν οὐδὲ πουλεῖν οὐδὲ βάλλειν εἰς ἀμάχιν (1178, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 191, 251.22). As a result, it only rarely occurs as neuter indefinite pronoun.

Μηδείς functions mostly as a pronoun, but determiner usage is also found.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	μηδείς ἰ μηδένας ἰ μηδεγείς ἰ μουδένας ἰ μουδεγείς	μηδεμία ἰ μηδεμιά ἰ μουδεμιά	μηδέν ἰ μηδένα(ν)
Gen.	μηδενός	(μηδεμίας) ἰ (μηδεμιᾶς)	(μηδενός)
Acc.	μηδένα(ν)(ε) ἰ μουδένα	(μηδεμιά(ν)) ἰ (μηδεμιά(ν))	μηδέν ἰ μηδένα(ν)

Masculine

Nominative

General	Restricted	Rare
μηδείς ἰ μηδένας	μηδεγείς	μουδένας ἰ μουδεγείς

ὃς ἀπεθάνομεν εὐθύς καὶ μηδεις ὑπελείφθη *Dig.* G VIII.293

οὔτε μηδεις τῶν μοναχῶν μαρτυρῆσαι ἔγγραφον τινὰ (1329, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 14, 57.20)

μηδεις ἔστω ἀπότολμος διανοχλῆσαι (1428, Lefkada, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 12, 254.7)

ἀλλ' ἄληθεύουν ἐκ παντός, μηδεις οὖν ἀπιστήση *Dig.* E 721

μηδεις ποτὲ νὰ μὴ μπορῇ *Rim. than.* 79

ἵνα μηδεις ἀπολειφθῇ ἐκ τῆς ὑποταγῆς σου *Velis.* ρ 85

μηδεις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰσχύσαι κρατῆσαι (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 6, 12.16)

καὶ μηδεις τὸν διασείση τίποτε (1582, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 58, 179.6)

καὶ μηδεις ἐδικός μου τολμήση ποτὲ (1615, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 1, 310.7)

μηδεις οὖν τῶν σοφῶν καταφρονήση τῆς ἀμαθείας μου VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas*. 29.6
μηδεις οὐδεις κανεις ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς νὰ τὸν ἐνοχλῇ (1687, Serres region, ODORICO 1998:
88, 212.7)

καὶ πάντες ν' ἀποθάνωμεν, μηδένας ν' ἀπομείνη *Dig*. A 4667
μηδένας τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποῦ σᾶς *Pist. kekoim*. 389
δὲν εἶναι μπορετὸ μηδένας νὰ περάσει CHORTATSI, *Erof*. II.195
μηδένας εἶναι νὰ ἀμφιβάλλη MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud*. 317.31
οὐδένας, μηδένας GERMANO, *Grammar* 71.9
μὰ αὐτοὶ ὅπου σοῦ λένε πῶς εἶναι Ἀλλάτσηδες ἐδικοὶ σου, δὲν εἶναι μηδένας (1644, Chios,
PARADOPOULOS 1987: 25.7)
μηδένας ἄλλος караβοκύρης μοῦ τὸ πιστεύγει (1648, Corfu, MANOUSAKAS 1965: 268.9)
μηδὲ γεῖς ποτὲ στὸ νοῦ του βάνει CHORTATSI, *Erof*. Prol. 69; μηδεγεῖς λογιάζω δὲ γνωρίζει
id., *Katz*. III.276
μηδεγεῖς δὲν ἤμπορὰ μιλῆση *P&N Diath*. 5190
μουδένας διχωστὰς Θεὸς νὰ 'ναι δεν του τυχαίνει CHORTATSI, *Panor*. IV.220; μουδεγεῖς
μπορὰ μοῦ κοντραστάρη id., *Katz*. IV.330 (ms μίδε)

Genitive

General
μηδενός

κατέχω πῶς μηδενός ... νὰ μὴν ἔχω καὶ νὰ μὴν ἦκαμα ποτὲ κακὸ FOSKOLOS, *Fort*. I.335
παρὰ μηδενός ἐνοχλούμενος (1675, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 39, 65.12)

Accusative

General	Rare
μηδένα(ν)	μηδένανε ἢ μουδένα

μηδένα δὲν ἐφῆκα *P&N Diath*. 1497
μηδένα δὲ θέλει κάμει ἢ φύση πλιὸ φίλον ἐμπιστεμένον FOSKOLOS, *Fort*. II.114
εἰς τ' ἄλογό του κάθισε, μηδέναν ἐφοβήθη BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol*. 269.14
ἔκ τῶν νέων δὲ μηδένανε ἐκεῖ τοτ' ἐκαλέσαν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.96
λόγο μουδένα σὲ κακὸ γιὰ σένα νὰ μιλῆση CHORTATSI, *Erof*. I.470 app. crit. (Xanthoudidis)

Feminine

Nominative

General	Rare
μηδεμία ἢ μηδεμιά	μουδεμιά

γλώσσα, λογιάζω, μηδεμιά μπορεῖ νὰ τὴ μιλῆσει CHORTATSI, *Erof*. III.81; δὲν εἶναι μηδεμιά
σὰν τούτη *ibid*. III.337

τόσον ὅπου μηδεμιά ξμεινεν ἑλπίς (1693, Bucharest, LEGRAND 1903: 11, 30.2–3)

ἀγάπη μουδεμιά δὲν εἶν' σὰν τῇ δικῇ μου CHORTATSI, *Katz.* IV.188; ὁσταρία δὲν εἶν' στὴ
στράτα μουδεμιά *ibid.* IV.278

Accusative

General
μηδεμιά

δὲν ἔχω μηδεμιά γαζέτα CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.194

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General	Rare
μηδένα(ν)	μηδέν

μηδὲν ἢ ὀλίγον σχεδὸν ὠφελεῖται ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 150.B.47

μηδὲ κρατίζοντας μηδένα πρᾶμα (1644, Crete, VINCENT 1967: 3, 64.18)
δὲν λείπει μηδένα (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 107.12–13)

τινὰς ἐκ τὰ φουσάτα του, μηδέναν παλικάριν, μ' αὐτόνον δὲν ἠμπόρεσεν νὰ παίζη τὸ κοντάριν
Imb. Rim. 377

δὲν θέλει νὰ γίνεταί μηδέναν ἄδικον εἰς τὴν ραγιάδες (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 36.18)

5.8.8 μηδετίποτε

The uninflected pronoun μηδετίποτε derives from the univerbation of the negative adverb μηδὲ and the indefinite pronoun τίποτε. It presents several variants, due to the considerable allomorphy of the pronoun τίποτε (see 5.8.2). The earliest attestations come from the 16th–17th c. Its meaning is mostly negative, “nothing, not a single one”, but very occasionally it may also carry an indefinite meaning “anything, a little bit”. It functions both as a pronoun and as a determiner.

λόγιαζε τὸ μηδετίποτες τῆς φύσεώς σου VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 149.9–10

μηδετίποτες VLACHOS, *This.* s.v.

τί συντριμὸν καὶ κατατσακισμὸν ἔκαμαν ... διὰ μηδὲ τίποτες! *Bertoldos* 19.23

ἀπὸ τοὺς μηδετίποτες δαρμένος NEOFYOTOS, *Achouri* 148

δὲν ἦταν μηδετίβοτας τ' ἀμπόδιτρον αὐτόνο CHORTATSI, *Katz.* V 9

There is a single (so far) attestation of an indefinite pronoun πασατίποτε, in the form πασατίβοτις “something”: καὶ κρίνω καμωμένα | νὰ 'χουνε πασατίβοτις CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.140–1.

5.8.9 κανείς

The indefinite pronoun *κανείς* is a MedG innovation. It derives from the univerbation of the AG emphatic particle *κᾶν* (< *καὶ ἄν*) and the AG numeral *εἷς*, with a semantic evolution from “not even one” to “no one”. The univerbation must have taken place already before the LMedG period (see MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 623–4; JANNARIS 1897: 163–4; DIETERICH 1898: 202; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 513; PERNOT 1934: 241; and especially HORROCKS 2014a: 67–71, for analysis and early examples). The meaning of *κανείς/κανένας* in the LMedG period can be “no one” (e.g. *καὶ οὐκ ἐμπόρεσεν κανείς ἵνα τὸν ἐγνωρίσῃ Achil.* N 150), “anyone” (e.g. *μήνα κανένα δέντρον παράκαιρα καρπὸν ἐποίησεν; Vios Aisop.* K 150.33), or “one” (e.g. *καὶ τσιγαρίζεται κανείς ὥσεί νὰ τὸ ἐπιτύχῃ Ptoch.* IV 419).

The morphology of *κανείς* is directly related to that of *εἷς* (see 5.8.5). Apart from inflectional variants, the pronoun *κανείς* also displays a number of stem allomorphs. The allomorph *κιαν-* instead of *καν-* is due to a more transparent rendering of the intensive prefix *κᾶν*, closer to its etymological origin, namely *καὶ ἄν* > *κι ἄν* (CHATZIDAKIS 1915: 463; PERNOT 1934: 242–3). This variant is exclusively Cretan, and is first attested in the late 14th c. through a document in Latin script: *chianenamu pedhin / κιανένα μου παιδὶν* (1394, Crete, SANTSCHI 1976: 1597, 344.7).

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	<i>κανείς κανένας κιανείς κιανένας κανενείς</i>	<i>καμία καμιά κιαμιά</i>	<i>κανέ(ν) κανένα(ν) κιανένα(ν)</i>
Gen.	<i>κανενός κανενοῦ κανενοῦς καμianoῦ κανοῦ κιανενός</i>	<i>καμίας καμιᾶς καμιανῆς κιαμιᾶς κανενῆς</i>	<i>κανενός κανενοῦ κανοῦ κανενοῦς κιανενός καμianoῦ</i>
Acc.	<i>κανένα(ν)(ε)(ν) κανεί(ν)(ε) κανενεῖ κιανένα(ν)</i>	<i>καμιά(ν) καμιά(ν) κιαμιά(ν)</i>	<i>κανέ(ν) κανένα(ν) κιανένα(ν)</i>

Masculine*Nominative*

The nom. sg. *κανείς* is used in variation with the innovative form *κανένας* throughout the LMedG and EMG period, without specific textual, regional or chronological restrictions. The analogical reformation *εἷς* > *ένας* is discussed in 5.8.5. The earliest examples of *κανείς* occur in 12th-c. documents from S. Italy, while *κανένας* first appears in the 15th c. The form *κιανείς*, on the other hand, is much more frequent than *κιανένας*. Both are exclusively Cretan⁸⁴ and appear from the 16th c. onwards.

The form *κανενείς* derives from the analogical spread of the gen./acc. stem *κανεν-* to the nom. (PERNOT 1907/46: II 243). It appears in texts from Cyprus from the 15th c. onwards and in texts from the Heptanese from the 16th.

⁸⁴ There is a single, dubious attestation from Tzane Koronaios: *κ{ει}ανῆς μὴ ἀμφιβάλλη / κιανεῖς μὴ ἀμφιβάλλη KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua XVIII.316.*

General	Restricted	Rare
κανείς κανένας	κιανείς κανενείς	κιανένας

εάν δε ποτέ φανή κανείς τῶν ἡμετέρων (1173, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: App. 3, 653.28)
 κανείς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν μαρτύρων (1244, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 294, 413.2)
 νὰ μὴ τὸν ἐβγάλη κανείς ἀπὸ τὸ μοναστήριον (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.57)
 ὁ γέρων νέος οὐ γίνεται, κανείς μὴ σὲ κομπῶνῃ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 222
 κανείς οὐ βλέπει στάμενον ἀπὸ τοὺς καλογήρους *Ptoch.* IV 143; εἰ δὲ στραφῇ κανείς ποσῶς καὶ
 ἰδῇ τὸ μοναστήριον *ibid.* 257
 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλθῃ ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον του κανείς ἄνθρωπος (1355, Palatia [Miletos], MANOUSAKAS
 1962b: 1, 234.12)
 ὄρη τὰ οὐκ ἦτον δυνατὸς κανείς νὰ περπατήσῃ *Log. parig.* L 42
 κανείς μείζων ἢ ἐλάττων (1428, Lefkada, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 12, 254.11)
 οὐκ ἔχει ἄδειαν κανείς ἐκ τοῦ μέρους μου (1434, Pontos, ALEXAKIS/MAVROMATIS 2015: 2, 6.10)
 νὰ μὴδὲν τοὺς δώσῃ κανείς νὰ φᾶν (1449, Chios, LAIOU 1982: 4, 124.8)
 καὶ μὴδὲν τοῦ ζητήσῃ κανείς τίποτε (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 46,
 25.5)
 ἀλλὰ ἂς τὸν δοκιμάσωμεν κανείς ἀπὸ τοὺς τρεῖς μας *Dig.* E 1217 app. crit.
 εάν γίνεταί ὅτι εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀπεθαμένος, οὐ μία γυναῖκα, καὶ κανείς ἄνθρωπος ἐχρῶστέν του
 κανένα βίον *Assizes* B 357.18
 καὶ κανείς μὴ σᾶς γνώσῃ (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.1)
 πρέπει νὰ τὶς κάμῃ κανείς (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.8)
 καὶ δὲν εὐρέθηκεν κανείς, τινὰς ἀπὸ τοὺς ξένους *Peri xen.* 165
 χεῖρα κανείς νὰ μὴν ἀπλῶσῃ εἰς ἄλλον (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 250.58)
 κανείς δὲν τὸν ἤθελεν (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 286.12)
 μὴ ἔχοντας κανείς ἄλλος νὰ κάμῃ (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 451.19)
 κανείς δὲν ἐκοντραδέρισεν (1602, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 8, 163.30)
 νὰ μὴν τότε πειράξῃ κανείς (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 6, 6.4)
 χωρὶς νὰ τοῦ τὸ πουλήσῃ κανείς (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 2, 19.5)
 νὰ μὴν ἀνοχλήσῃ κανείς (1664, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 31, 36.21)
 κανείς νὰ μὴν ἡμπορῇ (1676, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 1, 123.18)
 οὐδὲν ἐδιάβησαν ποσῶς κανέναν μῆνα, δύο *Chron. Mor.* H 150
 ὅτι κανέναν ἄνθρωπος ἐνὶ ἔνοχος *Assizes* B 446.14
 οὐκ ἔγλυσε κανέναν *Pol. Tr.* 6536 app. crit. (BVX)
 οὐκ ἦτονε κανέναν τοὺς νὰ μὴ τον ἐπαινέσῃ *Theseid* VI.18,4 (Olsen)
 δὲν ἐγλύτῳσεν κανέναν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 16.14
 νὰ μὲν τορμήσῃ νὰ μπεῖ εἰς τὸ καστέλλιν κανέναν τοῦ δουλευτῆς VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 52.2
 ἂν φανῇ κανέναν κλέπτῃς (1518, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 391.5)
 νὰ μὴν ἡμπορῇ κανέναν νὰ ἔχῃ δικαιώματα (1544, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [2], 7.12)
 κανέναν ἄλλος ἄνθρωπος (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 34.23)
 κανέναν νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ τίποτες νὰ τὸ λέγῃ ἐδικό του (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 235.92–3)
 δὲν εἶναι τώρα κανέναν νὰ κατοικῇ PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 111.2
 λείποντας κανέναν ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 131.A.54
 καὶ ἀνίσως καὶ εἶχε πᾶει κανέναν (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 78, 84.16)
 ὅταν σὲ ἐπαινᾷ κανέναν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §10.14
 ἀνίσως καὶ εἶχε γεννηθεῖ κανέναν φόνος (1666, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 4, 192.56)
 ἂν εἶναι κανέναν ὅπου νὰ ἔχῃ τίβοτις ἐνάντιο δικαίωμα (1685, Tinos, PASCHALIS 1935: 136.12)
 νὰ μὴν ἔχου πιά κανέναν ἀπὸ τοὺς κληρονόμους των νὰ κάμου (1688, Andros, POLEMIS 2001:
 8, 107.10)

κιανείς βοσκός στα βρόχια του μη λάχει και σε πιάσει *CHORTATISIS, Panor. II.114*; γιατί του
 πόθου τή φωτιά κιανείς κακά τή χώνει *id., Erof. I.223*; ό νοῦς μου σ' ἔγνοια μπαίνει | μὴν εἶν'
 κιανείς στο σπίτι της *id., Katz. II.95*
 ἄν τούς διατάξη καὶ κιανείς *P&N Diath. 40*
 νὰ μὴν ἔναι κιανείς τρομερὸς νὰ τήνε σφίξη (1625, Crete, *MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 80.52*)
 κιανείς ἀπ' αὐτοὺς *Apok. Theot. 490.40*
 μηδὲ μπορεῖ ποτὲ καλὰ ν' ἀρχίσῃ κιανείς *Pist. voskos I.1.37*
 μά μπορετὸ νὰ 'ν' κιανείς ὅπου δὲ μὲ γνωρίζει *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol. 9*
 καὶ [νὰ μὴ] <μ>πορῇ κιανείς νὰ τήνε βγάλῃ (1660, Crete, *VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 15, 378.7*)
 νὰ μὴν εἶναι κιανείς ἱερέας (1662, Crete, *LYDAKI 2000: 3, 414.17*)
 δὲν μπορεῖ δόξα κιανείς νὰ πάρει *Zinon I.238*
 κιανείς δὲν τὸ γνωρίζει *KORNAROS, Erot. III.34*

εἶδες ἂν ἔχῃ ἀνάπαψη 'ς τὸι κόπους μας κιανένας; *P&N Diath. 899*

ἀνίσως καὶ κανενεῖς ... ἐβάλτηκε (1468, Cyprus, *RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.7*)
 καὶ γίνεται ὅτι κανενεῖς διαβαίνει τὴν γῆν *Assizes B 312.29*; κανενεῖς γιατρὸς *ibid. 437.26*
 κανενεῖς μηδὲν ἦν ἀπότορμος *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 374.13*
 ὅταν σὲ φουμίζει κανενεῖς ἀθθυμήθου νὰ γενῆς κριτῆς του *Fior 108.20*
 κανενεῖς δὲν κριματίζεται μουλλώννοντα *Fior, Suppl. 276.5*
 κανενεῖς ποτὲ δὲν τὸ θυμάτον *Alex. Rim. 848*
 πλανήτης κανενεῖς δὲν συνεργάζει *Cypr. Canz. 90.34*
 ἀνίσως καὶ εἶχε πεῖ κανενεῖς σου<μ>πλιαστής (1637, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI 2002b: 52, 67.25–6*)
 δὲν συγχωρεῖται κανενεῖς *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 8983*

Genitive

As in the case of εἶς, the gen. sg. normally takes the form κανενός, attested since the 15th c. Less frequently, it displays two morphological variants, κανενοῦ and κανενοῦς (also written κανενοῦς), influenced by the inflection of the masc. nouns in -ος. The first variant does not seem to be geographically restricted, while the second is attested so far only in Crete and the Cyclades. The form κανενοῦ first appears in the 15th c. and the form κανενοῦς since the 17th. The rare genitive form κανοῦ derives either from κανενοῦ with dissimilatory haplogy (see I, 3.9.3.3) or from the compounding of κᾶν + 'νοῦ with initial vowel deletion. It appears since the 15th c., in texts from Cyprus and Cythera. The variant κιανενός is exclusively Cretan.

The rare genitive καμιανοῦ derives from the analogy of the feminine καμία/καμιά, and is so far attested only in 17th-c. texts from the Heptanese.

General	Restricted	Rare
κανενός κανενοῦ	κανενοῦς κιανενός	κανοῦ καμιανοῦ

ἄνευ κανενὸς δόλου *Chron. Mor. H 690*
 μὴ νὰ 'βρῃ πτώμα κανενὸς ἀπὸ τοὺς ἰδικούς του *Velth. 1124*
 καὶ δὲν ἀφῆκα κανενὸς *BERGADIS, Apok. A 526*
 ὄχι κανενὸς ἐδικοῦ μου (1527, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 219.58*)
 νὰ ἱγκανάρω κανενὸς λογαριασμούς (1538, Crete, *MAVROMATIS 2009: 599, 466.14*)
 μηδὲ εἶχεν τὸ κανενὸς ὀμπλιγάδο (1538, Naxos, *VISVIZIS 1951: 7, 18.24*)

- ζώντα μου θέλω κανενὸς νὰ τοῦ τ' ἀποκαλύψω *Fyll. gadar*. 276B
 διὰ κανενὸς τρόπου (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 8, 221.9)
 κανενὸς νὰ μὴ χρεωστοῦ νὰ δίνου λογαριασμὸ (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.10)
 οὔτε ἔδωκε κανενός, οὔτε ἔταξε νὰ στέλλῃ *ZYGOM.*, *Synopsis* 129.A.45
 μὲ κανενὸς ἀνθρώπου βλάψιμον (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.35)
 συμβαίνοντας κανενὸς νὰ αποθάνει *CANTEMIR, Krit.* 449.1
- κανενοῦ καλικά *Assizes B* 433.3–4
 κανενοῦ ἀπὲ τοὺς ἄνωθεν λαλημένους *Assizes A* 30.1
 νὰ ποίση ἀγανάκτησιν κανενοῦ πουρζέζῃ οὐ ἄλλου πτωχοῦ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 88.7; νὰ
 μὲν δώσῃ κανενοῦ τοπικοῦ κρασὶν *id.*, *Chron.* O 448.10–11 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 κανενοῦ κακοῦ τρόπου (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 13, 30.3)
 κανενοῦ φρονίμου ἀνθρώπου *Fior, Suppl.* 269.9
 καὶ κανενοῦ οὐδὲν ἐφάνηκεν καλόν *Diig. Alex.* E 199.6 (Lolos)
 δὲν ἀκούσθηκεν ὅτι κανέννας νὰ ἄνοιξε μάτια κανενοῦ ὅπου νὰ ἐγεννήθηκε τυφλός *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Ioan. 9.32
 ἐπῆρες κανενοῦ τὸ ἐδικόν του (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 404.221)
 μὴ φάγῃ κανενοῦ δίκαιον *PAPASYNAD.*, *Chron.* II §5.24
 νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ νὰ δώκῃ λογαριασμὸ κανενοῦ (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 2, 146.27–8)
 νὰ μὴν τότε δώσουν κανενοῦ (1679, Corfu, TSITSAS 1994: 2, 550.1)
- κανενοῦς φτωχοῦ (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 53.186)
 κανενοῦς συμβουλήν δὲν ἔπαιρνα [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P 388.12
 χωρὶς κανενοῦς βία (1664, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 370, 230.9)
 κανενοῦς ἄλλου (1675, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 62.9)
 καὶ ὄχι ἄλλοι κανενοῦς (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 784, 1063.20)
 νὰ τὸ δώσῃ κανενοῦς ἄλλοι (1706, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 57, 69.17)
 δὲν τὸ ἀφήνω κανενοῦς *Trag. Ag. Dim.* I.217
- ἐὰν γένηται ὅτι κανέναν πρᾶγμα ἢ ἔναν κτηνὸν ἐσυλῶσαν το κανοῦ ἀνθρώπου *Assizes A* 173.2
 ἐγὼ δὲ θυμοῦμαι νὰ δώσω τίποτες κανοῦ (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 220.17)
- κιανενὸς τὰ πάθη μου δὲν ἔδειχνα ποτέ μου *CHORTATIS, Erof.* III.18
 χάρις ὅπου νὰ ἔκαμεν κάθα κιανενὸς (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 651, 568.6–7)
 μὲ κιανενὸς ἀνθρώπου βλάψιμο (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.42)
 κιανενὸς δὲν τό ἔδωκα *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1856
- διὰ καμιανοῦ λόγου πρᾶμα (1670, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1981: 1, 285.17)

Accusative

The expected variation in the presence vs. absence of final /n/ in the form κανένα(ν) appears in texts from all periods and areas. The variant κανεῖν is an analogical formation on the basis of the nominative κανεῖς, and is attested, without geographical restrictions, since the 15th c. It is mostly used as a pronoun, and may also display deletion of final /n/, though only in Crete and the Cyclades. Addition of final /e/ is attested since the 15th c. for the form κανένανε, and since the 17th c. for the form κανεῖνε; both of these appear mainly in texts from the Peloponnese and the Heptanese. The form κιανένα(ν) is exclusively Cretan. The rare form κανενεῖ corresponds to nom. κανενεῖς, and is attested in a single 16th-c. text.

General	Restricted	Rare
κανένα(ν)	κανεί(ν) † κιανένα(ν)	κανένανε(ν) † κανείνε † κανενεί

- καὶ νὰ τσακώσω πίνακαν κανένα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας *Ptoch.* IV 195
 νὰ μὴδὲν ἔχη κανέναν φόβον (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.11)
 εἶτε νησὶν εἶτε κανέναν ἄλλον τόμπον (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 273.14)
 ἐὰν ὀνοματίσῃ κανέναν *Assizes* B 446.18–19
 μὴ ἔχοντες κανένα, ὅπου τὰ ὀρίζει *Spaneas* Z 45
 πόλεμο οὐκ ἐφοβούντησαν κανέναν ἀπ’ ἐκείνους *Theseid* I.79,6 (Follieri)
 ἄς τοὺς ἀφήσουμε ὀλιγόν, κανέναν μῆνα πλέον *Chron. Mor.* P 611
 μήτε αὐτοὶ νὰ ἤθελον ἀναζητήσῃ κανένα ναῦλον (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 82, 68.42)
 κανέναν γείτονα δὲν ἐλύπησεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 338.29
 κανένα καιρὸν (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 143, 113.19)
 κανένα καιρὸν (1596, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOΥΛΟΥ et al. 2009: 7, 7.6)
 διατὶ δὲν ἔβαλε κανέναν δοῦλον τοῦ νὰ μὲ τὰ πλύνῃ; *Vios Aisop.* K 175.29
 νὰ πειράζῃ τίποτες καμιά φορὰ κανέναν καλόγερο (1602, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1959: 1, 28.6)
 διὰ κανένα καιρὸν ἐρχοῦμενον (1606, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 84a, 115.7–8)
 νὰ μὴν ἀφήσωμεν κανένα νὰ κάμῃ ἐλαιοτριβεῖον (1607, Kalymnos, KOUTELAKIS 1981: 3, 32.11)
 ἄλλο τινα δὲν ἔχω στὸ κόσμον κανένα (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.7–8)
 μὴδὲ εἰς κανένα πόλεμον ἐφήφα τὸ κορμί τοῦ STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 1148 (Pidonia)
 δὲν ἄφηγεν κανέναν νὰ εἶναι πόρνος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.40
 ἀπὸ κανέναν ἄτυχον ἄνθρωπον (1652, Milos, SYMEONIDIS 1989: 2, 118.5)
 ἦ νὰ κεράσουσι ποτὲ ἄσπρου ρακὶ κανένα μας (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 481.26)
 δεσπότην δὲ κανένανε νὰ μὲ διαφεντεύῃ *Pol. Tr.* 7394 app. crit. (C)
 νὰ μὴν ἀξίζῃ ποτὲ τῷ καιρῷ κανένανε (1589, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1976: 153.7)
 μὴ μοῦ βάλεις κανένανε σύνδροφο (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 316.72)
 ἐγὼ δὲν ζητῶ κανένανε *Bertoldos* 23.19
 φόβον κανένανε δὲν ἔχω KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* III.155
 κανεῖν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐδικούς τοῦ *Chron. Mor.* H 2154
 ποτὲ κανεῖν ἢ εὐγενικὴ οὐκ εἶχεν ἀγαπήσει *Pol. Tr.* 310 app. crit. (X)
 κανεῖν ἀφέντην χριστιανόν, εἰ μὴ νὰ τὸν κομπώνουν *Chron. Toc.* 499
 νὰ τὰ διαφεντεύω ἀπὸ πάσα κανεῖν (1539, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 54, 96.17)
 κι ἀπὸ τὴν στράταν τὴν καλὴν κανεῖν νὰ μὴν ἐβγάλλῃς DEFAR., *Log. did.* 150
 ἀποῦ κανεῖν ἀποῦ ᾗχεν πρῶτα φίλον *Cypr. Canz.* 154.2
 κανεῖν δὲν ἔχεις *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 94
 νὰ εἶχα κανεῖν νὰ μ’ ἐκλαιγε, MONTSEL., *Evgena* 612
 νὰ μὴν ἔχη κανεῖν νὰ τοῦ βάλλῃ διαφορὰν (1646, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 5, 15.18–19)
 διὰ νὰ μὴν ἐνοχληθοῦν μὲ καιρὸν ἀπὸ κανεῖν τίποτες (1695, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 34, 85.17)
 δικό της ἦ καὶ γείτονα κανεῖν νὰ χαιρετήσῃ KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.398
 καὶ μὲ ἄλλον κανεῖ νὰ μὴν σπεῖρῃ (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 75, 159.1)
 καὶ ἔμποδο νὰ μὴν ἔχη ἀπὸ κανεῖ (1591, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 149, 273.17)
 [κανένας] questo nome nel nominatiuo fa anco κανεῖς, & nell’ Accusativo singolare κανεῖ
 GERMANO, *Grammar* 71.4
 δὲν ἔχω κανεῖ διὰ νὰ μὲ μνημονέψῃ (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 90, 94.24)

δὲν ἔχω πλέο νὰ ταγίζω κανεῖ (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.49)
 ἄν ἔρθη καῖκι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δὲ στείλετε κανεῖ (1670, Naxos, SFYROERAS 1963a: 1, 492.27)
 κανεῖ δὲ θανατῶνου *Stathis* Prol. 15

πεῖραξη νὰ μὴν ἔχη ἀπὸ κανεῖνε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 6, 33.34)
 ὅποτε τῷ καιρῷ εἶχε ἔχει ἀπὸ κανεῖνε καμία πεῖραξη τὸ ἄνω μοναστήρι (1695, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 359.6–7)

δὲν ἀποδέχεστε λόγο ἀπὸ κιανένα *P&N Diath.* 5018
 καὶ ἀπὸ κάθα ἄλλο κιανένα (1644, Crete, VINCENT 1967: 3, 64.24)
 σὲ κιανέναν καιρὸ (1650, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 12, 371.22)
 ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀγίους κιανένα *Apok. Theot.* 499.173
 κιανένα δὲν ἐσώσανε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 309.15
 καὶ δὲν ἀναντρανίζουσι κιανένα πλιὸ νὰ δοῦσι KORNAPOS, *Erot.* II.436

δεν εθώρειε κανενεῖ DEFAR., *Sos.* 98 (Holton)

Feminine

Nominative

The manuscript sources provide two variants, καμία and καμιά with synizesis, but in most cases it is difficult to distinguish between the two due to the conservatism of the scribes and the orthographic conventions of modern editors. In verse texts, the form with synizesis may be indicated by the metre. Cretan texts give also the form κιαμιά.

General	Restricted
καμία ὀ καμιά	κιαμιά

καμμία ἐκκλησία οὐκ ἐψάλλετον *Chron. Mor.* H 5965
 καμμία οὐκ ἔλαθέ σε *Liv.* V 1327
 καμμία οὐκ ἐφάνηκεν ἔμμορφωτέρα εἰς κόσμον *Flor.* L 922
 καμία να μεν ευρεθεῖ εἰς γειτονίαν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 178.6
 καμία ασθένεια δεν τον κυριεύει *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavrás) 121.3
 εἰ ... ἤθελεν φανῇ καμία γραφή (1568, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 132, 252.23–4)
 καμία κόρη ἔμορφη ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 234
 ἄν ... ἤθελεν ἔλθει καμία ἀργητα (1582, Kefalonia, KARYDIS 2011: 1, 102.15)
 μὴ κορμαίνεται καμιά τῶν γυναικῶνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1512
 αν του υπαντήσῃ καμία γάτα να περάσει ἀπὸ ομπρὸς του *Theophr. Char.* 128.24
 καμιά τετρακοσαριά πῆχες (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 307, f.1r.19)
 ἀνίσως ἤθελε βρεθῇ καμιά καρέλα (1688, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 202, 121.6)
 ἄν ἴσως καμιά βολὰ καὶ ἤθελε φανερωθῇ καμία ὁμολογία (1698, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1968/69: 3, 335.12)

δὲν ἦτονε καλύτερη κιαμιά ὥσάν τῇ Μαρία *P&N Diath.* 1787
 κ' ἐλπίδα πλιὸ δὲν ἦτονε κιαμιά τῇ λευτεριά μας CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* IV.570
 παῖδα δὲν εἶν' κιαμμιὰ χειρότερη τῇ *Pist. voskos* I 1.153
 ἄλλη κιαμιά τὸ λοιπονὶς αὐτὸ δὲν πρέπει νὰ ᾔχη FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm.* I 5
 ἄλλη κιαμιά ὁμορφύτερη δὲν ἦτο σὰν ἐκείνη KORNAPOS, *Erot.* II.92

Genitive

The most widely attested variants are καμίας and καμιᾶς. As with the nominative, it is difficult to determine the position of stress. In Cretan texts the form κιαμιᾶς is also found. The extended genitive form καμιανῆς follows the pattern of μιανῆς (see above 5.8.5) and is attested since the 16th c., mainly in Heptanesian texts.⁸⁵ A rare form κανενῆς, found in documents from Paxoi (Heptanese), is formed on the analogy of the masc. gen. κανενός.

General	Restricted	Rare
καμίας ! καμιᾶς	κιαμιᾶς ! καμιανῆς	κανενῆς

- ἄνευ καμμίας ἐλπίδος *Chron. Mor.* H 509; ἄνευ καμμίας προφάσης *ibid.* 3211
 δίχως καμίας ἀνάγκης *Dig.* E 1193
 δίχως φωνῆς καμμίας *Pol. Tr.* 4618
 καμίας ἄλλης ρέντας (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.3) (no stress notation in original)
 χωρίς καμίας κρίσεως (1480, Methoni, GERLAND 1903: 27, 237.5)
 δίχως καμίας ψέξης *Theseid* VI.19,8 (Olsen)
 χωρίς καμίας ἀνάγκης *Velth.* 777
 ἄνευ γραφῆς καμίας (1560, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 37, 33.4)
 καμιᾶς λογῆς πείραξη (1578, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 9, 21.8)
 καμιᾶς λογῆς νιτράδα (1598, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 1, 214.42)
 χωρίς καμίας λογῆς λόγον (1632, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 16, 177.7)
 ἦτον σὰν καμμιάς λογῆς μυρωδία *Diig. Sant.* 57.75
 διὰ καμιᾶς λογῆς ἀφορμή (1672, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 4, 118.38)
 δὲν ἔχει καμίας λογῆς περικουλο (1673, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1586, 929.13)
 καμιανῆς συνόδου κανόνα (1567, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 6, 308.33)
 καμιανῆς λογῆς ἐλάττωμα (1658, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 5, 653.55)
 καμιανῆς λογῆς πρετενσιό (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999b: 17.15)
 εἰσὲ κανένα ρεγκιμέντο καμιανῆς λογῆς πρετσέσο (1695, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 192, 115.3)
 δίχως καμιανῆς λογῆς ρεμέντζα (1698, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 249, 157.2)
 κιαμιάς αλλῆς τον πόθο ντου ποτέ δε θέλει δώσει CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.39
 κιαμιᾶς λογῆς ἀβετάριο (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 81.80–1)
 κιαμιᾶς λογῆς χρέος (1638, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 5, 358.23)
 κιαμιᾶς λογῆς ἀνάπαψη δὲν ἤυρισκεν KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.14
 δίχως κανενῆς λογῆς στραπάτσο (1699, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 280, 186.3); εἰσὲ κανενῆς λογῆς χρέος (1701, *ibid.* 289, 191.5)

Accusative

The acc. sg. is identical to the nominative, except for the normal variation between presence and absence of final /n/. The form κιαμιᾶ(ν) occurs only in texts from Crete.

⁸⁵ The only attestation from Northern Greece so far is from an 18th-c. document: καμιανῆς λογῆς εἶδος (1719, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 79, 103.15).

General	Restricted
καμία(ν) † καμιά(ν)	κιαμιά(ν)

δι' ἀγάπην γὰρ ἢ διὰ φιλίαν ἢ διὰ καμμίαν συγγένειον *Chron. Mor.* H 3933
 νὰ μὴν ἔχη καμίαν πείραξιν (1415, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1979: App. XVII, 216.14)
 καμίαν ἐξουσίαν (1437, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXXI, 297.21)
 νὰ μὴδὲν ἔχετε καμίαν ἐντήρησιν περιερχομένου διὰ ἐγγαρείαν καμίαν (1440, Rhodes,
 TSIRPANLIS 1995: 126, 401.9)
 νὰ μάθῃ καμμία σοφίαν *Assizes* B 412.6
 νὰ μὴδὲν ὀφείλουσιν καμίαν δουλοσύνην (1478–9, Constantinople, GILLILAND WRIGHT/
 MACKEY 2007: 270.13)
 νὰ μὴδὲν ἔχη καμίαν ἀπελατισίον (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.47)
 δίχως καμίαν ἔμποδον *Theseid* I.128,5 (Follieri)
 δὲν πηγαίνεις πούπετε νὰ εὔρης καμίαν μούρσιαν *Poulol.* AZ 12
 καμίαν ἄργηταν LIMEN., *Velis.* (A) 232
 ἢ ρηθείσα μονὴ καμίαν ἀπόλαυσιν οὐδὲν ἔλαβε (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 59, 49.6)
 καμίαν παρεπτόνεσιν (1509, Nauplion, LAMBROS 1909a: 274.15)
 δὲν ἔχει κανεῖς ἄνθρωπος καμία νομή (1535, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 58, 100.28)
 διὰ καμίαν ὑπόθεσιν (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 13, 27.14)
 καμίαν φορὰν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1460
 οὕτε ἀτός του νὰ δείξῃ καμίαν ξικαθάρισην (1578, Cyprus, TSELIKAS 1977: 1, 254.23)
 δίχως ταραχὴν καμίαν (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 61.16)
 κοντὰ καμιά σπορεὰ (1632, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 16, 177.12)
 μήτε εἰς ἄλλην καμίαν ἔσοδον (1660, Paros, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 25, 21.10)
 δίχως καμία δυστροπίαν (1672, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 6, 323.5)
 καμία γραφὴ (1674, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 83, 48.3)
 νὰ μὴν ἔχη ἡ γυναῖκα του καμίαν ἀμφιβολία (1676, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 1, 123.39)
 ὅποιος ἄνδρας ἤθελε πάγει νὰ φορτσάρῃ καμίαν γυναῖκα (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1,
 302.26)
 δίχως κιαμιά ἐλευθερία *P&N Diath.* 4947
 κι' ὕστερα θέλομε εὐρεῖ κιαμιά μαλιά CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* II.90
 ἃ σοῦ ῥταιζα κιαμιά φορὰ *Thysia Avr.* 815
 κιαμιά νὰ μὴν ἀφήσω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.326
 φαρμάκι, ὀιμέ, πολλὰ σκληρὸ παρὰ φορὰ κιαμιά ἄλλῃ *Zinon* IV.27
 δίχως κιαμιὰν ἐντήρηση γῆ φόβο νὰ τσι κρίνῃ KORNAOS, *Erot.* IV.727

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

The regular variant is κανένα, following the pattern of ἕνα (see above 5.8.5), attested since the 15th c. Addition of final /n/ is to be found occasionally, also since the 15th c. The more conservative variant κανέν is quite rare, perhaps because it is an innovative grammatical form combined with archaic inflection. There is also a Cretan variant κιανένα.

General	Restricted	Rare
κανένα(ν)	κianένα	κανέν

- εἰς κανένα πάχτος (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 47, 25.2)
 ὅλα σέ τ' ἀφηγήθηκα, κανένα οὐκ ἔκρυψά σε *Liv.* V 3241
 δὲν ἔχεις κανένα δίκαιον (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.5)
 χωρὶς δίκαιον κανένα *Theseid* I.35,7 (Follieri)
 ἔαν ἔνι ὅτι ἔνι εἰς ὀρφανός, ἡ ὀρφανή, ἡ κανέναν παιδὶν *Assizes* A 29.26
 καὶ κὰν νὰ μ' ἐναμάτιζαν κανένα πιθαράκι *Krasop.* AO 45
 κανένα πράμα δὲν ἔναι μοιαστόν του *Fior* 79.9
 χωρὶς κανένα ἐνοίκιο (1529, Corfu, ZARIDI 1993: 5, 173.24)
 νὰ μηδὲν ἀντειπῇ κανένα μου παιδί (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 36, 38.58)
 μήπως καὶ νὰ περάσῃ | κανένα ἄρμενον *Imb.* Rim. 807–8
 νὰ πιάσωμεν καὶ νὰ πάρωμε κανένα κάστρο εἰς τὸ Μορέα (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.2)
 χωρὶς κανένα δόλος (1586, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 26, 44.3)
 δίχως κανένα νοίκι (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 172, 141.24)
 καὶ ἂν ἴσως ἀπ' αὐτὰ τὰ παιδία ἀποθάνῃ κανένα (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 37.1)
 μὴνα ἔχεις κανένα κτήνος νὰ μὲ τὸ πουλήσῃς *Vios Aisop.* K 151.23
 ὅπου πηδᾷ πολλὰ παλούκια, κανένα μπαίνει στὸν κῶλον του *Paroim.* (Warner) 100.16
 εἰσὲ κανένα καράβι πατινιώτικο (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 316.67)
 καὶ ἂν ἔναι καὶ εὐρεθῇ κανένα παιδί καὶ πάγῃ σὲ κρίση (1656, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 6, 164.37)
 ἂ δῶ ἂν ἔχω κανένα σφάλμα (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 484.34)
 ἔσσοντας καὶ νὰ μὴν εἶναι κανένα δίκαιον (1678, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 6, 655.13)
 καὶ ὅποιος ... ἤθελεν κόψειν κανένα φύλλον (1678, Laconia, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 1917, f.1v.5)
 νὰ μοῦ στείλῃ κανένα γράμμα (1695, Ioannina, MICHAELARIS 1976: 1 [A¹], 251.24)
 ἀπέτις ἐξέβηκαν κανέναν μίλι, δύο *Dig.* E 1411
 νὰ μηδὲν δύνεται ἡ αὐθεντία μου ζητεῖν χρέος κανέναν περασμένον (1478–9, Constantinople, GILLILAND WRIGHT/MACKAY 2007: 271.9)
 ἂν ἐβγῇ κανέναν βαρὺ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 36.16
 χωρὶς δόλωμα κανέναν (1533, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 3, 116.18)
 δίχως κανέναν ἀνάστημαν (1537, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 117, 231.5–6)
 νὰ ἔχουν κανέναν δικαίωμαν (1578–83, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 2, 1.16)
 πᾶσα φορὰ ὅπου ἤθελεν γεννήσῃ κανέναν πράμα (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 321, 187.11)
 δίχως κανέναν διάφορον καὶ δίχως κανέναν ἀμάχι (1586, Crete, VLACHAKI 1986: 4, 378.11–12)
 νὰ ἐξορίστησαν εἰς κανέναν νησί *Diig. Sant.* 58.97
 ὅποιος θέλει νὰ πουλήσῃ κανέναν πράγμα ἀκίνητον (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.12)
 chianenamu pedhin / κιανένα μου παιδὶν (1394, Crete, SANTSCHI 1976: 1597, 344.7)
 κιανένα κρίμα ἀπάνω σας μηδεποσῶς ν' ἀφήσῃ *P&N Diath.* 5025
 σὲ κιανένα τίβοτας (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 759, 660.8)
 ἐκεῖνο κάμνω, ὅπῳχῃς βαρετόν σου νὰ κάμῃ ἄλλον κιανένα *Pist. voskos* III.3.59
 γιὰ πέτε μου κιανένα *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 576.6
 δὲν ἤβαλα στὸ νοῦ πράμα κιανένα *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.397
 νὰ μηδὲν ἔχῃ κανὲν στέργος (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 45, 171.7)
 ἐκείνη γοῦν οὐ δέχεται κανὲν ἀπὸ τὰ γράφω *Liv.* S 364 (= α 1579)

Genitive

The neut. gen. sg. is identical to the masc., but fewer variants are attested, which of course is also due to the overall rarity of the neut. gen. as a case-form. The form *κανενός* occurs

infrequently. The normal variant, attested mainly from Cypriot texts, is κανενοῦ. The rare gen. form κανοῦ derives either from κανενοῦ with dissimilatory haplology (see I, 3.9.3.3) or from the compounding of κᾶν + ’νοῦ with initial vowel deletion.

General	Restricted	Rare
κανενός ἢ κανενοῦ	(κανενοῦς) ἢ (κιανενός)	κανοῦ ἢ (καμιανοῦ)

κανενός πράγματος *Assizes A* 131.7

κανενοῦ πραγμάτου *Assizes B* 334.25; κανενοῦ ὀρνέου *ibid.* 451.23

κανενοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἢ κανενοῦ πράγματος *Assizes A* 102.12

φανταχίαν κανενοῦ διλιτισμάτων *Fior* 82.31

κανενοῦ κορμιοῦ *Fior, Suppl.* 279.15

τὸ κλάμαν κανενοῦ θουπιοῦ ποῦ κλαίγει *Cypr. Canz.* 101.23

δὲν ἐγένην ἀφορμὴ κανενοῦ κακοῦ *Pist. kekoim.* 376

μοῦ φαίνεται νὰ εἶναι κανενοῦ ἄλλου πνεύματος (1653–5, Venice, *ΦΟΝΚΙΟ* 2000: 240, f.2r.1–2)

εἰς μάρτυραν κᾶνοῦ πράγματος *Assizes A* 84.27

5.8.10 οὐδεκανεῖς

The innovative negative indefinite pronoun οὐδεκανεῖς derives from the univerbation of the negative particle οὐδέ + the indefinite pronoun κανεῖς (see above). Attestations of this pronoun are difficult to identify, as in many cases one may simply be dealing with the syntactic collocation of οὐδέ and κανεῖς without univerbation. Editorial practice with respect to word division is variable, even ambiguous; furthermore, the univerbation οὐδεκανεῖς is occasionally confused with the simple negative coordination “neither X nor Y”, e.g. οὐδετινὰς δὲν τοῦ ἔδιδε ζωὴν οὐδὲ ἦτονε ὀδιὰ νὰ ζήσει οὐδεκανένα (= οὐδὲ κανένα) βοτάνιν τοῦ ἐβάλασιν *MOREZINOS, Klini* 273.9–10. A univerbated form is best recognized through the meaning, i.e. when it can be given the sense of unemphatic “no one” rather than emphatic “not even one”. The earliest attestations of the pronoun, if indeed they are to be read as univerbations with unemphatic meaning, come from the 15th c.

As expected, οὐδεκανεῖς follows the inflection of κανεῖς (for which see 5.8.9), the only difference being that fewer case-forms and variants are attested.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	οὐδεκανεῖς ἢ οὐδεκανένας ἢ οὐδεκιανεῖς ἢ οὐδεκανενεῖς	οὐδεκαμία ἢ οὐδεκαμιά ἢ οὐδεκιαμία	οὐδεκανένα(ν) ἢ οὐδεκιανένα(ν) ἢ οὐδεκανεῖν
Gen.	οὐδεκανενός ἢ οὐδεκανοῦ		
Acc.	οὐδεκανένα(ν) ἢ οὐδεκιανένα ἢ οὐδεκανεῖν	οὐδεκαμία(ν) ἢ οὐδεκαμιά(ν) ἢ (οὐδεκιαμιά(ν))	οὐδεκανένα(ν) ἢ οὐδεκιανένα(ν) ἢ οὐδεκανεῖν

Masculine*Nominative*

- οὐδὲ κανεῖς εὐρίσκεται διὰ νὰ μὲ πολεμήσῃ *Achil.* O 685
 καὶ οὐδὲ κανεῖς ἐτόλμα εἰς τὴν τάξιν τῶν Μακεδόνων *Diig. Alex.* V 60.18
 οὐκ ἔμπορεῖ οὐδεκανεῖς *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 511
 ἐκείνην γὰρ οὐδεκανεῖς ἤμπορεῖ ἀνατρανίσει *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 95
- οὐδὲ κανέναν προφήτης εἶναι δεκτός εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τοῦ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 4.24
- οὐδεκιανεῖς ἐξώθηκε νὰ μάθῃ τὴν ἡμέρα *P&N Diath.* 4716
 δὲ σὲ ζυγώνει οὐδὲ κιανεῖς TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.223
 θὲ νὰ μαυρίσῃ τὸ πρόσωπο, κι οὐδὲ κιανεῖς νὰ μὴν τόνε γνωρίσῃ KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.890
- οὐδεκανενεῖς ἤθελεν ἀγαπήσῃν τὸν Θεόν *Fior* 76.12; οὐδεκανενεῖς ἀνθρωπος *ibid.* 83.16

Genitive

- τὰ λόγια οὐδεκανενὸς CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.282
 οὐδεκανοῦ μηδὲν τοῦ ἐμπιστευτῆς *Fior* 123.1

Accusative

- Ἄρην, Ὀρφέον δὲν ψηφῶ, Μοῦσες, οὐδὲ κανένα ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1723
 οὐδὲ κανέναν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐμποδίζει νὰ μὴν κάμῃ ἐλεημοσύνη, οὔτε ὁ πλοῦτος, οὔτε ἡ
 ἐπτῶχεια PAPSYNAD., *Chron.* II §7.36; ἡ ταπείνωσις οὐδὲ κανέναν ἀνθρωπον ἔβλαψεν
ibid. II §10.12
- καὶ οὐδὲν κιανένα λόγον | δὲ συντυχαίνω πλιά μου *Pist. voskos* V.3.122
 καὶ δε μπορούμε | σ' ουδεκιανένα σήμερο τόπο νὰ τες ευρούμε; CHORTATSI, *Panor.* V.306
- ο Θεός ουδεκανεῖν δεν ἔχει στὴν βουλὴν Τοῦ IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 6635

Feminine*Nominative*

- οὐδεκαμία φεντία / οὐδεκαμία ἀφεντία *Theseid* V.13,7 (1529)
 τὸ πῶς οὐδὲ καμμία ἀπ' αὐτὲς δὲ ἔναι τοῦ νὰ ᾽χῃ χρῆση *Synax. gyn.* 417 (Krumbacher)
 (Vuturo 422: οὐδεκαμιά)
 οὐδεκαμιά ἀρετὴ ἔμπορεῖ νὰ ᾽ναι χωρὶς ἀγάπην *Fior* 74.41
 οὐδεκαμία ἄλλη κτίσις ... τῆς ὁμοιάζει MOREZINOS, *Klini* 4.23
- οὐδεκιαμιά ... το κορμάκι τζῆ μπορεῖ νὰ μου το χῶσει CHORTATSI, *Panor.* Prol. Apoll. 37;
 οὐδὲ κιαμιά ἄλλη ἐλπίδα ἀπόμενέ μας *id.*, *Erof.* Chor. IV.742; οὐδεκιαμιά ἀπὸ λόγου μας
 τιμὴ μὴδὲ τσῆ λείπει *ibid.* V.662

Accusative

- οὐ χωρισθῆναι θέλω σοῦ οὐδὲ καμμίαν ὥραν *Dig.* A 718
 ἀπὸ χίλιες γυναῖκες δὲν ἤῤα οὐδεκαμιά καλή *Fior* 84.25
 καὶ εἰς οὐδὲ καμίαν ἀπ' αὐτὲς ἐστάλθῃ ὁ Ἥλιος KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 4.26
 οὐδεκαμίαν | σαν τώρα τούτην τὴν φορὰν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7540

Neuter*Nominative/Accusative*

- οὐδὲ κανέν' ἀπέμεινεν ποσῶς νὰ μὴν τὸ κάψῃ *Velis.* χ 179
 οὐδεκανέναν κορμὴν ἔμπορεῖ *Fior* 74.16; οὐδεκανέναν πράμαν ἐμπόρε ν' ἀπαντήσῃ ποτὲ
 κατὰδικα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου *ibid.* 91.33

πρᾶγμα ποτὲ νὰ κάμη οὐδὲ κιανένα ἄνθρωπος μὴν ἀρχίσῃ *Pist. voskos* III.7.1

γκιουνάχιν δεν ἔχουν αυτοί ουδεκακείν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 988

5.8.11 μηδεκανείς

The innovative negative indefinite pronoun *μηδεκανείς* is identical in formation with *ουδεκανείς*, and derives from the univerbation of the negative particle *μηδέ* + the indefinite pronoun *κανείς* (see above). It does not seem to be restricted to subjunctive and imperative contexts. The pronoun is exclusive to Cretan literary texts, and most of its forms are based on the allomorph *κιανείς* rather than *κανείς*. Attestations of this pronoun are difficult to identify, as in many cases one may simply be dealing with the syntactic collocation of *μηδέ* and *κανείς* without univerbation. Editorial practice with respect to word division is variable. The earliest attestations of the pronoun, if indeed they are to be read as univerbations with unemphatic meaning, come from the 16th c.

As might be expected, *μηδεκανείς* follows exactly the inflection of *κανείς* (for which see 5.8.9), but far fewer case-forms and variants are attested. It may function both as a pronoun and as a determiner.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	μηδεκανείς ἢ μηδεκιανείς	μηδεκαμιὰ ἢ (μουδεκιαμιὰ)	μηδεκανένα(ν) ἢ μηδεκιανένα(ν)
Gen.		μηδεκαμιᾶς	
Acc.		μηδεκαμιὰ(ν) ἢ μουδεκιαμιὰ	μηδεκανένα(ν) ἢ μηδεκιανένα(ν)

Masculine

Nominative

στὰ γενωμένα πράγματα μηδὲ κιανείς τυχαίνει *CHORTATISIS, Erof.* II.91

μηδεκιανείς δὲ μέ 'δε ἐκεῖ, οὐδὲ κιανείς στὴ στράτα *Stathis* II.98 (editor's correction: *μίδεκανείς ms*); μηδεκιανείς, Δάσκαλε, δὲ σοῦ φταίγει *ibid.* II.122 (editor's correction: *μίδεκανείς ms*)

Feminine

Nominative

δὲ φελεύεται μηδεκαμιὰ ἀπ' τοῖ τρεῖς μας *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Interm.* I 84

Genitive

ἡ ἀγκαλιὰ τοῦ γέροντα μηδεκαμιᾶς ἀρέσει *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.403

Accusative

δὲ βλέπω χρειὰ μηδὲ κιαμιὰ νὰ σφίγγει *CHORTATISIS, Erof.* II.419

ἀνάπαψη μηδὲ κιαμιὰ *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.303

μηδεκιαμιὰν ἐντήρηση στοῦ λόγου μας μὴν ἔχη *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Interm.* IV 73; ἀνάπαψη
μηδεκαμιὰ νὰ πάρω δὲν ἐμπόρου *id., Fort.* I.250

δὲν ἔχει ἄδεια μουδεκαμιὰ νὰ βγῇ νὰ περπατήσῃ *CHORTATISIS, Katz.* IV.1

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

γιατί, θαρρώ, δε βρίσκεται θεριό μηδεκιανένα, CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.63

κι ἐγὼ ποτὲ δὲ σοῦ 'καμα κακὸ μηδεκιανένα *Stathis* III.486 (editor's correction: μηδεκανένα ms)

There is also a single attestation of an indefinite μηδετινάς: νὰ μὴ φανεῖ μηδὲ τινὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦς *ΔΙΑΚΡ., Diig. Pol.* 98.

5.8.12 κᾱτίς/ὀκᾱτίς

The pronoun κᾱτίς/ὀκᾱτίς, “someone, somebody, some”, is a MedG innovation first attested in the 12th c. Its etymology is problematic. The standard analysis involves univerbation of the particle κᾱν with the indefinite pronoun τῖς, on a par with the development of κανεῖς from κᾱν + εἶς (see 5.8.9); the initial /o/ is interpreted as a prothesis on the analogy of other pronouns such as ὅποιος, ὅ,τι, ὀδεῖνα, ὀτόσος, or as a univerbation with the masc. definite article ὁ (MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 625–6; JANNARIS 1897: 165, CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 405; PERNOT 1907/46: II 233, 244). The potential syntactic environments which may have led to the univerbation of the particle κᾱν + τῖς, ποιός or πῶς with a generic indefinite meaning are discussed in MOYSIADIS 2012.

Alternatively, ὀκᾱτίς, κᾱτίς can be interpreted as deriving from the univerbation of the syntactic phrase οὐκ + ᾱν + τῖς, in which case the initial /o/ is not prothetic, but is the result of a change /u/ > /o/, either for phonetic reasons or on the analogy of other indefinite pronouns (HORROCKS 2014a). The second proposal has the advantage that the variants with a prothetic vowel seem to be attested earlier than those without it, and provides a natural explanation for the variant with initial /u/ instead of /o/. On the other hand, it presupposes a development which is rather improbable from a semantic viewpoint and constitutes an evolutionary path which is cross-linguistically scarce, that of a negative indefinite (“no one”) evolving into a positive indefinite (“someone”); in MedG the pronouns ὀκᾱτίς, κᾱτίς and ὀκᾱποιος, κᾱποιος always have a positive meaning. Additionally, this analysis requires the positing of two different etymologies for two morphologically parallel pronouns which developed in the same period, namely κανεῖς (from κᾱν + εἶς, secured through the Cretan variant κιανεῖς) and κᾱτίς/κᾱποιος (from οὐκ ᾱν + τῖς/ποιος). It also requires a different etymological analysis from that assumed for the prothetic /o/ of the pronouns δεῖνα/ὀδεῖνα, καθεῖς/ὀκαθεῖς, where there can be no question of negation (see 5.8.15, 5.13.2.2–3).

All available analyses fall short of addressing a further problem, that of accounting for the loss of /n/ in the first member (either κᾱν or οὐκ ᾱν) of the complex pronouns κᾱτίς, κᾱποιος, κᾱπῶς etc. Phonetically, the outcome should have been voicing of [nt] > [nd] and [np] > [mb] and preservation of the nasal before a stop, i.e. *κᾱντίς, *κᾱμπποιος, *κᾱμπῶς, a development which, in fact, is seen only in the quantitative indefinite κάμποσος. Actually the prenasalized form κᾱντίς is attested once, in the text of the *Assizes* (κᾱντίς ἄνθρωπος *Assizes* A 139.3). The standard interpretation is based on the analogy of κανένas/καμίᾱ, which must have been re-segmented not as καν-ένas but as κα-νένas (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 405, 463; MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2000: 292), cf. the modern dialectal form καένas.

Alternatively, it has been proposed that the loss of the nasal is a means of preserving the phonetic integrity of the second element of the complex word, by avoiding the voicing of the initial consonant, on the analogy of the morphologically similar series of complex indefinite relatives with prothetic /o/, i.e. ὅ,τι-κάτι, ὅποιος-κάποιος, ὅπως-κάπως etc; the nasal was preserved in κάμποσος because of the marginal status of the corresponding ὅποσος (ΜΟΥΣΙΑΔΗΣ 2012).

All analyses except that of Horrocks (HORROCKS 2014a, esp. 72–4) also need to account for the variation between initial /o/ and /u/, which may appear even within the same text and is attested as early as ca. 1200 (in the form οὐκάποτε *Spaneas* V 42). A phonetic interpretation based on vowel hiatus at word-boundaries is excluded, as /o/ is higher in the vowel hierarchy and cannot be expected to be replaced by /u/ (see I, 2.9.2). “Raising vocalism” phenomena connected with “northern” dialects (see I, 2.5.4) are also out of the question, since the attested forms do not come only from areas where the phenomenon applies. Raising of /o/ to /u/ under the influence of an adjacent velar consonant is possible (and is in fact very common in Cypriot texts), but so far the phenomenon is not attested in word-initial position, with the exception of the quantifier ὅλος > οὔλος, which constitutes an isolated case (see I, 2.8.3). The most probable interpretation of this initial /u/ is some kind of analogical process, possibly through folk etymology under the secondary influence of the negative particle οὐκ. The orthography of the form partly depends on the etymology adopted, and thus editorial practice varies between a smooth and a rough breathing on the initial vowel <ὀ>/<ὄ>.

The pronoun ὀκάτις/κάτις as a masculine or feminine is relatively uncommon, except in the text of the *Assizes*, and is mostly attested in literary texts. After the 16th c. it seems to fall out of use. In this respect, it follows τις, whose frequency decreases in the EMG period, as the innovative form τινάς increases; however, a corresponding form *κάτινας does not seem to have developed. On the contrary, again in parallel to τί, the neuter ὀκάτι/κάτι “something” is quite frequent in all types of texts, gradually becoming uninflected for gender and number, i.e. able to refer to masculine, feminine and neuter entities, both singular and plural, e.g. ὀκάτι ψιθυρίσματα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1164; κάτι παράμερες σπηλιές ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 22.5. The pronoun κάτι, in this uninflected form, survives in SMG as an integral part of the indefinite pronominal system, with the same properties; some MG dialects have preserved additional forms of the pronoun.⁸⁶

The inflection of κάτις follows that of τις (see 5.8.1). It has no separate feminine gender, and is very rarely used with a feminine referent in the singular. The genitive case, and especially the gen. pl., for which only one instance has been located, is rather scantily attested.

The stem variant ὀκατ- is attested since the 12th c. (Glykas, *Ptochoprodromika*), and the stem κατ- since at least the 14th (ms date of *Spaneas* P). The variant οὐκατ- first appears in the *Assizes* (ms B), although an earlier appearance can be postulated on the basis of the adverbial form οὐκάποτε in *Spaneas* V. Both ὀκατ- and οὐκατ- recede in the 15th c. and

⁸⁶ The full paradigm of κάτις is preserved in Pontic (see ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1955: 65), while the genitive κάτινος survives in the Peloponnese, including Mani, and possibly in other dialects.

seem to disappear in the 16th; nevertheless, rare modern dialectal attestations are still to be found (PERNOT 1907/46: II 244). Οὐκάτ- is the least common of the three variants, and appears preferentially in the *Assizes*, the *Ilias* of Ermoniakos and some vernacular versions of the Alexander romance.

	Masculine and Feminine	Neuter
Singular		
Nom.	όκάτις οὐκάτις κάτις	όκάτι(ν) οὐκάτι κάτι
Gen.	όκάτινος οὐκάτινος κάτινος	
Acc.	όκάτινα(ν) κάτινα(ν)	όκάτι(ν) οὐκάτι κάτι(ν)
Plural		
Nom.	όκάτινες κάτινες οὐκάτινες	(όκάτινα) (κάτινα)
Gen.	(όκάτινων) (κάτινων) κατινῶν	
Acc.	(όκάτινες) (όκάτινας) κάτινες (κάτινας)	(κάτινα)

Singular

Masculine and Feminine

Nominative

General	Rare
όκάτις κάτις	οὐκάτις κάντις

ἐχασμήσεται όκάτις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 261; όκάτις πάλιν ἔτρωγε καθ' ὕπνου του πεπόνιν *ibid.* 266

όκάτις κράζει με νά γράψω πιττακίτσιν *Ptoch.* IV 458

όκάτις δυστυχής *Log. parig.* L 22

ό κάτις άπαί τούς κριτάδες *Assizes* B 278.25

περί τήν δόσιν τήν νά ποίση όκάτις τής γυναικός του *Assizes* A 15.14; ἐάν γένηται ότι ό κάτις σκλάβος ή σκλάβά ποιεῖ καμμίαν άταξίαν *ibid.* 153.8; άγκαλεῖ εἰς τήν αὐλήν ότι ό κάτις τόν ἔδερεν *ibid.* 217.27; ότι ό κάτις χρυσοχός ἐνταλιαστής γίνεταί ἐπεσαῦτα άπότορμος *ibid.* 229.16

ἦτον όκάτις θαυμαστός *Velis.* χ 10

όκάτις τόν ἐλάβωσεν *Pol. Tr.* 6075; όκάτις ρήγας *ibid.* 2765 app. crit. (A)

όκάτις βασιλεὺς *Chron. Mor.* P 882; όκάτις άπεκρίθηκεν ότι εἰς τήν τσάμπραν ἔνι *ibid.* 6043

ἦλθεν όκάτις λογισμός *Liv.* V 3729

ἦκουσα καί πρόλογον τόν ἔλεγεν όκάτις *Chron. Toc.* 1702

όκάτις εὐγενής *Achil.* N 299

άνθρωπος ληστής ... όκάτις *Liv.* S 224 (= α 1437)

ἦρθε όκάτις άδελφός (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 180)

ἐάν ἦναι όκάτις όπού σέ ἔχθρεύεται *STAFIDAS, Iatrosof.* 20.84–7

ὅταν ὁκάτις ἀνεβῇ εἰς τὸν τροχὸν ἀπάνου *Theseid* IX.1,6 (1529)
 δυνάστης ἦταν βασιλεὺς Ροδόφιλος ὁκάτις *Velth.* 25
 ἐκεῖ ἑκατοῖκαν ἄνθρωπος, ὑπόκριτος ὁκάτις *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 975
 λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι ὁκάτις πονηρὸς καὶ ὀκνηρὸς εἶχαν φιλίαν *Peri pon.* 433.1

ἐὰν οὐ κάτις τάσσεται οὐκάτι *Assizes* A 155.2

κᾶντις ἄνθρωπος *Assizes* A 139.3

βούλεται κάτις εὐγενής, ζητεῖ νὰ τὸ τρυγήσῃ *Achil.* N 1050
 γιὰ τὴν ἔχθρα ποὺ βαστᾷ καὶ πεθυμᾷ κάτις *Theseid* II.45,5 (1529)
 καὶ ἂν ἦτον ὅτι κάτις ἀπὲ τοὺς κριτάδες *Assizes* A 29.31; ἐὰν γένηται ὅτι κάτις ἄνθρωπος
 ἔχαρτώθην γυναῖκα *ibid.* 117.20
 κάτις τὸν κωλεῖ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 564.14
 ἂν ἔχῃ κάτις καὶ πουγκὶν *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 568
 ἂν ἔναι κάτις εὐγενικὸς *Achil.* L 192

Genitive

General	Restricted	Rare
κάτινος	ὁκάτινος	οὐκάτινος

ἐπαφῇναι κανέναν πράγμαν ὁκάτινος *Assizes* B 393.12–13
 ὁκάτινος ψυχάρην *Poulol.* 627
 ὁκάτινος καθαλλαρίου γυναῖκα ἐρωτεύτῃ *Chron. Mor.* P 5576

ἀφῇναι οὐκάτινος ἀπὲ τὸν βίον *Assizes* B 388.6

τὸ μνηνὸν κάτινος *Assizes* B 255.11; ἀγοράζει παρὰ κάτινος ἀνθρώπου *Assizes* B 291.24
 κρίνατε πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ... τὸ κάτινος ψευδῇ *Porikol.* I 86
 ὅπου ἔνι χρεοφελέτης κάτινος *Assizes* A 44.30
 καὶ γιὰ ν' ἀρέσουν κάτινος γέγονται στολισμένες *Theseid* III.30,7 (1529); γιὰ τὴν ἀγάπην
 κάτινος *ibid.* IV.55,4
 ψύλλος ποτὲ ἐπήδησεν εἰς κάτινος ποδᾶρι *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 61.1
 ἀπὸ τὰ χέρια κάτινος ποὺ λέγασι Περᾶκη *Tzabl.* 6

Accusative

General
ὁκάτινα(ν) ἢ κάτιναν

ἠρώτησεν ὁ Πύρρος ὁκάτιναν *Pol. Tr.* 14192; ἠρώτησεν ὁ Πύρρος ὁκάτινα *ibid.* app. crit. (X)
 νὰ κάμνουσιν ὁκάτιναν νὰ ποίση ἀταξίαν *Theseid* VII.61,5 (1529)
 ὁκάτιναν τὸ ἔδωκεν *Chron. Mor.* P 4071

μὲ κᾶτιναν ἄνθρωπον *Assizes* B 275.23
 ἀγάπαν ἢ ἐμίσαν κάτιναν *Assizes* A 152.25
 πρῶτα δαγκάνει κάτιναν μικρὴ δαγκωματῖα *Theseid* III.33,2 (1529)
 διὰ κάτιναν σοφὸν Ἀπολλοφάνην *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 385.31

Neuter

	General	Rare
Nom./Acc.	όκάτι κάτι	οὐκάτι
Gen.	όκάτινος	

Nominative/Accusative

The neuter gender may also behave as an uninflected determiner, i.e. it may modify masculine or feminine nouns.

- όκάτι νά σᾶς εἴπω *Spaneas* P 208
 ἔχει γὰρ ὄνομα σαλὸν παράξενον όκάτι *Ptoch.* IV 418
 μέλος όκάτι ξένον *Log. parig.* L 164
 όκάτι ἔνα βουνόπουλον *Chron. Mor.* H 2804; εἰς όκάτι [μικρὴν] κλεισοῦραν *ibid.* 4708
 όκάτι ὀπίσω σὲ ἔλαθεν *Liv.* V 733
 καὶ όκάτι ἂν τύχη *Liv.* E 1237
 όκάτι βίον *Assizes* B 331.22
 μικρὸν όκάτι ψέγος *Diig. tetr.* 275
 σημάδιον τίποτε θαρρῶ όκάτι νά μὲ ἀφήκη *Pol. Tr.* 6884; όκάτι παρηγόρημα νά ἐπῆρα *ibid.* 7767
 ἔκαμαν όκάτι ψευδογάπη *Chron. Toc.* 1979; όκάτι Φράγκος ἄνθρωπος *ibid.* 3548
 καπνὸν όκάτι ξένον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 326; ἄλλος όκάτι βασιλεὺς *ibid.* 846
 όκάτι ἔργον νά γένη *Spanos* B 23
 όκάτι ζήτημα θέλω νά σὲ ζητήσω *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 456; ἀφκράσου όκάτι λόγον *id., Erot. apokr.* 2671; όκάτιν μέγαν εὐγενῆ *ibid.* 560
 όκάτι καταλόγι *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 36
 όκάτι λόγος μοῦ ἐσέβη εἰς τὰ ᾧτα *Diig. Alex.* F 210.19 (Lolos)
 όκάτι λόγος *Diig. Alex.* E 211.15 (Lolos)
 στρογγυλοειδεῖς οὐκάτι *ERMON., Ilias* 2.262; καὶ μεσόπαχος οὐκάτι *ibid.* 6.41; καὶ πανεύμορφον οὐκάτι *ibid.* 22.58
 οὐκάτι λόγος μου ἦλθεν *Diig. Alex.* K 344.15
 οὐκάτι φρικτὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ τραγούδια *Diig. Alex.* F 54.12 (Konstantinopulos)
 καὶ οὐκάτι μὲ δόλον ἐποίησαν τέχνη *Diig. Alex.* F 200.2 (Lolos)
 καὶ τότε δεῦτε πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ κάτι νά σᾶς εἴπω *Spaneas* P 208
 καὶ ἂν τύχη κάτι μερικόν, νά σὲ παρηγορήσω *Liv.* V 3291
 μὲ κάτι Φράγκους *Chron. Toc.* 2703
 κάτι δεσπότης ἀσκητῇ ἐνέβλεψεν τὸ μάτι *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 197
 μὴ κάτι συκοφάντης ἄνθρωπος ἦλθεν κατ' ἐμοῦ, λέγει, μὴ κάτι ἐσφάλλῃ; *Flor.* L 401–2
 εἰς ἄδειο τόπο κάτι *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 2
 νά ζηγηθῶ κάτι ποιήματα *Fior* 83.33
 ὁ νοικοκύρης, ὅπου ἔχει κάτι μαλλὶ (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 230, 164.26)
 σὲ κάτι χρέος (1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 1, 20.9); στὴν διαφορὰν ὄνπερ ἔχουν διὰ κάτι πρόβατα (1582, *ibid.* 142, 92.4)
 μὲ κάτι πόρνηδες *CHORTATIS, Katz.* V.354
 κάτι πράματα στεκόμενα πουλημένα (1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 601, 528.2)
 ἔγραφεν μὲ τὸ ζερβὶ τὸ χέρι κάτι μπακλαβάδες *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §35.3–4

αὐτὸς κάτι θέλει νὰ ξεύρη ποὺ συντυχαίνει ἔτσι (1653–5, Venice, FONKIC 2000: 240, f.1v.8–9)
 ἐχρώστουνα τοῦ καπετὰν Δουλιφῇ κάτι λάδι (1694, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 204, 124.17)
 ἐγὼ πηγαίνω νὰ κοιτάξω κάτι ὑπηρεσίαν ἔξω PAMBERIS, *Stef. Ichn.* 136.28
 εἰς κάτι Φραγγοπαπάδες EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 40.18–19

Genitive

ποιεῖ το διὰ χάριτος ὁκάτινος πράγματος *Assizes A* 154.24

Plural

Masculine and Feminine

	General	Rare
Nom.	κάτινες	ὁκάτινες ὀυκάτινες
Gen.	κατινῶν	(ὁκάτινων) ὀ (κάτινων)
Acc.	κάτινες	(ὁκάτινες) ὀ (ὁκάτινας) ὀ (κάτινας)

Nominative

ὁκάτινες λαμβάνουν *Assizes B* 440.26; ὁκάτινες ἄνθρωποι, οὗ ὁκάτινες γυναῖκες *ibid.* 450.23
 οὐκάτινες ἐκ τῶν συγγενῶν *Assizes B* 470.29; οὐκάτινες ἀπαὶ τοὺς συνκενοῦς του *ibid.* 469.17
 οὐκάτινες ἀπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς λᾶς *Assizes A* 243.3
 κάτινες τὰ εὐρίσκου εἰς τὸν βυθὸν *Assizes B* 299.12; ἐὰν κάτινες δώσου τὰ ρούχα τους ἐνοῦ
 ράφτη διὰ νὰ τὰ ράψῃ *ibid.* 322.14
 κάτινες μ' ἐλάλησαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 427
 κάτινες καβαλλάριδες πιστοὶ τοῦ ρηγὸς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 42.33; οἱ κάτινες οἱ ἄπιστοι
 Γενουβίσοι *ibid.* 404.9
 ἐγροικίσαν το κάτινες καβαλλάρηδες ἀποὺ ἀγαποῦσαν τὸν ρήγαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O
 90.31–2 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 εὐρεθήσαν κατίνες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.9; καὶ ἤρταν καὶ κάτινες *ibid.* 4.17; καὶ ἐξεβήσαν
 κάτινες *ibid.* 46.13
 κάτινες ἀποὺ τοὺς μπαρούνηδές του *Fior* 112.14
 περὶ τοὺς ποιοὺς κάτινες λέγουν πῶς ἦσαν τοῦτοι *Pist. kekoim.* 233

Genitive

κατινῶν παρανόμων *Pist. kekoim.* 55

Accusative

διὰ κάτινες ἀποὺ με μισοῦν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 24.5

Κάτις and κάτι function both as pronouns and as determiners, e.g. καὶ τῶρα ὁκάτις θέλει νὰ
 ποίση *Assizes A* 14.6; ἐὰν γένηται ὅτι ὁ κάτις ἄνθρωπος ἢ κάποια γυναῖκα πολομᾷ δόσιν
 ἐνοῦ ἀνθρώπου *ibid.* 155.10; κακὸν ἀβάστακτον ὁκάτι μὲ προσμένει [ANDR. PALAIOL.],
Kallim. 1874. The neuter ὁκάτι/κάτι can also function as a quantitative adverb, with the
 meaning “somewhat, a little bit”, e.g. ἔδε κεφάλιν σκορδαλλοῦ, ὁκάτι ἐμαγεύθην *Ptoch.* IV
 414; ὁκάτι ὀλίγον πρὸς ἐκεῖ *Chron. Mor.* H 1664.

5.8.13 ὀκάποιος/κάποιος

The pronoun ὀκάποιος/κάποιος “someone, somebody, some” is a LMedG innovation. Its etymology is problematic: the standard analysis involves univerbation of the particle κᾶν with the interrogative pronoun ποῖος/ποιός, similar to the development of κανείς from κᾶν + εἷς, while the initial /o/ is interpreted as an analogy with other pronouns such as ὅποιος, ὅ,τι, ὁδεῖν. Alternatively, it has been interpreted as deriving from the univerbation of the syntactic phrase οὐκ + ᾶν + ποῖος (HORROCKS 2014a). The alternative etymologies are discussed in detail in 5.8.12.

The stem variant ὀκάποιο- is the earliest, attested first in texts composed in the 12th c., and its frequency recedes after the 15th c.; it has disappeared from MG. Its distribution does not seem to be geographically restricted.

The pronoun κάποιος is in functional competition with the synonymous pronouns τις/τινᾶς and κάτις. It appears chiefly in lower-register texts and contexts, as opposed to τις, which appears in all registers. Κάποιος prevails over κάτις towards the end of the EMG period, and is in fact the only available option in SMG (except for κάτι; see 5.8.12); the Grammars of Sofianos, Germano and Portius for instance mention κάποιος but not κάτις.

Κάποιος inflects as a regular adjective in -ος, -α, -ο(ν), without any extended oblique forms or shift of stress; some case-forms are inadequately attested.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	ὀκάποιος ῑ κάποιος	ὀκάποια ῑ κάποια	(ὀκάποιο(ν)) ῑ οὐκάποιο(ν) ῑ κάποιο(ν)
Gen.	ὀκάποιου ῑ κάποιου	ὀκάποιας ῑ κάποιας	(ὀκάποιου) ῑ (κάποιου)
Acc.	ὀκάποιον ῑ οὐκάποιον ῑ κάποιο(ν)	ὀκάποια(ν) ῑ κάποια(ν)	ὀκάποιο(ν) ῑ οὐκάποιο(ν) ῑ κάποιο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	ὀκάποιοι ῑ κάποιοι ῑ ὀκάποι	(ὀκάποιες) ῑ κάποιες	(ὀκάποια) ῑ οὐκάποια ῑ κάποια
Gen.	(ὀκάποιων) ῑ κάποιων		
Acc.	(ὀκάποιους) ῑ κάποιους	(ὀκάποιας) ῑ (ὀκάποιες) ῑ κάποιας ῑ κάποιες	ὀκάποια ῑ οὐκάποια ῑ κάποια

Singular*Masculine*

Nominative

General
ὀκάποιος ῑ κάποιος

όκάποιος δυστυχής *Log. parig.* L 344; εκείτετον όκάποιος *ibid.* 430
 όκάποιος βασιλέας *Chron. Mor.* H 882
 Λατίνος ήτον εύγενής όκάποιος από χώραν *Liv.* P 13
 όκάποιος άλλος βασιλεύς *Liv.* α 2933, *Liv.* V 2571
 όκάποιος άλλος εύγενής *Liv.* E 3161
 ήτον όκάποιος θαυμαστός *Velis.* χ 10 app. crit. (V)
 όκάποιος ρήγας *Pol. Tr.* 2765 app. crit. (VX)
 περί του όρκου τόν μέλλει νά ποίση ό κάποιος *Assizes* A 214.7
 όκάποιος Φράγκος εύγενής *Chron. Mor.* P 8113
 ήλθεν όκάποιος Ίωσηή από Άριμαθείας *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 451; όκάποιος βασιλεύς *id., Erot. apokr.* 2247
 όκάποιος Άθηναίος *Diig. Alex.* F 172.10 (Lolos)
 εύρέθη κάποιος *Chron. Mor.* P 2268
 κάποιος σκλάβος *Assizes* B 447.15
 κάποιος άνθρωπος *Assizes* A 116.5
 ήρπασε κάποιος πράγμα *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 141.B.10
 κάποιος μάντης ήτονε *ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 39.1
 κάποιος ξένος μοναχός, ξένος από άλλον κόσμον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 185
 κάποιος Μπατοργάμπορος αναθεματισμένος *ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., Ist. Vlach.* 237
 κάποιος γεωργός *MOREZINOS, Klini* 17.16
 κάποιος Σαμαρείτης *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 10.33
 ήτον δέ κάποιος Σαρακηνός [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P 358.11
 κάποιος άνθρωπος *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* I 1
 ήλθε κάποιος, τó όνομάν του *Ζηνάς Vios Aisop.* D 211.1
 κάποιός τις βασιλεύς *KASIMATIS, Varl. & Ioas.* 499.13

Genitive

General
όκάποιου κάποιου

όκάποιου του καβελλαρίου γυναίκα έρωτεύτη *Chron. Mor.* H 5752
 έδωκέν τα κάποιου του δούλου *Vios Aisop.* I 247.39
 έχρεωστούσαν ένός κάποιου δανειστού *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 7.41
 περί κάποιου Τεκκελή πασιά *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 4890 tit.
 ένα παιδί κάποιου Νικολάου Ροπάνου *GAVRILOP., Diig. panouklas* 98.3

Accusative

General	Rare
όκάποιον κάποιον	ούκάποιον

όκάποιον άνθρωπον *Log. parig.* L 392
 όκάποιον είχε εξαδελφον, τόν έλεγαν Ρομπέρτον *Chron. Mor.* H 2158; όπου ήτον έρωτήσουντα
 όκάποιον συγγενήν του *ibid.* 5770
 ήγάπα εύγενήν όκάποιον πρώτον άλλον *Liv.* S 1657 (= α 2944)
 όκάποιον άλλον άνθρωπον *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 3124
 τόν Λαμεδόνον, όκάποιον έδικόν του *Diig. Alex.* F 188.13 (Lolos)

μέ ὀπτωχόν οὐκάποιον *Spaneas* Z 238 app. crit.
εἰς κάποιον Κατακουζηνόν *Chron. Mor.* P 4535
πρὸς κάποιον Νικόλαον Παπαδάτον (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 148, 127.6)
εἰς κάποιον τόπον ζοφερὸν ΡΑΡΑ-ΛΑΥΡ., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 111.30
λέγει κάποιον δοῦλον *Vios Aisop.* K 147.23
μά ᾽χει σὰν κάποιο λογισμό, ὅπου τότε πειράζει *Thysia Avr.* 320
εἰςὲ κάποιον βασιλέα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 37.25
κάποιον τοῖχον (1633, Crete, ΧΑΝΘΟΥΔΙΔΙΣ 1912: 62, 163.8–9)
κάποιον μπουφοῦνον *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 90.26
εἰς κάποιον τόπον δὲν ἔβρεξεν ΡΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* II §8.2
ὅποτα εἶχε εὖρει κάποιο ἄθρωπο (1644, Ithaca, ΖΑΡΑΝΔΙ 2002b: 299, 235.16)
κάποιο χοτροειδέστατον Γκουρτζή Μεχεμέτ πασά (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 403, f.3r.65–6)
περί πῶς ἔστειλαν κάποιον Μοράτ αγάν εἰς τὴν Κρήτην *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 5260 tit.
διὰ κάποιον λογαριασμόν (1688, Siatista, ΠΑΝΔΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ/TSOURLKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 6, 4.5)
διὰ κάποιον μύλον (1689, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 30, 135.4)
εἰς κάποιο τρόπο *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.2121

Feminine

Nominative

General	Rare
κάποια	ὀκάποια

ἦλθεν ὀκάποια ἀρχόντισσα *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 29
ἐὰν γένηται ὅτι κἀντις ἄνθρωπος ἡ κάποια γυναῖκα ζητοῦν *Assizes A* 139.3
προσωδία εἶναι κάποια ἐξάπλωσις τῆς φωνῆς *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 37.2
βγαίνει μιὰ κάποια ἄσκιὰ *CHORTATIS, Erof.* II.131
ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ εἶναι κάποια διαφορὰ (1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 622, 543.2)
κάποια γυναῖκα, τὸ ὄνομάν της Μάρθα *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 10.38
κάποια γυναῖκα ἐντόπια *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* IV 1
κάποια γυναῖκα ἔθαψε τὸν ἄνδραν της *Vios Aisop.* D 241.27
ἦταν κάποια στράτα (1686, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1999: 6, 50.4)
κάποια φωνή *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.2318; μιὰ κάποια ἀγάπη ἐκίνησε *ibid.* V.113

Genitive

General
ὀκάποιας ἢ κάποιας

καπήλισσας ὀκάποιας *Poulol.* 284
ὀκάποιας κὰν γειτόνισσας ροῦχον νὰ ἐπαρελύθην *Ptoch.* III 162
ἐχάλασες τὸν ἑαυτὸν σου διὰ κάποιας μάγισσας ἀγάπην [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P III 327.29–30

Accusative

General	Rare
κάποια(ν)	όκάποιαν

όκάποιαν ἄλλην ἔπεψεν *Log. parig.* L 574
καὶ όκάποιαν ἐκ τὰς τόσας μου γραφὰς νὰ παραλάβῃ *Liv.* S 124; ἐπεσώσαμεν εἰς θάλασσαν
όκάποιαν *ibid.* 2107
όκάποιαν πονηρίαν *Diig. Alex.* V 80.22

γιατὶ δὲν εἶναι ἀμαρτωλὸς χωρὶς κάποιαν αἰτίαν *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 369
κάποιαν πρόφασιν *Pist. kekoim.* 55
εἰς κάποιαν ντεφερέντσια (1564, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 22, 100.3)
διὰ κάποια ἡδονὴν *VENDRAMOS, Istor. gyn.* 191
εἴχαμε νὰ κάμωμεν κάποια διαφωνία (1588, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1999a: 30, 48.4)
νὰ τοὺς σιάσουν εἰς κάποια διαφορὰ ὅπου εἴχαν (1597, Santorini, *TSELIKAS* 1985: 5, 77.5)
εἰς κάποιαν ὑπηρεσίαν *Vios Aisop.* K 167.4
κάποιαν ὀπτασίαν *MOREZINOS, Klini* 17.17
ἐπειδὴ καὶ νὰ εἴχασιν κάποιαν διαφορὰ (1616, Naxos, *KATSOURO* 1968 : 2, 28.6)
κάποιαν δουλείαν (1616, Crete, *ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI* 1996: 4, 364.9)
δεῖχνει πρὸς ἐσένα κάποιαν ἀγάπη *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §11.112
κάποιαν ἀκοήν (1654, Karpenisi, *STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI* 1992: 7, 82.4)
νὰ ᾄδουσιν ἀφ' τ' ἄσπρη κάποιαν κλίσιν *KONDAR., Paidēs* 275
κάποιαν βοήθειαν *Kaloandros* 406.27
εἰςὲ κάποια κλεψιά (1684, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 475, 698.15)
διὰ κάποια ἀνάγκη τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1691, Serres region, *ODORICO* 1998: 89, 214.14)
βρεσκόμενοι εἰςὲ κάποια διαφορὰ (1699, Mykonos, *KATSOURO* 1948: 13, 29.5)
ἐφόρειε κάποια φορεσὰ *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.415

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General	Rare
κάποιο(ν)	οὐκάποιον

ἐὰν γένηται παρὰ κάποιον ριζικόν *Assizes A* 213.18
καὶ πιλέο κάποιον τίποτις (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, *MORGAN* 1954: 64.16)
διὰ κάποιον κομμάτιν (1571, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1995a: 7, 127.13)
κάποιον νησὶν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 70
διὰ νὰ ρεκοπεράρη κάποιον στάμπιλε τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1588, Crete, *VLACHAKI* 1986: 5, 382.39)
καὶ γένη κάποιον ἐμπόδιον *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 133.A.67
κάποιον κρασί (1599, Zakynthos, *ZOIS* 1957: 62.3)
κάποιον χρῆος (1628, Crete, *ILIAKIS* 2008: 510, 485.11)
κᾶπγιω στάρι / κάποιο στάρι (1630, Crete, *XANTHOUDIDIS* 1912: 51, 137.11)
καὶ ἃ μοῦ βρεθῇ καὶ τῶρι κάποιον τίποτας (1650, Naxos, *KATSOURO* 1968: 76, 193.32)
κάποιον χωράφι *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 128.20
νὰ γράψῃ κάποιο προικὶ ὅπου χρεωστεῖ (1673, Paxoi, *PETROPOULOS* 1958: 73, 43.1)

εύρισκούντονε κάποιο χρέος (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 393, 608.6)
μέ κάποιον τίποτες βιάτικον (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 182.27)
εις κάποιον μέρος *Kaloandros* 407.19

ουκάποιον αρχοντόπουλο *Diig. Alex.* K 356.11

Plural
Masculine
Nominative

General	Rare
κάπιοι	όκάπιοι ἰ όκάπο

όκάπιοι από έσας *Chron. Mor.* H 940; όκάπιοι δύο καβαλλάριοι *ibid.* 8494
όκάπιοι άρχοντες πρωτοκαβαλλαραιόι Άθηνιώτες είπαν *Diig. Alex.* V 47.27

έσώσασιν εκεί όκάποι άποκρισάροι *Chron. Mor.* H 1793; όκάποι άπ’ την Άνάπολιν *ibid.* 7077

κάπγοι σκλάβοι Σαρακηνοί έξεύραν την MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 634.37
χρεωστούν του κάπιοι χρεοφειλέτες (1539, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 957, 751.30)
καί κάπιοι άλλοι του λαού *Pist. kekoim.* 236
κάπιοι λαοούσιν βλάφτει τους ό ήλιος *Cypr. Canz.* 105.13
είς τό αύλάκιν τό παλαιόν όπου τό ένθυμήθησαν κάπιοι (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 451.40)
κάπιοι εβουλήθησαν να τήνε καταδώσουν ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 80.3
κάπιοι άλλοι άφεντάδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.15
κάπιοι παλιότοιχοι (1630, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 576, 549.7)
είτονε όμπληγάδοι κάπγοι λιβελατόροι / ήτονε όμπλιγάδοι κάπιοι λιβελατόροι (1643, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 102, 263.8)
κάπιοι ίερείς τής Άρτέμιδος *Vios Aisop.* D 210.22
κάπιοι καβαλάριοί μου να πλερώνουσι (1646, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994b: 2, 169.82)
άρχισαν κάπιοι να τον πτύουσι KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 14.65
κάπιοι άρχοντες έπήγασι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 193.2
κάπιοι παπάδες (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 607, 838.16)
κάπιοι άσεβέστατοι MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 119
κάπιοι κακότροποι καί άπάνθρωποι χριστιανοί GAVRIILOP., *Diig. panouklas* 94.39
κάπιοι έφημέριοι (1693, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 104, 301.7-8)

Accusative

General
κάπιοις

κάπιοις ίεροπρεπεΐς άνδρας MOREZINOS, *Klini* 16.8
εγκρίκσα απο καπγίους / εγκρίκησα από κάπγοιους (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.1)
κάπιοις λόγους *Vios Aisop.* I 261.25-6
διά κάπιοις έχθρούς [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 363.13
κάπγιοις άνθρώπους / κάπιοις άνθρώπους (1635, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 68, 179.8)
έκάμνασι κάπιοις πύργους ξύλινους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 79.22
κάπιοις προεστούς Φραντσέζους εκρέμασαν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 1986 tit.
κάπιοις τόπους ραγισμένους IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 333.30

κάποιους τόπους ἀνήμερους (1691, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 145, 84.2)
 με κάποιους γέροντες KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.829

Feminine

Nominative

General
κάποιες

ὥσάν κάποιες αἱ ὅποῖαι εἶναι γραῖες SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 440.408
 νὰ γενοῦ κάποιες γραφεῖς (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.10)
 κάποιες ἐβγαῖνα πάλι *Stathis* II.57

Accusative

General	Rare
κάποιες	κάποιας

ἀπὸ κάποιες ἐνθύμησες (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 452.15)
 με κάποιες προφάσεις ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 130.A.49
 ὁδὶά κάποιες πούλησες (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 156, 167.3)
 κάποιες καρέλες (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 148.48)
 εἶχε κάποιες ἐπαγγελίες MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 335.34
 νὰ ἔκαμε κάποιες ἀνακαίνισες (17th c., Palestine?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 24, 2.5)
 διὰ κάποιες διαφορὲς (1643, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 265, 211.12)
 ἀκουιστάρισα κάποιες ἄλλες (1679, Corfu, TSITSAS 1994: 2, 549.18)
 εἶχε ἀγοράσει κάποιες ἐλιές (1692, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 151, 87.1)
 ἐδιάλεξεν κάποιας μερίδας *Vios Aisop.* D 222.20

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General	Rare
κάποια	οὐκάποια

ἔδωκά σου ... πράγματα κάποια τίβητις (1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 24, 58.6)
 γιὰ κάποια δικαιώματα (1562, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 130, 249.19)
 εἰς κάποια δύο βόδια (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 87, 170.6)
 γιὰ κάποια σπίτια ὅπου κρατεῖ (1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 622, 543.3)
 ἐβλεπε κάποια πρόβατα *Vosk.* 11
 εἶπε κάποια λόγια τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς *Chron.* 1619 936
 ἐφόρειεν κάποια ποδήματα λασπωμένα *Vios Aisop.* I 264.35
 εἶχε κάποια παιδιά μπαστάρδικα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.5
 κάποια ὑποστατικά (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 194, 164.10)
 ἀπὸ κάποια σκάνδαλα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §28.8
 διὰ κάποια σφάλματα RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 76.34
 νὰ ἐγόρασεν κάποια χωραφούδια (1646, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 5, 15.4)

εἰσὲ κάποια πράγματα μᾶσε παρηγοροῦσι TROILOS, *Rodol.* II.411
 κάποια λόγια ἐνάντια (1652, Milos, SYMEONIDIS 1989: 2, 118.4)
 εἶχαν κάποια ἰχωράφια (1667, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 37, 39.4–5)
 διὰ κάποια γρόσα (1672, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 16, 83.5)
 εἰς κάποια σπίτια (1688, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 22, 327.8)
 διὰ κάποια σημαδιακά (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 6, f.43r.10)
 ἔχω μὲς στ' ἄρμαρί μου κάποια χαρτιά KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.1301

οὐκάποια τραγούδια ἐτραγουδοῦσαν *Diig. Alex.* F 38.9 (Konstantinopulos)

Genitive

General
κάποιων

κάποιων ζώων SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 434.196

Usage

The pronoun κάποιος functions mainly as a determiner, but pronominal use is also possible. However, the neuter κάποιον(ν) is never used pronominally, as this function is fulfilled by κάτι. Examples:

οκάποιοι ἀπὸ ἐσᾶς *Chron. Mor.* H 940
 κάποιος τον ἐδόξεψε ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 159.2
 μὲ κάποιον πράγμα (1613, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 188, 178.8)
 διὰ κάποιαν κληρονομίαν (1664, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 9, 65.7)
 γιατί 'ναι κάποια σφάλματα KORNAOS, *Erot.* III.187

5.8.14 καμπόσος/κάμποσος

The quantitative indefinite pronoun κάμποσος/καμπόσος is a MedG innovation first attested around the 12th c., e.g. ἔχει δὲ κάποσα λεπτὰ κᾶν εἴκοσι καὶ πλέον KAMAT., *Astron.* 3781. It is attested both as paroxytone and as proparoxytone, and, considering the variability of scribal and editorial practice with respect to MedG texts, a decision on its original or more frequent form is difficult.

The etymology of καμπόσος is similar to that of the indefinite pronouns κάτις and κάποιος (see 5.8.12–13): the standard analysis assumes univerbation of the AG particle κᾶν and the AG enclitic indefinite quantitative pronoun ποσός or the interrogative pronoun πόσος, an analysis which in fact poses fewer phonetic problems in the case of κάμποσος than in the case of κάτις/κάποιος, since the final nasal of the first element is normally not deleted (see MOYSIADIS 2012). It is also possible to assume, following HORROCKS 2014a, that the first element is οὐκ ἄν rather than καὶ ἄν/κᾶν, although this analysis cannot easily account for some variant forms such as κιαμπόσος (found only in Crete; cf. κιανεῖς), e.g. εὔρε κιαμπόση συντροφιά *Katis* 13, and κᾶν πόσος, e.g. ποῦ μὲ ὠφελοῦν ὅτι ἔμαθα κᾶν πόσα γραμματίτσια *Ptoch.* IV 553. Note also that the earliest attestation of the pronoun, in Kamateros quoted above, contains κᾶν in the second half-verse, in a construction which

shows the original context from which the univerbation of *κᾶν* + *πόσος* could have taken place.

A stem variant *κα-* without the final nasal is also attested sporadically. If it is not a purely graphematic variation denoting loss of prenasalization of the voiced stop, i.e. /mb/ > /b/ (see I, 3.8.3.2), it should be interpreted as an analogy on the basis of *κάποιος*, *κάτι*.

The prothetic /o/ in the stem variant *ὀκα-* has the same etymological and orthographic problems, and requires the same analysis as in the case of *ὀκάτις*, *ὀκάποιος* (see 5.8.12–13).

The inflection of *καμπόσος* is that of a regular adjective in *-ος* with fem. *-η* (see 3.2.1), but some case-forms, especially the genitive, are very scantily attested. The isolated acc. pl. form *καμποσίου* (περιπατεῖ λίγον καιρόν, μήνες τε καμποσίου *Imb. Rim.* 281) cannot be considered as a regular part of the paradigm.

Καμπόσος is mostly used as a determiner, and only rarely as a pronoun.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	καμπόσος † (κάμποσος) † ὀκάποσος	(κάμποση) † (καμπόση) † (κιαμπόση)	κάμποσο(ν) † καμπόσο(ν)
Gen.	(καμπόσου)	καμπόσης	καμπόσου
Acc.	καμπόσο(ν) † κάμποσο(ν) † ὀκάποσο(ν)	κάμποση(ν) † καμπόση(ν) † κιαμπόση	κάμποσο(ν) † καμπόσο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	κάμποσοι † καμπόσοι † ὀκάμποσοι † κάποσοι	ὀκάποσαι † ὀκάποσες † (κάμποσες) † (καμπόσες)	κάμποσα † καμπόσα † καπόσα
Gen.			
Acc.	κάμποσους † καμπόσους	καμπόσας † κάμποσες † καμπόσες † καπόσες † κάποσες	κάμποσα † καμπόσα

Singular

Masculine

Nominative

General	Rare
καμπόσος † κάμποσος	ὀκάποσος

καιρὸς ἔναι ὀκάποσος (1447, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1952: 293.1–2)

ἀπέρασε καιρὸς καμπόσος *Chron. Mor.* P

περνᾷ καμπόσος ὁ καιρὸς *Alex. Rim.* 145

ἐπέρασεν καμπόσος καιρὸς *Vios Aisop.* K 200.22
 ἀπέρασε καμπόσος καιρὸς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 61.16

Accusative

General	Rare
καμπόσο(ν) ἰ κάμποσο(ν)	όκάποσο(ν)

μετὰ καμπόσον δὲ καιρὸν *Spaneas* Va 225
 θέλουν κάμει καπόσον κόπον (1572, Warsaw, PATRINELIS 2000: [1], 15.2)
 ἔκαμαν καμπόσο τζιφά *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §3.9
 κάμποσον καιρὸν *Diig. Sant.* 60.77

μετ' όκάποσον καιρὸν *Log. parig.* L 327

Feminine

Genitive

General
καμπόσης

μέ τρεμεντίνας καμπόσης *FORTIOS, Strat. pragm.* 359
 τέλος δὲ ὡς ἐκάθετον, μετὰ καμπόσης ὥρας *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 883

Accusative

General	Rare
καμπόση(ν) ἰ κάμποση(ν)	κιαμπόση

ἔχει καὶ ἄρμάταν καμπόση (1487, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 16, 87.3)
 τοῦ βάνεις κάμποση στάχτη (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.21)
 ογιά καμπόσην υπόθεση *Apoll. Rim.* A 1491
 καμπόση μεσαρία (1525, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 102, 192.22)
 εἰσε συντρομήν κάμποσην (1553, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 177, 167.16)
 ἔσκουδάρισε καμπόση σταφίδα (1584, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1976: 153.198)
 κατέβημαν καμπόση ἀναβολάδα *P&N Diath.* 682
 πὼς θεὸς νὰ πάγω γιὰ δουλειὰ καμπόση στὸ μετόχι *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.497
 νὰ ἀφίσσης καμπόση ἀπὸ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν (app. crit.) (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVII, 225.21–2)
 ἄφες τριγύρου τοῦ κοκκάλου καμπόση σάρκα *LANDOS, Geopon.* 151.26
 νὰ εὔρω ἄνεσην καμπόση *Rim. Sant.* 47
 νὰ πέψωμεν καμπόσην βοήθειαν (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 36.24–5)
 κάμποσην ὥρα *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.449

εὐρε κιαμπόση συντροφιά *Katis* 13

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General
καμπόσο(ν) κάμποσο(ν)

έχει καμπόσον βάρος PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 98
 τὸ ἔργο μου καμπόσο εἰς μάκρος ἔναι *Theseid* Prol. P 147
 καμπόσο μονοπάτι *P&N Diath.* 692
 γιατί θὰ πάγω ν' ἀλειφτῶ καμπόσο ροδολάδι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.236
 θέλω τοῦ κονσενιάρει καμπόσο στάρι (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 36.27)
 καὶ πὰ διαβῶ κ' ἔχετεν ἡγεῖα κι ἔρχομαι σε καμπόσο KONDAR., *Paides* 15

 θέσωμεν καμπόσον βρόμαν *Spanos* A 84
 μὲ κάμποσο νερὸ κρύο (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.25)
 μὲ καμπόσο φουσσᾶτο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 94.30
 καμπόσον γάλα ζέστανε LANDOS, *Geopon.* 260.9
 κάμποσον λάδιν (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 849, 1135.16)

Genitive

General
καμπόσου

βράσον σπάγον λιναρίου | μὲ καμπόσου σαλμητρίου FORTIOS, *Strat. pragm.* 526

Plural*Masculine*

Nominative

General
καμπόσοι κάμποσοι δικάμποσοι κάποσοι

δικάμποσ' ὅπου ἐδηγοῦσαν τὸ καράβιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 554.32
 καὶ ἄρχισαν καμπόσοι νέοι ὁμπρὸς νὰ προκαρίζουν *Chron. Toc.* 240; καμπόσοι ἐκ τὴν
 στρατεῖαν του ἐσμίξασιν εἰς αὐτόν *ibid.* 2828
 κάμποσοι ἀνθρώποι *Assizes* A 33.12
 ἐτρέξαν κάποσοι ὀπίσω του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 34.22; ἐκοιμήθησαν καμπόσοι *ibid.* 384.34
 ἐδῶ εἶναι κάμποσοι (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 3, 302.14)
 καβαλλάροι κάποσοι ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 460
 καμπόσοι τὸ πῆραν (1670, Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.1, 72.3)
 ἔπεισαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντες τότες ἐκεῖ καμπόσοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 169.3
 καμπόσοι χριοφιλέτες (1685, Tinos, PASCHALIS 1935: 136.4)
 καμπόσοι γέροι EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 17.15

Accusative

General
καμπόσους ἰ κάμποσους

νὰ φέρη καμπόσους λᾶς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 106.27; ἔσκοτῶσαν καπόσους Γενουβίους *ibid.* 126.32

ἀπέδειραν καμπόσους LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 115

καμπόσους μήνες *Apoll.* Rim. A 160

παίρνω καμπόσους ἐξ ἡμᾶς *Alex.* Rim. 1997

εἶχανε καμπόσους Τούρκους πιασμένους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.7

βάλε καμπόσους εἰς τὰ κάρβουνα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 249.33

ἀπὸ χρόνους καμπόσους (1652, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 66, 165.22)

μὲ καμπόσους μαστόρους (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 311.33)

ἀπὸ καμπόσους χρόνους (1687, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 279, 259.17)

ἤφερε καὶ καμπόσους σκλάβους MATESIS, *Chron.* 67.4

ἔσφαξε κάμποσους ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 18.1–2

Feminine

Nominative

Rare
ὀκάποσαι ἰ ὀκάποσες

ὀκάποσαι κεράδες *Ptoch.* III 193

ὀκάποσες γυναῖκες *Ptoch.* III 193 app. crit. (G)

Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
καμπόσες ἰ κάμποσες	καπόσες ἰ κάποσες	καμπόσας

ὅτι μὲ βιάς τὸ ἐπίστευαν καμπόσες ἀπ' ἐκεῖνες *Theseid* I.134.8 (Follieri)

ἐστένησα κάμποσες ἡμέρες (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 78.4)

μᾶς δουλεύσουσι καμπόσες ἡμέρες (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 7, 311.15)

ἐπέρασαν καμπόσες ἡμέρες *Vios Aisop.* K 171.11

περάσοντας καμπόσες μέρες (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 31.17)

καμπόσες μακαροῦνες FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.88

ἐπολέμησέ την καμπόσες ἡμέρες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.3

καμπόσες ἄγγουρίδες LANDOS, *Geopon.* 244.26

διὰ καμπόσες ἡμέρες (1680, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 8, 301.12)

ἐμάζωσε καμπόσες ἐλῖες (1681, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 51, 263.8)

καὶ καπόσα καπότα καὶ τώρα μὴ καπόσις μέρῃς (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.15)

εὐρίσκοντας καμπόσες γοῦνες *Bertoldin.* 114.9–10

κάποσες φορές *Assizes* B 291.17

ἔποικεν καπόσες ἡμέρες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 80.1

εἶναι κάποσες ἡμέρες ζαπούνηδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.75

βάλε εἰς ἓνα μανδῆλιον λεπτὸν καμπόσες νέσπολες LANDOS, *Geopon.* 171.9

ἄφες τα καμπόσας ἡμέρας LANDOS, *Geopon.* 171.7

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General	Rare
κάμποσα ἰ κάμπόσα	καπόσα

ποῦ με ὠφελοῦν ὅτι ἔμαθα κὰν πόσα γραμματίτσια *Ptoch. IV* 553
 διὰ κὰνποσα κορμία / διὰ κάμποσα κορμία *Assizes B* 282.25
 παραδιδωμέν σου καὶ καμπόσα βιβλία (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 145, 119.8)
 σοῦ εἶχα βουλωμένα κάμποσα κρασὰ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 163, 163.7)
 με κάμπόσα λόγια λέγει *Pist. kekoim.* 124
 ἀσκιά κάμποσα (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 289, 404.30)
 κάμπόσα κάτεργα ἐπῆγαν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 263
 ἔχουν χρέος καμπόσα στάμενα (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 28, 86.5)
 κάμπόσα πανιά (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 3, 363.14)
 μεράζου ξεκαθαριστὰ κάμποσα ὑποστατικά (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 163, 142.5)
 κάμπόσα τορνέσα (1641, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 7, 278.10)
 ἀπέρασαν καμπόσες ἡμέρες *Vios Aisop.* D 224.15
 νὰ ἀφήσης καμπόσα ἀπὸ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν σου (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVII, 225.21)
 ἐφουντάρανε καμπόσα ξύλα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.3
 νὰ μοῦ εὐρης κάμποσα ρεάλια (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 53, 205.11)
 με τὸ πῶς εὔρε κάμποσα μπάνια ἐδικὰ μου *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 195
 ἐβάλασιν κάποσα σκάνταλα *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 28.1; ἐποίκεν καπόσα καρτσά *ibid.* 140.5
 καὶ καπόσα καπότα καὶ τῶρα μὴ καπόσις μέρις (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.15)

5.8.15 δεῖνα/ὀδεῖνα

The indefinite pronoun δεῖνα is a direct continuation of AG δεῖνα “so and so”, which already possessed a genitive case δεινός and a dative δεινί, as well as a plural. The major innovation in the morphology of this pronoun is the addition of a prothetic /o/. This innovation is already noted by Hellenistic grammarians and in EMedG philological and derivative lexicographical sources, e.g. Herodian, Choireboskos, *Etymologicum Magnum* (see *LBG* s.v. ὀδεῖνα). It is also quite well attested in EMedG authors (JANNARIS 1897: 166, §600). Examples:

ὁψώμεθα Βασίλειον τὸν ἀείζων, Ἀέτιον τὸν θαυμάσιον, τὸν ὀδεῖνα καὶ τὸν ὀδεῖνα Theodorus Studites, *Megale Catechesis* 23, p. 165 (Papadopoulos-Keramefs 1904)
 αἰτήσατε τὸν ὀ δεῖνα εἰς φακτιονάριν *De ceremoniis* II, 132.1 (Reiske); μετὰ τῆς συζύγου σου τῆς ὀ δεῖνα *ibid.* II, 8.10
 ταχέως ἀπολύσατε τὸν ὀδεῖνα παῖδα *Life of St Elias the Younger* 12.135 (Rossi Taibbi)

The meaning of the pronoun in EMedG sources seems to be either positive indefinite “so and so” or even demonstrative “that”. It could be assumed that the prothetic /o/ is due to the analogy of other indefinite pronouns beginning with /o/ (cf. ὁποιος → ὄγοιος, see CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 595–6), although it seems to have appeared earlier than the spread of this analogical process. Alternatively, the prothetic /o/ could be interpreted as a univerbation with the definite article ὁ, an analysis which is both chronologically and semantically more plausible, as the meaning of the pronoun is always

that of a positive indefinite and masculine uses predominate (see MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 607; MEYER 1889: 176; JANNARIS 1897: 80, §130; PSALTES 1913: 48–9; CARACAUSI, *Lex.* s.v. ὁδεῖνα).⁸⁷ There are also isolated instances of stress retraction to the antepenultimate syllable formed through the prothetic /o/, namely five cases in Papasynadinós's *Chronicle* and a single instance in *Chronicle of Morea P* (see examples below). However, it is difficult to draw conclusions concerning the stress of the pronoun in the LMedG period, in view of the unsystematic manuscript accentuation, and the probability of editorial intervention. There is also a single instance of a final-stressed masc. gen. sg., τοῦ ὁδεῖνός FALIEROS, *Erot. En.* 88, probably for metrical reasons.

A purely LMedG innovation in the inflection of this pronoun is the addition of a final /s/ in the masc. nom. sg., which brings it in line with the regular inflection of masc. nouns in -ας (see 2.2). The earliest attestations come from the 14th–15th c. Correspondingly, a variable final /n/ appears in the acc. sg. of all three genders in the same period. In rare cases, an alternative inflection following the pattern of nouns in -ος is indicated through an innovative genitive in -ου. The re-formation process ὁ δεῖνας, τοῦ δεῖνα/τοῦ δεῖνος → ὁ δεῖνας, τοῦ δεῖνου could be a hypercorrection based on the AG 1st-declension pattern ὁ ταμίας, τοῦ ταμίου (see 2.2.1), or an analogy from former 3rd-declension nouns such as ὁ κόρακας, τοῦ κόρακα/τοῦ κόρακος/τοῦ κοράκου (see 2.2.5), which present all three gen. sg. suffixes. The feminine form is much rarer. The MedG pronoun δεῖνα, in contrast to AG, has no plural.⁸⁸

The meaning of the pronoun in LMedG is again “so and so”, “such and such”, replacing the name of a person or object which is unknown or interchangeable with any other name. It is especially frequent in legal and magical texts (in formulas where a name needs to be filled in). It can appear both as a pronoun and as a determiner.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	δεῖνα δεῖνας ὁδεῖνα ὁδεῖνας ὁδεῖνας δεῖνος	(δεῖνα) (ὁδεῖνα)	δεῖνα ὁδεῖνα(ν)
Gen.	δεῖνα δεῖνος ὁδεῖνος ὁδεῖνα ὁδεῖνος δεῖνου	δεῖνα ὁδεῖνας δεῖνου	(δεῖνα) (ὁδεῖνα)
Acc.	δεῖνα(ν) ὁδεῖνα(ν) ὁδεῖνα(ν) δεῖνον	δεῖνα ὁδεῖνα(ν) ὁδεῖνα(ν)	δεῖνα ὁδεῖνα(ν)

Masculine

Nominative

ἡμεῖς ὁδεῖνα οἰκόνομος ... καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ὁδεῖνα ... ἅμα δὲ καὶ κριτοῦ ὁδεῖνα τοῦ ρηθέντος χωρίου ὁδεῖνα καὶ ἀδελφοῦ ὁδεῖνα (1291, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 13, 639.5–7)

⁸⁷ Note that Hellenistic and Byzantine grammarians attribute the prothetic /o/ to analogy with the pronoun ὅδε, cf. οἱ γὰρ λέγοντες, ὅτι μία λέξις ἐστί, λέγουσιν, ὅτι παρὰ τὴν ὅδε ἀντωνυμίαν γέγονεν ὁδεῖνα καὶ ὁδεῖνα Herodian 2.558; τὸ «ὁδεῖνα» ἐλάμβανον ἐπὶ τῶν παρόντων οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὅδε ἐπιδεικτικῶς, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπόντων ἀντὶ ἀντωνυμίας *Schol. Tzetzae in Aristoph. Ran.* 918a (Koster).

⁸⁸ There is a single, and rather problematic, instance of a plural form: οἱ †ὁδεῖνες συμπτέθεροι ὅπου εἶχαν ἐλθεῖν / οἱ ὁδεῖνες συμπτέθεροι ὅπου εἶχαν ἐλθεῖν *Diig. Alex.* F 126.18–19 (Lolos).

ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ὁ δεῖνα πώποτε εἰς τὴν πόρταν νὰ καθίσῃ *Ptoch.* IV 517
 ὁ δεῖνα οὐ δώσει τον, ὁ δεῖνα νὰ τὸν δώσει *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 18; ὁ δεῖνα *ibid.* 19
 ὁ δεῖνα γέρον ἄνθρωπος καὶ μὴ ἀσχολῆται πόθον *Liv.* α 927 app. crit. (P)
 ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 159.Γ.32
 ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα (1684–5, Moscow, ŠANGIN 1936: 3, 121.8)

ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ὁ δεῖνας *Ptoch.* IV 517 app. crit. (K)
 ὁ δεῖνας ἄνθρωπος *Assizes* B 367.29–20
 εὐπόρηκεν ὁ δεῖνας (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 107.3d); ἐχάρισέ
 με το ὁ δεῖνας *ibid.* 111.2d–3d)
 ο δεῖνας *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 109.37
 πῶς ἔκαμεν ο δεῖνας *Apoll. Rim.* E 1523
 ἐξουσίαν νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ νὰ λέγῃ ὅτι ὁ δεῖνας ἀπέθανεν (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App.
 IV C, 236.18)
 ο δεῖνας ἐρχεται *Theophr. Char.* 120.29
 ὁδεῖνας ὁ ἱερεὺς KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 351.8; ἀπέθανεν ὁδεῖνας ἱερεὺς *ibid.* 351.36
 ἐὰν ὁ δεῖνας τυχὸν ἔκαμε φόνον *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 146.B.23
 ὁ ὁδεῖνας ἄνθρωπος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §8.10; ὁ ὁδεῖνας ὁ φίλος μου *ibid.* III §29.26
 πῶς ἔκαμεν ο δεῖνος *Apoll. Rim.* N 1523

Genitive

οὐδ' εἰς αὐλὰς ἐσέβηκα τοῦ δεῖνος *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 17
 ὁ μὲν τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ ρηγός, ἔγραφε, θυγατέρα, | ὁ δέ, καὶ πάλιν ἔγραφε, τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ
 δεῖνος *Velth.* 355–6
 ἐγὼ ἔδωκα τὸ ἐπῆρα ἀπαὶ σέναν τοῦ δεῖνος *Assizes* A 132.27; μετὰ τὴν ἀποβίωσιν τῆς
 γυναικὸς μου ἢ τοῦ δεῖνός μου συγγενῇ *ibid.* 157.11
 τοῦ δεῖνος καβαλλάρη *Theseid* IX.50,4 (1529)
 τοῦ δεῖνος ἀγίου (1679, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 46, 259.50)
 νησίᾳ τοῦ ὁδεῖνος (1346/47, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.47–8)
 ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὁδεῖνος *Assizes* B 404.10
 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ὁδεῖνος καὶ τῆς ὁδεῖνας KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 351.8
 εἰς τ' ὄνομα τοῦ ὁδεῖνός FALIEROS, *Erot. En.* 88
 τοῦ καβαλλαρίου ὁδεῖνος *Chron. Mor.* P 5815 app. crit.
 ἢ (δεῖνα) θυγατέρα τοῦ (δεῖνος) (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 49.11)
 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ὁδεῖνος καὶ τῆς ὁδεῖνας KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 351.36
 κῦρι δεῖνα σακελλάριε –ἢ ὡς ἀκούει τὸ ὀφθίκιν του– (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 51.25)

Accusative

βλέπεις τὸν δεῖνα, τέκνον μου, πεζὸς περιεπάτει *Ptoch.* III 58
 μὴ συντυχαίνης, πρόσεχε, κὰν ὅλως τὸν ὁδεῖνα *Ptoch.* IV 51; πάντα τὸν δεῖνα μερτικὸν
 μικρότερον τὸν δίδε *ibid.* 512; κρᾶζουν γοργὸν τοὺς ἱατροὺς, τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα *ibid.*
 564
 σὲ τὸν εὐγενέστατον κεφαλὴν κἀνστρου ὁδεῖνα (1346–7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU
 1962: 255.8)
 τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα STAFIDAS, *Iatrosoph.* 18.20
 τὸν ὁδ(εῖνα)ν καὶ τὸν ὁδ(εῖνα)ν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 260.26

εἰς τὸν ὀδεῖνα— ἄνθρωπον (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 30.17)

εἰς τὸν ὀδεῖνα καιρόν ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 159.Γ.32

ἰάτρευσε τὸν ὀδεῖνα παράλυτον MOREZINOS, *Klini* 59.10

ἐμένα τὸν ὀδεῖνα (1684–5, Moscow, ŠANGIN 1936: 3, 119.23); διὰ τὸν ὀδεῖνα (17th c., Unknown, *ibid.* 4, 152.29)

διὰ τὸν ὀδεῖνα *Theophr. Char.* 124.21

ἀπὸ τὸν δεῖνον τόπον ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2118

τὸν ὀδεῖναν τὸν χρωστήν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §31.14; εἰς τὸν ὀδεῖναν τὸν τόπον *ibid.* IV §15.10

Feminine

Genitive

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ὀδεῖνος καὶ τῆς ὀδεῖνας KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 351.36⁸⁹

ἐκ τῆς γειτονίας δεῖνου καὶ χώρας δεῖνου (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 100.3d–4d)

τῆς ὀδεῖνας (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 90.19)

Accusative

κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ὀδεῖνα (1291, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 13, 639.6)

τὴν ὀδεῖναν γυναικα *Assizes* B 367.30; δίδω σου τὴν ὀδεῖνα οἰκίαν *ibid.* 408.20

δότε τοῦ τότε βότανον καὶ τὴν ὀδεῖνα ρίζαν BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 1290

τὴν ὀδεῖναν ἡμέραν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 350.3

τὴν ὀδεῖνα ἡμέρα *Apok. Theot.* 495.20

τὴν ὀδεῖναν ἀπὸ τὸν ὀδεῖνα (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 90.21)

τὴν ὀδεῖνα μερέα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 117.20

εἰς τὴν ὀδεῖναν πόρτα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II 8.13

τὴν δεῖνα ἡμέραν (1679, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 46, 259.49)

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

τὸ ὀδεῖνα περιβόλι *Assizes* B 408.20; τὸ ὀδεῖναν ἄλογον *ibid.* 413.17

εἰς τὸ ὀδεῖνα κάστρον *Syndipas* 117.22

νὰ τοῦ δώσω τὸ δεῖνα χωράφι ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 139.A.108

5.8.16 ἔδεποιός

The indefinite pronoun ἔδεποιός, “so and so, such and such”, derives from the univerbation of the demonstrative adverb/exclamation ἔδε and the interrogative pronoun ποῖός (PERNOT 1907/46: II 228). It is extremely rare.

ὅ,τι λέγει ἡ ἔδεποιά γραφή πρὸς τοῦτο NIKON, *Logos* 9 313.34⁹⁰

ἐσὺ ὑπάρχεις ὁ ἔδεποιός; (15th c., Cyprus?, TSANGALAS 1983: 132.5–6)

tale. τέτοιος, τῆτοιος, ἔδεποιός, ὀδεῖνα GERMANO, *Vocab.*, s.v.

⁸⁹ The same text also contains a dative: τῇ ὀδεῖνᾳ ἡμέρᾳ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 351.35.

⁹⁰ The same passage offers the single attestation so far of an indefinite pronoun ἔδετίς: καὶ <ἐ>ποιούν ἔδετίνας τόδε τι NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.34–5.

ἐδεποιός. Τοιοῦτος, τοῖος. Talis PORTIUS, *Vocab.* 63

ἐδεποιός. Talis. Tale. Τοιοῦτος VLACHOS, *This.* s.v.

5.8.17 ὅτωποῖος

The indefinite pronoun ὅτωποῖος, “so and so, such and such”, is attested exclusively in the Cypriot *Assizes*, although in the modern period it survives only in Pontic (PAPADOPOULOS 1958 s.v.). Two alternative etymologies are available: the older, by PERNOT (1907/46: II 234, n. 2), according to whom it derives from the univerbation of ὅτι + ποῖος, and that by PAPADOPOULOS (1958), who proposed a derivation from the adverb ὅτωπως (< οὔτω πως) through contamination with ὅποιος (see also KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.). The use of this pronoun is very rare. Examples: ἐπαφήνω τῆς συμβίας μου τὸ ὅτωποῖον μου σπῖτιν *Assizes* B 394.16; τὸ ὅτωποῖον χωράφιον *ibid.* 408.21; ἐπαφήνω τῆς γυναικός μου τὸ ὅτωποῖον μου σπῖτιν *Assizes* A 143.5.

5.8.18 ταδεποιός

The indefinite pronoun ταδεποιός “so and so, such and such” first appears in the EMG period, and derives from the univerbation of the pronoun τάδε and the interrogative pronoun ποῖος. Its use is extremely rare.⁹¹

ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁ ποῖος, ὁ ταδεποιός, *P&N Diath.* 7; τὴν ταδεποιὰ ἡμέρα *ibid.* 3097

ταδεποιός, ταδεποιὰ, ταδεποιὸ talis PORTIUS, *Grammar* 30.27

5.9 Relative Pronouns

The LMedG and EMG relative pronouns may be subdivided into two categories: (a) definite relatives and (b) indefinite relatives. In each category, some pronouns are inherited from AG, while others constitute morphosyntactic innovations, deriving either from inflected pronouns or from uninflected adverbs. The pronouns in question are the following:

a) Definite relatives

- ὅπου/πού
- τόν, τήν, τό
- ὁ ποῖος, ὁ ποῖος, ὁ ὅποιος
- ὅς
- ὅσπερ

b) Indefinite relatives

- ὁποῖος/ὅποιος
- οἷος/ὄγοιος
- οἷοσδήποτε, ὁποῖοσδήποτε

⁹¹ Nevertheless, it survives in several MG dialects as a euphemism for the devil (*ILNE* Archive), as well as in modern Cretan under the form τάποιος < τάδεποιος (PANGALOS 1955: 307).

- ὅστις
- εἴτις
- Quantitative relative: ὅσος

5.9.1 Definite Relatives

5.9.1.1 ὅπου/πού

Ὅπου/πού is an indeclinable relative complementizer introducing both definite and indefinite relative clauses. It derives from the AG relative adverb ὅπου, “where”. The stress shift to the final syllable, which led to the eventual deletion of the initial unstressed vowel, i.e. ὅπου > ὅπου > πού, is impossible to date, as the notation of stress in MedG and EMG written sources is unsystematic.⁹² In fact, the phenomenon should rather be described not as stress shift, but as stress loss, i.e. demotion of ὅπου to proclitic status, caused by the increased functional load of the word and its semantic bleaching (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 152–3; NICHOLAS 1998a: 12–13); cf. the similar case of ἵνα > ἰνά > νά. The existence of forms exhibiting deletion of the initial vowel (πού, see below) suggests that the phenomenon has already taken place by the 12th c.

The first traces of its use as a relative pronoun come from the EMedG period. In this period, it appears (albeit rarely) in lower-register texts, having as its main function the relativization of the subject (BAKKER 1974: 87–94; NICHOLAS 1998a: 200–11; MANOLESSOU 2004; HORROCKS ²2010: 294; *LBG* s.v. ὅπου), e.g., ἐκεῖνος ὅπου ἐμαγείρευεν ἐξῆλθεν τρέχων Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver* 87.11 (ed. Festugière–Rydén); ἡ μεθύστρια ὅπου εἰς τὸ μεσίαιλον ἔκειτο Daniel of Sketis, *De virgine ebria* 78; ὁ Θεὸς δι’ ἐμοῦ τοῦ δούλου αὐτοῦ, ὅπου αὐτὸν παρακάλεσα Barsanuphius, *Corresp.* 202.17 (ed. Neyt–de Angelis-Noah).

The origin of the relative use probably lies in the ancient function of ὅπου as a general (not specifically local) clause connective with the meaning “inasmuch as, since” (for this use see SCHWYZER/DEBRUNNER 1950: 647; LSJ s.v. ὅπου, II.2; NICHOLAS 1998a: 193–4). This function is frequent in Byzantine texts, and could easily have been reanalysed as referring to a noun or pronoun in the previous clause. Examples:

οὐδέν ἐστι, φησίν, ἡ δύναμις ὑμῶν· ὅπου γὰρ οὐδὲ καθεύδοντος αὐτοῦ ἰσχύσατε προσεγγίσει αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνεργῆσαι, πῶς λοιπὸν ἔχετε εἰς πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ σταθῆναι; *Life of St Theodore of Sykeon* 37.26

τίς γὰρ ἤλπιζε φυγεῖν τὸν Χοσρόην ... καὶ εἰς Κτησιφῶντα ἀπελθεῖν, ὅπου ἀπὸ κδ’ ἐτῶν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο ἰδεῖν Κτησιφῶντα; Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 321.28

καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ μὲν τινες ἔλεγον περὶ τοῦ Κύρου τοιάδε «ἤπου αὐτός γε πολλὰ ἔχει, ὅπου γε καὶ ἡμῶν ἐκάστῳ τοσαῦτα δέδωκεν» [Const. Porphyg.], *De sententiis* 6.26

νά ποιήσῃ ὁ Θεὸς πολυχρόνιον τὴν βασιλείαν σου, ὅπου πᾶσι τρόποις εὐεργετεῖς ἡμῖν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 106.1

⁹² Accentuation on the first syllable, i.e. ὅπου, appears even in very late manuscripts as well as in modern editions, even when the relative meaning is clear, as a result of conservative orthography, i.e. because there is a corresponding AG form (etymological spelling).

The spread of *όπου/πού* to the relativization of other syntactic roles cannot be easily mapped out, due to the lack of primary sources for the EMedG period. In the S. Italian documents it seems to be used almost exclusively for the relativization of the subject (MINAS 2003: 102–3; CARACASI, *Lex.* s.v. *όπου*), although rare examples of relativized direct objects do occur. The same can be said of the earliest literary texts (late 11th–12th c.) of the period under examination. Relativization of other syntactic positions (indirect object, possessive genitive, prepositional phrases) seems to appear from the 13th–14th. c. onwards (cf. the examples in BAKKER 1974: 48–51).

Relativization of the Subject

- όπου* τὸ κεφάλαιον εἶπεν καὶ ἔγραψεν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 310.30–1
 ἄνθρωπος *όπου* ἔχει ποιήσῃν ἐμπόδιον (1108–9, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 29, 136.53); τὸ
 χωράριον τοῦ Λαυρεντίου ... *όπου* ἐνὶ στοῦ βουνὶν (ibid. 29, 135.29); εἰς τὴν μεγάλην δρῦ
όπου ὑπάρχει ἔσω εἰς τὴν βαθείαν (1112, ibid. 32, 148.10)
 τὴν δρῦν *όπου* στέκει σιμὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὁδοῦ (1113, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 75, 98.7); τοῦ
 εὐλαβεστάτου πρεσβυτέρου κυρ Φάλκου *όπου* διάγει εἰς τὸ κυρ Ζώσιμον (1118, ibid. 85,
 111.8); ἡ βινέλλα ποῦ ὑπάρχει εἰς τὸ ὀπισθεν μέρος (1200, ibid. 249, 338.24)
 τῶν σπιτίων *όπου* ὑπάρχουσι (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 5, 557.9); τὸ
 βουνακάριν *όπου* ἐνὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ καστελλατοῦ (1143, ibid. Coll. XII: 6, 561.1); εἰς τὸν
 λάκκον *όπου* ὑπάρχει στοῦ ποδὶ (1144?, ibid. Coll. V: 9, 313.29)
 ὥσπερ *όπου* συνομιλεῖ πατέραν του πολλὰκις *Spaneas* P 62; ἔχεις δὲ καὶ συνείδῃσιν *όπου* σὲ
 θέλει ἐλέγχῃν ibid. 101
όπου ἔχει ἀμέριμον ψυχὴν, *όπου* ἐνὶ χορτασμένος GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 117
 ὁ παπᾶς *όπου* θέλει εἰσταῖν εἰς τὴν μονὴν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.56)
 ἡ κόρη ἢ τὸ παιδὶν *όπου* μέλλουν νὰ λάβουν τὰ μνηστρα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981:
 226.24)
 τὴν λιθοσουρέαν *όπου* ἐνὶ εἰς τὴν κουμαρέαν (1350–1?, Athos?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 130,
 45.13)
 παῖς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, *όπου* ὑπάρχει ποῦ εἰς τόπον τινά (14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001:
 245, 426.19)
 ἀπὸ ἐκείνους *όπου* ἤθελαν ἐξουσιάζουν (1371, Corfu, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 5: 3,
 68.13–14)

Relativization of the Direct Object

- ψυχὴ μου, *όπου* σὲ βλέπουσιν κᾶν ψίχα ὅτι ἀναπνέεις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 202
 διὰ πᾶσα χρέος *όπου* τοῦ ἐχρεώσται (1327, Crete, LAIOU 1982: 1, 123.5)
 τὸ πουλάριν τὸ ἀρσενικὸν *όπου* ἔχει τὴν σήμερον (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1, 19.21)
 εἰς τὸ σπαθὶν *όπου* ζώνομαι (1482, Adrianople, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 22,
 313.14)
 ἐκεῖνο *όπου* σὲ γράψαμε (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.5)
 ἐκ τῆς ξυλῆς *όπου* ᾠπαρνε *Fyll. gadar*: 4j
 ἐκεῖνο τὸ ξεράμπελον *όπου* κρατεῖς (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 9, 12.3)
 ἐκεῖνα *όπου* ἔχει (1658, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 5, 652.8)
 διὰ κάποιον μύλον ποῦ τὸν εἶχε πουλημένον (1689, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 30, 135.5)

Relativization of the Indirect Object

- ἐκεῖνος *όπου* τοῦ ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις ἐτελεύτησεν *Assizes* A 157.13–14
 ἡ ἀφεντιά σου *όπου* σοῦ ἐχάρισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν νοῦν καθαρὸν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 254.6–7
 τὴν κόρη | *όπου* ἄνεμος δὲν τῇ ᾠωκε KORNAROS, *Erot.* I 152; ὁ Δρακόκαρδος, ποῦ τοῦ
 ᾠωκεν ἡ φύση | τὸ ἄνθρώπους ὅλους νὰ μισᾷ ibid. II. 1473–4

Relativization of Adnominal Genitive

πιττάκιν όπου ἐδύναντο οἱ λόγοι του τοὺς εἶχεν | νὰ ἐξεριζώσουν ἀπ' ἐμὲ τὴν ὄλην μου
καρδίαν *Liv.* α 881–2

τὸν βασιλέα ... όπου ἐσκοτώσαμεν τὰ φουσάτα του *Achil.* N 1119

ἔνι αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος | όπου ἀπῆρε τὸ βεργὶν ἀπὸ τὰς χεῖρας τούτου *Velth.* 810–11

ἐκεῖνου, όπου ἔκοψεν ὁ Πάρις τὸ ὄφθιν του *Byz. Il.* 226

στὸν ἄνθρωπον όπου στὸ σπῖτι τοῦ ἴσαν *ΡΙΚΑΤ., Rima thrin.* 234

νὰ μπῆς εἰς τὸ κρίμαν τοὺς λᾶς σου, ὅπου μέλλει νὰ χενωθεῖ τὸ αἷμαν τοὺς *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 642.4–5

κ' ἐσύ, Ἀφροδίτη μου θεά, όπου μικρὸ παιδάκι | μ' ἐπότισεν ἡ χάρη σου *CHORTATSIS, Erof.*

III.231

ἔναν όπου Πεζόστρατον ἔκραζαν τ' ὄνομάν του *KORNAROS, Erot.* I 74

Relativization of Prepositional and Adverbial Phrases

καὶ ἄφον διαβοῦν οἱ ἰ' ἡμέρες, ἔξω τῆς ἡμέρας όπου ἐδόθη ἡ ἀπόφασις (ca. 1300, Cyprus,
SIMON 1973: 19.108–12)

φοβᾷσθε καὶ τὰ κλώσματα τοῦ Χρόνου όπου εὐτυχεῖτε *Log. parig.* L 740

καὶ ταχινὴ ἐγίνετο νόστιμη ὑπὲρ μέτρου, | όπου νὰ γένουν κονταρές *Pol. Tr.* 5024

κοράσιον ὠραιωμένον, | όπου καμμία οὐκ ἐφάνηκεν ἑμορφωτέρα εἰς κόσμον *Flor.* L 922

ὁ καπετάνος ἐποῖκεν μου περίτου παρὰ ποῦ πρέπει *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 446.14

ἡ ἀφορμὴ όπου ἔκλεψα τὰ καρτσὰ *Fior* 116.31

ὄλες τὲς ὠραιότητες, όπου ἔμουν στολισμένη *Thrinios patr.* O 19 (Luciani)

The morphological variants of όπου are the following:

όπου/πού

Όπου is the earliest and most common form, appearing throughout the period under investigation, without restrictions. Πού exhibits regular deletion of initial unstressed vowel. It appears from the early 12th c. onwards,⁹³ and co-exists in variation with the full form όπου, again without geographical restrictions. Nevertheless, deletion of initial /o/ is very rare in Cypriot texts.⁹⁴ The presence vs. absence of the initial /o/ does not seem to be conditioned by the phonetic environment, i.e. by the final sound of the preceding word.

εἰς τὴν δρύαν όπου ὑπάρχει εἰς τὴν κρίστα (1112, S. Italy, *GUILLOU* 2009: 32, 148.12)

τὲς ἐλὲς όπου ἔχω (1197–8, S. Italy, *MERCATI* et al. 1980: 42, 217.9)

ἐκεῖνος όπου ἔκαμεν τὸ μυλοστάσι (1299, Crete, *MERTZIOS* 1949: 273.275)

περὶ ἐκεῖνου όπου πουλεῖ *Assizes* B 251.11

τὸν ὄρκον, όπου ἐπάτησεν *Chron. Mor.* P 4797

ἐκεῖνοι όπου εὐρίσκονται *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 2.19

ἐκεῖνος όπου τὸν θάψη (1501, Athos, *PAVLIKIANOV* 2006: 7, 105.11)

διὰ τοὺς ἰδίους μου, όπου με λατρεύουσιν *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 32.17

καὶ αὐτὴ όπου δείχνει δύσκολος, στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 581

τὸ μοναστήρι όπου ἐκαλοῦνταν Σωτήρας (1578, Trikala, *SOFIANOS* 1992: 6, 233.36–7)

τὰ δικαιώματα όπου εἶχεν (1589, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1995a: 31, 172.4)

⁹³ *NICHOLAS* (1998a: 13 and n. 7) places the loss of the initial vowel in the 11th c., but the earliest example he adduces (Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 307.24; see below), to which he attributes the date 1042, dates in fact from 1142 (with a possible margin of error, according to the editor).

⁹⁴ The figures given in *KOUNDOURIS* 2009: 101–2 are exaggerated, as the examples cited mostly concern non-relative uses.

- τὰ ἄσπρα ὅπου ἔδωσεν (1652, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 71, 184.8)
 τὴ ρόμπολα ὅπου ἐπούλησε ὁ ἀδελφός του (1668, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 355.12)
 ὁ λογισμὸς ὅπου ἔβαλε δίκια τὸν ἐ παιδεύγει KORNAROS, *Erot.* I 848
- τὰ χωράφια ποὺ ἔναι ἀμπέλι (1121, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 90, 118.19); ὁ οἶκος ποὺ
 ὑπῆρχε τοῦ Γιαννουτοῦ (1200, *ibid.* 249, 338.26); ὁ οἶκος ὁ χαλασμός τοῦ κραταιοῦ ρηγὸς
 ποὺ ὑπῆρχε (*ibid.* 249, 338.23); κῆπον ποὺ ὑπάρχει (1268, *ibid.* 310, 447.25)
 εἰς τὸν ρύακαν ποὺ κατεβαίνει ἐκ τὸν Φαρχούνην (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7,
 307.24)
 θωρεῖς αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγουρον ποὺ στέκει *Dig.* E 1507
 περὶ τῶν μαρτυριῶν ποὺ πρέπει νὰ ὁμόσου *Assizes* B 272.6
 τὴν φύλαξιν ποὺ ἐθέκαν νὰ φυλάσση *Pol. Tr.* 355 app. crit. (X)
 ἐμένα οὐ καταδέχεσαι ποὺ σ' ἀγαπῶ τοσαῦτα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 934
 ἀπὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ποὺ εἶχαμεν (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 10, 18.10)
 τὴ στράτα ποὺ πάγει στὸ μύλο (1514, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 115, 227.7)
 τοῦ Γερμανοῦ ποὺ ἐκράτει ἄσπρα χιλιάδες β' (1576, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS
 1990: 1, 1.6)
 τὰ καρύδια ποὺ ἔχω διαταμένα (1583, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 15, 29.16)
 εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποὺ ἐκατοῖκει ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 122.A.7
 τῆς δεσποτείας ποὺ εἴπαμεν (1625, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 66, 192.20)
 εἰς τοῦτο ποὺ τοῦ δίδομεν (1625, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 2000: 1, 14.6)
 τοῦ ἱερέως ποὺ μέλλει νὰ με θάψη (1644, Lefkada, RONDOYANNIS 2005: 2, 441.19)
 τὰ ὀκτῶ ποὺ ἔδωσεν (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 31.23)
 ἐκεῖνα ποὺ εὐρίσκουνται (1668, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 39, 40.13)
 εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν φίλον σου ποὺ ἔχεις εἰς τὴν Σμύρνην (1695, Ioannina, MICHAELARIS 1976: 1,
 250.14)

ἀπού

In this form, the initial /o/ was deleted, according to the vowel hierarchy, when preceded by a word ending in /a/; this final /a/ was reanalysed as the initial vowel of the following word (for the phenomenon see I, 2.6.1.2), and the form ἀπού (sometimes written as ἀπού by editors) was subsequently lexicalized. The form is attested from the 14th c. onwards. It is frequent in Crete, Cythera, Cyprus and Rhodes (areas which retain this form into the modern period, cf. KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ὀπου), though always in variation with ὀπού and πού. It is occasionally found in texts from central and northern areas, or of unknown geographical provenance.

- ἀπού δὲν εἶναι (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.5)
 διὰ τὰ δουκάτα ἀπού ἀπομένου (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.16)
 ἅπασα χάριταν ἀπού ἔλαβεν (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1991: 1, 233.13)
 τοῦτον ἀπού σοῦ λέγω *Anak. Konst.* 92
 τοῦ σκλάβου, ... ἀπού κροῦ οὐ δέρνει *Assizes* A 154.1
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπού ἐσκοτώθησαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 10
 πιστεύουν τα λόγια ἐκείνους ἀπού τον μισοῦν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 30.14
 ἀπού ῥισε LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 308
 ἐσοῦ Πλάστη, ἀπού ἔχεις ἐξουσίαν *Cypr. Canz.* 26.13
 εἰς τὸ ἀνωθεν μοναστήριον ἀπού θε νὰ κτίσης (1590, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 6, 30.17)
 τὰ σκρίτα ἀπού τοῦ ἔχει κατωμένα (1597, Crete, EVANGELATOS 2000: 23, 57.4)
 τὲς μεγάλες προβεζιόνες ἀπού ἔκαμε ἡ ἀφεντία σου (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978:
 146.11)

ὁ βασιλῖος ἀπού ᾿τονε στὴ Πώμη *P&N Diath.* 2126
 ἀπού ᾿ρχουμου στοῦ Ἀβραάμ νά πῶ *Thysia Avr.* 1071
 τὴ φχαριστιά, βοσκέ, τὴν τόση, | ἀπού μιλεῖς *Vosk.* 86
 καὶ τ᾽ ἄλλον, ἀπού πόμεινε *CHORTATISIS, Erot.* II.155
 τὴ στέρνας, ἀπού ἦτονε (1664, Crete, *LYDAKI* 2000: 7, 416.9)
 τὸ δέσιμο ἀπού ἔχον (1690, Sibiu, *TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI* 2011: A 8, f.43v.3)
 ἀπού ᾿ταν σελ᾿νιασμένος (17th c.?, *Meteora, VEIS* 1984: 110, f.62v.7)

ὀπό/ἀπό/πό

These are not authentic forms; they originate from cases where crasis has taken place, i.e. where a word with final /u/ (in this case ὀπού) came into contact with a word beginning with /e/ (for the phenomenon see I, 2.9.5).

ὀπᾷχει πόθον καὶ φιλίαν ἄς τρέχη εἰς τὸν μάντην *Liv.* V 488
 ὀπᾷχει κόκκινον ὀμπρός *Poulol.* 336
 ὁ Ἑρωτας ὀπᾷχει τόση χάρη *FALIEROS, Erot. En.* 42
 ἐμέναν τί μὲ θέλουσιν, ἀνθρωπον τυφλωμένον, | ὀπᾷ τὸ φῶς μου σκοτεινὸν καὶ
 καταδικασμένον; *Velis.* p 685–6
 σὰν τράγον μεγαλόκερον ὀπᾷ με τὲς γίδες *Alex. Rim.* 112
 τὸν ἱμπέριον ὀπᾷγινε γαμπρός του *Imb. Rim.* 506
 ἐλευθέρωσε τὸ αὐτὸ πάττο ὀπό ᾿παρνε (1550, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2001: 41, 83.)
 τοῦ ὀμπλεγάρω τ᾽ ἀμπέλι ὀπᾷ στὴν Ἄπη (1610, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 683, 593.4)

διὰ νὰ μὴ ξεπέσουσιν ἀπὸ τὸν βίον ἀπᾷχουν *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 169 transcr. (Lendari)
 (Wagner: ἀπῶ ᾿χουν)

τὸν Καίσαρη, ἀπᾷναι βασιλῖος μας *P&N Diath.* 3437
 δεῖ θέλετε τὴ μπόρεσην ἀπᾷχου τ᾽ ἄρματά μου *CHORTATISIS, Erot. Interm.* III.85
 ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνα ἀπᾷχω ὀρδινιασμένα (1622, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1986: 3, 57.297)
 στὴν ἄλλη ἀπᾷρθη νὰ τὸ πῇ *Stathis* II. 191; ἐτούτῃ ἀπᾷρχεται ἔδεπα *ibid.* II. 223

τὴν βασιλείαν πᾷχεις *Ptochol.* A 251
 ἀπὸ τὸν τόσον τὸν καιρὸν πᾷχει στὴν ξενιτεία *Imb. Rim.* 287
 μὰ τὰ τραγούδια πᾷλεγε κι ὀπού χαρὰ μοῦ φέρνα *KORNAROS, Erot.* I 1019

In a handful of instances, an independent form ὀπό was created by the scribe or editor, e.g. μία γυναῖκα ὀπῶ ἔχει ἄνδραν *Assizes A* 140.31–2.⁹⁵

Usage

As a relative complementizer, ὀπού/πού/ἀπού introduces both definite and indefinite (headless) clauses:

εἰς τὸν μέγαν λίθον ὀπού εἶναι εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ὀπού ὑπάγει εἰς τὸ Ἀδριανὸν (1143, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. XII: 6, 559.23)
 τὸν μισθαργὸν τοῦ κηπουροῦ, τοῦτον ὀπού σκαλίζει [*ANDR. PALAIOI.*], *Kallim.* 2213
 ὁ ἄντρας τῆς ὀπού ἔναι σκλάβος (1534, Nauplion, *MANOUSAKAS* 1984: 264.19)
 οἱ σκύλοι ἀπού τοῦ κρούγασι *P&N Diath.* 3366
 τὸ μισὸν ἀδεροφοίρι ἀπού τοῦ τοκάρει (1607, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 468, 425.6)

⁹⁵ The same explanation has been given for the few cases of ὀπό attested in MG dialects (*NICHOLAS* 1998a: 527–9).

ἀνάθεμαν τὰ γράμματα, Χριστέ, καὶ ὅπου τὰ θέλει *Ptoch.* III 85
 ὅπου ποθεῖ ἄς μὲ θωρή καὶ ὅπου πάσχει ἄς βλέπη | καὶ πάλιν ὅπου θλίβεται ἄς κλίνη πρὸς
 ἑμένα *Liv.* V 396–7
 ὅπου φυλάγει τὰ ροῦχα του ἔχει τὰ ῥμισά *Paroim.* (Warner) 106.15

The pronoun ὅπου is occasionally complemented by a resumptive clitic, especially when its syntactic role within the relative clause is not immediately obvious, i.e. when ὅπου relativizes not the subject or direct object, but syntactic roles such as that of possessive genitive, indirect object etc., as well as in non-restrictive relative clauses (BAKKER 1974: 60):

τοὺς τόπους ὅπου ἐπρονοιάστησαν νὰ τους ἔχουν κερδίσει *Chron. Mor.* H 2020
 ἐκείνου, ὅπου ἔκοπεν ὁ Πάρις τὸ ὄφθιν του *Byz. Il.* 226
 ἡ ἀφεντιά σου ὅπου σοῦ ἐχάρισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν νοῦν καθαρὸν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 254.6
 Δάρειος ἔναι ἐδῶ θαμμένος, | ὅπου τὸν ἐσκοτώσασι *Alex. Rim.* 1464
 εἰς ἓνα τόπον ὅπου τὸν ὀνομάζαν Φωκίδα *Vios Aisop.* D 241.19

5.9.1.2 τόν, τήν, τό

MedG and EMG possess an inflected relative pronoun which is morphologically identical with the definite article. Its inflection is defective, in that it encompasses only the forms of the article beginning with a consonant (i.e. /t/), and therefore the masculine and feminine nominative singular and plural do not exist.⁹⁶

The article as relative pronoun appears already in AG, in Homer, Herodotus and in the Aeolic, Doric and Arcado-Cypriot dialects, as well as in Attic poetry (termed “post-positive article” in older literature). It is etymologically unrelated to the relative pronoun ὅς, ἥ, ὅ, and owes its existence to analogy, originating from the homophony of definite article and relative pronoun in the masc. and fem. nom. sg. and pl. (DIETERICH 1898: 198; SCHWYZER/DEBRUNNER 1950: 642.7; SIHLER 1995: 400). In the (non-poetic) Attic dialect, it appears in the 4th c. BC, albeit extremely rarely, in low-register inscriptions, and only in the case-forms beginning with /t/ (BAKKER 1974: 95; THREATTE 1996: 331–2). In the Koine, especially in Roman times, its use increases sharply, though again only in low-register papyri; it is absent from the New Testament and middle-register prose. A probable cause for this preference is the weakening and loss of the initial /h/ (the rough breathing) of the relative pronoun ὅς, ἥ, ὅ, and the consequent necessity for “reinforced” forms (GIGNAC 1981: 179; MANOLESSOU 2004: 6; HORROCKS 2010: 186, 295).

⁹⁶ Although the relative τόν, τήν, τό does not normally have masc. and fem. nom. forms, at least one example has been located: ὥσπου μὲ βλέπ’ ἡ ἀγαπῶ, | τὰ πάθη μου πιντώννουνται *Cypr. Canz.* 139.1–2. This is supported by data from Modern Cypriot, in which nom. forms appear very occasionally in folk poetry (MENARDOS 1969: 64–5; ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1922: 192–3, n. 1). This construction has, unnecessarily, been analysed as a definite article ἡ modifying a fem. noun «αγαπῶ» in KRIARAS, *Lex. s.v.*, probably due to the fact that in MG dialects a noun ὁ ἀγαπῶς, bearing an inflectional suffix -ς, later developed on the basis of such relative clauses (*ILNE s.v.*). A further, dubious example of a masc. nom. pl. can be found in the *Chronicle of Morea*: οἱ δὲ πιαστοῦν εἰς πόλεμον ἐλεημοσύνη οὐ μὴ εὔρουν *Chron. Mor.* H 1495 (similarly in ms P), where, however, the form can be interpreted as οἱ, the nom. pl. of the relative pronoun ὅς, if not as a scribal error for εἰ δέ.

In EMedG the relative pronoun *τόν, τήν, τό* is consistently attested in chronicles and hagiographical texts, but with low frequency (JANNARIS 1897: §1438; DIETERICH 1898: 198–9; PSALTES 1913: 197–8; BAKKER 1974: 96, all with ample documentation). Characteristic examples: *μή δείρης τὰ παιδία τὰ φιλῶ* Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool* 85.6 (ed. Festugière–Rydén); *καί τὰ ἕξ νομίσματα τὰ ἔπεμψες* POxy 1862.26 (7th c.).

During the LMedG period, on the contrary, the pronoun is very frequent in lower-register texts, and has been claimed to be “the commonest form of the relative pronoun” (BROWNING ²1983: 62; CHEILA-MARKOPOULOU 1990/91: 32; cf. also MINAS ²2003: 102). Within this period the earliest attestations come from late 11th-c. S. Italian documents.

After the 16th c., its frequency declines, although it continues to be attested throughout EMG (BAKKER 1974: 68–9, with statistics for Cretan literature), notably in headless clauses. The reasons behind this decline are to be found in its restricted range of uses (see below), as well as in its homonymy with the 3rd-person clitic personal pronoun, which must have resulted in ambiguity in many syntactic environments (CHEILA-MARKOPOULOU 1990/91: 37–8; MANOLESSOU 2004: 6–7).⁹⁷

The inflection of the relative pronoun *τόν, τήν, τό* is identical to that of the oblique cases of the definite article (see 5.2.1). It presents much less variation because some case-forms are rarely attested (gen. sg. and pl.), but also because it is much less common after the 16th c., which leaves little opportunity for the adoption of forms with regional/dialectal features. As can be expected for such short forms, morphological variation is very limited, and is attested in EMG only in the acc. sg. masc. and fem. More specifically:

- a) Deletion of final /n/ is possible, although rarely recorded, e.g. *καί τῇ θυσίᾳ τῇ μελετῶ ἀκάμωτῇ ν' ἀφήσω* *Thysia Avr.* 728.
- b) Addition of final /e/ is recorded for the masc. and fem. acc. sg., e.g. *νὰ ἔλθῃ ὁ μητροπολίτης, | ἐκεῖνος, τόνε λέγουσιν ὁ τῆς Παλαιᾶς Πάτρας* *Chron. Mor.* H 2684; *αὐτήν, τήνε* *θωρεῖς ἐδῶ μοῦ 'δῶκασι* CHOUNNOS, *Kosmog.* 710; *τῇ στράτῃ τήνε* *πᾶμε* *Thysia Avr.* 755. At least some of such constructions could be interpreted as involving an extension of the verbal augment to the present stem of the verb, rather than an addition of final /e/ to a pronominal form (see I, 2.6.3).

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	—	—	τό
Gen.	(τοῦ)	τῆς	τοῦ
Acc.	τόν(ε)	τήν(ν) (τήνε)	τό

⁹⁷ It is worth noting that it has disappeared from SMG, but is retained in some MG dialects, either as a marginal relic (Cretan, Cypriot, Dodecanesian) or as a main relativizer (Pontic, Cappadocian, Mariupolitan), in some dialects having become uninflected (cf. CHEILA-MARKOPOULOU 1990/91: 32; NICHOLAS 1998a: 346; LIOSIS/KRIKI 2013: 247–50; LIOSIS/KRIKI 2014: 897).

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Plural			
Nom.	—	—	τά
Gen.	(τῶν)	τῶν	τῶν
Acc.	τούς ἢ τσί	τάς ἢ τές ἢ τσί	τά

Singular

Masculine Accusative

General
τόν

οὐκ εἶμαι ἐγὼ τὸν λέγεις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 541
ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁ Χρόνος, ἀδελφέ, τὸν ὑποτάσσει ἡ Τύχη *Log. parag.* L 106
φίλε τὸν οὐκ ἐγνώρισα, δοῦλε μου τὸν οὐκ οἶδα *Liv.* α 1701; τὸν ἐγκάρδιον φίλον, | τὸν εἶχα εἰς
τάς ὁδύνας μου συμποθοπονετὴν μου *ibid.* 4486–7
τὸν ὄρκον τὸν μ' ἐποίκες *Katal.* 24 (Panayotopoulou)
ἐτοῦτον τὸν νικήσαμεν, λέγω τὸν βασιλέα *Achil.* N 1118
τὸν τόπον, τὸν ἐκράτειε *Chron. Mor.* P 2558; διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸν εἶχασιν *ibid.* 8085
τὸν γὰρ ἐνίκησατε προχτές τὸν μέγαν βασιλέαν *Achil.* O 397
οὐαὶ τὸν βάλουν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν σκεπάσῃ χῶμα! BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 164
ἐμέν, τὸν βλέπεις, λέγει μου, τὸν μαυροαραχνιασμένον *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 29
τὸν γράφη ἡ τύχη μελανόν ὁ χρόνος οὐ λευκαίνει *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 197
εἰς σπιτότοπο τὸν ἔχει (1664, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 31, 36.2)

Feminine Genitive

General
τῆς

περὶ τῆς ζημίας τῆς λαμβάνει κανεὶς ἄνθρωπος *Assizes B* 260.6; περὶ τῆς ἐτέρας τιμωρίας τῆς
ἐτοιμάζεται τῆς χήρας *ibid.* 261.4

Feminine Accusative

General
τή(ν)

τὴν ἀγίαν αὐτὴν ἀφιέρωσιν τὴν ἐγὼ ἡφιέρωσαν (1108, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 17, 218.86)
τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν με ἔφερες, γνωρίζεις, ἔπαρέ τὴν *Ptoch. I* 57
τὴν ἀνδρειὰν τὴν περισσὴν τὴν ὁ Θεὸς μοῦ ἐδῶκεν *Dig.* E 1396
τὴν κάκιστον βουλὴν τὴν εἶχε πρὸς ἐκείνον *Pol. Tr.* 87 app. crit. (A)
τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἔχει *Achil.* N 3
τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἔχουν *Assizes A* 29.8

τὴν παιδείουσιν, τὴν φρόνεσιν τὴν ἔχετε εἰς τὸν κόσμον *Synax. gadar.* 28
 αὐτοῦνην, τὴν ἐπότηαξες με τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν χάριν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1631
 περὶ τῆς ἀναλώσεως καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας | τὴν ἐποίησαν εἰς αὐτὴν *Analos. Ath.* 15
 πᾶσαν μου ἄλλην διαθήκην, τὴν ἐποίησα (1523, Cyprus, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1894:
 III, 259.8)
 τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ἔχει ὁ Στέφανος εἰς τὸν Καμιναρὰν (1608, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 12, 90.13)
 τὴ ζωὴ τὴ χάνεις *Thysia Avr.* 849

Neuter Nominative

General
τό

τὸ συνόριον ... τὸ ἐστὶν ἀναμεταξὺ (1118, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 85, 112.22)
 τὸ ἀνάμοιρόν μου χωράφιον, τὸ ἐπῆλθεν μοι ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἡμῶν πατρός (1183, S. Italy,
 GUILLOU 2009: 10, 58.8)
 τὸ κομμάτιν, τὸ ἀποσυνοριάζει τὸ Σανογιανίτικον (ca. 1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/
 ΒΕΝΕΧΕΝΙΤΣΧ 1927: 21, 9.2)
 βλέπουν οἱ Τοῦρκοι θέαμαν τὸ γίνεται εἰς αὐτοὺς *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 204
 τὸ θαῦμαν τὸ ἐγένετο εἰς ὅλον τὸν λαόν του *Achil.* N 635
 τὸ δακτυλίδιν | τὸ ἐνέκρωσεν τὸν Λίβιστρον *Liv.* S 1757–8
 τὸ κότεργον τὸ ἐστράφη ἀπὸ τὴν Γένουβαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 148.35

Neuter Genitive

General
τοῦ

τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ τερμένου τοῦ συνεβάσθησαν *Assizes A* 63.13

Neuter Accusative

General
τό

ἐκ τὸ χωράφιον τὸ λέγει ἡ ἡγουμένη (1095, S. Italy/Sicily?, GUILLOU 1963: 2, 50.19)
 τοῦ πράγματος τὸ οἰκοδόμησα (1138?, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 14, 102.10)
 τί λέγετε πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μᾶς εἶπον *Spaneas P* 212
 καὶ νὰ χορταίνης τὸ ψωμίν, τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖς, ὡς λέγεις *Ptoch. III* 213
 στὸ μοναστήρι ἐκέينو, | τὸ ἐκάψαν τότε οἱ Ρωμᾶιοι *Chron. Mor.* H 4795
 δηλόθυρον μεταξὺ τὸν τὸ ἔδωκεν (1442, Belgrade region/Serbia, ALEXOULIS 1892: 2, 280.14)
 τὸ γονικὸν τὸ ἔχω εἰς τὴν Γεμουράν, τὸ ἔχω με τὸν Καζόννη (1482, Pontos, ALEXAKIS/
 MAVROMATIS 2015: 7, 16.8)
 κοντάριν τοῦ πατρός σου, | τὸ ἄρπαξεν ὁ κύρης σου ἐκ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν *Arm.* 11
 καὶ τὸ πεθύμαν εἰς καιροὺς εἰς μίαν ὥραν τὸ ποῖκε *Rim. kor.* A 152
 τό μάθει ἀπὸ μικρὸς κιανεῖς ποτέ δεν το ξεχάνει *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.258
 ἴντά 'ναι τοῦτο τ' ὅρισε ἐδὰ στὰ γερατεῖά μου; *Thysia Avr.* 34
 τὸ βούδι τὸ φαρὸ τὸ ἀγόρασε ὁ Πέτρος (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 68, 33)

καὶ πρόσταζε τὸ πεθυμᾶς KONDAR., *Paides* 100
μπορεῖς νὰ κάμῃς εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ βούλεται ἡ καρδιά σου KORNAPOS, *Erot.* IV.417

Plural

Masculine Accusative

General	Restricted
τούς	τσί

διὰ ὅλους ἐκείνους τοὺς μισᾷ *Assizes* B 446.25
νὰ συμπονῇς τοὺς ἔφλεξεν ἡ φλόγα τῆς ἀγάπης *Liv.* S 335
τοὺς φύλακας τοὺς εἶδεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 908
τοὺς δώδεκα νεώτερους τοὺς θέλω ἐξεχωρίσει *Achil.* O 131
ζώντα σας ἐλογίζονται ἄλλους τοὺς ἡγαποῦσαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 177
ποιοὶ ἔναι τσι βλέπω σκοτεινά, με διχωστὰς φωτῖα *P&N Diath.* 197

Feminine Genitive

General
τῶν

τῶν δωρεῶν τῶν δίδει *Assizes* A 15.12

Feminine Accusative

General	Rare
τές	τάς ἢ τσί

In the fem. acc. pl. the standard form is *τές* with occasional attestations of hypercorrective *τάς*, e.g. *περὶ τῶν χηνῶν ... τὰς κλέπτουν* *Assizes* A 20.25; *τὰς ἡμέρας τὰς διδοῖ ἡ αὐλή* *ibid.* 87.10; *ἀνδραγαθίς τὰς ἔποικεν* *Velis.* χ 121; *τὰς τρίχας ... τὰς κεκαρμένας ἔχω* [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1506. In addition, very limited instances of the dialectal *τσί* can be found in works of Cretan literature.

τὰς τοῦ Κουρτζάνου ἐλαίας, ὁμοίως καὶ τές ἔχω πλησίον (1138?, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 14, 102.26)
τὰς ἰδικάς μου συμφορὰς τὰς ἀνυπομονήτους, | τὰς ἔπαθα, τὰς ἤκουσα, τὰς εἶδα, τὰς αἰστάνθην *Liv.* α 3259–60
ἀνδραγαθίς τὰς ἔποικεν *Velis.* χ 121 (ms N)
ἀνδραγαθίς τές ἔποικεν *Velis.* χ 121 app. crit. (V)
τές κάλτσες τές φορῶ *Poulol.* 188 app. crit. (A)
τές χώρες τές ἐκράτει *Achil.* O 195
τές θλίψες τές εἰς ἐμέναν ἔφερον DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 372
οἱ δουλείες τές ἐποίκεν εἰσές VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 60.5–6
καὶ ἄλλες χρεῖες τές χρειάζουνταν LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 323
τές δύνάμες τές ἔχει ὁ παμπόνηρος (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.4)
τσὶ ἁμαρτίες τσι κάμαμε *P&N Diath.* 731

Neuter Nominative

General
τά

καί λέγω τά οὐκ ἐνδέχονται καί τά με οὐδέν ἀρμόζουν; GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 294
 τά δύο καρδία, τά στήκουν εἰς τὸ χωράφιον, τὰ ἐπώλησα τὴν Φώτα, νὰ ἔχη καί αὐτά (ca.
 1275 [later copy], Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 75, 44.9)
 τά βιβλία τά εὐρίσκονται εἰς τὸν ναόν (1363, Cyprus, COUROPOU/GÉHIN 2001: 3, 157.1)
 τά ἐνι τῆς ρηγικῆς αὐλῆς νὰ δοθοῦν εἰς τὴν ρηγικὴν αὐλὴν *Assizes A* 32.8
 τά κάστρο, τὰ ἐνι στὰ Σκορτά, *Chron. Mor.* P 8191
 τὰ μέλλουν θέλουν γένη *Byz. Il.* 773
 λείψανα τὰ εὐρίσκονται MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 24.6–7
 τὰ κρύβονται ἐφανήκανε, τὰ γύρευα εὐρεθῆκα KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.1513

Neuter Genitive

General
τῶν

τῶν χωραφίων τῶν ἔχεις (1159, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 30, 168.5)
 δείχνουν καλὴ μούστρα ἐκείνων τῶν θέλου νὰ πουλήσουν *Assizes B* 251.30

Neuter Accusative

General
τά

τὰ χοιρίδια τὰ ἐκλέψασιν ἐκ τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1133, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 113, 151.25)
 ἀλλάξεις δὲ καί τὰ φορεῖς *Dig.* G IV.206
 τὰ λουτρικά τὰ μ' ἔποικες *Ptoch.* I 62
 νὰ ποδοπεριτρέχη, | ὅρη τὰ οὐκ ἦτον δυνατὸς κανεῖς νὰ περπατήση *Log. parig.* L 42
 τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἔχω εἰς ταῦτα (1417, Crete, LAMBROS 1895: 1, 585.3)
 τὰ ὀρίζες ἐγίνονται, τὰ ἤθελες ἐποιοῦν *Dig.* E 358
 σαλὰ ρωτήματα τὰ ἔχουν οἱ ἀνδρειωμένοι *Arm.* 59
 τὰ ρ' δοκάτα ... τὰ θέλει νὰ πλερώση (1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 50, 27.2)
 τὰ ἐπτὰ μουσάφια τὰ κρατοῦμεν (1478–9, Constantinople, GILLILAND WRIGHT/MACKAY 2007: 269.4)
 αὐτὰ ἦσαν τὰ με ἔταζες *Achil.* N 1696
 καί τὰ φέρεῖ ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ὁ χρόνος εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πρέπει νὰ τὰ ὑπομένῃ ἀνδρείως *Vios Aisop.* E 287.27
 καί τὰ ὀηγάτον πασαεῖς ἦσαν με λόγια ἑβραϊκά FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 6
 καί τὰ ἐπῆραν ἀπ' ἐδῶ ὁ καθεὶς βασταίνει GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 485
 καί εἰς τὰ περιλάβη σιγουριτὰ καὶ ἀναύπασι νὰ κάνη (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 285, 400.6)
 τὴ βιά μου καὶ τὴ σπούδα μου καὶ τὰ ἔχω στὴν καρδιά μου *Thysia Avr.* 249
 τί νὰι τὰ λόγια τὰ λαλεῖς VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 21
 εἶπασι τοῦ Ρωτόκριτου τὰ πέν ἡ φλακισμένη KORNAOS, *Erot.* V.380

Uninflected Form τό

There is limited LMedG evidence that the relative τόν, τήν, τό tends to become uninflected and to appear as a non-agreeing form τό, irrespective of gender, number and case. This involves attestations both from literary texts (LIOSIS/KRIKI 2014: 897)⁹⁸ and from the body of Pontic documents of the Vazelon monastery (whose precise dating is doubtful, as they are mostly preserved in later copies). This evolution is confirmed by modern data from the Pontic and Cappadocian dialects (DAWKINS 1916: 127; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΙΣ 1958: 243–4; NICHOLAS 1998a: 506, 513–21; LIOSIS/KRIKI 2013: 248; LIOSIS/KRIKI 2014: 897). Obviously this parallels the uninflected relative use of όπου/πού (5.9.1.1), ο (5.9.1.4), οπερ (5.9.1.5) and ογοιον (5.9.2.3).

κι ἀπό τῆς τόσης παραχῆς, τὸ ἔκαμναν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι *Chron. Mor.* H 5385

καὶ νὰ κρατεῖ τὸν τόπον του, τὸ ἦτον γονικόν του *Chron. Toc.* 3580

τὴν ἀνθρωπίαν καὶ τὴν στρατείαν τόσην τὸ νὰ τοῦ μένη *Chron. Mor.* P 1646; ἔδε ἀμαρτία, τὸ ἔγινεν, τὸ πρέπει νὰ λυποῦνται *ibid.* 7807

ὁ κῆπος, τὸ ἔλαχέ με (1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 79, 47.35–6); τὸν τόπον, τὸ ἔχω (*ibid.* 79, 47.32); μὰ τὸν θάνατον, τὸ μέλλω δώσειν (1291, *ibid.* 78, 46.19);

τὸν τόπον, τὸ εἶχαμεν (1344, *ibid.* 99, 57.3)

Use of the Genitive

The appearance of this pronoun in the genitive case is extremely rare. In most instances the genitive case is due to the phenomenon of relative attraction, i.e. the relative pronoun appears in the case-form required by the syntax of the main clause, instead of the case-form required by the relative clause, as if it were attracted by the case of the word to which it refers.

Indirect Object or Adnominal Genitive

ἐὰν οὖν βουλευθῶ κινηθῆναι εἰς ἐναντίωσιν τοῦ ἠθελὲς κάμειν (1359, Crete, MERTZIOS 1967: [1], 267.24–5)

τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμαν ἐνὶ τὸ ἡμπορεῖ ὁ ἀνθρωπος νὰ δώσῃ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἄλλου τοῦ χρεωστεῖ *Assizes A* 157.1

Relative Attraction

ἡμεροδενδρίων τῶν ἔχομεν (1053, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 22, 101.10)

τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν ρίπτουσιν *Assizes B* 252.11

τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν παραδίδει *Assizes A* 79.26

Usage

The pronoun τόν, τήν, τό has a restricted function (BAKKER 1974: 63–8; MANOLESSOU 2004: 6–7): it cannot relativize the nominative case except in the neuter gender (due to the gap in its paradigm), while its presence in non-restrictive relative clauses is very rare. The overwhelming majority of its attestations concern the relativization of the direct object, and, less commonly, of the indirect object or the possessive genitive and of prepositional phrases.

⁹⁸ One of the examples adduced in LIOSIS/KRIKI 2014, namely 3c πράγματα κ' ὑπόθεσες τὸ οὐδὲν σ' ἐμὲ τυχαῖνον *Chron. Mor.* H 4176, is a misreading, as both the manuscript and the standard edition by J. Schmitt read τὰ οὐδέν.

Subject

τοῦ χωραφίου τὸ κέϊται ἐπικάτω τὴν φόσσαν (1123, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 93, 122.5)
 ἐρημάμπελον ... τὸ ἐάθη πρὸς τὴν ρηθείσαν μονὴν (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.15)
 εἰσὶν τὰ βιβλίβλια τὰ εὗρισκουνται εἰς τὸν ναὸν (1363, Cyprus, COUROPOU/GÉHIN 2001: 3,
 158.1)
 μανθάνουσι τὰ πράγματα τὰ ἐδιάβησαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.15–16

Direct Object

τὸ δὲ ὀσπίτιν τὸ ἔχω (11th c.?, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1982: 1, 10.18)
 τὸ δακτυλίδιν τὸ φορεῖς *Dig.* E 473; τὰ φουσάτα του τὰ θέλω πολεμήσει *ibid.* 1503
 τὸ μανδί μου τὸ φορῶ *Poulol.* 191
 καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ μαντεύομαι ἄλλο δὲ θέλει γένει *Pol. Tr.* 1613 app. crit. (A)
 ἔν πριβελέγγιον φραγγιτάδες, τὸ ἐποίησεν ὁ μακαρίτης (1437, Athens, BUCHON 1843: 71,
 297.2)
 υἱὸν τὸν οὐκ ἐγέννησεν ἄλλη *Achil.* N 79
 τὸ σεντουκόπουλο τὸ ρίξαν ἐν θαλάσση *Byz. Il.* 123
 κατὰ τὸ λαλεῖ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης *Fior* 74.28
 σ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐλόγιαζεν MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 160
 τὰ χωράφια τὰ ἔχει (1649, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 15, 27.7)

Prepositional Phrases

τὸ μερτικόν μου ἀπαὶ τὸ σοῦ εἶμαι ἐνκυτῆς *Assizes* B 311.24–5
 τὸ κερὶ ἔκανε λαλιά στὰ θέλει νὰ ῥδινιάζη *Alex. Rim.* 16
 εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἡφταισα (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 48.24)

The relative τόν, τήν, τό usually introduces restrictive relative clauses; nevertheless examples of non-restrictive use are also to be found, at least until the 16th c., e.g.:

τὸ ἔπαινος τοῦ κόσμου, | τὸ ἀγαποῦσιν οἱ ἅπαντες ὁποῦ ἄρματα βαστοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 3985
 ἔχω καὶ δάον ἔμορφον καὶ πρέπει εἰς τὴν κερά μου, | τὸ ἀκόμη οὐκ ἐφάνηκεν ἄλλον ὥσαν
 ἐτοῦτον *Liv.* V 2327
 καὶ τὸν υἱό μου στὸ σταυρὸ τὸν ἔχουν λυπηθῆτε *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 13
 Μερκούρης δὲ ὁ θαυμαστὸς ἐστέκετον στὴν μέσην, | τὸν δὲν ἐμπόρεσε τινὰς ὡς πρέπει νὰ
 παινέσει *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* IX.162
 ἔναν κοντάριν ἦτονε ... τὸ οὐκ ἐφάνηκεν ποσῶς ἄλλον ὥσαν ἐκείνον *Imb. Rim.* 372

The relative τόν, τήν, τό introduces both headed and headless relative clauses. The first use seems to decrease after the 16th c., whereas the second remains in more regular use.

τὸ φέγγος τὸ ἐπάντεχε *Pol. Tr.* 429 app. crit. (A)
 τὰ ἀνομήματα, τὰ κάμνουν *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 18
 τὸ φαγὶ τὸ τρώσι οἱ προκομμένοι *KONDAR., Paidēs* 293–4
 γράφειν σε τὰ παθάνω *Spaneas* V 26
 τὸ δοκεῖς καὶ βούλεσαι μὴ γένοιτο ψυχὴ μου *Dig.* G II.126
 καὶ τὰ ὀριζες ἐγίνονται, τὰ ἠθελὲς ἐποίουν *Dig.* E 358
 νὰ γράψω τὰ παθάνουσι *Peri xen.* 7
 ἐγὼ εἶμαι τὸν κενοδοξεῖς *Achil.* N 1069
 ἄκο τοῖνυν δέσποτά μου τὸ σὲ θέλω ἀναφέρει *Ptochol.* α 629
 ποῖσε τὸ θέλεις, ποῖσε το [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1064
 γράφω σε στίχους ἐκλεκτοῦς, στίχους ἐκ τοῦς ἡγάπας *Spaneas* D 55

ποίησον τὸ θέλεις SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 84.23; ἤκουσας τὸ σᾶς προστάττω *ibid.* 32.16
τὸ ἔσπειρεν θέλει θερίσειν *Pist. kekoim.* 65

Since the relative pronoun τόν, τήν, τό inflects, and since its most frequent function is the restrictive relativization of the direct object, the presence of a resumptive clitic is not necessary for disambiguation. As a result very few such examples have been located (BAKKER 1974: 67–8); see characteristically: τὸν οὐκ ἐφθάσαν τον ποτὲ τὰ βέλη τῶν Ἑρώτων, | μυριοχιλιοκατάδαρτον εὐθύς νὰ τὸν ποιήσουν *Velth.* 259.

5.9.1.3 ὁποῖος, ὁ ποῖος, ὁ ὁποῖος, ὁ ὅποιος

The relative pronoun ὁποῖος/ὁ ποῖος/ὁ ὁποῖος/ὁ ὅποιος has a very complex history and textual tradition. The AG relative pronoun ὁποῖος (“of such a kind as”) continues to be used as an archaic linguistic feature and becomes partially merged with the innovative definite relative pronoun ὁ ποῖος/ὁ ὁποῖος in form and function. The provenance of the latter is a highly disputed issue (see NICHOLAS 1998b: 308–11 and MANOLESSOU 2008b, with an overview of the literature). Ὁ ποῖος/ὁ ὁποῖος has been interpreted as a calque from the Romance languages (Ital. *il quale*, Fr. *lequel*), either directly (JANNARIS 1897, §612, 167–8) or as a result of partial conflation with the AG pronoun ὁποῖος (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 593–7; HORROCKS 2010: 294–5, and endorsed by standard MG dictionaries); alternatively, it has been viewed as a native evolution (MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 611–12; MEYER 1889: 171; PERNOT 1907/46: II 232–5).

The picture emerging from the examination of a much broader corpus of primary sources than hitherto available to previous scholars is set out below.

There is evidence, mainly from higher-register sources, for the gradual transition of the AG relative ὁποῖος from a qualitative relative function (“of such a kind as”) to that of a simple definite relative (“who”, “which”), probably through syntactic environments where its meaning was ambiguous:⁹⁹

εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡ μνηστεία τοιαύτην σῶζει τὴν κατάστασιν ὁποῖαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡ νυμφοστόλος
παρέσχευεν Leo, *Novellae* 111.37 (ed. Dain–Noialles 1944)

τοὺς τιμίους σταυρούς, ὁποίους ἡ τῆς ἑορτῆς τάξις ἀπαιτεῖ *De ceremoniis* I, 160.13

τὰ προπεφιλοτιμημένα τῷ προέδρῳ τῷ Κεφαλᾷ ἀπολαύσουσιν, ὁποῖα ἄρα διὰ τῶν
προγεγονότων χρυσοβούλλων τοῦ κράτους ἡμῶν τοῖς τοιούτοις κεχάρισται (1089,
Constantinople, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 49, 263.68)

κατασκευάσας τοίνυν ἀκάτια ὁποῖα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκείνης ἀνέχειν ἡδύνατο Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*
11.2.3

ὦ βορβωρώδης καὶ δυσοσμίας λόγος, ὁποῖος ἐκπέφευγε τῶν σῶν χειλέων. ὦ κόπρος, οἷα σῶν
ὀδόντων ἐξέβη Theod. Prodromos, *Hist. poems* 59.205

καί τινα μικρὰ ἐλαττώματα ὁποῖα ἐπέφυκε γεννᾶν ἡ μακροχρονία, ἥτοι ἀργολογίας,
εὐτραπείας *Mamas Typikon* 43.15

τοιοῦτον πρόσταγμα, ὁποῖον εἶπον (1196, Constantinople, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 68, 356.23)

τὸν τοιοῦτον ὑδρομύλωνα καὶ ἐνεργῇ καὶ συνιστάμενον ἀποκαταστήσῃ καὶ ὁποῖος ἦν
δυσόφθαλμος πρότερον (1317, Thessaloniki, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 49, 89.14)

⁹⁹ Cf. also the limited evidence for such a development provided by Hellenistic papyri (LIOSIS/KRIKI 2014: 899).

In several instances the transition seems almost complete, crucially in texts outside the sphere of Romance influence, e.g.:

καὶ τὸ φανοστεγὲς ἐκεῖνο σχεδίασμα, ὅποῖον ἦν ὑπογραφὲν τῷ τριγέροντι ἀδίκως Syropoulos,
Oration to Emperor Isaac l. 70; ὁ φλογοτρόφος ἄγγελος, ὅποῖος τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 πιστοῖς ἀνοίγει τῆς Ἑδῆς τὸ ὑπέρθυρον τὸ τοῦ παραδείσου, *ibid.* l. 102
 τὰς πατρικὰς ἡμῶν ἐγγράφους τε καὶ ἀγράφους παραδόσεις, ὁποίας παρελάβομεν παρὰ τε
 τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν ἐπτά ἀγίων συνόδων (13th c., Constantinople, DARROUZÈS/LAURENT
 1976: 1, 191.4–5)
 ἐπῆδεν ἡ κόρη | μέλος, ὅποῖον Σειρηνῶν ἢ πάντων ἀηδόνων | ὑπερέβαινεν ἡδονὴν *Dig. G*
 VII.162

Chatzidakis suggested that the construction ὁ ποῖος is a direct calque from Romance, formed by the definite article + the interrogative pronoun ποῖος; however, Pernot correctly observes that one need not resort to a hypothesis involving such strong Romance influence, since the change from interrogative to relative use is improbable. In this regard it is also worth pointing out that (a) in the history of the Greek language, there are few other traces of grammatical or syntactic influence of Romance on Greek, (b) almost all demonstrable loans from Romance into Greek belong to the domain of the lexicon or derivational morphology and (c) the linguistic contact between Romance and Greek was not sufficiently intense to cause adoption of a morphosyntactic pattern (on this issue see MANOLESSOU 2008b). Pernot's suggestion is that the Romance influence was limited to the segmentation of the AG relative ὁποῖος (which by this time must have acquired a definite relative function) into ὁ + ποῖος. In this respect, it is interesting that the first instances of the innovative form ὁ ποῖος come from S. Italy, where arguably Romance influence was the strongest.

Pernot's proposal is corroborated by new data. A strong indication in this direction is the parallel existence of ὁποῖος (as a simple relative) and ὁ ποῖος in S. Italy, e.g. ἡμέτερον ἀμπέλιον σὺν τὰ ἡμερόδενδρα, ὅποῖον συνορεῖται οὕτως (1204–5, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 55, 239.12); ἡ αὐτὴ ἄμπελος, ὁποία ἄμπελος [ἐστὶν] ἐλευθέρᾳ ἐκ πάσης δουλεύσεως (1401, S. Italy, MÜLLER 1868: 3, 21.27). Note that the first instance pre-dates the earliest attestation (1239) of ὁ ποῖος in S. Italy by some 30 years (for examples see below). A further argument in favour of native development is the fact that texts from certain areas (e.g. Heptanese, Peloponnese) exhibit only ὁποῖος and ὁ ὁποῖος, sometimes in the same text, without an intermediate stage ὁ ποῖος.¹⁰⁰

As far as the etymology of ὁ ὁποῖος is concerned, both Chatzidakis and Pernot agree that the second element is the AG pronoun ὁποῖος, which acquired definite relative function – a very plausible suggestion in view of the data presented above. The interpretation of the article forming a syntagm with ὁποῖος is less clear-cut: Chatzidakis considered it a feature of Romance influence, resulting from the replacement of the interrogative ποῖος by ὁποῖος in the construction ὁ ποῖος. Pernot, on the other hand, considered it a native development,

¹⁰⁰ In the case of the masc. nom. sg. and neut. nom. and acc. sg. it is impossible to distinguish clearly between the variants (e.g. ὁ ὁποῖος, ὁ ποῖος, ὁποῖος), due to possible graphematic simplification and/or editorial practice regarding word division.

resembling other relative constructions which showed innovative addition of the article such as *ὁ ὅς, τὸ ὅπερ, τὰ ὅσα* etc. (for these constructions see 5.9.1.5 and 5.9.2.2). The simultaneous existence of *ὁ ποῖος* and *ὁ ὁποῖος* in the same period and areas (notably Crete and Cyprus) precludes the possibility of their being independent developments, as Pernot seems to suggest. Furthermore, the probability that the same morphosyntactic construction should evolve independently in two related language families, approximately at the same period and area, and be used in almost the same syntactic environments and registers (on this issue, see below) is rather small. Therefore, *ὁ ὁποῖος* should also be interpreted as partially, at least, influenced by Romance in areas where the contact was more intense, probably through false segmentation of *ὁποῖος* as *ὁ ᾿ποῖος*, i.e. exhibiting the common phenomenon of initial vowel deletion, and subsequent hypercorrect “restitution” (cf. also HORROCKS 2010: 294).

In terms of distribution, the use of *ὁ ποῖος* in S. Italy remains stable throughout the LMG period and, judging from its retention in the modern S. Italian dialects, even beyond (ROHLFS 1977: 98; NICHOLAS 1998b: 312). Outside S. Italy no evidence has been located for the 13th c., while isolated examples have been found from 14th-c. Crete and Cyprus: *ἰδ' μιζούρια τὸ κριθάριν τὰ ποῖα τοῦ θέλει ὁ Μαυρομάτης* (1327, Crete, LAIOU 1982: 1, 123.6); *ἡ ποῖα βίβλος ἐγράφη εἰς τὸ χωρίον τὸ λεγόμενον Ἄλσος* (1348, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 49, 208.4). The first known attestation of *ὁ ὁποῖος* comes from the 14th-c. Peloponnese: *τ(ῶν) ἀνασταμ(ῶν) μου τὸν οπιον εχ(ω) / τὸν ἀνασταμόν μου τὸν ὁποῖον ἔχω* (1327–8, Peloponnese, VRANOUSI 1981: B, 26.3–4).¹⁰¹ If the language of the *Chronicle of Morea*, as recorded in the earliest manuscript witness (ms H), can be taken as reflecting the reality of the 14th-c. Peloponnese, the variant *ὁ ὅποιος* also appears in the same period.

Attestations of *ὁ ποῖος* become more abundant in the 15th c. (primarily from Cyprus, but also from Crete and Rhodes, and in some literary texts of unknown provenance), while the use of *ὁ ὁποῖος* is on the rise. At the same time, the simple form *ὁποῖος* also persists. After the 15th c. the distribution of *ὁ ποῖος* and *ὁ ὁποῖος* seems to diverge: *ὁ ποῖος* recedes, while *ὁ ὁποῖος* becomes increasingly frequent and geographically widespread, appearing throughout the Greek-speaking areas for which there are available sources. Contrary to what is usually assumed in previous literature (BAKKER 1974: 79; NICHOLAS 1998a: 345), the use of *ὁ ὁποῖος* does not diminish in later periods; in fact, it becomes quite common. The development of morphological variants presenting synizesis, e.g. (*ὁ*) *ὁποιός*, suggests that to some extent the pronoun penetrated less learned registers. Nevertheless, throughout its history this pronoun remained primarily a prose element; its presence in verse texts is limited.

Sofianos makes no mention of any of the variants in the section on relative pronouns in his *Grammar*, but employs *ὁποῖος* in his metalanguage and in his literary works, e.g. *τὸ ὅπου, ὁποῖον ἔναι ἢ ἄρθρον ὑποτακτικόν, ἢ ὄνομα ἀναφορικόν ἄκλιτον* SOFIANOS,

¹⁰¹ Since there is no accentuation in the ms, this form could also be interpreted as *ὁποιος*.

Grammar 76.14, without a preceding article.¹⁰² On the other hand, the grammatical descriptions of the 17th c. include ὁποῖος/ὁ ὁποῖος in the system of vernacular relative pronouns: ὁ ὁποῖος, il quale. M. ὁ ὁποῖος, F. ἡ ὁποῖα, N. τὸ ὁποῖο GERMANO, *Grammar* 72.7; ὁποῖος, ὁποῖα, ὁποῖον qui, quae, quod, et correspondet articulo literali ὁς, ἡ, ὃ PORTIUS, *Grammar* 29.9; ὁ ὁποῖος PORTIUS, *Lex.* 411, s. v. qui; ὁ ὁποῖος, ἡ ὁποῖα, τὸ ὁποῖον qui, quae, quod ROMANOS, *Grammar* 11.24.

The diachronic overview of data offered above suggests that ὁ ὁποῖος cannot be disconnected from the native evolution of ὁποῖος, whereas ὁ ποῖος represents an alternative evolution, also descended from ὁποῖος, prevalent in certain areas only.¹⁰³

The detailed information on each variant form is given below, but it must be noted it is often difficult to assign a textual attestation to a specific variant due either to the irregularity of word division (ὁποῖος vs. ὁ ποῖος) or to the inconsistency (or absence) of accentuation in the sources, some of which may be in Latin script. It is often the case that word division or accentuation are matters of editorial choice.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	ὁποῖος ἰ ὁ ποῖος ἰ ὁ ποῖός ἰ ὁ ὁποῖος/ὁ ὁποῖός ἰ ὁ ὁποῖος	ὁποῖα ἰ ἡ ποῖα ἰ ἡ ποῖά ἰ ἡ ὁποῖα/ἡ ὁποῖά ἰ ἡ ὁποῖα	ὁποῖον ἰ τὸ ποῖο(ν) ἰ τὸ ποῖον ἰ τὸ ὁποῖο(ν)/τὸ ὁποῖό ἰ τὸ ὁποῖο(ν)
Gen.	(ὁποῖου) ἰ τοῦ ποῖου ἰ τοῦ ποῖοῦ ἰ τοῦ ὁποῖου/(τοῦ ὁποῖοῦ) ἰ τοῦ ὁποῖου	(ὁποῖας) ἰ τῆς ποῖας ἰ τῆς ὁποῖας/(τῆς ὁποῖας) ἰ (τῆς ὁποῖας)	ὁποῖου ἰ (τοῦ ποῖου) ἰ (τοῦ ποῖοῦ) ἰ τοῦ ὁποῖου/(τοῦ ὁποῖοῦ) ἰ (τοῦ ὁποῖου)
Acc.	ὁποῖον ἰ τὸν ποῖον ἰ τὸν ποῖον ἰ τὸν ὁποῖο(ν) ἰ (τὸν ὁποῖόν) ἰ τὸν ὁποῖον ἰ τὸν ὁποῖον	ὁποῖαν ἰ τὴν ποῖαν ἰ τὴν ποῖά(ν) ἰ τὴν ὁποῖα(ν)/τὴν ὁποῖά(ν) ἰ τὴν ὁποῖα(ν)	ὁποῖο(ν) ἰ τὸ ποῖο(ν) ἰ τὸ ποῖον ἰ τὸ ὁποῖο(ν)/τὸ ὁποῖό ἰ τὸ ὁποῖο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	ὁποῖοι ἰ οἱ ποῖοι ἰ οἱ ποῖοί ἰ οἱ ὁποῖοι/(οἱ ὁποῖοί) ἰ οἱ ὁποῖοι	ὁποῖες ἰ (οἱ ποῖες) ἰ οἱ ποῖές ἰ αἱ/οἱ ὁποῖες ἰ (οἱ ὁποῖές) ἰ (οἱ ὁποῖες)	ὁποῖα ἰ τὰ ποῖα ἰ τὰ ποῖά ἰ τὰ ὁποῖα/τὰ ὁποῖά ἰ τὰ ὁποῖα

¹⁰² The articular form appears only once in Sofianos: ὄνομα ἀναφορικὸν ἄκλιτον, τόποισιν λαμβάνεται εἰς κάθε γένος SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 76.14–15.

¹⁰³ KRIARAS, *Lex.* treats ὁ ποῖος under the lemma ποῖος, following the etymology of Chatzidakis.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Gen.	(ὁποίων) ἰ τῶν ποιῶν ἰ (τῶν ποιῶν) ἰ τῶν ὁποίω(ν)/(τῶν ὁποιῶν) ἰ (τῶν ὅποιων)	(ὁποίων) ἰ (τῶν ποιῶν) ἰ (τῶν ποιῶν) ἰ τῶν ὁποίω(ν)/(τῶν ὁποιῶν) ἰ (τῶν ὅποιων)	(ὁποίων) ἰ τῶν ποιῶν ἰ (τῶν ποιῶν) ἰ τῶν ὁποίω(ν)/(τῶν ὁποιῶν) ἰ (τῶν ὅποιων)
Acc.	ὁποίους ἰ τοὺς ποιούς ἰ τοὺς ποιούς ἰ τοὺς ὁποίους/(τοὺς ὁποιούς) ἰ τοὺς ὅποιους	ὁποῖες ἰ τὲς/τὰς ποίας/ ποῖες ἰ τὲς ποιές ἰ τὰς/ τὲς/τὶς ὁποίας/ὁποῖες/ (τὶς/τὲς ὁποιές) ἰ τὶς/ τὲς ὅποιες	ὁποῖα ἰ τὰ ποῖα ἰ τὰ ποιά ἰ τὰ ὁποῖα/τὰ ὁποῖά ἰ τὰ ὅποια

5.9.1.3.1 ὁποῖος

As already mentioned, the pronoun ὁποῖος in the function of a simple relative (= “who”) first appears in ambiguous contexts in the 9th c., and seems to be more stabilized by the 12th, especially in higher-register texts. In vernacular texts it is attested since the 14th c.: ἀμπέλια ἔχοντες τρία ... ὁποῖα ἀμπέλια καὶ τὸ περίβολον καὶ πᾶν ... πωλοῦμεν (1395, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 5, 181.13); τὰ πράγματα ὁποῖα θέλομεν παραλάβει (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1, 19.14). It continues to be used up to the 17th c., but with gradually diminishing frequency. It often co-exists in the same texts with ὁ ὁποῖος, especially in Crete and the Heptanese. In Cyprus, only the masc. nom. sg. form is attested¹⁰⁴ and in view of the prevalence of the variant ὁ ποῖος in this area, these attestations should also be interpreted as belonging to the latter. In general, if an author exhibits the variant ὁποῖος only in the masc. nom. sg. while the other case-forms are articular (e.g. τὸν ποῖον, τὸν ὁποῖον, ἡ ποῖα, ἡ ὁποῖα), these instances of ὁποῖος should be discounted.

Singular

Masculine Nominative

ἐναν εὐγενῇ, ὄνομα Ἰπικέρηνη, ὁποῖος ἐκατοίκησεν *Chron. Toc.* 835
 ἦλθεν ὁ μπάιλος τῆς ὑψηλότητός σου, ὁποῖος εὐρίσκεται εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς αὐθεντίας μου
 (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 6, 310.7)
 τὸν Βλαστόν, τὸν φατόρε μου, ὁποῖος πολλακὶς ἐκοπίασεν (1493, Venice, MALTEZOU 2004: 84.17)
 opios ihen pandrepsyn ii fores tin riguenan / ὁποῖος εἶχεν παντρέψειν β' φορές τὴν ρήγαιναν
 (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 67, f.IV.2)
 τὸν ροῖ Μαφρὲ ρῆγαν τῆς Σικελίας ὁποῖος ἀφέντευεν κι αὐτός *Chron. Mor.* P 5976
 ὁ πρῶτος μάστορας ἐτούτης τῆς τέχνης τὸν ἐλέγανε Νεγρομπαττόλντο, ὁποῖος ἦτονε
 ἀρκιμίστας (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.8–9)
 ποῦ ἔχει σταυρόν, ὁποῖος ἔχει μεγάλην σφάκαν (1506, Patmos, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 363.13)
 ἦτον δὲ πρεβεδόρος τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ὀνόματι μισὲρ Γερόλεμο Μπερνάρδος, ὁποῖος τὸν εἶχα
 ἐβγάλει οἱ σύντιχοι (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 217.8)

¹⁰⁴ There is a single exception from the *Assizes*: ν' ἀκουμπήσω τὰς καμάρας μου εἰς τὸν τοῖχον, ὁποῖας ἀκομή
 δείχνει φανερά *Assizes* A 110.22 (σπίας ms).

όποιος τόπος υπάρχει πλησίον τὸ ἕτερόν του σπίτι (1522, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 70, 99.8)

ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ πύρινος ὁ κατακεκαυμένος, ὁποῖος κατεβαίνει *Spanos D 1779*

ἕναν κύκλον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὁποῖος ἔδειχνε ὥσπερ μίαν κορόνα *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 334.18–19

ὁ ποιητὴς ἐκεῖνος ὁποῖος εἶπεν *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 95.23

καρτέρειεν τὸν σοφὸν Κουρκούτην ὥστε νᾶλθη, | ὁποῖος ἦτον γέροντας *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 293

ἐγὼ ᾿μαι ὁποῖος φανερά τὸν κόσμον διαγουμίζω *P&N Diath.* 9

ὁποῖος ἐπόκτησεν ἕνα χωράφιν *SANKTAM., Praxeis apost.* 17.18

ὁποῖος Γεῶργος ὀμπλιγάρεται νὰ τὸν ἀφήσῃ νὰ σπείρῃ (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 14, 11.3)

ἕνας Τοῦρκος ἀμηνᾶς ... ὁποῖος εἰς τὸ ὕστερο χριστιανὸς θὲ γένῃ *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 53

ὁ παπα κύρ Δημήτρης Γρυπάρης ὁποῖος λέγει (1671, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1313, 775.3)

Masculine Accusative

ὁποῖον τὸν ἐθέλασιν ἔχει ἀπὸ παιδίον | κλεμμένον *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1194

νὰ μαθητεύσῃ τὸν αὐτὸν Θεοδωρὴ ... ὁποῖον νὰ τὸν ἔχη μαθημένον εἰς χρόνους πέντε (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 1, 144.9–10)

Feminine Nominative

ὁποῖα γραφὴ ἦτον εἰς τοὺς ,αφίγ', φλεβαρίου ιε' (1514, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1963b: 164.10)

ἡ φύσις, ὁποῖα ἔδωκε διπλᾶ βυζία τῶν γυναικῶν *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 99.22

Feminine Accusative

ἡ ὥρα, ὁποῖαν ἐγὼ γινώσκω *KANANOS, Diig.* 246

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

ὁποῖον ἀμπέλιον καὶ πᾶν, εἴτι δίκαιον ἔχω ἐν αὐτῷ (1397, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 6, 183.5)

ἐκ τοῦ ψυχικοῦ ὁποῖον τοῖς ᾤφηνεν (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1, 19.16)

ἔδωσεν τὸ ἥμισυ ὀσπίτιον ἀνῶγιν καὶ κατώγιν, ὁποῖον τὸ ἔχει ἀγορά, τὸ ὁποῖον ἦτο τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀλεξίου (1447, Corfu, EFSTRATIADIS 1925: 50.3–4)

πρακτικὸν τῶν ἀπογραφῶν, ὁποῖον θέλετε ἰδεῖν (1448?, Lemnos, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.9)
νὰ μανθάνωμεν τῶν ὑγειῶν σας, ὁποῖον ἔχωμεν ἀναγκαῖον (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.15)

τὸ ἀμπέλιον αὐτοῦ ὁποῖον ἔχει τὴν σήμερον (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 3, 150.3–4)

τὸ ἀμπέλιον σὺν τοῦ χέρσου τόπου τοῦ εὕρισκομένου ἐκείσε, ... ὁποῖον ἐκράτει Βασίλειος ὁ Μανιταράς (1480, Methoni, GERLAND 1903: 27, 236.9)

ὁποῖον ἔργον ὑπόσχονται οἱ ρηθέντες μαστόροι νὰ τὸ ἀποδώσωσιν (1498, Corfu, KARYDIS 1999b: 2, 306.15)

τὸ σπίτι ὁποῖον νὰ εἶναι τῶν ἐτέρων ἀδελφῶν (1582, Kefalonia, KARYDIS 2011: 1, 102.7)

Neuter Genitive

ὁποίου βιβαρίου εἶναι τὸ ἥμισυ ἰδικόν μας (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 5, 309.10)

Plural

Masculine Nominative

τόποι ὁποῖοι σηκώνουν τὸ φλάμουλον τοῦ Ἀγίου Μάρκου (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 271.8)

τὸν παρακείμενον καὶ τὸν ὑπερσυντέλικον τῶν παθητικῶν, ὅποιοι θέλουν τὸ εἶμαι ἢ τὸ ἤμουν
 SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 54.21–2; τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅποιοι ἐζημίωσαν πολλὰ στάμενα *id.*,
Paidag. 96.10

χιλιάδες τρεῖς καὶ δέκα, | ὅποιοι στήν καρδίαν τοὺς τὸν θάνατον ἐθέκα ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.*
 200; μὲ τοὺς βασιλίσκους τρεῖς ἀρχίσασιν νὰ κροῦσιν, | ὅποιοι βόλια βάνασιν λιτρῶν
 διακοσίων *ibid.* 2024; τὸ φύγι τῶν Τουρκῶν πρωτῆτερα θωροῦμεν, | ὅποιοι, σὰν ἀκούσατε,
 εἰς ὀρδινιὰν ἐβάναν | πόλεμον *ibid.* 2460

Masculine Accusative

ὁποίους αὐτὸς ἡγήσατο KANANOS, *Diig.* 191

Feminine Nominative

τὰς δύο σεβασμίας μονάς, τὴν Ἁγίαν Παρασκευὴν καὶ τὸν Ἅγιον Στέφανον, ὁποῖες εἰσὶν εἰς τὸ
 χωρίον τῶν Βαρυπατάδων (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 27, 61.13)

Feminine Accusative

καὶ τινὰς δουλείας ὁποίας θέλει δείξει πρὸς ἐσᾶς (1447, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1952:
 293.4)

τὰς δὲ σκευὰς τὰς μεγίστους ἐκείνας, ὁποίας εἶχον τὰς ἐλπίδας KANANOS, *Diig.* 93
 ἐξ ὁποίας γίνετ' ὁ λόγος SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 36.3

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

ἀπὸ τὰ πράγματα ὅλα, ὁποῖα ἦσαν τοῦ ποτὲ Θεοδώρου (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1,
 18.9)

φλωρία χρυσὰ ὁποῖα ἔδωσα (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 57, 177.8–9)
 ζ, ξ, ψ, λ, μ, ν, ρ, σ, ἐξ ὁποῖα εἶναι διπλᾶ τρία, ζ, ξ, ψ SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 35.16–17

The variant ὅποιος with stress retraction, probably due to the analogy with ὅστις, ὅ,τι, is rare and so far attested only in the Peloponnese and Lefkada. In view of its rarity, most attestations of this variant are dubious and may be due to scribal misplacement of the accent:

ψυχικοῦ ὅποιον τοῖς ἄφηνεν (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1, 19.16)
 ἐπιδίδομεν ὅσπιτότοπον ἓν ... ὅποιον ὅσπιτιον ἦτον προλαβὸν τοῦ ποτὲ Μαρμάνθου (1428,
 Lefkada, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 12, 253.18); ὅποιον ὅσπιτοτόπιον ἡμεῖς
 τοὺς ἐζητήσαμεν (*ibid.* 12, 253.24)
 ὅποιον οὐ πρέπει *Chron. Mor.* P 2016

5.9.1.3.2 ὁ ποῖος/ὁ ποιός

The variant ὁ ποῖος is first attested in 13th-c. documents from S. Italy. For its derivation see above. In the 14th c. there are a few attestations from Cyprus and Crete, while in the 15th c. the documentation becomes richer: the form is attested in Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete; and so far a single instance has been located in a document drawn up in Constantinople. There are two instances in *Digenis Akritis* E, which could be attributed to the (possibly Cretan) scribe of the 15th-c. manuscript. In the 16th c. the distribution remains the same, with the addition of an isolated example from Kalymnos, although the overall frequency is receding, as the variant seems to be losing ground to ὁ ὁποῖος (especially in Crete). In view of this pattern of geographical distribution, the sporadic attestations from authors of different origin should be considered problematic. Cyprus is the only area where ὁ ποῖος is the dominant variant, and which provides sufficient documentation for all case-forms. In general, if the

variant *ὁ ποῖος* appears only in the masc. nom. sg. in texts produced by a certain author, whereas the oblique cases all present forms such as *ὁποίου*, *τοῦ ὁποίου*, *ὁποία*, *ἡ ὁποία* etc., such masc. nom. sg. attestations should be discounted as evidence for *ὁ ποῖος*.¹⁰⁵

Ὁ ποῖος with synizesis is attested with certainty from the 15th c. through spellings which use <γ> to note the consonantization of the semi-vowel (see I, 2.9.4). Otherwise detection of the variant is difficult due to absence of accentuation in the manuscripts or the scribes' conservative spelling practices. For example, the manuscript of *Assizes B* has no accents. The only attestation so far, outside Cyprus and Crete, for forms with synizesis is a single neuter plural example from *Alex. Rim*.

Singular

Masculine Nominative

- το Τζουανι οπιος ιτο μετα τους / τὸ Τζουάνη ὁ ποῖος ἦτο μετά τους (1450?, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1959: 50, 42.2)
- ο πιομας εδανισε / ὁ ποῖο<ς> μᾶς ἐδάνεισε (1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 48, 26.3)
- ὁ ποῖος ἀνέστησεν (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 57.75)
- ὁ ποῖος ἄνω εἰρημένος Γεώργιος (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 47.4)
- ἔπεπεν δούκαν ὀνόματι Ἰσάκιον, ὁ ποῖος ἦτον πόρνος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 8.40
- ο ποῖος κούντης VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 2.16
- ὁ ποῖος (1523, Cyprus, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1894: III, 260.8)
- ενού παιδιού, ὀνόματι Τσαρρά, ο ποῖος ἦτον καλὸς ἄνθρωπος VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 5.6
- ο ποῖος πάσχει ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 5.11
- ὁ ποῖος μύλος (1546, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 2, 42.10)
- ton afendi mas, ο pios me ti megalitu gnossin / τὸν ἀφέντη μας, ὁ ποῖος με τὴ μεγάλη του γνώσην BAROZZI, *Letter* 359.40–360.1
- ὁ ποῖος ἀγοραστής νὰ εἶναι ὀπλεγάδος (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 780, 678.13)
- ο ποῖος εἰς τὴν Καλλιπόλιν ἐξόρθωσεν τα πάντα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 2773
- ὁ πγοῖος ἦτον σοφός, δυνατός, καὶ ἔμορφος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 678.18
- ὁ ποῖος θέλω γράψειν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 82.30–1 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
- ο ποῖος Καρτσεράς ἦτον βαχλιώτης VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 140.12
- ἦτον εἷς ἀσκητῆς ὁ ποῖος ἤθελεν ποίσειν ἐντολήν Fior 116.15
- ὁ χάρος, ὁ ποῖος ἔν κοντά μου *Cyp. Canz.* 14.7
- ὁποῖος πόθος σύρνει σας *Pist. kekoim.* 16; ἔναν μαθητὴν ἀναμελῆν, ὁποῖος ἔζησεν με τὴν ἀναμέλειαν *ibid.* 206
- τοῦ ὁράτου πατρός, ὁ ποῖος ἐξετάζει καρδίας (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.15)

Masculine Genitive

- περὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ ποῖου ἀνκάλεσεν *Assizes B* 456.9
- τοῦ ποῖου ἐχρωστοῦσαν SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 46 app. crit.

¹⁰⁵ For example, several documents from Mykonos exhibit *ὁ ποῖος* but never other case-forms: τὸν θεῖον Ἀπόστολον Παῦλον ὁποῖος βοᾷ καὶ λέγει (1666, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 7, 22.18); τοῦ Ἀνδριᾶ τοῦ Φραγκούλη, ὁ ποῖος μαρτυρᾷ εἰς τὸν ὄρκον του (1670, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 4, 15.2); ὁ ποῖος ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὴν ἀκρόασιν (1672, *ibid.* 5, 16.3); ὁποῖος ἀνωθεν Μάρκος λέγει (1663, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 133, 207.2); ὁ παπᾶ κύρ Δημήτρης Γρυπάρης ὁποῖος λέγει (1671, *ibid.* 1313, 775.3); the same applies to documents from other areas

τοῦ ἀφέντη μας τοῦ ρηγός, τοῦ ποίου εἴμεσταν κρατούμενοι μὲ ὄρκον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 44.34; τοῦ ποίου ἐνέβη του μεγάλη ἀγάπη *ibid.* 648.6
 του ποίου ἐδώκαν του το χωριόν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 198.16

ἐκεῖνος ἢ ἐκείνη τοῦ ποιοῦ ἐνὶ ἐγγυητῆς *Assizes* A 70.10; ἐκεῖνος, ἢ ἐκείνη, τοῦ ποιοῦ ἐνὶ ἡ γῆ, *ibid.* 202.20
 ἐκείνου τοῦ ποιοῦ ἦτον τὰ καρτσά *Fior* 116. 31

Masculine Accusative

τον πιον θελομεν / τὸν ποῖον θέλομεν (1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 48, 26.2)
 τὸν ποῖον ἐπαράλαβμεν (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.33–4)
 νὰ τύχω εἰς θάνατον πικρόν, τὸν ποῖον οὐδὲν ἐλπίζω *Dig.* E 387
 ἀπὲ τὸν ποῖον ἐλαβώθη *Assizes* B 341.4; εἰς τὸν τοῖχον εἰς τὸν ποῖον φαίνεται *ibid.* 360.31
 τὸν σκλάβον σου ... τὸν ποῖον ἤκουσεν ἡ αὐθεντία σου (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 65.3)
 τὸν ποῖον αἰχμαλωτεύσαν οἱ κουρσάριδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 62.28
 τον ποῖον ονομάζασι ὅλοι τῶς Ἵτιναγόρα *Apoll.* Rim. N 1334
 ἔναν καρβοκυρὴν γενουβήσον, τον ποῖον εἶχεν τον πιάσειν ο ρήγας VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 104.8
 τὴν σιντέντσιαν ἐκείνου τοῦ μεγάλου μαστόρου τὸν ποῖον κρᾶζουν Ἄρχιτα *Fior* 79.26
 ἐγώ, τὸμ ποῖον ἀκούσετε *Cypr. Canz.* 125.5 (το ms)

Feminine Nominative

τὴν ποσότην ἢ ποῖα ὑπάρχει (1257, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 33, 457.17)
 ἢ ποῖα ἐτάφη εἰς τὴν Σίλικον (1405, Cyprus, Darrouzès 1956: 32, 47.6)
 ἢ ποῖα ποτὲ οὐδὲν ἐγίνην (1440, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1995: 126, 401.11)
 ἢ ποῖα συμφωνία (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 55.20)
 ἢ ποῖα ἀγία δέσποινα Ἑλένη θωρῶντα, ἐθαυμάστην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 4.23; ἢ πγοῖα κυρὰ Τζουάνα εἶπεν της *ibid.* 18.10–11; ἢ ποῖα κλεψία τὴν ἐποῖκεν ὁ παπαῆς *ibid.* 62.23
 ἢ ποῖα ετιμάσθηκεν δουκάτα πεντακόσια *Apoll.* Rim. N 724
 ἢ ποῖα εὐρίσκεται αγγαστρωμένη VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 150.17
 ἢ ποῖα γραφή (1502, Kalymnos, KOUTELAKIS 1981: 1, 29.6)
 ἢ πγοῖα κυρὰ Τζουάνα εἶπεν της MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 18.10–11; ἢ ποῖγια ἔφερεν πολλὸν πλοῦτον *ibid.* 576.26¹⁰⁶
 ἢ ποῖα φούστα ἦτον του Περρέτου VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 120.14
 ἢ δεδοξασμένη παρθένος Μαρία, ἢ ποῖα ἦτον ἀφορμὴ τῆς σωτηρίας μας *Fior* 85.7
 ἢ ληριχιά, ἢ ποῖα δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ κρατηθῇ *Fior*, Suppl. 270.17

Feminine Genitive

περὶ τῆς ποῖας *Assizes* B 328.25
 τῆς ποῖας θέλεις τῆς τὸ παραδώσειν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 406.16

Feminine Accusative

τὴν ποῖαν ἐμφόρσιν (1239, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 291, 406.6); πάσαν ἀγωγὴν τὴν ποῖαν ποτὲ ἐδιάφερνε (1243, *ibid.* 293, 409.1)
 τὴν ὑποταγὴν παιδικὴν εἰς τὴν ποῖαν ἕως τώρα ἐμὲν ὑποτάσσεσθε (1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 89.4)

¹⁰⁶ In view of forms like φοριχία in Machairas, this is probably a monosyllabic form [pja], although a hypercorrect disyllabic reading [pija] with anaptyxis of [j] for the avoidance of hiatus is also possible.

tin pian epiren o megas torcos stanyo tis / την ποίαν ἐπῆρεν ὁ μέγας Τόρκος στανιό της (15th c.,

Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 71, f.Ir.3)

διὰ τὴν ποίαν *Assizes* B 338.20

τὴν ποίαν ἐβούλευσέν την ὁ αὐτὸς Περὸτ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 594.33

τὴν ποίαν ἐφέντευγεν αὐτὸς *Apoll.* Rim. V 1682

τὴν ποίαν ἐτιμήσασι δουκάτα πεντακόσα *Apoll.* Rim. A 724

τὴν ποίαν ἀφέντευγεν αὐτός, κ' ἦτον οκ του κυρού του *Apoll.* Rim. N 1682

εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν του τὴν ποίαν γράφει πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους *Fior* 75.2

ἡ ὁμορφιά σου | στὴν ποίαν ἐδόθη τέλεια ἡ ὄρεξή μου *Cypr. Canz.* 91.24

τὴν ποίαν παράδοσιν κρατεῖ τὴν σήμερον *Pist. kekoim.* 86

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

τὸ ποῖον ἀλλαγὴν ἐσχέκαμεν ἐκ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου (1243, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 293, 409.22)

διὰ τὸ ποῖον (1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 99.9)

ἀπὲ τὸ ποῖο *Assizes* B 439.24; ἀπὲ τὸ ποῖον πολὺν κακὸν ἤθελε ἀπηδῆσει *ibid.* 446.28

τὸ ποῖον ἐμεταβάλην *Assizes* A 3.6

τὸ ποῖον ἔκαμε πολλὰ χαλάσματα (1481, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 55, 221.3)

ἔναν κομμάτι χωράφι τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Θεοτόκου, τὸ ποῖον ἔναι σύπλιον τὸ αὐλάκι (1484, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 20, 232.4)

τὸ ποῖον χωράφι ἐτανσάρασι (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 46.16)

τὸ ποῖον CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 958 app. crit. (B)

ἔναν ἄτζαλλον χαρτὶν τὸ ποῖον ἐλάλεν οὕτως MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 220.19

τὸ ποῖον οὐδὲν ἔχει ὁ Χριστιανὸς ἄδειαν τὴν ἁγίαν Κυριακὴν BERTOS, *Omil.* IX (*Περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Κυριακῆς*) 44.5 app. crit.

τὸ ποῖον δὲν θυμοῦμαι τί ἦτονε (1501–3, Padua, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.9)

το ποῖον σπῆτιν ἦτον ἐνοὺ καβαλλάρη VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 6.12

εἶπασι Μέγα Μαστόρου πρᾶμαν, | τὸ ποῖον δὲν τοῦ ἄρεσεν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2133

ἡύρασι ψάρι ένα, | τὸ ποῖον στο σαντάλι τους ἐσέβη να γλιτώσει AITOLOS, *Ais. Myth.* 17.7

το πιο συνορεύη / τὸ ποῖο συνορεύει (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 32, 51.7)

τὸ ποῖον εἶχεν ὁ ἅγιος αὐτὸ ἀρραβωνιασμένον MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 144

τον πιὸ φρανγκοματίασμα (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 143, 68.3)

τὸ ποῖο ποτάμι οὐδὲ εἰς ἀξιώθη νὰ κατέχη ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 193

το ποιον ἐπεψέν το η ρήγαινα VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 156.13

ἔναν ἔργον πολλὰ διαφορικόν, τὸ ποῖον κρᾶζουν Φιὸρ δὲ Βερτού, τὸ ποῖον ἐξηγᾶται διὰ ὅλα τὰ βίτσια *Fior* 73.5–6

τὸ κρασίν, τὸ ποῖον ... *Fior*, *Suppl.* 271.20

το ποῖον θαρρῶ τὴν ὄρεξην να κάμεις τη ὀδική μου *Apoll.* Rim. A 571

Plural

Masculine Nominative

οἱ ποῖοι Χαρκίται ἐπερίλαβαν πύργον (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 57.82)

οἱ ποῖοι πραγματευτάδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 300.22

οἱ ποῖοι ἠνδραγάθησαν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 337

οἱ ποῖοι λιγώνουνται πολλὰ *Apoll.* Rim. A 584

οἱ ποῖοι λιγώνουνται πολλὰ να ὀδούσιν τα γραμμένα *Apoll.* Rim. N 584

οἱ ποῖγοι νὰ ποίσουν ὡς μάρτυρες *Assizes* B 334.8

οἱ ποῖγοι θέλουν ἀλεγριάζεσθαι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 3.20; οἱ ποῖγοι εἶνε *ibid.* 32.11

οἱ πγοὶ καβαλλάριδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 90.31

οἱ ποιοὶ FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 216

ὡς γοιὸν τὴν πελλάραν τοὺς χωριάτες, οἱ ποιοὶ φαίνεται τοὺς οἱ φωνές τοὺς ἔνι διάφορόν τοὺς
Fior, Suppl. 273.14

Masculine Genitive

ὁ κύρης ἡ ἡ κυρά ἀπὲ τῶν ποίων σεργέντην ἡ ἡ τσαμπερλάνα ἐποῖκεν ἐκείνην τὴν δουλείαν
Assizes A 72.11

Masculine Accusative

νὰ τοῦ ἀποκριθῇ τοὺς ποίους ἐκάμασι τὴν αὐτὴν κλήραν *Assizes B* 383.30; ἐκεῖνοι οἱ δύο εἰς
τοὺς ποίους ἐδόθην τὸ ἔνκλημαν *ibid.* 428.28

τοὺς ποίους νὰ ὀνομάσῃ καὶ νὰ ὀρίσῃ (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 56.32)

μέσον τοὺς ποίους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.11; τοὺς ποίους ἐπροσδέκτην τοὺς *ibid.* 326.13;

δύο μαντατοφόρους Φλουρουντίνους, τοὺς ποίους ἐκράζαν τοὺς *ibid.* 338.10

τοὺς ποίους δεν εἶναι νὰ τοὺς ἀνοματίσω VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 51.14

τοὺς ποιοὺς CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1016 (ms B)

οἱ τίτιοι ... πάντα ἀγαποῦνται καὶ παίρουν ἀπλαζίριν μεσὸν τοὺς ἀντάμα περίτου παρὰ με
ἐκείνους τοὺς ποιοὺς εἶναι ἀπὸ διάφορα ἀστρικά *Fior* 83.3

Feminine Nominative

καὶ οἱ ποῖες νὰ μὴδὲν πουληθοῦν *Assizes A* 136.14

οἱ ποῖες ἦτον Κατακουζηνές VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 132.18

ἡπτες ἐλιές ἐβρίσκοντε / οἱ ποῖες ἐλιές εὐρίσκονται (1534, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 18, 231.5)

Feminine Accusative

τὲς ἀφορμές τοῦ αὐτοῦ ρηγός, διὰ τὰς ποῖας ἐκαβαλλικέψαν καὶ ἦρταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V
46.33

οἱ ἀγίες ἐκκλησίες ἀπὲ τὰς ποῖας περιλαμβάνομεν τὰ μυστήρια *Assizes A* 30.26

τῶν ἀσίζων, τὲς ποῖες ἔμοσε νὰ τὲς βλεπίσῃ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 260.4

τὲς ποῖες LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 499 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner: ταῖς ποιαῖς)

τῆς <ο>πίες κερατὲς / τῆς <ό>ποῖες κερατὲς (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 28, 66.12)

τὲς ποῖες ἀνεκαίνισαν MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 29

ταῖς πιές / τὲς ποῖες CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 574 app. crit. (S)

ἀπὸ τὲς πέντε αἰσθησες τὲς καθολικὲς τοῦ κορμιού, διὰ τὲς ποῖες εἴπουν ἄνωθεν *Fior* 80.19

τὲς ποῖες *Cypr. Canz.* 2.3

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

τὰ ποῖα ἀναμνήσκουν τὰ παρεληλυθότα (1243, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 293, 408.11); τὰ
ποῖα λαγχάνονται (*ibid.* 293, 410.1)

τὰ ποῖα οὐδὲν ἐλπίζαν *Dig.* E 88

εἰς τὰ ποῖα (1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 99.11)

τὰ ποῖα εἶχασι τὸ θανατικόν (1451, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1959: 55, 46.2)

πράγματα θερμὰ διὰ τὰ ποῖα τὸ συκώτιν του σέπεται *Assizes B* 434.16

τοὺς πειρασμοὺς καὶ τὰ κακὰ τὰ ποῖα θέλεις πανθάνειν SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 49 transcr. P
(Lendari)

καὶ ἕτερα κακὰ, τὰ ποῖα βλέπομεν σήμερον BERTOS, *Omil.* VII (*Περὶ βλασφ.*) (Schartau) 38.63
app. crit.

τὰ συμβάντα, | τὰ ποῖα ἐσυνέβησαν *Alosis* 715–16

τα ποῖα εἶναι καταπροσώπα του λουτροῦ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 6.13; τα κάτωθεν πράματα, τα
ποῖα εἶχεν εἰς το χέριν του ο Στέφανος *ibid.* 104.17

στά ποῖα ἀναθιβάσεται CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 6 app. crit. (M)
 μέ κατέργων | τεσσάρων τὴν συντροφιά, διὰ νὰ δώσῃ ἔργον, | ἀπὸ τὰ ποῖα ἤσανε δύο τῆς
 Εὐσεβείας ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 844–6

τατιά / τὰ ποῖα CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1581 app. crit. (B)
 λοιπὸν καὶ τοῦτα γράφω σου, τὰ ποῖα δὲ σὲ λαθάνουν *Alex. Rim.* 1057
 ἐξηγᾶται διὰ ὅλα τὰ βίτσια τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, τὰ ποῖα οἱ ἄνθρωποι ... πρέπει νὰ τὰ φεύγουν
Fior 73.6
 τὰ ποῖα πράματα *Pist. kekoim.* 425

Neuter Genitive

διὰ ρ' πέρπυρα τῶν ποίων σοῦ ἤμουν ἐνκυτῆς *Assizes B* 314.12; πράματα θερμὰ ἀπὲ τῶν
 ποίων *ibid.* 431.1
 ἀπὲ τῶν ποίων *Assizes A* 72.11

5.9.1.3.3 ὁ ὁποῖος/ὁ ὁποιός

The variant ὁ ὁποῖος is first attested in the 14th-c. Peloponnese, albeit very sparingly: (τὰ χωράφια) τὰ ὁποῖα εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ τῆς Πεενᾶς (1375, Peloponnese, VEIS 1907: 247.6); τὰ ὁποῖα ν' ὑπέρπερα ἐλάβαμεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (1395, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 5, 181.16). An even earlier attestation from the Peloponnese has no accent in the original: τὸν ἀνασταμὸν μου τὸν ὁποῖον ἔχω (1327–8, Peloponnese, VRANOUSI 1981: B, 26.3–4). In the 15th c. the variant has spread to many areas (Crete, Corfu, Athens, Rhodes, Thrace, Constantinople, Skyros and Euboea). In the following centuries it becomes even more frequent and geographically widespread, and gradually it seems to cover the totality of Greek-speaking areas for which there are sources available. It also appears in grammatical works (Germano, Portius and Romanos Nikiforou). As is the case with all the other variants, it is predominantly a prose feature.

All the attestations of the variant ὁ ὁποιός with synizesis come from late 16th- and 17th-c. Crete. Of course, provision must be made for cases where there is no accentuation in the original (either in Greek or in Latin script), or where the orthographic practice of the author/scribe is uncertain. Editors of literary texts may also introduce such forms.

Singular

Masculine Nominative

ὁ ὁποῖος, ὡς λέγω ἐγώ, μέ ἡδίκησεν (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 44.27)
 ὁ ὁποῖος μοῦ τὸν ἤκαμεν (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 101, 83.6)
 ὁ ὁποῖος μου ἄνδρας, ἔφαεν τὰ λεγόμενα δουκάτα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 345, 328.9)
 ὁ ὁποῖος κατέζεται (ca. 1560, Venice, MARKOS 1977: IIα, 27.6)
 ὁ ὁποῖος κυρ Νικόλας πρεμετέρει (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 128, 100.19)
 ὁ ὁποῖος τοῖχος MOREZINOS, *Klini* 32.9; ὁ ἅγιος Ρωμανός, ὁ λεγόμενος Μελωδός, ὁ ὁποῖος ἦτονε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἑμεσηνῶν *ibid.* 178.2
 ὦ ποῖος / ὁ ὁποῖος (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: 179.2)
 ὁ ὁποῖος ἦτονε ἐτοῦτος *Bertoldin.* 114.30
 ὁ ὁποῖος Μουσταφά-πασάς εἶναι τοῦ ἄνωθεν μαστρο-Νικολοῦ (1663, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: I, 11.11)

ὁ ἄνωθεν εὐγενὴς Μάρκος, ὁ ὁποῖός ἦτον ἀναθρεμμένος (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83.7)
 μ' αὐτὸ τὸ νιὸν ὁμάδι, ὁ ὁποῖός μὲ τὸ δοξάρι του ἐγύρευγε κυνήγι KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.643

Masculine Genitive

τοῦ ὁποῖου ἔδωκα ἐγὼ εἰς ἀλλαξίαν (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 750, 581.9)
 τοῦ ὁποῖου κάμνω πολλὰ παρτίδα (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 147.19)
 (no accent in the original)
 τοῦ ὁποῖου δίδει ἀπλή ἀδείαν (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 8, 8.6)
 τῇ ρεκοντισιὸ τοῦ ὁποῖου μισὲρ Τζώρτζη (1597, Crete, EVANGELATOS 2000: 23, 57.8)
 τοῦ ὁποῖου δίδει παντοῖαν δύναμιν (1607, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 3, 5.5)
 τοῦ ὁποῖου ἀφήνω καὶ τὸ κάργος (1616, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 2, 223.220) (ms του οπιου)
 τοῦ ὁποῖου τὸ γένος ἦτον ἀπὸ τὴν λεγομένην Μεγάλην Φρυγίαν *Vios Aisop.* I 247.17
 τοῦ ὁποῖου δίδει ἀουτοριτάν (1628, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2000: 3, 516.4)
 εἰς τοῦ ὁποῖου τὸ χέρι KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 3.12
 τοῦ ὁποῖου κάνανε τὸ παρὸν προτέστο (1674, Milos, IMELLOS 1985/90: 329.6)
 τοῦ ὁποῖου τοῦ ἔδωσα καὶ ἓνα βρακοπουκάμισο (1680, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 8, 301.16)
 τοῦ ὁποῖου ἔχει νὰν τὰ ἐπιστρέφῃ (1693, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 3, 163.8)

Masculine Accusative

ὁ ἀνεψιός μου, τὸν ὁποῖον θέλω νά 'ναι κύριος ὁλονῶν μου τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ κουμεσάριεῖός μου (1525, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 104, 194.9)
 ο cattismas (ton opion categhis) / ὁ κάτης μας (τὸν ὁποῖον κατέχεις) BAROZZI, *Letter* 359.14
 τὸν ὁποῖο νοδάρο ἐπαρεκάλεσα (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 38.12)
 τὸν ὁποῖονε θέλομε παρακαλέσει (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 307.25)

Feminine Nominative

ἡ τεταγμένη τιμή, ἡ ὁποία ἦταν παρὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς (1451, Constantinople, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 1, 198.23)
 ἡ ὁποία υἱὸν ἐγέννησεν περιφανῆ, ὥραϊον *Dig.* A 1356
 ἡ ὁποία ἦτον ἡ κυρὰ ἡ Μαργαρίτα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 326.18
 ἔχει θυγάτηρ, ἡ ὁποία ἐπονομάζεται Ἰαννη (1514, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 2, 48.3)
 τὴν Νινευτὴν τὴν μεγάλην, ἡ ὁποία ἦτονε ὁ γύρος τῆς ἐνενηντα χιλιάδες ὀργιές KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 203.1; μίαν χώραν ἡ ὁποία ἦτονε εἰς ἓνα νησί *ibid.* 249.18
 ἡ ὁποία γραφὴ ἔναι ἀπὸ χέρια ἐδικά μου (1546–51, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 64.3)
 ἡ ὁποία τάζει τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς (1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 3, 21.11)
 ἡ ὁποία χώρα PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 104.13
 εἶχε συκιάν, ἡ ὁποία ἔκαμεν πρωτοφαντίστικα σῦκα *Vios Aisop.* I 247.35
 ἡ ὁποία ἀρρώστια τοῦ ἐρχίνισε ἡμέρα Τρίτη (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.19)
 ἡ ὁποία κυράτσα Διατζίεντα (1665, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 3, 117.26)
 ἡ ὁποία ἄνωθεν δικαιοσύνη (1665, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 2, 13.20)
 ἡ ὁποία Εὐγενοῦ (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 22, 36.9)
 ἡ ὁπγιά ἔτζι κοντινούarei / ἡ ὁποία ἔτσι κοντινούarei (1614, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 13, 49.14)
 μὴν κάνουσιν ἀναλαμπήν, ἡ ὁποία τὴ λάμψη δίδει KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.259

Feminine Genitive

τῆς ὁποίας τοῦ θυγατέρας (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 23.9–10)
 τὴν γυναῖκα, τῆς ὁποίας τὲς ἀρετὲς ἐδιηγούντανε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 58.7
 μία γυναῖκα, τῆς ὁποίας ἡ θυγατέρα εἶχε πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 7.25

τῆς ὁποίας τὸ κάλλος εἶναι θαυμαστόν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 384.30
 ἀκόντο τῆς ὁποίας ἐκονσενιάρισα ἀπὸ ἐτότες ὅλα τὰ ὑποστατικά (1659, Zakynthos,
 VAYAKAKOS 1954: 2, 29.7)

Feminine Accusative

τὴν ὁποίαν γραφὴν εἶδα (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 100.1)
 τὴν ὁποίαν ἐστέλλαμεν (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 132.4)
 τὴν ὁποίαν κολώναν τὴν ἐπῆρεν ἓνα καράβι (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 448.4)
 τὴν ὁποία τὴν εἶχε χαρίσειν (1582, Kefalonia, KARYDIS 2011: 1, 101.9)
 τὴν ὁποία καὶ οἱ τέσσερις ἐδουλέψασι (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 13, 316.7)
 με τὴν οπηαν γραφῇ / με τὴν ὁποίαν γραφῇ (1622, Crete, MALTEZOU 1989: 358.8)
 γιὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ὑπόθεση (1632, Crete, DETORAKIS 1994: 2, 129.5)
 τὴν ὁποίαν θέλει τῶς δώσει (1639, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 6, 274.89)
 εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἦτονε ἀφέντης εἰσὲ δαύτην *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 35.36
 μία κασέλλα, μέσα στὴν ὁποία εἶχε τὰ ροῦχα του (1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 5, 415.8)
 με τὴν ὁποίαν ἐκέρδισε KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.2408

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

τὸ καράβι τοῦτο εἶναι τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου ὅλον, τὸ ὁποῖον ἡμεῖς οἱ καλόγηροι με ἐλεημοσύνην
 τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐφθειάσαμεν (1415, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1979: App. XVII, 216.11–12)
 τὸ ὁποῖον χωράφιον ἐπροεκάτεχάν τινες (1431, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXIX, 290.9)
 εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον σπίτιν ἐγὼ κατοικῶ (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 146.8)
 τὸ ὁποῖο περιβόλι εὐρίσκεται τὴν σήμερον εἰς τὰ χέριαν τοῦ Καλούτζη (1472 [copy of 1604],
 Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 107, 215.10)
 ἓνα μερικὸν περιβόλιν, τὸ ὁποῖον δίδει (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 48.37)
 τὸ ὁποῖον ἀγόρασα (1496, Euboea, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 174, 199.6)
 τὸ ὁποῖον μαντροκάθισμα ζητοῦσι (1509, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [1], 5.10) (no accent in the
 original)
 τὸ ὁποῖον χωράφιον ἐδιαλαλήθη (1539, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 5, 19.4)
 τὸ ὁποῖον εἶναι προικὶν (1572, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 135, 255.8)
 τὸ προυκίο τση, τὸ ὁποῖον, ὡς λέγει, εἶναι ὑπέρπυρα φ' (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT
 1987: 2, 25.4)
 ἀμπέλι τὸ ὁποῖον ὁπού 'ναι εἰς τὰ περβολούδια (1602, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1959: 1, 28.6)
 τ' ὁποῖο γιο ἀντρογυνο (1617, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 16, 320.31)
 τὸ ὁποῖον ἔναι ἡ ντεφερέντσια διὰ τὰ χρέη (1638, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 13, 86.4)
 τὸ ὁποῖον χωράφιο ἦτον χιλανταρηνὸ (1648, Athos, PETIT/KORABLEV 1911/1915: 167, 353.7)
 τὸ ὁποῖο κρασί τὸ εἶδε πολλὰς φορές (1659, Zakynthos, AVOURIS 1973: 220.6)
 τὸ ὁποῖο σ' αὐτὸ ἐπροτεσταλόγησεν (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 7,
 f.43r.24–5)
 τὸ ὁποῖον χωράφιν / τὸ ὁποῖον χωράφιν (1692, Cyprus, MITROPOULLOS 1923: A, 325.9)
 τὸ ὁποῖον βιβλίον (1695, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 106, 358.2)
 τ' ἀναθρεφτὸ παιδί, τὸ Φορτουνάτο μου, τὸ ὁποῖο ἔχω ἀναθρεμμένο FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.585

Neuter Genitive

ἐχάρισέν του ἐκεῖνο τοῦ ὁποίου ἡ ἐπεθυμία τὸν ἐχάλασεν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 3.22
 τοῦ ὁποίου σιταριοῦ τὸ ποσέσον (1634, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1998: 9, 314.16)
 τοῦ ὁποίου μοναστηρίου ἄφησα ... ὅλα μου τὰ βιβλία IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 338

Plural

Masculine Nominative

- οἱ ὅποιοι κριτάδες θέλουσι ἀπογράψει διὰ χειρός τως (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 52.56–7)
οἱ ὅποιοι ποτὲ δὲν ἐθελήσασιν τὰ προρηθέντα πράγματα (1511, Chios, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 17, 262.10)
οἱ ὅποιοι σύντιχοι ἦσαν (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 217.11)
οἱ ὅποιοι χρόνοι πέντε (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 149, 122.6)
ὥσάν τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς δὲν εἴμεσταν, οἱ ὅποιοι ἦταν καταφρονημένοι DAM. STOUD., *Dial.* 93.28
οἱ ὅποιοι μάρτυρες γράφουν (1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 75.25–6)
οἱ ὅποιοι μαρτυροῦσι ἀντάμα καὶ οἱ τέσσερις (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 13, 316.5)
οἱ ὅποιοι ὄσαν καὶ καβαλλάροι (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: 179.17)
οἱ ἄγιοι, οἱ ὅποιοι ἐπροσεύχονταν AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 412
οἱ ὅποιοι ὑπογράφου κάτωθεν (1630, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 4, 133.21)
οἱ ὅποιοι θέλουν ὑπογράψει (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 3, 31.35)
τῶν ἀξιοπίστων μαρτύρων οἱ ὅποιοι ὅσοι ξέρου ὑπογράφου (1661, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1974/78: 4, 423.16)
οἱ ὅποιοι λέγου (1671, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 230, 204.4)
οἱ ὅποιοι μὴ κάνοντας καλὰ ἀνάμεσόν των, ἐνεφανιστήκασιν (1676, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 22, 96.9)
οἱ ὅποιοι μερικοὶ ἐθέλαν νὰ ἔρτουν ἐδῶ στὴν Γένοβα (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 507.25–6)
οἱ ὅποιοι ἦσαν συντρόφοι (1691, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 19, 13.7)

Masculine Genitive

- τῶν ὁποίων κρατῶ τὰ ἰνστρουμένα τως (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 134.58)
τῶν ὁποίων δίδει παντοῖαν ἄδειαν (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 20, 16.4)
τῶν ὁποίων δίνουσι τελείαν ἐξουσίαν (1610, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 6, 360.11)
τῶν ὁποίων τοὺς πολέμους VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 29.23
διὰ τοὺς Γαλιλαίους, τῶν ὁποίων Γαλιλαίων τὸ αἷμα ὁ Πιλάτος τὸ ἀνακάτωσε μὲ τὲς θυσίες τοὺς KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 13.1
των ὁποίων τα ὀνόματα εἶναι ταῦτα LANDOS, *Kalok.* 338.8
τῶν ὁποίων ἀλμπίτρων (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 536, 762.17); τῶν ὁποίων δίνουν (1686, *ibid.* 642, 881.11)
τῶν ὁποίων τὰ ὀνόματά τους ἦταν MAXIMOS, *Synax. Ag. Nik.* 138.30

Masculine Accusative

- ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποίους πορεύεται πάσα ἀγαθόν (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 808, 628.5)
τοὺς ὁποίους τοὺς ἔστειλεν ὁ μεγαλειότατος ἀφέντης (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 26, 164.5–6)
τοὺς ὁποίους σπιτότοπους σοῦ εἶχα δοσμένους (1607, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 1, 3.15)
εἴκοσι χιλιάδες καβαλλάρους, τοὺς ὁποίους ὅλους τοὺς ἐνίκησε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.27
τοὺς ὁποίους ἡ κενοδοξία ταράζει PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §11.1
κάποιους τόπους ..., τοὺς ὁποίους τόπους κτυπῶντες μὲ τὰ ποδάρια μας IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 333.30
διὰ τοὺς ὁποίους θέλουσι κολοβωθῇ (1672, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 96, 238.26)
ἀπὸ τὶς ὁποίους (1688, Andros, PASCHALIS 1948: 44.13)

Feminine Nominative

- αὶ ὅποῖες ὄλες γραφεῖς (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 93.34); ὁδὶὰ τῖς ποστίλες, οἱ ὅποῖες (1527, *ibid.* 120, 221.117)
- οἱ ὅποῖες στήκονται εἰς τὸ ἐσώχωρον (1524, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 153, 189.16)
- οἱ ὅποῖες πρεμετάρουν (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 30, 89.5)
- σκευὰς τρεῖς, οἱ ὅποῖες οὐκ ἐστὶ δυνατὸν εὐρεθῆναι *Ekth. Chron.* 84.6
- οἱ ὅποῖες ἔρχονται τὲς πλέα φορές LANDOS, *Geopon.* 129.24–5
- τῖς σταφίδες ἐτοῦτες οἱ ὅποῖες ἦταν τοῦ ἄνωθεν Σιορ Δημήτρη (1653, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 215, 186.37)
- οἱ ὅποῖες δύο ἀδελφεῖς (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 53, 205.2)
- οἱ ὅποῖες ἐπαραινόντανε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 53.11–12
- ἐλῖες ρίζες τρεῖς ἡ ὠπγῖες εἰνὲ εἰς τόπο ὀνομαζόμενο εἰς τὸ μετόχη δῖλακο / ἐλῖες ρίζες τρεῖς οἱ ὅποῖες εἶναι εἰς τόπο ὀνομαζόμενο εἰς τὸ μετόχι Δῖλακκο (1623, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 47, 126.10)

Feminine Genitive

- τῶν ὁποίων τῶν χρεωστῶ νὰ δώσω αὐτῶν (1512, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 32, 57.31)
- εἰς τὸν χορὸν τῶν ὁποίων SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 442.456

Feminine Accusative

- τῖς ὅποῖες ἐστιμάραν (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 22, 63.6)
- τὲς ὅποῖες πένες καὶ καντζαδοῦρες, ἂν τσὶ πλερώσης (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 33, 33.21)
- τὲς ὅποῖες ἐλῖες τὲς ἐστιμάρανε (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 51, 46.25)
- εἰς τὲς ὅποῖες ζήτησες (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 37, 29.11)
- τσὶ ὅποῖες CHORTATISIS, *Erof.* II. tit. chor.
- τὲς ὅποῖες τὲς γνωρίζουσι MOREZINOS, *Klini* 27.18
- τὲς ὅποῖες ἀγελάδες σοῦ δίδω (1611, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 136, 131.6)
- τὲς ὅποῖες λίτρες (1624, Cythera, SEREMETIS 1962: 1, 131.16)
- οἱ ὀπίες / τσὶ ὅποῖες (1633, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1998: 9A, 315.3)
- ἀπὸ τὲς ὅποῖες (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III, 36.4)
- τὲς ὅποῖες χρεῖα εἶναι νὰ ἡξεύρη κάθε Χριστιανὸς (1679, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 46, 41.41)
- ἦσανε δύο κολῶνες, ἀπὸ τὲς ὅποῖες ἐπῆρεν τὴν μίαν *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 253.71
- τὲς οὔπιες / τὲς ὅποῖες (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 7, 41.6)
- οἱ ἄγιες ἐκκλησίες ἀπὸ τὰς ὁποίας λαβάνομεν *Assizes* B 280.2–3

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

- (τὰ χωράφια) τὰ ὁποῖα εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ τῆς Πεονῆς (1375, Peloponnese, VEIS 1907: 247.6)
- τὰ ὁποῖα νὺπέρπερα ἐλάβαμεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (1395, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 5, 181.16)
- ὁδὶὰ τὰ ὁποῖα ἔδιδαν τὸν πατέρα μου (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 275.27)
- περὶ τινὰ κάστηρ καὶ τόπους τὰ ὁποῖα ἐπῆρε (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 9, 313.8)
- φλουρία βενέτικα ροε, τὰ ὁποῖα εἰσὶ διὰ τὰ ἄσπρα καὶ ἄλλα ροῦχα ὁποῦ μοῦ ἐπῆραν (1480, Constantinople, LAMBROS 1908c: 1, 480.4)
- τὰ ὁποῖα ρήματα γράφονται διὰ στίχου *Alosis* tit.
- ἐκ τὰ ὁποῖα (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 10, 11.9)
- τὰ τόσα κοντάκια, τὰ ὁποῖα τὰ ἐποδέκτηκεν ἡ ἁγία Ἐκκλησία MOREZINOS, *Klini* 179.1
- τὰ ὁποῖα πράματα ὅλα τ' ἄνωθε (1603, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 1, 26.9–10)
- τὰ ὁποῖα δένδρα καὶ κληματερά ἀπρεζιάρσιν (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 672, 584.6)

- τὰ ὅποια ὀσπίτια (1629, Thessaloniki, PAVLIKIANOV 2005: 11, 133.5)
 τὰ ὅποια τσικίνια (1636, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1993: 2, 291.6)
 τὰ ὅποια κάμνουν χιλιάδες ἄσπρα ιη' (1655, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 74, 188.11)
 τὰ ὅποια δουκάτα τὰ ἔλαβεν ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ Χριστόδουλος (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 20, 14.2)
 τὰ ὅποια δέκα ρεάλια ὁμολογοῦμε πῶς τὰ ἔλάβαμε (1666, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 18, 89.8) (no accents in the original)
 τὰ ὅποια χωράφια ἐπούλησέν τα (1684, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 19, 51.16)
 τὰ ὅποια εἶναι ἀσημένια (1691, Milos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 48, 49.14)
 τὰ μελίσσια μου τὰ ὅποια εἶναι -22 (1692, Samos, IOANNOU 1992: 1, 457.5)
 ἔχει κελία 2 τὰ ὅποια τὰ εἶχεν ἔκπαλαι (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 22, 56.2)
 τὰ ὅποια ἐμετρήθησα ἔμπροστέ μας (1699, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 13, 29.10)
 τὰ ὅποια ἔχει χάρη τὸ ραβδί τοῦτο τὸ χρουσωμένο νὰ κάμει ἀνήμπορα CHORTATIS, *Erof. Interm.* II.15
 τὰ ὅποια νὰ ἴναι καὶ νὰ γροικοῦνται λίμπερα (1598, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 1, 215.59)
 τὰ ὅπγιά μοῦ ἤρθασιν / τὰ ὅποια μοῦ ἤρθασιν (1614, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 13, 49.22);
 εἰς τα ὀπγιά τοῦ διδι ο ἄνωθεν ἱερέας ἀμάχι / εἰς τὰ ὅποια τοῦ διδι ο ἄνωθεν ἱερέας ἀμάχι (1623, *ibid.* 47, 126.8)

Neuter Genitive

- τῶν ὀποίων τῶσε ρίχνω νὰ πληρώνουν ἀράδεγα (1513, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 38, 67.32); τῶν ὀποίων στάμπελε ἔχω τὰ χαρτιά τως (1518, *ibid.* 52, 93.22)
 τῶν ὀποίων δένδρων PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Lavras) 258.30
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὀποίων ἔλαβεν εἰς προῖκαν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 402.11–12
 ἀπὸ τὸ πέσιμον τῶν ὀποίων ἔγινε τόσον μέγαλον φῶς *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 253.167

5.9.1.3.4 ὁ ὀποιος

The variant ὁ ὀποιος with stress retraction, probably on the analogy of ὅστις, ὅ,τι (which may also function as a definite relative; see 5.9.2.5), appears mostly in the *Chronicle of Morea*, the *Theseid* and sporadically in manuscripts of the *War of Troy*. Apart from these poetic sources, the form appears in a few documents from Tinos. It is probably an artificial form that found no continuation in later centuries, except in isolated and dubious instances (see also ὀποιος, 5.9.2.1).

Singular

Masculine Nominative

- ὁ ὀποιος, μὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ μὲ τὴν φρόνησιν του PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 237, 445

Masculine Genitive

- τοῦ ὀποιου ἄφηνεν στὴν Βλαχίαν ἓνα καλὸ ἡμερίδι *Chron. Mor.* H 3088
 ὁ βασιλεὺς Εὐάνδρος· | τοῦ ὀποιου οὐκ ἐβάσταξαν τὸν ὄρκον οἱ δικοὶ του *Theseid* VII.17,5 (1529)

Masculine Accusative

- τὸν ὀποιον τόπο ἐκέρδισαν *Chron. Mor.* H 8265
 τὸν ὀποιον *Pol. Tr.* 7377 (mss ABCVX)
 ἀπὲ τον ὀποιον ἔλαβεν *Theseid* VI.44,3 (Olsen)

Feminine Nominative

ἡ ὅποια φλόγα *Theseid* Prol. P 61

ἡ ὅποια μέ τὸν ἔρωτα, τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀμματίων της, | ἄναψε καὶ πυρφλόγησε δύναμιν τῆς νεότης
Theseid Prol. E 35

Feminine Accusative

ἀπὸ τὴν ὅποιαν ἔλαβεν πλοῦτος *Chron. Mor.* H 8075; τὴν Καρύταιναν τὴν ὅποια ἐχτίσαν *ibid.* 8264

τὴν ὅποιαν *Pol. Tr.* 7844 (mss BC)

τὴν ὅποιαν οὐκ ἤξευρα *Theseid* Prol. P 85

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

τὸ ὅποιον πρᾶγμα οὐ πολεμοῦν *Chron. Mor.* H 4930; εἰς τὸ ὅποιον *ibid.* 7441; τὸ ὅποιον ἐχάλασασιν *ibid.* 8086; κἂν δίκαιον κἂν τε χάριταν, τὸ ὅποιον θέλει ἐκ τὰ δύο *ibid.* 7711

σκουτάρι | στο ὅποιον τὰ βασίλεια του Νερέου εφαινέτον *Theseid* VI.48,2 (Olsen)

τὸ ὅποιον εἴσται ἤθελεν κόλαση *Chron. Mor.* P 6258

τὸ ὅποιο (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.10); τὸ ὅποιον (*ibid.* 1, 59.33)

Plural

Masculine Nominative

οἱ ὅππει / οἱ ὅποιοι *Chron. Mor.* T 1650

Masculine Accusative

τοὺς ὅποιους οὐκ ὀνομάζω *Chron. Mor.* H 1332 ms; τοὺς ὅποιους γὰρ ἐκράτησεν μισίρ
Ἀνσελῆς ἐκεῖνος *ibid.* 5256

Feminine Accusative

στὲς ὅποιες ἐνὶ ἡ βοῦλλα του *Chron. Mor.* H 2381; τὲς ὅποιες γὰρ ἀκούσετε *ibid.* 7307

στὲς ὅποιες *Chron. Mor.* P 2381

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

τὰ ὅποια κάστροι *Chron. Mor.* H 2767

τα ὅποια *Theseid* VI.30,6 (Olsen); τα ὅποια οὐδέν τα λέγομεν *ibid.* VI.39,3; τα ἄρματα τα
ἐκκλαμπραν καὶ ωραία, τα ὅποια ἐπερέλαβεν *ibid.* VI.44,5; τὰ φαριά τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ ωραία,
τὰ ὅποια ἐτρέχαν *ibid.* I.71,2 (Follieri)

καὶ ἄλλα πλέα εἶδα, | τὰ ὅποια ἐλησμόνησα ἀπὸ τὴν ζάλισίν μου *Synax. gadar.* 344

Function and Distribution

In general, the pronoun ὅποιος/ὁ ποῖος/ὁ ὅποιος is used in complementary distribution with the other two vernacular relative pronouns, i.e. ὅπου/πού and τόν, τήν, τό, since it covers the domains where these are inappropriate. It fills the nominative gap in the paradigm of τόν, τήν, τό and allows, through its full inflection, the necessary precision in the relativization of less easily accessible syntactic positions, such as prepositional phrases, indirect object and distant referents.¹⁰⁷

The use of the pronoun ὅποιος/ὁ ποῖος/ὁ ὅποιος in restrictive relative clauses is very rare. It is standardly employed in non-restrictive relative clauses, frequently with the repetition

¹⁰⁷ The syntactic distribution of ὅποιος/ὁ ποῖος/ὁ ὅποιος has strong similarities with that of Romance *lequel, il quale* (see MANOLESSOU 2008b; details for Romance syntax as provided by KUNSTMANN 1991, SESTITO 1999).

of the referent within the clause, e.g. *μίαν κούπαν, τὴν ὁποῖαν κούπαν ὁμολογῶ καὶ ἔλαβα* (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 75, 62.7); *χωράφιν ... ὑποτεκάδο τοῦ ἄνωθεν κυρ Τζανῆ Ζαχαράνη γιὰ ὑπέρπυρα ρ', γιὰ τὰ ὁποῖα ὑπέρπυρα ρ', ἑκατόν, τοῦ ἐπλήρωνεν τὸ καθὲν χρόνο στάρι* (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 143, 155.4). The cases most frequently used are the nominative and the accusative, although attestations in the genitive case do also occur, especially with the variant *ὁ ὁποῖος*. The genitive occasionally appears as a result of relative attraction, e.g. *τῶν καλῶν κουστουμίων τοῦ ρηγάτου τῶν ἱεροσολύμων, τῶν ποίων ἐθέσπισαν Assizes B 366.25*. The pronoun *ὁποῖος/ὁ ποῖος/ὁ ὁποῖος* is also frequently used in prepositional constructions, e.g. *ἐκ τοῦς ὁποῖους ἔτυχεν κάποιος ἀνδρειωμένος ACHELIS, Malt. Pol. 664*; *διὰ τὴν ὁποῖα ἐπήρασι ποσέσιο εἰς ἓνα κομμάτι περιβόλι* (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 24, 19.9). A resumptive clitic may appear in non-restrictive relative clauses, when the pronoun is in the genitive or accusative, e.g.:

τὸ ὁποῖον σπιτόπουλον τοῦ τὸ παραδίδει (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 51, 46.20)
μίαν κασέλλα ὁποῦ ἔχει, τὴν ὁποῖαν τῆς τὴν ἀφήκε ὁ ἄντρας της (1614, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 14, 317.8)
τοῦ ὁποῖου τοῦ ἔδωσα χίλια δουκάτα (1695, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 1, 250.11)
τὰ ὁποῖα πράματα, τὰ γονικά του, τὰ γυρεύγει (1696, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 47, 141.10)

Occasionally the older qualitative function of *ὁποῖος* is retained by *ὁποιος*, e.g. *ὁποια εἶναι ἡ ζωὴ, τοιοῦτος εἶναι καὶ ὁ θάνατος SKOUFOS, Grammat. 17.44*.

5.9.1.4 ὅς, ἥ, ὅ

The AG pronoun *ὅς, ἥ, ὅ* continues to be used in the LMedG period in higher-register texts as an archaism. It is quite common in legal documents, but may also be found in vernacular literary texts, both prose and poetic, as a learned feature, especially in earlier periods. Some inflectional forms are extremely rare in vernacular texts, especially the fem. pl.

“*Ὅς, ἥ, ὅ* inflects like an adjective in -ος (see 3.2.1); innovative forms are occasionally created through hypercorrection or through scribal error, e.g.:

ἐς εἶχαν οἱ Ροδίτισσες LIMEN., Than. Rod. 95 transcr. (Lendari) (Wagner: αῖς)
τὲς ἀλυκίες ἐς ἔχουν (1560, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 3, 6.23); *οἱ ἀλικίαις αῖς εὐρίσκονται* (ibid. 19, 19.32)
αἱ ἀμαρτίες σου, ἐς ἔπραξας (17th c.?, Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.19)

Again, as a hypercorrection the neut. nom. and acc. sg. acquire a non-etymological final /n/, e.g. *πᾶν πράβμα ὃν ἀφιέρωσεν ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν* (1116, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 80, 105.27); *τὸ ἡμέτερον χωράφιον ὃν κτῶμαι* (1266, ibid. 302, 431.22); *πλησίον τοῦ ἐτέρου μου ἀμπελίου, ὃν ἔδωκα ... πρὸς Νικόλαον* (1400, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 10, 194.6).

Additionally, the pronoun may appear uninflected, again as a hypercorrection of *ὁπού*, *πού*, e.g. *καταβαίνει ὁ δρόμος ὃ ἀπέρχεται* (1188, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 225, 300.43); *τὸν συκεάν ὃ ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν τοποθεσίαν ὅπὸ λέγονται τοῦ Ἀλώνη* (1210, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 5, 34.11); *ἔβαλεν τὸ νερὸν ἐπὶ τὰ αὐλάκια, ὃ εἶχεν σκαμμένα Diig. Alex. F 254.14 (Lolos)*. Hypercorrection of the relative *ὁπού* back to the archaic *ὅς, ἥ, ὅ* can

sometimes lead to the replacement even of the locative adverb ὅπου, e.g. ὁμοιάζεις ὁξύν ἀνήφορον, ὁ κλάνουν οἱ γαδάροι *Spanos* B 73; ὁμοιάζεις σκοτεινὴν γωνίαν, ὁ χέζουν οἱ ἄρρωστοι *ibid.* 74.

The pronoun ὅς, ἥ, ὅ may be fossilized in innovative conjunctions formed by prepositions + oblique cases of the pronoun, e.g. ἀφοῦ, ἀφῆς, διό, διοῦ, ἐνῶ, ἐξοῦ, ἕως οὔ, παρού, ὥσοῦ (see *KRIARAS, Lex. svv.*).

The *Chronicle of Morea* presents a (so far) unique usage of ἐνῶ as an uninflected relative pronoun (“who”).¹⁰⁸ This is obviously an analogical influence from the double usage of ὅπου as locative and relative:

<κι ᾧ>λλοι μεγάλοι ἄνθρωποι ἐνῶ ἦσαν ἐκ τῆ<ν Δύσιν> *Chron. Mor.* H 128; κ' εἰς τί ποσὸν ἠφέραν | τὸ πρᾶγμα, τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐνῶ ἦσασιν σταλμένοι *ibid.* 6452; τὸν ὠνομάζαν Κουραδὴν, ἐνῶ ἦτον ἀνεπίος | τοῦ Φρεδερίγου βασιλέως *ibid.* 6782; ἐκείνη ἡ γυνὴ του | (ἐνῶ ἦτον αὐταδέλφισσα ἐκείνου τοῦ Δεσπτοῦ) *ibid.* 8067

Judaeo-Greek texts present a special case: the nominative ὅς is used as an uninflected relativizer translating Hebrew *asher* (*HESSELING* 1897: xlvii, vii; *DRETTAS* 2007: 132; *KRIARAS, Lex. s.v. ος*).

τὸ διαλαλημὸς ὅς ἐγὼ λαλῶ πρὸς ἐσὲ *Jonas* 215. III.2; ἀπὲ τὴν κολοκυθέα ὅς οὐκ ἐκοπίασες εἰς αὐτὴν *ibid.* 217.10; τὴμ πόλῃ τῇ μεγάλῃ, ὅς ἔνεστιν εἰν αὐτὴν πολλοὶ *ibid.* 217.11
κῆβαλεν ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπο ὅς ἔπλασεν *Pent. Gen.* 2.8; ἀπ' τὸ δέντρο, ὅς ἐπαράγγελιά σε νὰ μὴ φᾶς ἀπ' ἐκεῖνο *ibid.* 3.11

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	ὅς	ἥ	ὅ
Gen.	οῦ	ῆς	οῦ
Acc.	ὄν	ῆν	ὄ
Plural			
Nom.	οἱ	(αἱ)	ᾶ
Gen.	ῶν	ῶν	ῶν
Acc.	οὓς	ᾶς	ᾶ

Singular

Masculine Nominative

ἀμῖρᾱν τὸν πανεύγενον καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Συρίας, ὅς εἶχε κάλλη πάντερπνα *Dig.* G IV.22
ὁ μοναχὸς Ἰωαννιτζόπουλος, ὅς ἔχει εἰς τὸ χωρίον τὴν Βουνεάδα γονικὴν γῆν (1355, Athos, *LEMERLE et al.* 1979: 136, 62.45)

¹⁰⁸ The meaning is not listed in *KRIARAS, Lex.* (s.v. ἐνώ) but cf. *EGEA* (1988: 61).

Ἐρκούλιος, ὁ πάνσοφος στρατιώτης, ὃς συγγενῆς ἐτύγχανε *Pol. Tr.* 137; τὸν ἀδελφόν του λέγει, | ὃς ἦτον Ἀγαμέμνονας *ibid.* 1982
 νέος καὶ εὐγενικὸς καὶ κάλλιος ἐκ τούς δέκα, | ὃς κατὰ τὴν συγγένειαν θαρρῶν ἀπηλογήθη *Achil.* N 310
 διήγησις ἐξαίρετος Βελθάνδρου τοῦ Ρωμαίου· ὃς διὰ θλίψιν, ἣν εἶχεν *Velth.* tit.
 ὅς τὸν ἅγιον τὸν πάπαν, | ὃς εἶναι ὅλους κεφαλὴ *Alosis* 800–1
 ὃς ἦν κεφαλὴ τῶν κεφαλᾶδων (1449–55, *Silymnia*, SCHREINER 1975/79: 98B.II, 4.19)
 ἐπίασεν τὸν σουλτάνον καὶ ἐθανάτωσέ τον πικρῶ θανάτῳ. Ὅς ὠνομάζετο σουλτάν Μπαράκ (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 78.2–3)
 ἐκεῖνος ὃς ἔχει ἀδεια (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 181, 153.3)
 ὃς οὐδέποτε ἐκλείπει *Spanos* D 1798
 τὸν Πρωτοπατᾶν, ὃς καὶ Νοταρᾶς ἐνομάζετο *CHEILAS, Chron.* 348.28

Masculine Genitive

οὗ τὸ ὄνομα ἔφριξαν *Dig. G* V.201; οὗ καὶ ἐλθόντος τῇ ἐξῆς καὶ σφυγμοῦ ἀφαμένου *ibid.* VIII.55
 ὁ Μυρμιδόνων βασιλεὺς καὶ τῆς Ἐφθίας δεσπότης, | οὗ καὶ συνεγραψάμεθα ταύτην τὴν βίβλον *Achil.* N 1881
 ἐξ οὗ τόπου οὐκ εἶχε ἀλλ' οὕτε ἔχει ἡ ρηθείσα κοινότης τῶν ἀδυνάτων κὰν μίαν ἀπόλαυσιν (1539, Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 1, 97.19)
 ὕψωσαν τὸν ρηθέντα μπασιᾶν καὶ ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν σουλτάνον. οὗ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἦν φλαμπουριάρης (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 87.6–7)

Masculine Accusative

τοῦ λιβέλλου ὃν ἐπερίλαβα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 15.45)
 τὸν λαὸν ὃν ἔχει ἀπουκάτου του (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 241.485)
 τὸν ὄρκον μου τοῦτον, ὃν ὁμνῶ (1346–7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 257.69)
 ναὸν ... εἰς ὃν ἀμπέλιον μοδίων ζ' (1355, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 136, 61.26)
 μὴ οὗτος ἔν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ ἀκουστοῦ ὃν λέγουν; *Dig. G* IV.289
 σκότος δὲ πάλιν ἀφεγγές τὸν σκοτασμόν μου κρίνω | ὃν ἔχω τότε, βασιλεῦ, ὅταν ψωμῖν οὐκ ἔχω *Ptoch. III* 234; οὐκ εἶμαι αὐτός, ὃν ἔλεγον *ibid.* 257
 φίλος ἐμός ὁ Κλιτοβῶν, ὃν ἔδωκεν ἡ τύχη *Liv.* α 4531
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἠῦραμεν ἐκεῖσε *Liv.* V 2842
 Ἐρκούλιος, ὃν ἀκούεις, | ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἔφθασε *Chron. Toc.* 2391
 κόσμον μέγαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον Θεὸς ἐπονομάζει, | ὃν ἔθετο εἰς τὸν μικρὸν κόσμον *Anak. Konst.* 94
 εἰς κρυφὸν τὸν τόπον πάγει, | τὸν μακρότατον ὃν εἶχεν *Ptochol.* α 713
 ὃν ἂν φιλήσω, αὐτὸς ἐστίν *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 136
 τὸν Λάζαρν, τὸν πτωχόν, ὃν ἐμίσουν *BERTOS, Eis evd. aion.* 831
 τὸν Παράδεισον ... | ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησεν *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 110
 εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν εἶχουν οἱ Τοῦρκοι (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 34.I, 24.6)

Feminine Nominative

τί ἐστιν ἡ χρεια, ἡ ἐσυνέβησέ σοι; (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 179.1d)
 εὖοσμον μυρωδιᾶν ἡ ἀνάστησέ με ἐκ τῆς λιποθυμίας *Spanos* D 116
 περὶ τῆς ἀναλώσεως καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἡ γέγονεν ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν *Analos. Ath.* tit.
 τὴν κυράν Μάρων, ἡ ὑπῆρχε γυνὴ τοῦ σουλτάν Μουράτη *Ekth. Chron.* 22.22

Feminine Genitive

ἡ ἀκουστὴ ἐκείνη, | ἥς τὸ κάλλος ἀμήχανον *Dig. G* IV.264
 τὴν μάμμη | ἐξ ἥς καὶ ποριζόμενος τὰ ζωαρκῆ τοῦ βίου *Ptoch. (Maiuri)* 23
 ἄφ' ἥς ἡμέρας με ἔδειξες τὸ γράμμα τῆς μητρός σου *Dig.* E 384

ἀντὶ τιμῆς ἧς ἔμελλεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ λαὸς του *Pol. Tr.* 183
 ἐκ τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς πολλῆς ἧς εἶχεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον *Velis.* N² 65
 ἐκ μεγάλης τῆς θλίψεως, | ἧς αὐτὸς ἐνεδείξατο | πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν πανάγριον *Spanos D* 990
 ἡ καλογραία μεθ' ἧς συνοικῶ (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 146, 263.10)

Feminine Accusative

ἦν ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἡμῶν ἐκ σοῦ τοῦ εὐγενικοτάτου ἄρχοντος κυροῦ Γουλιέλμου ...
 ἀγαθοεργήθημεν (1182, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 212, 277.11)
 πρᾶσις, ἦν σοὶ ἐποιήσαμεν (1203, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 15, 76.24)
 μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας | εἰς ἦν ἐθάρρει πλέον *Eisit.* f.3r. 9–10
 καὶ μάνθανε τὴν ὄρεξιν, ἦν ἔχει, καὶ σπατάλην *Ptoch.* IV 360
 διὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπακοὴν ἦν εἰργάσω (1402, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 9, 93.2)
 τὴν γραφὴν ἦν μοι ἐπαρέδωκεν ὁ τῆς Γένουβας φίλος μου (1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 12, 71.2–3)
 τὴν κάκιστον βουλήν, ἦν εἶχε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον *Pol. Tr.* 87 app. crit. (VX)
 κατὰ λόγον καὶ συμφωνιάν, ἦν ἔστησαν ἀλλήλως *Chron. Toc.* 1147
 μὲ εἶτι ἄρα ἐσοδεῖαν ἦν μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι (1492, Venice, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 1, 127.5)
 εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς στρατάς | εἰς ἦν μὲ ἀπεχαιρέτησαν *Liv.* S 1426–7
 καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν ἦν εἶχεν *Ptochol.* α 68
 τὴν φοβερὰν ἡμέραν, | ἦν μέλλει γὰρ παρίστασθαι *Alfan.* 14 69
 πᾶσα ἀμαρτία, | ἦν ἂν ποιήσῃ ἄνθρωπος DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2540
 εἰς τὴν διαφορὰν, ἦν ἔχουν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIDI et al. 1997: 12, 29.6)
 πᾶσαν προτίμησιν ἦν ἔχει (1523, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 90, 121.5)
 περὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἦν ἀπέστειλαν οἱ στρατιῶτες *Alex. Rim.* 786a tit.
 ἡ δὲ προῖξ, ἦν ἀττῆι (1628, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 17, 94.10)
 τὴν ἄμμον ἦν ἔχω εἰς τὸν Κάμπον (1650, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 2, 138.5)

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

χωράφιον ... ὁ κτώμεθα (1145–6, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 2, 65.13)
 τὸ κράτος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁ ἔχει εἰς τὴν Λαρδαρίαν (1173, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 15, 328.11)
 ἔχασεν πᾶσα δίκαιον ὁ ἥλπιζεν ἔχειν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 65.38)
 διὰ τὸ μέρος ὁ ἀκαρτέρειεν τὴν εἰρημένην Ἀναστασίαν (1496, Corfu, PENDOGALOS 1980a: 2, 301.7)
 εἰς ὁ ἐσυχνοεστέναζεν εἶχεν τὸν λογισμόν του *Liv.* V 3278; δι' ὁ πονεῖς *ibid.* 3708
 τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐργαστήριον, τὸ εἰς τοὺς Σαματάδες, ὁ ἠγόρασεν (1498, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 8, 54.7)
 αὐτό, ὁ λέγομεν, τὸ φυσικὸ μας στέμμα *Velth.* 59
 τὸ δακτυλίδιν | τὸ ἐνέκρωσεν τὸν Λίβιστρον, ὁ εἶχεν ὁ Βερδερίχος *Liv.* S 1757–8
 τὸ κάστρον τὸ λαμπρόν ὁ βλέπομεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 911
 σὺ δέ, ὁ ἐνδέχεται, μαθεῖν εἰ θέλεις, | Εὐρὲ τὸ ποθοῦμενον ἐν τῇ ἀκροστιχίδι *Spanos D* 1807
 πουλὶν ἔναι, ὁ λέγουσιν κουρκουνιστὴν BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 1321
 τὸ ὀσπίτιον ὁ ἔχει (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 9, 10.14)
 ὁστις μόνον τὸ ἰδῇ, τὸ πέταλον, ὁ ἔχω *Synax. gadar.* 281
 τοῦ παιδίου μου τοῦ θηλυκοῦ, ὁ ἐγέννησα (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 93, 174.10)
 ὁ μέρος ἤθελε συρθῆν, νὰ τὰ ζημιώνεται (1548, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 119, 234.11)
 τὸ χρυσάφιν τοῦ Ταρείου, ὁ ἦτον δύο βολὲς χίλιες χιλιάδες τάλαντα *Diig. Alex.* F 256.3 (Lolos)
 τί ἐστὶν ὁ οὔτε εἶδαμεν οὔτε ἠκούσαμεν; *Vios Aisop.* E 291.5
 χωράφιον ὁ κέκτημαι εἰς τοῦ Τραχιοῦ τὸ μέρος (1641, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 3, 308.5)

Neuter Genitive

τὸ μέγα νησίον, οὗ πλησίον καὶ λούστρα τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς (1300, Athos/Thessaloniki?,
 PARACHRYSSANTHOU 1986: 4, 87.18)
 ἕτερον σπίτιν, ἐξ οὗ λαμβάνω ἐνοίκιον (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 127,
 234.64)

Plural

Masculine Nominative

οἱ καὶ ἐμονομάχησαν *Dig.* G IV.61
 ἐκείνους οἱ εἰσὶ (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 264.13)
 ἕτεροι οἱ οὐκ ἔστιν συγγενεῖς κατὰ σάρκα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 246.662)
 τὸ δόλιον τὸ ζευγος, | οἱ καὶ μαχαίραις τὸν στερρὸν δολίως ἀναιροῦσιν *Achil.* N 1895
 Δαῦκε καὶ Σέλινε, οἱ καὶ τὰς βίβλους κρατεῖτε *Porikol.* I 83
 πάντες οἱ πολεμοῦν οὕτως ἐνὶ φίλοι θεοῦ *Assizes* A 28.26
 μακάριοι οἱ ἐβγάζουν τὰ μάτια του *Spanos* A 373

Masculine Genitive

οὐ χρεῖα τῶν μαρτύρων. | Ἀφ' ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐπάθομεν, ἐμάθομεν ἀρκούντως *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 44–5
 ἀμράδες, ὧν μὲν εἰς ὁ βασιλεὺς Θέσεος ἐλεγέτον *Pol. Tr.* 3358
 ἐπίασαν ἐξ αὐτοὺς, | ἐξ ὧν τοὺς ἐντιμότερους καὶ κάλλιους ὅπου ἦσαν *Chron. Toc.* 105
 ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἰδίῳ χειρὶ ἔγραψαν (1526, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 110,
 203.28)
 μνήσθητι τῶν κακῶν σου λόγων, ὧν ἐψεύσω καθ' ἡμῶν *Spanos* D 1175
 οἱ δύο ἀδελφοὶ μοναχοὶ ... ὧν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα Βαρλαάμ καὶ Θεόδουλος *CHEILAS, Chron.*
 350.18
 νέοι εὐγενέστατοι ἐντὸς τοῦ σαραγίου ἔκ τε Πόλεως καὶ Τραπεζοῦντας, ἐξ ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ τοῦ
 Ἀμηροῦτζη ὁ υἱὸς *Ekth. Chron.* 36.2

Masculine Accusative

ἡλευθέρωνεν ἅπαντας οὓς εἶχεν αἰχμαλώτους *Dig.* G II.5
 οὓς δὲ ἀνάνδρους ἤρρισκεν *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 65
 τοὺς φούρνους αὐτοῦ οὓς ἔχει (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 9, 153.3)
 οἱ λόγοι οὓς μέλλει εἰπεῖν (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 4, 308.10)
 καβαλικεύουν οἱ ἑκατὸν οὓς εἶχα μετὰ μένα *Liv.* V 2113
 ἐδικοὺς οὓς εἶχε μετ' ἐκείνον *Pol. Tr.* 8575
 ἐκ τούς τόπους οὓς ἔχει (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 54, 44.6)
 τὰ δὲ ζῶα νὰ βόσκουν εἰς τοὺς τόπους τους, οὓς εἶχαν ἐκπαλαί (16th c., Macedonia?,
 LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 237.2)
 εἴλκυσεν ἅπειρον λαὸν στὸν φόβον τοῦ Κυρίου, | οὓς ἤρπασεν ὡς ἰσχυρὸς *MOSCH. THEOL.,*
Vios Ag. Nik. 110

Feminine Genitive

ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν σου δωρεῶν ὧν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐποίησας (1182, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 212,
 277.15)
 ὧν μὲν αἱ χεῖρες ἔλειπον, κρανία τε καὶ πόδες, | ὧν δὲ τὰ μέλη ἅπαντα *Dig.* G I.228
 μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν ὧν εἶπον *Liv.* V 2510
 κασέλας δύο, ὧν ἡ μία μεγάλη (1314, Athos, ŽIVOJINOVIC et al. 1998: 30, 216.41)
 μόλις ποτὲ παρελθουσῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν, ὧν εἶπον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2353

Feminine Accusative

ποδέαι β' μεταξωταί ἃς ἔστειλα μὲ τὸν παπὰν Σάββαν (1375, Ioannina?, LEMERLE et al. 1979:
 147, 107.15)

χαρίτων καὶ δουλειῶν, ὅς πολλάκις ... ἀπειλήφα (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 182.4)
 τὰς κακώσεις μου ὅς ἔπαθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον *Liv.* V 1327
 οἱ τζάγρες τοὺς ἐζάλισαν ὅς εἴχασιν ἐκεῖνοι *Achil.* N 570
 βίγλας οὐκ ἐδειλίασα. ὅς εἶχεν ὁ πατήρ σου *Dig.* A 351
 καὶ ἄλλας, ὅς οὐκ ἐπίστασαι, τὰς χώρας νὰ γυρεύης *Velth.* 142
 τὰς ἐρωτοχάριτας ὅς φέρεις [ANDR. PALAIOI.], *Kallim.* 697
 τὰς τρεῖς σου τρίχας, ταπεινέ, ὅς ἔχης εἰς τὸ πιγούνιν *Spanos* D 206
 παραβολάς, ὅς οὔτε ἤκούσαμεν οὔτε ἤξεύρομεν *Vios Aisop.* D 240.17

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

τὰ χωράφια ἡμῶν ἃ ἔχομεν ἀγορὰν (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 131, 173.11)
 τὰ μοναστήρια τῆς κοινότητος, ἃ καὶ εἰσὶ ἐκεῖθεν τῆς σκάλας τοῦ Στρουμπούλου (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 268.124)
 πράγματα πολλά, ἃ γίνονται *Ptoch.* IV 497
 εἰς ἃ ἔθηκα ἐπάνω τὴν χεῖρά μου (1346–7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.27)
 ἀφκράσου, καταγνώρισε, Βέλθανδρε, ἃ σὲ λέγω *Velth.* 913
 ἀμαρτήματα, ἃ ἡμαρτεν ἐκεῖνος DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2268
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔποικα καὶ ἔγραψα ἃ εἶπεν *Alosis* 575
 ὅλα τὰ δικαιώματα καὶ μέρος ἃ ἔχει (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 181, 153.15)
 διὰ τὲς 18' χιλιάδες τὰ φλουρία, ἃ ἔδωσαν εἰς μούλκια (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.10)
 τὰ πράγματα ἃ μοι ἐπῆρεν κουρφά (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 1, 3.10)
 νὰ βάλουν καὶ ἐξοδιάσουν εἰς ἃ χρειάζεται καὶ ἐλλείπονται εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν μονὴν (1548, Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 5, 104.10)
 γρόσια τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ... ἃ καὶ ἔλαβον (1660, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 4, 31.7)
 καὶ ἄλλα πουλία, ἃ οὐ δύναμαι γράφειν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1098

Neuter Genitive

πάντων ἐπιλαθόμενος, ὧν εἶχεν ἐν τῷ βίῳ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 108
 ἐπελάθου τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὧν σοι ἐνεδειξάμην *Dig.* G V.128
 μετὰ γοῦν τὴν παράθεσιν ὧν εἴρηκα βρωμάτων *Ptoch.* IV 201
 ἐξ ὧν ἐπαραγγέλθην *Pol. Tr.* 215 app. crit. (AEV)
 ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων ἔτρεχεν ὕδωρ *Achil.* N 783
 εἰς τοὺς καθῆδες τῶν κατικικῶν ὧν προεῖπομεν (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.2)
 μνήσθητι τῶν κακῶν σου λόγων ... καὶ ὧν ἐποίησας πονηρῶν ἔργων *Spanos* D 1175
 αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν Θεοῦ τοῦ ὁράτου. | Ὡν γένοιτο ἐπιτυχεῖν ἡμᾶς GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 609
 τὸ καθὲν ἐξ ὧν ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτῆς (1573, Corfu, KARYDIS 1994: 4, 104.13)

5.9.1.4.1 Aspects of Usage

From the 12th c. onwards, a new construction involving the relative ὅς, ἣ, ὅ appears, i.e. the collocation τὸν ὄν, τὴν ἣν, τὸ ὅ, τὰ ἃ, which should be considered as an idiolectal solecism rather than as a valid syntactic variant of the relative pronoun. In view of the fact that the first constituent in this collocation is always an accusative form beginning with /t/, this syntagm could be interpreted not as a combination of definite article + relative pronoun, but as a duplicated construction consisting of the relative pronoun τόν, τήν, τό + the archaic relative pronoun ὅς, ἣ, ὅ (see also NICHOLAS 1998b: 306–7).

τὸ ὄν ἐστὶ πλησίον Θεοδώρου τοῦ Κριάτου (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 129, 170.11); τὸ ὄν ἐστὶν εἰς τοὺς Κριάτους (ibid. 129, 170.12–13)
 τὴν ... βασιλικὴν μονὴν ... ἦν καὶ ἀφιερεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ... τὴν ἦν εἶχομεν καὶ πρώην πλησίον τοῦ κάστρου Σερρών (1350–75, Athos, ΠΑΥΛΙΚΙΑΝΟΝ 2005: 2, 125.5)
 καὶ θεὸν ἕνα μὴ σέβοντες, τὸν ὄν ὁ προφήτης ἐκήρυξεν ΔΟΥΚΑΣ, *Istor.* 23.17.17; καιρὸν γὰρ ἐπιτυχῶν, τὸν ὄν οὐκ ἠλπίζε ibid. 25.8.22; ὁ δὲ τύραννος τῷ χειμῶνι ἐκείνῳ ἤρξατο οἰκοδομεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον τῆς Πόλεως τὸ καλούμενον Χρυσεία Πύλη πολίχνην, τὸ ὁ Ἰωάννης ὁ Γέρων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠβουλήθη τοῦ ibid. 45.11.2
 τὸ ἐπιφώνημα τὸ ὁ ἔχει ἡ πόρτα *Velth.* 265; σημάδια τοῦ προσώπου του, τὰ ἃ εἶχεν εἰς νοῦν τῆς ibid. 819
 τὸν ὄν ἡ τύχη ἐκάθισεν εἰς θρόνον ἐπηρμένον LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 1; φίλε Βελισσαρίου, τὸν ὄν ἡγάπας ἐκ πολλοῦ, ὄν ὕψωσας ἐκ πόθου ibid. 765
 κάμε αὐτὴν τὴν ἐντολὴν ὅπου σὲ παραγγέλλω καὶ ποτέ σου δὲν θέλεις πταίσει· τό, ὁ ἐσὺ μισεῖς, ἐτέρῳ μὴ ποιῇς PARASYNAD., *Chron.* III §5.8

This usage may also be influenced by the correct, if archaic and convoluted syntax whereby the relative clause is embedded between the definite article and the referent, e.g. διὰ τε τὴν ἦν προεξένησε ζημίαν τοῖς μοναχοῖς (1295, Thessaloniki, LEFORT et al. 1994: 67, 135.54).

In some cases a resumptive pronoun appears within the relative clause, e.g.:

οὓς χάνασαν ἡ γῆ κατέπιεν αὐτούς (1093, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 58, 76.2)
 ταρία ἐπτά, ἃ καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν ὅτι ἀνελαβόμεθα αὐτὰ (1156, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 7, 87.9)
 ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν (1173, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 15, 327.10); εἰς ταρία τὸν ἀριθμὸν ε φ' ... ἃ ἔλαβον ταῦτα διὰ χειρῶν τῶν ρηθέντων μαϊστέρων (1190, ibid. Coll. I: 16, 48.13)
 ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἰδίῳ χειρὶ ἔγραψαν (1526, Crete, ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ/LAMBAKIS 2003: 110, 203.28)

Relative attraction is not uncommon:

πλησίον τοῦ χωραφίου, οὗ ἐκράτει Λέων Κονδοσάββατος (1126, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 2, 26.15–16)
 τοὺς βελλάνους ἀπὸ τοῦ Φωκαιροῦ οὓς ἐκατοίκουν εἰς τὴν χώραν (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 534.18)
 ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν σου δωρεῶν ὧν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐποίησας (1182, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 212, 277.15)
 μετὰ δὲ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν ὧν εἶπον *Ptoch.* IV 593
 μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν ὧν εἶπον *Liv.* V 2510
 τιμῆς ἧς ἔμελλεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ λαὸς του *Pol. Tr.* 183
 ἐκ τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς πολλῆς ἧς εἶχεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον *Velis.* N² 65
 κύριοι τοῦ τόπου οὗ ἔλαβον (1573, Athos, ΠΑΥΛΙΚΙΑΝΟΝ 2005: 9, 131.6)

This phenomenon should be distinguished from pure errors of agreement due to imperfect command of the learned morphology, e.g.:

εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς δρυῖς οὓς εἰσὶν ἐγκεχαραμμένοι σταυροὶ (1019, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 18, 19.23)
 σὼν ἀρχόντων οὓς ἐπικράτουςαν (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 534.14)
 αἱ δὲ καρυδαὶ ἅς ὑπάρχουσι (1170, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 176, 231.20)

The pronoun ὅς, ἥ, ὅ may occasionally be used not as a relative but as an indefinite pronoun:

ὦν μὲν αἱ χεῖρες ἔλειπον, κρανία τε καὶ πόδες, | ὦν δὲ τὰ μέλη ἅπαντα, καὶ τὰ ἔγκατα ἔξω *Dig.*

G I.228

καὶ οὓς μὲν ἀνεῖλον, οὓς δὲ ἡχμαλώτισαν (15th–16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 50.7–8)

5.9.1.5 ὅσπερ, ἥπερ, ὅπερ

The AG relative pronoun ὅσπερ survives in LMG as an archaism in vernacular texts and as a regular feature in high-register texts. It inflects internally (following ὅς), as in AG, the only differentiation being the hypercorrect addition of a final /n/ in the neut. sg. The most common case-forms are the masc. and neut. acc. sg. and the neut. acc. pl. The genitive (of all genders) is extremely rare and most instances involve relative attraction. The frequency of ὅσπερ, ἥπερ, ὅπερ in vernacular texts decreases in later centuries and it is totally absent from dialectal literary texts such as Cretan literature of the late 16th and 17th centuries.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	ὅσπερ	ἥπερ	ὅπερ ὄνπερ
Gen.	οὔπερ	ἥσπερ	οὔπερ
Acc.	ὄνπερ	ἥνπερ	ὅπερ ὄνπερ
Plural			
Nom.	οἷπερ	(αἷπερ)	ἄπερ
Gen.	ῶνπερ	ῶνπερ	ῶνπερ
Acc.	οὔσπερ	ᾶσπερ	ἄπερ

Singular

Masculine Nominative

ἀφέντι ὀνόματι Ἑρτέλην, ὅσπερ ἦτον ἀπεκεῖ (16th. c., Sozopolis, SCHREINER 1975/79: 57, 1.2)

Masculine Genitive

τοῦ χειμερινοῦ μύλωνος οὔπερ ἔχει μετὰ τοῦ Μαρουλιάνου (1284, Athos? Lemnos?, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 74, 26.68)

Masculine Accusative

ὄνπερ εὐηργέτησας πολλὰς εὐεργεσίας GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 382

ὁ Φιλοπαπποῦς εἰμὶ ὄνπερ ἀκούεις *Dig.* G VI.210

ἔτσι ὁ πόνος αὖξησης περίσσια ὄνπερ εἶχε *Theseid* V.67,3 (1529)

τὸν ὀρισμὸν μὴ πράξωσιν ὄνπερ ἐγὼ ὀρίζω *Velis.* N² 173

λόγος τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς Τροίας ὄνπερ εἶπον | τὸν βασιλέα Πριάμον *Byz. II.* 94

τὸν ὕμνον τοῦτον, ὄνπερ ἐκοπίασα διὰ σέ *Spanos* D 1379

τὸν τόπον ὄνπερ εἶχασιν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1239

τὸν νερόμυλον, ὄνπερ ἔχει εἰς τὸν Ποταμόν (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 1, 79.5)

ᾠρισεν οὖν ἴνα | τραγωδήσῃ τις Πέρσης ὄνπερ εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἐκλεκτὸν ἐπιστήμονα *Ekth. Chron.* 38.15

εἰς τὸν οἶκον, ὄνπερ κατοικεῖ ὁ κύρ Λίας Νίκλος (1687, Zakynthos, ΒΑΥΑΚΑΚΟΣ 1954: 37, 65.2)

Feminine Nominative

περὶ τὴν τοποθεσίαν ἥπερ οὕτω πως τοῦ Διαβολοκάμπου ἐπνομάζεται (1324, Thessaloniki, LEFORT et al. 1994: 80, 284.3)

τοῦ κομματιοῦ τῆς Μονοβασιάς, ἥπερ εἶναι ἐκεῖ πλησίον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμπελίου (1548, Crete, ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ 1992: 15.9)

Feminine Genitive

ἐπιστολὴν τῷ ἀμηνῶ ἐκπέμπει, | ἥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἀκουσθεῖς *Dig. A* 625

περὶ δὲ τῆς ὑποθέσεως τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἥσπερ μοι γράφεις (17th c., Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 30, 109.2)

τῆς αγάπης, ἥσπερ διὰ τὴν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ευφροσύνην καὶ παραμυθίαν, ἐνεκεν ταύτης ἐπὶ ἡμῶν
ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali Prol.* 53–4

Feminine Accusative

ἀφιέρωσιν ἥνπερ ποιῶ (1082–3, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 1, 23.20)

διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἥνπερ εἶχεν παραδομένην (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 209.33)

τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἥνπερ ἔχω πρὸς σᾶς (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 5, 557.7)

τὴν θλίψιν ἥνπερ ἔχω *Achil. N* 971

οὐ γὰρ οἶδατε τὴν γνώμην | τὴν ἀληθινὴν Ἀτρώως, ἥνπερ ἔχει εἰς τὸν νοῦν τοῦ ΛΟΥΚΑΝΙΣ, *Ilias* 17.12

εἰς τὴν ἔτερην φυτείαν, ἥνπερ ἐποίηκεν (1528, Corfu, ZARIDI 1992: 4, 75.13)

τὴν δεύτερην στίμαν ἥνπερ εἶχαν κάμει (1560, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 19, 19.25)

εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἥνπερ κατοικεῖ (1597, Zakynthos, ΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ 1969k: 17, 109.1)

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

ἔτερον χωράφιον ... ὅπερ ἀμφιέρωσεν ... ὁ Ἰωάννης Καλβίσης, ὅπερ ἦτον καταρπάσσοντα αὐτὸ
ὁ τοῦ χωρίου ραχαλκαστής, ὅπερ χωρίον μένει (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 5, 18.7)

χωράφιον, ὅπερ κτώμεθα (1143–4, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 14, 135.10)

χωράφιον ὅπερ ἔχομεν εἰς τόπον ἐπιλεγόμενον Ὑλικὴν, τὸ ὅπερ κληρονομοῦμεν (1152–3,
S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 20, 128.7); αὐτὸς Θεόδωρος Καρβούνης, ὅπερ ἦλθον

μαρτυροῦντες ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν χρήσιμοι ἄνθρωποι (1156, *ibid.* 28, 160.18–19)

τὸ ἡμέτερον χωράφιον ὅπερ προλαβὼν ἡγόρακε ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν (1157, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 9, 92.5)

βηλόθυρον ὅπερ ἀπέστειλα ἀπὸ τὰ Ἰωάννινα (1375, Ioannina?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 147, 107.11)

ἀμπέλιον ὅπερ ἐνὶ ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ τοῦ Στύλου (14th c.?, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1994: 1, 286.17)

ἐπιδιδώμεν τὸ ἀμπέλιον ὅπερ ἔχωμεν (1457, Arcadia, ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ 1981: 319.8)

ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο *Pol. Tr.* 108 app. crit. (X)

ἔφθασα τὸ θηρίον, ὅπερ ἀπέκτεινα ἐγὼ *Dig. A* 4451

ποσὸν ὅπερ ἀξιάζει *Ptochol.* α 337

ἀλλ' ὅπερ φέρεται τὸ γλυκὺν φέρεται καὶ τὴν πικρίαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 806

τὸ Ἐξαμίλιον, ὅπερ ἐνὶ τὸ μῆκος οὐργιᾶς γὰρ ΣΦΡΑΝΤΖΙΣ, *Chron.* 10.3

τὸ ραβδί ὅπερ ἔριξε ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 251.13

τὸ ἐμὸν χωράφι, ὅπερ ἔχομεν εἰς τὴ Γιάννιτσα (1609, Mani, SKOPETAS 1950: III, 71.8)

τὸ χοντζέτιον τοῦ αὐθεντὸς τοῦ μοῦλᾶ ὅπερ ἔδωσαν (1629, Thessaloniki, ΠΑΥΛΙΚΙΑΝΟΥ 2005: 11, 133.8)

ἐνα ἀμπέλι ὅπερ καὶ λέγεται τοῦ πατῆ Γρηγόρη (1652, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 69, 179.11)

τὸ χωράφι ὅπερ εἶχε ἀγορασμένο (1661, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 42, 315.2)
 τοῦ αἰσχίστου αὐτῶν προσκυνήματος, ὅπερ καλοῦσιν αὐτοὶ Μεκκέ ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali*
Prol. 22

τὸ ἡμέτερον οἰκότοπον ὄνπερ κτῶμεν (1221, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 7, 379.7)
 τὸ ἀμπέλιον ὄνπερ ἠγόρασεν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 18, 34.8)
 ἕνα σπῆτι ὄνπερ ἔχει (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 26, 105.4)
 τὸ ὅποιο περιβόλι εὐρίσκεται τὴν σήμερον εἰς τὰ χέρι(αν) τοῦ Καλούτζη, ὄνπερ ἔναι πλησίον
 τοῦ Γιαννέτου (1472 [copy of 1604], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 107,
 215.11)
 τὸ ἀμπέλι ὄνπερ ἔχου (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 819, 715.4)
 τὸ χωράφι ὄνπερ ἔχω (1618, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: V, 72.7)
 ἕνα κομμάτι χωράφι ὄνπερ ἔχει εἰς τὸν Κάλαμον (1624, Cythera, SEREMETIS 1962: 1, 131.6)
 τὸ πατρικὸ τοῦ τὸ ἀμπέλι ὄνπερ τὸ ἔχει εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS
 1958: 1, 3.4); ἐπὶ τὸ παρὸν συνοικέσιον ὄνπερ βούλομαι ποιῆσαι (ibid. 2, 3.2)

Neuter Genitive

τῶν ἱερῶν δέκα βίβλων μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου οὗπερ ἀργυρίῳ ἐκόσμησα (1313, Athos,
 LEMERLE 1988: 8, 52.27)
 περὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ ὀσπιτίου οὗπερ ἔχει διαφορὰν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 11, 47.7)
 τοῦ τοσοῦτου κάλλους, οὗπερ οἶδας *Ptochol.* α 706 (ms V)

Plural

Masculine Nominative

μύθους τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, | ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦ Ἑκτορος, οἵπερ εἰσὶ ψευδῶδεις *Dig.* A 1328
 ὁμοῦ μὲ ὄλους τοὺς ἱερεῖς, οἱ περ θέλουν ὑπογράψαι (1525, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 5, κα'.12)

Masculine Genitive

μέσον πάλιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὥνπερ λέγονται ἐκ πλαγίου συγγενεῖς (ca. 1300, Cyprus,
 MARUHN 1981: 245.635)
 λίθων πολυτίμων τε ὥνπερ οὐκ ἔχει ὁ κόσμος *Velth.* 445
 ἐκ τῶν ὥνπερ ἔφερον χριστιανῶν σεργούνιδων *Ekth. Chron.* 19.21

Masculine Accusative

ἐκείνους γὰρ οὗσπερ ὄρῳ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐρχομένους *Dig.* G IV.655
 τοὺς ὄρκους οὗσπερ ὤμοσα *Pol. Tr.* 9172 app. crit. (C); τοὺς πολλοὺς κόλπους οὗσπερ
 ἐκροῦαν *ibid.* 10306
 λόγους δέ γε νὰ τοὺς κρύψω | οὗσπερ εἶπα σοι ἀρτίως *Ptochol.* α 903
 τοὺς μεγίστους δὲ τοὺς ὄρκους, τὰς πολλὰς τε ὑποσχέσεις, οὗσπερ ἔδωκαν LOUKANIS, *Ilias*
 17.24
 τῶν μαρτύρων οὗσπερ ἐπαρεκάλεσα (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 149,
 269.19)

Feminine Genitive

χαρίτων καὶ δουλειῶν ὥνπερ εἴληφεν ἀπὸ τὴν παρούσαν κυρά Πετροῦν (1479, Corfu,
 KARYDIS 2001: 12, 47.7)
 περὶ των δεήσεων και προσευχῶν ὥνπερ ἐδέετον ἡ σουλτάνα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 530a

Feminine Accusative

δι' ἅσπερ εἶπον ἄνωθεν πολλὰς παρανομίας *Ptoch.* IV 641
 διὰ τὰς αἰτίας ἅσπερ οἶδατε ὑμεῖς (14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001: 245, 438)
 συντυχίας, | ἅσπερ ὠμίλει μετ' αὐτὴν καὶ μὲ τὰς ἄλλας κόρας *Velth.* 821–2

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

νομίματα ἑκατὸν τριακονταδύο, ἅπερ νομίματα ... παρὰ διαφόρων προσώπων
 ἐδανεισάμην (1024, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 25, 175.14)
 τὰ δὲ χωράφια ἅπερ ἠγόρασα (11th c., S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 7, 43.9); ταρία χρυσοῦ
 πεντήκοντα, ἅπερ ταρία χρυσοῦ λαβόντες ἡμεῖς (1254, *ibid.* 61, 266.13)
 καὶ τὰ χροάδια, ἅπερ καὶ ταῦτα ἠγόρασα εἰς τὸ χωρίον τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας μου (1216,
 Macedonia/Serres region?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 12, 123.18)
 ζητημάτων ἅπερ δέονται οἱ Ρωμαῖοι (1303, Thessaloniki, CONSTANTINIDI-BIBICOU 1956: 2,
 126.12)
 τὰ καλὰ ἅπερ ἔχεις (1382, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 2, 89.4)
 ἄκουσον ἅπερ ὁ τάλας γράφω *Ptoch.* I 14
 διὰ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἔπαινος, ἅπερ τοῦ ἐμαρτύρα *Chron. Mor.* H 1889
 εἰσὶ καὶ τὰ βιβλία ἅπερ ἀφῆκα ἐγὼ (1375, Ioannina?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 147, 107.15)
 ἐκ τῶν μεριδίων τοῦ ἀμπελώνος ἅπερ ἔχει (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 182.)
 ἀπὸ πάντα μου τὰ καλὰ ἅπερ ἔχω ποιήσῃν (1403, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 10, 93.4)
 ταῦτα τὰ πολλὰ, ἅπερ σὲ λέγω *Liv.* V 287
 ἅπερ μέλλουσιν συμβαίνει *Ptochol.* α 703
 τὰ κόκκαλα ἅπερ ἔχομεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 159.9
 τὰ δύο ἐργαστήρια ἅπερ εἶχεν (1560, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 3, 5.15)
 πολλὰ ἀμπέλια, ἅπερ ἦσαν ἔτοιμα τοῦ τρύγου (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79:
 65.III, 40.5–6)

Neuter Genitive

τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπάλλαξον σοφῶν μηχανημάτων, | ὧνπερ κατεῖπον ἄνωθεν *Ptoch.* IV 661
 ἀπὸ παντοίων φαύλων ὧνπερ ἤθελον ἔλθεῖν πρὸς με (1403, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 10,
 93.5)
 τῶν τριῶν ἐτῶν, ὧνπερ ὑπῆρχεν ἔγκυος ἡ ὑμῶν μήτηρ *Spanos* D 561

5.9.1.5.2 Usage

Most instances of the genitive case appear as a result of relative attraction, e.g.:

τοῦ σπηλαίου οὗπερ ... ἀφιέρωσεν (1089, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 51, 67.)
 ἀπὸ παντοίων φαύλων ὧνπερ ἤθελον ἔλθεῖν πρὸς με ὀφλημάτων (1382, Crete, MANOUSAKAS
 1964: 2, 89.4)
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερβάλλοντος τῆς θαλάσσης κακοῦ, οὗπερ καθ' ὁδὸν ἡμᾶς συνήντησεν SFRANTZIS,
Chron. 146.15
 περὶ τῆς αναιδούς αὐτῶν των Αγαρηνῶν προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως ἥσπερ προσφέρουσιν εἰς
 τοὺς μιαροὺς αὐτῶν αγρίους IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4336a

In rare instances ὅσπερ seems to be used as the equivalent of ὅποιος, i.e. with the meaning “whoever, whatever”. This use is unattested in Classical and Koine Greek:

ἵνα τηρήσω καὶ ἐξιόσω τὰ ἅπερ ὑφίσταται ἄδικά τως, ἀποκαταστήσαι δὲ ἕνα ἕκαστον εἰς
 τὸ οἶκεῖον αὐτοῦ πράγμα (1271, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 70, 200.9)
 καὶ τὰ, ἅπερ ἐκράτησα λόγῳ μου εἰς μικράν μου περιποίησιν (1294, Smyrna region,
 MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 180, 286.32)
 προσάγω ταύτη ... τῇ διειλημμένη σεβασμῇ μονῇ τὰ ἅπερ ἐξ οἰκείων μου κόπων καὶ
 ἀναλωμάτων ... ἐπεκτησάμην (1313, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 8, 52.9)
 εἰς ἐξουσίαν σου πᾶσαν, τοῦ ποιεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς δικαίοις αὐτῶν, ὅπερ ἄρα θελήσης καὶ
 βούλεσαι (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 473.17)

- ἐπιδίδωμι πρὸς τὴν μονὴν ... ὅπερ εὐρίσκονται εἰς τὰς χεῖρας μου (1471, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 173, 197.3)
 ὅλα τὰ δικαίωματα καὶ μέρος ᾧ ἔχει καὶ ἅπερ ἀκαρτερεῖ να ἔχει (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 181, 153.15)
 ἴνα ἐνδύση ἡ κουμσαρία μου τόσα πτωχὰ ἅπερ αὐτῆς φανῇ (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 148, 267.28)

The fact that the pronoun ὅσπερ is no longer a feature of spoken language is betrayed by its frequent use in medieval texts as a hypercorrection of ὁπού, i.e. as an uninflected general relativizer (see also EGEA 1988: 62; MINAS ²2003: 172; KRIARAS, *Lex.* includes the lemmata ἅπερ, ὅπερ, though with scant documentation). The usual form of the uninflected pronoun is ὅπερ but in rare cases an uninflected ἅπερ also appears (mainly in S. Italy). Uninflected ὅπερ (or ὄνπερ, or ὅμπερ with assimilation) is particularly common in legal documents from a wide variety of areas, especially S. Italy and the Heptanese. Examples of uninflected usage:

ὄπερ, ὄνπερ

- καρυδίς ὄπερ καὶ εἰσὶν εἰς Πλαζτινίτες (1039–40, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 2, 69.10)
 τὸν ἐμὸν ἀμπελῶνα, ὄπερ ἐστὶν εἰς τὸν Καταρράκτην (1135, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 5, 65.3)
 τὸν ναὸν τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου ὄπερ οἰκοδόμησα (1145, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 4, 615.4)
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὄπερ ἔχομεν εἰς τὴν Ἀρσαφίαν (1159, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 30, 168.4–5)
 τὰ χωράφια σοῦ τοῦ ἀγοραστοῦ, ὄπερ ἔχεις ἀγορὰν (1201, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 256, 348.18)
 τῆς γῆς ὄπερ ἐπροσήλωσεν (1358?, Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.1)
 ἐβάλασιν καὶ ἄλλους ἔξι Φράγκους, | ὄπερ ἐμοιράσασιν τοὺς τόπους *Chron. Mor.* H 1650
 κατὰ τὴν ἐνθύμησιν ὄπερ ἔδωσαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς (1436, Corfu, ASONITIS 2000: 1, 408.28)
 τὴν τρίτην μοῖραν ὄπερ κατὰκειται πλησίον τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου (1437, Pontos, ALEXAKIS/MAVROMATIS 2015: 9, 20.6)
 γραφὴ ὄπερ ἀπέστειλεν *Achil.* N 441
 οὐδέ τὴν τολμηρὴν καρδίαν, τὴν τόλμην ὄπερ εἶχεν *Theseid* VI.31,5 (Olsen)
 τοὺς λόγους ὄπερ εἶχεν *Liv.* S 482b
 οἱ κόντοι ἐκεῖνοι ἐνώθησαν, ὄπερ ἐγὼ ὀνομάζω *Chron. Mor.* P 127
 μὲ τὴν γνώσιν ὄπερ εἶχεν *Ptochol.* α 48
 περὶ τῶν κελλίων ὄπερ εἶχεν ἡ μονὴ (1501, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 6, 102.3)
 αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ προῖκα καὶ τὰ ρούχα, ὄπερ δίδει (1509, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1950: 1, 153.2)
 τὸν κριὸν τὸν θαυμαστόν, ὄπερ ἔχει κέρατα μακρὰ *Diig. Alex.* F 186.7 (Lolos); τὰ σεντούκια, ὄπερ μᾶς ἀπόστειλες *ibid.* 154.22–156.1
 οἱ κριταὶ ὄπερ εἶχαν βάλεῖ (1560, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 3, 5.12)
 διὰ τὰ βουτσία ὄπερ ἔκαμε (1573, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 9, 62.5)
 διὰ τὴν πολλὴν εὐλάβειαν καὶ ἀγάπην ὄπερ εἶχεν (1595, Crete, STEFANIDOU 2004: 4, 161.19)
 σκεύη καὶ ἱερά, ὄπερ καὶ τὴν σήμερον εὐρίσκονται (1610–20, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 23, 95.21)
 ἔσαν καλόγερον ὄπερ ἔχουν (1657, Kefalonia, ANDONAKATOU 1989: 63.5)
 μίαν ἑλιά ὄπερ εἶχε εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν του (1699, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 282, 187.4)
 τὰ χωράφια ὄνπερ ἔχει (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 12, 91.5)
 τὴν σταφίδα ὄνπερ ἔχει χωρισμένην (1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.5)
 τὰ χωράφια ὄνπερ ἔχει εἰς τὴν> Παλιόπολη (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 19, 15.5)

ἄπερ

τὸ ξενοδοχεῖον ἄπερ ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ ἄστει (1112, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 31, 143.9)
 τὸ φῖον ἄπερ ὑπῆρχε ποτὲ Ροπέρτου (1198, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 246, 333.33); τοῦ
 Περρέτου τοῦ ξμοῦ καμπριλίγκου, ἄπερ πιστὰ μοῦ ἐδούλευσεν (ibid. 246, 334.2)
 ὁ χάρτος ὁ παλαιὸς ἄπερ σοὶ ἔδωσαν (1204, S. Italy?, TRINCHERA 1865: 259, 352.15)
 καὶ μοῦλον ἐν ἄπερ καβαλλικεύει ὁ ἡγούμενος (1334, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 43, 134.3)
 τοῦ ἀμπελώνος, ἄπερ ἔχει (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 182.6)
 καὶ ἤρασιν πάντας τοὺς χριστιανούς, ἄπερ εἶδασιν εἰς τὴν ρηθεῖσαν κώμην (1404, S. Italy,
 GIUNTA 1968: 129.6)
 τοὺς πολέμους ἄπερ ERMON., *Ilias* 5.155
 τὰς γραφάς, ἄπερ ἐστίλεις (1567, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 5, 305.3)
 τὸ χωράφι ἄπερ εἶχαμεν (1624, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 10, 311.3); τὶς τοποθεσίεις
 ἄπερ εἶχα (1671, ibid. 69, 318.3); τὸν ἀμπελότοπον ἄπερ εἶναι πατρικὸν μου (1684, ibid.
 91, 321.3)

In some cases the hypercorrection goes a step further and an uninflected form of the pronoun is used instead of the locative adverb ὅπου. The form οὐπερ was used as locative already in Classical Greek (see LSJ, s.v. ὅς); it should therefore be viewed as an archaism rather than as a new tendency towards loss of inflection:

ταβέρνα ὅπερ πράσκειται οἶνος (1334, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 43, 134.5)
 ἐκέϊσε εἰς τὸν Ἀλμυρόν, ὅπερ τοὺς εἶχεν φέρει | ὁ δοῦκας γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν *Chron. Mor.* H 7274;
 ἦτον εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, | ἄπερ τὸν ἐκράτει ὁ βασιλέας εἰς φυλακὴν τοῦ ἀπέσω ibid. 7969
 εἰς αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ χωρίον τὰ Μολιβωτινά, ὅπερ εὐρίσκόμεν *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 168.26
 εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ Σκαμανδρηνοῦ, οὗ ἔρχεται ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς μεγάλης Μέσης τοῦ ἁγιωνύμου
 ὄρους, ὅπερ ἐστὶ λίθοι ριζιμαῖοι μεγάλοι καὶ σταυρός (16th c., Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1978:
 App. I, 91.23)
 εἰς τὸν ναὸν ὅπερ μέλλω θαφεῖ (1524, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 153, 189.14)
 ἐγγὺς τοῦ κελίου εἴτε ἐργαστηρίου ὅπερ ἡ παρούσα κυρὰ Καταφυγὴ μοναχὴ οἰκεῖ (1539,
 Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 1, 97.14)
 διαπερᾶ τὸν προειρημένον ποταμὸν τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἀκλινόν, εἴτα τὸν ἕτερον ποταμόν,
 οὐπερ καὶ λινοβορροεῖον εὐρίσκεται τῆς αὐτῆς (1301, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1994: 70,
 172.360)
 ἐνδοθεν οἰκίας οὐπερ οἰκεῖ (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 44, 75.1)
 τοῦ σεβομένου αὐτῶν θεηλάτου Μωάμεθ, ομοῦ καὶ τοῦ αθέσμου αὐτοῦ τάφου, οὐπερ
 κατέθεντο το δυνειδέστατον καὶ μιάρὸν αὐτοῦ πτώμα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali Prol.* 20

In a few isolated instances an uninflected ὅπερ erroneously takes the place of the conjunction ὥσπερ, e.g. ἀποκρένεσθαι διὰ μέρους αὐτῶν ... ὅπερ νὰ ἦσαν καὶ σωματικῶς οἱ ἀναγεγραμμένοι (1436, Corfu, ASONITIS 2000: 1, 408.32); ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ καὶ τοὺς πλησιασμούς ὅπερ δηλοποιεῖ τὸ περιβιλέγιον (1482 [copy of 1688], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 108, 216.14).

5.9.1.5.3 τόν, τήν, τό + ὅσπερ

An innovative use of the relative pronoun ὅσπερ, ἥπερ, ὅπερ is its collocation with the definite article, or more probably with the homophonous relative pronoun τόν, τήν, τό. This construction first appears in a S. Italian document of the 10th c.: τοῦ βιβαρίου τὸ

ἄπερ ἦν προαφιερώσασα ἡ μοναχὴ Δομνέλλα (984, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 9, 8.4) and is a common feature in legal documents from S. Italy throughout the MedG period, especially in certain types of contract, where it is used in a quasi-formulaic manner. The phenomenon has been extensively discussed by NICHOLAS (1997, 1998b) on the basis of three collections of documents (TRINCHERA 1865, CUSA 1868/82 and GUILLOU 1963). The exhaustive examination of the full corpus of S. Italian archival material has provided additional documentation and verification of his conclusions. The investigation of an extensive body of texts has also revealed several attestations of the construction in a variety of texts outside S. Italy (including literary works).

The construction τόν, τήν, τό + ὅσπερ takes two forms: one with uninflected ὅπερ (i.e. τὸν ὅπερ, τήν ὅπερ, τὸ ὅπερ) and one with uninflected ἄπερ, the latter being exclusive to S. Italy (i.e. τὸν ἄπερ, τήν ἄπερ, τὸ ἄπερ). The agreement in the construction τὰ ἄπερ may be coincidental; nevertheless, the absence of τὰ ὅπερ could be indicative of number agreement. In general, this construction appears in the accusative form, in restrictive relative clauses, always with inanimate referents. Therefore, its distribution is almost identical with that of the relative pronoun τόν, τήν, τό. In the rare instances where the syntax of the relative clause demands a masc. or fem. nom. sg., the neuter form is used instead, e.g. ἡ ὁδὸς τὸ ὅπερ ἀπέρχεται (1180, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 201, 264.11); ὁ οἶκος κυροῦ Νικολάου Καβαλλαρίου, τὸ ὅπερ ὑπῆρχε Γιόφφου Σαντανέλλου (1200, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 249, 338.21).

The limited syntactic distribution, as well as the very early appearance of this construction, preclude an etymological connection with the formally similar relative pronoun ὁ ὅποιος, τὸν ὅποιο etc. (see 5.9.1.3). Instead, it could be interpreted as a hypercorrect extension of the complex relative constructions in which the relative clause appears embedded between the definite article and its governing noun, e.g. καὶ τὸ ὅπερ εὐρίσκεται κατέχουσα νῦν περὶ τήν πόλιν τὰς Σέρρας μετόχιον (1329, Constantinople?/Athos?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 118, 7.242) (see also NICHOLAS 1998b: 294–7). A similar interpretation was adduced in the case of the collocations τὸν ὄν, τὰ ᾗ etc. (see 5.9.1.4). The morphosyntactic features of this construction clearly indicate that it does not belong to the normal evolution of the spoken language but is instead an element restricted to certain registers, especially legal.

τὸν ὅπερ

τὸν ὅπερ ἀμπελώ[να] (1234, Sicily, CARUSO 1976: 1, 322.6)

ὁ μάντις εἶπε μοι, τὸν ὅπερ ἔβλεπον ἐν ὀνείρῳ *Liv.* α 2809 app. crit. (P)

τὸν Δηίφοβον ... τὸν ὅπερ πάντα θλίβονται *Pol. Tr.* 8601

εἶδες, ψυχὴ, τὸν ἄγουρον τὸν ὅπερ ἐφοβήθης; *Achil.* N 1594 app. crit.

τὸν ἄπερ

τὸν ἡμέτερον ἀμπελῶνα, τὸν ὄντα εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Κοδέμα, τὸν ἄπερ εἶχε ἀγοραστὸν ἐκ τὸν Ὀσβέρνον (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 9, 523.5)

τὸν κῆπον, τὸν ἄπερ ἐδέσποσεν ἡ μονὴ (1162, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 9, 98.19)

τὸ ἡμέτερον οἰκοτόπον, τὸ ἄπερ ἔχω ἀπέσω τοῦ θεοσώστου ἄστεως ... τὸν ἄπερ καὶ ἔχω ἐκ πατρικῆς ἡμῶν κληρονομίας (1204, S. Italy?, TRINCHERA 1865: 259, 352.13)

τὴν ὄπερ

χάριτα νὰ σὲ ποίσω, | τὴν ὄπερ πολεμῶ στανέο μου *Pol. Tr.* 9176 app. crit. (B)
ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ὄπερ εἶχαμε γονικὴν (1360, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 49, f.236r.6)
τὴν Μονεμβασίαν τὴν ὄπερ ἐβάστα κῦρ Μανουήλ ὁ Παλαιολόγος (16th c., Peloponnese,
SCHREINER 1975/79: 34.I, 25.5–6)
τὴν διαφορὰν τὴν ὄπερ ἔχουν (1569, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 1999: 28, 394.5)

τὴν ἄπερ

τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τὴν ἄπερ ἔχω (1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 4, 58.18)
τὴν μονὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Ὀνουφρίου ... τὴν ἄπερ κεῖται (1093, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 58,
75.11); εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἄπερ ἔρχετον (1118, *ibid.* 85, 112.9); ἡ μοιρασία τὴν ἄπερ καὶ
ἐποίησαν οἱ ἐρεμίτες (1125, *ibid.* 96, 125.1)
ἄπασαν τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπόστασιν τὴν ἄπερ κτῶμαι (1155, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 25,
148.5); τὴν ἀρὰν τὴν ἄπερ ἔδωσαν (1168–9, *ibid.* 36, 191.13); τὴν φυτίαν τὴν ἄπερ ἔχω
(1197–8, *ibid.* 42, 217.13)

τῶν ἄπερ

ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐλαίων τῶν ἄπερ ἐγκέντρισα (1213, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 263,
359.13)

τὲς ἄπερ

ἔχω καὶ ἐλαῖες ... τὲς ἄπερ μεράζω μὲ τὸν Σκυλλάκην (1222–3, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980:
48, 248.19)

τὸ ὄπερ

τὸ ὄπερ ἀμπέλιον ἐστὶν ἐκ τὸ δυσικὸν μέρος (1134, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 4, 14.11)
τὸ χωράφιον τὸ ὄπερ ἔχω (1145, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 16, 144.4); τὸ ἀμπέλιον τὸ ὄπερ
ἔχω (1155–6, *ibid.* 18, 154.7)
τὸ χωράφιον τὸ ὄπερ ὑπῆρχε τοῦ Ἀλαῖμου (1216, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 23, 108.13)
τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀμπέλιον τὸ ὄπερ κτῶμαι (1235–6, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 49, 251.6)
ἐπλήρωσα καὶ τὸ ζήτημα τὸ ὄπερ ἐζήτησεν ὁ σιρ Δόβρος (1237, Arta, BARIŠIĆ 1966: [1], 2.7)
τὸ λωρίν, τὸ ὄπερ ἔχω εἰς τὸ Πυργίν (ca. 1245, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927:
16, 7.7)
ἔδωκα χωράφιον ... τὸ ὄπερ ἔχω ἐξ ἀγορασίας (14th c., Athos, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 43.XIX,
253.105)
πεπράκαμεν τὸν τόπον, τὸ εἶχαμεν εἰς τὸ Κουνάκαλιν τὸ Ἀχιαντώνιν, τὸ ὄπερ κεῖται τοῦ
Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου πλησίον (1344, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 99, 57.3); τὸ
ἀλώνιν τῆς Λαζογιανίνας τὸ ὄπερ ἔχει ὁ Πρόδρομος (1435, *ibid.* 13, 6.6)
τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος, ἄπερ ἔχει ... τὸ ὄπερ ἔναι εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b:
182.6)
μηδὲ χαρίσης πρᾶγμα, τὸ ὄπερ οὐκ ἔχεις ἐξουσιάν, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ θέλημάν σου *Spaneas Z* 185
ποῖον ἐστί; Τὸ ὄπερ οὔτε εἶδαμεν οὔτε ἠκούσαμεν *Vios Aisop.* E 291.2
τὸ μοιρογράφημά του, | τὸ ὄπερ ἐθεάσατο ἐν τῷ Ἐρωτοκάστρῳ *Velth.* 1116–17
τοῦ κελλίου τὸ ὄπερ ἦν εἰς τὸ Πρωτάτο (1519, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 11, 113.4)
ἐπούλησα τὸ χωράφι τὸ ὄπερ εἶχα (1552, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 179.3)

τὸ ἄπερ

τὸ ἄπερ καὶ ἔχω ἀγορασμένον (1005, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 13, 13.13)
εἰς τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἄπερ ἔχω μὲ τὸν θεῖον μου (1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 4, 58.22)
εἰς τὸ κλεῖσμαν τοῦ Δαμαλίνου, τὸ ἄπερ ἔχω ἀγορὰν (1064–5, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 42,
170.4)
τὸ ἀμπέλιον, τὸ ἄπερ ἔχω ἀπάνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ (1100–15, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 28, 129.12)

τὸ ἡμέτερον χωράφιον τὸ ἅπερ κτώμεθα (1136–7, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 1, 61.6)
 τὸ χωράφιον τοῦ Μουτάρη, τὸ ἅπερ ἔχω (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 130, 172.11)
 τὸ χωράφιον τὸ ἅπερ ἔχω ἀγορὰν (1145, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 15, 140.3)
 τὸ χωράφιον ἡμῶν τὸ ἅπερ ἔχομεν (post 1155, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 11, 100.4)
 χωράφιον τὸ ἅπερ ἔχομεν εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Λαγκούσαν, τὸ ἅπερ κρατῶ ἐκ πατρικῆς μου
 κληρονομίας (1156, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 26, 152.10)
 τὸ ἐμὸν χωράφιον τὸ ἅπερ ἔχω (1163, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 8, 52.6); τὸ ἡμέτερον ὀσπίτιον
 τὸ ἅπερ ἔχω πενθερικόν μου (1187, *ibid.* 11, 61.8)
 τὸ ἀπόριον Κώνστα Κουπάνη, τὸ ἅπερ κρατοῦν οἱ μοναχοὶ (1181, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011:
 36, 183.14)
 σύνορον σοῦ τῆς σεβασμίας μονῆς· τῆς ἀγοραζούσης· τὸ ἅπερ ἐπικράτουν (1213, S. Italy,
 TRINCHERA 1865: 263, 359.20)
 τὸ χωράφιον τὸ ἅπερ ἔχω (1222–3, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 48, 248.14)
 τὸ ἅπερ ἦμισυ ὀσπίτιον ... εἶχες ... γεγραμμένον (1233, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 289,
 401.16); χωράφιον εἰς τόπον τοῦ λεγόμενου Φράγκου, τὸ ἅπερ εἶχαμεν ἀλλαγὴν (1243,
ibid. 293, 409.29)

τὰ ἅπερ

τὰ χωράφια τὰ ἅπερ καὶ ἔχομεν (1034, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 29, 34.12)
 τὰ ἅπερ καὶ ἐμετρήθησαν (1042, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 3, 49.42)
 νομοκάνονα ἔχετε, τὰ ἅπερ ἔχουν γεγραμμένας τὰς ἀγίας συνόδους ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 310.19–
 20
 ἀμπέλια τὰ ἅπερ καὶ ἔχομεν (1123, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 4, 60.10)
 χωράφιόν μας τὸ διακείμενον εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Ἡλίκιν, τὰ ἅπερ ἔχομεν ἐκ πατρικῆς
 κληρονομίας (1177, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 39, 199.8)
 τὰ χωράφια τῆς δηλουμένης ἀγίας μονῆς ἀγίου Στεφάνου, τὰ ἅπερ κρατεῖ (1184, S. Italy,
 TRINCHERA 1865: 218, 286.15)
 τὰ ἅπερ σὺ οὐ γινώσκεις *Spaneas* Va 122
 τὰ ἅπερ ταρία (1206, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 6, 377.9)
 τὰ ἅπερ νομίσματα ἡμεῖς λαβόντες ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν σου (1216, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 23,
 108.17); τὰ χωράφια τὰ ἅπερ ἔχει ἡ ἀγία μονὴ (1220–1, *ibid.* 16, 78.7)
 ἐκ τὰ χωράφια τοῦ Ἀγραρίου, τὰ ὄντα χωράφια εἰς τὴν τοποθεσίαν Στάλακτης, τὰ ἅπερ
 συνοροῦνται (1243, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 293, 409.11)
 σὺν τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἡμεροδένδρων καὶ ἀγρίου ὄρους, τὰ ἅπερ εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ περιχώρᾳ Στύλου ... τὰ
 ἅπερ περιορίζονται οὕτως (1245, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 50, 255.10–11)
 δένδρα ἐλαϊκὰ ... τὰ ἅπερ εἶχεν ὁ Πετρίτσης (1251, Smyrna region, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER
 1860/90, vol. 4: 4, 24.34)

5.9.1.6 τίς

There is limited evidence from S. Italian documents for a pronominal form *τίς* functioning as a definite relative. This function should be compared to the modern Greek dialects of S. Italy, where indeed *τίς/τί* is a regular inflected relativizer (ROHLFS 1977: 97–8; KARANASTASIS 1997: 73; NICHOLAS 1998a: 521–7). Previous scholarship disagrees as to whether the medieval and modern dialectal form should be considered as deriving from the indefinite relative *ὅστις/ὃ,τι* (PERNOT 1907/46: II 231–2; ROHLFS 1977: 97–8; NICHOLAS 1998a: 524–7, with extensive discussion of the etymological issues) or as a direct continuation of interrogative *τίς*, following a cross-linguistically common evolutionary path (KAPSOMENOS 1953b: 334; KARANASTASIS, *Lex. s.v. τίς–τί ἀντων. ἀναφορ.*; LIOSIS/

KRIKI 2013: 251–5). The relative use of interrogative *τίς* has been located in papyri from the time of the Koine (DIETERICH 1898: 200; KRIKI 2013: 157–65) and is also to be found, outside S. Italy, in the modern Pontic dialect. Nevertheless, in the case of S. Italian dialects (both medieval and modern), the influence of Italian and its local dialects, where the interrogative and the relative pronoun are homophonous in the form *chi*, cannot be discounted (a proposal already put forward by PERNOT 1907/46: II 232 n. 2; NICHOLAS 1998a: 524). It should also be noted that the S. Italian documents in which this innovative function of *τίς* appears display, without exception, a rather low level of competence in Greek, and are full of agreement errors and transfer phenomena. Another problematic fact involving the postulation of relative *τίς* as an archaic (Hellenistic) survival in modern S. Italian, as opposed to the “innovative” development of relative *όπού/πού*, is the extreme dearth and dubious quality of the MedG attestations of the former, in contrast to the rich textual tradition of the latter (see 5.9.1.1). Therefore, a scenario of “revival” of a dying archaism would have to be admitted in any case, in order to explain the retreat of *όπού/πού* (a vernacular and not a learned form) from modern Calabrian Greek; the likeliest cause of such a revival is external influence, i.e. contact with Italian. Finally, outside S. Italy, there is no trace of a relative function of *τίς* in the texts examined.

εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος τῆς ἀνοικοδομήθη (1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 618.17)

ἀπὸ τῆς δημοσίας οδοῦ τὴ ὑπάει εἰς τὸν Κουκκιάτον ... τὸ χωράφιον τῆς ἀγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ Ἑρεμίτου τὴ κρατεῖ κυροῦ Πέτρος ἱατρός ... τὸν σύνορον τοῦ χωραφίου τοῦ κυροῦ Ρωγερίου ... τὴ κρατεῖ Ρωγέριος τοῦ Ἀσσέλμου ... δίδει εἰς τὸν χωράφιον τὴ κρατεῖ Γιουφρίδας Τορνάτωρ (1179, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 50, 217.9, 9–10, 13, 15); τοῦ ἡμετέρου οἰκοτόπου τὴ ἔχομεν ἀπὸ πατρικῆς καὶ μητρικῆς κληρονομίας (1194, *ibid.* 51, 220.7)

τὴν ἄμπελον μετὰ τὸ χωράφιον ἀργὸν τὴ ἐστὶν ἐπάνω τὴν ἄμπελον (1227, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 276, 377.12)

DIETERICH (1898: 286) draws attention to three instances of a MedG use of the interrogative pronoun *τίς* as an indefinite relative (= *ὅστις*). The first two involve attestations in the 1547 *Pentateuch*, which, however, are considered Hebraisms by the editor (HESSELING 1897: XLVII): καὶ εἶπεν· τίς ἰὰ τὸν κύριο πρὸς ἐμέν· καὶ ἐμαζώχτηκαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅλα τὰ παιδιὰ *Pent.* Ex. 32.26; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος πρὸς τὸν Μοσε· τίς ὃς ἔφταιξεν ἐμέν νὰ τὸν γλυώσω ἀπὸ τὸ χαρτί μου *ibid.* 32.33. The third case is a rather dubious attestation from the poems of Sultan Walad arguably reflecting an early form of Asia Minor Greek: Τῖς ἔδωκεν τὴν ψυχὴν του, ἔζησεν. | Τῖς ἔδω τσακώθην, ὅλους νίκησεν SULT. WALAD, *Poem I* 22a–b.

5.9.2 Indefinite Relatives

5.9.2.1 ὅποῖος/ὅποιος

The pronoun *ὅποῖος*, *ὅποιά*, *ὅποῖον/ὅποιος*, *ὅποια*, *ὅποιο(ν)* is an indefinite relative with the meaning “whoever, whichever, whatever”, frequent both in literary and non-literary texts. It inflects like an adjective in -ος (see 3.2.2); variation exists only in the presence or

absence of final /n/ and in the extremely rare attestations of extended forms. The pronoun appears in all types of texts, both literary and non-literary, irrespective of geographical provenance.

The etymology of the pronoun is disputed: standard dictionaries interpret it as the interrogative ποῖος + an indefinite prefix ὁ- appearing also in ὄγοις, ὅπου, ὅποτε etc. (ANDRIOTIS, *Lex.*, KRIARAS, *Lex.*, as well as BABINIOTIS, *Lex.* and *LKN*; see also the comments by CHEILA-MARKOPOULOU 1990/91: 31–2). According to this analysis, the analogy is founded on pairs of interrogative–relative adverbs such as ποῦ–ὅπου, πότε–ὅποτε etc. This proposal seems to derive, through back-referencing, from a misinterpretation of CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: B 595–7), who discusses the *definite* relative ὁ ποῖος/ὁ ὁποῖος, but it is also independently defended by PERNOT (1907/46: II 235). However, the alternative analysis that ὅποιος derives from the AG qualitative relative ὁποῖος through stress retraction due to the analogy of ὅστις and other relative pronouns with the prefix ὁ- (proposed by MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 611; JANNARIS 1897: 167, and DIETERICH 1898: 200–1) better fits the picture emerging from the textual data. As a matter of fact, the attestations of an indefinite relative function of ὁποῖος go back to the EMedG period:

ὥστε τιμωρηθῆναι τοὺς ἀταξίας ἢ φόνους ποιοῦντας, ὁποίου δ' ἂν ὑπάρχωσι μέρους, ὥστε μὴ
τολμᾶν τινα τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν οἰανδήποτε ἀταξίαν ποιῇ Malalas, *Chronogr.* 351.44
ὅθεν καλῶς νενομοθέτηται ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαρινῆς ἰσημερίας, εἰς ὁποίαν δ' ἂν ἐβδομάδα ἐμπέσῃ ἡ
τεσσαρισκαδεκαταία τοῦ πρώτου μηνός *Chron. Paschale* 5.3
δίδου ἀπόφασιν κατ' ἐμοῦ, ὁποίαν ἐθέλεις καὶ οἶαν ὁ σατανᾶς ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου
ἐμβάλῃ σοι John of Damascus, *Mart. Art.* 63.17
ὁποῖω τρόπῳ δυνηθῆς ἀπόκτεινόν μοι τὸν Ἀρσένιον, μηδενὸς γινώσκοντος Georgios
Monachos, *Chron.* col. 704.6

The same use appears in texts of the LMedG period belonging to a higher register, which display an indefinite function of ὁποῖος, frequently, but not always, in collocation with ἂν or ἄρα, e.g.:

ὀφείλει ἀποκαθιστᾶν ἀκωλύτως καὶ ἀπαρεμποδίστως εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν πρόσωπον
εὐάγων, ὁποῖον βούλεται (1240, Thessaloniki/Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 70, 3.21); ὁ
τοιοῦτος, ὁποῖος ἄρα καὶ εἶη, οὐκ ὀφείλει εἰσακούεσθαι (ibid. 70, 4.40); οὗτος, ὁποῖος ἂν καὶ
εἶη, μὴ τύχοι ἐλέους (1284, Thessaloniki, ibid. 75, 32.52)
εἰ δέ τις πρὸς τοῦτο χωρήσῃ τολμήσειε, βάσκανος ὢν καὶ πλεονέκτης τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἄδικος
ἄνθρωπος, καί γε τὰς ἐμὰς ἀκυρῶσαι ταύτας καὶ ἀνατρέψαι διατάξεις θελήσειεν, ἴστω
ἀκριβῶς ὁ τοιοῦτος, ὁποῖος ἄρα καὶ εἶη, ὡς μέγιστον κρίμα βαστάσει *Typikon Mon. Vevaias
Elpidos* (1327–52) 29.17
κἂν ὁποῖος ἔνι, εἴτε θυγάτηρ μου εἴτε ἐγγονία μου ἢ κανεῖς ὁ τυχὼν ἄνθρωπος (1445, Athos,
LEMERLE et al. 1979: 170, 191.6)

The semantic transition from qualitative to indefinite is quite natural, especially in the context of conditional relative clauses. The morphological and the semantic evolution of ὁποῖος to an indefinite relative was facilitated by the replacement of interrogative τίς by ποῖος/ποιός, bringing about a corresponding replacement of ὅστις by ὁποῖος. A parallel evolution was the tendency of the qualitative ὁποῖος and the indefinite ὅστις to coincide semantically as simple definite relatives (see 5.9.1.3, 5.9.2.5).

Stress retraction in the form ὅποιος, apart from the analogy to ὅστις and other indefinites, may have been promoted by the regular inflectional stress shift in the O-stem adjectives, which could easily have led to an interpretation of gen. τοῦ ὁποίου, τῶν ὁποίων, acc. τοὺς ὁποίους etc. as arising from movement of the stress and not as original forms. The dating of the stress retraction is extremely difficult to determine due to the irregular/unsystematic nature of orthographic and accentuation practices in medieval mss, as well as the normalizing preferences of many editors. It is probable that it had already taken place by the 12th c., as evidenced, for instance, by the *Typikon* of the Kecharitomeni monastery: ἀνοικοδομεῖν οἰκήματα ἐν τοῖς τόποις τῶν καυθέντων ὅποια δύνανται (1110–16, Constantinople, GAUTIER 1985: 139.2201). Nevertheless, Sofianos (*Grammar* 45.22) gives only ὁποῖος as an indefinite relative pronoun. It is Germano (*Grammar* 72–3) and Portius (*Grammar* 29) who introduce the form ὅποιος with retracted stress into the grammatical tradition.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	ὅποιος ῑ ὁποῖος	ὅποια ῑ ὁποῖα	ὅποιο(ν) ῑ ὁποῖον
Gen.	ὁποίου ῑ ὁποίου ῑ ὁποιονοῦ ῑ ὁποιονοῦ	ὁποίας ῑ ὁποῖας	(ὁποίου) ῑ (ὁποίου)
Acc.	ὁποιο(ν) ῑ ὁποῖο(ν)	ὁποια(ν) ῑ ὁποῖα(ν)	ὁποιο(ν) ῑ ὁποῖο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	ὅποιοι ῑ ὁποῖοι	ὅποιες	ὅποια ῑ ὁποῖα
Gen.	ὁποίων ῑ ὁποίων	(ὁποίων ῑ ὁποίων)	ὁποίων ῑ ὁποίων
Acc.	ὁποίους ῑ ὁποίους	ὅποιες	ὅποια ῑ ὁποῖα

Examples of ὁποῖος/ὅποιος (note that in many cases it is not possible to distinguish between the paroxytone and proparoxytone variants):

Singular

Masculine Nominative

- ὁποῖος λάβη ἀρραβῶνας (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 229.110)
καὶ ὅποιος τὰ πιάση, Διγενή, ἔναι πολλὰ ἀνδρειωμένος *Dig.* E 762
ὅποιος νὰ τὰ ζητήση *Assizes* B 332.1
καὶ ὁποῖος νὰ θέλῃ νὰ τὸ τσακίσῃ (1408, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 4, 228.5)
ὅποιος καὶ ἄν ἔνῃ *Assizes* A 116.5
ὅποιος ἐτοῦτον τὸ βιβλίον ἀνοίξῃ καὶ ἀναγνώσῃ DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1 (Ὅποίως ms)
οποῖος ἦτον ἡ αφορμὴ, νὰ παιδευτεῖ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 302.17
οποῖος υπάει με κείνον *Theseid* VI.22,8 (Olsen); ὅποιος καὶ ἀν ἦτον ἐδεκεῖ *ibid.* VI.65,1
ὅποιος αὐτὰ ὀρέγεται δουλῶνεται καθόλου FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 111
ὅποιος τον ἀπατήχνει *Apoll.* Rim. A 739
ὁποῖος κάμνει ζαβία εἰς τὸ μοναστήρι (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.74)

- ὅποιος ἀπὸ τοῦς συντροφούς οὐδὲν ἤθελεν ὑπάγει (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 61, 259.10)
- ὅποιος ἤθελεν καλεσθῆ ἅπ' αὐτοὺς (1546, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 173, 112.18)
- ὅποιος κάμνει τὸν λογαριασμόν του χωρὶς τὸν ταβερνάρη (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 218.6)
- ὅποιος δὲν τὲς φυλάξη DAM. STOUD., *Dial.* 95.8
- ὅποιος τὸν εἶπη *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 121
- ὅς δ' ἂν βουλευθῆται ἀνατρέψαι τὰ συμφωνηθέντα, ἡ ἐν τοῖς Διονισιάταις ἡ ἐκ τοῦ κελίου ὅποιος λάχη ἡ ἐκ τῆς μονῆς, ἐχέτω τὰς ἀράς τῶν ἀγίων (1582, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 58, 179.14)
- καὶ ὁποῖος ἤθελεν ἀλληλοῦσιν ἀποῦ τσι δύο (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 8, 30.11)
- ὅποιος μιμᾶται τοὺς ἀγίους, κάμνει πολιτείαν ὅπου ἀρέσει τοῦ Θεοῦ MAXIMOS, *Synax. Ag. Nik.* 242
- ὅποιος παπὰς λειτουργήσῃ (1608, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 18, 180.72)
- ὅποιος ἐναντιεῖται ἀπὸ τοὺς νοικιάτορας (1610–20, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 23, 95.32)
- ὅποιος ἤθελεν ἔβγει (1616, Naxos, KATSOURO 1968: 2, 29.30)
- ὅποιος λοιπὸν θέλει χωρὶς πάθος, χωρὶς μῖσος, χωρὶς φθόνον νὰ ἰδῇ RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 53.31
- ὁποιος του εἰζήτα τίποτα, μετὰ χαράς αὐτὸν ἐδίδεν *Vios Filaret.* 238.20
- ὅποιος εἶχεν φανῇ ἐναντίον (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 111.26)
- ὅποιος βάλῃ σκάνδαλο (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 20.30)
- ὅποιος ἤθελεν ἀποθάνει (1655, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 2001: 96.29)
- ὅποιος δώσῃ τὴν καρπέτα (1673, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 73, 43.2)
- γῆ ὅποιος ἄλλος ἤθελε εἶσται διὰ λόγου του (1674, Milos, IMELLOS 1985/90: 330.13)
- ὅποιος ἔθελε σηκωθῇ (1674, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 31, 32.10)
- ὅποιος γυρεύει ξέν' αὐγὰ χάνει καὶ τὰ δικά του KONDA., *Paides* 358
- καὶ ὁποῖος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτὴν βάλλῃ, συγχώρησῃ ἐστὶν τὸ χρέος αὐτοῦ (1680, Epirus, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 2174, f.122v.4)
- ωποιως τὰρὰ{κ}ξοι τω δεσημό / ὁποιος τὰρὰξῃ τὸ δέσιμο (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 8, f.43v.3)
- τὸ ὁποῖον βιβλίον, ὁποιος μοῦ τὸ ἔδωκεν, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη αὐτοῦ (1695, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 106, 358.2)
- ὁποιος κάθεται εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν του (1699, Andros, POLEMIS 2001: 14, 118.8)
- κι ὁποιος χρεωστοῦσε | ἐπλήρωνε τὸ χρέος του *Diig. Vefa* 175
- ὁποιος ἔχασε τὸ γουρουνάκι του *Paroim.* (Warner) 51.21

Masculine Genitive

- τοῦ ἄνωθεν εὐγενεστάτου ἀφέντη Καλλονᾶ γῆ ὁποιοῦ θέλει ἰντραβενίρει (1634, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 5, 270.26)
- κι ὁποιοῦ βρεθῇ σοφώτερον καὶ ἄξιο τὸ πρόβλημά του PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 319
- νὰ τήνε δίδῃ ἡ Ἀρετὴ τῇ τζόγια ὁποιοῦ κερδέσῃ KORNAOS, *Erot.* II.2430
- ὁποιοῦ ἔὰν θέλει KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 11.23; (ὁποιοῦ αὐτὸς ἐχάρισε τὸ περισσότερον *ibid.* Louk. 7.43)

Masculine Accusative

- ὁποῖον προσπαύσῃ τὸ σπαθίν του, ὑγίαν ποτὲ οὐκ ἔχει *Pol. Tr.* 3475 app. crit. (B)
- καὶ ὁποῖον εὗρουσαν νὰ τὸν βάλουν φυλακὴν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 362.14 (ὁποῖον ms V ὁπῖον ms R)
- ὁποῖον βαστά ἡ ὀρέξις, νὰ ῥθῃ γοργό σε μένα *Apoll.* Rim. A 94
- εἰς ὁποῖον τόπον *Imb.* Rim. 662
- μὲ ὁποῖον σύντροφοι θέλω εἶσται (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 48, 42.4)

ἐκεῖνον ὅποιον μοῦ εἰπεῖς *Nov. II* 162.59

ὅποιον ἀνθρώπον ἀγαπάει ὁ θεὸς *Diig. Alex.* E 265.12 (Lolos)

εἰς ὅποιον ἱερομόναχον θέλει (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 26, 165.20)

ὅποιον ἐξορίσουν *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 186.E.64

ἀπὸ ὅποιον ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνωθε γεγραμμένους (1619, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 1, 187.16)

νὰ τοῦ ἀκολουθῶ εἰσὲ ὅποιον πόλεμον πάγη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 61.8

μόνον ἐπάρετέ το ἐσεῖς καὶ ὅποιον ἀγαπᾶτε δώσετέ το *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §27.15

εἰς ὅποιον τόπον ἐσεῖς θέλετε ὑπάγει *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 11–12

σε οἴπην τοῖον λαχῇ / σὲ ὅποιον τόπο λάχῃ (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 2, 145.27)

νὰ τὸν ἐκβάνη καὶ νὰ βάνη ἄλλον ὅποιον θέλει (1668, Crete, TOMADAKIS 1979: 13.102)

Feminine Nominative

ὅποια ἀπ' ἐσᾶς βάλη ἀρχὴν νὰ μὲ δείρη, ἔναι ἡ μεγαλύτερη πολιτικὴ *Vios Aisop.* E 292.34

ὅποια ἐκ τὰς καυχίτζας μου καὶ ἀπὸ τὰς ἰδικάς μου | εὐρῶ ὅτι δέχεται γραφὴν *Liv.* S 319–20

ὅποια φοβεῖται θάνατον *Theseid* I.35,5 (Follieri)

οἷα εὐρεθεῖ, νὰ τὴν ξορίζουν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 178.6

ὅποια ποθάνη 'ς πόλεμον *Alex. Rim.* 2501

καὶ ὅποια ἀπ' αὐτὲς προσδράμη καὶ τὸν φιλήσῃ, αὐτὴ τὸν ἔπαιρνε ἄνδρα *Vios Aisop.* K 161.7

ὅποια τάξη μὴ βολὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ νὰ τοῦ δουλέψῃ *P&N Diath.* 1818

ὅποια χώρα ἔχει πολλὰ χαράτζια *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §35.36

ὅποια ἤθελε ξεπέσει (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.23)

ὅποια ἐπληγώθη στὴν τιμὴ *KORNAPOS, Erot.* I.1574

Feminine Genitive

ὅποιας ἐμπαίνει ἀπ' τῶν τριῶ τὸ μῆλο νὰ χάριση *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Interm.* I 174

μὲ ὅποιας λογῆς τρόπον (1691, Venice, MERTZIOS 1936e: [1], 112.13)

Feminine Accusative

εἰς ὅποιαν σταυροφόρον πλώρην σας ἡ παντιέραν ἤθελε τύχη (1415, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1979: App. XVII, 216.13)

ὅποιαν ὥραν πουλεῖ ὁ ἄρχος τὸ μερδικόν του (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 54.40–1)

καὶ ὅποιαν βλέπη νὰ δειλιᾷ, δίδει παρηγορίαν *Theseid* I.90,8 (Follieri)

νὰ μὴ συμμίσουν μὲ ὅποιαν τύχη γυναῖκα *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 95.10–11

ἀμὴ ὅποιαν πιάσης ἤξευρε τέλεια νὰ τὴ φυλάσσης *DEFAR., Log. did.* 278

καὶ εἰς ὅποιαν πάγα δὲν σοῦ ἀτεντέρω (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 243, 241.9)

ὅποια φορὰ ἤθελεν τὸ κάμει (1567, Crete, KOLYVA-KARALEKA 1977: 5, 257.10)

εἰσὲ ὅποια μερία τοῦ ἤθελε φανῇ (1568, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 1999: 20, 387.23)

καὶ ὅποιαν ὥρα ἤθελαν γυρέψῃ οἱ καλογέροι τοῦ μοναστηρίου νὰ κάμουν χοντζέτι (1583, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 17, 33.18)

φίλαινα καὶ μαστόρισσα χαρὰ στὴν ὅποια σ' ἔχει *CHORTATSIS, Katz.* II.342

ἰσε οἷα ἐκλίσαι θελὶ / εἰσὲ ὅποια ἐκκλησὰ θέλει (1616, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 2, 220.22)

ἡ οἷα πένα νὰ ἀγροικᾶται τόσο διὰ τὴ μία πάρτη ὥσάν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄλλη, ἦγουν ἀπὸ

ὅποια ἤθελε ἔρθει τὸ κοντράριο (1619, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 1, 187.20–1)

ἀπὸ τσί δύο κατοικίες ὅποια θέλει ὁ γαμβρός (1631, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 598, 572.13)

εἰς ὅποιαν πόλιν ἐμπαίνετε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 10.8

νὰ παῖρνη ὅποια πάρτην θέλει (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 257, 449.23)

καὶ νὰ σοῦ πάρω ὅποια κι ἂ θές *KORNAPOS, Erot.* III.736

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

κᾶν δίκαιον κᾶν τε χάριταν, τὸ ὅποιον θέλει ἐκ τὰ δύο *Chron. Mor.* H 7711

κανένα ἕτερον ὄρνιον, ὅποιον καὶ ἂν ἐνι *Assizes* B 451.18

ὅποιον κάστρο καὶ χώρα (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.10)
 ἀπάνω εἰς ὅποιον καράβιν θέλουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 136.34
 ὅποιο θελήσῃ, ἄς πάρῃ TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 94
 ροῦχον μου ἔνα, ὅποιον φανῇ νὰ δώσῃ (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 148, 267.29)
 νὰ μὴδὲν λέγῃ ὅποια τύχῃ παραμύθια SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 100.17
 ὅποιο τοῦ ἀρέσει (1560, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 24, 102.16)
 ὅποιο παιδὶ (1585, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 23, 41.20)
 ἄς πάρῃ ὅποιο θέλῃ (1590, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 8, 310.44)
 καὶ ὅποιο καταλύσου | κρασὶ καλὸ *P&N Diath.* 3558
 εἰς ὅποιον μνῆμα τοῦ τοῦ θέλῃ φανῇ (1628, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 2, 129.10)
 καὶ ὅποιον μας παιδὶν ἤθελε σηκωθῇν (1635, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 1, 13.5)
 ὅποιον καστέλλι ἤθελεν ἐβγῇ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀπόφασιν (1638, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 13, 87.14)
 εἰς ὅποιον σπιτί ἐμπεῖτε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 10.5
 ὅποιο παιδὶ φανῇ ἀπειθής (1646, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1993: 4, 194.11)
 εἰς ὅποιον πρόσωπον (1678, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1999: 4, 49.11)
 ὅποιο ἤθελε θελήσῃ (1687, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 277, 257.35)
 ὅποιο μέρος χηρέψῃ (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 303.29)

Plural

Masculine Nominative

ἔκλεξε δὲ εὐγενικούς, καλοὺς καβαλλάριους, ὅποιοι τὸν ἀρέσασιν *Pol. Tr.* 7645; ὅποιοι τοῦ ἀρέσασιν *ibid.* app. crit. (B)
 ὅποιοι ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς φανοῦσιν ἀμελεῖς (1518, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 390.5)
 ὅποιοι οὐδὲν θέλουν ποιήσῃ (1524, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 2, 1η.39)
 κι ὁγὸι τοὺς ὅποιοι σῶσα *P&N Diath.* 4767; χαρὰ ᾽ς τσι ὅποιοι δάκρυα χύσου γιὰ τὴ Μαρία *ibid.* 3966
 ὅποιοι περάσουσι απεδὼ CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.116; ὅποιοι ἀγαποῦ καὶ θέλουσι νὰ ᾽χουσι βασιλεία *id.*, *Erof. Interm.* III.7
 ὅπγῃ ἐκ[ρατοῦσαν αὐτὰ τὰ] χωράφια / ὅπγῃ ἐκρατοῦσαν αὐτὰ τὰ χωράφια (1614, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 13, 49.28)
 ὅποιοι ὑταν ἀξιοὶ / ὅποιοι ἦταν ἄξιοι *Rim. Sant.* 408
 τὶς δροσὲς ἄς ἔχου | ὅποιοι τὶς ἀγαποῦν *Pist. voskos* I 1.136
 ὅποιοι τὰ ἀγαποῦν ἐκεῖνα εὐρίσκονται εἰς τὴν κόλασιν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P III 337.15
 ὅπῃ καὶ ἀνὲ κατέχουσι / ὅποιοι καὶ ἀνὲ κατέχουσι (1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 6, 416.10)
 ὅποιοι ἀγαποῦσι καρδιακὰ KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.2187

Masculine Genitive

καὶ ὅποιων ἀμαρτίες συγχωρήσετε, εἶναι συγχωρημένες· καὶ ὅποιων κρατεῖτε, εἶναι κρατημένες KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioan. 20.23

Masculine Accusative

νὰ ἐπαίρῃ ὅποιους θέλῃ *Chron. Mor.* H 2004
 καὶ παίρνεις ὅποιους βούλεσαι LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 226
 νὰ παίρνωσιν ὅποιους θέλουσιν ἀνθρώπους (1518, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 390.3)
 νὰ κάμῃς κομέσσον ἢ καὶ κομέσσους ὅποιον καὶ ὁποῖους ἐσὺ θέλεις (1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 39, 69.7)
 ἔτσι καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς, ὁποῖους θέλῃ ζωοποιεῖ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioan. 5.21
 ὁποῖους χριστιανούς ἐκαταράθηκα (1643, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1960: [3], 3.1)

Feminine Nominative/Accusative

οποιαις ἡμέραις / ὅποιες ἡμέρες δὲν ἔλθῃ (1560, Corfu, TZIVARA 2003: 29, 490.5)
 ζωγραφίση εἰς αὐτὲς ἱστορίες, ὅποιες ἤθελε εἰποῦ (1664, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1974b: 1, 42.19)
 ὅποιες στὴν τιμὴν ἔτοιο ἀσκημάδι βάνου KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1197; ὅποιες πιστεύγου σ' ὄνειρα γιὰ πελελὲς τσι κρίνω *ibid.* IV.100

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

νὰ κόπτουσιν ξύλα ὅποια ἐθέλουσιν (1507, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 9, 110.9)
 ἔνα ζευγάρι σεντόνια, ἀπὸ κεῖνα ὅπου ἔχομεν, ὅποια θέλει ὁ Βασίλης (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 171, 139.37)
 νὰν τῆς δίνουνε ἀπὸ τὰ ἄλογα τὰ δύο, ὅποια θέλει (1604 [copy of 1695], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 509.37)
 τῶς δίδου κονίσματα πέντε, ὅποια θέλου νὰ πάρου (1649, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 23, 19.16)

Usage

Ὅποῖος/ὅποιος normally introduces free relative clauses, e.g.

κι ὅποιον σου δείξω σκότωσε ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 383
 καὶ ὅποιος θέλει, ἀρματώνεται (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 14.95)
 νὰ ντεφεντέρη τὴν αὐτὴν πουύληση ἀπὸ ὅποιον ἤθελεν πειράξει τὸν ἄνω κυρ Μιχαλάκη (1681, Andros, PASCHALIS 1924: 171.9)

In rare cases it introduces a headed clause functioning as an apposition, e.g.:

νὰ διαλέξῃ ἕναν ἀπὸ τοὺς γ' ὅποιον θέλει νὰ πάρῃ ν' ἀρμαστῇ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 260.29
 ἐσκότωσε μὲ τὸ χέρι του πολλοὺς πασάδες καὶ μπέτηδες, ὅποιος τοῦ ἔφταιγε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 28.5

When the relative clause precedes the main clause, a resumptive clitic may appear in the main clause, e.g.:

ὅποιος δὲν ἤθελεν ποιήσῃν τὸν ὀρισμὸν σου, διῶξε τον (1514, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1963b: 167.78)
 κι ὅποιοι ἐκάμαν τὸ κακό, πιάνει καὶ τοὺς φουρκίζει *Alex. Rim.* 670
 ὅποιος τὸν ἀναγνώση, ζητῶ του τὸ συμπάθιον *Imb. Rim.* 11

As well as a pronoun, ὅποιος/ὅποῖος may function as a determiner, e.g.:

νὰ βγαίνουν ἀπὸ ὅποιον τόπο νὰ θέλουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 138.4
 καὶ ὅποιος ἄξιος καὶ καλὸς πιάνῃ νὰ τὰ διαβάσῃ VENDRAMOS, *Istor. gyn.* 291
 καὶ ὅποιος χριστιανὸς κὰν ἱερὴς κὰν λαϊκὸς (17th c., Athos, KADAS 1988: 120, 352.13)
 νὰ βάνῃ ὅποιο παπὰ θέλει (1685, Andros, POLEMIS 1995b: 5, 39.17)
 ὁπιος ἱερέας / ὅποιος ἱερέας (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 69.21)

The notion of indefinite condition is rendered by ὅποιος + subjunctive or conditional, occasionally accompanied by ἄν, καὶ ἄν, or νὰ. Examples:

ὅποιος ἔλθῃ *Diig. Alex.* F 236.18 (Lolos)
 καὶ ὅποιος τὴν πειράξῃ, νὰ ἔχῃ τὴν κατάραν μου (1601, Ikaria, MELAS 1958: 66.8)
 ὁποιονοῦ ἔὰν θέλει KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 11.23
 καὶ ὅλοι τὸ θαυμάζονταν, ὅποῖος κι ἂν τὸ ἐβλέπη *Theseid* I.74,7 (Follieri)

ὅποιαν καὶ ἂν τοῦ ἀρέση TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 17

ὅποιο κι' ἂν ἀπαντήξω, γῆ ὀχθρὸ γῆ φίλο CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.123

ὅποιους καὶ ἂν εὕρουσιν *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 255.127

οποία να ευρεθεί, να την ξορίζει VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 179.5

νὰ τὰ τρώγη ὅποιος ἱερεὺς ἤθελεν λειτουργᾷ (1537, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 117, 232.5)

ὅποιος τόπος νά 'ναι (1598, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 1, 214.48)

ὅποιος νέος νὰ ἐλθῇ *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 18

καὶ ὅποιος ἀπὸ ἀπροσεξίας του ἤθελεν κόψει κανένα φύλλον (1678, Laconia, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 1917, f.1v.5)

5.9.2.2 ὅσος

The MedG and MG pronoun ὅσος, ὅση, ὅσο(ν) is a direct continuation of AG ὅσος, ὅση, ὅσον. It is used throughout the period as an indefinite quantitative relative, correlative with τόσος. It inflects as a regular adjective in -ος (see 3.2.1). No extended forms have been located in the corpus examined.¹⁰⁹ The pl. forms ὁσόσοι (masc.) and ὁσόσα (neut.) are attested only in two Cypriot texts, the *Chronicles* of Machairas and Voustronios. They should perhaps be interpreted as analogical formations based on ὁτόσος (see 5.5.3.2): ὁσόσοι μᾶς γροικοῦσιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 54.23–5 (ὁσοσί ms); ἐσκοτῶσαν ὁσόσοι τοὺς ἐκαταπροσωπίσαν *ibid.* 556.9 app. crit. (ὁσόσί ms); οσοσί *id.*, *Chron.* R 391.14 (no accent); ἐλησμόνησεν ὁσόσα του ἐπολομούσαν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 42.7; ἐλησμόνησεν ὁσόσα του ἐπολολούσαν *id.*, *Chron.* B 43.6 (ὁσοσα ms).

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	ὅσος	ὅση	ὅσο(ν)
Gen.	ὅσου	ὅσης	ὅσου
Acc.	ὅσο(ν)	ὅση(ν)	ὅσο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	ὅσοι	ὅσαι ὁσες	ὅσα
Gen.	ὅσων	ὅσων	(ὅσων)
Acc.	ὅσους	ὅσας ὁσες	ὅσα

¹⁰⁹ For the S. Italian forms with geminate /s/, e.g. ὅσους δ' ἂν ἔχης νοθείους φέρειν ἐκ τὰς περιεξῆς χώρας ἀνθρώπους (1097, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 64, 81.26), see I, 3.4.2. Cf. also the quantitative demonstrative τόσος (τόσος), 5.5.3.2.

Singular

Masculine Nominative

- ὁ τόπος ὅλος τοῦ Μορέως, ὅσος καὶ περιέχει *Chron. Mor.* H 1404
 ὅσος ἀριθμὸς γένῃ (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 44, 38.2)
 καὶ ἐξόπισθὲν τοὺς ὁ λαός, ὅσος ἐκεῖ καὶ ἂν ἦτον *Pol. Tr.* 4624
 τὸν τόπον τὸν ἄδειον, ὅσος ἡύρσκεται (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 48, 39.4)
 ὅσος λαὸς αἰχμαλωτίσθη (post 1640, Monemvasia, SCHREINER 1975/79: 79, 37.4)
 ὅσος ἔναι ὁ τόπος τῆς καϊμάδας LANDOS, *Geopon.* 238.27
 ὅσος καιρὸς ἦθελεν ἀπεράσει (1696, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 3, 254.12)

Masculine Accusative

- καὶ ἀντ' αὐτῆς σοὶ δώσομεν πλοῦτον ὅσον κελεύεις *Dig.* G I.107
 εἰς ὅσον καιρὸν θέλουν (1422, Athens?, BUCHON 1843: LXVIII, 289.26)
 ὅσον καιρὸν ἔλειπεν ὁ ἀντρας τῆς *Assizes* B 385.31
 ὅσο καιρὸ τῶς ἔλεγε *P&N Diath.* 2758
 ὅσον τόπον ἐπάτησε τὸ φουσσᾶτο μου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 100.12
 φέρε ὅσον ἀσβέστην καὶ ἂν ἔχης *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 254.87

Feminine Nominative

- τὴν ἐτέραν ὄλην μεσαρίαν, ὅση ἦτονε εἰς τὸ ἐδικόν μου μερτικόν (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 14, 24.16)
 ὅση ἔν' ἡ δύναμή σου KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.197
 κόψε τόσην φλοῦδα, ὅση εἶναι ἡ ἡμερη ὅπου θέλεις νὰ βάλης LANDOS, *Geopon.* 149.31

Feminine Genitive

- ζῶντες μεθ' ὅσης ἡδονῆς, μετὰ χαρίτων τόσων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 806

Feminine Accusative

- τὴν ρόγαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ὅση χρωστοῦν νὰ ἔχουν *Chron. Mor.* P 5166
 τοιοῦτην θλίψιν ἔποικειν ὅσην τινὰς οὐκ εἶδεν *Pol. Tr.* 13737
 κ' ἐγλύτωσα τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκείνην ὅση εἶδα *Synax. gadar.* 331
 ὅσην γὰρ τιμὴν ἐζήτηι *Ptochol.* α 308
 στριγγὴ φωνὴν ἐλέγασιν, ὅσην καὶ ἂν ἐδυνόνταν *Moirol. Konst.* 110
 μεσαρίαν, ὅσην φανῇ καὶ ἔχω (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 11, 19.16)
 ἀπὸ ὅσην λειψοπροικία τοῦ χρεωστοῦν (1516, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 41, 73.8)
 ὅση ῥα ἐτελεῖτο ἡ θεία λειτουργία *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 44
 μὲ ὅσην τυχὸν καλλιέργειαν ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 142.B.11
 κι ὅση τυράννηση μπορεῖ νὰ πεῖ κιανεὶς τοῦ δῶσα CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.110
 τῆς ἐκάνασιν ὅσην τιμὴν ἐδύνουνταν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 55.16

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

- ἀμπέλιον ... ὅσων καὶ οἶον ἐστὶν (1135, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 116, 155.5)
 ὅσο φουσσᾶτο ἠμπόρεσεν καὶ ὅσον ἡδυνήθη *Chron. Mor.* H 4698
 εἰς πᾶν, ὅσον ἔχει κινήτον καὶ ἀκίνητον (1431, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 18, 217.8)
 ὅσον χάλκωμαν πωληθῇ (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 43, 75.8)
 καὶ ὅσο πλήθος καὶ ἂν ἔρχεται καταπανοῦ σου, ἐσὺ τοὺς θέλεις τροπῶσει *Diig. Alex.* V 70.27
 ἄλλον τόσον τυρί, ὅσον φανῇ καὶ κάμω (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 749, 580.11)
 ἀφήνω ... τὸ ὅσο πράμα ποὺ νὰ μοῦ εὔρεθῇ (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 110.11)
 ἐπῆρε τ' ἀμπέλι ... ὅσο καὶ οἶον ἐστὶ (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 53, 67.12)
 καὶ ὅσο ἔβγαλαν καὶ τὸ ἐπαρამέρισαν, ἐγλύτωσεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.65–6
 σύρμα ὅσου ὀρίζεις (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 69.7)

Plural

Masculine Nominative

- ὅσοι κατοικοῦν ἐκεῖσε (1101, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 69, 87.5)
 ὅσοι γὰρ οἶδαν πείραν μου, ὑμῖν οὐ συνεργήσουν *Dig. G VI.295*
 ὅσοι καλὰ της εἶδατε, ἔχετε γλυκασμούς της *Log. parig. L 19*
 ὅσοι θέλουν ἄς ἔρθουν *Dig. E 893*
 οἱ ἄρχοντες ὅσοι ἔχουσιν τιμάρια (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.24)
 ὅσοι κατεχωρίσθησαν στὴν πόρταν τοῦ Ἀμουράτη PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 416
 ὅσοι τ' ἀκούγετε μηδὲν τὸ ἀπιστῆτε *Peri xen.* 171
 ὅσοι τόποι εἶναι εἰς τὴν ὑποταγὴν καὶ ἐπιστάσιαν αὐτῶν (1478–9, Constantinople, GILLILAND WRIGHT/MACKEY 2007: 269.22)
 ὅσοι ἦσαν εἰς τὴν Κερύνεια VOUSTR., *Chron. A* 92.10
 ὅσοι δὲ εὐρέθησαν (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 248.25)
 ὅσοι δυστυχεῖς δὲν ἔχουν νὰ ἐξοδιάζουν (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 167.12)
 ὅσοι ἦσαν δοῦλοι ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 121.A.1
 ὅσοι ἦρθασιν (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 148.2)
 καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τουμπανάδες (1647, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 2, 174.19)

Masculine Genitive

- καὶ εἶπεν τῆς περιγίπισσας κι ὅσων ἐκεῖ ἦσαν *Chron. Mor. P* 4430
 ὅσων αὐθεντῶν παιδιὰ τὴν ἀκούουν *Diig. Alex. Sem. S* 102
 καὶ ὅλους τοὺς ἐφιλοτίμησε μὲ χαρίσματα, ὅσων ἦσαν τῆς βουλῆς VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.10

Masculine Accusative

- ὅσους δὲ ξένους δυνηθῆς συναθροίσειν (1093, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 57, 74.23)
 κι ὅσους ἀνθρώπους πιάσουσιν εὐθέως νὰ ἀποθάνουν *Chron. Mor. H* 5664
 ὅσους κόρπους ἔχει *Assizes B* 268.23
 ὅσους μῆνας ἐλλείπουν (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 10, 20.5)
 οὐδένας ἀπ' ὅσους ἦλθαν NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 139.7
 ὅσους καὶ ἂν εἶχεν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1157
 νὰ ταγίζουν ἀργὰ καὶ ταχὺ ὅσους χριστιανούς (1608, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 18, 179.70)
 νὰ τοὺς τοὺς διαλέξῃ ἀπὲ ὅσους ἔχουν στὸ ὀσπίτιν των (1628, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 17, 94.19)
 ἀπ' ὅσους κι ἂν εὐρίσκουντεν VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 41
 μὲ τοὺς δρυάδες ὅσους ἠύρέθουνται (1684, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 19, 51.20)
 ὅσους ἐφιλοδώρησες καὶ εὐεργέτησές τους NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 181
 τοὺς ὅσους χρόνους (1698, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1968/69: 3, 335.6)

Feminine Nominative

- καὶ πρὸ αὐτῆς καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν καὶ τότε ὅσαι ἦσαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 825
 ποῖαι δὲ ἑορταί; ὅσαι εἶναι δεσποτικάι, καὶ εἰς ὅσας τιμᾶται ὁ Θεὸς DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 10, i8v.15
 ὅσες δύνάμες εἰσὶ *Pol. Tr.* 663 app. crit. (E)
 ὅσες ζημίες ἐγίνονταν (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 302.55)
 ὅσες ἔχουν λογισμὸν ἀντρός FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 346
 ὅσες πονοῦν ἀπὸ καρδιᾶς BERGADIS, *Apok. A* 197
 καὶ ὅσες ἐκοιμούντησαν τὴν Κυριακὴ ὡς σκρόφες BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 151
 ὅσες ἡμέρες ἐθέλασιν περάσει (1631, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 17, 321.8)

ὄσες ἀνύπανδρες ἤθελαν νὰ λειτουργοῦνται (1693, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 104, 302.27)

Feminine Genitive

ὄσων γὰρ σκέπτει ὁ οὐρανὸς καλλιώτερη οὐκ ἦτον *Pol. Tr.* 1711

Feminine Accusative

εἰ δὲ καὶ δώσης τον ραβδιαῖς τὸν κύων ὄσας θέλεις *Phys.* 332
καὶ ὄσας ὥρας <ἀν> ἀργῶ, ὄσας καὶ ἂν ποιήσω *Velth.* 277
ἀπέστειλε {δὲ} καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς τὰς βίας, ὄσας εἶχεν *Dig. A* 297
ὄσας ἀνάγκας ἔπαθα διὰ πόθον εἶπα σέ τας *Liv.* S 2262
ἀφήνουσιν τὰς χάριτας ὄσας ὁ τόπος εἶχεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 168
κερατάας ὄσας ἔχω εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον μύλον (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 92, 173.14)
δεν ἔχει τινὰ στερρότητα γης, ὄσας οργίας σχοινὶ καὶ ἀν βάλλουσιν *LANDOS, Amart. sot.* 332.1
τὲς ἔλὲς ὅπου ἔχω εἰς τὸ Ἀριοῦσον, ὄσες καὶ οἶες ἐστὶν (1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.9)
τὲς ρηθέντες ἐλαῖες, ὄσες καὶ οἶες ἐστὶν (1272, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 326, 484.44)
ἡμέρες τοσαῦτες, ὄσες τὰ ἔπραττε (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 26, 28.8)
ὄσες διαθήκης ἐπροεποίησα (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 44, 75.8)
ὄλες τὲς οἰκονομίες, ὄσες κι ἂν ἐβασταῖναν *Chron. Mor.* P 6128
ὄσες νεκρὲς ἐκεῖ νὰ εὐροῦν *Theseid* I.80,4 (Follieri)
εἰς ὄσες χάριτες *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 59.172
ἄλλες τόσες κεφαλὲς καὶ κοιλιές, ὄσες φανῇ καὶ σφάξω (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 48, 42.7)
ἀν εἶχες τόσα μυαλὰ ὄσες τρίχες ἔχεις εἰς το πηγούνι *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 2.8
εἰς ὄσαις καταδικαίς ἔχουσι θάνατον *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 199.Θ.6
ὄσες γραφὲς ἔχω κατωμένες (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 237, 144.15)
ὄσες φάλιες καὶ ἂν εὕρετε (1574, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61.17)
ὄσες ἡμέρες ἤλειπε *P&N Diath.* 1482
ὄσες φορὲς ὁ οὐρανὸς σ' τοῦτο τὸν κόσμον βρέχει *Zinon* I.355

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

ὄσα κ[αί] ἂν εἶδες ἄφες τα *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 519
εἰπέ τον ὄσα θέλεις *Spaneas* P 127
ὄσα γὰρ θέλεις δύνασαι *Dig. G II.* 16
ὄσα μοῦ ἔδωκεν (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 146.7)
ἀνέφερε μάς ὄσα ἔχει νὰ ποιήσει (1448?, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.5)
ὄσα ἕτερα χωράφια εἶναι ἡ μερὶς (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 15, 51.8)
καὶ ὄσα πουλίτσια πίνουσιν εἰς τὴν Ἰκέαν τὴν λίμνην *Dig. E* 924
εἰς ὄσα εἶχε τὸ νησὶν *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 363
ὄσα καὶ ἂν εὐρίσκονταί (1524, Skyros, ANDONIADES 1990: 1, 15.4)
καματερά χωράφια καὶ ἄγρια ὄσα εὐρίσκονται (1533, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 3, 116.12)
ταῦτα πάντα ὄσα μὲ ἄφηκεν ὁ πατέρας μου (1606, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 26, 102.17)
ὄσα ὀσπίτια ἐγγιζουσιν εἰς τὰ τεῖχη (1609, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 8, 3.8)
τὰ ὄσα ποὺ νὰ ἤθελαν μοῦ εὐρεθοῦν (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 111.16)
τὰ θαύματα τὰ ῥαῖσια ὄσα ἔγιναν σιμά μου *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 264
τὰ ὄσα ὀρίζομεν (1659, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 17A, 129.5)
ὄσα βάσανα με εὐρήκασιν ἔδω (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 105.19)
ἐπούλησα τὰ ροῦχα, ὄσα ἐπῆρα (1680, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: 14, 77.4)
τὰ ὄσα ἔκτιζα (1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 7, 20.31)
ὄσα πουλιὰ πέτονται δὲν τρώγονται *Paroim.* (Warner) 104.23

Usage

“Όσος can be used both as a pronoun (especially in the plural), e.g. τὸν σταυρὸν νὰ ἐπάρουσιν ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν πιστεύουν *Chron. Mor.* H 5994; ὅσοι προσκυνούσανε, τοὺς ἐκάμνανε σκλάβους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 92.13, and as a determiner, e.g. ὅσοι παπὰδες εὐρεθοῦν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 3, 23.23); ὅσην τρομάραν ὁ βορρᾶς φέρ’ εἰς δενδρῶν τὰ φύλλα *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 817; εἶδε τὰ ὅσα ἐχρειάζετον *IER. ANAVATIOS, Diig. Seismou* 337.30.

“Όσος can be preceded by the definite article, e.g.:

νὰ τοὺς ἡμοιράσουν τὰ ὅσα ἐκεῖνα ἡύρισκονται πατρικά ἀνταμικά τους (1549–50, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 34, 74.13)

τὴν ὅση ἐντυμασία ὁποῦ θέλει γένει τοῦ ἄνωθεν παιδίου (1564, Corfu, TZIVARA 2003: 32, 492.17)

εἰς ἐργαστήρια, εἰς ἐξεχειμαδία, εἰς ἐξεκαλοκαιριάσματα, εἰς τὰ ὅσα εὐρέθησαν νῦν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 237.72)

τὰ ὅσα μούλκια ἔχομεν (1610–20, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 23, 95.20)

εἰς τὰ ὅσα ἔχει νὰ λάβῃ (1630, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1993: 1, 289.9)

τὰ ὅσα μᾶς ἐδῶσανε οἱ γέροντες (1685, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 8, 331.3)

When ὅσος introduces relative clauses expressing indefinite conditions, it may be accompanied by ἂν or καὶ ἂν, e.g.:

ὅσα ξύλα ἂν βρεθοῦν *ΔΙΑΚΡ., Diig. Pol.* 91

στριγγέαν φωνίτσαν ἔσυρεν, ὅσην καὶ ἂν ἐδυνέτον *Arm.* 46

πουλοῦμε τίς ἐλὲς στὴ Γιάννιτσα, ὅσες καὶ ἂν ἔχωμε, ἐλὲς καὶ χωράφι, ὅσες καὶ ἂν εἶναι (1600, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: II, 70.5)

ὅσες καὶ ἂν εἶναι ζωντανές κ’ ἡ πλάκα ὅσες σκεπάζει *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.917

The neut. acc. sg. and pl. may also function adverbially with the meaning “as”, “as much as”, e.g.:

κ’ ἐκίνησεν καὶ ἔρχετον σπουδαίως ὅσα ἡμπόρει *Chron. Mor.* H 8327

ὅσον καὶ ἂν εἶσαι ἐξαίρετος εἰς σύνθεσιν καὶ πλάσιν *Liv.* α 269

καὶ ὅσα κἂν κοιμᾷσαι *Diig. tetr.* 247

ὅσο θεὸς νὰ χώνεσαι, κάτεχε κι ἐξανοίκτης *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 576

5.9.2.3 οἷος/ὄγοιός

The indefinite relative pronoun οἷος, οἷα, οἷον/ὄγοιός, ὄγοια, ὄγοιο(ν) is the reflex of AG οἷος, and inflects like an adjective in -ος (3.2.2); the only morphological variation in the MedG and EMG period is the presence or absence of final /n/. Its usual meaning is “whoever, whatever, whichever”, but it may also retain its original qualitative meaning “of whatever kind”. In some cases it is used as a simple definite relative, like ὁποῖος, e.g.:

ἐπράσαμεν ... χωράφιον οἷον ἐκτώμεθα (1245, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 295, 415.26); οἷον ὁσπίτιον ὑπάρχει ἔσω ἐν τῇ πόλει Καταντζαρίου (1267, *ibid.* 304, 436.4)

ἔπρασεν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀμπέλιον οἷον καὶ ἐκέκηνται (1291, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 13, 639.15)

οἷος τόπος ὑπῆρχεν ἀργός, σκληρός καὶ ἀδιάφορος (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 1, 39.18)

The variant ὄγοιος derives from the AG qualitative indefinite relative οἷος through synizesis and prothesis of ὀ- on the analogy of other relative pronouns, such as ὅποιος, ὅστις, ὅπου, ὅποτε etc., accompanied by stress retraction: οἷος > γοιός > ὄγοιός > ὄγοιος. This etymology was proposed by CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: A 232, B 327) and PERNOT (1907/46: II 235; see also ANDRIOTIS, *Lex.*; KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. οἷος; *ILNE* s.v. γοῖον). This proposal is more convincing than the earlier one by JANNARIS (1897: 87, 167–8), according to whom ὄγοιος derives from οἷος preceded by the definite article as a calque based on Romance *le-quel, il quale*, with anaptyxis of an intervocalic glide. The intermediate step, with synizesis but without the prothesis of /o/, is attested through the adverb γοιόν, ὠσγοιόν, “as, like”, which appears in the 15th c. (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. γιόν), e.g.:

ΤΙΟΥΤΟΣ ΚΟΝΤΕΣΙΟΥΣ ΟΣΓΙΟ ΝΑ ΕΝΕ / ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΣ ΚΟΝΤΕΣΙΟΥΣ ὡς γοῖον νὰ ἔναι (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.2)
 ἐκατέβαινεν ἡ στράτα τοῦ Μερσυνακίου ὡς γοιόν ποταμός (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.II, 18.2–3)
 δυὸ μῆλα εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον κόκκινα γοιόν τὸ ρόδον DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 282; πικρὸν γοιόν τὸ φαρμάκιν id., *Epit. Thrinos* 411
 ὡς γοιόν λαλεῖ ὁ Δαβὶθ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.5; ἐβγήκε ἡ μυρωδιά ὡς γοιόν τὸν μοῦσκον ibid. 64.17

The earliest attestations of the variant ὄγοιος come from the *Assizes* and the *Chronicle of Morea* (ms P). It is found in both literary and non-literary texts from Cyprus, the Heptanese, the Cyclades, Skyros, Ikaria, Chios and Mani, where it is confirmed by modern dialectal evidence (PERNOT 1907/46: II 235; *ILNE* archive, s.v. ὄγοιος).

The earlier variant οἷος is preferred in higher-register texts but is to be found even in low-register legal documents well into the 17th c., mostly in legal formulas (such as οἷον καὶ ὅσον ἐστίν) relating to property transactions. Οἷος is the form proposed by Sofianos (ἀναφορικόν. οἷος, οἷα, οἷον SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 45.24) while Germano and Portius list ὄγοιος (in luogo di ὅποιος, si dice anco ὄγοιος GERMANO, *Grammar* 72.4; s.v. “chi si voglia” ὅποιος, ὄγοιος, ὅτις, ὅστις καὶ ἂν εἶναι ibid. 139; ὅποιος vel ὄγοιος, quisquis PORTIUS, *Grammar* 30).

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	οἷος ἢ ὄγοιος	οἷα ἢ ὄγοια	οἷον ἢ ὄγοιο(ν)
Gen.	(οἷου) ἢ (ὄγοιου)	οἷας ἢ (ὄγοιας)	(οἷου) ἢ (ὄγοιου)
Acc.	οἷον ἢ ὄγοιον	οἷα(ν) ἢ ὄγοια(ν)	οἷον ἢ ὄγοιο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	(οἷοι)	(οἷαι) ἢ οἷες ἢ (ὄγοιες)	οἷα ἢ ὄγοια
Gen.	(οἷων)	(οἷων)	(οἷων)
Acc.	οἷους	οἷας ἢ οἷες ἢ (ὄγοιες)	οἷα ἢ ὄγοια

Singular

Masculine Nominative

- καὶ οἶος δ' ἂν τερρέρης φανῇ (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 533.1)
 οἶος μοῦ ἐδοῦλευσεν (1198, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 246, 334.10)
 οἶος θέλεις νὰ ἔνι ὁ φίλος σου, παιδί μου, πρὸς ἐσένα *Spaneas* V 79
 οἶος ἔαν ἔνι ὁ πειρασμός *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 303
 καὶ οἶος ἀπὸ τὸ γένος μου ἢ ἄλλος τις ἕτερος ξένος σηκώνει το (13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/
 ΒΕΝΕΧΕΝΙΤΣΗ 1927: 95, 55.5–6)
 οἶος δ' ἂν καὶ ἂν ἔνι (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 15.36)
 οἶδα γὰρ οἶος καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάρχει ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ *Dig. G* VI.487
 καὶ ἂν ἔνι αὐθέντης οἶος σὺ καὶ ὁ λέγων οἶος ἐγὼ τε *Ptoch. II* 2
 καὶ οἶος ἀπὸ τοὺς φίλους μου καὶ ἀπὸ συγγενούς μου | θέλει νὰ ἔρτη μετ' ἐμὲν *Liv. V* 641
 οἶος καὶ ἂν εὐρίσκετον μαντατοφόρος νὰ ἦτον *Pol. Tr.* 1395
 καὶ οἶος νικήση εἰς τὰ ἄρματα νὰ τὸν ἐπάρῳ ἐκέϊνον *Liv. S* 1131
 οἶος ἰδῇ τοῦ νὰ τραπῶ *Chron. Mor.* P 4755
 οἶος δὲ τολμηρὸς καὶ αὐθάδης φανήσεται (1548, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 47, 77.37)
 εἶς πραγματευτής, ὄγοιος καὶ ἂν ἔνι *Assizes B* 297.27
 ἡμποροῦν νὰ μεταγνώσουν ὄγοιος θέλει, ἢ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἢ ἡ γυναῖκα *Assizes A* 117.10
 καὶ ὄγιος πρᾶττει πονηρὰ καὶ μετὰ μηχανίαν *Chron. Mor.* P 4905
 ὄγοιος διασεῖσθι τὴν σύμβιον μου (1516, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998:
 97, 97.23)
 ὄγοιος τύχη εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ μοναστήρι (1564, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1999: [2], 94.26)
 ὄγοιος ἤθελε τὸν ἀντιτείνει (1670, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: 10, 75.11)
 καὶ ὄγοιος δώση ἐνόχληση (1678, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 64, 54.15)
 ἡ λεγομένη ἐκκλησία ἢ ὄγοιος ἐκείνην ἐφημερεύει (1685, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1918a: 130.29–30)
 καὶ νὰ εἶναι καὶ ἐξουσιαστὴς ὄγοιος ἐλείφτη τὸ νερὸ (1694, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 47,
 76.8–9)
 ὄγοιος θέλει νὰ ἔλθῃ νὰ μπιτάρῃ εἰς ἐτοῦτο τὸ Νησί τῆς Ζακύνθου *Chron. Theod.* 20.7

Masculine Accusative

- γαμβρόν οἶον ἄλλος οὐκ ἔχει *Dig. G* IV.285
 καὶ οἶον νικήση εἰς τ' ἄρματα, ἄνδρα νὰ τὸν ἐπάρῳ *Liv. V* 2104
 οἶον προσψάσθῃ τὸ σπαθίν, ποτὲ ὑγείαν οὐκ ἔχει *Pol. Tr.* 3475; τόσα κακός, ὀδυνηρός, οἶον
 τινὰς οὐκ εἶδε *ibid.* 9386
 καὶ οὕτως τὸν εὐρήκασι τίτοιον οἶον ἠθέλαν *Chron. Tōc.* 2697
 οἶον εὕρη πλέον τῶν ἄλλων | πλησιέστερον τῶν πάντων | ἐκείνου τὰ γένια ἀνάπτει *Ptochol.* α
 94
 οἶον ἂν ἔνι τὸ μεγαλότερον *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 50.4
 νὰ κράξῃ ὄγοιον θέλει ἀπ' ὅλους *Assizes A* 207.26
 γιὰ νὰ τῆς δώσῃ ἄνδρα τῆς τότε βλογητικὸς τῆς, | ὄγοιον τῆς δώσ' ἡ μοῖρα τῆς *Alex. Rim.*
 363–4

Feminine Nominative

- ἡ μιὰ δουλία, ἴα καὶ ἀν ἐνεῖ / ἡ μιὰ δουλεία, οἷα καὶ ἂν ἔνι (1350–1?, Athos?, LEMERLE et al.
 1979: 130, 45.25)
 οὐδὲν ψηφῆ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν μάχην οἷα κι ἂν ἔνι *Chron. Mor.* H 3119
 καὶ ὄγοια πάρτε ἤθελε μαγκάρεῖ, νὰ πλερώνῃ (1698, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1991: 3, 86.39)

Feminine Genitive

ἐκτήσατο κληρονομίας οἷας ἔκαμεν *Assizes A* 131.3

Feminine Accusative

τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν νὰ ἡπορεῖς ἐπάρεινε οἷαν θελήσης (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 267.88)

ἐποιήσασιν ἀγάπην οἷαν ἡθέλῃαν *Chron. Mor.* H 8727

φιλίαν ... τέτοιαν οἷαν *Pol. Tr.* 4266; οἷαν ὥραν σιγήσουσιν *ibid.* 12126

καὶ οἷαν κρίνεις ἐξ αὐτὰς κάλλιαν παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας *Velth.* 540 (τὰς ὅλας transcr. Lendari)

τιμωρίαν ... οἷαν οὐκ ἔπαθες ποτὲ σου *Ptochol.* α 352

ἀπὸ οἷαν μερίαν ἡθελεν θέλει ὁ γαμπρός του ὁ Δημήτριος νὰ εἶναι (1536, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 116, 229.6)

καὶ οἷαν ὥραν φάγεις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θέλεις ἀποθάνει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 323.31

νὰ πάρουν οἷαν μερίαν θέλου, ἢ τὴν κάτω ἢ τὴν ἀπάνω (1551, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 78, 97.21)

οἷα ὦρα τότε διασεῖσει κανεῖς (1605, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 10, 314.6)

ἀπὸ ὄγοια μερία τοῦ φανῇ (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 14, 13.12)

ὄγοιαν ὥραν δὲν ἡθελεν κάμει τὸ λεγόμενον πράγμα (1538, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 5, 55.54)

ἀπὸ ὄγοιαν μερεὰν θέλει ὁ γαμπρός (1606, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 4, 4.13)

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

καμελαύκιν δὲ χρὴ ἔχειν ὁ καθεῖς, ἓνα πανὶν ἔχων σκέπασμα οἷον τοῦ ἐνδύματος ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* I 106.20–I

καὶ τέλος οἷον ἔφερεν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 61

ἐὰν εἴπη πράγμα κατ' αὐτοὺς οἷον οὐδὲν πρέπει (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 71.136)

ἂν θέλῃς νὰ γενῇ ἐτέτοιον οἷον τὸ ὀρίζεις *Chron. Mor.* H 8749

ἀπὸ οἷον μέρος θέλει (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 21, 57.29)

οἷον ἂν ἔνι τὸ μεγαλότερον καὶ πολυεισοδότερον SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 50.4

νὰ ἐπαίρνει ἄλλον ... οἷον θέλει (1503, Athos, PAVLIKIANOS 2006: 8, 107.19)

εἰς οἷον τοῦ παιδὶ ἡθελεν ἀφήσει ὁ κύρ Γεώργιος τὸ λεγόμενον ἀμπέλι (1536, Naxos,

KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 116, 229.3)

γιον καὶ ὅσον ἐστὶ / γιοῖν καὶ ὅσον ἐστὶ (1537, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 34, 239.3)

ἐπῆρε τ' ἀμπέλι εἰς τὸ Στραβοκόλι, τὴ κάτου καρίνα, ὅσο καὶ οἷον ἐστὶ (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 53, 67.12)

εἰς ὄγοιον τετραμηνιαῖον (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 18, 158.19)

νὰ τοῦ παίρνῃ ἓνα ἀπὸ τὰ βοῖδια του, ὄγοιο θέλει (1523, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 106, 137.9)

ἀπὸ τὰ δύο ζευγάρια ὄγοιον θέλει (1606, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 3, 81.46); ὄγοιον πράμα θελήσῃ (1607, *ibid.* 8, 87.37)

νὰ τὸ παίρνῃ ὄγοιο παιδὶ θέλει (1687, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1972: 16, 286.21)

νὰ πάρῃ τὸ ἴνα, ὄγοιο θέλει (1692, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1991: 2, 84.24)

Plural

Masculine Accusative

μὴ στρατιώτας, ἀδελφέ, οἷους ἐνταῦθα εἶδες; *Dig.* G VI.182

ἐγίνησαν πολέμοι | μεγάλοι τε καὶ φοβεροί, οἷους τινὰς οὐκ εἶδε *Pol. Tr.* 10295

οἷους ἐξεχωρίσω ἐκλεκτοὺς δώδεκα νεωτέρους *Achil.* N 217

νὰ παίρνῃ οἷους θέλει *Chron. Mor.* P 2004

πρὸς ἐκείνους οἷους ἡθελεν γράφει (1579, Corfu, KARYDIS 1994: 6, 107.21)

δόντες αὐτοὺς οἰκούς οἷους ἂν ἡθελον *Ekth. Chron.* 17.24

Feminine Nominative

τὴς ἐλῆς ὅπου ἔχω εἰς τὸ Ἀριοῦσον, ὅσες καὶ οἷες ἐστὶν (1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.9)

τὴς ρηθέντες ἐλαῖες, ὅσες καὶ οἷες εἰσὶν (1272, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 326, 484.44)

Feminine Accusative

νὰ ἐπάρης οἷας δὴ καὶ θελήσης (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 266.67)

ὅλα μου τὰ ἐλαϊκὰ δένδρη, οἷες καὶ ὅσες ἔχω (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 57, 177.10)

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

κατὰ ἓνα τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπὸ δύο ἱματίων ἔχειν χρή, ἓνα ἐμπαλλομένον παλαιὸν καὶ ἕτερον ὑγιὲς πρὸς ἀλλαξίμιν, οἷα κατὰ τὸν τόπον κάμνονται ράσα, καὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ οἷα ἦν εὐθηνότερα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 105.28–106.2

θαρρεῖ καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσα καὶ οἷα θέλει *Spaneas* P 62

μὴ θαύματα παρὰδοξα γίνονται εἰς Ρωμανίαν | οἷα τελοῦνται, τέκνον μου, εἰς τὸ μνημα τοῦ Προφήτου *Dig. G III.138–9*

οἷα ποιεῖ ὁ Φθόνος *Pol. Tr.* 13276

ἐκεῖνος ἄλλα οἰκονομεῖ, οἷα καὶ μόνος οἶδεν *Chron. Tòc.* 733

οἷα χωράφια ὑπάρχουν εἰς τόπους ἀσύμφερους (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 14, 49.26)

ἕτερα ὑφάσματα, ὀγοῖα καὶ ἂν ἔνι *Assizes A* 148.24

Usage

From a syntactic point of view, οἷος/ὀγοῖος functions mostly as a pronoun, but may also be used as a determiner:

οἷος δὲ φανῇ εἰς ἀναζήτησιν τοῦ τοιούτου τόπου (13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/
BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7)

οἷος οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν πικρίαν τῆς ξενιτείας *Alf. Xen. A* 2

οἷος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιὰν ἡμερονυκτοβαίνει *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 123

οἷος ἄνθρωπος θελήσει νὰ μονάσῃ (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 228.25)

ἐσέβαινε ὁ Βέλθανδρος ... στὸν ρήγαν, | οἷαν ὥραν, οὐ δέετον ἄλλου θέλημα νὰ ᾗ *Velth.* 804–5

εἰς οἷον τόπον εἶμαι *Ptochol.* α 860 (ms V)

οἷαν ὥραν θέλετε φάγει, νὰ αποθάνετε *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 95.33

The relative clauses it introduces may be either headed or headless:

κανεῖς ἄνθρωπος, ὀγοῖος καὶ ἂν ἔνι, οὐ καβαλλάρης, οὐ βουργέσης *Assizes B* 433.2

ἢ ζῶον ἢ ἄλλον κτηνόν, οἷον λάχῃ καὶ ἔναι *Phys.* 358

τὸν νεοφώτιστον Ἀνδρέαν ... οἷον νῦν ἐβάπτισεν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 21, 56.17)

δότε τὴν οἷον σᾶς φαίνῃ *Pol. Tr.* 7437

οἷον μέρος ἀλληλογόησει, νὰ τὰ ζημιώνεται (1536, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 116, 230.3)

ἄς πάρῃ ἡ θυγάτηρ μου ὀγοῖο θέλει (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 82, 273.30)

Very rarely, the neut. sg. functions as an uninflected definite relative (= ὅπου): μιὰ περνιέρα γεμάτη λείψανα, ὀγοῖον λέγονται Ἁγιοὶ Φανέντες *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 36.14.

5.9.2.4 οίοσδήποτε, όποιοσδήποτε

The indefinite relative pronouns όποιος and οίος may – very rarely – be combined with the suffix -δήποτε, which derives from the grammaticalization of the AG adverbs δή and ποτέ. These forms occur mostly in higher-register texts:

οίουσδήποτε κάλλους *Dig. G V.545*

κᾶν οίονδήτηποτε ἁμάρτημα καὶ ἂν ἔκαμες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 386.37

εἰς οἶονδήτηποτε πράγμα (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 236.41)

όποιοσδήποτε εἴδους ζῶον STAFIDAS, *Iatrosof.* 20.67

5.9.2.5 όστις

The indefinite relative pronoun όστις, ήτις, ό,τι, “whoever, whatever”, is a direct continuation of AG όστις. Not all case-forms are equally common, and some only appear in higher-register texts. The most frequent case-forms in vernacular texts are the masc. nom. sg. όστις and the neuter nom. and acc. sg. ό,τι.

The pronoun has double inflection as in AG (see table below); however, it has developed variants in which the first constituent has become uninflected, obviously under the influence of the relativizing prefix /o/ appearing in relative pronouns and adverbs such as όπου, όποιος, όποτε etc. Some scholars interpret these partially uninflected forms as resulting from the direct prefixation of /o/ to the interrogative τίς (PERNOT 1907/46: II 235); such an analysis, however, is inconsistent both with the widespread use of όστις in the MedG period and with the paucity of attestations of interrogative τίς used as a relative pronoun (see 5.9.1.6). Forms with uninflected ό- are attested already in AG (see GIGNAC 1981: 179–80 and n. 7; CHANTRAINE ²1984: 131–2; LSJ s.v. όστις) but are probably unconnected with developments taking place in the medieval period (JANNARIS 1897: 167; SCHWYZER 1939: 617).

The variant masc. nom. sg. ότις occurs mainly in texts from Cyprus, but the masc. gen. sg. ότινος is widespread, and attested in Crete, Cyprus and the Heptanese. The masc. acc. sg. sometimes appears with final /n/ (for both όντινα and ότινα). Both Germano and Portius mention these forms, while Portius notes that no other forms of όστις are used: όποιος, όγοιος, ότις, όστις καὶ ἂν εἶναι GERMANO, *Grammar* 139; Vsano anco dire, ότις καὶ ἂν εἶναι, qualunque si sia, nel Mascolino, & nel neutro, ότη καὶ ἂν εἶναι, qualsiuoglia cosa si sia GERMANO, *Grammar* 72.5; όστις *quisquis*, cujus genitivus ότινος, accusat. ότινα et non plus ultra PORTIUS, *Grammar* 29.10–11.

A major innovation in the use of the pronoun, appearing from the 15th c. onwards, is the function of the neuter form ό,τι as general relativizer, irrespective of gender, case and number, e.g.:

ό, τι ηῦραν πράγματα ἐκεῖ ἐδιαγούμισάν τα *Chron. Toc.* 1306

κάμε της μέσα τοῦ σπιτιοῦ ό, τι μπορεῖς στολίδια FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 238

καὶ ό,τι καρπὸς ήθελεν ἐβγή (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 31, 69.55)

μ’ ό,τι ἐγδοχή στα σίδερα ἔχου οἱ φλακιασμένοι *Thysia Avr.* 500

In some legal documents from S. Italy, a number of hypercorrect or downright erroneous forms of the pronoun are to be found, a testament to the writers' lack of familiarity with such residual forms, e.g.:

διὰ ταρία ἰς ἄντινα λαβὼν ἀπὸ τὰς χεῖρας σου (1179, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 193, 294.16);
τὴν ὁδὸν ἄτινα ἀναβαίνει (1191, *ibid.* 228, 305.8); ἀρεμάμπελον ἄτινα ἔχω (1191, *ibid.* 228, 304.8); ἀρχόντων καὶ καλῶν ἀνθρώπων οἵτινες παρακατιῶν δηλώσω (1206, *ibid.* 260, 353.10); αἵτινες ἐνώπιον τῶν δύο μερῶν ὀρκῶ ὁμόσασσι (1244, *ibid.* 294, 412.44); ἦτινα καὶ βουληθῇ πουλεῖν, χαρίζειν (1245, *ibid.* 295, 416.5)

The pronoun ὅστις, ἦτις, ὅ,τι may be fossilized in innovative conjunctions formed by prepositions + oblique cases of the pronoun, e.g. ἀφότου, ἕως ὅτου, ἀφότη etc.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	ὅστις ἢ ὅτις	ἦτις	ὅ,τι
Gen.	οὗτινος ἢ ὅτινος	(ἦστινος) ἢ ἦτινος	οὗτινος
Acc.	ὄντινα(ν) ἢ ὅτινα(ν)	ἦτινα ἢ ἦντινα	ὅ,τι
Plural			
Nom.	οἵτινες	αἵτινες	ἄτινα
Gen.	(ὧντινων)	ὧντινων	(ὧντινων)
Acc.	οὗστινας	ἄστινας	ἄτινα

Singular

Masculine Nominative

ὅστις δ' ἂν ... φανῇ μετατρέποντα ἢ ἐπερεάζοντα τὴν τοιαύτην μονὴν (1122, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 16, 414.4)
ὅστις ἀμπελῶν διαχωρίζει (1318, Athos/Thessaloniki?, LEFORT et al. 1994: 75, 230.450)
καὶ πᾶς ὅστις ἐτύγχανεν εἰς τὴν χαρὰν ἐκείνην *Dig.* G IV.836
ἐκεῖνος ὁ Νικηφόρος, ὅστις οὐκ ἦτον φρόνιμος *Chron. Mor.* H 3095
ὅστις ἔδειξεν καὶ ἐφανέρωσεν (1422, Athens?, BUCHON 1843: LXVIII, 289.7)
καὶ ὅστις μόνον τὸ ἰδῆ, τὸ πέταλον, ὃ ἔχω *Synax. gadar.* 281
καὶ ὅστις τὲς ἔχει *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 870
ὅστις τὸ ἀποξενώση ἢ κλέψῃ το τοῦτο τὸ χαρτί (1500, Athos, PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1975: 14, 263.33)
ὅστις ἀπὸ σᾶς δὲν ἠθέλην ἀτσετάρει εἰς τ' ἄνωθεν (1548, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 41, 71.11)
ὅστις θέλει τὸ ἐβγάλει διὰ νὰ μὴν μνημονεύεται, ἔστω ἀφορισμένος (1601, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 31, 112.11)
ὅστις γυρίσει να τες δει *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 7.6
ὅστις κάμη καλόν, εὐπρόσδεκτον ἔναι εἰς τὸν θεὸν *Vios Aisop.* K 150.6
ασκητὴς δέ τις, ὅστις εκατοῖκα ἐκεῖ *LANDOS, Amart. sot.* 333.21
καὶ ὅστις τὴν ᾠρίκα ἐπόνει *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1236

- ὅστις ἀνοχλήση το ψυχικό μου νά ἔχει τήν κατάρρα μου (1668, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 39, 40.11)
- ὁ ποτέ Λεόντιος Ἀλλάτιος, ὅστις ἐγέννησε τρεῖς υἱούς (1678, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 12, 118.5)
- ὅστις φανῇ ἀπό τήν σήμερον ἡμέραν ὀνοκλώντα τὸ παρὸν ἔγγραφο (1145, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 4, 616.15)
- καὶ ὅτις ἡξεύρει κάλλιον, πάλε ἄς συμβουλευῇ *Pol. Tr.* 858 app. crit. (B)
- ὅτις θέλει ἡμπορεῖ καλὰ νά πάρη τὰ δένδρα *Assizes B* 450.19
- ὅτις τὸ ἔγραψεν ψέματα λαλεῖ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 236.18
- ὅτις ἀντι/λη/λογήσει νά ζημιώνεται πέρπουρα σ' (1482 [later copy], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 109, 219.29)
- καὶ ἐστήσεν πάγκον, ὅτις θέλει, νά πάρει μηνίον *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 48.13–14
- ὅτις ποθεῖ τωρὰ νὰ ἀναπαμένος *Cypr. Canz.* 19.12
- ὅτις τοῦτον ἐπίστευσεν, οὐδένας δὲν ἐχάθην *Pist. kekoim.* 39.243 app. crit.
- ὅτις δώκη γροθιὲς νά πλερώνη ἐνάμισυ γρόσι (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 20.13)
- ὅτις δὲν ἔρθει εἰς τὸ σαντζάκι (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: f.3r.17)
- τον διάβολον ὅτις τον κάνει φίλον *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 67

Masculine Genitive

- διὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, | οὔτινος εἶσαι σὺ υἱός *Pol. Tr.* 10990
- διὰ τήν ἔλευσιν οὔτινος ἐδεξάμεθα γράμματα τῆς προειρημένης ἐκλαμπροτάτης σου αὐθεντίας (1482, Unknown, LEFORT 1981: 1, 34.5–6)
- τὸν Μερκούριον ... | οὔτινος τὰς ἀνδραγαθίης *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VIII.205–6
- νά τὸ δίδῃ οὔτινος θελήσῃ (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 69, 128.12)
- οὔτινος ἀφήνω τὸ σπίτι μου (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 9, 41.14)
- οὔτινος πληρώνω τρίτο καὶ ρεγάγιες (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 247, 247.27)
- καὶ οὔτινος ἐγὼ δώσω (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 32.1).
- καὶ νά δίδουν τοῦ οὔτινος θέλουσι (1668, Crete, TOMADAKIS 1979: 13.86)
- ἄλλου ὅτινος καὶ ἂν ἔνι *Assizes B* 289.2
- ἄς εἶναι ὅτινος λάχῃ *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 273
- ὅτινος πάρει ἄλογον, νά το πλερώσει, *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 280.5
- σ' ὅτινος χέρια μέλλουν *Apoll. Rim.* A 938
- ἐνοικιάζειν αὐτὸ ὅτινος θέλεις (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 33, 33.16)
- νὰν τὸ δώσουν τὰ παιδιὰ της ὅτινος θέλουν (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 8, 86.16)
- ἢ ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς ὅτινος σε δώσω (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 62.17)
- κι ὅτινος βέργα ἀπ' ὅλωνω ἀθήσῃ *P&N Diath.* 1832
- κι' ὅτινος ξανεμίσουσι, ἂν ἐμπορῇ ἄς τοὺς χέσῃ! *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.421
- νά τὸ δώσῃ καὶ ἀφήσῃ ὅτινος θέλει (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 55.25)
- νά τὰ δώσῃ ὁ ἄνωθε οἰκονόμος ὅτινος θέλει (1622, Crete, MALTEZOU 1989: 359.45)
- νά ἡμπορῶ νά τὸ δίνω ὅτινος θέλω (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.38)
- ὅτινος ἤθελε τοῦ φανιστῇ (1660, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 2, 116.29)
- νά τὸ ἀφήνῃ διὰ τῇ ψυχῇ μας ὅτινος θέλει (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 483.15)
- τοῦ ἄνωθε ἱερέως ἢ ὅτινος ἀλλουνοῦ (1671, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 3, 54.13)
- νά τὸ δίνῃ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὅτινος παπᾶ θελήσῃ νά κάμῃ (1689, Santorini, DRAKAKIS 1971: 133.17)
- μὰ τὸ κονταροκτύπημα τοῦτο, ὅτινος κι ἂ λάχῃ *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1667

Masculine Accusative

- τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἡμῶν ἀνὴρ, ὄντινα κατεστήσαμεν ἡμέτερον προκουράτορα (1245, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 295, 415.13)

ὄντινα εἶχε δέσμιον *Dig. G V.70*

ὄντιναν εἶχαν στήσει *Pol. Tr. 2076 app. crit. (A)*

ὄντινα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐδεξάμεθα τίμια τε καὶ φιλικὰ (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 300.8)
τὸν τόπον ἀντίπερα τῆς Μπογιάννας ἕως τὴν θάλασσαν, ὄντινα τόπον ἐπαρελάβαμεν (1479,
Constantinople, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 11, 294.7)

μὲ μέρος τινὰ τοῖχον, καθὼς ὁρᾶται τὴν σήμερα, ὄντινα εἶχεν δώσει προλαβὼν ὑπὸ
σολδιατικῷ ὁ ρηθεὶς ποτὲ Ἀντώνιος (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 148, 127.6)

ὄντινα εἰρημένον μύλον θέλω ἔχειν ἢ ρηθεῖσα Ἀννέζα (1510, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS
2003: 22, 38.17)

κρημονύς δεινότατους θεωρῶ δύο πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου· εἰς ὄντινα ἐμπέσοιμι, φεῦ τῶν ἀνομιῶν
μου! *Velis. ρ 552*

πύργον ὅτινα τὸν βλέπω (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 533.1)

ὅτιναν φθάσῃ τὸ σπαθίν, θάνατον ἀποδίδει *Pol. Tr. 4418 app. crit. (B)*

να κάμει ψῆφος με ὅτιναν ἔκαμεν πραγματεῖες (1504, Rhodes, MINAS 2012: 19, 417.78)

ο θεός, ὅτιναν αγαπά, φυλάγει τον *Diig. Alex. K 357.32*

ὅτινα πιάσουν *Fyll. gadar. 160*

μὲ ὅτιναν ἀγαπᾷς (1567, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 5, 305.2)

καὶ ὅτιναν θέλω τὴν δίδω *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Louk. 4.6*

ἀπ' ὅτινα (1696, Andros, POLEMIS 2001: 10, 111.4)

Feminine Nominative

ὦ γλώσσης ψευδηγόρου, | ἥτις ἐλάλησε κακῶς σήμερον ἀδικίαν *GLYKAS, Stichoī 71–2*

γῆ ... ἥτις ὀνομάζεται Βουλκαρέα (1321, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 108, 209.608)

σκώληκα τὸν ἀκοίμητον κέκτημαι τὴν πενίαν, ἥτις μὲ τρώγει πάντοτε *Ptoch. III 229*

διὰ τὴν καθαρὰν ἀγάπην ἥτις γέγονεν εἰς ἡμᾶς (1481, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 12,
317.25)

τὴν φυλακὴν ... ἥτις ἦτον εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς θεᾶς Μινερούας *Pol. Tr. 11133*

τὴν κόρην ... ἥτις διὰ πόθον ἔραστοῦ ἔφυγε τῆς πατρίδος *Dig. A 2431*

τὴν προικοδοσίαν τοῦ κακοῦ Σπανοῦ, ἥτις λέγεται ὑπὸ ἰδιώτου *Spanos D 1676*

τὴν βασιλείαν λάβετε, ἥτις ἡτοιμασμένη ὑμῖν πρὸ κόσμου κτίσεως ἐστίν *GLYKYS, Penth. Than. 598*

ἐγὼ Μακαρία, μοναχὴ μικρόσχημος, ἥτις ἤμουν γυνὴ δευτέρα τοῦ ποτὲ κυρ Τομάδο

Νταλμέδεγο (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 146, 263.3)

ἥτις ἕκτη γενεὰ εἵμεσθεν ἡμεῖς οἱ παρόντες τώρα *KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 323.17*

τὴν ἀποθήκην τὴν εὕρισκομένην κάτωθεν τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἥτις ἐστὶν ἄρσανάς (1547, Athos,
LEMERLE 1988: 56, 176.12)

νὰ βάλης τὴν κοπρίαν, ἥτις κάμνει δύο ἐνεργείας *LANDOS, Geopon. 156.27*

τὴν πάλαι λεγομένην Σούσαν, ἥτις ἦτον βασιλεία του Δαρείου *NEKT. IEROSOL., Ierokosm. Ist. 399.25*

Feminine Genitive

ἥτινος ἀρχόντισσας ἀφήνω τὸ ἀμπελάκι μου (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 9,
16.9); ἥτινος κερα-Εὐγενίας ἀφήμι τὴν οἰκίαν (1518, *ibid.* 54, 102.14)

Feminine Accusative

πρὸς τὴν ἐκλαμπροτάτην σου αὐθεντίαν ἦντινα καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐγράψαμεν (1482,
Unknown, LEFORT 1981: 1, 35.28)

δι' ἣν τινὰ διαφορὰν / δι' ἣντινα διαφορὰν (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 32, 27.6)

ἐγὼ Ἀνυσία, μοναχὴ μικρόσχημος ... ἦτινα ἐμὲ ἐμικροσχήμεσεν ... ὁ πατὴρ (1521, Crete,
KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 59, 110.4); εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Γεώργιον Δωριανόν, ἦντινα
ἐκκλησίαν ψάλλει ὁ παπᾶς κυρ Πόλος (1530, *ibid.* 145, 262.8)

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

- ὁ τι τοῦ εἰπῆ ἔκ στόματος *Chron. Mor.* H 3736
 νὰ τὸν εἶπω | ὁ,τι κακὸν καὶ ἂν ἔπαθα *Liv.* V 2398
 καὶ ὁ,τι πρᾶγμα βούλομαι *Diig. tetr.* 903
 ὁ,τι ἄρα ἐγράφετε καὶ ἐπαρεγγείλατε (1489, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 19, 100.8)
 ὁ τι ἐπάθετε ἀπὸ ἐδικό σας ἦτον *Achil.* O 589
 καὶ σ' ὁ,τι θέλεις, μ' ὄρισε *Rim. kor.* A 71
 ὁ,τι κοπιᾶζω, χάνω *Apoll. Rim.* A 1516
 καὶ μὲ καιρὸν ὁ τι ἄρκευτῇ τελειώνει *Cypr. Canz.* 44.8
 νὰ πάρῃ μία γαϊδάραν ἢ ἓνα γάιδαρον, ὁ,τι τοῦ ἄρῃσει (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 266, 370.24)
 εἰς ὁ,τι δέντρῃ ἔχει (1575, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 1, 3.11)
 νὰ τὸ κάμνουσι ὁ,τι τῶνε φαίνεται (1576, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 6, 18.14)
 εἰς ὁ,τι ἔχει καὶ εἰς ὁ,τι θέλει κάμει (1594, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 1, 110.12)
 ὁ,τι θέλω νὰ γένη *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 804
 καὶ ὁ,τι σπόρους ὅπου θέλου βάλει (1603, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 1, 27.12)
 ὁ,τι ροῦχα θέλει ἔχει στ' ἄρχοντικό τη (1607, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 448, 410.8–9)
 εἰς ὁ,τι μόνον καὶ μπορῇ θάνατον νὰ τῆς δώσῃ MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1224
 τὸ σπῖτι μὲ ὁ,τι κλεῖ μέσα (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 6, 6.2)
 ὁ,τι ἄρα μοῦ ἀπομείνανε (1664, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 8, 221.7)
 καὶ νὰ δώσει τ' ὁ,τι θέλει πᾶσα ἡνιόχη (1664, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 3, 20.10–11)
 κι ὁ,τι εἰς σκοτάδι γίνονται τὸ φῶς ξεφανερώνει *Zinon* I.296
 ὁ,τι νερὸ μὲ πνίξῃ, θάλασσα τὸ λέγω *Paroim.* (Warner) 91.6

Neuter Genitive

- τοῦ σιγιλλίου τῆς ἐλευθέρης χρυσοβούλλης οὔτινος ἐποιῆσεν αὐτοῖς ὁ μακαριώτατος κόμης
 Ρογέριος (1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 21, 422.14)
 χωράφιον, τὸ ὄντα καὶ διακείμενον εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Φίλιππον, οὔτινος τὸ ἥμισυ εἶχομεν
 κληρονομίαν (1172–3, Sicily, ROGNONI 2011: 22, 135.6)
 οὔτινος ἀμπελίον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρους ἐστὶν ὁ ποταμὸς (1249, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 60, 261.18)
 τοῦ περιβολίου οὔτινος ἐνὶ πλησίον τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1294, Smyrna region, MIKLOSICH/
 MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 180, 287.11)
 τὸ τοιοῦτον χειμαδεῖον, οὔτινος ὁ περιορισμὸς καὶ ἔχει οὕτως (1333, Athos,
 PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1986: 22, 172.9)
 παιδίον, οὔτινος ἐπὶ γέννησιν χαρὰν ἔξεις μεγάλην *Dig.* A 49

Plural

Masculine Nominative

- οἵτινες εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς NIKON, *Logos* 3 196.12
 οἵτινες οὐκ ἐποίησαν (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 270.186)
 οἵτινες ἔρχονται (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 246.663)
 εἰς συγγενεῖς Ἀράβους, οἵτινες με ἀνέθρεψαν εἰς Μωάμετ τὸν πόθον *Dig.* G I.288
 οἵτινες ὥσι δόκιμοι στιχίζειν τε καὶ γράφειν *Ptoch.* IV 21
 οἵτινες ἀφεντεύασιν τότε τὴν Ἀλαμάνιαν *Chron. Mor.* H 6796
 οἵτινες ὅταν ἡ χολὴ τοὺς ἔλθῃ εἰς τὸ κεφάλιν *Pol. Tr.* 357
 οἵτινες οὐκ ἠμποροῦν ἐκλητεύσειν *Assizes* B 282.15
 οἵτινες κροῦσιν PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 361
 ἐσυναθροίστησαν οἱ τρεῖς εἰς ἓνα τόπον, οἵτινες γὰρ ἐθαύμαζον *Dig.* A 3249
 οἵτινες ἐδούλευσάν μοι καλῶς SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 32.18

μετὰ τοὺς ἐξετιμωτάδες αὐτοῦ, οἵτινες ἦσαν *Spanos* D 1719
οἵτινες ποταμοὶ γεμίζουν ὅλην τὴν γῆν νερόν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 185.23
οἱ τινες εὐρίσκονται ὅπου τὰ ἔφθασαν *CHEILAS, Chron.* 350.26
οἵτινες ἐπήγασιν ἐκεῖσε σωματικῶς (1625, Chios, *KANELLAKIS* 1890: 393.7)
εἰς τοὺς φυλακωμένους, οἵτινες εἶναι ἀσθενεῖς καὶ βλαμμένοι *LANDOS, Geopon.* 176.18

Masculine Accusative

ὕδρομύλωνας οὐστinas ἔχομεν (1471, Athos, *LEMERLE et al.* 1979: 173, 197.4–5)

Feminine Nominative

τάς παρούσας γραφάς αἵτινες ἀνάγονται εἰς τὴν ἀντίληψίν σου (1487, Chios, *LEFORT* 1981: 12, 71.3)
τάξεις καὶ συμφωνίες καὶ ὀρδινίες αἵτινες εἰσιν γεγραμμένοι (1493, Rhodes, *TSOPANAKIS* 1970: 57.80)
αἵτινες μέλιττες εἰσιν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ κυρ Κωνστάντιου (1512, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 34, 59.13)
τάς ἐξαρωμένης σου παρειάς, αἵτινες εἰσιν ὥσπερ γραὸς πολυτέκνου ὑποκοῖλιον *Spanos* D 626

Feminine Genitive

ὧντινών μου θυγατέρων ἀφήμι τὸ προικίον μου ὅλον (1531, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 149, 269.8)

Feminine Accusative

τάς ἀνδραγαθίας τε τοῦ Διγενοῦς Ἀκρίτου, | ἄσtimas διηγῆσατο *Dig.* A 3886

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

ἄτινα καὶ ἀπὸ στόματος εἶπές με *NIKON, Logos* 31 810.8
ἄτινα καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν ὅτι ἀναλάβαμεν (1156, S. Italy, *ROGNONI* 2011: 8, 90.29)
νόμισμαν ἐν καὶ ταρία τέσσερα, ἄτινα ἔλαβαν (1187, S. Italy, *GUILLOU* 2009: 11, 61.17)
ἄτινα εἰσιν πλησίον ἀμπελίων τοῦ Σταματελίου καὶ Πέτρου τοῦ Σπετζιαλίου (1395, Patras, *GERLAND* 1903: 5, 181.10)
ἄτινα ἐμολόγησαν (1398, Corfu, *ASONITIS* 1993: 1, 19.23)
καὶ πάντα τὰ βασίλεια, ἄτινα τοῦτοι βρέχουν *Pol. Tr.* 10598
ἄτινα ὀσπίτια εἶχεν χάριν δωρεᾶς (1479, Corfu, *KARYDIS* 2001: 21, 56.23)
καὶ ἄλλα χαρίσματα, ἄτινα εἰσιν ταῦτα *Spanos* B 131
ἄλογα καὶ παιδία δύο, ἄτινα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰβηρίας ... ἐκρούσευσεν *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 108.16
ἄτινα λαβόντες ἡμεῖς τὰ εἰρημένα ἄσπρα (1501, Athos, *PAVLIKIANOV* 2006: 7, 105.5)
ἄτινα ὑπόσχηται νὰ τοῦ τὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ (1502, Corfu, *PANDAZI* 2007: 188, 160.23)
καθὼς φαίνεται εἰς τὰ προικοχάρτια μας, ἄτινα οὐ θυμοῦμαι τίς αὐτὰ ἔκαμεν (1532, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 153, 276.10)
αἱ ζωγραφίαι, αἱ μαρμαρώσεις, τὰ ταβάνια, ἄτινα οἱ παλαιοὶ εἰς τοὺς νόμους λέγουσι
λωρικατίονες *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 277.P.22

Meanings and Usage

“Ὅστις, ἥτις, ὅ,τι is used both as a pronoun and, especially in the neuter, as a determiner:

καὶ ὅστις μὲ βλέπει γέροντα, μηδὲ μὲ κατακρίνη *Liv.* V 960
ὅτις τοῦ πόθου δὲν εἶν’ πειρασμένος, τὰ δολερά του πάθη δὲν γνωρίζει *Cypr. Canz.* 3.1
ὅ,τι ἔχω καὶ ὅ,τι ἀσπετάρω (1619, Crete, *ILIAKIS* 2008: 329, 308.12)
ὅστις ἂν ἔλθῃ κίνδυνος νὰ μὴ ἀποχωρισθῶμεν *Liv.* α 100 app. crit. (PEV)

ὅτιςπραματευτῆς νά θελήσῃ νά ἔλθῃ ... νά μὲν πλερώσῃ κουμέρκιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 584.31.

νά τοῦ δίδωσι ὅ,τι δίκαιον τοῦ πρέπει (1518, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 391.6)

ἀπ' ὅ,τι ζημία ἤθελεν γένει (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 8, 25.21)

The function of ὅστις is mainly that of an indefinite relative introducing headless relative clauses but it is also used as a simple definite relative, e.g. τοῦ μακαρίου ἐκείνου φρὲ Πιέρου ἐρημίτου, | ὅστις ἀπῆλθε στὴ Συρίαν *Chron. Mor.* P 7–8; πέντε δὲ ἦσαν ἐξαίρετοι, ἄνθος τῶν ἀνδρειωμένων, | οἵτινες δὲ ὑπῆρχοντο υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως *Achil.* N 491; τὸν υἱόν μου τὸν Σταμάτη, ὅστις ἔναι πρεζέντε (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 90, 88.10). This usage begins in the Koine (PSALTES 1913: 198; GIGNAC 1981: 180–1).

In indefinite relative clauses ὅστις, ἥτις, ὅ,τι may be followed by καὶ ἄν or by νά:

καὶ οἱ ἐδικοί σου, ὅσοι κι ἄν ἔν', πολλὴν πικρίαν ἔχουν *Spaneas* Z 463

ὅ,τι διαφορὰν καὶ ἄν εἶχαμε ἀνάμεσά μας (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 19, 60.9)

κι ὅτινος κι ἄν ἐδώκασι πάντα τῶσε θυμοῦνται KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1924

μυριοχιλιοκατάδαρτον εὐθύς νά τὸν ποιήσουν, | ὅστις τὸ Ἐρωτόκαστρον ἀπέξω νά τὸ ἴδῃ *Velth.* 260–1

Relative clauses introduced by the neut. pl. ἅτινα may occasionally contain a resumptive personal pronoun, e.g. ἅτινα καὶ παρέδωκαν ἀπτὰ τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ (1064–5, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 42, 171.6); διὰ ταρία ἐξήκοντα, ἅτινα καὶ ἐλάβομεν αὐτὰ εἰς ἡμετέρας χεῖρας (1160–1200, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 19, 98.11).

In rare cases, the neut. sg. ὅ,τι is preceded by the definite article, e.g. διαμένουν εὐχαριστημένοι ὁ καθένας τους στὸ ὅ,τι ὡς ἄνωθεν ἔχει νά λάβῃ (1663, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 5, 35.16); καὶ τόσον ἡξέρω εἰς τὸ ὅ,τι ἐρωτήθηκα (1682, Corfu, DOIKAS 1982: [8], 145.11–12).

5.9.2.6 εἴτις, εἴτι

The indefinite relative εἴτις, εἴτι derives from the univerbation of the AG conditional conjunction εἰ and the indefinite pronoun τις (KRIARAS, *Lex. svv.* εἴτις, εἴτι), due to their frequent collocation in clauses expressing indefinite conditions. It is difficult to date the univerbation, which is evident only when it is followed by καὶ ἄν, e.g. εἴ τι καὶ ἄν τὴν εἴπη | μὴ ἐβγῇ ἀπὸ τὸ στόμαν της *Velth.* 890–1. Actually, many editors of MedG and EMG texts choose to write εἰ τις/εἴ τις as two words (as in this case). Nevertheless, in some cases the semantic transition from “if someone” to “whoever”, seems to have taken place already by the 11th c., e.g. ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ δεύτερον πρόσωπον ἵνα καταλιμπάνῃ τρίτον πρόσωπον εἴ τιναν βούλεται (1037, Athos, LEFORT 1973: 2, 45.27); εἴτινος θέλουν ἄς εἴν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 310.28.

Εἴτις, εἴτι inflects like the indefinite pronoun τις (see 5.8.1), but some case-forms are quite rare (see examples below). There are very few examples of addition of final /n/ to the neut. sg., e.g. καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τιν ἀγαθόν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 231.

	Masculine/Feminine	Neuter
Singular		
Nom.	εἷτις	εἷτι
Gen.	εἷτινος	εἷτινος
Acc.	εἷτινα(ν)	εἷτι
Plural		
Nom.	(εἷτινες)	(εἷτινα)
Gen.	εἷτινων	(εἷτινων)
Acc.	(εἷτινας)	(εἷτινα)

Singular

Masculine/Feminine Nominative

- εἷτις φανῆ ταῦτα παρασαλεύων (1170, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 176, 231.33)
- εἷτις ἐν μοιρατάρῃς νὰ ἐν μοιρατάρῃς καὶ εἷτις ἐν ἄρχοντας νὰ ἐν ἄρχοντας καὶ εἷτις ἐν ἄρχοντόπουλον νὰ ἐν ἄρχοντόπουλον καὶ εἷτις ἐν βασμοῦλος νὰ ἐν βασμοῦλος καὶ εἷτις ἐν Λατίνος νὰ ἐν καὶ ἔχεται Λατίνος (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 271.215–16)
- καὶ εἷ τις τὸν Τελαμώνιον θελήσῃ νὰ συντύχῃ *Pol. Tr.* 1389
- εἷτις εἰς κόσμον περ[ι]πατεῖ, παρέχει νὰ φροντίζῃ *Alfav.* I 25
- καὶ εἷ τις μου πταίει, ἄρχοντες, ὁ Θεὸς νὰ τότε σώσῃ *Anon. Naupl.* 75
- καὶ εἷτις θέλει ἐνθυμηθῇ (1442, Belgrade region/Serbia, ALEXOULIS 1892: 2, 280.21)
- εἷτις τολμήσῃ εἰπεῖν τὸ τυχόν (1445, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 170, 191.5)
- εἷτις δὲ πέσῃ εἰς ἔρωταν *Achil.* N 303
- εἷτις οὐκ εἶδεν ξενιτείαν *Peri xen.* 65
- εἷ τις ἐν' τοῦ ριζικοῦ, ἐκείνος νὰ τὴν πάρῃ *Byz. Il.* 531
- καὶ εἷτις ἀντιτεῖν εἰς τοῦτο (1501, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 6, 104.31)
- εἰς τοῦτα τὰ δένδρα ἑκατοικοῦσαν οἱ διάβολοι καὶ τὰ ἐναέρια πνεύματα, τὰ ὅποια εἷ τις τοὺς ἐρώτα τίποτες τοὺς τὸ ἔλεγον *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.23–4
- εἷτις ἤθελε ἀντιτεῖν τίποτε (1547, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: I, 70.16)
- καὶ εἷ τις ἤθελε φανῆ ἐνάντιος (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 2, 11.10)
- καὶ εἷτις ἀνοχλήσῃ τὸν ἄνωθεν ἀγοραστή (1586, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 4, 20.9)
- εἷτις ἐπιβουλεύεται νὰ κάμῃ ἄλλον κακόν, τὸ παθαίνει ἀτός του *Vios Aisop.* I 248.35
- εἷ τις οὖν ἐναντίος φανοῖ (1644, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 1, 130.11)
- νὰ πάρῃ κόπια εἷτις χρειάζεται (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 46, 81.3)
- καὶ γι τις γιρέφι νὰ τζακίσι τὸ αὐτὸ ψυχικὸ μου / καὶ γ-εἷτις γυρέψῃ νὰ τσακίση τὸ αὐτὸ ψυχικὸ μου (1529, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 32, 239.9–10) (for the anaptyxis of [j] see I, 3.5.2.1)

Masculine/Feminine Genitive

- εἷτινος θέλουν ἄς εἶν *NIKON, Logos* 9 310.28
- ἵνα ἡπορεῖς αὐτὴν δοῦναι εἷτινος θελήσῃς ἐκ τῶν μурτεμένων (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 267.84)
- ἀρέσει καὶ οὐκ ἀρέσει τους, εἷ τινος καὶ ἂν ἐν *Pol. Tr.* 11174
- εἷτινος ἔβλεπεν λαμπράν τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν θέαν *Achil.* N 237

εἴτινος κόλπον ἔδιδε Ἄρκιτας ἀνδρειωμένος *Theseid* VIII.17,7 (1529)
 εἴτινος ἡ πίστις εἶναι καλή, ἐκείνη νὰ κρατούμεν *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 131.4
 καὶ εἴ τινος παιδί γενηθῇ, ἂν ἔναι ἀρσενικὸν τὸ παιδί, τρεῖς χρόνους ἔναι ἐκεῖ μὲ τὴν μάνα του
Diig. Alex. F 44.16 (Konstantinopulos)
 καὶ εἴτινος δείξουν ὅτι τὸ ἡμέρωσε (1549–50, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 34, 74.26)
 εἴ τινος τάξεις τίποτες ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 1559

Masculine/Feminine Accusative

διὰ τρόπον εἴτιναν (1399, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 8, 92.3)
 ἔαν χρειασθῇ τὸ ὁσπῆτιον τίποτε ἔξοδον, νὰ δίδεται ἀπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνοίκιον, εἴ τιναν ἐπαφήσει
 εἰς αὐτό (1445, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 170, 191.13)
 ἐντέχεται νὰ ἔχῃ δίκαιον ἀπὲ εἴτινα ἀγκαλέση *Assizes* B 285.2
 εἴτιναν φθάσῃ τὸ σπαθί, ζωὴν πλέον οὐκ ἔχει *Pol. Tr.* 4418 app. crit. (V)
 εἴ τιναν εὖρω πρόθυμον PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 296
 ραβδέας, σπαθέας ἐχάρισα εἴτιναν ἡῦρα ἔμπροσθέν μου *Achil.* N 1463
 εἴτιναν κι ἂν δοξάσης *Theseid* IV.69,6 (1529)
 καὶ εἴ τιναν εὖρη στὸ καλόν *Alfav.* 14 59
 εἴ τιναν πιάσουν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, οὐδένα ζωντανὸν δὲν ἀφήνουν *Diig. Alex.* K 268.25
 καὶ ὁ θεὸς εἴ τινα ἀγαπᾷ, φυλάγει τον *Diig. Alex.* F 266.6 (Lolos)

Neuter Nominative/Accusative

εἴ τι τοῦ ἔλθῃ λυπηρόν *Spaneas* Va 425
 καὶ εἴτι εἰποῦν οἱ μάρτυρες (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 59.153)
 εἴ τι κελεύεις, ποιήσον *Diig. sebast. Thom.* 305
 εἴτι ἐκοπιάσαμεν καὶ εἴτι ἐδώκαμεν καὶ εἴτι ἠθέλαμεν δώσει (1414, Corfu, MALTEZOU 1991a:
 (1), 316.16–17)
 εἴ τι εὐρίσκεται εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 5, 309.13)
 εἴτι εἴπαν ἔδωκέν τα *Ptochol.* α 252
 καὶ εἴ τι εἴχασιν ἐδόθησαν εἰς τὸ Σπιτάλλιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 16.22
 κἄν εἴτι μὲ συμβῇ κἄν εἴτι πρόκειται μοι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 240
 ἀπὲ εἴτι κι ἂν ἐποίκαμεν *Theseid* I.31,6 (Follieri)
 καὶ εἴτι σᾶς εἴπα πρότερον BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 778
 εἴτι εἶχεν ἐπῆραν τα VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 64.18
 εἴτι ἐξαποστείλῃ ὁ Θεός (1509, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: 2 [B'], 226.11)
 ὅποιος ἐβγῇ ἀπὸ εἴτι ἐκρίναμεν (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 177, 228.31)
 νὰ δίδουν τὸ δέκατον εἰς τὸ ἀλώνι ἀπάνου ἀπὸ εἴτι γέννημα (16th c., Macedonia?, LEMERLE
 1988: App. IV C, 237.66)
 νὰ τὰ φιάσῃ εἴτι θέλει (1612, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 12, 66.5)
 νὰ κάμῃς εἴ τι ὀρίσης (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.11)
 καὶ εἴτι ἄλλον κάμνει χρεῖα (1615, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 9, 6.70)
 εἰς εἴτι σύμβαμα γένη (1629, Thessaloniki, PAVLIKIANOV 2005: 11, 133.16)
 τίποτες ἀπὸ εἴτι ἔγραψα εἰς τὴν διαθήκη (1634, Peloponnese, LAMBROS 1908b: 340.3)
 εἴτι εἴπη ὁ παπὰς καὶ εἴτι κάμη PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.102
 εἴτι χρεὸς χρεωστεῖ (1648, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 1, 34.23)
 καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ὅπου νὰ μᾶς ὀρίσῃ (1654, Chios, ZERLENDIS 1917: 3, 215.)
 εἴτι ἄρα καὶ ἂν ἔχουσι κινητὰ καὶ ἀκίνητα (1655, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 2001: 96.23)
 δίδων εἴ τι μοῦ ἔδοξεν ὅπου ἦθελον (1655, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 5, 155.4)
 εἴτι ἦθελε τοῦ εὐρεθῇ, ἄσπρα, ροῦχα, καὶ εἴτι ἄλλο πρᾶγμα (1660, Paros, PAPADOPOULOS/
 FLORENDIS 1990: 25, 21.11)
 καὶ εἴτι ἄλλο εὐρίσκεται στὸ χέρι τοῦ ἄνωθεν ἀφέντη (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a:
 139.22)

καὶ εἴτι καὶ ἄν εὐρέθησαν, πρᾶγμα καὶ μετρητά (1690, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 21, 14.5)

ἀπὸ εἴτι ἐξαποστείλῃ ὁ Κύριος (1691, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 145, 84.3)

Plural

Masculine Genitive

αὐτὸ τὸ χάρισμα τοὺς ἐχάρισεν, ὅτι εἴτινων ἀμαρτίαις συγχερέσουν (sic), νὰ εἶναι συγχερεμέναις. καὶ εἴτινων κρατοῦν, νὰ εἶναι κρατημέναις DAM. SToud., *This.*, *Logos* 28, Δ5r.31

Meanings and Usage

The pronoun εἴτι may also be used in a manner similar to ὅ,τι, i.e. as an uninflected indefinite determiner:

εἴτι κόπους καὶ ἐξόδους ἐπιδείξει (1230, S. Italy, NADAL CAÑELLAS 1983: 4, 168.16)
καὶ εἴτι ἐτέραν δουλείαν πρέπει σοι τοῦ ποιεῖν (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 473.1)
εἴτι ἂν μᾶς ἔλθῃ κίνδυνος νὰ μὴ ἀποχωριστοῦμεν *Liv.* α 3720
ἀπὸ εἴ τι πράγματα εὗρουν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 18, 159.25)
εἰς εἴτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 7, 311.15)
μέ εἴτι ἄρα ἐσοδεῖαν ἦν μέλλει ἔρχεσται (1492, Venice, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 1, 127.5)
καὶ εἴτι χρεῖα τοὺς ἔκαμεν *Theseid* X.10,4 (1529)
ἀπὸ εἴτι ρουχικά τῆς ὑρίσκονται (1571, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 7, 60.9)
καὶ εἴ τι ἄσπρα καὶ ἂν εὐρεθῇ ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου σχεδὸν εἰς ὀβολοῦ ποσότητα (1655, Skyros, ANDONIAIDIS 1983: 4, 149.14)
εἰς εἴτι πραγματεία θέλει αὐτός (1665, Proikonnisos/Marmaras, KAMBOURIS 1976: A.2, 195.9)

Occasionally, the neuter form εἴτι may be preceded by the definite article:

τὸ εἴ τι καὶ ἂν ὀρέγεσαι νὰ ἔνι εἰς τὸν ὀρισμὸ σου *Pol. Tr.* 1935 app. crit. (A)
καὶ ἄλλα τὰ εἴ τι ἔχρηζεν εἰς δύναμιν τοῦ κάστρου *Chron. Toc.* 1865
τὸ εἴτι τὸν ἐμήνυσαν νὰ ποιήσῃ μετ' ἐκεῖνον *Chron. Mor.* P 6364
καὶ τὸ εἴτι ποιήσουν οἱ ἄνωθεν τιμιότατοι (1575, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 5, 91.17)
γιατὶ τοὺς δίδω καὶ τῶν τριῶν τὸ εἴ τ' ἐπιθυμοῦσι KONDAR., *Paidēs* 569
γράφομεν τὰ εἴτι ὑποστατικά τῶν εὐρίσκονται (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 17, 52.3)

Εἴτις is mostly used as a pronoun, e.g. εἴτις κερδίση ἐκ τοὺς δυό, στὴν τζόστρα νὰ νικήσῃ *Imb. Rim.* 470, but instances of determiner usage occur quite frequently, especially in the neuter, e.g. εἴτις κονόμος ἤθελε λάχει (1675, Amorgos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 33, 26.22); ἀπὸ εἴτι γάλα ἢ τυρὶ κάμη (1522, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 69, 99.9); εἴ τι παιδὶ ἤθελε βάλεϊ σκάνταλο (1583, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 15, 29.4).

Εἴτις may be followed by ἄν, by καὶ ἄν or by νά:

εἴτι ἄν ἀκούσετε φωνήν, μὴ ἐβγήτε νὰ ἰδῇτε *Liv.* S 1773

εἴτι καὶ ἄν λέγω, αὐθέντρα μου, ἀληθινὸν νὰ μὲ εὕρῃς *Theseid* Prol. P 122
ἐποίησε ψυχοπαίδι καὶ κληρονόμον τὸν κυρ Τζουάννην ... εἰσὲ εἴτι καὶ ἄν ἔχη, κινητὰ καὶ ἀκίνητα (1557, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 201, 250.5)

εἴ τις νὰ μπῇ ἀπὸ τὲς σκάλες εἰς τὸ κάστρον νὰ βάλλῃ φλάμπουρον, ὁ πρῶτος νὰ ἔχη ὀνομίσματα ,α MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 458.3
καί, εἴτις νὰ νικήσῃ, | τὴν θυγατέραν τοῦ ρηγὸς θέλουσιν τοῦ βλογῇσι *Imb. Rim.* 359–60

5.10 Contrastive Pronouns and Determiners

There are two basic contrastive pronouns in AG: ἕτερος “other of two”, corresponding to Lat. *alter*, and ἄλλος “other of several, another”, Lat. *alius*. Both are found in texts of the MedG and EMG periods, although increasingly ἕτερος is limited to higher registers and the original semantic distinction is often not preserved. In SMG ἄλλος is the normal contrastive pronoun and determiner, while ἕτερος survives only in certain expressions or as a learned or archaizing feature. For the forms of ἕτερος found in texts of the period covered by this Grammar see 5.10.2. The forms of ἄλλος are discussed in 5.10.1.

There is also a by-form ἀλλέος (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.), with which the adverb ἀλλέως/ἀλλιῶς may be linked. Some confusion with ἀλλοῖος may also be suspected. As a determiner, ἀλλέος occurs occasionally in mixed- and higher-register texts in LMedG, e.g. an apparent dative form in λόγοις ἀλλέοις *Liv.* P 1086 transcr. (Lendari).¹¹⁰ It is quite common in Cretan (and Heptanesian) literary and non-literary texts in the phrase ἀλλέας λογῆς “of another kind”, “in another way”, where it may undergo synizesis, becoming ἀλλιᾶς λο(γ)ῆς:

ἀλλιᾶς λογῆς καὶ χάρης FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 62 (ex corr. from ἀλλέας ms A)
 ἀλλέας λογῆς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 246, 240.14)
 μὰ γ'ὼ τὸ πρᾶμα ἀλλιᾶς λογῆς στὸ λογισμό μου κρίνω CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.244
 ἀλλιᾶς λογῆς (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 55.222)
 ἀλλοῖας λογῆς μ' ἐδέχτη τὸ καημένο *Vosk.* 339
 ἀλλιᾶς λογῆς δὲ μπαίνει FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm.* IV 146
 κἀνοντας ἀλλοῖας λογῆς KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.362

Certain other words have a function which resembles that of a contrastive pronoun/determiner, e.g. ἀποδέλοιπος, δελοιπός. They are adjectives, declined regularly with feminine in -η (see 3.2.1), and with the meaning of “remaining, rest”. The first is found quite widely in texts of Southern Greek provenance, while the second has been found only in texts from Cyprus. Examples:

ἄλλοι οἱ ἀποδέλοιποι εἶχαν βουλή σταμένη *Alex. Rim.* 2749
 τὰ ἀποδέλοιπα (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 156, 245.24); τὰ ἀποδέλοιπα πράγματα
 (ibid. 156, 245.28)
 ἡ ἀποδέλοιπη σπορὰ (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 280, 237.9)
 οἱ γι-ἀποδέλοιποι εἰς τὰ χωργιά (1664, Cyprus, MERTZIOS 1958b: 255.14)
 μὲ τ' ἀποδέλοιπα *Leilasia Par.* 68
 μαζὶ μὲ τὰ ἀποδέλοιπα παιδία (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 331, 535.9)
 οἱ ἀποδέλοιπες πέντε EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 59.1
 παρὰ νὰ δώσης ὀλλίγα καὶ νὰ χάσης τὸ δελοιπὸν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.35; καθὼς
 ἐποῖκαν οἱ δελοιποὶ ἀφέντες ibid. 56.27; τὰ δελοιπὰ φίκκια ibid. 78.28
 οἱ δελοιποὶ σπαχῆδες (1674, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 10, 25.4); τὰ δελοιπά, ὅ,τι δέντρα καὶ ἂν
 ἔχει, νὰ εἶναι δικά του (ibid. 10, 25.14–15)
 τοὺς δελοιποὺς KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 266

¹¹⁰ Ms N has λόγοις ἄλέας; the editor obelizes the passage in which it occurs (see *Liv.* α 1201 app. crit.). We may suspect that the readings of *Liv.* P and N conceal the phrase λογῆς ἀλλέας/ἀλλέας λογῆς, discussed in this paragraph.

5.10.1 ἄλλος

The inherited pronoun/determiner ἄλλος, declined like adjectives in -ος with feminine in -η (see 3.2.1), acquires a number of new variant forms in the period covered by this Grammar, created on the analogy of demonstrative pronouns such as αὐτός, ἐκεῖνος and τοῦτος (see 5.5.1.2, 5.5.1.8, 5.5.1.11). These will be discussed in detail below. In addition to its use as a contrastive pronoun/determiner, “other”, two further functions should be noted:

- 1) a distributive use, ἄλλος ... ἄλλος ..., meaning “one ... another ...”, pl. ἄλλοι ... ἄλλοι ..., “some ... others ...”, e.g.:

ἄλλοι ἐκεῖ ἐκοιμόντησαν, καὶ ἄλλοι βίγλα ἐκάμναν *Theseid* I.20,5 (Follieri)

ἄλλος τοῦ φτεῖ ᾽ς τὸ πρόσωπο κι ἄλλος συρομαδεῖ τον *P&N Diath.* 3597

ἄλλον ὑψώνει ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἄλλον κατεβάζει | καὶ ἄλλον κάμνει πένητα, πολλὰ νὰ τὸν τρομάζει
ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Voev.* 374–5

καὶ ἄλλος μὲ ἐφτοῦσεν, ἄλλος ἔλεγεν ὅτι “θαρρεῖς νὰ σὲ ἀφήσωμε ζωντανόν;” ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ.,
Chron. I §31.28–9

εἰς τὸ νερό ἄλλα νὰ βουτοῦ, στὰ ὕψη ἄλλα νὰ πᾶσι ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* IV.1173

- 2) in reciprocal expressions meaning “one another”, where the first element is (ὁ) εἷς/ένας and the second is an oblique case of ὁ ἄλλος, functioning as direct or indirect object of a verb or preceded by a preposition. Such expressions are already in use at the beginning of our period:

ἕνα τὸ ἄλλο οὐ<κ ἐ>συμφωνοῦσαν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 46.3

καὶ τόσα ἐσύντυχαν ὁμοῦ, ὠρέχτη ὁ εἷς τὸν ἄλλον *Chron. Mor.* H 8026

καὶ εἷς τὸν ἄλλον ἔλεγεν: “Εγὼ εἶμαι ὁ καλλίων” *Diig. tetr.* 861

ὁ εἷς τὸν ἄλλον ἤθελεν νὰ ἰδῇ ἀποθαμένον *Chron. Toc.* 1613

οἱ ἄρχοντες μὲ λύπησιν ἕνας τ’ ἄλλου νὰ λέγη ΣΚΛΑΥΟΣ, *Symf.* 69

καὶ ἐμεῖς ἕνας πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 248.38; ἔμοσεν ὁ γ-εἷς τοῦ ἄλλου *ibid.* 546.19

αποσκεπᾶσθην ο νεις του ἄλλου ΒΟΥΣΤΡ., *Chron.* A 40.16–17;

νὰ διηγηθῇ ἕνας τᾶλλουνοῦ *Love poems* V 431

ἔρώτα ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 340.21–2

εἷς ἀπὸ τὸν ἄλλο μας ... νὰ γυρεύσειν δικαίωμαντα (1548, Naxos, ΚΑΡΑΒΟΥΛΑ/ΡΟΔΟΛΑΚΗΣ 2012/13: 119, 233.16)

νὰ ρεφάρη ἕνας τὸν ἄλλο μας (1558, Crete, ΠΑΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 2015: 2, 78.13)

καὶ ἀκούει ἕνας τοῦ ἄλλουνοῦ τοὺς λόγους ΔΑΜ. ΣΤΟΥΔ., *This.*, *Logos* 5, ε1r.11–12

νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ εἷς μὲ τὸν ἄλλο μας λόγον (1599, Andros, ΠΟΛΕΜΙΣ 1999a: 91, 122.8)

τα βάσανά μας ᾽νούς τ’ αλλοῦ καλύτερα νὰ πούμε *CHORTATIS*, *Panor.* I.244

ἕνας τοῦ ἄλλου τως (1630, Crete, ΒΑΡΖΕΛΙΟΤΙ 2000: 4, 336.23)

νὰ μὴν μπορεῖ πλέον ἕνα τὸ ἄλλον καστέλλι νὰ γυρεύσει δικαίωματα (1638, Santorini, ΤΣΕΛΙΚΑΣ 1985: 13, 86.13)

ἄν ἡχρεωστοῦσαν τίποτις ρούχα μιᾶς τῆς ἄλλης (1664, Mykonos, ΤΟΥΡΤΟΓΛΟΥ 1980/81: 3, 20.14–15)

νὰ κληρονομᾷ μία τὴν ἄλλην τως (1680, Naxos, ΣΙΦΟΝΙΟΥ-ΚΑΡΑΠΑ et al. 1982/83: 31, 181.3–6)

στρέχτηκαν ἕνας μὲ τὸν ἄλλο (1691, Sibiu, ΤΣΟΥΡΚΑ-ΠΑΠΑΣΤΑΘΙ 2011: A 15, f.44v.6)

καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ χωρισμένοι ἕνας ἀπὸ τὸν ἄλλον (1693, Siatista, ΠΑΝΔΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ/ ΤΣΟΥΡΚΑ-ΠΑΠΑΣΤΑΘΙ 1974: 27, 20.11)

For other reciprocal pronouns see 5.12; the forms of ἄλλος used in reciprocal expressions will be included in the present section.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	ἄλλος	ἄλλη	ἄλλο(ν)
Gen.	ἄλλου ἢ ἄλλοῦ ἢ ἄλλουνοῦ ἢ ἄλλονοῦ ἢ ἄλληνοῦ	ἄλλης ἢ ἄλλῃς ἢ ἄλληνης ἢ ἄλλονῃς	ἄλλου ἢ ἄλλοῦ ἢ ἄλλουνοῦ ἢ ἄλλονοῦ
Acc.	ἄλλο(ν) ἢ ἄλλονε ἢ ἄλλονα	ἄλλη(ν)	ἄλλο(ν)
Plural			
Nom.	ἄλλοι	ἄλλες ἢ (ἄλλαι)	ἄλλα
Gen.	ἄλλων ἢ ἄλλων ἢ ἄλλωνῶ(ν) ἢ ἄλλωνῶνε ἢ ἄλλουνῶν ἢ ἄλλουνῶνε	ἄλλων ἢ (ἄλλων) ἢ ἄλλωνῶν ἢ ἄλλουνῶν	ἄλλων ἢ ἄλλων(ν) ἢ ἄλλωνῶν ἢ ἄλλουνῶν
Acc.	ἄλλους ἢ ἄλλοπούς ἢ ἄλλουπούς	ἄλλες ἢ ἄλλας	ἄλλα

5.10.1.1 Singular Forms

Masculine

M	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	ἄλλος		
Gen.	ἄλλου	ἄλλοῦ ἢ ἄλλονοῦ ἢ ἄλλουνοῦ	ἄλληνοῦ
Acc.	ἄλλο(ν)	ἄλλονε	ἄλλονα

Nominative

The masculine nominative form is invariable before, throughout and after the period covered by this Grammar:

νὰ εἶχε, πίστευσον, γαμβρόν οἶον ἄλλος οὐκ ἔχει *Dig. G IV.285*
 ἄλλος παῖδας ἔφθασε *Anak. Konst. 117*
 ἄλλος ἐπήγαινε ομπρός, ἄλλος ἀπίσω πάλε *Theseid VI.26,4 (Olsen)*
 νὰ πολεμήσῃ ἄλλος *Alex. Rim. 750*
 ἡ ἄλλος ὁδία λόγου του ἤθελεν θελήσει (1550, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1970: 5 [E'], 295.11)
 ἄλλος τουφέκι βάστανε καὶ ἄλλος το κοντάρι *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voev. 918 (Pidonia)*
 μήτε ὁ πρ<ωτ>ονοτάριος ἡ ὁ Διοικητὴς ἡ ἄλλος κανένας *Diath. Nikon Metan. 107–8*

Genitive

The inherited form ἄλλου remains in use throughout the period. Shift of stress to the final syllable, i.e. ἄλλου, is evidenced from the early 16th c. onwards. The addition of a syllable, on the analogy of demonstratives like αὐτουνοῦ, τουτουνοῦ, is found from the 15th c. and becomes common throughout the Greek-speaking world. The middle vowel is either /o/, like the nom. and acc., or /u/, doubling the vowel of the case-ending, with no clear geographical distinction between the two alternatives. A single example of ἄλληνοῦ, from the early 18th c., has been found.

ἀπὸ ἄλλου τινός ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 214.25
 νὰ ποιήσουν ἄλλου γὰρ τινὸς ὁμάτιαν καὶ λιζίαν *Chron. Mor.* H 7900
 ὅπου ἀπλικεύγει εἰς ἄλλου οἰκίαν *Assizes* B 482.18
 ἕνας τοῦ ἄλλου *Pol. Tr.* 6374; τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου *ibid.* 6859
 εἷς τ' ἄλλου των ἐθῶρει *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 79
 οἱ ρηγάδες ὁ ἕνας ὀπίσω τοῦ ἄλλου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 26.3
 ἀποσκεπάστην ο νεις του ἄλλου *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 40.16–17
 ὁ ζηλιάρης εἶναι κουτέντος νὰ χάση διὰ νὰ ποίση ἄλλου ζημιάν *Fior* 88.1–2
 πὼς ἐμπορεῖς νὰ πῆς ἄλλου νὰ σὲ κρατήση; *Fior, Suppl.* 277.2
 μήτε τοῦ ἐνοῦ μήτε τοῦ ἄλλου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 58.3–4
 νὰ εἶναι καὶ ἐνοῦ καὶ ἄλλου συμβάσματα (1665, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-
 THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 172.18)

τοῦ ἄλλου (1513, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 37, 63.13); τὸ ἕνα μικρότερον τοῦ
 ἄλλου (1518, *ibid.* 52, 93.46–7)
 ἕνας τ' ἄλλου κτυποῦσι *Alex. Rim.* 1875
 τὸ δὲ θὲς ἐσύ, νὰ μηδὲ ἄλλου τὸ ποίσης *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 24
 τὸ μερτικόν τοῦ ἄλλου (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 8, 30.10); τοῦ ἄλλου (1613,
ibid. 853, 744.9)
 ἕνας τοῦ ἄλλου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 88.19
 μὰ νουὺς ἄλλου τὴν ἔταξε, κί' ἐκείνον νὰ κομπῶση *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.376
 ἐνοὺς τ' ἄλλου μας *Vosk.* 135

ἄλλοτε ἐπαίρνει ἄλλονοῦ *Pol. Tr.* 6505 app. crit. (A)
 ἄλλονοῦ ἀνθρώπου *Diig. Alex.* F 202.7 (Lolos)
 ἄλλονοῦ τινός (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 7, 18.24)
 ἄλλονοῦ δουλείαν *DEFAR., Log. did.* 134
 ἄλλονοῦ (1543, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 47, 249.8)
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἱερομονάχου ἢ ἄλλονοῦ (1594, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 1, 109.7)
 νὰ μὴ μπορᾷ τήνε δώσει ἄλλονοῦ (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.10–11)
 σπαθὶ ἄλλονοῦ *CHORTATIS, Erof. Interm.* III.49
 μὴ δώσης ἄλλονοῦ *MAX. PELOPON., Kata Ioud.* 346.5
 νὰ κάμη ἄλλονοῦ κακόν *Vios Aisop.* I 248.35
 εἰς ἄλλονοῦ χέρια *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §9.65
 τοῦ ἄλλονοῦ (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 393, 609.34)
 τ' ἄλλονοῦ ρηγός *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1616
 δίδε καὶ ἄλλονοῦ πτωχοῦ *Charon* II 41

νὰ τὸ πωλήσουν ἄλλουνοῦ (1493–4, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 36, 179.15)
 ἄλλουνοῦ ἀνδρός *Diig. Alex.* V 87.6
 μηδ' ἄλλουνοῦ τὸ ποίσης *DEFAR., Log. did.* 24

νά ἔναι ὀπλιγᾶδος ἕνας τοῦ ἄλλουνοῦ (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 257.45)

τοῦ ἑνοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἄλλουνοῦ (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 36, 77.13)

ἄλλουνοῦ κανενοῦ (1594, Ioannina, MERTZIOS 1936b: 5, 45.18)

εἰς ἄλλουνοῦ κρεββάτι MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1964

ἄλλουνοῦ GERMANO, *Grammar* 70.17

εἰς ἄλλουνοῦ παιδί *Thysia Avr.* 352

ἑνοῦ καὶ ἄλλουνοῦ *Bertoldin.* 112.31

τοῦ ἄλλουνοῦ τως ἀδελφοῦ (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 88.15)

αὐτὸ εἶνε ἄλλουνοῦ παπᾶ εὐαγγέλιον *Paroim.* (Warner) 96.10

νά τὴν δώσωμεν ἄλλουνοῦ (1686, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 36, 65.11)

το σκήπτρον ἐκείνου ἄλλουνοῦ το ἔδωσα CANTEMIR, *Krit.* 449.5

πολλὴ τιμὴ παρ' ἄλλουνοῦ KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.426; ἐσένα, ὅχι ἄλλουνοῦ *ibid.* V.228

εἰς χέρι ἄλλουνοῦ *Diig. Vefa* 1432

ἄλλουνοῦ τόπου (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 136.108)

ἄλλουνοῦ κακομοιριά KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.434

νά μὴν τὸ ἀποξενώνουν ἄλληνοῦ τινὸς (1713, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 322, 211.4)

Accusative

The accusative is quite stable, with or without final /n/. Forms with the addition of /e/ occur in texts from the Heptanese and Crete. Forms with added final /a/ have been located in three versions of the *Rimada of Apollonios* and in a document from Ithaca (for the phenomenon see I, 2.6.3.2).

ποῦ νὰ εὕρης ἄλλον Πρόδρομον τοιοῦτον *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 39

καὶ δὲν χρεωστεῖ ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 73, 56.5)

ἄλλον παπᾶν (1446, Jerusalem, TSIRPANLIS 1964: 19.11)

ἄλλον ἕνα χρόνον (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 45.8)

νά μὴν ἔχη εἷς μὲ τὸν ἄλλο μας λόγον (1599, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 91, 122.8)

ποῦ ἡ Πέρσια δὲν ἀξιώθηκε ὥσάν αὐτεῖνον ἄλλο TROILOS, *Rodol.* II.240

στρέχτηκαν ἕνας μὲ τὸν ἄλλο (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 15, f.44v.6) (μὲ = μέ: see I, 2.5.4)

ὁ εἷς ἀπὲ τὸν ἄλλονε πολλὰ ἐπροσεχέτον *Theseid* II.57,5 (1529)

πλέον παρ' ἄλλονε τινά KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* XVIII.476

ἄλλονε δὲν ἔχω μπιστεμένον TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 243

ἔνανε ἄλλονε (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 3, 362.4); νὰ βάλης ἄλλονε κουμέσιο (*ibid.* 3, 362.11)

ποῦ καρτερεῖτε ἄλλονε γιὰ νὰ σᾶς βοηθήσει DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 841

μὴν ἔχοντας ἄλλονε (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 8, 32.13)

ἐγγυώντας ἕνας τὸν ἄλλονε (1716, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 30, 142.9)

ἕνας τον ἄλλονα θωρεῖ *Apoll. Rim.* A 297 (same in N and V)

νά ρεφάρη ἕνας τὸν ἄλλονα (1644, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 301, 236.12)

The form ἄλλόνας, which has been found only in Machairas (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.), is a combination of ἄλλος and the numeral ἕνας: οἱ ποῖγοι ἦσαν ὁ σὶρ Φρατζικῆς Φρατζεφίνγκο, σὶρ Τζουλιμ τα Μιλά, καὶ ἄλλῶνας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 320.14. An accusative ἄλλόναν also occurs in the same text: καὶ πλέρωμαν ἄλλῶναν μῆναν καὶ περίτου *ibid.* 384.11–12 (ms O ἄλλόναν, ms R ἄλλονα).

Feminine

F	General	Restricted
Nom.	ἄλλη	
Gen.	ἄλλης	ἄλλῃς ἢ ἄλλονῃς ἢ ἄλληνῃς
Acc.	ἄλλη(ν)	

Nominative

There is no variation to the inherited form ἄλλη, which occurs throughout our period and across all geographical regions.

- ἄλλη τὸν ἄνδρα ἔκλαιεν, ἄλλη πατέρα, θεῖον *Pol. Tr.* 1886
 ἐδόθη εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλλη γῆ (late 14th–early 15th c., Athos? Lemnos?, KRAVARI 1991: App., 196.68)
 τὸν οὐκ ἐγέννησεν ἄλλη γυνή εἰς τὸν κόσμον *Achil.* N 79
 σᾶς θέλει φέρει μιὰ γενιὰ κακὴ καὶ ξένη ἄλλη! *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 76
 καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τῆς ἀρχοντιᾶς *Fior*, Suppl. 273.25–6
 ἡ ἄλλη ἡ ταβέρνα (1628–9, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 1, 43.26)

Genitive

The inherited form ἄλλης exists throughout the period, while an innovative form with shift of stress (ἄλλῃς, cf. the masc. and neut.) is found from the 16th c. onwards. Forms with an added syllable (cf. masc. ἄλλουνοῦ etc.) are relatively uncommon in the texts examined. A few instances of both ἄλληνῃς and ἄλλονῃς have been found, the latter from Chios and Naxos.

- ἄλλης γενεᾶς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 226.10)
 λιβάδιν ἄλλης χάριτος [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 150
 ἄλλης φυλῆς *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 64
 τοῦτο ποὺ θέλω νὰ σοῦ πῶ ἄλλης μὴν τὸ μιλήσης *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.378
 ἂν ἡχρεωστοῦσαν τίποτις ροῦχα μιᾶς τῆς ἄλλης (1664, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 3, 20.14–15)
 καὶ τῆς μιᾶς μερᾶς καὶ τῆς ἄλλῃς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 60, 58.19)
 κιαμιὰς ἀλλῆς *CHORTATIS, Panor.* III.39
 ὅλες ἐβλέπασιν καὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ τῆς ἄλλῃς τέ<ς> ἀρετές *MOREZINOS, Klini* 233.7
 κάθα ἄλλῃς λογιῆς δενδρο (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 85, 102.5); τσ' ἄλλῃς
 μουρνέας (1613, *ibid.* 841, 734.28–9)
 τσῆς ἄλλῃς εἰς τὰ ματόκλαδα *Stathis Prol.* 26
 ἀπελπισμένον εἰς ἀγάπην ἀλληνῆς *Kaloandros* 408.4
 τῆς μιᾶς μεριᾶς καὶ τῆς ἄλληνῃς (1689, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1999: 8, 53.19)
 ἄλλονῃς *GERMANO, Grammar* 70.17
 τῆς ἄλλονῃς (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 7, 150.19); τῆς ἄλλονῃς (1683, *ibid.* 393, 609.36)

Accusative

There is no variation, other than the presence or absence of final /n/.

- ὀκάποιαν ἄλλην ἔπεψεν *Log. parag.* L 574
 ἔλα ἐσύ ἐκ τὴν μίαν μερέαν κ' ἐγὼ πάλε ἀπ' τὴν ἄλλην *Chron. Mor.* H 7001
 τὴν ἄλλην ἔφθασά τον *Liv.* E 13
 γιατί δὲν ἤρρηκα δροσιὰ, μηδὲ γλυκότη ἄλλη *CHORTATSI, Katz.* III.177
 ἄλλη κράτηση νὰ μὴν ἔχου (1616, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 144, 267.1)
 πᾶει στὴν ἄλλη *Paroim.* (Warner) 28.12
 χωρὶς νὰ απαντέξει καμίαν ἄλλην ἀπόκρισιν *Don Kis.* 50.13

Neuter

N	General	Restricted
Nom.	ἄλλο(ν)	
Gen.	ἄλλου	ἄλλοῦ ἢ ἄλλονοῦ ἢ ἄλλουνοῦ
Acc.	ἄλλο(ν)	

Nominative

The inherited form, with or without addition of final /n/, is unchanged throughout the period.

- καὶ εἴτι ἄλλον εἶναι ἔσω (1327–8, Peloponnese, VRANOUSI 1981: B, 26.9)
 καὶ ἄλλο νὰ κύπτῃ 'ς τὸ βυθὸς καὶ ἀχόρταγα νὰ πίνη *Liv.* V 2289
 ἄλλον δὲν θέλει γένει *Pol. Tr.* 1613 app. crit. (A)
 τὸ ἄλλον εἶναι μαρμαρένιον (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 93.46)
 ἄλλον χαμπάρι ἐφθασεν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2921
 ἄν εἶν' κ' ἐμίλησες, κερὰ, ποῦρι ἄλλο δὲν ἐγίνη *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1095

Genitive

The range of forms is the same as for the masculine, and the variants appear at approximately the same time.

- τ' ἀνθρώπου ὁ νοῦς καὶ ὄχι ἄλλου ζοῦ βαστὰ τὸ φυσικὸ του *FALIEROS, Rim. Par.* 21
 μυρωδιὰ ψητοῦ γῆ ἄλλου πρᾶμάτου *CHORTATSI, Katz.* III.69
 τοῦ ἄλλου σπιτακιοῦ (1697 [18th-c. copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 119, 272.16)
 νὰ πᾶσι τὸ μέρος τοῦ ἄλλοῦ [παιδίου] εἰς τοῦ ἄλλοῦ (1513, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 37, 64.25); τὸ ἕνα μικρότερον τοῦ ἄλλοῦ (1518, *ibid.* 52, 93.46–7); τοῦ ἄλλοῦ μου σπιτίου (1531, *ibid.* 148, 266.10) (and often in these documents)
 τοῦ ἄλλονοῦ τῶνε σπιτίου (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 1, 9.11)
 ἄλλονοῦ πρᾶμάτου (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 93, 109.2)
 τοῦ ἄλλονοῦ ἔμισοῦ (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 7, 138.21)
 τοῦ ἄλλονοῦ ταγαρίου (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 79, 85.19)
 τοῦ ἄλλονοῦ σπιτιοῦ (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 461, 684.7)
 τοῦ ἄλλουνοῦ χωραφιοῦ (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 51, 42.4)
 ἀπ' ἄλλουνοῦ πρᾶγμάτου *Theseid* III.21,3 (1529)
 τοῦ ἄλλουνοῦ χωραφίου (1546–51, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 64.18)

ἀλλουνοῦ βατσελίου (1586, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 261, 153.5–6)
με πλήθος αλλουνού νερού CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.229
τοῦ ἀλλουνοῦ σπιτιοῦ (1604 [copy of 1695], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 510.1–2)
τοῦ ἐνοῦ καὶ ἀλλουνοῦ μέρους SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 40.2

Accusative

The form is identical to the nominative.

᾽ς τὸ ἕνα σου προτέρημα πρόσθες καὶ ἄλλον ἕναν *Spaneas* Z 5
ἄλλο τι θαῦμα μέγα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 324; ἐποίκεν ἄλλον πρᾶγμα *ibid.* 440
ἄκο ἄλλον σύβαμα *Chron. Toc.* 41
νὰ σοῦ στείλω ἄλλο *Theseid* Prol. E 242
καὶ εἴτι ἄλλο (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 139.22)
ταίρι ἄλλο δὲν ἔχει KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.469

5.10.1.2 Plural Forms

Masculine

M	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	ἄλλοι		
Gen.	ἄλλων ἢ ἀλλῶν	ἄλλωνῶ(ν) ἢ ἀλλουνῶ(ν) ἢ ἄλλωνῶνε ἢ ἀλλουνῶνε	
Acc.	ἄλλους	ἄλλονούς ἢ ἀλλουνούς	ἄλλοι

Nominative

There is no variation in the inherited form.

ἄλλοι λᾶς *Assizes* B 290.8
ἄλλοι ἐκεῖ ἐκοιμόντησαν, καὶ ἄλλοι βίγλα ἐκάμναν *Theseid* I.20,5 (Follieri)
κι αὐτοὶ κι οἱ ἄλλοι θέλουν δεῖ τὲς κρίσεις πῶς ἐμπαινουν FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 204
ἄλλοι ἐγυρίζαν ἀπὸ τὴν μίαν μερίαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 422.13–14
κάπιοι ἄλλοι ἀφεντάδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.15
καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τὴν ἐπεριπατήσασιν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.8

Genitive

The normal form ἄλλων is in use throughout the period. Forms with shift of stress to the final syllable occur from the 14th c. and forms with an added syllable have been found from the early 16th c. onwards. It is noteworthy that ἀλλουνῶν is present in 17th-c. documents from northern regions, where mid-vowel raising occurs (see I, 2.5.4), although no consistent pattern emerges for the paradigm as a whole. Forms with added final /e/ have been found only in 17th- and 18th-c. texts from the Peloponnese and Heptanese.

τῶν μὲν αἱ χεῖρες ἔλειπον, ἄλλων οἱ κεφαλές των *Dig.* E 80
ὁ γραμματικὸς τὸν εἶπες πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 5
τῶν ἄλλων κριτάδων *Assizes* B 278.31
καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ρηγάδων *Pol. Tr.* 3202

- καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων ποιητῶν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 143.33
καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν βασιλέων (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 20.48)
- νὰ γράψωμεν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων *Chron. Mor.* H 196
κ' οἱ ἁμαρτίες τῶν ἄλλων CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1086
τῶν ἄλλων ἀνεμομύλων (1546, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 2, 42.11)
πραγματευστάδων καὶ ἄλλων ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 109
ἀποῦ τῶν ἄλλων (1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 716, 618.3)
τῶν ἄλλων (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 50.71)
- καὶ εἴπασι τῶν ἄλλων Alex. Rim. 347
τῶν ἄλλων μιλωνάδων (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 297, 289.10)
εἰς ἄλλον ἔχρια (1571, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 120, 235.2)
ἄλλων Χριστιανῶν (1576, Macedonia, CHASIoTIS 1964/65: 3, 252.18)
σύμπλιν Νικολό Φακοφάου καὶ ἄλλον (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 50.12)
πόδια ἄλλων ἀθρώπων CHORTATIS, *Erof. Interm.* I.60
λέγει τῶν ἄλλων MOREZINOS, *Klini* 52.15
θέλει εἶσται ἀρχὴ τῶν ἄλλων AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 481
ἄλλον καλλιτέρων μου συγγραφῶν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 74.30
ἄλλων Χριστιανῶν (1633, Serres, ODORICO 1998: 55, 152.)
ἄλλον παιδιὰ MONTSEL., *Evgena* 936 (Spadaro)
τῶν ἄλλων ἁγίων *Apok. Theot.* 499.168
τῶν ἄλλον *Diig. Sant.* 58.94
τῶν ἄλλον *Diig. Vefa* 1449
καὶ ἄλλον γίνονται ὁδηγοὶ ἀπωλείας (1697, Cythera, PATRAMANI 2010: 1, 210.26)
τῶν ἄλλον SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 45.4
- γι' ἀγάπην αλλωνῶν CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.250; των αλλωνῶ βοσκῶ *ibid.* I.294; τῶν ἄλλον ὧ
τῶνε *id.*, *Erof. Interm.* III.125
τῶν ἄλλον *Thysia Avr.* 958
ta opia mu edhoche emena che allono / τὰ ὅποια μοῦ ἔδωκε ἐμένα καὶ ἄλλον (app. crit.)
(1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 795a, 692.5)
ξόμπλι τῶν ἄλλον φραρῶ μονάχας γιὰ νὰ δώσω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.78
ἄλλον καρδιῆς *Zinon* II.124
- ἄλλουν βασιλέων *Diig. Alex.* V 38.20
αλλουνών την τροφήν *Diig. Alex.* K 376.14–15
δίχως ἄλλουν οὖν τινῶν ἀνθρώπων (app. crit.) (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 144, 193.5) (the ms reading αλουνοῦν is probably a mistake for -ῶν)
καὶ τῶν ἄλλουν βοσκῶν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.40
ἄλλουν (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 8, 25.18)
τῶν ἄλλουν τῶν πραγματευστάδων (1629, Bucharest, MERTZIOS 1936b: 11, 49.9)
καὶ ἄλλουν Χριστιανῶν (1652, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 69, 179.8)
ἄλλουν διεστραμμένων (1693, Ioannina, MERTZIOS 1936f: 21, 306.2)
ἄλλα τόσα ἄλλουν (1696, Dyrhachion, MERTZIOS 1947a: 7, 214.10)
- ἄλλουν (1683, Glarentsa, KONOMOS 1969e: 63.13)
ὡς τοῦν ἄλλουν (1699, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 5, 165.28)
τῶν ἄλλον (1716, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969d: 1, 42.10–11)

Accusative

As in other oblique cases, the forms with an added syllable appear, alongside the inherited form, from the 15th c. onwards, though relatively few examples have been located. In a document from Mykonos we find an acc. in -οι, i.e. the nom. and acc. forms are identical. (For this phenomenon, which occurs in certain Cycladic islands, see 1.3.)

καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅπου ἔρχονται ἐξ αὐτοῦς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.586)
 ὅλους τοὺς ἄλλους MOREZINOS, *Klini* 52.19–20

εἰς ἄλλους πολλοὺς πειρασμούς (1560 [copy of 1691], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 128, 246.3)

Λουκάριδες καὶ ἄλλους ὁμοίους τῶν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 54.17–18

ἐμίσεισα μὲ ἄλλους ἀντάμα πᾶσα λογῆς σκλαβολεύτερου (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506–7.21–2)

μὲ τοὺς ἀλλουνοὺς *Theseid* VI.51,2 ms

ἀλλουνοὺς ἐπατοῦσαν τὰ ἄλογα, ἀλλουνοὺς ἔσφαζαν *Diig. Alex.* V 48.17–18

τὰ ἔμαθις καὶ ἀπὸ ἀλλουνοὺς (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 56.14)

βλέπουν καὶ αλλονοὺς πεζοὺς STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voen.* 1077 (Pidonia)

καὶ τὶς ἄλλοι σύντροφοι (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.34)

Feminine

F	General	Restricted
Nom.	ἄλλες	ἄλλαι
Gen.	ἄλλων	ἄλλωνῶ(ν) † ἄλλουνῶ(ν)
Acc.	ἄλλες	ἄλλας

Nominative

The residual form ἄλλαι can be found in high- or mixed-register texts. Otherwise the standard form is ἄλλες, usually spelled ἄλλαις in older mss and editions.

ἄλλαι μὲν ἄλλαι τυγχάνουν ERMON., *Ilias* 11.293

ἄλλαι δύο χιλιάδες *Dig.* A and T 1196

ἡ Σουσάννα καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαί KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 8.3

καὶ ἄλλαις γυναιῖκες περισσαῖς εἰστέκασιν *Log. parig.* L 453

ἴσαντο τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρες καὶ πάλιν ἄλλες πέντε *Velth.* 598

καὶ οἱ ἄλλες (1506, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: 1 [A'], 224.19)

ἦλθαν καὶ ἀνατολικοὶ κἂν ἄλλες δύο χιλιάδες *Chron. Mor.* P 4555

καὶ ἄλλαις μερικαῖς DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 29, E4v.32

κι ἀγάπησα ὥσάν τὸ κάμαν κι ἄλλες KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1209

Genitive

As in the case of the masculine paradigm, forms with an additional syllable are found, but so far no example has been located earlier than the 17th c.

τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκλησιῶν (1316, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 39, 292.7)

ἐγράψαμεν περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ὑποθέσεων (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 5, 309.6)

τὰ ἔδιδε ἄλλονῶν νὰ τὰ βυζάνουν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 119.15
 ξόμπλι τῶν ἄλωνῶ ἐπαρχιῶ νὰ δείξει TROILOS, *Rodol. Prol. Mell.* 12
 in Scio Genit. Singol. ἄλλουνοῦ, ἄλλονῆς, &c. Genit. Plur. ἄλλονῶν GERMANO, *Grammar* 70.17
 ἄλλουῶν γυναικῶν (1696, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 2 [B'], 253.23)

Accusative

The only variation is between the older form ἄλλας, found in archaizing or mixed-register texts, and the innovative ἄλλες. Forms with an additional syllable have not been found for the fem. acc. pl.

διδεῖ του ὁ κριτῆς ἄλλας δ' ἡμέρας (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 29.47)
 ἄλλας πολλάς ἐπιάσασιν *Dig.* E 170
 με τὰς ἄλλας *Liv.* V 1859
 πολλάκις δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ποιοῦν καὶ ἄλλας πράξεις *Diig. tetr.* 960
 ἄλλας βαρέας ὑπηρεσίας ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 143.B.13
 μιλοῦν καὶ ἄλλες τρεῖς φορές *Alex.* Rim. 2107
 νὰ ἀγοράζης ἄλλες τόσες κεφαλές καὶ κοιλιές (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 48, 42.7)
 ἄλλες τόσες πέτρες (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.38)
 καὶ ἄλλες δύο (1676, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 1, 123.26)
 κι οὐδ' ἄλλες ἔγνοιες ἔχει KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1260

Neuter

N	General	Restricted
Nom.	ἄλλα	
Gen.	ἄλλων ἢ ἄλλῶν	ἄλλωνῶ(ν) ἢ ?ἄλλουῶν(ν)
Acc.	ἄλλα	

Nominative

The form is invariable.

καὶ πάλιν ὀπισθεν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦταν *Pol. Tr.* 2973 app. crit. (A)
 τ' ἄλλα πάντα (1420, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 2 [B'], 22.17)
 ἐκεῖνος ἄλλα οἰκονομεῖ, οἷα καὶ μόνος οἶδεν *Chron. Toc.* 733
 ηὔρισκονται κι ἄλλα θηριὰ *Alex.* Rim. 1543
 ἐστοντας ὅτι το εδίωχναν ἄλλα ψάρια μεγαλύτερα ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 16.3
 μὴν τσ' εὔρουν κι ἄλλα πάθη KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.586

Genitive

As for the masc. gen. pl., a form with shift of stress (ἄλλῶν) emerges quite early, though no instances have been found until the 16th c. Again, there are alternative forms with an additional syllable, evidence for which appears in the mid-16th c.

τὸ δίκαιον τῶν ἄλλων κρισιμάτων *Assizes* A 112.12
 τῶν ἄλλων καστῶν (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.20)
 ἡ γεροντοσύνη ἐνὶ ἀπανωθιὸν ὄλων τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν *Fior, Suppl.* 270.18
 τῶν βοδίων καὶ τράγων καὶ ἄλλων ζώων LANDOS, *Geopon.* 272.25

τῶν ἐγγονίων μου τῶν ἀλλῶν (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 99.199)

τῶν ἀλλῶν μου σπιτιῶν (1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 24, 58.10)

κ' ἤρχισες ἄλλα τῶν ἀλλῶν KONAR., *Paides* 995

τῶν ἀλλῶν παιδίων *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 43.8

τὸ ρόδο τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀνθῶν *Stathis* I.34

ἄλλονῶ πραμάτω (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 59, 72.2)

τῶν ἀλλωνῶν σπιτιῶν (1640, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 17, 156.6)

τῶν ἀλλονῶν μοναστηρίων RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 65.19

ἀλλουσὼν ἀμπελίων (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 18, 56.19)

Accusative

The form is identical to the nominative.

ἄλλα ἐμέτρα ὁ ἀγωγιάτης, καὶ ἄλλα ἐψήφα ὁ νοικοκύρης *Paroim.* (Warner) 33.18

ἄλλα παίρνουν καὶ ἄλλα τρώσιν *Ptochol.* P 39

ἄλλα πράματα (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 344, 323.2)

γαλόνια ἕως πενήντα καὶ κάτεργα ἄλλα τόσα (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 399, f.2r.18)

ἄλλα ριάλια δέκα (1672, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 4, 118.14)

ἔχει συνθεμένα καὶ ἄλλα ηρωικότερα καὶ εξαισιότερα βιβλία *Don Kis.* 37.27–8

5.10.2 ἕτερος

The contrastive pronoun and determiner ἕτερος is declined like adjectives in -ος with feminine in -α or -η (see 3.2.3), but without regional variation such as the addition of /e/ after final /n/. Like ἄλλος, ἕτερος may be involved in reciprocal expressions of the type ὁ εἷς τὸν ἕτερο(ν). The masculine and neuter forms of ἕτερος follow the relevant paradigm and are unproblematic. The word is often a higher-register alternative to ἄλλος and occurs mainly in mixed- or higher-register texts. Note that, in accordance with AG rules, the stress usually shifts to the penultimate in the gen. sg. and pl. In the masc. acc. pl. forms both with and without shift of stress are found.

5.10.2.1 Masculine and Neuter Forms

Masculine Singular

ἕτερος λίθος στρόγγυλος (1144?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 314.2)

ὦ τις Ἀκρίτης ἕτερος ἐκεῖ νὰ εὐρέθην τότε *Ptoch.* IV 189

τινὰς ἕτερος (1414, Corfu, MALTEZOU 1991a: (1), 317.1–2)

ὁποῦ δὲν εὐρίσκέτονε ἕτερός του *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.27

ἑτέρου ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν (1193–4, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 16, 130.4)

νὰ τὸ δώση ἑτέρου *Assizes* B 265.11; ἐνοῦ ἑτέρου ἀνθρώπου *ibid.* 304.23

ὁ εἷς τοῦ ἑτέρου (1557, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 199, 248.26)

μέχρι τοῦ ἑτέρου ρύακος (1613, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 61, 183.11)

καὶ ἔμειναν διορθωμένοι ὁ εἷς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου (1693, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 27, 20.10–11)

ὁ εἷς τοῦ ἑτέρου (1713, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 322, 211.4)

μήτε ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 143, 192.10)
ὁμπλιγάροντας ὁ εἷς τοῦ ἐτέρου, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος<ς> πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον (1643, Zakynthos, MAVROS
1984: 361.19)

Neuter Singular

ὑπὸ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 18, 38.8)
νὰ σκοδέρνη ἕτερο στάρι (1635, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 68, 180.21)
τὸ ἕτερο ἄλλο στοὺς Ἁγίους Σαράντες (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 113.29)
ἕτερον πρόσωπο (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 7, 149.10)
ἐτέρου ἀμπελίου (1395, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 5, 181.13)
ἀφήνει τοῦ ἐτέρου τῆς παιδιοῦ (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 156, 245.28)

Masculine Plural

οἱ ἕτεροι ἄρχοντες (1136? 1151?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 19, 419.5)
οἱ ἕτεροι *Chron. Mor.* H 1671
οἱ ἕτεροι (1446, Jerusalem, TSIRPANLIS 1964: 19.11)
καὶ ἅπαντες οἱ ἕτεροι κοντόσταυλοι (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 167.3)
ἕτεροι ἀπεζοὶ λεγόμενοι κουριέρηδες SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 34.30
καβαλλαρίων καὶ ἐτέρων λιζίων ἀνθρώπων (post 1306, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING
1993: 31, 163.[23]8–9)
ἐτέρων ἀλθροστάτων πλησιαστάδων (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 4, 151.11)
διὰ καταδοχῆς τῶν ἐτέρων ἐκτητόρων (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI
1998: 3, 23.3–4)
μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων ἀρχόντων τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 1, 280.3–4)
τῶν ἐτέρων πριόρηδων (1691, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 145, 84.1)
Φραγκῶν καὶ ἐτέρων αἰρετικῶν (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 422.1057)
τῶν ἐτέρων μας θεῶν AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 419
πάσας ἐτέρους ἀδελφούς (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 124, 165.8)
ἐτέρους ἄρχοντας (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 307.8)
τὴν ζημία ἐκείνη τοὺς ἐτέρους συντρόφους *Assizes B* 333.13–14
εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐτέρους ἀνθρώπους *Assizes A* 176.30
καὶ ἐτέρους σαβογιάνους VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 84.6
καὶ τοὺς ἐτέρους βασιλεῖς DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 589
ἐτέρους ἱερεῖς (1667, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 9, 24.8)
μὲ τὸν λαόν του κ' ἔτερους ἀπὸ τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα *Chron. Mor.* H 406; μετὰ ἔτερους *ibid.* 995
νὰ φέρη καὶ ἔτερους μάρτυρας (1572, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 3, 84.43)
μὲ ἄλλους ἔτερους συνδρόφους (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 5, 58.8)
ἔστειλαν ἀ<ν>τ' αὐτοὺς ἔτερους ἐννιακοσίους γιαντισάρους με ἔ<ν>τεκα καράβια (1651,
Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 404, f.4r.7)

Neuter Plural

τὰ ἔτερα χανούτια σοῦ τοῦ ἀγοραστοῦ (1178, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 12, 111.20)
ἔτερα ἐλαϊκὰ δένδρη (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 57, 177.11)
ἔτερα κάστρα CHEILAS, *Chron.* 347.12
γιά νὰ ἐβλέπουσι καὶ τὰ ἔτερα χωρία (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.22)
εἰς ἔτερα βάρη (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 167.8)
βγάζοντας ὁ μπασὰ Θανάσης ἔτερα γράμματα (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A
4, f.40r.10–11)
καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων τῶν τριῶν τῶν σῶν τε παιδοπούλων *Velth.* 1215
πάντων ἐτέρων ρηγάτων καὶ τοὺς καλοπίχρους ἀνθρώπους *Assizes A* 149.22–3

ἀπὸ πούλησες ἐτέρων πραγμάτων (1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 179.21)
 ἐτέρων ὑφασμάτων (1607, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 8, 86.13)
 πρὸς φύλαξιν τῶν ἐτέρων δύοσι παιδίων (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 235, 416.4)

5.10.2.2 Feminine Forms

The feminine has a variety of forms, similar to that for inherited adjectives that have a stem ending in /r/ (see the table in 3.2.3). The older forms, found mainly in more formal or archaizing contexts, are sg. ἐτέρα, ἐτέρας, ἐτέρα(ν), with shift of stress to the penultimate; pl. ἕτεραι, (ἐτέρων),¹¹¹ ἐτέρας. Forms with the newer endings -η etc. (pl. -ες) usually retain the stress on the antepenultimate, though there are some exceptions where stress movement is combined with the new endings (e.g. ἐτέρης).

Singular

Nominative

ἐν τῇ χαρᾷ πάλιν χαρὰ ἐπέρχεται ἐτέρα *Dig. G* III.314
 πᾶσα ἐτέρα γλῶσσα *Assizes A* 23.14
 κ' ἡ φαμελία του ἡ ἕτερη νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὸν μποῦρκον *Chron. Mor. H* 8236
 ἕτερη *Diig. Alex. F* 198.17 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἕτερη ἐξήγησις *Chron. Toc.* 517a
 ἡ ἕτερη ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 34.29

Genitive

περὶ ἐτέρας προίκας (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 22, 57.11)
 καὶ μὲ ἐτέρας γυναικὸς ἵνα τεκνοποιήσῃ *Achil. O* 15
 melli na laveis etera osu omiotita / μέλλει νὰ λάβῃς ἐτέρα ὁζοῦ ὁμοιότητα *BAROZZI, Letter* 359.17

τῆς ἐτέρης τιμωρίας *Assizes A* 120.11
 ἀφῆνω τῆς ἑτέρας μου θυγατέρος (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 114.39)

Accusative

καὶ ὑπέδειξαν ἡμῶν ἐτέραν διαχώρισιν (1154, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 11, 318.14)
 εἶτε βαφὴν ἐτέραν *Diig. tetr.* 517
 τράπεζαν εὖρεν ἐγγὺς ἐτέραν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 391
 τὴν ἐτέραν ὄλλην μεσαρίαν (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 14, 24.16)
 εἰς ἕτερην δουλείαν *Assizes B* 343.30
 ἔχεις καὶ δόξαν ἕτερην *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 93
 τὴν ἕτερην μερίαν *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 774
 πυροστία μία καὶ ἕτερη μικρὴ (1627, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 240.24)
 ἕτερην κολαῖνα (1682, Cyclades, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 231, 409.20)
 ἕτερη κατοῦνα (1682, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 8, 185.22)
 ἑληγὲς κεντρομάδες δύο καὶ ἕτερη μίαν μικρὴ (1699, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 279, 185.4)
 εἰς πόλιν ἕτερα *Pol. Tr.* 848 app. crit. (V) (εἰς πόλιν ἕτεραν *ibid.* 848 app. crit. (X))¹¹²

¹¹¹ No example of a fem. gen. pl. has been found in the texts examined.

¹¹² In ms A of this text the feminine has a masculine ending: εἰς πόλιν ἑτερον *Pol. Tr.* 848 app. crit. (A).

Plural

Nominative

ἑτεροι εἰκονίτσαι μικραὶ (1142, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 7, 74.22)

ἑτεροι ποδέαι β' μεταξωταὶ (1375, Ioannina?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 147, 107.15)

ἑτερες εἰκόνες (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.135)

ἑτερες κολαῖνες δύο ποστάδες μαργαριταρένιες (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.44)

σούγλα ἄξια, ἑτεραις δύο μικραῖς (1627, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 240.24)

Accusative

ἐτέρας παράκλησας τὰς ποιεῖ ἡ ἐκκλησία *Assizes* B 378.13

τὰς ἐτέρας αἰσθήσεις (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 16, 227.2); τὰς

ἐτέρας αἰσθήσεις (1544, *ibid.* 82, 272.2)

τὰς ἑτερας γυναῖκας *Pol. Tr.* 1885 app. crit. (A)

τὲς ἑτερες *Diig. Alex.* F 24.21–2 (Konstantinopulos)

καὶ ἑτερες 6 (1613, Athens, VISVIZIS 1965: 22, 111.14)

τοῦ ἔδωσε ἄλλες ἑτερες λίτρες πέντε (1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 42, 26.2)

5.11 Reflexive Pronominal Phrases

The forms used for the reflexive pronoun in Classical Greek are composed of the personal pronoun and the determiner αὐτός. In the singular they are merged into a single word: accusative 1st person ἐμαυτόν, 2nd σεαυτόν, 3rd ἐαυτόν, inflected for gender and case. The 1st and 2nd persons plural consist of two separate words: ἡμᾶς/ύμᾶς (or σφᾶς) αὐτούς etc., while the 3rd person is ἐαυτούς, also inflected for gender and case. The use of ἐαυτόν for the 1st person, and sometimes also for the 2nd person, is already attested in the papyri (GIGNAC 1981: 166–71) and in EMedG texts (PSALTES 1913: 196–7). The reflexive pronominal phrase consisting of the definite article + ἐαυτό(ν) + a clitic pronoun in the genitive emerges at the end of the EMedG period, the earliest instance located so far being in the late 11th-c. work of Kekaumenos (if that evidence can be relied upon; see *LBG* s.v. ἐαυτός). It is then found in mixed-register 12th-c. texts: the verses of Michael Glykas (13th-c. ms) and the anonymous *Spaneas* (ms dated ca. 1200). The pronominal phrase τον εαυτό (μου, σου etc.) continues to be used in SMG.

Through most of the period covered by this Grammar there is also an alternative phrase employing what was in AG the 1 sg. reflexive pronoun, ἐμαυτόν. The earliest examples are with the clitic pronoun μου, but from the 15th c. onwards it is extended to all persons: τὸν ἐμαυτόν μου/σου/του etc.¹¹³ It occurs in literary and occasionally non-literary texts and there is no observable geographical restriction in its distribution.

Both of these phrases can also appear in the genitive and they can be preceded by a preposition; indeed, they behave to all intents and purposes like a masculine noun in -ος. Plural forms and feminine forms (cf. AG ἐμαυτήν etc.) also occur; see below for details.

¹¹³ Unlike the 1 sg. and 3 sg. reflexive pronouns, the 2 sg. form does not survive in the vernacular. It occurs only as a vestigial feature or learnedism in the texts of the period covered by this Grammar, e.g. εἰς σεαυτοῦ πατρίδα *Velth.* 762.

The variant τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν μου is found in a limited number of texts from mainly southern areas. See below for further discussion and a possible etymology. See also ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, *Lex.* s.v. ἐαυτός.

Mention should also be made of certain alternative periphrases which can function as reflexive pronouns. There is a strong possibility that all these formations have influenced one another, since all involve a clitic personal pronoun in the genitive. For the periphrastic personal pronoun (τοῦ) λόγου μου see 5.3.3 and for the (mainly) Cypriot periphrases αὐτόν μου, (ἐξ)αυτόν μου etc. see 5.3.4. We give a few examples of the reflexive use of these periphrases:

κλαίγετε διὰ λόγου σας ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 437.14–15
 ὀνομάζομεν τοῦ λόγου μας φιλοχρίστους ΔΑΜ. ΣΤΟΥΔ., *Dial.* 96.30
 ρίξε τοῦ λόγου σου κάτω ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 4.4
 δῶξέ την ἄξιαυτοῦ σου *Fior* 90.7 (“from yourself”)

In addition, the intensive pronominal phrase ἄπατός μου can sometimes have a reflexive function (see 5.6.2).

5.11.1 τὸν ἐαυτό(ν) μου

The phrase is quite common in literary texts, though infrequent in documents, from the 12th to the 17th c. and beyond. It occurs mainly in the accusative, as object of the verb or in prepositional phrases, but genitive uses are also found.

εἰς λογικὰ μαθήματα γύμναζε τὸν ἐαυτόν σου *Spaneas* V 166; καὶ τίτιον πληροφορήσε, παιδί μου, τὸν ἐαυτόν σου *ibid.* 177
 ἀπὸ στενοχωρίας μου νὰ πνίξω τὸν ἐαυτόν μου *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 288
 τρέφε τὸν ἐαυτόν σου *Ptoch. III* 247 app. crit. (P)
 καὶ σφάξω τὸν ἐαυτόν μου *Dig.* E 367; σῶσε τὸν ἐαυτόν σου *ibid.* 955
 λογισμοὺς τοὺς εἶχα εἰς ἐαυτό μου *Liv.* V 1103; σφάζει τὸν ἐαυτόν του *ibid.* 1404
 διὰ τὸν ἐαυτόν τους *Assizes* B 282.24
 ὁ κάθε εἰς ἐσπούδαζεν νὰ σώσῃ τὸν ἐαυτόν του *Chron. Mor.* P 4824
 τὸν ἐαυτόν σου τὸ λοιπὸν κηρύττεις βασιλέα *Alex. Rim.* 823 (hapax)
 τὸν ἐαυτόν μου δίδω σε, ποῖσε ὡσὰν ὀρίζεις *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1214
 κι ἐχάσετε καὶ τὸ καλὸ τὸ ἔχα γιὰ τὸν ἐαυτό σας *P&N Diath.* 1177
 ἀτζάλλεψες τὸν ἐαυτό σου *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 95.5
 δὲν ἐγυρίσασι ποτὲ τὸν ἐαυτόν τως ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 29.28;
 ἐκατέστησες τὸν ἐαυτόν σου παιγνίδι τῶν κοπελίων *ibid.* 33.28
 μέρωσε τὸν ἐαυτό σου *Zinon* II.424; δὲν μπορεῖς νὰ ὀρίζεις τὸν ἐαυτό σου *ibid.* IV.54
 ἐξέτασα τὸν ἐαυτόν μου (1692, Palermo region, ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1994: 2, 182.18–19)
 ὅχι μόνον τοὺς ἐαυτοὺς τως σύρουσιν εἰς τὸν βάραθρον (1697, Cythera, ΠΑΤΡΑΜΑΝΙ 2010: 1, 210.26)
 τὸν ἐαυτό μου ἀρνήθηκα *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.991 (hapax)
 πολεμῶ με τον εαυτόν μου *Don Kis.* 123.14–15

Genitive forms are almost always learned features, especially without the clitic pronoun (no example has been found preceded by the article τοῦ). They may be either emphatic possessives (“[my] own”) or governed by a preposition, particularly in the stock phrase ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ (του), “of one’s own accord”.

εἰς τ(ήν) ἑαυτ(οῦ) τζάμπρ(αν) (1310, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 31, 163.[24]6–7)
 σὺ δὲ τύχης τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐμποδιστῆς ἐγένου *Dig.* G II.156
 ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ του *Assizes* B 286.3
 τὴν εαυτῆς βυζάστριαν *Diig. Apoll.* 19
 τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ ἔχει μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ πάντοτε *Assizes* A 25.16
 ὁκάτι ψιθυρίσματα λαλεῖ καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ τῆς [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1164
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσπάσατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγάτηρ *Achil.* O 624
 ἀφιέρωσε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐργαστήριον, τὸ εἰς τοὺς Σαματάδες (1498, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 8, 54.7)
 καὶ ἦτον δένδρον ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ του φυτευμένον [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VII 389.19
 να ετοιμασθεῖτε ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ σας *Don Kis.* 49.37–50.1

In the following case, however, the sense is reciprocal, “by one another” (for other reciprocal pronouns see 5.12): ἐθανατωθήκασιν ἀφ’ εαυτῶν τῶς ἀδίκως KONDARIS, *Istor. palaiiai* 411.15.¹¹⁴

Forms of ἑαυτὸν alone (singular or plural) are to be seen as a learned or archaizing feature: οἵτινες εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς NIKON, *Logos* 3 196.12; λέγω, λαλῶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τοῦτο τὸ καταλόγιν *Liv.* V 665; ἐξέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν (1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.20–1).

A variant of the normal τὸν ἑαυτὸν μου is the phrase τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν μου, which has been explained as a reanalysis of τὸν ἑαυτὸν μου with synizesis > τὸν νιαυτὸν μου, and then addition of prothetic /e/ (AERTS/HOKWERDA 2002 s.v.).¹¹⁵ Whatever its origin, it often alternates with the usual form in different mss of the same text, and tends to be rejected by editors. It has been found in texts from southern areas (Cyprus, Crete, Peloponnese, Heptanese) and in a romance (*Livistros*) of unknown provenance.

τί ἔχασες τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν σου *Dig.* E 229 app. crit.; καὶ ἀπὸ μικρόθεν ἤρξατο τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν του δοξάζει *ibid.* 741 app. crit.
 λέγω στὸν ἐνιαυτὸν μου *Chron. Mor.* H 948; ὁ κατὰ εἷς ἐσπούδαζεν νὰ σώσῃ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν του *ibid.* 4824 (two further instances in this text)
 πνίγει τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν του *Liv.* α 172; ἔθηκα διὰ τὸ ὄνειρον τοῦ πόθου τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν μου *ibid.* 1573 app. crit. (N); πρὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν σου *ibid.* 2281 app. crit. (N)
 κύριος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ του *Assizes* A 196.7
 φονέπτρια τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ <μου> DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 93 (ex corr.)
 ὁ καθεεῖς ὅς θυμηθῇ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ του *Theseid* VII.148,1 (1529)

5.11.2 τὸν ἐμαυτό(ν) μου

This alternative form, utilizing what was the 1st-person form of the reflexive pronoun in AG, occurs in texts of various kinds, including Cretan literary texts from the late 16th c. onwards. Note that the earliest examples are accompanied by the 1st-person clitic μου. Third-person forms occur from the 15th c., while usages with the 2nd-person clitic are less common.

¹¹⁴ Mention may be made of an unusual nominative form, which seems to function here as an intensive pronoun: οὐδὲν πουλήσω· χρήζω τὸ ἑαυτός μου (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1112–13).

¹¹⁵ The possibility that it was confused with the learned noun ἐνιαυτός, “year”, cannot be ruled out (see EGEEA 1988: 58).

πάντως νὰ σύρω τὸ σπαθὶν καὶ σφάξω ἑμαυτὸν μου *Dig. G II.196* (for omission of the article see below)

τὸν ἑμαυτὸ μου ἡμέλησα *Liv. V 1331*

τὸν ἄνδραν τῆς ἐτίμησεν, μᾶλλον τὸν ἑμαυτὸν τῆς *Chron. Toc. 12*; ἀπὸ τὸν ἑμαυτὸν του *ibid. 2633*

καὶ ἐπαίρνω μὲ τὸν ἑμαυτὸν μου ἀρχαῖον εὐαγγέλιον (1442, Belgrade region/Serbia, *ALEXOULIS 1892: 2, 279.3*)

τὸν ἑμαυτὸν μου δίδω τον μεθ' ὅλης τῆς καρδίας *Achil. N 914*

λέγω στὸν ἑμαυτὸν μου *Chron. Mor. P 948*; καὶ θέλει χάσει ὁ πρίγκιπας πρῶτον τὸν ἑμαυτὸν του *ibid. 5091* (ms H has ἐνιαυτὸν instead; see above)

τὸν ἑμαυτὸν του γρίκησε *Theseid X.36,3 (1529)*

ἐλάλεν εἰς τὸν ἑμαυτὸν του *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 20.9–10*

νὰ ἀγαπήσῃ τὸν ἑμαυτὸν του *Fior 75.37*

ὅπου τὸν ἑμαυτὸν του ὀνομάζει ἰσότητα μὲ τὸν θεόν *Diig. Alex. E 91.7 (Lolos)*

τούτης ν' ἀφήσω γὰ τὸν ἑμαυτὸν μου *Cypr. Canz. 101.36*

τὸν ἑμαυτὸ του σὲ τιμές καὶ δόξες ἀνεβάζει *CHORTATIS, Erof. I.52*

καὶ γνῶρισε, πτωχέ, τὸν ἑμαυτὸν σου *Pist. voskos III 6.150*; τὸν ἴδιον του ἑμαυτὸ εἶχε θανατώσει *ibid. V 5.342*

παρηγοριὰ κι ἀλάφρωση γροικᾷ στὸν ἑμαυτὸ του *TROILOS, Rodol. I.54*

στὸν ἑμαυτὸν μου *KONDAR., Paidēs 207*

τὸν ἑμαυτὸ μου βάνω *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 193.21*

τὸν ἑμαυτὸν τους (1683, Andros, *POLEMIS 1999b: 29, 52.15*)

τ' ἄργομένο σου βάλε στὸν ἑμαυτὸ σου *Stathis III.233*

στὸ ἴδιον ἑμαυτὸ σου *KATSAITIS, Ifig. I.123*; τὸν ἑμαυτὸν μου *ibid. II.106*

When ἑμαυτὸν occurs without the article or clitic pronoun, it should be considered a learned element, e.g. οὕτως εἰς πλάτος ἑμαυτὸν ἀφήκα τὸ τοῦ λόγου *GLYKAS, Stichoī 12*. The omission of the clitic pronoun may also be due to metrical pressures: ἐγκράτειαν ἐξακουστήν στὸν ἑμαυτὸν ἐποίκες *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd. 183*.

Feminine forms such as τὴν ἑμαυτή(ν), with female referent, are found in texts of different periods. When they occur in Cretan literary texts of the 16th–17th c. they should not be seen as archaisms. However, as in the examples below, they often function not as reflexive pronouns referring back to the subject of the clause, but as periphrastic (or intensive) personal pronouns.¹¹⁶

καὶ ἐγὼ ἑμαυτὴν εἰς νοῦν ἔθεσα καὶ οἶδα ὅτι ἄδικον ἐποίησαν οἱ προῦ ἐμοῦ αὐθέντες μου καὶ ἐγὼ ἔστρεψα ἑμαυτὴν μου εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν (1182, Sicily, *CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 22, 424.15*)

γιατὶ ἀνισῶς κι ὀρίζουσιν ἄλλοι τὴν ἑμαυτὴ μου *CHORTATIS, Erof. II.59*; τα λόγια τ'

αποταχινὰ θυμούμαι το' ἑμαυτῆς σου *id., Panor. V.194*; σαν και την ἑμαυτῆ σου *ibid. III.65* σὲ 'σὲ τὴν ἑμαυτῆ σου *Pist. voskos III 5.25*

καὶ νὰ μᾶς φέρνει ... χαρὰ στὴν ἑμαυτὴ μας *TROILOS, Rodol. II.410*

The genitive τοῦ ἑμαυτοῦ μου etc. is not very common, but it appears occasionally in texts from different areas and in a grammar of the period:

¹¹⁶ Compare the masc. form ἑμαυτὸν (= “you yourself”) in this example: διὰ νὰ θρέψω τὰ παιδιὰ μου | καὶ τὸν ἑμαυτὸν σου πάντως *Prochol. α 124–5*.

ὅς μετρήσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑμαυτοῦ του (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.3)
ὁ φθονερός ἀν(θρωπ)ὸς καίεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑμαυτοῦ του (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU
1983: A, 410.575)

τοῦ ἑμαυτοῦμου, di me stesso, τὸν ἑμαυτόνμου, me stesso, τοῦ ἑμαυτοῦμας, di noi stesso, τὸν
ἑμαυτόνμας, noi stesso GERMANO, *Grammar* 68.24

σὰν νοικοκύρης τοῦ ἑμαυτοῦ του (1666, Rome, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 11, 116.7)

μὲ δίχως νὰ ᾿χῃ ἐντῆρηση καμιά τοῦ ἑμαυτοῦ του KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* II.99

Plural forms are also rare. The following example, with omission of the clitic pronoun, comes from a verse text: τοὺς ἑμαυτοὺς κι ὁφέντας τῶν ὅπως διὰ νὰ τιμήσουν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* XIII.216.

A single instance of a nominative singular, with loss of initial /e/ (for aphaeresis see I, 2.7.1), has been found in a 17th-c. Cretan text: μ' ἄν ἔσφαλε ὁ μαυτός μου *Pist. voskos* V 5.389.

5.12 Reciprocal Pronouns

The AG reciprocal pronoun (“one another”) had dual (gen. ἀλλήλοιν) and plural (gen. ἀλλήλων) numbers, and was declined for gender and case (genitive, accusative and dative). The plural paradigm survives as a residual feature in MedG, but in LMedG and EMG it is increasingly restricted to mixed- and higher-register texts. In view of the sparsity of examples it must be regarded as marginal to the grammatical system of LMedG and EMG.

The indeclinable form ἀλλήλως, in which the gen. pl. ending -ων has been replaced by -ως, on the analogy of adverbs (see I, 3.7.1.2), seems to have come into existence in Late Antiquity and can be found in EMedG texts, such as George the Monk and Anna Comnena (see *TLG* for examples). However, it remains relatively rare until the 14th c. From the early 16th c. (and possibly earlier, since we find it in literary texts supposedly composed in the 14th or 15th c.) it frequently occurs with a clitic pronoun in the gen. pl., especially in southern areas. In texts from south-eastern areas, such as Cyprus, both ἀλλήλων and ἀλλήλως seem to be rare.

Alongside the inherited pronoun a pronominal phrase ὁ εἷς/ἕνας τὸν ἄλλο(ν) is found from the end of the EMedG period: its first appearance in the texts examined dates from the 11th c. For the forms of εἷς/ἕνας see 5.8.5; for the morphology of ἄλλος and examples of this reciprocal pronoun phrase see 5.10.1.

5.12.1 ἀλλήλων

The inherited form ἀλλήλων is found mainly in the gen. and acc. cases, functioning as direct or indirect object or in a prepositional phrase. The dative is rather rare in texts of the period covered by this Grammar, occurring only sporadically in mixed-register texts. Feminine forms are rare, neuter forms even rarer. There are indications that the gen. and acc. forms ἀλλήλων and ἀλλήλους are sometimes used in a quasi-adverbial way, i.e. they do not function syntactically as genitive or accusative cases. In effect they have become interchangeable with ἀλλήλως. See, for instance, the gen. and acc. forms cited below from *Diig. Alex. Sem.* (second example) and *Deft. Par.*

	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter
	General	Rare	General	Rare	General
Nom.		ἀλλήλοι?			
Gen.	ἀλλήλω(ν)		ἀλλήλων		ἀλλήλων
Acc.	ἀλλήλους			ἀλλήλες	
Dat.		ἀλλήλοις			

Nominative

Examples are very few and generally suspect. In a notarial document from Mykonos, there appears to be a masc. pl. ἀλλήλοι: καθὼς ἐσυβαστήκασιν ἀλλήλοι της (1663, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1, 11.14). However, the subjects are two women, and the gender is registered in the *singular* clitic pronoun της. The phrase ἀλλήλοι της appears more than once in these documents and seems to be a quirk of the particular notary.

Genitive

νὰ μοιάζει πόλεμος σωστός καὶ φόνος πρὸς ἀλλήλων *Liv.* V 678; νὰ ἔχωμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλω μας καὶ μέριμνας καὶ λόγους *ibid.* 2834;¹¹⁷ αὐτά ᾿σαν τὰ πιττάκια τὰ ἐγράφαμεν ἀλλήλων *ibid.* 3776 οὐκ ἤμποροῦν νὰ χωρισθοῦν καθόλου ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 412; ὁποῦ μισοῦνται ἀλλήλων *ibid.* 426
ἐχωρίσθησαν ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων τους ἀπὸ τὴν παρανομίαν (1693, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 27, 20.5–6)

ἀπάντων τούτων τῶν ὀρνέων ἀλλήλων μαχομένων *Poulol.* 652 (mss PV)

Accusative

ἐμέλλομεν διανείμασθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν οὐσίαν ἐκείνης ἅπασαν (1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 6, 72.8)
ῶμον πρὸς ῶμον ἔθηκαν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγουν *Dig.* E 780; ἀλλήλως ἐβλεμμάτισαν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγουν *ibid.* 1215; στέκουν καὶ διαλογίζονται καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγουν *ibid.* 1318
ἐκτύπησαν ἀλλήλους *Chron. Toc.* 760
ἤλεγαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους *Achil.* N 1517
ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους *Dig.* A 3249
ν’ ἀκούσωμεν ἀλλήλους *Synax. gadar.* 106
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγαν *Achil.* O 618
ἀλλήλους νὰ δικάζονται *Defi. Par.* 19; ἀλλήλους νὰ συμπέτουνται *ibid.* 192
ἂν εὔρουν βρῶμα, παρευθὺς ὅλες ἀλλήλους κρᾶζουν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2625
ὅλες ἀλλήλες ἐλέγασιν *Achil.* N 1224 (acc. for indirect object)

¹¹⁷ The form ἀλλήλω here probably results from deletion of final /n/ rather than dissimilation of a final /s/. For a discussion of this passage and the question whether ἀλλήλων is properly a gen. pronoun or an adverb interchangeable with ἀλλήλως, see LENDARI 2007: 108.

Dative

ἀφότου ἐσυμβουλευέτησαν, ἰστιάστησαν ἀλλήλοις *Chron. Mor.* H 309 (the sole example in H; ms P here has ἀλλήλως)
 νὰ σμίξουσιν νὰ δώσουσιν ἀλλήλοις κονταρέας *Achil.* N 1543
 καὶ ὄρκον μέγαν δυνατὸν ἐποίησαν ἀλλήλοις *Byz. Il.* 529
 σὺν ἀλλήλοις *Diig. Alex.* F 250.2 (Lolos)
 οἱ ὅποιοι ἔκαμαν ἀλλήλοις πίστιν (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III, 22.7)
 ἐσυγχωρούμεσταν ἀλλήλοις *Diig. Sant.* 57.5

5.12.2 ἀλλήλως

As mentioned above, the form ἀλλήλως appears well before the period covered by this Grammar, although it is not very common. However, in literary texts from at least the 14th c., particularly those that employ a mixed register, many examples can be found. Sometimes the meaning is simply “together”, rather than a true expression of reciprocal action. Furthermore, the verb is often in the medio-passive voice; in these cases ἀλλήλως is virtually redundant.

πολλὰ ἐταραχεύτησαν ἀλλήλως μὲ τὰ λόγια *Chron. Mor.* H 928; ἀπὸ τῆς τόσης ταραχῆς ὅπου εἶχαν σιν ἀλλήλως *ibid.* 933; ἰστιάστησαν ἀλλήλως *ibid.* 8286; ἀφότου γὰρ ἐκάθισαν ἀλλήλως, ὥς τὸ ἀκῶτε *ibid.* 8911
 ἀλλήλως νὰ σφαγοῦσι *Pol. Tr.* 579 app. crit. (A); ἀλλήλως ἐσφαζόντησαν *ibid.* 917 app. crit. (A); ἀλλήλως ἐσκοτώνοντο *ibid.* 1864 app. crit. (A); ἀλλήλως ἐσκοτώνοντα *ibid.* 1864 app. crit. (B)
 ἀλλήλως νὰ χειροκρατοῦν, καὶ νὰ κρυφομιλοῦσιν *Liv.* α 428
 ἀπὲ τὰ χέρια ἐπιάστησαν, ἀλλήλως συντυχαίνουσιν *Chron. Toc.* 463; κατὰ λόγον καὶ συμφωνιάν, ἣν ἔστησαν ἀλλήλως *ibid.* 1147
 ἀλλήλως κατακόπτουνται καὶ ἀλλήλως κατελοῦνται *Achil.* N 613
 ταῦτα ἀλλήλως λέγουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντας τῆς χώρας *Byz. Il.* 932
 ἀλλήλως βάνουσιν βουλὴν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 424; εἴπαμεν, ἐσυντύχαμεν ἀλλήλως τὰ ἐδικὰ μας *ibid.* 1329; φιλονικοῦν ἀλλήλως *ibid.* 2102
 ἀλλήλως νὰ φιλοῦνται *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 147
 καὶ ἀλλήλως ἐσυντύχασιν *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 223 (also A)
 καὶ παίζοντες εἰς εὐθυμίαν ἀλλήλως ἐγελοῦμαν *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 476
 νὰ χαίρουνται ἀλλήλως *Pist. kekoim.* 673–4; γνωριζόμεθαν ὅλοι ἀλλήλως, ἕνας μὲ τὸν ἄλλον *ibid.* 691–2

At a later stage the adverb ἀλλήλως occurs accompanied by a clitic pronoun in the genitive plural: the first example so far located is in the *Byzantine Iliad* (14th-c. text, but preserved in a 16th-c. ms). This usage is common in literary texts and documents, especially from Crete and the Heptanese, up to the end of our period and beyond.¹¹⁸ In most cases the sense is indeed that of a reciprocal expression: the clitic pronoun refers back to the subject of the verb and agrees in person and number. For other adverbial phrases that can sometimes have a similar function see 5.12.3.

¹¹⁸ For the use of ἀλλήλως and συναλλήλως in the Cretan dialect see ΚΑΦΚΑΛΑΣ 1995: 103.

καταθαρροῦν ἀλλήλως των, καὶ μυστηρολογοῦσιν *Byz. II*. 695
 κι ὅς ἔχομεν τὴν νεότη μας ἀλλήλως μας ὁμάδι *Rim. kor.* V 103
 κι ἀλλήλως των οἱ ταπεινοὶ δείχνουν καὶ δὲν λυποῦνται ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 143
 ἐδιηγοῦνταν ἀλλήλως τους ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 431.7¹¹⁹
 μαλῶνουσιν και μάχονται ἀλλήλως τους ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 10.8
 τὰ ὅποια ἀλλήλως μας ἐστιμάραμεν (1549, Crete, ΔΡΑΚΑΚΙΣ 2004: 1, 3.18)
 πᾶσα καιρὸ ἀλλήλως τως σ' ἀμετρη αγάπην ἦσα CHORTATIS, *Panor. Prol. theas* 26; μὰ σὰν
 ἀνέμοι ἀλλήλως τως μάχονται πάντα ἀντάμι *id.*, *Erof.* III.200
 τὸ ὅποῖον ἐσυβαστήκασι ἀλλήλως τως, πουλήτρια καὶ ἀγοραστής (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN
 GEMERT 1987: 271, 263.4)
 σμίγουσι ἀλλήλως τως ΦΟΣΚΟΛΟΣ, *Fort. Interm. II* 108
 καὶ πὼς ἀλλήλω μας κι ἐμεῖς ἀθιβολὴ μιλοῦμε *Stathis II*.124 (for the deletion of final /s/, as a
 result of dissimilation, see I, 3.7.1.1)
 κι ἀλλήλως τως ἐλέγασιν ἱντὰ ῥχει ἡ Ἀρετούσα ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* III.26
 νὰ φονευτοῦν ἀλλήλως τους ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΙΣ, *Thyest.* I.156

5.12.3 Other Reciprocal Expressions

Although not belonging to the morphological category of reciprocal pronoun, there are some other adverbial phrases, comparable to ἀλλήλως (μας), used in expressions of reciprocity. In EMG the adverbs which may occur in reciprocal expressions are: ἀνάμεσα, ἀνάμεσο(ν), μεταξύ and ἀναμεταξύ (see ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, *Lex.* s.v. ἀναμέσον, and for this use of the adverb μεταξύ in SMG see HOLTON et al. 2012: 585–6). Such adverbial phrases are not, of course, always reciprocal. Below, we give a few representative examples of reciprocal uses.

ἀνάμεσα

εἰς ὃ,τι διαφορὰν καὶ ἂν εἶχαμε ἀνάμεσά μας (1524, Crete, ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ 1994a: 19, 60.9)
 πρέπει ... ἀνάμεσά μας σήμερον νὰ παρηγορηθοῦμεν ΑἰΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 56.16
 τί ἐδιαλέγουσθαι εἰς τὴν στράταν ἀνάμεσά σας; ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΠ., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 9.33
 δύο ἀδελφία ἀνάμεσά τῶνε ποτὲ νὰ παντρευτοῦσι *Stathis III*.298

ἀνάμεσο(ν)

ἐμαλῶνασι ἀνάμεσόν τους ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 135.12–13
 κι ἐκεῖ καλὰ τὸ θέλωμε λογιᾶσαι ἀνάμεσό μας *Stathis I*.332

μεταξύ

διὰ τὴν αγάπην καὶ καλὴν φιλίαν, ἣν ἔχομεν(εν) μεταξύ ἡμῶν (1479, Constantinople, ΒΟΜΒΑΚΙ
 1954: 3, 307)

ἀναμεταξύ

ἐσυμβιβάστησαν ἀναμεταξύ τως (1630, Paros, ΑΛΙΠΡΑΝΔΙΣ 1993: 1, 289.8)
 μεγάλην πίκραν εἶχασιν οἱ δυὸ ἀναμεταξύ τους VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 165
 ἀπὸ διαφορὰς λογαριασμοὺς ὅπου εἶχον ἀναμεταξύ τους (1692, Siatista, ΠΑΝΔΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ/
 ΤΣΟΥΡΚΑ-ΠΑΠΑΣΤΑΘΗ 1974: 22, 14.4)
 ὡς καθὼς ἐταιριάσασι ἀναμεταξύν τους (1699, Andros, ΠΟΛΕΜΙΣ 2001: 12, 114.12)

¹¹⁹ Kartanos also has ἐναλλήλως, with a similar function: οἱ πολέμοι ὅπου εἶχαν ἐναλλήλως τους ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 320.19. A further related form is συναλλήλως, e.g. λέγων συναλλήλως των *Vios Filaret.* 241.11–12.

5.13 Universal and Other Quantifiers

This section examines the morphology of, first, the various universal quantifiers (ὅλος, πᾶς, ἅπας, indeclinable πᾶσα, πασαεῖς, παντοῖος and ἀμφοτέρω) and, secondly, distributive pronouns and determiners (καθεῖς, κάθε εἷς, κάθε, κάθα, ἕκαστος). For the irregular paradigm of the quantifier πολλός (“much, many”) see 3.6.2. Other quantifiers follow regular adjectival declensions and require only brief discussion here.

The quantifier ὀλίγος (“little”, “few”) or λίγος (with aphaeresis; see I, 2.7.1) is declined like adjectives in -ος with feminine -η (see 3.2.1). From the 16th c. the form with aphaeresis predominates. (For other variants see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ολίγος.)

- τὸ τοιοῦτον ὀλίγον ἀμπέλι (1176, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 2, 369.20)
οὐδὲν ἐπέρασεν ποσῶς καιρὸς μικρὸς κι ὀλίγος *Chron. Mor.* H 7944; ὀλίγοι ἄνθρωποι
ἤμπορουν νὰ τὸ ἔχουσι φυλάττει *ibid.* 8273
ὀλίγους καλλιώτερους ἡύρισκες τοῦ Νεστόρου *Pol. Tr.* 1453; τόσος λαὸς ὀλίγος *ibid.* 1792
ὀλίγο δρόσος (15th c., Cyprus?, TSANGALAS 1983: 131.7)
πρὸ αὐτοῦ χρονῶν ὀλίγων *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 190.7
τα φάρια εὔρον πολλὰ ολίγα *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 146.2
ἐσκόπησαν τὴν πούλβερην τὸ πῶς ὀλίγη ἐνι *Thrinos Kypr.* 859
καὶ λίγο φῶς ἐβλέπαμε, μὲ δαῦτο περπατοῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 1668
περιπατεῖ λίγον καιρόν *Imb. Rim.* 281
λίγος καιρὸς περνᾷ πού βρίσκεις τὸ παιδί σου *CHORTATIS, Katz.* V.196
κ' ἐζήταν ἀπὲ τοὺς Ἑβριούς λίγην ἐλεμοσύνη *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 139
σὲ λίγες ἡμέρες θέλω σὲ στείλει πατριαρχικά γράμματα (1695, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 1, 211.9–10)
γὰρ λίγη κι οὐδὲ τίβοτσι χάρη πού μοῦ γνωρίζεις *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.278
λίγους σολδάδους εἶχασιν ἀφήσουν *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* II.17

Forms with stress on the final syllable are found occasionally:

- ἀπῆρες ὕπνον ὀλιγόν *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 166
εἰς ὀλιγὰς ἡμέρας *Eisit.* f.1v.14
καρυδάτον ὀλιγόν *Ptoch. IV* 329
κούρση ἐκάμαν ὀλιγά *Chron. Toc.* 442
ἀμὲ τὸ δίδει ὀλιγὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπαίρνει πλέον *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 546

The quantifier μερικοί (“some”) declines like the plural of adjectives in -ος and has no variant forms. (For the adjective μερικός, which has a range of meanings, see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.)

- μερικά χωράφια (1392, Athos, KRAVARI 1991: 13, 115.26)
μερικοί ἐνορίζται (1446, Jerusalem, TSIRPANLIS 1964: 19.11)
μερικοί ἐκ τοὺς μάντας *Byz. II.* 375
διήγησις μερικῶν θαυμάτων *DAM. STOUT., This., Logos* 18, π2r.16; καὶ μερικοὺς σκλάβους
ibid., Logos 19, σ1v.34
καθὼς μερικά νησία ἔπαθον (1609, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 8, 3.6)
μερικὲς ἐλιὲς μοναστηριακὲς (1639, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 9, 363.1)
μερκοὶ μπορῶ νὰ πῶ ζαβοὶ πὼς εἶναι *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.151 (for the syncope see I, 2.7.2)
μερικοί χριστιανοὶ ἐσηκώθηκαν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §8.1
μερικὲς διαθήκες (1697, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 48, 143.7–8)
ἔδωσαν τοῦ καθενὸς ἓνα ἀρκομποῦζο καὶ μερικῶν πίκκα *ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, Rebelio* 48.12

For the indefinite quantifier καμπόσος/κάμποσος see 5.8.14.

5.13.1 Universal Quantifiers

In AG there were two universal quantifiers with distinct meanings: $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ (“every”, “all”) and $\delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (“whole”, “entire”) (cf. Lat. *omnis* and *totus*; see BROWNING ²1983: 78). The semantic distinction was already becoming blurred in Late Antiquity, with $\delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ frequently used where $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ might be expected (GIGNAC 1981: 134 fn.). The complex morphology of $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ created problems for less educated writers, which probably accounts for the fact that $\delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is generally more frequent in lower-register MedG texts, though some forms of $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ remain in wide use (see 5.13.1.2). Indeed, $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ gains an extended lease of life in the form of the indeclinable determiner $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha$ and the pronoun and determiner $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma/\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, both of which emerge in written texts of the LMedG period and are common in EMG (see 5.13.1.4–5). Two other quantifiers are discussed here (5.13.1.7–8), both used almost exclusively in higher- or mixed-register texts: $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (“of every kind”) and $\alpha\mu\phi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$ (“both”).

The distributive function of $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ (“each”) was taken over by a new pronoun and determiner $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ and the indeclinable determiners $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha$ and $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon$, which have certain similarities with $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha$ and $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ in their evolution. They are examined in 5.13.2.

5.13.1.1 $\delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$

The inherited universal determiner and pronoun $\delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (“whole”, “all”) is in widespread use throughout the period covered by this Grammar. Two possible phonological variants are found in the texts: (1) apparent gemination of /l/; and (2) replacement of /o/ by /u/. As far as gemination is concerned, the modern Cypriot dialect possesses both $\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ and $\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. Geminate forms also occur in some other south-eastern areas. For the period under examination the evidence is inconclusive. When spellings with <λλ> occur in texts from areas which have geminate forms today, they may possibly reflect a true geminate phonetic realization, e.g. $\delta\lambda\lambda\alpha \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha} \kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$, $\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon\nu$ / $\delta\lambda\alpha \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha} \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon\nu$ (1440, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1995: 126, 401.6). Equally, they may be a quirk of spelling, with possible influence of $\delta\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.

The form $\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma/\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, widespread in our texts, is generally interpreted as a survival from ancient Ionic, rather than as the product of a phonological change from /o/ to /u/ (see I, 2.8.3 for details and bibliography). Most editors write it with *spiritus asper*, although if it is indeed Ionic it should not be aspirated. In the period covered by this Grammar it is common in texts from Cyprus and Crete (though often interchangeable with $\delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$), but it also occurs in the Heptanese, Peloponnese and elsewhere. In rhymed texts its use may serve to facilitate rhyme.

The basic paradigm is the same as that of adjectives in - $\omicron\varsigma$ with fem. - η (see 3.2.1), but there are also genitive forms with shift of stress or with the addition of a syllable, very similar to the pattern of variation found for the contrastive pronoun and determiner $\delta\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (see 5.10.1). There is clear analogical influence between these two words, as well as with the demonstrative pronouns.

Shift of stress to the final syllable can occur in the masc. and neut. gen. sg. and in the gen. pl. (all genders). Interestingly, the singular form ὅλοϋ appears from the 14th c., earlier than the corresponding form of ἄλλος. The extended forms ὅλονοϋ, ὅλωνῶν etc. are also first encountered in the 14th c. and become widespread by the 16th. Further details of the variant forms and their distribution will be given below.

The determiner ὅλος usually occurs in noun phrases with the definite article preceding the noun (ὅλος may precede or follow the noun), e.g. ὅλης τῆς Ρωμανίας *Chron. Mor.* H 2606; οὕλα τὰ νερά τῶν βρύσων *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 2.24–5; αφέντης των αφεντάδων ὅλων *Diig. Alex.* K 344.1. In the sense of “whole, entire”, the article may precede the determiner, e.g. ἡ ὅλη πληρωμή (1529, Naxos, *KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS* 2012/13: 114, 225.14–15); τὸ ὅλον κηρί (1695, Kastoria, *MERTZIOS* 1947a: 1, 211.4). No example of the extended forms has been found in such instances.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	ὅλος οὗλος	ὅλη οὐλη	ὅλο(ν) (οὐλο(ν))
Gen.	ὅλου ὅλοϋ ὅλονοϋ ὅλουνοϋ	ὅλης οὐλης ὅλωνῆς ὅληνῆς	ὅλου ὅλοϋ ὅλονοϋ ὅλουνοϋ οὐλου
Acc.	ὅλο(ν) οὐλο(ν) ὅλονε οὐλονε ὅλονα	ὅλη(ν) οὐλη(ν)	ὅλο(ν) (οὐλο(ν))
Plural			
Nom./Voc.	ὅλοι οὐλοι	ὅλες ὅλαι οὐλες	ὅλα οὐλα
Gen.	ὅλων ὅλῶν ὅλονῶ(ν)/ὅλωνῶ(ν) ὅλουνῶν ὅλουνῶνε οὐλουνῶνε	ὅλων ὅλῶν ὅλονῶ(ν)/ὅλωνῶ(ν)	ὅλων ὅλῶν ὅλονῶ(ν)/ὅλωνῶ(ν) ὅλουνῶν
Acc.	ὅλους οὐλους ὅλουνούς	ὅλες ὅλας οὐλες	ὅλα οὐλα

Singular

Masculine

	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	ὅλος	οὗλος	
Gen.	ὅλου	ὅλοϋ ὅλονοϋ ὅλουνοϋ	
Acc.	ὅλο(ν)	οὐλο(ν) ὅλονε	οὐλονε ὅλονα

Nominative

Both ὄλος and οὔλος occur, the latter particularly in texts from Crete and Cyprus, as discussed above.

- ὁ τόπος ὄλος τοῦ Μορέως, ὅσος καὶ περιέχει *Chron. Mor.* H 1404
 ἐγδέρνονται οἱ κουτάλες σου, ὄλος ὁ σφόνδυλός σου *Diig. tetr.* 787
 καὶ ὁ νοῦς μου ὄλος ἐχάθην *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 22
 ὄλος ὁ κόσμος ἔνναε ὁμοιό σου οὐδὲν ἔχει *KORONAIOS, Pittakin* 78
 ὄλος λοιπὸν ὁ πόλεμος *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 79.7
 ὄλος τέρπω καὶ χαίρομαι, ἀνοιξεν ἡ καρδιά μου *KONDAR., Paidēs* 387
 ποῦ ὄλος ὁ κόσμος τρέμει με *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 52
- ὁ λαὸς οὔλος *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 191.22
 οὔλος ὁ λαὸς *VOUSTR., Chron.* M 57.6
 στοὺς ὀρισμούς σου πάντα μου θέλω 'σται, κόρη μου, οὔλος *CHORTATIS, Erot. Interm.* I.104
 κὶ ἀναγαλλιάσεν οὔλος *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.806

Genitive

The basic form ὄλου can be found throughout the period. Extended forms with an additional syllable have not been found before the 16th c. There is no obvious geographical split between the two forms ὄλονοῦ and ὄλουνοῦ.

- τοῦ ὄλου τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ζωῆς *Spaneas Z* 655
 ὄλου τοῦ τόπου τούτου [*ANDR. PALAIOI.*], *Kallim.* 1835
- ὄλοῦ τοῦ κόσμου *Pol. Tr.* 1589 app. crit. (X)
 ὄλοῦ τοῦ κόσμου *Theseid Prol.* E 136
- ὄλονοῦ τοῦ τόπου *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* I.32
 τοῦ κόσμου ὄλονοῦ *Diig. Alex.* F 86.11 (Lolos)
 τοῦ τόπου μου ὄλονοῦ (1538, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 2009: 757, 757.4)
 ὄλονοῦ τοῦ χρόνου (1568, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 259, 350.1)
 ὄλονοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ (1665, Mani, *BLANKEN* 1951: VIII, 305.5)
- τοῦ κόσμου ὄλουνοῦ *Diig. Alex.* V 62.5
 ὄλουνοῦ τοῦ κόσμου *Diig. Alex.* E 103.19 (Lolos)
 ὄλουνοῦ τοῦ κόσμου *AITOLOS, Voev.* 43
 ὄλουνοῦ, ὄλονῃς *GERMANO, Grammar* 70.21
 ὄλουνοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ (1679, Sovana, Tuscany, *PAPADOPOULOS* 1979: 1, 473.36)
 ἑκακοφάνη ὄλουνοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 38.13
 ὄλουνοῦ τοῦ χρόνου (1711, Milos, *PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS* 1990: 64, 46.21)

Accusative

As for the nominative, forms with /o/ and /u/ occur. There are also forms with addition of final /e/, mainly in texts from the Heptanese and Cyclades; one instance of ὄλονα has also been found (cf. ἄλλονα, αὐτόνα, ἐκείνονα etc.).

- καὶ ἐκεῖ νὰ εὔρης ὄλον μου τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ φρόνημα περὶ τούτου *NIKON, Logos* 9 314.16–17
 τὸν τόπον ὄλον τοῦ Μορέως νὰ τὸν ἔχη κερδίσει *Chron. Mor.* H 4895
 καίουσιν τὸν στόλον ὄλον *Velis.* χ 178
 διὰ ὄλον τὸν Αὐγούστον τὸν ἐρχάμενον (1549, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2001: 51, 93.6)
 καί, κοντολογιά, ὄλον τὸν λαὸν ἐφιλοτίμησε *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 38.11

καὶ αὐτὸς ἐχάλασεν τοὺς καφενέδες εἰς ὄλον τὸν κόσμον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §16.3–4
 κι ὄλο τὸ νοῦ τση ἐχάσε KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.1432; ἐκόμπωσε ὄλο τὸ λαὸ *ibid.* V.1443

σ' οὔλον τὸν κόσμον *Anak. Konst.* 57
 διὰ οὔλον Φεβρουάριν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 130.13
 οὔλον τὸν κόσμον *Cyp. Canz.* 109.19

ὄχ τὸν κόσμον ὄлоне SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A1v.23
 ἔναν κάμπο ὅπου ἔχουν εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον στ' Ἀχλα, ὄлоне ὡς καθὼς εὐρίσκεται (1688,
 Andros, POLEMIS 2001: 8, 107.5–6)
 τὸν κόπον του ὄлоне (1704, Corfu, TZIVARA 2003: 38, 495.32)
 ὁ βεζιρης ἔρθε ἀτός του καὶ ἐπῆρε τὸν Μορέαν ὄлоне (1715, Stefani, LAMBROS 1910: 362,
 213.2)

καὶ ἐπατρονάρισε τὸ Μορέα οὔлоне (1687, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970a: [7], 91.3)

στὸν δρόμον ὄλονα *Diig. Vefa* 252

Feminine

	General	Restricted
Nom.	ὄλη	οὔλη
Gen.	ὄλης	οὔλης ὄλονῃς ὄληνῃς
Acc.	ὄλη(ν)	οὔλη(ν)

Nominative

The form ὄλη is stable. One instance of οὔλη, in a Cypriot text, has been located.

εἶναι τὰ ροῦχα τὰ φοροῦν ὄλη ἡ ἀνθρωπότης *Diig. tetr.* 498
 'ς τὸν Ἄδην νὰ ἐκατέβηκεν ὄλη κατεκομμένη *Theseid* I.59,8 (Follieri)
 κερδαίνω, χάνω, μοναχὰ ἐν ὄλη του ἡ ὁμιλία SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 166
 ἡ ὄλη πληρωμὴ (1529, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 114, 225.14–15)
 ἔφριξε μέσα στὴν καρδιά καὶ ὄλη μεταστάθη *Imb. Rim.* 688
 ὄλη ἐξαναμαλάσσετο κι ὄλη ἐξαναγεννᾶτο KORNAPOS, *Erot.* III.22

οὔλη ἡ σπορὰ ἐχάθηκεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.23–4

Genitive

Alongside the basic form ὄλης and its variant οὔλης, we find the extended forms ὄλονῃς and ὄληνῃς from the late 15th c. onwards and from various regions.

ὄλης τῆς Ρωμανίας *Chron. Mor.* H 2606
 ἐξ ὄλης τῆς ψυχῆς μου *Dig.* E 550
 τῆς ὄλης μου καρδίας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 564
 ἐξ ὄλης μου τῆς καρδίας (1667, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1960: II.A 6, 123.11)
 οὔλης τῆς δύσις MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 79.28
 τῆς ὄλονῃς τῆς κτίσης CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 5
 τῆς Δύσης ὄλονῃς *Diig. Alex.* F 186.2 (Lolos)
 ὄλονῃς μου τῆς δούλευσης (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 770, 601.12)
 & in Scio ὄλουνοῦ, ὄλονῃς GERMANO, *Grammar* 70.21

όλονης τῆς αὐτῆς σάϊκας (1671, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1395, 821.23)

διὰ μέρος όληνης τῆς ἀδελφουσύνης (1506, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 458, 329.19)

της Εντίας οληνής *Diig. Alex.* K 373.16

όληνης τῆς Περσίας *Diig. Alex.* E 273.6 (Lolos)

ἰπὶ πρόσωπα όληνης τῆς ἡγῆς *Pent. Gen.* 1.29

τῆς ἀδελφουσύνης μου όληνης (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 239, 193.34)

Accusative

Again forms with both /o/ and /u/ occur, the only other variation being the presence or absence of final /n/.

ἤθελες δοξασθῆν παρ' όλην τὴν Συρίαν *Dig. G* II.81

ἐκούρσευσαν τὴν χώραν όλη καὶ ἐτζακίσασαν τὰ σπίτια (15th. c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 8, 3.4)

όλην τὴν ἀπομοναράν (1510, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 23, 40.14)

εἰσὲ όλην τὴν διαφοράν (1514, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 59, 65.6)

εἰπέ μου όλην τὴν ἀλήθειαν! *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 77.19

όλην τὴν πλερωμὴν τῶν ἄνωθεν ὀζῶν καὶ προβατῶν ὄλων (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 184, 153.16)

νὰ βάνει όλη τὴν ἔμισή προύκα (1608, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 559, 496.18)

ἔζησαν παρθένες όλην τῶν τὴν ζωὴν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 60.1–2

κι οὐλη νύχτα μιτά μου δὲν κοιμᾶται *Cypr. Canz.* 24.16

τὴν ἀκολουθίαν του οὐλην (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: B, 469.839)

οὐλη τὴν Ἑλλάδα ΕΦΤΗΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 20.11–12; περιφημισμένος δέσποτας σ' οὐλη τῇ Ρούμελη *ibid.* 25.1–2

Neuter

	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	όλο(ν)	(οὔλο(ν))	
Gen.	όλου	όλοῦ ἢ όλονοῦ ἢ όλουνοῦ	οὔλου
Acc.	όλο(ν)	οὔλο(ν)	

Nominative

Only όλο(ν) has been found in the texts examined, although οὔλο(ν) is found as accusative (see below).

τὸ φέγγος φέγγει όλον *Dig. E* 297

καὶ τότε νὰ δωθῇ αὐτοῦ όλο μου τὸ προικίον (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 88, 166.11)

τότ' ἔκλαψαν οἱ ἄρχοντες, όλο τὸ στρατορίκι *Alex. Rim.* 2908

οδιατι τους ἐμεινε όλο της το λογάρι *Apoll. Rim.* A 1268

καὶ τόσον μὲ ἐπόνεσε τὸ κορμὶ όλον PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 113.13–14

όπου στέκει όλον τὸ πλῆθος ἀκαρτερῶντας (1609, Cyprus, CHASIOΤIS 1972: 33, 55.9)

νὰ κάμω τοῦτο τὸ στενὸ όλο νὰ κοκκινίσῃ CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.441

ἐκεῖ στέκει καὶ τὸ σεντούκι τὸ σετεφκιὰρὶ διὰ τὰ λείψανα, ὅλο σερτάρια (17th–18th c., Sinai, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 35, 140.10)
τὸ ὅλον κηρὶ (1695, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 1, 211.4)

Genitive

The variation is mainly the same as for the corresponding masc., with extended forms occurring from the 16th c. onwards. A single example of οὔλου, in the prepositional phrase καθ' οὔλου, has been found in a text from S. Italy.

ὅλου του τοῦ φουσσάτου *Chron. Mor.* H 5152, 5586; κι ὅλου γὰρ τοῦ ρηγάτου *ibid.* 5760
τοῦ Δεσποτάτου ὅλου *Chron. Toc.* 281; τοῦ Ἀγγελοκάστρου ὅλου *ibid.* 2287; ὅλου τοῦ
Πριγκιπάτου *ibid.* 3544

ὄλου τοῦ Δεσποτάτου *Chron. Mor.* H 1032; ὄλου τοῦ πριγκιπάτου *ibid.* 6758, 7439, 8628

ὄλονοῦ τοῦ τυριοῦ (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 820, 638.4)
τοῦ ἀμπελιοῦ σου ὄλονοῦ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 226, 215.16)
ὄλονοῦ τοῦ πραγμάτων (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 76, 231.6)

ὄλουνοῦ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων *Bertoldos* 19.20

τουτέστι καθ' οὔλου πᾶν ἀμάρτημα λέγεται ὕβρις (12th c., Calabria, BRANDILEONE/PUNTONI 1895: 281.3–4)

Accusative

In addition to the basic form ὅλο(ν), instances of οὔλον have been found in texts from S. Italy and Cyprus.

ὄλον τὸ χωράφιν τὸ ἔχομεν γράπτων (1141, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 128, 169.7)
᾿ς ὄλον τὸ βασιλῆιον *Chron. Mor.* H 2612
νὰ ἐπάρη καὶ τὸ ἀδέλφι του καὶ ὄλον μας τὸ κοῦρσος *Dig.* E 26
εἰς ὄλον τὸ περίγυρον τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκείνων *Pol. Tr.* 10611
ἔτρωγεν τὸ γάλας ὄλον *Ptochol.* α 486
τὸν Ἄννα καὶ τὸν Κάιαφα μ' ὄλον τους τὸ φουσσάτο FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 20
ἄμε ὅπου θέλεις εἰς ὄλον μου τὸ νησὶν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 68.24
νὰ παίρνων τὸ τρίτο ὅλο ἀπὸ 'κεῖ καὶ κεῖθες (1575, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 1, 17.16)
καὶ χάνει τὸ σπιτάκι του μὲ ὄλον του τὸ πρᾶμμα ΜΑΤΤΗΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 1586
τὸ βᾶθος οὔλον (1199, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 336, 336.4)
οὔλον τὸ ἀσημοχρύσαφον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 346.24

Plural

Masculine

	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Voc.	ὅλοι	οὔλοι	
Gen.	ὄλων ἢ ὀλῶν	ὄλωνῶ(ν) ἢ ὀλουνῶν	ὄλουνῶνε ἢ οὔλωνῶν ἢ οὔλουνῶνε
Acc.	ὄλους	οὔλους ἢ ὀλουνοῦς	

Nominative

These is no variation in the ending, only in the initial vowel, /o/ or /u/.

εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν, ὅτι τελειωθοῦν οἱ μάρτυρες ὅλοι (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 59.154)
καὶ πόλεμον ὃς δώσωμεν ὅλοι μὲ τ' ἄρματά μας *Chron. Mor.* H 837–9; κὶ ὅλοι ἀμφοτέρως
εἶπασιν κ' ἐσυμβουλέψανέ τον *ibid.* 2515; οἱ καβαλλάροι ὅλοι *ibid.* 8901
ἔδωκαν οἱ ὅλοι τὸν λόγον τως (1453, Nisyrus, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 47.11)
καὶ μὲ τὸ θάρρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅλοι ἀναπεύομέστε *FALIEROS, Thrinios* 298
ἀμμ' ὅλοι τ' ἀκλουθοῦν ὅσους κορπώννει; *Cypr. Canz.* 17.11
εἶχαν ὅλοι ἐτοῦτοι τὴν δοξολογίαν τοῦ θεοῦ *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 64.11–12
ὅλοι οἱ μεγιστάνηδες καὶ ὅλοι οἱ αυθεντάδες *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6965

θέλου<ν> ἀνακατωθοῦ<ν> οὔλοι οἱ Χριστιανοὶ (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.7)
οὔλοι οἱ ἀκιντζίδες *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 323
διὰ τοῦτον οὔλοι μας παραδιδόμεθαν εἰς τὴν ἀφεντίαν σου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 380.27
καὶ ὅσον ἐγρίκησαν τες φωνές εἰς του σαμπερλάνου, οὔλοι ἔτρεξαν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A
10.1–2; να συπιαστούν οὔλοι οἱ κλησιαστικοὶ *ibid.* 52.6
οὔλοι οἱ γέροντες *Fior* 121.9
ἀνὲ γλυτώσουν οὔλοι *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1078
οὔλοι πολλὰ χαρήκαν *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* I.205
καὶ πάλι ἐθαυμάσθησαν μ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ ὅλοι *Alex. Rim.* 196 (rhyming with δοῦλοι)
στῆς ἀφεντιᾶς σου τὸ ταχύ μαζωνομέστανε οὔλοι *CHORTATSI, Erof.* I.556
νὰ τὰ χαροῦμε οὔλοι *Stathis* III.356
καὶ οἱ ἄνεργοι καὶ ἀνάρετοι καὶ φοβιτσάροι οὔλοι *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol.* 71
τὸν ἐθρηνοῦσαν οὔλοι *BOUBOULIS, Limbon.* 474
οὔλοι εὐρίσκονται εἰς μεγαλότατη ἀποθυμία (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.23)
οὔλοι | σκλάβοι εἶναι τοῦ ἀφεντάκη σου *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.683–4

Genitive

The inherited form ὄλων is used throughout the period. Forms with shift of stress to the final syllable have been found in verse texts from the 14th c. onwards. Extended forms also occur from the 14th c., with ὄλωνων (also spelled ὄλονων) being the more common and widespread variant. Final /n/ may be omitted in certain geographical areas (see I, 3.7.2.2), as for other gen. pl. forms, and one instance of addition of final /e/ has been found in a Heptanesian text.

ἀσύγκριτε τῶν ὄλων *Eisit.* f.1v.4
ὄλων τῶν εὐτυχούντων *Log. parig.* L 658
περὶ ὄλων τῶν ἄλλων νόμων *Assizes* B 485.3
αφέντης των αφεντάδων ὄλων *Diig. Alex.* K 344.1
ὄλων τῶν μαχαλάων τοῦ Διακοπτοῦ (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 446.2)
ὄλων δὲ ἐκεῖνων ὅπου ἐσυνδράμανε *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 98

ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐζήτησεν ὄλων τῶν κεφαλᾶδων *Chron. Mor.* H 2415
τὰς ὅψεις ἐβλεπεν ὄλων *Pol. Tr.* 2056 app. crit. (BX)
βουλὴν ἐζήτησεν ὄλων *Chron. Mor.* P 2514
κὶ ὄλων σας χαίρετίσματα μὲ τὴ γραφὴ σᾶς πέβω *Alex. Rim.* 660

βουλὴν ἐζήτησε ὄλονων *Chron. Mor.* H 2514, 6635
ἀλλὰ ἐπέσσασιν ὄλονων τὰ ραβδία τῶν ἀπελάτων *Dig.* E 698 app. crit.
ὄλονων των πρικιπάδων *Theseid* VI.13, tit. (Olsen); ὄλονων ἐφάνηκεν *ibid.* VI.66, 7

- κ' ἐπαραγγείλαν όλωνών *Alex. Rim.* 839; καλὸ τοὺς φαίνεται ὡνων *ibid.* 1106
 όλωνών ἀντάμα (1533, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 3, 116.7)
 όλωνών μου τῶν γονικάρων (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 798, 622.14)
 με θέλημα τῶν Μανιατῶν όλωνών (1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 5, 240.33)
 τα κρέη όλωνών ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 131.7
 τὰ δὲ ἐπιλοῖπα εἶναι τῶν αἰρετικῶν όλωνών (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 336.25)
 συμπαθεῖ όλωνών ἐκείνων ὅπου τοῦ ἐφταίξασι (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.11)
 όλωνών τῶν ἁγίων *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 57.5
 τῶν αἰώνων όλωνών *MAX. PELOPON., Kata Ioud.* 327.15
 πολλὰ όλωνών ἀρέσει *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.299, 412
 ο τέλειος αφανισμός όλωνών *Don Kis.* 123.3
 καὶ τὴν ζωὴ τως όλωνών *KATSAITIS, Ifig.* II.376
- θάνατος όλουνών τῶν ἐκτητόρων καὶ τῶν παιδίων μας (1414, Corfu, MALTEZOU 1991a: (1), 316.17–18)
 διὰ μέρος όλουνών τῶν κτητόρων (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 77, 74.7)
 τῶν βασιλέων όλουνών βασιλεὺς *Diig. Alex.* V 80.5
 καὶ ἄρεσε ὁ λόγος όλουνών *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 351.2
 όλουνών τῶν χρονῶν (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 349, 248.12)
 τὰ σκριτά όλουνών (1584, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1976: 149.47)
 καρδιογνώστης όλουνών *SANKTAM., Praxeis apost.* 17.59
 όλουνών τῶν πατέρων (1595, Kefalonia, GARBIS 1999: 412.3)
- διὰ χαρίσματα ούλωνών τῶν μεγαλουσάνω (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 151.12)
- τῶν καβαλάρω όλωνῶ (1603, Crete, VIOLIDAKIS 2006: 2, 266.13–14)
 τάσσω όλωνῶ σας *Stathis* III.540
 ἀφῆνω όλωνῶ τῶν χριστιανῶ (1661, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 10, 103.10)
 όλωνῶ τῶν ἀπεθαμένω (1696, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 47, 141.23)
 στὸ πρόσωπό τους όλωνῶ *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1311
- ούλουνῶνε (1716, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969d: 1, 42.1)

Accusative

Both ὅλους and οὔλους occur, and an extended form όλουνούς is found from the 16th c. onwards.

- παρήγγειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς | τοὺς ὅλους νὰ προλάβει *Eisit.* f.3r.9–10
 ὅλους τοὺς ἐλευτέρωσες καὶ ἤλθες εἰς ἐμέναν *Chron. Mor.* H 1861
 νὰ σάση ὅλους ἐκείνους καὶ ὅλαις ἐκείναις *Assizes* B 273.11
 ὅλους μας ἔχεις δούλους σου κι ὀριζε τί ἔν' τὸ θέλεις *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 82
 με ὅλους τοὺς πρωτογέρους *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 540.7
 καὶ ἐβγήκεν ἔξω καὶ ἐδίδαχνε μεγαλοφώνως εἰς ὅλους *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 331.25
 με ὅλους τοὺς γειτόνους (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 451.16)
 ἀπ' ὅλους ὅσοι τοὺς ἰδοῦν νὰ εἶναι τιμημένοι *KONDAR., Paidēs* 185
 ὅλους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 2, a7v.29
 ἐτούτους ὅλους ἤθελε τοὺς βγάλει *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.161
- οὔλους τοὺς ἀγάπουν (ms ἀγάπα) *Anak. Konst.* 41
 με οὔλους του τοὺς τοίχους *Assizes* A 104.25
 κ' ἐκεῖνος οὔλους εἶχεν τοὺς ακριβοὺς *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 38.16–17

οὔλους τοὺς κάμουν κουρφοὺς ἐχθροὺς (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 149.13)

δοξεύω τσι οὔλους *Stathis* Prol. 34

μικρότερος ἀπὸ ὀλουνοὺς *Diig. Alex.* V 60.29
ποὺ ἔβγαιναν ἀπ’ ὀλουνοὺς *Theseid* X.5,8 (1529) (ed. ἀπὸ λουνοὺς)
ὀλουνοὺς ἀπεκεφάλισεν *Diig. Alex.* K 344.5
ἡβλέπετε ὀλουνοὺς αὐτουνοὺς *Diig. Alex.* F 160.7 (Konstantinopulos)
εἰς ὀλουνοὺς ΜΑΤΤΗΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 1911
νὰ τοὺς πιάσουν ὀλουνοὺς *Bertoldin.* 125.20
σὰν ὀλουνοὺς (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 66.15)

Vocative

κ’ ἐσεῖς ὅλοι ποὺ βρίσκεσθην εἰς τέτοιαν φλόγ’ ἀπέσω *Theseid* I.4,1 (Follieri)
ὅλοι ψυχοπονέσετε, κλαύσατε λυπημένα *Alosis* 34

Feminine

	General	Restricted
Nom.	ὅλες	ὅλαι ἰ οὔλες
Gen.	ὀλων	ὀλῶν ἰ ὀλωνῶ(ν)/ὀλονῶ(ν)
Acc.	ὅλες	ὅλας ἰ οὔλες

Nominative

The usual form is ὅλες, though οὔλες is also found, in texts from Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete. The older form ὅλαι occurs sporadically in texts that aim for a higher register.

νὰ εἶπες ὅτι Χάριτες εἰσὶν ὅλαι τοῦ κόσμου *Velth.* 691 transcr. Lendari (edd. have οἱ σύνολαι)
ἂν ἦτονε τόπος νὰ περιπατοῦσαν ὅλαι, μικραὶ καὶ μεγάλαι, ἤρχουντα (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.28–31); ὁδὶα νὰ φωνιάξουν ὅλαι (ibid. 175.60–1)

ὅλες οἱ συγγενίδες *Liv.* V 3059
οἱ εὐγενίδες ὅλες *Poulol.* 52
αἱ βαῖτρες τῆς ὅλες *Achil.* N 1032; ὅλες καλές, εὐγενικές, ἀρχόντων θυγατέρες ibid. 1033
εμοιράσθησαν οἱ γλώσσες ὅλες *Diig. Alex.* K 346.7
ὅλες εἶναι νοικοκυράδες (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.4)
ὅλες οἱ καλογρές, αἱ διαλεκταὶ τοῦ τόπου μας (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174–175.17)

οὔλες οἱ αὐθεντίες (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83.10)
οὔλες οἱ πολιτικές νὰ παν εἰς το καμηλαργίον καὶ εἰς το αμαξαργίον *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 178.5
τοὔτες οὔλες οἱ πέντε μανιέρες *Fior* 127.27
ὅλες κι οὔλες ἰ γιὰ κρίμα τὸ κρατοῦσι *Pist. voskos* I.3,128–9 app. crit.

Genitive

The range of forms is similar to that for the masculine, though fewer variants have been found.

ὀλων τῶν ἐκκλησίων *Chron. Mor.* H 2011
γυναικῶν ὀλων *Pol. Tr.* 2068
ὀλῶν τῶν ἐκκλησίων *Chron. Mor.* H 2651, 2655, 2670

τὰ φυσικὰ τῶν ὁλωνῶν *Synax. gyn.* 464

τουτουινῶν ὁλωνῶν τῶν θυσιῶν MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 327.19

γὰ ὄνομα τῶν καλογριάδων ὁλωνῶν (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 60.88)

ὁλωνῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 482.10)

ἀπ' ὁλωνῶ των ἀρετῶ τσι χάρες CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* IV.78

ἀποῦ ὁλωνῶ τῶν ἀρετῶ παιδί πῶς εἶσαι δείχτεις FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.620

Accusative

The usual form is ὄλες, less commonly οὔλες, while ὅλες may occur in formal contexts and in texts that aim at a higher register.

ὄλες τὰς μεγιστάνας *Pol. Tr.* 1840 app. crit. (A)

καὶ τὰς τέντας εὐρήκαμεν σχοινοκομμένας ὄλες *Dig.* E 510

ὄλες του τὰς ἡμέρας *Assizes B* 279.1

καὶ οἶαν κρίνεις ἐξ αὐτὰς κάλλιαν παρὰ τὰς ὄλες *Velth.* 540 transcr. Lendari (τὰς ἄλλας Kriaras)

ὄλες τὰς κουτράδας *Synax. gyn.* 438 app. crit. (KRIARAS, *Lex.* amends to κουτράδας; Vuturo to κουντράδας)

ἤξευρε ὅτι εἰς ἡμέρας πέντε ὄλες σας τας ἐκκλησίας καὶ το πατριαρχεῖον χαλοῦν ἀπὸ τα θεμέλια MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 218.16

ὄλες τὲς ἐξουσίες *Chron. Mor.* H 8657

κοινὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν καὶ ὄλες ἀπέσω ἐθάψαν *Dig.* E 125

ὄλους ἐκείνους καὶ ὄλες ἐκείνες *Assizes B* 273.11

μὲ τὲς βαῖτσες ὄλες *Achil.* N 1222

ὄλες τὲς Λαμπρὲς (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 172.26)

βλεπήθου μὲ ὄλες τὲς βλέπησες *Fior, Suppl.* 273.18

νὰ φασολογοῖ μὲ ὄλες του τὲς ἐξοδες (1545, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 118, 232.12)

ὄλες τὲς πράξεις (1551, Venice, COUROPOU/GÉHIN 2001: 3, 161.2)

τὲς ἐξοδες ὄλες (1575, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 5, 91.18)

νὰ τοῦ δώσουν ὄλες λίτρες 50 (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 222, 187.51)

τσί βίζιτες ἐρνήθηκα καὶ ὄλες τσί κοῦρες τς ἄλλες FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.75

μὲ ὄλες ἐκείνες τὶς ὑπόσχεσες, κοντετσιόνες καὶ περίληψες (1686, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 9, 659.14)

με οὔλες τες ρέντες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 6.17; οὔλες τες πρᾶματεῖς *ibid.* 174.1–2

κι ἀνέγνωσά τες οὔλες KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.38

No instance of the feminine vocative plural has been located, but it can be assumed to be the same as the nominative.

Neuter

	General	Restricted
Nom./Voc.	ὄλα	οὔλα
Gen.	ὄλων † ὁλῶν	ὄλωνῶ(ν)/ὁλονῶ(ν) † ὄλουνῶ(ν)
Acc.	ὄλα	οὔλα

Nominative

Both *ὄλα* and *οὔλα* occur throughout the period.

- αὐτὰ *ὄλα* τὰ λέγετε παρηγορίες μας εἶναι *Dig.* E 1330
 νὰ μένου *ὄλα* εἰς τὴν κληρονομίαν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 12, 30.24–5)
 ποὺ σταῖνου *ὄλα* ἄσπρα τέσσερεις χιλιάδες (1598, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 43, 191.12)
 ἐρχονται τα κάτεργα καὶ *ὄλα* τα πλευσίματα *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1631) 232.22
ὄλα τὰ πουλιά παγαίνουν *Paroim.* (Warner) 104.19
ὄλα τὰ ὁμοιώματα τοῦ Δαβὶδ ἐφυλάκτησαν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν Δεσπότην MOREZINOS, *Klini* 10.32
 καίονται τὰ ἀπατζίδικα *ὄλα* PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.7
 τὰ ἐπίλοιπα νὰ εἶναι τῶν ἀρσενικ(ῶν) παιδίων *ὄλα* σῶα καὶ ἀνελλιπεῖς (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 138.28–9)
 τὰ ὁποῖα αὐτὰ *ὄλα* νὰ γίνονται εἰς μερδικὰ δύο (1697, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 30, 22.12–13)
 καὶ *οὔλα* τὰ νερά τῶν βρύσων ξεράναν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.24–5; *οὔλα* ἐγινήκασιν *ibid.* V 50.31
οὔλα ᾗ τὸν μάστρον βγιενικὰ γινῆκα *Cypr. Canz.* 90.42
 χαμοπετοῦ κι ἀναγαλλιοῦσιν *οὔλα* KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1251

Genitive

The forms are essentially the same as those for other genders.

- τὰ ὀνύχια *ὄλων* τῶν ποδαρίων *Dig.* E 524
 ἀπὸ *ὄλων* τῶ<ν> ψεματινῶν ἐγκλημάτων *Assizes* B 482.27
ὄλων τῶν φυτῶν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2077
 ἡ γεροντοσύνη ἐνὶ ἀπανωθιὸν *ὄλων* τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν *Fior*, Suppl. 270.18
 τῶν ἄνωθεν ὀζῶν καὶ προβατῶν *ὄλων* (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 184, 153.16)
ὄλων τῶν πλευτικῶν του *Chron. Mor.* H 1742
ὄλων τῶν κορασίων *Pol. Tr.* 2067 (reading of BX; πάντων in AV)
ὄλων μου τῶν πραγμάτων (1525, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 104, 194.10)
 τῶν ἀνωγεγραμμένων πραγμάτων *ὄλων* (1539, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 17, 31.29)
 χαῖρε *ὄλων* τῶν κεφαλίων κεφάλι! *Diig. Alex.* F 40.17 (Konstantinopoulos)
 αἰτία *ὄλων* τῶν βασάνων MOREZINOS, *Klini* 60.32
 τῶν παιδιῶν μου *ὄλων* VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 20
ὄλων τῶν ἐθνῶν MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 322.28
 τῶν ὀρφανῶν *ὄλων* (1662, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 74, 186.17) (probably neut. rather than masc.)
 ἔχει τὴ φροντίδα *ὄλων* (1672, Milos, CHATZIDAKIS I. 1927: A, 299.19)
 μετοχίων *ὄλων* (ca. 1700, Achaia, TSIOURAKI 1971: B', 170.18)
ὄλων τῶν παιδιῶν μου (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 22, 187.52)
 κ' ἐτουνού καὶ *ὄλων* μου τῶν ἐγγονιῶν (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 80.65)
 τῶν ἀδελφίων μου *ὄλων* (1643, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 257, 205.22)
 τῶν ἀδε<ρ>φίω του *ὄλων* (1670, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 46, 45.11–12)
 ἐδόσε ἐλευθερίαν *ὄλων* τῶν ζώων KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 191.31–2
 τῶν παιδιῶν τῶν μικρότερων *ὄλων* (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 172, 222.11)

Accusative

The accusative forms are identical to the nominative.

- ἀπὸ τὰ πράγματα ὅλα, ὅποῖα ἦσαν τοῦ ποτὲ Θεοδώρου (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 18.9)
 ὅλα τοῦ τὰ ἀφηγήθηκε *Pol. Tr.* 1880
 δὲ τα ὅλα νὰ κάμης οὐλα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.23; εἰς ὅλα τὰ κάστην *ibid.* V 520.31
 τότε νὰ βάλουσι φωτιά καὶ ὅλα νὰ τὰ καύσουν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 254
 ὅλα τοὺς τὰ ἠπῆραν *Chron. Toc.* 76
 καὶ ἤξευρε μὲ τὴ μαγειὰ ὅλα νὰ τὰ γρικήση *Alex. Rim.* 9
 μοῦ ἔχαρίσασιν τὰ δικαιώματά τῶνε ὅλα (1537, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 117, 231.13–14)
 καὶ νὰ ἔχω ὅλα θηλυκὰ παιδιὰ (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 222, 186.48)
 τὰ ἀφῆνω ὅλα τῶν δύν μου παιδιῶν (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 36.12)
 τοῦ δίδει καὶ τὰ χωράφια του ὅλα (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 132, 146.8–9)
 τοῦ ὁποίου μοναστηρίου ἄφησα, ἄν ἀποθάνω, ὅλα μου τὰ βιβλία καὶ ἱερὰ *IER. AVVATIOS, Diig. Seismou* 338.7
 μὲ ὅλαν του τ' ἀδέλφια (1703, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 46, 59.4) (for addition of final consonant see I, 3.7.2.1)
 καὶ οὐλα ἐκάμαμε τα (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 60.5); εἰς οὐλα τὰ σαντζιάκια (1487, *ibid.* 15, 84.21)
 καὶ οὐλα εἴπαμέν σου τα ἐν συνόψει MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 328.16
 ἀπὸ οὐλα τὰ πράματα *Fior* 82.22
 νὰ τὰ μαζώξουνε οὐλα τὰ χρέη (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 14.36)
 καὶ μὲ τ' ἀδέρφια τς οὐλα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.234
 οὐλα του τὰ καλὰ πρεζέντε καὶ ἐρχόμενα (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 795, 691.21–2)
 ποῦ τέτοιου γένους ποίημα ὀπίσω οὐλα τ' ἀφήνει SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* a2v.7

Vocative

- (ἐλᾶτε ...) τετράποδα τῆς γῆς ὅλα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.69
 σύρετε ὅλα εἰς τὴν κακὴν ὥραν *Bertoldos* 19.20

5.13.1.2 πᾶς, πᾶσα, πᾶν

The AG declined universal quantifier πᾶς, “all”, with its complex paradigm based on the stem παντ- for masculine and neuter forms (other than the masc. nom. sg., neuter nom. and acc. sg., and masc. and neuter dat. pl.) and the stem πασ- for feminine forms, was already subject to confusion of forms and analogical modification in Late Antiquity (GIGNAC 1981: 133–5) and this process continued in the EMedG period. The strengthened form ἅπας, ἅπασα, ἅπαν follows a similar course (see 5.13.1.3). In LMedG the forms which remain in common use are masc. nom. pl. πάντες and neut. pl. πάντα. Other inherited forms tend to occur mainly in documents and other texts that aim for a more formal register. By the mid-16th c. declined forms of πᾶς have become rare in vernacular literary texts, with the exception of neuter pl. πάντα, since their function as universal quantifier has been assumed (as in SMG) mainly by ὅλος, for which see 5.13.1.1. For the fem. sg.

πᾶσα, which becomes indeclinable for all genders and cases (mainly with singular nouns but occasionally also plural), see 5.13.1.4. More rarely, an indeclinable form πᾶν can also be found in LMedG and EMG texts:

πᾶν κάστρον καὶ πᾶν χώρα *Alosis* 629

εἰς πᾶν φρόνιμον ἄνθρωπον *Diig. Alex.* F 164.22 (Lolos)

πᾶν ἕτερα πράγματα (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 16, 227.13–14)

πᾶν ἕτερα πράγματα (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 45, 87.20) (for πράγματα see I, 3.6.1.3)

Examples of declined forms that follow AG morphology and agreement can be found in many texts, particularly (but not only) those that aim at a higher register. However, we also encounter innovative forms, such as πάσου or πασοῦ for masc. gen. sg., and changes (or confusions) of grammatical gender, e.g. the masc. forms πάντες and πάντας used with feminine nouns. The existence of the indeclinable form πᾶσα may have played a part in the extension of forms based on the fem. stem πασ- (mainly the gen. πασῶν) for use with masculine and neuter referents. Examples of both inherited and new forms, as well as extensions of inherited forms to different morphological functions, will be given below, arranged by gender and number. Some examples of ἄπας will be given in the relevant subsection (5.13.1.3).

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular			
Nom.	πᾶς	πᾶσα	πᾶν ἢ πάντα
Gen.	παντός ἢ πασοῦ ἢ πάσου	πάσης ἢ πάσας ἢ παντός	παντός ἢ πασέου
Acc.	(πάντα)	πάσα(ν) ἢ πάσην	πᾶν ἢ πάντα
Plural			
Nom./Voc.	πάντες	πᾶσαι	πάντα
Gen.	πάντων ἢ παντῶν ἢ πασῶν	пасῶν	πάντων ἢ παντῶν ἢ πασῶν
Acc.	πάντας ἢ πάντες	πάσας ἢ πάντας	πάντα

Singular

Masculine

The inherited nominative πᾶς is not common. Sporadic examples can be found in texts that aim for a higher register: ἀδυνατεῖ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος νᾶ καταπολεμήση [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1041. No alternative nominative form has been found (see also ἄπας below).

The inherited genitive παντός is likewise not very common:

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς συλλόγου καὶ κριτηρίου ἐκδιωκώμεθεν (1397, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 6, 184.6)
 νὰ ποίση δίκαιον παντὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ παντὸς γυναικὸς *Assizes* B 281.17–18
 ἐπίτροπος καθολικὸς τοῦ αὐθεντὸς τοῦ παντὸς Μορέου (1540, Monemvasia, MALTEZOU 1968: 41.2)
 ἐξέστη γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1631) 233.13–14

New genitive forms based on the fem. stem πασ- occur in legal documents of the 12th and 13th c. from S. Italy and Sicily (cf. neut. sg., below),¹²⁰ but also from Corfu several hundred years later. It is unlikely that these developments are unconnected; we may suspect that these forms had a wider distribution, though perhaps only in the written Greek of lawyers and notaries. Examples:

σὺν πασοῦ τοῦ κλήρου τῶν Γρεκῶν (1234, Sicily, CARUSO 1976: 1, 322.4)
 ὑπόσχομαι ὅτι μετὰ πάσου αὐτῶν κόπου, τέχνης καὶ ἐξόδου (1498, Corfu, KARYDIS 1999b: 2, 306.5)
 ἐκ πασοῦ κόπου (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 54, 44.10); ἀπὸ πασοῦ αὐτῆς κόπου (*ibid.* 86, 71.9)

The inherited accusative πάντα is extremely rare in both literary and non-literary texts that employ a register close to the vernacular. It is clear that the less common forms of πᾶς have been replaced by other universal pronouns/determiners, such as ὅλος and the indeclinable πάσα.

Feminine

The nominative and accusative forms πᾶσα and πᾶσα(ν) can be found quite frequently, but only in higher- or mixed-register texts can it be assumed that these are indeed declined forms of the inherited pronoun, rather than the invariable form πάσα. One instance of a hypercorrect form of the accusative, πάσην, on the analogy of the genitive, has also been found.

τὸν τρέμει πᾶσα ἢ κτίσις *Dig.* E 378
 πᾶσα γενεά *Diig. tetr.* 495
 πᾶσα ἀμαρτία, ἣν ἂν ποιήσῃ ἄνθρωπος *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2540
 παρὰ πᾶσαν θεῖαν γραφὴν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.9
 ὅταν μέλλῃ ζῶ[ντας] καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ πᾶσαν φύσιν κρῖναι *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 195
 πᾶσαν αἰχμαλωσίαν *Dig.* E 568; εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν Συρίαν *ibid.* 729
 εἰς πᾶσαν ἀληθείαν *Pol. Tr.* 1692
 εμετήρχετον πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν *MARG., Vioi* 273.8
 διὰ νὰ μολογήσουν τὴν πᾶσαν ἀλήθεια (1680, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 25, 102.12)
 ἐν ὑγείαν καὶ πάσην χαράν (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 12, 82.32–3)

¹²⁰ MINAS (?2003: 102 and 168) notes other instances of “innovative” forms in S. Italian or Sicilian texts, such as masc. pl. πάνται, dat. pl. πάσις (read πάσοις), fem. gen. sg. πάσεας, as well as “incorrect” agreement, e.g. fem. pl. πασῶν with a masc. or neut. noun, παντὸς with fem. gen. sg., πάντα with a neut. sg. noun, etc. See below for examples.

The genitive presents a more complex picture: alongside the “normal” form πάσης, inherited from AG, we find πάσας (by analogy with developments in the morphology of feminine nouns), but also the masc./neut. παντός used for feminine referents:

πάσης τιμῆς, ἀξίας *Chron. Mor.* H 336

μετὰ πάσης ταραχῆς *Dig.* E 1063

πάσης τῆς γῆς Αἰγύπτου *Liv.* V 3044

πάσης τῆς Ἀρμενίας *Alex. Rim.* 1034

τῆς Σταματινῆς καὶ τῆς Πόθας, ἦγουν πάσας μίας (1394, Crete, SANTSCHI 1976: 1597, 344.3)

πάσας μου θυγατέρας (1551, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 89, 110.10)

παντός γυναικὸς *Assizes* B 281.18

Neuter

For the nominative and accusative the residual form πᾶν can be found sporadically in LMedG and EMG texts:

πᾶν πρᾶγμαν *Assizes* A 96.19

τὸ πᾶν ἀποσυναγωγεῖν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1227

τὸ πᾶν πρᾶγμα *Diig. Alex.* F 40.3 (Konstantinopulos)

ἐπῆρε πᾶν τὸ θέλημα *Alex. Rim.* 143

ὑπάγε καὶ ἀγόρασε πᾶν κακὸν καὶ ἄχρηστον *Vios Aisop.* K 173.30

το παν ὅλον εἶναι *Don Kis.* 188.20

Rarely, the form πάντα (either acc. masc. sg. or neut. pl.) is found in place of πᾶν: εἰς πάντα πρόσωπον (1199, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 247, 336.1).

The genitive is normally παντός, but it is not very common except in adverbial phrases such as ἐκ παντός or διὰ παντός:

νὰ διώκεται ἀπὸ παντός κριτηρίου (1445, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 170, 191.5)

ἀπὸ παντός ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος (1501, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 66, 101.39)

ἀπὸ παντός ἀνθρωπινού σώματος (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 19, 57.14–15)

ἐλεύθεροι ἀπὸ παντός βάρους (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 167.6)

κ' ἔδιδεν λάμπιν τοῦ παντός καὶ φώτισεν τὸν κόσμον VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 373 (τὸ πᾶν, “the universe”)

ἦτον παντός εἴδους ἀσχημότερος *Vios Aisop.* D 209.20

εἰς τὸ ἐκ παντός ἐλθεῖν θέλει GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 299

μνήσκου μου διὰ παντός *Dig.* G IV.448

ἀλλ' ἀληθεύουν ἐκ παντός, μηδεὶς οὖν ἀπιστήση *Dig.* E 721

ἐνθύμησιν εἶχε ἐκ παντός ἐκεῖ νὰ κατοικήσῃ *Chron. Toc.* 673

ἐχθροὺς μᾶς ἔχεις ἐκ παντός *Achil.* N 64; νὰ εἶπεν τινὰς εἰς τὸ ἐκ παντός οὐκ ἔναι ἀνθρώπου
ἔργα *ibid.* 849

An innovative genitive πασέου (cf. the masc. forms given above) occurs rarely in texts from S. Italy: ἀπὸ πασέου (sic) μέρος (1113, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 75, 98.16); ἀπὸ πασέου μέρος (1118, *ibid.*: 85, 112.27).

Plural

Masculine

The inherited nominative and vocative form πάντες is fairly common in mixed- and higher-register texts:

πάντες γυμνοὶ ἐγεννήθημεν *Spaneas* V 136
 ἦλθαν, ἐκατελάβασιν πάντες οἱ καβαλλάροι *Pol. Tr.* 135 app. crit. (V)
 οἱ πάντες τὸ θωροῦσιν *Poulol.* 145
 πάντες λοιπὸν ἐμίσσεσαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2034
 καὶ πάντες ν' ἀποθάνωμεν, μηδένας ν' ἀπομείνη *Dig.* A 4667
 ἀλλὰ καὶ συγενήτορες πάντες οἱ ἐδικοί της *Achil.* O 17
 ὦ πάντες, ὅλοι χαίρεστε κι ἁμαρτωλοὶ θαρρεῖτε *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 181
 σταθῆτε πάντες ἄρχοντες *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 1
 οἱ πάντες Γραικοὶ τῆς νήσου Χίου (1511, Chios, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 17, 261.1)
 μὲ τὸ κεχρὶ ἔζησαν πάντες οἱ πένητες (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III, 36.2)
 βλέπετε, πάντες, ἀδελφοὶ *DIKR., Diig. Pol.* 1243

The inherited genitive πάντων continues to be used, mainly in mixed- or higher-register texts. A form παντῶν with shift of stress is occasionally found:

τῶν εὐγενῶν τῆς χώρας σου, | πάντων τῶν μεγιστάνων *Eisit.* f.5r.7
 ἐκεῖνος τὸ ἡμοίρασεν ὥς ἔπρεπε τῶν πάντων *Pol. Tr.* 2468 app. crit. (V)
 πάντων ρηγάδων, βασιλέων, αὐθέντων καὶ ἀρχόντων *Byz. Il.* 839
 δέξαι ραβδία, Φιλοπαπποῦ, πάντων {δὲ} τῶν ἀπελάτων *Dig.* A 1650
 να δείξει θέλησεν πάντων *Theseid* VI.35,6 (Olsen)
 ἀσχημότερος πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων *Vios Aisop.* D 209.18
 δίνω της τὰς εὐχὰς τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντω (1683, Leros, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 37, 29.5) (for deletion of final /n/ see I, 3.7.2.2)
 παντῶν συνφωνησάντων (1008–9, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 13, 134.8)
 καὶ προσκυνεῖσαι ὑπὸ παντῶν *Velth.* 144

In isolated texts from S. Italy, Corfu and Crete we find the fem. form πασῶν functioning as masculine:

μετὰ πασῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων (1101, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 69, 87.1)
 μετὰ πασῶν τῶν ἀδυνάτων τῶν ἐκεῖσε εὕρισκομένων (1548, Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 5, 103.13)
 πρῶτον μὲν ἀφίει πασῶν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν τελείαν συγχώρησιν (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.10)

The accusative is either πάντας (as in AG) or, with the levelling of the nom. and acc. endings that occurred (well before our period) in nouns originally of the 3rd declension, πάντες, though the latter is quite rare:

τοὺς πάντας προχαίρειζε *Spaneas* V 171
 γράφομεν ἄλλο πιττάκι κοινὸν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: [α'], 292.19–293.2)
 ὁποῦ τοὺς πάντας βλέπει *Dig.* E 453
 στοὺς πάντας / στὶς πάντας *Byz. Il.* 117 app. crit. (for τὶς see 5.2.1)
 εἰς τοὺς Ἁγίους Πάντας (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 16, 30.53)

παρά πάντας ἄνθρωπος πλεώτερος λογαῖσαι *Alex. Rim.* 1777

ὑπερέβη πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς *Vios Aisop.* K 147.4–5

ἐκάθισεν ὁ βασιλὲς πάντες νὰ δοκιμάσῃν *Achil.* O 76; κατεσκόπαν πάντες *ibid.* 149

Feminine

As might be expected, the AG nominative πᾶσαι is found only in texts that cultivate a higher register, as in this 14th-c. example: ὃν πᾶσαι αὐτὸν παρίστανται οὐρανῶν αἱ δυνάμεις *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 272. No innovative form has been located in the texts examined.

The residual genitive πασῶν can be expected to occur in higher- and mixed-register texts but very few examples have been located: πασῶν τὴν καλλιωτέραν *Velth.* 529; Κερά πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1590 (but note that this text also uses πασῶν with neuter nouns); σὺν μπασῶν νομῶν (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 13, 30.9).

The residual accusative plural πάσας can be found sporadically in mixed-register literary texts or documents:

πάσας του συγγενίδας *Eisit.* f.3r.2

καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐξόδας (1266, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 303, 434.19)

καὶ ὁ Ἑρως ἐξεπλήρωσε πάσας τῶν ἐλπίδας *Dig.* E 1066

τὰς δ' αἰσθήσεις πάσας καὶ τῷ νοῦ ὑγίης (1528, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 124, 226.5–6)

πάσας μου θυγατέρας (1551, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 89, 110.10)

The AG masculine form πάντας is also sometimes found with feminine nouns:

πάντας τὰς ὑποθέσεις (1143?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 15, 537.1)

εἰς πάντας τούτας τὰς ὀπλὰς *Assizes B* 333.24; εἰς πάντας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ *ibid.* 378.25

πάντας του τὶς πέτρες καὶ σίδερα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 1, 79.24)

Neuter

The inherited nominative, accusative and vocative form of the neuter plural πάντα remains unchanged and occurs quite frequently as a universal pronoun (often substantivized with the definite article) or determiner:¹²¹

οἱ κουρσάροι στερεύγου τον πάντα ὅσα ἐβάσαν *Assizes B* 298.12

εἰς πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς *Diig. tetr.* 499

τὰ κάτεργά του πάντα, ἅτινα ἐκ τὸν κλύδωνα ἦσαν σκανδαλισμένα *Pol. Tr.* 13412

τ' ἄλλα πάντα (1420, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 2 [B'], 22.17)

τὰ πάντα ἐποντίσθησαν, πράγματα καὶ ἀνθρώποι *Chron. Toc.* 32

ἰδοὺ, τὰ πάντα ἐγίνονται *Achil.* N 685

καὶ πάντα τὰ θελήματα, ὅπου ἔχον ἀπὸ χρόνου *Dig.* A 2249

ὁ Θεὸς γάρ, ὡς εὐσπλαχνὴς, ὡς δίκαιος στὰ πάντα *Chron. Mor.* P 624

εἶχα διορθώσει καὶ ἀφήσει πάντα μου τὰ ἀγαθὰ (1497, Corfu, KARYDIS 1999b: 1, 305.13)

καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐγίνησαν ὁγιά νὰ μάς διδάξῃ *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 143

ὅπου τὰ πάντα ὀρίζει *Thysia Avr.* 163

¹²¹ It also functions as an adverb, “in all respects, wholly”, from AG onwards. The temporal adverb πάντα “always”, in use from at least the 4th c. AD, is believed to derive from the phrase τὸν πάντα χρόνον (GEORGACAS 1951; see also KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.).

γιατί ᾽ς τὰ πάντα δίκαια καὶ ἀληθῆ σε εὔρε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 942
κ' ἑσείς σωπαῖτε ὁμάδι, | τραγοῦδια πάντα τῆς πικριᾶς ZINON I.1–2

The genitive is normally the inherited form πάντων:

σὺν πάντων τῶν δένδρων (1190, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 16, 48.24)
περὶ πάντων πραγμάτων τὰ ἐγίνονταν *Assizes* B 352.29
εἶναι ἀνάγκη πρὸ πάντων νὰ φροντίζετε τὴν paίδευσίν των (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.7–8)
πλάστη μου καὶ δημιουργὲ τῶν πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 3
μετὰ πάντων τῶν χρειώδη ἐργαλείων (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 293, 208.7)

It occasionally occurs with shift of stress to the final syllable, probably by analogy with the gen. sg. παντός: ἡ γῆς, ἡ μάνα τῶν παντῶν, αἰτία τῆς θανάς σου *Synax. gyn.* 92; ἐκ παντῶν *Flor.* L 1101.

The AG feminine form πασῶν is also used to qualify neuter nouns (cf. the masc. gen. pl. above). It is found mainly in notarial documents:

σὺν πασῶν τῶν δικαιωμάτων (1234, Sicily, CARUSO 1976: 1, 323.12)
μπασον τον μπραγματον / πασῶν τῶν πραγμάτων (1432, Corfu, ASONITIS 1996/97: 3, 30.81)
μετὰ καὶ πασῶν τῶν δικαιωμάτων (1440, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 22, 225.13)
πασῶν πραγμάτων DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1263
μετὰ πασῶν τῶν δικαιωμάτων (1595, Crete, STEFANIDOU 2004: 4, 160.14)
εἰσὲ ὁμπλιγασιὸν πασῶν τῶν καλῶν τως (1630, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 111, 222.5)
μετὰ πασῶν τῶν δικαιωμάτων (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 481.13)

5.13.1.3 ἄπας, ἄπασα, ἄπαν

As mentioned above, the strengthened form ἄπας, ἄπασα, ἄπαν is also found in LMedG, and occasionally EMG, texts and has morphological variation similar to that of πᾶς.¹²² The use of ἄπας rather than πᾶς may be occasioned by metrical factors, or by an attempt at a more elevated style. We give just a few examples of the various forms found in the texts.

Singular

Masculine

ἄπαν τὸν ἐμὸν ἀμπελῶνα (1135, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 5, 65.3)
εἰς ἄπαντα τὸν κόσμον *Dig.* E 1611
εἰς τὸν ἄπαντα κόσμον *Pol. Tr.* 543 app. crit. (ABX)
καὶ τὰς ἐρωτοχάριτας ἄπας ἐξεθαμβήθη [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 789
εἰς τὸν ἄπαν αἰῶνα (1652, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 69, 179.7)
ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἄπαντα (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 1, 3.4)
ἄπαντα λογαριασμόν (1691, Venice, MERTZIOS 1936e: [1], 119.11)

Feminine

ἵνα ἔχουσιν ἐπίσης καὶ τὴν ἄπασάν μου ὑπόστασιν, κινήτην καὶ αὐτοκίνητον (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 23.112)

¹²² A masc. acc. form in -ο(ν) occurs in documents from certain areas: εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἄμπατον (1609, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: III, 71.17), instead of ἄπαντα, with apparent voicing of /p/. Cf. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἄπα[ν]το (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 41.31).

εἰς τὴν ἄπασαν χώραν μου (1237, Arta, BARIŠIĆ 1966: [1], 2.8)
 ὡς σηκωτῆς νὰ ἐδούλευα τὴν ἄπασαν ἡμέραν *Ptoch. III* 182
 ἄπασης τῆς Συρίας *Dig. E* 726 app. crit. (ἀπάσης ed.)
 τεχνίτες ὅλοι θαυμαστοὶ ἀπάσης τέχνης φύσης *Alosis* 649
 ἄπασα χάριταν ἀποῦ ἔλαβεν (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1991: 1, 233.13)
 εἰς τὴν ἄπασαν διαφορὰν ἦν ἔχωσιν (1563, Corfu, TZIVARA 2003: 31, 490.5)

Plural

Masculine

ἤλευθέρωνεν ἅπαντας οὓς εἶχεν αἰχμαλώτους *Dig. G II.5*
 νὰ τὸν γινώσκουν ἅπαντες *Poulol.* 323
 ἅπαντες τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μας *Pol. Tr.* 846 app. crit. (V); πιάνουν καὶ δένουν ἅπαντας *ibid.* 1837
 ἐπαίνεσαν δὲ ἅπαντες τὴν φρόνησιν τοῦ νέου *Achil. N* 269
 ἀπάντων τούτων ἐνὶ ἄρχων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 220
 ὡς τὸ ἦκουσαν οἱ ἅμπαντες οἱ ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς Δύσης *Chron. Mor.* P 40 app. crit. (P)
 οἱ ἅμπαντες Ἀχαιοὶ *Alex. Rim.* 27
 καὶ ἅμπαντες οἱ ἕτεροι κοντόσταυλοι τῆς ἡμετέρας νήσου (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 167.3)

Feminine

εἰς τὰς γενέας ἁπάσας τοιοῦτος οὐκ ἐφάνη *Dig. E* 1702; τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀπάσας *ibid.* 1831
 καὶ εἶδα τὰς ἱστορίας ἁπάσας *Liv. V* 1017
 ποῦ τὶς παρθένες ἅπαντες κάμνεις νὰ σὲ δουλεύουν *Theseid VII.85,3* (1529)
 ἅπαντὰς σου τὰς φρένας *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 291

Neuter

ἴνα ἔχουν ἅπαντα χωράφια (1125?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.5)
 ἅπαντα ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἅπαντα κεκρυμμένως [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2222
 ἐκβάλλουσί με ἅπαντα τὰ σίδηρα *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 56.2

5.13.1.4 Indeclinable πάσα(ν) and ἅπασα(ν)

Although it has been suggested that indications of an indeclinable use of the feminine of πᾶς can be detected in the New Testament (see GIGNAC 1981: 134 fn.), it is not until the beginning of the LMedG period that the first incontrovertible examples are found, in texts from Sicily and S. Italy. It is possible that the fossilization of the feminine form originates in phrases such as πᾶσα(ν) ὥραν (see ANDRIOTIS, *Lex.*), but a thorough investigation is lacking. It is, of course, only when πᾶσα occurs with a masculine or neuter noun that we can be sure that the form has been generalized. In phrases incorporating a feminine noun it is necessary to ascertain whether the indeclinable form occurs with other genders in the same text.

By the 14th–15th c. it has become quite common in texts from southern areas and by the end of the EMG period it seems to have spread to all regions and is mentioned in grammars, e.g. “Queste due voci, πᾶσα, κάθε, & altri dicono, κάθε, sono indeclinabili, & si mettono auanti ogni nome di qualunque genere, & numero, & caso” (GERMANO, *Grammar* 73.8–10). Most modern editors accentuate the word as πάσα, in accordance with the simplifications proposed by TRIANDAFYLIDIS (1941: 43). (Instances of both πᾶσα and πάσα will be found in the examples below, according to the edition from which they derive.)

A form with final /n/ is sometimes found. Although it usually accompanies a noun in the accusative, this is not really a declined form: the -ν is simply a graphematic feature, as

found in many parts of speech (see I, 3.7.2.1), or inserted before a vowel for the avoidance of hiatus. Some examples of πάσαν, occurring in texts where πάσα is clearly indeclinable, are included below.

- τὸν πάσα χρόνον (1176, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 2, 369.11)
 ἔχασεν πάσα δίκαιον ὃ ἤλπιζεν ἔχειν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 65.38)
 διὰ πάσα χρέος (1327, Crete, ΛΑΙΟΥ 1982: 1, 123.3)
 μὲ πᾶσα θέλημά του *Pol. Tr.* 1092 app. crit. (X); μὲ πᾶσαν θέλημάν του *ibid.* 1092 app. crit. (B)
 πᾶσα πρᾶγμα *Assizes* B 320.29
 πᾶσα λογῆς καρπὸν (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 49.31)
 πάσα ἕκαστον (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 55.3)
 ἐτάξαν πάσα ἄνθρωπον VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 10.13
 ἡ πρώτη κίνησις πᾶσα ἀγάπης *Fior* 74.14; πᾶσα πράμαν ἔχει τὸ κουντράριόν του *ibid.* 77.21
 πᾶσα βαρελίου τὴν πώλησιν (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 112, 92.9)
 σοῦ θέλει εἰπεῖν πάσα πράγμα (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.42)
 σὰν τό ᾗ πᾶσα ξένος ZINOS, *Vatr.* 190
 πᾶσα λέντζε καὶ πᾶσα πρεβελέγιον (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 25, 25.15)
 πάσα λοῆς ἄνθρωπον (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 17, 95.10)
 πρέπει πᾶσα μητρός νὰ πονῇ διὰ τὸ παιδί της *Diig. Alex.* F 66.17 (Konstantinopulos)
 πᾶσα θαῦμα τρεῖς ἡμέρες, τὸ δικό μας τέσσαρες *Paroim.* (Warner) 62.11
 σὰν πάσα καλὸν ἀνδρόγυνον (1604, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 10, 165.20)
 πάσα κλωνάρι *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 339
 ἀπού ᾗ πᾶσα βράδου *Vosk.* 359
 πάσα μῆναν Σεπτέβριον (1624, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2000: 2, 516.18)
 ἐδώσαμε εἰς πᾶσα μοναστήρι *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §21.27
 εἶσε πᾶσα καιρὸ καὶ εἶσε πᾶσα τόπο (1674, Milos, IMELLOS 1985/90: 329.7–8)
 ἄξος σὲ πάσα τρόπο KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.31; πᾶς ἄργά ἡπαιζε τὸ λαγοῦτο *ibid.* IV.28
 ἀπὸ πᾶσαν τόπο *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 59.169
 ἀγάπα πᾶσαν ἄνθρωπον FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 57
 πᾶσαν νερόμυλον (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 1, 79.10)
 εἰς πᾶσαν χρόνον *Diig. Alex.* E 161.15 (Lolos)
 πᾶσαν ἄνθρωπον (1572, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 135, 255.19–20)
 μετὰ πᾶσαν προικίον (1625, Crete, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 11, 7.24)
 μὲ πᾶσαν του δικαίωμα (1626, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 8, 45.24)

Occasionally πάσα(ν) accompanies a noun in the plural:

- πᾶσα πράγματα *Assizes* A 102.24
 εἰς πᾶσαν λέφαντας *Diig. Alex.* E 79.23 (Konstantinopulos)
 τοῦτοι θέλουν πᾶσα δυὸ χρόνους (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.14)
 μὲ πᾶσαν τὼς ἀγέρηδες (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 158, 330.13)
 εἰς σὲ πᾶσα ἔκλαμπρα καὶ τίμια προσώπατα (1724, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1973: 3, 307.4)

It can also be found with indefinite pronouns such as *τι* and *τίποτα*:

- ἔτοιμος εἶνι σὶ πάσα τί (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 6, f.43r.7)
 πάσα τίποτες (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 78.3)
 πᾶσα τίποτας (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 66.12)
 πᾶσαν τίποτες (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 101.10)
 πασατίβοτις CHORTATISIS, *Katz.* II.141

On the analogy of πάσα, there is also an uninflected form ἄπασα(ν), found occasionally in literary texts, but mainly in documents from the Heptanese and Cyclades:

- ὅτι ἄπασα ξύλον πλευτικόν (1422, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXVIII, 289.19)
 ἄπασα γένος PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 449
 ἄπασα θεός *Theseid* XI.25,2 (1529)
 ἄπασα λογῆς ζωντόβολον (1533, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 3, 116.19)
 εἰς ἄπασαν κομμάτι τῆς ἀλτεραρίας (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.3); ἄπασα
 λουμπαρδάρης (16th c.?, Heptanese, *ibid.* 60.28)
 μέ ἄπασάν του δικαίωμα (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 150, 238.6)
 συχωρεῖ καὶ ἄπασα Χριστιανόν (1570, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 1, 9.4)
 διὰ ἄπασα ἔξοδο καὶ γεραμέντα (1643, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 361.20)
 σὲ ἄπασα καιρὸ (1666, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 18, 89.20)

5.13.1.5 πασαεῖς

The universal pronoun πασαεῖς is formed from the univerbation of the indeclinable form πάσα and the numeral/indefinite pronoun εἷς (for the historical development and new forms of εἷς see 5.8.5). Both manuscripts and modern editions vary in whether the resultant pronoun is written as one word or two, so it is impossible to determine when (or to what extent) univerbation occurs. However, combined forms such as πασάνας (with deletion of /e/ in accordance with vowel hierarchy; see I, 2.9.2) and πασένας (the /e/ vowel by analogy with ἕνας, κανένας, καθένας) indicate that univerbation has taken place. It is less clear in the case of feminine forms, where the situation of vowels in contact does not arise. However, the entries in the 17th-c. Grammar of Germano suggest that, for some speakers at least, the process was complete: “πασαεῖς, & πασανεῖς. Genit. dell’vno, & l’altro πασενός ... πασαμία, καθεμία, ogn’vna. Genit. πασαμιᾶς, καθεμιᾶς” (GERMANO, *Grammar* 73.20–1).

As for the geographical distribution of the different forms of this pronoun, it is difficult to discern a clear picture. The manuscripts of literary texts indicate a rather fluid situation. For example, in the manuscripts of the Cretan pastoral comedy *Panoria* we find three different forms for the same phrase: πᾶσένα ντως (D), πᾶσάνα τως (A), πᾶσα ένα τους (N) CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.160 app. crit.

Masculine

M	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	πάσα εἷς/πασαεῖς ἰ πάσα ἕνας/πασαένας	πασαγεῖς ἰ πασανεῖς ἰ πασάνας ἰ πασένας	πᾶσανεις ἰ παένας
Gen.	πάσα ἐνός/πασαενός ἰ πάσα ἐνοῦ/ πασαενοῦ ἰ πασανοῦ	πασανός	πᾶσ’ ἐνοῦς ἰ πᾶσα ἔνοῦς
Acc.	πάσα ἕνα(ν)/ πασαένα(ν)	πασάνα(ν) ἰ πασένα(ν)	πᾶσαναν ἰ πᾶσαν ἕνα(ν) ἰ πᾶσα ἕνανε

Nominative

Throughout the period covered by this Grammar, the nominative form *πάσα εἷς* (as one word or two) appears to be more common than the innovative form with *ἕνας*. The form *πασαγεῖς* (or *πασαγεῖς*), with anaptyxis of palatal glide (see I, 3.5.2.1), has only been found in texts from Cyprus and Crete. A new form *πασανεῖς*, which may be compared with *νεῖς* (see 5.8.5) and *κανενεῖς* (5.8.9), probably results from analogical spread of <ν> in forms such as genitive *πασανός* or *πασανοῦ*. Examples have been found in texts from Cyprus, Crete and Chios. A shift of stress to the first syllable, *πάσανεις*, has also been found in one Cypriot text (Voustronios). Univerbation has manifestly occurred in the form *πασάνας*, which occurs sporadically in literary texts from Cyprus, the Heptanese and Crete, but also in the history of Matthaïos of Myra (born in Epirus). Finally, *παένας*, with deletion of intervocalic /s/, is found only in documents from Ithaca (cf. neuter *παένα* below).

καὶ τὰ ὄρη γὰρ πασαεῖς ἦσαν μετὰ λόγια ἑβραϊκά FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 6
 πασαεῖς ἤνουν ἀνάπαυσιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 4.3
 τότε νὰ κάμη πασαεῖς ἐκεῖνο ποῦ μπορέση Alex. Rim. 840
 νὰ ἔχη πάσα εἷς τὸ μισό (1562, Skytos, ANDONIADIS 1990: 9, 23.16–17)
 ὁ πάσα εἷς (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 150, 238.9)
 δὲν εἶναι θυγατέρα μου, σὰν πασαεῖς κρατεῖ τὴν CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.231
 πασαεῖς ὑπερήφανος εἶναι καὶ τυφλός Irodis I.3
 ἐδιάβη πασαεῖς εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ χαρούμενοι Chron. Tourk. Soult. 94.3
 καὶ πάσα εἷς ἐγύρευε ὅπου μπορεῖ νὰ φύγει BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 389.4
 τὴν τύχη τοῦ ὁ πάσα εἷς ὡς θέλει τὴν κάνει Zinon III.270
 κὶ ὅτι κατέχει πάσα εἷς KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1023; καὶ πάσα εἷς νὰ φυλαχτῇ ibid. II.2356; γὰρ
 νὰ κατέχει πασαεῖς ibid. II.1270

πάσα ἐμοίρασε πασανένας (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 9, 20.6)
 ποῦ πασανένας ἐξ αὐτὸν δὲν ἡμπορεῖ νὰ γλύσῃ Alex. Rim. 2822
 νὰ διηγεῖται πᾶσα ἕνας KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 403.7
 τὰ θελήματά τοῦ πᾶσα ἕνας ἔκαμνεν DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 2, α7ν.26
 πάσα ἕνας τὴν πάρτεν τοῦ (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 102,
 78.43)
 ὡς καθὼς ἰσούνησαν πάσα ἕνας στὸν τόπο (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 15,
 f.44v.8–9)

οπασαγισ / ὁ πᾶσα γεῖς (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.12)
 πρέπει πασαγεῖς νὰ φορτισιᾶται Fior, *Suppl.* 279.34–280.1
 δοσμένον εἶναι πασαγεῖς τὸ θάνατο νὰ φεύγῃ CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.443

πασένας σας CHORTATSI, *Panor.* Prol. theas 4
 πᾶσ' ἕνας σας TROILLOS, *Rodol.* III.56
 ὅπου ἔζησε πᾶς ἕνας χρόνους ἐνακοσίους τόσους LANDOS, *Geopon.* 129.28–9
 πᾶσ' ἕνας τὸ κατέχει Zinon II.190

ὁ πασανεῖς Cyp. Canz. 19.2; ὅτι στὸ τέλος πασανεῖς γυμνὸς μεινίσκει ibid. 154.16
 κὶ ἀπὸ τὰ δάκρυα πασανεῖς ἐγροῖκα | τὸ βάρος Vosk. 279
 διὰ νὰ μάθῃ πασανεῖς πὼς ἔχει τιμωρία KONDAR., *Paidēs* 665
 καθαεῖς, πασαεῖς, πασανεῖς, ὁγν'νο GERMANO, *Grammar* 73.15

πάσανεις ἦτον χρῆση νὰ συντύχει VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 20.19; πάσανεις ἐγύρευεν νὰ τοῦ
 ποίσει συντροφίαν ibid. 38.9

πασάνας ἐπικράθη *Alex. Rim.* 1789

πασάνας νὰ βιγλίση *Cypr. Canz.* 94.36

τὸ πῶς ἐπολιτεύθηκε πασάνας ᾽ς τὸ σκαμνὶ τοῦ *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 83

πασάνας εἰς τὰ χέρια τοῦ ἕνα ἀπὸ δαῦτα ἐκράτει *MONTSEL., Evgena* 894

πᾶσα ᾽νας | νὰ σὲ δὴ λακταρᾶ, πεθυμᾶ σε *KONDAR., Paides* 158

πασάνας ὅπου ἦτον ᾽κεῖ πικρῶς μοιρολογᾶται *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 311

πασάνας εἰς τὰ σπῖδια τοὺς *Thrinus Kypr.* 348 (for σπῖδια see I, 3.8.4.2)

νὰ πάρη παένας τ᾽ ἄδελφομοίρι τοῦ (1638, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 128, 119.9–10)

Genitive

For the various forms of εἷς/ἕνας which combine with πάσα see 5.8.5.

τοῦ πᾶσα ἐνὸς *STAFIDAS, Iatrosof.* 11.295

πάσα ἐνὸς ἀπὸ ἐσᾶς (1446, Crete, *MANOUSAKAS* 1964: 17, 98.4–5)

καὶ ἴδωμεν πᾶσα ἐνὸς τὸν ἔπαινον καὶ φόγον *Diig. tetr.* 66 app. crit. (CA)

καὶ πάσα ἐνὸς μου νόμιμου συγγενοῦ (1531, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 148, 267.34)

τῶς ἐγύρεψεν πάσα ἐνὸς τὰ ἄσπραν (1688, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 820, 1103.12)

τοῦ πασανὸς *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 66

μα πασανὸς τα χεῖλη μου “μετὰ χαράς” θα λέσι *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.288; οἱ γὰρ ν’ ἀρέσου πασανὸς *ibid.* II.309

νὰ διδουσιν πασανὸς (1622, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1986: 3, 49.69)

τούτ’ εἶναι γνῶσις πασανὸς ἀξίου στρατιώτη *PALAMIDIS, Ist. Mich. Voev.* 1073

ἡδιάταξε ἐξουσιαστικῶς τὸ ὅ,τι ἤθελε πασανὸς (1664, Mykonos, *VISVIZIS* 1957: 9, 65.11–12)

ὅ,τί ᾽βγαίνει τοῦ πᾶσα ᾽νὸς *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 546.20

πᾶσα ᾽νὸς λυπημένου εἶχα λέγει *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.39

πόσα πασαενοῦ μετέστη τὸ κέρδος (post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 8, 18.2)

πρόσωπα εὐμορφα ἀνθρώπινα πᾶσα ἐνοῦ τρεχομένου μὲ χρυσάφιν *Diig. Alex.* E 99.9 (Konstantinopulos)

νὰ μανθάνης πᾶσα ἐνοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν τοῦ (1578, Trikala, *SOFIANOS* 1992: 6, 238.202–3)

πᾶσα ἐνοῦ (1658, Paxoi, *PETROPOULOS* 1958: 4, 5.1)

πᾶσα ἐνοῦ ἐργαστήρι *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §23.14

τοῦ πασανοῦ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 26.8

τοῦ πᾶσα ᾽νοῦ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 81.9–10 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)

τὸ θέλημα πασανοῦ *Fior* 82.16

πασανοῦ ἀνθρώπου (1565, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 283, 396.4)

θέλει ἀνταποδώσει ὁ Θ(εὸς) τοῦ πασανοῦ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ *Pist. kekoim.* 64

ἡκούσαμε τὸ πασανοῦ δίκαιον (1673, Paxoi, *PETROPOULOS* 1958: 79, 47.2)

ὅ,τι πάγει πᾶς ἐνοῦς (1616, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1968 : 2, 30.38)

καὶ νὰ δώσει τ᾽ ὅ,τι θέλει πᾶσα ᾽νοῦς (1664, Mykonos, *TOURTOGLOU* 1980/81: 3, 20.10–11)

ἦδωκεν διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς τ᾽ ὅ,τι ἤθελε πᾶσα ᾽νοῦς (1664, Mykonos, *VISVIZIS* 1957: 9, 65.10)

A single instance of a one-word genitive plural form has been found: εἰς εἴδησιν πασανῶν ἀδελφῶν (1555–1567, Venice, *LIATA* 1976: 2, 106.53).

Accusative

The basic form is *πάσα ἕνα(ν)* or *πασαένα(ν)*, but vowels in contact can be reduced, especially in verse texts, to become *πασάνα(ν)* or *πασένα(ν)*, for which see the introduction to this section. More rarely, the stress falls on the first syllable, *πάσαναν* (cf. nom. *πάσανεις*). A form with addition of final /e/ can occur in texts from the Heptanese and possibly elsewhere (cf. *εἶς* and see I, 2.6.3 for details).¹²³

διὰ πασαένα SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 215

ἐπαρακάλεν τὸν πᾶσαν ἕναν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 95.3 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)

ἀφήνω πᾶσα ἕνα νὰ λογιᾶση VASK. 93

ἀπρεπον ἓνα νὰ ἀγρικούμεν | πασανάν ὅ,τι ὁμιλεῖ ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 128.19–20

ἄδύνατο θέλει φανῇ ᾽ς πᾶσά ᾽να ποῦ γρικῆση KONDA., *Paides* 23

πασένα κακορίζικο ἀποῦ στραφεῖ καὶ δεῖ τα; CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.344 (mss DL; πασανά ms A); νὰ προσκαλοῦ πάσ᾽ ἕνα id., *Erof. Dedic.* 17

καὶ προσκυνοῦ πάσ᾽ ἕνα ZINON Prol. 80; ἡ πολλὴ ταπεινώση ψηλώνει | πάσ᾽ ἕνα ibid. II.117–18

εἰς πάσαναν αὐθέντην ALOSIS 436

μάχομαι καὶ τὸν πάσαναν πειράζω CYPR. CANZ. 98.18

εἰς ἐ πᾶσα ἕνανε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 11, 36.24)

Feminine

F	General
Nom.	πάσα μιὰ/πασαμιά
Gen.	πάσα μιᾶς/πασαμιᾶς
Acc.	πάσα μιὰ(ν)/πασαμιὰ(ν)

Rather few examples of feminine forms have been found in the texts examined. They do not present any peculiarities.

Nominative

μπορεῖ ... πασαμιά CHORTATSI, *Panor.* Prol. Apoll. 4

νὰ μὴ γυρεύγει πάσα μιὰ γυναῖκα νὰ τὴ φύγει ΤΡΟΙΛΟΣ, *Rodol.* III.580

πάσα μία ἀπὸ δαῦτες (1661, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 225, 200.35)

ὅ,τι λογιᾶσει πάσα μιὰ ZINON Prol. 139

Genitive

καὶ δύο ποκάμισα πάσα μιᾶς (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 44.45)

ἔδωσαν πάσα μιᾶς τὴν πάρτην τῆς (1674, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 20, 92.13)

Accusative

εἰς πᾶσα μίαν ἐπισκοπὴν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.24

¹²³ There is a rare acc. form *πάσαν ἕνα(ν)* (or *πασανέναν*) attested in one of the mss of Machairas's *Chronicle* and one of the witnesses of *Erotokritos*: καὶ ἔπαρακάλεν τὸν πᾶσαν ἕναν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.18–19 [τὸν [πα]σαν /ε/αν/ V 95.3 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)], but τὸν πᾶσαν ἕναν O and τὸν πασαναν R; γλυκὺς μὲ πάσαν ἕνα KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.227 (the reading of the 1713 edition, whereas the London ms has καλὸς σε πασα ἕνα).

Neuter

N	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom./Acc.	πάσα ξνα/πασαένα	πάσα ξν ἰ πασένα	παένα
Gen.	πάσα ενός ἰ πασανοῦ		

A form with residual ξν may be found in mixed-register texts, but the normal form is πάσα ξνα (which may be written as one word). Univerbation is clearer in the form πασένα, and in the genitive πασανοῦ. For the form παένα in a text from Ithaca cf. masculine nominative παένας above. In general, neuter forms of this pronoun are much less common than masculine ones.

Nominative/Accusative

πᾶσα ξν ἀλάγιον καὶ πᾶσα ξνα σκῆπτρον *Achil.* N 402 (better: ξν')

πᾶσα ξνα πράμα (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 2, 18.17–18)

πάσα ξνα φόρεμα LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 137

καὶ τὰ ἐκοπάνισε πᾶσα ξνα (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.14)

χίλιες πασένα ντωὺς χαρές δύνεται νὰ σου δοῦδει CHORTATZIS, *Panor.* I.160; σαν ορφανὸ δεν ἤθελεν εἶσται ἀπ' αὐτὰ πασένα; *ibid.* III.120

σὰ βλέπομε εἰς πᾶσ' ξνα TROILOS, *Rodol.* Dedic. 16

τ' ἀφήνουν καὶ γυρίζουνε πᾶσ' ξνα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 524.10

(στὰ τρία μου παιδιὰ ...) νὰ παίρνη παένα τὸ μερτικό του τ' ἀμπέλι (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 89, 93.33–4)

Genitive

νὰ δώση τὴν πρόβα πασανοῦ κομματίου τῆς ἀλτεραρίας (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.33)

πάσα ενός μου παιδίου (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 2, 5.14)

5.13.1.6 πασακ(ι)ανεῖς

The combination of πάσα and κανεῖς (“anyone”, “everyone”) has only been found in texts from the Heptanese (16th–18th c.) and, in the form πάσα κιανεῖς or πασακιανεῖς, in Cretan literary texts from the late 16th c. onwards. For the paradigm of κ(ι)ανεῖς see 5.8.9.

νὰ εἶμαι ἐγὼ ὀμπλιγάδος νὰ τὰ διαφεντεύω ἀπὸ πάσα κανεῖν (1539, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 54, 96.17)

τὸ δίκιο πᾶσα κανενὸς KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* Prol. 24

πάσα κιανεῖς γιὰ λόγου του ξεχωριστὰ κοπιώντας CHORTATZIS, *Panor.* Prol. theas 37; πάσα κιανεῖς ἀπ' ἀγαπᾷ *id.*, *Erof.* III.111; κι' ὅσο μπορεῖ πᾶσα κιανεῖς στὸν πόλεμο νὰ ράσση *id.*, *Katz.* II.30

καὶ ὅσο μπορεῖ ἀπὸ λόγου σου πασακιανεῖς νὰ λείπη FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.112

τὸ χαλασμὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶ πάσα κιανεῖς ἐγροῖκα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 547.2

5.13.1.7 παντοῖος

The quantifier παντοῖος, “of every kind”, declines like adjectives in -ος with feminine -α (3.2.2). It occurs frequently in notarial and other documents of the 15th to 17th c., from a variety of areas: Crete, Athens, the Peloponnese, the Cyclades, and especially the Heptanese. It is found only rarely in literary texts, mainly ones that employ a mixed register. Since it belongs mainly in formal contexts, it often has the older declensional endings, e.g. fem. acc. pl. -ας. Innovative forms are rare, but note the gen. pl. with shift of stress and deletion of final /n/ in a document from Kefalonia: τὸν παντιό του ἀγαθῶν / τῶν παντοιῶ του ἀγαθῶν (1664, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1974b: 1, 42.37). The following examples illustrate the word’s usage and distribution:

- ἀπὸ παντοίων φαύλων ὧν περ ἤθελον ἔλθεῖν πρὸς με ὀφλημάτων (1382, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 2, 89.4)
- ἀμὴ εἶχεν γνῶμην ἀγαθὴν καὶ παιδείουσιν παντοίαν *Chron. Toc.* 1127
- σὺν τῶν παντοίων ψυχικῶν καὶ δικαίων αὐτῆς (1437, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXXI, 297.12)
- ἔχωσι παντοίαν ἄδειαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν (1440, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 22, 226.6)
- μὲ τὰ παντοῖα αὐτῶν πράγματα (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 27, 62.21)
- ἄρματα παντοῖα LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 251
- ἦτον ἡ χώρα πλούσιος, γομάτη ἀγαθῶν παντοίων *Pol. Tr.* 2733 app. crit. (R)
- τὸ γέμοντα τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ χάριτας παντοίας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1721
- ἔχέτω ἄδειαν καὶ παντοίαν ἐξουσίαν (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 9, 16.26)
- εἰς τὰ παντοῖα του ὅλα (1534, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 6, κβ'.6)
- νὰ ἔχη παντοίαν ἐξουσία ὁ Ρωμανὸς καὶ οἱ κληρονόμοι του (1554, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 124, 240.7)
- εἰς ὑπόσχεσιν τῶν παντοίων τοὺς ἀγαθῶν (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 278, 162.20)
- τῶν ὁποίων δίδει παντοίαν ἄδειαν (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 20, 16.4)
- παντοίαν δύναμιν (1607, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 3, 5.6)
- ἔνα ἀμπέλι ... μὲ τὰ παντοῖα του δικαιώματα (1639, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 55, 142.10)
- εἰς τὰ παντοῖα του ἀγαθὰ (1643, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 361.4–5)
- εἰς παντοίαν αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν καὶ κυριότητα (1688, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 114, 66.11)

5.13.1.8 ἀμφότεροι

The pronoun ἀμφότεροι, “both (of two)” and by extension “all”, is a residual lexeme which is found in LMedG and EMG documents and more rarely in mixed-register literary texts. (For its rather frequent occurrence in *The Chronicle of Morea* see AERTS/HOKWERDA 2002, s.v.) It has only plural forms, which decline for gender and case like adjectives in -ος; occasional singular forms, e.g. ἀμφοτέρου τοὺς, should probably be seen as adverbial. (For the adverb ἀμφοτέρως see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.) A phonological development sometimes manifested in texts is the loss of the nasal /m/ before the fricative (see I, 3.6.2.2). Deletion of final /n/ in the gen. pl. occurs very rarely (see I, 3.7.2.2).

- τὰ ἀμφοτέρα ἀργυρὰ διάχρυσα (1142, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 7, 75.45)
- ἀν μὴ ἐγένονται οἱ ὑποσχέσεις ἀμφοτέρων εἰς οὐδένα κράτημαν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 231.161); ἀμφότεροι ἐλύσασιν τὸν γάμον ὡς δῆθε νὰ γένονται καὶ οἱ δύο μοναχοὶ (ibid. 232.206)

ἀμφοτέροι εἰσῆλθουσιν *Dig. G* II.143
 εἵπασι τινὰς λόγους ἀμφοτέροι (1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.15)
 βουλὴ ἃς ἔχωμε ἀμφοτέροι *Chron. Mor.* H 2838; ἀμφοτέροι οἱ δύο *ibid.* 7117; κ' ἐνι τὸ πρᾶγμα
 ἐπὶκρίνον ἀμφοτέρων τῶν δύο *ibid.* 7892
 ἔχετε ἀγάπην ἅπειρον ἀμφοτέροι εἰς τὸν κόσμον *Dig. E* 1752
 οὕτως ἰσάσθησαν ἀμφοτέροι (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.15)
 ὅσαι ζημίαι ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 2, 305.18)
 αὐτοκράτωρ ἀμφοτέρω<ν> τῶν ἡπείρ(ων) / αὐτοκράτωρ ἀμφοτέρω τῶν ἡπείρων (1489, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 19, 100.2)
 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναθορήν τῶν ἀμφοτέρων παίδων *Flor.* L 156
 τὰ ρηθέντα μέρη παρόντα σωματικῶς ὁμολόγησαν ὅτι ἐσυμφώνησαν ἀμφοτέρα (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 32, 27.3)
 ἐχαίρουντα ἀφοτέροι *Achil.* O 602
 ἐκτίσθημαν ἀμφοτέρα, ὡς φαίνεται εἰς τὸ Γράμμα DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 149
 καθομολογοῦν ὅλοι ἀμφοτέροι (1590, Crete, VOUDOUMBAKIS 1915: 2, 347.32)
 τὰ δύο μέρη ἐσυνηβάστηκαν ἀφοτέρους τοὺς (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 10, 35.4–5);
 ἐσυνηβάστηκαν ἀμφοτέρου τοὺς (*ibid.* 26, 47.18) (see above for this adverbial usage)
 ὁποῦ καὶ τὰ ἀμφοτέρα θεὸς διορθώσει μόνος VEST., *Prolog. Theot.* 368
 γροικῶντας τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἀμφοτέρων (1665, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 2, 13.21)
 τῶν ἀμφοτέρων (1668, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 12, 27.16–17)
 ἰσιάζονται ἀμφοτέροι (1687, Chios, KAVVADAS 1976: B, f.15r.3)

5.13.2 Distributive Pronouns and Determiners

MedG and EMG distributive pronouns and determiners either continue earlier forms, mostly in higher style, or constitute morphological innovations. Inherited pronominal forms inflect as adjectives in -ος (ἐκαστος, καθέκαστος), while innovative forms follow the pattern of indefinite pronouns (καθεῖς, based on εἷς), or are uninflected (κάθε).

5.13.2.1 ἐκαστος

The distributive pronoun and determiner ἐκαστος “each” is inherited from AG. It is a feature of higher style, and appears in literary and non-literary texts without geographical restrictions, albeit infrequently. It inflects as a regular adjective in -ος (see 3.2.1), and has no plural. Because of its retreat from vernacular language and its subsequent semantic opacity, it commonly appears in conjunction with the indefinite pronouns or quantifiers εἷς, κάθε/καθεῖς and πᾶς. In the texts examined, such collocations appear as early as the 11th c., e.g. εἷς ἐκαστους ... ἂν θέλῃ καὶ βούληται (1061, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 8, 171.7) (with vowel raising, for which see I, 2.8.3); some are already attested since AG (LSJ, s.v. ἐκαστος, III). The frequent collocation of the preposition κατὰ with ἐκαστος, especially in the fem. acc. where the most common construction in vernacular texts is καθ' ἐκάστην (ἡμέραν), has led to lexicalization and substantivization, i.e. to the new pronoun καθέκαστος (see 5.13.2.2).

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	έκαστος	έκάστη	έκαστο(ν)
Gen.	έκάστου	έκάστης	έκάστου
Acc.	έκαστο(ν)	έκάστη(ν) † έκαστο(ν)	έκαστο(ν)

Masculine

Nominative

έκαστος ήμων ἄς ἀγωνιστοῦμεν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 316.18–19
 νὰ μὲ ποιήσουν ἀπὸ μ' λειτουργιῶν ὁ καθένας έκαστος (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.56)
 καὶ έκαστος τῶν συγγενῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ εὐρεθέντων *Dig.* G IV.824
 κατὰ τὸ μέτρον έκαστος καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν τέχνην *Ptoch.* II 76
 ἐκεῖ ποῦ ἐχρεώσται ν' ἀπελθῇ έκαστος ἀπ' ἐκείνους *Chron. Mor.* H 7619
 καὶ έκαστος λάβη ἀνταμοιβὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ἔργου *Dig.* E 757
 καὶ έκαστος, ὡς εἶχεν δύναμιν, ἐπορεύετο (1499, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 7, 51.5)
 οἰκεῖον πένθος έκαστος τὴν συμφορὰν ἡγοῦντον *Achil.* N 1833
 πᾶσα εἷς καὶ έκαστος (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.1)
 καὶ ἔδιδον εἷς έκαστος τὸν ἕτερον ραβδέας *Dig.* A 1643
 εἷς έκαστος ἐκδέχετο νὰ λάβωσι τὴν δόξαν *Velis.* N² 116
 νὰ παραλάβῃ έκαστος τὸ μισταγώγημάν του *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2777
 ἐπῆρεν εἷς έκαστος τὸ σακκούλι του *ZYGOM., Stef. Ichn.* 182.19
 φοβώντας μὴπως ... ἀποτύχωμεν εἷς έκαστος (1585, Constantinople, PATRINELIS 1967/68: 28, 108.6)
 ξενεύγουν τὸ αὐτὸν πράγμα ὁ κάθε έκαστος (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/
 DRAKAKIS 2010: 255, 217.16)
 ἵνα ἔχει έκαστος (1641, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 3, 308.12)
 θέλει ὑπογράψει καὶ έκαστος (1666, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 18, 89.22)
 καθὼς έκαστος ἐδύνοτου ΚΑΣΙΜΑΤΙΣ, *Varl. & Ioas.* 501.17

Genitive

τοῦ καθενὸς καὶ ἐκάστου *Chron. Mor.* H 1022
 τοῦ καθενὸς ἐκάστου *Pol. Tr.* 852
 ἐκάστου τὴν ἀπόκρισιν *Liv.* S 1262 (= α 2525)
 λεπτογραφεῖν λόγους ἐνὸς ἐκάστου *Byz. Il.* 127
 ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τὸ ἐδικόν του (1520, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 58, 109.31)
 δίδει ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 403.21

Accusative

εἷς πᾶσα έκαστον (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 55.3)
 καὶ κρίνουν ἕναν έκαστον ποῖαν ἁμαρτίαν κάμνει BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 549
 μὲ τὸν καθὲν καὶ έκαστον ἄνθρωπον (1503, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 277, 237.5–6)
 ἐκ τὸν καθὲν καὶ έκαστον ἄνθρωπον (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 38, 79.12)
 ἀπὸ πᾶσα καὶ έκαστον ἄνθρωπον (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 17, 30.8)
 ἀπὸ κάθε έκαστο ἄνθρωπο (1639, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 140, 125.9)

Feminine**Nominative**

περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγίων καὶ Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων εἰς τίνος βασιλέως ἔγινε μιὰ ἐκάστη
KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 406.18

Genitive

τῶν ἀδελφάδων μου, μιᾶς ἐκάστης (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 54, 102.31)

Accusative

ἐκεῖνοι νὰ χορταίνουσιν τὸν ὕπνον καθ' ἐκάστην *Ptoch.* IV 304
καὶ καθ' ἐκάστη ἐκδέχεται τὴν βασιλείαν σου, ἀφέντη *Chron. Mor.* H 4649
τόσα δὲ νομίσματα ἀφ' ἐκάστην γενεὰ λαβεῖν θέλεις (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 12, 22.8)
καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην λέγουσιν ὀμπρὸς στὸν βασιλέα *Velis.* χ 32
καθ' ἐκάστην *Pol. Tr.* 1900 app. crit. (A)
ἔχαιρον καθ' ἐκάστην *Dig.* A 1567; καθ' ἑκαστον ἡμέραν *ibid.* 2424
καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν *Ptochol.* α 424
καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν MACHARAS, *Chron.* V 302.21

Neuter**Nominative/Accusative**

κατὰ ἓν ἑκαστον κεφάλαιον ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 310.14
εἰς ἓνα ἑκαστον ὁροθέσιον τῶν περιόρων τούτων (1300, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1994: 69, 146.20)
καὶ εἰς ἓνα ἑκαστον κλαδὶν νὰ τρέχῃ *Liv.* S 1362
καὶ πάσαν ἑκαστον ἔτος (1505, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 214, 159.13)
ἑκαστον τότ' ἐβόα ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* V.110
ἓν ἑκαστον πόσον καὶ ποταπὸν ἓναι ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, *Paidag.* 115.7
διὰ ποῖαν αἰτίαν ἑκαστον διηγεῖται ΖΥΓΟΜ., *Stef. Ichn.* 182.8
ποῖον ζῶδιον ἔχει τὴν χάριν, ἑκαστον ἐν τῷ καιρῷ αὐτοῦ (16th–17th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1924: 9, 66.5)

Genitive

ἀφ' ἐκάστου εἵδους (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 14, 22.5)
ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἔπαινον καὶ καθενὸς τὸν ψόγον *Diig. tetr.* 101
ἔδιδε μοῖραν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἀπ' αὐτῶν CHEILAS, *Chron.* 348.10
εἰς τὴν ἐφημερευομένην ἐκκλησίαν ἐκάστου χωρίου (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 168.5)

5.13.2.2 καθέκαστος

The distributive pronoun and determiner καθέκαστος “each” is a MedG innovation, which derives from the univerbation of the preposition κατὰ and the distributive pronoun ἑκαστος (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.). It is attested since the EMedG period (LAMPE, *Lex.* s.v.; LBG s.v.), e.g. ἵνα τὸ καθ' ἑκαστον τάγμα εὐκόλως ἐπιγινώσκη τὸ ἴδιον βάνδον Leo, *Tactica* 6.16.3. In the texts investigated, the earliest examples come from the 13th c. For the forms with prothetic /o/ see the discussion in 5.8.12. Καθέκαστος inflects, like ἑκαστος, as a regular adjective in -ος (see 3.2.1), with shift of stress to the penultimate in the gen. sg. and in the fem. in accordance with AG rules; it has no plural. Due to its etymology, it is usually difficult to distinguish it from the simple pronoun ἑκαστος preceded by the

preposition κατά; sometimes the matter is purely an editorial choice of word division. It frequently appears substantivized or, in the feminine accusative, as an adverb, e.g. συχνά και καθεκάστην *Chron. Toc.* 2007.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	καθέκαστος	καθεκάστη	καθέκαστο(ν)
Gen.	(καθεκάστου)	καθεκάστης	(καθεκάστου)
Acc.	καθέκαστο(ν)	καθεκάστη(ν) † καθεκάστη(ν)	καθέκαστο(ν)

διά να μάθει καθέκαστος KONDARIS, *Istor. palaiai* 409.4

τὸν καθέκαστον χρόνον (app. crit.) (1440, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 22, 226.2)

να δουλεύω εἰς τὸν Τίμιον Πρόδρομον καθέκαστον χρόνον κριθάριν ἕνα ψωμιὰρὶ (15th c., Pontos, ALEXAKIS/MAVROMATIS 2015: 3, 8.4)

ἵνα πέμψωμεν εἰς καθέκαστον χρόνον (1489, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 19, 100.13)

και διδει τον καθέκαστον ὅσον του χορτασθῆναι *Diig. Apoll.* 127

πληρώνοντα καθέκαστον χρόνον πάκτος (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 17, 59.12)

νὰ διδης τὸν καθέκαστον χρόνον ἕνα νεράτζι (1591, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 8, 37.4)

τὸν καθέκαστον χρόνον (1611, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 125, 121.7)

οἱ ψυχές, καθεκάστη ἀπ' ἐκεῖνες DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2961

καθεκάστης ὀργίας (1546, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 17, 53.10)

τὴν καθεκάστην Τρίτην (1328, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 2, 14.2)

τὴν καθέκαστην ἑβδομάδα (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 10, 47.10)

καθεκάστην ὥραν *Theseid* VI.32,7 (Olsen)

καθεκάστην ἐπήγαιεν εἰς τὸν τάφον του *Vios Aisop.* E 294.10

γρικώντας και διαβάζοντας οκαθεκάστην ὥραν *Theseid* VI.5,7 (Olsen)

στέκεται καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ζῶδιον (1684–85, Moscow, ŠANGIN 1936: 3, 127.19)

5.13.2.3 καθεῖς

The distributive pronoun καθεῖς “each, each one, everyone” is an innovation, deriving from the univerbation of the AG prepositional phrase κατά + ἕνα, a common syntagm with distributive meaning, formed by the preposition κατά and the accusative of the numeral εἷς. The form καθ' instead of κατά is due to the original aspiration of the following vowel (see I, 3.8.4.5). The collocation καθ' εἷς/καθ' ἕνα is attested already in the Koine, e.g. ὁ καθεῖς δὲ τῶν φίλων *Macch.* III.5.34 and ἐξήρχοντο εἷς καθ' εἷς *Ev. Jo.* 8.9 (KORAI 1828/35: IV 193; MAVROFRYDIS 1871: 568; PERNOT 1907/46: II 244; PSALTES 1913: 192; CHATZIDAKIS 1915: 463). Another indication of the early dating of the univerbated pronoun is the fact that the construction κατά + numeral “one” also gave rise to the Vulgar Latin loan pronoun

**cata unum* > *cadunum*, which lies behind the modern Romance distributive pronouns Fr. *chacun*, Ital. *caduno*, Sp. *cada uno* (MEYER 1889: 151; FEW II 482^b).

The pronoun *καθεῖς* exhibits a multiplicity of variant forms. The variant *καθένας* follows the regular evolution of the pronoun *εἷς* > *ἐνας* and inflects accordingly (see 5.8.5). The variant *καθενεῖς* results from stem levelling on the basis of the accusative *καθένα*, or can be seen as a reanalysis from *κάθε* and the innovative form *ἐνεῖς* of the indefinite pronoun/numeral *εἷς* (5.8.5; cf. also the corresponding form *κανενεῖς* of the pronoun *κανεῖς/κανένας*). The variant *καθές*, which appears exclusively in the Cypriot *Assizes*, is probably an artificial form on the analogy of the learned neuter variant *καθέν*.¹²⁴ For the prothesis of the vowel /o/ in *ὁκαθεῖς/ὁκαθένας* see the discussion in 5.8.12. The variants *κάθε εἷς*, *κάθα εἷς* are secondary de-univerbations or reanalyses on the basis of the pronoun *κάθε/κάθα*. The variants *κάτα εἷς*, *κάτε εἷς* owe their /t/ to the etymological influence of the preposition *κατά*. The feminine *καθεμία*, instead of the expected **καταμία* results from stem levelling on the basis of the masc. acc. and the neut. *καθένα* (JANNARIS 1897: §665; PERNOT 1907/46: II 245). The variant *καθημία*, which is attested only twice, in the *Assizes* (ms B), is a dubious form, which could be attributed to the analogy of the frequent adverb *καθημέραν* and adjective *καθημερινός* (cf. CHATZIOANNOU 2000, s.v. *κάθη*). The variant *καθακαμία* is a conflation of *καθεμία* and *καμιά*. For the inflection of *καθεῖς/καθένας* see 5.8.9 (*κανεῖς*).

The apparently neuter uninflected forms *τὸν καθέν*, *τὴν καθέν* e.g. *τὸν καθέν χρόνον*; *τὴν καθέν ἡμέραν* *Pol. Tr.* 6359 app. crit. (B), are best viewed as variants of the pronoun *κάθε* with retention of final /n/ and original stress. However, it must be noted that these forms are understood as accusative, as they very rarely, if ever, modify nouns in another case.

Kriaras (KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.) adds another complex form to the paradigm of *καθεῖς*: the Cretan variant *καθακιανεῖς*, which first appears in the 17th c., and derives from the conflation of the uninflected pronoun *κάθε* and the indefinite pronoun *κιανεῖς* (see 5.8.9). The only attested forms involve the typically Cretan variants *κάθα* for *κάθε* and *κιανεῖς* for *κανεῖς*, e.g. *ἀπὸ κάθα κιανένα ὅπου ἤθελεν εὐρεθεῖ* (1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 567, 503.15); *χάρη ὅπου νὰ ἔκαμεν κάθα κιανενός* (1610, *ibid.* 651, 568.6–7); *εὐκαριστῶ καθακιαμιᾶς σ' ἐκεῖνα ἀποῦ μοῦ τάσσει* FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm.* II 135. O. However, since one may find constructions where a word intervenes between the two members of the combination, it is doubtful whether it achieved fully lexicalized status: *καὶ ἀπὸ κάθα ἄλλο κιανένα* (1644, Crete, VINCENT 1967: 3, 64.24).

Καθεῖς is used both as a pronoun and as a determiner:

νὰ ἔναι καὶ διαμένῃ ὁ καθεῖς εἰς τὸ μερίδιον αὐτοῦ (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 230, 164.29)

ἐκεῖνοι ἐθάρρουν πῶς νικοῦν καθέννας χιλιάδας *Dig.* A 3132

ἡ καθεμία βρύσις *Liv.* V 3723

τοῦ καθενὸς χριστιανοῦ MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 106

¹²⁴ Pernot's suggestion (1907/46: II 249) that *καθές* is a result of contraction is phonetically impossible.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	καθεῖς ἰ καθενεῖς ἰ καθανεῖς ἰ καθένας ἰ καθές ἰ (όκαθεῖς) ἰ κάθε εἷς ἰ κάθα εἷς ἰ κάτα εἷς ἰ κάτε εἷς ἰ κάθε ἕνας ἰ κάθα ἕνας	καθεμία ἰ καθεμιά ἰ καθαμία ἰ κάθα μία ἰ καθαμιά ἰ καθημία	καθέν ἰ καθένα(ν) ἰ καθάνα ἰ κάθε ἕνα ἰ κάθα ἕνα ἰ κάθα ἕν
Gen.	καθενός ἰ καθένος ἰ καθενοῦ ἰ καθένα ἰ όκαθενός ἰ καθενοῦς ? ἰ κάθε ἑνός ἰ καθανοῦς ἰ καθανοῦ	καθεμίας ἰ καθεμιᾶς ἰ καθαμιᾶς ἰ όκαθεμιᾶς ἰ καθημιᾶς ἰ καθεμιανῆς ἰ καθακιαμιᾶς	καθενός ἰ καθενοῦ ἰ κάθα ἑνός ἰ καθανός ἰ καθέν
Acc.	καθένα(ν) ἰ καθεῖ ἰ κάθαναν/καθάναν ἰ κάθε ἕνα(ν) ἰ κάθα ἕνα(ν) ἰ (καθέν)	καθεμία(ν) ἰ καθεμιά(ν) ἰ (καθέν)	καθέν ἰ καθένα(ν) ἰ καθάνα ἰ κάθε ἕνα ἰ κάθα ἕνα ἰ κάθα ἕν

Masculine

Nominative

General	Restricted	Rare
καθεῖς ἰ καθένας ἰ κάθε εἷς ἰ κάθα εἷς ἰ κάθε ἕνας ἰ κάθα ἕνας	καθενεῖς ἰ καθανεῖς	καθές ἰ κάτε εἷς ἰ κάτα εἷς

Καθεῖς is the oldest and etymologically original form; it appears without chronological or geographical restrictions, but can also be considered as a higher-register variant. Καθένας appears from the 13th c. onwards, again without geographical restrictions. The form καθές is exclusive to the *Assizes*. The reanalysed de-univerbated forms κάθε εἷς/κάθα εἷς obviously appear only after the development of κάθε, i.e. from the 15th c. onwards. Κάτε εἷς/κάτα εἷς appears very rarely. The form καθενεῖς/καθανεῖς is attested since the 17th c., mostly in texts from Crete.

- καμελαύκιν δὲ χρὴ ἔχειν ὁ καθεῖς, ἕνα πανὶν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 106.20
 ἵνα μοῦ δουλεύῃ ὁ καθεῖς κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82:
 Coll. XI: 14, 534.10); οἵτινες κατωτέρω ὁ καθεῖς ἐγράφησαν (1185, *ibid.* App. 6, 660.23)
 ὅπερ ὁ καθεῖς ... γινώσκει (1188, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 225, 299.36)
 ὁ καθεῖς ἀδελφός (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.604–5)
 ὁ καθεῖς τὸν ἴδιον Παῦλον κλαίγει *Paroim.* H 25
 ὅπου μέλλουν νὰ ὀρκεσθοῦν μὲ ὀλίγον ὁ καθ' εἷς (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.2)
 ὁ καθεῖς *Pol. Tr.* 1546 app. crit. (X)
 νὰ γυρεύῃ ὁ καθεῖς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ δικαίωματα (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 7, 45.18)
 τὸ ὅσον ἔβαλεν ὁ καθεῖς (1503, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 275, 235.8)
 ὁ καθεῖς ὡς ἔπραξεν νὰ πάθῃ *Def. Par.* 92
 εἶχεν καθεῖς τὸ ταίριν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 368

- ἴτις ὁκ' ἔδειχνε καθεὶς ἐκεῖνα τὰ ὀδηγᾶτον FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 8
 ὅρισε ὁ καθεὶς τί νὰ πληρώνη *Diig. Alex.* K 289.19
 καθεὶς ἔβαλε νὰ παίζει KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VII.190
 διὰ μερτικό του καθεὶς τοῦ νὰ τὰ ἔχη (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 113.19–20)
 ἔλαβεν ὁ καθεὶς τὸν σερμεγέ του (1690, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-Papastathi 1974: 13, 8.4)
- ὁ καθέννας ἐκείνοις ἀρκῆται, οἷς δεδικαίωται (1142 [13th. c. copy], Serres?, LEFORT et al. 1994: 55b, 69)
 νὰ μὲ ποιήσουν ἀπὸ μ' λειτουργιῶν ὁ καθέννας ἕκαστος (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.56)
 οἱ καβαλλάροι ὅπου κρατοῦν πρὸς ἕνα φῖε ὁ καθέννας *Chron. Mor.* H 1986
 ἐκοιμόνταν καθέννας εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἔλαχεν PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.8
 θέλουν ὑπογράψει ... καθέννας τὸ ὄνομά του (1609, Cyprus, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 20, 267.4–5)
 ἤμπορεῖ νὰ βεβαιωθῇ καθέννας (1621, Kefalonia, PAPADOPOULOS 1998/2000: 1, 66.25)
 [καθαεῖς, πασαεῖς, πασανεῖς] si dice anco nel nominatiuo, καθέννας GERMANO, *Grammar* 73.23
 νὰ εἶναι καθέννας ποδάρια τρία βαθύς LANDOS, *Geopon.* 156.6
 καθέννας ἀπὸ λόγου σας FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 134
 διαμένουν εὐχαριστημένοι ὁ καθέννας τους (1663, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 5, 35.16)
 καθέννας βλέποντας KONDAR., *Paides* 805
 ἄς ἔχη καθέννας τὸ μερτικό του (1687, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 92, 53.8)
 νὰ λαμβάνη καὶ ὁ καθέννας (1687, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-Papastathi 1974: 4, 3.15)
 νὰ μὴ σηκώνεται καθέννας νὰ χαλᾷ τὲς συνήθειες (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.8)
 ἔσερνε περισσοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ καθέννας εἰς τὴν συντροφίαν SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 35.21
- ἐντέχεται ὁ καθὲς νὰ ἔχη τὸ μερτικόν του *Assizes* B 296.26; ὁ καθὲς *ibid.* 373.18; ὁ καθὲς τὸ μερτικόν του *ibid.* 381.14
 νὰ ποῦν ὁ καθὲς τὸ δίκαιόν του *Assizes* A 109.17; ὁ καθὲς ἠμπορεῖ νὰ δώσῃ *ibid.* 154.28; ἄς βλέπεται ὁ καθὲς *ibid.* 159.31–160.1
- κάθε εἷς ἀπὲ (ἀπὸ V) σᾶς κεφαλαικεύει θέλει *Pol. Tr.* 1546 app. crit. (BV)
 εἰμὴ τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἔπραξεν ὁ καθεὶς ἀπὸς του *Peri xen.* 508
 ὁ καθεὶς νὰ πολεμᾷ *Chron. Toc.* 604
 ὁ κάθε εἷς μὲ τὸν λαὸν ὅπου εἶχε *Theseid* I.18,5 (Follieri)
 ὁ κάθε εἷς ἐσπούδαζεν νὰ σώσῃ τὸν ἑαυτὸν του *Chron. Mor.* P 4824
 ὁ κάθε εἷς ἐκάθισεν *Byz. Il.* 49
 ὁ κάθε εἷς ἐκ τούτων σπανοὺς νὰ φεύγῃ *Spanos* D 1812
 κοντύλιν ἐκράτει ὁ καθεὶς BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 474
 ὁ καθεὶς ἀνθρώπος *Lapid.* 186.1
 ὁ κάθε εἷς ἀπ' αὐτοὺς (1547, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 190, 121.5)
 ἐπῆρεν ὁ κάθε εἷς θρονία δύο (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 230, 164.25)
 σκοτώθην κάθε εἷς ὅπουτον παλληκάρι ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1947
 καθεὶς ἐπιθυμῇ λόγον νὰ τοῦ ἀρπάξῃ ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Rim. Mich.* 32
 ὁ κάθε εἷς εἰς τὸ ἐδικόν του (1588, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 314, 264.14)
 ἀνάδεδυσαν ὁ κάθε εἷς τὸ πινάκι του *Vios Aisop.* K 166.21
 τούτῃ τὴν ὥρα κάθε εἷς γλυκώτατα κοιμᾶται CHORTATZIS, *Katz.* I.23
 ἐπῆρε ὁ κάθε εἷς τὸ μερτικό του (1615, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 2, 303.14)
 διὰ νὰ εἶναι κάθε εἷς συνδεμένος MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 314.30

- δουλεύοντες καὶ κοινομώντες ὁ κάθε εἷς τὴν πάρτη του (1673, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 72, 43.7)
- δύο γρόσια γιὰ ψοῦνος του ὁ κάθε εἷς τως (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 236, 421.10)
- ὁ,τι εἶχε κάθε εἷς (1690, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 13, 8.3)
- ὡς πράττει ὁ ὁ κάθε εἷς οὕτως θέλει ἀπολάβει *Chron. Mor.* H 1262
- εἰσοδιάζονται κάτα εἷς εἷς τὴν μονὴν καρπὸν (1334, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 43, 133.14)
- ὁ κατὰ εἷς διὰ λόγου του *Chron. Mor.* H 1395
- ὁ κατὰ εἷς ἐσπουδάξεν νὰ σώσῃ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν του *Chron. Mor.* H 4824
- νὰ εὖρης καθὰ εἷς τὸ τί ἐπῆρεν (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 39, 34.2)
- ᾧς πάρη καθαιεῖς STAFIDAS, *Iatrosaf.* 10.268
- ὁ καθαιεῖς LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 671
- νὰ δοκιμάσῃ τὸ ἄλογό του καθαιεῖς *Alex. Rim.* 332
- ἐπῆρεν ὁ κάθα εἷς τῶνε κραστοπίθαρα (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 853, 744.10)
- νὰ τὰ πλερώνουσι οἱ ἄνωθέ μου κομισάριοι κάθα εἷς τὰ μισὰ (1616, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 2, 223.206)
- καθαίς, πασαις, πασανεῖς, ogn'uno GERMANO, *Grammar* 73.15
- ὁ καθαιεῖς FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 39
- νὰ παίρνῃ κάθα εἷς (1666, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 14, 79.24)
- ὁ κάθα εἷς (1667, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [7], 25.17)
- κάθα εἷς *Fallidos* 5
- νὰ εἶναι κάθα εἷς χώρια τῶν (1685, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 412.20–1)
- καὶ ξέρετε, ὁ κάθα εἷς, τὴν κάνει ὡσὰν μπορέσῃ *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 94
- νὰ σηκώνεται κάθε ἕνας (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 51.64–5);
- ὁ κάθε ἕνας τῶνε (1589, *ibid.* 341, 285.9)
- νὰ πουλήσῃ ὅσα θέλει κάθε ἕνας *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 106.37
- βάνει ὁ κάθε ἕνας τως ρεάλια διακόσα (1669, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 1, 576.6)
- νὰ πλερωθοῦν τὰ χρέη τοῦ χρεωστῆ κάθε ἕνας (1696, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [42], 58.18)
- τυχαίνει κάθα ἕνας νὰ τὸ λογιάζῃ (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 37.4–5)
- κάθα ἕνας ᾧς μ' ἀκούσῃ *Fallidos* 2
- καὶ τ' ὄνομά του καθενεῖς ᾧς ξεῦρ', ὄντας σᾶς πάγω KONDAR., *Paidēs* 300
- καὶ καθενεῖς τοῦ Κρητικοῦ νίκος ἐπαρεκάλει KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1188 app. crit. (X)
- καὶ ὁ καθενεῖς τοῦ πορπατεῖ γνωρίζει *Diig. Vefa* 991
- καὶ καθανεῖς τοῦ Κρητικοῦ νίκος ἐπαρεκάλει KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1188
- νὰ ὑπομένῃ καθανεῖς ἐκεῖν' ὅπου τὸν μέλλει *Diig. Vefa* 553
- καὶ νὰ τρομάξῃ καθανεῖς δῖχως ἡματοχυσία *Trag. Ag. Dim.* IV.45

Genitive

General	Restricted	Rare
καθενός καθενοῦ	καθενοῦς καθανός καθανοῦς κάθε ενός	ὁκαθενός καθένα καθένος

The form καθενός is the oldest form, and appears throughout the LMedG and EMG period without geographical restrictions. It should not be considered a higher-register variant, as it continues to be the regular genitive singular in SMG and many MG dialects. Καθινός is the same form, with “northern” vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4). For the form καθενοῦ, which appears first in the 15th c., again without geographical restrictions, cf. the gen. sg. ἐνοῦ of the pronoun/numeral εἷς/ένας (5.8.5). The variant καθένα follows the inflectional pattern of the nouns in -ας (e.g. μήνας; see 2.2.2), and is attested in certain 16th- and 17th-c. verse texts, albeit very rarely. The forms καθανός, καθανοῦ are either the result of progressive assimilation from καθενός–καθενοῦ (TRIANDAPHYLIDIS 1909: 14), or, more likely, are influenced by the variant κάθα of the pronoun κάθε, itself a result of analogy (see 5.13.2.4). They are attested since the 16th c., mostly in texts from Crete. The variant κάθανους, if not a scribal misplacement of the accent, probably testifies to a de-univerbated form κάθα ’νοῦς. For the form καθενοῦς/καθενούς see 5.8.5. The variant καθένος displays stress retraction probably artificially for metrical needs; if not, it could be viewed as an analogical tendency for columnar stress, on the basis of the nom. καθένας and the acc. καθένα. The variant κάθε ἐνός may be a purely orthographic choice, which appears relatively rarely.

- τοῦ καθενός (1198, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 146, 334.13)
 τοῦ καθενός ἀψαμένου τῆς ἀγίας βίβλου (1328, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 2, 11.13)
 τοῦ καθενός τὴν πρᾶξιν *Chron. Mor.* H 1425
 τοῦ καθενός τὰς ἀπειλὰς *Liv.* V 228
 πῶς πορεύεται τοῦ καθενός τὸ ἐταίριν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 170
 ὅ,τι ἤθελεν τοκάρειν τοῦ καθενός (1528, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 72, 99.11)
 κατὰ τὴν τάξιν καθενός δίδε δουλειάν FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 199
 τοῦ καθενός τὴν πληρωμὴν δίδει του σὰν τοῦ πρέπει GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 372
 τὸ δίκαιον καθενός *Velis.* ρ 428
 τοῦ καθενός τὴν γνώμη *Alex. Rim.* 2664
 σὰν πρέπει γὰρ τῶν ἀφεντῶν καὶ καθενός μεγάλου *Imb. Rim.* 274
 διὰ τὰ δώση τοῦ καθενός VENDRAMOS, *Istor. gyn.* 206
 τοῦ καθενός μαχαλᾶ (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 447.21)
 τοῦ καθενός παρήκοου (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 167.16)
 καθενός τὴν πίστιν PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 112.8
 τοῦ καθενός χριστιανοῦ MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 106
 ἔδωσεν τοῦ καθενός (1690, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 11, 7.8)
 παίρνει καὶ δίδει οκαθενός *Theseid* VI.1.4 (Olsen)
 ἐπαρέθηκεν οκαθενός γλῶσσαν ὀπτὴν *Vios Aisop.* K 172.18 app. crit. (A)
 ἀποῦ διακόσια δέκα καθινός (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 56.9)
 ’ς τοῦ καθενοῦ τὴν θύραν *Spaneas* Z 467
 πόσα ἔρχεται τοῦ καθενοῦ τὸ κέρδος (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 7, 18.2)
 τοῦ καθενοῦ ἀνθρώπου *Assizes* B 273.3
 του καθενοῦ μηνός *Diig. Alex.* K 375.23
 μπαρμποῦτες ὅμοιες τοῦ καθενοῦ *Diig. Alex.* E 207.27 (Lolos)
 τὸ μερτικό καθενοῦ (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 277, 381.4)
 του καθενοῦ το μερτικόν ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 37.8
 ὡς ἔπρεπε τοῦ καθενοῦ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 74.3

- στοὺς πάντες ἐδιαμοίρασε, ὥς πρέπει τοῦ καθένα *Theseid* II.83,6 (1529)
 αὐτὸς ὁ στρατηγὸς ἔδειξε τοῦ καθένα *Alex. Rim.* 1631
 πῶς ἔπεςες, πῶς ἔκλινες εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ καθένα *ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., Ist. Vlach.* 2400
- πῶς ἐπερίσψασιν ἀπὸ τὸ ἀρκετόν τους τοῦ καθανοῦ (1667, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [7], 25.8)
- ὁ,τι παρτινίρει κάθε ἐνὸς (1482 [later copy], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 109, 219.26)
 τοῦ κάθε ἐνὸς τὸ μήναν του (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 72, 56.11)
- νὰ ἔναι καθανὸς τὸ μισὸ (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 31, 31.50)
 τοῦ καθανὸς ἀνθρώπου *Velis.* ρ 424 app. crit. (P)
 νὰ σᾶς σώνου καθανὸς σας (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 147.7)
 νὰ μοῦ ἀρέση ἐμένα [καὶ] κάθανὸς (1575, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 1, 17.10)
 τοῦ καθανὸς ἐδίδασι κομμάτι μὲ τὸ ψάρι *P&N Diath.* 2604
 τόση βοήθεια καθανὸς νὰ δώσει *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.253
 κατέχει καθανὸς καρδιά *Thysia Avr.* 960
 τοκάρει καθανὸς τῶνε ἀγαστέρες ἰβ' (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 794, 689.5)
 ἀφήνω καὶ τῶν ἄνωθε μαρτύρω τοῦ καθανὸς ἔξι δουκάτα (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 40.98)
- δοσμένον ἔναι καθανὸς ἀθρώπου ἀπ᾽χει γνώση *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.1
 νὰ γροικοῦ τοῦ καθανὸς μαντάτο *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 469.6
 νὰ κρίνη ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ κάθάνος νὰ δώση *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1083
- τὰ μουζούρια δέκα τοῦ κάθανους (1590, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 2, 347.23)
 καθανους τος περπυρα χιλιάδες τρης / καθανοὺς τως πέρπυρα χιλιάδες τρεῖς (1616, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 2, 222.160)
- ποὺ δίδει τοῦ καθένος *Theseid* V.98,7 (1529)
 τὰ ἄλογα ἐκεῖνα τοῦ καθένος *Alex. Rim.* 349
 νὰ καταλάβης τὰς ὥρας τοῦ καθένος πλανήτου (16th–17th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1924: 9, 68.15)

Accusative

General	Restricted	Rare
καθένα(ν) † καθέν	κάθε ἔνα(ν) † κάθα ἔνα(ν)	καθεῖ(ν) † κάθαναν/καθάναν

The regular form is *καθένα(ν)*, throughout the period under investigation, without geographical restriction. The forms *κάθε ἔνα(ν)* and *κάθα ἔνα(ν)* are infrequent de-univerbations. The form *καθεῖ(ν)* is analogically formed on the basis of the nom. sg. *καθεῖς* and corresponds with *κανεῖν* (see 5.8.9). For the variant *κάθαναν/καθάναν*, based on the form *κάθα*, a single occurrence has been found: *τὸν κάθαναν* *Cypr. Canz.* 17.9, but *τὸν καθάναν* (Legrand). The position of the accent is a matter of editorial choice, as there are no accents in the manuscript.

- τὸν καθένα χρόνον (1227–50, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 20, 157.14)
 τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν καθένα *Spaneas* B 480
 καὶ τὸν καθ' ἕνα ἄνθρωπον εἶχε μηχανογραμμένον *Log. parig.* L 515

ὥς πρέπει τὸν καθένα *Chron. Toc.* 1587

καθένα πρὸς τὴν τάξιν του ὥς πρέπει να τιμήσω *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 114

καὶ ἄλογα ηὐρίσκομεν σὲ τόπον τὸν καθένα *Alex. Rim.* 907

ἔδωκεν καὶ τὸν καθένα ἔξοδον [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P 325.13

κ' ἐκόμπωνε καθένα *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.410

καὶ τὸν καθέναν ἔστειλα εἰς ἓνα μονοπάτιν *Liv.* V 2359

ἐκεῖ διαμοιράζει τους, καθέναν εἰς τὴν τάξιν *Peri xen.* 488

καὶ τὸν καθέναν ἥρπαξεν μὲ πόθον *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 381

καὶ τὸν καθέναν ἔζωσε χρυσὸν σπαθὶν *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 343

ὁμολόγησεν τὸ πῶς ἐγίνη ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλον καθέναν λόγον *Diig. Alex.* V 30.22

καθέναν *ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 1394

τὸν καθεὶ χρόνον (1548, Crete, *MANOUSAKAS* 1992: 15.13)

ἄκουε κάθε ἓνα κανόνα *DAM. STOUD., Dial.* 97.35

ἀφήνω κάθε ἓνα νὰ τὸ ἰδῇ ἄτός του *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 64.26

εἰς κάθε ἓναν (1630, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1968: 14, 58.19)

ἀνεμπόδιστοι ἀπὸ κάθε ἓνα *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 125–6

κάθε ἓνα ἐνάντιο (1658, Andros, *POLEMIS* 2001: 60, 180.17)

ἤτρεχεν εἰς κάθε ἓνα ὁποῦ εἶχε χρεῖα (1697, Mykonos, *VISVIZIS* 1957: 48, 143.11)

καθαέναν λόγον της *Liv.* V 2878

τὸν κάθα ἓνα χρόνον (1530, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1978: 12, 47.11)

νὰ τοὺς ἐμαντινιέρουν εἰσὲ κάθα κρίση καὶ εἰσὲ κάθα ἓνα ποὺ νὰ τῶς δώσουν πείραξη (1592, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1955: 19, 75.21–2)

σε καθαένα πλερωμὴ δίδω *CHORTASIS, Panor.* V.63

κάθα ἓναν πτωχὸν (1608, Venice, *MANOUSAKAS* 1969: 10, 28.12)

κ' ἐγέλα κάθα ἓνα *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.410 app. crit. (A)

Feminine

Nominative

General	Restricted	Rare
καθεμία ἰ καθεμιά	καθαμία ἰ κάθα μία	καθημία

The normal form throughout the period is *καθεμία/καθεμιά*. The variation in stress position, i.e. the realization or not of synizesis, is hard to investigate, due to the conservatism of scribes and the orthographic conventions of modern editors. The form *καθαμία*, as in the case of *καθανός* above, can either be viewed as resulting from progressive assimilation or from influence of the pronoun *κάθε* > *κάθα*. The distinction between *κάθα μία* and *καθαμία* is purely graphematic. The form *καθημία*, appearing only in the *Assizes*, may derive from the analogy of *καθ' ἡμέρα* (cf. *CHATZIOIOANNOU* 2000 s.v. *κάθη*). The nominative form *κάθεν μία*, e.g. *ἔβγαινεν κάθεν μία καλὴ γυναῖκα* (1687, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA* et al. 1982/83: 674, 921.7), is simply an instance of irrational addition of final /n/, which is very common in the specific textual source (see I, 3.7.2.1).

χώρια τους καθεμία φυλὴ *Chron. Mor.* H 7029

εἶχεν ἡ πόρτα καθεμιά φύλαξιν *Pol. Tr.* 1298 (X); εἶχεν ἡ πόρτα ἡ καθεμία φύλαξιν *ibid.* 1298

(A)

ή καθεμία ἀπατή της *Theseid* I.30,3 (Follieri)
 τρεῖς ἀδελφάδες ... κ' ἡ καθεμία παιδία | νὰ ἔχη LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 190 (Lendari) (Wagner: νὰ
 ἔχη)
 νὰ ἔβανε ἡ καθεμία ὡς μέτρα γὰρ πενήντα *Alex. Rim.* 2035
 ἡ Fem. N. πασαμία, καθεμία, οὐκ ἔχοντα GERMANO, *Grammar* 73.21
 ὑπῆγεν ἡ κάθε μία εἰς τὸν τόπον της [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 317.4
 νὰ πάρουν καὶ ἡ Εὐγένα καὶ ἡ Βενετίτσα στὸ μερικὸ τοὺς κάθε μία (1688, Peloponnese,
 GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 138.20–1)
 ὅτε ἐφαίνετο καθεμία νὰ εἶναι ἐπιτηδεῖα PORFYROP., *Prokop. paraphr.* 491.23
 ἡ καθαμία τάξις συγγενείας (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.600)
 ἡ κάθε μία (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 149, 269.15)
 κάθε μὴ μὲ τ' ὄνομα *P&N Diath.* 704
 καὶ καθαμία τοῦ χάρισε τὴν ἐδική τζη χάρη CHORTATSI, *Panor. Dedic.* 21
 ἤλαβεν κάθε μία τὸ μερίδιόν της (1679, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 20, 99: 11)

Genitive

General	Restricted	Rare
καθεμίας ἰ καθεμιᾶς	καθαμιᾶς ἰ καθακιαμιᾶς	ὀκαθεμιᾶς ἰ καθημιᾶς ἰ κάθε μιανῆς/καθεμιανῆς

The regular form throughout the LMedG and EMG period is καθεμίας/καθεμιᾶς. The variation in accent position, as mentioned above, is not a reliable indication of whether or not synizesis has taken place. Word division (κάθε μίας/καθεμίας, κάθε μίας/καθαμίας) is simply a matter of editorial choice. For the form μιανῆς, appearing since the 17th c. on the analogy of ἀλλήνῃς, see 5.8.5.

νὰ πέψη τὲς φουδοῦλες, | καταλεπτῶς τῆς καθεμίας *Flor.* L 1561
 τῆς καθεμίας γυναικὸς *Assizes* A 25.22
 ἀφῆνω τῆς καθεμίας (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 56.24)
 τῆς καθεμιᾶς (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1955: 519.13)
 τῆς κάθε μιᾶς εἰκόνης SKOUFOS, *Grammat.* 46.12
 καθεμιᾶς λογῆς *Thrinis Kypr.* 290
 πέρπυρα χιλιάδες δύο καθαμιᾶς τως (1616, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 2, 222.158)
 καθαμιᾶς πέρπυρα εἴκοσι (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 39.66); νὰ κόβγουσι καθαμιᾶς
 μιὰ σάρτζα (1633, *ibid.* 7, 87.107)
 νὰ εἶναι πάλι καθαμιᾶς ἐκεῖνη ὅπου τῆς ἤδωκε (1679, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 20, 99: 11)
 ὀκαθεμιᾶς ἐγὼ θυμῶ, ἂν θέλῃ ἐλευθερίαν *Theseid* I.36,3 (Follieri)
 τῆς καθημιᾶς γυναικὸς *Assizes* B 273.11–12; τῆς καθημιᾶς γεναίκας *ibid.* 274.2; τοῦ καθενοῦ
 καὶ τῆς καθημιᾶς *ibid.* 274.5
 τῆς κάθε μιανῆς θυγατέρός μου (1673, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 73, 43.4); νὰ τῆς δίδουν τῆς
 κάθε μιανῆς (1694, *ibid.* 204, 124.15)
 τῆς κάθε μιανῆς (ms) (1693, Venice, MERTZIOS 1935: 1, 22.23)

Accusative

General
καθεμία(ν) ἰ καθεμιά(ν)

The regular form throughout the LMedG and EMG periods is καθεμία(ν)/καθεμιά(ν)). The variation in accent position, i.e. the realization or not of synizesis, is again obscured by the written tradition. The form καθήν, used exclusively in the fem. in expressions of time, derives from the fixed high-register syntagm καθ' ἥν ἡμέραν.

τὴν καθεμιάν ὥς πρέπει *Velth.* 612

εἰς καθεμιάν πολλές σακκούλες δίδει *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ.*, *Pali* 4265

κ' εἰς κάθε μιὰ ἀπὸ τὰ θελὲς καρδιά σαῖτεμένη *KORNAPOS, Erot.* II.302

τὴν καθὴν Τρίτην (1328, Sicily, *CANTARELLA* 1937: 4, 24.10)

καθὴν ἡμέραν πολεμοῦν καὶ ὀργανώνουσιν τον *Velis.* χ 325

τὴν καθὴν ἡμέραν *Chron. Toc.* 215; τὸ καθεκάστην καὶ συχνά, καὶ τὴν καθὴν ἡμέραν *ibid.* 3464

καθὴν ἡμέρα (1489, Rhodes, *LEFORT* 1981: 20, 102.8)

τὴν καθ' ἥν ἡμέραν / τὴν καθὴν ἡμέραν (15th c., Unknown, *SEARBY* 2003: 4, 694.2)

καθὴν ἡμέραν πολεμοῦν εἰς τοῦ καστελλίου τὴν πόρταν *Achil.* N 435

καθὴν ἡμέραν τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ πλείονα λαλοῦσιν *Velis.* N² 349

ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καθὴν ὥρα ὑπὴγαιεν *Diig. Alex.* V 31.5

καθὴν ἡμέραν τὸ κορμὶ γροικοῦμεν ᾗ ἀχαμνίζει *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 555

Neuter*Nominative/Accusative*

General	Restricted	Rare
καθὲν ἰ καθέν(α)(ν)	κάθε ξνα ἰ κάθα ξνα	καθάνα ἰ κάθα ξν

Καθέν is the earlier and etymologically original form. It is used throughout the period under investigation, and should be considered as the higher-register variant. Καθέν(α)(ν) is the result of regular morphological evolution, following the pattern of ξν/ξνα (see 5.8.5). The form καθάνα is very rare, and is probably due to the analogy of the uninflected form κάθε > κάθα. The variants κάθε ξνα/κάθα ξνα appear in the 15th c. as the result of reanalysis/de-univerbation of καθέν. Such reanalysed forms are very frequent in texts of Cretan origin.

τὸ καθὲν σχοινίον (1193–4, S. Italy, *GUILLOU* 1963: 16, 131.23); τὸ καθὲν βοΐδιον (1264, Sicily, *ibid.* 21, 163.11)

ὅπως ἀπέλθωμεν εἰς τοὺς τόπους καὶ ἐπιστατήσαντες δώσωμεν τὸ καθὲν μέρος τὰ ὅρια αὐτῶν (1018–19 [14th–15th c. copy], Athos, *LEMERLE* et al. 1970: 23, 169.2)

τὸ καθὲν σακὶ τὸ μαλλί (15th c., Unknown, *SEARBY* 2003: 8, 696.3)

τὸ καθὲν ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν εἶχεν βαβαλάρους *Achil.* N 484

ἤφερεν τὸ καθὲν *Diig. Alex.* V 29.17; τὸ ἐν καθὲν κέρατον ἕως τὸν Νότον ἀκουμπᾷ *ibid.* 52.24

πῶς νὰ προσκυνήσῃ τὸ καθὲν ἐξ αὐτὰ καὶ τί χαιρετισμὸ νὰ εἰπῇ τὸ καθὲν παιδί (1514, Zakynthos, *MANOUSAKAS* 1963b: 164.8–9)

νὰ δίδεται τὸ καθὲν (1606, Nauplion, *BROUSKARI* 1982: 1, 179.22)

καὶ παίρνει τὸ καθέν νοίκι ἄσπρα 5' (1610–20, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 23, 96.53)
 ἀπὸ λίτρες 5 τὸ καθέν (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 11, 9.5)
 καθέν μοναστήριον (1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.7)

διὰ τὸ καθένα φῖε *Chron. Mor.* H 1984

τὸ καθένα τὸ δενδρὸν *Liv.* V 3723

κατὰ τὴν φύσιν καὶ σκοπὸν ἐλάλειν τὸ καθένα BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 28

ἀπὸ χίλια φλωρία ἔγμεν τὸ καθένα σκουτέλι *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1137

ἐρμηνεύω ἓνα καθένα τὰ βρώσιμα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 129.20–1

τὸ σπαθὶ κρατεῖ καθένα DIAKR., *Stichoi* 80

καὶ τὰ ἄλλα προσώπατα τὸ καθένα ἀπὸ ἄσπρα 3054 (1691, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/
 TSOURKA-PARASTATHI 1974: 16, 10.13)

σὰν ἄνθρωπος συντύχαιναν, λαλοῦσε τὸ καθ' ἓνα *Diig. Vefa* 356

νὰ δίνη στὸ καθένα τὸ προυκί του (1703, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 25, 330.10)

τὸ καθέναν κεφάλιν *Assizes* A 112.22

καὶ ἐκ τὸ καθέναν ἄνθημα, καὶ ἐκ τὸ καθέναν ρόδα *Flor.* L 1558

ἐκιλαδοῦσαν ἓναν καθέναν τὸ αὐτὸ μέλος τὸ οἰκεῖον *Achil.* N 798

καὶ πὰ καθάνα νὰ ἔβρη τὴ ζωὴν του *Cypr. Canz.* 78.27

γράμματα εἶχε τὸ λοιπὸν μνημα τὸ κάθε ἓνα *Alex. Rim.* 1404

θέλει νὰ αὐξάνη εἰς κάθε ἓνα MAXIMOS, *Synax. Ag. Nik.* 139.91

κάθε ἓνα ὀρίζει ἓνα ἐκ τοῦ μέλους τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (1684–5, Moscow, ŠANGIN 1936: 3, 124.5)

στὸ κάθε ἓνα (1693, Venice, MERTZIOS 1935: 1, 22.14)

τὰ ἄχομι τὸ κάθε ἓνα (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 12, 82.12)

διὰ κάθα ἓν (1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 99.7)

νὰ παίρνῃ τὸ κάθα ἓνα μου παιδίον τὸ μισόν μου ἔχει (1522, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS
 2003, 65, 121.12)

πὼς λέγουσι κάθα ἓνα ἀπὸ αὐτάνα VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 118

apo iperpira dhodheca to catha ena / ἀπὸ ὑπέρπυρα δώδεκα τὸ κάθα ἓνα (1631, Crete,
 MAVROMATIS 1998: 8, 313.5)

ἀπὸ κάθα ἓνα ὀκτὼ οὐγγίας LANDOS, *Geopon.* 226.8

Genitive

General	Restricted	Rare
καθενός	κάθα ἐνός	καθανός καθενοῦ καθέν

Καθενός is the earlier and etymologically original form, and by far the most frequent one. It should not be considered as belonging to a higher register, as it still remains the main variant in many Greek dialects, as well as in SMG. The form καθανός can be attributed either to assimilation or to influence of the form κάθα. The variant καθενοῦ follows the inflectional pattern of ἓν/ἓνα (see 5.8.5). The variant κάθα ἐνός is a de-univerbation appearing from the 15th c. The form καθέν is best viewed as a variant of uninflected κάθε.

ἐξάπλωσαν τὰ φλάμπουρα τοῦ καθενός φουσσάτου *Chron. Mor.* H 1431

καὶ τὸν καθένα τὸν ἡχὸν τοῦ καθενός τοῦ ξύλου *Liv.* V 796

ἐνός ἐκάστου ἔπαινον καὶ καθενός τὸν ψόγον *Diig. tetr.* 101

καὶ ὀνόματα τῶν ἵκάλεσε τοῦ καθενὸς νὰ κράζουσιν CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 61
 ἐγνώρισεν τὴν φύσιν τως καὶ καθενὸς τως δῶσε FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 269
 ἀφήνω τῶν κοπελλίων μου τοῦ καθενὸς ὑπέρπυρα ν' (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT
 1978: 15, 54.23)
 ἐμέριζεν αὐτὰ τοῦ καθ' ἑνὸς CHEILAS, *Chron.* 348.9
 τέσσερα μοναστήρια ἀνάστησε καὶ τὰ οἶκισε δίδοντας καθενὸς τὰ πρεπάμενα κτίσματα
 RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 64.7

καὶ καθανὸς ἡ κρίση του, ὡς βλέπεις, εἶναι ἀκέρια *P&N Diath.* 515

τοῦ καθέν δουκάτου (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1, 18.12)

τοῦ καθενοῦ παιδίου *Diig. Alex.* F 110.20 (Lolos)

τοῦ κάθα ἑνός μου παιδίου (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 68, 126.11)
 κάθα ἑνὸς τὸ ὄνομάν του VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 118.26

5.13.2.4 κάθε/κάθα

The distributive determiner *κάθε* is a LMedG innovation first appearing in the 15th c., if one discounts a single attestation from the late copy of the Vazelon documents from Pontos. It derives from the neuter form of the pronoun *καθεῖς/καθένας* (see 5.13.2.3), with deletion of final /n/ and stress retraction (JANNARIS 1897: §665; DIETERICH 1904a: 17; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 152).

The variant *κάθα*, also appearing since the 15th c., is due to the analogy of the uninflected quantifier *πάσα* (JANNARIS 1897: §665; KAHANE/KAHANE 1973: 28) rather than to conflation with *κατά* (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 236). The uninflected variant *καθέν* retains the original stress as well as the final /n/. The forms *κάθαν* and *κάθεν* are used only used as masc. and fem. accusatives.

There is limited evidence in EMG for the complex pronoun *κάθα τις*, mostly in texts from Crete: *λυτρώνεται καὶ κάθα τινὰς ἀποὺ νὰ ἀγαπᾷ τὴν Παρθένον Μαρίαν* MOREZINOS, *Klini* 61.25; *κόντρα κάθα τινὸς ὁποῦ τὸ ἤθελεν δώσει καμίας λογιῆς πείραξη* (1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 706, 610.24); *ἀπὸ κάθα τινὰν ὁποῦ ἤθελεν εὔρεθεῖ ποτὲ νὰ τοῦ δώσει πείραξη* (ibid. 738, 640.7). The existence of constructions where another word intervenes between the two members of the syntagm shows that univerbation, as in the MG pronoun *καθετί*, is not yet complete: *κόντρα τοῦ μισέρ Μανολίτση Σκορδᾶ καὶ κάθα ἀλλοῦ τινὸς* (1608, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 497, 447.6).

εἰς τὴν Ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον κάθε χωράφι (1344 [later copy], Pontos, OUSPENSKY/
 BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 100, 242.30)
νὰ λαμβάνη κάθε χρόνον εἰς κυβέρνησίν του τὰ δέκατα (1444, Peloponnese, MIKLOSICH/
 MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 16, 259.11)
τοὺς καρποὺς ὅτι ἤκαμνε κάθε χρόνο (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.31)
νὰ δίδῃ κάθε μῆνα (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 284.10)
κάθε ὥρα ἐρχόντησαν *Theseid* I.54,8 (Follieri)
νὰ ἐξετάζουν κάθε ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1518, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 391.4)
εἰς κάθε γένος καὶ χρόνον καὶ πρόσωπον SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 76.15
κάθε δύο χρόνους (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 34.8)

- τῆς κάθε νυκτός (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 451.19)
 τὸν κάθε Νοέβρη (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 15, 69.6)
 κάθε χρόνον ἀπὸ μίαν λίτρα κηρίον (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 238.222)
 κάθε λογῆς νιντράδα καὶ κάθε ἄλλο χρέος (1583, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 3, 76.10)
 ἀπὸ λίτρες δέκα τὸ κάθε δουκάτο (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 19, 15.4)
 ἄς διώξωμεν ... κάθε πάθος RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 112.17
 τὸν κάθε ἀγοραστή (1591, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 149, 273.19–20)
 σπίτια δύο, τὸ κάθε σπίτι ἀπὸ ἓν μάτι (1610–20, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 23, 96.40)
 νὰ μοῦ γράψης κάθε πράμα (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.5)
 νὰ δώση κάθε καστελλίου τὴν ράταν του (1638, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 13, 86.12)
 εἰς κάθε λογῆς ὑπόθεσιν *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 108
 με κάθε λοῖς μόδον καὶ φόρμα (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 113.14)
 εἰς κάθε καιρὸν (1670, Paros, ALIPRANDIS/SYMEONIDIS 1985: 1, 129.4)
 τὴν κάθε Κυριακὴν (1674, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 3, 521.7)
 νὰ τοῦ δίνη κάθε ξεῖ μῆνες τὸ διάφορο (1675, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 89, 52.3)
 διὰ κάθε καιροῦ ἀπόδειξη (1696, Andros, POLEMIS 2001: 10, 111.7)
 νὰ δίδη κάθε χρόνον ὁδὶα τὴν ψυχὴν μου (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 147.11)
 κάθα χριστιανὸς *Assizes B* 292.3
 καθαχρο(νο) / κάθε χρόνο (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 115, 54.3)
 κάθα χρόνον (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.5)
 ἔπαιρνεν κάθε πωρὸν ἕναν λαγὴν γάλαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 492.19 app. crit.
 καθά πωρὸν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 50.2 (καθά in AB, κάθα in KM)
 εἶχαν χοροὺς καὶ σκιρτισμοὺς ἅπαντες κάθα μέραν *Imb. Rim.* 50
 κάθα μοναχοῦ (1590, Crete, VOUDOUMBAKIS 1915: 2, 348.5)
 νὰ τοὺς ἐμαντινιέρου ἐῖςέ κάθα κρίσι καὶ εἰςέ κάθα ἕνα ποὺ νὰ τῶς δώσουν πείραξι (1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 75.21–2)
 γυρεύγει με κάθε μόδο καὶ στράτα (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 38, 58.8)
 κάθα λογῆς (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 38.14)
 κάθα πείραξη (1624, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2000: 2, 516.23)
 κάθα ἀνθρώπου (1625, Crete, VLACHAKI 1986: 22, 447.29)
 ἀπὸ κάθα λογῆς LANDOS, *Geopon.* 141.7
 catha allon / κάθε ἄλλον (1653, Crete, PANOPOULOU 1991: 2, 429.13)
 ὅς κάθα τόπο FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 42
 τὸν καθὲν ἐνιαυτὸν (1330, Sicily, CANTARELLA 1937: 24, 79.21)
 ποῦ νὰ βάλῃ τὸν καθὲν *Chron. Mor.* H 5580
 τὸν καθὲν χρόνον / τὸν καθὲν χρόνον (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.25)
 με καθὲν τρόπον καὶ στράταν με τὸν καθὲν καὶ ἕκαστον ἄνθρωπον (1503, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 277, 237.5)
 εἰς καθὲν χρόνον μετρητὰ ὑπέρπυρα ἡ' (1506, Patmos, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 367.202)
 ἔρχετον καθὲν χρόνον *Diig. Alex.* E 213.5 (Lolos)
 ἄσπρα ιβ' τὸν καθὲν χρόνον (1523, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 87, 118.13)
 καθὲν χρόνον ν' ἀλλάσσωνται *Alex. Rim.* 2529
 τὸν καθὲν χρόνον (1533, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 3, 116.28)
 τὸν καθὲν χρόνον (1549, Chandax, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 6, 7.12)
 ἐκ τὸν καθὲν καὶ ἕκαστον ἄνθρωπον (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 38, 79.12)
 τὸν καθὲν μῆνα Σεπτέβρη (1552, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 119, 120.7)
 ἑνδεκα χιλιάδες φλωρία τὸν καθὲν χρόνον [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 402.12
 τὸν καθὲν χρόνο (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 1, 145.32)

- σολδία ιβ' εις την κάθεν ούργιαν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 4, 42.22)
 δώνοντας κάθεν χρόνον (1568, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 132, 253.1)
 εις κάθεν εναντιότητα και ζημία (1626, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 7, 43.55)
 από κάθεν λογής μαλίτσιαν, ντάνος και ιντερέσε (1634, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1998: 9, 315.31)
 τόν κάθεν χρόνον (1660, Paros, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 25, 21.5)
 εις κάθεν βαρέλα (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 21, 169.3); σε κάθεν
 χρόνους δύο (1682, ibid. 236, 421.7)
 να λογιάζουν την κάθεν ζημίαν (1687, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 35, 119.26)
 με καθεν κοπον και εξοδον / με κάθεν κόπον και έξοδον (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI
 2005a: 1, 368.7)
 πόσα θέλει να αγοράση από την καθεν λογήν (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963:
 53, 53.4)
 προς άσπρα είκοσι πέντε την καθεν μίαν (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 221, 158.4)
 την καθεν τάβλα (1599, Crete, MALTEZOU 1985: 12.2)
 εις κάθαν λαμπάδαν (1663, Venice, MALTEZOU 2000: 18.5)
 εις κάθαν καιρόν (1674, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 3, 122.24)

6 Numerals

Many cardinal numerals (πέντε, ἕξ/ἑξί, ἑπτὰ, ὀκτώ, ἑννέα, δέκα) are used indeclinably and are therefore rather stable throughout their diachronic development, although phonological changes occur across the board, resulting in a great number of phonological variants. The chronological and areal distribution of such variants is discussed in the relevant sections, when reliable data are available. Several changes began in the Hellenistic and EMedG periods and spread widely in the period covered by this Grammar (most notably the emergence of syncopated forms for the numerals “thirty” to “ninety”; see 6.1.6.3).

Morphological changes affect a smaller subset of numerals, mainly εἶς/ἕνας and τέσσαρες/τέσσεροι; both are fully remodelled in accordance with other major changes in nominal morphology. This is a tendency that started already in EMedG and is in full development in LMedG and EMG texts. Some changes (in the accusative and genitive) have spread analogically to δύο and τρεῖς, τρία.

As far as ordinal suffixes are concerned, we can observe an innovation (the suffix -ατος spreading from ἕνατος and δέκατος to πέντατος, ἑξατος, ἑπτατος and ὀκτατος), which nevertheless has not found its way into SMG (see 6.2.5–6.2.9).

Most of the linguistic evidence presented here comes from non-literary documents; numerals occur rather more sparsely in literary texts and tend to be found in specific contexts (dates, ranks etc.). This fact, together with the widespread use of Greek alphabetic numerals (α', β', γ' etc.) and later Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3), reduces the amount of linguistic data provided by the source texts.

6.1 Cardinals

6.1.1 εἶς/ἕνας

The morphology of the cardinal numeral εἶς is discussed in detail under pronouns (5.8.5), because of the development of an innovative homophonous indefinite pronoun εἶς/ἕνας on the basis of the numeral. In many cases it is difficult to distinguish the syntactic status of εἶς, a fact which dictates a unified morphological treatment.

The examples in the current section are taken from contexts with a clear numeric function, supplemented by indefinite instances when necessary for the illustration of the complete paradigm.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	εἷς ἢ ἕνας ἢ (ἐ)νεῖς ἢ γεῖς	μία ἢ μιά	ἕν ἢ ἕνα(ν)
Gen.	ἑνός ἢ ἐνοῦ ἢ (ἐ)νοῦς ἢ ὀνοῦς ἢ (μιανοῦ)	μίας ἢ μιᾶς ἢ μιανῆς	ἑνός ἢ ἐνοῦ ἢ ἐνοῦς ἢ ὀνός ἢ ὀνοῦς ἢ μιανοῦ
Acc.	ἕνα(ν) ἢ ἕν ἢ ἕνανε ἢ εἶν	μία(ν) ἢ μιά(ν)	ἕν ἢ ἕνα(ν)

Masculine

Nominative

General	Restricted	Rare
εἷς ἢ ἕνας	γεῖς	(ἐ)νεῖς

εἷς σκιρτισμός καὶ κρεμασμός *Eisit.* f.7v.15
καὶ ἐγένετο εἷς μετ’ αὐτοῦς (1316, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 42, 298.9)
ὁ εἷς τῆς κόρης ἀδελφὸς ἦτον ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος *Dig.* E 736
εἷς ἡ δύο παπᾶδες Λατῖνοι εἶναι ἀναγκαιότατοι (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.8–9)
καὶ εἷς ἀπὸ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἐκ τοὺς Παλαιολόγους, τὸν βασιλέα δικάζεται *Velis.* χ 36
ὁ εἷς τοὺς δέκα ἐσύνθλασεν *Achil.* N 552
ἀπὸ ὅλους εἷς ἀπέμεινεν, τὸ ἦτον κληρονόμος, *Chron. Mor.* P 8468
εἷς μαγατζῆς καὶ ὀσπίτιον (1510, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 23, 40.9)
ὁ ἀγᾶς τῶν γιανιτζάρων, ὁποῖος ἔναι εἷς μόνος (16th c., Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 13.45)
νὰ μηδὲν μπορῇ ὁ εἷς ὁποῦ τίς δύο νὰ διαχωρίσῃ (1541, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 215, 208.7)

ἕνας μῆνας σωζᾷτος *Chron. Mor.* H 592
ἕνας, τοῦ ἑνός, τὸν ἕναν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 44.6
ἀστερίσκος ἕνας σταγονένιος (1557, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 11, κζ’.54)
ἕνας δὲν εὐρέθη νὰν σὲ θαραπάπη (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.26)
ἕνας μαργαριταρένος φουρνίδος (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 141.57)
δέκα μπουστους, πέντε χρυσοὶ ... ἕνας συρματένιος (1693, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 10, 407.25)

γείς κρουσταλλένιος τράχηλας, βυζάκια δυο καὶ στήθη *CHORTATSIS, Panor.* I.81 (misprint τράχηλος in ed.)
τὸ ἀσερνικὸ ἐπῆρε ὁ γεῖς στὸ ξύλο ντου *Stathis* I.257
ὁ ν-εῖς μέγας ἐχάθην *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 6.33 (ὁ νῆς ms)
καὶ ο νεῖς ἐφύγεν *VOUSTR., Chron.* B 167.13

Genitive

General	Restricted	Rare
ἑνός ἢ (ἐ)νοῦ	(ἐ)νοῦς	ὀνοῦς

διὰ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου θάνατον νὰ μείνῃ τὸ πασσάτζο *Chron. Mor.* H 170
νουμὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς κριοῦ κατ’ ἔτος (1404, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 11, 196.24)
πλήρωσιν ἑνὸς μηνοῦ *Pol. Tr.* 13719 app. crit. (C)
μετὰ δὲ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου χρόνου *Achil.* N 1861

νὰ δείξουν ὅλοι ἐνὸς καιροῦ, μιᾶς ἡλικίας *Deft. Par.* 12
 εἰς χρόνου ἐνὸς τέρμενον ἵνα ἐνι καμωμένον LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 56
 πάκτος ἐνὸς χρόνου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 163, 163.7)
 ὅταν εἶναι ἐνὸς χρόνου εἶναι ὑγιέστατον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 194.3

τόπος ἕως ἐνοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἄπλωμα *Ag. Nik. Strat.* 44.58
 εἴσταν ἐνοῦ πατρός παιδία *Diig. Alex.* F 206.1 (Lolos)
 ὅταν ἦτον τριάντα ἐνοῦ χρόνου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 202.10
 μήνα εἶναι ἐνοῦ καὶ ἀλλουνοῦ ποταποῦ ἀνθρώπου λόγια; DAM. SToud., *This., Logos* 33,
 K2r.2

νὰ τὸν πλερώση ἐνοῦ μηνὸς ναῦλον (1566, Corfu, ZARIDI/MICHALEAS 2008/13: 15, 132.7)
 ταξίδι ἐνοῦ χρόνου (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 2, 294.18)
 ἦτον ἕως ἐνοῦ γαδάρου φόρτωμα *Vios Aisop.* K 153.24

ἦτον στράτα κοντὰ ἵνοῦ χρόνου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 14.27

ἐνοῦς καιροῦ καὶ ἐνοῦς καιροῦ ὅσα ἐθανατῶσα *P&N Diath.* 4186
 πού 'μεστ' ἐνοῦς πατέρος VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 1303
 τὸ κρέας τῶν νέων ζώων ἕως ἐνοῦς χρόνου LANDOS, *Geopon.* 191.14
 ἐθρηγούντανε τὰ βάσανα ἵνοῦς χρόνου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 295.2
 ἐνοῦς καλοῦ Χριστιανοῦ (1669, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 112, 261.6)
 ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἐνοῦς διάκου (1686, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 32, 114.9)
 ἦτον εἰκοσιενοῦς χρόνου KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.217; ἐνοῦς κορμιοῦ κ' ἐνοῦς καιροῦ, μιὰ φορεσὰ
 ντυμένοι *ibid.* II.377

ὄνοῦς ἀργάτη καὶ κάρτο ἀμπέλι (1632, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 621, 595.6)

Accusative

General	Rare
ἕνα(ν)	ἕν ἢ ἕνανε ἢ εἶν

καὶ εἰς τὸν ἕνα λέγετε τὸν λαὸν περιμένειν; *Dig.* G VI.493
 μίαν αὐλὴν ἐγνώρισα καὶ ἕνα αὐθέντην ἔσχον *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 21
 σμίγει τα καὶ τὰ δύο, ἢ ἕνα δεσμόν τὰ ἐδέσμων *Liv.* S 380–1 (= α 1595–6)
 εθλίβηκε τινε πολλὰ, πλια παρὰ ἕνα χρόνο *Apoll. Rim.* A 1183
 ἔκαμε ἕνα μῆναν εἰς τὴν ἀπιδέα *Nov. II* 162.51
 μία γαδάρη μὲ τὸ πουλάρη καὶ ἕνα χοῖρο (1667, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 743, 449.9)
 τέτζερη ἕνα καὶ χάρκωμα ἕνα (1682, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 8, 185.25)
 καμπουχὰν ἕνα καὶ φερντζὲν ἕναν (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 137.13–14)
 ευχαριστῶντο νὰ κυριεύουν ἕνα μόνον τόπον μικρόν *Ist. Enet.* 418.19

ἐπροσέταξέν με τοῦ δοῦναι ἕναν ἀνθρωπον (1127–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 12, 93.3)
 ἔσωσεν ἀπέσω εἰς ἕναν μῆναν *Chron. Mor.* H 6124
 τὸν ἕναν μῆναν STAFIDAS, *Iatrosaf.* 14.394
 ἕναν χωρίζει ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐδῶκεν του ραβδέαν *Dig.* E 975
 ὅταν ἤμεθαν τὰ δύο εἰς ἕναν αὐθέντη *Poulol.* 535 app. crit. (E)
 ἕως μῆναν ἕναν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 33, 166.7)
 μίαν ἡμέραν στάθησε, μῆναν καὶ ἕναν χρόνον *Peri xen.* 319
 αὐτὸς ἐπαίρνει σύντροφον τὸν ἕναν ἀπ' ἐκείνους [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 899
 νὰ ἴμολογήσης ἕναν μόνον θεὸν καὶ τὸν Μαχομέτην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.9
 μετὰ ἕναν μῆνα (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 2, 294.15)
 ἕναν καιρὸν γελᾷ καὶ κλαί καρδιά μου *Cypz. Canz.* 50.3

ὅλος ὁ κόσμος ἔνανε ὁμοιό σου οὐδὲν ἔχει KORONAIOS, *Pittakin* 78

τον ἔνανε κριτὴν DEFAR., *Sos.* 247 (Holton)

ἔναν vel ἔνανε PORTIUS, *Grammar* 22.42

ἐν βοῦν κόκκινον (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 26, 163.3)

καὶ ἀνθρωπον ἐν διὰ βοήθειαν (1498, Corfu, KARYDIS 1999b: 2, 306.12)

πάτον ἐν ἀπὸ βαμπάκι FORTIOS, *Strat. pragm.* 578

καὶ πάλιν ἄλλος εἷς πρὸς εἷν διὰ τὴν εὐταξίαν *Diig. tetr.* 117 app. crit. (προσὶν C)

Feminine

Nominative

General
μία ἢ μιά

σुकέα δύο καὶ ἀπεδέα μία (1073, Miletos, VRANOUSI 1980: 50, 9.116)

ροῖδέα μία, ἐλαῖα δύο (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 54.68)

κασέλας δύο, ὦν ἡ μία μεγάλη (1314, Athos, ŽIVOJINOVIC et al. 1998: 30, 216.41)

ἡ μία ἡ μικρότερη νὰ βαρῇ μία λίτρα (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 57, 46.3)

διὰ νὰ δροσίξει μία σταγὼν τῆς χάρης σου τὸ κάημα SKLENTZAS, *Ain. Zood. Pig.* 50

δὲν ἔναι ἄλλη μία εἰς τὸ Ἀркиπέλαγος (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.25)

ἡ μιά καλὴ κι εὐγενικὴ κι ἡ δεύτερη τοσοῦτον FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 146

δύο μανιέρες ἐνὶ τῆς δούλεψης, ἡ μιά τοῦ θελημάτου *Fior*, Suppl. 273.25

ἡ μία κερατέα (1529, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 92, 114.6)

οἱ τρεῖς των γραφές ... ἡ μία εἰς τὲς ἔντεκα, ἡ ἄλλη εἰς τὲς δώδεκα καὶ ἡ ἄλλη εἰς τὲς τριάντα

τοῦ περασμένου μηνὸς (1572, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 136, 256.17)

αἶγα μία σκουληκιὰ χαλὰ ὅλο το κουράδι CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.52

καμιζόλα μία (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 3, 33.58)

ἐξημερωθήκασι τρίγια κάτεργα καὶ μιά γαλιότα (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.14)

Genitive

General	Rare
μίας ἢ μιᾶς	μιανῆς

κι ἀπέσω εἰς τὸ τέρμενον χρόνου καὶ μίας ἡμέρας *Chron. Mor.* H 2344

νὰ ράψη δύναται ποσῶς ἄχρι κεντέας μίας *Diig. tetr.* 390 app. crit. (C)

τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ διάστημα μίας ἡμέρας ἦτον *Achil.* N 456

θέλουν γενῆν μίας ὀψεως καὶ οὐδὲ γυναίκειον σῶμα γενῆ οὐδὲ ἀντρίκειον *Diig. Alex.* F 156.16

(Konstantinopulos)

νὰ εἶναι ὅλοι μίας πίστες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.12

ὅλα εἶναι σχεδὸν μίας φύσεως LANDOS, *Geopon.* 220.15

τρεῖς κεφαλὰς ἀντὶ μιᾶς εἶχεν *Dig.* A 2902

μιᾶς ἡλικίας καὶ χρόας *Defi. Par.* 12

δὲν ἦσαν οὗλοι μιᾶς βουλῆς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 370.12

ἐνοικίου μιᾶς χρονέας (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 778, 606.8)

τῆς μιᾶς μερᾶς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 60, 58.19)

μιᾶς κομπλετισοῦς καὶ μιᾶς ὁρεξης *Fior* 83.1

διὰ κάποια ἡδονήν, μιᾶς ὥρας πεθυμία VENDRAMOS, *Istor. gyn.* 191

μιάς ἡμεροῦ δρόμον SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 17.2–3
 ὅλοι οἱ ἀθρῶποι μιᾶς λοῆς FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 57
 τῆς μιᾶς μεριᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀλληνηῆς (1689, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1999: 8, 53.19)
 διὰ μερτικὸν μιανῆς ἀγελάδος (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 329, 191.6)
 τῆς κάθε μιανῆς (1673, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 73, 43.4)

Accusative

General
μία(ν) ἢ μιὰ(ν)

ἐκράτησεν ὁ σεισμὸς ἐπὶ ὥραν μίαν (11th c., Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 1, 6.3)
 καὶ σκρούσαν μίαν (1062, Sicily, ROGNONI 2004: 11, 117.7)
 μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας ἢ εἰς ἣν ἐθάρρει πλέον *Eisit.* f.3r.9–10
 ἀγελάδαν μίαν γεννημένην καὶ ἀγελάδαν ἀ' στέρφον (1254, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 19, 91.22)
 ἔχω καὶ δύο γούνας, καὶ τὴν μὲν μίαν ἐπαφίημι τὴν μητέρα μου (1255, Smyrna region, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 23, 74.10)
 τὴν μίαν κασέλαν τὴν μικρὴν ἀφίω τὴν τὸν ἱατρὸν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.37)
 ψυχὴ μου κακοτύχερε, μίαν ἐχάρης ὥραν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 196
 ἐξηρίζωσε καὶ μίαν καρύαν (1433, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 29, f.35r.3)
 γριπαρέαν μίαν (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 85.4)
 μίαν τρίχαν (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 302.49)
 μίαν <καὶ> μόνην σὲ εἶχαμεν *Dig.* E 120
 μίαν ζυγὴν βέργες χρυσές (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 48.25)
 μίαν ἡμέραν στάθησε, μῆναν καὶ ἕναν χρόνον *Peri xen.* 319
 ὅλοι τοὺς μὲ μίαν φωνὴν *Theseid* I.14,3 (Follieri)
 μίαν φοράδα ἀγγαστρωμένη (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 12, 91.14–15)
 ἔκτιζα μίαν πτήχην, καὶ τὴν ἐρχόμενην ἡμέραν ἡύρισκα δύο *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 253.78
 κοῦτσινας ρίζας δύο καὶ μαύρη μιὰ (1417, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 53, f.260.3)
 δὲν ἦσαν εἰς μία ὀπινιὸν (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 44.11)
 μία κόρδα ... ἀργυρὴ (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.42)
 κερί λίτραν ἦγουν ὁκά μιὰ (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 341.40)
 μὲ μία στρώση ἀργυρὴ (1557, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 11, κστ'.48)
 δύο πέτρες, μία ὀρθή, καὶ μία δίπλα ... χωσμένην εἰς τὴν γῆν (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 448.8)
 ἕνα χάρκωμα καὶ μανάρα μία (1596, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 64, 89.14)
 καὶ ἔσυρε μία λουμπαρδέα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 82.21
 ἔδωσά του ... μία μουργιὰ διὰ ἄσπρα ἑκατόν (1631, Kea, VISVIZIS 1949: 7, 65.4–5)
 ποταμίδα ... μὲ μία καρύα καὶ μὲ μία ἐλιά (1671, Naxos, TOURTOGLOU 1995: 1, 509.6)
 ἔχει μόνου μιὰ ἀδελφὴ (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 30, 119.21–2)

Neuter

Nominative/Accusative

General
ἕν ἢ ἕνα(ν)

ἕν σκαλεστήριν καὶ πελέκια δ' καὶ ἀρίδες γ' (1062, Sicily, ROGNONI 2004: 11, 117.3)
 βλέπε εἰς τὸ ἕν μὴ πάθης δέκα *Paroim.* A 120

- ἐν καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν παίδων μου ἔπρυσεν ἐκ τοῦ ὕψους *Ptoch. I* 207
καὶ κὰν ἄς μὲ ἐγεμίζουσιν τὸ ἐν τὸ ποτόπουλον μου *Ptoch. IV* 300 app. crit. (SA)
πελέκια δύο, νὰ ἔχῃ ἡ μία τὸ ἐν καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τὸ ἕτερον (14th c.?, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1994: 1, 286.36)
σक्रόφες δύο, κυβέρτια τέσσερα, ματαράτσιν ἐν (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1, 19.21)
κόπτε τὸ ἐν ψηφί (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 31, 30.4)
<ἐ>να καράβι μετὰ ἐν ἄρμενον ὑπάγει εἰς τὴν Κρήτη (15th c., Unknown, SEARBY 2003: 2, 692.1)
νὰ ἔχῃ τὸ ἐν ἀδελφάτον (1501, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 7, 105.12)
ἐνα σαρακονταήμερον καὶ ἐν σαββατιάτικον (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 17, 30.8)
ἐγὼ μὲν ὄνομα ἐν οὐκ ἔχω, εἰ μὴ δώδεκα ἡμισυ *Spanos D* 1729
ἀφήνω της καὶ ἐν φουστάνι καὶ ἐν ποκάμισο (1562, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 9, 23.6)
στρώμα ἐν γεμάτο μαλλί (1566, Corfu, ZARIDI/MICHALEAS 2008/13: 6, 127.9)
ἀποὺ τὸ ἐν μέρος ... ὑπὸ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 18, 38.7–8)
ἐλάβαμεν φλουρί ἐν, ἦγουν ἐνα (1600, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 99, 132.14)
τὸ μὲν ἐν μερίδιον ἔλαβεν ὁ πατήρ τοῦ θανόντος (1686, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 2, 2.7)
τῶν ἐξήκοντα ἐνα τοῦ χρυσοῦ νομισμάτων (897 [12th/13th c. copy], Thessaloniki, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 1, 90.24)
ἐδόθη αὐτῇ ἄδεια ἐνα νυχθήμερον μετοχετεύειν τὸ ὕδωρ (995, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 9, 162.45)
ἐνα γομάτον κρασοβόλιν εἰς κατὰ ἐνα ἀδελφόν, τὸ δὲ ὀρύζιν ἐνα ρίγλον εἰς κατὰ ἐνα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 82.12–13
βοῖδιον ἐνα (1133, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 113, 151.15)
λαβὼν ταρία σ' καὶ ἱππάριν ἐνα (1141?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 7, 22.14)
δύο καταβλάττια, ὦν τὸ ἐνα νερθηκωτὸν ἐνζουδον (1142, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 7, 74.19–20)
καὶ πιθὴν ἐνα γονικόν μου (1255, Smyrna region, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 23, 75.13)
εἰς ἐνα ἕκαστον ὁροθέσιον τῶν περιόρων τούτων (1300, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1994: 69, 146.20)
τὸν μὲν ἀνεψιόν μου τὸν μέγα ἐταιρειάρχην ἄλογον ἐνα ἐῶ (1325, Veroia?/Macedonia, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 64, 358.147)
καὶ πίνει τα καὶ ἐρεύγεται, κίρνοῦν τον ἄλλον ἐνα *Ptoch. III* 122
κ' οἱ καβαλλάροι ὅπου κρατοῦν πρὸς ἐνα φῖε ὁ καθένας *Chron. Mor. H* 1986
ἐνα δοξόβολον τόπον *Diig. Alex. K* 366.5
νὰ ἔχῃ ἐνα σενδόνη ἀπὲ τὰ σενδόνη της (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.36)
δὲν ἦτονε μόνον ἐνα κορμὶ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ ἐνα τοῦ φεγγαρίου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.14
ἐντραβενίρησε τὸ ἐνα ἐκ τὰ αὐτὰ βόδια (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 87, 170.10)
χόρτο μὴ φάτε οὐδ' ἐνα CHORTATSI, *Panor. I* 10
τὸ ἐνα κάρτον (1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 175.24)
νὰ τὰ εἰπῇ ἐνα πρὸς ἐνα RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 81.6
ἐρμηνεύω ἐνα καθένα τὰ βρώσιμα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 129.20–1
τὸ ἐνα ἐγροικιέται ὅπου τὸ εἶχεν πατρικόν της (1682, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 3, 671.4)
τὸ μὲν ἐναν πέτσιν τοῦ χωραφίου (1157–8, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 20, 162.4)
᾽ς τὸ ἐνα σου προτέρημα πρόσθες καὶ ἄλλον ἐναν *Spaneas Z* 5
ἵνα τέλλης ταῖν ἐναν ἀλάδιν (1227–50, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 20, 157.14)

ἔχω δὲ συμφωνίαν μετ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ δένδρα νὰ ἐπαίρῃ τὸ μοναστήριν δύο καὶ αὐτὸς ἕναν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.35)
 χωραφίου πετσὶν ἕναν (1271, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 324, 478.34)
 ἔδωκεν ... χαρκὶν ἕναν (1346, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 32, f.79r.1)
 σχηματολόγιν ἕναν (1417, Crete, LAMBROS 1895: 1, 586.32)
 ἕναν κομμάτιν χωράφιν (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 467.17)
 ἕναν σετόνιν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 5, 25.7)
 ἄν ἀποθάνῃ τὸ ἕναν παιδίον ἀπὸ τὰ τρία (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 3, 6.12)
 ἤλθαν δύο κάτεργα ρηάτικα καὶ ἕναν ροδίτικον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 676.34
 ἤρυν ἕναν ρούχον χρυσὸν χαρμίζε καὶ ἕναν χρουσὸν βένετον VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 230.10–11
 ἕναν κρεβατοστρώσι (1536, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 116, 229.35)
 τὸ ἕναν κάρτον (1543, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 239, 225.17)
 καὶ ἕναν ἐρίφι (1662, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 27, 33.15)

Genitive

General	Restricted	Rare
ένος ἰ ἐνοῦ	(ἐ)νοῦς	ὀνός ἰ ὀνοῦς ἰ μιανοῦ

ένος βουττίου μεγάλου (1101–2, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 5, 67.44)
 ένος φαρίου μας ἡ φορὰ νὰ ρίξῃ δεκαπέντε *Chron. Mor.* H 4730
 τοὺς τριακοσίους ἀφήνω σας ἀπὸ ένος φαρίου *Dig.* E 1759
 καὶ ὅταν ἐκοντέψασιν ένος μιλίου τόπον *Achil.* N 373
 ας δίδουσιν ἀπὸ ένος δηναρίου *Diig. Apoll.* 558
 πρέζιον ένος σομαρικοῦ (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 777, 605.6)
 ένος πινακίου (1640, Ikaria, STAMATIADIS 1893: 3, 155.7)
 ἡ χάρις τῆς Παναγίας ... ἐβοήθησεν τοῦ ένος ξύλου *Diig. Sant.* 58.41
 ἐγὼ ἤμον ἐνδεδυμένην ἀπὸ ἐνοῦ ἀμπελίου (1175, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 184, 241.16)
 ἐνοῦ βάρους, καὶ ἐνοῦ μάκρους καὶ ἐνοῦ πάχους *Assizes* B 467.9–10
 δεκαλίτρου ἐνοῦ (1500, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 3, 4.8)
 ἐνοῦ τέλου *Fior, Suppl.* 270.12–13
 μιλλίου *Diig. Alex.* E 107.25 (Konstantinopulos)
 οἱ τρεῖς ἐξ ἐνοῦ στόματος (1551, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 65, 100.18)
 παριππίου ἐνοῦ (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 396.1)
 ἐνοῦ βατζελίου (1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.7)
 ἐνοῦ γομαρίου φορτίον ἐβάσταζε *Vios Aisop.* K 153.35
 ἐνοῦ ταγαρίου (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 40.23)
 ἐνοῦ μιζουριοῦ χωράφι (1673, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 64, 39.4)
 εἶναι ἐνοῦ καφιζίου (1684, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 19, 49.11)
 οἱ καβαλλάριδες οὔλοι δὲν εἶνε ἔνοῦ θελημάτου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 370.19
 ἐνοῦς μουζουρίου (1514, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 115, 227.4)
 χωράφι μουζου<ρ>ίου ἐνοῦς (1625, Crete, VLACHAKI 1986: 22, 445.6)
 ἐνοῦς κορμιοῦ κ' ἐνοῦς καιροῦ, μιὰ φορεσὰ ντυμένοι KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.377
 ὀνὸς ἀσιλιανοῦ (1603, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 5, 20.2); ὀνὸς ριαλιοῦ (1672, *ibid.* 48, 46.30)
 χωράφια ὀνοῦς πινακίου (1612, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 8, 22.7–8)

πληρωμῆς ὄνοϋς κονισμάτου (1623, Crete, ΧΑΝΤΗΟΥΔΙΔΙΣ 1912: 47, 126.7)
πινακίου μιανοῦ (1691, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 142, 82.1); μιανοῦ κανταρελιοῦ (1713,
ibid. 322, 211.2)

6.1.2 Two

The form δύο is stable; variants occur due to synizesis (see I, 2.9.4), other phonological phenomena with a specific geographical distribution, and an analogical addition of genitive plural endings. Forms of δύο are the same for all genders, except for δυοῦς and δυονοῦς, which are masculine only.

	General	Restricted	Rare
Nom.	δύο ἢ δυό		δύον
Gen.	δύο ἢ δυό ἢ δύνων ἢ δυῶν	δυῶνε ἢ δυονῶ(ν)(ε) ἢ ἐδυονῶ(ν) ἢ ἰδυό	
Acc.	δύο ἢ δυό	δυοῦς ἢ δυονοῦς (M) δύου (N)	δύον (F)

Nominative

δύο or, with synizesis, δυό (see I, 2.9.4) is the form used throughout the period:

οἱ δύο κοντᾶδες *Chron. Mor.* H 213
τὰ δύο της χέρια *Liv.* V 856
οἱ δύο ἀδελφεῖς *Chron. Mor.* P 6024
βυζάκια δυο και στηθη *CHORTATSIS, Panor.* I.81
ἐπολεμοῦσαν οἱ δύο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.20
τώρα ὁπού ’μεστέν τὰ δυό *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1299

The form δύνον (with “irrational nasal”, for which see I, 3.7.2.1, or a possible analogical spread from the genitive δύνων) has been found in documents from Naxos:

οἱ δύνον μερίδες (1557 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 11, 64.29)
εἶναι δύνον κομμάτια (1671, Naxos, TOURTOGLOU 1995: 1, 410.4)
λέσιν καὶ οἱ δύνον τος (1688, Naxos, ΣΙΦΟΝΙΟΥ-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 849, 1135.20)

Genitive

The form δύνων, which can be explained as analogical spread of other genitive forms ending in /n/, seems to be present already in EMedG (Moschos, *Leimon*, 180.35). The earliest attestation of δύνων in the texts examined is found in a 12th-c. document from Sicily: δύνων σιγγιλίων (1182, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 22, 424.14). The form can be found in both LMedG and EMG texts:

τῶν χρόνων μου τῶν δύνων *Liv.* E 2518
τῶν δύνων τὰ μέρη *Velis.* χ 219
τῶν δύνων βασιλέων *Achil.* N 1825
τῶν δύνων ἀνθρώπων *Assizes* A 87.24

ὑπὲρ φορῶν γὰρ δύων *Chron. Mor.* P 5660
 τῶν δύων ἀρχιερέων *Spanos* B 175
 μετὰ τῶν δύων του τῶν υἱῶν τῶν ἐναπολειφθέντων *Achil.* O 291
 τῶν δύων του ἀδελφάδων *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 54.6
 δύων τε τινῶν *Alosis* 931
 τῶν δύων του ἀδερφάδων (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 157, 206.11)
 στιμαριζόμενα ὑπὸ δύων καλῶν ἀρχόντων (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969k: 18, 111.13–14)
 δύων χρόνων *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.30

Oxytone forms occur in verse texts, perhaps editorially, as a result of metrical synzesis (I, 2.9.4): τῶν δυῶν ἀνθρώπων, *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 672; τουνῶ τω δυον ἀγαφτικῶ *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.300.

An extended genitive form *δυσονῶν* (with several phonological variants) has been found in EMG texts from the Heptanese, Cyclades, Crete and Cyprus. The form can be explained as an analogy to genitive forms of pronouns such as αὐτονῶν and ἄλλωνῶν (see 5.5.1.2 and 5.10.1 for details); the same development can be observed in *τρεῖς* (gen. *τριωνῶν*) with a similar geographical distribution (see 6.1.3).

τῶν δυσονῶν *CHORTATIS, Katz.* 2.84
 των δυσονῶν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 50
 τῶν δυσονῶν μας *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.70
 τω δυσονῶ σας *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.75 (for deletion of final /n/ see I, 3.7.2.2)
 τῶν ἐδυσονῶν κοπιαστάδων (1597, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 156, 281.18)
 (phonetic prothesis; see I, 2.6.1)
 τῶν ἐδυσονῶ (1669, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 1, 577.5) (phonetic prothesis, and deletion of final /n/)
 τῶν ἐδυσονῶ (1682, Cyclades, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 231, 410.21)
 τῶν ἐδυσονῶ ἀδελφιῶ (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 24, 38.17)
 τῶν δυσονῶνε (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1955: 520.12) (for addition of /e/ see I, 2.6.3)
 δυῶνε (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 7, 41.5)

The form *ἰδυό* (morphophonetic /i/ prothesis; see I, 2.6.1.2), always preceded by the definite article, has been found in EMG texts from Crete and the Heptanese:

τῶν ἰδυό μου ἐγγονιῶ (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 197.97)
 τῇ ζωῇ τους τῶν ἰδυό *Zinon* III.244.
 τῶν ἰδυό *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1617

Accusative

ὁ δεύτερος ἀπὸ τοὺς δύο *Chron. Mor.* H 1379
 ἐχωρίστησαν τὰ δύο τὰ φουσσᾶτα *Chron. Toc.* 376
 φανέρωσε ἕνα ἀπὸ τούτους τοὺς δύο *SANKTAM., Praxeis apost.* 18.59–60
 ἔχει δυό ἀγαπητικιές *Paroim.* (Warner) 28.11

In a 17th-c. document from Thessaloniki we find the form *δύου*: *δύου ὁκάδης καφέν* (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 57.2), with northern/raising vocalism, for which see I, 2.5.4.

A masculine accusative form δύους or δυούς (no accent in the original document), on the analogy of masculine nouns in /os/, has been found in a document from Zakynthos: τούς δυούς μου ύγιούς (1660, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 2, 115.12). A masculine form δυονούς (cf. gen. δυονῶν above) occurs in an early 18th-c. document from Macedonia: κανέναν ἀπὸ τούς δυονούς (1706, Siatista, MERTZIOS 1947b: 269.2, transcr. Korre).

6.1.3 Three

Masculine/feminine τρεῖς and neuter τρία, inherited from AG, are stable forms for the nominative and accusative; there is some variation in the genitive.

	General		Restricted
	M/F	N	
Nom.	τρεῖς	τρία	
Gen.	τριῶν ἢ τρίων		τριῶ ἢ τριῶνε ἢ τριωνῶ(ν)
Acc.	τρεῖς	τρία	τρίους

Nominative

- μαστραπάδες τρεῖς (1258, Philadelphia?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 15, 158.189)
 τρεῖς ἀνέφανον ὠραῖοι καβαλλάροι *Dig.* G VI.176
 τρεῖς καβελάροι *Dig.* E 1199
 ὥρμησαν οἱ τρεῖς εὐθύς γὰρ ERMON., *Ilias* 1.253
 ἐπῆραν γέροντες τρεῖς (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 23, 37.2)
 ἐφάνησαν ἄπάνω εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τρεῖς ἥλιοι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.13
 οἱ λεγόμενοι τρεῖς κοπιαστάδες (1587, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 146, 269.8)
 οἱ τρεῖς μας FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm.* I 31
 οἱ Τρεῖς Ἱεράρχηδες (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1955: 513.7)
 οἱ τρεῖς δεσπότησες (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 72, f.Ir.3)
 αἱ τρεῖς (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 133.50)
 οἱ τρεῖς πάρτες (1549/50, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 34, 74.16)
 τρεῖς τούρκισσες (1583, Athens?, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.14)
 τρεῖς εὐμορφάδες PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 108.28–9
 τὰ δὲ τὰ τρία θήλη *Pol. Tr.* 1158 app. crit. (X)
 τρία κορίτζα (1449–55, Silymvria, SCHREINER 1975/79: 98B.II, 4.9)
 ἔτοῦτα τὰ τρία (1674, Skyros, ANDONIAKIS 1995: 9, 222.10)

Genitive

In addition to the inherited genitive τριῶν we also find the alternative accentuation τριῶν in both verse and prose texts of all periods (literary and non-literary). This form might be simply a graphematic convention (hypercorrection), without consequences for actual pronunciation, or it might indicate shift of stress to the penultimate:

- τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 45.219–20)
 τριῶν λογίων γυναιῖκες ἔχει *Epain. gyn.* 8

- τρίων βουτσῶν κρασῶν (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 28, 33.4)
 τρίων κλονῶ (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 284, 479.28)
 τῶν τριῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 307.27–8)
 τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν τριῶν *Pol. Tr.* 51 app. crit. (AX)
 τριῶν *Thrinós Tam.* 61
 τῶν φοραδῶν τριῶν (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 395.35); τῶν τριῶν του παιδίων
 (1568, *ibid.* 261, 363.17)
 τριῶν χρονῶν *Diig. Alex.* F 152.16–17 (Lolos)
 τριῶν δουκατῶν (1599, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 95, 127.9)
 τῶν τριῶν MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 122
 τριῶν χρονῶν χαράτζι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 98.5

Variant forms exist also as a result of deletion of final /n/ (see I, 3.7.2.2) and related phonological phenomena. The form τριῶ has been found in texts from the Cyclades and Crete: καυκιῶ τριῶ (1598, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 85, 117.5); τῶν ἀλλῶ τριῶ ἀδελφίδων (1643, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 683, 664.19–20); τῶν τριῶ μας FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm. I* 2.

The form τριῶνε (see I, 2.6.3 for addition of the final /e/) has been found in texts from Ithaca: τριῶνε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 34, 52.13–14); ταγαρίω τριῶνε (1637, *ibid.* 36, 54.17).

An apparent analogy to pronoun forms like αὐτονῶν and ἄλλωνῶν (see 5.5.1.2 and 5.10.1) is represented by the genitive τριωνῶν, found in EMG non-literary texts from the Heptanese and Cyclades (Naxos). Compare δυνῶν, with a similar geographical distribution (see 6.1.2).

- τῶν τριωνῶν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 49, 112.8)
 τῶν ἄνωθεν τριωνῶν κοπιαστάδων (1587, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 146, 269.33–4)
 ταγαρίω τριωνῶ (1643, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 270, 216.12) (with deletion of final /n/; see I, 3.7.2.2)
 τῶν τριωνῶν (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 423, 643.21; *ibid.* 881, 1174.21)

Accusative

- ἐποίησεν χρόνους τρεῖς (1059, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 9, 110.13)
 τρεῖς μῆνας ἀκεραίους *Dig.* E 1083
 κράζει τους τρεῖς *Diig. Apoll.* 320
 τρεῖς παπάδας *Spanos* B 222
 ἐσκότωσεν τρεῖς ἐξ αὐτουνούς *Diig. Alex.* V 34.3
 καὶ μὲ τοὺς βασιλίσκους τρεῖς ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2024
 τρεῖς κριούς παχιούς (1644, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1990: 487.434)
 τρεῖς ἡ τέσσαρους τόπους (1680, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 8, 301, f.1r.7)
 τρεῖς μήνους ΕΓΤΗΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 42.9 app. crit. (B)
 εἰς τὲς τρεῖς ἀπιδίεις (1096, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 1, 290.14)
 καρέας τρεῖς (1330, Athos, LEFORT et al. 2006: 70, 65.34)
 κι ἂν τὸ λυγίσης τρεῖς φορές *Arm.* 14
 τὲς τρεῖς λειτουργίεις (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 148.41)
 τὲς τρεῖς τους ἀδελφάδες (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 70, f.Iv.16)
 τρεῖς κεφαλὰς ἀντὶ μιᾶς εἶχεν *Dig.* A 2902

τρεις ἑλὲς ὅπερ στήκονται (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 11, 223.8)

ἀπού τις τρεῖς (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 257, 356.20)

ἐστάκαμεν τρεῖς ἡμέρες (1570, S. Italy?, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 7, 479.7)

εἰσὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρες BAROZZI, *Letter* 358.10

εἶχε τρεῖς εὐμορφάδες PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 108.28–9

τρεις κορασὲς ἐνέθρεφεν MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 151

τρεις βαθμούς ἤγουν τρία προσώπατα SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 431.113

σ' τρία κονταροκυπήματα KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.2092

The form τρίους occurs in *Alex. Rim.* 2943, possibly to facilitate rhyme (with ἰδίους), but cf. δύους/δυοὺς above, also in a text from Zakynthos.

6.1.4 Four

A number of changes involving the numeral “four” happened before the period examined here. The change of /a/ > /e/ (centralization due to liquids/nasals; see I, 2.8.1) in the stem is already found in the Koine (DIETERICH 1898: 4, GIGNAC 1981: 191). Both stems, τέσσαρ- and τέσσερ-, are in use in the texts examined in this Grammar.

As far as the endings are concerned, the use of -ες for the accusative is also observed in the Koine (see GIGNAC 1981: 191–2); this change occurs in numerals and other words expressing quantity earlier and more frequently than in nouns with consonant stems.

The morphological variants in -οι, -ους are formed on the analogy of the plural of adjectives in -ος (see 3.2.1–2); the nominative τεσσάρεις (on the analogy of τρεῖς) also dates to the EMedG period (DIETERICH 1898: 186).

A great amount of variation can be observed in LMedG and EMG texts; details concerning the distribution of individual forms are given, when possible, in the discussion of allomorphs below. We observe less variation in the genitive, perhaps because the form is not used as frequently as other cases. Few of the existing variants have a specific geographical distribution.

	General			Restricted			Rare
	M	F	N	M	F	N	M and F
Nom.	τέσσαροι ἰ τέσσαρες	τέσσαρες ἰ τέσσερες	τέσσαρα ἰ τέσσερα				
	τέσσερεις ἰ τέσσαρεις						
Gen.	τεσσάρω(ν)					τεσσάρου ἰ τεσσάρουνε	
Acc.	τέσσερους ἰ τέσσαρους ἰ τεσσάρους	τέσσαρες ἰ τέσσερες	τέσσαρα ἰ τέσσερα	τέσσαρες ἰ τέσσαρας			τέσσερας (F)
	τέσσερεις						

Masculine

Nominative

The earliest attestation of masculine nominative τέσσαροι in the examined texts dates to the 11th century: χρόνοι τέσσαροι (1041, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 2, 143.73). The form is found in LMedG and EMG texts and has a wide distribution:

- τέσσαροι *Chron. Mor.* H 1329 (exclusive form for the masculine in this text)
 τέσσαροι ἦλθαν βασιλεῖς *Pol. Tr.* 2819 app. crit. (ABV)
 οἱ τέσσαροί μας εἴμεσθεν *Anon. Naupl.* 55 (15th. c.)
 οἱ τέσσαροί μου υἱοὶ (1516, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 97, 96.8)
 τελειώνοντας οἱ τέσσαροι χρόνοι (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 5, 219.9)
 ογδοῖντα τέσσαροι εἶναι ἕως τῆς σήμερον MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 221.25
 καὶ ἄλλοι τέσσαροι *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 146

Τέσσερις (alternative spelling τέσσερεις) is a development that can be safely dated in the period examined by this Grammar. The form becomes more frequent in the EMG period:

- ἐτοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ τέσσερεις *Chron. Toc.* 1939
 οἱ τέσσερις *Krasop.* V 64
 βγαίνουσι τέσσερεις Τοῦρκοι *CHORTATSI, Interm. Erof.* 4.48
 τέσσερεις βλέπω κι ἔρχονται *Stathis* 3.23
 τέσσερεις ἀντρειωμένοι *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1528

The form τέσσαρεις is a parallel development to τέσσερεις (it is attested as τεσσάρεις in EMedG texts) and can be found in LMedG and EMG texts:

- οἱ τέσσαρεις οὔτοι (1427, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 23, 131.28)
 τέσσαρεις χρόνοι *Achil.* L 18
 οἱ τέσσαρεις (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 39, 169.5)
 ἀετοὶ ὁλόχρυσοι τέσσαρεις *Achil.* N 827

The form τέσσαρες is also used quite frequently in the texts examined:

- τέσσαρες εὐαγγελισταὶ *Alosis* 3
 οἱ τέσσαρες καὶ μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 185.22–3; τοῦτοι οἱ τέσσαρες ἀδελφοὶ *ibid.* 354.33

Genitive

- ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων τεσσάρων ἀνθρώπων (1319, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 106, 176.37)
 καβαλλαρίων τεσσάρων *Chron. Mor.* H 1931
 τεσσάρων πτωχῶν καλῶν ἀνθρώπων (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 146.10)
 ἡ ὁποία ἦτονε τεσσάρων χρονῶν *SKORD. MARAF. G., Evang.* 442.449

Accusative

The earliest attestations of accusative τέσσερ(ε)ῖς can be dated to the mid-11th c.:

- τοὺς τέσσερις εὐαγγελιστὰς (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 24.143)
 πέμπει ... τέσσερεις ἄρχοντάς του *Liv.* V 2163
 ἀπὸ τέσσερις *Chron. Toc.* 1749
 τοὺς τέσσερεις τοὺς μῆνας *Chron. Mor.* P 2000

The form τέσσαρους has a similar distribution to the nominative τέσσαροι, with the earliest attestation dating to the beginning of the 12th c.:

παροίκους τέσσαρους (1101, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 7, 395)
 τέσσαρους στύλους *Chron. Mor.* H 4037 (exclusive form)
 τέσσαρους δουκάδες *Pol. Tr.* 2830 app. crit. (V); τέσσαρους δοῦκας *ibid.* 2830 app. crit. (B)
 τέσσαρους ποταμούς *Krasop.* V 63
 ἤξευρε καλύτερον ἀπὸ τους τέσσαρους *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 77.10
 τέσσαρους *Diig. Alex.* F 238.6 (Lolos)
 ἀφήνω ἀφέντες τέσσαρους *Alex. Rim.* 2865
 ἀπὸ τους τέσσαρους (1590, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 2, 348.22)
 τέσσαρους φλαμπουριαρέους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 119.8
 μῆνες τέσσαρους (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2008: 2, 252.22)
 τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρους τόπους (1680, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 8, 301, f.1r.7)

Examples with shift of stress to the penultimate have also been found:

τούς τεσσάρους αἰδάρους (1530, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 141, 253.17)
 χρόνους τεσσάρους *Liv.* E 3410
 τεσσάρους ἔχει ποταμούς *Krasop.* L 38
 χρόνους εἴκοσι τεσσάρους *Chron.* 1619 500

The parallel form τέσσερους can also be found in LMedG and EMG texts:

χρόνους τέσσερους *Liv.* E 2956
 τέσσερους χρόνους (1487, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 16, 87.5)
 ἡγοῦν τέσσερους ἐρχαμένους τελείους (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 6, 26.18)
 τέσσερους στύλους *Chron. Mor.* P 4094; μητροπολίτας τέσσερους *ibid.* 6151

The archaizing form τέσσαρας occurs in mixed-register texts: τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνθρώπους (1319, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 106, 176.26), εἰς μῆνας τέσσαρας LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 366. More rarely the stem τεσσαρ- is combined with the ending -ες: τοὺς δέκα τέσσαρες ... χρόνους *Achil.* O 47; με τέσσαρες πέντε καβαλάρηδες *Don Kis.* 49.8.

Feminine

Nominative

Feminine τέσσερεις (alternative spelling τέσσερις; for formation see masc. above) is also attested in EMG texts: οἱ ὅποῖες ἐστιμαρίστησαν οἱ τέσσερεις (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 174, 175.23); οἱ κάτζες τους θέλει νά 'ναι μακριές μπάλλες τέσσερεις (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 62.5).

The form τέσσαρες can also be found:

πυρωστίαι τέσσαρες (1325, Athos, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 64, 357.110)
 κραμβίν καρδία τέσσαρες *Ptoch.* IV 205 (S)

Both τέσσερες and τέσσαρες are widely used in LMedG and EMG texts:

οἱ τέσσερες καροῦχαι *Ptoch.* III 200 app. crit.
 τέσσαρες (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 31.51)
 οἱ τέσσαρες ζωτικαῖς δυνάμεις DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 2, ἀβν.31–2
 οἱ δυὸ ἢ τέσσαρες πολλὰ ἡγαπημένες CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.323

Genitive

- τῶν τεσσάρων μεταξωτῶν ποδέων (1313, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 8, 52.27)
 τῶν τεσσάρων μου θυγατέρων (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 30, 54.14)
 τῶν τεσσάρων σκροφῶν σου (1539, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 964, 755.6)

The form appears without final /n/ in the areas where deletion of final /n/ is common (see I, 3.7.2.2): τῷ τεσσάρῳ τῇ θυγατερῷ (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 61, 81.10), τεσσάρῳ πινακίῳ (1609, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 6, 21.5).

Accusative

The form τέσσερ(ε)ῖς is used throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

- εἰς τὰς τέσσερεις γωνίες *Liv.* V 306
 τέσσερεις χιλιάδες ἄνδρες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 364.31
 τέσσερεις ὀργυῖες κῆπον (1573, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 2, 19.33)
 μὲ τέσσερεις τόρτσες ἄσπρες (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 38.31)
 ἔμαζωκτῆκα τέσσερεις χιλιάδες *P&N Diath.* 1840
 ἐλειτουργοῦσαν τέσσερεις καὶ πέντε δέησες ὀλονύκτιον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.77
 τέσσερις DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 3035
 τέσσερεις φορές KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.2019

Both τέσσαρες and τέσσερες are also widely in use:

- τὲς τέσσαρες γωνίες *Ptoch.* III 99 app. crit. (P)
 τέσσαρες χιλιάδες KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* X.231
 τὸ μάκρος πῆχες τέσσαρες *Alex. Rim.* 1579
 μπόλιες τέσσερες (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 238, 334.19)
 εἰς τὲς τέσσερες τοῦ Μαρτίου (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.1)
 ἐντεμέλες τέσσερες (1630, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1951: [3], 171.19)
 τέσσερες χιλιάδες χρόνους *Bertoldos* 10.20

The residual τέσσαρας can also be found: τὰς τέσσαρας ταύτας τὰς ἱστορίας *Log. parag.* L 436. Very occasionally the τέσσερ- stem is combined with the residual ending -ας: τὰς τέσσερας γωνίας τοῦ ὀσπιτίου *Diig. Alex.* E 275.6; τὰς τέσσερας γωνίας *Vios Aisop.* D 238.34.

Neuter*Nominative/Accusative*

The distribution of the neuter acc. and nom. form τέσσερα is similar to other forms with the stem τέσσερ-:

- ταρία τέσσερα, ἅτινα ἔλαβαν (1187, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 11, 61.17)
 τέσσερα μουχρούτια *Ptoch.* IV 181
 κρεββάτια τέσσερα (1476, Cyprus, SAKKELION 1887b: 261.1)
 τὰ τέσσερά του ὀνύχια ἀργυροτσάπωτα ἦσαν *Dig.* E 12
 τὰ τέσσερα *Liv.* E 1870
 τέσσερα γκομπία (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.51)
 τέσσερα χωριδάκια μιλημένα (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 1, 25.10)
 τέσσερα ζευγάρια (1693, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 10, 407.30–1)
 τέσσερα μῆλα KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1674

τέσσαρα is still in use throughout the period:

- τὰ τέσσαρα ἀδελφία (1123, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 4, 60.8)
 πηλωτοπροσκέφαλα βαμβακόγομα τέσσαρα (1258, Philadelphia?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 15, 158.192)
 αὐτὰ τὰ κάστρη τέσσαρα *Chron. Mor.* H 1665 (exclusive form)
 τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια τὰ καθημερούσια (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.17)
 εἶναι δουκάτα χρυσὰ βενέτικα 4, ἦγουν τέσσερα (1592, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 150, 274.15–16)
 τέσσαρα εἰκονίσματα (1655, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 74, 188.7–8)

Genitive

- ὑπερπύρων τεσσάρων (1308–12, Athos, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 43, 250.79)
 τῶν φῖε τεσσάρων *Chron. Mor.* H 1983
 χρέος τῶν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων τζικινίων (1581, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 142, 264.12–13)
 μὲ κατέργων τεσσάρων ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 843–4

The form appears without final /n/ in the areas where deletion of final /n/ is common (see I, 3.7.2.2): ἀγγεῖα μετρῶ τεσσάρω (1573 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17, 72.37–8); καυκιῶ τεσσάρω (1598, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 85, 117.6). In EMG texts from Ithaca we find the forms τεσσάρουνε and τεσσάρου: βατσελίω τεσσάρουνε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 12, 37.12); ταγαρίω τεσσάρου (1637, *ibid.* 49, 64.11–12). For parallel forms in nouns see 2.2.5.

6.1.5 Five to Nine

Only phonological variants exist for the numerals for 5–9, which are used indeclinably. We present here representative examples with the relevant references to Phonology.

6.1.5.1 Five

πέντε is very stable with little phonological variation. Some examples:

- δρῦς πέντε (1089, Leros/Samos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 52, 54.69)
 μετὰ τούτους τοὺς πέντε χρόνους (1355, Palatia (Miletos), MANOUSAKAS 1962b: 1, 234.10)
 κάθουνται οἱ πέντε ἀδελφοὶ *Dig.* E 196
 χρόνους πέντε ἐρχαμένους τελείους (1501, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 66, 101.15–16)
 τοῦτες οὐλές οἱ πέντε μανιέρες *Fior* 127.27
 τῶν πέντε χιλιάδων KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 16.9

A variant πέντι exists (with “raising vocalism”, for which see I, 2.5.4): εἴκοσι πέντι (1652–3, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 82, 204.9).

6.1.5.2 Six

Two variants ἕξι and ἕξε are used widely in the texts examined. The residual form ἕξ is still used, but less often and mainly in mixed- or higher-register texts.

The earliest located attestation of ξξι, which has been explained either as a reanalysis of ἐξ-ἡμισυ (ANDRIOTIS, *Lex.*) or as addition of final vowel for phonetic reasons (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 150), is first attested in the 14th c. The form becomes very common in EMG.

βάλασιν καὶ ἄλλους ξξι Φράγκους *Chron. Mor.* H 1650
 ξξι συρτὰ ἐπαρέσυρναν *Dig.* E 1050
 ξξι ἀρεσκοῦμενα (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 257.37)
 ἄν εἶχα πετ' ξξι ἄσπρᾱ (1637, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 3, 95.16–17)
 τῶν ξξι εἰκόνω (1639, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 6, 273.37)
 ξξι μηνῶνε (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2008: 2, 252.10)
 ρίζες ξξι (1671, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 69, 318.5)
 ξξι γροσσῶ (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 27, 41.11)

ξξε, which has been explained as an analogy to πέντε (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 150), is attested already in EMedG documents from Athos: νομίσματα ξξε (1007, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 13, 181.11). Several examples have been found in LMedG documents from Southern Italy; in EMG literary texts and documents from Cythera, the Cyclades and Crete the form is quite common.

ξξε (1140, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 122, 163.20); τριάκοντα ξξε (1180, *ibid.* 201, 265.13)
 ξξε (1193–4, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 16, 131.34); ξξε (1264, Sicily, *ibid.* 21, 163.15)
 ξξε μόνον χρόνους *Achil.* L 1224 (sole occurrence of ξξε in this text; otherwise ξξι)
 κ' ξξε μήνες τότε ἔζησε KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VI.17
 ὑπέρπυρα ἀργυρῶν ξξε (1548, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 119, 234.7)
 τὰ ξξε ἡμισυ (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 398.6)
 ἄσπρᾱ ξξε (1598, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 84, 115.18)
 μουζούρια κστ', ἦκοσι ξξε (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 311, 296.9–10)
 κουτάλια ξύλινα ξξε (1609, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 8, 78.16)
 ξξε γρόσα (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.40)
 ξξε ριάλια (1672, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 48, 46.12)
 ξξε μίστατα (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 331, 533.28)

The residual form ξξ can be found mainly in texts written in higher or formal registers:

εἰς πέντε καὶ εἰς ξξ *Liv.* P 1206 transcr. (Lendari)
 μῆνας ξξ *Liv.* E 2893
 ὑπέρπυρα ξξ (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52.99)

6.1.5.3 Seven

The inherited form ἐπτὰ has a phonological variant ἐφτὰ, resulting from manner dissimilation (see I, 3.8.1). Both forms are used throughout the period. Examples:

ταρία ἐπτὰ (1156, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 7, 87.9)
 ἐκ τὰς ἐπτὰ τῶν τέχνων *Pol. Tr.* 2361
 ὅρνιας ἐπτὰ (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 4, 151.17)
 χρόνων ἐπτὰ (1489, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 19, 100.21)
 ἐπτὰ φορὲς προτῆτερα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 262.19
 ἦγουν ἐπτὰ (1562, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 130, 248.12)
 οἱ ἐπτὰ σύνοδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §20.7

μηνὶ Δεκεβρίῳ ἑφτακαίδεκάτῃ (13th c., Asia Minor?, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [13], 35.1)
 ἑφτὰ ἑκατοντάδες *Chron. Mor.* H 125 (exclusive form)
 κλίσεις ἑφτά SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 38.14–15
 ἑφτὰ χρονῶ *P&N Diath.* 1724
 δουκάτῳνε εἴκοσι ἑφτὰ (1649, Kefalonia, PETROPOULOS 1962: B.3, 311.8)
 τοῖ ἑφτάμισυ λίτρες ἀποῦ τοῦ ᾠηκε (1661, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 10, 105.108)
 με ἑφτὰ ἱερῆδες (1665, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 11, 419.3)
 ρούβλια διακόσια, ριάλια ἑφτά (1670, Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.1, 72.3)

6.1.5.4 Eight

ὀκτώ has a phonological variant ὀχτώ, resulting from manner dissimilation (see I, 3.8.1). Both forms are used throughout the period:

ὀκτώ τέντας *Dig.* E 929
 ὀκτώ χρονῶν *Rim. kor.* A 91
 ὀκτώ μηνῶν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 426
 ὀκτώ ἡμέρες *Alex. Rim.* 2024
 χιλιάδες πενήντα ὀκτώ καὶ τετρακόσια (1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 175.17)
 ὀκτώ ἡμέρες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 100.7
 ὀκτώ γρόσα (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 31.28)
 ὀχτώ σιργέντες *Chron. Mor.* H 8128 (exclusive form)
 λίτρες ὀχτώ (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.37)
 τιμίνια ὀχτώ (1625, Ikaria, SKAVDI 2008: 20, 33.7)
 σαάνια κομμάτια ὀχτώ (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 137.14)

A genitive form with addition of final /n/ occurs quite rarely (cf. δύων above, 6.1.2): τῶν ὀκτῶν ἡμερῶ (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 53, 73.11).

6.1.5.5 Nine

Alternative spellings of AG ἐννέα are found already in the 4th c. AD (ἐνήα/ἐννήα/ἐννηια, GIGNAC 1981: 193); such spellings are considered evidence of a first stage in the process of synizesis (for details see I, 2.9.4), which results in the SMG form ἐννιά. While the existence of forms with synizesis must be considered certain, actual spellings reflecting the change are rare and “conservative” spellings prevail:

καντάρια ἑκατὸν ἐνενήντα ἐννέα ἡμισυ *Spanos* A 186
 πῆχες διακόσες ἐννέα (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 50, 88.46–7)
 τὶς ἐννέα (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 31, 68.22)
 παιδιὰ ἐννέα *Alex. Rim.* 335
 κάποιον παιδί ὀκτώ ἢ ἐννέα χρόνων RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 118.14
 παροσκέφαλα ἐννέα (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: [4], 137.15–16)

Spelling variations such as the following indicate tension between the writing system and actual pronunciation:

ὀργίης ἐννία (16th c., DELATTE 1946: 493.11)
 τάπισα μὲ ἐννία μέρες γεννᾶται *Fior* 132.35
 ἐννεὰ μέρες *Paroim.* (Warner) 121.13

The form ἐννία, with synzesis, can be found in EMG verse texts (perhaps sometimes due to editorial practice). See also the numeral for 19 below.

στὶς ἐννιά μῆνες *CHORTATIS, Katz.* V.369
 ἐννιά μῆνες *Thysia Avr.* 375

6.1.6 The Tens (10–90)

The formation of the numerals from 10 to 99 is generally the same as in MG (the larger number preceding, with the exception of ἑντεκα and δώδεκα). We provide here some examples of use and a short discussion of interesting or variant forms, where they exist.

6.1.6.1 Ten to Nineteen

No variation has been observed for δέκα.

τὰ μὴν δέκα ἐχέτω αὐτή(ν) (11th c., S. Italy, NITTI DI VITO 1900: 46, 93.35)
 γουμάρια δέκα (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 5, 300.13)
 τοὺς δέκα ἐσύνθλασεν *Achil.* N 552
 εἰς τὲς δέκα τοῦ μηνός τουτουνοῦ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 259.23
 οἱ δέκα χρόνοι (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 31, 50.9)
 δέκα κρεντήρια (1664, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 12, 126.19)

Two alternative spellings for the numeral for “eleven” are used throughout the period examined here: ἑνδεκα and ἑντεκα, with the “conservative” spelling ἑνδεκα being actually more frequent. As discussed in Phonology (I, 3.2.1.2), in all probability both spellings (<νδ> and <ντ>) represent the same pronunciation [nd], or regionally [d].

ταρία ἑνδεκα (1264, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 21, 163.15)
 τῶν ἑνδεκα πηχῶν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 188.26
 ἑνδεκα χιλιάδες φλωρία [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P 402.11–12
 εἰς τὲς ἑντεκα (1572, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 136, 256.17)
 μίστατα ἑντεκα (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 352, 329.38)
 οἱ ἑντεκα συντρόφισσες *P&N Diath.* 1798

The numeral “twelve” presents very little variation. In a 13th-c. document from Sicily we find the form δεκαδύο (1236, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 16, 93.9) (the form also occurs in the 14th-c. author Manuel Vryennios; cf. also the Hellenistic form δέκαδυο). However, the form generally used is δώδεκα, as in MG:

χρόνους δώδεκα ψυχροὺς καὶ ἀσβολωμένους *Ptoch. I* 47–8
 τοὺς δώδεκα μοδίους *Ptoch. II* 26.9 app. crit. (H)
 ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς δώδεκα *Chron. Mor.* H 975
 ἀτσουπάδας δώδεκα *Dig.* E 1076

κιλά δώδεκα (15th c., Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.10)
 δώδεκα νεωτέρους *Achil.* N 217
 από τούς δώδεκ' ἀδελφούς CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2021

The numeral “thirteen” is declined in the same manner as τρεῖς/τρία (see 6.1.3 above):

[προσκαθημένων] δεκατριῶν (Athos, 1275, BOMPAIRE 1964: 10, 92.20)
 οἱ δεκατρεῖς *Ptoch.* II 26.9 app. crit. (H)
 δεκατρεῖς ἡμέρες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 340.4
 μίστατα δεκατρία (1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 198, 206.3)
 τορνέσα λίτρες δεκατρεῖς (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 180.34)

The numeral “fourteen” exhibits a similar pattern of variation to that of “four” (see 6.1.4):

μοδίων δεκατεσσάρων (1482 [copy of 1688], Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 108, 216)
 ἕως δεκατέσσερους χρόνους *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 79.13; εθανάτωσε δεκατέσσαρες χιλιάδες
 παιδία *ibid.* 99.36–7
 μόνον δεκατέσσαροι KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* IV.100
 χρόνων δεκατεσσάρων CHEILAS, *Chron.* 351.19
 εἰς τὲ δεκατέσιρες (1601, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1993: 60, f.1v.2) (northern/“raising vocalism”,
 for which see I, 2.5.4)
 δεκατέσσερους μαγείρους καὶ μαγκίπους [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 360.15

No variation has been observed for δεκαπέντε “fifteen”:

δεκαπέντε χρόνους *Ptoch.* IV 74
 στὰς δεκαπέντε τοῦ μηνὸς *Chron. Mor.* H 7297
 κρυτήρια δεκαπέντε *Krasop.* L 74
 ἡμέρες οἱ δεκαπέντε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 1, 80.2)
 τῶν δεκαπέντε χρόνων *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1301
 δεκαπέντε ἡμέρας LANDOS, *Geopon.* 142.24

The AG and Hellenistic form δεκαῆξ “sixteen” (also with alternative accentuation δέκαεξ) can be found sporadically in LMedG texts:

τὰ δέκαεξ ταρία (1235–6, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 49, 252.17)
 δένδρα ἐλαϊκὰ δεκαῆξ (1251, Smyrna region, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 4: 4, 24.33)
 τὰ δεκαῆξ (1355, Palatia (Miletos), MANOUSAKAS 1962b: 1, 234.11)

The innovative forms δεκαῆξι and δεκαῆξε can also be found with the same distribution as ἕξι/ἕξε (see above, 6.1.5.2):

τσίρους δεκαῆξι *Ptoch.* IV 214 (S)
 δεκαῆξι μοναχούς *Chron. Mor.* H 126
 ἄσπρα χίλια δεκαῆξε (1598, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 80, 108.4)
 ριάλια δεκαῆξε (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 70.6)

In a 15th-c. document from Cyprus and in EMG texts we also find the form δεκάξι (deletion of /e/ in accordance with vowel hierarchy, for which see I, 2.9.2):

στὰς δεκάξι τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς (1479, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 6, 89.3)
 λίτρες δεκάξι (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 64.6)
 δοκᾶτα κουρέντε δεκάξι, ἡγου δεκάξι (1561, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 129, 248.4–5)

δεκάξι σολδία (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 148.25)
 τὰ δεκάξι τοῦ τὰ ἀφήνω (1670, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1981: 2, 287.50)
 γρόσια ... δεκάξι (1672, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 6, 323.4)
 ἕως τὲς δεκάξι ὀργυιές (1677, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 19, 98.34)

A similar development may also occur for δεκαεπτὰ/δεκαεφτά “seventeen”:

δεκαφτά SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 14
 τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ δεκαφτά λέγονται σύμφωνα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 35.14
 ἀσιλάνια δεκαφτά (1603, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 5, 21.15)
 δεκαφτά χιλιάδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 64.16
 τζικίνια ἑκατὸν δεκαφτά (1630, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 4, 133.9)
 dici sette. δεκαφτά, δεκαεφτά GERMANO, *Vocab.*, s.v.

The forms without vowel deletion, δεκαεπτὰ and δεκαεφτά, are also widely used: καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς δεκαεφτά *Chron. Mor.* H 7300; δεκαεπτὰ φυλές *Alex. Fyll.* 91.9.

For “eighteen”, δεκαοκτώ and δεκαοχτώ are both used in the texts examined (for details on these forms of the numeral “eight” see 6.1.5.4):

ἀλλάγια ἐποίησαν δεκαοχτώ *Chron. Mor.* H 4659
 δεκαοκτώ κουρτίνες *Dig.* E 929
 νὰ τοὺς δώση δουκάτα δεκαοκτώ καὶ τινὰ κρασι (1529, Corfu, ZARIDI 1993: 5, 172.8)
 βαρέλια δεκαοκτώ (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 255, 253.5)

The variants δεκοκτώ and δεκοχτώ (cf. Hellenistic δεχοκτώ, GIGNAC 1981: 196) have also been found in the texts examined, quite rarely in LMedG and more frequently in EMG, in texts from the Heptanese, Crete and the Peloponnese. On these forms, which contravene the normal vowel hierarchy (see I, 2.9.2), presumably in the interests of morphological transparency, see KAPSOMENOS 1953b: 325; cf. HATZIDAKIS 1892: 314.

ἡμέρας γὰρ κἂν δεκοχτώ *Chron. Mor.* H 7128
 τῆς δίνουε λίτρες δεκοχτώ πόλβερη (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 64.14–15)
 ὀχτακοσίες δεκοχτώ *Chron. Mor.* P 45
 δουκάτα δεκοχτώ (1604 [copy of 1695], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 510.11)
 μπάγκωνε δεκοχτώ (1665, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 9, 39.6)

ὑπέρπυρα δεκοκτώ (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 5, 82.5)
 τὰ δουκάτα δεκοκτώ (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.6)
 ἐργατῶν δεκοκτῶν (1624, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2000: 2, 515.4) (final/n/ added on the analogy of ἐργατῶν)
 τὰ δεκοκτώ γρόσια (1687, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 103, 323.5)
 diciotto. δεκοκτώ, δεκαοκτώ GERMANO, *Vocab.*, s.v.
 ἦτονε δεκοκτώ χρονῶ KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.79

The normal form for “nineteen” is δεκαεννέα: δουκάτων δεκαεννέα κρασά (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 90, 170.18). A phonological variant δεκαννιά (with vowel deletion, in accordance with vowel hierarchy, and synizesis; see I, 2.9.2 and I, 2.9.4 respectively) has been found in a document from Mykonos: νὰ τοῦ δῶνου ριάλια δεκαννιά (1696, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 47, 141.22–3). A further variant without synizesis (δεκαν<ν>έα) occurs in a document from Cythera: δουκάτα τὰ δεκαννέα (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 241, 337.2). In a 17th-c. document from Thessaloniki we find the form

δικαγινιά (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 55.20) (with northern/“raising vocalism” and glide anaptyxis; see I, 2.5.4 and I, 3.5.2.1 respectively).

6.1.6.2 Twenty and its Compounds

The numeral *εἴκοσι* “twenty” is stable before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar.

καὶ πανὶν πῆχας εἴκοσι (1112, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: App. I, 1, 511.23)
 κοχλιάρια ἀργυρὰ εἴκοσι (1325, Veroia/Macedonia, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 64, 355.55)
 καὶ ἄλλα εἰκοσιτέσσερα *Dig.* E 381
 εἰς τὲς εἴκοσι πέντε Δεκεβρίου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.21
 εἰς τσὶ εἴκοσι (1691, Cythera, PAPADAKI 2001: 131, 62.4)
 ἦτονε εἰκοσενοῦς χρονοῦ KORNAOS, *Erot.* II.217

Compounds of *εἴκοσι* have a phonological variant with deletion of the initial /i/ (aphaeresis, for which see I, 2.7.1):

εἰς ᾽κοσιπέντε *Velis.* N² 288
 τοὺς ᾽κοσιεννέα *Spanos* B 214
 ᾽ς τσὶ χίλιους ἑξακόσους ᾽κοσι πέντε (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 79.1)
 Ἀπριλίου εἰς τὶς ᾽κοσιοκτῶ (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 29, 49.10–11)
 εἰς τσὶ ᾽κοσιπέντε (1687, Cythera, KALLIGEROS 2001: 3, 39.1)
 κὶ ὀπίσω τοῦ ἄλλοι κοσιδυὸ KORNAOS, *Erot.* IV.1137

Post-consonantal /j/ deletion (see I, 2.4.7.3) can also be found in such compounds: ᾽κοσοκτῶ ᾽γκιὲς (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 80.64).

Phonological or morphological variants of the numerals 1–9 mentioned above (6.1.2–6.1.5) can also be found for compounds of twenty: *εἰκοσιέξε* (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 151, 239.8); *χρόνους εἴκοσι τεσσάρους* *Chron.* 1619 500.

6.1.6.3 Thirty to Ninety

All forms ending in *-κοντα* in AG (τριάκοντα, τεσσαράκοντα, πενήκοντα, ἑξήκοντα, ὀγδοήκοντα, ἑνενήκοντα) lose a whole syllable (*-κο-*) and have syncopated forms ending in *-ντα* (for syncope see I, 2.7.2). This development probably started with *τριάντα*, for which the earliest examples, from the Koine and the EMedG period, are extant (GIGNAC 1981: 196, 6th [and 4th] c.) and has spread to all other numerals ending in *-κοντα*. We present here an overview of forms found in the texts examined.

For “thirty”, *τριάντα* is the common form:

ἑδιέβη τριάντα μίλια *Arm.* 29
 χρόνους τριάντα τρίους *Alex. Rim.* 2943
 πῆχεις τριάντα δύο (1531, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 20, 66.12)
 ἄνδρες ... τριανταπέντε χιλιάδες (1609, Cyprus, CHASIOIS 1972: 35, 59.10–11)
 πόσα εἶναι τὰ τριάντα (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.35–6)
 τριάντα πέμπει πᾶσα ἀργὰ KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.769

τριάκοντα is also widely used, especially in mixed- and higher-register texts: στους τριάκοντα *Achil.* L 423; τῶν τριάκοντα (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 167.2).

Phonological or morphological variants of the numerals for 1–9 mentioned above in 6.1.2–5 can also be found for compounds of thirty: τριάνταἔξε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 26, 105.11).

Vowel deletion after /r/ (see I, 2.4.7.4) occurs in τριάντα and its compounds:

τράντα SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 11

τραντάξι *P&N Diath.* 805

τραντάξι CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.13

ἦτονε τραντάξι KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 699

AG τεσσαράκοντα “forty” has an EMedG variant σαράκοντα, which is also in use in LMedG and EMG texts:

εἰς τὰς σαράκοντα ἡμέρας *Chron. Mor.* H 7440

ἕνα σαρακονταήμερον (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 2, 5.18) (compound)

σαράκοντα ἐγένετο AXAGIOLIS, *Diig. Karolou* 190

Τεσσαράκοντα is still used throughout the period examined here:

φαρία τεσσαράκοντα *Dig.* E 930

πανὶ πῆχες τεσσαράκοντα (1581, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 10, 25.5)

μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 412.672)

The syncopated form σαράντα is already present in EMedG (σαράντα ἡμέρας ἐβράχησαν, Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool* 87.11) and is common in LMedG and EMG texts:

σαράντα ἡμέρες *Chron. Mor.* H 768

σαράντα χιλιάδες (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 89, 76.28)

σαράντα χιλιάδες *Velis.* χ 454

γυναῖκες βγενικὲς τὸν ἀριθμὸν σαράντα *Velth.* 526; τὲς σαράντα *ibid.* 600

σαράντα ἡμέρες *Velis.* ρ 811

σαράντα ἡμέρες SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 133

μακρέα σαράντα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 211.18

μάσκουλα ... σαράντα (1641, Crete, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 19, 14.13)

χιλιάδες σαράντα (post 1640, Monemvasia, SCHREINER 1975/79: 79, 37.5)

A syncopated form πεντήντα for AG πεντήκοντα “fifty” is attested in EMedG (6th c., see *LBG* s.v.) and is also found sporadically in LMedG and EMG texts:

ἀλλάγια ... τριακόσια πεντήντα *Achil.* L 329

να ἔχει πεντήντα χρύσινα *Diig. Apoll.* 85

πεντήντα ᾠήντα LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 425

ἀπὸ χρόνων πεντήντα (1694–1704, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 3, 78.8–9)

A further development is πενήντα, the commonest form in the period covered by this Grammar (a case of dissimilation according to HATZIDAKIS 1892: 150), securely attested from the 14th c. onwards:

ἀπὸ πενήντα τρύπας *Ptoch.* IV 101 app. crit. (P)
 πενήντα δύο κουπίων *Chron. Mor.* H 745
 καλὰ πενήντα *Chron. Toc.* 1455
 πενήντα δύο *Chron. Mor.* P 745
 τὰ πενήντα DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2267
 ὑπέρπυρα πενήντα (1561, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 129, 247.21)
 ἑφτακόσα πενήντα (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 23.16)
 ἑπτακοσίων πενήντα (16th c., DELATTE 1946: 493.25)
 χιλιάδες πενήντα ὀκτώ (1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 175.17)
 εἶναι πενήντα πατημασίαι (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 335.13)
 στάρι μουζούρια πενήντα (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 795α, 692.8)
 ἐκεῖνες τὲς πενήντα χιλιάδες ἄσπρα (1657, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 75, 192.13)

For “sixty”, ἐξήντα is used regularly in LMedG and EMG texts:

χιλιάδες ἐξήντα ὑπέρπυρα *Chron. Mor.* H 3127
 ἐξήντα χιλιάδες ἦτασιν *Achil.* N 572
 εἰς διάφορος ὀνομίσματα ἐξήντα τὰ ἑκατὸν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 336.12
 ποῦ ἦτασιν τριάντα κ' ἐξήντα χρόνους KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VI.22
 τριῶν χιλιαδῶν καὶ τριακοσῶν ἐξήντα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 60, 57.5)
 φελοῦκες πλεόν παρὰ ἐξήντα (17th c., Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.2, 72.3–4)
 ἐξήντα φύλλα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 366

However, ἐξήκοντα also remains in use, particularly in earlier texts and more formal registers: διὰ ταρία ἐξήκοντα (1160–1200, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 19, 98.11), δουκάτα ἑκατὸν ἐξηκοντατέσσερα (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.6).

ἐβδομήντα “seventy” is found widely in LMedG and EMG texts:

ἐβδομήντα γέροντες *Dig.* E 531
 κάτεργα ἐβδομήντα *Velis.* χ 82
 ἐβδομήντα δύο ἡμισυ φλέβας *Spanos* D 1781
 τοὺς ἐβδομήντα χρόνους *Bertoldos* 81.31
 ἐβδομήντα δύο IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 71

A phonological variant with deletion of initial /e/ (aphaeresis, for which see I, 2.7.1) can be found in EMG texts:

ἴβδομήντα (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 93.32)
 γυναῖκες ... ἄλλες βδομήντα *Alex. Rim.* 2486
 πόσα εἶναι τὰ βδομήντα (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.36)

ἐβδομήκοντα is broadly in use, though mostly in formal registers: ἀπὸ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἕξ δουκάτα ἢ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἑπτὰ (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 16, 24.9).

For the numeral 80 an intermediate stage in the development of ὀγδόντα < AG ὀγδοήκοντα is the form ὀγδοήντα, which is common in LMedG and EMG texts:

στράτορας ὀγδοήντα *Dig.* E 717
 ὀγδοήντα (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1976)
 καὶ τετρακόσια ὀγδοήντα τέσσερις χιλιάδες (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 89, 76.24)

ὀγδοῇντα ὀχτῶ *Chron. Mor.* P 44

θέλει πόλβερη λίτρες ὀγδοῇντα (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 64.11)

τάβλες ὀγδοήντα πέντε (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 84, 101.15–16)

ὀγδοήντα (1609, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 59, 58.11)

ὀγδοήντα (1657, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 224, 198.29)

The earliest example of ὀγδόντα occurs in a text written in the 12th c.; however, the ms may not be earlier than the 15th c. (though the editor dates it to the 13th): ὀγδόντα ΚΑΜΑΤ., *Astron.* 3380a. The form ὀγδόντα is better attested from the 16th c. onwards, but it still appears to be less frequent than ὀγδοήντα:

πεντακόσιες ὀγδόντα *Diig. Alex.* K 365.4

ἐτοῦτοι οἱ ὀγδονταπέντε γιανιτσάροι (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 28, 78.3)

χρόνους ογδόντα *Apoll. Rim.* A E V 1866

ογδόντα παλτατζήδες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1229

ὀγδόντα δυὸ ὀκκάδες KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 83

The AG form ὀγδοήκοντα is also in use:

ὀγδοήκοντα χιλιάδες *Chron. Mor.* H 334

ἡμέρες ὀγδοήκοντα *Alex. Rim.* 2559

ὀγδοήκοντα ἦγουν 80 (1660, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 4, 311.7)

In a 17th-c. document from Thessaloniki we find the form οὐγουδουήντα (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 55.21), with “raising vocalism” (see I, 2.5.4).

For “ninety”, ἐνενήντα can be found from the 15th c. onwards:

ἐνενήντα νῆας ERMON., *Ilias* 3.264

καντάρια ἑκατὸν ἐνενήντα ἑννέα ἥμισυ *Spanos* A 186

ἐνενήντα χιλιάδες ὀργίες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 203.1

πρόβατα ἐνενήντα (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 15, 13.14–15)

ὑπέρπυρα ἐνενήντα (1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 153, 278.2–3)

ἐνενήντα πέντε φορτία PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.199–200

μὰ τοὺς ἐνενήντα πειραγμοὺς *Ekatol.* (Meteoron) 69

ἑκατὸν ἐνενήντα πέντε (1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 13, 215.2)

ἐνενήκοντα also continues to be used, mainly in more formal contexts: σὺν ἄλλοις ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ὀκτῶ LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 2.

6.1.7 The Hundreds

ἑκατό(ν) is indeclinable and has a phonological variant with loss of initial /e/ (see I, 2.7.1): μέ τὰ ἑκατὸ στη φυλακή *Paroim.* (Warner) 121.14. Other examples:

τῶν χρονῶν ἑκατὸν πληρωμένων *Chron. Mor.* H 122; οἱ ἑκατὸν τζαγράφτοροι *ibid.* 6542

εἰς ἑκατὸ νὰ ράγηκεν *Liv.* E 44

εἰς ἑκατὸν μικρὰ μονοπατίτσα *Liv.* V 2357

ἑκατὸν μίλια *Fior* 144.37

ἑκατὸ πληγές *Thysia Avr.* 174

ἑκατὸ θανάτοι KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.491

Numerals for 200–900 end in -κόσιοι, -αι/ες, -α (διακόσιοι, τριακόσιοι, τετρακόσιοι etc.) and are declined like the plural of adjectives in -ος (see 3.2.2); movement of stress to the penultimate may also occur in some cases.

Phonological variants arise due to synizesis and vowel deletion (e.g. τριακόσιοι > τρακόσιοι, for which see I, 2.4.7.4). Note, however, that resistance to synizesis is a common phenomenon in written texts throughout the period covered by this Grammar (see I, 2.9.4) and conservative spellings are very common.

We present here a small selection of examples, grouped by case, and we discuss phonological variants with information on distribution, where available.

Nominative

μόνοι τριακόσιοι μοναχοὶ *Chron. Mor.* H 4897
 ἑφτακόσια (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1984)
 ἑπτακοσίοι ἥρωες ἀκολουθοῦν *Pol. Tr.* 1015 (stress on the 4th syllable for metrical reasons)
 διακοσίες χιλιάδες *Diig. Alex.* E 157.18 (Lolos)
 ἐσυμμαζωνόντανε τριακόσιοι SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 52.1

Depalatalized forms (see I, 2.4.7.3):

τρακόσιοι ἀπελάτες *Dig.* E 1158 (with deletion of /i/; see I, 2.4.7.4)
 ἑφτακόσα πενήντα (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 23.16)
 διακόσιοι βασιλήδες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3025
 πλέον παρὰ διακόσιοι DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 278
 ἦταν πεντακόσιοι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2666

Genitive

Stress on the ultimate as a result of synizesis with subsequent depalatalization is common in texts from Crete (see I, 2.4.7.3):

ὑπερπύρων διακοσῶν (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 1, 4.20)
 τριῶν χιλιάδων καὶ τριακοσῶν ἐξήντα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 60, 57.5)
 διακοσῶν σπαχήδων ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 202
 τῶν ὑπερπύρων τρακοσῶν (1607, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 418, 387.6) (also with vowel deletion; see I, 2.4.7.4)

For similar examples in adjectives see 3.2.2. An example with stress on the ultimate without evidence of palatalization has been found in a text possibly dating to the 12th c.: μοδίων διακοσιῶν (956 [12th? c. copy], Constantinople?, BOMPAIRE 1964: 1, 39.12). Depalatalized forms without movement of stress have been found in texts from Andros: ριαλιῶ πεντακόσω (1678, Andros, POLEMIS 1977: 1, 30.43).

Forms not exhibiting synizesis are also widely in use:

δύο ἑξακοσίων μέτρων (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.12)
 λιτρῶν διακοσίων ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2024.
 διὰ τῶν τρακοσίων δουκάτων τὴν γῆς (1597, Kefalonia, CHRYSOCHOIDIS 1977: 2, 212.55–6)
 (with vowel deletion)

Rarely, forms with a second stress on the ultimate may be employed for metrical convenience: ἑξάκις χιλιάδων δὲ καὶ ὀχτακόσιων τε *Chron. Mor.* P 7299 (end of verse).

Accusative

Masculine and feminine forms (but not of course neuter ones) may have shift of stress to the penultimate:

- καὶ διακοσίους τζαγράτορους *Chron. Mor.* H 7153
 πεντακοσίους ἄρχοντας *Dig.* E 277
 διακοσίες *Pol. Tr.* 3225 app. crit. (BV)
 ὀχτακοσίες δεκαοχτῶ χιλιάδες *Chron. Mor.* P 45
 σπαογλάνους ... ἑξακοσίους (16th c. (early), Unknown, SCHREINER 1982: 1, 11.8)
 πεντακοσίους καβούρους *Spanos* D 1698
 εἶχεν γυναῖκες νομίμες ἐπτακοσίες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 300.29
 ὑπέρπυρα διακόσια (1606, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 1, 258.10)
 γίνονται ὄλα διακόσια πενήντα τὸ ρέστος (1626, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 8, 46.39)

Masculine and feminine forms without movement of stress are also in use:

- τριακοσίες χιλιάδες δουκάτα (1487, Chios?, LEFORT 1981: 13, 77.18–19)
 λίτρες ἐγνιακόσιες (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 62.14) (with dental palatalization evident in the spelling <γν>; see I, 3.8.2.3)
 τριακοσίους ὅλους ἐκλεκτοὺς KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* IV.28
 διακόσιες ὀργυῖες χοντρή *Diig. Alex.* F 36.7–9 (Konstantinopulos)

Examples with depalatalization:

- διακόσες χιλιάδες *Pol. Tr.* 3225 app. crit. (A)
 πῆχες διακόσες ἑννέα ἀπάνω κάτω (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 50, 88.46–7)
 δουκάτα πεντακόσα *Apoll. Rim.* A 724
 διακόσες χιλιάδες *Diig. Alex.* F 156.19 (Lolos)
 ἥγου πεντακόσα (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 1, 23.19)
 ἕως τετρακόσες χιλιάδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 34.1; πεντακόσες ὀργυῖες *ibid.* 81.16–17
 γρόσα τριακόσα (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/1992: 3, 49.13)
 ρεάλια διακόσα (1669, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 1, 576.6)

6.1.8 Large Numbers

Numbers from 1,000 up to 1,999 consist of two or more words, as in MG:

- στοὺς χίλιους πεντακόσιους *Apoll. Rim.* E 1898
 στοὺς χίλιους πεντακόσιους δώδεκα *Apoll. Rim.* V 1898
 χίλια πεντακόσια SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 10
 χίλια διακόσα ἐξήντα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.*, 378.24

6.2 Ordinals

Ordinal numerals are not used much in the texts examined for this Grammar; they are of course necessary for fixed or relative dates, e.g. χίλιοστό ἑξακοσιοστό πεντηκοστό καὶ ἓνα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡΡ., *Pali* 7651 οὐ τὸν πρῶτον ... δεῦτερον ... τρίτον χρόνον (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.33), and other expressions of rank or order, which are found mostly in narrative texts: ranks of rulers and leaders, e.g. ἕξτος βασιλεὺς *Chron. Tourk.*

Soult. 43.4; ἕνας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ βασιλέως VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.2–3. However, they are often expressed by alphabetic numerals, rather than written in full.

Two main groups can be identified: a stable group of ordinals where little or no variation or change occurs (πρῶτος, δεύτερος, τρίτος, τέταρτος, ἕνατος, δέκατος and the numerals for the tens and large numbers); and on the other hand the ordinals for five, six, seven, eight, where new forms ending in -ατος are used quite commonly (πέντατος, ἕξατος, ἑφτατος/ἑπτατος, ὀκτατος). The latter are formations produced by analogy to τέταρτος, ἕνατος and δέκατος. Interestingly, these innovative forms have not found their way into SMG and are attested only in Modern Greek dialects (for Tsakonian, see KOSTAKIS 1986/87, s.v. πέντατος).

Ordinals are declined like adjectives in -ος with feminine in -η (see 3.2.1) except for δεύτερος, which follows the pattern of adjectives in -ος with alternative feminine forms in -α or -η (see 3.2.3).

6.2.1 πρῶτος, -η, -ο(ν)

νὰ πάρη ὁ πρῶτος του υἱὸς ... ὁ δεύτερος νὰ πάρη τὰ τρίτα, ὁ τρίτος νὰ πάρη τὰ τέταρτα
(post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 42, 36.1–3)
ἦτον ὁ πρῶτος ὁ Ἀδάμ (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 270.8)
πρώτη ἀπὸ τούτη (1562, Skyros, ANDONIADES 1990: 9, 23.22)

πρωτο- is very common as a prefix: Βλάση πρωτοπαπᾶ (1071, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 40, 126.33); ἐκεῖνος ἐναι πρωτοπαπᾶς *Ptoch.* IV 64 app. crit. (V).

6.2.2 δεύτερος, δευτέρα/δεύτερη, δεύτερο(ν)

The masculine and neuter decline regularly, except that shift of stress may occur, in accordance with AG rules, as in the third example:

ὁ δεύτερος ἐλάλησεν [ANDR. PALAIOLOG., *Kallim.* 228
δεύτερον ρώτημα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 333
ἐκ δευτέρου ἔριψεν ὁ ἄγιος MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 172

There is variation in the formation of the feminine. δεύτερη is attested from the 14th c. onwards, while δευτέρα is used widely throughout the period covered by this Grammar, and exclusively with the meaning “Monday” as a substantivized adjective.

ἡ δεύτερη (ἀδελφή) *Chron. Mor.* H 6025; τὴν δευτέραν ἡμέραν *ibid.* 7165 (exclusive form, but compare ὁ πόλεμος ἐγένετο ἡμέρα γὰρ δευτέρα *ibid.* 7296, where δευτέρα is used with the meaning “Monday”)

τὴν δευτέραν εὐχὴν (15th c., Cyprus?, TSANGALAS 1983: 132.12)

δεύτερη πάλιν σύνταξις *Pol. Tr.* 3244 app. crit. (BV, 16th c.), δευτέρα πάλιν σύνταξις *ibid.* app. crit. (AX, 15th c.)

δεύτερη νύκτα *Rim. kor.* A 33

τὴν δευτέραν στίμαν ἦν περ εἶχαν κάμει (1560, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 19, 19.25)

δευτέρα ὥρα (1521, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (b), 221.2)

ἐναι ... ἡ Παρουσία Δευτέρα *Def. Par.* 52

εἰς δευτέρα παρουσία VENDRAMOS, *Istor. gyn.* 204
 δευτέραν φοράν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 67

Quite rarely we also find feminine forms ending in -ο(ν): τὴν δεύτερον ἡμέραν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 909 (acc. δευτέραν also used in the text); τὴν δεύτερο ἡμέρα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 77.30 (for parallels see 3.2.4).

6.2.3 τρίτος, -η, -ο(ν)

τὴν τρίτην φοράν (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 534.17)
 τὸ τρίτον τοῦ μύλου (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.32–3)
 τρίτος μπαροῦς *Chron. Mor.* H 1925
 ὁ δεύτερος νὰ πάρη τὰ τρίτα, ὁ τρίτος νὰ πάρη τὰ τέταρτα (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 42, 36.1–3)
 αὐτουμένων τῶν λεγομένων δύο τρίτων (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 154, 153.26)
 τὰ τρίτα *Diig. Alex.* F 38.5 (Konstantinopoulos)

Occasionally fem. sg. accusative forms ending in -ον can be found:

τὴν τρίτον φαντασία *Byz. Il.* 45
 τὴν τρίτον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1104, *ibid.* 1153 (and nom. τρίτος ἡ ἡμέρα *ibid.* 918, cf. τὴν δεύτερον above)
 τὴν τρίτον βολάν *Diig. Alex.* F 288.17
 τὴν τρίτον ἰντράδα (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 809, 705.7)

In texts from Crete and the Heptanese we occasionally find feminine forms ending in -α (possibly influenced by Ital. *terza*): νὰ γρικᾶται πρώτη, δεύτερη καὶ τρίτα στίμα (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 216.9); Πράξις Τρίτα *Zinon* III.tit.

6.2.4 τέταρτος, -η, -ο(ν)

τὸ τέταρτον μέρος (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 183.21)
 τὸ τέταρτον ἡμερίδι *Chron. Mor.* H 1025
 ἡ τετάρτη φθάνοντα *Velth.* 572

A fem. sg. accusative form ending in -ον can also occasionally be found: τὴν τέταρτον ἡμέραν SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 106.

6.2.5 πέμπτος, -η, -ο(ν)/πέντατος, -η, -ο(ν)

The earliest attestations of πέντατος can be dated to the 15th c.:

τὸ πέντατο (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 28, 63.22)
 ἐβγάνοντας τὸ πέντατο (1523, Corfu, LITSAS/LEONDIADOU 2011: 85, 117.9)
 τὸ πέντατο *Alosis* 624
 ἡ πέντατος *P&N Diath.* 707

The form does not appear to supplant AG πέμπτος, πέμπτη, πέμπτο(ν), which is still widely in use:

τὸν πέμπτον φιλόσοφον *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 77.9–12
 τὸ πέμπτον βιβλίον *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 323.16
 ἄττο πέμπτο *CHORTATSI, Katz.* IV.1

There also exists a phonological variant of πέμπτος with nasal deletion (see I, 3.6.2.2): πέπτον *Achil.* N 1780; ὁ πέπτος πάλε Τρώϊλος *Pol. Tr.* 1200 app. crit. (B). The form is also attested in 13th-c. S. Italian documents (*CARACAUSI, Lex.* s.v. πέμπτος).

The form πέφτος, -η, -ο(ν) (with manner dissimilation; see I, 3.8.1) and in its substantivized form Πέφτη (the fifth day of the week) has been found in texts from Cyprus and Crete and in a text possibly written in northern Greece.

ἡ πέφτη αἰτία *Assizes B* 438.25
 πέφτη (15th c., Athos?, *VASMER* 1922: 62)
 τῆς ἀγίας Πέφτης *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 70.31
 τὸ πέφτον ἐνι νὰ βλεπηθῇ *Fior* 146.36
 Πέφτη (1518, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1994a: 12, 56.16)

6.2.6 ἕκτος, -η, -ο(ν)/ἕξατος, -η, -ο(ν)

Not many examples of the ordinal numeral for “six” have been found in the texts examined. The innovative form ἕξατος, on the analogy of ἕνατος and δέκατος (see *KRIARAS, Lex.* s.v. and compare ἕπτατος), is used in texts from the 15th c. onwards:

τὸ ἕξατον τῶν ρ' ὀργυιῶν (post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 89, 76.21)
 τὸ ἕξατον κεφάλαιον *Synax. gyn.* 326
 ἕξατος βασιλεύ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 43.4
 ἡ ἕξατος *P&N Diath.* 708

ἕκτος still occurs but rather few examples have been found:

ὁ ἕκτος λόγος *Dig.* G VI.1
 πόλεμος ἕκτος *Pol. Tr.* post 5532 app. crit. (V, tit.); πόλεμος δέκατος ἕκτος *ibid.* post 9133 app. crit. (V, tit.), ἕκτον, ἕβδομον οὕτως *ibid.* 10587
 ἕκτος Μανδακλαβόητος *ibid.* 3301 app. crit. (B) (ms V ὅκτος; for the unusual change of stressed /e/ > /o/ before a non-labial consonant see I, 2.8.2)

6.2.7 ἕβδομος, -η, -ο(ν)/ἕπτατος/ἕφτατος, -η, -ο(ν)

Both ἕπτατος and ἕφτατος (the latter with manner dissimilation; see I, 3.8.1) are used in LMedG and EMG texts:

ἕνα ἕπτατο (post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 89, 76.2)
 ὁ ἕφτατος *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 47.2
 ἡ ἕφτατος *P&N Diath.* 708

The inherited form ἕβδομος continues to be widely used: στὸ ἕβδομον κεφάλαιον *Fyll. gadar.* 264o; ἕβδομον, τὰ Σφακιά *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* post 10241.

6.2.8 ὄγδοος, -η, -ο(ν)/ὄκτατος/ὄχτατος, -η, -ο(ν)

Both ὄκτατος and ὄχτατος (with manner dissimilation; see I, 3.8.1) can be found in LMedG and EMG texts, though neither is very common: ἕνα ὄκτατον (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 77, 58.1); ἦτον υἱὸς ὄχτατος τοῦ Ἰακώβ DAM. STOUD., *This.*, *Logos* 4, 86r.36. The usual form is still ὄγδοος:

ὄγδον τὸ λέγουν *Chron. Mor.* H 1026 (simplification of two identical vowels; see I, 2.9.2.1)
 ,αυξ' ὀγδόγης Χριστοῦ (ms ογδογισ) (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 143,
 68.3–4) (glide anaptyxis; see I, 3.5.2.1)
 τὸν ὄγδοον *Achil.* N 98
 σένα ὄγδοη *CHORTATISIS, Katz.* 2.8.40

6.2.9 ἕνατος, -η, -ο(ν)

In addition to the normal ἕνατος (e.g. ὁ ἕνατος *Pol. Tr.* 3304) we have found one instance of the form ἐννέατος *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 55.17.

6.2.10 The Tens

Only τεσσαρακοστός, -η, -ο(ν) has a vernacular counterpart σαρακοστός, -η, -ο(ν) (cf. also substantivized Σαρακοστή, “Lent”). All other ordinals for the tens present little or no variation. We present here some representative examples:

ἐκλεφετε τὸ δέκατο *P&N Diath.* 2830
 ὁ ἐνδέκατος Μαντάνης *Pol. Tr.* 3305
 σένα ἐντεκάτη *CHORTATISIS, Katz.* I.it. post 342 (for the voiced stop preceded by a nasal see I, 3.2.1.2)
 δωδέκατος Ἀλιδωμῶν *Pol. Tr.* 3306 app. crit. (B) (ms V has δισδέκατος, which seems to be an ad hoc construction)
 πόλεμος δέκατος τρίτος *Pol. Tr.* post 8526 app. crit. (B)
 δέκατος τέταρτος *Pol. Tr.* post 8927 app. crit. (V)
 εἰς τὸν δέκατον ἕκτον χρόνον *Alex. Fyll.* 5.18
 τὸ εἰκοστὸν τὸ ἔτος *Byz. Il.* 357
 εἰς τὸ εἰκοστὸ αὐτοῦ πρώτο κεφάλαιον *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 353.4–5; τὸ εἰκοστὸν τρίτο κεφάλαιο *ibid.* 386.29
 τὸν τριακοστὸν *Pol. Tr.* 3404 app. crit. (AX)
 καὶ ἔτος γὰρ τριακοστὸν καὶ τρίτον *Dig.* A 1299
 τὸν τεσσαρακοστὸν ἀριθμὸν *Dig.* G VI.129 app. crit.
 ὁ σαρακοστός ψαλμὸς *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 364.39¹
 πεντηκοστὸν <ἐγώ> δεύτερον ἔτος ἄγω *Dig.* G VI.355
 τὸν ἑβδομηκοστὸν πρώτον αὐτοῦ ψαλμὸν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 339.24; τὸ ὀγδοηκοστὸν πρώτον κεφάλαιον *ibid.* 365.32

¹ σαρακοστός, -η, -ο(ν) also occurs in Kamateros (12th c.) (σαρακοστὸν τὸ ἕκτον *KAMAT., Astron.* 702).

6.2.11 Large Numbers

Ordinals for large numbers are used very rarely; they occur mainly in dates, where higher-register forms tend to be used. No innovative forms were found in the texts examined. Some examples:

ἐκατοστὸν μερίδι *Pol. Tr. app. crit.* (A)
 χιλιοστῷ εξακοσιοστῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ ογδῶ, τούτῳ ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 4946; χιλιοστό
 εξακοσιοστό πεντηκοστό και ένα *ibid.* 7651

6.2.12 Ordinals in Fractions

In an arithmetic book of unknown provenance dating to the 15th c. (HUNGER/VOGEL 1963) we find several examples of ordinals in substantivized neuter forms used for fractions. The ending -άτο(ν), plural -ατα, is used exclusively here, including also for δύο (δύοτα) and for large numbers (τετρακόσατα, ὀκτακόσατα).

καὶ δύο ἑφτατα (*app. crit.*) (89, 76.18)
 καὶ τριάντα ἕξι χιλιάδες σαράντα χιλιάδες ὀκτακόσατα (89, 76.28)
 καὶ τετρακόσια ὀγδοήντα τέσσερις χιλιάδες τριάντα δύοτα (89, 76.24)
 ἕνα ἑπτατο (89, 76.2)
 ἕνα ὀκτατον τοῦ πύργου (77, 58.1)
 ἐνενήτα ἕξι ἑξάτα (76.4–5)
 ὀκτακόσια πενήντα ὀκτῶ χίλια ὀκτακόσατα (100.18)

6.3 Collective Numerals

Collective numerals, as in MG, take the form of feminine nouns ending in -άδα (e.g. εἰκοσάδα, inclusive collectives, for a definitive number or an approximation) or -αριά (e.g. τετρακοσαριά, approximative collectives, preceded often by καμμιά, as in MG).

The ending -άδα has its origins in AG collective numerals like δυάς, τριάς, εἰκοσάς, which were subsequently remodelled (for details see 2.11.2.2).

τρία εἶχε ἡ χιλιάδα *Chron. Mor.* H 4659; μία χιλιάδα *ibid.* 5099
 μονόκοιλα εἰκοσάδα *Poulol.* 197
 εἰς τὴν καθὲν χιλιάδα (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 188, 160.16)
 ἡ πεντηκοντάδα CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1073; στους χρόνους ογδοντάδα *ibid.* 2253 *app. crit.*
 στήν χιλιάδα (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 148.31)
 οκτῶ εκατοστάδες ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 1232 (from ἐκατοστός or ἐκατοστή)

The suffix -αριά has been found in EMG texts only:

εἶναι καμιά διακοσαριά ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 2243
 πενηνταριά (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 2, 27.6)
 καμμιά τετρακοσαριά πῆχες (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 307, f.1r.19)
 καμιά χιλιαδαριά (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.13)
 τὴ σαρανταρὰ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.365 (for deletion of /j/ after /r/ see I, 2.4.7.4)
 μονάχας μιὰ τριανταρὰ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 414

Collective numerals in -αριά are declined like oxytone feminine nouns in -ά (see 2.11.5 for the paradigm).

6.4 Multiplicative Numerals

This is a category which is used very rarely in LMedG and EMG texts; the endings found are -πλός, -πλή, -πλό, as in MG (from AG ἀπλοῦς, διπλοῦς, τριπλοῦς, remodelled like adjectives in -ος, see 3.2.5).

διπλή η εορτή *Diig. Apoll.* 789

πάσσα σου πόνος διπλοτριπλός στρέφεται πρὸς ἑμένα *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 49

διπλὰ διπλὰ τὰ κάμασι *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.396

6.5 Relative Numerals

Relative numerals are used only sporadically in the texts examined. The AG suffix -πλάσιος, -α, -ον is still in use:

τοσοῦτον πολλαπλάσιος ἀπόκειται μισθός σοι *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 440

πυρὸς ἑπταπλασίου *Ptoch. IV* 659–1 app. crit. (PK)

καὶ ἡ διωρία διπλασία καὶ οὕτως νὰ ἔναι τετραπλάσιον τὸ κέρδος (post 1427, Unknown,

HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 34, 32.5–6)

ἀπὸ τὸ ποτὸν διπλάσιον *LANDOS, Geopon.* 181.37; τὸν μισθὸν πολυπλάσιον *ibid.* 277.12

Older collective numeral forms ending in -πλασίων, declined like two-termination adjectives in -ων (see 3.3.4), can also be found sporadically in EMG texts:

νὰ τὸ ἀπολάβῃ ἑκατονταπλασίονα *Vios Aisop.* D 210.40–1

νὰ μὴν δὲν τὰ πάρει ἑκατονταπλασίονα *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 10.30; καρπὸν

ἑκατονταπλασίονα *ibid.* Louk. 8.8

Residual adverbs with the ending -πλασίως can also be found in LMedG and EMG texts:

ξένα ἑπταπλασίως *Achil.* O 477

μάχονται πάλιν ἑπταπλασίως *Byz. II.* 991

δεκαπλασίως ὁ ἄνθρωπος *FALIEROS, Logoi Did.* 94

Part III

Verb Morphology

1 Introduction

Part III deals with the morphology of the verb. It is divided into four sections: Verb Morphology (Chapters 2–4) and Morphosyntax (5). The verb morphology sections discuss how synthetic verb forms are made up, from the formation of the imperfective and perfective stems to conjugation (i.e. endings) and the addition of the augment in past-tense forms. Morphosyntax deals with periphrastic, or auxiliary verb, constructions.

1.1 Overview of Developments in the Verbal System

1.1.1 Stems

Due to the demise of the perfect and the synthetic future in the post-classical period the verbal system of LMedG and EMG, as SMG, relied on two stems to form all its moods and tenses: the imperfective or present stem and the perfective or aorist stem.

From Antiquity onwards, the Greek verbal system had been subject to various processes of simplification, regularization and analogical levelling, especially in the imperfective stem. Verbs in -μι had gradually lost their athematic formation and acquired thematic imperfective stems, while the copula εἰμί was remodelled into a passive paradigm. Verbs in -σσω (Attic -ττω) had long before started to form new imperfective stems modelled on verbs in -ζω, based on the fact that both verb classes had perfective stems in [ks] (see 2.2.1.3); as a consequence, verbs in -ζω sometimes acquired alternatives in -σσω (e.g. τρομάζω > τρομάσσω). Interaction between barytone verbs, i.e. verbs that bear the stress on the verb stem such as γράφω, and oxytone verbs, i.e. verbs that bear the stress on their endings such as the A-stem verb ἄγαπῶ and the E-stem verb κρατῶ, continues into the period covered by this Grammar, with the spread of the verbal affixes -ίζω, -άζω and -άνω/-αίνω at the expense of oxytone -ῶ, a development that, again, predates the period covered by this Grammar.

Verbs with nasal stems in -αν and -υν, which had identical imperfective and perfective stems, underwent an extensive levelling process before the period covered by this Grammar, acquiring new imperfective verb stems in -αίν.

Long before the LMedG period oxytone O-stem verbs such as δηλῶ and πληρῶ had acquired new barytone stems in -ων (HORROCKS ²2010: 305). The earliest example of this found so far occurs in a 4th-c. papyrus: ἐπεὶ ἐρημώνουσιν οὔτοι ὄλην τὴν κώμην *P.Nepheros* 19 (see www.papyri.info). Addition of /n/ is a trend that can also be observed in other verb classes such as barytone vowel stems (e.g. λύω > λύνω), stems ending in /r/ (e.g. φέρω > φέρνω), spreading to /l/ (στέλλω > στέλνω) and certain velar stems (διώκω > διώχνω) in the period covered by this Grammar. Moreover, barytone vowel-stem verbs

may become consonant stems through the addition of <γ> (ἀκούω > ἀκούγω) or make a partial or full transfer to the oxytone paradigm (e.g. λύω > λυῶ). As a result, certain consonant stems in -γ may lose their consonant and acquire vowel-stem alternatives, after which one of the two consecutive vowels may be deleted in all persons but 1 sg., e.g. λέγω > λέω, λές.

The perfective stem generally remained more stable. The majority of verbs, both barytone and oxytone, continue to have a sigmatic perfective stem, which may show phonological developments such as the dissimilation of /fs/ to /ps/ in the active voice of verbs in -εύω and -ύω and of /fθ/ to /ft/, /sθ/ to /st/ and /xθ/ to /xt/ in the passive voice (see I, 3.8.1). Regionally /ft/ and /xt/ can subsequently “re-assimilate” and become /pt/ and /kt/ respectively (see 2.2.1.2.2, 2.2.1.3.2). Other, non-phonological, developments include the appearance of a velar in certain nasal stems, e.g. μαζώνω, μαζώξω (2.2.1.5.1); and the appearance of /ks/ in certain oxytone verbs by analogy with barytone verbs in -άζω and -ίζω with an underlying velar: e.g. ἔρωτῶ, ἐρώτηξα; πλαντῶ, ἐπλάνταξα (2.2.1.9.2, 2.2.1.9.4). Certain verbs, both barytone and oxytone, have an alternative aorist indicative in -κα. This is not restricted to inherited ἔδωκα, ἄφηκα, ἔθηκα and εὗρηκα (originally a perfect), but also extends to βαίνω and its prefixed derivatives, to certain verbs in -ώνω (e.g. ἐγλύτωκα, ἐπλήρωκα), certain oxytone verbs (e.g. ἔποικα, ἐβάρηκα), and to a few other isolated verbs (ἔπεκε for ἔπεσε) (see 2.2.1.10.1). These /k/-stems, especially of δίδω and ἀφίηνω, but sporadically also of other verbs, are sometimes also employed in non-past forms, such as the subjunctive, the gerund, the infinitive and the imperative (see 2.2.1.10.2).

Verbs that do not have a sigmatic perfective stem can be divided into two categories: those with a liquid/nasal perfective stem (2.2.2.1) and those with a thematic perfective stem (2.2.2.2). The first group includes certain inherited verbs with an imperfective stem ending in a nasal (e.g. λαμβάνω, κρίνω) or liquid (e.g. ἀγγέλλω, σφάλλω). The second group includes verbs that had a thematic (second) aorist in AG (e.g. βάλλω, ἔρχομαι), which usually retain their inherited perfective stem, though some transfer to the sigmatic formation (e.g. prefixed forms of ἄγω, λείπω, τρέχω). The verbs τρώγω and ὑπάγω may lose their intervocalic /y/ in their perfective stems φαγ- and ὑπαγ-, after which, similarly to imperfective vowel stems, the second of the two consecutive vowels may be deleted in all persons but 1 sg., e.g. subjunctive φάω, φᾶς; πᾶω, πᾶς; aorist indicative ἔφας (see 2.2.2.3).

1.1.2 Participles

Throughout the LMedG and EMG periods two participles remain in use: the present passive participle and the perfect passive participle.

The present participle had a wider use in the period covered by this Grammar than in SMG, and is not restricted to passivizable and deponent verbs, even appearing with active meaning with verbs that lack passive morphology (e.g. πηγαίνόμενος, τρεμούμενος). Its use is mainly adverbial, comparable to the gerund, or adjectival. There is variation in the thematic vowels: for barytone verbs it may be inherited /o/, /u/ (originally that of oxytone E- and O-stem verbs) or /a/ (originally that of the middle aorist); for oxytone verbs /u/ is by far the most common for both E-stem and A-stem verbs (see 2.3.1.2).

Inherited perfect participles, mainly in unreduplicated form, remained in use after the demise of the perfect, functioning as verbal adjectives and used in periphrastic tenses such as the perfect and the pluperfect. The participle remained a very productive verbal category. New “perfect” participles were formed by adding -μένος to the aorist stem (see 2.3.2). For the declension of these participles see II, 3.2.1.

1.1.3 The Augment

The augment remains widely in use in the period covered by this Grammar to mark a verb form for past tense (aorist or imperfect). The syllabic augment, employed with verbs that start in a consonant, is generally /e/, though /i/ occurs widely with a few specific verbs and regionally with all verbs (see 3.1.2). The temporal (or quantitative) augment, employed with verbs starting in a vowel, has ceased to be a productive category in the period covered by this Grammar, limiting itself mainly to inherited verbs (3.1.4). In consonant-initial compound verbs, external /e/ augment only is by far the most common (e.g. ἐνεφροκοποῦνταν, ἐπερνοδιάβαινε; see 3.2.1). In vowel-initial verbs, sometimes the temporal augment is used (e.g. ἡκροεσσύπαζε, ηὔχαριστεί; see 3.2.2.1), but more often the forms remain un-augmented (ἄκροστάθηκα, οἰκονομήθη, ὁμολόγησαν; 3.2.2.5) or the /e/ augment replaces the initial vowel of the verb (e.g. ἐκροβάσταξεν, ἐκονόμησεν, ἐμολόγησε; 3.2.2.2). Verbs that are prefixed with a preposition, on the other hand, may have internal augment, external augment, both or neither, syllabic or temporal, leading to great variation (see the introduction to 3.3).

1.1.4 Conjugation

In the period covered by this Grammar the verbal system has two voices: the active and the passive (sometimes called mediopassive), the middle voice having fallen into disuse long before the LMedG period (see 4.9.1 and 4.9.2). Three of the four moods remain: the indicative, the subjunctive and the imperative. There are three synthetic tenses: the present, the aorist and the imperfect; the future, the perfect, the pluperfect and the future perfect are expressed periphrastically (see Chapter 5). Alternative periphrastic constructions also exist for the aorist indicative and the imperfect (5.6), as well as for the subjunctive (5.7). Invariable verbal categories include the infinitive (4.6) and the innovative gerund (4.7).

There is tremendous innovation and variation in the conjugation of verbs, especially in the passive voice. For some persons and tenses it is easier to establish which form has the more general use than for others. Some show great chronological and/or regional variation, others, notably 2 pl., surprisingly little.

In the LMedG and EMG periods oxytone E-stem verbs are under pressure from A-stems, and A-stem endings are widely employed with E-stem verbs. Furthermore, towards the end of the LMedG period E-stems also become influenced by the barytone paradigm, adding active past-tense endings for 2 sg. and 3 sg. and the sg. ending of the imperative to modify less transparent forms, e.g. imperf. ἐκάλει > ἐκάλειε, ἐκάλεις > ἐκάλειες (4.3.2); imp. κάλει > κάλειε (4.5.1.2). In the imperfective passive voice, too, the endings of the barytone

paradigm are employed, starting with 3 sg. and 2 sg. Strikingly, the /i/ of the earlier ending is retained (often simplified from <ει> to <ι>): βαρεῖσαι > βαρειέσαι, βαρεῖται > βαρειέται; ἐβαρεῖτον > ἐβαρειέτον. Contrary to the active voice, where the phenomenon is limited to forms with /i/ in their ending, in the passive voice the resulting semivowel /j/ spread to other forms as well: e.g. βαροῦμαι > βαρειόμαι; κρατοῦνται > κρατειόνται. A little later /u/ was reintroduced in these forms: βαρειοῦμαι, κρατιοῦνται (see 2.1.2.2.4).

The endings of the present and aorist subjunctives had been replaced with those of the present indicative, as due to sound change they had become largely homophonous. This development predates the LMedG period by many centuries (see 4.2).

A small group of verbs, namely μπορῶ, μέλλω, θέλω and πᾶω, present the following peculiarity: when used impersonally followed by the conjunction νά, univerbation of the verb and the conjunction into a single lexeme may occur, resulting in μπορά (see 4.1.2.1), μελλά (see 5.1.2), θελά (see 5.1.4.5) and πᾶ (see 2.4 s.v. ὑπάγω) followed by a bare subjunctive (see BAKKER 1988/89: 304 on μπορά and πᾶ in Varouchas).

In past-tense morphology (aorist indicative and imperfect) a common set of past-tense endings, combining elements from the aorist, the imperfect and the perfect, had been introduced for the active voice of barytone verbs: -α, -ες, -ε(ν), -αμε(ν), -ετε, -αν/-ασι(ν) (BABINIOTIS 1972: 203–31; HORROCKS ²2010: 318–19). For the passive imperfect various innovations on the old middle forms came into being, the most common of which end in -μουν for 1 sg., -σουν for 2 sg., -μεστε/-μεσθε for 1 pl. and -νταν for 3 pl. (see 4.3). In texts of northern provenance the imperfect and aorist indicative show columnar stress, e.g. ἔπαιζα, ἔπαιζάμεν; ἔγραφα, ἔγραφάμεν, ἐστάθηκα, ἐστάθηκάμεν (see 4.3.1 and 4.4 and cf. NEWTON 1973: 220–1 for the same phenomenon in modern northern dialects).

The aorist indicative shows less variation than the imperfect. The AG thematic aorist in -ον occurs residually, with minor regional variation (see 4.4.1.2). Other than that, all verbs make use of the common set of past-tense endings for the active voice and select from two alternative sets of endings for the passive, inherited -ην and innovative -ηκα (see 4.4.2). In texts with Pontic features evidence has been found for the modern Pontic passive aorist indicative, which is formed by adding the active past-tense endings to the passive verb stem (see 4.4.2).

The active present imperative of barytone verbs makes use of the inherited endings -ε (2 sg.) and -ετε (2 pl.), whereas oxytone verbs have inherited -α, -ᾶτε for both A- and E-stem verbs, and -ει, -εῖτε for E-stem verbs. The passive present imperative is inherited -ου and -εσθε/-εστε for barytone verbs, and for oxytone verbs -οῦ (originally that of E-stem verbs) and -ᾶσθε/-ᾶστε (originally that of A-stem verbs), or -εῖσθε/-εῖστε (E-stem verbs only). There is some regional variation to be noted (see 4.5). The active aorist imperative of barytone and oxytone verbs ends in -ε and -ετε. Certain verbs have active imperatives in -α, -ᾶτε (4.5.1.1.1).

The passive aorist imperative has two main alternatives for the singular: -ου and -ησε, the first borrowed from the present, and the second a reanalysis of the old form in -ητι. For the plural the most common ending is -εῖτε/-ῆτε, which is in fact the ending of the subjunctive replacing that of the imperative (-ητε) (see 4.5.2.2). Certain verbs have passive imperatives in -α, -ᾶτε (4.5.2.3).

The active and passive present and aorist infinitives are the only ones that survived into the period covered by this Grammar. The active present infinitive of barytone verbs ends in $-\epsilon\iota(\nu)$ (see 4.6.1.1.1), as does the active aorist infinitive of both barytone and oxytone verbs (4.6.2.1). The passive present infinitive ends in $-\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota/-\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ for barytone verbs (see 4.6.1.2.1), in $-\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota/-\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ for oxytone A- and E-stems, whereas $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota/-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ is only employed with E-stem verbs (4.6.1.2.2). The passive aorist infinitive adopted $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}(\nu)$ for $-\tilde{\eta}\nu\alpha\iota$ long before the LMedG period (see 4.6). Verbs with a thematic active aorist develop alternative paroxytone variants in $-\epsilon\iota(\nu)$ instead of oxytone $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}(\nu)$ from the 11th/12th c. onwards (see 4.6.2.3).

The innovative category of the invariable gerund developed from the active present participle in $-\omega\nu$, during a long process that took place before the LMedG period (see 4.7). It originally ended in $-\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ for barytone verbs, and for oxytone A- and E-stem verbs in $-\tilde{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha$ (originally A-stem) or $-\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$ (originally E-stem). In the LMedG period, the present-day SMG variants in $-\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ emerge (4.7.1). Contrary to SMG, LMedG and EMG also have aorist gerunds in $-\nu\tau\alpha(\varsigma)$ (4.7.2). There is some regional variation in the formation of the gerund.

The chapter on conjugation concludes with a section on the rich morphology of the verb $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\mu\alpha\iota$, which had started gradually to move over from the $-\mu\iota$ paradigm to a passive one, with variation comparable to the passive voice of other verbs (see 4.8).

1.1.5 Morphosyntax

By the beginning of the LMedG period the synthetic future, perfect, pluperfect and future perfect had disappeared from the spoken language and had been replaced by various analytic constructions.

The future tense can be formed with $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ + subjunctive, or with an auxiliary verb such as $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$, $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ or $\xi\chi\omega$ (see 5.1) with various complementations among which the infinitive, the subjunctive, and $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ + subjunctive. Alternative formations of the future include $\theta\acute{\epsilon}(\nu)$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ + subjunctive, $\theta\acute{\alpha}$ + subjunctive and $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\mu\alpha\iota$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ + subjunctive.

The future periphrases with an auxiliary verb have past-tense counterparts, which are used to express future in the past, conditionality and/or counterfactuality (see 5.2). The complementation of these auxiliary verbs shows the same variation as that of the future. Regionally, there is even a past-tense equivalent $\tilde{\eta}\theta\epsilon(\nu)$ for invariable $\theta\acute{\epsilon}(\nu)$ (see 5.2.3.6). Cypriot Greek is unique in using $\tilde{\eta}\rho\tau\alpha$, the aorist indicative of $\tilde{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, as an auxiliary to form the conditional (see 5.2.5).

Periphrastic constructions for the pluperfect emerge in the LMedG period. The first, $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\chi\alpha$ + active or passive infinitive, evolved from the conditional. The second, $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\chi\alpha$ + perfect passive participle, evolved from the use of $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\chi\alpha$ + (adjectival) participle in apposition, denoting a stative past equivalent to an imperfect. The passive of this construction is formed by substituting $\tilde{\eta}\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu$ for $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\chi\alpha$. In the EMG period $\tilde{\eta}\theta\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ + infinitive, common for the conditional, starts to be used for the pluperfect as well, though this is regionally restricted to texts from southern areas. Furthermore, various regionally differentiated complementations can be found for $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\chi\alpha$, $\tilde{\eta}\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu$ and $\tilde{\eta}\theta\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ including the subjunctive, the gerund, verbal adjectives and even nouns (see 5.3).

The most common periphrasis for the perfect indicative is ἔχω + perfect passive participle for the active voice and εἶμαι + perfect passive participle for the passive (see 5.4.1). Sporadically the present passive participle is substituted for the perfect. The same construction can be found in Venetian-ruled areas with a past participle in -δος. Regionally a verbal adjective in -τός may replace the participle (see 5.4.1.3), whereas in texts from Crete the gerund may take its place (5.4.1.5). A construction consisting of ἔχω + noun occurs quite regularly with certain nouns (5.4.1.4). Finally, the SMG perfect ἔχω + aorist infinitive appears towards the very end of the period covered by this Grammar and is geographically restricted to texts of northern provenance (5.4.1.6).

Although in theory all ways in which a future can be formed could be used to form the future perfect as well, this is not the case. Because the future perfect is much rarer than the future, variation is more limited: very few examples have for instance been found with νά and μέλλω νά. The most common way of expressing past in the future is the perfect infinitive (ἔχει(ν) + perfect passive participle; regionally ἔχει(ν) + gerund or ἔχει(ν) + loanword in -δος) preceded by θέλω, which marks it for future (see 5.5).

It is not uncommon for the ἦθελα and εἶχα constructions to be equivalent to an aorist indicative or an imperfect rather than a conditional or pluperfect (see 5.6).

Before and in LMedG and EMG even the subjunctive can be expressed periphrastically, most commonly by the future periphrases ἔχω or θέλω + infinitive (see 5.7.1, 5.7.2), and regionally by other future constructions such as θέ νά and θά + subjunctive (5.7.2.4 and 5.7.2.5).

1.2 Paradigms and Tables

For each paradigm, several tables are provided. Each section starts off with a synoptic table of all forms found in the texts examined, in the form of a paradigm. Where applicable, the variant forms of the paradigm are divided into three categories: **General** for endings – either inherited or innovative – that are widely in use in the period under investigation; **Restricted** for endings with a more limited geographical or chronological distribution; **Rare** for endings that have been found in one or very few texts. The endings are then discussed and documented for each person separately under the heading *Distribution of allomorphs*. Whenever there is variation in the ending for the same person, the different endings are grouped together based on morphological correspondence, and treated – where possible – in chronological order of appearance, and/or according to geographical spread.

Phenomena that occur across parts of speech and are often of a phonetic nature will be mentioned briefly in order to draw the reader's attention to their existence, but for details the reader is referred to the relevant sections in Phonology (Part I). Such phenomena include, for instance, deletion of final /n/ and addition of -(ν)ε. Idiosyncratic and clearly graphematic forms found in a collection of documents from Ikaria, in which the vowel of the ending is repeated after the final consonant, e.g. πουλούνου, παραδίδουνου, πᾶνα for πουλοῦν, παραδίδουν, πᾶν (but also υἱόσο for υἱός, Νικόλασα for Νικόλας, μάρατυρεσε for μάρτυρες, πέραμανα for πέραμαν, τὸ ἀληθέσε for τὸ ἀληθές, ἐδικόσο for ἐδικός) have not been included in the paradigm descriptions, but are discussed in I, 2.6.3.

2 Stem Formation

As mentioned in Chapter 1, by the beginning of the LMedG period most major developments in verb stem formation had already taken place. Moreover, from the classical period onwards, a process of extensive analogical levelling had been at work throughout the verb system, adapting anomalous, or at least less transparent, classes of verbs to more regular paradigms (for overviews of developments in verbal stems see CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 266–306; BABINIOTIS 1972; KATSOUDA 2007 and HORROCKS ²2010: 303–16).

The synthetic future had started to disappear from the spoken language in Late Antiquity (JANNARIS 1897: 553); nevertheless certain residual monolectic futures are still used occasionally, especially those which display formal similarity with the aorist subjunctive (see 4.9.2.4). The same holds true for the perfect, which had started to merge semantically with the aorist in the Koine, and contributed to the development of a common set of past-tense endings by supplying the ending -ασι as an alternative for 3 pl. -αν. There is not enough convincing textual evidence to corroborate the commonly held view that many perfects began a new life as aorists by substituting an augment for their reduplication (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 74–5; JANNARIS 1897: 190–1 and 440; HORROCKS ²2010: 176–8): the only perfects that survived as aorists are those which originally had an augment, or an initial [e] that could be reinterpreted as an augment, such as εὔρηκα. Other aorists in -κα appeared long after the demise of the perfect and are the result of an analogy with aorists such as ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα (see 2.2.1.10). Apart from the occasional residual form, such as γέγονα or οἶδα, the only form of the perfect that remained in use, as an adjective and in periphrastic constructions, was the (mostly unreduplicated) perfect passive participle in -μένος; because the perfect stem had fallen into disuse, new “perfect” passive participles were formed from the aorist stem, e.g. περασμένος from περνῶ, περασ- (where AG had only an active participle: πεπερασκώς); for details, see 2.3.2. Thus, in the LMedG and EMG periods, as in MG, the verbal system relies on two stems to form all its tenses: the imperfective or present stem and the perfective or aorist stem.

Long before the period covered by this Grammar -μι verbs had gradually lost their athematic formation and acquired thematic imperfective verb stems, starting with verbs in -(ν)υμι, which already in AG sometimes had alternatives in -ύω (e.g. ὀμνύω < ὀμνυμι, GIGNAC 1981: 375), and spreading subsequently to other -μι verbs. AG ἴστημι and ἵσταμαι were replaced by (ι)στένω/σταίνω/στήνω (< aor. ἔστησα) and στήκω/στήκομαι/στέκω/στέκομαι (< perf. ἔστηκα) respectively, the deponent verbs δύναμαι and κάθημαι developed thematic variants in -ομαι, while εἰμί was remodelled into a passive paradigm (see 4.8). This process was completed by the EMedG period (HORROCKS ²2010: 304). Sporadically, residual forms of -μι verbs are used in the period covered by this Grammar, especially in early texts, often alongside forms of the newer variants.

Verbs in -σσω (Attic -ττω) started to form new imperfective stems modelled on verbs in -ζω (e.g. συντάζω < συντάσσω, τινάζω < τινάσσω), with which they had their perfective stems in [ks] in common, starting already in AG, and becoming more frequent from the Koine onwards (DIETERICH 1898: 233, GIGNAC 1981: 271–2). The reverse development is also attested (σφάττω < σφάζω, ἀρμόττω < ἀρμόζω). In the LMedG and EMG periods forms with -ζ are used alongside forms with -σσ and -ττ, and some verbs develop an alternative stem in -γ (see 2.1.1.1.3).

The spread of the verbal affixes -ίζω, -άζω and -άνω/-αίνω at the expense of oxytone -άω and -έω can already be observed in Ptolemaic papyri (MAYSER 1923: 466). This trend continues before and into the period under review (see 2.1.3.2). The reverse phenomenon also occurs, e.g. βαστῶ for βαστάζω is first attested in the 10th-c. *Life of St Andrew the Fool* (see LBG, s.v. βαστάω).

In the Hellenistic period confusion arose regarding the contracted forms of oxytone A- and E-stems, so that we can observe a tendency to use the ου-forms of the E-stems instead of the ω-forms of the A-stems, and the α-forms of the A-stems instead of the ει-forms of the E-stems (BLASS et al. 1961: 45–6). This trend continues to manifest itself throughout the period covered by this Grammar (see Chapter 4, *passim*).

From about the 7th c. onwards contract verbs in -όω started to acquire new imperfective stems in -ών (DIETERICH 1898: 230–1), following a clear trend of substituting imperfective -ν- for perfective -σ- (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 408, PSALTES 1913: 235–6). This trend had already manifested itself in other verb classes such as barytone vowel stems, e.g. χύν(ν)ω < χέω on the basis of the aorist ἐχύθην, which can already be found in compound verbs in the New Testament (BLASS et al. 1961: 39) (see also 2.1.1.2). In the MedG period this nasal subsequently spread to liquid stems in -ρ: not only to those with identical imperfective and perfective stems, e.g. φέρνω < φέρω, σύρνω < σύρω, but also to those with distinct imperfective and perfective stems, both barytone, e.g. (ἐ)παίρνω < ἐπαίρω and oxytone, e.g. περνῶ < περῶ (HORROCKS ²2010: 305–6). The earliest example found so far, quoted in JANNARIS 1897: 229, is the form ἔπαιρνευ in Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 224.21 (8th–9th c.; ed. De Boor), which also has περνοῦσι *ibid.* 234.9. Textual evidence for the same phenomenon with liquid stems in -λ has not been found before the 14th c.; see 2.1.2.2.1. In, or shortly before, the period covered by this Grammar, this nasal started to affect certain velar stems as well, producing forms such as διώχνω < διώκω – resulting in a morpheme -χν- that could be used to form new imperfective stems for various other verbs that did not originally have a velar stem, such as ψάχνω (< ψάύω), σπρώχνω (< εἰσπρώθω), φτιάχνω (< φτιάζω < εὐθειάζω) (see 2.1.1.1.4).

The desire to distinguish imperfective from perfective stems led to verbs with nasal stems in -αν and -υν being subjected to an extensive levelling process already in Hellenistic times, acquiring new imperfective verb stems in -αίν (JANNARIS 1897: 228), modelled on a large class of verbs in -αίνω that had perfective stems in -αν (HORROCKS ²2010: 306–7). Before the 12th c. this group came to include new formations for the AG verbs λαγχάνω, λανθάνω, μανθάνω, τυγχάνω, λαμβάνω and πάσχω (the last through an intermediate analogical form πανθάνω attested from the 2nd c. AD (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 407 and 411)), which had already lost the nasal in their stems: λαβαίνω < λαβάνω, λαχαίνω < λαχάνω, μαθαίνω < μαθάνω, παθαίνω < παθάνω and τυχαίνω < τυχάνω; λαθαίνω < λαθάνω was

to follow this development in the LMedG period. The affix -αίνω remains productive well into the period covered by this Grammar, producing alternative forms which in the texts examined are usually used alongside older variants (see 2.1.1.1.6).

Before and throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, verbs in -εύω and -αύω appear with an intrusive /y/, a phenomenon that can be traced back to at least the 8th c. (JANNARIS 1897: 220) and that manifests itself frequently after /v/. It is very frequent in southern areas such as Crete, Cyprus, the Cyclades, the Heptanese, the Dodecanese and S. Italy, but it can also be found in texts from Athos and Constantinople (provenance of authors unknown), and in texts of uncertain provenance. For details on chronological and geographical spread, see I, 3.5.2.2. See also 2.1.1.1.1.

2.1 Imperfective Stem

The imperfective stem of verbs is used with active and passive endings to form the present indicative and subjunctive (4.1), the imperfect (4.3), the present imperative (4.5.1), the present infinitive (4.6.1), the gerund (4.7.1) and the present passive participle (see 2.3.1 and II, 3.2.1).

2.1.1 Barytone Verbs

Barytone verbs are verbs in which the stress in the present indicative/subjunctive falls on the stem, not on the ending of the verb. These verbs can be divided into verbs with consonant stems and verbs with vowel stems.

2.1.1.1 Consonant Stems

Consonant-stem verbs can be divided into six groups: labial stems, of which the stem ends in /v/, /p/, /f/ or /pt/; dental stems, ending in /ð/, /θ/ or /t/; sibilant stems, in /s/ or /z/; velar stems, in /ɣ/, /g/, /k/ or /x/; liquid stems, in /l/ or /r/; and nasal stems, in /m/ or /n/.

2.1.1.1.1 Labial Stems

Labial-stem verbs are verbs with an imperfective stem ending in /v/ (= -β and -ευ/-αυ), /p/, /f/ or /pt/, e.g. κρύβω, τρίβω, παύω, δουλεύω, επιτρέπω, λείπω, αλείφω, στρέφω, καλύπτω, κόπτω. Most imperfective labial stems remain stable, but verbs with stems in -πτ can follow two paths: -φτ- and -β-, the first being a regular phonological development, e.g. κόφτω, κλέφτω, σκάφτω, βλάφτω, ἄφτω, ἀστράφτω, ράφτω, θάφτω, σκύφτω, πέφτω (< πίπτω),¹ the second a morphological innovation. In the texts examined forms with -πτ- are generally the most common. Forms with -φτ- appear in documents and manuscripts from the 12th c. onwards, and throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

¹ πέφτω < πίπτω follows the phonological development -πτ- > -φτ-, after adopting the vowel [e] of the perfective stem πεσ-.

κλέφτουσιν (1154, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 23, 142.9)
 ὑπέσκαφταν (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.20)
 σκύπτω *Ptoch. IV* 134 app. crit. (P)
 κόφτει τὸν δρόμον (late 14th–early 15th c., Athos? Limnos?, KRAVARI 1991: App., 195.27)
 κλέφτει *Assizes A* 72.3; ράφτει *ibid.* 73.13
 ἥστραφτεν *Spanos B* 2
 τίς κόφτει το καί τίς ράφτει το; (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 83.1d)
 ἄπου ἄφτει στέκεται εἰς τὸ λαμπρόν *Fior Suppl.* 269.29
 ἐκόφτουνταν τα δύο φουσάτα *Diig. Alex. K* 354.14
 μύγα νὰ χάφτη ὁ νηστικός *Stathis II*.252
 κλέφτω GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. rubbare*; θάφτω *ibid. s.v. sepolire*
 ἄναφταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron. I* §36.88; κόφτονται *ibid. III* §29.18; τὸν θάφτουν *ibid. III* §29.66
 ὅποιος δὲ λαλεῖ τὸ θάφτουν *Paroim.* (Warner) 79.2
 ἔκλεφτε (1675, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 45, 256.10)
 ἐκεῖνο τόνε βλάφτει KORNAROS, *Erot. III*.6

Sometimes <φτ> becomes <φθ> through hypercorrection (for which see I, 3.8.1.4):

κλέφθοντάς με (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 13, 50.6)
 σκάφθουν *Alex. Rim.* 1732
 καὶ ἔσκυφθαν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.34
 ἔσκαφθε τὴν γῆν *Diig. Alex. F* 200.4

Imperfective stems in -β (-φ in the case of βάφω < βάπτω) are formed from the perfective stem in [ps], by analogy with verbs in -βω such as τριβω, θλιβω, ἀμείβω and κρύβω.² The last, from AG κρύπτω, can be found since the Hellenistic period, in the *Septuagint*, Diodorus Siculus, Flavius Josephus, Babrius and Phrynichus.³ It first appears in present and imperfect passive forms, and is the result of a reanalysis from 2nd aor. pass. ἐκρύβην (GIGNAC 1981: 284); active forms can be found from at least the early 4th c. AD.⁴ Other forms with -β- are absent from 12th-c. texts:

βλάβει *Chron. Toc.* 3446
 ὅχι μόνον τοῦ λόγου σας βλάβετε (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 236.141)
 καὶ ἐκλέβανε τὰ φλωρία *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 86.26
 νὰ μοῦ πέβης γραφή (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.6–7)
 κόβου κρίσεις καὶ ἔξοδες (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 4, 32.6)
 οπίσω τουσε πέβει STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 562 (Pidonia) (spelled πεύει in the edition)
 ὁ κακὸς τινὰν δὲν βλάβει PAPASYNAD., *Chron. III* §32.38
 ἔβαφε τὰ γένια τοῦ *Alex. Fyll.* 107.25
 κανεῖς σκοντάβει ἐκεῖ ποῦ φέγγει ὁ Θεός *Irodis I*.115
 πέβει KATSAITIS, *Klathmos II*.511

² Verbs in -εύω and -αύω are generally seen as another source for the change from -πτω to -βω (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 403–4; JANNARIS 1897: 223; HORROCKS 2010: 312), but it is debatable whether the development of their perfective stem from -ευσ to -εψ occurred early enough to justify this supposition (see 2.2.1.2).

³ Phrynichus (2nd c. AD) advises his readers not to use forms with -β-: κρύβεται φεύγε διὰ τοῦ β λέγειν καὶ κρύβεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ πτ κρύπτεται καὶ κρύπτεσθαι φαθί *Eclogae* 290.1. For κρύβω see also DIETERICH 1898: 233.

⁴ E.g. ἔκρυβεν in the *Gospel of James* 26.8 (2nd-c. text, transmitted in a 4th-c. papyrus; see the online *TLG*).

An added <γ> to verb stems in -β, probably by analogy with verbs in -εύω and -αύω, for which forms with an epenthetic <γ> can be found as early as the 8th c. (JANNARIS 1897: 220), is not uncommon (for details see also I, 3.5.2.2):

ἀνάβγασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 3718
 περὶ τοῦ ράφτη ὁποῦ ράβγει *Assizes* B 322.11
 σκαταλείβομεν, τράγε, τὴν μορφὴν σου *Spanos* D 1544–5
 τὸ πέβγω *Theseid* Prol. E 240
 νίβγεται *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 266
 ὦδ' ἔνε, ἀμμέ κρύβγεις τον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 428.12; ἐκόβγαν τὴν κεφαλὴν σου *ibid.* 480.13
 κόβγει καὶ ρίβγει τα χαμαὶ *Fior* 92.22; ὁ Θεὸς ξιλείβγει ὅλους τοὺς διππροσώπους *ibid.* 121.40
 κόβγε δύο φέρσες (16th c., *DELATTE* 1946: 495.22)
 νὰ τοὺς κόβγει *MOREZINOS, Klini* 25.9
 κλέβγου (1603, *Naxos, KATSOUROS* 1968: 1, 27.17)
 ράβγω *GERMANO, Vocab.* s.v. *cusciare*; σκύβγω *ibid.* s.v. *inchinarsi in terra*; τρίβγω *ibid.* s.v. *macerare*; κλέβγω *ibid.* s.v. *rubbare*; σκάβγω *ibid.* s.v. *scavare*; θάβγω *ibid.* s.v. *sepolire*
 ἐνίβγαν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1381
 ἐσκό<ν>ταβγαν *Vios Aisop.* I 266.20
 ἔριβγεν *Thrinis Kypr.* 166; ἐθάβγαν τοὺς *ibid.* 309
 δὲν κρύβγομαι *Irodis* V.368
 ἐκοβγέ μου *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* II.176; ἤξευρε νὰ ἀρπάζη καὶ νὰ κλέβγη *ibid.* II.243

Sporadically a nasal is added to the labial stem, resulting in forms with -φν-, which have been found in Cretan texts and in the 17th-c. grammar of Romanos Nikiforou, who was from Thessaloniki:

πεζέφνει *KORNAOS, Erot.* IV.1768 and 1770; στρέφνου *ibid.* V.506
 σκοντάφνουσι *TROILOS, Rodol. Interm.* III.14
 ξεπέφνω *ROMANOS, Grammar* 126.7

Alternative forms with -φ- instead of -β- have been found in Cypriot and Cretan texts:

ἐσγάφαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 590.34 (σκάπτω)
 ἄπου σγάφει τὸν γοῦππον πέφτει μέσα *Fior* 118.33
 τὰ ὁποῖα γνάφονται (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 309, 308.58) (γνάπτω)
 ὁποῦ γνάφουσι τὰ πετσά *LANDOS, Geopon.* 272.25–6
 νὰ μὲν κρύφουσιν ὄνομαν *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 264 (κρύπτω)

After verbs in -εύω had developed perfective stems in -εψ (for which see 2.2.1.2), confusion could occur between verbs in -εύω and other labial stems with [e], as in the following 15th-c. example, in which μεταστρέφω has become μεταστρεύ(γ)ω: στὸν Ἀθην, θὲς γὴ στανικῶς, ὁποῦ ἄλθες μεταστρεύγεις.⁵

The verb παύω has a regional variant imperfective stem παυτ-, for which see 2.4. A similar formation is στρέφτω (<στρέφω), found in *Pistikos voskos*: πάλι ἐσὺ στρέφτεις *Pist. voskos* III 1.6; καὶ στρέφτω καὶ κτυπῶ *ibid.* III 2.82.

⁵ This verse is part of a tetrastich jotted down by the Cretan notary Cirillo Gradenigo in a book of acts dated 1491; quoted in *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: ὁδ', fn. 143.

The verb *ρίπτω* develops alternative imperfective stems in *-χν* and *-κτ* modelled on velar stems such as *διώχνω* (< *διώκω*), for which see 2.1.1.1.4.

2.1.1.1.2 Dental Stems

Dental-stem verbs are a small group of verbs that have an imperfective stem ending in /δ/, /θ/ or /t/, e.g. the rare *σπεύδω*, which was largely replaced by *σπουδάζω*, and verbs such as *γνώθω* (< *γινώσκω*), *κλώθω*, *νιώθω*, *πείθω*, *θέτω* (< *τίθημι*), *πλάττω* and *φρίττω*.

Verbs in *-ττω* (the Attic variant of Ionic and Koine *-σσω*) that have a perfective stem in *-σ* (*πλάττω*/*πλάσσω*, *ἔπλασα*) can have alternative stems in *-θ* (*πλάθω*). Verbs in *-ττω*/*-σσω* that have a perfective stem in [ks] (e.g. *φυλάττω*/*φυλάσσω*, *φυλάξω*) show more variation, for which see 2.2.1.6.

The verbs *γνώθω* and *νιώθω*, irrespective of the question whether they both derive from *γινώσκω* or whether the first derives from *γινώσκω* and the second from *νοῶ* (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. for an overview of proposed etymologies) are semantically so close that they are virtually synonymous. They also behave in the same way where innovation in their imperfective stems is concerned. *Γνώθω* and its prefixed derivatives and *νιώθω* have alternative imperfective stems *γνων-* and *νιων-*:

δὲν καταγνώννω ἄλλον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 230.23

᾿ς Πέρσας τὴν ἀναγνώνει Alex. Rim. 1409

πὼς tandem μεταγνώνεις το CHORTATISIS, *Katz.* II.239

καὶ ἀνέγνωνέν τα ὁ Ξάνθος Vios *Aisop.* I 270.17

καλὰ νιωνεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 161; δὲν ἤνιωνα κόπον ibid. 248

ἐσὺ ὅλα τὰ γνώνει Rim. Sant. 20

κιανεῖς δὲν τόνε νιώνει KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.451

For *θέτω* and *πλάθω* see also 2.4.

2.1.1.1.3 Sibilant Stems

Sibilant-stem verbs are verbs with an imperfective stem ending in *-ζ* or *-σσ*. Sibilant stems can be divided into two groups: (1) verbs in *-ζω* that form their perfective stem in *-σ* (see 2.2.1.6); these show no structural variation in their imperfective stem formation, e.g. *διαβάζω*, *κουράζω*, *γνωρίζω*, *νομίζω*; (2) verbs in *-ζω* or *-σσω* with a perfective (velar) stem in [ks], which do show certain patterns of variation (for which see 2.2.1.3).

As mentioned in the introduction to Chapter 2, many verbs in *-σσω* (Attic *-ττω*) had started to form alternative imperfective stems modelled on verbs in *-ζω* (and vice versa) before the LMedG period (e.g. AG *σταλάζω* < *σταλάσσω*; EMedG *σπαράζω* < *σπαράσσω*); in the period covered by this Grammar this development continued, producing alternative forms such as *ἀράζω* < *ἀράσσω* or *ταράζω* < *ταράσσω*. For some verbs an alternative stem in *-γ* can be found (*φυλάγω*, *τυλίγω*, and, in texts from Chios, *ἀλλάγω*) from the 14th–15th c. onwards. In the texts examined both forms with *-σσ/-ττ* and alternative forms with *-ζ* and/or *-γ* are used. The use of Attic *-ττ-* instead of Koine *-σσ-* should be viewed as influence from higher registers. Verbs that are semantically associated with

higher registers, such as κηρύσσω/κηρύττω and πλήσσω/πλήττω, do not appear to have formed alternative stems in -ζ or -γ, with the exception of κατανύγω for κατανύσσω. The same holds true for the verbs μαλάσσω and πατάσσω, and πράσσω/πράττω, the last of which, of course, semantically had strong competition from ποιῶ and κάμνω. For the more common verbs, texts from insular areas, and especially Crete, display a clear preference for forms with -σσ- throughout the period under investigation (e.g. ἀλλάσσω in Cretan, Cypriot and Heptanesian texts, πράσσω, (ἀ)ράσσω mainly in Cretan texts, πλήσσω in Cypriot texts; cf. ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1926: 171 for the modern dialectal situation).

- διεχάραττον ὄπλον *Dig.* G V.39; ἐξεπλήττετο *ibid.* IV.977
 πράττουν *Ptoch.* IV 530; πληττόμενον *ibid.* 624
 πράττουν *Chron. Mor.* H 1257; νὰ τὸ ἔχουσι φυλάττει *ibid.* 8273
 ἐπαραφύλαττα *Dig.* E 173
 κακοπράττει *Liv.* V 833
 τί τὴν ψυχὸσπαράττει; *Liv.* α 2716 app. crit. (P)
 διὰ νὰ πράττη *Chron. Toc.* 3572
 καθὼς τάττει (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.11)
 τὰ θέλλω κρατεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.5)
 σπαράττουσι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1161; τὸ πῶς ὑποχαράττει *ibid.* 2114
 κηρύτταν *Byz. Il.* 378; πλήττει *ibid.* 1079
 ἐκπλήττομαι *Alosis* 707
 ἐκηρύττασιν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.10–11
 ἐξεπλήττουσαν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.2
 ἡ θάλασσα ἑταράττετο *Thrinis Kypri.* 41
 συνετάρασσε με GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 51; ἀλλάσσεται *ibid.* 376; τὰς ψυχὰς σπαράσσοντες *ibid.* 459
 ἐξεπλήρουντο *Dig.* G I.331; τοῦτον ἐγὼ πατάσσω *ibid.* VI.224
 ἠπλησεν (14th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 206.1.5)
 ν' ἀλλάσσει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς *Chron. Mor.* H 7935
 ἤρξατο νὰ χαράσσει *Liv.* E 830; τὸ ἀπετυλίσσει *ibid.* 1663
 τί τὴν ψυχὸσπαράσσει; *Liv.* α 2716
 ἐμάλασσαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 775; δράσσει τὴν *ibid.* 1113
 πράσσετε καταπάνω τοῦ FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 132
 ἀλλάσσαν τοὺς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 78.29; ἐπλησεν *ibid.* 498.26
 τὲς φορεσὲς τ' ἀλλάσσει *Alex. Rim.* 955; τὰράσσει *ibid.* 1951
 ἔχει λιμένα καὶ ῥάσσομεν (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 61.3)
 πλήσσει *Fior* 89.20
 φυλασσόμενα (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 34, 53.8–9)
 δὲν ἤλλασσε γνώμην MOREZINOS, *Klini* 44.16
 κι' ἄλλα κακὰ ποὺ πράσσει CHORTATSI, *Katz.* V.320; νὰ τὰράσσω *ibid.* III.202
 τάσσουνε (1604, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 10, 165.22)
 ὑποτάσσόντησαν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.16; ἐδιάλλασσε *ibid.* 44.25
 τύλισσε τὰ κλαρία τοὺς LANDOS, *Geopon.* 151.6; ἄλλασσε τὸ νερόν *ibid.* 212.27; ὅταν τὰ μαλάσσει *ibid.* 251.26
 σὰν ψάρι νὰ σφαράσσει *Thysia Avr.* 40; τάσσω σου *ibid.* 357
 κλεφτάτα ἐπάτασσε KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.444; τὸ ξετυλίσσει *ibid.* I.1505; ὅλη ἐξαναμαλάσσειτο *ibid.* III.22
 τυλίγω το εἰς τὸ χέριν *Dig.* E 1267

τυλίγομαι τὴν κάπαν *Ptoch. III* 273.74 app. crit. (PK)
 ἄς φυλάγωντ' οἱ Ἕλληνες *Pol. Tr.* 3809 app. crit. (X)
 θέλει φυλάγειν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 88.31–2 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 νὰ τὸ φυλάγει (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 92, 84.7)
 τίς δὲν ἐκατενύγετον *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 50
 κατανύγεται MOREZINOS, *Klini* 73.38; κατανύγει *ibid.* 107.10
 ἀλλάγω GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *variare*
 ἐφυλάγουνταν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 130.8
 τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀλλάγω PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 21; ν' ἀλλάγουσιν *ibid.* 55
 αλλοῦ νὰ μην σπαράγει ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 580 (rhymes with Εσκή Σαράγι)
 φόρεμά τον ἀλλάγουν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1383

 ὅταν περιχαράζει *Liv.* E 808
 τάζοντα *Chron. Toc.* 494; ἄλλαζεν *ibid.* 1960; καὶ ἐσπάραζε ἡ καρδιά του *ibid.* 2683
 δράζω, κρατῶ, σηκώνω τον *Liv.* S 2669 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 τὴν φορεσά τ' ἀλλάζει *Alex. Rim.* 39
 μὲς τὸ πόρτο ῥάζουν *Al. Kypr.* 1289; μὲς τὸ πόρτο ῥάζει *ibid.* 1541
 ἐταράζοτον ἡ γῆς KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 411.2
 φυλαζόμενα ἄλλα ὅπου σοῦ χρεωστῶ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 141, 141.8)
 φυλαζόμενα (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 39, 40.8)
 τάζει (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 3, 31.12)
 ἐκείνους ὅπου ἄλλαζαν τὰ ἄσπρα KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 2.14; ταράζεται *ibid.* 14.27
 μα ο καιρός ἀλλάζει ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 954; σπαράζει *ibid.* 5353; δὲν ταράζουν *ibid.* 6853
 καὶ πρόσταζε τὸ πεθυμῶς KONDAR., *Paides* 100
 νὰ ἐπουρκόταζε (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.4–5) (<
 προικοτάζω)
 σύρνοντας καὶ τυλίζοντας VATATIS, *Periig. II* 484

The reverse mechanism, by which verbs in -ζω develop an alternative stem in -σσ, can also be observed: e.g. ἄρπασσω < ἄρπάζω,⁶ τρομάσσω < τρομάζω,⁷ ρημάσσω < ἐρημάζω, στάσσω < στάζω, μύσσω < μύζω. Whereas τρομάσσω and στάσσω have a broad geographical distribution, ἄρπασσω has a more limited spread (texts of southern provenance), and μύσσω and ρημάσσω have only been found in south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese):

τρομάσσεις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 151
 τρομάσσουν τὴν ψυχὴν του *Pol. Tr.* 13931
 καὶ ἀνατρομάσσεις ὅλος *Liv.* α 3871 app. crit. (N)
 καὶ συντρομάσσει ὁ βασιλεὺς *Byz. II.* 273
 ὁ λογισμὸς τρομάσσει το *Achil.* N 517
 τὴν γῆν ἀνατρομάσσει ZINOS, *Vatr.* 442
 καὶ δίκια ἀνατρομάσσω CHORTATIS, *Katz.* V.306
 κι ὅλη σιγοτρομάσσω KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.926
 ἐτρόμασεν το πλῆθος KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 7.28
 ἐτρομάσσα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 21

 ἐνὸς ἄρπασσει τὸ σπαθὶν *Pol. Tr.* 13957
 καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τὸ ἄρπασσει *Liv.* E 1256

⁶ Cf. ὁ πατὴρ ἤρπασσεν ἑαυτὸν in the *Chaldaean Oracles* (Oracle 3, l. 1) (2nd c. AD) (see the online *TLG*).

⁷ Forms of τρομάσσω can already be found in the 9th c., in Theodore of Stoudios and Photios (*TLG*).

τότε σπαθὶν ἀρπάσσει *Alex. Rim.* 432

ἀρπάσσαν *Pist. kekoim.* 600

εἶσαι ἄρπαγος καὶ ἀρπάσσεις *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 40.24–5

ὡς στάσων τρὶς ὁ μάγειρος *Ptoch. IV* 373 (mss SAC; στάσσει in PK; στάζει in H)

διατὶ ρέει, διατὶ στάσσει *STAFIDAS, Iatrosof.* 14.388

κι οἱ στάξεις τῶν αἱμάτων σου στάσσουν τὸ πρόσωπό μου *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 47

τὸ αἶμα διὰ νὰ στάσση *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 89

κι ἐμέ του δόλιου στάσσουσι δάκρυα φαρμακωμένα *CHORTATZIS, Panor.* II.184

νὰ στάσση τὸ κερὶν *LANDOS, Geopon.* 228.4

ὅπ' ἄρρωστῶ καὶ μύσσω *Imb. Rim.* 957

εκείνον οπου μύσσει *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.904

καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐρημάσσει *SACHLIKIS, Symvoules* 126 transcr. M (Lendari)

τῇ χώρᾳ νὰ ρημάσσουσι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 249.5; τὰ σπῖτία νὰ ρημάσσουνε *ibid.*

347.20

νὰ μὲ ἐρημάσσουν ἔτσι *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* II.728

On a lexical level, the verb δράσσω can form alternative imperfective stems in -χν or -κτ modelled on velar stems such as διώχνω (< διώκω), for which see 2.1.1.4. The verb φυλάγω can transfer to the class of vowel stems (φυλάω), producing “uncontracted” as well as “contracted” forms, for which see 2.1.1.2. For verbs in -άζω and -ίζω and their interaction with oxytone verbs, see 2.1.3.1.

2.1.1.1.4 Velar Stems

Velar-stem verbs are verbs with an imperfective stem ending in -γ, -γγ, -γγχ, -κ or -χ, e.g. ἀνοίγω, βήχω, διδάσκω (which consists of a velar stem with affix -σκω), διώκω, ἐλέγχω and σφίγγω. Though most velar stems show no variation in their imperfective stem formation, a small group, namely διώκω, δεικνύω, διδάσκω and μπήγω (< Koine ἐμπήσσω) can acquire variant imperfective stems in -χν, based on their perfective stems in [ks], through the process of substituting -ν- for perfective -σ- (διώκ-σ- > διώκ-ν- > διώχν- (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 291)). Velar stems in -χν are found throughout the period under review, in texts from all regions:

ἴνα δείχνης τὸ χαρτίον (1181, S. Italy, Trinchera 1865: 206, 271.12)

ἐπίδειχνε *NIKON, Logos* 6 272.18–19

ἴνα ὑποδείχνη τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 33.80)

νὰ διώχνουσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 6989; but also: ἀρχίσαν νὰ τοὺς διώκουσιν *ibid.* 1143

δείχνη *Dig.* E 53; but also: τὸ τί λαὸς μᾶς διώκει *ibid.* 950

ὁποῦ δείχνου *Assizes* B 251.29

κλωτσοκοπᾷ καὶ διώχνει τες *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 86

διώχνεις μας *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 658.22; ἐδῶχναν τοὺς *ibid.* 426.3

τοὺς διώχνει ἐξόπισθεν *Diig. Alex.* K 364.18

ἐδίδαχνε μεγαλοφώνως *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 331.25

πᾶσα μέρα μᾶς διδάχνουν (16th c., Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 233.10)

νὰ τὸν διδάχνουν (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 30.27)

διδάσκομαι ... et διδάχνομαι *ROMANOS, Grammar* 80.12–13

καὶ νὰ τῶς τήνε μπήχνης *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.224

διώχνεις με, μάνα, διώχνεις με *Dimotika Ivir*. XI.1
 σὲ τὸ ἀποδείχνει PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §18.10
 δείχνοντας τὸ σπλάγχχνος τῆς φιλίας σου (1643, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 4, 99.24)
 ὁ δὲ θάνατος ὅπου ἀπὸ ὅλους διώχνηται *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 6
 καὶ μπηχνει του ὅλο τὸ σπαθὶ KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1159
 ἤθελα νὰ με ἐδίδαχνες *Don Kis.* 198.21–2

In texts from southern areas, some verbs with velar stems have variant imperfective stems in -κτ-. Some modern editors “correct” -κτ- to -χτ-, assuming that dissimilation must have taken place, but there is no textual evidence to corroborate this assumption:⁸

ἕνας σκύλος διώκτει ἕναν λαγὸν (app. crit.) (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 81, 64.1)
 νὰ σὲ δακτυλοσφίκτω *Liv.* α 2029 app. crit. (N)
 δακτυλοδείκτου *Pol. Tr.* 4395 and 7505 app. crit. (V) (δακτυλοδεικτοῦν in the other mss)
 δείκτει τως καλοσύνη *Katis* 27
 εὐκολα μοῦ τὸ δείκτει KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1871 (Stevanoni)
 ἀποῦ ὀλωνῶ τῶν ἀρετῶ παιδὶ πῶς εἶσαι δείκτεις FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.620 (δείχτεις in the edition)
 νὰ δείκτη τὴν ἀντρεϊάν τση BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 327.1 (Xirouchakis); καὶ νὰ μὴ δείκτης *ibid.* 405.5
 δείκτετεν τὰ προστάγματα KONDAR., *Paidēs* 252
 τοῦ δείκτει BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 216; ἐδείκτασιν *ibid.* 262
 ὡς καθῶς δείκτουε τὰ σύνορα (1685, Andros, POLEMIS 1995b: 5, 39.29)

The verb ρίχνω, first attestations of which can be found in 16th-c. manuscripts, appears to be the result of the exact reverse development: AG ρίπτω, ἔρριψα had developed a new aorist ἔρ(ρ)ιξα (probably influenced by ρήγνυμι, ἔρρηξα, and therefore sometimes spelled ἔρ(ρ)ηξα).⁹ This aorist in its turn gave rise to a new imperfective stem ρικτ-,¹⁰ which can be found in documents from S. Italy as early as the 11th c., and in other texts, mainly of southern provenance, from at least the 14th c. onwards. In modern editions forms with -χτ- instead of -κτ- can often be found, but they are usually the result of editorial intervention.¹¹ Only one example of a form with -χτ- has thus far been found, in an 18th-c. document from Chios: καὶ τὸ ἔρριχτεν ψηλά (1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 34, 136.106).

⁸ The 1713 edition of *Erotokritos* (A) has only forms with -κτ-, which were tacitly corrected to -χτ- by the modern editor, St. Alexiou, who only mentions the readings with -χν- of the Heptanesian ms (X) in his critical apparatus. The same holds true for Alexiou's and Aposkiti's edition of Bounialis' *Cretan War*, in which all forms of δείκτω were corrected to δειχτ- (cf. Xirouchakis's edition of the same text). The reading δειχτεις in FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.620 is due to the editor's misinterpretation of the cluster “ct” in the manuscript, which is written in the Latin script, as pointed out by BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1996: 80, fn. 5.

⁹ ῥήξατέ με is to be found in the *Apocalypse of the Virgin* 124.15 (11th-c. ms?), published in M. R. JAMES, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, vol. 2, Cambridge 1893, quoted in JANNARIS 1897: 275. Like Jannaris, Romanos Nikiforou in his grammar (17th c.) also sees a link with ῥήγνυμι: “ῥήχνω, jacio ... Hoc verbum in literali significat *rum-po*, et vulgus cum velit dicere ρίπτω, quod est in literali *jacio*, accipit hoc propter affinitatem pronunciationis” (ROMANOS, *Grammar* 97.1–7).

¹⁰ Cf. also the form ρικτάρια for ριπτάρια in *De obsidione toleranda* sections 26, 1.4 and 66, 1.2 (10th c.); see the online *TLG*.

¹¹ All forms with -χτ- in *Chron. Mor.* H and P (Schmitt) are (mostly tacit) corrections by the editor, e.g. instead of κ' ἔρριχτασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 2921, the ms reads καὶ ἐρίκτασιν.

ρίκτειν (1098, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 65, 82.13); ρίκτει κάτω εις τήν ὁδόν (1118, *ibid.* 85, 112.8)

ἐρήκτασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 15 app. crit.; ἐρήκταν *ibid.* 9092 app. crit.

ἐμὲν τὰ παραρίκτουσιν *Dig.* E 241

βλέπω τήν κόρην, ρίκτει μεν μαντίλιν ἐδικόν της *Liv.* E 2291

ἐρρίκταν *Pol. Tr.* 4632 app. crit. (V); ἔρρικτεν *ibid.* 6351 app. crit. (BC)

ὅπου ἐρρίκταν οἱ πεζοὶ *Chron. Toc.* 267

ὥσάν ρίκτει ὁ κηπουρὸς τὸ κίτρινον ἀγγούριον *Katal.* 527

σ' ἐμὲν τὰ παραρρίκτεις *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 575

νὰ ρίκτης εις τὸ δοχεῖον (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 14, 19.12)

ρίκτει του κλωνάρι δένδρου ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 37.4

σπαθιὲς νὰ ρίκτω *Stathis* I.92

μὲ ξαναρρήκτει χάμαι ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* I.340 (Stevanoni); κ' εἰς ἀφορμὴ τήν ἤρρηκτεν *ibid.*

II.657

ἔρρικτεν *Diig. Sant.* 57.16; ἔρρικταν *ibid.* 59.64

στην θάλασσαν τοὺς ρίκταν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 2424

καὶ τοὺς ρίκτουν ΒΑΤΑΤΣΙΣ, *Periig.* I 815

καὶ τήν καρδιά μου σύριζην ἐξανασπᾶς καὶ ρίχνεις *Achil.* O 334

καὶ τὸ φαρμάκι ἔριχναν *Alex. Rim.* 2066

καὶ ἔριχναν τοῦ ἀλόγου τήν θροφήν του ἀπέσω *Diig. Alex.* F 118.15–16 (Lolos)

καὶ ρίχνει τον τὸ πέλαγος *Fyll. gadar.* 313

ἄλλοι ἐρίχναν τα ρούχα τοὺς ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 367.41–2

ρίχνει (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 148.12)

καὶ τοῦ ἔρριχναν τὰ κόκκαλα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 41.1–2

ρίχνω ... ρίκτω GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *buttare*

μὲ ξαναρίχνει χάμαι ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* I.340 app. crit. (V); κ' εἰς ἀφορμὴ τήν ἔριχνε *ibid.* II.657 app. crit. (V)

ἀλλὰ τὸ ρίχνουσιν ἔξω ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 14.35

ἐρίχναν τήν ἀφορμὴν *Vios Aisop.* D 225.25

ἐρίχνασι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀψάλτους (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 509.37.9)

Similarly, the verb δράσσω can form alternative imperfective stems in -χν and more rarely -κτ, based on its perfective (velar) stem in [ks]:

ἐκεῖνος ἀποδράχνει *Jonas* 214.13

καὶ ἡ ἄλλη νὰ τὸ δράχνη *Liv.* V 1110

καὶ ἄρχισεν νὰ μάχεται, νὰ δράχνη, νὰ κουρσεύη *Chron. Toc.* 3564

δράχνει ἰσχυρὸν σκουτάριον *Achil.* N 620

καὶ ἔδραχναν ἄλογα *Diig. Alex.* F 24.22 (Konstantinopulos) (same in E)

δράχνω, δράχνομαι, ἔδραχνα, ἔδραχνούμουν ROMANOS, *Grammar* 120.18–19

καὶ ἄρχισαν ρυμπαρικὰ νὰ δράκτουν, νὰ ἐπαίρνουν *Chron. Toc.* 3814

The verbs διώχνω and δράχνω sometimes lose the nasal, producing imperfective forms with -χ-:

ὅτι διώχει ὀπίσω *Achil.* L 449; καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸν ἔδιωχεν *ibid.* 461

ἐδιώχασιν *Pol. Tr.* 3178 app. crit. (A); διώχει τοὺς *ibid.* 3186 app. crit. (AX)

ἐδιώχες τὲς κουρούνες *Ptoch.* IV 78 app. crit. (P); νὰ διώχης *ibid.* 496 app. crit. (P)

νὰ διώχη τοὺς ἄερες *Florios* 526 app. crit. (Hesseling)

νὰ διώχουν LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 168

ἔδωχέν τον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 538.13; but also: διώχνεις μας *ibid.* 658.22
σφικτὰ νὰ δράχουν *Liv.* S 790 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

Certain velar stems in -γ, such as λέγω, τρώγω, ὑπάγω and φυλάγω, can transfer to the class of vowel stems, no doubt due to the fact that many vowel stems can become consonant stems through the addition of /χ/ (e.g. ἀκούω > ἀκούχω); for more information see 2.1.1.2.

2.1.1.1.5 Liquid Stems

Liquid-stem verbs are verbs whose imperfective stem ends in -λ or -ρ, e.g. βάλλω, σφάλλω, ψάλλω, παραγγέλλω, στέλλω, ἐγείρω, σπείρω, σύρω, φέρω. Addition of -ν- to imperfective liquid stems in -ρ is a process that set in before the LMedG period, with verbs that had identical imperfective and perfective stems (e.g. σύρνω < σύρω), as well as with verbs that already had distinct imperfective and perfective stems (e.g. (ἐ)παίρνω < ἐπαίρω) (see also 1.1.1). Since the predominant vowel in these imperfective stems was /e/, certain other verbs adopted the /e/ for their imperfective stem as well (HORROCKS ²2010: 306; see also CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 129–32), e.g. σπείρω and ἐγείρω became σπέρνω and (ἐ)γέρνω in most areas, with the notable exception of Cyprus; σέρνω for σύρνω (< σύρω), nowadays the SMG form, was found mainly in texts from the south-west, starting with Cretan texts from the 15th/16th c. onwards, though it is likely to have obtained a wider geographical distribution from at least the 17th c. onwards, given the fact that it is found in Matthaïos of Myra's *History of Valachia*, and that Romanos Nikiforou, who was from Thessaloniki, mentions σέρνω in his grammar as “the more commonly used” form:

εἰς τὸ σπέρνειν (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 533.12)
ὁποῦ σπέρνει ὁ Κουκούναρας (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.54)
σπόρον διὰ νὰ σπέρνη *Liv.* V 944
σπέρνω τὰ SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 6
σπέρνει *Poulol.* 447
διὰ νὰ σπέρνωσιν (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 56.34)
νὰ τὸ σπέρνωμεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 317, 316.6)
παρὰ νὰ τὸ ἔσπερνες LANDOS, *Geopon.* 142.23

ἐγέρνεται ὁ ἡγούμενος καὶ τάδε παραγγέλλει *Ptoch.* IV 582 (ms H)
ἐγέρνεται *Velth.* 974
γοργὸν οὐκ ἐγερνέτον *Pol. Tr.* 10053
ὅταν διαγέρνης SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 157
ἐγέρνεται *Achil.* N 1065
νὰ ἐγέρνεσαι *Spanos* B 108
ἐγερνόμην *Alosis* 717

ὅσον τὸ σέρνει τρίχα *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 66
σέρνομεν (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 94.48)
νὰ το σέρνω *Apoll. Rim.* A 1103
νὰ τὴν κωλοσέρνουε CHORTATSI, *Katz.* IV.3
σύρω ... vel communius et usitatus σέρνω ROMANOS, *Grammar* 104.23
σέρνει MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2091 and 2842

κι' ἔσερναν τὲς λουμπάρδες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 264.25; νὰ τοὺς σέρνουν id., *Kat. ofel.* 350

ἔσερναν SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 55.14

φέρνειν (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 533.4)

φέρνει τὰ δίκαιά του (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 41.48)

ὅσον διαφέρνει εἰς κρίσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 7525

καὶ ὁ Λίβιστρος συφέρνει *Liv.* V 3560

νὰ φέρνης *Achil.* N 354

τὸ δεκοχτῶχρονον φέρνων τῆς ἡλικίας *Achil.* O 50

φέρνου τζικούριν *Byz. Il.* 142

φέρνει τὸ ξυστὶν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1312

δὲν ἀναφέρνω τὸ λοιπὸν τὲς Μοῦσες τῶν Ἑλλήνων FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 3

σώνουν καὶ συνεφέρνουν την *Imb. Rim.* 977

ἐπιφέρνουνται *Diig. Alex.* F 114.16 (Lolos)

διαφέρνω GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. differire*

μεγάλα καυκώντας λόγια προφέρνεις *Irodis* I.9

ὑποφέρνω (1684, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 64, 272.27)

προσφέρνω (1696, Ioannina, MICHAELARIS 1976: 2 [B'], 253.16)

να μην αναφέρνει τινάς *Don Kis.* 545.28

τὰ ἄρματά του κάθαιρνε *Theseid* VII.35,2 (1529)¹²

νὰ τοὺς ξεκαθαίρνουν (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 8, 127.16); ξεκαθαίρνοντας καὶ τοῦτο (1598, *ibid.* 43, 191.15) (ἐκκαθαίρω)

νὰ ξεκαθαίρνει (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 31, 45.14)

φθέρνεται τὸ φουσάτο *Alex. Rim.* 1865

καὶ φθέρνουν τὲς καντῆλες ZINOS, *Vatr.* 301

This addition of -ν- to the imperfective stem can also be found with liquid stems in /l/, appearing in texts from various areas, from the 14th c. onwards. In the same period, though with a more restricted geographical distribution, a similar development can be observed in certain oxytone verbs in -λῶ (for which see 2.1.2.2.1):

ἀπόστέλνεν *Chron. Mor.* H 1049

ἐκεῖ τὸν ἀποστέλνει *Ptoch.* IV 535 app. crit. (C) (hapax; ἀποστέλλει in all other mss)

καὶ στέλνω σε πιττάκιν *Liv.* E 1818

τοῦτο τὸ φαρὶν στέλνει ὡς ἐδικόν σου *Pol. Tr.* 6170 (mss ABX)

στέλνει τα εἰς τὸ κάστρον *Achil.* N 438

στέλνε *Ptochol.* α 923

πλὴν τοῦτο σᾶς παραγγέλνω *Liv.* E 1438

καὶ ὄλο ἐσυχνοπαρήγγελνε *Liv.* α 1364 app. crit. (P)

καὶ πᾶσιν παραγγέλνω *Achil.* N 260

παραγγέλνει (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 51, 131.19)

εἰς τοῦτο σὲ παραγγέλνω PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §11.75

ὅταν ἀνάτελνε ὁ ἥλιος KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.32

ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἀνατέλνει ὁ ἥλιος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §19.4–5

¹² See also 2.1.3.1 for oxytone forms of this verb.

ὅτι τὸν διαβάλλουν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 344.16

ἔβωλνεν *Diig. Alex.* E 209.22–3 (Lolos)

In these verb stems -λν- can become -ρν- through the process of liquid interchange (see I, 3.8.6.2 for details; note that generally the affix -ερν- is especially popular with the Cretans: see also 2.2.4.1.1):

καὶ πάλι παραγγέρνει *Liv.* V 1124 (παραγγέλνω); συχνοεπαρέγγερνεν *ibid.* 1128;

ἀποστερνάμενοί του *ibid.* 2691 (ἀποστέλνω)

παραγγέρνοντάς του MOREZINOS, *Klini* 43.11 app. crit. (K)

μὰ ἐτοῦτο, κορασίδα μου, ξεῦρε, σοῦ παραγγέρνω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.491

παραγγέρνοντάς τω VENEZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.36

στέλνω στέρνω PORTIUS, *Grammar* 10.19

ἑστέρνανε ἓνα μέρος παρόξω SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 34.31–2

Some verbs with imperfective stems in /l/ form an alternative imperfective stem in -ν, e.g. βάνω < βάλλω, σφάνω < σφάλλω, for which see 2.1.1.1.6; or in -ζ: βάζω (< βάλλω), ἐβγάζω (< ἐκβάλλω), for which see 2.4, s.v. βάλλω.

In varieties of Pontic, the perfective stem of verbs with a liquid stem may serve as the imperfective stem (see OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 343 for modern Pontic): καὶ τώρα στείλω σας λόγον (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.10); στείλωμεν γράμμαν μὲ τὴν βούλλα τοῦ βασιλέως (*ibid.* 293.10); παραγγείλω σοι, μὴ καταλαλῆς τινὰν (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 190.2d) (this text has some Pontic features).

2.1.1.1.6 Nasal Stems

Nasal-stem verbs have imperfective stems ending in -ν or -μ (those in -ν often spelled <νν> in Cypriot texts, reflecting gemination, for which see I, 3.4.2.5). This group of verbs includes verbs in -ώνω, -ύνω, -ίνω, -αίνω, -άνω, e.g. κομπώνω, σιμώνω, σκοτώνω, σώνω, κλίνω, κρίνω, αὔξάνω, φθάνω, χάνω (< χαώνω), μαραίνω, πικραίνω, ὑγιαίνω, ἀπομακρύνω, λαμπρύνω, μολύνω, κά(μ)νω; and verbs in -μω, e.g. γέμω, νέμω, τρέμω. This group also includes former vowel stems, such as λούνω (< λούω), λύνω (< λύω), κλείνω (< κλείω), but not consonant stems that have an added nasal, such as διώχνω (< διώκω), στέλνω (< στέλλω) or παίρνω (< ἐπαίρω). The majority of the verbs belonging to this category show no variation in their imperfective stem formation, with the exception of verbs in -άνω, -ύνω and -αίνω.

Some verbs with imperfective stems in -λ form an alternative stem in -ν, e.g. βάνω < βάλλω, σφάνω < σφάλλω (forms with -λν- have been found only for βάλλω, not for σφάλλω, and they are too rare to have served as an intermediate form; see 2.4). Forms of βάνω and its compounds, such as (ἐ)βγάνω (< ἐκβάλλω), ἄθιβάνω (ἄθιβάλλω), and even ἀμφιβάνω, can be found in texts from various areas, whereas σφάνω appears to be exclusively Cretan:

καὶ ἐβγάνει τὸ σπαθίτσι του *Arm.* 98

περὶ τοῦ βάνοντος πῦρ εἰς χώραν *Assizes* A 222.24

καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐβγάνουν τὰ κρασιά SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 181

ὅταν τὸ ἔβανεν εἰς τὸ κεφάλι του, τότε ἄφαντος ἐγίνετον *Diig. Alex.* V 58.23

και εβγάνει το ρύζι *Syndipas* 115.23–4
 και αὐτὸς ἐβγάνει τὴν ψωλὴν του ἐκ τοῦ βρακί του *Vios Aisop.* E 292.18
 ἐβγάνοντα τὰ λεγόμενα λάσα (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 96.112)
 ἦβανε ὁ σέρ Νικολὸς τοὺς ἔμισοὺς σπόρους (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.8)
 μίαν βρύση ἡ ὁποῖα ἔβγανεν καθάριον λάδι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.9
 δὲν τὰ βάνετε εἰς τὸν νοῦν σας DAM. SToud., *This., Logos* 7, η1v.32–3 (1561)
 βάνοντας (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 150, 238.8)
 διὰ πλεό φέρμο βάνου καὶ μάρτυρες (1611, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 11, 315.13)
 ἐβγάνει τὰ δαιμόνια KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 9.34; ἐκείνα ὅπου ἐβάνασι *ibid.* Ioann.
 12.6
 καὶ βάνει της (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 88.9)
 ἀμφιβάνοντας (1696, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 112, 308.34–5)
 εβγάνοντας ἀπὸ τα δισάκια ὅ,τι εἶχε βάλει *Don Kis.* 47.28–9; βάνοντας το σίδηρον *ibid.* 47.35
 κι ἀπόκει ἃ σφάνει εἰς ἄλλα FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 311
 τοῦτον ὁ νοῦς σου σφάνει *Rim. kor.* A 95
 καὶ σφάναν, οἱ καημένοι *Apoll. Rim.* V 135 (forms of σφάνω in A, N and V)
 ἃ δὲ σφάνω CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.289; μὰ σφάνει *id., Erof.* II.245
 μαγάρι καὶ νὰ σφάνω *Thysia Avr.* 596
 σφάνουσι τὰ λογιάζεις KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.171
 σὲ τοῦτο νὰ μὴ σφάνω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.150

2.1.1.2 Vowel Stems

The class of barytone vowel stems comprises a small group of verbs whose stems end in /a/, /e/, /i/ or /u/. The most common of these are: ἀκούω, δεικνύω, δέομαι, δέω, δύω, ἰσχύω, καίω, κλαίω, κλάω, κλείω, κρούω, κυλίω, κωλύω, λούω, λύω, μεθύω, μειγνύω, μηνύω, ξέω, ὀμνύω, πλέω, πνέω, πταίω, πτύω, ρέω, σείω, σκάω (< σχάζω), σπάω, χέω, χρίω. These verbs appear in their “uncontracted” form throughout the period covered by this Grammar, e.g. ὡς ἀκούομεν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 89; νὰ λούωνται οἱ ξένοι *Liv.* α 3100; ὅσα τὸ φάγουν, μεθύουσιν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 245.22. However, a general tendency to avoid consecutive vowels (see I, 2.9.2) leads many of these verbs to produce ostensibly “contracted” forms with certain endings, for all persons singular and plural. Of course, these are not true cases of contraction, but rather the result of deletion of one of the two adjacent vowels. When the vowels are identical, the unstressed one is deleted, e.g. φταῖτε < φταίετε, κροῦσιν < κρούουσιν, ὀμνεῖ < ὀμνύει (the form is traditionally written ὀμνεῖ rather than ὀμνῦ for the sake of morphological transparency). When the two vowels are not identical, the avoidance of morphological or semantic ambiguity takes priority over vowel hierarchy (a > o > u > e > i, or according to others a > o > u > i > e; see I, 2.9.2 for details), and stress ceases to be a determining factor: we therefore find 1 sg. σπῶ and σκῶ rather than *σπᾶ and *σκᾶ, forms in which the (unstressed) characteristic [o] of the 1 sg. ending takes precedence over the phonetically “stronger”, stressed /a/ of the stem. On the other hand, for instance for the verb κλαίω we find 3 sg. κλαῖ rather than κλεῖ for semantic reasons: the [e] of the stem identifies the verb the form is derived from (κλαίω, not κλείω). When there is no issue regarding the morphological ending or the meaning of a verb form, the vowel hierarchy is usually observed, regardless of stress: ἀκοῦς < ἀκούεις, καταλοῦν < καταλύουν, λοῦται < λούεται, σπᾶ < σπάει:

1st Person Singular

κρῶ *Dig.* E 1287

ἐκσυσπῶ *Diig. tetr.* 258 (ed. ἐξυσπῶ)

τὸ πῶς καμμῶ τὰ ῥμάτια μου *Katal.* 581 (καμμύω)

ὥσαν ἄκῶ καὶ λέγουν *SACHLIKIS, Peri fylakis* 151 transcr. N (Lendari)

σπῶ τσι τολέλες, κάτεχε *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.276

ῥτὶ σκῶ τῶρα ἄφ' τὸν θυμὸν *KONDAR., Paidēs* 758

2nd Person Singular

ἀκοῦς *Ptoch. III* 172 app. crit. (GP)

ποσῶς οὐκ ἀπολεῖς το *Poulol.* 151; νὰ σῆς *ibid.* 302

τί μοῦ σεῖς τὸ μουστάκιν σου *Diig. tetr.* 128; νὰ ἀναπνῆς *ibid.* 290

τῆς χήρας καὶ τῆς ὀρφανῆς ὅσον τῆς κροῦς φουσκῶνει *Paroim.* H 27

κροῦς *Cypr. Canz.* 30.6

μὴ ἀποκροῦς *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §5.16

3rd Person Singular

συγκλεῖ (ca. 1050, S. Italy, *GUILLOU* 1972b: 190.394)

ὁ γύψος πτώσεις ἀπολεῖ *Ptoch. II* 54.2 app. crit. (H)

τοὺς ἀνδρειωμένους καταλεῖ *Chron. Mor.* H 4906 app. crit.

κλαῖ τον *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 474

νὰ λοῦται *Achil.* N 833

ὁμνεῖ *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 328

κάτις τὸν κωλεῖ! *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 564.14

ῆ ποιά ποττὲ δὲν πτιέ *Fior* 146.5 (read πτιᾶ < πταίω)

ποτὲ οὐκ καταλεῖται *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 233

νὰ πτει εἰς τον κόρφον του *Theophr. Char.* 129.6 (< πτύω)

φωνὴν ἀκού', λαλιά<ν> ἀκού', φωνὴν καὶ δράκου στόμα *Dimotika Ivir.* XII.3

βρύσις νεροῦ ὅπου νὰ ἀναβρεῖ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 4.14 (< ἀναβρύω)

νὰ σπᾶ τὰ σπῆτσια *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 285.16

1st Person Plural

στὰ λόγια ὅπου ῥκοῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 1676

καταλοῦμεν (1538, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 2009: 906, 708.20)

ἀπολοῦμεν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1181

νὰ γδέρνομεν καὶ σπούμεν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 5361

νὰ κλαῖ' τὸ ριζικό του *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2872

φαρμάκι φτεῖ μὲ τοὺς ἀφρούς *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1162

2nd Person Plural

ἐσεῖς τὸ φταῖτε πλέον *Chron. Mor.* H 2691;

ὅπου τὰ σπλάγγνα κλεῖτε *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2497

3rd Person Plural

νὰ κροῦν *Dig.* E 1405

κροῦσιν *Velis.* χ 171

νὰ μὴν τὸ καταλοῦσιν [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 2461

κροῦν μεγάλον πόλεμον (1572, Warsaw, *PATRINELIS* 2000: [1], 15.105)

μας κροῦν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §6.7; ξεγλοῦν *ibid.* III §7.79 (< ἐκλύω)

νὰ σπούσιν *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 177.8; νὰ σκοῦσι *ibid.* 382.12

ἔσκα ἀπὸ τῆ χολῆ *DIAKR., Diig. Pol.* 469

φουσκῶνονται, ἐσκοῦνε *Irodis* I.17

When the vowel stem ends in /u/ (typically the verb ἀκούω), vowel deletion may occur, resulting in /o/ or /u/. When the vowel of the ending is /e/, the result of the “contraction” of /u/ and /e/ can be either /u/ (vowel deletion), or /o/ (crasis) (for details on chronology and geographical spread see I, 2.9.5):

- ἄκου τὸ τί μοῦ λέγει *Dig. E* 1581
 ἄκου τί μ' ἐποκρίθην *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 452
 καὶ ἄκου τὸ τί μοῦ ἐσύντυχεν *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 28
 ἄκου τὸ τί διηγᾶται *Rim. kor.* A 178
 ἄκου τώρα ἀπού ἐμπήκεν ὁ νιὸς ἀνθέντης (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 148.20)
 ἄκου τὸ τί τὸν εἶπαν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 129
 ἄκου τον ποῦ ἐμπάινει *KONDAR., Paides* 829
 ν' ἀκοῦνται οἱ κτύποι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 266.23
- ἄκο τὰ καλὰ *Spaneas V* 46
 ὡς τὸ ἀκῶτε *Chron. Mor.* H 8911
 καὶ ἄκο τί με ἐφάνην *Liv.* V 198
 καὶ ἄκω τί ἐλαλοῦσαν *Liv.* α 291
 ἄκο τὸ τίντα λέγει *Dig. E* 517
 ἄκω τὸ τεῖντα κάμνει *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 347
 ἄκο ἄλλον σύβαμα *Chron. Toc.* 41
 ἄκω τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν *Deft. Par.* 169
 καὶ ἄκο λοιπόν *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 137; ἀκόντα τέτοιο ρώτημα *ibid.* 468
 καὶ ἀκόντα τὰ γινόμενα *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 403
 ἄκο τοίνυν, δέσποτά μου *Ptochol.* α 628
 ἀκῶντας *Theseid I.5.2* (Follieri)

Sometimes a conservative spelling is maintained. This becomes particularly evident in verse texts; in order to make the verses scan, one should clearly read the following forms with synizesis, or as “contracted” forms (for synizesis, see I, 2.9.4; for accent notation indicating synizesis, see II, 1.5):

- ἀκούετε τὰ καὶ οὐ θλίβεσθε *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 115
 καὶ κρούω σουβλέαν τὸ χέριν μου *Ptoch. III* 153; καὶ νὰ τὴν ἔκρουα κοπετόν *ibid.* 187; τὸ πῶς ἀκούεις οὐκ οἶδα *ibid.* 172 (ἀκοῦς in GP); καὶ κρούουσιν το κλοτσάτα *Ptoch. IV* 368 app. crit. (V) (κροῦσιν in K)
 κι ἂν ἔχης ὄρεξιν νὰ ἀκούης *Chron. Mor.* H 1349; τί ἔνι τὸ κλαίεις, κουντέσσα; *ibid.* 6050
 κλαίοντας τὴν σκάλα ἀνέβαινε *Arm.* 16
 νὰ πλὴ ἔλαφρά εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν *Pol. Tr.* 104
 νὰ σπαθοκαταλύουνται *Poulol.* 224 app. crit. (V) (-λυοῦνται in A, -λοῦνται in CPL)
 νὰ πλὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν θάλασσαν *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 303

From the 13th c. onwards in S. Italy and from at least the 14th c. in texts from other areas, forms of vowel stems in /e/ and /i/ appear, in which the stress has shifted to the ending and the /e/ or /i/ of the stem has become /j/ through synizesis (see also I, 2.9.4):

- καὶ συγκλειοῦν (1251, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 197, 419.23)
 οἱ συμφωνίης τές κλειοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 2387
 καταλυεῖς τὰ ροῦχά μου *Spaneas Z* 626; σειέσαι ἀγριωμένος *ibid.* 628

πλιόντα *Assizes* B 299.21 (< πλέω)
 κióμαι *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 106 and 334 (καίομαι)
 καταλυοῦμεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 2.6; ἡθέλαν καταλυέσθαι *ibid.* 76.19
 τὰ μέλη μου σωκιοῦντα *Cypr. Canz.* 23.7 (ἔσωκαίω); δὲν φτιῶ *ibid.* 87.18 (φταίω); κωλυοῦσιν
ibid. 94.61
 ἀρχεύσασιν ὅλοι οἱ λάς νὰ κλιοῦσιν *Fior* 92.8–9
 σὰ σειέται τὸ καλάμι *Alex. Rim.* 1384
 πέφτει, κυλιέται, γέρνεται *Fyll. gadar.* 316
 παραλυοῦσιν *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 53
 τί σειεῖ ὁ σκύλος; *Vios Aisop.* I 269.13
 λυοῦμαι, λυέσαι *GERMANO, Vocab.* s.v. *andare vagabando*; φτυῶ *ibid.* s.v. *sputare*; ξυῶ *ibid.*
 s.v. *stregliare*
 σειοῦνται καὶ τὰ σίδερα *Paroim.* (Warner) 107.5; ὅπου φτεῖ στὸν οὐρανὸ *ibid.* 120.10
 ὡς καθὼς κλεῖ με τὰ φυτέματα ὡς καθὼς κλειοῦνε (1692, Ραχοί, *PETROPOULOS* 1958: 162,
 162.8)

In many areas, after synzesis deletion of /j/ may occur after /s/, thus causing the vowel stems in /i/ to lose their stem vowel. Examples have been found in a Heptanesian, a Peloponnesian and in Cretan texts (for details see I, 2.4.7.3):

οὐδὲ ἡ θάλασσα λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνη οὐδὲν σέται *Alex. Rim.* 1983 (= σειέται)
 τὰ φύλλα που εσοῦσαν *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 64.7 (= ἐσειοῦσαν; for the ending see also 2.1.3.1)
 κ' ἔσεν την κεφαλὴν του *Katis* 95 (= ἔσειεν)
 καὶ ᾿σουντανε (1629, Crete, *LAMBROS* 1910: 254, 187.4–5) (= ἐσειοῦντανε)
 οἱ ψεῖρες, που τ'ς εξοῦσαμε μ' ἓνα κομμάτι ξύλο *Epist. Nax.* 471.32–3 (= ἐξοῦσαμε)

Some verbs in this category undergo a complete or partial transfer to the class of oxytone verbs (e.g. μηνύω > μηνῶ), for which see 2.1.3.1.

The verb ὁμνύω is the only one of the vowel-stem verbs that can change stem vowel, producing barytone variants in -έω and -όω. For details see 2.4.

Vowel stems can transfer to the class of consonant stems, forming new imperfective stems by substituting -ν- or -ζ- for the -σ- of the perfective stem. This use of -ν- is a trend that had already started in AG with variant forms such as δύνω for δύω and δέννω for δέω (see *LSJ* s.vv.), and it spread to other verbs in the period covered by this Grammar. The use of -ζ- had also started long before the LMedG period (e.g. διαχρίζομεν in Galen, ἀνασπάζουσιν in Hesychius), but is less common than -ν- (-ν-: ἀφίω, ἀφισ-/ἀφησ- > ἀφίνω/ἀφήνω; δέω, δεσ- > δένω (AG); δύω, δυσ- > δύνω (AG); ἰσχύω, ἰσχυσ- > ἰσχύνω; κλάω, κλασ- > κλάνω; κλείω, κλεισ- > κλείνω; λούω, λουσ- > λούνω;¹³ λύω, λυσ- > λύνω; σκάω, σκασ- > σκάνω; χέω, χυσ- > χύνω; -ζ-: ἀναβρύω, ἀναβρυσ- > ἀναβρύζω; κλείω, κλεισ- > κλείζω; πταίω, πταισ- > φταίζω; σπάω, σπασ- > σπάζω; χρίω, χρισ- > χρίζω):

ἀφήνειν *ΝΙΚΟΝ, Logos* I 110.12
 διατὶ γοργὸν οὐκ ἔκλεινε *Pol. Tr.* 425
 καὶ λούνετον ἡ κόρη *Achil.* L 529
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἔδυνεν *Achil.* N 1127
 τὸ καῦμα γὰρ οὐκ ἴσχυεν διὰ νὰ περπατοῦσιν *Achil.* O 191
 κλάνω σε καὶ φυσᾶς με *Spanos* B 208

¹³ SMG λούζω has not been found in the texts examined.

οὐδὲ ἡ πρίκα μ' ἄφηνε FALIEROS, *Erot. En.* 6
 χύνουν τὰ φύλλα δάκρυα *Peri xen.* 298
 δένει εἰς μίον τὰ χέρια τῆς *Apoll. Rim.* V 240
 τὸ πληθὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ὅπου ἐλούνουνταν *Vios Aisop.* D 228.8–9
 ἀποκρούω σε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 53.1
 λέγει καὶ ξεδιαλύνει KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.760
 αὐτὸ δα εἶναι οὔπου με κάμνει καὶ σκάνω *Don Kis.* 169.21

τὰ μαλλία τοῦ ἀνέσπαζε *Pol. Tr.* 5110
 διὰ νὰ τοὺς ἀποκλείζουν LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 293
 φταιζόμενοι *Pent. Gen.* 42.21
 γλήγορα διαλύζει τὸν λόγον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 549
 διαλύζω GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. dichiarare*
 εἰδεμὴ σπάζουσι τὰ δερμάτια KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 9.17

Vowel stems may also transfer to the class of consonant stems through addition of /ɣ/ at the end of the imperfective vowel stem: ἀκούω > ἀκούγω; δέομαι > δεγοῦμαι; κρούω > κρούγω; κωλύω > κωλύγω; λούω > λούγω; καίω > καίγω; κλαίω > κλαίγω; ὀμνύω > ὀμνύγω; πλέω > πλέγω; πνέω > πνέγω; πταίω > φταίγω; ρέω > ρέγω; ρύω > ρύγω (for anaptyxis of /ɣ/ as a general phenomenon, see I, 3.5.2):

ἐκρούγασιν *Dig.* E 1174
 νὰ λούγεται *Liv.* V 45; νὰ τὸν ἀκούγουσιν *ibid.* 635; νὰ λούγουνται *ibid.* 3112
 οὐκ ὀρέγομαι ἀκούγειν αὐτὸ (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989:
 79.1d–2d)
 πλέγοντα SKLENTZAS, *Ain. Zood. Pig.* 38
 αἶμαν ἔρρεγε ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 92
 ἐδεγοῦνταν τοῦ θεοῦ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 82.24 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)¹⁴
 καὶ ἔπλεγα ἴσάν τὰ ἰψάρια *Apoll. Rim.* A 307
 φθαίγει VENDRAMOS, *Istor. gyn.* 72
 ἀκούγουν αὐτωνῶν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 64.30
 ὥστε νὰ ἀναπνέγω MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 218
 λούγω, λούγομαι GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. lavare la testa*
 πλέγουν ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 190
 διατὶ πλέγουσι τὰ φαγητά LANDOS, *Geopon.* 181.34
 πάντα φταίγεις PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §6.30–1; νὰ μᾶς κρούγουν *ibid.* I §22.7
 οὐ κωλύγω (17th c.?, Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 408.456); ρύγει *ibid.* 409.568

The verb δεικνύω can transfer to the class of consonant stems by forming an alternative stem δειχν- (see 2.1.1.1.4).

Certain consonant stems that end in -ɣ, such as λέγω, τρώγω, ὑπάγω and φυλάγω, can transfer to the class of vowel stems, no doubt influenced by the fact that many vowel stems can become consonant stems through the addition of /ɣ/ (e.g. ἀκούω > ἀκούγω). After the deletion of the /ɣ/ of the stem the weaker vowels /e/ or /i/ of the ending are omitted after the stronger vowels /a/ and /o/ of the verb stems, thus giving precedence to semantic over morphological disambiguation: e.g. τρῶ (not *τρῆ), which is used for 3 sg. pres. ind./subj. and

¹⁴ This form not only shows addition of /ɣ/, but also a transfer to the oxytone paradigm, which is not uncommon in Cypriot Greek; see 2.1.3.1.

for the imperative, but not for 1 sg. Forms in which the second vowel is deleted occur for 2 sg., 3 sg. and all persons of the plural of the present indicative/subjunctive: πάγω, πᾶς, πᾶ. πᾶμεν, πᾶτε, πᾶνε, vel πᾶσι GERMANO, *Grammar* 95.15–16; λέγω, λές, λέ. λέμεν, λέτε, λένε, vel λέσι *ibid.* 95.22–3; τρώγω, τρώς, τῶ. τῶμεν, τῶτε, τῶνε, vel τῶσι *ibid.* 25–6. Such forms are also found for the imperfect, as well as for the imperative:¹⁵

2nd Person Singular

ἔτρως γαδάρου ράχην *Poulol.* 558
 ἄμμὲ νὰ τρώς *Achil.* L 92
 μήνυμαν ὑπᾶς στὸν βασιλέαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1072
 δεν λες ἀλήθεια ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 24.7

3rd Person Singular

λέ τον *Flor.* L 717
 καὶ πᾶ, καθίζει καὶ αὐτὸς *Phys.* 234
 νὰ τῶ *Assizes* A 122.7
 καὶ πᾶ χώρια κ' ἐστάθην *Velth.* 559
 καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἔτρων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1231
 τουρούς τῶ καὶ παστέλλια LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 570
 νὰ τῶ σάρκες Χριστιανῶν *Alosis* 904
 καὶ ἔτρων MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 624.5
 λέ του ὁ Ἐάνθος *Vios Aisop.* I 73.12 (Papathomopoulos) (λέ<γει> in Eideneier)
 “νὰ γράψω”, λέ, “ς τὸν πάιλον” *Thrinis Kypr.* 17; εὐθύς ὑπᾶ' μαντᾶτον *ibid.* 19

1st Person Plural

λέμε (1623, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 1, 128.10)
 τὰ λέμεν παραμύθια VEST., *Pathi* 174
 καὶ πάμενε καὶ βλέπομε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 223.5 (for -(ν)ε see I, 2.6.3.3)
 σοῦ λέμεν χωρίς ψῶμα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 387; δίχως αὐτὴν δὲν πάμενε *ibid.* 391
 ἀλλὰ τί λέμεν *Irodos* I.85
 πιάτζα ποῦ λὲν οἱ Ἰταλοί, ἡμεῖς ποῦ λέμεν φόρον VATATSIS, *Periig.* I 733

2nd Person Plural

ὁποῦ μοῦ λέτε ἔτσι *Spaneas* Z 503
 φυλᾶτε *Pol. Tr.* 1550 app. crit. (X) and *ibid.* 9613 app. crit. (B)
 τῶτε καὶ πίνετε καλὰ SACHLIKIS, *Vouli pol.* 34
 πᾶτε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 46.9
 καὶ ἀκούτε τι τοὺς λέγει DEFAR., *Sos.* 357 (Holton)

3rd Person Plural

καὶ ὑπᾶν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν *Dig.* E 201
 ὅπου ὑπᾶν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 275.29)
 διὰ νὰ πᾶν καὶ ἔρχωνται (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 3, 307.15)
 καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον λέσι *Achil.* O 20; ὑπᾶν *ibid.* 610; πᾶσι τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς *ibid.* 698
 τῶν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1859
 τῶν τον *Fyll. gadar.* 160
 τῶσιν το *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 462; νὰ τῶν *ibid.* 669
 ἄφ' τὴν τράπεζαν ᾧς τῶν' τὴν ἐδική μου KONDAR., *Paides* 176

¹⁵ The availability of both λέγουν and λέσι(ν) may be responsible for the following example, for which no parallel has been found: καὶ λέσουν το ἕνα Ὅχεντρες (1530–40, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: Z, 168.24).

λέσι καὶ ὁμολογοῦσι (1664, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 322, 202.12)
 αὐτεῖνοι πᾶνε (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 180.52)
 καὶ τρῶν τον τ' ἄγρια πρόβατα *Dimotika Ivir*. VIII.2
 φυλᾶν *ΔΙΑΚΡ.*, *Diig. Pol.* 1074

Imperative

καὶ τ' ἄλλα ὅλα τρῶ' τα *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 536
 καὶ τρῶτε, ξεφαντώνετε *Imb. Rim.* 496

By analogy with the original vowel stems, “uncontracted” forms without the /y/ of the stem can also be found, often, though not exclusively, in verse texts:

καὶ ὑπάει τὸ μονοπάτιον κατὰ ἀνατολὰς (1093, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 57, 74.10)
 καὶ λέγει ὅπου μ' ἐφύλαε *Liv.* E 437; δοῦλε μου, ποῦ ὑπάεις; *ibid.* 2178
 ἐκβάνουν καὶ ὑπάουν σε *Diig. tetr.* 791 app. crit. (C); καὶ τρώεις καὶ κοιμᾶσαι *ibid.* 949
 εἰς γεῦμαν τους μὲ τρῶουν *Poulol.* 206
 κι ὁλόγυρα ὑπάει *Alex. Rim.* 211
 καὶ φυλάουν τας, διὰ γέλια *Epain. gyn.* 66
 τρώει καὶ τὰ παπούτσα μου *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.52
 νὰ τόνε φυλάη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 51.25; νὰ τόνε φυλάουσι *ibid.* 51.25–6
 ποῦ τὰ ἄβρες; ποῦ τὰ πάεις *Stathis* II.89
 ψόματα λείεις, γάιδαρε! *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.224
 καὶ νὰ τὸν ἐφυλάουσιν *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* A2r.11
 που πρέπει νὰ διαλέεις *IOAKEIM KYPR. Pali* 5900
 τότες καῖκι πάει ἐκεῖ *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 443.25
 λέουνε (1675, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 61.34)
 παό, pais, paí, paomé, pête, paouné *SPON, Voyage* 319¹⁶

As with the true vowel stems (see introduction to this subsection), forms of these verbs often appear to be “uncontracted”, while in reality they are not. Verse texts are the best witnesses to this practice. The following examples should clearly be read with synizesis, as “contracted” forms (for synizesis, see I, 2.9.4):

κ' ὑπάει γυρεύοντά τον *Chron. Mor.* H 3264; ἄρχισε νὰ λήη πρὸς αὐτοῦς *ibid.* 3560
 καὶ τρώει τὸ καρφοπέταλον *Arm.* 26
 νὰ λήη τὰ πατερμά του *Fyll. gadar.* 309a
 πιστόλες, λείει, θὰ δώση *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.91

Occasionally (ὑ)πάω and τρώω may transfer back to the class of consonant stems by the addition of -ν-, especially in texts of northern provenance:

κατέτρωναν *Eisit.* f.8r.2
 ὑπάνει *Pol. Tr.* 996 app. crit. (B)
 καὶ πάνεις εἰς τὸ ὄρος *Poulol.* 117 app. crit. (Z)
 νὰ πάνω στὴν Πόλη (1572, Warsaw, PATRINELIS 2000: [1], 16.138) (provenance of author unknown)

¹⁶ The Frenchman Jacob Spon made a glossary of Greek during his travels to Greece and the Levant in 1675–6. The Greek is generally correct (not counting the odd mistake and “French” stress notation), but it is impossible to establish in which part of the area he came across these forms (anywhere from the Heptanese and the Peloponnese to Leivadia, Athens, various islands in the Aegean, Constantinople and parts of Asia Minor, though we can be fairly certain they are not from the northern mainland, Crete or Cyprus).

καβαλλικεύω μάβρον μου, πάνω νά τόν ποτίσω *Ekatol.* (Meteoron) 6
νά πάνει νά πάρει (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 53.1)

2.1.1.3 Affixation and Modification of the Imperfective Stem

2.1.1.3.1 Affix -αιν-

Long before the period covered by this Grammar, the verbal affix /en/, usually spelled <αιν>, sometimes <εν>, began to provide alternative imperfective stems for verbs in -άνω and -ύνω (see also 1.1.1). In the texts examined, older forms with -αν- and/or -υν- are generally used alongside newer ones with -αιν-, and there is also a certain degree of interaction between forms with -αν- and -υν- (e.g. αὔξάνω for αὔξάνω):

μή συντυχαίνης, πρόσσεχε *Ptoch.* IV 51; but also λαγχάνει *ibid.* 81 (λαχαίνει in ms P, 15th c.)
αὔξαινασι *Chron. Mor.* H 3729; κ' ἔσεν οὐδὲν λανθαίνει *ibid.* 6933
οἱ Ἕλληνες βαραίνονται *Pol. Tr.* 6434 app. crit. (A); but also χοντρύνει *ibid.* 660 app. crit. (A)
(χοντραίνει in BEVX)
πάντα αὔξυνει ἡ δύναμις *Chron. Toc.* 700
αὔξανε τότες ὁ Ἰωσήφ, ἔπιανεν ἡλικίαν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 488
τὰ ποιά δὲ σὲ λαθαίνουν *Alex. Rim.* 1057
εἰς ὅσον απομάκρυνει *Apoll. Rim.* E 947 (ἀπομάκρυνε in N and V)
«Θεός δε λαθαίνει» *Diig. Alex.* K 376.17
βαραίνει τὸ σῶμα *LANDOS, Geopon.* 174.19, but also: βαρύνουσι τὸν στόμαχον *ibid.* 210.36
αὔξένουσιν οἱ χρόνοι *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 1527

In certain Cretan texts of the later period, σφάνω (a Cretan variant of σφάλω, see above) also has an alternative imperfective stem in -αιν, e.g. ὅλοι οἱ ἀθρῶποι σφαίνουσι *CHORTATIS, Erof.* II.37; σφαίνω καὶ φταίγω σου πολλά *Thysia Avr.* 85; μὰ τοῦτο σφαίνει ὁποῦ τὸ πῆ *KORNAOS, Erot.* I.2105.

Geographically, -αιν- is found regularly everywhere, though not in texts with a consistent Cypriot colouring, most notably the Chronicles of Machairas and Voustronios, *Pist. kekoim.* and *Fior*.¹⁷ These texts either retain the imperfective stem in -αν (often spelled -ανν, reflecting gemination, for which see I, 3.4.2.5) or form alternative imperfective stems by adding -ισκ- to the perfective stem (for which see 2.1.1.3.2):

δὲν ἡξεύρου ἵντα συντυχάννομεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 142.12–13; μανθάννοντα ὁ ρήγας
ibid. 186.23; μανθάννοντα τὰ μαντάτα *ibid.* 178.1; τοῦτα παθάννον οἱ ἀκριβοί 436.3–4
μανθάννοντά το ο ἀποστολές *VOUSTR. Chron.* A 30.3; καὶ συντυχάννω μετὰ τοὺς *ibid.* 202.8
νά τὰ βαστάννω *Cypr. Canz.* 29.1; ὅσα παθθάννω *ibid.* 29.3; but also: ποθαίνεις *ibid.* 46.7
πάντα συντυχάννει *Fior* 81.11; δὲν χορτάννει ποττέ *ibid.* 104.21; βαστάννει δυνατὰ τὸν
πόλεμον *ibid.* 127.6–7; μανθάννουσιν *ibid.* 149.2
συντυχάννοντα *Pist. kekoim.* 653
ὁ Βαλέριος συντυχάννει *Fior Suppl.* 277.15–16; ὁ ἄνθρωπος βαστάννει *ibid.* 270.16
πῶς ἐβάσταννες *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 284

¹⁷ However, these same texts do retain -αίνω (usually spelled -αίννω) with verbs that originally ended in -αίνω, like κερδαίνω and compounds with -βαίνω; they also have πηγαίνω.

Other verbs in /ino/ can develop an alternative imperfective stem in /en/ by analogy with the above-mentioned verbs, e.g. κρένω for κρίνω, and ψένω for ψήνω. According to the grammarian Romanos Nikiforou, this is typical of the spoken language:¹⁸

ἡ ἀνακρένειν (1101, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 7, 395.14)
καὶ κρένει εἰς τὸ δίκαιον *Chron. Mor.* H 3268; τὸ τί σὲ ἀποκρένεται *ibid.* 3408
πρόσωπον οὐ διακρένει *Liv.* E 846
δειλὸν τὸν κρένω *Liv.* α 1035
νὰ κρένης *Pol. Tr.* 2679 app. crit. (V); ἀτός του κρένει *ibid.* 13205 app. crit. (A)
καὶ νὰ τὸν κατακρένουν *Poulol.* 323
νὰ κρένηται (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 85, 190.3)
γὰ ψεύτρα ... φαίνεται ᾗ με κρένεις TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 310
πλούσους πτωχοὺς νὰ κρένουν *Alex. Rim.* 1478
νὰ προκρένει τὸ καλὸν ἀπὸ τὸ κακόν DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 2, α7r.32 (1561)
στα λόγια που κρέναμεν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 9206
να κρένονται εἰς τὸν κατὴ μας (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.51r.6)
ἐκρεναν καὶ ἐκυβερνοῦσαν τοὺς Ἑλληνας *Alex. Fyll.* 27.12

καὶ τὰ ὀψάρια ... τὰ ἐψένα *Alex. Rim.* 1632
ἐψένοτον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 437.28
ψήνω ... communius ψένω, ψένομαι ROMANOS, *Grammar* 115.12

The affix -αιν- remained very productive well into the period covered by this Grammar, occasionally popping up with verbs whose stems do not end in a nasal, such as, notably, ἀπαντέχω, μετέχω and ὑπάγω, as well as with oxytone verbs, e.g. φορῶ > φοραίνω, for which see 2.1.3.2:

καὶ πάλι ἐπροσεγγιζαίνομεν *Chron. Mor.* H 6105
κι ἐσὲν ἀπαντεχαίνει *Diig. Alex. Sem* B 1030
ἀπαντέχαινα νὰ ἰδοῦσι τὸ ἄστρον DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 2, β4r.20 (1561)
νὰ μετεχαίνουσιν (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.15)
δεν το ἀπαντέχαινα STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 212 (Pidonia)
να ἀπαντυχαίνομεν *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 115.36
ἀπαντεχαίνω σε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 14.4
δὲν ἀπαντεχαίνει KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 12.46
ἡ μάννα μου μὲ θέλει ἀπαντεχαίνει MONTSEL., *Evgena* 603
ὅπου μ' ἀπαντεχαίνει VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 819
ἀπαντεχαίνουσι DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 455
νὰ μετεχαίνου τὸ ἕνα τετάρτιν (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 82, 237.5–6);
ἐμετέχαινε μέσα εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν πρᾶμα (*ibid.* 118, 279.5–6)
ἀπαντήχαινε *Don Kis.* 14.1–2

2.1.1.3.2 Affix -σκ-

In certain areas a verbal affix -ισκ- is used to form new imperfective stems of nasal-stem verbs based on their non-sigmatic perfective stem (BEAUDOIN 1884: 94–5 and SYMEONIDIS 2006: 235 on Cypriot). Evidence to support MENARDOS'S (1969: 6) and SYMEONIDIS'S

¹⁸ Cf. δέρματα τὰ ἐν ταῖς κοπρίαις κείμενα συλλέγοντες ἔψεναν αὐτὰ καὶ ἔτρωγαν, παραμυθῆσασθαι βουλόμενοι τὸν λιμόν Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 252.6–7 (ed. Litavrin).

(2006: 235–6) hypothesis that this affix derives directly from the identical AG verbal affix -(ι)σκω is not very strong. The AG affix can be found in verbs such as γιγνώσκω, εύρίσκω and ἀλίσκομαι, and is also used to form barytone imperfective stems from oxytone verbs (e.g. τελῶ > τελίσκω, γελῶ > γελίσκω) (for an overview of the semantics and morphology of the AG affix see ZERDIN 1999). The MedG affix, on the other hand, is used to form a distinctive imperfective stem for barytone, not oxytone,¹⁹ verbs that have imperfective and perfective stems ending in a nasal. The affix -ισκ- is initially used with verbs that have identical imperfective and perfective stems (κρίνω, μεγαλύνω), but by analogy it spread to other nasal stems as well (μένω, σημαίνω, πεθαίνω, γίνομαι). These verbs are well-documented for Cyprus, but much less so for other areas. However, a few instances have been found in texts from Macedonia and Epirus, and it is likely to have had a wider distribution in the spoken language, given Romanos Nikiforou's testimony below, that γιανίσκει is “more what peasants say” (*villanius*), and given the fact that it was recorded in the early 20th c. among other regions in Cyprus, Macedonia, Thrace and Thessaly (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 300; PAPADOPOULOS 1926: 89; TSOPANAKIS 1953: 287–8); for this affix in modern Cappadocian see PANDELIDIS 2016a.

το δίκαιον κρινίσκει *Assizes* B 420.25; εμείνισκεν *ibid.* 431.3
μακρυνίσκουνται *Assizes* A 46.17; ανακρινίσκει *ibid.* 189.29; κατακρινίσκει *ibid.* 206.16
ἐγίνισκετον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 46.30; νά τὸν βαρυνίσκου *ibid.* 72.36; ἐσημάνισκε *ibid.* 86.22; νά μεγαλυνίσκουν *ibid.* 294.21; ὀλλιγανίσκουν *ibid.* 422.23; ὅτις ἐνεφάνισκε νά ψαρέψει *ibid.* 586.29 (< ἀναφαίνω); ἀρχοντυνίσκασιν *ibid.* 622.5
μεινίσκοντα μοναχοί *VOUSTR. Chron.* A 8.17; πεθανίσκοντα *ibid.* 34.10; σημανίσκει *ibid.* 188.9
ἀλαφρυνίσκω *Cypr. Canz.* 75.28; θέλει νά πεθανίσκω *ibid.* 100.38; γιανίσκει *ibid.* 115.6; μεινίσκει *ibid.* 154.16
ἀντὰ πληθυνίσκουσιν οἱ ὀξόδοι *Fior* 102.25; ὅσον περίτου ἀρχοντυνίσκει *ibid.* 105.17; κρίνισκετε ἄλλους *ibid.* 115.7; ὁ γέρος πελλανίσκει *ibid.* 149.29–30
λιγανίσκει τὴν θωριάν *Fior Suppl.* 270.21–2; ἀντὰν πεθανίσκει *ibid.* 271.8; ὁ γλυκὺς λόγος πληθυνίσκει τοὺς φίλους *ibid.* 277.27
ἐλαφρυνίσκει *Pist. kekoim.* 122; κλινίσκεις *ibid.* 380; ἐπεθανίσκαν *ibid.* 618; γινίσκεται *ibid.* 693
γιανίσκει *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §3.4
ἀπομνίσκουν (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 308., f.2r.31) (= ἀπομεινίσκουν, with deletion of unstressed [i])
μνίσκουν νέτα φλορία 580 (1697, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 30, 24.63) (= μεινίσκουν)
ὕγιαίνω σε, *sano te* ..., vel *communius et usitatius* γιαίνω σε ... vel *tertium villanius* γιανίσκω σε, *sano te*, ἐγιάνισκα σε, *sanabam te* *ROMANOS, Grammar* 104.8–10

A few unusual ones are the following:

χάρου τὸν καιρόν σου, γιατί αὔριον γερανίσκεις *Cypr. Canz.* 92.61
ἐθέλαν γερανίσκει οἱ ἄνθρωποι *Fior* 84.11
καὶ καθαρνίσκει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς *Fior Suppl.* 277.27–8
ἐμαθήνισκεν τὰ πάντα *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §16.11

¹⁹ The form παρακαλίσκει *MACHAIRAS Chron.* V 516.19 is a misreading by the editor; the diplomatic edition of Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari reads παρακαλήσαι: παρακαλεῖ σε, or perhaps παρακαλεῖσαι.

The verb γερανίσκω (also recorded by MEURSIUS, *Gloss.* s.v. γερανίσκειν) presupposed the existence of a verb γεραίω (Cypriot γεράν(ν)ω?), evidence for which is very scarce: σκόπησε τι για σέν ό καιρός τά κάλλη σου γεραίνει *Rim. kor.* V 98 (rhymes with έρωτοπλουμισμένη). The verb καθαρινίσκω is probably the result of an analogy with verbs in -υνίσκω. The form έμαθήνισκεν can perhaps be explained along the same lines, because it cannot have been derived from the aorist έμαθα.

By the 12th c.²⁰ the AG verb αποθνήσκω had developed an alternative imperfective stem αποθαιν-/πεθαιν-, though imperfective forms of the first remain in use in MedG texts, not only as residual forms, but also with relatively “new” endings (αποθνήσκουν, αποθνήσκοντας):

αύτικά μέ αποθνήσκουν *Ptoch.* IV 305 app. crit (H)
 λοιπόν, ώς ένι φυσικόν οί πάντες ν' αποθνήσκουν *Chron. Mor.* H 2441
 ότι έγώ αποθνήσκω *Diig.* E 1793
 αποθνήσκασιν *Pol. Tr.* 4288 app. crit (B)
 μέλλω αποθνήσκειν *Diig. sebast. Thom.* 185
 απέθνησκεν *Pol. Tr.* 679
 νά αποθνήσκη *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 337
 νά συναποθνήσκονται *Achil.* N 1785
 τί θάνατον αποθνήσκω *Diig. Alex.* F 298.6 and E 299.6; ό Βουκέφαλος είδε τόν Άλέξανδρον, όπου απέθνησκει *ibid.* 200.1 (απόθνησκεν in E 201.1)
 εις ατιμίαν και έντροπήν απέθνησκω *Diig. Alex.* K 264.20
 ιδού τώρα οπου αποθνήσκω *Alex. Fyll.* 114.33–4
 αποθνήσκοντας έλεγεν *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 59.3–4
 από έσένα αποθνήσκω *Vios. Ais.* D 119.32
 άν δέν έτρωγα, απόθνησκα *Bertoldin.* 155.28

This led to the formation of a new imperfective stem (α)πεθηνισκ-, with anaptyxis of /i/ in the consonant cluster /θn/ for easier pronunciation (see I, 2.6.2). Forms of (α)πεθηνίσκω occur in texts from southern areas, and especially the Heptanese, from about the 15th c. onwards:

ότι απέθηνισκαν (1487, Chios?, LEFORT 1981: 13, 77.6)
 και δέν αποθενήσκω *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 622 (reading of ms A; απέθηνήσκω in V, απέθνήσκω in N)²¹
 απέθηνισκαν *Pol. Tr.* 4288 app. crit. (V)
 κι άν πεθηνίσκω *Cypr. Canz.* 104.37
 πεθηνίσκει *Fior* 89.15
 και είδε ότι απέθηνίσκει *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 337.5; έτύχαινε και απέθηνίσκει *ibid.* 349.43; απέθηνισκαν από την πείναν *ibid.* 437.17
 πεθηνίσκοντάς μου (1587, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970b: 1, 227.4) (πεθηνήσκοντάς μου in the edition)
 όπου απέθηνισκεν *Bertoldos* 33.2
 ανίσως και εκείνος απέθηνισκεν *Bertoldin.* 146.22–3

²⁰ *LBG*'s first example s.v. απεθαίνω, is απεθαμένους (12th c.), but this participle is derived directly from the aorist stem αποθαν-, and does not prove that there is a present in -αίνω.

²¹ The reading αποθενήσκω appears to be a conflation of απεθηνίσκω and αποθαίνω, or of αποθνήσκω and αποθαίνω. Ms V, which has απεθηνίσκω, was copied by the Corfiot Andronikos Noukios and has many Heptanesian features (VAN GEMERT 1980: 36–8 and 550–2 and 56).

In south-western areas such as the Peloponnese and the Heptanese, though not in Crete, the verb μένω has an alternative imperfective stem μεινεσκ-. This stem is formed from the perfective stem μειν-, and is sometimes shortened to μνεσκ- through the deletion of the unstressed /i/ (see I, 2.7.2):

ἀπομείνεσκει *Pol. Tr.* 3009 app. crit. (A)
 ἔμνεσκε *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 281; μνέσκουν *ibid.* 582
 μινέσκει (1572, Peloponnese, *VEIS* 1956: 449.5)
 νά μνέσκουν (1588 [17th-c. copy], Zakynthos, *MAVROS* 1980: 465.4); μεινέσκει (1598 [copy of 1695], *ibid.* 500.2)
 νά μνέσκει (1636, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 13, 39.9 and 68, 78.16); νά μνέσκου (*ibid.* 17, 42.26)
 μνέσκει (1646, Kefalonia, *MOSCHOPOULOS* 1970: 1, 251.19)
 μνέσχοντας ὑποσχόμενος (1649, Kefalonia, *PENDOGALOS* 2008: 1, 51.14–15)
 νά μνέσκουε (1669, Kefalonia, *BALLAS* 1999a: 2, 280.19)
 νά ἐμνέσχουε (1678, Kefalonia, *ALEXOPOULOU et al.* 2009: 243, 218.34)
 νά μεινέσκη (1713, Nauplion, *LIATA* 1998a: [1], 263.23); νά μεινέσκουν (*ibid.* 263.42)
 μεινέσκω (1715, Corfu, *LIATA* 1975: 19, 134.17–18); μεινέσκοντας (1716, *ibid.* 30, 142.13)

A 14th-c. manuscript containing a Judaeo-Greek glossary of unconfirmed provenance (probably from Asia Minor)²² preserves the following forms derived from verbs other than μένω. These forms, however, appear to have been derived from the imperfective stem rather than the perfective stem: ἐβραδύνεσκαν *Samuel II gloss.* f.1v, l. 14 supralinear; εἰς ψηνέσκουσας *ibid.* f.2r, l. 14 (pres. part. fem. acc. pl. of ψηνέσκω < ψήνω).

Finally, a rare form in -ασκ- occurs in a document from Thessaloniki: δὲν ξέρου τι ἀγοράσκει (1698, Thessaloniki, *KATSANIS* 2012: 7, 66.1) (ξέρου = ξέρω, see I, 2.5.4).

2.1.2 Oxytone Verbs

Oxytone verbs are verbs in which the stress in the present indicative/subjunctive falls on the ending, not on the stem of the verb.

2.1.2.1 A-stems and E-stems

The confusion between oxytone A-stems and E-stems that had set in in Hellenistic times (see the introduction to this Chapter) continues to manifest itself throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, in which adoption of A-stem endings by E-stem verbs is more common than the reverse (see also Chapter 4). Some representative examples are:

πολλάκις εἶδον ἄνθρωπον φορῶντα ἱμάτια καλὰ *Vios Philaret.* 630–1 app. crit. (G); κρατῶντες
 λαμπάδας *ibid.* 857 app. crit. (G) (9th-c. original, 11th-c. ms)
 ἐξηγάται *NIKON, Logos* 4, 212.1 and *id., Logos* 9 316.4
 διεδικᾶν (1140, S. Italy, *TRINCERA* 1865: 122, 163.27)
 προσδοκᾷς *Ptoch. I* 101
 νά τοὺς λυπᾶται *Chron. Mor.* H 1160; νά σκοπᾷς *ibid.* 1654
 ἀπιλογᾶται *Dig.* E 135; κonomᾶται *ibid.* 466 ἐπεθύμα *ibid.* 1576

²² Ms Evr. IIA 1980, National Library of Russia, St Petersburg; to be published in KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming).

οὐδὲν μολογᾷ *Assizes* B 254.30; ἀρνᾶται *ibid.* 285.26; συχωρᾶται *ibid.* 455.15
 ἀμηχανῶμεν (1453, Gallipoli, DARROUZÈS 1963: 2, 83.19)
 προσκυνᾷ σε (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.20)
 τί σε φελᾷ, κυράτσα μου *Katal.* 17 (ὠφελῶ)
 βεργέτα BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 214 (εὐεργετῶ)
 ὁμολογῶμεν (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 57.81)
 ἐπαπειλᾶται μοι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 671; βοθάτε τὸν Καλλιμαχον *ibid.* 1346
 πῶς μᾶς παραπονᾷ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.11; δήγα το *ibid.* 502.13–14 (δδηγῶ)
 ξηγάται ὁ Αἰσωπος *Fior* 108.39

The borrowing of E-stem endings by A-stem verbs is much rarer:

μαδεῖν τὴν σὴν μουστάκαν *Spanos* D 303
 ἐμάσεις BAROZZI, *Letter* 358.9
 δὲν θέλω σιωπεῖ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 349.6
 καὶ νὰ μασεῖ τὰ σίδερα KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1006
 καὶ μασεῖ καὶ βάνει LANDOS, *Geopon.* 130.28

2.1.2.2 Affixation and Modification of the Imperfective Stem

2.1.2.2.1 Addition of /n/

Addition of a nasal after the imperfective stem of certain oxytone verbs with a liquid is a development that set in before the LMedG period with certain oxytone verbs in -ρῶ, producing forms like περνῶ (< περῶ) (see also 1.1.1), and later spreading to other verbs, e.g. ἐξέρνουν καὶ τὰ ἔφαγα καὶ τ' ἄντερὰ μου ἀκόμη SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 196 transcr. P (Lendari) (< ἐξερῶ), especially in northern areas: ἀφορνᾷ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §21.4 (< ἀφορῶ); λίγο κέρδα καὶ μὴν φύρνα *Paroim.* (Warner) 69.19 (< φυρῶ); ἐγὼ τὴν συγχωρνῶ *Don Kis.* 139.26 (< συγχωρῶ).²³ However, the addition of /n/ does not appear to have spread to include liquid stems in /l/ before the 14th c. Forms with -λν- appear primarily in texts from northern regions, though examples of the verb χαλνῶ have also been found in texts from the Heptanese, the Peloponnese and Cyprus:²⁴

χαλνῶνται *Pol. Tr.* 8307 app. crit. (C); ἐχάλναν *ibid.* 13728 app. crit. (C)
 εὐχολὰ νὰ τὸν χάλνα *Chron. Toc.* 674
 καὶ μας χαλνά *Diig. Alex.* K 346.30; ἐχάλναν *ibid.* 363.9
 χαλνοῦσι ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 22.10 and 86.15; χαλνοῦνται *ibid.* 89.9 and 132.10

²³ Germano (copied by Portius) has καθαιρνῶ (< καθαίρω); see also 2.1.3.1. Cf. ξεκαθαρινῶντας (1633, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 9, 144.13).

²⁴ The 15th-c. manuscript C of *Pol. Tr.* is possibly of Constantinopolitan provenance (see PAPATHOMOPOULOS/JEFFREYS 1996: xcix); place of composition of the original of *Poulol.* is probably Constantinople (TSAVARI 1987: 99–101); northern features can be found in both *Velis*. χ (e.g. accusative for genitive, see BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1988: 48, 98) and *Diig. Alex.* K (e.g. in vocabulary and phonology, see MITSAKIS 1983: 320–1); NE-OFYTOS, *Achouri* was written in Bucharest, though the provenance of its author is unknown; Aitolos was born in Corinth but lived in Constantinople most of his life. The only surely non-northern examples are the instances of χαλνῶ in one of the *Miracles of Nikon Metanoieite*, Spanos's grammar, all of Peloponnesian provenance, *Bertoldos* (Heptanese) and Rodinos (Cyprus).

σὲ χαλνᾷ ROMANOS, *Grammar* 133.11

χαλνᾷει *Bertoldos* 18.17

χαλνᾷτε τὴν παραγγελίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 7.9

ἀσθένεια ὅπου χαλνᾷ τὰ φαγητὰ *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 25

τὸν ἐκαταχαλνοῦσαν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 85.21; ἐκαταχάλνα *ibid.* 93.2

γλήγορα χαλνοῦν (1572, Warsaw, PATRINELIS 2000: [1], 14.78–9)

χαλνοῦσι ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1412

τὸ περίσσο χαλνᾷ τὸ ἴσιο *Paroim.* (Warner) 99.20

δὲν χαλνᾷται ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 310

νὰ μὴν χαλνέτι (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.52r.4) (= χαλνέται, see I, 2.5.4)

καὶ το εχαλνούσε *Don Kis.* 1.16; χαλνώ *ibid.* 21.13–14

κολνᾷ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2091

ἐκάλναν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §21.28; κολνᾷ *ibid.* III §7.89; σκολνᾷ *ibid.* III §10.10

ὡς καὶ τὰ ποντίκια κολνοῦν ἀπάνου τους (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 304, f.1v.13–14)

καὶ τὸ κολνᾷ *Diig. Vefa* 1307

In the same period, though with a broader geographical distribution, a similar development can be observed in certain barytone verbs (for which see 2.1.1.1.5).

In the verb κουβαλῶ, the liquid /l/ of the stem is sometimes replaced with a nasal /n/ (cf. the same phenomenon in certain barytone verbs such as βάνω < βάλλω, see 2.1.1.1.6): καὶ τὸν πηλὸν κουβάνει *Ptoch. III* 211 app. crit. (P); εἰς τὸν Μορέα πήγαιναν, ἐκεῖ ἐκουβανιώντον IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1726; ὅλα σ' αὐτοὺς τὰ κουβανοῦν *ibid.* 9290.

2.1.2.2.2 Anaptyxis of /ɣ/

Anaptyxis of /ɣ/ in 3 sg., 2 sg. (and possibly 2 pl.) present of A-stem endings can be found especially, though certainly not exclusively, in Heptanesian texts (see also I, 3.5.2.1). For the same development in the imperfect, see below (2.1.2.2.3).

ν' ἀπαντάγη (13th?/15th c., Cyprus, *Assizes* B 455.3)

ἡ πείνα τὸν κεντάγει *Theseid* I.43,1 (Follieri)

χώρια του πολεμάγει *Alex. Rim.* 2336; οὐδὲν τὸν ἐρωτάγει *ibid.* 2452 (both rhyme with πάγει)

νὰ κυνηγάγει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 177.35; τὴν ἐρωτάγει τὴν Παναγίαν *ibid.* 344.223

γηροκομάγει (1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.10); προστυχάγει (1581, *ibid.* 8, 25.19)

πάλιν μετανοάγει *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 960 (< μετανοῶ)

ὁμολογάγει (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 33, 52.12–13)

καὶ ἀγαπάγει καὶ ἐμέ MONTSEL., *Evgena* 187 app. crit.

αὐτοῦνους κυνηγάγει IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5739; ὡς θέλει καὶ ἀγαπάγει *ibid.* 5740

ὁμπρὸς τὰ προβοδάγει DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 124

νὰ ἀπερνάγη (1694, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 184, 110.3)

πρέπει κανεῖς νὰ εὐχαριστάγει τὸν θεόν (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 67.18)

ὁμολογάγει (1700, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 6, 58.37)

τραβάγει ὅλην τὴν ὑγρότητα (1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 34, 136.107–8) (author from Smyrna)

πάλιν κεῖ καταντάγεις VATATSIS, *Periig. I* 276 (author from the Constantinople area)

Only rarely does this /ɣ/ spread to endings with /u/: ἐμολογάγουν (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 205, 124.13) (< ὁμολογῶ); καὶ νὰ τηράγουνε τὴ δουλειά τους ΕΦΤΗΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 44.17.

2.1.2.2.3 Developments in the Imperfect: Affixes -ουσ-, -αγ-, -ειγ-/ηγ- and -ουν-

In the Koine an alternative ending -σαν had emerged for the 3 pl. strong aorist (e.g. ἦλθοσαν for ἦλθον) to distinguish it from 1 sg.; regionally (mainly in Boeotia and Egypt, and especially in the *Septuagint*), this ending spread to 3 pl. imperfect of both barytone and oxytone verbs (e.g. ἐλαμβάνουσιν for ἐλάμβανον, ἐποιοῦσαν for ἐποίουν, ἐνικῶσαν for ἐνίκων) (BURESCH 1891: 195–200; DIETERICH 1898: 242–3), possibly by analogy with 3 pl. imperfect forms in -σαν of μι-verbs (e.g. ἐτίθεσαν) (HORROCKS 2010: 143–4). Apparently, with the imperfect this ending disappeared fairly soon.²⁵ Some centuries later, the ending -οῦσαν reappears with E-stem verbs (see e.g. MITSAKIS 1967: 62 for examples in the works of Romanos the Melode, 6th c.), probably modelled on present 3 pl. ending -οῦσι + past-tense -αν (KOURMOULIS 1956: 4). Subsequently the morpheme /us/ began to be viewed as a marker for the imperfect, first allowing for alternation of -αν and -ασιν in 3 pl., and then gradually spreading to the rest of the paradigm and to A-stem verbs. The first grammar to give a full alternative paradigm with /us/ is that of Romanos Nikiforou (ca. 1627) (for more examples see also 4.3.2.1):

ὅτι ἐκρατοῦσαν το ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.6
 κ' ἐκρατούσασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 2668
 ἀδικούσαμεν *Ptoch. III* 273 app. crit. (P)
 ἐκρατοῦσεν *Chron. Toc.* 3664
 ἐθαρρούσαμε (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 97.17)
 ποῦ 'νε τὸ πρᾶμαν τὸ ἐβαστούσετε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 442.8
 ἐμισούσετε *Cypr. Canz.* 133.13
 τινάς δεν αποκοτούσεν να περάσει ANDONIOS, *Vios Sym. Styl.* 243.12
 πού τοὺς ἀκαρτερούσαμε *Theseid* 2.81,3 (1529)
 ἐγελοῦσαμεν ... ἐγελοῦσαν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 63.16; ἐκρατοῦσαν *ibid.* 60.20–1
 ἐτιμούσαμεν ... ἐτιμοῦσαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 91.18; ἐπουλούσαμεν ... ἐπουλοῦσαν *ibid.* 92.22
 ἀγαποῦσα ... ἀγαποῦσες, ἀγαποῦσε, ἀγαπούσαμε, ἀγαπούσετε, ἀγαπούσασι vel
 ἀγαπούσαν ROMANOS, *Grammar* 38.8–9; ἐκρατοῦσα, ἐκρατοῦσες, ἐκρατοῦσε ...
 ἐκρατούσαμε, ἐκρατούσετε, ἐκρατούσασι vel ἐκρατοῦσαν *ibid.* 47.21–2
 ἐλειτουργοῦσες με τὸν καρδινάλην (1701, Transylvania, Legrand 1903: 14, 38.17)
 ἐγὼ ἀγαποῦσα να παραπονιέσαι *Don Kis.* 47.16
 [ἐφι]λοῦσα ... [ἐφι]λοῦσες ... [ἐφι]λοῦσε SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.21; [ἐγε]λοῦσα ... [ἐγε]λοῦσες
ibid. 41.14

Imperfects in -αγα, -αγες, -αγε etc., common for A-stems in the southern varieties of MG including Athenian, are rare in the period under investigation, and start to appear quite late. In the texts examined, examples have not been found before the 17th c.: πῶς καὶ νὰ ἐξύπναγεν ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 2381; χρώσταγα (17th c., Gortynia,

²⁵ There is no compelling evidence that this ending spread from Egypt to the rest of the Hellenistic world, as BURESCH (1891: 203) supposes, at least not as regards the imperfect. Unless we are to suppose that the ending did spread to mainstream Hellenistic Greek (without, however, turning up in written texts), and remained in use in the spoken language only, not once showing up in even the most low-brow of Byzantine texts, the re-emergence of 3 pl. -οῦσαν should be viewed as the result of an independent development, as history repeating itself. GIGNAC (1981: 331) gives no examples beyond the 4th c. AD.

GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 33, 185.7); ἐκράταγέ το (1670, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 2, 164.10); ἐγέλαγα SPANOS, *Grammar* 41.14 (18th c.).²⁶ It is reasonable to assume that this epenthetic /y/ first appeared in 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl. forms (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 48), after which the morpheme /aγ/ came to be regarded as a marker for the imperfect, allowing it to spread to the other persons as well.

Kanellos Spanos's grammar (1749; author from the Peloponnese) is the only witness to E-stem forms that consist of the verb root + stem extension /iy/ + active or passive imperfect ending:²⁷ εὐρίσκεται καί: ἐφίλειγα, [ἐφίλει]γες, [ἐφίλει]γε· ἐφιλείγαμεν, [ἐφίλει]γετε, [ἐφί]λειγαν SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.23; εὐρίσκεται καί: ἐφιλήγομουν, [ἐφιλή]γесουν, [ἐφιλή]γετο· [ἐφιλή]γόμασθε, [ἐφιλή]γесθε, [ἐφιλή]γόσασθε, ἐφιλήγουνταν καί ἐφιληγόντησαν *ibid.* 40.17–18.

The morpheme -ουν-, originally the 1 sg. imperfect ending for E-stems, and later for A-stems as well, also displays a tendency to become a marker for the imperfect, but this one is restricted to the forms of the singular, starting with an added past-tense marker /a/ to 1 sg., and spreading to 2 sg. and 3 sg. in the 17th c. Forms with -ουν- have been found in texts of south-western provenance (Heptanese, Crete, Peloponnese) and in texts from Chios:

ἐκράτουνα *Liv.* E 1670

πού κράτουνα FALIEROS, *Erot. En.* 122

ἐπεθύμουνα *Theseid* I.103,7 (Follieri); ἡμπόρουνα *ibid.* III.54,5 (1529)

εγώ τραγούδουνα ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 129.13

νά τὸν ἐτίμουνα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 86.19

ἐπούλουνα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 218.20)

νά σοῦ ᾔητουνα *Thysia Avr.* 897

ἐγάπουνε GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.4

ἐπούλουνα (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.10); ἀπεθύμουνα (*ibid.*, 361.24)

ὁπότεν ἐμίλουνε *Bertoldos* 6.11; δὲν ἀποκότουνε *ibid.* 70.1

δὲν ἐπερβότουνε *Bertoldin.* 105.23; ἐκατοίκουνε *ibid.* 109.30; ὁπότεν ἔζουνε *ibid.* 116.27

τὴν γνώμην ὅπου κράτουνε πολλὰ τὴν ἐτιμοῦσαν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1822

δὲν ἡμπόρουνα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 165; νά μέτρουνα *ibid.* 406; τὴν ἀγάπουνα *ibid.* 934

ἐφίλουνα ... ἐφίλουνες ... ἐφίλουνε SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.21

2.1.2.2.4 Analogical Levelling in the E-stem Paradigm and the Appearance of /j/ after Stem Consonants

After the demise of verbs in -μι and the O-stem paradigm (see 1.1), the next class of verbs to come under threat was that of oxytone E-stem verbs. Though its extinction was never fully completed, partly thanks to the reintroduction of many a form during the process of

²⁶ In his grammar (*ibid.*), Spanos states: τὸ δὲ ἐγέλαγα οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ γελῶ περισπωμένου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ γελάγω βαρυτόνου; however, there is no textual evidence to suggest that in the present of A-stem verbs this /y/ ever spread to all persons.

²⁷ This morpheme can for instance also be found in Kolokotronis's *Memoirs*, recorded in 1836 (PANTELIDIS 2003: 6–7) and is still found in modern Peloponnesian dialects (NEWTON 1972a: 54–5; PANDELIDIS 2001: 556).

standardization that took place in the MG period, there are clear tendencies throughout the period covered by this Grammar and across the board to adapt E-stem forms to the A-stem paradigm (see Chapter 4). But not only to the A-stem paradigm: from the 14th/15th c. onwards the E-stem paradigm also started to be influenced by the most dominant paradigm of all, that of barytone verbs. The trend that can be observed is that in the active voice distinctive barytone endings (past-tense endings, endings of the imperative) are tagged onto the less transparent endings of the oxytone E-stem paradigm, so for instance 3 sg. imperfect ἐκάλει becomes ἐκάλειε and 2 sg. imperative κάλει becomes κάλειε (see also 4.3.2 and 4.5.1.2). In the passive voice, too, a similar, though altogether more intricate, mechanism can be observed (see below). This adding of endings belonging to the barytone paradigm onto forms belonging to the oxytone E-stem paradigm was directly responsible for the appearance of the semivowel /j/ in the E-stem paradigm.

Active Voice

The 3 sg. imperfect and sg. present imperative ending -ειε consist of the E-stem ending -ει with an added ending -ε by analogy with barytone verbs (JANNARIS 1897: 219; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 45): ἐβάρει > ἐβάρειε, cf. ἔγραφε; βάρει > βάρειε, cf. γράφε. 2 sg. imperfect -ειες for -εις was soon after formed by analogy with this new 3 sg. ending. When pronounced with synizesis the unstressed /i/ before /e/ of the new ending becomes a semivowel /j/, which may lead to palatalization of the preceding stem consonant (see I, 3.8.2 for details). This is evident from the position of these forms in the political verse (e.g. at the verse end, or by simply counting the number of syllables in the half-verse), and from the fact that they are often found without a second stress when followed by a clitic pronoun, in verse as well as prose texts:

καὶ φόρειε τὸ προσώμῳ σου καὶ τὸν πηλὸν κουβάλειε *Ptoch. III* 211 (mss SA)
 ἐβάρειε τῆς ἡμέρας *Pol. Tr.* 224 (mss AEX)
 ἐκράτειεν τὸ εἰς τὸ χεῖρῖν τῆς *Liv.* E 1272; ὄνταν μ' ἐψυχοπόνειες *ibid.* E 3975
 πέμπω το' κράτειε, φόρειε το *Liv.* V 1715
 Σιγὰ περπάτειε ταπεινά *Flor.* L 1125
 καὶ ἐπούλειε τοὺς *Chron. Toc.* 3589
 ἀλλ' ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλειεν τοὺς *Achil.* N 1341
 κατεφίλειεν τὸν *Achil.* L 1109
 καὶ τότε ἐμπροσκάλειεν τοὺς *SACHLIKIS, Peri fylakis* 177 transcr. P (Lendari)
 καὶ ἐκουβάλειεν τοὺς ψουμῖν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 428.3
 ἐγνώριζε κ' ἐθώρειε τὰ *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1190; ἐφίλειε τὸνε σπλαχνικά *ibid.* V.23
 καὶ φόρειε το *Bertoldin.* 116.32
 κράτειε τὴν τώρῖν δυνατὰ *KONDAR., Paides* 552

On the other hand, absence of synizesis in these forms becomes evident from the notation of a second stress when the form is followed by a clitic pronoun, or from their position in the political verse (e.g. before the caesura, or again by counting the number of syllables). Although in prose texts one can never be certain whether the second accent was there in the original or whether it has been (tacitly) added by the modern editor (unless facsimiles are provided, as is the case with the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*), the fact that these forms are also attested with intervocalic /x/ is proof of their validity outside verse texts:

μῆλον χρυσὸν ἐκράτειεν *Liv.* V 426
καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφίλειεν τὴν ἐδικήν του κόρην *Achil.* L 1120
στὴν βάρκα δὲν ἐχώρειε *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1730
καὶ ἐκράτειεν τὴν *Dig. Alex.* F 36.10 (Konstantinopulos); ἐφίλειέ τον γλυκέα *ibid.* 140.17
ἐπαρακάλειεν τον *Vios Aisop.* I 248.31
ἀκαρτέριέ με ἐδῶ *Bertoldin.* 125.18
ἐπάτειέ τον εἰς τὴν ράχι του *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 41.20
ἐπαρακάλειέ τους *Diig. Ag. Sof.* ω 518.5–6
καὶ πῶς τους εκατοῦρειε *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 169; αὐτὰνα παρακάλειεν *ibid.* 573; ἡμπόρειες
ν' ακούσεις *ibid.* 1305 (no forms with synizesis in this text)
καὶ ἐπαρακάλειέ τον *RODINOS, Martyr. Neof.* 322.36
ἐφίλειγε *SPANOS, Grammar* 39.23

Eventually the morpheme /iɣ/ would come to be viewed as a marker for the imperfect, as part of the verb ending, and spread to the other persons as well, but this does not appear to have happened before the 18th c.; see 2.1.2.2.3.²⁸

Regionally, mainly in texts from insular areas, an intrusive /j/ may appear after the stem consonant of the active present indicative and subjunctive when the ending contains /u/ or /o/. This development is due to an analogy with barytone vowel stems, which may become oxytone (e.g. λῦω > λυῶ, σείω > σειῶ; see 2.1.3.1 for details) and which also have homophonous perfective stems in /is/, as discussed by CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: A 274–5) for the phenomenon in modern Peloponnesian:

ὁ ἀντλιῶν (10th c., Cappadocia, *DE JERPHANION* 1925/42, vol. 1: 277)
τοὺς καλιούν εἰς πόλεμον *Assizes* B 464.23
τὰ φύλλα ὄντε μαδιούσι *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.46
ὥστε νὰ ζιῶ *CHORTATIS, Erof. Interm.* I.152
ν' ἀθιοῦσι *Stathis* III.511; νὰ ἀθιοῦ *ibid.* III.513
νὰ ζιοῦμε (1614, Tinos, *HOFMANN* 1936: 1, 58.14)
ζιῶ (1659, Paxoi, *PETROPOULOS* 1958: 8, 7.5)
ἐπατιοῦσα *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* II.365; ἀμπωθιοῦσα *ibid.* II.366

Passive Voice

The appearance of /j/ in the passive present and imperfect of the oxytone E-stem paradigm is traditionally explained as a case of analogical levelling, by which oxytone verb forms with /i/ in their ending (e.g. 3 sg. act. impf. ἐβάρει, 3 sg. pass. pres. βαρεῖται) started to adopt endings from the barytone paradigm (e.g. 3 sg. act. impf. -ει: ἐβάρει > ἐβάρειε, 3 sg. pass. pres. -εται: βαρεῖται > βαρεῖεται) (*JANNARIS* 1897: 219; *CHATZIDAKIS* 1905/07: A 45–7), after which the /i/ of the ending, having developed into a palatal semivowel /j/, spread to the whole paradigm, leading to forms such as κρατειοῦμαι and ἀγαπειοῦμαι. *BABINIOTIS* (1972: 185) adds to this that, though the starting point is a matter of analogical levelling with barytone verbs, the evolution is phonological in principle, starting with verbs ending in a velar consonant (e.g. νικῶ), which present a palatal allophone in

²⁸ A 1 sg. form ἡμπόρεια appears for instance in a late 18th-c. Zakynthian comedy: *D. Gouzelis, O Chasis* III.59 (ed. Z. Synadinos, Athens 1997) and a full paradigm with -ει- can be found in certain MG dialects (*NEWTON* 1973: 210).

verb forms with affixes with front vowels /e/, /i/ (see I, 3.8.2.1). Though Jannaris and Chatzidakis are clearly correct in assuming that the new endings involve the borrowing of endings from barytone verbs both in the case of active 2 sg. -εξ/3 sg. -ε and in the case of passive 2 sg. -έσαι/3 sg. -έται, the weak point in their theory is that it leaves unexplained why the general spread of this semivowel to forms with /o/ and /u/ endings limited itself to the passive voice, as active forms such as *μαδιοῦσι* or *ζιῶ* are attested only regionally (see above, Active Voice).

A flaw in the second theory is that the textual evidence does not support the supposition that the development started from velar stems; it is clearly first attested and most frequent with liquid stems (/l/ and /r/, only the first of which has a palatal allophone [ɭ]), followed by nasal, labial and dental stems. The development is therefore unlikely to be phonological in principle. Moreover, neither theory takes into account the fact that there are clear differences in development between oxytone A- and E-stem verbs.

For reasons that are not yet well understood, by the LMedG period the E-stem paradigm was already experiencing serious competition from the A-stem paradigm, with increasing numbers of original E-stem verbs adopting A-stem endings (see Chapter 4). Later on it also started to receive serious pressure from the dominant barytone paradigm (dominant because there are far more barytone than oxytone verbs), which included several vowel-stem verbs that in many ways behaved similarly to oxytone verbs, as forms with both stress patterns occur: *κυλιέται* and *κυλιέται*, *ἀποκλείεται* and *ἀποκλείται*, while some verbs in this category even undergo a complete or partial transfer to the class of oxytone verbs (e.g. *μηνύω* > *μηνῶ*) (see 2.1.3.1). The appearance of /j/ in the passive imperfective stem of oxytone E-stem verbs coincides with the adoption of barytone endings in the oxytone E-stem paradigm, not only for endings with /i/, but from early on also for those with /u/ (see below). The levelling process will logically have started from forms that had /i/ in their endings, such as 2 sg. pres. *βαρεῖσαι*, 3 sg. pres. *βαρεῖται*, 2 pl. pres. *βαρεῖσθε/βαρεῖστε*, 3 sg. impf. *ἐβαρεῖτον* and 2 pl. impf. *ἐβαρεῖσθε/ἐβαρεῖσθε*. Evidence for this development can be traced from the 14th c. onwards and it is likely to have set in not too long before the 14th c.²⁹ Adopting the endings -εσαι /ese/ (2 sg. pres.), -εται /ete/ (3 sg. pres.), -ετον /eton/ (3 sg. impf.) and -εσθε/-εστε /esθe/este/ (2 pl. pres. and impf.) of the barytone paradigm, the /i/ of the oxytone endings was for some reason retained and a shift of the stress to the antepenultimate occurred to keep the forms in line with the rest of the oxytone paradigm. Due to the shift of the stress and subsequent synizesis, /i/ evolved into a semivowel /j/ and came to be viewed as a marker for the passive imperfective stem (/va'ri-te/ > /vari-'ete/ > /var'jete/),³⁰ occasionally popping up even in the infinitive: *θέλει πουλιέσθαι* (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 200, 200.14); *ἤθελε κρατιέσται* KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 5.4 (for more examples see Chapter 4).

²⁹ 12th- and 13th-c. mss such as those of Nikon of the Black Mountain, Michail Glykas and *The Book of Jonas* do not have such forms.

³⁰ Proparoxytone 3 sg. forms in -ίεται are too few and far between (see 4.1.2.2) to seriously consider them to represent an intermediate form. For 2 sg. -ιέσαι, which developed simultaneously to the 3 sg. form, no proparoxytone variants have been found, nor for 2 pl. -ιέσθε/ιέστε.

πωλιέται τὸ τυρὶν *Ptoch. IV* 122 (reading of oldest ms S)
 νὰ βαρειέσαι *Chron. Mor.* H 203, 482, 584, 1092 and 2524; καὶ τί τὰ ἀγωνιέσαι *ibid.* 2505 (< ἀγωνοῦμαι, see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.); ὅπου ἀγωνιέτον *ibid.* 3478; πρέπει νὰ τὸ βαρειέται *ibid.* 5801; πουλιέται τὸ κρασί *ibid.* 8290; ἐκρατιέτον *ibid.* 7491
 νὰ κρατιέται *Pol. Tr.* 8992
 ἐκρατιέτον *Assizes B* 366.5; διαλαλιέται *ibid.* 481.15
 καὶ ἔμορφα νὰ ὀρχιέται *Achil. L* 274
 τὸ ψωμί ὅπου πουλιέται (1487, Chios?, LEFORT 1981: 13, 77.34)
 ἐπικαλιέτον RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 81.24; νὰ καταχαλιέται *ibid.* 82.3

Very soon /j/ also started to appear in verb forms with /u/ in their endings, such as 1 sg. pres. pass. βαροῦμαι, 1 sg. imperf. pass. ἀρνούμουν or 3 pl. imperf. pass. ἐκρατούντησαν, but it is not just a matter of the semivowel spreading from endings with /e/ to endings with /u/. The forms with /u/ actually adopted the corresponding barytone endings with /o/ (e.g. -ομε, -όντησαν), at the same time adopting the semivowel /j/ of the new 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl. forms with /je/. Evidence for this can already be found in the 14th c.: the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy* have several instances. The etymologizing spelling with <ω> for <o> of manuscripts and modern editions, as if this were in fact an A-stem ending, is, of course, entirely graphematic:

βαρειόμαι *Chron. Mor.* H 845, 1093, 5807, 7034 and 7803; οἱ πάντες τὸ βαρειῶνται *ibid.* 7559
 ἐκρατιόντησαν *Pol. Tr.* 747 and 9259; κρατιῶνται *ibid.* 4374
 ἀρνιόμουν *Love poems V* 225; τυραγιῶμαι *ibid.* 481
 νὰ προσκαλιῶνται (1518, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 390.13)
 ἄμποτε νὰ κρατειόμουν, νὰ κρατειόσουν, νὰ κρατιότον· νὰ κρατειόμεσθα, νὰ κρατειόνταν
 SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 67.16–17
 ἀγκαλιόνταν (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 157, 206.6–7) (< ἐγκαλῶ>); εἴτι χρέη χρωστιόνταν (1555, *ibid.* 172, 222.17)
 ἐβαρειόμουν *Poulol.* 20 app. crit. (A)
 ἐκρατιῶνταν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 79.15; ἐχαλιῶνταν *ibid.* 91.15
 ἐκεῖ ἐκουβανιῶντον IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1726
 εὐχαριστιῶνται (1687, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 91, 52.2)

It must be stressed that until the 16th c. the endings with /j/ are only very rarely used with A-stem verbs (for more examples see 4.1.2.2):

ἐγγυέστε *Assizes B* 309.24 and *Assizes A* 59.27
 ἀγαπιῶνται *Chron. Toc.* 1612
 γὰ ν' ἀπαντιέται *Alex. Rim.* 1070; ἀρχίζει καὶ βρουχιέται *ibid.* 1984 and *Diig. Alex.* K 376.31
 μαδιέται *Epain. gyn.* 697; πολλὰ πηδιέται *ibid.* 698
 ἐγγυέσαι GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *pieggiare*
 ἐμιλιέτονε TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.328
 γελιῶνται RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 61.15; ἀγωνιέτον *ibid.* 66.18; καυχιῶνται *ibid.* 102.5; νὰ ἀγαπιέται *ibid.* 128.4
 γελιῶμαι *Don Kis.* 49.16
 γελειῶμαι ... γελιέσαι SPANOS, *Grammar* 41.20

From about the 15th c. /u/ was as it were “reintroduced” into these forms, first in 3 pl. /'onde/ > /'unde/, and from the late 16th c. in other persons as well. A parallel development can be observed in barytone verbs, also starting from 3 pl., where it is particularly

common (see 4.1.1.2). The appearance of /u/ for /o/ in the barytone paradigm is usually explained as the result of back vowel raising, of unstressed /o/ to /u/, in the environment of a nasal, but since in the oxytone paradigm /o/ is stressed, there is no valid phonetic explanation for its change to /u/. Therefore the change is likely to be analogical to the barytone paradigm, in which the variant /unde/ for /onde/ was very common, and must be seen in the light of a general /u/-dynamic that is at play in parts of the morphology of the verb (BABINIOTIS 1972: 189–92); for more examples see 4.1.2.2.

τὰ δὲ αὐγά πουλιοῦνται (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 43, 36.1)
 ἐνοχλιοῦνται (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 86.17–18)
 κρατιοῦνται *Apoll. Rim.* V 257
 θέλω νὰ πουλιοῦνται (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 77, 145.19); νὰ
 ἀποκρατειοῦνται (1525, *ibid.* 100, 187.28)
 ἀν ἐξαναγεννιούμου CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.88; ἐκρατιούμου *id.*, *Erof.* III.41 transcr. X
 (Legrand)
 ἐπουλειοῦμουν, ἐπουλειούσου GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.26; παρατιοῦμαι *id.*, *Vocab.* s.v.
abbandonare
 τὸν ἐπικαλιοῦνταν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 120.14
 ἐκαυχιοῦνταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §22.34
 νὰ κρατειούμεσθα RICHARD, *Targa pisteos* I 251.5
 γροικιούμασθε (1697, Mani, PETRIDIS 1870: 431.5)
 ἐβαριούσουν το KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.996; κι ὥρες σοῦ τὰ βαριούμου *ibid.* I.1000; ἐκεῖνοι ὅπ’
 ἀγαπιούνταν *ibid.* I.1112
 ο δὸν Κισότης ... ἐβαστιούνταν *Don Kis.* 48.15–16

In certain regions there appears to have been a tendency to introduce the /e/ of 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl. into 3 pl. in the same way as it was eventually extended to 1 sg. in the MG period. Evidence for this is very scarce, as only two examples have been found, in documents from Arcadia and Achaia, dating after the period under review. Its spelling ἀγροικένται for ἀγροικιένται is graphematic, as /k/ before /e/ will have had a palatalized pronunciation (see I, 3.8.2.1): νὰ ἀγροικένται (1724, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 43, 143.12); νὰ ἐγροικένται (1754, Sopoto, PAPADOPOULOS 1977: 5, 68.7).

2.1.3 Transfers between Verb Classes

Conflation of oxytone verbs with verbs in -άζω and -ίζω continues to occur in the period covered by this Grammar. This is due to the fact that their perfective stems are either identical, as in the case of -ασ- and -αξ-, or homophonous, as in the case of -ησ- and -ισ-, -ηξ- and -ιξ- (see also 2.2.1). Quite a few verbs had forms of both types before the LMedG period (e.g. ἀρπάζω/ἀρπῶ). The availability of both oxytone and barytone forms of verbs is of course very convenient for poets, who may use both forms depending on the verb’s place in the political verse, e.g. oxytone or proparoxytone forms before the caesura, paroxytone forms at the end of the verse, or to accommodate the rhyme. Compare for instance the following examples from the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *Sacrifice of Abraham*: τιμητικὰ τοὺς χαιρετᾷ ὁ πρίγκιπας ἀτός του *Chron. Mor.* H 5258; τὸν καστελλᾶνον ἠύρηκεν, γλυκέα τὸν χαιρετίζει *ibid.* 8219; κι ὄντα μ’ ἀποχαιρέτιζε κι ὄντα μ’ ἐγλυκοφίλει *Thysia*

Avr. 830; μόνο πώς αποχαιρετῶ πάσα ἐδικὸ καὶ φίλο *ibid.* 932. Other representative examples are given in the next two subsections.

2.1.3.1 Barytone to Oxytone

πῶς οὐ πλαντᾶς, παράδοξον; *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 256 (< πλαντάζω)
 πρόθυμα νὰ ὑπόσχιέται *Chron. Mor.* H 478; ὑποσχιόμεθεν *ibid.* 8966 (< ὑπόσχομαι)
 τρέμει καὶ ἀπελπίεται *Spaneas Z* 562 (< ἀπελπίζομαι)
 τὸν ἀρπᾶ *Byz. Il.* 944 (< ἀρπάζω)
 σκορπιᾶς καὶ καταχύνεις *Diig. tetr.* 137 (hapax) (< σκορπίζω)
 ἐτράβα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον *Alex. Rim.* 1142 (< τραβίζω < ταυρίζω)
 ὅταν μᾶς ἐτράβαν ὁ Τζαούσης (1550, Athos, *PAVLIKIANON* 2006: XVI, 123.6–7)
 ποσῶς δὲν ἔλυγοῦσαν *Chron. Toc.* 3353 (< λυγίζω)
 γογγᾶ *Peri xen.* 74 (< γογγύζω)
 συχνὰ τὸν ὀνειδοῦσαν *STAVRINOS, Mich. Vöev.* 58 (< ὀνειδίζω)
 σβιῶ *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. smorzare* (< σβήνω)
 φωτῖα ὅπου δὲν σβεῖ ποτέ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 3.12; οἱ λαμπάδες μας σβοῦσιν
ibid. 25.8
 συνηθᾶ *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 124.10 (< συνηθίζω)
 ὡς καθὼς συνηθοῦνε οἱ ἀνατολικοὶ ἀρχιερεῖς (1665, Mani, *BLANKEN* 1951: VIII, 307.7) (< συνηθίζω)
 ταιριῶντας (1714, Syros, *DRAKAKIS* 1967: 28, 333.9) (< ταιριάζω)

Some barytone vowel-stem verbs may undergo a complete (most notably μηνύω > μηνῶ and μεθύω > μεθῶ) or partial transfer to the class of oxytone verbs, based on their homophonous perfective stems in [is] (μηνύω, μηνυσ-, cf. ἀγαπάω, ἀγαπησ-),³¹ adopting regular oxytone A- and E-endings for their imperfective forms as well:³²

μηνᾶ *Pol. Tr.* 1317 (< μηνύω)
 ἔσβειουν τοὺς ἀστέρας *Liv.* V 2565 (< σβείω, 1 sg.)
 οὐκ ἰσχοῦσαν *ERMON., Ilias* 12.203 (< ἰσχύω); ἀποσπούσασιν *ibid.* 22.260 (< ἀποσπάζω)
 κ' ἐγὼ ἐθεώρουν κ' ἔσχουν *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 293 transcr. (Lendari) (< σκάω)
 τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπολούσασιν *Synax. gyn.* 104 app. crit. (< ἀπολύω)
 τὸ κρασὶν μεθυᾶ τὰ κορμιὰ *Fior Suppl.* 274.15 (< μεθύω)
 τὰ φύλλα που εσοῦσαν *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 64.7 (< σείω); καὶ ὅλοι τον εφτούσαν *ibid.* 96.5 (< φτύω) (for post-consonantal deletion of /j/ see I, 2.4.7.3)
 νὰ πίνει καὶ νὰ μεθᾶ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 12.45
 ἐφτυοῦσαν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 187.35 and 419.20 (< πτύω)
 ἦσπουν *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.174 (< σπάω); μεθεῖ *ibid.* III.528; κυλούσι *id., Panor.* I.254 (< κυλίω)
 πάλιν μανιέται περισσῶς *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 419 (< aor. ind. ἐμάνησα of μαίνομαι)
 περεχῶ, -ᾶς, ἐπερέχουν *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. buttare*; ξυοῦμαι, -ῆσαι *ibid. s.v. rasparsi* (< ξύω)
 ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπολνᾶ *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 1644 (< ἀπολύω)

³¹ Given the fact that this development affected vowel stems in -ύω, it cannot have taken place before around the year 1000, by which time <u> had undergone the sound change [y] > [i]; see I, 2.4.6.1.

³² The reverse phenomenon can sporadically be found, e.g. οὐκ ὀκνύομεν γράψαι *Ekth. Chron.* 1.4 app. crit. (DL) (< ὀκνῶ; this is the reading of both extant manuscripts, corrected to ὀκνοῦμεν in modern editions).

σάν βρύσες ἀναβροῦσαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron. Proem.* §3.69 (< ἀναβρύω); με ἐφτοῦσεν *ibid.* I §31.28
 τὸν ἀποκλειοῦσαν SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 52.1–2 (< ἀποκλείω)

Some new verbs show this variation from the beginning:

ὁ ἵππος δὲ χιλιμιντρᾷ *Diig. tetr.* 1070 app. crit. (P)
 ἐσκορπιζεν αὐτὸς ἐκείνους *Dig. A* 2074; διατὶ σκορπᾷ τὸν λογισμὸν *ibid.* 2540
 τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἄλογα χιλιμιντρίζουσι *Vios Aisop.* E 290.14
 τὸ ἄλογον ἀγαληνὰ ἐχλιμίτρα *Diig. Alex.* F 118.19 (Lolos)
 τα φύτρ' ἀναγαλλιιάζασι *CHORTATISIS, Panor.* I.318; ν' ἀναγαλλιὰ ἡ καρδιά σου *ibid.* III.160
 μὰ δὲ χιλιμιντρίζει *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.343; φαριὰ χιλιμιντροῦσι *ibid.* II.496

A few barytone verbs obtain oxytone variants through a simple shift of the stress to the ending of the verb, after which oxytone endings are adopted. The verb καθαίρ(ν)ω has an oxytone variant καθαιρνῶ. In texts from Cyprus and Crete, oxytone variants of the verb θλίβω are found; Cypriot texts also have oxytone forms of δίδω (see also 2.4):

ὅτι δίδω του (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 15.37 and 15.47); διδεῖ του (*ibid.* 29.46)
 ὅτι ἐγὼ θλιβοῦμαι *Florios* 283 app. crit. (V)
 καὶ διδοῦσαν του *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 86.22–3; τίντα μοῦ διδεῖτε *ibid.* 432.24
 διδεῖς *Cypr. Canz.* 54.7 (but δίδεις *ibid.* 26.14); θλιβᾷται *ibid.* 24.1 (but θλίβεται *ibid.* 102.8)
 πολλὰ θλιβεῖς, Μαρία *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 322
 νὰ μὴν θλιβεῖ καμπόσον! *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 64
 τὸ στόμα διδεῖ του χνώτον *Fior Suppl.* 270.20–1
 δὲν διδοῦμεν ἀφορμὴν *Pist. kekoim.* 499–500; διδοῦνται *ibid.* 392
 διδῶσιν ἡμέρας μετρητάς *Diig. Apoll.* 67
 εὐχοῦμαι, -ᾶσαι *GERMANO, Vocab.* s.v. *dare la sua benedittione*; καθαιρνῶ *ibid.* 251 s.v. *purgare*
 ξεκαθερνῶντας (1633, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 9, 144.13)
 ἀμ' ἄς θλιβεῖ γιὰ λόγου μου *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 556.4
 μόνον νὰ μᾶς διεῖ ἐξακόσια ἄσπρα τὸ χρόνον (1674, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 10, 25.11–12) (= διδεῖ with fricative deletion; see I, 3.6.1.1)
 πράγματα ξένα δὲν δίδω *Thrinos Kypr.* 14; χαράτзин νὰ διδοῦσιν *ibid.* 394

Some barytone verbs have oxytone alternatives only for the passive voice:

πῶς ἡ κτίσις ἐγκρυβᾷται *Vulgärorakel* I.47
 ἀναπέται *Pol. Tr.* 8684 app. crit. (A) (< ἀναπεύω < ἀναπαύω)
 μυστήριον οὐ κρυβᾷται *Paroim.* F 46
 ἐσὺ ἀναπέσαι σταῖ ζεστά *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 104; ν' ἀναπιέσαι *ibid.* 316; ἀναπέται *id., Thrinos* 40
 θωρῶ ὅτι βασανῶμαι *Love poems V* 482 (< βασανίζω) (rhymes with τυραγνιῶμαι)
 ἴτις νὰ βασανιέσαι *Apoll. Rim.* V 401 (rhymes with νὰ διακονιέσαι)

For alternative forms of the verbs βλέπω and ὑπάγω, see 2.4.

2.1.3.2 Oxytone to Barytone

καὶ ὁκάτι δειλιάζω σε *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 195 (< δειλιῶ)
 ἐπαρηγόριξέ τον *Chron. Mor.* H 4902

ἐχάλαττέ τα ἐκεῖνος *Pol. Tr.* 13728 (< χαλῶ)
καὶ ἀπὲ τοῦ θρήνου ἐσώπαζεν *Liv.* E 3464 (< σιωπῶ)
πολεμίζουν τὸ κάστρο μας (1440, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1995: 126, 401.4) (< πολεμῶ)
γροικίζω οὐκ εἶσαι ἀναίσθητος *Liv.* S 734 (Lambert-van der Kolf) (< γροικῶ)
νὰ ἐθρήνιζεν μεγάλως *Achil.* N 1682 (< θρηνῶ)
καὶ ἀποκρατεῖ καὶ ἐξαρρωστίζει με (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 43, 74.8–9)
(< ἄρρωστῶ)
συμπαθίζοντα τοὺς ὀχθροὺς *Fior* 97.35–6 (< συμπαθῶ); ὁ λιόντας δὲν πολεμίζει ποττὲ μὲ τὰ
μουρμούκια *ibid.* 130.7–8 (< πολεμῶ)
ποσῶς οὐ σταματίζει *Theseid* XI.11,5 (1529) (< σταματῶ)
νὰ ᾽ποκτιζομεν *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 110.25–6 (< ἀποκτῶ)
τῆς νίκης ἀκολουθίζεν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 2523 (< ἀκολουθῶ)
ἦγουν σταματίζοντας *SANKTAM., Praxeis apost.* 17.33 app.cr. (< σταματῶ)
κι ἐδῶ σιμὰ βρυχίζονται *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6316 (< βρυχωμαι)
ἐρωτιζόμενον *SouMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* a3v.8
τηράζοντας ολόγυρα *Kaloandros* 405.20; τηράσσοντας *ibid.* 408.32 (< τηρῶ)³³
πολεμίζοντας *Irodis* I.6

Sporadically, new active present stems can be found for deponent verbs: ὡς λέοντες ἐβρύ-
χιζαν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P II 319.30 (< βρυχωμαι); ὡσάν λέοντας βρύχει *VATATSI, Periig.*
I 878.

New barytone verbs can be derived from oxytone verbs through the addition of the ver-
bal affix -αιν- (sometimes spelled -εν-) to the imperfective verb stems from at least the 12th
c. onwards in texts from various areas:³⁴

βασιλικά φοραίνουσιν *Pol. Tr.* 10621 (< φορῶ)
ἐπαίρνει το, φοραίνει το, φοραίνει κλόνον μέγαν [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 1761
ἄλλων φορένεις πρόσωπον *Plani kosmou* 121
σίδηρα μὲ φοραίνει *Liv.* α 2791
τὸ φοραίνεις *Poulol.* 122
ἐφόραινεν καὶ στέφανον *Achil.* L 545
τότες τοῦ τὸ φοραίνει *Alex. Rim.* 2220
ἄλλα ροῦχα φορένει *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2465
ἀπάνταιναν *Pol. Tr.* 1097 app. crit. (AX) (ἀπανταίνου in B) (< ἀπαντῶ)
συναπανταίνου *Alex. Rim.* 2288
ἀπανταίνει τὴν Μαρίαν τὴν Μαγδαληνὴ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 379.14
(ἡ στράτα ...) ἀπανταίνει τὸ μονοπάτι (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 449.26); ἀπανταίνομεν
τὸ μονοπάτι (*ibid.* 450.1)
εὐκαιραῖναν *Pol. Tr.* 3087 (mss BX) (< εὐκαιρῶ)

³³ These variants of τηρῶ have a perfective stem in -αξ. Examples have been found in texts from the Hepta-
nese and the Peloponnese: ἐτήραξε τὸ χαϊμένον πρόσωπον *Kaloandros* 408.19; τήραξε *MONTSEL., Evgena*
1412; καὶ τὴν ἐτηράσανε *PYRRIS, Diig. panouklas* 117.23; καὶ τηράξετε, διὰ τὸν Θεόν, νὰ μὴ χάσετε (1712,
Nauplion, *LIATA* 1975: 2, 121.9).

³⁴ Eustathios of Thessaloniki mentions φοραίνω several times in his commentaries on Homer, e.g. ἀπὸ τοῦ γοῶ
γοαίνω γίνεται, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ φορῶ τὸ φοραίνω (see the online *TLG*). Influenced by φοραίνω, we may even
find ἀφορένω for ἀφορίζω: ἀφορένοντας καὶ διὰ ὀλίγης τιμῆς πράγματα (1679, Corfu, *KARADOCHOS* 1990:
46, 258.6)

νὰ σοῦ τὸ εὐκαιρένω (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 19, 19.6)
τὸ ευκαιραίνουσιν LANDOS, *Amart. sot.* 335.5

στέκου αὐτοῦ καὶ σώπαινε *Fyll. gadar.* 49B (< σιωπῶ)
σώπαινε νὰ γρικήσω *Thysia Avr.* 1089
ὄλα τὰ ἐσιώπαινε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 376.4
σιώπαινε μόνε ἐσὺ ζῶον *Bertoldin.* 130.25
καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐσιώπαινε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 26.63

κ' ἐπληροφόρενά σε PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 282 (< πληροφορῶ)
ἄρχισε τὸ νερόν καὶ ἐφύραινε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 191.6–7 (< φυρῶ)
ἀποχτάνει PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §9.20 (< ἀποκτῶ)

In texts from south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese), italianized alternatives in -άρω can sometimes be found:

νὰ ἐλετζέρουν ἕναν ἐφημέριο διὰ νὰ ἱεπουργάρεῖ (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 34.18–19)
πῶς τόνε βαστάρισεν (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83.10)
πῶς σὲ βαστάρει ἡ ψή σου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.250
δὲ με βαστάρει ὁ νοῦς μου *Zinon* I.269

For oxytone verbs that use a barytone alternative stem in -ζ to form the present passive participle, see 2.3.1.2.

2.2 Perfective Stem

The perfective stem of verbs shows much less variation and development than the imperfective stem. With some exceptions, perfective stems remain morphologically stable before, throughout and beyond our period. The perfective stem is used with active and passive endings to form the aorist indicative, subjunctive, imperative, infinitive and participle/gerund as well as new “perfect” passive participles (see also 2.3.2).

2.2.1 Sigmatic

For the majority of barytone verbs, the perfective active stem is formed by adding -σ- to the imperfective active stem. The perfective passive stem is formed by adding -θ- to the perfective active stem in -σ-, or by substituting -θ- for -σ-. From about the 3rd c. onward,³⁵ the verbs δίδω (< δίδωμι) and θέτω (< τίθημι), which originally had /k/ forms in the singular (see also 2.2.1.10), had begun to develop a full sigmatic alternative aorist (singular and plural), due to the fact that their rather opaque aorist subjunctive (δῶ, δῶς, etc. and θῶ, θῆς, etc.) has been replaced by the (sigmatic) future indicative (δώσω, δώσεις, θήσω, θήσεις, etc.). First attestations of sigmatic singular forms date to as early as the 3rd c. AD (MANDILARAS 1973: 145–6), e.g. ἔδωσεν (1128, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 13,

³⁵ A form ἔδωσεν in Aelius Herodian (2nd c. AD; ed. Nauck; see the online *TLG*) appears in two of the four mss (Par. gr. 2551 and Par. gr. 2929), which date to the 15th/16th and 16th c. respectively.

98.13); ἔθεσα (1138?, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 14, 102.14); and ἀφήνω (< ἀφήμι) followed suit a little later.³⁶

For details on δίδω and θέτω, see also 2.4.

2.2.1.1 Vowel Stems

2.2.1.1.1 Active Voice

The perfective active stem of barytone vowel-stem verbs is formed by adding -σ- to the imperfective stem:

νὰ τὰ συγκρούσω βούλομαι *Liv.* V 1360
καὶ τὰ παιγνίδια ἔκρουσαν *Achil.* N 358
ἄκουσε τὴν ὑπόθεσιν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 845
μ' ἐλοῦσαν *Krasop.* AO 99

ἄς χρίσουσι τὰς παραστάς τῶν θυρῶν *Hist. Imp.* I 1381
τὴν μὴνυσεν *Pol. Tr.* 279 app. crit. (A)
εμηνύσετε ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 7869
δὲν ἤμπορεῖ τὰ κλείσει *Peri xen.* 26
ἀποκλείσανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.20

εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἡφταισα (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 48.24)

The verbs πλέω, πνέω, ρέω retain their inherited perfective stems in πλευσ-, πνευσ- and ρευσ- respectively:

ἡμέρας δύο ἔπλευσα *Pol. Tr.* 13622
ἐὰν γοῦν ρεύσουν καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἄγωγοὶ (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 27, 28.2–3)
ὅπως νὰ περιπλεύσουσιν *Chron. Toc.* 389
εἰς τὸ νησί ἐπλεύσαμε *Alex. Rim.* 2620
ἐκ το κεφάλιν ἔρευσε χρυσάφι ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 109.5.

Of the verb πλέω, perfective forms with -εψ- can sporadically be found (for manner dissimilation see I, 3.8.1): τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπλέψαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1305; κ' ἐδιόρθωσε νὰ πλέψουσιν *ibid.* 8787; ἐπλέψασιν *Florios* 1050 app. crit. (Hesseling).

The verbs καίω and κλαίω retain their inherited perfective stems in -αυσ before and throughout the period under review:

τοὺς καύση ἢ φλόγα τοῦ λουτροῦ *Liv.* V 924
ἐθρήνησαν, ἐκλαῦσαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 266
καὶ μέγαν θρήνον ἔκλαυσαν *Achil.* L 1294
κλαύσατε *Dig.* E 1698
καὶ κλαύσατε μεγάλως *Achil.* N 1658

³⁶ As root aorists with κ-forms in the singular, such as δίδω, ἀφήνω and θέτω, developed alternative sigmatic forms, and as other verbs, too, could form both sigmatic and κ-forms (see 2.2.1.10), it is not surprising that there was some experimenting with alternative sigmatic forms of verbs such as βαίνω and γίνομαι, although these forms never made it into the mainstream: τί ἐστιν ἡ χρεία, ἡ ἐσυνέβησέ σοι; (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 179.1d); μέρη τε καὶ βασιλεία γενήσαμε αὐτόπτης VATATSI, *Periig.* II 34.

καὶ ἔκαῦσαν τὰ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 192.15
 καὶ δυνατὰ τὸν ἔκλαυσε *Alex. Rim.* 280
 ἦκαυσεν τὸ Ρέθεμνος (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 505.22.2)
 νὰ μὲ κάμει νὰ κλαύσω *Bertoldin.* 129.33
 θέλει τοὺς κατακαύσει IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5867
 ἦ φόνευσέ τοὺς ἦ καῦσε τοὺς LANDOS, *Geopon.* 159.32–3
 νὰ καύσεις τοὺς ἰουδαίους VAROUCHAS, *Logoi* 465.22–3
 καὶ θέλει νὰ τὴν κατακαύσῃ *Vios Aisop.* I 265.40

From about the 14th c. onwards, forms in -αψ- (see I, 3.8.1) can be found, usually alongside forms in -αυσ-:

ἐκάψασιν τὸ ἐμπόριον *Chron. Mor.* H 4666; κι αὐτὰ ἐκλάψανέ τον *ibid.* 7222
 νὰ κλάψουν εἰς τὸ μῆμαν του *Dig.* E 247
 τὰ ἔκαψεν ὁ πόθος *Liv.* E 4097
 καὶ νὰ τὸ κάψω *Liv.* V 1788
 κατάκαψον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 635
 ἔκλαψεν καὶ ἐστέναξεν *Achil.* L 716; ἐκατέκαψεν *ibid.* 1322
 νὰ κλάψῃ, νὰ θρηνήσῃ; *Achil.* N 1822
 καὶ τὴν καρδιά τῆς ἔκαψεν *Achil.* O 376
 κάψε τὰ *Spanos* A 100
 κλάψετε τὸν διδάσκαλον DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 343
 συγκλάψετε FALIEROS, *Thrinos* 17
 νὰ κλάψουσι (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 82.111)

Verbs that transfer to the class of consonant stems for the imperfective stem through anaptyxis of /y/ (see 2.1.1.2) can form a new perfective stem in [ks] (see 2.2.1.3).

2.2.1.1.2 Passive Voice

The perfective passive stem of vowel stems in -υ substitute -θ- for -σ-, while those in -α, -ει and -ου are formed by adding -θ- to the perfective active stem in -σ-. The combination -σθ- may become -στ- through the process of manner dissimilation (for details on the chronology of the phenomenon, and the issues of contemporary writing practice and modern editing, see 3.8.1):

νὰ ἐπαρελύθην *Ptoch.* III 162
 τὸ πῶς ἐκαταλύθησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1113
 ὀνομαστὰ ἐμηνύθησαν *Pol. Tr.* 12830
 ἄξαπολύθησαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 190.24
 ἐπελυθήκασιν *Achil.* N 583 (ἐπιλύω)
 ἡ κυρὰ ἐκωλύθην το ἔλα τῆς εἰς τὴν χώραν VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 154.12–13
 ἐκλάσθησαν τῶν δύο *Dig.* G I.176
 ἐπαρεκλάσθη ἡ θύρα μας *Ptoch.* II 56.2 app. crit. (G); ἐκλάσθη τὸ ποτήριον *ibid.* 57.1 app. crit. (H)
 νὰ ἐξανασπάσθην ἀπεκεῖ *Liv.* V 1512 (3 sg.); ἐξανασπάσθην in *Liv.* E 1643
 καὶ πῶς ἐξανησπάσθηκες *Chron. Toc.* 3395
 ν' ανασπαστούσι CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.74
 καὶ ξεσπασθῇ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀσχημίαν του *Vios Aisop.* I 256.3

εἰς φυλακὴν ἀποκλεισθῆς GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 248
 ἐσείστη *Arm.* 18
 τόπους ἀποκλεισθέντας *Dig.* E 1637
 κλαδὶν ἢ χόρτον νὰ σείστη *Diig. tetr.* 332
 ἀλλὰ ποσῶς οὐκ ἐσείστηκεν *Achil.* O 283
 ἀποκλείστησαν εἰς τὰ σπιτῖα τοὺς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 420.35–6
 διὰ νὰ λουστῇ *Arm.* 187
 ἡκούστηκεν (14th c., Asia Minor, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [33], 37.1)
 καλὰ ἀκούστη ὁ λόγος τοῦ *Pol. Tr.* 2933 app. crit. (V)
 εἶχεν ἡκουσθεῖ *Diig. Alex.* E 135.12 (Konstantinopulos)

The passive perfective stem of πλέω (and conceivably πνέω and ρέω), which for semantic reasons is not very common, ends in -ευσθ-/-ευστ-: νὰ πλευτοῦν *Velis.* χ 249 app. crit. (N). For καίω, which has an irregular perfective passive stem formation, see 2.4.

2.2.1.2 Labial Stems

2.2.1.2.1 Active Voice

When the imperfective stem ends in a labial (-β, -π, -πτ, -φ, -φτ), the perfectivity marker {s} interacts with the labial and manner dissimilation takes place (for which see I, 3.8.1); thus the perfective active stem ends in /ps/:

καθὼς μας ἔγραψες ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.6
 ἐκόψαν καὶ τὰ μάρμαρα *Pol. Tr.* 1227 app. crit. (A)
 νὰ τοὺς ἔχωμε ξαλείψει *Chron. Mor.* P 613
 ἐμετέστρεψέν το *Ptochol.* α 687
 ἐγὼ ἔμαι ὅπου σὲ ἐνέθρεψα *Achil.* N 1070
 ὀγιά νὰ μὴ σκοντάψη FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 141
 ἔπεψεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.14–15
 νὰ λείψω *Om. Nehr. Vas.* 15
 ἄναψεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.27
 ἄψα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.116 (aor. 3 pl.)
 πλιὰ ξάψε στὴν ἀγάπη τοῦ KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.15
 ἤσκαψέν το (1624, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2000: 2, 515.11)
 καὶ ράψαμεν φύλλα συκῆς VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 61
 ἤλθετε καὶ κλέψετε ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 6106
 ἦψασιν (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 744.13)
 καὶ ἀνάψασι φωτὶὰ ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 18.10

In the case of verbs in -εύω and -αύω, the perfective stem ends in -ευσ and -αυσ before and throughout our period in texts from all regions:

καθεὶς ὡς ἐμαγεύρευσεν εὐρίσκει το ἔμπροσθέν τοῦ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 366
 νὰ κινδυνεύσης *Ptoch.* IV 608; κ' ἐμαγειρεύσασίν τες *ibid.* 248.5 app. crit. (P)
 ἐχόρευσαν *Pol. Tr.* 14140
 γυρεύσετε *Dig.* E 63; αἰχμαλώτευσαν *ibid.* 99
 ἐδοῦλευσαν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 32.18; ἐθριάμβευσαν *ibid.* 140.4
 ὅπου σὲ ἐκούρευσεν *Poulol.* 255
 ἐρρουκανοετούρνευσεν *Velth.* 290; ἐγύρευσα *ibid.* 514

ἐφέντευσεν *Deft. Par.* 250 app. crit. (V)
καὶ ἐπρόφήτευσεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.17–18
ἐκαβαλλικεύσεν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 8.7; ἐδουλεύετε *ibid.* 298.15
ὥσαν τὸν ἐκῆδευσαν (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 16.7)
ἀνὲρ μισέυση (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.26)
δὲν θέλω φοματεύσει VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.24–5
ἀρμένισεν καὶ γύρευσεν *Thrinios Kypr.* 69 (ms); καὶ παρευθὺς ἀπέξευσαν *ibid.* 80
να σε δουλεύσει *Don Kis.* 48.30; να ξεκαβαλλικεύσει *ibid.* 52.3

να παύσουν αἱ ὀδύναι μου GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 163
ἐπαύσασι τὰ σκάνδαλα *Chron. Mor.* H 1017 (ms and Buchon)³⁷
οὐ παῦσεν (1387, Athens, BUCHON 1843: XL, 220.7–8)
ἔπαυσεν ὁ θυμός του *Achil.* O 586
τὸ τρέχειν ἔπαυσα BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 15
ὥστε να παύση ἡ γνώση μας FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 44 app. crit. (T)
να καταπαύσης τὸν θυμόν τους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 254.22
καὶ ὅλα θέλει παύσιν *Diig. Apoll.* 29
να σὲ ἀπολαύσωμεν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 48.5)
να σὲ θαραπαύσω MOREZINOS, *Klini* 44.34
να τὸ ἀπολαύσουν *Bertoldos* 35.19
δὲν θέλω παύσει ποτέ *Bertoldin.* 169.8
δεν θέλει ἀπολαύσει IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 213; να παύσουσιν τα σκάνδαλα *ibid.* 8598
θέλω σᾶς ἀναπαύσει KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 11.28
καὶ ἀπόλαυσε ἐκείνο οἱ τοῦ ἐπιθυμοῦσε *Don Kis.* 96.22–3

Probably not long before the 12th c. /fs/ started to change to /ps/ through the process of manner dissimilation (for details see I, 3.8.1). In literature forms with -εψ- start to appear sporadically from the 14th c. onwards. The earliest example found appears in a 13th-c. inscription in the Crimea. Forms with -αψ- (of the verb παύω and its prefixed derivatives; the verb ἀπολαύω only has forms with -αυσ-) have not been found before the 15th c.:

ἐφόνεψαν (1282–3, Crimea, LATYSHEV 1896: 47, 57.3)
ἐμίσσεψεν *Chron. Mor.* H 322; ἀππλίκεψεν *ibid.* 2062
να τοῦ τὴν ἀντιμέψουν *Pol. Tr.* 752
ὅταν ἐκούρσεψαν οἱ Σέρβοι τὰ Βελάγραδα (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.6)
μηδὲν μᾶς τὸ στερέψης *Dig.* E 130
ἡρκέψασιν τὸ πράγμα *Liv.* V 632
να συνβουλέψη *Assizes* B 279.6; διὰ να ταξειδέψη *ibid.* 297.15
φύτρεψα *Katal.* 3
εἶχε διὰ σὲ ἱατρέψει SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 69
ἐμίσσεψαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2034; ὀλίγεψεν ἡ παραχή *ibid.* 2417
κι εἰρήνεψε δαμάκι FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 33
ἐκουρσέψετε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 354.14–15
ἐχῆρεψαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 143
να γερέψου (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 10, 133.9)

³⁷ The later editor of *Chron. Mor.*, Schmitt, corrects all spellings with <αυσ> and <ευσ> to <αψ> and <εψ>, only occasionally giving the actual reading of the ms in his critical apparatus.

ἀν ἔναι καὶ μισέψη (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.28)

ὅσα ἡμάρτεψεν *Pist. kekoim.* 110

ἀνάπαψε κι ἔσῃ κι ἔμᾶς FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 59

ἔσυμπάψαμεν μὲ τὸ θέλημάν μας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 54.26

ἔθελεν πάψει *Cypr. Canz.* 23.4

ἔπαψέν τους τὸν πόνον *Imb. Rim.* 44

ὅλοι τους γιὰ νὰ πάψου *Alex. Rim.* 34

διὰ νὰ καταπάψη τοὺς αἰρετικούς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 96.20

καὶ ἔπαψε νὰ κλαίγῃ *Fyll. gadar.* 295A

καὶ νὰ μὴδὲν το πάψω *Kakop.* 136

τούτα τα λόγι' ας πάψομε CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.327

ἦπαψε τὴν ξεφάντωση KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.870

κι ἐπάψασινε οἱ ἔγνοιες μου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.108

θάν τὴν ἀναπάψη MONTSEL., *Evgena* 119

καὶ θεὸ νὰ πάψουν οἱ χαρὲς BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 8745

In texts from south-eastern areas (Cyprus, Rhodes), forms with -εσ(σ)- are found alongside forms with -ευσ- and -εψ-:

νὰ τὸ στερέσῃ ἀπ' ἐκεῖνον *Assizes* B 288.6

μὴ τὸ περηφάνεσῃς *Achil. L* 595³⁸

νὰ τὸν λιτανέσσουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 72.8; νὰ διαφεντέσουν *ibid.* 150.28; καὶ ἐγύρεσέν τὴν *ibid.* 248.2

μοναύτα ἐκαβαλλίκεσεν VOUSTR., *Chron.* M 49.1 and 125.18 and *Chron.* B 113.13; δια νὰ προξενέσει τὴν παστάρδαν τοῦ με τὸν παστάρδον τοῦ ρε Φάραντου *id.*, *Chron.* A 180.14 (same in B)

οἱ Τοῦρκοι ν' αὐθεντέσουν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 812 app. crit.

It appears that these forms, though rare, had a wider geographical spread, given several isolated instances that are far apart, both chronologically and geographically: ἐπίστεσαν in a Protobulgarian inscription (BEŠEVLEV 1963: 97, 8th c.); ἐπερηφάνεσάν το *Pol. Tr.* 1656 app. crit. (V); ἐδούλεσέ τους *Alex. Rim.* 502; τὸν ὅποῖον πολλὰκις ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐπαίδεσε (1692, Bucharest, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 4, 50.34) (author: Chrysanthos Notaras); and a passive ἐφαρμακέσθη in SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 44.38 (17th-c. text, 19th-c. ms).

2.2.1.2.2 *Passive Voice*

As in previous stages of the language, in the period covered by this Grammar the perfective passive stem of labial-stem verbs is formed in principle by substituting -θ- for the -σ- of the perfective active stem. Before -θ-, the labial becomes -φ-: καλύπτω, καλυ-π-σ- > καλυπ-θ- > καλυφθ-. The combination -φθ-, and in the case of verbs in -εύω and -αύω, -ευθ-/αυθ-, may become -φτ-/ευτ-/αυτ- through manner dissimilation (for details on the chronology of the phenomenon, and the issues of contemporary writing practice and modern editing, see I, 3.8.1):

³⁸ The appearance of this form in conjunction with other elements in the text (e.g. τοὺς ξυλαλάδες *ibid.* 523) points to a south-eastern provenance for the London version of the *Achilleid*.

ἐγκατελείφτην (1193, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 15, 124.16)
 πόνος ἀνήφθη εἰς αὐτήν *Dig.* G IV.275; κατελείφθη *ibid.* IV.611
 ἀφότου γὰρ ἐστέφθη *Chron. Toc.* 2179; οἱ πάντες ἐξαλείφθησαν *ibid.* 3215
 ροδόσταμμαν ἐνίφτηκεν *Achil.* L 713; νὰ συνθαφτῶ μετὰ σου *ibid.* 1337
 νὰ μὲν ξηλειφθῇ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 6.28; ἐστέφθη ὁ Φουκάς *ibid.* 18.12
 καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐστέφθηκα *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 53
 κι ἀνέ θαφτούμε *Katis* 54
 ν' ἀλειφτῶ CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.278
 μέλλει νὰ θαφτῶ (1713, Nauplion, LIATA 1998a: [1], 263.42)
 νὰ εξαλειφθεῖ *Don Kis.* 45.1

περισωρεύθησαι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 189³⁹
 ἐμπιστεύτησαν (13th?/15th c., Cyprus, *Assizes* B 411.9)
 ἐξενιτεύτηκα (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.7)
 ἐπεγεύτηκαν *Achil.* N 1475 (= ἀπογεύομαι)
 ὅλα ξωλοθρευθήκαν *Alosis* 57
 ἀρχεύτην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 206.28
 ἀμουρεύτηκεν μιᾶς καλογριᾶς *Fior* 147.9
 ἐκρουσεύτησαν (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 177, 177.4)
 ἐμπιστεύτη του (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.5)
 ἐμεταπαντρεύτη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.7
 ἐφαρμακεύτηκε νὰ τοῦ πάρω πιστό (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.12)
 νὰ γυρευτοῦσιν (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 142.75–6)
 ὑπανδρεύθηκε ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 25.7
 δὲν ηθέλησε νὰ γευθεῖ τίποτε *Don Kis.* 48.16

ἀναπαύθημαν *Dig.* E 1719
 ἀναπαύθησαν *Pol. Tr.* 151 app. crit. (A)
 ἀναπαυτήκετε SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 87
 ἐνεπαύτην [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1998
 ν' ἀναπαυτῇ SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 162
 ἐνεπαύτησαν τὰ φαρία σου *Achil.* L 1271
 καλῶς ἀναπαυθῆτε *Achil.* N 280
 ἀναπαύθη (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.14)
 ἀναπαύθηκαν (post 1666, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 23, 313.11)

A small group of labial-stem verbs had variant aorist formations with and without -θ- since Antiquity or the Hellenistic period, e.g. AG ἐγράφην with a rare variant ἐγράφθην, Att. ἐκρύφθην with a non-Att. and Koine variant ἐκρύβην, Koine ἐθλίβην with a rare variant ἐθλίφθην, AG ἐτρίφθην and Koine ἐτρίβην, AG ἐτάφην with a rare variant ἐθάφθην. In post-classical times these verbs began to show a very strong preference for the forms without -θ-, and they continued to do so throughout the EMedG period, in which forms in -φθ- are rare, even among archaizing writers. In the LMedG period, history begins to repeat itself, and these verbs start to develop new alternative perfective passive forms with -φθ- (or -φτ- after manner dissimilation, see I, 3.8.1), which are usually used alongside inherited forms without -θ-. These new forms are absent from texts of the early period, and

³⁹ For this imperative form, see 4.5.2.2.

appear to be avoided by authors who aim at a higher register. The verb κόπτω/κόβω retains its inherited perfective stem κοπτ- without developing an alternative κοφθ-.⁴⁰

τὰ ὁστᾶ μου συνετρίβησαν *Ptoch.* IV 623
 ἐκόπη εἰς τρία κομμάτια *Chron. Mor.* H 4025
 τὸ κοντάρι ἐτρίβηκεν *Pol. Tr.* 670
 ἐτάφη εἰς τὸ πάνσεπτον ναὸν (1387, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 96, 99.3–4)
 ἐθλίβηκεν *Chron. Toc.* 110
 ἐγράφη εἰς τὸν φόρον Χίου (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.17)
 ἐκρύβηκεν *Velis.* χ 352
 ἀπεκρύβηκεν [ANDR. PALAIOI.], *Kallim.* 1260; ἐσυνετρίβης *ibid.* 1608
 διὰ νὰ θαφοῦν CHEILAS, *Chron.* 349.15
 δὲν ἐγράφησαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 170.26
 ἐκρύβη *Diig. Alex.* E 173.4 (Lolos)
 εἶχα γραφῇ SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 49.14
 τὰ μέλη μου ἐκοπήκασι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.526
 ἐγράφηκαν (1724, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 8, f.1v.5)
 κρύφθησε *Liv.* V 1927⁴¹
 ἐκρύφθη *Chron. Toc.* 3382
 ὁ Ἰωσήφ, διὰ νὰ θαφθῇ DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 476
 ἐθάφτην εἰς τοὺς Φρεῖ Μενούριδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 276.7
 καὶ τὰ κονδάρια τριφθήσαν *Alex. Rim.* 853; κ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐκρυφθήκανε *ibid.* 954
 ἐγράφτη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 133.33; ἐκρύφτη *ibid.* 143.18–19
 διὰ νὰ ὑπογραφοῦν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 340.6
 ἐκρύφθημεν *Alex. Fyll.* 79.36; ἐθλίφθηκεν *ibid.* 106.27
 θέλει συντριφθεῖ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 21.44
 κ' ἐμεῖς οἱ δυὸ κρυφθήκαμεν VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 63
 ἐγράφτηκα (1649, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1957/58: I A. 2, 121.7)
 ἐγράφτηκαν (1684, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 93, 321.2)

Mainly in texts from Cyprus and other southern areas, though more rarely from Crete or the Heptanese, /ft/ may “reassimilate” to /pt/. This phenomenon is usually regarded as a form of hypercorrection (see I, 3.8.1.4), but it is too common to be regarded as such (cf. velar stems, 2.2.1.3, for which it is even more common). Forms with -πττ- are usually used alongside forms with -φθ-/φτ-:

ἐσκέπτηκε *Pol. Tr.* 975 app. crit. (A); κανεῖς οὐδὲν ἐβλάπτει *ibid.* 6146 app. crit. (A)
 ἐγράφτηκα (1417, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 52, f.258.10)
 νὰ γραπτοῦν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 48.11 and 362.32–3; ἐγράφτη τῇ ιδ' μαρτίου *ibid.* 510.13; καὶ ἐξηλείπτειν τὸ νησσίν *ibid.* 60.29–30; but also: νὰ ξηλειφθοῦν *ibid.* §14
 νὰ κρυπτοῦσι *Epain. gyn.* 188
 νὰ κρυπτῶ *Syndipas* 110.24
 πρῶτον νὰ νιπτοῦμεν *Martyr. Vlas.* 247.4
 νὰ μηδὲν ἀφῆσωμεν νὰ λειπτοῦμεν τίποτες *Pist. kekoim.* 474–5
 ἐγράφτη SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 17.48
 ἐγράφτηκεν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 276.1

⁴⁰ This is probably due to the fact that κόπτω had developed an alternative imperfective stem κοφτ- for the active voice, for which see 2.1.1.1.1.

⁴¹ For this imperative form, see 4.5.2.2.

καὶ θέλεις βλαπτῇ *Vios Aisop.* K 195.14
 δὲν βάλλεις νὰ νιπτοῦμεν; *Vios Aisop.* I 259.23 (scribe probably of south-eastern provenance)
 οὐδένας δὲν ἐβλάπττηκεν *Dig.* A 2166
 καὶ νὰ κρυπτοῦν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1324
 νὰ πάτε νὰ κρυπτεῖτε *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 5370; τότες καὶ αὐτός ἐκρύπτηκεν *ibid.* 5413
 ἐγράπτηκε (17th c., Gortynia, *YANNAROPOULOU* 1972: 59, 317.1 and 140, 326.1); ἐγράπτηκεν
 (*ibid.* 125, 326.1; 126, 326.1; 127, 326.1); ἐγράπτη (18th c., *ibid.* 419, 353.1; 421, 353.1)

Of the verb θάπτω/θάβω, perfective passive forms with -πτ- are likely to be a simplification of θαφθ-/θαφτ- with its consecutive fricatives, rather than “real” instances of re-assimilation. They are quite common in texts from Crete (notably in Grigoropoulos) and the Heptanese, areas that do not often show re-assimilation of /ft/ to /pt/:

ἀλλὰ ἀλλοῦ θέλει θαπτῇ *Pol. Tr.* app. crit. (V)
 νὰ συνθαπτῶ μὲ σένα *Achil.* N 1781
 ἄς συνθαπτῶ μετὰ σου *Velth.* 1177
 ὅπου θαπτῶ ἀφίνω ἕνα σαρακονταήμερον (1506, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 2, 5.18); καὶ θέλω θαπτεῖν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τ’ Ἄρφανου (1523, *ibid.* 72, 137.9)
 σ’ Ἀλεξανδρεία θὲς θαπτῇ *Alex. Rim.* 2449
 ὅπου μέλλει νὰ θαπτῶ (1658, Zakynthos, *BOUBOULIDIS* 1957: 1, 113.22)
 νὰ μὴ θαπτῶ *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 928

The verb παύω and its prefixed derivatives had developed an alternative strong passive aorist ἐπάην and future παήσομαι in the lower registers of Hellenistic Greek, which continued to be in use in the lower registers of EMedG.⁴² In the LMedG and EMG periods, these forms can be found with the verb ἀναπαύω in texts of south-western provenance and with θαραπαύω (< θεραπεύω) in Cretan texts,⁴³ usually alongside forms with -αυθ-/αυτ-. From at least the 15th c. onwards these forms also appear with an added /y/ (for which see I, 3.5.2.2):

νὰ ἀναπαοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 5590; ποτέ μου νὰ μὴ ἀναπαῶ *ibid.* 6072
 ὅτι ἀναπάησαν ὅλοι *Pol. Tr.* 7573
 μὴ ἀναπαγοῦμεν *Dig.* E 884
 πὰ ν’ ἀναπαγοῦσι *Imb. Rim.* 565
 ἀναπάηκε *Rim. kor.* A 35 (ἀναπάηκεν in V)
 πολλοὶ ἀναπάγησαν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 433.8
 ογιά ν’ ἀναπαγείς *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.367; δὲν ἡμπορεῖ ν’ ἀναπαεῖ *ibid.* III.495
 ν’ ἀναπαγῶ *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1222; ἤθεκε, γιὰ ν’ ἀναπαγῇ *ibid.* II.1238
 ν’ ἀναπαγοῦμε *Thysia Avr.* 486; νὰ ῥθα ν’ ἀνεπάγηκα *ibid.* 860
 εἶχε ἀναπαγῇ (1636, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 16, 41.33)
 ν’ ἀναπαγοῦσιν *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.651
 δὲν ἀναπαῆκα *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 189.19 (3 pl.); καμπόσο ἀναπαῆκασιν *ibid.* 219.5;
 εἶπε ν’ ἀναπαοῦσιν *ibid.* 315.26; ν’ ἀναπαγοῦσιν *ibid.* 359.3

⁴² The earliest texts in which these forms appear are the Gospel of Thomas, the Protoevangelion of James and Hermas (2nd c. AD); Aelius Herodianus mentions it as a “common” form: παύω ἔπαον ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἐπάην καὶ ἀνεπάην ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ (ed. Lentz, see the online *TLG*). In EMedG these forms are used by less archaizing authors and texts, such as Ps.-Macarius, Theodore of Stoudios, Moschos, Theophanes, *De Administrando Imperio* and Saints’ Lives.

⁴³ For the corresponding “perfect” passive participles ἀναπατημένος and θαραπατημένος, see 2.3.2.

καὶ ὅς θαραπαιοῦμεν *Dig.* E 1382

ἠθαραπαῖκαν CHOUNMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1571; ἔθεραπαῖκαν *ibid.* 1571 app. crit. (V)

ἔθεραπάη *Alex. Rim.* 136 and 181

ἄσ' τηνε νὰ θαραπαγεῖ *Thysia Avr.* 216

ἔθαραπάη BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 293.8; ἔθαραπάησαν *ibid.* 454.11

For the verb καίω, which showed a similar development already in Antiquity, with both ἐκαύθην and ἐκάην, see 2.4.

2.2.1.3 Velar Stems

2.2.1.3.1 Active Voice

When the imperfective stem ends in a velar (-γ, -γγ, -γχι, -κ, -κν, -χι, -χν) or in a sibilant or dental with underlying velar (-σσ/-ττ, -ζ) the perfective active stem ends in /ks/:

καὶ ἔστερξα αὐτῶν (1125?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.4–5) (στέργω)

ὁποῦ διδάξη γράμματα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 209 (διδάσκω)

καταλέξειν *Eisit.* f.7v.4 (-λέγω); πῶς νὰ τὴν ἐξεπλέξω *ibid.* f.8r.16 (-πλέκω)

ἐψέξατε *Diig. sebast. Thom.* 440 (ψέγω)

ἔφεξε τὸ καράβιν *Velth.* 1301 (φέγω)

νὰ προσέξετε *Chron. Mor.* H 8302 (-έχω)

τὸ τοιχαρμάριν ἄνοιξε [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 573 (ἀνοίγω)

τὸ ἐκάτσα κι ἐστιχόπλεξα SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 26 (-πλέκω); ἀμὴ ὅλους ὅς μᾶς πνίζουσιν *ibid.*

343 (πνίγω)

νὰ μὲν τοὺς σφίξουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 136.30 (σφίγω)

οὐδὲ εὐλογηθήκαμεν οὐδὲ ἐσμίξαμεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 3, 4.7)

(σμίγω)

νὰ ἡλέγω τὴ λωλιά του *Alex. Rim.* 1014 (ἐλέγω)

ας βήξει *Kakop.* 17 (βήχω)

εἰτρεξάσιν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.11 (τρέχω)

ἐδιόλεξεν KORNIAROS, *Erot.* I.1254 (-λέγω); τὰ μάτια τση ἐξεφέξασι, τὴ συννεφιάν ἐδιῶξα *ibid.*

I.1549 (-φέγω, διώχνω)

δὲν ἐπάντεξεν *Vios Aisop.* I 265.22 (-έχω)

ἔπληξα *Dig.* G VI.259; ἐπλήξαμεν VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 180.6 (πλήττω)

διὰ νὰ πατάξη τὰ εἴδωλα *Chron. Mor.* H 783 (πατάσσω)

ἀμιράδας ἐπόταξεν *Dig.* E 1613 (-τάσσω)

οἱ Ἑρωτες μὲ τὸ ἔταξαν *Liv.* V 780

ἐτύλιξεν DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 472 (τυλίσσω/τυλίγω)

τοὺς δρόμους ἔφραξαν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 18. app. crit. (N) (φράσσω)

ὅλοι ἐφρίξαν καὶ τρομάσα TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 174 (φρίττω)

τήραξε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1412⁴⁴

στόν τόπο του ν' ἄράξει BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 143.18 (ἄράσσω)

ἤρπαξεν (post 1306, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 31, 163.[23]2)

ἐβάσταξε τὸν λόγον *Chron. Mor.* H 8166

ἔσφαξαν *Dig.* E 100; τὸ ἔρπαξεν *ibid.* 130

⁴⁴ This form with -αξ is derived from the Heptanesian verb τηράζω (< τηρῶ) (see 2.1.3.2). Other examples are: ἐτήραξε το χαϊμένον πρόσωπον *Kaloandros* 408.19; καὶ τὴν ἐτηράξαν PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 117.23.

στρίγλιξεν τὸ φαρίν του *Chron. Toc.* 248; καὶ οὐρίαξαν ὁλόγυρα *ibid.* 2349
 ἐγκάρισε ἐκ τὴν χαράν *Diig. tetr.* 710; ἐβάβιξεν ἀπὸ μακρά *ibid.* 1059 app. crit. (CL)
 ἐκροβάσταξεν *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1854
 ἀναστέναξεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 469
 το αἷμαν της γαρ ἐπηξεν *Diig. Apoll.* 390
 ἄν τὸν πειράξη κανεῖς (1540, Skytos, ANDONIADIS 1990: 8, 21.7–8)
 καὶ βούλιαξέ την *Alex. Rim.* 2018; τὴν κοπανιά δὲν ἔχρηξε *ibid.* 960⁴⁵
 ἐκατάσφαξε πολλοὺς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.13
 ἔκραξαν τὸν παρόντα παπα-Ἰωάννην Μακρὴ (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 36.7)
 ἀποσφώνιαξέ την καλὰ εἰς τὸ ξύδι *LANDOS, Geopon.* 187.25; καὶ στράγγιξέ την *ibid.* 273.18
 πῶς να σκιάξουσιν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2361
 κοίταξε καλὰ *Don Kis.* 48.21

Overlap between stems with and without underlying velar occurs with various verbs. The appearance of [ks] for [s] (see 2.2.1.4) does not appear to have geographical limits, and can be found in texts from north to south throughout the period under investigation:

νὰ ζετάξη (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.15)
 ἐξέταξαν ἀκριβῶς *Porikol.* I 122
 ἐξέταξα *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* I.31
 νὰ τὰ ἐξετάζωμε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.5)
 καὶ νὰ τὴν ἐξετάξη *Alex. Rim.* 184
 νὰ ξετάξη *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.58
 σὰν τοὺς ἐξέταξαν *Vios Aisop.* I 283.10
 ἐξετάξετε τίς εἶναι εἰς αὐτὴν ἔξις *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 10.11
 καὶ νὰ ξετάξουν (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 30, 119.32)
 δίχως να εξετάξουν *Don Kis.* 59.14
 κ' ἐκατεστόχαξέ το *Chron. Mor.* H 8223
 λοξεοιδῶς τὸν στόχαξε *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VIII.83
 ὅλοι οἱ ἄλλοι ἐθαυμάσασι *MOREZINOS, Klini* 56.7
 ἐθαμάξανε τὴν ἀγνωσία τους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.2
 ἐθαύμαξεν *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 32
 ἐθαύμαξε *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 41.37
 ἐθαύμαξεν εἰς αὐτό *Alex. Fyll.* 103.2.3
 ἐθαύμαζάμεν *VATATISIS, Periig.* I 170
 δράμε, σπούδαξε *Pol. Tr.* 569 app. crit. (V)
 σπουδάξωμεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1357
 σπούδαξε, ἰδέ τη, τὴν Γραφὴν *Synax. gyn.* 86
 νὰ σπουδάξετε να ἔλθετε (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.45)
 νὰ σπουδάξει *Thysia Avr.* 1013
 ἐσπούδαξα *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §7.3
 νὰ τὸν φοβερίξη *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §29.42
 να μουγκρίξει *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2586 (but also: ἐμουγκρίσασιν *ibid.* 898)
 τεταρτιάξετε, θανατώσετε *Irodis* I.47

⁴⁵ Aorist forms of this verb are extremely rare; no forms with -σ- have been found.

Vowel-stem verbs that transfer to the class of consonant stems for the imperfective stem through the addition of /ɣ/ (see 2.1.1.2) can form a new perfective stem in [ks]:

διὰ νὰ μὴ σοῦ κρούξω *Pol. Tr.* 4824 app. crit (X)
 πόλεμον γιὰ νὰ κρούξουν *Alex. Rim.* 1857
 ἐφταίξασι (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.12)
 ἄλλος τινὰς δε μου ᾿φταιξε *CHORTATIS, Panor.* V.205
 ᾶ σοῦ ᾿φταιξα κιαμιὰ φορά *Thysia Avr.* 815
 ὅποιος ἔλθῃ καὶ κρούξῃ τὴν θύραν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §29.16

2.2.1.3.2 *Passive Voice*

The perfective passive stem of velar-stem verbs and dental-stem verbs with underlying velar is formed by substituting -θ- for -σ-. Before -θ-, the velar becomes -χ-. The combination -χθ- then may become -χτ- through manner dissimilation (for details on the chronology of the phenomenon, and the issues of contemporary writing practice and modern editing, see I, 3.8.1):

ἡ διδασχὴ ὅπου μᾶς ἐδιδάχθη *Chron. Mor.* H 810 app. crit.
 ἐνεπαίχθηκα *Pol. Tr.* 7892; νὰ ἐστέρχθησαν *ibid.* 8049
 πολλὰ τὸ ἐταράχθη *Dig.* E 1359; ἐδιδάχθη *ibid.* 1565
 ἐτάχθηκα *Assizes B* 408.1
 ὠρέχθη καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς *Achil.* O 235; ἡ κόρη γοῦν τὸ δέχθηκεν *ibid.* 354; ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἐδέχτηκεν *ibid.* 538
 ὁ ρε Οὔγκε ἐταράχθη *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 22.14; δὲν ἐκαταδέχθη *ibid.* 338.15
 ἐδιδάχθη *Diig. Apoll.* 303; ἐτάχθη *ibid.* 767
 νὰ σμιχθῇ μὲ τὴν βασιλίσσαν *Diig. Alex.* E 103.7 (Lolos); νὰ σμιχτῇτε *ibid.* 133.10
 ἐρημάχθης, ταπεινέ *Spanos D* 1215
 νὰ ξεταχθοῦμεν *Alfan.* 15 26 (< ἐξετάζω)
 ἀνοίχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 3.21; ὅλα ἐκεῖνα ὅπου σᾶς ἐδιατάχθη *ibid.* 17.10
 τοὺς ἐδέχτηκε *Bertoldos* 46.13
 ἐσφίχθησαν νὰ ξεράσουν *Bertoldin.* 114.2; ἐδέχθη τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα *ibid.* 167.24
 ἐφυλάχθηκα *LANDOS, Geopon.* 131.38
 δὲν τὸ ἐδέχτην ὁ Θεός *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §7.18–19
 ἐδέχτη τὸν μετὰ χαράς *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1788; αὐτὸ οὐοῦ ἐδέχθης *ibid.* 6022

In texts of southern provenance, such as Crete, Cyprus, the Heptanese and certain Cycladic islands, from the 14th c. onwards -χτ- can subsequently “reassimilate” to become -κτ-. This is usually interpreted as a form of hypercorrection (see I, 3.8.1.4 for examples across parts of speech), but these spellings are far too common to be dismissed as such. Though in principle -κτ- can replace -χτ- in any perfective passive verb stem, it is particularly frequent with certain verbs such as δέχομαι; see also passive verb stems of oxytone verbs in -ηχτ- and -αχτ-, 2.2.1.9.2 and 2.2.1.9.4 and verbs in -ώνω that have an alternative velar stem (see 2.2.1.5.2). Some of numerous examples are:

οὐδὲν τὸ ἐπαπαδέκτη *Chron. Mor.* H 107 app. crit.; ἐκαταδέκτησαν *ibid.* 242 app. crit.;
 ἀποδέκτη *ibid.* 8764 app. crit.; ὀρέκτηκε *ibid.* 8784 app. crit.
 ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ καταδέκτηκεν αὐτὸ νὰ τὸ φορέσῃ *Achil.* L 259

δριμέα τὸ ἐπεδέκτη *Velis*. χ 77 app. crit. (N)
 ἐγὼ ὑποδέκτηκά το *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 251
 νὰ τὰ δεκτῇ (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.17)
 ἐδέκτηκά τα (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.4)
 ἄς τὸν δεκτοῦμεν *Diig. Alex.* V 50.12; but also: νὰ τὸν δεχθῇτε *ibid.* 50.22
 καὶ ἐπεριπλέκτην εἰς τὰ κλαδία τὸ ραβδὶν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 64.5–6; καὶ ἐπροσεδεκτῆσαν
 τον *ibid.* 108.38
 ἐδεκτῆκαμεν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.2)
 δὲν τὸν ἐδέκτη ποσῶς (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 452.8)
 ἐκαταδεκτῆκετε κ' ἤρθετε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 81
 νὰ στερκτοῦσι (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.17)
 ἐκεῖνός την ἐδέκτηκεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1855
 νὰ σὲ δεκτοῦν (1708, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 23, 99.87)
 νὰ τοὺς τακτεῖς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.124); ἐτάκτησαν (*ibid.* 21.146)
 ἐδιατάκτη *Chron. Mor.* H 355 app. crit.
 καὶ πῶς ποθοεφαντάκτηκεν *Liv.* V 3336
 νὰ συνακτοῦν *Velis*. χ 96 app. crit. (N)
 καὶ θέλω νὰ διατακτῶ *Achil.* L 233; δούλη σου ἐτάκτηκα πάντα *ibid.* 877
 φυλάκτηκα *Pol. Tr.* 5866 app. crit. (V)
 νὰ ταρακτῇ ἡ καρδιά μου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 306
 ἐκράκτην *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 70.19; γιὰ ν' ἀλλακτοῦν *ibid.* 116.5
 νὰ ἐμπορῇ αὐτὴ νὰ τὸ διατακτῇ (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 82, 154.16)
 ἐστοιβάκτησαν *Alex. Rim.* 339
 ἐσικίακτη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 34.26; ἐπειδὴ ὑποτάκτη ὁ Ἀρανίτης *ibid.* 65.6; να φυλακτοῦσι
ibid. 66.37
 εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑποτακτῇτε *Vios Aisop.* K 190.16; ἐρημάκτηκα ἀπὸ τὰ αὐγά μου *ibid.* 205.3
 εἶχε ἀλλακτεῖ (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 53, 67.13)
 στεῖρα ἔτον καὶ δὲν ἔτικτεν οὐδὲ ἐκράκτην μάνα *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 164
 ἐφυλακτῆκανε *ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, Rebelio* 50.24
 καὶ ἐπεσφίκητησεν πολλὰ *Dig.* E 1453
 ἐσφίκητημαν ὁμάδια *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 449a app. crit. (N)
 ἐτυλίκτηκεν *Katal.* 64
 ἐσμίκτην τὴν Χρυσάντζα *Velth.* 1120
 κάτεχε κι ἐξανοίκτης *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 576; κι ἐδείκτηκεν κι ἐσφίκητη *ibid.* 746
 αναμίκτησαν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 226.9; ἐπροσδέκτην *id., Chron.* M 173.3
 καὶ σὰν ἐσμίκτησαν λοιπὸν *Alex. Rim.* 1211
 ὅλος μὴδὲν ἀπορικτεῖ *Apoll. Rim.* V 1870
 ἡ Θεοτόκος καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐσμίκτησαν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 348.16
 λοιπὸν ἐσμίκτησαν *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 127.11–12
 ἐνοίκτηκε *MOREZINOS, Klini* 41.18
 ὅταν δεικτοῦν τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ ἀποφασιστοῦσι *KONDAR., Paidēs* 19
 μες στον λιμῶνα μπήκτησαν *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡΡ., Pali* 1833
 ἔμπήκτη *ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, Erot.* IV.1159 app. crit. (A)⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Spelled μπήκτη in KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1159 app. crit. (V). It is a passive aorist (ἐ)μπήκτη rather than an active present: καὶ δίδει του μιὰ κονταρά και τὸ κοντάρι ἔμπήκτη | εἰς τὸ λαῖμό ἀποκατωθιὸ καὶ χάμαι τόνε ρίκεται. Τὸ κοντάρι is topic, and therefore has to be the subject of ἔμπήκτη (a topicalized object would require a clitic pronoun: see IV, 8.1.1).

τὰ μέλλοντ' ἀποδείκνουν VATATSI, *Periig.* I 816

Hypercorrection of -κτ- to -κθ- can sporadically be found: ὁ ρὲ Οὔνγκες ἐταράκθην πολλὰ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 77.46–7.

The verb πνίγω retains its inherited strong aorist ἐπνίγην, and sporadically similar forms can be found of other verbs with an imperfective passive stem in /iγ/, such as σμίγω:

πολλοὶ ἀπ' αὐτοὺς ἤθελαν πνιγῇ *Pol. Tr.* 3099 app. crit. (BV)

πρὶν πνιγοῦμεν δὸς τὸν ναῦλον *Paroim.* H 36

να μην πνιγούμεν ὅλοι μας *Apoll. Rim.* A 920

πνίγησαν VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 255

νὰ ἐπνίγηκεν (1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 17, 217.6)

ὅταν δὲ σμιγῇ τὸ ἄλᾶς τῷ ὕδατι ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 120.17

δὲν τῆς ἐσμίγηκεν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 128.21

2.2.1.4 Dental Stems (without underlying velar)

2.2.1.4.1 Active Voice

When the imperfective stem ends in a dental (/ð/, /θ/, /t/), this dental is deleted before the /s/ of the perfective active stem:

ἔσπρυσαν ὅπως εἰς ταφὴν φθάσωσι τοῦ Ἀκρίτου *Dig.* G VIII.208 (σπεύδω)

ἔπρυσαν *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 296 (πείθω)

ἔσπρυσεν, ἡῦρηκέ τους *Pol. Tr.* 14209

τὸ θέλει νιώσει LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 431 transcr. (Lendari) (νιώθω)

δὲν με θέλεις καταπείσει ERMON., *Ilias* 8.53

καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ν' αλέσει εἰς τὴν Λάπηθον VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 102.1 (ἀλέθω)

ἐσύνθεσα Alosis 987 (συνθέτω)

ἐθέσε τα *Pol. Tr.* 6640 app. crit. (B)

νὰ μὲν γνῶστε ποττὲ χορταγιάν *Pist. kekoim.* 18 (γνώθω)

καὶ πῶς ἡ Τύχη ἐνάντιον σας νὰ κλώση ἐσυγκατέβη; BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 390 (κλώθω)

ἔγνωσες CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.65

οὐδὲ τὰ κουρφα τῇ ἐνιδῶσα KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.35

καὶ αὐτεῖνοι τὰ ἐκλώσασιν εἰς ἄλλα παραμύθια IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7360

2.2.1.4.2 Passive Voice

The perfective passive stem of dental stems is formed by adding -θ- to the perfective active stem in -σ-. The combination -σθ- may become -στ- through the process of manner dissimilation (for details on the chronology of the phenomenon, and the issues of contemporary writing practice and modern editing, see I, 3.8.1):

κλώσμα τῆς τύχης δυστυχὲς ἐκλώσθη μου καὶ μοίρας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 703

τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὸ ἄστακτον κατ' ἐδικόν μου ἐκλώσθη *Liv.* E 2519

ἐνεγνώστη (1681, Chios, KAVNADAS 1950: 38.14) (ἀναγνώθω)

εκείνος τόσον ἐκαταπείσθη *Don Kis.* 45.20

2.2.1.5 Nasal Stems

2.2.1.5.1 Active Voice

When the imperfective stem ends in -ν, in the majority of verbs that nasal is deleted before the -σ of the perfective active stem. This category comprises all verbs in -ώνω, as well as certain other verbs with an imperfective stem in -ν, such as δαγκάνω, πιάνω, σβήνω, στήνω/στένω (< AG ἵστημι, aor. ἔστησα), φθάνω, φτιάνω,⁴⁷ χάνω (< χαώνω), ψήνω (< AG ἔψω, aor. ἤψησα). (See 2.2.2.1 for verbs in -άνω, -ύνω and -αίνω, which have non-sigmatic perfective stems in -ν.)

νὰ ἱστήσουν δὲ καὶ σταυρὸν ἐπάνω μου (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.54)
 ἡ φορισμένον πούπετε κύνα νὰ σὲ δαγκάση *Ptoch. IV* 609
 καὶ ὡσάν σιμῶση πρὸς αὐτὸν SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 341
 καὶ νὰ τοὺς πλακώσουσιν *Achil. L* 320
 φθάσε σύντομαν *Achil. N* 1169
 νὰ τὲς κομπώσουν πάσχουν BERGADIS, *Apok. V* 207
 καὶ νὰ τοῦ το πλερώσει *Apoll. Rim. A* 262
 ἔπιασεν αὐτὸν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 46.11
 ἐσελλοχαλίνωσε τὸ ἄλογον *Diig. Alex. F* 120.5 (Lolos)
 ἐτέντωσεν ἀπὸ κάτω εἰς τὸ κάστρον τῆς Ἀθήνας *Diig. Alex. E* 167.6 (Lolos)
 θὲ νὰ στέσου CHORTATIS, *Erof. IV*.515
 ἤσβησα *Fallidos* 230
 εἶχεν φτιάσει PAPASYNAD., *Chron. I* §30.50
 νὰ σοῦ γεμώσουν τὸ ποτήρι *Vios Aisop. D* 229.33
 καὶ πῶς θὰ τοὺς δαγκάσουσι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 190.28

The verb κερδένω (also spelled like AG κερδαίνω) also belongs in this category, as does the verb μπερδένω, which appears in Cretan texts from the 16th c. onwards:

νὰ μηδὲν κερδαίση ἀπὸ τὸ γονικὸν αὐτῆς τίποτε (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 239.431)
 νὰ μὴ ... κερδαίσης *Liv. α* 4116
 καὶ θέλεις τὸ κερδαίνειν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 987
 οὐδὲν ἔχω νὰ κερδαίσω SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 383 transcr. N (Lendari)
 μέτρησε τί ἐκέρδεσεν *Chron. Toc.* 699
 τὸν κόσμον νὰ κερδέσεις *Alfav.* 14 27
 τίποτε δὲν ἐκέρδεσεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 662.12–13
 νὰ κερδέσης *Cypr. Canz.* 37.2
 πῶς νὰ κερδέσουν *Fior* 73.8–9
 μὲ τ' ἄρματα τὴν κόρη αὐτὴν ὀλότης νὰ κερδέσω *Theseid V*.14,8 (1529)
 πῆς μου, τί θὲς κερδαίσει; *Alex. Rim.* 2392
 ἂν κερδέσει ὅλον τὸν κόσμον KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 8.36
 σὲ ἔκαμα καὶ ἐκέρδαισες *Vios Aisop. I* 268.26
 νὰ μπερδέσει *Apoll. Rim. A* 528
 τα λόγια τῆς τοῦ ἔρωτα τα δίκτυα μ' ἐμπερδέσα CHORTATIS, *Panor. I*.114
 νὰ ῥθει νὰ μὲ μπερδέσει *Thysia Avr.* 300
 μὲ δίκιο σᾶς ἐμπέρδεσε *Stathis II*.221

⁴⁷ SMG perfective forms with -ξ- (φτιάξω, ἐφτιάξα) have not been found in the texts examined.

καὶ πῶς σ' ἀγάπη ἐμπερδεσε KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.396; γλήγορα ξεμπερδέσου *ibid.* I.729
 νὰ μπερδέσου FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm.* I 88

Certain verbs in -άνω/-αίνω (which normally have non-sigmatic perfective stems, for which see 2.2.2.1), can form an alternative perfective stem in -ας, e.g. βυζάνω, βυζάσω. Compounded and prefixed forms of λαμπάνω (< λαμβάνω) only have a sigmatic perfective stem λαμπτας-:⁴⁸

ἐβύζασα (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 9, 16.13)
 εις το γάλα της μάνας σου οπου ἐβύζασες *Diig. Alex.* K 365.33–4
 ἐβύζασε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 437.16

περιλαμπάσειν *Katal.* 363
 καὶ γλυκοπεριλάμπασε κοράσια τὰ βλέπεις *Florios* 835 app. crit. (V)
 ἔχω παραλαμπασμένα ἀπὸ σένα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006:148, 122.12–13)
 ἔχει παραλαμπασμένα ... δουκάτα (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 309, 287.59)
 ἔχει παραλαμψασμένα (1542, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1970: 3 [Γ'], 292.5)

A small group of verbs in -ώνω have an alternative perfective stem in -ωξ, with an intrusive velar /k/ before the aoristic formant /s/, especially ζυγώνω and μαζώνω. The provenance of the perfective forms with intrusive /k/ is unclear; BABINIOTIS (1972: 217–19) postulates a generalization of /ks/ as an aoristic formant, and proposes that it is due to a general spread of /k/ as an aorist marker starting from verbs like ἔποικα, ἔδωκα (for which see 2.2.1.10). Imperfective stems in -ωχν (e.g. μαζώνουσιν in ΠΙΓΑΣ, *Chrysop.* 276.31; SMG στριμώνω) appeared well after the perfective stems in -ωξ. For μαζώνω, forms with -ωξ- are common and forms with -ωσ- are rare,⁴⁹ whereas ζυγώνω has perfective forms with -ωξ- only in Cretan texts of the 16th and 17th c. (see also 2.2.1.10 for verbs in -ώνω with alternative perfective stems in -ωκ):

τὸ κοῦρσο ἐπεριμάζωξαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1058
 καὶ μάζωξε ἀντζαλα *Spanos* A 225
 ἐσύναξεν, ἐμάζωξε *Velth.* 648
 καὶ τὴ βουλή σου μάζωξε *Alosis* 631
 ἐμάζωξεν *Syndipas* 117.32
 οὐδὲ νὰ τὰ μαζώξουσιν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 506
 νὰ μαζώξωμεν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.46)
 νὰ περισυμμαζώξουν *Theseid* XI.14,4 (1529)
 νὰ τὰ μαζώξουνε οὔλα (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 14.36)
 ἐμάζωξε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.11
 ἐπεριμάζωξεν MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 133; δὲν ἐσυμμάζωξε πολλοὺς *ibid.* 291
 αὐτήνη ἐμάζωξε *Bertoldos* 20.27
 νὰ ὑπάμε νὰ τὲς μαζώξομε; KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 13.28
 πολλήν αρμάδα μάζωξεν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7024
 ξένα δάκτυλα τα ἐμάζωξαν CANTEMIR, *Krit.* 449.19
 ὁπου σὲ ἐσυμμάζωξα (1708, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 23, 99.86)

⁴⁸ Cf. also the noun παραλάμπασμα and the adjective περιλαμπαστός, e.g. εἰς τὸ παραλάμπασμα (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 282, 281.9); ἡρε μας περιλαμπαστούς BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 361.

⁴⁹ Only a handful of examples have been found, e.g. καὶ περὶμάζωσέ το *Ptoch. III* 164 app. crit. (P) and ἐμάζωσεν *Chron. Toc.* 962.

και ζύγωξ' από 'πάνω σου την τόσην αμελάγρα *Apoll. Rim. V 1526* (same in all versions)
 άπου έζύγωξες άδίκως MOREZINOS, *Klini* 60.21
 έζύγωξες τόν κύρη μου KORNAPOS, *Erot. V.1340*
 ζύγωξε τσ' άναστεναγμούς, ζύγωξε και την πρίκα *Thysia Avr. 395*
 ζύγωξες CHORTATSI, *Erof. I.358*
 και άποζυγώξη μας FOSKOLOS, *Fort. IV.192*; but also: νά θέ νά με ζυγώσουσι *ibid. Prol. 150*
 νά ζυγώξω VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas. 34.5*

Other verbs in -ώνω, which usually have perfective stems in -ωσ, can occasionally have alternative forms with -ωξ- as well, possibly the result of a conflation of sigmatic and κ-aorist formation:

έξατίμωξεν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol. 1408*
 έστεγνώξα CHORTATSI, *Erof. III.13* transcr. X (Legrand) (3 pl.)
 νά μεγαλώξουν (1613, SYROS, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.15)
 άν στιγνώξη πάραυτα LANDOS, *Geopon. 199.16*; άφες το νά στιγνώξη *ibid. 248.6*; και τά
 κρεμνοῦσι νά στιγνώξουν *ibid. 252.7*
 κ' έμουλώξαν εις την κάπαν άποκάτω *Vulgärorakel X 5*
 άμή έμούλωξεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron. I §9.13*

The verb στριμώνω (SMG στριμώνω, στριμώνωξω) is quite rare and does not seem to exist before the 17th c.⁵⁰ The perfective stem is στριμωσ- in *Bertoldos*, and στριμωσ- or στριμωξ- in IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali*: με έστρίμωσαν μέσα σέ τοῦτο τὸ σακκίον *Bertoldos* 60.23–4; και στρίμωξαν κει μέσα IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1833; but also: εκεί τους εστριμώνωσαν *ibid. 6424* (rhymes with εσιμώνωσαν).

2.2.1.5.2 Passive Voice

In the case of verbs in -ώνω and -ένω the perfective passive stem is formed by substituting -θ- for -σ-. Of other verbs in this category, some form the perfective passive stem in -θ, and others in -σθ. The presence/absence of the aoristic formant /s/ can usually be explained historically: e.g. πιάνω, πιασθῶ/πιαστῶ is derived from πιάζω⁵¹ (< πιέζω) which had a passive aorist έπιάσθην; χύνω, χυθῶ is derived from χέω, which had a passive aorist έχύθην; ψήνω is derived from ξψω, which had a passive aorist έψηθην; φτύνω is derived from πτύω, which had a rather rare passive aorist έπτύσθην. The cluster -σθ- may become -στ- through the process of manner dissimilation (for details on the chronology of the phenomenon, and the issues of writing practice and modern editing, see I, 3.8.1):

έσκοτώθη SFRANTZIS, *Chron. 4.8*
 έλαβώθηκεν *Anon. Naupl. 8*
 ένεκατώθησαν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 275.29)
 νά μαζωθῇ *Velis. χ 391* app. crit. (N); έμαζώθηκεν *ibid. 396* app. crit. (N)⁵²
 έθυμώθηκεν *Achil. O 661*

⁵⁰ Only a few examples have been found: τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ τὸν έστρίμωναν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Louk. 8.43*; κι ὁ Τοῦρκος τοὺς στριμώνει BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol. 272.1*

⁵¹ E.g. και πιάζει τὸ αὐτὸ ρυάκιον (11th c., Thebes, SVORONOS 1959: 12.23). For πιάζω in AG see also LSJ s.v. πιέζω.

⁵² For the verb μαζώνω, perfective stems in -ωξ, passive -ωχθ/-ωχτ are much more common (see 2.2.1.5).

και εμαζώθηκαν όλον το ψυχόλαον *Diig. Alex.* K 347.29

νὰ κερδεθῇ ὁ Μορέας *Chron. Mor.* H 2457

γοργὸν καθυποδέθηκεν *Dig.* E 830

ὥσάν τὸ πρῶτο μπερδεθῇ *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1577

τότες αὐτεῖνο ψήθη *Alex. Rim.* 1626

ἄν ἐψήθην ἡ φακῇ *Vios Aisop.* I 259.30–1

νὰ ψηθῇ γληγορύτερα *LANDOS, Geopon.* 256.12

χυθῇτε στὸ φουσσάτον *Achil.* L 425

ολόγδυμνος εντύθη *Apoll. Rim.* E 1810

και εντύτην καλογηρικά *VOUSTR. Chron.* A 314.2

ντύθου λεμοσύνην *Cypr. Canz.* 37.5

σάν πάγη ἐκεῖνος νὰ γδυθῇ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.235

ποῖος οὐκ ἐδαγκάθηκεν *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 25

λύκος ἀπὸ σκύλους εδαγκάθη *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 87.1

νὰ κλεισθῶ μέσα σὲ τοῦτο τὸ σακκίον *Bertoldos* 63.29

καὶ ἐκλείστη σὲ μίαν κάμεραν *Bertoldin.* 136.31–2

ἐκλεισθήκασι στὰ γύρω νησόπουλα *ΕΦΤΗΜ., Chron. Gal.* 22.4

ἄν οὐ πιασθῇ *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 128

ἡ Πόλις ἐπιάστη *Chron. Mor.* H 550

πιαστῶσιν (1479, Constantinople, *BOMBACI* 1954: 1, 302.51)

ἔμεινα κ' ἐπιάστην *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 54

ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐσβήσθη *Thrinós Kypr.* 76

Compounds of -λαμπάνω, which have a sigmatic perfective active stem, form their perfective passive stem in -ασθ/-αστ, as does the verb λα(ν)θάνω/λα(ν)θαίνω:

ἐλαθάσθη *Pol. Tr.* 9356

ἔναν γοῦν ἐλαθάσθησαν *Chron. Toc.* 1886

ὅποιος ἐκεῖνος λαθαστεί *Apoll. Rim.* V 99; ὡς ἐλαθάστησαν *ibid.* 102 (same in all versions)

τώρα καὶ ἐλαθάστης *Alex. Rim.* 2351

αμμή ἐλαθάστη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 111.12

βλέπε ὅτι ἴλαθάστης *Fyll. gadar.* 30d

ἐλαθάστηκα *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 145.28

κ' ἤσφαλες κ' ἐλαθάστης *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1158

ἐάν λαθασθῇς ποτὲ *Vios Aisop.* K 170.23

ποτέ δεν ἐλαθάστη *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 9358

γιέ μου, ἄς σὲ περιλαμπαστῶ *Thysia Avr.* 1125

Verbs in -ώνω that have an alternative perfective stem in -ωξ can form their perfective passive stem in -ωχθ/-ωχτ (for the change /xθ/ > /xt/, see I, 3.8.1):

νὰ μαζωχθῇ ἡ Βαβυλωνία *Arm.* 119

ἀπομαζώχθησαν *Dig.* E 1317

ἐσυμαζώχτηκαν ὅλος ὁ λαός (1585, Mani, *LAMBROS* 1905: 397.5)

γὰ κείνο μαζωχτήκα *CHORTATIS, Katz.* V.156

καὶ ἐμαζώχθησαν ἀντάμα *Bertoldos* 39.23

ἐσυμαζώχθηκαν οἱ ὄρχοντες *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 5
 τριγύρου μαζωχθῆτεν οἱ διάβολοι *KONDAR., Paides* 104
 ὥστε ποὺ συμμαζωχοῦμε (1685, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 8, 331.12)
 νὰ μαζωθοῦν οἱ Ῥώσσοι *ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 293
 ἐμαζωχτήκετε *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.957; κι ὁ νοῦς σου νὰ περμαζωχτῇ *ibid.* III.1180
 ἐμαζωχτήκανε *Chron. Theod.* 20.17

In texts of southern provenance, such as Crete, Cyprus, the Heptanese and certain Cycladic islands (cf. velar stems, 2.2.1.3), from the 14th c. onwards -χτ- can subsequently “reassimilate” to become -κτ-. These spellings are usually considered to be a form of hypercorrection (see I, 3.8.1.4 for examples across parts of speech), but they are far too common to be dismissed as such. Some of numerous examples are:

νὰ μαζωκτοῦν *Imb. Rim.* 330 καὶ περιμαζωκτῆκασιν *ibid.* 362
 καὶ τότες ἐμαζώκτηκε *Alex. Rim.* 2789
 κ’ εἰς μίον εμαζωκτῆκαν *Apoll. Rim.* V 681 (only forms with -κτ- in this text; same in all versions)
 ἐμαζώκτησαν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 52.17 (only forms with -κτ-)
 καὶ μαζωκτῆκαν καὶ οἱ τρεῖς *Fyll. gadar.* 94d
 νὰ ζυγωκτῶ *MOREZINOS, Klini* 99.31; ἐμαζώκτησαν *ibid.* 229.15
 ας μαζωκτοῦσι *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.139
 ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ θε νὰ μαζωκτοῦν *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.98 (Stevanoni); ἐμαζωκτῆκετε *ibid.* II.957
 τυχαίνει νὰ πρεμαζωκτοῦ *Thysia Avr.* 1099
 τότες εμαζωκτῆκασιν *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ KYP., Pali* 1067
 νὰ συμμαζωκτοῦν *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 47.32

Hypercorrection of -κτ- to -κθ- occurs sporadically: ἐκεῖ ἐπεριμαζώκθησαν *Byz. Il.* 880; ἐμαζώκθην *Diig. Alex.* F 88.22 (Lolos); νὰ μαζωκθοῦν *ibid.* 90.15; ἐμαζώκθησαν *ibid.* 156.16.

2.2.1.6 Voiced Sibilant Stems (without underlying velar)

2.2.1.6.1 Active Voice

When the imperfective stem ends in -ζ, this voiced sibilant is deleted before the -σ of the perfective active stem. This category comprises all verbs in -άζω and -ίζω that do not have an underlying velar in their stem, such as ἀγοράζω, ἀρχίζω and χέζω:⁵³

ἀγόρασε (1179, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 194, 255.7)
 ἐγωγίασεν *Assizes B* 327.2–3
 ἔμπασέ τους *SKLENTZAS, Ain. Zood. Pig.* 28
 ἔθαυμάσασιν *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 67
 νὰ τὸ ἐξετάσωμεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 66.33
 θε νὰ μὲ ντροπιάσεις *Rim. kor.* (A) 125
 θέλετε τὸ διαβάσειν *Fior* 74.3

⁵³ Of verbs in -έζω only forms of χέζω have been found. AG, MedG and SMG πιέζω, though quite common in texts of a higher register, is extremely rare in vernacular texts; only a few examples occur in texts such as *Dig.* G. No perfective forms of this verb or its compounds have been found.

τὰ θέλω ξοδιάσει (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.18)
 καὶ ἐκομματιάσαν τον *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.33
 τόπον ἄδειασέ μου CHORTATSI, *Erof.* IV.440
 ποὺ θὲν τὴν ἀγκαλιάσουσι KONDA., *Paidēs* 57
 ἔχει δοκιμάσει *Pist. voskos* II 1.229

ἔσυναθροίσαμεν (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 307.8)
 παρεγνώρισες GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 541
 ἂν σὲ καθίσουν εἰς ἀρχὴν *Spaneas* P 171
 ζεματίσετε *Ptoch.* IV 594
 ὀφείλουν ἐγκρεμνίσαι *Chron. Mor.* H 890; θέλει νὰ τὸ καθίσει *ibid.* 2898
 μὲ κέρδισε *Dig.* E 1566
 καὶ σφόδρα ἐμουγκάνισεν *Diig. tetr.* 1009
 ὠρίσέν μας (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.10)
 καὶ ἐφούρκισάν τους (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 96.6)
 ἐκουκλούκισεν ὁ πετεινός (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 124.1d)
 ἄλλους ἐφυλακίσαν, ἄλλους ἐδέραν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 322.10
 παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν (15th–16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2)
 κι ασπρίσα τα μαλλιά μου CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.286
 ἀπὸ τότε ἄρχισαν οἱ σύγχυτες (1616, Pogoniani, SCHREINER 1975/79: 64.IV, 497.31.3–4)
 ἀναντράνισεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 14.19

καὶ ἔχσαν οἱ πάντες *Diig. tetr.* 430
 ἄξιόν ἐστιν νὰ σὲ χέσωμεν *Spanos* A 415
 γλυκὺν τὸ φαγεῖν, πικρὸν δὲ τὸ χέσειν *Paroim.* H 34
 ἂν ἐμπορῇ ἄς τοὺς χέση! CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.422

The verbs βάζω and ἐβγάζω, derived from βάλλω and ἐκβάλλω respectively, retain their inherited non-sigmatic perfective stems (βαλ- and ἐβγαλ-), for which see 2.4.

2.2.1.6.2 Passive Voice

The perfective passive stem of voiced sibilant stems is formed by adding -θ- to the perfective active stem in -σ-. The combination -σθ- may become -στ- through manner dissimilation (see I, 3.8.1). This group also includes deponent verbs such as ἀσπάζομαι, δυνάζομαι, ἐννοιάζομαι, ἐργάζομαι, στοχάζομαι, συμβάζομαι, χρειάζομαι and others:

ἂν οὐ πιασθῇ καὶ δαμασθῇ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 128
 τὴν ρήγαιναν ἀσπάσθηκεν *Chron. Mor.* H 296
 νὰ ἔχε σχιστὴν καὶ διχαστὴν ἡ γῆς *Byz. Il.* 261
 ἐνεγαλλιάσθη *Spanos* A 229
 ἐσυμβιάσθησαν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1278
 ἐσοὺ νοιάστης νὰ μ' ἀφήσης *Cypr. Canz.* 119.1 (ἐννοιάζομαι)
 ἰσιαστήκαμε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.20)
 κι ὅλοι ἐχορταστήκαν, *Alex. Rim.* 2053
 ἐντροπιάσθησαν *Diig. Alex.* E 171.8 (Lolos)
 καὶ διαμοιράσθησαν αὐτὰ *Vios Filaret.* 239.14
 τὰ δὲ ἄσπρα ἐξοδιάστησαν εἰς τὸ ἀρχονταρῖκι (1607, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 17, 78.2–3)
 ἀρρεβωνιάσθη KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 1.18

γιά νά μήν ντροπιαστοῦν KONDAR., *Paides* 98
 ἐβραδιάστηκα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 37
 να ετοιμασθεῖτε ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ σας *Don Kis.* 49.37–50.1

2.2.1.7 Barytone Verbs with a Vocalic Extension /i/

A small group of barytone verbs form their perfective stem by adding a vocalic extension /i/, followed by the aoristic formant /s/, to the imperfective stem, just like the majority of oxytone verbs (see below). These verbs include inherited deponent verbs such as βούλομαι, δύναμαι/δύνομαι, δέομαι and εὔχομαι, which have passive morphology only, as well as the verbs (ἐ)θέλω and κύω, the second of which is rare in vernacular texts. Βλέπω has an alternative stem βλέπησ- (alongside -ιδ-), examples of which have been found in texts from Cyprus and Crete. In the northern mainland the verb ὑπάγω developed an alternative perfective stem παγήσ-, for which see 2.4.

2.2.1.7.1 Active Voice

The active is restricted to the inherited verb (ἐ)θέλω and the alternative stem of βλέπω,⁵⁴ which predates the LMedG period by many centuries:⁵⁵

διὰ τοῦτο ἐθελήσασι οἱ ἄνωθε κριτάδες (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 44.11)
 δέν τὸ ἔβλησεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.12
 ἤθελεν θελήσει (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 132, 146.10–11)
 θεῖ θελήσω GERMANO, *Grammar* 94.23
 δεν ηθέλησε να το κάμει *Don Kis.* 48.6

ὁποῦ σ' ἐβλέπισε καλῶς LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 190
 νὰ τήνε βλέπήσει MOREZINOS, *Klini* 4.23
 τὸ μνημα νὰ βλέπίσου *P&N Diath.* 4112

2.2.1.7.2 Passive Voice

The passive is formed by replacing the /s/ of the infix with /θ/ (cf. oxytone verbs):

τὸν πρίγκιπα ἐδεήθησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 8160
 ὃς ἐδυνήθηκε *Pol. Tr.* 28; πρότερον ἐβουλήθηκεν ἐκείνη νὰ τὸν κρούση *ibid.* 11076
 τῶν εὐχήθηκεν *Dig.* E 1065
 νὰ βλεπηθοῦν *Assizes* B 389.24
 καὶ τότε μὲ εὐχήθηκεν *Poulol.* 579
 ἀνέβειν ἡδυνήθηκεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1269

⁵⁴ No examples have been found of the rather learned verb κύω, apart from an attempt at regularization: ἡ κόρη ἡ πανεξαίρετος ἔγκυσεν τὴν γαστέρα *Imber.* 48.

⁵⁵ The Stoic philosopher Sextus Empiricus (2nd/3rd c. AD) condemns and ridicules the form: ... ἐπὶ τῶν ρηματικῶν φερῆσω λέγειν καὶ βλεπήσω ὡς κυήσω καὶ θελήσω, οὐ μόνον ἀσαφές ἀλλὰ καὶ γέλωτος ἔτι δὲ προσκοπῆς ὄξιον εἶναι δοκεῖ Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Grammarians*, 195.10–12 (ed. Mau/Mutschmann); see the online *TLG*. These forms of βλέπω are sometimes spelled βλεπισ-, even though imperfective *βλεπίζω has not been attested, and the passive stem is βλέπηθ-, not *βλεπισθ-, the participle βλεπημένος, not *βλεπισμένος.

και είπεν του να βλεπηθεί VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 46.11
 και έδεήθη τόν Άμμών *Alex. Rim.* 525
 ο Κάτης εβουλήθηκε τον Μποτικό να πνίξει *Katis* 3
 να βλεπηθεί MOREZINOS, *Klini* 44.19
 άφέντη, μήν τὸ βουληθεῖς *Thysia Avr.* 692
 δέν έδυνηθήκαμεν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 9.28
 τον γενεράλη ν' ευχηθούν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 2130; να δεηθούν προς τον Θεόν *ibid.* 9663
 δέ θέλουν δυνηθούν DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 420
 Βασίλειος ό Διγενής 'κ τής κόρης έκυήθη PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1234
 βλεπήθου, Κύπρος *Thrinis Kypr.* 52

2.2.1.8 Barytone Verbs with a Change of Stem Vowel in the Passive Voice

A small group of verbs with stem vowel /e/, among which βρέχω, κλέπτω/κλέβω, στέκω/στέκομαι (< έστηκα, perf. of 'ισταμαι, with a change of /i/ to /e/), στρέφω, τρέπω, τρέφω and their prefixed derivatives, tend to retain their inherited passive perfective stem with /a/ (βραχ-, κλαπ-, σταθ-, στραφ-, etc.):⁵⁶

έπαρεστάθη (1223, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 29, 443.12)
 ανατράφη *Dig.* E 724; στράφου *ibid.* 991
 νά έστράφηκεν εκείθεν *Pol. Tr.* 196; όλα έβράχησαν *ibid.* 8121; όθεν εκλάπη *ibid.* 11925
 ότι κανείς βίος εκλάπη *Assizes B* 443.29
 και δένδρον ένετράφηκεν *Liv.* V 3632
 θέλουσιν έστραφήν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83.7)
 σταθήτε πάντες άρχοντες *Om. Nehr. Vas.* 1
 άν ή πόλβερη θέλει έρθει νά βραχή (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.1)
 έστράφης (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.6)
 στάσου (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 449.16)
 έστάθηκα (1573, Famagusta, CONSTANTINIDES 1988: 172, f.146r.15)
 έποδιαντράπην (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 179.6)
 του άντιστάθη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.19
 ούδδ έντράπη (1669, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 84, 217.56)
 έσταθήκασι (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.4)

These verbs only rarely develop regular alternative forms with /θ/: όθεν εκλέφθη ή Πελλάς *Pol. Tr.* 11925 app. crit. (V); ήν έν τῷ σακκίῳ και εκλέφτην (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 88.3d); αναθρέφτηκα σέ τόπον άγριον *Bertoldin.* 120.4.

2.2.1.9 Oxytone Verbs

As in previous and subsequent stages of the language, oxytone verbs form their active perfective stems by adding a syllable consisting of a vocalic stem extension /i/, /a/ or /e/ followed by the aoristic formant {s}. In some cases an intrusive velar /k/ is added before

⁵⁶ In the case of στέκω/στέκομαι with a semantic shift due to the disappearance of the root aorist έστην “I stood”, which was replaced by passive έστάθην “I was placed”.

this {s}, due to the fact that many oxytone verbs have alternative presents in -ζω, and that quite a few verbs in -ζω have perfective stems in -ξ (see 2.2.1.3). The passive perfective stem is typically formed by substituting /θ/ for /s/ in the active stem, or by adding /θ/ to it.

2.2.1.9.1 -ησ- and -ηθ-

Active Voice

The majority of oxytone A- and E-stems form their perfective active stem in -ησ. Some representative examples are:

A-stems

- ρόφησε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 268
 πανταχοῦ ἐρευνήσατε, ἴδετε *Dig.* G I.210
 εἴ τις νικήσει τὸν πόλεμον *Assizes* A 171.14
 ἵνα τὸν ἀπαντήσῃ *Achil.* N 1580
 ἐδιπλωρῶτησέν την *Spanos* A 251
 ἐπεμερίμνησαν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν των (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 229–30)
 πάλιν ἐμετεβρόντησεν *Krasop.* AO 109
 ἐρρούφησεν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς *Alosis* 600
 καὶ ἀγάπησέ την *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 278.20
 ἐρωτήσαν το (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 276, 380.11)
 καὶ ἐτίμησέ τον (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.4)
 ἐπαραγρίκησα *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.363
 ἐσοφήσασι (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), 28.7)
 ἐψηφήσεται (1685, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [2], 13.17)

E-stems

- καὶ προσεκύνησέν σε *Eisit.* f.4r.1–2
 νὰ ἔχουν κινήσει *Chron. Mor.* H 585
 ἐχεροτόνησεν (1395, Pontos, BRYER 1976: 7, 133.3)
 ἐμίλησαν *Dig.* E 361
 θρηνήσετε *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 36
 ποιήσατε (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 289.14)
 ἐσυνεφώνησαν (1474, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 32, 166.1)
 ἐμιλήσετε (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.12)
 πάτησε *Diig. Alex.* F 136.11 (Lolos)
 καὶ ἀκλούθησέν του *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 566.32
 ἐποίησε χρόνους τρεῖς (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.8)
 ἐμολόγησε (1597, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 5, 77.37)
 φιλήσετε *CHORTATIS, Panor.* V.357
 ὅταν ἀπίστησεν (1616, Pogoniani, SCHREINER 1975/79: 64.IV, 497.31.1)
 δέ μοῦ τὸ ἐμολόγησε *Nov. I* 156.21
 παρηγορήσετε *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §31.138

In texts from Cyprus, certain verbs that usually form their perfective stems in -εσ (for which see 2.2.1.9.5) can have an alternative perfective stem in -ησ:

- ἐπαρακάλησέν τον (1406–7, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 35, f.115v.3)
 ἐπαρκάλησα τὸν κυρ-παπα-Χαρίτων (1484, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 23, 236.8–9)
 ἐπαρακαλήσαν τὸν ρήγα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 168.10; ὁ Γενουβίσος ἐπόννησεν *ibid.* 458.27

ἐπαρακάλησα *Fior* 77.3; νά μπόρησεν *ibid.* 79.34; ἀντὰν δὲν μπορήσῃ νά ῥβῃ *ibid.* 121.29
 ἐπαρακάλησέ την ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 738; διατί ἐγὼ ἐπόνῃσα *ibid.* 4393; but also, once:
 τῶρα αὐτόν ἐπόνεσεν *ibid.* 1919
 ἐπαρακάλησέν τον ΚΟΝΣΤ. ΔΙΑΚ., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 430
 νά σὲ παρακαλήσω *Thrinós Kyp.* 141

The verb χωρῶ, and especially its prefixed derivatives such as ἀναχωρῶ, παραχωρῶ, προχωρῶ, ὑποχωρῶ, and to a lesser degree συγχωρῶ and στενοχωρῶ, show a clear preference for forms with -ησ- over forms with -εσ- (for which see 2.2.1.9.5):

καὶ χωρήσει *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 300 transcr. (Lendari) (hapax)
 καὶ ἡ κόρη ἀπεχώρησεν *Achil.* N 1061 (hapax)
 ὁ πρίντζης ἀναχώρησεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 266.16; καὶ τόσον τοὺς ἐστενοχώρησεν *ibid.* 586.27 (no forms with -εσ-)
 ἤθελα παραχωρήσειν *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 74.16
 ὅλοι ἀναχωρήσασιν *Diig. Apoll.* 236
 νά μοῦ τὲς συγχωρήσετε (1574, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61.17)
 ἤθελαν ἀναχωρήσει ὅλες τῶνε (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.21–2)
 ἀποχώρησεν ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνον *Vios Aisop.* I 252.38
 ἀνεχώρησεν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 2.22
 οἱ θεοὶ νά σας συγχωρήσουν *Alex. Fyll.* 39.37; καὶ δὲν θέλει σὲ χωρήσει ὁ κόσμος ὅλος *ibid.* 42.21
 ὅλα τους τὰ συγχώρησαν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 4844

Passive Voice

The perfective passive stem of verbs that form their perfective active stem in -ησ is formed by substituting -θ- for -σ-. This group of verbs also includes the majority of deponent verbs in -ῶμαι, -οῦμαι and -ᾶμαι, such as ἀπιλογοῦμαι, ἄρνοῦμαι, ἀφηγοῦμαι, βρυχώμαι, διηγοῦμαι, ἐγγυῶμαι, ἐπιμελοῦμαι, θυμοῦμαι/θυμᾶμαι, καυχῶμαι, κοιμοῦμαι/κοιμᾶμαι, κτῶμαι, λυποῦμαι/λυπᾶμαι, μιμοῦμαι and φοβοῦμαι/φοβᾶμαι:

οἱ Φράγκοι ὥκονομήθησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 705; ἔπιασεν κ' εὐλογήθη *ibid.* 1194
 ὥστε νά τοῦ ἀπιλογηθοῦν *Arm.* 30; καὶ τότε νά σ' ἀφηγηθῶ *ibid.* 132
 Ὅππιανὸν ἐκτέθησα, πείναν οὐδὲν φοβοῦμαι *Ptoch. III* 273,20 app. crit. (PK)
 ἐπροτιμήθη ἐκ παντός *Chron. Toc.* 116
 διὰ νά κυβερνηθοῦσιν *Achil.* L 222; τὰ χέρια μου ἐκρατήθησαν *ibid.* 1326
 ὅταν εἰς νοῦν ἀθυμηθῶ τῆς Πόλεως τὰ κάλλη *Anak. Konst.* 106
 ὑπήγαινα νά κοιμηθῶ *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 64
 μηδὲν πλανηθῆτε εἰς τῶν Φραγγῶν τὰ λόγια (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.15)
 ἐγροικῆθη ἐἰς πᾶσα τόπον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 8.8; ἐδιαλαλήθη παντοῦ *ibid.* 52.17
 νά κοιμηθῶ ἐθυμήθη *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 1; νά μυριολυπηθῆτε *id. Apok.* V 167
 ἐλεημονήθηκέν τους *Diig. Alex.* F 188.11–12 (Lolos) (same in E)
 νά πᾶ νά περιβοσκηθῇ *Fyll. gadar.* 7; ἐσὺ τοὺς ἐμιμήθης *ibid.* 213
 ἄμε καὶ συ νά τιμηθεῖς *Apoll. Rim.* A 695 (same in all versions)
 τὸν μύθον ὅπου ἐσὺ ἐδιηγέθης μου *Bertoldin.* 109.4
 ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὅπου ἐπουλήθηκα *Vios Aisop.* D 217.16

2.2.1.9.2 -ηξ- and -ηχθ-/-ηχτ-, -ηκτ-

Active Voice

Due to the fact that many oxytone verbs have alternative presents in -ίζω (see 2.1.3.2), and that quite a few verbs in -ίζω have perfective stems in -ιξ (see 2.2.1.3), in the period covered by this Grammar certain oxytone verbs also begin to develop perfective stems in /iks/. Forms with -ηξ- are absent from 14th-c. works like the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy*,⁵⁷ and their first appearances in texts can be dated to the 15th c. Of course, whenever a variant in -ίζω is attested (see 2.1.3), it cannot possibly be established whether the form with /iks/ is derived from the barytone or the oxytone verb, as is e.g. the case with ἀκολουθῶ/ἀκολουθίζω; γροικῶ/γροικίζω; ἐρωτῶ/ἐρωτίζω; κρατῶ/κρατίζω; σταματῶ/σταματίζω; χαιρετῶ/χαιρετίζω; χλιμιντρῶ/χλιμιντριζω.

Forms with -ηξ- of the verb ἐρωτῶ are used quite generally, in various texts from different areas, though, notably, only rarely in texts from the south-east (Cyprus, Dodecanese):

νὰ ρωτήξουν Byz. Il. 284 (hapax, 3x -ησ-)
 κι ἄσ σ' ἄρωτήξουν Cyp. Canz. 132.18
 ἐρωτήξαμεν (1528, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 53, 173.47)
 ἠρώτηξεν (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 259.84.10)
 ἐρώτηξαν Diig. Alex. F 292.2 (Lolos)
 και ἑκεί την ανερώτηξε Apoll. Rim. E 1649
 ἐρώτηξα Pent. Gen. 24.47
 ἃ θε νὰ μάθης, ρώτηξε P&N Diath. 729
 θέλει σὲ ρωτήξει Vosk. 387
 νὰ μὲ ρωτήξει CHORTATIS, Erof. II.255
 ἐρώτηξά σε Pist. voskos V 5.246
 νὰ ρωτήξω MONTSEL., Evgena 39
 ἐρώτηξεν (1670, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 4, 16.12)

Others are found mainly in texts from south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese), Chios and certain Cycladic islands:

νὰ κρατήξη FALIEROS, Ist. On. 159
 να τον κρατήξεις Apoll. Rim. A 511 (also in EV)
 μηδεις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰσχύσαι κρατήξαι (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 6, 12.16)
 τὰ κράτηξε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 214.30);
 ἐκράτηξεν (1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.6)
 ἐκράτηξεν (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 733.17)
 ἐκράτηξα (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 50.89)
 τὸν ἐκράτηξε (1646 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 58, 149.68)
 ἐκράτηξε (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.7)
 νὰ κρατήξετε SOUMAKIS, Rebelio 57.1–2
 ἦβγασιν καὶ παντήξαν τον Achil. L 478
 δέτε, ἀπαντήξετέ μας Rim. than. 130
 ἐσυναπάντηξέ τους Pol. Tr. 1949 app. crit. (V)

⁵⁷ With one exception in a 16th-c. ms: ἐσυναπάντηξε Pol. Tr. 1949 app. crit. (V), where mss BX read ἐσυναπάντησε.

ἔσυνεπάντηξάν με DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1325
 ἐκεῖ του ἑσυναπάντηξε *Apoll. Rim.* V 237 (same in all versions)
 ὅποιο κι' ἂν ἀπαντήξω CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.123; γὰρ νὰ συνἀπαντήξομε *id.*, *Panor.* III.469
 πὰ ν' ἀπαντήξω τὸ παιδί *Thysia Avr.* 1112
 ἀπάντηξά σε *Pist. voskos* V 5.243
 γὰρ κείνο μοῦ παντήξασι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.13
 ἡπάντηξέν του (1670, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 4, 16.10)
 ἀπαντήξαν *Leilasia Par.* 595

 ἐζήτηξεν *Jonas* 217.109
 τὴ θεὸ ζήτηξαι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 160
 μὴ μοῦ ζητήξεις *Rim. kor.* A 72
 νὰ δυνηθῇ νὰ ζητήξῃ αὐτὸ τὸ ρέστος (1525, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 107, 199.20)
 καὶ νὰ ζητήξετε καὶ ἄλλον (1571, Mani, CHASIOIS 1970: 5, 239.12–13)
 νὰ ζητήξομε τὴν βοήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ MOREZINOS, *Klini* 20.28; δὲν ἤθελεν ζητήξιν *ibid.* 137.25; τοῦ ἐζήτηξα θέλημα *id.*, *Logos* 469.25
 ἐζήτηξες BAROZZI, *Letter* 358.11
 συμπάθιο νὰ ζητήξουσι CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.367
 καὶ τὴν εὐχὴ σου ἐζήτηξα KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.863
 ἐζήτηξέν το (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 181.73)
 ἐκεῖνο ὅπου μοῦ ζητήξεις *Bertoldos* 9.20
 ἐζητήξετε (1675, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 61.23)

 καὶ ἐσταμάτηξε καὶ αὐτός *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 177
 τὰ μάτια ἐσταματήξασι KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.557
 νὰ σταματήξῃ VEST., *Pathi* 409
 ἐσταματήξαμε σὲ μίαν μερέαν (1687, Andros, LAMBROS 1909b: 2, 244.5)

Others appear to be mainly Cretan:⁵⁸

γῆς, σκίσου, ρούφηξέ με CHORTATIS, *Panor.* V.203
 νὰ θεὸ νὰ τὸν ρουφήξῃ KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.658
 κάτω νὰ με ρουφήξῃ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.466
 νὰ με καταρουφήξῃ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 497.4
 καὶ ρούφηξε το φούντος IOAKEIM KYPR. *Pali* 3484

 ἀκλουθήξασιν SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 154
 καὶ ἔκει τον ἀκλουθήξασι *Apoll. Rim.* N 785
 ἄς ἀκλουθήξῃ *Pist. voskos* I 1.3
 κι ἀκολουθήξά σου TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.247

 κι ὥσὰ φυσήξῃς τὸ κερί KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1102
 τότες ὥσάν ἐφύσηξεν ἄνεμος οὔτου θέλαν IOAKEIM KYPR. *Pali* 6929
 ἀνέμοι ἐφύσηξασι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 263.1

 νὰ βοηθήξῃ *Pist. voskos* V 7.70
 καὶ θεὸς νὰ μοῦ βοηθήξῃς KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1909 (rhymes with ξανοίξης); κιανεὶς νὰ τῆς
 βοηθήξῃ *ibid.* IV.77 (rhymes with πνίξη)

⁵⁸ Note that modern Cretan still favours /ks/ over /s/; see KONDOSOPOULOS ³2001: 31–2.

The verb *τολμῶ* (perfective stem normally in *-ησ*) has a variant form *τρομῶ*, which is the result of two phonetic processes, namely liquid interchange (*τολμῶ* > *τορμῶ*, e.g. *νὰ μηδὲν τορμήσουν* (1449, Chios, LAIOU 1982: 4, 124.10)) and metathesis (*τορμῶ* > *τρομῶ*) (for details see I, 3.8.6.2 and 3.9.1), possibly also influenced by the semantically related verb *τρομάζω*. This variant can form its perfective stem in *-ησ* (e.g. *νὰ μηδὲν τρομήσω* *Liv. E* 3418; *οὐδὲ ἐγὼ θέλω τρομήσει* *Diig. Alex. F* 146.9 (Lolos); *ποτέ νὰ μὴν τρομήσει* *CHORTATISIS, Panor. V* 129), but in texts from Crete and the Aegean also in *-ηξ*:

τινάς ουδὲν ἐτρόμηξε νὰ ᾽πά' νὰ του ᾽μιλήσει *Apoll. Rim. V* 1481 (also in EN; *ἐτρόμαξε* in A);
 ουδὲ τρομήξουν ἤθελεν *ibid.* 1544 (also in AEN)
 νὰ μὴν ἔχη τρομήξει (1576, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 138, 259.15)
 νὰ μὴν τρομήξουσιν οἱ γυναῖκες (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 54.217)

Perfective stems in *-ηξ* for the verbs *πηδῶ* and *βροντῶ*, normal in SMG, are quite rare, and only appear from the 16th/17th c. onwards, mainly in Cretan texts, but in the case of *πηδῶ* also in *Don Kis.*, a text that was written in the Danubian Principalities in the early 18th c.:

καὶ τὸ ζιμιὸν ἐπήδηξεν ὁλόρθο σὰν τὸ λάφι *KORNAROS, Erot. II*.2142
 ἐτότες μ' ἐπηδήξασι ἀξάφνου *FOSKOLOS, Fort. III*.85
 ἐπήδηξε ἀπὸ το παραθύρι *Don Kis.* 137.2
 σὰ βροντήξει *CHORTATISIS, Panor. II*.259 (hapax, rhymes with *ρίξει*)
 ἐδέτσι ἀστραποβρόντηξε *KORNAROS, Erot. II*.2131

Forms with *-ηξ*- of the verb *πορπατῶ* (< *περιπατῶ*) have only been found in the *Pentateuch* and in *Erotokritos*, but it cannot be excluded that they were more widely used, at least in Cretan:⁵⁹

ἐπορπάτηξεν ὁ Νοαχ *Pent. Gen.* 6.9; ἐπορπάτηξα *ibid.* 35.3
 νὰ πορπατήξη *Pent. Exod.* 21.19
 ὅπου κι ἂν ἐπορπάτηξεν *KORNAROS, Erot. III*.1719 and *IV*.1099; δὲ θὲ νὰ πορπατήξη *ibid.* *IV*.73.

Some forms with *-ηξ*- even appear to be typical of certain authors/texts, e.g. *γλακῶ*, *γλακήξω*, *γροικῶ*,⁶⁰ *γροικήξω*, *τηρῶ*, *τηρήξω* and *χαιρετῶ*, *χαιρετήξω* of Chortatsis, *χλιμιτῶ*, *χλιμιτήξω* of *Alex. Rim.*, and *ξεψυχῶ*, *ξεψυχήξω* of *Diig. Alex. E*:

καὶ ἐξεψύχηξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Κτεναβῶ *Diig. Alex. E* 117.15 (Lolos)
 τότε πολλὰ χλιμίτηξε, βρουχᾶται ὥσπερ λέω *Alex. Rim.* 2919
 νὰ γροικήξου *CHORTATISIS, Erof. Dedic.* 10 (hapax; rhymes with *ἀνοίξου*); νὰ γλακήξει *id.*,
Panor. I.361; καθὼς ἐκείνη ἐγλάκηξε *ibid.* I.363; μα τήρηξε την ὀρεξη *ibid.* III.320; νὰ σὲ
 χαιρετήξω *id.*, *Katz.* II.164 (hapax; rhymes with *ἀνοίξω*)

⁵⁹ The noun *πορπατηξιά* is also found in *Velthandros* 614 and 715, *Panoria* I.426 and V.96, and *Fortounatos* III.742. *Panoria* and *Fortounatos* happen not to have perfective forms of this verb, *Velthandros*, however, has forms with *-ησ*-, e.g. *καὶ δέκα περιεπάτησεν Velth.* 243.

⁶⁰ Of the verb *γροικῶ*, one example with *-ηξ*- was found in the following text from Chios: *καὶ λύπην μὴν γροικήξω* *Vest., Paid. Makkav.* 706; but apart from the fact that it rhymes with *δείξω* in the previous verse, it should also be borne in mind that Chortatsis's *Erofilis* is one of the sources used by Vestarchis for his play (MANOUSAKAS/PUCHNER 2000: 49).

New oxytone verbs, e.g. τραβῶ (< τραβίζω < ταυρίζω) and βουτῶ (< βουτίζω, attested in the 13th c., see *LBG*), form perfective stems in -ηξ as well as -ησ:

ἐτράβηξεν *Pol. Tr.* 7065 app. crit. (C), where mss AX read ἐτάβριζε, V ἐτάβρισαν and B ἐτράβησεν
 νά τόν βουττήσουν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 72.9
 καί τήν ἐτραβήξαν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 81.18
 νά βουτῇσι *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 16.24
 νά μὲ τραβήσετε ἔξω *Alex. Fyll.* 103.19–20
 βούτησε τὰ ραβδία τοὺς *LANDOS, Geopon.* 153.25; but also: ἐὰν βουτῇσης τὰς ρίζας τοῦ *ibid.* 208.28
 βουτήσας εἰς τὸ βάθος *Vios Aisop.* D 242.14–15
 νά τραβήξει ὀπίσω *Bertoldin.* 136

Passive Voice

The perfective passive stem of verbs that form their perfective active stem in -ηξ is formed by substituting -θ- for -σ-. Before -θ-, the velar becomes -χ-. The combination -χθ- may then become -χτ- through manner dissimilation (for details on the chronology of the phenomenon, and the issues of contemporary writing practice and modern editing, see I, 3.8.1):

ἐκρατήχθηκά σου (1553, Crete, *ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI* 2002: 181, 170.12)
 νά κρατηχτῇ *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.2117; νά βοητηχτῶ *ibid.* III.353 app. crit. (X)
 ἐτραβήχθηκαν κάτω *Bertoldos* 71.31
 ἐτραβήχτησαν *Bertoldin.* 169.22
 ἐτραβήχθη ὀπίσω τοῦ ἀλογόνου τοῦ *Don Kis.* 46.1

From around the 15th c. onwards in texts of southern provenance such as Crete, Cyprus, the Heptanese and certain Cycladic islands, -χτ- can subsequently “reassimilate” to become -κτ- (cf. 2.2.1.3):

ἐκεῖ συνεπαντήκητησαν *Achil.* L 926
 ἐκεῖ ὁπὸπαντηκτῆκασιν *Apoll. Rim.* A 729 (same in all versions)
 νά ζητηκτεῖ *MOREZINOS, Klini* 27.6
 ἐτραβήκτη τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς Μικρῆς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 141.15
 γλυκοχαιρετηκτῆτε *Stathis* III.504 (γλυκοχαιρετικτῆτε in the ed.)
 ν' ἀποχαιρετηκτούσιν *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 378.8 (Xirouchakis); θὲ ν' ἀναζητηκτοῦνε *ibid.* 428.26 (both corrected to -χτ- in ed. Alexiou/Aposkiti)

2.2.1.9.3 -ασ- and -ασθ-/αστ-

Active Voice

Oxytone A-stem verbs that historically formed their perfective stem in -ασ, e.g. AG γελῶ, γερῶ (< γηρῶ/γηράσκω), ἔξερῶ (> ξερνῶ), κρεμῶ, περῶ (> περνῶ), χαλῶ, Koine πεινῶ, δειλιῶ, EMedG κερνῶ (< κεράννυμι), continue to do so throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

νά ἔχουν περάσει *Chron. Mor.* H 400
 ὅλους νά σᾶς κρεμάσουν *Pol. Tr.* 1464; ὅπου καί θὲν νά μᾶς χαλάσουν *ibid.* 6601 app. crit. (A)
 μὴ δειλιάσετε, ἄρχοντες *Achil.* N 450; ἀλλὰ ὁ εἷς τοὺς δέκα ἐσύνθλασεν *ibid.* 552
 κρέμασε *Dig.* E 802; περάσειν ἔχω *ibid.* 1532

μήτε ἐκκλησίας νὰ χαλάσωμεν (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.21)
 νὰ ξέρασα SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 196
 και εκρέμμασεν κ' εκείνον ἀπό τα πόδια VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 104.14–15
 ὅταν γεράσουν *Diig. Alex.* F 140.15 (Lolos)
 καὶ βλέπε μὴ δειλιάσεις *Thysia Avr.* 18; κρέμασε τὸ σκληρὸ σπαθί *ibid.* 232
 θέλει νὰ ξεδειλιάση KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.679
 ἔως πού νὰ γεράσης PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O Prol. 5
 ἐχάλασαν (17th c., Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.2, 72.17)
 οἱ Τούρκοι εδειλίασαν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 6897
 το ποτήρι ποῦ με ἐκέρασες *Alex.* Fyll. 115.16
 Ο δον Κισότε ἐγέλασεν *Don Kis.* 47.21; ἤθελε νὰ περάσει *ibid.* 49.11

Of a small group of verbs that usually have perfective stems in -αξ (see below, 2.2.1.9.4) forms with -ασ- can occasionally be found:

καὶ ἀπὲ τὰ δέντρα ἐπέτασεν *Achil.* L 713
 νὰ πετάση [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1555
 καὶ τὰ πουλιά ἐπετάσασιν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 64
 δὲν ἤμποροῦσιν νὰ πετάσουσιν *Fior* 97.19
 νὰ πετάσουν *Vios Aisop.* D 238.35 (but also: ἐπέταξεν *ibid.* 230.18)
 νὰ τοῦ τὸ ξεπετάσει *Bertoldin.* 151.3 (but also: νὰ ἀπετάξουν *ibid.* 141.6)
 ἐρπάσουσιν DELLAP., *Peri antapod.* 14
 ἔχει νὰ τὴν ἀρπάση PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 52

Passive Voice

The perfective passive stem of verbs that form their perfective active stem in -ασ is formed by adding -θ- to the perfective active stem. The combination -σθ- may then become -στ- through manner dissimilation (for details, see I, 3.8.1):

ἄν πεταστῇτε εἰς οὐρανόν *Liv.* E 522
 μέλλει νὰ κρεμαστῇ (13th?/16th c., Cyprus, *Assizes* A 185.29)
 ἐκρεμάστη *Spanos* A 99
 κ' ἔπειτα στὸ τραχήλι μας ὕστερ' ἀποκρεμάσθην BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 382
 καὶ θέλεις χαλαστεῖν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 642.30
 ἔχασθη *Synax. gyn.* 360
 ἀφ' ὕψους ἐπετάσθην *Dig.* T 2032
 καὶ ὅλοι χαλασθοῦμεν KONDAR., *Paides* 550

2.2.1.9.4 -αξ- and -αχθ-/-αχτ-, -ακτ-

Active Voice

A small group of verbs, among which are ἀρπῶ, βαστῶ, πετῶ, πλαντῶ and φυλῶ form their perfective stems in -αξ. These stems are built on the analogy of their, usually older and more common, barytone variants in -άζω or -άσσω: βαστάζω, πετάζω (< πετάννυμι), πλαντάζω, ἀρπάζω, φυλάσσω, for which see 2.2.1.3; see also 2.1.3.1.

ἤρπαξεν (post 1306, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 31, 163.[23]2)
 διατὶ ἐβάσταξε ἄρματα *Chron. Mor.* H 3337 (cf. βαστοῦν *ibid.* 2489; but also: ἐβάσταξαν *ibid.* 231)

καὶ ὡς γυνήν του νόμιμον κρατήσῃ καὶ φυλάξῃ *Pol. Tr.* 1128
 ᾗ τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ ἀπέταξεν *Arm.* 82
 καὶ πάσχου νὰ πλαντᾷ FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 57 (cf. πλαντᾷ *ibid.* 689)
 καὶ ἅμα τὸ σώσειν ἤρπαξεν τ' ἀριστερὸν τιμόνιν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 356 (cf. ἤρπου *ibid.* 41)
 ἐπέταξεν ἡ μία καὶ ἔφυγε *Vios Aisop.* D 230.18 (cf. νὰ πετοῦν *ibid.* 239.1; but also: νὰ
 πετάσουν *ibid.* 238.35)
 νὰ τὸν βαστάξῃ *Vios Aisop.* K 148.30–1 (cf. νὰ βαστᾷ *ibid.* 153.13; but also: ἔπαρε καὶ
 βάσταξε 153.20)

Some of these verbs (though not πλαντᾷ and φυλᾷ) also have variant perfective stems in -ας, for which see above, 2.2.1.9.3.

Passive Voice

The group of oxytone verbs that have a perfective active stem in -αξ /ak-s/ form their perfective passive stem by substituting /θ/ for /s/, resulting in -αχθ. Through manner dissimilation -χθ- may become -χτ- (see I, 3.8.1), and in certain areas -χτ- may “re-assimilate” to become -κτ-:

ὑπάγαυινε νὰ πεταχθῇ *Pol. Tr.* 5177; ἂν εἶχε τοῦτος βασταχθῇ *ibid.* 13370
 χίλιοι νὰ πεταχτήκα *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.439
 ἐπετακτήκα *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.331 app. crit. (DN)
 νὰ πετακτᾷ ὀλομόναχος FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.197 (corrected to πεταχτᾷ in the edition)
 νὰ πετακτοῦσι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 239.13 (Xirouchakis) (πεταχτοῦσι in ed. Alexiou/
 Aposkiti)

2.2.1.9.5 -εσ- and -εθ-, -εσθ-/-εστ-

Active Voice

Oxytone E-stem verbs that traditionally had aorists in -εσα continue to do so throughout and after our period, e.g. τελῶ, ἀρκῶ, ἐπαινῶ, καλῶ, which had -εσα in AG, or ἡμπορῶ (< εὐπορῶ), βαρῶ, φορῶ, πονῶ, χωρῶ, ὠφελῶ, which had -ησα in AG and obtained variant perfective stems in -εσ in post-classical times. Forms of both stems of these verbs are common, forms with -ησ being particularly common for compounds with the verb χωρῶ (see 2.2.1.9.1). Newer formations of perfective stems in -εσ include the verbs πλανῶ, καρτερῶ, εὐκαιρῶ, and ἀντῶ. Because the last two verbs also form alternative imperfective stems in -αίνω/-ένω (for which see 2.1.3.2), it cannot be established whether a perfective form with -εσ is derived from the oxytone or the barytone variant of the verb. Even when the imperfective stem transfers from E-stem to A-stem, the perfective stem in -εσ is usually retained:

καὶ ὁμῶς συγχώρεσόν με, πάτερ μου NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.3
 ἐγκαλέσαμεν (1128, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 13, 97.5)
 ἔ τσοῦκα, ὅπου τὰ ἐχώρεσες *Ptoch.* IV 217
 πῶς νὰ ἡπορέσω στέρησιν νὰ ἴδω τῆς θυγατρὸς μου *Eisit.* f.8 r.17–18
 νὰ τοῦ τὸ ἔχουν φορέσει *Chron. Mor.* H 953; οὕτως τοὺς ἐπλανέσαν *ibid.* 1099
 τὸν θέλουσιν ἐγρήγορα βαρέσει *Pol. Tr.* 1075; τὴν θλίψιν νὰ τελέσῃ *ibid.* 12925
 ἐψυχοπόνεσέ με *Liv.* V 3699
 εὐκαιρέσασιν τὴν χώραν (15th, Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28, 209.4.3–4)
 κανεὶν δὲν ἐκαρτέρεσεν *Chron. Toc.* 1495; πολλὰ ἐστενοχώρεσεν τὴν πόλιν Γιαννίνων *ibid.* 1819

πονέσετε FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 15
 τίποτες οὐδὲν ἐφέλεσεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 44.17 (< ὠφελῶ)
 ἐπαρκαλέσασιν τονε (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.9)
 οἱ Εβραῖοι ὄνταν ἐντεσαν στον Φαραῶ ἐκεῖνο ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 5018
 δὲν θὲν τὴν ἐπαινέση KONDAR., *Paides* 234
 τὴν ἐπιβουλίαν οἱποῦ ηθέλησαν νὰ ἀποτελέσουν *Alex.* Fyll. 111.3–4

In texts from Cyprus alternative perfective stems in -ησ can be found for some of these verbs, not only those which traditionally had -ησ such as πονῶ, but also e.g. for παρκαλῶ (for examples, see 2.2.1.9.1).

Passive Voice

Of oxytone verbs that form their perfective active stem in -εσ, the majority form the perfective passive stem in -εθ. A small group of verbs has perfective passive stems in -εσθ. The choice of -εθ or -εσθ can usually be explained historically: verbs that had passive aorists in -έθην retain their perfective passive stems in -εθ (e.g. ἐπαινῶ, αἰρῶ), whereas verbs that had passive aorists in -έσθην continue to do so in the period under review (e.g. τελῶ, ἀρκῶ). The verb καλῶ and its compounds had moved from an irregular passive aorist (ἐκλήθην) to a more regular one (ἐκαλέσθην) in the EMedG period, though the old forms can still be found in the texts examined. The sequence <σθ> may become <στ> through manner dissimilation (see I, 3.8.1). Verbs that transfer from stems in -ησ to stems in -εσ form their perfective passive stem in -εθ (e.g. βαρῶ, βαρήσω > βαρέσω > ἐβαρέθην):

ἀφαιρέθη (1225, Sicily, CUSA Coll. IX: 1868/82: 31, 449.15)
 πολλὰ ἠθέλαν βαρεθῇ *Chron. Mor.* H 2818
 ἠθέλες ... ἐπαινέθην *Dig.* E 252
 μήπως καὶ βαρεθῶσι σε *Pol. Tr.* 557 app. crit. (A)
 πολλὰ ἐβαρέθηκε *Spanos* D 395
 πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιᾱς λογῆς VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.20–1

 μετὰ δὲ τὸ συντελεσθῆν τὸν τριμηνῆον γάμον *Dig.* G IV.933
 ἠρκέστηκεν *Velis.* χ 398
 ὁποῦ μέλλουν νὰ ἄρκεσθούν (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.2)
 ἐγκαλέσθηκεν *Bertoldin.* 112.28–9
 ἐπικαλέσθηκεν (1688, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 113, 324.2)

2.2.1.10 Verbs with an Alternative Stem Formation in -κ-

2.2.1.10.1 Indicative

The athematic aorist in -κα in the singular of the three AG verbs δίδωμι, τίθημι, ἀφίημι had already begun to spread to the plural before the Hellenistic period (see MANDILARAS 1973: 145), and forms with -κ- (ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα or ἔθεκα and ἀφῆκα or ἄφηκα) are found for all persons throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

κακὴν βουλήν τὸν ἔδωκαν *Spaneas* P 221
 μά τὸν Θεόν ὁποῦ με ἔδωκεν τὸ κεφαλατίκιν (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.27–8)
 ὃν ἔδωκα χάριν ψυχικῆς μου σωτηρίας (1400, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 10, 194.6)

- οὔτε φίλημαν μὲ ἔδωκεν *Dig.* E 166
 ἔδωκαν οἱ ὅλοι τὸν λόγον τως (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 47.11)
 ἔδωκανε (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 176, 120.1)
 καὶ ἔδωκάν τα τοὺς Λατίνους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 28.4
 το πως ἔδωκαν *Diig. Alex.* K 365.15
 εἰς ὅ,τι ἄρα σοῦ ἔδωκαμεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 44, 42.5)
 ἔδωκα καὶ παράδωκαν (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 9, 131.13)
 καὶ ἔδωκε (1662, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 27, 33.11)
 τόση δύναμην ἔδωκαν *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 1005
 δὲν ἤδωκε ἄλλο τίβετις (17th c., Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.44)
 ἀνταπεδώκασι NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 180
 καὶ ἔδωκεν ἀπόκρισιν *Thrinos Kypr.* 144
- ἔθηκεν *Diig. sebast. Thom.* 335
 εἰς κάτεργα δύο τὴν ἔθηκεν *Chron. Mor.* H 2478
 ἐθέκαν *Dig.* E 480; but also: ἔθηκαν *ibid.* E 780
 ἔθηκαν *Assizes* B 395.23
 ἔθηκαν *Achil.* N 380; but also: ἐθέκαν *ibid.* 1832
 κανεῖς οὐδὲν ἐθέκεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1149
 ἤθεκα στὸ κρεβάτιν μου BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 4
 ἀπόθηκέν το εἰς το σκαμνὶ του *Diig. Alex.* K 375.1
 ἐμετάθεκα τὸ παρὸ (1610, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 7, 22.15)
 ἐθηκεν *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavrás) 161.2
 μοῦ θέκανε μαχαίρι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 540.22
 καὶ νὰ τὸν ἐμετάθεκαν οἱ φονογραμματαῖοι VEST., *Pathi* 188
 ἐμετάθεκα τὸ παρὸν (1681, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 70, 58.29)
- ἐμὲ ἀφήκαν NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.12
 τοῖς ἀφηκεν (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.16)
 ἄφηκες *Pol. Tr.* 1933
 ἤφηκεν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 22, 57.6)
 ἀφήκες ... τὸν κόσμον; *Alosis* 145
 μὰ πάλι ἀπεὶ σ' ἐφήκαν FALIEROS, *Thrinos* 280
 ἀφηκες ἄλλα εἶδη *Syndipas* 118.6
 ἐγὼ ἀφήκα πολλὰ χωριά *Fior* 125.3
 τοῦ ἐφήκαν (1602, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 8, 162.16–17)
 ἔφηκες GERMANO, *Grammar* 99.10
 μᾶς ἀφήκασι γραφικῶς LANDOS, *Geopon.* 130.18
 καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐφήκασιν KONDAR., *Paides* 957
 μᾶς ἀφηκεν (1663, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 39, 136.6)
 τὸν ἀφήκαμ' ἐφημέριον (1683, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 89, 321.7)
 τῶν τὸ ἤφηκεν (1688, Andros, PASCHALIS 1948: 44.5)

As is well known, the AG category of the Perfect had started to disappear from the spoken language already in Hellenistic times. Forms that morphologically are perfects continue to be used in written texts in the post-classical and Byzantine periods, but apart from the most classicizing texts they are generally used as aorists (HORROCKS ²2010: 131–2; HINTERBERGER 2014b), and by the beginning of the period covered by this Grammar their use is entirely residual. The only morphological perfect to have survived, but semantically

as an aorist, is εὔρηκα (< εὐρίσκω) (THUMB 1912: 147–8), which since Hellenistic times had been in use as an aorist indicative,⁶¹ alongside the inherited thematic form εὔρον/ηὔρον and, later, the newer form ηὔρα, both of which it eventually managed to supersede. Due to the sound change in the diphthong ευ from [eu] to [ew] and ultimately to [ev], which started around the 3rd c. BC (HORROCKS ²2010: 169), /e/ came to be reanalysed as an augment, thus facilitating the interpretation of the form εὔρηκα (also spelled ἔβρηκα) as an aorist, by analogy with the aforementioned aorists ἔδωκα, ἔφηκα, ἔθηκα (HORROCKS ²2010: 302). By analogy with ηὔρον/ηὔρα versus εὔρον, εὔρηκα could then also adopt the /i/ augment: ηὔρηκα (for εὐρίσκω/βρίσκω, see also 2.4; for the augment, see Chapter 3).

ηὔρηκαν *Dig.* G II.154
 ηὔρηκα *Dig.* E 1197; μας ἡβρηκαν *Dig.* E 1321 app. crit.
 εὔρηκεν *Assizes* A 222.16
 εὔρηκα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2367
 ηὔρηκε *Velth.* 244
 δὲν ηὔρηκα FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 18
 ἔβρηκασιν *Porikol.* I 127
 ευρήκασι *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.11
 ηὔρηκα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.177
 εὐρήκετε (1603, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 5, 21.14)
 ηὔρηκα πήχες εἴκοσι πέντε *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 43–4
 ηὔρηκε *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 9
 ἔσκαψαν τὴν κοπριά καὶ τὰ ηὔρηκαν *Paroim.* (Warner) 107.21–2
 καὶ εὐρήκασιν τὴνε (1689, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 852, 1138.7)
 εὔρηκε EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 26.15
 εὐρήκαμε (1719, Patmos, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 16.3)

A shift of the stress to the penultimate in proparoxytone forms, resulting in columnar stress (see also I, 4.2.4.2), occurs from at least the 15th c. onwards:

αὐτὸς ηὔρηκεν ἀφορμὴν *Chron. Toc.* 505
 εὐρήκαν καὶ ἑκατὸν χιλιάδες ἄλογα *Alex. Fyll.* 69.15; εὐρήκα χρυσάφι πολὺ *ibid.* 109.5
 ηὔρηκα VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 305
 εὐρήκαν NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 179

These forms are the precursors of SMG βρήκα, βρήκες etc., which are the result of deletion of the initial /e/ or /i/. The verb thus joined the small group of verbs with disyllabic aorists, which includes εἶπα, εἶδα, ἦρθα, μπήκα and βγήκα. This is probably due to the fact that these verbs uniquely share a tendency to become monosyllabic in the subjunctive (cf. εὔρω and εὐρῶ (> βρῶ), εἴπω and εἰπῶ (> πῶ), ἔμπω and ἐμπῶ (> μπῶ) etc.) and the infinitive (εὐρεῖν (> βρεῖ), εἰπεῖν (> πεῖ), ἐμπεῖν (> μπεῖ), etc.). Secure examples of the forms βρήκα, βρήκες etc. have not been found in the period covered by this Grammar; the Cretan work *Palaia kai Nea Diathiki* (mid-17th-c. ms, written in Latin script) offers: ἂν βρήκασι σωσμοδ *P&N Diath.* 1221 and δὲν τὸν βρήκα *ibid.* 2380 (3 pl.), but, as becomes clear from the

⁶¹ See for instance the following example from the *Septuagint*: καὶ ἐνέπρησεν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῆς, ὅτι οὐχ εὔρηκέν σε *Septuaginta*, *Regn.* III, 18.10.

critical apparatus, neither form is undoubtedly “augmentless”: v. 1221 reads: *aneuricassi* (ἀν εὐρήκασσι) and v. 2380: *dhedo* (δέν τὸ, not τὸν). The SMG form *βρήκα* is in all likelihood a late, or initially regional, development.⁶²

Apart from *ἔδωκα*, *ἄφηκα*, *ἔθηκα* and *εὗρηκα*, discussed above, there are many other verbs that show a /k/ stem in the aorist indicative. These alternative aorist indicative forms with -κ- (instead of the usual -σ-), are usually either interpreted as incorrectly formed perfects in which the augment replaces the reduplication (in other words, e.g. *ἐποίηκα* is in fact *πεποίηκα*, and *ἔβηκα* is in fact *βέβηκα*; see among others CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 548–9; MANDILARAS 1973: 146; GIGNAC 1981: 243–4) or as the result of confusion between the aorist and the perfect (MANDILARAS 1973: 57; HORROCKS 2010: 176–8 and 302–3). Though there is nothing inherently implausible about confusion in the Hellenistic period when the two tenses merged, the evidence for it in Greek papyri is relatively slender and relatively late: see GIGNAC 1981: 243–4 who offers a mere handful of examples from papyri of the 2nd c. AD onwards. In fact, the popularity of the κ- aorist (other than the inherited forms *ἔδωκα*, *ἄφηκα*, *ἔθηκα* and *εὗρηκα*) dates from long after the demise of the perfect. The first attestation so far of *ἐποίηκα* has been found in Malalas (6th c.): *καλῶς μὲν ἐποίηκατε* Malalas, *Chronogr.* 399.95 app. crit. (O) (ed. Thurn);⁶³ and the earliest example so far of *ἔβηκα* dates to the 9th c., appearing in a letter by Theodore of Studios: *ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἶονεὶ καὶ ἔργον προύβηκεν τὸ βουλευθὲν διὰ τῆς αἰτήσεως καὶ θείας συντεύξεως* Theod. Stud., *Letter* 52, l. 19 (in all mss, oldest ms (C) 9th c.; ed. Fatouros).

Whatever the origin of the remarkable /k/ stem, it should be stressed that from a semantic point of view these forms are indeed aorists. Take, for instance, the following 7th-c. example of *ἀπόλλυμι* quoted in the Chronicle of Theophanes (early 9th c.):⁶⁴ *πάλιν εἰς τὸν καῦκον ἔπιες· πάλιν τὸν νοῦν ἀπέλεκας* Theoph., *Chronogr.* 296.27 app. crit. (ed. De Boor). That this form is used as an aorist indicative becomes clear from subsequent Byzantine authors who quote this passage, such as the *Chronicle of the Logothete*, George the Monk, Constantine Pophyrogennitos, Kedrinios and Glykas; they all change the “vulgar” form *ἀπέλεκας*, not into a perfect (*ἀπολώλεκας*), but into an aorist, *ἀπώλεσας*.

It must also be stressed that some of the κ-aorists treated below are clearly not based on any parallel forms of the perfect: e.g. *ἔπεκε* derives from *ἔπεσε*, not from *πέπτωκε* and *ἐγλύτωκε* is formed from the innovative verb *γλυτώνω*. The same clearly goes for the /k/ attached to the passive aorist stem: *ἐλύθην* > *ἐλύθηκα*, the earliest examples of which date from the 13th c. (see 4.4).

Apart from *ἔδωκα*, *ἄφηκα*, *ἔθηκα*, *εὗρηκα* and the highly productive aorist passive in -ηκα, there are three other verbs which particularly favour the /k/ aorist in the Middle Ages and beyond: *βαίνω* and its prefixed derivatives, *ποιῶ* and *ἀπολύω/ἔξαπολύω*. To begin with the verb *βαίνω* and its derivatives *ἀναβαίνω*, *διαβαίνω*, *ἐκβαίνω/ἐβγαίνω*, *ἐμβαίνω/*

⁶² It is noteworthy that neither Chatzidakis nor Jannaris mention the form *βρήκα*.

⁶³ This form was corrected to a perfect (*πεποίηκατε*) by the editor. In the context an aorist is more suitable than a perfect.

⁶⁴ This is the reading of all mss but one (M), which reads *ἀπόλεκας* (corrected to *ἀπώλεσας* in the edition); interestingly, this form appears in a satirical song sung by the Demes in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in AD 609–10 (Theophanes quotes John of Antioch); see also MAAS 1912.

ἐμπαίνω, ἐπιβαίνω, καταβαίνω, συμβαίνει, these verbs may have developed a new ending -ηκα by analogy with ἔθηκα and ἄφηκα, or with εὔρηκα, with which they share certain common characteristics in the formation of perfective forms: εὐρίσκω, aor. ind. εὔρηκα > ἐβρήκα, aor. subj. εὔρω > εὐρώ > βρώ; ἐμβαίνω, aor. ind. ἐμβηκα > ἐμπήκα, aor. subj. ἐμβω > ἐμπω > ἐμπῶ > μῶ (see 4.4.2 and 4.2.3). The fact that /k/ forms of βαίνω can be found in early mixed-register texts such as Glykas and *Dig.* G indicates that by the 12th/13th c. they had become perfectly acceptable in writing (as noted above, the earliest example found so far dates to the 9th c.) (for these verbs' influence on the passive aorist see 4.4):

συνέβηκεν (1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 4, 58.9–10)
καὶ ὥσει σκιὰ διέβηκες GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 199
ἐπέβηκεν *Dig.* G IV.759
ἀνέβηκα καὶ ἐκάτσα *Ptoch.* I 131; εἰσέβηκα *ibid.* 130; καὶ μέσα νὰ ἐκατάβηκεν *Ptoch.* IV 191
ἐμπήκαν *Chron. Mor.* H 4846; ἀνέβηκεν *ibid.* 5357; ἐσυνέβηκεν *ibid.* 7203
ἐμπήκαν *Dig.* E 75; ἐδιάβηκα *ibid.* 545; ἐκατέβηκεν *ibid.* 618; οὐκ ἐβγήκα *ibid.* 1231; ἐξέβηκαν
ibid. 1411
ἐδιέβηκεν *Florios* 1487; ἔμπηκεν *ibid.* 1599
ἐπέβηκεν *Chron. Toc.* 19; ἀνέβηκεν *ibid.* 239; ἐκατέβηκαν *ibid.* 1722; ἐσυνέβηκεν *ibid.* 1982
ἤμπηκεν *Achil.* L 769 καὶ ἔμπηκεν *ibid.* 992
ἐκατέβηκαν *Achil.* N 550; ἐμπήκεν *ibid.* 1153; μή τι δεινὸν συνέβηκεν *ibid.* 1456
καὶ εἰς τὸ κάστρον ἀνέβηκεν *Achil.* O 526; ἡ κόρη ἐδιέβηκεν *ibid.* 1228
ἔμπηκεν *Byz. Il.* 974
σ' ἐμᾶς ἐκατεβήκαν *Alex. Rim.* 1643; ἐμπήκανε *ibid.* 1671; ἐμπήκαμε *ibid.* 2112
ἔμπηκαν *Bertoldos* 65.8

The verb ποιῶ forms an alternative perfective stem in -κ, alongside its regular sigmatic one ποιησ- (for which see 2.2.1.9.1), with both paroxytone and proparoxytone variant forms for the singular: ἐποῖκα and ἔποικα, on the model of its alternative sigmatic forms ἐποῖσα > ἔποισα (for which see 2.4; see also HATZIDAKIS 1892: 438). Alternative stress patterns are, of course, very convenient for poets, but proparoxytone forms are not restricted to metrical positions where such a stress pattern may be obligatory (e.g. before the caesura), or indeed even to verse texts, e.g. ἔποικα σχῆμα σιωπῆς BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 153, where ἐποῖκα would be equally acceptable metrically, and μὲ ἔποικεν (1480, Constantinople, LAMBROS 1908c: 1, 480.2). Examples occur from the beginning of the LMedG period in a large geographical area:

καὶ τώρα ἐποῖκε τὸν σταυρὸν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 262
καὶ ἐποῖκες με ἐρημίτριαν *Ptoch.* I 147
τί ἐποῖκεν ὁ πατήρ σου *Dig.* E 264
τὴν ἀγορὰ τὴν ἐποῖκεν *Assizes* B 286.18
ἐποῖκες ὡς εὐγενικὴ *Pol. Tr.* 341 app. crit. (EV)
τὸν ὄρκον τὸν μ' ἐποῖκες *Katal.* 24
σφακέλωμαν ἐποῖκεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1165
κι ἐποῖκε το μετὰ χαρᾶς FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 10; τὰ τόσα ποῦ σ' ἐποῖκαν *ibid.* 279
ὅπου μοῦ ἐποῖκετε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 48.30; δὲν ἐποῖκαμεν βεντέτταν *ibid.* 236.5
τὸ ποῖκεν *Rim. kor.* V 134
τὴν ἀντροπὴν, οὔτου τοῦ ἐποῖκαν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 52.9
ἐποῖκαν MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 227
ὄλα ἐσὺ τὰ ποῖκες MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2667

μέ τιμή το ἔποϊκαν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 3060
καὶ πρόσωπον ἔποϊκασιν *Thrinós Kypr.* 63 ms

τὰ λουτρικά τὰ μέ ἔποικες *Ptoch.* I 62
τί ἔποικεν ὁ παππούς σου *Dig.* E 254
ἄν ἔποικεν κανεῖς *Spaneas* Z 349
ἄτιμον πρᾶγμαν ἔποικεν *Pol. Tr.* 178; ἔποικες *Pol. Tr.* 341 app. crit. (AX)
πατήρ μου πρᾶξιν ἔποικες εἰς κόρην Πλάτζια–Φλώρη *Florios* 1075
καὶ ἔποικεν τέτοιαν τέχνην *Chron. Toc.* 932
ἀνδραγαθίης τὰς ἔποικεν *Velis.* χ 121
διὰ τὸν φόνον ὅπου ἔποικες *Achil.* N 994
καὶ τὰς πονηρίας, ἃς ἔποικες *Spanos* D 1288
τρεῖς χρόνους ὁ ἡμέριος ἔποικεν στὴν σκλαβίαν *Imb. Rim.* 725
ἐγὼ τὸ ἔποικα (1509, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1950: 1, 144.15)
ὁποῖος τὸ ἔποικεν MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 192
ἔποικε ἐξολόθρεμα EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 20.3

Only one instance has been found of the stem ποιηκ- instead of ποικ-, but this one example is purely graphematic and should be read as ἔποϊκασιν: κ' ἐποιήκασιν οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ ἐκείνους τοὺς τρεῖς ἀφέντες *Chron. Mor.* H 7383.

Similarly, the verb ἀπολύω and its derivative ἐξαπολύω has an alternative aorist ἀπέλυκα for ἀπέλυσσα from at least the 15th c. in texts from various areas. Given its relatively late appearance, it can safely be excluded that residual perfect forms had any influence on this development:

ἀπέλυκεν ἡ λειτουργία (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 530); ἀπεδὰ ἀπέλυκαν (ibid. 1415)
στά πταιίσματα σ' ἐπόλυκεν SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 21
καὶ ἀπέλυκες πιστάκια *Spanos* B 224
ἀφήκες, ἐξαπόλυκες, πανύμνητε, τὸν κόσμον; *Alosis* 145
ἦλθεν ἀετὸς μέγας ... καὶ ἀπόλυκεν αὐγὸν *Diig. Alex.* F 106.12 (Lolos) (same in E); καὶ
ἀπόλυκέν τους ibid. 240.15–16 (Lolos)
καὶ τους ἀπόλυκαν *Diig. Alex.* K 344.29–30; τὰ μαλλιά της ἀπόλυκεν ibid. 375.4
ἐπόλυκές τσι *Stathis* II.62
δὲν τὸ ξαπόλυκες *Pist. voskos* II 2.108
ἄξαπολῶ, [ἄξαπόλ]υσσα & [ἄξαπόλ]υκα GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. lasciare* and ibid., 299 s.v. *tralasciare*
ὁ Πιλάτος ... ἀπόλυκέν τους τον Βαραββάν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 15.15
τὸν πλάστην ἐξαπόλυκες KONAR., *Paides* 722
τὰ πλούτη ἐξαπόλυκες PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1025
παρευθὺς ἐξαπόλυκα ὅλα τὰ μοιρολόγια PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 246
καὶ τ' ἄλογά του ἐπόλυκε KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1749

It is important to realize that for the verbs δίνω, ἀφήνω, θέτω, ποιῶ and ἀπολύω the κ-aorist formation exists alongside the sigmatic one and that the /k/ stem, with the notable exception of ἀφήνω and δίδω (see below), is normally restricted to the indicative.

Seeing that certain MG dialects make extensive use of the κ-aorist,⁶⁵ it is clear that the limited number of examples in LMedG and EMG sources of verbs other than the ones

⁶⁵ KONDOSOPOULOS (³2001: XXIII) mentions general appearance of κ-aorists in the modern dialects of the Peloponnese, Old Athenian, Epirus and Skyros, and less general in Tsakonia and S. Italy.

mentioned above are likely to be just the tip of the iceberg, as there is a lack of material from certain areas and because forms as idiomatic as these are usually avoided in writing. Almost all examples of these alternative κ-aorists in LMedG and EMG sources are in /oka/ (from verbs in -ωνω and others) and in /ika/ (from oxytone verbs and others), but note the form *ἔπεκε* (= *ἔπεσε*) (and below, among the subjunctives, *πιάκεις*):

κι ἀπώθωκα τὴν διάταξιν στήν τήρησιν τῆς κούρτης *Chron. Mor.* H 7672
 μέγαν γομάριν ἐμπλάκωκες *Pol. Tr.* 6037 app. crit. (A); τὰ ἔντερα τῶν ζώων ἀποθώκαν *ibid.*
 11797 app. crit. (A)
 εἰς τὸ σκολεῖον ἐκάθηκα *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1209
 ὁ Πάρις μόνος ἐγλύτωκε *Byz. Il.* 426
 εἰς τὴν μέσσην βαρῆκαν *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* XVI.489 (but read βάρηκαν for the sake of the metre)
 ἐξενίζονταν πῶς ἐγλύτωκαν *MOREZINOS, Klini* 31.35; ἐβάρηκε *ibid.* 86.38
 ὅλα μοῦ τὰ ἐπλήρωκες *Diig. Alex.* F 120.15 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἔπεκε στάκτη ἓνα δάκτυλο εἰς ὅλην τὴν γῆν (1605–32, Preveza?, *LAMBROS* 1910: 241, 184.4) (= *ἔπεσε*)
 τὴν σήμερον ὁμολογήκαμε καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν (1636, Athens, *KAMBOUROGLOU* 1889: 182.1)
 ἴντ' ἄχεις; ποιός σοῦ βάρηκε; *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.50; γιὰ κείνο σοῦ βαρῆκα *ibid.* III.81
 ἐβάρηκε τοῦ Ἰησοῦ *P&N Diath.* 3078
 τότες δὲν τοῦ βαρῆκασι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 205.21; κι ὅλοι ὅπου γλυτώκανε *ibid.* 542.17
 ἐπουλήκασι παιδία (1670, Crete, *TSELIKAS* 1986c: 3, 36.30)
 καὶ δὲν τὸ ἐθάρηκασιν χάρισμα νὰ τοῦ δώσουν *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 168
 δὲ σώνει ὅπου μ' ἐγλύτωκε *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1397
 ὅλοι, πτωχὴ ἀδελφή, σ' ἀπαρτήκαν | ὅλοι σ' ἀρνήθησαν κι' ἀλησμονῆκαν *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.437–8; ὀπὸμπήκαν | οἱ Τοῦρκοι εἰς αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπατήκαν *ibid.* II.14

2.2.1.10.2 Other Moods

From the 14th c. onwards, the /k/ stems of *δίδω* and *ἀφήνω*, but not *θέτω*,⁶⁶ are also used for the aorist subjunctive, the gerund, the infinitive and the imperative, mainly in texts from Epirus, the Heptanese, the Peloponnese, Chios and certain Cycladic islands, and only rarely in texts from Crete and Asia Minor:

μὴ δώκης δῶρα αὐθεντὸς *Spaneas Z* 238; καὶ δώκουν καὶ σκοτώσου σε *ibid.* 327
 ἔλεγαν νὰ τὸ δώκουν *Chron. Toc.* 2472
 ἔτι νὰ δώκη ἡ εἰρημένη Χρυσάννα (1508, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 10, 18.20) (hapax)
 λιζάτον νὰ τοῦ δώκετε *Diig. Alex.* E 167.15 (Lolos)
 νὰ ἔχουν νὰ δώκουν (1549, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2001: 51, 93.5); ἤθελε δώκει (1555, *ibid.* 177, 228.28)
 νὰν τοῦ δώκω (1564, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 132, 216.14)
 νὰ τοῦ δώκετε (1571, Mani, *CHASIOTIS* 1970: 5, 239.10); νὰ τοὺς δώκης (*ibid.* 240.18)
 καὶ νὰ του δώκη καὶ τὰ καστέλλια *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 70.4
 ἔχεις τίποτις νὰ μοῦ δώκης; *GERMANO, Grammar* 71.25; παρὰδωκε *id., Vocab.* s.v. *raccomandare* (imp.)

⁶⁶ In Chios, however, an innovative *present* indicative with /k/ is attested, for which see 2.4.

νὰ παραδῶκουν VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 470; νὰ προδῶκη *ibid.* 900; ὅσα σοῦ δώκω *ibid.* 1591
 θέλω δώκω (1690, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 9, 23.24)

ἔχομε νὰ δώκωμε (1694, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 204, 123.12)

τί λόγο θέλεις δώκεις *Alfav.* II 31; ἀπόκρισιν θὰ δώκης *ibid.* 32

τοῦ δώκουνε (1605 [late 17th–early 18th c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 512.8)

ἤθελα τοὺς δώκω (1716, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 38, 140.7–8)

νὰ ἀφήκουσιν τὸ πέραμα *Chron. Mor.* H 155; ἦτον ἀφήκοντα *ibid.* 4689

μὴ τὴν ἀπαφήκης *Spaneas* Z 171; μὴ τὰ ἐξαφήκης *ibid.* 421

νὰ μὲ ἀφήκης *Pol. Tr.* 414 app. crit. (EV); νὰ μηδὲν τὴν ἀφήκουν *ibid.* 2371 (mss ABV)

εἶχεν ἀφήκει τὴν μητέρα του *Diig. Alex.* V 33.15; νὰ τὸ ἀφήκωμεν *ibid.* 56.26

τὸν Τοῦρκον ἂν ἀφήκετε *Alosis* 845

ν' ἀφήκης τὸ δοξάριν *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 217

νὰ τοὺς ἀφήκη ζακόνια καλὰ *Diig. Alex.* F 188.10 (Lolos)

καθὼς τοὺς εἶχεν ἀφήκει ὁ Νεκτεναβός *Diig. Alex.* K 349.23

δὲν ἔχω τὸ ποῦ ν' ἀφήκω τὰ παιδία σου (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.12)

δὶα νὰ μὴν ἀφήκω σκάλα ἔτοιμη τοῦ ἀντροῦς μου (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 6, 33.30)

ν' ἀφήκη ἐσένα ὁ λωλός *KONDAR., Paidēs* 974

μὴν μ' ἀφήκης (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.4)

θὲ νὰ ῥήκουμε (1705, Symi, GEORGA-VOLONAKI 1974: 1, 204.16)

The /k/ stem of ἀπολύω is only sporadically used for moods other than the indicative: ὅταν ῥπολύκουν τὸ ἀρνί *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 300.19.

Other examples of the subjunctive formed from the /k/ stem are the following, found in the Epirot version of *Spaneas* and in a document, also from Epirus: ποσῶς μηδὲν γογγύκης *Spaneas* Z 338 app. crit. (<γογγύζω); νὰ τὸν πιάκης (17th c., Epirus, MERTZIOS 1936b: 13, 51.10).

2.2.2 Non-sigmatic

2.2.2.1 Nasal/liquid stems

2.2.2.1.1 Nasal Stems

Verbs in -άνω/-ύνω/-αίνω

Verbs in -άνω, -ύνω and -αίνω fall into three different categories where the formation of their perfective stems is concerned:

- 1) AG and post-classical verbs in -αίνω and -άνω that had perfective stems in -αν (e.g. πικραίνω, ὑγιαίνω) continue to do so before, throughout and after our period. The majority of newer verbs in -αίνω also form their perfective stems in -αν (e.g. ἀποθαίνω < ἀποθνήσκω, ἀνασπαίνω, βουβαίνω, ζεσταίνω, ὀλιγαίνω, τρελαίνω).
- 2) Verbs in -ύνω/-αίνω (e.g. ἀπαλαίνω < ἀπαλύνω, εὐρύνω, μολύνω, πλαταίνω < πλατύνω) retain their AG perfective stems in -υν; a number of newer verbs in -αίνω, derived mainly from adjectives (e.g. ἀσχημαίνω, θαμπαίνω, ψαραίνω), also form their perfective stems in -υν, most probably by analogy with the first, since both groups of verbs fall into the same semantic category, denoting a change of state, especially of outward appearance. In modern editions the /i/ in the perfective stem of the second group, the “new” verbs in -αίνω, is sometimes spelled with <η> or <ι> instead of <υ>

- 3) Verbs in -άνω/-αίνω that had thematic aorist formations in AG retain their thematic aorist stems, e.g. λαβαίνω (< λαμβάνω), λαβ-; λαθαίνω (< λανθάνω), λαθ-; λαχαίνω (< λαγχάνω), λαχ-; μαθαίνω (< μανθάνω), μαθ-; παθαίνω (< πανθάνω < πάσχω), παθ-; τυχαίνω (< τυγχάνω), τυχ-. For these verbs see 2.2.2.2.

Active Voice

ὕγιανε *Pol. Tr.* 6427 app. crit. (A)
 ἐνέσανα *Spanos* A 262 (ἀνασαίνω)
 ἀπόκρυσσε και ᾿χάθη *Apoll. Rim.* A 1457 (same in all versions)
 οὐδ' ἐλιγάνα *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 108 (3 pl.)
 ἀποκρύσαναν, ὡς γοιὸ νὰ εἶχαν τζακκιστεῖν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 344.1; τότες ἀναφάναν οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ *ibid.* 660.28 (ἀναφαίνω)
 καὶ κατάντανε *Rim. kor.* A 28 (κατανταίνω)
 κι ἔγιανέ με *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.345
 τὸ κορμί τση ἐκρύγιανε *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.560
 ἐπατρατρέλλανέ με *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 77
 και πῶς τους απομώρυνες *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1071
 ἐπλουτύνετε *Chron. Mor.* H 5107
 πολλὰ θέλει πλατύνει *Pol. Tr.* 197; πολλὰ ἀπομακρύναν *ibid.* 225
 ἐγὼ ᾿μαι ὁποῦ σέ ἐνέθρεψα καὶ ἐκατεκάλλυνά σε *Achil.* N 1070
 ὅτι πολλὰ ἀσχήμενε *Spanos* D 397
 μετέπειτα ἀκρίβηνε τὸ ἀλεύρι (post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 5, 18.4)
 ἐβράδυνεν, ἐνύκτωσεν [*ANDR. PALAIOIOL.*], *Kallim.* 937
 γι' αὐτὸ οὐκ ἐπληθύνασιν οἱ πόνοι οὐδ' ἐλιγάνα *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 108
 θέλει παχύνειν *Alosis* 847
 ἐφτωχήνασι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 53.22
 ὅταν ἐβράδυνεν, ὑπῆγεν μὲ τὸ φουσάτον του *Diig. Alex.* E 131.2 (Lolos)
 σαν εἶδα κι εψαρήνασι κι ασπρίσα τα μαλλιά μου *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.286
 λαμπρύνετε τὰ ἄρματα σας *Alex. Fyll.* 40.20
 ἤθελες μὲ πλουτίνει *Bertoldos* 61.9
 μιὰ τρίχα δὲν τ' ἀψάρινε *Pist. voskos* V.201
 ὅτι ἀλάφρυνεν ὁλότελα τὸ φόρτωμάν του *Vios Aisop.* I 251.38

Passive Voice

Verbs in -αίνω that have a perfective active stem in -αν form their perfective passive stem either by adding -θ- to the active stem, or by substituting -θ- for -ν-. The choice of -νθ- or -θ- can usually be explained historically: AG and post-classical verbs in -αίνω that had perfective active stems in -αν and aorists in -άνθην (e.g. εὐφραίνω, ἀναφαίνω, πικραίνω, γλυκαίνω) continue to form their perfective passive stems in -ανθ; newer verbs in -αίνω with perfective active stems in -αν (e.g. τρελαίνω, βουβαίνω, ζεσταίνω) as a rule form their perfective passive stem in -αθ, although there is always room for variation, especially with verbs like πικραίνω, γλυκαίνω, which belong to the same semantic category as the newer verbs in -αίνω (“to become X”):

ἐφάγασιν, εὐφράνθησαν *Pol. Tr.* 711 app. crit. (BEVX); οἱ πάντες ἐπικράνθησαν *ibid.* 12890
 ἐκατεπικράνθη *Liv.* E 2597
 καὶ τάχα ἐγλυκάνθη *Liv.* V 3898; but also: καὶ καταγλυκαθῇ *ibid.* 908; πάλιν νὰ εὐφρανθοῦμεν *ibid.* 3913; τοὺς ἐκατεπικράθηκα *ibid.* 4003
 πολλὰ ἐπικράνθη *Liv.* α 1422

καὶ ποττὲ δὲν ἐγλυκάνθη *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 620.16
 ἡ γλῶσσα μου ἔξηράνθη *Krasop.* AO 42
 νὰ γλυκαθῇ ἡ πικριά μου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 51 (γλυκανθῇ in V)
 πολλὰ το ἐπικράνθη *DEFAR., Sos.* 10 (Holton)
 πασάνας ἐπικράθη *Alex. Rim.* 1789
 καὶ παρευθὺς ἐξηράνθη ἡ συκία *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 21.19; but also: ἐξεράθησαν
ibid. 13.6

As in previous stages of the language, verbs in -ύνω in principle add -θ- to the active stem in -ν; however, the nasal of the verb stem may be deleted before the fricative /θ/ (see I, 3.6.2.2):

μεγάλως τὸ ἐβαρύνθη *Chron. Mor.* H 2531
 τόσον αὐξύνθη ὁ λαός *Pol. Tr.* 13429
 αἰσχύνθη γοῦν ἡ ἔλαφος *Diig. tetr.* 416
 ὁ λόγος ἐπλατύνθηκεν *Chron. Toc.* 1452
 καὶ ἡ χώρα του ἐπληθύνθη *Achil.* N 84
 ὥστε ὁποῦ ἐμεγαλύνθη *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 33 transcr. (Lendari)
 ἐπαχύνθη ἡ καρδιά τοῦ λαοῦ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 13.15
 ἐὰν ἐμολύνθη, χαλοῦσι τὰ χαλούμια *LANDOS, Geopon.* 252.1
 ἂν αὐξυνθῇ (1653–5, Venice, *FONKIČ* 2000: 240, f.1v.22)
 πῶς κατησχύνθη *ο εχθρός IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 570
 ἐβαθύθη *Peri xen.* 355
 ἐδριμύθη *Spanos* B 88
 μὲν τὸ βαρυθῆς *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 108.30
 ἐπλατύθη *Pol. Tr.* 5867 app. crit. (V) (ἐπλατύνθη in BCX)

Stems in -ν or -μ

Active Voice

This category comprises verbs ending in -ίνω, -ένω and -έμω. As in previous stages of the language, verbs with an /e/ in their stem, such as νέμω, μένω and their compounds (the verbs γέμω and τρέμω do not have perfective stems), form their perfective stems by substituting /i/ for /e/. This /i/ is conventionally spelled <ει> for historical/etymological reasons, as it derives from an AG long [e:], the result of compensatory lengthening after deletion of the standard aoristic formant {s} in the adjacency of a nasal. Verbs in -ίνω, such as κρίνω and κλίνω, have identical imperfective and perfective stems. This group of verbs excludes former vowel-stem verbs in -νω (e.g. δένω), which have sigmatic perfective stems (see 2.2.1).

κοσμήτης οὐκ ἀπέμεινεν *Ptoch. I* 79
 ἀνευ αργυρίου καὶ τιμῆς διένειμεν τον σίτον *Diig. Apoll.* 128
 ὦδε μὲ περιμείνατε *Velth.* 280
 ἐδιέμεινεν *Ekth. Chron.* 13.23
 ἔμειναν εὐχарιστημένοι (1545, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2002a: 153, 100.10)
 καὶ ἀπόμειναν πολλὰ κοτέντοι (1605, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 311, 296.26)

Imperfective nasal stems in -ν that derive from liquid stems in -λλ, such as βάνω <βάλλω, ἐβγάνω <ἐκβάλλω and Cretan σφάνω <σφάλλω, retain their perfective stems in -λ, for which see 2.2.2.1.2. For βάλλω see also 2.4.

Passive Voice

Verbs in -ίνω form the perfective passive stem by substituting -θ- for active -ν-, though occasionally (especially in *Diig. Alex. F*) a nasal is added before the fricative /θ/ (for which see 2.2.3; see also I, 3.5.2.4). Verbs in -μω (τρέμω, νέμω) tend not to have perfective passive morphology.⁶⁷

ἀφοῦ κλιθῆς καὶ μαρανθῆς GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 219
 διὰ νὰ κριθοῦμε μετ' αὐτό *Chron. Mor.* H 7671
 ἐκέϊνοι ἀνταπεκρίθησαν *Achil.* N 421
 ἀπεκρίθηκα οὐχί (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 43, 75.18–19)
 καὶ μ' αὐτὴν ἐσυγκλίθη *Alex. Rim.* 171
 θέλω νὰ ὑποκριθῶ, ἦγουν νὰ καμωθῶ μετὰ σέ *Vios Aisop.* K 177.1
 νὰ συγκλιθεῖ, σαν πεθυμάς *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.551
 καὶ νὰ κατακριθεῖ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 8.31

2.2.2.1.2 Liquid Stems

Active Voice

Verbs with imperfective stems in -λλ or -λν retain their inherited perfective stems: verbs with /e/ in their stems, such as ἀνατέλλω, στέλλω/στέλνω, ἀγγέλλω/ἀγγέλνω and their compounds, substitute /i/ for /e/ in their perfective stems. This /i/ is conventionally spelled <ει> for historical/etymological reasons, as it derives from an AG long [e:], and is the result of compensatory lengthening after deletion of the aoristic formant {s} in the adjacency of a liquid. Verbs with /a/ in their stems, such as σφάλλω and ψάλλω have perfective stems in -αλ. Verbs with imperfective stems in -ρ, such as ἐγείρω/γέρνω, δέρω/δέρνω, σπείρω/σπέρνω, σύρω/σέρνω and φθείρω also retain their inherited perfective stems, which used to be identical to their imperfective stems, before the addition of /n/ to the latter. The verb φέρω/φέρνω, which had obtained a new aorist ἔφερα for AG ἤνεγκον in at least the EMedG period,⁶⁸ also belongs to this category.

ἀνάτειλες GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 200
 ἐνέγγειλεν *Jonas* 214.28
 στήν Βενετίαν ἀπόστειλεν τὰ πλευτικά *Chron. Mor.* H 1396
 ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος *Achil.* L 1077
 στείλε τον ἐδῶ (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.11–12); ὅ,τι ... ἐπαρεγγείλατε (1489, Constantinople, *ibid.* 19, 100.8)
 ἐπεστείλασιν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1240
 ἤθελεν ἵξαποστείλει (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 16, 94.9–10)
 στείλε ὑψηλὴ γραφὴν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.25)
 θὰ τσῆ στείλω *CHORTATIS, Erof.* II.15

⁶⁷ No passive examples have been found of νέμω, a verb that is generally rare in the examined texts. For a rare passive imperfect τρεμάμη in *Falieros* see 4.3.1.2.

⁶⁸ Perfective forms with φερ- can be found in the work of John Moschos (6th–7th c.), e.g. καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἔφερα πρὸς ὑμᾶς *Moschos, Leimon* 3004.4; φέρετέ μοι ᾧδε σκάφην μεγάλην *ibid.* 3057.39 (ed. Migne); cf. also the following innovative aorist participle: καὶ φέρας καὶ τὸν ἕτερον βούν *Vios Philaret.* 187 (9th c., 11th-c. ms).

ἐξαπόστειλεν (1601, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 31, 111.6)
 θέλω τοῦ παραγγεῖλει (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 139.18)

νὰ ψάλουσιν τὸν ταπεινὸν ξένον *Imb. Rim.* 781
 ἥσφαλα (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 24.9)
 διὰ νὰ ψάλει ὁ κόρακας ἔχασε τό τυρί *Bertoldos* 72.35–6
 θεὸ νὰ μὲ ψάλῃ (1678, Andros, POLEMIS 1977: 1, 29.9)
 δὲ θεὸ σφάλλω *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 568

ἀνέγειρεν (1225, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 31, 450.17)
 σπεῖρε *Pol. Tr.* 574; νὰ βάλω νὰ σὲ σύρουν *ibid.* 1465
 νὰ σύρω *Dig.* G II.196
 ἐδιάγειρε *Dig.* E 202
 σύρε *Spanos* A 12
 νὰ γείρη *Defl. Par.* 21
 ἔσυρες *Cypr. Canz.* 127.29
 ὁπού ᾿χεν σπεῖρει (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 34, 40.4)
 καὶ ἔσυρε μία σοῖττα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.20
 μῆτε ἔφθειρεν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.36
 δὲ θεὸς γιαγειρεῖ *Thysia Avr.* 781
 ποτε δὲν ἐγιαγειράμεν ὀπίσω *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 35.2
 σύρτε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 527
 εἶχεν δεῖρει *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §11.14

ἐπρόσφεράν με (14th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1956: [4], 40.5)
 θέλω ἀναφέρει *Ptochol.* α 629
 ἔμαθα καὶ ἀνάφερα (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.2)
 εἶπαμεν, ἐνεφέραμεν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1266

Passive Voice

For the passive voice, too, the inherited perfective stems remain in use (e.g. ἀγγέλλω, ἀγγελθ-; στέλλω, σταλ-; σύρω/σέρνω, συρθ-; χαίρω, χαρ-), but for some verbs new formations appear from at least the 14th c. onwards, whereby the passive perfective stem is formed in a more regular fashion, by adding -θ to the old passive stem (e.g. σπεῖρω/σπέρνω, σπαρ-θ-; στέλλω/στέλνω, σταλ-θ-; ψάλλω, ψαλ-θ-). This -θ- only sporadically becomes -τ- (for details on chronology and geographical spread, see I, 3.8.1).

εἰς ἄλλον ἀπεστάλη *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 565
 πρὸς μὲ σταλεῖς τὸν ἐλεεινὸν *Ptoch. IV* 129
 ἀπεστάλην *Liv.* α 2024 app. crit. (N)
 ἐστάλησαν ὀπίσω [*ANDR. PALAIOIOL.*], *Kallim.* 207

νὰ τὴν περιχαρῶσιν *Pol. Tr.* 280
 ἐχαρήκετε *Diig. Alex.* F 22.20 (Konstantinopulos)

ἐπαρηγγέλθηκεν *Pol. Tr.* 683
 ἐφέρτην *Assizes* B 425.28
 νὰ φερθοῦν οἱ ἄγιοι *AGAP., Mart. Ag. Deka* 228
 ἐσύρθηκεν (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.35)
 νὰ γιαγερθοῦσιν (1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 6, 416.20–1)

ἀπεστάλην *Liv.* S 805 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 βαλθήκετε *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 226 app. crit. (B)

καὶ νὰ θαπτῶ καὶ νὰ ψαλθῶ (1528, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 125, 228.9)
ἐστάληκα KALLIOUR., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 15.24; ἀπεστάλη ibid. Louk. 1.26

νὰ σπαρτοῦν *Assizes* B 407.26

ὄντε σπαρθοῦσι (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 311, 296.9–10)

ἐδάρθηκα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §20.2

ἀπ' ὅ,τι σπαρθῇ (1660, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 29, 176.29)

ἐδάρθηκες, ὑβρίσθηκες NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 246

For verbs in -άρω/-ίρω/-έρω, see 2.2.4.1; for ἐπαίρω and καθαίρω see 2.4.

2.2.2.2 Thematic Aorist

Verbs that had a thematic (or second) aorist in AG and that survive in the period covered by this Grammar usually retain their inherited perfective stem, e.g.:

βάλλω, βαλ-: καὶ ὑπεβγάλη με NIKON, *Logos* 9 315.32; βάλετε χέρι νὰ μιλήσετε (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 182.41)

βλέπω, ἰδ- (in AG associated with ὁράω, the aorist attached itself to βλέπω on semantic grounds): εἶδαμεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 914; νὰ ἰδοῦσι (1663, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 1, 11.4)

ἔρχομαι, ἔλθ- (and its phonetic variant ἔρθ-): ἦλθαν NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.9; διὰ νὰ ἔλθουσι (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 1, 25.5); ἦρθαν EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 30.1

εὐρίσκω, εὐρ-: δὲν ἤρρα (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.2); ἐὰν σᾶς ἦθελα εὐρεῖ *Diig. Alex.* F 204.16 (Lolos)

λαβαίνω (< λαμβάνω), λαβ-: ἔλαβα μνηστρα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 17.54–5); θέλεις νὰ λάβης VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 94

λαθαίνω (< λανθάνω), λαθ-: ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄγγελον GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 565; τὰ λόγια δὲν τῆς ἔλαθαν *Fyll. gadar.* 45

λαχαίνω (< λαγχάνω), λαχ-: ἦλαχα CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.4; εἶχες λάχει PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.36

λέγω, εἶπ-: νὰ εἶπῶ *Achil.* N 2; εἴπασιν νὰ κάμουσιν (1580, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 24, 161.15)

μαθαίνω (< μανθάνω), μαθ-: ἐκατέμαθεν *Dig.* E 629; θέλετε μάθειν (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 101.9)

παθαίνω (< πανθάνω < πάσχω), παθ-: θὲ νὰ πάθη MONTSEL., *Evgena* 42; ποὺ πάθαν BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 145.21

πίνω, πι-: νὰ φᾶν, νὰ πιοῦν *Defi. Par.* 208; ὅταν ἐπίασι νερό ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 2.2

πίπτω/πέφτω, πεσ-: νὰ ἔχης πέσει *Pol. Tr.* 3700; ἐπέσαν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 505

τρώγω, φαγ- (in AG connected with the verb ἐσθίω on semantic rather than morphological grounds, it later became associated with τρώγω): ἐφάγαν γιόμαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 44.25; φάγε GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.2

τυχαίνω (< τυγχάνω), τυχ-: ἀπότυχε (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 11, 223.3); ἄ μοῦ τύχει θάνατος (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 36.3)

φεύγω, φυγ-: ἐπροσέφυγα NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.22; ἐμέλλαν να φύγουν ANDONIOS, *Vios Sym. Styl.* 243–4.14, 1.

A few of these verbs move over to a regular sigmatic formation, among which most prefixed derivatives of ἄγω, ἄξ- (for AG ἀγαγ-; see also 2.4); the verbs ἔρωτῶ, ἔρωτησ- (AG ἔρ-, aor. ind. ἠρόμην); τρέχω, τρεξ- (AG δραμ-); λείπω, λειψ- (AG λιπ-); πείθω, πεισ- (AG πιθ-); and prefixed derivatives of -λαμπάνω (< λαμβάνω), for which see 2.2.1.5. For the

alternative vowel stems and “contracted” forms of φάγω and ὑπάγω see also 2.2.2.3. For barytone and oxytone alternatives in the aorist subjunctive of some of these verbs see 4.2.3. For γίνομαι and its peculiarities, see 2.4.

2.2.2.3 Vowel Stems

Two of the verbs that retain the stem of their inherited thematic aorists, namely τρώγω (perfective stem φαγ-) and ὑπάγω/ὑπαγαίνω (perfective stem (ύ)παγ-) may lose their intervocalic /γ/ and exhibit forms in the aorist indicative (τρώγω only, e.g. ἔφα < ἔφαε), subjunctive, imperative and infinitive, in which the vowel of the ending, /e/, /i/, /o/ or /u/, is deleted after the /a/ of the stem, in accordance with the vowel hierarchy (see I, 2.9.2). It is difficult to establish when these forms came into existence, but at least the 2 sg. imperative ὕπα is attested from the 6th c. onwards.⁶⁹

νὰ κάτσωμεν νὰ φᾶμεν *Ptoch.* I 243

νὰ φᾶ τὴν πίτταν *Vulgärorakel* I.98; ἔφα τὸ μιὰρὸν ποντίκιν *ibid.* VI.1

νὰ μῆδε φᾶς *Dig.* E 662

νὰ φᾶν *Assizes* B 381.3

ἔφας *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 203

ὅπου ἔφας *Poulol.* 14; ὅπου ἔφα τὰ πουλία μου *ibid.* 393

νὰ φᾶν (1449, Chios, *LAIΟΥ* 1982: 4, 124.8)

ἔφα *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 23; ἄν φᾶ *ibid.* 261

καὶ ἔφαν ... καὶ ὄνταν ἀπόφαν, ἔππεσεν ... καὶ ἐκοιμήθην *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 6.22

που νὰ ᾽χε φα φαρμάκι *Kakop.* 115 (inf.)

ἔλα σὲ φᾶν οἱ σκύλοι *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.142

διὰ νὰ φᾶ *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 732

νὰ φάνε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 98.20

ἔφας, ἔφα ... ἐφᾶτε ... ἐφάσι *GERMANO, Grammar* 96.2–3

νὰ τὸ φάσινε (1649, Mykonos, *ZERLENDIS* 1924a: [5], 20.22)

ὕπατε, παραλάβετε *Dig.* E 174

ὕπα, ᾶς ἀνασάνωμεν *Liv.* V 2377

πᾶτε νὰ γλυτωθῇτε *Anak. Konst.* 34

ὕπα ... γυνή, εἰς ὁδὸν εἰρήνης *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 62

ὕπατε καὶ στολίσετε τὴν κόρην *Flor.* L 956

ὕπᾶ θέλεις εἰς τὸν καλόγερόν σου; (15th c., Athos?, *VASMER* 1922: 1945–6) (infinitive)

ὕπατε, θάψετε τὴν *SACHLIKIS, Katalogi* 97; νὰ πᾶ νὰ ταξιδεύση *id., Afigisis* 283

ὕπα, σηκώσου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 377

νὰ ὑπᾶσιν *Achil.* N 705; ᾶς ὑπᾶμεν *ibid.* 1335

νὰ πᾶνε *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 362.32

νὰ πᾶσι (1598, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1995a: 43, 191.21)

νὰ πᾶ ᾽ς τὴν Ἑρδελίαν *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 160

νὰ πὰ νὰ κυνηγήση *MONTSEL., Evgena* 101

νὰ πὰ νὰ πάρη *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.196

μέλλει νὰ πᾶνε (1683, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 323, 523.4–5)

⁶⁹ The earliest examples found so far are: ὕπα Barsanuphius & John of Gaza, *Letter 1*, 31 and *Letter 219*, 15 (eds. Neyt/de Angelis-Noah) (6th c.); ὕπα μάθε τὴν κατάστασιν *Satirical Songs* IV 35.1 (ed. Maas) (song dated 26/11/602); ὕπα Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool* 151.3, 161.20 and 165.8 (ed. Rydén); *id., Life of John the Almsgiver* 396.2, 385.11 and 392.27 (eds. Festugière/Rydén) (7th c.).

The imperative forms φά and φᾶτε appear in the later part of the period covered by this Grammar. Since the number of literary contexts in which a command “eat!” is likely to be issued is fairly limited, it is probably coincidental that the singular form has only been found in Cretan theatrical texts, especially when one considers the much wider geographical spread of the form for the 3 sg. aorist subjunctive: καὶ κάτσε φά το CHORTATISIS, *Katz.* IV.24; φά το *Stathis* III.251; φά τα *Thysia Avr.* 539; λέγει τους ὁ Ἰησοῦς: ἐλάτε φᾶτε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 21.12.

Forms without vowel deletion after the loss of the /y/ of the stem can sometimes be found:

γλυκὺν τὸ φαεῖν *Paroim.* I 34 (for such substantivized infinitives see II, 2.20)

διὰ νὰ φάη (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 51, 90.15)

σὲ θέλω φαεῖν *Diig. Alex.* F 64.8 (Konstantinopoulos)

ἀνὲ καὶ φάης *Stathis* II.90

νὰ φάη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 143.21

ἐφαε τὸ φαρμάκι (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.11)

θέλειν ὑπάει *Diig. Alex.* F 186.5 (Lolos)

ὄλα τως τὰ ψέματα θέλουσι πάει εἰς τὸ βυθὸ (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.38)

νὰ ὑπάης (1571, Unknown, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 8, 481.7); νὰ μὴ πάης (ibid. 481.16); νὰ

πάω εἰς τὸ Λεβάντην (ibid. 481.18–19)

κ' ἦτονε παωμένοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 148.20 (< παγωμένοι/παγομένοι)

Forms of these verbs are often written in full, and are sometimes even written with the intervocalic /y/, while in reality they are “contracted”. Verse texts are the best witnesses to this practice. The following examples should clearly be read in such a way in order for the verse to scan:

νὰ ὑπάγη νὰ ἰδῇ τὸ θαύμασμα *Pol. Tr.* 597 app. crit. (AX); νὰ ὑπάγουν νὰ τὴν ζητήσουν ibid.

1337 app. crit. (X); καλὰ τυχαίνει τοῦ νὰ ὑπάγης μετ' ἐκείνους ἀπάρτι ibid 5094 app. crit.

(X); τὴν θλίψιν σου καὶ τὴν χολὴν τὴν λέγεις ὅτι ἔκαμά σου ibid. 5622 app. crit. (X)

σὰν πάει στὸ πρόσωπό του *Thysia Avr.* 371

For the shortened form πὰ, used for all persons singular and plural, see 2.4.

2.2.3 Addition of /s/ and /n/

Oxytone verbs that normally have perfective passive stems in -θ can develop alternative stems in -σθ/-στ, with an added /s/, on the analogy of barytone verbs in -ζω, which have perfective passive stems in -σθ/-στ, as many verbs have both barytone and oxytone variants (see 2.1.3) (a similar development can be observed in passive participles, for which see 2.3.2). When the passive stem vowel is /i/, some modern editors choose to spell these forms with <i> rather than <η>, even when variants in -ίζω are not attested (e.g. *ἀρνίζομαι):

συμφωνισθείσης (1113–14, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 8, 76.17)

ἐμαντατοφορήστησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 306; ἐσυμπαθήστησαν ibid. 2719

ὡς λέων ἐβρυχίσθηκεν *Dig.* E 304

ὅταν ἐξαπορισθῇς *Diig. tetr.* 287; οὐδὲ καυχίσθηκά τα ibid. 472

νὰ ἀρνιστῇς τὴν δόξα σου *Achil.* L 208

καὶ λέγουν ὅτι ἀρνήστης με *Katal.* 276
 ἐφθονίστην ὁ τόπος *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 80.30
 μηδὲν ἀποθαρριστῆς *Fior* 78.2
 κ' ἢ θάλασσ' ἐβρουχίστην *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 346 (same in *Apok.* V)
 ἐστορίστη (1559, Lesvos, *KLEOMVROTOS* 1970: 23, 163.3) (< ἱστορῶ)
 ποτὲ νὰ μὴν μὲ ἀρνησθῇ *Dig.* A 2575
 ὅς τους Τούρκους εχυμήστηκεν *PALAMIDIS, Ist. Mich. Voev.* 294
 καὶ ὁ Πέτρος τὸν ἀρνήσθη *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 22.57
 γιὰτ' ἐρνήστην τὴν θρησκεία *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 561; ἀρνίστηκες τὴν πίστιν σου *ibid.* 1030
 νὰ το αρνισθεῖ *Don Kis.* 608.7

Sometimes the existence of these forms can lead to the development of new barytone present stems, even of deponent verbs such as βρυχώμαι (> βρυχίζω/βρυχίζομαι). The same phenomenon can occasionally affect barytone verbs as well:

οὐ μὴ μαχεσθῶ αὐτὰ ποτέ *app. crit.* (1346–7, Smyrna?, *ZACHARIADOU* 1962: 256.34) (< μαχέζομαι < μάχομαι)
 εὐχίσθηκά σου *Dig.* E 251
 πολλὰ τὸν εὐχίστην *Achil.* L 1205
 ἵνα σὲ εὐχισθῇ *Spanos* B 157
 καὶ ἀφότου μᾶς εὐχίστηκεν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 323
 ἐμαχίστηκε *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* I.88
 σηκώστηκεν *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 317 and 344, but also: σηκώθην *ibid.* 336

Occasionally a nasal is inserted before the fricative /θ/ of the perfective passive stem. In the case of verbs such as αὐξάνω and κρίνω and its derivatives, the nasal is added by analogy with the active stem, whereas in the case of the oxytone verbs (ἐξαπορῶ, βοηθῶ, etc.), the analogy is secondary, to nasal-stem verbs (for phonetic addition of nasals see I, 3.5.2.4):

καὶ ὅταν ἐξαπορινθῇς *Diig. tetr.* 790 *app. crit.* (C) (ἐξαπορῶ)
 τάχα νὰ παραβοσκηθῇ *Synax. gadar.* 7
 τὸ πῶς νὰ ἐβοηθήνην *Pol. Tr.* 8144 *app. crit.* (A); καλὰ δὲ ἐβοηθήνησαν *ibid.* 8147 *app. crit.* (A) (βοηθῶ)
 καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀποκρίνησαν *Diig. Alex.* F 32.3–4 (Lolos); ἐδοκῆνην *ibid.* 100.8 and 280.15 (Lolos), and 136.12 and 188.10 (Konstantinopulos) (δοκῶ); ὡς λέων ἐβρυχήνην *ibid.* 128.4 (Lolos) (βρυχώμαι)
 καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἀπεκρίνην *Diig. Alex.* E 173.3 (Konstantinopulos) (ἀποκρίνομαι)
 αὐξήνην ἢ τέχνη τῶν λουμπαρδάρων (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, *MORGAN* 1954: 60.18)

2.2.4 Adaptation of Loanwords

2.2.4.1 -άρω/-ίρω/-έρω

2.2.4.1.1 Imperfective Stem

Loanwords from Romance languages in -άρω, -ίρω and -έρω, which at first do not show any distinction between the imperfective and the perfective stem, develop an alternative imperfective stem through the addition of -ιζ- (modelled on the alternative aorist stems in -αρισ/-ιρισ/-ερισ (see below). This alternative imperfective stem is used from at least the early 16th c. onwards. Forms without this added affix also continue to be in use:

σατισφάροντας τὸ Μόρα (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.52) (< Ven. *satisfār*)
 προμετέρω (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 46.87) (< Ven. *promèter*)
 ἐμπλεγρόμασταν (1546–51, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 64.22–3)
 νὰ σοτοσκριβέρης (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 141, 141.7–8); νὰ ποσεδέρωμεν
 (ibid. 272, 268.16–17) (< Ven. *sotoscriver* and *posseder*)
 ἀβιζάροντάς τονε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 1, 79.24) (< Ven. *avisār*)
 νὰ σοῦ τὸν ἐσπριμέρω *Stathis* III.209 (< Ven. *esprimer*)
 ἐφουντάρανε καμπόσα ξύλα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.3 (< Ital. *fondare*)
 ἐλετζέρουντα ... οἱ ... πρωτοπαπάδες τους (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.6) (< Ven.
eleggier)
 καὶ σάλια ροζονάρεις FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.110 (< Ven. *resonār*)
 νὰ τοὺς μαντινιέρομε καὶ ἀτούς (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.19) (< Ven. *mantegnir*)
 καὶ προμετάρω σου VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.24 (< Ven. *promèter*)
 δὲν ρισολβέρει νὰ ἔλθῃ ἐδῶ (1715, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 22, 136.11); κορέρει ρεάλια 14½ ἢ
 βαρέλα (1715, Zakynthos, ibid. 26, 137.5) (< Ven. *rissolver* and *corer*)
 ὀμπλιγαρίζομαι (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 46.87) (< Ven. *obligār*)
 ἐρεστάριζα (1527, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 60, 90.4) (< Ven. *restār*)
 ἐσονάριζες CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.162 (< Ven. *sonār*)
 ἐσκοδέριζεν (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 662, 576.11) (< Ven. *scuoder*)
 ἐτεντέριζε (1649, Crete, PANOPOULOU 2003: 1, 145.17) (ἀτενδέρω < Ven. *atender*)
 σολατσάριζε ὀλίγην ὥραν LANDOS *Geopon.* 182.19 (< Ital. *sollazzare*)
 μὲ ἐξαμινάριζε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.357 (< Ven. *esaminār*)
 τὴν ἐμαντινιέριζεν (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 51, 203.20) (< Ven.
mantegnir)
 ὀμπλιγαρίζόμεσταν νὰ τῶν τὰ δώσωμε (1697, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 12, 27.9) (imperf.)
 ἐφεουδάριζε *Chron. Theod.* 21.15 (< Lat./Ital. *feudare*)
 καὶ ἐγοβερνάριζε τὰ ἄλογά του (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 179.4) (< Ven. *governār*)
 τὸν ἐτραδίριζε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 48.6 (< Ital. *tradire*)

In Cretan documents, verbs in -έρω, most notably σκο(υ)δέρω, may acquire an added nasal in the imperfective stem, possibly by analogy with other verbs in -(ἐ)ρνω such as σέρνω (< σύρω) and φέρνω (< φέρω) (see 2.1.1.1.5):

νὰ σκουδέρνουν (1522, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 65, 122.31); ἐχέτω τὴν ἐξουσίαν
 ... δεφενδέρειν, σκουδέρνειν (1524, ibid. 89, 169.34)
 σκοδέρνουνται (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 280, 262.14)
 νὰ σκοδέρνεται ἀπὸ μένα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 122, 120.13); ἐκεῖνα νὰ
 σκοδέρνεις ἀπὸ μένα (ibid. 243, 241.9)
 νὰ τὰ σκοδέρνει (1601, Crete, SIAKOTOS 2006: 1, 191.1)
 νὰ τὰ σκοδέρνω (1614, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 1, 331.24)
 σκοδέρνουνται (1624, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2000: 2, 516.21)

Again in texts from Crete verbs in -άρω or -ίρω may acquire a new affix -έρνω: τέτοια συχινὰ συγέρνουσι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 289 (< σιγίρω < Ital. *seguire*);⁷⁰ κι ὁ Τοῦρκος

⁷⁰ The etymology given by Kriaras in the glossary to his edition of Katsaitis and by MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 430 (σιγίρω < *seguire*) makes perfect sense and does not justify the “hellenized” spelling συγέρνω, νὰ συγείρω or νὰ συγύρω that is usually adopted in modern editions. See also the following spelling of the verb, which is even closer to the Italian original: οποιὺ ἤθελοι σεγβήρη / ὁποιὺ ἤθελε σεγβίρει (1634, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 5, 270.23–4). For the rendering of the phoneme /g/ by <γ>, cf. ἀντίγα (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 662, 576.4–5) for Ven. *antiga*.

ἀμολέρνει BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 157.17 (< Ven. *amollàr*); καὶ σταλέρνου *ibid.* 323.19 (< Ven. *stalàr*).

2.2.4.1.2 Perfective Stem

From about the 15th c. onwards, loans from Romance languages in -άρω/-ίρω/-έρω begin to develop alternative perfective stems in -αρῖσ/-ιρῖσ/-ερῖσ (and sporadically -ουρῖσ in verbs deriving from Venetian verbs in *-dùr*). Throughout the EMG period perfective forms with -αρ/-ιρ/-ερ are also found.

νὰ τὸν στουδιάρης (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.24) (< Ital. *studiare*)
 νὰ σοτοσκριβέρης (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 141, 141.7–8) (< Ven. *sotoscriver*); νὰ ἰντραβινίρης (*ibid.* 199, 199.9) (< Ven. *intravegnir*)
 νὰ πῶ καὶ ριμάρω LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 184 transcr. (Lendari) (< Occit. *rimar*, see HONNORAT, *Lex.* s.v.)

ἐτότες τοῦ ἤθελα ρεσποντάρει (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.32) (< Ven. *responder*)

μὴν μανκάρης νὰ μοῦ γράψεις (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.5) (< Ven. *mancàr*)

νὰ τὸ ρεῖστράρω (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 84, 89.2) (< Ven. *registràr*)

ἐπέμφθη νὰ σπιγιουνάρει *Bertoldos* 46.15 (< Ven. *spionàr*)

νὰ φουρκίσουν ἢ νὰ στραγκουλάρουν *Bertoldin.* 110.16 (< Ven. *strangolàr*)

τὸ ἐπίλοιπο ... νὰν τὸ ἱνβαστίρη (1660, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 2, 116.25) (< Ven. *investir*)

καὶ νὰ τσι κονσολάρω (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 1, 25.4) (< Ven. *consolàr*)

κι ἀμολάρασι στὰ κάτεργα μιὰ μπάλα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 214.4; ἐξεβαρκάρα τὸ λαὸ *ibid.* 312.3 (3 pl.) (< Ven. *amollàr* and ξε- + *imbarcàr*)

σιγουράρετέ τον KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 27.65 (< Ven. *sicurar*)

νὰ κουμουδάρω (1696, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 4 [Δ], 256.14) (< Ital. *accomodare*)

δὸ τση νὰ γείρη κι ὅ,τι σιγίρη PAPADOPOLI, *L' Occio* 120.4–5 (< Ital. *seguire*)

ἐκουντονάρισεν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 39, 169.4) (< Ven. *condonàr*)

ἐδεσφάρισέ μας (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 172.31–2) (< Ven. *desfàr*)

ὁμπρὸς παρὰ νὰ συγύρει τίποτες ἄλλο KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 377.27–8

ρετσιβίρισα τὴ γραφή σου (1573, Ancona, CATALDI PALAU 2000: 2, 387.3) (author from Corfu) (< Ven. *ricever*)

ἐσιγίρισαν ἀνάμεσόν τους (1590, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 15, 125.5–6)

μὰ ἐκιαρίσισά τονε καὶ ἔγώ (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.11) (< Ven. *chiarir*)

κοπιάρισα τὸ παρὸν τεσταμέντο (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 313.79) (< Ital. *copiare*)

ἢ Σοῦδα ἀμολάρισε λουμπάρδες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 419.1 (< Ven. *amollàr*)

τὴν ἔσασσινάρισεν καὶ αὐτὴ (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 181.63–4) (< Ven. *assassinàr*)

κι ἐστὶ ἀτσετάρισε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.385; καπίρισε τοῦτο ἀποῦ ἀναρωτῶ σου *ibid.* V.233 (< Ven. *acetàr* and *capir*)

τοῦ ἐπουμπλικάρισα τὴ διαθήκη του (1692, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 2A, 162.3–4) (< Ven. *publicàr*)

σέ παρακαλῶ, σιγουράρισέ μι (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.16–17) (μι = με, see I, 2.5.4) (< Ven. *sicuràr*)

2.2.4.1.3 *Passive Voice*

For the formation of the passive the alternative perfective stem in -αρισ/-ιρισ/-ερισ is used, to which is added the aorist passive marker -θ-, usually in its dissimilated form -τ- (for which see I, 3.8.1):

- ἐκοπιαρίστη (1516–29, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 155, 204.22) (< Ven. *copiàr*)
 καθώς ἐγὼ ᾧδε ἔτεσταρίστηκα (1526, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 112, 206.24) (< Ven. *testàr*)
 νὰ ἀποσατισφάριστει (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 119, 214.29–30) (< Ven. *sodisfarse*)
 ποτὲ νὰ μὴν μοῦ λεμενταρίστης (1549, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 300, 298.7) (< Ven. *lamentarse*)
 νὰ κουσομαρίστη (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 131, 181.45) (< Ven. *consumàr*)
 μηδὲ ν' ἀλιεναριστοῦν (1576, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 79, 98.21) (< Ital. *alienare*)
 ὀμπλιγαρίστη (1594, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 21, 143.27) (< Ven. *obligàr*)
 δεν εκοτενταρίστηκεν ο θεῖος Παῦλος MOREZINOS, *Logos* 468.13 (< Ven. *contentàr*)
 νὰ ζαμιναριστοῦσι (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 180.50) (< Ven. *esaminàr*)
 νὰ σιγουραρίστη (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 314, 299.8); νὰ κομονταρίστη
 κιαμία του δουλειά (1607, *ibid.* 431, 396.3) (< Ven. *sicuràr* and *accomodàr*)
 νὰ ξεϊντριγαριστῶ (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.7) (ξε- + Ven. *intrigàr*)
 ἐρεντουριστήκασι (1630, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 3, 335.8) (< Ven. *redür*)
 ἀποφάσισαν νὰ ξεμπαρκαρισθοῦν *Bertoldin*. 114.24 (ξε- + Ven. *imbarcàr*)
 νὰ σιγουραρισθεῖ ὁ τάφος KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 27.64
 νὰ μπαρκαριστοῦσι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 352.10
 ἐσταμπιλιριστήκανε (1682, Kefalonia, Moschopoulos 1976: 139, f.214r.14) (< Ven. *stabilir*)
 ἐκουτενταρίστηκα (1689, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 21, 55.12) (< Ven. *contentàr*)
 διὰ νὰ δοτοραρισθοῦσιν (1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: 208.119) (< Ven. *dotoràr*)
 σὰν ἐξηβαρκαρίστησαν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 209

2.2.4.2 -ιάζω

Loanwords from Occitan/French are usually adapted to -ιάζω, regardless of their original French ending (see MENARDOS 1900: 376–8; DENDIAS 1924: 142–50; CHATZIOANNOU 1936: 19–20; DAVY/PANAYOTOU 2000: 118–19):

- ὡς γοῖο ἀπαρτενιάζει (1468, Alyki, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 15, 10.4) (< Occit. *apartiner*)
 ἄν κορδιάζουν τὰ δύο εἰς λόγους (15th c., Cyprus?, TSANGALAS 1983: 132.21–2) (< Occit. *accordar*); ἐπροβιάστην πολλές φορές (*ibid.* 132.23) (< Occit. *prover*)
 νὰ τὸν ἀτενιάσουν μὲ τοιοῦτες μαρτυρίας *Assizes A* 98.22 (< Occit. *ataindre*); νὰ μεντιάση *ibid.* 181.9 (< Occit. *amendar*)
 ἀσιγγιάσομεν τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσου *Chron. Mor.* P 2702 (< OFr. *asseggiare*)
 διὰ ν' ἀβαντζιάσει ὁ ἄτυχος καθαλλάρης ὀνομίσματα φ' MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 524.14 (< Occit. *avançar*); καὶ νᾶμαι σκουζιασμένος *ibid.* 380.5 (< Occit. *escusar*)
 εἶχεν πέφειν ἡ ρήγαινα τὸν Πατὴ Σαλάχαν, διὰ νὰ βιτουαλιάσει τὴν Κερυνείαν VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 280.4 (< Occit. *vitualhar*)
 τόσα σκληρὴν ἀν εἶχα σ' ἀγκατιάσει *Cypr. Canz.* 86.15 (< Occit. *agaitar*)

οί βερτούς ἀλεγκριάζουν τὴν καρδιάν *Fior* 78.16 (< Occit. *alegrar*); φερμιάζεται *ibid.* 78.22 (< Occit. *fermar*); νά παρτιτσιπιάση *ibid.* 78.36 (< Occit. *participar*); κουρουμπιάζεται *ibid.* 79.42 (< Occit. *courroumpre*); ἐκουμπατιάζασιν *ibid.* 93.6 (< Occit. *coumbatre*)
καὶ ἤξευρε μοναῦτα εἰς τὰ δεσάστρε σου νά κονμφορτιαστῆς *Fior Suppl.* 269.8 (< Occit. *confortar*); ἡ ἀβεντούρα ἀμπαντουνιάζει συχνές φορές *ibid.* 272.31 (< Occit. *abandonar*)
ἀγιτιάζουνται καὶ εὐεργετοῦνται *Pist. kekoim.* 220 (< Occit. *ajudar* or Ital. *aiutare*)
νά κουσεντιάση *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 764 (< Occit. *counsentrir*)

2.2.4.3 -ίζω

Loanwords from Turkish are adapted to Greek morphology by adding -ίζω, as they are usually derived from the perfective past tense of the Turkish verb ending in <ι> (e.g. *dayandı* < *dayanmak*).⁷¹ Sometimes -ίζω is used for loanwords from Romance languages that are not directly derived from verbs:

ἐδιαγουμίσετέ την *Pol. Tr.* 1369 app. crit. (A) (15th-c. ms) (< διαγουμάς < Turk. *yağma*)
νά τὸν γιβεντίση ἔξω τῆς χώρας με δίκαιον *Assizes A* 186.17 (< Occit. (noun) *gibet*)
πάραυτα τὸν ἐσουνέτισαν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §9.14 (< Turk. *sünnet* + -ίζω); ἄδεν τὴν
ὠλάστιζεν, δὲν ἐγίνονταν *ibid.* I §17.4 (< Turk. *ulaşmak*); πάλε τὰ καζαντίζεις *ibid.* IV §1.4
(< Turk. *kazanmak*)
ἐπεξέριζαν ὅσο νά τὸ ποτίσουν (1676, Ioannina, *VAKATSAS* 1992: 4, 154.4–5) (< Turk. *bezmek*)
ἀπὸ τὸν σευδὰ αὐτόνε βασιγιστίζω *Diig. Vefa* 282 (< Turk. *vazgeçmek*)
καὶ μέσα νά γερλετιστούν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 764 (< Turk. *yerleşmek* + -ίζω); οἱ Τούρκοι
σάστισαν *ibid.* 4783 (< Turk. *şasmak*); μερεμετίσθησαν *ibid.* 6259 (< μερεμέτι + -ίζω < Turk.
meremmet)
ἐβουρλουδίζουτου *Bertoldin.* 146.4–5 (< βούρδουλος + -ίζω < Ven. (noun) *bordòn*/Ital.
bordone)
νά γκλομπίζιται (1692?, Sibiu, *TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI* 2011: A 26, f.56r.2) (< Rom. (noun)
gloabă)
εγλένδιζαν ενθυμούμενοι τες αγαπητικές τους *Don Kis.* 48.6 (< Turk. *eğlenmek*)

2.2.4.4 Other

The verbal affix -εύω is the oldest way to adapt loanwords, as it appears with several common verbs of Latin origin such as ἀππλικεύω, μισεύω, κουρσεύω (see *PSALTES* 1913: 316–21). In the period covered by this Grammar it is sometimes used to adapt Occitan, Venetian and Turkish verbs:

ἐκούστεψεν *Assizes B* 424.13 (< Occit. *coustar*)
ὅταν ἐδῶ ἀππλικεύσαμεν *Pol. Tr.* 190 (< Lat. *applicare*)
ἂν ἐτραίτουρεύτηκα τὸν μέγα βασιλέα *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 500 (< Ven. *tradir* with influence
from the noun *traituria*)
ὀπλιγύεται (1513, Corfu, *KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1998: 41, 52.14–15) (< Ven.
obligàr)
ἔχομε κουρσεμένον (1571, Mani, *CHASIOTIS* 1970: 6.1, 241.18) (< κοῦρσος + -εύω < Lat.
cursus)

⁷¹ See the comprehensive glossary to Ioakeim Kyprios in Kaplanis 2012 and the extensive notes to Papasynadinos in *KARANASTASIS* 2010: 223–97 for multiple examples.

ἀνὲ μισεύση (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.26) (< Lat. *missa* + -εύω)
 ἐφοβᾶτο μήπως καὶ τραϊτορεύεται τον (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V,
 506.25.6–7)
 ἔρχεται καὶ κονεύει PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1176 (< Turk. *konmak*)

Sometimes loanwords are assimilated to Greek morphology in a different way, by association with existing Greek words, which do not necessarily have any semantic correlation with the verb that is being adapted, as in the case of Ven. *apartegnir*/Ital. *appartenere*, which becomes morphologically associated with παρθένος: ἀπαρθενεύω, ἀπαρθενίζω:

ὅσα τοῦ ἀπαρθενίζουν (1444, Peloponnese, LAMBROS 1930: [3], 18.2)
 βραβεῖον ... ὅπου ἀπαρθενεύει εἰς τὸν Φιλόσοφον (1478, Lefkada, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER
 1860/90, vol. 3: 16, 260.4–5); ἀπαρθενεύουν (ibid. 260.14)
 τῶρα παραλαμβάνει τον ἄλλος ποῦ παρθενίζει Alex. Rim. 1279
 πλερωμὴν ὅπου τοὺς ἐπαρθενεὺε νὰ λάβουν SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 58.36
 τὸ μερτικὸ ποῦ τοῦ ἀπαρθενίζει (1682, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 1, 160.15–16)
 εἶντα μ' ἀπαρθενίζουσι KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* IV.221
 μῆτε τοὺς ἐπαρθενεὺαν SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 53.17

2.3 Participles

2.3.1 The Present Passive Participle

The present passive participle continues to be in use throughout the period covered by this Grammar.⁷² As in earlier stages of the language, in the period covered by this Grammar present passive participles in -μενος can be formed from verbs that can be passivized and from deponent verbs such as γίνομαι, ἔρχομαι, δέομαι, λυποῦμαι, στέκομαι, φοβοῦμαι and χαίρομαι. It can be used adverbially, especially with deponent verbs, in which case the participle functions similarly to the gerund, e.g. ὁ στρατηγὸς χαιρόμενος ὑπὰ εἰς τὰ γονικά του *Dig.* E 1085; ἐντρεπόμενοι νὰ φανερωθοῦν *Vios Aisop.* K 159.18; but in the majority of cases, the participle functions as an adjective or noun: κ' εἰς τὸν ἐρχόμενον καιρόν *Chron. Mor.* H 584; ἔστεκαν οἱ παραστεκόμενοι *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1211.

In LMedG and EMG the participle is not restricted to passivizable and deponent verbs. Examples have been found of participles in -μενος derived from verbs that otherwise lack passive morphology, such as for instance ἀπομένω, ξεύρω, παγαίνω/πηγαίνω, πλέω,⁷³ πρέπει, τρέμω, τρέχω and χηρεύω (for variation in thematic vowels see below in this section). In the majority of these cases the participle is in fact used with active, not passive meaning (see also CHATZIDAKIS 1928: 643):

ἀν ἐγὼ ... οὐδὲν τὸν παιδεύσω πρεπούμενως (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956:
 272.12)
 εἰς τοὺς τόπους τοὺς πρεπάμενους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 364.4–5; με ἀφέντην ξευράμενον
 ibid. 374.25; παγαινόμενος id., *Chron.* O 38.1–2

⁷² Cf. SMG, where its use is mainly restricted to deponent verbs (e.g. ἐρχόμενος, φοβούμενος) and certain lexicalized items used as nouns or adjectives, e.g. τὸ κείμενο, τρεμάμενος, τρεχούμενος, καλοδεχούμενος.

⁷³ Only one other passive form of πλέω has been found in the texts examined: νὰ πλευτοῦν *Velis.* χ 249 app. crit. (N).

τὴν γλώσσαν του τὴν τρεχάμενην *Fior Suppl.* 276.19
 σὰν ποταμὸς τρεχάμενος *Pist. kekoim.* 596
 πηγαινάμενη ἡ χήρα DAM. STOUΔ., *This., Logos* 8, 85v.22 (1561)
 παγαινάμενος (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 448.12)
 πηγαινάμενοι *Vios Aisop.* D 217.20–1
 πᾶσα φύλλον | τρεμούμενον *Pist. voskos* IV 2.26–7; μὲ καρδιὰν τρεμάμενην *ibid.* V 7.40
 τοὺς ἀπομενάμενους *Thrinios Konst. (Zoras)* 20
 καὶ ἦτον χηρευάμενος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §17.5; πηγαινάμενοι εἰς τὴν ἐξουρίαν *ibid.* I §31.182
 πηγαινάμενοι (1670, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 2, 577.18)
 ἡ γλῶσσα μ' εἴ τρεμάμενη PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 99
 πρεπάμενα κτίσματα καὶ ἱερὰ ἀγγεῖα RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 64.8
 δὲν ἐχωρούσασιν στὰ πλεούμενα EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 17.16
 τρεχούμενα νερά KATSAITIS, *Ifig. Dedic.* 81

Moreover, forms in -μενος occur of verbs that can be passivized, but the participle clearly has active meaning. This is probably related to the fact that the active participles (ἀλέθων, κατοικῶν etc.) had developed into invariable gerunds (ἀλέθοντα(ς), κατοικῶντα(ς) etc., see 4.7.1), which cannot be used attributively, only predicatively. These verbs include ἀλέθω, ἀρέσ(κ)ω, κατέχω, κατοικῶ, κλαίω, περιπατῶ:

τὸν [μύλον] τὸν ἀλεθούμενον (1500, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 5, 6.5)
 μακάριος μοναχὸς κατοικοῦμενος εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους πάντας (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 16, 30.53)
 κλαιάμενες, μὲ φαίνεται *Theseid* II.26,4 (1529)
 κρασὶ μέτρα στ', ἤγουν ἔξι ἀρεσκούμενα (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 257.37)
 ὁ δὲ Αἴσωπος, περιβλεπόμενος ἐδῶ καὶ ἐκεῖ *Vios Aisop.* D 213.12⁷⁴
 τὰ καλὰ τοὺς, στεκοῦμενα καὶ περιπατούμενα (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.19)
 νὰ παίρνη τόσο ὑποστατικὸ ἀρεσοῦμένό της (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 114.70)
 ἐκεῖνοι οἱ κατεχάμενοι ἔφοροί μας KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.620.

The participle χρειάζομενος, derived from the deponent verb χρειάζομαι “to need”, on the other hand, is usually used with its passive meaning “needed, necessary, necessity”:⁷⁵ χρειάζομενο μαντάτο FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 238; τὰ χρειάζομενα τοῦ πολέμου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 120.17; καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα τοὺς ἦσαν χρειάζομενα RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 64.8–9; ὅλα τὰ χρειάζομενα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 369.6. It is rarely used with the verb’s deponent meaning “in need”: τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ χρειάζομενους RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 66.19.

As the above examples demonstrate, the participle shows variation and innovation in the choice of thematic vowel. For barytone verbs the thematic vowel can be /o/, /u/ or /a/, and there is considerable variation and little rhyme or reason to it. The variation in thematic vowels precedes the period covered by this Grammar by many centuries, starting with the aorist participle; see e.g. PSALTES 1913: 211 for forms such as γενάμενος and ὀφειλάμενος

⁷⁴ This form is an innovative adaptation of the middle aorist, preserved in version K of the *Life of Aesop*: αὐτὸς περιβλεψάμενος τὴν μίαν μερέαν *Vios Aisop.* K 153.21.

⁷⁵ Cf. the use of SMG χρειάζομαι “I need” and 3 sg. and pl. χρειάζεται/χρειάζονται “it/they are needed, necessary”.

(for γενόμενος and ὀφειλόμενος) in Malalas (6th c.) and other Byzantine authors, and for further bibliography.

For oxytone verbs the thematic vowel is /u/ (originally that of E- and O-stem verbs), and only sporadically /o/ (originally that of A-stem verbs). Certain verbs in this category show innovation in the formation of a new barytone stem used to form the participle. In the period covered by this Grammar, the participle is sometimes derived from the perfective stem rather than the imperfective stem (see CHATZIDAKIS 1928: 643–5 and see below), or even from other parts of speech. For the declension of these participles and the historical shift of the stress in certain forms see II, 3.2.1. For adverbs derived from participles see II, 4.2.1 and 4.2.2.

2.3.1.1 Barytone Verbs

For barytone verbs the thematic vowel is inherited /o/, /u/ (originally that of oxytone E- and O-stem verbs) or /a/ (originally that of the middle aorist). Variants often occur side by side in the same text: πετόμενα, μικρὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1554; πετούμενον δρεπάνι *ibid.* 2526; ἐκ τὰ πετάμενα πουλῖα *ibid.* 2616. There is no distinct geographical distribution to be detected, though texts from Cyprus display a slight preference for /a/, employing it where others do not (e.g. πρεπάμενος “fitting”, “suitable”; ξευράμενος “capable”, “familiar”; χρηζάμενος “useful”).

Thematic Vowel /o/

- ἐκ τὰς συκοφαντίας ... τὰς γινομένας παρὰ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου διαβόλου ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.25–6
 βιαζόμενοι νὰ ἔβγουν *Chron. Mor.* H 4423
 ἐγένετο ὁ ἐνάγων ἐναγόμενος *Paroim.* F 72
 ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος *Dig.* E 352
 νὰ σὲ ἰδῶ ἐρχόμενον *Achil.* O 140
 πουλάκιον φυλακίζόμενον *Katal.* 699
 οἱ καθεζόμενοι ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 490.24; ἐπονομαζόμενον Μάγκκανα *id.*, *Chron.* O 682.26
 τὰ λεγόμενα στάμενα (1529, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 114, 225.17)
 ὑποσχόμενος νὰ τόνε διαφεντάρει (1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 1, 20.14–15); οὔτε ὑπὸ τινὸς βιαζόμενη (1581, *ibid.* 13, 27.4)
 οὔλα του τὰ καλὰ πρεζέντε καὶ ἐρχόμενα (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 795, 691.21–2)
 ὁ εὐρισκόμενος παντοῦ *Thysia Avr.* 722
 φυλαττόμενα τὰ δικαιώματά τους (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 70, 80.13)
 τους καθεζομένους ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.9; διαλογιζόμενοι ὅλοι μέσα τους *ibid.* Louk. 3.15
 ἕνας χωριότης ὀνομαζόμενος Μπερτόλδος *Bertoldos* 4.28–9; μὴν σκιαζόμενος ὥσάν ἑμέναν *ibid.* 61.24
 ἐρχόμενοι ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 16.6; γονατιστὰ καὶ δεόμενος *ibid.* 26.17

Thematic Vowel /u/

- ἐνι πετούμενα *Assizes* B 451.9
 πετούμενα, συρνάμενα ΧΟΥΜΝΟΣ, *Kosmog.* 22
 τοῦ λεγόμενου κυρ-Κωνσταντῇ (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.19)
 κραζομένου Δοξαρά (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 5, 25.22–3)
 εὐχαλούμενον (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 6, 16.25)

τὸν κρᾶζοῦμενον Βαρσαβᾶν SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 18.56–7
 τὰ καλὰ τοὺς, στεκοῦμενα καὶ περιπατούμενα (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.19);
 εὐρισκούμενος αὐτὸς ὁ σερ-Νικολός (1577, *ibid.* 21, 155.4); εἰς τὸν ἐρχοῦμενον καιρὸν (1593,
ibid. 55, 77.11)
 κρᾶζοῦμενοι καὶ παρακαλετοὶ μάρτυρες (1600, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 96, 128.15); διὰ
 κανένα καιρὸν ἐρχοῦμενον (1606, *ibid.* 84a, 115.7–8)
 καθοῦμενος ἀπάνω εἰς τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον Bertoldos 9.27–8
 Μελλοῦμενον οἱ γλῶσσες ἄς μὲ λέσι TROILOS, *Rodol. Prol. Mell.* 103
 νὰ βρῇ γαμπρό ἀρεσκούμενον FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.291
 σ' ἀφτούμενες φωτιᾶς KONDAR., *Paidēs* 29
 ἦτον χρειαζούμενο (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.6)

Thematic Vowel /a/

νὰ ἔνι πολλὰ χαϊράμενος *Chron. Mor.* H 8280
 δερνάμενη ἐκείνη *Pol. Tr.* 6686
 ἀποστερνάμενοι *Liv.* V 2691 (< ἀποστέλλω, see I, 3.8.6.2)
 ἵνα χέξης ὀρθοστεκάμενος *Spanos* B 107
 τὸν ἐρχάμενον τρύγον (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 1, 150.5)
 τετράποδα, συννάμενα CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 241; τὴν στράταν παγαϊνάμενοι *ibid.* 2465
 ἐντεχάμενον ἔνι νὰ ... *Assizes* A 83.16 (< ἐνδέχεται)
 στὰ φερνάμενα FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 12; ἀφείτις ἔν' μελλάμενο *id.*, *Erot. En.* 64
 τοὺς τόπους τοὺς χρηζάμενους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 364.9–10; μὲ ἀφέντην ξευράμενον *ibid.*
 374.25; ὡς χρέος ἀγωνιζάμενον *ibid.* 436.15
 κί' ὁ νοῦς μου ὁ φοβιζάμενος CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.10; στρατηγοὶ πεμπάμενοι *id.*, *Erof. Interm.*
 II tit.
 καὶ παίδευσε πρεπάμενα τὲς ε' αἰσθησες (17th c.?, Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.1)
 ἐρχάμενη (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 37, 55.37)
 τὴν πρεπάμενην παρηγορίαν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 66.4–5; οἱ πεμπάμενοι τοποτηρητάδες *ibid.*
 104.33
 καὶ τὸν ἐδέχθηκε χαϊράμενος KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 19.6
 πέρδικα πετάμενη PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1483

The participle is sometimes derived from the perfective rather than the imperfective stem, or even from other parts of speech:

ἐδιάβη πασαεῖς εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ χαρούμενοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 94.3 (< perf. stem χαρ-,
 probably with influence from the noun χαρά)
 μὲ χαρούμενην ψυχὴν *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 39
 κ' ἐγὼ πάντα ἔμαι μοναχός, κλαμούμενος *Cypr. Canz.* 97.21 (< κλαίω + κλαμός/κλάμαν
 (KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. κλαίω); no evidence has been found for the existence of a verb κλαυθῶ/
 κλαθμῶ/κλαμῶ, but influence from Occit. *clamar se* may be suspected; see HONNORAT, *Lex.*
 s.v.)
 τοὺς ἀπομονάμενους *Thrinos Konst.* (P-K) 20 app. crit. (< ἀπομένω + ἀπομονή)
 ἀποκριζάμενος ὁ Καλοϊωάννης (1646, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 331, 251.9) (ἀποκρίνομαι +
 ἀπόκριση > new stem in -ιζ; cf. oxytone verbs below)

2.3.1.2 Oxytone Verbs

For oxytone verbs the thematic vowel is inherited /u/ (originally that of oxytone E- and O-stem verbs); /o/ (originally that of A-stem verbs) is rare and limited to mixed-register texts:

Thematic Vowel /u/

τὸν βάδον τὸν περνούμενον τῆς δημοσίας (1007, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 1, 135.26) (“the crossable ford of the main road”)
 οὐδὲ δακρύων ὀχετὸν κινούμενον εἰς μάτην GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 512
 λέγοντα καὶ ἄρνούμενοι *Chron. Mor.* H 5691
 ὁ ρήγας ἐνὶ κρατούμενος *Assizes* B 464.22
 ἤμπασιν θαρρούμενοι *Achil.* L 1086
 ὁ σταυρὸς ὁ Φανερούμενος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 38.9; ἐκόψαν τὲς κεφαλὰδες τοὺς κάτωθεν δηλούμενους *ibid.* 402.27 (for this genitive see II, 1.2)
 πῶς καὶ διατὶ λέγεται βουλκόλας τὸ ὀγκούμενον σῶμα (16th c., Serres?, LAMBROS 1904a: 343.17)
 ὅσο ἐνε ἠμπορούμενον *Theseid* VI.31,2 (Olsen)
 ἦτον κι ἄλλος λυπούμενος *Alex. Rim.* 2717
 τ’ ἀγαπούμενον DEFAR., *Log. did.* 377
 τὰ καλὰ τους, στεκούμενα καὶ περιπατούμενα (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.19)
 διὰ τί ἀφορμὴν εἶσαι, ὦ αὐθέντη, στενοχωρούμενος *Vios Aisop.* D 233.13
 τὴν φθαρτὴν καὶ χαλουμένην φύσιν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.13–14
 διηγούμενος *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 39
 ἐγλένδισαν ἐνθυμούμενοι τες ἀγαπητικές τους *Don Kis.* 48.6

Thematic Vowel /o/

ὁ ἐγκαλόμενος *Assizes* A 54.17; ὁ νικώμενος ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐγκλήματος *ibid.* 127.12
 των πλανωμένων καβαλιέρων *Don Kis.* 47.11

For some oxytone verbs a new barytone stem is formed, derived from the actual perfective stem (μπορεσ- > μπορεζ-) or by adding -ιζ- (μποριζ-, πονιζ-), based on the dominant perfective stem in -ησ (ἐρώτησα > ἐρωτιζ-). The thematic vowel is /a/ or, less frequently, /o/. Examples come from insular areas and the Peloponnese:

πῶς ἔναι μπορεζάμενο FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 40
 δὲν ἔναι μπορεζάμενον CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2766
 ἔνι πονιζάμενη ἡ καρδιά μου *Fior* 125.34–5 (< πονῶ)
 ἀποὺ πονιζάμενες ἐννοῖες *Fior Suppl.* 269.3
 νὰ εἶνε ἄρωτιζάμενος (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 215, 130.22)
 φοβιζάμενος τὸ κοινὸν ποτήριον (1583, Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: A, 298.8)
 δὲν εἶναι μπορεζάμενο CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.233
 νὰ εἶναι ἐρωτιζάμενοι (1611, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 4, 651.22) (< ἐρωτῶ)
 ρωτιζάμενη (1665, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 3, 116.8); ἄρωτιζάμενος (1672, *ibid.* IV, 118.9)
 μὲ τέτοιο μπορεζάμενο στρατιώτη TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.498
 πλούσους καὶ μπορεζάμενους FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 42
 δὲν ἦτον μποριζάμενον *Thrinis Kypr.* 901
 φοβιζάμενος κατάραν τῆς μητρός του PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 887
 φοβιζάμενος ὁ λαὸς SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 50.14
 κ’ ἐκείνη φοβιζόμενη *Chron. Mor.* H 6055
 ἂν ἦτον μπορεζόμενον *Peri xen.* 23 app. crit. (A)
 κι ἂν ἐνε μποριζόμενον KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VII.210
 πᾶσαν εὐχαρίστησιν ἠμπορεζόμενην SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 38.36

2.3.2 The “Perfect” Passive Participle

After the decline and eventual disappearance of the monolectic perfect, existing perfect passive participles remained in use to form verbal periphrases (see Chapter 5), and as adjectives, usually in unreduplicated form. Loss of reduplication can be observed in Hellenistic times, when the reduplication is first replaced by an augment, and later suppressed altogether (see e.g. DIETERICH 1898: 214–16). Of course, augmented and reduplicated participles can be found in the period covered by this Grammar (see 4.9.3).

However, the awareness clearly remained that the affix *-μένος* could be used to form a verbal adjective with a passive perfect meaning, and hence new ways to form “perfect” passive participles were found (see also CHATZIDAKIS 1928: 637–43). They were generally derived from the perfective passive (aorist) stem (THUMB 1912: 148–50) by dropping *-θ/-τ* and adding *-μένος*. This principle was applied to inherited verbs as well as to new verbs: whenever verbs formed alternative stems by transferring from one paradigm to another, or from one perfective stem to another, the participle usually followed suit, e.g. *καλῶ*, *κεκλημένος* : *ἐκαλέσθην*⁷⁶ > *καλεσμένος*; *παρακαλέσμενοι* (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 71, 71.58); *λανθάνω*, *λελησμένος* : *ἐλανθάσθην* > *λανθασμένος*; *κ’ εὐρέθης λανθασμένος* *Chron. Mor.* H 8422; *κρατῶ*, *(κε)κρατημένος* : *κρατίζω*, *κρατισμένος*; *ἀποῦ εἶχα κρατισμένο* (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 50.90); *πλανῶ*, *(πε)πλανημένος* : *πλανέσω* > *πλανεμένος*; *ἦτονε στὸν ἔρωταν τοῦ πόθου πλανεμένη* *Rim. kor.* (V) 39 (Pernot); *τιμωρῶ*, *(τε)τιμωρημένος* : *τιμωρίζω*, *τιμωρισμένος*; *τιμωρισμένος* GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. tormentato*.

Similarly, new irregular participles were formed, e.g. *σὰν ἔχομε ἴπωμένο* CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* I.332: a new participle *εἰπωμένος* derived from the perfective passive stem *εἰπωθ-* (to replace AG *εἰρημένος*); *νὰ εἶνεν καλὰ βλεπτημένος* (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.11); *νὰ στέκει βλεπτημένη* CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* V.234, formed from the innovative aorist passive stem *βλεπτηθ-* (for which see also 2.4); *τίβοτας δὲν εἶχα φαγωμένα* CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.67; *τίς ἔχει καὶ τόσα ἄσπρα φαγωμένα* (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 58.6), formed from the perfective stem *φαγωθ-* attached to *τρώ(γ)ω*. Participles could also be supplied for loanwords in *-άρω*, *-ίρω* and *-έρω*, formed from the alternative perfective stem in *-ριστ* (see 2.2.4.1): *ὅλα φαριὰ διαλεκτά, ὅλα προβαρισμένα* *Achil.* L 371 (< Ital. *provare*); *ὅ,τι εἶνιε σιγυρισμένα* (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 48, 46.20) (< Ital. *seguire*); *ἔχει σκουδερισμένα* (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 388.29) (< Ven. *scuoder*); *ἀπρεπαρarisμένου* FORTIOS, *Strat. pragm.* 717 (< Ven. *preparàr*).

Passive participles were likewise formed for verbs that did not previously have them, especially when these verbs acquired new meanings, e.g. *περασμένος* MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.3 from *περνῶ*, *περασ-θ-*;⁷⁷ *τῆς μαυρογελασμένης* Alosis 195, from *γελῶ*, *γελασ-θ-*.⁷⁸

Even verbs that lacked a passive voice could obtain a participle/adjective in *-μένος*, usually with active meaning. Morphologically they were either modelled on existing ones, e.g.

⁷⁶ A participle *κεκαλεσμένη* has been recorded in the *Souda Lexicon* (10th c.), s.v. *κλητή*.

⁷⁷ *περασθῆναι* for *περαθῆναι* occurs in the 12th-c. *Basilica, Ecloga Basilicorum*; see the online *TLG*.

⁷⁸ Cf. *οἶον γεγελασμένοι εἰσὶν* in *Choiroboskos, Commentary on the Canons of Theodosius*, 195.19 (9th c.).

ἀρρωστημένους *Chron. Mor.* H 1541 by analogy with participles such as ἡγαπημένος,⁷⁹ or formed from the (usually perfective) active stem by adding -μένος, e.g. πεινασμένος from πεινῶ, πεινασ-: ὡς φάλκονες πεινασμένοι *Achil.* L 384; πεσμένος from πέφτω, πεσ-: στήν πόρτα τῆς πεσμένος *CHORTATISIS, Katz.* III.527; καβαλλικευμένος from καβαλλικεύω: καβαλλικευμένοι *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* R 279.41; μαθημένος from μαθάνω/μαθαίνω (with an added /i/, for which see below): ἔνι μαθημένος νὰ πολομᾷ κακόν *Fior* 121.5; πιωμένος from πίνω, πι-: πιωμένος *GERMANO, Grammar* 85.10; πταισμένος (“guilty”) from πταίω, πταισ-: εἴμεσθεν πταισμένοι *Thrinios Kypr.* 89 (see MANOLESSOU 2005: 251–2 for an overview and further bibliography).

In texts from Crete one finds παγομένος/παγωμένος from the perfective stem (ύ)παγ- “(having) gone”; ἐρθομένος/ἐρθωμένος from ἐρθ- (< ἐρχομαι “(having) come”; (ἐ)μπορεμένος from (ἐ)μπορῶ, (ἐ)μπορεσ- “possible, powerful”; and παθομένος/παθωμένος (< παθαίνω “(having) suffered”):

ἦτονε πρωτύτερας παγομένος (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 392, 364.10)
 ἀνίσως καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω ὅσται παγομένη (1644, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 3, 229.71)
 ἦτονε στήν Ρώμην παγωμένος *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 578

ἔ μας ἐδῶ ἐρθομένους *Pist. voskos* V 5.193
 εἶστε ἐδεπὰ ἐρθωμένοι *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol.* 134

ἂν ἦτον μπορεμένο *CHORTATISIS, Erof.* I.431
 περίσση ἐμπορεμένος *Stathis Prol.* 14
 ὁποῦ τοῦ ἦτονε μπορεμένο (1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 612, 536.4)
 νὰ κάμω τ’ ἀνημπόρετα σήμερο μπορεμένα *Thysia Avr.* 92
 σὲ τέτοια εὐγενικότατη καὶ μπορεμένη χώρα *TROILOS, Rodol.* III.344
 νικητῆς ἐμπῆκε μπορεμένος *Zinon* II.275

εἶχεν παθωμένα *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 136.39
 πόσα ἔχω παθωμένα *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 459.13
 εἰς τὰ ἔχω παθωμένα *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.154

As many participles in -μένος were formed from stems ending in /s/, sometimes an /s/ is added to forms that did not originally have them, e.g.:

φορεσμένοι *Pol. Tr.* 249 app. crit. (E) (φορεμένοι in all other mss); συνδεσμένοι *ibid.* 9196 app. crit. (X) (συ(ν)δεμένοι in all other mss)
 καὶ ἐγὼ χασμένος νὰ ἴσταμαι *Liv.* α 351 for χαμένος (< χαωμένος)
 πολλὰ ἀθυμισμένος *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VI.50
 ἔνι μαθισμένες *Fior* 124.36
 κυρ-Καλογιάννη Μαθισμένου (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 254, 150.10–11) for μαθημένος; ὡς γοιόν νὰ ἦτον φοφισμένη *ibid.* 121.30
 σοῦ εἶχεν δοσμένον (1546, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 1, 41.7), now the SMG form, for δομένος (< δεδομένος)
 συμφωνησμένοι (1570, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 4, 22.18)
 ἔχω ἀφησμένο (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 60.20)

⁷⁹ Cf. ἡρρωστημένης in Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *Capture of Thessaloniki* 3.2 (12th c.).

τους είχεν ακόμ' εκεί ἔπου τότες αφησμένους PALAMIDIS, *Ist. Mich. Voev.* 1218, for ἀφημένος⁸⁰
 τὸ ἔμισό λιόφυτο ἀποῦ εἶχα κρατησμένο (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 50.90)
 (καρύδια ...) μασισμένα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 216.13
 εὐρίσκονταν πολιορκησμένοι (1697 [18th-c. copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B I/13,
 f.165 r.10–11)

In the following examples /s/ replaces the velar /ɣ/ of the original form: τῶν σφασμένων
Irodis I.25; φωνασμένοι *Thrinos Kypr.* 148.⁸¹

Other participles undergo spontaneous/analogical diphthongization (see I, 2.4.8.1 for details), e.g. ἀναπατημένος (for ἀναπα(υ)μένος; aor. pass. ἀνεπαύτην or ἀνεπάτην): ἤμουν ἀναπατημένος *Anon. Naupl.* 5; καμημένος (for κα(υ)μένος, aor. pass. ἐκαύτην or ἐκάτην): καμημένος ὥς δι' ἀγάπη *Liv.* E 9. These in their turn may influence similar verbs such as κλαίω: κλαμημένος for κλα(υ)μένος (aor. pass. ἐκλαύτην, not *ἐκλάτην): τὰ μάτια της κλαμημένα KORNAOS, *Erot.* V.728; or θεραπεύω, which has a regional variant θαρραπαύω: θαρραπατημένος βρίσκομαι *Stathis* III.350. Sporadically, they even influence dissimilar verbs such as χάνω, χαμένος: τὴν εἶχα χαμημένη (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.31).

Some verbs whose stem ends in a consonant develop alternatives with an added thematic vowel /o/ or /i/, e.g. πεσομένος for πεσμένος, πληξημένος for πληγμένος: τὸν φράκτη ὁποῦ ἔναι πεσομένος (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 20, 75.110–11); πεσομένοι *Pist. voskos* I 3.57 app. crit.; γέροντες μὲ τὰ βρέφη πεσωμένοι KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* II.312; τοῦ πληξημένου *Fior* 99.24.

Finally, the participle/adjective is sometimes derived from the present stem instead of the aorist stem:

ἰστελμένον (1350–1?, Athos?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 130, 45.24)
 σε ἕναν κάστρον ... στελμένους PALAMIDIS, *Ist. Mich. Voev.* 1217
 ἔνα χαρτί, στελμένο ἀπὸ τὸ Νησί τῆς Ζακύνθου *Chron. Theod.* 20.6
 εἶναι ἀποστελιμένο (1644, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 296, 233.6)
 στελμένοι (1673, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 4, 221.8)
 ριχνημένους GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. buttato*
 νὰ τὸ ἔχει φερνημένο (1674, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 4, 176.9–10)

For the declension of these participles, see II, 3.2.1; for the use of these participles in periphrastic verb forms, see 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6.3.

2.4 Peculiarities in Single Verbs

This section deals with stem peculiarities and variations that occur in single verbs. Prefixed verbs are treated at the main verb (e.g. συνάγω under ἄγω), unless the verb shows a different development (e.g. ὑπάγω).

⁸⁰ The passive perfective stem of ἀφήνω is not very common in the period covered by this Grammar, but in vernacular texts it is ἀφήθ- rather than SMG ἀφεθ-, which is a reinvention of *katharevousa*: καὶ οὕτως ἀφήθη ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 90.4; ἀφήθηκαν εἰς τὸ τρέξιμον *Alex. Fyll.* 13.27; εἶτι ἄρα τοῦ ἔχω ἀφημένα (1521, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 62, 116.21); νὰ τοὺς εἶναι ἀφημένες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 398.29.

⁸¹ Cf. “participia φωνασμένους, non φωναγμένους, et φωνασμένα” ROMANOS, *Grammar* 110.8–9.

ἄγω

The verb ἄγω does not survive as an independent verb in the period covered by this Grammar, at least not in vernacular texts.⁸² It only left behind a lexicalized imperative ἄγωμε(ν) (sometimes spelled ἄγομε(ν)), originally the 1st pl. subjunctive (“let us go!”), which came to be interpreted as a 2nd sg. imperative (“go!”) (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 111). This subjunctive form had undergone a remarkable semantic change from transitive “bring, carry”, to intransitive “go” in the Hellenistic period, with multiple examples in the New Testament (see the online *TLG*), probably with influence from ἄγε (see LSJ) and ὑπάγω (for which see below). In the period covered by this Grammar, the imperative ἄγωμε is usually intransitive (“go!”), though there are several examples in which it retains its old transitive meaning. The majority of examples comes from literary texts, which is unsurprising, as direct speech is rare in most non-literary sources:

- agome / ἄγωμε (14th c., Yemen, GOLDEN 2000: 64.27)
 ἄγωμε εἰς τὸ πηγάδιν *Ptoch. IV* 301 app. crit. (HV)
 κι ἄγωμε εἰς τὸν τόπον σου *Chron. Mor.* H 3787
 ἄγωμε εἰς τὴν Μαξιμοῦ *Dig.* E 1352
 ἄγωμε καὶ εἰπέ τον *Liv.* V 1392
 ἄγωμε στὴν μητέρα σου *Achil.* L 783
 ἄγωμε εἰς τὸν φόρον (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1089)
 ἄγωμε, βάλε, κηπουρέ, νερό [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1626
 λέγει μου: ἄγωμε εἰς τὸ χωρίον SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 105 transcr. (Lendari)
 ἄγωμε εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Τουρκίας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 158.34
 ἄγωμε καὶ κατήβα *Spanos* A 224
 ἄγωμε, στρώσε γλήγορα το βρομερό κρεβάτι *Kakop.* 100
 ἄγωμε, γιε μου, στο καλό CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.399
 ἄγομε, νοικοκύρη μου *Thysia Avr.* 397

Addition of final /n/ is rare (cf. other imperatives, 4.5): ἄγωμεν *Pol. Tr.* 469 app. crit. (B) and 2392 app. crit. (V); κ' εἰς το παλάτιν ἄγομεν *Apoll.* Rim. N 386.

A corresponding plural is formed by adding the 2nd pl. ending -τε. A second accent is placed on the penultimate, and the first accent is often omitted:

- καὶ ἀπέκει ἄγωμέτε τα τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην *Dig.* E 525 (transitive)
 ἄγωμέτε *Achil.* L 1045 app. crit.
 λέγει ἄγωμέτε καλῶς SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 99 transcr. P (Lendari)
 ἐκεῖ ἄγωμέτε *Pol. Tr.* 12398 app. crit. (CV)

Forms that are stressed as ἀγώμετε are editorial (e.g. ἀγώμετε, ἀδέλφια μου *Achil.* L 1045), introduced to accommodate the metre in verse texts.

A syncopated form ἄμε,⁸³ occurs from the 14th c. onwards:

⁸² Isolated examples can be found in texts that belong to a higher stylistic register, e.g. ἄγωμεν εἰς τὰ κάστρα σου, συνάξωμεν φουσάτον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 982.

⁸³ The form ἄμες in Sathas's edition of *Stathis*: μὰ ἄμες τὴν προξενήτρα μου νὰ βρῆς (I.49) is likely to be a simple writing mistake in ms V, triggered by the word order of the sentence. The app. crit. of the Martini edition offers ἄμε στην and she corrects to ἄμε τὴν.

κι ἄμε μὲ τὴν εὐχίτσα μου *Chron. Mor.* H 1388
 ἄλλον φαγὶ ἄμε νὰ εὔρης *Pol. Tr.* 3433
 ἄμε, περισωρεύθητι *Dig.* E 1280
 καὶ ἄμε εἰς ἀναζήτησιν τῆς κόρης τῆς Ροδάμνης *Liv.* V 621
 ἄμε καὶ σύ, ψυχούλα μου *Velth.* 1193
 θέλεις ἄμε, θέλεις ἔλα *Fior* 102.35
 ἄμε, παιδάκι, τὸ λοιπόν *Alex. Rim.* 691
 ἄμε GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. partirsi*; portalo là ἄμε τὸ ἐκεῖ *ibid. s.v. portalo qua* (transitive)
 μόν' ἄμε, μὴν ἀργοπορῆς *KONDAR., Paides* 137

The corresponding plural is ἄμετε or ἄμέτε; the second appears to be more common than the first:

ἄμετέ μας ἐκέισε *Chron. Mor.* H 5310 (ἄμετέ ms)
 ἄμετε λοιπόν εἰς τὴν δουλείαν σας *Bertoldos* 41.30
 ἄμετε τὸ λοιπόν *Irodis* I.46
 ἄμετε ἕνας ἀπὸ ἐσᾶς *SOU MAKIS, Rebelio* 57.1
 ἄμέτε τον εἰς τὸ λουτρόν *Arm.* 187
 καὶ ἄμέτε, τὰ παιδία μου *Liv.* V 2772
 ἄμέτε ἀναπαυθῆτε *Byz. Il.* 276
 καὶ ἄμέτε νὰ τὸν εὔρεῖτε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 332.1
 ἄμέτε ἰδέτε ὁλλίγον *Pist. kekoim.* 71
 κι ἀμέτε νὰ καυκάστε *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.401
 ἄμέτε ἐσεῖς *Pist. voskos* I 1.1
 ἄμέτε τοῦ τα (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 566, 792.17) (transitive)
 κι ἄμέτε σὲ παραχωστό *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.514

In texts from Chios, addition of final /n/ is encountered, as well as a form ἄμέστε(ν), for which there is no good explanation, though it is certainly not formed on the analogy of imperatives such as πέστε (KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ἄγωμε(ν)), which postdate the EMG period (see 4.5.2.4; and cf. ἐλάστε < ἔρχομαι, see below): κι ἄμέτεν ἔδ᾿, διαβήτηνε *KONDAR., Paides* 1112; ἄμέστ' ἀρπάξετέ την *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 185; ἄμέστεν εἰς τὰ σπῆτια σας *ibid.* 1422; ἄμέστεν, φύγετ' ἀπὸ ἔδῳ *KONDAR., Paides* 8; ἄμέστεν *ibid.* 757.

Prefixed derivatives of ἄγω include verbs such as ἀνάγω, διάγω, συνάγω and others. Some of these verbs, notably διάγω and συνάγω, develop alternative imperfective stems in -ζ: πλῆθος συνάζεται πολὺ *Liv.* V 2109; νὰ διάζεις τὰ διάζω *Thysia Avr.* 560; νὰ τοῦ συνάζει τὸ ἴσος (1697, Chios, TSELIKAS 2000: 99, 77.10).

These verbs tend to form their perfective stem regularly (active: -αξ-; passive -αχθ-/ -αχτ-), rather than through the old extended stem -αγαγ-:

τὸ πῶς νὰ θέλουν διάξει *Chron. Mor.* H 3010
 τὸ τί καὶ πῶς νὰ διάξωσιν *Pol. Tr.* 2364
 νὰ συναχθοῦν *Diig. tetr.* 94
 ὅλα ἐπισυνάξέ τα *Liv.* S 2044 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 νὰ ἔχη περισυνάξει *Chron. Mor.* P 1291
 καὶ τοὺς Ρωμαίους τοὺς κατηφεῖς ν' ἀνάξω, νὰ ὑψηλώσω *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 139
 τὴ νύκτα πῶς ἐδιάξασιν *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.1498

For ὑπάγω, which shows different developments, see below.

ἀναπαύω

The prefixed verb ἀναπαύω has an alternative imperfective stem in -ευ(γ) throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, in texts from both northern and south-western areas (cf. θεραπτεύω, which has an alternative perfective stem θαρραπαισ-/θαραπαψ-, see below):

- ἡνεπευόμην ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.13 app. crit. (S)
 ἀναπεύονται *Chron. Mor.* H 2634
 νὰ ἀναπεύεσσουν *Pol. Tr.* 3425 app. crit. (B); ἀναπεύετον *ibid.* 4333 app. crit. (V)
 ἀναπεύομέστε FALIEROS, *Thrinus* 298
 νὰ μποῦσιν ν' ἀναπεύονται ΣΚΛΑΒΟΣ, *Symf.* 272
 κάθεστε, ἀναπεύετε *Alex. Rim.* 809
 ἀναπεύεστέν *Theseid* I.1,2 (Follieri)
 ἀναπέυστον ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 188.40
 ἐμορφα τ' ἀναπεύει ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 57.4
 ἀναπεύεσαι *Diig. Alex.* F 94.4 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἀναπεύου *Diig. Alex.* K 373.17
 ἀναπεύου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 139.23
 ἀναπεύεσθε ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 26.45
 ἀναπεύετο ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* I.2171; κι ἀναπεύουν το *ibid.* IV.709

ἀπαντῶ

In texts of the 16th and 17th c. from Crete the verb ἀπαντῶ and its prefixed derivatives can form an alternative barytone stem in -ηχν, based on their perfective stem in -ηξ (see 2.2.1.9.2). Other oxytone verbs that have alternative perfective stems in -ηξ (e.g. ἐρωτῶ, ζητῶ, κρατῶ) do not appear to follow this pattern:

- ὁποῖος τον ἀπαντήχνηι *Apoll. Rim.* V 739 (same in all versions)
 τοῦ ἀπαντήχνηι ὁ δαίμων ΜΟΡΕΖΙΝΟΣ, *Klini* 170.20
 ἐσυναπάντηχνα *CHORTATSI*, *Panor.* III.538
 ἀπαντήχνασι ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* II.642; συνἀπαντήχνουσι *ibid.* II. 1398
 μ' ἀπαντήχνηι *Pist. voskos* IV 2.67
 ἀπαντήχνοντάς του (1628, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 2, 332.10)
 ἀπαντήχνασι ΒΟΥΝΙΑΛΙΣ Μ., *Diig. Pol.* 240.30

A similar development, though with a broader geographical distribution, can be observed in barytone velar stems (for which see 2.1.1.1.4).

ἀποφαίνω

The verb ἀποφαίνω develops a new imperfective stem ἀποφην- based on the aorist indicative ἀπέφηνα (see also ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, *Lex.* s.v. ἀποφαίνω):

- ἀποφῆνομεν ἐγράφως (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 25.203–4)
 ὀρίζω δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, λέγω καὶ ἀποφῆνω *Diig. tetr.* 984 app. crit. (CL)
 ἀλλ' ἀποφῆνηι βέβαια ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* VII.33
 ἀποφῆνουν οἱ θεῖοι πατέρες *Chron. Ps.-Dorothei.* (1572) 247

ἄρχομαι/ἄρχω

The verb ἀρχίζω for ἄρχομαι/ἄρχω first appears in texts of the early 12th c.:

- τὸ ρυακίον ὅπου ἀρχίσαμεν (1100, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 15, 203.23)
 ὅπου τὰ συνόρια ἀρχίσαμεν (1118, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 85, 112.26–7)

ἔπειτα νὰ ἀρχίζη ὁ ὀρθὸς (1197–9, Serbia, MEYER 1894: VII, 186.31)
 ἀρχίζουν νὰ κάμνουν SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 209; ἀρχίζουν εἰς τὸ μάλωμα *ibid.* 212
 ἀρχίζει ἡ πανεξαίρετος ὥραία ἡ Μαργαρώνα *Imber*. 871

The verb shows great variation in its imperfective stem formation. There is an oxytone variant ἀρχινῶ with a broad geographical spread from the 14th c. onwards and a local variant in Chios καταχερνῶ (= καταρχινῶ with metathesis of /r/ and subsequent change of /i/ to /e/):

ὅπου ἀρχινοῦν καὶ κηλαδοῦν *Chron. Mor.* H 3620
 τότε ἀρχινᾷ ὁ ἡμπέριος νὰ λέγη *Imber*. 765
 ἀρχινᾷ (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.26)
 ἀρχινοῦσαν καὶ ἔκαναν τὰ ἄζυμα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 362.28
 νὰ ἀρχινάη (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 66.4)
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς πρῶτους ἀρχινά ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 151
 ἀν ἀρχινοῦσες *Don Kis.* 109.3
 ἀρχινᾷ πλέον τ' Οὐζμπειγιστάνι VATATSIS, *Periig.* II 420
 καταχερνῶ, -ᾷς, ἑκαταχέρνουν GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *cominciare*
 καταχερνᾷ νὰ λέγη PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 806

Marginally, forms of ἀρχῶ can be found:

καὶ τότες Ἀπολλώνιος ἀρχεῖ ν' ἀναθιβάνει *Apoll. Rim.* A 1822
 ἐπίασεν ὁ πατέρας της, καὶ ἀρχεῖ νὰ τ' ἀναγνώθῃ *Apoll. Rim.* E 585
 καὶ το κακόν τση ριζικόν ἀρχεῖ νὰ τ' ἀτιμάζει *Apoll. Rim.* N 650
 ἀρχεῖ κυρὰ καὶ λέγει τοὺς *Theseid* I.23,8 (Follieri)

Barytone variants include ἀρχινίζω (Crete, Cyprus, certain Aegean islands); *ἀρχιρίζω/*ἀρχερίζω, a Heptanesian variant of which only perfective forms have been found; ἀρχεύω, which occurs in texts of south-eastern provenance and of uncertain provenance; and, marginally, ἀρχάζω, ἀρχινέζω and ἀρχέζω:

καὶ κλάημα ἀρχινίζει *Apoll. Rim.* A 865
 καὶ ἀρχινίζει *Imb. Rim.* 1010
 ἀρχινίζει ἡ βοσκή της (1544, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [2], 7.18)
 μὲ τὸ παῖξε-γέλασε ἀρχινίζει *Vösk.* 228
 καὶ ἐκείνη ἀρχινίζει *Stathis* II.53
 τώρα ἀρχινίζω νὰ γρικῶ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.192
 τὸ κλάμαν ἀρχινίζει MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 198
 μὲ γέλοιο ἀρχινίζει PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1465
 τὸ αἶμαν τοὺς ἀρχινίζει νὰ φεύγῃ KONST. ΔΙΑΚ., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 266
 καὶ ἀπόκεις ἀρχινίζει KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.899

θέλουν ἀρχιρίσου νὰ φεύγουν *Diig. Alex.* F 246.11 (Lolos)
 ἀρχέρισεν νὰ παρακαλῇ *Diig. Alex.* V 81.22–3

ὅταν ἀρχεύῃ ἡ νύκτα *Liv.* V 1908 (hapax; in all versions but E)
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν στρέφεται ὁ λογισμὸς καὶ ἀρχεύγει LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 468
 ἀρχεύγου νὰ πάρουν βετέττα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 628.13–14
 καὶ πρῶτον ἤδη ἀρχεύει *Pist. kekoim.* tit.

ἐνταῦτα ἀρχάζουν οἱ ἄπαντες *Chron. Mor.* H 7889

ἄρχασε νὰ τοῦ λέγῃ *Liv.* E 81 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

ἀρχέζει, κτίζει, πολεμεῖ μετὰ ἐξόμπλου πύργον *Byz. Il.* 102

ἀρχίνεζεν νὰ φεύγῃ *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 266.

Forms of AG ἄρχομαι are also in use in a variety of texts, though not usually in Cretan and Cypriot literature:

ἀνδραγαθαίαι ἄρχονται ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ Ἀκρίτου *Dig.* G IV.1

εἰ γὰρ καὶ λέξων ἤρχομουν *Ptoch. III* 47; ἄρχομαι *ibid.* 51

ἄρχεται νὰ τοὺς λέγῃ *Pol. Tr.* 2312

λοιπὸν καὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν ἄρχομαι τῆς ἀγάπης *Liv.* V 27

ἄρχομαι, ἐρωτῶ τον *Liv.* α 3188 app. crit (P)

ἄρχεται διηγῆσεται *Byz. Il.* 70

ἄρχομαι ἀπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς Βενετίας *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 421.17

αρχόμεθα *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 506 tit.

For residual middle forms see 4.9.1–3 and 4.9.2.

βαίνω

As discussed above (see 2.2.1.10), the verb βαίνω and its prefixed derivatives made use of passive-looking endings for the aorist indicative (-ην, -ης, etc., later -ηκα, -ηκες, etc., see 4.4.2) and the infinitive (-ῆναι, later -εῖν, see 4.6.2.3), and developed passive-looking oxytone endings for the aorist subjunctive (-ῶ, εῖς, etc., see 4.2.3). On the other hand, there is a tendency for some of these verbs to move over to an active rather than passive paradigm. The verbs (ἐ)μπαίνω (< ἐμβαίνω) and (ἐ)βγαίνω (< ἐκβαίνω) develop new aorist indicatives ἤμπα and ἤβγα, adopting the /i/ augment by analogy with certain other verbs with monosyllabic perfective stems (see 3.1.2.1 for details):

ἤβγεν *Dig.* A 2930

ἤμπασιν *Dig.* E 416

ἤμπες *Velth.* 951

ἤμπαν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 851

σὰν συγγενεῖς μοῦ ἤμπετεν μέσαν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν *KONDAR., Paidēs* 286; κ' ἤβγεν ἀφ' τὰ μυαλά του *ibid.* 950

ἤβγενε εἰς τὸ κυνήγι φῖνος *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1356 (with addition of -(ν)ε, for which see I, 2.6.3.3)

ἤμπασι (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 744.12).

βάλλω

The verb βάλλω and some of its prefixed derivatives (e.g. ἀμφιβάλλω, ἀναβάλλω) develop an alternative imperfective stem in -βαν: καὶ τὸν οἶνον διαβάνει *ERMON., Ilias* 14.45; μ' ἀμφιβάνει *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* L3v; ἐπρόβανε ζητήματα φυσικά *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 43.29–30 (for more examples see 2.1.1.1.6).

These verbs tend to retain the inherited perfective stem βαλ- for the active voice (see also 2.2.2.1.2), e.g. τῖς γερόντοι ὅπου θέλομε βάλει (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 19.13) (for τῖς γερόντοι see II, 1.3 and II, 2.2.5); cf. pres. κι ὅποτε δὲ μᾶς ἀρέσουσι ... νὰ βάνομε ἄλλους (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 19.11–12). As the pronunciation

of single and double consonants is identical in most of the Greek-speaking regions (for exceptions see I, 3.4), /n/ may be added to the imperfective stem in order to distinguish it from the perfective stem (see also 2.1.1.1.6): ὅτι τὸν διαβάλουν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 344.16.

The non-prefixed variant βάζω and prefixed (ἐ)βγάζω (< ἐκβάλλω) may have come into being under the influence of prefixed forms derived from βιβάζω (e.g. ἀνεβάζω, ἐμβάζω, κατεβάζω, σεβάζω), but βάζω itself is unlikely to have been derived from βιβάζω (ANDRIOTIS, *Lex.* s.v.), since the perfective stem would then be expected to be sigmatic (βασ-), which it is not; βάζω and (ἐ)βγάζω retain the perfective stem βαλ- of βάλλω. Forms with -ζ- can be found in a variety of texts from at least the 15th c. onwards:

ὅπου τοὺς ἐβγάζουν *Ptoch.* IV 248.36 app. crit. (K)
 ἐκβάζω τὸ δοξάριον *Liv.* α 140 app. crit. (P)
 νὰ τὸ ἀπέβγαζαν *Pol. Tr.* 1167 app. crit. (A)
 ποὺ βγάζουν μυρωδία *Theseid* XI.24,2 (1529)
 εὐγάζω ... ἐκβάνω ... ἐκβάζω GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *cavare*
 βγάζοντας PALAMIDIS, *Ist. Mich. Voev.* 184
 ἐβγαζεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I § 36.32
 σκολεῖο τὸν βάζουν *Dig.* O 1251
 βγάζο<ν>τας (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.5).

For the passive voice this verb retains its inherited perfective stem βληθ-, but also develops an innovative alternative βαλθ-,⁸⁴ e.g. ἐμετεβλήθη ἡ θλίψις τοὺς *Achil.* N 76; ἐβάλθηκε να σπουδάζει RODINOS, *Martyr. Neof.* 321.38–9. The innovative stem has a phonetic variant in which /l/ is replaced by /r/ (see I, 3.8.6.2 for details): ἐβάρτησαν νὰ ἔλθουν ἀππῶδε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 144.15–16; διὰ νὰ μὴν ἀποβαρθῇ τὸ παιδί ἀπὸ τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς μητρός LANDOS, *Geopon.* 266.1.

βαστῶ

The verb βαστῶ (< βαστάζω) can form an alternative imperfective stem in -άνω in texts of southern provenance (Cyprus, Crete) (often -άννω in Cypriot, reflecting gemination, see I, 3.4) or in -αίνω in texts from various regions (Constantinople, Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese):

κοντάρια ἐβάσταιναν *Chron. Mor.* H 1042; ἡ νὰ βαστάνουν ἄρματα *ibid.* 3890
 τὸν πόνον οὐ βασταίνει *Pol. Tr.* 5696 (ms X, 15th c.) (βαστάνει ms C 15th c., βαστάζει ms V 16th c.); θαύμασμα πῶς βασταίνει *ibid.* 10079; βασταίνομεν *ibid.* 10984 app. crit. (BC)
 μαγνήτην νὰ βασταίνη *Poulol.* 542 app. crit. (V)
 τὸ στέμμαν τὸ βαστάνω *Imb.* Rim. 63; νὰ βασταίνης *ibid.* 253; βασταίνει *ibid.* 417
 ὅπου βασταίνει τὸ κλειδί FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 322
 οἱ πτωχοὶ οἱ Κυπριῶτες, ὅπου βαστάνουν πολλὰ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 540.11
 γυμνὸν βαστάνει το σπαθίν *Diig. Apoll.* 727
 Λέξανδρος τὸν βασταίνει *Alex. Rim.* 1401
 ἐβάσταινε ἓνα μαχαίρι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 366.17; νὰ τὸν βασταίνει *ibid.* 380.33
 βασταίνοντας τὰ σκεύη *Vios Aisop.* K 154.29

⁸⁴ The SMG semantic difference between the stems βληθ- (SMG 'to be cast') and βαλθ- (SMG 'to apply onself'), begins to manifest itself in the period covered by this Grammar.

σοῦ τάσσω ἀπάνω στὸ χρουσὸ στέμμαν ἀποῦ βασταίνω FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm.* II 170
 Χριστέ, πῶς τὸ βασταίνεις DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 790
 νὰ βασταίνει *Zinon* III.369; but also: αὐτὰ τὰ γένια ὁποῦ βαστᾶς *ibid* I.113

βλέπω

The verb βλέπω has a rather unusual imperative singular βλέπεσαι/βλέπεσε, either derived from periphrastic νὰ βλέπεσαι with omission of νά, or, perhaps a little less likely, modelled on the passive aorist imperative in -ησε (XANTHOUDIDIS 1915: 391; KRIARAS 1932):

καὶ βλέπεσαι μὴ πλανηθῇς *Dig.* G VIII.139
 βλέπεσαι, θυγατέρα μου *Fyll. gadar.* 159
 βλέπεσε, μὴν τις κάμης πλιό CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.30
 dicono ancora βλέπεσαι GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.5
 βλέπεσαι μὴν ἀγγίξης *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 1143

The peculiar form βλέπουσαι in one ms of CHORTATSI, *Panor.* (II.251), appears to be a conflation of βλέπεσαι and regular βλέπου (for which see 4.5.1.1.2).

This verb continues to make use of the inherited thematic aorist stem ἰδ- to form its perfective tenses (ind. εἶδα, subj. ἴδω/ἰδῶ etc., see 4.4.1 and 4.2.3). It presents a regional (mostly northern) peculiarity in the formation of its perfective stem, through metathesis (JANNARIS 1897: 83; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 308–9; KRETSCHMER 1905: 124ff.; PERNOT 1913: 263; see also I, 3.9.1): the subjunctive (ἰ)δῶ may become διῶ, e.g. νὰ διγεῖς (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 55.23); νὰ διγιοῦμι (1698, *ibid.* 9, 73.33) (= νὰ διοῦμε with raising of /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4), the added <γ> indicating palatalization; see I, 3.8.2.3); στα μάτια να τις διοῦμιν (*ibid.* 12, 82.29) (= διοῦμεν, see I, 2.5.4); μ' ἄς διοῦμεν *Diig. Vefa* 1052; ὅπου διοῦν τὰ μάτια του *ibid.* 1069. Furthermore, the infinitive (ἰ)δεῖν(ν) may become διεῖν(ν), e.g. θέλω σε διγεῖ (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 53.2), and the imperative ἴδέ has a rare variant διέ: διέ ἐγὼ διδω ὁμπροστέ σας ... εὐλογία *Pent. Deut.* 11.26. Several examples of the aorist indicative have also been found: καὶ εἶδιεν ὁ Θεὸς *Pent. Gen.* 1.4; εἶδια *ibid.* 33.10; εἶδιαμεν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 12, 29.7).

Furthermore, βλέπω has an alternative perfective stem βλεπησ-, which follows the paradigm of oxytone verbs for both the active and the passive voice. See 2.2.1.7 for details.

γίνομαι

In earlier stages of the language, the verb γί(ν)ομαι made use of the stem γι(γ)ν- for imperfective tenses and moods and γεν- for the perfective ones, with medio-passive endings. In the Koine the middle voice had started to fall into disuse, and to be replaced with passive or active morphology (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 193–4; JANNARIS 1897: 362–4). Thus, the verb γίνομαι had developed a passive alternative ἐγενήθην (probably with influence from ἐγεννήθην) for the AG aorist middle ἐγενόμην, later simplified to ἐγένην (possibly to distinguish it from ἐγεννήθην): λίθος ἐγένην, μάννα μου [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 1179. In the period covered by this Grammar, both stems remain in use, but the distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect appears to be blurred (cf. ἔρχομαι and εὐρίσκομαι). The stem γιν- starts to be used for the aorist alongside γεν-, both with passive and active endings:

νά γένη καλοπαιδευτον GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 275
 ἀφότου γάρ ἐγίνετον τοῦ δημηγέρτη ἡ κρίσις *Chron. Mor.* H 903; νά γενῶ *ibid.* 956; ἀφότου
 ἐγίνη βασιλέας *ibid.* 1008 (cf. ἀφότου ἐγένετον ἐκεῖνο τὸ πασσάτζο *ibid.* 123)
 ἐνεθράφην τὸ παιδὶν καὶ ἐγίνη χρονῶν τεσσάρων *Achil.* L 12; ἐγάπησεν καὶ θέλησεν καὶ
 ἐγίνετον στρατιώτης *ibid.* 20
 πολλὰ ἐγίνηκα φρόνιμος *Pol. Tr.* 6885
 καὶ ξενοδόχισσα ἔγινεν *Liv.* V 2735
 τὸ εἶντα θέλω ἀπογενεῖν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 3134
 θέλει γινεῖν μεγάλη μάχη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 182.36–7
 πότε τὸ βλέπω ἐγίνετο; πῶς τὸ θωρῶ ἐσυνέβη BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 389 (cf. καὶ τ' ἄλλον τότε
 τοῦ λαοῦ οὐκ εἶδαμεν τί ἐγένη *ibid.* 365)
 στὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὅπου καὶ ἐγενέθη καὶ χατζής EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 64.9–10

Similarly, imperfective forms can be found formed from the perfective stem γεν-: τὰ
 χλωρά χόρτα γέρονται ἀποκάτω του νεροῦ *Anthos Ch.* G 231.14; πότε γένεται εἰς τὸν
 κόσμον σύγχυσις μεγάλη *Vios Aisop.* I 261.27; καὶ ἐγένιτι καὶ εἰς τὴν λογιότη σου κάτρη
 (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 12, 82.32–3) (= ἐγένεται, see I, 2.5.4).

In Cypriot Greek the stem γιν-, and sporadically γεν-, may be extended with the infix
 -ισκ- (see 2.1.1.3.2 for details) to form a new imperfective stem:

νά γενίσκουνται *Assizes* B 252.3–4; ὅλα τὰ ἄδικα τὰ γινίσκουνται *ibid.* 458.4
 σκάνταλον ἐγινίσκετον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 46.30
 ἐγινίσκετον VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 242.14
 γινίσκεται *Fior Suppl.* 269.19
 ὅπου γινίσκουνται κουμερκιάρηδες *Pist. kekoim.* 627

For barytone and oxytone variant forms in the aorist subjunctive and infinitive see 4.2.3,
 4.6.2.3.

For residual aorist middle forms and their conflation with the imperfect see 4.9.1–3 and
 4.9.2.

δίδω/δίνω

The verb δίδω (< δίδωμι) remains in general use throughout the period covered by this
 Grammar:

καὶ ἔδιδέν μας λάχανα *Paroim.* H 10
 τοῦ τὸ δίδου (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1)
 εἰς σου δίδω μια ραβδὲ *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.85
 νά δίδου (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 38.40)
 παρηγοριὰ τὸ ἐδίδα *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.11.

The alternative δίνω, now SMG, has not been found before the 15th c. (ms date of *Pol. Tr.*).
 It occurs mainly, though not exclusively, in texts from south-western areas and the Aegean:

τὰς χεῖρας δίνουσι *Pol. Tr.* 1914 app. crit. (A)
 τίποτε οὐδὲν τῆς δίνει *Chron. Mor.* P 7335 (hapax)
 δίνει του καὶ πιτάκι *Alex. Rim.* 2712
 νά δίνου καὶ νά πλερώνου (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 54.28)
 νά δίνουνται (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 34.13)
 τὶ μερτικὸ δίναν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 55, 118.8–9)
 νά τοῦ δίνου (χαράτζί) *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 94.23

νὰ τὸ δίνω ὀτινος θέλω (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.38)
 δίνετε, καὶ θέλουν σας δώσει KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 6.38
 ἔδιναν πόλεμο φρικτὸ ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 247
 θὲ νὰ δίνει (1677, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 452.7–8)
 νὰ τοῦ δίνου βουτσά (1677, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 24, 92.11)
 τὰ ῥίνασι (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.29)

Furthermore, the verb has three local variants for the imperfective stem: διδῶ, δοῦδω and δώνω.

Oxytone διδῶ occurs in texts from Cyprus throughout the period covered by this Grammar (see also 2.1.3.1):

διδεῖ του (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 29.46)
 καὶ διδοῦσαν του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 86.22–3
 δὲν διδοῦμεν ἀφορμὴν *Pist. kekoim.* 499–500
 δὲν τοὺς διοῦν ψωμῖν νὰ φᾶν *Thrinis Kypr.* 505 (with deletion of intervocalic fricative; see I, 3.6.1.1)

Three examples of the verb δίδω with a shift of the stress to the penultimate have been found in ms B of *Fior de Vertù*: διδέται *Fior* 111.10, 118.41 and 119.1. This form is unusual, since the oxytone variant of διδῶ normally adopts the endings of the oxytone E-stem paradigm (cf. διδεῖται *ibid.* 111.10 app. crit. (I) and 118.41 app. crit. (I)); see also 2.1.3.1. However, for comparable forms of barytone vowel stems resulting from synizesis (e.g. σειέται), see 2.1.1.2.

A variant δοῦδω can be found in texts from Crete (cf. CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: A 33–4) and the Heptanese (Ithaca):

καὶ δοῦδεις σου καὶ ραβδακίεις *Diig. tetr.* 688 (reading of ms P; scribe probably Cretan)
 δοῦδουσί μας (1502, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 6, 29.11)
 νὰ τῶς δοῦδουν (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 148.26); τοὺς ἐδοῦδαμε (*ibid.* 148.10)
 δύνεται νὰ σου δοῦδεις CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.160
 νὰ σοῦ δοῦδεις *Zinon* II.28
 παραδοῦδου (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 85, 90.5–6)

Finally, δώνω has been found in texts from the Aegean. It is likely to have been formed on the basis of the aorist ἔδωσα (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 408), perhaps with some influence from Italian *dono* (JANNARIS 1897: 218):

δώνει ἡγουν καὶ παραδώνει (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 25, 163.3); καὶ δώνει της τοῦτο (1599, *ibid.* 92, 123.8)
 καὶ δώνου (1634, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 18, 321.7)
 δώνομέν του τὰ (1666, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 18, 89.6–7)
 τήνε δώνει KONDA., *Paidēs* 687–8
 τῖς δώνου καὶ παραδώνου (1676, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 6, 18.9)
 μίαν ραβδίᾱ τοῦ δώνει PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2883
 δώνομε τὸ χωράφι μας (1685, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1918a: 129.17–18)
 δὲν μας ἤδωνε *Epist. Nax.* 471.27
 τοῦ ῥδώνασιν ψωμί καὶ ἤτρωγεν (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 604, 834.3)
 νὰ δώνη (1719, Patmos, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 2, 16.10)
 οἱ χάρες ποῦ μοῦ δώνεις *Trag. Ag. Dim.* I.49

The perfective stem is δωσ- or δωκ- (for which see 2.2.1.10), though sometimes δουσ- and δουκ- can be found, not only as a phonetic variant (unstressed /o/ > /u/, see I, 2.8.3), but sporadically also in forms where /u/ is stressed, perhaps based on δούδω, although it cannot be excluded that the last example represents a simple writing mistake:

ἔδουκα (1101, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 69, 86.2)
 τὰ ἔδουκε (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.13)
 ἦδουκα τό παρόν τεσκερέ μου (1625, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 2000: 1, 14.8)
 ἔδουσα (1713, Lesbos?, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1884: 7, 27.4)
 θάνατον, κατὰ πῶς θωρῶ, βούλεσαι νὰ μοῦ δούσης *Alfan.* 11 31 app. crit.

The imperative is δῶσε, δῶσ' / δός, or δό, pl. δώστε / δόστε or δῶτε / δότε:

δός τα ὅλα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.23
 δῶσ' με ἔδῶ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.8
 τὸ σκύλο μου μοῦ δόσε *Pist. voskos* II 2.193
 δό μου *Diig. Alex.* F 174.4 (Konstantinopulos)
 δό με νερό (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2438)
 δῶστε της *Cypr. Canz.* 4.7
 δῶτε μου τόπο ν' ἀνεβῶ CHORTATIS, *Katz.* V.25

The participle is δομένος or δοσμένος:

δομένα ᾿ς τοὺς κάτωθεν (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 48, 26.3)
 τὰ ἔχω δομένα (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 116, 165.51–2)
 τῶς ἔχουσι οἱ μερίδες δοσμένη (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 51.48)
 τοῦ ἔχω δοσμένα (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 139.19).

δύναμαι/δύνομαι

The verb δύναμαι began to adopt the thematic vowels /o/ and /e/ in the last centuries BC (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 59; JANNARIS 1897: 258), resulting in δύνομαι, δύνεσαι, etc. for δύναμαι, δύνασαι, etc. (cf. κάθομαι for κάθημαι). The verb retains its inherited perfective stem δυνηθ-, for which see 2.2.1.7.

ἐγείρω

The verb ἐγείρω develops an innovative imperfective stem γερν- in order to distinguish it from the identical perfective stem (see also 1.1.1): e.g. ἐγέρνεται ἡ Τροία *Pol. Tr.* 1228 app. crit. (X); νὰ γέρνεσαι *Poulol.* 147 app. crit. (CPVL); ἦγερνεν (1697, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 48, 143.9).

The verb is quite unique in that for the passive aorist subjunctive it has alternative barytone forms, possibly built on a morphological analogy with verbs that display both stress patterns such as ἔρθω/ἐρθῶ, εὔρω/εὔρῶ: (ἐ)γέρθω instead of (ἐ)γερθῶ (e.g. νὰ γερθῶ CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.513). In these barytone forms the endings of the active paradigm are used with the passive perfective stem:⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Interestingly, ἐγέρθω is mentioned by various grammarians from Antiquity onwards as having been derived from the adjective ἐγερτός (see the online *TLG*); however, these grammarians treat it as a present indicative, not an aorist subjunctive.

πολλάκις μὲ ἐπαώργισεν ὁ λογισμὸς νὰ ἐγέρθω *Ptoch.* IV 193
 ἐκείνη ἀπὲ τὰγκάλια του δὲν ἤθελε νὰ γέρθη *Achil.* L 938
 ἄν οὐκ ἐγέρθης τὸ γουργὸν *Poulol.* 37 app. crit. (V)
 καὶ ὅταν ἐγέρθω νὰ σταθῶ *SACHLIKIS, Peri fylakis* 37
 κι ὁποῦ πῆσε μὴ γέρθη *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 40; καὶ ξύστερα ἄς ἐγέρθουν *ibid.* 284
 νὰ γέρθη σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴ *Defl. Par.* 2; νὰ φᾶν, νὰ πιοῦν, νὰ γέρθουν *ibid.* 208
 καὶ δὲν μποροῦν νὰ γέρθουν *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 334
 νὰ ᾔγερθη δὲν ἐδύνετο *Fyll. gadar.* 252
 νὰ ᾔγερθη νὰ μισέψει *Apoll. Rim.* V 149 (same in EN)
 νὰ γέρθης νὰ μισέψης *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.242

(ἐ)θέλω

For the present indicative and subjunctive the verb (ἐ)θέλω can produce syncopated forms, for 2 sg. (θές), 3 sg. (θέ(ν)) and all persons of the plural (θέμε(ν), θέτε(ν)/θέλτε, θέν(ε) or θέσι). These forms are found in texts from southern areas (Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese, Cyprus, Rhodes) from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms dates of the *Oracles of Leo the Wise* and of *Pol. Tr.*), as well as in later texts from other areas, such as Chios, certain Cycladic islands and the northern regions.⁸⁶

καὶ ἂν ἐν' καὶ θές νὰ μάθης *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 96
 θές νὰ κτίσης *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 451
 θές γῆ στανικῶς (1491, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: οδ', fn. 143)
 θές πάλι νὰ στὸ λέγω; *Alex. Rim.* 141
 φύσ', ἄνεμε, ὅπου καὶ ἂ θές *VENDRAMOS, Istor. Filarg.* 250
 τὸ θές μοῦ πεῖ *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.122; θές ζωντανὸ νὰ μὴν ἀφήσω φλάρο; *id., Katz.* III.456
 θέλω, θές, θέ. θέμεν, θέτε, θένε, vel θέσι *GERMANO, Grammar* 95.12–13
 μὰ παρεκάλια θές κι' ἐσύ *MONTSEL., Evgena* 464
 θές, Γιάννη, νὰ τὰ βόσκωμε μαζίν; (1685, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 578, 803.8)
 τί θές ἐδῶ *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 51
 τὶς θέ καλὸν *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 53; (κᾶμε τῆς γυναικός σου ...) ὅ,τι θέ *ibid.* 1218
 τὶς θεν ν' ἀκούει ἄσματα *Diig. Apoll.* 614
 μὰ θέ κουτάλες δυνατές *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 435 (3 sg., impers.)
 καὶ θέ νὰ μὲ φιλήσῃ *Fyll. gadar.* 180; θέ νὰ ᾠολογήσῃ *ibid.* 139A
 θέ νὰ πῇ ὄχι, σπολλάτε *Pist. kekoim.* 585
 φαίνεται ὅτι θέ νὰ φεύγει ἀπὸ τὸ δίκαιον (1582, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 126, 86.28)
 νὰ μὴ θέ νὰ προβάλῃ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.318
 καὶ ἄλλους τόπους, ὅπου θε, ας πάγει καὶ ας χαλάσει *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voev.* 538 (Pidonia)
 ὄντα θέ νὰ φτιάσῃ τὸ δῶμα του ... κι ὄντα θέ νὰ πλύνει τὰ βουτσά του (1685, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1995b: 5, 39.41–3)
 θέμεν νὰ μᾶς ποτίζῃς *KONDAR., Paidēs* 320
 δὲν θέμεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 884
 τοὺς παίζομεν ὡς θέμεν (1709, Chios, *PAPASTRATOU* 1981: 34, 134.16)
 ἂν θέμε νὰ χαίρομεστα *Leilasia Par.* 324 app. crit.
 ἂν θέλτε νὰ ᾤρομεν *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 147

⁸⁶ *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voev.*, whose author was from Epirus, was written in Transylvania; *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* was written in 1692 in Bucharest; the provenance of Neofytos, however, is unknown.

ἄ θέτε νά γροικήσετε KONDAR., *Paidēs* 3
 θέτεν νά γελάτεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 177

νά τὸ κάνου ὡς θέσι καὶ βούλονται (1769, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 4, 25.16)

In the same area the shortened form θέ(ν) + νά is also used for the other persons of the singular, and even the plural, from about the 15th c. onwards. The use of this shortened form is not uncommon in periphrastic future formations, for which see 5.1.4.6, but it can also be found with volitive meaning:

εἰς τοὺς ἀντιδίκους μου ὅπου καὶ θέν νά μᾶς χαλάσουν *Pol. Tr.* 6601 app. crit. (A)
 ἄλλον θέ νά πτωχάνη SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 126
 μὲ δαῦτον θέ νά μείνω *Alex. Rim.* 110
 οἱ κορασιές που θε νά παντρευτείτε *Kakop.* 3
 α θε νά σας αφουκραστώ CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.223 (2 pl.)
 ἐκεῖνο ὅπου θέ νά κάμουνε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.1
 καὶ Τούρκος θεν νά γένει ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ. *Pali* 371
 ξελησιμονῶ τὸ θέ νά πῶ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 581.2
 θέ νά μοιρασώσιν οἱ κληρονόμοι μὲ τὸ ζωντανὸν μέρος (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 303.46)
 δέν θέ νά πολεμοῦσιν KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.790

A past-tense shortened form ἦθε(ν) has been found in texts from southern areas (Heptanese, Peloponnese, Crete, Cyprus) and from certain islands in the Aegean (Chios, Naxos).⁸⁷ It is usually used to form conditionals (+ subjunctive), for which see 5.2.3.6. Sporadically it can also have volitive meaning, in which case it is followed by νά: κ' ἦθε' νά πορεύεται με νόμον ἐδικόν του *Apoll. Rim.* A 54; δέν ἦθε νά κάμη ἀγάπη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 60.17; κι ἦθεν νά καταντήσει *Thrinis Kypr.* 245 (facs.; ed.: ἠθεννᾶ).

A shortened form θά with volitive and deontic meanings appears mainly in Cretan texts from the 16th c./17th c. onwards; there is also one attestation in the *Tale of Vefas and Michri* (late 17th c., 18th-c. ms), which is of northern provenance. For a discussion of this particle and its use to express the future tense, see 5.1.5. Some examples of volitive/deontic θά are:

ὁ Κάης τότες ἐζήλεψε, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θά μοιάση *P&N Diath.* 1270
 ὅσο κι' ἄ θά τῇ χώνη | τὴν ὄρεξή τζη CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.96–7
 μὰ ὄντας δῆς καλὴ γουλιὰ στὸ πιάτο | νά θά τὴν πιάσω, τὸ ζημιὸ μου λέγεις' ἄσ' τὴν κάτω!
Stathis I.121–2
 γιὰ ποιά 'φορμὴ μακρὰ νά θά γυρεύης | θεριά *Pist. voskos* I 1.79–80
 καὶ ἀποὺ θά μάθη ἄς πιάση | ... τὸ σοφὸ Πλούταρχο νά διαβάση FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.80–2; ἄς
 ἔρθη ὀγλήγορα, γιατί θά τσῆ μιλήσω *ibid.* I.315
 τόσον τὸν ἄρέσει | κι αὐτὴ διὰ γυναικὰ του εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς θά νά 'χῃ *Diig. Vefa* 1098–9

The verb θέλω continues to make use of its inherited perfective stem θελησ-, for which see 2.2.1.7. This verb lacks passive morphology.

⁸⁷ For the shortened form ἔθε(ν) in the following example: ἀμμ' ἔθεν νά πιντώνουν τὸ λαμπρόν μου *Cypr. Canz.* 100.7, we should probably read ἀμμὲ θε νά.

ἐξεύρω

The verb ἐξεύρω emerged shortly before the LMedG period from the aorist ἐξεῦρον⁸⁸ of the verb ἐξευρίσκω, most probably to replace οἶδα, which, because of the sound change from [y] to [i] had become homophonous with εἶδα (for details see I, 2.4.6.1). An early attestation can be found in a letter of the late 11th c.: καθὼς ἐξεύρεις ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.7–8. Deletion of the fricative [v] resulted in the variant (ἐ)ξέρω (cf. SMG ξέρω): καὶ καλὰ νὰ ἤξέρετε *Assizes* B 483.26; καὶ ξέρε, βασιλέα μου ΚΟΝΔΑΡ., *Paides* 629. This verb lacks perfective morphology.

ἐπαίρω

The verb αἶρω is not normally found in vernacular texts, but it does survive in the prefixed verb ἐπαίρω. In its imperfective stem ἐπαίρω shows a strong tendency towards addition of an “intrusive” /n/, a phenomenon that predates the period covered by this Grammar (see also 1.1.1): νὰ ἔπαιρναν *Ptoch.* III 194; θέλουν παίρνειν (1436, Crete, ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ 1960/61: 2, 147.18); ἐτοῦτος παίρνει τὴν ὥραϊαν *Achil.* N 1322. The active perfective stem is normally -αρ-, and the passive perfective stem -αρθ-/αρτ- (see I, 3.8.1): ὅπου θέλουν ἐπαρθῇ (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 273.15); ἐπάρτην (16th c., Lesbos?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.III, 548.42.1); ἐπάρθηκε (1620, Crete, ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ 1986: 1, 39.70). The aorist indicative usually retains its inherited internal augment, e.g. ἐπήρε το χρυσάφι ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 54.4; for details and more examples, see 3.3.1.2.

ἔρχομαι

The deponent verb ἔρχομαι, which has a phonetic variant ἔρκομαι in texts from Cyprus (see I, 3.8.1.1), shows quite a bit of morphological variation. It retains its inherited perfective stem ἔλθ-, with phonetic variants ἔρθ- and ἔρτ-, which continue to be used with active endings to form the perfective tenses (see 4.4.1, 4.2.3, 4.6.2.3). Similarly to γίνομαι (see above) and εὐρίσκομαι (see below), the distinction between the imperfective and perfective stems appears to be blurred. Thus we find perfective forms with present (passive) endings: νὰ ἔλθεστε (15th c., Adrianople, ΛΑΜΒΡΟΣ 1908b: A, 58.4); and a present gerund that makes use of the active ending -ντα(ς) (instead of part. ἐρχόμενος; for examples with other verbs see 4.7): ἔρχοντα ὁ καιρὸς *Assizes* A 44.13; ἔρκοντα τοῦ κυροῦ Μανουήλ τοῦ Βουτουμήτη ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 36.21; ἔρχοντας ΦΟΣΚΟΛΟΣ, *Fort.* II.202; ἔρχοντας (1693, Zakynthos, ΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ 1969e: 65.22). Finally, the aorist gerund ἐλθόντας (< part. ἐλθών) may adopt the stress of the present gerund: δὲν ἔρθοντας ὁ υἱὸς τῆς (1587, Cythera, ΧΑΡΟΥ-ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΥ/ΔΡΑΚΑΚΙΣ 2010: 172, 141.25–6). Locally, the reverse may also occur. In EMG Cycladic texts, perfective forms (with active endings) are derived from the imperfective stem ἐρχ- (cf. CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 504 for the distribution in modern dialects): ἐμεῖς ὁμπρὸς ἤρχαμε μέσα *Leilasia Par.* 343; νὰ ἔρχουν (1735, Kimolos, ΡΑΜΦΟΣ 1974: 37, 65.13). An example also occurs in *Florios* L: πόθεν ἔρχεις; *Flor.* L 1380, in which it is probably an adaptation of AG ἔρχει, which is the reading of *Florios* 1407.

⁸⁸ In EMedG texts, the aorist without the augment (ἐξεῦρον for ἐξηῦρον) is the more commonly used form.

The imperative has a very common alternative for ἔλθε/ἐλθέ, namely ἔλα, plural ἐλάτε (see 4.5.2.3 for examples). The plural has a regional alternative (Aegean, Crete) ἐλάστε (cf. ἀμέστε < ἄγω above; and THUMB 1912: 155).

καὶ ἐλάστε μὲ τὸ Γεώργην (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.52)

ἐλάστε CHORTATISIS, *Panor.* V.324

ἔλα, vieni, ἐλάτε, altri però dicono ἐλάστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.25–6

ἐλᾷστ' ἀρχόντισσές μου VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 1604; καὶ αὖριο ἐλᾷστέν πάλι *ibid.* 1605

ἐλάστενε ἀντάμα μου PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1870 (with addition of -(ν)ε, see I, 2.6.3.3)

εὐρίσκω/βρίσκω

The verb εὐρίσκω/βρίσκω has a local variant εὐρέσκω/ηύρέσκω/βρέσκω (Heptanese, Epirus, Peloponnese, Cyclades):⁸⁹

εὐρέσκεσαι *Chron. Mor.* P 2502

νὰ εὐρέσκει ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ἀρβανίτην (1571, Unknown, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 8, 481.4–5)

(author probably from Epirus)

παρόμοια δὲν εὐρέσκετον TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 56; παρόμοιον δὲν εὐρέσκουσι *ibid.* 86

ἡβρεσκουμαστινε (1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.16–17) (stress notation lacking;

author from the Peloponnese)

καὶ βρέσκει τον *Nov. I* 156.5

τὸ βρέσκει SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A3r.8

ἡβρέσκεται (1659, Zakynthos, AVOURIS 1973: 220.3)

κρένω δὲν βρέσκεται ἄλλη MONTSEL., *Evgena* 788

βρεσκόμενοι (1699, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 13, 29.5)

For non-past forms in ηῦρ-/ἡβρ- see also the introduction to Chapter 3.

For the passive voice this verb has imperfective variant forms derived from the passive perfective stem εὔρεθ-/βρεθ- (cf. γίνομαι and ἔρχομαι for similar developments), which occur in texts from Cyprus: βρέθουμουν (1679, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 16, 41.24); καὶ μὲ τοὺς δρυάδες ὅσους ἡύρέθουνται (1684, *ibid.* 19, 51.20); βρέθετ' ἕνας παπ' Ἀντριᾶς KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 119; βρέθουνται μὲ τὸν Μαρκουλῆν *ibid.* 121.

This stem may also be extended with the infix -ισκ- (> βρεθίσκομαι; see also 2.1.1.3.2), in the same area: βρεθίσκουνται (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 2, 7.5).

θεραπεύω

The verb θεραπεύω has an alternative perfective stem θαραπαυσ-/θαραπαψ- (though no alternative imperfective stem in -αυ was found; cf. ἀναπαύω, above, which has an alternative imperfective stem in -ευ):

νὰ θαραπαύσουν τὰς πληγὰς *Chron. Mor.* H 4195 app. crit.

γιατὶ ὅλους ἐθαράπαψες FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 210

διὰ νὰ τοὺς θαραπαύσει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 375.29

νὰ σὲ θαραπαύσω MOREZINOS, *Klini* 44.34

νὰν σὲ θαραπάψη (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.27)

⁸⁹ A single instance of εὐρίκω in *Assizes A* 229.8 is likely to be a writing mistake for εὐρίσκω.

θέτω

For the irregular AG verb τίθημι⁹⁰ a new imperfective stem θετ(τ)- (cf. SMG θέτω) is attested from the very beginning of the LMedG period (see also *LBG* s.v. θέτω): ἴνα θέττωσιν (1134, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 7, 520.15); θέττουν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 33.87); θέττω (1303, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 334, 502.35) καὶ θέτουν με ἁγιοζούμιν *Ptoch.* IV 380. It has a rare alternative θηττ- in the late 11th-c. writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain: οὐ κατ' ἐντολὴν ἢ παράδοσιν θήττομεν ταῦτα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 146.34–5. The form θέτ(τ)ω acquired its /e/ probably because many words derived from τίθημι have /e/ (e.g. imp. θές, noun θέσις, compounds such as τοποθετῶ), and because the trend exists in other verbs as well (e.g. στήκω > στέκω) (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 315). Chiot texts may offer nasal variants for the imperfective stem of the verb θέτω and its compounds:⁹¹ συνθένω GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *componere*; as well as an innovative present indicative with /k/: καλοθέκω *ibid.* s.v. *collocare*.⁹²

There is much variation in the formation of the perfective stem of this verb.⁹³ A new perfective stem θησ-, borrowed from the future θήσω, replaced the old subjunctive θῶ (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 312). A new sigmatic aorist indicative (ἔθησα for ἔθηκα, for which see 2.2.1.10) could be formed from the same stem: καὶ πᾶσαν δολιότητα ἔθησε στὸν σκοπόν του *Pol. Tr.* 36. A stem θεκ- for θηκ- (aorist indicative only), can already be found in the EMedG period,⁹⁴ and continues to be in use in the period covered by this Grammar. Some examples are:

- ἔθηκεν φύλαξες καλές *Chron. Mor.* H 1236
 ἔθέκα τὸν μάστρε Ἀντώνη τὸν γιαιτρὸ (1389, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 3, 89.2)
 ἔθέκαν *Dig.* E 480
 πεῖσμαν ἀπλῶς ἔθηκεν *Log. parig.* L 30
 ἐπροσέθεκα καὶ ἰδικό μου (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1134–5)
 ἤθεκα στὸ κρεβάτιν μου BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 2
 ἀπόθεκάν τον *Diig. Alex.* F 298.20 (Lolos)
 ἔθεκαν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 291

For the passive voice θέτω continues to use the inherited perfective stem τεθ-: κ' ἐτέθη καπετάνος *Chron. Mor.* H 1852; καὶ ἐτέθην ἡ βασίλισσα *Dig.* E 1671; ὡς ἐγὼ ἐδιατέθηκα

⁹⁰ Earlier innovative forms include τίθω and τιθῶ (JANNARIS 1897: 234), e.g. pres. imp. τίθει in Vettius Valens (2nd c. AD), τιθοῦσιν in Cassius Dio (2nd–3rd c.), in the *Life of St Symeon Stylites* (5th c.) and in Tzetzēs (12th c.), τίθων in the *Life of St John the Almsgiver* (7th c.), τιθοῦσι in Mauropus and the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (both 11th c.) (see the online *TLG*); διατίθειν (11th c., S. Italy, NITTI DI VITO 1900: 46, 92.7–8). Such forms can still sporadically be found in the period under review: ὅλα ἐπαραιτίθει τα *Byz. Il.* 813; εἴτις εἰς ριζικόν το τίθει *Anthos Ch.* V 46.10; ὅτι την πάσαν ἐλπίδα μου εἰς Σε, ἀνασσαι, ἀνατίθω ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 10231.

⁹¹ A similar form also in Korais's *Atakta*: τοποθένω (KORAIIS 1828/35: IV 605 s.v. τοποθέκω).

⁹² In his *Atakta* Korais, who had a Chiot connection, mentions indicatives ἀποθέκω KORAIIS 1828/35: IV 28 s.v.; θέκω, τοποθέκω and καλοθέκω *ibid.* 605 s.v. τοποθέκω. In the modern period θέκω is attested in Pontos and Cappadocia, see *ILNE* archive; DAWKINS 1916: 603 s.v. θέτω and PAPADOPOULOS 1958 s.v. θήκω.

⁹³ However, a form ἐθεύμαν in *Assizes* A 25.29, interpreted by KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. θέτω as a 3 pl. aor. ind. should be viewed as a textual corruption. Morphologically it cannot possibly have been derived from this verb and in addition the context requires 3 sg. (cf. ἐνι θεοπισμένος in the corresponding passage in *Assizes* B 274.10–11).

⁹⁴ An aorist ἔθεκε occurs in the 7th/8th-c. poet Andrew of Crete (*Canon for Palm Sunday*, l. 435, ed. Maisano).

(1529, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 128, 235.28). Confusion of τεθ- and τιθ- occurs occasionally: διὰ νὰ γένουν καθώς ἐγὼ ἐδιατίθηκα (1528, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 125, 229.43).

καθαίρω

The verb (ἐκ)καθαίρω may adopt an “intrusive” /n/ in its imperfective stem. For this verb this is a regional phenomenon, occurring in texts from the Aegean and in the *Theseid*, which is of uncertain provenance:

τὰ ἄρματα τοῦ κάθαιρνε *Theseid* VII.35,2 (1529)

νὰ τοὺς ἐξεκαθαίρνουν (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 8, 127.16); νὰ τὸ ἐξεκαθαίρνει (1586, ibid. 30, 171.11–12)

νὰ ξεκαθαίρνει (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 31, 45.14)

In the Aegean (Naxos, Chios) the verb ξεκαθαίρνω has an oxytone variant ξεκαθαίρνῶ: ξεκαθαίρνῃ καὶ λέγει (1576, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 138, 99.34); καθαιρνῶ ... [καθαίρ] νοῦμαι GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. mondare and purgare*; ξεκαθαίρνωντας (1633, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 9, 144.13).

κάθηναι/κάθομαι

The AG verb κάθηναι had adopted the dominant thematic vowels /o/ and /e/ of the present long before the period covered by this Grammar (cf. δύνομαι for δύναμαι).⁹⁵ From the early centuries AD it began to supplement its lacking perfective morphology by adopting the future stem καθησ-⁹⁶ and substituting active endings for the middle ones of the future. Just as in the case of its transitive counterpart καθίζω (see next), perfective forms have a syncopated alternative stem κατσ-:

νὰ κάτσωμεν νὰ φᾶμεν *Ptoch. I* 243

κ' ἐκάτσε στὸ πλευρόν του *Chron. Mor.* H 4104

εἰς τὴν σάρκαν ἀπέσωθεν ἔκατσε τὸ κοντάριν *Pol. Tr.* 4152

ἐκάτσεν *Log. parig.* L 490

θέλει κάτσει *Velis.* χ 191

μαννίτζα, κάτζει [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1091

Ἀλέξανδρος κοντὰ του ἔκατzen *Diig. Alex.* F 40.14–15 (Konstantinopolis)

ἔκατσε ἀπὸ τὴν μέσην μερέαν *Vios Aisop.* K 184.14

καὶ τ' ἄλλα σου καμῶματα θὰ κάτσω νὰ στουντιάρω *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.295

ἦκατσα νὰ ξεκουραστῶ *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.899

καθίζω

The verb καθίζω has a syncopated perfective stem κατσ- (< καθισ-) (in manuscripts and chapbooks spelled with <τζ> rather than <τσ>). This syncopated stem is also used as a perfective stem of the deponent verb κάθηναι/κάθομαι (for which see above). The syncopation initially led to paroxytone forms for the aorist indicative: ἐκάθισα > ἐκάτσα, but following reanalysis the stress moved back to the antepenultimate: ἐκάτσα > ἔκατσα.

⁹⁵ A 3 sg. form κάθεται can for instance be found in the *Life of St Artemios* (7th c.) and in Romanos the Melode, *Kontakion* 48 (see the online *TLG*).

⁹⁶ Aorists ἐκάθησεν in Ephraem the Syrian (4th c.) and Cyril of Alexandria (4th/5th c.); an infinitive καθήσκειν in Didymus Caecus (4th c.); an aorist subjunctive καθήσῃς in Romanos the Melode (see the online *TLG*).

ἐκάτσε την *Dig.* E 961
 καὶ ἐπίκατζε τὸ ἀκάνθιν *Vulgärorakel* I.219
 καὶ ὄλον του τὸ κέρατον εὐθύς ἐκάτζειν μέσα *Diig. tetr.* 1021
 νὰ σ' ἐκάτσαν *Spanos* A 408
 καὶ κάτζετέ μου *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 267 app. crit.
 καὶ ἐκάτζειν τους καθόρδινά *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 230.18
 στην σέλλαν την ἐκάτσαν *Diig. Apoll.* 455
 γῆ νὰ σὲ κάτσου μέσα *CHORTATIS, Katz.* V.335
 καὶ ἔκατσέ τους *Vios Aisop.* K 149.18–19

καίω

The verb καίω forms an alternative imperfective stem καυτ- (also spelled καφτ-). It is not very common, but does occur in a variety of texts from various areas, from around the 15th c. onwards. This stem is possibly derived from the perfective stem καψ- (see 2.2.1.1.1), by analogy with labial stems in -φτ such as ἄφτω (for which see 2.1.1.1.1; cf. also παύτω in Cretan/Heptanesian, below):

καταπατοῦν καὶ καύτουν τες *Achil.* L 103
 ἔκαυτεν τὸ χαρτὶ *Hist. Imp.* IIb 1337
 καὶ κάφτει με ἡ ἀγάπη σου *Katal.* 214
 καὶ ἔκαυτές την *Poulol.* 432
 καὶ καύτει καμμίαν οἰκίαν *Assizes* A 222.29
 κάφτουν τὸν στόλον ὄλον *Velis.* N² 180
 φέρνουσιν ἱστιὰ καὶ κάφτουςιν *Velis.* χ 178 app. crit. (V)
 καὶ καύτουν τὴν γλώσσαν του *Diig. Alex.* E 217.17–218.1 (Lolos)
 ὅτι τον καύτει ἡ φλόγινη ρομφαία *Diig. Alex.* K 368.29–30

This [ft] may “reassimilate” to -πτ- in texts from southern areas (cf. 2.2.1.2.2):⁹⁷ κάπτουν *Pol. Tr.* 8287 app. crit. (V); ὡσὰν κερὶν τὸ κάπτει *SACHLIKIS, Symvoules* 63; κι' ὅλα τὰ ξύλα 'κάπταν *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 506.26 (Xirouchakis) (καῦτα in ed. Alexiou/Aposkiti).

In texts of south-eastern provenance (Cyprus, Rhodes) and other Aegean islands (Chios, Ikaria) καίω can form an alternative imperfective stem καυ(γ)- (also spelled καβ(γ)-). This stem is probably formed by analogy with other verbs in -β(γ)ω such as ἀνάβ(γ)ω, κόβ(γ)ω (for which see 2.1.1.1.1):

καύγει το ἥτζου κακὰ *Assizes* B 433.29
 νὰ τὲς κάβουν (1449, Chios, *LAIOU* 1982: 4, 124.16)
 ἔκαυγα *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 260
 σπορὰν ἐκαῦγαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 356.18
 δὲν κάβγεισαι *Cypr. Canz.* 89.9; κάβγοντα *ibid.* 100.27
 ἔκαυγά τους (1570, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.3)
 παρὰ 'καυγεν τοὺς χριστιανοὺς *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 250
 νὰ κάβγου τὸ κερὶ (1659, Ikaria, *TSELIKAS* 2000: 24, 31.12)
 ἔκαυγεν τὴν καρδιά του *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2209
 καύγουν τὸν Τίμιον Σταυρόν *Thrinos Kypr.* 171

⁹⁷ The following example is from an anonymous 14th-c. metaphor of Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*: αὐτὰ μὲν ὀρίζει κάπτειν *Metaphr. Alexiad* 306.5.

In AG καίω had two alternative passive perfective stems, namely καυθ- (ἐκαύθην) and κα- (ἐκάην) (see LSJ s.v. καίω). In the LMedG and EMG periods ἐκάην has prevailed, and passive examples with καυθ- are quite rare: ἐκαύθησαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1274 (ed. ἐκάφηθησαν); καὶ ταῦτα ὀρίζει παρευθὺς Κροῖσον κατακαυθῆναι DELLAP., *Erot apokr.* 594; να μηδέν καυθούν τα ρούχα του *Anthos Ch.* A 239.1–2 and V 238.2. Sometimes an “intrusive” /s/ is added (see 2.2.3 for details): ἐκαύσθησαν *Dig.* E 300. Forms derived from the stem κα-, often with an added /γ/ (for which see I, 3.5.2.1), are more common:

- ἔλα κάγου, λυγερέ, στὸν πόθον Του SULT. WALAD, *Poem I* 21
 νὰ ᾄκηκα *Katal.* 487
 ἐκάγην (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.6)
 νὰ ᾄχε καῖ *Alosis* 49
 διὰ νὰ μὴν καγεῖ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 133.13
 κι ἐκαγήκα CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.249
 ἐκάηκαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.11
 ἐκαγήκανε τὰ δέντρα (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 512.42.2)
 ἡκάηκε (1655, Chios, LAMBROS 1910: 277, 193.1)
 πρέπει να καεῖ *Don Kis.* 31.32
 ἐκάγηκε *Leilasia Par.* 556

The following form is the result of an analogy with other labial stem verbs (e.g. κρύβω: κρυφῶ and κρυβῶ, see 2.2.1.2.2): να μηδέν καφούν τα ρούχα του *Anthos Ch.* G 239.1–2.

καταρῶμαι

For the deponent verb καταρῶμαι, the Koine perfective passive stem καταραθ- is used throughout the period covered by this Grammar. A new perfective stem in -ασθ/-αστ with an “intrusive” /s/ that can be found in other passive forms as well (for which see 2.2.3), occurs from at least the 15th c. onwards (date of ms E of *Poulologos*):

- ἐπῆγε νὰ τὴν καταραθῇ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 642.7
 τὸν ὄφιν ἐκατηράθη ΡΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 512 app. crit. (V)
 ἐκατηράθη μεγάλως τὴν Στάφυλον *Porikol.* I 122 (residual middle aorist ἐκατηράσατο in versions II and III)
 ὁ Θεὸς τὴν κατηράθη *Synax. gyn.* 117
 ὅποιους χριστιανούς ἐκαταράθηκα (1643, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1960: 3, 3.2)
 καὶ ἐκαταράθη του Αετοῦ ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth. Epim.* (a) 1
 ἐκατηράσθη σου πολλὰ *Poulol.* 564
 ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκαταράσθη τὸν δάσκαλον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 345.3
 τότε ἐκατηράσθη τὸν θεὸς τὸν ὄφιν DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 24, ω7ν.31 (1561)
 ἡ συκὴ ὅπου ἐκαταράσθη KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 11.21
 ἡ Ἥρα τῆς ἐκατηράσθη ΜΑΚΟΛΑΣ, *Ioust.* 425.41
 τὸν ἐκαταράστη (1708, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 23, 99.90)

Sporadically, forms with -ισθ/-ιστ- instead of -ασθ/-αστ- appear, perhaps formed on the basis of an analogically created present καταρίζω, which is, however, unattested in LMedG/EMG: καὶ τὸν ἐκαταρίστηκεν ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 107.8; τοῦ ὄφη ἐκαταρίσθη VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 79.

κερδαίνω/κερδένω

In two texts from the Peloponnese and one of unknown provenance (*Alfav.* 14), the verb κερδένω/κερδαίνω has an alternative imperfective stem κερδεζ-, modelled on the perfective stem κερδεσ-, for which see 2.2.1.5.1: καὶ τὸ ἄλλο νὰ κερδέζουσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 1992; τὸ τέλος οὐ κερδέζεις *Alfav.* 14 5 app. crit. (M); ἐκερδέζανε τὸν πόλεμο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.12.

κρύπτω/κρύβω

The verb κρύπτω/κρύβω shows an interesting peculiarity in that it developed another alternative perfective passive stem κρυβήθ-, alongside κρυπτ- and κρυβ- (for which see 2.2.1.2.2), from at least the 9th c.⁹⁸ This stem is said to derive from an oxytone variant κρυβῶμαι, but it is, in fact, the other way around.⁹⁹ Forms derived from this stem are quite frequent, and can be found in various texts from various areas throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

ἐχάθης, ἐκρυβήθης GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 199
 ὁ σκλάβος ἐκρυβήθην *Assizes* B 404.3
 ἐκρυβήθ' εἰς τὰς καμάρας *Pol. Tr.* 9968 app. crit. (X)
 νὰ κρυβηθῇ ἐγύρευσεν *Poulol.* 319
 το πρᾶγμα θέλει κρυβηθεῖν *Diig. Apoll.* 29
 ἐχάθης, ἐκρυβήθης *Alosis* 824
 ντρέποντα ἐκρυβήθησαν ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 490
 στὸν τράφο ἐκρυβήθη ΖΙΝΟΣ, *Vatr.* 408
 ο κυνηγὸς κρυβήθηκε ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 45.9
 εἰς ποῖον ... κάστρον νὰ κρυβηθοῦμεν; ΣΤΑΥΡΙΝΟΣ, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 849 (Pidonia)
 ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκρυβήθη ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 8.59
 ἐκρυβηθήκαν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 7960
 οὐδὲ νὰ κρυβηθῇτε ΒΟΥΝΙΑΛΙΣ Μ., *Diig. Pol.* 535.4

Sporadically the /v/ of κρύβω may become /f/: ἐκρυφήθηκε *Byz. Il.* 223; νὰ μὲν κρύφουσιν ὄνομαν ΚΟΝΣΤ. ΔΙΑΚ., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 264. For anaptyxis of /ɣ/ in forms such as κρύβγω see 2.1.1.1.1 and I, 3.5.2.2. For κρυβ- instead of κρυβ- see I, 2.8.3.

λέγω

The verb λέγω has an imperfective vowel-stem variant λέω. In all persons but 1 sg. deletion of the vowel in the ending may take place, for which see 2.1.1.2.

To form its perfective moods and tenses it continues to make use of the inherited stem εἰπ- (see 2.2.2.2), which had attached itself to λέγω on semantic grounds already in

⁹⁸ First attestations are found in the 9th-c. *Life of Peter of Atroa* (ed. V. Laurent), an aorist participle κρυβηθέντος 64.22, and in the work of Symeon the New Theologian (ed. J. Koder; 10th–11th c.; oldest ms D 13th c.): an aorist participle κρυβηθέν 55.129 (all mss) and an imperative κρυβήθησε 21.418 app. crit. (D). A similar form of the verb γράφω has been found in a document from S. Italy: οἱ ἀνωτέρω γραφηθέντες (1162, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 31, 171.14); but as this is an isolated instance, no secure conclusions can be drawn regarding the verb γράφω.

⁹⁹ The supposition that this perfective stem is derived from an oxytone verb κρυβῶμαι (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 393) is incorrect, since imperfective forms are much rarer and appear much later than the perfective forms (imperfective forms in *Poulol.*, *Phys.* and *Byz. Il.*, *Vulgärorakel*; see ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, *Lex. s.v.* κρυβῶμαι ? / κρυβούμαι ?, who rightly states that the present is derived from the aorist).

Antiquity. The regular perfective stem λεξ- is uncommon for the independent verb, occurring in mixed- and higher-register texts only, e.g.:

εἰ γὰρ καὶ λέξων ἤρχομουν *Ptoch.* III 47
καὶ πῶς νὰ ζήσω, λέξον μοι *Ptoch.* IV 131
ὑμῖν λέξομεν τάδε *Dig.* G VII.158
οὐδὲν ἡξεύρω τί νὰ πῶ, οὐδὲ τὸ τί νὰ λέξω *Alosis* 346

It is, however, the norm for its prefixed derivatives such as διαλέγω, ἐκλέγω, ἐπιλέγω:

ἀλλ' ἐπίλεξον ὅφ' ἡμῶν ἓνα οἷον κελεύεις *Dig.* G VI.213
νὰ ἐκλέξουν βασιλέα *Chron. Mor.* H 924
ὅτι ἐκείνους τοὺς ἐδιόλεξα *Achil.* L 119
ἀμφοτέρως τοὺς ἐκδιαλέξαν (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 235, 139.9)
θέλει διαλέξωμεν τὸ καλύτερον (1654, Chios, ZERLENDIS 1917: 3, 244.25–6)

The exception to this are a few verbs, in which λέγω has the meaning “to say”:

μάγειρος τοῦ ἀντεῖπε *Dig.* A 2326
ἐπροεῖπα (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.74)
ἐξανάπα pro ἐξαναιῖπα GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *replicare*
ἐπροεῖπαμεν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 102.25; καθὼς προεῖπα IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 9598

For some verbs both forms are found, usually with different meaning (ἐκλέγω: ἐκλέξω “to choose”; ἐξεῖπω “to speak”; καταλέγω: καταλέξω “to tell”, κατεῖπω “to accuse”):

τούτου δὲ τοῦνομα λοιπόν, ἵνα σαφῶς ἐξεῖπω *Dig.* A 21
ἐκλεξεν διὰ στιμαδόρον του (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 2, 81.14)
ἂν μόνον καταλέξης με καὶ κατὰ μέρος εἴπης [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1135
πολλὰ μὲ ἐκατεῖπες *Diig. tetr.* 741

The “perfect” passive participle is either the old – usually unreduplicated – λεγμένος: τὸ λεγμένον *Ptoch.* IV 342; στρατιώτας ἐκλεγμένους *Pol. Tr.* 2617; ὅλους διαλεγμένους *Chron. Toc.* 1062; or innovative εἰπωμένος, for which see 2.3.2.

ὁμνύω

The verb ὁμνύω is the only one of the barytone vowel-stem verbs that can change the stem vowel, producing a regional variant in -όω, as well as one in -έω.

The variant in -όω, with a perfective stem in -οο or -οξ, occurs mainly in texts from Crete: ἔμνοξέ μου TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.598 (ὁμνύω > ὁμνόω > ὁμνόγω: ὁμνόξω). It can also be found with an intervocalic /y/ (see I, 3.5.2.1 for details): ἡμνογεν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.24.

The variant in -έω appears in texts from various regions and behaves in ways similar to other verbs with a stem in /e/ (for which see 2.1.1.2):

καὶ μὲ ὄρκον τὴν ὁμνέει *Dig.* E 901
ὁμνέουν *Pol. Tr.* 12005 app. crit. (CV)
ὁμνέω σας (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.17)
ὁμνέω σας *Alosis* 462 and 688
ὁμνέω σε LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 411; ὁμνέει σου *ibid.* 535
ὁμνέω σας ἀλήθεια *Fyll. gadar.* 23B
μακάρι καὶ ἀν ὁμνέει IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 52; ὁμνεεν *ibid.* 250; τως ὁμνέουν *ibid.* 4343

It can sometimes be found with an intervocalic /y/ (for which see I, 3.5.2.1):

τ' άστρον την γην ομνέγει *Apoll. Rim. E 1404*
 μνέγω *Alex. Rim. 142*
 σοῦ ὁμνέγω *Fyll. gadar. 281B*
 και ὀρκους τονε μνέγουν *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voev. 793 (Pidonia)*
 ἄρχισεν νὰ ὁμνέγη *VEST., Prol. Theot. 48*

In texts from south-eastern areas deletion of the vowel of the ending after that of the stem may occur in the 2 sg. and 3 sg. forms: ὁμνέ *Assizes B 285.16 and 285.22*; ὁμνές *ibid. 214.14, 466.24 and 466.29*; ὁμνέ κ' εἰς τὸ σπαθίν του *Alosis 496 app. crit.*

παύω

In Cretan and Heptanesian texts of the 16th/17th c., the verb παύω (though not its prefixed derivatives such as ἀναπαύω) has a variant imperfective stem παυτ-, probably modelled on verbs in -φτω such as βλάφτω, σκάφτω (for which see 2.1.1.1.1) via the perfective stem: βλάφτω, ἔβλαψα : παύω, ἔπαψα > παύτω:

ἔπαυτεν *MOREZINOS, Klini 64.10*
 παύτου τα κλάηματά σας *CHORTATSIS, Panor. IV.361*; παύτου καὶ κατατάσσου *id., Erof. V.324*
 ἀποῦ ποτὲ δὲν παύτου *TROILOS, Rodol. I.225*
 λουμπάρδες δὲν ἐπαύτανε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 154.9*
 καὶ τὸ ὄχθηρτές τους παύτω *Zinon Prol. 14*

πίπτω

The verb πίπτω developed into πέφτω by first adopting the vowel /e/ of its perfective stem πεσ-, leading to πέπτω:

ὅσοι ἐπροσπέπταν *Chron. Mor. H 5684 app. crit.*
 συχνὰ τοὺς ἐπιπέπταν *Pol. Tr. 13784*; πέπτει ἐκεῖνος κάτω *ibid. 4753 app. crit. (B)*
 ἔαν πέπτῃ ὁ σταλαγμός *Liv. V 1500*; εἰς τοῦτο σὲ προσπέπτω *ibid. 3108*
 ἔπεπτα εἰς τοῦτο καὶ εἰς αὐτό *Liv. α 692*
 πέπτει ὁ κύνας εἰς τὴν γῆν *Flor. L 385*
 νὰ πέπτῃ, νὰ ἀποθνήσκῃ *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis 337 transcr. (Lendari)*
 πέπτει ὁ καρπὸς *DELLAP., Erot. apokr. 902*
 ἐπέπταν οἱ σαῖτες *Diig. Alex. E 169.14 (Lolos)*; καὶ ἔπεπταν εἰς τὴν γῆν *ibid. 191.19*
 καὶ πέπτουσιν εἰς δουλείαν των εχθρῶν *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth. 55.8*
 ἐπῆρα καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ ρέσμιν ὅπου μοῦ ἐμπέπτεν (1687, Cyprus, *PERDIKIS 1998: 20, 53.13–14*)

This then evolved into πέφτω, now SMG, through manner dissimilation (for which see I, 3.8.1):

ἔπεφτεν εἰς τὰ ἄνθη *Achil. L 525*
 καὶ δὲν ἦπεφτε (15th c., Crete, *KODER 1964: 44.5*)
 πέφτει μετὰ τῆς παρὰ φύσης *Assizes A 227.12*
 νὰ πέφτουν *Spanos B 110*
 νὰ πέφτει (1503, Corfu, *PANDAZI 2007: 224, 189.14*)
 πέφτου (1603, Naxos, *KATSOUROS 1968: 1, 26.5*)
 ἐπέφτανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult. 52.29*
 νὰ πέφτει ἀπὸ τὸ μπενεφίτο (1699, Kefalonia, *EVANGELATOS 1995: 5, 165.28*)
 καὶ πέφτουν καὶ ψοφάουν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 1956*

καὶ ἡπεφτες σὲ ζάλη PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 416
καὶ πέφτω καὶ βαρίσκω KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.342

In his grammar Romanos Nikiforou gives a rare alternative form with /n/ replacing /t/:
ξεπέφνω ROMANOS, *Grammar* 126.7.

The verb also has a rare alternative perfective stem in -κ, for which see 2.2.1.10. For its innovative “perfect” passive participle πεσομένος, see 2.3.2.

πλάθω

The verb πλάθω (< πλάσσω/πλάττω), although not used very frequently, shows some variation in the imperfective stem; both πλάθω and πλάττω are used in the period covered by this Grammar:

πλάττεται KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 152.24
όλα τα μεταπλάττουσι ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 4918
εμεταπλάττουσαν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 20.20
γῆ ἐπλάθε γῆ εκοσκίνιζε CHORTATISIS, *Panor.* II.94
πλάθεται νὰ εἶναι ἄρρωστη Bertoldos 51.30–1

An alternative stem πλασκ- occurs in a text from Cyprus: πλάσκεται *Fior* 76.17; while πλάζω has been found only in *Liv.* E: καὶ μόνος μεταπλάζεται καὶ γίνετα γυναικα *Liv.* E 649.

ποιῶ

Before and throughout the period under investigation and in texts from all areas the verb ποιῶ produces forms in which the two consecutive [i] sounds are reduced to one: ἐποίησα > ἐποίησα; ποιήσῃ > ποιήσει. In the aorist indicative the stress may be shifted to the antepenultimate (ἐποίησα for ἐποίησα):

νὰ ποίσω θέαμα μέγα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 287
τοῦ νὰ τοῦ ἔχη ποίσει *Chron. Mor.* H 2559
ἐδάρει καὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἂν μὲ ἔποισαν τεχνίτην *Ptoch.* III 89
καὶ ὥραν πολλὴν ἐποίησασιν *Dig.* E 75
ποίησε τίποτα *Liv.* V 2702
πηδηματίτιζιν ἔποισεν *Diig. tetr.* 660 app. crit. (CA)
θέλω ποίσει (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 101.11)
καὶ ποίσετε νὰ τὸ βάλετε εἰς ἔργο (1468, Alyki, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 15, 10.3)
νὰ μοῦ ποίση (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 62, 179.14) (ποι<ῆ>ση in the ed.)
ἂν τὶς βενέτικος ποίση χρέος (1478/9, Constantinople, GILLILAND WRIGHT/MACKAY 2007: 270.19)
θάλασσα, ποῖσε μουγκρισμόν DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 400
ποίησε τοὺς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.27
ἔποισε VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 34
δὲν ἡμπορῶ νὰ ποίσω *Thrinos Kypr.* 144

Sometimes a conservative spelling is maintained, but especially in verse texts it is usually quite clear when forms of ποιῶ should be read with one [i], e.g. τὸ τί σὲ ποιήσῃ οὐδὲν ἔχω *Chron. Mor.* H 462 (1st hemistich; read: οὐδὲν ἔχω).

For alternative perfective forms of the verb ποιῶ with -κ-, see 2.2.1.10.

τρώγω

The verb τρώγω has an imperfective vowel-stem variant τρώω, in which vowel deletion may occur (see 2.1.1.2). The perfective stem associated with τρώγω is inherited φαγ-:

- ἐφάγασιν (1067, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 27, 207.30)
 ἀκρόστιχον οὐκ ἔφαγα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 546
 νὰ ἔφαγα *Ptoch. IV* 180
 φάγε (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 101.4d)
 αφόν εφάγαν VOUSTR., *Chron. A* 44.9
 ἦφαγεν (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 179.6)
 τὰ φάγανε (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 232, 189.46–7)
 τὴν ὥρα ποὺ θὲ φάγω VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 33

The /ɣ/ in these forms may be omitted, after which deletion of one of the two consecutive vowels may occur; see 2.2.2.3 for details. For the innovative participle φαγωμένος, see 2.3.2.

ὑπάγω

The verb ὑπάγω originally had an irregular perfective stem ὑπαγαγ-. However, this stem fell into disuse, and the imperfective stem started to express both the imperfective and the perfective verbal aspect.¹⁰⁰ In order to distinguish this new perfective stem from the old imperfective one, for the latter ὑπαγ- was then extended with the affix -αίν- (for which see also 2.1.1.3), resulting in ὑπαγαίνω/παγαίνω, which occurs in texts from the very beginning of the LMedG period, e.g.:

- ὑπαγαίνω *Spaneas V* 23
 νὰ ἔχω ὑπαγαίνει *Chron. Mor. H* 2414
 νὰ παγαίνουν (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.22)
 ὑπαγαίνοντας εἰς τὲς γράβες (1501, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 65, 99.13)

The verb tends to retain its internal augment in the imperfect: εἰ μὲν ὑπήγαγεν (app. crit.) (15th c., Unknown, SEARBY 2003: 2, 692.3), which led to a reanalysis of the stem as (ὑ)πηγαίν- (cf. SMG πηγαίνω):

- ὑπηένω *Dig. E* 792
 νὰ πηγαίνου εἰς τοὺς πλέα πρόξιμους (1528, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 113, 225.1–2)
 πηγαινάμενοι ἀνταμῶς οἱ δύο (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 161, 102.30)
 θὲ νὰ πηαίνη *Vosk.* 118

The /ɣ/ in (ὑ)πάγω may be omitted, after which vowel deletion may occur. See 2.1.1.2 for details.

In texts of northern provenance a new imperfective stem occurs in which /n/ has been added to (ὑ)πάω, e.g. καὶ πάνεις εἰς τὸ ὄρος *Poulol.* 117 app. crit. (Z); καβαλλικεύω μάβρον μου, πάνω νὰ τὸν ποτίσω *Ekatol.* (Meteoron) 6. For more examples see 2.1.1.2.

¹⁰⁰ Examples of ὑπάγω used as a perfective form can already be found e.g. in John Chrysostom (4th/5th c.): ὅταν ἀναδέξη μικρὸν τι τοῦ νόμου, καὶ ὑπάγῃς σεαυτὸν τῷ ζυγῷ, ὅλην ἐφειλκύσω τὴν δεσποτείαν (see the online *TLG*).

In late EMG texts from northern areas,¹⁰¹ the verb has an alternative perfective stem *πάγησ-*, which appears to be modelled on the paradigm of oxytone verbs (cf. other barytone verbs, 2.2.1.7):

καὶ μοῦ ᾽πάγησαν παραμικρὸν ἔξοδον (1665–76, Ioannina, VAKATSAS 1992: 3, 153.8)
 ἐπάγησεν ὁ παναγιώτατος δεσπότης (1698, Albania, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 2067, f.80v.1)
 κέπέρασα κέπάγησα VATATIS, *Periig. I* 132; στὸ Ἀστραχάνι πάγησα id., *Periig. II* 41
 ἐπάγησε πρὸς τὴν οσταρίαν *Don Kis.* 6.24–5; ἐπάγησαν εἰς τὸ ταξίδι τοὺς ibid. 95.6; ἐβγήκεν
 καὶ ἐπάγησεν ibid. 443.11

One instance has been found of a rare imperative, again in a text of northern provenance: *πάινε δῶσέ τα Diig. Vefa* 903, probably *πάγαίνε* > *πάαινε* > *πάινε* (with mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i], see I, 2.5.4).

A shortened form *πά* (sometimes accented with a circumflex like the 3 sg. form, for which see 2.2.2.3) can be found for all persons singular and plural from about the 15th c. onwards, mainly in texts from insular areas, among which Crete, the Heptanese, the Cyclades, Cyprus and Chios. It is used for the present indicative as well as the aorist subjunctive, e.g. καὶ τὸ νερὸν ποῦ πᾶ νὰ πιῶ *Peri xen.* 243; ἐνι κρατημένοι νὰ πᾶ νὰ δοῦν *Assizes A* 108.30. For details see 5.1.7 and 5.7.4.

Even though the verb, in its intransitive meaning “to go”, lacks passive morphology, it is possible to form present and “perfect” passive participles with active meaning, for which see 2.3.

ὑπόσχομαι

The deponent verb *ὑπόσχομαι* (< AG *ὑπισχνέομαι*) was formed from the middle aorist *ὑπεσχόμην*, subj. *ὑπόσχωμαι* (JANNARIS 1897: 553). As the middle voice had ceased to be a living category before the period under review, innovative *ὑπόσχομαι* must predate it.¹⁰² The passive aorist *ὑπεσχέθη* (“it was promised”) started to serve as the aorist indicative, with an active, transitive meaning (*ὑπεσχέθην*, “I promised”), before the LMedG period.¹⁰³

The *Chronicle of Morea* shows unique variation where this verb is concerned, with forms such as *ὑποσχίεται*, *ὑποσχίόμεθεν*, *ὑπησχήθη*, *ὑπισκήθη*, and even *ἐπισχεθῆ* and *ἐπισχῆθης*, which point to oxytone variants *ὑποσχῶμαι* and *ἐπισχῶμαι*. See AERTS/HOKWERDA 2002 s.v. *ἐπίσχομαι* and *ὑπόσχομαι*. For confusion between prefixes see also 3.3.

φθάνω/φτάνω

The verb *φθάνω/φτάνω* forms an alternative perfective stem *φταξ-*, mainly in Cretan texts from the 16th c. onwards; this stem is possibly derived from a variant *φτάζω*, which can be found in a document from Sicily (provenance of author unknown): *φθάζει ἕως τῆς μείξεως τῶν δύο ρυάκιων* (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 5, 18.19).

¹⁰¹ Cf. CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 88, who mentions (ἐ)πάγησα, (ἐ)πάγησάμε in the modern northern dialects and in Pontic.

¹⁰² *ὑπόσχομαι* occurs in the Apocalypse of Sedrach (2nd–5th c.) and in recensio λ of the Alexander Romance (7th/8th c.), with the caveat that both texts have been transmitted in LMedG manuscripts.

¹⁰³ E.g. in Justinian’s *Novels* (6th c.): Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις αὐτοῖς ὑπεσχέθῃ ἢ ὑποσχεθῇ θεραπεία διὰ γραμμάτων (see the online *TLG*).

ἔφταξεν εἰς τὸ κάτεργον *Apoll. Rim.* V 1495
 ἐφτάξασιν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 47.35
 μ' ἀπείτις ἔφταξα ἔδεπά *CHORTATSI*, *Katz.* V.11
 νὰ ᾿χα τὴ φτάξει ζωντανή *Vosk.* 423
 ἦφταξα, Ἀρέτα *Stathis* III.75
 τὸ φτάξη δώδεκα χρονῶ *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1587 (read φτάξει)
 καὶ τὸ μαντάτο γλήγορα τσῆ μάνας σου νὰ φτάξει *Thysia Avr.* 1014
 τέσσερεις χρόνους λείπομαι νὰ φτάξω τσι πενήντα *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.163
 ἔφταξε *TROILOS, Rodol.* V.286
 νὰ ᾿πά νὰ τονε φτάξω *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1870 (rhymes with πράξω)
 ἐφτάξανε στὴ Ντία *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 519.3
 ὥστε νὰ φθάσουν εἰς ἀκοὴν *BOUBOULIS, Limbon.* 68; ᾶς προφθάξη *ibid.* 70
 ἔφθαξάμεν *VATATSI, Periiig. I* 169; φθάξαμε *ibid.* 521

3 The Augment

The augment is a prefix that marks a verb form for past tense. Traditionally the augment is called syllabic when the verb begins with a consonant, and temporal, or quantitative, when the verb begins with a vowel. The temporal augment was the result of contraction of the syllabic augment with the initial vowel of the verb, which led to lengthening of that vowel.

In LMedG and EMG the augment is used with the aorist and imperfect indicative, active and passive. The syllabic augment may be /e/ or, mostly regionally, /i/. The temporal augment may be employed when the verb starts in /a/ or /e/, whereby /a/ becomes /i/, traditionally spelled <η>, and /e/ becomes /i/, traditionally spelled <η> or <ει>, depending on the verb. As the temporal augment had ceased to be a functional process before LMedG due to the reorganization of the vowel system that took place in the Koine, in which vowel length distinction was eliminated overall (HORROCKS 2010: 168, 319), its use is mostly limited to inherited verbs (e.g. ἀκούω, ἐλέγχω). When the verbs start in /i/, /o/ or /u/, the temporal augment is absent, again as a result of the loss of the above-mentioned vowel length distinction: the historical spellings <ω> and <η> for past-tense forms of verbs starting in /o/ and <α> respectively are entirely graphematic, as in the Medieval period there is no distinction in the pronunciation of <ο> and <ω>, and the iota (subscript) in <η> had already been lost in pronunciation (HORROCKS 2010: 175); the spelling <ω> for past-tense forms of verbs starting in <οι> (pronounced /i/ since ca. AD 1000) is indefensible, as <ω> could never represent the sound /i/. The /e/ augment frequently replaces the initial vowel of the verb, against the vowel hierarchy, in which /e/ is one of the weakest vowels (see I, 2.9.2), indicating that the need for morphological explicitness may overrule the laws of phonology (cf. 2.1.1.2).

A distinction needs to be made between verbs compounded with a nominal, adjectival, pronominal or adverbial modifier and dvandva compounds (“compound verbs”, see 3.2), and verbs prefixed with a preposition (“prefixed verbs”, see 3.3). Compound verbs, including dvandvas (verb + verb compounds such as μπαينوβγαίνω, πηγαينوέρχομαι, περνοδιαβαίνω and φαγοποτιζώ), beginning in a consonant have external augment in principle, and only rarely internal augment or double augment, whereas verbs that are prefixed with a preposition may have the syllabic or temporal augment placed between the preposition and the verb, as in AG (e.g. κατέλαβα, παρήκουσα), the syllabic augment before the preposition (e.g. ἐκατάλαβα, ἐπαράκουσα), or double augment, before and after the preposition (e.g. ἐκατέλαβα, ἐπαρήκουσα). When the prefix starts in a vowel and the form has external augment, the syllabic augment is usually employed, replacing the initial vowel of the prefix (e.g. ἐπόθανα < ἀποθαίνω); the temporal augment is much rarer with these verbs (e.g. ἠποφάσισα < ἀποφασίζω). For a preliminary study of the

augment in prefixed verbs, see MANOLESSOU/NIFADOPOULOS 2000. Some verbs that are prefixed in origin, such as ἀνοίγω (< ἀνοίγνυμι), ἀφήνω (< ἀφίω < ἀφίημι) ἐξεύρω/ξεύρω (< ἐξευρίσκω), καθίζω, πανδρεύω/παντρεύω (< ὑπανδρεύω) and περπατῶ/πορπατῶ (< περιπατῶ), are clearly viewed as simple verbs, taking external augment only.

The LMedG and EMG situation is roughly a continuation of previous stages of the language (see e.g. DIETERICH 1898: 212; PSALTES 1913: 200–6), which from Late Antiquity onwards had shown an increased tendency to omit the augment with verbs starting in a vowel and to use external augment with prefixed verbs. Throughout the period covered by this Grammar, omission of the augment may occur in prefixed and compound verbs and in simple verbs that start in a vowel. However, it should be emphasized that the omission of the augment in simple verbs that begin with a consonant is far less frequent, and that the SMG rule that the augment only appears when stressed does not apply to LMed and EMG texts, which almost always have the augment, whether it is stressed or not (for an overview of the use of the augment in MG dialects see TRIANDAFYLIDIS 1936).

In fact, the presence of the augment is so strong that it may cross over to other tenses and even to other word classes (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 70–1). Thus new verb forms may arise incorporating the augment in all tenses; to give just a few of many examples:

- δίχως νὰ ἤξεύρη (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 226.24)
καὶ ἂν ἡμπορεῖς, υἱοῦτζικε *Spaneas* Z 4; εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἡκούεται *ibid.* 145; ἔναν θεὸν ἐγνώριζε
τῶν πάντων βασιλέαν *ibid.* 67 (imp.); ὅσον τὴν ἐνεμπιστεύεσαι *ibid.* 357 app. crit.
ἤξεύρω σε *Poulol.* 430
καλὰ ἡγνώριζετε *Assizes* B 284.31
ἂν οὐκ ἐδῶ τὸ κάλλος σου *Achil.* L 748 (= ἰδῶ)
ἀνεβοκατηβαίνει *Diig. tetr.* 1070 app. crit. (V)
νὰ ἐμπορήσουν (15th. c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 210.8.15)
ἡπαίρνει *Achil.* N 506
διότι μὲ ἡγλέπουν ἐπτωχὸν καλογεράκι (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.6) (= ἡβλέπουν)
οὐκ ἤξεύρουν *Peri xen.* 53 app. crit. (A)
παρεκαλῶ σε *Synax. gyn.* 445
διὰ νὰ ἡβλέπει *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 132.27
δεν θέλω σου ἀπεκριθεῖ *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 210
ἐνεφανίζεται (1572, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 54, 117.8)
παρεκαλῶ σε *Nov. II* 162.29
ἡβλέποντας ἐγὼ αὐτὰ *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §31.80
δεν ἤθελαν ἡμπορέσει *Don Kis.* 48.9

Regionally (Heptanese and nearby mainland) a strong presence of ἡύρίσκω, ἡμοιράζω and ἡλιώνω (< λιώνω) can be observed:

- ἡθελαν ἡύρίσκονται (1371, Corfu, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 5: 3, 68.21) (ed. ἡύρίσκοντας)
νὰ τὸ ἡμοιράζουν (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 3, 150.8)
νὰ τὸν ἡύροῦν *Chron. Toc.* 307
νὰ μηδὲν ἔχετε ἄδειαν ... ἡμοιράσαι αὐτὸ (1480, Methoni, GERLAND 1903: 27, 237.11–12)
θέλω ἡμοιράσει *Diig. Alex.* E 187.13 (Konstantinopulos)
τῶν πτωχῶνε ὅπου ἡύρίσκονται (1509, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1950: 1, 144.14)

ἂν ἤθελε ἡύρηθεῖ πλεώτερον (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 32, 44.13)
 οὐδὲν ἡύρίσκεις ἄλλον *Alex. Rim.* 594
 ἔστωσαν ἡλιωμένες καὶ ἀνίσχυρες ὥσάν ποτὲ νὰ μὴν γενοῦσι (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 148, 268.48–9)
 τὸ ἀντίκρυ ἰνστρουμέντο ἔστω ἡλιωμένο καὶ καταλυμένο (1550, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 54a, 53.5–6)
 καθὼς ἡύρίσκεται (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 11, 223.11)
 νὰ εἶναι κομμένες καὶ ἡλιωμένες, ὥσάν καὶ νὰ μὴν τὲς ἤθελε κάμει (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 38, 98.13–14)
 κόπτουν καὶ ἡλιώνουν (1579, Corfu, KARYDIS 1994: 6, 107.24)
 ἡύρισκονται (1597, Kefalonia, CHRYSOCHOIDIS 1977: 2, 212.59)
 ἡμεράζουνε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 40, 57.9); ποὺ ἡύρισκομαι (ibid. 84, 87.7)
 τὸ σπιτότοπον ὅπου ἡύρισκομαι νὰ ἔχω (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 114.37)
 νὰ τὰ ἡμοιράζουν (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 8, 7.3)
 κόβοντας καὶ ἡλιώνοντας (1723, Lefkada, KONDOMICHIS 1957: 309.27–8)

Similarly, augmented verb forms may even influence other word classes, e.g. ἀνετολήν *Chron. Mor.* T 59; παρεκάλια MONTSEL., *Evgena* 464.

In some cases the internal augment of a prefixed verb has led to the development of a new simple verb, e.g. ἀποθνήσκω, ἀπέθανον > πεθαίνω; ἐπιθυμῶ, ἐπεθύμησα > πεθυμῶ; καταβαίνω, κατέβην > κατεβαίνω; εἰσβαίνω, εἰσέβην > σεβαίνω; ὑπάγω, ὑπῆγα > πηγαίνω; συμβάλλω, συνήβαλα > συνηβάζω; συμφέρω, συνήφερα/συνέφερα > συνηφέρω/συνεφέρω. In the case of verbs prefixed with ἐκ-, forms with internal augment (e.g. ἐκφωνῶ, ἐξεφώνησα) gave rise to a new prefix (ἐ)ξε- (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 64), which became rather productive, not only with verbs that originally had ἐκ-, e.g. ξεπέφτω, ξεριζώνω, ξετελειώνω, ξετρέχω or ξεφωνῶ, but also with new verbs, such as ξεκάμνω, ξελησμονῶ, ξεμπαρκάρομαι, ξεμπερδεύω and ξεσπαθώνω; it is also used to reinforce the meaning of verbs prefixed with another preposition, e.g. ξεδιαγέρνω, ξεδιαλύνω (for a full analysis of the prefix see MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1997: 587–94).

In various areas a similar prefix ξη- emerges. It probably originates from verbs with internal /i/ augment (e.g. ἐξαλείφω, ἐξήλειψα; ἐξευθειάζω, ἐξήφτειασα; ἐξαρματώνω, ἐξηρμάτωσα), but then spreads to other verbs as well (see MENARDOS 1969: 70 on Cypriot). Thus in Machairas we find νὰ σὲ ξηλείψουν, νὰ τοὺς ξηφτιάση, ξηλοθρεύγεις μας (< ἐξολοθρεύω), ξηκληρώννω, νὰ τοὺς ξητζιπώση, and even nouns and adverbs such as ὁ ξηγορευτής, ὁ ξηλοθρεμμός, ξήκαμπα, ξηστοματίς. Similar forms can be found in *Assizes*, Voustronios and other Cypriot texts, e.g. νὰ δείξη καμίαν ξηκαθάρισιν (1578, Cyprus, TSELIKAS 1977: 1, 254.23); νὰ ξηφορτωθῆς (17th c.?, Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.10). We also find πριχοῦ ἐξητελεύσω in *Alosis* 936; and in Heptanesian texts: νὰ ξηβοῦν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* XIII.215; ξήσκεπτο (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 20, 74.6); ξηκαθαροσύνη (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 161, 102.30); ἐξηκαθαρίζοντας (1599, Zakynthos, PLOUMIDIS 1995/98: 87.10); ξηφορτώνο<ν>τας ibid. 87.11; μὲ ἐξηκαθαροσύνην ibid. 87.16. In varieties of the language that display mid-vowel raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4 for details), the change of /e/ to [i] is likely to be phonological. Thus we find: ἀπεξιβαλμένος (1480, Constantinople, LAMBROS 1908c: 2,

480.8); νὰ ῥιτάζῃ (1644–5, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 4, 47.3); τὰ ξιπεταχτά (1703, Thessaly, SOFIANOS 1984: A, 42.8); νὰ ξιμακρύνει *Don Kis*. 115.24.

The texts written in the period covered by this Grammar are seldom systematic in their employment of the augment, and thus forms with /e/ augment, /i/ augment and unaugmented forms may appear side by side in the same text, e.g. ἐπροσέταξε (1225, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 31, 450.1) and ἐπρόστασεν (ibid. 450.17); τινὰν οὐκ ἔφηκαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1783 and τὸν ἔφηκαν ibid. 2330; καὶ δὲν ἀρμάστην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 40.19 and ἐρμάστην μὲ τὸν Ρεῖμουν ibid. 40.15; κ' ἤφερεν ξυλαράκια *Apoll.* Rim. V 337 and που μ' ἔφερεν εκ το πουρνόν ibid. 350; ἀπέτυχε (1683, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 56, 266.14) and ἀπότυχε (ibid. 266.46); ἤκαμεν (1697, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 50, 39.23) and ἔκαμε (ibid. 39.25).

For past-tense verb forms with prosthetic /a/, e.g. φεῖτιφάς ἀβγήκε MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 218.16–19; ἀλγισμόνησε *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 164, see I, 2.6.1.2. For crasis of /u/ and /e/, e.g. τὸ χωράφι ὁπόκράτει (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 36, 77.27) (= ὁποῦ ἐκράτει) see I, 2.9.5.

3.1 Simple Verbs

3.1.1 Consonant-initial Verbs: Syllabic /e/ Augment

The syllabic augment is employed when a simple verb begins with a consonant. It bears the stress in active forms when both the verb stem and the ending are monosyllabic, e.g. ἔ-γραφ-α, ἔ-γραφ-α (unless a shift of the stress occurs, for which see I, 4.2.4.2); in all other cases the syllabic augment is unstressed. Whether stressed or unstressed, the syllabic augment is nearly always present, appearing also with new verbs and with Italian, French and Turkish loanwords. Most frequently employed is /e/, which can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar, in texts from all regions:

Stressed

καθὼς μας ἔγραψες NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.6

ἔδωκα ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς μου σωτηρίας (ca. 1245, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 16, 7.1)

ἀκρόστιχον οὐκ ἔφαγα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 546

ἔξευρεν νὰ γράφῃ *Chron. Mor.* H 8320

ἔτρεχα ὡς κύριος καὶ αὐθέντης *Liv.* V 2249; ἔφερα εἰς γῆν τὸν οὐρανόν ibid. 2565

καὶ ἐγὼ ἔμαθα ὅτι ἔκαμες ὡσάν ἤθελες (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.8–9)

ἔδωκαν οἱ ὅλοι τὸν λόγον τως (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 47.11)

ἔμαθα (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.2); ἔπιασέν τον (1487, Rhodes, ibid. 10, 66.6)

έθελεν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 26.8

ἀγελάδες δύο ὁποῦ ἔφεραν (1566, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 280, 382.7)

ἔδωκα (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 9, 131.13)

διὰ τοὺς δυὸ μύλους ὁποῦ ἔκτισεν (1588, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 5, 2.2)

τίποτις δὲν τὸν ἔκοφτεν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 62.13

ἔλεγαν (1645, Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 10.7)

ἔκλεψε τὲς γαδάρε<ς> τοῦ Γεώργη (1691, Ikaria/Chios?, TSELIKAS 2000: 81, 64.7)

Unstressed

ἐπολεμοῦσαν NIKON, *Logos* 31 812.12
 ἐκρυβήθης GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 199; ἐχάσες την *ibid.* 206; οὐκ ἐκαυχοῦ, ψυχὴ μου *ibid.* 302
 τὸ τοπίον ἐδῶκα σε (1280, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 82, 48.6)
 ἐδυνέτον *Dig.* E 486
 ἄπαπα κ' ἡ πίττα ἐχάθη *Vulgärorakel* I.100
 μεγάλως τὸ ἐχάρηκεν *Pol. Tr.* 75; τίποτε οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν *ibid.* 351
 ἐπιάσστησαν καὶ ἐφούρκισαν τους (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 96.6)
 δὲν εμοβιάσαν τίποτες VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 16.12–13 (< Occit. *mover*)
 ἐπληρώθη (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 241, 337.1); ἐδῶκασί του (*ibid.* 277, 380.2)
 κατὰ πῶς ἐταιριάσασι (1577, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 21, 156.23)
 ἐπρεζεντάρισεν καὶ μία γραφή (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 130, 144.28) (< Ital. *presentare*)
 ἐμποροῦμαν (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.21)
 ἐδῶσαμε εἰς πᾶσα μοναστήρι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §21.27; ἐβούλομουν *ibid.* I §31.83
 διότις ἐχιαστίασιν ἀπὸ τας δυσκολίας IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5459 (= σαστίζω < Turk. *yaşıtı*)
 ἐστέκουντονε (1687, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 674, 921.17)

3.1.2 Consonant-initial Verbs: Syllabic /i/ Augment

3.1.2.1 Stressed and Unstressed – Broad Geographical Spread

The /i/ augment is used routinely with certain verbs, but is geographically restricted for others. Some verbs had obtained alternative forms with an /i/ augment already in Antiquity, such as βούλομαι and δύναμαι (JANNARIS 1897: 188).¹ The /i/ augment, both stressed and unstressed, also appears with certain verbs that originally started in /e/ or /i/ but had undergone deletion of the initial vowel, such as θέλω (< ἐθέλω), στήκω/στέκω (< ἰστήκω/ἐστήκω < AG perf. ἔστηκα)² and πορῶ/μπορῶ (< εὐπορῶ).³ All of the above-mentioned verbs can also be found with the /e/ augment (for examples see above).

ἡβουλήθην (1059, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 7, 169.45)
 ἡβουλήθησαν *Chron. Toc.* 93a
 ἡβουλήθη ὁ πατριάρχης ὅτι νὰ ἀπεστείλῃ *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 1
 οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν *Pol. Tr.* 351 app. crit. (VX)
 ἡδύνονταν *Chron. Toc.* 93
 ἀνέβειν ἡδυνήθηκεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1269

¹ Jannaris also mentions the verb μέλλω in this context, but in the period under review μέλλω appears with (stressed) /i/ augment only in specific areas that generally use the stressed /i/ augment (E. Crete, Aegean; see 3.1.2.2); the only example from another area is the following: ἄν ἡμελλε νὰ τὸ στείλῃς (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.14–15), which appears in a mixed-register letter and could therefore be viewed as an archaism. However, the provenance of the author is also unknown.

² In the case of ἥστεκα, it may be observed that in areas in which the /i/ augment is normally used only when stressed (E. Crete, Aegean, see 3.1.2.2), the /e/ augment tends to be used when it is unstressed (ἐστέκαμε); however, ἥστεκα does appear in a broader geographical area, both when the augment is stressed and when it is unstressed.

³ In all likelihood the verb εὐπορῶ developed into μπορῶ through the intermediate stages ἐπορῶ > πορῶ, in which the /i/ augment of ἡπόρησα lingered. As this verb was mostly used in negative contexts (οὐκ εὐπορῶ), the combination οὐδὲν πορῶ produced voiced μπορῶ. Non-past forms such as ἡμπορῶ and ἐμπορῶ (see introduction to this Chapter) are therefore later reanalyses from past-tense forms (JANNARIS 1897: 80).

ἡδυνήθηκα *Alosis* 1002

ἡδυνήθηκα *Diig. Alex.* E 265.1 (Lolos)

ἤθελες δοξασθῆν *Dig. G* II.81

ἤθελαν οὐκ ἠθέλασιν *Pol. Tr.* 224

ἄν ἤθελεν εἶσται καύχα μου (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.12)

ὅλοι τοῦ ἤθελαν κακόν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.9

ἠθέλαμεν κράζει (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.31)

εἴ τις ἤθελεν εὐρεθεῖν (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.16); ἠθέλασιν (1574, *ibid.* 15, 141.23)

ἤθελεν σηκωσθῆν (1635, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 1, 13.7)

τί ἤθελα κάμει PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §7.5

ἠθέλαμεν τῆς τὸ πέμψει (1663, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 39, 136.8)

δεν ἠθέλησε να το κάμει *Don Kis.* 48.6

ἤστεκεν *Log. parig.* L 603 (Lambros)

ἤστέκονταν δεμένα τὰ φαρία *Dig.* E 429

ἤστέκετον ὁ ἀνάγων *Liv.* E 373

καὶ μόνον ἤστηκεν ἐκεῖ *Chron. Toc.* 2264; τόσον ἤστέκασιν καλὰ *ibid.* 3358

ἤστεκες νὰ μισέψης (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.6)

ἤστέκετο *Diig. Alex.* E 105.5 (Konstantinopulos)

ὅλοι ἤστεκαν ἀντάμα SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 17.33

ὁ Χάρος ἤστεκε *P&N Diath.* 262

ἤστεκεν καὶ ἐφαίνονταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §12.4

ἤστεκεν ὁ Ρωτόκριτος KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.247

ἡμπόρε *Assizes A* 79.10; ἡμπορήσαν *ibid.* 128.15

τινὰς οὐδὲν ἡπόρεσεν *Achil.* O 87

ὅσον ἡπόρει πλεότερον *Theseid* VI.66,5 (Olsen)

δὲν ἡμπόρησεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 32.28

δὲν ἡπόρεσε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.3

δὲν ἡπόρεσεν νὰ τὸν πάρῃ (1624, Skopje?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 72A, 564.27.2)

δὲν ἡμπόρεσεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §13.4

δὲν ἡμπόρουνα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 165

δὲν ἡμπόρειε KORNAOS, *Erot.* II.1409

ἡμπορούσαμεν *Don Kis.* 61.18

Certain verbs with monosyllabic perfective stems acquire an /i/ augment in the aorist by analogy with aorists such as εἶπα, εἶδα, ἦλθα and ἦῤα; e.g. the verb πίνω develops ἤπια alongside ἔπια when ἔπια becomes disyllabic through synizesis. Similarly, two verbs that originally consisted of preposition + βαίνω, namely (ἐ)μπαίνω (< ἐμβαίνω) and (ἐ)βγαίνω (< ἐκβαίνω), developed monosyllabic perfective stems, (ἐ)μπ-, (ἐ)βγ-, which could make use of the -ηκα ending (see 4.4.2), but also developed an alternative paradigm with active past endings: ἤμπα, ἤβγα (see also 2.4). These forms have mainly been found in texts written or copied in southern islands (Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, Santorini) and islands in the Aegean (Naxos, Chios):⁴

⁴ Sporadically the aorist indicative of μπαίνω occurs with an /e/ augment. Examples have been found in texts from Cyprus and Chios: ἔμπης εἰς συναγωγὴν Ἑβραίου; (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 403.211) (= ἐνέβης); ἔμπεν μέσα στὸ σπῆτι μας VEST., *Pathi* 460.

- ἐφάγαν κ' ἥπιασιν CHOUNNOS, *Kosmog.* 1571
 ἥπιεν το καὶ ἀπέθανεν *Assizes A* 184.14
 ἥπια *Pent. Gen.* 24.46, 25.34 and 26.30
 ἥπια vel ἔπια GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. bevere*
 ἥπιασι καὶ κρασί μίστατα τέσσερα (1642, Crete, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 21, 16.23)
 κ' ἥπιανε ὅσο θέλασι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 409.12
 ἥπιεν ἡ γῆ ὅσον ἦτον καὶ πρῶτα πιωμένη (1713, Chios, LAMBROS 1910: 351, 209.7)
- εἰς τὸ κουβούκλιν ἥμπασιν *Dig. E* 416
 ἥμπασιν μέσα εἰς τὸ κρεββάτι *Achil. L* 183
 ἥμπεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς LIMEN., *Velis. (Λ)* 385
 ἥμπαν εἰς τὴν χώραν *Diig. Apoll.* 95
 ἥμπαν μέσα *Diig. Alex. Sem. B* 851
 ἥμπτε καὶ Δικέβριος *Rim. Sant.* 143
 ἥμπανε μέσα (1646–7, Patmos?/Crete?, LAMBROS 1910: 266, 190.11); ἥμπτε ὁ δεσπότης (*ibid.* 190.21)
 ἐμᾶς ποὺ ἥμπαμεν σ' αὐτοὺς PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 2666
 ὡς ἥμπασι (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 744.12)
- ὅλες οἱ βάγιες ἥβγασιν *Achil. L* 831
 καὶ ἥβγεν κατὰ κόσμου *Diig. Apoll.* 78
 ἥβγανε *Rim. Sant.* 135
 ὅσο νᾶμπη νᾶβγη ἡ νύφη, ἥβγαν τοῦ γαμπροῦ τὰ μάτια *Paroim. (Warner)* 92.6
 ἥβγενε εἰς τὸ κυνήγι PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 1356 (= ἥβγε)
- By analogy with the above forms, the /i/ augment is also employed with the imperfect of μπαίνω and βγαίνω, and with other verbs that originally consisted of preposition + verb, but had come to be reinterpreted as simple verbs, namely βγάζω/βγάνω (< ἐκβάζω < ἐκβιβάζω) and by analogy also with its simplex βάζω/βάνω (< βάλλω); and παίρνω (< ἐπαίρνω < ἐπαίρω), probably reinforced by the use of the /i/ augment in the aorist ἥπῃρα (see 3.3.3.4.2). With these verbs the /i/ augment has been found in texts from various regions:⁵
- νὰ ἥπαιρναν *Ptoch. III* 194 app. crit. (G)
 ὁ Θεὸς ἥπαιρε τὸ μου *Spaneas Z* 494 app. crit.
 ἥπαιρε τὰς λαμπρίδας *Byz. II.* 28
 καὶ ἥπαιρνε κάθε εἷς (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.9)
 ἀπὸ γάλι γάλι τὰ ἥπαιρνε *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I* §24.18
 πλιὰ ἥπαιρνα τὰ ζάλα *Stathis II.* 79
 ἥπαιρνε ἀπὸ αὐτὸν τὴν τιμωρία PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 414
 ἥπαιρνε τὸ λαγοῦτο του KORNAROS, *Erot. I.* 391
- καὶ κόπον ἥβαλες πολύν *Alosis* 69
 ἥβανα εἰς τὴν καρδίαν μου *Diig. Alex. F* 308.14 (Lolos)

⁵ As before, it may be observed that in areas in which the /i/ augment is normally used only when stressed (E. Crete, Aegean; see 3.1.2.2), with these verbs, too, the /e/ augment tends to be used when it is unstressed; however, the forms with /i/ do appear in a broader geographical area, both when the augment is stressed and when it is unstressed.

καὶ τότες ἔργον ἦβαναν τὸ τί ᾗχαν στὴν βουλήν τους ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 320 (read τότε σ' ἔργον)
 ἦβαλέν τονε (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 179.3)
 τὸ φαμέγιο του ἦβαλε CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.371
 ἦβαλα ᾗ τὸ λογισμοῦ *Fallidos* 263
 ἦβαλα (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 89.57)
 ἦβαλε τὰ κοπέλια του (1686, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1999: 6, 51.6)
 τὸ δακτυλίδιν ἦβγαλεν *Dig.* E 475
 ἐκ τὴν πρέσσαν τὸν ἦβγαλαν *Pol. Tr.* 9715 app. crit. (C)
 ἄν τὸν ἦβγαλες *Katal.* 677
 τὸ παιδί ἦβγαναν *Diig. Alex.* F 106.22 (Lolos)
 κι ἦβγαλές το *Stathis* I.260
 κ' ἦβγαζεν τὴν κορώναν του PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 603
 ἦβγαλεν τὸν καρακύρη (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 25.5); ἦβγαναν (*ibid.* 11, 25.27)
 ἦβγαλε τὸ ἄσῃμι (1720, Folegandros, GAVALAS 1887: 514.3)
 ἤμπαινε ἔμπροσθέν τους *Achil.* L 440
 στὸ σπῑτί μου ἤμπαινε *Stathis* II.300
 ἄλλο νερόν δὲ ἦβγαίνει *Achil.* L 498
 ἦβγαίνα δίχως πρίκα *P&N Diath.* 319

Certain other verbs often adopt the /i/ augment for no apparent morphological reason: φέρω/φέρνω (aor. and imperf.), λέγω (imperf.), βλέπω (imperf.), ξεύρω/ξέρω (< ἐξεύρον, aor. of ἐξευρίσκω) appear with the /i/ augment, both stressed and unstressed, in texts from north to south and east to west. In fact ἦφερα had come into being long before the period covered by this Grammar and can already be found in an Attic inscription of the 3rd/4th c. AD (ἦφεραν, quoted in DIETERICH 1898: 212;⁶ for a 4th/5th-c. example see GIGNAC 1981: 231); the /i/ augment is likely to have been borrowed from its predecessor ἦνεγκον (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 33). In the case of βλέπω and λέγω influence from the /i/ augment of the associated aorists (εἶδα, εἶπα) may be suspected. There is, however, no satisfactory explanation for ἦξευρα.⁷ Given the broad geographical spread it must be stressed that the /i/ augment with these four verbs cannot serve as proof for the provenance of a text:

ἦφερεν τοπικούς γέροντας (13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 117, 87.2)
 κ' ἦφέρνησιν σωτάρχισιν *Chron. Mor.* H 2769
 τὸ ἦφέρασιν (1288, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 228.20)

⁶ See inscription IG IP 8395 (= C.I.A. III 2, 1379), at <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>. Cf. the following example from the apocryphal Acts of John, in direct speech: τίς σε ἦφερεν ὧδε μάγε; *Acta Apocr. Ioann.* 171.19 (12th/13th-c. ms (V); ed. Bonnet); cf. also: εἶπε τοῦ ὄχλου ὅς ἦφερον τὸν Ἰησοῦν *Gospel of Nicodemus* 3, 1.4 (version M2, 12th–14th c.; ed. Gounelle).

⁷ It is unclear when the form ἐξεύρω is first used as a present meaning “to know”. An early example appears to be the following (11th/12th c.): καθὼς ἐξεύρεις ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.7–8. However, forms with the /i/ augment have not been found before the 14th c., and it is therefore very unlikely to be a new temporal /i/ augment. The fact that non-past forms with prothetic /i/ paradoxically appear in writing before past-tense forms (ca. 1300, see the introduction to Chapter 3), indicates that ἦξευρα will have been in existence before that time.

τὸ λιγάτον ὁποῖον ἤφερεν (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.16)
 ἤφερεν (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 21.6)
 καὶ ἤφεραν τοὺς γέροντας (1474, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 32, 166.2–3)
 ἤφερε (1502, Kalymnos, ΚΟΥΤΕΛΑΚΗΣ 1981: 1, 28.4)
 ἤφερα τοὺς μάρτυρές μου MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 221.4
 τὰ ἤφεραν ὅλα εἰς τὸ μέσος (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 236.124)
 τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τὸ ἤφερεν (17th c.?, Amorgos?, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 2167, f.2.1)
 ἤφερεν στὸ σπῆτι (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 718, 820.3)
 καὶ τὸν ἤφερα τὸν Λάζο PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.47
 ἤφεραν τὴν κράλῃσσαν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.12) (author from Athens)
 ἤφερε ὁ Πεχλιβὰν ρεῖζης μιὰ παῖζα (1670, Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.1, 72.5–6)

ὃς ἀέραν ἤλεγές το *Liv.* V 1568; καὶ τίτοια μὲ ἤλέγασιν *ibid.* 3065
 μία πρὸς ἄλλην ἤλεγεν *Florios* 849 app. crit. (V)
 καὶ ἤλεγαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους *Achil.* N 1517
 καὶ ἤλεγεν διὰ τὴ νέαν *Achil.* O 422
 διαταῦτο, Μάρκο, σὲ ἤλεγα FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 249
 ἤλεγε ἡ γυνή *Synax. gyn.* 210
 καὶ ἤλεγεν ὅτι *Diig. Alex.* F 134.15 (Lolos); ἤλεγα νὰ ἐγλυτώσω *ibid.* 202.6 (Konstantinopoulos)
 μὰ ἤλεγεν ἀπὸ λόγου, ὡς λέσι (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 213, 218.3)
 πάντα ἤλεγεν (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.21)
 πλέον δὲν τὸν ἤλεγεν δοῦλον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §22.82; ἐκεῖνα ὅπου τὸν ἤλεγα *ibid.* IV §7.6
 κ' ἤλεγε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 262.26

καὶ ἤβλεπαν *Dig.* E 1467
 τῆς ἤβλεπες τὴν ἰσκία σου *Liv.* V 2226; κρεμνὸν ἀπὲδω ἤβλέπαμεν *ibid.* 2514
 ἤβλεπε τὰ ἀμπέλια *Chron. Toc.* 1659
 τὰ κύμα<τα> ἤβλεπα PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 443
 ἐστάθην καὶ ἤβλεπα *Spanos* A 28
 ἤβλέποσιν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 241.13; δὲν ἤβλεπαν *ibid.* 329.24–5
 γυναικὰ στὸ στενὸ δὲν ἤβλεπες CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.304
 οὐδὲν ἤβλεπεν ὁ ἀνθρώπος νὰ ὀδεύει (1624, Skopje?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 72A, 564.24.1–2)
 καλὸν δὲν ἤβλεπαν MONTSEL., *Evgena* 938
 οἱ Τούρκοι δὲν ἠβλέπασιν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1081
 κ' ἤβλεπες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 272.24
 ἤβλεπα καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ σημεῖα *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 69

τοσαῦτα ἤξευρεν νὰ εἰπῇ *Chron. Mor.* H 997
 οὐκ ἤξευρα *Liv.* V 128
 ἂν ἤξευρα, κυράτσα μου *Katal.* 1
 ἐὰν ἤξευρα *Achil.* N 1766
 δὲν ἤξευραν τὸν τόπον *Theseid* I.70,3 (Follieri)
 τόσον ἤξευραν νὰ ποίσουν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 28.3
 ἤξερες *Alex. Rim.* 267
 ἤξευρε καλῦτερον ἀπὸ τοὺς τέσσαρους *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 77.10
 ὅσοι ἤξέρανε καὶ ἐπλέανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 52.30
 τὸ ἤξευρα καλὰ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.85
 δὲν ἤξευρα (1661, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 26, 112.15–16)
 αὐτὸς γονεῖς δὲν ἤξευρεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 165

3.1.2.2 Stressed /i/ Augment – Geographically Restricted

For other verbs a distinction needs to be made between stressed and unstressed /i/ augments, as they generally have a different geographical distribution. From texts that can be securely localized it becomes clear that the stressed /i/ augment appears with various verbs in texts written or copied in Crete and the Aegean (Cyclades, Chios, Rhodes, Patmos; cf. ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1926 for the modern situation), while isolated instances have been found in documents from Venice/Corfu, Mani⁸ and Proikonnisos.⁹ There is also indirect evidence for stressed /i/ augment in Athens, an area for which textual evidence is scarce. Literary texts from both eastern and western Crete tend to make use of the stressed /i/ augment, but from non-literary sources it becomes quite clear that, as in the modern period, the stressed /i/ augment with verbs other than those mentioned in 3.1.2.1 is a feature of eastern rather than western Cretan.¹⁰ As our sources are written texts, it cannot be established whether the /e/ augment in areas that also make extensive use of the /i/ augment – e.g. ἔδειξε KORNAPOS, *Erot.* II.510 and ἔδειξεν *ibid.* IV.818; τὸ γράμμα τὸ ἔκαμα, μὰ τ᾽σπρὰ δὲν ἤλαβα (1708, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 86, 96.15–16) – is simply a feature belonging to the literary or written language, or whether there was such variation in the spoken language as well:¹¹

τὴν ἡκρυβα *Dig.* E 168; τραπέζιν ἥστεσαν *ibid.* 679; ἡκρουγα *ibid.* 1175
 μοῦ ᾗπαν ὅτι ἡκαμες (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.13); ἡμαθα (*ibid.* 1, 7.20)
 γύρου γύρου ἥστεσεν χρουσὸν *Achil.* L 281; καὶ ἥστρεφέν τους ὀπίσω *ibid.* 450
 ὅπου μᾶς ἡκαμεν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 172.31)
 ἡφεγγαν τὴν νύκταν ὡσάν λαμπάδες *Diig. Alex.* E 275.7 (Lolos)
 καὶ ἡκαμέν το (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.7); ἀληθῶς δὲ ἡβανε (*ibid.* 4, 53.8)
 σοῦ ἡγραφα (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 1, 289.4); τὰ ἥδεσε (*ibid.* 2, 296.66); ἡλαβα
 (*ibid.* 3, 302.4) (author born in Venice, Corfiot background)
 ἥδωσεν (1576, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 1, 1.2); ἡλαβα (1578–83, *ibid.* 2, 1.2)
 ἡλαχα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.4; ἄν ἡβαλε κι' ἄλλον *ibid.* III.399; ἥδιδέ μου *id.*, *Erof.* III.26
 transcr. X (Legrand)
 ἡκαμα (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.27)
 ἥστειλεμ μὲ τὸ Νικόλα (1638, Patmos, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 6, 403.11)

⁸ There is indirect evidence for stressed /i/ augment in the central Peloponnese, to be found in *Mazaris' Journey to Hades*, an early-15th-c. satirical text in learned Greek, in which the author ridicules the Peloponnesians and their “barbarous” language, mentioning, among other things, a form ἡμενον (ed. BARRY et al. 1975: 64.14; see also PANDELIDIS 2010: 469).

⁹ A single instance in the *Pentateuch* (printed in Constantinople, provenance of author unknown) is dubious, as the difference between /e/ and /i/ in the vocalized Hebrew script is but one dot: ἡκλινεν *Pent.* Gen. 49.15.

¹⁰ In many documents from eastern Crete, e.g. those of Gialeas, Olokalos and Patsidiotis, the /i/ augment is used frequently (BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 16; MAVROMATIS 1994a: 31; ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 35), whereas the extensive archive of Varouchas (Rethymno) has only one form with /i/ (not counting instances of ἡφερα, ἡθελα and ἡλεγα): ἥδωκεν (BAKKER 1988/89: 292). Maras and Grigoropoulos (Herakleion) on the other hand clearly favour forms with /e/, at least in writing. For a comparison between Olokalos and Varouchas see also KARANTZOLA 2005a.

¹¹ Though it is noteworthy that while the notary Miniatis (Naxos) tends to avoid the /i/ augment, his archive holds a document (no. 23) not written by himself but by a local merchant, which has only /i/ augments. Also, witnesses who sign documents often write “ἡγραφα” (see e.g. docs 47 and 54).

ἡσφαλα *Rim. Sant.* 92; ἡφριξε *ibid.* 849
 δὲν ἡδωκε ἄλλο τίβετις (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.44)
 τὸ ἡπιασεν ὁ Ζαννῆς (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 2, 19.4–5); ἡδωσεν τὰ ἄσπρα
 του (*ibid.* 19.16)
 ἡμελλεν νὰ τοῦ σύρη *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 289
 ἡλαβεν (1670, Paros, ALIPRANDIS/SYMEONIDIS 1985: 129.13)
 τὸ γράμμα ὅπου ἡκαμε (1675, Amorgos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 33, 26.20)
 μοῦ ἡκαμεν μία πατέντε (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.8–9) (author from Mani)
 ἡδωσεν διὰ ἄρραβῶναν (1688, Proikonnisos, KAMBOURIS 1976: A. 16, 201.7)
 ἡμελλε νὰ σκοτωθῆς *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1927

3.1.2.3 Unstressed /i/ Augment – Geographically Restricted

In texts that display mid-vowel raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] elsewhere (even sporadically, as the phenomenon seldom appears systematically, especially not in literature; for details see I, 2.5.4), the unstressed /i/ augment is likely to be phonological, and it would perhaps be preferable to spell these forms with <i> rather than <η>.¹² Such examples have been found in texts from northern areas, from Skiathos and Chios, from certain Heptanesian islands and in texts of uncertain provenance:

ἡσκέπασε τὸ ἄγιον ποτήριον (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 517); οὐδὲν ἡκάθισαν (*ibid.* 33.551) (cf. πιπτόνια (*ibid.* 49.933); ἄγιοι πατέρις (*ibid.* 99.2270))
 ἡβρυχίστηκεν *Achil.* O 525 (cf. περιπέσουσιν *ibid.* 228 app. crit. and κινοδοξήσης for κενοδοξήσης *ibid.* 347 app. crit.)
 ἡσκόλασεν νὰ κλαίει *Synax. gyn.* 403 (cf. Γρηκῶν for Γραικῶν *ibid.* 342 (Krumbacher))
 και τεσ δύο με ἡνίκησεν *Diig. Alex.* K 363.30 (cf. της Μακιδονίας *ibid.* 363.24)
 ἰσύβασαν (1514, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 59, 65.9) (cf. τοῦ
 κιλαρίου (1513, *ibid.* 43, 53.8))
 ἡκουπιάρησα (1537, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 41.24) (< κοπιάρω) (cf. τοῦ
 ἱπισκόπου (1546/1551, *ibid.* 26, 64.8))
 ἡκριθήκαν (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 3, f.39r.3–4); καθώς ἡψούνησαν
 (*ibid.* 15, f.44v.8); ἡμαρτύρησεν (*ibid.* 15, f.44v.11) (cf. τοὺςπραματιφτάδεις (1691, *ibid.* 4,
 f.40r.13))
 ἡδῶθη εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἄνουθεν γιγραμμένου Γιωργιοῦ (1711, Skiathos, KARAVIDAS 2004:
 1, 248.11–12)

However, unstressed /i/ augments have also been found in texts and documents that do not otherwise display mid-vowel raising, frequently in documents from Mykonos, but much less systematically elsewhere:

¹² Cf. the same phenomenon in other word classes: ἡπεῖν ἡ ἀφεντία του τὸ Δεσποτάτο ἔναι *Chron. Toc.* 2170 (= ἐπεῖ); ἡλέφαντες *Peri pragm.* 21 (= ἐλέφαντες); εἰς ἰσένα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 889 (= ἐσέννα); τὴν ἰμομειξίαν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §28.22 (= αἰμομειξίαν). However, it is striking that texts that do display raising of /e/ to [i] elsewhere tend to retain the unstressed /e/ augment, at least in writing, as the following examples demonstrate: ἐγύριψαν *Chron. Toc.* 2100 (= ἐγύρεψαν); ποῦ ἐπεριπάτησις (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 29.439) (= ἐπεριπάτησες); διὰ τοῦτο ἐζήτησιν καὶ τὸ παρὸν (1676, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 87, 211.4) (= ἐζήτησεν); τοὺς ἐλογάργιασάμι (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 3, f.39r.4) (= ἐλογάργιασάμε; for the stress pattern see 4.4.1.1).

ἡκοιμήθη (13th c., Asia Minor?, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [15], 35.15)
 ἡγυρεύετο *Ptoch.* III 161 app. crit. (C)
 ἡγένεαμε σασμένοι (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 271.5)
 οὐκ ἡδειλίασάν τους *Achil.* N 551; οὐκ ἡδειλίασεν ποσῶς *ibid.* 1580
 ἡχρυσώσαν τα διάστελα (1602, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 7, 3.3)
 ἡκάμασιν (1641, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 7, 278.7) (hapax; otherwise unstressed /e/)
 ὅταν ἡκάηκε (1655, Chios, LAMBROS 1910: 277, 193.1)
 ἡμετρηθήκασιν (1663, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 14, 21.9)
 ἡπούλησεν (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 1, 18.3); ἡπλέρωνε (*ibid.* 2, 19.10);
 ἄν ἡχρεωστοῦσαν (*ibid.* 3, 20.14); ἡνομινάριζεν (1665, *ibid.* 5, 21.15); τὰ ριάλια 5 πού
 ἡδῶσανε ὀφέτος (1708, *ibid.* 86, 96.21)
 ἡσκεπάσατε *Irodis* III.236 (written in Syros)
 ἡλάβαμεν (1769, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 5, 26.14)

Finally, there are several verbs that can appear with the unstressed /i/ augment, some in specific areas, others in texts/manuscripts of unknown provenance.¹³ Examples of μοιράζω appear in texts from the Heptanese and the western mainland, a region in which this verb often takes on prothetic /i/ in non-past forms as well,¹⁴ but which, on the other hand, also occasionally, though hardly systematically, shows signs of mid-vowel raising. The verb λιώνω, too, is found with the /i/ augment in texts from the Heptanese.¹⁵ Examples of the verb γνωρίζω have been found in a document from Arta, in one manuscript of the *War of Troy*, in two versions of *Livistros*, and in *Velthandros*,¹⁶ whereas ἡλυσμόνησα appears to be exclusive to one manuscript of the *War of Troy*:

ἐκεῖνος τὸ ἡμοίρασεν *Pol. Tr.* 2468 app. crit. (V)
 ἡμοιράσασιν *Chron. Toc.* 1307
 ἡμοιράσαν καὶ τὰ ἀμπέλια τους (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 43, 53.8)
 ὅ,τι ἡμοιράσαν (1537, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 4, 41.6); ἡμοιράσαμέ τα (1550, *ibid.* 35, 76.5)
 ὅλον τὸ μάλαμαν ἡμοίρασεν *Diig. Alex.* E 309.22 (Lolos)
 ἡλιώθη τὸ παρὸν ἱστρουμέντον (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 49, 173.10);
 ἡλιώθη τ' ὄνωθεν ἱστρουμέντον (*ibid.* 66, 182.7–8; and *ibid.* 69, 183.6–7)
 ἡλιώθη τὸ παρὸν ἱστρουμέντο (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 7, 45.21)

¹³ For verbs that can appear with prothetic /e/ or /a/, e.g. λησμονῶ > ἀλησμονῶ/ἐλησμονῶ, γνωρίζω > ἀγνωρίζω/ἐγνωρίζω, one could maintain that it is, in fact, the temporal /i/ augment (see 3.1.4.1); however, there does not appear to be a general tendency for the /i/ augment to appear with verbs with prothetic /a/ or /e/ (e.g. no instances have been found with the rather common verbs ἀπετῶ, ἀπερνῶ, ἀπηδῶ, ἀσηκώνω).

¹⁴ For examples see the introduction to this section. The appearance of /i/ with μοιράζω may be due to semantically related words such as ἡμισυ, ἡμισεία, with which it often appears in collocation: ἡμοιράζουσι ἐφ' ἡμισείας (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 84, 189.7).

¹⁵ With the verb λιώνω, the /i/ augment is likely to appear in texts from Crete as well, given that a participle ἡλιωμένος can be found in Cretan documents (see the introduction to this section). Forms are often spelled ἡλλοιω- as if they were derived from the verb ἀλλοιώνω, but in the contexts in which these forms appear, the verb quite obviously does not mean “to alter”, but “to annul”, e.g. νὰ εἶναι κομμένες καὶ ἡλιωμένες, ὥσαν καὶ νὰ μὴν τὲς ἡθελε κάμει (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 38, 98.13–14).

¹⁶ Non-past forms with prothetic /i/ have also been found in *Spaneas* Z (Epirus/Kefalonia) and frequently in *As-sizes* (Cyprus): πρὶν νὰ τοὺς ἡγνωρίσουσιν *Spaneas* Z 300 app. crit.; καλὰ ἡγνωρίζετε ὅλοι *Assizes* B 284.31; νὰ ἡγνωρίζετε *Assizes* A 116.22.

(ἡ εἰκόνα ...) ἦτονε ... παγωμένη, πλὴν δὲ δὲν ἡλιώνετον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.38 (ed. ἡλλοιώνετον)

ὅσα μοι δι' αὐτοῦ ἔγραψας ἡγνώρισα (1237, Arta, BARIŠIĆ 1966: [1], 2.3 and 2.4) (/i/ only with this verb; otherwise /e/)

ἡγνώρισαν *Metaphr. Alexiad* 330.4 and 330.5

οὐκ ἡλησμένησα *Pol. Tr.* 215 app. crit. (X); τίποτε οὐκ ἡλησμένησα *ibid.* 1456 app. crit. (X);

τοὺς ἡγνώρισεν *ibid.* 266 app. crit. (EV); ἡγνώριζε *ibid.* 335 app. crit. (X)

βλέπει, ἡγνώρισεν τὴν *Liv.* S 374 (Lambert-van der Kolf); καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν μὲ ἡγνώριζες *ibid.* 490

ἤκουσεν καὶ ἡγνώρισεν *Liv.* α 2394 app. crit. (P); βλέπουν, ἡγνώρισάν με *ibid.* 2687 app. crit.

(P)

ὁ κόμης οὐκ ἡγνώρισε *Velth.* 1232

In the following example from Kos the scribe appears to consider the verb φθάνω to be compounded with εὐ-, which allows for a temporal augment /i/ to be employed (see below, 3.2.2.1): ηὐφθάσαμεν (1288, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 227.9 and 228.21) (cf. οὐκ εὐφθάστη *ibid.* 227.13).

3.1.3 Absence of the Syllabic Augment

Absence of the syllabic augment is not very common. When the preceding word ends in a vowel and the following verb starts in an unstressed augment, the augment is apparently omitted. However, this does not mean that the form is unaugmented, just that /e/, being a weak vowel (see I, 2.9.2), is deleted by aphaeresis. When the preceding vowel is /e/ it is mainly a matter of modern editorial choice whether the vowel is considered to belong to the preceding word (καὶ μαρτύρουν, σὲ ἔγραψαμε) or to the verb (κι ἐμαρτύρουν, σ' ἐγράψαμε), and whether to write an apostrophe or not:

καὶ μαρτύρουν (1125?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7)

τὴν μύτην του τσακίσαν *Poulol.* 321 app. crit. (AZ)

ἡ γλώσσα μου ἤξηράνθη *Krasop.* AO 42; ὅπου γέννησεν *ibid.* 98

ἐκεῖνο ὅπου σὲ ἔγραψαμε (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.5)

νὰ γύριζες *Spanos D* 409

δὲν τὸ θέλησεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.12; ἀμμὲ μὴνῦσεν του *ibid.* 26.12–13

καὶ τώρα γίνηκα κούτσουρας LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 467 app. crit.

καὶ βάλασί με (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 27.22)

τὸ τί μερτικό δίναν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 55, 118.9)

σὰν νὰ μὴν τὰ θέλασιν ἔχει ποτὲ (1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.14)

τὰ χρώσταγα (17th c., Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 33, 185.7)

καὶ ξυρίσθη Bertoldos 28.9

μόνον αὐτὸ πιγιοῦρτισα IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 6285 (< Turk. *buyurdum*)

When the stressed /e/ or /i/ augment is deleted after a word ending in a vowel, its stress shifts to the last syllable of the preceding word, e.g. μοῦ'παν (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.13); ἐκεῖ'λαχεν *Anak. Konst.* 20; ἄλογά'στειλε LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ); τοῦρθε μὲ τεσταμέντο (1587, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 1, 343.9); τό'κουσα (1670, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 31, 388.22) (for details and more examples see I, 4.2.1). In these cases it is difficult to establish whether the augment was /e/ or /i/, as here the functioning

of the vowel hierarchy is rather obscure, especially when the augment was stressed (see I, 2.9.2 for details).

A relatively modest number of examples has been found of unaugmented forms after words ending in a consonant or in sentence-initial position. They appear in both non-literary and literary texts (often verse-texts) from various geographical areas. The first examples date to the 15th c.:

τὴν μῆνυσεν *Pol. Tr.* 279 app. crit. (A)
 τί μᾶς θέλαν δώσει; (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 72, 56.6–7)
 ὅταν ζοῦσαν *Epain. gyn.* 699; τοὺς ἄνδρες των γελοῦσα *ibid.* 706; τοὺς σκοτῶναν *ibid.* 713
 ὡς φαγῶθη ὁ ἄθλιος *Spanos D* 1522
 ὄντεν ἐσεῖς βαλθήκετε *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 226 app. crit. (B)
 ὥρες σκοπόμουν *Love poems V* 314
 ἔκαμα ὅσον μπόρεσα (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.8)
 καθεῖς βάλθη νὰ παίζει *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua VII.* 190; δὲν πόρε νὰ πομένει *ibid.* XV.11
 ὅμως στεῖλαν ἡμᾶς (1528, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 53, 173.46)
 ὁπότεν βαπτίστηκα (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 36, 38.48–9)
 χωρὶς φόβον περπάτειεν *Diig. Alex. F* 126.20 (Konstantinopoulos)
 ο Ερμῆς στοχάζουντον *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 91.17
 διπλώθη καὶ ἐκάθισεν *Diig. Alex. Sem. B* 1136
 πάρτη ἀπ' ἑμᾶς διψοῦσας *Rim. Sant.* 240; μιὰν στράταν περπατοῦμαν *ibid.* 455
 δὲν μπόρουνα νὰ τὸ δουλέψω (1639, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 137, 123.11)
 στὴν θάλασσαν τοὺς ρίκταν *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 2424; τοὺς Τούρκους γίνητε συντρόφοι
ibid. 6526
 γράφτη εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Πρόθεσι (1672, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 71, 319.1)
 ἴσηκώθηνε κι ὁ τταχρικῆς *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 563 (verse-initial)
 μὴ γράφεις πὼς χάθηκιν ὁ κόζουμος (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 8, 70.33–4) (=
 χάθηκεν, see I, 2.5.4; for κόζουμος = κόσμος, see I, 2.6.2)

3.1.4 Vowel-initial Verbs

When the verb starts in /a/ or /e/, this vowel may be replaced by /i/ (usually spelled <η>) for historical reasons (temporal/quantitative augment); however, when the verb starts in /o/, /i/ or /u/ the forms are, in fact, unaugmented. The initial vowel of the verb may also be replaced by the syllabic /e/ augment, and verbs starting in /a/ or /e/ may also be unaugmented.

3.1.4.1 Temporal /i/ Augment

Verbs starting in /a/ and /e/ may adopt the /i/ augment throughout the period covered by this Grammar with inherited verbs¹⁷ and their innovative variants (e.g. ἀμαρτεύω, ἀρχεύω), but not usually with new verbs.¹⁸ In certain regions, such as eastern Crete and certain islands in

¹⁷ The temporal augment with verbs that were originally prefixed but were later reanalysed as simple verbs, such as ἀφίω (< ἀφ-ίημι) and ἀμφιάζω (< ἀμφι-έννυμι), predates the period covered by this Grammar (cf. e.g. JAN-NARIS 1897: 187).

¹⁸ Loanwords such as for instance ἀρριβάρω, ἀμολάρω, but also new derivations such as ἀντρεεύω and verbs with prothetic /a/, such as ἀπερνῶ, ἀσηκῶνω, do not normally take the /i/ augment. They are either unaugmented or augmented with the syllabic /e/ or /i/ augment (see below).

the Aegean, the /i/ augment with verbs starting in /a/ or /e/ is used only when it is stressed (ἤκουσα, ἤλπιζα) but not when it is unstressed (ἀκούσαν, ἐλπίζαμε) (cf. consonant-initial verbs, 3.1.2.2):

Initial /a/ > /i/

τὸν κῆπον ... ὅπερ ἤφησεν (1176, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 4, 374.1)
 οὐκ ἡμέλησα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 38.17; ὡς ἡγάπουν id. *Logos* 4 206.13–14
 ἡ ἤκουσες το; (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 59.148)
 τὰ μάρμαρα ἠφανίσθησαν *Ptoch.* I 76; καὶ ἄς ἤφηνες ἐμέναν ibid. 105
 ἠκούστηκεν (14th c., Asia Minor, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [33], 37.1)
 αὐτὸ νὰ σὲ ἤρκει μόνον *Liv.* α 2082
 ἡπλωσεν *Vulgärorakel* I.130
 ηὐξήνθη *Spanos* A 174; ἡφριζεν ibid. 270
 ἀφέντης οὐκ ἠκούστηκεν PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 75
 ἡγωνίστηκε (1514, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 48, 57.15)
 ἡξίωσαν (1573, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 9, 62.7)
 δὲν ἡλλασσε γνώμην MOREZINOS, *Klini* 44.16
 κ' ἤκουσα (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.5)
 ἡφάνισε τὲς χώρες (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 507.27.4); ἡρχισε νὰ
 βρέξη (ibid. 508.34.1)
 ποὺ τοῦ ἡφῆκε ὁ πατέρας του (1672, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1993: 7, 299.2)
 ἡψασιν (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 744.13)

Initial /e/ > /i/

ἡῦραν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.16; πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἡρχετον id., *Logos* 31 816.11–12
 ὀκάπου ἡῦρηκα τὸ ταρτερόν *Ptoch.* III 149
 ἡγέρθηκεν *Pol. Tr.* 450
 δὲν ἡῦρα (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.2)
 ἡρχονταν κυνηγώντας *Synax. gadar.* 10
 ἡρχουντα DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 449
 ἡχμαλωτισθῆκαν *Alosis* 379
 ἡλθασιν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 5, 25.4)
 ἡρώτησαν *Diig. Alex.* E 285.12 (Lolos)
 ἡῦραμε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.17)
 ἂν ἡρχονταν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.8)
 ρηγάδων παιδία οὐκ ἡρχονταν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 305
 ἡλευθέρωσες (1612, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 1, 307.9)
 ἂν ἡρχονταν ξένος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.19
 μὲ ἡρώτησεν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.14–15)
 ἡλθασι (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/92: 3, 49.10)
 ἡρχούντονε (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 323, 525.2)

3.1.4.2 Syllabic /e/ Augment

The /e/ augment may replace the initial /a/, /i/ or /o/ of the verb stem. As the number of verbs beginning with /i/ and /o/ is limited, most examples are of verbs starting in /a/. Examples have been found from LMedG and throughout the period under review, in texts from Pontos to Crete and from the Heptanese to Cyprus, though the majority of examples come from southern areas (Crete, Cyprus) and the Aegean:

Initial /a/ > /e/

ἐγόρασα τὸν τόπον (1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/ΒΕΝΕΧΕΝΙΤΣΗ 1927: 18, 8.1)
 ἐρμάστηκα (14th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1956: [4], 40.2) (< ἀρμάζομαι)
 ἐκοῦσαν *Dig.* E 74; τὸ ἔρπαξες *ibid.* 130
 ἐκούμπησα τοῦ πύργου *Liv.* V 1943; ὡς μ' ἔκουσεν *ibid.* 2861; ἐγάπα νὰ τὸν ἔχη *ibid.* 3891
 καὶ ἄλλον ἐγόρασαν (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 253); ἐφῆκεν (*ibid.* 2009)
 ὅτι ἐρνίστηκές με *Katal.* 608
 ἐστένησα (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 78.4) (< ἀσθενῶ)
 ἀν ἐτιμάξαμεν τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς αὐθέντην BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 341 app. crit. (< ἀτιμάζω)
 ἐμπιτάρισεν CHEILAS, *Chron.* 349.31 (< Ital. *abitare*)
 ἐφεντεύασιν *Theseid* VI.4.4 (Olsen)
 ἔξιζε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.33)
 καὶ ἐγόρασαν (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 9, 132.13)
 τὰ πράγματα ὅπου ἔφηκεν (1634, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 16, 11.2)
 ὁ ἀδελφός<ς> σου ἐρρώστησε (1637, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 3, 95.16)
 ἐρχινίσα *Rim. Sant.* 175; ἐρχίσασι *ibid.* 204; ἐνταμωθήκαμε *ibid.* 455
 ἔφηγεν (1679, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 18, 33.11)
 τὸ μιτάτον ὅπου τοῦ ἔφησεν (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 2, 145.1)
 ἐλλάκτη (1688, Rhodes, PAPACHRISTODOULOU 1976: 11, 9.1) (< ἀλλάζω)
 ἔφησεν (1697, Chios, TSELIKAS 2000: 99, 76.3)

Initial /i/ > /e/

ἐπερηφάνεσαν το *Pol. Tr.* 1656 app. crit. (V) (< ὑπερηφανεύω)
 ἐσιάσθησαν *Chron. Toc.* 3294 (< ἰσάζω < ἰσιάζω)¹⁹
 δὲν ἐσαστήκαν *Assizes* A 46.26
 ὕστερον ἐσιάσθησαν *Chron. Mor.* P 1197
 ἐσιάστη νὰ τηνε γιάνει ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 19.2
 ἐστορίστη (1559, Lesvos, KLEOMVROTOS 1970: 23, 163.3) (< ἱστορῶ)
 ἐσιάχτηκα μὲ τὸν κατή (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 315.31)
 ἐσαστήκαμε (1614, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 1, 331.15)
 (τὴν εἰκόνα ...) ὅπου ἐστορίσεν ὁ Ἅγιος Λουκάς (17th c., Meteora, VEIS 1984: 187, f.172v.2)
 ἐσιαζούντονε (1673, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 10, 172.16)
 εἰς ποῖον ἔτος ἐκίωθη τὸ νησίον (1720, Folegandros, GAVALAS 1887: 512.2) (< οἰκίωνω)

Initial /o/ > /e/

ἐμόσαμεν *Dig.* E 851 (< ὁμόνω)
 τὰ ἔρισαν *Assizes* B 284.15 (< ὀρίζω)
 ὁ πλοῦτος οὐδὲν μᾶς ἐφέλεσεν *Achil.* L 1270
 καὶ ἔμοσεν ἡ αὐθεντία μου (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 119.62)
 καὶ ἔρισεν ὁ κυβερνοῦρης MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.2; ὀλλίγον ἐφελέθησαν *ibid.* 322.40–1
 καὶ ἔμοσαν του *Diig. Alex.* V 56.14
 ἐρδίνιασε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 43.8; ἐρέκτηκεν *ibid.* 153.28 (< ὀρέγομαι)
 ἐμπλιγαρίστη νὰ το φυλάη (1572, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 17, 71.14) (< Ven. *obligàr*)
 ἐρέγουμου *Thysia Avr.* 422
 ἔμοσες ποττὲ ἄδικα; (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 403.193)
 ἔμνοξέ μου TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.598 (< ὁμνόγω)

¹⁹ As the verb ἰσιάζω by the 15th c. had developed an alternative form σιάζω, the examples could be viewed as having syllabic /e/ augment.

νὰ ἐμπλιγαριστήκασι (1641, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 7, 278.4)

ἐλίγανε ἡ πνοή του KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.939 (< ὀλιγαίνω); ἐρέχτηκες *ibid.* III.1193

No examples have been found of the /e/ augment replacing the initial /u/ of verbs. Sporadically the /e/ augment is used, placed before the initial /u/ of the verb, and an inter-vocalic /y/ is added for euphonic reasons (see I, 3.5.2.1):²⁰

διὰ τὴν ἀρσενοκοιτίαν, ὅτι πολλὰ τὴν ἐγουζιάζαν εἰς τὴν Ἀμόχουστον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.*

V 464.32–3 (οὐζιάζω < Fr. *user*); οἱ σκύλλοι ἐγουριάζαν ... οἱ κωρῶνες ἐγουργιάζαν, οἱ

κουκκουφιάδες ... ἐγουργιάζαν *ibid.* 668.19–22 (< οὐριάζω)

ὁποῦ ἐκλαιαν καὶ ἐγουργιάζαν πολλὰ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 5.38

3.1.4.3 Syllabic /i/ Augment

Regionally and lexically, the /i/ augment is also employed with the verb ὀρίζω and with innovative variants of ὀμνύω (ὀμόνων/ἄμόνων, ὀμνόγω/ἄμνόγω). Examples have been found in EMG texts from Crete, Cythera and the Aegean (Mykonos). As these verbs may lose their initial vowel in the present (ρίζω, μόνω, μνόγω),²¹ they may simply have been viewed as consonant-initial verbs:

ὁ Κύριος ἤρισε τοῦ Νῶε ὡγιά νὰ κτίσῃ P&N *Diath.* 1418 (< ὀρίζω)

ὡς ἤριζες FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.34; εἰς τὸ παλάτιν του ἤρισε νὰ γυρίσω *ibid.* II.38

ἤρισε ὁ ρήγας νὰ γενῇ ἕνα ψηλὸ πατάρι KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.97; τὴ Μοθώνην ἤριζε *ibid.*

II.1293

καὶ ἤμνογεν πῶς δὲν τὴν ἀφήνει MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.24

κι ἔτσι ἤμνογα CHORTATISIS, *Panor.* I.42

ἤμνογε καὶ τοῦ φίλου του KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.403

ἤμοσε (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 51.62)

τὴν ἐβάλαμε καὶ ἤμωσε· ἡ ὁποία ἤμωσε καθαρά πῶς ... (1708, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU

1980/81: 86, 96.16–17)

3.1.4.4 Absence of the Augment

Verbs starting in /a/ can regularly be found without the augment throughout the period covered by this Grammar, in all areas (with the likely exception of Pontos); verbs beginning in /e/, too, are often found without the augment, but of course in this case the initial /e/ can easily be interpreted as an augment. Verbs starting in /i/, /o/ and /u/ are normally unaugmented:

Initial /a/

ἀκριβεύσαμεν (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 8, 311.7)

ἄλογα ἀγόρασεν *Chron. Mor.* H 3378; ὡς τὸ ἄκουσε *ibid.* 5854

ἀρνήθηκα *Dig.* E 363

²⁰ The past-tense forms, in their turn, lead to a new consonant-initial verb γουριάζω, e.g.: γουριάζουσιν *Phys.* 240; πῶς γουριάζω *Cypr. Canz.* 103.18.

²¹ Cf. νὰ ρίζω ἐπὶ θέκῃ με FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.46; καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἄς μόση (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.6).

ἀδικούσαμεν τὸ ταπεινὸν κατούδιν *Ptoch. III* 273 app. crit. (P)
 τὰ Ἰλβανα ἀπίστησαν *Chron. Toc.* 1333
 αὖξανε *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 488
 ἀγρώνισε *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 4.22 (< ἀγρωνίζω); καὶ δὲν ἀρμάστην *ibid.* 40.19; ἄρχεψεν ἡ
 εὐλογημένη ἀκρίδα *ibid.* 60.27–8
 ἄφησεν (1541, Corfu, *RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1996: 11, 223.3)
 ἐὰν ἀγάπας *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 7, η3ν.22 (1561)
 καὶ ἄφτε καὶ δὲν ἐκαίγετονε *SKORD. MARAF. G., Evang.* 435.246
 μ' ἄφησε (1600, Zakynthos, *KONOMOS* 1969b: 36.12)
 ἀγάπα νὰ ἡκούη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.12; ἀκούγανε *ibid.* 39.27; ἀρνιόντησαν *ibid.* 86.27
 ἄλλαζαν τὰ ἄσπρα *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 2.14; ἐὰν μὲ ἀγαπούσετε *ibid.* 14.28
 αὖξαιναν *Bertoldos* 70.27
 μᾶς ἄφηκεν (1663, Central Greece, *STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI* 1992: 39,
 136.6)
 τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅπου ἀκουιστάρισα (1665, Zakynthos, *BOUBOULIDIS* 1957: 3, 116.11–12) (< Ven.
acquistàr)
 τότες τον ἀζαρλάτισεν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 977 (< Turk. *azarladı*, past tense of *azarlamak*)
 ἄρπασεν (1675, Skyros, *ANDONIADIS* 1990: 39, 65.9)

Initial /i/

ὑστερον γὰρ ἰσιάστηκαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1197
 οὐκ ἰσχούσαν *ERMON., Ilias* 12.203
 ὕγιανε *Pol. Tr.* 6427 app. crit. (A)
 ἡγοῦντον *Achil.* N 1833
 καὶ ὑβρίστηκες *Spanos A* 397
 ἡλικιώτην *Spanos A* 174
 ὑψώναςί με *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 52
 ὡς ἦσαν πρῶτα ὕγιαναν *Theseid* X.10,7 (1529)
 ἰσιαστήκαμε (1541, Thasos?, *KRAVARI* 1987: App. II, 340.20)
 ἰντρομετέρισα (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 177, 175.13) (< Ven. *intromèter*)
 ἰσαστήκαμεν (1639, Paros, *ALIPRANDIS* 1974/75: 3, 114.45)
 ὑστερήθησαν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §23.17
 νὰ μάθω πῶς ἰάθη *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 149
 ὑβρίσθηκες *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 246

Initial /o/

ὄρησαν (1093, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 56, 73.23)
 ὀδηγήθηκα (1350–1?, Athos?, *LEMERLE et al.* 1979: 130, 45.1)
 ὠμίλει μετ' αὐτήν *Pol. Tr.* 6461; τίποτε οὐκ ὠφελοῦσαν *Pol. Tr.* 13124 app. crit. (AC)
 ὠρισέν μας (1430, Ioannina, *RIGO* 1998: [1], 62.10)
 ὀρίσαμεν τους (1453, Nisyros, *TSIRPANLIS* 1967: 1, 47.8)
 ὠργίστην *Assizes A* 74.16–17
 ὀρέγομουν νὰ περπατῶ *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 89
 ὠρυσεν ὁ ρὲ Οὐνγκες *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 60.7
 ὀρθώθησα *Diig. Alex.* F 24.5 (Lolos); ὀνομάξουσιν *ibid.* 64.1–2 (Konstantinopulos)
 ὠργιζόμουν *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 116.4
 κι ὀλιζα *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 188 app. crit. (1577)
 μὰ μιτὰ ὀρφανέσαμε (1612, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 5, 173.12–13)
 ὠνειδοῦσεν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §4.13
 καὶ ὅμοσε στὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (1658, Moscow, *TCHENTSOVA* 2004: 18, 117.7–8)
 γιὰ τοῦτο ὠνομάζουντον Διγενῆς *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1243

Initial /u/

οὐριάστηκε *Pol. Tr.* 5256

οὐρίαξαν εἰς τὸ κάστρο *Chron. Toc.* 2802

κύψασα οὐρησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὠτίον τὸ δεξιόν *Spanos D* 685

ὁποῦ ἔζαρε δυὸ καὶ τρεῖς νὰ κάνη *Rim. Sant.* 156 (< οὐζάρω)

Initial /e/

When the verb starts in /e/, loss of augment is often apparent only, as the initial /e/ of the form may be interpreted as an augment.²² In fact, with certain verb forms, such as ἐζαμινάρασι, ἐπαίνεσαν, ἔρωτοῦσαν and εὐρίσκονταν, it is not certain whether they constitute past-tense forms of ἐζαμινάρω, ἐπαίνω, ἔρωτῶ and εὐρίσκω or of ζαμινάρω, παίνω, ρωτῶ and βρίσκω:

αἰτήθης μου (1139, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1968: App. I, 52.4)

εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 3 196.12

εὐρέθη ἐγκαστρωμένη *Paroim.* D 119

νὰ ἐρευξάμην εὐνοστα *Ptoch.* IV 182

ἐλευθέρωσεν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 4, 42.5)

τὸν ἐγγύθηκα *Assizes A* 67.21

αἰχμαλωτίσασιν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 115

ἐπαίνεσαν *Achil.* O 170

εὐρισκούνταν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 56.17

ἐργάζουνταν ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 225.Λ.34

ἐζαμινάρασι (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 277, 380.1) (< Ven. *esaminàr*)

ἔρωτοῦσαν τὸν SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 16.12–13

ἔρχομουν (1615, Lefkada, PENDOGALOS 1977b: 2, 148.12)

κάθε λογῆς ἀδικίαν τὴν ἔλεγχε RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 69.22

ἔρπετουν *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* III 4

δὲν ἔρχουνταν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 58.1)

ἐρμηνεύθημαν (1679, Sovania, Tuscany, PAPADOPOULOS 1979: 1, 473.25)

μὲ ἐγγυήθηκαν οἱ -4- καλόγεροι (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.19)

The verb ἔχω, which has an /i/ augment (traditionally spelled <ει>) throughout the period covered by this Grammar, can have unaugmented imperfects in the EMG period. Unaugmented forms have been found in texts from various areas: Cyprus, Crete, the Heptanese/Peloponnese and the northern mainland (for prefixed forms of ἔχω, see 3.3.2.1.1 and 3.3.2.2.1 and cf. ἔτον for ἦτον, 4.8.2):²³

νὰ μὴ τὴν ἔχα κάψειν *Pol. Tr.* 5576 app. crit. (C)

ἔχεν γραμμένην *Assizes A* 105.9; οὕτως τὸ ἔχεν *ibid.* 165.24 (ed. ἔκεν; see KRIARAS, *LEX.* s.v. ἔχω)

²² This may lead to unfortunate editorial choices by editors of lower-register Byzantine texts who are unfamiliar with vernacular Greek and therefore do not recognise an aorist indicative when there is apparently no augment; in the following example the forms are taken to be aorist middle imperatives (with 2nd-person clitics!): εἴπεν· «εὐλόγησαί σε ὁ Θεός, τέκνον, καὶ ποιήσαι σε σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς.» Stephen the Deacon, *Life of Stephen the Younger* 103.9 (ed. Auzépy) (8th/9th c.) (read εὐλόγησέ σε and κ' ἐποίησέ σε respectively).

²³ The following example (with crasis of /u/ and /e/, see I, 2.9.5) appears to be an error in the modern edition: κεῖ ὁπῶχε τὴν παρηγορίαν KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1961 (= ὁποῦ ἔχε), as both the Venetian edition (A) and the manuscript (X) read ὁποῦχε (= ὁποῦ εἶχε).

νὰ σ' ἔχασιν περιπλεχθῇ, νὰ σ' ἔχαν καταλύση BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 333
 οὐδὲν σ' ἔχα δώσει τὸ φιλὶν *Katal.* 323; μὴ μ' ἔχες ἐρωτήσῃ ibid. 368
 κι ὡς ἔχασι τ' ἀμάτια μου τὴν ἔγνοια νὰ θωροῦσι FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 261 app. crit.
 νὰ μῆχε πάρῃ ὁ θάνατος *Love poems* V 440
 ἔχαν τάξιν ὅτι ... MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.9; τοὺς ἔχες φυλακισμένους ibid. 280.5–6
 διότι ἔχεν ὁμορφον κορμὶν VOUSTR., *Chron.* M 41.18; καὶ ἔχεν τα εἰς τὸ χέριν του ibid. 105.17
 ἔχα φίλον κηπουρόν *Paroim.* G 10
 γιάντα ὅδε μ' ἔχες μετὰ σέ *Apoll.* Rim. A 1393; νὰ μ' ἔχε ἔξεπατήσῃ ibid. 1435 (same in ENV)
 εἰς ἀνθρώπον που ὀδεποτέ σ' ἔχε ἀγαπημένη *Theseid* IV.8,8 (1529)
 ὡς καθὼς τὴν ἔχασι (1544, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [2], 7.6)
 πὼς τὴν ἔχε φέρει *Pist. voskos* I 1.95
 εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην ὅπου τὸ ἔχασιν (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83–4.13) (= τοῦ ἔχασιν;
 for crasis see I, 2.9.5)
 τοῦ ραπρεζεντάντε ὅπου ἔχε κάμει ἐξεκούτζιο (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.19)
 ὅ,τι σύκα ἔχασι κάμει (1671, Naxos, SFYROERAS 1963a: 2, 494.32–3)
 τὰ μωρὰ παιδιὰ πὺν ἔχαν ἡλικίαν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 283 app. crit. (= ποὺ
 ἔν ἔχαν)
 ὅτι μ' ἔχεν γελᾶσει (1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 68, 242.3) transcr. (Korre)²⁴

Similarly, the verb εἶμαι has 3 sg. and 3 pl. forms beginning in /e/ in Machairas (see also 4.8.2). An unaugmented aorist of ἔρχομαι has been found in a document from the Peloponnese, and ἔδα for εἶδα in a text from Chios and a text of unknown provenance:

τοῦ μάστρε Πιὲρ Κανῆλ ὅπου ἔτον ἡ ἀφορμὴ τοῦ σκαντάλου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 182.8; οἱ
 Σαρακηνοὶ ἔτον χωσμένοι ibid. 190.28
 πρωτασέδα πρωταμέδες / πρῶτα σ' ἔδα πρῶτα μ' ἔδες (17th c., Unknown, ŠANGIN 1936: 4,
 161.8)
 πότ' ἔδες ἢ πότ' ἤκουσες VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 209
 ὁ βεζίρης ἔρθε ἀτός του καὶ ἐπῆρε τὸν Μορέαν ὅλονε (1715, Stefani, LAMBROS 1910: 362,
 213.2)

3.2 Compound Verbs

Verbs compounded with a nominal, adjectival, pronominal or adverbial first constituent and dvandva compounds (verb + verb) generally take the external syllabic /e/ augment when they start in a consonant; they rarely have no external augment. When the compounded verb starts in a vowel, past forms either take no augment at all, or the initial vowel may be replaced by the syllabic /e/ augment. The temporal augment with verbs starting in /a/ or /e/ is much rarer and mainly limits itself to verbs compounded with the residual adverb εὔ. Multiple augments are quite rare, but may occur when the verb that forms the second constituent of the compound has a syllabic augment.

²⁴ Mertzios misread the document and prints ἔχει γελᾶσει; see JANSSEN 2013 for a discussion of this and other “phantom” perfects.

3.2.1 Consonant-initial Verbs

When the compound verb starts in a consonant, the external syllabic /e/ augment is used, which is placed before the first constituent of the compound:

- ώσαν έμελαγχόλησα *Ptoch. I* 140
 έκοντοαναμείναν *Chron. Mor. H* 3631
 έχεροτόνησεν τον (1395, Pontos, BRYER 1976: 7, 133.3)
 νά με έψυχοπονούσου *Liv. V* 1147; ένουθέτησεν *ibid.* 2427; έμυριόμοσεν *ibid.* 2780
 εκεί έκοντοστάθησαν *Chron. Toc.* 2318
 Άρης έπερνοδιάβαινε *Alosis* 420; έσφικτοκλείδωνέν το *ibid.* 617
 έχαμποπετούσαν *Achil. N* 828; ένεφροκοποϋνταν *ibid.* 1406
 έχειροτονήθη παρά του Σάρδεων (15th c. [ms], Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 8.I, 80.12a.3)
 έκωλосύραν τους *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 122.10
 τούς έγλυκασπαζόντησαν *Theseid II.79,4* (1529)
 έκρυφογαμηθήκαν *Epain. gyn.* 186
 έμπαινόβγαινεν μετ' έμās *SANKTAM., Praxeis apost.* 18.53 (ed. έμπενόβγενεν)
 έφαγοπότισεν καλά *Diig. Alex. Sem. B* 56 and 992
 έσυκοφάντησαν τον πενθερό μου (17th c., Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.2, 72.11–12)
 του έκαλοφάνη πολλά *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.9; του έκακοφάνη πολλά *ibid.* 31.11
 σās έμοιρολογούσαμεν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 11.17
 έδικαιολογούνταν (1645, Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 10.7); έδηλοποιούσете (*ibid.* 12.7)
 κ' έτουρκοσκλάβωσές με *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 548.24
 έπουρκοτάξασιν (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 179.17–18) (< προικοτάσσω)
 έπροτεσταλόγησεν (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 7, f.43r.24–5)

When the head of the compound consists of a verb form that as a simple verb would have a stressed syllabic augment, double augment may occur, as in the first example below; though usually the internal augment is omitted and the stress shifts to the last syllable of the first constituent:

- επρωτοέβγαλε αυτήν την πλανωμένην καβαλιερίαν *Don Kis.* 333.10–11
 έβαρύφας (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 405.350) (< βαρυτρώγω)
 έξενόμενα (1684, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 64, 272.27) (< ξενομένω)
 ό Τοϋρκος έκοντόφθασεν *Thrinos Kypr.* 56

Double augment is rare when the verb has a temporal augment: επρωτοηθέλησε να γένει οπλοφόρος *Don Kis.* 333.11.

Even when the verb is doubly compounded, the augment is normally placed at the beginning of the form: κ' έσυχνοπερνόβλεπά την *Dim. poiim.* 1.7; έσυχνοξηρόβηχε *Don Kis.* 232.10.

When the preceding word ends in a vowel the unstressed augment of the following verb may be deleted as a result of aphaeresis. This does not necessarily mean that the form is unaugmented, just that /e/, being a weak vowel (see I, 2.9.2), is displaced by the preceding vowel:

καὶ νὰ καλοπαθούμην *Ptoch.* III 166 app. crit. (P)
 καὶ λογισμοεμαχοῦμαν *Liv.* α 2887
 ὀλόγυρα τριγύριζε *Achil.* N 1320
 ἄς μὲ λιθοβολούσαν *Achil.* O 725
 νὰ ποταμοφόριζεν *Krasop.* AO 29
 ἡ κόρη χολομάνησεν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 941
 καὶ πάντα συχνοκοίταζε *Theseid* IV.53,8 (1561)

With this type of verb, /i/ for /e/ in the augment has only been found in a document that generally displays mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4 for details): ἱπροτοστολόγησι (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 6, f.43r.2; and 1691, *ibid.* 12, f.44r.7) (= ἑπροτεσταλόγησε).

3.2.2 Vowel-initial Verbs

When the compound verb starts in a vowel, the same rules apply as with simple verbs (see 3.1.4); in short: initial /a/ and /e/ may be replaced by the temporal /i/ augment; initial /a/, /i/ and /o/ may be replaced by the syllabic /e/ augment; and initial /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and u/ may remain unaugmented.²⁵ Syllabic /i/ augment has only been found with the verb ὁμολογῶ.

3.2.2.1 External Temporal /i/ Augment

Verbs starting in /a/ and /e/ may occasionally adopt the /i/ augment in early texts, though it is more common with verbs starting in εὐ-:

Initial /a/ > /i/

ὀκάτι ὡς ἡκροεκύσπαζε *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 51
 ὁ φιλῶν με ἡγρύπνησε *Dig.* G VI.51
 ἡγριολάλησά την *Ptoch.* I 140

Initial /e/ > /i/

ἡτύχησες ἄθρόον *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 379
 ἡύτρεπιζεν *Eisit.* f.1r.2; ἡύτχησεν *ibid.* f.1v.18
 ἡνίκα δὲ ἡύδόκησε Θεὸς *Dig.* G III.163; τῷ Θεῷ ἡύχαρίσται *ibid.* IV.685
 ὅτι ἡ κοιλιά μου ἡύκαίρησεν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀφαγίαν *Ptoch.* I 258–9
 πάραυτα ἡύτρέπισαν *Dig.* E 464; ὡς ἡύδόκησας *ibid.* 1820/1821
 ἡύφράνθημεν ὀλίγον *Liv.* V 2471
 πρὸς τὴν φωνὴν ἡύτρέπισεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1904
 ἑσκίρτησεν, ἡύφράνθη *Velth.* 1328
 ἡύχαρίσται αὐτῷ μεγάλως *Vios Aisop.* D 235.37
 ἡύφράνθηκαν *Diig. Alex.* E 181.19 (Konstantinopulos)
 τότες τοὺς ἡύχαρίσθησεν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2491

²⁵ No compound verbs starting in /u/ have been found in the texts examined, but see e.g. the following 9th-c. example: ὅτι ὁ ὄνος αὐτοῦ οὐροκοπήθη *Achmet, Oneirokritikon* 233.34–5 (ed. Drex1).

3.2.2.2 External Syllabic /e/ Augment

The syllabic /e/ augment may replace the initial /a/, /i/ or /o/ of the verb, provided this does not render the verb form semantically opaque.²⁶ Examples have been found in texts from various areas:

Initial /a/ > /e/

ἐτσαλόφαγεν καὶ ἐτσαλόπιεν *Assizes* B 431.20 (< ἄτσαλο-)
καὶ ἐκριβολόγησά τους *Liv.* V 2742
ἐκροβάσταξεν *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1854
ἐκριβολόγησέν τας *Velth.* 618
ἐκροδειλίασεν *Achil.* O 126

Initial /i/ > /e/

ἀπὸ τότε ἐκονόμουνα *Liv.* E 3532
τὴν ρένταν ἐκονόμησαν *Liv.* V 2716
ὅπου μᾶς ἐκονόμησεν τὴν συμφορὰν ἐτούτην [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1543
ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἐκονόμησεν *Florios* 273
οἱ Φράγκοι ἐκονομήθησαν *Chron. Mor.* P 705
ἐκονόμησεν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2072
ἐσοπιάσασι *P&N Diath.* 1491 (< ἰσοπιάνω)

Initial /o/ > /e/

ἄτινα ἐμολόγησαν (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.23)
ἐλιγοθυμήσασιν *Dig.* E 194 app. crit.; ἐμολόγησες *ibid.* 385
ἐμολόγησε καὶ ἄλλο (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.24); καὶ ἐμολόγησαν (1487, Rhodes, *ibid.* 18, 96.7)
τὰ ὅποια ἐμολόγησέν τα (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 46.27)
δεν ἐμολόγησα *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 32.13
ἐμολόγησαν *Diig. Alex.* F 134.18 (Lolos)
ἐμολόγησε (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 35, 75.2–3)
μοῦ τὸ ἐμολόγησε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.1)
ἐμολόγησε (1597, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 5, 77.37)
ἐμένα ποτὲ δὲ μοῦ τὸ ἐμολόγησε *Nov. I* 156.21
ἐμολόγησες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.5

3.2.2.3 External Syllabic /i/ Augment

Lexically the syllabic /i/ augment is employed with the verb ὁμολογῶ. Examples have been found in the Escorial version of *Livistros* and in *Imberios*: ἡ κόρη οὐκ ἡμολόγησεν *Liv.* E 1346; ποσῶς οὐκ ἡμολόγησεν *Imber.* 587 and *Imb. Rim.* 656.

²⁶ For instance /e/ augment with the verbs ὁμολογῶ and οἰκονομῶ is not uncommon; the initial vowel is clearly not vital to the recognition of the verb, as they also appear in the present tense as μολογῶ and κονομῶ. On the other hand, /e/ augments are generally avoided with e.g. the modifier ὅλο-, which becomes difficult to recognize in ἐλο-; however, EMG would not be EMG if exceptions were not to be found: ἐλοπληρώθη καλῶς (1530, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 99, 119.7–8).

3.2.2.4 Internal Augment

In literary texts (usually versified, but occasionally in prose), there are several examples of compound verbs with internal augment. Internal augment is almost always combined with external augment; in the forms ἐρωτοεσχηματίσθην and ἐρωτοετρώθην the initial /e/ may be viewed as an augment. Often the internal augment and the final vowel of the first part of the compound need to be read as one syllable in order for the verse to scan (for metrical synizesis see I, 2.9.4.2).

ἐχαμοεγέλασεν *Liv.* V 1257; ἐσυχνοεστέναζεν *ibid.* 3274; ἐμυριοελυπᾶτον *ibid.* 3508
καὶ νὰ ἰχνοεποδοπάτησες *Liv.* α 280; ἐρωτοεσχηματίσθην *ibid.* 1486; ἐλογοεμαχοῦμεν *ibid.*
2887 *app. crit.* (P)
καὶ ἔκοσμοεγύρευσά σε *Liv.* S 2965 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
ἐρρουκανοετούρνευσεν *Velth.* 290
ἀνεβοεκατέβαινεν *Diig. tetr.* 1060
πόσους ἐπικροεπότησεν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 297
καὶ πάντα ἐσυχνοεκοίταζεν τὴν κόρην *Theseid* IV.53,8 ms (f.33r); ἐπολυεπλασίαζαν *ibid.*
VI.30,6 (Olsen) (cf. τὰ ποῖα ἐπολυπλάσιαζαν in the 1529 edition)
ἀκόμη δεν ἐκαλοεβγήκε *Don Kis.* 3.27

Even forms with double internal or triple augment have been found in various versions of *Livistros*; in most of these examples the multiple augments are purely graphematic:

καὶ συχνοεπαρέγγερνεν *Liv.* V 1128; νὰ συχνοεπεριεπάτησες *ibid.* 1264; ἐμυριοενέπαυσέ τον *ibid.* 2330 (in which the three vowels <ιοε> must be read as one syllable)
νὰ συχνοεπεριεπάτησες *Liv.* α 1495 *app. crit.* (P)
καὶ κοσμοεπεριεπάτει *Liv.* S 2005 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

An internal /i/ augment in forms of εὐεργετῶ, not uncommon since Late Antiquity (see LSJ, s.v. εὐεργετῶ), has only been found in mixed- to higher-register texts: ἀλλ' ὄνπερ εὐηργέτησας πολλὰς εὐεργεσίας *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 382; ποῖος τὸν εὐηργέτησε *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 170.

The stressed internal augment may be deleted when the first constituent ends in a strong vowel (see I, 2.9.2 for details). The stress then shifts to the final vowel of the modifier: ὁποῦ ἐπρωτόρθε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 156.40.

3.2.2.5 Absence of the Augment

Compound verbs starting in /a/, /i/ and /o/ can quite often be found without the augment throughout the period covered by this Grammar. Dvandva compounds that start in a vowel (ἀνεβοκατεβαίνω, ἀνεβοκατεβάζω) are, as a rule, unaugmented:

Initial /a/

ἀγαθοεργήθημεν (1182, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 212, 277.14–15)
ἐκεῖ ἀνεβοκατέβαινε ἀντίπερα τοῦ Ἀφράτη *Arm.* 31
ὡσὰν <ν'> ἀκροφοβήθην *Dig.* E 1113
ἀγρυπνήσατε *Pol. Tr.* 492 *app. crit.* (AEV); ὁ ρῆξ ἀκριοστράφη ὀπίσω *ibid.* 3076 *app. crit.* (B)
ἀσχημολόγησέν τους *Chron. Toc.* 1779
ἀγαθοποίησε *Hist. Imp. IIb* 1365

τοὺς ἀδικοθανάτωσαν MAXIMOS, *Synax. Ag. Nik.* 138.34
 δαμάκι ἀκροστάθηκα *Stathis* II.83
 καὶ τὴν ἀναίβοκατέβαζε IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 335.34
 τὰ χεῖλη της ἀνεβοκατεβῆκα KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1977

Initial /i/

οἰκονομήθη NIKON, *Logos* 1 104.19
 τὸ οἰκοδόμησα (1138?, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 14, 102.10)
 οἰκοδόμησα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (1285, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 78, 44.16)
 οἰκονομήθη παρευτὺς *Chron. Mor.* H 251; οἱ Φράγκοι ὠκονομήθησαν *ibid.* 705
 χαρίσματα οἰκονόμησεν *Dig.* E 1072
 καὶ πῶς οἰκοδομήθη *Pol. Tr.* 12048
 ὅπου μὲ οἰκονόμησεν τοῦ εὐνούχου τὴν φιλίαν *Liv.* V 1914
 πάντες οἰκονομήθησαν *Chron. Toc.* 3867
 οἰκονόμησαν φουσάτα *Hist. Imp.* I 575
 ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς τὶ οἰκονόμησεν DAM. STOUD., *This.*, *Logos* 20, σ8ν.15 (1561)

Initial /o/

πάλιν ὀπισθοπόδησα *Ptoch.* I 232
 ὀνειροῦποσχέθης *Liv.* S 352 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ὀλοπροθυμήσεν το *Liv.* α 3350 app. crit. (P); καὶ ὀλοχωρικευόμην *ibid.* 403 app. crit. (P)
 ὀμολόγησαν ὅτι ἔλαβαν (1509, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: 2 [B'], 225.4)
 ὀλοπληρώθηκα (1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 32, 63.8)
 ὀμολόγησεν (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 4, 56.3)
 ὀλονύχτισα μ' ἕνα μου φίλο ὁμάδι CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.354
 ὠμοφωνήσανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 35.11
 ὀμολογήκαμε (1636, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 182.1)
 ἂν κανεῖς ὕστερα ὀμολόγα RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 126.9

Initial /e/

Verbs beginning in /e/, too, are often found without the augment, but of course in this case the initial /e/ can easily be interpreted as an augment. Verbs compounded with the adverb εὔ were often unaugmented from the New Testament onwards (PSALTES 1913: 203, MAYSER 1923: 336, BLASS et al. 1961: 37), as when the diphthong <ευ> came to be pronounced as /ev/ or /ef/, the initial /e/ could easily be reanalysed as an augment:²⁷

οἵτινες εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς NIKON, *Logos* 3 196.12
 τὸν δοῦκα εὐχαριστήσαν *Chron. Mor.* H 354
 εὐκαιρέασιν τὴν χώραν (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 209.4.3–4)
 ἔσφαξες τὴν καρδία μου καὶ αἵματοπότισές την *Katal.* 414
 ευχαριστούντον *Theseid* VI, Prol.12 (Olsen)
 κ' εὐκαίρεσεν τὴν σπούρδαν της BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 416
 ποὺ δὲ μᾶς εὐεργέτησε ZINOS, *Alex. Rim. Epil.* 13
 εὐφήμεσαν τον *Diig. Alex.* F 300.5 (Lolos)
 οὐδὲν σὲ εὐχαρίστησα *Diig. Alex.* E 217.3 (Lolos); εὐλόγησεν ὁ προφήτης *ibid.* 231.14–15
 εὐχαριστήσαμε (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.5–6)
 τίς δὲν εὐφραίνεται; *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 50

²⁷ There is a tendency to omit the initial /e/ in non-past forms, e.g. βλαβῶντες SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 221 (= εὐλαβῶντες); βεργέτα BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 214 (= εὐεργέτα); ὡσάν γυναῖκες φτιάνεσθε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2756 (φτιάνω < εὐθειάζω).

οὐδὲ αἵματοφλογίσθης [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 316.24

αὐτά που εὐηχούσαν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 1088; αὐτοὺς εὐσπλαχνιζόντων *ibid.* 3782

δὲν εὐλαβήθηκε (1669, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 84, 217.55–6)

3.3 Prefixed Verbs

Verbs prefixed with a preposition can have internal augment, external augment, both or neither. There is great variation in the use of the augment in prefixed verbs, to such an extent that one gets the impression that anything goes. However, there are certain trends to be discerned: internal augment only is more common with verbs of which the prefix starts in a vowel (ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-) than with verbs with consonant-initial prefixes (δια-, κατα-, παρα-, περι-, προσ-, συν-). When the prefix starts in a consonant, external or double augment is much more common than internal only, which clearly belongs to a somewhat more formal register. When the prefix begins and ends in a consonant (προσ-, συν-) external augment only is more common than double augment. The rules that dictate the choice of augment (syllabic /e/, temporal /i/ or syllabic /i/) in prefixed verbs are identical to those for simple verbs (for details see 3.1).

Past-tense forms of verbs prefixed with the preposition ἐκ gave rise to a new prefix ξε-, regionally ξη- (see also the introduction to Chapter 3); thus e.g. ἐκπίπτω became ξεπέφτω through the aorist indicative ἐξέπεσα. It is not always possible to establish whether a form is derived from an inherited verb prefixed with ἐκ- or a new verb prefixed with ξε-. The same holds true for the prefix ξανα-, which gave rise to a new prefix ξανα- through omission of the initial /e/: it is hard to tell whether a past-tense form starting in ἐξανα- has external augment (ἐ-ξανα-) or is unaugmented.

In the case of vowel-initial prefixes, one may find a rather unexpected external “temporal” augment, e.g. ἡποφάσισα, ἡπιλάλησα, ἡνεμεάτισα, ἡνέφερα. This unhistorical temporal augment, which can already be found before the period covered by this Grammar,²⁸ appears mainly in early mixed-register texts, especially in the case of verbs prefixed with ἀνα-.

Sometimes verbs with a vowel-initial prefix are augmented with both internal and external syllabic /e/: e.g. ἐπεκρίθηκα (< ἀποκρίνομαι); ἐπέγραψα (< ὑπογράφω). This possibility renders the prefix opaque, and clearly leads to a certain degree of confusion, especially between ἀπο- and ὑπο-, and ἀνα- and ἐν-. We thus find e.g. ἀπογράφω for ὑπογράφω, ὑποχαιρετῶ for ἀποχαιρετῶ and ἀναφανίζομαι for ἐμφανίζομαι:

θέλουσι ἀπογράψει διὰ χειρός τως (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 52.56–7)

ἀπέγραψαν ἰδιοχείρως (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 48.17–18)

²⁸ Similar early examples are: ἡνεγινώσκετο Moschos, *Leimon* (PG 87.3: 2880A); ἡνῆγαγέν φησιν Anast. Sinaites, *Sermo II in constitutionem hominis* 2.12 (ed. Uthemann) (late 7th c.); ἡπηνθράκιζε Photios, *Lex.* s.v. ἐπηνθράκιζε (ed. Theodoridis) (9th c.). For some verbs this external temporal augment already appears in the Koine, for instance with ἀμφιβάλλω, ἀμφισβητῶ (see the online *TLG*), or ἀνέχομαι, ἐνοχλῶ; see JANNARIS 1897: 192 for more examples. For ἡπήντησαν *Dig.* G IV.877 we should perhaps read ὑπήντησαν.

θέλω ἀπογράψει (1632, Venice, MERTZIOS 1936b: 15, 53.3)

θέλει ἀπογράψει ὑπὸ χειρός του (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 1, 18.20)

ἀπογραφούμεστα (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.10)

πάντες ὑπεχαίρετισαν *Achil.* L 269 ms

θέλεις ἀνεφανιστῇ (1689, Tinos, LAMBROS 1909b: 3, 245.18)

Even ἐπι- can take the place of ὑπο-: ὄνειροεπισχέθης *Liv.* α 1567 app. crit. (N). See also BORTONE 2010: 212–13.

3.3.1 Internal Augment

3.3.1.1 Consonant-initial Verbs

3.3.1.1.1 Internal Syllabic /e/ Augment

When the verb starts in a consonant, the internal syllabic augment is placed before the verb and after the preposition(s). The most commonly employed internal augment throughout the period covered by this Grammar is /e/, which may be stressed or unstressed. With the exception of περι- and προ-, vowel-final prefixes (ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, παρ-, ὑπο-) lose their final vowel before the augment. As noted, internal augment only is more common with prefixes starting in a vowel than with those starting in a consonant, with which it is mainly found in mixed- and higher-register texts (e.g. Nikon, Glykas, Ermoniakos):

ἀπελάβαμεν NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.5; τὸν διάκονα συνεπάθησε id., *Logos* 31, 824.2

ὥσεί σκιὰ διέβηκες GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 199; ὕπαγε, παρεγνώρισες ibid. 541

ἀνέβηκα καὶ ἐκάτσα *Ptoch. I* 131; ἀπεχαίρετησαν εὐθύς ibid. 220

ἐξέβην *Eisit.* f.4r.1; διελογιζόμεν ibid. f.8r.1

κι ἀπαύτου ἀπεχαίρετησεν *Chron. Mor.* H 1567

ἀποξέβην *Dig.* E 52

ἐπεὶ συνεπασχίσετε *Liv.* E 898

καθυπέβαλον τὰ πάντα ERMON., *Ilias* 23.57

ἀν συνέβη τίποτας (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.13–14)

ἀπέλυκεν ἡ λειτουργία (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 530)

παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν (15th–16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2)

ἡ ζήλα ἐνέβην εἰς τὸν κύρην τοῦ Στύρου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 56.30

ἀπεκρίθηκα (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 43, 75.18–19); ἀπέθανε (1528, ibid. 127, 234.74)

ἐξετιμήσαν τα (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 27, 66.9)

σὰν ἐπεθύμου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.24

Μακάριος ἱερομόναχος ὑπέγραψα (1609, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 8, 4.19)

ἐνεφανιστήκασι (1656, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 2, 48.5)

ἀνταπεδώκασι NEOFYOTOS, *Achouri* 180

ἀπέβλεπεν εἰς ἀναμφίβολον τέλειον ἀφανισμόν (1693, Bucharest, LEGRAND 1903: 11, 30.12)

In the case of more than one prepositional prefix, the internal syllabic augment is sporadically placed between prefixes instead of before the verb: ἀπεκαταστήσαμεν (1246, Patmos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 63, 153.7; and 1568, Athos, PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1986: App. 4, 242.18); ἐπεὶ προεσύντυχαν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 98.19–20. In the following

example of a verb that is both compounded and prefixed, the internal augment is employed, placed between the prefix and the verb: τὰς ὑποσχέσεις σου τὰς με ὄνειροῦπεσκέθης *Liv.* α 1567 app. crit. (P).

3.3.1.1.2 Internal Syllabic /i/ Augment

The stressed and unstressed internal syllabic /i/ augment can be found in a broad geographical area with certain verbs, such as φέρ(ν)ω and prefixed forms of βαίνω and βάλω (cf. simple verbs), but is quite rare with other verbs:²⁹

τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς προσήφερες ἐκκλησίᾳ (1012, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 17A, 198.12)

προσήφερεν (1142, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 7, 75.44)

ἀναφορὰν ἀνήφερεν *Liv.* E 3928

ὀλίγον ἐπανήφερεν *Liv.* V 3358

ἀν ἐπανήφερεν μικρόν *Liv.* α 3577

ἐπανήφεραν ἐτούτους *Ermon. Ilias* 22.364

καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον–ὀλιγόν προσήφερέ με ἡ τύχη *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1212

απείν ακροσυνήφερεν *Apoll. Rim.* 351

ἀνήφεραν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 321

καὶ ἀνήβαινεν ἡ προίκα του *Dig.* E 1077

ἐξήβαινα *Ptoch. IV* 147 app. crit. (C)

ἀνήβηκα *Liv.* V 2126; ὀλίγον παρεξήβημεν *ibid.* 2800

ἐξήβαιναν *Pol. Tr.* 221 app. crit. (A); ἀνήβηκεν *ibid.* 624 app. crit. (A)

ἀνήβην εἰς τὰ νέφη *Poulol.* 412

ἀνήβηκεν *Chron. Mor.* P 1489

ἐξῆβα χθές (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 144.1d–2d)

καὶ ἄλλες ἀνηβαίνασιν *Alosis* 1003

ἐξήβαλεν γυναικες καὶ παιδιά *Chron. Mor.* H 1470

ἐξήβαλε *Pol. Tr.* 574 app. crit. (ABE)

ἐξήβαλεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς *Achil.* O 284

τὰ ἅγια ἐξήβαλαν *Moirol. Konst.* 45

ἀνήβασάν τους εἰς τόπον ὑψηλόν *Diig. Alex.* E 241.12 (Lolos)

ἐξήβαλε τὸ κουκκὶ τὴν φακὴν *Vios Aisop.* D 221.11

πῶς ἐγινέτον | κι ἀνηχωρήσετε ἀπὸ ἐμᾶς *Chron. Mor.* H 5175–6

ἐξήσπασαν *Poulol.* 321 app. crit. (A)

In texts from regions that display mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i] the unstressed /i/ augment is likely to be phonological (see I, 2.5.4, and cf. simple verbs, 3.1.2.3): ἐξηπατώθηκαν πρόβατα καὶ γιλάδια (1755, Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 179, 205, f.276a.5) (cf. γιλάδια for γελάδια).

²⁹ Regions where the stressed /i/ augment with simple verbs is regular (see 3.1.2.2) show a clear preference for external /e/ augment when the verb is prefixed with a consonant-initial preposition or for no augment when the preposition is vowel-initial. The internal augment is mainly used with verbs that have a formulaic character, such as ὑπογράφω (as noted by BAKKER 1988/89: 321, fn. 91 regarding Varouchas, e.g.: ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης Ὀλόκαλος, νοτάριος ὑπὸ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας, παρακληθεὶς ὑπέγραψα (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 18, 60.11).

3.3.1.2 Vowel-initial Verbs

3.3.1.2.1 Internal Temporal /i/ Augment

When the verb starts in /a/ or /e/, the internal temporal augment /i/ may be employed as a rule for some verbs (ἐπαίρ(ν)ω (aor. act.), ὑπάγω (aor.), ὑπάρχω and aorists of verbs with monosyllabic stems, such as εἶδα, εἶπα, ἦλθα); with other verbs the temporal augment appears mainly in early and mixed- to higher-register texts:

ὥς ἀπῆγα εἰς τοὺς αὐθέντας μου (ca. 1310, Athos?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 43.XXI, 254.109)
ἀφότου ἐγὼ ἀποεἶδα *Chron. Mor.* H 2413; ἐπῆραν τὸν κ' ὑπήγασιν *ibid.* 5871; ἀπῆλθεν *ibid.* 8590

προσῆλθε εἰς τὸν πατέρα του *Dig.* E 743; ὑπήγασιν *ibid.* 1346

ἀπῆλθεν ἡ μαστόρισσα *Pol. Tr.* 478

ἀπῆγαν εἰς τὰ Βασιλικά (15th c. [ms], Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.50.9)

ἐπῆρεν ἀποῦ τὰ<ς> χεῖρας (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1988: 1, 233.7)

ὥς προσεῖδεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1140; παρῆλθεν τόπους ἱκανοὺς *ibid.* 1473

ραβδέες καλὲς ἐπῆραν *Achil.* O 565

ἐπῆραν τὸν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 32.25

ὥς ὑπῆγα στὸ σπῖτιν του *Spanos* D 165

καὶ ἐπῆρανέ τα (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 37.II, 302.20.7)

ἐπῆρεν κουρφά ἡ Παντοσυλία (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 1, 3.10)

ὁποῦ ὑπῆγα ἐκεῖ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 328.32

επῆρε το χρυσάφι ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 54.4; λοιπὸν ἀπῆλθασιν *ibid.* 110.3

ὑπήγαμεν (1548, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 2, 38.11)

ἐπῆραμεν (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 393.27)

ἐπῆρα τοὺς σκλάβους (1570, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.5)

ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Ρώμην *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 57

πόση χαρὰ τ' ἀντρογυνοῦν ἐπῆραμεν ἀντάμι *Thysia Avr.* 385

ὡς ἀνωθεν προεῖπα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 1683

παρήκουσεν, ὥς ἔοικε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 566; σήμερον κατήγαγεν εἰς Ἄδην *ibid.* 567

τὰ τέκνα κατηλέησε *Dig.* G II.107 (< κατελεῶ); τὴν ἑαυτῆς κατησπάζετο νύμφην *ibid.* IV.853

πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα κατηκολούθει τοῦτον *Diig. Alex.* M 3078; Πῶρος γὰρ κατηνάγκασεν *ibid.* 4694

κατήντησαν τὰ ἀδελφάτα εἰς ἐμέ (1389, Thessaloniki, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 49, 266.6–7)

κατήντησαν τὰ πράγματα *Liv.* V 2082

εἰς Ταρσὸν κατήντησα τὸ κάστρον *Velth.* 515

οὐδὲν παρήλλασσε *Pol. Tr.* 14329

παρηκολούθησεν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 76.21

ἐπήκουσέν του *Vios Aisop.* D 213.41 (< ἐπακούω)

Certain verbs, such as ἐπαίρ(ν)ω, ὑπάγω and prefixed forms of ἔρχομαι, almost always retain the internal augment in the aorist indicative. Examples in which the internal augment of these verbs is absent are rare:

τὸ πρῶτον μου τὸ ριζικὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἤπαιρε τό μου *Spaneas* Z 494 app. crit.

ῥπαγε καὶ ἐπολέμισεν (1624, Skopje?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 72A, 560.2.1); ἤπαρεν τὴν

Ἀνδριανούπολιν (*ibid.* 560.3.1–2)

Contrary to the simple verb, prefixed forms of ἔχω usually do not retain the internal augment (see 3.3.2.1.1). Examples in which the /i/ augment is retained are quite rare: ὅσων εἰσπεριείχετο *Pol. Tr.* 13095; ἅσπερ κατεῖχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2875.

3.3.1.2.2 Internal Syllabic /e/ Augment

Sporadically the initial vowel of the verb is replaced by the augment:³⁰ εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἐπέφηκα *Velis*. χ 383 (< ἐπ-αφήνω); ἀνεστορήθη (1593, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 1, 13.1) (< ἀν-ιστορῶ).

3.3.1.2.3 Double Internal Augment

Double internal /e/ or /i/ augment may occur when the verb is prefixed with multiple prepositions, though it is not very common:

τὲς ἀράδες ἀπεδιέβηκε *Pol. Tr.* 940 app. crit. (X)
 ἐξηγηλλάγην [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2107; ἐξηγηλλάγην *ibid.* 2540 (both from
 ἐξαναλλάσσομαι)
 ὁ Πάρις ἐπηνύφερεν *Byz. Il.* 449 (< ἐπαναφέρω)
 καὶ ἀπεκατέστησαν (1573, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 9, 62.8); ἀπεκατέστησαν (*ibid.*
 22, 78.9)

3.3.2 External Augment

3.3.2.1 Consonant-initial Prefixes

3.3.2.1.1 External Syllabic /e/ Augment

When the prefix starts in a consonant the external augment is normally /e/:

ἐπαρακλήθημεν (1095, S. Italy/Sicily?, GUILLOU 1963: 2, 50.23)
 κ' ἐπαρακάλεσέ τον *Chron Mor.* H 1570
 ἐπαραβραδιάστημαν *Dig.* E 338; ἐπεριλάβασιν *ibid.* 480; ἐπροδράμαμεν *ibid.* 512
 ἐσυμπονέσετέ με *Rim. than.* 91
 ἐπροφήτευσεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.17–18; ἐκατοικοῦσαν *ibid.* 335.22;
 ἐσυφωνήσαμε (1547, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: I, 70.4)
 ἀλλὰ δὲν ἐμετανοήσαμεν DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 13, μ6ν.34 (1561)
 ἐδιορθῶσαν (1573, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 9, 62.7–8)
 ἐπαρακαλέσασιν τονε (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.9)
 τὸν ἐκαθοδηγήσαμεν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 187
 ἐσυγκοιμήθη (1606, Corfu, KARADOCHOS 1990: 35, 250.18)
 ἐξετελειώθηκε (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 82.130) (< ξετελειώνω)
 ἐπαραλαφρώθηκε MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 168
 ἐσυμβιβάστησαν ἀναμεταξύ τως (1630, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1993: 1, 289.8)
 τους εκατούρει όλους IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 169
 ἐσυγκρίναμε (1675, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 39, 65.16)
 ἔματαπάντρεψε (1683, Corfu, KARADOCHOS 1990: 56, 266.24); ἐσυναναστρεφότουε (*ibid.*
 275.37–8)
 ἐπατρατρέλλανέ με NEOFYOTOS, *Achouri* 77
 τὰ ἐξανακτίσανε (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 20, 55.3)

³⁰ An early example of the initial vowel being superseded by the internal /e/ augment (in this case ἀπόλλυμι) can be found in a 7th-c. satirical song sung by the Demes in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in AD 609–10, quoted from John of Antioch (7th c.) in the Chronicle of Theophanes (early 9th): πάλιν τὸν νοῦν ἀπέλεκας Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 296.27 app. crit. (ed. De Boor) (all mss but one (M), which reads ἀπόλεκας) (for the song see also MAAS 1912; for the κ-aorist see 2.2.1.10).

When the verb form in its simple form would have had a stressed augment, and when this augment is omitted when the verb is prefixed, the verb's stress shifts to the prefix:

- ἐπρόσταξεν (1108–9, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 29, 136.48)
 ὃν ἐπερίλαβα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 15.46)
 ἐπρότρεψα *Jonas* 216.93
 κ' ἐδιάβη τὴν ὁδὸν του *Chron Mor.* H 1567
 τὴν ἐχρονία ἀπού ἐδιάβη (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.7)
 ἐπαράδωσεν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 4, 42.4)
 ἐπερίλαβα (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.3)
 ἐπαράλαβα (1518, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 13, 57.17)
 ἐκατάφαγεν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 1.7
 ἐπερίλαβεν (1533, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 3, 116.26); ἐπαράλαβεν (1535, *ibid.* 4, 120.18)
 αὐτὸς τὸν ἐπρόδωσεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 433.26
 μᾶς ἐπρόσφεραν (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 10, 63.11)
 ἐδιάλεξεν κάποιας μερίδας *Vios Aisop.* D 222.20
 ἐξανάπα pro ἐξαναιῖπα GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *replicare*; ἐμετάπα & μεταεῖπα *ibid.* s.v. *riferire*
 καὶ τὸν ἐκατάκοψαν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 61.27; ἐπαράλυε *ibid.* 93.2
 ἐπρόσφευγαν ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §29.91
 μὲ ἐξανάκραξε (1682, Naxos, ΣΙΦΟΝΙΟΥ-KΑΡΑΠΑ et al. 1982/83: 611, 844.1)

Prefixed forms of ἔχω (κατέχω, περιέχω, προσέχω) usually take external augment only, forms with internal /i/ augment being quite rare (for examples see 3.3.1.2.1; for unaugmented forms of ἔχω as a simple verb see 3.1.4.4):

- νὰ ἐπρόσεχες *Liv.* V 1790
 ὅσον περιέχε ἐξ ἀρχῆς (16th c., Constantinople, PREGER 1912: 468.7)
 δὲν ἐκατέχασιν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 273.11
 οὔτε ἀπὸ μάθημα ἐμέτεχεν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 61.17
 δὲν ἐκατέχαμεν πότες βραδιάζει *Diig. Sant.* 57.54

In texts from Chios, Rhodes, the Heptanese and especially Cyprus, we find past-tense forms that begin with ἐξη-. The morpheme ἐξη- originates from the internal temporal augment of verbs prefixed with ἐκ- (e.g. ἐξαλείφω, ἐξήλειψα) and was reanalysed as a prefix ξη-, which is also used with other word classes (see introduction to this Chapter), and then spread to consonant-initial verbs as well. The following forms, therefore, do not have internal /i/ augment, but are in fact prefixed with ξη- and have external syllabic /e/ augment:³¹

- ἐξηρίζωσεν (1433, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 29, f.35r.2)
 μὲ ἐξησκέπασε (1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 14, 79.6)
 ἐξηρίζωσεν πολλὰ δεντρά MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.19–20; ἐξηφορτώσαν *ibid.* 154.5;
 ἐξηψύχισεν *ibid.* 272.3; ἐξηπόρτισεν *ibid.* 386.23
 καὶ ἐξήλειψέ τα (app. crit.) (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.II, 212.18.5)
 ἐξηλείπττην τὸ νησὶν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.29–30
 ἐξηστρώναν *Dig.* A 2012

³¹ For the form ἐξησπάσθη in *Diig. Alex.* E 107.12 (Lolos) and 117.19–20 we should most probably read ἐκυσπάσθη (< ἐκυσπάζομαι); cf. ὁκάτι ὡς ἡκροεκσύσπαζε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 51.

εξησκεπάσθη ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 126.4

ἐξισκεπάσθη ἡ γῆς ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 191.19, 191.28–9 and 191.31

ὅταν τὴν ἐξηγύμνωναν *Thrinus Konst.* (Zoras) 128

3.3.2.1.2 External Syllabic /i/ Augment

External syllabic /i/ augment with a prefixed verb occurs in the following examples from the Cyclades (cf. simple verbs in the same area, 3.1.2.2):³² τὸ ἡδιάταξεν (1664, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 3, 20.7); ἡπερίλαβεν τὰ ἄνωθεν ρεάλια (1670, Paros, ALIPRANDIS/SYMEONIDIS 1985: 129.13).

3.3.2.2 Vowel-initial Prefixes

3.3.2.2.1 External Syllabic /e/ Augment

The external syllabic /e/ augment may replace the initial vowel of the prefix in texts from various, mainly southern, areas:

ὥς ἐφηγεῖτον *Log. parig.* 51

ἐπόθανες *Dig.* E 121 app. crit.; ἐπάντεχεν *ibid.* 167; ἀμιράδας ἐπόταξεν *ibid.* 1613 app. crit.

ἐπαρνήθηκεν *Liv.* E 3137; ἐφηγήσατο τὸ ὄνειρον τῆς κόρης *ibid.* 4117

γένεια οὐκ ἐπόκτησεν *Spanos D* 113

ἐπάμπωσε *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 113 transcr. (Lendari) (< ἀπαμπώθω)

ἐντιστάθη τὸν καστελάνον (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1988: 1, 234.22)

ἐπάντεχεν ὁ καλὸς αὐθέντης *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 44.13

ἐποπληρώθηκα (1535, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 152, 157.4); ἐποπληρώθημαν (1538, *ibid.* 175, 176.6)

ἐπαντέχαμε (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.7)

ἐπόγραφα (1583, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 28, 169.10); ἐπόκοφεν (1597, *ibid.* 41, 188.6)

καὶ ἐφιέρωσε το (17th c.?, Amorgos?, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 2167, f.2.2)

ἐποκοιμούσου *Thysia Avr.* 423

τὸ ἐπόκοφαν (1639, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1993: 3, 293.5)

ἐπόθανε καὶ αὐτὸς *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 129.3

δὲν ἐποκότουν ποτὲ νὰ γράψω (1643, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 4, 98.14–15) (< ἀποκοτῶ)

ἐπογενήκετε (1650, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: (2), 29.2)

ἐποξεχάσα *Rim. Sant.* 165

ἐποφάσισαν (1667, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 10, 25.26)

³² In texts from regions that display mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i], an unstressed /i/ augment would most probably be phonetic (see I, 2.5.4). No examples have, however, been found in the texts examined, as even texts that do display raising of /e/ to [i] elsewhere tend to retain the unstressed /e/ augment, at least in writing, as the following example from Papasynadinos demonstrates: ἐπικυκλώσεν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §36.56 (= ἐπερικύκλωσεν).

3.3.2.2 External Temporal/Syllabic /i/ Augment

As noted above, verbs with prefixes starting in /a/ or /e/ may adopt an unhistorical temporal /i/ augment in early mixed-register texts. However, in later texts, and especially in texts that employ the unstressed /i/ augment with simple verbs as well (see the examples from Mykonos; see also 3.1.2.2), this /i/ is more likely to be a syllabic augment. In the case of the prefix ἀπο-, a certain degree of confusion with ὑπο- may also be suspected (cf. e.g. ἀπογράφω for ὑπογράφω, see 3.3):

/a/ > /i/

εἶς ἄλλον ἠνενδράνισεν *Liv.* S 2684 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
καὶ πάλιν ἡμφιβάλλετο [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2280
ὅτι ἡπόκτησες υἱόν *Diig. Alex.* F 106.4 (Lolos), *Diig. Alex.* E 107.3 (Lolos) and *Diig. Alex.* V 27.12
ἡποφάσισεν (1662, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 6, 56.38)
ἔκρινε καὶ ἡποφάσισε (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 1, 18.19)
ἡποφάσισεν (1665, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 2, 13.28)

/e/ > /i/

In texts from regions that display mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i] the unstressed /i/ augment is very likely to be phonological (see I, 2.5.4):³³

ἡπιλάλησεν ὁ Μουσηῆς (15th c., Mesimvria?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 29, 215.7.1); ἡπιλάλησαν
οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὴν Πόλιν (ibid. 215.11.1–2)
κλύδωνας τοὺς ἡπίπεσεν *Chron. Toc.* 29; ἡπίτυχεν ibid. 3238
ἡπιλάλησε *Dig.* T 1260

3.3.3 Double Augment

3.3.3.1 Consonant-initial Verb with Consonant-initial Prefix

3.3.3.1.1 Internal and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

When both the verb and the prefix are consonant-initial, internal and external syllabic /e/ augment can be found before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar in texts from north to south and from east to west:

ἐπεριεπολεύσαμεν (1016, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 3, 49.25–6)
ἐπροσέφυγα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.22; ἐπαρεχωρήθημεν id., *Logos* 9 312.22
ἐπαρεκάλεσεν (1108–9, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 29, 136.48)
ἐπροεκάθητον (1288, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 227.10); ἐπαρέδωκεν
(ibid. 227.14)
ἐκατεμεριζόμεν *Eisit.* f.8r.2
ἐπροσεθήκαμεν (1375, Ioannina, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 146, 104.36)
ἐπροέδωσα (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 183.21)
καὶ πάλιν ἐδιέγερνα SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 138
ἐκατέλαβαν (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 25, 199.1.1)
ἐπαρεπονόμουν *Anon. Naupl.* 61

³³ Cf. the following non-past examples: τὸν ἡπιλάλη *Chron. Toc.* 470; νὰ ἡπιλαλοῦν ibid. 3689.

σὰν ἐπροέγραψές μας (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.13)
 ἐσυνέβαλαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §24.8
 ἐκατεστρώθη ἡ παρούσα μου διάθεσις (1653, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 3, 144.19)
 ἐπροέγραψα (1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 10, 85.10); ἐδιέβαλε (ibid. 86.12)
 ἐσυνεφώνησε (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 5, 5.1)
 ἐπαρεκάλεσεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 496; ἐπερεχύθη *ibid.* 738
 ἐκατέγδυσε *Don Kis.* 46.14; ἐσυνέβη *ibid.* 142.26

3.3.3.1.2 Internal Syllabic /i/ Augment and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

When both the verb and the prefix are consonant-initial, internal syllabic /i/ and external syllabic /e/ augment may be employed. The internal /i/ augment has a broad geographical distribution for certain verbs, such as φέρ(ν)ω and prefixed forms of βαίνω and βάλλω (cf. simple verbs 3.1.2.1), but it occurs only rarely with other verbs:³⁴

μ' ἐπροσήφερεν *Chron. Mor.* H 3973
 ἐσυνήφερεν *Liv.* V 3131
 ἐπροσήφερον *Pol. Tr.* 12051 app. crit. (BCV)
 ἐσυνήφερεν *Achil.* N 1753
 ἐκατήφερεν *Peri xen.* 16 app. crit. (A)
 ὁ φθόνος μ' ἐκατήφερεν *Velis.* χ 142 and *Velis.* ρ 225
 μόλις ἐσυνήφερεν *Achil.* N 1753
 ἐσυνήφερα ἀπὸ τὴν λιγομάρα *Love poems* 575
 μέ βίαν τὸ ἐσυνήφερεν *Diig. Alex.* E 121.16–17 (Lolos)
 σ' λιγάκιν ἐσυνήφερε CHORTATISIS, *Erof.* V.143
 ἐκατήβησαν *Pol. Tr.* 911 app. crit. (A)
 ἦλθεν καὶ ἐκατήβηκεν PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 80
 ἐκατήβημαν ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 208 app. crit.
 ἐκατήβαιναν ἀπὸ τον παράδεισον *Diig. Alex.* K 368.31
 τὸ Πνεῦμα ὅπου ἐκατίβαινε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 1.10
 ἐκατηβάσασι *Pol. Tr.* 1843 app. crit. (A)
 ἐκατήβασάν τον *Chron. Toc.* 630; οὕτως τὴν ἐκατήβασαν *ibid.* 2959
 τὸ ἐριζικὸν μὲ ἐκατίβασεν *Diig. Alex.* E 297.25 (Lolos)
 ἐκατίβασε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 15.46
 ἐπαρηχωροῦσαν *Ptoch.* IV 146
 ἐπροήγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.9)
 ἐσυνήπαψαν *Rim. Sant.* 782
 τὴν ἄνωθε σεντένζα ὅπου ἐπροήκαμαν (1710, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 100, 110.15–16)

When the preceding word ends in a vowel the unstressed augment of the following verb may be deleted through aphaeresis. This does not necessarily mean that the form has internal augment only, just that /e/, being a weak vowel (see I, 2.9.2), is displaced by the

³⁴ In the areas where the stressed /i/ augment is generally employed with simple verbs (E. Crete and the Aegean, see 3.1.2.2), there is a clear tendency to use only external syllabic /e/ augment when the verb is prefixed with a prefix starting in a consonant (see 3.3.2.1), or no augment when the prefix starts in a vowel (see 3.3.4.1).

preceding vowel. When the preceding word ends in /e/, it is mostly a matter of editorial choice whether to regard the /e/ as belonging to the previous word or to the verb:

καθώς καὶ προεῖπα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 208.15
 καὶ προσεκύνησέν σε *Eisit.* f.4r.1–2
 καὶ κατεθάρρησέ με *Liv.* S 195 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 τὸ παρηχώρησεν *Peri xen.* 119
 τὸ κατήφεραν *Bergadis, Apok.* V 51
 ὡς γοιὸν τὸ προεῖπαμεν *Machairas, Chron.* V 456.18
 καὶ παρεκάλεσε (1572, Kefalonia, *Vayonakis et al.* 2008: 17, 71.13)
 τὰ ψεύματα παρήλθαν *Ioakeim Kypr., Pali* 346

3.3.3.2 Consonant-initial Verb with Vowel-initial Prefix

3.3.3.2.1 Internal Syllabic /e/ Augment and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

Several examples have been found of verbs with a vowel-initial prefix that are augmented with both internal and external syllabic /e/. This possibility renders the prefix opaque, and clearly leads to a certain degree of confusion, especially between ἀπο- and ὑπο-, and ἀνα- and ἐν- (see the introduction to 3.3):

αὐτοὶ ἐπεκρίθησαν (1244, S. Italy, *Trinchera* 1865: 294, 413.27) (< ἀποκρίνομαι)
 ἐπεγράφη καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν (1288, Kos, *Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou* 1980: 75, 228.33) (< ὑπογράφω)
 ἐντέλλαξεν (1397, Pontos, *Ouspensky/Bénéchévitch* 1927: 81, 48.4) (< ἀνταλλάσσω)
 ἐπεξέβηκα *Dig.* E 1441 (ἀποξεβαίνω < ἀποεκβαίνω)
 καὶ ὅταν ἐπεφάγασιν *Achil.* L 1072 (< ἀποτρῶγω)
 ἐπεχαιρέτισαν *Achil.* O 181 (< ἀποχαιρετίζω)
 ἐπελησμόνησες *Katal.* 388 (< ἀπολησμονῶ)
 ἐπέστειλεν *Pent. Gen.* 8.8 (< ἀποστέλλω)
 ἐνέλαβεν *Krasop.* V 109 (< ἀναλαμβάνω)
 ἐνεχώσασιν καὶ ἕνα λείψανον (17th c., Crete, *Spanakis* 1971: [1], 183.112) (< ἀναχώνω)
 Νεόφυτος ἱερομόναχος ἐπέγραψα (1609, Patmos, *Papadooulos/Florendis* 1990: 8, 4.20)
 Λάζαρος ἐνεστάθη *Rim. Sant.* 25 (< ἀνίσταμαι); ἐνεβῆκαν *ibid.* 754 (< ἀναβαίνω)

Sometimes double augment may occur in simple verbs, when they are thought to be prefixed: ἐνέγκασέ μας (1487, Rhodes, *Lefort* 1981: 17, 91.6) (< ἀναγκάζω); ἐγανέκτησες (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, *Lehfeldt* 1989: 144.3d) (< ἀγανακτῶ).

3.3.3.2.2 Internal Syllabic /e/ Augment and External Temporal /i/ Augment

As noted above, verbs prefixed with prepositions starting in /a/ or /e/, and especially ἀνά, may have an unhistorical temporal augment. This augment appears mainly in early mixed-register texts:

ἡνεθεμάτισαν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 44.4; ἡνεπευόμην *id.*, *Logos* 4 206.13 app. crit. (S); ἡντεστάθην *id.*, *Logos* 9 314.5–6
 τινὲς δὲ τῶν χιρεκάκων ἡνέφεραν τὸν αὐθέντην μου (ca. 1270, Athos, *Bompaire* 1964: 9A, 80.31)

ἦν ἠνέφερεν εἰς τὴν κραταῖαν ... βασιλείαν σου (1288, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 227.5–6) (< ἀναφέρω)
 ἠνεσηκώθη *Log. parig.* L 602 (< ἀνασηκώνομαι)
 ἠνέβαζεν *Samuel gloss.* f.1v, lower margin; ἠντέβαλλον *ibid.* f.2v, l. 13 supralinear³⁵
 ἠνέταζαν (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.6) (< ἀνατάζω)
 ἠνέφεραν (1358?, Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.1)
 ἠνεφέραςιν *ERMON., Ilias* 13.80; ἠνεπαύοντο *ibid.* 13.103
 ἠνέστρωσεν [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 1989 (< ἀναστρώνω)

The following example: ἠπέλυκεν (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1411) is likely to be the result of mid-vowel raising (ἀπολύω, ἐπέλυκεν > ἠπέλυκεν, see I, 2.5.4), or confusion of the prefixes ἀπό and ὑπό (ὑπέλυκεν), which is not uncommon (cf. e.g. ἀπογράφω for ὑπογράφω see the Introduction to 3.3).

In the following examples the augment is syllabic rather than temporal, as in the period under review the temporal augment is no longer a functional process; texts from Mykonos display wide use of the syllabic /i/ augment with simple verbs as well (see above 3.1.2.2): ἠνεφανιστήκασι (1662, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 6, 55.4); ἠνεφανιστήκασιν (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 1, 18.7); ἠνεφανιστήκασι (*ibid.* 2, 19.6) (< ἐμφανίζομαι).

Occasionally double augment may occur in a simple verb, when it is thought to be prefixed: καὶ ὁ πόθος σου μὲ ἠνέγκασεν *Dig.* E 362 (< ἀναγκάζω ≠ ἀνα-γκάζω).

3.3.3.3 Vowel-initial Verb with Consonant-initial Prefix

3.3.3.3.1 Internal Temporal /i/ and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

These augments occur routinely with some verbs (παρακούω, καταντῶ and prefixed aorist forms of ἐπαίρ(ν)ω and of verbs with monosyllabic perfective stems, such as εἶδα, εἵπα, ἦλθα); but with other verbs the combination occurs mainly in mixed- to higher-register texts:

ἐπροσεῖχα *NIKON, Logos* 19 576.2
 ἐπαρῆλθον ἐνιαυτοὶ τριακόντα (1244, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 294, 412.35)
 πολλὰ μὲ ἐκατεῖπες *Diig. tetr.* 741
 ἀπείν ἐσυνεπῆρα *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 115 (< συνεπαίρ(ν)ω)
 ἐπροεῖπα (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.74)
 ἐπαρήκουσαν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 165.39; δὲν τὰ ἐπροεῖπαν μόνον προφήτες *ibid.* 386.9–10
 ἐπροεῖπα (1548, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 41, 71.18)
 ἐσυνῆλθαμεν συμβιβαστικῶς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 99, 98.7)
 ἐπαρήκουσες τὴν ἐντολὴν *DAM. STOD., This., Logos* 24, A1r.1–2 (1561); ἐκατήντησαν *ibid.*, *Logos* 7, η4v.23
 ὅπου ἐπροεῖπαμεν *PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron)* 108.13
 ἐπαρείδαμε τὰ ἔθνη *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §22.69

³⁵ Examples taken from a so far unpublished 14th-c. manuscript containing a Judaeo-Greek glossary of uncertain provenance (probably from Asia Minor). To be published in: KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming).

τοὺς ἐπροπῆρε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 20.31; ἐματᾶειδαν *ibid.* 20.34 (marginal note)
ἐπροείπαμεν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 102.25
καθὼς τὸ ἐπροεῖδα VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 317

ἐκατήρπαξε (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 306.7)
ἐπροσήγαγον *Pol. Tr.* 12051 (reading of AX)
ὅτι πολὺν βίον μοῦ ἐκατηνάλωσεν (1493, Venice, MALTEZOU 2004: 85.23–4)
ἄρα ἐπροσηύχου; (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 146.3d)
ὁμοίως ἐκατηξιώθη DAM. STOUD., *This.*, *Logos* 4, γ8v.28 (1561)
τοῦ ἐπαρήγγειλε νὰ ὑπάγη *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1572) 71; ἐκαθηρέθη *ibid.* 277
ἐσυνήχθησαν (1675, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 38, 252.14)
εμετήρχετον MARGOUNIOS, *Vioi* 273.8

Prefixed forms of the verb ἔχω usually do not retain the (internal) /i/ augment of the simple verb. Only a few examples have been found of prefixed ἔχω with double augment: τὸ καλύβιον ὅπερ ἐπροεῖχεν ἀγοράσει (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 18, 54.8); τὸ ἐπροεῖχεν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 9, 27.4–5).

3.3.3.3.2 Internal and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

This combination of augments is not very common and occurs mainly with the verb παραγγέλλω:

καὶ εἰς τόπον ἐκατέντησα *Liv.* E 905; ἐπαρέγγειλέ με *ibid.* 1375
ὅλους ἐπαρέγγειλα *Liv.* V 634; ἡ γραία ἐπαρέγγειλεν *ibid.* 2769
ἐπαρέγγειλεν *Achil.* L 176 and 1048
οὐκ ἐπαρέγγελλά σε *Katal.* 424
ὅσα σοῦ ἐπαρέγγειλα *Diig. Alex.* F 116.4 (Konstantinopulos); ἐπαρέγγειλεν *ibid.* 150.8

3.3.3.3.3 Internal Temporal /i/ and External Syllabic /i/ Augment

This combination of augments is very rare: οὐδὲν ἡπαρήκουσαν τὸν ὀρισμὸν του *Porikol.* I 117.

3.3.3.4 Vowel-initial Verb with Vowel-initial Prefix

3.3.3.4.1 Internal Temporal /i/ and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

This combination of augments may occur when the verb retains its inherited temporal /i/ augment and the initial vowel of the prefix (ὑπο-) is replaced with the syllabic /e/ augment. It occurs regularly and everywhere with the verb ὑπάγω, but only sporadically with other verbs:

ἐπήγα εἰς τὸ κοράσιον *Dig.* E 1578
ἐπήγασαν (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 209.4.2)
οὐδὲν ἐπήγα μοναχὸς *Chron. Mor.* T 6928
ἐπήγεν ἔσσω του τσαμπερλάνου VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 8.8
ἐπήγεν εἰς τὰ Χανιά μὲ δαύτονε (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 252, 347.20)

ὅς τὶ τόπον ἐπῆγες (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.16)
 ἐπήγασιν (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 26, 164.5)
 καὶ ἐπήγαμεν εἰς τὸ Ὑδωρ τῆς Ἐλέγξεως (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 336.43–4)
 ἐπῆγεν στοῦ Σκορδίλη τὸ σῶχωρο (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 853, 745.22–3)
 ἐπῆγεν εἰς τοὺς καφενέδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.6
 ἐπῆγεν τὸν Μάρτη καὶ τὸν Ἀπρίλη (1670, Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.1, 72.2)
 ἐπήγενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2872 (= ἐπῆγε, see I, 2.6.3.3)
 ἐπήγαμε εἰς τὴν Γκῶ (1701, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 14, 31.13–14)
 ἐπῆγαν εἰς τὴν Κίμουλον (1720, Folegandros, GAVALAS 1887: 513.12)
 ἐμὲ γὰρ ὡς ἐφήρπασαν ἐξαίφνης ὥσπερ λύκοι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1790³⁶
 ἐπήκουέ τους ο λαός σ' ἀπόφασιν που δίναν DEFAR., *Sos.* 72 (Holton) (< ὑπακούω)

3.3.3.4.2 Internal and External /i/ Augment

Internal and external /i/ augment appears to be lexical, as it has been found only with aorist active forms of ἐπαίρ(ν)ω. It occurs in texts from various areas, and not only areas where mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4) may be suspected (such as in the document from Sibiu and the *Chronicle of Tocco*). It is likely to be an analogical formation to ὑπῆγα, which, just like ἐπαίρ(ν)ω almost always retains its internal temporal augment, but which may also appear with internal /i/ and external syllabic /e/ augment (see 3.3.3.4.1) (ὑπῆγα > ἐπῆγα, ἐπῆρα > ἡπῆρα):

ηπήρεν το φουστάτο του *Diig. Alex.* K 315.25; τὴν Ρώμην ηπήραμεν *ibid.* 351.35
 ὅταν ἡπήρεν ἀνὴρ (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.16)
 ὅλα τοὺς τὰ ἡπῆραν *Chron. Toc.* 76
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἡπήρεν τ' ὄνομαν PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 364
 ἡπήρεν *Diig. Alex.* F 90.21 (Lolos)
 ηπήρεν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 11.1
 τὸ τί ἡπήρε εἰς τὸ ὀσπίτι (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 256.17)
 μοῦ ἡπήρανε πλιὸ παρὰ χίλια πεντακόσια φλωρία (1573, Ancona, CATALDI PALAU 2000: 2, 388.16)
 μοῦ τὰ ἡπῆραν (17th c., Epirus, MERTZIOS 1936b: 13, 51.1)
 ἡπήρε (1662, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 27, 33.10); ἡπήραμε (1672, *ibid.* 48, 46.18)
 ἡπήρι ὁ Τουκίλης (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 13, f.44r.10) (= ἡπήρε or ἐπῆρε)

3.3.3.4.3 Internal and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

This combination of augments is very rare. One example has been found:³⁷ καὶ τίς μοῦ τὸ ἐπέρπαξε τὸ ὠραιὸν μου τὸ πουλάκιν *Katal.* 381.

³⁶ If it can be assumed that the verb is ἀφαρπάζω, and not the extremely rare and semantically awkward ἐφαρπάζω (see LSJ s.v.).

³⁷ Assuming that the intended verb is indeed ἀφαρπάζω, and not the very rare ἐφαρπάζω (see LSJ s.v.).

3.3.3.5 Double External Augment

Sporadically forms with multiple prefixes may be found with double external augment, whereby the second augment is placed not before the verb but between prefixes: ἐπροεκάτεχάν τινες (1431, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXIX, 290.9); ἐπροησυμβιβάσθησαν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 27, 61.10). In the following example of a prefixed compound verb the internal augment is placed between the prefix and the modifier: ἐσυνεκακοπάθαινε RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 66.18.

3.3.4 Absence of the Augment

3.3.4.1 Vowel-initial Prefix

Absence of any form of augment with forms prefixed with a vowel-initial preposition occurs throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

- ἀφιέρωσαν (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 306.10); ἀφαιρέθη (1225, *ibid.* Coll. IX: 31, 449.15)
 ἀνάτειλες ὡς φέγγος GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 200
 ἀπογλύτωσαν τὰ τοιοῦτα κς' βιβλία (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.9)
 ἀναγύριζά σας *Dig.* E 168; ἀνατράφην *ibid.* 724; ἀπολησμώνησες *ibid.* 848
 ἀπολογήτην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.26; ἀποχαιρέτησάν τον *ibid.* 52.3
 ἀμφίβαλλεν την υπανδρείαν *Diig. Apoll.* 39
 καὶ ἀπεχεν ἀπὸ πάσα πράγμα *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.3–4
 τὸ ἀνάνθρωπον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.29; ἀνάφεραν *ibid.* 350.16; ὑπόγραψαν *ibid.* 351.35
 ἀποπουλήθη (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 22, 100.11); ἀναστῆσαν τηνε (*ibid.* 22, 100.17)
 ἀποφασίσασμε (1573, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 9, 62.7–8)
 ἀπόκοψαν (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 26, 164.15)
 ἀπιλογήθηκεν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 116
 διατὶ ἀμφίβαλλες; KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.31
 ὑποσχέθησαν (1592, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 30, 245.38); ἀνάκραξε (1685, *ibid.* 68, 275.40)
 ἐγὼ τοῦ ἀποκρίθην (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.15); ἀφιέρωσαν (*ibid.* 57.18)
 τὰ ὄρ' ἀντιδονοῦσαν *Thrinios Kypr.* 60

When the prefix starts in /e/ the loss of augment is apparent only, as the initial /e/ can easily be reanalysed as an augment. In fact, with certain verb forms, such as ἐπιλάλησεν, ἐγγαστρώθηκα, ἐγδέχοντα it is not certain whether they constitute past-tense forms of ἐπιλαλῶ, ἐγγαστρῶνω and ἐγδέχομαι, or of πιλαλῶ, γγαστρῶνω, and γδέχομαι:

- ἐγκαλέσαμεν (1128, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 13, 97.5)
 ἔκδωκεν πληρεστάτην ἀπόφασιν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 25.183)
 ἔντρεψα *Dig.* E 150; ἐπιλάλησεν *ibid.* 1275
 καὶ ἐπίκατζε τὸ ἀκάνθιν *Vulgärorakel* I.219
 ἐξεῦρε τέχνας φοβεράς *Pol. Tr.* 274 app. crit. (X)
 τὸ παρὸν λιγατογράμμα ἐφανίσθη καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς (1415, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 123, 92.31)
 τὴν δόξαν μου ἐπιμελήθητε *Defit. Par.* 135
 ἐκδέχετον *Velis.* χ 111

ἐκλεξεν (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 2, 81.14)
 σὲ ἐγγαστρώθηκα BAROZZI, *Letter* 358.7
 ἐγδέχονται νὰ ἀκούσωσι *Leilasia Par.* 160

The same may be said of verbs that start in /e/, in which the initial /e/ may easily be viewed as an internal augment:

ἀπέλπισάν με SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 194.4
 ἀνέγειρεν (1225, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 31, 450.17)
 ἀνεγέρθη (1593, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 1, 13.1)
 ὅσα μοῦ προετοίμασε *Rim. Sant.* 44

3.3.4.2 Consonant-initial Prefix

When the preceding word ends in a vowel, the external syllabic augment of the following verb may be deleted by aphaeresis. This does not necessarily mean that the form is unaugmented, just that /e/, being a weak vowel (see I, 2.9.2), is displaced by the preceding vowel. If the preceding vowel is /e/, then it is often a matter of editorial choice whether to print e.g. καὶ περίμενεν, καὶ ᾽περίμενεν or κί/κ᾽ ἐπερίμενεν:

ἐνα τὸ ἄλλο οὐ συμφωνοῦσαν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 46.3 app. crit. (S)
 καὶ περίμενεν *Log. parig.* L 603; μὲ παραπίκρανες *ibid.* 617
 μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ περίτρεχεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1468
 καὶ καταφλόγισέν με DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 72
 οὐ ᾽πιλογήτην *Velis.* χ 100
 πολλὰ τοῦ σύντυχεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 91.2 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 εἰς τοῦτο προσδράμανε (1686, Tinos, LAMBROS 1909b: 1, 243.6)

Even more so than with simple verbs (see 3.1.3), unambiguous unaugmented forms of verbs with consonant-initial prefixes (at the beginning of the period or verse or preceded by a word ending in a consonant), are not very common:

παρεΐκαζες ἀνθόμοιον *Liv.* α 2541
 ὅσον περιέχε ἐξ ἀρχῆς (16th c., Constantinople, PREGER 1912: 468.7)
 παρῶν σωματικῶς συνφώνησε (1560, Corfu, KARYDIS 2004/06: 1, 48.2–3)
 πάλιν περιμαζώνετον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 348
 ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ ἄνωθε ἄρχοντες συβάστημαν (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 1, 281.1)
 ἄς κατέχαμεν *Rim. Sant.* 533
 τοὺς διαυθέντευσ *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 16.9

4 Conjugation

In the period covered by this Grammar, the middle voice, which had begun to be replaced by the passive in the Koine (HORROCKS 2010: 103), had long disappeared and only occurs in residual forms in texts belonging to mixed or higher stylistic registers (for residual middle forms see 4.9.1). Thus there are two voices: the active voice and the passive (sometimes called mediopassive). In LMedG and EMG three of the four moods remain: the indicative, the subjunctive and the imperative. There are three synthetic tenses: the present, the aorist and the imperfect, whereas the future, the perfect, the pluperfect and the future perfect are expressed periphrastically (see Chapter 5). Invariable verb forms include the infinitive and the gerund. The verb εἶμαι, which had moved over to a passive paradigm, is discussed in a separate section (4.8).

The thematic vowel /o/ in 1 pl. and 3 pl. is often replaced by /u/ in both barytone and oxytone A-stem verbs. This may be viewed in the light of the /u/-dynamic (BABINIOTIS 1972: 189–92) that is at play in parts of the verbal system. For presentational reasons, the thematic vowel is presented as part of the ending in the following descriptions.

4.1 The Present Indicative and Subjunctive

4.1.1 Barytone Verbs

By the beginning of the LMedG period, the endings of the present active subjunctive (-ω, -ης, -ῃ, -ωμε(ν), -ῃτε, -ωσι(ν)) had long fallen together with those of the present indicative (-ω, -εις, -ει, -ομε(ν), -ετε, -ουσι(ν)/-ουν) for reasons of phonetics and analogical levelling (a development that had begun in Late Antiquity, see HORROCKS 2010: 317; see JANNARIS 1897: 198–9 for examples from the New Testament onwards). Although the indicative and subjunctive clearly make use of the same set of endings, there is a tendency in modern editions to apply a historical spelling to the 2 sg., 3 sg. and 1 pl. subjunctive, even though this essentially contradicts the development of the language. Not all editors, however, choose to make this graphematic distinction.¹

The synoptic tables cover the present indicative and subjunctive endings of all barytone verbs, including vowel-stem verbs (e.g. ακούω, καμύω, μηνύω, σπάρω, τρώω). For forms of these verbs with vowel deletion see also 2.1.1.2. A separate table is given for residual

¹ In editions in monotonic the official spelling of SMG is applied (sometimes including an unhistorical spelling -οσι(ν) for the residual 3 pl. ending -ωσι(ν)), whereas in editions in polytonic three systems are in current use: (1) historical spelling of subjunctive endings with iota subscript in 2 sg. and 3 sg. and <ω> in 1 pl.; (2) the official spelling of the 1941 grammar of Triandafyllidis (historical spelling minus the iota subscript in 2 sg. and 3 sg.; (3) the official spelling of SMG, but with polytonic accentuation (sometimes without the grave).

endings of the subjunctive and endings that are traditionally spelled differently. As mentioned in the General Introduction to this Grammar, the iota subscript has been omitted in the examples. Other than that, the spelling of the modern editions of literary texts has been preserved. In examples normalized by us, 2 sg. and 3 sg. examples of the subjunctive are spelled with <ει>.

4.1.1.1 Active Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	γράφω	γράφου	γράφων
	2	γράφεις		
	3	γράφει	γράφειν	
Pl.	1	γράφουμε(ν)	γράφουμενε γράφουμε(ν)	γραφόμε(ν) γράφομαν
	2	γράφετε	γράφετεν(ε)	γράφιτε -τε
	3	γράφουσι(ν) γράφουν	γράφουσινε γράφου ! γράφουνε	γράφωσι(ν)/-οσι(ν) γράφον(ε)

For 2 pl. and 3 pl. of the present subjunctive the residual endings -ητε and -ωσι(ν) can sporadically be found. Other than that, all forms of the present subjunctive of barytone verbs are identical to those of the present indicative, although some forms are traditionally spelled differently, as shown in the following table.

		General	Restricted
Sg.	1		
	2	γράφης/γράφης	
	3	γράφη/γράφη	γράφην/γράφην
Pl.	1	γράφωμε(ν)	
	2		γράφητε
	3		γράφωσι(ν)/γράφουσι(ν)

Singular

1st Person

Sg.	1	-ω ! -ων ! -ου

The ending for 1 sg. shows very little morphological variation, before, during or after the period under investigation:

λέγω σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 312.10; εἰς ταῦτα οὐκ ἀντιτείνω id., *Logos* 31 812.34
καὶ ἐπέκεινα νομίζω *Eisit.* f.3r.4
πῶς σχολάζω καὶ ἐγώ (1337–8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.58–9)
οὐδὲν σᾶς φταίω *Chron. Mor.* H 2691; κι ὁμνύω σας ibid. 4754
πιστεύω, ἀπολησμώνησες τὰ χθεσινὰ σου λόγια *Dig.* E 848; τυλίγω το ibid. 1267
στέλνω καὶ χαβιάριν (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 86.25)
θέλω νὰ μένω ἐδῶ (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 260)
τὸ εἶτι μαθαίνω καταλεπτῶς (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.8)
ὁμοιάζω τὸν πατῆρ μου *Synax. gadar.* 148
ἀγωνίζω πῶς εἶμαι οὐδετίποτες *Fior* 77.11
δὲν στέκω νὰ διαβάζω ΖΙΝΟΣ, *Vatr.* Prol. 5
δὲ θε νὰ σοῦ τὸ χῶνω CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.342; πειράζω τη id., *Panor.* I.235
καὶ προμετάρω σου VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.24–5 (< Ven. *promèter*)
θέλομεν ἰδεῖ, λογιάζω, μικρὰν βοήθειαν (1665, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-
THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 172.12–13)
δείχνω πῶς δὲν νιώθω πόνο *Don Kis.* 47.10

Addition of final /n/ to 1 sg. is unusual: ἡ δόξα μου, ὅπου ἔχων ἀπὲ σένα *Diig. Alex.* F 280.12 (Lolos).

1 sg. forms in -ου are phonetic rather than morphological variants of -ω, the result of various processes whereby [o] becomes [u] (for details see I, 2.5.4 and 2.8.3):

δίδου καὶ στέργου (1101, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 69, 87.9)
διὰ τοῦτο λέγου (1539, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 3, 17.5); ἀφήνου ὁδιὰ τὴν ψυχὴν μου
(1562, ibid. 9, 22.3)
λέγου σου πῶς εἶναι ἐδικοί σου (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.6)
νὰ ἴχου νὰ τοῦ τὰ δίνου (1672, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 6, 323.4)
γράφου καὶ ἐγὼ ἀντιμάρτυρας (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 54, 206.5)
παρὰ νὰ δουλεύου καὶ πεινῶ (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.13); καὶ πάγου εἰς
τοῦ Τουράτσου (ibid. 51.25) (very common in this collection of letters)
ἀποδείχνου (1711, Skiathos, KARAVIDAS 2004: 1, 248.1)

2nd Person

Sg.	2	-εις/-ης/-ης

The ending for 2 sg. is /is/ before, during and after the period under investigation:

ἐκεῖ νὰ τὸ εὐρίσκης ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 310.21
ἐσὺ ἂν ἰσθήκης εἰς βουνὶν καὶ ἀπόμακρα ἐντρανίζης GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 119
λέγε με πῶς ἀκούεις *Log. parag.* L 49
τί ἔν' τὸ κλαίεις *Chron. Mor.* H 6053
ἄλλον τὸ χρῆζεις (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.15)
νὰ τοὺς παιδεύεις (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.8)
ὅταν διαγέρνης *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 157
ὁμοιάζεις σκοτεινὴν γωνίαν *Spanos* B 74
ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ μίλια γ' εὐρίσκεις τὸ ἀκρωτήριον (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 53.20)
νὰ ξέρεις ... ὅτι τὰ ἔχεις χαμένα ἂ τὰ στείλεις (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.23)

ποῖσε ὥσάν ὀρίζεις *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1214
 γιὰ ἴντα μοῦ βαρίσκεις *P&N Diath.* 3080
 ἐγὼ ἔπινα καὶ ἐσὺ μεθύεις; *Vios Aisop.* D 223.29
 ὅποτα βρίσκεις πατσάτσο, νὰ μοῦ πέβεις γραφή (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.6–7)
 διώχνεις με, μάννα, διώχνεις με *Dimotika Ivir.* XI.1
 δὲν την ἔχεις διὰ τοιαύτην ὡς καθὼς την λέγεις *Don Kis.* 103.21

3rd Person

Sg.	3	-ει/-η/-η ἰ -ειν/-ην

The 3 sg. ending shows no morphological variation, before, during or after the period under investigation:

καὶ πιάζει τὸ αὐτὸ ρυάκιον (11th c., Thebes, SVORONOS 1959: 12.23)
 εἶ τις ἂν λέγη: ψεύδεται *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 133
 κλείει σφικτὴν τὴν θύραν *Ptoch. I* 126
 εἶτα λαμβάννει (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 53.69)
 καβάλα δὲν σὲ πρέππει *Arm.* 8
 ὀρίζει, διαφεντεύει μας *Pol. Tr.* 181
 νὰ χάνει ὁ Ἄνδρέας τὸ καράβιν (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.14)
 νὰ τὰ παῖρνει (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 50, 27.5)
 φέρνει διὰ τροφήν (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.4)
 καὶ βλέππει τὸ *Achil.* L 947
 πρέππει νὰ ἡξεύρει νὰ διαβάζει καὶ νὰ γράφει (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.25–6)
 δώνει ἡγουν καὶ παραδώνει (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 25, 163.3) (for δώνω see 2.4 s.v. δίδω/δίνω)
 ἔτσι κοντινούδρει (1614, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 13, 49.14) (< Ven. *continuàr*)
 εὐθύς ἀνοίγει κάποσο ὡς ἕνα δάκτυλον *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §17.17
 καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς πασαγιάρει θυμωμένος *KONDAR., Paidēs* 763 tit. (< Ital. *passeggiare*)

However, it can be found with an added final /n/ in texts from various areas (see I, 3.7.2.1 for details):

μέλλειν δίδειν (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 309.7)
 κάτω τὴν ἀποθέτειν *Dig.* E 937 app. crit.
 μετανοήσει ἔχειν *Pol. Tr.* 186 app. crit. (VX); μέλλειν, εἰκάζω, ἔσται *ibid.* 209 app. crit. (AEX)
 σκέψω το ἂν ἀρμόζειν *Liv.* E 207; τὸ ὅλον τῆς τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνάλογον ἰστέκειν *ibid.* 2434
 οὐδὲ λογάριν ἔχειν *Spaneas Z* 241 app. crit.; δίκαιον οὐδὲν εὐρίσκειν *ibid.* 550 app. crit.
 ὅπου κηρύττειν πίστιν *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 14 app. crit.
 τὸ ἀρμελίνιν ἀρχισεν νὰ φεύγειν *Anthos Ch.* G 249.5
 οὐκ εἶπεν τί ἔν' τὸ πάσχειν *Achil.* N 663; καὶ πάλιν κατεβαίνειν *ibid.* 1403
 δὲν θέλει νὰ τὸν βλέπειν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1077 app. crit.
 κ' ἐκεῖνος θέλειν βάλειν ρεμέδα *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 12.1; θέλειν χάσειν το ρηγάτον *ibid.* 34.5
 καὶ ὑπάειν πρὸς τὴν Ρώμην *Diig. Alex.* F 176.22 (Lolos)
 νὰ ἀρχιερατεύειν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 229–30
 ἔχειν καὶ πατητήριν μέσαν (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 270, 463.27)
 νὰν τοῦ λισεντζιάρειν (1687, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 277, 257.34) (< Ven. *licenziàr*)
 οὐδεὶς γινώσκειν τὴν ἡμέραν ... τοῦ τέλους τῆς ζωῆς του (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 137.3–4)

Plural*1st Person*

Pl.	1	-ομε(ν)/-ωμε(ν) ἢ '-ομενε ἢ -όμε(ν)

For 1 pl. -ομε(ν), with and without the final /n/,² is the standard ending in both literary and non-literary MedG texts, throughout and beyond the LmedG and EMG periods:

- ὑποστήκομεν (1053, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 22, 101.9)
 ἐκεῖ γάρ, ὡς ἀκούομεν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 89
 ἔχομεν καὶ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας (1337–8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.51–2)
 νὰ τήνε ντεφεντέρωμεν καὶ νὰ τὴν μαντινίρωμεν (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.18–19)
 νὰ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτίζωμεν *Achil.* N 701
 ἐπαίρνομέν σε *Velth.* 198
 νὰ σύρνωμεν φουσσᾶτον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 971
 οὐδὲν τὸ ξεύρωμεν (1502, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 6, 29.14–15)
 κομπερμάρομεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 208, 208.27–8) (< Ven. *confermār*)
 νίκη, νίκην ἔχομεν! *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.17
 ἀπστέλνομεν (1609, Cyprus, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 20, 266.7)
 καὶ νὰ ἀκούωμεν IER. AVVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 337.5–6
 ν' ἀναβαινοκατεβαίνωμεν (1653–5, Venice, FONKIC 2000: 239, f.1v.2–3)
 δώνομέν του τα (1666, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 18, 89.6–7)
 τοὺς ἀφήνομεν (1697, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 12, 27.23)
 ἀσφαλίζομε (1008–9, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 13, 134.17); ἀποδίδομέ σοι ταύτην τὴν
 μοῆν (1101–2, *ibid.* 54, 280.9)
 καὶ ὀρίζομέ σε (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.1)
 καλῶς ἔχομε (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.8)
 δίδομε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν *Spanos* B 131
 θέλομε συντυχαίνει FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 70
 καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀκούομε *Alex. Rim.* 1673; κι ὀλπίζομε καὶ ἄπρακτος ὀπίσω θὲς γυρίσει *ibid.*
 2478
 λέγομε (1524, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 1, 15.8)
 ἀποφασίζομε (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 131, 88.7)
 τελεύγομε (1583, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 28, 168.3)
 θέλομε εἶσται κρατημένοι (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.50)
 ξεκαθαρίζομε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 53, 68.31); ἔχομε καμωμένη (*ibid.* 68.32)
 δὲν ἐβόλει νὰ διαβαίνομε (1665–76, Ioannina, VAKATSAS 1992: 3, 153.7)
 θέλομε πάγειν (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 761, 1033.10–11)

With addition of -(ν)ε the ending has been found in texts from Chios and Crete, but is likely to appear in other areas as well (see I, 2.6.3.3). The addition of -ε to endings in -ν is usually interpreted as a “protective” suffix (following JANNARIS 1897: 550), employed to preserve final /n/. However, there is a tendency to add -νε (or -νᾱ) not only to certain verb forms, but also to pronouns and adverbs that do not end in -ν, in areas such as the Heptanese, Crete,

² First attestations of the loss of final /n/, resulting in -ομε, can be found sporadically from the Koine onward (DIETERICH 1898: 249); see also I, 3.7.2.2. The ending is still present in several MG dialects (see NEWTON 1973: 191–2 for details).

the Peloponnese, Chios and other Aegean islands.³ Since 1 pl. verb forms are generally rare in non-theatrical works and in documents, it cannot be established whether these forms existed prior to the 17th c.: γράφομενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 50.1; τσ' ἄλλης φαμέγιας ἀπὸχομενε ᾽πά (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 81.76); νὰ σ' ἔχομενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 9 app. crit.; δίχως αὐτὴν δὲν πάμενε *ibid.* 391.

A shift of the stress to the penultimate has been found twice in Machairas's *Chronicle*. It cannot be excluded that these are simple writing mistakes (though cf. the aorist subjunctive, 4.2.1): προμουτιαζόμεν σας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.29; προμουτιαζόμεν σου *ibid.* 328.7.

Pl.	1	-ουμε(ν)

The ending -ουμε(ν), which in its form without final /n/ has prevailed as the most common MG ending, is usually interpreted as the result of back-vowel raising (of unstressed [o] to [u]) in the environment of a nasal, a widespread phonological phenomenon (for details see I, 2.8.3), most probably also influenced by other endings in the verbal paradigms containing /u/ (CHATZIDAKIS 1930: 95–6; ANDRIOTIS 1954 and especially NEWTON 1973: 195–9). The earliest examples of -ουμε have been found in five documents written in Rhodes, which date to the end of the 15th c.⁴ All five documents are written by the same scribe, and he uses the ending systematically; there is only one instance of -ομε in the letters: ἐλπίζομε (1486–7, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.23). The other documents in LEFORT 1981, written by different scribes, do not have forms in -ουμε. Other examples in documentary texts have been found in Crete, the Heptanese and perhaps the Cyclades.⁵ Early Modern grammarians such as Sofianos, Germano and Portius do not mention the ending -ουμε(ν) at all. The first grammar to propose it as the standard ending, and in fact the only ending, is Dimitrios Katartzis's *Γραμματική τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς γλώσσας* (1788) (DIMARAS ²1999: 229). In literature, forms in -ουμε(ν) do not seem to appear before the 16th c., and without exception alongside forms in -ομε:

θέλομε (1486–7, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.11–12; 15, 83.5 and 84.18; 17, 92.21; 18, 97.28);
 ἔχομε (*ibid.* 4, 50.9; 15, 84.18; 17, 92.21; 18, 97.26); ἀνιμένουμε (*ibid.* 9, 61.11); λέγομε το
 (*ibid.* 15, 84.12); ξέρομε (*ibid.* 15, 84.16); νὰ παίρνουμε (*ibid.* 17, 92.21)
 εἰς ἄλλον τόπον ὑπαγαίνουмен *Diig. Alex.* E 43.10–11 (Konstantinopoulos) (hapax)

³ For Chios, see the observations of Girolamo Germano: he notes the addition of -νε to verb forms and -να to adverbs and pronouns, e.g. ἐκεινά or even ἐκειανὰ for ἐκεῖ (GERMANO, *Grammar* 49–50). Cf. ὠιμένανα *Bertoldin.* 142.5; ἡ τέτοιανα δουλεία SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 167 transcr. N (Lendari).

⁴ A seemingly early example of -ουμε is to be found in a 14th-c. text from Cyprus: καὶ διαλύομε(ν) τὸν τοιοῦτον γάμον, καὶ ὀρίζωμεν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 37.142–3); this form, however, is in fact διαλυοῦμε (from διαλυῶ, not διαλύω). As the editor states in his introduction, he normalized the accentuation, which is largely absent in the manuscript (SIMON 1973: 9). For more examples of barytone verbs shifting toward the oxytone paradigm in Cypriot Greek, see 2.1.3.1.

⁵ Understandably perhaps, modern editors, with SMG in mind, are sometimes unaware of the fact that the ending -ουμε is quite rare in the EMG period. This can lead to misreadings such as the following: νὰ μὴν ἔχομε πλέον νὰ κάμωμε (1669, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 34, 58.10) (facs.) (rendered ἔχομε and κάμουμε in the ed.). Another example of -ουμε from Skyros: ἔχομε τὰ χωράφια μας ἀμοίραστα (1615, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 2, 303.15) could not be verified since no facsimiles are provided.

λαουντάρουμεν καὶ κομφερμάρομεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 208, 208.27–8); καὶ δὲν ἔχουμεν νὰ κάμωμεν πλέα τίποτας (ibid. 217α, 216.3)
 ὅτι ἐμεῖς τρώγουμεν τὰ σῦκα *Vios Aisop.* I 248.8; σκάπτουμεν τα, ποτίζουμεν τα καὶ
 βοτανίζουμεν τα ibid. 258.2
 εἰς τὴ μερσὰ ἔχουμε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 40.19)
 καὶ ὕστερον ἔχουμε καιρόν *Don Kis.* 102.21

Pl.	1	-ομαν

This ending has been found in a text of northern provenance.⁶ Dionysius's *History* was written in Athos in the late 16th c. It cannot be excluded entirely that such forms are the result of simple writing mistakes: ποὺ ἔχομαν νὰ φύγομεν; DIONYS., *Istor.* 254.35–6.⁷

2nd Person

Pl.	2	-ΕΤΕ '-ΕΤΕΝ(Ε) -ΤΕ

For 2 pl. -ετε is the standard ending in both literary and non-literary texts throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

νὰ τὸ ἐξεύρετε *Chron. Mor.* H 2692
 μὴν τὸ ἔχετε *Arm.* 74
 βλέπετε *Poulol.* 81
 νὰ ἡξεύρετε (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.8)
 νὰ φροντίζετε τὴν παιδευσίν των (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.8)
 ἡξεύρετε ὅτι ἔναι φάντασμα *Spanos* D 97; ὅσοι τὸν ἀναγνώθετε ibid. 1810
 τοῖνυν ὑπάγετε καλῶς [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 242
 ἐσεῖς φταίετε πλέον *Chron. Mor.* P 2691
 πράσσετε *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 132
 νὰ γυρεύετε *Pist. kekoim.* 19
 καὶ σεῖς, ὅπου τὰ ἀκούγετε *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 259
 μόνον ἐτοῦτο ἀναγνώθετε *LANDOS, Geopon.* 132.16
 μὴ φεύγετε, δειλοὶ καὶ ουτιδανοί! *Don Kis.* 45.24

Addition of final /n/ to 2 pl. forms has been found in texts from the Aegean (Naxos and Chios):

τὲς κλεψίης ποὺ ἔχετεν (1654, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 15, 370.18)
 καὶ μὴν τὸνε πικραίνετεν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀκριβὸς μου *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 867; ἐσεῖς καλὰ το ἔξεύρετεν
 πῶς πατρίδα καὶ ἄλλα ibid. 869; ἂν ἦν' λοιπὸν καὶ θέλετεν, γρικήσετεν καὶ τοῦτον ibid.
 2985

⁶ The following example, which occurs in an excerpt from *Don Kisotis* in KECHAYOGLU 2001: τὴν φίλιαν οἱ ποὺ ἔχομαν εἰς τὸ ἀναμεταξὺ μας *Don Kis.* 523.34, has become ἔχομε in the full edition (*Don Kis.* 131.9), without mention in the app. crit.

⁷ The following example: τί θέλω τὸν βίον, ὅπου σήμερον τὸν ἔχομεν καὶ αὔριον τὸν χάνομαν; DAM. STOUD., *This.* 13.190–1 (Delidimos) in the modern edition of Stouditis's *Thisavros* (which is based on later editions with quite a few alterations to the text) is probably not an original reading. The 1561 edition reads χάννομεν (μ8r.36).

ξεύρετεν πῶς κ' ἔνας τυφλὸς κάθετ' ἐκεῖ κοντά μας GAV. *PROS.*, *Peri Tyflou* 137; τοῦτον ποῦ βλέπετεν ἔδῳ *ibid.* 179

Forms in -τενε, with addition of -(ν)ε, have been found in texts from Chios but are very likely to have had a wider geographical spread (Heptanese, Crete, other islands in the Aegean, see I, 2.6.3.3). Since 2 pl. verb forms are generally rare in non-theatrical works and in documents, it cannot be established whether these forms existed prior to the 16th/17th c.:

γράφετενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 50.1; κάμετενε *ibid.* 55.24
 μοῦ γράφετενε εἰς τὴν γραφὴν σας (1666, Rome, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 11, 115.1) (author from Chios)
 πῶς δὲν κλαίτενε KONDAK., *Paides* 999
 ποῦ πάτενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 339

The ending -ητε for -ετε is not necessarily an instance of the residual subjunctive ending (see below), but can also be the result of mid-vowel raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4). Especially if a text also displays the phenomenon in other words (e.g. Μακιδόνες), and if it normally uses -ετε for both the indicative and the subjunctive, as is in fact the case with *Alexander* K, -ητε is more likely to be a phonetic variant of -ετε (note that διώχνητε is an indicative); it would therefore perhaps be preferable to spell it with <ι> rather than <η>: διατί εσεῖς άνεμον διώχνητε; *Diig. Alex.* K 362.34; να το ηξεύρητε καλά, εσεῖς Μακιδόνες *ibid.* 369.20–1.

Sometimes syncopated forms occur (see also I, 2.7.2): θέλτε SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 147.

Pl.	2	-ητε

The residual subjunctive ending -ητε is quite rare in texts of the period under review, rarely appearing more than once in the same text. It is conspicuously absent even from texts with archaizing tendencies such as *Digenis* G and *Kallimachos* (cf. the aorist subjunctive 4.2.1, which is used routinely in a variety of mixed- and higher-register texts):

καὶ ἂν με πιστεῦητε ἐμὲν *Pol. Tr.* 8469 (hapax; reading of one ms (A))
 ἵνα ἀπέχητε ἀπὸ τοῦς σπανοῦς *Spanos* D 135
 θέλω νὰ μοῦ διδῆτε χαράτζιον *Vios Aisop.* K 190.1 (for AG διδῶτε)
 ἔαν με καταξιῶνητε *Dig.* T 94
 νὰ ἔχητε τὴν προσήκουσαν ὠφέλειαν (1707, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 13, 311, f.1r.12–13)

3rd Person

Pl.	3	-ουσι(ν) † -ουσινε

The inherited ending -ουσι(ν) continues to be used throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, in all corners of the Greek *Sprachraum*:

συγκλείουσι (1172, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 10, 81.10)
 οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν (1256, Palatia (Miletos), NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 289.14–15)
 οἱ τοῖχοι καταπίπτουσιν *Ptoch.* I 78
 τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἐξορθῶνουςι *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 45

λέγουσιν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 20.6; φέρουσὶ με χαμουχᾶν *ibid.* 28.22
 τῶν Χριστιανῶ καὶ Μουσουλμάνῳ γυρεύουσιν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83.10)
 ἐκεῖ ὅπου παγαίνουσιν (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.24)
 φέρνουσι γραμματικόν, νοτάρην *Velth.* 1022 (Cupane)
 νὰ τὰ ἔχουσι μαζὶ μὲ τὸ Γεώργη πάντοτες (1573, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17 [later copy],
 71.10)
 κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ὅπου ἔχουσιν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.8; νὰ τότε φυλάουσι *ibid.* 51.25–6
 νὰ βασιλεύουσιν (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.27)
 νὰ πηαίνουσι (1661, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 10, 106.130)
 ν' ἀλλάγουσιν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 55
 νὰ διώχνουσιν (1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 210.176)
 νὰ τρέχουσιν τ' ἀμμάτια των *Thrinis Kypri.* 34

The ending -ουσινε is attested in Cretan, Heptanesian and Cycladic texts of the late 16th and 17th centuries, but is likely to appear in texts from the Peloponnese as well (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details). It appears in literature as well as in non-literary documents. Sporadically it can be found in verse texts from other areas for metrical reasons (STAVRINOS, KONST. ΔΙΑΚ., *Thrinis Kypri.*). The addition of a second accent is common practice among modern editors, though unnecessary since the vernacular, contrary to the learned language, does permit the stress to fall on the syllable before the antepenultimate (as noted by GERMANO, *Grammar* 55; see also I, 4.2.3):

καὶ τρέχουσινε εἰς τὴν κάμεραν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.1–2
 κάμνουσινε STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 580
 ἀπ' ἔχουσινε να γενοῦ CHORTATZIS, *Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 94; ἔχουσινε *id.*, *Erof. Interm.* IV.90B
 στέκουσινε δίχως | γιῶργεμα *Pist. voskos* IV 6.51–2; ἔχουσινε κι ἀγριώτατα περίσσια *ibid.* V 5.142
 παρηγοριές πολλῶν λογιῶ τοῦ κάνουσινε χρεῖα *Thysia Avr.* 1024
 δὲν ἔχουσινε (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 183.117–18); δὲ θέλουσινε (*ibid.* 183.120)
 νὰ τὰ κάνουσινε ἄλλοι (1642, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 8, 281.26)
 τρέχουσινε τὰ σάλια του FOSKOLOS, *Fort.*, IV.73
 κι ὁ εἶς τὸ χέρι τ' ἀλλουνοῦ πιάνουσινε καὶ κλαῖσι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 233.4
 κι ἀρχίζουσινε τὴ μαλιὰ KORNAROS., *Erot.* II.1054
 καὶ πέμπουσινε τότες *Leilasias Par.* 169

The ending also occurs with syncopated forms of λέω, τρώω and πᾶω:

τρώσινε καὶ τὰ σπαθιά CHORTATZIS, *Katz.* II.50
 λέσινε (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 182.105)
 πᾶσινε ἄνω κάτω *Thrinis Kypri.* 802
 ὅσοι λέσινε ἀλλιῶς KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.301

The fact that in the following example the stress shifts to the antepenultimate confirms that this form is used to accommodate the metre. Addition of -(ν)ε is, after all, not a feature of Cypriot: γραφούσινε τοὺς ὀρισμούς KONST. ΔΙΑΚ., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 179.

Pl.	3	-ουν -ου -ουνε -ον(ε)

The alternation between the inherited ending -ουσι(ν) and the innovative ending -ουν(ε) persists throughout the period under review and is certainly not restricted to verse texts; it is an inherent feature of the MedG and EMG language, and not an artificial metrical device (HINTERBERGER 2001, esp. 227–35; see also KARLA/BASEA-BEZANDAKOU 2008 for Cypriot and KARANTZOLA 2005a for Cretan). Both Sofianos and Germano give both alternatives: γράφουσι καὶ γράφουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 53.14–15; Quel che altri dicono, γράφουσι, li Scioti, & altri molti dicono, γράφουνε GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.10–11; and they can indeed often be found side by side:

ὁποῦ τὰ κοινώβια ἔχουσι πολλῶν λογίων ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὁποῦ τοῦτοι θέλουν πᾶσα δυὸ
 χρόνους νὰ ἀλλάσσουν τὸν ἡγούμενον (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.14–16)
 γράφουσί μας γὰρ ὅλοι ἐντάμα καὶ λέγουν (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: [α'], 292.13)
 θέλουσι θεληματικῶς καὶ πρεζέντε δίδουν παραδίδουν καὶ πουλοῦσι (1592, Naxos,
 KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.8)

The ending -ουν is the result of an analogy with the endings of the past tenses: due to the conflation of the aorist and the perfect in the Roman period, the ending -ασι had emerged as an alternative to the existing 3 pl. ending -αν, probably also influenced by the present ending -ουσι (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 38; HORROCKS 2010: 177). The ending -ουν makes its appearance in texts shortly before the LMedG period:⁸ early examples can be found, alongside the much more frequent forms in -ουσι(ν), in epigrams in the *Leo Bible* (ms of the first half of the 10th c.): σπεύδουν and προγράφουν (quoted in LAUXTERMANN 2003: 193).

φάσκουν (1093, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 56, 73.7); ἔχουν ἀκκουμανδευθῆν (ibid. 60, 78.11–12)
 ἵνα παρέχουν (1095?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 1, 1.5–6)
 οὐ παρεκβαίνουν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 310.28; θέλουν ibid. 310.28; φανερώνουν ibid. 312.19;
 γράφουν id., *Logos* 31 824.3; μνημονεύουν ibid. 824.9
 χορταίνουν σε *Spaneas* V 28
 ὡς λέγουν (1256, Palatia (Miletos), NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 289.11–12)
 δουλεύουν *Ptoch.* I 89
 τὰ κρέη σου οὐ τρώγουν *Poulol.* 48; εἰς γεῦμαν τους μὲ τρώουν ibid. 206 app. crit. (V)
 νὰ ἔχουν τὰ πράματα των (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 117.21)
 διότι μὲ ἡγλέπουν ἐπτωχὸν καλογεράκι (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.6)
 (= ἡβλέπουν; for /χ/ for /ν/ see I, 3.8.5.2)
 θέλουν ἔχειν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.11; ὅπου σὲ κωλύουν ibid. 208.34
 καὶ ἄλλες πᾶουν εἰς περιβόλια *Epain. gyn.* 175 app. crit.
 χωρὶς νὰ πλερώνουν τίποτα (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.23)
 βλέπουν καὶ αλλοноὺς πεζοὺς STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 1077 (Pidonia)
 νὰ σὲ φέρνουν KONDAK., *Paides* 421
 κί ὅλο κακὴ νοικοκυρὰ τὴν κρᾶζουν KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.393

⁸ The appearance of the ending -ουν is often dated to the 5th century AD, based on a single inscription from Apameia with the future form ἐπιτηδεύσουν (inscr. 36, l. 7, published in RAMSAY 1883: 310); this, however, must be viewed as an isolated example, because there is no textual evidence for the spread of this ending until the 10th c. See MANOLESSOU 2003: 73–5 for a discussion.

Deletion of final /n/, resulting in -ου, is a common morphophonological phenomenon in southern regions and the Aegean, not restricted to verb endings. The oldest example occurs in a text from Asia Minor (for details see I, 3.7.2.2):

ἀπὲ τὰ χέρια σου πέφτου καὶ κυλοῦ SULT. WALAD, *Poem* V 6
 νὰ τρέχου τὰ καλά του (1394, Crete, SANTSCHI 1976: 1597, 344.8)
 ἀνεβάζου με *Liv.* V 2165; θέτου με, κρατοῦν, καταφιλοῦ με *ibid.* 2175
 ρίκτου σας καὶ βάνου σας DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2517; πιάνου την *ibid.* 1709
 ἔχου νερόν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 66.22; σκοτώνου σε *ibid.* 548.20
 ἀποῦ ἀπομένου διὰ τὶς ἔξοδες (1486, Rhodes/ Dodecanese, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.16)
 νὰ δίνου καὶ νὰ πλερώνου (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 54.28)
 νὰ τὸ μεράζου (1547, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: I, 70.13); νὰ δεσπόζου (1609, *ibid.* III, 71.17)
 ὡς καθὼς γράφου καὶ λέγου τα πιτάκια μου (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 397.27–8)
 νὰ τὸ κοπιάζου, νὰ το κυβερνοῦ (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.8)
 νὰ μᾶς φυλάγου καὶ νὰ μᾶς μαντενίρου (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.22)
 νὰ βασιλεύου *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 53
 κόβου κρίσες καὶ ἔξοδες (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 4, 32.6)
 λέγου σου (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.6)
 ἀπ' αὐτεῖνον ἡθικὲς ἀπόφασες μανθαίνου SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* a2v.17
 νὰ κάβγου τὸ κερὶ (1659, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 24, 31.12); παραδίνου τοῦ παπα-Λέου
 (1667, *ibid.* 37, 30.19)
 διαλαβάνου καὶ λέγου (1686, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 33, 116.22)

An added -ε to the ending -ουν, resulting in -ουνε (see also I, 2.6.3.3), is first encountered in the 14th c., with four instances in *Chron. Mor.* H.⁹ It is probably due to an analogy from the 1st and 2nd persons plural (-με, -τε) and a tendency for parasyllabicity and columnar stress in the plural (i.e. γράφουμε – γράφετε – γράφουν > γράφουμε – γράφετε – γράφουνε), as well as to a tendency to “protect” the final /n/ (KOURMOULIS 1955/56: 441; BABINIOTIS 1972: 199–201; NEWTON 1973: 199–200; BROWNING ²1983: 81). The ending -ουνε appears in a variety of texts, both literary and non-literary, though mainly in texts from southern/south-western regions and the Aegean:

καὶ συμβουλευόουνε τον *Chron. Mor.* H 2501; ἐξαγοράζουने τον *ibid.* 4293; καὶ συντυχαίνουने τους *ibid.* 5433; καὶ κατακρένουने τους *ibid.* 5434
 νὰ σᾶς βαρυφορτώνουने *Diig. tetr.* 739 app. crit. (C)
 εἰς τὴν διαμφορὰν ὅπου ἔχουने (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 177, 227.4)
 νὰ στρέφουने τὰ πράγματα (1597, Syros, MILIARAKIS 1900: 699.19)
 αὐτῆνοι τήνε παίρνουने MONTSEL., *Evgena* 109
 τὸ βουνὸ τὸ λέγουσι Αἴμο, λέγουने το καὶ Πανία *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 49.12
 γράψε μου τί κοστίζουने (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173.18)
 ὅπου θέλουने μὲ θάψει (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.14); νὰ τὰ ματαμεράζουने (*ibid.* 29.24)
 τὸ νησὶν ὅπου κρίζουने Πρώτην RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 62.6
 νὰ τὸ μεράζουने (1656, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 6, 165.56)
 καὶ τώρα μᾶσε φοβερίζουने (1659, Hydra, KARATHANASIS 1972/73: 241.2)
 λέουने (1675, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 61.34)

⁹ In the Copenhagen manuscript of the *Chronicle of Morea* all four instances of -ουνε are followed by a clitic pronoun. The Paris manuscript (16th c.) systematically replaces this ending with -ουσι.

ἔχουνε ἕνα καλὸ λιμῶνα (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 508.61; author from Mani)
 θέλουνε καὶ προσηλώνουνε καὶ ἀφιερώνουνε (1686?, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 360.17–18)
 ἐβγάνουνε (1691, Ikaria?/Chios?, TSELIKAS 2000: 81, 64.3–4)

Forms in -ον do not constitute morphological variants of those in -ουν but are the result of hypercorrection of back-vowel raising of /o/ to [u] (for details see I, 2.5.4): ἵνα ἔχον ἐξουσίαν (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 532.8); νὰ τοὺς ἀφήνονε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.35 app. crit.; νὰ τοῦ ἔχον (1644–5, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 4, 47.3) (also note τοῦ for τό); παγαίνον καὶ ἔρχονται (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 66.35).

Pl.	3	-ωσι(ν)/-οσι(ν)

The residual subjunctive ending -ωσι(ν) can occasionally be found, not only with the subjunctive, but also with the indicative:

ἐὰν ξένοι τυγχάνωσιν *Dig.* G IV.804; (μὴ ...) δύνωσιν ἐν τῷ ἄλσει *ibid.* VI.461
 καὶ κὰν ἀλήθειαν ἔχωσι *Ptoch.* I 119
 ἐδάρτε ἄς ὑπαγαίνωσιν *Pol. Tr.* 2012 (reading of mss AX)
 διὰ νὰ σπέρνωσιν (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 56.34)
 νὰ φυλάττωσιν *Dig.* A 91
 οἱ εἰρημένοι μου κουμεσάριοι ἔχωσι πληρεστάτην ἐξουσίαν (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 5, 11.43–4) (hortative subj.)
 ἐχθροὺς τοὺς ὅταν βλέποσι ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 29.10
 οἱ δὲ εὐγενεῖς ἄς ἀπέχωσιν αὐτοῦ LANDOS, *Geopon.* 207.17–18
 ἀπ' αὐτοὺς ὅπου ὁ σπήγωσιν κατὰ κάμπον ματσούκαν *Ptoch.* III 199 app. crit. (SAC)
 λέγωσιν *Ptoch.* IV 141 app. crit. (SA); τυγχάνωσιν *ibid.* 226 app. crit. (SA); βλέπωσιν *ibid.* 565 app. crit. (SA)
 οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ τὸ ἔχωσιν *Pol. Tr.* 606 app. crit. (ABE); δὲν τάσσωσι *ibid.* 1509 app. crit. (A)
 τὶ κάμνωσιν SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 15 transcr. M (Lendari)
 ὅσοι ἀκούγωσιν *Kakop.* 191 app. crit.
 κρένοσιν, συνιβάζωσιν καὶ ἀποφασίζωσιν (1594, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 1, 172.30)
 καὶ οὐδὲ μένα ἀφήνωσιν *Dig.* A 4507 app. crit.

4.1.1.2 Passive Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	γράφομαι	γράφομαι γράφουμαι γράφουμι	
	2	γράφεσαι	γράφεσι	γράφεσαιν
	3	γράφεται	γράφιται ἢ γράφιτι	γράφεται -έται -ται

		General	Restricted	Rare
Pl.	1	γραφόμεθα γραφόμεστε(ν) ! γραφόμεσθε(ν)	γραφόμεθεν γράφομεστέν ! γράφόμεσθε(ν) ! γράφομέστε(ν) γραφούμεστε(ν) γράφομέστι γραφόμεστα(ν) ! γράφόμεσθα(ν) γράφομέσταν ! γράφόμεσθαι γράφομέστα ! γράφομέσθα γράφομέστανε γραφόμεσθε(ν) γράφομάστε(ν)	γραφόμεθαι γραφούμεθα γραφούμεθαι γράφουμεθαι γραφούμεθεν γραφούμεσθε(ν) γραφούμεστα γράφουμεστα (γράφομένστα(ν)) γραφόμεσθε(ν) γράφομάσθε γράφομάστενε γραφούμεαστε γράφουμάσθε γραφομαστιν γραφουμαστινε γραφούμαστον
	2	γράφεστε ! γράφεσθε	γράφεσθεν ! γράφεστέν γραφοῦστε γραφούστενε	γράφεστιν γραφοῦσθεν γράφουστεν
	3	γράφονται γράφουνται	γράφονταιν γράφονταίνε γράφουνταιν	γράφοται γράφοταίνε γράφοντι γράφουται γράφουντιν

For 3 sg. of the present subjunctive the residual ending -ηται can sporadically be found, but the same cannot be said of 2 sg. -ησαι, which has not been found. Other than that, all forms of the present subjunctive of barytone verbs are identical to or homophonous with those of the present indicative. The only subjunctive endings that are traditionally spelled differently from those of the present indicative are 1 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl. However, not all modern editors choose to make this graphematic distinction:

		General	Restricted
Sg.	1	γράφωμαι	-ωμαιν
	2		
	3		γράφηται
Pl.	1	γραφώμεθα	
	2		
	3	γράφωνται	

Singular*1st Person*

Sg.	1	-ομαι/-ωμαι ἢ -ομαιν/-ωμαιν

The inherited ending -ομαι, traditionally spelled -ωμαι in the subjunctive, is used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

καὶ πολλάκις ... ἀναβάλλομαι ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 210.21
 συγχαίρομαι *Eisit.* f.1v.19
 παύομαι ἐδῶ νὰ λέγω *Chron. Mor.* H 7955
 τρώγω το καὶ εὐφραίνομαι *Diig. tetr.* 875
 ἔρκομαι ἀκ τ' ἀνάθεμα *Anak. Konst.* 9
 ἄν εὕρω τσίπουρον εἰς γῆν, σκύπτω, μυρίζομαι το *Krasop.* AO 76
 οὐκ ὀρέγομαι ἀκούγειν αὐτὸ (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 79.1d–2d)
 εὐρίσκομαι τάχα ἡγουμένη (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.18)
 ξενίζομαι ἀπατός μου *Theseid* Prol. P 2
 νὰ καίγωμαι καθημερινῶς TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 79
 μπορῶ σοφώτατος νὰ κρᾶζωμαι CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.493
 νὰ μνημονεύγομαι (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 82.107)
 διδάσκομαι ROMANOS, *Grammar* 80.12
 ὑπόσχομαι διὰ λόγου μου (1666, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 4, 196.253)
 ἤξευρε πως ἐγὼ ονομάζομαι *Don Kis.* 51.12–13

Addition of final /n/ can be found in literary and non-literary texts, mainly of south-western provenance, including S. Italy:

φαίνομαι ἐγὼ (1196, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 241, 325.2)
 τῶρα φονεύγομαι δι' ἐσέν *Liv.* E 1991
 νὰ ἀκούωμαι *Pol. Tr.* 2621 app. crit. (B); μαίνομαι *ibid.* 4676 app. crit. (V)
 βούλομαι τοῦ ἔχειν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 62, 180.30)
 ἔρχομαι *Achil.* O 483 and 519
 φλέγομαι DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 409 app. crit.; ὀρέγομαι *ibid.* 719 app. crit.
 νὰ μάχομαι *Theseid* I.100,8 app. crit. (P) (Follieri)
 ἀπορῶ καὶ ἐξίσταμαι καὶ τὸν νοῦν καταπλήττομαι *Spanos* B 24
 συγκλίνομαι *Apoll. Rim.* N 43; βούλομαι *ibid.* 1474
 τρέφομαι *Diig. Alex.* F 42.7 (Konstantinopulos)
 τοῦ ἀποκρίνομαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.22)
 τὸ σπῖτι ὅπου κάθομαι ὡς καθὼς εὐρίσκεται (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 111.14–15)
 ἀποκρένομαι τῆς βασιλείας σου (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.24–5); καὶ
 χαίρομαι τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν χάτμαν (*ibid.* 57.26–7) (author from Athens)
 νὰ μνημονεύωμαι (1689, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 134, 326.3)

Sg.	1	-ομαι ἢ -ουμι

The rare variant ending -οουμι is the result of back-vowel raising (of unstressed /o/ to /u/, for details see I, 2.8.3). It has been found in version I of the *Life of Aesop* (17th c., written in Constantinople, by a scribe who is thought to be of south-eastern provenance or from

Chios), in a document from Thessaloniki and in *Don Kisotis* (early 18th c. translation made in the Danubian Principalities):¹⁰

καὶ μοῦ λέγεις νὰ χαίρουμαι *Vios Aisop.* I 253.41; ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ δὲν ἔρχουμαι *ibid.* 268.4; χωρὶς
κανένα πταίσιμο θανατώνουμαι *ibid.* 281.30
καὶ θαυμάζουμαι, διατὶ με γελᾷς *Don Kis.*, 113.7; εντρέπουμαι καταπολλά *ibid.* 120.29;
στοχάζουμαι πῶς ἤθελεν εἶσθαι καλύτερον *ibid.* 129.10–11

Forms in -ουμι occur in texts that display mid-vowel raising (unstressed /e/ > [i]), for which see I, 2.5.4: ἄς κάθουμι (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.13); εὐρίσκουμι (1697, *ibid.* 5, 61.4) (phenomenon very common in this collection of letters).

2nd Person

Sg.	2	-εσαι ἢ -εσαιν ἢ -εσι

The ending for 2 sg., first attested in the EMedG period (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 188), shows no morphological variation during or after the period under investigation:

ἔρχεσαι μετ' ἐμέναν *Dig. G* II.129; μὴ θλίβεσαι *ibid.* IV.778
μὴ παλληκαρεύεσαι *Ptoch. I* 197
ἐπιβουλεύεσαι με *Dig. E* 365
νὰ γέρνεσαι *Poulol.* 147 app. crit. (CPVL)
ἀποδέχεσαι νὰ το ποιῶμεν (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.15)
τί καθέζεσαι; (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 92)
διὰ νὰ βόσκεσαι *Spanos D* 257
ἔσου στέκεσαι χωσμένη *Cypr. Canz.* 45.4
στένεσαι εἰς τὸ νησόπουλον (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 70.22)
μὴ πολλὰ υψώνεσαι καὶ παραφαρσεύεσαι *Diig. Alex.* K 373.5–6
νὰ ἥξερα πότε ἔρκεσαι (1573, Ancona, CATALDI PALAU 2000: 2, 388.4)
νὰ χασμουροτανύζεσαι MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1646
δὲ ντρέπεσαι, μεθύστακα; *Stathis* III.545
καλλίτερα θέλεις εὐρίσκεσαι (1655, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 178.9–10)
φαίνεσαι καλότατα *Don Kis.* 45.12

Addition of final /n/ is very rare indeed: μὴ γένεσαιν αἴτιος κακοῦ (1576, Macedonia, CHASIOTIS 1964/65: 3, 253.27).

2 sg. forms in -εσι (and possibly -ισι, -ισαι) are phonetic rather than morphological variants, showing evidence of mid-vowel raising, whereby unstressed /e/ becomes [i] (for details see I, 2.5.4): εὐρίσκεσι *Don Kis.* 104.21–2 app. crit.

3rd Person

Sg.	3	-εται ἢ -εταῖν ἢ -ιτι ἢ -ιται ἢ -ται

¹⁰ According to MINAS 1987a: 22, in the MG period -ουμαι occurs in Cyprus, Rhodes, Axos, Chios, Pontos, the Peloponnese and Puglia, while according to NEWTON 1972c: 266, again with reference to the MG situation, it can be found in Kefalonia, Zakynthos, Kyllini, Chalki, Monemvasia, western Crete, Cyprus, Symi and Aegina. The lack of examples in the sources examined indicates that this ending spread at a rather late stage in the development of the MG dialects (probably not before the 18th c.).

The ending -εται is the normal ending for 3 sg. before, throughout and after the period covered by this Grammar:

ὅταν δὲ ψάλλεται ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 58.15–16; ἵνα μὴ ... σκανδαλίζεται id., *Logos* 28 752.1–2
app. crit. (S)
ὡς ὄρνεον πετάζεται GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 129; ὁ γέρον νέος οὐ γίνεται ibid. 222
κρέμεται κοντάριν τοῦ πατρός σου *Arm.* 10
καὶ καίεται ἡ καρδία του *Achil.* L 710
ἀφκράζεται *Pol. Tr.* 459
νὰ ἐξετάζεται καὶ νὰ ὀρτώνεται (1451, Constantinople?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 1, 198.19)
ἐγδύνεται LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 344
τὰ μάγουλα νὰ ξένεται [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1338
νὰ καθέζεται *Spanos* A 445
ὅπου νὰ βρίσκειται MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.9
ἡ θάλασσα αὐτὴ δὲν σείεται *Diig. Alex.* K 376.30–1
κράζεται (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 11, 223.12)
ἐπτά φορὲς νὰ καίεται KONDAR., *Paidēs* 458
να χρίεται με αλοιφές ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 3155
νὰ μεράζεται τὸ νερό (1694, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 47, 76.17)
ἄρχισε νὰ κηρύττεται εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον (1701, Transylvania, LEGRAND 1903: 15, 41.2)

Addition of final /n/ can sporadically be found in Cycladic texts: φαίνεται ἵντα ἔχει βαλμένα (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 109.111).

3 sg. forms in -ιτι, -ιται (and possibly -ετι) are phonetic rather than morphological variants, showing evidence of mid-vowel raising, whereby unstressed /e/ becomes [i] (for details see I, 2.5.4):

καθὼς ἐνδέχεται (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.34)
εὐρίσκεται (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.24)
τὸ ἔνα ὅπου κάθεται (1628–9, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 1, 44.40)
στέκιτι (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.4); μὴ κακουφαίνιτι (1697, ibid. 6, 63.19);
χάνιται (1698, ibid. 7, 66.24)

For syncopated forms such as: φαίν'ται *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 878, see I, 2.7.2.

Plural

1st Person

Pl.	1	-όμεθα -όμεθαν

The inherited ending -όμεθα continues to be used well into the period covered by this Grammar, though not in all types of texts. There are a few instances of -όμεθα in literary works from the early period (*Dig.* E and *Dig.* G, *Liv.*, *Achil.* N, *Kallim.*, *Spanos*), but it is rather more frequent in texts that belong to a higher register, such as monastic acts and the register of the Patriarchate. It can also be found in vernacular texts that tend to borrow certain features from a higher register, such as Sfrantzis, *Digenis* P and Ioakeim Kyprios. Although it is the only ending given by Sofianos (γραφόμεθα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 57.4), -όμεθα is generally absent from Cretan and Heptanesian literature, with very few exceptions:

ἡμεῖς γὰρ εὐρίσκόμεθα ἀπὸ γενεᾶς μεγάλης *Dig.* E 136; σήμερον χωριζόμεθα *ibid.* 1167 and 1774

σύντομα σηκωνόμεθα *Liv.* α 3087 app. crit. (P)

καὶ πάλιν τὸν ἀρχόμεθα μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης *Liv.* S 2772 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

αὔριον ἐκδεχόμεθα ἐδῶ πάντες ἐλθῆναι *Achil.* N 1470

ἀρχόμεθα διήγησιν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2; ἐρχόμεθα καὶ σήμερον *ibid.* 1365

παύομεθα τοῦ λέγειν *Velth.* 196

διοῦ ξμάθεν ἐρχόμεθα νὰ ὑπάγωμεν ἐκεῖσε *Chron. Mor.* P 5331

καλέ, ποῦ ἀπερχόμεθα; *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 44.3

μάλιστα μεμφόμεθα ἐκείνους *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 38.11

ταῦτα τασσόμεθα δοῦναι σοι (1549, Crete, *DRAKAKIS* 2004: 12, 13.12)

πειθόμεθα, ἀκούομε κείνο ποῦ μᾶς ὀρίσης *Alex. Rim.* 2550

βουλόμεθα *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ.*, *Pali* 8; οὐκ ἀπελπιζόμεθα *ibid.* 4508

ἀποφαινόμεθα (1671, Skyros, *ANDONIADIS* 1982/83: 5, 96.10)

γδεχόμεθα σας *Thrinios Kypr.* 841

Addition of final /n/ is not very common, but does appear to have a rather wide geographical spread: several instances have been located in texts from S. Italy, Thrace, Crete and Cyprus, and in *Liv.* S, a ms that possibly has a Cretan background (*AGAPITOS* 2006: 73):

φαινόμεθαν ἡμεῖς (1121, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 89, 116–17.3–4)

ἔτι δεόμεθαν ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως (14th c., Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1958: 36, 240.1)

δεόμεθαν (1453, Gallipoli, *DARROUZÈS* 1963: 2, 80.1)

σύντομα σηκωνόμεθαν *Liv.* S 1798 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

διὰ νὰ μνημονευόμεθαν (1518, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 52, 97.160)

στρεφόμεθαν ἀλλήλως ἀναπατημένοι (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 10α, 12.4)

δυνόμεθαν *Pist. kekoim.* 474; γνωρίζόμεθαν *ibid.* 691

Pl.	1	-ούμεθα(ν) ! 'ουμέθθαν

Forms in -ούμεθα(ν) and -ουμέθθαν occur in the *Chronicle* of Machairas. The change from [o] to [u] is the result of back-vowel raising in the environment of a nasal (see I, 2.8.3), and possibly of influence from the corresponding endings of oxytone E-stem verbs (*MINAS* 1987a: 25–6). In the Cypriot dialect certain verbs have both barytone and oxytone variants, such as for instance διῖδω – διδῶ, λῦω – λυῶ, which makes confusion between these paradigms plausible (see also 2.1.3.1). The double consonant -θθ- is the result of “spontaneous” gemination, the appearance of non-etymological double consonants typical of geminating dialects such as Cypriot (see I, 3.4.2.5):

καὶ ἐμεῖς ὅλο εὐρίσκούμεθα εἰς τοὺς ὀρισμούς σου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 158.4; τὸ

ἐγδεχούμεθαν ἀποῦ 'ξ αὐτῆς του *ibid.* 524.30; καὶ τῶρα εὐρίσκούμεθαν κομπωμένοι *ibid.*

210.25; χρηζούμεθαν ἄλογα *ibid.* 494.10; ἐμεῖς ἐγνοιαζούμεθαν νὰ τὸν βάλομεν εἰς νομὴν

τοῦ ρηγάτου του *id.*, *Chron.* R 345.9–11 (no notation of stress in the ms)

θαυμάζουμέθθαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 360.32; νὰ καθοούμεθθαν *ibid.* 368.15

Other Cypriot texts such as *Cypr. Canz.*, *Fior* and *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* either happen not to have any 1 pl. forms of the passive present, or they use different endings.¹¹

Pl.	1	-όμεθεν

This ending is considered to derive from -όμεθα; the final /a/ changed to /e/ to match the 2 pl. and 3 pl. endings in the paradigm, while final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (MEYER 1889: 197 regarding the similar ending -μεσθεν); evidence for this ending without final /n/ is scarce.¹² The ending -όμεθεν occurs in texts from Constantinople, Athos, Epirus, the Peloponnese and Crete, from at least the 14th c. until the 16th c. – often, though not exclusively, with deponent verbs:

νά μή δυνώμεθεν *Chron. Mor.* H 6691; σὲ ὑποσχιόμεθεν *ibid.* 8966; κ' ἡμεῖς ἐρχόμεθεν *ibid.* 9136
 φροντίζομεν καὶ ἀγωνιζόμεθεν (1384, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 118.5)
 ἵνα μή εἰσηκουώμεθεν (1397, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 6, 184.6); ἐκδιωκόμεθεν (*ibid.* 6, 184.6)
 καὶ ὡς δι' αὐτὸν τὸ θλιβόμεθεν *Dig. E* 409
 μεγάλως εὐφραίνόμεθεν *Liv. V* 3860 ; σύντομα σηκωνόμεθεν *ibid.* 2737
 οὐδὲν ἄρματωνόμεθεν *Pol. Tr.* 1574 app. crit. (A); ἐδῶ μηδὲν καθώμεθεν *ibid.* 2947; ἐπεὶν καὶ
 ἡμεῖς χανόμεθεν *ibid.* 5447 app. crit. (A)
 τὸ ποῦ ἔμεθεν καὶ βρισκόμεθεν *Poulol. V* 557
 φοβούμεθα καὶ ἐντρεπόμεθέν σου *Chron. Toc.* 2989
 ἀποχωριζόμεθεν *Erotopaign.* 341
 ἡμεῖς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἐρχόμεθεν *Diig. Alex. E* 217.13–14 (Lolos)
 τοὺς χρόνους πὸ βρισκόμεθεν SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 8

Pl.	1	-οόμεθεν

With a thematic vowel /u/ instead of /o/ this ending occurs in *Irodis*, a theatrical play of Cycladic provenance (Syros?, Naxos?), roughly datable between 1650 and 1750: βιαζοόμεθεν *Irodis* IV.296.

Pl.	1	-όμεσθε(ν) ἢ -όμεστε(ν) ἢ '-ομέσθεν ἢ '-ομέστε

The ending -όμεσθε(ν) is held to have been formed from -όμεθα, with a change from /a/ to /e/ by analogy with 2 pl. and 3 pl., which also end in /e/ (MEYER 1889: 197), although vowel assimilation may also have played a role (MINAS 1987a: 25). The added -σ- is usually explained as being analogical from 2 pl., while final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (MEYER 1889: 197). Its variant -όμεστε(ν) is the result of manner dissimilation of fricatives after sibilants (see I, 3.8.1). These endings occur from the 14th/15th c. onward in texts from various regions, more often with than without final /n/:

¹¹ There is one instance of -όμεθα in *Thrinis Kypr.* 841 (γδεχόμεθά σας) and one of -όμεθαν in *Pist. kekoim.* 474 (δυνόμεθαν). 1 pl. forms of εἶμαι in the other texts, however, suggest that the endings -μεθα(ν) and -οιμέθαν are not in use: Voustronios has εἰμεσταν (e.g. 96.10–11, 154.17–18), *Cypr. Canz.* εἰμεσταν (102.15, 119.23), *Thrinis Kypr.* εἰμεσθεν (90) and subjunctives νά ἴμεσθαν (869) and νά ἴμεσθεν (870).

¹² There are a few examples with εἶμαι, for which see 4.8.1.

οὐδὲν προδιδόμεσθε *Achil.* N 436
 θαυμάζομεστε πολλά (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 92.17)
 εἰς τὴν βασιλεία σου ἐρχόμεσθε *Diig. Alex.* F 216.5 (Lolos)
 εὕρισκόμεστε (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 286.5)
 τὸ ἀτσίδιν ἐμεῖς τὸ σεβόμεσθε ὡσὰν θεόν *Vios Aesop.* I 278.33
 μᾶς βλέπεις πῶς πνιγόμεσθε MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2543
 γλίτωσέ μας, χανόμεσθε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 8.25; δυνόμεσθε *ibid.* Mark. 10.39;
 πῶς καθόμεσθην μὲ τὸν τραγέλαφον *Spanos* D 877
 ἐκδεχόμεσθην ὅλους ἐδῶ νὰ ἔλθουν *Achil.* L 1066; εὐχόμεσθὲν σας *ibid.* 1128
 γουργά ἐλευθερωνόμεσθην *Moirol. Konst.* 25
 καὶ πῶς δὲν δουλωνόμεσθην *Theseid* I.27,7 (Follieri)
 γιατί βρισκόμεσθην ἐδῶ *Fyll. gadar.* 64B ἀποχωριζόμεσθην *ibid.* 99¹³
 νὰ βρισκόμεσθην ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 12.3
 καὶ ἐρχόμεσθην εἰς τὸ θησαυροφυλάκιον *Thavm. Ag. Nik.* 265.6–7
 καταδεχόμεσθην *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1099; νὰ περιπλεκόμεσθην *ibid.* 1169
 ἀναγκάζομεσθην DAM. STOUD., *Dial.* 97.20; τὶ ἔχομεν καὶ ὕβριζόμεσθην *id.*, *This.*, *Logos* 30,
 H1r.25 (1561)
 θεληματικῶς δοῦλοι δὲν γινόμεσθην *Vios Aesop.* I 37.27
 καὶ ἐρχόμεσθην εἰς τὸν ἄσπρον ὄχθον (1613, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 61, 184.22)
 δὲν δυνόμεσθην (1613, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 3, 310.15)
 ἐκεῖνα οὔ ποὺ χρειάζομεσθην KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 13.29
 σήμερον φαίνόμεσθην ὡς ἀνθούντες, καὶ αὐρίον μαραινόμεσθην LANDOS, *Kalok.* 343.21–2
 ἐγνοιάζομεσθην [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P II 320.14; ἐρχόμεσθην *ibid.* V 360.22
 ν' ἀποκρενόμεσθην (1667, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 53, 317.10)

The endings -μεσθε(ν)/-μεστε(ν) are frequently used with εἶμαι (see 4.8.1), but have not been found with other athematic verbs.

Forms with the stress on the fourth syllable from the end (ἀνακατάνομεσθην) or with dual stress, in which sometimes the first accent is omitted (e.g. παραδιδόμεσθην for παραδίδόμεσθην), have been found in texts of diverse geographical provenance:

ἀνακατάνομεσθην (1572, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 3, 84.53)
 πολλά μετὰ χαρὰς ὑπογράφομεσθην (1674, Paros, ZERLENDIS 1922: (3), p. 54.3–4)
 γάλλομέσθην FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 297 ms; ὅλοι ἀναπεύομέσθην *ibid.* 298 ms
 εὕρισκούμέσθην (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.11); παραδιδόμεσθην
 (*ibid.* 4, 102.33)
 θαυμάζομέστε τὸ λοιπὸν *Alex. Rim.* 789
 ἐρχομέστε *Diig. Alex.* K 345.24
 νὰ ἀμαχευομέσθην KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 217.16; νὰ προσευχομέσθην *ibid.* 452.29
 τὸ μαλλὶ τοὺς ἐνδύνομέσθην DAM. STOUD., *Dial.* 96.22; μὴν στολίζομέσθην *id.*, *This.*, *Logos* 2,
 β6r.30 (1561)
 κ' εὕρισκομέσθην ζωντανοὶ MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2634
 νὰ παιδεύομέσθην καὶ νὰ πειράζωμέσθην ὅλοι μας PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* 66.26 (Kaftantzis)
 συγχαίρομέσθην [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P III 339.19; ἐντρέπομέσθην *ibid.* VII 381.10
 εὕρισκομέσθην εἰς τὸσους λάκκους κακῶν (1672, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-
 THEODORIDI 1992: 96, 237.6)

¹³ But cf. μηδὲν θαρρῆς, κύρ γάδαρε, ὅτι εἴμεσθην ἐργάτες *ibid.* 56a.

Forms in -μεστι(ν) for -μεστε(ν) are phonetic rather than morphological variants; they are the result of raising of unstressed [e] to [i], for which see I, 2.5.4: θαυμάζομέστιν (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 55.24).

Pl.	1	-ούμεστε(ν) † -ούμεσθε(ν)

First attestations of -ούμεστε(ν) and its more formal variant with /sθ/ for /st/ have been found in 15th-c. texts from Rhodes. The early examples from the Rhodian documents point to an analogy with the corresponding active ending -οουμε, the first attestations of which appear in the writings of the same scribe (see above, 4.1.1.1). From the 16th/17th c. onwards the ending also appears in texts from other areas (Chios, Naxos, Cyprus, Santorini, Mani):

χαιρούμεστέ το κ' ἑμείς (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.8); δεχούμεστε ἀπουκρουσιάρην (ibid. 18, 97.11)
 νὰ καθούμεστέν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 282.37
 σεβούμεσθέν τὸν κάτην ὡς θεόν Vios Aisop. D 239.22
 γραφούμεστέν [...] dicono ancora γραφόμεστέν GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.5–6
 ὅπου βρισκούμεστε κάτω στήν γῆν VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 3
 μαζεугоύμεστε *Rim. Sant.* 443; χωριζούμεστέν ibid. 501
 χαννούμεσθέν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡΡ., *Pali* 1738
 κ' ἑμείς μὲ σᾶς ἐρχούμεστέν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1125; βρισκούμεστέν κλεισμένοι ibid. 1418
 ὀμπλιγαρίζοúμεστε (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 464, 688.13)
 ὑπογραφούμεσθε (1697, Mani, PETRIDIS 1870: 432.7)

Pl.	1	-όμεστα(ν) † '-όμεστα(ν) † '-όμεστανε † -όμεσθα(ν) † -όμεσθαν † '-όμεσθανε

The ending -όμεστα(ν) and its more formal, written variant -όμεσθα(ν) are not attested very frequently with barytone verbs, but they are rather more common with εἶμαι (from the 13th/14th c. onwards with the present and the imperfect, see 4.8.1, 4.8.2). There are sporadic attestations of -μεσθα with the present of barytone verbs in Roman and Late Antique papyri, considered to be the result of an analogical formation from -μεθα after 2 pl. -σθε (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 63; GIGNAC 1981: 358; MINAS 1987a: 24) rather than being related to the identical Homeric ending (see KAPSOMENOS 1960 for a full historical overview of the use of this ending). In the Late Antique and Byzantine periods it can be found in commentaries and lexica on epic and tragic AG texts and in hexametric poetry. In vernacular texts the ending does not appear with barytone forms before the 15th/16th c., in texts from southern, mainly south-western, areas.¹⁴ Given the fact that it is absent from 14th-c. works such as the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy*,¹⁵ which originate from the area where the ending makes its first appearance, it is likely to be a new formation,

¹⁴ Two 11th- and 12th-c. examples in documents from S. Italy, ἀλήθειαν λέγομεν (καί) οὐ ψευδόμεσταν (1042, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 3, 48.17) and ἵνα ζημιούμεστα (1128, S. Italy, MÉNAGER 1957: 2bis, 340.21), should perhaps be viewed as an archaism rather than a first appearance of this vernacular ending.

¹⁵ There are two instances of this ending with εἶμαι (εἶμεσταν) in *Chron. Mor.* H 6035 and 6036, but the normal form is εἶμεθεν. The same holds true for *Pol. Tr.* For εἶμαι see 4.8.1.

unconnected to the identical Koine ending, and possibly the result of a simple conflation of inherited -μεθα and the innovative ending -μεσθεν/-μεστεν, which had appeared about a century earlier (see above):

κι ἀντιμαχόμεσθ' αὖτο Alex. Rim. 2494
 χρειάζόμεσταν GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 30; κατασταινόμεσταν *ibid.* 55; φανταζόμεσταν *ibid.* 254
 ἐρχόμεσταν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* 231.9
 ἀναφαινόμεσταν (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 145.1)
 δὲν στεργόμεσταν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 58.22
 ἀναφανίζόμεσταν (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.16)
 ἐρχόμεσταν *P&N Diath.* 272
 Χριστιανοὶ λεγόμεσταν AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 335
 ἐρχόμεσταν νὰ βαρέσομεν πάνω σας χωρὶς ἄλλο IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5360
 ἔστοντας ὅπου νὰ εὕρισκόμεσταν εἰς ἐστράταν (1653, Ioannina, TCHENTSOVA 2002: 3, 361.16–17)
 ἐρχόμεσταν (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.2)
 δέόμεσταν (1679, Sovana, Tuscany, PAPADOPOULOS 1979: 1, 473.11)
 γραφόμεσταν SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.19

The ending is also found, with and without final /n/, with a dual stress (whereby the first accent, representing the weaker of the two stresses, is sometimes omitted, e.g. στεκομέσταν for στέκομέσταν), in texts from Crete and the Heptanese, and perhaps Cyprus:¹⁶

νὰ ἔρχωμέσταν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 232, 230.10)
 τὰ ἀνωθεν ὅπου τάσσομέσταν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 240, 234.45)
 νὰ κραζώμεσταν VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 180
 καστιγαρομέσταν καθημερινόν (1574, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61.5)
 ὁδὶα νὰ δροσίζομέσταν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 72.5–6
 γινομέσταν ἄγιοι μεγάλοι TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 88
 μὴ στεκομέσταν CHORTATSI, *Katz.* V.471 and V.514
 ἐρχόμεσταν *Stathis* III.12
 σηκώνομέσταν *P&N Diath.* 652
 σὰ χαίρομέσταν ὅλοι KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1431 (A)
 θὰ στέκομέσταν *Pist. voskos* II 1.159; τί στέκομέσταν πλιόν *ibid.* V 2.128
 ποὺ χαίρομέσταν ὅλοι *Zinon* V.109
 εὕρισκομέσταν (1660, Crete, KARATHANANIS 1973: 5, 34.7)

With an added -(ν)ε, and again with dual stress, this ending appears in Cretan texts from the late 16th c. onwards (for addition of -(ν)ε see I, 2.6.3.3); again, the first accent may be omitted in writing:

λυτρώνομέστανε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 62.21; λέγομέστανε *ibid.* 133.14; ὁδὶα νὰ παιδεύομέστανε *ibid.* 237.24; νὰ τοῦ ὑποτάσσομέστανε *id.*, *Logos* 470.17
 ἐκεῖ ἀπὸ κάθομέστανε CHORTATSI, *Panor.* IV.352; μὴ στέκομέστανε *ibid.* V.365;
 μαζώνομέστανε οὐλοὶ *id.*, *Erof.* I.556; μὴν πρὶκαίνομέστανε *ibid.* III.178; νὰ διακονίζομέστανε *id.*, *Katz.* III.300
 νὰ δέομέστανε *Thysia Avr.* 1133
 κείνη ποὺ ὀρεγομέστανε KORNAROS, *Erot.* A 1261 (A)
 εὕρισκομέστανε (1649, Crete, PANOPOULOU 2003: 2, 148.30–1)

¹⁶ The example from Cyprus comes from a scribe who, though clearly well-established in Famagusta, probably had a Corfiot background, given his surname Korfiatis (see CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61–2).

παντοτινὰ κολάζομέστανε *Apok. Theot.* 493.194–494.195
 εύρισκομέστανε *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.256; άνεμπάλωνομέστανε *ibid.* V.35
 εύρισκομέστανε *AGAP., Mart. Ag. Deka* 251
 [εἰσέ] μεγάλον πόνον εύρισκομέστανε (1670, Crete, *TSELIKAS* 1986c: 3, 36.2)
 εύρισκομέστανε τὴν σήμερο (1675, Zakynthos, *ZOIS* 1939: 5, 130.2) (author from Crete)

Pl.	1	-ούμεστα ἰ' -ουμέστα

The same ending with a thematic vowel [u] for [o] is quite rare: τοῦτα ἐγδεχούμεστα νὰ θωροῦμεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 248.14; καθούμεσθα (1533, Naxos, *MILIARAKIS* 1888: 58.22); κάθουμεστα (1538, Naxos, *VISVIZIS* 1951: 10, 22.18).

Pl.	1	ἰ' -ομένστα ἰ' -ομένσταν

This dubious-looking ending has been found quite a few times, not only with the present, but also with the imperfect of barytone verbs (4.3.1.2), in documents by the Cretan notary Maras. It looks like a conflation of the active and passive endings -μεν and -μεστα, but it is unlikely to be a “real” ending. The ligature Maras uses (a combination of the ligatures for μεν and supralinear στα(ν)) is probably a graphematic idiosyncrasy that, in fact, represents -μεστα(ν):

ὅταν δὲν συνιβάζομένστα (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 6, 7.16); ὅτι ὀμπλεγαρίζομένστα ἐσένα (*ibid.* 232, 230.2–3); νὰ ἐρχωμένστα (*ibid.* 230.7); ὅπου νὰ μὴν δυσκολεύωμένστα (*ibid.* 230.9); νὰ τὰ τεστάρωμένστα (*ibid.* 259, 258.45); μὲ τοὺς μαγαντζάδες ὅπου εύρίσκομένσταν (*ibid.* 155, 156.13); ὀμπλεγάρομένσταν νὰ σοῦ δώσωμεν (*ibid.* 266, 264.12)

Pl.	1	-όμαστε(ν)/-ώμασθε(ν) ἰ' -όμασθε(ν) ἰ' -ομάστε(ν) ἰ' -ομάσθε ἰ' -ομάστενε

The ending -όμαστε(ν) and its more formal variant -όμασθε(ν), which in the form -όμαστε would eventually become the SMG ending, is found from the 16th c. onward, during the first century of its existence almost exclusively in texts of south-western provenance. According to *MINAS* 1987a: 25 following *MEYER* 1889: 197, it derives from -όμεστα with inversion of the vowels /a/ and /e/, but it is perhaps more likely to derive from -όμεσταν with a change of /e/ to /a/. As appears to be the case with other passive endings (e.g. imperf. 1 sg. -μουν, 2 sg. -σουν, and others, and cf. 1 sg. /ome/ and pron. /me/, 2 sg. /ese/ and pron. /se/) the postverbal clitic pronoun μας may have played an associative role (*RUGE* 1984). The spelling of the subjunctive with <ω> for <ο> is entirely graphematic.

καὶ τώρα νύρισκόμαστεν στὰ χέρια τὰ δικά σου *Alex. Rim.* 721; δυνόμασθεν *ibid.* 1460
 μὴ γινόμαστεν (1550, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2002a: 243, 147.18)
 ὑποσχόμαστε (1561, Zakynthos, *KONOMOS* 1969a: 1, 34.2)
 γινόμαστε (1611, Mani, *SKOPETEAS* 1950: IV, 72.18)
 εύρισκόμαστεν (1613, Mani, *LASKARIS* 1957: 3, 310.21)
 ἐρχόμαστεν ὁμάδι *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1261
 ποὺ ἐκαθόμαστε *CHORTATSIS, Panor.* IV.352 app. crit. (N); ὁπόκαθόμαστε *ibid.* IV.352 app. crit. (A)

διὰ νὰ προσευχώμασθε IER. AVVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 383.16
 και ὅλοι μας βρυχώμασταν ωσάν τα λεοντάρια IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 914; να δεόμασθεν *ibid.*
 4710tit.; βρισκόμασθεν *ibid.* 5393
 καλὰ εὐρισκόμασθε (1655, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 178.3); σε ἴλγες ἡμέρες ἐρχόμασθε
 (*ibid.* 178.13)
 νὰ ἔχωμε νὰ ἀποκρενώμασθε (1695, Karytaina, GRITSOPOULOS 1960: I.A 34, 115.9–10)
 πού ὀρεγόμασθε KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1261 app. crit. (X) ὡσὰ χαιρόμαστ' ὅλοι *ibid.* V.1431 app.
 crit. (X)
 καταγόμασθε (1708, Zakynthos, SATHAS 1865: 524.6)
 σὲ τί εὐρισκόμασθε (1715, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 10, 127.10)
 εὐρισκόμασθε συγχυσμένοι *Chron. Theod.* 20.1 (15th/16th-c. text; 19th-c. copy)

The ending can also be found with a dual stress, although sometimes the first accent is omitted in writing:

νὰ χαίρωμάσθε ZINOS, *Vatr.* 111; να κρύβωμάσθε *ibid.* 112
 ἐμπλεγάρομασταν (1546–51, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 64.22–3); δὲν
 μπατζορομάσταν (1548, Kefalonia, *ibid.* 25, 63.13); ὀμπλιγάρομασταν (1551, Kefalonia,
ibid. 49, 91.10–11)
 στέκομασθε (1583, Athens?, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.23)
 ὅλοι μας γίνομασθε *Pist. Vosk.* IV 5.108
 πολλὰ θαυμάζομασθε VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 653
 σκληρωμένοι | ἡύρισκομασθε KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.107–8
 γράφομασθε SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.19

Addition of -(ν)ε appears in a text from Corfu:¹⁷ θλιβομάστανε μὲ θλιμὸν μεγάλο *Evr. Eleg.* 3 166.8.

Pl.	1	-ούμασθε(ν) '-ουμάσταν

Sporadically the ending -μασθε/-μάσθε is found with a thematic vowel /u/ instead of /o/, as a result of back-vowel raising in the environment of a nasal (see I, 2.8.3): δεχούμασθε (1674, Paros, ZERLENDIS 1922: (3), 54.3) (read: δέχουμάσθε, as raising usually affects unstressed vowels); ἡμεῖς γνωρίζουμάσθε ἀπὸ μικρά μας χρόνια *Don Kis.* 131.8.

Pl.	1	-ο(υ)μαστιν(ε)

In several documents whose authors are of Peloponnesian origin (Koroni and Mani), forms in -μαστιν(ε) occur,¹⁸ which is -μασθε(ν)(ε) with the first /e/ changed to /i/. In diplomatic editions no examples have been found with notation of stress position(s). It is therefore unclear whether one should read e.g. ἡύρεσκούμαστινε or ἡύρέσκουμάστινε:¹⁹ ἡυρεσκουμαστινε (1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.16–17); στεργόμαστιν (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 2, 282.9) (accentuation tacitly corrected by the editor); ἐβρισκομαστινε (1679, Sovana, Tuscany, PAPADOPOULOS 1979: 1, 473.37).

¹⁷ See AVLONITI 2006: 28–9 for such forms in the modern dialect of Corfu.

¹⁸ For the ending -μαστι in MG dialects, see NEWTON 1972c: 268.

¹⁹ The same ending with the oxytone verb φοβούμαι has been found in the *Ἰσμία Χατζη Γεωργάκη Δραγομάνου*, an early 19th-c. text from Cyprus: κι ἐμεῖς δὲν τὸν φοβούμαστιν (v. 101).

Pl.	1	-ούμαστον

The ending -ούμαστον occurs in a document from Kimolos, dated slightly beyond the period covered by this Grammar. The ending -μαστον has also been found with the imperfect (see 4.3.1.2) and with εἶμαι (see the discussion there, 4.8.2): ὑποσχούμαστον (1724, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1973: 3, 308.20 facs.); νὰ μιντεναρίζουμαστον (ibid. 308.21 facs.) (< Fr. *maintenir* or Ital. *mantenere*) (ὑποσχοόμεστον and νὰ μὴν τεναραζούμεστον in the ed.).

2nd Person

Pl.	2	-εσθε(ν) † -εστε(ν) † -εστιν

The inherited 2 pl.²⁰ ending -εστε and its more formal, written variant -εσθε are used throughout and beyond the MedG period:

ἀκούετε τὰ καὶ οὐ θλίβετε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 115
 ἐδῶ ποῦ εὐρίσκεστε ἐνομοῦ *Chron. Mor.* H 2835; οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεστε ποσῶς ibid. 5394
 νὰ μὴ δέχεστε τοὺς χαρατζάρους (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 302.70)
 μ' ἂν ἔν' κι ἔσεῖς συνθλίβετε FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 40
 τίντα ἵννοιάζεσθε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.24; ἐννοιάζεσθε ibid. 488.34
 εὐρίσκεστε VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 298.18
 κρέμεστε *Cypr. Canz.* 112.7
 δὲν ἐτρέπεστε νὰ κλαῖτε *Epain. gyn.* 115
 θὲ νὰ βρίσκεστε εἰς τόσῃν ἁμαρτία VENDRAMOS, *Istor. gyn.* 192
 γράφεσθε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 57.4–5
 νὰ ὑποτάζεσθε (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 238.217); νὰ προσέχεσθε (ibid. 238.225)
 βλέπεστε ... ἔρχεστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.8–9
 φτιάνεσθε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2756; μὴν κρύβεσθε ibid. 6896; δὲν ἐντρέπεσθε ibid. 7868

Addition of final /n/ to this ending is not very common, but can be found in various texts, especially, though not exclusively, from the Heptanese:

δουλῶνεσθεν εἰς Ἑρωταν *Liv.* V 497
 οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεσθεν ποσῶς *Chron. Mor.* P 5392
 ἀναπεύεσθεν *Theseid* I.1,2 (Follieri); βρίσκεσθεν ibid. I.4,1
 ἐκείνο οἱ οὐδὲν ορέγεσθεν *Kakop.* 167
 λοιπὸν δὲ μὴ μὲ μέμφεσθεν ἐμὲν *Alex. Rim.* 1484; λογιζεσθεν κ' εἴσθεν ἀντρεωμένες ibid. 2522
 καὶ μὴδὲν θαυμάζεσθεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 353.3
 τὰ ζῶα οἱ οὐδὲν κάθεσθεν ἀπάνω *Bertoldin.* 100.20
 ἀπέξω φαίνεσθεν εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δίκαιοι KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 23.28; ἡξεύρει
 ὅτι τὰ χρειάζεσθεν ἐτούτα ibid. 12.30

²⁰ The MG ending -όσαστε, formed by analogy with 1 pl. -όμαστε (PERNOT 1907/46: II 292, who claims the ending is of Peloponnesian/Chiot origin), is not attested in the texts examined, which is not surprising given the relatively late appearance of -όμαστε (see above). No examples of -όσαστε have been found before the 18th c. It occurs e.g. in the grammar of Kanellos Spanos (author from the Peloponnese, written 1749): γράφoσαστε SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.19–20; and in the Zakynthian Dimitrios Gouzelis's comedy *O Chasis*: νὰ τσακωνόσαστε IV.226, the final version of which dates from 1795 (ed. Synodinos, Athens 1997).

A form with /i/ for /e/ in the last syllable as a result of mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4) was found in a document from the Crimea. Mid-vowel raising is a feature of Crimean Pontic, but not of other varieties of the pre-modern dialect (see HENRICH 1996b: 181–2 and HENRICH 1998a: 104): ἐὰν ἔρκεστιν (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.5).

Pl.	2	-οὔστε -οὔσθεν -οústene

This 2 pl. ending can be found in texts from Chios, with and without final /n/ or an added -(v)ε (for which see I, 3.7.2 and I, 2.6.3.3):

γραφοῦστε, vel γράφεστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.5

φαινοῦσθεν KONDAR., *Paidēs* 289

δὲν δυνοῦσθεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 3031

μὴν στεκούσtene KONDAR., *Paidēs* 251

πάντοτε βρισκούσtene PROSOPSAS, *Peri Tyflou* 438

ἔρισκούσtene PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 862

A proparoxytone form in -οῦσθεν has been found in one of the Jesuit plays written in Chios in the 17th c.: νὰ τὰράζουσθεν VEST., *Pathi* 84.

3rd Person

Pl.	3	-ονται -ονταίν '-ονταίνε -ωνται -οται '-οταίνε

The inherited 3 pl. ending -ονται is the standard ending before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

γίνονται μέρη δύο (1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 4, 58.20)

ἐπιτρέπονται εἰς τοὺς χριστιανούς NIKON, *Logos* 4 214.3

καὶ τὰ θηρία κρύβονται *Dig.* G IV.203

ἐνδύονται *Pol. Tr.* 5736

παιδιά καὶ ἄν μαζώνονται BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 95

νὰ ἀναπεύονται ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 5.3

αἱ πρᾶξεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζυγιάζονται καὶ δοκιμάζονται *Pist. kekoim.* 768

νὰ ἔρχονται (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.22)

δξω κατὰ πῶς εὐρίσκονται ἔδικά του (1573, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17 [later copy], 71–2.21)

ὑπόσχονται νὰ δώσουν (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 159, 100.4)

εὐρίσκονται κεφάλαια ἀνθρώπινα (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 337.67–8)

κόφονται τὰ ὅπλα του PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §29.18

διὰ νὰ μνημονεύονται οἱ κτήτορες (1647, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 1, 668.12)

νὰ κρένονται εἰς τὸν κατὴ μας (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.51r.6)

γράφονται (1699, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 13, 29.20)

Addition of final /n/ can be found from as early as the 11th c. in texts from various areas:

καὶ ἵνα διαλέγωνται (1027, Sparta, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 43, 301.25)

ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὀρέγονται *Spaneas* Z 331

βουλεύονται *Liv.* V 608

νὰ ὑπᾶν καὶ νὰ ἔρχονται (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 118.29)

ἐμπλεγάρωνται (1549, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 8, 45.9) (< Ven. *obligàr*);
 εὐρίσκονται (1555, *ibid.* 177, 228.20)
 νὰ ἔρχονται ἐδῶ (1615, Lefkada, PENDOGALOS 1977b: 2, 148.23)
 δύνονται VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 1377
 ἰσιάζονται ἀμφότεροι (1687, Chios, KANVADAS 1976: B.f15, 9.2)

With addition of *-(ν)ε* and dual accent, the form appears in a document from Kefalonia and in the Oxford version of *Digenis* (Chios) (for addition of *-(ν)ε* see I, 2.6.3.3): *ἡύρίσκονταινε* εἰς τὰ χέρια τοῦ Sr Λασχαράκη (1653, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 215, 186.54) (*ἡβρισκόντενε* in the diplomatic text, but the notation of accents appears to be random); *ἔρχονταινε* καὶ κλαῖσι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2109.

The ending *-οται(ν)(ε)* is a phonetic rather than a morphological variant of *-ονται*, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops. For details see I, 3.6.2.1:

εὐρίσκοται τινές ἀπὸ τοὺς μοναχοὺς *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 480–1
 ὅπερ φαίνοται (17th c., Athos, KADAS 1988: 120, 352.9–10)
 ὀμπλιγάροταινε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 31, 50.16); βρίσκοταινε (1638, *ibid.* 118, 114.16 and 114.18) (*ομπλιγαρότενε* and *βρισκότενε* in the ed., but accents appear to be largely editorial)
 νὰ γίνωται οἱ σεισμοὶ *Diig. Sant.* 55.53

Forms in *-οντι(ν)* are phonetic variants that bear witness to mid-vowel raising, whereby unstressed [e] becomes [i] (see I, 2.5.4). These forms appear in documents by authors from Athens and northern Greece: *ἔρχοντι* (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 58.3) (author from Athens); *ἵνα μνημονεύοντι* (1664, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 86, 210.15–16); *γένοντι* (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.16).

Pl.	3	-ουνται -ουνταίν -ουνταίνε '-ουνταίνε

The variant ending *-ουνται* comes from *-ονται* through back-vowel raising (of unstressed [o] to [u]) in the environment of a nasal (see I, 2.8.3); most probably there is also influence from 3 pl. act. *-ουν* (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 452), since forms with [u] for [o] are much more common for 3 pl. than for other persons in the paradigm. This ending can be found in a variety of texts throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. Some representative examples are:

ἄρχονται (1172, Palermo, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 10, 81.1)
 ἀρματώνονται *Chron. Mor.* 633; ἐκεῖ ποὺ εὐρέσκονται *Chron. Mor.* H 3690
 καὶ δύο γυναῖκες στέκονται *Liv.* V 464
 δαιμονίζονται (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 228.74); ὅπου ἔρχονται ἐξ αὐτοῦς (*ibid.* 244.586)
 ἐκδέρνονται οἱ κουτάλες σου *Diig. tetr.* 787 app. crit. (P)
 ἔρχονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς (1440, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1995: 126, 401.4)
 φαίνονται (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 50, 88.38)
 διὰ νὰ μὴν συγχύζονται (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 451.2)
 γράφονται GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.5
 νὰ στρέφονται (1629, Milos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 14, 10.28)
 ἐκείνοι οποῦ σπέρνονται KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark., 4.16
 καὶ χώνονται οἱ ἀχινέοι εἰς τὴν ἄμμον LANDOS *Geopon.* 131.15

μετατρέπονται (1665, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 2, 13.27–8)

νὰ μνημονεύονται (1695, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 354.18)

ἐλαττόνουνται VATATSI, *Pertiig. II* 516

The addition of final /n/ to the ending -ουνται is not uncommon, and the phenomenon can be found in texts predating the period under investigation (see also I, 3.7.2.1):

ἵνα ἀνατρέφουνται (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 27.220)

στένουνται οἱ φουδοῦλες *Liv. V* 1112; νὰ συχνοπεριπλέκουνται *ibid.* 3562

ὅπου ἔρχουνται (1446, Constantinople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 275.29)

ἄς ἔρχουνται ἐγλήγορα *Achil. N* 1450

ξεχωρίζουνται *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 993

ὀρδινιάζουνται *PETRITSIS, Dig. O* 1154; βόσκουνται *ibid.* 1312; νὰ ᾽πιχειρίζουνται *ibid.*

2908

νὰ παραστέκουνται (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 311.33)

ισιάζουνται (1684, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 409.1)

ὅ,τι τῆς εὐρίσκουνται (1690, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 78, 63.4–5)

κείτουνται ἄδικα φονεμένα *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 1312

Addition of -(ν)ε has been found in texts from Chios, one without and one with dual stress notation (for -(ν)ε see I, 2.6.3): *ερκουντενε/ἔρκουνταίνε* (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.5); *᾽βρίσκουνταίνε Dig. O* 2543.

Forms in -ουται(ν) are phonetic variants of those in -ουνται, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops (for details see I, 3.6.2.1):

νὰ παιδεύουται (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 302.51)

καταλύουται (1573, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75.2)

ξεκαθαρίζουται (1598, Crete, VIOLIDAKIS 2006: 3, 268.17)

νὰ μνημονεύουται (17th c., Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 49, 316.4)

ἐκεῖνα ποῦ εὐρίσκουνται (1668, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 39, 40.13)

νὰ πραγματεύγουνται (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 312.14)

ὀμπλιγάρουται (1691, Ikaria/Chios?, TSELIKAS 2000: 81, 64.2); νὰ καστιγάρουται (*ibid.*

64.15–16)

Forms in -ουντι(ν) are phonetic variants that bear witness to mid-vowel raising, whereby unstressed /e/ becomes [i]. An example has been found in a document from the Crimea (for details see I, 2.5.4; for the Crimean document see also HENRICH 1998a): οἱ δουλείγες δίχως ἔξοδον οὐκ ἐγίνουντιν (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.6–7).

4.1.2 Oxytone Verbs

The endings of the present indicative of oxytone verbs were originally identical to those of barytone verbs (-ω, -εις, -ει, -ομεν, -ετε, -ουσι), but contraction with the stem vowels, [a], [e] or [o], led to sound change, and the contracted morpheme began to be perceived as an oxytone ending. Before the LMedG period O-stem verbs had largely been remodelled into a barytone paradigm through the addition of an affix -νω (see also 1.1.1), though

oxytone O-stem endings that happen to be identical to or homophonous with the corresponding E-stem endings are not uncommon.²¹ Residual O-stem forms can occasionally be found.²²

For reasons of presentation, here the morphemes that are the result of contraction of stem vowels and endings will be treated as part of the endings, but see also 2.1.2.

The inherited sets of endings for A- and E-stems are identical for 1 sg. (act. -ῶ, pass. -οὔμαι), 1 pl. (act. -οὔμε, pass. -οὔμεθα) and 3 pl. (act. -οὔσι, pass. -οὔνται), and in the period covered by this Grammar there is a clear tendency for E-stems to adopt A-stem endings for 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl., although the reverse also occurs, and there is often variation even within the same text, e.g. ἐὰν μᾶς ζητῆς νὰ ποιήσωμεν τὸ δίκαιον κατὰ νόμον, | ἢ ἂν μᾶς ζητᾶς διὰ χάριταν καὶ διάκρισιν ἀφέντου *Chron Mor.* H 7477–8.

4.1.2.1 Active Voice

		General		Restricted		Rare	
Sg.	1	γρικῶ	βαρῶ			γρικάω	βαρέω -οὔ
	2	γρικᾶς/γρικᾶς	βαρεῖς βαρᾶς/βαρᾶς	γρικά(γ)εις	βαρά(γ)εις	γρικεῖς	
	3	γρικᾶ/γρικᾶ	βαρεῖ βαρᾶ/βαρᾶ	γρικεῖ γρικά(γ)ει			βαρεῖν βαρέ(ει)
Pl.	1	γρικοῦμε(ν)	βαροῦμε(ν)	γρικούμενε	βαρούμενε	γρικᾶμε	βαροῦμαν
	2	γρικᾶτε	βαρεῖτε	γρικῶμεν γρικᾶτεν γρικάτενε	βαρῶμεν βαρεῖτεν βαρείτενε		
	3	γρικοῦσι(ν) γρικοῦν	βαροῦσι(ν) βαροῦν	γρικούσινε γρικῶσι(ν) γρικοῦ γρικοῦνε	βαρούσινε βαρῶσι(ν) βαροῦ βαροῦνε	γρικᾶν(ε) (γρικά(γ) οὐν)	βαρέουσι(ν) βαρέουν βαρά(γ)ουν

For 1 pl. and 3 pl. of the present subjunctive of original E-stem verbs, the residual endings -ῶμε(ν) and -ῶσι(ν), which are identical to the corresponding residual endings of the

²¹ E.g. ἀξιοῦμεν (1447, Constantinople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1952: 293.5) or μόνον σε θαύμα και αυτό να ομοιεί σαν κείνο IOAKEIM KYPRI., *Pali* 1059.

²² E.g. νὰ μὴ κοινορτοῦται *Dig.* G IV.238; θυμοῦται *Chron. Toc.* 3644; ἡ Τροία θανατοῦται *Byz. Il.* 379; ἀπνοεκροῦται [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1160; δηλοῦται (1512, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 34, 59.11).

present indicative and subjunctive of A-stem verbs, can sporadically be found. Other than that, all forms of the present subjunctive of both A- and E-stem verbs are identical to or homophonous with those of the present indicative. The only subjunctive endings that are traditionally spelled differently from those of the present indicative are uncontracted 2 sg., and 3 sg. of both A- and E-stem verbs, as well as the contracted forms of 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl. of E-stem verbs. However, not all modern editors choose to make this graphematic distinction. As mentioned in the General Introduction to this Grammar, the iota subscript has been omitted in the examples in this Grammar. Other than that, the spelling of the modern editions of literary texts has been preserved. In examples normalized by us, 2 sg. and 3 sg. examples of the subjunctive are spelled with <ει>.

		General	Restricted		Rare
Sg.	1				
	2	βαρῆς/ βαρῆς	γρικήης/ γρικήης	βαράης/ βαράης	γρικῆῖ/γρικῆῖς
	3	βαρῆ/βαρῆ	γρικήη/γρικήη	βαρέη/βαρέη	γρικῆγῆ/γρικῆγῆ
Pl.	1				
		βαρῆτε		βαρήτεν(ε)	
	3				

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-ῶ ἰ -οῦ

For 1 sg. -ῶ is the standard ending for all oxytone verbs before and throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. Some representative examples are:

A-stems

ἀγαπῶ NIKON, *Logos* 31 814.1; οὐκ ἀποτολμῶ ἐρευνᾶν *ibid.* 818.27

ἐγὼ τὸ θέλω κι ἀγαπῶ *Chron. Mor.* H 578

πηδῶ ἔξω τῆς τέντας *Dig.* E 1132

καὶ ἄς πεινῶ *Paroim.* H 54

οὔτε σπαθία δειλιῶ *Achil.* N 322; χαίρετῶ *ibid.* 454; ἐγὼ σκιρτῶ καὶ χαίρομαι *ibid.* 1294

νὰ βαστῶ SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 20; νὰ ἀγαπῶ *ibid.* 44

διατὶ σὲ ἀγαπῶ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 546.28–9

οκαὶ μαντάτα τοῦ βαστῶ *Apoll. Rim.* 804

μόνον πλανῶ τοὺς γέροντες CHORTATIS, *Katz. Prol.* 31; δὲν τ' ἀγαπῶ *ibid.* I.284

πλαντῶ καὶ σκῶ *Stathis* I.79

ὅτι νὰ μὴν τρομῶ *Nov. II* 162.58 (= τολμῶ)

ἐγὼ κλωσσῶ τὰ χηνόπουλα *Bertoldin.* 128.13

μεγάλο πράγμα προορῶ *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 1

χαλνῶ *Don Kis.* 21.13–14

E-stems

παρακαλῶ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 310.8; κατακολουθῶ *ibid.* 312.1–2; ξῶς οὐ ζῶ *ibid.* 314.27
οὐκ ἤμπορῶ *Chron. Mor.* H 243; τὸν Μπονιφάτσον, σὲ λαλῶ *ibid.* 1016
ἐγὼ πονῶ καὶ ἐγὼ ἀγρυπνῶ *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 11
εὐχαριστῶ σε, Θεὲ καλέ, καὶ μυριοευχαριστῶ σε *Arm.* 47
ἐλεῶ τὰ κάλλη σου *Dig.* E 1543
ὀκνῶ νὰ σᾶς τὴν γράφω *Chron. Toc.* 858; μὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπορῶ *ibid.* 3041
δὲν ἤμπορῶ *Achil.* L 97; διατὶ νάρρωστῶ καὶ νὰ πονῶ *ibid.* 586
καὶ ὑπερευχαριστῶ σας *Achil.* N 447; ἐξαπορῶ *ibid.* 799
παρακαλῶ σε *Achil.* O 350; τὴν θεγατέραν του ποθῶ *ibid.* 398; τοῦτο πληροφορῶ σέ το *ibid.* 485
ἀμ' ἤθελα νὰ περπατῶ *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 41; καὶ ἐγὼ θαρρῶ *ibid.* 197; νὰ τοὺς θωρῶ *ibid.* 291
κρατῶ σε διὰ φίλον μου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 568.18
ἤξιῶ (1542, Corfu, *RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1996: 16, 227.15)
ευχαριστῶ σε, ἀφέντη μου *Diig. Apoll.* 215; νὰ τραγουδῶ πανέμνοστα *ibid.* 606
ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ (1609, Mani, *SKOPETAS* 1950: III, 71.3)
ἀδυνατῶ νὰ λέγω *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1485
συγχωρνῶ *Don Kis.* 21.6

There is no satisfactory morphological or phonetic explanation for the following forms in -οῦ found in a collection of documents from Skyros (cf. barytone verbs, and see also I, 2.5.4.3): ἐγὼ ... μαρτυροῦ το ἄνωθεν (1635, Skyros, *ANDONIADES* 1990: 24, 46.13); δὲ ζητοῦ πλέον τίποτες (1659, *ibid.* 29, 52.11); Θεοδωρῆς Πετεκάλη μαρτυροῦ (1661, *ibid.* 31, 54.14).

Sg.	1	-άω -έω

Uncontracted forms of 1 sg. of A-stem verbs, certainly not uncommon in MG, are absent from LMedG texts, and rare in EMG texts:

γεννάω *Cypr. Canz.* 27.12
ν' ἀκουμπάω *Vosk.* 320
ἀγροικάω (1713, Nauplion, *ΛΙΑΤΑ* 1998a: [1], 263.27)
ρωτάω καὶ γι' αὐτόν *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.381

Uncontracted forms for 1 sg. of E-stem verbs are generally only to be found in explanations on the conjugation of verbs in the works of grammarians and lexicographers, such as Choïroboskos, Eustathios of Thessaloniki and Ps.-Zonaras. The only example that has been found in the texts examined is the following, no doubt intended to have a comical effect, this verb being otherwise unattested: ἡρξάμην κρᾶζειν συνεχῶς τὸ «δέμνε κυριδάτον» | τὸ «σάμνε» καὶ τὸ «ντόμβρε» καὶ τὸ «στεριοπορτέω» *Ptoch. I* 251–2.

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-ᾶς/-ᾷς

For 2 sg. of A-stem verbs this is the most commonly used ending before and throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, and it is also used regularly with E-stem verbs in texts from all regions (see also 2.1.2.2.2):

A-stems

πῶς οὐ πλαντᾷς GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 256
 ἄν ἀγαπᾷς καὶ θέλεις *Achil.* L 898
 ὅπου ἀγαπᾷς μὴ σύχναζε *Paroim.* H 13
 μηδὲ δειλιᾷς FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 315
 αὐτὰ τὰ ἄρματα νὰ βαστᾷς *Diig. Alex.* V 40.10
 πῶς ἀποκοτᾷς MOREZINOS, *Klini* 132.2
 μη μ' ἐρωτᾷς *Apoll. Rim.* A 1149; ὅσ' ἄν ὄγρικας *ibid.* 1895
 γρικᾷς ἐγὼ τὶ ὀρίζω *Alex. Rim.* 1779; καὶ πλέο μὴ με ἐρωτᾷς *ibid.* 2450
 καὶ σὺ γελᾷς μας φανερά *Fyll. gadar.* 60
 μηδέ γλακάς CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.279; καὶ νὰ σωπᾷς *id.*, *Katz.* I.277; διψᾷς *ibid.* IV.24
 μας περιγελάς LANDOS, *Kalok.* 342.1
 ἀγαπᾷς τὸ γύναιον; *Vios Aisop.* K 162.30; ἄρα μοῦ γελᾷς ἢ ἀναγελάς *ibid.* 164.15
 ἐσὺ κλωσσᾷς τὰ χηνόπουλα; *Bertoldin.* 128.14; ἀγαπᾷς *ibid.* 168.29
 νὰ καλημερνᾷς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §8.27
 νὰ πετᾷς PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1657; καὶ προτιμᾷς τὴν *ibid.* 2262
 βαστᾷς *Zinon Prol.* 141

E-stems

ἐμὲ οὐκ ἐλεᾷς *Vios Philaret.* 151 (9th c.; 11th-c. ms)
 προσδοκᾷς *Ptoch. I* 101
 νὰ σκοπᾷς *Chron. Mor.* H 1654; νὰ εὐχαριστᾷς *ibid.* 4109
 νὰ φλογотоμᾷς (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.7)
 νὰ κλουθᾷς τὴν κόρην *Achil.* L 208
 μισᾷς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 592
 ὁμολογᾷς *Diig. Alex.* F 116.11 (Konstantinopulos); ἐλεημονᾷς *ibid.* 116.12
 κατοικᾷς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 114, 111.3)
 ὁ ἄρτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεουργᾷς MOREZINOS, *Klini* 36.12
 νὰ φκαριστᾷς CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.179; βοηθᾷς μου *id.*, *Katz.* I.334; με καταφρονᾷς *ibid.* V.317
 προνοᾷς ΜΑΤΤΗΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2596 and 2629
 κτυπᾷς *Vios Aisop.* K 150.15; ἐπαινᾷς *ibid.* 161.13; μὴν μοῦ κατηγορᾷς *ibid.* 162.15
 μὴν στέκεσαι νὰ ραθυμᾷς *Bertoldin.* 147.12; ἐπιθυμᾷς *ibid.* 168.29
 τί κυνηγᾷς ἀνέμους PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1635
 νὰ τὸν νουθετᾷς (1695, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 1 [A'], 250.17)

Sg.	2	-άεις/-άης ἢ -άγεις

Uncontracted forms of 2 sg. are not very common; they can be found with A-stem and E-stem verbs from at least the 15th c. (ms date of *Liv.* E) onwards, but mainly in verse texts and more often than not rhyming with (ὅ)πάεις. However, one example has been found in an early 18th-c. non-literary text originating from Corfu.

A-stems

καὶ θέλεις καὶ ἀγαπάεις *Liv.* E 3272
 διατὶ ἡξεύρω γροικάεις μου *Theseid Prol.* P 128 (same in E)
 ἄν ἀγαπάης τὸν Θεὸν DEFAR., *Log. did.* 125; ἀπερνάης *ibid.* 771
 νὰ συγκεράης τὸ πικρὸν μετὰ τὸ γλυκὺ τὸ μέλι ΜΑΤΤΗΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 24; καλὰ τὰ
 κυβερνάεις *ibid.* 27; τοὺς τιμάεις *ibid.* 28; γελᾷς *ibid.* 1717

κι ὅλος χαμογελάεις MONTSEL., *Evgena* 463
ἀπετάεις Zinon Prol. 141

E-stems

εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ζητάεις *Chron. Mor.* P 8175
καὶ μὴ σκοπάης *Theseid* I.108,7 (Follieri)
εἴ τι χρωστάεις πλέρωσε ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2148; ἂν χρεωστάης τίποτες *ibid.* 2149
ημᾶς πῶς βοηθάεις ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 4511; αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνάεις *ibid.* 9756
οὐδὲ νὰ πολεμάεις ΒΟΥΝΙΑΛΙΣ Μ., *Diig. Pol.* 405.6
ἄνθρωπε, πῶς ἀποκοτᾷς τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀδικάεις; *Alfav.* II 1
συκοφαντάεις ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1718
χωράεις Zinon Prol. 142
καὶ νὰν τότε παρηγοράης (1715, Corfu, ΛΙΑΤΑ 1975: 10, 127.10)

For anaptyxis of /χ/ between the stem-vowel /a/ and the 2 sg. ending, as in πάλιν κεῖ καταπτάγεις VATATSI, *Periig. I* 276, see 2.1.2.2.2; see also I, 3.5.2.1.

Sg.	2	-εῖς/-ῆς/-ῆς

For 2 sg. of E-stem verbs, the inherited ending -εῖς is used, often alongside -ᾶς. It is only sporadically found with A-stem verbs (see also 2.1.2.1):

E-stems

ἀλλ' ὅτε θέλεις νὰ ὑπνεῖς *Diig. tetr.* 947 (ed. ὑπνοῖς)
τί ἔναι τὸ πονεῖς *Achil.* L 116; ἐγῶμαι τὸν κενοδοξεῖς *ibid.* 699
ὅπου φιλεῖς μὴ δάνειζε *Paroim.* H 13
ἀπὸ μακρὰ ροδοβολεῖς *Plani kosmou* 2
Ἰωάννη μου, καλὰ λαλεῖς FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 63
θωρεῖς LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 451
οὐδὲν ἠμπορεῖς *Diig. Alex.* F 147.15 (Konstantinopulos)
μηδὲν ξυλοσοφῆς πολλὰ *Fyll. gadar.* 49
ὅλους μᾶς τιμωρεῖς *Vios Aisop.* K 150.15–16
πῶς μὲ κρατεῖς CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.277; δὲ μοῦ βολεῖ *ibid.* III.357
σὺ θαρρεῖς πῶς δὲν τὸ ἡξέρω (1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 13, 215.5–6)

A-stems

νὰ μᾶς ... κυβερνῆς *Chron. Mor.* H 7923
καὶ ἐσὺ μεθεῖς; *Vios Aisop.* I 262.10

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ᾶ/-ᾶ

For 3 sg. of A-stem verbs, this is the most commonly used ending before and throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. The ending is also used frequently with E-stem verbs, throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from all regions:

A-stems

περνᾶ τὸ ποταμίτισιν (1085, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 43, 147.30)
 τὸ φροῦ καὶ φρᾶ μὴ σὲ πλανᾶ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 362
 μηνᾶ *Pol. Tr.* 1317 (μηνῶ < μηνύω; see also 2.1.3.1)
 πηδᾶ, καβαλλικεύει *Achil.* L 52; ἀποτολμᾶ *ibid.* 1005; χαμογελᾶ *ibid.* 1092
 πολλὰ σὲ χαιρετᾶ (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 26.4)
 καὶ πότε τὸν νικᾶ ὁ ἄγκαλῶν *Assizes A* 90.6
 καὶ μας χαλνᾶ *Diig. Alex.* K 346.30
 καὶ γεννᾶ τὸν Σαψῶν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.17
 ἀρχινᾶ (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.26)
 μὲ σπουδὴν τὰ ἀρχινᾶ ZYGOM., *Stef. Ichn.* 253.3
 πάλι ματαρωτᾶ τον *Nov. I* 156.10
 καὶ ἐρωτᾶ τον *Vios Aisop.* I 252.20; πλὴν ὅλα αὐτὰ τὰ περνᾶ ἢ γυναῖκα *ibid.* 257.15
 νὰ τοὺς ῥωτᾶ PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 1409; προῦπαντᾶ *ibid.* 1971
 πηδᾶ καὶ δὲν ρωτᾶ NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 48
 κι ὄλο διψᾶ KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.2
 βιστουρᾶ *Thrinios Kypr.* 70

E-stems

κινᾶ ἐκ τὰ γονικά του *Log. parig.* L 37
 πρώτα Θεὸν εὐχαριστᾶ *Chron. Mor.* H 293; παρηγορᾶ την *ibid.* 8025
 νὰ μὲ πολεμᾶ SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 104
 δὲν φελᾶ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 234.24; καὶ ἐκεῖνος πολομᾶ μου μοῦττες *ibid.* 562.10–11
 νὰ κληρονομᾶ (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 10, 23.51)
 καὶ νὰ τοῦ ἀκολουθᾶ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.2; νὰ τοὺς ἀδικᾶ *ibid.* 31.12
 ἀστενᾶ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.48; δὲν συμφωνᾶ εἰς τὴν γνώμην σου *ibid.* III §33.1
 νὰ συγκοινωνᾶ RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 105.29
 καλλιερᾶ (1649, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 15, 27.14)
 τὸν ἴπιθυμᾶ PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 1620; προσκυνᾶ *ibid.* 1971; παρηγορᾶ *ibid.* 2055
 ζητᾶ τότες αὐτὸς νὰ δῇ KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 141
 καὶ αὐτὸς συγχωρᾶ ὀλωνῶν (1685, Andros, POLEMIS 1995b: 5, 38.7)
 κατοικᾶ (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 69.24)
 μὲ παρακινᾶ (1696, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 2 [B'], 253.16)

Forms in -ᾶ of the verb (ἦ)μπορῶ, followed by a bare subjunctive, which can be found from at least the 15th/16th c. onwards in texts from southern regions, are the result of univerbation of the 3 sg. impersonal verb and the conjunction νά into a single lexeme (see also 1.1.4):

μπορᾶ νοιαστῆς *Cypr. Canz.* 137.3
 γιὰ νὰ μὴ μπορᾶ τὸ κόψει οὐδένας (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 662, 576.15)
 δὲν ἦμπορᾶ μιλήσω MONTSEL., *Evgena* 901
 νὰ μὴ πορᾶ τὸ πάρου (1660, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 15, 380.23)
 ἀκόμα δεν πορᾶ φανοῦν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7123
 μπορᾶ καταβαλοῦμεν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 471
 μὰ εἶντα μπορᾶ σοῦ κάμω KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.107

For examples of this phenomenon with the verbs θέλω and μέλλω, see 5.1.4.5 and 5.1.2.

Sg.	3	-εῖ(ν)/ -ῖ/-ῃ

For 3 sg. of E-stem verbs, the inherited ending -ει is used before and throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. It can also sometimes be found with A-stem verbs in texts from various regions:

E-stems

- οἰκονομεῖ NIKON, *Logos* 31 814.16
 ἄς θαρρῇ *Log. parig.* L 721; πατεῖ *ibid.* 722
 νὰ θωρῇ *Poulol.* 541
 ἀκανεῖ, ἔχω καταπατητάδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 58.2–3 (< ἱκανῶ)
 πολεμεῖ *Diig. Alex.* E 45.17 (Konstantinopulos)
 πουλεῖ (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 26, 105.4)
 νὰ μιλεῖ (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.29)
 νὰ φορεῖ MOREZINOS, *Klini* 41.9; νὰ μὴν τῆς βαρεῖ *ibid.* 51.28; νὰ ζεῖ *ibid.* 51.33
 ἄρχισε νὰ πολυλογῇ *Vios Aisop.* K 179.12
 παρακαλεῖ GERMANO, *Grammar* 51.23
 ὁμολογεῖ (1646, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1970: 1, 251.14)
 θέλει καὶ λακταρεῖ τον PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1620; καταφιλεῖ του *ibid.* 2356
 πουλεῖ NEOFYOTOS, *Achouri* 46
 ο Θεός να τον πολυτεῖ *Don Kis.* 21.26; η τύχη μάς οδηγεῖ *ibid.* 44.29; ὅταν σε πονεῖ *ibid.* 47.16
 νὰ μὴν λειτουργεῖ τινὰς ἀπὸ λόγου σας (1645 [19th-c. copy], Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 10.26)

A-stems

- τύπος εἰ καὶ πλανῇ με *Diig. Alex.* M 3499
 νὰ κυβερνῇ τὸ πλοῖον *Poulol.* 540 app. crit. (E)
 καταδαπανεῖ *Achil.* N 5
 ὀρμεῖ *Byz. Il.* 111
 γιὰ νὰ περνῇ ὁ καιρός σου *Theseid Prol.* E 97 app. crit.
 νὰ τὰ κυβερνεῖ (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 298, 212.16)
 ανεμικὴ μαδεῖ το CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* III.84
 καὶ μασεῖ καὶ βάνει LANDOS, *Geopon.* 130.28

Addition of final /n/ is very rare: ἄν οὐδὲν σᾶς βολῇν νὰ ἔλθετε *Diig. Alex.* F 166.3 (Konstantinopulos); θέλει καὶ ποιεῖν (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 13, 27.5).

Sg.	3	-άει/-άη/-άη ! -άγει/-άγη/-άγη

Unlike 1 sg. and 2 sg., for 3 sg. uncontracted A-stem forms are rather common in the LMedG and EMG period, and they are found not only with A-stem verbs but also with E-stem verbs, in literary texts as well as in non-literary documents from various areas, from at least the 15th c. onwards (mss of *Pol. Tr.*). As far as E-stem verbs are concerned, the majority of non-literary texts originate from western areas (Heptanese, Central Greece). In verse texts it is sometimes clear that the uncontracted written form should be read as falling diphthongs (see e.g. the examples from *Liv. E* and *Love poems*).

A-stems

- νὰ τοὺς κυβερνάη *Pol. Tr.* 2805 app. crit. (X); καὶ νὰ βαστάη τὰ ἄρματα *ibid.* 1555 app. crit. (BV)
 συναπαντάει μου ὁ Πόθος *Liv.* E 296; ἀναρωτάει ἡ Ροδάμνη *ibid.* 1264
 μέσα ἡ καρδιά μου σ' ἀγαπάει *Love poems* V 303

άλλα του μελετάει *Theseid* VI.31.8 (Olsen)
 διὰ νὰ μὲ κυβερνάει (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 45, 55.19)
 ὅτι πῶς μᾶς γελάει (ca. 1560, Ancona, MARKOS 1977: Ια, 27.8)
 ὡσὰν ἀπερνάει (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.17)
 διὰ νὰ τὰ βαστάη *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1024
 νὰ ἀγαπάει (1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 78.15)
 πέφτει καὶ ξεψυχάει BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 206.2; γροικáει πάλι *ibid.* 240.4
 νὰ κυβερνάει (1683, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 89, 321.7)
 ἀρχίνισε νὰ χαλάει (1687, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 35, 119.21)
 περνάει NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 303
 νὰ ἀρχινάει (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 66.4)
 ἀρχισε νὰ γελάει *Don Kis.* 55.36

E-stems

οἰκονομάει *Pol. Tr.* 8985 app. crit. (AX); νὰ τὴν παρηγοράη *ibid.* 9851 app. crit. (B)
 ποῦ κυνηγάει ὁ Πέτρος *Chron. Toc.* 885
 δειπνάει *Peri xen.* 413
 καὶ πάρραυτα ψοφάει *Alex. Rim.* 212
 νὰ ἱεουργάη (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 42, 103.20)
 ὁμολογάει νὰ τῆς δώσῃ (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 29, 49.11)
 καὶ ὅλους κατουράει IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 151
 ἂν μᾶς ὀδικάει (1654, Karpēnisi, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 7, 83.14)
 νὰ κληρονομáει το ἄλλο (1660, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 2, 115.17)
 προσενάει (1661, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 26, 114.63)
 νὰ τὸν ἀκλουθάη (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 1, 145.26)
 τίς τὸν μετράει (1669, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 84, 216.23)
 κινάει νὰ προβάλει BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 238.16
 συμπταθάει (1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 13, 10.2; and 1695, *ibid.* 192, 115.3)

For anaptyxis of /y/ between the stem-vowel /a/ and the 3 sg. ending, as in ν' ἀπαντάγη *Assizes B* 455.3; ἀρχινάγει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 346.1, see 2.1.2.2.2; see also I, 3.5.2.1.

Sg.	3	-έει † -έ

This rare uncontracted E-stem ending -έει and a shortened variant -έ occurs in legal texts from Cyprus with the verb ἐγκαλῶ (see also 3 pl. in -έουν). For similar forms of barytone vowel-stem verbs, on which these endings may have been modelled, see 2.1.1.2; see also 2.4 for shortened forms of ὀμνέω (< ὀμνύω) for 2 sg. (ὀμνές) and 3 sg. (ὀμνέ), which can be found in the same area (Cyprus, as well as Rhodes): ἐγκαλέει (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.126–7 and 65.45); ἀγκαλῆ *Assizes B* 305.27, 306.23 and 306.30 (< ἐγκαλῶ).

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-οὔμε(ν) † -ούμενε

For 1 pl. the original E-stem ending -οῦμε(ν), which had begun to replace the AG A-stem ending -ῶμεν in Hellenistic times (see 1.1.4), is the most commonly used ending for all oxytone verbs in both literary and non-literary LMedG and EMG texts from all areas:

E-stems

λαλοῦμεν *Chron. Mor.* H 3844; νὰ βοηθοῦμεν *ibid.* 8950
 ποιοῦμεν (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.10); ὁμολογοῦμεν (*ibid.* 474.2)
 οὐδὲν σὲ θεωροῦμεν *Dig.* E 111; προσδοκοῦμεν *ibid.* 121
 ὄρκον φρικτὸν ποιοῦμεν *Liv.* V 103; ἄς περιπατοῦμεν *ibid.* 2505
 μισοῦμεν *Florios* 49 (Hesseling)
 χρεωστοῦμεν οἱ ἀπαξάπαντες (14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.6)
 ἐδῶ νὰ κατοικοῦμεν *Achil.* N 698
 νὰ πλημελοῦμεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 182.17–18; οὐδ' ἐμεῖς φελοῦμεν *ibid.* 234.25
 εἰς τὰ πονοῦμεν πόνησε BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 158; καὶ νὰ συμπεριπατοῦμεν *ibid.* 370
 πλέον ου καρτεροῦμεν *Diig. Apoll.* 297
 λιζάτον νὰ τελοῦμεν *Diig. Alex.* E 158.21–2 (Lolos); ὁμολογοῦμεν *ibid.* 227.12
 περβατοῦμεν (1549, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 51, 93.7)
 νὰ κρατοῦμεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 272, 268.16); νὰ πουλοῦμεν (*ibid.* 268.17)
 συγχωροῦμεν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 6.12; ἤμποροῦμεν *ibid.* 22.17
 γιὰ νὰ περιπατοῦμεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1757; μὲ σὲ νὰ πολεμοῦμεν *ibid.* 2578
 παρὰ ὅσον επιθυμοῦμεν ἡμεῖς *Don Kis.* 44.29

A-stems

νικοῦμεν τοὺς *Pol. Tr.* 2961 app. crit. (V); τολμοῦμεν *ibid.* 4945 app. crit. (AVX)
 καταρωτοῦμεν *Dig.* E 1220
 ἐπίαμεν νὰ μὴν διψοῦμεν *Liv.* E 2682; συναπαντοῦμεν *ibid.* 3056
 περνοῦμεν *Liv.* α 4043 and 4044
 καὶ ἀγαποῦμεν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς *Chron. Toc.* 2601
 βαστοῦμεν τὸ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 66.31; μνηοῦμεν σου *ibid.* 372.14
 ὅτι νὰ ἐρωτοῦμεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 351.9–10; ἐγροικοῦμεν *ibid.* 371.15
 χόρευε κι ας πηδοῦμεν *Katis* 12
 ἀν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους γελοῦμεν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 24.10
 μεθοῦμεν *Vios Aisop.* K 179.18
 τιμοῦμεν GERMANO, *Grammar* 91.15
 νὰ κερνοῦμεν εἰς τὴν τράπεζον (1634, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 58, 156.12–13)
 νὰ τὴν ἀπερνοῦμεν *Bertoldos* 45.12–13
 ἄλλο δὲν προτιμοῦμεν LANDOS, *Kalok.* 338.12
 τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς τιμοῦμεν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5201; καὶ αὐτὰνα τὰ χαλοῦμεν *ibid.* 6896

Attestations of the loss of final /n/ can be found sporadically from the Koine onward (DIETERICH 1898: 249), becoming more frequent in texts from all areas from at least the 14th c. onwards (see also I, 3.7.2.2):²³

²³ Note that ms V of Machairas's *Chronicle* always retains final /n/ with verb endings, except before a nasal, e.g. νὰ. Νὰ and the preceding verb are often written without word division, and writing two ν's would imply a geminate pronunciation (see I, 3.4), which appears not to have been the case: δὲν ἔμποροῦμεναπίσμεν τύποτες / δὲν ἤμποροῦμε νὰ ποίσουμεν τίποτες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 232.13–14 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari). Voustronios, on the other hand, omits final /n/ only before clitics starting in /s/, where the combination /n/ + /s/ would lead to a geminate pronunciation of /s/: πολομούμε σε VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 176.12–13 (cf. τασσομέν σου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 258.36 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)).

E-stems

ὅσοι γὰρ δυστυχοῦμε *Chron. Mor.* H 1824; νὰ ζοῦμε *ibid.* 3020
 ὅτι νὰ φιλοῦμε *Dig.* E 883
 πολομοῦμε σε νὰ ἡξεύρεις (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 16, 11.1)
 ἀργοῦμε *Pol. Tr.* 1573 app. crit. (V); πολεμοῦμε *ibid.* 5482 app. crit. (V)
 καὶ ἄν ζοῦμε *Liv.* α 827
 πλέον οὐκ ὠφελοῦμε *Velis.* N² 331
 ν' ἀργοῦμε *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 274; κρατοῦμε *ibid.* 487; νὰ θε' ν' ἀγανακτοῦμε *id., Rim. Par.* 46
 πάντες σὲ προσκυνοῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 787; καὶ ὅλοι ἀποροῦμε *ibid.* 1615; περικαρτεροῦμε *ibid.* 2031
 χαιρετοῦμε *Diig. Alex.* K 376.7
 πεθυμοῦμε (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.16)
 πολεμοῦμε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 87.18; ἀκαρτεροῦμε *ibid.* 88.33
 νὰ ζιοῦμε (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.14); νὰ παρακαλοῦμε (*ibid.* 59.50–1)
 ὅ,τι κι ἄν πεθυμοῦμε *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.709; δὲν πρέπτε νὰ γλακοῦμε *ibid.* IV.1414
 χαιρετοῦμε (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.PS)
 μιλοῦμε *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.278; μελετοῦμε *ibid.* III.482

A-stems

εὔχολα τὸν περνοῦμε *Liv.* E 3902
 ν' ἀγαποῦμε *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 514; νὰ τιμοῦμε *id., Erot. En.* 129
 νὰ περνοῦμε *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 205
 γρικοῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 788; τίποτες δὲν ψηφοῦμε *ibid.* 1785
 βαστοῦμε *Fyll. gadar.* 131
 νὰ περνοῦμε *CHORTATSI, Erof.* I.149; κοπιοῦμε *ibid.* IV.431; γρικοῦμε *ibid.* IV.432
 γροικοῦμε *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1635
 μελετοῦμε *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.482; παραπερνοῦμε *ibid.* IV.400

With addition of -(ν)ε the ending has been found in texts from Crete and Chios, but may have had a wider geographical distribution (see I, 2.6.3.3): νὰ πολεμοῦμενε ὁμοῦ *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2575; περνούμενε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 171.10; θωρούμενε *ibid.* 334.17; γελούμενε *ibid.* 334.21; ζοῦμενε *ibid.* 334.20; σὲ προσκυνούμενε *ibid.* 365.16; γροικούμενε *id., Kat. ofel.* 83.

Pl.	1	-ῶμεν

The residual A-stem ending -ῶμεν, which had started to disappear gradually from Hellenistic times onwards (see 1.1.4), is occasionally used in literary and non-literary texts, with both A- and E-stem verbs. With this ending, final /n/ is not usually omitted.

A-stems

τὰ χωράφια ἡμῶν τὰ ἔπερ χτῶμεν (1139, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 3, 295.8)
 τολμῶμεν *Pol. Tr.* 4945 app. crit. (B)
 συναπαντῶμεν *Liv.* α 3187 app. crit. (P); νὰ τρυφῶμεν *ibid.* 3363
 πεινῶμεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1513; τρυγῶμεν *ibid.* 2110
 ἄλλον οὐ ψηλαφῶμεν *Velth.* 1261
 ἀμηχανῶμεν (1453, Gallipoli, DARROUZÈS 1963: 2, 83.19)
 καὶ βοῶμεν σοι *Spanos A* 323
 καὶ δειλιῶμεν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 4147; χρειὰ νὰ σιωπῶμεν *ibid.* 4671

E-stems

ποιῶμεν (1165, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 169, 222.10); ὁμολογῶμεν (ibid. 222.18)
 ἡμεῖς μὲν ζῶμεν (1256, Palatia (Miletos), NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 288.1)
 ποιῶμεν γνωστὸν (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 265.25)
 τὸ πῶς νὰ τὸν κρατῶμεν *Chron. Mor.* H 811
 ἄν ζῶμεν *Liv.* α 827 app. crit. (P)
 ὁμολογῶμεν (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 57.81)
 ὅταν, λέγω, τα θεωρῶμεν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 3.8 (spelled θεωρόμεν in the ed.)

Pl.	1	-ᾶμε

The ending -ᾶμε, the most common ending for A-stem verbs in MG, is absent from LMedG, and has been found only once in an EMG manuscript, namely ms N (16th c.) of *Livistros*: συναπαντᾶμε ἄνθρωπον *Liv.* α 3187 app. crit. (N).²⁴

Pl.	1	-οῦμαν

This is a rather dubious ending with one attestation. The ending is rather common with the imperfect of oxytone verbs, which may have been a source of confusion, but it cannot be excluded that this is simply a writing mistake: πλέον μηδὲν ἀργοῦμαν *Pol. Tr.* 2962 app. crit. (V).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ᾶτε(ν) † (*-ᾶτενε)

For the 2nd person pl. of A-stem verbs, the inherited ending -ᾶτε is the standard ending in both literary and non-literary texts throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar; this ending is also used with E-stem verbs (for the identical 2 pl. pres. imp. ending see 4.5.1.2):

A-stems

ὅταν τρυγᾶτε τὸ δένδρον *Log. parig.* L 737
 νὰ τὸ ἐγροικᾶτε *Chron. Mor.* H 2692
 κἄν ψηλαφᾶτε *Dig.* E 69
 πάντες νὰ τὸν τιμᾶτε *Liv.* V 639; καὶ ἐσεῖς ἀμεριμνᾶτε ibid. 2731
 ὅσοι μὲ ἀγαπᾶτε *Chron. Toc.* 2054
 βαστᾶτε *Phys.* 1086
 πῶς τορμᾶτε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 486.33 (< τολμῶ)
 ψηφᾶτε FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 458
 νὰ τὸ γροικᾶτε ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 477
 γελᾶτε ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, *Grammar* 63.13

²⁴ Although it cannot be excluded that one should read συναπαντᾶ με ἄνθρωπος (cf. συναπαντᾶ με ὁ Πόθος *Liv.* α 360 and συναπαντᾶ με ὁ βασιλεὺς ibid. 2501; in the context both forms, 3 sg. and 1 pl. are suitable), the fact that the other versions of *Livistros* also have 1 pl. forms (συναπαντοῦμεν *Liv.* E 3056, S 1896 and V 2837; συναπαντῶμεν P 2406) is at least an indication that the form of N is plural.

νὰ τὰ γροικᾶτε *Pist. kekoim.* 19–20; νὰ τὰ ἐρευνᾶτε *ibid.* 20
 τιμᾶτε GERMANO, *Grammar* 91.15
 μὰ γελᾶτε *Bertoldin.* 129.31
 καὶ ὅποιον ἀγαπᾶτε δώσετέ το PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §27.15
 τον κόσμον πῶς περνάτε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1644; ψηφάτε *ibid.* 2994
 τί τὴν ῥωτᾶτε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1507

E-stems

νὰ μᾶς βοηθᾶτε *Chron. Mor.* H 2703
 ποτέ μὴ ἀδημονᾶτε *Liv.* V 985
 λιγωρᾶτε FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 457; συντηρᾶτε *id.*, *Thrinis* 144; τὸ πῶς τὸν ἀδικᾶτε *ibid.* 232
 χειροτονᾶτε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 14.11; πολομᾶτε *ibid.* 382.2; πλημελᾶτε *ibid.* 450.32
 μισᾶτε BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 160
 τὸν προσκυνᾶτε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 349.17
 νὰ τὰ ἐρευνᾶτε *Pist. kekoim.* 20
 ἀγρυπνᾶτε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 14.38
 ποτέ μὴν τὸ μισᾶτε TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 348
 μὴν λειποψυχᾶτε *Bertoldin.* 110.1; τὸ εἶ,τι ἐπιθυμᾶτε *ibid.* 169.13
 νὰ τὸ λειτουργᾶτε LANDOS, *Geopon.* 254.25
 νὰ γλακᾶτε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 384
 μηδὲ μετανοᾶτε (1685, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [2], 13.18)
 καταφρονᾶτε NEOFYOTOS, *Achouri* 319; μετρᾶτε *ibid.* 320

Addition of final /n/ was encountered in texts from Chios: νὰ ἴθετεν νὰ γελᾶτεν KONDAR., *Paides* 84; καὶ μὴν ἀργοπορᾶτεν *ibid.* 251; ἂν ἐπιθυμᾶτεν λοιπὸν νὰ γροικήσετεν PROSOPSAS, *Eulogy* (quoted in MANOUSAKAS/PUCHNER 2000: 29, fn. 14). Verb forms in -άτενε, with added -(ν)ε (for which see I, 2.6.3.3), have not been found in the texts examined, but they are likely to appear at least in texts from Chios (cf. 2 pl. pres. of E-stems and of barytone verbs, 4.1.2.1 and 4.1.1.1).

Pl.	2	-εἶτε(ν) ἰ -εἴτενε ἰ -ῆτε(ν) ἰ -ήτενε

For the 2 pl. of E-stem verbs, the inherited ending -εἶτε is used in both literary and non-literary texts throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods, often alongside forms in -ᾶτε (for the identical 2 pl. pres. imp. ending see 4.5.1.2). The ending has not been found with A-stem verbs:

ποιεῖτε οὕτως καὶ οὕτως NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.32
 νὰ τοὺς ψυχοπνητε *Log. parig.* L 733
 καὶ ἐσεῖς ἀμεριμνεῖτε *Liv.* α 3081
 νὰ πολεμῆτε *Achil.* N 259
 ζεῖτε FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 77
 πορπατεῖτε BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 532
 νὰ ὑψηλοφρονήτε *Alex.* Fyll. 45.14; προσκυνεῖτε *ibid.* 45.14
 ἐλᾶτε, μὴν ἀργεῖτε *Thysia Avr.* 238
 τον θεόν οποιῦ επιορκεῖτε NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 24.8
 περπατεῖτε NEOFYOTOS, *Achouri* 370

Addition of final /n/ or of -(ν)ε to this ending occurs in texts from Chios (for details see I, 2.6.3.3 and I, 3.7.2.1): μὴν με θωρῆτεν KONDAR., *Paides* 1; νὰ τὸν καταπατῆτεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 3030; πορπατεῖτενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 50.2.

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-οὔσι(ν) † -οὔσινε

The inherited E-stem ending -οὔσι, which had started to replace the AG A-stem ending -ῶσι in the Hellenistic period, continues to be used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods, in texts from all areas:

E-stems

λαλοῦσι NIKON, *Logos* 9 310.29
 ἐξαποροῦν καὶ φρίττουσιν καὶ λογισμομαχοῦσιν PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 83
 καὶ κονταριᾶς κτυποῦσι *Imb. Rim.* 462; κινοῦσι *ibid.* 566
 κηλαδοῦσι SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 186; ὠφελοῦσι *ibid.* 190
 νὰ λαλοῦσι *Deft. Par.* 20
 ζητοῦσί με SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 56.5
 δὲν ἀργοῦσι *Alex. Rim.* 202; καὶ τοῦ βαροῦσι *ibid.* 1346; πιλαλοῦσι *ibid.* 1649
 πουλοῦσι (1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.8)
 περιπατοῦσι MOREZINOS, *Klini* 262.8–9
 ζιούσι CHORTATZIS, *Panor.* I.185; νὰ με προσκυνοῦσι *ibid.* I.280
 ν' ἀθιοῦσι *Stathis* III.511 (< ἀνθῶ)
 νὰ μιλοῦσι (1612, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 7, 361.15)
 μαρτυροῦσι ἀντὰμα καὶ οἱ τέσσερις (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 13, 316.5)
 εὐλογοῦσι *Thysia Avr.* 857
 παρακαλοῦσι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §14.8; τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦσι *ibid.* IV §18.2–3
 κατοικοῦσι δύο γυναῖκες *Vios Aisop.* D 240.4

A-stems

ἀγαποῦσι SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 232
 τιμοῦν τον καὶ ἀγαποῦσι τον *Byz. Il.* 641
 καὶ χαίρετοῦσι σε (1502, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 6, 27.8–9)
 ὅλοι τους τὴν γρικοῦσι *Alex. Rim.* 642; νὰ τὸν ἀγαποῦσι *ibid.* 658
 νὰ τὲς ἀγαποῦσι *Epain. gyn.* 122
 τιμοῦσι MOREZINOS, *Klini* 262.8
 χαλνοῦσι MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1412
 κοπιοῦσι CHORTATZIS, *Panor.* Prol. theas 68; τα φύλλα ὄντε μαδιούσι *ibid.* IV.46
 μ' ἀναγαλλιοῦσι *Stathis* III.475
 τιμοῦσι *Thysia Avr.* 858
 καὶ δὲν τὸ ἀποχτοῦσι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §18.3
 ἀφέντη μὲ γροικοῦσι DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 58
 ἀρποῦσι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2345
 νὰ περνοῦσι μὲ τὰ πράγματά τωνε (1686, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1999: 6, 51.5)
 γρινιοῦσι KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.1934; δειλιοῦσι *ibid.* V.40

Addition of final /n/ occurs before and throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

E-stems

ποιοῦσιν NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.36
 καὶ ποῖοι ἀτυχοῦσιν *Log. parig.* L 111; μεριμνοῦσιν *ibid.* 731
 ἔως ὅπου ζιοῦσιν *Assizes* B 381.3
 χρωστοῦσιν *Achil.* L 1065; καταφιλοῦσιν *ibid.* 1070; λιγοθυμοῦσιν *ibid.* 1284
 καὶ πιλαλοῦσιν τὰ φαριά *Imb. Rim.* 456; θωροῦσιν τὴν οἱ καλογρὲς *ibid.* 641
 νὰ ποιοῦσιν μαλακίαν *Diig. Alex.* E 29.16 (Konstantinopolos)
 σκοποῦσιν *Epain. gyn.* 121

παρανόμως λειτουργοῦσιν ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 174.E.7
 νά μὴν χρεωστοῦσιν (1599, Zakynthos, PLOUMIDIS 1995/98: 87.18)
 τὴν ὀνομαστικὴν ... εἰς -αδες περατοῦσιν οἱ νῦν Ἕλληνες KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 108.28
 (from the O-stem verb περατῶ)
 ζιοῦσιν (1687, Naxos, SIFONIU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 714, 968.30)
 νά ἀκλουθοῦσιν (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.6)

A-stems

προσκολλοῦσιν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 108.15
 γλυκέα τὸν χαίρετοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 228
 νά γεννοῦσιν *Anak. Konst.* 84
 χαλοῦσιν κάστρα *Velis.* χ 58
 παίζου, χαρμογελοῦσιν *Imb. Rim.* 85
 γεροῦσιν GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 567
 νά τὰ κοπιοῦσιν (1517 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 3, 51.17)
 ἀγαποῦσιν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 66.22; ἀποκοτοῦσιν *ibid.* 79.28
 κερδοῦσιν *Dig. Alex. Sem.* S 310
 δὲν χαλοῦσιν *Vios Aisop.* D 225.39
 πολλὰ χαίρετοῦσιν (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/92: 3, 49.27–8)

The ending -οῦσινε, with added -(ν)ε, is attested in texts of south-western provenance (Crete, Heptanese) and in *Dig. O* (Chios), from the 16th/17th c. onwards. In literature, and especially in verse texts, it appears to have a broader geographical distribution than in non-literary texts. Its appearance in texts such as Ioakeim Kyprios's *Pali* may be due to literary influence from Cretan/Heptanesian texts. For details see I, 2.6.3.3.

ξυπνοῦσινε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.1; κινούσινε *ibid.* 66.10
 καὶ πόσοι πεθυμοῦσινε CHORTATIS, *Katz. Prol.* 19; σιγανοπορπατοῦσινε *id.*, *Panor.* I.423
 γελοῦσινε *Thysia Avr.* 1028
 νά μὴν ἀποκοτοῦσινε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.80; γρικούσινε τὴ βράση *ibid.* III.205
 προσκαλοῦσινε TROILOS, *Rodol. Dedic.* 4; κερνούσινε *ibid.* I.636; πηδούσινε *ibid.* I.702
 μιλούσινε τοῦ νοδάρου (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 183.121)
 τὰ ζητοῦσινε (1639, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 6, 273.19)
 προσκυνούσινε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3733 and 4288; παρακαλοῦσινε *ibid.* 4365
 νά τὰ μολογούσινε (1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 6, 416.19)
 πηδούσινε BOUNIALIS M., *Kat. ofel.* 313; πετούσινε *ibid.* 317
 κτυποῦσινε PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 1524
 κατοικοῦσινε KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.683; ἀναγαλλιοῦσινε *ibid.* I.2189; κονταροκτυπούσινε *ibid.* II.2066

Pl.	3	-ῶσι(ν)

The residual A-stem ending -ῶσι(ν), which had started to disappear gradually from Hellenistic times onwards (see 1.1.4), is occasionally used in LMedG and EMG texts, with and without final /n/, with both A- and E-stem verbs:

A-stems

νικῶσι καὶ τὸν Ἄδην GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 88
 συναντῶσιν *Dig. G* I.216; κατατολμῶσι *ibid.* II.219; δαπανῶσι *ibid.* VIII.279
 τιμῶσιν *Ptoch. I* 89

ὀρώσιν καὶ τὰ σκύβαλα *Ptoch.* IV 566
 τὸ πρᾶγμα δειλιῶσιν *Pol. Tr.* 11793; τὸν Ἀθηνῶρ τιμῶσιν *ibid.* 13096
 καὶ ἀγαπῶσι με πολλὰ *Diig. tetr.* 755 app. crit. (C)
 ὀρμῶσι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 192; ἔρωτῶσι *ibid.* 2141
 γελῶσιν *Spanos* D 114; ἡ ἀπαντῶσιν ἢ χαιρετῶσιν αὐτόν *ibid.* 118–19
 νὰ τοὺς ἀγαπῶσι NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 30

E-stems

ποιῶσιν ταῦτα οἱ Τατάριοι ὡς λέγουν (1256, Palatia (Miletos), NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 289.15)
 ἀπ' αὐτοὺς ὅπου κάμνουσιν τὰ κλαπωτὰ καὶ ζῶσιν *Ptoch.* III 90
 οἱ πάντες ἐπαινῶσιν *Liv.* α 1082 app. crit. (P)
 ποσῶς νὰ μὴν μπορῶσιν *ERMON., Ilias* 21.86
 ἔπεθυμῶσιν νὰ ἔρχωνται (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 55.5)
 εὐθύς ζητῶσι τὴν βουλὴν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 82
 καὶ ὅσα με καρτερῶσι (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 42, 72.8)
 κατοικῶσιν (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 214, 152.6)
 νὰ μὴν καταφρονῶσι NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 29

Pl.	3	-έουσι(ν)

This rare uncontracted E-stem ending occurs in the *Itinerary* of Vasileios Vatatsis (18th c.). The form may have been created for metrical reasons, although it may also have been modelled on similar forms of barytone vowel-stem verbs, for which see 2.1.1.2 (cf. also -έουν, below): μαντζήδες τοὺς καλέουσιν VATATSIS, *Periig.* II 80.

Pl.	3	-οῦν ἰ -οῦ ἰ -οῦνε

The ending -οῦν first appeared with barytone verbs as the result of an analogy with the endings of the past tenses (see 4.1.1). First attestations of the ending -οῦν with oxytone (E-stem) verbs appear in the writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain (late 11th/early 12th c., preserved in an early 12th-c. ms), in 12th-c. documents from S. Italy and in *Spaneas* V (ms ca. 1200). First examples of this ending with A-stem verbs can be found from the 14th c. onwards.

The alternation between the inherited ending -οῦσι(ν) and the innovative ending -οῦν(ε) persists throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, and is certainly not restricted to verse texts; it is an intrinsic feature of the language, and certainly not an artificial metrical device (HINTERBERGER 2001, esp. 227–35). Both Sofianos and Germano give both alternatives: γελοῦσι καὶ γελοῦν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 63.13; τιμοῦνε, vel τιμοῦσι GERMANO, *Grammar* 91.15, though Germano mentions that Chiot displays a marked preference for -οῦν(ε) over -οῦσι (*ibid.* 87.10–11). Some representative examples are:

E-stems

καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ συμφωνοῦν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 316.14–15; φιλονεικοῦν *id.*, *Logos* 31 818.14;
 ὁμολογοῦν *ibid.* 820.16
 ἄρκοῦν σε καὶ χορταίνουν σε *Spaneas* V 28

οί μὲν φιλοῦν τὰς χεῖρας του *Dig.* G I.204; φθονοῦν *ibid.* IV.122
 περπατοῦν *Log. parig.* L 731
 κ' ἐξεζητοῦν *Chron. Mor.* H 278; νὰ τοῦ βοηθοῦν *ibid.* 1283
 κρατοῦν *Arm.* 37; οὐκ ἤμποροῦν περάσαι *ibid.* 39
 νὰ περπατοῦν, νὰ διακονοῦν *Chron. Toc.* 3207
 νὰ ὑποδεχθοῦν τοὺς ἄρχοντας LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 655
 νὰ τὸν θωροῦν *Achil.* L 26; προσκυνοῦν τον. *ibid.* 68
 πολλὰ πεθυμοῦν ὅλοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.14; νὰ ζιοῦν *ibid.* 168.12
 ὅσοι τὸ περικυκλοῦν (1528, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 75, 101.7–8)
 καὶ λαλοῦν φωνὴν ἀνθρωπίνην *Diig. Alex.* E 25.11 (Konstantinopulos)
 βουρβουρακιάζουν καὶ πονοῦν CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.28; καὶ προσκαλοῦν *ibid.* III.315
 μιλοῦν *Bertoldos* 15.4; πῶς σὲ ζητοῦν ἐσέναν *ibid.* 23.18
 πιλαλοῦν τὰ φαρία τους PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 247; παρηγοροῦν *ibid.* 893

A-stems

ὅτι ἀγαποῦν *Chron. Mor.* H 3687; κ' ἐρωτοῦν τους *ibid.* 6369; νὰ μὲ γελοῦν *ibid.* 8447
 πλέον ἀγαποῦν τὸν πόλεμον *Pol. Tr.* 1593; ἐρωτοῦν τον *ibid.* 11466
 συναπαντοῦν τον *Liv.* α 4357
 πηδοῦν, καρβαλικεύουν *Arm.* 79
 τοὺς ἄνδρας πρέπει νὰ περνοῦν *Dig.* E 1531
 οἱ λᾶς ν' ἀγαποῦν τοὺς γειτόνους τους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.15–16
 καὶ ἀγαποῦν τον *Velis.* χ 203; χαλοῦν *ibid.* 277; ἐρωτοῦν *ibid.* 523
 καὶ οἱ γονεῖς τὸν ἐρωτοῦν *Achil.* L 894
 τιμοῦν τον καὶ ἀγαποῦσι τον *Byz. Il.* 641
 βαστοῦν ψωμί SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 166
 νικοῦν τους κατὰ κράτος LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 602
 σὲ χαλνοῦν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.68
 ὥρωτοῦν τον γιὰ τὸν χαζανᾶν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 73
 κ' οἱ πέντε τους τιμοῦν τον PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1196
 κολνοῦν (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 304, f.1v.13)

The deletion of final /n/, resulting in -οῦ, is a common morphophonological phenomenon in southern regions and the Aegean, and not restricted to verb endings. Early examples occur in texts from Sicily and Asia Minor (for details see I, 3.7.2.2):

νὰ μοῦ βοηθοῦ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον (1137, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 8, 628.23)
 ἀπὲ τὰ χέρια σου πέφτου καὶ κυλοῦ SULT. WALAD, *Poem* V 6
 πετοῦ με *Liv.* V 1796; καταφιλοῦ με *ibid.* 2175
 παρηγοροῦ οἱ ἄρχοντες *Byz. Il.* 119
 οἱ ἄνωθεν ἀφέντες ζητοῦ σου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 280.15
 πολλὰ σὲ χαίρετοῦ (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 26.5); καταφιλοῦ (1502, *ibid.* 6, 29.7)
 νὰ το κυβερνοῦ (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.8)
 νὰ μ' ἀγαπού, νὰ με τιμοῦ καὶ νὰ με προσκυνούσι CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.280
 προσκינוῦ τὴν πανιερότη σου (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.2)
 κτυποῦ μου GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.19
 πουλοῦ καὶ παραδίδουν (1667, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 37, 30.19–20)

An added /e/ to the ending -οῦν, resulting in -οῦνε, is first encountered in the 14th/15th c. (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details):

ἀκμήν τὰ ἔντερα ἡμῶν ποιοῦνε καὶ τὰς κόρδας *Diig. tetr.* 535 app. crit. (C)
 βοηθοῦνε *Theseid* I.96,8 (Follieri)
 νικοῦνε μας *Alex. Rim.* 940; νὰ χρωστοῦνε *ibid.* 2466; παιδιὰ γεγνοῦνε *ibid.* 2490
 ζοῦνε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 238, 335.9)
 νὰ πουλοῦνε (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 60.25)
 παρακαλοῦνε σε πολλὰ *CHORTATIS, Erof.* IV.587; καὶ σκιὰς δὲ μὲ θωροῦνε *id.*, *Katz. Prol.* 3
 νὰ τοῦ βοηθοῦνε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 35.1; δὲ μὲ ἀγαποῦνε *ibid.* 37.34
 μαρτυροῦνε (1617, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 16, 320.27)
 κτυποῦνε μου *GERMANO, Grammar* 87.21
 ζοῦνε οἱ θυγατέρες (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 182.93)
 νὰ ματαμετροῦνε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 53, 68.30); νὰ τὰ κυβερνοῦνε (1644, *ibid.* 297, 233.22)
 νὰ μὲ τραβοῦνε (1659, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 29, 52.3)
 νὰ ἡμποροῦνε (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 312.6)
 καὶ μποροῦνε νὰ μπαρκαριστοῦνε (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 508.62–3) (author from Mani)
 ἀκτίνες ὀργῆς σπιθοβολοῦνε *Irodis* I.40

Pl.	3	-έουν

This rare uncontracted E-stem ending has been found in a legal text from Cyprus with the verb ἐγκαλῶ (cf. 3 sg. in -έει). For similar forms of barytone vowel-stem verbs, on which this ending may be modelled, see 2.1.1.2: ἀπὲ τοῦτο τὸ σοῦ ἐγκαλέουν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.121–2).

Pl.	3	-ᾶν(ε)

The ending -ᾶν, very common in MG, especially in its extended form -άνε, is absent from LMedG texts, and very rare in EMG ones. Very few examples have been found, in 17th- and 18th-c. texts:²⁵ φυλᾶν τὰς ἐντολάς σου *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 1074; πολεμᾶνε *ΕΦΘΥΜ., Chron. Gal.* 48.3.

Pl.	3	-ά(γ)ουν

Uncontracted A-stem endings, with or without anaptyxis of /y/ (see I, 3.5.2.1), are quite common for 2 sg. and 3 sg. (see above), but very rare for 3 pl.: ἐμολογάγουν (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 205, 124.13); λιμοκτονοῦνται σαν σκυλιά και πέφτουν και ψοφάουν *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 1956.

²⁵ The following example is problematic: καὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ τῆς φύσεως νικᾶν τὴν δυστυχίαν *Byz. Il.* 616; according to the app. crit. the ms has a singular form νικᾷ, which would make this an example of Attic syntax; there are more cases of so-called Attic syntax in this text (e.g. τὰ ξένα, τὰ παράδοξα τὰ γέγονεν εἰς Τροίαν *ibid.* 13).

4.1.2.2 Passive Voice

		General		Restricted		Rare	
Sg.	1	γρικοῦμαι	βαροῦμαι	γρικοῦμι γρικῶμαι	βαροῦμι βαρ(ε)ιόμαι/ βαρ(ε)ιῶμαι βαρ(ε)ιοῦμαι	γρικ(ε)ιόμαι/ γρικ(ε)ιῶμαι γρικᾶμαι	βαροῦμαιν βαρ(ε)ιόμαιν βαρᾶμαι
	2	γρικᾶσαι	βαρᾶσαι βαρεῖσαι		βαρ(ε)ιέσαι	γρικεῖσαι γρικ(ε)ιέσαι	βαροῦσαι
	3	γρικᾶται	βαρᾶται βαρεῖται	γρικᾶταιν γρικ(ε)(ι)έτι	βαρᾶταιν βαρ(ε)ιέται βαρ(ε)(ι)έτι	γρικεῖται γρικ(ε)ιέται	βαρίεται βαρέται βαριᾶται
Pl.	1	γρικούμεστε(ν) ἰ γρικούμεσθε(ν)	βαρούμεθα βαρούμεστε(ν) ἰ βαρούμεσθε(ν)	γρικούμεθεν βαρούμεσταν	βαρούμεθεν βαρούμεσταν	γρικώμεθα γρικώμεσθε(ν) γρικόμασταν γρικόμασθε γρικ(ε)ιού- μασθε γρικιομάστανε	βαρούμεθαν βαρώμεθα βαρούμεθε βαρόμεστε βαρούμεσθα ἰ βαρούμεστα βαρούμεσταν βαρούμεστανε βαρ(ε)ιού- μεσθα βαρούμενστε βαρούμενστα βαρούμασταν ἰ βαρούμασθεν
	2	γρικᾶστε ἰ γρικᾶσθε	βαρᾶστε ἰ βαρᾶσθε	γρικᾶσταν ἰ γρικᾶσθεν	βαρᾶσταν ἰ βαρᾶσθεν		βαράστανε
			βαρεῖσθε ἰ βαρεῖσθε	γρικ(ε)ιέστε ἰ γρικ(ε)ιέσθε γρικούστε γρικούσταν γρικούστανε	βαρ(ε)ιέστε ἰ βαρ(ε)ιέσθε βαροῦστε βαροῦσταν βαρούστανε		βαρ(ε)ιέσταν

	3	γρικοῦνται	βαροῦνται	γρικοῦνται γρικῶνται/ γρικόνται γρικ(ε)ιώνται/ γρικ(ε)ιόνται γρικ(ε)ιοῦνται	βαροῦνται βαρῶνται/ βαρόνται βαρ(ε)ιόνται βαρ(ε)ιοῦνται(ν)	γρικίωνται γρικιένται	βαρούνταιε βαρόται βαρ(ε)ιόνταιιν βαριόται (βαριένται)

Present subjunctive: For 1 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl. of original E-stem verbs, the residual endings -ῶμαι, -ώμεθα and -ῶνται, which are identical to the corresponding residual endings of the present indicative and subjunctive of A-stem verbs, can sporadically be found. Other than that, all forms of the present subjunctive of both A- and E-stem verbs are identical to or homophonous with those of the present indicative. The only endings that are traditionally spelled differently from those of the present indicative are 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl. of E-stem verbs. However, not all modern editors choose to make this graphematic distinction.

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1		βαρῶμαι	
	2	βαρῆσαι		
	3	βαρῆται		
Pl.	1			βαρώμεθα
	2	βαρῆσθε		βαρῆσθε
	3			βαρῶνται

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-οὔμαι(ν) † -(ε)ιοὔμαι

The inherited pres. ind. ending -οὔμαι of E-stem verbs, which had started to replace AG -ῶμαι with A-stem verbs from Hellenistic times onwards (see the introduction to Chapter 2), is used with all oxytone verbs throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

E-stems

ὅπως πληροφοροῦμαι ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.24; ἀκριβολογοῦμαι id., *Logos* 9 312.7–8
 χρέος οὐδὲν φοβοῦμαι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 546
 βαροῦμαι το *Ptoch.* III 214
 ἀφηγοῦμαι *Chron. Mor.* H 7955
 πλὴν τοῦτο ἐπιφωνοῦμαι *Liv.* V 1294
 νά ζωαρκοῦμαι (1497, Corfu, KARYDIS 1999b: 1, 305.24)
 νά λυποῦμαι FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 7
 ἀθθυμοῦμαι τὸν βισκούντην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 78.27
 καὶ δὲν τὸ ἐπαινοῦμαι ZINOS, *Vatr.* 80
 πολοῦμαι GERMANO, *Grammar* 76.8
 πῶς λυποῦμαι δι' αὐτά (1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 78.18)
 τώρα λογοῦμαι βασιλῖος BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 577.25
 θυμοῦμαι ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 74
 φοβοῦμαί σε *Thrinios Kypr.* 321
 ἀν δὲν κακοενθυμούμαι *Don Kis.* 177.34

A-stems

ἐπακροοῦμαι ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 316.6 app. crit. (S)
 ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀπατοῦμαι *Dig.* G VI.50
 οὔτε καυχοῦμαι το *Chron. Mor.* H 5508
 μασοῦμαι κὰν ὀλίγον *Ptoch.* IV app. crit. (PK)
 κοιμοῦμαι μετὰ σένα *Achil.* N 1257
 ταῦτα σοῦ κατηροῦμαι *Porikol.* I 149
 ἄς κοιμοῦμαι *Paroim.* H 54
 νά βρουχοῦμαι *Alosis* 1000
 γελοῦμαι SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 68.22
 νά μὴ φουκροῦμαι *Thysia Avr.* 209; κι ὕπνο γλυκύ κοιμοῦμαι *ibid.* 485
 γελοῦμαι GERMANO, *Grammar* 76.15; τιμοῦμαι *ibid.* 93.5
 καταροῦμαι λοιπὸν τὴν πατρίδαν σας *Vios Aisop.* I 283.1
 γρικοῦμαι τόσον ἀχαμνὸς *Bertoldin.* 151.24
 στὸ μαγερεῖο πετοῦμαι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.35
 ἐνόσω ἐγὼ κοιμούμαι *Don Kis.* 540.31–2

Addition of final /n/ occurs occasionally: καὶ πάλιν ἐφηγοῦμαι τῶν τὴν ἐρωτοπλασίαν *Liv.* E 833; καὶ νά σᾶς τ' ἀφηγοῦμαι *ibid.* 2774; ἀπιλογοῦμαι DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinios* 1290 app. crit.; καὶ ᾽δὰ τ' ἀναστορούμαι *Apoll. Rim.* N 593; καὶ τώρα το ἔθυμούμαι *ibid.* 594.

Forms with semivowel /j/ added after the stem consonant have been found with E-stem verbs in texts of southern provenance from at least the 16th c. onwards (ms date of *Chron. Mor.* T and Falieros) (for a discussion of this semivowel, see 2.1.2.2.4):

καὶ ᾽γὼ πολλὰ βαριοῦμαι *Chron. Mor.* T 845
 βαριοῦμαι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 383
 μὴδὲ βαριοῦμαι ἂν εἶμαι κολασμένος *Cypr. Canz.* 65.2
 νά τον ᾽πικαλιούμαι *Rim Apoll.* N 1027
 βαριοῦμαι *P&N Diath.* 244

περίσσα τη βαριούμαι *CHORTATIS, Panor.* III.249; νά κρατιοῦμαι *id., Erof.* II.248 transcr. X (Legrand)
 κρατιοῦμαι *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Interm.* I 20; βαριοῦμαι *τσι ibid.* III.88
 βαριοῦμαι *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1174, II.908 and V.1000
 βαριοῦμαι σε σὰν τὴν ζώην μου *Irodis* III.307–8
 καὶ τυραννιοῦμαι ἀλύπητα *KATSAITIS, Thyest.* I.120
 ἄν φιλειοῦμαι *SPANOS, Grammar* 41.1

Forms in -μι are phonetic rather than morphological variants of -μαι (for mid-vowel raising see I, 2.5.4): δὲν τ' ἄρνοῦμι (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17α, f.45v.20); δὲν κοιμοῦμι (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.16).

Sg.	1	-ῶμαι ἢ -(ε)ιόμαι(ν) ἢ -(ε)ιῶμαι(ν)

The residual A-stem ending -ῶμαι, which had been replaced by -οῦμαι long before the LMedG period, is used occasionally throughout the LMedG and EMG periods with both A- and E-stem verbs:

A-stems

προτιμῶμαι *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 551; ὀρῶμαι *ibid.* 557
 ἐγὼ οὐ καυχῶμαι *Chron. Mor.* H 6185
 καὶ οὐ καυχῶμαι *Diig. tetr.* 540
 ὅσα ἂν ἔχω καὶ κτῶμαι (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 42, 72.8)
 ἀν δὲν ἀπατῶμαι *RODINOS, Martyr. Neof.* 323.20–1
 ἐγὼ οὐδὲν πλανῶμαι *Dig.* A 2890
 ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀπατῶμαι *Dig.* T 1930
 καταρῶμαι *Vios Aisop.* K 206.9

E-stems

τίθημι καὶ ποιῶμαι (1172, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 179, 234.11)
 κρατῶμαι *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 349.19
 ἂν καλὰ θυμῶμαι (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 90, 94.6); ἀκόμη θυμῶμαι (1641, *ibid.* 229, 169.25)
 ἂν φιλῶμαι *SPANOS, Grammar* 41.1

In texts from the 14th c. onwards, the ending /'ome/ preceded by a semivowel /j/ can occasionally be found. The etymologizing spelling with <ω> in manuscripts and modern editions disguises the fact that this is in fact an innovative ending borrowed from the barytone paradigm (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion):

κ' ἐγὼ πολλὰ βαρειόμαι *Chron. Mor.* H 845; βαρειῶμαι *ibid.* 1093, 5807, 7034 and 7803
 βαριῶμαι *Ptoch. III* 214 app. crit. (K)
 στὸν κόσμον τυραγνιῶμαι *Love poems* V 481
 ἀπὸ τί γενεὰ κρατιῶμαι *Ptochol.* A 237
 εὐχαριστιῶμαι *Bertoldin.* 150.1
 γελιῶμαι *Don Kis.* 49.16

Addition of final /n/ is very rare: βαριόμιν νὰ τὰ γράφω *Chron. Mor.* P 8450 app. crit. (βαριόμεν in the ms, but clearly to be read with synizesis; see II, 1.5 for a discussion).

Sg.	1	-ᾶμαι

This ending, the most common SMG ending for the four deponent verbs θυμάμαι, κοιμάμαι, λυπάμαι, φοβάμαι, is absent from LMedG texts, and very rare in EMG ones. It has been found in the *Chronicle of Galaxeidi* (early 18th c., Central Greece): διηγᾶμαι EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 48.1; ἀφηγᾶμαι *ibid.* 59.16.

SMG -ιέμαι has not been found in the texts examined and is therefore likely to have come into being after the period covered by this Grammar, by analogy with 2 sg. -ιέσαι and 3 sg. -ιέται, for which see below.

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-ᾶσαι

The inherited Koine A-stem ending -ᾶσαι is used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods with both A- and E-stem verbs:

A-stems

νὰ τὸ καυχᾶσαι *Dig.* E 518; ἀμέριμνα κοιμᾶσαι *ibid.* 847
τιμᾶσαι *Pol. Tr.* 8609
κοιμᾶσαι, Λίβιστρε; *Liv.* α 1401
σκανθάρους μασᾶσαι *Poulol.* 118 app. crit. (CP)
πολλὰ καυχᾶσαι *Achil.* N 967
αφικράσαι *Apoll. Rim.* V 491; ν' αγρικάσαι *ibid.* 499
γελᾶσαι SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 68.22
ἐγροικᾶσαι *Alex. Rim.* 1131
νὰ κρεμνᾶσαι *Diig. Alex.* F 142.14 (Konstantinopulos)
ν' ἀφουκρᾶσαι KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.986
γελᾶσαι GERMANO, *Grammar* 76.15; τιμᾶσαι *ibid.* 93.5
Σίμων, κοιμᾶσαι; KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 14.37
θέλεις τιμᾶσαι *Bertoldos* 62.6; κυβερνᾶσαι *ibid.* 64.10
ξέρε το πὼς γελᾶσαι KON DAR., *Paidēs* 684
τί συχνοκαταρᾶσαι NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 115

E-stems

ὥς λυπᾶσαι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 395
πὼς διοικᾶσαι SULT. WALAD, *Poem I* 1
πείναν οὐδὲν φοβᾶσαι *Ptoch. III* 273.16 app. crit. (K)
νὰ μνημονᾶσαι *Spaneas Z* 254 (ed. νὰ μνημονᾶ σε)
οὐκ ἐνθυμᾶσαι *Dig.* E 236
μὴ φοβᾶσαι *Pol. Tr.* 560; λυπᾶσαι *ibid.* 779 app. crit. (EV)
θέλεις νὰ βοηθᾶσαι *Poulol.* 67 (mss CPV)

ἀρνᾶσαι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 134; μοιρολογᾶσαι το *ibid.* 591; παραπονᾶσαι *id.*, *Thrinós* 191
 ὅτι τοὺς ἐλεημονᾶσαι *Diig. Alex.* V 39.27
 θυμᾶσ', ἀφέντρα καὶ κυρά *Theseid* Prol. E 23
 φοβᾶσαι *Cypr. Canz.* 30.8; ξηγᾶσαι *ibid.* 75.9; θλιβᾶσαι *ibid.* 75.11
 καὶ νὰ θυμᾶσαι (1526, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 114, 208.18)
 νὰ θυμᾶσαι *Vios Aisop.* K 194.28; νὰ σωφρονᾶσαι *ibid.* 194.30
 καὶ ἐσὺ λυπᾶσαι KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 16.25
 θεὲ λογᾶσαι VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 103; εὐφημᾶσαι *id.*, *Paid. Makkav.* 1431; ὕμνολογᾶσαι *ibid.*
 1432
 νὰ μὴν ἀπατάσαι ἀπὸ τὰ ψευδολογήματα (1692, Bucharest, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 4, 50.12–
 13)

Sg.	2	-εῖσαι/-ῆσαι

The inherited Late Antique E-stem ending -εῖσαι is used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods with E-stem verbs, but very rarely with A-stem verbs:

E-stems

φοβεῖσαι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 152; στενοχωρεῖσαι *ibid.* 154; περιστατεῖσαι *ibid.* 297
 πείναν οὐδὲν φοβεῖσαι *Ptoch. III* 273.16 app. crit. (P)
 λυπεῖσαι *Pol. Tr.* 779 app. crit. (A)
 τιμωρεῖσαι *Liv.* α 466 app. crit. (P)
 ἀφηγεῖσαι *Liv.* V 3179; ἀρνεῖσαι τὸν τὸν Ἑρωταν *ibid.* 3711
 οὐ φοβεῖσαι τὸν Θεόν (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 97.3d)
 καὶ προσκυνεῖσαι *Velth.* 144; ἀρνεῖσαι συγγενεῖς *ibid.* 148
 τί παραιτεῖσαι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1121
 καὶ μὴν χολομανῆσαι FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 68
 μὴν λυπεῖσαι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 346.29; δὲν φοβεῖσαι τὸν Θεόν; *ibid.* 383.39
 πάντοτε νὰ παινηῆσαι *Fyll. gadar.* 387B
 μὴν λυπεῖσαι τόσον MOREZINOS, *Klini* 4719–20
 καὶ μὴ φοβῆσαι, φίλε πόντικα *Vios Aisop.* K 204.6–7
 καὶ μὴν λυπεῖσαι IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 281; ημᾶς νὰ ενθθυμεῖσαι *ibid.* 282
 δὲν ευχαριστεῖσαι *Don Kis.* 106.31

A-stems

τιμεῖσαι *Pol. Tr.* 8609 app. crit. (A)

Sg.	2	-(ε)ιέσαι

This innovative ending, the most common SMG ending for oxytone A-stem verbs, exists from at least the 14th c. onwards (the date of ms H of *Chron. Mor.* is 1375). In the EMG period this ending is used almost exclusively with E-stem verbs (for details and discussion, see 2.1.2.2.4):

E-stems

νὰ βαρεῖσαι *Chron. Mor.* H 203, 482, 584, 1092 and 2524; καὶ τί τὰ ἀγωνιέσαι *ibid.* 2505
 γαμιέσαι SACHLIKIS, *Katalogi* 15, 25 and 37

βαριέσαι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 315 and 547; ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς χαρίσει θεὸς κί ἐσένα ν' ἀναπιέσαι *ibid.* 316; κιᾶ δὲ βαριέσαι, κύρ Σαδόκ *id.*, *Thrinós* 331
κάλλιος κρατιέσαι νά 'σαι; *Apoll. Rim.* A 492
ίτις νά βασανιέσαι *Apoll. Rim.* V 401; νά διακονιέσαι *ibid.* 402
κρατειέσαι SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 66.6
μὲν βαριέσαι νά σωπάνης *Cypr. Canz.* 98.30
ἀπὸ τί γενεὰ κρατιέσαι *Ptochol.* A 209
βαριέσαι τὰ κοπέλια *Thysia Avr.* 511
νά τσί βαριέσαι *Pist. voskos* I 3.176; κρατιέσαι κακομοίρης *ibid.* V 6.135
πουλειέσαι GERMANO, *Grammar* 76.8 and 93.23
νά κρατιέσαι *Bertoldin.* 118.30
ἐτζι συγχωριέσαι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §3.20–1
καὶ δὲν ψηλοκρατιέσαι *Dimotika Ivir.* X.3
νά παραπονιέσαι *Don Kis.* 47.16

A-stems

ἐγγυέσαι GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. pieggiare*
γέλειέσαι SPANOS, *Grammar* 41.20

The ending -ιέσαι can become -έσαι through post-consonantal /j/ deletion (for details see I, 2.4.7.3): ἄν ἐσοῦ μόνος σου δὲ κρατέσαι κρυφός *Fior Suppl.* 277.1–2.

In the following example the absence of <i> or <ei> is likely to be graphematic, as /n/ is likely to have been palatalized before /e/ (see I, 3.8.2.3; for the same phenomenon in modern dialects, see KONDOSOPOULOS ³2001: 97): δὲν συγχωρνέσαι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §3.20.

Sg.	2	-οῦσαι

This is a rare and perhaps dubious ending, found in two “conversation books”. The first example could be viewed as an analogy on the basis of AG O-stem inflection (TZITZILIS 1999: 90), but the same cannot be said for the second (E-stem) example, taken from a text that is actually a method for learning Arabic, the Greek consisting of literal word-for-word translations, or glosses, rather than “real” Greek:²⁶ τί ἀνανοῦσαι; (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2374) (= ἀνανοεῖσαι < ἀνανοοῦμαι); μηδὲν ἀκριβοθωρετοῦσαι ἀφ' ἡμῶν (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 147.2d).

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ᾶται -ιᾶται -ᾷται

The inherited A-stem ending -ᾶται continues to be used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods, with both A-stem and E-stem verbs:

²⁶ According to MINAS 1987a: 23, for barytone verbs, this ending can be found in the dialect of Farasa, Cappadocia.

A-stems

ὅτι τρυπᾶται ἡ πέτρα *Liv.* E 1646
καὶ πάντα δαπανᾶται *Achil.* L 710
νὰ γρικᾶται (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 206.41)
οὐδὲν κοιμᾶται *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 380
φυρᾶται *Cypr. Canz.* 24.8; δὲν μοῦ ξηκολλᾶται *ibid.* 24.13
ἀναχασμᾶται *Krasop.* AO 3
νικᾶται *Diig. Alex.* F 92.4 (Lolos)
καὶ νὰ γροικᾶται καὶ τῶν δυὸ μας (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 272, 268.15)
πᾶσα ἕνας ἀγαπᾶται ἀπὸ τὰ ἔργα του MOREZINOS, *Klini* 49.35
νὰ γρικᾶται πρώτη, δεύτερη καὶ τρίτα στίμα (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 216.9)
γεννᾶται *Bertoldin.* 91.7
μετ' αὐτοὺς καυχᾶται PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* Proem §1.17
νὰ ἀγροικᾶται (1660, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 2, 115.14)
δὲν χαλνᾶται NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 310
καὶ ὅ,τι ἄλλο γροικᾶται ἀπὸ δικόν της (1697, Naxos, TOURTOGLOU 1998/2000: 1, 117.16)

E-stems

ἐξηγᾶται NIKON, *Logos* 4 212.1 and *id.*, *Logos* 9 316.4
ἀπολογᾶται (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 19.85 and 23.155–6)
νὰ τοὺς λυπᾶται *Chron. Mor.* H 1160; οἰκονομᾶται νὰ ἔλθῃ *ibid.* 3213
τὸ παιδὶν ἀνανογᾶται *Arm.* 68 (< ἀνανοῶ); νὰ τὸν ἐλεημονᾶται *ibid.* 172
διηγᾶται SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 200; νὰ μὴ λυπᾶται *ibid.* 310
ποττὲ μαντατοφόρος δὲν κατηγορᾶται MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 472.25–6
ὁποῦ λογᾶται ἡ γῆ ἐκείνη Ὅσφητίδα *Diig. Alex.* E 159.18–19 (Konstantinopulos)
ζωοτροφᾶται (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 82, 272.19)
εὐχαριστᾶται (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 194, 118.12)
νὰ ἀπιλογᾶται (1597, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 41, 188.15)
ἂν καλὰ καὶ νὰ μὴν κινᾶται *Bertoldin.* 105.29
ὁποῦ μᾶς διηγᾶται PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* Proem §1.17
νὰ σὲ θυμᾶται MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1295
θρηνᾶται PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 891; παραπονᾶται *ibid.* 892
εὐχαριστᾶται (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 65.8)

Forms with /j/ inserted after the stem consonant are very rare, and are most likely the result of a conflation of inherited (A-stem) -ᾶται and innovative (E-stem) -ιέται (see below), rather than a “real” morphophonological variant. The fact that they have been found with two E-stem verbs illustrates the pressure that the E-stem paradigm was under from both the A-stem and the barytone paradigms (for a discussion, see 2.1.2): νὰ τὸ συχνοασχολιᾶται *Liv.* S 153 (Lambert-van der Kolf); μοιρολογιᾶται *Achil.* N 1851.

Addition of final /n/ can sporadically be found in Cycladic texts: νὰ τῆς θυμᾶταιν (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 37, 187.24).

Sg.	3	-εῖται /-ῖται

The inherited E-stem ending -εῖται continues to be used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods with E-stem verbs, but is rather rare with A-stem verbs:

E-stems

ἐξηγεῖται ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 814.29
 ἀπολογεῖται (ca. 1300, Cyprus, ΣΙΜΟΝ 1973: 45.112 and 49.18)
 πωλεῖται τὸ τυρὶν *Ptoch. IV* 122 app. crit. (C); πουλεῖται τὸ τυρὶν *ibid.* 122 app. crit. (H)
 νὰ τὸ συχνοασχολῆται *Liv. V* 1130
 παραπονεῖται *Pol. Tr.* 9334; νὰ τὰ ἀφηγῆται *ibid.* 12712
 νὰ μὴ κρυβῆται *Byz. Il.* 328 (< κρυβοῦμαι)
 τινὰ νὰ μὴ φοβῆται *Achil. N* 274; κανεῖς νὰ μὴ ἀδικῆται *ibid.* 733
 ὅλους ἐλεημονεῖται *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 122
 δὲν ἐναντιεῖται ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, *Paidag.* 115.2 (< O-stem, see 4.2.1)
 λυπεῖται *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 48
 μιμεῖται *Bertoldos* 79.2
 εἶναι ἄξιος νὰ εὐφημῆται ΛΑΝΔΟΣ, *Geopon.* 127.6
 ἐναντιεῖται τὸν πατέρα ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §11.16; πολλὰ καλὰ ὑστερεῖται *ibid.* II §9.19
 κρατεῖται *Zinon* IV.253
 διηγεῖται *Don Kis.* 96.1

A-stems

ἐγγυεῖται τὸν ὁ Πόθος *Liv.* α 473
 κοιμεῖται ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 222 (rhymes with μιμεῖται)

Sg.	3	-(ε)ιέται -ιέται -έται -(ε)(ι) έτι

This innovative ending, the most common SMG ending for oxytone A-stem verbs, exists from at least the 14th c. onwards (the date of ms S of *Ptoch. IV* is 1364). For details and discussion, see 2.1.2.2.4. In the period covered by this Grammar the ending is much more common with E-stem verbs than with A-stem verbs, with which it does not start to appear until the 16th c. The first EMG grammar to give this ending for the A-stem paradigm is that of Kanellos Spanos (1749).

E-stems

πωλεῖται τὸ τυρὶν *Ptoch. IV* 122
 πρέπει νὰ τὸ βαρεῖται *Chron. Mor.* H 5801; πουλεῖται τὸ κρασί *ibid.* 8290
 νὰ κρατιέται *Pol. Tr.* 8992
 διαλαλιέται *Assizes* B 481.15
 καὶ ἔμορφα νὰ ὀρχιεῖται *Achil. L* 274
 δὲν πρέπει νὰ βαριέται ΦΑΛΙΕΡΟΣ, *Ist. On.* 143
 νὰ ἀποκρατιέται τὸ παιδί μου (1518, Crete, ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ/ΛΑΜΒΑΚΙΣ 2003: 53, 101.30)
 κουνιέται *Epain. gyn.* 696
 βαριέται τὸ σκοτίδι ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* I.1539
 νὰ μὴν πατιέται ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 1591; νὰ καταφρονιέται *ibid.* 1592
 εὐχαριστιέται (1637, Ithaca, ΖΑΡΑΝΔΙ 2002b: 85, 90.27)
 ἔτζι τὸν ἀπαρνιέται ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* III §29.33
 νὰ τουραγνιέται ΜΟΝΤΣΕΛ., *Evgena* 953 (< τυραννῶ)
 νὰ καταπατιέται (1647, Patras, ΤΣΕΛΙΚΑΣ 1986a: 1, 668.2)
 καὶ νὰ παρακουνιέται ΒΟΥΝΙΑΛΙΣ Μ., *Diig. Pol.* 333.15

A-stems

τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅπου ἀγαπιέται *Theseid* IV.55,2 ms P
 γιὰ ν' ἀπαντιέται *Alex. Rim.* 1070; ἀρχίζει καὶ βρουχίεται *ibid.* 1984 and *Diig. Alex.* K 376.31
 μαδιέται *Epain. gyn.* 697; πολλὰ πηδιέται *ibid.* 698
 ἐγροικιέται *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 355.4
 πετιέται ὁ Κουστουλιέρης *CHORTATSI, Katz.* V.475
 νὰ ἀγαπιέται μὲ ὅλους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, *MORGAN* 1954: 60.23)
 μιὰ φορὰ γελειέται ἡ γραῖα *Paroim.* (Warner) 53.27
 τὸ χωράφι ἀγροικιέται προικιό της (1636, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 22, 44.9)
 γεννιέται *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §12.19 and III §12.20
 νὰ κυβερνιέται (1644, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 297, 234.31)
 νὰ ἀγροικιέται τοῦ ἄνωθεν Μοναστηρίου (1664, Kea, *VISVIZIS* 1949: 9, 66.8–67.1)
 νὰ ἀγρικιέται (1668, Kefalonia, *BALLAS* 1999a: 1, 277.19–20)
 θέλει νὰ χαλάσει ἡ Ἀθήνα καὶ ὅσο πάει χαλιέται (1677, Athens, *LAMBROS* 1910: 302, 198.3)
 νὰ γροικιέται ἴδιος καὶ καθολικὸς νοικοκύρης (1692, Kimolos, *RAMFOS* 1974: 35, 61.6–7)

Forms with the accent on the antepenultimate are most probably graphematic, as they are usually meant to be read with synizesis, as paroxytone, which becomes obvious when the form appears at the end of the political verse (*Theseid*). Only rarely do the forms need to be read as proparoxytone (*Pol. Tr.*, before the caesura). A few examples have also been found in prose texts (in *ZYGOM.*, *Stef. Ichn.* and *Bertoldos*) (for a discussion of this spelling practice, see II, 1.5):

καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν κρατίεται *Pol. Tr.* 9067
 κρατίεται *Liv.* V 1228 and 1447
 τὸ πρᾶγμα π' ἀγαπιέται *Theseid* IV.55,2 (1529)
 τοῦτο πουλιέται ἓνα φλωρί *ZYGOM., Stef. Ichn.* 253.10
 πουλιέται *Bertoldos* 3.24; καὶ δὲν φτερνιέται *ibid.* 78.11

The ending -ιέται can become -έται through deletion of /j/ or depalatalization (see I, 2.4.7.3–4): δὲν θωρέται *Cypr. Canz.* 56.7; νὰ θωρέται ὁ ἥλιος *ibid.* 110.38; κρατέται *Fior* 143.26; ὅποιος παραφηκρέται *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §7.46.

In the following examples, the omission of <ι> is probably graphematic, since /g/, /k/, and regionally /l/ and /n/, will have been palatalized before /e/ (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details):

παραπονέται *Pol. Tr.* 9334 app. crit. (C)
 νὰ διαλαλέται *Assizes* A 63.23
 νὰ πουλέται *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 54.14
 γελέται *Diig. Alex.* K 376.17
 καὶ πουλέται στὸ παζάρι *Ptochol.* A 143 app. crit. (Z) (cf. κρατίεται *ibid.* 201)
 νὰ ἀγροικέται (1655, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001b: 2, 188.26)
 δὲν ἀρνέται (1666, Sibiu, *TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI* 2011: B 4, f.158v.21)
 κι ὁ Τοῦρκος νὰ μουγκέται *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 281.8 (Xirouchakis)
 γροικέται (1699, Mani, *SKOPETEAS* 1950: XIX, 79.13)
 ἀγροικέται (1707, Dimitsana/Gortynia, *YANNAROPOULOU* 1972: 202, 333.5)
 νὰ γρικέται ἀνάμεσά μας (1731, Kimolos, *RAMFOS* 1972: 18, 287.13)

The following examples involving /p/ cannot be explained along the same lines; they are either lexical, or simple errors: ἀναπέται *Pol. Tr.* 8684 app. crit. (A); ἀναπέται *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 40 (cf. also ἀναπέσαι *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 104); ἐπῆρε τον ὁ ὕπνος καὶ ἀναπέται

Theseid V.26,6 ms P (κοιμάται in the ed. of 1529) (oxytone variant forms of ἀναπεύω, see 2.1.3.1).

With /i/ for /e/ in the last syllable, the form is a phonological variant (raising of /e/ to [i], see I, 2.5.4): <ό>μολογία νά μήν χαλνέτι (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.52r.4); ἔτσι πουλέτι (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.3); σὰν εἶνι καλὸ πρᾶμα πουλέτι (1697, *ibid.* 2, 52.22).

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-ούμεθα(ν)

The inherited E-stem ending -ούμεθα is quite rare in texts belonging to the vernacular register. It is rather more frequent in texts that aim at a higher register, such as monastic acts and the register of the Patriarchate, and there are a few instances in later mixed-register texts that tend to borrow certain features from a higher register, such as Sofianos's *Tre tiranni*, Damaskinos Stouditis's *Thisavros*, *Digenis* G and Ioakeim Kyprios, *Pali*. Nevertheless, since no alternative endings have been found before the 14th c., -ούμεθα will have been the ending for 1 pl. at the beginning of the LMedG period (cf. -όμεθα for barytone verbs, 4.1.1.2). However, no examples with A-stem verbs have been found (cf. the identical ending for the imperfect, 4.3.2.2).²⁷

αἰτούμεθα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 42.32; ἡγούμεθα *ibid.* 44.28

φοβούμεθα *Chron. Toc.* 2985 and 2989

παραδιδούμεθά σου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 440.36;²⁸ φοβούμεθα *ibid.* 526.29

φοβούμεθα SOFIANOS, *Tre tiranni* 63

εὐεργετούμεθα *Pist. kekoim.* 382

συνγνώμην ... αἰτούμεθα τοῖς πάσι ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 4211; ὅλα τα παραιτούμεθα *ibid.*

4762; ἀρχὴν ποιοούμεθα *ibid.* 4764; εὐλαβούμεθα *ibid.* 5204; καὶ νὰ ἐπικαλούμεθα *ibid.* 5479

Addition of final /n/ (see I, 3.7.2.1), resulting in -ούμεθαν, is rare too; only a few instances have been found in Machairas (Cyprus): πολλὰ τὸ λυπούμεθαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V. 330.13 and 372.9–10; παραδιδούμεθαν *ibid.* 380.27; ἐξηγούμεθαν *ibid.* 538.23.

Pl.	1	-ώμεθα

The residual A-stem ending -ώμεθα is absent from the vernacular register. It is rather more frequent in texts that belong to a higher register, such as monastic acts and the register of the Patriarchate (with both A-stems and E-stems), and there are a few instances in mixed-register texts that tend to borrow certain features from a higher register:

²⁷ Upon closer examination, this ending sometimes proves to be a “phantom”, as in: πολέμους οὐ φοβούμεθα *Dig.* E 193 (πολέμους ἐμεῖς οὐκ ἐφοβήθημαν *app. crit.*); θυμούμεθά τον *Chron. Toc.* 1348 (θυμούμεθε τον *app. crit.*).

²⁸ In Cypriot Greek certain verbs have both barytone and oxytone variants, such as for instance δίδω > διδῶ (see 2.1.3.1).

A-stems

ἐγγυώμεθα *Dig. T 2298* (app. crit.)

E-stems

ποιώμεθα (1067, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 27, 206.4)

Pl.	1	-ούμεθε(ν)

The ending -ούμεθε(ν), rather more common with barytone verbs and especially with εἶμαι (see 4.1.1.2 and 4.8.1), is considered to derive from -ούμεθα; the final /a/ changed to /e/ to match the 2 pl. and 3 pl. endings in the paradigm, while final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (MEYER 1889: 1 97 regarding the similar ending -μεσθεν): ἡ τόσα τοὺς φοβούμεθεν *Pol. Tr.* 4945; καὶ πλανούμεθεν ERMON., *Ilias* 13.245; γυναικῶν φύσιν ἔχομεν, φοβούμεθεν τὰ ξύλα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 119. Evidence for this ending without final /n/ is scarce: θυμούμεθε τον *Chron. Toc.* 1348 app. crit.

Pl.	1	-ούμεσθε(ν) † -ούμεστε(ν) † -ώμεσθε(ν) † -όμεστε(ν)

The ending -ούμεσθε(ν) is held to have been formed from -ούμεθα, with a change from /a/ to /e/ by analogy with 2 pl. and 3 pl., which also end in /e/ (MEYER 1889: 197), although vowel assimilation may also have played a role (MINAS 1987a: 25). The added /s/ is usually explained as being analogical from 2 pl., while final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (MEYER 1889: 197). Its variant -ούμεστε(ν) is the result of manner dissimilation of fricatives after sibilants (see I, 3.8.1). These endings are found with and without final /n/ with E-stem verbs from at least the 15th c. (though earlier with εἶμαι, see 4.8.1) in texts from various regions. They are less common for A-stem verbs:

E-stems

τὴν χαρὰν ἡγούμεσθέ την *Liv. V* 3861

φοβούμεστε (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.16)

μ' ἄν ἔναι νὰ φοβούμεστε FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 529

φοβούμεσθε *Theseid* I.27,8 (Follieri)

φοβούμεσθε ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 131.3

φοβούμεσθε τον ὄχλον KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 21.26

παρακαλούμεστε (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 307.1)

πολλὰ λυπούμεστέ σε VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 654

ὡς καθὼς το φοβούμεσθε *Don Kis.* 124.7

ποτέ νὰ μὲν φοβούμεσθεν *Achil.* L 169

διηγούμεσθεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 369.41

να φοβούμεσθεν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 33.5; να ευχαριστούμεσθεν *ibid.* 53.10

φοβούμεσθεν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 137.20 app. crit. (K); να μὴν ἀρνούμεσθεν *ibid.* 171.13 (ms Ξ)

να διηγούμεσθεν [VLASTOS], *Dig. P V* 365.3

να διηγούμεσθεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron. Proem.* 7

διὰ νὰ βοηθούμεσθεν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 130.19; ἐπιμελούμεσθεν *ibid.* 254.22

συλλογούμεσθεν VEST., *Pathi* 135; ἀρνούμεσθεν *id.*, *Paid. Makkav.* 1015

δὲν τὸ ἀρνούμεσταν PROSOPSAS, *Peri Tyflou* 737; νὰ διηγούμεσταν *ibid.* 881
 νὰ ἐξομολογούμεσταν *Diig. Sant.* 61.28
 μόνον αὐτὸ λυπούμεσταν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 9637

A-stems

γελοῦμεσθεν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 68.22; νὰ γελοῦμεσθεν *ibid.* 70.17
 ἀντάμα ἐκοιμούμεσθεν *Dig. A* 603
 τιμούμεσταν GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.6
 ἐκοιμούμεσθεν [VLASTOS], *Dig. P VI* 369.35

This ending with /o/ for /u/ is quite rare and is possibly influenced by barytone verbs, since barytone verbs can also have both -όμεστε and -ούμεστε (see 4.1.1.2); generally there is much variation in the deployment of [o] or [u] as a thematic vowel. The “etymologizing” spelling with <ω> is entirely graphematic:

E-stems

θυμόμεστε (post 1524–ante 1640, *Meteora*, SOFIANOS 1993: 62, 526.f175b.iv.3)

A-stems

ἐὰν γελώμεσθεν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 70.10
 ὅταν κοιμώμεσταν DAM. SToud., *This., Logos* 5, ε1r.14 (1561)
 μηδὲν πλανώμεσθ', ἀδελφοί *Diig. Alex. Sem. B* 1404

Pl.	1	-ούμεστα(ν) † -ούμεστανε † -ούμεσθα(ν) † -ουμέστα(ν)

The ending -ούμεστα(ν) and its more formal variant -ούμεσθα(ν) are not attested very frequently with oxytone verbs. This ending occurs in texts of southern provenance (Cyprus, Crete, the Heptanese) from the 15th/16th c. onwards with E-stem verbs only (for a discussion see 4.1.1.2; for its use with εἶμαι see 4.8.1):

φοβούμεσταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 434.14
 χαλούμεσταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 314.29–30 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 παραδιδούμεσταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 290.29
 λυπούμεσταν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 137.20; νὰ μὴν ἀρνούμεσταν *ibid.* 171.13 app. crit. (K)

The loss of final /n/ with this ending does not appear to be very common: κρατούμεσθα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 66.6; ὅλοι φοβούμεστά σε GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 208.

With /j/ inserted after the stem consonant it occurs in a 17th-c. text written in Santorini (for this phenomenon, see 2.1.2.2.4): νὰ κρατειούμεσθα RICHARD, *Targa pisteos* I 251.5.

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs in Morezinos (Crete) (see also I, 2.6.3.3): φοβούμεστανε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 137.20 (reading of ms Ξ).

Surprisingly, a single instance of the same ending with perhaps a shift of the stress to the penultimate is found in a 12th-c. document from S. Italy, with the O-stem verb ζημιῶ: ἵνα μὴ ζημιούμεσταν (1114, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 19, 223.19).²⁹

²⁹ The editor prints ζημιούμεσταν; however, CARACAUSI, *Lex.*: ζημιούμεσταν; and MINAS ²2003: 119 ζημιούμεσταν and elsewhere ζημιούμεσταν *ibid.* 120.

Pl.	1	-ούμενστέ

With a single occurrence in version A of *Anthos ton Chariton* (16th c.; provenance unknown), this ending looks like a conflation of the active and passive endings -μεν and -μεστε, but is probably due to the use of a combination of ligatures (cf. the ending '-ομένστα, 4.1.1.2): ημείς ουδέν ενθυμούμενστέ να θρηνούμεν *Anthos Ch. A* 49.15.

Pl.	1	-ούμενστα

This ending, also found a number of times with the present and the imperfect of barytone verbs (see 4.1.1.2 and 4.3.1.2) in documents by the Cretan notary Maras, appears to be a conflation of the active and passive endings -μεν and -μεστα, but just like the previous ending it probably represents a graphematic idiosyncrasy and not an authentic ending (for a discussion see '-ομένστα in 4.1.1.2): νά σοῦ ἀπιλογούμενστα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 314, 313.16).

Pl.	1	-όμαστέ(ν) † -ούμαστέν † -όμασθε(ν) † -(ι)ούμασθε(ν) † -ιομάστενε

The ending -όμαστέ(ν) and its more formal variant -όμασθε(ν), which in the forms -ιόμαστέ (A-stems), -ούμαστέ (E-stems and deponent verbs) and -όμαστέ (deponent verbs) eventually became the SMG endings, is found from the 16th c. onwards. The ending is possibly the result of an analogy with the barytone paradigm, in which it is rather more common (see 4.1.1.2 for discussion).

A-stems

και να μη καυχόμασθε *Vios Filaret.* 239.6
βρυχόμαστέν *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 914

E-stems

ἡμεῖς τοὺς ἀκούομεν καὶ φοβούμαστέν (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVI, 220.10)
ενθυμούμασθέν *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 4355 and 9630
φοβούμαστε *ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΙΣ, Ifig.* II.341
[φιλού]μασθε *ΣΠΑΝΟΣ, Grammar* 40.15

The form with insertion of /j/ after the stem consonant has not been found before the late 17th c. (for this phenomenon, see 2.1.2.2.4): γροικιούμασθε (1697, Mani, PETRIDIS 1870: 431.5).

With addition of -(ν)ε and a shift of the stress to the antepenultimate it has been found in a 17th-c. document from Corfu (for -(ν)ε, see I, 2.6.3.3): νά μὴν ἀγρικιομάστενε (1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 207.80).³⁰

³⁰ For such forms in the modern dialect of Corfu see AVLONITI 2006: 35–6.

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ᾶσθε(ν) † -ᾶστε(ν) † -ᾶστενε

The inherited 2 pl.³¹ ending -ᾶσθε of A-stems is used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods for A-stem verbs as well as E-stem verbs. The phonetic variant -ᾶστε, the SMG ending for the deponent verbs in -άμαι (λυπάσθε, θυμάσθε, φοβάσθε, κοιμάσθε), is the result of manner dissimilation of fricatives after sibilants (see I, 3.8.1). For the identical present imperative plural, see 4.5.1.2. Since 2 pl. is rather rare in documents, the number of examples found in non-literary texts is limited:

A-stems

ἀλλήλως ν' ἀγαπᾶσθε *Chron. Mor.* H 3993
 τὸ τί πλανᾶσθε *Liv.* α 534; τί κοιμᾶσθε *ibid.* 3079 (κοιμᾶσθε in P)
 καυχᾶσθε *Diig. tetr.* 360; κύπτεσθε καὶ ὁσμᾶσθε *ibid.* 736
 μὴ καυχᾶσθε *Spanos* A 81
 καὶ νὰ κοιμᾶσθ' ἀμέριμνα *Alosis* 885
 μὴ κοιμᾶσθε *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 518
 καὶ σεις με καταράσθε; *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 47.22
 κι αμέτε νὰ καυκάσθε *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.401
 τιμᾶσθε *GERMANO, Grammar* 93.6
 πολλὰ πλανᾶσθε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 12.27; ὅλοι μιᾶς λογῆς χαλάσθε *ibid.* Louk. 13.5; τί κοιμάσθε *ibid.* Louk. 22.46
 νὰ μὴ μοῦ καταρᾶσθε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 228.28; καυχᾶσθε 557.24

E-stems

φοβᾶσθε *Log. parig.* L 740
 πρέπει νὰ τὸ ἐνθυμᾶσθε *Chron. Mor.* H 9171
 καὶ ᾶ λυπάσθε *Liv.* E 2901; μὴδὲν φοβᾶσθε *ibid.* 2992
 νὰ μὲ ἐνθυμᾶσθε *Diig. Alex.* V 86.1
 ἀπὸ τὸ ξηγᾶσθε *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 322.2–3
 ἐκ τὰ θυμᾶσθε *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 132 (θυμᾶσθε in V)
 νὰ μὴ τὸ ἀναθυμᾶσθε *Alosis* 1037
 ἔτσι νὰ μὴ φοβάσθε *Alex. Rim.* 973; καὶ δὲν θυμάσθε *ibid.* 1793
 πῶς δὲν ἀπηλογᾶσθε *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 69; νὰ τὸ θυμᾶσθε *ibid.* 517
 μὴ λυπάσθε! *Vios Filaret.* 241.16
 φοβᾶσθε (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 149.28)
 καὶ τί φοβᾶσθε τῶν Φραγκῶν; *TRIVOLIS, Tagiap.* 98
 εὐχαριστᾶσθε *Bertoldin.* 169.13–14
 καὶ δὲν ἐνθυμᾶσθε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 8.18; μὴδὲ ἐνθυμᾶσθε *ibid.* Matth. 16.9
 μὴ λυπάσθε *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 183; μὴδὲ παραπονᾶσθε *ibid.* 184; καὶ ὅσοι διηγᾶσθε *ibid.* 3063
 νὰ μοῦ θυμᾶσθε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 228.27; νὰ τυραννᾶσθε *ibid.* 431.25

³¹ The MG ending -όσασθε, formed by analogy with 1 pl. -όμασθε (PERNOT 1907/46: II 292, who claims that the ending is of Peloponnesian/Chiot origin), has not been found in the texts examined, which is not surprising given the relatively late appearance of -όμασθε (see above). Examples have not been found before the 18th c.: it occurs, for instance, in the Zakynthian Dimitrios Gouzelis's comedy *O Chasis* (φιλιόσασθε III.396), the final version of which dates from 1795 (ed. Z. Synodinos, Athens 1997).

Addition of final /n/ to this ending is occasionally found, especially in Heptanesian texts:

καὶ νὰ γενολογᾶσταν *Poulol.* 658
 ἀλλήλως νὰ ἡγαπᾶσταν *Chron. Mor.* P 3993
 ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον μηδὲν φοβᾶσταν *Diig. Alex.* V 50.20–1; νὰ μὲ θυμᾶσταν *ibid.* 84.12
 θυμάσταν ποὺ δειλιάζετε *Alex. Rim.* 1759
 γονέοι καὶ λογάσταν *Apoll. Rim.* V 1284
 μὴ φοβᾶσταν, ἀλλὰ χαίρετε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.42
 γελᾶσταν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 68.22
 κ' ἐσεῖς ποὺ τὸ ξηγᾶσταν ZINOS, *Penth. Than.* Prol. 15
 νὰ μὴ μοῦ καταρᾶσταν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 3064

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs in a Heptanesian text, but it is likely to appear in texts from Chios and possibly other areas as well (see I, 2.6.3.3): μὴ λυπᾶστανε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 632.

Pl.	2	-εἶσθε(ν) † -εἴστε(ν) † -ῆσθε(ν) † -ῆστε(ν)

The inherited 2 pl. ending -εἶσθε of E-stems is used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods. The phonetic variant -εἴστε is the result of manner dissimilation of fricatives after sibilants (see I, 3.8.1) (for the identical present imperative plural, see 4.5.1.2). No examples have been found with A-stem verbs:

λαλῶ σας καὶ οὐ λυπεῖσθε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 115
 φοβεῖσθε *Log. parig.* O 756
 τίποτε μὴ λυπῆσθε *Pol. Tr.* 1904; τίποτε μὴ λυπῆσθε *ibid.* 1904 app. crit. (A); θάνατον μὴ
 φοβῆσθε *ibid.* 3962
 μηδὲν φοβῆσθε *Liv.* α 3119; νὰ μὲ ἀφηγῆσθε *ibid.* 3030 app. crit. (N)
 καὶ ἂν λυπῆσθε τίποτε *Liv.* S 1744 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 τινὰν νὰ μὴ φοβῆσθε *Alosis* 885
 μηδὲν φοβῆσθε τίποτε *Alex. Rim.* 1792
 μὴ φοβεῖσθε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.14–15
 καὶ τόσον μὴ λυπῆσθε *Thrinis patr.* 86
 μὴν φοβεῖσθε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 16.6

Pl.	2	-(ε)ιέσθε(ν) † -(ε)ιέστε(ν)

This ending, which in its dissimilated form -ιέστε is now the most common for SMG A-stem verbs (e.g. αγαπιέστε, κρατιέστε), is found from at least the 15th c. onwards (the ms date of *Assizes B* is 1469). For a discussion on the appearance of /j/ after stem consonants in the passive imperfective stem see 2.1.2.2.4. (For the identical present imperative ending see 4.5.1.2.)

E-stems

ἂν τύχη νὰ βαρεῖσθε *Chron. Mor.* P 8536
 κρατιέσθε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 66.6
 καὶ νὰ παραπονιέσθε *Thrinis patr.* 85
 τὸ ἀρνιέσθε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 92.28
 πουλιέσθε GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.24
 μὴν κουνιέσθε μὲ τὸν λογισμόν σας KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 12.29

A-stems

ἐγγύεστε *Assizes* B 309.24 and *Assizes* A 59.27³²

μὴν καταρίεστε *PAPASYNAD.*, *Chron.* III §34.6

[γε]λείεσθε *SPANOS*, *Grammar* 41.21

Addition of final /n/ is rare: πρέπει νὰ ἀπιλογιέσθεν ἐσεῖς (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 133.30).

Pl.	2	-οὔστε(ν) † -οὔσθε(ν) † -ούστενε

This innovative 2 pl. ending appears in 17th-c. texts from Chios (the ms of this *Thrinos Konst.*, Ieros. Patr. 160, was copied by the Chiot Païsios Ligaridis), with A- and E-stem verbs. According to PERNOT (1907/46: I 472) it is the result of intervocalic /s/ deletion in an otherwise unattested ending *-ούσσετε (for the identical present imperative plural, see 4.5.1.2) but perhaps analogical influence from the 1st and 3rd persons plural may be suspected. For insertion of /j/ after stem consonants (κρατειοῦστε) see 2.1.2.2.4: καὶ σεῖς νερά τρεχάμενα, σταθῆτε μὴν κινουῖσθε *Thrinos Konst.* (P-K) 8 app. crit.; κρατειοῦστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.9; τιμοῦστε *ibid.* 93.6; θυμοῦσθεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1233; μὴν φοβοῦσθεν *ibid.* 1421. The ending also occurs with an added -(ν)ε (for which see I, 2.6.3.3): ἄν δὲν λυποῦσθενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 865.

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-οῦνται(ν) † -ούνταινε † -(ε)ιοῦνται(ν)

The inherited ending -οῦνται is the most common ending for 3 pl. pass. throughout and beyond our period, with both E- and A-stem verbs:

E-stems

καὶ ἐξομολογοῦνται καὶ λυποῦνται *NIKON*, *Logos* 3 166.16

φοβοῦνται *Ptoch.* I 89

τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὰ πεντάλιτρα τὸν Μάιον ἀναζητοῦνται *Paroim.* H 19

ξηγοῦνται *MACHAIRAS*, *Chron.* V 2.14; νὰ χειροτονοῦνται *ibid.* 26.22

παραπονοῦνται *Cypr. Canz.* 17.8; ποθοῦνται *ibid.* 43.1

νὰ μοῦ θυμοῦνται (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 14, 24.32); διὰ νὰ ἀποκρατοῦνται (*ibid.* 15, 26.25)

νὰ λογοῦνται τὰ ἥμισα (1517 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 3, 51.15–16)

φοβοῦνται καὶ δίδουν τὸν Σαψὼν *KARTANOS*, *P&N Diath.* 278.34

καὶ τὸ Θεὸ φοβοῦνται *CHORTATSIS Katz.* III.325

διδοῦνται *Pist. kekoim.* 392

ρηγάδες τὸν φοβοῦνται (17th c., Unknown, ŠANGIN 1936: 4, 152.26–7)

ὅταν μοιρολογοῦνται *BOUNIALIS M.*, *Diig. Pol.* 154.20; λέγει τως μὴ λυποῦνται *ibid.* 193.15;

νὰ πὰ νὰ διακονοῦνται *ibid.* 193.16

νὰ μὴ παραπονοῦνται *Don Kis.* 47.19–20

³² In the case of ἐγγυῶμαι the /i/ in ἐγγύεστε (for ἐγγυᾶστε) is in fact part of the stem, but the result is the same.

A-stems

κι ὅσοι γεννοῦνται *Chron. Mor.* H 2725
 ἵνα μᾶς καταροῦνται *Dig.* E 538
 καὶ νὰ καυχοῦνται οἱ ἄνομοι *Anak. Konst.* 56
 βρυχοῦνται *Imb. Rim.* 209
 νὰ κυβερνοῦνται *Achil.* N 150; χαιρετοῦνται *ibid.* 1520
 καὶ ὅπ' ἄγαποῦνται *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 657
 βιγλοῦνται *Cypr. Canz.* 43.5
 νὰ γρικοῦνται (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 97.134)
 στέκουν και ανερωτοῦνται *Apoll. Rim.* E 1450
 σὲ σπήλαια κοιμοῦνται *Alex. Rim.* 1913
 ἄγαποῦνται *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 421; καταροῦνται *ibid.* 481
 πλανοῦνται *CHORTATIS, Katz. Prol.* 7; ὅποιοι σας αφουκρούνται *id., Panor.* II.520
 νὰ χαλοῦνται (1647, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 1, 668.3)
 κοιμοῦνται *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1815
 νὰ κυβερνοῦνται (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 481.32)

With /j/ after the stem consonant, this ending is found from the 15th/16th c. onwards (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion):

τὰ δὲ αὐγά πουλιοῦνται (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 43, 36.1)
 κρατιοῦνται *Apoll. Rim.* V 257
 θέλω νὰ πουλιοῦνται (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 77, 145.19); νὰ
 ἀποκρατειοῦνται (1525, *ibid.* 100, 187.28)
 τόνε βαριοῦνται *MOREZINOS, Klini* 56.36
 γεννιοῦνται *CHORTATIS, Panor.* V.37; δεν ξοφλιοῦνται *ibid.* V.38; κρατιοῦνται *id., Erof.* IV.733
 δὲν δαπανιοῦνται εὐκολα *Vios Aisop.* D 213.34
 ἄγαπιοῦνται *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 440
 ξοφλιοῦνται *Stathis Prol.* 20
 κι ὄχι νὰ σὲ βαριοῦνται *Pist. voskos* I 3.176
 βαριοῦνται τσι κ' ἐκεῖνοι *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.179
 δὲν δαπανιοῦνται εὐκολα *Vios Aisop.* D 213.34
 γρικοῦνται (1661, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 27, 383.22)

The addition of final /n/ to the ending -(ι)οῦνται can sometimes be found. There are several instances in *Liv.* V and in ms C of *Pol. Tr.*; single instances have been found as early as the writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain (late 11th/early 12th c.), as well as in *Dig.* O (Chios) and in documents from Thrace, Macedonia and Chios:

ὅτι προσποιοῦνται ὡς δῆθεν ἀγαθοεργείας *NIKON, Prol.* 16.30–1
 ὅτι σθεναχωροῦνται *Liv.* V 763; τὴν γραίαν ἀπιλογοῦνται *ibid.* 2680; ὅπου σῶς
 ἐνθυμοῦνται *ibid.* 3828
 ἐνθυμοῦνται *Pol. Tr.* 8548 app. crit. (C) and 9651 app. crit. (C); φοβοῦνται *ibid.* 10517 app.
 crit. (C), 12787 app. crit. (C), 13070 app. crit. (C) and 13111 app. crit. (C); ἀφηγοῦνται *ibid.*
 12425 app. crit. (C)
 ἐνοχλιοῦνται (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 86.17–18)
 καὶ παρακινιοῦνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι (1576, Macedonia, CHASIOITIS 1964/65: 3, 253.30)
 ὅπου ποτὲ δὲν ἐνθυμοῦνται τέτοιον θανατικόν (1621, Sicily, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 1,
 90.10–11) (author from Chios)
 συναπαντοῦνται τὸ λοιπὸν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1367

Addition of $-(\nu)\epsilon$ to this ending has been found in the work of Katsaitis (Kefalonia), but is likely to have had a wider geographical spread (for addition of $-(\nu)\epsilon$ see I, 2.6.3.3): $\kappa\iota' \acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\iota$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ $\phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\iota\upsilon\epsilon$ KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.26.

Pl.	3	-ώνται -όνται -(ι)όται -(ε)ιώνται -ίωνται

The residual A-stem ending $-\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$, which had been replaced by $-\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ before the LMedG period (see the introduction to Chapter 2), is sometimes used, possibly helped by the fact that from about the 14th c. onwards oxytone E-stem verbs started to borrow the ending /onde/ from barytone verbs, with the insertion of /j/ after the stem consonant of the oxytone verb as an added feature (e.g. $\beta\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$, below). See 2.1.2.2.4 for details and discussion.

A-stems

$\tau\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα NIKON, *Logos* 1 72.11–12; ὥς $\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ τινὲς id., *Logos* 31 826.13
 κ' ἐπίσης ὀδυνῶνται GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 136
 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ σοῦ καταρῶνται *Dig.* E 248
 $\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ *Pol. Tr.* 1008 app. crit. (X); $\chi\alpha\lambda\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ ibid. 8307 app. crit. (C)
 $\alpha\pi\omicron\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ *Apoll. Rim.* V 881; $\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ ibid. 1450
 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ νικῶνται *Alex. Fyll.* 53.18
 $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 68.22
 $\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ τὸν πρῶτον ὕπνον ζερβὰ LANDOS, *Geopon.* 178.20
 $\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ *Bertoldos* 46.23
 $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ *Bertoldin.* 129.6
 $\sigma\alpha\nu$ $\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1043; $\nu\alpha$ μην καυχῶνται ibid. 1761
 $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\gamma\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ (1660, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 29, 176.23)

E-stems

$\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ (1432, Corfu, ASONITIS 1996/97: 3, 29.45)
 $\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ ἀνδρειωμένοι *Achil.* N 585
 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$ λυπόνται τόσοι BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 104 app. crit.
 $\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ ΡΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 125 app. crit.; $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ ibid. 149 app. crit.
 $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\rho\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ *Rim. kor.* V 85
 $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma$ λογῆς τιμῶνται *Alex. Fyll.* 97.19
 $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\upsilon\chi\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4089; $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\varsigma$ βλασφημῶνται ibid. 4520; τὸν Θεόν $\phi\omicron\beta\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ ibid. 10080
 $\delta\iota\eta\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ (1660, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 29, 175.7)

With /j/ inserted after the stem consonant the ending /'onde/ is found from the 14th c. onwards. The “etymologizing” spelling with <ω> is, of course, entirely graphematic:

οἱ πάντες τὸ $\beta\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ *Chron. Mor.* H 7559
 $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ *Pol. Tr.* 4374
 $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ *Chron. Toc.* 412; $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ ibid. 1612
 $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ προσκαλιῶνται (1518, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 390.13)
 $\tau\omicron\nu$ ἔρωτα βαριῶνται *Rim. kor.* V 661
 $\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ *Syndipas* 117.22, 118.28 and 118.29
 $\nu\alpha$ $\kappa\tau\upsilon\pi\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ *Kaloandros* 406.7
 $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ ἀγκικιόνται τὰ ἡμισὰ τοῦ Ριγκιμέντου (1665, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 3, 189.19–20)
 $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ παραπονιῶνται ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 638

ἐγροικιῶνται (1682, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 3, 672.14)

ἔτζι πουλιῶνται (1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 14, 216.8)

Addition of final /n/ appears to be quite rare: εἴτι χρέη χρωσιόνταιν (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 172, 222.18).

Forms with an ostensible shift of the stress to the antepenultimate (cf. 3 sg. -ιέται) are rare: ἀρχίνησαν νὰ γεννιῶνται *Bertoldin*. 128.18 (see II, 1.5 for discussion).

Forms in -όται are phonetic rather than morphological variants of -όνται, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops (for details see I, 3.6.2.1): ἐπιθυμόται (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.13); εὐχαριστιόται (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.24).

Pl.	3	-ιένται

The ending -ιένται has been found in documents from the northern and central Peloponnese (Arcadia and Achaia), both dating after the period covered by this Grammar. Its spelling ἀγροικένται for ἀγροικιένται is graphematic, as /k/ before /e/ will have had a palatalized pronunciation (see I, 3.8.2.1; see also 2.1.2.2.4): νὰ ἀγροικιένται (1707, Dimitsana/Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 209, 334.4); νὰ ἀγροικένται (1724, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 43, 143.12); νὰ ἐγροικένται (1754, Sopoto, PAPADOPOULOS 1977: 5, 68.7).

4.2 The Aorist Subjunctive

By the beginning of the LMedG period, the endings of the present and aorist active subjunctives (-ω, -ης, -η, -ωμε(ν), -ητε, -ωσι(ν)) had long been replaced with those of the present indicative (-ω, -εις, -ει, -ομε(ν), -ετε, -ουσι(ν)/-ουν) due to sound change and analogical levelling (a development that had begun in Hellenistic times; see e.g. JANNARIS 1897: 198–9 for examples from the New Testament onwards). Even though the indicative and subjunctive clearly make use of the same set of endings, there is a tendency in modern editions to apply a historical spelling to the 2 sg., 3 sg. and 1 pl. subjunctive, which essentially contradicts the development of the language. Not all editors, however, choose to make this orthographic distinction.³³ To form the aorist active subjunctive, the ending is added to the active perfective stem of the verb: e.g. γράψ-ω, γρικήσ-ω, βαρέσ-ω. For 2 pl. and 3 pl. of the active aorist subjunctive the residual endings -ητε and -ωσι(ν) can sometimes be found.

The endings of the aorist passive subjunctive of AG (-ῶ, -ῆς, -ῆ, -ῶμεν, -ῆτε, -ῶσιν) had, again through sound change, become partially homophonous with the present active endings of oxytone E-stem verbs (-ῶ, -εῖς, -εῖ, -οὔμεν, -εῖτε, -οὔσιν). Through analogical

³³ In editions in monotonic the official spelling of SMG is applied (sometimes including an unhistorical spelling -οσι(ν) for the residual 3 pl. ending -ωσι(ν)), whereas in editions in polytonic three systems are in current use: (1) historical spelling of subjunctive endings with iota subscript in 2 sg. and 3 sg. and <ω> in 1 pl.; (2) the official spelling of the 1941 grammar of Triandafyllidis (historical spelling minus the iota subscript in 2 sg. and 3 sg.); (3) the official spelling of SMG, but with polytonic accentuation (sometimes without the grave).

levelling, the endings -οῦμε(ν) for 1 pl., -οῦσι(ν), and later -οῦν, for 3 pl. were also adopted in the aorist passive subjunctive paradigm (HORROCKS 2010: 317–18). Again it may be noted that applying a historical spelling to the 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl. endings is, in fact, at odds with the development of the language. As mentioned in the General Introduction, the iota subscript has been omitted in the examples in this Grammar. Other than that, the spelling of the modern editions of literary texts has been preserved. In examples normalized by us, 2 sg. and 3 sg. examples of the subjunctive are spelled with <ει>.

The oxytone endings are added to the passive perfective stem of the verb, e.g. γραφθ-ῶ, γρικηθ-ῶ, βαρεθ-ῶ. For 1 pl. and 3 pl. of the passive aorist subjunctive the residual endings -ῶμε(ν) and -ῶσι(ν) can sometimes be found. For the passive subjunctive of ἐγείρω, which developed barytone forms while retaining its passive stem (ἐγέρθω), see 2.4.

A group of verbs, including certain verbs with a thematic or root aorist (second aorist) as well as the verb γίνομαι, may adopt endings from both the barytone and oxytone paradigms (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 133–4), e.g. εἶπω and εἶπῶ, ἔμπω and ἔμπῶ, εὔρω and εὔρῶ, γένω and γενῶ. These verbs will be discussed separately at the end of this section.

For the use of the subjunctive in periphrastic verb constructions, see introduction to Chapter 5.

4.2.1 Active Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	γράφω	γράφου	γράφων
	2	γράφεις/γράφης/γράφης		
	3	γράψει/γράψει/γράψει	γράψειν/γράψειν/γράψειν γράψεινε	
Pl.	1	γράφουμε(ν)/γράφωμε(ν)	(γράφομενε) γράφουμε(ν) γράφουμι	
	2	γράψετε γράψετεν ὁ γράψετενε	γράψητε γράψτε	
	3	γράφουσι(ν) γράφουν	γράφωσι(ν)/γράφουσι(ν) γράφουσινε γράφου ὁ γράφουσινε	γράφον

Distribution of Allomorphs*1st Person Singular*

Sg.	1	-ω -ων -ου

The ending for 1 sg. shows little morphological variation, before, during and after the period under investigation:

ὅπου κελεύεις ἔλθω *Dig.* G II.133
 πῶς νὰ τὴν ἐξεπλέξω *Eisit.* 8r.16
 εἰς τὸ νὰ δευτερώσω *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 212
 ἃ γλιτώσω *Cypr. Canz.* 9.4
 διὰ νὰ ὑπάγω καὶ ἐγὼ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 339.8–9
 ἄν τὰ κρατήξω (1565, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 194, 287.17)
 νὰ σὲ θαραπαύσω *MOREZINOS, Klini* 44.34
 μήνα ἡμπορέσω νὰ τὸν ἐλευθερώσω (1620, Ioannina, *DOIKAS* 1982: [6], 144.10)
 νὰ σὲ ρωτήξω *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1052
 ἄς πάγω πλὶο σιμότερα *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 284
 ἄν ἀποθάνω ἐγὼ (1665, Vraniana, *STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI* 1992: 58, 173.37–8)
 νὰ ἀρχινήσω *Don Kis.* 45.14–15

Addition of final /n/ to 1 sg. is unusual. The forms, if they are not simple scribal errors, may represent a form of hypercorrection in varieties of the language that tend to drop final /n/ : ἵνα ὀρίσων γέροντες, καλοὺς ἀνθρώπους (1570, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 1999: 33, 398.10–11). When the following word begins with a voiceless stop (/k/, /p/, /t/), the final /n/ may indicate that those stops were pronounced as voiced ([g], [b], [d]); see I, 3.7.2.1 for details: ἵνα τοῦ ποιήσων τὴν μπαροῦσαν κοντραντιτζιὸν (1688, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA* et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.3–4); δε θέλω ἀφήσων κανέναν νὰ σιμώσιν (ibid. 1013.13).

1 sg. forms in -ου are phonetic rather than morphological variants of -ω, the result of back-vowel raising, by which unstressed /o/ becomes [u] (for details see I, 2.5.4):

δὲν ἔχω τίποτες νὰ κάμου (1660, Skyros, *ANDONIADES* 1980/81: 4, 312.29–30)
 νὰ μεράσου (1694, Skyros, *ANDONIADES* 1990: 47, 76.12–13)
 δὲν ἔλειψα νὰ σὲ γράψου καὶ νὰ σὲ φανερώσου (1697, Thessaloniki, *KATSANIS* 2012: 4, 59.3–4); νὰ ῥτου καὶ ἀτός μου νὰ σὲ ἀπολάψου (1698, ibid. 9, 74.33)
 τὴν προίκα ποὺ θεὸς νὰ τοῦ δώσου (1717, Skiathos, *KARAVIDAS* 2004: 2, 249.7–8)

The two verbs that have alternative perfective barytone vowel stems, namely ὑπά(γ)ω (ὑπα-/πα-) and τρώ(γ)ω (φα-), have “uncontracted” forms for 1 sg.: e.g. εἰς τόπο θε νὰ πᾶω *CHORTATISIS, Panor.* I.15; οὐδέ ψωμί νὰ φᾶω *ibid.* I.16 (for forms with vowel deletion see 2.2.2.3).

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-εἰς/-ης/-ης

The ending for 2 sg. shows no morphological variation, before, during and after the period under investigation:

νά τήν πέμψης ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.16
 ἄν σὺ παράσχῃς μοι τροφήν, ἄν χορηγήσῃς πόσιν *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 33
 ἄν οὐδὲν τὸ στείλῃς (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.16)
 νὰ ποίσεις ἕνα διαλαλημὸ (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.2)
 νὰ ξηλώσεις τὲς δουλλιές μου ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* O 92.7 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 μὴ μοῦ ζητήξῃς *Rim. kor.* A 72
 νὰ τοὺς κόψῃς (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 259.84.14–15)
 ἄν δὲν τὸ βάλῃς εἰς τὸ στόμα σου ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 124.20–1
 ἄ τὰ στείλῃς (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.23)
 θέλω νὰ πάγῃς στὸ καλὸ *CHORTATSIS, Katz.* III.457
 μὴ τὸ φάγῃς ὅλον *LANDOS, Geopon.* 151.26–7
 μὴν μ' ἀφήκῃς (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.4)
 ὁποθεν ἐξετάσεις *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 4339
 μὴδὲν παινέσῃς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥστε νὰ δῇς τὸ τέλος *KONDAR., Paidēs* 945
 νὰ μὴ ξεσπαθώσῃς *Don Kis.* 48.22

The verbs ὑπά(γ)ω and τρώ(γ)ω, which have alternative perfective barytone vowel stems ((ύ)πα-) and (φα-), can have “uncontracted” forms for 2 sg.: νὰ ὑπάῃς (1571, Unknown, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 8, 481.7); νὰ φάῃς (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.13); for forms with vowel deletion see 2.2.2.3.

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ει/-η/-τη ἰ -ειν/-ην/-την ἰ -εινε

The ending for 3 sg. shows little morphological variation, before, during and after the period under investigation:

ἵνα μὲ ἐλεήσῃ ὁ θεὸς ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 315.31
 νὰ κάτῃ *Dig.* E 678
 νὰ μάσῃ τὰ ἐλαϊκὰ δένδρη (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 3, 150.10)
 νὰ ῥετᾶξῃ (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.15)
 δια νὰ πάγῃ εἰς τὸ κάτεργον *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 48.13–14
 νὰ θελήσῃ ν' ἀρκοντύνη τινὰς ἀπὸ δικὸν ἄλλου *Fior* 99.26
 εἰ δὲ καὶ δὲν σοῦ βολέσῃ (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.29)
 ὅτι νὰ ἀπεστείλῃ *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 1
 ὅταν ἀπεθάνῃ (1572, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 1, 17.16)
 χωρὶς νὰ τήνῃ σείση τινὰς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.4–5
 νὰ ξεστοματίσῃ ἔτοιον ψόμα (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83.10)
 κ' ἐμένα ἄς ἀκολουθίξῃ *ΣΟΥΜΜΑΚΗΣ, Past. Fid.* A3v.13
 νὰ πέσῃ νὰ πεθάνῃ *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 35
 μὴν ἔλθῃ αἰφνιδίως καὶ ἀλπάσῃ με (1684, Zakynthos, ΖΟΪΣ 1956: [2], 348.15) (= ἀρπάσῃ, see I, 3.8.6.3)
 ν' ἀδυναμίσῃ τόσα *ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, Erot.* III.35

Addition of final /n/ occurs occasionally, in a variety of texts from various regions:

καὶ νὰ τὸν βασανίσῃν *Log. parag.* L 439
 φοβᾶται νὰ τὴν πιᾶσῃν *Pol. Tr.* 3680 app. crit. (B); νὰ τὸν δημηγερεύσῃν *ibid.* 13128 app. crit. (C)
 νὰ μὴ χαλάσῃν *Achil.* N 1102
 διὰ νὰ τὸν συνερίσῃν *Achil.* O 45; νὰ δοκιμάσῃν *ibid.* 76
 καὶ νὰ ὀρθώσῃν τὴν δουλειὰν *Chron. Toc.* 2743; νὰ τοὺς τὴν δώσῃν ὁ Θεὸς *ibid.* 3035
 νὰ ἀναγνώσῃν (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.15)
 διὰ νὰ φορτώσῃν σιτάρῃν (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 132.4)
 νὰ μὴδὲν δυναμώσῃν πολλὰ *Diig. Alex.* F 150.22 (Lolos)
 μήπως κ' ἔλθῃν ὁ Χάρος (1573, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75.5–6)
 τὸν ἐπολέμα τὸν αὐτὸν Στεφανὴ νὰ τήνε γαμήσῃν (1579, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 7, 97.38)
 ἂν ἔχει νὰ σᾶς δώσῃν δέπτετον (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/1992: 3, 49.24) (= οὐδετίποτε)
 μήτε νὰ πουργοδοτήσῃν (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 180.18–19) (< προικοδοτῶ); νὰ σιμώσῃν (1688, *ibid.* 743, 1013.13)

Addition of -(v)ε has been found in a document from the Aegean, but is likely to occur elsewhere as well (see I, 2.6.3.3): ἂν κάμεινε τίποτι συγκατάβαση (17th c., Sifnos?, TSELIKAS 1986c: 4, 41.22).

Two verbs that have perfective barytone vowel stems, namely ὑπά(γ)ω ((ὑ)πα-) and τρώ(γ)ω (φα-), can have “uncontracted” forms for 3 sg.: e.g. νὰ πᾶη *Assizes* B 359.28; νὰ φᾶη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 143.21; for forms in which vowel deletion occurs see 2.2.2.3.

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-ομε(v)/-ωμε(v)

For 1 pl. -ομε(v)/-ωμε(v), with or without the final /n/,³⁴ is by far the most common ending before, during and beyond the period under review:

νὰ κάτσωμεν *Ptoch.* I 243
 νὰ ἀργήσωμεν *Pol. Tr.* 206
 νὰ παραλάβομεν (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.9)
 θέλοντας νὰ τότε εὐκαριστήσομεν (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 467.5)
 νὰ τοὺς πτιάσομεν (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.8)
 νὰ τὸ ἐξετάσωμεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 66.33
 ἄς τὸν ἀγοράσωμεν *Vios Aisop.* I 253.28
 ἄλλην καλύτερην βουλὴν νὰ πάρομε *Theseid* V.45.4 (1529)
 νὰ διορθώσομε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.7)
 εἰς τὸ νὰ ... ἡκούσομεν (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 256.4)
 νὰ ἡμπορέσομε (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 35.2)
 νὰ σὲ ἀπολαύσομεν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 48.5)

³⁴ First attestations of the loss of final /n/, resulting in -ομε, can be found sporadically from the Koine onward (DIETERICH 1898: 249); see also I, 3.7.2.2.

νά ζητήξομεν τὴν βοήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ MOREZINOS, *Klini* 20.28
 νά τῶς δώσομεν (1607, Kalymnos, KOUTELAKIS 1981: 3, 31.5)
 νά τοῦ πέψομε *Bertoldin*. 147.3
 νά τὴν σκοτώσωμε PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.208
 ἄς ἀρχηνίσωμεν ἀπ' ἐδῶ RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 58.28
 νά εἶναι δικά τους ζήσωμεν πεθάνωμεν (1667, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1960: II.A 6, 123.3–4)
 μέ τὸ νά κληρονομήσομε (1685, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 8, 331.2–3)
 νά δώκωμε (1694, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 204, 123.12)
 νά τῶν τὰ δώσωμε καὶ νά τῶν τὰ μετρήσωμε (1697, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 12, 27.9)
 ἀς το ἀφήσομεν εἰς τον Θεόν *Don Kis.* 47.5; νά συναπαντήσομεν *ibid.* 48.20

The verbs ὑπά(γ)ω (perfective stem πα-) and τρώ(γ)ω (φα-), have “contracted” rather than “uncontracted” forms for 1 pl., for which see 2.2.2.3.

Addition of -(v)ε (see also I, 2.6.3.3), which occurs regionally with many verb forms, has not been found with the 1 pl. aorist subjunctive in the texts examined, though it is very likely to have existed, as it has been found with the present (see 4.1.1.1), as well as with verbs that have thematic perfective stems (for which see 4.2.3), with the passive voice (see 4.2.2) and in “contracted” forms of the verb ὑπά(γ)ω (see also 2.2.2.3), with which it appears in texts from the Heptanese, Crete and Chios:

κι ἄς πάμενε, συντροφισσες *Zinon Prol.* 168
 ἄς πάμενε, μετὰ χαρᾶς MONTSEL., *Evgena* 273
 πῶς πάμενε στὸν πόλεμον BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 213.6; ὅλοι νά πάμενε γυμνοὶ *id.*, *Kat. ofel.* 161
 ἔλα μαζὶ νά πάμενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 682

Pl.	1	-οῦμε(ν) ἢ -οῦμι

For a discussion of the ending -οῦμε(ν), which in its form without final /n/ has prevailed as the most common MG ending, see 4.1.1.1. As with the present, this ending is not very common with the aorist subjunctive and it appears quite late (15th/16th c.), usually alongside forms in -ομε(ν)/-ωμε(ν):

νά πέψομεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 271.45–6 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari) (not in Dawkins;
 πέψομεν in V and R)
 νά περάσομεν ὁμοῦ *Fyll. gadar.* 81
 ἄς κόψομε καὶ τὸ κεφάλιν του *Diig. Alex.* F 144.13 (Konstantinopulos) (hapax)
 εἰς τὸ νά ... ἡκούσομεν (1543, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 48,
 249.3–4) (hapax)
 νά πλύνομεν τὰ ποδάρια τοῦ ξένου *Vios Aisop.* I 265.2 (hapax)
 νά κρᾶξομε τὸν μαστρο-Ματῖο (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 20, 76.11)
 θὲ ν' ἀφήκομε (1705, Symi, GEORGA-VOLONAKI 1974: 1, 204.16)
 ἀς δοκιμάσομε *Don Kis.* 112.5–6; τι νά κάμομε το κορμί του; *ibid.* 127.14–15
 νά τοὺς δώσομε πρόσωπο καὶ νά τοὺς πολεμήσομε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 34.10

Forms in -ουμι show that mid-vowel raising has taken place (see I, 2.5.4 for details): τὶ νὰ φουνίσουμι; (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 55.34); νὰ κερδέσουμι (1698, *ibid.* 9, 73.12).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ΕΤΕ ἰ -ΤΕ ἰ '-ΕΤΕΝ(Ε)

For 2 pl. -ετε is the standard ending in both literary and non-literary texts throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods. Some representative examples are:

εἶ τι κελεύετε καὶ ἐρωτήσετέ με ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 152.24–5
 τὸ πρᾶγμα νὰ στερεώσετε *Chron. Mor.* H 198; νὰ σφάξετε τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς *ibid.* 4045
 ποτὲ μὴδὲν ὀκνήσετε *Dig.* E 488; κ' ἔως νὰ καβαλικεύσετε *ibid.* 1714
 νὰ ἀκούσετε τὸ δίκαιον *Assizes* B 324.19; νὰ σκοπίσετε *ibid.* 331.18
 ὅτι νὰ προσκυνήσετε μὲ τὸ καλόν (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.14)
 νὰ προσέξετε ΕΡΜΟΝ., *Ilias* 2.6; νὰ θαυμάσετε πολλὰ γὰρ *ibid.* 2.7
 μὴ δειλιάσετε *Diig. tetr.* 1065
 νὰ ποίσετε πᾶσα σας ὄφελος (1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 99.12); ὅταν ἐσεῖς
 θελήσετε (*ibid.* 99.13)
 ὅτι νὰ ἀλησμονήσετε *Chron. Toc.* 1394; νὰ πέψετε *ibid.* 1444
 ν' ἀκούσετε ὅσοι ἐπάθετε *Katal.* 598
 νὰ γρωνίσετε τὸ πρᾶμαν ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 232.12–13; τὸ χειρότερον τὸ νὰ μπορήσετε
ibid. 282.2
 νὰ σπουδάξετε (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.45)
 μὴν τὰ ἀφήσετε (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 250.62–3)
 νὰ τοῦ δώκετε (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 6, 262.9); νὰ ζητήξετε (*ibid.* 262.11)
 νὰ φύγετε ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 3.7; μὴν λογιάσετε *ibid.* 5.17; νὰ τὸν ζητήσετε *ibid.*
 6.8
 ἀνίσως καὶ κινήσετε *Don Kis.* 45.29

Syncopated forms in -τε have been found in two Heptanesian (Zakynthian) verse texts. Accommodation of the metre may have played a role, but interestingly syncopated forms also appear in the late 18th-c. Zakynthian prose comedy *O Chasis*³⁵ and in the 19th-c. linguistic satire *Vavylonia*³⁶ (cf. the imperative plural, 4.5.2.1, for which syncopated forms are more common; for syncope see also I, 2.7.2): αὐτεῖνον γιὰ νὰ πιάστε *Alex. Rim.* 805; θέλετε νὰ μὲ ντροπιάστε *ibid.* 806; νὰ τήνε θανατώστε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 411; νὰ τήν χῶστε *ibid.* 412.

³⁵ E.g. θ' ἀκούστε χαμπέρια Gouzelis, *O Chasis* I.28 (ed. Synodinos); χέρι νὰν τοῦ φιλήστε *ibid.* II.162; τὰ μαγαζιά νὰ κλείστε *ibid.* II.163 app. crit. (ΑΒΓΔ).

³⁶ E.g. νὰ βράστε κουκιά Vyzantios, *Vavylonia* IV, scene 6; νὰ πλακώστε τὶς ἀβδέλλες *ibid.* These words are uttered by the quack doctor, whose provenance is not mentioned; judging from his language with its many Italianisms he may well be a Heptanesian. In *Vavylonia* syncopated forms also appear in the dialogue of the Chiot inn-keeper: ἔ θὰ μὲ πλερώστεν *ibid.* III, scene 10; νὰ μὲ πλερώστενε *ibid.*

The two verbs that have alternative perfective vowel stems, ὑπά(γ)ω (πα-) and τρώ(γ)ω (φα-), have “contracted” rather than “uncontracted” forms for 2 pl., for which see 2.2.2.3.

Addition of final /n/ and of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3 and I, 3.7.2.1) has been found in 17th-c. texts linked to certain Aegean islands (Chios, Syros):

σὰν φᾶτεν τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 49; νὰ ζήσετεν αἰώνια ibid. 51
 θὲ γροικήσετεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 133
 ὅπου κι ἂν πᾶτεν KONDAR., *Paidēs* 251
 ἂν μὲ θελήσετεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 445; νὰ μάθετεν καὶ τ' ὄνομα ibid. 3072
 νὰ λείψετεν καὶ νὰ ἀφήσετεν τέτοιο κρῖμα (1685, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [2], 12.8); νὰ
 κάμετεν τέλειαν καὶ σωστήν μετάνοιαν καὶ νὰ δώσετεν ἄλλο τόσο καλὸ ἐξόμπλι (ibid.
 13.29–30)
 νὰ μὲ ἀγκιουτάρετενε (1657, Ancona, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 8, 111.4) (< Ven. agiutàr); θέλει
 τὰ στείλετενε (ibid. 111.9); μὴν τὸ πέμψετενε (1666, Rome, ibid. 11, 115.2) (both authors
 from Chios)

Pl.	2	-ητε

The residual subjunctive ending -ητε is used in various, mainly literary, texts with the aorist subjunctive, though usually as isolated instances alongside forms in -ετε, which are more frequent (see above). In texts that display mid-vowel raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] elsewhere (e.g. *Diig. Alex. K*) it may be suspected that the unstressed /i/ in the ending is phonetic rather than morphological (cf. the present subjunctive, 4.1; for mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i] see I, 2.5.4):

ζωὴν μὴ προτιμήσητε *Dig.* G I.76; εἰ τοῦτο οὐ ποιήσητε ibid. I.81
 τυχαίνει διὰ νὰ δείξητε *Pol. Tr.* 4969 app. crit. (V)
 ν' ἀκούσητε πολλάκις *Diig. tetr.* 411 app. crit. (VCA)
 ν' ἀκούσητε τὸν λόγον *Velth.* 23 (Cupane)
 ὅταν ἀκούσητε τὰς φωνὰς *Achil.* L 178
 καὶ μὴ νομίσητε *Achil.* N 1116
 νὰ μᾶς δώσητε τὸ κάστρον SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 44.13
 νὰ μὲ βοηθήσητε *Diig. Alex.* E 203.7 (Konstantinopulos)
 νὰ ποιήσητε κάλλιον ἀνδραγαθίαν *Diig. Alex. K* 352.20 (hapax)
 νὰ ὑπομείνητε τοὺς βασιανισμοὺς *Vios Aisop.* K 190.3–4
 ὅταν ἀκούσητε πολέμους KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 13.7
 μὴν καταφρονέσητε τοῦτον τὸν θεόν *Vios Aisop.* D 243.14
 νὰ μοῦ τὰ στείλητε (1687, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 6, 223.2)

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-ουσι(ν) † -ουσινε

The inherited ending -ουσι(ν) is used throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, in texts from all areas:

εἰ τολμήσουσι (1134, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 6, 518.8)
 καὶ τζαλαπατήσουσιν τοὺς *Vulgärorakel* VI.18

θέλουν ἄρματώσουσι *Chron. Mor.* H 368; εἰ τε κὶ οὐδὲν τὸ ποιήσουσιν *ibid.* 2639
 συμπάθειον διὰ νὰ κάμουσι *Pol. Tr.* 11656
 νὰ ἐβγάνουσι τὸ τετάρτι τῆς γῆς (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 3, 150.7)
 νὰ λείψουσιν παντελῶς (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.46)
 νὰ πέψουσι BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 70
 μηδὲ χέρια νὰ τὰ πιάσουσιν DAM. STOUDE., *This., Logos* 9, 11r.21 (1561)
 νὰ μᾶς δείξουσιν (1578, Cyprus, TSELIKAS 1977: 1, 253.17)
 νὰ διώξουσιν τον Μιχαήλ STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 789 (Pidonia)
 νὰ ἀφήκουσι MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 330.2
 νὰ μάσε κόφουσι (1659, Hydra, KARATHANASIS 1972/73: 241.2)
 νὰ τὸ ρεκουπεράρουσι (1661, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 10, 106.125–6) (< Ven. *recuperàr*)
 νὰ φορτώσουσι σιτάρι (1671, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 3, 578.8–10)
 ποὺ θέν τὴν ἀγκαλιάσουσι KONDAR., *Paidēs* 57
 νὰ τὸ ἐπάρουσι EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 15.13

Third person plural forms of the alternative vowel stems of ὑπά(γ)ω (πα-) and τρώ(γ)ω (φα-) usually undergo vowel deletion.³⁷ See 2.2.2.3 for details.

The ending -ουσινε, -ουσι(ν) with addition of -(ν)ε (-άσινε in the case of πᾶω and φᾶω, for which see also 2.2.2.3) has been found in Cretan texts of the late 16th and 17th centuries, as well as in a document from Mykonos, but is likely to have been in use in other areas as well (Heptanese, Peloponnese, certain other Aegean islands). Added second accents are usually editorial and quite unnecessary, since the vernacular permits the stress to fall on the syllable before the antepenultimate (see I, 4.2.3 for details):

ν' ἀλλάξουσινε τὴ χαρὰ CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.145
 νὰ πᾶσινε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 232.5
 ἂν τὰ δώσουσινε (1607, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 3, 5.20)
 νὰ τὰ μολογήσουσινε (1662, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 2, 413.17)
 νὰ τὸ φᾶσινε (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 20.22)
 νὰ ρίζουσινε τ' ἄρμενα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 336.18; νὰ στείλουσινε καὶ λαό *ibid.* 469.12

Pl.	3	-ουν ἢ -ου ἢ -ουνε ἢ -ον

For a discussion of the ending -ουν see 4.1.1.1. This ending can be found with the aorist subjunctive in texts throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

ἔαν καλῶς ἐκπληρώσουν (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 25.171)
 ἴνα οἱ μοναχοὶ ὑποδείξουν (1128, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 13, 98.11)
 νὰ εὐτιάσουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.49); καὶ ἄς ἐπάρουν τὰ βιβλία (*ibid.* 82.60)
 μήπως χαώσουν καὶ αὐτόν (1256, Palatia (Miletos), NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 289.14)
 καὶ πρὶν ... δώσουν σε τὸ ὠγὸ *Ptoch.* IV 477
 διὰ ν' ἀπαντήσουν *Chron. Mor.* H 4916
 νὰ μὲ τὴν ἀφαρπάξουν *Dig.* E 1737
 νὰ τὸν βουττήσουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 72.9; μηδὲν πέψουν καὶ κολακέψουν τοὺς λᾶς *ibid.* 470.12

³⁷ One uncontracted form in *Voskopoula*, νὰ φάουσι τ' ἄρνι μου *Vosk.* 328, is the result of editorial intervention (φάγωσι app. crit.).

νὰ ἡκούσουν τὴν ἄνωθεν διαφορὰν (1514, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 59, 65.8)
 ἄν ἀπεθάνουν τὰ παιδιά της (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.15)
 νὰ δώκουν (1549, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 51, 93.5)
 νὰ τὸν στήσουν μπροστὰ εἰς τὸν θεόν DAM. STOUD., *This.*, *Logos* 4, 82v.14 (1561)
 ὅσα τὸ φάγουν, μεθύουσιν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 245.22
 νὰ μείνουν μονάχοι ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 33.21–2
 νὰ μὴν τὸ ἡμπαρκάρουν *Leilasia Par.* 434

Deletion of final /n/, resulting in -ου, is a common morphophonological phenomenon in southern regions, the Heptanese and the Aegean, not restricted to verb endings (for details, see I, 3.7.2.2):

νὰ μοῦ τὴν στρέψου *Pol. Tr.* 1512 app. crit. (B)
 νὰ τὸν φουρκίσου, οὐ νὰ τὸν κάψου *Assizes* B 446.16
 νὰ κάμου δύο κλιζιόλες (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 148.39)
 νὰ ποίσου στάβλους ἐκκλησιῆς *Anak. Konst.* 63
 ὡσάν ἐγροικήσου (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.6); νὰ τὸν φουρκίσου (1487, *ibid.* 17, 92.15)
 νὰ κηδεύσου τὸ πῆλινό μου σῶμα (1506, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: 1 [A], 223.11)
 νὰ ποιήσου *Diig. Alex.* F 192.5 (Lolos); θέλουν ἀρχιρίσου νὰ φεύγουν *ibid.* 246.11
 νὰ γερέψου νὰ πάρου τὰ χωράφια (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 10, 133.9)
 νὰ πουλήσου τῷ Ραχιδιῷ τὸ πρᾶμα νὰ πάρου τὸ ἀμπέλι (1573 [copy of 1650], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17, 72.22–3)
 νὰ τὴν ἐταφιάσου (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 172, 141.28) (< ἐνταφιάζω)
 εἰς τὰ ὅσαν ἔχουν νὰ λάβου καὶ νὰ περιλάβου (1636, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1993: 2, 291.10)
 νὰν τὰ κάνου ὡς θέλου καὶ βούλονται (1644, Lefkada, RONDOYANNIS 2005: 2, 441.16)
 θέλουν ἀπογράψου ἑκατὸ τὸ ὄνομάν τως (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 88.17)
 νὰ τοῦ στιμάρου οἱ προεστοὶ (1667, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [7], 25.16) (< Ven. *stimàr*)
 νὰ ἐβγάλου (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.18)

Forms with an added -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3), resulting in -ουνε, are first encountered in the 14th c., with two instances in *Chron. Mor.* H. The ending -ουνε can be found in a variety of texts, both literary and non-literary, though especially frequently in texts from south-western regions and the Aegean:³⁸

καὶ φυλακέψουνέ τον *Chron. Mor.* H 4292; καὶ πιάσουνέ μας *ibid.* 8312
 ἄς κρατήσουνε *Liv.* E 1616
 εἶτε καὶ ζήσουνε (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 265.34)
 τί νὰ ποιήσουνε *Diig. Alex.* F 170.3 (Lolos)
 νὰ μὲ μνημονεύσουνε (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 237, 144.10)
 νὰ μὴ μὲ γελάσουν ... καὶ φέρουνε μας ψεύτικη γραφὴν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.34)
 νὰ τὰ μαζώξουνε (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 14.36)

³⁸ Two examples in the Cypriot *Assizes*, διὰ νὰ ποίσουνε *Assizes* A 3.8 and νὰ τοὺς πλερώσουνε ἐπεσαῦτα *ibid.* 71.9, can be discarded as misreadings. In the first example the editor mistook the raised ligature for -ας in πάντας at the end of the line immediately below for an epsilon and the second example actually reads νὰ τοὺς πλερώσουν ἐπεσαῦτα.

ὅσοι ἡξεύρουνε νὰ γράψουνε (1587 [late 17th–early 18th c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 484.6)

ὅτι νὰ στέρξουνε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.6; δὲν ἠθέλαν νὰ σμίξουνε *ibid.* 31.15

δὲν μποροῦνε νὰν τόνε καταλάβουνε (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 315.33)

νὰ ντεσπενσάρουνε τὸ στάμπελε (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 198.136) (< Ven. *despensàr*)

νὰ τὸ ξετιμώσουνε (1638, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 105, 105.10)

γιά νὰ τὲς ἀγαπήσουνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 177

μὴν σοῦ κάμουνε (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.8)

νὰ μιλήσουνε (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.24)

νὰ μὲ ὑπερετήσουνε (1682, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 8, 184.8)

ποὺ νὰ σὲ κατακάψουνε EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 26.8–9; θὰ τὰ μεράσουνε *ibid.* 42.21

A spelling -ον for -ουν may occur in varieties of the language that are prone to vowel raising (cf. δεύτιρου for δεύτερο; see I, 2.5.4), and must be viewed as a form of hyper-correction: νὰ βάλον δεύτιρου κουμέρκι (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 9, 73.11).

In 3 pl. forms formed from the alternative perfective vowel stems of ὑπά(γ)ω (πα-) and τρώ(γ)ω (φα-) vowel deletion usually occurs (see 2.2.2.3 for details), although forms without it can sporadically be found:³⁹ νὰ πάουν ἔως τὸν ρήγα (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 2, 282.7) (< πάγουν).

Pl.	3	-ωσι(ν)/-οσι(ν)

The residual subjunctive ending -ωσι(ν) can be found in various texts, though usually as isolated instances alongside forms in -ουσι or -ουν, which are more frequent (see above). Only texts and documents that aim for a higher register use this ending with any systematicity. The (unhistorical) spelling -οσι(ν) for -ωσι(ν) is usually adopted in monotonic editions.

ἵνα ποιήσωσι (1117, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 3, 512.13)

πρὶν σὲ καταδεσμήσωσι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 537

τὸ πότε νὰ μὲ κράξωσι νὰ φάγω προσεδόκουν *Ptoch. I* 263

ὅπως νὰ καταλάβωσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 7853

ὅς φθάσωσιν *Liv.* V 17

νὰ μηδὲν χολιάσωσι καὶ καταλύσωσί σε *Pol. Tr.* 557

(ἵνα ...) πουντελειάσωσιν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν πολεμούντων KANANOS, *Diig.* 59.143–4

νὰ τὸ φυλάξωσι τελείως (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.20)

(μήπως ...) καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρόσκαιρα ἀγαθὰ ἀδιόρθωτα μείνωσιν (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/

PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 16, 227.3–4)

ὅταν τύχοσι καὶ τὸν εὔροσι, τότε ζητοῦσι νὰ φύγουν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 112.11

νὰ τὰ ρουφήσωσιν *Pist. kekoim.* 6

οἱ αμαθεῖς νὰ τα καταλάβωσι DIONYS., *Istor.* 252.5

ὅσο που νὰ φοφήσωσιν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 1892; ἔχουν καταντήσωσιν *ibid.* 8708

θὲ νὰ μοιράσωσιν (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 303.46)

ἐγδέχονται νὰ ἀκούσωσι *Leilasia Par.* 160

³⁹ Often such uncontracted forms are graphematic, as becomes clear from the following example from the *Chronicle of Morea*, in which νὰ ὑπάουν should be read as two syllables: εἶπαν κ' ἔσυμβουλευτήσαν νὰ ὑπάουν κι αὐτοὶ στὴν Πόλιν *Chron. Mor.* H 519.

4.2.2 Passive Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	γραφῶ		
	2	γραφεῖς/γραφῆς		
	3	γραφεῖ/γραφῇ	γραφεῖν/γραφῆν	
Pl.	1	γραφοῦμε(ν)	γραφῶμε(ν) γραφούμενε γραφοῦμι(ν)	
	2	γραφεῖτε/γραφῆτε	γραφεῖτεν/-ῆτεν γραφεῖτενε	
	3	γραφοῦσι(ν) γραφοῦν	γραφούσινε γραφοῦ γραφοῦνε	γραφῶσι(ν)

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-ῶ

For 1 sg. -ῶ is the only ending in both literary and non-literary texts throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

νὰ λουθῶ *Ptoch.* IV 154

οὐ μὴ μαχεσθῶ αὐτὰ ποτέ (app. crit.) (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.34)

ὥσάν ὀρίσει καὶ πληρωθῶ ἱερὲς (1357–60, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 237, 364.3)

ἐὰν σοῦ ταχτῶ *Assizes* B 409.24

καὶ θέλω νὰ διατακτῶ *Achil.* L 233

νὰ κρυβηθῶ [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1255

νὰ καλογερευθῶ *CHEILAS, Chron.* 352.8–9

νὰ κοιμηθῶ ἐθυμήθην *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 3

νὰ κρυπτῶ *Syndipas* 110.24

ὅταν ευρεθῶ ἔξω *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 2.7

να σιχαθῶ *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 249

πιάσ' με, νὰ ζήσης, νὰ γερθῶ! *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.513

νὰ ξεῖντριγαριστῶ (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.7) (< ξε- + Ven. *intrigàr*)

ἀφόντις τήνε στεφανωθῶ *Bertoldos* 60.26

νὰ μὴ θαπτῶ *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 928

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-εῖς/-ῆς

The 2 sg. ending /'is/ shows no variation other than in spelling throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

μὴ φοβηθῆς τὸ σύνολον GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 536
 ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ ὑποσχεθῆς *Spaneas* P 184
 οὐδὲ νὰ τοὺς τακτῆς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.124)
 σὺ μὲν μεγάλως τιμηθῆς *Ptoch. III* 75
 νὰ δοξασθῆς *Dig.* E 750; νὰ στερηθῆς τὴν νεότην σου *ibid.* 861
 τοῦτην νὰ ἀλειφθῆς *Pol. Tr.* 540; μὴδὲν σκιασθῆς *ibid.* 559
 νὰ συγχωρεθῆς *Velth.* 555 (Cupane); νὰ πνιγῆς *ibid.* 639
 καὶ δὲ νὰ 'φεληθῆς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 642.31–2
 γιὰ νὰ χαρεῖς δουμάκι KORONAIOS, *Pittakin* 122
 καὶ γιὰ νὰ μὲν τὸ βαρεθῆς *Theseid* Prol. E 148
 νὰ ἀποδεκτεῖς MOREZINOS, *Klini* 278.38
 ἄν θυμηθῆς *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1210
 νὰ τὲς δεχθεῖς *Bertoldos* 66.30
 ἔχεις νὰ κολαστῆς βέβαια PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §9.36
 θέλεις πλερωθῆς (1685, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 31, 113.22–3)
 θέλεις ἐπιμεληθῆς περὶ τοῦτου τοῦ ἔργου (1699, Sinai, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 8, 64.20)

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-εῖ/-ῆ ! -εῖν/-ῆν

For 3 sg. the standard ending is stressed /i/:

ἄν οὐ πιασθῇ καὶ δαμασθῇ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 128; κουκκίν–κουκκίν ἄν σωρευθῇ *ibid.* 183
 νὰ κρυβηθῇ ἐγύρευσεν *Poulol.* 319
 νὰ 'κανωθῇ *Assizes* A 160.6
 δὲ δύνεται νὰ βοηθηθῇ FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 190
 καὶ εἶπεν του νὰ βλεπηθεῖ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 46.11
 νὰ ρεβεζιαστῇ *Fior* 94.10–11 (< Occit. *revengear se*)
 ἀφόντις στοίβαχτῇ ἡ πόλβερη (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.38); νὰ βραχῇ
 (*ibid.* 66.1)
 ὅ,τι τὼς φανῇ (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 217.26)
 διὰ νὰ μὴν καγεῖ ἡ γῆς KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 133.13
 ἄν αὐξυνθῇ (1653–5, Venice, FONKIČ 2000: 240, f.1v.22)
 ἀπ' ὅ,τι σπαρθῇ (1660, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 29, 176.29)
 νὰ τελειωθῇ λόγος τῆς βασιλείας σου KONDAR., *Paidēs* 169
 ἄν εὐρεθῇ NEOFYOTOS, *Achouri* 45
 νὰ ἐλευτερωθῇ (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 1, 277.7)
 νὰ εξαλειφθεῖ *Don Kis.* 45.1

Addition of final /n/ occurs occasionally in texts from various areas:

μέλλει νὰ δουλωθεῖν εἰς ἐμέν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 272.9–10)
 καὶ ἄν ἐνι ὅτι τὸ μοναστήριν οὐδὲν τὴν δεκτεῖν *Assizes* A 124.2

ἡ κόρη νὰ ἄρμαστῇν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 8.36–7
 νὰ βαλθεῖν ἡ καινούρια καμπάνα (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 436, 659.19)

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-οὔμε(ν) † -ούμενε † -οὔμι(ν)

The ending -οὔμε(ν) is the normal ending for 1 pl. throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

ἄς ἀγωνιστοῦμεν *NIKON, Logos* 9 316.19
 μὴ ἀναπαγοῦμεν *Dig.* E 884; ἄς θαραπαυθοῦμεν *Dig.* E 1382
 πρὶν πνιγοῦμεν δὸς τὸν ναῦλον *Paroim.* H 36
 νὰ μὴν πνιγούμεν ὅλοι μας *Apoll. Rim.* A 920; α θες νὰ μὴν χαθοῦμε *ibid.* 923
 νὰ χωριστοῦμεν *Diig. Alex.* E 184.17 (Konstantinopulos)
 νὰ θυμηθοῦμεν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 96
 νὰ διαλεκτοῦμ' ἀντάμα *ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Voen.* 141
 πρῶτον νὰ νιπτούμεν *Martyr. Vlas.* 247.4
 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄφνου ἀρπακτοῦμεν ἀτελείωτοι *Pist. kekoim.* 475
 ὅτι νὰ κάμνωμεν καλὰ νὰ σωθοῦμεν (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 233.10–11)
 νὰ λογαριαστοῦμεν (1613, Naxos, CHASIOTIS 1966: 15, 206.7)
 νὰ βαλθοῦμεν (1645, Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 12.5)
 θέλει πειραχθοῦμεν (1654, Chios, ZERLENDIS 1917: 3, 245.3)
 ὥστε ποὺ συμμαζωχοῦμε (1685, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 8, 331.12)
 διὰ νὰ σὲ δεχθοῦμεν *Alex. Fyll.* 90.20
 ἀν κυβερνηθοῦμεν καλὰ *Don Kis.* 177.2

Forms in -ούμενε have been found in texts from Crete and Chios but are likely to have had a wider geographical distribution (for addition of -(ν)ε see I, 2.6.3.3): ἔλα νὰ παντρευτούμενε *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.594; μὴδὲ χαθοῦμενε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 544.2; γιὰ νὰ μὴν στερευτούμενε τὴν ἀκριβὴ μας κόρη *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 760.

Forms in which /i/ is substituted for /e/ bear witness to mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4): νὰ μὴ ζημιωθοῦμι (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 9, 73.10).

Pl.	1	-ῶμε(ν)

The residual ending -ῶμε(ν) can be found occasionally, especially in early and mixed-register texts:

ἀλλὰ σφαγῶμεν ἅπαντες *Dig.* G I.261 (same in A 481 and T 46); ἵνα μὴ χωρισθῶμεν *ibid.* VIII.112
 ὅταν τὰ τρία δώσωμεν καὶ πάντες συναχθῶμεν *Ptoch.* IV 166
 μὴ σταθῶμεν ἀμφότεροι *Dig.* E 1778
 μήπως ... ζημιωθῶμεν *Pol. Tr.* 840 app. crit. (BV)
 ἄς στραφῶμεν *Velth.* 155
 μὴ τώρα φονευθῶμεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 570
 εὐφρανθῶμεν πάντες *Spanos* D 1321
 ἐξότου ἀναστῶμεν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2942

νὰ χωρισθῶμεν *Diig. Alex.* E 185.13 (Konstantinopulos)
 νὰ διαλεχθῶμεν μετὰ τοῦ Αἰσώπου *Vios Aisop.* K 173.27
 ὅπως συνευφρανθῶμεν *LANDOS, Geopon. Dedic.* 128.21
 ἐὰν παραδοθῶμεν *Alex. Fyll.* 45.5

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-εἴτε/-ῆτε ἰ -εἴτεν/-ῆτεν ἰ (-εἴτενε/-ῆτενε)

For 2 pl. the standard ending is /'ite/:

καὶ νὰ τὸ θαυμαστῆτε *Pol. Tr.* 7138
 μηδὲν πλανηθῆτε εἰς τῶν Φραγγῶν τὰ λόγια (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.15)
 πᾶτε νὰ γλυτωθῆτε *Anak. Konst.* 34
 κι εἰσμιὸ ν' ἀγαπηθῆτε *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 298
 ὅπου νὰ χαθῆτε *Diig. Alex.* F 184.19 (Konstantinopulos)
 μὴ λάχη ... καὶ κατασκοτωθῆτε *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.438
 νὰ ἐλεγχθεῖτε *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 127.26
 νὰ ἐπιμεληθεῖτε (1693, Nauplion, TSELENDI 1978: 5, 241.11)
 νὰ ετοιμασθεῖτε ἀφ' αὐτοῦ σας *Don Kis.* 49.37–50.1

Addition of final /n/ has been found in a text from Chios; no forms in -εἴτενε have been found in the texts examined, but they are likely to have been in use, as the addition can be found with similar endings (cf. e.g. 4.2.3; see also I, 2.6.3.3): νὰ θαυμαχθῆτεν πᾶμπολλα *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 392.

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-οῦσι(ν) ἰ -οῦσινε

The inherited ending -οῦσι(ν), with or without final /n/, is very common and occurs in texts from all areas:

ὁ,τι δ' ἂν βουληθοῦσιν (1234, Sicily, CARUSO 1976: 1, 323.16)
 νὰ χωριστοῦσι *Assizes B* 364.29
 νὰ τοὺς ἀποδεχθοῦσιν *Diig. tetr.* 47
 νὰ τὴν περιχαροῦσιν *Pol. Tr.* 280 app. crit. (AV); νὰ κοιμηθοῦσιν *ibid.* 432 app. crit. (ABV)
 πᾶ ν' ἀναπαγοῦσι *Imb. Rim.* 565
 ὅταν πωληθοῦσιν (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 230, 163.9)
 νὰ ζαμηναριστοῦσι (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 180.50) (< Ven. *esaminàr*)
 νὰ χαλαστοῦσιν (1609, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 8, 3.9)
 ἀνίσως καὶ οἱ συμπεθέροι μας ἀνακατωθοῦσι (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 316.75)
 ἄς ξεκαθαριστοῦσιν (1613, Naxos, CHASIoTIS 1966: 15, 206.14)
 νὰ μὴν χαλαστοῦσι (1654, Chios, ZERLENDIS 1917: 3, 244.20)
 νὰ δικαιολογηθοῦσι (1668, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 12, 27.14)
 νὰ στερκτοῦσι νὰ πᾶσι (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.17)
 ἄχ, καὶ ἄς εἴχασι πνιγοῦσι *Paidi stavr.* 4
 νὰ σκιακτοῦσι *Leilasias Par.* 272

Addition of *-(ν)ε* has been found in texts from Crete, but will have had a wider geographical spread (see I, 2.6.3.3):

νὰ ἀποδεκτούσινε τὸν ἄρχοντα MOREZINOS, *Klini* 45.36–7
 (μὴ πὰ νὰ λάχη ...) καὶ καταξηλωθούσινε CHORTATSI, *Katz.* V.143; κι ὅσες φορές
 στραφούσινε id., *Panor.* I.455; νὰ σκοτωθούσινε id., *Erof. Interm.* II.148
 κι ὅσοι ἀπ' αὐτὸ χαθούσινε *Stathis* Prol. 19
 ὅσοι κι ἄ γεννηθούσινε *P&N Diath.* 965
 διὰ ὅσο πουληθούσινε (1607, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 3, 5.21–2)
 νὰ ψυγούσινε TROILOS, *Rodol.* V.562
 ν' ἀναπαγούσινε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.651
 νὰ γιαιγερθούσινε (1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 6, 416.20–1)
 νὰ σταθούσινε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 153.10; νὰ μηδὲν κουραστούσινε ibid. 265.7; νὰ
 συμβουλευτούσινε ibid. 513.20; τὴ χώρα ν' ἀρνηθούσινε ibid. 546.4

Pl.	3	-οῦν -οῦ -οῦνε

The ending *-οῦν*, which with the active present of oxytone E-stem verbs first appears in written texts shortly before the beginning of the LMedG period (see 4.1.2.1) and which is now the SMG ending, is used with the passive subjunctive throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

ἀφοῦ δὲ ἐκ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐγερθεοῦν οἱ ἀδελφοί ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 100.31
 νὰ δοθεοῦν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.38); ἄν χρειαστοῦν καὶ ἄλλα (ibid. 81.40)
 νὰ γομωστοῦν *Dig.* E 637
 νὰ σπαρτοῦν *Assizes* B 407.26
 νὰ μαδευθεοῦν, νὰ συναχθεοῦν *Diig. tetr.* 94
 νὰ δοθεοῦν ὑπέρπυρα δεκαέξι (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 146.3)
 ὁποθεν εὔρεθεοῦν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 275.24)
 νὰ ξηλειφθεοῦν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 14.6; ν' ἀννοικτοῦν οἱ στράτες ibid. 200.8
 νὰ μαδευτοῦν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 518; νὰ ᾽ποδεχθεοῦν ibid. 655
 νὰ δοθεοῦν δουκάτα δύο (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.22)
 νὰ κλειστοῦν τὰ πηγάδια (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 238, 233.35)
 γὰρ δὲν τς ἀφήνει νὰ χαθοῦν CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.427
 νὰ δαρθεοῦν ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 132.A.60
 νὰ παραδοθεοῦν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.13
 γὰρ νὰ μὴν ντροπιστοῦν KONDAR., *Paidēs* 98
 καὶ δὲν εἶχαν σκλαβωθεοῦν *Paidi stavr.* 3
 δὲν πρέπει νὰ καγούν *Don Kis.* 36.9; νὰ κτυπηθεοῦν ibid. 52.8

Deletion of final */n/* has been found in texts from Crete and the Aegean, and in the Cypriot chronicle of Voustronios (end of sentence; see 3.7.2.2 for details):

θέλου ἀνακατωθοῦ οὔλοι οἱ Χριστιανοὶ (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.7)
 ἀρχέψαν ν' ἀνακατωθοῦ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 16.11
 νὰ φανοῦ ἔμπροσθεν (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 86, 162.90)
 ἄν μπατρευτοῦ (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 423, 643.27)

Addition of *-(ν)ε* occurs in texts from south-western areas and the Aegean (see also I, 3.7.2.2):

μ' ἐσένα νὰ χαροῦνε *Alex. Rim.* 2734
 νὰ ἐξετασθοῦνε (1607, Corfu, KARADOCHOS 1990: 37, 251.8)

νὰ ἐλετξεριστοῦνε (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.10–11) (= ἐλετξεριστοῦνε < Ital. *eleggiere*)
 νὰ γκρεμιστοῦνε DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 412
 νὰ ξεκαθαριστοῦνε (1674, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 3, 122.8–9)
 μποροῦνε νὰ μπαρκαριστοῦνε (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 508.63) (< Ital. *imbarcarsi*);
 θέλει ἀρριβαριστοῦνε ὀμπροστά (ibid. 508.63) (< Ital. *arrivare*) (author from Mani)

Pl.	3	-ῶσι(ν)

The residual 3 pl. subjunctive ending -ῶσι(ν) is sometimes used, but mainly in mixed-register texts:

ὅς περισυναχῶσιν *Liv.* V 17
 νὰ τὴν περιχαρῶσιν *Pol. Tr.* 280; νὰ κοιμηθῶσιν *ibid.* 432
 ὅς δοθῶσιν πρὸς ἐκείνους *ERMON., Ilias* 12.158
 διὰ νὰ βοηθηθῶσι (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.4); νὰ μηδὲν μεταβληθῶσιν
 (*ibid.* 285.20–1)
 ἵνα χωριστῶσιν (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.11)
 διὰ νὰ μὴ μιανθῶσιν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 363.27
 ἐὰν κυβερνηθῶσιν ὡς πρέπει *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 98.12–13
 νὰ δαρθῶσι *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 132.A.60
 ἵνα καὶ οἱ χριστιανοὶ σωθῶσι *Vios Ioann. Eleim.* 266.43–4
 παρὰ νὰ φανισθῶσιν ἐναντίοι *ΜΑΚΟΛΑΣ, Ioust.* 424.29

4.2.3 Verbs with Barytone and Oxytone Forms

As mentioned in the introduction to 4.2, a small number of verbs have both barytone and oxytone subjunctive forms for the active voice. This group of verbs includes certain verbs that originally had thematic aorists and prefixed forms of βαίνω, as well as the verb γίνομαι, which originally had aorist middle forms (γένωμαι), for which see also 2.4.

Verbs that had thematic aorists, among which ἦλθον (ἔρχομαι), ἤρυν (εὐρίσκω), εἶπον (λέγω), ἔμαθον (μανθάνω/μαθαίνω), εἶδον (ὁράω/βλέπω), ἔπιον (πίνω) and ἔφαγον (τρῶγω), originally had paroxytone subjunctive forms, which made use of the endings of the first aorist since Antiquity (e.g. ἔλθω, εὐρω, εἶπω, μάθω, ἰδω, πῖω, φάγω), and they continue to do so throughout the period under review. Some of these verbs developed oxytone variants (ἐλθῶ, εὐρῶ, εἶπῶ, μαθῶ, ἰδῶ, πιῶ) before the period under review.⁴⁰ The verbs βλέπω, ἔρχομαι, εὐρίσκω, λέγω and πίνω continue to have both variants throughout the period covered by this Grammar; cf. the infinitive of these verbs, which also has

⁴⁰ Oxytone forms can for instance be found in papyri, e.g. ἐλθῶ in *PLips.* 110.16–18 (probably 3rd/4th c.) and in *PAmh.* 144.13 (5th c.), both quoted in GIGNAC 1981: 289; and in other early texts, e.g. ἵνα μαθῆς *Acta Alexandrinorum* 18. col2.12 (2nd/3rd c.; ed. Musurillo); in John Chrysostom we find ἵνα μαθῆς ὑπομονήν *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt* 8, 7.9 (4th/5th c.; ed. Malingrey); ἐὰν ἐπελθὼν ὁ θάνατος λαβῇ *id.*, *In Genesim PG* 54, 629A; in Romanos the Melode (6th c.), ἔτι ἀπαξ ἂν εἶπῶ, μὴ ὀργισθῆς μοι *Romanos, Hymns* 19.11.3; ἵν' ἰδῶσι *ibid.* 27.13.7; ὡς γὰρ ... εὐρῇ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας *ibid.* 54.13.1 (ed. Grosdidier de Matons); and in Photios (9th c.) citing Iob Monachos, *Oikonomiki Pragmateia* (6th c.): «ἵνα δὲ ἰδῇτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου» *Photios, Bibliotheca* cod. 222, 195b.10–11 (ed. Henry).

both paroxytone and oxytone variants (4.6.2.3), as well as the imperative, which, however, shows a marked preference for the oxytone forms (4.5.2.4). These oxytone subjunctive endings are identical to those of the present of oxytone E-stem verbs, and are also used for the passive subjunctive of the first aorist (see below).

Similarly, the verb γίνομαι, which also has a monosyllabic perfective stem (γεν- or γιν-), displays both stress patterns, though this may also be attributed to the fact that in the period covered by this Grammar this verb has active and passive variants for most of its perfective forms (inf. γένει(ν) and γενεῖ(ν); aor. ind. ἔγινα and ἐγένην/ἐγίνην/ἐγένηκα/ἐγίνηκα); for more information on this verb's rich morphology see 2.4.

Prefixed forms of βαίνω, which originally had oxytone subjunctive forms, developed alternative barytone forms (e.g. καταβαίνω, καταβῶ and κατάβω).⁴¹ These barytone forms often have a pseudo-augment (see the introduction to Chapter 3) which bears the stress, e.g. ἀνέβω, ἐξέβω,⁴² κατέβω, which is more or less obligatory when the prefix is συν- or ὑπερ-: we thus find συνέβει, but not *σύμβει, ὑπερέβω, but not *ὑπέρβω. The oxytone forms, too, may occur with (unstressed) pseudo-augment (ἀνεβῶ, ἐξεβῶ, κατεβῶ), though not when the prefix is συν- or ὑπερ-: συμβεῖ, not *συνεβεῖ, ὑπερβῶ not *ὑπερεβῶ.

Barytone forms of which the stem starts in a vowel (e.g. ἔβγω, εἴπω, ἔλθω/ἔρθω, ἔμπω, εὔρω, ἴδω) may lose their initial vowel after a word ending in a vowel with which they form a phonological unit (typically a conjunction, relative or clitic pronoun). The stress of the verb form then transfers to the last syllable of the preceding word, e.g. καθέζου ἐσὺ καὶ τό 'δης *Achil.* O 659 (see also I, 2.9.2 and 4.2.2). Oxytone forms, too, may lose their initial vowel, e.g. νὰ μέ δοῦσιν *Dig.* E 1441; νὰ βγῆς ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον *Peri xen.* 325; νὰ δῆτε [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2218; νὰ 'ρθῇ (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.13). This leads to the development of monosyllabic singular and disyllabic plural forms in the EMG period, which can even appear after a word ending in a consonant, for all verbs but ἔρχομαι⁴³ (cf. the imperative and infinitive of these verbs 4.5.2.4, 4.6.2.3), e.g.:

εἴτιναν δὼ εἰς τὴν μάχην τοῦ πολέμου *Achil.* L 158; καὶ νὰ τὸν πῶ ἀκάρδιον *ibid.* 197
καὶ ἄς ποῦν τὸ δίκιον πασανὸς καὶ ἄς ποῦσι τὰ γρικήσου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 674
διὰ τινὰν μὲν πῆς κακόν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 466.1
γυρεῦει λόγια νὰ τοὺς πῆ *Fyll. gadar.* 44
να σας 'πώ *Apoll. Rim.* N 1070
ας βγούσι *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.408
στο σπῖτι μέσα ἄς μποῦμε *Stathis* III.572
καὶ κύμινον ὅσον βρῆτε *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1116
ἄν πῆς *MONTSEL., Evgena* 397
ὡς δούμεν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 4378
ὅσοι κι ἂ βγῆτε ζωντανοὶ *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 316.17
νὰ μάς δοῦσιν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2677

⁴¹ Early examples include: δεῦρο, ἀδελφέ, κατάβωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν 'λορδάνην *Moschos, Leimon* Suppl. 370.3 (ed. Nissen 1938; 6th c.; 11th-c. ms); ὅτε κατάβῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς *De Ceremoniis* 477.19 (ed. Reiske; 10th c.; ms 10th c.).

⁴² When the prefix is ἐκ-, the pseudo-augment is often present: ἐξέβω not ἔκβω, though we do find ἔβγω and, of ἔμπαινω, ἔμπω.

⁴³ The consonant clusters /lθ/ and /rθ/ in ἐλθῶ/ἐρθῶ cannot appear word-initially in Greek.

Barytone and oxytone forms appear side by side throughout the LMedG and EMG periods and are equally frequent for all verbs but βλέπω (ῖδω/(ι)δῶ) and λέγω (εἴπω/(εἰ)πῶ), for which oxytone forms are clearly more common. Barytone and oxytone forms can often be found side by side, especially in verse texts, for which the different stress patterns are particularly convenient – ἄς κατεβοῦν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι, καὶ ἄς ἔμπουν οἱ χαμένοι *Def. Par.* 323 – but also in prose texts and in non-literary sources: εἶχε νὰ γένη VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.34 and ἴντα μέλλει νὰ γενῇ *ibid.* 38.15–16; ἐὰν ἐρθοῦν ἀπὸ τὴν σκλαβιά (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 16, 227.9–10) and εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ἔρθουν (*ibid.* 227.11); ποῖος ἤθελεν νὰ ἔλθῃ νὰ εἰπῇ (1653–5, Venice, FONKIC 2000: 239, f.1r.17).

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	-ω -ῶ		
	2	-εις/-ης -εῖς/-ῆς		
	3	-ει/-η -εῖ/-ῆ	-ειν/-ην -εῖν/-ῆν	
Pl.	1	-ομε(ν)/-ωμε(ν) -οῦμε(ν)	-ούμενε	-ῶμε(ν)/-όμε(ν) -ουμε(ν)
	2	-ετε -εῖτε/-ῆτε	-ητε -ετεν ἢ -ετενε -εῖτεν/-ῆτεν ἢ -εῖτενε/-ῆτενε	
	3	-ουσι(ν) -οῦσι(ν) -ουν -οῦν	-ουσινε -οὔσινε -ου ἢ -ουνε -οῦ ἢ -οῦνε	-ωσι(ν)/-οσι(ν) -ῶσι(ν)

Singular

1st Person

Sg.	1	-ω

Barytone forms in -ω appear throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar in texts from all areas, though mostly in literary texts:

- καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα εἶπω ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 152.28; εἶτε γραφὴν ἂν εὖρω id., *Logos* 9 312.5
 νὰ ἀπέλθω (1144?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.5)
 καὶ εἶπω ὅτι μάθε το γραμματικά νὰ ζήση *Ptoch. III* 110
 νὰ εἶπω σαρακηνικά RUMI, *Poem I* 2
 μὴ ἴδω τοῦτον ἄφωνον *Chron. Mor.* H 1853; τὰ οὐκ ἔπρεπε νὰ εἶπω ibid. 5557
 νὰ ῥθω *Dig.* E 381
 μέλλει νὰ ἔλθω (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 101.10)
 ὀλίγα λόγια καὶ καλὰ θέλω δι' αὐτοὺς νὰ εἶπω *Alosis* 70
 νὰ τοῦ εἶπω τὴν ἀλήθειαν SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 62 transcr. N (Lendari)
 ἐγὼ νὰ σέ εἶπω *Achil.* N 312; καὶ ἂν οὐκ ἴδω σε σύντομαν ibid. 1105
 οὐκ ἴδω τὸν πατέρα μου [ANDR. PALAIOLOG., *Kallim.* 126
 ὅταν ἔλθω νὰ τὸν πάρω PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §22.11; μήνα εὖρω καλὸ ξύλο ibid. IV §15.33
 καὶ λέγει μου γιὰ νὰ ῥθω VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 348
 διὰ νὰ εἶπω καὶ τὰ ἐπιλοιπα *Diig. Sant.* 59.74–5
 τὴν πρώτῃν βαλανιδιὰν οἱ ποὺ νὰ εὖρω *Don Kis.* 46.36–47.1
- ἄς διάβω *Vios Philaret.* 236 app. crit. (G) (9th c.; 11th-c. ms)
 νὰ ἀνάβω εἰς τὸν ξενῶνα *Ptoch. IV* 442; ἄς διάβω ἀπὸ τὸν Φόρον ibid. 456
 παρὰ νὰ διάβω ἀπ' ἐδῶ *Chron. Mor.* H 8397
 νὰ μὴ ἔβγω *Pol. Tr.* 6881
 νὰ ἔμπω εἰς τὸ κάστρον *Liv.* V 1235
 μὴδὲ ἔμπω εἰς ἀγάπην *Achil.* L 642
 εἰς Ἄδην συγκατέβω *Velth.* 63
 νὰ ἐξέβω εἰς ἀναγύρευσιν *Imber.* 810
 ἀλλ' ἔμπω πρὸς τὸν κηπουρὸν [ANDR. PALAIOLOG., *Kallim.* 1632
 νὰ μὲν ἔβγω ἀππῶδε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 380.2–3
 δὲν μὲ ἄφηναν νὰ σέβω DAM. STOUD., *This.*, *Logos* 27, Γ6ν.36 (1561); ὡσὰν ἐξέβω ibid. Γ7ρ.11
 καὶ νὰ ἔβγω δὲν ἐμπόρου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.167; κ' ἀνέβω ἀπάνω σπῖτι τῇ ibid. III.480;
 τ' ἄλλα, σὰν ἔμπω σπῖτι τοὺς ibid. V.446
 ἄς σέβω καὶ ἐγὼ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.50
 ἐὰν κατέβω εἰς τὴν γῆν *Alex.* Fyll. 93.12
- ἐκκλησιαστικὸς διάκονος νὰ γένω *Ptoch. III* 219
 νὰ γένω *Liv.* V 274
 ἐγνώριμη νὰ γένω *Pol. Tr.* 334 app. crit. (BE)
 νὰ γένω βασιλέας *Chron. Mor.* P 956
 ἐπειδὴ μέλλω νὰ γένω φαγὶ σου ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 79.3
 μὲ ἔδιδαν μαρτύριον νὰ γένω Τούρκισσα (1583, Athens?, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.17)
 τι νὰ γίνω ο ἐπτωχὸς *Vios Filaret.* 239.36
 νὰ γίνω βασιλέας *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 139.12–13
 νὰ μὴν γένω κεφίλης PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §30.7
 κ' ἐγ' ἀφορμὴ νὰ γίνω ΚΟΝΔΑΡ., *Paides* 126
 ἀν γίνω ἐγὼ τὸ ὄργανον τοιοῦτου μεγάλου κακοῦ *Don Kis.* 102.17

Sg.	1	-ω

Oxytone forms in -ō are no less frequent than paroxytone forms throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods. As noted in the introduction to this section, for the stems ἰδ- (βλέπω) and εἶπ- (λέγω) oxytone forms are more common than barytone forms, especially in the EMG period:

- νὰ εἶπῶ *Achil.* N 2; νὰ ἰδῶ τοὺς ἀντρειωμένους *ibid.* 257
 νὰ σᾶς εἶπῶ τὸ τί ᾽δα *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 1
 νὰ εἶπῶ (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 9, 41.31)
 νὰ σᾶς τοὺς εἶπῶ *Vios. Aisop.* K 201.1
 νὰ φάω, νὰ πιῶ μὲ τὸ Χάροντα *Nov. II* 162.35
 νὰ σὲ ἰδῶ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.164
 λαλήσετε νὰ τὸν ἰδῶ *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 224
 νὰ ἰδῶ ἀστενημένον *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §7.2; νὰ σὲ τὸ εἶπῶ *ibid.* III §22.1
 καθ' ὑπόθεσιν νὰ εἶπῶ (1665, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 172.16)
 δὲν ἠμπορώ νὰ σε τα εἶπῶ *Don Kis.* 136.31
 καὶ ἄφες ἐμὲ νὰ κατεβῶ *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 353
 πριχοῦ ἐμπῶ στὸν τάφον *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 833
 εἰς ἀγκάλες νὰ σεβῶ *Achil.* N 1052
 δίχως σκάλες ν' ἀνεβῶ *SACHLIKIS, Symvoules* 21 transcr. P (Lendari)
 νὰ κατηβῶ ἐβιάσθην *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 53
 ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐβγήκα νὰ ἐμπῶ *Synax. gyn.* 376
 νὰ ἐξεβῶ *Diig. Alex.* F 148.18 (Lolos)
 δῶτε μου τόπο ν' ἀνεβῶ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* V.25; θα διαβῶ *id., Panor.* I.395
 καὶ πὰ διαβῶ *KONDAR., Paides* 15
 τὸ νὰ γενῶ τσαγγάρης *Ptoch.* III 145
 νὰ γενῶ βασιλέας *Chron. Mor.* H 956
 θέλω γενῶ ἐγνώριμη *Pol. Tr.* 334 app. crit. (A)
 περὶ νὰ γενῶ γυνὴ ἀλλουνοῦ ἀνδρός *Diig. Alex.* V 87.6
 γιὰ νὰ μὴν γενῶ συγκελέτι (1583, Athens?, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.19)
 νὰ γενῶ *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 107
 κ' ἴντα νὰ γενῶ; *Zinon* II.97

Vowel-initial oxytone forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, but subsequently also after consonants (with the exception of ἴθῶ/ρῶ), resulting in monosyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδῶ > δῶ, εἶπῶ > πῶ, εὐρῶ > βρῶ, ἐβγῶ > βγῶ):

- ποῦ νὰ ἴθῶ *Pol. Tr.* 419 app. crit. (V)
 τὸ νὰ τὸ δῶ *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 46
 νὰ δῶ κι ἐγὼ παρηγορία *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 833
 μόνον νὰ δῶ τὴν κόρην [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2569
 τί νὰ σοῦ πῶ, γογγυλοπίγουνε ὑγιέ *BAROZZI, Letter* 359.5
 ἂς δῶ ἴντα θέλει ὁ φαφλατάς *Stathis* I.182; ποιά ἔναι νὰ τὴν πῶ *ibid. Interm.* II 82
 θεῖ νὰ τὸ βρῶ *MONTSEL., Evgena* 71
 θὰ σᾶς-ε πῶ καὶ ἕνα κακό *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 48.1–2
 νὰ βγῶ νὰ περπατήσω *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 5
 δὲν θέλω νὰ μπῶ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 380.3
 νὰ μπῶ στὸν φόβο τοῦτον *MONTSEL., Evgena* 424

2nd Person

Sg.	2	-εις/-ης

Barytone forms in /is/ appear throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar in texts from all areas:

- καὶ νὰ εὖρης τὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῦ ρητοῦ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 312.4
 πούλιν ἂν ἴδης, τρέμεις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 148; καὶ πάλιν νὰ ἐπανέλθης *ibid.* 265
 εἴτι κακὸν ἂν εἴπης *Log. parig.* L 361 (ed. εἴποις)
 νὰ μὴ ἴδης τὴν Συρίαν *Chron. Mor.* H 454; ἐὰν οὐ τὸ εἴπης σύντομα *ibid.* 6053
 ἂν οὐδὲν ἔλθης τὸ γοργόν *Dig.* E 288; νὰ μὴ ἴδης *ibid.* 454
 νὰ εὖρης τὸ γυρεύεις *Liv.* V 618; εἰς τὸ νὰ ἴδης ἄνθρωπον *ibid.* 1815; εἰς εἴτι εἴπης *ibid.* 2132
 νὰ εἴπεις τὴν ἀλήθειαν *Diig. Apoll.* 69
 ὥσαν ἔλθεις με τὸν Θεὸν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.39)
 εἰς τὸ κρεβάτιν μόνον νὰ ἔλθης *Diig. Alex.* E 99.7–8 (Lolos); ὅπου εὖρης τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον *ibid.* 243.17
 νὰ ἔλθεις μοναχὸς σου DAM. STOD., *This.*, *Logos* 19, σ1v.19 (1561)
 νὰ σηκωθεῖς νὰ ἴθεις (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.13)
 ἂν ἔρθης CHORTATISIS, *Katz.* II.111
 νὰ καταπίεις *Bertoldos* 13.28
 μὴ εἴπης ἔτζι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §7.8; θέλεις νὰ πῆς; *ibid.* II §7.31
 κ' εἶπα κ' ἐγὼ στὰ γηρατειὰ θές ἔρθης νὰ μὲ πάρης *Alfan.* 11 8
 εἰ δὲ ἔρθης εἰς ἀχαμνωσύνην (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVII, 223.34–5)
 νὰ ἔβγης κρυφῶς *Dig.* E 348
 ὅταν ἔμπης, πρόσεχε *Liv.* V 259
 νὰ ἔβγης *Flor.* L 1020
 ἂν ἔμπης εἰς ὑποταγὴν FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 151; ἦρθες νὰ διάβης *ibid.* 307
 κὶ ἐκεῖ σαν ἔμπης CHORTATISIS, *Panor. Dedic.* 15
 ἀπὸ τὴν τάξιν σου νὰ μὴν ἔβγεις (app. crit.) (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVII, 224.4)
 νὰ ἔβγης ἔξω PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.59–60
 γὰρ νὰ ἔβγη ἀπὸ τὴ χώρα τὸ δαιμόνιο EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 61.28
 τί κάμνει χρεια νὰ ἔμπης ... εἰς τέτοια καλαπαλίκια; *Don Kis.* 41.21–3
 νὰ γένης βασιλέας *Alosis* 113
 θέλεις νὰ γένεις ἄνθρωπος τῆς Αὐλῆς; *Bertoldos* 10.1; νὰ γίνεις ... αἰτία μεγάλης ἀταξίας *ibid.* 20.34–5
 νὰ γένης σακελλάριος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §27.26
 νὰ γένεις πατέρας εἰς αὐτὸν (1695, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 1 [A'], 251.21)

Sg.	2	-εῖς/-ῆς

For most verbs, oxytone forms in /'is/ are as frequent as paroxytone forms; however (εἰ)πεῖς and (ι)δεῖς are more common than their paroxytone counterparts (see above):

- πρὶν τὴν εὖρης, ἐχάσες τὴν, πρὶν τὴν ἰδῆς, ὑπάγει GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 206
 νὰ τὴν ἰδῆς μετὰ Θεὸν *Eisit.* f.1v.13
 νὰ μὲ τὸ εἰπῆς *Chron. Mor.* H 8216
 νὰ μὴδεν πῆς *Dig.* E 662; νὰ ἰδῆς κύρκαν τὸν φιλεῖς *ibid.* 960; μὴδεν τὰ εἰπῆς *ibid.* 1240

νὰ ἰδῆς τὸ ἐπιχείρημα *Liv.* V 1053; ἂν μὲ εἰπῆς τὰ ἔπαθες *ibid.* 2393
 ὅταν τὸν κριὸν ἰδῆς *Pol. Tr.* 555
 θέλεις νὰ ἰδῆς τὴν ἀλήθειαν; *DAM. SToud., This., Logos* 5, ε1ν.30 (1561); τὸν ἀράπην, δὲν
 δύνεσαι νὰ τὸν εἰπῆς ἄσπρον ἢ μαῦρον *ibid., Logos* 9, 88ν.24–5 (1561)
 εἰ δὲ καὶ δὲν σοῦ βολέσει νὰ ἐρθεῖς (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.29)
 σηκώσου νὰ ἰδῆς *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 846
 νὰ ἰδῆς τὴν καλὴν μου [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P III 337.24
 ἐντρέπουσιν νὰ τὸν ἰδῆς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §14.41; ποτέ σου νὰ μὴν εἰπῆς ἐνάντια *ibid.*
 II §11.80
 καὶ νὰ ἰδῆς τ' ἀποταχὰ πόσος ἀσβέστης ἔρχεται *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 91–2
 ἦλθες νὰ τες ἰδεῖς *Don Kis.* 47.4

μηδὲν ἐβγῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς *Chron. Mor.* H 1125
 μὴ μὲ ἀπεβγῆς *Liv.* S 3090 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 δὲν ἐντράπης νὰ ξεβγῆς *Poulol.* 172 app. crit. (A)
 νὰ ἐξεβῆς ἔξω *Diig. Alex.* F 140.10 (Konstantinopulos)
 ποτέ σου νὰ μηδὲν ἐβγῆς *Thysia Avr.* 1000
 ἴνα ... γενεῖς μοι πρόξενος NIKON, *Logos* 30 794.15–16 app. crit. (S)
 νὰ γενῆς ρήγαινα *Chron. Mor.* H 6073
 ἀγκαλὰ καὶ γενεῖς ὡσάν ασκοτύμπανος ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 26.9
 θέλεις γενεῖς καὶ καλλιώτερος *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.6
 γιὰ νὰ γενῆς ἴντα; VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.33
 νὰ θὰ γενῆς πρᾶματευτὴς FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.16
 ἦπρεπεν νὰ γενῆς σὰν ἐμάς *Irodis* II.344

Vowel-initial oxytone forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, resulting in monosyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδεῖς > δεῖς, εἰπεῖς > πεῖς, εὐρεῖς > βρεῖς, ἐβγεῖς > βγεῖς), which may then also appear after consonants (with the exception of ᾠθεῖς/ρθεῖς):

διὰ τινὰν μὲν πῆς κακόν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 466.1
 ἔξεύρεις νὰ μας ᾤπεις *Apoll. Rim.* 800
 ἂν θέλεις τώρα νὰ τὴν βρῆς ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1369
 δεῖς ἦθελες πῶς τ' ἄνοιγα CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.197
 μηδὲν παινέσης τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥστε νὰ δῆς τὸ τέλος KONDAR., *Paides* 945
 ὅσαν ὀδῆς πρᾶγματευτάδες PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1471
 θὲ νὰ ῥθῆς (1683, Glarentsa, KONOMOS 1969: 63.6)
 νὰμπῆς πολλὰ μετὰμελος *Liv.* S 615 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 νὰ βγῆς εἰς ἀναγυρευμὸν *Florios* 1027
 νὰ βγῆς ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον *Peri xen.* 325

3rd Person

Sg.	3	-ει/-η ἰ -ειν/-ην

Barytone forms in /i/ appear throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar in texts from all areas:

νὰ ἀπέλθῃ *Chron. Mor.* H 1083
 ὥστε νὰ εἴπῃ “ἔχετε ὑγείαν” *Arm.* 29

τὸ νὰ τὸν ἴδῃ ὁ ἀμειρόν *Dig.* E 594
 ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ σταχὺτζης *Vulgärorakel* VI.11
 καθάρια νὰ τὰ εἴπῃ *Achil.* L 490 ms (ed. νὰ τὸ εἴπῃ)
 νὰ ἴδῃ καὶ ὁ ἀφέντης μας *Chron. Tòc.* 1445
 ὁπόταν εὐεργετήσῃ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἔλθῃ (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.14)
 εἰ μὲν ... ἔλθῃ χρεῖα (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 55.23)
 νὰ ῥτρεῖ ομπρός του *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 22.6–7
 διὰ νὰ μὴν ἔλθῃ κακὸς γείτονας (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.44)
 μέλλει νὰ πῇ τὸ ποτήρι *PAPASYNAD.*, *Chron.* I §31.214
 θέλει νὰ τὸ ἔλθῃ μέσα (1667, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [7], 25.24)
 μὴν ἔλθῃ αἰφνιδίως (1684, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1956: [2], 348.15)
 νὰ τὸν καταπῇ *Alex.* Fyll. 93.11
 τί τρόπον νὰ εὕρῃ *Don Kis.* 124.24; νὰ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ἐγλήγορα *ibid.* 125.30–1

 νὰ διάβῃ ἐκ τὸ φουσσᾶτο *Chron. Mor.* H 3916
 ὅταν ζυγῶνῃ πέρδικα καὶ ἔμπῃ *Dig.* E 967
 νὰ ἔβγῃ *Pol. Tr.* 655
 νὰ ἔμπτῃ (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 85, 189.3)
 ὥστε νὰ διάβῃ μέσα *Achil.* L 993
 ἂν συνέβῃ τίποτας, τὸ φταῖσιμο θέλει εἴσσαι ἀπὸ τὴν μεγάλην σου αὐθεντίαν (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.8)
 γιὰ νὰ ἔβγῃ ἡ βρύση τῆς ζωῆς *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 376
 οὐτὰ ἔβγῃ *Theseid* VI.33.5 (Olsen)
 ἂν μοῦ συνέβῃ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ θανάτου ποτήριον (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 55.14)
 καὶ νὰ ὑπερέβῃ ὅλους τοὺς πρωτύτερους τοῦ βασιλεῖς *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 38.17–18
 τὸν ἐπαρακάλεσαν νὰ ἔβγῃ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 8.34; ἄς κατέβῃ τώρα *ibid.* Mark. 15.32
 ὅσο νᾶμπτῃ νᾶβγῃ ἡ νύφη, ἦβγαν τοῦ γαμπροῦ τὰ μάτια *Paroim.* (Warner) 92.6
 πλοῖον νὰ διάβῃ ἀπεκεῖ *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 5164
 εἰς καμίνι | νὰ ἔμπτῃ *KONDAR., Paidēs* 29–30
 καράβι νὰ ἔβγῃ ἀπὸ τὴν Βιτιτιά (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 55.9) (= Βενετία, see I, 2.5.4)

 νὰ γένῃ καλοπαίδευτον *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 275
 νὰ γένῃ πρωτοστράτορας *Dig.* G II.69
 τί νὰ γένῃ *Pol. Tr.* 8822
 νὰ γένῃ μοῦρτος μοχθηρός *Alosis* 951
 (ἂν ἔναι καὶ ...) γένῃ καλογραία (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 86, 159.19–20)
 βουλὴ νὰ γένῃ σύντομα *ZINOS, Vutr.* 186
 πᾶσα ὅπου νὰ γένῃ νέος καρδηνάλες (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1)
 εἶχεν πάγῃ εἰς τὸ Κιαπὲ νὰ γένῃ χατζῆς *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §18.11
 νὰ γένῃ δένδρον μεγάλο *LANDOS, Geopon.* 151.27–8
 νὰ γένῃ κανεὶς ἱερέας (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 108.19–20)
 πριχοῦ νὰ γίνῃ ἡ αμαρτία *Don Kis.* 123.30

Addition of final /n/ may occasionally occur in texts from diverse areas (for more information see I, 3.7.2.1): ἂν εὕρῃν πράξιν καὶ ὁρμὴν *Chron. Tòc.* 1131; ἐὰν τύχῃ ὅτι ... ὁ ἄλλος οὐδὲν ἔλθῃν εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ *Assizes* A 94.30–1; φοβῶντας τὸν θάνατον μήπως κ' ἔλθῃν ὁ Χάρος (1573, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75.5–6).

Sg.	3	-εἶ/-ῆ ! -εἶν/-ῆν

Oxytone forms in /'i/ are used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods for all verbs belonging to this category, and especially (ι)δεῖ and (εἰ)πεῖ are more common than their paroxytone counterparts (see above):

- πάλιν νά ἐλθῇ γαλήνη GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 314
 νά σέ ἰδῇ *Eisit.* f.3r.13
 νά εἰσελθῇ *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 246
 νά τήν ἰδῇ *Assizes* B 360.12
 νά ἰδῇ ὁ εἶς τὸν ἄλλον *Pol. Tr.* 578
 ὡς ἵνα ἐλθῇ (14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.4)
 νά τὸν ἰδῇ *Chron. Toc.* 869
 ὁποῖος ἐλθῇ *Diig. Alex.* F 236.18 (Lolos)
 νά πιη οἱ τοῦ διαβαίνει *Diig. Alex.* K 377.6
 νά ἐλθεῖ εἰς τὴν χριστιανικὴν πίστην (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.5)
 νά ἰδῇ τὰ ἄλογα (1591, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1949: 162.15–16)
 δὲν θέλω νά μ' ἰδεῖ πιλιὸ SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* D4r.5
 καὶ ἂ δὲν ἐρτῇ KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.437
 νά ἰδεῖ αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον *Don Kis.* 52.15; νά τοῦ εἴπῃ τὴν πίκραν τοῦ *ibid.* 138.8
- καὶ διαβῇ ὁ ρεματισμὸς GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 283
 εἰ μὴ τι ἕτερον συμβῇ *Dig.* G IV.660
 νά ἐβγῇ (1355, Palatia (Milos), MANOUSAKAS 1962b: 1, 234.12)
 ἔαν συμβῇ ὑπόθεσις *Chron. Mor.* H 366
 ὑπάει νά ἐβγῇ *Pol. Tr.* 961
 ἔαν συμβεῖ κίνδυνος (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.14)
 ἵνα καλῶς ἐμβῇ SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 62.1
 εἰ γὰρ συμβῇ καὶ πόλεμος *Velth.* 103
 νά μὴ ἐμπῇ *Achil.* N 314
 καὶ ὡσὰν ἐμπῇ κανεῖς SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 283
 δὲν ἠμπορεῖ νά ἀνεβεῖ NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 26.5
 ὅποιος ἐβγεῖ (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 177, 228.31)
 ἂν κατεβῇ CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.462
 σήμερον νά ἐβγῇ, αὔριον νά ἐβγῇ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §29.24–5
 πρὶ ἐμπῇ στὸ ἀρχοντικὸ τῶς (1646, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 22, 163.15)
- ἢ τίποτε ἐκ τὰ ἐπώδυνα | γενῇ *Eisit.* f.5v.1–2
 ἀφότου ὀρίζεις νά γενῇ *Chron. Mor.* H 6966
 τὸ θέλημά σου νά γενῇ *Pol. Tr.* 4190
 καὶ αὐτὸ τυχαίνει νά γενῇ FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 601
 τίντα μέλλει νά γινῇ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.16; διὰ νά μηδὲν γενῇ τίποτες ταραχῇ *ibid.* 268.2
 τοῦτο νά γενεῖ (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 86, 162.93)
 εἰ δὲ πορευθῇ ὁ κράλης καὶ γινῇ ἄλλοτρόπως *Ekth. Chron.* 9.25 app. crit. (L)
 νά γενῇ καταπῶς αὐτὸς θέλει (1653–5, Venice, FONKID 2000: 239, f.1r.20)
 ὅ,τι μοῦ μέλλει θὰ γενεῖ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 499.7
 νά γενῇ φονιάς *Irodis* I.22

Vowel-initial oxytone forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, resulting in monosyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδεῖ > δεῖ, εἰπεῖ > πεῖ, εὔρεῖ > βρεῖ, ἐβγεῖ > βγεῖ), which may then also appear after consonants (with the exception of *λθεῖ/ρθεῖ):

- νά πῃ νά δῇ *Byz. Il.* 132; νάλθῃ καὶ ὁ Πάρις *ibid.* 288
 διὰ νά μηδὲν *δῇ τὸ τέλος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 10.12; εἰ δὲ καὶ τινὰς πῇ *ibid.* 222.13

τό να δει ο φρε Γιλιάμ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 58.17
 σ' ό,τι του 'πεί *Apoll. Rim.* V 664
 ξως οὗ να 'ρθῇ εἰς νόμου 'λικίας (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.13)
 ἄς δῇ ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 38
 να πάγη να δει καὶ να στιμάρη (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 344, 323.6)
 πριχοῦ να βγῇ ἡ ψυχὴ μου FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 53
 πρι να βγῇ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 56.25
 ξως να βγῇ ἡ ψυχὴ της (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 13, 316.8)
 κι ἀποῦ τὲς σάϊκες καμιά, ἂν βγεῖ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 394.28
 να θε να βγεῖ TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.462

Plural

1st Person

Pl.	1	-ομε(ν)/-ωμε(ν)

For 1 pl. the ending of the barytone paradigm /ome(n)/ is not uncommon for most verbs belonging to this category, though most examples come from literary sources:

ν' ἀπέλθωμεν διὰ κοῦρσο *Chron. Mor.* H 2704; κι ἂν εὐρωμεν τὸν βασιλέα *ibid.* 3650
 να ἔλθωμεν 'ς τὸν οἶκον σου *Dig.* E 1003; ἂν οὐ τὸν εὐρωμεν ἐκεῖ *ibid.* 1394
 τότε κ' ἐμεῖς να εἴπωμεν *Liv.* V 2541
 καὶ ἴδωμεν *Diig. tetr.* 66; ἡμεῖς να εἴπωμεν δαμῖν *ibid.* 461
 τώρα να εὐρωμεν τὴν ἄλλην (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 57, 46.4)
 ἄς ἐξέλθωμεν με τὰ φουσάτα μας *Diig. Alex.* V 22.4–5
 πάλε ἄς ἔρτωμεν εἰς τὸν ρήγα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 230.14; ἀνισῶς καὶ εὐρωμεν *ibid.* 250.32
 ας ἐλθομεν στον κύρη της *Apoll. Rim.* V 1441 (same in A; ἐλθομε E; ἐρθομεν N)
 ἂν θέλτε να 'βρομεν SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 147
 μῆνα εὐρωμεν τίποτες DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 23, X8r.38 (1561)
 να 'ρθωμε κι' οἱ τρεῖς CHORTATIS, *Katz.* V.103
 να 'ρθωμε και εμεῖς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 37.21
 να ἔλθομεν ἐδῶ κάτω *Bertoldin.* 116.13
 να εὐρωμε σπουδατικὰ αὐτὰ τὰ τρία παιδιὰ μας KONDAR., *Paidēs* 66
 χωρὶς να εὐρωμεν ποτὲ ἀνάπαυσιν *Alex. Fyll.* 110.28
 ὥστε ν' ἀνέβομεν κι ἐμεῖς FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 93 (facs.; ed. -ωμε)
 στὸν Ἄδην να κατέβομεν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 352 and V 352
 πλέον μην κατέβομεν NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 26.4
 ἂν ἔμπωμεν 'ς τὰ χέρια τους *Theseid* I.78,6 (Follieri)
 με τὸν νοῦν ἄς ἀνέβομεν DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 11, k7r.7 (1561)
 ἄς ἔβγωμε ἀπὸ δῶ CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.480
 να 'βγωμεν ἀπὸ τὴν σκλαβιὰν VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 6
 στὸν πόλεμο να ἔμπωμεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 214
 καὶ δοῦλοι του να γένωμεν *Achil.* L 74
 καὶ θέλωμεν να γένωμεν δοῦλοι τῆς αὐθεντιᾶς σου *Chron. Toc.* 2718
 να γένωμεν ἀφέντες *Alex. Rim.* 1338
 ἡμεῖς τώρα τί να γένωμεν; *Alex. Fyll.* 64.6

Pl.	1	-οῦμε(ν)

Forms in -οῦμε(ν), without the final /n/ now one of the two SMG endings, are rare in the EMG period (cf. the same ending for the present 4.1.1.1 and the subjunctive of the first aorist 4.2.1): νᾶρθομεν FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 315 (facs.; ed. -οῦμε); νᾶ ἔλθοῦμε (1537, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 25, 32.4); ἄν εὐροῦμε (ibid. 32.5); νᾶ κατέβοῦμε *Pent. Gen.* 11.7.

Pl.	1	-οῦμε(ν) † -οὔμενε

The 1 pl. ending of the oxytone paradigm -οῦμε(ν), without the final /n/ now one of the two SMG endings for all verbs but γίνομαι, is the most common for all verbs in this category throughout and beyond the period under review:

ἄς ἀποῖδοῦμε τὸν καιρὸν νᾶ ἰδοῦμε τὸν λαόν μας *Chron. Mor.* H 4993; νᾶ εἰποῦμεν ibid. 8277
 νᾶ εὐροῦμεν τὸ ἀδέλφιν *Dig.* E 91; ἐπήγαμεν νᾶ ἰδοῦμεν ibid. 430
 νᾶ τὸν εἰποῦμε *Liv.* α 417; ποῖαν ὁδὸν νᾶ εὐροῦμεν ibid. 2881; ἔλα νᾶ τὸν ἰδοῦμεν ibid. 2894
 ἴνα ... ἰδοῦμεν τὸν τόπον (1494–6, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 37, 181.2)
 θαρῶ καθολικῆς χαρᾶς ποτήριον νᾶ πιοῦμεν *Cypr. Canz.* 133.12
 νᾶ ἰδοῦμε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.4)
 εἰς τὸ νᾶ ἰδοῦμεν (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 256.4)
 δὲν δυνάμεστέν νᾶ τὸν ἰδοῦμεν DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 12, λ8v.22 (1561)
 νᾶ ἐρθοῦμεν αὐτοῦ (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.28)
 νᾶ ἰδοῦμε τέτοιαν καλοσύνην (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.7)
 πάλι ἔδεπᾶ ἄς ἐλθοῦμε CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.204
 ἔαν εἰποῦμεν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 11.31; νᾶ ἰδοῦμε καὶ νᾶ πιστεύσομεν ibid. 15.32
 νᾶ ἰδοῦμεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 464
 μᾶ ἄς ἐλθοῦμεν σ' ἐκεινοὺς *Diig. Vefa* 1398
 νᾶ ἰδοῦμεν *Don Kis.* 41.1; νᾶ εἰποῦμεν ibid. 228.30–1
 ἄν κατεβοῦμεν *Dig.* E 5 app. crit.
 νᾶ ἐμποῦμεν εἰς τὸ μέσον *Liv.* V 2122
 καὶ τότε ἡμεῖς νᾶ ἐβγοῦμεν *Achil.* N 532
 ἔξω διὰ νᾶ βγοῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 1675
 μὴν κατεβοῦμε ἐκ τὸ βουνὶ *Thysia Avr.* 982
 νᾶ ἐβγοῦμεν ἀπὸ τὸ χρέος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §6.11
 νᾶ εὐγοῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ κάθε λογῆς ὑποψίαν (1645, Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 10.27)
 καὶ νᾶ γενοῦμεν δοῦλοι; *Pol. Tr.* 6657
 πῶς καὶ γενοῦμεν ἐγκρατεῖς [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1033
 καὶ Φράγχοι νᾶ γενοῦμε *Chron. Mor.* P 2094
 σκλάβοι νᾶ μὴ γενοῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 1896
 νᾶ γενοῦμεν ὅμοιοι ὅλοι μας DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 31, H3r.7–8 (1561)
 ἄς γενοῦμεν πρᾶοι MAXIMOS, *Synax. Ag. Nik.* 144.290
 πῶς μέλλομεν νᾶ γενοῦμεν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P X 412.4
 πρόθυμοι ἄς γενοῦμεν KONDAR., *Paides* 146

Vowel-initial forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, resulting in disyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδοῦμε(ν) > δοῦμε(ν), εἰποῦμε(ν) > ποῦμε(ν), εὔροῦμε(ν) > βροῦμε(ν), ἐβγοῦμε(ν) > βγοῦμε(ν)), which may then also appear after consonants (with the exception of ᾠθοῦμε(ν)/ρθοῦμε(ν)):

ἀρχεύομεν νὰ ποῦμεν *Assizes* B 284.29
 ᾄς ποῦμε *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 163
 ὄ,τι βροῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 1724
 στράταν ἄλλη ας βρούμε *CHORTATIS, Panor.* V.139
 νὰ τον ᾠρούμε *Apoll. Rim.* V 818
 νὰ δοῦμε τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 761, 1033.11)
 νὰ δοῦμεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 372; νὰ βροῦμεν *ibid.* 379; νὰ ποῦμεν *ibid.* 380
 νὰ μποῦμεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν *Pol. Tr.* 11909
 οὐδεποσῶς νὰ βγοῦμεν *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 144
 στὸ σπῆτι ὀμπρός ᾄς μποῦμε *CHORTATIS, Katz.* V.101

The ending -οῦμενε, with addition of -(ν)ε, is attested in Cretan and Chiot texts of the 17th c., but may have had a wider geographical spread (for -(ν)ε see also I, 2.6.3.3):

ἀνισωστὰς καὶ βγούμενε μὲ νίκη *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.130; μήπως καὶ βρούμενε *ibid.* II.98
 νὰ δοῦμενε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 182.14 and 230.25
 καὶ ὀλπίζω νὰ τὴν δοῦμενε *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 378; ᾄς διαβούμενε *ibid.* 1826

Pl.	1	-ῶμε(ν)/-όμε(ν)

Residual forms of root aorists (among which βάλνω and its compounds) are very rare in the LMedG and EMG periods. As the ending is clearly residual, in mixed-register texts it may extend to other verbs such as λέγω and ἔρχομαι, which in their perfective forms have morphological characteristics in common with βάλνω (forms according to the barytone and oxytone paradigms). Its appearance in Voustronios is surprising, as this is not an archaizing text.⁴⁴ There is no strong evidence that the form ἐρτώμεν/ἐρτόμεν is specifically Cypriot, though cf. the present indicative (4.1.1.1) for this stress pattern in Machairas:

ᾄς καταβῶμεν *Dig.* E 691
 νὰ σὲ τὸ εἰπῶμεν *Liv.* S 1623 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ἡμεῖς νὰ εἰπῶμεν δαμῖν *Diig. tetr.* 461 app. crit. (P)
 νὰ ἐρτόμεν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 214.15; ἀν ἐρτόμεν ὅλοι με τὰ κορμιά μας *id., Chron.* B 265.9
 ὄταν, Θεοῦ θελήματι, εἰς Ρωμανιὰν ἐλθῶμεν *Dig.* T 478

2nd Person

Pl.	2	-ετε ἰ -ετέν(ε)

Proparoxytone forms in -ετε can be found in texts throughout the centuries, but are clearly less common than paroxytone forms in -εῖτε/-ῆτε (see below), especially for βλέπω, λέγω

⁴⁴ Voustronios usually has barytone forms for this verb (ἐρτώ, ἐρτει), only showing some variation in 3 pl.: ἐρτουν and ἐρτούν. The only other 1 pl. form is ἐρτομεν. It cannot be excluded that the two instances of ἐρτόμεν are simple writing mistakes.

and compounds of βαίνω. Most of the modest number of examples found are of ἔρχομαι and εὐρίσκω:

ἂν εὔρετε τὸ ἀδελφί σας *Dig.* E 64; μὴ εἰσέλθετε *ibid.* 1763
 ἂν τὸν εὔρετε *Pol. Tr.* 9741
 ἔως οὗτοῦ νὰ ἔλθετε (1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 99.15)
 νὰ ἔλθετε (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.10)
 ἂν τοὺς εὔρετε ὅλους *Achil.* L 366
 νὰ ἔλθετε στὴν Ρωμανίαν *Chron. Mor.* P 3761
 νὰ σπουδάξετε νὰ ἔλθετε (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.45)
 ὅσες φάλιες καὶ ἂν εὔρετε (1574, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61.17)
 γιάντα νὰ ῥθετ' εδεπὰ *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 53
 νὰ ἔλθετε μετ' αὐτόν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 387.19
 νὰ μὴν ἔλθετε *Alex. Fyll.* 50.35
 νὰ μὴν ἔβγετε ἀποκεῖ *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 160.25
 σὰν ἔμπετε στὴν κάμινον *KONDAR., Paidēs* 738

Addition of final /n/ has been found in the Oxford version of *Digenis* (Chios) (cf. the present 4.1.1.1 and the aorist indicative 4.4.1.1), and in the Andros/Athens version of the same text, which is considered to have been written in the same region (Andros?), although linguistic evidence for this is otherwise quite scarce: καὶ ὅπου ἂν τὴν εὔρετεν *Dig.* A 411 app. crit.; ἂν εἶν' καὶ σφάλμα εὔρετεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 3064.

A form with a shift of the stress to the penultimate (but without synizesis of /i/ and /e/) has been found once in the *Chronicle of Morea*, clearly to accommodate the metre (verse end): μὴ πιάση καὶ πιέτε | τοσὸν κρασὶν *Chron. Mor.* H 8302–3.

Pl.	2	-ητε

The residual ending -ητε can occasionally be found in literary texts, usually alongside other, more common endings (see above):

νὰ ἔλθητε στὴν Ρωμανίαν *Chron. Mor.* H 3761
 εἰ δ' ἴσως ἀμετάτρεπτον ἴδητε τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ *Velth.* 117
 καὶ τὸ πουργὸ νὰ ἔλθητε *Byz. Il.* 277
 ὅλες ἐμπρός μου νὰ ῥθητε *SACHLIKIS, Vouli pol.* 235 (Papadimitriu); νὰ μάθητε τὴν τάξιν της, νὰ μάθετε τὸ ποιά εἶναι; *id., Katalogi* 40 (Papadimitriu)
 ἂν ἔβγητε ὡς πρέπει *Theseid* V.21,6 (1529)
 ἐὰν γένητε ἀπειθεῖς τοῦ ὀρισμοῦ μου *Vios. Aisop.* K 190.2

Pl.	2	-εῖτε/-ῆτε -εῖτεν/-ῆτεν εἰτενε/-ῆτενε

The ending /'ite/ of the oxytone paradigm, is the most common for all verbs in this category throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:⁴⁵

⁴⁵ As noted in the introduction to this chapter the form ἰδητε, for example, can already be found in the EMedG period.

νὰ εἰπῆτε καὶ νὰ κρίνετε *Chron. Mor.* H 2360; ἔλατε ἐδῶ νὰ ἰδῆτε *ibid.* 6918
 νὰ εὐρῆτε ἀδελφὴν σας *Dig.* E 169
 μὴ ἐβγῆτε νὰ ἰδῆτε *Liv.* V 2714; ἀφὸν εὐρῆτε τὴν ὁδὸν *ibid.* 2757
 σᾶς ἐμήνυσα νὰ ἐλθῆτε *Pol. Tr.* 4579; νὰ εἰπῆτε τί νὰ γένη *ibid.* 8822
 καὶ μηδὲν εἰπῆτε *Achil.* L 734
 ὅτι νὰ τὸν εὐρῆτε *Chron. Toc.* 1407
 καὶ τὴν βουλὴν νὰ εἰπῆτε *Velis.* ρ 178; εἴτι ἰδῆτε εἰς ἐμὲν *ibid.* 263
 ἀμέτε νὰ τὸν εὐρεῖτε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.1; ἔλατε νὰ μοῦ τὸ εἰπεῖτε *ibid.* 339.8–9
 νὰ εὐρεῖτε τὴν μητέρα του DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 2, α8ν.32–3 (1561); νὰ ἐρθεῖτε πρὸς
 ἐμένα *ibid., Logos* 19, σ1ν.28
 ὅς πλιότερα μὴν ἐρῆτε CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.338; νερό γλυκύ μην πιεῖτε *id., Panor.* II.518
 μηδὲν εἰπῆτε οὕτως *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 59.7–8
 τί τρόπον νὰ εὐρῆτε (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVI, 221.34)
 νὰ μοι εἰπῆτε τὴν πᾶσαν ἀλήθειαν (17th c., ŠANGIN 1936: 4, 136.18–19)
 ἔλατε νὰ ἰδῆτε ἕναν ἄσεβὴν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.7
 νὰ ἰδεῖτε ἐτοῦτες μας τὲς δικαιολογημένες ζήτηξεις (1716–29, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 38,
 96.13)

ἂν ... ἐμπῆτε εἰς τὴν βουλὴν μου *Dig.* E 1340
 ἂν καταβῆτε *Liv.* α 593a
 μὴ ἐβγῆτε νὰ ἰδῆτε *Liv.* V 2714
 οὐ θέλω νὰ ἐμπῆτε *Pol. Tr.* 9600
 σὲ πόλεμον νὰ βγῆτε *Alex. Rim.* 1759
 μὴ θέλετε νὰ μπῆτε CHORTATSI, *Erof.* V.600
 εἰς ὅποιον σπῖτι ἐμπεῖτε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 10.5
 ὁπόθεν διαβῆτε *Alex. Fyll.* 37.12
 νὰ γενῆτε πολλῶν χρονῶν *Achil.* L 1130
 νὰ γενεῖτε μαθηταί του DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 32, Θ8r.33–4 (1561)

Vowel-initial forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, resulting in disyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδεῖτε > δεῖτε, εἰπεῖτε > πεῖτε, εὐρεῖτε > βρεῖτε, ἐβγεῖτε > βγεῖτε), which may then also appear after consonants (with the exception of ἄθεῖτε/ρθεῖτε):

νὰ δῆτε θαῦμαν μέγα [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 2218
 ἂν θέλετε νὰ βρῆτε FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 306
 νὰ δῆτε κατορθώματα ZINOS, *Alex. Rim. Epil.* 24
 καὶ κύμινον ὅσον βρῆτε *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1116
 δὲν πᾶτε νὰ τσι βρῆτε *P&N Diath.* 5173
 κ' ἐξέταση νὰ δῆτε CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.544
 θεῖ δῆτε ὅλοι KONDAR., *Paides* 53

Addition of final /n/ and of -(v)ε (see also I, 2.6.3.3 and I, 3.7.2.1) has been found in texts from Chios: μὴν ᾤπῃτεν πῶς μ' ἐστείλασι KONDAR., *Paides* 5; τῶρι θεῖ δῆτεν *ibid.* 737; σὰν ἔμπετε στὴν κάμινον καὶ ἀχυλιὰ γενῆτεν *ibid.* 738; αὔριο θέλει δῆτενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1424.

3rd Person

Pl.	3	-ουσι(ν) † -ουσινε

The ending -ουσι(ν) of the barytone paradigm is used throughout the period covered by this Grammar, especially of ἔρχομαι and compounds of βαίνω, but much less frequently of the other verbs in this category, for which other endings are clearly preferred (see below):

ἐκείνες ὁποῦ ἔμπροσθέν του ἔλθουσι *Assizes* B 273.12
 τὰ ἔθνη ὅλα νὰ ἔλθουσιν *PLOUSIAD.*, *Thrinós* 173 (Vasileiou)
 νὰ ἔλθουσιν *LIMEN.*, *Than. Rod.* 151
 εἰ δὲ εἰς το κλινάρι σου, κόρη, καὶ εὐρουσί με *Achil.* O 488
 ὅσους ἄλλους χριστιανούς εὐρουσι *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.14
 ὅλα λοιπὸν ὅσα σὰς εἴπουσι νὰ φυλάγετε *KALLIOUP.*, *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 23.3
 ὁμπρὸς σ' ἐμέν' νὰ ἔλθουσι *KONDAR.*, *Paides* 223; νὰ πέμψω νὰ ῥτουσι ἐδῶ *ibid.* 620

μηδὲν ἔβγουσιν ἔξω *Chron. Mor.* H 1117
 νὰ ἐξέβουσιν ἀπέδω *Pol. Tr.* 7898
 νὰ ἔβγουσιν *Achil.* N 1341
 νὰ τσ' ἔβγουσι μεγάλο *CHORTATSI.*, *Katz.* III.409
 μέλλει νὰ συνέβουσιν *VAROUCHAS, Logoi* 467.30
 εἰ δὲ ... καὶ πάλε ἔμπουσι (1642, Naxos, *KATSOURO* 1958/59: 19, 159.15)
 στὸ πόρτο μέσα νὰ ἔμπουσι *Leilasia Par.* 1

μηδὲν πάθουν κακὸν καὶ γίνουσιν τοῦ Διαβόλου *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 686
 χαντζήδες πῶς νὰ γένουσιν *IOAKEIM KYPR.*, *Pali* 123

Addition of -(ν)ε appears to be quite rare (see also I, 2.6.3.3): γιὰ νὰ ῥθουσινε κι ἄλλοι *BOUNIALIS M.*, *Diig. Pol.* 457.7.

Pl.	3	-ουν ἢ -ου ἢ -ουνε

Barytone forms in -ουν can be found throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods (for a discussion of this ending see 4.1.1.1):

πρὶν ἔλθουν οἱ τῶν Τουρκῶν πειρασμοὶ *NIKON, Logos* 4 206.8
 νὰ σὲ ἴδουν ἅπαντες *Eisit.* f.3 r.19
 νὰ φάγουν καὶ νὰ πίουν *Dig.* E 679
 νὰ εἴπουν τὰς ἀποκρίσεις *Pol. Tr.* 2715 app. crit. (BV)
 ἄν οὐδὲν ἔρτουν *Assizes* B 337.14
 τὰ κάτουρα ἤθελαν νὰ πίουν *Diig. Alex.* K 377.3–4
 εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ἔρθουν (1542, Corfu, *RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1996: 16, 227.11)
 νὰ μὴν ἔλθουν *DAM. STOUD.*, *This.*, *Logos* 21, φ4v.31 (1561); δὲν εὗρισκαν νερὸν νὰ πίουν
ibid., *Logos* 26, Γ3r.14
 νὰ ἔλθουν *PAPASYNAD.*, *Chron.* III §22.54
 γλήγορα νὰ ῥτουν ἐδῶ *KONDAR.*, *Paides* 648
 καρτερῶ νὰ μοῦ ἔρθουν καὶ ἄλλα (1696, Kastoria, *MERTZIOS* 1947a: 6, 213.3)
 νὰ μὴν εὐρουν πολλές καὶ διάφορες τύχες *Don Kis.* 46.25
 ποτὲ νὰ μὴ ἔβγουν *Chron. Mor.* H 4422; νὰ σέβουν εἰς τὸν κόρπον *ibid.* 8788
 νὰ ἔβγουν τὰ λεοντάρια *Dig.* E 663
 νὰ ἔβγουν οἱ σύνταξες ὅλες *Pol. Tr.* 3243
 διὰ νὰ ἔμπουν *Assizes* B 449.23
 τὰ ἔντερα αὐτοῦ ἐξέβουν *Spanos* A 64
 ὅσα ἔβγουν (1473, Corfu, *KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS* 1996: 37, 168.11)

νά ἔμπουν ἐκ τοὺς Ρωμαίους *Chron. Mor.* P 8349
 ἔπρεπε νά κατέβουν FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 133
 ἤθελαν νά ἔβγουν τὰ πουλία KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.26–7
 νά σέβουν εἰς τὴν χώραν *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavrás) 89.31
 νά ἔμπουν εἰς καράβι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.76
 ἔμελλαν νά τὸν συνέβουν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 10.32
 ὅσα συνέβουν ἀπαντα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 6868; ἔχουν νά κατέβουν *ibid.* 7154
 ὅσα γένουν εἰς αὐτοὺς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 226.25–6)
 νά γένουν *Assizes* B 378.23
 νά γένουν δύο σαρατάῃμερα (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 146.5)
 ὅσοι λοιπὸν ἐπιθυμοῦσι νά γένουν πατέρες SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 95.9
 ὅσα γένουν (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 31, 70.3)
 νά γένουν καλὲς ροδακινίες LANDOS, *Geopon.* 151.23–4
 νά γένουν χριστιανοὶ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §22.54

Deletion of final /n/ has been found mainly in Cretan texts (for details see I, 3.7.2.2):

κι ἂν εὐρου εἰς συναπαντῇ τοῦ βασιλέως φουσσᾶτα *Chron. Mor.* P 3506
 νά πέψου γῇ νά ῥθου (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 132, 146.11)
 κι ἂς ἔβγου μὲ πολλὰς τιμὰς *Stathis Interim.* II.130
 νά διάβου μονιτάρου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 331.11

Addition of -(v)ε has been found in texts from south-western areas and certain Aegean islands (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

νά γένουνε τρία μερδικά (1585, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 23, 41.17)
 νά ἔρτουνε (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.10)
 νά ἔρθουνε νά μάσε κόψουσι (1659, Hydra, KARATHANASIS 1972/73: 241.2)
 ὅσα πράγματα ἀκουγα νά συνέβουνε MATESIS, *Chron.* 63.1–2

Pl.	3	-ωσι(v)/-οσι(v)

This residual ending of verbs that in AG had thematic aorists (βλέπω, λέγω, etc.) can occasionally be found in the period under review, usually alongside other endings. Given its residual status, it sometimes occurs with the other verbs that belong to this category as well (compounds of βαίνω and γίνομαι):

νά τὴν ἴδωσι *Pol. Tr.* 280; ἅμα ταῦτα γένωσιν *ibid.* 580 app. crit. (A); νά διάβωσιν *ibid.* 5958 app. crit. (C)
 ὅσοι ἀπὸ ξένης διάβωσιν *Liv.* S 2215 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ἂς ἔλθωσιν *Liv.* V 17
 καὶ νά ἴδωσιν τοὺς ἀρχοντας *Diig. tetr.* 46
 νά σηκωθῶσι καὶ νά εἴπωσιν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 140.16
 νά ἔλθωσιν *Assizes* A 214.12
 εἴτι ἀν εὐροσι ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 37.4

Pl.	3	-οῦσι(v) ἢ -οῦσινε

The ending -οῦσι(ν) of the oxytone paradigm is not uncommon for most verbs in this category throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, though for γίνομαι a modest number of examples has been found:

- ὅτι νὰ ἀπελθοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 145; νὰ μὴ τὸ εἰποῦσιν *ibid.* 1129
 νὰ εἰποῦσιν τὰ ἐδικὰ των *Liv.* V 3848
 νὰ ἰδοῦσιν τὸ σημάδι μου *Achil.* N 532
 νὰ τὴν ἰδοῦσιν *Pol. Tr.* 280 app. crit. (V)
 ἀκαρτεροῦν τάχα νὰ σᾶς ἰδοῦσι LIMEN., *Than Rod.* 63
 ἐκ τὸ νερὸ νὰ πιοῦσι *Alex. Rim.* 1582
 νὰ πιοῦσι τὸ φαρμάκι CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.444 app. crit. (N)
 οὐκ ἤρχονταν ποτὲ νὰ σὲ ἰδοῦσιν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 305
 ἐτόλμησαν νὰ εἰποῦσι LANDOS, *Geopon.* 129.32
 ὄντα τῇ θέλου ἰδοῦσι MONTESEL., *Evgena* 1265
 ἔστοντας νὰ ἐλθοῦσιν εἰς τὸ σπῆτι KALLIOUR., *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 2.11; ὅταν ... σᾶς εἰποῦσι
ibid. 5.11
 γυρεύοντας νὰ ἰδοῦσι λογαριασμό (1663, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 1, 11.4)
 τὸ πόθεν νὰ σεβοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 5641
 νὰ ἐξεβοῦσιν ἀποκεῖ *Chron. Toc.* 1716
 ἀφήκεν νὰ βγοῦσι VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 148.8
 ὡσάν ἐμποῦσι εἰς τὸν καρπὸ (1603, Crete, VIOLIDAKIS 2006: 2, 265.16–17)
 ἔχουν νὰ κατεβούσι IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 8934
 νὰ πάσι νὰ ἐμποῦσι ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1833
 ἄφοβα γιὰ νὰ μποῦσι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 162.5
 συμπεθερεῖον νὰ ποιήσουσιν, τὸ ἔνα νὰ γενοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 6357
 κομμάτια νὰ γενοῦσι *Spanos* D 313
 θὰ δῶ τί θὰ γενοῦσι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 165.16

Vowel-initial forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, resulting in disyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδοῦσι(ν) > δοῦσι(ν), εἰποῦσι(ν) > ποῦσι(ν), εὔροῦσι(ν) > βροῦσι(ν), ἐβγοῦσι(ν) > βγοῦσι(ν)), which may then also appear after consonants (with the exception of ἄθοῦσι(ν)/ρθοῦσι(ν)):

- νὰ μὲ δοῦσιν *Dig.* E 1441
 νὰ πᾶσι καὶ νὰ δοῦσι *Assizes* B 361.12
 ὡς σὲ ἄδοῦσιν *Spanos* A 88–9; νὰ ἄποῦσιν *ibid.* 121
 νὰ ῥθοῦσιν οἱ θωριές σου FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 290
 μὲ πεθυμιὰ νὰ ῥθοῦσι CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.143
 εἰς το φως νὰ ἄθοῦσιν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 6057; οὐδέ νὰ δούσιν θέλουσιν *ibid.* 6826
 καὶ παιδευμούς νὰ δοῦσι BOUNIALIS M., *Kat. ofel.* 408; νὰ ῥθοῦσι *id.*, *Diig. Pol.* 162.8
 μὴν τοὺς δοῦσι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 641
 νὰ τῶς ποῦσι KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1285
 οἱ Ἐρωτες ας βγοῦσι CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.408; ἀνάπαψη κάτω στη γην ας βρούσι *ibid.* II.478
 κ' εἰς τὸ κακὸ θὰ μποῦσι KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.568

Addition of -(ν)ε has been found in Cretan texts, but is likely to have been employed in the wider south-western area (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

να πιούσινε φαρμάκι CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.444; να δούσινε id., *Erof.* Dedic. 10; να τσι
 βρούσινε ibid., III.138; ἄς γενοῦσινε πουλιά id., *Erof. Interim.* I.61
 δυὸ γάμοι θὰ γενοῦσινε *Stathis* III.357
 να ἴβρούσινε να τήν μπουλήσου (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 180.52)
 σε πόλεμον να βγούσι IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 8734
 να δούσινε τοῖ Ἀγαρηνοὺς BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 149.22; να βρούσινε τορνέσα ibid.
 225.22; ἀπάνω ν' ἀνεβούσινε ibid. 292.3; να μπούσινε στὰ κάτεργα ibid. 299.15; σ' τσι
 Μεσαρές να βγούσινε ibid. 313.18; να φᾶσι καὶ να πιούσινε ibid. 465.4
 να δούσινε τὸν κύρη σου KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1840; να πούσινε τὰ χεῖλη σου ibid. II.922

Pl.	3	-οῦν ἰ -οῦ ἰ -οῦνε

Oxytone -οῦν occurs throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

πολλά να ἔλθουν, πολλά να εἰποῦν KAMAT., *Astron.* 1996 (but read ἐλθοῦν)
 διὰ τὸ να εἰποῦν *Ptoch.* III 265
 ὅσοι τὸ εἰποῦν *Chron. Mor.* H 1002
 ἕως οὔ να ἔλθοῦν *Pol. Tr.* 3700 app. crit. (V); να εἰποῦν τὰς ἀποκρίσεις *Pol. Tr.* 2715
 να με εἰποῦν τί να ποιήσω *Liv.* S 1682 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 να πᾶν να δοῦν *Assizes* B 359.18; οὔ να φᾶν, οὔ να πιοῦν ibid. 381.3–4
 να τὸν ηῦροῦν *Chron. Toc.* 307
 ἄν τὸν ἰδοῦν *Achil.* N 1280
 να σὲ ἰδοῦν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1523
 τὰ κάτουρά τους γιὰ να πιοῦν *Alex. Rim.* 2048
 διὰ να εἰποῦν τὰ μέλλοντα DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 6, ζ2ν.34 (1561)
 να ἰδοῦν (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 2, 81.9–10)
 να ὑπᾶν να ἰδοῦν (1600, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 17, 14.9)
 ἄς εἰποῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 55.30–1
 να μὴν με γδοῦν KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.348 (= δοῦν)
 διὰ να ἰδοῦν τὴν συμφορὰν τοῦ Ἀνσέλμου *Don Kis.* 139.22

 καὶ ἄφον διαβοῦν οἱ ἰ' ἡμέρες (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 19.108–12)
 ὅταν ἐκβοῦν καὶ τρέχουσιν αἱ δύο αἱ καροῦχαι *Ptoch.* III 200
 κι ἄς διαβοῦν *Chron. Mor.* H 6983
 εἰς Ρωμανίαν να ἐβγοῦν *Dig.* E 197 app. crit.
 να λάβουν τὰ μέλλει να τοὺς κατεβοῦν *Assizes* B 378.24
 διὰ να ξεβοῦν ἔς τὸν ἄμμο *Theseid* I.48,3 (Follieri)
 να μὲν ἐμποῦν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 395.16–17; πρὶ να βγοῦν οἱ Γενουβίσοι ibid. 544.30
 ἄφες τα ὀπίσω να διαβοῦν *Deft. Par.* 366
 να ἴβγοῦν να διαλαλήσουν ZINOS, *Vatr.* 185
 να ἔσβοῦν εἰς τὸ παλάτιν *Diig. Alex.* F 94.6 (Lolos); μήνα ἐξεβοῦν ὄξω ibid. 170.11
 μήτε ἡμποροῦσαν να σεβοῦν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.24–5

 φίδια μαῦρα να γενοῦν *Peri xen.* 278
 ἕως ὅπου να γενοῦν ζ' ἐτῶν *Assizes* A 124.12
 καὶ να γενοῦν μυρσίνη *Rim. kor.* A 23
 να γενοῦν μία ποσότης (1611, Ioannina, MERTZIOS 1936a: (1), 19.3)
 να γεννηθοῦν καὶ να γενοῦν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyfrou* 129

Vowel-initial forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, resulting in disyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδοῦν > δοῦν, εἰποῦν > ποῦν, εὔροῦν > βροῦν,

ἐβγοῦν > βγοῦν), which may then also appear after consonants (with the exception of ἴθοῦν/ρθοῦν):

Deletion of final /n/ has been found mainly in Cretan texts (for details see I, 3.7.2.2):

μουσουλουμάνοι νὰ γενοῦ *Anak. Konst.* 85
 κι ἀφότου φᾶν καὶ πιοῦ καλὰ *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 222
 και να γενοῦ κλαδιά φυλλαδωμένα *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 73; νὰ τὴν ἰδοῦ τ' ἄμμάτια
 μου *id., Erof.* 1.536
 γιὰ νὰ τὸ δοῦ τὰ μάτια μου *Stathis* III.87; νὰ βγοῦ τὰ μουχλιασμένα του *ibid.* III.371
 νὰ γενοῦ κάποιες γραφές (1614, Tinos, *HOFMANN* 1936: 1, 58.10)
 νὰ βγοῦ νὰ μασέ κόψουνε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 164.22

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs in texts from south-western areas and the Aegean (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

τίποτες μὴ εἰποῦνε *Alex. Rim.* 1299; οὐδὲν μποροῦν νὰ δοῦνε *ibid.* 1674; νὰ βροῦνε *ibid.* 2010
 μέλλει νὰ ἐλθοῦνε (1588 [17th-c. copy], Zakynthos, *MAVROS* 1980: 464.24)
 ν' ἀνοίξουσιν τὰ χεῖλη σου νὰ ποῦνε *Stathis* II.23
 νὰ γενοῦνε συντρόφοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 57.32
 νὰ δοῦνε ἄν τοῖ ρεσπάρει ἐλίγο τίβοτσι (1620, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1986: 1, 39.61)
 νὰ βροῦνε γρὲς *MONTSEL., Evgena* 179; νὰ τὸ ἰδοῦνε *ibid.* 1539
 τὴν ἐδικὴν μου γύμνωσιν τὰ μάτια σου μὴ ἴδοῦνε *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 70
 νὰ ἰδοῦνε (1665, Mani, *BLANKEN* 1951: VIII, 305.24); θάρθοῦνε καράβια (*ibid.* 306.14)
 ἄν δὲν ἐβγοῦνε (1685, Skyros, *ANDONIADIS* 1980/81: 8, 331.16)
 νὰ ἰδοῦνε (1688, Andros, *PASCHALIS* 1948: 44.19)

Pl.	3	-ῶσι(ν)

This residual ending of verbs with root aorists (βαίνω in the examples below) can occasionally be found in the period covered by this Grammar, usually alongside other endings. Given its residual status, it sometimes occurs with other verbs that belong to this category as well:

νὰ διαβῶσιν *Pol. Tr.* 12093 app. crit. (B) and 12533 app. crit. (CV)
 ἴνα ἀναβῶσιν ἐπάνω *KANANOS, Diig.* 546–7
 εἰς ἔγκρυμμαν ἐλθῶσιν *ERMON., Ilias* 8.131; ὥς τοὺς φύλακας ἰδῶσι *ibid.* 14.108e
 τοῦ νὰ γενῶσιν *ERMON., Ilias* 17.256
 εἰ γενῶσιν ἱερεῖς οἱ ἀνεψιοί μου (1515, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 42, 73.37)
 νὰ γενῶσι *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 159

4.3 The Imperfect

By the beginning of the LMedG period a common set of past-tense endings, combining elements from the aorist, the imperfect and the perfect, was already firmly in place for the active voice of barytone verbs: -α, -ες, -ε(ν), -αμε(ν), -ετε (/ατε, see 4.3.1.1), -αν/-ασι(ν) (see 1.1.4). Following the loss of distinction between the strong and the weak aorist paradigms in the Hellenistic period, by the EMG period /a/ had started to become a past-tense

marker, spreading to the imperfect as well. It began with 3 pl., then spread to 1 pl. and 1 sg.; e.g. forms in *-αν* and *-αμεν* already occur in Hellenistic papyri. For obvious reasons, i.e. the need to keep 1 sg. and 3 sg. clearly distinct, in the imperfect (as in the aorist) 3 sg. retained *-ε(ν)*. The spread of */a/* to 2 sg. and 2 pl. would have been expected, but 2 sg. has retained *-εσ* until the present day, and 2 pl. *-ετε* is the common ending throughout the period covered by this Grammar (see also JOSEPH 1980a). The breakthrough of *-ατε* for 2 pl., now SMG, did not come about until after the EMG period, probably necessitated by the loss of the unstressed augment, which was still used routinely throughout the period covered by this Grammar (see Chapter 3). Variation is fairly limited in the active paradigm of barytone verbs.

Historically the set of endings employed for the active imperfect of oxytone verbs is identical to those of barytone verbs: *-ον*, *-εσ*, *-ε*, *-ομε*, *-ετε*, *-ον*. Contractions with the stem vowel */a/* or */e/* had led to */a/-*forms and */i/-*forms for 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl., and */o/-*forms and */u/-*forms for 1 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl. Long before the LMedG period a generalization had occurred of */u/* instead of */o/* (the so-called */u/* dynamic, see BABINIOTIS 1972: 189–92), leading to identical endings for A- and E-stem verbs for 1 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl.⁴⁶ Heavy mutual influence between A-stems and E-stems for the other persons began before the LMedG period, but in the period covered by this Grammar a clear tendency develops for E-stem verbs to adopt A-stem endings rather than the reverse. Various imperfect markers evolve from specific endings: */us/* from 3 pl.; */un/* from 1 sg. (singular only) and */aγ/* and */iγ/* from 2 sg./3 sg. forms with intervocalic */γ/* (see 2.1.2.2.3), after which the common set of “past tense” endings (*-α*, *-εσ*, *-ε*, *-αμε*, *-ετε* (*/-ατε*), *-αν* (*/-ασι*)) could once more be employed (for an overview of such markers in modern dialects see PANDELIDIS 2008; see also PANTELIDIS 2003).

For the barytone paradigm some of the old middle endings (*-όμεην*, *-ου*, *-ετο*, *-όμεθα*, *-εσθε*, *-οντο*) gradually fell into disuse in favour of innovative ones, the most common of which are 1 sg. *-ομουν/-ουμουν*, 2 sg. *-εσουν/-ουσουν*, 1 pl. *-όμεστε/-όμεσθε* and 3 pl. *-ονταν/-ουνταν*. The oxytone paradigms, which employed these same endings but showed contraction with their stem vowels (*-ώμην/-ούμην*, *-ῶ/-οῦ*, *-ᾶτο/-εῖτο*, *-ώμεθα/-ούμεθα*, *-ᾶσθε/-εῖσθε*, *-ῶντο/-οῦντο*), develop new endings too, the most common of which are 1 sg. *-ούμουν*, 2 sg. *-ούσουν*, and 3 pl. *-οῦνταν*. The passive paradigms of both barytone and oxytone verbs show great regional variation.

Various processes of analogical levelling are at play in barytone and oxytone verbs and active and passive endings, whereby active past-tense endings are added to the form to make it less opaque (cf. KOURMOULIS 1956), e.g. 1 sg. *ἐβάρουν* > *ἐβάρουνα*.

To form the imperfect, the past-tense endings are added to the imperfective verb stem (for which see 2.1). For “contracted” forms of barytone vowel-stem verbs see 2.1.1.2.

For the aspectual properties of the imperfect see IV, 4.4.2; for its use in conditional constructions, see IV, 1.2.2.2.

⁴⁶ See JANNARIS 1897: 216 for examples from the Old and New Testaments and GIGNAC 1981: 363–4 for examples from papyri as early as the 2nd–3rd c. AD.

4.3.1 Barytone Verbs

4.3.1.1 Active Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	ἔγραφα	ἔγραφον	ἔγραφαν -ουνα
	2	ἔγραφες	ἔγραφεις	
	3	ἔγραφε(ν)	ἔγράφεν ἔγραφενε ἔγραφι	
Pl.	1	ἐγράφαμε(ν)	ἐγραφέμε(ν) ἐγράφαμενε ἐγράφαμι(ν) ἐγράφομεν	ἐγράφεμεν
	2	ἐγράφετε	ἐγράφετενε	ἐγράφατε
	3	ἔγραφαν ἐγράφασι(ν)	ἔγραφα ἔγράφα(ν) ἔγράφανε ἐγράφασινε ἔγραφον	ἔγράφενε ἐγράφανσι ἔγραφο ἔγραφονε ἔγραφουν ἐγράφοσιν ἐγράφασον

Forms of the active imperfect are proparoxytone in principle, though sometimes the stress may shift to the penultimate, whereas in other cases forms may carry the stress on the fourth syllable from the end when a suffix is added to the verb form. For the presence/absence of the unstressed augment, see Chapter 3.

Distribution of Allomorphs*1st Person Singular*

Sg.	1	-α -αν

The ending -α is by far the most common ending for 1 sg. throughout our period. Some representative examples are:

νὰ ἡνοιγα τὸ ἀρμάριν μου *Ptoch. III* 92; ὥς γὰρ ἐδιέβαινα προχθές *ibid.* 167
 ἡῦρα κείνον τὸν ἐγύρευγα ἐγὼ *SULT. WALAD, Poem I* 19
 ἀναγύριζά σας *Dig. E* 168
 εἰς ἄραν ἤλεγά το *Liv. V* 1549; ἔτρεχα ὡς κύριος καὶ αὐθέντης *ibid.* 2249
 ἐὰν σοῦ ἔγραφα λεπτομερῶς τὲς πράξεις *Chron. Mor.* 7031
 εἶχα το, τύχη, κάλλιον, κάλλιον ἐκρινά το [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2373
 οὐχ εὔρισκα *Pol. Tr.* 378; ἤθελα νὰ ὠμοίαζα *ibid.* 8900
 τὸ τί ἤθελα εἰς τὸν γάμον *Poulol.* 156
 οὐκ ἔλεγά σε *Achil.* N 1122; ἐὰν οὐ τὸν ἐθανάτωνα *ibid.* 1790
 ἤβλεπα διὰ νὰ ἰδῶ τὰ γένια του τὰ πανάσχημα *Spanos A* 28
 μαυλίστριες καὶ πολιτικές ἤθελα νὰ γυρεύω *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 49
 ἀπόβλεπα (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 48.3)
 ὅπου ἐδίδαχνα δύο χρόνους *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 3
 ἔρραφα (1659, Zakynthos, ΒΑΥΑΚΑΚΟΣ 1954: 2, 29.15)
 τὸν ἐκατάκαια (1669, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992:
 84, 217.48)

Addition of final /n/ is very rare and may represent a form of hypercorrection, since Cretan tends to drop final /n/ where other varieties of the language do not (see I, 3.7.2.1.3 for details): τὴν εἶχαν στο Κουμούνι μου *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1311 app. crit.

Sg.	1	-ον

The residual ending -ον is not used very frequently, though it can be found in a variety of higher- and mixed-register texts, especially of the early period, usually alongside forms in -α (see above):

καὶ τὰς κεντούκλας νὰ ἔπαιρον *Ptoch. III* 197; εἶχον *Ptoch. I* 6, 72 and 73, and *Ptoch. III* 244
 φοβεῖσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελον *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 49; ἔπασχον, ἔτρεμον *ibid.* 54
 δούλην σε ἔχειν ἤθελον, μᾶλλον εἶχες με δοῦλον *Dig. G II.189*
 ἀμὴ ἐγὼ, εἰ ἤθελον, ἀπέφευγά σας *Velth.* 211
 ἤθελον ἵνα τὸν ἐρωτήσω *Liv. α* 55 app. crit. (P); ἔβλεπον *ibid.* 2809 app. crit. (P)
 ἔθαλλον, ἐσπατάλουν *Liv. V* 2250
 ἀπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον ἔφευγον καὶ ἔμπροσθέν μου λειτουργίαν εὔρον *Paroim. I* 75
 ἐγὼ ἐὰν ἤθελον βασιλεῖον *Alex. Fyll.* 48.13–14 (hapax)

Sg.	1	-ουν(α)

Regionally (Heptanese) an innovative variant of the old form εἶχον can be found, namely εἶχουνα, with addition of the 1 sg. past-tense ending -α (cf. the same development in the imperfect of oxytone verbs (4.3.2.1) and the aorist indicative of λέγω (4.4.1.2)): ἐγὼ τὸν εἶχουνα, ἂν ἐκεῖνος δὲν εἶχεν φάγει *Bertoldin.* 96.20.

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-ες ἢ -ις

There is no real variation in the 2 sg. ending before, during or after the period under investigation.⁴⁷ Some representative examples are:

ἐκέρδαινές τους παρευτύς *Chron. Mor.* H 4939
 τὰ ὀρίζεις ἐγίνονται *Dig.* E 358
 νὰ γύριζεις *Spanos* D 409
 καὶ ὅ,τι ἄλλο ἤθελες πορέσει (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 27.35)
 ἄν εἶχες εὖρει κι ἄλλους ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Pittakin* 36
 ἦστεκες νὰ μισέψης (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.6)
 ἐκλεφτες ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 131.8
 τὸ πουλίον, ὅπου μὴ ἔλεγες *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1063
 ὁποῦ γυναῖκα στὸ στενὸ δὲν ἤβλεπες ἐτότες *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.304
 ἐσύ μ' ἐντρόπιαζες τόσους χρόνους *Nov. I* 156.14
 ὅσα ἐπρομετρίζεις (1612, France, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 23, 270.6) (< Ven. *promèter*)
 ἔκοφτες τὸ κεφάλι τοῦ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 1590
 διατὶ ἀμφίβαλλες; *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.31
 σκόνταυγες κ' ἔπεφτες *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 210
 τὸ πρόσωπο ἐκοκκίνιζες *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1156

Forms in /is/ instead of /es/ are phonetic rather than morphological variants, the result of mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4): εἶχis ἐκατὸ σακιά κιρὶ (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 6, 61.34).

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ε(ν) ὀ -ενε ὀ -ι

The ending -ε, with or without an added final /n/, is the normal form before, during and after the period covered by this Grammar:

καὶ τὸν ἰὸν ἐξέχεε κατὰ τοῦ εὐεργέτου *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 386
 ἀναστέναζεν *Dig.* E 486
 ἤβλεπε *Chron. Toc.* 1659
 εὕρισκεν *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 34.6
 ἔπεφτεν *Achil.* N 603
 καὶ ἔδιδέν μας λάχανα *Paroim.* H 10
 ἄστραπτε κατ' ἀνατολάς *Spanos* D 116
 ἴτις ὁκ' ἔδειχνε καθεὶς *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 8
 ἔδειχνε ὅτι νὰ τὸ εἶχαν φέρει *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 334.37
 ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ἀνέβρυνεν *Dig.* T 1889
 καὶ ἠπαρνε κάθε εἷς (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.9)
 τση ἴτασσε καλὰ νὰ τὴν πλερώση *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.366
 ἐκαταρῆμαζε τὰ μοναστήρια τῆς ἐρήμου (17th c., Palestine?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 24, 197.2.2)
 ὁπου καὶ ἄν ἐπάγαινε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.14
 ἔκαie *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 18.21

⁴⁷ One instance of ἔλεγας found in a 1st-c. papyrus (*BGU* 595.9, AD 70–80, quoted in DEISSMANN 1901: 191, MOULTON 1901: 36, PSALTES 1913: 210 and GIGNAC 1981: 332) does not suffice to speak of a tendency. One further instance occurs in *Bertoldinos*, which is perhaps a simple typo: καὶ ποῦ ἔελας ἐσύ νὰ μᾶς φέρεις; *Bertoldin.* 109.20 (ποῦ θέλας in the edition).

A shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate can occur in 3 sg. forms in texts of Cypriot origin, possibly influenced by the corresponding forms of oxytone E-stem verbs, e.g. ἐκράτεν *Assizes* A 79.17. In the Cypriot dialect certain verbs, such as δίδω – διδῶ, λύω – λυῶ, have both barytone and oxytone variants, which makes a certain degree of confusion between these paradigms plausible. In the example from Koronaios the stress shift accommodates the metre, as Koronaios generally avoids a stress on the 11th syllable:

ἐκοῦζεν *Assizes* B 267.29

καθὼς τὸ ἐκράτεν καὶ ἐνομεῦγεν το ὁ πατήρ του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 308.1

δεν αφήνεν να τους πάρει VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 32.8; εδείχνε του *ibid.* 50.4; δεν εθέλεν *ibid.* 34.1,

but also: ωσγοιόν ἐθέλεν *ibid.* 26.8

ὅλους ἐρίπτεν κάτω KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VII.342

ἔτξι ἐγράφεν τὸ χαρτίν *Thrinios Kypr.* 51

Forms with an added -(v)ε occur in texts from Crete, Chios, the Heptanese and certain islands in the Aegean. These forms must be seen in the light of a broader tendency to add -(v)ε (or -(v)α) to certain verb forms, pronouns and adverbs, which can be observed in the above areas (see I, 2.6.3 for details). The single example in *Thrinios Kypr.* serves to accommodate the verse, as Cypriot texts do not usually display this feature. Some characteristic examples are:

τὴν χαρὰ τὴν εἴχενε φερμένη FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 19

τό 'θέλενε πεῖ P&N *Diath.* 443 and 574

ἔλεγενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 86.32 (but also: ἔγραφε *ibid.* 87.31)

ὅλες τὲς λωλάδες ὅπου ἐκεῖνος εἴχενε κάμει *Bertoldin.* 131.31; νὰ τοῦ εἴχενε συνέβη *ibid.* 146.3

εἴχενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 22; ἔσειενε *ibid.* 283; ἐγύρευενε μὸδο *ibid.* 2250 app. crit.; καὶ

σήμεαινένε εὐρυθμα *ibid.* 2435

δὲν εἴχενε ριζικὸ (1694, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 10, 24.8)

τὰ 'τρώγενε (1696, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 47, 141.24) (τὰ τρώγενε in the ed.)

ἔλειπενε στὴ Μυτιλήνη (1700, Andros, POLEMIS 2001: 16, 121.4)

δὲν εἴχενε προκοσῦμφωνο (1708, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 85, 95.20–1)

τὰ εἴχενε καμένα *Thrinios Kypr.* 535

Forms in /i/ instead of /e/ are phonetic rather than morphological variants, bearing witness to mid-vowel raising, for which see I, 2.5.4: εἰς ὅ,τι πείραξη ἦθελι τοῦ ἐλάχει (1671, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 3, 220.14); εἴχι κριθῇ (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.6); τοῦ εἴχι ἀφήσει (*ibid.* A 4, f.40r.12); ὡσὰν ἦθελι ὁ θεὸς (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.6).

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-αμε(v) -αμενε ' -άμεν -αμι(v)

For 1 pl. -αμε(v), with and without final /n/, is the most commonly used form throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

ἐκατεμπλέκαμεν *Ptoch.* III 273

εἴχαμε (1360, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 49, f.236r.6)

εἴχαμεν *Dig.* E 120; ὅτε εἴχαμε τὸν πόθον *ibid.* 1773

τὸ πῶς ἐπεριπλέκαμε καὶ μετὰ πόθου ποίου *Liv.* E 2214
 αὐτὰ ὅταν τὰ πιττάκια τὰ ἐγράφαμεν ἀλλήλων *Liv.* V 3776
 καὶ διδασμέν του γέννημαν *Paroim.* H 10
 ὄνταν ἐμπαίναμε στὴν πόρταν *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 277
 νὰ καβαλικεύαμεν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 248
 σκάλαν ἐκατεβαίναμε, εἶχε στενὰ σκαλέρια ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 275
 ἃ δὲν τὰ τρώγαμε *Alex. Rim.* 906; ἠθέλαμε ἔξω διὰ νὰ βγοῦμε *ibid.* 1675
 ἐγράφαμεν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 53.17–18
 ἐπηγαίναμεν (1551, Venice, *COUROUPOU/GÉHIN* 2001: 3, 161.10)
 πῶς ἠθέλαμε παχύνει *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.135
 τὴ λαμπυράδα ἐβλέπαμε κι ὅχι τὸ πρόσωπό τως *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.622
 ἀποῦ τ' ἀμνέγαμε στὴν ψὴ *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.410

An added *-(ν)ε* occurs in texts from Chios, Crete and possibly elsewhere (see I, 2.6.3.3):
 ἐλέγαμενε *GERMANO, Grammar* 86.32–3; ἄν εἴχαμενε πεῖ *P&N Diath.* 772.

Sometimes 1 pl. forms can be found in which the stress falls on the same syllable as in the forms of the singular and the 3rd person plural. In these cases there is usually a second stress on the penultimate, and sometimes the notation of the first stress is omitted. It has been found in texts of northern provenance (cf. 4.4; see also I, 4.2.3). The provenance of *Dig.* P is unknown, but there is no linguistic evidence to corroborate its supposed Chiot origin:⁴⁸

ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἔπαιζάμεν [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P VII 377.19
 ἐμάζωνάμεν ἡμεῖς τὰ ἄσπρα *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* 84.9 (Kaftantzis)
 ἔδινάμεν (1697, Sibiu, *TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI* 2011: B I/13, f.190r.12); ὄλον ἐπλέρωνάμεν τὸ
 νοίκι (*ibid.* f.190v.29–30)
 ὡς ἤλπιζάμεν *VATATIS, Periig.* I 521; πῶλεγάμεν *ibid.* 779; κατέβαινάμεν *id., Periig.* II 903

Forms in /i/ instead of /e/ in the final syllable are phonetic variants. They are the result of mid-vowel raising (for which see I, 2.5.4): δὲν ἠύρισκάμι (1696, Thessaloniki, *KATSANIS* 2012: 1, 50.7) (but perhaps read: ἠύρισκάμι, with the northern stress pattern (see above); the original letters lack notation of stress); ὡς καθὼς εἴχαμιν τὸν λόγου (1697, *ibid.* 6, 63.15–16).

Pl.	1	-εμεν

With /e/ for /a/ in the first syllable, this ending has been found in a 15th-c. Russian–Greek conversation book that is of northern provenance (Athos?) but probably written by a Russian with a very good knowledge of Greek. It is likely to be the result of assimilation (see I, 2.8.5; and cf. 4.4.1 and 4.4.2): ἐκάμνεμέν το τοῦτο (15th c., Athos?, *VASMER* 1922: 1821).

Pl.	1	-ομεν

⁴⁸ The Chiot origin of *Digenis* P was hypothesized by the editor, D. Paschalis, but refuted by *POLITIS* 1973: 332 and *KECHAGIOGLOU* 1993: 122, fn. 12.

The residual ending -ομεν, identical to the standard present 1 pl. ending, is used sporadically in texts belonging to the early part of the period under review, and in later texts that generally display archaizing tendencies. Contrary to present tense forms, in the imperfect final /n/ is retained:

καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὑπῆρχομεν στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὰς ἄκρας *Dig.* G I.273
 κ' ἐβλέπομεν τὸ κάστρον *Liv.* V 668
 κόσμον ἀνεγυρεύομεν *Liv.* α 811 app. crit. (P)
 καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς ἐχαίρομεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόσμῳ *Dig.* T 69
 καὶ εἰ ἐκεῖ ἐτυγχάνομεν δὲν εἶχεν γένει τοῦτο *Dig.* A 499; ταχέως ἐποχοῦμενοι ὠδεύομεν
 σπουδαίως *ibid.* 2589
 ἐδιάγομεν *CANTEMIR, Krit.* 447.14

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ΕΤΕ -ΕΤΕΝΕ

The inherited 2 pl. ending -ετε is used almost exclusively throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

εἶχετε *Dig.* G I.275
 ἐμένετε *Pol. Tr.* 1179
 καθὼς τὴν εἶχετε πρὸ τῆς μάχης (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.44)
 νὰ εἶχετε εἴσταιν σκοτωμένοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 396.31
 θυμάσταν ποὺ δειλιάζετε σὲ πόλεμον νὰ βγῆτε; *Alex. Rim.* 1759
 εἶχετε δώσει (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 345, 328.6)
 ἐχθὲς ὅπου ἐπίνετε *Vios Aisop.* K 180.13
 ἐλέγετε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 92.28
 ἐγράφετε GERMANO, *Grammar* 89.8
 ἐτρέχετε καθημερούσιον VAROUCHAS, *Logoi* 469.30–1
 εἶχετε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4360
 ὅταν τὸν εἶχετε σφικτὰ στὸ ἐδικό σας χέρι DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 844
 νὰ δίνετε ἐκεῖνον ὅπου ἐδίνετε (1684, Preveza, CHAVIARAS 1879: 1, 251.9)
 ἐκαταρπάζετε (1690, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 9, 23.13)
 ποὺ 'λείπετε *Thrinis Kyp.* 546 (ms)
 ἔγινεν ὡς ἐγράφετε (1715, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 13, 129.28–9)

An added -(ν)ε occurs in texts from Chios and possibly elsewhere (see I, 2.6.3.3): ἐλέγετενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 86.33. An added final /n/, resulting in -ετέν, is well attested in the same area for the aorist indicative and subjunctive (4.4.1.1, 4.2.1) and the present (see 4.1.1.1), but has not been found with the imperfect in the texts examined.⁴⁹

Pl.	2	-ΑΤΕ

⁴⁹ An instance in *Rodolinos* is the result of editorial intervention (to avoid hiatus): εἶχεν ἀφανίσει TROILOI, *Rodol.* V.45 (Aposkiti).

The SMG ending -ατε, which appears to have made a first appearance with the imperfect in the Koine (GIGNAC 1981: 332 and MANDILARAS 1973: 127 both give the same example: εἶχατε *POxy.* 1585.2, 2nd/3rd c.), is extremely rare in the period under review. There are two instances in *Pol. Tr.* ms A (15th c.), but no other examples have been found before the late 16th c. The first Modern Greek grammar to make mention of the ending -ατε for the imperfect is that of Mitrofanis Kritopoulos (1627). Sofianos (mid-16th c.),⁵⁰ Germano (1622), Thomas Parisinus (1708) and Kanellos Spanos (1749) only give forms in -ετε.

ἀν εἶχατε ὑπᾶ *Pol. Tr.* 2950 app. crit. (A); ἡθέλατε ἀκούσει *ibid.* 4320 app. crit. (A)
 ἡθέλατε κάμει (1571, Mani, *DOKOS* 1972: 6, 262.113)
 νά ᾿χατέ μου πέψει (1616, Crete, *ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI* 1996: 1, 359.2) (author from Nauplion)
 ἐδέρνατε *KRITOPOULOS, Grammar* 111.15 (author from Veroia)

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-α(ν) ᾿ -ανε

The ending -αν is, alongside -ασι (see below), the most common ending for 3 pl. in the period covered by this Grammar:

οἱ σκώληκες ... ἂν μι ἔτρωγαν (11th c., S. Italy, *NITTI DI VITO* 1900: 46, 93.29–30) (μί = μέ, see I, 2.5.4)
 πόσῃν ἀκρίβειαν εἶχαν *NIKON, Logos* 6 278.3
 ὡς ἔβλεπαν οἱ ἕτεροι *Chron. Mor.* H 4030
 ὑπέσκαφταν (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, *ALEXOULIS* 1892: 1, 276.20)
 ἔδερναν *Achil.* N 571; ἥστεκαν, διελογίζονταν *ibid.* 1223; ἤλεγαν *ibid.* 1517
 ἐπροεκάτεχάν τινες (1431, Athens, *BUCHON* 1843: LXIX, 290.9)
 ἔδιδαν τὸν πατέρα μου (1446, Adrianople, *BABINGER/DÖLGER* 1956: 275.27)
 ἐγέμιζαν *Ptoch. IV* 300 app. crit. (C); κ' ἐμαγεῖρουάν τας *ibid.* 248.5 app. crit. (K)
 ἐπαρέσυρναν *Dig.* E 1050
 τοὺς ἤφερναν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 78
 καθὼς ἠπῆγαιναν τὰ κατζίβελα (1543, Corfu, *RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1996: 48, 249.11)
 τοῦτοι ὅλοι ἥστεκαν ἀντάμα *SANKTAM., Praxeis apost.* 17.33
 ἔγραφαν καὶ ἐγράφασιν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 53.17–18
 ἀλιάδες ἐσυραν δίκτυον *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 146.1
 μ' ἤθελαν κρᾶζει *Vosk.* 73
 ἀμφίβαλλαν *Don Kis.* 143.28

A shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate occurs in prose and non-literary documents from southern areas such as Cyprus, Crete, the Heptanese, and certain islands in the Aegean. It is probably an attempt at homogenization of stress of the plural (-εύγαμε, -εύγετε, -εύγαν instead of -εὔγαμε, -εὔγετε, '-ευγαν; see I, 4.2.4.2 for details):

⁵⁰ The form ἐγράφατε that can be found in Papadopoulos's so-called reprint of Legrand's second edition of Sofianos (53.17), and, sadly, in numerous modern publications that refer to it, is one of the edition's several typos: both mss and Legrand's edition have ἐγράφετε.

“Ελληνες ἐφεντεῦγαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.4; οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἐσφάζαν τους *ibid.* 190.23–24,
 but also: καὶ ἐδόξευγάν τους *ibid.* 190.30 (ἐδοξευγάν τους)
 ἐγυρεύγαν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 28.1–2
 καὶ ἀπὸ ῥεῖ ἐμοιράζαν (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROU 1955: 4, 53.9)
 ἐθέλαν ρεπρεζεντάρει (1549, Chandax, DRAKAKIS 2004: 26, 31.19)
 ὁποῦ ῥπεθάναν *Pist. kekoim.* 77
 ἐπληρῶναν γῆ δὲν ἐπληρῶναν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 55, 118.7)
 δὲν ἠθέλαν νὰ σμίξουνε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.15
 τοῦ αὐξάιναν τὴν ὑπόληψιν *Bertoldos* 70.27
 ἐθέλαν νὰ ἔρτουν (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 507.25–6) (author from Mani)

It also occurs in poetry from various areas, mainly to accommodate the metre:

καὶ ὥς εἶδασιν παράνομα, τὰ ποῖα οὐδὲν ἐλπίζαν *Dig.* E 88; καὶ ὅσοι τὸν ἐγνωρίζασιν
 ἔστρωναν καὶ ἀποστρῶναν *ibid.* 926
 ἦθέλαν οὐκ ἦθέλασιν, ἐξῆλθον τὴν ἐσπέραν *Pol. Tr.* 224; πολλὰ παιγνίδια εὐρήκασιν, ἐπαῖζαν
 καὶ ἔχαίροντα *ibid.* 1302 app. crit. (B)
 στραφῆν ἠθέλαν ἄπρακτοι μὲ ἐντροπὴν μεγάλην *Velis.* χ 215
 ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὸ ἱππάριν του καὶ οὐδὲν τὸν ἐγνωρίζαν *Achil.* N 154
 υἱέ, πρῶτον νὰ ἔβλεπες τὸ πῶς γὰρ τοὺς ἐφέρναν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 77
 καὶ σεῖς, ὁποῦ τὰ ἀκούγετε, λογιάσετε τί ἐκάμναν *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 259
 τοιαύτην ἐβαλαν βουλήν στο φανερόν ελέγαν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 8177
 ἐνίβγαν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1381
 κι ἐβλέπαν τὴν ἀρμάδα του *Thrinios Kypr.* 64

Deletion of final /n/ appears in texts from insular areas such as Crete, Cyprus and the Heptanese and from certain Aegean islands (see I, 3.7.2.2.2 for discussion):

ἐδιάβαινα ἀδιάβατον καλάμιν *Dig.* E 513 app. crit.
 εστέκα πολλά χαίριασμένοι VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 92.15
 τὸν εἶχα ἐβγάλεῖ οἱ σύντιχοι (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 217.8) (= σύνδικοι)
 ἐγύρευγά τους καὶ ἔκαυγά τους (1570, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.3)
 ὁμολογοῦν ... πῶς εἶχα ἕνα κομμάτι χωράφι (1599, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 94, 126.2–3);
 ἔδωσά το οἱ ἄνωθεν (*ibid.* 126.5)
 κ' ἐδίδα πάνω τῶν Τουρκῶ καὶ πλιότερους σκοτώνου *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 7267

In verse texts from these areas, final /n/ is often omitted at the verse end, sometimes to accommodate the rhyme:

τὰ ὀψάρια ... τὰ ἐψένα *Alex. Rim.* 1632
 τα δεντρά εκαρπίζα *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.318
 παρηγοριά τσ' ἐδίδα *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.11 (rhymes with ὀλπίδα)
 ὅλοι τους ἐπρομάσσα *MONTSEL., Evgena* 21 (rhymes with τὰ ῥάσσα (1 sg.))

Regionally, addition of -(v)ε to this ending is not uncommon (see also I, 2.6.3.3). The ending -ανε is mostly southern and is especially frequent in *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* and *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.*:

οὐκ ἐζυγώνανέ τους *Chron. Mor.* H 1074; ἐπροβεδίζανέ του *ibid.* 4677
 παιγνίδια παίζανε *Imb. Rim.* 48
 στὸ στήθος εἶχανε αὐτεῖνοι τὸ κεφάλι *Alex. Rim.* 1656
 ἐγράφανε, vel ἐγράφασι *GERMANO, Grammar* 89.8

ἠθέλανε τὸ λέγει KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.973
καὶ τὸν ἐβλέπανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.17; ἐγογγύζανε *ibid.* 31.36; ὅσοι ἠξέρανε καὶ ἐπλέανε
ibid. 52.30; ἀντιστέκανε *ibid.* 60.10–11
πέφτανε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 145.23; ἐτρέχανε *ibid.* 148.24; ἐκοιτάζανε *ibid.* 167.19
κάνανε (1674, Milos, IMELLOS 1985/90: 329.7)
ἐκαταβαίνανε (1731, Kefalonia, TSITSELIS 1904: App. 12, 913.4); ἐκυτάζανε (*ibid.* 913.16)

Pl.	3	-ΕΥΕ

This ending has been found in a document written in Sicily by a person originally from Sifnos. As no other examples have been found, it is perhaps simply a writing mistake for -ανε: ἔτσι μοῦ ἐτάσσενε οἱ ἐπίσκοποι (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 182.37).

Pl.	3	-ασι(ν) † -ασινε † -ανσι

The alternation between the endings -ασι and -αν persists throughout the MedG and EMG periods, and is certainly not restricted to verse texts; it is an inherent feature of the MedG language, and not an artificial metrical device (see HINTERBERGER 2001, esp. 227–35). Forms in -ασι(ν) can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar in texts from various regions:

ἐσυνάγασι *Pol. Tr.* 6547
ἐνεγνώθασι *Anak. Konst.* 76
ὕψωνασί με *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 52
κ' ἐλέγασι οἱ συντρόφοι μου SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 264
ὄθεν τὸν ἠβλέπασι *Alex. Rim.* 250; οὔτε τῇ γῇ ἐβλέπασι *ibid.* 875
σὸδίδασι CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.214; νὰ λείπασι *ibid.* III.194
εἴχασι (1597, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 5, 78.42)
ἐγράφανε, vel ἐγράφασι GERMANO, *Grammar* 89.8
ἀφίναςι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.7; ἄλλους ἐκόφτασι καὶ ἄλλους ἐπιάνασι σκλάβους *ibid.* 33.8–9; ἐγλυτώνασι *ibid.* 52.30; ἐσύρνασι *ibid.* 90.4
ἦφτασι *Fallidos* 50

Forms with an added final /n/ occur in various texts throughout the period under review:

ὄς με ἐγεμίζασιν *Ptoch. IV* 300
ἦπτασιν *Dig. E* 1347
ἠλπίζασιν *Velth.* 203
ἀνάβγασιν *Chron. Mor. H* 3718
ἠθέλαν οὐκ ἠθέλασιν *Pol. Tr.* 224
ἐστέκασιν *Achil. N* 515
ἠφέρασιν *Achil. O* 16
ἐδεσπόζασιν *ERMON., Il.* 3.277
κι ἐβγαίνασιν ἀπὸ τὰ στόματά των FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 7
νὰ με τὸν ἐγεμίζασιν *Krasop. AO* 93
εἴχασιν (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 45, 87.16)
ἠθέλασιν (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.23)

ἔγραφαν καὶ ἔγράφασιν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 53.17–18

τὸν ἐδιδάχνασιν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 43.29–30

δὲν τοῦ ἐρέσσασιν (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 177, 351.8) (< ἀρέσω)

A syllable -(ν)ε added to the ending -ασι can be found in texts from Crete (sporadically in some, e.g. *Erotokritos*, rather more frequently in others, e.g. Bounialis), Santorini and Chios, and possibly in texts from other regions such as the Heptanese and other Cycladic islands (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details):

ἐκλαίγασινε ἀπαρηγόρητα MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.25; ἐδοξάζασινε *ibid.* 90.37

νὰ κάνασινε κρῖμα *Pist. voskos* IV 5.59

εἴχασινε νὰ κάμουσιν (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 211, 200.5)

ἐκλαίγασινε τὰ παιδιὰ *Rim. Sant.* 733

ἐπομένασινε σοσπέζοι (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 183.133–4)

ἐκόφτασινε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 188.6; εἴχασινε ξαμώσει *ibid.* 149.27; τσι ρίχνασινε

κάτου *ibid.* 210.8; ἐδίδασινε *ibid.* 435.16

νὰ θέλασινε σμίξουν *Dig. O* 1795 app. crit.

κ ἐλάμπασινε τὰ θρονιά KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.102; δὲν τὸ λογιάζασινε πλιὸ *ibid.* V.1386

The alternation between -αν and -ασι can sometimes lead to a hybrid formation -ανσι, which is likely to be the result of the use of ligatures (cf. 4.4.1.1): ἐρρίκτανσιν *Theseid* I.53,1 app. crit. (Follieri).

Pl.	3	-ον ῑ -ο ῑ -ονε

The residual ending -ον is not used very frequently, though it can be found in various, mainly mixed- and higher-register texts throughout the period, usually alongside forms in -αν and -ασι(ν):

νὰ μεῖ ἔδιδον *Ptoch. III* 183 (but ἔδιδαν in P; innovative for AG ἔδιδουσαν)

ἄλλοι τὰς χεῖρας ἔφερον σιδήρῳ δεδεμένους GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 501

ἐνόσω εἰς μάχην ἔστεκον *Liv. S* 1216 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

ἔλεγον δὲ τὰ γράμματα, ἔφασκον δὲ τοιάδε *Velth.* 383; ἐσύμφερον *ibid.* 852

οὐκ ἤθελον τὸ νὰ περιπατοῦσιν *Achil.* N 414; καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον *ibid.* 1514

ὅπου τὸν ἠνάγκαζον SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 36.1

ἐχαιρον ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 146.1

ἔσυρον καὶ ἔδερνον αὐτόν *Vios Aisop.* E 293.42

ἔλεγον πρὸς τὴν κόρην *Dig. A* 1252

αἱ γυναῖκες ἐξέβαινον *Alex. Fyll.* 31.25; τὰ παιδιὰ ἀνέβαινον *ibid.* 32.7; ἤθελον *ibid.* 32.9

ὅσοι ἔμπαινον καὶ ἔβγαινον *Vios Aisop.* D 228.15

ἔστεκον ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ KYP., *Pali* 750 (used with the innovative stem στεκ-); οἱ κύνες ἀπόξω

ἔλειχον *ibid.* 4810

Predictably deletion of final /n/ is very rare with this residual ending: καὶ τίποτας ἀντίλογο δὲν εἶχο (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.17).

Addition of /e/ is very rare too, and it cannot be excluded that the following example is a simple writing mistake for εἴχανε: ποιοὶ ἄνθρωποι εἴχονε κάμει με αὐτὴ (1607, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 37, 251.9).

Pl.	3	-ουν

The rare 3 pl. ending in -ουν in the following examples is most probably the result of raising of [o] to [u], for which see I, 2.8.3:

[τὰ χωράφια] ὑπάρχουν τοῦ γέροντος ... (1183, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 24, 432.7 and 433.21)

οὐκ εἶχουν ποθὲν ἐνεμποδισμόν (1358?, Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.4)

εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν εἶχουν οἱ Τοῦρκοι (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 34.I, 274.24.6)

ὅταν εἶχουν τὴν φιλονικίαν οἱ Ξεροποταμινοὶ (1481–96, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 61, 312, 19th-c. marginal note)

Pl.	3	-οσιν

This very rare hybrid ending is perhaps the result of an analogical formation: εἶχαν–εἶχασιν, εἶχον–εἶχοσιν: εἶχοσιν ἐλεημοσύνην (1358?, Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.4); καὶ οὐκ εἶχοσιν παρὰ τινος ἐμποδισμόν (ibid. 231.5). In the same text: εἶχαν (ibid. 231.3) and εἶχουν (ibid. 231.4, see above).

Pl.	3	-ασον

This is another rare, perhaps dubious, ending, which could be explained as a conflation of -ασιν and -ον, if it is not a simple writing mistake: εἶχασον (1681, Naxos, ΣΙΦΟΝΙΟΥ-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 142, 309.15).

4.3.1.2 Passive Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	ἐγράφομουν ἐγράφουμου	ἐγράφομου ἐγράφου(ν) ἐγράφουμου ἐγράφουμουε ἐγραφούμου ἐγράφουμην	ἐγραφόμουνα ἐγραφόμη ἐγραφούμην ἐγράφουμην -άμη(ν) ἐγράφουμου ἐγράφουμου(ν) ἐγραφόνμου ἐγράφουμον

		General	Restricted	Rare
				ἔγραφέμεσταν ἔγραφοῦμεσταν ἔγραφομέστα(ν) ἔγράφομέστανε ἔγραφομέστανε ἔγράφομενστα(ν) ἔγράφομένστα(ν) ἔγραφέμενστα ἔγραφόμασθε ἔγραφόμαστε ἔγραφοῦμαστεν -ουμαστινε ἔγραφοῦμασταν ἔγραφοῦμασθάν ἔγραφοῦμασθάνε ἔγραφόμαστον
	2	ἔγράφεσθε ἔγράφεστε	ἔγραφοῦσθε ἔγραφοῦστε	ἔγράφουσθαν ἔγράφουσταν ἔγραφόστενε
	3	ἔγράφοντο ἔγράφονταν ἔγράφουνταν	ἔγράφοντα ἔγραφόνταν ἔγραφόντανε ἔγράφοντα ἔγράφουνταν ἔγραφούνταν ἔγραφούντανε ἔγραφόντησα(ν) ἔγραφόντεσαν	ἔγράφοντον ἔγραφόντο(ν) ἔγράφουντο(ν) ἔγράφουτο(ν) ἔγράφοντου(ν) ἔγραφόντα ἔγράφουταν ἔγραφόντησάνε ἔγραφόντασι ἔγραφούντασι ἔγραφόντουςαν ἔγραφόντουσταν ἔγράφενταν

As becomes clear from the above table, there is tremendous variation in the passive voice. There is a tendency to make 3 sg. identical or similar to 3 pl. by inserting -ν- into the ending: -οντο (Heptanese, Epirus); -ουντο (Crete, Peloponnese, Cyclades, Chios); -ονταν (Prousa, Constantinople, Moldavia, Serres, Heptanese, Chios); -ουνταν (Cyclades, Serres); -εντο (Crete, Peloponnese, Cyclades). This phenomenon occurs in northern as well as southern regions, mainly but not exclusively in southern/south-western, but notably not in south-eastern areas (Cyprus, Dodecanese).

In the innovative endings, there appears to be some associative influence of the postverbal weak personal pronoun (RUGE 1984) in the formation of endings of all persons except 2 pl.

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-όμη(ν) † -ούμην † -ουμην

The inherited ending -όμην can be found in various texts of the earlier period, as well as in certain later texts that have archaizing tendencies:

ἦνεπευόμην ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.13 app. crit. (S)
 ἐφανταζόμην GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 54; ἐδειλαινόμην ἄμετρα, πολλά συνεστελλόμην *ibid.* 55
 ἦρχόμην *Ptoch.* III 47 app. crit. (C)
 κάγώ ἐτσιγαρίζομην *Ptoch.* IV 424
 διελογίζομην *Eisit.* f.8r.1; ἐκατεμερίζομην *ibid.* f.8r.2
 κατεκοπτόμην *Liv.* α 756
 ἀμὴ ὀρεγόμην καὶ ἦθελα SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 68
 κ' ἐστοχαζόμην τὸ δένδρον BERGADIS, *Apok.* V. 32
 ἐγεννόμην *Alosis* 717
 ἐπροσευχόμην (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 146.4d)

Hybrid forms combining -όμην and -ουμουν (see below) are occasionally found in texts and mss of the 14th/15th c.: ἐκαθούμην *Dig.* G VI.181; ἐμοιραζούμην κατὰ νοῦν *Liv.* E 3512; ἐχαίρουμην DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 21; νὰ ἐγάλλουμου, νὰ ἐτέρπουμην *ibid.* 218.

Sg.	1	-ομου(ν) † -όμου(ν) † -όμουνα

Proparoxytone forms in -ομουν are common for 1 sg. from at least the 14th c.⁵¹ This new ending is derived from -όμην, the /u/ in the final syllable being the result of backing of /i/ to /u/ in the environment of nasals (see I, 2.8.4; cf. oxytone verbs for a comparable development (4.3.2.2)). The postverbal weak personal pronoun μου may have played an associative role (cf. 2 sg. -σου(ν) and, regionally, 3 sg. -του(ν) with both barytone and oxytone verbs (see below and 4.3.2.2), and with εἶμαι, 4.8.2). The initial shift of the stress to the antepenultimate is probably due to the fact that most forms in the paradigm were proparoxytone, 1 sg. (ἐλυσόμην) and 2 sg. (ἐλύου) being the exception. The ending -ομουν occurs in texts from various areas throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

ἦρχομουν *Ptoch.* III 47 (< ἄρχομαι)
 ἐστέκομουν *Byz.* II. 714
 ἐπροσεγγιζαίνομουν *Chron. Mor.* H 6104
 ὀρέγομουν νὰ περπατῶ SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 52

⁵¹ With εἶμαι the ending appears in writing earlier, from the 11th/12th c. (see 4.8.2).

ἐχαίρομουν τὸν κόσμον *Spanos* A 277
 βρίσκομουν *Theseid* Prol. E 69
 ἐγίνομουν τυφλὸς *Velis*. p 939
 καὶ ονομάζομουν οὐράνιος θεὸς *Diig. Alex.* K 355.31
 ἐδύνομουν (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 174.49)
 ἐπροσεύχομουν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 351.16
 ἐγὼ εβούλομουν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 11.6
 ἐγράφομουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 49.9; ἐπείθομουν *ibid.* 50.22; ἐλευκαίνομουν *ibid.* 51.17
 ἐτρέφομουν (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 349, 248.8)
 ὡς ἐκείτομουν ΠΑΡΑ-ΛΑΥΡ., *Diigisis* (Lavras) 258.10
 ἐγίνομουν σκλάβος TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 148; ἐκαίγομουν *ibid.* 154
 ἔρχομουν *Bertoldos* 13.20; ἐχρειάζομουν *ibid.* 82.22
 ἀσηκώνομουν ἀπάνω *Bertoldin.* 148.24
 ἐβούλομουν ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §31.83; ἤρχομουν *ibid.* I §31.145 (< ἔρχομαι)
 ἐχαίρομουν, Ἀλέξανδρε *Alex. Fyll.* 102.16

Shift of the stress to the penultimate, normal in SMG, occurs from at least the 15th c. onwards in texts from various areas:

ὀρδινιζόμουν *Dig.* E 1370
 ὁδὸν ἤρχομουν *Ptoch. III* 273.28 app. crit. (K)
 ἐστιγαρίζομουν *Ptoch. IV* 424 app. crit. (C)
 ἐξενιζόμουν *Liv.* V 1992
 εὐρισκόμουν *Assizes* B 343.31
 ἐτρεμόμουν FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 14 app. crit. (V)
 ὠργιζόμουν SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 116.4
 ἀντιστεκόμουν ἀνάντια *Diig. Alex.* F 308.3 (Lolos)
 ἐκαταδεχόμουν *Diig. Alex.* E 259.3 (Lolos); ἐπωνομαζόμουν *ibid.* 259.5–6
 ἐδυνόμουν καὶ ἀπόβλεπα (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 48.3)

Forms without final /n/ are found in texts of south-western origin, as well as in texts of unknown provenance (*Liv.* N):

οὐκ ἐδουλώνομου εἰς τὸ ἐξουσιαστικόν σου *Liv.* α 409 app. crit. (N)
 ἐσυχνοεχαίρομου *Theseid* Prol. P 4
 σ' ἕνα περβόλι εὐρίσκομου, 'ς μιὰ τάβλα μαρμαρένια CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.545–6
 εἰς θάνατον ἐρχόμου *Theseid* Prol. E 47; καὶ πρώτα τοῦ βρισκόμου *ibid.* 52
 ἐγινόμου ὅμοιος τὸν θεὸν *Diig. Alex.* F 268.6 (Lolos)

Sg.	1	-ομου(ν) † -ούμου † -ομουνε

Forms in -ομουν have been found in a variety of texts, though notably not usually in Heptanesian texts, from at least the 14th c. onwards (ms P of *Ptoch. III* dates to the 15th c., but see the residual middle aorist (4.9.2.1), with which this ending occurs in the 14th c.):

νὰργάζομουν *Ptoch. III* 197.1 app. crit. (P); τὴν στράταν ἤρχομουν *ibid.* 273.28 app. crit. (P)
 τὰ ρέγομουν ποθώντα FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 12; ἐχώνομουν *ibid.* 754
 ἐχαίρομουν τὸν κόσμον *Spanos* B 100
 ἐθλίβομουν *Flor.* L 749

ἰστέκουμουν ἐννοιασμένος *Liv.* S 127 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 λυτρώνουμουν *Byz. Il.* 262
 έρκουμουν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 80.9 and M 81.9
 έδουλεύγουμουν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 100, 99.6)
 δέν έδύνουμουν *DAM. STOD., This., Logos* 18, ρ6ν.13; εϋφραίνουμουν *ibid., Logos* 24, ω8r.31
 κάλλιον να εκάθουμουν εκεί *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 44.19
 έθυμώνουμουν *MOREZINOS, Klini* 64.4; έναντιώνουμουν *ibid.* 64.4; εκολάζουμουν *ibid.* 65.27
 έγράφουμουν *GERMANO, Grammar* 77.24
 εκάθουμουν άμεριμνος *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 131
 έδύνουμουν [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P VI 370.4; έγνοιάζουμουν *ibid.* VII 380.13–14
 βρέθουμουν (1679, Cyprus, *PERDIKIS* 1998: 16, 41.24) (< βρέθομαι < εϋρίσκω, see 2.4)
 ώς καθώς διήρχουμουν *VATATISIS, Peritig.* I 402

A shift of the stress to the penultimate can sporadically be found: *ερκούμουν* *VOUSTR., Chron.* B 81.8; *εδυνούμουν* [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P VII 393.8.

Forms without final /n/ are found in texts of south-western origin and possibly Rhodes (*Alosis*). The example from Thessaloniki is a form of haplography, as the verb is followed by a word starting in a nasal:

εκρύβγουμου ώσαν άστοχισμένος *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 754
 να έγάλλουμου *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 218
 έσηκόνουμου συχνώς *Alosis* 712
 τόν κόσμον εξενίζουμου, τ' άνη και τὰ καλά του *BERGADIS, Apok.* 18
 άντιστέκουμου τόν βασιλέα *Diig. Alex.* E 309.2 (*Lolos*)
 εθαμάζουμου *CHORTATISIS, Panor.* V.301; επαιδεύγουμου *id., Erof.* I.267
 ήρχουμου μαναχός μου (1696, Thessaloniki, *KATSANIS* 2012: 1, 50.31)
 εκομπώνουμου κ' ήσφαλα *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.776

ήρχούμου στόν ναόν *Pist. voskos* V 7.21

Forms with added -(v)ε or -(v)α, not uncommon in colloquial MG, are absent from LMedG texts and very rare in EMG texts (though they are rather more common with 1 sg. forms of *είμαι* (see 4.8.2) and with oxytone verbs (4.3.2.2); see also I, 2.6.3.3):

σ' άμετρην εϋρίσκουμουνε κρίση *CHORTATISIS, Erof.* I.250
 εκ πόλεμον έρχόμουνα *ZINOS, Vatr.* 323
 εϋρισκόμουνα (1643, Zakynthos, *KONOMOS* 1960: 3, 3.7)
 κι έγώ άν δέν έρχόμουνα *Diig. Vefa* 740

Sg.	1	-άμη(v)

This is a rare ending, and there is probably no connection with the residual middle imperfect ending -άμην of the athematic verbs *δύναμαι* and *ἴστημι*. It occurs in ms A of *FALIEROS, Ist. On.*, with *κείτομαι* and *τρέμω*, both at the verse end, rhyming with each other (ms V has *εκειτόμουν* and *ετρεμόμουν*), and there is one instance in *Machi Varnas* C: *εκειτάμη* *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 13; *ετρεμάμη* *ibid.* 14; *εστεκάμην* *Machi Varnas* C 439.⁵²

⁵² It cannot be a coincidence that these verbs can also form present passive participles in -άμενος: *κειτάμενος*, *τρεμάμενος*, *στεκάμενος*, as noted by *VAN GEMERT* 1973: 231–2 (see also 2.3.1.1).

Another example of an imperfect in -άμην appears in *Liv.* S and N: ἐτυλισσάμην in S, ἐνετυλισσάμην in N (= *Liv.* α 2607). This form is perhaps the result of confusion with the very similar-sounding residual middle aorist ἐτυλιξάμην.

Sg.	1	-ονμου ἰ -ουνμου(ν) ἰ -όνμου

These rare endings are found in a handful of texts of the 15th–17th centuries. An explanation could be: 3 sg. -ουντο > -οντου and then 1 sg. (and 2 sg.) by analogy. The postverbal weak personal pronoun seems to have played an associative role in this ending: note that the 1529 edition of *Alex. Rim.* and the *Vatrachomyomachia* (the first edited, the second written by Zinos) read ἔρχουν μου and ἐκοίτουν μου respectively. See also 2 sg. -ουνσου and 3 sg. -οντου(ν), below; and see oxytone verbs, 4.3.2.2:

τὰ ρέγονμου ποθώντας FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 11 app. crit. (N)
 ἐμέφονμου *Theseid* I.104,5 (Follieri); ἐστέκονμου *ibid.* V.50,6 (1529)
 μέ ἐδικά μου ἐδουλεύονμου (15th c., Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.2)
 λοιπὸν στὰ ἔθνη ἔρχουνμου αὐτεῖνα τῆς Ἀσίας *Alex. Rim.* 647
 ἐκοίτουνμου ZINOS, *Vatr.* 326
 ἐμποδίζουνμου DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 27, 77r.14 (1561)
 ἐστέκουνμου [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 337.19

Similar forms with a shift of stress are found in the *Theseid*, quoted in HOLTON ²2002: 213: ἐδυνόνμου, ἐγινόνμου, ἐδεόνμου, ἀναθρεφόνμου.

Sg.	1	-ουμον

In the period covered by this Grammar only one example has been found. It is likely to be the result of hypercorrection of /u/ to /o/ in -ουμουν (the document being from the north): μὰ ἐγὼ ἤρχουμον (1697, Dyrrachion, MERTZIOS 1947a: 54, 236.4).⁵³

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-ου(ν)

Although not many examples have been found, the inherited middle ending -ου will have been the normal ending until about the 14th c., when it was superseded by -εσσουν (see below). It can therefore be found in texts of the early period (*Ptoch.*, *Dig.* G, *Eisit.*), but also in later texts that generally display archaizing tendencies, such as *Dig.* A and T:

⁵³ This ending, with double /o/, is the only one given in Michail Boiatzis's *Romanic, or Macedono-Vlachic Grammar*, e.g. ἐκτενίζομον (BOIATZIS 1813: 103).

ἄπερ ἐβούλου πράξειν *Dig.* G II.248; ὁ ἐδίδου κατὰ καιρὸν τέλος τῷ ἱκονίῳ *ibid.* IV.1043
 ἄς ἐκάθου σιγηρὸς *Ptoch.* I 104
 ἐκαθέζου καὶ ἔβλεπες *Ptoch.* IV 80
 τὴν ἤθελες καὶ ὀρέγου νὰ κερδήσης *Eisit.* f.1v.7–8
 ἐγένου *Poulol.* 251
 τὸ τί ἐργάζου μετ' αὐτῆς ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ γινώσκω *Dig.* T 2662 and *Dig.* A 3832

Addition of final /n/ is quite rare:

πότε νὰ ἐγίνουιν (... ἐξουσιαστῆς) *Liv.* V 1267 and *Liv.* S 283 (Lambert-van der Kolf); καὶ σὺ ...
 ἐγίνουιν *Liv.* V 1571
 ἐγένουιν *Poulol.* 251 app. crit. (E); ἐκαθέζουιν *ibid.* 289 app. crit. (E)
 ὅπου μὲ συνετάσσουιν *Katal.* 482

Sg.	2	-εσου(ν) † -έσου(ν) † -έσωνε

This ending is to be found from the 14th/15th c. onwards in a variety of literary texts, mainly from south-western areas (Crete, Peloponnese), and in texts of unknown provenance. It is held to have been formed from what HATZIDAKIS 1892: 61 proclaimed to be “the Medieval form”, the ending -εσο (JANNARIS 1897: 199; MINAS 1987a: 35). Chatzidakis conjectures the ending -εσο to be Medieval solely on the fact that forms such as ἐρκεσο and ἐγράφεσο occur in *modern* south-Italian dialects; however, no textual evidence has been found for the existence of an ending -εσο in the MedG and EMG periods. The ending -εσουν is perhaps more likely to be an entirely innovative ending, formed by analogy with the present: -ο(υ)μαι : -εσαι, -ο(υ)μουν : -εσουν. After the 16th c. the ending apparently falls into disuse. *Vios Aisop.* K, datable around 1600, is among the last texts to have it:

ἐβρέχεσουν *Pol. Tr.* 1249 app. crit. (A); ἐχρειάζεσουν *ibid.* 6486 (ms X); κάλλιον σου νὰ
 ἀναπαύεσουν *ibid.* 3425 (mss AX)
 ἀγάλλεσουν *Chron. Toc.* 3360
 τὰ μὲ ὑπέσχεσουν *Achil.* N 1693
 ἐνθυμίζεσουν *Chron. Mor.* P 8417
 νὰ ντρέπεσουν *Theseid* I.106,1 (Follieri)
 παράδεισος ἐγίνεσουν *Love poems* V 215
 ἐδύνεσουν *Diig. Alex.* F 62.22 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἐγίνεσουν καὶ ὀνομάζεσουν *Diig. Alex.* E 65.1–2 (Konstantinopulos)
 εὐρίσκεσουν *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 192
 ἐστέκεσουν *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 346
 ἐσὺ ἐβούλεσουν *Vios Aisop.* K 163.2

Deletion of final /n/ is rare:

ὀνομάζεσου μοναχικά *Synax. gyn.* 429
 τον ἴσκιον σου ἐντρέπεσου *DEFAR., Sos.* 221 (Holton)

Forms with a shift of the stress to the penultimate, with and without final /n/, occur in verse texts, probably for metrical convenience: πῶς οὐδὲν ἐντρεπέσου *Liv.* E 1773; εἴτι φυτὸν

ώρεγέσουν *ibid.* 2451; όπου ἐκαθέσουν καὶ ἔραπτες *Poulol.* 289 (reading of mss CAZ); νὰ ὕδυνέσουν *Theseid* IV.67,2 (1529).

A form with /o/ for /u/ (see I, 2.8.3) and addition of -(v)ε (for which see I, 2.6.3.3) occurs in an unedited manuscript of *Varlaam and Ioasaf* (ms Lond. Harl. 5619; d. 1590):⁵⁴ ἐγκρεμνιζέσονε *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lond.) f.10r, l. 2.

Sg.	2	-ουσου(v) † -ουσούνε † -ούσουν

Proparoxytone -ουσούν, formed by analogy with 1 sg. -οιμουν (see above; see also 4.3.2.2 for a similar development in oxytone verbs), is the most common ending for 2 sg. from at least the 16th c. onwards (ms date of *Chron. Mor. P*):

νὰ ἀναπεύουσουν *Chron. Mor. P* 4112
 δὲν ἐκαταχρειάζουσουν *Pist. kekoim.* 591
 ἐμάχουσουν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 65.8
 ἐγράφουσουν GERMANO, *Grammar* 77.26
 διατὶ δὲν ἤρχουσουν DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 2, β3v.17 (1561)
 ἐντρέπουσουν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §14.41
 δουλεύουσουν *Bertoldos* 48.26
 ἀν ἀφήνουσουν *Don Kis.* 546.9

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in Cretan texts of the 16th and 17th c., in Germano's grammar, in a document from Naxos and in a text that is held to be of northern provenance (*Spanos*; provenance of the scribe unknown):

ἐγίνουσου *Spanos* A 40
 εἰς τὰ κρισίματα ὅπου ἐκρίνουσου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 324, 321.23)
 στὸ κάθισμαν ἂπου κάθουσου (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 147.14)
 ἃς ἐδύνουσου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.72; ἐθρέφουσου *id., Erof.* V.481; καὶ πῶς τὸ κόβγουσου
ibid. V.587
 ἐκεῖ που ἐκέιτουσου KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.95; ἐγίνουσου *ibid.* V.998
 ἐγράφουσου GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.9
 ἐμέλλουσου, κερά μου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.328
 ἐλογιάζουσου (1689?, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 868, 1161.24–5)

Addition of -(v)ε is to be found in 17th-c. texts from Crete, and possibly elsewhere (Chios, Heptanese and perhaps certain Cycladic islands, see I, 2.6.3.3): καὶ ρέγουσуне *Stathis* I.242; εὐρίσκουσуне FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.117.

A shift of the stress to the penultimate is rare: ὅπου καθούσουν καὶ ἔραπτες *Poulol.* 289 app. crit. (L).

Sg.	2	-οσου(v)

⁵⁴ The London manuscript can be consulted at <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/>. Ms. Athous Pandel. 538, edited by VASILEIOU (2003) has the unusual form ἐγκρεμίζεσθον *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 303, which is unlikely to be an archaic dual (as the subject is 2 sg.), and probably a writing mistake for ἐγκρεμίζουσιν.

Forms in -οοσουν also appear from the 16th c. onwards, mainly in Heptanesian texts (cf. 1 sg. -ομουν). It is the only ending given by Sofianos:

εχρειάζοοσουν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 54.10

ἐγράφοοσουν ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, *Grammar* 57.7

ἀλλάσσοοσουν *Bertoldin.* 99.10

ἐρχοοσουν *Alex. Fyll.* 18.31; ἐστοχάζοοσουν *ibid.* 61.6–7; ονομάζοοσουν *ibid.* 97.16–17

Deletion of final /n/ is very rare: δὲ μὲ στοχάζοοσου CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* I.217.

SMG -όοσουν has only been found in a 16th-c. work of Aitolos and then slightly after the period covered by this Grammar, in the *Lament for the Peloponnese* (1716) by the Kefalonian poet Katsaitis. It cannot be excluded that the shift of the stress in Aitolos occurred to accommodate the metre:⁵⁵ κ' εἰς ὅλους ἐφαινόοσυνε εὖμορφο παλληκάρι ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Voev.* 127; ἀμέριμνη ἐκαθόσου ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΙΣ, *Klathmos* II.925.

Sg.	2	-ουνσου

This unusual ending has been found in one 17th-c. text. If it is not a simple mistake, an explanation could be that it is formed on the analogy of 3 sg. -ουντο > -οντου; the post-verbal weak personal pronoun seems to play an associative role in this ending (see also 1 sg. -ονμου ἢ -ουνμου ἢ ὄνμου and 3 sg. -οντου(ν)): ὅταν ἦσουν νεότερος, ἐζώνουνσου καὶ ἐπεριπτάτεις ὅπου ἤθελες ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 21.18.

Sg.	2	-οοσον

The grammar of Romanos Nikiforou is the only text to have this ending. If it is not a typo, the form could be explained as a case of hypercorrection of back-vowel raising, through which -ουσουν becomes -οοσον: ἐγράφοοσον ROMANOS, *Grammar* 20.17.

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ετο(ν) ἢ -ετονε ἢ -έτο(ν) ἢ -έτονε

The inherited ending -ετο(ν), especially with the final /n/, is widely used throughout the period under investigation, and it continues to be used when new variant endings emerge, in both literary and non-literary texts:

πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἤρχετον ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 816.12

ἐπιάνετον *Arm.* 17

ἐγίνετον σεισμός μέγας (1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.1–2)

⁵⁵ There are several instances of -όοσουν in the modern edition of Damaskinos Stouditis's *Thisavros*, but the modern edition is not based on 16th-c. editions, but on much later ones. The edition of 1561 has -ουσουν. The following example: πλέον νὰ μολυνόοσουν τὰς χεῖρας *Hist. Imp.* IIb 2127 is perhaps based on a misreading. The one ms that is available online reads μολύνομεν (not in the edition's app. crit.; ms Bern. gr. 114, olim 596, f.160r (ca. 1540); consulted at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/>).

ἐκαθέζετον πάντοτε *Liv.* α 3373
 όπου γίνεται *LIMEN.*, *Velis.* (Λ) 96
 ό κόσμος ἐποντίζετον καί ή γυνή μου ἐστολίζετο *Paroim.* Η 37
 σκάνταλον ἐγινίσκετον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 46.30
 τόν βορθακά ἐμέμφετον *ZINOS, Vatr.* 161
 ἐξεστιμερίζετον *Vios Filaret.* 238.22
 ό Ἀδάμ ἀκούοντας ἐχαίρετον, καί ή Εὔα ἐφραίνετον *DAM. STOD.*, *This.*, *Logos* 7, η5r.33 (1561)
 περιμαζώνετον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 348
 τοῦ ἐφαινέτον (1604, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 211, 216.5)
 ἐστέκετον καί ἐξεσταίνουοντον *KALLIOUP.*, *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 18.25
 ἐσωρεύετον (1636, Crete, *TSELIKAS* 1985: 11, 83.13)
 εὐρίσκετον (1663, Central Greece, *STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI* 1992: 39, 136.14–15)
 ἐκάθετον *Thrinios Kypr.* 3

Without final /n/ this ending is found mainly, though not exclusively, in Cretan texts, and in texts of unknown provenance:

εὐφραίνετο, ἡγάλλετο ή ψυχή της *Achil.* N 90
 ἐκεῖνος ἐβούλετο νά τά ἐνδύσει (1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 287.12–13)
 ἐκοντοστένετο *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 10
 ἤστέκετο *Diig. Alex.* E 105.5 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἐδέρνετο *MOSCH. THEOL.*, *Vios Ag. Nik.* 151
 εὐρίσκετο *LANDOS, Neos Parad.* 346.13
 ἐχαίρετο, ἐλαφρώνετο *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.12
 ό βασιλεύς ἐνοιάζετο *Thrinios Kypr.* 16 facs.; ή θάλασσα ταραττέτο *ibid.* 41 facs.

Addition of -(ν)ε, usually without a second accent, occurs in Cretan and Heptanesian texts, as well as in texts from certain Cycladic islands (see I, 2.6.3.3):

τοῦ φαίνετονε *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 774 app. crit.
 μέ ὅλους ἐμοιχεύετονε *MOREZINOS, Klini* 46.30; ἐδοξάζετονε *id.*, *Logos* 468.29
 εὐρίσκετόνε πλούσιος *DEFAR.*, *Sos.* 39 (Holton)
 ἐδίδετόνε *MARGOUNIOS, Vioi* 273.8
 όπου λέγετονε Σεγρεδιανή (1614, Crete, *ILIAKIS* 2008: 206, 195.7)
 μοῦ ἐφαινέτονε (1622, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1986: 3, 53.184)
 τὸ σπῖτι της όπου ἐκάθετονε (1629, Milos, *PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS* 1990: 14, 10.12)
 μοῦ φαίνετονε *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.461
 κ' ἐγίνετονε σύγχυση *BOUNIALIS M.*, *Diig. Pol.* 9228
 τοῦ φαίνετόνε *DIAKR.*, *Diig. Pol.* 473
 ό πασῶς εὐρίσκετονε τότες *Leilasia Par.* 158

A shift of the stress to the penultimate has been found in texts from various areas, often to accommodate the metre:

ὄσπην καί ἄν ἐδυνέτον *Arm.* 46
 ἐρχέτον μετὰ σχήματος *Liv.* E 2191; όκάτι ἐχαίρετον νά πάθη ὀρεγέτον *ibid.* 2647; καί εὐθύς ἐλιγωνέτον *ibid.* 3465
 στήν τένταν ἐκαθέτον *Chron. Mor.* H 4757
 πολλὰ ἐδιαλογιζέτον *Pol. Tr.* 317; τὸ πῦρ όπου ἐξηρχέτον *ibid.* 652; ὅσον καί ἄν ἐβρεχέτον *ibid.* 10189

ὥς ὅσον ἐδυνέτον *Dig.* E 486
πολλὰ εὐχέτον *Achil.* N 1615
ἐκρυβέτον *Theseid* I.57,5 (Follieri); εδειχυνέτον *ibid.* VI.38,7 (Olsen); ἐλαβωνέτον *ibid.*
VIII.20,3 (1529)
εὐλόγησε κι ἐγινέτον ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 426
όπου καθέτον Φίλιππος *Alex. Rim.* 192
καὶ πάλι ἀντρεύετον ΖΙΝΟΣ, *Vatr.* 141
ευρισκέτον ἀρρώστη VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 32.14; εκαθέτον εἰς την σκάλαν *ibid.* 38.11
ὅσα καὶ ἄν ἀντρειώνέτον *Thrinus Konst.* (Zoras) 10

Here, deletion of final /n/ is rare: ἐστεκέτο *Pol. Tr.* 9073 app. crit. (B).

Addition of -(v)ε, with or without a second accent (more often than not added by modern editors), occurs in Cretan and Heptanesian/Peloponnesian texts, as well as in texts from certain Cycladic islands (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

ἐσφαζέτονε *Liv.* E 3103
εχθρευέτονε *Theseid* II.13,3 (1529); ἐρχέτονε *ibid.* III.30,1; εκαθέτονε *ibid.* VI.56,1 (Olsen)
ἐρχέτονε *Imb. Rim.* 835
ἐργαζέτονε *Alex. Rim.* 13
εμαχέτονε *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 275

ἐφαίνέτονε (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 148.50)
φυλαγέτονε *Pist. voskos* II 1.318 app. crit.
κ' ἐκαθέτονε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.25; ἐκαμωνέτονε *ibid.* 85.38; ἐπονηρευέτονε *ibid.*
135.27–8

Sg.	3	-ΕΤΟΥΝ ἰ' -ΕΤΟΥΝΑ

This rare ending occurs in the Heptanesian text *Bertoldinos* and the Peloponnesian *Miracles of Nikon Metanoeite*, in which it could be considered to be the result of a conflation of the mainstream ending -ετον and the Heptanesian/Peloponnesian variant -οτουν. In the document from Epirus and in *Diig. Alex. K*, a text with northern features, it could be explained as a case of mid-vowel raising of unstressed /o/ to [u].⁵⁶

ἐρχετουν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Σκεντέρ Πασᾶ (1585 [copy of 1653], Epirus, LAMBROS 1916b: 4, 135.1)
εβούλετουν *Diig. Alex. K* 356.27
τοῦ ἐφαίνετουν *Bertoldin.* 92.16
ἐρπετουν καὶ ἐσύρνοτουν *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* III 4

The same ending with an added -α and dual stress occurs once in the 17th-c. *Pistikos Voskos*, which is considered to be of Cretan provenance: σοῦ φαίνετούνα *Pist. voskos* IV 6.10.

Sg.	3	-ΕΤΑΝ

⁵⁶ This ending, now characteristic of the Cypriot dialect, has not been found in Cypriot texts before the 19th c., in the *Ἰσμία Χατζή Γεωργάκη Δραγομάνου* (e.g. ἐβρίσκετουν, ἐμάχετουν, ἐρχετουν, ἐχώννετουν).

This is a very rare ending, found once in Maximos Kallioupolitis's translation of the New Testament, a 17th-c. text whose author was most probably from eastern Thrace:⁵⁷ ὁ λαὸς ὅπου ἐκάθεταν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 4.16.

Sg.	3	-εντο(ν) † -έντον † -εντονε

The ending -εντον is found from the 14th c. onwards. It is relatively frequent in *Achil.* N (16 instances), but much rarer in other texts. It appears in texts from various areas:

ἐστρέφεντον B *Pol. Tr.* 6309 app. crit. (B); οὐκ ἤρχεντον *ibid.* 9555 app. crit. (C); ἐγίνεντον *ibid.* 12221 app. crit. (C)
 ἐκείπεντον *Achil.* N 963; ἐκάθεντον *ibid.* 1132; ἐστέκεντον *ibid.* 1242; εὐφραίνεντον καὶ ἡγάλλεντον *ibid.* 1551
 ἐθλίβεντον *Achil.* O 422 (hapax)
 ἐχαίρεντον *Spanos* A 367 (hapax)
 ἐκρέμεντον DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1448
 ἐκόπτεντον BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 319 (app. crit.) (hapax)
 ἐρχεντον *Pent. Gen.* 38.9

Deletion of final /n/ is not unusual with this ending:

πώποτε οὐ γίνεντο *Pol. Tr.* 927 app. crit. (A)
 ἡττρέπεντο, εὐφραίνετο *Achil.* N. 90; ἀλλ' ὡς φυτὸν ἐκλίνεντο *ibid.* 1337; ἐκάθεντο *ibid.* 1850
 ἐγδέχεντο κι ἐνίμενε *P&N Diath.* 2268
 κι ο Κάτης ἐδιαλογίζεντο *Katis* 32; βουβός, τυφλός ἐκείπεντο *ibid.* 36
 καὶ πασανεῖς ἐρέγεντο κι ἐμέ την ομορφιά μου CHORTATIS *Panor.* III.152
 μὰ λέγει πὼς ἐσφάζεντο καλλιὰ *Stathis* I.58; κι εἶδα ἓνα ξύλο κι ἤρχεντο *ibid.* II.325
 ἤρχεντο στὸ βυζί τση FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.149; τοῦ Φορτουνάτο ἐμέλλεντο *ibid.* V.200
 ἐκτάσσαντο *Leilasia Par.* 355

A shift of the stress to the penultimate is very rare: ὁ νοῦς μετατραπέντον *Achil.* N 852.

Addition of -(ν)ε can be found in texts from Crete, and has also been found in a document from Naxos (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details):

καὶ λογίζεντονε τὸ ἔμισόν περιβόλαιον (1557 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 11, 63.7)
 δὲν ἐντρέπεντονε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 183.36 (ms Ξ)
 διατὶ βλάφτεντονε καὶ ἐζήτηξέν το (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 181.73)
 νὰ βρίσκεντονε in verità a bono patre natus FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.218

Sg.	3	-οντο(ν) † -όντον † -οτον † -ότον

The ending -οντο(ν), identical to the inherited 3 pl. ending (see below), though much less frequent in the singular, appears in several literary texts from around the 15th

⁵⁷ The ending is still characteristic of certain northern dialects (NEWTON 1972c: 271), and also occurs in the south-east Peloponnese according to PANDELIDIS 2010: 472.

c. onwards. It is found in texts from the Heptanese, Epirus, and in texts of unknown provenance:⁵⁸

κᾶπου ἔαν ἐκάθοντο ᾽ς τὴν Ἄρταν διὰ κυνήγι *Chron. Toc.* 1525
 ἐβλέποντας ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, ἐχαίροντον ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ *Achil.* O 146
 δὲν ἐδύνοντο πλέον νὰ κάμει τίποτες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 421.3
 τί ἐγίνοντον (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 2, 295.21) (author's family from Corfu)
 ἀλλὰ ἐστέκοντο ὥσ᾽ ἀγριόχοιρος *Vios Aisop.* K 155.17

A shift of the stress to the penultimate may occur in verse texts for metrical reasons (verse end; cf. 3 pl.): ο Κύριος Αδωνάϊ αὐτοῦς εὐσπλαχνιζόντον IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3782.

The ending -οτο(ν) is mainly Heptanesian. It is the result of vowel assimilation according to MINAS 1987a: 38, though it could also be viewed as a graphematic realization of nasal deletion in -οντο(ν) (see I, 3.6.2.1) or an analogy with -ομουν, -οσουν : -ετον > -οτον. The ending is used rather frequently in Kartanos, and less so in Noukios:

εὐρίσκοτον *Pol. Tr.* 1723 and 5001 app. crit. (X) (15th-c. ms, hapax)
 ἐγίνοντον *Chron. Mor.* P 43; ἐστρέφοτον στὸ σπίτι της *ibid.* 7453
 εἶ τις ἔρχοτον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.34–6; ὑποτάσσοτον *ibid.* 341.6; ἐψένοτον *ibid.* 437.28
 τί ἐγένοτον (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 2, 295.23) (author's family from Corfu)
 ἐκείτοτον κακῶς NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 15.1
 κι ἔρχοτον ᾽κ τὴν Σκλαβουνία TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 57
 ἐνεπιστεύοτον *Bertoldin.* 112.25 (hapax)

A shift of the stress to the penultimate can be found sporadically in texts from Kefalonia: εὐρίσκοτον (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 189, 115.7); ἐδυνότον DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 505.

Sg.	3	-οουντο(ν) -ουτον -ουτονε -οουντονε

Forms in -οουντο(ν) appear from at least the 16th c. in texts from southern areas (Crete, Peloponnese, certain Cycladic islands), but also in texts from Chios, in KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.*, whose author is most probably from east Thrace, in Aitolos (author from Corinth, but lived in Constantinople most of his life), and in texts of unknown provenance:

νὰ ἐγίνουντον *Krasop.* AO 21
 ἀπέκει οποιῦ κείτουντον ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 18.4; στοχάζουντον *ibid.* 91.17
 ὁ νοῦς δὲν ἐλαφρώνουντον KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1758; μιὰ πλεξοῦδα ἐκρέμουντον *ibid.* II.334;
 μιὰ βοσκοπούλα εὐρίσκουντον *ibid.* II.640; κ' ἐκάθουντον κ' ἐφαίνουντό του ἡ ζάλη *ibid.* III.1013; ἐδέρνουντον ἡ νένα της *ibid.* III.1613

⁵⁸ A highly unusual ending -οτοαν has been found twice in texts from different regions. These forms are without parallel and should probably be regarded as simple writing/typesetting mistakes: ὁποῦ ἐκάθοτοαν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.3); ἐκράζοτοαν Ἀουρέλια *Bertoldos* 13.4.

ἐκάθουντον ἐκεί KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 15.29; ἤρχουντον *ibid.* Mark. 5.1; ἡ
 Ἡρωδιάδα τὸν ἐχθρεύουντον *ibid.* Mark. 6.19; τὸ πλεμάτι τοὺς ἐσχίζουντον *ibid.* Louk.
 5.6; ἐπροσεύχουντον *ibid.* Louk. 5.16; ἐκαμώνουντον πῶς δὲν τὸν μέλει *ibid.* Ioann. 8.6; ὁ
 Πέτρος ἐστέκουντον *ibid.* Ioann. 18.16; ἐστέκετον καὶ ἐξεσταίνουντον *ibid.* Ioann. 18.25
 καὶ κάθουντον VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 989
 καὶ ῥέγουντον τὰ ἔβρισκεν KONDAR., *Paides* 975
 εφάινουντον *Diig. Sant.* 386.19; ἐκάθουντον *ibid.* 391.33
 εὐρίσκουντον (1735, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 37, 65.6–7)

Forms without the final /n/ are found in Cretan texts of the 16th/17th c., and in Germano's grammar, written in Chios in the 17th c. (copied by Portius):

ἐγράφουντο GERMANO, *Grammar* 77.31, but also: ἐγράφετον *ibid.* 77.29
 ἐγράφουντο vel ἐγράφετον PORTIUS, *Grammar* 35.24
 νεκρώνουντο CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.154
 ἐψυγομαραίνουντο KORNAOS, *Erot.* III.17

Addition of -(v)ε, without a shift of the stress, occurs in texts from Crete and the Aegean (Chios, Mykonos, Naxos) (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

εὐρίσκουντόνε κάτοικος PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1589
 ἐκρύβουντονε (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 53, 205.7); ἐκάθουντονε (1685,
ibid. 521, 747.3–4); ἐγίνουντονε (1687, *ibid.* 674, 921.11); ἐστέκουντονε (1688, *ibid.* 824,
 1107.22) (ἐκρυβούντονε, ἐκαθούντονε, ἐγινούντονε, ἐστεκούντονε in the edition; as the
 editors state in their introduction (p. 128), accents, more often than not absent in the ms, were
 added)
 ἐκράζουντονε KORNAOS, *Erot.* IV.1069
 ἐκείτουντονε (1703, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 43, 56.8) (ed. ἐκοιτούντονε; diacritics
 often added by the editor)

Forms in -ουτο(v) are phonetic variants of -ουντο(v), representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (cf. 3 pl.). For details see I, 3.6.2.1.

εὐρίσκουτον (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.2)
 ἀσκητικὰ ὡς ἐπολιτεύουτον IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 334.16
 εὐρίσκουτο ... ἀναπαμένον SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A2r.4
 ὅπου εὐρίσκουτον ὁ ὑψηλότατος ἀφέντης (1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 7, 20.5)

A form with an added syllable -(v)ε occurs in a document from Naxos (see I, 2.6.3.3):
 ἐκείτουντονε (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 227, 402.5) (ἐκείτούτονε in
 the edition; accent notation, however, is largely editorial).

Sg.	3	-ουτο(v) -ότου(α) -ότουνε

These endings are found from the 17th c. onwards in texts from the Heptanese and the Peloponnese (cf. NEWTON 1972c: 271 and PANDELIDIS 2010: 472). *Chron. Theod.* is a

family chronicle dating from the 15th–16th c., but it has come down to us in a 19th-c. copy. The endings are quite frequent in *Bertoldos*, *Bertoldin*., *Kaloandros* (passim, according to DANEZIS 1989: 77) and Katsaitis; there are two examples in *Alex. Fyll*., a text of uncertain provenance; there is also one example in ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali*, a text with a varied, and not always necessarily Cypriot, morphology. The ending is also given by SPANOS, *Grammar* (18th c., Peloponnesian), with a shift of the stress to the penultimate, and is quite frequent in *Thavm. Nikon Metan*., but absent from earlier Peloponnesian works such as the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy* (cf. the same ending with εἶμαι (ἦτουν), which was not found in Peloponnesian texts prior to the 16th c.):

εὐφραίνονται *Bertoldos* 6.25; ἐστοχάζονται *ibid.* 70.4; ἐπαγγέλλονται *ibid.* 32.2–3;
 ἐσκεπάζονται *ibid.* 46.18; ἐμπιστεύονται *ibid.* 56.3
 ἀσηκώνονται *Bertoldin*. 91.25; ἐκράζονται *ibid.* 94.23; ἐστέκονται *ibid.* 109.33; ἐλέγονται
ibid. 134.21; δὲν ἐκόβοται *ibid.* 144.12; ἐφαίνονται *ibid.* 146.8
 μοῦ ἐφαίνονται MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1427
 ἐρρίπτονται εἰς τὰ νερά *Thavm. Nikon Metan*. II 5; ἐσύρνονται *ibid.* III 4; ὁ ὅποιος ἔρχονται
ibid. III 14; ἠυρίσκονται *ibid.* IV 1; ἐκρέμονται *ibid.* V 23
 εἰς τὴν Εὐάν ἐδιαλέγονται ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 1638
 ἐδύνονται KASIMATIS, *Varl. & Ioas*. 501.17
 ἠυρίσκονται KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.402; ἐγίνονται σ' αὐτοῦς ματοχυσία *ibid.* II.294

A shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs in verse and prose texts, as well as in non-literary texts:

ἐγιατρευόταν *Bertoldos* 76.8
 ἐρχόταν *Alex. Fyll*. 111.31 ἐχαίρόταν *ibid.* 111.31–2
 εφαινόταν *Kaloandros* 406.1
 ἀποκρενόταν (1685, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 68, 275.43)
 εὐρίσκόταν SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 34.7
 ἐπιχειρίζόταν PYRRIS, *Peri Panouklas* 114.33
 [ἐγραφε]όταν SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.22

Final /n/ can sometimes be dropped: εὐρίσκοτου ἐγγαστρωμένη (1691, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 95, 296.21–2); ἐδυνότου KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.321; ἐφημιζότου *ibid.* III.169; δὲν μὲ ἐστοχάζοτου *id.*, *Thyest.* V.455.

Addition of -(v)α or -(v)ε to this ending can also be found, in texts of south-western provenance (see I, 2.6.3.3):

ἐγραφότουνα *Chron. Theod.* 21.14
 ὀνομαζότουνα SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 36.8; ἐμουρμουρίζοτουνα *ibid.* 37.16
 τοὺς ἐδεχότουνα PYRRIS, *Peri Panouklas* 115.17
 στὸν θρόνον ἐκαθότουνα KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* Prol. 51; κ' ἐρχότουνα *id.*, *Thyest.* V.696
 [ἐγραφε]ότουνα SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.22
 πού καθότουνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 190
 ἐρχότουνε τ' ἀσκέρι KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.136; ἐγίνοτουνε *ibid.* I.688
 [ἐγραφέτου]νε SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.22
 ἐθυμονότουνε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 58.3

Sg.	3	-ΟΥΤΟΥΝ

The ending -ΟΥΤΟΥΝ, -ΟΤΟΥΝ with a thematic vowel /u/ for /o/, is quite rare: ἐκράζουτουν Φαγότης *Bertoldos* 28.3; ἐπροέρχουτουν *Bertoldin*. 139.14; ὁποῦ ἐβουρλουδίζουτουν *ibid.* 146.4–5.

Sg.	3	-ΟΝΤΑΝ '-ΟΝΤΑΝΕ -ΟΝΤΑΝ

This ending, with its typical “past-tense”-marker /a/, is much more common for 3 pl. than it is for 3 sg. It appears in texts from northern areas (cf. NEWTON 1972c: 271) from the 16th/17th c. onwards, as well as in texts from certain Heptanesian and Aegean islands. It is not usually found in Cretan texts (cf. -οῦνταν).⁵⁹

ἀν ἤρχονταν ἀπὸ τὸ χέρι του (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.8)
 τοὺς ἐφαίνονταν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* 233.14
 ἀν ἤρχονταν ξένος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.19
 ἐκάθονταν εἰς τὸ παλάτι του *Alex. Fyll.* 6.2–3; καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸν ἐχαίρονταν *ibid.* 13.17 (the ending is frequent in this text, both for 3 sg. and for 3 pl.)
 ἐσυλλογίζονταν ὁ βασιλεὺς *Diig. Ag. Sof.* f 593.1–2
 ἐλέγονταν Γιάννης (1708, Zakynthos, SATHAS 1865: 524.11)
 δεῖν το καταδέχονταν (1708, Chios, KECHAYOGLU 2001: 442.14)

Addition of -(v)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) has been found in a late 17th-c. text written in Constantinople or the Danubian Principalities. The forms have dual stress (ραγίζοντάνε, κάθοντάνε), but the first accent is omitted in writing: ραγίζοντάνε *Diig. Vefa* 686; καθοντάνε *ibid.* 948.

A shift of the stress to the penultimate is rare: καὶ καπνιζόνταν καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία (1665–76, Ioannina, VAKATSAS 1992: 3, 153.2).

Sg.	3	-ΟΥΝΤΑ(ν)

The variant -ΟΥΝΤΑ(ν) is less common for the singular than it is for the plural. It has been found in texts of northern provenance and in a document from Mykonos (cf. NEWTON 1972c: 271):

ἐνα περιστέρι ἀπέτουντα στοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀπάνου *Ekatol.* (Meteoron) 21 (< πέτομαι)
 κείτουνταν ὡσάν το νεκρωμένο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 27.12
 ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ ἐκοίταξεν γυναῖκα, ἐδαιμονίζονταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §15.26; στολίζονταν,
 ξεστολίζονταν *ibid.* I §28.25; με ἤρχουνταν ὄριξη *ibid.* I §31.67
 νὰ μὴν ἡφαίνονταν ἡ ἀνωθεν κοντετζιό (1662, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 6, 55.17)
 ἐλέγουνταν τοῦ παιδιοῦ τὸ σπῆτι (1714, Smyrna, SFYROERAS 1963b: 2, 177.7) (author from Mykonos)

⁵⁹ One instance in SACHLIKIS, *Katalogi* 87: ἐντρέπονταν is the result of a correction by the editor, Papadimitriou (from ἐντρέπονται, because in the context 3 sg. is more suitable).

ούτε τον φαίνονταν καμία δυσκολία *Don Kis*. 47.31; κατόπι τους ήρχονταν ένα κοτσί *ibid.* 49.7–8; εκάθονταν ... μία σινιόρα *ibid.* 49.9

Sg.	3	-όταν -ότανε

This ending, nowadays the SMG ending, appears in texts from western areas (Heptanese, Peloponnese, Central Greece), with and without an added -(ν)ε (for which see I, 2.6.3.3), but not before the 17th c.⁶⁰ (cf. oxytone verbs for an earlier example from the same area; see 4.8.2 for the ending -ταν with the verb εἶμαι):

ώνομαζόταν (1683, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 95, 322.3)
 εύρισκότανε (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 233, 190.4)
 τὴν κασέλα του ὅπου ἐβρισκότανε στοῦ Κεφαλᾶ (1682, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 263, 241.20)
 ἐρχότανε MATESIS, *Chron.* 64.28
 εύρισκότανε PYRRIS, *Peri Panouklas* 121.26
 πάντα ὅλα ἐγενότανε μὲ τέλος καλὸ ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 37.20
 ὅπου νὰ ἐστεκότανε ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 46.15

Sg.	3	-οντου(ν)

This rare ending has been found in two texts so far: the 16th-c. ms B of *Pol. Tr.* and *Bertoldos* (17th c.). It is perhaps the result of an inversion of -ουντο, with some association with the postverbal clitic pronoun (see also 1 sg. -ονμου | -ουνμου | -όνμου and 2 sg. -ουνσου): ὁ Πάρις οὐδὲν ἔρχοντου *Pol. Tr.* 7957 app. crit. (B); ἀποκρένοντουν ἡ ἄλλη καὶ ἔλεγεν *Bertoldos* 24.29.

With addition of -(ν)α it appears in a 17th-c. document from Kefalonia (see also I, 2.6.3.3): ἔλαβε τὴ σοτανέλα ρεστάνιο ὅπου εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐβρισκοντουνα (1682, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 263, 241.20) (no stress notation).

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-όμεθα(ν)

The residual ending -όμεθα is found sporadically, mainly in texts of the early period and in mixed-register texts. For barytone verbs it is the only ending mentioned by Sofianos, and one of three alternatives in Spanos's grammar:

ἐνόσῳ ἐβουλευόμεθα *Liv.* α 2887
 ὅταν ἤρχόμεθα *Liv.* S 2941 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

⁶⁰ One anachronistic instance of proparoxytone -οταν: τὸ σημάδιν τους φαίνοταν *Pol. Tr.* 6099 is an editorial invention; the mss have forms in -ετο(ν).

ἐσφαζόμεθ' ἀλλήλοις *Pol. Tr.* 12696 app. crit. (X)
 ἡμεῖς συνεπιγόμεθα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2027
 ἐγραφόμεθα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 57.6–8
 ἐγραφόμεθα SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.23

Addition of final /n/ occurs only rarely:

οὐκ ἡδυνάμεθαν κρατεῖν το (1375, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 15, 117.6–7) (< residual
 δύναιμαι, which became δύνομαι, with change of thematic vowel, in MedG)
 οὐδὲ ἐχρειαζόμεθάν την *Pol. Tr.* 192; ἐσφαζόμεθαν *ibid.* 12696 app. crit. (A)
 ἐκαθόμεθαν *Krasop.* V 86

Pl.	1	-όμεθεν

This ending is much rarer for the imperfect than it is for the present (see 4.1.1.2). It is held to derive from -όμεθα; the final /a/ changed to /e/ to match the 2 pl. and 3 pl. endings in the paradigm, while final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (MEYER 1889: 197): καὶ ἐνόσω ἐβουλευόμεθεν *Liv.* V 2519; τὸν δρόμον τὸν ἡρκόμεθεν *ibid.* 3617; οὐδὲ ἐχρειαζόμεθén την *Pol. Tr.* 192 app. crit. (AE); ἐσφαζόμεθεν *ibid.* 12696 app. crit. (C).

Pl.	1	-όμεσθεν ἰ -όμεστέν ἰ -ομέσθεν

The ending -όμεσθεν is much rarer for the imperfect than for the present (see 4.1.1.2 for discussion). Its variant -όμεστέν is the result of manner dissimilation of fricatives after sibilants (see I, 3.8.1). These endings appear from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Liv.* E) in texts from various regions:

ἐγενόμεσθεν *Liv.* E 3770; ὅταν ἐρχόμεσθε εἰς ἐσὲν ἡμασθεν κοπιασμένοι *ibid.* 4112;
 ἐχαιρόμεσθεν *ibid.* 4313
 εὐκαιρα ἐκδεχόμεσθεν ἐκεῖνο οἱ τοῦ δὲν ἦτον ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 96.7
 ὡς ἐδυνόμεσθεν IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 333.10
 ἐχαιρόμεσθεν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P II 323.28
 οὕτως οὖν <ἐ>χαιρόμεσθεν *Dig.* A 2596
 ἐδερνόμεστέν *Vios Aisop.* K 150.21
 ὁπότεν ἐστεκόμεστέν *Bertoldin.* 107.1; νὰ εὐρίσκομέστέν *ibid.* 118.3

Forms with a dual stress can occasionally be found, and sometimes the first accent is omitted: ἐχρειαζομέσθεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 448.6; εὐρίσκομέσθεν *Vosk.* 234 app. crit.; ἐκάθομέσθεν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VII 377.20.

Pl.	1	-ούμεστέν ἰ -ούμεσθεν

Forms in -ούμεστέν/-ούμεσθεν appear quite late and are also rather rare: ἐγραφούμεστέν GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.10; δὲν ἐχρειαζούμεστέν πλούτον *Diig. Sant.* 390.35; ὡσὰν ἐκαθούμεσθεν μαζί [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P X 407.32.

Pl.	1	-όμεσθα(ν) † -όμεσθαν † -όμεσταν † -όμεστα † -'όμεστανε

The ending -όμεσθα(ν) and its phonetic variant -όμεστα(ν), much more common with εἶμαι (see 4.8.2), has not been found with barytone verbs before the 17th c. It appears, sporadically, in texts from various areas (for a discussion, see 4.1.1.2):

τοῦ ἔδωκα κόπιαν ὅταν ἐρχόμεσθαν ἀπὸ τὴν Σαγιάδα (1611, Ioannina, MERTZIOS 1936a: (1), 19.11–12)
καὶ ᾠθυμαζόμεσταν νὰ γρικοῦμεν ἔτοιον πράμα (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 36.31–2)
προχθές ανταμωνόμεσταν CANTEMIR, *Krit.* 447.13–14
[ἐγγραφό]μεσθα SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.23

Forms with dual stress, in which the primary accent is sometimes omitted, were found in Cretan texts from the 16th c. onwards, and once in *Dig. P* (provenance unknown):

καὶ σύρνομέσθαν πάντοτε ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 100
ἐπροστάσσομέσθαν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 35.27
ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἔπαιζάμεν καὶ ἐχαίρομέσθαν [VLASTOS], *Dig. P* VII 377.19
ἐλειπομέστα (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 81.100) (ἐλυπομέστα in the ms)
ἐκαθομέστα Stathis III.11

Addition of -(ν)ε to this ending can occasionally be found, again in Cretan texts. Kriaras has the form with a dual accent (from ms D), whereas the ms of *Fortounatos* is written in the Latin script, which means that the accents are editorial by definition: ἐκεῖ ἀποῦ κάθομέστανε CHORTATISIS, *Panor.* IV.352; εὐρισκομέστανε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.256.

Pl.	1	-ούμεσταν

Forms in -ούμεσταν have been found in 17th-c. Cycladic texts (cf. NEWTON 1972c: 272): ἐπικραινούμεσταν *Diig. Sant.* 393.37; καθούμεσταν (1681?, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 129, 293.3).

Pl.	1	-ομενστα(ν) † -ομένστα(ν) † -όμενστα(ν)

This ending appears a number of times, especially with the present, in documents by the Cretan notary Maras. It looks like a conflation of the active and passive endings -μεν and -μεστα, but is more likely to represent a graphematic idiosyncrasy of the notary (for discussion see 4.1.1.2): ἐκρινόμενστα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 217, 216.4).

Pl.	1	-όμασθε † -όμαστε † -ούμαστέν

This ending is quite rare in the period covered by this Grammar. It has been found in Cretan texts, in Kanellos Spanos's grammar (18th c., Peloponnese), in an 18th-c. document from Chios and once in the *Chronicle of the Theodosia Family*, a Heptanesian text of the

15th–16th c., which has however come down to us in a 19th-c. copy (cf. NEWTON 1972c: 271–2). The ending is rather more frequent with the verb εἶμαι (for which see 4.8.2).

οὕτως τὴν ἐχαιρόμασθε *Dig. E 144*
 ὅπου ἐγνωρίζομαστε κ' ἤμαστε φίλοι ἀλλότες *CHORTATIS Katz. V.6*
 ἐκεῖ ποὺ ἐκαθόμαστε *CHORTATIS, Panor. IV.352 app. crit. (N)* (ὀπδοκαθόμαστε in ms A)
 [ἐγραφό]μασθε *SPANOS, Grammar 36.23*
 εὐρισκόμαστε συγχυσμένοι *Chron. Theod. 20.1–2*

With vowel [u] and final /n/ it was found in an early 18th-c. document from Chios: ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐστεκούμασταν (1713, Chios, LAMBROS 1910: 350, 209.3–4).

Pl.	1	-ουμαστινε

This is a very rare ending, which has also been also found with the present (4.1.1.2). It appears in texts from Peloponnesian authors, and it is unclear where the stress may have been on these forms, because the examples lack notation of stress: εἰς τὴ στράτα ὅπου ἐρχουμαστινε ... ἀρρώστησεν ὁ πατέρας μας (1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.5–6).

Pl.	1	-όμασταν -ούμασταν -ούμασθαν -ούμασθάνε

Very few instances have been found of this ending, which with a thematic vowel /o/ is now the SMG ending: νὰ εὐρισκόμασταν (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 1, 281.9); ὅταν ἐρχούμασθαν νὰ κτυπήσωμεν *Vios Aisop. I 269.32* (scribe of south-eastern provenance?); καθούμασταν (1692, Naxos, PANDELIA-GRITSOPOULOU 1995/97: 2, 212.13).

With addition of -(v)ε and dual stress it appears in the *Itinerary* of Vasileios Vatatsis (1720): καθὼς βουλούμασθάνε *VATATIS, Periig. I 522 ms L*.

Pl.	1	-όμαστον

This rare ending has been found only in the *Pentateuch* (16th c., Constantinople), but see 4.8.2 (εἶμαι) for more examples from the same region and period, and see 4.1.1.2 for a late example from Kimolos with the present tense. According to MINAS 1987a: 41–2 this ending is derived from -όμαστε with substitution of /o/ for /e/ in the last syllable by analogy with 3 pl. -οντο(v), but seeing that -όμαστε has a rather different distribution in the EMG period (south-western areas), this is not very likely.⁶¹ See 4.8.2 for discussion: ἐστρεφόμαστον *Pent. Gen. 43.10*.

⁶¹ In MG dialects the ending -μαστον is characteristic of south-eastern dialects (Kos, Rhodes), see NEWTON 1972c: 272 and PAPACHRISTODOULOU 1959: 71.

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-εσθε ἰ -εστε

The inherited 2 pl. ending -εσθε and its variant -εστε are used throughout and beyond the MedG period. The form -εστε for -εσθε is the result of manner dissimilation, a widespread phonological phenomenon for which see I, 3.8.1:

καὶ ἐσεῖς ἄλλοῦ ἠύρισκεσθε *Dig. E* 1749
 εὐρίσκεσθε *Pol. Tr.* 1179 app. crit. (A)
 ἐπορεύεσθε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 354.10–11
 εἰς τὴν στράταν ὅπου ἦρχεσθε (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.14–15)
 εἰς τὴν υπηρεσίαν εὐρίσκεσθε τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ MALAXOS, *Ist. patr.* 221.31–2
 ἐγραφοῦσθε, vel ἐγράφεσθε PORTIUS, *Grammar* 35.26
 πορεύεσθε [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 60
 ἐγράφεσθε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 57.6–8
 ἐγραφοῦσθε, vel ἐγράφεσθε GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.10

Pl.	2	-οὔσθε ἰ -οὔστε

This 2 pl. ending is recorded in the grammar by Germano, written in Chios in the 17th c. and in Portius's grammar, which basically copies Germano: ἐγραφοῦσθε, vel ἐγράφεσθε GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.10; ἐγραφοῦσθε, vel ἐγράφεσθε PORTIUS, *Grammar* 35.26.

Pl.	2	-ουσθαν ἰ -ουσταν

In the period under review, this ending has been found in the works of Maximos Kallioupolitis, who was probably from Thrace:⁶² τί ἐδιαλέγουσθαν εἰς τὴν στράταν ἀνάμεσά σας; KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 9.33; δὲν ἐδύνουσθαν νὰ τὸ φᾶτε id. *1 Kor.* 3.2; ἐφέρνουσθαν πρὸς τὰ εἴδωλα ibid. 12.2; ἐλέγουσταν ἀκρόβυστοι id., *Efes.* 2.11.

Pl.	2	-όστένε

Only one example has so far been found of this rare ending, in a text from the Heptanese: ποῦ ἦστένε καὶ δὲν ἐρχόστένε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 57.1.

The SMG ending -όσασταν has not been found in the texts examined.

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-οντο(ν) ἰ -όντο(ν)

The inherited ending -οντο is used in various texts, mainly literary, throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

⁶² The ending is still characteristic of certain northern dialects (NEWTON 1972c: 271).

ἄλλοι παρεπικραίνοντο δεινοῖς κολαστηρίοις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 494
καὶ παρακάτω ἐκείοντο τὰ φρύδια της τὰ δύο *Liv.* E 2417
ἐξόπισθ' ἐν της ἤρχοντο μόναι καὶ δύο κόραι *Pol. Tr.* 288
οἱ μὲν ἐτρικυμίζοντο [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1019
ὑπῆρχοντο υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως *Achil.* N 491; κατησπάζοντο *ibid.* 1752
κ' ἤρχοντο ἀπὸ πέρα BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 468
οἱ κόρες ἐνεθρέφοντο *Diig. Apoll.* 438
ἐδικάζοντο πρὸς τὸν Ξάνθον λέγοντες *Vios Aisop.* D 231.10
οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ ἐκλαῖον καὶ ὠδύροντο *Vios Aisop.* K 206.15
ἐκείοντο οἱ ἅγιοι μάρτυρες LANDOS, *Kalok.* 340.32
ὡσάν γεράκια πέτοντο IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 937; ἐπαρᾶξενίζοντο *ibid.* 1290
ἐπειτα ἐβάνοντο εἰς εὐμορφο ὀρδινία SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 35.15
ἐγράφοντο SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.23

Addition of final /n/ is rare: *κι ἔρχοντον πρὸς ἐμέναν* ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 10 (app. crit.);
ἐπροσφέρνοντον ΜΑΧ. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 323.33; ἀπόξω βρίσκοντον ἀκόμα τα
γαλιόνια IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2743. Another rare form shows nasal deletion before the
stop: *οἱ πιστοὶ ἐδιώκοτο* *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 169.

A shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs twice in IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali*, for met-
rical reasons (verse end; cf. 3 sg.): *όνταν αυτοὶ ἐρχόντον* IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3781;
κατάρτια καὶ ἀξάρτια ἀφαντα ἐγινόντο *ibid.* 8277.

Pl.	3	-όντου(ν)

The ending -όντου(ν), with [u] for [o] in the last syllable and a shift of the stress to the
penultimate, appears sporadically in rather late texts: *τὰ χαρτιά όπου εὐρίσκοντουνε εἰς*
τὸ χέρι του (1682, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 263, 241.4) (with added -(ν)ε,
for which see I, 2.6.3.3); *ἐγράφοντο-φόντου-ότουσαν* SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.23.

Pl.	3	-ουντο(ν) -ούντονε -ουτο(ν)

The variant -ουντο(ν), more common for 3 sg. (see above), is rare for 3 pl. It mainly ap-
pears in texts from south-eastern areas and the Aegean (cf. NEWTON 1972c: 271–2) and
has not been found before the 17th c.:

οἱ ψιττακοὶ ἐκρέμουντο ἐπὶ τοῖς κλώνοις τότε *Dig.* A 2855 (hapax; -οντο(ν) in all other cases)
καὶ εθαυμάζουντο ἅπαντες *Diig. Sant.* 392.25
ἐγράφουντον PORTIUS, *Grammar* 35.26–7
εὐρίσκουντον (1690, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 9, 23.16)
<πολλοὶ> ἀνθρώποι ἔρχουντον KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 747

With an added syllable -(ν)ε it occurs in a document from Naxos (see also I, 2.6.3.3):
ἐσιαζούντονε (1673, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 10, 172.16). Since the stress
usually does not shift when -(ν)ε is added to a verb form, it cannot be excluded
that for the proparoxytone form of the normalized edition one should actually read
ἐσιάζουντονε.

Forms in -ουτο(ν) are phonetic rather than morphological variants of -ουντο(ν), representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion (cf. 3 sg.) (for details see I, 3.6.2.1): εύρίσκουτον ... καποία χωράφια (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.2); ήρχουτον *Don Kis*. 501.14.

Pl.	3	-οντα(ν) † -οτα(ν) † -όντα(ν) † -όντανε

The ending -ονταν, now SMG, with its characteristic “past-tense”-marker /a/, appears from at least the 14th c. onwards in texts from various regions, both northern and southern, though not in Cypriot texts:

οὐκ ἰσιάζονταν *Chron. Mor.* H 929; κ' ἐσφάζονταν ἀλλήλως *ibid.* 4076
 ἐκείτονταν *Liv.* α 493
 ἀλλήλως ἐσκοτώνονταν *Pol. Tr.* 1864; ἐδιλιβρίζονταν εἰς θάνατον *ibid.* 3063
 ἐγίνονταν οἱ φόνοι *Dig.* E 1175
 ηύρίσκονταν *Chron. Toc.* 7; ἡδύνονταν *ibid.* 93
 ὡσάν ἐπροτιμεύονταν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 126; ἐκόπτονταν κ ἐβιάζονταν *ibid.* 149
 ρηγάδων παιδία οὐκ ἤρχονταν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 305
 οἱ Πέρσες ἐτσακίζονταν *Alex. Rim.* 866
 δύο τινές ἐχθρεύονταν ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 26.1
 καὶ τὸν ἐμέμφονταν *Vios Aisop.* K 173.22
 τῶν ἀγίων ὅπου ἐδιώχονταν MAXIMOS, *Synax. Ag. Nik.* 145.323
 μοῦ ἐχρειάζονταν *Bertoldos* 82.11
 ἐβούλονταν οἱ πατέρες νὰ τὸν πουλήσουν (1657, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 75, 192.14–15)
 ἔρχονταν οἱ κλέπτες (1703, Thessaly, SOFIANOS 1984: A, 42.9)
 υποπτεύονταν νὰ μὴν το ἔκαμε ἀληθινά *Don Kis.* 132.26

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from south-western areas such as the Peloponnese and the Heptanese and in texts of unknown provenance:

ἐλαβώνοντα καὶ ἔπεφταν *Pol. Tr.* 3452 app. crit. (B); ἐδιλιβρίζοντα εἰς θάνατον *ibid.* 6298 app. crit. (B) (< OFr. *delivrer*, see GODEFROY, *Lex.* s.v.)
 ἐσφάζοντα *Achil.* N 614
 ἐγίνοντα *Chron. Toc.* 87
 ἐκεῖ ἄνδρες οὐκ εύρίσκοντα *Theseid Prol.* E 166
 κι ἄλλοι στὴν γῆν ἐκείνοντα KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.174
 καὶ ὅλοι μοῦ δουλώνοντα, κι ἔκαμνα δικιοσύνη *Alex. Rim.* 650
 ἐκάθοντα *Diig. Alex.* F 38.8 (Konstantinopulos); ἐκείνοντα *ibid.* 38.11
 τα ὀρνεα εβούλοντα νὰ ποιήσουν βασιλέα ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 47.1
 ἀμὴ πάντα εστέκοντα πικραμένοι *Vios Filaret.* 241.25

The ending -οταν for the plural is a phonetic rather than a morphological variant, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (see I, 3.6.2.1): ὅπου ἐσύρνονταν καλύτεροι *Chron. Toc.* 1789 app. crit.

A shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs in verse and prose texts (in verse texts usually to accommodate the metre), from the 14th c. onwards; forms of this type have

been found in texts from the Peloponnese and Epirus and in a text of uncertain provenance (*Moirol. Konst.*):⁶³

τὰ κάτεργα ὅτι ἐρχόνταν *Pol. Tr.* 2978; ὅπου ἐμπρὸς ἐδερνόνταν *ibid.* 3976; νεούτσικα
ἐφαινόνταν *ibid.* 6298; πολλὰ ἐκακευόνταν *ibid.* 11057
ὄσῃν καὶ ἄν ἐδυνόνταν *Moirol. Konst.* 110
ὅσοι ἐύρισκόνταν *Chron. Toc.* 3122

Deletion of final /n/ may very occasionally occur:

ἐπαῖζαν καὶ ἐχαιρόντα *Pol. Tr.* 1302 app. crit. (B); ἐδερνόντα *ibid.* 3976 app. crit. (B)
γι' ἀγάπη ἐσφαζόντα *Theseid Prol.* E 199
ἐθρεφόντα ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΙΣ, *Klathmos* III.45; ὁπόρχοντα *ibid.* III.56

With addition of -(ν)ε the ending occurs in Heptanesian and Cretan texts (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details):

ἐγνωρίζοντανε *Alex. Rim.* 871
ἐμαχόντανε *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 2076
ἐρχόντανε ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 35.15; ὁρεγόντανε *ibid.* 35.18; ἐμβαλλόντανε *ibid.* 37.24; τοὺς
ἐναντιονόντανε *ibid.* 38.37
δὲν συνερίζοντανε οἱ γινῶμες ΠΥΡΡΙΣ, *Diig. panouklas* 122.27

Pl.	3	-ουντα(ν) -ουταν -ούνταν -ουντανε -ούντανε

Forms in -ουνταν occur from about the 14th c. onwards, in various texts, from northern and southern areas, and in texts of unknown provenance:

ἐρχουνταν *Dig.* E 1439
οἱ Ἑρωτες ἐπέτουνταν *Achil.* N 1128; ἀρματωμένοι ἐστέκουνταν *ibid.* 1173
καὶ νὰ γένουνταν *Krasop.* L 4
καὶ γίνουνταν προσευχῆς LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 308; χρειάζουνταν *ibid.* 323
ἐπροσεύχουνταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.6; ἐννοιάζουνταν *ibid.* 58.6
ὅσοι καὶ ἄν ἐπιάνουνταν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1156
τὸ χωράφιον ποὺ ἐργάζουνταν τὰ βόδια ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 225.Λ.34
ἴνιὰ περισσότερες ἀπέτουνταν *Ekatol.* (Meteoron) 45 (< πέτομαι; ἴνιὰ = ἐννιά))
εὐρίσκουνταν (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 5.13)
καὶ τὰ κορμιά κείτουνταν STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 648 (Pidonia)
ἐβαπτίζουνταν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 3.6; ἐὰν ἐγίνουνταν *ibid.* 11.21; οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ
ὕπηρέται ἐστέκουνταν [...] καὶ ἐξεσταίνουνταν *ibid.* Ioann. 18.18
ἐκαίγουνταν KONDAR., *Paidēs* 783
ἐμαζώνουνταν DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 1085
δὲν ἐρχουνταν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 58.1)
δὲν μᾶς ἐκαταδέχουνταν (post 1669, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1938: 2, 296.6–7)
ἡγρίσκουνταν (1680, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 8, 302, f.1v.4)

⁶³ The evidence for the supposed Cypriot provenance of the scribe (MICHAILIDIS 1972: 308–9) is not very strong and limited to a few lexical items.

A shift of the stress to the penultimate has only been found in the Cypriot chronicle of Voustronios, whose accentuation is not always consistent: εννοιαζούνταν VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 44.7; ευρισκούνταν *ibid.* 56.17.

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from southern areas, such as Crete, the Heptanese, Santorini, Cyprus and possibly Rhodes (*Alosis*), and in texts of unknown provenance:

τὰ ὀριζες ἐγίνονται, τὰ ἥθελες ἐποίουν *Dig.* E 358; ἐκαταπέτουντα *ibid.* 925
 ἐντέχνως ὅλα ἐκάθουντα ἐκεῖνα εἰς τὴν πλατάνην *Achil.* N 796
 ἐγεύγουντα BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 292
 οὐ δύνουντα νὰ πάρου *Alosis* 672
 ἐπυρώνουντα οἱ λᾶς (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.6)
 οἱ λᾶς νὰ μὴδὲν ἐκριματίζουντα *Fior* 97.13
 κάτης καὶ ποντικὸς ἐμάχουντα καὶ ὁ βλέπων ἐγέλα *Paroim.* H 28
 βούλουντα σὰν ἄνδρες νὰ σταθοῦσι *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 910
 τα ζα τῇ προσεγέρνουντα *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.320; κί εἰς τὸ ὅστερο επαντρεύγουντα *ibid.* III.528
 ἐλετζέροντα ... οἱ ... πρωτοπαπάδες τους (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.6)
 ἤρχουντα ἀπὸ τὴν Ἄμοργόν *Diig. Sant.* 58.85
 σκοτώνουντα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 161.21

Forms in -ουτα(ν) are phonetic variants of -ουντα(ν), representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (see I, 3.6.2.1): ἐκρίνουντα (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.4); ἐστέκουνταν ἄρματωμένοι (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 402, f.3r.22).

Addition of -(ν)ε may occur in Heptanesian and Cretan texts, in Chios and certain Cycladic islands (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details):

ἐκαθέζουντανε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 16.9; ἐρματώνουντανε *ibid.* 23.23–4; ἐσωφρονίζουντανε καὶ ἐσύρουντανε ὀπίσω *ibid.* 52.12–13; ἐκούγουντανε *ibid.* 79.13; εὐφραίνουντανε *ibid.* 183.34; ἐξορίζουντανε *ibid.* 229.4–5
 εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου εὐρίσκουντανε (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 846, 737.10–11)
 τὰ πλούτη καὶ βασιλεία ἐκράζουντανε κόποι *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.900
 καὶ κείτουντανε ἄταφοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 396; ἐδέρνουντανε *ibid.* 1732; ἤρχουντανε *ibid.* 1764; κ' ἐγίνουντανε χουγιατὰ *ibid.* 5712

This form also appears with the stress on the antepenultimate:

ἐγραφούντανε GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.10–11
 καὶ ὅσούντανε (1629, Crete, LAMBROS 1910: 254, 187.4–5) (= ἐσειοούντανε)
 ποὺ τῆς ἐλειβγούντανε (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 179.21);
 ἐσυγχιζούντανε (1685, *ibid.* 536, 762.8)
 ἐκαθοούντανε (1688, Andros, PASCHALIS 1948: 43.2)

Pl.	3	-όντησα(ν) ! -όντησάνε

This ending is used quite frequently in texts certain or very likely to originate from the Peloponnese, such as the *War of Troy*, the *Chronicle of Morea*, Vendramos, the *Chronicle*

of the *Turkish Sultans* and the *Miracles of Nikon Metanoieite*.⁶⁴ It also appears in texts that are, or are likely to be, Heptanesian in origin (*Rimada of Alexander, Theseid, Bertoldos*), in the *Velisariada* ascribed to Limenitis (Rhodes) and in texts of uncertain provenance (*Imberios, Vios Aisop. K, Fyll. gadar*,⁶⁵ *Varl. & Ioas., Moiol. Konst.*⁶⁶ and *Anthos Ch. A*). IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* is the only Cypriot text to use this ending. The origin of this ending is unclear: the most recent explanation (see PANDELIDIS 2005, who also gives an overview of previous scholarship) is that the ending is a blend of -όντασι(ν) and ἦσαν, but -όντασι(ν) (see below), is rare and appears much later than -όντησαν:

τοὺς Φράγκους ἐμαχόντησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1079; ἐρχόντησαν *ibid.* 1392
 ἐξόπισθε ἐρχόντησαν *Pol. Tr.* 1077 app. crit. (B); ἐδιαφεντευόντησαν *ibid.* 2450 app. crit. (BV);
 συγγενεῖς εὐρισκόντησαν *ibid.* 2823
 ποσῶς οὐκ ἐπαυόντησαν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 305; ἐγειρόντησαν *ibid.* 515
 τρεῖς μῆνας ἐχαιρόντησαν *Imber.* 890
 οὐκ ἐπαρεδιδόντησαν *Moiol. Konst.* 21 app. crit.
 ἐρχόντησαν *Theseid* I.54,8 (Follieri); ἐχρειαζόντησαν *ibid.* I.124,6; ἐγλυκασπαζόντησαν
ibid. II.79,4 (1529); ἐπορευόντησαν *ibid.* VI Prol. 3 (Olsen); ἐδυνόντησαν *ibid.* VI.64,8;
 ἐβανόντησαν *ibid.* VI.11,6
 δὲν ορεγόντησαν ἀπὸ τόσον πράγμα ολίγον *Anthos Ch. A* 176.18
 ορεγόντησαν *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 37–8
 λοιπὸν αὐτὰ ἐρχόντησαν *Alex. Rim.* 552
 ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ εὐρισκόντησαν (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 22, 100.3)
 κι ὁ λύκος μὲ τὴν ἀλουποῦ ἐρχόντησαν καὶ λέγαν *Fyll. gadar.* 32
 καθόντησαν VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 64
 τὰ χεῖλη του ἐκρεμόντησαν ἔξω ὥσάν μελιτζάνες *Vios Aisop. K* 147.9
 ὑποτασσόντησαν καὶ τοῦ ἐγινόντησαν ὑπόδουλοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.16; ὅταν
 ἐδικαζόντησαν *ibid.* 30.10
 ἐφαινόντησαν *Bertoldos* 6.11
 τὰ ὁποῖα θαύματα καθημερούσιον ἐγινόντησαν *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 11
 οπου ἐτοιμαζόντησαν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2362; βρισκόντησαν *ibid.* 4041

Deletion of final /n/ is very rare: ἐὰν ὅλοι ἐχαιρόντησα *Pol. Tr.* 1962 app. crit. (A); ἐρχόντησα εἰς τὴν μέση (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 289, 407.7).

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs in the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*. In the manuscript these forms bear the stress on the fourth syllable from the end (see I, 2.6.3.3); secondary accents were unnecessarily added in the modern edition: εὐρισκόντησανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.11 ms; ἐρχόντησανε *ibid.* 72.34 ms; ἐχαιρόντησανε *ibid.* 85.23 ms; ὑποτασσόντησανε *ibid.* 85.35 ms.

Pl.	3	-όντεσαν

⁶⁴ Mazaris, the author of a satirical text in learned Greek entitled *Διάλογος νεκρικός. Ἐπιδημία Μάζαρι ἐν Ἄδου* (1414–15), mocks the Peloponnesians and their “barbarous” language, mentioning among other things the forms ἡρχόντησαν and καθεζόντησαν (see PANDELIDIS 2010: 469).

⁶⁵ There is no strong linguistic evidence to support the supposed Cretan character of *Fyll. gadar*: and in fact the presence of this and other endings (cf. imperf. ἑκαυχάσουν) could be seen as an argument against this supposition.

⁶⁶ The supposed Cypriot provenance of this text is linguistically ill-supported; see e.g. the 3 sg. ending -εντο.

This rare ending, clearly a variant of -όντησαν, is found sporadically in the 15th/16th c.:

βρισκόντεσαν *Theseid* I.7,2 (Follieri)

ἐρχόντεσαν *Chron. Mor.* P 3708

δεν εφαινόντεσαν τα αρχίδια αυτού *Syndipas* 116.12

εάν οι γυναίκες εβαλλόντεσαν εις τες μάθησες *Anthos Ch.* A 25.7; ειρωνευόντεσάν των *ibid.*

171.16

κ' ἐσυντριβγόντεσαν *Pent. Gen.* 25.22

Pl.	3	-όντουσαν

The MG ending -όντουσαν (cf. PANDELIDIS 2005; JOSEPH 2008; JOSEPH 2009a) has not been found before the 18th c. It occurs in a document from Corfu and in Spanos's grammar (1749; author from the Peloponnese), which gives the ending as -ότουσαν, indicating that nasal deletion has occurred in the cluster /nd/ (see I, 3.6.2.1 for details): ἐκεῖ τότες ἐβρισκόντουσαν μαζί μου (1716, Corfu, ΛΙΑΤΑ 1975: 30, 142.6–7); ἐγράφοντο-φόντουν-ότουσαν SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.23.

Pl.	3	-όντουσταν

A single example of this ending has been found in a 17th-c. document from Arcadia in the Peloponnese (cf. NEWTON 1972c: 272; PANDELIDIS 2005: 481; JOSEPH 2009a): ἐκοβγόντουσταν (1667, Dimitsana, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 53, 317.13).

Pl.	3	-ούντασι -όντασι

The rare 3 pl. ending -ούντασι is mentioned as an alternative ending in Germano's (Chios, 17th c.) and Portius's grammars. It is clearly formed from -ούνταν/-όνταν, with the active alternative ending -ασι substituted for -αν (PANDELIDIS 2005: 478): ἐγραφούντανε, vel ἐγραφούντασι GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.10–11; ἐγράφουντον, vel ἐγραφούντασι PORTIUS 35.26–7.⁶⁷

The variant -όντασι can be found in the early 18th-c. EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.*: νὰ ἐστεκόντασι EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22.9; ἐρχόντασι *ibid.* 23.4.

Pl.	3	-ενταν

An example of this rare ending is found in KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* (16th c., Heptanese). It could perhaps be viewed as an attempt to fabricate a distinctive plural for -εντο(ν): ἐμαζώνενταν πολλοὶ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.27.

⁶⁷ The ms reads ἐγραφούντασι, but since Portius largely copies Germano, this is clearly a writing mistake.

4.3.2 Oxytone Verbs

4.3.2.1 Active Voice

		General		Restricted		Rare	
Sg.	1	ἐγρίκουν	ἐβάρουν	ἐγρίκου ἐγρίκουνα ἐγρίκουνε ἐγρικοῦσα	ἐβάρου ἐβάρουνα ἐβάρουνε ἐβαροῦσα	ἐγρίκων ἐγρίκαγα	ἐβάραρα ἐβάρειγα
	2	ἐγρίκας	ἐβάρεις ἐβάρειες	ἐγρίκουνες ἐγρικοῦσες	ἐβάρουνες ἐβαροῦσες	ἐγρίκαγες ἐγρίκειες ἐγρίκες	ἐβάρειγες ἐβάρες
	3	ἐγρίκα(ν)	ἐβάρει(ν) ἐβάρειε(ν)	ἐγρίκανε ἐγρίκουνε ἐγρικοῦσε(ν)	ἐβάρουνε ἐβαροῦσε(ν)	ἐγρίκα(γ)ε	ἐβάρεινε ἐβάρειγε ἐβάρεινε ἐβάρην
Pl.	1	ἐγρικοῦμε(ν) ἐγρικοῦμαν	ἐβαροῦμε(ν) ἐβαροῦμαν	ἐγρικοῦμα ἐγρικοῦσαμε(ν)	ἐβαροῦμα ἐβαροῦσαμε(ν)	ἐγρικῶμε(ν) (-άγαμε(ν))	ἐβαρούμανε ἐβαρείγαμεν ἐβάραμε(ν)
	2	ἐγρικᾶτε	ἐβαρεῖτε	(-άτενε) ἐγρικοῦσετε	ἐβαρούσετε	(-άγετε)	ἐβαρεῖγετε
	3	ἐγρίκουν ἐγρικοῦσαν ἐγρικοῦσασι(ν)	ἐβάρουν ἐβαροῦσαν ἐβαρούσασι(ν)	ἐγρικοῦσα ἐγρικοῦσανε	ἐβαροῦσα ἐβαρούσανε	ἐγρίκων ἐγρίκαν ἐγρίκαγαν	ἐβαρούσανσι ἐβάρειγαν

Distribution of Allomorphs*1st Person Singular*

Sg.	1	-ου(ν) † -ουνα † -ουνε

For 1 sg. active, the inherited E-stem ending -ουν is the most commonly used ending for both A- and E-stem verbs throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from most areas:⁶⁸

E-stems

νὰ ἐπώλουν *Ptoch. III* 176; σύντομον νὰ ξεπούλουν *ibid.* 180

ἐχρεώστων *Pol. Tr.* 2601

τὰ ἤθελες ἐποίουν *Dig.* E 358; ἐγὼ ἐκυνήγουν *ibid.* E 505

ἔζουν *Liv.* V 2250

⁶⁸ Note that modern Cypriot retains this ending for 1 sg.; see CHATZIOANNOU 1999: 53–5.

καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμπόρουν SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 20; ἐκράτουν *ibid.* 147
 ἐσυχνοπορδοκόπουν *Synax. gadar.* 233
 δὲν ἐθάρουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 86.5; πάντα σ' ἐμίσουν *ibid.* 574.17–18
 ἐπερπάτουν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 17
 καὶ ἴπουν τὸ κεφάλι ZINOS, *Vatr.* 328
 ἐμπόρουν (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.9)
 δὲν ἐθάρουν ἐγὼ (1654, Karpenisi, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 7, 82.2)
 ἐμίλουν GERMANO, *Grammar* 76.23
 ἡμπόρουν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 15.5 marg.
 ἐπεριπάτουν καὶ ἐκατοῦρουν *Vios Aisop.* K 160.8
 κ' ἐταύρουν τὰ μαλλιά μου MONTSEL., *Evgena* 896 and 1329

A-stems

ἡγάπουν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.14 and *id.*, *Logos* 31 810.10
 ἐτίμουν *Dig.* G II.188
 ἐβάστουν τὸ σπαθὶν μου *Dig.* E 1115
 ἐγροίκουν *Liv.* E 1670
 ἐτρύφουν ... ἐσπατάλου *Liv.* V 2250
 ὅτι ἐβάστουν πρόσταγμα *Diig. tetr.* 723
 σὲ ἡγάπουν *Achil.* N 1571
 ἐβάστουν SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 10; ἐξέρνουν *id.*, *Peri fylakis* 196 transcr. P (Lendari)
 ἡγάπουν τὰ στρατιωτικά *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 33; τὸν Χάρον οὐκ ἐψήφουν τον *ibid.* 35
 ἐγέλουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 52.19
 ἥσπουν CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.174; κὶ ἐβάστουν τα *ibid.* III.269
 ἐγάπουν GERMANO, *Grammar* 76.22; ἐγροίκουν *ibid.* 76.28
 ἐτοῦτα ἀγάπουν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.38–9
 ἐγὼ ἀπὸ μέσα τοὺς ἐρώτουν *Vios Aisop.* D 231.27
 ἐγέλουν SPANOS, *Grammar* 41.13–14

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts and documents from Crete and certain Aegean islands (Skyros, Naxos and perhaps Chios)⁶⁹ and in *Achil.* O, which is of unknown provenance:

ἄν οὐ σ' ἐγάπου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἴόθου τὰ μεγάλα *Achil.* O 662
 τίποτις δὲν ἐτρόμου FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 10; δὲν ἀποκότου νὰ τὸ πῶ *ibid.* 11
 ἐπεθύμου νὰ κτήσω MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 230.25–6
 σὰν ἐπεθύμου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.24; ἐμπόρου *id.*, *Katz.* II.167; εὐχαρίστου σου *ibid.* II.360
 τοὺς τόπους ἐσυντήρου *P&N Diath.* 283
 ὅπου δὲν ἐθώρου ὕπνο *Fallidos* 30
 τὰ τορνέσα ἀπὸ ἐχρώστου (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 39.71)
 κ' ἐκαταχάλου ὅ,τι ἔβλεπα TROILOS, *Rodol.* II.376; εὐχαρίστου σου *ibid.* IV.15
 σ' ἐγάπου ὡσὰν παιδὶ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.14
 ὦχου κὶ ἄς μὴν ἐπείνου! VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 1544
 ἐπειδὴ ἐχρεώστου ἐγὼ (1669, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 34, 58.2)
 πάντα τὸν ἐγροίκου *Trag. Ag. Dim.* I.61

⁶⁹ The example in Vestarchis could be due to influence from Cretan literature (MANOUSAKAS/PUCHNER 2000: 45), since no similar forms have been found in other texts from Chios. For the practice of omitting final /n/ in ms V of Machairas and in other Cypriot texts see I, 3.7.2.2.

The ending -ουν with an added “past tense” ending -α (cf. KOURMOULIS 1956),⁷⁰ has a strong presence with both A- and E-stem verbs in texts of south-western provenance (Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese), occasionally occurring in texts from other regions as well (Constantinople, Aegean). It appears towards the end of the LMedG period and remains in use throughout and beyond the EMG period:

ἐκράτουνα *Liv. E* 1670; ἐκατευόδουνα *ibid.* 1693 (< κατευοδῶ, O-stem); ἐκονόμουνα *ibid.* 3532
 ἐπεθύμουνα *Theseid* I.103,7 (Follieri); ἡμπόρουνα *ibid.* III.54,5 (1529)
 ποὺ κράτουνα *FALIEROS, Erot. En.* 122
 ἄς ἐφίλουνα τῆς λυγερῆς τὰ χεῖλη *Love poems V* 176
 ἐμίσουνα τοῦ κόσμου τὲς γυναῖκες *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 67; ἐκυβέρνηουνα *ibid.* 204
 ὅταν ἐγὼ τραγοῦδουνα *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 129.13
 ἄν ἐγρίκουνα ἐγὼ (1577, Wallachia, IORGA 1915: 126, 52.30) (ed. ἐγροικοῦνα) (the author was a hellenized Italian lady from Constantinople)
 νὰ τὸν ἐτίμουνα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 86.19
 ἐπούλουνα (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.10); ἀπεθύμουνα (*ibid.* 361.24)
 σὰν ἐπορπάτουνα *PORTIUS, Grammar* 65.42
 ὥσὰ δὲν μπόρουνα νὰ τὸ δουλέψω σήμερο (1639, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 137, 123.11)
 δὲν ἡμπόρουνα *MONTSEL., Evgena* 165; τὴν ἀγάπουνα *ibid.* 934; νὰ ξεψύχουνα *ibid.* 1117
 ἐχρώστουνα τοῦ καπετὰν Δουλφῆ κατὶ λάδι (1694, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 204, 124.17)
 ἐποίουνα *SPANOS, Grammar* 38.15; ἐκέρνουνα *ibid.* 38.22; ἐγέλουνα *ibid.* 41.14

Forms with added -(ν)ε have been found in texts from the Aegean (Chios and Naxos), the Heptanese and Crete, as well as in one ms of *Pol. Tr.* (for such forms see also I, 2.6.3.3):

ἐσκόπουνε νὰ ἔχω χαρὰν *Pol. Tr.* 9121 (ms X)
 τὸν ὄρθρον ἀκαρτέρουνε τὰ δένδρη γιὰ ν' ἀκούσω *Alex. Rim.* 2132
 ἐκράτουνε *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.28
 ἐγάπουνε *GERMANO, Grammar* 87.4
 τὴν γνώμην ὅπου ἔκράτουνε *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1822; ἐκυνήγουνε *ibid.* 2503
 νὰ μπόρουνε νὰ λόγιασα *Trag. Ag. Dim.* III.322

Sg.	1	-ων

This residual A-stem ending, which had been replaced by -ουν long before the LMedG period, is used sporadically, with both A-stem and E-stem verbs, mainly in mixed-to-higher-register texts:

ἐπροεχρεώστων (1123, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 4, 60.12)
 ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐτίμων *Dig. G* III.161; λόγους μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως ἐρωτικούς ἐκίρων *ibid.* VI.164
 ἐσκόπων *Pol. Tr.* 5933 app. crit. (V)

⁷⁰ Instead of substituting -α for -ουν, which would adapt the ending to a common “past tense” paradigm, but which would also make the form indistinguishable from the most common 3 sg. ending (see below). Only one form in -α has been found in the texts examined: καὶ ἐγὼ μὲ ἄλλον καράβι ἀκλουῖθα τοὺς (1487, Chios?, LEFORT 1981: 13, 77.22).

ἔζων σὺν τοῖς μαθήμασι *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 25

ἔζων *Liv.* α 123 app. crit. (P)

ἐβόων θρηνηδοῦσα *Dig.* T 1732; παρ' οὗ μαθεῖν ἐζήτων *ibid.* 2043

Sg.	1	-οῦσα

This ending, the most common ending in SMG, consists of the imperfect marker /us/ and the “past tense” ending -α. The infix /us/ is derived from the 3 pl. imperfect ending -οῦσαν (see below; for a discussion see 2.1.2.2.3). With 1 sg., forms in -οῦσα have not been found in writing before the 17th c., but it is used with both A- and E-stem verbs. This ending is absent from Cretan texts, in which -οῦσα is a 3 pl. ending (-οῦσαν with deletion of final /n/, see below).⁷¹

ἀγαποῦσα *ROMANOS, Grammar* 38.8; ἐκρατοῦσα *ibid.* 47.21; ἀργοῦσα 64.14

ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐλειτουργοῦσα *Diig. Sant.* 55.78

ἐγὼ ἐκυνηγοῦσα *Alex. Fyll.* 109.4

ἐμποροῦσα ... νὰ τὰ μετακινήσω (1709, Chios, *PAPASTRATOU* 1981: 34, 134.27); ἐπουλοῦσα (*ibid.* 135.70)

ἐγὼ αγαποῦσα νὰ παραπονιέσαι *Don Kis.* 47.15–16; εθαρρούσα *ibid.* 563.24

ἐκερνοῦσα *SPANOS, Grammar* 38.23; ἐφιλοῦσα *ibid.* 39.21; ἐγελοῦσα *ibid.* 41.14

Sg.	1	-αγα

This ending, common for A-stem verbs in the southern varieties of MG including Athenian, is absent from the LMedG period and very rare in the EMG period. It consists of the imperfect marker /aɣ/ (originally the stem vowel /a/ with intervocalic /ɣ/ before the /e/ of the 3 sg. and 2 sg. endings; see below, and for a discussion see 2.1.2.2.3). With 1 sg. it starts to appear quite late, in texts of Peloponnesian and Heptanesian (Zakynthian) provenance of the 17th and 18th c.: πὺ τὰ χρώσταγα (17th c., Gortynia, *GRITSOPOULOS* 1972: 33, 185.7); ἐγέλαγα *SPANOS, Grammar* 41.14; ὅπου τὸ ἀποκοίμαγα ᾗ τὴν κούνια μὲ τραγοῦδια *Xethapsimo* 14.

Sg.	1	-ειγα

This ending appears as an alternative to several other endings in the 1749 grammar of the Peloponnesian Kanellos Spanos.⁷² It has also been found in a manuscript note dating to 1718. It is most probably an analogical formation modelled on 2 sg. and 3 sg. forms in -ειες and -ειε with intervocalic /ɣ/ (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion): ἐφόρειγα (1718, Unknown, *POLITIS/POLITI* 1991: 2323, f.158v); ἐφίλειγα *SPANOS, Grammar* 39.23.

⁷¹ According to *HATZIDAKIS* 1892: 124, the modern Cretan dialect of his time had /us/ only in the plural.

⁷² This ending is still found in modern Peloponnesian dialects (*NEWTON* 1972a: 54; *PANTELIDIS* 2003: 11).

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-ας

The inherited 2 sg. A-stem ending -ας is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, with both A-stem and E-stem verbs:

A-stems

ἀγάπας μας, ἐτίμας μας *Pol. Tr.* 7150
 ἀγάπας *Dig.* E 238
 καὶ νὰ ἐμέτρας τὸν καιρὸν *Liv.* V 1789
 ἀνάσπας *Poulol.* 432
 τὴν ἤθελες καὶ ἡγάπας *Achil.* N 1802
 ἄν ἐγρίκας *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 564
 στὲς χῶρες τὲς ἐπέρνας *Apok.* V 101
 ὁποῦ μὲ ἡγάπας περισσὰ *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 278
 τοῦτη εἶνε ἡ ἀγάπη ὅπου μὲ ἀγάπας! *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 402.33
 ἐγέλας *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 63.15
 ἐὰν ἀγάπας *DAM. SToud., This., Logos* 7, η3v.22 (1561)
 ἄν ἐπήδας *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.70
 τὸν πόνο δὲν ἐγροίκας *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.101
 κ' ἐγροίκας ἀναστεναγμούς *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 204.14; τὴν Κύπρον ἐκυβέρνας *ibid.* 391.13
 ἐβάστας *Zinon Prol.* 39; ἐψήφας *ibid. Prol.* 50
 κι ἂν ἐμελέτας ἄλλα *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV. 385

E-stems

ἀχαρίστας τὴν *Log. parig.* L 476
 κι ἄλλον νὰ ἐκατηγόρας *Chron. Mor.* H 5553
 ἀλλὰ ἂν ἐσκόπας τὸν καιρὸν *Liv.* E 1933; ἡῦρα τὸ ἐπεθύμας *ibid.* 3726
 ἡῦρηκες τὸ ἐπεθύμας *Liv.* α 844
 νὰ ἐσκόπας τὰς ἡμέρας *Liv.* V 1789
 ἐρίγας τὴν κορφὴν σου *Poulol.* 248
 εὐλόγας *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 31
 ἐπολέμας το *Theseid Prol.* P 97
 ἐσύ ἀπ' ἀκλούθας *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.333
 ἐπαρηγόρας (1604–5, Cythera, *MAVROEIDI* 1978: 146.19)
 ἐσύ ὁποῦ ἐκτύπας ἦσου; *Stathis* I.171
 ἐλειτούργας (17th c., Cyprus, *CHRISTODOULOU* 1983: A, 405.340)

Sg.	2	-εις

The inherited 2 sg. E-stem ending -εις is used with E-stem verbs throughout the LMedG period and well into the EMG period. In the texts examined this ending has not been found with A-stem verbs:

ἄν οὐκ ἐθάρρεις κολυμβᾶν *Ptoch. I* 103
 ὁπότεν ἐδυστύχεις *Log. parig.* L 476

οὐδὲν ἠμπόρεις *Chron. Mor.* H 4228; ἂν μ' ἐκράτεις *ibid.* 4268
 Συρίαν οὐκ ἐθεώρεις *Dig.* E 141
 τὸ ἐκράτεις *Poulol.* 150
 νὰ ἐδόκεις ὅτι βλέπεις *Liv.* S 1284 (Lambert-van der Kolf); ἐθεώρεις *ibid.* 1288
 νὰ ᾽σκόπεις τὰς ἡμέρας *Liv.* α 2081
 μὴδὲ ὕγρασιάν νὰ ἐπάτεις *Pol. Tr.* 1249 app. crit. (A); ἐκράτεις *ibid.* 5625 app. crit. (X); ἐφίλεις
ibid. 5625 app. crit. (C); ἐχρεώστεις *ibid.* 8627 app. crit. (X)
 τὸ ἐκράτεις ἄρραβώνα *Poulol.* 150; τὴν ζούπαν τὴν ἐφόρεις *ibid.* 179
 καὶ τὸ λουτρόν ἐθώρεις [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 313; ὥσάν νὰ τὴν ἐκράτεις *ibid.* 1196
 ἐζήτεις *Spanos D* 1307
 ἐπαρεκάλεις *Vios Aisop.* K 203.10
 ἐκεῖ ποὺ τὴν ἐθώρεις KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.364; πράμα ποὺ δὲν ἐθάρρεις *ibid.* II.1925
 ἠμπόρεις KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 15.5; ἐπεριπτάτεις *ibid.* Ioann. 21.18

Sg.	2	-(ε)ΙΕΣ ἢ -ΕΙΓΕΣ

The E-stem ending -(ε)ιες appears towards the end of the LMedG period, and becomes quite common in the EMG period, though it is used very rarely with A-stem verbs. It is modelled on 3 sg. -ειε (see below and see 2.1.2.2.4 for discussion) and can be found in texts from at least the 15th c. onwards. From verse texts it becomes clear that this ending could be pronounced with synizesis, as /jes/, e.g. μ' ἐψυχοπόνειες at the verse end,⁷³ or without synizesis, e.g. ἠμπόρειες ν' ακούσεις:

E-stems

ὄνταν μ' ἐψυχοπόνειες *Liv.* E 3975
 ἐλάλειες εἰς τὰ νέφη *Liv.* V 1567
 τὸ δὲν ἐθάρρειες *Achil.* L 1053
 οὐδὲν ἠμπόρειες *Chron. Mor.* P 4228
 ἐχρώστειες DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2263
 κι ἄς τὲς ἐπόνειες *Alex. Rim.* 1023
 ἐκράτειες SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 60.20
 κ' ἐγάμειες τὴ μάνα μου *Nov. I* 156.14
 τὸ θάρρειες CHORTATIS, *Erof.* II.46; ἐμπόρειες *ibid.* III.301; ἐθώρειες *ibid.* III.303
 ὁποὺ ἐθώρειες τ' ὄνειρο *Stathis* III.244
 ἐμίλιες GERMANO, *Grammar* 76.26; ἐπούλειες *ibid.* 92.21
 νὰ μπόρειες FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.54
 ἠμπόρειες ν' ακούσεις IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1305
 κ' ἐθώρειες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 169.17; ἐμπόρειες 292.10
 τέτοιας λογιῆς ἐθώρειες καταδίκη KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* II.323

A-stems

ἐμάσειες BAROZZI, *Letter* 358.9

The same ending with an added intervocalic /y/ (for which see I, 3.5.2.1) is mentioned as an alternative to several other E-stem endings in the 1749 grammar of the Peloponnesian

⁷³ Cf. also the spellings καὶ ᾽θώργιες and ἐμπόργιες in the Xirouchakis edition of Bounialis.

Kanellos Spanos, but has not been found in earlier texts (see also 2.1.2.2.4):⁷⁴ ἐφίλειγες SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.23.

Sg.	2	-ες

Forms in -ες may come about in two distinct ways: When the ending occurs after consonants that have palatal allophones before the front vowels /e/ and /i/, such as [x] and [ç], [ɣ] and [j], [k] and [c] (see I, 3.8.2), they represent a graphematic simplification of -ειες /jes/: ἐψυχομάχες *Spanos* B 155. However, when the ending occurs after consonants that do not have a palatal allophone, it is likely to be a direct substitution of the barytone ending -ες for -εις (MINAS ²2003: 114), and not, as one might expect, a matter of post-consonantal deletion of /j/ in -ειες, given the fact that these forms occur in areas that do not otherwise present post-consonantal /j/ deletion (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details) (cf. 3 sg. for corresponding forms, which are particularly common in Cypriot texts): ἤζες *Deft. Par.* 394; δὲν ἐλάλες Ἰτσου *Fior* 137.1; ἐθῶρες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους του KONST. ΔΙΑΚ., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 681; ἐθῶρες *Thrinis Kypr.* 367.

Sg.	2	-ουνες

Formed by analogy with 1 sg. -ουνα, which consists of the inherited 1 sg. ending -ουν with an added “past tense” ending -α (see above; see also 2.1.2.2.3), this 2 sg. ending occurs with both A- and E-stem verbs in *Bertoldos* and *Bertoldinos* (17th c., Heptanese) and in the 18th-c. grammar of Kanellos Spanos, who was Peloponnesian: ἡμπόrouνες *Bertoldos* 21.3; δὲν ἐπερβάrouνες *Bertoldin.* 105.23; δὲν ἡμπόrouνες *ibid.* 148.32 and 151.19; νὰ τὸ ἐγρίκουνες *ibid.* 155.5; ἐποίrouνες SPANOS, *Grammar* 38.15; ἐφίλουνες *ibid.* 39.21.

Sg.	2	-αγες

This ending, common for A-stem verbs in the southern varieties of MG including Athenian, is absent from the LMedG period and very rare in the EMG period. It consists of the imperfect marker /aɣ/ (made up of the stem vowel /a/ with intervocalic /ɣ/ before the /e/ of 3 sg. and 2 sg.) and the “past tense” ending -ες. With 2 sg. /aɣ/ has been found in the 18th-c. grammar of Kanellos Spanos, who was of Peloponnesian provenance: ἐκέρναγες SPANOS, *Grammar* 38.23 (see also 2.1.2.2.3).

Sg.	2	-οῦσες

⁷⁴ This ending is also a feature of modern Peloponnesian dialects (NEWTON 1972a: 54; PANDELIDIS 2001: 556).

This 2 sg. ending, which is the most common ending for SMG, consists of the imperfect marker /us/ and the “past tense” ending -εσ (for /us/ see 2.1.2.2.3). With 2 sg., forms with /us/ have not been found before the 17th c. They appear in texts of northern provenance and in the grammar of Kanellos Spanos (Peloponnese):

ἀγαποῦσες ROMANOS, *Grammar* 38.8; ἐκρατοῦσες *ibid.* 47.21; [ἀρ]γοῦσες *ibid.* 64.14
 ἐλειτουργοῦσες με τὸν καρδινάλην (1701, Transylvania, LEGRAND 1903: 14, 38.17)
 ἀν ἀρχινούσες *Don Kis.* 109.3; ἡμπορούσες *ibid.* 131.3
 ἐφιλοῦσες SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.21

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-α(ν) † -ανε

The inherited 3 sg. A-stem ending -α is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from various areas, with both A-stem and E-stem verbs:

A-stems

ἐβάστα *Chron. Mor.* H 8131
 καὶ ἐβρόντα τὸ λιβάδιν *Liv.* α 849
 ἐκυβέρνα (1432, Corfu, ASONITIS 1996/97: 3, 29.47)
 κάτης καὶ ποντικός ἐμάχουντα καὶ ὁ βλέπων ἐγέλα *Paroim.* H 28
 εἶ τις τοὺς ἐρώτα τίποτες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.23–4; καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγέλα *ibid.* 340.14
 πάντα βάστα κι ἄρματα KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.86
 αὐτὸς ἀγάπα την ησυχίαν *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.5–6
 ἐγρίκα μίαν χαρὰν πολλὴν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 39.23
 ἐκράτει ... ἓνα ραβδί καὶ ἀκούμπα *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 89.35–6
 ἐκυβέρνα τὴν βασιλείαν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.33; ἀγάπα καὶ τοὺς ραγιάδες *ibid.* 28.6
 ἐχάλνα τοὺς Γραικοὺς MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1313
 καὶ τὸν ἐρώτα ἂν βλέπει τίποτες KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 8.25
 ἐχαίρετον κ' ἐπήδα PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 174
 ἐπέρνα ἀπὸ κεῖ (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 323, 524.32)
 ἐπέρνα μέρες σκοτεινὲς KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.22

E-stems

ἐμαρτύρα *Chron. Mor.* H 1889
 ἐτήρα τον *Pol. Tr.* 426; καὶ ἐκυνήγα *ibid.* 6428
 ἐπεθύμα *Dig.* E 1576
 ἐσυντήρα *Velth.* 393
 νὰ ἐθρήνα *Achil.* O 758
 καὶ ὥρες με βίαν ἐκίνα BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 10
 ευχαρίστα καὶ τον Θεόν *Vios Filaret.* 239.24
 ἐχρεώστα (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.24)
 ἐζήτα ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 115.3
 τὸ χρέος ... ποὺ ἐχρεώστα (1600, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 96, 128.14–15)
 ὅπου ὁ ποτὲ τση κύρης ἑκατοῖκα (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 82, 99.5)
 ἐβοήθα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.37; τοὺς ἐπολέμα *ibid.* 100.7
 ἑκατοῖκα (1609, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 8, 78.4)

ἐμετενόα RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 127.10

ἐσυγκατοίκα (1685, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 68, 275.37)

Addition of final /n/ is quite common, occurring in texts from various regions, both literary and non-literary, from at least the 15th c. onwards:

ἀνερώταν *Dig.* E 133

ἐβάσταν *Assizes* B 298.12; ἐζήταν *ibid.* 382.9; ἀγάπαν, οὐ ἐμίσαν *ibid.* 404.8

ἐσκόπαν *Pol. Tr.* 317 app. crit. (A); ἐχάλναν *ibid.* 13728 app. crit. (C)

καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκυβέρνην τον (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 66.9)

τοὺς ἤθελεν καὶ ἡγάπαν *Achil.* N 283; ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐνίκαν τοὺς *ibid.* 287

ἐβρόνταν ἡ δύσις, καὶ ἐτσιληπουόρδαν ἡ γαδάρα *Spanos* A 170

ἐκατοῖκαν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 975

αγάπαν πολλά τον αποστολέ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 10.14–15; ἐγρίκαν λειτουργιάν *ibid.* A 50.2

ἐπέρναν *Diig. Alex.* F 254.4 (Lolos); τοὺς ἐγέλαν *ibid.* 18.18–19 (Konstantinopulos)

ὅταν μᾶς ἐτράβαν ὁ τζαούσης ὁ αὐθεντικός (1550, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: XVI, 123.6–7)

ἐχρώσταν (1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 1, 20.9)

τοὺς ἐρώταν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 2.4; ἐβλασφήμαν *ibid.* Louk. 23.39

ἀδίκαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §15.41; ἐπαρσκίναν *ibid.* I §29.32; ἐχάλναν *ibid.* III §14.26

καὶ ἴβάσταν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 110; εὐχαρίσταν τὸν θεὸν *ibid.* 1684; ἀφ' τὴν χαρὰν ἐπήδαν *ibid.* 2726

ἐβάσταν ἀσβολιές (1687, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 674, 921.19)

Addition of -(v)ε occurs in texts from Chios, the Heptanese and the Peloponnese, and in version A of the *Rimada koris*, which is of uncertain provenance. It also appears in Stavrinis, most likely for metrical reasons (for -(v)ε see also I, 2.6.3.3).

ἔσωνε καὶ κατάντανε τῆς μέρας ἡ ἀσπράδα *Rim. kor.* A 28

ἐβάστανε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 208.19 and 242.38

περνώντας ἔχαιρέτανε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 530; ἡγάπανε *ibid.* 1250; τοῦ ζήτηνε *ibid.* 1260; μὲ μιά ράβδο 'ποῦ ἴβάστανε *ibid.* 1318; ἐκυνήγανε *ibid.* 1326; ἐπήδανε *ibid.* 1337; ἐκατοῖκανε *ibid.* 1608; τὸν Διγενῆ ἐρώτανε *ibid.* 2044

ἐκατοῖκουε *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* I 2

ἄλλος τουφέκι βάστανε STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 918 (Pidonia)

Sg.	3	-ει(ν) ἰ -εινε

The inherited 3 sg. E-stem ending -ει is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from various areas, though very rarely with A-stem verbs:

E-stems

ἐπικράτει (1223, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 29, 444.20)

πεζὸς περιεπάτει *Ptoch. III* 58

ροῦχον ἐφόρει κόκκινον *Log. parig.* L 53

τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἐκράτει *Chron. Mor.* H 2558

ὥς ἐθεώρει *Pol. Tr.* 428

ἐλάλει καὶ ἡκουγὲν τον *Synax. gyn.* 113

αθύμει *Syndipas* 111.8

ο νεκρὸς ἐλάλει DIONYS., *Istor.* 253.2

και τον επαρακάλει ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 109.2
 εκράτει εις το χέρι του ένα ραβδι *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 89.35–6
 μὰ κείνο ἐλάλει ἡ γλώσσα *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.331; κι ὥρες πολλές μ' ἐκράτει *ibid.* III.31
 ἐμίλει (1622, Crete, *MALTEZOU* 1989: 358.16)
 ἐφόρει ροῦχον *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 3.4
 στο σπίτι δὲν ἐχώρει *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 184
 τοὺς πόνει *ΔΙΑΚΡ., Diig. Pol.* 244

A-stems

εβάστει *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 161.2

Addition of final /n/ occurs in a variety of texts from at least the 13th c. onwards:

καθὼς ἐκράτειν αὐτὰς Γεώργιος ὁ Χορτάτσης (1299, Crete, *MERTZIOS* 1949: 267.73–4)
 ἠκολούθειν τον *Liv.* V 43
 ἐχρώστειν *Assizes B* 418.15 and *Assizes A* 60.10
 ἐφίλειν, κατεφίλειεν τον *Achil.* L 1109 transcr. (Lendari) (Hesseling: ἐφίλει)
 εἶχαμεν σκύλον καὶ ἐβοήθειεν τὸν λύκον *Paroim.* H 88
 κάτου στὴ γῆν ἐθώρειν *Achil.* O 628
 ἐπεριπάτειν, ἔτρεχεν [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 1481
 ἐθώρειν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 443
 ἐκατεγκάλειν καὶ ἐκατέκλαιγεν (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, *LEHFELDT* 1989: 87.1d–2d)
 περιεπάτειν τρεῖς χρόνους *Spanos B* 32; ἐπαρεκάλειν *ibid.* 43
 καὶ ἐλάλειν μετὰ ἐμέν *Diig. Alex.* K 347.15
 ἐπερπάτειν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 13

Addition of $-(v)\epsilon$ (see I, 2.6.3.3) occurs in one of the 17th-c. theatrical plays from Chios, in this case even with an added final /n/ to avoid hiatus, as well as in a document written in Nauplion, possibly by an Athenian: καὶ τὴν ἐφόρειεν αὐτὴ *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 604; ἠμπόρεινε τινὰς νὰ τὸ ὀνομάσει τόπον εὐσπλαχνίας (1699, Nauplion/Athens, *KAMBOUROGLOU* 1889: 178.3).

Sg.	3	$-(\epsilon)\iota\epsilon(v) \mid -\epsilon\iota\epsilon\nu\epsilon \mid -\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon$

Forms in $-\epsilon\iota\epsilon(v)$ (sometimes spelled $\langle\iota\epsilon(v)\rangle$) consist of the inherited E-stem ending $-\epsilon\iota$ with a “past tense” ending $-\epsilon(v)$, borrowed from the dominant barytone paradigm (for a discussion, see 2.1.2.2.4). The ending occurs with E-stem verbs from at least the 14th c. onwards, with and without final /n/ (for the identical imperative ending, see 4.5.1.2). The ending was probably pronounced both with and without synizesis, e.g. ἐβάρειε: /e'varie/ or /e'varje/ (see 2.1.2.2.4; for synizesis see also I, 2.9.4):

ἐπροεκράτειε (1432, Corfu, *ASONITIS* 1996/97: 3, 29.47)
 ἐβόλειε *Chron. Toc.* 857; καὶ ἐπούλειε τοὺς *ibid.* 3589
 ἄν ἦτον καὶ νὰ μπόρειε *Peri xen.* 23
 ἐξάργειε *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Ag. Frang.* 2
 τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐλάλειε *Byz. Il.* 846
 ἐκαρτέρειε (1502, Corfu, *PANDAZI* 2007: 61, 51.2)
 ἐμπόρειε *Theseid* I.18,5 (Follieri)

ἀποῦ ἐκράτειε (1560, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 24, 103.15)
 ὠμίλειε πολλακίς μετὰ τῶν καρδινάλιων *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 64–5
 ἐχρώστειε (1597, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 5, 77.13)
 ἐπάτειέ τον εις την ράχι του *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 41.20
 ἐμπόρειε (1625, Crete, VLACHAKI 1986: 22, 447.31–2)
 ἔνας εἶχε μητριὰ κ' ἐκράτειε την *Nov. I* 156.1
 δὲν ἐβόλειε νὰ διαβαίνομε (1665–76, Ioannina, VAKATSAS 1992: 3, 153.7)
 και πως τους εκατούρειε ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 169; ποῦ νὰ προλάβει μπόρειε *ibid.* 1099

οὐκ ὤκνιεν εἰς τὰ δύσκολα *Log. parig.* L 43
 ἀνέζειεν *Assizes* B 364.3
 μῆλον χρυσὸν ἐκράτειεν *Liv.* V 426
 καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφίλειεν τὴν ἐδικὴν του κόρην *Achil.* L 1120
 ἐκράτειεν *Chron. Toc.* 180
 ἐκράτειεν (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.18)
 ἐκράτειεν *Poulol.* 268
 ἐκράτειεν *Achil.* N 82; ἐφόρειεν *ibid.* 1315; ἐφίλειεν, κατεφίλειεν τον *ibid.* 1511
 ὅσον ἐψυχομάχειεν *Spanos* A 491
 ὅπου ᾽διαλλάλειεν κι ἤλεγε FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 369 (ms)
 καὶ ἐκουβάλειεν τους ψουμὶν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 428.34
 ἤμπόρειεν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 34; ἐκράτειεν *ibid.* 1136
 ἐπαρακάλειέν τον *Vios Aisop.* I 248.31
 ἐμπόρειεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 166
 φωτιά ἐκράτειεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 111

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs in texts from the Aegean (Chios, Mykonos, Naxos), but may have had a broader geographical spread (see I, 2.6.3.3):

ἐκράτειεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 264; δύο σερβούτζια φόρειεν *ibid.* 529; ἐπορπάτειεν *ibid.* 1164;
 τραγούδειεν *ibid.* 2437; ἐθάρρειεν ὁ ἄγνωστος *ibid.* 2555
 ἐκράτειεν (1702, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 35, 49.13) δὲν ἐμπόρειεν (*ibid.* 39, 53.21–2)
 ἦκαμε ὅ,τι ἐμπόρειεν *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.119

With intervocalic /y/ the ending is given in the 1749 grammar of the Peloponnesian Kanellos Spanos: ἐφίλειγε SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.23.

Sg.	3	-ε(ν)

There are two paths of evolution that lead to forms in -ε(ν): When the ending occurs after consonants that have palatal allophones before the front vowels /e/ and /i/, such as [ɣ] and [j], [k] and [c] and [x] and [ç] (see I, 3.2), they may represent a graphematic simplification of -ειε(ν) /je(n)/: ἐψυχαγώγεν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 109.24. However, when the ending occurs after consonants that do not have a palatal allophone, it is likely to be a direct substitution of the barytone ending -ε(ν) for -ει (MINAS ²2003: 114),⁷⁵ and not, as one might

⁷⁵ TZITZILIS (2004: 475) considers these forms to be cases of retention of the old Doric imperfect, including the pronunciation of <η> as /e/, but the same forms also occur in Cypriot and elsewhere, areas for which such a claim could not be made.

expect, a matter of post-consonantal deletion of /j/ in -ειε5, given the fact that these forms occur in areas that do not otherwise present post-consonantal /j/-deletion, such as Cyprus (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details). Forms in -ε(ν) have been found in texts from various areas (S. Italy, Heptanese, Cyclades, Macedonia), but with a particularly strong presence in Cypriot texts. The ending is restricted to E-stem verbs and is much more common with than without final /n/, which in Cypriot texts may be omitted at the end of the sentence or before a word starting in /n/:

ἐκράτεν (1184, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 220, 289.1)
 ἐλάλεν *Assizes* B 330.6; ἐχρώσταν τού τα *ibid.* 335.25; ἐκράτεν *ibid.* 416.9; ἐμπόρεν *ibid.* 419.3
 ἔξεν *Assizes* A 112.30; ἔθεῶρεν *ibid.* 195.8; νά ἀγκάλεν *ibid.* 220.13
 ἐλάλεν του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.11; ἐφόρεν δ' δακτυλίδια πρετζιόζα *ibid.* 84.22–3;
 ἐπόνεν τον ἡ καρδιά του *ibid.* 346.32; δὲν μὲ ἀκάνεν τὸ φυσικόν *ibid.* 196.38 (< 3rd-person
 verb ἀκανεῖ; φυσικόν = ψυχικόν, see I, 3.8.2.2)
 ἐκράτεν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 46.3; εἴτι τους ἐλάλεν *ibid.* 302.1; ἐφόρεν *ibid.* 316.2–3
 νά τὰ λάλεν *Cypr. Canz.* 23.12; ἐμπόρεν *ibid.* 86.2; γιατί θῶρεν *ibid.* 116.33
 ἐκράτεν *Fior* 99.32; ἔξεν *ibid.* 129.36
 σὰν νά τα ἔκράτεν *Pist. kekoim.* 410
 καὶ περιπάτεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §22.21 δὲν ἐβόλεν *ibid.* I §33.9 (but also: ἐπερπάτειεν
ibid. I §16.10)
 ἀπάνω δὲν ἐχώρεν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3463
 στοὺς τόπους ποὺ ἔπαρπάτεν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 250; κὶ ἐθῶρεν τοὺς
 παχιᾶδες *ibid.* 744
 οὐδὲν ἔμπόρε νά σταθῇ *Assizes* A 79.9–10
 καὶ δὲν ἔμπόρε νά κοιμηθῇ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 64.1–2
 δὲν ἔμπόρε νά τὸ ποίση *Cypr. Canz.* 76.4
 καὶ φόρε καὶ λουρίκι KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.86; κὶ ὀληνυκτὶ ἔπερπάτε *ibid.* XII.39; δὲν
 πόρε νά ἔπομένει *ibid.* XV.11
 ὁ ποιὸς ἐλάλε *Fior* 79.26
 ἐπαρακάλε τους *Diig. Ag. Sof.* ω 518.5–6 app. crit. (Ω¹)
 ἐπόνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1330 app. crit.
 πᾶσα εἰς ὅπου ἔμπόρε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3464

Sg.	3	-ΟΥΝΕ

This ending is formed by analogy with the 1 sg. ending -ουνα, which consists of the inherited ending -ουν with an added “past tense” ending -α (see above; see also 2.1.2.2.3). The 3 sg. ending occurs with both A- and E-stem verbs in Heptanesian and Peloponnesian texts of the 17th and 18th c. and in a theatrical play from Naxos:

E-stems

ἐμίλουε *Bertoldos* 6.11; ἐπαρσκίνουε *ibid.* 39.28; ἐπερβάτουε *ibid.* 45.22; δὲν ἀποκότουε
ibid. 32.4
 νά ἔμπόρουε *Bertoldin.* 93.21–2; ἐκατοίκουε *ibid.* 94.20; ὁπόταν ἔζουε *ibid.* 116.27
 ὁ ὁποῖος ἦλθεν καὶ ἐλειτούργουε *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 53
 ἐκατοίκουε *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* I 2; ἐκαταπάτουε τὴν τέφραν *ibid.* II 6; ἄφρουε τὸ στόμα
 του *ibid.* II 9; αὐτὸς τὸν ἐπεθύμουε *ibid.* V 6–7; ἐπαρακάλουε *ibid.* V 16

νὰ μπόρουνε νὰ λόγιασα *Trag. Ag. Dim.* III.322
ἐπτοίουνε SPANOS, *Grammar* 38.15–16; ἐφίλουνε *ibid.* 39.21

A-stems

ἐρώτουνε τον Μπερτόλδον *Bertoldos* 23.24; ἐπεριγέλουνε *ibid.* 32.3; ἀπέρνουνε *ibid.* 54.14
ἐγρίκουνε *Bertoldin.* 164.24
ἐδίψουνε ἀκόμη καταπολλά *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 24
ἐκέρνουνε SPANOS, *Grammar* 38.24; ἐγέλουνε *ibid.* 41.14

Sg.	3	-οὔσε(ν)

This ending, the most common ending in SMG, consists of the imperfect marker /us/ and the 3 sg. “past tense” ending -ε. The morpheme /us/ is derived from the 3 pl. imperfect ending -οὔσαν (see below; see also 2.1.2.2.3). With 3 sg., the affix /us/ has not been found before the late 16th c.⁷⁶ The ending occurs with both E- and A-stem verbs in texts from various areas, though notably not in Cretan texts.⁷⁷

E-stems

τινάς δεν ἀποκοτούσεν νὰ περάσει ANDONIOS, *Vios Sym. Styl.* 243.12
εδούλευε και εζούσεν PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Lavras) 256.7
ἐκρατοῦσε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 47.21; [ἄρ]γοῦσε *ibid.* 64.14
ἐπουλοῦσεν το (1640, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 3, 10.11)
ἐβλαστημοῦσεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §35.14; πολλὰ τοὺς ὠνειδοῦσεν *ibid.* I §4.13
πονοῦσε ἡ καρδιά μου MONTSEL., *Evgena* 506
ἐπιθυμοῦσε *Alex. Fyll.* 9.32; τὴν ἐπαρηγοροῦσε *ibid.* 10.20; ὁμιλοῦσε *ibid.* 91.10
δὲ σ’ ἀκολουθοῦσε *Zinon Prol.* 51
κανένας δὲν ἀπεκοτούσε EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22.9
ἐκρατοῦσεν (1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 34, 136.99)
επεριπατούσε *Don Kis.* 136.15; δὲν ἠμποροῦσεν *ibid.* 310.3
ἐφιλοῦσε SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.21

A-stems

ἀγαποῦσε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 38.8
ἀπερνοῦσε *Alex. Fyll.* 103.22
και το εχαλνούσε *Don Kis.* 1.16; το αγαπούσε *ibid.* 114.30; εσιωπούσε *ibid.* 115.17
ἐκερνοῦσε SPANOS, *Grammar* 38.24

Sg.	3	-αε(ν) † -αγε(ν)

Uncontracted forms of A-stem verbs are not very common, but they do appear in texts that are geographically and chronologically remote; forms with intervocalic /y/, common for

⁷⁶ The forms ὠφελοῦσεν *Pol. Tr.* 13124 and ἐκρατοῦσεν *Chron. Toc.* 3664 are the result of editorial corrections (ὠφελοῦσαν and ἐκρατοῦσαν in app. crit.).

⁷⁷ According to HATZIDAKIS 1892: 124 the modern Cretan dialect of his time had /us/ only in the plural.

the southern varieties of MG, are equally rare and have not been found before the 17th c. (see also 2.1.2.2.3).

καὶ λέγει ὁποῦ μ' ἐφύλαε *Liv.* E 437

καθὼς ἀγάπαε ἡ καρδία του (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 58.8)

καὶ τὴν ἐπολέμαε δύο μῆνες (1685, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970a: [5], 91.3)

ἐμάσαε καὶ ἐτάιζε τὰ ἀφεντόπουλά της PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 118.2

ὅπου ποτὲ κατοίκαε VATATISIS, *Periig.* I 57

πῶς καὶ νὰ ἐξύπναγεν ΜΑΤΤΗΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 2381

ἐκράταγέ το (1670, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 2, 164.10)

τὸ χρέος ὁποῦ χρεώσταγε ὁ πατέρας μου (1707, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 56, 89.6–7)

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-οὔμε(ν)

The inherited E-stem ending -οὔμε(ν) continues to be in use in the LMedG period with E-stem and A-stem verbs, but is soon superseded by new endings that begin to appear in the LMedG period. Given that 1 pl. imperfects occur only in specific contexts (1st-person (plural) narrative set in the past), they are often completely absent from texts, making it difficult to establish the geographical spread of the various endings:⁷⁸

E-stems

ἐλαλοῦμεν *Dig.* G I.225

τὴν ἐκρατοῦμεν ἄγαμον, εὐρέθη ἐγκαστρωμένη *Paroim.* D 119

συνεθρηνοῦμεν ἄπειρα *Liv.* E 3034

ἐνόσω ἐπερπατοῦμεν *Liv.* V 2468

λογισμοεμαχοῦμεν *Liv.* S 1600 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

ἤμποροῦμεν *Pol. Tr.* 8003 app. crit. (C)

πάλιν περιεσκοποῦμεν *Liv.* S 1588 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

συνεπονοῦμεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2027

καὶ ἐπεθυμοῦμε νὰ βάλωμεν καὶ τὸν κοντοσταύλην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 400.16–17

ἐπεριπατοῦμεν PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Lavras) 259.3

A-stems

τὰ ἐψηλαφοῦμεν δίχρονον, ἰδοῦ, ἐπιτύχαμέν τα *Liv.* E 904

πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἐμελετοῦμεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 970 app. crit. (L); ἤμηχανοῦμεν *ibid.* 2407

ἐγελοῦμεν καὶ ἐγελοῦσαμεν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 63.15

Pl.	1	-οὔμα(ν) † -ούμανε

This ending, in which the /e/ of -οὔμε(ν) is replaced by the past-tense marker /a/, appears in texts from about the 12th c. onwards (the earliest examples can be found in documents

⁷⁸ For instance where Cyprus is concerned, MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* has only one 1 pl. imperfect (ἐπεθυμοῦμε), VOUSTR., *Chron.*, *Pist. Kekoim.* and *Fior* have none.

from S. Italy). It continues to be in use throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from Constantinople to Crete:

E-stems

ἐκρατοῦμαν (1121, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 89, 117.15)
καὶ ἐχρεωστοῦμαν τον *Paroim.* A 8
νὰ ἐζητοῦμαν χάριν *Chron. Mor.* H 7489
ἐσυνθρηνοῦμαν ἄπειρα *Liv.* V 2818; ἐζοῦμαν *ibid.* 2989
ὡσάν τὰς ἐλαλοῦμαν *Dig.* E 73; ἐμεῖς γὰρ ἐκρατοῦμαν σε *ibid.* E 190
καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ ἀπιστοῦμαν *Byz. Il.* 376
νὰ ἐτσιοῦμαν *Spanos* A 415
ἐζοῦμαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 126; νὰ περπατοῦμαν *ibid.* 247; ἐθωροῦμαν *ibid.* 351
οὐδὲν ἐσυμφωνοῦμαν (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 71, 58.12)
κ' ἐπερικαρτεροῦμαν *Alex. Rim.* 1620; τινὰν δὲν ἐθωροῦμαν *ibid.* 1698
ἐσυνομιλοῦμαν GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 475
τοὺς ὁποίους ὡς ἐδὰ ἐκρατοῦμαν ἀμοίραστους (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 442, 439.6)
ἐμιλοῦμαν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 64.15
ἐμποροῦμαν (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.21)
ἐλειτουργοῦμαν *Rim. Sant.* 255; ἀποροῦμαν *ibid.* 256

A-stems

ἐτρυφοῦμαν τὰ καλὰ *Liv.* V 2990
πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἐμελετοῦμαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 970
νὰ βαστοῦμαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 248
ἐπερνοῦμαν ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 207
ἐγελοῦμαν GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 476
ἄμποτε ... νὰ γελοῦμαν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 62.3
ἐβαστοῦμαν τὰ (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.20–1)
ἐψηφοῦμαν *Diig. Sant.* 58.45

Evidence for the deletion of final /n/ can be found from the 16th/17th c. onwards in texts from south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese):

δὲν ἐμποροῦμα τσῆ τιμῆς νὰ στέκομεν ὁμάδι CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.162
γλήγορα πορπατοῦμα *P&N Diath.* 109; ἐζοῦμα *ibid.* 628
ἀκλουθοῦμα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 221.24; κ' ἐσυντηροῦμα *ibid.* 221.25; γιὰτὶ δὲν
ἐμποροῦμα *ibid.* 425.23
τὰ δύο χωράφια ὅπου ἐκρατοῦμα ἦτανε ... (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 71.22)

Addition of -(ν)ε is not very common with this ending (see also I, 2.6.3.3): ἐκρατούμανε TROILOS, *Rodol.* V.298 .

Pl.	1	-οὔσαμε(ν)

This ending, the most common ending for SMG, consists of the imperfect marker /us/ and the 1 pl. past-tense ending -αμε(ν) (for a discussion see 2.1.2.2.3). With 1 pl., the affix /us/ can be found from at least the 15th c. from the Heptanese to the Crimea and from Cyprus

to Constantinople, though notably not usually in Cretan texts. The ending appears with and without final /n/:

E-stems

- ἀδικούσαμεν *Ptoch. III* 273 app. cr. (P)
 ἐθαρρούσαμεν (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.4)
 ἐθαρρούσαμε (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 97.17)
 στὸν κόσμον νὰ πατούσαμεν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 247
 ποὺ τοὺς ἀκαρτερούσαμε *Theseid* 2.81,3 (1529)
 ἐπεθυμούσαμεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 301.38 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 σοῦ χρεωστούσαμε (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 237, 144.13)
 εἰς δὲν ἐπλεονεκτούσαμεν DIONYS., *Istor.* 255.7
 ἐπουλούσαμεν GERMANO, *Grammar* 92.22
 σᾶς ἐμοιρολογούσαμεν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 11.17; ἐχρεωστούσαμεν *ibid.* Louk. 17.10
 σὲ ἐθαρρούσαμεν διὰ φρόνιμον ἄνθρωπον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.41
 ἐζούσαμεν *Diig. Sant.* 57.41–2
 ἐμιλούσαμεν ... φραντζόζικα καὶ ἰταλιάνικα (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.14)
 ἐπιθυμούσαμεν (1674, Paros, ZERLENDIS 1922: (3), p. 53.7)
 ἡμπορούσαμεν *Don Kis.* 61.18; ἐπιθυμούσαμεν *ibid.* 85.8

A-stems

- πολλὰ τὸν ἀγαπούσαμε ZINOS, *Vatr.* 210
 ἐγελοῦμεν καὶ ἐγελούσαμεν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 63.15
 ὅτι κανε δὲν ἐπεινούσαμε *Vios Filaret.* 241.14
 ἐπερνούσαμεν PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Lavras) 258.22
 ἀγαπούσαμεν ROMANOS, *Grammar* 38.8
 ὅλοι μας ἐπεινούσαμεν *Rim. Sant.* 248
 καθὼς ἐπερνούσαμεν (1662, Cyclades, SYMEONIDIS 1989: 15, 132.13)

Forms with an added -(v)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) have not been found, but they can be postulated, at least for Chios, based on Girolamo Germano, who states in his grammar that in Chios this suffix is added to the plural (and certain singular) forms of the passive imperfect of oxytone verbs (GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.2–7).

Pl.	1	-εῖγαμεν

This ending is recorded in the 1749 grammar of the Peloponnesian Kanellos Spanos. It is most probably an analogical formation modelled on 2 sg. and 3 sg. forms in -εῖες and -εῖε with intervocalic /ɣ/ (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion): ἐφιλείγαμεν SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.23.

Pl.	1	-ῶμεν

The residual A-stem ending -ῶμεν, having been replaced by -οῦμεν long before the LMedG period (see 4.1.2) is used only sporadically: ἐψηλαφῶμεν *Liv.* α 984 app. crit. (P).

Pl.	1	-όμεν

The substitution of past-tense endings of the barytone paradigm for those of oxytone verbs is largely restricted to 2 sg. and 3 sg. (see above), though one example has been found of just such a formation for 1 pl. in the following document. The stress pattern of barytone verbs is also adopted: τοῦ τὸ ἐχρεώσταμεν (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 36, 39.67).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ᾶτε ἰ -εῖτε

The inherited A-stem ending -ᾶτε and its E-stem counterpart -εῖτε will have been the normal endings until at least the 15th c., since no alternative formations have been found before that time. However, since 2 pl. forms, especially of the imperfect, are underrepresented in texts, not many examples have been found in texts other than grammars: ἐκρατεῖτε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 60.20; ἐγελάτε *ibid.* 63.15–16; ἐτιμᾶτε GERMANO, *Grammar* 91.18; ἐπουλεῖτε *ibid.* 92.22; γιὰ μένα ἐπολεμάτε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 561.23.

Pl.	2	-ούσετε(ν)

This ending consists of the imperfect marker /us/ and the 2 pl. ending -ετε. For the morpheme /us/ see also 2.1.2.2.3. With 2 pl., forms with /us/ can be found for E- and A-stem verbs from at least the 16th c. (ms date of MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V) in texts from various areas (Cyprus, Kefalonia, E. Thrace, Moldavia):

E-stems

νὰ θωρούσετε *Cypr. Canz.* 133.13; ἐμισούσετε *ibid.*
 δὲν τὸν ἐβοηθούσετε DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 30, Z5v.12–13 (1561)
 ἐκρατούσετε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 47.22
 ετυραννούσετε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7197
 καὶ σείς δὲν ἐβαρούσετε φωτιῆς καὶ μὲ μαχαίρι DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 843
 καθὼς πρότερον μὲν ἐδηλοποιούσετε (1645 [19th-c. copy], Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 12.7)

A-stems

ποῦ ἔνε τὸ πρᾶμαν τὸ ἐβαστούσετε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 442.8
 ἀγαπούσετε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 38.9
 ἐὰν μὲ ἀγαπούσετε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 14.28
 ἀγαπούσετε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7193 and 7195

SMG -ούσατε has not been found in the texts examined.

Pl.	2	-εῖγετε

The only witness so far for this ending is the 1749 grammar of the Peloponnesian Kanellos Spanos (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion): ἐφιλείγετε SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.23.

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-ουν

The inherited E-stem ending -ουν is in use at the beginning of the LMedG period, alongside -οῦσαν, which had recently emerged (see below). It also occurs in later mixed-register texts (Ermoniakos, *Dig.* A), and notably in texts from Cyprus, which do not usually show archaizing tendencies in their morphology (Machairas, Voustronios).⁷⁹ It is not very often used with A-stem verbs:⁸⁰

E-stems

ὡς καὶ ἡμαρτύρουν αὐτὰ οἱ καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι (1125?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7);
ἐκατοίκουν (1130–40?, *ibid.* Coll. XI: 14, 534.19)
καὶ ἐκράτουν εἰς τὰ χέρια των *Dig.* E 433; τὸ δνομάν του ἐξήγουν τὸ *ibid.* 1611
συνεκρότουν ERMON., *Ilias* 16.159; συνεκλόνουν *ibid.* 16.327
ἐὰν μὲ παραχώρουν *Ptoch.* IV 146 app. crit. (K)
ἴντα ἐμπόρου νὰ ποίσουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 532.15–16⁸¹
ἐπήραν τα ... κ' ἐλάλουν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 276.1–2
εζήτουν να την ἴπαρουν *Diig. Apoll.* 11; καὶ βασιλεῖς ρηγάδες τε ἐσέναν ἐπεθύμουν *ibid.* 26
μίαν φωνὴν ἀφήσασιν πρὸς ἀμυρᾶν ἐλάλουν *Dig.* A 379; τὸν νέον ἐπροσκύνουν *ibid.* 1530
τοῦ ἐκολούθουν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 85.9
ἐπεθύμουν SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A2r.10

A-stems

καὶ ἡγρίκουν VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 59.19 app. crit.

Pl.	3	-οῦσα(ν) -οῦσανε

The 3 pl. ending -οῦσαν came into being with E-stem verbs long before the LMedG period (see 2.1.2.2.3 for a discussion). It remains in use throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, spreading to A-stem verbs from at least the 15th c.:

E-stems

ἐζητοῦσαν (1042, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 3, 48.29)
ὅτι ἐκρατοῦσαν το ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.6; ἐπολεμοῦσαν *id.*, *Logos* 31 812.12
ἔλαβαν γράμμαν καὶ ἐκρατοῦσαν αὐτό (1288, Cos, NYSTAZOPOΥΛΟΥ-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 227.16)
κ' εὐσέβειαν ἐποθοῦσαν *Chron. Mor.* H 117; ἀποθαρροῦσαν *ibid.* 9100

⁷⁹ Note that modern Cypriot still uses the identical 1 sg. ending; see CHATZIOANNOU 1999: 53–5.

⁸⁰ Two manuscripts of the *War of Troy* (BV) preserve an unparalleled form in -αν bearing the stress on the antepenultimate: καὶ ὀπώραν πανεξαίρετην ἐσύνθησαν ἐστῖεν *Pol. Tr.* 2853. The verb has to be συνηθῶ, an oxytone variant of συνηθίζω (paroxytone *συνήθω is unattested).

⁸¹ For the omission of final /n/ in Cypriot texts, see I, 3.7.2.2.

καὶ τὰ βουνιὰ ἀηδονοῦσαν *Dig.* E 38; τὰ ὄρη ἐκίλαδοῦσαν *Dig.* E 1150
καὶ ὅλα ἐθρηνοῦσαν *Liv.* V 3503
ἤκουγαν καὶ ἀπιστοῦσαν το *Velis.* χ 488
ὅλοι ἐκαλοφοροῦσαν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 343
καὶ κυνηγοῦσαν *Theseid* VI.8,6 (Olsen); εὐεργετοῦσαν *ibid.* VI.9,3
καὶ δὲν ἤμποροῦσαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 56.22; ἀφορμολογοῦσαν *ibid.* 134.15
ἐκείνη ἐφθονοῦσαν τη *Diig. Apoll.* 442; ὅλοι ἡμαυροφοροῦσαν *ibid.* 640
καὶ κενὰ ἐλαλοῦσαν (1547, Athos, *LEMERLE* 1988: 56, 177.37)
δὲν τὰ ὁμολογοῦσαν ... καὶ ἀδικοῦσαν τοὺς ἐμήνηδες (1568–9, Constantinople, *LEMERLE* 1988: App. IV C, 237.56–7)
δὲν ἐδιδοῦσαν τοὺς πτωχοὺς *Pist. kekoim.* 599–600 (διδῶ < δίδω)
ὅλοι τὸν ἀναθεματοῦσαν τὸν βεζίρη *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §33.13; ἀπιστοῦσαν *ibid.* IV §17.10

A-stems

ἡγαποῦσαν τας *Ptoch.* IV 248.5 app. crit. (K)
ὅσοι ἀγαποῦσαν τὸν Χριστὸν *Chron. Mor.* H 117
καὶ ἐχαμοπετοῦσαν *Achil.* N 828
καὶ ἐγελοῦσαν *Hist. Imp.* I 2360
ὅσοι μὲν ἐγοικοῦσαν τὴν γλῶσσαν τοὺς *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 10, κ2r.4–5 (1561)
τὰ αἶματα ἀπηδοῦσαν *Diig. Alex.* F 175.5 (Lolos)
μῆλα μεγάλα, τὰ ὅποια ἐδουροῦσαν ἔτσι χλωρὰ τριακοσίους χρόνους *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.36–7 (< δουρῶ < *Ven. durar*)⁸²
ἐγελοῦσαν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 63.16
ἐμετροῦσαν *PAPASYNAD., Chron. Proem.* §3.70
εμαδοῦσαν *Don Kis.* 606.3

Deletion of final /n/ may occur before nasals (/m/, /n/) (haplography, or avoidance of gemination in geminating dialects such as Cypriot, see I, 3.4); it is also quite common in verse texts at the verse end.

καὶ πλιὸν τὸν ἐφημοῦσα *Imb. Rim.* 707; αὐτεῖνον ἐτιμοῦσα *ibid.* 708
(τ' ἀμάτια τοῦτα) ... πόσα ἡκακοπαθοῦσα *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 366
καὶ οἱ ναῦτες ἐγελοῦσα *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 343
ἡπλημελοῦσα νὰ πάρουν τὴν Κύπρον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 134.14; ἐλαλοῦσα νὰ μὲν ἐμποῦν *ibid.* 395.16–17
ὅσοι τὴν εθωροῦσα *Apoll. Rim.* A 1191; ὅλοι τὴν ἐπαινοῦσα *ibid.* 1192
ὅλοι τὴν ἀγαποῦσα *Apoll. Rim.* E 1049; καὶ ὅλοι τὸν ἡπροσκυνοῦσα *ibid.* 1803
κ' ἔπιαν ὅπου διψοῦσα *Alex. Rim.* 893
οὐδὲν ἡμποροῦσα νὰ χωριστοῦν *Diig. Alex.* F 182.25 (Konstantinopulos)
καὶ τοὺς κώλους τῶν ἐκροῦσα | καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρες τῶν γελοῦσα | καὶ παστάρδικα γεννοῦσα
Epain. gyn. 705–7 (κρῶ < κρούω)
καὶ χίλιοι μ' ἀκλουθοῦσα *CHORTATIS, Katz.* IV.5; γιὰτὶ ὅλοι τὸν παινοῦσα *ibid.* IV.99
μ' ἀγάπη μ' εθωροῦσα *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.349; καὶ ὅλοι ἐκρατοῦσα βέβαια *ibid.* II.34
καὶ νὰ πονοῦσα στὴν καρδιάν *MONTSEL., Evgena* 616
ἔρρικταν ἀπάνω πέτρες καὶ δὲν ἐβουλοῦσα *Diig. Sant.* 59.64–5

Addition of -(v)ε has mainly been found in texts from south-western areas, but is likely to occur in the Aegean as well (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

⁸² Cf. The French traveller Jacob Spon's *Petit Dictionnaire*: Il dure, crati (= κρατεῖ). Duraï (= δουράει) se dit és lieux qui ont plus de commerce avec les Italiens *SPON, Voyage* 306.

ὅτι τὸν ἐθωρούσανε *Imb. Rim.* 849
 ἐκεῖ ποῦ πολεμούσανε *Alex. Rim.* 1877
 ἐζούσανε *Fyll. gadar.* 143B
 στήν Πόλιν ζούσανε *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 196
 ἐπεθυμούσανε *MOREZINOS, Klini* 47.3; ἐφθονούσανε *ibid.* 79.15
 ἀκαρτερούσανε *Chron. Tourk Soult.* 27.15; πονούσανε *ibid.* 34.9; ἀγαπούσανε *ibid.* 43.16
 ὁπόταν τὰ ζὰ ἐμιλούσανε *Bertoldos* 45.19
 ἐμπορούσανε *TROILOS, Rodol.* III.185
 καὶ ἐπεθυμούσανε (post 1647, Crete?, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 65.III–V, 512.42.3–4)
 ἀπερνούσανε *IER. ANVATIOS, Diig. Seismou* 331.12–13
 κι ἐτρώγαν και μεθούσανε *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2270; κι οι Τούρκοι εβοούσανε *ibid.* 2309;
 ψοφούσανε *ibid.* 2424; ευφημούσανε *ibid.* 2535
 βαστούσανε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 157.19; κ' ἐβοηθούσανε *ibid.* 425.23
 ἐζούσανε *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 30.11; ἐκινούσανε *ibid.* 42.25
 ἐπερνούσανε *PYRRIS, Diig. panouklas* 121.26
 ἐκιλαδούσανε *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1764; δὲν τὴν ἐσυντηρούσανε *ibid.* II.2212; ἐκνογελούσανε
ibid. III.379; ἐγλακούσανε *ibid.* IV.1023

Pl.	3	-ούσασι(ν)

When the morpheme /us/ began to be viewed as a marker for the imperfect, in other words as part of the imperfect stem rather than as part of the ending (see 2.1.2.2.3), alternation could occur of the “past tense” endings -αν and -ασιν (cf. barytone verbs, 4.3.1.1). Examples of -ούσασι(ν) appear from the 14th c. onwards in texts from various areas, both poetry and prose, though very rarely in non-literary texts.⁸³

E-stems

κ' ἐκρατούσασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 2668; ἐπολεμούσασιν *ibid.* 3029; ἐβοηθούσασιν *ibid.* 3101
 ἐθαρρούσασιν *Pol. Tr.* 1287; ἐπεθυμούσασιν *ibid.* 8528
 τοὺς πόδας ἐκρατούσασιν *Achil.* N 828
 ἐθαρρούσασιν *Pol. Tr.* 1287
 καὶ ἐλεούσασιν τοὺς *Chron. Toc.* 3213
 ἐκουλουθούσασιν *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinis* 443
 ἐσυγκρατούσασιν *Theseid* VI.6,1 (Olsen); ἐτιμούσασιν *ibid.* VI.7,4
 ἐλαλούσασιν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 66.8; ἐκατοικούσασιν *ibid.* 560.6
 ἐλαλούσασιν *Fior* 91.19; ἐπολομούσασιν *ibid.* 150.18
 τα μαύρα εφορούσασιν *Diig. Apoll.* 623
 ζούσασιν *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 270
 τὰ ὄρη ἀντιδονούσασιν *Dig. A* 371; εὐχαριστούσασιν *ibid.* 3236
 καὶ τὸν ὑπηρετούσασιν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 4.11
 ἐκαλούσασιν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1017; ἐκαρτερούσασιν *ibid.* 2744
 ἀνθούσασι *BOUBOULIS, Limbon.* 11
 τὴν ἐκρατούσασιν ἀσφαλῶς *MAKOLAS, Ioust.* 424.13

A-stems

σκάλες ἐβαστούσασιν *Chron. Toc.* 291; ἐτιμούσασιν *ibid.* 1314
 ἐρωτούσασιν *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 110.11

⁸³ The first instance of this ending in a non-literary text is the following: και κρατούσασί με *Epist. Nax.* 471.9; an undated letter by a hostage from Naxos to his wife, perhaps dating from the late 17th–early 18th c.

δεν εψηφούσασιν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡΡ., *Pali* 7406
 τούς άπετούσασιν ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 296
 όλίγον άγαπούσασι τά γράμματα οί Κρητικοί (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 37.39)

Deletion of final /n/ occurs from about the 14th c. too (*Pol. Tr.* has equal numbers of forms with and without final /n/):

πολλά τόν ήγαπούσασι *Pol. Tr.* 4495; έπεθυμούσασι *ibid.* 5965
 δεν μου βοηθούσασι *Syndipas* 121.40–1
 και 'κεί των ακλουθούσασι *Apoll. Rim.* E 785
 έκτυπούσασι *Alex. Rim.* 844; όλόγυρα κερνούσασι *ibid.* 1158; τήν τροφήν που ζούσασι *ibid.* 1658
 τόν άνδρα άπολούσασι *Synax. gyn.* 104 app. crit. (άπολώ < άπολύω)
 όλoi τήν ήγαπούσασι MOREZINOS, *Klini* 50.28; δέν τής ήγρικούσασι *ibid.* 52.14;
 έκολουθούσασι *ibid.* 183.38
 κι έρωτούσασι *P&N Diath.* 1767
 κ' οί δυό έσοπορπατούσασι KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.37; σ' μι ά βράσην έκεντούσασι *ibid.* IV.849
 δέν τό άναμελούσασι PROSOPSAS, *Peri Tyflou* 947
 σάν ξένοι προπατούσασι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 223.17; κ' οί Φράγκοι έκολούσασι *ibid.* 289.10
 θρηνούσασι ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 955
 επιθυμούσασι MAKOLAS, *Ioust.* 423.4–5; τους αδικούσασι *ibid.* 242.38
 δέν έχωρούσασι EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 17.16; όλoi τον επεριγελούσασι *ibid.* 59.24

Forms with an added -(v)ε (e.g. ήγελούσασινε), attested for barytone verbs (see 4.3.1.1), have not been found in the texts examined.

The alternation between -αν and -ασι can sometimes lead to a hybrid formation -ανσι, which is probably due to the use of a combination of ligatures (cf. e.g. the ending '-ομένστα in 4.1.1.2) rather than a “real” ending: έκρατούσανσι *Theseid* I.30,5 app. crit. (Follieri).

Pl.	3	-αγαν

Forms in -αγαν, now common for the southern varieties of MG, are very rare and have not been found before the later 16th c. (for a discussion see 2.1.2.2.3): ήπέρναγαν (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 451.33); που 'πέρναγαν ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 291.

Pl.	3	-ειγαν

Forms in -ειγαν are equally rare and have not been found before the 18th c. (see 2.1.2.2.3 for a discussion): εκράτειγαν (1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 30, 120.78); [έφίλ]ειγαν SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.23.

Pl.	3	-ων

The residual 3 pl. A-stem ending -ων is used very rarely, even less frequently than the identical residual 1 sg. ending (see above): οί κόλακες έβόων *Ptoch. IV* 343 app. crit. (H).

4.3.2.2 Passive Voice

	General		Restricted		Rare	
Sg.	1	ἐγρικούμην ἐγρικούμουν	ἐγρικούμιον ἐγρικούμιου ἐγρικούμινα ἐγρικ(ε)ιούμιου(ν) ἐγρικ(ε)ιούμιου ἐγρικόμιον ἐγρικ(ε)ιόμιου(ν)	ἐβαρούμιον ἐβαρούμιου ἐβαρούμινα ἐβαρ(ε)ιούμιου(ν) ἐβαρ(ε)ιούμιου ἐβαρόμιον ἐβαρ(ε)ιόμιον	ἐγρικώμην/-όμην ἐγρίκουμιον ἐγρίκουμιου ἐγρικόμινα ἐγρικόμινα	ἐβαρώμην/-όμην ἐβάρουμιου(ν) (-όμινα) ἐβαρήγουν ἐβάρουμιου
	2	ἐγρικούσουν	ἐγρικάσου(ν) ἐγρικούσου (-ε)ιούσου(ν)) (-ε)ιούσου(ν) ἐγρίκουσούν ἐγρίκουσους	ἐβαράσου(ν) ἐβαρούσου ἐβαρούσους ἐβαρ(ε)ιούσου(ν) (-ε)ιούσου(ν) ἐβάρ(ε)ιουσούν	ἐγρικῶ ἐγρικάσους ἐγρικόσους/-ώσους	ἐβαροῦ(ν) (-άσους) ἐβαρ(ε)ιόσους ἐβαρείσους ἐβαρήγουν
	3	ἐγρικᾶτον ἐγρικ(ε)ιέτον ἐβαρᾶτον ἐβαρείτον ἐβαρ(ε)ιέτον	ἐγρικᾶτο ἐγρικᾶτον ἐβαρείτο ἐβαρείτον ἐγρικ(ε)ιέτον ἐγρικᾶντο(ν) ἐγρικᾶντον ἐγρικᾶντα	ἐβαρᾶτο ἐβαρ(ε)ιέτον ἐβαρᾶντο(ν) ἐβαρ(ε)ιᾶντο ἐβαρᾶντα ἐβαρᾶντα	ἐγρικᾶτου ἐγρικᾶτον ἐγρικῆτον (-ε)ιέτο ἐγρικᾶντον ἐγρικᾶνταν ἐγρικ(ε)ιᾶνταν ἐγρικᾶτον ἐγρικᾶν ἐγρικᾶντα ἐγρικᾶντα ἐγρικᾶντα (-οῦντα)	ἐβαράτου ἐβαρᾶτον ἐβαρ(ε)ιέτο ἐβαρήγτο ἐβαρᾶντα ἐβαρ(ε)ιᾶτον ἐβαρ(ε)ιᾶτον ἐβαρᾶτον ἐβαρᾶντα

	General		Restricted		Rare	
Pl.	1	(-οῦμεθα) ἐβαρούμεθα	ἐγρικούμεσθε(ν)/ ἐγρικούμεστε(ν) ἐγρικούμεστα(ν)/ ἐγρικούμεσθα(ν) ἐγρικόμεστα(ν)	ἐβαρούμεσθε(ν)/ ἐβαρούμεστε(ν) ἐβαρούμεστα(ν)/ ἐβαρούμεσθα(ν)	(-οῦμεθαν) ἐγρικώμεθα ἐγρικούμεθεν ἐγρικώμεσθεν ἐγρικούμασθε(ν)/ ἐγρικούμασσε(ν) ἐγρικούμασταν	ἐβαρούμεθαν ἐβαρούμεθεν ἐβαρ(ε)ιόμεσθα ἐβαρούμασθε(ν)/ ἐβαρούμασσε(ν) ἐβαρηγόμασθε (-οῦμασταν)
	2	ἐγρικᾶσθε(ν)/ ἐγρικᾷσσε(ν)	(- (ε)ιέσθε)/ (- (ε)ιέσσε)	ἐβαρ(ε)ιέσθε/ ἐβαρ(ε)ιέσσε	ἐγρικοῦσθε/ ἐγρικοῦσσε	ἐβαρ(ε)ιοῦσθε/ ἐβαρ(ε)ιοῦσσε ἐβαρήγεσθε ἐβαρηγόσασθε ἐβαρούσασθε
	3	ἐγρικοῦνταν ἐβαροῦντο(ν) ἐβαροῦνταν	ἐγρικῶντο(ν)/ ἐγρικόντο(ν) ἐγρικοῦντα ἐγρικοῦντανε ἐγρικ(ε)ιούντα(ν) ἐγρικ(ε)ιούντανε ἐγρικῶντα(ν)/ ἐγρικόντα(ν) ἐγρικῶντανε/ ἐγρικῶντανε/ ἐγρικόντανε ἐγρικοῦντησαν ἐγρικόντησαν ἐγρικόντησαν ἐγρικοῦντασι(ν) ἐγρικῶντασι(ν)	ἐβαρῶντο(ν)/-όντο(ν) ἐβαροῦντα ἐβαροῦντανε ἐβαρ(ε)ιούντα(ν) ἐβαρ(ε)ιούντανε ἐβαρῶντα(ν)/ ἐβαρόντα(ν) ἐβαρῶντανε/ ἐβαρόντανε ἐβαροῦντησαν ἐβαρόντησαν ἐβαρ(ε)ιόντησαν ἐβαροῦντασι(ν) ἐβαρόντασι(ν)	ἐγρικῶντονε/ ἐγρικόντονε ἐγρικοῦτα ἐβαρ(ε)ιόντα(ν) ἐβαρ(ε)ιότανε ἐβαρ(ε)ιῶντο(ν) ἐβαρήγουνταν ἐβαρηγόντησαν	

Distribution of Allomorphs*1st Person Singular*

Sg.	1	-ούμην

Even though a limited number of examples has been found, the inherited E-stem ending -ούμην, which had replaced its A-stem equivalent -ώμην long before the period covered by this Grammar (see the introduction to Chapter 2), will have been the normal ending at the beginning of the LMedG period for both E-stem and A-stem verbs, though it was soon supplanted by new endings that began to appear in the LMedG period.

E-stems

ἐφοβούμην *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 54
 προσεκαλούμην *Dig. G VI.79*; ἡσυχολούμην *ibid. VI.508*
 καὶ νὰ καλοπαθούμην *Ptoch. III* 166 app. crit. (P)
 ἐλογομαχούμην *Liv. E* 2749; ἐμυριοετυραννούμην *ibid.* 3510; καὶ οὐδὲν τὸν ἐφοβούμην *ibid.* 383
 εἰς φέγγος τὸ ἐλυπούμην *Liv. V* 1550
 ἀφηγούμην *του Liv. α* 761
 ἐκατετυραννούμην *Liv. S* 2320 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ἐθρηνούμην *Alosis* 713
 νὰ ἐπαρηγορούμην *Pol. Tr.* 7847 app. crit. (V)
 ἡγούμην [*ANDR. PALAIOIOL.*], *Kallim.* 2491
 ἐλυπούμην πολλὰ *PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Lavras)* 259.41

A-stems

ἐκαυχούμην *το Liv. E* 1694 and *Liv. V* 1552
 ἐκαυχούμην *Achil. N* 1102

Sg.	1	-ούμου(ν) † -ούμενε † -ούμευνα † -(ε)ιούμου(ν) † -(ε)ιούμουνε † -ουμουν † -ουμουνε

The ending -ούμουν starts to appear in texts from all areas from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Assizes B*), and continues to be in use throughout and beyond the EMG period. It is derived from -ούμην, the /u/ in the final syllable being the result of backing of /i/ to /u/ (see I, 2.8.4 for details; cf. barytone verbs for a similar development (4.3.1.2)). The post-verbal weak personal pronoun μου may have played an associative role; cf. 2 sg. -σου(ν) and, regionally, 3 sg. -του(ν) with both barytone and oxytone verbs and with εἶμαι (4.8.2):⁸⁴

E-stems

ἐφοβούμουν νὰ τὸν ἀνκρίσω *Assizes B* 418.24
 καὶ νὰ τὸν ἐλυπούμουν *Liv. E* 1505
 πάντα φοβούμουν *Pol. Tr.* 5933 app. crit. (X)
 ἀστρονομούμουν *Liv. α* 3089 app. crit. (N)
 ἐξηγούμουν *Synax. gyn.* 475
 καὶ ἐκοιμούμουν (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, *LEHFELDT* 1989: 164.4d–165.1d)
 ἐφοβούμουν *Theseid III.51.1* (1529)

⁸⁴ With εἶμαι the ending -μουν appears in writing from the 11th/12th c.; see 4.8.2.

ἐγὼ ἐφοβούμουν τὴν κακίαν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 430.24
 ἐκρατούμουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 52.9
 ἐφοβούμουν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 47.11
 δηγούμουν *Vosk.* 347 app. crit.
 διατὶ σὲ ἐφοβούμουν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 19.21
 ἐνθυμούμουν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VI 373.26; δὲν ἐφοβούμουν κανένα *ibid.* VII 379.11–12
 ἐθυμούμουν (1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 34, 137.148)
 ἐφιλούμουν SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.16

A-stems

τὸν ἐκαυκούμουν πάντοτε *Achil.* L 721
 ἀνέγνοιαστα ἐκοιμούμουν *Peri xen.* 214
 κεῖ ποῦ νικούμουν πάντα *Cypr. Canz.* 9.3
 ἐγελούμουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 53.3
 ἐφουκρούμουν *Vosk.* 348 app. crit.
 ἐτιμούμουν GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.8; ἄς ἐκοιμούμουν *ibid.* 99.4
 ἐκοιμούμουν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VII 376.19

Evidence for the deletion of final /n/ can be found in texts from southern areas (especially Crete)⁸⁵ from at least the 16th c. onwards:

ἐφοβούμου νὰ τὸν ἀγκρίσω *Assizes A* 167.7
 τὸν τρόπον ἐφοβούμου FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 78
 ἐνθυμούμου *Alosis* 571
 ἐφοβούμου τὴν πονηρίαν σου *Peri pon.* 36
 το πράμ' απού φοβούμου CHORTATSI, *Panor.* II.64; σ' ποιά λησμονιά ἐκοιμούμου *id.*, *Erof.* *Interm.* II.106; ἐκρατούμου *id.*, *Erof.* III.41
 ἐγροικούμου *Vosk.* 317
 δὲν ἐκοιμούμου ἐγὼ *Pist. voskos* II 2.260
 μὲ πλιὰ φόβο ἀρνούμου TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.225
 κι ἐφήκα τὰ δηγούμου FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 119
 καὶ κοπελιά ἐλογούμου KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.975; ἵντ' ἄ κα ἀφουκρούμου σου *ibid.* III.959

A shift of the stress to the antepenultimate, probably by analogy with barytone verbs, which also show variation in the placement of the stress (γράφω, ἐγράφομουν and ἐγραφόμουν, see 4.3.1.2), is mentioned by Germano when he describes features of the Chiot dialect. It has also been found, with deletion of final /n/, in a document written in Smyrna (though the subject of this debt settlement is from Mykonos): ἡγάπουμουν GERMANO, *Grammar* 77.24; ἐχρεώστουμου (1716, Smyrna, SFYROERAS 1963b: 3, 179.5).

Addition of -(v)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) occurs in Cretan and Chiot texts and in one ms of the *War of Troy*:

ἐλυπούμουνε *Pol. Tr.* 9120 (ms X)
 τὸ φοβούμουνε BAROZZI, *Letter* 359.20
 γιατί πολλὰ ἐφοβούμουνε CHORTATSI, *Erof.* IV.515
 ἐφοβούμουνε πολλὰ KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.2315
 ἐγάπουμουνε GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.4–5

⁸⁵ For the omission of final /n/ in Cypriot texts such as the *Assizes*, see I, 3.7.2.2.

Addition of $-(\nu)\alpha$ (see I, 2.6.3.3) occurs in texts of south-western provenance (Peloponnese, Crete, Heptanese) from at least the 15th c. onwards:

ἐπαρεπονούμουνα *Anon. Naupl.* 61
 δὲν ἐφοβούμουνα *CHORTATSI, Katz.* IV.86
 κεῖνο ποὺ φοβούμουνα *MONTSEL., Evgena* 905
 ἐφιλούμουνα *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.16

Addition of the semivowel /j/ to the stem consonant has been found in Cretan texts of the 16th/17th c., and in Germano's grammar (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion):

αν ἐξαναγεννιούμου *CHORTATSI, Panor.* IV.88; ἐκρατιούμου *id., Erof.* III.41 transcr. X
 (Legrand)
 κι ὦρες σοῦ τὰ βαριούμου *KORNAPOS, Erot.* I.1000
 ἐπουλειούμουν *GERMANO, Grammar* 93.26
 ἐκρατιούμουνε *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.225

Sg.	1	-όμου(ν) † -όμουνα † -(ε)ιόμου(ν)

The ending -όμουν, standard for SMG A-stem verbs, starts to appear from at least the 16th c. onwards, with both A- and E-stem verbs. It is probably modelled on the corresponding ending of barytone verbs (-ομουν, and from ca. the 15th c. -όμουν), which also show great fluctuation both in the choice for the thematic vowels /o/ and /u/ and in the position of the stress (see 4.3.1.2): ὦρες σκοπόμεουν *Love poems* V 314; πῶς ἐκοιμόμουν ἔτσι γλυκέα *Vios Aisop.* K 150.2; ἐκοιμόμουν εἰς το μετόχιον *DOSITH. IEROS., Dodekavivlos* 462.43.

Addition of the semivowel /j/ to the stem consonant occurs in the same period (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion). The proparoxytone form ἐβαρείομουν in the 1626 edition of Trivolis is very likely to be *metri gratia* (before the caesura): later editions (1577, 1624, 1643, 1683) correct the form to ἐβαριόμουν, thus ruining the metre. The 18th- and 19th-c. editions mend the metre by adding the suffix -να (see immediately below):

ἀρνιόμουν *Love poems* V 225
 ἄμποτε νᾶκρατειόμουν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 67.15
 ἐβαρειόμουν *Poulol.* 20 app. crit. (A)
 ὅλες τὲς ἐβαρείομουν *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 128

Addition of $-(\nu)\alpha$, common in colloquial MG, is very rare in EMG texts, and appears to be a Heptanesian feature (cf. barytone verbs, 4.3.1.2; see also I, 2.6.3.3). No examples have been found before the 17th c.: ἐγὼ δὲν ἐκοιμόμουνα *Bertoldin.* 148.24 and 149.16; ὅλες τὲς ἐβαριόμουνα *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 128 app. crit. (editions of 1774, 1795, 1806).

Final /n/ is not usually dropped, but may serve to accommodate the rhyme: ἐξαναγεννιόμου *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.814; ἐκοιόμου *ibid.* III.70.

Sg.	1	-ήγομουν

This rare ending, consisting of an imperfect marker /iγ/ and the above-mentioned ending -όμουν with a shift of the stress to the antepenultimate, is mentioned in Kanellos Spanos's

grammar as an alternative for E-stem verbs, but has not been found elsewhere: ἐφιλήγομουν SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.17.

Sg.	1	-ώμην † -όμην

This residual A-stem ending is used very rarely in vernacular texts; a few instances have been found in *Liv.* E and S with both A- and E-stem verbs (spelled -όμην in the editions): ἐλογομαχώμην *Liv.* E 662; ἐκαυχόμην *ibid.* 1703 and *Liv.* S 596 (Lambert-van der Kolf).

In the following example the scribe of ms. Z of *Poulologos* attempts to correct the ending -(ε)ιόμουν to the higher-register residual ending -ώμην, forgetting, however, to remove the /j/ that comes with the innovative ending (see 2.1.2.2.4, Passive Voice): ποσῶς δὲν ἐβρεϊόμην *Poulol.* 20 app. crit. (Z).

Sg.	1	-ουνμου

This unusual ending occurs in SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis*, with the (O-stem) verb πληρῶ. It is marginally more common with barytone verbs, for which corresponding 2 sg. and 3 sg. endings have also been found (see 4.3.1.2 for a discussion): ἐπλήρουνομου SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 259 transcr. (Lendari).

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-άσου(ν) † -άσουνε

This ending is unlikely to have evolved from the Koine/EMedG ending -ᾶσο, which is barely attested, much like its supposed barytone counterpart -εσο (for which see 4.3.1.2).⁸⁶ It is more likely to be an innovative formation modelled on 2 sg. pres. pass. -ᾶσαι, which takes place parallel to a similar development in barytone verbs (see 4.3.1.2): γράφεισαι : ἐγράφεσου(ν), κοιμᾶσαι : ἐκοιμάσου(ν). The ending has not been found before the 14th c., and apparently falls into disuse after the 16th c. It has been found in Peloponnesian and Heptanesian texts and in texts of uncertain provenance:

ἄν ἐθυμάσου τὰ ἔπαθες *Chron. Mor.* H 5552
ἐκοιμάσου *Love poems* V 383
ἄν ἐθυμάσουν τὰ ἔπαθες *Chron. Mor.* P 5552
ἐκαυχάσουν ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 39.10 and 80.10
γιατί ἔκαυχάσουν *Fyll. gadar.* 358c
ἐκοιμάσου ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΙΣ, *Klathmos* II.925

Addition of -(ν)ε (see also I, 2.6.3.3) is quite rare with this ending: ποτέ νὰ μὴ ἐκαυχάσουνε *Chron. Mor.* P 5553.

Sg.	2	-ούσου(ν) † -ούσουνε † -(ε)ιούσου(ν) † -(ε)ιούσουνε † -ουσούν † -ουσούνε

⁸⁶ The example given in the bibliography is ἡκροᾶσο, which is found in the Anonymous Antatticista (quoting Antiphanes) and should probably be read as a pluperfect or an imperative ἡκρόασο (KÜHNER/BLASS ³1892: 69).

The ending -ούσου(ν) is first attested in texts of the 15th c., but soon to supersede -άσου(ν) (see above), for both A- and E-stem verbs. It is likely to have been formed by analogy with 1 sg. -ούμου(ν), a development in which the postverbal weak personal pronoun may have played an associative role (cf. 1 sg. -μου(ν) and, regionally, 3 sg. -του(ν) with both barytone and oxytone verbs and with εἶμαι (4.8.2)).

κ' ἐσὺ καυχούσουν *Katal.* 96
 ἀνισῶς καὶ νὰ φοβούσουν *Fior* 137.1
 γιὰ νὰ καυκούσουν *Cypr. Canz.* 104.30
 ἐνθυμούσουν τὶ σοῦ εἶπα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 380.20–1
 ἐκαυχούσουν ἄμετρα [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VII 393.14
 τὰ μοῦ δηγούσουν FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.183

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from Chios and south-western areas (especially Crete; the scribe of *Liv.* V had a Peloponnesian (originally Constantinopolitan) background (LENDARI 2007: 59)) in the same period:

νὰ μὲ ἐψυχονούσου *Liv.* V 1147
 ἐφοβούσου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.588
 ἐποκοιμούσου, τέκνο μου *Thysia Avr.* 423
 στὸ στρῶμα πού ἐκοιμούσου KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.95
 ἐτιμούσου GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.8
 ἐφοβούσου TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.415
 τὰ λόγια ἀπού δηγούσου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.161
 ὅταν ἐπολεμούσου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 411.20

Addition of the semivowel /j/ to the stem consonant has not been found before the 17th c. (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion): ἐπουλειούσου GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.26; κ' ἐσὺ πολλὰ ἐβαριούσουν το KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.996.

Addition of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) has been found in Cretan texts of the 16th and 17th c. and in *Dig.* O, whose author was from Chios: ἐστενοχωρούσουνε MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 207; ἐκαυχούσουνε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2889; Ρέθεμνος, πού κρατούσουνε ἄξιο καὶ τιμημένο BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 196.11.

Forms with a shift of the stress to the antepenultimate, possibly by analogy with barytone verbs (γράφω, ἐγράφουμου), with and without added -(ν)ε, are mentioned by Germano, not in his paradigms, but when he describes features of the Chiot dialect: ἡγάπουσουν GERMANO, *Grammar* 77.27; ἐπούλειουσιν *ibid.* 77.26; ἐγάπουσουνε *ibid.* 87.5.

Sg.	2	-όσου(ν)(ε) † -ώσουν † -(ε)ιόσου(ν)

The ending -όσουν, the SMG ending for the four deponent verbs in -άμαι, has so far only been found in Sofianos's grammar (with an etymologizing spelling <ω> for A-stem verbs), and in the early 18th-c. *Lament for the Peloponnese* by the Kefalonian Katsaitis. Paucity of material makes it impossible to establish whether it is a purely Heptanesian variant (cf. 3 sg. -ότον, below, also in Sofianos), or whether it had a more general spread. Examples

have been found without final /n/ as well as with added -(ν)ε (for which see I, 2.6.3.3): ἐγελώσουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 69.2; ἄμποτε ... νὰ γελώσουν *ibid.* 70.3; τὰ φουσσᾶτα πὸκαυχόσου νὰ ᾿χης KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.421; δὲν ἐθυμόσουνε *ibid.* II.926; ἐκοιμόσου *id.*, *Ifig.* II.275; τὸ καυχόσουνε *ibid.* IV.125.

With addition of the semivowel /j/ to the stem consonant, standard for SMG A-stem verbs, this ending – again – has only been found in Sofianos’s grammar and in Katsaitis:⁸⁷ ἐκρατειόσουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 66.9; ἄμποτε νὰ κρατειόσουν *ibid.* 67.16; ὀπόκαυχιόσου KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.435.

Sg.	2	-ῶ ἰ -οῦ ἰ -οῦν

The residual 2 sg. A-stem ending -ῶ and its E-stem counterpart -οῦ are sporadically used in mixed-register LMedG texts, such as Ptochoprodromos and Glykas: σὺ ἐκοιμῶ εἰς τὸ ψιαθὶν καὶ ἐγὼ εἰς τὸ κλινάριν *Ptoch.* I 71; οὐκ ἐκαυχῶ, ψυχὴ μου GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 302 (for ἐκαυχῶ).

Addition of final /n/ to these forms is very rare: νὰ μὴ ἔπινες, νὰ μὴ ἐκοιμοῦν τὰς νύκτας *Katal.* 474 app. crit..

Sg.	2	-είσουν ἰ -ήγесουν

The only witness to these two alternative endings is Kanellos Spanos’s grammar (Peloponnese), which is slightly outside the period covered by this Grammar: ἐφιλείσουν SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.16; εὐρίσκεται καὶ ... [ἐφιλῆ]γесουν *ibid.* 40.17.

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ᾶτο(ν) ἰ -άτονε ἰ -άτου

Without final /n/ the inherited A-stem ending -ᾶτο is very common in Cretan texts of the 16th and 17th c., with both A- and E-stem verbs, but much less so in texts from other areas, with the exception of mixed-register texts such as *Dig.* G and A, *Kallimachos* and *Spanos*:

A-stems

ἡνιᾶτο κατὰ πολὺ *Dig.* G IV.412; οὐ ξίφесιν ἐχρᾶτο *ibid.* VIII.29
 εἰς τὸ ἀφρόδιτον καλὸν τοπίτισιν ἐκοιμᾶτο [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1993
 ὁ ἀστενῶν οὐκ ἱᾶτο *Spanos* A 490
 πῶς ἐβαστᾶτο μου ψυχὴ *Alosis* 709
 κι αφικράτο *Apoll.* Rim. N 384
 την ηῦρα κι εκοιμάτο CHORTATISIS, *Panor.* IV.244; τὰ λόγια ποὺ καυχᾶτο *id.*, *Erof.* III.362; τὸ στόμα ἀποὺ μουγκᾶτο *ibid.* V.114
 ὅσον ἐπεκοιμᾶτο *Dig.* A 203

⁸⁷ The MG colloquial ending -ίссουνα has not been found in the texts examined, but there is one instance in a Zakynthian comedy of the late 18th c., D. Gouzelis’s *O Chasis*: εὐχαριστιόссουνα III.509 (ed. Z. Synadinos, Athens 1997).

ὥσπερ νὰ ἐκοιμάτο LANDOS, *Geopon.* 178.17
 μὰ ἴντα νὰ τοῦ δηγάτο FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.14
 ἐβρουχάτο DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 395; ἐμουγκάτο *ibid.* 396
 σὰ λέος κ' ἐβρουχάτο BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 163.4; καὶ δυνατὰ μουγκάτο *ibid.* 200.12;
 ἐγροικάτο *ibid.* 419.26
 τοῦ φίλου του ἀφουκράτο KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.247; παντοτινὰ ἐκοιμάτο *ibid.* II.1160; σὰ
 λιόντας ἐβρουχάτο *ibid.* II.1937; κι ὅλη ἐξαναγεννάτο *ibid.* III.22

E-stems

καὶ πάλιν ἐξηγάτο τους *Liv.* V 3849
 καὶ ἐλυπάτο πολλὰ *Syndipas* 108.5
 ὅλους τσ' αγίους ἀρνάτο *Apoll. Rim.* N 84; καὶ ἔδηγάτο *ibid.* 1716
 πολλὰ τὸν ἐφοβᾶτο *Alex. Rim.* 1082
 νὰ μην ἐτυραννάτο CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.118; ἐλυπάτο *id.*, *Erof.* IV.181; ἐθρηνάτο *ibid.* IV.182
 ἐμίλειε κ' ἐδηγάτο *Vosk.* 370; κ' ἐθρηνάτο *ibid.* 401
 τῶν ἀπονάτο *Stathis* III.30
 ἐθρηνάτο MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1197; πολλὰ παραπονᾶτο *ibid.* 1198
 ἐχειροτονᾶτο RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 78.4
 κι ὅλη ἐμοιρολογᾶτο BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 200.13; ἐθρηνάτο *ibid.* 260.24; κανεὶς δὲν τοὺς
 ντηράτο *ibid.* 292.20
 καὶ δὲν τοῦ ἀπιλογᾶτο KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.248; πάντα τὸ θυμάτο *ibid.* II.1486; περισσὰ
 ἐτυραννάτο *ibid.* III.21; τὰ ἐδηγάτο *ibid.* III.1721; δὲν ἐλυπάτο *ibid.* IV.1939
 ἐπαραπονᾶτο KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.342

With an added final /n/ the ending is very common with both A- and E-stem verbs, and forms in -ᾶτον are found in a variety of texts throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

A-stems

μετ' αὐτον ἐκοιμάτον *Chron. Mor.* H 4199
 ἐξωθεν ἀκροᾶτον *Pol. Tr.* 457; πότε ἀπετᾶτον ἄνω *ibid.* 6307
 καὶ ἡ μέση ἐδαπανᾶτον *Arm.* 86
 ἐκαυχᾶτον *Achil.* L 714
 ἐκοιμάτον (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2391)
 ὅταν ἐγεννᾶτον *Spanos* A 166
 ὠσγοιὸν ἐκοιμάτον εἰς τὸν πύργον VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 28.6–9
 ἄρχισε καὶ ἐχαλᾶτον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.39
 καὶ ἀγαπάτον πολλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πασιὰ MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 218.38
 ἐκαταράτον NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 1.12–13
 ἐβρουχᾶτον SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 129
 ἐγελάτον SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 69.2
 ἐκυβερνάτον (1545, Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 2, 99.9)
 ἐκοιμάτον GERMANO, *Grammar* 77.30; ἐτιμάτον *ibid.* 93.8
 ἐκαυχᾶτον εἰς τὲς δόξες τὲς κοσμικῆς VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 31.32

E-stems

κλαίοντα τὰ ἀφηγάτον *Chron. Mor.* H 3792; οὔτε ἐλειτουργᾶτον *ibid.* 5965
 ἐπαραπονᾶτον *Pol. Tr.* 227
 ἐρνᾶτον *Assizes* B 442.22 and *Assizes* A 53.3 (< ἄρνοῦμαι)
 ὁ νοὺς μου ἐτριοκοπᾶτον *Liv.* V 1471; νὰ ἐτρυπᾶτον *ibid.* 1506; ἐμυριοελυπᾶτον *ibid.* 3508
 ἐφοβᾶτον *Achil.* L 127 and *Achil.* N 225
 ἐλυπᾶτον *Chron. Toc.* 110; καὶ τίς νὰ τὸ ἐνθυμᾶτον *ibid.* 1158; κανεὶν δὲν ἐφοβᾶτον *ibid.* 2879

κλαίων ἐμοιρολογάτον *Achil.* O 418
 μυριοκαταφρονᾶτον *Velth.* 38 (Cupane)
 καὶ τὰ ὄδηγᾶτον πασσαεὶ *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 6
 ἐφοβᾶτον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 58.5
 ποτὲ δὲν τὸ θυμᾶτον *Alex. Rim.* 848
 τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐδικόν του ἐθυμᾶτον *Diig. Alex.* F 158.16–17 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἐδιηγᾶτον ρωμάνικα *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 403.16
 ἐφοβᾶτον *Vios Filaret.* 241.41
 παραπονᾶτον *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 81

Addition of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) occurs in texts of south-western provenance from at least the 16th c. onwards:

ἀπιλογάτονε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 212.10
 εκαυχάτονε *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 115
 πάντοτε εκαυχάτονε *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 39.2
 εἰς δένδρον ἐκοιμάτονε *Theseid* Prol. E and P 198; μέσα του ἕγηάτονε *ibid.* IV.4,5 (1529)
 δὲν ἐθυμάτονε *MOREZINOS, Klini* 50.7; ἐκοιμάτονε *ibid.* 51.20; ἐκινάτονε *ibid.* 85.1;
 ἐμουγκάτονε *ibid.* 273.19
 ἐθρηνάτονε *P&N Diath.* 1572 and *Pist. voskos* V 7.14
 ἐφοβάτονε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 97.25
 καὶ κεί ὄμοιρολογάτονε *Apoll. Rim.* N 915
 ἐκινάτονε ἀπὸ τὸν θυμόν *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 37.12; ἐμιμάτονε τὸν Θεόν *ibid.* 138.14
 ἐπλανάτονε ἐδῶ καὶ ἐκεῖ *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* II 7
 δὲν ἐφοβάτονε ὅς κίντυνα νὰ σιμῶση *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* Prol. 68
 κ' ἐλυπάτονε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 180.11; δὲν ἐκοιμάτονε *ibid.* 493.4
 ἐφοβάτονε *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.2175; ἐφουκράτονε *ibid.* III.193; κουρφα ἐπαρηγοράτονε *ibid.* V.384

The hybrid formation -άτου can be found sporadically in Heptanesian texts, and it consists of the ending -του(ν) with preservation of the A-stem vowel (cf. -ότουν below); it has been found with both A- and E-stem verbs: μέσα του ἐβρουχάτου *Alex. Rim.* 1231; παραπονάτου *ibid.* 1232; διατὶ πολλὰ φοβάτου *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1309.

Sg.	3	-εῖτο(ν) ἰ -εῖτονε

Without final /n/ the inherited E-stem ending -εῖτο is less common than its A-stem counterpart -ᾶτο. In the texts examined it has only been found with E-stem verbs:

ὥς ξένος ἐφοβεῖτο *Dig. G* II.173; ἐμιμεῖτο *ibid.* VI.31
 τάχα περιεφοβεῖτο *Log. parag.* O 61 (Politi)
 ἐφοβεῖτο τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ *Hist. Imp.* I 1012; οὐδὲν ἐθυμεῖτο τοὺς ὄρκους *ibid.* IIb 454
 τάχα περιεφοβεῖτο *Log. parag.* O 61 (Politi)
 καὶ κείνος ἐκρατεῖτο [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 661; καὶ παραιτεῖτο *ibid.* 1059
 δὲν ευχαριστεῖτο *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 85.4
 ἐκρατεῖτο *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.571
 τέτοιαις λογῆς ἐθεοποιεῖτο *Alex. Fyll.* 81.15
 ἐφοβεῖτο [VLASTOS], *Dig. P* VI 366.32
 ἐφιλεῖτο *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.16

With final /n/ the ending appears in literary texts from various areas throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, though very rarely with A-stem verbs:

E-stem

ὡς ἐφηγεῖτον *Log. parig.* L 51
 ἐκατεπατεῖτον (1422, *Meteora*, *VEIS* 1911/12: 15, 54.8)
 ἐφοβεῖτον *Chron. Toc.* 3015; ἐνθυμεῖτον *ibid.* 3162
 κ' ἐλυπεῖτον *Diig. Ven.* 58
 πολλά ἐπαραπονείτον *Liv.* V 548
 καὶ σφόδρα ἐλυπεῖτον *Byz. Il.* 135
 ἐθεοποιεῖτον *Diig. Alex.* V 80.11
 πολλά ἐλυπεῖτον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 76.33
 ὁ δάσκαλος ἐφοβεῖτον *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 344.35; ἐφώναζεν καὶ ἐλυπεῖτον *ibid.* 431.11
 ἐλυπεῖτον πολλά *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 10.3; δεν ευχαριστεῖτον *ibid.* 89.1
 ἐκινεῖτον *Varl. & Ioas. (Pantel.)* 395; ευλαβεῖτον *ibid.* 397
 καὶ τὸν εὐλαβεῖτον *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.20; ἐκαλεῖτον Βηθσαῖδά *ibid.* Louk. 9.10
 καὶ ἐλυπεῖτον *Vios Aisop.* K 201.32
 ἐφοβεῖτον ἀπὸ δύο μέρη [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VI 366.29–30; ἐκαλεῖτον Μουσούρ *ibid.* II 318.11
 ἀνυμνεῖτον *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 4736

A-stem

καὶ ὡς λέων ἐβρυχεῖτον *Chron. Toc.* 3385

Addition of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) has been found in Morezinos (Crete) and in Spanos's grammar (Peloponnese): ὠφελεῖτονε *MOREZINOS, Klini* 56.24; ἐδιηγείτονε *ibid.* 61.1; ἐλυπεῖτονε *ibid.* 63.21; ἐξηγείτονε *ibid.* 68.19; ἐθρηνεῖτονε *ibid.* 192.26; ἐφιλείτονε *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.16.

Sg.	3	-(ε)ιέτο(ν) † -(ε)ιέτονε † -ήγετο

The innovative ending -(ε)ιέτον exists from at least the 14th c. onwards, mainly with E-stem verbs, and is the result of analogical levelling with barytone verbs (for a discussion, see 2.1.2.2.4):

ὅπου ἀγωνεῖτον *Chron. Mor.* H 3478; ἐκρατεῖτον *ibid.* 7491
 ἐκρατιέτον *Assizes* B 366.5
 ἐσαπιέτον *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 216
 ἐπουλιέτον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 436.19
 ἀπ' αὐτον ἐκρυβεῖτον *Synax. gyn.* 212 (< κρυβοῦμαι)
 να πουλιέτον *Kakop.* 181
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρνιέτον *Vios Aisop.* I 280.29
 ἐπουλιέτον *GERMANO, Grammar* 93.26
 ἀγωνιέτον *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 66.18; ἐπικαλιέτον *ibid.* 81.24

Deletion of final /n/ with this ending does not appear to be very common: κι ὄντα κρατιέτο πλὴλ χαριτωμένος *CHORTATISIS, Erof.* IV.751; ἐκρατιέτο ἀπὸ μεγάλην θέρμην *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 4.38. A form in -ήγετο (see 2.1.2.2.3) occurs in Spanos's grammar: [ἐφιλή]γετο *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.17.

Addition of $-(v)\epsilon$ has been found in Cretan texts, but is likely to have had a wider geographical spread (see I, 2.6.3.3):

εκρατιέτονε *Apoll. Rim. E 312* (same in NV; εκράτιετονε in A, but before the caesura, so clearly to be read as εκρατιέτονε)

ἐμουγκάλειέτονε *MOREZINOS, Klini 273.19 app. crit. (K)*

ἐμιλιέτονε *TROILOS, Rodol. I.328*

ἐπουλιέτονε (1614, Crete, *ILIAKIS 2008: 239, 226.7*)

Sg.	3	-οὔντο(v) † -ούντονε

The ending $-οὔντο(v)$, identical to the inherited 3 pl. ending (see below), though much less frequent in the singular, can be found with both A- and E-stem verbs in various literary texts from around the 16th c. onwards. It has been found in northern and southern texts and in texts of unknown provenance, with and without final /n/:

οἰκέϊον πένθος ἕκαστος τὴν συμφορὰν ἡγοῦντον *Achil. N 1833*

ἐκοιμοῦντο *GERMANO, Grammar 77.31; ἐτιμοῦντο ibid. 93.8*

ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐφοβοῦντον *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Mark. 6.20*

ὁποῦ δὲν τὸ θυμοῦντο οὐδέτινας *Diig. Sant. 59.77*

ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐθυμοῦντο [*VLASTOS*], *Dig. P VII 376.20*

Forms with an added /j/ also occur (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion): ἐπουλειοῦντο *GERMANO, Grammar 93.26; ἐπατιοῦντο PORTIUS, Grammar 38.11.*

Addition of $-(v)\epsilon$ was found in Cretan and Chiot texts, and in Aitolos, who is likely to have been Peloponnesian (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

εκείνος ἐκοιμούντονε *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth. 34.15*

δὲν ἐφοβούντονε *KORNAROS, Erot. I.1778; κὶ ἀνέγνοιος ἐκοιμούντονε ibid. II.811; πούρι*

ἐπαρηγορούντονε ibid. II.1230 app. crit. (A)

ἤρχισεν καὶ ἄκαυχούντονε *PETRITSIS, Dig. O 1497; ἡ κόρη ἐκοιμούντονε ibid. 1741; καὶ τοὺς*

ἐπροσκαλούντονε ibid. 2572; γιὰτ' ἐφοβούντονε πολλὰ ibid. 2756

Sg.	3	-ῶντο(v)

One instance has been found of the residual 3 pl. A-stem ending $-ῶντο(v)$ used for 3 sg. by analogy with the above ending $-οὔντο(v)$: ο Βενετσάνος ἐκοιμώντων *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali 6843 tit.*

Sg.	3	-οὔνταν † -ούντανε † -(ε)ιούνταν(ε) † -όντανε

This ending, with its typical past-tense marker /a/ is much more common for 3 pl. than it is for 3 sg. (see below). It appears in texts from the 16th c. onwards, mainly from northern areas, though there are also some examples from the Heptanese and Cyclades. It is not

usually found in Cretan texts (cf. barytone -ονταν). Forms with /o/ for /u/ are indicative of the great fluctuation that existed between these two thematic vowels in both barytone and oxytone verbs.

τὸ μοναστήρι ὅπου ἔκαλοῦνταν Σωτήρας (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 233.36–7);
 ἔλυποῦνταν ὁ Ἰησοῦς (ibid. 236.129–30)
 τὸν ἑκαταροῦνταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §11.14–15
 ἐσυλλογοῦνταν ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 347
 τὸ τραγοῦδι δεν ἐδιηγούνταν *Don Kis.* 89.9; ἀν ἀγαποῦνταν κάθε εὐμορφία ibid. 91.7;
 ἐπροσποιοῦνταν ibid. 132.11

One example has been found of a form with addition of /j/ (for a discussion see 2.1.2.2.4):
 (ὁ δὸν Κισότης ...) ἐβαστιοῦνταν *Don Kis.* 48.16.

Addition of -(ν)ε (see also I, 2.6.3.3) occurs in a Heptanesian prose text and in a versified text of northern provenance (Constantinople or the Danubian Principalities):
 ἐγιατρεούντανε *Enr. Eleg.* 3 166.25; στή βρύση ποὺ κοιμούντανε *Diig. Vefa* 1100;
 ἐπαρρακινόντανε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 53.11–12.

Sg.	3	-ότον † -(ε)ιότον

The ending -οτον is mainly Heptanesian, but much more common with barytone verbs than it is with oxytone ones. It is probably the result of an analogy with -ομουν and -οσουν: -ετον > -οτον (vowel assimilation according to MINAS 1987a: 38). The ending has not been attested without the final /n/. With an added /j/ (for which see 2.1.2.2.4), the ending appears in Sofianos's grammar: ἐχαλότον ὀλίγον κατ' ὀλίγον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.39; ἐκρατειότον SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 66.9.

Sg.	3	-ότου(ν) † -ότουνε † -(ε)ιότουν

This Heptanesian ending is found from the 17th c. onwards. There are some examples in *Bertoldos*, *Bertoldinos* and *Kaloandros*, but the ending appears to be more common with barytone verbs, with which it appears from the 15th c. onwards (see 4.3.1.2), and with εἶμαι (ἦτουν) from the 16th c. onwards (see 4.8.2). With oxytone verbs it can be found with an added /j/ (for which see 2.1.2.2.4) and with an added -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details). Final /n/ is only rarely dropped.

νὰ ἐγρικότουν *Bertoldos* 51.16; ἐκοιμότουν ibid. 64.24–5; ἐκρεμότουν ibid. 70.10
 ὅπου ἐκοιμότουνε *Bertoldin.* 147.29
 ἐφοβότου KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.322; ἐκαυχότου ibid. III.170
 ἐπαρραπονιότουν *Kaloandros* 404.17

Forms in -ότουνε, attested with barytone verbs (see 4.3.1.2), have not been found with oxytone verbs in the texts examined.

Sg.	3	-οὔτο(ν) ἢ -οὔτονε

Another Heptanesian ending, which occurs in texts from the 16th c. onwards, is either the result of an inversion of the vowels in -ότου(ν) or a denasalized variant of -οὔντον (see I, 3.6.2.1).⁸⁸ Final /n/ can be dropped, and addition of -(ν)ε is also a possibility (see I, 2.6.3.3):

ἐδιηγούτον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 113.35 and 275.10; ἐδιοικοῦτον μοναχό του *ibid.* 408.3
ἐκοιμούτον *Bertoldos* 56.2

ἐτρόμαξε πολλά καὶ ἐφοβοῦτο KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* II.222

ἐδιηγούτονε *Bertoldin.* 115.34; ἐπαρακινούτονε *ibid.* 131.33–4

Sg.	3	-όταν ἢ -ότανε

This ending, which in its form -ιόταν(ε) was to become the SMG ending for oxytone A-stem verbs, and in its form -όταν(ε) for the deponent verbs in -άμαι, has been found in Heptanesian (Kefalonian and Zakynthian) texts of the 16th c. and later; cf. barytone verbs, for which this ending is somewhat more common, and has a slightly broader geographical spread, though no examples have been found before the 17th c. (see 4.3.1.2; see also 4.8.2 for the ending -ταν with the verb εἶμαι): ἐκοιμότανε (1579, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 7, 96.14 and 96.22); ἀγρικόταν (1708, Zakynthos, SATHAS 1865: 524.31).

Sg.	3	-ᾶταν

Single instances of this rare ending, consisting of -ᾶτον with the past-tense marker /a/ substituted for /o/, have been found in Kartanos (Heptanese) and in *Diig. Alex.*:⁸⁹ τοὺς ἐφοβᾶταν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 377.4; ἐχλιμάταν *Diig. Alex.* E 119.19 (<*χλιμοῦμαι?).

Sg.	3	-ᾶντον

This ending is very rare and is likely to be a conflation of -ᾶτον and -οὔντον: αθύμει καὶ ἐλυπάντον *Syndipas* 111.8.

⁸⁸ The form ἀγαπούτο in the following example: ἀγαπούτο vel ἀγαπᾶτον PORTIUS, *Grammar* 40.26 is very likely to be a writing or printing mistake for ἀγαποῦντο: cf. the corresponding E-stem forms in the same grammar: ἐπατιοῦντο vel ἐπατειέτον *ibid.* 38.11; cf. also Germano, whom Portius basically copies: ἐτιμοῦντο vel ἐτιμᾶτον GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.8.

⁸⁹ Though these forms could simply be the result of writing or printing mistakes (e.g. Kartanos has ἐφοβᾶτον elsewhere), there appear to be three instances of this ending with λυπάμαι and κοιμάμαι in Makrygiannis's *Memoirs*: ὁ Τοῦρκος κοιμάταν με τὴν γυναικα του 123.20; εἶχε τὸ κεφάλι του εἰς τὰ φτερά του καὶ κοιμάταν 373.5–6; καὶ λυπάταν τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς του 459.30.

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-ούμεθα(ν)

The inherited ending -ούμεθα will have been the ending for 1 pl. at the beginning of the LMedG period, since no alternative endings have been found before the 14th/15th c. (cf. the identical ending for the present, 4.1.2.2). Nonetheless there are not many examples, and no examples have been found with A-stem verbs: τίποτ' οὐκ ἐφοβούμεθα *Pol. Tr.* 9872 app. crit. (X); ἐκρατούμεθα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 66.9; ἐφιλούμεθα SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.16.

Addition of final /n/ is rare: τίποτε οὐκ ἐφοβούμεθαν *Pol. Tr.* 9872 (= ms A); καὶ πάλε εἰς τὸ ἐξηγούμεθαν ἄς ἔλθωμεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 538.23.

Pl.	1	-ούμεθεν

This ending, rather more common with the present of barytone verbs and especially with εἶμαι until the 16th c. (see 4.1.1.2 and 4.8.1), derives from -ούμεθα; the final /a/ changed to /e/ to match the endings of the other persons in the paradigm (MEYER 1889: 196), especially 2 pl. (PERNOT 1907/46: II 292). With the imperfect of oxytone verbs it has only been found in 14th-c. texts, which have come down to us in 15th–16th-c. manuscripts: κ' πλανούμεθεν ERMON., *Ilias* 13.245; τίποτε οὐκ ἐφοβούμεθεν *Pol. Tr.* 9872 app. crit. (V).

Pl.	1	-ούμεσθε(ν) † -ούμεστε(ν) † -ώμεσθεν

The ending -μεσθε(ν) is much more common for the present than for the imperfect (see 4.1.2.2 and see 4.1.1.2 for a discussion). Its phonetic variant -μεστε(ν) is the result of manner dissimilation of fricatives after sibilants (see I, 3.8.1). Sofianos's form with /o/ for /u/ (spelled <ω>) is possibly an attempt to make the form look more like an A-stem form.⁹⁰ With the imperfect this ending, with or without final /n/, has not been found before the 16th c., though that could be due to the relative scarcity of passive imperfect forms.

ἀντάμα ἐκοιμούμεσθεν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῇ τρίτῃ *Dig.* A 2603
 ἐτιμούμεσθεν GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.9; ἐπουλειούμεστε *ibid.* 93.27
 δὲν ἐκοιμούμεσθεν *Vios Aisop.* D 231.17
 ἐκοιμούμεσθεν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VI 369.34–5
 ἐλυπούμεστε *Diig. Sant.* 58.47

ἐγελώμεσθεν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 69.2

Pl.	1	-ούμεστα(ν) † -ούμεσθα(ν) † -όμεστα(ν) † -(ε) ιόμεσθα(ν)

The ending -μεστα(ν) and its more formal variant -μεσθα(ν), much more common with εἶμαι (see 4.8.2), has not been found with oxytone verbs before the 15th/16th c. For a

⁹⁰ In the same way that he spells his “optatives” with <οι>, e.g. ἄμποτε νὰ γελάσοις, νὰ γελάσοι SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 65.2.

discussion see 4.1.1.2. It appears, sporadically, in texts from different areas (Crete, Cyprus, Santorini, Heptanese):

ἐφοβούμεσταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 552.41 and *Chron.* R 389.43

ἐδιηγούμεσταν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 64.17

ἄν τῶς ἐλυπόμεστα (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 81.100)

ἐσυγχωρούμεσταν ἀλλήλοις *Diig. Sant.* 57.5–6

With addition of /j/ and /o/ for /u/ this ending has only been found in Sofianos's grammar, in the E-stem paradigm: ἄμποτε νὰ κρατειόμεσθα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 67.16–17.

Pl.	1	-ούμασθε(ν) † -ούμαστε(ν)

This ending, which in its form -(ι)όμαστε was to become the standard ending for the 1 pl. passive imperfect of all oxytone verbs in Triandafyllidis's 1941 *Grammar of Demotic Greek*, appears in a 17th-c. document and in Kanellos Spanos's grammar (18th c.) (see 4.1.1.2 for a discussion): δὲν ἐκοιμούμασταν (1650, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: (2), p. 28.14); ἐφιλούμασθε SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.16.

Pl.	1	-ηγόμασθε

A form in -ηγόμασθε occurs in the grammar of Spanos (see 2.1.2.2.3): [ἐφιλη]γόμασθε SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.17.

Pl.	1	(-ούμασθα(ν)) † -ούμαστα(ν)

This ending, which in its dissimilated forms -ούμασταν and -(ι)όμασταν would eventually prevail as the most common SMG ending, has not been found before the 17th c.: ἐκοιμούμασταν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 28.13.

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ᾶσθε(ν) † -ᾶστε(ν) † -εῖσθε(ν) † -εῖστε(ν)

The inherited A-stem ending -ᾶσθε(ν)/-ᾶστε(ν) and its E-stem counterpart -εῖσθε/-εῖστε(ν) will have been the normal endings in the LMedG period, since no alternative formations have been found before the 16th c. However, since 2 pl. forms, especially of the imperfect, only appear in specific contexts and are therefore quite rare, very few examples have been found in texts other than grammars.

ἐγελᾶσθεν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 69.2

ᾶρά γε ἐκοιμᾶστε *Vios Aisop.* K 185.1

ἐτιμᾶστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.9

ἐφιλεῖσθε SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.1; ἀγαπᾶσθε *ibid.* 40.28

Pl.	2	-(ε)ιέσθε † -(ε)ιέστε

This ending is the result of analogical levelling that manifested itself in more than one paradigm within oxytone verbs; for a discussion, see 2.1.2.2.4. The fact that this ending is given by Sofianos suggests that it was well established by the 16th c., but given the scarcity of 2 pl. endings in general, and especially of the imperfect, it is impossible to establish how long before the 16th c. this ending came into being. In the grammars, this ending is only given for E-stem verbs: ἐκρᾱτειέσθε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 66.9–10; ἐπουλειέσθε GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.27; ἐπατιέσθε PORTIUS, *Grammar* 38.13.

Pl.	2	-οὔσθε ἰ -οὔσθε ἰ -(ε)ιοὔσθε ἰ -(ε)ιοὔσθε

This Chiot ending is recorded in Germano's grammar (17th c.) (and in that of Portius, who largely copies Germano). Unlike for the identical present ending (see 4.1.2.2), no examples have been found with addition of final /n/ or of -(v)ε (for which see I, 2.6.3.3); two of the examples have addition of /j/ after the stem consonant (for which see 2.1.2.2.4): ἐτιμοῦσθε GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.9; ἐπουλειούσθε *ibid.* 93.27; ἐπατιοῦσθε PORTIUS, *Grammar* 38.13.

Pl.	2	-οὔσασθε

These endings, which in its dissimilated form -(ι)όσασθε is the only ending given by Triandafyllidis in his 1941 grammar of demotic Greek, has only been found in the 1749 grammar of Kanellos Spanos, who was a Peloponnesian:⁹¹ ἐφιλούσασθε SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.22 (erroneously presented as an active form).

Pl.	2	-ήγεσθε ἰ -ηγόσασθε

These rare endings, consisting of an imperfect marker /iγ/ (see also 2.1.2.2.3) and the endings -εσθε and -οὔσασθε (with substitution of /o/ for /u/), are mentioned as alternative E-stem endings for the imperfect in the 18th-c. grammar of Kanellos Spanos: [ἐφιλή] γεσθε-γόσασθε SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.17–18.

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-οὔντο(ν)

The inherited E-stem ending -οὔντο(ν), for which alternative endings start to appear from at least the 14th c. onwards (see below), can be found in texts from various areas throughout the period covered by this Grammar (for the identical 3 sg. ending see above):

ἐθεωροῦντο ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 3 170.10

ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα πάντες *Hist. Imp.* I 1826–7

⁹¹ An imperative with the MG ending can be found in the late 18th-c. Zakynthian comedy *O Chasis*: ἐλα φιλιόσαστε γιάμá Gouzelis, *O Chasis* III.396 (ed. Synodinos).

κ' ευχαριστούντον ὅλοι *Theseid* VI, Prol. 12 (Olsen)
 ἐφοβοῦντον τὸν πρίντζην *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 550.32
 ὁποῦ ἐκρατοῦντο *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 4.24
 ἐκλαϊαν καὶ λυποῦντο *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 3483; καὶ ἐχαιρετοῦντον *ibid.* 6431 tit.
 ὁποῦ δὲν τὸ θυμοῦντο οὐδέτινας *Diig. Sant.* 59.77
 ἐφιλοῦντο *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.17

Pl.	3	-ῶντο(ν) -ώντονε/-όντονε -(ε)ιῶντο(ν)

The residual A-stem ending -ῶντο(ν) had been replaced by -οῦντο(ν) before the LMedG period (see the introduction to Chapter 2). Nevertheless an ending /'ondo/ is sometimes used, and not only in mixed-register texts. The fact that this ending can occasionally even be found with modern features such as addition of /j/ (e.g. ἐγλυκοφιλιῶντο), an added suffix -(ν)ε (ἐκοιμόντονε) or omission of the augment (καυχώντονε) points to a new formation based on -οῦντο(ν) in which the influence of the widespread interchangeability of /o/ and /u/ as thematic vowels is evident (cf. e.g. -(ι)οῦνταν and -(ι)όνταν below). The choice for “etymologizing” <ω> versus “modernizing” <ο> is simply a matter of spelling.

ὡς πρώην ἐκαυχῶντο *Dig. G* VI.231, *Dig. T* 2160 and *Dig. A* 3158
 τὴν μέρα ἣν ἐγεννήθησαν πάντες ἐκατηρῶντο *Pol. Tr.* 7308 (mss AV); ἐκατηρῶντον *ibid.* 7308 app. crit. (B)
 τὰ ὄρη ἐσκιρτῶντο *Velth.* 1302; ἐκοιμῶντον *ibid.* 1054
 ἐκοιμόντονε *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 213; κ' οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καυχῶντονε *ibid.* 1114
 ἐκεῖ κοιμῶντο μέσα *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 724; ἐκουβανιώντον *ibid.* 1726; ἐγλυκοφιλιῶντο *ibid.* 3245; ἐφιλιῶντον *ibid.* 6431 tit.; ἐκαυχῶντο ὅτι νὰ πάρουν Ζάκυνθον *ibid.* 7269 tit.
 εὐχαριστῶντο νὰ κυριεύουν *Ist. Enet.* 418.19; ἐφοβῶντο νὰ βλάψουν τὸν Τούρκον *ibid.* 418.33

Pl.	3	-οῦντα(ν) -ούντανε -ούτα -(ε)ιοῦντα(ν)

The ending -οῦνταν is formed from the inherited ending -οῦντον, with substitution of the “past time” marker /a/ for /o/ in the last syllable. It appears from at least the 14th c. onwards in texts from all areas, with both E- and A-stem verbs:

E-stem

τίποτα οὐκ ἐφοβοῦνταν *Pol. Tr.* 2906; ἐπιμελοῦνταν *ibid.* 9051
 ἐπαρηγοροῦνταν *Liv.* V 3702
 μεγάλλως ἐλυποῦνταν *Chron. Toc.* 1195; ἐφοβοῦνταν *ibid.* 1284; ὁποῦ τοὺς ἐθυμοῦνταν *ibid.* 3211
 ἐφιλοτιμοῦνταν *Velis.* χ 210; οὐκ ἐπληροφοροῦνταν *ibid.* 488
 ἐνεφροκοποῦνταν *Achil.* N 1406
 ὥσπερ νὰ ἐκινούνταν *Velth.* 347
 τ' ἄλλα | ὁποῦ 'δηγοῦνταν ὁγ' αὐτὸν *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 271–2
 ἐφοβοῦνταν μὲν πέψη χαρτῖα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58.5; ἀθυμοῦνταν *id., Chron.* O 24.18
 ἄρχισαν καὶ ἐδιηγοῦνταν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 403.6
 τὸ μοναστήρι ὁποῦ ἐκαλοῦνταν Σωτήρας (1578, Trikala, *SOFIANOS* 1992: 6, 233.36–7)

ἐφοβοῦνταν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 599
 ἐγλυκοφιλοῦνταν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P III 340.13–14; ἐκαταπατοῦνταν *ibid.* VII 392.1
 ὅλοι ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου ἐναντιοῦνταν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 13.17 [< O]
 δὲν τὸν ἐφοβοῦνταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §15.40
 ὅσοι τοῦ ἐναντιοῦνταν *Alex. Fyll.* 41.23–4 [< O]; ἐκτυποῦνταν *ibid.* 103.25

A-stem

οἱ δύο ὅπου ἡγαποῦνταν *Pol. Tr.* 713
 ἐκοιμοῦνταν *Achil.* O 603
 ἀγαποῦνταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 70.21
 ἀσκηώθησαν ἀπάνω συχυσμένοι, διότι ἐκοιμοῦνταν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.13
 ἐτιμοῦνταν GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.9
 ὅλον ἕνα τὸν ἐκαταροῦνταν PAPASYNAD. *Chron.* I §11.14–15
 ἐκουφαγοικοῦνταν ὡσὰν σπηληῆς IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 333.31

Addition of /j/ (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion) occurs in various EMG texts (see also the examples with addition of -(ν)ε, below):

ἐπουλειοῦνταν GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.27
 τὸν ἐπικαλιοῦνταν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 121.14
 ἐκαυχιοῦνταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §22.34
 ὅσοι τοῦ ἐναντιοῦνταν *Alex. Fyll.* 41.23–4 [< O]
 ἐγελιοῦνταν *Don Kis.* 312.2–3

Deletion of final /n/ is not uncommon in texts from southern areas, including Cyprus:

ἐβρυχοῦντα *Dig.* E 33
 οὐκ ἐπληροφοροῦντα *Velis.* χ 488 app. crit. (V)
 τὴν μάχην ἐφοβοῦντα *Achil.* L 361 and *Achil.* N 361
 ὅταν ἐγεννοῦντα *Spanos* B 1
 ν' ἀγρικοῦντα *Cypr. Canz.* 23.2; ἐλυποῦντα *ibid.* 32.3
 ἀνακαλλιοῦντα τον καὶ ἐλαλούσασιν *Fior* 91.19; ἀγαποῦντα *ibid.* 93.23
 μὰ ἐλυποῦντα τονε ὅλοι MOREZINOS, *Klini* 273.36–7
 ἐχαλοῦντα καὶ τὰ γρόσια *Diig. Sant.* 59.92–3
 ὅπου καυχοῦντα οἱ Χριστιανοὶ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 572.1

Addition of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) was encountered in Cretan, Heptanesian and Chiot texts from the 16th c. onwards:

ἐκαυχοῦντανε ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 143
 ἐθρηνοῦντανε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 58.6; ἐδειλοσκοποῦντανε *ibid.* 70.20; οἱ ἄλλες τὴν
 εὐλαβοῦντανε *ibid.* 220.7
 σ' ἐφοβοῦντανε CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.476
 ἐπικαλιοῦντανε *P&N Diath.* 1587; ἐλυποῦντανε *ibid.* 2354
 ἐκεῖνοι ὅπ' ἀγαπιοῦντανε KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1112
 εὐκαριστιοῦντανε FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 61
 εφοβοῦντανε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2833; ενικοῦντανε *ibid.* 10224
 ὅπου ἐκουβαλιοῦντανε Τοῦρκοὶ ἀπὸ τὸ Μορέα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 492.21
 γιὰτὶ ὅλ' ἐκοιμοῦντανε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1769
 καὶ σ' ἐφοβοῦντανε οἱ ὄχθροὶ *Zinon Prol.* 55

Endings with <τ> for <ντ> are phonetic rather than morphological variants, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/. Examples have been found in Cycladic texts (for details see I, 3.6.2.1): οἱ κληρικοὶ οἱ ρομέοι ἐκυβερνοῦτα (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.3); ἐκοιμοῦτα (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 744.7).

Pl.	3	-όνταν/-ώνταν -ώντανε/-όντανε -(ε)ιόντα(ν) -(ε)ιότανε

With /o/ for /u/ this ending has been found in texts from south-western regions (see also examples below with an added /j/ and deletion of final /n/) and occurs in various EMG texts, from north to south, but has not been found before the 15th c. (ms date of the *War of Troy*):

ἐπιμελῶνταν *Pol. Tr.* 9051 app. crit. (C)
 ἐγενῶνταν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.38
 ἐκλαιγαν καὶ λυπόνταν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 403 app. crit.
 ἐγελῶνταν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 69.3

Addition of /j/ before the ending (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion) may also occur:

ἄμποτε νᾶκρατειόνταν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 67.16
 ἀγκαλιόνταν (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 157, 206.6–7) (< ἐγκαλῶ)
 συναπαντιόνταν DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 325; ἐκτυπιόνταν *ibid.* 326

Deletion of final /n/ is much less common here than with -οῦνταν: γλυκεῖα ἐκαταφιλῶντα *Pol. Tr.* 524 app. crit. (V); ἐπιμελῶντα *ibid.* 9051 app. crit. (B).

Addition of -(ν)ε has been found from at least the 17th c. onwards (the dating of *Evr. Eleg.* is insecure). The appearance of the ending in Ioakeim Kyprios does not necessarily mean the ending also occurs in Cypriot texts, as his language is morphologically mixed:

ἐγρικόντανε *Evr. Eleg.* 3 166.20
 καυχῶντανε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7403
 κυλιόντανε DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 276
 ἐκρατώντανε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 53.20
 ἄλλοι τὸν ἐλυπόντανε, ἄλλοι τὸν ἐκαταριόντανε PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 116.19–20

Endings with <τ> for <ντ> are phonetic variants, which represent a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (see I, 3.6.2.1). An example has been found in a text from Zakynthos: ἀφορμές ὅπου ἐδιαμετριότανε εἰς σὲ ἐναντίο τους SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 37.18–19.

Pl.	3	-ούντησαν

This ending occurs from the 14th c. onwards, especially in texts certain or very likely to originate from the Peloponnese and the Heptanese, but also in texts from other areas (cf. barytone verbs, 4.3.1.2): in a work by Limenitis (Rhodes) and in a poem by Bertos,

transmitted in a part of a manuscript that is likely to have been copied in Rhodes. IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* is the only “Cypriot” text to use this ending, but Ioakeim’s text exhibits great morphological variety, not always necessarily Cypriot. For a discussion of this ending, see 4.3.1.2.

οὕτως γὰρ ἡγαπούνησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 3475; τὸ πῶς οἰκονομοῦνησαν *ibid.* 3548
 ἐπαρηγοροῦνησαν *Pol. Tr.* 5333; ἡγαπούνησαν *ibid.* 12816
 ἐκοιμούντησαν *BERTOS, Eis evd. aion.* 151
 ἐφοβούντησαν *Theseid* I.79,6 (Follieri)
 ἐφιλούνησαν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 88.20; ἐξεμολογούντησαν *ibid.* 88.25
 ἂν ἐζητούντησαν *MAX. PELOPON., Kata Ioud.* 323.12

Pl.	3	-όντησαν ἢ -(ε)ιόντησαν

Forms with /o/ for /u/ appear in the 16th c. (ms date of *Pol. Tr.*). The “etymologizing” spelling with <ω> for A-stem verbs is, of course, entirely graphematic:

ολόγυμνοι ἐκοιμόνησαν *Pol. Tr.* 524 app. crit. (V)
 ἐκοιμόνησαν *Theseid* I.20,5 (Follieri)
 ἐφοβόνησαν *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 643
 ἐκτυπόντησαν *Diig. Alex.* E 247.19 (Lolos)
 ἐκοιμώντησαν *Bertoldin.* 113.30; ἐθυμόνησαν *ibid.* 155.15
 τούτοι σαν ἐκοιμόνησαν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2291; αὐτό που ἐφοβόνησαν *ibid.* 8637

Addition of /j/ between the stem consonant and the ending (see 2.1.2.2.4) occurs in several texts from at least the 15th c. (date of earliest mss of *Pol. Tr.*): ἐκρατιόντησαν *Pol. Tr.* 747 and 9259; ἄρνιόντησαν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 86.27; ἐκεῖ που ἐφιλιόντησαν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 829; ἐκεῖ που ἐβαριόντησαν *ibid.* 3616.

Pl.	3	-ήγουνταν ἢ -ηγόντησαν

These rare endings (see 2.1.2.2.3) occur in Spanos's grammar: ἐφιλήγουνταν καὶ ἐφιληγόντησαν SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.18

Pl.	3	-ούντασι(ν) ἢ -όντασι(ν)/-ώντασι(ν)

The rare 3 pl. endings -ούντασι(ν) and -όντασι(ν) are based on -ούνταν/-όνταν (see above), with the active alternative “past” ending -ασι substituted for -αν (cf. the active voice, 4.3.2.1). The spelling of /ondasin/ with <ω> for A-stem verbs (ἐκαυχώντασιν) is graphematic. It occurs in texts from the western mainland (Galaxeidi; and Glykys was probably from Koroni in the Peloponnese; ms B of the *Tale of Alexander and Semiramis* was possibly copied in Meteora, Thessaly)⁹² and in texts of unknown provenance (*Dig. A*; ms P of *Ptochoprodromos*). The earliest attestation dates to the middle of the 15th c. (ms P of *Ptoch. IV*):

⁹² See MOENNIG 2004: 10–11.

ἄς ἐπουλύντασιν *Ptoch. IV* 248.38 app. crit. (P)

ἔστενοχωρούντασιν *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 299

ἐκαυχούντασιν *Dig. A* 4654 app. crit.

ἐκαταρώντασιν *Diig. Alex. Sem. B* 563

ἐφοβόντασι *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 61.19

The MG ending -όντουσαν (cf. PANDELIDIS 2005) has not been found in the texts examined (cf. barytone verbs, 4.3.1.2).

4.4 The Aorist Indicative

The sigmatic aorist indicative is arguably one of the most stable paradigms throughout the history of the Greek language, with relatively few modifications over the centuries and limited variation compared to other tenses. By the beginning of the LMedG period a common set of past-tense endings, combining elements from the aorist, the imperfect and the perfect, was already firmly in place for the active voice: -α, -ες, -ε(ν), -αμε(ν), -ετε (/ -ατε, see below), -αν/-ασι(ν) (HORROCKS ²2010: 318–19). To form the aorist indicative of barytone and oxytone verbs these endings are added to the perfective stem (for which see 2.2). Not only had verbs with the sigmatic aorist and liquid/nasal-stem verbs (the so-called first aorist) acquired this common set of past-tense endings, but from Hellenistic times onwards the thematic (or second) aorist of verbs such as βλέπω, ἔρχομαι, εὐρίσκω, λέγω, πίνω, φεύγω, which had originally formed with the endings of the imperfect (-ον, -ες, -ε, -ομεν, -ετε, -ον), began to adopt these endings more and more (GIGNAC 1981: 335–6; HORROCKS ²2010: 180–1; for extensive older bibliography on the subject see PSALTES 1913: 211).⁹³ Some verbs may form an alternative /k/ aorist (e.g. δίδω, ἀφίημι and others, see 2.2.1.10). These verbs, too, make use of the endings of the sigmatic aorist.

The passive voice is formed by adding the aorist passive endings to the passive perfective stem (for which see 2.2). The inherited set of passive endings, -ην, -ης, -η(ν), -ημεν, -ητε, -ησαν, remains in partial use throughout the period covered by this Grammar. Even when the more transparent, innovative set of endings -ηκα, -ηκες, -ηκε(ν), -ήκαμε, -ήκετε, -ηκαν/-ήκασι(ν) becomes acceptable for use in written texts, the old endings, or at least those for 2 sg., 3sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl., continue to be used.⁹⁴

The innovative set of passive endings with its characteristic <κ> starts to appear in writing from the 13th c. onwards, beginning with 1 sg. and then gradually spreading to other persons. They are likely to have been adopted in the passive paradigm by analogy

⁹³ E.g. of εὐρίσκω: εὐραμεν for εὔρομεν in the *Septuagint* and the *New Testament*, Hero (1st c. AD), Vettius Valens (2nd c.) and Basil of Caesarea (4th c.); εὔραν for εὔρον in the *Septuagint*, Oecumenius (3rd–4th c.), Kosmas Indikopleustes (6th c.); εὔρατε *Vita Aesop. G* (1st. c.?): John Chrysostom (4th–5th c.); ηὔρα in Nikon, *Ptoch., Achil. N.*, etc.; ηὔραμεν in Ps.-Herodianus, *Vita Aesop. G*, Epiphanius (4th–5th c.), John Chrysostom etc.; ηὔραν in John Chrysostom, Antiochos Monachos (7th c.) etc.; ηὔρατε Melito Apologetes (2nd c.) (data from the online *TLG*).

⁹⁴ In his grammar Girolamo Germano, whose observations on the language are always accurate, clearly states that the Greeks “say [both forms]” only for 2 sg., 3 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl.: “dicono ἐγράφηκες, & ἐγράφης ... ἐγράφηκεν, & ἐγράφην ... ἐγραφήκαμεν, & ἐγράφημεν ... ἐγραφήκαμεν, & ἐγράφησαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 80.15–19.

with the aorist indicative (athematic aorist) of βαίνω, with which they shared their inherited endings: ἔβην > ἔβηκα : ἐγράφην > ἐγράφηκα (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 548–9). Forms with -ηκ- of βαίνω can already be found in the 8th/9th c. (see 2.2.1.10.1), and also occur in early texts that do not use the κ-forms for the passive, such as Glykas and *Digenis G.*⁹⁵ The spread of /k/ to the aorist passive indicative is likely to have been helped by the fact that the morpheme /k/ had become a marker for the aorist (mainly indicative) with other verbs as well (BABINIOTIS 1972: 217–19; see also 2.2.1.10). The use of the inherited forms does not limit itself to verse texts, in which the different stress patterns of ἐγράφην (e.g. verse end) and ἐγράφηκα (e.g. before the caesura) are convenient (e.g. πέντε φορὰς ἀνέβηκε καὶ πάλιν ἐκατέβη *Velth.* 1144), but also continues in prose texts and documents, where we find them even with italianate and new verbs such as ἀφιδάρω, ντελιβράρω, ὀμπλιγάρω and κουζουλαίνω. The fact that the cluster /st/ in the perfective passive stem of these verbs (see 2.2.1) is usually written in its dissimilated form <στ> and not the more formal <σθ> indicates that the use of the old endings is not a matter of archaism, e.g. οἱ ὁποῖες ἐστιμαρίστησαν οἱ τέσσερεις (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 174, 175.23); ἐμπλιγαρίστη ὁ κυρ-Ἀντώνης (1572, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 17, 71.16–17); ἐπουπλικαρίστη εἰς τὸ φόρος τῆς Σητείας (1601, Crete, ΣΙΑΚΟΤΟΣ 2006: 1, 190.11–12).

Athematic aorists will be discussed in the section on the passive voice (4.4.2), because they share their endings with the passive rather than the active paradigm (e.g. ἔβην, ἔβηκα), although ultimately here, too, use is made of the common past-tense endings -α, -ες, -ε, etc. The distinction between middle and passive aorist endings had begun to disappear in Hellenistic times and the endings of the middle aorist increasingly came to be replaced by those of the passive (BLASS et al. 1961: 42–3). For residual middle forms that are still used in texts of the LMedG and EMG periods, especially of certain verbs (such as ἀρχομαι, γίνομαι), see 4.9.1. For forms of the barytone verb τρώ(γ)ω in which deletion of the vowel of the ending occurs (e.g. ἔφας < ἔφαες) see 2.2.2.3.

4.4.1 Active Voice

4.4.1.1 Barytone and Oxytone Verbs

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	ἔγραψα	ἐγράψα	ἔγραψαν
	2	ἔγραψες	ἐγράψες	ἔγραψας

⁹⁵ The κ-forms can be found in all regions, with the exception of Pontic-speaking areas. In the scarce material from these areas no κ-forms have been found for the passive or for βαίνω (see also ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1958: 283–4). For the use of the κ-forms in the modern dialects, see NEWTON 1973: 226–7.

		General	Restricted	Rare
			ἔγραψις	
	3	ἔγραψε(ν)	ἔγράψε(ν) ἔγραψενε ἔγραψι(ν)	
Pl.	1	ἔγράψαμε(ν)	ἔγράψαμενε ἔγραψάμεν ἔγραψάμι ἔγράψαμαν	ἔγράψεμεν
	2	ἔγράψετε ἔγράπατε	ἔγράψετεν(ε) ἔγραψέτε ἔγράψιτε	ἔγράψεταν
	3	ἔγραψαν ἔγράψανε ἔγράψασι(ν)	ἔγράψα(ν) ἔγράψασινε	ἔγράψασαν

This synoptic table covers the aorist active indicative of all verbs, both those that have a sigmatic (e.g. γράφω > /graps/, γρικῶ > /grikis/) or liquid/nasal perfective stem (e.g. κρίνω > /krin/) (first aorist), and thematic (or second) aorists that have adopted the past-tense endings of the sigmatic paradigm (e.g. εἶπα, εἶδα, ἦλθα, ἔλαβα, ἔπεσα). It also covers aorists formed from alternative perfective stems in /k/ such as ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα, ἀφῆκα/ἄφηκα, ἐποίησα/ἔποικα, for which see also 2.2.1.10, as well as those of irregular verbs, given that the irregularity is usually in the formation of the perfective stem, not in the endings employed (see also 2.4).

Forms of the aorist active indicative are proparoxytone in principle, though sometimes the stress may shift to the penultimate, whereas in other cases forms may carry the stress on the fourth syllable from the end when a suffix is added to the verb form. Thematic aorists simply adopted the common set of past-tense endings whilst keeping their old stem, which means many of them have disyllabic forms (e.g. εἶδα, ἦλθα). Paroxytone forms can also be found of verbs with one-syllable stems and a prepositional prefix (e.g. ἐπῆρα < ἐπαίρω, ἀφῆκα < ἀφίημι), though these forms may develop a proparoxytone variant by analogy with the majority of verbs (e.g. ἄφηκα).

For the presence/absence of the augment, see the introduction to Chapter 3.

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-α ἢ -αν

The ending *-α* is the normal ending for the 1st person singular before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, as the following examples from various areas show:

- τὸ οἰκοδόμησα (1138?, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 14, 102.10)
 καθὼς καὶ προεῖπα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 208.15; διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔβαλα id., *Logos* 9 310.29; ἤμαρτα id., *Logos* 11 340.18 (for ἡμαρτον)
 ἀκρόστιχον οὐκ ἔφαγα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 546
 ἐγόρασα (1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 18, 8.1)
 ἔλαβα μνήστρα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 17.54–5)
 ἀπῆρα τὸ κλειδὶν *Ptoch. I* 216
 κ' ἐπίασα τὸ βιβλίον *Chron. Mor.* H 7638
 ὑπόγραψα (1458, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 3 [Γ'], 26.22)
 ἔνεγκα αὐτὸν καυχώμενος DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 597 app. crit. (< φέρω)
 ἐπαράκάλησα *Fior* 77.3
 ἀκούω, ἤκουσα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 48.2
 τὸ ἀμπέλι ... ποῦ ... ἐδεκρετάρισα εἰς τὸ ὄνομά της (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 56.11–12)
 ἐκράτηξα ἀπὸ 'κεῖνα ἀπὸ ἡταξα (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 50.89)
 ἐσπούδαξα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §7.3
 δὲν τὲς ἡῦρα (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 306, f.1r.12)

Addition of final /n/ has been found sporadically. The forms, if they are not simple scribal errors, may represent a form of hypercorrection, since at least Cretan tends to drop final /n/ where other varieties of the language do not (see I, 3.7.2 for details):

- ἀφιέρωσιν τὴν ἐγὼ ἠφιέρωσαν εἰς ... (1108, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 17, 218.86)
 ἐγὼ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχασαν καὶ τὰ πλούτη DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 603 app. crit.
 ὡσὰν σοῦ τὸ 'γραψαν μὲ ἄλλα μου χαρτία (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 27.20–1);
 ἐγὼ ἐμίσεψαν ἀπὸ 'κεῖ (ibid. 27.27)
 ἐγὼ ὁ κοντόσταβλος Μεταξάδων ἔλαβαν ἕναν ὀρισμὸν (1570, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 1999: 33, 398.9)

A shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs mainly in verse texts, to accommodate the metre:

- τὸ πῶς τὸ ἐκαταλέξα *Chron. Mor.* H 7035
 ὡσὰν ἐδῶσα τὸ ἱππάριν τῆς τὴν ὕστεραν ραβδέαν *Dig.* E 1588 app. crit.
 ξυλίες τοὺς ἐδῶκα *Achil.* O 598
 ἐγρικῆσα τον ὀρισμὸν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 54.19 (same in B 55.19 and M 55.19); δὲν του ανοίξα id., *Chron.* B 267.2 and M 267.1⁹⁶
 ἴτσου νὰ μπόρουν εἰς χαρτὶν νὰ γράψα *Cypr. Canz.* 23.1
 ἐτάξα του καὶ χάρη *Alex. Rim.* 2117
 ἐκείνο το σ' ἐδῶκα *Kakop.* 104

⁹⁶ This stress pattern is more common in Voustronios's *Chron.* A and B than in M, which is more reliable for accentuation (KECHAYOGLOU 1997: 75*–6*, 87*–8* and 105*), but cf. 3 pl., where the phenomenon shows a higher degree of systematicity.

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-ες ἰ -ις

By the beginning of the LMedG period -ες is the normal ending for 2 sg., as the following examples sufficiently illustrate:

καθώς μας ἔγραψες ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.6; ἐζήτησες id., *Logos* 9 310.6
 τὸ ὅπερ ἀγόρασες σὺ (1157–8, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 19, 158.15)
 ἡρέμισες, ἡκόμπησες GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 165; ἀνάτειλες ibid. 200
 ἡ ἦκουσες το; (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 59.148)
 σὰν ἐπροέγραψές μας (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.13)
 ὅπου ἐπέστειλες (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.14)
 ἔγραψες νὰ ποίση ἀγάπην ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 212.3; δὲν ἔπεψες ibid. 280.14
 καὶ σὺ τὴν στράταν ἔφηκες LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 451
 εἰς τὸ γάλα τῆς μάνας σου οποῦ ἐβύζασες *Diig. Alex.* K 365.33–4
 ἀμὴ ἐσὺ μὲ ἀνάστησες ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 344.19
 τὸ ἐζήτηξες CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.194; καὶ μὴ ἴντα μὴ ἐπερίχυσες id., *Katz.* III.467
 ποῦ ἔπιες τὸ νερόν *Dimotika Ivir.* VIII.4
 ἐλευθέρωσες (1613, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 3, 310.13)
 τὸ ἐξεφόρτωσες LANDOS, *Geopon.* 145.18
 καὶ εὐεργέτησές τους ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 181

A shift of the stress to the penultimate has been found in the chronicles of Machairas and Voustronios.⁹⁷ In Machairas the proparoxytone forms are followed by a clitic pronoun:⁹⁸
 καὶ σοῦ ἐδέρεις με ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 208.2;⁹⁹ ἐφυλακίσες με ibid. 446.2; καὶ ἡχαρίσεις
 τοὺς τὴν Τριμιθείαν ibid. 562.33; ἐγρικῆσες πῶς ἐμήνυσεν ὁ καπετάνος VOUSTR., *Chron.*
 A 96.1; ἐπέψες τὸν ἀδελφόν μου ibid. 136.12–13.

Forms with /i/ instead of /e/ are phonetic rather than morphological variants, bearing witness to mid-vowel raising, for which see I, 2.5.4: τὸ μοιράδι ἀπὸ ἔγραψις στὰ
 τιφτέργ<ι>α σου (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.29–30);
 πλεότιρο χρέο ἱπῆρις (ibid. f.45v.31–2) (= ἐπῆρες).

Sg.	2	-ας

The residual ending -ας is not very common, occurring mainly in mixed-register texts:

πῶς δὲ παρ' ὥραν ἔδυνας καὶ ἔσβεσας τὸ φῶς μας *Dig.* G I.238
 πῶς ἡπλωσας ἐπάνω μου *Ptoch.* I 145

⁹⁷ These forms appear only in ms A, which is not entirely reliable accentuation-wise (KECHAYOGLU 1997: 75*–6*).

⁹⁸ But forms with dual stress can also be found: ἐξαπόλυσές μας ibid. 454.4–5; ἐπεθύμησές με νὰ σ' ἔχω καὶ ἡμήνυσές μου ibid. 574.14–15.

⁹⁹ In Cypriot the perfective stem of δέρ(ν)ω is δερ-, not δειρ-. Cf. εἷς Φράνκος ... ἐνκαλὲ εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν ἁ' Συριάνον ὁποῦ τὸν ἔδερεν *Assizes* B 480.14–15.

τί πόλεμον ὑπόμεινας *Pol. Tr.* 3157 (reading of A)
 ἐπόμεινας (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.8)
 ἔμεινας ὄνειδος καὶ κατάρρα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 611

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ε(ν) ἰ -ενε ἰ -ι(ν)

The ending -ε(ν) is the only 3 sg. ending before, during and after the period covered by this Grammar, as a few examples will suffice to illustrate:¹⁰⁰

ἀγόρασεν (1042, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 3, 46.20)
 ἐλάλησέν με ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 810.27; τὸν διάκονον συνεπάθησε *ibid.* 824.2
 ἐζήτηξεν *Jonas* 217.109
 ἐχάωσεν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 67.79)
 ἐξέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν (1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.20–1)
 ἐπιλόγιασε *Dig.* E 201
 ἠδειλίασεν *Achil.* N 1580
 παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν (15th–16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2)
 ἐπίασέν τον ζωντανὸν *Diig. Alex.* F 136.9 (Lolos)
 μᾶς ἐπρόσταξε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.9)
 τὰ κράτηξε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 214.30)
 ἐπόθανεν (1573, Famagusta, CONSTANTINIDES 1988: 172, f.145v.20–1)
 ἐπίασέ τον και λέγει τον KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.31
 μὰ σὰν ἐμίσεψε ἀπὸ κεῖ KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.13

Addition of -(ν)ε to the proparoxytone verb form, often without a shift of the stress or a second accent, resulting in forms that are stressed on the fourth syllable from the end, can be found in literary and non-literary texts from Chios and certain Cycladic and Heptanesian islands. It has also been found in verse texts from Cyprus, in which it is likely to be a versificatory device as Cypriot does not normally display the phenomenon (for more information see also I, 2.6.3.3):

εἶδενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 50.6
 ἦρθενε ἀπὸ τὴν Κασσάντρεια (1640, Andros, POLEMIS 1999b: 11, 35.2)
 ἐπαράδωσενέ τονε (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 190, 161.11)¹⁰¹
 ἡ θάλασσα ἔφυγενε (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), p. 28.7–8)
 καὶ Ἀμηρᾶς τῶν εἶπενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 479; σὰν εἶδενε ὁ Ἀμηρᾶς *ibid.* 795; (αἰχμαλωσίης ...) ἦκαμενε ἀμέτρητες *ibid.* 1162 app. crit.; δὲν ἠβαλένε *ibid.* 1708
 μοῦ ἔκαμενε (1686, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 647, 889.3–4)
 τῶν τὸ ἠφικενε (1688, Andros, PASCHALIS 1948: 44.5); ἔδωκενε (*ibid.* 44.9); εἶδενε (*ibid.* 44.13)
 ἔχασενε ἀπὸ μένα (1694, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 10, 24.9)
 ἐβγάλενε τοὺς ὀρισμούς ἔξω KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 227; ὁποῦ ῥτενε *ibid.* 398

¹⁰⁰Two instances of 3 sg. aorist indicative in -α in 17th-c. Chiot theatrical plays are rhyme-induced. It is highly unlikely that such forms ever actually existed for 3 sg.: ὁ Ἀσρῶν τὰ ῥέσα VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 212 (rhymes with μέσσα); σὰν ἠθελεν, τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐνοιγεν καὶ ἐσφάλα KONDAK., *Paidēs* 42 (rhymes with μεγάλη).

¹⁰¹In this example a second stress is added because of the following enclitic pronoun, with which the verb forms a phonological unit. Forms with the stress on the sixth syllable from the end are an impossibility in Greek. For details see I, 4.2.3.

ἐπρεζεντάρισενε (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 27, 41.12); τὸ ἔδωσενε (1708, *ibid.* 85, 95.14) (ἐπρεζεντάρισενε and ἔδωσενε in the ed.)
νά, πού ῥθενε ἡ ὦρα μου *Trag. Ag. Dim.* V.224

A shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs in verse and prose texts and can even be found in non-literary texts. In Machairas's chronicle paroxytone forms occur only when the verb is followed by a clitic pronoun (but cf. 3 pl. where this is not necessarily the case).

πεῖσμαν ἀπλῶς ἐθέκεν *Log. parig.* L 30
οὐ παῦσεν ὁ ἡμέτερος γραμματικὸς (1387, Athens, BUCHON 1843: XL, 220.7–8)
καὶ ἐπέσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν *Assizes* B 362.15; οὐδὲν τοὺς ἐμοιράσεν *ibid.* 420.27
καὶ ὁ φθόνος ἐτυφλῶσεν *Velis.* χ 536
ὀρίσεν ἡ αὐθεντία μου (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.39)
ἐφυσήσεν τοὺς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 34.25; καὶ ἐκατηγορήσεν τοὺς *ibid.* 46.6; καὶ ζητήσεν
του *ibid.* 382.20
ἐπέψεν εἰς το σπίτιν του VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 268.7–8 and B 269.7–8; ἐμηνύσεν η ρήγαινα *id.*,
Chron. B 283.16 and M 283.14; ο Θεός ἐσμίξεν μας *id.*, *Chron.* A 284.16 and B 285.17¹⁰²
καὶ αὐξήσεν τὴν τιμὴν του KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VII.358
ἔδωσέν του τὰ γράμματα KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 155

Forms with /i/ instead of /e/ are phonetic rather than morphological variants, bearing witness to mid-vowel raising, for which see I, 2.5.4:

ἀπότυχι ὁ Λοβοιωάννης (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.4)
ἔδωσιν γρόσια (1676, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 87, 211.4); ἐζήτησιν καὶ τὸ παρὸν (*ibid.* 211.4)
μὶ ἔβαλιν (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.15) (= μὲ ἔβαλεν); ἔμασι
ζητεία (1692, *ibid.* 22, f.49r.7)

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-αμε(ν) -αμενε -άμε(ν) -άμι

The most common form for 1 pl. is the proparoxytone form in -αμε(ν). With the final /n/ it is found before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

ἐπαρελάβαμεν (1031, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 1, 24.15); ἀποστείλαμεν (1042, *ibid.* 3, 46.13)
ἐξερευνήσαμεν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 40.9–10; ἀπελάβαμεν *id.*, *Logos* 4 206.5
ἀπήγαμεν ὅπου μᾶς ἐχρεώσται καὶ ἐχρεωστοῦμαν τον *Paroim.* A 8
εἴπαμεν (1348?, Macedonia, LEFORT et al. 2006: 101, 229.4)
τὸ πῶς ἐπολεμήσαμεν *Chron. Mor.* H 3657
ἐπροδράμαμεν *Dig.* E 512
διότι σὲ ἐπταίσαμεν *Chron. Toc.* 2986
εἴπαμεν (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.18)
εἶδαμεν (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 57.69)
τὰ ἐσπείραμεν (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 279, 261.7)
ἔδωκαμεν ἡμεῖς (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 177, 227.8)
πῶς ἐποιήσαμεν τὲς ὁμολογίαις *Vios Aisop.* K 181.1
ἀπὸ ὅσα καὶ ἀν ἀποκτήσαμεν *Alex. Fyll.* 117.26

¹⁰² As noted under 2 sg., this stress pattern is much more frequent in versions A and B of Voustronios's chronicle.

ἡμεῖς ἐρισολβέραμεν νὰ σταθοῦμεν ἐδῶ (1715, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 20, 135.10–11)
 ἡλάβραμεν (1769, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 5, 26.14)

Forms in -αμε, without final /n/, appear in written texts from the 13th/14th c. onwards, often alongside forms with final /n/:

ἐδιαχωρίσαμε (1206, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 160, 350.45)
 κ' ἐπήραμε τὸ νῆκος *Chron. Mor.* H 3657
 ἐξεγλυτώσαμε τους *Pol. Tr.* 13672 app. crit. (A)
 καὶ ἐπικράναμε σε *Chron. Toc.* 2986
 ἐκεῖνο ὅπου σὲ γράψαμε (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.5)
 κ' ἤλθαμε νὰ πνιγούμε *Apoll. Rim.* V 924
 τότε τοὺς ἐκοιτάξαμε *Alex. Rim.* 1657; πάλι ἐκαταντήσαμε *ibid.* 1663
 ἐδέσαμε τον καὶ ἡφέραμε τον ἐδῶ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 367.19
 ἀρχιρίσαμε νὰ κάμωμεν τὲς ἀμαρτίες *Diig. Alex.* F 30.6 (Konstantinopolus)
 ἡμοιράσαμε τα (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 35, 76.5)
 ἐκεῖνο ὅπου ἐχρεωστούσαμεν νὰ κάμωμεν ἐκάμαμε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Louk.* 17.10
 ἐγυρίσαμε εἰς τὰ ὀπίσου PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §21.50
 κὶ ἂ σᾶς ἀρέσαμε, χαρὰ δεῖξετε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.414
 ἐσυγκρίναμε καὶ ἀνακρίναμε (1675, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 39, 65.16)

Sometimes 1 pl. forms can be found in which the stress falls on the same syllable as in the forms of the singular and the 3rd person plural. In these cases there is usually a second stress on the penultimate, and sometimes the notation of the first stress is omitted (cf. 2 pl. ' -έτε). Examples have been found in verse and prose texts as well as in non-literary documents. The texts that can be localized are of northern provenance, or at least display northern features (*Diig. Alex.* K, Matthaïos of Myra and *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B (Meteora?)).¹⁰³ The provenance of *Dig.* P is unknown, but there is no linguistic evidence to corroborate its supposed Chiot origin.¹⁰⁴

καὶ ὄωρισάμεν τὴν ρηθείσαν μονήν (1059, Athos, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 7, 92.6)
 αφοῦ ἐπερασάμεν *Diig. Alex.* K 346.23; ἐφαλτσώσαμεν *ibid.* 346.23–4; ἐπαρόλαβάμεν *ibid.* 370.16
 ἔγραψαμε το (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.17)
 ἐκάλεσάμεν ἄρχοντες πολλοὺς *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1224
 ἐπροσκύνησάμε τὴν εἰκόνα (17th c., Meteora, VEIS 1984: 187, f.172v.1–2)
 ἤκουσάμεν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VII 377.20–1
 μικρὸν ἐθρήνησάμεν MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2766
 ἐπέρασάμεν πάλιν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* 52.4 (Kaftantzis); ἐμοίρασάμεν μοναχοὶ μας *ibid.* 66.26–7
 ἐπλέρωσάμεν (1696 [18th-c. copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B 25, f.186r.22); τοὺς ἐπαρακάλεσάμεν (1697 [18th-c. copy], *ibid.* I/13, f.190r.12)
 μέρες ἔκαμάμεν VATATSI, *Periig.* I 281; ὅσα θεώρησάμεν *ibid.* 495; ὅπου προέγραψάμεν *ibid.* 717; ἱστόρησάμεν *ibid.* 718

¹⁰³ This stress pattern can still be found in the modern dialects of Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia and Pontos (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 88).

¹⁰⁴ The Chiot origin of *Digenis* P was hypothesized by the editor, D. Paschalis, but refuted by POLITIS 1973: 332 and KECHAGIOGLOU 1993: 122, fn. 12.

Forms in /i/ instead of /e/ are phonetic rather than morphological variants, bearing witness to mid-vowel raising, for which see I, 2.5.4: ἰκρίθησαν καὶ τοὺς ἐλογάργ<ι>ασάμι (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 3, f.39r.3–4); ἔκαμάνμι (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 12, 82.29) (with an “intrusive” /n/, for which see also I, 3.5.2.4).

Forms in -αμενε, with the stress on the fourth syllable from the end, are likely to have had a wider geographical spread than just Chios (for addition of -(ν)ε see I, 2.6.3.3): εἴπαμενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 86.35.

Pl.	1	-αμα(ν)

Sporadically -αμεν can be found with /a/ for /e/ in the final syllable, either as a result of assimilation, or as a reinforcement of “pastness”, resulting in -αμαν, an ending now characteristic of various northern dialects (Epirus, Macedonia, south-eastern Thrace, see PAPADOPOULOS 1926: 90; cf. the passive aorist, 4.4.2). It also occurs once in Machairas, but this may just be a writing mistake.

ἐδώσαμεν τὸ τίμιον Ἰωάννην (16th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 186, 123.2)
 ἦλθαμαν νὰ σᾶς δοκιμάσωμεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 398.8
 ἐτραβήξαμαν χέρι (1698, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 78, 245.11); σὰν φταίξει ἕνας ὅλοι
 ἐφταίξαμαν (ibid. 90, 253.20)
 ἐφύγαμαν ... ἐπήγαμαν ... ἐθάψαμαν ... ἐκαθίσαμαν ... ἤρθαμαν (1719, Ioannina, POLITIS/
 POLITI 1991: 2439, 441.1–7

Pl.	1	-εμεν

With /e/ for /a/ in the first syllable this ending has been found once in a document from the Peloponnese. The change is probably due to assimilation (see I, 2.8.5; cf. the imperfect and passive aorist, 4.3.1.2 and 4.4.2, with which this ending is equally rare): ἐγράψεμεν (1687, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 103, 323.6).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ετε ἰ -ετευ(ε) ἰ -ιτε ἰ ' -έτε

The ending -ετε, borrowed from the imperfect and first attested with the aorist indicative in Hellenistic times, is by far the most common ending for 2 pl. throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

ἐπίετε πικρασμούς της *Log. parag.* L 21
 ὅσοι ἐλαλήσετε διὰ ἐμὲν *Chron. Mor.* H 956; κι ἀπλήθετε ibid. 1855; ἐπλουτύνετε ibid. 5107
 ἐφθάσετε *Dig.* E 1733
 ἐσεῖς ἐβάλετε βουλὴν *Diig. tetr.* 691
 καὶ ἐσυμπονέσετέ με *Rim. than.* 91
 πὼς τοῦ ἐκρατήσετε τὸ μηνίον του (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 17, 11.2)
 ὁ,τι ἄρα ἐγράφετε (1489, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 19, 100.8)
 ἐχάσετε τὸ δάσκαλο τὸν πολυαγαπημένο FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 90
 ἐγράφετε κεφάλαια ἄπρεπα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 48.19–20; ἐγροικήσετε ibid. 12.35–6

ἐμιλήσετε μαζί (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.12)
 όπου ἡκούσετε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 336.5
 δὲν ἐσμίξετε ἀμάδι (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 906, 708.11)
 ἐγροικήσετε CHORTATSI, *Erof.* II.443; καλέ, πῶς τὴν ἐχάσετε; id., *Katz.* IV.421
 τραδιτόροι, όπου ἐτραδίρετε τὴν πατρίδα σας *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.32–3; δὲν
 ἐπαρακαλέσετε τὸν βασιλέα σας *ibid.* 93.9
 τοῦ οὐοίου ἐγράψετε (1675, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 61.22); τὰ τοῦ ἐζητήξετε (*ibid.* 61.23)
 μ' ἐσπείρετε KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.309; ἀπονη βουλὴν ἐδώκετε *ibid.* IV.319; ἐλησμονήσετε *ibid.*
 IV.450

Tellingly, almost all EMG grammars, from Sofianos to Spanos, only give forms in -ετε. Kritopoulos is the only one to give -ατε for all verbs, whereas Portius has -ετε only for barytone verbs:

ἐγράψετε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 54.2; ἐκρατήσετε *ibid.* 61.2; ἐγελάσετε *ibid.* 63.21
 εἶδετε GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.31; ἐγράψετε *ibid.* 89.8; ἐτιμήσετε *ibid.* 91.21; ἐγελάσετε *ibid.*
 91.25
 ἐγράψετε PORTIUS, *Grammar* 33.21; but: ἐπατήσατε *ibid.* 37.29; ἀγαπήσατε *ibid.* 40.8
 ἐγράψετε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 23.6; ἡγαπήσετε *ibid.* 40.4
 ἐγράψετε PARISINUS, *Grammar* 135.1; ἐβαστάσετε *ibid.* 145.1; ἐπατήσετε *ibid.* 151.1
 [ἐγρὰ]ψετε SPANOS, *Grammar* 35.8; [ἐφιλή]σετε *ibid.* 39.24; [ἐγελ]άσετε *ibid.* 41.16

With addition of final /n/ this ending occurs in 17th-c. texts from certain Aegean islands (Chios, Syros):

εἶδετεν αὐτόν GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.32
 αὐτὰ ποὺ ἐγροικήσετεν VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 99; ἀφοῦ ἐφύγετεν ἐσεῖς id., *Pathi* 217
 γὰρ τί τὸν ἐλυπήσετεν τόσον PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 863; ὁποῦ μοῦ ἴδόμετεν ἐσεῖς *ibid.* 868; εἶδετεν
 ἴπῳς ... ἐνίκησέ μας *ibid.* 2661
 καλῶς ἦλθετεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 429
 τὰ ὅσα ἐτάξετεν (1685, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [2], 12.8); ὥσάν σκύλοι ἐγυρίσετεν πάλι
 στὰ ἴδια σας ξερατιά (*ibid.* 13.1); ἐκαταφρονέσετεν τές ἐρμηνεῖς μας (*ibid.* 13.16); καὶ δὲν
 ἐψηφήσετεν (*ibid.* 13.17)

With addition of -(ν)ε it is likely to have had a wider geographical distribution than just Chios (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details): εἴπετενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 86.35.

Sometimes 2 pl. forms can be found in which the stress falls on the same syllable as in the forms of the singular and the 3rd person plural. There is always a second stress on the penultimate, and sometimes the first accent is omitted (cf. 1 pl. act. ' -ἄμεν, 1 pl. pass. ' -ηκάμεν and 2 pl. pass. ' -ηκέτε). Forms with this stress pattern have been found in two texts of northern provenance and in two manuscripts of the *War of Troy*:¹⁰⁵

ὅταν τὸ σύνταμα ἐποικέτε *Pol. Tr.* 2918 app. crit. (BV)
 πολλὰ υψηλά μου ἐστειλέτε *Diig. Alex.* K 347.3
 ἐκαταφρονέσετέ τὸν νόμον τοῦ προφήτου Μωϋσέως DAM. SToud., *This., Logos* 13, μ8r.16
 (1561)
 τί εἶδετε εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ἱερέα καὶ τὸν ἀδίκησέτε καὶ τὸν ἐπίασέτε καὶ τὸν ἔδειρέτε PAPASYNAD.,
Chron. 98.18–19 (Kaftantzis)

¹⁰⁵ This stress pattern can still be found in the modern dialects of Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia and the Pontos (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 88).

A form that looks like a hybrid formation with the residual subjunctive ending -ητε, but is in fact more likely to be a case of mid-vowel raising of [e] to [i] (ἐδειλιάσιτε < ἐδειλιάσετε) (see I, 2.5.4), occurs in *Achil.* O:¹⁰⁶ ἐδειλιάσητε *Achil.* O 216.

Pl.	2	-ατε

The inherited aorist ending -ατε is found before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, but is clearly not as common as -ετε (see above). The reason for this may be that the ending -ατε is still widely used with the aorist imperative, making indicatives and imperatives indistinguishable but for the augment, which may be omitted in verbs with a prepositional prefix or initial vowel, or after words ending in a vowel (for the imperative see 4.5.2.1; for the augment see 3). Moreover, -ετε is the normal ending for the imperfect as well (see 4.3.1.1). Forms in -ατε are found in literary and non-literary texts, often alongside forms in -ετε:

ἐπιδείξατε (1131, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 111, 124.16); ἤλθατε (ibid. 146.8)
 κόρην ἤχμαλωτεύσατε *Dig.* G I.220; ἡμπλικεύσατε ibid. II.150 (< ἀπλικεύω)
 ἐκερδίσατε *Pol. Tr.* 825; τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ ἐπήρατε ibid. 1370
 ἐπεζεύσατε *Dig.* E 336; ἔκατεφθάσατε ibid. 405
 ὁ,τι ἄρα ἐγράψετε καὶ ἐπαρεγγεῖλατε (1489, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 19, 100.8)
 τὸν γὰρ ἐνικήσατε προχτὲς *Achil.* O 397
 διατὶ καλὰ ἐγροικήσατε *Theseid* I.27,3 (Follieri)
 νερόν οὐκ ἐποτίσατέ με DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2797
 ἄχ τ' ἄδικον π' ἀκούσατε *Cypr. Canz.* 125.16 app. crit.
 ἐδείξατε GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 604
 ἐχάσατε *Alex. Rim.* 1894; ἠκούσατε ibid. 2461
 ὅλα ὅσα ἠκούσατε ὀπισθεν PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 113.32–3
 οὕτως ἐποίησατε *Vios Aisop.* K 181.1–2
 νὰ ἐλάβατε ἀπ' αὐτοῦνον (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 3, 302.9–10)
 τ(ήν) καλὴν ἀγάπην, ὅπου μοῦ ἐδείξατε (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 181.9–10)

Pl.	2	-εταν

This unusual ending, with /a/ for /e/ in the last syllable, has been found in a document from Albania, and in the *Chapbook of Alexander*, which is of unknown provenance: ὅταν ἤλθεταν καὶ κόνεψετε (1697, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 39, 227.11); διατὶ ἐφονεύσεταν τὸν βασιλέα σας *Alex. Fyll.* 68.30. (See also P. Mackridge in *Κονδυλοφόρος* 15 (2017) 259–63).

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-α(ν) ἢ -ανε

¹⁰⁶ Cf. περιπέσουσιν for περιπέσουσιν ibid. 228 app. crit. and κινοδοξήσης for κενοδοξήσης ibid. 347 app. crit.

The inherited 3 pl. ending -αν is used in texts from all areas before, during and after the period covered by this Grammar, alongside the equally frequent ending -ασι(ν) (see below):

ἐγκάλεσαν (1128, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 13, 98.30)
 ἄτινα ἐμολόγησαν (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.23)
 κ' ἐποίησαν ἀγάπην *Chron. Mor.* H 2719
 ἐμίλησαν *Dig.* E 361
 πράγματα ἔχασαν πολλὰ *Chron. Toc.* 35
 ἐσυνεφώνησαν (1474, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 32, 166.1)
 καὶ ἐμολόγησαν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 96.7)
 ὡς γῦπες τοὺς ἐσύνθλασαν *Achil.* N 553
 εἶπαν εἰς αὐτόν του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 232.5
 ὁμολόγησαν ὅτι ἔλαβαν (1509, Zakynthos, ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ 1967: 2 [B'], 225.4)
 τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀρίθμησαν *Alex. Rim.* 2; ὁποῦ τὴν ἐθεμέλιωσαν *ibid.* 564
 ὅταν ἐψόφησαν τοῦτοι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.13
 ἔγραψαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 89.12; ἐτίμησαν *ibid.* 91.21; ἐθέλησαν *ibid.* 94.20
 καὶ δὲν μᾶς ἐχάλασαν (17th c., Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.2, 72.16–17)
 τὸν ἐρώτηξαν οἱ ἄνωθεν μάρτυρες (1680, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 25, 102.13)

A shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs in verse and prose texts and can even be found in non-literary texts:

πῶς ἐμακρολογῆσαν *Diig. tetr.* 552
 στήν ὥραν ὅλοι ἐγκράξαν *Achil.* L 386
 ἤμπορῆσαν *Assizes* A 128.15
 ἐγαπήσαν τὸν Χριστὸν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2152
 ἐκωλοσύραν τοὺς καὶ ἐκρεμμάσαν τοὺς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 134.3–4
 ἐζητήσαν κρίσιν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.9; ἐσκοτώσαν τον καὶ ἐκόψαν την κεφαλὴν του *ibid.*, 112.6–7
 ἐκατεκάψαν το τὸ ἀγαρηνὸν τὸ γένος *Moirol. Konst.* 113
 καὶ χίλιους ἐλαβῶσαν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* X.145
 ἐχαλάσαν του μίαν εἰκόνα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.17; καὶ ἐρωτήσαν την *ibid.* 351.7
 ἐξετιμήσαν τα (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 27, 66.9)
 τοὺς διωγμοὺς ποῦ ἐπροξενήσεν μου ὁ Φιλαδελφείας (1653–1655, Venice, FONKID 2000: 239, f.1r.7)
 ἐρωτήσαν τονε (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 277, 381.2); ἐπουλήσαν (*ibid.* 283, 387.16)
 ἐκανισκέψαν τονε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 25.3
 ἐπουλήσαν τὰ γονικά τοὺς πράγματα (1672, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 5, 17.12–13) (but ἐπούλησαν *ibid.* 17.22)
 ἐπουλήσαν τα τοῦ γουμένου (1687, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 20, 53.9)

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from southern/south-western areas, but mostly in forms that present a shift of the stress to the penultimate, in all likelihood in order to distinguish them from proparoxytone 1 sg. forms in -α (for details see I, 3.7.2.2.1):

ἐθέκα τὸν μάστρε Ἀντώνη τὸν γιατρό (1389, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 3, 89.2)
 μ' ἀναστεναγμούς, ὅπ' ὅλους ἐπικράνα FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 12
 καὶ ἐτρέξα νὰ μποῦν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 90.14; ἐπαρακαλέσα νὰ βάλῃ κανέναν
 καβαλλάρην *ibid.* 430.7–8
 τίποτες δὲν ἐμολογήσα πως ... VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 32.13
 καὶ τ' ἄστρα του μετρήσα *Alex. Rim.* 2

μα ᾽δέν την εφελέσα *Apoll. Rim.* A 81; τα λόγια ᾽δέν τ' ἀρέσα *ibid.* 82
 δέν τήν ἐμεταφέρα *Imb. Rim.* 498; καί μέσα τόν ἐθέσα *ibid.* 825
 ἐπῆρα τους (1570, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.5)
 κι' ἄν δέν τόν ἐφλακιάσα *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.12; ὅλους μᾶς ἐμοιράσα *ibid.* IV.424
 ἐπομείνα κοντέντοι (1573, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17 [later copy], 72.39)
 ἐτιμήσα το (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 35, 53.16)
 ἐζησαν κι ἐποθάνα *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 3001 (hapax)
 καί τὸ κληρονομήσα *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 323.19; ἀποδεκεῖ ἐκινήσα *ibid.* 323.18
 ὅσοι τῶς ἀπαντήσα *Leilasia Par.* 415

Addition of -(v)ε can be found in texts from south-western areas (Peloponnese, Crete, Heptanese) and certain Aegean islands (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

ἐπολεμήσανε τον *Chron. Mor.* H 1674; ἐπροσκομίσανε τα *ibid.* 1840
 καί ἐπῆρανέ τα (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 37.II, 302.20.7)
 ἐπουλήσανέ του (1546–51, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 64.6)
 καθὼς τὸ ἐστιμάρανε (1590, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 33, 176.12)
 καί ὠμιλήσανε μαζί τους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.31–26.1; ὠμοφωνήσανε *ibid.* 35.11
 ἐγράψανε *GERMANO, Grammar* 89.11; ἐτιμήσανε *ibid.* 91.21; ἐθελήσανε *ibid.* 94.20; ἐφάγανε
ibid. 96.3
 καί ἤλθανε οἱ κλέπτες καί μοῦ τὰ ἐπῆρανε ὅλα (1643, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1960: 3, 3.9–10)
 καί εἵπανέ μου *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 6; ἐσυνδράμανε ἀντάμα μου *ibid.* 99
 ὅλοι ἐπεθέσανε (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), p. 28.6)
 καί τὸ καστέλι ἐπιάσανε ... κι ἀπείτις τὸ νικήσανε ... ἤρθανε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.*
 323.17–19
 εἰς τήν φέδε τοῦ ὁποίου τὰ ἐρεκομαντάρανε (1674, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 3, 122.6–7)
 σάν τόν εἶδανε *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2861
 ἡγοράσανε (1688, Andros, PASCHALIS 1948: 43.3)
 τὸ ἐκονσιδεράρανε ... καί τὸ ἐστιμάρανε (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 65.1–2)
 τὰ ἐξανακτίσανε (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 20, 55.3)

Pl.	3	-ασι(v) † -ασινε

The endings -ασι and -αν (see above) alternate freely throughout the MedG and EMG periods, and this alternation is certainly not restricted to verse texts; it is an inherent feature of the language, and not an artificial metrical device (see HINTERBERGER 2001, esp. 227–35). Forms in -ασι(v) can be found throughout our period, with and without final /n/, in texts from all regions:

ἐποιήσασιν (1125, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 96, 125.1)
 ἀμφοτέροι ἐλύσασιν τὸν γάμον (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 232.206)
 τόσα τὸν ἀγαπήσασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 2101
 καί ὅλας ἐγυρεύεσασιν *Dig.* E 84; καί οὐδέν ἐγνωρίσασι ποσῶς *ibid.* 85
 καθὼς ἐχαλάσασιν καί τους Θεσσαλονικαίους (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.16)
 ὁποῦ ἐκουβαλήσασι (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 46.28)
 εὐκαιρέσασιν τήν χώραν (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28, 209.4.3–4)
 καί εἵπασι *Alex. Rim.* 416; ἐτότες ὀρδινιάσασι *ibid.* 455
 ἐκυνηγήσασιν *Pist. kekoim.* 83
 ἐπαρκαλέσασιν τονε (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.9)

ἐκτίσασσι καὶ ἐσκεπάσασσι (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 139, 109.12)
 ἐγράψασσι GERMANO, *Grammar* 89.11; ἐτιμήσασσι *ibid.* 91.21; ἐθελήσασσι *ibid.* 94.20; ἐφάγασσι *ibid.* 96.3
 τὰ πετούμενα πουλιά ὅλα ἐψοφήσασσι (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), p. 28.6–7)
 ἐποθάνασιν οἱ δύο (1695, Paros, ZERLENDIS 1888: B', 249.8)
 ἐχαλάσασσι EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 15.5; ἐτραβήξασσι ἴσα στὸν Μορέα *ibid.* 15.5–6

Addition of -(ν)ε is likely to have had a wider spread than just Crete and Santorini (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details). A second accent is usually absent, resulting in forms that bear the stress on the fourth syllable from the end. The fact that no examples have been found of oxytone verbs should probably be regarded as a coincidence.

ἐπήγασινε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 66.20 app. crit. (K)
 ἐμνόξασινε σήμερο CHORTATIS, *Panor.* V.151
 μᾶς εἴπασινε πάλι *Rim. Sant.* 416
 ἐνεχώσασινε καὶ ἓνα λείψανο (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 183.112); ἐκοντραφάρασινε τὸ κομανταμέντο (*ibid.* 183.115–16)
 κι ἐπάσασινε οἱ ἔγνοιες μου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.108
 ἐβγάλασινε (1664, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 7, 416.8); ἐπήρασινε (1665, *ibid.* 9, 418.7)
 ὅπου ἦρθασινε τόσοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 136.4; ἐβάνασινε σ' ὀρδινιά *ibid.* 151.7
 κ' ἐφέρασινε τοὺς γιατροὺς KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1755; μὰ ἐσφάλασινε κι ἄλλες *ibid.* III.1595; κ' εἴπασινε τὰ χεῖλη του *ibid.* V.952

Pl.	3	-ασαν

This ending, a conflation of -ασιν and -αν, has been found, with barytone verbs only, in a handful of 14th–16th-c. documents that can be securely localized (Cyprus and Epirus), in the Paris version of the *Chronicle of Morea* and in *Diig. Alex. K*, a text that displays northern features:

ἐχαλάσασαν πολλὰ ὀσπίτια (14th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 206.3.6); ἐπήρασαν τὸ κάστρο (15th c., Cyprus, *ibid.* 28.I, 209.3.3); ἐπήγασαν (*ibid.* 209.4.2); ἐπιάσασαν (*ibid.* 209.7.6); ἐτζακίσασαν (*ibid.* 210.8.4); ἀρχεύσασαν (*ibid.* 210.8.16); ἦρτσασαν εἰς τὰ σπίτια τους (*ibid.* 210.8.17); ὅταν ἠπήρασαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὴν Καλλιπόλιν (16th c., Epirus, *ibid.* 71A 158.4.1)
 τὰ πλάγια ὅλα ἐγέμασαν ... τὰ φουσσᾶτα *Chron. Mor.* P 5051; ἦλθασαν ὡς ρογάτοροι *ibid.* 8944
 ὅσο σας ἐπήρασαν θέλει το πληρώσει Αλέξανδρος *Diig. Alex. K* 347.17

Pl.	3	-ανσι

The alternation between -αν and -ασι can sporadically lead to a hybrid formation -ανσι, which is likely to be graphematic rather than an existing ending (cf. the imperfect (4.3.1.1) and εἶμαι (4.8.2)): ἐγοράσανσιν το (1682, Naxos, ΣΙΦΟΝΙΟΥ-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 336, 541.6). As becomes clear from the manuscript (Oxford Auct. 24), the following examples in the Oxford version of the *Achilleid* – ἐπεμείνανσι *Achil.* O 295; ἐστήσανσι *ibid.* 405;

ἐπληρώσανσι *ibid.* 707 – are all the result of corrections by the scribe, who first wrote ἐπέμειναν, ἔστησαν, ἐπλήρωσαν and then intended to change the forms into ἐπεμείνασι, ἐστήσασι, ἐπληρώσασι (correcting the accentuation in the first two cases but not in ἐπλήρωσανσι) because he needed an extra syllable. The same appears to be the case in the following example from the *Theseid* in Par. gr. 2898: ἐκροῦσανσιν *Theseid* I.77,4 app. crit. (Follieri), where the scribe wrote ἐκροῦσαν (with circumflex), and then added -σιν without correcting the accentuation.

4.4.1.2 Residual Thematic Aorist

		Restricted	Rare	Innovative
Sg.	1	εἶπον		εἴπου(α)
				εἴπου
Pl.	1	εἴπομεν		
	3	εἶπον	εἴποσαν	εἴπου

Of certain verbs, especially βλέπω, ἔρχομαι and λέγω, residual thematic (or second) aorist forms can still routinely be found for 1 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl. in a variety of texts of the LMedG and EMG periods, mainly those that aim for a higher stylistic register and in more formal contexts, and usually alongside the more common forms. Some representative examples are:

1st Person Singular

ἀλλὰ μητρὸς ἀπέλαβον γραφὴν *Dig.* G II.127
 ἐπροσῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν μονὴν (1360, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 49, f.236r.1)
 εἶπον εἰς νοῦν τοιάδε *Ptoch.* I 157
 καταβλαττάς ἂν ἔμαθον *Ptoch.* III 181
 ἕνα αὐθέντην ἔσχον *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 21
 ὡς ἔμαθον ὑστέρου *Liv.* α 1596
 καὶ εἶδα τὰς ἱστορίας ἅπασας ... | καὶ εἶδον πόθεν κείμεται *Liv.* V 1017–18
 καὶ τὸ περδίκιν ἔλαβον *Achil.* N 1379
 ἀπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον ἔφευγον καὶ ἔμπροσθέν μου λειτουργίαν εὔρον *Paroim.* I 75
 ὡς ἔμαθον καὶ ἤκουσα *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 3101
 ὡς λέγω, καὶ ἔλαβον (1520, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 58, 108.11)
 τὴν κόρην τότε ἔλαβον *Dig.* A 2714

In certain texts an innovative variant reminiscent of the old thematic form εἶπον can be found, namely εἴπου, probably on the analogy of the imperfect of oxytone verbs (ἐβάρουν; cf. PANDELIDIS 2011 regarding εἴπουνα, for which see also below). This form has only been found for the verb λέγω, in texts from the Heptanese, Cyprus (see also 3 pl.) and in texts of unknown provenance (*Liv.* N and *Diig. tetr.*) from the 15th c. onwards:

ἀκμήν οὐδόλως εἴπου τα οὐδὲ καυχίστηκά τα *Diig. tetr.* 472 app. crit. (VCA)

καὶ ἄφοῦ τὸ ἐκατάλλαξα καὶ ἐδιάκρινα, τὸν εἶπουν *Liv.* α 2844 app. crit. (N)
 εἶπουν σοῦ το MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 208.30; ὡς γοιὸν σᾶς τὸ εἶπουν *ibid.* 668.12–13
 (exclusive form)
 καὶ εἶπουν τοὺς VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 264.9, B 265.8 and M 265.7 (almost exclusive)
 διὰ τὲς ποιῆς εἶπουν ἄνωθεν *Fior* 80.19 (reading of I); διὰ ἐκεῖνον ὅπου εἶπουν ὧδε ἀπάνω
ibid. 83.19–20
 ὅτ' εἶπουν ἴτσου τὴν ζωὴν ν' ἀφήσω *Cypr. Canz.* 16.4; also in 76.11, 127.13 and 150.13
 δὲν σοῦ τὸ εἶπουν ἐγὼ *Bertoldos* 12.12
 δὲν σοῦ εἶπουν ἐγὼ *Bertoldin.* 117.24
 τοῦ εἶπουν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.32) (author from Athens)
 σοῦ ἔπουν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 623

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in two texts from Cyprus: δὲν το εἶπου κρυφά VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 273.2 app. crit.; διὰ τὲς ποιῆς εἶπου ἄνωθεν *Fior* 80.19 app. crit. (B); ὡς σοῦ εἶπου *ibid.* 90.24–5 app. crit. (I).

Addition of the past-tense ending -α (cf. KOURMOULIS 1956) has been found in 17th- and 18th-c. documents, from Athens and the Peloponnese respectively (cf. the imperfect of oxytone verbs, 4.3.2.1 and see PANDELIDIS 2011): τοῦ εἶπουνα (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.16) (author from Athens); τοῦ εἶπουνα πὼς κάλλιον δώσε μου το ἐμένανε (1712, Nauplion, LIATA 1998b: 232.12); τοῦ εἶπουνα ἀκόμη πὼς ... (*ibid.* 232.19).

1st Person Plural

ἐν ταύτῃ κατελάβομεν τῇ ὀρωμένη βρύσει *Dig.* G V.111 and *Dig.* T 1709
 ἅφ' ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐπάθομεν, ἐμάθομεν ἀρκούντως GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 45
 γυμνοὶ ἤλθομεν εἰς κόσμον *Spaneas* V 136
 ἤλθομεν εἰς τὴν χώραν *Liv.* α 3426 app. crit. (P)
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βρύσεως τὸ νερόν ἐπίομεν μὴ διψοῦμεν *Liv.* S 1534 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ὡς ἐφάγομεν, ἐκαθήμεθα SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 44.20
 τόπον πολὺν ἐδράμομεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2513
 φουσάτον εἶδομεν πολὺν *Achil.* N 480
 σιγουριτὰν ὅπου τοῦ ἐκάμομεν (1542, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1970: 3 [Γ'], 293.11–12)
 εἰς τὴν πηγὴν ἐπήλθομεν *Dig.* A 2715
 ὡς ἄνωθεν εἶπομεν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 148.14–15

3rd Person Plural

ἀπόλαβον οἱ μοναχοὶ (1125, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 96, 125.3)
 οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ μου εἶδον *Dig.* G VI.409
 καὶ τότε ἔλαβον χαράν *Pol. Tr.* 13524
 ἑκατὸν Παῦλοι ἀπέθανον *Paroim.* H 25
 ὅτι τὸν φόβον ἔφυγον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 998
 ἐξήλθον του γυρεύειν *Diig. Apoll.* 87
 ἔλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μίαν χρυσὴν κούπαν *Vios Aisop.* E 293.25
 ἔφερον τόνδε Μανουῆλον (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 2, 4.6–7)
 οὐκ εἰσῆλθον διὰ νὰ μὴ μianθοῦν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 367.4–5
 ἔλαθον καὶ ἐφαγαν καὶ τα ἱμάτια NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 104.6
 ὡς δὲ ἔπιον δύο καὶ τρεῖς φορές *Vios Aisop.* K 172.22
 τὰς εὐεργεσίας ὅπου ἔλαβον ἀπὸ δαύτους *Bertoldin.* 169.2

ἔμαθον μερικὰ καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι LANDOS, *Geopon.* 130.24
θάνατον ἐξάφνα ἔλαβον IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 6611

The Cypriot *Tale of Apollonios* has a form εἴπουν, which is rather more common for 1 sg. (see above for discussion): στέκουνται ἄνδρες βλέπουν τες, τούτον τον λόγον εἴπουν *Diig. Apoll.* 483.

The 3 pl. residual Koine ending -οσαν can occasionally be found in mixed-register texts, especially with the verb ἔρχομαι:

ἀμφοτέροι εἰσήλθοσαν *Dig. G* II.143
εἰσήλθοσαν *Pol. Tr.* 2348
συνήλθοσαν *Velth.* 233 (Cupane); καὶ εἶδοσαν ἀλλήλους *ibid.* 848
ἀνήλθοσαν εἰς τὸ φανόν *Dig. T* 2243
πάντες δὲ συνεξήλθοσαν *Dig. A* 346; τοὺς Ἀραβίτας εὗροσαν *ibid.* 762

4.4.2 Passive Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	ἔγραφθηκα	ἔγραφθην	ἔγραφθηνα ἔγραφθῆκα ἔγραφθα
	2	ἔγραφθης ἔγραφθηκες	ἔγραφθῆκῃς	ἔγραφθῆκες ἔγραφθας
	3	ἔγραφθη(ν) ἔγραφθηκε(ν)	ἔγραφθηνε(ν) ἔγραφθηκι(ν) -ῆκε(ν)	ἔγραφθ' ἔγραφθεν ἔγραφθεκε(ν) † -εκι(ν) -ησε(ν) -ηε(ν)
Pl.	1	ἔγραφθημεν ἔγραφθημαν ἔγραφθήκαμε(ν)	ἔγραφθηκάμεν -ηκαμι	ἔγραφθημε ἔγραφθαμεν ἔγραφθημα ἔγραφθεμεν ἔγραφθηκάμαν
	2	ἔγραφθήκετε(ν)	ἔγραφθητε ἔγραφθηκέτε	(ἔγραφθήκατε)
	3	ἔγραφθησαν ἔγραφθηκαν ἔγραφθήκασι(ν) ἔγραφθήσανε	ἔγραφθησα ἔγραφθησανε ἔγραφθῆκα(ν) ἔγραφθήκανε ἔγραφθαν	ἔγραφθῆσαν ἔγραφθηκάνε ἔγραφθηκασιν

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, the passive voice makes use of two sets of endings, the inherited set -ην, -ης, -η(ν), -ημεν, -ητε, -ησαν and an innovative set -ηκα, -ηκες, -ηκε(ν), -ήκαμε, -ήκατε, -ηκαν/-ήκασι(ν), which appears in written sources from the 13th c. onwards.

The disappearance of the old endings is a gradual process: the first to fall into disuse is 1 sg. -ην, for it had become indistinguishable from 3 sg. -η, which often had an added final /n/. From the 13th c. onwards -ην begins to disappear from common written practice and is replaced by -ηκα. The next ending to fall into disuse is 2 pl. -ητε, which starts to be replaced by -ήκατε from the 15th c. onwards.¹⁰⁷ For 2 sg. -ηκες can be found with βαίνω from at least the 13th c. and in the passive paradigm in manuscripts of the 15th c., whereas 3 sg. -ηκε(ν) appears in texts earlier: with βαίνω, as noted in the introduction, in the 8th/9th c. and for the aorist passive indicative in the 14th c.; but it should be borne in mind that 2nd-person forms are generally much rarer in written texts than 3rd person forms. For 1 pl. and 3 pl. κ-forms begin to appear in manuscripts in the 15th c., with both βαίνω and the passive paradigm.

The above table covers the aorist passive indicative of all barytone and oxytone verbs, including deponent verbs such as γίνομαι (ἐγένην/ἐγίνην, ἐγένηκα/ἐγίνηκα, replacing the aorist middle ἐγενόμην), δέχομαι (ἐδέχθην, ἐδέχθηκα), φαίνομαι (ἐφάνην, ἐφάνηκα) and χαίρομαι (ἐχάρην, ἐχάρηκα), as well as the (active) aorist indicative of certain athematic verbs, namely βαίνω and its prefixed derivatives (ἔβην, ἔβηκα). For alternative aorist active indicative formations of ἐμπαίνω and ἐβγαίνω (ἤμπα and ἤβγα) see 2.4 s.v. βαίνω; for the same, as well as the widespread confusion between the imperfective and perfective stems of γίνομαι (γιν- and γεν- respectively), see 2.4 s.v. γίνομαι.

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-ην ἢ -ηνα

The inherited ending -ην is on its way out by the beginning of the LMedG period, due to the fact that it had become indistinguishable from the 3 sg ending -η(ν) (see below). By the 13th c. -ην will have been largely replaced by the innovative ending -ηκα (see below) in the spoken language, which by then begins to surface in written texts. In the EMG period -ην is mainly found in mixed- and higher-register texts. It is very seldom found without final /n/ (e.g. ἄν οὐκ ἐψήλωσα πουλὰ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς τὰ νέφη *Poulol.* 412 app. crit. (P); ἐγέρθηκα κι ἐντύθη *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 124) and, unlike 3 sg., usually not with dissimilated /st/ for /sθ/, /xt/ for /xθ/ or /ft/ for /fθ/ in the passive perfective stem, with a few notable exceptions:

¹⁰⁷ Note that Sofianos (16th c.), who is moderately conservative, only gives forms in -ητε: ἐγράφθητε *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 57.18; ἐκρατήθητε *ibid.* 66.19; ἐγελάσθητε *ibid.* 69.9, and actually gives κ-forms only for 1 sg. (ἐγράφθηκα, ἐκρατήθηκα, ἐγελάσθηκα) and once, by a slip of the pen, for 1 pl. (ἐκρατηθήκαμε), whereas Germano (17th c.) for 2 pl. only gives forms in -ήκατε.

εἶδα το καὶ ἐξενίστην το *Liv.* E 117; (τὴν καταδίκην ...) τὴν ἑκατεδικάστην *Liv.* V 399; γονεῖς τε καὶ τὴν πίστιν μου ὡς διὰ σέ ἡρνήστην *Dig.* T 361. Forms in -ην of βαίνω and its prefixed derivatives are very rare, because this group of verbs had started to adopt the -ηκα ending a few centuries earlier (see 2.2.1.10.1):

τὰς ἀγίας ἐδουλώθην γραφάς ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 208.15–16; ἐγχειρίσθην *id.*, *Logos* 31 812.18
οὐδὲν ἐλογίσθην *Dig.* G V.230
ἔγραψα καὶ ὑπεγράφην (1262, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/ΒΕΝΕΧΕΒΙΤΣΧ 1927: 14, 7.18)
ἐξ ὧν ἐπαγαγγέλθην *Pol. Tr.* 215; νὰ ἐστράφην *ibid.* 379 app. crit. (X)
εἶδα το καὶ ὀρέχθην το *Liv.* V 2335
καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἑκατεδέχθην το *Dig.* E 1253
καὶ εἰς ὕπνον ἐκορέσθην *Liv.* E 2683
ἐπεὶ ὀρίσθην ἐγὼ Γεώργιος Παλαιολόγος ὁ Καντακουζηνὸς (1431, Ragusa, LAMBROS 1930: 29.4)
νὰ ῥηρήθην LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 50; ἀπεκρίθην *ibid.* 509
λίθος ἐγένην, μάννα μου, ἀκίνητος ἐστάθην [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1179
καὶ ὠρέχθην τοῦ πεζεύσειν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 20; νὰ κατεβῶ ἐβιάσθην *ibid.* 53
πολέμησα, τσακίσθην *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 975
ο καιρὸς οποῦ ἐξυπνίσθην *Vios Ioann. Eleim.* 266.18
καὶ χάριν σοῦ ὁμολογῶ, διὰ σοῦ ἐβαπτίσθην *Dig.* T 656
καὶ ἐγὼ τοῦ ἀποκριθὲν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.15)
π' ὅλος ἐμεταστάθην VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 1; μεγάλως ἐξεπλάγην *ibid.* 249

καὶ μὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲ ἵππου ἐπέβην *Dig.* G VI.186
ἐξέβην ἀπὸ λύπης μου *Liv.* E 10
λοιπὸν ἀνέβην στὸ δενδρὸν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 37 (same in V)
τὴν γῆν ἐφευγα καὶ ἐδιέβην εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 149.6
φαρὶν ἐκαβαλλίκευσα, ἐξέβην εἰς τὸν κάμπτον *Dig.* A 3069

Addition of the active 1 sg. past-tense ending -α occurs occasionally. Forms in -ηνα are supposedly characteristic of certain parts of Asia Minor, if we are to believe Pachomios Rousanos:

καὶ αἰχμάλωτος ἐδιάβηνα κόσμον πολὺν καὶ χώραν *Liv.* E 3992
εκολλήθηνα *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 384 app.crit.
ὡς δὲ Ἀρτακήσιοι καὶ Κυζικηνοὶ ἐδάρθηνα λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Πόντιοι ἐδάρθην, ὅπερ κατὰ τὴν
ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον ἐδάρθηκα λέγουσιν PACH. ROUS., *Peri ofel.* 36.4

Sg.	1	-ηκα ' -ῆκα

The innovative 1 sg. ending -ηκα first appears in writings of the 13th c. (possibly 12th c. in the case of βαίνω, but the manuscript of *Ptoch. I* is 14th-c.), and can subsequently be found in texts from most areas, from north to south and from east to west:

ἀνέβηκα καὶ ἐκάτσα *Ptoch. I* 131; εἰσέβηκα τὴν θύραν καβαλάρης *ibid.* 130
οὐδ' εἰς αὐλὰς ἐσέβηκα τοῦ δεῖνος *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 17
ἐπεξέβηκα *Dig.* E 1441
ἐνέβηκα εἰς τὰ νέφη *Poulol.* 412 app. crit. (E)
ἀνέβηκα εἰς τὸ ξύλον τὸ αἰνῆτικον (1416, Lesvos, SCHREINER 1975/79: 31.I, 223.4.2)

ἐδιέβηκα *Diig. Alex.* F 70.1 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἐσέβηκα εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν ἱεροσολήμ (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 335.2)
 ἐμετέβηκα (1654, Karpenisi, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 7, 83.1)
 ἐμνήστηκα *Jonas* 215.57; ἐτάχτηκα *ibid.* 215.60
 πρὸς ὥραν ἐθυμώθηκα *ANAGN., Stich. pol.* 12
 ἐχάθηκα γὰρ σέν *SULT. WALAD, Poem III* 4
 ἦρτε με ἡ ἀγάπη σου, κἀνηκ παράταιρα *RUMI, Poem III* 4
 ἐρμάσθηκα μὲ τὴν κόρην τοῦ κυρ-Θεοδώρου (14th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1956: [4], 40.2)
 ὁδηγήθηκα (1350–1?, Athos?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 130, 45.1)
 κι ὡς ἐπληροφορέθηκα *Chron. Mor.* H 1585; εὐτύς ἐθλίβηκα τοσοῦτως *ibid.* 6066
 ἐξεινεύτηκα (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.7)
 ἐγεννήθηκα (15th c., Asia Minor, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [50], 38.1)
 ἐχάρηκα (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 100.1)
 ἀποκρίθηκα *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 464; ἐτραΐτουρεύτηκα *id., Velis.* (Λ) 500
 ἡγωνίστηκα (1514, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 48, 57.15)
 εἰνῆκα ολουνοῦ τοῦ κόσμου αφέντης *Diig. Alex.* K 361.12
 δὲν ἐχρειάσθηκα πλέο τίβοτας (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.31)
 ἐγένηκα παπα-Στεφάν (16th–17th c.?, Macedonia?, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 2166, f.54.1)
 ἐγεννήθηκα *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §2.1; ἐδόρθηκα *ibid.* I §20.2
 ὅσον ἐδυνήθηκα, ἐφυλάχθηκα *LANDOS, Geopon.* 131.38
 ὅλος ἐμεταστάθηκα *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 249

First person singular forms with a shift of the stress to the penultimate are quite common for prefixed forms of βαίνω (ἐμπαίνω, ἐμπήκα; ἐβγαίνω, ἐβγήκα), for which see 2.2.1.10.1. For passive forms it is very rare, and clearly metre-induced in the Chiot play (the accentuation in the Cypriot document is not entirely reliable): ἐπανδρευτήκα (1573, Famagusta, CONSTANTINIDES 1988: 172, f.146r.1); πολὺ ἐθαυμαχτήκα *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 400.

Sg.	1	-α

An as yet unpublished 14th-c. manuscript containing a Judaeo-Greek glossary of uncertain provenance (probably from Asia Minor; ms Evr. IIA 1980, National Library of Russia, St Petersburg, to be published in KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming)) preserves forms in -α, which consist of the passive perfective stem and the active past ending -α (cf. 2 sg., 3 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl in -ας, -εν, -αμεν and -αν respectively):¹⁰⁸ ἐτσακίστα *Prophets gloss.* f.32r, l. 1; ἐτυθρωπτάχτα *ibid.* l. 2 (the last form possibly from σκυθρωπιάζω, after various phonological alterations; see KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming)).

¹⁰⁸The use of active endings for the aorist passive is a morphological feature typical of (modern) Pontic (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 29–30; OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 283–4), and also partly of Cappadocian (for 1 sg. and pl. and 3 sg. and pl. only: DAWKINS 1916: 144–6, 190–1), and it may well have been more widespread in the period covered by this Grammar. To this day Pontic does not make use of the innovative κ-forms, which makes the supposed Pontic origin of the Russian–Greek conversation book edited by VASMER 1922, as advocated by TZITZILIS 1999, perhaps unlikely, since it has quite a few instances of 1 sg. -ηκα.

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-ης

The inherited ending -ης continues to be used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, even after the appearance of the new ending -ηκες (see below), not only in verse texts, which benefit from the different stress patterns the two forms present (e.g. πάντης μὴ φαντάχθης *Liv.* V 1197, verse end, and καὶ τί 'τον τὸ φαντάκτηκες *ibid.* 1206, before the caesura), but also in prose and non-literary texts. The following observation by Girolamo Germano indicates that it remained in use in the spoken language as well: dicono ἐγράφηκες, & ἐγράφης GERMANO, *Grammar* 80.15–16. Some representative examples are:

ἀφότου ἐξέβης *Chron. Mor.* H 5543
ἐξέβης ἡ κυρ' ἄλωποι νὰ μᾶς φιλοσοφῆσης; *Diig. tetr.* 204
ἂν ἐπαρακατέβης DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 635
πότε ἐξέβης; (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 144.1d–2d)
πῶς ἔκατέβης σύμψυχος BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 79 (same in A)
ὁπότε ἐξέβης, μιὰρὲ *Spanos* D 346
πῶς ἐσέβης; *Apoll. Rim.* E 241
ἐδώθης πῶς διέβης; STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 669 (Pidonia)
ἐδιάβης (1663, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU–THEODORIDI 1992: 39, 136.4)
ἀκόμη οὐκ ἐγεμίσθης GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 184; ἐχάθης, ἐκρυβήθης *ibid.* 199
ἐρνήθης *Dig.* E 253; ἐπαραβραδιάσθης *ibid.* 856
ἐπαραγγέλθης *Pol. Tr.* 629
καὶ ἐγίνης *Poulol.* 94; καὶ ἐγένης *ibid.* 292
ἐπαρνήθης SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 181; ἐγίνης *ibid.* 211
οὐδὲν ἔκατεγνωρίσθης (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 281–2)
ὑποσχέθης (1496, Pesaro, MAVROEIDI–PLOUMIDI 1971: 3, 133.65)
ἄρνήσθης *Katal.* 276
ἐσοὺ νοιάσθης *Cypr. Canz.* 119.1
βλέπε ὅτι λαθάσθης *Fyll. gadar.* 30d
ἐστράφης (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.6)
ἐχθρεύθης ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Voev.* 308
γὴ ἐκουζουλάθης, κρίνω CHORTATZIS, *Panor.* II.560
ἐσὺ ὁποὺ ἐγεννήθης *Bertoldin.* 116.21
πῶς ἀξιώθης καὶ ἤλθης νὰ τες ιδεῖς *Don Kis.* 47.4; ἀφοῦ ἐγεννήθης *ibid.* 177.31

Sg.	2	-ηκες ἰ -ῆκες ἰ -ηκῖς

The innovative ending -ηκες can be found from at least the 13th c. (ms date of Glykas) with βαίνω, and from at least the 15th c. (ms date of *Liv.* V and *Pol. Tr.*) with other verbs. It is often found alongside the inherited ending -ης.

καὶ ὥσεῖ σκια διέβηκες GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 199
ἐπαραξέβηκες *Dig.* E 267
ἐξέβηκες ἀπὸ τὸν ὀρισμὸν μου *Pol. Tr.* 9331
νὰ διάβηκες *Liv.* E 1402
μέσα στὸ σπῖτι σέβηκες *Alex. Rim.* 2352

ἀνέβηκες, υἱέ μου, κι ἐκαρφώθης *Thrinós Kypr.* 115

καὶ τί ἔτον τὸ ἐφαντάκτηκες *Liv.* V 1206; τὰ μὲ ὀργίστηκες πολλὰ ἔταν *ibid.* 1897

ἐκαταδέχθηκες *Pol. Tr.* 340; ποτὲ νὰ μὴ μὲ ἀρνήθηκες *ibid.* 389

ἐντροπιάστηκες *Achil.* L 1023

λέγει: κακὰ ἀπεσώθηκες *Florios* 1753

τὸ ἀπὸ ποῦ ἐγεννήθηκες *Imber.* 762

ἐφανίστηκες *ERMÓN., Ilias* 20.319

ἐνελέκτηκες *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 15 (< ἀναλέγω)

ἐσυνετάγηκες *Byz. Il.* 100

σὺ γὰρ ἐκρυβήθηκες *Spanos A* 117; καὶ ὑβρίστηκες *ibid.* 397

κρίνω κι ἐγίνηκες ἐχθρὸς *FALIEROS, Rim. Par.* 72

Χριστέ μου, ποῦ πουλήθηκες *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 639

ἐτζενιάστηκες *Cypr. Canz.* 150.8

ἐρνήθηκες *MOREZINOS, Klini* 75.31

πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιᾳς λογῆς *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 34.20–1

τὸ θαῦμα ὅπου ἐγίνηκε σὲ δαῦτον *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 39–40

ἀντιστάθηκες *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.362

ἐδάρθηκες, ὑβρίσθηκες *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 246

Forms with /i/ in the final syllable bear witness to mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4): ἐφοβήθηκῖς (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 65.30).

Second person singular forms with a shift of the stress to the penultimate are quite common for prefixed forms of βαίνω (ἐμπαίνω, ἐμπῆκες; ἐβγαίνω, ἐβγῆκες), for which see 2.2.1.10.1. For passive forms this is very rare, and clearly metre-related in the following example (verse end): καὶ δὲν ἐφοβηθῆκες *Alex. Rim.* 964.

Sg.	2	-ας

A form in -ας can be found in a 14th-c. Judaeo-Greek glossary that is probably from Asia Minor (to be published in KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming)). The form consists of the passive perfective stem and the active past ending -ας (cf. 1 sg., 3 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl in -α, -εν, -αμεν and -αν respectively): ἡγωνίστας *Kings II gloss.* f.9r, l. 7.

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-η(ν) † -ηνε(ν)

The inherited ending -η(ν) continues to be used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, alongside the innovative ending -ηκε(ν) (see below), not only in verse texts, which profit from the different stress patterns of the two forms (e.g. καὶ ὥς δι' αὐτὸν ἀπεσώθηκεν *Dig. E* 845 first hemistich, μεγάλως τὸ ἀποδέχθην *ibid.* 1120 second hemistich) (see HINTERBERGER 2001, esp. 227–35), but also in prose and non-literary texts, with and without final /n/:

ἐξέβην ναι καὶ ἠνώθην σε *Eisit.* f.4r.1

κάτω εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐσέβην *Chron. Toc.* 3382

ἄν συνέβη τίποτας (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.13–14)

ἐσέβη ὡς λοντάρι *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* XI.187

εσυνέβη *Don Kis.* 142.26

ἀπεδείχθη ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 813.35
 ἐπαρεδόθη τὸ μῆλον αὐτῆν (1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/ΒΕΝΕΧΕΒΙΤΣΧ 1927: 23, 10.5)
 ἐσυμβιβάστην οὕτως *Chron. Mor.* H 4328
 ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἐπροσφέρτην νὰ ποιήσῃ *Assizes* B 461.19
 ὅλη κατεζουλίστην *Dig.* E 1560
 ἐκοιμήθη ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ (1409, Lesvos, SCHREINER 1975/79: 31.I, 224.5.1)
 ἐστέφθη ὁ ρέ Γκὴ ... ὁ ποῖος ἀρμάστην μὲ τὴν κυρὰν Σιμβύλλαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 18.22–3; ἀρχεύτην ἡ μάχη *ibid.* 206.28
 ἐστιμαρίστην (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 175, 176.5)
 ἐνεφανίστη (1602, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 8, 162.4–5)
 ἕνας δὲν εὐρέθη νὰν σὲ θαραπάψη (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.26)
 ἔτζι ἐμαζώχθη ἡ χώρα καὶ ἐγένην μεγάλη PAPSYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.23
 ο Μπραῖμης ἐζουρλάθη ἸΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 4218a
 ἐγράφτη (1661, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 42, 315.3)
 ὑπανδρεύτη (1668, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 12, 27.8–9)
 οὐδὲ ἐντράπη (1669, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 84, 217.56)
 ἐπειδὴ ... νὰ ἐσυνουσιάστη ... μὲ λόγου της (1685, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 68, 275. 13–14)
 ἀποκρίθη ὁ δον Κισότης *Don Kis.* 46.11; ἐστάθη μία κορασίδα γλωσσού *ibid.* 150.21

Addition of the active past-tense ending -ε(ν) occurs in several texts from various areas:

ἐπήρθηγεν, ἐθράσυνεν *Chron. Toc.* 1795
 ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐσέβηγεν ὁ θάνατος PAPSYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.30
 ὁ κράλης μὲ ἀποκρίθηγεν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 58.5) (author from Athens)
 τὸ πῶς εὐρέθηγεν ἐκεῖ *Dig.* O 2312
 ὁ τηκώθηγεν κι ὁ τταχρικῆς KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 563

Sg.	3	-ηκε(ν) † -ηκι(ν) † -εκε(ν) † -εκι(ν) † -ῆκε(ν)

The new ending -ηκε(ν) appeared with βαίνω before the start of the period covered by this Grammar (a first attestation was found in an 8th/9th-c. text, see 2.2.1.10.1), and from at least the 14th c. (ms date of *Log. parig.* L) with other verbs. It is often found, with or without final /n/, alongside the inherited ending -η(ν):

συνέβηκεν (1023, S. Italy, Guillou/Holtzmann 1961: 2, 27.3)
 ἐπέβηκεν τοῦ ἵππου *Dig.* G IV.759
 διέβηκεν ὡς ἀστραπή GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 357
 καὶ μέσα νὰ ἐκατάβηκεν *Ptoch.* IV 191
 ἐσέβηκεν τοὺς δύο *Log. parig.* L 40
 ἐσυγκατέβηκεν *Chron. Mor.* H 609
 ἐκατέβηκεν κυρ-Δημήτριος ὁ Ράλης (14th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.I, 245.18CP.1–2)
 ὁ πρῶτος ὅπου ἐσέβηκεν *Velis.* χ 223
 καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν ξέβηκεν *Chron. Toc.* 881
 ἐπαρέβηκε τὴν ἐντολὴν DAM. STOUND., *This., Logos* 3, γ7r.17 (1561)
 καὶ ὡς ἀπεχαιρετίσθηκεν *Log. parig.* L 330 (Lambros)
 ἀφῶν ἦρτεν ἀπ' ἐκεῖ πικρώθηκεν SULT. WALAD, *Poem* I 12; κάτω στὴ γῇ ἐπιάστηκεν *ibid.* 15
 εὐρέθηκεν *Chron. Mor.* H 160; κι ὡς ἐπληροφορέθηκεν *ibid.* 1469
 ἠκούστηκεν (14th c., Asia Minor, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [33], 37.1)

ὅς ἐδυνήθηκε *Pol. Tr.* 28; μεγάλως τὸ ἐχάρηκεν *ibid.* 75; οὗτος τὸν ἀπεκρίθηκεν *ibid.* 106
 ἐκρύβηκεν *Velis.* χ 352
 καὶ ἐφάνηκεν τῶν δύο κριτάδων (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 44.12–13)
 ἐπεριπλάκηκέν τον *Achil.* N 1159
 οὕλη ἡ σπορά ἐχάθηκεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 1.23–4; πάλιν ἐστράφηκεν *ibid.* 148.15
 κ' ἐκεῖνος ἐγλυκάθηκεν *SACHLIKIS, Symvoules* 203 transcr. P (Lendari)
 ἀμουρεύτηκεν μιᾶς καλογοριᾶς *Fior* 147.9
 ἐγράπτηκε (17th c., Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 59, 317.1)
 ἐδιαμοιράσθηκεν *Bertoldin.* 107.24–5
 ἐχύθηκε καταπάνου τους *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 17.28; ἐγίνηκε ἀμάχη φοβερή *ibid.* 22.1
 ἐκάγηκε *Leilasia Par.* 556

Third person singular forms with a shift of the stress to the penultimate have only been found of prefixed forms of βαίνω (ἐμπαινῶ, ἐμπήκε; ἐβγαίνῶ, ἐβγήκε), influenced by the active κ-aorist of verbs such as ἀφήνω, δίδω, εὐρίσκω, θέτω, which also have both paroxytone and proparoxytone forms (e.g. ἀφήκα and ἄφηκα, εὐρήκα and εὔρηκα). For details see 2.2.1.10.1.

Forms with /i/ for /e/ in the last syllable are phonetic variants, which reflect raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4): ἀποδάρθηκε *Chron. Toc.* 254 app. crit. (V); δὲν ἐβγήκε πρᾶμα (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 4, 59.8); μὴ γράφεις πῶς χάθηκιν ὁ κόζουμος (1698, *ibid.* 8, 70.33–4) (κόζουμος = κόσμος, see I, 2.6.2). Forms with /e/ for /i/ in the first syllable of the ending may be viewed as a form of hypercorrection (see I, 2.5.4.3): ἀποκρίθηκεν ὁ Ζώτος (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.13–14); ἐπιστόθηκε (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 66.31).

Sg.	3	-ε(ν)

A 14th-c. Judaeo-Greek glossary that is probably from Asia Minor (to be published in KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming)), a document from Pontos (Trebizond area), one from the Crimea and one from Thessaly (provenance of the author unknown) all preserve forms in -ε(ν), which consist of the passive perfective stem and the active past ending -ε(ν) (cf. 1 sg., 2 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl. forms in -α, -ας, -αμεν and -αν respectively):

ἐκτίσθε ἐκ βόθρου καὶ ἰσθορήθε (1306, Trebizond, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1886: 114.19)
 ἐκυλίστεν *Kings II gloss.* f.10v, l. 6–7 margin; μεταμελήθεν *Jeremiah gloss.* f.33v, l. 9;
 ἐμεταλλάχτεν *Samuel gloss.* f.4v, l. 6 supralinear; ἐπεβάλθεν *ibid.* f.4v, l. 15 supralinear
 ἐστάθεν (15th c., Pontos, ALEXAKIS/MAVROMATIS 2015: 5, 12.8); ἐπεδέβεν / ἐπεδᾶβεν (*ibid.* 12.10–11) (< ἀποδᾶβαίνω; see LAMPSIDES 1935: 18)
 ἐδῆβεν ἀπὲ τὸν τόπον (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.5) (< διαβαίνω)
 ἐγεννήθεν ἡ θεγατέρα μου (1508, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 4, back.2) (ed. ἐγένηθεν)

Sg.	3	-ηε(ν)

This ending is rare and has only been found with the deponent verbs χαίρομαι and φαίνομαι. VAN GEMERT (1973: 325–6 and 1980: 174–5) suggests it is formed by analogy with the imperfect ending -ειε(ν), but it cannot be excluded that this is simply the addition of the active ending -ε(ν) to the passive form in -η, given that it only occurs with deponent verbs, which have passive morphology but active meaning: ἐχάρηεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου FALIEROS, *Erot.*

En. 101; δὲ μοῦ ᾿φάνηε νὰ κινήσω *Dim. poiim.* 4.10 (ed. φάνειε);¹⁰⁹ ἐχάρηε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 40.17, 138.8 and elsewhere.

Sg.	3	-ησε(ν)

These 3 sg. forms occur only with βαίνω. The “ending” consists of the old ending -η + aoristic formant {s} + active ending, and has probably been modelled on the inherited 3 pl. ending -ησαν: τί ἐστιν ἡ χρεια, ἥ ἐσυνέβησέ σοι; (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 179.1d); κι ἀπὸ τὸ σκάμμα τὸ πολὺ, ἐσῆκωνεν ἡ σκόνῃ | τόσο ψηλά, <κ> ἐσέβησε <σ>τὰ σπίτια καὶ κουκλώνει BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 279.13–14.

Sg.	3	-Ø

A rare form in which the unstressed vowel of the ending is deleted has been found in a document from Pontos (Trebizond area) (cf. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1958: 318 for the modern dialect): ἀνεκαίνισθ' καὶ ἐγράφη παρ' ἐμοῦ (17th c., Pontos, VEIS 1939: 15, f.2.6).

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-ημεν -ημε -ημαν -ημα -εμεν

The inherited ending -ημεν is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, alongside new endings which begin to appear during the LMedG period (see below). They occur in verse texts, prose and non-literary texts from all areas, though they are rarely used in Cretan and Cypriot literature:

ἐκατέβημεν *Dig.* E 509
 ἐσέβημεν *Pol. Tr.* 7937
 μίλιν ἐπαρεξέβημεν *Liv.* V 3007
 τὸ ποῦ ἐσέβημεν βαθεὰ *Chron. Toc.* 3916
 ἡμέρα τρίτη ἐκατέβημεν (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 336.26); ἀνέβημεν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου (ibid. 336.28)
 ἐνέβημεν *Diig. Sant.* 57.13–14
 ἐπαρεχωρήθημεν καὶ ἐδουλώθημεν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 312.22
 πόρρωθεν ἐκαθέσθημεν ὑποκάτω εἰς δένδρον *Dig.* G VI 309
 ὑπεγράφημεν (1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 25, 11.20)
 ἐξεδιαλέχθημεν *Arm.* 62
 ηὐφράνθημεν ὀλίγον *Liv.* V 2471; ὀλίγον ἐκοιμήθημεν ibid. 3746
 οὐκ ἐδυνήθημεν νὰ κάμωμε ἔργον τέτοιον *Pol. Tr.* 7941
 ἐσμίχθημεν τὰ ᾿Αλβανα τοῦ τόπου *Chron. Toc.* 1826; καὶ πάλιν ἐβαρέθημεν ibid. 2717
 ἀπεσώθημεν εἰς τὴν Αἶνον (1416, Lesvos, SCHREINER 1975/79: 31.I, 223.4.3–4)
 προνοήθημεν (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.12)
 γραφὴν ἐδέχθημεν *Diig. Apoll.* 102; καὶ ταῦτα ἐξηγήθημεν ibid. 866
 καὶ ονομάσθημεν αὐθέντες *Diig. Alex.* K 352.1–2; υψώθημεν ἕως τον ουρανόν ibid. 367.3

¹⁰⁹The editor interprets the form as an imperfect (“it did not occur to me”), but an aorist reading (“it never once occurred to me [before Eros shot his arrow]”) is more likely, especially since the form is derived from the perfective stem of the verb.

ἐβεβαιώθημεν SOFIANOS, *Tre tiranni* 207
 ἐσάσθημεν νὰ γενῇ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 12, 14.19); ἐσυμβιβάσθημεν
 (ibid. 19, 19.7)
 ἐκοπρομετερίσθημεν (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 50.8–9) (<
 Ital. *compromettersi*)
 dicono ... ἐγραφήκαμεν, & ἐγράφημεν GERMANO, *Grammar* 80.15–18
 ἐφοβήθημεν STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 164 (Pidonia)
 δὲν ἐδυσνήθημεν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 17.19
 ἐπαρξενίσθημεν *Diig. Sant.* 55.69; ἐμαζεύθημεν πολλοὶ ibid. 56.5

Deletion of final /n/ is not very common, but occurs occasionally in texts from various areas:

πάντες γυμνοὶ ἐγεννήθημε *Spaneas* V 136 app. crit.
 με χάραν τὰ ἐδέχθημε *Diig. Alex.* F 220.22 (Lolos)
 τὸ ἐπιστώθημε ἀπὸ εὐλαβῶν χριστιανῶν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.22; ἐπληροφορήθημε ἀπὸ
 πιστὸν ἄνθρωπον ibid. I §31.71–2; καὶ ἰσάσθημε ibid. I §30.3
 ἐσυβάσθημε νὰ τοῦ δώσω (1705, Symi, GEORGA-VOLONAKI 1974: 1, 204.2–3) (see I,
 3.7.2.2.2)

With /a/ for /e/ in the last syllable, this ending appears in texts from southern areas such as S. Italy, the Heptanese, Crete, the Peloponnese, Cyprus, and in texts of unknown provenance (*Liv. N*, *Diig. Alex. V*) from at least the 13th c. onwards:

ἐδιάβημαν *Chron. Mor.* H 6742
 ἐκατέβημαν *Dig.* E 250
 ὅτι ἀπεδὰ ἐξέβημαν *Liv.* E 4071
 κλεισοῦρες ἐδιέβημαν *Liv.* α 2868 app. crit. (N)
 ἀφὸν ἐδιέβημαν *Diig. Alex.* V 65.9
 καὶ ᾗ ἐβημαν ἀπέκει *Theseid* X.21,1 (1529)
 ἐσέβημαν *Diig. Alex.* F 30.9 (Konstantinopulos)
 τότε ἐξέβημαν *Alex. Rim.* 2047
 ἐδιάβημαν (1546–51, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 65.29)
 ἐκατέβημαν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 65.5
 ἀπεξενώθημαν (1235–6, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 49, 252.18)
 ἀμφοτέροι συνηρέσθημαν (ca. 1290, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 84, 61.11) (< συναρέσκω)
 διὰ τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐτράπημαν *Chron. Mor.* H 5129
 οὐκ ἐφοβήθημαν *Dig.* E 193 app. crit.; ἐπαραβραδιάσθημαν ibid. 338; ἀπότι ἀναπαύθημαν
 ibid. 1719
 ἐκδικήθημαν *Pol. Tr.* 787 app. crit. (V); ἐστράφημαν ibid. 8832 app. crit. (BC)
 ἦτζου ἐστάθημαν κουντέντε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 54.29–30; ἐκοιμήθημαν ibid. 652.34
 ἐλευθερώθημαν *Theseid* X.21,1 (1529)
 τοὺς θεοὺς δεήθημαν *Alex. Rim.* 623; πάλι ἐφοβήθημαν ibid. 1676
 ἐποπληρώθημαν (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 175, 176.6)
 ημεῖς τόσον ἐχάρημαν NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 146.8
 διὰ ὅσα ἐλείπητημαν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν μας τούτην *Pist. kekoim.* 126
 ἐθαυμάσθημαν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 49.8)
 καὶ εὐρέθημαν σὲ σύνοδον (1613, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 2, 308.6); καὶ ἐχάρημαν (ibid. 308.11)
 ἐβρέθημαν *Rim. Sant.* 254
 καὶ δικαίωθημαν (1679, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 16, 41.27–8); ἐκουτενταρίσθημαν (1692, ibid.
 26, 65.14–15)

Deletion of final /n/ is quite rare: έξολοθρεύθημα τελείως (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.9); έκουκλώθημα *P&N Diath.* 625; έστάθημα φιδελίσιοι (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.17).

Forms with /e/ for /i/ in the first syllable of the ending are very rare. The change is probably due to assimilation (see I, 2.8.5): έλυπηθέμεν (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1803) (for the same ending with the active imperfect, in the same text, see 4.3.1.1; with the active aorist in a document from the Peloponnese, see 4.4.1.1).

Pl.	1	-ήκαμε(ν) '-ηκάμεν -ηκαμι '-ηκάμαν

The innovative ending -ήκαμε(ν) has not been found before the 15th c. (ms date of *Liv.* V). It is absent from 14th-c. works such as the *Chronicle of Morea* and appears only once in one isolated 16th-c. ms of the *War of Troy*:

έσεβήκαμεν άπέσω *Liv.* V 263
κλεισούρας έδιεβήκαμεν *Liv.* S 1581 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
έδιαβήκαμε *Diig. Alex.* F 222.1 (Lolos); έξεβήκαμεν γεροί *ibid.* 76.12 (Konstantinopulos)
πάντα μέ νίκη έβγήκαμε *CHORTATSI, Erof. Interm.* IV.17
καί έκατεβήκαμε κάτου PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §21.44
έμεταβήκαμεν (1654, Karpenisi, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 7, 82.5)
πάλιν έβουλευτήκαμεν *Liv.* V 603
έσυναχθήκαμεν τά τρία μοναστήρια (1481–96, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΕΣ 1984: 61, 313.1)
ότι έφοβηθήκαμέν τους *Pol. Tr.* 7468 app. crit. (B) (hapax)
όλες όρφανιστήκαμε *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 91
μετά χαράς έδεκτήκαμεν τό έλα σας *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 350.3–4
έδεχθήκαμέ τα καλά *Diig. Alex.* V 41.27; ούδενού βασιλέως έγινήκαμεν δημιγέρτες *ibid.* 65.9–10
ίσιαστήκαμε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.20)
έξανασυνιβαστήκαμεν (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 52, 55.3)
έγελαστήκαμεν εις τά λόγια *Vios Aisop.* I 277.18
άποξενωθήκαμε (1620, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 2, 169.13)
ίσαστήκαμεν (1639, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 3, 114.45)
καί σκεπαστήκαμεν κ' οί δυό *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 62
άνασκουμπώθήκαμεν καί οί τρείς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §32.17
δέν άποκριθήκαμεν (1669, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 84, 216.19)
έδεχθήκαμέν τους (1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9b, 72.13)

The same ending with dual stress, on the fourth and the second syllable from the end, in which the first stress rests on the same syllable as in the singular, can be found in texts of northern provenance. The first accent is sometimes omitted:¹¹⁰

έστάθηκάμεν εις πόλεμον ... καί ύψώθηκάμεν *Diig. Alex.* K 367.1–2; καί έξεβηκάμεν γεροί *ibid.* 370.16
έδιηγήθηκάμεν *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2765
έτοι άνασκουμπώθηκάμεν καί οί τρείς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* 84.8–9 (Kaftantzis)

¹¹⁰This stress pattern can still be found in the modern dialects of Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia and the Pontos (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 88).

ἐλογαριάσθηκάμεν (1690, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 21, 14.6)
 ἐσυνάχθηκάμεν εἰς τὸ κονάκι (1697 [18th-c. copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B I/13,
 f.190r.7)
 ὅσα διηγῆθηκάμεν VATATSIS, *Periig.* I 495; τόσ' ἀφηγήθηκάμεν *ibid.* 495

With /a/ for /e/ in the last syllable, and with the same columnar stress pattern, the ending occurs in a document of, again, northern provenance (in which the first accent is omitted) (cf. the imperfect of barytone verbs, 4.3.1.1): ἐλογαριάσθηκάμαν (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 306, f.2r.19).

In a letter from Thessaloniki we find a form -ηκαμι, which may represent ἐζημιωθήκαμι or ἐζημιώθηκάμι (the original lacks stress notation) and in which the /e/ of the final syllable has become [i] through mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4): ἐζημιωθηκαμι (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 8, 70.11–12).

Pl.	1	-αμεν

Forms with addition of the active 1 pl. past ending -αμεν to the passive perfective stem occur in the Pontic-speaking region of Trebizond and in Crimean Greek in two 15th-c. documents (cf. 1 sg. in -α, 2 sg. in -ας, 3 sg. in -εν and 3 pl. in -αν): ἐσυνεβιβάσταμεν (1435, Pontos, MAVROMATIS/ALEXAKIS 2009: 13, 166.2); τὸ ἔρτιμον τὸ δικό σας ἐχάραμεν το (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.3–4).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ητε

The inherited ending -ητε is the only available ending during most of the LMedG period, and continues to be in use after the appearance of the new ending -ήκετε, though not very frequently after the 16th c.:

καὶ πότες ἐκατέβητε BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 280 (same in V)
 ἀφοῦ ἐπαρέβητε τὸν ὀρισμόν μου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 184.14
 χαρῆτε εἰς τὰ ἐπικράνθητε *Log. parig.* L 668
 ἐβάλθητε εἰς σκάνταλα *Chron. Mor.* H 3746; ἂν ἐμαχίστητε *ibid.* 3774
 καὶ ἐγλήγορα οὐκ εὐρέθητε ὅλοι ἀρματωμένοι *Dig.* E 1712
 ποτὲ οὐδὲν ἐνικήθητε *Pol. Tr.* 828; ἐβάλθητε *ibid.* 8694; ἀγάπην ἐβουλήθητε νὰ ποίσητε *ibid.* 8910
 ὅτι ποτὲ δὲν ἐφοβήθητε *Achil.* L 310
 καὶ ξένοι ὅσοι ἐχάθητε LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 39
 δὲν ἐκαταδέκτητε νὰ πῆτε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 348.29; πῶς ἐστράφητε; *ibid.* 650.23
 ἀρνήθητε *Theseid If.* 25.8 (Follieri)
 ἐσκιάσθητε ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνάνδρους ... Ἰνδιῶτες *Diig. Alex.* F 72.18–19 (Konstantinopulos)
 εσεῖς που δεν ἐδέκτητε ξένον με καλοσύνην DEFAR., *Sos.* 363 (Holton)
 ἐπαρτήθητε GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 70
 τώρα ὅπου ἐπίετε καὶ εὐφράνθητε *Vios Aisop.* K 179.15
 εὐρέθητε πλούσοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.37
 ὅσοι ἱερεῖς ἐπληρώθητε LANDOS, *Geopon.* 254.24
 πῶς ἀδελφοί ἐγίνητε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2562
 ἐβουλήθητε νὰ με παραδώσετε *Alex. Fyll.* 82.22

Pl.	2	-ήκετε(ν) ᾽ ᾽-ηκέτε

This innovative ending has not been found before the 15th c., but from the 15th c. onwards it quickly becomes the most common ending for 2 pl.:

- ἐβγήκετε ἐκ τὸν ὄρκον *Pol. Tr.* 10157 (hapax)
 ὅσον ἐβγήκετε ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀμμόχουστον *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 216.14
 ἐβγήκετε *P&N Diath.* 1163
 τί ἐβγήκετε νὰ ἰδεῖτε; *KALLIOUP.*, *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 7.26
- ἐσυμβουλευτήκετε *CHOUMNOS*, *Kosmog.* 226 app. crit. (M); βαλθήκετε *ibid.* 226 app. crit. (B)
 ἀναπαυτήκετε *SKLENTZAS*, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 87
 ἀπαλησμονηθήκετε *BERGADIS*, *Apok.* V 140
 ἐπλερωθήκετε *MACHAIRAS*, *Chron.* V 474.4; ποίσητε τὸ ἐννοιαστήκετε *ibid.* 582.32
 ἐχαρήκετε *Diig. Alex.* F 22.20 (Konstantinopulos); ἐμαζωθήκετε *ibid.* 42.19
 ἀναθραφήκετε μαζὶ *CHORTATIS*, *Katz.* V.466; ἐκαταδεχτήκετε *ibid.* V.523; ταχιά νὰ
 παντρευτήκετε *id.*, *Panor.* IV.89
 ἐγεννηθήκετε *Vios Aisop.* K 201.4
 ἀφουκραστήκετε τὰ χαμηλοπωμένα *Stathis* III.571
 ἐχάλασθήκετε ἐσεῖς κακῶς ἀπὸ τ' ἐμένα *Dig.* A 3219
 ἐσταθήκετε ἡ ἴδια πανουρία *Bertoldin.* 140.6
 ἐγραφθήκετε *GERMANO*, *Grammar* 90.14; ἐσταθήκετε *ibid.* 96.26
 δὲν μὲ ἐπιμεληθήκετε *KALLIOUP.*, *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 25.43
 ἐπεριπλεχθήκετε *PAPASYNAD.*, *Chron.* Proem. §3.4; ἐβουλήθηκετε *ibid.* I §36.186
 πῶς ἐπογενήκετε (1650, Naxos, *ZERLENDIS* 1922: (2), p. 29.2)
 ἐσεῖς ἐγενήκετε (1672, Vraniana, *STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI* 1992: 96,
 237.13)
 ἐμαζωχτήκετε *KORNAROS*, *Erot.* II.957

Sometimes 2 pl. forms can be found in which the stress falls on the same syllable as in the forms of the singular and the 3rd person plural. In these cases there is always a second stress on the penultimate (cf. 1 pl. act. '-άμεν, 2 pl. act. '-έτε and 1 pl. pass. '-ηκάμεν). Examples have been found in texts from the northern mainland:¹¹¹ δὲν ἐφοβήθηκέτε τὸν θεόν; δὲν ἐντράπηκέτε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους; *DAM. STOUD.*, *This.*, *Logos* 13, μ8r.15–16 (1561); ἐβουλήθηκέτε *PAPASYNAD.*, *Chron.* 99.1 (Kaftantzis).

The SMG ending -ήκατε has not been found before the end of the period covered by this Grammar. One single instance in the *Chapbook of Alexander* (17th c.), τὴν σήμερον ἐφοβήθηκατε *Alex.* Fyll. 82.11–12, is in all probability a later modification (the modern edition is based on the Venetian edition of 1750). Several instances of -ήκατε in the modern edition of Damaskinos Stouditis's *Thisavros* (16th c.) are of much later date; the edition of 1561 and even that of 1751 only have forms in -ήκετε (the modern edition is based on a 19th-c. reworking¹¹²).

¹¹¹ This stress pattern still occurs in the modern dialects of Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia and the Pontos (*CHATZIDAKIS* 1905/07: B 88).

¹¹² See for instance the baffling presence of the following sentence in *Sermon* 30.239–40: εἶναι ὀλίγη τέχνη τῶν ἀτμοκινήτων μηχανῶν, ἀτμοπλοίων, καὶ σιδηροδρόμων;

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-ησα(ν) † -ῆσα(ν) † -ησανε † -ησανα † -ήσανε

The inherited ending -ησαν is used frequently throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, alongside the new κ-endings, which begin to appear in writing in the 15th c. (see below). The old ending is used in verse texts, prose and non-literary texts:

ἐκατέβησαν ἕως τὴν Πρέβεζα (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 483.7.2)
 ἀρματώθησαν καὶ ἐδιάβησαν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.14
 καὶ ἔβγησαν *Thrinos Kypr.* 66 ms; οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἔμπησαν *ibid.* 769
 ἔμπησαν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 643
 ἡνύρέθησαν (1062, Sicily, ROGNONI 2004: 11, 117.2)
 οἰκονομήθησαν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 812.10; ἐσυνάχθησαν καὶ ἐγράφησαν *ibid.* 814.11
 τὰ μάρμαρα ἠφανίσθησαν *Ptoch. I* 76
 ἐσυμπαθήστησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 2719; ὅσα καὶ γὰρ ἐγίνησαν *ibid.* 2817
 ἐκάυσθησαν *Dig.* E 300; ἀπομαζώχθησαν *ibid.* 1317
 εὐρέθησαν (1481–96, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 61, 313.6)
 ἐπιάσθησαν καὶ ἐφούρκισαν τοὺς (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 96.6)
 πολλὰ ἀγγαλέστησαν ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 114.34; ἐθυμώθησαν *ibid.* 248.30–1
 ἐκρύβησαν ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* I.100
 τότες ἐνθυμήθησαν ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 332.35; δὲν ἐφοβήθησαν *ibid.* 340.19
 ἐκρουσεύθησαν (1538, Crete, ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ 1994a: 177, 177.4)
 ἀναπαύθησαν (1541, Thasos?, ΚΡΑΒΑΡΙ 1987: App. II, 340.12)
 ἐστημαρίστησαν διὰ δουκάτα ιη' (1549, Crete, ΜΑΡΜΑΡΕΛΙ/ΔΡΑΚΑΚΙΣ 2005: 117, 115.6);
 αὐτὰ ἐντελιβραρίστησαν (*ibid.* 209, 209.9)
 ἐκυβερνήθησαν (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 451.34)
 ἐξοδιάστησαν εἰς τὸ ἀρχονταρῖκι (1607–8, Serres region, ΟΔΟΡΙΚΟ 1998: 17, 78.2–3)
 dicono ... ἐγραφήκανε, & ἐγράφησαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 80.15–19
 ἔκαμα καὶ σκοτώθησαν ΠΡΟΣΟΨΑΣ, *Peri tyflou* 44
 τὰ σιτάρια ἐκάθησαν (1713, Chios, ΛΑΜΒΡΟΣ 1910: 351, 209.14)
 ονομάσθησαν *Don Kis.* 46.35

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in literary texts from Crete and Cyprus, and texts of uncertain provenance. In Cypriot verse texts it usually occurs at the verse end or before the caesura. When the verb form is followed by a word starting in /n/ (typically νά), the omission of final /n/ may be viewed as a form of haplography (see the examples from Machairas and *Diig. Alex.* F). In non-literary sources it has been found in texts from south-western areas and certain Aegean islands.

οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἔβησαν εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν Πόλιν *Anak. Konst.* 28 app. crit. (P)
 ἐδιάβησαν τ' αμαξία *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 82.11
 καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐνέβησαν *Apoll. Rim.* A 1569
 καὶ ἔδιάβησαν τὴν ὥρα *Apoll. Rim.* N 884

ἐτελείωθησαν τὰ στηθεῖα (1079, Mani, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 47, 306.1)
 ἐστάθησαν νὰ διαφεντευτοῦν ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 312.23–4; ἐσυνπιάσθησαν νὰ ἴδωσιν *ibid.* 321.28–9
 τοὺς ἀγαπήσασιν ποτὲ καὶ γράφθησαν *Cypr. Canz.* 97.44
 καὶ ἔκει του ἐθυμήθησαν *Apoll. Rim.* A 430; τότες ἐξελυτρώθησαν *ibid.* 1566

ὀρθώθησα νὰ πολεμήσουν *Diig. Alex. F 24.5* (Lolos) (hapax; haplography)
 τα σωθικά μου εσφάγησα *CHORTATSI, Panor. II.170* app. crit. (N); ποιοι λογιμοί
 εγεννήθησα *ibid. V.75*
 ἐτιμήθησα ὑπὸ ... (1603, Ikaria, *TSELIKAS 2000: 5, 21.16*)
 ἐγίνησα ξύδι (1610, Crete, *CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.14*)
 ἐπαραστάθησα ἀπὸ πάνων της (1613, Syros, *DRAKAKIS 1967: 13, 316.8*)
 δὲν ἀκούστησα ποτὲ στὸν κόσμον ἄλλες *FOSKOLOS, Fort. II.32*; ἀπούστησαν ἐγνωρίστησα *ibid. III.616*
 ἐνεφανίστησα κατέμπροστε ἐμοῦ νοταρίου (1685, Zakynthos, *MAVROS 1984: 362.1–2*)
 καὶ οὕτως εὐχαριστήθησα (1699, Kefalonia, *EVANGELATOS 1995: 5, 166.4*)
 τὰ ὅποια ἐμετρήθησα ἐμπροστέ μας (1699, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS 1948: 13, 29.10*)

Addition of *-(ν)ε*, without a shift of the stress to the antepenultimate, has been found in texts from the Peloponnese, but it is likely to have had a wider geographical spread (see I, 2.6.3 for details):

κ' ἐπροφωνεθησανέ τους *Chron. Mor. H 3663* ms (= ἐπροφωνέθησανέ τους, first accent omitted)
 καὶ ἄλλοι ὅπου ἐνθυμούθησανε (1572, Achaia, *VEIS 1956: 447.20*)
 ἐδιάβησανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult. 54.17* ms; ἐμαζώκτησανε *ibid. 61.25* ms; ἐσκοτώθησανε
 πεντακόσοι *ibid. 68.26* ms; ἀνέβησανε ἀπὸ το γιοφύρι το ξύλινο *ibid. 90.13–14* ms (the
 modern editor adds secondary accents on these forms)

A shift of stress to the penultimate is found several times in the Cypriot prose chronicles of Machairas (V) and Voustronios (versions A and B),¹¹³ but is quite unusual elsewhere:

ενεβήσαν ... καὶ εκατεβήσαν *VOUSTR., Chron. A 16.14–15*
 οὐκ ἐφανῆσαν *Pol. Tr. 4305* app. crit. (X)
 οὐδὲν ἐφανερωθῆσαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 32.6–7*; δὲν τὴν ἐγευτῆσαν *ibid. 72.24*;
 ἐπροσδεκτῆσαν τον *ibid. 114.29–30*; ἐξεβῆσαν ἔξω *ibid. 394.11*
 ελαβωθῆσα πολλοί *VOUSTR., Chron. B 5.15*; ἐρικουμαντιαστῆσαν *ibid. A 38.15* (same in B);
 αθυμηθῆσαν *ibid. 64.18* (same in B)
 καὶ ὅλ' εὐωχθηθῆσαν *PETRITSIS, Dig. O 2103*; εὐχθηθῆσαν *ibid. 2104*

It must be noted that this appears to be the only 3 pl. past ending that does not develop an alternative in *-ασι(ν)*: no forms in **-ήσασι(ν)* have been found.

Pl.	3	-ηκαν '-ηκάνε -ήκα(ν) -ήκανε

As with the rest of the plural, the innovative κ-form does not appear in written texts before the 15th c., but throughout and beyond the EMG period it can be found regularly in texts from most areas:

ἐξέβηκαν *Dig. E 1411*
 ἐκατέβηκαν *Achil. N 550*
 ἔμπηκαν *Bertoldos 65.8*

¹¹³ Versions A and B are less reliable than M where the accentuation is concerned (*KECHAYOGLOU 1997: 75*–6*, 87*–8* and 105**), but the frequency of the phenomenon in Machairas indicates that these forms may be legitimate.

μοῦ ἔσουνέβηκαν (1665, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 172.8)

οἱ Χωραγῖτες ἔβγηκαν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 215

ἔσουδάρηκαν *Pol. Tr.* 3206 app. crit. (A); ἄρματώθηκαν *ibid.* 8484 app. crit. (AX); ἔχάθηκαν *ibid.* 10468 app. crit. (C)

ἔστάθηκαν ἕναν χρόνον (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 67, f.IIv)

ἐπαρᾶπονέθηκαν (1493–4, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 36, 179.2)

τὸ νὰ βρέθηκαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 434.6–7

αὐτοῖ τον ἀπεκρίθηκαν *Diig. Alex.* K 345.32; καὶ εμαζώθηκαν *ibid.* 347.29

ηύρέθηκαν (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 78, 269.3)

ἐδιאלέκτηκαν (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 9, 18.18)

τὰ ὅσα ἐγίνηκαν (1576, Macedonia, CHASIoTIS 1964/65: 3, 252.12)

ἔσυμαζώχτηκαν (1585, Mani, LAMBROS 1905: 397.5)

ἐγίνηκαν (1601, Epirus, ALEXOULIS 1896/1900: 47a, 368.4)

ἐτραβήχθηκαν κάτω *Bertoldos* 71.31

ἐχρεώθηκαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.17; ἐχτυπήθηκαν *ibid.* I §24.26; ἐκάθηκαν *ibid.* I §31.11

ἀναπαύθηκαν (post 1666, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 23, 313.11)

ἐδεκατίστηκαν (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 306, f.2r.24)

Deletion of final /n/ does not occur with this ending, probably because it would render it indistinguishable from the 1st person singular (but see below for deletion of final /n/ with the paroxytone variant of this ending, and above for -ησα). A single instance in ms A of *Panoria* is likely to be a writing mistake: τα σωθικά μου εσφάγηκα CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.170 (a second instance: ἐδόθηκα *ibid.* 307, is editorial, from ἐδόθηκαν (A)).

With addition of -(ν)ε and dual stress, this ending has been found in a late 17th-c. text of northern provenance, written in Constantinople or the Danubian Principalities. The first stress of ἔσωθηκάνε is omitted in writing: ἔσωθηκάνε τὰ φλωριά *Diig. Vefa* 219.

The same ending with a shift of the stress to the penultimate can be found in texts from southern areas (Crete, Cyprus, Dodecanese, Chios) and in texts of unknown provenance, again from the 15th c. onwards (for this phenomenon across persons for prefixed forms of βαίνω, see also 2.2.1.10.1):

ἐμπήκαν *Chron. Mor.* H 4846

καὶ εἰς λογισμοὺς ἐμπήκαν *Dig.* E 75

σ' ἐμᾶς ἐκατεβήκαν *Alex. Rim.* 1643

σὰν ὄρνιθες ἐμπήκαν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2504

καὶ ὅλοι ἔθαραπαήκαν CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1571

δὲν ἔσαστήκαν *Assizes* A 46.26

οὐκ ἐφανήκαν *Pol. Tr.* 4305 app. crit. (V)

σφικτὰ περιεμπλακῆκαν *Achil.* N 1322

ἐξηγηθήκαν εἰς τὴν χώραν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 220.32–3; ἀνακατωθήκαν *ibid.* 248.30

ἐχαθήκαν LIMEN., *Velis.* (A) 30

καὶ ἐξηγηθήκαν του *Fior* 130.27

καὶ κεῖνοι ἐσκιακτῆκαν ZINOS, *Vatr.* 419

ἐκρυφογαμηθήκαν *Epain. gyn.* 186

τοῦτα ποὺ ἐγενήκαν VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 267

μέσα ἔμπαρκαριστῆκαν BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 175.28 (Xirouchakis); καὶ εὔρεθήκαν κούντουρες *ibid.* 326.16 (Alexiou/Aposkiti omit final /n/)

λαοὶ ἐμαζωκτῆκαν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1891

εύρεθῆκαν (1697, Chios, TSELIKAS 2000: 99, 77.12)

ῥβεθῆκαν κάποιοι χριστιανοὶ KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 15

Deletion of final /n/ with the paroxytone variant of this ending has been found in literary texts from Crete, Cyprus and the Heptanese:

κρουσάροι ἀναφανῆκα *Imb. Rim.* 627

καὶ ἐννοιαστῆτε πόσοι ἴσκοτωθῆκα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 468.9

ὄρνεα εὐρεθῆκα *Alex. Rim.* 1633

κ' εἰς μιον εμαζωκτῆκα *Apoll. Rim.* A 681

οἱ δάφνες εφανῆκα *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 75; γὰ μένα κ' εκαγῆκα *ibid.* I.249; ... κὶ

ὄλα ἀπὸ μὲ διαβῆκα, | χῶμα γενῆκα ἀψήφιστο κ' εἰς λησμονιὰν ἐμπῆκα *id., Erof. Prol.* 31–2;

ζιμιὸ τὸ μοιραστῆκα *ibid.* V.198; χίλιοι νὰ πεταχτῆκα *id., Katz.* III.439

τὰ μάτια ἐθαμπωθῆκα *Vosk.* 27

κὶ ἐνεθραφῆκα ὁμάδι *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.616

σ' μιὰ κόρη κ' ἔναν ἄγουρο ποὺ μπερδευτῆκα ὁμάδι *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.9

Addition of -(ν)ε can be found in both literary and non-literary sources from south-western areas (Crete, the Heptanese), Chios and certain Cycladic islands:

ἐμπῆκανε εἰς τὸ καράβι κεῖνο *Alex. Rim.* 1671; τότε καβοῦροι βγήκανε *ibid.* 1680

ὥσαν ἐμπῆκανε οἱ Φραντζέζοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.12; ἐβγήκανε καὶ ἐδιάβησαν *ibid.* 127.32

ἐσυνεβήκανε λαβωματιές, φόνοι (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.6)

ἐλεμενταριστῆκανε (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 15.61)

ἐστιμαριστῆκανε (1579, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 21, μβ'.107)

ἀποκριθῆκανε (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 130, 88.5)

ἐσυνιβαστῆκανε (1620, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 363, 336.2)

ἐσταθῆκανε, vel ἐσταθῆκασι, vel ἐστάθησαν *GERMANO, Grammar* 96.26–7

ἐγεννηθῆκανε στὸ σπῆτι (1640, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2011: 8, 219.19–20)

τὰ χοντρά ζῶα ὅλα ἐχαθῆκανε (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), 28.6)

καὶ τώρα μ' ἀρνηθῆκανε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 176.24

καὶ τῇ ξαναφανῆκανε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1246

εὐχαριστηθῆκανε (1682, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1976: 139, f.214r.14)

τῆς ἐναντιωθῆκανε (1700, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 24, 329.11)

καθὼς ἀτοὶ τῶς ἐκουντενταριστῆκανε (1702, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 40, 54.22)

ἐμαζωχτῆκανε *Chron. Theod.* 20.17

ἐθαυμαχθῆκανε *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 41.15; ἐφυλακτῆκανε *ibid.* 50.24

Pl.	3	-ήκασι(ν)

Alternation of -αν and -ασι(ν) throughout the past-tense paradigms leads to a new ending -ήκασι(ν) from the 15th c. onwards, which remains in use throughout the EMG period in texts from both southern and northern areas, with and without final /n/:

εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐμπῆκασιν *Pol. Tr.* 10004

ἐδιαβῆκασιν *Cypr. Canz.* 145.5

κ' ἐτρέξασιν κ' ἐμπῆκασιν *Anak. Konst.* 22

κ' ἐβγήκασιν ὅζω *Apoll. Rim.* A 234

τρεις μήνες ἐδιαβῆκασι *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.199

ἐβγήκασιν ἐπτὰ δαιμόνια *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 8.2

συνεβῆκασιν τῶν ασεβῶν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 5906

εἰς τὸν κάμπον ἐβγήκασιν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2599

ἐμπήκασι στὴν Ἑλλάδα EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 15.2–3

βαρὰ τῶν ἐφανήκασι CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1688

μαντάτα ἐπεσώθηκασι *Achil.* N 195; κι ἀφότου ἐρματωθήκασιν *ibid.* 504

ἐννοιαστήκασιν *Fior* 112.15; οἱ σενατούρηδες ἀπολογηθήκασιν *ibid.* 130.21–2

τα μέλη μου ἐκοπήκασι CHORTATSI, *Panor.* II.171

ἐφυτευτήκασι τὰ ἄνωθεν ἀμπέλια (1603, Crete, VIOLIDAKIS 2006: 2, 265.8–9)

ἐσταθήκανε, *vel* ἐσταθήκασι, *vel* ἐστάθησαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.26–7

ἐφανήκασι βαρὰ τοῦτα τὰ λόγια VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 41.27; ἐκουζουλαθήκασι χερότερα *ibid.* 104.29

ἐνεφανιστήκασι (1656, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 2, 48.5)

εὐχαριστηθήκασι (1663, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 1, 11.13); ἐνεφανιστήκασι (1665, *ibid.* 2, 13.18)

ὅλα ποὺ γενήκασιν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 131

ἐπεριμαζωθήκασιν MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Valach.* 103; ἐγεινέκασιν *ibid.* 2539

ἐξημερωθήκασι τρίγια κάτεργα (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.14)

εὐρεθήκασι (1679, Venice, MANOUSAKAS/SKOULAS 1993: 218, 55.8)

οἱ ὅποιοι ἐβαλθήκασιν σὲ ὄρκον (1695, Paros, ZERLENDIS 1888: B', 249.3)

ἐσταθήκασι (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.4)

ἐπρικαθήκασι πολλὰ KORNAOS, *Erot.* IV.1299

ἀφηγηθήκασι στοὺς συντρόφους EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.19; ὀργισθήκασι *ibid.* 16.23

εὐθύς ἐμαζωκθήκασιν *Leilasia Par.* 33

The only instance of this ending in Machairas has the accent on the fourth syllable from the end (ἐγίνηκαν > ἐγίνηκασιν). A document from Cyprus has stress notation on both the fourth and the third syllables from the end, making it impossible to establish where the accent was intended to go: ἀφὸν τοῦτα οὖλα ἐγίνηκασιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 95.24 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari); ἐδόθικασιν (1694, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 4, 91.11–12).

Third person plural forms with addition of -(v)ε have only been found of the verb ἐμπαίνω: ἐμπήκασινε Bounialis M., *Diig. Pol.* 322.6 and 516.5, and not with aorist passive forms. Here the verb ἐμπαίνω is influenced by the active κ-aorist of verbs such as ἀφῆνω and εὐρίσκω which do have forms with -(v)ε (e.g. ἀφήκασινε, εὐρήκασινε). See 4.4.1.1.

PL.	3	-αν

In the following examples from a 14th-c. Judaeo-Greek glossary that is probably from Asia Minor (to be published in KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming)) and in a marginal note of unknown provenance,¹¹⁴ the active 3 pl. ending -αν is added to the passive perfective stem (cf. 1 sg. in -α, 2 sg. in -ας, 3 sg. in -εν and 1 pl. in -αμεν):¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴The editors' hypothesis that the text displays Cypriot features (LAPPA-ZIZIKA/RIZOU-KOULOPOU 1991: 43) is unfounded. Cf. the form ἐντώκαννε in the same ms note (*ibid.* 43.2), which with [d] for [ð] is found not only in Cypriot, but also in Pontic (OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 100); the addition of -(v)ε to verb forms (ἐντώκανε, ἐτσακώσανε) is a feature of most Pontic varieties (OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 79–80) and of other varieties of the language, but it is decidedly not a Cypriot feature (see I, 2.6.3). Other notes in the same ms. point to a Pontic provenance for the ms as well: the proper name Καστελλίτας has the Pontic ending -ίτας (OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 381), and the 3 pl. possessive pronoun αὐτοῦ (τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτοῦ) looks like a slightly "normalized" version of Pontic αὐτουν/του (for which see OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 233).

¹¹⁵Another 14th-c. example (1300–1 or 1361–2) occurs in an otherwise not very vernacular inscription (no. V 176) in the Crimea: ἐκ[τ]ισ[θ]αν, for which see www.iospe.kcl.ac.uk/.

ἔσυγκινήθαν *Prophets gloss.* f.31r, l. 4; ἑκατεκόπαν and ἑσπαθοκόπαν *Kings II gloss.* f.9r l. 3–6 margin; ἀνεκόπαν *Jeremiah gloss.* f.33v, l. 2 supralinear; ἑπεστάθαν *Samuel I gloss.* f.4v, l. 9 supralinear; ἑμετρήθαν *Samuel II gloss.* f.1v, l. 9 right margin
 ὅταν αἰχμαλωτίσταν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι (1526, Unknown, LAPPA-ZIZIKA/RIZOU-KOULOPOU 1991: 21, 43.157v)

4.5 The Imperative

Depending on the genre, written texts may show a relative scarcity of imperative forms, which typically occur in direct speech. Imperatives are thus absent from most non-literary documents, with the exception of letters and manuals, and from many literary texts too, with the exception of theatrical works, paraenetic poetry and narrative texts that include dialogue or in which the narrator addresses his readers. Therefore limited evidence has sometimes been found for forms that are very likely to have had a wider distribution in the spoken language.

This section covers the imperative, active and passive, of all regular verbs, as well as of irregular verbs insofar as they make use of the regular imperative endings, as in the majority of verbs the irregularity is located in the formation of their stems rather than their endings.

The first part deals with the present imperative, which is formed by adding the imperative endings to the imperfective stem of the verb, e.g. active γράφ-ε, γράφ-ετε; passive γράφ-ου, γράφ-εστε. Compared to other verbal paradigms, the imperative shows modest regional variation. In the following description, prohibitions (μή + imperative) are listed among the examples only when the form is clearly an imperative and not a subjunctive: e.g. μή σύχναζε *Paroim.* H 13. However, when the imperative is indistinguishable from the subjunctive, as is often the case in the plural, e.g. μὴν ἀργεῖτε *Thysia Avr.* 238; μὴν φοβᾶσθε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 17.7, examples are considered to be subjunctives (for which see 4.1).

The second part covers the aorist imperative, which is formed by adding the imperative endings to the perfective verb stem, e.g. active γράψ-ε, γράψ-ετε; passive γράψ-ου.

For barytone verbs that have identical perfective and imperfective stems (e.g. κρίνω, σύρω) it is sometimes difficult to establish whether an imperative is a present or an aorist. They are considered to be aorists, unless the context leaves no doubt that they should be interpreted as present imperatives (for verbal aspect see IV, 4.4).

For imperatives with stem irregularities, such as of ἄγω, sg. ἄγωμε, pl. ἄγωμέστε, sg. ἄμε, pl. ἄμέτε, and of βλέπω, sg. βλέπεσαι/βλέπεσε, see 2.4. For other ways of expressing the imperative, also for persons other than the second, with νά, ἄς, μή + subjunctive see IV, 1.3.

4.5.1 The Present Imperative

4.5.1.1 Barytone Verbs

4.5.1.1.1 Active Voice

/e/-imperatives

The present active imperative is formed by adding the active endings of the imperative, -ε for the singular and -ετε for the plural, to the imperfective stem of the verb (for which see 2.1).

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	2	γράφε	γράφι	γράφεν
Pl.	2	γράφετε	γράφετεν γράφετενε	γράφιτε

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-ε(ν) ∓ -1

The normal ending for the 2 sg. present imperative is -ε before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar. In the imperative, the stress moves to the antepenultimate, unless the verb form consists of two syllables. When a proparoxytone imperative is followed by a clitic pronoun, a second stress usually appears on the ultimate syllable:

πρὸ πάντων ἔχε τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν φόβον *Spaneas* P 1; ἀπόφευγέ τα *ibid.* 94
 στήκε, ψάλλε ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ... φώναζε μεγάλως *Ptoch. IV* 50
 καὶ γύρευγέ το *Log. parig.* L 151; καὶ θέτε το εἰς τὰ χεῖλη σου *ibid.* 169
 ἀντὶ τοῦ μισοῦ βάνε ε' (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 36, 32.4)
 γύρευγε (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 822); πάγαινε εἰς τὸν φόρον (*ibid.* 60.1193)
 ἤξερέ το ἡ αὐθεντία σου (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.6)
 μὴ θέλε μανθάνειν *Vios Aisop.* E 288.18
 ἀπὸ σαλοῦ καὶ μεθυστοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἄκουε *Paroim.* H 7; ὅπου φιλεῖς μὴ δάνειζε καὶ ὅπου
 ἀγαπᾷς μὴ σύχναζε *ibid.* 13
 χόρευε κι ας πηδούμεν *Katis* 12
 ἄλλο γίνωσκε (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.19)
 ἄφηνε, δεν ντρέπεσαι *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 237
 καὶ ἤξευρε μοναῦτα εἰς τὰ δεσάστρε σου νὰ κονμοφορτιαστῆς *Fior Suppl.* 269.8
 μ' ἀγάπην τὸ διόρθωνε *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 206
 καὶ τρῶγε κάθε ταχὺ νηστικός τρία *LANDOS, Geopon.* 235.12; ἄρχιζε τὸ ἄλλο *ibid.* 254.33
 γράφε το εἰς χαρτῖα καὶ φύλαγε αὐτὸ *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §11.18

Addition of final /n/ is not uncommon in the work of Kartanos, and appears to be a south-western feature when viewed in conjunction with the aorist imperative (see below):

καὶ εἰς αὐτεῖνον ἤλπιζεν, καὶ εἰς ἄλλον μὴ ἐλπίζης *Spaneas Z* 57 (for pseudo-augment see the introduction to Chapter 3)
 ἔχεν ὑγείαν, τοῦ λέγει *Theseid* ms Par. gr. 2898, f.27r; δι' αὐτὸ καμπόσο ἀνέμενεν *ibid.* f.38r
 κοίταζεν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 134.1; μὴ θαύμαζεν *ibid.* 150.15; καὶ ἤξευρεν νὰ μᾶς εἰπείς
 πῶς στέκουν τὰ ζῶα *ibid.* 240.29; μόνον ἔλεξεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν τους *ibid.* 387.30 (< ἐλέγχω)

In local varieties of the language that are affected by the phenomenon of mid-vowel raising (of unstressed /e/ to [i], see I, 2.5.4), forms in /i/ can be found, which surely were more common in the spoken language of these areas than they were in writing: περίμενι ἀκόμη (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1406); ὕπαγι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (*ibid.* 67.1394–5).

Verbs starting in unstressed /e/ tend to lose this vowel in non-past forms (e.g. ἐξεύρω > ξεύρω; ἐπαίρνω > παίρνω), whereafter “new” paroxytone forms emerge for the

imperative singular: γιατί ξεῦρε ἄν μᾶς δεῖ θέλει μᾶς σκίσει *Cypr. Canz.* 93.68, but also: ξεῦρε κι ἔνι πρώτα ἡ ὁμορφιά σου *ibid.* 91.23; μὰ παῖρνε διαλεμένους *PETRITSIS, Dig. O* 1983.

Barytone vowel-stem verbs, including verbs that obtain vowel stems through the loss of intervocalic /y/ such as ὑπάω < ὑπάγω and τρώω < τρώγω, can have both “uncontracted” forms (for examples see above) and forms in which one of the vowels is deleted, e.g. ἄκου τὸ τί μοῦ λέγει *Dig. E* 1581; καὶ τ’ ἄλλα ὅλα τρῶ’ τα *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 536. For discussion and further examples see 2.1.1.2.

Plural

Pl.	2	-ΕΤΕ(ν) ἰ -ΕΤΕΝΕ ἰ -ΙΤΕ

The standard ending for the 2 pl. present imperative is -ετε before, throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods (for the identical 2 pl. pres. ind. ending see 4.1.1.1):

τὴν ὀλότῃν μερίζετε μὲ τὰ βς’ (post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 22.12.7)
τρέχετε, κινδυνεύειν ὁ Αἴας! *ERMION., Ilias* 15.101cap
φεύγετε, πᾶτε νὰ γλυτωθῇτε *Anak. Konst.* 34
τοῖνυν ὑπάγετε καλῶς [*ANDR. PALAIOIOL.*], *Kallim.* 242
κλαίετε καὶ θρηνεῖτε, σπανοὶ *Spanos D* 1640
στέκετε, μηδὲν φεύγετε! *Diig. Alex. F* 294.22 (Lolos)
ξεφαντώνετε *Imb. Rim.* 496
χαίρετε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 331.33; ἡκούγετέ τον *ibid.* 357.27; ἀκούετέ τον *ibid.* 389.19
σύρε πηγαίνετε *Nov. II* 161.6–7
λέγετε ... τρώγετε *GERMANO, Grammar* 83.3
ἀκούετε και καταλάβετε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 15.10; κρούετε, καὶ θέλει σας
ἀνοιχθεῖ *ibid. Louk.* 11.9
μόνον ἐτοῦτο ἀναγνώθετε *LANDOS, Geopon.* 132.16

Addition of final /n/ is found in texts from Chios (cf. the identical present indicative, 4.1.1.1; see also the aorist imperative, 4.5.2.1): ἔχετεν ᾗειά *KONDAR., Paidēs* 15; δείκτετεν τὰ προστάγματα *ibid.* 252; (ἄν εἴν’ λοιπὸν καὶ θέλετεν κ’ ἐμένα τὴν πατρίδα | νὰ μάθετεν ...) ἀπὸ τὴν Χίον ξεύρετεν εἶναι τὰ γονικά μου *PETRITSIS, Dig. O* 3073.

Barytone vowel-stem verbs, including verbs that can lose the intervocalic /y/ such as ὑπάγω and τρώγω, can have both “uncontracted” forms (see examples above) and forms in which the weaker vowel /e/ of the ending is omitted after the stronger vowels /a/, /o/ and /u/ of the verb stems, e.g. ὑπᾶτε εἰς τοὺς γονιούς σας *Achil. O* 588; καὶ τρῶτε, ξεφαντώνετε *Imb. Rim.* 496; πῶς κράζει, ἀκούτε *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 187. For discussion and more examples see 2.1.1.2.

Addition of -(v)ε has been found in a text of uncertain provenance, but is likely to have been a feature of various local spoken varieties, among which, notably, Chiot¹¹⁶ (for such forms see I, 2.6.3.3): τὴν φωνὴν πᾶσα λαὸς ἀκούτενε (15th c., S. Italy, *NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS/HOLLENDER* 2010: P1, 103.1).

¹¹⁶GERMANO, *Grammar* 86–7 mentions that in Chios -ve is also added to the imperative, but unfortunately he does not give any examples.

In texts from areas that are affected by mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4), one (or conceivably both) of the unstressed /e/'s in this ending may become /i/ (cf. 2 pl. pres. ind.): λοιπόν, λέγίτε τίποτα *Diig. tetr.* 568 app. crit. (C).

/a/-imperatives

In the EMG period a number of barytone verbs with monosyllabic stems developed alternative formations in -α (2 sg.) and -ᾶτε (2 pl.) for the present imperative (as in MG, which has τρέχα, φεύγα and regionally στέκα).¹¹⁷ The /a/ ending is also used for the aorist active imperative of prefixed derivatives of βαίνω and certain other verbs, and has even been found with certain aorist passive imperatives (see 4.5.2.3).

Note that verbs that allow for the /a/-ending belong to the same semantic field of verbs of motion – “go!”, “leave!”, “run!” “stay!” – and may therefore have been modelled on common aorist imperatives in -α such as that of ἐλάω (ἔλα), which after the demise of ἐλάω had attached itself as an imperative to ἔρχομαι, and of βαίνω (ἔμβα, κατάβα), all of which are Ancient (see LSJ s.v. ἐλαύνω and βαίνω) (see also THUMB (1912: 128 and 155), who notes that the aspectual value of these present imperatives is rather weak).

Sg.	2	-α

Singular

- φεύγα ἀπὸ τὴν μέσσην *Diig. tetr.* 815 (reading of oldest ms C (a. 1461))
τρέχα, Ἀλέξανδρε *Diig. Alex.* V 30.8
καὶ ἂν σὲ κυνηγήσει φεύγα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 420.22–3
τρέχα, τρέχα, μάνα μου *Bertoldin.* 145.34–146.1
φεύγα τῆς ὥρας εἰς τὸ βασιλέα (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 401, f.2r.64)
στέκα *Zinon* V.281, 286, 290
τρέχα, ὑπάγε βιαστικά *Don Kis.* 128.14; στέκα λοιπόν με προσοχὴν *ibid.* 266.29
στέκα ἀτός σου ἔδω SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 56.35 (but pl. στέκετε *ibid.* 57.4)

Plural

Pl.	2	-ᾶτε

Plural forms in -ᾶτε seem to appear much later than their singular counterparts. No examples have been found before the early 18th c.: φευγάτε μακριά, φευγάτε! *Don Kis.* 632.8.

4.5.1.1.2 *Passive Voice*

The most common present passive endings are -ου for the singular and for the plural -εστε/-εσθε, though there is some regional variation. These endings are attached to the active imperfective stem (see 2.1) to form the imperfective passive imperative.

¹¹⁷ The form στέκα can be found e.g. in the modern dialect of Corfu (AVLONITI 2006: 40) and in certain northern dialects (PAPADOPOULOS 1926: 91).

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	2	γράφου	γράφουσιν γράφουσουν	γράφο -ουσαι -οσε
Pl.	2	γράφεστε γράφεσθε	γράφεστεν γραφοῦστε(ν)	

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-ου -ο

The inherited ending -ου is the standard 2 sg. ending for the present passive imperative before, throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods. Examples have been found until well into the 18th c. (cf. oxytone verbs, below):

μή στέναζε, μή θλίβου GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 437
τότε ἔρχου εἰς τὸ ἐκ πλαγίου πρόσωπον (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.614)
μή ζώνου χαμηλούτσικα καὶ μή συχνοκτενίζου *Ptoch. IV* 57
χαίρου τῆς ρώμης βασιλεῦ *Eisit. f.1v.1*
εὔχου μου *Dig. E* 559
τούτην ἀλείφου την *Pol. Tr.* 540 app. crit. (A); ἔρχου συχνά εἰς ἐμένα *ibid.* 3278
σηκώνου ταχύτερου (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 98); ἔρχου εἰς ἐμὰς συχνά (*ibid.* 283)
κείτου ἔδευτοῦ, μεθύστακα CHORTATSI, *Katz. III*.539–40
δέχου νὰ μᾶς ἐβγάλεις ἀπὸ τὰ χέρια τοὺς ἀπίστους (17th c., Cyprus, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 22, 269.4)
ἀναπεύου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 139.23
εἰς τὸν ὄρκον σου στέκου MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1463; φυλάγου, ὅσον δύνεσαι *ibid.* 1975
χαίρου, καυχοῦ καὶ λέγε το BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 411.24
κάλλιο διορθώνου τώρα *Charon II* 19
προσεύχου *Don Kis.* 45.14
γράφου SPANOS, *Grammar* 37.3

A form in -ο found in a Russian–Greek conversation book that is likely to have been written in Athos is not a morphological variant of those in -ου but possibly the result of hypercorrection of back-vowel raising of /o/ to /u/ (for details see I, 2.8.3) (if it is not a simple writing mistake): παντοτε ἔρχο (app. crit.) (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 172).

Sometimes passive imperative forms can be found of verbs that are not normally passivized, such as προσέχω in its meaning “to be careful, to beware”: προσέχου μην τους σείσεις AITOLOS, *Ais. Myth.* 48; προσέχου (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVII, 224.4); τότε προσέχου απ’ αυτούς STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 1260 (Pidonia).

Sg.	2	-οσσουν -ουσουν

The only regional variation found is the ending -οσουν/-ουσουν, which occurs in texts by Heptanesian (Corfiot?) authors.¹¹⁸ The ending is identical to that of the 2 sg. passive imperfect (see 4.3.1.2), and possibly in some way modelled on it (see also the corresponding ending of oxytone verbs, 4.5.1.2.2, and cf. the imperative present active ending -ουνε in the same region, which constitutes a similar analogical formation, 4.5.1.2.1):

καὶ χάιροσουν μάλιστα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 380.20; κάθοσουν ἐδῶ ibid. 394.41;
 κάθου ... καὶ δέχουσун ibid. 461.27; ὁπόταν προσεύχεσαι, ἡβλέποσουν ibid. 461.31–2;
 προσεύχουσун ibid. 462.32
 ἐνεστῶς. γράφοσουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 58.5–6
 διὰ τοῦτο δουλεύουσун ἀπὸ τὴν Αὐλὴν μου σὲ κάθε σου χρεῖαν Bertoldos 48.26–7

Sg.	2	-ουσαι ἰ -οσε

The ending -ουσαι occurs in one manuscript of Chortatsis's *Panoria*. It appears to be a conflation of βλέπου (see above) and the striking imperative βλέπεσαι/βλέπεσε (PERNOT 1932: 986; KRIARAS 1932: 1109), which is the reading of the other manuscripts (for βλέπεσαι/βλέπεσε see 2.4): βλέπουσαι, στο Θεό μου CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.251 (reading of N). However, the ending may have been in use with other verbs as well, as the following example appears to be a variant of it: ο Σολομών εἶπεν: εἰς ὅλα τα πράματα συμβουλεύοσε καὶ ὑστερον μὴ μετανοήσεις *Anthos Ch.* G 113.9–10.

Plural

Pl.	2	-εστε(ν) ἰ -εσθε(ν)

The normal 2 pl. endings for the present passive imperative of barytone verbs are -εστε and its more formal variant -εσθε (for manner dissimilation of /sθ/ to /st/ see I, 3.8.1; for the identical present indicative and imperfect endings see 4.1.1.2 and 4.3.1.2). However, there is a clear preference for periphrastic forms with νά or ἄς (see IV, 1.3) and therefore a limited number of examples has been found:

αὐξάνεστε, πληθύνεστε CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 48
 καθέζεσθε (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 548–9); στήκεσθε (ibid. 2487)
 πορεύεστε, κινήσατε [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 60
 κάθεστε, ἀναπεύεστε *Alex. Rim.* 809
 καὶ στέκεστε καὶ μηδὲν φεύγετε *Diig. Alex.* K 364.31–2
 γράφεσθε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 58.5–6
 (τὸ ρόδο ...) βιάζεστε νὰ πιάνετε CHORTATIS, *Erof. Interm.* II.86
 ἔρχεστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.9
 αἰσχύνεσθε, παράνομοι VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 1223

¹¹⁸ KONDOSOPOULOS (2001: 70) mentions similar forms (e.g. νιβόσουνε) in the modern dialect of Kefalonia, but used as aorist, not present, imperatives.

Addition of final /n/ is rare: την νιότη σας χαίρεστέν ὥστε ζεῖτε *Kakop.* 185.

A form with syncope (see I, 2.7.2) appears in Koronaios's poem on Merkourios Buas. It must be noted that at times Koronaios tends to stretch the language to accommodate the metre: καὶ βάλστε σ' ὀρδινίαν ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.147 (= βάλλεστε).

Pl.	2	-οὔστέ(ν)

The only regional variant found for 2 pl. is -οὔστέ(ν), which can be found in texts from Chios (cf. the identical present indicative and imperfect endings, 4.1.1.2, 4.1.2.2, 4.3.1.2 and 4.3.2.2): βλεποῦστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.8; φυλαγοῦστε *ibid.* 83.8; ἐρχοῦστε *ibid.* 83.9; καθοῦστέν VEST., *Pathi* 294 and PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1422.

4.5.1.2 Oxytone Verbs

4.5.1.2.1 Active Voice

The present active imperative of oxytone verbs is formed by adding the active endings of the imperative, -ε for the singular and -ετε for the plural, to the imperfective stem of the verb (for which see 2.1). In the case of oxytone A-stems the stem vowel /a/ and the /e/ of the ending contracted to /a:/ in AG, which evolved into /a/; in the case of oxytone E-stems, /e/ + /e/ became /e:/ > /i/ (traditionally spelled <ει>). From the very beginning of the period under review, A-stem endings are routinely used for E-stem verbs as well; the reverse, however, does not usually occur (see also 2.1.2.1). There is some regional variation in the endings of the imperative. All present imperatives of oxytone verbs are paroxytone, unless -(ν)ε has been added (for which see also I, 2.6.3).

		General		Restricted		Rare
Sg.	2	γρίκα	βάρει βάρ(ε)ιε βάρα	(γρίκουε)	βάρουε	βαρ'
Pl.	2	γρικᾶτε	βαρεῖτε βαρᾶτε	γρικᾶτεν	βαρεῖτεν βαρᾶτεν	βάρτε βαρ(ε)ιέτε

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-α

For 2 sg. of A-stem verbs, the inherited ending -α is the standard ending in both literary and non-literary texts throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar; this ending is also used with E-stem verbs.

A-stems

ψηλάφα και ἐκεῖ νὰ τὸ εὐρίσκης ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 310.21
 ἐρώτα και νὰ μάθης GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 137; και ὡς ἡπορεῖς ἀπάντα *ibid.* 189
 βάστα το *Pol. Tr.* 535
 ἐσὺ τοὺς μέτρα, λυγερή *Katal.* 196
 σῶπα, τί λές; FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 115; ἀγάπα πᾶσαν ἄνθρωπον *id.*, *Log. did.* 57
 ἄκουε Εὖα και πλάντα *Synax. gyn.* 130
 χαίρετα μού τον από την μεριάν μου VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 52.13–14
 σκέθα μου τήν καρδιάν *Cypr. Canz.* 107.34 (< σκεθῶ)
 και βάστα εις το κεφάλι σου *Diig. Alex.* K 354.3
 ἀγάπα τους (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 150.4)
 ἀρχίνα GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. cominciare*
 καὶ χαίρετα μου τὸν μπατέρα (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.11)
 γρίκα μου νὰ σοῦ δηγηθῶ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.103
 λίγο κέρδα και μὴν φύρνα *Paroim.* (Warner) 69.19 (< φυρνῶ < φυρῶ)
 σῶπα, φίλε Σάντσο! *Don Kis.* 46.11

E-stems

ἐκεῖνο ηὐχαρίστα *Spaneas* Z 212
 φίλα, περίπλεκέ το *Liv.* V 3775
 βοήθα τὸν ξενούτζικον *Flor.* L 700
 καὶ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἐλέα *Peri xen.* 451
 πᾶσα ἡμέρα ζήτα νὰ κάμης περισσότερα *Vios Aisop.* E 288.10
 ἐνέργα ἢ με τὸ κορμὶ ἢ με τὴν ὀρδινιά σου FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 78
 δήγα το νὰ τὸ βλέπη πρεπτάμενα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 502.13–14 (< ὀδηγῶ)
 σκόπα πρώτα *Fior* 112.25
 περέχα τα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 144.11 (περιχῶ < περιχέω); λειτούργα πρώτον τὸ ἕνα ὄνομα
ibid. 254.32
 προσκύνά τες ἀγίες εἰκόνες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §16.13
 χέρι ποὺ δὲ μπορεῖς νὰ κόψης, φίλα το *Paroim.* (Warner) 122.25
 και εὐχαρίστα τὸν θεὸν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1863
 τὸ γονή σου ἐπαίνα KORNAROS, *Erot.* 2.2029

Sg.	2	-ει

The inherited 2 sg. E-stem ending -ει is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from various areas, but only with E-stem verbs:

και τὸν πηλὸν κουβάλει *Ptoch.* III 211 app. crit. (CMK)
 ἐπάνω σου τὸ κράτει *Pol. Tr.* 535
 θῶρει με, κύρκα *Achil.* L 1276
 και τήρει και τὴν δόξαν *Alfan.* I 75
 μή μας ἡλησμόνει μας (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2721)
 πούρι ὁ σταλαγμός τοῦ πόθου βάρει βάρει | νὰ τρύπησε τὸ μάρμαρο FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 25–6
 σκούπει τὸν οἶκον (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 103.2d)
 κράτει τα ἐσὺ, Βίδο (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.15)
 πορπάτει εις τὴ στράτα σου CHORTATISIS, *Katz.* V.411
 ἀκολουθεῖ με ΠΑΡΑ-ΛΑΥΡ., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 108.24
 περιπάτει, ὅτι ἐνίκησές με *Vios Aisop.* I 255.44
 πάτει τὰ ἄσπρα σταφύλια ξέχωρα ἀπὸ τὰ μαῦρα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 145.33

Sg.	2	-Ø
Pl.	2	-ΤΕ

Deletion of the final /a/ or /i/ may occur lexically with the verb βαρῶ. It has been found in a Heptanesian (Zakynthian) text, *Evgena*.¹¹⁹ This apocopated form is the basis for a new plural form βάρτε, attested in the work of the 17th-c. Kefalonian poet Anthimos Diakrousis: βάρ' τὴν πόρτα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1359; βάρτε καὶ κόψετε τοὺς ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 931.

Sg.	2	-(ε)ιε(ν) † -ε

Forms in -ειε (sometimes spelled <ιε>) consist of the inherited E-stem ending -ει with the 2 sg. imperative ending -ε, borrowed from the dominant barytone paradigm (for a discussion see 2.1.2.2.4). The ending is found with E-stem verbs from at least the 14th c. onwards, with and without final /n/ (for the identical imperfect ending, see 4.3.2.1). The ending could probably be pronounced both with and without synizesis, e.g. βάρειε: ['varie] or ['varje] (see e.g. the example from *Ptoch. IV*, in which κράτειε is trisyllabic ['kratie], whereas in *Ptoch. III* κουβάλειε, at the verse end, is pronounced [ku'vaɫe] (for synizesis see I, 2.9.4):

καὶ φόρειε τὸ προσώμιν σου καὶ τὸν πηλὸν κουβάλειε *Ptoch. III* 211 (readings of mss SA)
 κράτειε τὴν φωνήν σου *Ptoch. IV* 481 app. crit. (V)
 σιγὰ περπάτειε ταπεινά *Flor.* L 1125
 καὶ ἄντλιε τοὺς πόδας ΣΤΑΦΙΔΑΣ, *Iatrosf.* 10.275
 θῶρει με, κύρκα, θῶρειε με *Achil.* L 1276
 μὰ τοῦτο κράτειε θαρρετά *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 151
 καὶ μίλειε τῆς καὶ λέγε τῆς *Love poems V* 396
 πάντα παρακάλειε τὸν θεὸν *Diig. Alex.* E 251.15 (Lolos)
 θῶρειε τὸν μπούσουλά σου *Fyll. gadar.* 94q
 συμπάθιε ... συγχώρει *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. perdonare*
 κράτειε καὶ ἐμεῖς σοῦ βοηθοῦμε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 93.13
 καὶ φόρειε το *Bertoldin.* 116.32; ἀκαρτέριέ με ἐδῶ *ibid.* 125.18

With an added final /n/ it was found in version I of the *Life of Aesop*, the scribe of which is thought to be of southern (ΠΑΡΑΘΗΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1999: XI) or perhaps Chiot (EIDENEIER 2011: 417–18) provenance: κράτειεν τὴν γλώσσαν σου *Vios Aisop.* I 276.24.

Forms in -ε have undergone deletion of /j/ (see I, 2.4.7.3–4). Examples have been found in texts from Cyprus:

κράτε τα καὶ βλέπε τα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 446.34
 θῶρε τίνος δίδεις *Fior* 101.28
 λάλε πάντα παρκάτω παρὰ ὅπου πολομᾶς *Fior Suppl.* 272.14–15
 θάρε μόνο στο δεῖν τῶν ἐμματιῶν τῆς *Cypr. Canz.* 98.31

Sg.	2	-ΟΥΝΕ

¹¹⁹It also occurs in a Zakynthian comedy of the late 18th c. (1795), D. Gouzelis's *O Chasis* (ed. Z. Synadinos, Athens 1997): βάρ' το, βαστάζο Gouzelis, *O Chasis* III.212. This form βάρτε is unrelated to the identical Cypriot form βάρτε (< βάλτε < βάλετε), for which see 4.5.2.4.

This E-stem ending is quite rare in written texts of the period under review and has not been found before the 17th c. It occurs in two texts that are very likely to be of Heptanesian provenance. It appears to be formed by analogy with the 3rd person singular of the imperfect, which has a regional alternative in -ουνε (see 4.3.2.1): impf. ἐμίλει – ἐμίλουνε : imp. μίλει – μίλουνε (cf. a similar form of analogy in the Heptanesian present passive imperative in -οσουν/-ουσουν, 4.5.1.1.2):¹²⁰ μίλουνε ὅσον καὶ ἂν θέλεις *Bertoldos* 60.7; ἀκολούθουνε πούρου ὀμπροσθά, Μισέρ Τζερφόλλιο *ibid.* 83.2–3; νὰ ζεῖς, ἀκολούθουνε *Bertoldin.* 139.3.

Plural

Pl.	2	-ᾶτε(ν)

The inherited 2 pl. A-stem ending -ᾶτε is in use before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar. It is used with A-stem as well as E-stem verbs:

A-stems

βαστᾶτε το 'ς τὴν Κρήτην *Anak. Konst.* 38
κατὰ καιρὸν πηδᾶτε τες *SACHLIKIS, Vouli pol.* 38; γελᾶτε τές ἀνέγλυτες *ibid.* 317; λαργᾶτε, θεὸν νὰ δράμω *ibid.* 30 (Γκιόστρα)
αὐκρᾶτε τί τοῦ λέγει *Flor.* L 1543
ἄπεζᾶτε τοὺς μαντατοφόρους μου εἰς τὴν γῆν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 206.19; καὶ πολομᾶτε καλές βίγλες *ibid.* 382.2; γροικᾶτε πάντες τὸν διαλαλημὸν *ibid.* 404.3
καὶ ἄγαπᾶτε με καλὰ *Alex. Rim.* 472; καὶ χαιρετᾶτε καὶ ἐμὲν κ' ὑστέρου ἐρωτᾶτε *ibid.* 2292
ρωτᾶτε τες οποῦ ἐπαθαν *Kakop.* 82
περνᾶτε τὴν ζωὴ σας *Imb. Rim.* 496
γρικᾶτε μου *CHORTATSI, Katz.* II.125; γιὰ τὸ Θεό γλακᾶτε! *ibid.* III.46
ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σας *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 5.44
τὰ πάθη μου ... βαστᾶτε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 626
βαστᾶτε αὐτὰ τὰ ἄρματα *Alex. Fyll.* 65.15

E-stems

τὴν ὕβριν ἐκδικᾶτε *Pol. Tr.* 1031
τὴν χώραν προξενᾶτε *SACHLIKIS, Vouli pol.* 319
βουθᾶτε νὰ τόνε δεκτῶ *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 349
βοθᾶτε τὸν Καλλιμαχὸν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1346
σκοπᾶτε τὰ τέλη τῶν πραγμάτων *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 10.13
γιὰ τὸ Θεό, βοηθᾶτε μου, γιὰ τὸ Θεό γλακᾶτε! *CHORTATSI, Katz.* III.46; παιδάκια μου, 'κλουθᾶτε *ibid.* V.473
ἀκολουθᾶτε μου *Bertoldos* 40.5
ζητᾶτε, καὶ θέλει σας δοθεῖ ... κτυπάτε, καὶ θέλει σας ανοιχθεῖ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 7.7
δένδρη μου, συγχωρᾶτε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 625
κι εἶπεν του: προσκυνᾶτε *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1789; καν τώρα βοηθάτε μας *ibid.* 4357
χτυπᾶτε, μωρὲ παιδιά, τοὺς παλιμουρτάτηδες! *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 59.14–15

Addition of final /n/ occurs in texts from Chios:

γροικᾶτεν, σᾶς παρακαλῶ *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 121

¹²⁰Note that the ending -ουνε is now a feature of the modern dialect of Corfu (AVLONITI 2006: 42–3).

ἀκλουθάτεν ὅλοι σήμερον KONDAR., *Paides* 102 app. crit.
καὶ γροικᾶτεν το PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 724

Pl.	2	-εῖτε(ν)

The inherited 2 pl. E-stem ending -εῖτε is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from various areas, but only with E-stem verbs:

κάστρον, θεωρεῖτε, ἔπαικα *Chron. Mor.* H 2710
μὴ δειλιάζετε, ἀνδρείως πολεμεῖτε *Pol. Tr.* 5304
βοηθεῖτε εἰς τὸν παγκόπελον *Dig.* E 922
σύντομα περιπατεῖτε! *Liv.* α 3086 app. crit. (N)
μικρὸν ὑποχωρεῖτε [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1865
μισεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα τῶν σπανῶν *Spanos* D 920; κλαίετε καὶ θρηνεῖτε, σπανοὶ *ibid.* 1640
ἁμαρτωλοὶ θαρρεῖτε FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 181; σκιὰν μετὰ μὲ θρηνεῖτε *ibid.* 213
κλαύσετε καὶ θρηνεῖτε *Moirol. Konst.* 56
κ' εἶπεν τοὺς: καρτερεῖτε *Apoll. Rim.* 793
καρτερεῖτε ὅδα, Φραγκάκια TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 105; τὸν θεὸν εὐχαριστεῖτε *ibid.* 212
εὐλογεῖτε ἐκείνους ὅπου σᾶς καταρῶνται KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 5.44
κρατεῖτε τὰ ὁμορφα ἴμορφα FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.95
θωρεῖτε τοὺς σολντάδους μου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 193.25; καρτερεῖτε *ibid.* 409.1

Addition of final /n/ has been found in a text from Chios: βαρεῖτεν τοῦ ἀλύπητα VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 641.

Pl.	2	*-(ε)ιέτε -έτε

Plural forms modelled on the singular -(ε)ιε are very rare. An example has been found in a text from Santorini. The stem consonant /l/ is depalatalized (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details): παρακαλέτε καὶ <ἐ>σεῖς *Rim. Sant.* 81.

4.5.1.2.2 Passive Voice

The present passive endings are -οῦ for the singular and for the plural -ᾶστε/-ᾶσθε (oxytone A-stem also used with E-stem) and -εῖστε/-εῖσθε (oxytone E-stem). These endings are attached to the imperfective stem (for which see 2.1) to form the imperfective passive imperative. There is some regional innovation in these endings.

		General		Restricted		Rare
Sg.	2	γρικοῦ	βαροῦ	γρικόσουν/ -ώσουν	βαρούσουν βαρ(ε)ιόσουν	βαριοῦ
Pl.	2	γρικᾶστε/ -ᾶσθε	βαρεῖστε/ -εῖσθε	γρικᾶσθεν γρικοῦσθε(ν)	βαρεῖσθεν βαροῦσθε(ν) βαρ(ε)ιοῦσθε(ν) βαριέσθε(ν)/-ιέσθε(ν)	

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-οῦ -ιοῦ

By the beginning of the LMedG period the AG A-stem ending -ῶ (the result of contraction in AG of the stem vowel /a/, the thematic vowel /e/ and the ending /o/) had long become obsolete and had been replaced by the E-stem ending -οῦ (the result of contraction of /e/ + /e/ + /o/).¹²¹ The ending -οῦ is the normal ending for both A-stem and E-stem verbs throughout the period covered by this Grammar. In SMG forms in -οῦ are no longer in use, and periphrastic constructions with *να* + present passive subjunctive are used instead. The demise of the present passive imperative in -οῦ is most likely to be datable to the modern period (cf. barytone verbs, above).

μή θορυβοῦ καθ' ἑαυτόν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 438
 ἄτακτα, γέλοια καὶ σαλὰ βαροῦ κι ἀπόφευγέ τα *Spaneas* P 94
 παρηγοροῦ ὅσον ἔχεις *Log. parag.* L 217
 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συντηροῦ (1316, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 39, 292.16)
 τὸν Θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦ *Spaneas* Z 433
 καὶ θυμοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης *Achil.* L 1263
 κοιμοῦ, ἀδελφέ (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 105)
 ἀθθυμοῦ πῶς ἐτζένιασες ἐκείνην *Cypr. Canz.* 104.13
 θυμοῦ το *CHORTATISIS, Katz.* II.377
 κυβερνοῦ μὲ ψυχρὰ πράγματα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 174.24; κοιμοῦ μίαν ὥραν *ibid.* 177.25
 χαίρου, καυχοῦ καὶ λέγε το *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 411.24
 δέ τη καλά, φουκροῦ τη *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.43
 φιλοῦ *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.25
 τρώγε, φίλε Σάντσιε: καὶ ζωοτροφοῦ *Don Kis.* 539.24

Forms with an added /j/ are rare (for a discussion of this phenomenon see 2.1.2.2.4):
 παρηγοριοῦ *Thysia Avr.* 165 app. crit. (M).

Sg.	2	-οὔσουν -όσουν -(ε)ιόσουν

The only regional variation found in the singular is the ending -οοσουν/-ουσουν, which appears in texts of Heptanesian (Corfiot?) authors. The ending is identical to that of 2 sg. of the passive imperfect (see 4.3.1.2), and perhaps in some way modelled on it (see also the corresponding ending of barytone verbs, above, and cf. the similarly formed present active ending -ουνε in the same region, 4.3.2.1 and 4.5.1.2.1). Sofianos used an “etymologizing” spelling <ω> for the A-stem verb γελῶ. His example of the E-stem verb κρατῶ has a /j/ inserted after the stem consonant, for which see 2.1.2.2.4: κρατειόσουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 67.9; γελώσουν *ibid.* 69.20; καὶ ἐνθυμούσουν τί σοῦ εἶπα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 380.20.

¹²¹ The ending -οῦ with A-stem verbs can be found from at least the 6th c., e.g. κοιμοῦ in Moschos and the correspondence of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza.

Plural

Pl.	2	-ᾱσ τε(ν) † -ᾱσθε(ν)

The normal 2 pl. endings for the present passive imperative of oxytone A-stem verbs are -ᾱσ τε and its more formal variant -ᾱσθε (for manner dissimilation of /sθ/ to /st/ see I, 3.8.1; for the identical present and imperfect endings see 4.1.1.2 and 4.3.2.2). However, there is a clear preference for periphrastic forms with νά or ᾶς (see IV, 1.3) and therefore not very many examples have been found. This ending is also used with E-stem verbs:

A-stems

ἀγαλλιᾷσθε καὶ κροτήσατε χεῖρας *Spanos* D 116

γελαῖσθε *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 69.20

τιμᾷσθε *GERMANO, Grammar* 93.6

E-stems

αὐτὰ οὖν ὅλα ἐνθυμᾷσθέ τα (1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 287.22–288.1)

μὲ πόθον τὸ δηγᾷσθεν *ZINOS, Penth. Than. Prol.* 16

ἐνθυμᾷσθεν καὶ τοῦ μοναχοῦ βασιλείου τοῦ Ἀκρίτου [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P VII 393.9–10

Pl.	2	-εῖσ τε(ν) † -εῖσθε(ν)

The inherited 2 pl. endings for the present passive imperative of oxytone E-stem verbs are -εῖσ τε and its more formal variant -εῖσθε (for manner dissimilation of /sθ/ to /st/ see I, 3.8.1; for the identical present and imperfect endings see 4.1.2.2 and 4.3.2.2). The meaning is more commonly expressed with periphrastic forms with νά or ᾶς (see IV, 1.3) and therefore few examples have been found. This ending is only used with E-stem verbs:

ποθοενθυμείσθε *Liv.* E 1132

πληροφορεῖσθε οἱ πάντες *Achil.* N 1742

θυμείσθε τὲς αἰχμαλωσιῆς *Alosis* 589

φιλείσθε *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.25

Pl.	2	-(ε)ιέσ τε(ν) † -(ε)ιέσθε(ν)

The innovative ending (ε)ιέσ τε(ν), in its more formal form with <θ> for <τ>, has not been found before the 16th c. (ms date of *Diig. Alex.* V), but the fact that Sofianos includes it in his grammar implies that it was already a well-established form. For the same ending with the present see 4.1.2.2; for a discussion of the appearance of /j/ after the stem consonant see 2.1.2.2.4. This ending has only been found with E-stem verbs: κρατιέσθεν δυνατὰ *Diig. Alex.* V 64.20; κρατειέσθε *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 67.9; [φιλ]ειέσθε *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.25.

Pl.	2	-οὔσ τε(ν) † -(ε)ιοὔσ τε(ν)

The only clearly regional variant found for 2 pl. is -οὔστε(ν), which occurs in texts from Chios with both A-stem and E-stem verbs (cf. barytone verbs, above (4.5.1.1.2), and the identical present indicative and imperfect endings (4.1.1.2, 4.1.2.2, 4.3.1.2 and 4.3.2.2):

τιμοῦστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.6; κρατειοῦστε *ibid.* 83.9; ἀγαπιοῦστε *id.*, *Vocab.* s.v. *amatevi*
 ἀφικροῦστέν VEST., *Pathi* 293
 κ' οἱ τρεῖς σάς το αὐκροῦστέν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2537 (= ἀφκροῦστέν < ἀφικροῦμαι).

4.5.2 The Aorist Imperative

4.5.2.1 Active Voice

The aorist active imperative is formed by adding the endings of the active imperative to the perfective active stem of the verb (for which see 2.2). This category comprises all oxytone verbs and barytone verbs with sigmatic, pseudosigmatic and thematic (second) aorist stems. A specific group of verbs with thematic aorist stems shows alternative stress patterns and other unique characteristics, for which see 4.5.2.3–4).

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	2	γράψε	γράψον γράψεν γράψι γράψ'	
Pl.	2	γράψετε γράψατε	γράψτε γράψετεν γράψετενε	

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-ε(ν) † -Ø † -ι

AG imperatives in -ον of barytone and oxytone verbs with sigmatic and liquid/nasal-stem aorists had begun to be replaced by forms in -ε from the first centuries of the first millennium onwards (JANNARIS 1897: 205; DIETERICH 1898: 248; GIGNAC 1981: 350–2), by analogy with the present and the thematic aorist imperatives, which all had /e/-endings (JANNARIS 1897: 205). For 2 sg. of the aorist active imperative -ε is the most common ending before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, and can be found in texts from all areas and in all stylistic registers:

παράκυψε, βαγίτζα μου *Dig.* G IV.282 (spelled παράκυψαι, as if it were a (non-existent) middle aorist imperative); ἀπόστρωσε τὸν βοῦλχαν μου *ibid.* IV.376
 ἄπαξ τὸν πόνον ἔπαρε καὶ ἀπομερίμνησέ το GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 212

σφίξε σφικτὰ τὰ ὀδόντια σου *Ptoch.* IV 481 app. crit. (H)
 γράψε ὅτι διδῶ του ἡμέρας ἄλλας δ' (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 15.47)
 πέψε το τοῦ κυροῦ μου (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.27)
 παρᾶμεινε εἰς τὸ μοναστήρι μας (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1855–6); μαγέρεψε νὰ φᾶμε
 (ibid. 2247)
 στεῖλε τον ἐδῶ (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.11–12)
 ἄπλωσε, πιάσε, ἀνάγνωσε *Achil.* N 929
 κάτσε νὰ φᾶμεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 84.27; πέψε μου ἀπὸ τοὺς λᾶς τῆς Κιρυνίας ibid. 448.9
 τὸ μουστᾶκιν του κλάσε το *Spanos* D 14
 μόνον ἔλα καὶ βᾶπτισέ με *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 357.20–1
 κάμε το (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 8, 87.1)
 στεῖλε ὑψηλὴ γραφὴν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.25)
 τ' ὄνειρο ... ξεδήγησέ μου *Stathis* III.255 (active form of the deponent verb ξεδηγοῦμαι <
 ἐκδηγοῦμαι)
 Παναγία μου, ἀγιουτάρισέ μας (1731, Kefalonia, TSITSELIS 1904: App. 12, 913.18–19)

The verb γίνομαι, which usually retains its middle aorist imperative in -οῦ/-ου (see 4.9), can sometimes have imperatives in -ε, as in SMG (for confusion of the present and aorist stems (γιν- and γεν-) of this verb see 2.4). The earliest example occurs in a 14th-c. ms of *Ptochoprodromos*: γίνε προσχεριάρης *Ptoch.* III 210 app. crit. (M); μὴ γένε συ ἀνελεήμονος *Diig. Alex.* K 365.32; γίνε ὁδηγὸς τῇ στρατᾶς μου *CHORTATSI, Erof. Dedic.* 59.

Verbs starting in unstressed /e/ (e.g. ἐπαίρνω) tend to lose this vowel in non-past forms (ἐπαίρνω > παίρνω), whereafter “new” paroxytone forms emerge for the imperative singular. Paroxytone forms may also occur as a result of synizesis, through which the disyllabic verb stem becomes monosyllabic (e.g. πιάνω: πιάσε > πιάσεε):

ἄπλωσε, πιάσε, ἀνάγνωσε *Achil.* N 929
 πάρε τὰ ἄλογά μας, | ἔπαρε καὶ ἐκ τοὺς ἄρχοντες *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 185–6; καὶ πιάσε με
 ἐκ τὸ χέρι ibid. 225
 μὰ πάρε τὴν ζωὴν μου *MONTSEL., Evgena* 578

Addition of final /n/ appears in texts from south-western areas (cf. the present imperative, 4.5.1):

καὶ ἤκουσεν τοὺς λόγους μου *Spaneas* Z 431; διάβασεν τὴν χηρείαν σου ibid. 475 app. crit.
 ἔπαρεν ολίγο ψωμί *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 23.2–3
 δράμεν ἐγλήγορα καὶ φέρε μου ... *Diig. Alex.* F 98.15 (Lolos); σύρεν καὶ ἐσύ, ψυχὴ ibid.
 136.16; πέρασεν τὸν Ἐφράτην ποταμὸν καὶ σύρε ibid. 242.19
 γύρισεν, αὐθέντη, πρὸς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐλεήμονά σου μάτια *Theseid* ms Par. gr. 2898 f.32r; γρίκησεν
 τοὺς παρεκαλεσμούς μου ibid. f.39r; ὁδήγεψεν τὴν στρατᾶν μου ibid. f.39r
 ρώτηξέν τονε (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 147.15)

Deletion of the final /e/ may occur, typically before clitic pronouns, though examples have been found of other environments (before the definite article, before νὰ, and even before a bare noun):¹²²

¹²²In the case of the imperatives of διδῶ and θέτω it is a matter of interpretation (and spelling) whether /'dos/ and /'thes/ are apocopated forms of δώσε and θέσε, or the irregular AG imperatives δός and θές, which do not necessarily constitute archaisms (see 2.4).

βοήθησ' με, κανάκι μου RUMI, *Poem I 4*
 τὴν ἀδελφὴν μας ἄφησ' τὴν *Dig. E 346*; ἄφησ' με *ibid.* 953 (spelled ἄφης in the ed.)
 ἀπόλυσ' τον (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 199)
 ἔπαρ' με κόρη σύμβουλον *Achil. L 653*; στόχασ' τον *ibid.* 867
 καὶ μῆνυσ' του νὰ ἔλθῃ ὧδε *Assizes A 167.30*
 πιάσ' τὰ ροῦχα σου *FALIEROS, Ist. On. 71*; κι ἔπαρ' κι ἐσύ *id., Thrinos 95*; ἄφησ' νὰ δοῦμεν
ibid. 275
 καὶ λύτρωσ' με ἄφ' τὸ κακὸ *LIMEN., Than. Rod. 637*
 ξάφρισ' το καλὰ (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.23); ἀδείασ' το ὄξω τὸ νερὸ
(ibid. 60.30)
 ἔπαρ' παρηγορία *Theseid X.34,7 (1529)*
 ὀρδίνιασ' τὰ σπιτία σου *Pist. kekoim. 330*
 βρίσ' τον (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 3, 302.20)
 ἔπαρ' τσι *CHORTATIS, Katz. I.337*; ἄφησ' τσι καυχησές σου *ibid. III.457*; πιάσ' με, νὰ ζήσης
ibid. III.513
 γύρισ' τὴν γύρους ἐπτά (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 87.21)
 ἄφης, ἄφησε *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. lasciare*; πιάσε & πιάς *ibid. s.v. pigliare*
 φέρ' το, λέγω *Bertoldin. 144.30*
 τὸ κιρὶ κράτησ' το (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 51.9)
 πιάσ' τὴ βουλή μου *KORNAROS, Erot. II.43*

Forms with /i/ for /e/ are phonetic rather than morphological variants and can be found in texts from areas that display mid-vowel raising (of unstressed /e/ to [i], see I, 2.5.4 for details): δῶσι μου καὶ τὰ ἱπίλοιπα (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.46r.3); ἔτσι κάμι, σὲ παρακαλῶ πουλλά (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 68.32–3) (πουλλά = πολλά, see I, 2.8.3).

Sg.	2	-ον

The old imperatives in -ον had begun to be replaced by forms in -ε from the first centuries AD onwards (see above). Nevertheless forms in -ον can be found in a variety of texts throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, often alongside forms in -ε, e.g. σύγκρινον, σύγκρινέ μας *Velth. 616* (Cupane). These forms can be called residual for all varieties but those of Asia Minor and S. Italy, which preserve imperatives in -ον to the present day (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 187); for Pontic see also OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 264. The learning method edited by Lehfeldt (see examples) has more features that are now characteristic of Pontic (see e.g. the aorist passive imperative; see also HENRICH 1996b): the imperative φάσον (“feed [me]!”) is derived from the Pontic verb φαγίζω/φαϊζω/φάζω; μάθισον (“teach!”) is from Pontic μαθίζω.

πώλησον ταύτην *Dig. G I.106*; γνώρισόν μοι *ibid. IV.316*; ἐπάκουσον εὐχῆς μου *ibid. IV.371*
 ψυχὴ μου, μακροθύμησον *GLYKAS, Stichoi 308*
 σφίξον καλὰ τὰ δόντια σου *Ptoch. IV 481*
 κράτησον τὰ φουσαστά σου *Chron. Mor. H 1117*; ἄκουσον, φίλε *ibid. 3407*; σπουδάξον *ibid. 4637*
 καρτέρησον, Ἀρμούρη μου *Arm. 117*
 πλήρωσον ὡς μᾶς εἴπες *Dig. E 60*
 ἤκουσον, υἱούττικε *Spaneas Z 89*
 ἄκουσον νὰ τὸ μάθῃς *Chron. Toc. 685*; παῦσον τὸν θρῆγον τὸν πολὺν *ibid. 3424*
 ὀρισον ἄλογα δῶδεκα *Achil. L 85*

ζήτησόν το (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 88.4d); πάχυνον τὸν
 σκύλον σου (ibid. 97.1d); φάσον μοι (ibid. 117.2d–3d); μάθισον τὸν υἱόν σου (ibid. 150.4d)
 ἔπαρον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου *Ptochol.* α 142
 ἄκουσον τὴν ἀλήθειαν *Krasop.* L 45
 ἐλέησόν μας *Diig. Alex.* K 355.6
 ἀλλὰ καρτέρησον μικρὸν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2793
 προσκύνησον *Alex. Fyll.* 22.7; πίστευσόν με *ibid.* 95.12

Plural

Pl.	2	-ΕΤΕ -ΕΤΕΝ -ΕΤΕΝΕ -ΤΕ

The most common 2 pl. ending before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar is -ετε, which can be found in texts from all areas and in all stylistic registers:

ζεματίσετε *Ptoch.* IV 594; θρέψετε *ibid.* 598
 γυρεύσετε *Dig.* E 63
 ἀκούσετε *Assizes* B 278.1
 τὰ κάτεργα διορθώσετε *Pol. Tr.* 1608
 θρηνήσετε *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 36
 ψυχοπονέσετέ μας *Rim. than.* 129; ἀπαντήξετέ μας *ibid.* 130
 ἀγοράσετε (1493–4, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΕΣ 1968: 36, 179.3)
 γυρέψετε εἰς τὰς γραφὰς *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 48.25; δήσετέ με *ibid.* 448.27–8
 κλαύσετε καὶ θρηνεῖτε *Moirol. Konst.* 56
 ἀκούσετε, γροικήσετε *Theseid* I.4,5 (Follieri)
 ἔροχινιάσετε ὀλλίγον καὶ μάθετε *Pist. kekoim.* 66 (< ἐξιχνιάζω)
 τὸν Θεὸν εὐκαριστήσετε *Thysia Avr.* 1036
 ἀκαρτερέσετε, ἀκαρτερέσετε *Bertoldin.* 145.32–3
 στείλετέ μου (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/1992: 3, 49.28)
 κρατήσετέ το (1666, Rome, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 11, 115.2)

Addition of final /n/ is not uncommon in texts from Chios:

καὶ ἀκούσετεν λιγάκι *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 320; ξεκουφάνετέν τον *ibid.* 408; λογιάσετεν καλὰ
ibid. 530; ἄπωνα τόνε γδάρετεν *ibid.* 1228
 καὶ κάσσετεν, βρομήσετεν ὥστε νὰ ᾿δῶ τ’ αὐτί μου *KONDAR., Paidēs* 17
 καὶ ἀμέστ’ ἀρπάξετέν την *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 185; καὶ μένα φέρετέν την *ibid.* 186; τὸν Θεὸ
 δοξάσετεν *ibid.* 2677; γροικήσετεν καὶ τοῦτον *ibid.* 2985

Sometimes plural forms can be found in which the first stress falls on the same syllable as in the singular (cf. the imperfect and aorist indicative, 4.3.1 and 4.4), with a second stress on the penultimate. This stress pattern has been found in a document of northern provenance: ρώτησέτε τὸ Ζώτο (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.10).

Syncopated forms have been found from the 15th/16th c. onwards, in texts from a variety of areas (for syncope see also I, 2.7.2):

πιᾶστε τὸν κλέφτην *Assizes* B 442.10
 βάλτε καλὰ ᾿ς τὸν νοῦν σας *Theseid* I.4,5 (Follieri)
 πιᾶστε με *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 267
 πάρτε με μετὰ σας *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 448.28
 γιὰ πιᾶστε νὰ βγοδώσομεν γιὰ την αποθαμένη | κασέλα *Apoll. Rim.* A 921–2
 στείλτε προβατοντύματα *Alex. Rim.* 1037; ἡ φέρτε τὴ γυναῖκα του *ibid.* 2253

ἐγροικῆστε, ἄνθρωποι *Diig. Alex. F 204.6* (Konstantinopulos)
 σύρτε ἀπέ δω γλήγορα *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos 13, μ8r.17* (1561)
 δώστε *CHORTATIS, Panor. V.345*; πιάστε τη, κορασίδες μου *id., Erof. V.665*
 σύρτε καλύτερα εἰς ἐκείνους ὅπου τὸ πουλοῦσι *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 25.9*
 καὶ πάρτε τὴν Εὐγένειά μου, σύρτε στὸ περιβόλι *MONTSEL., Evgena 527*; γλιτώστε με *ibid. 565*
 ἐπάρτε τους ἀπὸ μπροστά *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 2615*
 τὸ ὅ,τι σᾶς χρειάζεται ἀπὸ μένα πάρτε *Diig. Vefa 1108*
 σύρτε εἰς τὸν αὐθέντην σας *Alex. Fyll. 65.14*

The verb *πιάνω* can have a syncopated form in which the /s/ of the perfective stem is omitted, resulting in 2 pl. *πιάτε*. This form has been found in Kallioupolis (Thrace) and in texts from Chios, where it usually has an added final /n/:

πιάτε τον KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 26.48 and Mark. 14.44
πιάτε τον ὅλοι VEST., Paid. Makkav. 385; *πιάτεν τὸν τροχόν ibid. 1042*; *πιάτεν τὸν ἄλλον ibid. 1058*; *πιάτεν καὶ αὐτὸν ibid. 1176*
πιάτεν το κ' ἐσεῖς KONDAR., Paides 340

Pl.	2	-ατε

The AG 2 pl. ending *-ατε* had started to be replaced by the ending *-ετε* of the present imperative in Hellenistic times (JANNARIS 1897: 205; DIETERICH 1898: 248). Nevertheless, residual forms in *-ατε* do appear in LMedG and EMG texts, usually alongside forms in *-ετε*:

πανταχοῦ ἐρευνήσατε Dig. G I.210; *εἰ βούλεσθε, πεζεύσατε ibid. VI.200*
ποιήσατε προστάγματα, κ' ἐγὼ νὰ τὰ βουλλώσω Chron. Mor. H 579; *ἀκούσατε οἱ ἅπαντες ibid. 724*
κροτήσατε χεῖρας Spanos D 116
χαλάσατε, ὄρη, ... βουνά, πλακώσατέ με DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos 377
διορθώσατέ το ... καὶ περιθάλψετε τὸν (1448?, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.6)
ποιήσατε νὰ εἶναι πεπαιδευμένοι (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 289.14)
κινήσατε [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 60
καὶ δικαιοῦσατέ με MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 232.3 (hapax)
ἀκούσατε θαυμάσατε Θεοῦ μεγάλην δόξαν! Diig. Apoll. 403
ἐρωτήσατε αὐτὸν τὸν Καισαρείας Chron. Ps.-Doroth. (1572) 169–70
ἀκούσατε, Δελφοί: Vios Aisop. K 204.22
ἐξετάξετε ... καὶ ἐκεῖ μείνατε KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 10.11; *δείξατέ με τὸ νόμισμα ibid. 22.19*
μικροί, μεγάλοι κλαύσατε, χύσετε σαν ποτάμι IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 9943

4.5.2.2 Passive Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	2	γράψου	γράφθητι -ηθι γράφθησε -σου	γράφουν γράφησεν -οῦ
Pl.	2	γραφθῆτε	γραφθῆτεν/γραφθεῖτε(ν)	γράφητε

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-ου

The ending -ου, employed by analogy with the present (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 101; see also 4.5.1.1.2), first appears with aorist middle forms, which consisted of the aorist *active* stem and the middle ending -αι; -ου, as an ending having a sufficiently passive “feel” to it, simply replaced -αι and was thus attached to the active stem. The earliest examples can be found in papyri of the first centuries AD, e.g. ἀπὸ τοῦ ζωδίου ἄρξου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν τῆς Σελήνης καὶ ἔκβαλε τὴν ποσότητα τῶν ζωδίων Anubion, *Carm. astrol.* III, 13.7 (ed. Obbink 2006) (1st c. AD); this passage was literally copied, including the form ἄρξου, by Hephaestion, *Apotelesmatica* 186.23 (ed. Pingree) (4th c. AD); and in the apocryphal *Acta Thomae* (3rd c.?: oldest ms 10th c.): κατὰ σεαυτὴν λόγισαι δι’ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς, δι’ ὅλης σκέψου τῆς νυκτὸς σήμερον *Acta Thomae* 228.2–4 (ed. Bonnet).¹²³ In contrast with the original middle forms in -αι (e.g. ἄρνησαι), the new forms in -ου are paroxytone (ἄρνήσου), in line with the present passive imperative forms from which the ending was borrowed. When the middle voice had completed its gradual collapse and fallen into disuse, remarkably the aorist imperative form in -ου held its ground.

σφογγίσου ἐκ τὸ πεπόνιν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 267; ἀνακομπώσου, δέξου τον *ibid.* 331
τὸ τέκνον σου ἄρνήσου *Dig.* G II.168
ἄρρωστον ἐπισκέψου *Spaneas* Va 525
tipsu / τύψου (14th c., Yemen, GOLDEN 2000: 63.318)
ἔπαρε κ’ εὐλόγησου τὴν *Chron. Mor.* H 2509; ἔμέναν παραδόσου *ibid.* 4064
λυτρώσου *Liv.* V 3615
εὐλόγησιν εὕξου με *Paroim.* F 49
ἐντύσου καὶ ποδέσου *Peri xen.* 36
ὄρισέν τὴν ὅτι: ἐκδύσου! *Ptochol.* P 229
δηγήσου τῆς τὰ πάθη μου *Love poems* V 336 (= διηγῆσου)
αγάπη μου, στολίσου *Kakop.* 66
λούσου ἐκεῖ ἐπτά φορές DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 3, γ3v.22 (1561)
στοχάσου PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §11.78; ἐξομολογήσου *ibid.* III §11.12; προσεύξου *ibid.* III §24.42
ἄρξου τῆς παρακλήσεως (1684–5 [ms], Cyprus, ŠANGIN 1936: 3, 118.3–4)
ὅσο μπορείς βλεπήσου KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1188 (for the stem βλεπητῆ- see 2.2.1.7)
συλλογίσου καλὰ *Don Kis.* 113.26; στοχάσου *ibid.* 130.15

And not only did such ex-middle forms survive, the ending -ου also spread to the passive imperative of verbs that had not had an aorist middle in the first place, or for which the aorist middle had been very rare even in Antiquity (e.g. βοηθῶ, καταδικάζω, κοιμοῦμαι, πληροφορῶ, προδίδω, σηκώνω), as well as of new verbs (e.g. ἀντρειεύω, ζαλίζω,

¹²³ Later examples in non-vernacular texts include: ἄρξου ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν παιδεύειν με *Apophthegmata Patrum* XV, §119.13 (ed. J.-C. Guy); ὑπάγε, μέμψου τοῖς πατράσι σου Ps. Gregentios, *Dialexis* III.236 (ed. Berger; 10th c.); λούσου ἐν ἀγερούσῃ λίμνῃ *Byz. Phys.* VIII.13 (ed. Sbordone; 11th c. original?); ἀπάρξου γράφε Ps. Psellos, *Poem* 58, 109 (ed. Westerink; 12th c., author unknown, 15th-c. mss); ἄρξου συντόμως *id.*, *Poem* 67, 247).

καλογηρεύω). For all verbs with sigmatic perfective stems, these aorist passive imperatives are formed in exactly the same way as the old middle forms, by adding the ending -ου to the *active* perfective stem of the verb, e.g. σηκώνω: σηκώσ-ου > σηκώσου; πληροφορώ: πληροφορησ-ου > πληροφορήσου.

πληροφορέσου *Dig.* E 1793

ξενίσου *Liv.* E 153

μισταρεύσου με μετά ψωμίν καὶ μόνον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1650

κρημνίσου, τρισάθλιε *Spanos* D 412

θέλεις γυναίκαν ἔπαρε, θέλεις καλογηρέψου LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 406

στενέψου ἀπὸ τὸ ἔχει σου FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 286

δόξου ἕναν ὄφιν καὶ ἦρτεν τρεχάτον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 648.30 (< δοκῶ)

προδῶσου *Rim. kor.* A 103

δὲν εἶπεν Λάζαρε, ἀναστήσου DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 5, ε8v.18 (1561)

τίνος μιλῶ; σηκώσου! CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.529; γης, σκίσου, ρούφηξέ με *id.*, *Panor.* V.203

παντρέψου ἐσύ *Stathis* III.374

σηκώσου, μὴν κοιᾶσαι TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 247

ἐλεημονήσου με δέσποτα *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 88

ξεριζώσου καὶ φυτεύσου εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 17.6

ἀφκρίσου νὰ σὲ πῶ *Thrinios Konst.* (Zoras) 62

ξεζαλίσου KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.725; ἀντρεῖψου καὶ βουηθήσου *ibid.* I.1186

This is the development that can be traced in most areas, but a different development occurs in Cyprus, (parts of?) Asia Minor and the northern mainland, where the ending -ου is attached not to the active but to the passive stem, whether regular or irregular (see THUMB 1912: 158 for these forms in modern Cypriot). The lack of (passive) imperatives in non-literary texts such as the Cypriot law texts edited by Simon and Maruhn and the *Assizes* makes it impossible to establish when these forms first appear. Apart from the abundant evidence from Cyprus from the 15th/16th c. onwards, similar forms have been found in the 13th-c. poems of Sultan Walad (Konya, Cappadocia), in a quadrilingual book for learning Arabic that displays certain features common to modern Pontic in the Greek passages, among which this type of imperative (HENRICH 1990: 365),¹²⁴ as well as in a 17th-c. collection of folk songs copied in Athos, in Kallioupolitis's metaphrasis of the *New Testament* and in *Alexander and Semiramis* (Constantinopolitan scribe). The verb στρέφω (imp. pass. στράφου rather than στρέψου) seems to be the only verb with such an imperative to have had a more widespread geographical distribution:

ἔλα κάγου, λυγερέ, στὸν πόθον Του SULT. WALAD, *Poem I* 21

καὶ εὐχαρίστου τῆς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 218.6; ἐλεμονήθου με *ibid.* 254.4; ἐννοιάστου

ibid. 480.33; διασώθου *ibid.* 496.19; ἀναγκάστου νὰ στραφῇς *ibid.* 552.23; βλεπήθου *ibid.*

554.19

κοιμήθου ἀμέριμνα VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 74.10–11; στάθου με καλήν καρδίαν *ibid.* 258.9

ἀθθυμήθου τῆς πτωχειᾶς *Fior* 102.38; ἐννοιάστου *ibid.* 102.40

ὑποδηματῶθου (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 101.4d); θερμάνθου

ἐν πυρί (*ibid.* 104.1d); ἐπαναπαύτου κατήμενος (*ibid.* 139.4d)

¹²⁴For such forms in modern Pontic see OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 266; in modern Cypriot CHATZIOANNOU 1999: 61 ff. and SYMEONIDIS 2006: 225 ff.; in Cappadocian varieties DAWKINS 1916: 146 and 190.

ντύθου λεμοσύνην *Cypr. Canz.* 37.5; χρειάστου *ibid.* 37.6; στάθου *ibid.* 45.1; λυπήθου *ibid.*

77.13; πιντώθου *ibid.* 77.29

ἐννοιάστου καλὰ *Fior* 75.34

βλεπήθου με ὅλες τὲς βλέπησες *Fior Suppl.* 273.18; ἀπολογήθου *ibid.* 276.9

χάρου ἢ βασιλεία σου ἀπόψα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 786

ἄγριον πουλί, μερώθου μου *Dimotika Ivir.* X.1

βλεπήθου, Κύπρος, κι ἔρχεται *Thrinios Kypr.* 52; λυπήθου *ibid.* 138

καὶ ἀναστάθου ἀπὸ τούς νεκρούς *KALLIOY.*, *Eph.* 5.14

στράφου, καλὲ νεώτερε *Dig.* E 991

στράφου καὶ μὴ αἰσχύνου *Pol. Tr.* 3528 app. crit. (B)

στράφου εἰς τὸ παλάτι σου *Hist. Imp. Iib* 2480–1

στράφου, αὐθέντη εὐγενή *Achil.* O 472

στράφου εἰς τὸ σεντουκάκιν *DELLAP.*, *Erot. apokr.* 2104

οἱ καβαλλάριδες ἐνέψαν του: στράφου! *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* 548.25

ἄμε καὶ στράφου *Fior* 101.13

στράφου σ' ἐκεῖνο το κλαδί *CHORTATSI.*, *Panor.* III.91; στράφου σ' ἐμὲ λυπητερὰ *id.*, *Erof.*

III.235

στράφου νὰ δεῖς τὸ Χουσαῖν *BOUNIALIS M.*, *Diig. Pol.* 216.10

στράφου κ' ἐσύ *KORNAOS, Erot.* II.441

A shift of the stress to the ultimate is very rare and perhaps the result of confusion with the thematic aorist:¹²⁵ λοιπὸν στραφοῦ *Pol. Tr.* 1056 app. crit. (ABX); στραφοῦ καὶ μὴ αἰσχύνει *ibid.* 3528 app. crit. (V).

Sg.	2	-σου

The combination of the perfective active stem consonant /s/ and ending -ου eventually led to a reanalysis of the morpheme as a passive imperative ending -σου. This new ending could then be used for verbs with non-sigmatic aorist active stems (e.g. δέρνω and σύρ(ν)ω/σέρνω), and even for deponent verbs, which did not have an active perfective stem at all (e.g. ἀποκρίνομαι, κοιμοῦμαι, στέκομαι and the oxytone alternative passive perfective stem of κρύπτω, κρυβήθ-). In these cases the ending -σου is added to the *passive* perfective stem, whereby the passive marker <θ> of the stem is deleted before /s/, e.g. σύρ(ν)ω/σέρνω: συρθ-σου > σύρσου, στέκομαι: σταθ-σου > στάσου, ἀποκρίνομαι: ἀποκριθ-σου > ἀποκρίσου, κοιμοῦμαι: κοιμηθ-σου > κοιμήσου. As becomes clear from the examples below, the imperatives of deponent verbs (e.g. ἀποκρίσου, θυμήσου, στάσου and φοβήσου) have a wide geographical distribution, whereas σύρσου and δάρσου have only been found in texts from Crete:

στάσου κατὰ ἀνατολὰς *Pol. Tr.* 561 app. crit. (V); λοιπὸν καὶ ἀποκρίσου με *ibid.* 9931

κύρκα, φοβήσου τὸν Θεὸν *Dig.* E 1549

κρυβήσου μοναχός σου *Liv.* E 2087

κοιμήσου, τέκνον μου καλὸν *Achil.* L 224

στάσου, καράβι, νὰ χαρῆς *Anak. Konst.* 16

ἀάλησε κι ἀποκρίσου *PIKAT.*, *Rima thrin.* 456

¹²⁵ The same form appears in a 10th-c. text transmitted in a 15th-c. ms: στραφοῦ, δίκαιε Ἰωάννη *Hippiatr.* 297.11 (eds. Oder/Hoppe, vol. II).

ἐνθυμήσου *Diig. Alex.* F 298.6 (Lolos); φοβήσου τὸν θεόν *ibid.* 186.23–4 (Konstantinopulos)
 λυπήσου μας *DAM. SToud., This., Logos* 30, Z4r.24–5 (1561)
 στάσου στην Καλλιπολι (1565, Prousa, *PATRINELIS* 1988/89: 1, 48.25)
 στάσου στὸ Μεστόν Βιβάρι (1572, Peloponnese, *VEIS* 1956: 449.16)
 κι' ἀφιδάρεψου μού τα *CHORTATSI, Katz.* III.13; τσι' δούλεψες θυμήσου *id., Erof.* IV.354
 δάκρυσε καὶ λυπήσου *ΜΑΤΤΗΑΙΟΣ MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2457
 στάσου ἥσυχος *Bertoldos* 64.4
 κρυβήσου *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §7.107; στάσου μὲ φόβον Θεοῦ *ibid.* III §23.7
 θυμήσου καὶ ξμένα (1644, Chios, *PAPADOPOULOS* 1987: 24.11)
 στάσου παρέκει *Don Kis.* 45.14; αποκρίσου με εἰς αὐτό *ibid.* 130.22
 σύρσου ἀπὸ δῶ *CHORTATSI, Katz.* I.243
 σύρσου, καὶ μὲ τὴ ράχη πήγαινε ὀπίσω *Stathis* II.127
 σύρσου παρέκει λίγον *Pist. voskos* III 6.404
 ὀπίσω σύρσου *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* V.371
 κλάψε καὶ δάρσου, Ρέθεμνος *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 195.13; Εὐρώπη, δάρσου σήμερο *ibid.*
 549.20 (probably modelled on γδέρνω, ἔγδαρσά)
 σύρσου ἀπὸ ῥεῖ *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.676

The only verb that deviates from this formation is ἐγείρω, which used to lack a separate perfective stem. From the moment it developed a new imperfective stem γερν- (see 2.4), forms with -γερν- tended to be interpreted as perfective, and thus what was originally the present imperative (ἐγείρου) came to be used for the aorist:

egiru / ἐγείρου (14th c., Yemen, *GOLDEN* 2000: 63.20) (translated as “rise, stand up!”)
 ἐγείρου, κοράσιον μου *Dig.* E 911
 ἐγείρου ἀπὸ τὴν γῆν *Liv.* V 446
 ἐγείρου διασυντόμως *Flor.* L 514
 δέσποινά μου, ἐγείρου *Achil.* N 1234 (cf. ἐγέρνεται *ibid.* 1065)
 γείρ' ἀπ' ἀτοῦ, μεθύστακα! *CHORTATSI, Katz.* III.529
 γείρου *Thysia Avr.* 1

Addition of final /n/ is very rare and probably does not represent a true “nasal”, but rather indicates that the following voiceless stop /t/ was pronounced as voiced /d/ (see I, 3.8.3.2 for details): λυπήσουν τὴν πτωχὴν τὴν ἀδελφὴν σου (1615, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 6, 175.57).

Sg.	2	-Ø

Shortened forms exist of certain verbs, such as σηκώνω and στέκομαι.¹²⁶ The form σήκω can be used intransitively as well as transitively (cf. the forms σήκου, below, and σήκα, 4.5.2.3).¹²⁷

¹²⁶ There appears to have been a Late Antique low-register form στᾶ for στῆθι (< ἵστημι), recorded in Photios, quoting Olympiodoros (5th c. AD): «στᾶ, στᾶ, οὐ λούει», and also to be found in Leontios of Naples: εἶπεν ὁ κύρις σου· ‘στά’ Leontios of Naples, *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool* 84.24 (7th c.). Choroiboskos mentions the same form when treating the much more common Koine form ἀνάστα (for ἀνάστηθι). Given the scarcity of older evidence, it cannot be established with certainty whether the LMedG form is a continuation of the Late Antique form, or an innovative shortened form of στάσου. The form στά also appears in varieties of modern Pontic (*ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ* 1958: 267) and Cappadocian (*DAWKINS* 1916: 146).

¹²⁷ Transitive use of σήκω can for instance also be found in the Zakynthian Dimitrios Gouzelis’s comedy *O Chasis* (σήκω τὸ κεφαλάκι σου I.131), the final version of which dates from 1795 (ed. Z. Synodinos, Athens 1997), as well as in colloquial MG.

ista / ιστά (14th c., Yemen, GOLDEN 2000: 76.13) (with prothetic /i/ because most Semitic languages do not permit word-initial consonant clusters)¹²⁸

στά, μή φοβᾶσαι *Liv.* E 646

στά, μή ὀλιγωρῆς *Liv.* V 3441 and *Liv.* S 561 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

καὶ στά εἰς προσευχήν (15th c. [ms], Unknown, DELATTE 1927: Suppl., 585.12)

στάθου, κυρά μου, στά νά σέ βιγλίσω *Cypr. Canz.* 45.1

στά ὀλίγον *Fior* 116.29

στά, κόρη μου *Ptochol.* P 238

σήκω ἀπὸ τὸν ὕπνο *Liv.* V 1167

σήκω, υἱέ μου *Peri xen.* 36 app. crit. (A)

σήκω, σύρε στάσου *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 20, τ2v.13–14 (1561)

σήκω, πατέρα *Diig. Alex.* F 136.11 (Lolos)

σήκωσε vel σήκω ... τὴν τράπεζαν *ROMANOS, Grammar* 140.17–18 (transitive)

σήκω *GERMANO, Grammar* 82.15

σήκω ἀπάνου *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Louk.* 6.8; σήκω το κρεβάτι σου καὶ περιπάτει *ibid.*

Ioann. 5.12 (transitive)

σήκω, γλυκύτατό μου φῶς *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1757

σήκω, παπαῖ Νεόφυτε *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 259

In the case of σηκώνω, the new ending /o/ of the shortened form may be replaced with the regular imperative ending /u/:

κυρά μου σήκου στόχας' τον *Achil.* L 843; σήκου νά τὸν ἀποδεκτοῦμεν *ibid.* 1089

σήκου καὶ ζήτησόν το (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 88.4d)

σήκου ἕναν κόρπον τὰ μνημόσυνα *Pist. kekoim.* 527–8 (transitive)

Sg.	2	-ητι ὁ -ηθι

The AG ending -ητι (< -ηθι with progressive dissimilation when the passive stem ends in -θ) gradually fell into disuse from the Koine onwards and came to be replaced by the endings -ου (see above) and -ησε (see below). Residual forms in -ητι can still be found in various texts, especially fossilized forms that belong to the religious/ecclesiastical tradition, such as μνήσθητι (< μιμνήσκω), ἰλάσθητι (< ἰλάσκομαι), πείσθητι (< πείθω), σπλαχνίσθητι (< σπλαγχνίζω), and πληροφορήθητι (< πληροφορῶ):

πείσθητι οὖν *Dig.* G IV.733; φάνηθι ἐκ τῶν ἔργων *ibid.* VI.196; ἦλιε, ζοφώθητι ... | σελήνη, μελανώθητι *ibid.* VIII.216–17

παύθητι τῆς ὀργῆς σου *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 235; ψυχὴ μου, παρακλήθητι *ibid.* 300

γοργὸν αὐτὸ ἐπιλήσθητι *Spaneas Va* 384 (“new” formation for ἐπιλάθου)

καὶ πείσθητι γεροντικοῖς καὶ πατρικοῖς σου λόγοις *Ptoch. III* 72

αἰσχύνθητι, ἐντρέπηθι *Diig. tetr.* 264 app. crit. (CLA)

τοῦτο πληροφορήθητι *Pol. Tr.* 373; ἐσὺ κοιμήθητι *ibid.* 473

ιδού καὶ μνήσθητι ἐμοῦ *Diig. Apoll.* 148

μνήσθητι [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 263

¹²⁸ Example taken from the *Rasūlid Hexaglot*, a 14th-c. Arabic–Persian–Turkic–Greek–Armenian–Mongol glossary in Arabic script.

καὶ κλίθητι πρὸς πόθον *Achil.* N 970

πληροφορήθητι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ *Log. parig.* O 166 (Politi); ἀδελφέ, ἀποκρίθητι *ibid.* 628 (interestingly, the earlier ms L reads: πληροφορήθηκε and ἀποκρίθηκε; see below)

κρημνίσθητι *Spanos* D 24

μνήσθητί μου, Κύριε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 383.42

ἀποκρίθητί μοι *Vios Aisop.* K 198.15

σπλαχνίσθητί τους *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ.*, *Pali* 9986; ἰλάσθητι, Μακρόθυμε *ibid.* 9989

Sg.	2	-ησε(ν)

The AG ending -ηθι (see above) was reformed into a more familiar-looking -ησε by analogy with the active: sg. δέσε, pl. δέσετε : sg. δέθητι, pl. δέθητε > sg. δέθησε (*CHATZIDAKIS* 1905/07: A 81, fn. 1). The spelling with <αι> for <ε> in the last syllable in some manuscripts and modern editions, as if they were innovative aorist middle imperatives, is unjustified. It cannot be established with certainty when forms in -ησε first appeared, but they were clearly well established by the beginning of the LMedG period and can also be found in certain mixed- and higher-register texts, such as *Kallimachos* and the 14th-c. *Metaphrasis* of the *Alexiad*.¹²⁹ The oldest example found so far is κρυβήθηκε in Symeon the New Theologian, *Poem 21*, v. 418 app. crit. (D) (ed. Koder) (10th/11th c. original; the reading is taken from the oldest ms, Marc. gr. 494, which dates from the 13th c.). Forms in -ησε have been found in texts from northern areas and the mainland, the Peloponnese being the southernmost area where they appear to have been in use. They gradually fell into disuse in favour of forms in -ου (see above) during the 15th/16th c., everywhere but in certain northern areas: see the examples from Kallioupolitis (Thrace) and the grammar of Romanos Nikiforou (Thessaloniki), for which see also *Liosis* 2017: 562.¹³⁰

ψυχή, περισωρεύθῃσαι *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 189

μᾶλλον δὲ στερεώθῃσαι *Spaneas* Va 296; αὐτὸ πληροφορήθῃσαι *ibid.* 497

πληροφορήθηκε ἀπ' ἐμέν *Log. parig.* L 164; χάρησε ἀπὲ τῶρα *ibid.* 405

συγκλίθηκε *Liv.* E 197; πληροφορέθηκε *ibid.* 213; παρηγορήθησέ μας *ibid.* 2961

πληροφορήθησέ το *Pol. Tr.* 219 app. crit. (AEVX), 572 app. crit. (all mss), 1471, 12736 and 12863; καὶ στάθηκε *ibid.* 561 app. crit. (E)

μίαν ἡμέραν στάθηκε *Peri xen.* 319

ἐγνωρίσθηκε μετ' ἐμᾶς (15th c., Athos?, *VASMER* 1922: 273); νίφθηκε (*ibid.* 1218); ἐνδύθηκε (*ibid.* 2453)

κρύβησαι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 492

στράφησε ὁμπρὸς δουμάκι *Deft. Par.* 366

αφηκρίστησέ μου *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 94.6

συλλογίσθηκε *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 752

καὶ θάλασσα βρυχήσθηκε ὡς τὴν συμφορὰν τῆς Πόλης *Thrinos Konst.* (Zoras) 10

γράφησε *ROMANOS, Grammar* 27.15; ἀγαπήθηκε *ibid.* 42.16; ἀποκρύφθηκε vel ἀποκρύψου *ibid.* 89.24

προσευχήθηκε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 6.6; σιώπα' ἀποστομώθηκε *ibid.* Mark. 4.39

ρίχθηκε εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν *ibid.* 11.23

¹²⁹πραγματεύθῃσαι τὴν σωτηρίαν σας *Metaphr. Alexiad* 394.5–6.

¹³⁰Forms in -ησε survive in modern Macedonia, see e.g. *Tsopanakis* 1953: 291–2 for the dialect of Siatista.

Addition of final /n/ is very rare: δέθησεν *Liv.* E 199.

Plural

Pl.	2	-ητε

AG proparoxytone 2 pl. forms in -ητε are residual by the beginning of the period covered by this Grammar, as they had been replaced by paroxytone subjunctive forms (see below). They can occasionally be found, often alongside paroxytone forms:

στράφητε *Dig.* G VI.638; αἱ τῶν ἀστέρων ἄπασαι σβέσθητε φρυκτωρία *ibid.* VIII.218
 ἄμαρτωλοί, πορεύθητε *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 486
 δεῦτε σμίχθητε σήμερον *Log. parig.* L 14
 ἀθροίσθητε καὶ περισυσταθῆτε *Dig.* A 2701
 τοῦτον φοβήθητε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 12.5

Pl.	2	-ῆτε(ν)/-εῖτε(ν) -ῆτεν/-εῖτεν -ήτενε/-είτενε

The 2 pl. aorist passive imperative was morphologically identical to 2 pl. aorist passive subjunctive but for the stress, the former being proparoxytone and the latter paroxytone. Since the subjunctive was used in a hortative sense very close in meaning to the imperative (JANNARIS 1897: 206), paroxytone forms gradually replaced the original proparoxytone ones. A similar process of the imperative being replaced by the subjunctive can be seen in the imperative of the active thematic aorist, which not only adapts its stress pattern to the subjunctive, but changes ending as well (e.g. ἴδετε > ἰδῆτε), as well as in prohibitions: μή + present imperative was replaced by μή + present subjunctive in the first centuries AD (JANNARIS 1897: 565–6). Some modern editors prefer to spell the subjunctive/imperative ending /ite/ with <ει>, others with <η>; this difference is purely graphematic.

βλεπηθῆτε καλὰ *Assizes* B 309.24
 βαλθῆτε εἰς τὸ στρέμμα σας *Pol. Tr.* 1440; τριγύρου του σταθεῖτε *ibid.* 9741
 σμιγεῖτε μετ' ἐμένα *Log. parig.* O 14 (Politi)
 σύντομα σηκωθῆτε *Liv.* E 2958
 ἀκροσταθεῖτε *SACHLIKIS, Vouli pol.* 96
 καλὰ συντροφευτεῖτε *Kakop.* 186
 δεκτεῖτε καὶ ἐμένα τὸν λόγον μου *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 350.20
 ὦ φίλοι, σταθεῖτε *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 52.9–10
 γερθῆτε γλήγορα ἀπὸ δῶ *Chortatsis, Erof.* IV.428
 μαζωκτεῖτε *Thysia Avr.* 195; ξυπνᾶτε, σηκωθεῖτε *ibid.* 237
 ἀσηκωθῆτε τώρα *Bertoldos* 19.8
 στοχαστεῖτε τὰ πουλία *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 6.26; ἀναπαυθεῖτε ὀλίγον *ibid.* Mark. 6.31; φοβηθεῖτε ἐκείνον *ibid.* Louk. 12.5
 αὐτὰ να τα ἀφήσετε, συλλογισθεῖτε ἄλλον *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 1524; μεγάλως ταρακτεῖτε *ibid.* 5369
 ἀφουκρασθῆτε τὸ λοιπὸ *ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, Erot.* I.17; καὶ φυλαχτῆτε *ibid.* I.514
 στοχασθεῖτε καὶ τας πληγὰς του *VAROUCHAS, Logoι* 468.36

Addition of final /n/ is a Chiot feature: ἐμένα λυπηθῆτεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 865; ἐλεημονηθῆτεν *ibid.* 866; δένδρα, ξερριζωθῆτεν | ... καὶ κάμποι λυπηθῆτεν *ibid.* 3053–4.

Pl.	2	-τε

Shortened forms of 2 sg. may lead to new 2 pl. formations, as with the verb σηκώνω, which has a shortened 2 sg. form σήκω (see above); for comparable forms cf. 2 sg. ἄμε, 2 pl. ἄμετε, for which see 2.4.

ἔκ το στρώμα σας σηκώτε ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 227.12 (intrans.)

σηκώτε ἀπάνω *Bertoldos* 41.36 (intrans.)

σηκώτε καὶ μὴν φοβάσθε ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 17.7 (intrans.); σηκῶτε τὴν πέτραν
ibid. Ioann. 11.38 (trans.)

σηκώσετε vel σηκῶτε τὴν τράπεζαν ROMANOS, *Grammar* 140.17–18 (trans.)

4.5.2.3 /a/ Imperatives

Sg.	2	-α
Pl.	2	-ᾶτε

Alternative /a/-endings are used for the aorist active imperative of prefixed derivatives of βαίνω and certain other verbs (πίνω, σύρ(ν)ω/σέρνω, σηκώνω), and have even been found with certain passive imperatives (of στρέφω and σηκώνω). Note that verbs that allow for the /a/-ending (with the exception of the regionally attested rare /a/-form of πίνω) belong to the same semantic field of verbs of motion: “go!”, “come!”, “run!” “stay!”, “turn around!”, and may therefore have been modelled on common aorist imperatives in -α such as that of ἐλάω (ἐλα) and prefixed forms of βαίνω (ἔμβα, κατάβα), all of which are Ancient (see LSJ s.v. ἐλαύνω and βαίνω). Another verb that belongs to the same semantic field of verbs of motion, namely ὑπάγω, developed a shortened form ὕπα (< ὕπαγε, which had replaced aor. ὑπάγαγε long before the period covered by this Grammar; see 2.4), in the EMedG period.¹³¹

4.5.2.3.1 Active Voice

Forms in -α are used for the aorist active imperative of compounds of the verb βαίνω (e.g. ἔκβα/ἔβγα, ἔμπα, σέβα, ἀνέβα, κατέβα), of ὑπάγω and of ἔρχομαι, whose alternative ἐλα is much more common than the “regular” forms in /e/ (see 4.5.2.4). The form ἐλα originally derived from ἐλαύνω/ελάω, but attached itself to the verb ἔρχομαι before the period covered by this Grammar.¹³² Rare examples of other verbs have been found in a 15th-c. tetralingual method for learning Arabic, which has certain features that can also be found

¹³¹ See e.g. ὕπα, μάθε τὴν κατάστασιν, ὁ Μαυρίκης οὐκ ἀπέθανεν in an early 7th-c. acclamation on Phokas (in Theofylaktos); ὕπα καλῶς, γεράκιν μου in an 11th-c. acclamation on Alexios Komnenos (in Anna Komnene) (see MAAS 1912: 35–6).

¹³² Interesting in this respect is the entry in Hesychius, which illustrates the shift in meaning (at least among the Spartans): ἐλα ... Λάκωνες. βάδιζε. λέγε Hesychius, *Lex.*, E 1835 (5th/6th c.).

in modern Pontic¹³³ and in two magical texts of unknown provenance, of the verbs πίνω, σύρ(ν)ω/σέρνω and a shortened form of σηκώνω: σήκα. The form σήκα is likely to be passive in principle, but to have come to be used with transitive (active) meaning, just like other shortened forms of this verb (cf. σήκω and σήκου above):

Singular

- κατέβα κύρι σύ<ν>τεκνε (11th c., Mani, DRANDAKIS 1972/73: 2, 666.2–3)
 διάβα ὡς τὸ Πουλίτισιν *Ptoch.* IV 120
 ἔβγα ἀπ' ἐδῶ, λυσσόγερε *Dig.* E 1519
 ἔμπα εἰς πόλεμον *Pol. Tr.* 4038
 ἔκβα ἀπὸ τὴν μέσην *Diig. tetr.* 353 app. crit. (VCA)
 γύρου ἀνέβα, κατέβα *Ptochol.* P 234
 εἰς τὴν ἰστιὰν ἔμπα γοργό FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 58
 ἔβγα, ἄγωμε εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Τουρκίας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 158.33–4
 ἔβγα ἰδές με *Love poems* V 384
 ἀνάβα τῷ δώματι, κατάβα (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 102.3d)
 σέβα εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ *Diig. Alex.* K 347.21–2
 Λάζαρε, ἔβγα ἔξω DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 5, ε8v.19 (1561)
 διάβα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 276
 ἀνήβα GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. ascendere*; κατήβα vel κατέβα *ibid. s.v. descendere*
 ἔβγα καὶ σύρα (16th/17th c. [ms], Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 65.7; and *ibid.* 65.15–16)
 σέβα εἰς τὸ σπίτιν σου PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.106
- ἔλα ἀπόψε κοντά μου SULT. WALAD, *Poem* IV 1β
 ἔλα καλέ μου RUMI, *Poem* II 5; ἔμπα ἔσω, ἔλα ᾽δῶ *ibid.* 6
 ἔλα ἐμπρός *Pol. Tr.* 511
 ἔλα πρὸς ἐμέ [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 1831
 ἔλα, ψυχὴ μου, στράφου DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 130
 θέλεις ἄμε, θέλεις ἔλα *Fior* 102.35
 ἔλα καὶ σέβα *Diig. Alex.* F 126.6 (Lolos)
 ἔλα καὶ ἐπαρέ με NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 18.3
 ἔλα μοῦ τ' ἀγοράσης! CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.92
 ἔλα, γίνου Τοῦρκος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §4.10
 ἔλα νὰ πᾶμε στοῦ παπαῖ (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 745.2)
- ὔπα, ἄς ἀνασάνωμεν *Liv.* V 2377
 ὔπα καλῶς *Liv.* α 3202
 ὔπα, σηκώσου FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 377
- φάγε, πία (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 101.4d); σήκα τοῦτο τὸ
 καλαμάριν (*ibid.* 190.1d)
 σήκα τὸν λαόν σου (app. crit.) (16th c., Unknown, VASSILIEV 1893: 334.5)

Plural

- ἀπάνω εἰς τὰ τειχεὰ τῆς πόρτας ἀνεβᾶτε *Chron. Mor.* H 8310
 ἔβγατε εἰς τὰ φουσάτα μου *Dig.* E 63
 ἔβγατε ἀπὸ τὸ ὅσπίτιν μου *Spaneas* Z 505
 ἐκβάτε ἀπὸ τὴν μέσην μας *Diig. tetr.* 572 app. crit. (CA)
 καὶ ἀφότου γνωρισθῆτε, ᾽σεβάτε με τὴν κόρην *Liv.* α 3108 app. crit. (P)

¹³³ For Pontic elements in this text see HENRICH 1998a; for these forms in modern Pontic, e.g. πία and σκότα (<σκοτώνω>), see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1958: 264–5.

διαβάτε οὖν καὶ σεῖς μ' αὐτόν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* V.81
κατεβᾶτε *Pent. Gen.* 42.2
ἐβγάτε *Diig. Alex.* E 35.5 (Konstantinopulos)
ἐβγάτε νὰ ἰδῆτε SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 426.8
κι ἀπέκει ἔξω ἐβγάτε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 165.13
σεβᾶτε εἰς τὴν ντέντα μου [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P II 324.19
ἐσεῖς ἀνεβᾶτε εἰς τὴν εορτὴν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 7.8

ἐλᾶτε μετ' ἐμένα *Log. parig.* L 14
ἐλᾶτε *Pol. Tr.* 3527
ἐλᾶτε ὡς παραστικάμενοι (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.11)
ἐλᾶτε νὰ μοῦ τὸ εἰπέτε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 339.8–9
ἐλᾶτε, μὴν ἀργεῖτε *Thysia Avr.* 238
ἐλᾶτε καὶ σεῖς ξύλα, πέτρες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.67

ὕπᾶτε εἰς τὴν τέντα μου *Dig.* E 169
ἀδελφία μου, ὕπᾶτε εἰς τοὺς γονιούς σας *Achil.* O 588
ὕπᾶτε καὶ σφαλίσετε DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinis* 497
ὕπᾶτε, θάψετε τὴν SACHLIKIS, *Katalogi* 97

Addition of final /n/ occurs in texts from Chios and the Heptanese: ἐξεβγάτεν *Diig. Alex.* F 34.8 (Konstantinopulos); ἐλᾶτεν νὰ γενῆτεν KONDAR., *Paides* 12; κατηβᾶτεν ἀφ' τᾶλογα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2567; ἄ θέλετεν ἐλᾶτεν *ibid.* 2568.

A proparoxytone form has been found in a theatrical play from Chios: ἤβγατεν ὅλοι ὀξω KONDAR., *Paides* 8.

For the alternative plural form ἐλάστε/ἐλάστεν(ε) see 2.4.

4.5.2.3.2 *Passive Voice*

For the aorist passive the ending -α occurs in a shortened form of σηκώνω (cf. σήκω and σήκου above) in one ms of *Florios*. This ending -α has also been found with the verb στρέφομαι, attached to the aorist passive stem, in two mss of the *War of Troy* and in Trivolis: στράφα, μηδὲν αἰσχύνου *Pol. Tr.* 3528 app. crit. (AX); πάλε στράφα εἰς ἐμένα *ibid.* 7839 app. crit. (X); Φλώριε, σήκα, φίλησε τὰ κόκκινά μας χεῖλη *Florios* 839 app. crit. (V); καὶ παραμπρὸ στράφα δεξιὰ TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 221.

A plural in -ᾶτε has been found only of the verb στρέφω: στραφᾶτε ὀπίσω in *Chron. Mor.* H 5179; στραφᾶτε, εἰπέτε του ἀπὸ ἐμᾶς *ibid.* 5189; κατὰ Λατίνους στραφᾶτε ms Vat. gr. 977, f.52v, marginal note.¹³⁴

An extreme case of analogical formation can be observed where the deictic particle νὰ (“here is ...”, “look ...”) is concerned, of which a plural form νάτε (see THUMB 1912: 155; DAWKINS 1932: II 256) can be found in several texts.¹³⁵ It has even been found with final /n/, in a text from Chios:

¹³⁴ Ms Vat. gr. 977 is an 11th/12th-c. ms of Theophylaktos Simokattes's *Historiae*. A facsimile of f.52v is offered by NĀSTUREL 1956, pl. I. Năsturel read “στραφεῦτε”, but has been corrected by V. Laurent in a bibliographical note in *BZ* 50 (1957), 208 (“Sur la pl. I, en marge, lire: κατὰ Λατίνους στραφᾶτε et non κατὰ λατίνον στραφεῦτε (p. 183)”). According to NĀSTUREL 1956: 183, the marginal note dates to the 14th/15th c.

¹³⁵ Νάτε forms a striking parallel to the AG 2 pl. imperative δεῦτε, formed from the adverb δεῦρο. The exact reverse seems to have occurred with the adverb ἐδάρτε (< ἔδε ἄρτι) (“now”, “look!”), which developed a singular form ἐδάρε.

καὶ νάτε τοῦτα τὰ ἄλογα, καβαλικεύσετέ τα *Liv.* E 2974
 ἀνὲν καὶ μὲν δὲν μοῦ πιστεύετε, νάτε τὸ χαρτὶν τοῦτον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 232.11
 νάτε τὴν θυγατέραν μου *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 224.39
 νάτεν τους *KONDAR., Paides* 222
 καὶ λέγει ντων: νάτε! ἐτούτη εἶναι ἡ σερμαγιά μας (1695, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 11, 26.12–13)

4.5.2.4 Verbs with Barytone and Oxytone Forms

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, verbs with thematic aorists (e.g. βάλλω, εὐρίσκω, λέγω, μανθάνω/μαθαίνω, ὁράω/βλέπω, πίνω, φεύγω) had 2 sg. in -ε and 2 pl. in -ετε since Antiquity, and they continue to do so throughout the period under review. Some of these verbs, and notably βλέπω, εὐρίσκω and λέγω, show variation in the position of the stress (e.g. ἴδε and ἰδέ), the emergence of monosyllabic forms through the loss of the first unstressed /i/ (e.g. εἰπέ > πέ), and innovation in the endings themselves, namely an added 2 sg. marker /s/ to oxytone forms (e.g. ἰδές), as well as the adoption of the indicative/subjunctive ending εἴτε/-ῆτε for the plural. By analogy with these verbs βαίνω, which in AG had had an athematic aorist (βῆθι, βῆτε) as well as alternative forms in -α (2 sg.) and -ατε (2 pl.) in prefixed forms (for which see 4.5.2.3), developed a 2 sg. imperative in /e/ towards the very end of the EMG period or perhaps shortly after. For these imperatives and an overview of bibliography see also *KATSOUDA* 2002.

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	2	-ε -έ	-ές	
Pl.	2	-ετε -έτε -εἴτε/-ῆτε	-ετεν -έτενε -εἴτεν/-ῆτεν -εἴτενε/-ῆτενε	-ατε -έτεν

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-ε

The inherited ending -ε of thematic aorists remains in use throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. Since most verbs in this category have monosyllabic stems, the imperative forms are paroxytone, unless the verb is prefixed with a preposition, in which case the stress may shift to the antepenultimate. Most of these verbs also have oxytone forms (see below), which are usually more common than the paroxytone forms. An exception are the verbs λαμβάνω/λαβαίνω and μανθάνω/μαθαίνω, for which paroxytone forms (μάθε, λάβε) are far more common than oxytone ones. The verb φεύγω seems to avoid oxytone forms

altogether. For *ἔρχομαι* the imperative *ἔλα* (see 4.5.2.3) is much more common than the thematic one (*ἔλθε*).

ἴδε ξμνοστον νέον *Dig. G IV.282*
 ἀλλ' ἴδε τὴν ἀσύγκριτον τοῦ θεανθρώπου κρίσιν *Ptoch. III 258*
 ἔλθε μετὰ μέ *Chron. Mor. H 5426*
 ἐσὺ δὲ φύγε ἀπ' ἐδῶ *Diig. tetr. 825*
 καὶ τοιοῦτον εὔρε *Liv. α 2019*
 φάγε, πῖε *Spanos A 262*
 ἔπαρε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἴδε τόπον ἔρημον *Paroim. K 107*
 ὕπαγε πρὸς τὴν πόρτα καὶ ἴδε *Vios Aisop. K 182.13*
 πῖε ἀπ' αὐτόνο MOREZINOS, *Klini 19.26*
 ἴδε κεφάλια ὅπου κρέμονται *Diig. Alex. Sem. B 138*
 πῖε GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. bevere*; ξανάπαρε *ibid. s.v. rihavere*
 εὔρε μεγάλα ροδάκινα LANDOS, *Geopon. 151.24*
 ἄγωμε στοῇ κερα-Μηλιᾶς, εὔρε τη FOSKOLOS, *Fort. V.204*
 κ' ἔλα τὴν νύκτα, εὔρε μας PETRITSIS, *Dig. O 647*
 γύρεψε κ' εὔρε γιατρικὸ KORNAROS, *Erot. I.1274*
 ἐδάρτε, μάθε γράμματα καὶ θάρρει νὰ προκόψης GLYKAS, *Stichoi 204*
 δέξου καὶ λάβε *Dig. E 118*
 καὶ μάθε τὰ λυπούμαι *Achil. L 603*
 καὶ τοιοῦτον εὔρε καὶ τὸν νοῦν, μάθε, τὸν ἰδικόν μου *Liv. α 2019*
 λάβε, κύριε *Assizes A 61.25*
 μάθε τὸ τί μ' ἐποῖκε SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis 79*
 εἶμαι, μάθε, δαίμων DELLAP., *Erot. apokr. 2101*

In verbs deriving from simple or prefixed forms of AG βάλλω deletion of the final /e/ may occur, typically before clitic pronouns:

ἐβγαρ' μου τὴν κούρασαν μου VOUSTR., *Chron. A 220.14*¹³⁶
 βάρ' της βλεπατόρους *Fior 149.12*
 βάρ' το εἰς τὸ λαμπρόν καὶ εὐθύς ἐβγαρ' το καὶ βάρ' ὅς τὸ κατώφλιον (16th/17th c. [ms], Cyprus, DELATTE 1927: [1], 82.17–18)
 ὦ θάνατε, ἔβγαλ' με, παρακαλῶ σε, ἀπὸ τόσα βάσανα *Bertoldin. 142.14–15*
 ἔπειτα βάλ' τα καὶ τηγάνισέ τα με λάδι LANDOS, *Geopon. 235.11*
 ἀπόβγαλ' τον νὰ πηαίνη KORNAROS, *Erot. III.936*
 λάβε τα καὶ βάλ' τα ὅλα (1715, Nauplion, LIATA 1975: 7, 125.31)

A shift of the stress to the antepenultimate occurs when the disyllabic verb forms are prefixed with a preposition:

ἀλλὰ τάχιον ἄπελθε *Dig. G VI.434*
 κατάμαθε τὰ κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου *Flor. L 201*
 παράλαβε, ὦ δέσποτα, τὸ πρῶτον σου κοντάριν *Achil. N 1588*
 καὶ ἔμβαλε τὴν κόρην σου εἰς τὰ παλάτια ταῦτα *Dig. A 58*
 καὶ τὸ λαῶν κατάλαβε DELLAP., *Erot. apokr. 1388*
 πρῶτιδε ἡ βασιλεία σου (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 259.84.14)

¹³⁶The change of /l/ to /r/ in these apocopated forms of βάλλω (before clitic pronouns) is a feature of Cypriot, for which see I, 3.8.6.2.

πρόβαλε, κορασίδα μου CHORTATIS, *Katz*. I.13
 κατάπιε πρώτον αὐτὲς τὲς πύρολες Bertoldin. 150.5
 ξανάβαλε τὸν σπόγγον μέσα LANDOS, *Geopon*. 255.10

A shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate may occur in the apocopated forms of proparoxytone imperatives: κὶ ἀποκεῖς ἐβγάλ' το ὄξω καὶ γιομίσ' το πόλβερη (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 64.32–3).

Sg.	2	-έ ἰ -ές

In the disyllabic forms a shift of the stress to the ultimate can for certain verbs already be found in AG. (VENDRYES (1938: 125) mentions the existence of oxytone forms εἰπέ, ἐλθέ, εὐρέ, ἰδέ and λαβέ. Byzantine grammarians and lexicographers usually prescribe the oxytone forms for at least ἔρχομαι, εὐρίσκω and λέγω. Isolated instances of βαλέ for βάλε can be found in EMedG texts such as Cyril of Alexandria and the *Life of St Theodore of Sykeon*.)¹³⁷ Oxytone forms of most of these verbs remain in use throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, and are especially common with the verbs βλέπω and λέγω, and to a lesser extent εὐρίσκω, because the change in stress differentiates the imperatives (ἴδε, εἴπε, εὔρε) from the homophonous 3 sg. aorist indicative forms (εἶδε, εἴπε, εὔρε):

ἐλθὲ μετ' ἐμέναν *Dig.* G III.225; εὐρὲ τοὺς ἀπελάτας *ibid.* VI.434
 τοῦτον εὐρὲ κάκεινον ἐρώτα GLYKAS, *Eis tas aporias* I 136.13
 εἰπέ, ἀδελφέ *Log. parig.* L 613
 ἐλθὲ εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν ἡμῶν τῶν δεομένων *Dig.* E 1841
 ἐλθὲ εἰς τοῦ Πόθου τὸν δεσμόν *Liv.* α 258 app. crit. (P)
 ἰδὲ καὶ μάθε τὰς γραφάς *Liv.* E 1512
 ἐλθὲ, ἀδελφέ *Spanos* A 221
 εὐρὲ τὸ ποθοῦμενον ἐν τῇ ἀκροστιχίδι *Spanos* D 1808
 σπούδαξε, ἰδέ τη, τὴν Γραφὴν *Synax. gyn.* 87
 ἰδέ, ἀνεντράνισέ με *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 88
 ἐλθέ, ἔπαρ' με, Χάροντα KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.189
 ἐσύ ἰδέ τίποτε δια τὴν ζωὴν σου *Diig. Alex.* K 373.28
 εἰπέ μου ὅλην τὴν ἀλήθειαν! *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 77.19
 dico no πέ ὃ εἰπέ GERMANO, *Grammar* 82.34; δέ & εἰδέ *id.*, *Vocab.* s.v. *vedere*; ξαναεἰδέ & ξαναδέ *ibid.* s.v. *risguardare*

Forms such as ἰδέ, εὐρέ and εἰπέ may lose their initial unstressed stem vowel and produce imperative forms δέ, βρέ and πέ from the early LMedG period onwards:

πέ με τί ἔπαθες, πέ με τί ἔχασες! RUMI, *Poem II* 2
 καὶ πέ με τί νὰ φάγω *Ptoch.* IV 248.32 app. crit. (P); πὶε τὸν πυρετὸν *ibid.* 473 app. crit. (HPK)
 ἔπειτα πέ τον (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.4–5)
 πέ μου τίποτε FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 67
 ὅδε τοὺς ἄρχοντες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 46.37; πέ το φανερά *ibid.* 478.35–6
 πέ μου ἄλλος ἅ βρίσκεται ὡσὰν ἐμὲν ὁμοίως VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 16

¹³⁷ βαλὲ ἄγκιστρον Cyril of Alexandria, *Dialogues* 515.35 (ed. De Durant); καὶ βαλὲ τὸ εὐρεθὲν ἐν καινῷ πινακίῳ George of Sykeon, *Life of St Theod.* 104. 12–13 (ed. Festugière).

και βρε άλλη κορασίδα CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.331; και πιε καμπόσο id., *Erof. Interm.* I.176
 για 'πέ μας PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 205
 'διέ μας και όμολόγησε KONDA., *Paidēs* 872 (= δέ; see I, 3.8.2.3)
 δέ, χωρίς κανέναν κόπικα *Trag. Ag. Dim.* I.33
 πέ τ' άνδρός σου *Leilasia Par.* 375

Addition of final /s/ to the oxytone variants as a general marker for 2 sg. occurs from at least the 14th c. in various areas, though notably not in texts from eastern areas such as Chios, Cyprus and certain Cycladic islands (e.g. Paros, Naxos).¹³⁸ The form μαθές in *Katzourbos* and ms A of *Panoria* has adverbial use ("indeed").

ιδές τó τί έδιαφόρησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 5124
 αλλά ιδές και θαύμασε *Liv.* α 174; ιδές τó τί με έγίνετον *ibid.* 652
 ιδές τήν άποτύφλωσιν τήν είχαν οί Άλβανίται! *Chron. Toc.* 1251
 ιδές τó τίς με τρώγει *Poulol.* 263
 είπές, είπές, άφέντη μου *Katal.* 14
 ιδές με, γυναίκα, τίναν όμοιάζω; *Spanos* A 251–2
 καλοϊδές την τήν γυναίκα *Ptochol.* α 535
 σύρε είπές τού βασιλέα σας *Diig. Alex.* F 264.12 (Lolos); ιδές τής Έντίας τά φουσάτα *ibid.* 270.8
 έπειτα είπές τήν εύχήν (1514, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1963b: 165.58)
 τρώσι μαθές κι' εκείνα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.49; μαθές έγώ θαμάζομαι *ibid.* V.301 app. crit. (A)
 είπές του *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 38.2
 για ιδές τί λογιής πέτρες KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 13.1
 ιδές τί κάμουν οί ψευδομάρτυρες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.41–2
 ιδές πόσοι άνθρωποι είναι *Alex. Fyll.* 105.2
 ιδές εκεί, ω φίλε Σάντσο *Don Kis.* 44.30; αμή είπές με *ibid.* 198.29

These forms are the precursors to the monosyllabic SMG imperatives βρες, δες, πες (and πτιες), which make their first appearances in EMG:

πές μου τίποτις FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 67 app. crit. (V) (16th-c. ms)
 για όλους πές και λέγε μου TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 315
 ύπαγε, βρές τήν Σιωπήν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1324
 μά πές μου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.63; και δές νά μου βοηθήσης *ibid.* III.111
 πές του τó πώς τήν έστειλα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 360

By analogy with this group of verbs, certain prefixed forms of the verb βαίνω (έμβαίνω, καταβαίνω and possibly εκβαίνω, but not αναβαίνω and εισβαίνω) may occasionally acquire the ending -ε (instead of -α, see 4.5.2.3); no oxytone examples have been found, but note that in SMG the imperatives of μπαίνω (< έμβαίνω) and βγαίνω (< εκβαίνω) have lost their

¹³⁸ A paroxytone form in -εs found in Machairas, και ιδες έσου! MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 246.12 (same in O and R), is problematic, and its meaning in the context not quite clear. Since other imperatives of this type (always without the final /s/) are oxytone in Machairas, this is very likely to be either a writing mistake or an aorist indicative (είδες). One more example of a paroxytone imperative form in Machairas, with an added final /n/ is probably a mistake as well: είπεν τού κοντοσταύλη, αν θέλετε νά πᾶμεν άππῶδε, νά μάς πέψη... MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 476.13 app. crit. The editor corrects to είπέν on the grounds that Machairas normally has oxytone forms. A single paroxytone form ιδες in *Chron. Mor.* H 5534, ιδες τó ποϋ σέ ηφερεν ό φτόνος κ' ή άμαρτία σου, is likely to be either a writing mistake (ιδές) or an indicative (είδες) as well. The ms has an unfortunate stain that partly covers the first letter, but the text otherwise offers ιδε (805) and ιδές (5124).

initial vowel, resulting in monosyllabic (oxytone) forms with an added final /s/ (μπες and βγες): κατάβε, δέσποτα (15th c., Trebizond region, TSAKALOF 1910: [3], 212.3); ἔμπε μέσα εἰς τὸν κύκλον (16th/18th c. [ms], Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 33.6).

The inherited AG 2 sg. imperative δός, which can be found alongside δῶσε, may lose its final /s/ by analogy with the thematic aorist imperative (for more information on διδω 2.4): δό με νερό (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2438); δό μου τὴν Μακεδονίαν *Diig. Alex.* V 83.6; δό μου *Diig. Alex.* F 104.6 and 174.4 (Konstantinopulos).

The irregular aorist imperative form of τρώγω (φάγε) may lose its intervocalic /y/, after which the weaker vowel /e/ may be deleted (φά), in the later part of the period covered by this Grammar. For details and examples see 2.2.2.3.

Plural

Pl.	2	-ΕΤΕ ἢ -ΕΤΕΝ

Inherited proparoxytone 2 pl. forms in -ετε can be found in texts throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

ἴδετε τὰ φουσάτα *Dig.* G I.210; καὶ μάθετε τὸ βέβαιον *ibid.* I.307
 ἴδετε πῶς ἐχάσαμεν τὰ πεζικὰ *Chron. Mor.* H 9182
 βγάλετε τὸν Ἀρμούρην *Arm.* 186
 παραλάβετε ἀμόλυτον κοράσιον *Dig.* E 174
 ἴδετε ... τί ἐγίνη *Pol. Tr.* 1082
 λάβετε τὸ νίκος *Alosis* 810
 εὔρετε καὶ ἀγοράσετε (1493–4, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 36, 179.3)
 λάβετε ἄρχοντες, τοῦτον τὸ γράφος *Assizes* A 103.28
 εἴπετε τὴν βουλὴν σας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 965
 ἐκστήθου μάθετέ το *Kakop.* 12
 μάθετε, ἄνθρωποι τῆς Αἰγύπτου *Diig. Alex.* F 232.17–18 (Lolos)
 ἴδετε μὲ πόσῃ πονηρίᾳ ἐπροσδιόβασεν *Diig. Alex.* E 287.14–15 (Lolos)
 μάθετε καὶ καταλάβετε *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 10, κ3v.31 (1561)
 ἐβγάλετέ τον γλήγορα ἀπομπρός μου *Vios Aisop.* D 218.25
 ἀκούετε καὶ καταλάβετε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 15.10; ἐλάτε καὶ ἴδετε *ibid.* Ioann. 1.39
 ἴδετε, συντρόφοι μου *Alex. Fyll.* 16.25

Addition of final /n/ has been found in texts from Chios: βάλετεν κ' εἰς τὸ χέρι του *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 411; βάλετεν τὴν καθέδραν μου, νὰ κάτσω νὰ μιλήσω *KONDAR., Paides* 87.

Syncopated forms of βάλλω and its compounds can occasionally be found:

βάλτε τον εἰς τὴν μέσσην *Pol. Tr.* 9612 (reading of mss AX)
 βάρτε τὰς πλώρας τῆς ἀπάνω τους *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 554.27–8 (for this form see also I, 3.8.6.2)
 βάρτε τὸ σκοπὸν *Cypr. Canz.* 2.7
 βάλτε καλὰ 'ς τὸν νοῦν σας *Theseid* I.4,5 (Follieri)
 τοὺς ὄνυχας ἐβγάλτε *Dig.* A 988
 ἐβγάλτε τον καμπόσον ὅζω ἀπὸ τὸ σακκίον *Bertoldos* 66.5
 βάλτε εἰς ὀρδινιάν *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1038
 ἐβγάρτε με ἀπέδω *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 3655

The imperative φάγετε of the verb τρώγω may lose its intervocalic /γ/ and produce a form φᾶτε, for which see 2.2.2.3.

Pl.	2	-έτε -έτεν -έτενε

For the verbs βλέπω and λέγω, and to a lesser degree εύρισκω, forms with a shift of the stress to the penultimate, in line with the singular (see above), are more common, because this differentiates the imperative from the homophonous 2 pl. aorist indicative forms (e.g. imp. ἴδετε, aor. ind. εἶδετε):

καὶ παίζουσιν τὸ λέγουσιν οἱ παῖδες «εἶπα εἰπέτε» *Ptoch. IV* 369; καὶ ἰδέτε θαῦμα μέγα *ibid.* 416

ἰδέτε τον *Assizes A* 92.16

ἰδέτε τὸν σπανὸν *Spanos A* 143

καὶ εἰπέτε τοῦ βασιλέα σας *Diig. Alex. V* 77.11

ἄμέτε καὶ εύρέτε τον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 339.8

κι ἰδέτε τι ἔχει πάθει AITOLOS, *Ais. Myth.* 60.2

ἰδέτε ὀλλίγον *Pist. kekoim.* 71

ἰδέτε καὶ προσέχετε MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist Vlach.* 425

εἰπέτε με *Don Kis.* 142.6; ἰδέτε με πόσην υπερηφάνειαν περιπατεῖ η σκρόφα *ibid.* 176.22–3

These verbs may lose their unstressed stem vowel, giving imperative forms δέτε, πέτε and βρέτε:

δέτε, ἀπαντήξετέ μας *Rim. than.* 130

ἴδέτε τὸν σταυρὸν τον κυρίου MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 64.19–20; καὶ πέτε του *ibid.* 350.3

δέτε ποῦ ἔχει τὸν πόθον πεσωμένος *Cypr. Canz.* 25.1; πέτε | ἐσεῖς *ibid.* 40.5–6

πέτε με *Epain. gyn.* 111

ὅλοι με πέτε ἑκτὴμα *Kakop.* 14; καὶ βρέτε νέους σαν εσάς *ibid.* 186

πέτε μου *Pist. kekoim.* 182

πέτε τὰ καλορίζικα *Stathis III.* 505

δέτε ποῦ θέλει μὲ βάλει *Fallidos* 194

γὰρ πέτε μου PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 175

πέτε τους τὴν αἰτία DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 929

πέτε των νὰ πᾶνε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 56.26

Addition of final /n/ has been found in a text from Chios: ἰδέτεν τὴν ἀσέβειαν KONDAR., *Paidēs* 536; νὰ ῥτουν ἐδῶ τοὺς ἰπέτεν *ibid.* 648.

A form with addition of -(ν)ε has been found in a text from Chios, but is likely to have had a wider distribution (see I, 2.6.3 for details): τὰ δάκρυά μου δέτενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 866.

Pl.	2	-εἶτε/-ῆτε -εἶτεν/-ῆτεν -εἶτενε/-ῆτενε

As with the aorist middle/passive imperative (for discussion see above), certain verbs with a thematic aorist formation, such as λέγω, βλέπω and εύρισκω/βρίσκω, started to adopt 2 pl. subjunctive forms instead of the imperative. The subjunctive, which originally had been proparoxytone (e.g. εἴπητε) had developed paroxytone forms in the EMedG period (for details see 4.2.3), and these are the ones that are adopted for the imperative. In modern editions the imperative is spelled with <ει> or <η>, just like the subjunctive:

λόγους καλοὺς εἰπῆτε *Liv.* V 374
 διὰ τοῦτο ἰδῆτε το ὑμεῖς αὐτοῦ τοπικῶς (1448?, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.6)
 ὅλα εἰπῆτε τῶν τα *Achil.* L 1071; ἰδῆτε καὶ θαυμάσετε *ibid.* 1314
 γοργὸν τὴν πῆτε νάλθη *Flor.* L 961
 θρηνησέτε καὶ πεῖτε τῆς ὀκάτι καταλόγι LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 36
 καὶ πάλιν ᾔδῃτε κάμωμα SACHLIKIS, *Peri filon* 118
 εἰπεῖτε τοὺς καλεσμένους KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 22.4
 πεῖτε τοῦ γέροντα (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/1992: 3, 49.24)

Addition of final /n/ when the form is followed by a clitic pronoun starting in a stop has been found in a document from Mykonos (see also I, 3.8.3.2): πῆτεν του (1670, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 4, 15.7).

In AG prefixed forms of the verb βαίνω had proparoxytone 2 pl. in -τε (e.g. διάβητε), alongside forms in -ᾶτε (for which see 4.5.2.3). Just like the thematic aorists (above) and the passive aorist (see 4.5.2.2 for discussion), these verbs, too, adopt the 2 pl. subjunctive ending -ῆτε/-εῖτε for the imperative:

ἐμπῆτε σήμερον *Log. parig.* L 6650 (Lambros); ἀνεβῆτε *ibid.* 736
 καὶ ἐμπῆτε εἰς τὴν βουλὴν μου *Dig.* E 1340
 ἐμβῆτε εἰς τὸν πόλεμον *Alosis* 891
 καὶ διαβῆτε ἐκεῖθεν *Achil.* N 1216
 συγκατεβῆτε, ἐπτὰ οὐρανοὶ DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 380
 εβγείτε! *Apoll. Rim.* V 1476
 ὅθ' ἦρθετε διαβῆτε CHORTATIS, *Erof.* IV.428
 ἐμπεῖτε ἀπὸ τὴν στενὴν τὴν πόρταν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 7.13
 στοὺς λάκκους κατεβῆτε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 165.10

Addition of final /n/ occurs in a text from Chios: ᾧ τὸ δάσος μέσα μπῆτεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 345.

Addition of -(ν)ε has been found in a text from Chios, but is likely to have had a wider distribution (see I, 2.6.3): κὶ ἀμέτεν ᾧ, διαβήτενε KONAR., *Paides* 1112.

MG alternative forms in -εστε (βρέστε, δέστε, πέστε, πιέστε, μπέστε and βγέστε), probably modelled on the singular forms in -ές (see above), have not been found in the texts examined. Therefore their emergence should probably be dated to the period after 1700.

Pl.	2	-ατε

Sometimes innovative plural forms with the residual ending -ατε can be found, by analogy with verbs with a sigmatic perfective stem (see 4.5.2.1), and possibly with influence from λέγω, which had 2 pl. εἶπατε in AG (cf. PSALTES 1913: 211 for the EMedG period): ἀνοίξατε καὶ ἴδατε *Diig. sebast. Thom.* 399; ἀπέλθατε SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 140.14; ἔλθατε *ibid.* 160.6; ἴδατε καὶ θαυμάσατε *Achil.* N 1741.

4.6 The Infinitive

In the LMedG and EMG periods, infinitives were in use of the present and the aorist, active and passive, in specific, and progressively fewer, syntactical environments (JOSEPH 1980b; JOSEPH 1983; MACKRIDGE 1997; JOSEPH 2000a; see also IV, 2.2 and 2.4), but

routinely in periphrastic verb forms (see Chapter 5). Most other uses of infinitives had died out long before the period covered by this Grammar and can only be found residually in higher-register texts. From Hellenistic times onwards all aorist infinitives had gradually adopted the active infinitive ending /in/ of the present and the future, which as a result became the ending *par excellence* for the present and aorist active infinitive of all verbs, with the notable exception of oxytone A-stems, which in the present retained the ending -ᾶν.¹³⁹ Shortly before the LMedG period the passive infinitive in -ῆναι lost its final /e/, and thereby effectively adopted the by now universal infinitive ending /in/ as well (HESSELING 1892b: 27–8; JOSEPH 1983: 56).

When written without final /n/, infinitives in /i/ are sometimes spelled with <η> for <ει>, as if it were a 3 sg. aorist subjunctive, in accordance with the view of JANNARIS 1897: 558 and 575–6, who claimed that the infinitive had died out before the LMedG period. However, the fact that the infinitive is homophonous with the 3 sg. aorist subjunctive does not necessarily mean that it is, in fact, a subjunctive. It is simply an invariable form that remained in (limited) use. Surely, its homophony with the 3 sg. aorist subjunctive made the form sound familiar, and it is clear that there is influence from the subjunctive in the alternating (oxytone and paroxytone) stress patterns encountered in the aorist infinitive of thematic and athematic verbs (see 4.6.2.3). However, the idea that a fully inflected language such as Greek would have an insurmountable problem with invariable forms is contradicted by the emergence of the gerund (see 4.7), and in fact the theory that a fully inflected language would use a 3 sg. form for all persons singular and plural is perhaps unlikely.

The present infinitive has disappeared completely in SMG, whereas the use of the aorist infinitive (without final /n/) is limited to the perfect and pluperfect periphrases with ἔχω.¹⁴⁰ For the use of the infinitives πειῖν, φαγεῖν and φιλεῖν as inflected nouns (πίν, φαγίν and φιλίν), see II, 2.20.1.2.

4.6.1 The Present Infinitive

4.6.1.1 Active Voice

As the syntactic environments in which the infinitive was used diminished (see IV, 2.2 and 2.4), and especially when periphrastic constructions with finite verbs became more and more established for expressing futurity (see 5.1), the present infinitive gradually fell into disuse. However, since present active and passive infinitives can be found in the domain of loanwords (e.g. of verbs in -ᾶρω, -ίρω and -έρω in areas under Italian rule and -ιάζω in areas under Frankish rule; see also 2.2.4) and of innovative verb stems (see e.g. the present passive infinitives συνηβάζεσθαι, σπέρνεσται and δίδεσται, and passive infinitives in -(ε)ίσται), and since examples of present infinitives have been found until into the 18th c., its final demise is to be dated to the MG period.

¹³⁹ For various hybrid formations that appear only in S. Italian documents, see MINAS ²2003: 121.

¹⁴⁰ In peripheral dialects such as Pontic and S. Italian, the infinitive is preserved in more syntactical environments than in SMG; see MACKRIDGE 1997; HORROCKS ²2010: 389–91; for the Pontic variety of Of see also SITARIDOU 2014.

4.6.1.1.1 Barytone Verbs

-ει(ν) -εινε

Throughout its existence, the present infinitive of barytone verbs ends in -ει(ν):

οὐκ ἤπορῶ ... γράφειν σε *Spaneas* V 26
 γαμβρόν <γάρ> ἔχειν θέλομεν *Dig. G* II.11
 νὰ ἡρξάμην ρουκανίζειν *Ptoch.* IV 221
 (ἔχει ... τὸ ἀμπέλιον) τόπον τοῦ ἀνιβαίνειν εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ κατιβαίνειν εἰς τὸ αἰγιαλὸν (1359, Albania, *ΣΑΚΚΕΛΙΟΝ* 1887a: 472.28–30)
 (ἀρχάσαν ...) λέγειν πρὸς τὸν πρίγκιπα *Chron. Mor.* H 5262
 δὲν ἤμπορῶ τοῦ γράφειν *Peri xen.* 356
 ὅσοι τὸ θέλουν σηκώνειν (1446, Adrianople, *BABINGER/DÖLGER* 1956: 271.8)
 πολλὸν καιρὸν θέλουσι μανθάνειν (15th c., Athos?, *VASMER* 1922: 339–40)
 καὶ νὰ ᾔχαν κάμνειν αἵματα *Alosis* 731
 ἀκούειν τα θὲς ἔχει ἀπὸ ἄλλους (1498, Crete, *MANOUSSACAS* 1976: 2, 18.4–5)
 (ἤθελεν) ἰχνεύειν καὶ γυρεύειν [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 346; ἡρξατο τρώγειν *ibid.* 1894
 θέλουν ἔχειν βοήθειαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 20.11; θέλει φυλάγειν *id.*, *Chron.* O 88.31–2 (*Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari*)
 τοῦ τρέχειν ἤρχισα *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 11; ἔξαπορῶ τοῦ γράφειν *ibid.* 14
 θέλω σου δίδειν χαράτзин *Vios Aisop.* I 275.30
 χρῆ αἰέποτε δοξάζειν ... | τα ἔργα Του θαυμάζειν *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ.*, *Pali* 4679–80

Written evidence for the deletion of final /n/ has been found from at least the 11th c. onwards and occurs in texts from all areas:

μὴ ἔχων ... ἀγγεῖον βάλλει τὸν σῖτον *Vios Philaret.* 303–4 app. crit. (G) (9th c.; 11th-c. ms)
 νὰ ὑπᾶμεν ... τὰ οὐκ ἔχομεν γυρεύει *Chron. Mor.* H 837; βαριεῶμαι γράφει τα *ibid.* 7803
 ἀποσπάζει θέλει *Assizes* B 340.11
 ἐὰν εἶχε λείπει ὁ Ἑκτορας *Pol. Tr.* 3779 (reading of ms X); ὅπου τὸ θέλει κλαίει *ibid.* 4202
 τὸ θέλουν ἡξεύρει (15th c., Thrace, *DARROUZÈS* 1963: 8, 100.4–5)
 θέλει μένει *ERMON.*, *Ilias* 9.240; θέλει παγαίνει *ibid.* 13.40
 θέλει λαχαίνει (1473, Corfu, *KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS* 1996: 21, 161.15)
 ἔξαπορῶ τοῦ γράφει *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 14
 ἐθέλαν γερανίσκει οἱ ἄνθρωποι *Fior* 84.11
 ἐθέλαν ρεπρεζεντάρει (1549, Crete, *DRAKAKIS* 2004: 26, 31.19) (< Ven. *rapresentàr*)
 εἶχα στέκει *Pist. voskos* II 1.417
 δὲν εἶχανε ἡξέρει ἀκόμη τὸ κακὸ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 59.26
 θέλει πλερώνει καθημερινό (1622, Crete, *ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ* 1986: 4, 67.27); καὶ ἃ δὲν ἤθελά ᾔχει (1625, *ibid.* 6, 79.29)
 θὲς τρώγει *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.131
 δὲν θέλω το κάμνει αὐτὸ πλέον *Don Kis.* 19.3; θέλεις κλαίγει παντοτινά *ibid.* 104.31

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs only sporadically: ποῦ δὲν τὸν ἤθελ' ἔχεινε ποτέ του γνωρισμένον *Theseid* ms Par. gr. 2898 f.39v.

Vowel deletion in forms of barytone vowel stems may occasionally occur (see also 2.1.1.2): ἤθελαν κλαῖν *Cypr. Canz.* 55.5 (< κλαίω); οἱ βουλόμενοι πλεῖν ἐν τῇ θαλάσση (1523, Crete, *ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 80, 150.2–3) (< πλέω).

4.6.1.1.2 Oxytone Verbs

-ᾶ(ν) ἰ -ᾷει(ν)

The oxytone A-stem ending, stressed -ᾶν (from -ᾷειν, which is why the ending is sometimes spelled -ᾶν) is used for both A-stem and E-stem verbs (see also 2.1.2.1). A-stem verbs are the only verbs that show no tendency to adopt the “universal” infinitive ending /in/:¹⁴¹

A-stems

ἀγαπᾶν τὸ ὑπήκοον *Dig.* G IV.1033; νικᾶν καὶ μὴ ὑπερνικᾶν *ibid.* VI.642
 ἄν οὐκ ἐθάρρεις κολυμβᾶν *Ptoch.* I 103; παραπτεῖν ἄρξάμενος *ibid.* 202
 εἰς τὰ σὲ θέλω ἐρωτᾶν *Liv.* V 2874
 καὶ ἐσὺ τολμᾷς περιγεῖλαι *Poulol.* 50
 σκιρτᾶν χορεύειν ἔπρεπεν *Flor.* L 824
 θέλουσιν βαστᾶν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.11)
 (ἦθελεν ...) διερευνᾶν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 347; μισῶ ... ὄρᾶν τὸ πτώμα τούτου *ibid.* 634
 σοῦ θέλει βαστᾶν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.50)
 θέλω ἔχειν καὶ διακυβερνᾶν (1507, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 4, 8.9)

E-stems

διεκδικᾶν (1140, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 122, 163.27)
 εὐεργετᾶν (1143, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 6, 559.9); ὅστις εὐρεθῇ ἐμποδίζειν καὶ
 ὕοχλᾶν (1146, *ibid.* Coll. XIV: 5, 619.5–6)
 θέλω κυνηγᾶν *Dig.* E 744
 οὐδὲν ἡμπορεῖ μαρτυρᾶν *Assizes* B 308.2
 ὦ Θεέ, νὰ τό ᾿χαν πολεμᾶν *Alosis* 730
 θέλιν τὸ ζητᾶν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 208.33; ἵντα θέλομεν πολομᾶν *ibid.* 406.15
 (ἐξουσία ...) ζητᾶν τοὺς λογαριασμοὺς (1530, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 144, 261.22–3)
 ὁπού ᾿θελεν λειτουργᾶν (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 173.18)

Deletion of final /n/ has not been found before the 14th c.:

τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ *Chron. Mor.* H 8185
 θὲς περνᾶ *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 317
 πᾶντα θέλω σ' αγαπά *CHORTATSIS, Panor.* I.392
 καὶ ἄν τὸν θέλης ἀγαπᾶ *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2015
 ἡ ψυχὴ μου θέλει γρικᾶ μεγάλον κοντέντο (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 53.189)
 καὶ θέλουσι σ' ἀνεγελᾶ *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.783

Uncontracted forms of this infinitive appear in 16th-c. Heptanesian texts, among which Sofianos's grammar, and once in Ioakeim of Cyprus's *Struggle* (to accommodate the rhyme). They are probably formed by analogy with the 3 sg. present indicative and possibly perfective barytone vowel-stem infinitives such as πᾷει(ν) and φᾷει(ν),¹⁴² though the clear dominance of the infinitive ending -ει(ν) may also have played a role:

¹⁴¹ With the exception of one isolated instance of τολμεῖν in S. Italy (1121, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 88, 116.11–12).

¹⁴² Neither version of the Alexander tale uses the θέλω/θέλει + subjunctive construction, therefore there can be little doubt that these forms are infinitives.

ἤθελε πολεμάει *Alex. Rim.* 1454
 θέλει ζητάειν *Diig. Alex.* F 148.15 (Lolos)
 εἶχα γελάει *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 52.24; θέλω γελάει *ibid.* 52.25
 να του γυρεύσει ἤθελεν την Σούδα αγαπάει *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1562 (rhymes with πάει)

-εἶ(ν) -οῖν -εῖνε

The stressed ending -εῖν (<έειν) is common with oxytone E-stem verbs before and throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

λαλεῖν σε ὁδὸν οὐκ ἔχω *Spaneas* V 36; ἄν ἡπορῆς εὐεργετεῖν *ibid.* 193
 ἐλεεῖν πενομένους *Dig. G* IV.1033; φιλεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους *ibid.* VI.642
 καὶ τὶ φορεῖν οὐκ ἔχω *Ptoch. III* 231
 θέλει ποιεῖν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 21, 160.13)
 τὰ θέλω κρατεῖν (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.5)
 ἀναζητεῖν γὰρ ἤθελεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 346
 μετὰ τοῦ λογισμουμαχεῖν *Byz. II.* 38
 θέλω παρακαλεῖν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.18)
 πουλεῖν, χαρίζειν, προικίζειν, ποιεῖν (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 216.18)
 ἄφησαν πάσα υπόθεσιν του πολεμεῖν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1843 tit.; (χρη αἰέποτε ...)
 ανυμνεῖν και προσκυνεῖν *ibid.* 4680; καιρόν αἰ που ἔταξεν ποιεῖν δικαιοσύνην *ibid.* 9276

This group includes residual infinitives of oxytone O-stems, which originally had ended in -οῦν (<όειν), but had started to develop infinitives in -οῖν, then pronounced [yn], as early as the first century AD (see HATZIDAKIS 1892: 193; JANNARIS 1897: 217; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 430; PSALTES 1913: 234–5, who also offers further bibliography).¹⁴³ From the moment the pronunciation of <οι> changed from [y] to [i] (from the 10th c. AD onwards; see I, 2.4.6.1), the forms of oxytone E- and O-stems became homophonous, which is why these infinitives are usually spelled with <ει> rather than <οι>:

τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἔχουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν βεβαιοῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν *NIKON, Logos* 4 208.17–18; (ἀγαπῶ ...)
 τὰς θείας γραφὰς φανεροῖν *id., Logos* 31 814.2
 εἶδα αὐτὰ ἀπαράκτως δηλεῖν (1269, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 34, 459.21)
 εἰς εὐαγούς οἴκους ἀφιερεῖν (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 473.17)
 οὐδὲν ὀφείλουσιν ἐκπληρεῖν *Chron. Mor.* H 2006
 τὰ μέλλουν ἀφιερεῖν (1437, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXXI, 297.13–14)

This group also includes the verb ζῶ, which by the beginning of the LMedG period had long been adapted to the oxytone E-stem paradigm. The ending of the infinitive is homophonous with those of oxytone E-stem verbs, but traditionally spelled with <η> rather than <ει>:

τοὺς θέλοντας μετὰ πλείονας συ<ζῆν> *NIKON, Logos* 1 84.5–6
 καὶ ἀπήλπισα τοῦ ζεῖν με *Liv.* α 229 app. crit. (P)
 καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπεστέρησεν *Pol. Tr.* 13518
 ἄν δὲν ἤθελεν ζῆν (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 219.53)

¹⁴³ Since in the period in which this ending developed the pronunciation of <οι> and <ει> was still very much distinct, O-stem verbs did not simply adopt the E-stem ending /in/ (maintaining a “scholastic” spelling with <οι>); the ending -οῖν was probably formed by analogy with oxytone E-stems, as follows: ποιῶ: 3 sg. pres. ind. ποιεῖ, pres. inf. ποιεῖν : δηλῶ 3 sg. pres. ind. δηλοῖ > pres. inf. δηλοῖν (BLASS et al. 1961: 46).

Deletion of final /n/ has not been found in writing before the 14th c.:

ὁ ρῆγας ἄρξετον λαλεῖ *Chron. Mor.* H 7118
 θέλει ζῆ *ERMION., Ilias* 13.244
 οὐδὲν ὀφείλουν ἐκπληρεῖ *Chron. Mor.* P 2006
 καὶ ἤρξατο παρακαλεῖ *Diig. Apoll.* 561
 ἤθελα ζεῖ *Diig. Alex.* F 48.20 (Konstantinopulos)
 εἶχα κρατεῖ *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 52.5; ὥσαν νὰ ἤθελεν ἀσθενεῖ κανεῖς *id., Paidag.* 102.8–9;
 θέλεις τὸ ποιεῖ συχνά *ibid.* 114.12–13
 θέλει ἱερουργεῖ (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 60.39)
 κί' ἂν εἶναι κί' ἤθελε μπορεῖ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.41; θέλω παρακαλεῖ γιὰ σέ *ibid.* III.405; ἄν
 εἶχε ζῆ ὁ Πλάτωνας *ibid.* III.489
 γιὰτί σέ θέλουσι κρατεῖ μέγαλον ἀφορμάρη *KORNAOS, Erot.* III.781
 θέλει κρατεῖ του λόγου της διὰ διεστραμμένην γυναῖκα *Don Kis.* 107.10–11

Addition of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) is very rare with the infinitive: θέλουν βοηθεῖνε *Theseid* I.35,3 app. crit. (Follieri).

-οῦν

Residual infinitives in -οῦν of O-stem verbs can sporadically be found: θέλομεν τὸ ἐκπληροῦν (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 103.10).

4.6.1.2 Passive Voice

The present passive infinitive appears to be the first of the infinitives to fall into disuse for all verbs but εἶμαι (see 4.8.4). Since examples can still be found in written texts until well into the 17th c., it is difficult to put a date to its final obsolescence, though from EMG grammars, especially the descriptive grammar of Germano, we may conclude that by the early 17th c. present passive infinitives had disappeared: there are no present passive infinitives of any kind in the grammars of Germano, Portius, Kritopoulos and Spanos. In the mid-16th c. Sofianos does list them in his paradigms of barytone and oxytone verbs, as μέλλων δεύτερος (θέλω γράφεσθαι) and ἀόριστος δεύτερος (εἶχα γράφεσθαι), but he tellingly avoids them in his *Paidagogos* (see below for the only example, ὑβριζεσθαι),¹⁴⁴ preferring constructions with μέλλω νά + subjunctive instead: μέλλει νά ὠφελεῖται *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 110.11; μέλλουσι νά ἐξετάζονται *ibid.* 113.24–5 (for details see 5.1.2). Romanos Nikiforou (early 17th c.), too, lists θέλω and εἶχα + present passive infinitive in his paradigms (as passive future and imperfect respectively), but he omits them in his list of irregular verbs, nor does he ever use them in his examples.

4.6.1.2.1 Barytone Verbs

-εσται(ν) ἰ -εσθαι(ν)

¹⁴⁴ As noted by HESSELING 1892b: 37.

Throughout its existence the present passive infinitive ends in -εσται, having a more formal variant -εσθαι:

- ἀπλοϊκῶς τοὺς θεῖους ὑποδέχεσθαι λόγους NIKON, *Logos* 4 208.5–6; πολλὰ ἡγάπουν συνδιαλέγεσθαι *id.*, *Logos* 31 810.9–10
 ὁ τὴν χώραν μέλλει διαδέχεσθαι (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.43)
 ἄφες τὰ πάντα φέρεσθαι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 380
 ἔχων αὐτὴν ἀναγινώσκεισθαι (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 83.95)
 εἰς τὸ κρούειν καὶ εἰς τὸ δέχεσθαι *Dig.* E 1259
 ἥρξάμην κατακόπτεσθαι *Liv.* V 2351, *Liv.* S 1414 (Lambert-van der Kolf) and *Liv.* α 2694
 τὸ θέλει θλίβεσθαι *Pol. Tr.* 3681; καὶ πάντα θέλει αὐξάνεσθαι *ibid.* 5307
 ἤθελε τ' ἀποδέχεσθαι FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 284 (reading of A)
 θέλουν ἀλεγριάζεσθαι τὰς παλαιὰς ἱστορίας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 3.20 (< Occit. *alegrar*)
 οἱ ὑπέρεταί μου ἤθελαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 370.38 and KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 18.36 (translation of NT ἡγωνίζοντο)
 δὲν ἤθελες συνηβάζεσθαι (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 175, 174.33 and 297, 295.43–4)
 θέλουν ἔρχεσθαι (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.15)
 ἐθέλα βρίσκεσθαι CHORTATISIS, *Erof. Interm.* III.17
 (τὸ τρίτο ...) ἀπ' ὅ, τι ἤθελεν σπέρνεσθαι (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 10, 32.18)
 θέλει εὐφραίνεσθαι MOREZINOS, *Klini* 8.24–5; ὥσάν νὰ εἴχασιν τηγανίζεσθαι *ibid.* 235.16
 μαγάρι ἃς εἶχε κείτεσθαι *Thysia Avr.* 303
 τὰ ψωμνιά ὁποῦ θέλουσιν διδεσθαι (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 54.207)

Addition of final /n/ can be found occasionally throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, but may have been more widespread than the sources reveal (cf. the infinitive of εἶμαι, 4.8.4):

- ὧς βούλεται <ἐξέρ>χεσθαι καὶ ἀπέρχεσθαι NIKON, *Logos* 1 64.5; (χρὴ ...) ἐνδύεσθαι *ibid.* 110.5
 ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ θέλω κείτεσθαι (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.56)
 ἥρξατο εὐχεσθαίν του *Dig.* E 810
 δὲν ἤθελεν κάθεσθαι ἡ Θεοτόκος KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 340.3–4
 θέλει εὐφραίνεσθαι MOREZINOS, *Klini* 8.24–5 app. crit. (K)
 θέλει κάθεσθαι ἐκ δεξιῶν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 22.69

A shift of the stress to the penultimate as the result of synizesis appears once in Machairas, with the verb λύω (for this phenomenon affecting barytone vowel stems see also 2.1.1.2; for the broader phenomenon of synizesis see I, 2.9.4): ἠθέλαν καταλυέσθαι γλήγορα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 76.19. A shift of the stress to the penultimate also occurs in one ms of *Ptochoprodromos*, in which the position of the infinitive in the verse, at the verse end, is likely to have played a decisive role: ἥρξάμην μπουκωνέσθαι *Ptoch. III* 255 app. crit. (K).

4.6.1.2.2 Oxytone Verbs

-ᾶσται(v) † -ᾶσθαι(v)

The passive oxytone A-stem ending -ᾶσται and its more formal variant -ᾶσθαι have been found with both A- and E-stem verbs throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, with

various verbs in mixed-register texts, but in other texts mainly with the common deponent verbs θυμοῦμαι, κοιμοῦμαι and λυποῦμαι:

A-stems

ἀλλὰ χαμαὶ πετᾶσθαι *Dig.* G I.170; ἐφαίνετο ἐν ὄνειρῳ θεᾶσθαι *ibid.* IV.385
καὶ τὸ μὴ κτᾶσθαι *Ptoch.* IV 408
πάντα καυχᾶσθαι θέλουν *Arm.* 69
(ἔπρεπεν) ἐρωτοαγαλλιᾶσθαι *Flor.* L 824
Ἄξιόν ἐστι τοῦ πλανᾶσθαι σε *Spanos* D 1258–9
εἶχα γελᾶσθαι *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 53.8; θέλω γελᾶσθαι *ibid.* 53.9
κοιμᾶσθαι θέλει ἀληθινὰ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.19; θέλει γροικᾶσθαι ... τ' ὀνομά σου *id., Panor.* III.621 (reading of ms D)
τοσαῦτα πάντα ὕψωσεν, ὅπως καλῶς ὀρᾶσθαι *Dig.* T 2766 and A 3969
ἂν ἠθέλαμεν κοιμᾶσθαι *Vios Aisop.* I 269.37
εἶχα ἀγαπᾶσθαι *ROMANOS, Grammar* 38.21

E-stems

ἀφίνω ἐδῶ λέγειν καὶ ἀφηγᾶσθαι *Chron. Mor.* H 5922; νὰ θέλουν ἀφηγᾶσθαι *ibid.* 6448
καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας ... προστάξας ζωογονᾶσθαι *Dig.* E 1811 app. crit.
εἶχα φοβᾶσθαι *Pol. Tr.* 10067 app. crit. (V)
δὲν ἠθελες φοβᾶσθαι *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 590
ἐὰν οὐδὲν ἠθελε λυπᾶσθαι *Diig. Alex.* F 48.17 and E 49.6–17
καὶ πάντοτε θυμᾶσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς μου (1525, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 106, 197.19)
σὰ θές θυμᾶσθαι *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.105

-εἴσται(ν) ἢ -εἴσθαι(ν)

The passive oxytone E-stem ending -εἴσται and its more formal variant -εἴσθαι occur, with E-stem verbs only, throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

φοβεῖσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἠθελον *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 49
ἐρωτικὴν ἀφήγησιν τὴν θέλω ἀφηγεῖσθαι *Liv.* α 9
εἶχα φοβεῖσθαι *Pol. Tr.* 10067; τὸ θέλουν ἐξηγεῖσθαι *ibid.* 14010
θέλεις ἀπηλογεῖσθαι *Flor.* L 652 ms (ἀπηλογᾶσθαι in the ed.)
μετὰ τοῦ λογισμουμαχεῖν καὶ τοῦ στενοχωρεῖσθαι *Byz. Il.* 38
εἶχα κρατεῖσθαι *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 52.14; θέλω κρατεῖσθαι *ibid.* 52.15
τοῦ Ξάνθου ἀρχομένου φοβεῖσθαι *Vios Aisop.* D 228.35
ἀρχισεν δηγεῖσθαι τὴν πτωχείαν αὐτοῦ *Vios Filaret.* 241.42–3

Addition of final /n/ can be found occasionally: γράφειν καὶ ἀσχολεῖσθαι *NIKON, Logos* 9 316.13; θέλω, Μυρτάνη δέσποινα, σήμερον ἀφηγεῖσθαι *Liv.* V 23; τὸ θέλουν διηγείσθαι *Pol. Tr.* 14010 app. crit. (C).

-(ε)ιέσται ἢ -(ε)ιέσθαι ἢ -εἰέσθαι

From the 16th c. onwards the ending -σται/-σθαι can also occasionally be found with the innovative stem of E-stem verbs that has /j/ inserted after the stem consonant (for details see 2.1.2.2.4):

θέλει πουλιέσθαι μὲ μετρητὰ (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 200, 200.14)
εἶχα κρατειέσθαι *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 67.2; θέλω κρατειέσθαι *ibid.* 67.5

ἤθελε κρατιέσθαι KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 5.4

εἶχα κρατεῖσθαι ROMANOS, *Grammar* 48.9

-οὔσται

Residual -οὔσται of O-stem verbs can sporadically be found in LMedG mixed-register texts: ὁμολογοῦμεν ζημιοῦσται εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν τίμημα (1123, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 4, 60.19); ζημιοῦσται διὰ ποινὴν εἰς τὸ δεμόσιον (1304, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 23, 174.39).

4.6.2 The Aorist Infinitive

4.6.2.1 Active Voice

-ει(ν) | -εινε

The sigmatic and liquid/nasal-stem aorist active infinitive, which originally ended in -αι (λῦσαι, κρίναι, ποιῆσαι, see below), had developed an innovative form in -ειν in the Koine through confusion with the future infinitive and by analogy with the present infinitive (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 190–2; DIETERICH 1898: 245; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 593–5). This aorist infinitive is widely in use throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. Some representative examples are:

οὐκ ἐτόλμησα ... θήσιν NIKON, *Logos* 4 214.23–4; ἔχεις ... νοήσιν πάντα id., *Logos* 9 310.5–6

χαλάσειν ἔχει ὁψέποτε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 359

εἰ δὲ κομπῶσιν ἤθελες Ptoch. I 106

τίς τῆς καρδίας του τὴν χαρὰν | νὰ ἰσχύσῃ καταλέξειν Eisit. f.7v.3–4

καὶ τῷ ἀκούσιν τὸ ὄνομα Log. parig. L 93

κι ἂν δράμουν τὰ φουσσᾶτα μας, τὸν τόπον σας κουρσέψιν Chron. Mor. H 1622

γλυκὺν τὸ φαγεῖν, πικρὸν δὲ τὸ χέσειν Paroim. H 34

ἂν εἶχαν ποίσειν τὰ καρτζὰ ἀσημένα MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 76.18

κ' ἐκεῖνος θέλειν βάλειν ρεμέδα VOUSTR., Chron. A 12.1

τὰ θέλει ἐξοικονομήσειν SFRANTZIS, Chron. 32.26

καὶ ὠρέχθην τοῦ πεζεύσειν BERGADIS, Apok. V 20

γνωρίσειν ἤθελες SOFIANOS, Paidag. 97.26

δὲν εἶχασι πρωτύτερα γνωρίσειν CHORTATZIS, Erof. II.174; διαλέξειν ἤθελα ibid. IV.475;

μπορέσειν ἤθελε ibid. V.629

μὴ ὅ,τι μόδου θέλεις πορέσειν κάμειν (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 57.34)

This infinitive can be found without final /n/ from the very beginning and throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονόμους ποιήσει Vios Philaret. 172–3 app. crit. (G) (9th c.; 11th-c. ms)

τὸ ποίσει Jonas 216.88

τὸ τί ποιήσει οὐκ εἶχασιν Chron. Mor. H 4084; τὰ οὐκ ἠμπορῶ σᾶς γράψαι ibid. 7802

δὲν ἠμπορεῖ τὰ κλείσει Peri xen. 26

τίνος λογισμὸς ... ἐξαριθμήσει | ... δυνηθῇ [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], Kallim. 280–1

καθὼς τοὺς εἶχεν ἀφήκει ο Νεκτεναβός Diig. Alex. K 349.23

θέλει ὑγιάνει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.20; τοῦτος θέλει ζήσει *ibid.* 335.12

ἤθελε δώσει (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 177, 228.28)

ἐτότες τοῦ ἤθελα ρεσποντάρει (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.32) (< Ven. *responder*)

θέλομε μιλῆσει πάλι ἀλλότες CHORTATISIS, *Erof.* I.512; νά ἔλες μοῦ γρικήσει *id.*, *Katz.* II.319

δὲν εἶχαν τί κάμη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.13

δὲν εἶχαμεν ἴντα στιμάρει (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 676.27) (< Ven. *stimār*)

θέλω το σοτοσκριβέρει καὶ μέ τὸ χέρι μου (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 57.301) (< Ven. *sotoscriver*)

ἂν ἤθελα τὸ τελειώσει (1655, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 178.8)

θέλω σε κάμει να γνωρίσεις *Don Kis.* 19.11; θέλει με γδείρει ζωντανόν *ibid.* 20.22–3 (for γδάρει by analogy with δέρινω)

Addition of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) is not very common with infinitives, but some examples have been found in texts from south-western areas: εἶχεν ἔρωτῆσεινε *Chron. Mor.* P 5770; θέλει κερδίσεινε *Theseid* VI.22,8 (Olsen) (not uncommon in this text); θέλεις μου πιάσεινε σιγουριτὰ (1715, Nauplion, LIATA 1975: 6, 123.14).

The infinitive (ύ)πά(γ)ει(ν), originally the present infinitive of ὑπάγω (see also 2.4), serves as an aorist infinitive throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

βούλομαι δὲ ὑπάγειν *Dig.* G II.128

καὶ θέλουσιν ὑπάγειν *Ptoch.* IV 581

ἀφότου ὀφείλω ὑπάει *Chron. Mor.* H 1873

ἵς τὴν στράταν τὴν ἐπέρασες καὶ τὴν ἠθέλεις πάγειν *Liv.* V 3417

θέλω ὑπάγει νά πάρω τὸ ἀμάχιν *Assizes* A 60.27

εἶχαν πάγειν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 272.20; οἱ ξένοι θέλουν πάγειν, καὶ οἱ τοπικοὶ θέλουν μείνειν *ibid.* 478.21–2

ἴσαν να ἔχε ὑπάγει *Apoll. Rim.* V 956

θέλεις ὑπάγει εἰς τὸν παράδεισον *Diig. Alex.* K 348.33

θέλεις ὑπάγει ἀπέσω *Diig. Alex.* E 125.20 (Konstantinopulos)

κι' ἄς ἤθελα πάγει CHORTATISIS, *Katz.* IV.85

ἐμετανόησεν πῶς εἶχε ὑπάγει *Bertoldos* 68.32

θέλουν σε ὑπάγει εἰς τὸν βασιλέα μας *Alex. Fyll.* 75.29

“Contracted” forms of ὑπά(γ)ειν and φά(γ)ειν are probably formed by analogy with the present infinitive of oxytone A-stems (ἄγαπᾶν, ἄγαπᾶ, see above; see also 2.2.2.3). Final /n/ is sometimes deleted (for the substantivized use of φᾶ(ν) and other infinitives see II, 2.24.4).

ἂν θέλῃς πᾶν *Dig.* E 440

θέλει φᾶ τὴν πίτταν *Vulgärorakel* I.97

εἰς φᾶν καὶ πγεῖν *Assizes* B 414.27

οἶος ἤθελεν ὑπᾶ *Pol. Tr.* 6430 app. crit. (B)

νά μέ εἶχασιν ὑπᾶ κανίσκιν εἰς τὸν Χάρον SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 35

πρὸς τὸ φάν CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 495

καὶ ἐθέλαν πᾶν εἰς τὸ καλόν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 436.24

εἰς τὸ φᾶ BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 42

Although this AG aorist active infinitive ending is residual by the beginning of the LMedG period, it can occasionally be found; in mixed-register texts it has even been found with innovative verb stems: βλεπῆσαι in an early Cypriot law text and κρατῆσαι in Grigoropoulos, dependent on an optative. Some representative examples are:

ἀρμόζει ξενοδοχῆσαι αὐτόν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 142.24
 τίς φράσαι ὅλως δυνηθῆ *Dig.* G II.33; εἰς τὸ καβαλικεύσαι *ibid.* VI.231
 στενεύεται τοῦ στρέψαι τὴν προῖκα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 73.173)
 ὕστερον οὐδὲν ἠθέλησεν πληρῶσαι τὸν γάμον (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 229.97);
 ὁμοῦντες οἱ κουράτορες τοῦ βλεπῆσαι καὶ διοικῆσαι τοῖς ὄρφανοῖς *ibid.* 229.107)
 θέλω δεῖξαι *Ptoch.* I 26
 ὀφείλουν ἐγκρεμῖσαι *Chron. Mor.* H 890; τὸ δύνομαι ν' ἀποκριθῶ καὶ δύνομαι ποιῆσαι *ibid.* 4266
 καὶ ὡς λύκοι ἐπεσέβησαν, σπαρᾶσαι καὶ ταρᾶσαι *Flor.* L 53
 εἴτις δὲ βουλήθῃ κατελύσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμαν, νὰ ἐνὶ ἀσυγχώρητος (14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15)
 καὶ τὸν Ἀφράτην ποταμὸν οὐκ ἤμποροῦν περάσαι *Arm.* 39
 πόσους δύνασαι, Βασίλη, ἀπαντῆσαι; *Dig.* E 686
 οὐκ εἶχε ποῦ καθίσαι *Paroim.* F 78
 μέλλει θρύψαι τὸ λιθάριν *Ptochol.* α 394
 τίς δυνηθῇ καταλεπτὸν λεπτομερῶς ἐκφράσαι; *Achil.* O 145
 μηδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰσχύσαι κρατῆσαι (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 6, 12.16)

4.6.2.2 Passive Voice

-εῖ(ν) -ῖ(ν)

When the aorist passive infinitive -ῖναι (see below) becomes -ῖν (a form already found in early Christian papyri, see KAPSOMENAKIS 1938: 129), the ending in fact becomes indistinguishable from the dominant infinitive ending -εῖ(ν) (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 192; HESSELING 1892b: 27–8), which is why both spellings, with <ει> and with <η>, can be found:

βούλοντες τοῦτο στερχθεῖν (1100, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 15, 89.48–9)
 ἔχει ... κατακλιθῆν *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 359; τὰ βόλια γυρισθῆν ἔχουν *ibid.* 368 (read ἔχουν)
 ὅταν ἤθελες δοξασθῆν *Dig.* G II.81 and *Dig.* E 252; μετὰ δὲ τὸ συντελεσθῆν *Dig.* G IV.933
 ὅπου σὲ θέλει ἀφηγηθῆν *Liv.* E 2116
 ἐκδικηθῆν ἠθέλαμεν *Pol. Tr.* 11199
 καὶ θέλομεν χαθῆν καὶ ἡμεῖς *Velis.* χ 46
 θέλεις ἀναπαυτεῖν (1497?, Rome, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 4, 136.8)
 το πράγμα θέλει κρυβηθεῖν *Diig. Apoll.* 29
 τί ἀποκριθῆν οὐκ εἶχα *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 76
 νᾶχαν κουντεντιαστῆν οἱ Γενουβίσοι *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 434.36 (<Occit. countentar>;
 θέλομεν στραφεῖν *ibid.* 654.38
 ὁ φλόαρος δὲν θέλει ἀγαπηθῆν ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν γῆν *Fior Suppl.* 275.23
 ἂν ἴσως καὶ ἠθέλεν εὐρεθεῖν τινὰς (1517, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 48, 84.51);
 θέλω θαπτεῖν εἰς τὸν Μέγαν Ἰωάννην Θεολόγον (1523, *ibid.* 83, 155.8–9)
 ἦθελαν διαφεντευθῆν *Diig. Alex.* F 176.5 (Lolos); οὕτως θέλομε φανῆν *ibid.* 216.7

ἐγὼ θέλω λυπηθεῖν ποτὲ DAM. SToud., *This., Logos* 4, 85v.19 (1561)
 ἰσως και θέλουν εντραπειν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 6838; ἐπειτα θέλουσιν γραφτεῖν *ibid.* 7384

Deletion of final /n/ can be found from the 14th c. (ms date of *Jonas*), though there is also an isolated example a few centuries earlier in S. Italy:

ὅστις ἂν ἔχει εὐρεθεῖ (1050, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 37, 46.39–40)
 τὸ συθριβεῖ *Jonas* 213.10
 ὁποῦ σὲ θέλει ἀφηγηθεῖ *Liv.* E 492
 νᾶχα πνιγῇ *Byz. Il.* 439
 θέλει σὲ ἀπιλογηθεῖ DELLAP., *Peri antapod.* 157
 ἂν ἤθελε ἡύρηθεῖ (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 32, 44.13)
 ἤθελα σηκωθεῖ (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.11)
 θέλω καμωθῇ ὅτι κοιμῶμαι ZYGOM., *Stef. Ichn.* 190.1
 θέλομεν κολασθῇ (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 233.25)
 θέλω λωλαθεῖ ἐδῶ κάτω *Bertoldin.* 109.34
 ἤθελε τοῦ κακοφανεῖ (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.26)
 ντόπο ἀποῦ θέλει πουμπλικαριστεῖ (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 199.203) (< Ven. *publicàr*)
 ἡ παρθένος θέλει ἐγκαστρωθεῖ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 1.23; θέλεις βαλθεῖ *ibid.* Matth. 5.25
 (νὰ μὴν λάχη ...) καὶ δὲν θέλη λυπηθῇ τὴν ζωὴν σου [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P II 325.30
 νὰ μὴν εἶχα γεννηθεῖ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §3.24
 ἤθελε μοῦ εὐρεθεῖ (1653, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 3, 144.16)

-ῆναι

This ending, clearly residual by the beginning of the LMedG period, can sometimes be found, mainly in mixed-register texts and more formal contexts:

ὅταν κοιμηθῆναι ὑπάγωσι NIKON, *Logos* 3 164.9
 θέλοντα τοῦ γευθῆναι *Dig.* G IV.381; εἰ ἐγερθῆναι ἔχει *ibid.* VI.507
 τίς θέλει σωθῆναι *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 276
 μέλλεις καταδικασθῆναι καὶ εὐθυνθῆναι (1316, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 39, 292.15)
 κανένα οὐ μὴ ἐδυνήθηκε ποσῶς ἀντισταθῆναι *Pol. Tr.* 664; θέλουν διαφεντευθῆναι *ibid.* 2487
 μήτε δειπνου φροντίσαντες μήτε τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι *Velis.* χ 304
 μέλλει κριθῆναι *Assizes A* 25.26
 ὑπᾶν τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι *Byz. Il.* 406
 (θέλει ...) ὁ λίθος τεφρωθῆναι *Ptochol.* α 396
 μετὰ τὸ βαπτισθῆναι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.21
 ἐν ᾧ μέλλω θαφῆναι (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.6)
 (ἂν ἴσως καὶ ... ἤθελεν) ὑπανδρευθῆναι (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 44, 76.18)
 ὅσα ἤθελεν γεννηθῆναι (1642, Patmos, MICHAILARIS 1998: 1, 193.6)

The verb ἔρχομαι had developed an aorist passive infinitive ἐλθῆναι in the EMedG period (e.g. in Romanos the Melode and Leontios of Naples, see MITSAKIS 1967: 68), which appears occasionally in later mixed- to higher-register texts, relatively frequently in documents from S. Italy (for more examples see MINAS ²2003: 121–2). Of other verbs that have

thematic aorists, such as ἄγω, πανθάνω/παθαίνω and φεύγω, morphologically passive infinitives also occasionally occur.

εἰ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀποτροπὴν ἐλθῆναι δοκιμάσω (1135, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 5, 65.8)
 πάσας τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἐπαναγαγεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον (1145, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 9, 26.3–4)
 εἰς τόπον ἀπελθῆναι *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 49
 μέλλεις φυγεῖναι *ERMON., Ilias* 19.207
 αὐριον ἐκδεχόμεθα ἐδῶ πάντες ἐλθῆναι *Achil.* N 1470
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἡγνοηκώς, ὅπερ παθῆναι μέλῃ *Dig.* T 2397
 ὅπερ παθῆναι θέλει *Dig.* A 3564

4.6.2.3 Infinitives with Barytone and Oxytone Forms

-εἶ(ν) -εῖνε -ει(ν)

Thematic aorists historically had active oxytone infinitives in -εῖν (e.g. ἰδεῖν, λαβεῖν, πιεῖν, φαγεῖν) and continue to do so throughout the period under investigation, though certain oxytone forms, such as ἀποθανεῖν, λαβεῖν and πεσεῖν, clearly belong to a higher stylistic register:

εἰς τὸ ἐκ παντὸς ἐλθεῖν θέλει *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 299 (read: θελεῖ); ὑποπτεσεῖν *ibid.* 569
 πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν *Dig.* G I.114; τοῦ λαβεῖν σε γυναῖκα *ibid.* IV.317
 μετὰ χαρμονῆς | πόσης εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχω *Eisit.* f.5r.7–8
 τοῦ εἰπεῖν *Jonas* 213.1 app. crit. (O)
 ὅμως ἂν βούλεται ἀπελθεῖν *Dig.* E 410; καὶ εὐθύς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὁ Διγενῆς *ibid.* 934; φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν
 ἔχεις *ibid.* 1779
 θέλεις τοῦ εὐρεῖν τὴν ὁλότην (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 13, 22.1–2); λαβεῖν
 θέλεις (*ibid.* 12, 22.8)
 γλυκὺν τὸ φαγεῖν, πικρὸν δὲ τὸ χέσσειν *Paroim.* H 34
 καὶ ἀφκράσου τὰ σὲ θέλω εἰπεῖν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 884
 ἤθελεν ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀγάπης *Anthos Ch.* E 271.50
 εἰπεῖν ἤθελα *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 97.12
 γέννησιν, ἢ μάλλον εἰπεῖν ἀναγέννησιν *DAM. SToud., This., Logos* 3, β7r.28 (1561)

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in writing from the 14th c. onwards:

τὸ ἰδεῖ τον *Chron. Mor.* H 257; νὰ σὲ ἔχω εἰπεῖ *ibid.* 532; ἀπὸ τὴν Πόλιν εἶχε ἐλθεῖ *ibid.* 4901
 τοῦ εἰπεῖ *Jonas* 213.1 (reading of ms B)
 πάντες ὑπᾶν παραλαβεῖ *Byz. Il.* 405 app. crit.
 ἐγένετο ἀποθανεῖ τὴν εαυτῆς μητέρα *Diig. Apoll.* 6
 ὅπου εἶχεν εἰπεῖ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 332.36
 θέλεις ἰδεῖ *MOREZINOS, Klini* 235.10
 μὰ τοῦτο θέλομεν εἰπεῖ *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.108
 ἢ φωτία θέλει ἐρθεῖ ὀπίσω *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 62.3–4
 καλὰ το θέλω εἰπεῖ *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 35.33

In the EMG period vowel-initial oxytone forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, resulting in monosyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδεῖ(ν) > δεῖ(ν), εἰπεῖ(ν) > πεῖ(ν), εὐρεῖ(ν) > βρεῖ(ν)):

κι ἐγὼ τὸ δεῖν ἐτρόμαξα BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 53
 θέλομεν δεῖν VOUSTR., *Chron.* M 75.18
 ὡς θέλετε δεῖ CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* Prol. 101; βρεῖ θέλει τρόπον ὁμορφο ibid. II.19; πεῖν ἤθελε
 ibid. II.215
 εἶχασι δεῖν ὁμπρός τως FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 34; ἀληθινὰ πεῖν ἤθελα ibid. II.59

Addition of *-(ν)ε* (see I, 2.6.3.3) is generally rare with infinitives: ὡς θέλεις ἰδεῖνε (1715, Nauplion, LIATA 1975: 6, 123.6); ὡς θέλεις τὸ ἰδεῖνε (ibid. 123.22).

These aorists develop paroxytone variants around the beginning of the LMedG period,¹⁴⁵ probably by analogy with the aorist subjunctive, which with most verbs also displayed both stress patterns (see 4.2.3).

τοῦ ἰδεῖν αὐτὰ (1142, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 303.22)
 χαλάσειν ἔχει ... καὶ πέσειν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 359
 ὀφείλεις δὲ λάβειν (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.32)
 εἰ δὲ κομπώσιν ἤθελες καὶ λάβειν καὶ πλανήσιν *Ptoch.* I 106
 τὸ ἴντα θέλεις πάθειν *Liv.* E 492
 τὸ νὰ τὸ θέλεις μάθειν *Liv.* V 80
 οὐκ ἔμπορουν τὴν εὐρεῖν *Dig.* E 124; οὐ μὴ σᾶς ἔχει λάθειν ibid. 1213
 θέλει τὸ λάβειν *Assizes* B 289.26
 ἔμελλον καταλάβειν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 999
 τοῦ πέσειν *Spanos* D 1167
 τὸ εἶχαν βάλειν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 436.33
 δὲν εἶχεν τί συντύχειν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 863
 Νὰ ᾗχεν ἐππέσειν κέραινος KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 171

Here, too, deletion of final /n/ does not appear in writing before the 14th c.:

καθὼς τὸ θέλεις μάθει *Chron. Mor.* H 1197; τὸ ἔλθει ἡ πρωτοστρατόρισσα ibid. 7703
 ἂν ἤθελεν ἔρθει (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.13)
 ἂν εἶχεν ἔλθει *Assizes* B 338.23
 ἄμα τὸ πέσει εἰς τὴν γῆν *Liv.* V 143
 κάμε νὰ θέλουν ἔλθει *Pol. Tr.* 5639
 ὅτι τοῦ θέλουν ἔρθει *Chron. Toc.* 575
 θέλεις ἔλθει κάτου *Diig. Alex.* F 154.11 (Lolos)
 ἤθελεν ἀποθάνει (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 5, 25.16–17)
 θέλομεν πέσει DAM. STOUD., *Dial.* 104.6
 θέλει ἔρθει VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 144
 ἐγὼ θέλω σου μάθει τὴν γραμματικὴν GERMANO, *Grammar* 104.8–9
 θέλετε το πῖει KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 20.23
 τί ἤθελα πάθει PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §6.23
 ἂν ἤθελαν συνέλθει ὁμοῦ (1665, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 172.16)

The verb γίνομαι, which originally had an aorist middle infinitive γενέσθαι, first developed an oxytone active infinitive in -εῖν (γενεῖν, sporadically γινεῖν) by analogy with thematic aorists, and then, along with the thematic aorists, a paroxytone infinitive in *-ει(ν)* (γένειν/*γίνει*, the second not found with final /n/) (cf. the aorist subjunctive, 4.2.4; for stem variation in this verb see 2.4):

¹⁴⁵ E.g. λάβειν in Niketas of Ankyra (11th c.; 13th-c. ms; see the online TLG).

ἦν μέλλει γινεῖ (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 473.9–10)
 νά καταδέξεται γενεῖ *Chron. Mor.* H 236
 θέλουν ὁδεῖ τῆντα θέλουν γενῆ *Assizes* A 90.29
 καὶ θέλομεν γινεῖν ἔρημοι *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 158.7
 θέλει γενῆν ἀνήμερος δράκος *Alosis* 477; θέλει γινῆν ἀπέραντο ποτάμι *ibid.* 626
 ἤθελα γενῆν καλλιότερος παρὰ σένα *Fior* 98.35
 γενεῖ θέλει τώρα χρονῶν τριάντα *Diig. Alex.* K 345.33
 θέλεις γενεῖν μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς *Diig. Alex.* F 164.9–10 (Lolos); εἶχεν γενεῖ *ibid.* 230.12
 ὅσοι ἐθέλασιν γενεῖν ἱερεῖς (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 173.26–7)
 θέλετε γενεῖν θεοὶ *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 24, ω7r.34 (1561)
 (χίλια κομμάτια ...) νά ᾗ γενεῖ πάσα καρδιά *CHORTATSIS, Erof.* IV.202
 θέλει ἀπογενεῖ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 105.22
 ὥσαν ποτὲ νά μὴν εἶχεν γενεῖ (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 651, 568.6–7)
 ποὺ ἤθελε γενῆ ἱερέας (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 482.3)

The paroxytone variants γένει(ν) and γίνει have not been found before the 15th c. (ms dates of the *War of Troy* and *Ermoniakos*) and the 16th c. (*Tale of Alexander*) respectively:

ἄλλον δὲν θέλει γένει *Pol. Tr.* 1613 app. crit. (A)
 ἡ βουλή σου νά ᾗ γένει *ERMON., Ilias* 8.54; μέλλει γένειν *ibid.* 12.338
 πόσας ἡμέρας ἤθελεν γένει (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 59, 48.5)
 σύναξις θέλει γένει *Chron. Toc.* 1350
 θέλει γένει κρίσις (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.18–19) (= κρίσις)
 τὰ μέλλουν θέλουν γένῃ *Byz. Il.* 773
 ἀπὸ βαμπάκι ὅπερ ἤθελεν γένει μέσα (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 35, 36.6–7)
 ὑψηλότατος θέλεις γίνει *Diig. Alex.* E 113.17 (Lolos); ἤθελα γένει *ibid.* 205.19
 θέλει γένει πάλιν ἀρτζι *MALAXOS M., Ist. patr.* 220.16
 ἐχθροὶ σου θέλουν γένει *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 581
 καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὅπου ἤθελε γένει *Bertoldos* 61.24–5
 καὶ ἔτσι ἤθελεν γίνει τακτικὸς *Bertoldin.* 136.8
 θέλω γένει καὶ ἄρχοντας *MONTSEL., Evgena* 430
 θέλει γένει ἱατρὸς μόνον ὁ θάνατος (1665, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-
 THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 172.14–15)

-εἶ(ν) ὀ -ῆ(ν) ὀ -ει(ν) ὀ -η(ν)

The verb βαίνω and its prefixed forms originally had athematic infinitives in -ναι (βῆναι, ἀναβῆναι), and in the same manner as the aorist passive infinitives in -ῆναι (see 4.6.2.2) they had developed aorist active infinitives in /in/, which continue to be in use in our period, with deletion of final /n/ from the 15th c. onwards:

ἂν ἔχη εἰς ὄρος ἀναβῆν *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 358
 κἂν εἴ τι θέλῃ με συμβῆν *Eisit.* f.5v.13
 εἰ δὲ εἶχεν παραδιαβεῖν (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.18)
 εἰς πόσας ἡμέρας θέλει ἀνεβεῖ ὁ ὄφις (15th c., Unknown, SEARBY 2003: 4, 694.3)
 θέλουν σεβεῖ *Diig. Alex.* F 156.12 (Lolos)
 θέλει ἐμπεῖ *Diig. Alex.* E 157.9 (Lolos)
 ἤθελεν ἀνεβῆ *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 102.18
 δὲν ἤθελες κατεβεῖ *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 2.12
 ἤθελεν ἐβγεῖ (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 37, 117.30); ἂν ἤθελαν μπεῖ (1565, *ibid.* 150, 239.5–6)
 δὲν εἶχε μπεῖ *CHORTATSIS, Erof.* II.311
 εἶχε συνεβεῖ (1638, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2004: 107.8)

These aorists develop paroxytone variants, probably by analogy with the thematic aorist infinitive (see above, and cf. the aorist subjunctive, which also displays both stress patterns, 4.2.3):

κατέβην ἔχω *Dig.* E 288
 μέλλεις ἀνέβην *Pol. Tr.* 62 (reading of ms X); ἀνέβη *ibid.* app. crit. (V); ἀνάβη *ibid.* app. crit. (A)
 ἀνέβειν ἡδυνήθηκεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1269
 ὁ σκώληξ ἔβγει θέλει *Ptochol.* α 395
 εὐθύς τ' ἀνέβην ὥρμησα *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 35
 θέλεις ἔμπει νοικοκύρης *Bertoldos* 61.27
 θέλουσιν ἀπόβγειν *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 84.5
 θέλει ἔβγει *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 2.6
 ἦθελε ἔβγει (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 138.30–1)
 ἦθελεν παρῆβειν τὴν ὑπόσχεσίν του (1696, Proikonnisos, KAMBOURIS 1976: A. 8, 199.1)
 ἀκόμη δὲν εἶχε καλοέμπει εἰς τὸ δάσος *Don Kis.* 18.30–1

4.7 The Gerund

The gerund as a separate morphological and syntactic category (an invariable form in adverbial use) evolved from the active participle (see II, 3.7.1) during a lengthy and gradual process, starting from the adverbial use of the masculine nominative form (in -ων/-ῶν for the present and -ας for the aorist) with feminine referents as early as the 5th/4th c. BC (MANOLESSOU 2005: 243). With the loss of vowel length (HORROCKS ²2010: 163–5), the masculine nominative in -ων and the neuter nominative and accusative in -ον became indistinguishable. The next step in the development was the spread of the masculine accusative ending /onda/ to the neuter nominative and accusative in the 4th c. AD (HATZIDAKIS 1892:144; KAPSOMENAKIS 1938: 40; MANOLESSOU 2005: 246), the subsequent spread of this form to masculine nominatives and feminine forms in EMedG inscriptions (MANOLESSOU 2005: 250–1) and its eventual establishment as a fully-fledged gerund from about the 10th/11th c. onwards (see below).

From the 11th c. onwards an added final /s/ can be found, sporadically at first, but becoming more common after the 15th c. (forms in -ντας are the SMG form).¹⁴⁶ The most plausible explanation for this development is that of CHATZIDAKIS (1928: 637) and SCHWYZER/DEBRUNNER (1950: 410–11), namely that, since the gerund is used in apposition to the subject, final /s/ came to be added by analogy with masculine nominatives in /s/, first and foremost in -ας, but also in -ος and -ης, final /s/ having become a clear marker for the nominative of masculine nouns and adjectives.¹⁴⁷ Former third-declension nouns in -ων and

¹⁴⁶ The fact that certain MG dialects still present the form in -όντα without addition of final /s/ (among which S. Italy, Cyprus, Mani, and other areas of the Peloponnese and Euboea; see MIRAMBEL 1961: 70–1) is an indication of a relatively late breakthrough for the phenomenon.

¹⁴⁷ A different explanation, namely that final /s/ was added because of the gerund's adverbial function and thus by analogy with adverbs with an added -ς, such as ποτέ > ποτές, τότε > τότες (HORROCKS ²2010: 298; MANOLESSOU 2005: 251; GORTON 2013), seems less plausible given the fact that the adverbial ending -ας for -α does not occur across the board, but is limited to a relatively small group of lexical items (see II, 4.2.3 for details).

-ών had already undergone a parallel morphological development, e.g. nom. γέρων, acc. γέροντα > nom. γέροντας; nom. χειμών, acc. χειμώνα > nom. χειμώνας; see II, 2.2.

In the period covered by this Grammar present active participles were still in use in mixed- and higher-register texts (for their uses see IV, 3.4.4.2; for their morphology see II, 3.7.1), especially in adverbial use, with the subject as referent e.g. περιπατοῦντες ἔρχονται *Achil.* N 1323, and in absolute constructions, e.g. πετῶντες πολλοὶ εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἀνασταίνεται ἕνας βασιλέας *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 31.27–8, while their attributive use and use as verbal complements was rapidly diminishing (MANOLESSOU 2005: 252). Of course, when used adverbially, participles closely resemble the gerund. The fact that inflected endings are used is the only thing that differentiates them from the gerund, and clearly the difference between the following two examples is minimal: θερίζουν τὲς Κυριακὲς φλυαροῦντες *LANDOS, Geopon.* 145.16–17; νὰ μὴν γυρίσουν ὀπίσω, εὐρίσκοντας καμπόσες γούνες ἀπὸ τὲς νιφίτσες *Bertoldin.* 114.9–10.

In LMedG and EMG the gerund could be formed from the imperfective stem (present gerund), from the active perfective stem (aorist gerund; regional) and rarely even from the passive perfective stem (for the use of these gerunds see IV, 3.4.4.2). In present gerunds of barytone verbs the thematic vowel /o/ is unstressed (although stress shifts may occur regionally, see below). The thematic vowel /o/ of athematic aorist gerunds is stressed (although, again, stress shifts may occur regionally, see below). In those of oxytone A-stems the thematic vowel /o/ is stressed, as are the /o/ or /o/ of oxytone E-stems. For oxytone E-stem verbs /o/ is much more common than /o/, clearly making /onda/ the dominant ending for gerunds. Since the endings are the same for barytone and oxytone verbs, a single table is provided to cover both classes of verbs. For the gerund of εἶμαι, see 4.8.5. For “contracted” forms of barytone vowel stem verbs, e.g. ἀκοῦντα(ς), see also 2.1.1.2. For the use of gerunds in periphrastic constructions see 5.3.1.5 and 5.4.1.5. For the use of the gerund in general, see IV, 3.4.4.2 and 4.4.6.

	General	Restricted	Rare
Present	γράφοντα γράφοντας γρικῶντα/-όντα γρικῶντας/-όντας βαρῶντα βαρῶντας	γράφων γράφοντες γρικῶντες/-όντες -ας	γράφονταν γράφουντα γραφόντα γραφόντας γράφουντας γράφота(ς) γράφαντας
Aorist	ἀποθανόντα ἀποθανόντας	ἀποθανών ἀποθάνοντας γράφοντα	ἀποθανότα(ς) ἀποθάνονταν ἀποθάνοντες γράψας

	General	Restricted	Rare
		γράφοντας	γράφαντα(ς) ἐλθοντος ἢ ἐλθόντος σταθόντα σταθέντα

4.7.1 Present

-οντα ἢ -ονταν ἢ -οτα ἢ -ουντα ἢ -ώντα ἢ -ούντα ἢ -όντα

As noted in the introduction, gerunds in -ντα, derived from the present active participles in -ων/-ών (see II, 3.7.1), start to appear in texts from at least the 10th/11th c., by which time they must have been well-established, given that they also appear in mixed- and higher-register texts such as the writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain and *Digenis G.*¹⁴⁸ The form gradually falls into disuse after the 16th c., by which time forms in -ντας have become firmly established (see below).

Barytone Verbs

ἡμεῖς βλέποντά σοι τοιοῦτον εἶναι ἱκανόν (999, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 10, 9.12)
 (ὁ πρεσβύτερος ...) λέγοντα ... (1094, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 13, 129.16–17)
 καὶ ὅσαι μὲν εὐρηνται ... ἐορτὲς ἔχοντα ἀναγνώσματα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 214.27–8; ἐκεῖ οὐκ
 ἦμουν προσέχοντα ἄλλους καὶ ἄλλους id., *Logos* 19 566.36
 ... οὐ μετέσχε βρωμάτων, ἢ οὐ πόσεως τὸ σύνολον θέλοντα τοῦ γευθῆναι *Dig.* G IV.380–1
 ἐκεῖνοι πάλι φεύγοντα *Chron. Mor.* H 1144
 κλαίοντα καὶ ὀδυρόμενος *Dig.* E 393; συντυχαίνοντα ὁ θεῖος του καὶ ὁ πατήρ του ibid. 785
 (ἐγκάριξεν ...) φωνάζοντα καὶ τρέχοντα *Diig. tetr.* 711
 τὸν σταυρὸν βαστάζοντα ἦλθαν ... DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 257
 διδοντά του (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 47.11) (first accent omitted)
 βλέποντά τον ἢ κόρη *Velth.* 1004 (Cupane)
 πρεζεντιάζοντά τα, λαλεῖ του VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 88.19; καβαλλικεύγοντα ο ἀποστολὲς id.,
Chron. M 9.17
 βασιλεύοντα ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μεχμέτης (16th c., northern Aegean?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.II,
 544.9.1)
 ἀπὸ ἄλλον μέρος στέκοντα ἔβλεπεν ὁ Θησεὺς *Theseid* I.58,1 (Follieri)
 ἐπανηγύριζαν ψάλλοντα καὶ τὸν Θεὸν δοξάζοντα *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 290
 ἀρχιερετεύοντα κυρ-Νικταρίου (1593, Kastoria, ΔΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 2005: 1, 13.3)

Oxytone Verbs

(ὁ πρεσβύτερος ...) παρακαλοῦντα αὐτὸν (1094, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 13, 129.16–17)
 ἦλθες παρκάλωντα με (1173, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 51, 88.21)
 ἀναβάλλομαι, ἐρευνῶντα ... ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 211.21
 ἦλθαν παρακαλῶντα μας *Chron. Mor.* H 349; ὁ καστελλᾶνος ..., οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον ibid.
 8237

¹⁴⁸The following example appears in what is probably a 9th-c. text: ὅταν ἐξέρχηται ἡ ψυχὴ ... βοᾷ λέγοντα *Apocal. Mar.* 124.43 app. crit. (ed. James 1893, repr. 1967), which, however, has been transmitted in a 11th/12th-c. ms.

(ἐγκάριξεν ...) τοιλοπορδοκοπῶντα *Diig. tetr.* 711
 γρικῶντα ταῦτα ... ἐδέχθημεν (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.7)
 ἐστράφηκε γελῶντα *Velth.* 861 (Cupane)
 φιλῶντα τὰ ματάκια της FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 469
 γροικῶντα ἐκεῖνος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.18–19; ἐκλαῖαν ... λαλοῦντα *ibid.* 588.16
 ἐγὼ θωρῶντα σε LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 211
 ἡ κρατῶντα αὐτὰ ἡ πωλῶντα (1513, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 38, 67.36)
 ὀμιλῶντα δὲ ὁ Πατριάρχης *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 163
 ζῶντα μου, φρονῶντα μου (1635, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 1, 13.2)
 μισῶντα καὶ ἀγαπῶντα (1668, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 39, 40.5)

Present active gerunds in -ντα of deponent verbs (verbs with passive morphology but active meaning, see IV, 4.2) can be found in texts from Cyprus and Crete, but they are much more common and widespread with final /s/ (see below).

Barytone Verbs

ἔρχοντα ὁ καιρὸς δὲν ἔχει νὰ πληρώσῃ *Assizes A* 44.13
 στρέφοντα ἡ ρήγαινα VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 56.7
 ντρέποντα ἐκρυβήθησαν ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 490
 ἔρκοντα τοῦ κυροῦ Μανουήλ τοῦ Βουτουμήτη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36.21; καὶ στρέφοντά
 του ὁ κυβερνοῦρης *ibid.* 296.13
 πέτοντα πότε ἐδῶ πότε ἐκεῖ *Anthos Ch.* A 189.6
 ὕδελοντά τους *Pist. kekoim.* 674
 θέλω ὁκαί, πανδρεῦοντα ἡ λεγομένη Μαρίνα, νὰ ᾽χει ἐπαρμένα (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/
 LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 219.60)

Oxytone Verbs

ὁ νοῦς μου ... νὰ ᾽ν φοβῶντα FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 11; φοβοῦντα *ibid.* app. crit. (V)
 φοβῶντα μὲν φύγη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 542.17–18
 κοιμοῦντα εἰς τὸ κρεβάτιν μου BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 425
 καὶ κοιμῶντα τους ἐμπαίνει ἀπάνω στὸ καράβιν *Fior* 108.12
 θυμῶντα τὴν ἀγάπη μου *Imb. Rim.* 941

Addition of final /n/ can occasionally be found (cf. the aorist gerund, 4.7.2):

εἶχε κρατῶνταν (1113, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 75, 97.17)
 ἀπεμπολῶνταν τὸ ἡμῶν μοιράδιον (1154–5, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 5, 79.5)
 προστάσσοντάν με (1182, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 22, 424.7)
 καὶ γυρίζονταν εὐρίσκει ERMON., *Ilias* 19.363; βλέπονταν αὐτὸς αὐτίκα *ibid.* 22.326
 παρακαλῶνταν τον (1682, Venice, MANOUSAKAS/SKOULAS 1993: 527α, 133.7)

Gerunds of barytone verbs with a shift of the stress to the penultimate have been found in one manuscript of the *War of Troy* and certain texts from Cyprus:

ταῦτα λεγόντα ἔφθασαν *Pol. Tr.* 8366 app. crit. (C)
 στρεφόντα τους οἱ μαντατοφόροι ἀπὸ τοῦ πάπα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 94.36
 ἐρκόντα τῆς εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 57.7; ἐρκόντα το μαντάτον *id.*, *Chron.* M 73.17
 νὰ ᾽χη πόνον ... διδόντα ... περίτου παρὰ ποῦ ἐμπόρεν *Fior* 102.30–1¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ In Cypriot the verb δίδω has an oxytone variant διδῶ, see 2.1.3.1.

Barytone vowel-stem verbs can have paroxytone gerunds through vowel deletion (see also 2.1.1.2) or synizesis: ξενίζομαι ἀκόντα τέτοιαν τάξη *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 116 (< ἀκούω); ἀκόντα τὰ γενόμενα *BERGADIS, Apok. A* 151 (< ἀκούω); κλιόντα *Cypr. Canz.* 34.7 (< κλαίω).

Gerunds of barytone verbs can undergo raising of unstressed /o/ to /u/ in the thematic vowel (for details see I, 2.8.3). Examples have been found in texts from Cyprus, and in one manuscript of the *War of Troy*: ἀσκονδίζονται γυρίζουν *Pol. Tr.* 12044 app. crit. (C); κλέπτουντα πράγματα *Assizes A* 19.30 app. crit. (L); ἀγοράζονται οὐδὲ πουλοῦντα *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 354.30–1 (hapax).

Forms in -τα instead of -ντα are phonetic rather than morphological variants, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (for details see I, 3.6.2.1): φυλάττοτα τὰ γεροθρόφια (1606, Chios, *VISVIZIS* 1948: 4, 82.10).

-οντας | -ουντας | -ώντας | -ούντας | -όντας

Addition of /s/ is securely attested in the 14th c.,¹⁵⁰ becoming more frequent from about the 15th c. onwards (e.g. ms H of *Chronicle of the Morea* (14th c.) has only three gerunds in -ντας against over a hundred in -ντα, whereas the *Chronicle of Tocco* (15th c.) has only one gerund in -ντα against about thirty in -ντας). The majority of Cypriot texts (ms V of the chronicle of Machairas, all versions of that of Voustronios, the John of Damascus paraphrase *Pist. kekoim.* and *Fior di Virtù*), only have forms in -ντα. In the 15th and 16th c., forms with and without final /s/ often appear side by side in the same text.

Barytone Verbs

ἐβλέποντας *Chron. Mor.* H 2917 and 3968

ἐπιδίδοντας τὴν εἰρημένην ἀποκοπὴν μέλλεις ἔσθαι ... (1431, Athens, *BUCHON* 1843: LXIX, 291.17)

θέλοντας νὰ τόνε εὐκαριστήσωμεν (1445, Naxos, *LAMBROS* 1907: 467.5)

παραδίδοντας τὰ ρηθέντα δοκᾶτα κε' (1479, Corfu, *KARYDIS* 2001: 57, 88.19–20)

ἀνέφερεν ταπεινὰ, λέγοντας πῶς ... (1487, Rhodes, *LEFORT* 1981: 10, 68.3)

σατισφάροντας τὸ Μόρα (15th c., Crete, *KODER* 1964: 48.52)

θέλοντας μιᾶς ποῦ φεύγει ν' ἀκολουθήσῃ *Cypr. Canz.* 13.2

ἔχοντας νόμιμον ἄνδρα (1506, Trebizond, *PRINZING* 2000: 2, 304.4)

ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἀκούοντας ἐχαίρετον *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 7, η5r.33 (1561)

¹⁵⁰ An 11th-c. example from S. Italy with a plural referent: οἱ πνευματικοὶ νόμοι, ἀκολουθώντας στάσιν ἀτάραχον (1034, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 29, 34.5–6) could be the result of a misreading or even printing mistake (for ἀκολουθώντας), given the unfortunate unreliability of the edition. A 12th-c. example from the same area is equally dubious: καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀδελφοὺς οὓς ἤμον δώσοντας τοῦ Δαυὶδ (1106–7, S. Italy, *MÉNAGER* 1957: 4, 326.40). The context does not justify a pluperfect reading for ἤμον δώσοντας ("I had given"), as it would be unlikely somebody could give to a monastery two slaves whom he had already given to somebody else. It is perhaps a very awkward participial construction, in which for ἤμον we should read ἡμῶν. A third example from the same area could also be a misreading, as Cusa's edition, too, is known to be unreliable: ἐὰν φανῇ ... τις ... παρεμποδίζοντας (1221, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 7, 380.5–7). The fact that the modern dialects of S. Italy do not present forms in -ντας at all (*MIRABEL* 1961: 71) is a valid reason to doubt the validity of these examples. However, see the 11th/12th-c. example from Nikon of the Black Mountain under oxytone verbs.

νὰ τὸ σπέρνουν πληρώνοντας τὸ γαίμουρο (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 11, 134.7)
 φαμπρικάροντας εἰς αὐτὸ εὐμορφα ὁσπίτια VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.32–3
 ἐφημερεύοντας ὁ κυρ-παπα-Κυραζῆς (1651, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 19, 36.2)
 ὁ ... κυρ-Ἀκάκιος ... ἐξωδιάζοντάς το (1657, Macedonia, ODORICO 1998: 75, 192.20)

Oxytone Verbs¹⁵¹

ὁ παπᾶς Θεόδουλος δὲ ἐκεῖνος θαρρῶντας (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.7)
 κρατῶντας τὸ κλειδί ὁ εὐρισκόμενος βικάριος (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 33, 67.26)
 ἐγροικῶντας (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1988: 1, 233.6)
 εἶχεν μέγαν φόβον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν της, λαλῶντας ὅτι ... MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 94.49–50 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 απερνούντας λοιπόν ολίγος καιρὸς *Syndipas* 113.21
 (ἐπίστρεψαν ...) ὑμνοῦντας τὸν Θεόν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.29
 φοβῶντας τὸν θάνατον (1573, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75.5)
 ζῶντας τοῦ παπα-κυρ-Σπύρου (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 42, 103.17)
 καὶ ἐκεῖνος βαστῶντας με ΡΑΡΑ-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.24–5
 (ἐγκάρειξεν ...) τσιλοπορδοκοποῦντας *Diig. tetr.* 711 app. crit (L)
 θωρῶντας ἡ ἄνωθεν κερα-Ἐργίνα (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 38, 58.6–7)
 ἀρχινῶντας ἐκ τὸν κόμη TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 134
 ζῶντας νὰ παρακαλῆς τοὺς φίλους σου *Vios Aisop.* I 276.34–5
 ἡ ἐπιθυμία, ἐνεργῶντας εἰς τοῦ λόγου σας VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.11
 ἀκολουθᾷ σιωπῶντας, θαρρῶντας πῶς ... *Vios Aisop.* D 223.14
 θαρρῶντας με τα ψεύματα (... νὰ κυριεύσει) IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5492

Active present gerunds in -ντας of deponent verbs can be found in texts from most areas from the 16th c. onwards:¹⁵²

Barytone Verbs

φαίνοντάς τους δίκαιαν ... ἡ αὐτὴ σούπλικα (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 35.7–8)
 κάθοντάς μου (1574, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61.7–8)
 καὶ μὴ ἔρχοντάς τους (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 135, 89.2)
 προσεύχοντας MOREZINOS, *Klini* 53.18
 τὸν ἀφέντη θὲς εὐρεῖ κάθοντας TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 267
 δέχοντας GERMANO, *Grammar* 102.6
 ὑπόσχοντας (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 42, 60.18–19)
 μὴν δέχοντας ἐμένα (1653–5, Venice, FONKIČ 2000: 240, f.1v.9)
 συλλογίζοντας (1665, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 2, 13.21)
 προφασίζοντας (1677, Proikonnisos, KAMBOURIS 1976: A. 6, 198.3)
 ἔρχοντας ὁ καιρὸς (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 65.22)
 μάχοντας EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 46.13
 ἔρχοντας ἐδῶ (1715, Smyrna, LIATA 1975: 21, 135.16)

¹⁵¹ One might argue that the following example represents confusion of participles (masc. for fem.) rather than a gerund: ἡῦρα τὰς θείας γραφᾶς μαρτυροῦντας ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.5–7; but Nikon does not usually confuse masculine and feminine participial forms in his writings. Though its use is not quite that of a gerund (referring to the object, not the subject), it is likely to be an invariable participial form.

¹⁵² An unusual form in -ονας/-ονα found in the documents of Miniatis is sometimes interpreted as a participle/gerund: καὶ βάζειν τὸν ἀφέντη τὸν Γερμανάκην διαλέγονα (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 208, 386.11–12); νὰ εἶναι διαλέγονας ὁ Μανώλης (ibid. 257, 449.22); νὰ εἶναι διαλέονας (1687, ibid. 656, 898.4). However, it is a noun rather than a participle/gerund; see ILNE s.v. διαλεγῶνας for full details.

Oxytone Verbs

- κοιμώντας *Cypr. Canz.* 12.3
 φοβώντας *Theseid* I.57,6 (Follieri)
 φοβώντας (1531, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 22, 69.4)
 ἀπιλογούντας (1540, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 8, 21.8)
 θυμώντας (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.29)
 ἐνθυμώντας (1583, Athens?, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.17–8)
 φοβώντας (1585, Constantinople, PATRINELIS 1967/68: 28, 108.6)
 ἀρνώντας τὸ βάπτισμά σου MOREZINOS, *Klini* 73.16
 λυπώντας τον ὅπου ἦτονε εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 752, 652.5)
 κοιμώντας GERMANO, *Grammar* 101.29
 διηγώντας RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 64.27
 μεγάλα καυκώντας λόγια προφέρνεις *Irodis* I.9
 ἀρνώντας (1685, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [2], 12.8)
 θυμώντας σου KORNAPOS, *Erot.* V.997
 συλλογώντας (1712, Nauplion, LIATA 1998b: 232.3)

Barytone vowel-stem verbs (see 2.1.1.2) can develop paroxytone gerunds through vowel deletion: ἀκῶντας *Theseid* I.5,2 (Follieri) (< ἀκούοντας).

Barytone gerunds with a shift of the stress to the penultimate have been found in texts from south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese):

- ἐμένα ἐβλεπόντας ζωντανὴ *Diig. Alex.* F 128.2–3 (Lolos); ἀρχόντας νὰ ποιήσου<ν> τὸν ὄρισμόν τοῦ αὐθεντός *ibid.* 172.15–16 (Konstantinopulos)¹⁵³
 ὁπού την ῥίξαν στο γιαλόν, ἐρχόντας εἰς τὴ στράτα! *Apoll.* Rim. N 1164
 ἐρχόντας εἰς τὸν καρπόν (1625, Crete, VLACHAKI 1986: 22, 448.42)

Barytone gerunds with raising of /o/ to /u/ in the thematic vowel (for details see I, 2.8.3) can occasionally be found, alongside forms with /o/, in texts from northern areas. It has also been found in *Irodis*, a text of Cycladic provenance (Syros? Naxos?) (cf. gerunds in -ουντα, above, which have also been found in certain Cypriot texts that generally do not, however, have forms in -ντας):¹⁵⁴ καὶ υπήγεν τρέχουντας *Diig. Alex.* K 361.35; κόφτουντας *ibid.* 353.1; τζακίζουντας ἐργαστήρια ἐδιαγούμιζαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.13 (hapax); ὀνοματίζουντας *Irodis* III.273; στρεβλώνουντας τὸ στόμα *ibid.* V.288.

-οτας ἰ -ώτας ἰ (-ούτας)

Forms in -τας instead of -ντας are phonetic rather than morphological variants, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/, as the examples in the Latin script illustrate (for details see I, 3.6.2.1):

- missodas CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* I.587 transcr. X (Legrand) (< μισῶ); thimodastos *ibid.* II.350 (< θυμοῦμαι); uanodas *ibid.* IV.479 (< βάνω)
 eghodas *P&N Diath.* 319 app. crit. (< ἔχω)

¹⁵³ One should perhaps read ἐρχόντας (< ἐρχομαι) rather than ἀρχόντας (< ἀρχομαι), cf. the reading of version E: ἐρχάμενοι *Diig. Alex.* E 173.14.

¹⁵⁴ The following participial form is comparable: τοὺς πράττουντα(ς) (1027, Sparta, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 43, 301.19) (inscription now lost).

erghodas (1653, Crete, PANOPOULOU 1991: 2, 429.15) (< ἔρχομαι)

ὑπόσχοτας καὶ ὀπλιγάροτας (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 42, 60.18–19); φοβώτας (1640, ibid. 189, 159.8)

βγάζοτας (1691, Sibiu, TSOURLKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.5)

μὴν ἔχοτας ἄλλο ... μένω ... ἀκαρτερώτας τὸ τίμιόν της γράμμα (1715, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 10, 127.10)

-οντες ἰ -ώντες ἰ (-ούντες) ἰ -οντις

In texts from certain Heptanesian islands gerunds in -ντες occur with singular (and plural) referents, as noted by the editors of the Kapianos archive (VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: I 28) (cf. εἶμαι, which has variants σtάντες and ἔσ(τ)οντες, see 4.8.5):¹⁵⁵

ἐφανίσθη ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν ἡ δεκαρχία τῶν τριάκοντα τριῶν παραπονώντες ὅτι ... (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 167.3)

σιτμάροντες τὸ δαμάλι ... δύο καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 25, 83.9); κάνοντες τὴν δεφέζα του ὁ ρηθεὶς κυρ-Ἀντώνης (ibid. 32, 91.6–7); (τὸ πακτώνει ...) σαλβίζοντες τὰ δέντρη (ibid. 35, 94.8); γυρεύοντες ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Θωμάς νὰ πληρωθεῖ (ibid. 21, 77.11); ἡ ρηθείσα κυρ-Αλεξάνδρα, γυρεύοντες νὰ λάμβει τὸ ἀδελφομοίρι της (ibid. 21, 77.15–16); ὀμπλιγάροντες ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Μαρτῆς ὅτι ... νὰ κάμει (1576, ibid. 48, 111.19–20) ἦλθεν ἡ ἄνοιξις, κάμνοντες πάντα σεισμόν IER. AVNATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 337.12–13 (author from Kefalonia)

νὰ στέκει πᾶσα εἷς ... δουλεύοντες καὶ κοιμώντες πᾶσα εἷς τὸ μερτικό του (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 4, 5.2); δουλεύοντες καὶ κοιμώντες ὁ κάθε εἷς τὴν πάρτη του (1673, ibid. 43.7); ἀρχινώντες ὁ καιρὸς (1675, ibid. 87, 50.2)

The following form in -οντις could be the result of a writing mistake, or it may reflect raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4): φέρνοντις λοιπὸν ἐδῶ ὅπου ἦλθε GAVRIILOP., *Diig. panouklas* 94.28.

The translator of *Bertoldos* uses forms in -ες only with plural referents (both masculine and feminine): ἀρχισε νὰ κοιτάζει μία τὴν ἄλλην λέγοντες *Bertoldos* 24.27–8; οἱ αὐθέντρες ... μὴν εὐρίσκοντες τὸ φόρεμα ibid. 65.9; οἱ ἱατροὶ μὴν ἐγνωρίζοντες τὴν κράσιν του, ἔκανάν του τὰ γιαιτρικά ibid. 76.3–4.

-ων

The present active participle in -ων/-ῶν (see II, 3.7.1) can sometimes be found in its “old” masculine singular form, irrespective of the gender or number of its referent, i.e. as a gerund:

ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἀντέφη λέγων ... (1093, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 56, 73.8)

ἐθήκη ξύλινος ..., ἔχων τὴν σταύρωσιν, ἔχων μέσον τίμιον ξύλον (1142, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 7, 75.44–6) (ἐθήκη = θήκη, see I, 2.6.1.3)

¹⁵⁵ For some of the examples given, it cannot be excluded that these are participles and that a plural subject is implied; note, however, the singular ἐφανίστη in the example from Corfu, and νὰ στέκη, μερτικό του and πάρτη του in the examples from Paxoi. The number of examples with singular referents from Kefalonia justifies regarding the example with a plural referent as a gerund as well.

θέλων καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι *Pol. Tr.* 160; θρηνῶντα, κλαίων ἐφώναζαν *ibid.* 1853
 ἐμβλέπων ὡς κατὰσκοπος *Velth.* 338 (Cupane); βασιτάζων εἰς τὰς χεῖράς της *ibid.* 661; ταῦτα
 εἰπὼν ἐξέβηκε *ibid.* 924
 καὶ ἡ κόρη κλαίων ἔστεκεν, κλαίων ἐμοιρολογάτον *Achil.* O 418; ἡ κόρη δὲ χαμογελῶν κάτου
 στή γῆν ἐθώρειν *ibid.* 628
 ἂν τρώγων θέλω νὰ διψῶ *Krasop.* AO 63
 ξενίζομαι ἀκῶν τέτοιαν τάξῃ *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 116 app. crit. (A) (< ἀκούω with vowel
 deletion)
 ἀρχισαν τα τέκνα αὐτοῦ κλαίουσιν ... λέγων συναλλήλως των *Vios Filaret.* 241.11–12

-ας

At the beginning of the LMedG period a present participle λέγας exists of the verb λέγω, which combines the present active stem λεγ- with the aorist active participle ending -ας (*MINAS* ²⁰⁰³: 123).¹⁵⁶ The number of occurrences, the broad geographical spread and the kinds of texts in which this participle occurs indicate that this form existed before the period covered by this Grammar. In almost all examples it is used adverbially with a masc. nom. sg. referent (and could thus also be viewed as a gerund), while the *Chronicle of Morea* clearly uses it as a gerund, with four examples with a plural referent and six with a singular.¹⁵⁷ In the 1066 example from Athos the form appears to be invariable (referring to the direct object τινὰ τῶν μοναχῶν). The form λέγας disappeared after the 14th c.

καὶ ἔαν ποτὲ καιρῷ ἀναφῇ λέγας ... ὁ Ζελιάνος (1033–4, Athos, *LEMERLE* et al. 1982: 2, 35.41–2)
 οὐχ εὖρον οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ... τινὰ τῶν μοναχῶν λέγας ὅτι ... (1066, Athos, *BOMPAIRE* et al. 2001: 8, 101.31)
 (ἤλθεν πρὸς με ὁ καθηγούμενος ...) λέγας: ... (1123, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 92, 120.10)
 ἀπεκρίθη λέγας (1128, S. Italy, *MERCATI* et al. 1980: 13, 97.10 facs.)¹⁵⁸
 καὶ ὁ μὲν κυρὸς ἀμιρᾶς ἔφη μοι λέγας οὕτως (1136? 1151?, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. IX: 19, 418.15)
 (τὸ στέμμα ... οὐδὲν τὸ ἐπαραδέχτη, ...) λέγας ... *Chron. Mor.* H 109; κὶ ὅλοι τὸν
 ἀνασκόψασιν, συνενποδισανέ τον, | λέγας, ὅτι ... *ibid.* 5085–6; οὐδὲν τὸ ἐστεργήθησαν νὰ
 τὸ ποιήσουν οὕτως, | λέγας ... *ibid.* 6686–7; λέγας καὶ λογιζόμενος *ibid.* 6005; (ἐδιάβηκεν
 ... εἰς τὴν Θῆβαν) λέγας νὰ ἰδῇ τὴν δοῦκισσαν *ibid.* 8021

A similar participial form of the verb θρύβω can, again, be found in Glykas, in his prison poem: οἶδεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ παθὼν, οἶδεν ὁ θρύβας μόνος *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 231. Cf. also the

¹⁵⁶ The use of the aorist ending with the present participle may have been more widespread in the EMedG period; see e.g. ὑπ[ο]γράφας (SB.I.4504, l. 28) (7th-c., accessible at: <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;1;4504>). Another interesting parallel can be found in the form φέρας from φέρω: [τὸ μέλι ...] τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τὸ λείπον χαρίζεται, τοὺς δὲ εἰς ἀμετρίαν φέραν πολέμιον αὐτοῖς καθίσταται Severos Iatrosoph., *De clysteribus* 8.8 (ed. Dietz) (Late Antique text of uncertain date, 12th-c. ms); ὁ δὲ φιλόθεος καὶ φιλάρετος ἀληθῶς ἀνὴρ εὐθέως ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύθη καὶ φέρας καὶ τὸν ἕτερον βοῦν τὸν μεμονωμένον, ἔδωκε τὸν γεωργόν, *Vios Philaret.* 186–8 (9th-c. text, 11th-c. ms).

¹⁵⁷ There is one example in Glykas of an unambivalent declined participial form: παράγει τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτὸν οὕτω λέγοντα *GLYKAS, Eis tas aporias* II 294.15–16. However, as this is a one-off and the normal form in this text is λέγοντα, it cannot be excluded that this is a typographical error in the modern edition.

¹⁵⁸ The editors incorrectly print λέγ(ον)τας.

substantivized form τὸ ἔχας: πλατὺς ἐκ τὸ ἔχας του *Pol. Tr.* 2081 (τοῦ ἔχοντος in ms V); τὸ ἔχας του νὰ φυλαχθῇ *ibid.* 11445.

-αντας | -άντας

This ending, borrowed from the aorist gerund (see below), has been found in a document from Corfu, with a barytone and an oxytone verb: ἀπερνάντας ... ὑπαγαίναντας (1473, Corfu, PENDOGALOS 1974a: 3, 137.9–10).¹⁵⁹

4.7.2 Aorist

-όντα | -όντας | -οντα(ν) | -οντας | -ότα(ς)

Aorist gerunds formed from the thematic aorist active participle in -ών (e.g. ἰδών), have been found from at least the 14th c. onwards in texts from various regions.¹⁶⁰

ἰδόντα γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες (... οὐκ εἴχασιν τὸ ποιήσει ἀλλέως) *Chron. Mor.* H 3021

Πρωτεσίλαος ἰδόντα *ERMON.*, *Ilias* 5.68

ἰδόντα τοὺς υἱοὺς του *Pol. Tr.* 1954 app. crit. (X)

ἰδόντα ὁ δολερὸς κριτῆς *DELLAP.*, *Erot. apokr.* 1072

ελθόντα τοὺς εἰς τὴν Λευκουσίαν *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 238.8

ἀποθανόντα του (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 82, 154.14)

ἀποθανόντα σου *Pist. kekoim.* 592

Addition of final /n/ has been found in Ermoniakos's *Iliad* (cf. the present gerund, above, 4.7.1): μάθονταν ἐκ θεραπαίνης (... τὴν θεράπαιναν προσέφη) *ERMON.*, *Ilias* 23.280.

With an added final /s/ these aorist gerunds have been found from the 14th c. onwards, mainly in texts from south-western areas and the Aegean:

ἰδόντας γὰρ οἱ προεστοὶ *Chron. Mor.* H 3305

κ' ἐσεῖς δεντρά, ἔχ τὴν λύπην μαρσθῆτε | ἰδόντας τὴν ἐδικὴν τῆς κακοσύνης *Cypr. Canz.* 77.12

ἰδόντας οἱ μουσουλμάνοι ὅτι χάνονται (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 132.12)

ἀποθανόντας τῶνε (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 6, 16.44)

ἀποτυχόντας τῆς παρουσίας τῆς ζωῆς (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 82, 272.20)

ὁ Νεκτεναβὸν ἰδόντας τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα *Diig. Alex.* F 100.5 (Lolos); ἐλθόντας ἡ γέννησις τοῦ

παιδίου *ibid.* 102.23–4; ὁ Τάρειος εἰπόντας τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν *ibid.* 304.14; ἰδόντας τῆς

Ἰνδίας τὰ φουσάτα ἔφυγαν *ibid.* 292.19

ἰδόντας ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον ἔδραμαν *Diig. Alex.* V 81.28

λαβόντας αὐτὰ (1560, Ancona, MARKOS 1977: III, 29.7)

ὁ σουλτὰν Μπαγιαζίτης, ἰδόντας τὴν θρησκεία τὴν νέα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 129.23

¹⁵⁹The readings are not entirely secure, as the new edition of this document (KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996, doc. 27) has ἀπερνώντας and ὑπαγαίνοντας. However, the editors state in their introduction (p. 146) that “spelling mistakes have been corrected”, and they may have considered these forms in -αντας/-άντας to be just that.

¹⁶⁰One single instance can also be found in Kekaumenos's *Strategikon*, an 11th-c. text that is, however, transmitted in a sole 14th-c. manuscript: ὅς καὶ ἐλθόντα πρὸς τὸν ρηθέντα βασιλέα κύρ Ρωμανὸν ἐφιλοτιμήθη Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 302.14 app. crit. (M) (ed. Litavrin).

καὶ ἀποθανόντας της ὅλο ἐδικό της (1573 [copy of 1650], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17, 71.9–10)
 ἀποτυχόντας του (1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.16)
 ἀποθανόντας μου (1590, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 6, 30.17)
 ἀπεθανόντας της (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 55.25)
 ἀποθανόντας τως (1604, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 10, 166.53)
 κάλλια ἀποθανόντας νὰ ἀφήσης νὰ τὰ εὔρουν οἱ ἐχθροὶ σου *Vios Aisop.* I 276.34 (scribe probably of southern provenance)
 ἀπεθανόντας της (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 313.65)
 ἀποτυχόντας της (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 4, 5.5; and 1659, *ibid.* 9, 8.9)
 ζώντας μου κι ἀποθανόντας κατάρα θέλω ἀφήσει KORNAROS, *Erot.* III 108

Forms with a shift of the stress from the penultimate to the antepenultimate, modelled on the present gerund in -οντα(ς), have been found in the same area, again from the 14th c. onwards:

διατό ἦτον ἀποθάνοντα *Chron. Mor.* H 1274
 οὐκ ἦτον ἀποθάνοντα *Pol. Tr.* 8409
 ἀποθάνοντα τῶν παιδίων του (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 44.47)
 καὶ ἀποτύχοντάς μου (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIDI 1998: 45, 55.15)
 ἀποθάνοντάς μου (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 7, 35.26); ἀποθάνοντά της (1530, *ibid.* 17, 57.24)
 λάβοντας τὴν Ἁγίαν Κοινωνία (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 8, 86.8); ἀποθάνοντα τῆς αὐτῆς Γληγορίας (1565, *ibid.* 253, 349.15)
 ἀπετύχοντάς του (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008:42, 103.18)
 ὅτι, ᾠποθάνοντάς του, νὰ πάρη νὰ ὀρίζη τὴν Κόρινθο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.24–5
 ἀφήνου, ἀποθάνοντάς τως (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 181.15)

Forms in -τας instead of -ντας are phonetic variants, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (for details see I, 3.6.2.1): ἰδóτας ἢ αὐθεντία σας (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 216.13).

The ending -οντα(ς) can also be found with barytone and oxytone verbs that have sigmatic or liquid/nasal perfective stems (see also -αντα(ς), below),¹⁶¹ especially in texts from the Peloponnese.¹⁶² It is often used not as a true gerund, but in periphrastic perfect and pluperfect constructions, for which see 5.4.1.5 and 5.3.3.1.

ἦτον καταρπάσοντα αὐτὸ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόδωρος Καρβούνης (1156, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 28, 160.19); τὰ ἡμίσια ἅπερ ὕπηρχε προαγοράσοντα ἡ ἀγία ἐκκλησία ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων (1165–6, *ibid.* 33, 181.11–12)
 ὅπου ἦσαν καταπιάσοντα *Chron. Mor.* H 187; ἀκούσοντά το οἱ ἄρχοντες *ibid.* 351; ἦτον ποιήσοντα ... ὁ κόντος τῆς Τσαμπάνιας *ibid.* 2421; τὰ ἦτον ἐπάροντα ἐκεῖνος *ibid.* 2613; ἦτον ἀφήκοντα εἰς Μορέαν *ibid.* 4689; ἦσαν ροβολέφοντα *ibid.* 6654

¹⁶¹Note that aorist participles in -ων instead of -ας can already be found in much earlier inscriptions, e.g. τὸν προθύσοντα in IG VII–IX, Syll.³ 548 (Delphi, 3rd c. BC); τοὺς ἀναγράφοντας in IG V,2 265 (Peloponnese, 1st c. BC); τοὺς γράφοντας in SEG 6:444 (Konya, 4th c. AD).

¹⁶²Mazaris, the author of a satirical text in learned Greek entitled Διάλογος νεκρικός. Ἐπιδημία Μάζαρι ἐν Ἄδου (1414–15) makes fun of the Peloponnesians and their “barbarous” language, mentioning among other things πιάσοντα, σφίξοντα and δώσοντα. (Its first editor BOISSONADE (1831: 164) prints πιάσον τα, etc., against the manuscript evidence. This was rightly corrected by JANNARIS (1897: 207), but BARRY et al. (1975: 64.14) follow Boissonade rather than the mss/Jannaris.)

ἐκλέξοντα εὐγενικοὺς *Pol. Tr.* 7644 app. crit. (C)

αὐτὸς τὸν εἶχε σφάζοντα, στο χώμαν αποκάτω *Apoll. Rim.* A 1604 and *Apoll. Rim.* E 1604

After the 16th c. the form only appears with final /s/, in texts from the Peloponnese, Crete, Cythera and certain Aegean islands, especially of the verb *περνῶ*:

αὐτὸς τὸν εἶχε σφάζοντας, στο χώμαν αποκάτω *Apoll. Rim.* N 1604

δῶσοντάς του ἐγὼ (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.4)

περάσσοντας οἱ δέκα χρόνοι (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 31, 50.9)

περάσσοντας ὀλίγος καιρὸς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 34.11; ἀπεράσσοντας ὀλίγες ἡμέρες *ibid.* 41.10

γροικήσσοντας τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη (1624, Cythera, SEREMETIS 1962: 1, 131.15)

περάσσοντας οἱ πέντε (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 20.1)

περάσσοντας καμπόσες μέρες (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 31.17)

περάσσοντας τὸ μεσημέρι *Diig. Sant.* 56.6–7

ἀστοχήσσοντας (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.11)

περάσσοντας πέντε χρόνους (1683, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 95, 322.9–10)

περάσσοντας ἓνα δύο μῆνες (1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9a, 70.16)

καὶ περάσσοντας οἱ 10 ἡμέραι (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.16)

περάσσοντας ἔξι χρόνοι (1720, Folegandros, GAVALAS 1887: 513.3)

In the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy* innovative gerunds in *-όντα(ς)* can also be found of prefixed forms of *βαίνω* (instead of forming aorist gerunds from their old participles in *-ας* (e.g. *διαβάς* > **διαβάντα(ς)*): *διαβόντα* γὰρ ἡμέρες δύο *Chron. Mor.* H 7398, 8181; *διαβόντα* γὰρ μικρὸς καιρὸς *ibid.* 8001; εἶδες τὸ τί ἐκέρδισες ἐβγῶντα ἀπὸ τὸν ὄρκον *Pol. Tr.* 9347; *διαβόντα* ὁ χειμῶνας *Chron. Mor.* P 3515; *διαβόντας* δὲ ἡμέρες δύο *ibid.* 7398.

The present ending *-οντα* is found sporadically with the passive perfective stem, once even in the innovative/experimental form *ἀρχιστῶντα*,¹⁶³ transmitted in all major manuscripts of the *War of Troy*: εἶχαν ἄλογα ἔρημα, τὰ ἦσαν ἀποσταθόντα *Chron. Mor.* H 9090;¹⁶⁴ σταθόντα κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἀνάγνωσε ... *Pol. Tr.* 561 (reading of ms X); ἐπῆγαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπου ἦτον ἀρχιστῶντα *ibid.* 9204.

-ας ἰ -ών ἰ -ώ

Sometimes the old masculine nominative singular participle (sigmatic in *-ας* and thematic in *-ών*) can be found used as a gerund:

ἠκούσας ταῦτα οἱ ἀρχηγοί *Chron. Mor.* P 701

πάλι ἡ προφήτις Μαριάμ, τὸ τύμπανον κρατήσας DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1920

καὶ ἀκούσας σπουδαίως ἔδωσαν γνωστὸν τοῦ ἀφεντός (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 260.85.6–7)

ἡμεῖς οἱ πιστοὶ δοῦλοι τῆς σῆς βασιλείας ἄνωθε γράψας (1611, Cyprus, CHASIOTIS 1972: 49, 82.37)

¹⁶³ For passive forms of the verb *ἀρχίζω* cf. e.g. *επαίξαν* καὶ *γελάσασσι* καὶ ὁ Ποντικός *ερχίστη* *Katis* 9; *ἀρχίστηκεν* ὁ πόλεμος BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 373.17.

¹⁶⁴ Because of the neut. pl. antecedent it could be argued that this form is a participle rather than a gerund, but given the other two examples from the same period and region and given the fact that *ἦμουν* + participle has not been found as a pluperfect periphrasis, *ἀποσταθόντα* is more likely to be a gerund. For the construction *ἦμουν* + aorist gerund see 5.3.3.1.

διαβών τὰς ἰ΄ ἡμέρας (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 49.165)¹⁶⁵
 τότε ἰδὼν ὁ Βέλθανδρος *Velth.* 642 (Cupane); τοῦτο μαθὼν ἡ δέσποινα *ibid.* 880; ταῦτα εἰπὼν
 ἐξέβηκε καὶ πάγει στὴν κερὰν τῆς *ibid.* 924
 ἐλθὼν δὲ ἡ γέννησις τοῦ παιδίου ἔκραξε τὸν Κτεναβὼ *Diig. Alex.* E 103 (Lolos)
 καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ νοῦν βαλὼν ἐγὼ Θεοδωρῆς Ρουτζέρης (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS
 2003: 80, 150.3)
 ἐν ἀστενεῖα δεινῇ περιπεσὼν κειτόμενη ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ μου (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al.
 2001: 99, 145.4)
 ἐλθὼν ἡ Ἀληθινή ἡ Χαλικού (1678, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 64, 54.2)

-οντος | -όντος

This ending clearly is a remnant of the participle used in genitive absolute constructions. However, forms in -οντος also occur used as gerunds, mainly of the verb ἔρχομαι, and also in texts that do not otherwise make use of the genitive absolute, such as the *Chronicle* of Voustronios:¹⁶⁶

ταῦτα εἰπόντος ἀπέβη τοῦ ἡμιόνου ΚΑΝΑΝΟΣ, *Diig.* 247
 ἐλθόντος γοῦν εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ παιδίου, ἔστειλεν ... *Diig. Alex.* V 26.21
 ἐλθόντος τὸ μαντάτον ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 652.19; ἐλθόντος τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀμόχουστον *id.*,
Chron. O 172.18
 ἐλθοντός του εἰς τὴν χώραν VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 127.2–3; ἐλθόντος τῆς αὐλῆς, ἐξιππάστην το
 ἀλογον *id.*, *Chron.* M 57.7; ἐλθόντος του εἰς τὴν Λευκωσίαν *ibid.* 73.5–6; ἐλθοντός του ἀπὸ
 τὴν Σίβουρην *ibid.* 99.4; ἐλθόντος του εἰς τὴν Κύπρον *ibid.* 243.5
 ἐλθόντος ἡ ὥρα, ἐσηκώθη το φουσάτον *Vios Filaret.* 241.38
 ὁ δὲ Ξάνθος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐλθόντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν *Vios Aisop.* K 155.19

-οντες

In texts from certain south-western areas, present gerunds in -ντες can be found (see above). The following aorist gerund has most probably been modelled on those present gerunds, which are rather more common: ἀποτύχοντές μου (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 3, 23.5).

-αντα | -αντας

Aorist gerunds in -αντα(ς), formed from the sigmatic aorist active participle in -ας (see II, 3.7.1), can occasionally be found:

καὶ ἐφημήσαντα τὸν βασιλέαν | εἶπον *Poulol.* 667–8 app. crit. (E)
 τὸν πώγωνα κρύψαντα | ὁ σπανὸς (...) εἰσῆλθε *Spanos* D 1565–6
 ἐκλέξαντα εὐγενικοὺς *Pol. Tr.* 7644 app. crit. (V)
 ἀκούσαντα δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τὴν ἀναφορὰν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 253
 κλίναντας μοναχὸς του τὴν ἀγίαν του κεφαλὴν AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 529

-έντα

¹⁶⁵ This form should perhaps be read as διαβόντας.

¹⁶⁶ Where genitives absolute are concerned, Machairas only has the occasional stock phrase such as θεοῦ θέλοντος/βοηθώντος.

Even aorist gerunds in -εντα, formed from the aorist passive participle in -είς (see II, 3.7.1), can sometimes be found: σταθέντα κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἀνάγνωσε ... *Pol. Tr.* 561 (reading of ms B); Μενέλαος στραφέντα ΕΡΜΟΝ., *Ilias* 18.201; καὶ εὐφρανθέντα καὶ ἐγερθέντα ... εἶπον *Poulol.* 667–8 app. crit. (E).

4.8 The Verb εἶμι

The verb εἶμι had undergone major morphological developments in Hellenistic times, when it gradually started to move over from the μι-paradigm to a mediopassive paradigm. The remodelling of εἶμι started with the imperfect (AG ἦν, ἦσθα/ἦς, ἦ(ν), ἦμεν, ἦτε/ἦστε, ἦσαν/ἦν), which morphologically resembled the aorist passive endings. They were re-formed on the basis of the dominant imperfect inflection (not to mention the added complication of having identical forms for 1 sg., 3 sg. and 3 pl.). Hence from Hellenistic times onwards, the paradigm developed as follows: ἦμην (3rd c. BC), ἦσο, ἦτο (4th c. AD),¹⁶⁷ ἦμεθα (2nd/3rd c. AD), ἦτε, ἦσαν. By the beginning of the LMedG period, after further modifications, the following paradigm had emerged for the imperfect: ἦμουν, ἦσουν, ἦτον, ἦμεθα, ἦτε, ἦσαν. The present soon started to follow suit, retaining the root /i/ of εἶμι while adding mediopassive endings for all persons but 3 sg. and 3 pl., which preserved ἔνι, the (already AG) shortened form of ἔνεστι, which had come to be used instead of simple ἐστί. At the beginning of the LMedG period the present paradigm looked like this: εἶμαι, εἶσαι, ἔνι, εἶμεθα, ἐστέ/ἔστε, ἔνι. For the development of εἶμι in post-classical times, see HATZIDAKIS 1892:188; PERNOT 1896; JANNARIS 1897: 250; DIETERICH 1898: 223–8; PSALTES 1913: 239–40; GIGNAC 1981: 400–8; HORROCKS 2010: 154 and 303–4; and KAPSOMENOS 1953a, which describes the development of εἶμι in Ancient, Hellenistic and Modern Greek.

In the following the 3rd persons singular and plural will be treated together, after the 2nd person plural, on account of the great overlap in forms.

4.8.1 Present Indicative and Subjunctive

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	εἶμαι	εἶμί εἶμι	εἶμαιν
	2	εἶσαι	εἶ	
	3	ἔνι ἔν ἔνε/ἔναι εἶν/ἦν εἶνε/εἶναι	ἔ ἔνεν/ἔναιν εἶ εἶνι(ν) ἔστι(ν) ! ἐστί(ν)	ἔνιν εἶνεν/εἶναιν ἰστί(ν)

¹⁶⁷ ἄρά ποτε ὦδε πόλις ἦτο; *Oracula Tiburtina* 200 (see the online TLG).

		General	Restricted	Rare
Pl.	1	εἴμεσθε(ν)/εἴμεσθε(ν) εἴμεστα(ν)/εἴμεσθα(ν)	εἴμεθα εἴμεθεν εἴμεσθενε εἴμιστι(ν) εἴμεστανε εἴμασθε(ν)(ε)/εἴμασθε(ν)	εἴμεθε εἴμαστανε
	2	εἴστε(ν)/εἴσθε(ν)	ἐστέ ἢ ἔστε εἴστι(ν) εἴσθενε	εἴσαστε ἦτε
	3	ἔνι ἐν ἐνε/ἐναι εἶν/ἦν εἶνε/εἶναι	ἐνεν/ἐναιν εἶ εἶνιε/εἶναι εἶνι(ν) εἰσί(ν)	εἶνεν/εἶναιν

In older editions the root /i/ of the present subjunctive is sometimes spelled with <ῥ> or <ῑ> instead of <εῖ> to distinguish it from the present indicative: ῥῑμαι, ῥῑσαι, ῥῑναι, ῥῑμεσθεν, ῥῑσθε, ῥῑναι. Because this distinction is purely graphematic, here the subjunctive is not treated separately. Residual forms of the subjunctive can sporadically be found in texts that aim for a higher register: ἐὰν ῥῑς στρατιώτης *Dig. G VI.515*; εἰ μέντοι ῥῑς ὁ Διγενῆς *Dig. T 1177*. Similarly, residual forms of the monolectic future can also sporadically be found, sometimes as futures and sometimes instead of the subjunctive. Again, these forms appear only in high- and mixed-register texts, e.g. ἔσομαι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 508 (fut. 1 sg.); ἔσται IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 10194 (fut. 3 sg.); ἔσεσθαι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 562, [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 53 and IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4669 (fut. inf.).

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	εἴμαι ἢ εἴμαιν ἢ εἴμι

The oldest attestation so far of 1 sg. εἴμαι (spelled ῑμε) appears in an inscription of AD 314 (DIETERICH 1898: 227), and with the compound συμπτάρειμι in a papyrus as early as the 3rd c. AD (GIGNAC 1981: 400). The form is also treated as quite normal by Byzantine grammarians such as Choïroboskos.¹⁶⁸ In and beyond our period it is the normal form. Some illustrative examples are:

ἐγὼ ἐλεεινὸς εἴμαι NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.3
εἴμαι στέργων (1199, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 247, 336.23)

¹⁶⁸ [εἴμι] κατὰ τὸν παθητικὸν ἐνεστώτα ... γίνεται εἴμαι Choïroboskos, *Prolegomena et scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini* 351.19–20. Theognostos is rather amusing: καὶ τὸ ξω, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ ὑπάρχω· ἐξ οὗ τὸ εἴμι, καὶ τὸ ξω τὸ πορεύομαι, ἐξ οὗ τὸ εἴμαι τὸ προπερισπώμενον Theognostos, *De orthografia* 881.19–20 (see the online *TLG*).

οὐκ εἶμαι ἐγὼ τὸν λέγεις *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 541
 εἶμαι ἀπ<ε> τὴν ἀστενεία (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 78.3–4)
 πὼς εἶμαι τσασίτης (1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 14, 79.7)
 νὰ εἶμαι σκλάβο<ς> σου (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.18)
 εἶμαι διὰ ν' ἀποθάνω *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 211
 εἶμαι ἀδύνατος *Byz. Il.* 562
 ὅτι εἶμαι πόρνη *Poulol.* 187
 οὐκ εἶμαι αὐθεντὸς υἱός *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 311
 εἶμαι πεπάμενος *Charon III* 14
 εἶμαι παλληκάρι *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1316
 με το να εἶμαι εύμορφη *Don Kis.* 91.25

Addition of final /n/ to this form can be found but is not very common: ἐγὼ εἶμαιν σκοτωμένος *Diig. Alex.* F 264.3 (Lolos); οὐδὲν εἶμαιν ἀνελεήμονος *ibid.* 276.5; ὡς νοικοκύρης ὅπου εἶμαιν τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1590, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 42, 63.2).

The paroxytone form εἶμι is a phonetic variant of εἶμαι, showing evidence of mid-vowel raising, whereby unstressed [e] becomes [i] (for details see I, 2.5.4): δὲν εἶμι ἔτοιμος νὰ κριθῶ (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17, f.45v.6); τοῦ δικαπενταύγουστου εἶμι ὄξου (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.16–17) (= τὸ Δεκαπενταύγουστο; see I, 2.8.3).

Sg.	1	εἶμί

The residual form εἶμι can be found throughout the period covered by this grammar, especially in texts that display archaizing tendencies and in mixed-register texts. Some representative examples are:¹⁶⁹

οὐ γὰρ εἶμι τῶν ἀγενῶν *Dig.* G IV.679
 καὶ γὰρ ἀγράμματός εἶμι *Ptoch.* IV 25
 παράδειγμα εἶμι τῶν φαινομένων [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 1757
 ὦ! εἶμι πολυόμματος *Cypr. Canz.* 27.9
 μὴ με φάγεις ὅτι εἶμι πολλὰ μικρόν *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 4.3
 ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ Δάρειος *Diig. Alex.* K 365.23
 ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραάμ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 22.32
 ιδιώτης γὰρ εἶμι *Ioakeim Kypr., Pali* 10063

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	εἶσαι

The 2 sg. form εἶσαι can first be found in a papyrus dating from the 5th c. or later (GIGNAC 1981: 400) and is also attested in various Byzantine texts (HATZIDAKIS 1892:188;

¹⁶⁹ In texts from areas that display the feature of raising of unstressed [e] to [i] (for which see I, 2.5.4), such as *Diig. Alex.* K, it cannot be excluded that it is actually εἶμαι /'ime/, which becomes εἶμι ['imi], rather than an instance of morphological conservatism (see above). The example from *Cypr. Canz.* is a one-off in the collection, appearing in a poem that satirizes the figure of the pedant (SIAPKARAS-PITSILLIDÈS 1975: 128 fn.).

DIETERICH 1898: 228; PSALTES 1913: 239–40).¹⁷⁰ By the beginning of the LMedG period it was already the normal form, appearing even in works that aim for a higher stylistic register such as *Dig. G*. A few representative examples are:

πολλὰ εἶσαι βαρεμένη *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 304
 τὸ ποῦ εἶσαι *Dig. G IV.441*
 ᾄς εἶσαι σιγηρὸς *Ptoch. I* 66
 ἔνοχος εἶσαι πειρασμῶν *Spaneas P* 23
 εἶσαι βασιλέας *Chron. Mor. H* 664
 ᾄς εἶσαι θαρρῦμενος (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 97.22)
 νὰ εἶσαι ἀνιμούζης καὶ ἀπότορμος *Fior* 127.20
 θέλεις εἶσαι (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.40)
 δὲν εἶσαι τόσα γρε *CHORTATIS, Panor.* III.297
 πτόσων χρονῶν εἶσαι; (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.29)
 εἶσαι ἀπ' ὅλους βαρεμένος (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.26)
 θάμνος ἐκ ρίζης ἀγαθῆς εἶσαι *PETRITSIS, Dig. O Prol.* 3
 καὶ νὰ εἶσαι μάρτυρας *Don Kis.* 47.4

Sg.	2	εἶ

Residual εἶ is quite rare and can only be found in high- and mixed-register texts:

πόθεν εἶσαι καὶ τίς εἶ; *Metaphr. Alexiad* 306.5
 ὦ θαυμαστός εἶ, Κύριε *Chron. Toc.* 3037
 οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν σύ εἶ *Spanos D* 602
 ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὅμοιος εἶ τῷ ἡλίῳ *Vios Aisop.* E 289.5

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	εἴμεθα

The 1 pl. ending -μεθα is attested in the *Septuagint* and *New Testament* with the imperfect, but not with the present. The earliest examples of this ending with the present can be found in Ephraem the Syrian, a 4th-c. author with, however, a problematic text tradition, and in Malalas (6th c., single 12th-c. ms).¹⁷¹ Although at the beginning of the LMedG period there does not appear to be an alternative form for 1 pl., εἴμεθα is not attested very frequently, and by the 14th/15th c. (slightly earlier in S. Italy) it appears to have been largely superseded by other endings:

¹⁷⁰ There are several instances in the *Book of Ceremonies* (10th c.), interestingly all from the mouths of the Demes and the people, as noted by PERNOT 1896: 171, e.g. καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ κράκται· «εἶσε ὁ δεῖνα, εἶσε ὁ δεῖνα, εἶσε ὁ δεῖνα.» Καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐκ γ'· «εἶσε πατρίκιος, εἶσε.» *De Ceremoniis* II 58.16 (ed. Vogt).

¹⁷¹ In the edition these forms are spelled with <η>, as if they were imperfects, which they are clearly not: e.g. ὦδε ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ, ὅσον ἡμεθα ἡμεῖς, δυνάμεθα πάντοτε δυσωπῆσαι τὸν Θεόν Ephraem Syr., *De Penitentia* 366.14; πάντες φιλοδοξοῦμεν· ... πάντες ἡμεθα χαῦνοι id., *Sermo in patres defunctos*, 13.1. Another example that looks a lot like a present indicative can be found in Malalas (6th c.): καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ δύο ἡμεῖς φίλοι ἡμεθα· καὶ μὴ συμβῇ τίνα ἀποτυχίαν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑπονοηθῶμεν ὡς προδόται Malalas, *Chronogr.* 404.6. The form ἡμεθα in Moschos, regarded as a present by DIETERICH (1898: 228), is actually an imperfect: εἰ ἡκουσά σου, καὶ ἐπείσθην σοι, ἥδη ἡμεθα ἀπαλλαγέντες, τελέσαντες τὴν ἀμαρτίαν (PG 87.3, 3096D).

ἵνα εἴμεθα ξένοι (1085, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 43, 148.47)
 εἰ μὲν ἀνάξιοι εἴμεθα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 140.21
 ἵνα εἴμεθα κατηράμενοι (1134, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 33, 18.28)
 τρεῖςκαίδεκα γὰρ εἴμεθα ἡ πᾶσα φαμίλια *Ptoch. II* 25.1 app. crit. (H)
 τίνες εἴμεθα *Liv.* α 2910 app. crit. (P)

Pl.	1	εἴμεθε(ν)

The ending -μεθεν is considered to derive from -μεθα: the final /a/ changed to /e/ to match the 2 pl. and 3 pl. endings in the paradigm (MEYER 1889: 197), although vowel assimilation may also have played a role (MINAS 1987a: 25). Final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (MEYER 1889: 197 regarding the similar ending -μεσθεν). It can be found in texts from northern and south-western areas, especially the Heptanese and the Peloponnese, from the 14th to the 16th c., after which it largely falls into disuse. The latest attestations occur in the theatrical play *Irodis*, which is of uncertain dating (1650–1750 or perhaps earlier, PUCHNER 1998: 17; cf. barytone verbs, 4.1.1.2):

ὑποσχόμεθα νὰ ἤμεθεν δοῦλοι (1348?, Macedonia, LEFORT et al. 2006: 101, 229.5)
 ὅπου εἴμεθεν στρατιῶτες *Chron. Mor.* H 2698; πρέπει νὰ εἴμεθεν ἐννομοῦ *ibid.* 2706 ms (the ed. corrects to εἴμεθε ἐννομοῦ for metrical reasons)
 εἴμεθεν πληρωμένοι (1395, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 5, 181.17)
 ἀλλ' εἴμεθεν (...) (1399, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 8, 92.6; and 1402, *ibid.* 9, 93.6)
 νὰ εἴμεθεν ἀμέριμνοι *Pol. Tr.* 857; ὅλοι εἴμεθεν χαϊμένοι *ibid.* 9885
 νὰ εἴμεθεν ἀντάμα *Dig.* E 1304
 νὰ εἴμεθεν ἐντάμα *Liv.* V 3311
 ὁποῦ εἴμεθεν πιστοὶ σου *Velis.* χ 46
 χαημένες εἴμεθεν ὅλες *Theseid* I.78,5 (Follieri)
 παρθένες κόρες εἴμεθεν *Flor.* L 835
 νὰ εἴμεθεν (1457, Arcadia, MANOUSSACAS 1981: 319.14)
 ὅς τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον νὰ ἴμεθεν ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* VII.15
 εἴμεθεν ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, *Grammar* 71.8
 εἴμεθεν ἀποκάτου *Diig. Alex.* F 222.6–7 (Lolos); εἴμεθεν τοῦ Σῆθ υἱοὶ *ibid.* 42.22 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἀλλὰ τί λέμεν καὶ ποῦ εἴμεθεν; *Irodis* I.85; ἔτοιμοι εἴμεθεν *ibid.* IV.167

Deletion of final /n/ is not very common: καὶ οὐδὲν βολεῖ νὰ εἴμεθε χώρια ἀπὸ τὴν Ἄρταν *Chron. Toc.* 2716; ὅλοι ἴμεθε χαημένοι ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* V.40; εἴμεθε ὥσάν τὸν λιθάριν τὸν ἀδαμαντίνον *Diig. Alex.* F 216.6 (Lolos).

Pl.	1	εἴμεσ τε(ν) ἢ εἴμεσθε(ν) ἢ εἴμεσ τε νε ἢ εἴμισ τι(ν)

The ending -μεσ τε(ν) is held to have been formed from -μεθα, with a change from /a/ to /e/ by analogy with 2 pl. and 3 pl., which also end in /e/ (MEYER 1889: 197), although vowel assimilation may also have played a role (MINAS 1987a: 25). The added /s/ is usually explained as being analogical from 2 pl. (MEYER 1889: 197), and the cluster /sθ/ will have automatically dissimilated to /st/ in everyday speech (see I, 3.8.1). Its variant -μεσθε(ν) reflects the written practice. Final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (MEYER 1889: 197). These endings are found in the 13th c. in S. Italy and from at least the 15th c.

onward (ms date of *Assizes* B and *Dig.* E) in texts from most regions, though not usually in texts from Crete:

καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ πρᾶτες τοῦ εἵμεσθεν ἔτοιμοι (1221, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 7, 380.9)
 ἐὰν εἵμεσθεν ἀποφγαλμένοι *Assizes* B 274.24–5
 εἵμεσθεν γειτόνοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.17; εἵμεσθεν κρατούμενοι *ibid.* 44.34
 ἡμεῖς ροῖνες εἵμεσθεν *Chron. Mor.* P 6036
 εἵμεσθεν εὐχαριστημένοι (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.22)
 εἵμεσθεν πρόσκομμα καὶ σκόνταμα τῶν ἀνθρώπων DAM. STOD., *Dial.* 96.38
 εἵμεσθεν ὥσάν τὸ λιθάριν *Diig. Alex.* F 216.6 (Lolos); τοῦ Ἀδάμ εἵμεσθεν ἐγγόνια *ibid.* 42.20
 νὰ εἵμεσθεν (1571, Mani, CHASIOIS 1970: 6.1, 242.41–2)
 εἵμεσθεν GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.20
 ἄχρηστοι δουλευτάδες εἵμεσθεν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 17.10
 νὰ ἡμεσθεν κρατημένοι (1642, Patmos, MICHAILARIS 1998: 1, 193.16)
 δὲν εἵμεσθεν ἐλεύθεροι (1654, Karpenisi, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 7, 83.2)
 εἵμεσθεν καλὰ (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/1992: 3, 49.7)
 εἵμεσθεν (1666, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: p. 131.19)
 εἵμεσθεν κρατημένοι (17th c., Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [3], 14.15–16)
 ημεῖς δὲν εἵμεσθεν δαιμονισμένοι *Don Kis.* 50.7

The form without final /n/ is less common:

νὰ εἵμεσθε εἰς τὸν κόσμον *Dig.* E 95
 ἐμεῖς εἵμεσθε ἀδελφοί σου (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 178)
 νὰ εἵμεστε *Theseid* I.27.2 (Follieri)
 εἵμεστε λυτρωμένοι *Synax. gyn.* 67
 εἵμεστε εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν βουλὴν (1585, Constantinople, PATRINELIS 1967/68: 28, 108.14)
 νὰ εἵμεστε ἐμεῖς ἐδῶ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 17.4
 πού 'μεστ' ἐνοὺς πατέρος VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 1303
 ὅτ' εἵμεστε δικοί σου MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2481

The following form is a phonetic rather than a morphological variant of εἵμεστε, in which unstressed /e/ has become [i] through mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4 for details): νὰ μὴν εἵμιστιν χαμένοι (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 9, 74.1).

Addition of -(v)ε occurs in a document from the Mani and a theatrical play from Chios (both 17th c.), but is likely to appear in other areas as well (for details see I, 2.6.3): ἐμεῖς, ὁπού 'μεστένε νιοὶ VEST., *Paidēs* 1024; εἵμεστένε (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.17).

Pl.	1	εἵμεσθα(ν) † εἵμεστα(ν) † εἵμεστανε

The ending -μεστα(ν) and its written variant -μεσθα(ν) are attested with εἵμαι in the 13th c. in S. Italy and from the 14th c. onwards elsewhere (for the identical ending of the imperfect see 4.3.1.2; for a discussion see 4.1.1.2). It is likely to be the result of a conflation of inherited -μεθα and the innovative ending -μεστε(ν) (see above). It can be found throughout the EMG period in texts from various areas but is especially frequent in Cretan texts:

εἵμεσθα (1221, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 7, 380.11)
 εἵμεσθα θαρρετοί (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 6, 310.15)

ὀρεκτικοὶ εἴμεστα εἰς ὅ,τι ἤθελεν κάμειν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.11–12)
 ὃδέν εἴμεστα στο μῶδο σου *Apoll. Rim.* N 1691
 ὅτι ἤμεστα κοτέντες (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 19, 60.4)
 νὰ εἴμεστα πάντα μαζί *BAROZZI, Letter* 358.7
 κατὰ πῶς εἴμεστα κρατημένοι *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.557
 ἐδῶ εἴμεστα *Thysia Avr.* 241 app. crit. (M)
 εἴμεστα ἐρθωμένοι *TROILOS, Rodol.* V.1 (ἤμεστα ed.)
 δὲν εἴμεστα κοπέλια *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.328
 πῶς εἴμεστα πρόντοι ὅ,τι ὦρα μᾶσε κρόξη (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 5, 34.3)
 εἴμεστα εἰς ἓνα κίνδυνο ἀνεπίστευτο (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.12)
 εἴμεστα πάντα ὁμάδι *KORNAROS, Erot.* 235.24 (Stevanoni) (= IV.551)

Addition of final /n/ makes a first appearance in writings of the 14th c. and can be found throughout the rest of the period, mostly in texts from southern areas:

ὅπου εἴμεσταν ροῖνες *Chron. Mor.* H 6035; εἴμεσταν *ibid.* 6036 and 6968 ms (usually εἴμεθεν)
 ὠρισμένοι εἴμεσταν ἀπὸ τὸν ρήγα τῆς Κύπρου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 206.21
 εἴμεσταν καλὰ (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 26.6)
 εἴμεσταν καὶ ἡμεῖς μοναχῆς (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.48)
 εἴμεσταν τυφλοὶ *DAM. STOUΔ., Dial.* 103.38
 εἴμεσθαι πάντοτε ἐτοιμότατοι (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 14)
 εἴμεσταν πτωχοὶ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 86.27 and 92.28
 καλὸν εἶναι νὰ εἴμεσταν ἐμεῖς ἐδῶ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 9.5 (hapax; normally εἴμεστε(ν))
 ἀντύχει τώρα, ὅπου ἐμεῖς εἴμεσταν συγχισμένοι *RODINOS, Mart. Ag. Mam.* 216.22
 ἀπού ἴμεσταν ὁμάδι (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 79.13)
 εἴμεσταν (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), p. 28.14)
 που ἴμεσθαι βαπτισμένοι *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2929; δὲν εἴμεσταν *ibid.* 3633;
 καὶ Ρεθεμνιώτες εἴμεσταν *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 230.3
 εἴμεσθαι βοηθοὶ σου *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 771
 νὰ ἴμεσθαι γλυτωμένοι *Thrinios Kypr.* 389

Addition of -(ν)ε, without the need for a second accent, occurs in Morezinos, the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans* and a letter by Nikiforos, archbishop of Cyprus, who, however, was almost certainly not of Cypriot but rather of south-western origin (see II, 2.1.2, fn. 8). For -(ν)ε see I, 2.6.3: εἴμεστανε *MOREZINOS, Klini* 21.7–8, 123.28, 133.18, 187.29, 205.4 and 205.7; εἴμεστανε πτωχοὶ ἀνθρῶποι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 85.21 ms (ed.: εἴμεστανε πτωχοὶ ἀνθρῶποι); εἴμεστανε (1664, Cyprus, MERTZIOS 1958b: 254.5).

Pl.	1	εἴμαστε(ν) ἰ εἴμασθε(ν) ἰ εἴμαστενε ἰ εἴμαστανε

The form εἴμαστε(ν) and its more formal variant εἴμασθε(ν) (in the form εἴμαστε now the SMG form) first appears in texts from south-western areas only, from the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Liv. E*). It has not been found in texts from other areas before the 17th c. (Ioakeim Kypr., *Don Kis*). According to MINAS 1987a: 25, following MEYER 1889: 197, it derives from -μεστα through inversion of the vowels /a/ and /e/. As appears to be the case with other mediopassive endings (e.g. imperf. 1 sg. -μουν, 2 sg. -σουν) the postverbal clitic pronoun μας may have played an associative role.

μάνα, τὸ τίνος εἵμασθεν ἡμεῖς *Liv.* E 2903
 ἄν εἵμασθεν στρατιῶτες *Chron. Mor.* P 3845
 ὅδεν εἵμασθεν στο μόδο σου *Apoll. Rim.* E 1691
 νά ἴμασθεν *Theseid* I.122,6 (Follieri)
 εἵμασθεν χορτασμένοι *Alex. Rim.* 899; ἐμεῖς γυναῖκες εἵμασθεν *ibid.* 2507
 καὶ εἵμαστε ῥαμένοι (1573, Ancona, CATALDI PALAU 2000: 2, 387.3) (author from Corfu)
 εἵμαστε ἀμέραγοι (1585 [later copy], Ithaca, KALLINIKOS 1980: 56.21–2)
 εἵμασθε *Pist. voskos* III 5.99
 σιμά εἵμαστε, καὶ χτύπησε *CHORTATSI*, *Katz.* II.93
 πού ἴμασθε κρατημένοι *Pist. voskos* IV 3.284
 εἵμαστε<ν> σόλιτο (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 1, 281.15)
 ἄς εἵμασθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς *MAXIMOS, Synax. Ag. Nik.* 144.301–2
 ὥστε νὰ εἵμαστε εὐχαριστημένοι (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 73, 81.8)
 εἵμασθεν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2542 and 2996; πού ἴμασθεν *ibid.* 10095
 νὰ εἵμασθεν (1666, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 15, 128.7–8)
 εἵμαστε πληρωμένοι (1666, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 18, 89.10)
 νὰ εἵμασθεν στενεμένοι (1670, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1981: 4.16)
 εἵμασθεν (1673, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 17B, 129.5)
 καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐδικοί σου εἵμασθεν *Alex. Fyll.* 17.9–10
 νὰ εἵμαστε ὀμπλιγάδοι (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 7, 41.22)
 δὲν ἤξεύρω ποῦ εἵμασθεν σιγούροι (1715, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 16, 132.11)
 εἵμασθεν ἔτοιμοι *KATSAITIS, Thyest.* II.347; ὅπου ἴμαστε κ' οἱ δυὸ κατοικημένες *id., Klathmos*
 I.597
 εἵμασθε *SPANOS, Grammar* 42.6
 ποῖοι εἵμασθεν *Don Kis.* 514.12; δὲν εἵμασθε ζῶα *ibid.* 566.12

Addition of *-(v)ε* has been found in a letter by Nikiforos, archbishop of Cyprus, who, however, was certainly not of Cypriot but probably of south-western origin (see II, 2.1.2, fn. 8), as well as in an early 18th-c. document written in Athens, by an author who was perhaps from Nauplion (see also I, 2.6.3): εἵμαστανε (1664, Cyprus, MERTZIOS 1958b: 255.2) (ed. εἵμαστε, but see KYRRIS 1963: 279 for the correction of this and other misreadings); εἵμαστανε (1717, Athens, LIATA 1975: 32, 144.19 and 144.20).

The same letter by Nikiforos, archbishop of Cyprus, also preserves a form εἵμαστανε (reading confirmed by KYRRIS 1963: 279), which is either a very rare variant, or perhaps just a writing mistake for εἵμαστανε: εἵμαστανε ὅλοι εἰς τὸ ρένιο μας τῆς Κύπρος (1664, Cyprus, MERTZIOS 1958b: 255.10).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	ἔστε ἢ ἐστέ

The inherited form ἔστε (ἐστέ in conservative orthography) remains in use throughout the post-classical period and into the 15th/16th c. Since the ending *-στε* could easily be interpreted as passive and thus fitted nicely into the reformed paradigm, there was no pressing need to replace it. No new alternative forms have been found before the 14th c., but it must be borne in mind that 2 pl. forms are generally quite rare in written texts:

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἠρώτα: “Πόθεν ἐστέ;” *NIKON, Logos* 31 816.18
 πληροφορημένοι οὐκ ἐστε (1224, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 30, 447.6)

τίνες ἔστέ καὶ πόθεν *Dig.* G I.263
 μήποτε ἔστε ξένοι *Pol. Tr.* 11262 app. crit. (C)
 σύνδουλοι ἔστε τῶν προγόνων σας *Vios Aisop.* E 293.13
 τὸ πῶς ἔστε εἰς τὴν ὑγείαν σας *Diig. Alex.* F 308.16–17 (εἴσταν in *Diig. Alex.* E)

Pl.	2	εἴσθε(ν) ἰ εἴσταν(ν) ἰ εἴσταν(ν) ἰ εἴστανε ¹⁷²

For 2 pl. εἴσταν(ν) and its written variant εἴσθε(ν) (cf. SMG εἴσταν) start to appear in written texts from the 14th c. onwards. It has not been possible to establish how long before the 14th c. this form came into being, since most of the early vernacular texts (Glykas, *Spaneas* V, *Log. parig.* L) happen not to have 2 pl. forms of εἶμαι. The present form εἴσταν(ν)/εἴσθε(ν) is most likely to be an adaptation of inherited ἔστε, thus being the last form of the present to adopt the root /i/ of the rest of the paradigm (cf. 3 sg. and 3 pl.).¹⁷³

ἵνα ἦσθε κρατημένοι (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.45)
 καὶ νὰ ἦσταν πάλε στὸν Μορέα *Chron. Mor.* H 4249; εἴσταν γυμνοὶ *ibid.* 5110
 πολλὰ νὰ εἴσταν ἐσεῖς γεροὶ *Pol. Tr.* 4321
 ὅπου εἴσταν μαθημένοι *Dig.* E 1303
 τίνες καὶ πόθεν εἴσταν *Liv.* S 1742 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 εἴσταν πιστοὶ εἰς ἔμμενα *Achil.* L 790
 εἴσταν ρίζα τῶν Ρωμαιοῦν *Chron. Toc.* 1390
 ὡς εἴσταν ἐσεῖς *Pol. Tr.* 824 app. crit. (V); ἀλλ' οὕτως εἴσθε φρόνιμοι *ibid.* 8716 (mss AB)
 μηδὲν ἦσταν ἀπότορμοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 294.1–2; ἐσεῖς εἴσταν φρενίμοι *ibid.* 330.14–15
 ποιουνοῦ θεοῦ εἴσταν ἐσεῖς *Diig. Alex.* F 226.11–12 (Lolos); ἐσεῖς εἴσταν λύκοι *ibid.* 246.4
 διὰ νὰ ἦσταν ἐσεῖς κακοὶ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2677
 δὲν εἴσταν CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.111; σὰν εἴσταν μαθημένοι *id.*, *Erof. Interm.* IV.21
 διὰ τὸ σπαθῆν εἴσταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §4.25
 ἄς εἴσταν (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 77, 231.9)
 εἴσταν τὸ νησί του (17th c., Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [3], 14.7)

Addition of final /n/ can be found in writing from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Spaneas Z*):

οὐκ εἴσταν χριστιανοὶ *Spaneas Z* 503
 ἄς εἴσταν θαρρεμένοι *Liv.* V 3860; μὴνὰ εἴσταν ἄκ τὸν Λίβιστρον ἀποστερνάμενοί του *ibid.* 2691
 ὡς εἴσταν ἐσεῖς *Pol. Tr.* 824 app. crit. (X); ὡς εἴσταν ἐσεῖς *Pol. Tr.* 824 app. crit. (AB);

¹⁷² A 13th-c. example of εἴσταν in poem III of Rumi (ed. Dedes, l. 5) is dubious, because it uses 2 pl. as a mark of politeness, a use that is otherwise unattested in the period under review (see IV, 5). The following two forms are *hapax legomena*. The example from *Bertoldos* is most likely to be a simple printing mistake: ὁποῦ ἐσεῖς εἴσταν *Bertoldos* 19.22 (εἴσταν for εἴσταν: εἴσταν(ν)(ε) being the normal form in this text). The form εἴσταν in Ioakeim Kyprios's *Struggle*: ὡσάν φίλοι που εἴσταν κάμετε καλοσύνην IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1509 is either a writing mistake (εἴσταν for εἴσταν/εἴσταν), or a case of confusion with the regionally attested 2 pl. imperfect ἦσταν(ε) found in texts of northern provenance (Ioakeim spent time in Romania and Belgrade), for which see 4.8.2.

¹⁷³ KAPSOMENOS (1953a: 322) considers it to be formed from Koine present subjunctive ἦτε with influence from the imperfect, which next to the identical form ἦτε also had an alternative form ἦστε. The problem with this theory is that the imperfect ἦστε never became a mainstream form and can only be found in a handful of Attic authors; also, there are actually very few examples of ἦτε used as a present indicative in post-classical times. The most common form for the present indicative throughout post-classical times is ἔστε/ἔστέ, also in middle- and lower-register Byzantine texts such as *Chronicon Paschale*, Leontios of Neapolis, Ps.-Methodios, the *Miracles of St Artemios* and Paul of Monemvasia (see the online *TLG*).

εἶσθεν καλὰ (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 21.2)
εἰπέτε τί σᾶς ἔκαμα καὶ εἶσθεν λυπημένοι *Alex. Rim.* 1752
εἶσθεν ἐνοῦ πατρός παιδίᾳ *Diig. Alex.* F 206.1 (Lolos) and *Diig. Alex.* V 59.21
ποῦ ἀνδρειωμένοι εἶσθεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2878; μὴν εἶσθεν φοβισμένοι *ibid.* 2880

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs in texts from south-western areas (Heptanese, Crete and possibly elsewhere)¹⁷⁴ and from Chios from the 16th c. onwards (for details see I, 2.6.3):

εὐλογημένοι ὅσ' εἶσtene γνώριμοι τοῦ πατρός μου SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 255
να εἶσtene DEFAR., *Sos.* 360 (Holton)
σκύλες λυσσιασμένες ὅπου εἶσtene *Bertoldos* 18.28
ᾶς ἦσtene γραμμένοι PORTIUS, *Grammar* 36.19
εἶσtene τιμημένοι MONTSEL., *Evgena* 520; ὅσες κι ἄν εἶσtene μητριές *ibid.* 1536
γιατ' ἀνδρειωμένοι εἶσtene PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 185; πῶς εἶσtene κλιαμένοι *ibid.* 340
παιδιὰν εἶσtene *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 45
καὶ νά 'σtene χαϊράμενοι KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* Epil.39
ποῦ εἶσtene SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 56.37

The following example is a phonetic rather than a morphological variant, bearing witness to mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4 for details): εἶστιν γιροί (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 8, 70.6–7).

Pl.	2	εἶσαστε

The MG colloquial form εἶσαστε has not been found before the early 18th c., in a document whose author was from Nauplion:¹⁷⁵ καὶ ευχαριστία νὰ ἔχει ὁ Κύριος ὅπου δὲν εἶσαστε κανένας πανδρεμένος (1715, Venice, LIATA 1975: 3, 122.21).

Pl.	2	ῆτε

The residual Koine form ῆτε (originally the present subjunctive) is found sporadically: νὰ ῆτε δοῦλοι του *Liv.* α 589 app. crit. (P); τίνες καὶ πόθεν ῆτε *Dig.* A 49.

3rd Person Singular and Plural

Sg.	3	ἔνι ἔν ἔ ἔνε(ν)/ἔναι(ν) ἔνιν
Pl.		ἔνι ἔν ἔνε(ν)/ἔναι(ν)

The inherited form ἔνι¹⁷⁶ for 3 sg. and 3 pl. is the only form of εἶμαι that resists transferring to the mediopassive paradigm. At the beginning of the LMedG period it was still the most

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Kosmas Aitolos's famous words (18th c., born in Aetolia): δὲν εἶσtene Ἕλληνες, δὲν εἶσtene ασεβεῖς, αἰρετικοί, ἄθεοι, ἀλλ' εἶσtene ευσεβεῖς ορθόδοξοι χριστιανοί (MENOUNOS 1979: 115–16).
¹⁷⁵ Also in the late 18th-c. Zakynthian comedy *O Chasis*: ᾶ, χρόνοι καὶ ποῦ 'σαστε Gouzelis, *O Chasis* III.473 (ed. Synodinos).
¹⁷⁶ It is a shortened form of ἔνεστι (“exists”), which can already be found in Homer. The oldest attestation of its meaning “is” appears in an inscription on a Corinthian vase of the 6th c. BC: καλὸ(ν) ἐνι τὸ ποτήριον (see KRETSCHMER 1922).

common form, even though alternative forms (ἐνε/ἔναι and εἶνε/εἶναι) had already begun to appear (see below). By the end of the 16th c. these new forms managed to supplant ἐνι in most areas, with the notable exception of Cyprus, where ἐνι can be found, alongside ἔναι and εἶναι, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar (BEAUDOIN 1884: 79–80; SYMEONIDIS 2006: 219–20).¹⁷⁷

In the transitional phase alternative forms are often found side by side, e.g. τίς ἔναι καὶ πόθεν ἐνι ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τί ἔναι τὸ στενάζει *Liv.* E 19 and ἀνίσως καὶ ἐνι πλούσιος SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 78 transcr. P (Lendari) vs. ἄς ἔναι φυλαμένη *ibid.* 107. Certain LMedG texts, among which *Dig.* G, *Ptoch.* (apart from ms H), *Chron. Mor.* H, *Pol. Tr.* (in which all cases of 3 pl. ἐνι turn out to be editorial), *Diig. tetr.*, *Liv.* V and N, *Poulol.*, *Velth.*, use ἐνι only for the singular.

Singular

οὐ χρειά ἐνι ἡγουμένου NIKON, *Logos* 2 136.33
(φοβοῦμαι ...) μὴ οὐκ ἐνι εἰς ἀρεστόν σου *Dig.* G II.115
ὁποῦ ἐνι χορτασμένος GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 117
οἷος δ' ἂν καὶ ἐνι (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 15.36–7)
(τὸ ἀμπέλιον ...) ἐνι δὲ φράγγον (1400, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 10, 194.4–5)
τί ἐνι τὸ γυρεύουν *Pol. Tr.* 266
καὶ ἐνι ὁ τόπος βαρικός *Chron. Toc.* 3453; νὰ ἐνι ἐδικός του *ibid.* 3721
ὀρισμός μας ἐνι (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 143, 68.1)
εὐμορφον ἐνι, ἐξαίρετον *Velth.* 523 (Cupane)
ὁ λαὸς τῆς Ἀμοχούστου ἐνι χοντροὶ λᾶς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 388.30–1; ἐνι ἀλήθεια ὅτι ...
ibid. 576.8–9
ὅταν ἐνι τὸ κάμμα LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 367
αὐτοῦ ἐνι σταυρὸς ἐμπηγμένος (1528, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 53, 172.21)
ἐνι ἡγούμενος (1545, Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 2, 100.1)
ἐνι τοῦ κόσμου χαλασμός *Thrinis Konst.* (Zoras) 130
ἐνι ἀλήθεια καὶ ἐπουλήσαμεν (1694–1704, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 3, 78.2–3)

Plural

τοῦτα παιγνίδια οὐκ ἐνι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 519
τοῦτα μὲν τὰ συντυχαίνεις, ἐνι παλαιοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀποκλάσματα *Paroim.* E 59
ὅτι ἐνι δαιμονιάροι *Ptoch. II* 93 app. crit. (H)
ἐνι καὶ τέτοιοι *Arm.* 64 (reading of ms C)
(τὰς γραφάς), μάθε διὰ τίναν ἐνι *Liv.* E 1512
ἄφες τα, οὐκ ἐνι πρόσφερα *Liv.* α 2376 app. crit. (P); καὶ τὰ λαλεῖ δι' ἐμὲν ἐνι *ibid.* 1951 (reading of SP)
εἰ δ' ἴσως ἐνι δράκοντες [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 913
πολλὰ ἐνι τὰ ἐκακοπάθησεν *Liv.* S 385 (Lambert-van der Kolf); ὀνόματα ἐνι ἀρμένικα *ibid.* 1520
σὰν ἐνι μαθημένες SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 456 transcr. P (Lendari)
οἱ Σπιταλλιῶτες ἐνι καλοὶ χριστιανοὶ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 14.21–2
αὐτὲς ἐνι οἱ ὑπόληψες LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 606
ἐνι ἀρμασμένοι *Fior* 147.40; ἀντὰν ἐνι συγγενάδες *ibid.* 148.1

¹⁷⁷ The same is likely to be true for other areas, among which Pontos, Cappadocia and Tsakonia, which still have ἐνι for 3 sg. in modern times (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 207; ANDRIOTIS, *Lex. Arch.* s.v. ἐνι), but unfortunately there is almost no LMedG and EMG textual evidence from these areas.

οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ κτηνὰ ἐνι μιᾷς κονδετσιοῦς *Fior Suppl.* 270.12–13

οὕτως ἐνι καὶ τὰ φουσάτα μου *Diig. Alex.* E 157.10 (Lolos); αὐτοὶ ἐνι πρόβατα *ibid.* 247.3–4

Before the LMedG period two further alternative forms had come into being, namely *ἐν/ἐνε* (*ἐναι*) and *εἶν/εἶνε* (*εἶναι*). The traditional explanation is that *ἐνε/ἐναι* is formed from *ἐνι* either with adoption of /e/ in the final syllable by analogy with 1 sg. *εἶμαι* and 2 sg. *εἶσαι* (KORAI 1828/35: I 95; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 564; ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1936: 9), or with assimilation of /i/ to the /e/ of the first syllable (JANNARIS 1897: 250), and that later on this new form *ἐνε/ἐναι* adopted the root /i/ of the rest of the paradigm (1 sg. *εἶμαι*, 2 sg. *εἶσαι*, 1 pl. *εἴμεθα*, 2 pl. *εἴσθε*), resulting in *εἶνε/εἶναι* (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 564–5; JANNARIS 1897: 250; ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1936).¹⁷⁸

This explanation is valid in principle but needs some minor modifications: in the 7th c. there are several examples of *ἐν* (not *ἐνε/ἐναι*), which point to *ἐνι* losing its final vowel before becoming *ἐνε/ἐναι*. Significantly, all early examples occur in direct speech, in the phrase “τί ἐν”, often followed by the relative pronoun *τό*.¹⁷⁹ The fact that the form is found in middle-register texts such as the ones in the following examples indicates that it must already have been an accepted form in civilized speech.

τί ἐν τὸ ἔχεις, κύριε Μόσχε; Moschos, *Leimon* 3064.23 (ed. Migne PG 87/3) (early 7th c.)

λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ δούξ· «Τί ἐν; λαμβάνεις τὸ ποσόν;» Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of St John the*

Almsgiver 382.30; «Τί ἐν; ἀπέδωκέν σοι ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐπεύσω» *ibid.* 388.4–5; «τί ἐν ἄρτι; ποῦ ὑπάγομεν;» *id.*, *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool* 71.14; καὶ εὐθέως λέγει μοι· τί ἐν, διάκων; *ibid.* 94.13 (eds. Festugière & Rydén 1974) (early 7th c.)

τί ἐν κύρι; πῶς ἤλθες ὧδε; *Miracles of St. Artemios* 68.10 (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus) (AD ca. 680)

This form continues to be in use for 3 sg. throughout the LMedG and EMG periods from Constantinople to the Heptanese and from Crete to Cyprus. For the plural *ἐν* is not used before the EMG period and it is much less frequent:

Singular

τί ἐν τὸ σὲ χρεωστοῦσιν *Spaneas* V 99

οὐκ ἐνι τοῦτο πλανταμός, οὐκ ἐν' μελαγχολία; GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 273

τί ἐν' τὸ κλαίεις *Chron. Mor.* H 6053

ἐκεῖνος ἐν δομέστιχος *Ptoch.* IV 65 app. crit. (P); καὶ τί ἐν τὸ συντυχαίνεις *ibid.* 465

ἂν ἐν' τὸ γιόμα του κακόν *Arm.* 106

¹⁷⁸ A second explanation for the appearance of *εἶν/εἶνε/εἶναι*, advocated by BESCHEWLEW 1935 and 1938 and KAPSOMENOS 1953a, is that it came about through influence of/confusion with the present subjunctive *ῆ*. This theory is not unproblematic when one considers that the present subjunctive had been in decline since Hellenistic times, and in fact cases of *indicativus pro coniunctivo* with the verb “to be” are quite common in post-classical times, even in higher-register texts. It seems rather unlikely that a morphological category that had been in a state of gradual decline for centuries would somehow manage to prevail over the indicative with one verb only. Influence from the imperfect on the present subjunctive and indicative seems equally problematic: the examples in KAPSOMENOS 1953a of imperfect for subjunctive are all conditional clauses, and the only conclusion to be drawn from them is that in the Koine the imperfect started to be used instead of the subjunctive in conditional clauses (and surely not only with *εἰμί*), but that does not mean that this would automatically lead to the morphological convergence of the two.

¹⁷⁹ Here, in fact, one can observe a precursor of the EMG interrogative pronoun (τ)ιντα (“what”), for which see II, 5.7.1.4.

αὐτὸς σκυλὶ Ρωμαῖος ἔν', μὴ σὲ κακοδοικήσῃ! *Dig. E* 29
 τί ἔν τὸ τζαμπουνίζεις; *Diig. tetr.* 199; τί ψῆφος ἔν δικός σας; *ibid.* 410
 ἄνθρωπος ἔν' καλόγνωμος *Chron. Toc.* 1360
 ἀφέντης ἐδικός μας ἔν' καὶ υἱὸς ἐδικός σου *Achil. L* 72
 τί ἔν τὸ λές; *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 55; δέν ἔν' καιρός *ibid.* 68; δέν ἔν' δοσμένον *ibid.* 195
 πολλὰ ἔν μετανομένη *Alosis* 263
 δέν ἔν πληγωμένος *Cypr. Canz.* 3.5
 ζερβή ἐν' χαριτωμένη *Diig. Alex. K* 376.19
 κι ἂν ἔν σφαλμένο τίποτες *ZINOS, Alex. Rim. Epil.* 20; καὶ τοῦτο ἔν ἀληθινὸ *id.*, *Vatr.* 80
 κι εἶπεν πὼς ἔν δική του *Thrinios Kypr.* 4

Plural

πὼς ἔν τ' ἀδέλφια μου; *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 258.19–20
 πὼς ἔν γλυκιά τὰ πάθη *Cypr. Canz.* 17.2; τ' ἄστρα δέν ἔν φταισμένα *ibid.* 90.36
 θέλω νὰ ἔν τὰ πέντε *Chron. Mor. P* 7686

In several Cypriot and Rhodian texts syncopation occurs when ἔν is preceded by the negative δέν, through which the phrases δέν ἔν /'ðenen/ and δέν ἔν νὰ /'ðenena/ become δέν (= δέ 'ν) and δέ νὰ (= δέ 'ν νὰ) respectively (see DAWKINS 1932: II 37; LIOSIS 2012: 413; see also I, 4.2.2). The phenomenon also occurs in the *Pentateuch*, which was printed in Constantinople (though the provenance of the author/scribe is unknown):

καὶ δένα τοὺς ὁμολογοῦν (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.12)
 δέν καλὸ νὰ εἶνε ὁ ἄθρωπος ἀμοναχὸς του *Pent. Gen.* 2.18
 d' ene edi qui mas / δ' ἔνε ἐδικοί μας (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 66, f.IV.2)
 καὶ δέν καιρὸς τῆς καύχησης LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 187; καὶ δέν νὰ σὲ κοξήσουν *ibid.* 227
 ἂν δέ 'ναι ἐγλήγορας (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83.7) (spelled δ' αινε); τὰ καράβια μου
 ... δέ 'ναι εἰς τις μεριές ἐτοῦτες (*ibid.* 17, 92.18)
 ποτέ μου δέ νὰ σ' ἔλλαξα *Katal.* 505
 δέ' 'νε μὸδος νὰ πάρῃ ὁ σῖρ Τιπάτ τὸ Κουρίκος *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 562.17; καὶ δέ νὰ
 'φεληθῇς *ibid.* 642.31–2
 δέν νὰ τὸ νικήσῃ *Fior* 130.13
 καὶ δ' ἔναι ἀγαπημένος *Cypr. Canz.* 53.7 (Legrand) (read δέ 'ναι)¹⁸⁰
 δεναυρέθῃ / δένα βρεθῇ *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 290.9 app. crit. (same in M 291.7)
 (τὰ ἐλιούδια ...) δέν ρόμια, παροῦ ἀμάτισμά του (1527, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 21,
 234.9–10)
 δέν ἔνι τινὰς ἴτσου κακότυχος ἄνθρωπος ὅπου δέν νὰ ἠθέλησεν νὰ εἶχεν καλὰ καμωμένον
 ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἔχει κακά *Fior Suppl.* 273.15–17

Sometimes in literary texts instances are found of the form ἔν without the final /n/. Omission of final /n/ may generally occur in texts from Crete, but also in texts from areas such as Cyprus, though in the latter case only in specific phonological environments (e.g. before /n/, as in the example below from Machairas, or before stops, as in the plural examples; see I, 3.7.2.2 for details). This form is used mainly for the singular, and only sporadically for the plural.

¹⁸⁰In the edition by Siapkarakas-Pitsillidès this is interpreted as δέν ἔ; a second example in the same collection, not edited by Legrand, is: δέν ἔ στήν τιμήσ σου *Cypr. Canz.* 104.69, which should also be read as δέ 'ναι; and possibly: ποὺ δέν <ἐ> δ' κνὸς γιὰ μένα *ibid.* 114.2.

Singular

καὶ ἄν ἔ', νὰ τὸν παιδεύγουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 362.16
 καὶ ας ἔ' συμπαθημένη *Apoll. Rim.* N 922; ποῖος ἔ' νὰ μας γυρεύει *Apoll. Rim.* A 1213 and
Apoll. Rim. N 1213
 πῶς ἔ' νεκρὴ νὰ δεῖτε *Thysia Avr.* 196; δὲν ἔ' καιρὸς νὰ καρτερῶ *ibid.* 277 app. crit. (M)
 καιρὸς δὲν ἔ' νὰ καρτεροῦμε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.507
 γνώση δὲν ἔ' KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.272 app. crit. 272 (X)

Plural

ἄν ἔ' πάροικοί μας (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.7); ἄν ἔ' πάροικοι
 ἄλλους (*ibid.* 3, 5.8) (= ἄλλους, gen.; see II, 1.2)

With an added /e/, either by analogy with 1 sg. εἶμαι and 2 sg. εἶσαι (see above), or simply to preserve final /n/ (see I, 2.6.3), *ἐνε/ἔναι* appears in texts from around the middle of the 11th c. onwards (in S. Italy), and throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods. The spelling with <αι> or <ε> shows great fluctuation in manuscripts, which goes to show that it is entirely graphematic. Certain texts from south-western areas, among which most Cretan texts, Heptanesian texts (including Sofianos's grammar) and the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*, have *ἔναι* only for the singular, not for the plural. For the plural the form *ἐνε/ἔναι* is found from the early 14th c. onwards in texts from various areas, though only rarely in texts from Crete and the Heptanese.

Singular

τὰ χωράφια ὅπου ἔνε ὁ σταυρὸς (1106–7, S. Italy, MÉNAGER 1957: 3, 325.28)
 οὐκ ἔναι πόνος πούποτε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 147
 ὡς ἔναι ἐπάνω ἐγράφως (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 13.16–17); ἐὰν ἔναι χρῆσις (*ibid.* 21.117–18)
 δι' αἰτίαν τινὰ ἔναι (14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001: 245, 426.18–19)
 ὅτι ἔναι μέγας ποταμὸς *Chron. Toc.* 214; ὅς τὸν Ἅγιον Ἡλία ἔναι *ibid.* 564
 νὰ ἔνε κρατημένος (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.9)
 ὁ μπᾶηλος, ὅπου ἔναι εἰς τὴν Μπόλιν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 275.28)
 νὰ ἔναι εἰς πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ἀναζήτησιν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 25, 162.3);
 τὸ ἄλογον ἔναι κόκκινον (*ibid.* 33, 166.2–3)
 ἔνε μεγάλη χώρα (1487, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 16, 87.6); καὶ ἔνε φίλος μου μεγάλος
 (1487, Rhodes, *ibid.* 16, 87.11–12)
 κὶ ἔναι πρεπὸν FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 342; κὶ ἄς ἔναι στὴν ὑπακοή *id.* *Log. did.* 37
 ὁ ὄρκος ἔνε τοῦτος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 44.30
 ἔναι πολλὰ καλὸς ἄρχος (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.9)
 ὅπου ἔναι σκλάβος (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.19)
 ἔναι SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 71.6; ὅσον ἔναι δυνατόν *id.*, *Paidag.* 95.3
dicunt ἔνε omnes plebei ... litterati vero ἔνε ROMANOS, Grammar 57.2–3
 τὸ σπῖτι μου, ὡς καθὼς ἔναι (1663, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: VII, 74.5)

Plural

ἐὰν ἔνε ζαριστάδες (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 23.173)
 ἔναι καὶ τέτοιοι *Arm.* 64 app. crit. (P)
 τί ἔναι, σκύλε, τὰ λαλεῖς *Diig. tetr.* 199
 ἔνε γοῦν οἱ γέροντες (1474, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 32, 166.5)
 νὰ ἔνε ἐμπροπέτες *Assizes A* 28.9
 ἔναι καλιγωμένα SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 176

καὶ ἄς ἔνε ὅτοιμοι *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 408.24*
 ἔναι καλὰ καμώματα *LIMEN., Than. Rod. 202*
 ἔναι αἱ ἐσοδεῖς (1508, Ios, *PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 172.28*)
 ἐκεῖνα ἔνε ἀδελφομοῖρι μὲ τὰ παιδιὰ μου (1572, Ikaria, *TSELIKAS 2000: 1, 17.13*)
 οἱ Ἑβραῖοι ἔναι αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν ... *Diig. Alex. Sem. S 506*

Addition of final /n/ to *ἐνε/ἔναι* can be found in writing from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms dates of *Flor. L* and *Ptoch. IV*) in texts from northern and southern areas, and especially in texts from the Dodecanese:

Singular

νὰ ἔναιν διὰ τὴν τιμὴν σου *Flor. L 105* (usually with final /n/)
 αὐτός ἔναιν καλόφωρος *Ptoch. IV 83 app. crit. (P)*
 βασιλεὺς εὐγενικός ἔναιν *Achil. L 110*; ἔναιν ζωντανοῦ ἀνθρώπου στόμα *ibid. 528*; πολλὰ ἔναιν ἀντρεωμένος *ibid. 1161*
 νὰ ἔναιν φρόνιμη *Katal. 366*
 νὰ ἔναιν εἰς ὅλα πρακτικός *Velis. Λ 147*; νὰ ἔναιν αὐθέντης στρατηγός *ibid. 556*
 εἶτε καὶ ἔνεν μεγάλη δουλεία (1451, Constantinople, *TSIRPANLIS 1968: 1, 198.19*); εἰ μὲν ὁ σκλάβος ἔνεν Μουσουλμάνος (*ibid. 198.22*)
 νὰ ἔνεν ὁ τοῖχος πιθαμὲς δώδεκα (1453, Nisyros, *TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 48.13*)
 καὶ τοῦτο ἔναιν ἀληθές *Alosis 735*
 ἐτοῦτο ἔνεν τὸ χαρτὶν (1456, Unknown, *TSIRPANLIS 1986: 1, 221.1*)
 τὸ πράγμαν ἔνεν μὲ τοιοῦτην στράταν (1487, Rhodes, *LEFORT 1981: 10, 65.3*)
 ἔνεν σασμένον (1493, Rhodes, *TSOPANAKIS 1970: 56.29*)

Plural

οἱ κουκούτζοι ἔνεν οἱ Φράγγοι *Vulgärorakel I.148*
 τὰ ὅμοια νὰ ἔνεν καὶ νὰ ποιοῦσι (1451, Constantinople, *TSIRPANLIS 1968: 1, 198.19*)
 (τὰ πραγματευτάδικα ...) νὰ ἔναιν σιγοῦρα (1481, Rhodes?, *TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 205.39*)
 νὰ ἔνεν κρατούμενοι (1493, Rhodes, *TSOPANAKIS 1970: 55.23–4*); νὰ ἔνεν καλὰ βλεπτημένοι (*ibid. 55.25*)
 διατὶ ἔναιν ἐντροπισσάμενες *SACHLIKIS, Symvoules 457 transcr. P (Lendari)*
 ποῦ ἔνεν οἱ σάρκες οἱ λευκές *LIMEN., Than. Rod. 56 app. crit.*; τὰ κρίματα ἄβυσσος ἔνεν *ibid. 235 app. crit.*

In texts from areas that display mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4) *ἐνεν/ἔναιν* can become *ἔνιν*: ὡς καθὼς ἔνιν εἰς τὸ ἀβεντάριο γραμμένα (1551, Kastoria, *DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 16, 33.4*).

Sg.	3	εἶν/ῆν ἢ εἶ ἢ εἶνε/εἶναι ἢ εἶνεν/εἶναιν ἢ εἶνι(ν)
Pl.		εἶν/ῆν ἢ εἶ ἢ εἶνε/εἶναι ἢ εἶνεν/εἶναιν ἢ εἶνιε/εἶνιαι ἢ εἶνι(ν)

The first positive identifications of both *εἶν* and *εἶνε/εἶναι* are datable to the late 11th/early 12th c. in the writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain. The change of *ἐν/ἐνε/ἔναι* to *εἶν/εἶνε/εἶναι* is very likely to be the result of analogical levelling to the rest of the paradigm (*εἶμαι, εἶσαι, εἶμεθα*), though it cannot be excluded that other factors also played a role in the development: since *ἐν* and *ἐνε* are often enclitic and therefore unstressed, mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i] may have occurred, resulting in /in/ (see I, 2.5.4 for details). It cannot be excluded either that the frequent combination of *τί* and *ἐν* (/ʰti en/ > /ʰtien/ > /ʰtin/)

contributed to the development of εἶν. In some sources, notably in Nikon of the Black Mountain, the form is spelled as ἦν, for since it was a new formation that did not comply with Ancient Greek morphology, there was no rule for its spelling. The scribe therefore chose a spelling he was optically familiar with, namely that of the residual imperfect ἦν (cf. the spelling of the present indicative /'ine/ as εἶναι, below). The form εἶν can be found for the singular and the plural throughout and beyond the period covered by this grammar. The addition of an apostrophe in some modern editions is quite unnecessary, as εἶν is not an apocopated form of εἶναι/εἶνε.

Singular

οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀνάγκη ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 312.23; καὶ οὐκ ἦν ... περὶ πίστεως δόγματος *ibid.* 314.7
 νὰ εἶν' καὶ ἡ κόρη θαυμαστή *Dig.* E 70 app. crit.
 νέφος πλῆθος ἦν φουσσάτου *Vulgärorakel* I.221
 ταπεινοφροσύνη ... εἶν' νὰ σαλιβώνεις τῆς υψηλότης τὴν ὀρεξὴν *Anthos. Ch.* G 203.13–14
 κυρίως ἦν κολλητικόν *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 331
 ἂν εἶν' καὶ παραδώσω *Cypr. Canz.* 9.7
 θάνατος εἶν' σε σένα *Diig. Alex.* K 376.24–5; ας εἶν' χαιρετημένη *ibid.* 377.21–2
 (τὸ χωράφι ...) νὰ εἶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 74, 157.15); ὁμολογεῖ
 πὼς εἶν πληρωμένος (1565, *ibid.* 241, 337.2–3)
 μὰ τοῦτο δὲν εἶν' τίβοτα *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.83; λογιζόντας πὼς εἶν' καλὸς *ibid.* I.171; δὲν
 εἶν' πρεπτό *ibid.* V.388
 ἐμένα εἶν' τὸ γένος μου *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voev.* 615
 πὼς εἶν' τοῦ κόσμου ἡ ὥρα *TROILOS, Rodol.* II.190
 ὡς ἦν τάξι *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 134;¹⁸¹ καὶ δὲν εἶν' πλεῖα δική σου *ibid.* 1861
 ὁ ἀνθὸς τοῦ εἶν θανατερός *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.179 app. crit. (A)
 τοῦτο δὲν εἶν' συνήθι *Trag. Ag. Dim.* I.71

Plural

(περὶ δὲ τῶν ὁσπρίων ...), ὅταν ἦν ἐκζεστά, ἕνα γομάτον κρασοβόλιν εἰς κατὰ ἕνα ἀδελφόν
 ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* I 82.11–12; οὐδέ οἶδα τὸ τί εἶν' τοῦτα *id., Logos* 31 818.27
 πόθεν εἶν' τοῦτοι οἱ ἔμνοστοι *Pol. Tr.* 295 app. crit. (E); οὐκ εἶν' πραγματευτάδες *ibid.* 3106 (ms
 A); πολλὰ εἶν' δυναμωμένοι *ibid.* 2488 app. crit. (X)
 ὡς ἄστραν εἶν' στὸν οὐρανὸν *Achil.* L 293 (read ὅσα ἄστρα ἂν εἶν)
 ὅλα εἶν' χωσιασμένα *Chron. Mor.* P 1120
 ὅλα εἶν' συμπαθημένα *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 489
 δὲν εἶν' τοῦτα μὲ φωτία *TRIVOLIS, Tagiap.* 181
 καὶ ἂν εἶν' περ(ι)βόλια καὶ δενδρά *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 89
 εἶν' πνιμένα *Fyll. gadar.* 141 f
 καθὼς εἶν καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα *Alex. Rim.* 587; κὶ ἄς εἶν βαμμένα *ibid.* 2878
 νὰ εἶν' καλῶς φυλαγμένα (1536, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 5, 22.6)
 ξεφάντωσες πολλὰ ἵνοστες εἶν' τούτες *CHORTATIS, Panor.* III.167
 ὅτ' εἶν' ξενιτεμένοι *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2161; ποῦ εἶν' τὰ πανηγύρια *ibid.* 2407
 ὅτ' εἶν' πολλὰ ἀνδρεῖς *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1314; τί ἀπελάτες εἶν' αὐτοὶ *ibid.* 1410
 πὼς εἶν' κακά, νὰ ποῦσι' *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.2006
 καθὼς εἶν' μαθημένοι *Thrinos Kypr.* 610

¹⁸¹ This form is considered an imperfect by the editor, but it is more likely to be a present: Petritsis does not use the residual imperfect form elsewhere, whereas he does have quite a few instances of a present form εἶν.

Sometimes, mostly in literary texts from Crete and once in a theatrical play from Chios, instances are found of this form without the final /n/, in both the singular and the plural:

Singular

ἄξος δεν εἴ' για σένα CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.301; δεν εἴ' μακρά ibid. III.275 (ms D); ας εἴ' δοσμένο ibid. IV.312 (ms D); κι ἄντρας ἄς εἴ' ὁ Πανάρετος id., *Erof.* V.362; κ' ἡ δόξα ἄς εἴ' δική σου id., *Erof. Interm.* IV.88
 δέν εἴ' στη χώρα μοναχᾶς *Stathis* I.77; ἄς εἴ' ἐδικό ντου ibid. III.450
 νά εἴ' καλὰ ἀφιερωμένο (1597?, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 77, 105.9)
 ἄς εἴ' συμπαθημένο FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.294
 ἡ γλώσσα μ' εἴ' τρεμάμενη PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 99
 ἀπτεῖς δεν εἴ' μετανωμός *Thysia Avr.* 647 (ms M)
 γνώση δεν εἴ' οὐδὲ δύναμη KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.272 (reading of A)
 ἃ δεν εἴ' λολὸς ΤΡΟΙΛΟΣ, *Rodol.* III.202; κτίσμαν ὠραιότερο δεν εἴ' στὴν οἰκουμένη ibid. IV.382
 καὶ τοῦτο εἴ' συνήθεια BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 445.22

Plural

ἄν ἡ λιβάδια δροσερά BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 91 app. crit.
 δεν εἴ' μικρά CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.269; πῶς εἴ' φαρμακεμένες ibid. V.6 (ms D); εἴ' δοσμένα id., *Erof.* I.459

The form εἶναι/εἶνε (cf. SMG εἶναι) can be found throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. Being homophonous with the residual infinitive εἶναι, with which scribes were optically familiar, in most early sources the present indicative /'ine/ is consistently spelled as εἶναι (cf. the spelling of the present indicative εἶν as ἦν, above). The form εἶναι is found with the singular from the 11th/12th c. and with the plural from the 12th/13th c. onwards in texts from all areas. Certain texts from south-western areas, among which most of the works of Sachlikis, those of Falieros, *Apok.* V, *Chron. Mor.* H, most mss of *Pol. Tr.* and Sofianos's grammar, have εἶναι only for the plural.

Singular

εἴ' τι καλὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ, τοῦτο γενέσθω ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 128.18–19; εἴ' τις φιλόνεικος εἶναι id., *Logos* 4, 232.19–20
 καὶ ρίπτει εἰς τὰ λιθάρια ὅπου εἶναι ἡ ρούμβη (1108, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 17, 216.50)
 πλὴν καλὸς εἶναι πάντως *Diig.* G VI.486
 ἔὰν λάβῃ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἦνε μετ' αὐτῆς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 47.163)
 τίποτε τ' ἄλλον οὐκ εἶναι *Log. parig.* L 183
 τίς εἶναι εἰς τὴν χώραν *Chron. Toc.* 556; νά εἶναι σκεπασμένη ibid. 2454
 ποταπὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐνδέχεται νά ἦναι *Assizes* A 24.10
 εἶναι πολλὰ φρονίμη *Diig. Alex.* V 33.25 and *Diig. Alex.* F 127.24 (Lolos)
 καὶ εἶνε κοτέντος (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 58α, 56.2)
 νά 'ναι τὸ αὐτὸ μερδικό (1616, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 2, 221.83)
 δέν εἶναι ἄνδρας σου KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 4.18
 τὸν πύργον ὡς καθὼς εἶναι (1641, Athos, PAPAIOGLOU 1989/90: 1, 404.2)
 εἶναι καὶ ἐπτωχὸ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §21.32
 εἶνε ἀχαμινὸς τόπος (1692, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 164, 98.2)
 εἶναι καλὰ πουλημένον (1694–1704, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 3, 78.7)

Plural

εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ριζία ἐβδομήκοντα(α) ἑπτὰ (1149, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 18, 121.17)
 ἄνδρες ἄρπαγες εἶναι *Diig.* G II.152

εἶναι καὶ δύο ἔσωκουρτζούβακα (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.36)
 ὅτι εἶναι μεθυσμένοι *Ptoch. II* 93
 θέλω τὰ πέντε νὰ εἶναι *Chron. Mor.* H 7686; (τοὺς τόπους ...) ὅπου εἶναι ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον *ibid.* 8683
 ὁ ναὸς εἶναι χαλασμένος (1446, Jerusalem, TSIRPANLIS 1964: 19.10)
 πινακωτὲς ὅσες εἶναι (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 9, 154.7)
 ὅσα νὰ ἦναι *Assizes A* 40.20
 ζευγάδες εἶναι καὶ βοσκοὶ *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 160; ἀμὴ ληστάδες εἶναι *ibid.* 238
 νὰ ἦνε ἀναπαμένοι *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 22.27; εἶνε ψέματα *ibid.* 220.36
 νὰ εἶν' ὁμοῦ οἱ δύο (1545, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 164, 107.16)
 διαθέσες εἶν' ἕξι *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 47.3; εἶναι *ibid.* 71.6; ὅσοι οὐδὲν εἶναι *id. Paidag.* 95.12
 οἱ Πέρσηδες εἶναι γυναῖκες *Diig. Alex.* E 247.5 (Lolos)
 ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου εἶναι πτωχοὶ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 5.3; ὀλίγοι εἶναι ἐκεῖνοι *ibid.* 7.14
 οἱ ὅποιοι εἶνε ψεύστικοι [*VLASTOS*], *Dig. P IV* 341.33

Addition of final /n/ to εἶνε/εἶναι can be found in writing from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Pol. Tr.*) in texts from southern areas:

Singular

εἵναι ἀποκλεισμένον *Pol. Tr.* 10516 app. crit. (C)
 νὰ εἵναι καλὰ (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.11)
 διὰ νὰ εἵναι σὲ φύλαξη (1666, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 4, 191.3)

Plural

εἵναι σκοτωμένοι *Pol. Tr.* 8522 app. crit. (C); τὲς ἀρχόντισσες ὅπου εἵναι εἰς τοὺς τοίχους *ibid.* app. crit. (C); νόστιμα οὐδὲν τῆς εἵναι *ibid.* 9565 app. crit. (C)
 ἀσκανδάλιστοι νὰ εἵναι διὰ μέσου *Chron. Toc.* 1032; ὅτι εἵναι ἄνθρωποι σκληροὶ *ibid.* 1179
 εἵναι ὅτοιμοι (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.9)
 ἐτούτες εἵναι οἱ μοῖρες (1506, Patmos, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 363.44)

With palatalized stem consonant εἵνιε/εἵναι [ijne]¹⁸² is found mainly in southern/south-western areas, and especially in Cretan and Heptanesian texts from the 15th c. onwards, but only in the plural, even in texts that use εἶναι also for the singular such as the notarial documents of Maras (vol. 2 sampled). The reason for this insertion of /j/ is unclear, but it cannot be phonetic (as it occurs only in the plural): ἀρεσκοῦμένα μου καθὼς εἵνιε (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 85, 84.4), but: ἀρεσκοῦμένο μου, καθὼς εἶνε (*ibid.* 23, 23.4), and *Fortounatos*: οἱ λογισμοὶ του εἵναι *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.635, but: εἶναι ἀγάπη σπλαχνική *ibid.* V.285 (cf. KONDOSPOULOS ³2001: 70 for the modern Cretan dialect).

νὰ μᾶς εἵναι κρατημένοι (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.25)
 νὰ εἶδες κλαδία τοὺς πόνους μου νὰ εἵναι εἰς τὸ λιβάδι *Liv.* α 4301 app. crit. (N)
 ὡσὰν εἵναι μαθημένοι *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 177; εἵναι ἀμάθητοι *ibid.* 287
 νὰ εἵναι ὅλα ἴσα *FALIEROS., Log. did.* 277
 ὁπού 'ναι γνωρισμένα *Theseid X.29,5* (1529)
 καλὰ 'ναι βγοδωμένοι *Alex. Rim.* 494; ὁπού 'ναι σὰν ταυρία *ibid.* 2184
 τὰ σύνορά του εἵνιε (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 9, 12.5)

¹⁸² This form is sometimes accented with an acute, because it seemingly consists of three syllables. It is, however, disyllabic, as the <i>i> after <i>v> just indicates that the consonant is palatalized.

ὁποῦ νά μὴν εἶνι συγγενοί μου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 24, 24.9); τὰ
 ὁποῖα εἶνι βαλμένα ὅλα (ibid. 309, 309.70)
 ἐτοῦτα εἶνιαι λόγια (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 216.22); οἱ γεδικοί μας ὅλοι εἶνιαι
 καλά (1565, ibid. 283, 398.25)
 κακά 'νιαι BAROZZI, *Letter* 359.20 (*cacagne* in the Latin script of the letter)
 νά 'νιαι καὶ νά γρικοῦνται ἐδικά του (1616, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 2, 220.53–4)
 νά 'νιαι καλά τὰ παιδιὰ μου (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 38.33)
 εἶνιαι πολλά FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 17; κακά νά 'νιαι τὰ τέλη σου ibid. III.91; δὲν εἶνιαι
 παραμύθια ibid. IV.60; εἶνιαι κρατημένοι ibid. V.286

In various areas εἶναι (sg. and pl.) can become εἶνι through raising of unstressed /e/ to [i]
 (see I, 2.5.4 for details):

ὅτι κοντά τους εἶνιν *Achil.* L 372; δοκ' ὅτι νᾶνιν ἄνδρες ibid. 422; ποῦ εἶνιν τὰ δοξάρια σου
 ibid. 663; ἐὰν εἶνιν μυριάδες ibid. 866
 διατ' εἶνι ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐσοδίας (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.48)
 ὅσα νά εἶνι (1634, Peloponnese, LAMBROS 1908b: 339.15)
 ἡ φυλλάδα εἶνι τοῦ παπα-Νίκου (1690, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 48, f.54v.1)
 ἔτοιμος εἶνι σὶ πᾶσα τί (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 6, f.43r.7); νά μὴ εἶνι
 θιληματαραῖοι (1691, ibid. A 25, f.51r.4–5)
 διὰ νά εἶνι ἥσυχος (1691, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 89, 215.16)
 σὰν εἶνι καλὸ πρᾶμα, πουλέτι (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.22) (= πουλέται, see
 I, 3.5.4)

Sg.	3	ἔστι(ν) ἢ ἐστί(ν)
Pl.		εἰσί(ν)

Residual 3 sg. ἔστι(ν)/ ἐστί(ν)¹⁸³ and 3 pl. εἰσί(ν) can be found routinely in a variety of texts
 throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, usually in more formal contexts:

Singular

εἰ ἔστιν χρεῖα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 142.25
 τὸ καῦμα ἔστι πολὺ, ἔνι καὶ μεσημέριν *Dig.* G IV.202
 οὐκ ἔστι πρᾶγμα ζωντανὸν *Pol. Tr.* 54
 τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ μήνυμα λέοντος βασιλέως *Diig.* tetr. 67
 ἔστιν ἄστενης *Assizes* B 339.19
 κᾶν τάχα μοναχὸς ἔστιν *Dig.* E 1510
 αὐτὸν ἐστί το ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκείνης *Diig.* *Apoll.* 423
 ἐπειδὴ ἄδηλός ἐστιν ἡ ὥρα τοῦ πικροῦ θανάτου (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003:
 11, 19.2)
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος βοηθός *Peri xen.* 506
 ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου *Diig.* *Alex.* V 23.31
 ἐκεῖ ἔστιν καὶ ἡ θλίψη *Diig.* *Alex.* F 194.16 (Konstantinopulos)
 το βασιλεῖον μέγα ἐστίν *Diig.* *Alex.* K 358.30–1
 τὸ ἐμπαντίκιον ... ἐστὶν δουκάτα ζ' (1557 [copy of 1647], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 11,
 64.23)
 φεῦ, Αἴσωπε, τί ἐστί τοῦτο; *Vios Aisop.* D 220.39
 αἰσχρόν ἐστὶν το λέγειν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡΡ., *Pali* 5821

¹⁸³ The accentuation is mostly a matter of choice and does not appear to adhere to AG rules (for which see SMYTH 1984: 187b). More often than not, the forms are enclitic (see I, 4.2.2).

Plural

ταῦτα γάρ, δέσποτα, εἰσὶν ὄπλα δικαιοσύνης *Dig.* G IV.1038
 τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἔχω εἰσὶ ταῦτα (1417, Crete, LAMBROS 1895: 1, 585.3), but also: ὅπου εἶναι
 βέβρανα φύλλα (*ibid.* 587.2)
 οἷα καὶ ὅσα εἰσὶν (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 4, 151.9)
 νὰ εἶπες ὅτι Χάριτες εἰσὶν *Velth.* 691 transcr. (Lendari) (missing in Kriaras)
 πολλὰ πανόμοια εἰσὶν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2995
 ὅσα μοι εἰσὶν καὶ ὅσα με ἀνιμένουν (1507, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 4, 8.15)
 τῶν ποταμῶν τὰ ὀνόματα εἰσὶν οὕτως *Diig. Alex.* E 49.13 (Konstantinopulos) (hapax)
 τὰ ὁποῖα εἰσὶν τὸ πρέζιον παπουτζῶν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 85,
 84.2–3)
 οἱ σπανοὶ γέλως εἰσὶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων *Spanos* D 924
 τὰ γεράκια πῶβλεπες εἰσὶν ἄρπαγες ἄνδρες *Dig.* A 755
 σκέπος καὶ φύλαξη εἰσὶ ἐν σώματι καὶ πνεύμα *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2146
 τὰ ὁποῖα μάρμαρα νὰ εἰσὶν μικρὰ μεγάλα (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1,
 368.10–11)

Confusion of residual 3 sg. ἔστί(ν) and 3 pl. εἰσί(ν) may also occur:¹⁸⁴

εἰσὶν ἡ ἔξοδος τοῦ Πέτρου (1348, Macedonia, LEFORT et al. 2006: 99, 225.1)
 τὸ ὁποῖον εἰσὶ (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 5, 83.2)
 ὅτι ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἐστὶν παιδεῖες Τοῦ καὶ κρίσεις *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 4709

In local varieties of the language that are affected by the phenomenon of mid-vowel raising (of unstressed /e/ to [i], see I, 2.5.4 for details), the unstressed /e/ of the verb stem may become /i/, even in this residual form: τὸ παρὸν ἀνθολόγιον ... ἴστιν ἐμοῦ (1685, Athos, KADAS 1988: 98, 334.5–6) (scribe from Andros).

4.8.2 Imperfect

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	ἤμουν	ἤμου ἢ ἤμουνα ἢ ἤμουνε ἤμην	ἤμον ἤμη
	2	ἤσουν	ἤσου ἢ ἤσουνε	ἤσον ἤσουνα
	3	ἤτο(ν) ἤταν	ἤν ἤτονε ἤστον/εἶστον ἢ ἤστονε/ εἶστονε ἤτανε ἤτουν ἢ ἤτουνα ἢ ἤτουνε	ἤτονευ ἤτονα ἔστον ἤντον ἔστον ἤτου

¹⁸⁴ An early example can be found in the *Life of Philaretos* (9th-c. text, 11th-c. ms): ἔστιν τῆς θυγατρὸς μου τῆς πρεσβυτέρας θυγατέρες τρεῖς *Vios Philaret.* 442 app. crit. (G).

		General	Restricted	Rare
Pl.	1	ἤμεσθε(ν) ἰ ἤμεστε(ν) ἤμεσθα(ν) ἰ ἤμεστα(ν)	ἤμεθα ἤμεθε(ν) ἤμεστανε ἤμασθε(ν) ἰ ἤμαστε(ν) ἰ ἤμαστενε ἤμασταν ἰ ἤμασθαν ἤμαστον ἰ ἤμασθον ἰ ἤμαστουν	ἤμεθαν ἰ ἤμενθα ἤμεθον ἤμισταν imouname (ἤμουναμε?)
2		ἤσθε(ν) ἰ ἤστε(ν)	ἤστενε ἤσταν	ἤστον ἤσαστε ἤσαστον ἰ ἤσαστουν isounaste (ἤσουναστε?)
3		ἦσαν ἦταν ἦτον	ἦσα ἰ ἦσανε ἦσασι(ν) ἦτανε ἦτασι(ν) ἦτονε ἦστον/εἶστον ἰ ἦστονε/ εἶστονε	ἦσανι ἦν ἦσανσι(ν) ἦτα ἦτο ἦτον ἦτονες ἦστα(ν) ἦτουν

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	ἤμουν ἰ ἤμου ἰ ἤμουνε ἰ ἤμουνα

The SMG form ἤμουν for 1 sg. can be found in texts from all regions from the very beginning of the LMedG period (the ms of Nikon dates from the early 12th c.), but it is unclear how long before that it came into existence, since the Koine form ἤμην continued to belong to good written practice (see e.g. the works of Glykas, where we find ἤμουν in his vernacular poem, whereas he uses ἤμην in his more learned works). This ending is derived from -μην, the /u/ in the final syllable being the result of backing of /i/ to /u/ in the environment of nasals (see I, 2.8.4), though, as appears to be the case with many verbal endings, the clitic pronoun μου may have played a role by association. Some early examples are:

ὅπου ἂν ἤμουν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.14; ὅταν καὶ ἤμουν αὐτόθι id., *Logos* 31 826.9
 ἤμουν παιδὶν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 1
 εἰς κόσμον ἤμουν *Log. parig.* L 336

οὐδὲ ἦμουν ἐκεῖ (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 23.152)
 νὰ ἦμουν οἰκοδεσπότης *Ptoch. III* 160; ἐὰν/ἄν ἦμουν *ibid.* 165, 176 and 181
 ἦμουν μέγας μάστορος *Assizes B* 343.28
 ἦμουν καὶ ἐγὼ *Liv. V* 47 and *Liv. α* 45; γνώρισε, ἦμουν χωρικός *Liv. V* 442 and *Liv. α* 514;
 ἄθρωπος ἦμουν μέγας *Liv. α* 111
 λίθος ἀμάδα ἦμουν *Liv. E* 3327
 ἦμουν διὰ παραδιαβασμὸν *Florios* 772
 οὐδὲν ἦμουν μαθημένος *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 278 transcr. (Lendari)
 εἰς ζάλην ἦμουν δυνατήν *Pol. Tr.* 2918 app. crit. (BV); ἦμουν *ibid.* 11284 (mss BC)

Written evidence of deletion of final /n/ can be found in texts of south-western provenance and the Aegean (Naxos) from at least the 16th c. onwards (ms date of *Pol. Tr.*, Sachlikis and others):

νὰ μὴ ἴμου ἀγνώριστος *Pol. Tr.* 2692 app. crit. (R)
 ἀπόστεν ἴμου κοπελιά *SACHLIKIS, Katalogi* 53 transcr. (Lendari)
 πῶς ἴμου πάντοτε ἔτοιμος *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1232
 θωρώντα με πῶς ἴμου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 283
 καταπῶς ἴμου συνηθισμένος *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 84
 χρόνοι ἴναι ὅπου ἴμου στὰ Νησὰ *Stathis III.* 377
 ἴμου κι ἐγὼ παιδί σου *Thysia Avr.* 908
 πῶς, καθῶς ἴμου πρόθυμος *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.66; γιατί ἴμου μανισμένος *ibid.* III.723
 ἴμου παρῶν (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 6, 6.7; and 1660, *ibid.* 22, 15.9)
 ἴμου παρῶν (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 3, 176.16)
 ὡς νοικοκυρὰ ὅπου ἴμου καὶ ... (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 761, 1032.10–11)
 ἄθρωπος πλιὸ δὲν ἴμου *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.1420

Forms with an added -(v)ε or -(v)α (see also I, 2.6.3.3), not uncommon in colloquial MG, can be found from at least the 15th c. (ms date of *Ptoch. III* and *Pol. Tr.*). Forms with -(v)ε have been found in south-western texts (Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese, Santorini), in texts of northern provenance (*Ptoch.*, *Thrinosis patr.*, *Diig. Alex.* K) and in texts from certain Aegean islands (Chios, Naxos) (cf. 2 sg.):

καταβλαττάς ἄν ἦμουνε *Ptoch. III* 181 app. crit. (P)
 ἐδικός σου νὰ ἦμουνε *Pol. Tr.* 5815 app. crit. (X); ἐντροπισμένος νὰ ἦμουνε *ibid.* 6886 app. crit. (X)
 φυλακισμένος ἦμουνε *Rim. than.* 91
 ἄν ἦμουνε αἰτία *Apoll. Rim.* V 1700
 πολεμιστής δεν ἦμουνε πατρώθεν *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 65.13
 ἀπ' ὄντεν ἦμουνε χρονῶν δέκα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 218.19)
 διότις ἦμουνε βέβαιος (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.32)
 ἐάνισως καὶ ἦμουνε νὰ ὑγιάνω *MOREZINOS, Klini* 55.31
 ἔξυπν' ἦμουνε *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.165; καὶ τίνος ἦμουνε παιδί *id., Erof.* I.139
 δὲν ἦμουνε κάστρον ἐξακουσμένον *Thrinosis patr.* 59
 ἦμουνε μάρτυρας (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 40.100)
 ἄν ἦμουνε Σίλβιος ἐγὼ *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* A4v.19
 ἦμουνε φυλαμένη *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 571.7
 γιατί στὰ πάντα ἦμουνε πολλὰ χαριτωμένος *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 432; ὅταν μικρὸ παιδί ἴμουνε *ibid.* 1480
 ἦμουνε καὶ πρεζέντε (1670, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 31, 388.11–12)

Forms with -(ν)α appear mainly in texts of south-western provenance, with the exception of a single instance in *Diig. Alex. K*, which is thought to be of northern provenance, and in *Dig. O* (Chios):

ὅτι ἐδικός σου νά ἤμουνα *Pol. Tr.* 5815 (ms C); ἐντροπιασμένος νά ἤμουνα *ibid.* 6886 (mss CV)
 ἐγὼ ἀπ' τ' Ἀνάπλιν ἤμουνα *Anon. Naupl.* 5
 ἤμουνα ἐγγαστρωμένη *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 426
 ποῖος ἤμουνα καὶ ποῦ 'μαι *Theseid Prol.* P 139; νά 'μουνα *ibid.* I.102,2 (Follieri)
 τὴν νύκτα ὄλην ἤμουνα εἰς ἀγρυπνία μεγάλη *ZINOS, Vatr.* 327
 διὰ τ' ἐσένα ἤμουνα πεθαμένος *Diig. Alex. K* 357.30
 ἤμουνα κουτέντος (1573, Ancona, *CATALDI PALAU* 2000: 2, 388.18)
 δὲν ἤμουνα ἄξιος *MOREZINOS, Klini* 28.18
 κί' ἤμουνα κοιμισμένη *CHORTATSI, Katz.* II.162; ὄντεν ἤμουνα μιτσή *id., Panor.* I.247 app. crit.
 (A)
 ἔτσι νά μὴν ἤμουνα, σὰν εἶμαι *Bertoldos* 54.32
 ἀποθαμένος ἤμουνα (1655, Athens, *KAMBOUROGLOU* 1889: 178.8)
 Λήνκος ἄν ἤμουνα κ' ἐγὼ *Soummakis, Past. Fid.* A4v.20
 ἤμουνα στολισμένη *Bounialis M., Diig. Pol.* 180.18
 ἤμουνα πληγωμένος *Petritsis, Dig.* O 824
 ἤμουνα ἄτεκνη (1682, Skyros, *ANDONIADIS* 1983: 8, 185.20)

Sg.	1	ἤμην ἢ ἤμη

The Koine form ἤμην, to be found regularly from the *Septuagint* onwards (*GIGNAC* 1981: 402), is sometimes used in the written sources of the LMedG and EMG periods. Most of them, with the exception of texts with clear archaizing tendencies (e.g. *Dig. G, T* and *A*, the *Chronicle* of Cheilas), also have the innovative form ἤμουν, which had emerged fairly recently (see above).

ἤμην δώσοντα (1192, Sicily, *RE/ROGNONI* 2008: 2, 144.10)
 ἤμην καθήμενος *Dig. G* II.139; καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγνώρισαν τῶν ἔργων, ὅστις ἤμην *ibid.* VI.615
 ἤμην ὑποληπτική *Ptoch. I* 68; ἐγὼ δ' ὡς ἤμην νηστικός *ibid.* 138
 καὶ ἄν ἤμην πέτρα *Log. parig.* L 618
 ἄνθρωπος ἤμην μέγας *Liv.* V 115; ἤμην φυλακισμένος *ibid.* 2442; ἐκ γένους ἤμην εὐγενής *ibid.* 3188
 ἤμην *Pol. Tr.* 8655 app. crit. (AX), 9115 (mss AX) and 11284 app. crit. (A)
 εἰς τὸ ὀσπίτιν ὅπου ἤμην (1496, Pesaro, *MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI* 1971: 3, 132.35–6)
 λίθος ἀδάμας ἤμην *Liv.* S 2146 (*Lambert-van der Kolf*); καὶ ὡς ἤμην μυριόθλιβος *ibid.* 2386
 ἤμην γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼ τότε μικρός *CHEILAS, Chron.* 351.19
 ὅστις ἐξ ἔργων ἤμην *Dig. T* 2444 and *Dig. A* 3611

The strong tendency of the Cretan dialect to drop final /n/ (see I, 3.7.2.2), even from residual forms in passages cited from older texts (the *New Testament* in this case), becomes apparent from the following example: ξένος ἤμη, ἀλλὰ ἐσεῖς οὐ συνηγάγετέ με *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2798 app. crit.

Very few (and chronologically quite remote) examples of ἤμον have been found, which can be viewed either as writing mistakes, or as ἤμην in which the ending was replaced with the 1 sg. active ending of the imperfect of barytone verbs (-ον) (*MINAS* ²2003: 126). In the later examples ἤμον could also be viewed as a hypercorrect form for ἤμουν (see I,

2.8.3); in S. Italy, however, ἤμουν does not appear to be attested (see CARACAUSI, *Lex.* s.v. εἶμι).¹⁸⁵ ἐγὼ ἤμον ἐνδεδυμένην (1175, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 184, 241.16); ἤμον παρῶν (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 6, 6.6; and 1672, *ibid.* 50, 30.4).

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	ἤσου ἢ ἤσουν ἢ ἤσουνε

The 2 sg. form ἤσουν (now SMG) has not been found in writing before the 13th c., though it is likely to have existed before. Most early works, such as GLYKAS, *Stichoi*, *Log. parig.* L and *Spaneas* V, happen not to have 2 sg. imperfect forms of εἶμαι (though most of them do have 1 sg. ἤμουν). Significantly, no alternative forms have been found in the texts examined: older forms such as ἤσθα and ἤς are not to be found there, not even in the higher-register ones such as *Dig. G* and *Kallimachos*; ἤσουν is also the only form given by all EMG grammars, from Sofianos to Spanos. Ἡσουν is held to have been formed from Koine ἤσο; an intermediate form ἤσου, quoted in DIETERICH 1898: 224 and KAPSOMENOS 1953a: 323, occurs in a letter by Ps. Neilos of Ankyra (PG 79, 545B), probably datable to the 6th c., though it must be borne in mind that Neilos of Ankyra has a notoriously problematic text tradition. The latter form has also been found in Nikon of the Black Mountain (11th/12th c.) and two 15th-c. texts. It is perhaps significant that all three texts are of northern provenance (see I, 2.5.4 for raising of /o/ to [u]).

ὅταν καὶ ἤσου ὤδε NIKON, *Logos* 23 682.15; ἐὰν ἤσου σιμά μου *id.*, 26 718.22
 ποῦ ἤσου; (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1869); but also: ποῦ ἤσουν; (*ibid.* 438)
 οὐδὲν ἤσου ἀπογραμμένους (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.13)

Final /n/ is likely to have been added on the basis of ἤμην/ἤμουν. Some early examples are:

καθὼς ἤσουν (1237, Arta, BARIŠIĆ 1966: [1], 2.6)
 καὶ σὺ ἤσουν ματσουκάτος *Ptoch. I* 68
 ἂν ἤσουν γὰρ εἰς τὸν Μορέαν ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἤσουν ἀφέντης *Chron. Mor.* H 4226
 καὶ οὐκ ἤσουν ἐκ τὸ χῶμαν *Liv. V* 233; ὡς οὐκ ἤσουν φίλος του *ibid.* 336
 καὶ ἤσουν σπορὰ ἐκ τὸ σίδερον *Liv. α* 248; τὸ πῶς οὐκ ἤσουν δοῦλος του *ibid.* 368
 φίλος μου ἤσουν ἀκριβὸς *Pol. Tr.* 4273; ἐσὺ ἤσουν ἡ ἀγάπη μου, ἐσὺ ἤσουν ἡ ψυχὴ μου *ibid.*
 7206
 εἶπέ με πόθεν ἤσουν *Florios* 767
 ἐσὺ ἤσουν τὰ ὀμμάτια μου, ἐσὺ ἤσουν ἡ ψυχὴ μου *Chron. Toc.* 3390
 στήν βίγλαν ἤσουν *Katal.* 28

From about the 16th c. onwards, renewed deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from Crete and in Germano's grammar (Chios):

᾿σάν ἤσου, να σε στρέψει *Apoll. Rim.* A 468 (same in N and E)
 ἤσου βασιλιὸς παιδί *CHORTATIS, Erof. I*.141 app. crit. M (Xanthoudidis); σὰν ἤσου μαθημένη
id., *Katz.* I.15
 ἐσὺ ὅπου ἐκτύπας ἤσου; *Stathis I*.171

¹⁸⁵ This form is also the only form given by BOIATZIS (1813: 71): ἐὰν ἤμον, who also offers a 2 sg. form ἤσον (*ibid.*; see below).

στήν ξενιτιὰ ὄντεν ἡσου KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1836
 ἡσου GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.22
 λογιάζω πῶς δὲν ἡσου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.15
 ἄν ἡσου καὶ Χριστιανός BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 405.16

Addition of *-(ν)ε* (cf. regional MG ἡσούνε; see also I, 2.6.3.3) can be found mainly in texts from south-western areas from at least the 15th c. onwards (cf. 1 sg.):

ἄν ἡσούνε ξενούτσικη *Poulol.* 453 (Constantinople, copied in Rhodes?)
 ἡσούνε πουτάνα καὶ μεθύστρα *Fyll. gadar.* 509
 οπού ᾽σούνε το φῶς μου *Apoll. Rim.* V 1464 and *Apoll. Rim.* A 1462 (same in N and E)
 γύρισε ἐκεῖ ἀπού ἡσούνε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 191.18
 ποῦσούνε εὐμορφον παλληκάρι ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Voev.* 261
 μετ' αὐτῇ ᾽σούνε CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.305; ἡσούνε βοηθός μου *ibid.* II.535; κὶ ὡς ἡσούνε
 πᾶσα καιρό *id.*, *Erof. Interim.* I.83
 κὶ ἐσύ ᾽σούνε *Thysia Avr.* 378; ἡσούνε τ' ἀπακούμπιο μου *ibid.* 768
 ἐσύ ὡς μανισμένος ὅπου ἡσούνε (1623, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 429, 403.17)
 ἄν ἡσούνε ζωντανός *Bertoldin.* 130.12; ἡσούνε ἐσύ *ibid.* 156.6
 σὰ νὰ ᾽σούνε παιδί μου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.70; ἄξος ᾽σούνε, νὰ ζήσης *ibid.* I.103
 ἡσούνε ἀφέντης BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 391.12
 ἐσύ ᾽σούνε τὰ μάτια μου, ἐσύ ἡσούνε τὸ φῶς μου KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.105
 πῶς ἡσούνε KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* II.657

Addition of *-(ν)α*, as in the colloquial MG form ἡσούνα, has not been found before the later 17th c.: imouna, iqouna, itané, imounamé, isounasté, itoné SPON, *Voyage* 318–19.¹⁸⁶

Sg.	2	ἡσον

The Koine form ἦσο has not been found in the texts examined, but there is an instance of a form ἡσον in the Lavra version of *Varlaam and Ioasaph*, which could, however, also be viewed as a hypercorrection of ἡσουν (see I, 2.8.3):¹⁸⁷ οπού ἡσον αὐθέτης *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras).

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	ἡμεθα ἢ ἡμεθαν ἢ ἡμενθα

The ending *-μεθα*, attested with the imperfect from the *Septuagint* and the *New Testament* onwards, is quite rare in LMedG texts and absent from EMG ones. Since no alternative endings have been found before the 15th c., it must be assumed that it was in use at the beginning of the LMedG period, even though the evidence is scarce. It is also the form prescribed by the more conservative EMG grammars (Sofianos, Spanos), where less conservative grammars (Germano, Romanos) give innovative forms (see below).

¹⁸⁶The form also occurs in a late 18th-c. Zakynthian comedy: μὶ ῥ' στὰ φεστίνια ἡσούνα κὸν βιόλα ἀλὰ σόνα Gouzelis, *O Chasis* I.85 (ed. Synadinou) and ποῦ ᾽σούνα *ibid.* I.87.

¹⁸⁷This form also in ΒΟΙΑΤΖΙΣ (1813: 71): ἡσον, who also offers the above-mentioned 1 sg. form ἦμον (*ibid.*).

τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἤμεθα φίλοι *Hist. Imp.* I 782

ποτέ δὲν ἤμεθα τέτοιαις λογῆς ἀνθρώποι CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1889 app. crit. (M)

ἤμεθα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 71.10

ἤμεθα SPANOS, *Grammar* 42.7

Addition of final /n/, probably influenced by the innovative form ἤμεθεν (see below), can occasionally be found: ὅταν ἤμεθαν *Poulol.* 535 app. crit. (E); ὅλοι ἤμεθαν εἰς θάνατον *Pol. Tr.* 7267 app. crit. (X).

With an added nasal (for which see I, 3.5.2.4) the ending occurs in the so-called *Greek Laws of Cyprus*: ἤμενθα ἀμφοτέροι συνανοῦντες (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 31.61). This may perhaps be viewed as a “learned” spelling hiding the Cypriot ending -μεθθα (see 4.1.1.2; see also I, 3.4.2.5).

Pl.	1	ἤμεθεν ἢ ἤμεθον

The ending -μεθεν can be found in texts from northern and south-western areas, from at least the 15th c. (ms date of *Liv.* V) until the 16th c. (ms dates of *Poulol.*), after which it apparently falls into disuse (cf. 4.1.1.2 and 4.3.1.2; see also the present of εἶμαι, 4.8.1, with which the ending is attested more frequently):

ἤμεθεν γοῦν οἱ δύο μας *Liv.* V 3008

οὐκ ἤμεθεν ἀντάμα *Pol. Tr.* 4355 (mss AX); ὅλοι ἤμεθεν εἰς θάνατον *ibid.* 7267 app. crit. (C)

εἰ μὲν ἤμεθεν οἱ πάντες *ERMON., Ilias* 15.220 app. crit. (PC)

ἤμεθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοῦλοι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου *Chron. Toc.* 2714 (spelled εἶμεθεν in the ed.)

ἤμεθεν *Poulol.* 535 and 536

The following form appears in a letter found in the Vatopedi archives: ἐὰν οὐδὲν ἤμεθον τέτοιοι δουλωτικοί (1348?, Macedonia, LEFORT et al. 2006: 101, 229.8). It is either the result of a writing mistake (ἤμεθον for ἤμεθεν; there are a few more writing mistakes in this document), or it is a predecessor of ἤμεστον and ἤμαστον (see below). If the form is valid, it does illustrate the tendency in northern varieties of the language to replace the final syllable of 1 pl. and 2 pl. endings of the imperfect with /on/ (cf. 2 pl. ἤσαστον below; see also barytone verbs, 4.3.1.2).

Pl.	1	ἤμεστε(ν) ἢ ἤμεσθε(ν) ἢ ἤμεστον

The ending -μεστε(ν) and its written variant -μεσθε(ν), rarer for the imperfect than for the present (see 4.8.1), are found from the 15th c. onwards in texts from various regions, with and without final /n/:

εἰ μὲν ἤμεσθεν οἱ πάντες *ERMON., Ilias* 15.220 (reading of ms L)

οἱ τέσσαροί μας ἤμεσθεν, ἄλλος κανεῖς δὲν ἦτον *Anon. Naupl.* 55 (spelled εἶμεσθεν in the ed.)

πολλοὺς χρόνους ἤμεστε εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν *Diig. Alex.* F 222.5 (Lolos) (spelled εἶμεστε in the ed.)

τόσον καιρὸν ὅπου ἤμεστέν ἀντάμα *DAM. SToud., This., Logos* 19, σ5r.20 (1561)

ἤμεστέν *GERMANO, Grammar* 96.23

ἤμεσθεν *PORTIUS, Grammar* 41.17

ἤμεσθε *ROMANOS, Grammar* 57.10

δὲν ἤμεστέν πλέα διὰ νὰ περάσωμεν (1658, Galats, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 20, 125.19–20)

With substitution of /o/ for /e/ in the last syllable, the form appears in the *History of Wallachia* by Matthaïos of Myra, who was from Epirus and lived in Wallachia. The morpheme /on/ in 1 pl. and 2 pl. endings appears to be a feature of northern local varieties (cf. ἤμεθον (above), ἤμαστον (below); see also barytone verbs, 4.3.1.2):¹⁸⁸ καλὸν ἦτον νὰ ἤμεστον ὅλοι ἀποθαμμένοι ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 2455.

Pl.	1	ἤμεστα(ν) ἢ ἤμεσθα(ν) ἢ ἤμεστανε ἢ ἤμισταν

The ending -μεστα(ν) and its more formal variant -μεσθα(ν) (see I, 3.8.1) are attested from the 15th/16th c. onwards, with and without final /n/, in texts from southern regions and in texts of unknown provenance (for a discussion see 4.1.1.2):

ἤμεσθα γοῦν ἀμφοτέρωι μέχρι μεσονυκτίου *Velth.* 899 (Cupane)
ποτέ δὲν ἤμεσταν ἔτοιμας λογῆς ἀνθρώποι *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1889 app. crit. (B)
καλλιὸν νὰ ἤμεσταν ἀποθαμένοι *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 142.13–14
ἤμεσταν πεθαμένοι *Imb. Rim.* 158; ἀτοί μας μετὰ τὰ χέρια μας ἤμεσταν σκοτωμένοι *ibid.* 160
ὄντεν ἤμεσταν (1549, Crete, *DRAKAKIS* 2004: 53, 56.12)
ἀποδεκεῖ ἤμεστα ... μισεμένες *CHORTATISIS, Panor.* II.424; ἀπόσταν ἤμεστα παιδάκια *id., Erof.* I.116; μιὰς μάνας ἤμεστα παιδιά *ibid.* III.276
᾿ς τοῦτο τὸ σπῆτι ἤμεστα τὴν ὥρα ὅπου ἔστειλέ με *Stathis* III.85
ἤμεσταν ντεσπεράδοι (1604–5, Cythera, *MAVROEIDI* 1978: 146.17)
ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἤμεσταν σκλάβοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 142.25
δέκά ἤμεσταν κ' ἐκεῖνοι δυὸ *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.617 (reading of A)
ὡσάν νὰ ἤμεσθαν *Don Kis.* 166.21

With addition of -(ν)ε this form occurs in Chortatsis, but it is likely to have had a wider distribution (cf. 1 pl. pres. 4.8.1, and see also I, 2.6.3): γιὰτ' ἤμεστανε δίχως σου περισσὰ πρικομένες *CHORTATISIS, Erof. Interm.* I.126.

The following form was found in a document from Cyprus: ἐμεῖς ἤμισταν (1605, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1959: 33, 37.6), a phonetic variant of ἤμεσταν, with non-regular raising of /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4).

Pl.	1	ἤμαστε(ν) ἢ ἤμασθε(ν) ἢ ἤμαστενε

The form ἤμαστε(ν) and its written variant ἤμασθε(ν), in its form ἤμαστε one of the common SMG forms, appears in texts from south-western areas and in texts of unknown provenance from the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Liv.* E). According to *MINAS* (1987a: 25), following *MEYER* 1889: 197, it derives from -μεστα through inversion of the vowels /a/ and /e/. As appears to be the case with quite a few other passive endings (e.g. 1 sg. -μουν, 2 pl. -σουν), the 1 pl. postverbal clitic pronoun μας may have played an associative role (cf. also ἦσαστε for ἦστε, below):

καὶ ἤμασθε κοπιασμένοι *Liv.* E 2679; ἤμασθεν κοπιασμένοι *ibid.* 4112
ἤμασθεν ὀλομόναχοι *Liv.* S 2083 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
πόσην χαρὰν νὰ εἶχαμεν ἂν ἤμασταν οἱ δύο *Florios* 1673 app. crit. (V)
εἰ μὲν ἐμείναμε ὥσπερ ἤμασταν (1550, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2002a: 243, 147.17)

¹⁸⁸ The form ἤμεσθον is also the only form given by *ΒΟΙΑΤΖΙΣ* (1813: 71): ἐὰν ἤμεσθον wenn wir wären.

ποτέ δὲν ἤμασταν τοιοῦτοι *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1889 app. crit. (M)
 γιατί ἂ δὲν τὰ τρώγαμε ἤμαστ' ἀποθαμένοι *Alex. Rim.* 906
 τοιούτης λογῆς ἤμασταν τότε *IER. ANVATIOS, Diig. Seismou* 333.9
 κι' ἤμαστε γυρεμένες *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.310; ἤμαστε στο κυνήγι id., *Panor.* II.129
 ὄντας ἤμαστε ἀντίπερα στὴ Ντία *Stathis* I.260; ὄντας ἤμαστε καὶ στὸ Κελλί ibid. III.315
 ὥσαν ἤμασθεν μαθημένοι *Alex. Fyll.* 73.30; ὥσπερ νὰ ἤμασθεν ἀθάνατοι ibid. 114.32–3
 δέκα ἤμαστε κ' ἐκεῖνοι δυό *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.617 app. crit. (X)
 ἤμασταν ἀπ' ὅλους δοξασμένες *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.601

With an added *-(ν)ε* the form appears in a document from Nauplion (author originally from Athens), but it is likely to have had a wider geographical spread (cf. 1 pl. pres.; see also I, 2.6.3): ὄντας ἤμασταν εἰς τὰ ξένα χέρια (1712, Nauplion, *ΛΙΑΤΑ* 1998b: 232.19).

Pl.	1	ἤμαστον ἢ ἤμασθον ἢ ἤμαστουν

The form ἤμαστον and its more formal-looking variant ἤμασθον have been found in 16th- and 17th-c. texts from northern regions (Thrace, Macedonia) (cf. the same ending with barytone verbs, 4.3.1.2); there is also a single instance in a document from Kefalonia. According to MINAS (1987a: 41–2) this ending is derived from *-μαστε* with substitution of /o/ for /e/ by analogy with 3 pl. *-οντο(ν)*, but that seems unlikely given the fact that the ending *-μαστε* had a rather different geographical distribution. Though the textual evidence is scarce, it is more likely to have been formed on the basis of the northern variant ἤμεστον (see above), with substitution of /a/ for /e/ by association with the 1 pl. weak personal pronoun *μας*. In the period covered by this Grammar the morpheme /on/ in 1 pl. and 2 pl. endings appears to be a feature of northern local varieties (cf. ἤμεθον and ἤμεστον (above) and ἤσαστον (below)).

καὶ ἤμασθον εἰς πολλοὺς χρόνους αἰχμάλωτοι *Diig. Alex.* K 346.27
 δὲν ἤμαστον καταπατητάδες *Pent. Gen.* 42.31 (εἴμαστον in the ed.)¹⁸⁹
 ἤμαστον πτωχοὶ ἀπὸ καλὰ ἔργα *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 2, α7ν.34 (1561); καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς
 μικροὶ ὅπου ἤμαστον τότε ibid., *Logos* 19, σ5ε.32
 νὰ ἤμαστον ὀμπλιγάδοι (1582, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 116, 81.10)
 καλὸν ἦτον νὰ ἤμαστον ὅλοι ἀποθαμένοι *PAPASYNAD., Chron. Proem.* 79

The same form with /u/ for /o/ in the last syllable due to back-vowel raising (see I, 2.8.3 for details) can be found in the grammar of Kritopoulos (17th c., author from Veroia, Macedonia): ἤμαστουν *KRITOPOULOS, Grammar* 112.28.

Pl.	1	ἤμασταν ἢ ἤμασθαν

The form ἤμασταν (now one of the SMG forms) and its written variant ἤμασθαν appear, though not very frequently, from the 16th c. onwards in documents from Crete and in *Liv.*

¹⁸⁹ The form was perhaps intended to be a present indicative, given that the *Septuagint* has a present indicative here: οὐκ ἔσμεν κατάσκοποι; cf. however, δὲν ἦτον οἱ σκλάβοι σου καταπατητάδες *Pent. Gen.* 42.11, where the present indicative of the *Septuagint*, οὐκ εἰσὶν οἱ παῖδες σου κατάσκοποι, is also rendered as an imperfect. The Hebrew Torah, of which the Constantinopolitan *Pentateuch* is a translation, has a past tense in this passage (Julia Krivoruchko, personal communication).

S, which perhaps had a Cretan background (AGAPITOS 2006: 73). It was also found once in Kallioupolis's *Kaini Diathiki*. It is likely that north and south arrived at this form from two different directions: ἤμαστέν in the case of the southern texts and ἤμαστον in the case of Kallioupolis, who was of northern provenance, with substitution of the “past”-marker /a/ for /e/ and /o/ respectively:

καὶ ἤμασθαν κοπιασμένοι *Liv.* S 1531 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ἤμασταν κοτέντοι (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 6, 7.22 and 12, 14.23); ἤμασταν
 σατισφάδοι (ibid. 72, 70.7 and 218, 217.7); καὶ δὲν ἤμασταν ἐκεῖ (ibid. 218, 217.13)
 ἂν ἤμασταν ἐμεῖς KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 23.30

Pl.	1	imouname (ἤμουνάμε?/ἤμουνάμε?)

This form has been recorded, without stress notation and in Latin script, by the French traveller Jacob Spon during his travels to Greece and the Levant in 1675–6. Since his Greek is generally correct (not counting the odd mistake and “French” stress notation), there is no reason to assume that the form is not genuine (cf. the similar 2 pl. form isounaste (ἥσουναστε?/ἥσουνάστε?) below). Unfortunately it is impossible to establish in which part of the area he came across these forms: he travelled a large area covering the Heptanese and the Peloponnese, Leivadia, Athens, various islands in the Aegean, Constantinople and parts of Asia Minor, though we can be fairly certain he did not visit the northern mainland, Crete or Cyprus. If these forms are indeed valid, the most likely candidate would perhaps be Asia Minor, an area for which sources are scarce and for which there is little corroborating evidence from modern dialects. This 1 pl. form clearly consists of the singular form ἤμουνα, with an added (active!) 1 pl. ending -αμε. Spon gives the following forms for the imperfect: imouna, içouna, itané, imounamé, isounasté, itoné (SPON, *Voyage* 318–19).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	ἦστέ ἢ ὦσθε ἢ ὦστέν ἢ ὦσθεν ἢ ὦστένε

The normal form for 2 pl. in post-classical times is ἦτε, which continues to be used in high-register works well into the EMG period. A new formation ἦστέ/ὦσθε, homophonous with its present counterpart εἶστέ/εἶσθε, is attested in writing from the 14th c. onwards, but due to lack of evidence, 2 pl. generally being rare in texts, it is impossible to establish when this form came into being.¹⁹⁰

καθὼς ἦστέ καὶ πρῶτα *Chron. Mor.* H 4249
 καὶ μετ' ἐμὲν οὐκ ὦσθε *Dig.* E 1749
 καὶ ἦστέ κρατούμενοι τοῦ ὄρκου του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 474.37
 ὁποῦ ἦστέ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὠραιότατοι *Alex.* Fyll. 72.15
 ὦσθε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 71.10, GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.23 and ROMANOS, *Grammar* 57.10
 ἦστέ ἢ ὦσαστε SPANOS, *Grammar* 42.7

Addition of final /n/ is not very common, but is perhaps a Heptanesian feature: ὁποῦ ἦστέν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ *Diig. Alex.* F 204.15 (Lolos) and *Diig. Alex.* V 59.12; ὁποῦ ἦστέν εἰς τὸν

¹⁹⁰ It is unlikely to be connected to the AG variant form ὦστέ, which can only be found in a handful of Attic writers and never appears to have become mainstream.

καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον *Diig. Alex. E* (Lolos) (spelled εἶσταν); ἄν ἔλειπε ὁ Ταγιαπιέρας, | ἦσταν ὅλοι τῆς κακῆώρας TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 267–8.

Addition of -(ν)ε was found in *Evgena* and Soumakis's *Rebelio* (Heptanese), but is likely to have a broader geographical spread in the EMG period (see I, 2.6.3 for details): ἦστανε φιδέλοι καὶ οἱ дуὸ σας MONTSEL., *Evgena* 557 (Spadaro); ποῦ ἦστανε καὶ δὲν ἐρχόστανε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 57.1 (spelled εἶστανε in both editions).

Pl.	2	ἦσταν

With substitution of the past-tense marker /a/ for /e/ in the last syllable this form has been found in texts of northern provenance, from the 16th c. onwards:¹⁹¹

ἄν καὶ πένητες καὶ πτωχοὶ ἦσταν DAM. STOUD., *Dial.* 94.2–3
 ποῦ ὕσαν πατριαρχεῖα *Thrinios patr.* M 76 (scribe from Ioannina)
 ἄν ἦσταν παιδία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 8.39; ἄν ἦσταν τυφλοὶ *ibid.* 9.41; ἄν ἦσταν ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον *ibid.* 15.19
 τί ἦσταν ἐσεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐπιάσετε καὶ τὸν ἐκάμετε τόσα σιασέτια; Βοϊβοτάδες ἦσταν, μητροπολιτάδες ἦσταν, κατῆδες ἦσταν, σπαχῆδες ἦσταν, ζαπίτηδες ἦσταν, τί ἦσταν καὶ ἐκάμετε εἰς αὐτὸν τόσα κακά PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.203–5; ἀμὴ ἄν ἦσταν μεγάλοι ἄνθρωποι τί ἐκάμετε; *ibid.* I §36.232

Pl.	2	ἦστον

With /o/ for /e/ in the last syllable this form has been found in *Thrinios Kyprou* (16th- or 17th-c. text, early 18th-c. ms): ἦστον εἰς τὰ ξένα *Thrinios Kypr.* 546; ἦστον φυλαγμένοι *ibid.* 893.¹⁹²

Pl.	2	ἦσαστε ἦσαστον ἦσαστουν

The form ἦσαστε, now the regular SMG form, appears to have come into being quite late, as it was only found in the 1749 grammar of Kanellos Spanos (Peloponnese). It is likely to have been formed by analogy with 1 pl. ἤμαστε, whereby a certain influence by association of the weak personal pronouns μας and σας may be suspected: ἦστε ἢ ἦσαστε SPANOS, *Grammar* 42.7.

A form ἦσαστον was found in the 16th-c. *Pentateuch* (printed in Constantinople, author's provenance unknown). It is likely to have been formed on the basis of the northern variant for 1 pl., ἤμαστον (see above); association with the 1 pl. and 2 pl. weak personal pronouns μας and σας may, again, have played a role. The same form with [u] for [o] in the final syllable (the result of back-vowel raising, for which see I, 2.8.3) can be found in the grammar of Kritopoulos (17th c., author from Veroia, Macedonia): ἦσαστον *Pent.* Exod. 22.20 and 23.9; ἦσαστουν KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 112.28.

¹⁹¹ A variant ἦσθανε, with an added -ε, in the late 18th-c. Phanariot comedy *Ἀλεξανδροβόδας ὁ ἀσυνειδητος* by Georgios Soutsos: ἄν δὲν ἦσθανε διαβασμένος Soutsos, *Alexandrovdas* 40.2 (ed. Spathis).

¹⁹² The form can also be found in the early 19th-c. *Romanic, or Macedono-Vlachic Grammar* of Michail Boiatzis: ἔάν ἦσθον (BOIATZIS 1813: 71). One instance in Kallioupolis (*1 Kor.* 6.11) is likely to be a typographical error, as he normally uses ἦσταν.

The SMG form ἡσασταν has not been found in the texts examined.

Pl.	2	isounasté (ἡσουνάστε?/ἡσουνάστε?)

This form has been recorded, in the Latin alphabet, by the French traveller Jacob Spon during his travels to Greece and the Levant in 1675–6. It consists of the 2 sg. form ἡσounα, with an added 2 pl. passive ending -στε: imouna, icouna, itané, imounamé, isounasté, itoné SPON, *Voyage* 318–19. For discussion see 1 pl. imounamé, above.

3rd Person Singular and Plural

Sg.	3	ῆτον ἢ το ἢ τονε ἢ τονεν ἢ τονα ἔτον
Pl.		ῆτον ἢ τονε ἢ τονες ἔτον

At the beginning of the LMedG period, the inherited form ῆτο(ν) is the normal form for 3 sg.¹⁹³ Its geographical spread is wider with than without final /n/, appearing in texts from all regions throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. For the plural it can be found from the 15th c. onwards, in texts from both northern and southern areas. Many texts of the 15th c. and later use ῆτον/ῆτονε only for the singular but not for the plural, for which they employ ῆσαν/ῆσανε and/or ῆταν/ῆτανε; to name just a few: *Dig. E*, the Romances, most *Alexanders* (all but the *Fyllada*), *Diig. Apoll.* and all versions of *Apoll. Rim.*, Kartanos, Noukios, *Dig. O*, the grammars of Sofianos, Germano and Romanos, and most Cretans (with the notable exception of Bounialis). Other texts use the form for both the singular and the plural (e.g. Machairas, Voustronios, most versions of the *Life of Aesop*, *Alex. Fyll.*, *Bertoldos* and *Bertoldinos*, Ioakeim Kyprios, Bounialis, *Don Kis.*). Some representative examples are:

Singular

εἰς ποῖαν ῆτον εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπροσπάθειαν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 118.16–17
 ποῦ ῆτον εἰς τὸ κάθισμαν *Ptoch. IV* 48; καθὰ ῆτον φουσκωμένη *ibid.* 220
 ῆτον πρώτη σύμβια *Chron. Mor.* H 8004
 ῆτον ὁ καβελάρης *Dig. E* 43 (Jeffreys)
 ῆτον ἀμπέλι ριζωτὸν *Liv.* α 2627
 ῆτον ἐν τούτοις, ἔχαιρεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 860
 ῆτον πολλὰ ἴμορφουλί *FALIEROS, Erot. En.* 14
 ἦτον τόσον κρουδέλ *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 18.7
 ῆτον SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 71.10; φρόνιμος ῆτον ὁ Εὐριπίδης *id.*, *Paidag.* 95.15
 ἦ πρώτη σου γυναῖκα ῆτον πουτάνα *Alex.* V 33.24
 ῆτον γενάμενη (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 21, 33.10)
 ῆτον ταβέρνα (1601, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 31, 111.2)
 ποιόν ῆτον τὸ κοπέλι αὐτό; *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.55; κ' ῆτον τὸ γέλιο του σκληρό *id.*, *Erof.* V.61
 ῆτον δὲ καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ ἄσχημος *Vios Aisop.* K 147.7
 καὶ ῆτον ἄνθρωπος καλὸς *PAPASYNAD.*, *Chron.* I §1.19–20

¹⁹³ First attestations of ῆτο(ν) can be found in an undated Roman inscription in Rome (πατρὶς δέ μοι ῆτον Ἀπαμέα (CIG 6267; see also DIETERICH 1898: 224–5), and in ἄρά ποτε ὦδε πόλις ῆτο; *Oracula Tiburtina* 200 (4th c. AD, see the online *TLG*).

κ' ἦτον ζημιὰ μεγάλη BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 154.10
 όπου ἦτον εἰς τὸ ἀργαστήρι (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 580, 805.12)
 δεν ἦτον καιρός να φάγει *Don Kis.* 47.26

Plural

ἦτον κομάτια μικρά (15th. c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 208.1.4)
 ἦτον ορισμένοι VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 60.17
 οἱ καμουχάδες ἦτον ὁλόχρυσοι *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 809
 τὰ δένδρη ἦτον λουλούδια γιομάτα *Vosk.* 142 app. crit.
 ἦτον γαλιότσες 6 καὶ κάτεργα λιγνὰ 47 (17th c., Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.2, 72.2–3)
 ἦτον ἀκόμη ... χόρτα εὐμορφα MAKOLAS, *Ioust.* 427.8
 ὅσοι ἀνθρῶποι ἦτον ὅξω (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), p. 28.5)
 καὶ τὰ ἐπιλοιπα ἦτον φ'λάδες (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 304, f.1v.5) (= φυλλάδες)
 οἱ ὁμορφιές τση ἦτον πολλές KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.62 app. crit. (A) (ἦταν in ms X; ἦσαν in ed.)
 σαράντα ανεμομύλους οπου ἦτον εἰς ἐκείνον τον κάμπον *Don Kis.* 44.27–8

Without final /n/ this form is far more common for the singular than it is for the plural. It has a strong representation in texts from Crete, but it can also be found in texts from other areas (*Diig. Alex.* K (northern?), *Dig.* O (Chios), VOUSTR., *Chron.* A and B (Cyprus)) and in texts of unknown provenance (*Alex.* Fyll., *Diig. Alex.* V), most of them texts that do not usually use ἦτον for the plural anyway (see above). In the *Chronicle* of Machairas ἦτο appears only before words starting in a nasal or a stop, for phonological reasons (see I, 3.7.2.2).¹⁹⁴

Singular

καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἦτο ἐγλήγορος *Dig.* E 767
 ἦτο νὰ τοὺς νώσουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 238.28 καὶ ἦτο τοῦ σῖρ Χαρρήν τε Ζιπλέτ *ibid.* 242.2
 το παλάτι του ἦτο πολλὰ μέγα *Diig. Alex.* K 375.14
 τόσον ἦτο ἔμορφος *Diig. Alex.* V 33.1–2
 κ' ἦτο χαρά μεγάλη *Apoll.* Rim. N 1611
 εἶδα χρονῶν ὀλίγων ἦτο, νέος *Diig. Alex.* F 150.18 (Lolos)
 ἂν ἦτο μπορετό CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.305; νὰ ἦτο βολετό *ibid.* III.439
 τοῦτος ὁ σκύλος ἦτο ἀπού κοιμᾶτον *Pist. voskos* II 2.260–1
 ἦτο καὶ βασιλιός μου TROILLOS, *Rodol.* I.616
 ὡς τώρα ἦτο σπασμένη FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.231; καὶ τ' ὄνομα τοῦ κοπελιοῦ πῶς ἦτο; *ibid.* IV.541
 ὅποιος ἦτο γνωστικός PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2458
 κι ὅλ' ἡ ἀρμάδα ἦτο κεῖ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 206.23
 σὰν ἦτο κυνηγάρης KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.108; γιὰ μέναν ἦτο τοῦτο *ibid.* I.880
 τὸ νερόν της ἦτο γλυκὺ *Alex.* Fyll. 70.23

Plural

τα ποῖα ὅσα ἐλαλούσαν ... ἦτο ψέματα VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 302.20

¹⁹⁴In many modern editions (for instance *Chron. Mor.* H, *Pol. Tr.* and many instances in Bounialis) the presence of ἦτο is the result of editorial intervention, by which final /n/ is deleted, usually for metrical reasons).

With addition of *-(v)ε*, this form is much more common for the singular than it is for the plural. For the singular it can be found in literary texts and documents from south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese, certain Cycladic islands) and from Chios, areas in which *-(v)ε* may be added to a variety of verb forms (see I, 2.6.3.3), but, again in the singular, the form *ἦτονε* also occurs in literary (mainly verse) texts from other areas (e.g. the Cypriot *Cypr. Canz.*, Ioakeim Kyrios, Matthaïos of Myra (Epirus) and *Diig. Alex. K.*, which is thought to be of northern provenance as well). In the plural it appears to have a more limited distribution.

Singular

- ἦτονε* γυναῖκα μου (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.11–12)
κ' ἦτονε τόπος καπερός CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 654
καλὰ κι ἂν ἦτονε γυναῖκα ἀπὸ φύσης *Theseid* I.10,1 (Follieri)
ἦτονε πολλὰ χαριτωμένη *Cypr. Canz.* 150.24
κάποιοις μάντης ἦτονε ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 39.1
ἦτονε ἐκ τὴν μεγάλην Ἀλβανίτιαν (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 484.11.2)
δεν ἦτονε βασιλική τάξει *Diig. Alex. K.* 345.14 (hapax)
ἦτονε ψηλή (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.11)
ἦτονε ζητημένος TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 28
δὲν ἦτονε ἡ γυναῖκα μου (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 25, 163.16)
ἐκεῖνος ἦτονε σκιά ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 2471; *ἂν ἦτονε καλὴ πίστις* *ibid.* 2673
κι' ἄς μὴν ἦτονε ντροπή μου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.477; *χάρισμα ἦτονε ἀκριβό* *id.*, *Erof.* I.341
(τὸν τόπο ...) *ποῦτονε τῆς συντροφιάς* (1634, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 18, 321.8)
ἡ ἀφορμὴ ἵν' τῶνε (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 24.7)
ἀγάπη το' ἔρωτιάς ἦτονε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.286
ἦτονε ἀπὸ γένος PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 17; *ἦτονε πληγωμένη* *ibid.* 1616
ἦτονε Μεχεμέτης ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 5583
ὥσ' ἂν ἦτονε ἱστορομένο νουαριάλε (1683, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1940: 1, 179.3)
ἦτονε εἰς τὸ σπῆτιν (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 824, 1108.17)
ἦτονε ἀπάνω εἰς τὴ πρύμνη (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.23)

Plural

- καὶ ἦτονε πρᾶτσα δέκα ἡμισυ* (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.4)
ἦτονε ὄνειροφαντασμάτου (... οἱ παραγγελιῆς) *Thysia Avr.* 699
οποῦ 'τονε ἀρχόντισσες ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 242; *ἦτονε τὰ καράβια* *ibid.* 7535
ἦτονε σαλπάδοι (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.14–15)
ἦτονε ὁ γέρος Πέτρος Μανάλης καὶ Ἰωάννης Κοζανίτης (1599, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 94, 126.16)
ἀμ' ἦτονε χωσμένοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 153.13

Sporadically *ἦτονε* can be found with an added final */n/*, as in the following 17th-c. copy of a 13th-c. document: *ἦτονε διὰκτίσιμον* (1296 [17th-c. copy], Crete, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 6: 102, 239.3); or with an added final */s/*, as in the following 17th-c. example from Santorini: *ἦτονες τὰ πράγματά της ἀπόδιαστα* (1689, Santorini, DRAKAKIS 1971: 133.33).

Addition of *-(v)α* (see I, 2.6.3) can be found sporadically in the singular: *ὡς καθὼς ἦτονα ὁ μακαρίτης ὁ κύρης μου* (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 5, 365.9) (author from Monemvasia); *γιατὶ τρόπος | δὲν ἦτονα* *Pist. voskos* V 7.64.

In the *Chronicle* of Machairas a form ἔτον for ἦτον occurs twice (sg. and pl.): τοῦ μάστρε Πιέρ Κανὲλ ὅπου ἔτον ἡ ἀφορμὴ τοῦ σκαντάλου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 182.8; οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἔτον χωσμένοι ibid. 190.28. In this form the root /i/ of the verb has been replaced with the augment /e/, probably by analogy with unaugmented imperfect forms of ἔχω, which appear in texts from Cyprus and elsewhere, 3.1.4.4.

Sg.	3	ἦστον ἢ ἔστον
Pl.		ἦστον/εἶστον ἢ ἔστονε/εἶστονε

This unusual form is – if at all – explained as a morphologically hybrid infinitive, as a conflation of the infinitive εἶσταιν (see 4.8.4) and the 3rd person imperfect ἦτον (SIAPKARAS-PITSILLIDÈS 1975: 360 s.v. εἶμαι; JOSEPH 1990: 118). But whereas this form is indeed likely to be a hybrid formation, and εἶσταιν and ἦτον are the obvious candidates, morphologically (an infinitive in -ον would be rather unique) as well as syntactically it does not appear to be an infinitive, but rather a 3rd person imperfect. In the majority of instances found the form appears in 3rd-person conditional constructions with εἶχε and ἦθελε, against only one instance of an unambiguous imperfect (3 sg. in *Diig. Alex.* F). In the examples from *Imberios* and the Cypriot *Canzoniere*, which have a singular subject, it cannot be established whether the construction is εἶχα/ἦθελα + pres. inf. or εἶχε/ἦθελε + imperfect,¹⁹⁵ but the three examples from Bounialis all have plural subjects; therefore ἦθελε cannot but be impersonal, leaving no other choice than to interpret the form ἦστον as finite (given the fact that impersonal auxiliaries cannot normally accompany the infinitive: see 5.1.2.3 and 5.1.4.3). Cf. also the following examples of the same constructions with more recognizable imperfect forms: ὥσά νά εἶχε ἦτονε σαρκικός (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 239, 193.11); τ' ἀμμάτι' ἀπού' χεν ἦτονε ΤΡΟΙΛΟΣ, *Rodol.* II.193 (3 pl.); ὅαν νά ἔθεν ἦταν ταίρι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2938; εἶχε ἦμουν SPANOS, *Grammar* 42.12.

The form ἦστον occurs as singular in texts from Cyprus and the Heptanese, whereas with the plural it has only been found in Bounialis (Crete). With /e/ for /i/ in the first syllable it appears in ms R of Machairas and in *Istoria Makaritou Markou* (cf. the infinitive ἔσταιν for εἶσταιν, 4.8.4, the imperfect ἔτον for ἦτον in Machairas, above, and ἔχα for εἶχα in various texts, 3.1.4.4). There are two examples with addition of -(ν)ε (see also I, 2.6.3.3) in Bounialis, another strong indication that the form is indeed an imperfect, since addition of -(ν)ε to infinitives is rare in general and Bounialis, however fond he clearly is of -(ν)ε, never uses it with the infinitive.

Singular

- ποιὸς πολλὸς ἦθελεν εἶστον *Cypr. Canz.* 130.15
 δὲν ἔθελεν εἶστον ... περίτου ὁμορφον πράμαν *Fior* 109.6–7
 ἐξὸν νά ᾔχέ' στον πέτρινος *Imb. Rim.* 971 app. crit.
 ἦστον εἰς ἱατρός ἐνοῦ αὐθεντός *Anthos Ch.* A 177.14–15
 ὁ σφαγμὸς ἦστον εἰς τὰ δύο φουσάτα *Diig. Alex.* F 250.5–252.1 (Lolos)
 νά ἦθελε ἦστον δικιολογημένη (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 20, 32.10)

¹⁹⁵ For impersonal use of εἶχε in periphrastic tenses see 5.2.2.4 and 5.3.1.7.

ώσγοίον νά εἶχεν ἔστον ἄρνιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 345.36
 ἄν εἶχεν ἔστον ἄδικος KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 542

Plural

σά νά μήν ἤθελέ 'στονε ἐκεῖ ποτέ κτισμένα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig.Pol.* 330.5; σάν νά 'θελέ 'στον
 ἄλλοι *ibid.* 413.22; κι ἄν ἤθελέ 'στονε πολλοί *ibid.* 542.22

Pl.	3	ἦστα(ν)

With /a/ in the last syllable and deletion of final /n/ for metrical reasons, the form (pl.) has been found in Vasileios Vatatsis's *Itinerary* (18th c.), a text of northern provenance (author from Constantinople). This form is more common for 2 pl. (see above): πάντες ὅσοι στά 'κεῖσε / πάντες ὅσ' ἦστα 'κεῖσε VATATSI, *Periig.* II 426.

Pl.	3	ἦσαν ἢ ἦσα ἢ ἦσανε ἢ ἦσανι

The inherited 3 pl. form ἦσαν is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in a variety of texts:¹⁹⁶

ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἦσαν τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν ἡγουμένου ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 154.21–2
 ἐὰν ἦσαν περισσὰ θρύμματα *Ptoch.* IV 391
 τὸ κοινὸν ποῦ ἦσαν ἐκεῖ *Chron. Mor.* H 352 (for number agreement according to sense see IV, 1.1.1)
 ὁποῦ 'σαν στὸ σεντούκιν *Byz.* II. 320
 ἦσαν κλέφτες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.10
 οὐκ ἦσαν ἐμένα ποτέ (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 11, 19.11)
 οἱ ὅποιοι σύντιχοι ἦσαν (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 217.11)
 ὅτι ἦσαν ἄγρια (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 341.35)
 εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἦσαν τὰ प्रायύματα (1548, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 2, 38.11)
 ἦταν καὶ ἦσαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.23
 πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 4.27
 ἦσαν ὅλα γεμάτα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 635
 ἦσαν τῆς μακαρίτισσας (1688, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 119, 325.3)
 οἱ ὅποιοι ἦσαν συντρόφοι (1691, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 19, 13.7)
 οἱ ἄρχοντες ἦσαν ὀλίγοι SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 40.6

Deletion of final /n/ can sometimes be found in verse texts from Crete and the Heptanese, often to accommodate the metre or the rhyme:¹⁹⁷

ἦσα γυμνά τὰ χέρια του *Liv.* E 1046
 καὶ μετὰ 'κείνον ἦσα *Apoll.* Rim. N 486
 καὶ τρεῖς ἀκόμη ἦσα *Alex.* Rim. 2579 (rhymes with ἴσα)

¹⁹⁶ The following sole example of ἦσαν(ε) used for the singular is most likely to be a writing mistake or a case of confusion of singular and plural forms (given the fact that Ioakeim shows extraordinary morphological variety and uses just about every possible form of εἶμαι): ἐκεῖνος ποῦ 'σανε ποτέ φίλος καὶ ἀδελφός τους ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 4086.

¹⁹⁷ Often the form without final /n/ is actually the result of intervention of the modern editor, as in the following example: παρὰ νά ἦσαν ὀλιγώτεροι *Chron. Mor.* H 4724 ms, where the editor corrects to παρὰ νά ἦσα ὀλιγώτεροι to remedy the hypermetric first hemistich.

κι ωσά χρυσάφι ήσα ξαθά CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.151 (reading of ms D)
 χίλιοι άν ήσα *Stathis* III.225 (rhymes with περίσσα)
 γιατί δέν ήσα πράτικοι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.155

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs from at least the 15th c. onwards, in non-literary texts from south-western areas, though in verse texts, the extra syllable being convenient to accommodate the metre, it appears in other areas as well (for -(ν)ε see also I, 2.6.3):

δέν ήσανε εις μία όπινιόν (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 44.11)
 ήσανε περαταρές (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 37.II, 300.13.3)
 διότις ήσανε γυμνοί *Alex. Rim.* 1908
 ήσανε σκορπιοί μεγάλοι *Diig. Alex.* K 377.8 (hapax)
 δέν ήσανε όλιγοί ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1568
 έτσι φευγάτοι που 'σανε VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 327
 τούς Τούρκους, όπου ήσανε μέσα (16th c., Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 484.10.2–3) (scribe from Nauplion)
 ήσανε μαζωμένοι (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 6, 262.29)
 ήσανε κρεμασμένες *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1147
 διακονιάροι ήσανε (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 179.12)
 και άλλοι τόσοι νάσανε STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 614
 πόσα σεπέττια ήσανε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7745
 όλοι 'ρωμαίοι ήσανε MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 858
 ήσανε άρμενα πεντακόσα DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 75
 ανάδοχοι ήσανε ... (1691, Cythera, KALLIGEROS 2001: 9, 41.1)
 ήσαν, [ήσα]νε SPANOS, *Grammar* 42.7

The following form is a phonetic variant, ήσανε with non-regular mid-vowel raising (/e/ to [i]), for which see I, 2.5.4: ώσα συντρόφοι που ήσανι (1566, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 290, 408.4).

Pl.	3	ήσασι(ν) † ήσανσι(ν)

Interchangeability of -αν and -ασι(ν) in the active past-tense paradigms (see 4.3 and 4.4) leads to ήσαν developing an alternative ήσασι(ν), which is found from the 14th c. until the 16th/17th c. in texts from various areas:

ήσασιν εκεί *Chron. Mor.* H 8147; τὰ λόγια ήσασιν πολλά *ibid.* 8999
 καθώς ήσασι πάντες (1395, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 8, 76.16)
 όσοι ήσασιν έσωθεν της Τρωάδος *Pol. Tr.* 2898; ήσασι μετ' ειρήνης *ibid.* 13418
 ήσασιν κάλλιοι *Chron. Toc.* 1780
 ήσασι (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 52.56)
 ήσασιν οί άπαντες *Chron. Mor.* P 390
 έτζι βρεμένοι ήσασιν *Theseid* I.69,5 (Follieri)
 κι όρδινιασμένοι ήσασι *Alex. Rim.* 835
 καθίζασιν εις τα θρονια που 'σασιν διαταμένα DEFAR., *Sos.* 61 (Holton)
 όλοι όπου ήσασιν τόν νέον έπροσκύνουν *Dig. A* 1530

The alternation between -αν and -ασι(ν) can sporadically lead to a hybrid formation -ανσι(ν), which is likely to be graphematic, i.e. a combination of ligatures, rather than an

existing ending (cf. 4.3.1.1 and 4.4.2): ἤσανσι τῆς μητρὸς σας (1400 [16th-c. copy], Corfu, KARYDIS 1999a: 1, 165.14); ἤσανσιν (ibid. 165.16).

Sg.	3	ἤτουν ἤτου ἤτουνα ἤτουνε
Pl.		ἤτουν

The form ἤτουν, a phonological variant of ἤτον with substitution of /u/ for /o/ through back-vowel raising (see I, 2.8.3) can be found in the singular in texts from the Heptanese, the Peloponnese and Macedonia from at least the 16th c. onwards (ms date of *Pol. Tr.* B¹⁹⁸ and *Chron. Mor.* P). For the plural ἤτουν is used in texts of south-western provenance and in a late 17th-c. document from Cyprus:¹⁹⁹

Singular

ἤτουν καὶ ὁ Φιλεμένης *Pol. Tr.* 3037 app. crit. (B); ἐὰν οὐκ ἤτουν δυνατόν ibid. 6144 app. crit. (B)

ὅπου ἤτουν δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν *Chron. Mor.* P 7959

μ' ἂν ἤτουν τὸ ἐνάντιον *Imb. Rim.* 158 app. crit.

ἐὰν δὲν ἤτουν *Krasop.* L 32; καὶ νὰ 'τουν ἀργυρόκουπα ibid. 48

ἤτουν ἐγκοσμημένον *Diig. Alex.* E 205.1 (Lolos); ἤτουν τοῦ Ἑκτορος ibid. 203.23 (only instances)

τι ἀνθρώπος να ἤτουν DEFAR., *Sos.* 160 (Holton)

ἤτουν (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 449.9 and 452.24)

ἤτουν KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 112.27–8 (sg. only)

καθὼς ἤτουν, ὅλον ὅσον καὶ ἂν εἶχα (1634, Laconia, Simopoulos 1966: 149.3)

ἤτουν παρῶν (1673, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 72, 43.2; and 1687, ibid. 101, 59.5)

ἤτουν ... ὁ παπᾶς Ρουματζᾶς (1686, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970a, [6], 91.2–3)

ὡσάν κοπέλλα ὅπου ἤτουν (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 138.27)

ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Ἀγίου Μάρκου ἤτουν πρῶτα τζαμί (1696, Tripoli, DOKOS 1971/74: 11, 50.2)

κάλλιο μού 'τουν KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.533

Plural

τὰ ἄρματα, ὅπου ἤτουν τοῦ Ἑκτορος *Diig. Alex.* E 203.23 (Lolos)

καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα, ὅ,τι καὶ ἂν ἤτουν τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1631, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 13, 175.6)

(τὰ ἄσπρα ...) ἤτουν τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1694, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 4, 91.12)

Deletion of final /n/ is quite rare and was found, in the singular only, in texts of Heptanesian provenance and in *Pistikos voskos*, which is considered to be of Cretan provenance: να ιδούμε το ποίος ἤτου DEFAR., *Sos.* 157 (Holton) (rhymes with ἐντροπή του); ξεύρω, δὲν ἤτου ἀγάπη *Pist. voskos* II 1.288; ὅπου ἤτου λιγωμένη *Thysia Avr.* 290 transcr. M (Heptanesian scribe).

¹⁹⁸ Ms B of the *War of Troy* generally shows a preference for innovative forms, according to PAPATHOMOPOULOS/JEFFREYS (1996: xcviij).

¹⁹⁹ This form, now characteristic of the Cypriot dialect for both 3 sg. and 3 pl., must have entered the dialect quite late. It is absent from *Thrinis Kypr.* (16th- or 17th-c. text; early 18th-c. ms), but it can be found, apart from the above late 17th-c. document, in the early 19th-c. *Ἄσμα Χατζη Γεωργάκη* (plural only).

With an added $-(v)\epsilon$ or $-(v)\alpha$ (see I, 2.6.3) the form occurs, in the singular only, in Heptanesian texts from the 16th/17th c. onwards and in a text of uncertain provenance (*Diig. Alex. Sem. B*, ms written in Meteora):

ἦτουνα πρῶτα τοῦ ἱερομονάχου Κοντονῆ (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 56.12–13)

ἦτουνα *Thysia Avr.* 43 and 44 transcr. M (Heptanesian scribe)

νά 'τουνα CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.392 app. crit. (Heptanesian scribe)

ἦτουνα καπετάν γκενεράλες (1685, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970a, [5], 91.2)

ἦτουνα γέροντας (1668, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 355.7)

ἦτουνα ἕνα κτήριον παλαιὸν *Chron. Theod.* 23.18

ἦτουνε δεδεμένος *Diig. Alex. Sem. B* 69

ἦτουνε πρεπόν *Pist. voskos* IV 5.37

μαγάρι νά ητουνε μόδος MONTSEL., *Evgena* 325

ἦτουνε συνεργία δίχως κακοσύνη (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 56, 92.9)

Sg.	3	ἦταν ἢ ἦτα ἢ ἦτανε
Pl.		ἦταν ἢ ἦτα ἢ ἦτανε

The SMG 3 sg. and pl. form ἦταν, which is ἦτον with substitution of the past-tense marker /a/ for /o/ appears in writing from the 15th c. onwards (ms dates of *Liv. V* and *Pol. Tr.*) for the singular and the plural in texts from both northern and southern areas, though not usually in texts from Cyprus and the Dodecanese. A few texts use ἦταν only for the singular (e.g. LANDOS, *Geopon.*), while quite a few more use it only for the plural (e.g. *Pol. Tr., Byz. Il., Alex. Rim., Diig. Alex. F, Dig. O*, Bounialis, and the grammars of Germano, Kritopoulos and Romanos). In many texts it is used for both the singular and the plural (e.g. *Liv. V, Katzourbos, Bertoldos*, Papasynadinos, Kallioupolis, Ioakeim, *Don Kis.*).

Singular

νά εἶπες ἀλήθεια ἦταν *Liv. V* 211

τιμή, ἡ ὁποία ἦταν ... εἰς το ὀρκωμοτικὸν (1451, Constantinople, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 1, 198.23)

ἡ φορεσία τους ἦταν βελουδον *Diig. Alex. E* 181.9 (Lolos)

ὅτι πρῶτα νερό δὲν ἦταν, ὅτι ἦτον χαϊμένον (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 451.21)

ποιός ἦταν CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.76

ἦταν μεγαλότατος πόλεμος *Bertoldos* 45.32–3

ἂν ἦταν καλή PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §15.36

ἂναπταν καρβουνιάν, ὅτι ἦταν ψύχρα KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 18.18

ὅταν ἦταν κακοχρονία LANDOS, *Geopon.* 178.35–6 (hapax)

ὡσὰν ἦταν ἡ Οὐγκρία ἄλλην φοράν (1658, Galats, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 20, 126.28)

ἐκεῖ ἦταν κι ἡ βαλετέ IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 649

ποία ἦταν ἡ ἀργ' ὦρα KONDA., *Paidēs* 89

ἦταν ὁ Πραὴ πασιάς (1683, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 89, 321.2); ἦταν μπατάλικην (ibid. 95, 322.4)

ἦταν πρῶτα Τοῦρκα καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 20, 55.6)

ἦταν πολλὰ συλλογισμένος *Don Kis.* 46.26

Plural

χάσδια ἦταν ὀλόχρυσα *Pol. Tr.* 237 app. crit. (A); καλὰ ἦταν γαρνισμένα ibid. 2281 (mss VX)

φαρία ἦταν θαυμαστά *Liv. V* 672; ἦταν οἱ μῆνες ὅλοι ibid. 883

καὶ ὅπου ἦταν τὰ σύνορα πρὸ τῆς μάχης (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.20)
 τὰ ἄλογά τους ἦταν κουβερτιασμένα *Diig. Alex.* V 60.15–16
 ὅλοι ἦταν εἰς τὸν ὄρκον *Byz. II.* 755
 ἦταν ἐκεῖ σκαλιὰ ὀκτώ *Alex. Rim.* 2651
 ἦταν χαϊμένοι (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 49.10)
 ἦταν καὶ ἦσαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.23
 σάν πως ἦταν καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες των *Bertoldos* 35.9
 οἱ Χριστιανοὶ εἰς μεγάλην στενοχωρίαν ἦταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.20–1
 ἄλλα μοναστήρια ὅπου ἦταν ἐκεῖ (1658, Galats, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 20, 126.2)
 καὶ αὐτεῖνοι ἦταν πρῶτιστοι IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 45
 κ' ἦταν σφαμμένα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 355
 ἦταν ψυχές -440- (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.18) (author from the Mani)
 οἱ ἀπόκριες μου ἦταν ἀχαμνές (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 303, f.1r.8)
 οἱ ὁμορφιέ τση ἦταν πολλές KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.62 ms (X) (ἦτον in A; ἦσαν in ed.)
 ἦταν ομήλικοι *Don Kis.* 96.10

Deletion of final /n/ is rare and has been found once in ms A of *Anthos ton Chariton* (16th c., provenance unknown), as well as in Heptanesian documents of the 16th–17th c.:

αν ἦτα καλά, ηθέλαμεν τα πουλήσει *Anthos Ch.* A 159.19
 ἦτα χρεία (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 1, 289.12) (author's family from Corfu)
 ἦτα τὰ σόλδια ἐδικὰ του (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 232, 189.30)
 ἦτα σύντεκνοι (1691, Cythera, PAPADAKI 2001: 131, 62.2)

Addition of -(v)ε, common in colloquial MG, occurs from the 16th c. onwards in texts from southern/south-western regions (Heptanese, Crete, Peloponnese, certain Cycladic islands) and from Chios (see also I, 2.6.3.3). Versifiers from other regions (e.g. the *Tale of Vefas and Michri*, which is of northern provenance) sometimes use these forms for metrical reasons.

Singular

(τὴν ξεφάντωσην ...) ὡς ἦτανε 'πιτήδεια *Apoll. Rim.* N 770
 ὁ συμβιβασμός τους ἦτανε χρόνους ζ' (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 20, 32.12)
 σάν ἦτανε κι' ἄλλότες *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.303
 ὁμόνοια, ὅπου ἦτανε ἀνάμεσά μας (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.12)
 πῶς ἦτανε καὶ παίρνει *Diig. Vefa* 1104
 ἦτανε ἀποκλεισμένη ἡ Πόλις *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 80.25 (only forms in -ve)
 ἦτανε προুকὶ τῆς μάνας τῆς (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 2, 19.4)
 ἦτανε φιλεμένος (1670, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 31, 388.16)
 ἦτανε πάσα ἀνθρώπος ἐξ αὐτοῦς μετὰ δακρύων IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3078
 ἡ βουλή τῆς δεν ἦτανε ποτὲ νὰ τὸν πάρη δι' ἄνδρα (1675, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 39, 253.13–14)
 ἦτανε ἀπὸ τὸ ἔκπαλαι (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 16, 52.2)
 ἦτανε KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.452 ms X (= f.21v l. 12); and I.462 app. crit. (X)
 ἦτανε ἕνας βασιλιάς *Diig. Vefa* 63
 ποὺ ἦτανε χτισμένο παμπάλαια *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 15.10–11
 ἐτούτη ἡ γυναῖκα ἦτανε μᾶϊσσα *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 44.26

Plural

κ' ἦτανε μέσα βέροι *Alex. Rim.* 495
 ἦτανε γυναῖκες συναγμένες *Theseid* XI.7,8 (1529)
 ἦτανε δικά μου (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.3)

καὶ δὲν ἦτανε σωστὰ (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.10)
 ὄντες ἦτανε στὸν κόσμον οἱ Ντονάδοι CHORTATIS, *Katz*. V.365
 ἦτανε τοῦ Φωτοδότη Χριστοῦ (1612, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 7, 361.6)
 οἱ ἄρχοντες ἦτανε πλούσοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.1 (only forms in -νε, with two exceptions
 before a word starting in /e/)
 ξύλα ἀποῦ ἦτανε ἐδεκεῖ (1664, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 7, 416.10) (ἦτονε for sg.)
 πενήντα χιλιάδες ἦτανε ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 7395
 (τὰ δύο χωράφια ...) ἦτανε (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 71.22)
 ὅλ' ἀπελάτες ἦτανε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2720
 φόβος καὶ τρόμος ἦτανε τῶν λουμπαρδῶν οἱ μπάλες DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 255
 ἦτανε (1698, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1968/69: 3, 335.6)
 ἐπειδήτις καὶ νὰ ἦτανε οἱ φοράδες ἐγγαστρωμένες (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 7, 41.22)

Sg.	3	ἦν
Pl.	3	ἦν

The residual 3 sg. form ἦ(ν) can be found now and then, usually alongside other forms, throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in a variety of texts, mainly of higher or mixed register. It is also sporadically used for the plural:

Singular

ὅταν ... ἦν ἐκεῖ ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἰωάννης ὁ Κολοβὸς ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 150.5²⁰⁰
 ἔρως γὰρ ἦν ὁ ὑπουργῶν καὶ συνεργῶν εἰς πάντα *Dig.* G III.87
 παμμέγας ἦν ὁ Γολιάθ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 360
 καὶ πόθεν ἦν καὶ ποταπὸς *Log. parig.* L 92
 κόντος ἦν τῆς Φιλάντρας *Chron. Mor.* H 132 (hapax)
 ὅλος ἦν θυμηδία *Pol. Tr.* 99
 πατήρ ἦν τοῦ πατρός μας *Dig.* E 146
 ἄγριος ἦν ὁ τόπος [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 200
 ἦν δὲ καὶ νέος *Achil.* N 309
 ἦν τις ἐλλήνων βασιλεὺς *Theseid* I.6,1 (Follieri)
 τ' ὀνομά του ἦν Κανταρκούσης *Diig. Alex.* K 361.4
 ἕνα πτερόν, ὃ ἦν τῆς ποτὲ ἀδελφῆς μου (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 77,
 145.14)
 θηρίον ἦν καὶ φύλαττε τὸν τόπον *Dig.* A 3265
 ἦν γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ κάτοπτρον *Dig.* T 1892

Plural

μαχαιροκοπημένες ἦν καὶ εἰς τὸ αἶμαν κυλισμένες *Dig.* E 81; ὅτι συζουλισμένες ἦν *ibid.* 87
 πλέον βασιλεῖς δουκάδες τε ἦν τῶν δεκατεσσάρων *Pol. Tr.* 2028; Ἀἰλί, πῶς ἐπλανήθησαν καὶ
 πῶς ἦν λαθασμένοι *ibid.* 12063

Sg.	3	ἦντον

This form has a single occurrence in version A of *Anthos ton Chariton* (16th c.; provenance unknown). It appears to be a conflation of residual ἦν and innovative ἦτον (see above), though it could also be graphematic through the use of ligatures (cf. 4.4.1.1): οὐκ ἦντον πράγμα κανένα *Anthos Ch.* A 49.6.

²⁰⁰ Quite a few instances of ἦν in Nikon's writings are actually present indicative (εἶν); see 4.8.1.

Pl.	3	ἦτασι(ν)

Interchangeability of -αν and -ασι(ν) in the active past-tense paradigms (see 4.3 and 4.4) leads to ἦταν developing an alternative 3 pl. form ἦτασι(ν), which occurs from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Liv.* V) in texts from various areas, though it is never the “normal” form in any text:

τὰ σχήματα ἦτασιν καὶ οἱ λόγοι *Liv.* V 886 (hapax)

ἄρμοζε νὰ ἦτασιν *Pol. Tr.* 1770 app. crit. (A); ὅσοι στήν τσάμπραν ἦτασιν *ibid.* 6411 app. crit.

(B)

λατίνικα τὰ ροῦχα τῆς ἦτασιν *Liv.* S 1072 (Lambert-van der Kolf) (hapax)

ὅσοι με Πάριν ἦτασιν *Byz. Il.* 584; πλῆθος γυναικες ἦτασιν *ibid.* 838 (only examples)

ὅπου ἴτασιν ἀντίδικοι *Velis.* χ 163; οὔτε Ἀσάνοι ἦτασιν *ibid.* 227, *Velis.* N² 244 and *Velis.* ρ 369

ἐξήντα χιλιάδες ἦτασιν *Achil.* N 572 (hapax)

ποῦ ἦτασιν τριάντα κ' ἐξήντα χρόνους *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VI.22

ιστορισμένα ἦτασι *Theseid* VI.48,2 app. crit. (V)

ονικά ... τὰ ἦτασιν γερόντια *Anthos Ch.* A 159.12; οἱ ποῦ ἦτασι μετ' αὐτόν *ibid.* 223.14

ἦτασιν καὶ εἰς τὸ διαλαλικόν (1524, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 1, 15.6)

καὶ λυπημένοι ἦτασι *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 17.4; ἀντάμα πάντα ἦτασι *ibid.* 59.2

κομπάροι ἦτασιν (1606, Venice, MANOUSAKAS/SKOULAS 1993: 170, 43.5)

ἦτασι τὰ ὀζὰ ἀκριβὰ (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 314.14)

ἦτασιν κρατημένες *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* a2r.3 (1658)

4.8.3 Imperative

The residual imperatives ἔσο (2 sg.), ἔστω (3 sg.), ἔστε (2 pl.) and ἔστωσαν (3 pl.) are only used in higher- and mixed-register texts.²⁰¹ The 3 sg. form ἔστω is the most frequently used of the four forms, though not always correctly, as the hypercorrect spelling with <θ> in the 1140 example from S. Italy, the addition of νὰ in the 1170 example from S. Italy and its use instead of the equally residual 3 sg. present indicative ἔστι in *Dig.* T 153 illustrate. The 2 sg. and 2 pl. forms ἔσο and ἔστε are very rare indeed:

2nd Person Singular and Plural

καὶ ἔσο νῦν τιμώμενος *Dig.* A 2409 and *Dig.* T 1543

ἔσο ἀπό του νυν υγιή! *LANDOS, Amart. sot.* 334.31–2

μαγάριοι ἔστε, σπανοί *Spanos* D 1625

δοῦλοι ἔστε εἰς τὸν Ἑρωταν *Liv.* E 529

3rd Person Singular and Plural

ἔσθω ξένος (1140, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 123, 164.25)

νὰ ἔστω ἀφιερωμένον (1170, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 176, 231.16)

ἀλλ' ἔστω σοι τοῦτο γνωστὸν *Dig.* G IV.464

γνωστὸν ἔστω τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.2)

γνωστὸν ἔστω τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου *Porikol.* I 21

²⁰¹ The forms εἴτω and εἴτωσαν that replaced the AG 3 sg. and pl. forms in Hellenistic times (DIETERICH 1898: 227) have not been found at all in the texts examined, which is additional proof for the residual character of the AG forms.

νεμάλον σου έστω η λωλία *Diig. Alex.* K 353.5–6

τὸ ντεσταμέντον έστω ίσχυρόν (1526, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 112, 205.22)

Θεός έκδικος έστω *Dig.* A 783 and *Dig.* T 332

ήν ὁ νυμφίος έστω σοι παρόμοιος τοῦ κάλλους *Dig.* T 153 app. crit.

έστω αφορισμένος καί άσυχώρητος (1652–3, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 82, 204.12)

έστω άφορεσμένος (1685, Athos, KADAS 1988: 98, 334.7)

καί ταῦτ' άπέκει έστωσαν τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν πραχθέντα *Thrinós Tam.* 87

(τὰ λοιπά άπαντα ...) έστωσαν τή έμῃ μητρί Άρχοντοῦ (1497, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/

LAMBAKIS 2003: App., 1, 310.20)

τὰ δουκάτα έπτακόσα, έστωσαν προικιόν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 297, 294.12)

καί μή άπαρτι έστωσαν φροντίδες *Dig.* T 1538

έστωσαν άφορεσμένοι (1612, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 12, 66.10–11)

έστωσαν τὸ αὐτὸ χωράφιον με τὰ συκάμινα άνέκσπαστα (1688, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 148, 327.7–8)

In the period covered by this Grammar various constructions were in use for the imperative, for which see IV, 1.3.

4.8.4 Infinitive

General	Restricted	Rare
εἶσται(ν)/εἴσ τε(ν)	εἶναι	εἶν
	εἴσθαι(ν)/εἴσθε(ν)	εἴσθι
	εἴσ σται(ν)	εἴσ ταινε
	ἔσται(ν)/ἔσθαι(ν)	ἔστιν

The innovative infinitive εἶσται(ν) and its more formal variant εἴσθαι(ν) appeared before the LMedG period, though lack of textual evidence makes it impossible to establish how long before the 11th/12th c. it came into being. The reason for its emergence must have been that the old infinitive εἶναι had become homophonous with the new form /'ine/ that had emerged for 3 sg. and 3 pl. present indicative and subjunctive (see above, 4.8.1), combined with the fact that the verb εἶμαι as a whole was in the last stages of the process of being remodelled on the basis of the mediopassive paradigm: the new infinitive was modelled on the mediopassive infinitive in -σθαι (γράφεσθαι, τιμᾶσθαι, πατεῖσθαι, for which see 4.6.1.2) (JANNARIS 1897: 250, who, however, seriously underestimates its frequency).

There is great fluctuation in the spelling of this form, both in the sources and in modern editions, ranging from εἴσ τε(ν)/εἴσθε(ν) and ἦσ τε(ν)/ἦσθε(ν) to εἶσται(ν)/εἴσθαι(ν) and ἦσται(ν)/ἦσθαι(ν). But even though the spelling in manuscripts is usually simply dismissed as being “erratic”, and little attention is paid to it, in this case it is certainly not without significance: the earliest examples of the infinitive are all spelled with <τ>, not <θ> and in

fact forms with <θ> for <τ> have not been found before the 15th c.²⁰² So even though the ending of this infinitive was identical to the AG mediopassive infinitive ending, which every self-respecting scribe would write as -σθαι, in the case of εἶμαι they did not feel the need to do so. This is a strong indication that, in fact, all infinitives in -σθαι were actually pronounced as [ste], and it was only the “visual image” of the word obtained through reading and learning that imposed a historical, etymologizing spelling for inherited forms. In the case of the new formation /'isten/ there was no visual image to fall back on (and insufficient insight into the mechanism of analogical formation that brought about this new form), and therefore it could be, and was, written as it was pronounced. The fact that until the 14th c. all examples of the infinitive /'isten/ have the final /n/ points to this final /n/ being rather normal with the passive infinitive in general, more normal than the writing practice would have us believe (for final /n/ and the infinitive of barytone and oxytone verbs see 4.6.1.2).

(ἀρμόζει ...) εἰς ἀρμόζοντα τόπον εἶσταν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 38.3
 ὁ παπᾶς ὅπου θέλει ἦσταν εἰς τὴν μονὴν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.56)
 ἦθελαν εἶσταν ἀνήγειρον τὸ παιδίον (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 227.52)
 ἦθελαν ἦσταν τὸ διαλυτόν ἐρρωμένον (1375, Macedonia, LEMERLE 1988: 32, 125.45)
 γλῆγορα θέλω εἶσταν αὐτοῦ (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.10)
 θέλει εἶσταν ἡ δουλεία ... πολλὰ καλὴ (1453, Thrace/Black Sea?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 4, 87.9–10)
 εἶσταν ἦθελαν *Theseid* VI.63,1 (Olsen)
 εἶσταν θέλει τριάντα χρόνων *Diig. Alex.* V 64.4; θέλεις εἶσταν ἀπανωθέν *ibid.* 67.25
 θέλω εἶσταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.23
 τὸ φῶς θέλει εἶσταν αἰώνιον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 388.38–9
 ὅπου θέλου εἶσταν (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.15)
 θέλει εἶσταν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1021
 ποίας μοίρας θέλει εἶσταν ἡ ζωὴ του *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 75.24
 λολότερος εἶχα ὅσταν ἀπὸ κείνο CHORTATIS, *Erof.* IV.616
 ἀλλοῦ δὲν θέλει εἶσταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §22.22

Without the final /n/ the form has not been found before the 14th c.:

ψέγος ἦθελαν εἶσταν *Chron. Mor.* H 171; ὀφείλουν εἶσταν πανταχοῦ *ibid.* 2009
 ἄδικον ἦθελε εἶσταν *Pol. Tr.* 2525; ἐὰν εἶχα εἶσταν μετ' ἐσέν *ibid.* 4262
 ἄν ἦθελαν εἶσταν καύχα μου (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.12)
 θέλετε ἦσταν φίλοι του (1431, Ragusa, LAMBROS 1930: 30.2)
 θέλουσιν ἦσταν ἄνετοι (1481, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 13, 319.17)
 θέλει εἶσταν (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.9 and 15, 83.8)
 θέλ' εἶσταν κρατούμενος *Assizes A* 175.25
 οὐκ εἶσταν θέλει δυνατόν *Theseid* VI.69,3 (Olsen)
 ἦθελαν εἶσταν ζημιωμένα (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 110, 85.26)
 θέλομε εἶσταν κρατημένοι (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.50)
 καὶ θέλεις εἶσταν χρήσιμος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* 2 §9.31
 θέλει εἶσταν χαρὰ ὅχι ὀλίγη (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 310.28)
 θές εἶσταν κρατημένος (1690, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 9, 23.25)

²⁰² What happened is in fact the opposite of what ROHLFS (1977: § 173) postulates based on material from S. Italy, regarding the infinitive ἔσταν (see below), namely that it presupposes a form ἔσθαι, which, according to him, derives from the AG future infinitive ἔσεσθαι (quoted in KARANASTASIS, *Lex.* s.v. εἶμαι).

κι ἄς ἤθελά 'σταιν ἡ φτωχή εἰς τὰ προσκέφαλά σου KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1045
 ἄν ἤθελεν εἶσται ἀνταμωμένοι SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 40.7–5
 θέλει εἶσται καθὼς γράφομεν (1645 [19th-c. copy], Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 13.1)

With <θ> for <τ>, in line with the conventional spelling of the present passive infinitive, it occurs from at least the 15th c. onward (ms date of *Pol. Tr.*), with and without the final /n/:

θέλω εἶσθαι *Pol. Tr.* 9950 (the vast majority of forms with <θ> are readings of ms A only)
 θέλλω εἶσθεν (1453, Thrace/Black Sea?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 4, 88.21–2)
 θέλετε εἶσθαι ἀντροπιασμένοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 256.4–5
 θέλει εἰσθε ἀπάνου σου ο θεός *Diig. Alex.* K 348.30
 ὥσαν νὰ ἤθελεν εἶσθεν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VIII 400.30; ἄς ἤθελεν εἶσθαι ὁ Διγενῆς *ibid.* X 411.23
 σάν νὰ θελ' εἶσθαι σήμερον KONDAR., *Paides* 63 (read σάν νὰ 'θελ' (= ἤθελε) εἶσθαι)
 θέλει εἶσθαι διὰ καλόν σου *Vios Aisop.* I 268.31
 θέλω εἶσθαι κρατημένος ROMANOS, *Grammar* 49.19
 ἤθελεν εἶσθαι ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ KYPPI., *Pali Prol.* 4
 ἤθελεν εἶσθαι κανέννας ἀχρεῖος *Don Kis.* 48.24; θέλω εἶσθαι βρεγμένη *ibid.* 129.29; ἤθελαν εἶσθαι ἀρκετά *ibid.* 133.25

In geminating areas, <σ> may be doubled (see I, 3.4): ἄν συνέβει τίποτας, τὸ φταίσιμο θέλει εἶσσαι ἀποὺ τὴν μεγάλην σου αὐθεντίαν (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.8); ἄν ἤθελαν εἶσσαι (1487, *ibid.* 17, 92.19).

With /i/ for /e/ in the last syllable, another phonetic rather than a morphological variant (raising of unstressed [e] to [i], see I, 2.5.4), it has been found in the 18th-c. translation of *Don Quixote* (Danubian Principalities): θέλει εἰσθι ἀρκετὴ βάσανος *Don Kis.* 104.25 app. crit.

Addition of -(ν)ε to εἶσται can occasionally be found (for -(ν)ε across parts of speech see I, 2.6.3):

πρὸς τὸ βράδυ θέλει εἶσταινε φῶς KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 386.10
 οὐαὶ κὶ ἄς εἶχα εἶσταινε ἐλεύθερος *Theseid* IV.7,3 (1529); χαῖμένος θέλει εἶσταινε *ibid.* X.14,2
 θέλει εἶσταινε (1687, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 278, 258.9)
 ἡ Λευκουσιὰ θέλ' εἶσθαινε *Al. Kypri.* 925

With /e/ for /i/ in the root of the verb, the form was found in areas in contact with Romance languages, namely S. Italy, the Peloponnese, Trebizond, Cyprus, Crete, the Heptanese and Athens:

τοῦ ἔσται εἰς ποινὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας (1221, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 7, 380.8)
 ὀφείλει ἔσται (1388, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 127, 94.7 and 95.11)
 (Trebizond area)
 ὅπου διὰ βάρος του πολὺν μέλλει, εἰκάζω, ἔσται *Pol. Tr.* 209
 μέλλεις ἔσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἀμετακίνητος (1431, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXIX, 291.17–18)
 θέλει ἔσται διὰ μακάριση (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.15)
 ἤθελεν ἔσται κακοδικημένος *Assizes A* 34.5–6
 (ἂν ἴσως καὶ ... ἤθελεν) μὴ ἔσται ἐν τιμῇ (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 44, 76.18); ἄτινα θέλω ἔσται τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου (1521, *ibid.* 61, 115.16–17)
 νὰ μὴ 'χαμ' ἔσται 'σάν αὐτοὺς γεννημένες *Theseid* I.30,6 (Follieri); νὰ εἶχαμ' ἔσται βγαλμένες ἀπὸ πέτρα *ibid.* VI.30,7 (Olsen)

εἰ μὲν ἤθελ' ἔσται καλὸς καιρὸς (1539, Nauplion, ZERLENDIS 1923b: [1], 14.5)
 θέλει ἔσται πολὺ σου καλὸν *Vios Aisop.* D 212.17 (provenance unknown, but edited in Venice)
 θέλει ἔσταιν διὰ αὐξηση τῆς σῆς βασιλείας (1611, Cyprus, CHASIOTIS 1972: 49, 81–82.24)
 καὶ θέλει ἔσται ἡ ὕστερη *Bertoldos* 74.15

With /i/ for /e/ in the last syllable it is found sporadically in texts from Cyprus: ἄν δὲν εἶχεῖς ἔστιν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* R 341.50; ἤθελαν ἔστιν φανερά τὰ πάθη μου *Cypr. Canz.* 140.4.

The form εἶστον/ῆστον in the following example: ποιὸς πελλὸς ἤθελεν εἶστον *Cypr. Canz.* 130.15 is regarded by the editor as an infinitive, morphologically a conflation of the infinitive εἶσταιν and the 3rd person imperfect ἦτον (SIAPKARAS-PITSILLIDÈS 1975: 360 s.v. εἶμαι). Instances of this form in other texts, however, suggest that this hybrid form is, in fact, an imperfect rather than an infinitive (see 4.8.2 for a discussion).

The residual infinitive εἶναι can be found in mixed- and higher-register texts throughout the period under examination, mostly articular in adverbial constructions (διὰ τὸ εἶναι) and archaic accusative + infinitive constructions, and sometimes as complement of control verbs (see IV, 4.4.7 for details):²⁰³

ὁμολογῶ τοῦ εἶναι με δοῦλος (1143–5, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 1, 56.3, 56.5, 56.9, 56.11, 56.13, 56.15, 56.17, 56.19 and 56.21)
 ἀκριβεία δὲ πολλὴ ἀρμόζει εἶναι *ΝΙΚΟΝ, Logos* 1 72.6; ὀφείλει εἶναι παρθένος id., *Logos* 3 192.3–4
 κἀγὼ νομίσας φάντασμα τὸ ὁρώμενον εἶναι *Dig.* G V.37; διὰ τὸ μόνην εἶναι τε καὶ ξένην ἐν τοῖς ᾧδε ibid. VIII.194
 οὐ βούλεται εἶναι μετ' ἐμοῦ (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 39.32)
 διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν *Chron. Mor.* H 399
 διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ προτοῦ σιτάριον *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 46.16
 πλὴν ταύτην μου τὴν διαθήκην θέλω εἶναι βεβαίαν (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 9, 16.25)
 ἀλλὰ μηδεῖς, παρακαλῶ, ψευδῇ εἶναι νομίση *Dig.* T 847
 διὰ τὸ εἶναι με ἀγράμματον *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 29.8

An apocopated form εἶν, also attested in some Koine inscriptions and a Roman papyrus (GIGNAC 1981: 407), occurs in documents from S. Italy:²⁰⁴ ὁμολογῶ τοῦ εἶν με δοῦλος (1143–5, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 1, 56.1 and 56.7); μνησθεῖσα ὡς τοῦτο ἔργον εἶν σωτήριον (1280?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 36, 464.14–15).

4.8.5 Participle and Gerund

For the morphology of the residual present participle ὦν, οὔσα, ὄν see II, 3.7.1.

²⁰³ In the following examples εἶναι is more likely to be a present subjunctive: δὲν θέλουσιν εἶναι ὠνειδισμένοι *ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 1972; ἡ νίκη δὲν θέλει εἶναι βλαβερή *Don Kis.* 101.19 (cf. θέλω εἶμαι ibid. 514.3 θέλεις εἶσαι ibid. 570.29; θέλομεν εἰμεσθεν ερασμένοι ibid. 598.13). For more information see 5.1.4.2. For the use of εἶναι as a noun see *KRIARAS, Lex.* s.v. εἶναι.

²⁰⁴ Two instances of an otherwise unattested infinitive εἶν(αι) in *Pol. Tr.* 771 and 8703 are the result of editorial intervention.

General	Restricted	Rare
	ὄντας	ὄντα
	ἔστοντα ἔστοντας	ἔστοτας
	ἔστόντα ἔστόντας	εἰστόντα
	ἔσοντας	ἔσοντες
	στάντες	ἔστοντος ἔστόντος ἔστοτας
		στάντε

As with all verbs, the gerund of εἶμαι is derived from the present participle ὢν (for details on dating and morphology of the gerund, see 4.7). The gerund of εἶμαι is not used very frequently, and of ὄντα, the form that will have (morpho)logically preceded ὄντας, only two examples have been found, one in the *Astronomy* of Kamatiros (12th c., oldest ms 13th c.),²⁰⁵ and one in Axagiolis, both of them texts that can hardly be called vernacular: Σελήνη μὲ τὸν Ἄρη προσεπαναφερόμενοι ἢ καὶ πρὸς δύσιν ὄντα ΚΑΜΑΤ., *Astron.* 2905; τυχῶν τις παῖς Χριστιανῶν, Ὁτμανικῶν εὐνοῦχος, | ὄντα φρουρᾶς προτηρητῆς ΑΧΑΓΙΟΛΙΣ, *Diig. Karolou* 539–40.

Even ὄντας, now the SMG form, does not appear in texts before the 17th c. Of course, when a masculine singular subject is involved, it cannot easily be established whether ὄντας was intended as a gerund or a participle:

- ὄντας ἕνα ὀράκολον *Bertoldos* 76.11; ὄντας θυμωμένος *ibid.* 84.23
 ὄντας *cum sim*, omnis generis, numeri, et personae PORTIUS, *Grammar* 41.32 (but see also ἔστοντας)
 ὄντας πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς ζωῆς του RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 64.22
 ὄντας κακοὶ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 12.34; ὄντας οἱ πόρτες σφραλισμένες *ibid.* Ioann. 20.19
 ὄντας ἐδῶ ἐφημέριος ΒΟΥΒΟΥΛΙΣ, *Limbon.* Epil. 10
 ὄντας ὅμοιος (1653–5, Venice, FONKIČ 2000: 240, f.1v.19)
 ἀμὴ ὄντας πόρνη τῶν πολλῶν (1685, Corfu, ΚΑΡΑΔΟΧΟΣ 1990: 68, 275.35–6)
 ο Νάρκισσος, ὄντας εἴκοσι ἐνός χρόνου ΜΑΚΟΛΑΣ, *Ioust.* 425.30
 ὄντας ἀκόμη ἔξυπνη ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛΟΡ., *Diig. panouklas* 98.36
 ὄντας τώρα γερόντισσα (1714, Smyrna, ΣΦΥΡΟΕΡΑΣ 1963b: 2, 177.16)
 ὄντας ἴδιον καὶ φυσικόν τῶν ποιητῶν *Don Kis.* 151.12; ὄντας μοναχοὶ *ibid.* 153.15; ὄντας πανδρεμένη *ibid.* 289.2
 μετοχ[ῆ] ὄντας, ἄκλιτον SPANOS, *Grammar* 42.7

The question is, of course, why a language would need a gerund of εἶμαι in the first place, for EMG, like most languages, had various other ways of expressing “being”, from a simple

²⁰⁵ In this example ὄντα could be viewed as a gerund, unless the syntax is just sloppy, in which case it could also be a participle with an implied neut. pl. noun, e.g. ἄστρα, referring to Σελήνη and Ἄρης (but see 4.7.1 for two more gerunds of other verbs in the same text).

adjective/participle – τὰ μάτια του ἤνοιξε θυμωμένος *Achil.* L 430 – to more elaborate constructions such as prepositional and adverbial clauses: μετὰ τὸ νὰ εἶναι Ἀρχιερεὺς *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 11.51; ἐνῶ ἦτον πρώτη σύμβια τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ στρατιώτου *Chron. Mor.* H 8004. Nevertheless an innovative gerund ἔστοντα appears from the 15th c. onwards, while ἔστοντας, with an added final /s/ and by far the most common variant, is found from the 16th c. onwards. Morphologically, this new form consists of the morpheme /onda(s)/ that was used to form all gerunds (see 4.7), and a root /est/.

The form is likely to have Romance origins:²⁰⁶ it is most likely to be an adaptation of Occitan *estant* in the 1398 Cypriot example (see below), and elsewhere of Italian *stando/stante che*, rather than *essendo che*, with inversion of /a/ and /o/ to match the normal gerundial formation and prothesis of /e/ for easier pronunciation and recognizability of the verb. First of all, it is interesting to note that ἔστοντα(ς) first appears in texts from areas that were under French (Cyprus, Dodecanese) and Venetian or Genoese rule (Crete, Heptanese, Andros, Cyprus). Second, a variant that is morphologically even closer to the original Italian *stante* (στάντε(ς), see below) is attested in regions that were under Italian rule, albeit a century later than ἔστοντας. At the same time and in the same area a form ἔσοντας appears, which is most likely based on the Italian alternative *essendo* (see below). Contrary to ἔστοντας, ἔσοντας is absent from areas that were under French rule.

Another argument in favour of a Romance origin for both ἔστοντα(ς) and ἔσοντας is the fact that, though they are sometimes used as true gerunds, they are much more common, from the very beginning and throughout the EMG period, in temporal and causal adverbial constructions followed by καί, νά, καὶ νά, ὅτι, πῶς, ὅπου or ὅπου νά, just like their Occitan and Italian counterparts *estand que*, *stando che* and *essendo che* (see IV, 3.4 and 3.5 for details). These adverbial constructions are, in fact, functionally equivalent to the gerund; in the words of Germano: [the verb “to be”] “non ha participio. Quella voce ἔστοντας significa, essendo, & non si mette sola, ma con qualche aggiointo, ἔστοντας καί, essendo che &c.” (GERMANO, *Grammar* 97.19–21). In these constructions the meaning of “to be” is weakened considerably, as the following examples illustrate: ἔστοντας νά ᾿σαι ζωντανός *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 280; κί ἔστοντας γιόμα νά ᾿τονε *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.72.

These forms spread to other areas from the 17th c., presumably through commercial contacts.

Some representative examples are:

ἔστοντα [...] κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ᾿ Φεβραρίου (1398, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1958: 30, 238.1–2)

(we should perhaps read ἐστόντα, see below)

ἔστοντα χήρα (1436, Crete, *MANOUSAKAS* 1960/61: 2, 147.26)

(ὁ Σολομῶν ...) ἔστοντα εἰς τὸ παλάτιν του *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1976

ἔστοντα να γεννούσιν αυγά πολλά *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 5.8

ἔστοντα θεόφοβος, ἐνδέχεται μετρίως *AXAGIOLIS, Diig. Karolou* 278

²⁰⁶ It is unlikely that ἔστοντας is derived from the 3 sg. imperative ἔστω in the phrase “ἔστω καί” (*DIMITRAKOS, Lex.* s.v. ἔστοντας), for more than one reason: firstly, ἔστω καί is a residual phrase that is very rarely (if ever) used in vernacular texts; secondly, ἔστω καί has a rather different meaning from ἔστοντας καί (the first concessive, the second temporal or causal); thirdly, if ἔστοντας were indeed derived from ἔστω, there is no explanation for the form ἔσοντας, which appears simultaneously to ἔστοντας.

- ἔστοντας βυθισμένοι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 4; ἔστοντά σου id., *Rim. Par.* 119 (deletion of final /s/ due to haplography)
- ἔστοντας εἰς τὴν Ναζαρετ ἐσυλλογίζοντο ἢ Θεοτόκος KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 348.28–9
- ἔστοντας γοῦν ἡμεῖς (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 256.9)
- ἔστοντας ὅτι το ἐδίωχναν ἄλλα ψάρια μεγαλύτερα NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 16.3
- ἔστοντας αὐτὸς ὁ ἄνω γεγραμμένος κυρ-Θωμᾶς (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.19)
- ἔστοντας καὶ ... τινὰς γραμματισμένος νὰ μὴν εὑρίσκεται (1609, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 55, 55.8–9)
- ἔστοντας καὶ ... νὰ ἐκάμασιν οἱ αἶγες ... μερικὴ ζημία (1624, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 393.7)
- ἔστοντας νὰ κτυπηθῇ RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 118.14 (ed. ἔστωντας)
- ἔστοντας νὰ ὑπάρχη PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §11.24; ἔστοντας νὰ εἶσαι πτωχὸς *ibid.* II §11.109
- ἔστοντας ὅπου νὰ εὑρισκόμεσθαι εἰς ἐστράταν (1653, Ioannina, TCHENTSOVA 2002: 3, 361.16–17)
- ἔστοντας νὰ στέκεται πάντα ἐνάντιος (1655, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: 1, f.157v.9)
- ἔστοντας (... νὰν τοῦ ἄφησε παραγγελίαν) (1669, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 183.4)
- ἔσθοντας καὶ ... (1700, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 4, 127.2) (with hypercorrect <σθ> for <στ>, see I, 3.8.1.4)
- ἔστοντας ἀρφανὲς (1710, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 32, 94.6); ἔστοντας τέσσερα ἀδελφία καὶ ἡ μάνα τως νὰ παντρεύτηκε (*ibid.* 94.10–11)²⁰⁷
- ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ προξενεῖ σκάνδαλον μέγα (1645 [19th-c. copy], Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 11.14–15)

Stressed on the penultimate, in line with the stress position in Occit. *estant*, ἔστόντα(ς) has been found in texts from Cyprus and the Dodecanese from the 15th c. onwards:

- ἔστόντα εἰς τὸ νησὶν τῆς Νισύρου, εἶδαμεν ... (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1986b, repr. 1991: 2, 197.5 facs.)
- ἔστόντα του τζιβιτᾶνος (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 48, 26.3) (ἔστοντατου in the diplomatic transcription)
- στὸν θάνατον ἔστόντα | (θωρῶ ...) *Cypr. Canz.* 83.8
- ἔστόντα εἰς τὸ σπῖτιν του *Fior* 86.22; ἔστόντα ἀμουρούζης τῆς γυναίκας τοῦ Οὐρία *ibid.* 96.9–10
- ἔστόντα καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ... δὲν πλανᾶται *Pist. Kekoim.* 89–90
- ἔστόντας καὶ ὁ γ'οῦμενος τοῦ Κύκκου ... καὶ νὰ ἐγόρασεν (1646, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 5, 15.3–4); ἔσθόντας καὶ νὰ γ-εἶχαν οἱ Πολεμίτες κάποια χωράφια (1679, *ibid.* 16, 393) (with hypercorrect <σθ> for <στ>, for which see I, 3.8.1.4).

With /i/ for /e/ in the root it was found once in ms V of Machairas, perhaps formed by analogy with the other invariable form of εἶμαι, the infinitive εἶσταιν, which in Cypriot had a variant form ἔσταιν (see above, 4.8.4): εἰστόντα του εἰς τὴν Φρανκίαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 230.40 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari) (spelled ἡστόντα in the Dawkins edition (282.22)).

The gerund ἔσοντα(ς) can be found in the same period as ἔστοντας. Morphologically, this form is very likely to be modelled on Italian *essendo* (rather than on *stando/stante*), with substitution of the gerundial morpheme /ondas/ for Italian /endo/. It is very seldom used as a true gerund (see the example from Koronaios below), but is far more common in

²⁰⁷ Note the paratactic construction in which ἔστοντας functions both as a gerund and as a conjunction.

the temporal or causal constructions with *νά*, *καί*, *όπού*, etc. that serve as periphrases for the gerund (for details see IV, 3.4 and 3.5).²⁰⁸

- έσοντα καλά το κορμίν χορταμένον *Anthos Ch. G* 231.2
 έσοντας να συλλογισθεί ταύτα *Syndipas* 116.32
 έσοντας έκει (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 132.7) (letter of an Ottoman official to Andreas Gritti; provenance of scribe unknown)
 έσοντας νά 'σαι ελεύθερος *Theseid* III.78,5 (1529)
 έσοντας νά 'ν' στού στρώμαν SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 91
 έσοντα ζηλεμένος KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.13; έσοντα σ' όρδινία *ibid.* X.51
 έσοντας πώου εσυνάχθησαν MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 217.37–8
 έσοντας πώς δέν ήθέλησαν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 40, 100.5)
 έσοντας να περάσουν πολλοί χρόνοι (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 233.27) (provenance of scribe unknown)
 έστοντας vel έσσοντας PORTIUS, *Grammar* 41.33
 έσοντας να είναι όλοι μίας πίστης *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.10–11
 οί δέ νησιώται ούτω' έγώ έσοντας να σπουδάζω μαθένω KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 113.17–18
 έσοντας όπού δέν ήταν ό Μεχεμέτ Γιαζατζής PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §14.32
 έσοντας να μισέψει (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 2, 19.4)
 έσοντας να μήν έχει ό Κουσαντήης φορτώματα (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.9–10); έσοντας να έκαμα μιά μινιά κιρι (*ibid.* 4, 60.1)
 έσοντας να έπρόγινωσσε ή μάνα KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.135

Forms in *-οντας* are phonetic rather than morphological variants of *-οντας*, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (cf. 4.7; for details see I, 3.6.2.1):

- έστοτας να του είμαι χρεωφελής (1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.6)
 έσοτας και να έχη (1533, Naxos, MILIARAKIS 1888: 58.10)
 έσοτας πώς δέν ήμπορεί να μπει (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 179, 153.5)
 έσοτας (1683, Naxos, TOURTOGLOU 2000: 2, 115.9) (εσώτας in the ed., but the accentuation in the document, where present, is arbitrary)

Sometimes a new, participial-looking but in fact gerundial, form derived from this innovative gerund can be found, but unlike a participle it does not have a full inflectional paradigm, limiting itself to a form in *-ος*, reminiscent of the masc. and neut. gen. sg. authors and scribes were familiar with from obsolete genitive absolute constructions (see also 4.7, and see IV, 4.4.6):

- οί κριτάδες ... έστοντός τους εις την αύλήν *Assizes B* 277.7; ό υίός ... ένι νόμου ήλικίας, τουτέστιν έστοντος ιε' χρόνων *ibid.* 281.15–16
 έστόντος συτσακισμένος *Assizes A* 182.23, and in a genitive absolute construction: έστόντος αύτοϋ εις την γην *ibid.* 50.7

Forms in *-ες* occur in texts from the Heptanese (see 4.7 for other gerunds in *-ντες*):

- έσοντες πώς την ήθελε πάρει (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 5, 5.7–8); έσοντες πώς τό ήθελε έχει πουλημένο (*ibid.* 23, 80.15)

²⁰⁸ For a substantivized use of *έσοντας* in *Theseid*: τό έσοντάς του *Theseid* IV.49,6 (1529), see KRIARAS, *Lex.* vols 5 and 10 s.v. είμαι.

Another form that looks like a masc. pl. participle but is, in fact, a gerund is the form *στάντες*, clearly formed on the basis of Italian *stante*, with an added final /s/ (cf. similarly adapted Italian nouns and adjectives in -ε(ς), II, 2.6.2 and II, 3.5.1). It has not been found before the end of the 16th c., mostly in the adverbial construction with (καὶ) νά (see also IV, 3.5). The unadapted form without final /s/ can occasionally be found as well.

στάντες καὶ νά κήν (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 37, 29.35)
 στάντες καὶ ... νά μὴν ἔχω νά δώσω (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 219, 206.15–6); στάντες καὶ
 ... νά μὴν ἔχουν τὸ σιτάρι (ibid. 236, 223.12); στάντες καὶ νά σαλπάρη τὸ θανατικό (1619,
 ibid. 329, 308.8)
 στάντες νά ἔχε γυναίκα ἐπαρμένη (1628, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 2, 333.16)
 στάντες καὶ νά ἐγρικῆσamen (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83.4)
 στάντες τὸ παρὸν ἀκόρδιον (1641, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 7, 278.37)
 στάντες νά μὴν κατέχουνε (1674, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 3, 122.25)
 στάντες τὸ ἄνωθεν συμβεβηκός, δὲν ἠθέλησεν ... PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 116.27–8
 στάντε κ' ἠθέλεν ἔχει τὰ δεντρά (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 31, 50.10); στάντε
 ἢ ἄνωθεν κοτέντα (ibid. 33, 52.10)
 στάντε ἦτον εἰς τὴν προτετζιὸν τῶν μεγάλων PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 111.11–12

4.9 Residual Forms and Innovations

4.9.1 Residual Forms

By the beginning of the LMedG period certain morphological categories had disappeared from the spoken language as well as the lower registers of the written language. Among these are the middle voice, which had begun to be replaced by the passive in the Koine (HORROCKS ²2010: 103); the synthetic future, which from Roman times onwards was increasingly replaced by various analytic formations (HORROCKS ²2010: 130), such as ἵνα/νά + subjunctive, as well as auxiliary verb constructions, many of which remain in use in the period covered by this Grammar (see 5.1); the synthetic perfect and pluperfect, which, too, had been replaced by auxiliary verb constructions (see 5.3 and 5.4); and the optative, which had fallen into disuse in popular speech and had become interchangeable with the future indicative and the aorist subjunctive in written texts (HORROCKS 2014b), later to be replaced by analytic constructions such as ἄμποτε νά + subjunctive.

However, authors and scribes were familiar with these residual forms through their education, and therefore they can still be found in the period covered by this Grammar, though mostly in mixed- to higher-register texts (see also TOUFEXIS 2008).

4.9.1.1 The Middle Aorist Indicative

Middle aorists of various verbs appear in mixed- and higher-register sources such as Nikon of the Black Mountain, Glykas, *Digenis G*, and others:

ἐπιλεξάμην NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.31
 ἡκριβωσάμην, ὃ φασιν, ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 5; φόνον οὐκ εἰργασάμην ibid. 543
 ὡς ἡδυνάμην *Eisit*. f.4v.12

τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ τὴν πίστιν μου διὰ σὲ ἡρνησάμην *Dig.* G II.190; φυλακῆς ἔρρυσάμην *ibid.* V.72
 παρεστησάμην *Ptoch.* I 114; συνεγραψάμην *ibid.* 116; τὴν θύραν ἡραξάμην *ibid.* 182
 ροδόσταμμαν ἐνίψατο *Achil.* N 1059
 ὡς ἐδέξω τὰς πηκτάς *Paroim.* H 38
 νῦν ἐψευσάμην ἐκ παντός [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1754; τὴν κόρην τῆς κολάσεως ἐκείνης
 ἔρρυσάμην *ibid.* 2537
 συνεγραψάμεθα *Achil.* N 1881
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσπάσατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγάτηρ *Achil.* O 624 (< ἀσπάζομαι)

Inventive poets may even form middle aorists from verbs that never had a middle voice: *χاماὶ ἐπέσατο Chron. Mor.* H 5882 (for ἔπεςε); ἀρρεμβωνίσατο *Ekth. Chron.* 21.19 app. crit. (D) (< ἀρραβωνίζομαι); καὶ ὅσες ἐμοιχεύσαντο μὲ ξένους ἄνδρες, λέγω BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 154.

In texts that belong to a somewhat lower stylistic register middle aorist forms are usually limited to a handful of verbs such as ἄρχομαι, δέχομαι, ἀφηγοῦμαι, διηγοῦμαι:

ἦρξαντο πάλιν κλαίειν *Dig.* E 66; ἀφῶν ἡρξάμην πολεμεῖν *ibid.* 154 and 1231
 παρεδεξάμην τὴν βουλὴν *Liv.* α 787
 ὡς τὴν ἐδιηγησάμην *Liv.* S 2464 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ἡρξάμεθα νὰ τρέχωμεν *Liv.* V 225; ὅλα τὰ ἐφηγησάμην *ibid.* 3343
 καὶ ἦρξατο νὰ τραγωδεῖ *Diig. Apoll.* 226
 μὲ χαρὰν μεγάλην τὰ ἐδεξάμην *Diig. Alex.* K 346.22

With the exception of certain notaries such as Grigoropoulos, Montesantos and Vlasopoulos, middle aorists are not very common in EMG non-literary texts and are generally absent from literary texts that show dialectal colouring (Crete, the Heptanese and Cyprus). The verb γίνομαι appears to be a special case, as middle-looking forms occur in a variety of texts that do not normally have middle aorists, such as for instance Machairas: ἐγένετον εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ὅτι ... MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 62.36. Given the fact that the distinction between imperfective γιν- and perfective γεν- and their distinct verbal aspect is blurred (see 2.4 for details), these forms of γίνομαι are morphologically best viewed as imperfects.

4.9.1.2 The Middle Aorist Infinitive

Residual aorist middle infinitives in -ασθαι (sigmatic aorist) and -έσθαι (thematic aorist) can occasionally be found in mixed- and higher-register texts. Again, γίνομαι appears to be the exception, being rather more common (see also 2.4):

ὁμολογοῦμεν ... ἀποτάξασθαι (1123, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 4, 60.6)
 καὶ θέλω σὲ ἀφηγήσασθαι *Liv.* V 97
 οὔτε βουλόμεθα ἀναδέξασθαι πλέον γουμάριν (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: [α'], 292.18–19)
 θέλομεν διηγῆσασθαι τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν μέγαν *Achil.* N 752
 μὴ ἔχουσα τί διαπράξασθαι *Spanos* A 271
 ἡθέλησα καλέσασθαι πρὸς με τόνδε τὸν νοτάριον (1510, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 23, 39.4)

διὰ τὸ γενέσται (1073, Constantinople?, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 50, 10.125) (for <στ> see I, 3.8.1)
 μέλλει γενέσται *Assizes* B 265.2–3

ἡ ταραχή, ἡ μέλλουσα γενέσθαι *Diig. tetr.* 892
 καὶ ἐμᾶς ἀρμόζει ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πρὸς σὲ παραγενέσθαι *Achil.* N 1439
 τὰ μέλλοντα γινέσθαι *Chron. Toc.* 1157
 μέλλει γὰρ ταύτην ἀμνηρᾶς λαβέσθαι εἰς γυναῖκα *Dig.* A 53

4.9.1.3 The Middle Aorist Imperative

The sigmatic middle aorist imperative ended in -αι in the singular and -ασθε in the plural. Due to sound change, the singular had become homophonous to sigmatic aorist active forms in -ε. However, the middle aorist had been obsolete for too long for these forms to re-emerge as active aorists. Aorist middle imperatives are generally rare in the period covered by this Grammar, occurring mainly in higher- and mixed-register texts, with one lexical exception: the imperative of δέχομαι, δέξαι, is the only form that survives as an active form δέξε until the present day (see *ILNE* s.v. δέχομαι), and it is certainly not uncommon in the LMedG and EMG periods (though a corresponding plural form has not been found):

δέξαι τὸ σὸν γεράκιν *Dig.* G III.265
 δέξαι με, κόρη, σύμβουλον *Achil.* N 970
 κυρά μου, δέξαι με *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 121
 δέξε μας *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 433
 δέξαι αὐτὴν τὴν σπλαχνικὴν μου θυγατέρα *Diig. Alex.* E 303.5–6 (Lolos)
 δέξε τοῦτο, ἀδελφέ, το παραμικρόν *Vios Filaret.* 242.4
 καὶ δέξε με τὸ γληγορώτερον *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §31.133

θέασαι τὸ φίλτατόν σου τέκνον *Dig.* G VII.119
 ρῦσαι με τῆς στερήσεως, ρῦσαι με τῆς πενίας *Ptoch.* III 284
 ἴασαί με, Κύριε *STAFIDAS, Iatrosoph.* 9.258
 ρῦσαι με ἄχ τὰ δεσμὰ *Cypr. Canz.* 131.13
 πιστόν λαόν Σου ρύσαι *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 9984

Plural forms are very rare: ἐκδέξασθε τὸν πόλεμον ὅπου σᾶς θέλουν δώσει *Pol. Tr.* 875.

The middle imperative of verbs with a thematic (second) aorist is very rare too, with the exception of γένου/γίνου (< γίνομαι),²⁰⁹ which is certainly not uncommon. This form is aspectually ambiguous and the distinction between forms of the imperfective stem (γιν-) and those of the perfective stem (γεν-) is blurred (see 2.4). Fluctuations in the position of the stress, paroxytone in -ου or oxytone in -οῦ, had existed since Antiquity (VENDRYES 1938: 126, 128):

ἀποβαλοῦ τοὺς λογισμοὺς *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 341
 μεταβαλοῦ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον (1359–60, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 248, 450.55–6)
 τὴν θλίψιν ἀποβάλλου *Florios* 313 (pres. ἀποβάλλου in *Flor.* L 313)
 ἀντιλαβοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν *ΔΟΥΚΑΣ, Ist.* 47.27–8
 καὶ μὴ μοῦ ἐπιλάθου *Dig.* T 2650

γίνου προσχεριάρης *Ptoch.* III 210; γένου προσχεράρης *ibid.* app. crit. (G)
 καὶ γίνου φίλος τῆς φιλιᾶς *Spaneas Z* 154

²⁰⁹ Another exception is the form ἰδοῦ (“behold!” < ὁράω), which, however, had become lexicalized as an adverb in Antiquity, see *LSJ* s.v.

μεσίτρια γένου τὸ λοιπὸν SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 215
 γενοῦ φίλανθρωπότερος [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 717
 γίνου πλάσμαν ἄγροικον *Deft. Par.* 67
 γένου ἀτός σου ἀποκρισάρης *Diig. Alex.* F 270.7 (Lolos)
 γίνου ἑτοιμος *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 159.6
 γένομαι vel γίνομαι ... imperat. γένου GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. farsi*
 ἔλα, γίνου Τοῦρκος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §4.10
 καὶ γένου μερωμένον *Dimotika Ivir.* X.1

AG plural forms in -εσθε are seldom found, and the following text can barely be called vernacular: ἀκωλύτως γένεσθε ἐντός καὶ ταύτην αἰχμαλωτίσατε ΚΑΝΑΝΟΣ, *Diig.* 295.

4.9.1.4 The Future Indicative

As noted above, the synthetic future had disappeared from the spoken language long before the LMedG period. Residual future forms are not very common in the period covered by this Grammar: τί σοι προσοίσω, δέσποτα *Ptoch.* I 1; ἀλλ' ἔξεις παρ' ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ ἅπαν πλήρωμα (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 473.27–8).

Residual middle futures can be found occasionally, especially of certain verbs such as ἄρχομαι and διηγοῦμαι. The 1 sg. form in -ομαι, 1 pl. in -όμεθα and 3 pl. in -ονται are homophonous with their aorist middle subjunctive counterparts, which is why they are often spelled with <ω> for <ο>. More often than not these residual future forms are used instead of the present indicative, rather than as real futures, or in stock phrases such as “τίς διηγήσεται” and “πῶς διηγήσομαι”, for which modal interpretations are the most likely (“who could describe”, “how should I describe”):

ἄλλως γὰρ οὐ πεισθήσομαι *Dig.* G I.125
 ἄρξομαι ἀπ' ἐδῶ *Chron. Mor.* H 441; θέλω τοῦ νὰ σκολάσω | ἐτοῦτο ὅπου ἀφηγήσομαι, ἄλλο νὰ καταπιάσω *ibid.* 441–2 (instead of present)
 καὶ ἐθαύμασέν τα ὡς ἄπειρα, ἄρξεται τὰ ἐδικὰ του *Liv.* V 2404 (instead of historical present)
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα πῶς διηγήσομαι *Ptoch.* IV 164 app. crit. (H) (modal)
 ἄρξομαι διηγήσομαι τὰ γέγονεν εἰς Τροίαν *Byz. Il.* 2
 καὶ τίς διηγήσεται τὰ ὅσα κακὰ ἔκαμαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.11 (modal)
 ὁποῖος εἰσελεύσεται καὶ λέγει μου γιὰ νὰ ῥθω VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 348 (instead of present)

4.9.1.5 The Perfect and Pluperfect

Residual synthetic perfects have been found in the texts examined, but they are quite rare and usually used as aorists (cf. HINTERBERGER 2007): τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτῆς δέδωκαν τὸν σουλτὰν Μουσταφίαν *Ekth. Chron.* 3.4–5; καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς τοῦτο συμβέβηκεν (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 99, 145.7); λαβὼν το μοσχάριον, δέδωκεν αὐτοῦ *Vios Filaret.* 241.18; and they sometimes even appear in modal or conditional environments: ἴσως, πάτερ ἅγιε, κατὰ λήθην νὰ γέγονεν (1065, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 35, 205.18–19); καὶ νὰ ἔγνωκεν καὶ ὁ κύρης σου καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τὴν δόξαν *Dig.* E 1046. Pluperfects are even rarer and they, too, are used as aorists: διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐγεγόνει ὁ παρῶν ὄρκος (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 257.80).

Absence of reduplication, already attested in papyri (MAYSER 1923: 222) and inscriptions (DIETERICH 1898: 215), is normal for the only surviving form of the perfect, the passive perfect participle. As new “perfect” participles are formed from the aorist stem (see 2.3.2), reduplications appear residually mainly with inherited perfect participles: ἐνδεδυμένος βύσσινα *Velis*. p 38; τὸ ἄνω γεγραμμένο (1573 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17, 72.39); ο τύραννος ο ἄθλιος, ο βεβορβορωμένος *Diig. Apoll.* 358. The same is true for the perfect augment: στέμμα ἦν ἐσκεπασμένον *Vulgärorakel* I.194; τὸ εἰρημένον στρουμέντον (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 26, 40.16); ἡγαπημένα μου παιδάκια *Pist. kekoim.* 11. For residual active participles see II, 3.7.1.

4.9.1.6 The Imperative of Root Aorists

In AG some verbs, such as βαίνω, γινώσκω and ἵσταμαι among others, made use of the imperative endings -θι (2 sg.) and -τε (2 pl.), which were directly attached to the root of the verb, e.g. βαίνω: βῆθι, βῆτε; γινώσκω: γνῶθι, γνῶτε; ἵσταμαι: στήθι, στήτε. Other verbs with root aorists, such as ἀφίημι, δίδωμι and τίθημι had irregular imperatives (2 sg. ἄφες, δός and θές, 2 pl. ἄφετε, δότε and θέτε). Already in AG, βαίνω had developed alternative imperative formations in -α (2 sg.) and -ατε (2 pl.), which were used in prefixed derivatives of this verb. These /a/ endings remain in use in the period covered by this Grammar (see 4.5.2.3). The irregular imperatives of ἀφίημι, δίδωμι and τίθημι (ἄφες, δός, θές) remained in frequent use alongside new sigmatic formations ἄφησε, δῶσε and θέσε. Γι(γ)νώσκω appears not to have obtained a new imperative, and the residual form γνῶθι is used only sporadically in the period covered by this Grammar, as are the residual forms of the other verbs in this category:

καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐπίγνωθι *Dig.* G III.223; ἀνάστηθι καὶ λάβε σου τὰ ὅπλα *ibid.* VI.267
καταπεσὼν ἀνάστηθι, πάλιν κατὰτρεχέ την *Ptoch.* I 169
γνῶθι καὶ σκόπησέ το *Liv.* α 1614 app. crit. (N)
μυθοτεχνολογήματα τῆς Τύχης εἶναι, γνῶθι *Log. parig.* O 450 (Politi) (μάθε in ms L)
ἀνάγνωθι τοῦ Παύλου | ἐπιστολὴν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 758–9
κατάβηθι, αὐθέντα μου *Dig.* A 2534 and *Dig.* T 1647; στήθι καὶ φῶς ἡλιακόν *Dig.* A 4769

4.9.1.7 3rd Person Imperatives

Third-person forms of the active, middle and passive imperatives had started to be replaced with subjunctive forms and with various other constructions such as (ἱ)να or ᾶς + subjunctive before the LMedG period (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 218; DIETERICH 1898: 206). Residual synthetic forms occur sometimes, more often in the singular than in the plural. They appear in certain legal texts and in mixed- and higher-register literature:

Present

τῶν ἱατρῶν καλείτω τις *Dig.* G VIII.54
γινωσκέτωσαν πάντες (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 47.132)
ἡ ρηθεῖσα μου κουμεσαρὰ ἐχέτω πλήρη ἐξουσίαν (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 7, 13.20–1)

ὅπου δὲ βιάση κόρην καὶ φθείρη αὐτήν, ρινοκοπείσθω, νὰ κόψουν τὴν μύτην του ΖΥΓΟΜ.,
Synopsis 214.K.49

Sigmatic Aorist

ἐγγισάτω ἡ μύτη σου στὸν κῶλον μας *Spanos* D 1466
 (τὰ λοιπὰ ...) μερισάσθωσαν ἐπίσης τὰ ἐμὰ τέκνα (1504, Crete, *SATHAS* 1877: 23, 691.3)

Thematic Aorist

γενέσθωσαν τὰ ἀρμόζοντα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 148.12–13
 καὶ σὲ καταφαγέτω GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 343 (but read καὶ ᾽σὲ (strong personal pronoun) because if the pronoun were clitic it would have followed the verb: see IV, 8.2.1)

4.9.1.8 The Optative

Finally, the optative is predictably very rare in the texts examined, and it is usually used as an alternative for the aorist subjunctive: ὁσάκις ἀναπνεύσειε, λυπεῖται τοσαυτάκις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 111; οὐκ εἶχεν ὅ,τι δράσειε LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 611; μηδὲν τολμήσειεν κανεῖς *Diig. tetr.* 702 app. crit. (P).

4.9.2 The Middle Voice

A full overview of residual forms is beyond the scope of this Grammar. Therefore, the following description focuses on innovations in residual forms that occur by analogy with other endings or even through sheer confusion. The innovation and hybridity in the paradigms is especially true of the verb γίνομαι, which also shows irregularities in its stem formation (see 2.4).

4.9.2.1 The Aorist Indicative

		Residual	Innovative
Sg.	1	-άμην -όμην	-αμουν -ουμου(ν) -όμου(ν)
	2	-ω -ου	-ουν -εσουν
	3	-ατο -ετο	-ατον -ετον -εντο(ν)
Pl.	1	-άμεθα -όμεθα	-άμεθεν -όμεσθεν
	2	-ασθε -εσθε	
	3	-αντο -οντο	-ουντα

The endings of the middle aorist (with a thematic vowel /a/ for the sigmatic (first) aorist and /o/ and /e/ for the thematic (second) aorist) were identical to the endings of the imperfect. Therefore new imperfect passive endings (see 4.3.1.2) sometimes replace the middle aorist ones:

καθώς σὲ τὸ ἀφηγήσασθαι *Chron. Mor.* P 6249
 νὰ γένουμι καὶ ναύκληρος *Ptoch. III* 197.18 app. crit. (P)
 ὁ Θεὸς ἔδωκε ... κ' ἐγίνουμι καλὰ (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 78.4–5)
 ἐγινόμου ὅμοιος τὸν θεὸν *Diig. Alex.* F 268.6 (Lolos)

οὐ μὴ ἐκαυχήσεσθαι *Chron. Mor.* H 5553

καὶ ἄρξεντο χαρίσματα ... νὰ δίδῃ *Chron. Toc.* 143
 ἔδε καὶ πῶς ἐγίνεντον καὶ πῶς ἐκαταστάθη *Moirol. Konst.* 8

καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἠρξάμεθαι *Liv.* V 2382
 ἐγενόμεσθαι *Liv.* E 3770

ἐγένονται ἐξεστηκοὶ ὁλότελα *Diig. Alex.* F 124.15 (Konstantinopulos)

Hybrid first aorist formations with a thematic vowel /e/ instead of /a/, in all likelihood modelled on the imperfect ending -ετο(ν) (see 4.3.1.2) rather than on the middle second aorist (given its partiality to final /n/), can be found in various texts, and rather frequently in the *Chronicle of Morea*:

ποτὲ καιροῦ ἔχασμήσεται ὁκάτις κατὰ τύχην *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 261
 ἀφηγήσεται *Chron. Mor.* H 262; τιμητικὰ ἀποδέξεται *ibid.* 338; ἄρξεται νὰ πορεύεται *ibid.* 2469; κὶ οὐδὲν τὸν ἐφροντίσεται *ibid.* 4182; καὶ εἶπεν κ' ἐδιακρίσεται *ibid.* 6273; διατὸ ἐλογίσεται εὐθέως *ibid.* 9112
 ἤρξατο τὴν ἀφήγησιν *Liv.* α 27 app. crit. (N)
 ὅλα ἠφηγήσεται τα *Liv.* S 1027 (Lambert-van der Kolf) (ed. ἠφηγησέται τα, but at verse end)
 καὶ ἄρξεται νὰ τοὺς λαλῇ *Chron. Toc.* 3914

Further confusion of thematic vowels also occurs: ἐγὼ ἐγινάμην κύριος *Liv.* V 3187 (for ἐγενόμην); καὶ σύντροφοι ἐγινάμεθα εἰς μίαν ποθοκατούναν *Liv.* V 3470 (for ἐγενόμεθα).

Addition and deletion of final /n/, very common throughout the morphology of verbs, also appears with residual forms:

καὶ ἄφρονος ἐγενόμη *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 182 (for -όμην)
 ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἐκ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπόκομμαν ἐγίνου *Liv.* V 1571 (for ἐγένου)
 πότε νὰ ἐγίνου εἰς ἐμὴν ἐρωτικὴν καρδίαν | ἐξουσιαστής *Liv.* S 283 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ἐγίνου ὑβριστὴς *Spanos A* 35–6
 ἠῤῥατο καὶ ἐμὲν καὶ τὰ πουλίᾱ μου *Poulol.* 580 app. crit. (E) (for -ατο)
 καὶ κατειργάσατο αὐτὸν *Thrinol. Tam.* 92
 καὶ αὐτὴ οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο *Anthos Ch.* A 167.2

The obsolescence of the middle aorist is further illustrated by the fact that there is confusion between 3 sg. and 3 pl.:

(ὁ βοῦς δὲ καὶ ὁ βούβαλος ...) ἤρξατο προσφθέγγεσθαι *Diig. tetr.* 549 app. crit. (A); τότε ὁ βοῦς καὶ βούβαλος ἤρξατο ταῦτα λέγειν *ibid.* 569 app. crit. (PA)
 ἤρξατο πάλι νὰ κλαίου *Dig.* E 66 app. crit.
 ἤρξατο νὰ μὲ λέγου *Liv.* α 1475 app. crit. (N)
 καὶ ἦτον ὁ μαῦρος μεθυστής καὶ ἤρξαντο τοῦ παίζειν *Achil.* O 180

Furthermore, various hybrid formations occur, consisting of active stem with middle ending, or middle stem with active ending:

ἀρχισάμην *Pol. Tr.* 12741 app. crit. (X) (conflation of ἡρξάμην and ἀρχισα)
 ἡρξου, ψυχή, ἀναβαίνειν *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 192 (ending of the second aorist (2 sg. -ου) instead of
 that of the first aorist (-ω))
 ἡρξου νὰ μοῦ λέγης *Poulol.* 386 app. crit. (E)
 ἡρξαμεν *Liv.* V 2551 (for ἡρξάμεθα, with active ending)
 ὄσα ἡ Κορίτζια ἔφθεγγεν *Flor.* L 1657 (for ἐφθέγγατο)

4.9.2.2 The Aorist Subjunctive

Some innovation also occurs in the aorist subjunctive, such as addition of final /n/ to 1 sg., a thematic vowel /u/ for /o/, or the use of innovative endings (-μεθεν) (cf. 4.1.1.2):

ἄς σᾶς ἀφηγήσωμαιν *Dig.* E 619 (middle future?)
 ἐδάρε νὰ σέ ἀφηγήσουμαι *Liv.* E 3551
 μαχησώμεθεν ἀνδρείως *ERMON., Ilias* 15.229
 γιὰ νὰ γενοῦμεθεν *Irodis* II.344

Even hybrid forms consisting of a passive stem and a middle ending have been found: νὰ ἀξιωθοῦμεθα *Irodis* II.361; νὰ κατακαυθούμενθεν *ibid.* 361–2 (with innovative ending).

4.9.2.3 The Aorist Infinitive

The middle infinitive sometimes presents phonological innovation: ἀμβρύνασθαι (1155, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 3, 361.4) (= ἀμβλύνασθαι, see I, 3.8.6.2); and there may be confusion regarding the thematic vowel:

ἂν θέλῃς καταράσσεσθαι *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 246 (for καταράσασθαι)
 ὅταν δὲ θέλῃς κτήσεσθαι *Spaneas* V 81 app. crit.
 καὶ θέλω σέ ἀφηγήσεσθαι *Liv.* α 94 app. crit. (P)
 τὰ μέλλοντά μοι συμβήσεσθαι *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 100.3–4
 οἱ γονεῖς περιχαρῶς θέλουν δέξεσθαι τοῦτο *ibid.* 112.2

4.9.2.4 The Future

A certain degree of innovation can sometimes be found in residual future forms, such as /u/ for /o/ in 1 sg. and 3 pl. by analogy with the present indicative (see 4.1.1.2) or the addition of final /n/: ἐδάρε νὰ σέ ἀφηγήσουμαι *Liv.* E 3551; οἱ Ἄρετες ἐπλήρωσαν καὶ ἄρξουνται οἱ Μῆνες *Liv.* V 880 (but note that the morphological future represents an aorist subjunctive in the first example and a present indicative in the second).

4.9.3 The Perfect and Pluperfect

4.9.3.1 Reduplication

Reduplication is ornamental in the period covered by this Grammar. It is sometimes applied in participles of verbs that did not have a passive voice: ἵτους μεμαθημένη *Poulol.* 611; and has even been found with the present indicative of a loanword *λελιπεράρεται*

(1673, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 15, 30.23) (< Ital. *liberare*); or it may appear instead of the perfect augment: νά ᾿ναι τετοιμασμένος (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.19) (for ἡτοιμασμένος). Sometimes the reduplication is replaced by an augment: κι ὡς ἔθνηκεν ἄνευ παιδι *Chron. Mor.* H 7431.

4.9.3.2 The Perfect

The alternation of -αν and -ασι(ν) in the past-tense paradigms is sometimes extended to the residual perfect indicative: ταῦτα γέγοναν οὕτως (1134, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 7, 520.19); τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτῆς δέδωκαν τὸν σουλτὰν Μουσταφίαν *Ekth. Chron.* 3.4–5; and with a shift of the stress that is not uncommon in the aorist indicative: ἀρίφνητοι τεθνήκαν *ΔΙΑΚΡ., Diig. Pol.* 221.

A learning method for Arabic that stays as close to the Arabic as possible has a few rather innovative perfects: φάσον μοι, ἐγὼ γὰ[ρ] πεινῶν εἰμι, πεπείνακα (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 117.2d–3d) (AG πεπείνηκα); ἰδοῦ, ἐγὼ κεκάθικα (*ibid.* 139.4d).

The perfect infinitive is extremely rare. The notary Grigoropoulos uses one, but semantically incorrectly, as it means “to be” or “to stay”, not “to stand”; it is simply a dressed-up version of εἶσταιν: πλὴν ἡ συμβία μου εἰ θέλει ἑστάναι καὶ οἰκεῖν ἐν τούτοις (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 42, 73.22–3).

4.9.3.3 The Pluperfect

As noted, residual pluperfects are very rare indeed. In the following examples the pluperfect appears with the ending and stress of the active aorist indicative: οὕτως ἐγέγονε ἡ παροῦσα μου διαθήκη (1588 [17th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 464.10–11); διὰ πίστεως ἀληθείας ἐγέγονε τὸ παρὸν (1671, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1970: 3, 259.6–7); διὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐγέγονε τὸ παρὸν (1631, Kea, VISVIZIS 1949: 7, 65.4); whereas in the following form the ending of the passive aorist is employed: ἐγεγόνηκε *Alfav.* 3 33 and 35 (18th-c. ms).

5 Morphosyntax

By the beginning of the LMedG period the synthetic future, pluperfect, perfect and future perfect had fallen into disuse in the spoken language and had been replaced by various analytic constructions, consisting of an auxiliary verb or a particle with various complementations. Periphrastic constructions are also in use for the aorist indicative and the imperfect, which are discussed separately. The conditional mood, which in many ways is the past-tense counterpart of the future, is expressed with the past tense of the auxiliary. Finally, in the period covered by this Grammar, there are various periphrastic alternatives for the subjunctive mood.

5.1 The Future

The synthetic future had disappeared from the spoken language long before the LMedG period. Substitution of the present indicative for the future indicative had not been uncommon since Antiquity (for examples see BĂNESCU 1915: 66–71, where older bibliography can also be found), and continues to be a feature of the language throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, as the following examples illustrate (see also IV, 4.4.1): ἄν σὺ παράσχῃς μοι τροφήν, ἂν χορηγήσῃς πόσιν, | ἔχω καρδίας στηριγμόν, ἔχω ζωῆς ἐλπίδα *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 33–4; καὶ αὐρὶ ἐρκεται εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 54.13–14. Furthermore, various analytic formations developed to replace it, such as auxiliary verb constructions (with μέλλω, ἔχω, θέλω, ὀφείλω, βούλομαι) and ἵνα/νά + subjunctive, all of which, with the exception of βούλομαι and ὀφείλω, remain in use in the period covered by this Grammar.

Also, since in Late Antiquity the sigmatic active synthetic future had become homophonous with the perfective subjunctive as a result of sound change and analogical levelling (BĂNESCU 1915: 72; HORROCKS ²2010: 129 and 317), and since both the future indicative and the perfective subjunctive had inherent future, or prospective, reference (JANNARIS 1897: 560–1), confusion between the two, and especially substitution of the subjunctive for the future, is a phenomenon not uncommon from Hellenistic times onwards (for examples see e.g. JANNARIS 1897: 555; DIETERICH 1898: 244; REINHOLD 1898: 101–3; MOULTON 1906: 185; PSALTES 1913: 217; BĂNESCU 1915: 72–4; NICHOLAS 2008). Examples from the LMedG and EMG periods include, among others: καὶ πάντως βλέψεις λογισμόν *Dig.* G IV.77; πλύνω δὲ καὶ τοὺς πόδας σου *ibid.* IV.209; ποντικοῦ βουλᾶς κόψει κάτης *Paroim.* H 87. The use of non-sigmatic (thematic) subjunctives instead of futures illustrates this evident confusion: (πῖνε γρουτίσαν ...) καὶ διαβῇ ὁ ρεματισμός *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 265; ὥσάν νά μάθῃ, πάθῃ [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2080; ἀνοιξω τὸ στόμα μου καὶ βάλω τρία δαμάσκηνα *Spanos* A 57 (instead of fut. βαλῶ); as does the use of future forms instead of subjunctives, e.g. καὶ ἂν τὰ παραδέξῃσαι *Spaneas* V 71; νὰ μὲ

ἀφηγήσεσθαι *Liv.* V 3149; θέλουν ὄψονται ὡς καθὼς ἔκαμαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §3.5. For residual synthetic forms in LMedG and EMG texts see 4.9.1.

The Ancient Greek synthetic future had one disadvantage, namely that it was not morphologically marked for verbal aspect. When the subjunctive started to be used instead of the future, this use at first limited itself to aorist subjunctives, while at the same time true subjunctives came to be marked as such with the addition of the particle ἵνα (HORROCKS ²2010: 129). It was not until the subjunctive in future use began to be “reinforced” with a particle as well (first ἄν, then ἵνα/νά, see JANNARIS 1897: 556–7) that a clear morphological distinction between the punctual and the durative was obtained for the future tense. JANNARIS (1897: 418 and 556–7) gives examples of ἵνα + subjunctive used as futures from as early as Kallinikos’s *Life of St Hypatios* and Palladios’s *Lausiac History* (both 5th c.), as well as Eusebius of Alexandria (5th/6th c.) and throughout the EMedG period. It must be said, however, that the vast majority of his early examples are perfective, whereas the use of the present subjunctive appears to be limited to verbs that are durative almost by nature, such as ἔχω.

However, from the very beginning of the LMedG period, futurative νά can be found with the aorist subjunctive for the simple future and – although much less frequently – the present subjunctive for the future continuous. Compare for instance the following two examples from Nikon of the Black Mountain (late 11th/early 12th c.): καὶ νά εὔρης τὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῦ ρητοῦ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 312.4 and ψηλάφα καὶ ἐκεῖ νά τὸ εὕρισκῃς *ibid.* 310.21. In the first example νά εὔρης is a simple future “[look at my interpretation of Matthew] and you’ll understand the significance of his words” (once). The form νά εὕρισκῃς in the second example, on the other hand, denotes possible repetition: “[each chapter has a caption stating which part of the scriptures it was taken from,] so all you have to do is look at the caption, and then you’ll find the source [to verify what I have written]”, in other words, “whenever you want to verify something, just look at the captions”.

The νά construction remains in use as a future throughout the period covered by this Grammar, though mainly in literary texts and with decreasing frequency in the EMG period.¹ Because the particle νά also has modal connotations, a clear distinction between future and modal (e.g. deontic, potential or hortative) use cannot always be made; e.g. the following example could have a futurative as well as a deontic reading: καὶ τότε δεῦτε πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ κάτι νά σᾶς εἴπω *Spaneas* P 208 (“come to me and I will tell you something” or “come to me because I have to tell you something”).

Periphrastic or auxiliary verb constructions that express futurity consist of the present indicative or subjunctive of an auxiliary verb (μέλλω, ἔχω, θέλω) complemented by an infinitive, a subjunctive or ἵνα/νά + subjunctive, or, alternatively, a particle (θέ, θέ νά, θέννα, θά, ἔννα) + subjunctive. All periphrastic constructions can also have modal connotations, and unless the subject is inanimate or the context leaves no doubt (as in the

¹ KAPSOMENOS (1953b: 343) mentions that the future νά + subjunctive survived in Asia Minor in modern times. Remnants of futurative νά can also be found in SMG, e.g. in the use of νά with the conjunctions ὥστε, ὥσπου, μέχρι πού in futurative contexts, and the optional use of νά with ἴσως, πριν and προτού (cf. HOLTON et al. ²2012: 291–2, 558–9 and 561–2).

following example: θέλει νά φανῇ ἡ ἀγάπη του [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VII 386.24 (“his love will show”), the distinction between future, volitive, potential or deontic meanings is not always clear (cf. HOLTON 1993 for such cases in *Erotokritos*).

The following example has three possible readings, futurative, volitive or deontic: τὸ προικίον ὅπου θέλομε νά δώσομε τῆς ἀδελφῆ σου (1553, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 177, 167.16–17) (“the dowry we will/wish to/must give to your sister”); this example could have a futurative as well as a potential reading: εἶναι καμιά διακοσασιά ὅξω με δύο λουμπάρδες | και ἔχουν να μας πολεμοῦν από τες δύο πάρτες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2243–4 (“they will be fighting us from both sides” or “they will be able to fight us from both sides”); whereas the following examples could be futurative or deontic: γιατί κατέχω σήμερα πῶς ἔχω ν’ ἀποθάνω CHORTATSI, *Erof.* V.285 (“I know that today I am going to die” or “I know that today I must die”); ἄρξαν νά συμβουλευῶνται τὸ πῶς θέλουσιν πράξει *Chron. Mor.* H 829 (“they started to deliberate how they were going to act” or “how they should act”); and this example from *Livistros* can have both a futurative and a volitive reading: ἄς ἔλθῃ μετ’ ἐμὲν νά ἀκούσῃ ... | ἐρωτικὴν ἀφήγησιν τὴν θέλω ἀφηγεῖσθαι *Liv.* α 8–9 (“the love story I am going to tell” or “the love story I want to tell”). In the following example taken from a 16th-c. gunner’s manual, a deontic reading is the most plausible: καὶ θέλεις τὸ βάλης εἰς τὴν μπουκα τῆς καμάρας (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, Morgan 1954: 64.39) (“you should place [the wooden stopper] in the mouth of the powder-chamber”); in the following example *θε* νά could have both a futurative and a volitive reading: κ’ εἰς ὅλους ἀναφέρνουσι πῶς *θε* νά τοὺς ἐβγάλῃ | ὁ Θεός, στὴν γῆν τοῦ Ἐπαγγελιάς αὐτούνους διὰ νά βάλῃ, | ὥσάν καλὰ τὴν ἔταξε εἰς τοὺς ἡμᾶς πατέρας CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2207–9 (“God will lead them out [of Egypt]” or “God wishes to ...”).

However, even if a construction has modal force, it does not lose its future reference as such:² deontic and potential readings, denoting what must or might happen, are inherently futurative, and even in the case of volition, the desire may be situated in the present, but the possible fulfilment of it is typically placed in the future. The precise distinction between future and modal functions of a construction belongs to the domain of theoretical linguistics, but is less relevant to a descriptive grammar. Therefore examples of futures with possible modal connotations have not been excluded from the following description.

Given the great number of possible future formations, sometimes writers apparently have difficulty choosing, opting for a conflation of two or more constructions: ὅπου μέλλει νά θέλω ζήσει *Pol. Tr.* 342 app. crit. (V); τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ μέλλουν θέλουν γένῃ *Byz. Il.* 773; νέφῃ θελὰ θέλου γερθῇ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 112; ὅ,τι θὰ μὴ θῆς τάξει (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 11, f.44r.5) (= θὰ μὲ θῆς τάξει, with raising of /e/ to [i], see I, 2.5.4). Different constructions may also be coordinated: ὅπου θέλουνε μὲ θάψει καὶ κηδέψου (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.14).

² In this context, the only modality that is not inherently futurative is the epistemic modality, which expresses a degree of confidence on behalf of the speaker regarding the veracity of the utterance: ἐσὺ θῆς ξεύρεις νά μοῦ πῆς VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 18; θέλει προέρχεται ἀπὸ το κτύπημα *Don Kis.* 47.8; παιδὶ *θε* νά ὦσαι ἵνους ὀχθροῦ μου CHORTATSI, *Erof.* IV.693.

For the use of some of these constructions as periphrastic subjunctives see 5.7. For the hypothetical future with past-tense auxiliaries that indicates that the exact realization is unknown (hypothetical future scenario) see 5.2. For the construction *πά νά* + subjunctive, which expresses futurity without, however, losing the idea of motion see 2.4 s.v. *ὑπάγω*.

5.1.1 *νά* + Subjunctive

As noted in the introduction to this section (5.1), *ἵνα* + subjunctive started to be used as a future long before the beginning of the LMedG period, mainly with the aorist subjunctive, to express a simple future. In the period covered by this Grammar futurate *νά* can be found with the aorist subjunctive for the simple future and – less frequently – the present subjunctive for the future continuous:

νά + Aorist Subjunctive

- καὶ νὰ τὰ εὕρης εἰς καιρὸν εἰς ὄφελόν σου μέγα *Spaneas* V 116
 ἐρώτα καὶ νὰ μάθης *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 137; κουκκίν-κουκκίν ἂν σωρευθῇ, τὸ μόδιον νὰ γεμίσῃ
ibid. 183
 προσδοκᾷς τί νὰ σὲ παραβάλῃ *Ptoch. I* 101
 νὰ τὴν ἰδῇς μετὰ θεὸν | εἰς ὀλιγὰς ἡμέρας *Eisit. f.1v.13–14*
 καὶ ἂν εὕρετε τὸ ἀδέλφι σας, εἰς μίαν νὰ σᾶς τὸ δώσω *Dig. E* 64; ἐγὼ νὰ σοῦ τὸ ποίσω *ibid.*
 1574
 καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σᾶς συντύχῃ *Liv. V* 2544
 τώρα νὰ ἰδῇς ... τὸ τί σὲ θέλω ποίσει *Poulol. 39*
 εἰς πόσα πηδήματα νὰ φθάσῃ ὁ σκύλος τὸν λαγῶν (15th c., Unknown, SEARBY 2003: 11,
 698.3)
 καὶ δὲν ἐψήφας τί νὰ πῇ διὰ σὲ τινὸς τὸ στόμα *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 28 ms
 καὶ ἔπιον, πίνω καὶ νὰ πιῶ ὀλωνῶν τὲς πικράδες *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 196
 πλοῦτον πολὺν ... νὰ κερδέσῃς *Alfan.* 14 48
 λέγει τους: τὴν ἀπηλογιά γοργὸ νὰ σᾶς τὴν ποίσω *Theseid I.109,8* (Follieri)
 μωρὴ, κάνεις ἐκεῖνο ποῦ σοῦ ἔπα ἢ νὰ σὲ σκοτώσω (1579, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 7,
 97.34–5)
 καὶ μὴν εἴπησ ὅτι· νὰ πάγω εἰς καλὸ μοναστήρι διὰ νὰ σωθῶ *PAPASYNAD., Chron. IV* §4.6
 στὴν κόλασιν θὰ καίονται καὶ παιδευμοὺς νὰ δοῦσι *BOUNIALIS M., Kat. ofel.* 408
 τὴν ὄψιν σου νὰ χάσῃς *MONTSEL., Evgena* 722 app. crit.
 πὼς δραγουμᾶνος ἔγινεν καὶ γράφτουσαν νὰ κάμῃ *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 196

νά + Present Subjunctive

- νὰ εἰμὶ καὶ ἀφρόντιστος *Dig. G IV.211*
 σύννους ὅς ἦσαι καὶ πραῦς, καὶ φρόνιμον νὰ σ' ἔχουν *Spaneas P* 98
 καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ τὸ κοράσιον μου νὰ εἴμεθεν ἀντάμα *Dig. E* 1304
 ἐκεῖ νὰ σὲ ἀναμένω *Liv. V* 2849
 ἵς τὴν Τροιάν νὰ καρτεροῦμεν *ERMON., Ilias* 13.290
 καὶ δοῦλοι σου νὰ εἴμεθεν ἡμεῖς καὶ τὰ παιδιά μας *Achil. N* 562
 καὶ νὰ ἦσαι ἡγαπημένος ὑπὸ ἰδικούς καὶ ξένους *STAFIDAS, Iatrosóf.* 20.72–3
 κάθεα χρόνο ... νὰ στέλλῃ ... μ' χιλιάδες δουκάτα (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.5–6)

ἀλλήλους νά δικάζονται καὶ νά κρυφομιλοῦσι *Deft. Par.* 19
 ἐγὼ νά σὲ φυλάγω καὶ νά σὲ τιμῶ *Diig. Alex.* F 140.26 (Konstantinopulos)
 λέγω σοι ὅτι νά σε αγαπῶ *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 83.23
 (γινώσκοντες καλὸν καὶ πονηρίαν ...) νά 'στέν σ' ἀθανασία *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 51

Sporadically διὰ νά can be found instead of νά: καὶ ὡς πότε τοῦ Χάρου τὸ σπαθὶν τὸ αἷμα
 διὰ νά στάσση; *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 89.

5.1.2 μέλλω

Future	General	Restricted	Rare
Simple	μέλλω νά γράψω μέλλει νά γράψω	μέλλω γράψει(ν) μέλλω γράφει(ν) μέλλεται νά γράψω	μέλλω τοῦ γράψειν μέλλω τοῦ γράφειν μέλλω γράψω μέλλω διὰ νά γράψω μέλλει γράψει(ν) μέλλει γράψω μελλά γράψω μέλλεται γράψει(ν) μέλλομαι νά γράψω μέλλομαι γράψαι
Continuous		μέλλω γράφει(ν) μέλλω νά γράφω μέλλει νά γράφω	μέλλεται νά γράφω μέλλομαι νά γράφω

The verb μέλλω had been in use in future-referring contexts since Antiquity, and can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar. Μέλλω is generally used in texts alongside other future periphrases, and it usually expresses a very definite, inescapable type of futurity that borders on the deontic. This use of μέλλω is attested from the 1st c. AD (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 48); it is, for instance, often used in the context of death.

In the LMedG and EMG periods μέλλω can be found with active and passive infinitives, with νά + subjunctive, and sporadically with a bare subjunctive. Impersonal μέλλει is, as a rule, constructed with νά + subjunctive. The passive μέλλομαι, with 3 sg. μέλλεται used impersonally, is a southern feature (found in texts from Crete, Cyprus and Zakynthos), whereas univertation of the verb and νά (in other words incorporation of μέλλει and νά into one word: μέλλει νά > μελλά) has been found in one Cypriot text only (cf. θελά (5.1.4.5), μπορά (4.1.2.1) and πά (2.4 s.v. ὑπάγω)). For 3 sg. of μέλλω/μέλλομαι νά + subjunctive it is impossible to establish whether the auxiliary verb has impersonal use or not, unless a text uses only the one or the other for all persons (such as e.g. *Assizes*, *Machairas*, *Cypr.*

Canz., Falieros and Chortatsis, where we find impersonal μέλλει/μέλλεται + νά only).³ In the following description, when a text has examples of personal μέλλω of other persons, 3 sg. examples are considered to be personal as well.

5.1.2.1 μέλλω + Infinitive

The verb μέλλω complemented by an infinitive is more common in non-literary texts, often of a legal nature, than it is in literature. It is used in documents from all areas, whereas in literature it appears mainly in mixed- and higher-register texts (*Dig. G*, Ermoniakos, Dellaportas, Sfrantzis, *Dig. T*), with single instances in more vernacular texts (*Chron. Mor.*, *Dig. E*). It can hardly be a coincidence that two early texts in which a conscious effort is made to write in a form of language closer to the vernacular, Ptochoprodromos and Glykas, do not use μέλλω at all, whereas it appears routinely in Glykas's learned work. The construction obviously belonged to the written rather than the spoken registers of the language.

Whereas in post-classical times, after the demise of the future infinitive, the present infinitive was by far the most common complement of μέλλω in both literary texts and papyri, in the EMedG period the aorist infinitive had begun to gain ground rapidly. This is reflected in papyri of the period, though hardly so in other, more conservative, textual sources (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 53–4 and 90–1). The rise of the aorist infinitive as a complement of μέλλω continues in the LMedG period, and by the 14th c., the aorist infinitive had clearly become the preferred form to express perfectivity. However, as in earlier stages of the language (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 30, 57–8), the present infinitive after μέλλω, leaving aside the examples with inherently imperfective verbs such as εἶμαι and ἔχω, continues to be aspectually ambiguous, conveying mainly perfective meanings, e.g. the texts of Nikon of the Black Mountain (late 11th/early 12th c.) (not counting direct citations from other texts) have four instances of an aorist infinitive, against fifteen present infinitives, with no apparent aspectual differentiation.⁴ Absence of aspectual distinction is also evident in the examples from S. Italy, the second example from Athens, in *Dig. G*, *Diig. sevast. Thom.*, *Byz. II.* and *Alfav.* 14. Even as late as the 17th c., Ioakeim Kyprios has two instances of μέλλω + infinitive, both with present infinitives that have no aspectual value. Only the *Chronicle of Morea*, which has only two instances of μέλλω + infinitive, uses the present infinitive in a clearly imperfective, durative sense (note the repetition of the meaning in line 4746 with imperfective θέλουν ἐπαινεῖ): μέλλει στήκει τὸ ἔπαινος τῆς σημερινῆς ἡμέρας, | ὅπου μᾶς θέλουν ἐπαινεῖ ὅσοι τὸ θέλουν ἀκούσει *Chron. Mor.* H 4745–6.

³ These texts use impersonal μέλλει for the future, though *Assizes B* and *Machairas* do very occasionally display personal use of ἔμελλα, in past contexts: ἔμελλες νά με πλερώσης *Assizes B* 413.11; ἔμελλαν νά τὸ φέρουν *ibid.* 427.31; ἔμελλαν ... νά πᾶσιν *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 274.36 (only examples).

⁴ Both can express the future simple and continuous. Note that when Nikon uses other means to express futurity, such as νά + subjunctive (see above), the choice of the present or the aorist subjunctive is clearly an aspectual one.

μέλλω + Aorist Infinitive

ὅταν χωρισθῇναι μέλλῃ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 106.21; μέλλομεν γὰρ πάντες λόγον δώσειν id., *Logos* 33 862.16–17

ὅπου μὲ μέλλουν ἐνταφιᾶσαι (1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.12)

μέλλουν ὀρμαστῆναι (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 238.392)

ἦν μέλλει γινεῖ (1359, Albania, ΣΑΚΚΕΛΙΟΝ 1887a: 473.9–10)

τὸ πῶς τὸ μέλλω ἀφηγηθῇ *Chron. Mor.* H 4683

καὶ πάντες μέλλομεν σταθῇν τὴν φοβερὰν ἡμέραν *Dig.* E 1755 (hapax)

μέλλεις ἀνέβην *Pol. Tr.* 62; μέλλομεν ἀππλικεῦσαι ibid. 205

μέλλω χύσαι ΕΡΜΟΝ., *Ilias* 7.153; μέλλει γένειν ibid. 12.338; μέλλομεν ἔβγειν ibid. 16.55

τίνος μέλλει γενέσται ἐκεῖνος ὁ σκλάβος *Assizes* B 265.2–3; τι μέλλει γενέσται ibid. 488.11 (only with this verb)

μέλλει κριθῆναι *Assizes* A 25.26 (hapax)

μέλλει θρύψαι *Ptochol.* α 394

μέλλεις βασιλεῦσαι (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 259.84.2)

εἰς τὸν ναὸν ὅπερ μέλλω θαφῇ (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIDI 1996: 16, 227.7)

τὰ ὅσα ἐνταῦθα μέλλει διορθῶσαι (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.13)

τὰ ὅσα μέλλουν συμβεῖ ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* III §34.3 (hapax; usually constructed with νά)

μέλλω + Present Infinitive

ὅταν μέλλουσιν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐσθίειν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 100.21; μέλλω κατακρίνεσθαι id., *Logos* 3 164.5–6

μέλλει διαδέχεσθαι (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.43)

ἰδοὺ γὰρ μέλλουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ διώκοντες φθάνειν *Dig.* G IV.628 (hapax)

μέλλω ἀποθνήσκειν *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 185

μέλλεις ἔσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἀμετακίνητος (1431, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXIX, 291.17–18); τὰ μέλλουν ἀφιερεῖν (1437, ibid. LXXI, 297.13)

καὶ κρίσιν μέλλουσι ζητεῖν *Byz. Il.* 227

αἰτία μέλλει εἶναι ΣΦΡΑΝΤΖΙΣ, *Chron.* 194.9

ἐνθυμήσου ... πῶς μέλλεις ἀποθνήσκειν *Alfan.* 14 40

τι μέλλει τοὺς τυγχάνει ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 4584; πού μέλλουν ἀναγνώθει ibid. 6060

Μέλλω with an articular infinitive in the genitive can occasionally be found in middle-register texts of the MedG period,⁵ but by the LMedG period this construction should without doubt be considered an even greater learnedism than μέλλω + infinitive. There are several attestations in higher-register texts of the 14th c.: μέλλομεν τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν (14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001: 245, 436.164); μέλλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦ εἶναι εἰς τὸ μέσον (ibid. 436.166–7); μέλλει τοῦ ζητεῖν *Diig. Alex.* M 2440.

5.1.2.2 μέλλω νά + Subjunctive

Substitution of νά + subjunctive for the infinitival complement, a widespread phenomenon certainly not restricted to auxiliary verb constructions (for details see IV, Chapter 2), occurs with μέλλω in literary texts and in documents from the early 14th c. and throughout

⁵ E.g. ὡς μέλλων τοῦ ἀναγῶναι Ps. Symeon, *Chronographia* 641.16 (10th c.; ed. Bekker); ὅτι μέλλεις τοῦ κρῖναι Symeon the New Theologian, *Hymn* 24, l. 111 (10th–11th c.; ed. Kambylis).

the period covered by this Grammar, from north to south and from east to west. Due to the definitive nature of μέλλω, expressing what will inevitably happen (“I will die/be buried/be judged”), perfective complementation (aorist subjunctive) is much more common than imperfective complementation (present subjunctive). However, contrary to the infinitival complementation (see above, 5.1.2.1), the examples with the present subjunctive clearly have imperfective readings.⁶

μέλλω νά + Aorist Subjunctive

- μέλλουν νά λάβουν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 226.24)
οἱ ποῖοι μέλλουν νά εὔρεθοῦν (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 206.46)
τὸ μέλλεις νά ποιήσης *Log. parig.* O 154
μέλλεις ν’ ἀποσώσεις FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 319
μέλλει νά πνιγῇ πρῶτον ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 25.5; ἐπειδὴ μέλλω νά γένω φαγί σου *ibid.* 79.3
αὐτός γὰρ μέλλει καὶ νεκροῦς καὶ ζωντανούς νά κρίνει *Diig. Apoll.* 663
μέλλει νά γενεῖ/γένει τὸ φοβούμενε BAROZZI, *Letter* 359.20 (letter in Latin script)
μέλλω νά θαφτῶ (1582, Patras, ZOIS 1936/37: 17–18, λδ’.24)
τί ἄδικον ἔκαμα καὶ μέλλω νά χαθῶ *Vios Aisop.* I 282.28–9
τὸ ποτήριον ὅπου ἐγὼ μέλλω νά πῶ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 20.22; ὅταν μέλλουσιν
ἐτοῦτα ὅλα νά τελειωθοῦν *ibid.* Mark. 13.4
μέλλουν τὰ ἄσπρα νά ἀλλάχθουν ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §32.15; μέλλουν ... νά ἀσεβήσουν
ibid. IV §5.12
τοῦ ἱερέως πού μέλλει νά μὲ θάψῃ (1644, Lefkada, RONDOYANNIS 2005: 2, 441.19)
νά ἴθω μέλλω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1231; τί πλιὰ νά κάμης μέλλεις *ibid.* 1800
ὅπου μέλλουν ... νά ὑπάγουν (1683, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 5, 56.5)
μέλλει νά ἀποδώσω (1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 205.8–9)
ποῖός μέλλει νά βγῇ νικητής KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1306

μέλλω νά + Present Subjunctive

- μέλλουσιν οἱ αὐθέντες μου νά κάμνουν γάμον ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 31.4
ποιά στράτα μέλλεις νά κρατῇς KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1534

In verse texts διὰ νά is sometimes used instead of νά because it usefully provides an extra syllable:

- ὦς μέλλει διὰ νά ἀναλωθῇ *Pol. Tr.* 5562 app. crit. (A)
τὸ μέλλει διὰ νά ἔχῃ *Chron. Mor.* P 5312
τὸν θάνατον πού μέλλεις διὰ νά πάρῃς MONTSEL., *Evgena* 539
μέλλει διὰ νά βγῇ *Dig.* O 49

Absolute use of μέλλω, with a strong sense of “destiny” or “fate” (cf. μέλλομαι, below) has been found in Cretan texts and in texts of unknown provenance (*Liv.* V and *Imb.* Rim.):⁷

⁶ In the example from Noukios, a dog says to a wolf that wants to eat him: “I’m skinny and poor now, but if you wait a bit, my masters will be celebrating their wedding, and there I’ll eat very well, so I’ll be a lot tastier to you.” A future simple (μέλλουσιν κάμειν) would automatically make the wedding party precede the dog’s eating well chronologically (“they’ll celebrate the wedding, and then I’ll eat”). In the second example, Erotokritos says to Aretousa: “you must seriously consider to which road you’ll stick (i.e. remain in love with him), or which way you’ll choose (“καὶ ποῖαν ὁδὸ νά πιάσης”), so that you’ll neither lose your life nor be married off to the prince of Byzantium.”

⁷ Absolute use of ἐμέλλα in past-tense contexts can also be found: ἀλλὶ καὶ τί τοὺς ἐμέλλεν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀθλίους! *Pol. Tr.* 12038; τοῦτα γὰρ μὰς ἐμέλλα *Apoll. Rim.* V 964 (same in all versions).

καὶ εἴτι μέλλει ὅς γένῃ *Liv.* V 2814
 τί μέλλει περὶ τούτου *DELLAP.*, *Erot. apokr.* 534
 ἡ Μοῖρα σου ἃ σόγραψε καὶ μέλλει *FALIEROS*, *Erot. En.* 59
 ἔβαλεν καὶ στὸν λογισμὸν ὅτι γαμπρὸς τοῦ μέλλει *Imb.* *Rim.* 388
 ἀνέναι καὶ μου μέλλει *CHORTATIS*, *Panor.* II.330; ἀπῆς ἐσύ μου μέλλεις *ibid.* V.356
 νὰ μάθω τί 'ναι τὸ βαρὺ κακὸν ὅπου μᾶς μέλλει *Thysia Avr.* 152
 καὶ δὲν τοῦ μέλλει, τάσσω σου, τοῦ γέρο τὸ κουλούρι *FOSKOLOS*, *Fort.* III.500
 ὅ,τι μοῦ μέλλει θὰ γενεῖ *BOUNIALIS M.*, *Diig. Pol.* 499.7
 ἡ τζόγια τίνος μέλλει *KORNAROS*, *Erot.* II.1710
 τὸ πρᾶγμα ποὺ τοῦ μέλλει *Leilasia Par.* 432

5.1.2.3 μέλλει νά + Subjunctive

Impersonal μέλλει has been found from the 14th c. (*Chronicle of Morea*) and throughout the EMG period, in literary and non-literary texts. The impersonal use of μέλλει is very likely to be the result of the semantic development of the verb toward a particular kind of futurity with strong deontic connotations, thus gaining a semantic overlap with other verbs denoting obligation such as impersonal πρέπει and ἐνδέχεται (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 127–30), although examples with a simple future meaning can also be found: κί εἰς τοῦτο ἵντα μέλλει | νὰ κάμωμε τὸ λοιπονίς; *CHORTATIS*, *Katz.* IV.210–11 (“so what are we going to do about it?”). Impersonal μέλλει is used for both the simple future (aorist subjunctive) and the future continuous (present subjunctive), but perfective complementation, denoting something that will (inevitably) happen at some point in the future, is the most common. Imperfective complementation denotes a state or situation that will occur in the future (e.g. μέλλει νὰ σωκέται, below), often occurring with inherently stative verbs such as εἶμαι and ἔχω, but it can also express repetition in the future: e.g. μέλλει νὰ μπαίνουν καὶ νέοι ἡγούμενοι, below. For the use of impersonal μέλλει in Cypriot see AERTS 1983.

μέλλει νά + Aorist Subjunctive

μέλλει νὰ ξμπης *Liv.* E 490; καὶ πάλιν μέλλει μου λοιπὸν νὰ πάθω διὰ τὴν κόρην *ibid.* 2477
 ὅταν τὴν νίκην ἤκουσαν ὅτι μέλλει νὰ ἔχουν *Pol. Tr.* 2386
 μέλλει ν' ἀπιλογηθῶ (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 78.2); μέλλει νὰ γράψω (15th c., Thrace, *ibid.* 8, 101.10–11)
 καὶ μέλλει νὰ τοῦ δώσωμε (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 115, 54.2)
 μέλλει νὰ εἰποῦμεν *Assizes B* 273.2; μέλλει νὰ ἔρτουν *ibid.* 466.28
 γιατί σὲ μέλλει μετ' αὐτὸν νὰ ζήσης, ν' ἀποθάνῃς *FALIEROS*, *Erot. En.* 94
 οὕτως μέλλει νὰ πάθουν *Alosis* 867
 μέλλει νὰ τὴν κληρονομήσουν *KARTANOS*, *P&N Diath.* 394.4; μέλλει νὰ γεννηθεῖ *ibid.* 416.6–7
 καὶ τώρα μέλλει τὴν ψυχὴν στὸν ἄδην νὰ τὴν πέμψω *AITOLOS*, *Ais. Myth.* 94.9
 τὸν θάνατον ὅπου μέλλει νὰ λάβω (1535, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 58, 100.22–3)
 μέλλει νὰ ἐλθοῦνε (1588 [17th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 464.24)
 μέλλει νὰ πολεμήσετε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 89.31; μέλλει νὰ τιμηθῇτε *ibid.* 89.33
 τώρα σοῦ μέλλει | ... τὸ θάνατο νὰ πάρῃς *PETRITSIS*, *Dig.* O 2592–3
 μέλλει νὰ πᾶνε (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 323, 523.4–5)
 τοῦτα ὅλα τα λυπητερά, οὔ ποὺ μέλλει νὰ συνέβουσιν *VAROUCAS*, *Logoi* 467.29–30

μέλλει νά + Present Subjunctive⁸

- τιμήν ὅπου τοῦ μέλλει νά ἔχη *Chron. Mor.* H 5312
 ὅταν τήν νίκην ἤκουσαν ὅτι μέλλει νά ἔχουν *Pol. Tr.* 2386
 μέλλει νά δουλεύῃ *Assizes* B 403.1–2
 αὐτὸν ποὺ μέλλει ν' ἀγρυπνᾷ *FALIEROS, Erot. En.* 24
 (ἡ καρδιά μου ...) μέλλει νά σωκείται *Cypr. Canz.* 56.8 (< ἐσωκαίομαι)
 ποια μέλλει νά ἔχει πλερωμὴ ἡ ἐδική μου ἀγάπη; *CHORTATSI, Panor.* IV.178
 μέλλει νά μπαίνουν καὶ νέοι ἡγούμενοι (1615, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 6, 174.15–16)
 τι μέλλει νά ᾽ναι *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2456
 ἂν εἶν' καὶ μέλλει μου σ' τοῦτα τὰ πάθη νά ᾽μαι *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1015

Univerbation is very rare with this verb (cf. θελά (5.1.4.5), πά (2.4 s.v. ὑπάγω) and especially μπορά (4.1.2.1)): ὑμνω τὸ δὲν μελλά ᾽βρω *Cypr. Canz.* 146.5.

The combination of impersonal μέλλει with an infinitive is very rare and awkward, since this construction fails to show the number and person of the subject: μέλλει, Μυρτάνη δέσποινα, σήμερον ἀφηγεῖσται *Liv.* α 20 app. crit. (N); μέλλει στραφῇν, τοὺς εἶπα *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 459 app. crit. (AB).

Sporadically μέλλω/μέλλει can be found with a bare subjunctive, probably influenced by the θέλω periphrasis, for which this construction is rather common (see below, 5.1.4.2): τὰ μέλλουν γένουν *Byz. Il.* 322; πέντε βασιλεῖς Ἀγαρηνοὶ μέλλει βασιλεύσουν τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν (16th c. [ms], Peloponnese?, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 50B, 365.15.16–17); μέλλει ποιήσουν στάσιν (16th c., Peloponnese?, *ibid.* 58I, 426.15).

5.1.2.4 μέλλεται νά + Subjunctive

In the period covered by this Grammar, passive impersonal μέλλεται can be found complemented with a νά clause. It is a southern feature, found in texts from Crete and one from Cyprus, and in ms V of the *War of Troy*. Much like the impersonal use of μέλλει, which in a way removes any responsibility for a future event from the subject, the use of the passive voice, too, stresses the inescapability of what is bound to happen and the powerlessness of the subject to influence its outcome.

μέλλεται νά + Aorist Subjunctive

- πῶς μέλλεται νά γένῃ *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 324
 λέει μου: αὐτὴν τὴν γέφυρα μέλλεται νά διαβοῦμε *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 204
 τὸ μέλλεται νά ποίσης *Cypr. Canz.* 92.66; μέλλεται νά γιάνης *ibid.* 98.28; ἂν μέλλεται ποτὲ νά ᾽χουσιν τέλος *ibid.* 110.7
 δια το μεγάλον το κακόν ᾽πού μέλλεται νά πάθουν *Apoll. Rim.* V 1688
 τί μέλλεται νά κάμω *CHORTATSI, Katz.* I.108; ποιά μέλλεται νά πιάσομε στρατά *id., Erof.* II.441; μέλλεται νά χάσεις | τὴν βασιλείά σου *ibid.* IV.538–9
 τί μέλλεται νά κάμω *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 384.19; μέλλεται νά τελειώσει *ibid.* 540.14
 ἐκείνου ὅπου μέλλεται γυναίκα νά μέ πάρῃ *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1458; τὸ κακὸ ποὺ μέλλεται νά σ' εὔρῃ *ibid.* I.1970

⁸ The 3 sg. examples from Falieros, *Cypr. Canz.* and Chortatsis are considered to be impersonal since these texts do not use personal μέλλω νά.

μέλλεται νά + Present Subjunctive

μέλλεται νά ἔχη *Pol. Tr.* 2338 app. crit. (V)

μέλλεται ... νά τὰ γνώθῃ *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 50

5.1.2.5 μέλλομαι νά + Aorist Subjunctive

Personal μέλλομαι is less common than impersonal μέλλεται. Examples have been found in texts from Crete and Zakynthos and in ms V of the *War of Troy*:

μέλλονται νά γένουν *Pol. Tr.* post 5560 app. crit. (V)

αὐτὰ τὰ πάθῃ μέλλονται νά σᾶς καταδικάσουν *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 233

᾽ς τούτον τον τρόπον μέλλομαι, Νίκανδρε, ν' απεθάνω; *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* N2.3 (1658)

5.1.2.6 μέλλομαι + Infinitive

Personal μέλλομαι with an infinitive, clearly a more “elevated”, written variant of μέλλομαι νά + subjunctive (also note the residual form of the aorist infinitive), has been found in an early document from Crete: μέλλεστε κερδίσαι (1414, Crete, *MANOUSAKAS* 1964: 13, 96.4).

Absolute use of μέλλομαι (cf. μέλλω, above) occurs in Cretan texts and in one ms of the *War of Troy*:⁹

ὥσάν δὲ καὶ τὰ πράγματα μέλλονται, οὕτως εἶναι *Pol. Tr.* 1168 (reading of ms X)

τοῦ καθενός καὶ ᾧ μέλλεται *FALIEROS, Erot. En.* 62

καὶ τώρα τί σοῦ μέλλεται *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 502.14

ἴντα νά τοῦ μέλλεται *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.694; κ' ἴντα κακὰ σοῦ μέλλονται *ibid.* III.454; πολὺ κακὸ μοῦ μέλλεται *ibid.* IV.124

5.1.3 ἔχω

Future	General	Restricted	Rare
Simple	ἔχω νά γράψω	ἔχω γράψει(ν)	ἔχω γράψω ἔχει νά γράψω
Continuous		ἔχω νά γράφω	ἔχει νά γράφω

The construction ἔχω + infinitive, which in classical Greek had modal force denoting mainly possibility or ability (*MARKOPOULOS* 2009a: 33–8), can be found to express

⁹ Absolute use of ἐμέλλομουν in past-tense contexts can be found in the same area: κὶ ὥσάν ἦτον τὸ ἐριζικὸν κ' ἐμέλλετον τὸ πρᾶγμα *Chron. Mor.* H 2482; τοῦ Φορτουνάτο ἐμέλλεντο *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* V.200; τοῦ Φορτουνάτο μου ἐμέλλουσου *ibid.* V.328–9; κὶ ὅλα δικά τση ἐμέλλουνταν *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.232; κὶ ἀπτεῖς ἐμέλλετον ἐσέ *ibid.* V.1395.

futurity from at least the 1st c. AD.¹⁰ Whereas at first it clearly belonged to the lower stylistic registers, during the EMedG period this construction started to be used more and more in middle-register texts (BĂNESCU 1915: 78–81; MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 94–9). In most of the period covered by this Grammar it continues to be one of the available constructions to express futurity, although the construction also continues to have modal connotations (deontic, potential). From at least the 13th c. onwards, *ἔχω* begins to take on *νά* + subjunctive complements, which, again, can have both futurative and deontic or potential meanings. Complementation with a bare subjunctive, common for the *θέλω* construction (see 5.1.4.2), is extremely rare with *ἔχω*, as is impersonal *ἔχει*, which is used with impersonal verbs only (e.g. *χιονίζει*). For the use of *ἔχω* constructions in the subjunctive see 5.7.1; for *ἔχω* + infinitive as a perfect see 5.4.1.6.

5.1.3.1 *ἔχω* + Infinitive

The *ἔχω* + infinitive construction can be found mainly in literary texts of the LMedG period (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 145–7), and had by then already started its steady decline as a future in favour of the *θέλω* construction. The aorist infinitive is the only infinitival complement in the texts examined,¹¹ which is corroborating proof for the residual nature of this construction (cf. *μέλλω*), as by the beginning of the LMedG period there was already a means to distinguish between perfective and imperfective aspect in the future tense (cf. *νά* + subjunctive and *θέλω*). For the use of *ἔχω* + infinitive as a futurative subjunctive, see 5.7.1.1. For the use of this construction as a perfect, see 5.4.1.6.

ἔχεις ... εὐρεῖν καὶ νοῆσειν πάντα, ὅτι εὐκολον ἔχουν τὸ νόημα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 310.10–11
ὡς ἡ γραφὴ δηλώσαι ἔχει (1134, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 33, 14.14)
καὶ κρίνειν ἔχει ὁ Θεός *Dig. G II.197*; *ἔχει γενέσθαι* *ibid. IV.429*; *εἰ ἐγερθῆναι ἔχει* *ibid. VI.507*
χαλάσειν ἔχει ὁψέποτε, κατακλιθῆν καὶ πέσειν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 359

¹⁰ JANNARIS (1897: 553), whose earliest example is from Ignatius of Antioch (1st c. AD), deems it a scholastic construction, whereby he appears to underestimate its frequency in the period covered by this Grammar. GIGNAC (1981: 289) gives the following example from the early 2nd c.: *οὐκ ἔχεις ἀκ[οῦ]σαι* *PMich.* 476.12. For more examples see e.g. JANNARIS 1897: 553–4, DIETERICH 1898: 246 and PSALTES 1913: 216–17. See MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 62 for a refutation, on chronological grounds, of Jannaris's hypothesis that the construction is modelled on Latin *habeo* + infinitive.

¹¹ Present infinitives can occasionally be found in middle- and lower-register EMedG texts, mainly of the verb εἶμαι: Θεόδωρος ὦδε ἔχει εἶναι *Miracles of St Artemios* 43.15 (7th c., ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus); ἢ ἄλλος ἔχει εἶναι εἰς τὸ παλάτιον, ἢ ἐγὼ Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 127.13 (9th c., ed. De Boor); ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἐτέροις ἔχομεν ἀκολουθεῖν *De Ceremoniis* II 427.13 (10th c., ed. Reiske); ὅπου ἂν ἔχη περιπατεῖν (10th/11th c.?, Tinos, Feissel 1980: 5, 485.3). Sporadically instances can also be found in high-register LMedG texts: εἰ ἔχει εὐρίσκειν τὸν τρίτον ἀνάλογον Pachymeres, *Quadrivium* I 72.14 (13th–14th c., eds. Stephanou/Tannery); οὐ μόνον ἐφ' οἷς ἔχει λέγειν: οὐκ εἰσακουσθήσεται (1264, Athos, Lefort et al. 1994: 60, 107.20–1); τί λοιπὸν ἔτερον ἔχω γράφειν πρὸς σέ (1286, Cyprus, Beihammer 2007: 89, 219.13). The following example from *Panoria* is not a future periphrasis, but a misinterpretation by the editor: *να μάθει ἀνέναι και καλό γή και κακό του μέλλει, | να ᾿χει τήνε ρωτά κι αυτή ζιμιό του προφητεύγει* CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* IV.154–5. One should read: *ἀνέναι και καλό γή και κακό του μέλλει | να ᾿χει, τήνε ρωτά, κι αυτή ζιμιό του προφητεύγει* (“[whoever wants to know] asks her if he will have good or bad [fortune], and she gives her prophecy immediately”), as in the new edition (Bancroft-Marcus).

μαθεῖν ἔχει πλατύτερον (1214, Cyprus, LAMBROS 1908b: I, 46.8)
 τί ἔχει παθεῖν ὁ λέγων *Ptoch.* IV 499
 ποῖσέ το τὸ σ' ἔχω παραγγεῖλει *Log. parig.* L 165
 παρακαθίσει τὸ ἔχει *Chron. Mor.* H 2898; τὸ κάλλιον ... ὅπου ἔχομεν ποιήσῃ *ibid.* 3647
 καὶ ἂν οὐδὲν ἔλθῃς τὸ γοργόν, κατέβειν ἔχω εἰς Μάγγε *Dig.* E 288; κλίνειν ἔχω κεφαλὴν *ibid.* 290
 τὰ καλὰ, ἅπερ ἔχω ποιήσῃν καὶ ἀναστήσῃν (1403, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 10, 93.4–5)
 ὅσῃν ἀκαρτερεῖ νὰ λάβει καὶ ἔχει λαβεῖν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 18, 158.5–6)
 φονεύσει σ' ἔχει σύντομα, διατὶ πολλὰ ἐπήρθη *Velis.* ρ 91
 εἰ ἴσως ταῦτα ἂν εἰπῇς, ἔχεις καλῶς ποιῆσαι *Velth.* 922
 καὶ ἔχω σὲ ἰδεῖν *Diig. Alex.* F 108.12 (Lolos)
 ἄρα τι μέγα κακὸν ἔχομεν ἰδεῖν (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 508.33.7)

5.1.3.2 ἔχω νά + Subjunctive

The replacement of the infinitive with νά + subjunctive is a widespread phenomenon in various syntactic environments (see IV, 2). In his grammar Girolamo Germano notes that the future in Greek is formed just like in Italian: “ha da scrivere ἔχει νά γραφῇ ... ha da essere scritto ἔχει νά γραφθῇ” (102.13–15). And indeed this construction is especially common in areas with Italian influence. However, it also occurs in other areas and therefore the emergence of this construction should not be attributed to language contact alone. Like μέλλω (see above), ἔχω νά + subjunctive often expresses a very definite, inescapable kind of futurity (destiny-future in the terminology of MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 144), and due to this definitive nature of ἔχω, expressing what will inevitably happen (“I will die/be buried/be judged”), perfective complementation (aorist subjunctive) is much more common than imperfective complementation (present subjunctive), which has not been found before the 15th/16th c. However, the examples of present subjunctive clearly do have imperfective, durative, readings.

ἔχω νά + Aorist Subjunctive

ἂν ἔχη εἰς τὰ ἐπιθάνατα νὰ τὸ εὔρη, μὴ σὲ μέλη *GLYKAS, Stichoī* 364
 ἀνέφερε μας ὅσα ἔχει νὰ ποιήσῃ (1448?, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.5)
 οὐδὲν ἔχου[ν] νὰ χαθοῦν *Diig. Alex.* F 172.6 (Konstantinopulos)
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχει νὰ πάρει τὸ μερτικόν του (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.28)
 ἀπ' ἐχουσίνε νὰ γενοῦ *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 94
 κάθα ἄνθρωπος νὰ εἶναι τσέρτος πῶς ἔχει νὰ ἀποθάνῃ (1607, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 448, 410.2)
 θωρώντας πῶς ἔχει νὰ καταγρεμιστῇ *Vios Aisop.* I 282.28
 καὶ πῶς ἔχει νὰ πῇ *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 103
 ἔχεις νὰ κολαστῇς βέβαια *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §9.36
 εἴτι καὶ ἔχει νὰ γενεῖ *Bertoldos* 57.14–15; ἐκεῖνο ὅπου ἔχει νὰ ἔλθῃ αὔριον *ibid.* 63.25–6
 νὰ πάγουν ἔχουν καὶ ἐκεῖ *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6625; μες στὴν Κωνσταντινόπολιν πῶς ἔχουν νὰ κατέβουν *ibid.* 7154
 καὶ τὰ θηρία τ' ἄγρια ἔχουσι νὰ μὲ φᾶσι *MONTSEL., Evgena* 624; ἔχω ν' ἀναστενάξω *ibid.* 1515

μέ ἐρώτησε ἀνισῶς καὶ ἔχουν νά κάμουν ἀγάπην μέ τοὺς Πολωνέζους (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.21) (author from Athens)
 ἔχει νά βαλθεῖ (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1955: 519.4)
 βασίλισσα ἔχεις νά γενῆς, ρήγισσα ν' ἀποθάνης KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.289

ἔχω νά + Present Subjunctive

καλὰ καὶ νά 'χω νά πονῶ γιὰ 'δῶ τὸ στερεμό σου FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 106; ὁπῶχει ν' ἀγαπᾶται id., *Ist. On.* 544 (“she who will be loved (had better watch out for the likes of you men)”)
 με τσι φωνές του σήμερο ἔχει νά με παιδεύγει CHORTATSI, *Panor.* II.76
 λουλούδια ἔχουν ν' ἀθοῦσι MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1266
 ἔχουν νά μας πολεμοῦν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 2244

5.1.3.3 ἔχει νά + Subjunctive

Impersonal ἔχει with νά + subjunctive is very rare (the example from Landos is considered to be impersonal since “κά(μ)νει χιόνι” is impersonal as well): ἔχει νά δαμάσουσιν οἱ πόνοι τὴν ψυχὴν του *Diig. sebast. Thom.* 248; ἔχει νά κάμη πολὺ χιόνι LANDOS, *Geopon.* 131.20; καὶ ὅλα τὰ σύνορα τοῦ μοναστηρίου, οὔθεν ἔχει νά εὐρίσκωνται (1672, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 70, 319.3–4).

5.1.3.4 ἔχω + Subjunctive

Complementation of ἔχω with a bare subjunctive can very marginally be found; so marginally in fact that there is room to doubt its validity (*pace* MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 142–3). Isolated examples found in the LMedG and EMG periods are the following:¹²

τὰ καλὰ ἄπερ ἔχεις ποιήσεις καὶ ἀναστήσειν (1382, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 2, 89.4)
 (θησαυρὸν ...) ἔχω γάρ σε δείξω ERMON., *Ilias* 24.155 app. crit. (C)
 ἀπέλθω ἔχω καὶ ἐγὼ *Dig.* E 1420
 που ἔχουν καταντήσοσιν εἰς τὰ σκοτεινιάσμένα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 8708

All of these examples may easily be regarded as simple mistakes: the Cretan example, which combines a subjunctive (ποιήσεις) with an infinitive (ἀναστήσειν), is a standard phrase that appears in several other documents in the same collection as ποιήσιν καὶ ἀναστήσειν; the example from Ermoniakos is the reading of one ms, where the others have an infinitive; *Dig.* E, of course, has come down to us in one ms only. In the example from Ioakeim Kyprios it is likely that he accidentally omitted νά after ἔχουν, cf. κάτω εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἔχουν νά κατεβούσι *ibid.* 8934; μες στὴν Κωνσταντινόπολιν πῶς ἔχουν νά κατέβουν *ibid.* 7154.

¹² The sole 4th-c. example of a counterfactual εἶχα + subj.: εἶχες γὰρ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας εὐφ[ρ]ανθῆς σὺν αὐτῷ ΡΟΧΥ, 1676r13, quoted in MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 71 and heralded as proof for the existence of a wider pattern of subjunctive complementation with ἔχω (*ibid.* 72, 147, 167), is in fact a scribal error corrected by the scribe himself into -θῆναι (LIOSIS 2011: 112). The second LMedG example of MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 147: πῶς νά τὸ ἔχω εἶπῶ *Pol. Tr.* 7763 ms B (εἰπεῖν) in the other mss) is a phantom, since from the critical apparatus it can be gathered that ms B actually reads πῶς νά τὸ εἶπῶ.

5.1.4 θέλω

	General	Restricted	Rare
Simple	θέλω γράψει(ν) θέλω γράψω θέλω νά γράψω θέ(ν) νά γράψω	θέ(ν) γράψω θέλει γράψω θά γράψω	θέλω τοῦ νά γράψω θέλει νά γράψω θελά γράψω
Continuous	θέλω γράφει(ν) θέλω γράφω θέλω νά γράφω	θέλει γράφω θέ(ν) νά γράφω	θέλει νά γράφω θέλω εἴσταιν γραφόμενος

Future-referring θέλω + infinitive can already occasionally be found in AG and the lower registers of Hellenistic Greek (see LSJ s.v. ἐθέλω, II and MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 40–1 and 83–4), but its breakthrough is probably to be dated to the EMedG period. DIETERICH (1898: 245–6) gives examples from inscriptions and papyri of the Roman period and later, though his first unambiguous examples date from the 6th/7th c. (δικασθῆναι θέλωμεν BGU 103.1). Another example, in a papyrus datable to the 4th–7th c., is the following: ἡ μητέρα σου ἀσθενεῖ· ἀποθανεῖν θέλει (*P. Michael*. 39; see www.papyri.info). According to PSALTES (1913: 216) the construction does not appear in the Byzantine chronicles, though it can be found in Moschos and Leontios of Neapolis (early 7th c.).¹³ BĂNESCU (1915) quotes various examples, most of which are not unambiguously futurative, as noted by Markopoulos, whose conclusion regarding the EMedG period is that θέλω will have remained in use in the lower linguistic registers, and may even have had a wider spread, although, due to a regrettable dearth of sources, there is very little textual evidence at hand to corroborate this supposition (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 112–13).

However, from the very beginning of the LMedG period θέλω constructions are well represented in texts, and are soon to become the most popular way to express futurity. The construction can be found not only in vernacular texts, but also in mixed- and higher-register texts such as the works of Nikon of the Black Mountain (late 11th/early 12th c.), *Dig. G* and Kekaumenos,¹⁴ a strong indication that the construction was well established in the lower registers before the LMedG period, and had already started to spread to more formal writings by the beginning of the LMedG period (cf. MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 165–6). In the period covered by this Grammar, θέλω can be found with aorist and present

¹³ E.g. διὰ τοιαύτην οὖν ἡδονὴν βλέπε πόσους κόπους θέλεις ἀπολέσαι, ἴδε διὰ ποίαν ἀμαρτίαν θέλετε ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστερῆσαι τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν Moschos, *Leimon* 2865.46–9 (ed. Migne PG 87/3); τοῦ κυρίου εὐδοκοῦντος αὐριον θέλομεν ἐνδύσαι ὑμᾶς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool* 65.16–17 (eds. Festugière/Rydén 1974).

¹⁴ Καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σου τὰς ρόγας θέλεις ἀδικῆσαι καὶ ἔσχατον ἐμέσεις ἃ οὐκ ἀπήτησας Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* xcvi (ed. Roueché).

infinitives, with νά + subjunctive and with bare subjunctives. Impersonal θέλει + subjunctive appears quite late and is regionally restricted, whereas impersonal θέλει νά + subjunctive seldom has a predominantly futurate reading, having strong modal (deontic) force instead. In the following description, 3 sg. forms are considered to be cases of personal rather than impersonal use of θέλει, unless there is good reason to regard them as impersonal (e.g. when a text uses impersonal θέλει only, or in the case of impersonal verbs such as χιονίζει).

5.1.4.1 θέλω + Infinitive

From the very beginning of the period covered by this Grammar, θέλω + infinitive is used, in literary and non-literary texts from north to south and from east to west, and it continues to be in use throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods. Contrary to μέλλω and ἔχω (see 5.1.2.1 and 5.1.3.1), the choice for the aorist or present infinitive is clearly an aspectual one, the aorist being used to describe simple actions and events, whereas the present denotes progressiveness/stativity (often with verbs such as εἶμαι and ἔχω), repetition or habit. For aspect in general, see IV, 4.4; for the spelling of the infinitive with <η> or <η>, as if it were a subjunctive, see 4.6.

θέλω + Aorist Infinitive

μέχρις ὅτου θέλει ἐπάρειν παναγίαν ὁ διακονῶν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* I 72.3–4
 τολμήσειν θέλω, αὐγούστα μου *Eisit*. f.5v.11
 πολὺ θέλουν κουστίζει *Chron. Mor.* H 601; θέλομεν φανῇ ἂν εἴμεθεν στρατιῶτες *ibid.* 3845
 καὶ θέλετε μάθειν πᾶσαν τίποτες (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 101.9–10)
 κατὰ τοῦ θέλει ἰδεῖν ὁ λεγόμενος ἀποκρισιάρης (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.12)
 καὶ τὸ κουβετζούρι πέψει σου τὸ θέλω (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.15–17)
 εἴτε δε αποθάνεις, με τιμὴν βασιλικὴν σε θέλω θάψει *Diig. Alex.* K 366.7–8
 θέλει το γνωρίσειν ὁ Θεός (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.17)
 ὁ φλύαρος δὲν θέλει ἀγαπηθῇ ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν γῆν *Fior Suppl.* 275.23
 ἡ ἐγὼ θέλει τὸ ὑπάγω, ἡ θέλω τὸ στείλει (1657, Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 187, 211, f.200r.8–9)
 τὸ πῶς θέλεις ἔλθει (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.7)
 θέλουνε μὲ θάψει (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.14)
 πλέον τέτοιον βασιλέα δὲν θέλομεν εὔρει εἰς τὴν ζωὴν μας PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §16.17
 καθὼς ὁ λόγος θέλει τὸ φανερώσει *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* I 12–13
 ὁποῖος ἡθέλει ἀκουστῇ πῶς ἔχει γυναῖκα εἰς τὸ κελὶ αὐτοῦ (1667, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 9, 24.15–16)
 θέλομε γράψει (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.51r.22)
 τῶρα θέλεις ἰδεῖ *Don Kis.* 49.30

θέλω + Present Infinitive

ὁ παπᾶς ὅπου θέλει εἴσταιν εἰς τὴν μονὴν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.56); ἐκεῖ ὅπου θέλω κείεσταιν (*ibid.* 82.56)
 ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ, μέμφεσται κι ὄνειδίζει *Chron. Mor.* H 8185
 ἀποσπάζει θέλει ὅλον ἐκείνον ὅπου ἔνι ἀγκαλόμενος *Assizes* B 340.11–12
 ὡς πότε θέλω κυνηγᾶν *Dig.* E 744; θέλω στέκειν νὰ ἐβλέπω *ibid.* 1437
 μέγα ὄνειδος θέλω ἔχει *Pol. Tr.* 2399; καὶ πάντα θέλει αὐξάνεσθαι *ibid.* 5307
 ἀπ' ἐσὲν τὸ θέλουν ἡξεύρει (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 100.4–5); μὲ τὴν φρόνησίν σου θέλεις τὸ διορθῶναι (*ibid.* 100.7)

συχνάκις θέλει φλέγεσθαι *Flor.* L 209
 όσοι τὸ θέλουν σηκώνειν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 271.8)
 νὰ παραδίδει ὅλα τὰ στάμενα ὅπου θέλει πιάνει (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 10, 47.11)
 θέλουσιν βαστᾶν ἀντάμα τοὺς τὰ χαρτία (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.11–12)
 αὐτοῦ σοῦ θέλει βαστᾶν τὸ δακτυλίδιον (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.50)
 θέλουν εὐρίσκεισται (1550, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 68, 93.21)
 θέλουν ἔρχεσται (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.15)
 θέλει λέγει (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.21)
 ὁ ἱερεὺς ποὺ θέλει ἱεουργεῖ (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 60.39)
 καὶ πάντα θέλω σ' ἀγαπᾶ CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.392
 διώχνεις με, μάνα, διώχνεις με, κι ἐγὼ πηγαίνει θέλω *Dimotika Ivir.* XI.1
 θέλει παρακαλεῖ καὶ νὰ δέεται (1621, Sicily, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 1, 90.24–5)
 θέλει κάθεσταιν ἐκ δεξιῶν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 22.69
 οἱ φιλομαθεῖς θέλουσι τὴν ἀγοράζει μετὰ χαρᾶς *Erof. Prol.* 11 (ed. 1676)

θέλω εἶσται(ν) + Present Participle Passive

This construction is not very common. It usually expresses a state in the future: θέλει εἶσται κρατούμενος νὰ τοὺς δίνη τὴν χρειζομένην τροφή (Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 310.28) “he will be obliged (under obligation) to provide them with the necessary food”. An unusual example, active in meaning, is the following from *Fior de Vertù*: ἀποὺ εἶναι εὔκολος εἰς τὸ δεσδένιασμα, γλήγορα θέλει εἶσταιν τρεχάμενος εἰς τὰ κακὰ *Fior* 94.15 “he who gets angry easily will quickly be getting into trouble”.¹⁵

Shortened Forms of the Auxiliary

Before infinitives starting in a vowel, and especially before εἶσται(ν), the auxiliary may be reduced to θελ³.¹⁶

θελ' εἶσταιν καὶ πριδιάτος (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.5)
 θέλ' εἶσταν κρατούμενος νὰ τὸ στρέψη *Assizes A* 175.25
 καὶ τί θέλ' ἀπογένηι *Diig. Apoll.* 477
 ἃ σὲ νικήσω τὸ λοιπόν, θέλ' ἀκουστῇ μεγάλως *Alex. Rim.* 749 (1 sg.)
 θέλ' εἶσθαι πάντα μετὰ σέ DEFAR., *Log. did.* 460
 καὶ φορεσιές νὰ κάμουσι ὁμορφες θέλ' ὀρίσει CHORTATSI, *Panor. Dedic.* 41; πάντα ἀνοιχτὸ τὸ σπίτι μου θέλ' εἶσται γιὰ τ' ἐκεῖνο *id.*, *Katz.* III.347
 θέλ' εἶσθαι ὑπογεγραμμένον (1591, Kefalonia, CHRYSOCHOIDIS 1977: 1, 207.33)
 τὸ πουλίον ... θέλ' ἔλθει πάλιν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1063
 θέλ' εἶστ' ὁ χαλασμός μου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 459.26
 ὁ θεὸς θέλ' εἶσταιν βοηθός μου *Dig.* O 705; ἡ καρδιά τοὺς θέλ' εὔρει ἰατρεία *ibid.* 802
 ἡ Λευκουσιά θέλ' εἶσθαινε *Al. Kypr.* 925 (for -(ν)ε see I, 2.6.3.3)
 κι ἐγὼ θέλ' εἶσται δούλη σου *Markada* 185

Shortened forms of the auxiliary θέλω are also found with this construction from at least the 15th c. onwards: 2 sg. θές, 3 sg. θέ(ν), 1 pl. θέμε(ν), 2 pl. θέτε(ν) and 3 pl. θένε/θέσι. For these forms with volitive θέλω, which appear in written texts in the same period, see 2.4;

¹⁵ This is likely to be a literal translation from the Italian (*sarà corrente*).

¹⁶ The same can be observed for volitive θέλω, e.g. πρὸς τὸν ἱμπερίον λόγον θέλ' ἀρχινίσει *Imb. Rim.* 803; δὲ θέλ' ἄλλον ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 50

for indeclinable θέ(ν) see below, 5.1.4.6; 3 sg. forms are considered to be personal unless a text has indeclinable θέ(ν) for other persons as well.

μάθει θές πῶς δοξεύω *Pol. Tr.* 4826

ἡ ξενιτεία μέ θε κερδαίσει *Peri xen.* 256

σέ θε πατάξει *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 206; διὰ μέ θές πᾶ στόν Ἄδην *ibid.* 1912

καί ποία ψυχὴ δέν θε θλιβῇ *Rim. than.* 61 ms (θὰ in the ed.)

θές κοπῇ πᾶσα σας δυσκολία *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 733; εἰς τέτοια πάθη θές ἐμπῇ *id., Log. did.*

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θές τὸν ἰδεῖ στόν ὕπνον σου *Alex. Rim.* 87; εἴπασι τί πάρει θε τὴν Τύρο *ibid.* 666

θες γλιτώσει *ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 71.15

στόσον κακὸν ποῦ θε γενεῖ *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 793

θές χάσει τὸ βασιλεῖον *VENDRAMOS, Istor. Filarg.* 24

θές πρικαθεῖ *MOREZINOS, Klini* 235.10

θές ἰδεῖ τὸ πῶς δέν εἶν' τιμὴ σου *CHORTATIS, Erof.* II.65

δέν ξεύρουν πῶς θέν τζακισθῇ σὰν πήλινα τζυκκάλια *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 1156 (3 pl. < θένε)

εἰ θε τύχει (1669, Naxos, *RODOLAKIS* 1994: 1, 577.4)

ὡς θέτε ἔδεῖ *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 71

καὶ ἐκεῖ ποῦ θές περιπατεῖ *Florios* 1134

ὀλίγα θές κοπιάζει *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 233; θές περνᾷ *ibid.* 317

ὅτ' ὅσα κάμω ν' ασπριστούν, ἐσύ τα θες μαυρίζεις *ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 12.7

ποτέ δέν θές ἔχει τὸ λογιάζεις *MOREZINOS, Klini* 50.20

θές τρώγει *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.131

θές εἴσται κρατημένος (1690, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 9, 23.25)

5.1.4.2 θέλω + Subjunctive

The earliest isolated example of θέλω with a bare subjunctive appears in the *Strategikon* of Kekaumenos (11th c.),¹⁷ after which it does not resurface in texts until the 14th c. From then and throughout the period covered by this Grammar, it is found in both literary and non-literary texts from north to south and east to west. The most plausible explanation for the origin of the construction is still that of JOSEPH (1983: 188–9) and PAPPAS/JOSEPH (2001), who see a connection between the loss of final /n/ of the infinitive, which made the active and passive infinitives (in -ει(ν) and -η(ν) respectively) homophonous to the 3

¹⁷ Εἰ δὲ καταγύρωθεν ὅλα θέλουν ἀποστατήσουν *Kekaumenos, Strategikon* clxviii (ed. Roueché). MARKOPOULOS (2009a: 166) infers that, since the construction appears in this middle-register text, it is bound to have been well-established. However, some caution is perhaps in order, since it may be a simple writing mistake (ἀποστατήσουν for ἀποστατήσιν), or a slip of the pen of the 14th-c. scribe who copied the sole manuscript to have come down to us. The correction suggested by the first editors Vassilievsky and Jernstedt and by Joseph (2009b: 206) that θέλουν ἀποστατήσουν is in fact a case of haplography for θέλουν νὰ ἀποστατήσουν is equally plausible. Kekaumenos has several instances of ἵνα used as a complementizer, e.g. οἱ δὲ ἀρχαῖοι εἶπον ἵνα μὴ ποιῇ ὁ στρατὸς ἡμέρας πολλὰς εἰς ἕνα τόπον and θέλεις ἵνα σε ἀχρειώσω; and there even are three other instances of νὰ (which, of course, could be innovations by the scribe of the manuscript, given the fact that ἵνα is much more common in this text): ἴσως νὰ εἴπῃς ὅτι ἄφρων ἐστὶ (futurative); σκοπεῖ δὲ νὰ μὴδὲ τοῦτό σε διαλανθάνῃ (complementizer); περὶ τὸ νὰ σε φοβοῦνται ὑπόχειροί σου (substantivized substitute for the infinitive).

sg. finite forms of the active present (in -ει) and the aorist active and passive subjunctives (in -η). The 3rd person singular being the most frequently used person, these forms thus allowed for reanalysis of the infinitive as a finite form, which enabled other persons for the θέλω construction to take on the corresponding finite forms as well:¹⁸

θέλω + Aorist Subjunctive

- θέλουν ἀρματώσουσι *Chron. Mor.* H 368
 θέλου συμπαθιστοῦσι *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1086
 ὅσοι θέλουν ἄφονται τὰς σάρκας τοῦ διαβόλου *Phys.* 530
 θέλου ἀνακατωθῶ οὗλοι οἱ Χριστιανοὶ (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.7)
 θέλουν ἀρματώσουν τὸ κουμούνιν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 350.31
 ἀποθάνεις θέλεις *Peri xen.* 449
 γενεὶ θέλει τῶρα χρονῶν τριάντα *Diig. Alex.* K 345.33; το τί θάνατον θέλεις ἀποθάνεις *ibid.* 365.29
 οὐδὲ χωριστοῦν θέλουν εἰς ἐτοῦτον τὸν κόσμον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 423
 θέλου ὑπογράψου (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 229, 186.34)
 γιατί θέλω θανατωθῶ *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 33; θέλω κάμω καὶ τοῦτο *id., Pathi* 57
 δὲ θέλουν δυνηθοῦν *ΔΙΑΚΡ., Diig. Pol.* 420
 θέλουν ορίσουσιν *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 3964; πῶς θέλουν τον νικήσουν *ibid.* 8490
 θέλω ἀφήσω (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 481.31)
 θέλουν κάμου (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.11); θέλουν πάρου (*ibid.* 91.18)
 θέλουσι πουληθοῦσι (1681, Constantinople, VELOUDIS 1987: 11, 309, f.1r.22)
 θέλω δώκω εἰδήσεις (1690, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 9, 23.24)
 θέλεις ἐπιμεληθῆς περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου (1699, Sinai, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 8, 64.20)

θέλω + Present Subjunctive

- θέλεις εἶσαι πολλὰ πολλὰ ἀναπατημένος (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.40)
 θέλεις πειράζεσαι *Diig. Alex.* E 65.12 (Konstantinopulos); καὶ θέλεις κολάζεσαι ἐδῶ *ibid.* 133.9–10
 καθώς θέλει πουλιέται (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 39, 44.6)
 ὅ,τι ἄλλο θέλει βρίσκεται *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.390; καὶ πάντα θέλω σ' αγαπῶ *ibid.* I.392 app. crit. (A)
 ὅ,τι ροῦχα θέλει ἔχει στ' ἀρχοντικό τση (1607, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 448, 410.8–9)
 πάντα θέλεις συγχωρᾷς κι' ἐμένα *MONTSEL., Evgena* 366
 καλλίτερα θέλεις εὐρίσκεσαι παρὰ ὅποῦ ποτέ (1655, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 178.9–10)
 θέλεις ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῶν τὸν ἔπαινον (1658, Galats, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 20, 126.36–7)
 θέλεις εἶσαι ὀρισμένος (1686, Tinos, LAMBROS 1909b: 1, 243.14)
 θέλω εἶμαι πάντα εἰς τοὺς ὀρισμού<ς> σου (1695, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 1 [A'], 250.15)
 δὲν θέλεις ἔχεις ἔγνοια δι' αὐτά (1698, Sinai, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 7, 61.56)
 εἰς τοιαῦτα μέρη δὲν θέλουν διαρρέουν κακοὶ χυμοὶ *Don Kis.* 463.15

¹⁸ Objections to this interpretation raised by MARKOPOULOS (2009a: 167) are ill-supported, since he interprets single examples that are centuries apart and crucially occur in different syntactic environments as proof of a wide pattern of finite complementation in all future periphrases, whereas the sources clearly show that only with θέλω does finite complementation occur regularly. This is not surprising given the residual character of the μέλλω and ἔχω + infinitive constructions, which generally leaves less room for innovation (for μέλλω and ἔχω see 5.1.2 and 5.1.3).

Shortened forms of the auxiliary θέλω are also found with this construction (for these forms with non-futurative, volitive meaning see 2.4):

πὼς τόνε θές πληρώσεις FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 249 (reading of ms N)
 ὄντε θές γράψεις χαρτὶ (1502, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 6, 29.12)
 θέ σέ κανακίζει DEFAR., *Log. did.* 459
 θές δεις τὴν πεθυμιά σου CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.400; πλιὰ κακὸ παρὰ καλὸ θές ἔχεις ἀπὸ μένα
 id., *Katz.* II.85; γιὰ γγίξε μου, καὶ θές ἰδεῖς, καημένε, πὼς σέ δέρνω ibid. III.534
 μάθεις το θές καὶ δεῖς το θές *Thysia Avr.* 130
 θές ἔρθης νὰ μὲ πάρης *Alfan.* 11 8
 θές γροικᾶς KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.594; καὶ δὲ θές εὔρης διαφορὰν ibid. I.1527
 θέν συγχυσθοῦσιν *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.87; τῶρι θέτε δῆτε ibid. V.31

For persons other than 3 sg. the shortened form θέ(ν) + subjunctive is found mainly in texts from the Chios/Naxos area (Stavrinos, who was from Epirus, being the only striking exception) from the early 17th c. onwards. Final /n/ is added to θέ before stops (/k/, /p/, /t/) (for the use of this shortened form in a volitive sense see 2.4).

θέ(ν) + Aorist Subjunctive

θέ γράψω GERMANO, *Grammar* 81.9–10; θέν πάρω ibid. 81.22; θέ γραφθῶ ibid. 82.3; θέ γράφουνε ibid. 83.17; θέν τὸ γράψω ibid. 85.32; θέ θελήσω ibid. 94.23
 καὶ θε μας ονειδίσουν STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voen.* 164 (Pidonia)
 τὴν ὥρα ποὺ θέ φάγω VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 33; θέ διορθώσει ibid. 368; ποὺ θέ γεννήσει τὸν Θεόν ibid. 354
 θέ γροικῆσεται PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 133
 θέ δῆτε ὅλοι KONAR., *Paidēs* 53; ποὺ θέν τὴν ἀγκαλιάσουσι, κάμινον θέ βαλθοῦσι ibid. 57; θέν κάμω ibid. 181; θέν μάθωμεν ibid. 667; θέ φανοῦν τὰ λόγια σας ibid. 668; πάραυτα θέν χαθοῦσι ibid. 769
 θέν ἀντιμέψω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 21; τὸ τί παιδί θέν ποίση ibid. 41; θέ γένη ibid. 53; καὶ ὅπου θέν μπορέσουν ibid. 324; τῶρα θέ ᾄδῃς ibid. 1943; δὲ θέν τὸ μετανοιώση ibid. 2248
 θέν συγχυσθοῦσιν *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.87

θέ(ν) + Present Subjunctive

Σιών, μήτηρ μου θέ λογαῶσαι VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 103
 πάντα εἰς τὸν λογισμό θέ σ' ἔχω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 946

5.1.4.3 θέλει + Subjunctive

Impersonal θέλει + subjunctive has a rather strong presence in texts from the Heptanese and Chios, and has also been found in texts from the Cyclades and Mani.¹⁹ Its first attestations date from the 16th/17th c. The presence of this construction in *Panoria* and *Katzourbos* (though tellingly not in *Erofili*) does not necessarily prove that it is Cretan as well, since mss A (which also contains *Katzourbos*), D and N are considered to have Heptanesian

¹⁹ Beyond the period covered by this Grammar, the construction can still be found in the early correspondence of Adamandios Korais, vol. 1, e.g. in letter 11 (1783, writing to Smyrna): ἐκείνα τὰ ὁποῖα θέλει λάβω (27.10); in letter 25 (1787): θέλει εὔρης (79.33); in letter 27 (1788): εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς θέλει σὲ γράφω περισσότερα (94.5), but in 1791: θέλεις ὑποχρεώσῃν (letter 38, 146.2); and in the grammars of Katartzis and Venieris (see MANOLESSOU 2012 for details).

influences. Like most future periphrases impersonal *θέλει* + subjunctive can have modal connotations:

θέλει + Aorist Subjunctive

- (κανέναν άσκημο βοσκό ...) *θέλει* σου δώσου γι' άντρα σου CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.245
 με' άλλω *θέλει* σοῦ τὸ στείλω (1637, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 3, 95.13); *θέλει* τὰ στείλετενε
 τ' άφέντη ... (1657, Ancona, *ibid.* 8, 111.9) (author from Chios; for addition of -(v)ε see I, 2.6.3)
 όπου *θέλει* υπογράφου (1638, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 102, 103.28)
 ἡ ἐγὼ *θέλει* τὸ ὑπάγω, ἡ *θέλω* τὸ στείλει (1657, Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 187, 211, f.200r.8–9) (author from Kefalonia)
 αμή εκεί στην μέλλουσάν *θέλει*ν στεφανωθούμεν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 9514
 καί πῶς ἀπὸ τὸ θάνατον ἐγὼ *θέλει* γλυτώσω; KONDA., *Paidēs* 328
θέλει σὲ ὀνειδίσω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 234; αὔριο *θέλει* δήτενε *ibid.* 1424
 ἡ*θέλει* κάμου (1668, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 3, 14.10)
θέλει ξεδιαλύνω MONTSEL., *Evgena* 85; *θέλει* τὸν ἰδοῦμε *ibid.* 227; *θέλει* στείλω *ibid.* 799
θέλει άτσετάρεις τὸ ὀλίγο (17th c., Sifnos?, TSELIKAS 1986c: 4, 42.28)
θέλει άρριβαριστοῦνε ὀμπροστά (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 508.62–3) (author from Mani)
θέλει πᾶμε νὰ κριθοῦμε (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 761, 1033.5)
θέλει τὴν γνωρίσω *Diig. Vefa* 847
θέλει βεβαιώσουν (1707, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 2, 35.17); *θέλει* ξεκάμομε (1708, *ibid.* 7, 41.9)
θέλει τῶνε δώσω νοτίσια (1707, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 16, 34.22)
 κ' ἐμεῖς *θέλει* τὰ κάμομε KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* II.322; γλήγορα *θέλει* ἰδῆτε *ibid.* IV.269

θέλει + Present Subjunctive

- τότες δα *θέλει* κατέχουν οὔλοι CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.377 (mss AD)
 ἔτσι *θέλει* εἴμεστέν φίλοι Bertoldos 21.33; ἐσύ *θέλει* εἶσαι ἕνας ἀπὸ τ' ἐκείνους *ibid.* 71.32
 ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποίους *θέλει* εἶσαι τιμημένος Bertoldin. 101.21
 μὰ ξεῦρε ἀπ' ἐμᾶς πῶς *θέλει* ἔχεις κόπον PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 898
 ὅ,τι *θέλει* ἔζίζουν ἐκεῖνα (1682, Cyclades, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 231, 411.5–6)
θέλει τῆς εἵμαι πάντα κρατημένη KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* III.125

Before verbs starting in a vowel the auxiliary may be reduced to *θελ'*:

- κι' ἂν ξετελειώσης τὴ δουλειά, *θελ'* εἶναι γιὰ καλλιὰ σου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.18; μεγάλη
 καλορίζικη *θελ'* εἶσαι, Πουλισένα *ibid.* V.406
θελ' άγαπήσω GERMANO, *Grammar* 81.19–20
θελ' εἴμεσθέν πάντοτε ἑκεῖ σιμά τους KONDA., *Paidēs* 69
 εἰς τὴν χώρα σου *θελ'* εἶσαι αὔριον βράδυ MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1048
θελ' εἶσαι ευχαριστημένος (17th c., Sifnos?, TSELIKAS 1986c: 4, 41.25–6)

The combination of impersonal *θέλει* with an infinitive is very rare, as well as awkward since this construction fails to show the number and person of the subject unless there is an explicit predicate, as in the following example (μπαλοτάδοι): οἱ ὁποῖοι *θέλει* εἶσται κάθε δύο χρόνους μπαλοτάδοι (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 34.8) (deontic connotations: “who will/must be elected every two years”).

5.1.4.4 θέλω νά + Subjunctive

In the first centuries of the LMedG period there was a clear distinction between θέλω + infinitive for the future and θέλω νά + subjunctive for modal meanings, e.g. volitive:²⁰ καὶ τότε θέλω νά σέ ἰδῶ τὸ πῶς τὸν θέλεις σύρειν *Ptoch.* IV 509 (“and then I want to see how you’re going to drag him forth”); deontic: τὰ ρ’ δοκάτα τῆς ράτας τοῦ τὰ θέλει νά πλερώσει τὴν αὐτὴ ἐχρονία (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 50, 27.2) (“the 100 ducats in interest, which he must pay in the same year”), θες νά παρηγοῖσαι *CHORTATSI*, *Erof.* I.437 (“you must take courage”); or even potential: ὅσο κι ἂ θέλει νά ’ν’ πολὺ, πέ μου τὸ φταίσιμό σου *CHORTATSI*, *Erof.* I.113 (“however great your mistake may be, tell me what you did”). As a general interplay between modal and futurate θέλω constructions can be observed throughout the centuries (see also the introduction to 5.1 and cf. e.g. in the EMG period the use of shortened forms for both), and given the equally general tendency to substitute clausal complements for infinitival ones (see IV, 2), it was only to be expected that θέλω νά + subjunctive would come to be used for future reference as well. First examples of future-referring θέλω νά + subjunctive date to the 14th c. and the construction continues to be found in literary and non-literary texts, with a wide geographical distribution. And even though it is obviously not as popular a construction as θέλω + infinitive, it can be found throughout the remainder of the period covered by this Grammar:

θέλω νά + Aorist Subjunctive

- κι εἰς ὅσους χρόνους καὶ καιροὺς θέλω νά τὸ κρατήσω *Chron. Mor.* H 8737
 ὅλον τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ὅπου θέλω νά ζήσω *Pol. Tr.* 342 app. crit. (B)
 καρπὸν ὅπου θέλει νά παραλάβει ὁ λεγόμενος Μαράνος (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.41)
 διὰ τόσας ἡμερώνυχτας θέλει νά ἀνεβεῖ ὁ ὄφις εἰς τὸν πύργον (15th c., Unknown, SEARBY 2003: 4, 694.8)
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα θέλει νά μετανῶση *Assizes* B 250.25
 ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐγνώρισε ... ὅτι θέλει νά γεννήσει ἡ Θεοτόκος *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.10
 καὶ γράφετε πῶς θέλει νά ἐρμῶσει ὁ τόπος (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVI, 221.7)
 ἐγὼ θέλω νά γράψω ἢ ἔχω νά γράψω *KRITOPOULOS, Grammar* 110.14–15
 ἀφόντις ἀπεθάνω θέλω νά κάμω ἀνδραγαθίαν; [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P IV 343.29–30
 θέλει νά ἔλθῃ τὸ γρόσι ἀπὸ ὀγδόντα *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §32.15–16; θέλει νά καὶ τὸ σπῖτιν ὅλον *ibid.* III §7.61
 τὸ τί θέλει νά τὸρθῃ *MONTSEL., Evgena* 71
 θέλει νά καταλυθῇ τὸ κρασί *LANDOS, Geopon.* 167.15–16
 θέλει νά χαλάσει ἡ Ἀθήνα (1677, Athens, *LAMBROS* 1910: 302, 198.3)
 ξέχωρα θέλουν νά κριθοῦν *Alfan.* 15 27; δὲν μεριμνᾷς πῶς θέλεις ν’ ἀποθάνεις; *ibid.* 32
 ἐχάρη κατὰ πολλὰ, ποὺ θέλει νά κάμῃ παιδί *Alex. Fyll.* 11.8–9

θέλω νά + Present Subjunctive

- ἡ γνωριμίδα τοὺς κριτάδες θέλει νά ἔνι τοιοῦτη *Assizes* A 52.21
 τὸν Ἑβραῖον ... ὅπου θέλομεν νά πέμπομεν (1549, Crete, *DRAKAKIS* 2004: 19, 24.10–11)
 ὁ,τι μέλισσες θέλουν ... νά εὐρίσκονται εἰς τὸ ... μοναστήρι (1550, Crete, *ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI* 2002: 68, 93.23–4)
 κολαστήρια ὅπου θέλουν νά κολάζωνται οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ *PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron)* 110.32–3

²⁰ Early examples of volitive θέλω + ἵνα can be found in the Hellenistic period (*MARKOPOULOS* 2009a: 73–6).

τὸ τέρμενο ἀποὺ θέλου νά στέκου ἀμάδι (1617, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1988: B, 160.29)
καὶ τότε τί ἔπαινον θέλω νά ἔχω; [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P IV 343.30
μεγάλο μιστὸν θέλετε νά ἔχετε PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §16.7
καὶ τοῦτα σέ κιαμιὰ βολὰ θέλει νά τὰ θυμᾶται BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 411.13
ἡ παροῦσαν τως διαθήκην καὶ παραγγιλίες θέλου νά εἶναι ἰσχυρές (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 181.16–17)
αὐτὸ θέλει νά εἶναι χειρότερον παρὰ ἐκεῖνο των ανεμομύλων *Don Kis.* 49.22

An example of this construction with an articular νά clause appears in version P of the *Chronicle of Morea*. This construction is in itself quite rare with θέλω, and if used, normally has volitive meaning:²¹ ὅσο κοῦρσον θέλουσιν τοῦ νά διαφορέσουν ... νά ἔναι ἐδικόν τους *Chron. Mor.* P 5674–5.

Shortened forms of the auxiliary θέλω are also found with this construction. In Cypriot texts 3 sg. is often spelled θέννα or θθὲ ννά, reflecting gemination (see I, 3.4). (For these forms with volitive θέλω see also 2.4; the construction is regionally used, as a periphrastic subjunctive, for which see 5.7.2.4; for impersonal θὲ νά see below, 5.1.4.6.)

ὡς λέων θὲ νά δράση KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* XIII.94
φουρτούνα θὲ νά ποίση *Fyll. gadar.* 100
ὡς ἐκεῖ ὁποὺ θὲ νά σκεπαστῇ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 68, 66.7)
θὲ νά κάτση VENDRAMOS, *Istor.* gyn. 205; καράβι θὲ νά μῶρθη id., *Istor. Filarg.* 250
θὲς νά κάμεις ταραχή, σὰ σοῦ τὸ μολογήσω *Thysia Avr.* 133
θὲ νά τοῦ δώσει (1677, Chios, KANELLAKIS 1890: 452.2)
τὸ ψαλτικὸ του, ποὺ θενὰ μὲ ψάλει (1678, Andros, POLEMIS 1977: 1, 29.9)
᾿που θθὲ ᾿ννά δῆ *Thrinios Kypr.* 1; θεννὰ τοὺς καταδράμη ibid. 826

5.1.4.5 θέλει νά + Subjunctive

Impersonal θέλει νά + aorist or present subjunctive is not attested very frequently and often has strong modal connotations (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 179–82), usually deontic and sometimes potential. It can, however, also be found with a purely futurate meaning (*Diig. Vefa*), notably with impersonal verbs (see the examples from Morezinos and Landos):

θέλει νά + Aorist Subjunctive

θέλει νά γενεῖ χειμῶνας δυνατός MOREZINOS, *Klini* 216.24
αλήθειαν ορίζετε, γαβρόν θέλει νά ᾿πάρω *Diig. Apoll.* 300 (deontic)
μὰ πῶς θέλει νά τὸ ποῦμεν BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 236.10 (Xirouchakis) (potential)
τὸ γουρούνη ἐγνωρίζει πότε θέλει νά χιονίση LANDOS, *Geopon.* 131.11–12
θέλει νά τὸν ἀποκεφαλίσουν *Diig. Vefa* 842

²¹ In the corresponding verse ms H has a clearly futurate θέλω + aor. inf. construction. H uses θέλω τοῦ νά + subj. sparingly, and only in volitional contexts, e.g. θέλω τοῦ νά σκολάσω *Chron. Mor.* H 441; ἂν θέλετε τοῦ νά γενῇ ibid. 425. Other examples of volitional use are: θέλω τοῦ νά σᾶς δεῖξω *Pol. Tr.* 11691 app. crit. (B); ἐσέναν εἶχε θέλημα ἄντρα τοῦ νά μὲ δώσει *Liv.* E 2237; μὴ θέλῃς τοῦ νά φαίνεσαι *Flor.* L 1127; θέλει τοῦ νά φύγη *Achil.* N 262.

θέλει νά + Present Subjunctive

τὰ δώδεκα θέλει νά εἶναι εἰκοσιοκτώ (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 99b, 80.5)
(deontic)

οἱ κάτζες τοὺς θέλει νά ἔναι μακριές μπάλλες τέσσερεις (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 62.5) (deontic)

5.1.4.6 θελά + Subjunctive

With univerbation of the verb and νά, resulting in a form θελά (cf. μελλά (5.1.2), μπορά (4.1.2.1) and πά (2.4 s.v. ὑπάγω)), the construction has predominantly futurative reference. Only a few examples have been found, in texts of the 17th and 18th c.:²²

γῆινά ἔναι τὰ κορμιά μας καὶ στήν γῆν θελά θαφτοῦν *Charon* II 5
νέφη θελά θέλου γερθῇ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 112 (double construction, see the introduction to 5.1)

ὁ χαλασμός θελά σταθῇ ἀκόμη τοῦ Χανδάκου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 275.14
θελά γενοῦν/γένουν τὰ δύο χωράφια ἕνα (1764, Zagori, SOULIS 1934: 53, 97.6)

5.1.4.7 θέ(ν) νά + Subjunctive

PAPPAS/JOSEPH (2001) and ROBERTS/ROUSSOU (2003: 68–9) argue that a futurative, impersonal θέλει νά + subjunctive was the direct ancestor of θέ νά, but the data presented above (5.1.4.5) indicate that this construction appears relatively late and is hardly common enough to have led to the widespread use of θέ νά. Given, as noted, the mutual influence between non-futurative and futurative θέλω constructions, and also given the fact that shortened forms of θέλω had been in use for some time in all uses of the construction, it is likely that θέ νά evolved, not from impersonal θέλει νά, but from personal θέλω νά, as noted by HORROCKS (²2010: 228–9 and 301–2, esp. fn. 11). It is often, though seldom systematically, spelled θέννα or θθῆ ννά in Cypriot texts, reflecting gemination (see I, 3.4). Θέ νά can be found from the 15th/16th c. onwards and throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar,²³ in texts from southern and insular areas (Cyprus, Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese, certain Cycladic islands and Chios):

θέ(ν) νά + Aorist Subjunctive

μέσα στὰ δάση θέ νά καταντήσω *Cypr. Canz.* 34.3 app. crit.

καὶ ὅλα θέ νά πᾶψου *Alex. Rim.* 385

ἂν τοῦς πιάσω, | ὅλους θέ νά τοὺς κρεμάσω TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 81–2

πρίκες καὶ καημοὶ θέ νά τονέ πλακώσου *CHORTATIS, Erof.* Prol. 125

διατὶ θέ νά μοιράσωμεν τσι λεγόμενες ἀγελάδες (1609, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 59, 58.9)

στό λίμπρο μου θέ νά τὸ βρῶ *MONTSEL., Evgena* 71

βλέπε, τῆς λέγει, μάτια μου, τί θενά κάμω τώρη *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1920

το φλάμπουρον κει μέσα θε να βάλουν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 7155; θεν να διωχθούσιν *ibid.* 7362

²² The construction also in Vilaras's *Ρομεικη γλῶσσα* (1814), p. η': θελα τεριασομε, θελα φκιασομε, θελα στησομε.

²³ E.g. in Kolokotronis's *Memoirs*: τὰ ἄρματα τῆς Πελοποννήσου τί θενά γένουν; τί θενά γένουν οἱ κόποι τους; 58.8–9 (ed. E. Alexiou), and well into the 20th c., in the work of certain MG authors, such as Gryparis and Varnalis.

ὅπου θὲ νὰ φορτώσουσι (1670, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 2, 577.18–19)
 ἐκεῖ θεννὰ κριθοῦσιν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 434
 θὲ νὰ ῥθῆς μὲ τὸ καράβι (1683, Gortynia, KONOMOS 1969a: 63.6)
 θὲ νὰ φήκουμε (1705, Symi, GEORGA-VOLONAKI 1974: 1, 204.16)
 τί θενὰ κάμης, διὰ ὄνομα Θεοῦ (1708, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 23, 98.50)
 θὲ νὰ γένου ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΙΣ, *Ifig.* II.260

θὲ(ν) νὰ + Present Subjunctive

θὲ νὰ τὰ ξηγᾶται *Cypr. Canz.* 23.11 app. crit.
 θὲ νὰ ῥχης θεραπεία *Alex. Rim.* 115
 θὲ νὰ τὰ δίδω (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 180, 170.8)
 θὲ νὰ ψήνεται σ' αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1411
 τοῦ γάμου τῇ χαρὰ θὲ νὰ ῥχῃ *Stathis* I.55
 θὲ νὰ τρώει τὸ ἄνωθεν μοναστήρι τὸ ἥμισυ (1593, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 55, 77.12)
 παντοτινὰ τὼς φαίνεται οἱ ἄθλιοι θὲ νὰ ζοῦσι *P&N Diath.* 60
 κι ὁ ἥλιος, ἄγουρέ μου, θὲ νὰ πησίνη *Vosk.* 118
 ἐτότες θὲ νὰ εἶναι κομμένο (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 199.191–2)
 θενὰ ψηφίζεται (1672, Milos, CHATZIDAKIS I. 1927: A, 300.14)
 θὲ νὰ δίνει (1677, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 452.7–8)
 μὰ πάντα θὲ νὰ λέτε BOUNIALIS M., *Kat. ofel.* 383
 αὐτὸς θὲ νὰ πηγαίνει εἰς τὰ πράματάν της (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.10)
 τοῦτην τὴν γῆν ὅπου πατεῖς θὲ νὰ τὴν ῥχης στρῶμα *Alfan.* II 18

5.1.5 θά

	Restricted
Simple	θά γράψω
Continuous	θά γράφω

The future particle θά, now the SMG formation for the future, makes its first appearances in texts from Crete towards the end of the 16th c.,²⁴ and begins to spread to other areas

²⁴ As many editors do not seem to be aware of the relatively late appearance of θά, there are quite a few examples in earlier texts that, upon closer scrutiny, prove to be phantoms. They are either the result of editorial intervention (e.g. three instances of θά in the late-13th-c. *War of Troy* 1816, 8796 and 8972 and one instance in Lambros's edition of the Oxford version of *Logos Parigoritikos* 291), or simple mistakes, as in the 15th-c. *Hymn on Death*: καὶ ποῖα ψυχὴ δὲν θά θλιβῇ *Rim. Than.* 61, where the ms clearly and unmistakably reads θὲ θλιβῇ (Marc. gr. IX 17 (coll. 1247), f.94r; ms dated 14/05/1493); or: τὶ θά πῃ SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 28, in the same ms (f.74r), which clearly reads τὶ νὰ πῇ; in the *Logoi Didaktikoi* of Defaranas: τὸ τί θά φᾶσι DEFAR., *Log. did.* 312, whereas the Venetian edition of 1543 clearly reads: τὸ τί νὰ φᾶσι. There is ostensibly a very early example from Yemen in the *Rasūlid Hexaglot*, an Arabic–Persian–Turkic–Greek–Armenian–Mongol glossary composed by or at the behest of Al Malik al Afdal, king of Yemen (1363–77), written in Arabic script: ṭado pise (14th c., Yemen, GOLDEN 2000: 82.3); however, from an earlier publication by the editor on the Greek text of the *Hexaglot* (GOLDEN 1985: 93, s.v. θά (θαννὰ)), it becomes clear that in the Arabic transcription of this phrase the scribe did not use any diacritical marks on the Arabic characters. Here the editor transcribes this phrase as “ṭad bysy ... θά τὸ ποιήσε or θά νὰ ποιήσε”. The first character, depending on the number and position of the diacritical dots, can represent /b/, /t/, /θ/ or /n/ in word-initial and medial positions (personal communication Caroline Janssen, Ghent University). A reading νὰ τὸ ποιήση is therefore much more likely.

soon after; in the 17th c. it reaches the Heptanese and the northern mainland, and by the late 17th c. it can already be found in areas as remote as Transylvania. It is likely to be the result of univerbation of *θὲ* and *νὰ* (see above) (see PAPPAS/JOSEPH 2001 for discussion and bibliography), similar to forms such as *μπορά* (4.1.2.1), *θελά* (5.1.4.5), *μελλά* (5.1.2) and *πά* (5.1.7). For non-futurative use of this particle (e.g. volitive, as in: *ὁ Κάης τότες ἐζήλεψε, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θὰ μοιάσῃ* *P&N Diath.* 1270; or epistemic: *δεκάξι χρόνοι σήμερο θὰ προπατοῦ, ἃ δὲ σφάνω* FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.570), see 2.4 s.v. (ἐ)θέλω. The distinction between futurative and volitive use is not always easy to make. For instance, the following example can have either a futurative or a volitive interpretation: *᾽ς τόσον κακὸν ποῦ θὲ γενεῖ ἄλλην βουλὴν θὰ πιάσω* ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 793. *θὰ* is used with an aorist subjunctive for the simple future and with a present subjunctive for the future continuous, to express progressiveness, habit or repetition.

θὰ + Aorist Subjunctive

- ἀποῦ *θὰ* κτίσῃς τὸν Μέγαν Ἀντώνιον (1590, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 6, 30.8)
 σήμερο *θα* σε στερευτώ CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.15; καὶ κορασὲς ἀνήμπορες θάνατο *θὰ* τοῦ
 δώσου *id.*, *Erof.* Prol. 126; *θα* τὴ ρωτήξω *id.*, *Katz.* III.330
 καὶ *θὰ* ὑπογράψῃ καὶ ἀτὸς του (1598, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 82, 111.23–4) (hapax)
θὰ τὰ ἰδοῦμε *Pist. voskos* II 1.169; τί *θὰ* κάμου στὰ παιδιὰ μας *ibid.* I 4.215; *θὰ* μοῦ δώσουν
ibid. IV 5.49
 τὰ τορνέσα ὅπου *θὰ* τοῦ δώσει (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 273, 265.12); *θὰ*
 βάλου (1611, *ibid.* 703, 607.10)
 τ' ἀρνὶ ὅπου *θὰ* σφάξομε *Thysia Avr.* 264 app. crit. (M); *θὰ* τὰ δοῦμε *ibid.* 570 app. crit. (M); εἰς
 ὅ,τι *θὰ* μιλήσετε *ibid.* 592 app. crit. (M)
 ξεύρεις τί *θὰ* γεννήσῃ ἡ αὐριανὴ ἡμέρα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §30.22; τί *θὰ* πάθουν *ibid.* IV
 §1.25; τί καλὸν *θὰ* κάμεις *ibid.* IV §5.19 (only these three instances)
δὲ θὰ σ' ἀναθιβάνω TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.351; *θὰ* δῶ *ibid.* I.644
θὰ σὲ πᾶρω *P&N Diath.* 14; εἶδε πῶς *θὰ* γεννήσῃ *ibid.* 2069
 ὦ πῶς *θὰ* μὲ πειράξεις SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* E8r.30
 ἐτότε θάρθοῦνε καράβια (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 306.14)
θὰ πᾶγῃ δουλευτῆς MONTSEL., *Evgena* 127; σκουλήκια *θὰ* σᾶς φᾶσι *ibid.* 721
 φουντελομάνικα ἀπὸ τὸ στιάδι ποῦ *θὰ* φάνουν (1687, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1972: 16, 285.26)
 ἀπόκρισιν *θὰ* δώκῃς *Alfav.* II 32
θὰ τὴν περάσῃς *Diig. Vefa* 6
θὰ σοῦ γένῃ ἕνα φοβερότατο κρίμα EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 26.4; *θὰ* τὰ μεράσουνε *ibid.* 42.21;
θὰ σᾶς-ε πῶ καὶ ἕνα κακό *ibid.*, 48.1–2
 τὰ κάτω ποῦ *θὰ* ποῦμε VATATIS, *Periig.* I 560

θὰ + Present Subjunctive

- θὰ* πιάνῃ CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.103; *θὰ* κρᾶζουσι *ibid.* I.191; *δὲ θὰ* μιλεῖ *ibid.* I.354
θὰ βράζῃ μέσα *Stathis* II.248
θὰ κείτουνται *P&N Diath.* 1209
 παντοτινὰ *θὰ* κλαίγῃς *Thysia Avr.* 656 app. crit. (M)
θὰ στέκομέσθα *Pist. voskos* II 1.159
θὰ λέσι TROILOS, *Rodol.* II.16
 σὲ φύλαξῃ *θὰ* σὲ κρατῶ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 145.12; καὶ μέρα νύκτα *θὰ* μιλεῖ ἡ γλώσσα
 μου *ibid.* 510.12; ὅλοι *θὰ* τὰ θωροῦσι *id.*, *Kat. ofel.* 149; *θα* στέκουσι δεμένοι *ibid.* 392; στήν
 κόλασιν *θὰ* καίονται *ibid.* 408
 καὶ *θὰ* τὰ παίρνῃ (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 2, f.38v.25)

θάμασμα θά τὸ κρατῶ μεγάλο KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1370; τρεῖς εἶχε ποῦ θά πολεμοῦν *ibid.* II.1271

ὅποιος τοὺς ἐγέλᾳσει, θά εἶναι συχωρεμένος ἀπὸ τὸν Θεό EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 43.4–5

An added final /n/ to θά before voiceless stops is graphematic, indicating that the stop of the following enclitic word (typically a 3rd-person pronoun) was pronounced as /d/ rather than /t/. Examples have been found in *Evgena*, whose author was from Zakynthos, and in *Pistikos Voskos*, which is held to be of Cretan provenance:²⁵ θὰν τόνε δοκιμάσω *Pist. voskos* I 3.214; θὰν τὴν ἀναπάψη MONTSEL., *Evgena* 119.

5.1.6 εἶμαι

	General	Restricted	Rare
Simple		εἶμαι νὰ γράψω εἶναι/εἶν/ἐν νὰ γράψω	εἶμαι τοῦ νὰ γράψω εἶμαι διὰ/γιά νὰ γράψω

5.1.6.1 εἶμαι νά + Aorist Subjunctive

The combination εἶμαι νά + aorist subjunctive can have future reference, usually translatable as “I am (going) to” or “I am about to”.²⁶ The construction can also have modal connotations (deontic, potential), without, however, ceasing to have future reference (for this construction see also LIOSIS 2012):

εἶναι νὰ γινεῖ μέγαν σκάνταλον VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 276.5; εἶναι νὰ τραβενιάσει εἰς τὴν χώραν πολλὴν κακόν *ibid.* 276.11–12

ὅτεν εἶσαι νὰ ἐβγάλης τούτους τοὺς πόντους (16th c., DELATTE 1946: 495.19–20)

ἀδυναμίζεις καὶ εἶσαι νὰ ἀρρωστήσεις MOREZINOS, *Klini* 44.32–3

νὰ ἐρωτήσουν ἔαν εἶναι νὰ σηκωθεῖ DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 18, π7ν.8–9 (1561)

ἃ μᾶς νικήση, δὲν εἶναι νὰ ἀφήση ψυχὴ (1618, Mani, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 24, 271.10)

ἐγὼ εἶμαι νὰ κάμω τὸ ὅσον κάνει χρεῖα Bertoldos 66.14

εἶναι νὰ πιῇ φαρμάκι KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1436

μὲ τὴν παρὸν μου εἶμαι νὰ ἀποκριθῶ τὴν αὐθεντία σου (1695, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 4 [Δ'], 256.7)

Variations on this construction have been found in Ermoniakos, who has an articular νά clause, whereas others substitute διὰ/γιά νά for νά:

²⁵ Cf. the addition of final /n/ to the conjunction νά in texts from Zakynthos, other southern areas, and certain Cycladic islands (Naxos, Andros); see I, 3.7.2.1.3 and I, 3.8.3.1 for details.

²⁶ Note that the same construction, both personal and impersonal, with a present subjunctive does not have future reference: ἔνι νὰ βιγλίζη τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸ κουστοῦμιν τοῦ καθενός *Assizes* A 274.4–5 (generic; deontic) (“[a good judge] should consider the life and customs of each [defendant]”; ζητάτε πράμᾱν ἀποῦ δὲν εἶναι νὰ ἔχετε VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 202.5–6 (potential: δὲν ἠμπορεῖτε in B and M); σίγησ', ἀνὲν καὶ ὀρίζης BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 284 (present reference) (“be quiet, if you please”); οὐδὲν σοῦ ἔναι νὰ κρίνης τὸν ἄνδρα σου *Diig. Alex.* F 191.14 (Konstantinopolos) (“it is not your place to be judging your husband”).

(ὁ δὲ Σίσυφος καὶ Νέστωρ ...) εἶναι γοῦν τοῦ νάπεθάνουν ERMON., *Ilias* 17.245
 διὰ νὰ μάθουσιν ἄν ἐνι διὰ ν' ἀποθάνη SACHLIKIS, *Peri filon* 130 app. crit. (P) (Wagner)
 κι ἄν εἶσαι γιὰ νὰ σύρεις (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 64.37)
 ἀν δὲν το κάμω ... εἶμαι γιὰ νὰ παγώσω ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 125.12
 εἶναι διὰ νὰ ἱερωθεῖ (1698, Sinai, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 7, 60.38)

5.1.6.2 εἶναι/εἶν/ἐν νά + Subjunctive

Impersonal εἶναι/εἶν/ἐν νά + subjunctive can be found mainly in two contexts:²⁷ (1) in conditional clauses with future reference introduced by ἄν (in which νά is often replaced by καί)²⁸ and (2) in negative environments. Complementation with the aorist subjunctive is more common than with the present.

εἶναι/εἶν/ἐν νά + Aorist Subjunctive

ἀνὲν καὶ ἔλθῃ (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 13.11)
 ἀνὲν καὶ ἀνοίξεις τινός, θέλῃν σε εβγάλῃν διὰ παράβουλον VOUSTR., *Chron.* M 265.7
 εἰς τὰ ἔπραξες ἀνταμοιβὴ δὲν ἔναι νὰ σοῦ λείψῃ SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Ag. Frang.* 38
 τοὺς ποίους δὲν εἶναι νὰ τοὺς ἀνοματίσω VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 50.14
 κι ἄν ἔν καὶ χίλιες φόρες ξηψυχῇσω *Cypr. Canz.* 69.13
 ἄν ἔνε καὶ πορέσῃς (1502, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 6, 29.18)
 ἀνὲν καὶ σὺ περάσῃς | αὐτὸν τὸν Ἄλυ ποταμόν VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 31–2
 γιὰτὶ φοβοῦμαι βέβαια, ἄν εἶν' καὶ μὲ νικήσου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 499.9
 ἄν εἶν' καὶ κάμῃς το αὐτὸ KONAR., *Paidēs* 131
 ἄν εἶναι νὰ φανερωθῇ KORAROS, *Erot.* I.1991

εἶναι/εἶν/ἐν νά + Present Subjunctive

δὲν ἔν' νὰ κράζω τὸ λοιπὸν τες Μοῦζες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, | μὰ στὴν Τριάδα τὴν ἁγίαν τὴν κεφαλὴν
 μου κλίνω DEFAR., *Log. did.* 3
 ποῖος ἐ' νὰ μας γυρεύει *Apoll.* Rim. A 1213 and N 1213 (ἐν' νὰ in V and E)
 μηδένας εἶναι νὰ ἀμφιβάλλῃ MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 317.31–2

It is likely that the future particle ἐννα/εννά, which exists among others in modern Cypriot,²⁹ derives from this use of ἔν, as noted by SYMEONIDIS (2006: 218, 240), who rightly points out that the traditional etymology, from θε(λ) νά (MENARDOS 1969: 15; followed by AERTS 1983, YANGOULLIS 2002 s.v. εννά, PAPPAS/JOSEPH 2001 and others), leaves unexplained why the word-initial fricative /θ/ would be deleted.³⁰ See also LIOSIS 2012: 414. Three

²⁷ But cf. future in the past: ἦτο νὰ σκοτωθοῦν πολλοί MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 96.33, see 5.2.4.1.

²⁸ After ἄν ἔν became lexicalized, it started behaving like a “proper” conjunction, even appearing without καὶ or νά, followed by a bare subjunctive, at least in Cypriot and Cretan texts, e.g. ἄν ἔνι τὰ σκοινία τοῦ σαμάτου κοποῦν *Assizes* B 325.15–16; ἀνὲν βρεθοῦν πεντήκοντα δικοί σου δουλευτάδες CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1068; ἀνὲν κουσεντιάσωμέν του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 596.7; ἀνὲν ποτέ θελήσουσιν τούτοι νὰ σ' ἀδικήσου *Diig. Apoll.* 467; ἀνὲν τακάρου οἱ Τοῦρκοι πλιὸ ἐτούτῃ μας τὴ χώρα FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.20; ἀνὲν πεθυμᾷς κι ἐσὺ *ibid.* III.773; ποὺ χίλιοι χρόνοι ἀνὲ διαβοῦ καὶ χίλιοι ἀνὲν περάσου *KORAROS, Erot.* I.1106.

²⁹ BĂNESCU (1915: 85–6) mentions *e' nna* in parts of S. Italy, implying it derives from ἐχει νὰ, as does KAP-SOMENOS (1953b: 344).

³⁰ In LMedG/EMG, fricative deletion typically occurs intervocalically (see I, 3.6.1.1), not word-initially, which makes an etymology from θέλω problematic, unless we were to hypothesize that the fricative deletion occurred intervocalically in the form ἐθέλω rather than θέλω, through no fewer than three unattested intermediary stages: ἐθέλω νά > *ἐθέλ' νά > *ἐθέννα > *ἐέννα > ἔννα. Furthermore, fricative deletion in Cypriot/Dodecanesian normally involves the voiced fricatives /v ð ɣ/ and not the voiceless fricatives /f θ x/; see I, 3.6.1.1 for details.

instances have been found in a 17th-c. Cypriot text: γιάτ' ἔν νά παρπατοῦσιν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 194, 406 and 698 (spelled γιάτὲν ναπαρπατοῦσιν 194 and 698; γιάτὲν νναπαρπατοῦσιν 406).

In several Cypriot and Rhodian texts the negated construction occurs with syncopation, through which the phrases δέν ἐν /'ðenen/ and δέν ἐν νά /'ðene na/ become δέν (= δὲ 'ν') and δὲ νά (= δὲ 'ν' νά) respectively (see DAWKINS 1932: II 37; LIOSIS 2012: 413; see also 4.8.1 for examples not involving the future periphrasis):³¹

καὶ δένα τοὺς ὁμολογοῦν (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.7)

καὶ δέν νά σὲ κοξήσουν LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 227

καὶ δὲ νά 'φελήθῃς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V. 642.31–2

δέν νά τὸ νικήσῃ Fior 130.13

δεναυρέθῃ / δένα βρεθῇ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 290.9 app. crit. (same in M 291.7)

5.1.7 πᾶ

In texts from insular areas a shortened form πᾶ + (νά) + subjunctive occurs that in a way expresses futurity, although the idea of motion is never absent. Invariable πᾶ + subjunctive, in which the conjunction νά has been omitted, or incorporated into πᾶ (cf. θελά (5.1.4.5) μπορά (4.1.2.1) and μελλά (5.1.2.3)), occurs occasionally.

πᾶ νά + Subjunctive

καὶ τὸ νερόν ποῦ πᾶ νά πιῶ *Peri xen.* 243

μαντάτο πᾶ νά δώσω KONDAR., *Paides* 16

πᾶ + subjunctive

πᾶ κτυπήσω | τὴν πόρτα *Zinon Prol.* 153–4

καὶ πᾶ διαβῶ VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 1601

ᾶς πᾶ διαβοῦμεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 331

5.2 The Conditional

This section includes constructions that are morphologically the past-tense counterparts to the future periphrases (see 5.1). These constructions make use of the imperfect of the same auxiliary verbs as the future, namely μέλλω, ἔχω, (ἐ)θέλω and εἶμαι. They have a wide variety of complementations (infinitive, subjunctive, νά + subjunctive, participles; for details see below) as well as a wide range of uses.

Periphrases with ἔμελλον had been in use to express so-called “future in the past” since AG and throughout subsequent periods (MARKOPOULOS 2009a). In the period covered by this Grammar ἔμελλον/ἔμελλα constructions mainly express future in the past, an event/action that is posterior to the moment of reference, which is located in the past, e.g.: ἀνταν ἔμελλεν νά αποθάνει, ἐκράξεν τὴν κόρην τῆς VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 34.2–3 (“when she was about to die, she called for her daughter”). As in previous periods, the construction can

³¹ Note that futurate νά cannot be negated with δέν; cf. the following example with a conditional: ποτέ μου δὲ νά σ' ἔλλαξα *Katal.* 505, where we should clearly read ποτέ μου οὐδὲ with synizesis (ποτέ μουδὲ in the ms, which can be consulted at www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_8241_f192r).

occasionally have conditional readings, e.g. counterfactual deontic, as in the following example: ἀντὶ τιμῆς ἧς ἔμελλεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ λαὸς τοῦ | ποιῆσαι τάχα πρὸς ἡμᾶς, μᾶς ἔποιικεν αἰσχύνην *Pol. Tr.* 183–4 (“instead of the respect he, and his people, ought to have paid us, he brought us shame”).

The εἶχον + infinitive construction, which in AG expressed obligation-in-the-past, began to be used in conditional contexts expressing ability/possibility-in-the-past (counterfactual) in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 70–2). The past future meaning that is predominant with the ἔμελλον construction is the exception rather than the rule with the εἶχον periphrasis (see MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 101–4, who has found very few, isolated examples).³² In fact, in the LMedG period the periphrasis develops in a diametrically opposite direction, namely to anteriority in the past, for which see 5.3.

In the period covered by this Grammar conditional εἶχα + infinitive constructions are used in both protasis (subordinate clause) and apodosis (main clause) of neutral and counterfactual conditional sentences with present and past reference, e.g. καὶ θυμωθεὶς ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς λέγει πρὸς τὴν ὥραιαν: | σιώπα, λέγω, ὁμμάτια μου, καὶ ἔμην μὴ φοβερίζης· | ἂν οὐ σέ ᾔγάπουσαν τὰ πολλὰ, τῶρα σκοτώσει σέ ᾗα *Achil.* N 1569–71 (“and, angry, Achilles said to the fair maiden: | Be silent, my love, and don’t give me grief; | if I didn’t love you as much as I do, I would kill you now”); ἔαν εἶχε λείψει ἡ δύναμις ... | γοργὸν ἐπαρτάμβανε τὸν θάνατον ἐκεῖνος *Pol. Tr.* 665–7 (“if it had not been for the power [of Medea’s good advice], [Jason] would soon have died”). It is used only rarely with future reference: ἔκαμεν ὄρκον εἰς τὸν Θεόν, ὅτι ἂν εἶχεν τὸν πιάσει, νὰ κάμει πάραυτα νὰ τὸν φουρκίσουν *Bertoldos* 65.16–17 (“he swore to God that, if he were to catch him, he would immediately have him hanged”).

The construction is also used in counterfactual main clauses without conditional clause, in unrealized wishes/commands: νᾶχε σχιστῆν καὶ διχαστῆν ἡ γῆς *Byz. Il.* 261 (“would that the earth had split and opened”); ἄς εἶχες θυμηθῇ κι ἐμέ *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 138 (“if only you had thought of me”); ἄς εἶχε πάει στ’ ἀνάθεμα *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.151 (“she would have been better off dead”); in polite requests: ἄρχισεν νὰ τὴν παρακαλεῖ, ὅτι νὰ τοῦ εἶχε κάμει τὴν χάριν νὰ τοῦ ἀνοίξει *Bertoldin.* 94.30–2 (“he started to plead with her that she would be so good as to open the door for him”); and in rhetorical questions: ἂν ἔλειπε ἡ πανιερότη σου, ἴτα (= ἴντα) εἶχα ἐγὼ γίνεαι στὸ κόσμος; (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.15–16) (“if it weren’t for you, my lord, what would have become of me?”).

Its use in other types of subordinate clauses is rare. The following example contains two uses in temporal clauses (as well as one in the main clause with νὰ, expressing a command): ἔστοντας νὰ γρικήσει πῶς ἐκεῖνη ἐπρόσταξεν τοὺς σκυλοφύλακας τῆς, ὅτι πάραυτα ὅπου ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν ἔμπει εἰς τὴν Αὐλήν, αὐτοὶ νὰ εἶχαν ἀφήσει τὰ σκυλιά νὰ ὑπᾶν καταπάνω του, διὰ νὰ τὸν εἶχαν ξεσκίσει ἄσπλαγχνα *Bertoldos* 54.10–13 (“because [Bertoldos] knew that [the queen] had told her dogkeepers to set their dogs upon him, viciously to maul him to death as soon as he would enter the Court”).

³² To the two examples listed by Markopoulos, we may add two more: ἐπιφωσκοῦσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ὀγδόης, ἡμέρα κυριακή, ὅτε εἶχεν ἀπολούσασθαι *Life of St Pelagia the Penitent* 41.263 (5th c.; ed. Flusin); τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ᾗ εἶχεν ἐξελθεῖν, φαίνεται αὐτῇ ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ μάρτυς Γεώργιος *George Sykeotes, Life of St Theodore Sykeotes* 5.11 (7th c.; ed. Festugière).

The construction ἤθελον + infinitive originally expressed volition only, and continues to bear that meaning throughout the MedG period. Due to a lack of sources, it is difficult to ascertain at what point during the MedG period this construction acquired future-in-the-past and conditional uses alongside the volitional one. The first unambiguously non-volitional ἤθελον + infinitive treated in MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 210 is a counterfactual use (against 19 volitional ones) in Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 292.23–4 (ed. Litavrin): ... λαμβάνοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν νομίσματα οὐχ ὅσα ἤθελον δοῦναι εἰς τὴν ἐπιπρεΐαν τοῦ στόλου, ἀλλ' ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι (“[the greedy naval commanders] take from them not as many *nomismata* as one would pay in requisitions for the navy, but double the amount”), an 11th-c. text that has been transmitted in a sole 14th-c. ms. However, there are a few ambiguous EMedG examples, which may not prove that ἤθελον obtained these meanings as early as that, but which at least illustrate how the semantic shift from volition-in-the-past to future in the past and (counterfactual) condition could occur.

An early ambiguous example has been found in the 5th-c. theologian Ammonius of Alexandria, in his *scholia* on the Gospel of John, transmitted in a late 7th-c. *Catena*: ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ οὖν ἐδίδασκεν ὡς διδάσκαλος, ὅπερ πολὺ αὐτοὺς ἔδρακνεν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπίασεν αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐπω ἦν καιρὸς καθ' ὃν ἤθελεν παθεῖν Ammonius, *On John* fragment 275 (ed. Reuss), in which the pluperfect of *John* 8, 20 (οὐπω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ, “His time had not yet come”) is rendered with ἤθελεν παθεῖν. To the modern eye, a future in the past interpretation seems the most plausible (“... because the time for him to suffer had not yet come”); however, a more complete version of the passage (ed. Cramer, 275.25) makes clear that Ammonius intended the construction to be volitional: τὸ δὲ “οὐπω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ,” τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅτι οὐδέπω καιρὸς ἦν ἐπιτήδειος, καθ' ὃν ἤθελε σταυρωθῆναι, ὥστε καὶ τότε οὐ τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως ἔργον ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ· αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάσαι ἐβούλοντο αὐτόν ἀποκτεῖναι, οὐκ ἴσχυον δὲ, αὐτοῦ μὴ βουλομένου, in which Christ not being crucified at that moment in time is clarified with αὐτοῦ μὴ βουλομένου (“for it was not his will”). The following example from Olympiodorus's *Commentary* on Plato's *Gorgias* (6th-c. text; 9th-c. ms) seems to favour a counterfactual interpretation, even though a volitive reading cannot be excluded entirely: ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Διογένης ἐωρακὼς ἀτακτοῦν μειράκιον τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἔτυπεν (εἰ γὰρ ἤθελεν ἐκεῖνος φροντίζειν, οὐκ ἠτάκτει), οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων Olympiod., *In Platonis Gorgiam* 43.2 (ed. Westerink) (“just as Diogenes struck the teacher when he saw the pupil being undisciplined (for if [the teacher] had paid due attention, [the pupil] would not have been undisciplined), the same applies here”, is perhaps more likely than a volitive interpretation: “... for if [the teacher] had wanted to pay due attention ...”, since what is in question here is not so much the teacher's willingness to do his duty, but whether or not he did his duty).

As noted, these isolated ambiguous examples do not allow for firm conclusions. What is clear, however, is that from the 13th/14th c. onwards ἤθελα + infinitive is used increasingly to express future in the past and counterfactuality, e.g. ὅταν ἤθελες δοξασθῇ παρ' ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν, | τὰ πάντα προσαπώλεσας *Dig.* G II.81–2 (“and when you were about to be honoured by all Syria, you destroyed everything”); εἰ δὲ εἶχεν παραδιαβῆ ἡ α', οὐδέναν ἤθελεν εὐρεθῆ (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.18) (“for if the first [day] had passed [without anyone taking action], not one [book] would have been saved”).

Constructions with *ἤθελα* are also routinely used in neutral and counterfactual conditional sentences with present and past reference, in both the protasis and the apodosis, e.g. *μ' ἂν ἤμουνε Σίλβιος ἐγὼ, σ' ἂν σοῦπα ἤθελα κάμη* SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A4v.19 (1658) (“but if I were [you,] Silvio, I would do what I just said I would do”); *φακῆν μοῦ εἶπες καὶ φακῆν ἔψησα. Ἄν ἤθελες μου εἰπεῖν φακές, ἤθελα βάλειν πολλές* VIOS AISOP. I 260.1–2 (“you said ‘lentil’, so I cooked a lentil. Had you told me ‘lentils’, I would have cooked many”). The constructions are also used in non-conditional counterfactual main clauses: *πολλοὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦς ἤθελαν πινηγῇ* Pol. Tr. 3099 app. crit. (BV) (“many of them would have died”); in polite requests: *γράφω τοῦ σιὸρ Φοσκάρδη ... πὼς τὰ ὅσα μετὰξίς ἔχει στὰ χέρια του ... νὰ ἤθελε τὰ φορτώσει σὲ πρῶτο μπαστιμένο* (1715, Venice, LIATA 1975: 3, 122.6–8) (“I’ll write to Mr Foscardi ... that all the silk he has in stock ... he would do well to ship it out on the first freight ship”); and in less polite requests: *καλὰ ἤθελες κάμης νὰ σωπαίνεις* (1689?, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 868, 1160.3) (“you’d better keep your mouth shut”); in rhetorical questions: *ποῖος οὐδὲν ἤθελε καταγελάσει καὶ νὰ καταπτύσει πολλοὺς πατέρας* SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 101.29–30 (“who wouldn’t ridicule and spit on many a father?”); as well as in constructions expressing unrealized wishes, e.g.: *ὅς μὲ ἤθελες τελειώσει* FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 138 (“if only you had ended my misery”).

In addition, conditional constructions can be used as future-referring conditionals.³³ It is quite common with *ἤθελα*, but can regionally also be found with *εἶχα* and sporadically with *ἔμελλα*. It is clearly a feature of LMedG/EMG “legalese”: it features in future-referring clauses to set up mere hypotheses (“in the event that ...”) rather than situations envisaged as actually occurring, thus covering all conceivable times and situations, e.g.:

ξεκαθαρίζοντας καί, ἀνίσως καὶ κιανένα καιρὸ ἤθελεν φανεῖ τοῦ λεγομένου Μιχάλη νὰ μισέψη ἀπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ μετόχι διχῶς νὰ ἔχη ἀφορμὴ ἀπὸ τὸν ἄνωθεν ἄρχο, νὰ χάνη ὅλα ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἀγομμένα ὅπου ἤθελεν ἔχει καμωμένα, γὴ πούρι ἀνίσως καὶ ἤθελεν εὐρεθεῖ ἢ γιὰφορμὴ ἀπὸ τὸν ἄνωθεν ἄρχο, νὰ μπορῇ νὰ τὰ πλερώνεται ὁ ἄνωθεν γονικάρης ὅλα του τὰ ἀγομμένα ὅπου ἤθελεν κάμει (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 4, 27.8–11)
 (“stipulating that, if at any time Michalis were to decide to leave the *metochi* through no fault of the above-mentioned nobleman, he shall lose all [rights to] the improvements he may have made; or, if the above-mentioned nobleman is responsible, the above-mentioned farmer shall be reimbursed for all the improvements he may make”) (also note *ἤθελεν ἔχει καμωμένα*, the same construction for the future perfect, for which see 5.5.2)
 νὰ μπορεῖ ὁ ἄρχος τση, ἂν ἤθελε ζεῖ, νὰ οὐζουφρουτουάρεϊ τσι αὐτοὺς τόπους (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 51.102)
 ἰνκάζο ἤθελε ἀποθάνει ὁ ἄνωθές μου κουνιάδος (1660, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 2, 116.26–7) (“in the event that my afore-mentioned brother-in-law were to die ...”)
 ἂν ἤθελε ἔρτει εἰς τὴ μεριά τοῦ Δραγαμέστου ... νὰ ἔχει πάντα τέρμενο ἕως τε νὰ εὕρει καιρὸ νὰ τόνε φέρει εἰς τὴν Κεφαλονιά (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 1, 277.14) (“if he were to come to Dragamesto ... he should always be given a certain period of time in order to return [the slave] to Kefalonia”)

A similar use of *εἶχα* is illustrated by the following examples, which, incidentally, all appear in Heptanesian texts (for a similar use of the construction as a futurative subjunctive see 5.7.1.3). No examples have been found before the 17th c.:

³³ According to MARKOPOULOS (2009a: 214), this use is possibly influenced by Venetian, which also has the construction.

ἀνίσως καὶ εἶχε ἀναπαγεῖ ἡ γυναῖκα μου καὶ μείνουν τὰ παιδία μου ἀνύπα<ν>τρα (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 41.33) (“in case my wife dies and my children remain unmarried”)
 ἂν εἶχα χάσει τὴ γυνὴ μου καὶ νὰ πῶ νὰ μπαντρευθῶ καὶ κάμω παιδί, νὰ μεράζουμε πᾶσα ἕνας τὸ μερτικό του (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 73, 82.17); (“If I lost my wife and were to re-marry, and have [another] child, they should share [the inheritance]”)
 καὶ ἂ δὲν εἶχε τὴν ἀτενδέρει καὶ τελειώσει, νὰ μὴν εἶναι σοτοπόστος ὁ Signor Λούζης νὰ τοῦ πλερώνει τὴν δούλεψη (1646, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1970: 1, 251.22–5) (“and if he does not honour and fulfil this [agreement], Sir Louzis shall not be obliged to reimburse him for his work”)

In the prose version of *Digenis* ἔμελλε (unusually with ὅτι ... νὰ instead of νά) is used to convey a similar meaning; Digenis’s maternal grandmother orders her five sons to go and retrieve their sister, who has been abducted by the emir: ἔὰν ἔμελλε ὅτι καὶ οἱ πέντε νὰ ἀποθάνετε, καὶ τότε ἂς τὴν ἐπάρουν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 318.31–2 (“In the (unlikely) event all five of you were to die, well, then let them have her”).

Similarly, in indefinite relative clauses with future reference ἤθελα and εἶχα constructions are sometimes used to stress the hypothetical character of the condition (whoever = if any one person; whenever = if at any time):

εἴ τις ἤθελεν εὐρεθεῖν νὰ τοὺς διασεῖσει, νὰ ἔχει τὴν κατάραν τοῦ Θεοῦ (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.16–17)
 ἀκόμη καὶ ἀπὸ ζωντανὰ τὰ ὅσα ποὺ νὰ ἤθελαν μοῦ εὐρεθοῦν καὶ αὐτὰ ἐδικάν του τοῦ υἱοῦ μου (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 111.16)
 καὶ ὅποιος ἀπὸ ἀπροσεξίας του ἤθελεν κόψει κανένα φύλλον, νὰ ἔχει τὰς ἀράς τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πατέρων (1678, Laconia, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 1917. 1, 41.5) (“also, whoever cuts a leaf [from the book] by accident, shall have the curse of the Nicaean Fathers”)
 ὅποιος εἶχεν φανεῖ ἐναντίον εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν μου διάταξιν, νὰ ἔχει τὴν κατάραν τοῦ Χριστοῦ (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 111.26)
 εἴτι τάβλες εἶχαν χρειαστεῖ ... νὰ τὰ δίδει ὁ Sr Φαράντος (1646, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1970: 1, 251.12–13)
 ὅποιος εἶχε εἰπεῖ νὰ τὴνε χαλάσει ἢ μὲ ἔργο ἢ μὲ λόγο ἢ μὲ ἄλλη κακὴ πράξη, νὰ εἶναι ὀμπλιγάδος ὁ βιολατόρος εἰς τὴν πλερωμὴ (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.16–17) (τὸ παιδί μου ...) νὰ τὸ θρέψει καὶ νὰ τὸ πανδρεύσει σὲ ὅ,τι καλύτερα εἶχε τῆς φανιστεῖ (1677, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1981: 3, 289.36–7); καὶ αὐτὸς εἴτι εἶχε κρίνει, νὰ τὸ κρατοῦμεν βέβαιον καὶ ἀπαρασάλευτον (1670, *ibid.* 4, 290.17–18)
 ἔχει νὰν τὰ ἐπιστρέφει ... τόσον τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὥσάν καὶ ὅποιος ἄλλος εἶχε πρεζεντάρει τὸ παρόν (1693, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 3, 163.10)

In indefinite relative clauses referring to the past, ἤθελα-constructions may denote habituality, in which ἤθελα stresses the potentiality (comparable to the use of θα + imperfect in SMG, for which see HESSE 2003: 65), e.g. πλέον δὲν ἐσηκώνετον ὅστις ἤθελε πέσει ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 352 (“whoever would fall [on the battle ground] would never get up again”).

In case of verb serialization, the infinitive is often replaced with a νὰ-clause with the second and any subsequent verbs: ἂν ἦτονε δυνατόν, ὅλοι <οἱ> Κυδωνιάται ... ἠθέλασι γράφει, νὰ προσκυνήσουν καὶ νὰ παρακαλέσουν τὴν ἀρχιεροσύνην σου νὰ σβήσεις καὶ νὰ παύσεις ἐτοῦτον τὸ σκάνδαλον (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 7, 176.30–3). From the 16th c. onwards the ἤθελα-construction is also used as a pluperfect, for which see 5.3.2.

Different constructions with the same use often appear side by side, as the following examples illustrate: ποιὸς ἄνθρωπος μοῦ τό 'θελε παινέσει | καὶ ποιὸς θεὸς μοῦ τό 'χε συγχωρέσει; *Vosk.* 65–6 (“which man would praise me for it, and which god would forgive me for it?”); ἂν ἦθελα σταθῇ ἔδεκεῖ γῇ ἂν εἶχα ἀκροσταλάρει ... *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.73 (“If I had stayed there or if I had just waited a while ...”). For a discussion of conditionals in general see also IV, 3.3. In the following table and description, no distinction is made between the active and the passive voice, unless the construction is different: ἦθελα ἔχει(ν) γραμμένο (act.), ἦθελα εἶσται(ν) γραμμένος (pass.). For the use of some of these constructions as periphrastic subjunctives, see 5.7. Conditionals of the SMG type θα εἶχα γράψει have not been found in the texts examined (for the relatively late appearance of θα see 5.1.5). For conditional constructions throughout the history of the Greek language see HORROCKS 1995; for conditional constructions in MG dialects see TSOLAKIDIS 2009, 2010 and 2011.

5.2.1 ἔμελλον/ἔμελλα

	General	Restricted	Rare
	ἔμελλα νὰ γράψω ἔμελλε/ἦμελλε νὰ γράψω	ἔμελλον γράψαι ἔμέλλετο(ν) νὰ γράψω	ἔμελλον γράφειν ἔμελλα νὰ γράφω ἔμελλε νὰ γράφω ἔμελλε γράψω ἔμελλε νὰ ἔγραψα/ ἔγραφα

5.2.1.1 ἔμελλον + Infinitive

The construction ἔμελλον + infinitive is used as the past counterpart to the simple future, and just like its future equivalent it is clearly residual by the beginning of the LMedG period. The preference for residual endings (e.g. ἔμελλον rather than ἔμελλαν) and often for equally residual forms in the infinitival complementation (aorist middle infinitives, and aorist active infinitives in -αι), as well as the fact that the construction occurs only in mixed- and higher-register texts, confirms this. The complementation is usually perfective, although sometimes present infinitives are used instead. The selection of the present infinitive after ἔμελλον is more often an aspectual one than in the case of μέλλω + present infinitive for the future tense (see 5.1.2), as a durative or iterative interpretation is the most likely for the example below.

ἔμελλον + Aorist Infinitive

ἔμελλον ... πλησιάσαι *Dig.* G IV.841

ἀντὶ τιμῆς ἧς ἔμελλεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ λαὸς του | ποιῆσαι τάχα πρὸς ἡμᾶς, μᾶς ἔποικεν αἰσχύνῃ
Pol. Tr. 183–4; ἐξ ὅ,τι τοὺς ἔμελλεν ἔλθει κέρδος *ibid.* 6620

τούτους ἔμελλεν γάρ κτεῖναι *ERMON., Ilias* 3.171; ὅρα ὅταν ἔμελλον σφάζαι τὴν Πολυξένην
ibid. 23.159 *tit.*

καὶ ἔμελλε τοῦτο γενέσθαι ΚΑΝΑΝΟΣ, *Diig.* 535
 ἔμελλον προσμεῖναι εἰς τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα ΣΦΡΑΝΤΖΙΣ, *Chron.* 108.12
 καὶ ὅταν γενέσθαι βασιλεὺς ἔμελλες τῆς Συρίας *Dig.* A 662
 ὅτι καὶ τὰς πατρίδας τῶν ἔμελλον καταλάβειν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 999

ἔμελλον + Present Infinitive

ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσθίειν τὴν ἀγάπην ἔμελλεν κλαίειν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 150.9 (durative deontic/counterfactual: “for he should have been weeping while eating the Agape Meal”)

5.2.1.2 ἔμελλα νά + Subjunctive

Substitution of νά + subjunctive for the infinitival complement (ἵνα among those authors who aim for a higher register), a widespread phenomenon certainly not restricted to auxiliary verb constructions (for details see IV, 2), occurs with ἔμελλα, as with μέλλω (see 5.1.2.2), from at least the 15th c. and throughout the remainder of the period covered by this Grammar. Due to the nature of the construction, expressing what was about to happen or should have happened, perfective complementation (aorist subjunctive) is much more common than imperfective complementation (present subjunctive), which is limited to inherently stative verbs such as “to be”.³⁴ In the case of 3 sg. complementation it is not always possible to tell whether the construction is personal or impersonal (see ἔμελλε below). In the following description, 3 sg. examples are considered to be personal, unless the text offers examples of unambiguous impersonal use as well.

ἔμελλα νά + Aorist Subjunctive

ἔμελλες νά μέ πλερώσης *Assizes* B 413.11; ἔμελλαν νά τὸ φέρουν εἰς ἔνκλημαν *ibid.* 427.31
 ἔμελλεν τὸ κάστρο νά ἐπάρη *Chron. Toc.* 2529
 τὰ ἔμελλε νά πάθη *Byz. Il.* 161
 ἔμελλαν καὶ τᾶλλα κάτεργα νά πᾶσιν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 274.36
 ἀντὶ τιμῆς ἧς ἔμελλε νά δώση πλεοτέρας *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 465
 ἔμελλον νά τὴν σηκώσουν δύο ἄνθρωποι *Vios Aisop.* E 213.13
 ἡ δὲ πόλις ὡς ἔμελλεν νά ἐπαρθεῖ (16th c., Peloponnese, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 34.I, 271.20.4)
 ὡς δὲ ἔμελλεν ἵνα γένηται σεισμός *Hist. Imp.* IIb 265
 ὅταν ἐμέλλαμεν νά ὑπᾶμεν *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 20, τ7v.21 (1561)
 ἐμέλλαν νά φύγουν *ANDONIOS, Vios Sym. Styl.* 243–4.14, 1
 εἰς τὸν διωρισμένον τόπον ὅπου ἔμελλε νά γένῃ ἡ Ἐκκλησία *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 43
 ἐκεῖνα ὅπου ἔμελλαν νά τὸν συνέβουν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 10.32
 το πρῶτον κακόν οὗοῦ ἔμελλον νά πάθουν οἱ Τοῦρκοι *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6379 tit.

³⁴ The following line: ἔμελλον νά ἐξολοθρεύουσιν καὶ νά ἀφανίζουσι παντελῶς *Hist. Imp.* I 2815–16 has been misread by the editor, who offers no alternative readings in her critical apparatus. One of the mss (C), which can be consulted online at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/bbb/0596/> clearly reads ἐξολοθρευθῶσιν and ἀφανισθῶσιν (f. 46r). The same holds true for the reading διότι ἤμελεν ὅτι νά καταλυθῇ τότε ἡ Τριὰς on f.33v of ms C, which is rendered διότι ἔμελλεν ὅτι νά καταλύθῃ τότε ἡ Τριὰς in the edition (*Hist. Imp.* I 2046–7), and the nonsensical ὡς γὰρ ἔμελλον νά σφάζουν εἰς τὸν τόπον *ibid.* 2380, for which ms C offers ἔμελλεν νά στραφοῦν (f. 39r), whereas the edition’s app. crit. offers only a variant reading ἐπιστρέψαι in mss A and V. This text deserves a new edition.

ὅθεν ἔμελλεν νά ἀπεράσῃ ὁ βεζίρης (1666 post, Gortynia, YANNAROPOYLOU 1972: 51, 316.6)
 πῶς οὗτοι ἔμελλαν νά πληρώσουν ὅλες τες ἐξοδες *Ist. Enet.* 418.39–40

ἔμελλα νά + Present Subjunctive

ἔμελλε νά εἶναι το θέατρον του πολέμου *Ist. Enet.* 418.39

5.2.1.3 ἔμελλε(ν)/ἦμελλε(ν) νά + Subjunctive

Impersonal ἔμελλε (regionally ἦμελλε, see 3.1.2.2) is found from the 14th c. and throughout the EMG period, in literary and non-literary texts. The deontic quality that is so characteristic of impersonal μέλλει (see 5.1.2.3) is usually present in ἔμελλε, though it appears to be less pronounced with the future in the past than with the simple future (see the examples from *Assizes* and especially those from Kitros, Gortynia and Ps.-Dorotheos). Impersonal ἔμελλε νά is used mainly for the simple future in the past and is thus complemented by an aorist subjunctive. Imperfective complementation is very rare; in fact only one example has been found, in a 16th-c. Saint's Life: ἐβλεπεν εἰς ονείρατα ἐκεῖνα ὅπου ἔμελλε νά γίνονται *Vios Iosif* 270.2–3 (“he saw in dreams all the things that were going to happen”), in which the present γίνονται is triggered by the verb of perception βλέπω: in his dreams he saw things happening just as they were going to be happening.

τὸν καιρὸν ὅπου ἔμελλε νά ἔλθουν *Chron. Mor.* H 885; ἂν ἔμελλε στὸν τόπον νά ἀποθάνω *ibid.* 4134

ἔμελλεν νά σφάξουν τὸν πατέραν του *Assizes* B 438.24

ἂν ἦμελλε νά τὸ στείλῃς (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.14–15)

τὰ πράγματα ... τὰ ἔμελλε νά ἐνι τῶν τέκνων τοὺς *Assizes* A 188.5–6

ἂν ἔμελλεν τὰ κράτα μου νά τὰ μελοκοπήσουν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2022 (< κριάτα < κρέατα)

κ' ἔμελλεν νά δῶ τὸ φῶς μου *Cypr. Canz.* 127.18

ὥς τῷμελλε νά πάθῃ *Theseid* V.94,5 (1529)

ἔμελλεν νά ἔλθῃ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 333.20; ἔμελλεν νά ζήσεις *ibid.* 410.33–4

τί σοῦ ἔμελλε νά πάρῃς *CHORTATIS, Katz.* IV.292

τῆς συνόδου ὅπου ἔμελλεν νά κάμουν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* 230.20; ὅταν δε ἔμελλεν ὁ πρίντσιπος νά σηκωθεῖ *ibid.* 231.7–8

ἦμελλεν νά τοῦ σύρῃ *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 289

ἦμελλε νά σκοτωθῇς *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1927

Sporadically ἔμελλε(ν) can be found with a bare subjunctive (cf. 5.1.2.3): τὴν πράξιν γὰρ καὶ τὴν στρατείαν ὅπου ἔμελλεν ποιήσουν *Chron. Mor.* 3702 (hapax).

5.2.1.4 ἔμελλε(ν) νά + Aorist Indicative/Imperfect

In counterfactual environments ἔμελλε(ν) νά can sometimes be found with past-tense complementation, either imperfect or aorist indicative: νά μοῦ ἐβάρει ἔμελλε *Pol. Tr.* 9098 (μοῦ ed.; τοὺς or τὸν in the mss); ἂν ἔμελλε ὅλη μου ἡ ψυχὴ νά ἐγίνῃ αἵματωμένη | ὅς τὸν Ἄδῃ νά ἐκατέβηκεν ὅλη κατεκομμένη *Theseid* I.59,7–8 (Follieri); ἰσχεδὸν ἂν ἔμελλε νά μὴ ἔβγαινα

ἔδωθεν, | οὐδὲν ἤθελα βλάψιμον διὰ νά ᾗχει τὸ κορμί του *ibid.* V.8,5–6 (1529); τὸ τί ἔμελλε νά ᾗγινετον *ibid.* V.11,4.

5.2.1.5 ἔμελλετο(ν) νά + Subjunctive

In the period covered by this Grammar, passive impersonal ἔμελλετο(ν) can be found complemented with a νά clause. It appears to be a south-western feature, found in texts from Crete and in certain mss of the *War of Troy* (cf. μέλλεται 5.1.2.4): οὕτως γὰρ τὸν ἔμελλετον νά ἐξέλθῃ τοῦ βίου *Pol. Tr.* 14041 (reading of mss AX); ἐμέλλετο νά σμίξετε *CHORTATIS, Panor.* V.335; καὶ νά τῇ χάσει ἐμέλλετο *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 528.6.

5.2.2 εἶχα

	General	Restricted	Rare
	εἶχα γράψει(ν) εἶχα γράφει(ν)	εἶχα εἴσται(ν) γραμμένος (pass.) εἶχα νά γράψω εἶχα γράψω εἶχε γράψω εἶχε ἔγραφα	εἶχα ἔχει γραμμένο(ν) εἶχα εἴσται(ν) -μένος (act.) εἶχα γράφω εἶχε ἔγραφα

5.2.2.1 εἶχα + Infinitive

As mentioned in the introduction to 5.2, εἶχον + infinitive started to be used in conditional contexts expressing ability/possibility-in-the-past (counterfactual) in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and it continues to be used in this way until well into the EMG period, occurring in both the protasis and the apodosis. The complementation of εἶχα is usually perfective (aorist infinitive), though imperfective complementation (present infinitive) can sporadically be found as early as Late Antiquity to express counterfactuality with present reference.³⁵ In the period covered by this Grammar, the present infinitive is used in three

³⁵ Often with the inherently imperfective verb “to be”, for instance in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (PG 65, col. 176) (example quoted in JANNARIS 1897: 554): εἰ ἦς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ σου, καὶ ἐπίσκοπος πολλάκις καὶ κεφαλὴ πολλῶν εἶχες εἶναι· νῦν δὲ ὡς ξένος κατέλθῃ ὧδε (“if you were in your country, you would for instance be a bishop, a leader of many people, but now you are staying here, as a foreigner”); similar later examples include: κρίνω, διὰ τοῦ ι, κρίνω γὰρ ὁ μέλλων· εἰ δὲ διὰ διφθόγγου γράφεται, κρενῶ ἂν εἶχεν εἶναι ὡς κείρω κερῶ *Etym. Gud.*, s.v. κρίνω (11th c.) (“κρίνω is spelled with ι, as the future is κρίνω; had it been spelled with a diphthong [the future would have been] κρενῶ, if it had been like κείρω, κερῶ”); though examples with verbs that do have perfective morphology can also be found: καὶ πάντως εἰ περιώρισέ σε τις ἐν μιᾷ πόλει, ἀγωνιᾶν εἶχες καὶ ἀδημονεῖν τοῦτο παθὼν Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 296.13–14 (ed. Litavrin) (“and surely, if somebody had confined you to a city, you would be in agony and in anguish over what had happened to you”).

environments: (1) with stative verbs for which no perfective forms are available, such as εἶμαι, ἔχω and ξεύρω (for both present and past reference); (2) to express durativity in the present: καὶ ἂν οὐδὲν ἦτον ἢ θάλασσα, ἀκόμη πάντα εἶχε ὑπαγαίνειν *Dig. E* 260 app. crit. (“had it not been for the sea, he would still be on his way”); (3) with specific verbs such as λείπω and ζῶ (past and present reference). In these cases the choice for perfective or imperfective complementation is a semantic one, as the following examples illustrate: ἔαν εἶχε ζῆ ἔως ἔδᾶ, ἤμεθεν νικημένοι *Pol. Tr.* 5310 (“if he were still alive today ...”), cf. ἂν εἶχε ζήσει, λέγω σας, μόνον καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν *ibid.* 5335 (“if he had lived only one day longer”); καὶ νὰ ᾗχες ζῆν, καὶ μὴ ᾗχες ἀποθάνειν *Alosis* 821. Imperfective forms of the verb ζῶ express the durative meaning of “being alive”, whereas perfective forms mean “to survive”, “to stay alive”. Similarly, imperfective forms of the verb λείπω mean “to be absent”: καὶ ἂν εἶχεν λείπειν τὸ δενδρόν, ἐπνίγετον ὁ Ἀκρίτης *Dig. E* 1538 (“had the tree not been there, Akritis would have drowned”), whereas perfective forms mean “not to occur”: ἤθελα νὰ ᾗτον μμπορετόν τούτο νὰ σου ᾗχε λείψει *Apoll. Rim. V* 1451 (“I wish you could have been spared that [bad news]”). For the development of this construction into a pluperfect see 5.3; for the regional use of this construction as a futurate subjunctive see 5.7.1.3.

εἶχα + Aorist Infinitive

- οὐκ ἂν εἰς οἶκον μᾶς ποτε εἶχετε πορευθῆναι *Dig. G* 1.275
 εἰ δὲ εἶχεν παραδιαβῆν (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.18)
 ἂν εἶχε ἐπάρει ὁ πρίγκιπας τότε τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην *Chron. Mor. H* 4876
 νὰ τὴν εἶχαμεν ἀπεβγάλειν *Dig. E* 1020 app. crit.; καὶ πῶς τοὺς εἶχες τρέψειν *ibid.* 1223
 ἂν εἶχεν δώσειν τίποτες *Assizes B* 369.12
 καὶ ἔαν οὐκ εἶχε συντριβῆ *Pol. Tr.* 990; ἔαν τὸ εἶχε καὶ τιμήσει *ibid.* 1127
 νομίζω νὰ εἶχες διαρραγῆν *Liv. V* 1147
 ἂν γοῦν εἶχεν εὐεργετήσῃ ὁ Θεὸς (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.8)
 ὥσᾱν νὰ μὴν εἶχαμεν φάγειν *DAM. STOUT., This., Logos* 3β6r.34 (1561)
 ἀνέμενα νὰ ᾗχάτε μου πέψει τὸ ἐδικό μου (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 1, 359.2)
 κάλλιον ἦτον νὰ μὴν εἶχα γεννηθεῖ *PAPASYNAD., Chron. IV* §3.23
 Λήνκος ἂν ἤμουνα κ’ ἐγώ, καμ’ εἶχα σᾶν κ’ ἐσένα *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* A4v.20 (1658)
 ἀνίσως καὶ εἶχε γεννηθῇ κανένas φόνος ... ὅπου ὁ Θεὸς νὰ μὴ τὸ δώση (1666, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 4, 192.55–7)
 ὦ Ξερξῆ, ἂν εἶχες φθάσῃ *BOUBOULIS, Limbon.* 147
 ἂν ἡ Ἀρετούσα εἶχε βαλθῇ ἐσένα ν’ ἀγαπήσῃ *KORNAROS, Erot. I.* 181; ἄς εἶχα κάμει ὄξω τοῦ νοῦ *ibid.* III.969

εἶχα + Present Infinitive

- ἔαν εἶχε λείπει ὁ Ἐκτορας *Pol. Tr.* 3779; ἔαν εἶχα εἴσται μετ’ ἐσέν *ibid.* 4262
 ἂν εἶχεν εἴσταν ἔνοχος *Assizes B* 445.27
 ἂν τὸ ᾗχα ξεύρει, δῖγνωμε, ὅτι φιλεῖς καὶ ἀρνᾶσαι *Katal.* 487; τὸ φῶς μου ἂν εἶχες τὸ ζητᾶν *ibid.* 537
 ἂν εἶχεν θέλειν, ἔπαιρνέν την *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 106.17
 αν εἶχεν το ξεύρειν *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 32.7; αν εἶχαν λείπειν οἱ ἄνθρωποι *ibid.* 241.14–15
 ἀνίσως καὶ ὁ Θεὸς νὰ ᾗχεν θέλειν νὰ ᾗτον χωσμένα *Fior* 105.36
 ἂν τᾶχα ἡξεύρει *Peri xen.* 256 app. crit. (A)
 ἂ σοῦ ᾗχα θέλει κάκητα *Rim. kor. A* 49
 ἂν εἶχαν ἔχει κάτεργα *Velis. ρ* 327

ἄν εἶχες λείπεσθ' ἀπ' ἐκεῖ KORONAIOS, *Pittakin* 34
 ὥσάν νά τό 'χε βλέπει *Theseid* III.73,4 (1529); ἄν εἶχες ξεύρει ἔτσι αὐτὴ ἤθελε καταντήσει *ibid.*
 IV.13,7–8
 ὥσάν ποτὲ νά μὴν εἶχεν ἔχει MOREZINOS, *Klini* 56.6; ὥσάν νά εἶχασιν τηγανίζεσται *ibid.*
 235.16
 ἀπὸ εἴτι φροῦτο εἶχε πέμπει ὁ πανάγαθος Θεός (1649, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 1,
 51.19–20)
 ὅποτε τῷ καιρῷ εἶχε ἔχει ἀπὸ κανεῖνε καμμία πείραξη (1695, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984:
 359.6–7)
 ποιά νά 'χε στέκει δυνατὴ KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.884; κι ἄν εἶχε λείπει ἡ πεσματιά *ibid.* II.1739

εἶχα + Perfect Infinitive

The construction εἶχα + passive perfect infinitive (εἶσται + perfect passive participle, see 5.4.3) expresses a counterfactual action/event with emphasis on the resulting state. For the active voice examples have only been found in Romanos's grammar.³⁶

Active

εἶχα ἔχει γραμμένα ... εἶχες ἔχει γραμμένα, etc. ROMANOS, *Grammar* 22.8–9

Passive

καλλίον καὶ 'μείνετε νηστικοί, παρὰ νά εἴχετε εἶσται σκοτωμένοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V
 396.31 ("it is better that you were hungry than that you had been dead")
 ὥσάν νά μὴ 'χαμ' ἔσται σάν αὐτοὺς γεννημένες *Theseid* I.30,6 (Follieri) ("as if we had not been
 born (i.e. 'human'), just like them"); ὥσάν νά εἶχαμ' ἔσται βγαλμένες ἀπὸ πέτρες *ibid.* I.30,7
 ("as if we had been made of stone")
 εἶχα εἶσθαι γραμμένος ... εἶχες εἶσθαι γραμμένος, etc. ROMANOS, *Grammar* 22.13

However, εἶχα + passive perfect infinitive can be found for the active with certain intransitive verbs, such as verbs of motion (cf. the pluperfect (5.3.1.2) and the perfect (5.4.1.2)): εἶχα εἶσθαι παγεμένος ROMANOS, *Grammar* 62.21.

5.2.2.2 εἶχα νά + Subjunctive

The construction εἶχα νά + subjunctive, expressing future in the past, has been found in a handful of texts of southern provenance. No examples of a present subjunctive have been found.

ἐθάρρου | πὼς εἶχασιν οἱ ἔγνοιες μου νά πάψου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* IV.160–1
 ἀνήμενε τὸ στεφάνι, ὅπου εἶχε νά λάβει ἀπὸ τὸν Θεόν RODINOS, *Mart. Ag. Mam.* 218.37
 τὸ μέλλον ὅπου εἶχε νά γένη VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.33–4
 ἐκεῖνος ὅπου εἶχεν νά γένει γαμπρός *Bertoldos* 66.11
 διὰ τοὺς Τούρκους που 'χασιν με τοὺς Φρατζέζους λόγον | πῶς νά βαρέσουν εἶχασιν οἱ δύο
 τὸν Βενετσάνον IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2724–5
 δὲν κατέχοντας τί εἶχε νά μᾶς ἀπανέβει *Diig. Sant.* 55.52

³⁶ As there is no context, it is uncertain whether the form γραμμένα is an invariable participle or whether a neut. pl. object is implied. Romanos calls this form a "second pluperfect", but it is very likely to be a conditional, as this construction has not been found for the pluperfect (see 5.3).

5.2.2.3 εἶχα + Subjunctive

The auxiliary εἶχα complemented by a bare subjunctive has been found in EMG texts of south-western provenance (cf. 5.3.1.6). The aorist subjunctive expresses a simple action or event, whereas the present subjunctive is used for repeated/habitual actions/events (εἶχα ξερνῶ, εἶχες ἀφουκρᾶσαι) and with stative verbs (typically εἶμαι). The construction occurs in both the protasis and the apodosis:

εἶχα + Aorist Subjunctive

ἐάν εἶχασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες σταθοῦσιν *Pol. Tr.* 9452 app. crit. (V)
καί μ' ἵντα ἄπονη καρδιά εἶχα σας λησμονήσω *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1273
μ' ἄν εἶχα μᾶς τὰ γράψουσιν *Rim. Sant.* 163
ἄν ἐμαζώνουνταν, λίμνην εἶχαν γιομίσου *DIKR., Diig. Pol.* 1085
εἶχα θρέψω *Pist. voskos* III 5.39 app. crit.; λιγώτερα καὶ σὺ νὰ ἔχες κατέχεις *ibid.* V 5.294
ἄν τὰ παιδιὰ μου εἶχαν ξαποτζίπωθοῦν τὸν πατέρα τους (1705, Kefalonia, *EVANGELATOS* 1995: 7, 167.22–3); ἄν εἶχαν γεροκομίσουνε ... τὸν πατέρα τους (*ibid.* 167.29–30)
ἄν εἶχανε ἐγνωρίσουν (1708, Peloponnese, *PAPADOPOULOS* 1976: 6, 124.25–6)
παρακαλῶντας σε πολλὰ ... | νὰ μοῦ ἔχες γένεις βοηθὸς *KATSAITIS, Thyest.* V.599–600; δὲν ἀνίμεναν τό ἔχε τοὺς λάχη *id., Klathmos* II.550; εἶχες μου βαρεθῆς *ibid.* III.15
εἶχαν κάνουν τὰ ἄνωθεν κλεψιμία *PYRRIS, Diig. panouklas* 111.21–2
καὶ δὲν εἶχαν σκλαβωθοῦν *Paidi stavr.* 3; ἄχ, καὶ ἄς εἶχασιν πνιγοῦσι *ibid.* 4

εἶχα + Present Subjunctive

κί' ἄς εἶχα ἔχω γνώση! *CHORTATIS, Katz.* IV.88
καὶ τσι βουλές μου τσι καλές ἄς εἶχες ἀφουκρᾶσαι *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1090
ἄν τὰ παιδιὰ μου ... δὲν εἶχαν τὸν εὐχαριστοῦν (1705, Kefalonia, *EVANGELATOS* 1995: 7, 167.22–3); ἄν εἶχαν ... εὐχαριστοῦνε τὸν πατέρα τους (*ibid.* 167.29–30)
κάλλιο μοῦ 'τοῦν νὰ 'μαι βυθισμένη | εἰς τ' ἄγναφα τῆς γῆς, μέσα θαμμένη | νὰ 'χα ξερνῶ φωτιά, μέγα καμίνι *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.533–5 (“it would have been better for me to be buried deep inside the earth, spitting fire like a large furnace”); σὰ νὰ 'χα τοῦ 'μαι φυσική του μάννα *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.854

5.2.2.4 εἶχε(ν) + Subjunctive

Impersonal εἶχε(ν) with a bare subjunctive has been found in the Kefalonian Katsaitis's *Lament for the Peloponnese*,³⁷ which was written a few years after the period covered by this Grammar (1716) (cf. 5.3.1.7): μ' ἀνίσως τὴν ἐξιά μου ἤθελά 'χα, | ἤθελες τὸ γνωρίσεις τό 'χε κάμω *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.102–3 (ἐξιά = ἐξουσία) (“if I had my strength, you would learn what I would do”); ὥσαν ὅλον τὸν κόσμον νὰ 'χε πάρουν *ibid.* I.724; ἀνίσως κί' ὁκ τὸ εἶδωλο δὲν εἶχε φωτιστοῦμε *id., Ifig.* II.148.

5.2.2.5 εἶχα/εἶχε(ν) with Past Tense Complementation

In counterfactual environments εἶχα/εἶχε can sometimes be found with past-tense complementation (usually the imperfect); in the first two examples from *Velthandros*

³⁷ The same construction also appears in the late 18th-c. Zakynthian comedy *O Chasis*: νὰ εἶχ' ἔρθεις στὰ κουρινιάσματα *Gouzelis, O Chasis* I.77 (ed. Synadinou); εἶχε τὸν πάω δέρνοντας *ibid.* II.69.

accommodation of the metre may have played its role (ἐγεννήθην and εὔρεθην for γεννηθεῖν and εὔρεσεῖν at the verse end), but that does not necessarily render the construction invalid:

νὰ μὴ εἶχα ἐγεννήθην *Velth.* 427; ἄψυχος νὰ εἶχα εὔρεθην *ibid.* 428

τὰ ζώδια τὰ λαξευτὰ οὐ μὴ ᾿χα τὰ ἐσκόπουν *Velth.* 434

τ' ἀμμάτι' ἀπού' χεν ἦτονε καλύτερ' ὀγιά μένα | πολὺ καιρὸ πρωτύτερα νὰ ᾿χα ᾿σαι

τυφλωμένα *TROILOS, Rodol.* II.193–4

ὥσά νὰ εἶχε ἦτονε σαρκικός ἀπὸ τῇ σάρκα μας (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 239, 193.11)

ἄν εἶχεν ἦτονε παρὼν *BOUBOULIS, Limbon.* Epil. 65

εἶχε ἦμουν *SPANOS, Grammar* 42.12

5.2.3 ἦθελα

General	Restricted	Rare
ἦθελα γράψει(ν) ἦθελα γράφει(ν)	ἦθελα ἔχει(ν) γραμμένο (act.) ἦθελα εἴσται(ν) γραμμένος (pass.) ἦθελα γράψω ἦθελα νὰ γράψω ἦθελα νὰ γράφω ἦθελα ἔγραφα ἦθε(ν) γράψω ἦθεν εἴσται(ν)/ἦμουν	ἦθελα γράφω ἦθελα ἔγραψα

5.2.3.1 ἦθελα + Infinitive

As mentioned in the introduction to this section (5.2), it is not entirely clear when ἦθελα + infinitive constructions acquired non-volitional meanings, but they are well-established by the 13th/14th c., since they are even used in not-very-vernacular texts such as the Grottaferrata version of *Digenis* and the *Tale of Sevastokrator Thomas*. Perfective complementation (aorist infinitive) denotes a simple action or event, whereas the present infinitive is used to denote durativity or repetition: it presents the action/situation expressed by the verb as ongoing or repetitive. Imperfective complementation is not restricted to verbs that lack a perfective stem or are inherently durative such as e.g. εἶμαι, ἐξεύρω and ἔχω. As noted, ἦθελα + infinitive occurs in both the protasis and the apodosis.

ἦθελα + Aorist Infinitive

ὅταν ἦθελες δοξασθῇν παρ' ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν *Dig.* G II.81

(ἐάν ...) ὕστερον οὐδὲν ἠθέλησεν πληρῶσαι τὸν γάμον (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 229.97)

οὐδένα [sc. βιβλίον] ἦθελεν εὔρεθῇ (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.18)

πολλὰ ἠθέλαν βαρεθῇ *Chron. Mor.* H 2818

εἴ τινος ἀπὸ ἐμᾶς τοὺς ἐκτετόρους ἦθελε ἔλθει θάνατος (1414, Corfu, MALTEZOU 1991a: (1), 316.12)

εἰς ὅποιαν σταυροφόρον πλώρην σας ἦ παντιέραν ἤθελε τύχει (1415, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1979: App. XVII, 216.13)

ἐάν τὸ εἶδες, ἤθελες εἰπεῖν καὶ ἔναιν ζωντανοῦ ἀνθρώπου στόμα *Achil.* L 528

εἰς ὅ,τι ἤθελεν κάμειν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.12)

δεν ἤθελες κατεβεῖ, εἰάν πρῶτον δεν ἤθελες ξετάσει πῶς να ανέβεις *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 2.12

εἴ τις ἤθελε ἀντιτείνει (1547, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: I, 70.16–17)

ὅ,τι πρόβατον μεγάλον ἤθελεν χαθῆν (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 9, 87.16)

ἂν ἦσουν σιμὰ πούπετα ... ἤθελα σηκωθῇ νὰ ἔλθω (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.10–11)

ὅπου νὰ μὴν ἤθελα γεννηθῇ (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 315.53)

ἂν τὲς ἤθελα ἐφθάσει ἐδῶ ὅλες τὲς ἔκαιγα (1615, Lefkada, PENDOGALOS 1977b: 2, 148.21)

ἤθελεν σηκωθῆν (1635, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 1, 13.7)

κάλλιον ἦτον νὰ μὴν ἠθέλετε γεννηθῇ *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §36.197; καὶ τότες νὰ ἐκοίταζες τί ἤθελα κάμει *ibid.* II §7.5

ὅποιος ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐδικούς μου ἤθελε προτιμήσει νὰ γενῇ ἱερέας (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 482.3–4)

ἤθελεν τοῦ λάχει (1671, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1395, 821.32)

καὶ περάσοντας οἱ 10 ἡμέραι καὶ δὲν ἤθελε γυρέψει τὰ δικαιώματά του, νὰ τὰ χάνει (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.16)

πολλὰ ἤθελε μανίσει *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1865; κὶ ἄς ἤθελα σ' ἀφήσει *ibid.* III.969

ἤθελα + Present Infinitive

ὅτι ἤθελεν εἶσθεν ἀνήξευρον τὸ παιδίον ποίου ἀνδρὸς ἔνε (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 227.52)

ἠθέλαμεν ἔχει καὶ ὀλιγότερον κόπον εἰς τὰς γραφὰς καὶ ἠθέλαμεν γράφειν καὶ πλατύτερα (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.9)

ἤθελεν ξεύρει ποιά ἐν' αὐτῇ *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 36

καὶ ὅπου διαβαίνεις καὶ πατεῖς ἤθελα σπέρνει μόσχον *Katal.* 6

ἤθελεν ἔχει ὁ εἰς διάφορος *Assizes A* 46.27–8

ἠθέλαν καταλυέσθαι *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 76.19

ἂ σοῦ 'θελά 'χει κάκητα *Rim. kor.* V 49

ἤθελα βλέπει κείνη *Theseid* III.75,6 (1529)

νὰ τὰ τρώγῃ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὅπου ἔλεν λειτουργᾶν τὸ μοναστήριν (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 173.18)

ἂν πολλάκις καὶ δὲν ἠθέλαν ἔχει ἀρνιά (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 16, 94.16)

ἂν ἠθέλαμεν κοιμᾶσται, νὰ ρουχαλίζωμεν, ἠθέλαμεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ὄνειρον ἐθωρούσαμεν *Vios Aisop.* I 269.37–8

ἂν ἤθελε πολεμᾷ καὶ ὁ Λουνυάδης ὡσὰν ἐπολεμούσανε οἱ Λέχοι, ἐσκοτώνασι τὸν σουλτὰν Μουράττη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 73.12–13

ἂν ἤθελεν ἡξεύρει ὁ αὐθέντης τοῦ σπιτίου εἰς ποίαν βίγλαν τῆς νυκτὸς ἔρχεται ὁ κλέπτης, ἤθελεν ἀγρυπνᾷ καὶ δὲν ἤθελεν ἀφήσει τὸ σπῆτι του νὰ τὸ τρυπήσουν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 24.43

ὅποιος δὲν ἤθελε μὲ λογιᾶζει (1656, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 6, 164.40–1)

τὸ εἶτι ἤθελε μαζώνει νὰ τὸ περιφυλάττει εἰς τὰς χεῖρας του (1660, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969j: 1, 140.10)

κανένα δεν ἤθελε πρέπει εἰς τὴν Ἰωάνναν Γκουτιέρζ *Don Kis.* 44.12

ἤθελα + Perfect Infinitive

The construction ἤθελα + perfect infinitive (ἔχει(ν) + perfect passive participle for the active and εἶσται + perfect passive participle for the passive, as well as for the active of

certain intransitive verbs such as μισεύω; see 5.4) expresses a counterfactual action/event with a strong emphasis on the resulting state:³⁸

Active

ἂν εἶχε δείξει ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τότε τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὸν κύρ Μπλάζιον, ἐκεῖνος τὸ ἤθελεν ἔχει
 ἱατρεμένον· ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν ἀνιάτρευτον CHEILAS, *Chron.* 354.1–2
 τὰ ἀγομμένα ὅπου ἤθελεν ἔχει καμωμένα (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 4, 27.10)
 ἀνίσως καὶ δὲν ἤθελεν τὸ ἔχει φυτεμένον τὸν Μάρτη (1625, Crete, VLACHAKI 1986: 22, 446.21)
 καὶ ἂ δὲν ἤθελα ἔχει καὶ τὰ σπίτια μου ταμένα τοῦ λιγόχρονου μου γιοῦ (1625, Crete,
 MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 79.29)
 ἤθελα ἔχει γραμμένα ... ἤθελες ἔχει γραμμένα, etc. ROMANOS, *Grammar* 28.24–5

Passive

ὀρίζει γοῦν ὅτι, εἴπερ ἦν καταδοχή ... γενέσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην πράξιν, πάντες ἤθελον εἶσθαι
 ὑπογεγραμμένοι (1375, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 32, 125.43–4); καὶ ἀπὸ τότε ἤθελεν εἶσθαι
 τὸ διαλυτέον ἔρρωμένον (ibid. 125.45)
 πιασμένος γὰρ ἤθελεν ἢ σκοτωμένος εἶσθαι, | ἂν ἔλειπεν ὁ Μενεστεύς *Pol. Tr.* 4082
 (ὅπου ...) νὰ ἤθελα εἶσθαι πεθαμένος (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 315.53)
 ὡσάν ποτὲ νὰ μὴν ἐθέλασι εἶσθαι καμωμένα (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 48.16)
 ἤθελα εἶσθαι γραμμένος ... ἤθελες εἶσθαι γραμμένος, etc. ROMANOS, *Grammar* 28.24–5

5.2.3.2 ἤθελα + Subjunctive

The construction ἤθελα + bare subjunctive appears from the 14th c. onward in texts from various areas (Heptanese, Crete, Peloponnese, Epirus, Macedonia, certain Aegean islands). It usually has perfective complementation, but examples of present subjunctive have also been found, with durative and habitual readings:

ἤθελα + Aorist Subjunctive

ἂν ἤθελες βάλεις λίτρες δέκα σαλίτριο (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.22)
 ἂ δὲν ἐθέλασι τῆς δοθοῦν τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπέρπυρα (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS
 2003: 120, 219.61)
 εἰδεμὴ καὶ ἐθέλασιν ἀποθάνουν (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 5, 25.18)
 τσι κορασές δεις ἤθελες CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.444 app. crit. (N)
 φόρσα νὰ ἔθελα ντεσπεραριστῶ (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 79.14–15) (< Ven. *desperar*)
 τὰ ὅσα ποὺ νὰ ἤθελαν μοῦ εὔρεθοῦν (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 111.16)
 νὰ ἤθελα ξεψυχήσω MONTSEL., *Evgena* 914
 εἰσὲ ὅ,τι λάδι ἐθέλασιν κάμου (1671, Naxos, SFYROERAS 1963a: 2, 494.26)
 μὲ ὅ,τι μόδον ἤθελαν μπορέσου (1671, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 3, 220.8–9)
 ὡς καθώς ἐθέλασι μιλήσου (1673, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 15, 30.12)
 τάχατες πόσοι ποντικοὶ νὰ θέλασινε σμίξουν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1795 app. crit.

³⁸ Due to the late appearance and rarity of the perfect periphrasis ἔχω + infinitive (see 5.4.1.6), no examples of ἤθελα ἔχει(ν) + infinitive have been found. The following example from *Bertoldinos*: ἂν καλὰ καὶ δὲν ἤθελεν εἶσθαι τόσοι πανούργος καὶ πονηρὸς ὡς ὁ ἄνωθεν Μπερτόλδος ἤθελεν ἔχει κάνει τὸ ὀλιγότερον καμπόσον ἀπὸ ἐκείνην τὴν γνώσιν καὶ ἀπλότητα *Bertoldin.* 92.24–5 is nonsensical, unless we read ἤθελεν ἔχει κανι (< κανε = κἄν), τὸ ὀλιγότερον, καμπόσον ἀπὸ ἐκείνην τὴν γνώσιν καὶ ἀπλότητα ('he would at least, at the very least, have some of [Bertoldos's] wisdom and craftiness'), which is the reading of Kechayoglou, who edits the same passage in his *Anthology* (KECHAYOGLOU 2001: 372).

τὰ ζᾷ ὅπου ἔθελαν τῆς εὐρεθοῦ (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 463, 687.5)
 τὰ ὅσα ἤθελαν πουληθοῦν (1697, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 30, 24.62)
 ἤθελες τὸ γνωρίσεις KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.103; λογιάζω δὲν ἤθελες γροικήσεις *ibid.* I.698; ἂν ἤθελαν ἐμποῦν *ibid.* II.293
 καὶ ὅποτε καιρὸ ἤθελα τοὺς δώκω τ' ἄ<σ>πρα τους (1716, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 38, 140.7–8)

ἤθελα + Present Subjunctive

ἀπὸ ἐκείνους ὅπου ἤθελαν ἐξουσιάζουν εἰς τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἀγιωτάτης μητροπόλεως μας (1371, Corfu, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 3, 68.14)
 νὰ ἤθελεν ἀγοράζει ὁ ἄνωθεν ἱερεὺς ... τόσο κριθάρι (1537, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 31, 35.10)
 ἂν πολλάκις δὲν ἤθελαν τὸ δουλεύουν καλὰ (1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 2, 20.10)
 τοῦ ἤθελες ἔχεις χάρη CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.194
 ὅ,τι ἤθελε φαίνεται νὰ μοῦ χρωστοῦσιν (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 51.114)
 ὁπότε δὲν ἤθελα εἶμαι καλὰ γεροκομημένος (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.37)
 ἐκείνη ὅπου ἤθελεν τὸ ἐπιμελιέται (1692, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 23, 17.49)
 ἀπὸ τὴν πρώτη ὅ,τί ἤγα ἄς τό ἤθελες θυμᾶσαι KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1089

5.2.3.3 ἤθελε(ν) + Subjunctive

The same construction as the previous one, but with impersonal ἤθελε(ν), can be found occasionally from the 16th c. onwards in texts from various areas (Heptanese, Aegean, Kastoria).³⁹ It usually has perfective complementation. Imperfective complementation has been found with the stative verb ἔχω.

ὅσα ἤθελεν συμφωνήσουν (1551, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 16, 33.10)
 τὴν ὥραν παρευθὺς ὅπου ἤθελε τὸ φᾶμεν VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 45
 ἤθελε σβηστοῦν ἢ καν ἤθελε ελαφρώσουν *Kaloandros* 405.9–10; ἤθελε χαρῶ *ibid.* 405.39
 μὲ ὅ,τι μὸδον ἤθελαν μπορέσου (1671, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 3, 220.8–9)
 καὶ ἂν ἤθελε κανέναν καιρὸ τ' ἀφήκουν (1692, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 170, 102.6);
 κεραμίδια ὅσα ἤθελε χρειαστοῦν (1713, *ibid.* 322, 211.3)
 (άνισως ...) καὶ οἱ κληρονόμοι ἤθελεν ἀπεθάνουν (1696, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 47, 140.9
 facts.) (misread as ἠθέλει in the ed.)
 π' ἂν ἤθελ' ἔχω ἄνδρα κακὸ KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.746

³⁹ The construction also occurs in the late 18th-c. Zakynthian comedy *O Chasis*: πιλάλα τὸν κυνήγησα, μ' ἂν ἤθελε τὸν πιάσω, | μὰ τὸ ψωμί, τὸν κερατὰ, βρὲ νὰν τὸν τεταρτιάσω Gouzelis, *O Chasis* II.21–2 (ed. Synodinos); ἂν ἤθελ' ἔχεις ἄρματα, σ' ἔδερνε ὁ κλεφτάτσος; *ibid.* II.95; ἂν ἤθελ' ἔχετε ντροπή *ibid.* III.313.; in the early correspondence of Korais, vol. 1, e.g. letter 1 of 1774 (writing to Chios): ἤθελε μὲ παρακαλέσωσι πολλοί (3.14), ἤθελε ... ἐκλέξω (3.14–15); in letter 11 of 1783 (writing to Smyrna): ἤθελε τὰ καταστήσω κοινὰ (27.11); but e.g. in letter 260 of 1802 (writing to his friend Alexandros Vasileiou): ἤθελα σὲ προβάλει (51.30–1); it also occurs in the memoirs of Kolokotronis (1836) (see PANDELIDIS 2004: 8).

5.2.3.4 ἤθελα νά + Subjunctive

Just like its non-past counterpart θέλω (see 5.1.4.4 for discussion), ἤθελα νά + subjunctive is usually used to express volition. However, similarly to θέλω νά + subjunctive, though not as frequently, ἤθελα νά + aorist subjunctive is occasionally used to express future in the past. The examples with a present subjunctive (ἤθελε νά 'ναι, ἤθελες νά 'ῃς) are counterfactual conditionals with present reference.

ἐσώθη τὸ καράβι εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἤθελεν νά ὑπάγει (15th c., Unknown, SEARBY 2003: 8, 696.2–3)
 ἐξηλώθη ἡ ἀρμάδα τοὺς ἀφέντες ἀποὺ 'θέλαν νά 'ρτουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 162.15 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari) (ἔμελλε νά κατεβεῖ in V)
 μα ἤθελε νά 'ναι πλειότερη φωτιά στα σωθικά μου CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.184
 κι ἄς ἤθελα σὲ τρόπο ν' ἀποθάνω *Pist. voskos* I 2.78
 διότι ἤθελεν νά πέσει ὅλο τὸ σπίτι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §19.16; τί καρδίαν ἤθελες νά ἔχης
 τώρα καὶ τί στενοχωρίαν *ibid.* IV §11.21

5.2.3.5 ἤθελα (νά) with Past Tense Complementation

In counterfactual contexts both ἤθελα and ἤθελα νά can sometimes be found with past-tense complementation, usually imperfect, sporadically aorist indicative, especially, though not exclusively, in Heptanesian texts:

δὲν ἔθελεν εἶστον εἰς τὸν κόσμον περίτου ὁμορφον πράμαν *Fior* 109.7 (for the form εἶστον/ἦστον see 4.8.2)
 ὅποιος ἤθελεν παρακούσει καὶ ἤθελεν ἔπαιρνε τίποτε κρυφά (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 236.119–20)
 νὰ τοῦ δώση μία γελάδα ὅπου νά ἤθελε ἦστον δικιολογημένη (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 20, 32.10)
 ἤθελ' ἤμουν GERMANO, *Grammar* 101.11
 καὶ ρήγας νά 'θελ' ἦτονε DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 49; νά ἤθελέ 'τονε κακὰ *ibid.* 1249
 ἤθελε ἦτον πολλὰ χρήσιμον (1698, Sinai, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 7, 60.25)
 ἐτοῦτο ἤθελ' ἦτανε ἄδικα καμωμένο KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* IV.171; μ' ἀνίσως τὴν ἐξιά μου ἤθελά 'χα
id., *Klathmos* I.102 (ἐξιά = ἐξουσία); σὰν νά 'θελ' ἦτον γνήσιο παιδί μου *ibid.* I.856
 ἂν ἤθελα λεπτῶς νά σὲ τὰ ἔγραψα ὅλα | ... πολλὰ ἤθελαν βαρεθῇ ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου τὸ ἀκοῦσιν
Chron. Mor. H 2816–18
 ἀνίσως καὶ ἐγὼ νά εἶχα τὸ ἔναν μου πόδιν εἰς τὸ μνημα, ἔθελα νά 'μαθα *Fior* 110.14

5.2.3.6 ἤθε(ν) with Various Complementations

A shortened form ἤθε(ν) for ἤθελα/ἤθελε is not uncommon in texts from southern areas (Heptanese, Peloponnese, Crete, Cyprus) and from certain islands in the Aegean (Chios, Naxos) (see also 2.4 s.v. (ἐ)θέλω);⁴⁰ it is usually complemented by a subjunctive, and

⁴⁰ A single example in *Assizes*: ἤθεν χάσει ἐκεῖνον τὸ νά ἔδωκεν μὲ δίκαιον *Assizes* A 69.11 should be read as ἤθεν χάσει.

sporadically by the imperfect or infinitive of εἶμαι (3 sg. only). In the case of 3 sg. the subjunctive is usually indistinguishable from the infinitive, even when final /n/ is present (for addition of final /n/ to 3 sg. pres. ind. see 4.1; see also I, 3.7.2.1.3); the spelling of the ending with <ει> or <η> is a choice by the modern editor. Given the fact that for all other persons the subjunctive is normally used, it would perhaps be preferable to consider 3 sg. forms to be subjunctives as well.

- όπου και αν ἦθεν ἔβρεθεί *Apoll. Rim.* A 934; να το ἔθεν κατέχει *ibid.* 949
 ἄν πολλάκις ἦθε ἔρθει (*app. crit.*) (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 8, 221.8–9)
 ἦθεν πειρακτῇ *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 287; ἦθεν δώσειν ὄφελος *ibid.* 1197
 δὲν ἦτον μπορεζάμενο ἐκεῖνο νά ἔθεν πάρης; *Alfav.* 11 48
 ἄν ἦθε ἔχει λουμπάρδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 129.32 *app. crit.*
 ἦθε γράψω *GERMANO, Grammar* 99.18; ἄς ἦθε σωπάσω *ibid.* 99.29; νά ἦθε γράψεις *ibid.* 101.7
 ἄς ἔθεν τοῦ πῆς, ἀφέντη μου, τύφλες καὶ σφάκιολά του *KONDAR., Paides* 973
 ἄν ἦθε φάγω τὸ φαγί *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 105; ἄν ἦθε πιῶ καὶ τὸ πιστόν *ibid.* 106
 ὅστις ἦθε γροικῆση *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1399; ἄν ἦθεν πᾶ *ibid.* 1630; νά ἔθεν εἶν ἄλλοι τόσοι *ibid.* 2667
 σὲ ὅ,τιν βιάντζον ἦθεν τὸν ἐφωτίσειν ἀφέντης ὁ Θεός καὶ σὲ ὅ,τι διάφορον ἦθεν κάμει (1680, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 8, 582.10–11) (βιάντζον < Ital. *viaggio*)
 καὶ εἶτι ἄλλη ἦθε χρειαστῇ πάσης λογῆς ξυλή (1713, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 322, 211.3)
 ὡς ἦθε δουλεύουν οἱ δεκαρχίτες (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.13)
 σὰ νά ἔθεν εἴσται λίθος *Imb. Rim.* 458
 ὁποῖος ἦθε εἴσταιν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 60, 124.12)
 ἴσαν νά ἔθεν ἦταν ἵταίρι *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2938

One example has been found of a shortened 2 sg. form ἦθες: εἶτι μᾶς ἦθες εἰπεῖν *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 144 (reading of ms M: εἶ τι μᾶς εἰ θές).

5.2.4 ἦτον/ἦμουν

Restricted	Rare
ἦμουν/ἦτον (διὰ) νά γράψω ἦμουν/ἦτον (διὰ) νά γράφω	ἦτον νά ἔγραψα ἦτον νά ἔγραφα ἦτον νά εἶχα γράψει

5.2.4.1 ἦμουν/ἦτον νά + Subjunctive

Impersonal ἦτον νά + subjunctive can be used to express future in the past and counterfactuality with both present and past reference. The construction can also have modal (deontic, potential) connotations (cf. its future counterpart with εἶμαι, and impersonal εἶναι, 5.1.6). Perfective complementation is the most common, though sometimes the construction can

be found with a present subjunctive, with stative verbs (λείπει in Damaskinos Stouditis) or to express durativity (βράζει in the second example from Falieros).

δέν ἦτον νά γλιτώση FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 82; κι ἡ τόση λάβρα ποῦ μέ καί ἄν ἦτον νά σέ βράζει ibid. 565

ἄν ἦτον νά γράψω τές γιάσες του ὡς τοῦ νᾶζουν δέν ἔφταννα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 32.33–4; θωρῶντα ὁ ρήγας, ὅτι ἦτο νά σκοτωθοῦν πολλοί ibid. 96.33–4

αν δεν είχαν νώσει οι βαχλιώτες, ἦτον νά σκοτώσουν τον αποστολέν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 28.8–9; ἦτον νά γινεῖ μέγαν σκάνταλον ibid. 242.3

ἐκ τὴν πολλή του τὴν πρικήα ἦτονε νά πλαντάξη Alex. Rim. 882

ἄν ἦτον νά λείπει τὸ Πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ... ἤθελε φανεῖν ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι δέν ἤξευρε πρῶτα τὸ καλὸν του DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 10, k2r.36–7 (1561); καὶ πλέον κανεῖς δέν ἦτον νά μέ ἐμποδίζει ὡσάν τὴν πρώτην φοράν ibid., *Logos* 27, Γ7r.13–14

ἐτοῦτο ἦτον ... νά γένη SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 39.31

καὶ τότε ἦτον νά ἰδῆς τὸ πῶς ἐπεριπάτειν τὸ πρόβατον μέ τὸν λύκον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §16.12

επρονούσεν ἀκόμη ὅταν ὁ χρόνος ἦτον νά γένει με ευθηνίαν ἢ με πείνα Don Kis. 72.25–6; ὅτι ἦτον νά τον θάψουν ἐδῶ ibid. 88.15–16

Sporadically (ὁ)διὰ νά is substituted for νά: ἐπήγασίν τονε εἰς τὸ νοσοκομεῖον, ὅχι νά ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα νά ἰαθεῖ, διότις οὐδετινὰς δέν τοῦ ἔδιδεν ζώήν, οὐδὲ ἦτονε ὁδιὰ νά ζήσει MOREZINOS, *Klini* 273.8–10.

With a personal form of εἶμαι one example has been found (assuming that in the 3 sg. examples above ἦτον is, in fact, impersonal): δέν ἤμεσταν διὰ νά προκόψομεν σὲ τούτην τὴν αὐλήν Bertoldin. 108.35.

5.2.4.2 ἦτον νά with Past Tense Complementation

In counterfactual contexts the construction ἦτον νά can also be found with past-tense complementation: μ' ἄν ἦτον νά μὴ 'χά 'σται | ἡ φλόγα τῆς ἀγάπης σου FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 589–90; ἄν ἦτονε νά 'πήγαινε στὸν Ἄδην ἄλλος γι' ἄλλον ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 307; δίχως αὐτὴν δέν πάμενε, ξεῦρε, στὴν Ῥωμανία, | ἄν ἦτο νά σφαγήκαμεν ὅλοι μας μέ μανία PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 391–2.

5.2.5 ἦρτα + Various Complementations

Restricted
ἦρτα νά γράψω ἦρτα γράψει(ν)

The construction ἦρτα followed by either νά + subjunctive or an infinitive has been found in two Cypriot texts (cf. 5.7.4 for the use of ἔρχομαι in a futurative context). The construction is likely to have been influenced by Italian; see GIACALONE RAMAT/SANSÒ 2014: 24–34 for the use of *venire* as an auxiliary (though complemented by a participle or adjective) expressing a “change of state” in Old Italian vernaculars: παραῦτα ἐγίνην ζάλη

καὶ ἦρτα νὰ πνιγοῦσιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 62.13 (ἦρτα = ἦρταν); ὅ,τι γιωργήσου τὰ ἄνωθεν χωράφια, ὅ,τ' ἦρτεν γενεῖ (1674, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 10, 25.9–10).

5.3 The Pluperfect

The AG monolectic pluperfect originally expressed an action/event completed in the past, with special focus on the result of this action within the past time frame (KÜHNER/GERTH ³1904: 150). In post-classical Greek the pluperfect had started to be used to express simple temporal anteriority in the past (BLASS et al. 1961: 177–8; MOSER 2009: 216–17). In Late Antiquity it had disappeared from the spoken language altogether and had come to be replaced with periphrastic, or auxiliary verb constructions. The most widespread of these constructions consisted of the imperfect of εἰμί and a perfect or an aorist active participle for the active voice and the imperfect of εἰμί + a perfect passive participle for the passive voice (AERTS 1965: 36–51; 76–90), although for simple anteriority in the past the aorist and the imperfect were the most commonly used tenses.

In written texts, however, the monolectic pluperfect continued to be in use for many centuries after its demise. As it was by then a “dead” category, it was not necessarily used in the AG way, and an increased use of residual monolectic pluperfects instead of aorists and imperfects may be observed in high-register Byzantine literature (though not in low-register texts), providing writers with variant forms useful to accommodate metre and rhythm, or to make the style more elevated (HINTERBERGER 2007). Due to its complicated morphology, the monolectic pluperfect is hardly ever found residually in LMedG and EMG mixed-register and higher-register texts (see also 4.9.3.3).

In the period covered by this Grammar, the aorist and the imperfect are still widely used to express anteriority in the past, even after periphrastic constructions have manifested themselves in this function. Sometimes the anteriority is made explicit through the use of adverbs such as πρῶτύτερα or πρὶο μπρός.

In the following example the countess dies (aor. ἀπέθανε) in v. 8001, but her having first been married to the ruler of Karytaina in line 8004 is expressed by an imperfect (ἦτον) and her giving birth to a son by her second husband in line 8006 is rendered by an aorist (ἔποικεν).

διαβόντα γὰρ μικρὸς καιρὸς ἀπέθανε ἡ κουντέσσα,
τοῦ κόντου ντὲ Μπριένε ἡ γυνὴ ὅπου ἦτον αὐταδέλφη
τοῦ δοῦκα γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, μισὶρ Γυλιάμου ἐκείνου,
ἐνῶ ἦτον πρώτη σύμβια τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ στρατιώτου,
τοῦ ἀφέντη τῆς Καρύταινας, ὡσὰν σὲ τὸ ἀφηγήθην.
Ἐκεῖνη γὰρ ἡ ἀρχόντισσα ἔποικεν μὲ τὸν κόντον
υἱόν, ἐξαίρετον παιδί, τὸ ὠνόμασαν Γατιέρην

Chron. Mor. H 8001–7

(... after a little while the countess died, count De Brienne's wife who was the sister of Mr Guillaume, the duke of Athens, while she had first been the wife of that marvellous soldier, the ruler of Karytaina, as I have told you. Now this noble lady had had a son with the count, and they had named him Gautier.)

In the next example the tower collapsed, just as the old woman had predicted (aor. εἶπεν καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν):

καὶ ἔπεσε ὅλος κατὰ κράτος καὶ ἔγινεν ἔτσι ὡς καθὼς εἶπεν καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν ἐκείνη ἡ γράϊα
KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.9–10

In the next example the second εἶδα clearly precedes the first chronologically; similarly, the woman must have given birth to the child (ἔκαμε) before she could be holding him:

ἐκεῖ εἶδα καὶ μία γυναῖκα πόρνην, τὴν ὁποία εἶδα μίαν φορὰν εἰς τὸ παζάρι ὅπου τὴν ἐπόμπευαν καὶ τὴν εἶχαν καὶ ἐκάθετον ἀπάνω εἰς ἓνα γαῖδαρον καὶ ἐκράτειεν καὶ ἓνα παιδίον ὅπου ἔκαμε παστάρδικον ΠΑΡΑ-ΛΑΥΡ., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 109.14–18

(“there I saw a prostitute whom I had seen once before when they paraded her on a donkey while she held the bastard child she had had”)

In this example, ἔπιασαν is clearly anterior to ἡύραμεν:

καὶ ἡύραμεν τοὺς ἄλλους σκλάβους συντοπίτες μας, Μανιάτες, ὅπου τοὺς ἔπιασαν πρὶο μπρὸς ἀπόξω ἀπὲ τὴν Κόρσικα (1681, Genoa, ΒΑΥΑΚΑΚΟΣ 1988: 506.16–17)

(“and we found the other slaves, Maniots just like us, whom they had captured earlier before the coast of Corsica”)

In the following examples an aorist + adverbial (ποτέ του, ἄλλη φορά) is used in an environment that in SMG would automatically trigger a pluperfect (εἶχε φάει, εἶχε ξαναπάει):

ὁ δὲ ξένος ἐπειδὴ ποτέ του δὲν ἔφαγε πίτες, ἐμάζωνεν αὐτὰς καὶ ἔτρωγέ τις ὥσαν ψωμίν *Vios Aisop.* D 227.4–5

(“since the stranger had never eaten pies before, he tucked in and ate them as if they were bread”)

(κράζου ...) ὁ γὰρ γενεραλίσμο Φραντζέσκο Μορεζίνη | ποὺ στάθηκε κι ἄλλη φορά καὶ ξεῦραν τον ἐκεῖνοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 469.21–2

(“as *generalissimo* [the Venetians] called for Francesco Morosini, who had been there before, and [therefore] they knew him”)

In the LMedG period certain periphrastic, or auxiliary verb constructions start to be used as pluperfects. The construction εἶχα + infinitive had existed in Greek since Ancient times and had gone through a development from potential in AG to counterfactual conditional some time in the EMedG period, a use the construction continues to have throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods (for details see 5.2). Chatzidakis’s theory that the pluperfect εἶχα + infinitive developed from this conditional use is now generally accepted (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 598–609; so too AERTS 1965; MOSER 1988; HORROCKS 1995: 169–70; HORROCKS ²2010: 300–1). Contexts such as the following show how the semantic shift from conditional to temporal anteriority, via hypothetical anteriority, could quite easily occur: ἐθρήνησεν ὥσπερ νὰ εἶχεν χάσει | τὸ ρηγᾶτον *Chron. Mor.* H 8179–80 (“he lamented as if he had lost the kingdom”). As a pluperfect the construction appears in writing from the 14th c. onwards, and given the broad geographical spread of the first examples, it is

likely already to have been well established in the spoken language.⁴¹ It is noteworthy that in certain texts the construction is used only for the conditional and not as a pluperfect, e.g. in Dellaportas, Falieros and in Chortatsis's *Panoria* (though, oddly, not in *Katzourbos* and *Erofilii*) and in *Thrinou Kyprou*. Kornaros, on the other hand, uses the construction as a kind of pluperfect in specific environments only. Also note that in certain texts the same construction is used to express the aorist or imperfect indicative (see 5.6 for details).

The second auxiliary verb construction to be used to express anteriority in the past is εἶχα + perfect passive participle. This construction is used mainly with transitive verbs, usually with an overt direct object, with which the declined participle displays full gender, number and case agreement. Before the LMedG period this construction represented a stative past, describing a state in the past rather than an action/event in the past that is anterior to another action/event in the past (AERTS 1965: 161–7; MOSER 1988: 239–46) and was therefore equivalent to an imperfect. In the LMedG and EMG periods this stative use continues to exist, especially in constructions in which εἶχω can easily be interpreted as “to have/keep in a certain state”, e.g. σκλάβον οὐ σκλάβαν ὅπου εἶχεν τὸν πόδαν θλασμένον *Assizes* B 432.10 (“a male or female slave who had a broken leg” rather than “who had broken their leg”); ἐβάστα καὶ χαρτόπουλον, εἶχεν γραμμένα ταῦτα *Liv.* V 395 (“he held a letter that read as follows”, rather than “he held a letter, in which he had written the following”).

The same holds true for the passive equivalent of this construction with the auxiliary εἶμαι and a perfect passive participle that agrees with the subject. This construction, too, often expresses a stative past of “to be”, with the participle functioning as an adjective: οὐχ' ὅτι τὸ πρῶτον ἐσφαλμένον ἦν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 26.23–4 (“not that the first was wrong”, rather than “had been mistaken”); εἶδεν ἡ ταπεινότης ἡμῶν ... πῶς ἐξ ἀρχῆθεν ... νὰ ἦτο ἐλευθερωμένο τὸ ... κελί (1371, Corfu, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 5: 3, 68.4–5) (“we established that from the very beginning the monastery had been exempt from taxes”, rather than “had been relieved of taxes”); ἐφειδὴν ἦτον κρατημένος νὰ συμβουλέψῃ *Assizes* B 279.6 (“because it was his duty to advise”, not “because he had been obliged to advise”); καὶ μέχρι δέκα ἡμερῶν ἦταν συναθροισμένοι | ὁμόδειπνοι *Achil.* N 719–20 (“for ten days they were gathered around the same table”). It can even be found with verbs that do not have passive morphology apart from a verbal adjective in -μένος (see 2.3.2): ὡς ἦσαν μαθημένοι *Chron. Mor.* H 1151 (“as was their custom”, rather than “as they had been taught”); ἦτον μεθυσμένος PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2143 (“he was drunk”); ἀπάνω στὰ

⁴¹ However, the earliest example quoted in MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 158: ἀπὸ τὸν εὐγενὴν ἄνθρωπον ... εἶχεν δοθῆν γῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Οἰκονόμου (MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 6: CII, 239.1–2) cannot provide conclusive proof for a 13th-c. dating. The document is a Greek translation of a 1296 (not 1295) Latin original (= MM VI, App. I, 1, 387–8) (for the date see MALTEZOU 1970: 351). It is unknown when the Greek translation was made, and although it cannot be excluded that it is contemporary to the Latin original, it has only come down to us in a 17th-c. ms.

τουφέκια τως ἦτον ἀκουμπισμένοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 454.18 (“they were leaning on their muskets”).

In the LMedG period εἶχα + perfect passive participle starts to be used to denote anteriority in the past, and it is not difficult to understand how this shift in meaning could occur, when one considers the following Late Antique and MedG examples. In these examples the construction is not a periphrasis and the participle is used in apposition; the subject of the verb is not necessarily the agent of the action expressed by the participle.

συκὴν εἶχέν τις πεφυτευμένην ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ Luke 13:6 (“somebody had a fig tree planted on his land”)

ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἶχες οὐδὲν ἡμελημένον Pisides, *Exp. Pers.* II.206 (7th c., ed. Pertusi) (“because you left nothing undone”)

καὶ τοὺς κυβιστητῆρας, ἀνδρας γεννάδας, | οὓς εὖ κυβιστᾶν εἶχεν ἐξησκημένους, | λαβεῖν σιδηρᾶς ἐν χερσὶν λέγει σφύρας Prodromos, *Rhod. & Dos.* VI.8–10 (12th c.; 13th-c. ms) (“and his divers, the brave men whom [Helios] had [at his disposal], well trained to dive with agility, he ordered to grab iron hammers”)

εἶχε δὲ δρόμωνας παρασκευασμένους εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὁ στρατηγὸς (...) καὶ [ὁ τόπαρχος] εἶχεν ἀνδρας γενναίους παρασκευασμένους ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 172.9–13 (11th c., 14th-c. ms) (“the general had light vessels ready at sea ... and [the toparch] had brave men waiting in ambush”)

In these examples εἶχον + participle denotes a state in the past, but it is easy to see how the stative use could in due course come to be interpreted as more dynamic: “somebody had a fig tree planted on his land” > “somebody had planted a fig tree on his land”; “because you left nothing undone” > “because you had overlooked nothing”; “he had divers, trained to dive with agility” > “he had trained them to dive with agility”; “he had vessels ready” > “he had prepared vessels”.

Early examples of the construction that clearly express an action/event that is anterior to another action/event in the past, rather than purely a state in the past, have been found in documents from S. Italy, but it is noteworthy that this use is absent from all other early texts: no examples have been found for instance in the writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain, nor in Glykas, the three oldest versions of *Spaneas* (V, P and Va), the Ptochoprodromic poems, the collection of proverbs in KRUMBACHER 1893, *Logos parigoritikos* L, nor in any of the versions of *Livistros*. If and when the construction occurs in these works, it is always stative, equivalent to an imperfect. In fact, with the exception of the examples from S. Italy (cf. the perfect, 5.4.1.1), no examples have been found before the 15th c., and all early examples are from areas that by then had been under Western rule for quite some time (Crete, Heptanese, Rhodes, Cyprus), making it likely that contact with Romance languages may have attributed to the appearance of the construction as a pluperfect towards the end of the LMedG period (HORROCKS 2010: 297–301). This supposition is reinforced by the fact that LMedG and EMG, just like Italian/Venetian (see FERGUSON 2007: 143), use the auxiliary εἶμαι to form active pluperfects of certain intransitive verbs, such as verbs of motion: ἀλλοῦ ἦτον διαβασμένος *Chron. Mor.* H 2147 (“he had gone elsewhere”). In the EMG period the construction can also be found with past participles in -δος

(Venetian loanwords): ἤτονε σαλπάρδοι (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.14–15) (“they had set sail”).

However, it must be stressed that, in contrast to the εἶχα + infinitive construction, even when εἶχα + perfect passive participle is used to express anteriority in the past, it seldom expresses just that and almost always displays a clear focus on the state resulting from the anterior action/event, not only in the earliest example found, τὴν παράδοσιν ἣν περ εἶχεν παραδομένην (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 209.33) (“the delivery he had delivered”, in other words, that was now in the possession of the buyer), but throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar (for its use in MG see MOSER 1988 and MOSER 2009): τὸ πλῆθος ὅλον τῶν ὀρνέων εἶχεν το καλεσμένον *Poulol*. 3 (“he had invited the whole throng of birds”, in other words, they were now gathered there); ἐπειδὴ εἶχε ἀποκλεισμένη τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολι, ἀπέθανε πολὺς λαὸς ἀπὸ τὴν πείνα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 35.34–5 (“because [Bayezid] had blockaded Constantinople, many people died from famine”, in other words, he kept the City under siege); τὶς χῶρες τοῦ Μορέως ὁποῦ τὶς εἶχε παρμένες ὁ Τοῦρκος *ibid.* 102.1 (“the parts of Morea that the Turks had taken”, i.e. that were in Turkish hands); τὸ χωράφι ὅπερ εἶχε ἀγορασμένο (1661, Gortynia, YANNAPOPOULOU 1972: 42, 315.2) (“the piece of land he had bought”, i.e. that was now in his possession). The following example from Kartanos, in which the two constructions alternate, beautifully illustrates the difference between simple anterior actions (εἶχεν ὑπάγει, εἶχαν θεμωνιάσει) and states resulting from past actions (εἶχαν θερισμένα, εἶχαν σκορπισμένα): ὁμπρὸς παρὰ τοῦτο εἶχεν ὑπάγει εἰς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους νὰ πολεμήσει, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἠύρισκε καὶ εἶχαν θερισμένα τὰ σιτάρια τοὺς καὶ εἶχαν τὰ σκορπισμένα ἀκόμη εἰς τὰ χωράφια, διότι ἀκόμη δὲν τὰ εἶχαν θεμωνιάσει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.24–6 (“before that he had gone to fight the Palestinians, and there he found that they had finished reaping their wheat, but still had it lying scattered around the fields, because they had not yet stacked it”).

The construction ἤθελα + infinitive, which, just like its counterpart with εἶχα, was widely used to form conditionals (see 5.2.3.1), also begins to be used for the pluperfect, as first noted by KRIARAS (1936: 51–7); see also VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 27 and MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 222. It is used as a pluperfect from the 16th c. onwards and is geographically confined to southern areas. For its use as an aorist or imperfect indicative see 5.6.

Various regionally differentiated complementations can be found for εἶχα, ἤμου and ἤθελα such as the subjunctive, the gerund, verbal adjectives and nouns (see below). For constructions with the gerund, see also GIANNARIS 2011.

Different constructions can often be found side by side in the same text, e.g. ὁ ἥλιος εἶχε μου τὸ φανερῶσει | ὁποῦ τὸ φῶς του ἤθελε θαμπῶσει KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* II.179–80. In the following overview no distinction will be made between the active and the passive voices, unless they make use of different constructions. For the morphology of infinitives see 4.6, for gerunds see 4.7 and for participles see II, 3.2.1.

	General	Restricted	Rare
Active	εἶχα γράψει(ν) εἶχα γραμμένο(ν)	εἶχα γραμμένα εἶχα -δο(ν) εἶχα γραπτό(ν) εἶχα + noun εἶχα γράφοντα(ς) ἤμουν/ὑπῆρχα γράφοντα(ς) ἤθελα γράψει(ν) ἤμουν -μένος	εἶχα γράψω εἶχα γράφω εἶχε γράψω εἶχα γραπτά εἶχα γράφοντα(ς) ἤθελα γράφει(ν) ἤθελα ἔχει(ν) γραμμένο(ν) ἤθελα ἔχει(ν) γραμμένα ἤμουν -μενος ἤθελε γράψω ἤθεν γράψω ἤτον νὰ γράψω
Passive	εἶχα γραφθῇ(ν)/ γραφθεῖ(ν) ἤμουν γραμμένος	ἤμουν -δος ἤμουν γραπτός	ἤθελε ἤμουν γραμμένος

5.3.1 εἶχα

5.3.1.1 εἶχα + Infinitive

εἶχα + Aorist Infinitive

The construction with εἶχα + an active or a passive infinitive expresses anteriority in the past, usually without special emphasis on the result of the action/event (as is the case with εἶχα + perfect passive participle; see below), though there are examples in which there is focus on the result, e.g. καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην ὅπου ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη ἔβρεξεν εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, ὅπου πούπετες δὲν εἶχεν μείνει ὅπου νὰ μὴν ἔβρεξε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.23–4, in which εἶχεν μείνει means “there was not” rather than “there had not remained”. The first examples found are from texts dating to the 14th c. In subsequent centuries, the construction appears in a variety of texts from all areas, with the exception of peripheral areas such as S. Italy and Pontos. Some representative examples are:⁴²

⁴² For LMedG S. Italian see CARACAUSI, *Lex.* s.v. ἔχω. In these areas the construction is unknown even in modern times. For the pluperfect in modern S. Italian see AERTS 1965: 115–20; for Pontic see OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 285–6. The same is likely to hold true for Cappadocia and surrounding areas, for which MedG and EMG evidence is extremely scarce, but which in modern times do not have the construction either (DAWKINS 1916: 60–1, 147 and 191). Also note that the *Rasûlid Hexaglot* (Yemen, 14th c.), the informant for which was probably from Asia Minor, does not have the construction.

ὅτι εἶχεν ἀποστειλεῖν αὐτὸν ὁ ἡγιασμένος Σουλτάν ὁ Μεληκ Νάσαρ (1349, Egypt, SCHOPEN/ NIEBUHR 1832: IV.14, 97.8–9)⁴³
καθὼς τοὺς εἶχε ὁμόσει *Chron. Mor.* H 81; τὸ σκαμνὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὅπου τὸ εἶχεν χάσει *ibid.* 623; οὕτως τὸ εἶχασιν συμβουλευτεῖ *ibid.* 6640
καὶ εἶχέν τον κόψει κακὰ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν *Assizes* B 267.11–12
εἶχεν δώσει καὶ ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ Εὐδοκία τέλος (1406, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 37, f.149v.4)
εἶχεν ἐγκρεμισθῇ ἀπὸ ἕνα παραθύρι *Chron. Toc.* 308
ἀκόμη εἶχα γράφειν εἰς στήν μεγάλην σου αὐθεντίαν (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.15);
εἶχεν στείλει φρέρην (1487, Chios?, *ibid.* 13, 77.15–16)
τί τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγίνετο, σὰν εἶχασιν ἀλλάξειν | τὲς φορεσιές τὲς στολισίες μὲ ἔρωτίας τάξιν· | ὥσάν
τὸν ἥλιον λάμπασι ... LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 156–8
εἶχα διορθώσει καὶ ἀφήσει πάντα μου τὰ ἀγαθὰ (1497, Corfu, KARYDIS 1999b: 1, 305.13)
δὲ μοῦ εἶχε δώσει τότες ἄλλο ..., ἀμὴ εἶχε μου εἰπεῖν ... (1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.7)
ὁ αὐθέντης εἶχεν σώσει εἰς τὴν Μοθώνην εἰς τὲς δέκα τοῦ Ἰουλίου, καὶ ἐπολέμησέ την τριάντα
ἡμέρας (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 36.II, 295.30.8–9)
εἶχεν ἀποθάνει εἰς τὲς ἰβ' τοῦ νῦν μηνὸς Αὐγούστου (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 222.10)
τὸ ὅποιον περιβόλι τὸ εἶχεν πάρειν (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 52.6)
τὰ τορνέσα τοῦ τὰ ἔδωσα ἐγώ, ὅπου μοῦ τὰ ἔχε φέρει ὁ ἄνωθεν Μιχάλης (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 214.26)
καθὼς τὸ εἶχαν κάμει (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 26, 165.15)
τὴν πρῶτην συμφωνίαν ... ὅπου εἶχανε κάμει (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 68, 56.5)
εἶχεν ἐγλυτώσει κάποιον Τοῦρκο PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.2; ἔτζι τὸν εἶχεν παραγγεῖλει *ibid.* I §30.10
τὸ χρέος | ποῦ εἶχεν ἀναλάβει (1671, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1395, 821.19–20)
εἶχι κριθῇ (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.6); τοῦ εἶχι ἀφήσει (*ibid.* A: 4, f.40r.12) (= εἶχε, see I, 2.5.4)
τὰ μετρητὰ ποῦ εἶχε ἀφήσει ... ὁ πατέρας μου (1696, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 2 [B'], 253.21–2)

In *Erotokritos* the use of εἶχα + aorist infinitive is especially interesting (cf. ἤθελα + aorist infinitive for the same use). Apart from their regular use as conditionals (see 5.2.2.1), Kornaros also employs them as a kind of pluperfect, but only in specific environments (in other environments he generally uses εἶχα + perfect passive participle for the pluperfect, see 5.3.1.2): temporal clauses introduced by ὡς, σὰν and τό and relative clauses introduced by ὅπου or ὅπου (“wherever” or “whoever”) that express anteriority in relation to an imperfective, habitual/repetitive main clause.⁴⁴

τὸ ἔχα ξυπνήσει, ἐφώνιαζα KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.995; εἶς ποῦ ἔτρεμεν ὡς σ' εἶχε δεῖ *ibid.* I.1601; ὡς
εἶχε βάλειν εἰς τὸν νοῦ κι ὡς ἤθελε λογιᾶσει | ποῖα στράτα μέλλει νὰ κρατεῖ ... χολικισμένη
ἐπόμενε *ibid.* I.2091–5; ὡς εἶχε ρίξει κοπανιά, πάντα του τὸ σκουτάρι | με το σπαθί

⁴³ Sonja Schönaauer, who is preparing a new edition of Kantakouzinou's *Historiae*, kindly confirmed that this is the reading of the oldest (14th-c.) manuscripts.

⁴⁴ When the main clause does not express habituality/repetition in the past, Kornaros uses the aorist indicative in the temporal clause: Γλυκάρετος ἐκράζετο κι ὡς ἦρθε ὅπου ὅσα οἱ ἄλλοι, | μὲ σπλάχνος ἐχαίρετσε KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.291–2; σὰν τσῆ τ' ἀπομιλήσασιν, ἡ κόρη ἀναδακρύνει *ibid.* V.337; τό ἔκουσεν ὁ Ρωτόκριτος τ' ἀναθιβάνει ἡ μάνα, τὰ λόγια τσῆ σὲ λογισμοὺς μεγάλους τὸν ἐβάνα *ibid.* I.1857–8; μὰ κάτεχε κι ὅπου ἄλλα ποτὲ δὲ μ' ἐνίκησα *ibid.* II.1424.

ἐσυντροφίαζε *ibid.* II.1099–100; μὰ σάν τὸν εἶχε στερευτῇ, περίσσα ἐτυραννᾶτο *ibid.* III.21; τὸ ἔχει γροικῆσει ἄλλου νὰ πῇ λόγο γιὰ πόθου ὁδύνη, | τὸ πρόσωπο ἐκοκκίνιζες *ibid.* III.1155–6; καὶ τὸ ἔχει δεῖ κ' ἐβράδιαζε καὶ πῶς ὁ ἥλιος κλίνει, | ἐμίσειυε σπουδαχτικά κι αὐτὸς τὴν ὥρα κείνη *ibid.* IV.943–4; μὰ πάλι ὡς εἶχε θυμηθῇ ποῦ γέρνεται, ποῦ μένει | γιὰ λόγου του μιά του κερά ἀκριβαναθρεμμένη, | ἐγροίκα μέσα στὴν καρδιά μαχαίρι *ibid.* V.57–9

ὅπου εἶχε δεῖ ὁμορφο δεντρό, μὲ τ' ἄνθη στολισμένο: | “εἶν' τσ' Ἀρετούσας τὸ κορμί, τ' ὁμορφοκαμωμένο”· | ὅπου ἔχει δεῖ τὰ λούλουδα τὰ κοκκινοβαμμένα, | ἤλεγε ... KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.125–9; κι ὅπου ἔχει πεί νὰ τ' ἀρνηθῶ, ἦτον ἀντίδικός μου *ibid.* I.978; κι ὅπου ἔχει δεῖ λινόφυλα ἐκεῖ ἦβανε τὸ ἀπύρι *ibid.* IV.744; μὰ ὅπου ἔχει σώσει, θάνατον ἦδιδε τῶν ἀνθρώπων *ibid.* IV.1116

A single example that resembles this use of εἶχα + infinitive occurs in the following text from Cyprus: ντάν νὰ ἔχεν βάλειν ἄνθρωπον κάτω νὰ ἔχεν παιδεύγει, | τοὺς δελοιτοὺς τὸ αἰμάν τους ἀρχίνιζεν νὰ φεύγη KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 265–6 (“whenever he would tie a man down to torture him, all the others would become very scared”).

εἶχα + Present Infinitive

The construction with εἶχα + present infinitive expresses durativity in the remote past, a situation in the past that is anterior to some other situation/action/event (cf. εἶχα + subjunctive below). The construction is not restricted to verbs that lack perfective morphology, such as ἔχω and ἐξεύρω:

ἄν τῶχα ξεύρειν, ψυχούλα μου, ... | ὁ Ἔρωσ νὰ μὲ φόνεψεν *Achil.* L 1305–6
 ἡῦρεν κρυμμένα χρήματα πολλὰ, ὅπου εἶχαν ἔχη οἱ πρῶν βασιλεῖς *Diig. Alex.* F 238.15–16
 (Lolos)
 δὲν εἶχανε ἡξέρει ἀκόμη τὸ κακὸ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 59.26
 μὲ πέρνε εἰς τὸν τόπο ἀπού ἔχει πηαίνει | συχνὰ ἡ νεράϊδα τούτη *Pist. voskos* II 1.141–2 (read μ' ἐπαῖρνε)
 μ' ἄλλότες εἶχε πράσσει | εἰς τὰ ταξίδια, καὶ ἔρχοντας μιά φούστα ν' ἀγοράση, | μέσα στὴ φούστα μ' εὔρηκε κι ἐμένα FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.201–2 (“once upon a time he had been a travelling merchant, and when he came to buy a boat, he found me in it”)

5.3.1.2 εἶχα/ἦμουν + Participle

εἶχα/ἦμουν + Perfect Passive Participle

As mentioned in the introduction to 5.3, with the exception of the ones from S. Italy no examples of εἶχα/ἦμουν + perfect passive participle have been found before the 15th c., and all early examples are from areas that had been under Western rule for some time (Crete, Heptanese, Rhodes, Cyprus), making it likely that contact with Romance languages encouraged the appearance of the construction towards the end of the LMedG period. Even in later centuries, the construction appears mainly in texts from southern areas, and only rarely in texts from the northern mainland; the few northern examples all have a particularly strong emphasis on the resulting state (εἶχε δεμένα, εἶχα βαλμένο).

The following list of examples does not include examples that are purely stative and therefore do not express anteriority in the past, such as τοὺς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ Ἰασοὺς πάντα κλεισμένους εἶχε *Pol. Tr.* 654 (“Jason still kept his eyes closed”) (see the introduction to 5.3).

Active

- τὴν παράδοσιν ἣν περ εἶχεν παραδομένην (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 209.33)
 πρὶν τῆς θανῆς αὐτοῦ εἶχεν αὐτὰ ἀφιερωμένα εἰς τὴν προρρηθεῖσαν μονὴν (1113, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 75, 97.19–21)
 τὰ σκρίτια ὅπου εἶχε πλερωμένα (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 46.22–3)
 τὰ εἶχεν δομένα εἰς ἐνέχυρον (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 81, 188.4)
 διὰ πολλὰ πράγματα τὰ εἶχαν ἀγορασμένα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 150.19–20
 εἰς τὰ ἔχε καμωμένα LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 415
 τὲς χῶρες μας ποὺ εἶχαμε χαϊμένες | ὅλες μᾶς τὲς ἐστρέψασι *Theseid* X.21,3–4 (1529)
 τὴν φυτεῖαν ὅπου εἶχαμε ἀναστημένη (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 27, 66.2–3)
 αὐτὸς ἐμένα ἐμπροτύτερα εἶχε με βασιλέα καμωμένον καὶ ἐσὺ μὲ ἀτίμως *Diig. Alex.* V 74.1
 καταπῶς τοῦ τὸν εἶχε ταμένο εἰς τὸ προυκοχάρτι (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 13.8)
 καὶ τοῦ τὰ εἶχεν δοσμένα (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 68, 56.6)
 τὴν εἶχε ἀρρεβωνιασμένη μὲ ἔναν ἀφέντη χριστιανόν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 32.2; τὸν ὅποιον τοῖχον τὸν εἶχανε κτισμένο οἱ Μοραῖτες *ibid.* 51.19
 τὰ χωράφια ... τὰ εἶχε ὁ πεθερός μας παρμένα καὶ τὰ ὠρίζαμε ἐμεῖς (1631, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 13, 175.4)
 καὶ εἶχαν δεμένα τὰ χερίά του, καὶ αὐτός: “μὴν μὲ δένετε· ἐγὼ μοναχὸς σεβαίνω εἰς τὴν φλόγα” PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.12–13
 αἰζίκια τα εἶχαν γεμισμένα IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2740
 εἶχέν της ὁ Καῖρης ἑκατὸ ρεάλια δοσμένα (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 31.9)
 καὶ εἴτι ροῦχα εἶχε φερμένα ἐδικὰ της (1669, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 184.16)
 τὰ παλληκάρια | ποῦ μαθημένα τὰ ἔχενε νὰ σύρνουν τὰ κοντάρια PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1603–4
 τὸ μισὸν μαγαζίν ὅπου τῆς εἶχεν ὁ ἄνδρας της γραμμένον καὶ χαρασμένον (1677, Proikonnisos, KAMBOURIS 1976: A. 6, 198.8–9)
 τὰ ὅσαν τῆς εἶχαν πουργοταμένα (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 610, 841.19)

With an invariable participle form in -α the construction has been found in texts from Crete, the Aegean and the southern mainland. It is used with intransitive verbs (μιλῶ) and when the direct object of the phrase is a complement clause, in texts from southern areas (Crete, southern mainland): κ' εἶχαμε μιλημένα γιὰ τὸ γάμο *Vosk.* 400; εἶχα γραμμένα τῆς πανιερότης<ς> σου πῶς ... (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.20); καθὼς ... εἶχασι ἀποφασισμένα νὰ κάμουσι EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 33.19–21.

Examples of the construction with a nominal direct object have been found in Cretan texts and in texts from the Aegean (Andros) (cf. the perfect, 5.4.1.1). The single example from the *Lament of Cyprus* is probably rhyme-induced, as the construction has not been found in other Cypriot texts.

- διότις χαρτὶ δὲν τοὺς εἶχαν καμωμένα (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 11, 25.19)
 δὲν εἶχε μαθημένα τὸν κόπον νὰ δουλεύει MOREZINOS, *Klini* 172.5
 τὸ σπαθὶ δὲν εἶχ' ἀκονισμένα CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.86; μὰ τὸν Πανάρετο θωρῶ, σὰν τοῦ ἔχα μνημμένα *id.*, *Erof.* II.372
 γιὰτὶ δὲν εἶχεν καμωμένα σιγουριτὰν (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 140, 153.13–14)
 τὸ ὅποιον χωράφι εἶχε πουλημένα (1612, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 178, 170.7)
 εἶχα γραμμένα GERMANO, *Grammar* 98.14
 ἔβγηκα ἔπο τὴν συντυχιάν, ὅπου ἔχα ἀρχισμένα *Thrinus Kypr.* 498

An indeclinable participle in -o is very rare (but cf. the perfect, 5.4.1.1, for which a few more examples have been found): μία καρίνα όπου εἶχαν ἀγορασμένο (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 53, 67.6).

In texts from the Heptanese, and possibly the wider south-western area, the εἶχα + participle construction can be found with the intransitive verb γίνομαι as a transitive construction with an overt direct object, semantically equivalent to εἶχα καμωμένο(ν) (cf. the perfect and the future perfect, 5.4.1.1 and 5.5.1): ὁ αὐτὸς Κράμπτος εἶχε γεναμένη μία γραφή (1606 [late 17th-/early 18th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 521.11–12).

Passive

The passive counterpart of the εἶχα + participle construction is formed with the imperfect of εἶμαι + perfect passive participle. It is mainly used with transitive verbs, and the participle is in full gender, number and case agreement with the subject. As noted in the introduction to 5.3, this construction often represents a state in the past, equivalent to an imperfect, and purely stative examples (e.g. ἦτον φορεμένος φορέματα χρυσὰ PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.16–17 (“he was wearing gold-embroidered garments”, rather than “he had dressed himself in gold-embroidered garments”)) have not been included in the following list of examples. The construction usually does have a strong emphasis on the state resulting from the action/event that is anterior to it:

- ἦν καὶ πρότερον ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἀφανισμένον (1363, Athos, KRAVARI 1991: 6, 84.9)
 τὸ κάστρον ἦν ἔρημον, ἦτον χαλασμένο *Chron. Mor.* H 1691; ἀπέκει ἐσηκώθησαν ὅπου
 ἦσαν μαζωμένοι *ibid.* 968
 ἄρα ἔβλεπεν ὁ ἄγγελος, ὥς ἦτον τεταγμένος *Anak. Konst.* 112
 τὴν Ἄρταν καὶ τὰ Ἰωάννινα, ὅπου ἦσαν χωρισμένα *Chron. Tōc.* 3026
 εἶπαν τοῦ ἀποστολέ ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἦτον ὀρισμένοι ἀπὸ τὴν ρήγανιν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A
 60.16–17
 αὐτὰ τὰ δύο κτίσματα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἦτον καμωμένα *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 2, β5r.32 (1561)
 πιδέξια καὶ πιτήδεια ἦσαν βαλμένα *Vosk.* 165 app. crit.
 ὅπου ἦτον πρωτύτερα τυφλωμένος καὶ ὑστέρου ἦλθε τὸ φῶς τοῦ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.*
 29.27–8; (το τεῖχιο ...) καλὰ καὶ ἦτον μεταφτειασμένο *ibid.* 91.7–8
 ἦτον τὸ ταμπόρι τοὺς ὑπέρκαλα ὀρδινιασμένο *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §13.4–5
 ἦτον ἀναθρεμμένος ἐπὰ (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83.7)
 ἕναν λέοντα εἶδεν καὶ ἦτον σφασμένος *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1435
 καὶ ἦταν τὰ μαλλιά τοῦ τρογύρω μπαρμπερεμένα *Reb. Enr.* 103.9; ἦτον θανατωμένο καὶ ὄχι
 πνιμένο *ibid.* 104.9–10
 ἦτον γεννημένη εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον *Don Kis.* 3.7

Passive with Active Meaning

The construction ἦμουν + participle is also used for the *active* voice of intransitive verbs, not only of deponent verbs (ἐρχομαι) but also of active verbs that otherwise lack passive morphology (διαβάζω, μισέω, παγαίνω). The participle in -μένος or -δος (Venetian loanwords) is in full case, number and gender agreement with the subject of the verb. In all examples found, the verbs are verbs of motion, but cf. the perfect, 5.4.1.2, for which examples of another intransitive verb (πταίω) have been found. This use appears to be restricted to south-western areas (Peloponnese, Crete, Santorini, Heptanese):

ἄλλοῦ ἦτον διαβασμένος *Chron. Mor.* H 2147
οἱ προφήται δὲν ἦτον ἀπερασμένοι ὅλοι DAM. SToud., *This.*, *Logos* 2, β5v.23
ἦτονε στήν Ῥώμην παγωμένος ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 578; ὁποῦτον ἐλθωμένος *ibid.* 1888
γιατὶ δὲν ἦτο ἐτότες ἐκ τὸν Ἄδην | στὸν κόσμον ἢ Περηφάνεση ἐρχωμένη CHORTATSIS, *Erof.*
II.482–3⁴⁵
καὶ ἦτονε προτύτερας παγωμένος (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 392, 364.10)
τὸ καράβι ἀκόμα δὲν ἦτονε μισεμένο (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 314.21)
ἦτονε μισεμένος (1628, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 2, 332.8–9)
ἦτονε σαλπάδοι (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.14–15) (< Ven. *salpado*, departed)
ἀπείτις ἦτονε μισεμένος (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 36.10)
ἦτον σχεδὸν ἀπερασμένοι χρόνοι εἴκοσι GAVRILOP., *Diig. panouklas* 94.33
ἦμουν παγεμένος, ἦσουν παγεμένος ROMANOS, *Grammar* 62.20

In texts of south-western provenance ἦμουν + passive participle is also used with the intransitive deponent verb γίνομαι; cf. the perfect (5.4.1.2) and future perfect (5.5.1). Given the general confusion regarding the morphology of γίνομαι, the aorist middle participle γενόμενος and its innovative variant γενάμενος surely have the same meaning as the innovative perfect passive participles γεναμένος, γινάμενος, γενομένος, γινωμένος, etc. (for AG γεγώνως) (see also 2.4):

μετὰ χαρᾶς τὸ ἤθελα νὰ ἦτον γεναμένον *Pol. Tr.* 3708 app. crit. (A)
τὴ διαλαλιά ἀκούσαμεν ὅπου ἦτον γεναμένη *Alex. Rim.* 1464
ἀκόμη τὸ Πάσχα δὲν ἦτον γινάμενον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 363.28; οἱ ψυχῆς ἦσαν γινόμενες
ὀμπρὸς παρὰ τὰ κορμιά τῶν ἀνθρώπων *ibid.* 411.13–14
εἰς τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὅπου ἦτον γενάμενη (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 21, 33.10)
ὡσὰν νὰ ἦτανε γεναμένο εἰσὲ ἄττι δημοσίου νοταρίου (1737, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 8, 125.2–3)

A semantic shift from passive to active may be observed in this construction with the active verb κερδένω/κερδαίνω/κερδίζω (cf. 5.5.1 for a similar example of νικῶ):⁴⁶ κ' ἐκεῖ ποὺ στέκαν ἀφοβα κ' ἦτονε κερδεμένοι, | γυρίζοντας ἀποδεκεῖ ἦτονε σκλαβωμένοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 426.2–3.

This construction has also been found with a present passive participle of deponent verbs. In these examples the choice for the present participle does not appear to be aspectual (cf. the perfect, 5.4.1.1): ὡς καθὼς ἦτον ἔκπαλαι ὑποσχόμενος (1590, Corfu, KARYDIS 2004/06: 3, 49.10–11); ἀνκαλὰ καὶ τὸ φῶς ἦτονε ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον MOREZINOS, *Klini* 11.30–1.

εἶχα/ἦμουν + Past Participle in -δος

The same construction, with εἶχα for the active and ἦμουν for the passive voice, can also be found in Venetian-ruled areas (Heptanese, Cyclades, Crete) with past participles in

⁴⁵ The form ἐρχωμένη in this example from *Erofili* looks like a present participle, but the stress indicates that it is a perfect. Of course, the difference between pres. ἐρχόμενος and perf. ἐρθωμένος is only one letter. There appears to be some confusion between the perfective and imperfective stems of εἶρχομαι, cf. the noun ὁ ἐρθωμός in TROILOS, *Rodol.* II.178 and V.21 and ὁ ἐλθομός in Hierotheos Anvatios's *Χριστιανικὴ Διδασκαλία* 104 (references from KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. ερχομός).

⁴⁶ Cf. the same active meaning of κερδεμένος in other constructions: ἤρτεν ἡ ἀρμάδα τοὺς βενετικούς εἰς τὴν Ἀμμόχουστον, κάτεργα ξ'. Καὶ ἤρταν κερδεμένα VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 162.4–5; ἐβγήκε κερδεμένος *Thysia Avr.* 1074. The construction still has this meaning in SMG.

-δος borrowed from Venetian.⁴⁷ These participles show full adaptation to Greek adjectival morphology, with some variation in the fem. sg. (see also II, 3.2.1). Examples have only been found in non-literary texts:

Active

μηδὲ εἶχεν το κανενὸς ὀμπλιγάδο (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 7, 18.24) (< *obligàr*)
 (τὸ ὁποῖον ἀμπέλι ...) τοῦ τό 'χεν ἄσενιάδο καὶ δοσμένο (1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 182, 194.9); ἔστοντας καὶ ... νὰ εἶχεν μαλτζιπάδο ... τὸν υἱόν του (1610, *ibid.* 653, 569.2) (< *mancipàr*)
 ἔφυγεν ἡ ἀρμάδα τοῦ Τούρκου, τὴν ὁποίαν εἶχεν σεντιάδη ἡ ἀρμάδα τῶν χριστιανῶν (1667, Crete, DIMITRAKOPOULOS 1995: 542.5–6) (< *sedìar*)
 τὸ ὁποῖο εἶχαμε ἀκβιστάδο ἀπὸ τὴν ποτὲ κερα-Γιαννοῦ (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 71.30) (< *acquistàr*)
 τὰ εἶχεν ἱμπαρκάδα (1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 7, 20.35) (< *imbarcàr*)
 ἀπ' ὅ,τι εἶχε παγάδο (1699, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 5, 165.29) (< *pagàr*)

Passive

τὰ ὁποῖα ἦσανε, ὡς λέσι, ὑποτεκάδα τῇ αὐτῇς κερα-Φρατζισκίνας (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 825, 721.4) (< *ipotecàr*)

5.3.1.3 εἶχα/ἦμουν + Verbal Adjective

Constructions with a verbal adjective in -τός, with εἶχα for the active and ἦμουν for the passive voice, have mainly been found in documents from S. Italy and Venetian-ruled areas, mostly of the verb ἀγοράζω:

Active

τόπον ... τὸν ἅπερ εἶχε ἀγοραστὸν ἐκ τὸν 'Οσβέρνον (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 9, 523.3–4)
 εἶχε το δὲ ἀγοραστὸν ἀπὸ τὸν Ἱπικέρνην *Chron. Toc.* 1041
 τὸ χωράφιον ὅπερ εἶχε ἀγοραστὸν ὁ πατήρ του (1599, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 15, 12.2)
 τ' ἀμπέλι ... ὅπου εἶχα ἀλλακτὸ ἀπὸ τοὺς παρπάδες τοὺς Σταματέλο καὶ Θωμά (1638, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 100, 102.23)
 κατὰ τὴ γραφὴν τῆς ποτὲ του πεθερᾶς ὅπου'χεν τὸ πρᾶμα ἀγοραστὸ (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 86, 241.11); καθὼς τὸ εἶχαν καὶ αὐτοῖν ἀγοραστὸν (*ibid.* 88, 243.12)
 λογιάζω νὰ εἶχες ἀκουστήν ... τὴν περίφημον ἐκείνην γυναῖκα SKOUFOS, *Grammat.* 78, 273.3
 τὸν εἶχε στιχητὸν με ρόγαν διὰ ἀσλάνια 40 (1698 [later copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B 11, f.171r.23) (< στιχῶ, “to hire”)

Passive

τὸ ὁποῖο πατητήρι ἦτονε ἀγοραστὸ τοῦ ἄνωθεν ποτὲ μισερ Τζώρτζη ἀποὺ τὸ ποτὲ κυρ-Μανολὰ (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 12, 33.6–7)

With an invariable adjectival form in -α, it has been found, for the active voice only, in south-western areas such as Crete, the Peloponnese and Santorini. In the Cretan text it is used with a nominal direct object; in the other two texts with a complement clause as direct object (cf. εἶχα + indeclinable perfect passive participle above):

⁴⁷ For Venetian participles in -ado/-adho see FERGUSON 2007: 96.

τὸ ψυχικὸν ὅπου ... εἶχεν ἀφητὰ, ὑπέρπυρα 4' (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 146, 159.6–7); τὸ ψυχικὸν ὅπου τοῦ εἶχεν ἀφητὰ ἡ γυναῖκα του (1611, *ibid.* 696, 602.6) ἀπὸ παλιόθεν εἶχαμε ἀκουστὰ πῶς ἦταν τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1644, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 4, 122.10–11)
 ὅσοι εἶχαν γροικιστὰ πῶς καὶ ἄλλοτε ἦψε φωτῖα *Diig. Sant.* 55.71

5.3.1.4 εἶχα + Noun

Sometimes εἶχα can be found with a noun expressing the action of the related verb. The auxiliary retains some of its possessive meaning, and therefore the construction is only used with certain nouns, e.g. εἶχα ἀγορά (“I had bought, I had in my possession”), but not *εἶχα πούλησιν (“I had sold”) (cf. the perfect 5.4.1.4).⁴⁸

καθὼς εἶχα το ἀγορὰν (1264, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 33, 15.9)
 ὅπερ εἶχε κάκεινος ἀγορὰν ἀπὸ τῆς Μοσχοπουλίνης (1415, Limnos, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 164, 167.11)
 καὶ πυρσοὺς γὰρ ἀνυψώνουν | τὰ πρὸς ἔνδειξιν Ἑλλήνων, | ὅπερ εἶχαν συμφωνίαν *ERMON.*,
Ilias 22.209–11
 καταπῶς τὴν εἶχασι ἀγορασιὰ (1544, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [2], 7.10)
 ἔδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Αἰσώπου τὸ χαράτζιον ὅπου εἶχαν συμφωνίαν *Vios Aisop.* D 240.35
 σοῦ εἶχα ὀρδινίαν ὅτι νὰ μὴν κάμεις καμμίαν ἱεροπραξίαν (1637, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 61.14)
 ἔνα χωράφι ὅπου εἶχεν ἀγορά ἀπὸ τὸ Στουπᾶ (1676, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 1, 123.42)
 τὴν ὁποία τὴν εἶχασιν ἀγορά ἀπὸ τὸν μποτὲ μισὲρ Ἰάκωβον Διασίντην (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 179.22–3)
 ἐγὼ τοῦ εἶχα παραγγελία ... <νὰ> τοῦ τὰ ἀφήσει (1694, Lvov?, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 5, 57.15–16)

5.3.1.5 εἶχα + Present Gerund

The construction εἶχα + present gerund is used only for the active voice and does not appear to have a passive counterpart (cf. the perfect, 5.4.1.5). With a present gerund it has been found in S. Italy and in Cretan texts, and with an aorist gerund it appears in version T of the *Chronicle of Morea* and in three of the four rhymed versions of *Apollonios*. Insofar as the limited number of examples allows for conclusions, there does not always appear to be an aspectual difference between imperfective and perfective complementation: see e.g. the variant readings of *Apollonios*. However, in the example from S. Italy the construction denotes a situation in the past that is viewed as completed – “the land that used to belong to my father” (who is now dead) – whereas in the example from Falieros the present gerund denotes a situation that is ongoing in the past, when it is interrupted by the action expressed by the historical present βλέπω “I saw”: “and she had not entirely finished speaking when I saw a glow”.

⁴⁸ These examples resemble pluperfects and they are different from examples with other nouns such as the following: τὸ ὅποιο εἶχαμε καὶ γραφή, γεναμένη ὑπὸ χειρὸς ... (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 40.26), in which τὸ εἶχαμε γραφή means “we had it in writing”, “on a piece of paper” (but afterwards the document was lost).

τὰ χωράφια τὰ εἶχε κρατῶνταν ὁ πατ<έ>ρας μου (1113, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 75, 97.17)
καὶ οὐκ εἶχε λέγοντα σωστὸν καὶ βλέπω μιὰ λαμπάδα FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 395
αὐτὸς <τον> εἶχε σφάζοντα, στο χῶμαν ἀπὸ κάτου *Apoll. Rim.* V 1604
τὰ γονικά ὁποῦ ἔχα τοῦ υἱοῦ μου στὶς Μάλλες δίδοντα (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a:
31.70)
ὁποῖον ἀμπέλιν σου εἶχεν δίδοντα (1546, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 1, 41.10); τὰ
ὑπέρπυρα ... ὅπου ἐμεῖς τὰ ἔχαμεν αὐτουνοῦ δίδοντα (1547, *ibid.* 35, 66.8–9)
τὸ εἶχασι χαλάσσοντα ὁμπρὸς οἱ Βενετικοί *Chron. Mor.* T 1692⁴⁹
αὐτὸς τον εἶχε σφάζοντα, στο χῶμαν ἀποκάτω *Apoll. Rim.* A and E 1604 (σφάζοντας in N)

There is one example of ἦμουν + present gerund, which, however, does not have a passive but an active meaning, involving the verb of motion *πηγαίνω* (cf. ἦμουν + participle, above): καὶ τὰ νερά ἦτον πγαίνοντα καὶ λείψοντα ὡς τὸ μῆνα τὸν δέκατο *Pent. Gen.* 8.5.

5.3.1.6 εἶχα + Subjunctive

Εἶχα complemented by a bare subjunctive has been found in south-western texts of the EMG period (cf. the conditional, 5.2.2.3). The aorist subjunctive expresses a simple action or event, whereas the present subjunctive is used for repeated/habitual/progressive actions/events that are expressly situated in the remote past (cf. pres. inf. above):

ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ ἔχαν πᾶσι ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 125.4
ποῦ ἔχαμεν πρωτοποῦμεν *Rim. Sant.* 669; μᾶς εἶχασιν εἰποῦσι *ibid.* 694
ὁλὰ ἔχασι δοθοῦν σὲ κακὲς πράξεις ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΙΣ, *Klathmos* I.651; δὲν εἶχανε τὸ στοχαστοῦνε
ibid. I.757; λίγους σολδάδους εἶχασιν ἀφήσουν *ibid.* II.17; δὲν εἶχαν πάγου *ibid.* II.84; εἶχες
το μετανιώσεις *id.*, *Ifig.* II.282
γιατ' εἶχασι θαρροῦσι *Rim. Sant.* 755
το μεγάλο θάμασμα ποῦ ἔχες ἔχεις | τότες *Pist. voskos* I 1.213
λέγω γὰ μερικοὺς ὁποῦ ἔχαν πέβουν | π' ἄλλο δὲν ἔκαμναν παρὰ νὰ κλέβουν ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΙΣ,
Klathmos I.715; ἔνανε ποῦ ἔχε κλέπτει νὰ τοὺς δίνη *ibid.* I.735; σάν γνήσια μητέρα εἶχες
πράσσεις *ibid.* III.89

5.3.1.7 εἶχε(ν) + Subjunctive

Impersonal εἶχε(ν) + subjunctive has not been found before the 18th c. (cf. the conditional, 5.2.2.4). It is listed in Kanellos Spanos's grammar (1749) as equivalent to εἶχα γράψει:⁵⁰ εἶχε γράψω, -ψης, -ψη· εἶχε γράψωμεν, -ψετε, -ψουν SPANOS, *Grammar* 35.4; εἶχε φιληθῶ *ibid.* 40.21.

⁴⁹ The Copenhagen ms of the *Chronicle* has εἴσασιν χαλάσασι, a construction that has not been attested elsewhere (though cf. past-tense complementation in the active conditional, 5.2.2.5).

⁵⁰ The construction also occurs as a pluperfect in the early correspondence of Korais, vol. 1, to recipients in Chios/Smyrna: εἶχε στείλωσιν (1782, letter 8, 21.20); δὲν εἶχεν ἰδῶ ποτέ μου (1791, letter 54, 193.30) (but εἶχα δώσειν e.g. in letter 773 of 1818 (80.4)).

5.3.2 ἤθελα

5.3.2.1 ἤθελα + Infinitive

From the early 16th c. onwards the conditional construction ἤθελα + infinitive (for which see 5.2.3.1) can be found used as a pluperfect in texts from southern areas (Peloponnese, Heptanese, Crete, Cyprus). It is complemented by an aorist infinitive expressing a simple action or event (for this construction complemented by a present or aorist infinitive, but used as an imperfect or aorist indicative respectively, see 5.6):

ἤθελα + Aorist Infinitive

κάτι γυναῖκες ὅπου ἐκλαῖαν ἄλλην γυναῖκαν ὅπου ἤθελεν πεθάνειν *Fior* 84.41–3
 λέγοντες πῶς τὸ ἤθελαν χάσει πρῶν καὶρὸν τῆς συχύσεως (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 5, 58.5–6); διὰ τὸ δαμάλι τὸ δικό του ὅπου τοῦ ἤθελε λαβώσει ὁ ρηθεις κυρ-
 Νικολός (ibid. 25, 83.7–8)
 σκάπτοντας κάπου γεωργὸς ἤθελεν εὐρεῖ πλούτον *ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 82.1
 θάνατον εἶχα πλὴν καλλιὰ νὰ δώσω τοῦ κορμιοῦ μου | παρὰ ἀπὸ κείνο νὰ ᾿χα βγεῖ ποῦ μ’
 ἤθελεν ὀρίσει *CHORTATSIS, Erof.* I 248–9
 τὴν ἀγορὰν ὅπου ἤθελαν κάμειν ἀπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν Μουσταφὰν παχὶὰ Ἀμοχούστου (1640, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 4, 13.15) (the Pasha is deceased at the time of writing)
 ἐκεῖνος ποῦ τὸ ἔννιὰ ἔριξε, στὴ γῆ ἤθελε ξαπλώσει *TROILOS, Rodol.* III.504; μηδ’ ἄνθρωπος
 τὸν ἤθελε γνωρίσει *ibid.* III.512
 τοῦτος πλὶν πρωτύτερα ἤθελεν ἔμπει μέσα *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.31; κι ἤκουσα πῶς ἕνας τ’
 ἄλλου ἐθέλασιν ἀμόσει *ibid.* IV.347
 εἰς τοὺς 1470 ο Μωάμετ Δεύτερος ... ἀφόντις ἐγκρέμισε τὴν δευτέραν φορὰν τα τεῖχη τῆς
 Κορίνθου, ὅπου οἱ Βενετσιάνοι ἤθελαν ξανακτίσει *Ist. Enet.* 417.8–10
 ἕνα θεριὸν ὃ Ἡρακλῆς ἤθελε θανατώσει | κι ἄφηκε μνῆμην εἰς τὴ γῆ γιὰτ’ ἤθελε γλυτώσει
BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 498.3–4
 ἐτούτους ὅλους ἤθελε τοὺς βγάλει *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.161; ὃ γκενεράλες ποῦ ἔλε το μάθει
 | ἐτρόμαξε *ibid.* II.135–6; τέτοιαις λογῆς ἤθελε πολεμήσει *ibid.* I.319

In *Erotokritos* the use of ἤθελα + aorist infinitive is especially interesting (for the same use cf. εἶχα + aorist infinitive, 5.3.1.1). Apart from their regular use as conditionals (see 5.2.3.1), Kornaros also employs them as a kind of pluperfect, but only in specific environments (in other environments he generally uses εἶχα + perfect passive participle for the pluperfect, see 5.3.1.2): temporal clauses introduced by ὥς, σάν and τό and relative clauses introduced by ὅπου or ὅπου (“wherever”, “whoever”) that express anteriority in relation to an imperfective, habitual/repetitive main clause.⁵¹

ὥς ἤθελε λογιᾶσει | ποῖα στράτα μέλλει νὰ κρατεῖ ... χολικιασμένη ἐπόμενε *KORNAROS, Erot.*
 I.2091–5; τὸ ἔλες κλάψει καὶ νὰ δῶ τὸ δάκρυο νὰ προβάλλη, | μ’ εὗρισκε γιὰ τὸ κλάμμα
 σου παρατροπὴ μεγάλη *ibid.* III.99–100; τὸ ἔλε δεῖ τὸ βασιλιὸ μέ λογισμό νὰ κάτση | τὴ

⁵¹ When the main clause does not express habituality/repetition in the past, Kornaros uses the aorist or imperfect indicative in the temporal clause: καὶ ὥς ἐμπερδεύτη στὴ φιλιάν, ἐψύγη κ’ ἐμαράθη *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1318; τὰ μάτια του ὅπου ἐστρέφουνταν ... | δὲν εἶδαν ὁμορφύτερην ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀρετούσα *ibid.* I.1756; τὸ ᾿κουσεν ἔντ’ ἀπόφαση τοῦ Πεζοστράτου ἐδόθη, | μεγάλο πράμαν ἦτονε τὸ πῶς δὲν ἐλιγώθη *ibid.* III.1047–8; μὰ σάν τὸν εἶδε ὃ Ἀριστος τὴ χέρα πῶς σηκώνει, | τὸ κοφτερό του τὸ σπαθὶ ἀμπώθει ὅσον ἐμπόρει *ibid.* IV.1704–5.

θυγατέρα τση ἤψεγε καὶ τὰ καμώματά τση *ibid.* IV.745–6; μὲ τὰ χορτάρια ἐκάτεχε, σὰν τὰ ἔλελε μαλάξει, | νὰ κάμη τ' ἄσπρο μελανό, τὴν πρόσοψη ν' ἀλλάξει *ibid.* IV.893–4; κάθε ταχὶὰ ἐσηκώνετο κι ὡς ἤθελε γροικῆσει | ν' ἀντιλαλήση ἡ σάλπιγγα, βούκινο νὰ κτυπήση, | ἐκαβαλίκευγε ὡς αἰτὸς *ibid.* IV.931–3

ὅπου ἔλελε βρεθῆ κιανεῖς, γιὰ τὸ Σκλαβοῦνο ἐγροῖκα *ibid.* II.2170

ἤθελα + Perfect Infinitive

The construction ἤθελα ἔχει(ν) + perfect passive participle has been found in legal texts from the Aegean (Skyros), the Heptanese (Kefalonia) and Crete and in the oldest version of *Varlaam and Ioasaf* (provenance unknown). The perfect infinitive is used to stress the fact that the action was completed in the remote past.

ἤθελα ἔχειν ἄλλη διαθήκη καμουμένην πρώτῃ ἀπὸ τούτῃ (1562, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 9, 23.22)

τὸ ὅποιον ἄνωθεν χωράφι ἤθελεν τὸ ἔχει πουλημένον ὁ πατέρας τοῦ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Δήμου (1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 1, 20.5)

ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ἤθελεν ἔχει πουλημένα, ὡς λέγει, σὲ χρόνους περασμένους μὲ τὴν κερα-Τζανέτα Βλαστοπούλα, τὴ μάνα του, δύο κομμάτια χωράφι (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 215.2–3)

ἔστοντα οἱ ποὺ ἤθελε τὸν ἔχει δακωμένον ἓνα θηρίον *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 503

With an invariable participle form in -α it appears in documents from Crete: ἔστοντας καὶ εἰς καιρὸν περαζόμενο νὰ ἤθελεν ἔχει καμωμένα ὁ ἄνωθεν καλόγερος προυκοχάρτι διὰ ὄνομαν τῆς ἐγγόνης του (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 18, 38.3–4); ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ἔθελεν ἔχει εἰσε καιρὸν περαζόμενον καμωμένα μίαν κομεσιὸν γενεράλε (*ibid.* 38, 58.3–4).

5.3.2.2 ἤθελα + Subjunctive

With a bare subjunctive, ἤθελα appears in the work of Katsaitis (17th/18th c.), who was from Kefalonia. For the conditional this construction has a much broader geographical spread (see 5.2.3.2): ἀμέτρητοι ἤθελαν ἀπεράσου ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΙΣ, *Klathmos* II.331; ὅπου οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἤθελαν φύγου *ibid.* II.334; στὸ σπλάχνος τὸ πολὺ ποὺ ἔλελε κάμεις *ibid.* III.85.

The construction with the shortened form ἤθε(ν), not uncommon for the conditional (see 5.2.3.6), can sporadically be found as a pluperfect: καὶ ἓνας μῶρος, ὅπως κεῖ πρώτῃ ἤθεν κονέφει | ὡς εἶδενε τὸν Διγενῆ ... PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1914–15.

5.3.2.3 ἤθελε ἤμουν + Perfect Passive Participle

ἤθελε ἤμουν with a perfect passive participle has a somewhat broader geographical spread for the conditional (see 5.2.3.5). Used as a pluperfect, it has only been found in Katsaitis's *Lament for the Peloponnese*: οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἤθελ' ἤτανε μπασμένοι | πρωτύτερα στὸ κάστρο ἀνεβασμένοι ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΙΣ, *Klathmos* II.373.

5.3.3 ἤμην/ἤμουν

5.3.3.1 ἤμην/ἤμουν + Aorist Gerund

The Koine construction ἤμην + declined aorist participle that is in agreement with the subject has been found in documents from S. Italy, and should be viewed as an archaism given the fact that the aorist active participle was clearly residual by the beginning of the period covered by this Grammar. No passive examples have been found.

ἦν προαφιέρωσασα ἡ αὐτὴ μοναχὴ Δομνέλλα (984, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 9, 8.5–6)
ὅπερ ἦσαν ἀρπάξαντες οἱ προῦ ἐμοῦ αὐθέντες (1182, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 22, 424.6)

An innovative variant with an aorist gerund in -οντα(ς) (see 4.7) has been found in S. Italy, where ὑπῆρχα is sometimes substituted for ἤμουν, from the 12th c. onwards. From the 14th c. onwards it also occurs in texts from the Peloponnese and Cythera. Active gerunds are more common than passive ones (ἀποσταθόντα, ἀρχιστῶντα, for which see also 4.7.2).⁵²

ὅπερ ἦτον καταρπάσσοντα αὐτὸ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόδωρος Καρβούνης (1156, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 28, 160.19); τὰ ἡμίσια ἅπερ ὕπηρχε προαγοράσσοντα ἡ ἀγία ἐκκλησία ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων (1165–6, ibid. 33, 181.11–12); προὔπηρχε ἡγοράσσοντα (ibid. 33, 181.19)
ἤμην δώσσοντα (1192, Sicily, RE/ROGNONI 2008: 2, 144.10)
ἦσαν ἐπάροντα τὸν σταυρὸν *Chron. Mor.* H 391; ἦτον ποιήσοντα ibid. 2421; τὸν ἦτον ἀποστείλοντα κυρ-Θεόδωρος ὁ Δοῦκας ibid. 3827; ἦτον ἀφήκοντα εἰς Μορέαν ... τὸν μισίρ Ντζᾶ ντὲ Καταβᾶ ibid. 4689–90; ἦσαν ροβολέφοντα ibid. 6653; [ἡ δούκισσα] ἦτο ἐγνέας χηρέφοντα ibid. 8022; καὶ ἦτον ἀποθάνοντα ἡ πρώτη του γυναῖκα ibid. 8073; εἶχαν ἄλογα ἔρημα, τὰ ἦσαν ἀποσταθόντα ibid. 9090⁵³
εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπου ἦτον ἀρχιστῶντα *Pol. Tr.* 9204; αὐτὸς μοῦ ἦτον μηνύσοντα ibid. 9875; ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἦτον πέσοντα ibid. 10052; κάλλιον του νὰ ἦτον φύγοντα ibid. 14244
ἦτον κομίσοντα τὸν εὐγενέστατον Ἀρτάλην (1404, S. Italy, GIUNTA 1968: 130.3)
ἦτονε δώσσοντα (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 102, 78.32–3); ἦσανε ἀναθρέφοντα (1588, ibid. 297, 249.12)

5.3.3.2 ἦτον νά + Subjunctive

The construction ἦτον νά + subjunctive is rather more common for the conditional, expressing future in the past (see 5.2.4.1). As a pluperfect it appears in the same passage in two versions of the *Life of Aesop*: ἀκόμη δὲν ἦτον νὰ τὸ πίουσι, καὶ εὐθύς ἔβγαλαν τὸ νερὸν μὲ τὰ σύκα μαζί *Vios Aisop.* D 210.14; ἔβγαλαν τὸ νερὸν ἐπίσω ἀντάμα μὲ τῶν σύκων τὰ σπυρία, ὅτι ἀκόμη δὲν ἦτον νὰ τὰ χωνεύσουν *Vios Aisop.* I 248.29.

⁵² The following form in the *Chronicle of Tocco* is likely to be a writing mistake for -ας, which is the normal ending for the gerund in this text: αὐτὸς ἦτον μηνύσοντος *Chron. Toc.* 2189. A single instance of ἦτον + present gerund with a progressive meaning (“the water was flowing”) occurs in *Pentateuch*: τὰ νερά ἦτον πγαίνοντα *Pent. Gen.* 8.5. This is a Hebraism according to JOSEPH (2000b: 147).

⁵³ It is noteworthy that the 16th-c. Parisian ms of the *Chronicle* changes all these forms into aorists. For the differences between the two mss see AERTS 1998.

5.4 The Perfect

The monolectic perfect of AG had started gradually to disappear from Hellenistic times onward, and in Late Antiquity the whole category of “perfect” had fallen into disuse, and its uses had been taken over by the aorist indicative (CHANTRAINE 1927) (for the residual monolectic perfect see also 4.9.3.2). It is noteworthy that most EMG grammars do not have a category of “perfect” at all (MANOLESSOU 2012). The same holds true even for most grammars of the 18th and 19th c. (e.g. Katartzis, Christopoulos, Darvaris, David, Possart). In the period covered by this Grammar the aorist indicative is often still used instead, sometimes with a temporal adverbial (ἄλλη φορά, ποτέ μου), e.g. in expressions corresponding to the standard MG usage of έχω ξανα(κάνει)⁵⁴ we find aorist constructions such as καὶ νὰ ἰδῇς εὐμορφίαν ὅπου δὲν τὴν εἶδες ποτέ σου *Vios Aisop.* I 256.6–7 (“and you will see a beauty you have never seen before”); διότι τὸ ἔργον ἐτοῦτο δὲν ἐγίνετο ἄλλη φορά, διὰ τὸ ὅποσον θέλει τοὺς φανῇ δύσκολο *ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, Rebelio* 37.2–3 (“because this has not been done before, and therefore it will seem difficult to them”). In LMedG periphrastic constructions emerge consisting of an auxiliary (ἔχω for the active and εἶμαι for the passive voice) and a participle (usually perfect passive, occasionally present passive).

The perfect active construction ἔχω + passive perfect participle in -μένος or past participle in -δός (Venetian loanwords) is used mainly with transitive verbs, usually with an overt direct object, with which the declined participle displays full gender, number and case agreement. In SMG ἔχω + passive perfect participle is not a “true” perfect but represents a stative *passive* present, as it describes a state in the present rather than an action/event in the past with a result in the present.⁵⁵ The participle functions, in fact, as an adjective, as an object predicate (MOSER 1988: 182–3). The sentence ἔχω τὸ σκύλο δεμένο does not mean “I have tied down the dog”, but rather “I have the dog tied down”; it can be paraphrased as κρατῶ τὸ σκύλο δεμένο. Similar examples can be found in EMG; for instance the following example from Papasynadinos does not mean “he is standing there and has drawn his sword”, but rather “he is standing there with his sword drawn”: στέκεται ... καὶ ἔχει ξεγυμνωμένο τὸ σπαθὶ *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §7.41–2; in the following example from the rhymed version of the *Tale of Alexander*, the construction is clearly passive as well: ἐκάλεσ' ἕναν ἐξ αὐτούς, ... | κ' εἶπε του τὴν ἀθιβολή, νὰ τὸ ᾗχη ξηγημένο *Alex. Rim.* 165–6 (“[Philip] called for one of his [sorcerers] ... and told him the story [of his dream], so that he would have it explained”). Note that when an adjunct of time is present, the construction is not a perfect, as the adjunct of time is the object of ἔχω and the participle is clarificatory (cf. TABACHOVITZ 1926: 52; AERTS 1965: 164–5; MOSER 1988: 107; *pace* TONNET 2003: 174 and MOSER 2009: 219), e.g. σῦρε εἰς τὴν Ἐλισάβετ τὴν συγγενάδα σου, νὰ τὴν ἰδῇς ὅπου καὶ αὐτὴ ἔχει τώρα ἕξι μῆνες ἐγγαστρωμένη *DAM. STOD., This., Logos* 1, α1r.15–17 (1561) (“go to your cousin Elizabeth, to see that she, too, is now six months pregnant”, literally: “that she, too, has now six months [that she is] pregnant”).

⁵⁴ This use of (ἐ)ξανα- is absent from LMedG and EMG texts, in which the prefix (and the adverb) only mean “again”, “once more”, but not “(n)ever before”.

⁵⁵ Its use is also restricted to certain classes of verbs; see MOSER 1988: 131–45 for details.

The passive counterpart of the construction, εἶμαι + perfect passive participle, often also represents a stative present passive, sometimes even with substitution of ὑπάρχω for εἶμαι: σὺν τῶν σπιτιῶν ὁποῦ ὑπάρχουσι συμμένα σὺν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 5, 557.9–10) (“including the houses that are adjacent to the church”). Again, in this use the participle functions as an adjective and it can often be found in co-ordination with other adjectives, e.g.: κἂν καὶ ἀπόδημος καὶ χωρισμένος ἡμῖν *Spaneas* V 34 (“even though I am far away and separated [from you]”); ἐναι ἐντιμη καὶ ὁμορφῇ καὶ ἀπὸ καλοῦς γονεῖς γεννημένη *Diig. Alex.* K 367.14–15 (“she is honourable and beautiful, and of good lineage”). Also, it can be used with verbs that do not normally have passive morphology, apart from a verbal adjective in -μένος (for details see 2.3.2): εἶναι μεθυσμένοι *Chron. Mor.* H 8305 (“they are drunk”); εἴμεσταν τρομασμένοι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1417 (“we are scared”); ὁποῦ ἐνὶ χορτασμένος | ποτὲ οὐ πιστεύει νηστικόν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 117–18 (“he who has a full stomach never believes a hungry man”). Other stative present examples are:

- ἵνα ᾗσθε κρατημένοι (1346–7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.45) (“so that you are obliged”)
 ἐὰν γίνεται οὕτως, ὅτι εἰς ἀνθρωπος ἐνὶ ταμένος εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμπορεῖ νὰ ἔλθῃ
Assizes B 339.12–14 (“if a man has obligations at court, and can therefore not come [to appear before the judge]”)
 ὁποῖος τὴν μυρίζεται καὶ νὰ μὴν εἶναι συναχωμένος ἀπὸ κακοπιστίας λογισμόν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 8.23–4 (“whoever smells [the bouquet] without having their nose blocked by faithless thoughts”)
 εἶσαι ἀπ’ ὅλους βαρεμένος, τοὺς ἐδικούς (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.26) (“all your relatives are a burden to you”)
 εἶναι πολλὰ τρανὸ μοναστήρι, ἀμὴ εἶναι χρεωμένο PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §21.33 (“it is a very strong monastery, but it has debts”)
 θέλει νὰ ᾖναι κομμένο καὶ ἀνουλάδο (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.15) (“he wishes for [his previous will] to be null and void”)

However, in LMedG and EMG the ἔχω/εἶμαι + participle periphrases can be used as perfects, e.g. “[the land ...] which I have bought”, in other words “the land which I have bought and which is now in my possession” in the following example: (τὸ χωράφιον ...) τὸ ἅπερ καὶ ἔχω ἀγορασμένον (1005, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 13, 13.13–14); or: καὶ τὶς ἔχει καὶ τόσα ἄσπρα φαγουμένα (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 58.6–7) (for τὶς see II, 5.3.2.6.2 (“and he has cheated them out of so much money too”); and ἐὰν ... μὲ τὸν ὀρισμόν του ἐνὶ εἰς τὸ σκολεῖον σταλμένος νὰ μάθῃ καμμία σοφίαν *Assizes* B 412.5–6 (“if ... by his [father’s] order he has been sent to school to acquire some wisdom”). The 11th-c. example of ἔχω + participle appears in a document from S. Italy, but it is noteworthy that the construction is absent from all other early texts: no examples have been found for instance in the published writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain, nor in Glykas, the three oldest versions of *Spaneas* (V, P and Va), the Ptochoprodromic poems, the collection of proverbs in KRUMBACHER 1893, the *Logos parigoritikos*, nor in any of the versions of *Livistros*. There are a few examples in *Assizes* B, but it must be borne in mind that this text

has come down to us in a late 15th-c. ms. By contrast, the early 14th-c. legal texts from Cyprus edited by SIMON (1973) and MARUHN (1981) offer no examples. In fact, with the exception of the isolated example from S. Italy (cf. the pluperfect, 5.3.1.2), no examples have been found before the 15th c. (ms date of *Assizes B* and the *War of Troy*), and all early examples are from areas that had been under Western rule for quite some time, making contact with Romance languages a likely reason for the emergence of the construction as a perfect in LMedG (HORROCKS 2010: 297–301). This supposition is reinforced by the fact that LMedG and EMG, just like the Romance languages, use the auxiliary εἶμαι to form active perfects of certain intransitive verbs, among which verbs of motion, e.g. εἶναι μισεμένος ἀπὸ τῆς Ρώμης (1570, Venice, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 9, 482.3) (“he has left Rome”).⁵⁶ In the EMG period constructions with a verbal adjective or a gerund can be found regionally.

The SMG perfect ἔχω + infinitive appears in written texts towards the very end of the EMG period. This construction had been in use as a future periphrasis until well into the LMedG period, though in the later LMedG period it was clearly residual and can be found mainly in literary texts (see 5.1.3.1). Evidently, the construction had to have been entirely obsolete as a future before it could be reintroduced as a perfect. It begins to be used as a perfect by analogy with the pluperfect εἶχα + infinitive, which first appears in texts in the 14th c. (see 5.3.1.1). The perfect ἔχω + infinitive has not been found before the end of the 17th c., and even then it is very rare indeed. For details on the emergence of the construction and a discussion of a fair number of phantom appearances from as early as the 11th c. and throughout the period under review see JANSSEN 2013.

5.4.1 Indicative and Subjunctive

	General	Restricted	Rare
Active	ἔχω γραμμένο(ν)	ἔχω γραμμένα ἔχω -δο(ν) ἔχω γραφόμενο(ν) ἔχω γραπτό(ν) ἔχω + noun ἔχω γράφοντα(ς) εἶμαι -μένος	*ἔχω γραμμένος ἔχω γράφοντα(ς) ἔχω γράψει(ν)
Passive	εἶμαι γραμμένος	εἶμαι γραπτός εἶμαι -δος	εἶμαι γραφόμενος

⁵⁶ As noted by Romanos Nikiforou, who clearly interprets the construction as a loan: aliqui Graeco-Latini imitantes illud: *sono andato, je suis allé*, dicunt εἶμαι παγεμένος, εἶσαι παγεμένος ROMANOS, *Grammar* 62.19–20. Romanos does not, however, condemn its use (“quae sunt optima omnia et utere indifferenter et secure”, ibid. 62.23–4).

5.4.1.1 ἔχω/εἶμαι + Passive Participle

Active

ἔχω + Perfect Passive Participle

As noted in the introduction to this section, ἔχω + perfect passive participle is used for the active voice mainly with transitive verbs and usually with an overt direct object, with which the declined participle displays full gender, number and case agreement. With the exception of the isolated 11th-c. example from S. Italy, no examples have been found before the 15th c. (ms date of *Assizes B* and the *War of Troy*), and all early examples are from areas that had been under Western rule for quite some time (Crete, Heptanese, Cyprus, Rhodes). Some representative examples are:⁵⁷

- (τὸ χωράφιον ...) τὸ ἄπερ καὶ ἔχω ἀγορασμένον (1005, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 13, 13.13–14)
 πάντα ὅσα νὰ ἔχη καμωμένα *Assizes B* 420.30; ἐκεῖνος ὅπου ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα χαμένον *ibid.* 426.22
 τόσους ἔχει χαμένους *Pol. Tr.* 3079
 τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὅπου τῶς ἔχουσι οἱ μερίδες δοσμένη (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 51.48)
 ὅσα ἔχομεν γραμμένα καὶ ὁμωσμένα (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 276.33–4)
 κρασιά ὅσα ἔχουν συναγμένα (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 37, 167.4)
 θωρῶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἔχει σας κερδεμένους LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 61; εἰς τὰ ᾗχει ἐξοδιασμένα *ibid.* 439
 μηδὲ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἔχει τοῦτον μετρημένον *Pist. kekoim.* 51.470–1
 ἐκεῖνον ὅπου ἔχουν κτισμένον (1535, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 4, 120.13); ἔχουν ἀγορασμένον (1586, *ibid.* 30, 171.5)
 τὴν ἔχει παραδομένην (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 10, 23.44)
 ὅσες γράφες ἔχω καμωμένες (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 237, 144.15)
 τὴν ἔχει εἰς τὸ προικίον τῆς ζιγανέμνη (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 37, 117.22)
 ἔχομε κουρσεμένον τὸν μισὸν Μωρέαν (1571, Mani, CHASIOITIS 1970: 6.1, 241.18)
 ἔχει πολλὰ ξοδιασμένα (1597, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 5, 77.17)
 τὸ λάσο ὅπου ἔχω ἀφησμένο (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 60.20)
 τὸ ὁποῖον τὸ ἔχω ἐδῶ ὀπισθεν κοπιारισμένον (1622, Karpathos?, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.8)
 ὁ πατριάρχης ἔχει ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον παρμένα ἐνεήντα πέντε φορτία PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.199–200; διότι χαμένο δὲν τὸ ἔχεις *ibid.* II §7.21
 τὸ χωράφι ὅπου ἔχω ἀγορασμένο ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀντρία Δαλιέτο (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 2, 4.6)
 καὶ ἔχω ἄσπρα ἐξοδιασμένα (1672, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 48, 46.5–7)
 τὰ στρίτα, ὅπου τοῦ ἔχω δοσμένα (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 139.19)
 τὶς ἔχει καὶ τόσα ἄσπρα φαγουμένα (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 58.6–7)
 (βαλάνια) τα ὁποῖα τα ἔχω διαλεγμένα ἓνα πρὸς ἓνα *Don Kis.* 498.31–2

With an invariable participle in -α this construction occurs from the 16th/17th c. onwards. It is usually used with intransitive verbs (διψῶ, μιλῶ, πταίω) and when the direct object of the phrase is a complement clause or a prepositional phrase, in texts from various, mostly southern, areas:

⁵⁷ The example from Adrianople (modern-day Edirne) is taken from a peace treaty between the Venetians and Mehmed II. The peace treaty was drawn up at the court of Mehmed II in Adrianople. The provenance of the Greek who drew up the treaty is unknown; he may have been a member of the Venetian diplomatic mission (BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 268) or of the Sultan's Greek Chancellery (BABINGER 1953: 45–6).

ἐγὼ πῶς εἶσαι δυνατὸς καλὰ ἔχω γνωρισμένα CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.60; (τίνος ἤμουνε παιδί ...) ἔχω ὡς ἐδὰ ἔπωμένα id., *Erof.* I.140
 ἔχεις μου δοσμένα κρασί μουστολογάδο (1618, Crete, VLACHAKI 1979: 4, 286.6–7)
 ἔχω γνωρισμένα | εἰς ἵντα τόπο κείτουνται *P&N Diath.* 265–6
 δὲν ἔχουσι ποῖος εἶμαι γνωρισμένα *Stathis Prol.* 12
 πῶς σὲ ἔχω γραμμένα πᾶσα ἐνοῦ πολιτεία PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §1.3 (hapax)
 στὸν κόσμον νὰ μὴ ζιῶ ἔχω ἀποφασισμένα TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.205
 καὶ κατεχέ το τὸ λοιπὸν τί ἔχω ἀποφασισμένα SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A4v.21 (1658)
 ἀποφασισμένα ἔχω νὰ πουλήσω καὶ ρούχα μου καὶ βιβλία (1692, Palermo region, PARADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 182.32–3) (author from Sifnos)
 καθὼς μετ' αὐτῇ ἔχομε μιλημένα KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.719; ἂν ἔχω σου πταισμένα id., *Ifig.* IV.70

Examples of the construction with a nominal direct object have been found in Cretan texts and in texts from certain other islands (Kefalonia, Chios, Naxos) (cf. the pluperfect):

μᾶς ἔχει δοσμένα καὶ πουλημένα ... ἀμπέλιν (1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 35, 65.3)
 ἀκομή ἔχω του δοσμένα ἓνα σάκο (1569, Crete, KOLYVA-KARALEKA 1977: 6, 257.7)
 ἔχει κλειδωμένα | τὴν πόρτα CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.105–6; τοὺς ἔχεις γρικημένα id., *Erof.* II.316
 νὰ ἔχη ὀρισμένα τὸν ἄνωθεν μισερ-Τζουάνε (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 79, 96.5)
 κακό, Πετρίτη, οὐδέν | δὲν ἔχεις, φαίνεται μου, παθημένα *Pist. voskos* II 3.1–2
 κορμί πλιά τέλειο δὲν ἔχω γνωρισμένα TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.408
 ραβδιές μοῦ ἔχει δανεισμένα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2548
 στὸν τράφον ποῦ ἔχει τῶρι φραμένα (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 323, 525.2–3)
 μὰ μὲ γυνή του νόμιμον δὲν μ' ἔχει γεννημένα KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.452

With an invariable participle in -ο(ν) it occurs marginally, not only in rhyme position (Katsaitis), but also in non-literary texts from Cyprus and Corfu (cf. the pluperfect 5.3.1.2):
 νὰ στρέψει τὰ μελίσσια ... μὲ πάντα ὅσα ἔχουν μέσα καμωμένον *Assizes A* 198.18–19; ἔχω δομένο ... δύο κομμάτι<α> ἀμπέλι (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 16, 228.21) (here the singular may have been triggered by ἀμπέλι); σὰν μῶχεις μιλημένο KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.228.

Agreement of the participle with the subject of the verb is highly unusual and it is doubtful whether this sole example represents a valid construction: τὰ πολλὰ ψυχικά ὅπου ἔχει ἡ αὐθεντία σου καμωμένος (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.16–17).

In texts from south-western regions, and especially the Heptanese, the ἔχω + participle construction can be found with the intransitive verb γίνομαι as a transitive construction with an overt direct object (cf. the pluperfect and future perfect, 5.3.1.2, 5.5.1), semantically equivalent to ἔχω καμωμένο(ν). For the varied morphology of γίνομαι see 2.4.

ποῦ νὰ μπορῶ νὰ θυμηθῶ ὅσα ἔχεις γεναμένα KORONAIOS, *Pittakin* 51
 τὸ ὁμοίως ἔχει γεναμένα (sc. ὁ Θεός) καὶ ὅλα τὰ ἄλλα ποιήματα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 107.34
 διὰ τὲς καρέλες ὅπου ἔχουν γιναμένες εἰς τὸ ὀφίτζιο τῆς Καντζελαρίας (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 33, 92.4–5)
 διαθήκην ..., μὲ τὴν ὁποίαν κόφτει καὶ ἀφανίζει κάθε ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλες ποῦ ἔχει παρέμπροσθεν ταύτης γινομένες (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.7–9)

οἱ γραφεῖς ὅπερ ἔχω γεναμένες (1588 [17th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 464.10–11)
 ἀπὸ κάθε καρέλα ὅπου ἔχουνε γεναμένη (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.12)
 φωλιά ἔχει γεναμένην SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* P2v.18 (1658)
 διαθήκη ἡ κωντικέλλο πού ἔλε βρεθῇ νᾶχω γεναμένο (1694, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1950: 8, 164.30)

ἔχω + Present Passive Participle

The same construction but with a present passive participle has been found in a handful of texts. The choice for the present participle appears to be aspectual: in the first example the present participle may be triggered by *ἔως ἐδῶ γραφεῖς ιη'* – in other words “18 letters including the one that I am sending now”, and in the second example *ἔχω παραλαμβανομένους* may translate as “12 *marcello* are now in my possession on your behalf” rather than “I have received 12 *marcello*”. In the example from Epirus, the situation has not been resolved, and therefore the author of the letter feels she has been, and still is, unfairly treated. In the example from Corfu, the community is bound by their promise to do something which lies in the future.

νὰ ἡξεύρης ὅτι ἔχω σου πεμπάμενες γραφεῖς ἀπὸ τὸν Αὐγουστον ἔως ἐδῶ γραφεῖς ιη' (1497, Crete, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 6, 143.33–4)
 μοῦ ἔδωσε μαρτζέλους πέντε διὰ ὄνομά σου τὸ ποῖον ἔχω παραλαμβανομένους μαρτζέλους ιβ' (1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.9)
 ἐγνώρισαν οἱ ἄρχοντες ... τὲς ψευτιές του καὶ πὼς μ' ἔχει ἀδικούμενη (17th c., Epirus, MERTZIOS 1936b: 13, 50.19)
 μὲ τὸ νὰ εἶναι ὑποσχόμενη ἡ κοινότητα (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 367.3–4)

Passive

εἶμαι + Perfect Passive Participle

The passive counterpart of the *ἔχω + participle* construction is formed with the present *εἶμαι + perfect passive participle*. It is mainly used with transitive verbs, and the participle is in full gender, number and case agreement with the subject. As noted in the introduction (5.4), this construction often represents a state in the past rather than an anterior action/event in the past, and purely stative examples have not been included in the following list of examples. The construction usually does have a particularly strong emphasis on the state resulting from the action/event that is anterior to it.

καθὼς ἄνωθέν ἐστιν λαλημένον *Assizes* B 382.22; περὶ ἐκείνης τῆς γυναίκας ὅπου ἐνι φονεμένη *ibid.* 465.22
 εἰς γινῶσιν καὶ ἀπὸ φρόνεσιν εἴσθε διαλεγμένοι *Pol. Tr.* 2500
 σφαλισμένο ἔναι (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2320)
 εἶμαι ἰκανωμένος καὶ πληρωμένος (1480, Constantinople, LAMBROS 1908c: 1, 480.6)
 θωρώντα νὰ ἔναι κι ἀπὸ σὲ ἵτις ἀπορριμμένη *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 164
 ὠρισμένοι εἵμεσταν ἀπὸ τὸν ρήγα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 206.20–5
 τοὺς κριτάδες ἔναι δομένο νὰ σκοτώνουν *Diig. Alex.* F 172.4–5 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἐγρικήσαμε ὅτι εἶναι κακὰ πουλημένα (1548, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 2, 38.12–13)
 τὰ ὅλα ὡς καθὼς ἔνιν εἰς τὸ ἀβεντάριο γραμμένα (1551, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 16, 33.4)
 νὰ καταλάβετε ... τὸν αὐτὸν κόντον μὲ ἵντα μόδον εἶναι καμωμένος (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 216.11); ὁμολογεῖ πὼς εἶν πληρωμένος (1565, *ibid.* 241, 337.2–3)

εἶναι ἡδὲ τρεῖς φορές στιμαρισμένα (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 344, 323.10)
 εἶναι ἀποστελμένο ἀπὸ τὸν υἱὸ τοῦ (1644, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 296, 233.6)
 σοῦ εἶναι συγχωρημένες οἱ ἀμαρτίες σου KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 9.2; ὁ λίθος εἶναι
 κυλισμένος *ibid.* Mark. 16.4
 νὰ μαρτυροῦνε ... πὼς εἶναι πουλημένο (1678, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 25, 133.9–10)
 εἶσαι γελασμένος, Σάντισε *Don Kis.* 153.27

In texts of Heptanesian provenance, εἶμαι + passive participle is also used with the intransitive deponent verb γίνομαι (cf. active ἔχω + participle; see also the pluperfect (5.3.1.2) and future perfect (5.5.1)). Given the general confusion regarding the morphology of γίνομαι, the innovative aorist middle participle γενόμενος surely has the same meaning as the innovative perfect passive participles γεναμένος and γιναμένος (for AG γεγωνώς) (see also 2.4):

στὸ νησί τάφος ἔν γεναμένος *Alex. Rim.* 2003
 τὰ κόκκαλα γυρίζουν εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν ὕλην ὅπου εἶναι γιναμένα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.*
 106.12–13; ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔναι γενόμενος μὲ τὴν ψυχὴν *ibid.* 122.4
 ὅλοι ἀπὸ κρεᾶς καὶ κόκκαλο εἴμεσθε γεναμένοι DEFAR., *Log. did.* 423
 ἔναι γεναμένη εἰς τοὺς χιλίους 1630 (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 39, 56.9)
 ὅτι καλόγερος γεναμένος δὲν ἔναι (1606 [late 17th–early 18th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS
 1980: 519.24); ἡ ὁποία γραφὴ ἔναι γεναμένη (*ibid.* 521.13)

εἶμαι + Present Passive Participle

The construction εἶμαι + present passive participle, even rarer than its active counterpart with ἔχω (see above), has only been found in Machairas's *Chronicle*, versions O and R: καὶ φαίνεται μας πὼς δὲν εἶναι πεμπάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν ἀφέντην μας τὸν ρήγαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 290.18 (same in O); εἴμεσταν πεμπάμενοι εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς Κύπρου *ibid.* 443.24–5. It should perhaps be interpreted as a present: “we are on a mission from the King to save Cyprus”, rather than as a true perfect: “we have been sent by the King to save Cyprus”.

ἔχω/εἶμαι + Past Participle in -δος

The same construction, with ἔχω for the active and εἶμαι for the passive voice, can also be found in Venetian-ruled areas (Crete, Heptanese, Aegean) with past participles in -δος and past participles of irregular verbs (e.g. ἄστρέτος), borrowed from Venetian.⁵⁸ These participles show full adaptation to Greek adjectival morphology, with some variation in the feminine singular (see II, 3.2.2 for details). All the examples found come from non-literary sources:

Active

ὅταν φανῇ καὶ δὲν τὴν ἔχω σατισφάδα καὶ σαλντάδα τὴν λεγομένην Κάμεραν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 78, 76.38–9) (< Ven. *satisfâr, saltâr*)
 τὴν ἔχει πληρωμένη καὶ σατζιφάδα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 37, 117.14) (< Ven. *satisfâr/satzîâr*); ἔχει μας ἱγκανάδους τυρὶ λίτρες 44 (1565, *ibid.* 283, 392.38–393.1) (< Ven. *inganâr*)

⁵⁸ For the morphology of Venetian past participles in -ado/-adho see FERGUSON 2007: 96.

τση ἐκκλησίας ... όπου ἡ ἀφεντιά του ἔχει φαμβρικάδη (1619, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 2, 260.6–7) (< Ven. *fabricàr*)
 ἔχει ᾠποτεκάδα ἢ ποτε Γλέντα τὰ καλάν της (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 2, 144.17) (< Ven. *ipotecàr*); τὴν ἔχου σατισφάδα (ibid. 31, 179.18)
 τὰ κόπανά τους νὰ ᾔχουν ἀπαρκιάδα *Leilasia Par.* 362 (< Ven. *parechiàr*)

Passive

ὁμολογῶ πῶς ἤμαί πληρωμένη ἀπὸ κείνον καὶ σατισφάδα εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον ὅλον χρέος (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 132.33–4); τὸ ὅποϊον ἔναι στιμάδον, ὡσὰν λέγω, ἑβδομήντα πέντε δουκάτα (1529, ibid. 137, 247.19–20) (< Ven. *stimàr*)
 ἡ πρώτη κουμεισὶν ... νὰ εἶναι ἀνουλάδη (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 18, 61.37) (< Ven. *anulàr*)
 εἶνιε ἱγκανάδη (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 173.12); τὸ ὅποϊον ἔνε διαλαλημένον καὶ κομπλίδο (1538, ibid. 184, 184.12) (< Ven. *complir*)
 νὰ σῶναι ρεφουδάδα ἡ λεγόμενη μισή βουδέα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 261, 205.21) (< Ven. *refudàr*)
 εἶμαι πληρωμένος καὶ σατισφάδος ... ἀπὸ σένα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 295a, 292.1)
 ἡ ὁποία ἔνε στιμάδη ὑπέρπυρα λε' (1551, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 91, 111.7–8)
 εἵμαστε ἱγκανάδοι (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 387.23)
 καὶ ἔναι τὸ χαρτὶ σταμπάδο (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 25.31) (author from Nauplion) (< Ven. *stampàr*)
 ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ εἶναι ἀστρέτοι ἀπού τὴν ἐκλαμπροτάτην Ἀφεντιά νὰ πλερώσου ... (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 26, 45.3–4) (< irregular participle *astretto*)

5.4.1.2 εἶμαι + Perfect Passive Participle with Active Meaning

The construction εἶμαι + participle is also used for the *active* voice of intransitive verbs, not only of deponent verbs (ἔρχομαι) but also of active verbs that otherwise lack passive morphology (διαβάζω (in the sense of διαβαίνω, “leave”), μισσεύω, παγαίνω). The participle in -μένος or -δος (Venetian loanwords) is in full case, number and gender agreement with the subject of the verb. The verbs involved are often verbs of motion (cf. the pluperfect, 5.3.1.2):⁵⁹

στὸ Νίκλι γὰρ τοῦ εἶπασιν ὅτι ἔνι διαβασμένος *Chron. Mor.* H 2298
 εἶναι μισεμένος ἀπού τὴ Ρώμη (1570, Venice, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 9, 482.3)
 καὶ τότες εἰς τὸ σπῆτι σας νὰ σας γυρίσω πάλι | με δίχως κούραση κιαιμιά, σαν εἴστ' ἐδῶ
 ἐρχωμένοι *CHORTATISIS, Panor. Prol. theas* 80–1;⁶⁰ ἀπού ὅστε σ' τοῦτο σήμερον τὸν τόπον
 ἐρθωμένοι *id., Erof. Interm.* II.32
 ποῦ ὅστε τῶρα διαβασμένοι *Fallidos* 158
 δὲν ἔμπορεῖ ὁ ἄ<ν>τρας της νὰ <μ>πεῖ εἰς τὴ γραφὴ διατὶ εἶναι φθαισμένος ἀπὸ τὴ δικαιοσύνη
 (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 39, 57.20)
 δὲ θέλει ξεύρει ὁ βασιλιὸς πῶς εἵμεστα ἐρθωμένοι *TROILOS, Rodol.* V.1 (ἡμεστα *ed.*)
 εἴστε ἐδεπὰ ἐρθωμένοι *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol.* 134
 εἶναι μισεμένος (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 257, 448.16)

⁵⁹ This construction, now obsolete, is still found in TRIANDAFYLLIDIS 1941: 311: εἶμαι πηγμένος.

⁶⁰ The form ἐρχωμένοι in this example from *Panoria* looks like a present participle, but the stress indicates that it is a perfect. Of course, the difference between pres. ἐρχομένοι and perf. ἐρθωμένοι is but one letter.

ἐπταίσαμεν καὶ εἵμεσθεν πταισμένοι *Thrinós Kypr.* 89
 εἶμαι παγεμένος, εἶσαι παγεμένος *ROMANOS, Grammar* 62.20

5.4.1.3 ἔχω + Verbal Adjective

Constructions with a verbal adjective in -τός have been found in south-western areas and in the Aegean, mostly of the verb ἀγοράζω. No passive examples (with εἶμαι) have been found (but cf. the pluperfect, 5.3.1.3, for which, however, the passive is also very rare):

ἔχω + Verbal Adjective in -τός

- τὸ ὅπερ ἔχει ἀγοραστὸν ἢ μονή (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 43.195)
 τὸν ὁποῖον μύλον ἔχουεν ἀγοραστὸν (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 176, 176.4–5)
 ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτὸς ὁ Μανόλης ἀγοραστὸν (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 341.35)
 τὰ ὁποῖα λέγει πῶς ἔχει ἀφῆτὰ εἰς τὴν Χίον (1551, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 78, 97.40)
 ἓνα κομμάτι χωράφι, ὅνπερ ἔχει ἀγοραστὸ (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 30, 109.3)
 τὸ ἀμπέλι ὅπου ἔχουν ἀγοραστὸ (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 41, 61.4)
 ὅπερ ἔχω ἀγοραστὸ (1636, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 3, 216.10)
 ἀμπέλιν ... ὅπου τὸ ἔχω ἀγοραστὸν ἀπὸ ... (1636, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 18, 13.14–15)
 τὸ χωράφι ὅπου ἔχουσιν στὸν Ἅγιο Κωνσταντῖνο ἀγοραστὸ (1676, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 1, 123.23)
 ἔλες τρεῖς, ἐκεῖνες ὅπου ἔχω ἀγοραστές ἀπὸ τῆς Θεοφίλης (1726, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: XXIV, 82.17–18); εἴτι καὶ ἂν ἔχω ἀγοραστά (ibid. 82.20)

With an invariable form in -α it has been found of verbs meaning “to hear”, in two late texts from geographically diverse areas (note that ἔχω ακουστά is still used in SMG): ἔχω γροικητὰ -καὶ κάτεχε το- | τὸ πλοῦτος ἐκείνου τοῦ Μιχελέττο *Leilasia Par.* 105–6; το ἔχω ακουστά αὐτὸ το βιβλίον *Don Kis.* 572.31.

5.4.1.4 ἔχω + Noun

In the construction ἔχω + noun, the noun expresses the action of the corresponding verb. The auxiliary retains some of its possessive meaning and therefore the construction is only used with certain nouns, e.g. ἔχω ἀγορασιά (“I have bought, I have in my possession”), but not *ἔχω πουλησιά (“I have sold”) (cf. the pluperfect, 5.3.1.4):

- τὸ ὁσπίτιον τὸ ἔχης ἀγορὰν ἐσοῦ ὁ ἀγοραστής (1134, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 43, 192.12)
 (κομμάτιν ...) τὸ ἔχω ἀγορασίαν ἀπὸ τὸν Ποντᾶν (1269, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 52, 29.27)
 ἔχω δὲ καὶ ἀγορὰν τὸ τρίτον τοῦ μύλου τοῦ Καλημέρη (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.32)
 ὁποῖον τὸ ἔχει ἀγορά (1447, Corfu, EFSTRATIADIS 1925: 50.3–4)
 ἀκουὴν τὰ θές ἔχει ἀπὸ ἄλλους (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 2, 18.4–5) (modal, epistemic)
 μα ὅστερα μεταγνώματα ἔχω ακοὴν καὶ ᾠδὴν *Apoll. Rim.* N 1439 (ακουὴν in E)
 τὸ κλεῖσμα πῶς ἔχουν ἀγορασίαν ἀπὸ τὸ Νικολό (1570, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 1, 9.13–14);
 τὸ ὁποῖο περιβόλι τὸ ἔχει ἀγορὰ ἀπὸ τὸ Θεοδωρὴ Σάλαχα (1598, ibid. 84, 114.6–7)

ὡς καθὼς σᾶς ἔχομεν παραγγελία (1571, Mani, CHASIOU 1970: 5, 239.13–14)
 μέ τήν κατοικία όπου ἔχω ἀγορασιά (1590, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 8, 310.38–9)
 ἔχω ακουγή ἀπό τους γονεῖς ημῶν *Vios Filaret.* 241.19–20
 ἔχομεν παραγγελίαν τὸν κυρ-Στεφανήν (1653, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2004b: 340.14–15)
 ὁ Ζαννῆς δὲν τῶχει ἀγορά ἀπὸ τοῦ κυροῦ της (1657, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 4, 51.8–11)
 (τὸ σπῖτιν ...) όπου ἔχουν ἀγορά ὁ ρηθεῖς μισέρ Μικὲς (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 428, 650.5)
 ἐκεῖνο όπου ἔχω ἀλλαξία ἀπὸ τὸ μισέρ Πέτρο (1636 [copy of 1695], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1983: 452.16)

5.4.1.5 ἔχω + Gerund

The construction ἔχω + gerund is used only for the active voice and does not have a passive counterpart. With a present gerund it has been found in Cretan texts (mainly of the verb δίδω, but cf. the pluperfect, 5.3.1.5), and with an aorist gerund it appears in one document, again from Crete. Insofar as the limited number of examples allows for conclusions, there does not appear to be an aspectual difference between imperfective and perfective complementation. For the morphology of gerunds see 4.7.

ἔχω + Present Gerund

τὰ δύο δουκάτα όπου ἔχω δίδοντας (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 9, 41.25)
 ὁ,τι τῶχεις δίδοντα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 287, 225.12); ὁ,τι δινέρια τῶχει δίδοντα (ibid. 434α, 343.6) (for crasis /u/+e/ see I, 2.9.5)
 ἔχω σου δίδοντα ... ὑπέρπυρα εἴκοσι πέν<τ>ε (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 52, 55.7)
 ἔχω λαμβάνοντα ὑπὸ σοῦ ... (1552, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 148, 146.3–4)
 ἀπὸ τὸ ἐνοίκιν τως όπου μῶχει δίδοντα (1566, Crete, PANAYOTAKIS 1986: 2, 119.9–10)

ἔχω + Aorist Gerund

τὲς παραγγελίες όπου σοῦ ἔχει εἰπόντα (1502, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 6, 29.13)

Or, in a more “elevated” form, with a participle instead of a gerund: ἐπειδὴ ἔχω λαβὼν παρὰ τῆς εἰρημένης Καλῆς τῆς γυναικός μου εἰς πράγματα καὶ στολισμὸν γυναικεῖον ... (1504, Crete, SATHAS 1877: 23, 690.26–7).

5.4.1.6 ἔχω + Infinitive

Tracing the emergence of the SMG perfect ἔχω + infinitive has led to interesting findings (published in JANSSEN 2013), the most important of which is that CHATZIDAKIS 1901b was correct in supposing that it certainly did not appear before the 17th c. Only a very modest handful of late 17th-c. and 18th-c. examples have been found, all of northern provenance.⁶¹ For an indication of the rarity of ἔχω + infinitive even in the 18th and 19th c., see again JANSSEN 2013. Equally telling is the fact that the periphrasis is absent from most

⁶¹ It is noteworthy that northern texts of the first half of the 17th c., such as Papasynadinos and Kallioupolitis, do not have the construction. Nor does the grammarian from Thessaloniki, Romanos Nikiforou (early 17th c.), neither in his paradigms, nor when he mentions italianized Greeks who literally translate *sono stato a Roma* as ἐστάθηκα εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, whereas non-italianized Greeks will say ἐπῆγα (both aor. ind.) (ROMANOS, *Grammar* 58).

MG dialects (see RALLI et al. 2007). For the use of this construction as a future see 5.1.3.1; as a subjunctive, 5.7.1.1.

ἔχω + Aorist Infinitive

The construction ἔχω + aorist infinitive, as noted, has not been found before the very end of the period under review, and it is very rare. The fact that only two examples have been found in a text as extensive as the translation of *Don Quixote* illustrates just how rare it is. All examples appear in texts from the northern mainland, and no passive examples have been found. Its use is that of the SMG construction: it presents an action/event anterior to the present with a clear focus, not on the action/event itself, but on the result of this action/event in the present:

ὁποῖος χρεωστᾷ ἕνας περὶ τοῦ ἄλλου μὴ ὁμολογία καὶ δὲν ἔχει πλερώσει κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογία του, νὰ εἶνι θεληματάρης μὴ τὴν κρίση νὰ τὸν φυλακῶνει (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.51v.2–4) (“if someone owes another by bond and has not paid according to the bond (in other words ‘is in default’), [the other party] has the right to send him to prison through the courts”)

καὶ ἄλλα ὅσπρᾳ ἔχει δώσει διὰ κίρι (1697, Dyrrachion, MERTZIOS 1947a: 74, 243.15)⁶² (“he has also paid for candle wax”, in other words “the order has been placed”)

εκείνοι οὗοῦ δικαίως ἔχουν ἀποκτήσει μεγάλην φήμην *Don Kis*. 164.13–14 (“they who have rightly obtained great fame”, in other words “are very famous”)

The only example in which the construction is used somewhat differently is the following, where it appears in a main clause with a temporal clause that makes explicit the moment in time when the action expressed by the perfect occurred. This use has not been encountered in other texts and is an impossibility in SMG. As the text is a translation from Italian, the translator is likely to have been influenced by the text he was translating (“tu m’hai già detto” in Franciosini’s translation):

αὐτό δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ εἶναι ..., ὅτι ἐσύ με ἔχεις εἰπεῖ πῶς τὴν εἶδες οὗοῦ ἐκοσκίνιζεν σιτάρι, ὅταν με ἔφερες τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τοῦ γράμματος οὗοῦ τῆς ἐστεῖλα με λόγου σου *Don Kis*. 203.20–3 (“this cannot be true ..., as you have told me that you saw her sifting wheat when you brought me the answer to the letter I sent to her through you”)

5.4.2 Imperative

The perfect imperative is formed with the present imperative of the auxiliary + perfect passive participle (ἔχε γραμμένον) for active 2 sg. and 2 pl., and with a particle (ἄς or νά) + perfect subjunctive for active 3 sg. and 3 pl. as well as all persons of the passive voice, as the verb εἶμαι does not have a synthetic imperative (see 4.8.3). It is, understandably, rather rare. Semantically it does not differ significantly from the present imperative. Examples:

Active

κ’ ἔχετε τὰ φουσάτα σας καλὰ εὐοδωμένα *Alex*. Rim. 779

ἔχε γραμμένον, ἄς ἔχει γραμμένον· ἔχετε γραμμένον, ἄς ἔχουν καὶ ἄς ἔχουσι γραμμένον
SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 55.2–3

⁶² For reliability issues in Mertzios’s publications and several “phantom” perfects, see JANSSEN 2013. This reading has been verified by Katerina Korre, to whom we are indebted. The document is now filed as *Documenti Greci*, busta 2, no. 118.

ἔχε γραμμένα ... ἔχετε γραμμένα ROMANOS, *Grammar* 27.3–4

ἔχε το καλά πελεκημένον με κοπτερὸν μαχαίριον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 147.22; τότε ἔχε μαζωμένες τὲς ἐλίες τὴν ὥρα ἐκείνην *ibid.* 212.22; τότε ἔχε βρασμένες τὲς μαραθίες *ibid.* 212.27–8

παρακαλῶ σε, ἔχε με παρητημένον KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 14.18

Passive

ἄς ἐναι ἡτοιμασμένα *Eisit.* f.1v.16

νὰ 'ναι περιβάδος ἀπ' αὐτά, ἦγουν ἀποβαλμένος (1525, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 102, 191–2.16–17)

κι ἄς εἴστ' ὀρδινιασμένοι, | νὰ ἴθετε εἰς τὸν πόλεμον *Alex. Rim.* 461–2

ἄς εἶναι χαρισμένα τον θεόν τον Σαβᾶωθ *Diig. Alex.* K 348.21 (ἄς ἐνε δώρημα in other versions)

νὰ σῶναι ρεφουδάδα ἡ λεγόμενη μισή βουδέα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 261, 205.21)

ἐτούτη ἡ χάρις ἄς σοῦ εἶναι γιναμένη *Bertoldos* 74.23

γὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ λόγου μας ἄς εἶσαι χωρισμένος PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1512

5.4.3 Infinitive

The perfect infinitive is formed with the infinitive of the auxiliary (ἔχει(ν) for the active and εἴσται(ν)/εἴσθαι(ν) for the passive) + passive participle (sporadically gerund). This infinitive is used in epistemic utterances preceded by a form of θέλω, in conditionals with auxiliaries εἶχα and ἦθελα (5.2.2 and 5.2.3), in the pluperfect with auxiliary ἦθελα (see 5.3.2.1) and in the future perfect with θέλω and ἦθελα (see 5.3.2):

Active

μὰ μετ' αὐτά τὰ ψόματα θὲς ἔχει κομπωμένη | τὴν Ἑρωφίλην ἀκομή, τὴν τρισκαταραμένη
CHORTATIS, *Erof.* IV.690–1

ἀνίσως καὶ δὲ | σέ 'θελα ἔχει ὀλοπληρωμένον καὶ σατζιφάδον (1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 24, 58.12–13)

ὅ,τι σοῦ ἐθέλαμεν ἔχει δίδοντα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 227, 226.24)

πρὶν περὶ νὰ γράψω τῆς ἀφεντίας σου, θέλεις τὰ ἔχει ὅλα διορθωμένα (ca. 1560, Venice, MARKOS 1977: IIα, 28.14–15)

ὅσα γράμματα θέλει ἔχει μαθημένα (1567, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 14, λ'.9)

θέλει ἔχει γρικημένο CHORTATIS, *Erof.* III.46 transcr. X (Legrand); θὲς ἔχει κομπωμένη *ibid.* IV.691

θὲς ἔχει γρικημένα *Thysia Avr.* 121

θέλω ἔχει γραμμένον GERMANO, *Grammar* 101.18–19

Passive

νὰ εἴχετε εἴσταιν σκοτωμένοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 396.31

θελ' εἴσταιν ἀφορισμένη VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 34.5

θέλομεν εἴσται κακὰ ἀναπαμένοι (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.24–5)

5.4.4 Gerund

For the active voice the perfect gerund is formed with the present gerund of ἔχω (ἔχοντα(ς)) + participle (in -μένος or -δος). Very few examples have been found for the passive voice, because the participle ἔσ(τ)οντα(ς) (of εἶμαι) is usually used in phrasal conjunctions

(ἔστοντας νά, καί, etc.) rather than as a gerund,⁶³ whereas ὄντα(ς) appears relatively late and is generally quite rare (see 4.8.5). The few passive examples found in fact represent (stative) presents rather than perfects:

Active

- ἔχοντά με ζαμινάδον οἱ αὐθέντες (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 134, 110.11–12)
 ἔχοντας δοσμένα τοῦ ἀνοθεν κυρ-Ἀντρέα τὰ σπίτια ὁ κύρης του (1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 193, 202.3)
 ἔχοντας τὰ πρῶτα μου παιδιὰ προιτζιμένα καὶ ξοφλησμένα (1664, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 8, 221.5) (< προικισμένα)
 ἔχοντας ἡ Καλὴ ἀντρα στεφανωμένο τὸ Γιαννάκη (1680, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 41, 68.2)
 ἔχοντας δοσμένα τοῦ Γιώργη Νιστάγρα ... γίδια (1698, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1968/69: 3, 335.2–3)

Passive

- ἔστοντας βυθισμένοι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 4
 ἔσοντα ζηλεμένος KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.13
 ὄντας οἱ πόρτες σφαλισμένες KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 20.19
 ὄντας βυθισμένος *Don Kis.* 158.11

5.5 The Future Perfect

The future perfect expresses that something will happen or is expected to happen before a specific time in the future; it is, in other words, the past in the future.

Although all ways in which a future can be formed could conceivably be used to form the future perfect as well, this is not the case. As the future perfect is a much rarer tense than the future, variation in formation is more limited, and, for instance, very few examples have been found with νά and μέλλω νά. The most common way of expressing past in the future is the perfect infinitive (ἔχει(ν) + perfect passive participle; regionally ἔχει(ν) + gerund or ἔχει(ν) + loanword in -δος) preceded by θέλω, which marks it for future (for the perfect infinitive see 5.4.3). Very few examples have been found in literary texts, which, as far as versified texts is concerned, can be explained by the sheer length of the construction, which requires a minimum of six syllables (θέλ' ἔχω γραμμένο) and is therefore hard to fit into the hemistichs of the political verse (see below for one such example from the *War of Troy*). In legal documents the imperfect rather than the present of θέλω may be used, making the utterance more hypothetical (cf. the conditional, 5.2).

For the passive voice one would expect θέλω εἶσται + perfect passive participle to be the most common construction, but in fact very few examples have been found. The same construction with ἤθελα for θέλω appears to be more common, but the written sources may be deceptive here. The vast majority of examples come from legal documents, in which the use of ἤθελα stresses the hypotheticality of the utterance (cf. the conditional, 5.2). The passive construction with εἶμαι is also used with deponent verbs (γίνομαι) and with intransitive verbs (παγαίνω), in which case the meaning is active.

⁶³ For a similar use of ἔχοντα(ς) see IV, 3.4.1.1.

It must be stressed that θέλω/ῆθελα + perfect infinitive, or, with omission of the future marker, εἶμαι + participle, often expresses the (imperfective) future of εἶμαι, rather than a true future perfect. The participle then functions as an adjective: δὲν θέλουν εἶσταιν χαμένα ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 254.7–8 (“[my words] will not be in vain”); αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τὸν θέλομεν διὰ ἡγούμενον, ὅτι ἔχει γυναῖκα καὶ παιδιά καὶ γαμβροὺς, καὶ ἐμεῖς θέλομεν εἶσται κακὰ ἀναπαμένοι ἐξ αὐτοῦ (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.24–5) (“we do not want him for an abbot, because he has a wife and children and sons-in-law, and we will be seeing nothing but trouble from him”); θέλω καὶ τὸ παρόν μου κονιτζίλο, τὸ ὅποιον θέλει εἶσται στοτοσκριβερισμένο μὲ τὸ ἴδιό μου χέρι, νὰ ᾗ ἀμετάστετα ἐξεκουτζιὸν (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 4, 68.86–7) (“and I want this codicil, which will be undersigned by my own hand (i.e. bear my signature), to be executed to the letter”). This use of the construction can also be found with the active voice: ημεῖς θέλομεν τὸν ἔχει συγχωρεμένον *Don Kis.* 33.33 (“we will not hold it against him”, literally: “we will have him in [a state of] forgiveness”).

In subordinate clauses introduced by νά, ὅταν, ἄν, etc. the perfect subjunctive (see 5.4.1) may be used, without an explicit future marker:

ὁδεκαλὰ τὸν ἔχω ξετελειωμένον, νὰ μὲ ἔχεις καὶ ἀποπληρωμένον (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 312, 311.8–10)

(ὑπόσχεται ...) νὰ ἔχη ἐξωφλισμένα ἔως τὲς 14 τοῦ λεγομένου μηνὸς (1661, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 27, 383.9–10)

νὰ τὸν ἔχη μαθημένον εἰς χρόνους πέντε ἐρχάμενους ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 1, 144.9–10)

νὰ τὰ ἔχουν κονσενιάδα ὡς ἄνωθεν εἰς διορία χρόνον ἕναν (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.9–10)

The future marker may also be omitted with the second verb when two verbs are paratactically coordinated. The second verb is then a perfect indicative: ἂν ἴσως καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον τῆς τελευτῆς μου ῆθελον εἶσται προτύτερα μισεμένος ἀπὸ τὸ στίτι μου καὶ εἶναι ἰσιασμένα τὰ ἀπερασμένα (1691, Venice, MERTZIOS 1936e: [1], 116.26–7). The perfect indicative may also be used instead of the future perfect in main clauses, to give them more rhetorical force. Note that in the second of the following examples the construction is used with *active* meaning, with the transitive verb νικῶ:⁶⁴ καὶ ὡς τὸ Μάη τὰ ἔχει τελειωμένα τὰ τριακόσια κάτεργα (1572, Warsaw, PATRINELIS 2000: [1], 13.35–6) (“and by May [the Turks] will have finished building those 300 galleys”); φωνάζουν “δῶστε πόλεμον, κι εἴμεσθιν νικημένοι” *Thrinios Kypr.* 796 (“we shall be victorious!”; literally: “we will be won”).

Future perfects of the SMG type θα ἔχω φάει have not been found in the texts examined, which is unsurprising given the relatively late appearance of the particle θά and the very late appearance of ἔχω + infinitive as a perfect (for details on θά see 5.1.5, for the perfect infinitive see 5.4.1.6).

⁶⁴ For the same use of νικημένος see γὰρ νάβγῃ ἐκ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖνον νικημένος ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 176, as noted by Xanthoudidis in his review of the edition in *Χριστιανικὴ Κρήτη* 1 (1912), 289–311, at 296. A similar development can be observed with the semantically related verb κερδαίνω/κερδένω (for which see 5.3.1.2).

	General	Restricted	Rare
Active	θέλω ἔχει(ν) γραμμένο(ν) ἤθελα ἔχει(ν) γραμμένο(ν)	ἤθελα ἔχει(ν) -δο(ν) ἤθελα ἔχει γράφοντα(ς) ἤθελα εἴσται -μένος	ἤθε ἔχει(ν) ραμμένο(ν) ἤθελα εἶχε γραμμένο(ν) θέλω εἴσται -μένος μέλλω/μέλλει νά ἔχω γραμμένο(ν)
Passive	ἤθελα εἴσται γραμμένος	θέλω εἴσται γραμμένος	

5.5.1 θέλω + Perfect Infinitive

The first future perfect of this type has been found in the *War of Troy*, and the first example after that dates to the middle of the 16th c. As mentioned in the introduction to this section, the future perfect appears almost exclusively in non-literary texts. This is not surprising where verse texts are concerned, as it requires a minimum of six syllables (θέλ' ἔχω γραμμένο), not counting clitic pronouns, which are often present, which makes it difficult to fit into the hemistichs of the political verse; hence the unusual violation of the caesura in the example from the *War of Troy*:

Active

- τί νά σέ λέγω τὰ πολλά; ἀπάρτι ἔαν πιστεύης (app. crit.) | ὅτι γοργὸν τοὺς θέλουσιν ἔχει
ὄλους πιασμένους *Pol. Tr.* 6945–6
- καὶ ἃ δὲν σέ θέλω ἔχει πληρωμένον ἕως τοὺς λεγομένους χρόνους γ' ... (1549, Crete,
MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 317, 316.11–12)
- ὅτι πρὶν περὶ νά γράψω τῆς ἀφεντίας σου θέλεις τὰ ἔχει ὅλα διορθωμένα (ca. 1560, Venice,
MARKOS 1977: IIα, 28.14–15)
- ὅσα γράμματα θέλει ἔχει μαθημένα περισσότερα ἀπὸ τὰ ἄσπρα ὅπου θέλει ἔχει παρμένα
(1567, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 14, λ'.9–10)
- νά χάνη τὴν δουλειυσή του ὅπου θέλει ἔχει δουλεμένη (1571, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al.
2008: 1, 53.10–11)
- μὲ τὸν κομέσο ὅπου θέλεις ἔχει κατωμένο ὁδὶά λόγου μου (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-
TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 4, 364.4)
- τότες θέλω ἔχει γραμμένον GERMANO, *Grammar* 101.18–19
- πάσα λογῆς ὅπου θέλουσιν ἔχει μανιντζαρισμένη (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3,
51.116–17) (< Ital. *maneggiare*)
- θέλω ἔχει γραμμένα, J'auray escrit, θέλεις ἔχει γραμμένα, etc. ROMANOS, *Grammar* 23.23
- νά εἶναι κρατημένος ... νά γιαγιέρνη ὅ,τι θέλει ἔχει ἐπαρμένα ἀπὸ τὴν κάτωθεν πληρωμὴν
(1645, Crete, DETORAKIS 1980: 8, 51.14–16)
- δούλεψες ὅπου θέλει ἔχει κατωμένα (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999b: 18.1)

In a text from the Heptanese the θέλω + perfect infinitive construction has been found with the intransitive verb γίνομαι as a transitive construction with an overt direct object (cf. the pluperfect, 5.3.1.2 and the perfect, 5.4.1.2): νά ἰδεῖ τὰ ἄλογα ποὺ θέλει ἔχει γεναμένα ὁ κυρ-Γιῶργος (1591, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1949: 162.15–16).

Passive

The passive counterpart to the above construction does not appear to be very common: θέλω εἶσθαι γραμμένος ROMANOS, *Grammar* 24.2; ὡς καθὼς παρακάτω θέλουν εἶσθαι γραμμένα (1672, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1938: 1, 294.4–5).

For the pluperfect and the perfect (see 5.3.1.2, 5.4.1.2), the passive construction ἤμουν/εἶμαι + perfect passive participle may be used with *active* meaning for intransitive verbs, not only deponent verbs (e.g. ἔρχομαι) but also active verbs that otherwise lack passive morphology (e.g. παγαίνω). A few comparable examples with the construction θέλω + perfect passive infinitive have been found for the future perfect:

ἀνίσως καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω ὅσται παγομένη (1644, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 3, 229.71); πάλι καὶ θέλω ὅσται παγομένη (ibid. 229.72–3); ἀνίσως καὶ ἐγὼ θέλω ὅσται παγομένη (ibid. 230.75) καλυτερίσματα ὅπου θέλουσι εἶσται γινομένα (1665, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 19, 389.19–20)

After subordinating conjunctions (νὰ, ἄν and others), the future marker may be omitted:

Active

αὐτὰ νὰ παραλάβουσιν ὅσοι ἔβγουν ἀπὸ σένα, | ὅσοι στήν θεοσέβειαν νὰ ἔχουσι δουλεμένα
CHOUNMNOS, *Kosmog.* 741–2
καὶ θέλω ὅκαὶ πανδρεύοντα ἢ λεγομένη Μαρίνα νὰ ἔχη ἐπαρμένα τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπέρπυρα
ἀπὸ τὰ καλὰ μου, τὸ πολὺ ἕως χρόνον ἕνα (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003:
120, 219.60–1)
νὰ σοῦ τὰ ἔχω ἀποδοσμένα καὶ ἀποπληρωμένα ἕως ὅλον τὸν Ἰουλλιον τὸν πρῶτον ἐρχόμενον
(1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 29, 35.13–14)
(νὰ ὅσαι κρατημένους ...) εἰς τὸ κομπλιμέντο τῶν λεγομένων χρονῶν δ'ον, νὰ τὸν ἔχης μαθημένον
τὴν τέχνην σου καὶ τότε νὰ τόνε ἀποβγάνης (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS
2005: 15, 16.7–8); (ὁ μύλος ...) ὅτι νὰ ἀλέθῃ καλὰ, ἀρεσκούμενά σου, καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχω
ἀποξετελειωμένον, ἀρεσκούμενά σου, ἕως ὅλον τὸν Αὐγουστον, τὸν πρῶτον ἐρχόμενον
(ibid. 312, 311.6–7); νὰ μοῦ τὰ διδῇς ἄλα τζορνάδα, κάμνοντα καὶ παίρνοντα, ἦγουν
ὀδεκαλὰ τὸν ἔχω ξετελειωμένον, νὰ μὲ ἔχεις καὶ ἀποπληρωμένον (ibid. 312, 311.8–10)
(ξεκαθαρίζοντας ...) νὰ ἔχουσι καμωμένες τσι κατοικίες τῶνε ... ἀλλέως ἢ γραφὴ ἐτούτῃ νὰ εἶνε
κομμένη (1622, Crete, MALTEZOU 1989: 359.34–7)
ἂν ἀποθάνω γλήγορα καὶ δὲν τῶς ἔχω ἀποδοσμένα ἐκεῖνα ποῦ τῶς ἔφηκεν ὁ μακαργιασμένος
ἀφέντης ... (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 80.49–50)
ὁ σταυρὸς νὰ τὸν ἔχη καμωμένο ἕως τὰ Χριστούγεννα (1631, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 4,
267.17–18)
(ὑπόσχεται ...) νὰ ἔχη ἐξωφλισμένα ἕως τὲς 14 τοῦ λεγομένου μηνὸς (1661, Naxos,
GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 27, 383.9–10)
νὰ τὸν ἔχη μαθημένον εἰς χρόνους πέντε ἐρχάμενους ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-
MOURATIDI 2004/06: 1, 144.9–10)
νὰ τὰ ἔχουν κονσενιάδα ὡς ἄνωθεν εἰς διορία χρόνον ἕναν (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-
MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.9–10)

Passive

εἶτι κάμουν νὰ ἔναι κακὰ καμωμένον (1507, Sinai, VIOLIDAKIS 2006: 1, 264.11)
νὰ εἶναι κακὰ πουλημένα καὶ κακὰ ἀγορασμένα (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73:
482.27)

Sometimes a perfect indicative is used in the main clause instead of a future perfect, without any future marker. In the second example below, the construction is used with

active meaning (“we shall be victorious!” (literally “we will have won”)), with the transitive verb νικῶ. In both examples, the perfect indicative appears in a main clause that is causally coordinated with the preceding clause through καί: (ὁ μέγας Τοῦρκος ἔχει τριζόρο πολὺ ...) καὶ ὥς τὸ Μάη τὰ ἔχει τελειωμένα τὰ τριακόσια κάτεργα (1572, Warsaw, PATRINELIS 2000: [1], 13.35–6); φωνάζουν “δῶστε πόλεμον, κι εἴμεσθεν νικημένοι” *Thrinis Kypri* 796.

5.5.2 ἤθελα + Perfect Infinitive

The construction ἤθελα + perfect infinitive is a feature of LMedG/EMG “legalese”: it is used to set up mere hypotheses (“in the event that X will have happened before Y will happen ...”) rather than situations envisaged as actually occurring, thus covering all imaginable times and situations. It is therefore used mainly in conditional clauses and in indefinite relative clauses. The perfect infinitive consists of the infinitive of ἔχω (*active* voice) or εἶμαι (*passive* voice) + perfect passive participle (declined, or invariable in -α), past participle in -δος (Venetian loanwords) or gerund (for details see 5.4.3). For the use of the same construction as a conditional see 5.2.3.1.

Active

- νὰ μπορῇ νὰ ἔξουσιν ὅστις ἤθελεν ἔλθιν οἰκονόμος νὰ χαλᾷ ὅ,τι ἤθελεν ἔχειν καμωμένα ὁ πρῶτος οἰκονόμος (1507, Sinai, VIOLIDAKIS 2006: 1, 264.13)
- νὰ μαι κρατημένος νὰ τῆς δίδω ὅ,τι ροῦχα καὶ ὅ,τι ἐνδυμασὲς τῆς ἤθελα ἔχει καμωμένα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 211, 166.10–12)
- εἰς ἄλλέως καὶ δὲν σὲ θέλαμεν ἔχει ὀλοπληρωμένον εἰς τὸ τέρμενον (1546, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 14, 50.11–12); ἀνίσως καὶ δὲ σὲ ἔθελα ἔχει ὀλοπληρωμένον καὶ σατζιφάδον (1547, *ibid.* 24, 58.12–13)
- νὰ τοῦ ἐπιστρέφῃ τὰ ἄνωθεν στάμενα καὶ νὰ χάνῃ καὶ εἴτι ἤθελε ἔχει δουλεμένο (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 48, 110.13–14)
- νὰ χάνει ὅλα ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἀγομένα ὅπου ἤθελεν ἔχει καμωμένα (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 4, 27.9–10); ἂ δὲν τὸν ἤθελεν ἔχει πλεωμένο ... νὰ σπέρνου πάλι τὰ λεγόμενα χωράφια ἄλλους πέντε χρόνους ... ὥστε νὰ τὸν ἀποπλερώσῃ (1603, *ibid.* 187, 198.11–12) (“if [by the end of the five-year period] he has not repaid him ... they shall sow the above-mentioned fields again for another five years ... until he pays him off”)
- ὅσον καιρὸν ἤθελε ἔχει δουλεμένο (1667, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 3, 147.32) (“the period she will have worked”)
- ἂ δὲν σταθεῖ νὰ φινίρει τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἰντιέρο, νὰ χάνει τὸν κόπον τοῦ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ποὺ ἤθελε ἔχει δουλεμένο (1685, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954/55: 34, 64.6–8) (“if he does not stay for the whole time to finish [the job], he shall lose his efforts for the time he will have worked”)
- ἂ μοῦ τὰ ἔθελς ἔχειν ὅλα δίδοντα, νὰ σοῦ γιαγέρνω τὰ λεγόμενα δουκάτα ἐπτὰ (*app. crit.*) (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 282, 221.37–8) (“once you will have given it all back, I shall return the seven ducats to you”)
- καὶ νὰ μᾶς γιαγέρνης ὅ,τι σοῦ ἐθέλαμεν ἔχει δίδοντα εἰς αὐτὰ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 227, 226.24–5)

Passive

- ἀνίσως καὶ τὰ ἄνωθεν πράγματα ἤθελαν εἶσται ζημιωμένα ἀπὸ ἀφορμὴ τοῦ ἄνωθεν Ἰωάννου (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 110, 85.26)

In the following example the passive construction is used with *active* meaning with the verb *μισεύω*, a verb of motion, which otherwise lacks passive morphology (cf. the construction with *θέλω*, above): ἄν ἴσως καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον τῆς τελευτῆς μου ἤθελεν εἶσται προτύτερα μισεμένος ἀπὸ τὸ σπῖτι μου (1691, Venice, MERTZIOS 1936e: [1], 116.26–7).

Sporadically the construction can be found with a shortened form of the auxiliary, ἤθε(ν) (cf. 5.2.3.6): σώνοντας ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἤθε ἔχει μαθημένο τὸν Ἀνδρέα (1564, Zakynthos, ΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ 1969g: 132.10).

5.5.3 ἤθελα/ἤθελε + Pluperfect

The construction ἤθελα/ἤθελε + pluperfect has been found once. The pluperfect, if it is not a simple writing mistake (εἶχε for ἔχει), is probably used to reinforce the hypotheticality of the utterance. As the example happens to be 3 sg., it cannot be established whether the auxiliary is impersonal or personal: νὰ ἡμπορεῖ νὰν τοῦ πάρη ὀπίσω εἴ τι σόλδι τοῦ ἤθελε εἶχε δομένο (1646, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1970: 1, 251.26).

5.5.4 μέλλω/μέλλει νά + Perfect Subjunctive

The use of μέλλω (cf. the future, 5.1.2) is very rare. As the single example found is 3 sg., it cannot be established whether μέλλει is personal or impersonal: ὀμπλιγάρεται νὰν τὸν μάθει ἔως στὸ σουπλιμέντο τοῦ ἄνωθεν καιροῦ καὶ ἐτότες ὁποῦ μέλλει νὰν τὸν ἔχει ὁ ἄνωθεν μαθημένον, νὰν τοῦ δίδει ... (1670, Zakynthos, ΒΑΥΑΚΑΚΟΣ 1954: 10, 41.4–6).

5.6 The Aorist and the Imperfect

In the period covered by this Grammar, periphrastic constructions consisting of ἤθελα or εἶχα + infinitive are widely used to form conditionals (see 5.2) and pluperfects (see 5.3). However, as noted by KRIARAS (1936: 53–5), sometimes εἶχα and ἤθελα + infinitive are equivalent to an aorist indicative or an imperfect.⁶⁵

5.6.1 εἶχα/ἤθελα + Aorist Infinitive

The construction εἶχα/ἤθελα + aorist infinitive may denote an action/event, usually in the more remote past, that is, however, presented as anterior to the present. It is thus equivalent to an aorist indicative. This use is quite common in verse texts, but it has also been found in non-literary sources from various areas:

[τὸν ἱμπέριο] τὸν εἶχα δεῖ καὶ μῶτυχεν ἀπλὰ διεγραμμένον, | βούλομαι νὰ τὸν βάλω ᾧ εἰς τὸ
ριμαρισμένον *Imb. Rim.* 9–10
τώρα τσι πάγω ᾗ τς Ἀρκολιάς, σὰ μοῦ ᾔχεν ὀρδινιάσει *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.131; εἶντα
μιλούσι τα πουλιά ξεύρει, σαν εἶχ' ἀκούσει | ὄντε γυρίζου ἀπεταχτά καὶ γλυκοκιλαδοῦσι

⁶⁵ However, Kriaras is incorrect in assuming that in Cretan texts εἶχα + infinitive is never used as a pluperfect (see 5.3.1.1).

id., *Panor.* I.267–8; ποιοί ἐπερμαζῶξα τὰ βουνιά κ' ἐμεσοξετελειῶσα | τὸν πύργο ἐκείνο τῆς Βαβέλ, γῆ ποιοί ἔχασινε κάμει | τοῦτες σας τσί πυράμιδες id., *Erof. Prol.* 53
 ὡς ἂν θωρῶ τῇ λίγῃ | δροσιά, ἀπού ἔχει πιάσει | φιλῶντας τη, Μυρτῆνο, ... πολλὰ ἀκριβὴ τὴν εἶχες ἀγοράσει *Pist. voskos* II 1.371; γυναικὰ δὲ θέλ' εἶσθαι, | ὅπου ἔχει τότε κάμει | πόθον καὶ αὐτὸς νὰ γνῶση *ibid.* III 5.192–4; δὲν εἶναι τοῦτος | ὅπου ἔχει σοῦ χαρίσει τὸ κοπέλι; *ibid.* V 5.239
 μ' ἀπόψε πλιά παρὰ φορὰν ἄλλη εἶχε με σηκώσει | τὸ πρικαμένον ὄνειρο *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.535 (εὐχαριστιὲς σὰς δίδομε ...) γιὰ τὴν καλὴν ἀκρόαση, ὅπου ἔχετε μᾶς δώσει *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* V.411
 πάλιν ἐκεῖ λιμοκτονοῦν | που δὲν ἔχουν νὰ φάσιν | καὶ τὰ χουζούρια που ἔχασιν, ὅλα τα εἶχαν χάσει *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 5010
 τὰ ράζα ὅπου μοῦ εἶχες γράφει, λογιάζω μὲ πρώτη ὀκαζιὸν νὰ τὰ ἔχω (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 305, f.2r.2–3)
 στοχαζόμενος πὼς ἔχω τὸ βάρος τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὅπου ἔχω ἀπάνου μου, ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ εἶχα φτεῖρει τὴν παρθενίαν τῆς Ἑλένης (1692, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 2, 161.9–10)
 νὰ τοῦ δώκετε μιὰ γραφὴ, ἦγουν ρεσπόστα εἰς ἄλλην γραφὴ ἀπού μᾶς ἤθελε στεῖλῃ ὁ ἐγλαμπρότατος αὐθέντης (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 6, 262.9–10)
 γράφω τὸ μούλκι ὅπου μοῦ ἤθελαν δώσει τὰ ἀδελφία μου (1598, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 66, 91.5); διὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν κλείσμα, ὅπου ἤθελαν ἀφήσει ὁ μακαρίτης ὁ γερο-Τούντας ... ὅτι νὰ εἶναι τὸ ἕμισόν τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1598, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 68, 94.6–7)
 μὲ <τὸ> νὰ ἤθελε φανερωθῇ ... ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος σας (1684, Preveza, CHAVIARAS 1879: 1, 251.4–6)
 μα τοῦτο με παρηγορά, γιατί ἤθελα γροικῆσει | το πὼς σ' ετοῦτα τα λαγκά ... | βρίσκεται γεῖς παλιός βοσκός *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.263–5; δὲ μπορῶ ... νὰ πέσω ν' ἀποκοιμηθῶ ... γιατί ἐκ τοῖ κορασίδες μου μιὰ μοῦ ἤθελε μηνύσει | πὼς ἄρρωστει id., *Erof. Interm.* II.64–8
 ἐδῶ ἔναι, Αὔγουστε, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὅπου ἤθελα σοῦ φέρει *Zinon* 42
 τὸ χέρι ὅπου μ' ἤθελε δοξέψει, | μόνον τὴν ὥραν τούτη ἂς μὲ γιатρέψη *Pist. vosk.* V 7.45–6; ἐκεῖνος ὅπου ὅω σ' ἤθελε βάλει *ibid.* V 7.79

With εἶχα it may also be used to express a simple action/event that follows another action/event that is situated in the past:

ὁποῖος ἔκαμεν τὴν σύνοδον ... καὶ εἶχεν ἀποθάνει (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 71, f.Iv.4–5)
 στον πόλεμον διάβηκε διὰ νὰ πολεμήσει' | κάποιος τότε τ' ἄλογον ἐκεῖ ἔχει τὸ κτυπήσει *ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 57.9–10 (= ἐκτύπησε); χελῶνα παρεκάλεσε τὸν αἰτὸν νὰ μάθει | νὰ πέτεται στα σύννεφα, κι ἰδέτε τι ἔχει πάθει *ibid.* 60.1–2 (= ἔπαθε); ο ψύλλος ἐδιάβηκεν, ἀλλοῦ ἔχεν ἀπηδήσει *ibid.* 61.5 (= ἐπήδησεν); καὶ με τὴν μύτην το ἔσυρε καὶ εἶχε τὸ εβγάλει *ibid.* 143.10
 κι οὐδ' εἰς παλάτι ἐφάνηκε ... μὰ ἐγὼ ὕστερα εἶχα μάθει | τὸν τρόπο ἀπού ἐμίσεψε *TROILOS, Rodol.* III.514–15 (= ἔμαθα)
 καὶ τοῦ ὄωκεν εἰς τὴν καρδιά κ' εἶχε τὸνε σκοτώσει *BOUNIALIS M., Diig Pol.* 168.16; καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐμαύρισε θολά, καὶ δάκρυα χύνει, | κι ἄστραψε μὲ πολὺ θυμὸ κ' εἶχε πολλὰ βροντήσει *ibid.* 206.14–15

In indefinite relative clauses introduced by ὅταν, εἴτις etc. the construction with ἤθελα may also denote a habitual/repetitive action or event situated in the past, and is thus equivalent to imperfect:

καὶ ὅταν ἤθελαν συμβῆ νὰ ἔχη ὁ Δεσπότης χρεῖαν, | φουσσᾶτα ἐκ τὸν πρίγκιπα κι ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἀρμάτων, | ὅσα ἔχρηζεν καὶ ἤθελαν εἶχεν τα εἰς θέλημά του *Chron. Mor.* H 3135–7

εἴ τις ἤθελέ τες διαλύσειν, ἔπαιρνε χαράτζιν ἀπ' ἐκεῖνον ὅπου ἔγραφε τὰ λόγια *Vios Aisop.* D 236.10–11

και αυθεινες οι αρματωσιες εχχαν περισσια χαρη, | διατι 'σανε του γεροντος κ' ησαν
προβαρισμενες | και, απουθεν ηθελαν βρεθει, ησανε τιμημενες *Apoll. Rim.* A 702–4; η
Τάρσια στα γράμματα εξέβηκε την φύση, | σ' ό,τι τής ήθελες ειπεί, ήξευρε να μιλήσει *ibid.*
1143–4

καί ὅταν ἤθελε βαρέσει ὁ ἄνεμος, ἐσειέτον ὁ πλάτανος *Chron.* 1570 632.1–2

5.6.2 εἶχα/ἤθελα + Present Infinitive

Εἶχα + present infinitive can be equivalent to an imperfect, expressing a state in the past (for its use as a pluperfect see 5.3.1.1). This use has been found in texts from the Heptanese, the Peloponnese and Crete:

καί εἶχεν ὀρίζει τὸ Δοράχι ὁ αὐθέντης ὁ Ρουμπέρτος *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 420.17–18 (= ὀρίζει; Robertos is still the ruler of Dyrrachion)

ένα αγριογούρουνο επήγε ν' ακονίζει | τα δόντια του εις δενδρόν, είχε τα καλλωπίζει | μί
αλεπού πρώτση την αφορμή να μάθει *ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 53.1–3 (= ἐκαλλώπιζει); ἤκουσε
κι ἐκλαιγε παιδί και γραία που ἔχε κράζει: “ὦ λύκε ἔπαρ' το παιδί, γιατί πολλά φωνάζει”
ibid. 137.3–4 (= ἔκραζε); μόνον την γραίαν ἤκουσε πάλε οπου ἔχε λέγει *ibid.* 137.10 (= ἔλεγε)

ἔναν ἀδελφὸν ἀποῦ ἤθελεν ἔχει ὁ ἄρχων ἐκεῖνος *MOREZINOS, Klini* 50.11–12

κι' ὅπου ἔχεν ἀγαπᾶ κιαμιά, χρειά ἔτον σὲ ρουφιάνες | μέρα και νύχτα νὰ γλακᾶ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.306 (= ἀγαποῦσε)

μ' ἔπαιρνε εις τὸν τόπο ἀποῦ ἔχε πηαίνει | συχνά ἡ νεραίδα τούτη *Pist. voskos* II 1.141–2 (= ἐπηγαίνει)

ἐκεῖ ἐστεκόντησαν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ... και δὲν εἶχανε ἡξέρει ἀκόμη τὸ κακὸ και τὸν τζακισμό *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 59.26 (= ἡξεραν); τότε εὐρέθη ἕνας ἀρνιγάδος, ὅπου ἦτονε πρώτα χριστιανός, ὅπου ἦτονε Ταλιάνος, και εἶχε ξέρει ἀπὸ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν λέγουσι Πό, ὅπου ἀπερνοῦσι τὰ πλεούμενα, και ἐδιάβη και εἶπε του Σουλτάν Μεχμεμέτη ὅτι ... *ibid.* 81.2–5 (= ἡξερε)

ὅταν ἤθελε ἔχει ὁ στρατιώτης ζήτησιν διὰ γυναίκα, ὑπήγαινεν εις τὸν ἐταιριάρχην *Alex. Fyll.* 41.6–7

When ἤθελα is complemented by a present infinitive, the construction is always equivalent to an imperfect, not a pluperfect, as it represents a state or something that is ongoing in the past. It has been found in texts from the Aegean, Crete and the Heptanese, as well as in a text written in Preveza on behalf of Francesco Morosini (provenance of its author, Alesandro Lokadelinis, unknown):

προικίον ὅπου ἤθελεν τὸ ἔχει ἀπὸ τὸν πατέρα της (1598, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1999a: 81, 109.6)
κ' ἡ Ἐρωφίλη, ἀποῦ ἔθελεν ἔχει τσι χρόνους μου ἴσα, | σὰ νὰ ἔθελ' ὅσται ἀδέρφι τση μ' ἀγάπησε
περίσσα *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.153–4

μὲ τὸ νὰ ἐθέλετε ὀμπλιγάρεσθαι νὰ δίνετε ἐκεῖνον ὅπου ἐδίνετε τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀπερασμένης
ἀμάχης (1684, Preveza, *CHAVIARAS* 1879: 1, 251.8–9)

εἰμητὰ ὄντες ἤθελε τῶσε δουλεύει τοῦ ὀδῶνασιν ψωμί και ἡτρωγεν (1685, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARARA* et al. 1982/83: 604, 834.3)

(ἕνας Γιάκομος Πετρόπουλος ...) ἤθελε ἔχει πολὺν ἔρωτα διὰ μίαν κορασίδα *PYRRIS, Diig. panouklas* 110.6

μὰ ἡ κουβέντα ἤθελε τὸ φέρνει *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* III.279

5.6.3 εἶχα/ἦμουν + Perfect Passive Participle

The construction εἶχα/ἦμουν + perfect passive participle is widely used for the pluperfect (see 5.3.1.2), but sometimes it can be equivalent to a simple past, expressing anteriority in relation to the present rather than to a point in time in the past.

Active

ἐχάσετε τὸ δάσκαλο τὸν πολυαγαπημένο | κι ἐγώ, ἡ πτωχή, τὸν Κύριο μου, τὸν εἶχα γεννημένο FALIEROS, *Thrinós* 90 (the implied ἔχασα refers to the present)
 τὴν εἶχα χαμένην ἀφόντου τὴν ἔδειξα (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.31); ὁκ τὰ ὅποια ἐμολογᾶγον πὼς εἶχαν λαβωμένα δοκᾶτα ἐξι (ibid. 205, 124.13)
 τὰ σπῆτια ὅπου ... ἔχει τὴν σήμερον ..., τὰ ὅποια λέσι ... πὼς τὰ εἶχαν πουλημένα οἱ ἄνδρες τῶν ἄνωθεν χηράδω (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 84, 101.6–8); ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ᾔεν κάποια χωράφια καὶ ἄλλα πράματα πουλημένα τσῆ κερα-Ἐργίνας ... ἴτσι τὴν σήμερον ... λέγει ... (1605, ibid. 344, 323.2–4)

Passive

Where the passive construction is concerned, if it is not a pluperfect (see 5.3.1.2), it usually represents a stative past, with the participle functioning as an adjective (ἦτον σφαλισμένη, ἦσαν κατοικισμένοι). Rarely it may represent an aorist, expressing an action/event (ἦτονε προβαλμένη) that follows another action/event in the past (ἔνοιξε): τὴν πόρταν ἔνοιξεν, ὅπου ᾔτον σφαλισμένη, | φλόγα πολλή ἀπὸ φωτιᾶς ἦτονε προβαλμένη CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1105–6; ἦσαν κατοικισμένοι ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 19.1.

5.6.4 εἶχα + Aorist Subjunctive

The construction εἶχα + aorist subjunctive is usually used for the pluperfect (see 5.3.1.6 for details on geographical spread), but sometimes it can be equivalent to a simple past, expressing anteriority in relation to the present rather than to a point in time in the past: τὰ μάτια θυμῶντας τὰ ἐκεῖνα ποὺ εἶχαν δοῦσι | τὰ χεῖλη μου τοῦ ταπεινοῦ φρίττουσι καὶ ἀποροῦσι *Rim. Sant.* 119–20; δὸς μου κ' ἐσὺ τὸν πόθον σου πρῶτα σὰν μοῦχες τάξεις SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* E8r.29.

5.6.5 εἶχα + Present Subjunctive

Εἶχα + present subjunctive can sometimes be equivalent to an imperfect, expressing a state in the past: καὶ ᾔδραμασι μὲ τὴν χαράν, γιὰτ' εἶχασι θαρροῦσι | οἱ πέτρες βάρκες νὰ ᾔτονε, καὶ πῆγασι νὰ δοῦσι *Rim. Sant.* 755–6.

5.6.6 ἦμην + Present Participle

The obsolete construction ἦμην + present participle is sometimes used in mixed- and higher-register texts to express an imperfect: καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἀγανακτῶν καὶ πάλιν ἦν φροντίζων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 411; ἀλλ' ὁμως ἦν εὐχαριστῶν καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τούτῳ *Dig. A* 4275.

5.7 The Subjunctive

In LMedG and EMG the subjunctive can be expressed periphrastically. The most common and well-known periphrasis is $\xi\chi\omega$ + infinitive, which is also used to express the future indicative (see 5.1.3.1). Its use as a subjunctive predates the period covered by this Grammar (see MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 150–5 for discussion and bibliography). In the majority of cases the construction appears in clauses introduced by $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ (in various functions, see MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 150), though several examples have been found where the clause is introduced by a different conjunction ($\alpha\tilde{\nu}$, $\alpha\phi\acute{o}\nu\tau\iota\varsigma$), a particle ($\alpha\tilde{\varsigma}$) or a negative ($\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}$ $\mu\eta$).

Multiple examples have been found in texts from south-western areas, but the examples from S. Italy and Glykas, as well as the single, and surprisingly late, example from Naxos, indicate that the construction had a wider geographical distribution.

Other complementations, though rarer, are also possible for $\xi\chi\omega$. Several examples have been found of the perfect subjunctive (for which see 5.4.1), $\xi\chi\omega$ + perfect passive participle, used instead of the aorist subjunctive. There is also a “legalese” variant found in documents and texts from the Heptanese, which makes use of the conditional $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\chi\alpha$ + infinitive (for which see 5.2.2.1).⁶⁶ Given the modal character of $\xi\chi\omega$, the construction may sometimes have deontic, potential or other modal connotations, without, however, ceasing to be futurate: $\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon$ $\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\rho\omicron\phi\iota\alpha\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\xi\chi\omega$ $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\iota$ *Chron. Mor.* H 2414 (intentional “so that I can be on my way”); $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ $\xi\chi\omega$ $\epsilon\delta\tilde{\omega}$ $\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\omega\theta\eta\nu$ *Liv.* V 2603, *Liv.* α 2960 and *Liv.* S 1673 (Lambert-van der Kolf) (deontic “if I must die here”); $\mu\eta$ $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta\nu$ $\pi\tau\omicron\eta\theta\eta\varsigma$, ... | $\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ $\xi\chi\eta$ $\tau\acute{o}$ $\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{o}$ $\Delta\upsilon\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\nu$ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 347–8 (potential “if his spear might reach Dyrrachion”).

The other auxiliary verbs that are used to form the future indicative may also be used to form a subjunctive (BĂNESCU 1915: 90; MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 169–70), most notably $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$, including its shortened forms $\theta\acute{\epsilon}$ and $\theta\acute{\alpha}$, and, very rarely, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$. Contrary to the $\xi\chi\omega$ + infinitive construction, which may express a plain subjunctive and is also used in past contexts, $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ and $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ only occur in futural and final contexts. Finally, a “legalese” variant has been found in a Heptanesian document (Corfu), which makes use of the conditional $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ + infinitive (for which see 5.2.3.1).

5.7.1 $\xi\chi\omega$

Subjunctive	General	Restricted	Rare
Aorist	$\xi\chi\omega$ $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\epsilon\iota(\nu)$	$\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\chi\alpha$ $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\epsilon\iota(\nu)$	$\xi\chi\omega$ $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\mu}\epsilon\nu\omicron(\nu)$
Present	$\xi\chi\omega$ $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota(\nu)$		

⁶⁶ The following one-off example in Ioakeim Kyprios’s *Struggle*, $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\nu\alpha$ $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\sigma\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1867, which combines the infinitive of $\xi\chi\omega$ (after the control verb $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$) with $\nu\alpha$ + infinitive, appears to be a curiosity rather than a “real” construction.

5.7.1.1 ἔχω + Infinitive

As noted in the introduction to this section, ἔχω + infinitive appears before the period covered by this Grammar,⁶⁷ and examples have been found well into the 17th c. The auxiliary ἔχω is usually followed by an aorist infinitive, expressing a simple action/event. Examples of the present infinitive occur in the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy*, and they are normally used to express a state or an ongoing or repeated action/event. The present infinitive is not restricted to verbs that do not have a perfective stem. When the imperfective and perfective stems of a verb are homophonous, an ostensible present infinitive may in fact represent an aorist infinitive: τῆς γῆς γὰρ καὶ τῆς θάλασσης, βούλεται νὰ ἔχη βάλλει | φύλαξιν *Chron. Mor.* H 2899–900, for which read: βάλει.

ἔχω + Aorist Infinitive

ὅστις ἂν ἔχει εὐρεθῇ μετατρέπων καὶ διασείων (... ἔστω ἀναθεματισμένος) (1050, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 37, 46.39–40)

μὴ συκοφάντην πτοηθῆς, ἂν ἔχη δρακοντιάσειν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 347

στὴν Βενετίαν ἀπήλθασι διὰ νὰ ἔχουσιν περάσει *Chron. Mor.* H 404; καὶ πῶς νὰ ἔχη γενεῖ, νὰ τοὺς ἀποφληθοῦμε; *ibid.* 610; ἐδῶ ποῦ εὐρίσκεστε ἐνομοῦ, ἃς ἔχωμεν συντύχει *ibid.* 2837; καὶ θέλω νὰ σᾶς ἔχω εἰπεῖ καὶ νὰ σᾶς ἀφηγήσω *ibid.* 3140.

ὥσπου ὁ βασιλεὺς | ὑπάγη νὰ ἔχη κοιμηθῇ *Pol. Tr.* 410–11; καὶ θάρρος ἔχω εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς πρὶν παροῦ νὰ ἀποθάνω | νὰ ἐπάρω τὴν ἐκδίκησιν, πολλοὶ νὰ τὸ ἔχουν κλαύσει *ibid.* 1184–5; τοὺς θέλω κάμει, μάθε το, διὰ νὰ με ἔχουν γνωρίσει *ibid.* 2624; ὥσπου νὰ ἔχουσι βραχῇ *ibid.* 6832; ἐμπρὸς παρὰ νὰ ἔχη διαβῇ τὸ κάθισμα ἐτοῦτο *ibid.* 8989

δὲν με θέλεις καταπέσει | ἡ βουλή σου νὰ ἔχη γένῃ *ERMON., Ilias* 8.53–4 (hapax) οὐ μὴ τοὺς ἔχῃς λείψει *Chron. Mor.* P 239

μὴ νὰ ἔχη φύγει θάνατον παντοτινὸν καὶ κρίσιν *Defl. Par.* 272

καὶ ποτὲ διὰ κανέναν καιρὸν κανεὶς ἀπὸ τοῖς ἐδικοῖς τῆς νὰ μὴν ἔχει τρομήξει νὰ κοντραδίδει στὸ λεγόμενον ψυχικὸν (1576, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 79, 98.15–16) (τρομήξει = τολμήσει, see 2.2.1.9.2)

τὸ ρέστος νὰ τοῦ τὰ δίδει ἀφόντις ἔχει φινίρει τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ (1685, Zakynthos, ΒΑΥΑΚΑΚΟΣ 1954: 34, 64.3)⁶⁸

ἔχω + Present Infinitive

κι οὐκ ἔχουν ἄλλον φυσικὸν νὰ τοὺς ἔχη ἀφεντεύει *Chron. Mor.* H 836; τὸ πῶς νὰ ποιήσουσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ πῶς νὰ ἔχουν διάζει *ibid.* 3818; ὁ πρίγκιπας ἀφκράζεται τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ λόγια | κ' ἐσκόπα πῶς ν' ἀποκριθῇ ὅπως νὰ μὴ ἔχη σφάλλει *ibid.* 4252–3; ὀλίγοι ἀνθρωποι ἤμποροῦν νὰ τὸ ἔχουσι φυλάττει | ἀφῶν ἔχει σωτάρχισιν κ' ἔνι ἀφιρωμένον *ibid.* 8273–4 πολλὴν νὰ τὸ ἔχουν κλαίει *Pol. Tr.* 1185 app. crit. (B) (but read: πολὺν); διὰ τοῦτο ἔνι χρήσιμον βουλὴν νὰ ἔχωμεν ἔχει *ibid.* 7869

⁶⁷ See MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 151–2 for an example in a 6th/7th-c. papyrus.

⁶⁸ There are several reasons why this example from Zakynthos should be interpreted as a subjunctive (“after he finishes”) rather than a perfect (“after he has finished”) or a future perfect (“after he will have finished”). Firstly, in a futurative context the conjunction ἀφόντις always takes the subjunctive. Secondly, in the period covered by this Grammar the construction ἔχω + infinitive is very rare for the perfect, with only a handful of examples, all from northern regions and none from the Heptanese (see 5.4.1.6). Thirdly, and predictably because of the tense’s general rarity, no examples have been found of this construction with the future perfect (see 5.5).

5.7.1.2 ἔχω + Perfect Passive Participle

The perfect subjunctive ἔχω + perfect participle is sometimes used where one would expect an aorist subjunctive.⁶⁹ It occurs in futural contexts and is not restricted to versified texts. The use of this construction perhaps stresses the urgency or desirability of the action in question:

μά θέλω κανενὸς πτωχοῦ νὰ τό `χω δανεισμένον *Fyll. gadar*. 276b
 τὸ δίκαιον ὀρίζει ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐντέχεται νὰ ἔχη καμωμένη τὴν αἵτησιν *Assizes* B 357.22–3
 καὶ ὅσκοπα πῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ καμωμένο | στὴν δουλοσύνην τοῦ Θεσέου νὰ
 τὸν ἔχουν βαλμένον *Theseid* IV 48,8 ms P (f. 32v) [ed. 1529: καὶ σκόπα γὰρ τὰ πράγματα
 μὲ τὴν πιδεξοσύνη | πῶς γιὰ νὰ ἔμπει στοῦ Θεσίου τὸ σπῖτι σ' δουλοσύνη]

An example of a passive variant of the construction, consisting of εἶμαι + participle, has also been found: γρικώντας κείνα Δάρειος, εἶπε διὰ νὰ γένῃ, | ἐπιστολὴ ἐγλήγορα γιὰ νὰ ᾽ναι γεναμένη *Alex. Rim.* 798 (“listening to all that, Darius said that it should be done, [and] that a letter should quickly be written”).

5.7.1.3 εἶχα + Infinitive

Εἶχα + infinitive is a “legalese” construction, which may replace the (futurative) aorist subjunctive in commands introduced by νὰ and in complement clauses. Examples have been found in Heptanesian (Kefalonian) documents and in *Bertoldos* (for its use as a future-referring conditional see 5.2.2.1):

ἐπρόσταξε τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ Βασιλεὺς, ὅτι πάραυτα νὰ εἶχαν ὑπάγει διὰ τὸν νοδάρων ... διὰ νὰ
 τοῦ τὸ διαβάσει κατὰ παρρησίαν τοῦ *Bertoldos* 80.33–4; ἄρχισεν νὰ κάμει ἰνστάτζια νὰ
 ἰδοῦν ποῦ νὰ εὕρισκεται τὸ παιδὶν τοῦ ὁ Μπερτολδίνος καὶ ἡ Μαρκόλφα μάνα του, καὶ νὰ
 εἶχαν τοὺς φέρει εἰς τὴν χώραν *ibid.* 85.10–13
 (ἐσουνφώνησε ... νὰ φτιάσει ... τὰ διάστυλα ... με ξύλα ὀλολάρζινα ...), τὴν ὁποῖαν ξυλὴν νὰ
 τὴν εἶχε βάλει ἀπὸ λόγου τοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς μάστορας (1646, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1970:
 1, 250.4–5)
 σὲ ὅ,τι θέλει λάβει, νὰ μὴν εἶχε εἰπεῖ κανεὶς ... (1677, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1981: 3,
 288.26–7); ὅποτες μοῦ ἔλθῃ θάνατος, νὰ εἶχε στείλῃ ὁ ἄνδρας μου ... (*ibid.* 288.33)

5.7.2 θέλω

Subjunctive	General	Restricted	Rare
Aorist	θέλω γράψει(ν)	θέλω νὰ γράψω θὲ νὰ γράψω	ἤθελα γράψει(ν) θὰ γράψω
Present	θέλω γράφει(ν)		

⁶⁹ Cf. the normal use of the perfect subjunctive: ἀνίσως καὶ ἄν ἔχω ἄλλες διαθηκὲς γενάμενες, κόβω καὶ λιώνω (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 11, 36.44–5) (“if I have made other wills, I declare [them] null and void”); καὶ ἄλλοι πάλιν διὰ νὰ εἶναι παρακαλεσμένοι ἀπὸ φίλους τοὺς SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 102.7–8 (“and others [entrust their children to bad teachers], because they have been asked [to do so] by friends”).

5.7.2.1 θέλω + Infinitive

The earliest example found so far of θέλω + infinitive used instead of the subjunctive dates to the 13th c.⁷⁰ No examples have been found after the 16th c. The most common complementation for θέλω is the aorist infinitive. The present infinitive typically occurs with verbs that lack perfective morphology (ἔχω) and after aspectual verbs (ἄρχασαν, ἄρξασιν):

θέλω + Aorist Infinitive

ἀφίνω νὰ ἔχει ὁ Δημήτριος τὴν δοίκησὴν τοῦ ἀπὸ τὸ μοναστήριν, ὥσὸτε νὰ θέλει ἐξελεθεῖν νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν αὐθέντην μου τὸν βασιλέαν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.58–9) νὰ ποιήσῃ νὰ ἔχουν πλευτικά, νὰ θέλουσιν περάσει | στὸν ἅγιον τάφον τοῦ Χριστοῦ *Chron. Mor.* H 331–2; τοὺς τόπους ὅπου ἐπρονοιάστησαν νὰ τοὺς ἔχουν κερδίσει, | κ' ἐκείνους ὅπου οὐκ εἶχασιν νὰ θέλουν κουγκεστήσει *ibid.* 2020–1; νὰ τοὺς καλέσῃς, μὲ ἄρματα νὰ ἔλθουν νὰ μᾶς βοηθήσουν, | τὰ κάστη ὅπου μᾶς μάχονται νὰ θέλωμεν τὰ πάρει *ibid.* 2637–8 κὺρ Ἥλιε, τί νὰ ποιήσωμεν τὸ ἀδελφί μας νὰ εὐροῦμεν, | καὶ πῶς νὰ τὴν γνωρίσωμεν, νὰ τὴν θέλωμεν θάψει; *Dig.* E 91–2
καὶ οὐδὲν τοὺς ἄφηκε καὶ αὐτοὺς νὰ θέλουν πολεμήσει *Pol. Tr.* 3298; ὅψιδας ἃς ζητήσωμεν, κάμε νὰ θέλουν ἔλθῃ *ibid.* 5639; ἀπεδὰ μὲ φαίνεται νὰ θέλωμεν κερδίσει | καλὰ τοὺς ἀντιδίκους μας *ibid.* 8045; τέτοιον γομάριν βούλεται νὰ θέλῃ περιλάβει *ibid.* 12568
τὸ νὰ τὸ θέλεις μάθειν | εἰς ἑκατὸν νὰ διαρραγῆς, νομίζω, ἐκ τὴν λύπην *Liv.* V 80–1
πολλὰ ἐπιβουλεύτηκα νὰ τῆς τὴ θέλω πάρει *Synax. gadar.* 166
ο δε Ζεὺς ... εἶπεν ὅτι τότε θέλουν ἐλευθερωθοῦσιν ἀπὸ τὴν κακοπάθειαν [sc. οἱ γαϊδάροι], ὅταν κατουρώντας νὰ θέλουσιν κάμει ποταμόν *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 92.4–6

θέλω + Present Infinitive

οἱ Φράγκοι ὥκονομηθήσαν νὰ θέλουν ὑπαγαίνει | ἐκεῖσε εἰς τὸ ταξεῖδιν τοὺς *Chron. Mor.* H 705–6 (“they prepared to be on their way”); καὶ τοὺς Λουμπάρδους ἄρχασαν νὰ τοὺς θέλουν τοξεύει *ibid.* 1067; ὅπου ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πρίγκιπα διαβόντα εἰς τὸν Μορέαν | καὶ ἄρξασιν νὰ λέγουσιν, νὰ θέλουν ἀφηγᾶσται *ibid.* 6447–8
διὰ τοῦτο ἔναι χρησίμιον βουλὴν νὰ θέλωμ' ἔχει *Pol. Tr.* 7869 app. crit. (X)

5.7.2.2 θέλω νά + Subjunctive

Substitution of θέλω νά + subjunctive for θέλω + infinitive is not very common. In fact, the following examples can best be viewed as use of the future indicative instead of the subjunctive: τὰ θαλάσσια ἐγνωρίζουσιν ὅταν θέλῃ νὰ ἀλλάξῃ ὁ καιρὸς *LANDOS, Geopon.* 131.14–15; ὅταν θέλῃς νὰ τὸ ζυμώσῃς, ἀπομένει τὸ ἄλλας *ibid.* 140.30–1.

5.7.2.3 ἤθελα + Infinitive

A “legalese” construction, ἤθελα + infinitive may replace the (futurative) aorist subjunctive. An example has been found in a Heptanesian (Corfiot) document (for its use as a future-referring conditional in indefinite relative clauses see 5.2.3.1): ὑπόσχεται ... ὅτι ... νὰ μὴδὲν ἤθελε γυρεύσει τὴν κληρονομίᾳ (1541, Corfu, *RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1996: 11, 223.13–14).

⁷⁰ Although a volitive reading (“until he wishes to leave”) cannot be excluded entirely, a 14th-c. copyist who adapted the document to a higher linguistic register substituted an aorist subjunctive (ἐξέλθῃ, “until he leaves”) for the construction. For discussion of this example see also *MARKOPOULOS* 2009a: 169–70.

5.7.2.4 θὲ νά + Subjunctive

The construction θὲ νά + subjunctive, which is very common with volitive meaning (see 2.4 s.v. (ἐ)θέλω) and to express the future (see 5.1.4.6), can sometimes be found as a periphrasis for the subjunctive in texts from Cyprus and Crete, though it cannot be excluded that the examples involving ἄν are rather instances of the use of the future indicative in place of the subjunctive:

- ἄν θενὰ μποῦν ἀπὸ τὴν τρύπα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 498.18
 ἄν θενὰ πᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἀμμόχουστον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 286.37
 μα ᾗ δὲν τὼς οργίζομαι σ' ὅ,τι κι α θε νά ποῦσι CHORTATISIS, *Panor.* V.14
 μα ᾗ δὲν τοὺς ὀργίζομαι, ὅ,τι κι ἄ θε νά ποῦσι Stathis Prol.10
 ἄν ἔνε καὶ ... ἤθελεν θελήσει ... νὰ θε νὰ σπεύρουν τὰ λεγόμενα χωράφια (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 132, 146.11–12)
 κι ὅπου κι ἄ θε νὰ ξοριστῇ, πέμπει νὰ τὸν ξεδράμη KORNAOS, *Erot.* III.1171; ὅ,τι κι ἄ θε νὰ πᾶθωμε ibid. IV.122

5.7.2.5 θά

The construction θά + subjunctive is first encountered in Cretan texts of the late 16th c. as a future periphrasis (see 5.1.5). In the same area it may also be used to reinforce the subjunctive (see MARKOPOULOS 2006: 240–2 for the modern dialect):

θά + Aorist Subjunctive

- θυμοῦμαι τὴνε μιὰ φορά νὰ θά διαβῇ στον Ἄδη CHORTATISIS, *Katz.* II.353; μ' ἄλλοι παρὰ παιδι σου | τόση μεγάλη βασιλεία νὰ θά κληρονομήσου | κρίμα πολὺ μοῦ φαίνεται id., *Erof.* V.623–5
 ὅντε θά τὸ σκεπᾶση (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 396, 369.9)
 (ἀποκοτῶ ...) τοῦτῃ τὴν κωμωδιά μου | εἰς τ' ὄνομά σου τὸ ψηλὸ νὰ θά καθιερώσω FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Dedic.* 36–7; λογιᾶζω ἡ ἀφεντιά σου | νὰ θά γενῆςπραματευτῆς ibid. III.15–16
 κι ἄν ἔναι καὶ λογιάσω κιὰς νὰ θά τὴν ἀποβγάλω TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.377

θά + Present Subjunctive

- πάραυτας βάνεις σ' ὀρδινιὰ τοῦ Πριάπου τῇ ντοτρίνα | νὰ θά μοῦ δείχνεις FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.414–15; ἀρχίζει | ἀγάλια ᾗ γάλια ... νὰ θά μοῦ ξανεμίζει ibid. V.59–60

5.7.3 μέλλω + Infinitive

In the period covered by this Grammar μέλλω + infinitive is very rarely used instead of the aorist subjunctive. See MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 123–4 for a discussion of this example in a document from S. Italy: ⁷¹ ἵνα μέλλει ποιῆσαι ... ἀγορὰν (1270, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 323, 476.25–6).

⁷¹ The use of μέλλω after ἵνα predates the LMedG period, with several examples from about the 4th c. onwards (see the online *TLG*). In most examples μέλλω appears to have been added to reinforce the “destiny-future” meaning (cf. MARKOPOULOS 2009a) of the subordinate clause (e.g. σπούδασον ἅπερ συνέθου ποιῆσαι τοῦ μὴ κατοποιῆσαι αὐτὴν, ἵνα μὴ μέλλῃς τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν ἀπολαμβάνειν in the *Life of St Theodore Sykeotes*). However, examples in which ἵνα + μέλλω + inf. is simply futurative also occur, e.g. ἵνα μὴ μέλλῃς λέγειν in John Chrysostom (4th c.).

5.7.4 πᾶ (νά) + Subjunctive

Another construction consists of a shortened form πᾶ (for which see also 2.4. s.v. ὑπάγω) followed by νά + subjunctive. Although it clearly expresses futurity, the idea of motion is always present:

- νά πᾶ νά παινεθοῦμεν *Achil.* L 152 ms (ed. πᾶν)
 ἔνι κρατημένοι νά πᾶ νά δοῦν *Assizes A* 108.30
 νά πᾶ νά ἀπλικέψουν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 94.18–19
 νά πᾶ νά κοιμηθοῦμε *Fyll. gadar.* 15e
 ὀγιά νά πᾶ νά φᾶσι *Apoll. Rim.* V 774
 νά πᾶ νά βροῦμε *Vosk.* 121
 νά πᾶ νά τήν ἀγκαλιαστῶ *MONTSEL., Evgena* 604
 νά πᾶ νά βασανίζεστε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 431.25
 νά πᾶ νά ἀφιερωθοῦν (1673, Sikinos, *ZERLENDIS* 1913a: 139.33)

Invariable πᾶ + bare subjunctive, in which the conjunction νά has been omitted or incorporated into πᾶ (cf. θελά (5.1.4.5), μπορά (4.1.2.1) and μελλά (5.1.2.3)) occurs occasionally: θέλω να πα μισέψω *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.115; πῶς θές νά πᾶ τοὺς βροῦμεν *Pist. voskos* V 2.231; νά πᾶ τὸ ξανακαμπανίσου (1609, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 626, 547.15).

5.7.5 θέλω ἔρθει νά + Subjunctive

The rare construction θέλω ἔρθει νά + subjunctive occurs in a text from the Heptanese. The use of ἔρχομαι is probably due to Italian influence (see *GIACALONE RAMAT/SANSÒ* 2014: 24–34 for the use of *venire* as an auxiliary in Old Italian vernaculars, though in Italian it is complemented by a participle or adjective); cf. the conditional, 5.2.5, where the aorist indicative of ἔρχομαι has been found in texts from Cyprus: ἂν ἡ πόλβερη θέλει ἔρθει νά βραχεῖ (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, *MORGAN* 1954: 66.1).

Part IV

Syntax

Introduction

The eight syntax chapters were written on the basis of material taken from the grammar database set up by Notis Toufexis. The arduous work of selecting and compiling the examples was done chiefly by Marjolijne Janssen, with the assistance of Tina Lendari, Io Manollessou and Notis Toufexis. Further data were added when necessary for the sake of completeness.

The purpose of these chapters is to characterize the syntax of Medieval and Early Modern Greek by means of the rules that define its various constructions; no systematic effort has therefore been made to compare Medieval Greek with its ancient predecessor or its modern successor, though diachronic observations are sometimes offered where these seemed helpful. The rules in each chapter are numbered sequentially for ease of reference and presented in bold. Where necessary, further detail is supplied immediately below a rule, followed by a set of illustrative instantiations, stripped of irrelevant and superfluous detail. For example, since verse, syntactically speaking, differs from prose primarily in having a higher proportion of “marked” constituent orders, I have cited verse in a continuous format, without marking line-ends. I have also omitted any parts of examples, whether in verse or prose, that are not germane to the point under discussion (the deletions are indicated ...). In each set of examples, the material is organized chronologically, with the earliest material coming first. In the case of documentary texts, their place of origin is specified if known, together with their date. Literary texts, by contrast, are assigned to a century (sometimes tentatively), and where two different centuries are given, the first is that of the manuscript(s), the second that of composition. As far as possible, examples were chosen to illustrate not only the operation of rules but also the geographical spread and chronological range of the relevant structures. In some cases there are additional Notes below the citations, dealing, for example, with difficult, unusual, irregular or distributionally restricted phenomena.

I should add here that the spellings in the examples cited are those of the original editions, except that traditional subjunctive endings have been standardized by the addition of iota subscript in the relevant forms if this was omitted. But having blocks of examples exhibiting several different systems of accentuation simultaneously seemed not only an unnecessary distraction from syntactic matters but also aesthetically unattractive. A regularized polytonic form of accentuation has therefore been employed throughout, regardless of the preferred practice of individual editors. I offer no apologies.

Particular thanks are due to Marjolijne Janssen, who read through the complete text, updated several references in the light of recent publications, checked and normalised the orthography, and most importantly, corrected a number of errors of interpretation. I am very grateful for her contribution. I should also like to record here my gratitude to Peter

Mackridge, who, with characteristic generosity, offered to comment in detail on an earlier draft of these chapters. His careful reading of a complex text saved me from more than a few errors of form and interpretation, and raised a number of important issues that had simply passed me by. The final version has been greatly improved by the incorporation of his corrections and observations, and by the rewriting of several parts of the text in the light of his expert advice.

GCH

1 Main Clauses

1.1 Subject and Predicate

Complete sentences consist of at least one main clause and may contain any number of subordinate clauses (see Chapters 2–3 and 5.3.3). Two or more clauses may be conjoined or stand in apposition (see Chapter 7).

All clauses combine the meaning of a subject with that of a predicate, even when there is no “overt” subject present and its “content” has to be supplied indirectly, e.g. by reference to the verbal morphology (in finite clauses, see Rule (1) NOTE (i) immediately below), or through rules of control (in some non-finite clauses, see 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), and 3.8). This chapter deals with main clauses.

1.1.1 Subjects

(1) The subject of a finite verb is in the nominative case; the verb agrees with its subject in person and number.

1 sg.	<u>ἐγώ</u> τὸ θέλω κι ἀγαπῶ	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 578
2 sg.	<u>ἐσύ</u> κλωσσῶς τὰ χηνόπουλα	17th c., <i>Bertoldin.</i> 128.14
3 sg.	καὶ ὁ φθόνος <u>ἐτυφλῶσεν</u>	15th c./14th c., <i>Velis.</i> χ 536
1 pl.	<u>ἡμεῖς</u> μὲν ζῶμεν	1256, Palatia (Miletos), <i>NYSTAZOPOULOU</i> 1966: 1, 288.1
2 pl.	<u>ἐχάλασθήκετε</u> <u>ἐσεῖς</u> κακῶς	16th c./?12th c., <i>Dig.</i> A 3219
3 pl.	ὥς καὶ <u>μαρτύρουν</u> αὐτὰ <u>οἱ καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι</u>	?1125, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7

NOTES

- (i) Subjects are routinely omitted when their “content” is pronominal (i.e. = “I”, “you”, “he/she/it”, etc.) and non-emphatic/non-contrastive, since the relevant person/number information is directly inferable from the agreement morphology on the verb (though additional contextual information may be required to identify the referent):

1 sg.	λέγω σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου	12th c./11th c., <i>NIKON, Logos</i> 9 312.10
3 sg.	παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν	15th–16th c., ?Peloponnese, <i>SCHREINER</i> 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2

- (ii) Conjoined subjects of different persons trigger agreement as follows:

1 sg./pl. + 2 sg./pl. > 1 pl.
 1 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 1 pl.
 2 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 2 pl.
 3 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 3 pl.

- (iii) Exceptions to the regular agreement rules include:

Agreement “by sense”, e.g. where a formally singular subject denoting a collective entity takes a plural verb:

καὶ τόσον πολὺν ἀρίφνητον ἔφθασαν εἰς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ φουσάτον
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 20.12–13 (Konstantinopulos)

Agreement with only the closest of a set of subjects:

καὶ ποσῶς οὐκ ᾠφελήσῃ καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὸ στέμμα τοῦ θεοῦ σου
 14th c./15th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 7.112–14

Archaizing “Attic syntax”, i.e. singular verb with neuter plural subject (mainly in earlier poetry with other learned elements):

ὥς γὰρ τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν φλόγαν ἐπαυξάνει ?12th–13th c., *Spaneas* P 131

- (iv) For the agreement of nominal and adjectival predicative complements, see immediately below.

1.1.2 Nominal and Adjectival Predicative Complements

- (2) **In clauses containing a copular verb (“be”, “become”, “remain”, “be made/called/appointed” etc.), a nominal/adjectival complement attributing a property to the subject agrees with the subject in case; complement nouns (with inherent gender) also agree in number, while complement adjectives agree in both gender and number; predicate nouns normally lack an article (see 5.3.2, Rule (76) NOTE (i)).**

Nom. Masc. Sg. Subject + Nom. Masc. Sg. Adjectival Complement

ὁ γέρων νέος οὐ γίνεται 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 222

Nom. Fem. Sg. Subject + Nom. Fem. Sg. Adjectival Complement

σαράντα ἡμέρες λείπεται ἄψαλτη ἡ ἐκκλησιά τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 768

Nom. Fem. Sg. Subject + Nom. Sg. Nominal Complement (Inherently Feminine)

ἐμείνεν χήρα ἡ κυρὰ ἡ Τσαρλόττα 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 32.18

Nom. Masc. Sg. Subject (omitted) + Nom. Sg. Nominal Complements (Inherently Neuter)

καὶ βασιλέως παιδίν ἡμουν, μεγάλου ἀνθρώπου ἐκγόνι
 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekl. Vas.* 51

- (3) If a transitive verb takes a nominal/adjectival complement attributing a property to its object (normally without the mediation of a copula), the predicate noun or adjective agrees with the object in case, and in number and gender as in Rule (1).**

Acc. Masc. Sg. Object + Acc. Sg. Nominal Complement (inherently masculine)

πολλὰ τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ἐκεῖνον τὸν γονέα 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208

Acc. Neut. Sg. Object + Acc. Neut. Sg. Adjectival Complement

δεῖξον λοξὸν τὸ βλέμμα 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 170

1.2 Statements

1.2.1 Statements about the Present and the Past

- (4) The indicative mood is used to make a factual statement about the present or the past (for the uses of the different tenses of the indicative, see 4.4); a factual statement is negated with οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.**

Present

λέγω σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.10

συναπαντάει μου ὁ Πόθος 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 296

Imperfect

ὡς καὶ μαρτύρουν αὐτὰ οἱ καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι
?1125, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7

καὶ δίδαμέν του γέννημαν 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 10

Aorist

οὐδὲν ἐπέρασεν ποσῶς καιρὸς μικρὸς κι ὀλίγος 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7944

παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν 15th–16th c., ?Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2

NOTE

- (i) The present indicative may be prefixed with *νά* in vivid narrative. The earliest example in the database is from ca. 13th/14th c. In origin this construction is perhaps a combination of the “historic” present (4.4, Rule 46 and NOTES), employed to bring a story to life “before the reader’s eyes”, with the deictic/presentative particle *νά* (cf. French *voici/voilà*), though homophony with the mood marker *νά* (see 4.3) soon led to “subjunctive” spellings of the verb endings and presumably the conviction that the forms involved were indeed subjunctive:

καὶ τὸ ραβδὶν ἐπαίξαμεν καὶ κονταροκτυποῦμεν· καὶ τὰ φαρία νά πηδοῦν, νά
παίζουν τὸ κοντάριν, νά μοιάζῃ πόλεμος σωστὸς καὶ φόνος πρὸς ἀλλήλων
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* V 676–8

1.2.2 Statements about the Future: Possible and Hypothetical Events

Though speakers may be confident about the future occurrence of particular events, the future objectively is an unknown domain and statements about it cannot be strictly factual. “Future events”, i.e. those whose occurrence speakers feel able to predict with confidence, therefore form a continuum with modally qualified “possible events”, i.e. those whose actual or eventual occurrence speakers are in varying degrees unsure about. Forms denoting futurity and different types of modality (epistemic, deontic, etc.) may have a general/atemporal reading alongside the future one: compare, for example, *will* and *may* in *X will/may happen (tomorrow/in general)*. In present and past time future and modal forms can both be used to speculate about situations whose factual status the speaker is ignorant of, cf. *X may/will be happening (now)*; *X may/will have happened (yesterday)*. In all cases, “future” *will* carries greater conviction than modals such as *may*.

Though any main clause may be tied to a condition, some modal forms effectively presuppose one, whether explicitly stated or contextually implied, e.g. *would* in [*if X happened*] *Y would happen*; [*if X were happening*] *Y would happen/be happening*; [*if X had happened*] *Y would have happened*. Such “remote” conditions (protases) set up situations for abstract/theoretical consideration, i.e. they are, strictly speaking, atemporal, with no commitment to their occurrence in the past, present or future. But they are often used to speculate about the past, present or future when knowledge is lacking or, in past and present time, to consider counterfactual scenarios when the truth is known. The main clause (apodosis) with its “conditional” verb form denotes the “hypothetical” consequence of the potential or impossible fulfilment of the remote condition. In the absence of an inherent temporal reference point, the event of the main clause is typically taken to be “in the future” relative to that of the condition, which is in turn taken to be “in the past” relative to its consequence. “Past-tense” verb forms are therefore typically used in protases and “future-in-the-past” forms in apodoses. Futures/modals marked as “past”, like *would* and *might*, distinguish different degrees of conviction about the likelihood of the consequence, given the prior fulfilment of the remote condition, cf. [*if X happened*] *Y would/might happen*.

LMedG/EMG does not distinguish systematically between what “will occur” and what “may/can/shall occur” or between what “would occur” and what “might/could/should occur”. Nor does it systematically distinguish what “would etc. occur” (now/in future) from “what would etc. have occurred” (in the past). It does, however, distinguish the language user’s subjective view of actions as “bounded” (perfective) or “unbounded” (imperfective), and this aspectual distinction partly characterizes the forms used to refer to future and possible/hypothetical events (for verbal aspect, see 4.4). The details of usage are discussed and exemplified below.

1.2.2.1 Verb Forms Denoting Future/Possible Events

- (5) **Reference to future/possible events can be made with periphrases consisting of the present tense of the future/modal auxiliaries μέλλω/ἔχω/(ἐ)θέλω + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) infinitive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/ (οὐ)δέν, placed before the auxiliary.**

Since each auxiliary has its own preferences and restrictions, the three options will be presented separately.

Μέλλω + Infinitive

All examples in the database refer to the future, broadly continuing the ancient use “be going to”:

Present Infinitive

μέλλουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ διώκοντες φθάνειν 13th-14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G IV.628

μέλλομεν ἔχειν τὸ ἥμισυ 1232, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 286, 396.6

Aorist Infinitive

πάντες μέλλομεν σταθῆν τὴν φοβερὰν ἡμέραν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1755

μέλλομεν εἰσελθεῖν 1232, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 176, 231.30–1

NOTES

- (i) μέλλω + inf. occurs mainly in non-literary, legal and official texts. The present infinitive is favoured in the earlier medieval period and the aorist infinitive in the later medieval period with a consequential blurring of the perfective/imperfective opposition throughout.
- (ii) μέλλω + inf. typically carries a strong deontic nuance of “what shall (certainly) be/ what has to be”.

Ἔχω + Infinitive

The classical meaning is dynamic (“be able”), but the construction also acquired epistemic/potential, deontic and future uses in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

In the later medieval period, as the corresponding “conditional” εἶχα + infinitive takes on the role of a pluperfect (see 3.3, Rule (34); 4.4), ἔχω in future/modal function is sometimes strengthened through the prefixation of the modal marker ἵνα/νά (with negative μή(ν) placed after the particle). This restricted option is characteristic of lower-register texts and represents the renewal of a form that was increasingly felt to be anomalous with the functional shift of εἶχα + infinitive. It proved to be a temporary expedient, however, and the ἔχω-periphrasis henceforth gives ground steadily to the (ἐ)θέλω-periphrasis (see immediately below).

All examples in the database refer to the future and/or have a generic reading:

Present Infinitive

Ἰλλος ἔχει εἶναι εἰς τὸ παλάτιον 9th c., Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 127.13 (ed. De Boor)

ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς ἑτέροις ἔχομεν ἀκολουθεῖν 10th c., *De ceremoniis* II 427.13 (ed. Reiske)

Aorist Infinitive

ἔχεις ... εὐρεῖν καὶ νοήσιν πάντα, ὅτι εὐκολον ἔχουν τὸ νόημα 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 310.10–11

ἐξαλαφρώσειν ἔχεις τοὺς πόρους 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 557

νὰ ἔχω + Infinitive

ἐπεὶ ἔνι γὰρ κί ὁ τόπος σου γυμνὸς ἐκ τὰ φουσσᾶτα,
νὰ τὸν ἐπάρουν εὐκολὰ καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχης χάσει

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4236–7

NOTES

- (i) Use of ἔχω + infinitive as a future had a “low” origin, and though it gained acceptance over time, it is used mainly in literary rather than official texts.
- (ii) Use of ἔχω with both aorist and present infinitives (the latter only rarely) belongs to the early medieval period. Subsequently the aorist infinitive alone is attested, with neutralization of the aspectual contrast.

(‘E)θέλω + Infinitive

The principal ancient meaning was “want” and this option was retained. But future, epistemic/potential and deontic uses are all well established by the later medieval period, when the (ἐ)θέλω-periphrasis begins to take over from ἔχω (see above). With animate subjects it is often difficult or impossible to decide whether the intended force is “want to X” or “will X”.

The majority of examples in the database refer to the future and/or have a generic reading, but a handful of later examples occur with clear reference to the present in inferential/epistemic use:

Future/Generic

Present Infinitive

ἔως τότε γὰρ θέλεις εἶναι εὐγενής

14th c./11th c., Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* V 298 ccxviii (ed. Roueché)

ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ, μέμφεσται κί ὀνειδίζει

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8185

Aorist Infinitive

τολμήσειν θέλω

?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.5v.11

θέλει ἰδεῖν ὁ λεγόμενος ἀποκρισιάρης

1498, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.12

Present (Inferential/Epistemic)

Present Infinitive

κοιμᾶσται θέλει ἀληθινά, γιὰ κεῖνο δὲν προβαίνει

17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.19

NOTES

- (i) The θέλω-periphrasis is the only one with a fully developed aspectual contrast in the infinitive, reflecting its normalization within the verbal paradigm as the dominant future form in LMedG. Its partial grammaticalization is associated with the appearance of shortened forms of the auxiliary (θές, θέ(ν), θέμε(ν), θέτε, θέν(ε)) from around the 15th c.

- (ii) This is the only infinitival periphrasis used to denote speculations/inferences about the present, a further reflection of its development as the “regular” future tense of later MedG and EMG.

(6) From ca. 12th–13th c. onwards the infinitival complement may be replaced by a periphrasis consisting of the modal marker *ἵνα/νά* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is *οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν*, placed before the auxiliary.

Future/Generic

Aorist Subjunctive

- τὰ ὅρη ... τὰ μέλλεις νά περάσης 16th c./15th c., DELLAP. *Erot. Apokr.* 3147
θέλει νά φανῇ ἡ ἀγάπη του 16th c., *Dig.* P VII.386.24
ἔχει νά τοῦ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος 1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.5–6

Present Subjunctive

- ἡ γνωριμίδα τοὺς κριτάδες θέλει νά ἔνῃ τοιοῦτη 16th c./13th c., *Assizes A* 52.21

Present (Inferential/Epistemic)

Present Subjunctive

- καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ θέλει νά ξεύρῃ ποὺ συντυχαίνει ἔτσι 1653–5, Venice, FONKIČ 2000: 240, f.1v.8–9
ἐγὼ γελιῶμαι ... ἡ αὐτὴ θέλει νά εἶναι ἡ μεγαλύτερη τύχη 18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.16–17
τὸ κοτσὶ θέλει νά εἶναι κανενοῦ στρατοκόπου 18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.24

NOTES

- (i) This substitution does not affect *νά* ἔχω + (aorist) infinitive.
(ii) The present subjunctive is very rare with *μέλλω* *νά* and *ἔχω* *νά*, as expected on the basis of their infinitival counterparts (cf. above). Both these periphrases often have strong deontic overtones.
(iii) Impersonal *μέλλει* *νά* (sometimes *μέλλεται* *νά* in Crete and Cyprus) and *θέλει* *νά* are also found from 14th c., in imitation of the impersonal modal verbs *πρέπει*, *ἐνδέχεται*, *μπορεῖ* (see 4.3). Both these periphrases may again have strong deontic nuances. Impersonal *ἔχει* *νά* is very rare.
(iv) Personal *θέλω* *νά* in the early part of the later medieval period is normally volitive/modal and so partly distinguished from the mainly “future” *θέλω* + infinitive. But from ca. 14th c. onwards *θέλω* *νά* is also used as a future, albeit less frequently than its infinitival counterpart. In the very late medieval and early modern periods, this periphrasis also acquires inferential/epistemic use with present time reference.
(v) From the 14th c. future/modal *θέλω* may even be complemented by the modally strengthened infinitival periphrasis *νά* ἔχω + (aorist) infinitive:
καὶ θέλω νά σᾶς ἔχω εἰπεῖ καὶ νά σᾶς ἀφηγήσω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3140

- (vi) θέλω + “bare” subjunctive appears beside θέλω νά + subjunctive from ca. 14th c., both variants sometimes using the shortened forms of the auxiliary:

θέλου<ν> ἀνακατωθοῦ<ν> οὔλοι οἱ Χριστιανοί 1496, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.7

- (vii) From θές νά, θέ(ν) νά etc. an invariant θέ νά eventually evolved in the 15th and 16th c., apparently first in southern areas. The modern θά, first attested in late-16th-c. Crete, represents a further reduction of θέ νά:

θέ νά + subj: καὶ ὅλα θέ νά πάψου 16th c., Alex. Rim. 385

θά + subj: σήμερο θά σὲ στερευτῶ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.15

(7) Reference to future/possible events can also be made with the modal particle ἵνα/νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μή(ν)/μηδέν, placed after ἵνα/νά.

This construction goes back to the Roman imperial period, when it originally had deontic/optative force, but it soon evolved into a general marker of the subjunctive mood with a wide variety of modal functions, including the expression of futurity. It is often difficult to distinguish future use from potential/epistemic (“may/can”) or deontic (“should”) uses.

Present Subjunctive

ἐκεῖ νὰ σὲ ἀναμένω 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G IV.211

κάθα χρόνο ... νὰ στέλλη ... μ’ χιλιάδες δουκάτα 1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.5–6

Aorist Subjunctive

ἔρῳτα καὶ νὰ μάθης 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 137

ἄμα τὸ φορέση, εἰς γῆν νὰ πέση ἐκ τὸ ἄλογον 15th–16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 2992–3

ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἔμπροσθεν Φράγκος νὰ μὴ μᾶς βιάσῃ ν’ ἀλλάξωμεν τὴν πίστιν μας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2093–4

NOTES

- (i) Νὰ (μή(ν)) + subjunctive may also be read as a command or a wish if the context permits (see Rules (13), (14) and (20)).
- (ii) Use of this construction as a future declines during the later medieval period as the θέλω-periphrasis and its later reflexes become more dominant in this function.
- (iii) In strong denials οὐ μή(ν) + subjunctive may be used; νά is normally absent, but if used, follows the negation:

1 sg. ποτέ σας ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ ρόγαν οὐ μὴ σᾶς δώσω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5116

2 sg. ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν ψυχίτσα μου δόλον οὐ μὴ νὰ ἔχης 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4065

3 sg. ἂν δὲ ζητήσης ... γυναῖκαν νὰ μὲ πάρης, οὐ μὴ θελήσῃ ὁ πατέρας σου 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 649

- (8) **At the very end of the period covered by this Grammar speculative/inferential reference to the past (= “will have done X (I suppose)”) may be made using *θέλει*, probably impersonally in all cases, + aorist indicative.**

πλήν ... εἰς Κορυφούς θέλει ἀλλάχθησαν

1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 304, f.1v.13–14

θέλει ἐμετέβαλεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς γίγαντας εἰς εἶδος ἀνεμομύλων

18th c., *Don Kis*. 46.15–16

1.2.2.2 Verb Forms Denoting Hypothetical/Conditional Events

As we have seen, hypothetical conditions and their consequences can be used to speculate “theoretically” about the past, present and future, or “counterfactually” about the past and present. Languages differ, however, in the extent to which real-world time reference is marked in the “conditional” verb forms employed. LMedG/EMG makes no clear temporal distinctions in such cases (the “past tense” of the protasis and the “future-in-the-past” of the apodosis being mutually relative tenses, see above), and relies instead on choice of aspect and context.

Verb forms built to the present/imperfective or aorist/perfective stems are used to reflect the speaker’s decision to present an eventuality as unbounded (e.g. continuous/progressive/habitual) or bounded (i.e. a single complete whole). Reference to the present moment, which “progresses” with time, is normally made with an imperfective form on its “progressive” reading, and reference to “general” states of affairs with an imperfective form on its “habitual” reading, cf. *X is happening (now)* with *X happens (usually)*. By contrast, though past and future eventualities may readily be viewed both imperfectively and perfectly, the perfective view is the default case. Thus a LMedG/EMG conditional expression containing an imperfective verb form is typically taken to refer to the present or to a general state of affairs, and one containing a perfective form to the past or the future, with the context discriminating between the two temporal readings. But it is important to remember that this is not necessarily so and that past and future events may also be viewed imperfectively (as continuous/progressive or habitual), just as actions in the present may be viewed perfectly. Equally, some conditional periphrases, like their future counterparts, do not display a full aspectual contrast, and in these cases the reader is required to fall back on context alone.

The following examples of the conditional periphrasis with εἴχα, which is used almost exclusively with aorist/perfective infinitives, should help to clarify. The same construction may be understood in context to refer to the past, present or future:

Past

ἔάν ... οὐδὲν ἦλθεν ..., οὐδὲν εἶχεν ἐξαναστρέψει 16th c./13th c., *Assizes* A 91.26–7

“if he had not come (then), he would not have returned (later)”

Present

ἄν οὐ σέ ᾔαπουν τὰ πολλά, τώρα σκοτώσει σέ ᾔα

15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil*. N 1571

“if I didn’t love you so much, I would kill you now”

Future

ἂν ἤξερες πῶς ἄφτουσι τὰ φύλλα τῆς καρδιᾶς μου ... κρίνω πῶς μ’ εἶχες κλαίγει ...

CHORTATISIS, *Katz.* I.2-3

“if you were to know..., I think that you would weep for me”

- (9) Reference to hypothetical events can be made with a conditional periphrasis consisting of the imperfect tense of the future/modal auxiliaries ἔμελλα/εἶχα/ἦθελα + present (imperfective) infinitive or aorist (perfective) infinitive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν, placed before the auxiliary.**

Ἔμελλον/ἔμελλα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

ἐν τῷ ἐσθίειν τὴν Ἀγάπην ἔμελλεν κλαίειν 12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 150.9

μέλλει διαδέχεσθαι 1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.43

Aorist Infinitive

τούτους ἔμελλεν γὰρ κτεῖναι 15th c./14th c., ΕΡΜΟΝ., *Ilias* 3.171

ἔμελλον προσμεῖναι εἰς τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα 16th c./15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 108.12

NOTES

- (i) This is very much a residual construction in later medieval Greek, used mainly with aorist (perfective) infinitives and typically with a strong deontic nuance (“should/should have”).
- (ii) From ca. 14th–15th c. the infinitive may be replaced by νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, the former largely restricted to inherently stative verbs that lack aorist stems.
- (iii) Impersonal ἔμελλε νά (ἐμέλλετον νά in the south-west) is a common option, and is occasionally complemented by a past-tense indicative (imperfect or aorist) in place of a subjunctive.

Εἶχον/εἶχα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

ἀγωνιᾶν εἶχες καὶ ἀδημονεῖν
14th c./11th c., Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 296, 13–14 (ed. Litavrin)

παρηγοριὰ δὲν εἶχε ἔσται τούτῃ στὰ βάσανά μου
17th c./16th c., CHORTATISIS, *Panor.* I.183

Aorist Infinitive

οὐκ ἂν εἰς οἶκον μάς ποτε εἶχετε πορευθῆναι 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.275

τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ρωμαίων κληρονομῆσειν εἶχεν 15th c./14th c., *Velis.* χ 371–2

NOTES

- (i) Present (imperfective) infinitives are increasingly rare with εἶχον/εἶχα in the later medieval period, and the verbs attested tend to be inherently stative, i.e. without aorist (perfective) stems.
- (ii) The majority of examples of εἶχον/εἶχα + inf. in the later medieval period occur in the protases of hypothetical/counterfactual conditional sentences, where the shift to pluperfect use originated (see 3.3 and 4.4), and most of the examples in main clauses follow an overt conditional of this type, i.e. as apodoses.
- (iii) Εἶχον/εἶχα νά + subjunctive (aorist) is a rare variant, occurring in texts from southern areas.
- (iv) Εἶχον/εἶχα + “bare” subjunctive (present or aorist) occurs in late medieval/early modern texts from south-western regions; impersonal εἶχε is also attested in a handful of early modern texts from this area.
- (v) Εἶχον/εἶχα + a past-tense indicative (imperfect, more rarely aorist) is also found on occasion.
- (vi) Εἶχον/εἶχα + infinitive may be strengthened through prefixation of the modality marker νά (negative μή(ν) after the particle).

Ἦθελον/ἦθελα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

ἡθέλαμεν ἔχει καὶ ὀλιγότερον κόπον εἰς τὰς γραφάς

1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.9

ἦθελα βλέπει κείνηνε

15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* III.75,6 (1529)

Aorist Infinitive

οὐδέναν (βιβλίον) ἦθελεν εὐρεθῆ ?post 1356, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.18

στραφῆν ἦθέλαν ἄπρακτοι

15th c./14th c., *Velis*. χ 215

NOTES

- (i) The imperfective/perfective aspectual contrast is well established in this periphrasis, with the present (imperfective) infinitive used much more widely than with μέλλω/ἔχω, even with non-stative verbs.
- (ii) Ἦθελον/ἦθελα νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive mainly has a volitive meaning, but is sometimes also used as a conditional, particularly in texts after 15th c.
- (iii) From ca. 14th c. ἦθελον/ἦθελα may be complemented by bare subjunctives, present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective). Impersonal ἦθελε(ν) also occurs from 15th c. Occasionally this combination is prefixed with the modality marker νά:

καὶ ἃ μοῦ ἦθελε λείπει καὶ τούτη, φόρσα νά ἦθελα ντεσπεραριστῶ

1625, Crete (Chandax), MAVROMATIS 1986, 6, 79.14–15

- (iv) The modally strengthened combination $\nu\alpha\ \xi\chi\omega$ + (aorist) infinitive may also be used to complement $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu/\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\alpha$:

$\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\ \nu\alpha\ \xi\chi\eta\ \alpha\pi\omicron\chi\omega\rho\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 5785

- (v) $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu/\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ ($\pm \nu\alpha$) may also be complemented by past-tense indicatives (imperfect, less commonly aorist), especially in texts from the Heptanese.
- (vi) A reduced/invariable form $\eta\theta\epsilon(\nu)$, usually with a bare subjunctive complement, is attested in mainly later texts from southern areas.

(10) Reference to hypothetical events can also be made with the modal particle $\iota\nu\alpha/\nu\alpha$ + imperfect (past imperfective) indicative or aorist (past perfective) indicative; the negative is $\mu\eta(\nu)/\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ placed after the particle.

$\nu\alpha$ + Imperfect

$\alpha\tilde{\nu}\ \dots\ \kappa'\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\ \mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu,\ \pi\alpha\rho\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$

$\nu\alpha\ \tau\acute{o}\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha$

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5005–7

$\sigma\tau\eta\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\eta\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\alpha\ \xi\beta\alpha\nu\epsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\ \delta\alpha\kappa\tau\upsilon\lambda\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\tau\sigma\iota\nu$

16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 63

$\kappa\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \eta\mu\omicron\nu\ \rho\omicron\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma,\ \nu\alpha\ \acute{\tau}\rho\omega\gamma\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$

$\nu\alpha\ \chi\acute{o}\rho\tau\alpha\iota\nu\alpha$

17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSIS, Katz.* III.108–9

$\nu\alpha$ + Aorist

$\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{o}\ \beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\nu\ \nu\alpha\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$

$\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu$

?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.4r.3

$\alpha\tilde{\nu}\ \dots\ \acute{o}\ \pi\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\kappa\iota\pi\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \dots\ \nu\alpha\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\ \dots\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\iota\ \dots,\ \acute{o}$

$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{o}\ \Delta\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\ \nu\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\nu$

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4876–80

$\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\alpha}\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\nu,\ \nu\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\ \acute{o}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\zeta\iota\omicron\nu!$

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7910

$\nu\alpha\ \acute{\tau}\pi\epsilon\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\ \pi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$

15th c., *Rim. than.* 52 ms

(11) The bare imperfect indicative is also used as a conditional, usually, though not invariably, when a co-occurring conditional clause indicates the required (hypothetical) reading; the negative is $\omicron\upsilon(\kappa)/(\omicron\upsilon)\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$.

$\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\alpha}\nu\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\psi\omicron\nu\nu,\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu$

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5368–9

$\acute{o}\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \eta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\sigma\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \aleph\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\rho\omicron\upsilon$

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1451

$\alpha\tilde{\nu}\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\ \zeta\eta\ \acute{o}\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \dots,\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha\nu\ \nu\alpha$

$\chi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi'\ \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 9871–2

$\alpha\tilde{\nu}\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\ \xi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu\ \acute{o}\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \dots,\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$

$\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta\grave{\nu}\epsilon\nu\ \nu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\iota$

16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 32.7–8

NOTES

- (i) Less commonly, the aorist indicative is also used as a conditional. Since the action described in the main clause cannot precede that of the conditional clause in real time, the aorist here can only be interpreted as denoting a hypothetical/counterfactual consequence of the fulfilment of the condition:

ἂν μόνον ἀνενδράνισες, τὸ πρόσωπον ἂν εἶδες, ἐσείσθης ὅλην σου ψυχὴν, ὅλην σου τὴν καρδίαν

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 817–18

μ' ἂν εἶχεν εἶσται κι ἄσκημος, τότες, τὴν ὥρα κείνη σὰν ἦβαλε τὸν πόθο της, πολλα ὁμορφος ἐγίνη

18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.549–50

- (ii) Conditional use of the imperfect arises from confusion of past habituality with conditionality, as also reflected in the two uses of English *would*, cf. *if ever X happened (at any times in the past/at any times in the non-past), Y would happen*. This is based on a failure to distinguish between real and relative time reference in conditional sentences and on the temporal non-specificity of both repeated/habitual and “pure” hypothetical eventualities (i.e. when not tied speculatively/counterfactually to real-world situations). Contrast the following example with those cited above:

κι ἂν ἦθε φάγω τὸ φαγί, εἰς πίκρα ἦφερνέ με κι ἂν ἦθε πιῶ καὶ τὸ πιστόν, εἰς ζάλη γύριζε με

17th c., PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 103–4

Here the “conditional” in the protasis has a habitual sense and the imperfect in the apodosis denotes a series of events at indefinite intervals in the past. In LMedG/EMG the “habitual” imperfect was extended to conditional use just as “conditionals” were sometimes extended to habitual use.

- (iii) The conditional imperfect is used wherever other conditional forms occur, and as a consequence, though its form is necessarily invariant, it may carry both imperfective and perfective readings.

1.3 Commands and Prohibitions

(12) Commands in the second person, singular and plural, may be expressed by the imperative, present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective).

2 sg. Present Imperative

πρὸ πάντων ἔχε τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν φόβον

13th–14th c./12th c., *Spaneas* P 1

2 pl. Present Imperative

τοῖνυν ὑπάγετε καλῶς

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 242

2 sg. Aorist Imperative

ἄπαξ τὸν πόνον ἔπαρε καὶ ἀπομερίμνησέ το

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 212

2 pl. Aorist Imperative

δεκτεῖτε καὶ ἐμένα

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 350.20

NOTE

- (i) The aspectual contrast in imperatives is between ordering repeated or continuing activity (or the inception of such activity = “start doing X”) and ordering specific, complete actions. There may, however, be morphological gaps in the paradigms of particular verbs that restrict the options in specific cases.

(13) Commands may also be expressed by the modal particle *νά* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; 2nd-person forms are broadly equivalent to imperatives, but 3rd-person forms are also widely used, often in legal contexts such as wills etc.

2 sg. Present Subjunctive

νά τὸ ἐξεύρης ὅτι ἡμεῖς μέλλομεν τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν

14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001: 245, 436.164–5

2 pl. Present Subjunctive

νά ἡξεύρετε ... ὅτι ἐγὼ τοῦ Ἰδοῦ τὰ καταχθόνια ἀφόρισα

16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 12.2–3 (Konstantinopulos)

2 sg. Aorist Subjunctive

τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ... νά τὴν πέμψῃς τὸν ἀββᾶν Γεράσιμον

12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.15–16

2 pl. Aorist Subjunctive

νά σπουδάξετε νά ἔλθετε

1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.45

3 sg. Present Subjunctive

καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία νά δίδῃ τὴν λύσιν

ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 33.80–1

3 pl. Present Subjunctive

ὅλα νά τὰ ἔχουν χωρὶς τινὸς λόγου

1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.25–6

3 sg. Aorist Subjunctive

οἷος δὲ φανῇ εἰς ἀναζήτησιν ... νά δώσῃ καὶ πρόστιμαν

13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7

3 pl. Aorist Subjunctive

νά μὲ λαζαρώσουν ὥσπερ τοὺς ὅλους καλογέρους

ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52

NOTES

- (i) The sense of *νά* + subjunctive in deontic use is similar to that of the English future/conditional in related function, cf. *you, s/he, they* shall/should *do* X. But it may be hard to distinguish commands from wishes in specific cases (cf. 1.5), and in 3 sg./pl. the deontic meaning is also very close to that of *ἄς* + subjunctive (see Rule (15) NOTE (ii) below).

- (ii) 2 pl. imperatives and 2 pl. subjunctives may be indistinguishable if traditional “subjunctive” spellings are not employed in a given text; there is therefore some indeterminacy about the relevant examples.
- (iii) Periphrastic forms used to refer to the future (see 1.2.2, Rules (5) and (6)) may also be used deontically, as expected. In this case 1 sg./pl. forms of the relevant auxiliaries are used alongside those of 2nd/3rd person, though it is often difficult to distinguish expressions of obligation or necessity from assertions of future intent, cf. *I must/will do X*:

περάσειν ἔχω ... τὸ ποτάμι 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1532
καὶ τοῦτο θέλει νὰ γένῃ 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.5–6
σήμερο ... ἔχω ν' ἀποθάνω 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.285

- (14) Corresponding prohibitions are sometimes expressed with μή(ν)/μηδέν and the present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) imperative, though the aorist is exceedingly rare; prohibitions are regularly expressed by μή(ν)/μηδέν + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, sometimes prefixed with νά.**

Imperative

Present Imperative

καὶ μὴ λογίζου παρ' ἡμῶν λυπηρὸν ὑποστῆναι 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G IV.699
τότε μὴ ζητεῖ φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας τάξιν 16th c./15th c., DELLAP. *Erot. apokr.* 2986
μὴ θέλε μανθάνειν ἢ ἀκούειν 15th–16th c., *Vios Aisop.* E 288.18
ὅπου φιλεῖς μὴ δάνειζε, καὶ ὅπου ἀγαπᾷς μὴ σύχναζε 16th c./15th c., *Paroim.* H 13

Aorist Imperative

μὴ ... κρίνατε κρίσιν 16th c./15th c., DELLAP. *Erot. apokr.* 1120
μὴ γένε σὺ ἀνελεήμονος 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 365.32

NOTE

- (i) Μή + aorist imperative was ungrammatical in AG and the number of possible examples in the Grammar database is very small. We may reasonably doubt whether this was ever a “normal” option in LMedG/EMG.

Bare Subjunctive

Present Subjunctive

κανεῖς μὴ σὲ κομπῶνῃ 15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 45
παγαίνετε ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον μου, ἐδῶ μηδὲν ἀργῆτε 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1418 app. crit. (A)

Aorist Subjunctive

καὶ μὴ τολμήσης νὰ τὸ εἰπῇς ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8217

μηδὲν πέψης ἄτυχους καὶ χάσης πολλά 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 22.35–6

Νὰ μὴ(ν) + Subjunctive

Present Subjunctive

καὶ νὰ μὴ φοβᾶται καὶ αὐτός 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.8

Aorist Subjunctive

ποσῶς νὰ μὴ ἀλαζονευτῇς 15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 937

NOTE

- (i) In 3 sg./pl. forms the meaning is very close to that of ἄς μὴ(ν) + subjunctive (see Rule (15) NOTE (ii)).

- (15) Speaker-inclusive “exhortation” in 1 pl. and speaker-exclusive “encouragement” in 3rd person (normally with overtones of permission/acquiescence) are expressed with the particle ἄς (< aorist imperative of ἀφήνω “let”) + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μὴ(ν), placed after the particle.**

1 pl.

βουλὴ ἄς ἔχωμε ἀμφοτέρω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2838

ἐνταῦτα στρέμμα ἄς ποιήσωμεν ἀπέσω εἰς τὴν Πόλιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 838

ἄς ποῦμεν ἄλλον τίβοτας νὰ πάρω σὰν ἄερα 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 257

3 sg./pl.

καὶ ὁ χρήζων το ἄς τὸ ἐπάρη καὶ ὁ μὴ χρήζων το ἄς τὸ ἀφήση
12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 312.14–15

οἷος δὲ φανῇ εἰς ἀναζήτησιν ..., ἄς ἔχη τὸ ἀνάθεμα
13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7

πάντες ἄς ἔλθωσιν, ἄς φθάσωσιν, ἄς περισυναχθῶσιν 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* V 17

NOTES

- (i) The present (imperfective) subjunctive is comparatively rare in this construction, and occurs mostly with verbs that lack an aorist (perfective) stem.
- (ii) In 3 sg./pl. forms the meaning of ἄς + subjunctive tends to merge with that of νὰ + subjunctive, cf. [*if X happens*], *let him do Y/he should do Y*, and consider the following example where the two types are conjoined:

ἄς ἔχη τὸ ἀνάθεμα καὶ νὰ δώση καὶ πρόστιμα

Pontos, 13th c., OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7

1.4 Questions and Exclamations

1.4.1 Questions

(16) Constituent questions (introduced by an expression containing an interrogative pronoun/adverb) regularly use forms of the indicative, including “future” and “conditional” periphrases, with negative οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.

For questions containing verb forms marked with νά, see Rule (18).

The phrase containing the interrogative element normally functions as a single constituent and stands initially in its clause; the verb is often attracted, coming immediately after it (only weak object pronouns may intervene). Occasionally, however, the interrogative pronoun/adverb stands alone in initial position, leaving the remainder of the interrogative constituent in place.

Present

τί θλίβεσαι τοσούτως; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4903

τίντα δίκαιον ἔχει ὁ ρήγας μετά σας ...; 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 258.35–6

Past (Aorist)

πῶς ἡ καρδιά σου ἐβάσταξεν, ὑπόμεινε ἡ ψυχή σου ...; 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 12227

πῶς μᾶς ἐπαρατήθητε ...; 16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 70

Future/Modal

ποια μέλλει νά ᾔχη πλερωμή ἡ ἐδική μου ἀγάπη; 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.178

πῶς ἔχω νά τὸ χώσω; 17th c., KONDAR., *Paidēs* 322

NOTES

- (i) Since all the future-referring periphrases also have modal readings (see Rule (5)), there is uncertainty about the interpretation of many examples.
- (ii) Constituent questions may also contain various forms of conditional periphrasis, as expected (see Rule (9)), with related uncertainties of interpretation:

ἂν ἔλειπε ἡ πανιερότης σου, ἴτα εἶχα ἐγὼ γίνει;
1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.15–16

- (iii) Rhetorical questions have the same form as genuine requests for information:

ἀφότου ἔφυγεν δίχα νά πολεμήση ..., πῶς ἠμποροῦμε ἡμεῖς ... νά βλάψωμεν τὸν τόπον;
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 9177–81

(17) Yes/no questions also employ indicatives, including future/modal and conditional periphrases; negation with οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν forms a question that expects a positive answer; μή(ν)/μήνα (“perhaps”, “by any chance”) may be prefixed to a yes/no question for politeness.

For questions containing verb forms marked with νά, see Rule (18).

Positive

ἤκουσές το; ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973, 59.148

ἔχουν μισόν; post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 44, 38.4–5

Negative

οὐ ξεύρεις εἰς ἐριζικὸν κοίτεται ἡ στρατεία; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4904

οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεστε ποσῶς νὰ παίζωμε ὥς κοπέλια; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5394

+ μήν(α)

μήνα ᾗεις τίποτες βιβλίο νέο νὰ μοῦ πουλήσης; 16th c., ZINOS, *Vatr.* Prol. 1

μήν εἶδες, ἄγιε τοῦ Θεοῦ, καμία ... γυναῖκα ... νὰ περάση;
17th c., MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1187–8

NOTE

- (i) It is a moot point whether the verb forms used after μήν(α) should be regarded as simple indicatives (as with SMG *μήπως* in this role), or as modal (as perhaps reflected in the variant *μήνα* if this is indeed < μή + νὰ rather than a remodelling based on the use of semantically related elements such as *τάχα*).

(18) Questions of both kinds about the future also use νὰ + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, with negative μή(ν) placed after the particle; the same construction is used for deliberative/speculative questions and the usual uncertainties of interpretation arise (“who will X?”, “who is to X?”, “who can/may X?” etc.).

The phrase containing the interrogative pronoun/adverb normally functions as a single constituent and stands initially in its clause; the verb is often attracted, coming immediately after it (only νὰ, μή(ν) and weak object pronouns may intervene).

ποῖον μαντάτον νὰ ὑπάγωμεν τὴν ταπεινὴν μας μάνα; 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 93

ποῦ νὰ κρυβοῦν τὰ κάλλη σου ... καὶ πότε ... νὰ σὲ δῶ, πότε νὰ σὲ συντύχω, πότε ... νὰ φιλήσω τὰ ἔρωτικά σου κάλλη; 15th c., *Achil.* L 1307–9

ἴντα βουλή νὰ κάμωμε, τί στράτα νὰ κρατοῦμε ...; 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 10a

ἂν πάθης ἐσὺ τίποτες, τίς νὰ μὲ παρηγορήσῃ;
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 26.15 (Konstantinopulos)

νὰ εἶναι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐτοῦτοι θεοί; 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 40.4–6 (Konstantinopulos)

τοῦτοι ... τάχα νὰ εἶναι ἄνθρωποι; 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 111.36–7

NOTE

- (i) Various forms of conditional may also be used in deliberative/speculative questions about the past, present or future, again with the usual uncertainties of interpretation:

τὰ σκεύη τὰ πανάγια καὶ ποῦ νὰ καταντήσαν; 15th c., *Anak. Konst.* 1–11

ποῖον νὰ εἶχε πάσῃ καὶ ὁ ἀγᾶς; ποῖον νὰ ἤθελε φονέψῃ;
17th c., BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 423

1.4.2 Exclamations

(19) Interrogative pronouns/adverbs may be used with adjectives and adverbs to form exclamations; the verb is indicative if one is present.

τί φοβερός ὁ τόπος ἐτοῦτος! 16th c., *Pent. Gen.* 28.17

ἴντα κανίσκιν ἄσκημο μ' ἔχεις κανισκεμένη! 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Erof.* V.398

πόσον καλά ὅπου ἔκαμεν ὁ πατέρας σου! 17th c., *Bertoldin.* 129.1–2

NOTE

(i) Other forms of exclamation include the following:

νά + subjunctive:

νά λέουν ὁκάποιος φτωχὸς ... ἐνίκησεν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἀδελφὸν ... !
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5008–9

“to have people say that some pauper defeated the king’s brother!”

καλά “well” (used ironically) followed by a clause introduced by the “factive” complementizer πού (see 2.1, Rule (24)):

καλά πού τίς γνωρίζω! 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.93

1.5 Wishes

(20) Wishes for the future use νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μή(ν) placed after the particle. Since this construction also has a wide range of future/modal readings (see Rules (7), (13), (14)), ἄμποτε(ς) or μακάρι(ον) may be prefixed for clarity.

1 sg. νά μηδέ τῆς μητέρας μου εὐχὴν κληρονομήσω 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 907

2 sg. βίον εἰρηνικὸν νά ζήσης, νά περάσης 17th c., *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O Prol. 5

3 sg. καὶ ὅστις εὐρέθη ἐμποδίζειν ... νά ἔχη τὸ ἀνάθεμα παρὰ πατρός υἱοῦ καὶ
ἀγίου πνεύματος 1146, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 619.4–6

κακὸν νά μή σᾶς ἔλθῃ 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1440

ἡ γευχὴ τοῦ πανιερότη σου νά μ' ἀξιῶσῃ νά ἔρθω
1612, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 5, 173.21–2

3 pl. Κύριε Θεέ, ... θηρία νά μὲ διαμοιραστοῦν 15th c./12th c., *Dig* E 902–4

+ ἄμποτε

2 sg. ἄμποτε ... νά πάρῃς καλορριζικίαν, ἄμποτε καὶ τοῦ στέμματος νά γένῃς
κληρονόμος, νά μηδέ πάρῃς θάνατον 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 238–43

3 sg. ἄμποτε νά παρακληθῇ 15th c./12th c., *Dig* E 1353

- all pl. ἄμποτε νά γράψω, νά γράψοις, νά γράψοι· ἄμποτε νά γράψωμεν, νά γράψαιτε, νά γράψουν 16th c., SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 55.16–17
- + μακάρι
- 2 sg. μαγάρι νά ῥῃς στράτα 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* IV.214
- 3 sg. μακάρι μὴ λουρδίζεται μετὰ [δισ]σὰ ματίτσια 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 241
- μακάρι μὴ νοήση 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 420
- μαγάρι ἐδὰ νά συβαστή, μαγάρι νά τὸ θέλῃ, μαγάρι ἐσένα ... γυναῖκα νά σοῦ μέλλῃ 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAOS, *Erot.* V.227–8

NOTES

- (i) The negative μή(ν) may sometimes be used without a preceding νά, as in the examples with μακάρι above and often also in 1 sg./pl. wishes, where the “strong” negative οὐ μή(ν) can be employed; since οὐ μή(ν) is also used in strong denials (cf. Rule (7) NOTE (iii)), the reader must be alert to the requirements of the context:

- καὶ οὐ μὴ μεμφθῶ τέως εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς
ἀγιωσύνης σου 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.4–5
- καὶ οὐ μὴ χαρῶ τὴν περισσὴν ἀγάπην ἐδική σου 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 908
- μαντᾶτον οὐ μὴ μάθωμεν, ὅταν σᾶς θέλουν σφάζει 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1441
- φύγε ἀπὸ τὰ ὀμμάτια μου καὶ μὴν σέ
ἰδῶ πλέον 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.21–3

- (ii) The aorist (perfective) subjunctive is far more common in wishes than the present (imperfective) subjunctive, which occurs regularly only with verbs that lack an aorist stem or at least make little use of their aorist stem.
- (iii) Given the semantic overlaps (cf. Rule (15) NOTE (ii)), ἄς sometimes appears in place of νά, though it is often impossible to discriminate between a wish and an expression of permission/encouragement:

- ἄς γένεταί κατάρθεσις με τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν φόβον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7921

(21) Less hopeful wishes for the future and counterfactual wishes for the present and past use νά + the imperfect/aorist indicative (see Rule (10)) or νά + one of the infinitival conditional periphrases (see Rule (9)). The negative is μή(ν), and the particle νά may be omitted when the negative is present; once again, ἄμποτε(ς) or μακάρι(ον) may be prefixed.

νά + Past Indicative

- imperf. 1 sg. νά ῥεῦρα πιδὸν τὴν σωτηριάν 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 100.31
- imperf. 2 sg. σ' τοῦτους τοὺς γάμους νά ῥου, νά θώρειες τὰ παλάτια σου, νά βλεπες τὰ παιδιὰ σου 17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.83–4

- imperf. 3 sg. νὰ ἦσουν πούπετες 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1531
- imperf. 3 pl. νὰ γιανγέρνασι οἱ χρόν' οἱ περασμένοι
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.255
- aor. 1 sg. σήμερον νὰ ἀπόθανα 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 159
- aor. 3 sg. ὁ Θεὸς μὴ τὸ ἔποικεν! 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5368
καὶ ὁ Κύριος νὰ ἀφῆκε ζωὴ του χρόνους πολλούς
1383, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 89, 98.1–4
νὰ μοῦ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐτουτηνὰν τὴν χάριν 15th c., *Peri xen.* 237

νὰ + Conditional Periphrasis

- 2 sg. νὰ ᾗς μ' ἀφήσειν πάντα κοιμισμένοι 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 12.11
νὰ ἤθελες ἐβλέπη τόσα κακὰ ποῦ κάμνουσιν ... τότε νὰ ἤθελες ἰδεῖ, νὰ ἤθελες πιστεύσῃ, τοὺς ἄτυχους ἤθελες ξολοθρεύσῃ
17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1531–4
- 3 sg. νὰ ᾗεν ἀστράψει ὁ οὐρανός, νὰ ᾗε καγῆν ἡ ὥρα ὅταν ἐμένα ἐγέννησεν ἡ ταπεινὴ μου μάνα 15th c., *Peri xen.* 186–7
νὰ ᾗεν βρεθῆν κακὸν θεργιόν, ἐκεῖνον νὰ ᾗεν φάγειν
17th–18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 70

+ ἄμποτε

- 1 pl. ἄμποτε νὰ ἀξιώθην καὶ ἡμεῖς νὰ ἐπηγαίναμεν ἐκεῖ ... καὶ νὰ ζώσαμεν ἐκείνην τὴν μακαρίαν ζωὴν ... καὶ νὰ ἐβλέπαμεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ φῶς
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.31–8

+ μακάρι(ον)

- 2 sg. μακάριον τε τὸ χάλασες, νὰ τό ᾗς ἀφανίσει 16th c./15th c., *Defi. Par.* 271
μαγὰρι καὶ πρωτύτερας νὰ ᾗθελς μοῦ γρικῆσει
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.319

NOTES

- (i) These wishes all take the form of conditional protases where the εἴχα + infinitive periphrasis found a natural home (see 3.3), thus making it the preferred option when an infinitival periphrasis is employed.
- (ii) Once again, ᾗς may sometimes be substituted for νὰ:
ᾗς εἴχα μάτια σκοτεινά ... καὶ ᾗς εἴχα σιδερὴ καρδιά
17th c./16th–17th c., *Thysia Avr.* 209–10

2 Complement Clauses

Subordinate clauses may function either as complements (elements whose presence is required by the main verb) or as adjuncts (modifying adverbial or adjectival elements whose presence is optional, see Chapter 3), and may be marked as such in various ways (e.g. through the use of a particular conjunction, mood or verb form). This chapter deals with clauses that complement various verb classes.

2.1 Verbs of “Reporting” and “Declaring”

(22) After verbs that report a speech, emotional response or perception, declare a belief or attest to knowledge (e.g. “say”, “announce”, “rejoice”, “hear”, “see”, “think”, “believe”, “learn”, “know” etc.) the regular form of sentential complementation in LMedG/EMG is a finite clause introduced by the complementizers *ὅτι* or *πώς* (in early or more learned texts sometimes also *ὥς*).

Such clauses normally contain either a past- or present-tense form of the indicative, or a future-referring or conditional verb form.

The tense of the “original” direct speech may always be retained, but the time reference of the verb in a complement clause may optionally be aligned to that of a past-tense main verb (*consecutio temporum* or “sequence of tenses”).

The tense of the verb in the complement clause is given before each set of examples below.

Non-past Main Verb

Future

θαρροῦμεν ὥς ἵνα ἐλθῇ ὁ αὐτὸς κύρ Μιχαήλ

14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.4

Present

ἤξεύρετε ὅτι οἱ φρερήδες ... εὐρίσκονται ἔσσω τοῦ ἀφέντη!

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.10–11

ἤξευρε πὼς ἐγὼ ὀνομάζομαι ὁ δὸν Κισότης τῆς Μαντσίας

18th c., *Don Kis.* 51.12–13

Aorist

γίνωσκε ... ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο ποτὲ δοῦλος πολλῶν κυρίων

15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 14–15

ὁμολογᾷ ... πὼς ἐπῆρε καὶ ἐπαράλαβε ... ὑπέρπυρα ὀκτώ

1623, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1998: 6, 312.1–2

Tense of Original Retained after Past-Tense Main Verb

Future

εἶπαν ... ὅτι νὰ πᾶσιν ... εἰς τὴν αὐλήν τῆς ρήγαινας καὶ νὰ σκοτώσουν τὸν
κοντοστάβλην 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 56.15–17

ἐθιόρκισέν τον ὅτι νὰ μὲν θελήσει ποττέ νὰ ποίσει τίτοιον κακόν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 34.6–7

ἐθαρροῦσεν ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης πὼς ... νὰ μᾶς φοβερίσει
1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 137.127–9

Present

ἐχαίρετο ὅτι εἶν' ἔμορφος, μετὰ τῆς ποθητῆς του 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 596

ἐγροίκησε ὅτι ἔχει τὴ χάριν αὐτῇ 16th c., *Nov.* II 161.12

Aorist

καὶ εἶπαν του πὼς ὁ Θούμας ἐπέψεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.17

Conditional

ἐμάθαμεν πὼς τὸ ... καράβι νὰ ἐπνίηκεν καὶ εἶχαμεν φορτώσει εἰς αὐτὸ μαλλιά ...,
καὶ ὕστερα ἀκούσαμε πὼς νὰ ἔβγαλαν τὰ πράγματα ὅλα
1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 17, 217.6–9

ὁ δεῦτερος συγγραφεὺς δὲν ἐπίστευσε πὼς νὰ μὴν ἐπερίγραψαν ... τοιαύτην
περίεργον ἱστορίαν 18th c., *Don Kis.* 53.12–14

Tense of Original Backshifted after Past-Tense Main Verb (consecutio temporum)

Aorist > Pluperfect

ἠύρασιν ὅτι εἶχαν πλεόν κερδίσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 650

Present > Imperfect

ἔδειχεν ὅτι αὖξαινε ὁ σπόρος του τὴν νύκταν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.41–2

ἐγράψασί μου ... πὼς ἐθαρροῦσεν ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης
1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 137.127–9

NOTES

- (i) As expected, the meaning of verb forms marked with νὰ in a ὅτι/πὼς clause is often indeterminate between simple future “will/would” and modal “may/might”, “can/could”, “shall/should” (see 1.2.2).
- (ii) With frequently occurring verbs, and particularly with λέ(γ)ω, the complementizer may be omitted:

νὰ λέουν ὁκάποιος φτωχὸς ... ἐνίκησεν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἀδελφὸν ...
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5008–9

φαίνεται τον στὸ σπίτιν του εὐρίσκεται ἀπέσω 15th c., *Peri xen.* 34

καὶ εἶπεν, κερδαίνει τὴν ἀραβῶνα 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 86.2–3

καὶ αὐταὶ λέγουν θὲ νὰ ὑποκλιθοῦν εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον

1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.56–7

- (iii) Occasionally in negated future complements the expected νὰ is absent (cf. Chapter 1, Rules (14) and (20) plus NOTES for similar omissions in negative prohibitions and wishes):

μηνοῦμε σας ὅτι ... μηδὲν σουφριάσετε κανένα μας ὀφισιάλην

1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.1–2

(23) It is common in later LMedG and EMG (ca. 15th c. onwards) for an ὅτι/πὼς complement to be replaced by an indicative clause conjoined with καί.

This may represent an extension of the semantically natural use of conjoined clauses with control verbs in order to emphasize the actual occurrence of an otherwise merely potential consequence of the action of the main verb (for which see Rule (26)).

But there is no inherent consequentiality in ὅτι/πὼς complements and this type is perhaps better understood as involving omission of the complementizer (cf. Rule (22) NOTE (ii)) with partial grammaticalization of intensifying καί “actually”: cf. μηδὲ θαρρῆς πὼς ... κι’ ἤμουν κοιμισμένη, “don’t think I was actually asleep”, CHORTATIS, *Katz*. II.161–2.

ἀθθυμοῦμαι τὸν βισκούντην, τὸν πράχτορα καὶ τὰ δελοιπὰ ῥίγκια καὶ δὲν τ’
ἀλλάξαν ποττέ

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron*. V 78.27–8

δὲ θέλειν τὸ προβιάσειν ποττέ τινὰς καὶ ἐγυρέψα νὰ ποίσω τιτοῖον πρᾶμα

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron*. A 60.19

δὲν λέγω καὶ κλινίσκει σας ἡ πείνα τῶν θεϊκῶν λογί(ων) 16th c., *Pist. kekoim*. 11–12

ἦρε καὶ ἦτονε γεννημένος ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath*. 329.23

NOTES

- (i) In the vast majority of cases the subject of the subordinate clause is referentially distinct from that of the main clause.
- (ii) In later texts this construction is particularly frequent with “factive” verbs of perception or discovery (see Rules (24) and (28)):

ψηλαφώντας την ἠβλέπει καὶ ἔναι παρθένος ὥσπερ ἦτον

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath*. 329.35–6

τὸ (παιδί) ἤυρανε καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν πολλὰ μέλλοντα πράγματα

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath*. 335.17–18

τὴν εἶδα ὀψὲς κι’ ἐθώρειε σε

17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz*. II.93

ἐὰν δῇ καὶ ἐξετάση καὶ εἶναι ἔτζι ἡ ἀλήθεια

1661, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1974/78: 4, 423.12

- (24) Verbs of knowledge, perception and emotional response (e.g. “know”, “learn”, “see”, “hear”, “be ashamed”, “rejoice”, “regret” etc.) are “factive” verbs that presuppose the speaker’s/writer’s belief in the truth of their complements. In EMG factivity may be marked by the use of the complementizer (ὅ)που.**

With perception verbs factivity is dependent on direct as opposed to indirect perception, contrast *X heard Y happening* with *X heard that Y was happening*.

θυμάσταν ποὺ δειλιάζετε σὲ πόλεμον νὰ βγῆτε; 16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 1759

ἤξεύρετε ὅπου τὸ ἔχει ὁ κόσμος καὶ οἱ ἐδικοί του συνήθεια
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.24

καὶ συπάθησέ μου το ποὺ σοῦ τὸ γραφῶ 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173. 21

εἶδα την ποὺ καθότουνε καὶ τὴν Εὐγένα ἐκράτει 17th c., MONTSEL., *Evgena* 190

τὸ ἔχω μεγάλο παράπονο ὅπου οἱ ἄλλοι πραγματευτάδες ἔλαβαν γραφὴν ἀπὸ
τοὺς Κοθωναίους 1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 19, 218.3–4

ἤξεύρετε καλὰ ὅπου ἐγυρίσαμεν ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην 18th c./17th c., *Alex. Fyll.* 114.29

NOTE

- (i) Verbs of perception and emotional response are also used as control verbs, see Rule (28).

2.2 Control Predicates

(25) Verbs meaning “want”, “try”, “dare”, “ask”, “allow”, “expect”, “order”, “make” etc. require complements denoting prospective/potential activities. In LMedG the complement may take the form of a bare infinitive, either present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective). Negation is of the main verb.

The subject of the infinitive is obligatorily “missing” and its content is “controlled” by the subject or, if the verb is transitive, the object of the main verb; i.e. the reference, grammatical case, person, number and gender of the main-clause subject/object are automatically adopted by the missing subject and some of these features may be visible if there is an agreeing subject complement.

πολλὰ πολλὰ ἀγαπῶ διὰ πράξεως λαλεῖν τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 814.1–2

τίς τῆς καρδιάς του τὴν χαρὰν νὰ ἰσχύσῃ καταλέξειν;
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.7v.3–4

πῶς τὸν παρακαλοῦσιν ... νὰ καταδέξεται γενεῖ εἰς αὐτοὺς καπετᾶνος
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 233–6

εἴτις δὲ βουληθῇ κατελῦσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμαν, νὰ ἔνι ἀσυγχώρητος
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15

τὸ ὠραιόκαρπον ... δένδρον τὸ ὑψηλότατον ὅπου σᾶς εἶπε φεύγειν
15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 69–70

NOTES

- (i) The overwhelming majority of infinitival examples in the database involve subject control.
- (ii) By the later medieval period the set of verbs of this class taking an infinitival complement is greatly reduced, essentially to verbs expressing “wish” or “desire”:

εἴτις δὲ βουληθῇ κατελῦσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμα, νὰ ἐνὶ ἀσυγχώρητος
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15

οὔτε βουλόμεθα ἀναδέξασθαι πλέον γουμάριν
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: [α'], 292.18–19

καὶ ἂν τὸν θέλῃς ἀγαπᾶ, φρόντιζε τὴν ψυχὴ σου
17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2015

- (iii) Occasionally, the infinitival complement is nominalized with the genitive of the definite article (τοῦ). This may represent an extension of the ancient use of the genitive articular infinitive to express purpose, itself an extension of the original adnominal use after nouns expressing “wish”, “desire” etc.:

παρακαλῶ τὴν κόρτην ... τοῦ κατελθῆναι ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν τόπον καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν
ἀλήθειαν
1224, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 30, 447.5–7

οἷος γοῦν βουλεθῇ τοῦ ἀνατρέψαι αὐτούς
?1358, ?Macedonia, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.11

εἰ θέλετε τοῦ ζῆν, φύγετε, μὴν σταθῆτε
16th c./14th c., *Synax. gadar.* 41

ἡῦρα δεντρὸν ἐξαίρετον καὶ ὠρέχθην τοῦ πεζεύσειν
16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 20

(26) More usually, LMedG/EMG employs finite clauses containing νὰ + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive (negative μή(ν)) to complement “control” verbs, and this has become the norm in the later medieval period.

Since such clauses lack an overt complementizer, the particle–verb combination typically follows the governing verb directly in order to mark its connection.

The meaning of some main verbs may allow for non-coreferential subjects in the finite subordinate clause: contrast *X persuaded Y that Z should do something* with *X persuaded Y that s/he (= Y) should do something*.

When the subject is coreferential it is omitted but agrees with its controller in person, number and gender, as shown by verbal agreement and (if present) subject complements.

ἐπρόσταξα καὶ προστάσσω πρὸς σὲ ... ἵνα μὴ ἔχῃς ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην
μονήν
1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16

οὐκ ἤθελαν ν' ἀφήσουσιν τοὺς Φράγκους νὰ ἀπεράσουν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 409

εἰς τρία ἀλλάγια τοὺς ἔποικεν νὰ εἶναι χωρισμένοι
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5679

ἦλθε καιρὸς ... νὰ παρακαλέσουσιν ... τὴν κυρίαν, νὰ δεηθῇ πρὸς κύριον τοῦ νὰ
μᾶς δώσῃ νίκος
16th c./15th c., *Alosis* 288–95

ἀλλὰ δὲν τὸν εἶπε ποτὲ ὁ λογισμὸς του νὰ γένῃ κακὸς ἄνθρωπος
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.2–3

τὸ χάρισμα ὁπὸ ᾗ γὰρ δὲ θέλω νὰ τὸ κρύψω, ζῶντα μου θέλω κανενὸς νὰ τοῦ τ'
ἀποκαλύψω
16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 276B

καὶ τοὺς ἐβαλε νὰ κόψουνε ἀτοί τους τὰ παιδιά τους
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.8

οἱ ἱερεῖς δὲν ξεύρουσι τὰ βρέφη νὰ βαπτίσουν

17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2201

λέγοντάς μου ἵνα τοῦ ποιήσω_ν τὴν μπαροῦσαν κοντραντιζιόν

1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.1–2

NOTES

- (i) If the meaning of the main verb permits, the νά-clause may also contain a past indicative:

ἄν ἤθελα λεπτῶς νὰ σὲ τὰ ἔγραψα ὅλα ... πολλὰ ἠθέλαν βαρεθῇ ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου τὸ ἀκοῦσιν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2816–18

“if I were to have written it all in detail for you, my listeners would be very bored”

- (ii) The lack of an overt complementizer in νά-clauses may be “remedied” in a number of ways, often (though not exclusively) when there is a gap between the main verb and its complement:

(a) with ὅτι/πῶς (as with verbs of “reporting” etc., see Rule (22))

(b) with διὰ/γιά (otherwise used with νά in final clauses, see 3.1)

(c) with τοῦ (as used with infinitives, see Rule (25) NOTE (iii))

With ὅτι/πῶς

αὐτὸς ὁ σκύλος ... δὲν ἤθελεν πῶς νὰ τὸν προσκυνήσει

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 339.9–10

ἐπαρακάλεσεν ... τὸν πατριάρχην ... ὅτι νὰ κάμουν δέησιν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.7–9

δίδει ἀουτοριτάν ... ὅτι νὰ ἡμπορῇ νὰ τήνε ντεφεντέρη

1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4–7

With διὰ/γιά

ἤθελα διὰ νὰ τὸν ἐρωτήσω τίς ἔναι καὶ πόθεν ἔνι ὁ ἄνθρωπος

15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 18–19

εἶπε διὰ ν’ ἀρχίσουν οἱ σάλπιγγες γιά νὰ λαλοῦν

16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 845–6

τάσσει ... νὰ κάμη τὸ Γιάννη Τουρκογιάννη ... γιά νὰ σπείρου ὁμάδι ... τὰ

χωράφια

1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 729, 632.10–11

With τοῦ

οὐδὲν ἀφῆναν γὰρ ἔσᾱς ... τοῦ νὰ κρατῇτε ἐδῶ προνοῖες

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2695–6

ὄρεξιν εἶχε πάμπολλην τοῦ νὰ περιπατήσει

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 81

- (27) A νά-complement is often replaced by a clause with an indicative verb apparently conjoined with καί.**

This may once again involve omission of the complementizer and partial grammaticalization of intensifying καί (cf. Rule (23)). But here the consequential relationship between the action of the main verb and that of the complement allows naturally for conjunction,

especially when there is emphasis on the actual occurrence of an otherwise merely projected/anticipated consequence: contrast *X commanded and Y (actually) carried out the order* with *X commanded Y to carry out the order*.

ὁ Θεὸς ἐπρόσταξεν καὶ ἦλθε τοῦ ροῦ Κάρλου ἡ ἀφεντία

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6279–80

ὠρισεν καὶ ἦλθασιν οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς βουλῆς του

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7828

εἰπέτε τί σᾶς ἔκαμα καὶ εἴσταν λυπημένοι

16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 1752

ἔβαλα τὸν ἄνωθεν παπὰ καὶ ἔγραψεν μὲ τὴν ἴδιαν του χέρα

1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 677–8.61

NOTES

- (i) As with instances of καὶ replacing ὅτι/πῶς (see Rule (23)), the vast majority of examples have non-coreferential subjects in the main and subordinate clauses (i.e. the substitution normally involves examples that would otherwise exhibit object control).
- (ii) Very occasionally the indicative follows asyndetically:

τοὺς Βενετικούς ἄφησαν τὴν θάλασσαν φυλάττου

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 640

ὠρισε ἠφέρασιν τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7929

(28) Factive verbs (cf. rule (24)) meaning “see”, “hear”, “sense”, “find” etc. may also function as control verbs taking a νά-complement.

The subjunctive is normally present (imperfective), marking the ongoing nature of the activity perceived. But an aorist (perfective) subjunctive may be used when the sense requires it: contrast *X heard Y do Z* (potentially perfective) with *X heard Y doing Z*.

Present Subjunctive

κι ἂν εὕρωμεν τὸν βασιλέα εἰς κάμπον ν' ἀναμένῃ, ... τὸν θέλομεν πολεμήσει

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3650–1

καὶ τώρα βλέπουν σε γυμνή νὰ εἶσαι τροπιασμένη

16th c., DEFAR., *Sos.* 222 (Holton)

Aorist Subjunctive

εἶχεν μέγαν διλίτιν νὰ τοῦ γροικήσῃ νὰ τραγουδήσῃ

16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 109.4–5

εἶδαμε στὴ χώρα μας Πέρσοι νὰ μποῦσι τόσοι

17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* V.156

NOTES

- (i) As with other control verbs (cf. Rule (27)), the νά-complement may be replaced with an indicative clause conjoined with καί:

νεκρὸν εἶδα κ' ἐκέιτετο

16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekl. Vas.* 23

εἶδαν τὸν Δημήτριον ζωντανὸν καὶ ἐκάθετον

16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.14–15

τὴν εἶδα ὁψὲς κι' ἐθώρειε σε

17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.94

τὸν εἶδε καὶ ἐπέρνα, τὸν ἐπαρακάλεσε νὰ μὴν τὸν ἀπαντονάρῃ

17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.34–5

- (ii) In LMedG factive verbs of emotional response such as “be ashamed” may also take νά-complements (though none of the examples in the database involve coreferential subjects):

οὐκ αἰσχύνεσαι ... νὰ γαμῇ τὸ μουνὶν σου παπᾶς;
14th c./12th c., TZETZES, *Epil. Theogon.* 21

οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεστε ποσῶς νὰ παίζωμε ὡς κοπέλια;
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5394

(29) Modal verbs (expressing “ability/possibility” or “necessity”) and verbs of aspectual specification (“start/continue/stop” [doing X]) are complemented either by bare infinitives or, beginning in the 14th c., by νά-clauses.

These verbs all *modify* the activities denoted by their complements rather than denoting distinct actions in their own right.

Modal verbs may be personal or impersonal, aspectual verbs are personal; in personal use all these verbs involve subject control.

Νά is normally followed by a subjunctive, but modals may also take νά + a past-tense indicative when the situation described is hypothetical/counterfactual.

Aspectual verbs take an imperfective verb form in their complement because the modified activity is necessarily viewed imperfectively, i.e. is never bounded by both a beginning and an end to form a complete whole (as required for an aorist/perfective to be used).

Modal Verbs

Ability/Possibility + Infinitive

καὶ ψηλαφῶντες ἀκριβῶς οὐκ ἔμποροῦν τὴν εὕρειν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 124

τὸ κάλλιον καὶ διαφορικόν, ὅπου ἔχομεν ποιήσει, ἐνὶ γὰρ νὰ ἀπέλθωμεν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3647–8

ἄλλα πλεῖστα πράγματα τὰ οὐκ ἔμπορῶ σὰς γράφει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7802

εἰ ἔμπορέση, δυνήθη συμπεθερίαν ποιήσει ... νὰ ἐπάρη ὁ υἱὸς γὰρ τοῦ ρηγὸς τὴν
θυγατέρα ἐκείνου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6285–7

κανεῖς οὐδὲν ἐμπόρειεν ἀναδεῖξαι τὴν εὐμορφίαν τοῦ παραδείσου
15th c., *Hist. Imp.* I 82–3

Necessity + Infinitive

οὐ γὰρ εἶν ἀνάγκη ... περὶ πίστεως δογματίζειν 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.23

ἀλλὰ πρότερον ὀφείλομεν τρέχειν ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.609

ὁ λίζιος ἄνθρωπος χρεωστεῖ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7571

NOTE

- (i) Infinitival complements may sometimes be nominalized with the genitive of the definite article, as with other control verbs (see Rule (25) NOTE (iii)):

δὲν ἔμπορῶ τοῦ γράφειν 15th c., *Peri xen.* 356

πῶς καὶ πότε ἠφάνισεν ἐξαπορῶ τοῦ γράφει 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 14

Ability/Possibility + *νά*-clause

- οὐκ εἶχεν γὰρ νά μάχεται μεῖ ἄνθρωπον τοῦ κόσμου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3144
 ἀλλὰ ποσῶς οὐκ ἔμπορεῖ ἵνα τοὺς περικόψη 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 660
 ἐμήνυσεν ... πῶς νά μπορήσῃ ν' ἀφεντεύσῃ τὸν λαόν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.21–2
 τοὺς ποίους δὲν εἶναι νά τοὺς ἀνοματίσω 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 50.13–14
νά τὸν διώξου μπορετὸ δὲν εἶναι τῶν ἀθρώπων 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.198
 τώρα μπορᾶ (< μπορεῖ νά) καυχούμαι 17th c., BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 577.25

Necessity + *νά*-clause

- ἔπρεπε σὲ τὸ πρόβατον νά μὴ μᾶς λοιδορήσῃς 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 458
ἔπρεπέ τον νά ῥόρεσε μαντὶ καὶ καμηλαύχι 16th c., *Kakop.* 127

Verbs of Aspectual Specification

+ Infinitive

- ἄρχασεν οὕτως λέγει του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 233
ἀφίνω ἐδῶ λέγειν καὶ ἀφηγᾶσθαι διὰ τὸν Γουλιάμον πρίγκιπα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5922–3
 ὁ ρῆγας ἄρξετον λαλεῖ τῆς ρήγαινας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7118

NOTE

- (i) The infinitive may occasionally be nominalized with the definite article, either accusative τὸ or genitive τοῦ (cf. Modal verbs NOTE (i) above):

- καὶ ἤρξαντο τοῦ παίζειν 16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 180
 πουργὸν τὸ τρέχειν ἤρχισα 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 11
 πουργὸν τοῦ τρέχειν ἤρχισα 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 11
 λοιπὸν τὸ τρέχειν ἔπαυσα ... καὶ τὸ σπουδάζειν 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 15

+ *νά*-clause

- ὁ ρῆγας ἄρξετον λαλεῖ τῆς ρήγαινας νά λέγῃ, τοῦ νά ἐπαινῇ τὸν πρίγκιπα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7118–19
παύομαι ἐδῶ νά λέγω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7955
ἀρχίζοντας νά βουλᾷ 17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.30

NOTES

- (i) As with other control verbs (see Rule (26) NOTE (i)) the absence of a complementizer in the *νά*-clause is sometimes “remedied” (often after a gap), in this case with διά/γιά or τοῦ:

- ἐξηγήθην ... πῶς ἄρχισεν τὰ ἐπάσχισεν τοῦ νά με ἀφηγᾶται 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3778–80

εἶπε διὰ ν' ἀρχίσουν οἱ σάλπιγγες γιά νὰ λαλοῦν, διὰ νὰ πολεμήσουν
16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 845–6

- (ii) As with other control verbs (see Rule (27)), a νά-clause after verbs meaning “begin” is often replaced by an indicative clause conjoined with καί:

ἀρχίσαν καὶ ἐρχόντησαν κ' ἐπροσκυνοῦσαν ὅλοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1640

ἀρχάζουν οἱ ἅπαντες ... καὶ κάμνουσιν τὰ ὁμάτζια στὸν πρίγκιπαν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7889–90

τούτη ἡ εἰκόνα ἄρχισε καὶ ἐχαλᾶτον 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 333.39–40

ἄρχισε καὶ ἔβγανε φωνές 16th c., *PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron)* 106.26

ἀρχίσαμεν καὶ ἐπεριπατούσαμεν ὡς πρὸς τὰς Ἀνατολάς
16th c., *PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron)* 108.24–5

- (iii) Occasionally the indicative verb form follows asyndetically, and in this case an aorist (perfective) may be used if the process of inception is treated as a separate event, e.g. “X began and (then) did Y”:

ἐκ τὴν χολὴν του τὴν πολλὴν ἄρχισε ἐχαμογέλα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1401

ἄρχισεν ἐξέβαινεν ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησία 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 155

ἄρχισαν ἐτζακίσασιν τὰ σπίτια, τὰ σεντούκια 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 658

2.3 Verbs of “Fearing” and “Precaution”

- (30) Future-referring complements to verbs of “fearing” etc. are introduced by the “modal” negatives μή(ν)/μηδέν or μήπως καί + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.

φοβεῖ σε μή ἔλθῃ μήνυμα 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 150

ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι ... μή οὐκ ἔνι εἰς ἀρεστόν σου 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G II.115

εἶχεν μέγαν φόβον μή πιάσῃ καὶ τυφλώσῃ τον, εἰς φυλακὴν τὸν βάλῃ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4891–2

ὁ νοῦς μου σ' ἐγνοία μπαινέι μήν εἶν' κιανεῖς στὸ σπίτι της
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSIS, Katz.* II.94–5

στέκει ... μ' ἐγνοία πολλὰ μεγάλη μή λάχῃ νὰ τσι βρούσινε
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSIS, Erof.* III.137–8

φοβούμενη μήπως καὶ καλέσῃ τηνε ὁ Θ(ε)ός 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.5–6
ἔχοντας ρεσπέτο ... μήπως καὶ δώσου του ... πειράξῃ

1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 193, 202.4–203.5
ἐσκιάκτῃ μήπως καὶ ἔλθῃ ὁ Σακοῦκος ὁ Περσιάνος καὶ τότε βάλῃ ὁμπρός

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.26

φοβοῦμαι μήν δὲν θέλῃ αὐτός 17th c., *MONTSEL., Evgena* 443

φυλάγου τήνε λία μήπως καὶ πέσῃ σ' ἔρωτα καὶ σὰς ἀποξέχασῃ
17th c., *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 48

NOTES

- (i) The same construction is used with verbs of “hindrance”:

ἐμπόδιζε, Χριστέ μου, μὴ παίξῃ κοντογύρισμα καὶ ἐπάρῃ τὸ ραβδὶν μου καὶ
δώσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ με στραβὸν παρὰ διαβόλου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 175–8

- (ii) Very rarely the negative particle μή(ν) is preceded by νά:

φοβοῦμαι νὰ μὴν πάθῃ τίβοτις 1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.10

- (iii) Fears relating to the past involve the use of past-tense indicatives:

φοβοῦμαι νὰ μὴν τόχασα, temo haverlo perso 17th c., GERMANO, *Grammar* 85.25–6

2.4 Verbs Taking Indirect Questions

- (31) Indirect questions are introduced by an expression containing/consisting of an appropriate interrogative pronoun or adverb (constituent questions) or by the conditional conjunctions εἰ/ἐάν/ἄν (yes/no questions); variant forms of the latter include ἀνέν καί (< ἄν ἔναι καί) and ἀνίσως καί (< ἄν ἴσως καί).**

Εἰ is typical of earlier or more formal texts, as is the restriction of ἐάν/ἄν to future-referring clauses containing a subjunctive verb; the generalized use of ἐάν/ἄν is typical of later and more vernacular texts.

The verb is indicative, future/modal or conditional, normally retaining the tense of the “original” direct question after a past-tense main verb (i.e. there is no sequence of tense requirement, cf. Rule (22) for indirect statements).

Subjunctives are used without νά in embedded future-referring yes/no questions (cf. 3.3 on conditional clauses).

The examples below are grouped according to the tense of the embedded question (that of the corresponding direct question in each case).

Constituent Questions

Future/Modal

βουλὴν ἐζήτησεν ... τοῦ νὰ τὸν συμβουλέψουν περὶ ... τοῦ Μορέως πῶς νὰ τὸν
κυβερνήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7829–30

οὐδὲν ἡξέρω τὸ σιτάρι ποῦ να καταβαίνει ἀπὸ τὸ Λεοντάρι
1431, Ragusa, LAMBROS 1930: 29.21–2

τί νὰ εἰπῶ καὶ τί νὰ ἀφήσω δὲν κατέχω 17th c., *Diig. Sant.* 56.63–4

Present

ἤθελα διὰ νὰ τὸν ἐρωτήσω τίς ἔναι καὶ πόθεν ἔνι ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τί ἔναι τὸ
στενάξει 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 18–19

εἴντα μιλοῦσι τὰ πουλιὰ ξεύρει 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.267

Aorist

ἐξεθύμανεν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας πῶς τες ᾔφησαν καὶ ἔκαμαν τοιοῦτον μέγα
πρᾶγμα 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 247.12–13

κατέχεις ... πόσα κακὰ ἐποίησα

17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 40.30

Yes/No Questions

Future/Modal

τὸν κάμπον νὰ τηρήσω, ἂν ἔναι καὶ εὕρω πούπετε τόπον ν' ἀποκουμπήσω

16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekl. Vas.* 13–14

Present

ἐπροέγραψα τῆς πανιερότη σου ... ἂν ἔναι νὰ μᾶς ἐγβάλῃς ἕνα ματάτο

1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173.23–4

μὲ ἐρώτησε ἀνισῶς καὶ ἔχουν νὰ κάμουν ἀγάπην μὲ τοὺς Πολονέζους

1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.20–1

Aorist

λεπτομερῶς τοὺς ἐρωτᾷ ... ἂν ἡύραν τὴν ὀρεξίν τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 385–6

NOTES

- (i) It is common in more vernacular texts for constituent indirect questions to be nominalized with τό:

ὡς εἶδεν τοῦτον ὁ ἀμπράς, ἄκο τὸ τί ντα λέγει

15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 517

καὶ τότε δίδουν τὴν βουλὴν τὸ ποῦ νὰ πᾶν νὰ κλέψουν

15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 81

ἔπεσεν εἰς λογισμὸν μέγα, τὸ πῶς νὰ ποιήσῃ νὰ μηδὲν ἐντροπιαστῇ

16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 361.27–8

- (ii) Οὐκ/(οὐ)δὲν ἔχω (“I am at a loss”) is commonly used to introduce “deliberative” indirect questions containing an infinitive (well attested in this function to the end of the period of this Grammar) or, in later texts, a future/modal verb form marked with νά:

Infinitive

καὶ τὶ φορεῖν οὐκ ἔχω

12th c., *Ptoch. III* 231

τὸ τί ποιήσῃ οὐκ εἴχασιν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4084

δὲν ἔχει πῶς κάμει ἀλλέως παρὰ νὰ πάρῃ τὴν πρελατσιόν

1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 187, 198.4

καὶ δὲν εἴχαμεν ἵντα στιμάρεῖ

1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 676.27

καὶ δὲν εἶχε τί κάμει

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.28

νά + Subjunctive

ποῦ νὰ τῶν δώσῃ δὲν εἶχε πλία

16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 420

δὲν ἔχουν τὸ ποῦ γράμματα νὰ μαθαίνουν

17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2197

3 Adverbial Clauses

Many subordinate clauses function as adjuncts, i.e. as optional adverbial or adjectival constituents of sentences (see 5.3.3 for the latter). This chapter deals specifically with the different types of adverbial clause.

3.1 Final (Purpose) Clauses

(32) Purpose is normally expressed by means of a subjunctive verb form (imperfective or perfective) marked with the particle ἵνα/νά placed at the beginning of the final clause; the negative is μή(ν)/μηδέν, which may itself stand clause-initially without νά.

In LMedG the clause as a whole may be nominalized with τοῦ.

From ca. 15th c. onwards the particle may be reinforced with διὰ/γιά “for”, or, somewhat earlier but less commonly, ὅπως “so (that)”.

Νά is often omitted in negative final clauses, as noted, especially when there is a clear additional nuance of fear or precaution (cf. 2.3).

+ ἵνα/νά (omissible in negatives) + Subjunctive

παραβίβαξέ τον ... μήνα ... λυτρωθοῦμεν τον γοργόν, νά μή μᾶς παραβλέπη
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 525–8

βλέπε εἰς τὸ ἐν μή πάθης δέκα
13th c. /?, *Paroim.* A 120

κράτησον τὰ φουσσᾶτα σου μηδὲν ἔβγουσιν ἔξω
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1117

ἔγραψεν ..., νά ἰδοῦσιν τὰ προστάγματα
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7852–4

κ' ἤθελεν ποιήσει ... ἔπαινόν του μέγαν, ... μή προῦ ἀπορήσῃ παντελῶς, καὶ χάσουν
τον οἱ Φράγκοι
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8531–5

ἐξέβη ... ἀπὲ τὴν Λευκωσίαν νά πάγῃ στήν Γένουβα
1390, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 11, 89.2–3

τὰ κάτεργα ἔκαυσα ἵνα μὴν ἔναι ἐπιστροφή
16th c./14th c., *Velis.* ρ 297

ἔδωκαμεν ... τὸ ἀμπέλιον, ἵνα ἔχῃ αὐτὸ καὶ δεσπόζῃ
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.2–3

σὲ τὴν ἔδωκαμεν νά χαίρεσαι μὲ ταύτην
16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 22

+ τοῦ νά

καὶ δένει με εἰς τὴν σέλαν μου σφικτὰ τοῦ νά μή πέσω
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3306

- μέ πονηρίαν ἀπόστέλνεν τούς καταπατητᾶδες τοῦ νὰ μαθαίνειν ... τὲς τῶν Φραγκῶν
γὰρ πρᾶξες 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1049–50
- + διὰ/γὰ νά
καὶ ἐλάλεν τούς το ..., γὰ ν' ἀφήσουν τὸν ρήγα εἰς τὴν ἀφεντίαν του
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 50.20–3
- ἐπέφεν τούς ἀνθρώπους, διὰ νὰ πᾶν εἰς τὸ σπῆτιν του
16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 4.17–18
- εἶπεν γὰρ ἑκεῖνο τὸ κάμνει ..., γὰ νὰ μὴ μπορᾶ τὸ κόψη οὐδένας
1610, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 662, 576.14–15
- ὁ Θεὸς ἠθέλησε νὰ φανερώσῃ ... τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὁδὶὰ νὰ μὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς
καμμίαν πρόφασιν 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 38.26
- + ὅπως νά
τούς ἔγραψεν ... ὅπως νὰ καταλάβωσιν ἐκεῖσε εἰς τὴν Κλαρέντσα
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7852–3
- ἔθεσαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀναγεγραμμένη μονή ... ὅπως νὰ ἱεουργάῃ καὶ ψάλλῃ τὴν
αὐτὴν μονή εἰς ὕμνον 1558, Corfu, *KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS* 1994: 2, 649.9–14

NOTES

- (i) The genitive of the definite article was used in AG with an infinitive to express purpose, and though LMedG/EMG normally substitutes νά + subjunctive for the infinitive, as above, there are some examples of the infinitival construction from LMedG texts:
- ἐκεῖσε ἡμπλικεύσασσι τοῦ μὴ φανερωθῆναι 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G II.102
συνέδραμον ἐκεῖ ὅλοι τοῦ βοηθῆσαι 16th c./14th c., *Velis.* ρ 316
- (ii) In LMedG texts a purpose clause may also be realized by means of διὰ “for” (also πρὸς “towards” and εἰς “(in)to”) + a νά-clause nominalized with the accusative of the definite article (see also 3.8):
- τὸ κατοῦδιν ... στήσας εἰς τὸ τραπέζιν, διὰ τὸ νὰ εἰποῦν ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνο τὴν
ζημίαν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 264–5
- (iii) Relative clauses may be given a final sense (“[someone] to do X/who can do X”) through the use of future/modal forms (cf. 5.5):
- εἴχασιν δὲ καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν, ὅπου νὰ τούς τὰ λέγῃ, τὴν μαῖμοῦ
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 36–7
- (iv) Given the inherent sequencing of the events denoted by main and final clauses, something of the effect of a final clause may be achieved through coordination with καί; this is particularly common when the purpose is fulfilled and with verbs of “coming” and “going” (cf. *s/he went and did X*):
- τὸ πρᾶγμα σου ἀσφάλιζε καὶ τὸν γείτονά σου κλέπτῃν μὴν τὸν κάμης
16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 55

ὡσάν ἦλθαν καὶ τὸν ἐπροσκύνησαν, λέγει 16th c., *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 75.18–21

ἦϋρε καιρὸ ὁ σουλτάν Μπαγιαζίτης καὶ τοὺς ἐζήτησε τὸ κάστρο
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.10–13

ἐπήγασι καὶ ἐχτίασσι σπιτία στὰ τριγύρω νησόπουλα
18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 19.7–8

- (v) In 16th- and 17th-c. Cretan literary texts πά often represents a reduction of πά + νά, where the first element is an invariant grammaticalized form of πάω “go”, cf. θά < θέ(λω) + νά, μπορά < μπορ(ῶ) + νά, etc. It is sometimes difficult to decide between a literal meaning and a more evolved future/modal function for πά, but the ultimate origins of πά νά as a kind of final clause (“go to do X”, “go and do X”) are clear:

ἀποὺ τὰ χεῖλη του θέλω νά πα γροικήσω ἂν ἔχει πόνον
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.45–6

ὁμπλεγάρεται ... νά πα τὸ ξανακαμπανίσου στοῦ ἄνωθεν
1609, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 626, 547.15

θές νά πα φέρω ἓνα σκοινί, σφιχτὰ νά τόνε δέσης; 17th c., *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.289
κι ἂς κάμουν ὅ,τι λέγουσι, μὴν (μ)πα καὶ γελαστοῦσι
17th–18th c./17th c., *Alfav.* 11 42 app. crit.

- (vi) The conjunction μήνα (also used adverbially = “perhaps”/“by any chance” in direct questions, see 1.4.1, Rule (17)) may be used in place of simple μή(ν), particularly when the sense required is not negative purpose but the more positive “(just) in case”, “in the hope that”:

ὄρμησα ... τὸ νά γενῶ τσαγγάρης, μήνα χορτάσω τὸ ψωμίν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 145–6

τάχατε κλεῖ τὰ μάτια του, μήνα τὸν ἐλθη ὕπνος 15th c., *Peri xen.* 25

πολλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐπάσχισαν, μήνα τὸν ἐξεβγάλουν 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 15 g

ἐκοίταζα πολλὰ μήνα ἰδῶ καὶ ἄλλους ὅπου ἐγνώριζα
16th c., *PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis* (Meteoron) 109.26–7

- (vii) The element (μ)πάς (perhaps a reduction of μήν + an invariant form of πάω “go” with adverbial -ς (rather than the unmotivated 2 sg. πᾶς)) is used similarly in Cyprus in combination with καί; a following νά is optional. The sense “(just) in case” allows for considerable overlap with complements of verbs of “fearing” and “precaution” (see 2.3, Rule (30)):

μὲ φόβον στέκω ... φοβῶντα πάντα πάς καὶ βαρεθῆς με· τὰ πάθη βιάζουν πάς καὶ λυπηθῆς με
16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 91.11–13

ὁ ρήγας ... ἐδιαλογίζετον πάς καὶ ἡ ρήγαινα κομπωθῇ καὶ πᾶσιν καὶ πάρουν τὴν Κερυνίαν
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 408.1

τοῦ ᾗ γραφεν γραφάδες ..., πάς καὶ νά κάμη νά σαστῇ τοῦ χαζανᾶ ἡ λίτη
17th–18th c./17th c., *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 84–6

3.2 Consecutive (Result) Clauses

- (33) When the result described in a consecutive clause is presented as an event in real time, it is introduced by ὅτι “that” + indicative or, from ca. 15th c., by “factive” (ὅ)που + indicative (both with negative οὐ(κ)/οὐδέν); when the result is presented as potential or logical rather than actual, consecutive clauses contain a future/modal verb form marked by νά + subjunctive (imperfective or perfective, with negative μή(ν)), later preceded optionally by ὅτι or (ὅ)που.

A clause specifying the result of an action or state of affairs described in a main clause is always in principle optional, but if the main clause contains an element modified by a specifier meaning “so”/“such”, some result is at least strongly anticipated if not actually compulsory, cf. ... *so X [that Y]*.

With ὅτι + Indicative

ἐγίνετο ὁ φόβος τοιούτως πολὺς, ὅτι οἱ χριστιανοὶ ... ἐξοδῶκαν ἀπὲ τοὺς οἴκους των
1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.10–12

τόσα τὸν ἀγαπήσασιν ... ὅτι βουλὴν ἀπῆρασιν οἱ φρονιμώτεροί τους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2101–3

τόσον ἔγινε ἀπὸ τὴν μυθολογίαν ἔνδοξος ὅτι ὑπερέβη πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ
διδασκάλους
16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.4–5

τί εἶναι ἐτούτῃ ἡ σοφία ὅπου τοῦ ἐδώθη, ὅτι καὶ τέτοιαις λογῆς δυνάμεις γίνονται διὰ
τῶν χειρῶν του;
17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.2

With (ὅ)που + Indicative

ἔμαθαν τὸν ὀρισμὸν ἐκείνον, τόσον σκληρὸν κι ὠμότατον ποὺ ποτὲ οὐκ ἐφάνη
15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* II.14.4–5 (1529)

τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην ... ἔβρεξεν εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ὅπου πούπτετες δὲν εἶχε μείνει ὅπου
νά μὴν βρέξει
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.23–5

εἶδα δυὸ κομμάτια κριάς ..., τόσα παχιά, τόσα καλά, τόσα πολλὰ μεγάλα, π ὅλος
ἐξαναστάθηκα
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.85–7

ἕνας θρῆνος γίνεται εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μοναστήρι ὅπου ὅποιος τὰς ἰδεῖ κλαίει τὴν λύπην
τῶνε
1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.30–1

ἔπεμψε παντόθες νὰ τὸν γυρεύγῃ ὅπου ἤμπορεῖ νὰ εἰπῇ τινὰς πὼς δὲν ἄφηκε πέτρα
ἀγύρευτην
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.14–16

ἐγίνηκε ταραχὴ μεγάλη καὶ πόλεμος φοβερός, ποὺ ἐγέμωσε ὁ κάμπος ἀπὸ κουφάρια
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 33.24–6

With νά + Subjunctive

οὐδὲν εὐρίσκω εἰς ἑμὲν ... τοσοῦτην ἀδιάκρισιν, νά μὴ τὸ ἐγνωρίζω ὅτι εἰς τὸ κουμοῦ
τῆς Βενετίας ἐξέβησαν ἀνθρώποι γνώσεως μεγάλης
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 948–51

ἀλλὰ τινὰς οὐκ ἔφτασεν ποτὲ του εἰς τόσην δόξαν, τὸ στέμμα τὸ βασιλικὸν νά τοῦ τὸ
ἔχουν φορέσει
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 952–3

θέλεις ἐβγῆν εἰς ὄρεινόν λιβάδιν τέτοιον μέγα νὰ ἐγγίζη ἀπάνω εἰς οὐρανόν ... ἢ
κορυφή του 14th c., *Log. parig.* L 133–4

λέγε μου ... πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιας λογῆς νὰ προτιμᾷς ... ἐκεῖνα ὅπου δὲν θεωρεῖς
ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνα ὅπου θεωροῦμεν φανερά 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 34.20–1

With ὅτι νά + Subjunctive

ἀποκεῖς ἐβγάλ' το ἀπὸ τῆ φωτιά καὶ βάνεις τὸ κακκάβι ... τόσο ὅτι τὸ νερό νὰ μὴν
ἡμπορῇ νὰ πάη ὀξω ?15th–16th c., *Heptanese, MORGAN* 1954: 66.24–5

With (ὁ)πού νά + Subjunctive

καὶ ἓνα σκαρπέλλο τόσο μακρὺ ὅπου ν' ἀβαντζάρη ὀξω ἀπὸ τὴν μποῦκα τοῦ
κομματιοῦ ?15th–16th c., *Heptanese, MORGAN* 1954: 66.2–3

παρακαλῶ τὴν ἀφεντία σου νὰ κατιβάσῃς τὰ πρέτζια διὰ νὰ πουλοῦμε (τὰ βιβλία)
..., πού νὰ μὴ μᾶς ἀπομνίσκουν καὶ γένουνται μπατάλικά
1681, Ioannina, *VELOUDIS* 1987: 10, 308, f.2r.28–32

NOTES

- (i) In earlier texts and in less formal styles the consecutive clause may appear without future/modal νά or any overt conjunction:

οὐκ ἦτον τόσοσ ὁ λαὸς τὰ πλευτικά γερμίσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 407

καὶ τόσα ἐβιάστησαν πολλὰ ἐσυμβιβάσανε τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3312

τόσα ἔπλευσαν, τόσα ἔποικαν, φθάνουν τὴν Σαλαμῖναν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1385

- (ii) In more learned styles the ancient conjunction ὥστε may be used with past indicatives in place of ὅτι/(ὁ)πού, and occasionally even with the ancient accusative + infinitive construction (but ὥστε νά + subjunctive is usually temporal, see 3.4); in later texts ὥστε appears also in combination with (ὁ)πού:

καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος τοιοῦτος μέγας ὥστε ἔριπτεν τὰ ἀνώγια ἀπάνω κάτω
1326, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 41, 93.6–7

σπαράττουσι τὰ μέλη του, κλονεῖται τὴν καρδίαν ὥστε νομίζειν καὶ τὴν γράν
ἀποθανεῖν ἐκεῖνον 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1161–2

ἦτον παχὺς εἰς τὸ κορμί του ... ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόντεσαν τὰ
ἄρχιδια αὐτοῦ 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.10–14

ἔπεσεν τόσον θανατικόν ὥστε ὅπου ἐμεῖς δὲν ἡμποροῦμεν νὰ θάπτομεν τοὺς
νεκρούς 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 6–7

- (iii) There is some formal overlap/confusion between consecutive and final clauses in that both look forward to events that follow the action of the main clause:

καὶ τόσα τοὺς ποτίσετε τοῦ νὰ ἔχουσιν μεθύσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8301

- (iv) From ca. 15th c. onwards coordination with καὶ is a common alternative to subordination given the inherent consequentiality of the two events:

ἐκεῖνος ἦτον τόσον κρουδέλ καὶ ἔρισεν καὶ ἐσκοτώσαν τον
16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 18.7

καὶ ἄκου τὸ τί μοῦ ἐσύντυχεν κ' ἐθλίβην ἢ ψυχὴ μου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 28
οἱ Ἰσραηλίται ἠβλέπουν τόσο πολὺ φουσατό καὶ φοβοῦνται καὶ δίδουν τὸν
Σαψὼν δεμένον τῶν ἐχθρῶν 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 278.33–4
ἔπαρε ἀγριάγουρα ... καὶ τὰ σφίγγεις καὶ πηδᾷ ἔξω τὸ ζουμί καὶ ὁ σπóρος τους
17th c., *LANDOS, Geopon.* 237.4–6

3.3 Conditional Clauses

(34) Conditional clauses (protases) are introduced by (ἐ)άν “if”, ἀνέναι “if it is the case that”, ἀνίσως “if by chance”, ἂν πολλάκις “if ever/by chance”, with negative οὐ(κ)/οὐδέν; εἰ “if” is also used in older texts as well as in more formal styles. “Unless” is rendered by means of πλὴν ἂν, ἔξω ἂν or ἀλλέως καί (no conjunction); “even if” by καὶ ἂν/ἄς, or ἀνέναι καί/ἀνίσως καί, πλὴν (κ)ἂν (but see also concessive clauses, 3.6).

When a conditional conjunction is present, νά is hardly ever used to mark future/modal or conditional verb forms; but the conditional conjunction may be omitted and the relevant forms *must* then be marked with νά (negative μή(ν)).

In LMedG/EMG both tense and aspect are important in determining the time reference of a conditional sentence as well as its reading as specific or generic (see below for details). Any meaningful pairing of forms/tenses is possible in the protasis and apodosis (main clause), but the event described in the protasis can never follow that of the apodosis.

With time εἶχον/εἶχα + aorist infinitive is confined increasingly to protases, where it starts to evolve into a pluperfect, first through reinterpretation as a form marking the *logical* priority of the events described in hypothetical/counterfactual protases and then, through a natural extension, as marking *temporal* priority vis-à-vis other past events, thus allowing its use in other subordinate clauses and also in main clauses. The development proceeds at different speeds in different areas, depending in part on whether the pluperfect formed with εἶχον/εἶχα + perfect passive participle is in use. In the 14th-c. *Chronicle of Morea*, for example, the εἶχα-periphrasis appears only in counterfactual protases in past time and is already used as a true pluperfect. By contrast, in 16th/17th-c. Crete, where participial pluperfects are the norm, it is still used only in subordinate clauses for which a meaning “would (have)” is possible, whether in a hypothetical or (secondary) habitual sense.

The examples below are organized according to the time-reference of the protasis/conditional clause, as determined by its overall context (but since conditional forms may be used to refer to past, present or future, there is often indeterminacy).

3.3.1 Future/Generic Time Reference

Subjunctives (possible events) or past indicatives/conditionals (hypothetical events) may appear in the protasis (see 1.2.2 for further details of the forms involved).

There is a fairly strong correlation between perfective forms in apodoses and specific readings of the whole, imperfective forms in apodoses and generic readings of the whole

(though perfective νά-futures are often generic and imperfects used as conditionals are aspectually neutral, cf. Chapter 1, Rule (11) and NOTES).

3.3.1.1 Subjunctive in Protasis

Future/Specific

- ἂν μὲ **λάχῃ** θάνατος, νὰ μὲ λαζαρώσουν ὥσπερ τοὺς ὅλους καλογέρους
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52–82.53
- εἰ μὲν **εὐροῦν** ὅτι ζητεῖ ... τὸ κάστρον τῆς Καρύταινας ..., νὰ τοῦ <τῆν> δώσῃ τὴν νομὴν καὶ νὰ τὸν ρεβεστίσῃ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8143–5
- ἂν **στραφῇ** εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν, ἂν οὐδὲν **ποιήσῃ** ἔργον νὰ μείνῃ εἰς τὴν Ρωμανίαν ..., ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ, μέμφεσται κι ὄνειδίζει
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8183–5
- βαρὺν μὲ ἤθελε φανῇ, ἂν **εὐρω** ὅτι ἀργεῖτε
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1419
- ἂν ἐγὼ **ἀποθάνω**, εὖρει θέλει ἡ βασιλεία σου ἄλλον ἀντὶ τοῦ Φιλόνην· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνῃς ἐσύ, ἐγὼ ἄλλον βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲν θέλω εὐρεῖν
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 26.16–18 (Konstantinopulos)
- ἂν ἴσως καὶ **εἰπῶ** πῶς εἶσαι ἀμάθητος τοῦ καλοῦ, καλὰ τὸ θέλω εἰπεῖ
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 35.31–2

Generic

- ἂν **εὐρουν** εἰς κατώφορον ψυχὴν ἀναγκασμένην, ἐκεῖ περισυνάγονται καὶ πολεμοῦν τὴν πνίξιν
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 187–8
- ὁ Θεὸς ἐλευθερώσῃ σε, καὶ ὅς **εἶσαι** ψωμοζήτητος
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 216
- πλὴν κἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθῇ **μονῇ**, πλὴν κἂν αὐτὸς νυστάζῃ, ἐγὼ πονῶ καὶ ἐγὼ ἀγρυπνῶ καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σ' ἐνθυμίσω
15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 10–11
- στὴν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς ἐὰν **συμβῇ** Φράγκος νὰ λειτουργήσῃ, σαράντα ἡμέρες λείπεται ἀψαλτῇ ἡ ἐκκλησίᾳ τους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 767–8
- ἐχτρὸν τὸν ἔχω τοῦ Χριστοῦ, νὰ μὴ μὲ σφάξῃ εὐθέως
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4756
- καὶ πολλάκις ἂν τοὺς τὸ εἴπωσι, νὰ μὴδὲν κάθωνται
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.21, 1

3.3.1.2 Past Indicative/Conditional in Protasis

Future/Specific

- καὶ ἂν **ἤθελα θανατωθῇ**, τὴν κόρην δὲν ἀφήνω
15th–16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 2960 app. crit. (N)
- ἂν **ἤθελα** λεπτῶς νὰ σὲ τὰ ἔγραψα ὅλα ..., ... πολλὰ ἤθελαν βαρεθῇ ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου τὸ ἀκοῦσιν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2816–18
- ἤθελεν ποιήσῃ ψυχικὸν καὶ ἔπαινόν του μέγαν, νὰ ὑπάντρεψῃ τὴν ντάμα Ζαμπέα μὲ ἕναν καβαλλάρην
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8531–2

εἰς τέτοιον λογισμόν ἂν ἦμουν ὅλη μέρα ἦθελα σκάσει στέκοντα σὰ σύκον ἢ πεπόνι
16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 258–9

Generic

πολλάκις δὲ ὁ πρίγκιπας νὰ ἦτον εἰς ἄλλον τόπον καὶ νὰ ἦθελεν νὰ ἔβαλλεν ὀκάποιο
ἄλλον ..., οὐδὲν χρεωστοῦν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ... νὰ ποιήσουν ἄλλου γὰρ τινὸς
ὀμάτζιον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7896–900

ἀμπολλάκις καὶ δὲν ἦθελαν τὸ δουλεύουν καλὰ ..., νὰ ἤμπορῃ νὰ τοὺς ἐβγάνη ἀπὸ
τὸ ἄνωθεν δίχως λόγου καὶ κρίσεως 1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 2, 21.10–11

ἂν ἴσως κ' ... δὲν ἦθελεν ἔχει χρεῖα ἐκεῖνος ... καὶ ἦθελεν θέλει νὰ τηνέ (ἀγελέα)
πακτώσει, νὰ μὴ μπορᾷ τηνέ δώσει ἄλλο νοῦ
1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.9–11

ἂν ἐφρονέψασι κι αὐτοὶ ν' ἀλλάξουσιν δαμάκι, τὸ κορασὲς δεῖν ἦθελες νὰ πιούσιν
φαρμάκι 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.443–4

3.3.2 Present Time Reference

Present indicatives (potentially real events) or imperfect indicatives/conditionals (hypothetical/counterfactual events) may appear in protases, where there is a strong correlation between present time reference and imperfective aspect.

3.3.2.1 Present Indicative in Protasis

ἐὰν ὁ πατὴρ ὑπάρχει δαιμονιάριος, ὁ πάππος δύναται συναινεῖν τῷ γάμῳ, διότις ὁ
υἱὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐρρωμένος τὸν νοῦν ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 239.414

ἂν ἔχεις ἀπλαζίριν, ἂς πᾶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι νὰ μας ποίσουν τόπον, διὰ νὰ σοῦ συντύχω!
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 8.12–13

ἂ θές νὰ γιάνω, ἀφέντη μου, ἐλα μοῦ τ' ἀγοράσης!
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III. 92

ἂν ἐν' καὶ λέγω φέματα, ὅλοι μὲ πέτε 'κτῆμα' 16th c., *Kakop.* 14

μίσσεψε, Ἀλέξη, πρὶ σέ δῃ, ἀνέναι κι ἀγαπᾷς με
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.241

3.3.2.2 Imperfect/Conditional in Protasis

ἂν οὐ σέ γάπουν τὰ πολλά, τώρα σκοτώσει σέ 'χα
15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1571

ἂν ἦτον καὶ νὰ μπόρειε τὸν ὕπνον νὰ κοιμᾶτον ἀλησμονήσειν ἦθελεν ὀλίγον ἐκ τὴν
λύπην 15th c., *Peri xen.* 23

ἂν τό ἔξευρα ἀληθινά, ἐπηγαίνα καὶ ἐσκοτώννα τὸν μισερ Ἀντρίαν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 42.17–18

- σαράντ' ἁγίους καὶ ἂν ἔκραζες με πόθο νὰ γυρεύης, τὲς λειτουργιῆς σου χάνεις τες,
 μὰ μένα δὲν μοῦ φεύγεις 16th c., *Alfav.* 10 71–2
- ἂν ἠθέλαμεν κοιμᾶσται ... ἠθέλαμεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ὄνειρον ἐθεωρούσαμεν
 17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 269, 37–8
- ἂν εἶχα ἑκατὸ γλῶσσες καὶ νᾶχα ἑκατὸ στόματα ... τὰ χεῖλη δὲν μποροῦσι παρὰ
 τοῦ ν' ἀποφρίξουνε 17th–18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 65–8
- ἂν ἐμποροῦσαν θάνατο ἐθέλασι μοῦ δώσει 17th–18th c./17th c., *Stathis Prol.* 4

3.3.3 Past Time Reference

Past indicatives (denoting both potentially real and hypothetical/counterfactual events) and conditionals (hypothetical/counterfactual events) may be used in protases.

Protases containing past indicatives referring to the past are fairly uncommon, and tend to have progressive or generic readings marked by imperfective aspect; but the aorist may also be used in generics if there is contextual support such as a co-occurring adverb like ποτέ “ever”.

3.3.3.1 Past Indicative in Protasis

Real (Progressive/Generic)

- αὐτὴ καὶ ἂν ἐμαραίνετον, ἔλαμπεν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 183
- ποτὲ ἂν ἐσυνεπλάκη ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους μου ... εἰς τέτοιον ... ἀνάμνησιν
 ἀγάπης, πολλὰ τὸν ἐκατεπίκραινα, χίλια τὸν ἐμεμφόμην
 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 125–8
- οἷος καὶ ἂν εὐρίσκετον, μαντατοφόρος νὰ ἦτον, τινὰς οὐδὲν τὸν ἐκαμνεν ἐμπόδιον
 καθόλου 16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1395–6 (ms B)
- ἀπὸ τοῦτα τὰ μῆλα τινὰς δὲν ἠμπόρειε νὰ πάρει ἀπ' αὐτά ἂν δὲν ἦτονε παρθένος καὶ
 καθαρὸς 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.38–9

Counterfactual

- ἂν οὐκ ἐθάρρεις κολυμβᾶν, κολυμβητὴς μὴ ἐγένου, ἀλλ' ἄς ἐκάθου σιγηρὸς ..., καὶ ἄς
ἐκνηθες τὴν λέπτραν σου, καὶ ἄς ἤφηνες ἐμέναν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 103–5
- καταβλαττὰς ἂν ἐμαθον καὶ σηκωτὴς ἂν ἦμουν, ὡς σηκωτὴς νὰ ἐδοῦλευα τὴν
 ᾄπασαν ἡμέραν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 181–2
- ἂν οὐδὲν ἦτον ἡ θάλασσα, ἀκόμη εἶχε ὑπαγαίνειν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 260
- τοὺς πόνους ἂν ἐσύναξαν ὅλους τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ... καὶ εἰς ἄλλον μέρος νὰ ἔβαναν
 πόνους τῆς ξενιτείας, πλεόν τῶν ἄλλων ἐβάρυναν πόνοι τῆς ξενιτείας
 15th c., *Alf. Xen.* B 99–102
- Μαρ. ἐγὼ τὸν εἶχονα ἂν ἐκεῖνος δὲν εἶχεν φάγει. Ἑρμ. ... καὶ πῶς τὸν ἦθελες ἔχει ἂν
δὲν ἔτρωγεν ἐκεῖνος; 17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.19–22

3.3.3.2 Conditional in Protasis

- εἰ δὲ κομπώσῃν ἤθελες ..., ἃς ἔλαβες ὁμοίαν σου, καπήλου θυγατέραν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 106–7
- ἐκεῖνοι ἂν σε εἶχαν εὐρεῖ, Συρίαν οὐκ ἐθεώρεις
15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 141
- ἂν εἶχε ἐπάρει ὁ πρίγκιπας τότε τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην καὶ τὰ φουσσᾶτα τῶν νησίων
... καὶ νὰ εἶχε ὑπάγει σπουδαχτικά ὁλόρθα εἰς τὸ Νίκλι ... ὁ Μέγας ὁ Δεμέστικός
ἀργὰ νὰ ἐφουσσατέψεν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4876–80
- ἂν εἶχαν ποίσειν τὰ καρτζὰ ἀσημένα, ἤθελα εἴσταιν τόσα φτενά ὅτι ἤθελαν
καταλυέσθαι γλήγορα
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 76.18–19
- ἂν εἶχαν ἔχει κάτεργα, ... ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἐφεύγασιν ..., ἠθέλασιν προτιμηθῇ
σύντομα νὰ μισεύσουν
16th c./15th c., *Velis.* p 325–8
- Μαρ. Ἐγὼ τὸν εἶχονα ἂν ἐκεῖνος δὲν εἶχεν φάγει. Ἐρμ. ... καὶ πῶς τὸν ἤθελες ἔχει
ἂν δὲν ἔτρωγεν ἐκεῖνος;
17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.19–22
- ἀνίσως καὶ ὁ ἀγάς του δὲν τὸν ἤθελε κράξει, δὲν ἤθελαν ἡμπορέσει οἱ ἀκτῖνες τοῦ
ἡλίου νὰ τὸν ξυπνήσουν
18th c., *Don Kis.* 48.8–10

NOTES

- (i) In texts composed wholly or partly in higher registers certain ancient options may be used:

ἂν as an apodotic particle with counterfactual past indicatives (and conditional periphrases):

εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἐτύχομεν, οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο συνέβη, οὐκ ἂν εἰς οἶκον μὰς ποτε εἴχετε
πορευθῆναι
13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.274–5

negative μή rather than οὐ(κ) in protases:

ἂν οὖν μή φθάσῃ με τὸ σὸν φιλεύσπλαγχνον, αὐτάναξ, καὶ δώροις καὶ χαρίσμασι
τὴν ἀπληστον ἐμπλήσης, τρέμω, πτοοῦμαι, δέδοικα μή φονευθῶ πρὸ ὥρας, καὶ
χάσης σου τὸν Πρόδρομον
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 271–4

(Note the accumulation of “high” features in this address to the emperor, e.g. datives, genitive after a preposition, obsolete vocabulary.)

- (ii) When the main clause expresses hope/anticipation ἀνέν(αι) καὶ can be used in a postposed subordinate clause, “in hope”/“in case”:

ἐμπρὸς-ὀπίσω γύρισα, ... ἂν ἔν καὶ εὕρω πούπετε τόπον ν’ ἀποκουμπήσω
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 13–14

Μήπως is used similarly when the main clause expresses precaution/prevention, “lest/in case”:

μήδεν δώσης πληξίν τοῦ πληξημένου μήπως ππέεσῃ εἰς δισπιριά
16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 99.24–5

μὰ πές μου πῶς ἐπέρασε τὸ πράμα, μήπως κί’ ἔχει δίκιο
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.63–4

δέομαι ... νὰ ἔχω συγχώρησιν ... μήπως εὔρη με ὁ θάνατος
1622, ?Karpachos, *ZERLENDIS* 1918d: B, 300.17–20

3.4 Temporal Clauses

(35) Temporal clauses add information about eventualities that take place before, at the same time as, or after the event described in the main clause, and contain past/present indicative or future/modal verb forms as required by the sense.

Clauses denoting past-time situations *preceding* a past-time main clause (i.e. with conjunctions meaning “when”, “after”, “since”, “as soon as”) normally contain aorist (past perfective) indicatives whether the situation described is a single event or a series of habitual/repeated events; towards the end of the period of this Grammar, however, an imperfect (past imperfective) indicative may be substituted in the latter function. Those denoting non-past (present/future/generic) situations preceding a non-past main clause typically contain perfective (aorist) subjunctives to represent both single and repeated events, though present indicatives may sometimes appear when the meaning is habitual/progressive. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

“(at the point in time) when”

ὡσάν, σάν, ὡς; ὅτε, ὅταν, ὁπότα(ν); ὅντε, ὄντα(ν), ἄνταν

“after”, “since (the time when)”

ἀφοῦ, ἀφότου; ἀφόν, ἀφó(ν)τις; ἀπώς, ἀπότις, ἀπόντας; ἀπείς, ἀπείτις

“as soon as”

μόλις, ἄμα, ὅσον, εὐθύς ὅπου, τόμου (< τὸ ὁμοῦ) νά, μοναῦτα καί

Clauses denoting past-time situations *overlapping* with a past-time main clause (i.e. with conjunctions meaning “while”, “as long as”) normally contain imperfect indicatives. Those denoting non-past situations overlapping with a non-past main clause contain present indicatives or imperfective/present subjunctives: since certain conjunctions do not allow/require subjunctives to be marked with νά (see below) it is often difficult or impossible to distinguish the two. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

“(during the time) when”

ὡσάν/σάν, ὡς, ὥς που, ὥς ποτε, ὡς ὅτι, ὡς ὅτε, ὡς ὁπότα(ν), ὥστε; ὄντε, ὄντα(ν), ἄνταν

“while”, “as long as”

ἐνῶ, ἐνόσῳ; ἔστα(ν), ἔστοντας; ἔως (οὔ, ὁπού/πού, ὅτου, νά)

“as long as”

ὅσον

Situations *following* those described in past or non-past main clauses are necessarily prospective/theoretical relative to those main-clause events. Clauses describing these are normally introduced by conjunctions meaning “before”/“until” and contain subjunctives (mostly perfective/aorist); but since in past-time contexts the relevant actions eventually take place, a past-tense indicative is sometimes substituted in *until*-clauses, though not in *before*-clauses. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

“until”

ὥς (πού/όπου, ὅτι, ὅτε), ὥστε (πού/όπου); ἕσταν(ε); ἕως (οὔ, ὅπου/πού, ὅτου, νά); ὅσον

“before”

πρίν, πρὸ μή(ν), προτοῦ, ὀμπρὸς παρά, πρίχου

The *until*-group of conjunctions normally require subjunctive forms to be marked with νά, the *before*-group allow νά optionally; by contrast, the *when*- and *after/since*-groups regularly appear with “bare” subjunctives. Membership of the *while/as long as*-group is largely drawn from the *when*- and *until*-groups and individual conjunctions behave accordingly, with those belonging to both sets allowing both options.

3.4.1 Past-time Temporal Clauses Denoting Preceding/Overlapping Events

3.4.1.1 Preceding the Event Described in the Main Clause

“When/after/as soon as” + Aorist Indicative

- ἐγὼ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολλὰ ἠντεστάθην, ὅταν τὸ ἤκουσα 12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.5–6
- καὶ ἄμα τὸν εἶδα, εἶπα τον, οὐδὲ ἐχαιρέτησά τον 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 579
- ἀφότου ἐκατόρθωσεν ὅσα σᾶς ἀφηγοῦμαι ... τὸ πνεῦμα του ἐπαρέδωκεν κι ἀπῆραν
το οἱ ἀγγέλοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7801–4
- ὅσον ἀποσωρεύτησαν μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι, ἀνοῖξαν τὰ προστάγματα καὶ
ἀναγνώσανέ τα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7856–7
- ὄντα τὴν ἐγόρασεν ὁ αὐτὸς ρὲ Οὕνγκε τὴν Κύπρον ... ἦτον εἰς μεγάλην ἔννοιαν
16th c./15th c., ΜΑΧΑΪΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 20.4–9
- ἀφὸν ἐφάγαν καὶ ἐπαρδιαβάσαν, ἐκατέβησαν κάτω εἰς τὴν αὐλήν
16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 44.9
- σὺν ἐμίσεψε ἀπὸ κεῖ ..., κιαμιᾶς λογῆς ἀνάπαψη δὲν ἠῦρισκεν ἡ κόρη
18th c./16th–17th c., ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* III.13–14
- ὥσάν ἀπέρασεν ἡ πρώτη ἡλικία τοῦ παιδός, τὸν πέμπει νὰ κατοικᾷ ἐκεῖ
17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 38.33–5

Very occasionally the aorist indicative is used to indicate repeated events, though the imperfect indicative (overtly marking the incompleteness of the series) is the more regular choice in this function in the period covered by this Grammar:

Aorist

ὃν ἔναιιν καὶ ῥαθύμησεν, ἔπεφτεν εἰς τὰ ἄνθη 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 525

Though the conjunction here is formally conditional, the sense is clearly “whenever”.

Imperfect

χαρὰν μεγάλην εἶχαςι διὰ νὰ ἔχουν πολεμήσει, ἐπεὶ, ὅταν δὲν τοὺς ἄφηνε νὰ ὑπᾶν
νὰ πολεμήσουν, μεγάλην θλίψιν εἶχασιν, ἦσαν ὥσάν χαμένοι

16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 9200–2

- καὶ ὅταν τὸ (χρυσὸν δέντρον) ἔκρουεν ὁ ἄνεμος, ἔμμορφα ἐτραγούδειεν
15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 536
- ὅταν ἐλειτοῦργαν, ἐσυνλειτοῦργάν του οὐράνιος ἄγγελος 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 366
- ὁπότεν ἐμίλουνε, ἐφανόντησαν σὰν τόσα τσουκάλια ὅπου νὰ ἔβραζαν
17th c., *Bertoldos* 6.11
- δὲν ἄφηνεν κανέναν νὰ εἶναι πόρνος ... διότι, τόμου νὰ ἀκούουνταν ποθὲς φιλὸς
λόγος, αὐτὸς πάραυτα νὰ τὸν κράξῃ, νὰ τὸν μαλώσῃ
17th c., *PAPASYNAD.*, *Chron.* I §29.40–2

NOTES

- (i) The pluperfect is occasionally used in later texts to emphasize anteriority:
καὶ ὅταν ὁ Θεὸς εἶχεν κάμει τὸν κόσμον εἶχαν πέσει (τὰ δαιμόνια) ἀπὸ τοὺς
οὐρανοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.28–30
- (ii) Since what follows may be caused by what precedes, conjunctions meaning “after/since (the time when)” may sometimes acquire the causal meaning of “since” (see also 3.5, NOTE (iv)):
ὀλίγοι ἄνθρωποι ἤμποροῦν νὰ τὸ ἔχουσι φυλάττει (τὸ κάστρον), ἀφῶν ἔχει
σωτάρχισιν κ’ ἐνὶ ἀφιρωμένον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8273–4
οὐλον τὸν κόσμον θρέφει τὸν τὸ θάρος κ’ ἐγὼ φότης ἐβίγλισα ἅ τὸν Πόθον ...
ἔχασά το 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 109.19–22
- (iii) The relative adverb (ἐκεῖ) ὅπου, lit. “(in the place) where”, is sometimes also used with a temporal/causal meaning “when/since”; this may carry a further nuance of contrast with what has preceded:
ἀφῶν ὁ πρίγκιπας ἄρχισε γὰρ τὴν μάχην ὅπου ὑπωμόσαμεν οἱ δύο ἀγάπην νὰ
κρατοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνος ἔχει τὴν ἀμαρτίαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4568–70
ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐκατέβαλα καὶ κατεσόφισά τον τὸν χοῖρον τὸν κακότηχον ..., ἐσένα τί
σὲ ἤθελα νὰ εἶσαι εἰς ἐντροπὴν μου 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 464–6
- (iv) Conversely, ἔστοντα(ς) καὶ and (in Cyprus) ἐστόντα καὶ οὐ ἔχοντα(ς) καὶ, lit. “it being the case”/“since”, may also have temporal uses (see also 3.5):
ἔχοντα καὶ ἡ Ἀγία Ἐλένη ἠὔρειν τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν, ἔβαλέν τον εἰς ἕναν νεκρόν
17th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* R 67.23–5
ἐστόντα τάπισα καὶ ἐβγάλαν τον ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸν πύργον, ὁ βασιλιάς ἐποῖκεν νὰ τὸν
μάθουσιν τὴν ἁγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ 16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 150.14–16
- (v) With ἔστοντα(ς) use of the aorist subjunctive to refer to the past as well as the non-past is normal, though not obligatory (see Note (iv)):
οἱ ὅποιοι ἄρχοντες ἔδωσάν με πέντε πῆχες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ἔλθω ἀπὸ τὴν
καθολικὴν ..., ἤυρηκα πῆχες εἴκοσι πέντε 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 41–4

“Εστοντας as a conjunction with past indicatives is probably therefore a secondary development, the original structure being a tenseless absolute construction marked only for aspect, “given X’s performance of Y”.

3.4.1.2 Overlapping with the Event Described in the Main Clause

“When/while/as long as” + Imperfect Indicative

- αὐτός, ὄνταν ἐμάνθανεν, ὑπόδησιν οὐκ εἶχεν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 60 app. crit. (P)
ἐνὸς εἰς μάχην ἔστεκον καὶ ἐμέριζαν τὴν νίκην, ἀφῆκαν τὸ νὰ μάχωνται καὶ εἰς ἕνα
 λόγον ἦλθαν 16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv. S* 1216–17 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ἰσάστη μὲ τὴν περιγίπισσαν ..., ἐνῶ ἐκράτει τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἀπ’ αὐτὴν κ’ ἦτον κυρά
 του, κι ἀπῆρε τὴν θυγάτηρ της 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7980–2
 εἶχεν εἰς ἀβοερίαν αὐτοῦ τὸν Γγίον ντὲ λὰ Ρότζε ἔως οὔ ἔζη ἡ μητέρα του
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8043–4
ὡς ἔστεκα κ’ ἐθώρουν τον, γυρίζει καὶ ὀμιλεῖ μου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 27
 καὶ βασιλέως παιδὶν ἤμουν, ... καὶ ὅσον ἀνετρέφουμουν, ὑψώνασι με χρόνοι
 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 51–2
 ἐγὼ ὥσάν ἐκείτομουν εἰς τὸ κρεβάτι ἀσθενημένος ἄνοιξα τὰ μάτια μου καὶ ἔξαφνα
 εἶδα ἕναν ἄνθρωπον 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.14–15
 οὐδὲ ἔλειπεν αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς ἔως ὅτου ἔμενεν ἐκεῖ ἡ Θεοτόκος
 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 328.28–9
 ἡ Μαρκόλφα τὸν εἶδεν σάν ἐγύριζεν ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν 17th c., *Bertoldin.* 141.32–142.1

NOTES

- (i) (ἐκεῖ) ὅπου, lit. “(in the place) where”, is also used with an “overlapping” temporal meaning, sometimes with a nuance of contrast, “whereas”:

καὶ ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐδέοντο τοῦ Θεοῦ νὰ δώσει βροχὴν, τοὺς ἔπεμψε χαλάζιν μέγαν
 καὶ φοβερὸν 17th c., *Chron. 1619* 1149–50

3.4.2 Non-past Temporal Clauses Denoting Preceding/Overlapping Events

3.4.2.1 Preceding the Event Described in the Main Clause

“When/after/as soon as” + Aorist Subjunctive (single event or repeated events)

- ὅταν ὁ κόραξ πούποτε καθίσῃ καὶ φωνάξῃ, ἐκεῖ σημαίνει θάνατον καὶ χωρισμὸν
 ἀθρόον 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 20–1
 τὸ δένδρον τὸ νεόφυτον ..., ἀφοῦ ψυγῇ παρὰ καιρόν, ἀφοῦ φυλλορροήσῃ, ... ἄλλο
 ποτὲ οὐ βλαστήσει 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 223–5
 πλὴν ἂν οὔ κάτω κατεβῇς ἐκ τ’ ὀρεινὸν ἐκεῖνο, ... θέλεις ἀκούειν ἀπὸ μακρέα τῆς
 Κακοδυστυχίας ἀνθρωποαναστενάγματα 14th c./13th c., *Log. parig.* L 145–8

μοναῦτα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸ μας ὀρισμὸ περιλάβης, νὰ ποίσης ... διαλαλημὸ καὶ ὀρισμὸ
ἀπὲ τῇ μερίᾳ μας 1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.1–2

ὅταν δώσῃ τὸν κακὸν τοῦ θάνατον ὁ Ἡρώδης, τότες νὰ σκοτώσῃ ὅλους τοὺς
πρώτους 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.7–9

κάθα ὄντὲν ἔρθῃ καράβι, ἔρχεται καὶ κάθεται καὶ κλαίει
1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.4–5

ὅποτε ἔρτῃς μὲ τὲς δύναμες ἐκεῖνες ... εἴμεστέν πρόθυμοι
1618, Mani, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 24, 270.9

“When/after/as soon as” + Present Indicative (habitual/repeated events)

μόλις τοὺς δίδομεν ψωμίν, ... εὐθύς μὲ πάσαν προθυμίαν εὐρίσκονται δηνέρια
15th–16th c./15th c., BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 63–8

ἀπὸ τοῦτα τὰ δέντρα ἡμποροῦμεν νὰ εὐρίσκωμεν τὰ σύνορα, ὅποτε τὰ χαλάει τὸ
ποτάμι 1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 450.18

παρακαλῶ τῇ πανιερότῃ σου νὰ μοῦ θυμᾶσαι ..., ὅποτα βρίσκεις πατσάτσο, νὰ μοῦ
πέβῃς γραφή 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.6–7

NOTES

- (i) In more colloquial styles, clauses of this type occasionally lack an overt conjunction (in the manner of conditional clauses more generally, see 3.3). The subject is always omitted (i.e. understood as coreferential with that of the main verb) and the effect is rather like that of an infinitive marked for aspect but not for tense (see Rule (36)):

πρόσεξε ..., νὰ σέβῃς εἰς τὸ κάστρον, πῶς στήκει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8214–15

“take note, on entering the castle, of how it is laid out”

3.4.2.2 Overlapping with the Event Described in the Main Clause

“When/while/as long as” + Present Indicative/Subjunctive

καὶ ἂν θέλουν τρώγειν οἱ δεκατρεῖς τοὺς δώδεκα μοδίους, ... τί τοὺς οὐ θάπτω ὥσὸτε
ζῶ καὶ φεύγω ἀπὸ τὴν Πόλιν ... ; 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 26.9–26.11 app. crit. (H)

ὥς ποτε ζῆς, βεβαιώθησε καὶ γνώριζε ἀπ’ ἐμέναν, τῆς Τύχης τὸ κακόγνωμον οὐ θέλεις
ἀποφύγειν 14th c./13th c., *Log. parig.* L 100–1

βουλὴν ἀπῆρα ... ποτὲ νὰ μὴ τὴν στρέψω ὥσὸτι στέκῃ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπάνω εἰς
τὸ κορμί μου 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1410–13

μὲ δάκρυα πάντα νὰ σὲ κλαίω, ἔστα νὰ ζῶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 4274 app. crit. (X)

λοιπὸν κι ἐσεῖς τὴν νιότη σας χαίρεστεν ὥστε ζεῖτε 16th c., *Kakop.* 185

τὸ ἕτερον ἡμῖσον νὰ πάρῃ ἡ λεγομένη κερά Θεόκλητη, νὰ τὸ ἔχῃ ἕως ὅπου νὰ ζῇ
1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.23–4

- ὅμως εἶναι δύσκολον νὰ ἀποθάνῃ τινὰς χωρὶς νὰ ἔβγῃ ἡ ψυχὴ του, καὶ ὥστε νὰ εἶναι
ἡ ψυχὴ του μέσα του δὲν εἶναι ἀποθαμένος 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 165.15–17
- ὁ ποῖος ἀφέντης παπᾶς νὰ μπορῇ νὰ ἔχῃ τὰ μνημόσυνα καὶ τὰ συνηθικὰ ἑορτὰς ...,
ἔως νὰ μπορῇ νὰ ἱεουργᾷ στὸ ἄνωθεν μοναστήρι
1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 107, 122.11–13
- εἶναι πολλὰ ἀναπαμένον τὸ μοναστήρι ἀπὸ λόγου του, καὶ ὅσον ζεῖ δὲν θέλουν ...
ἄλλον 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.41–3
- τὰ ἐξῆς νὰ στέκεται ἡ αὐτὴ ἀλλαξιά ὥστε ὁ ἥλιος φέγγει
1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 200, 168.20
- ὅντε ξημερώνει, ἅμε ὀμπροστὰς τοῦ βασιλέως 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas*. 42.5–6
- τὸ πρᾶμα του νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὸ χέριν της νὰ τὸ κρατῇ ... ὥσποτε ζεῖν
1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 181.12–14
- ὡς ὅποτα ζῶ νὰ γρικόται ἀνάμεσά μας καὶ τῶν ἐδυνῶν ὡς ὅποτα ζῶ καὶ
ἀποθάνοντάς μου νὰ ἔναι πάλι ἐδική του 1731, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1972: 18, 287.13

3.4.3 Past/Non-past Temporal Clauses Denoting Following Events

3.4.3.1 Containing Subjunctives

“Until” + Aorist Subjunctive (single event)

- οἱ Τοῦρκοι οὐδὲν ἀνάμειναν ἔως οὔ νὰ κατουνέψουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5260
- βούλεται νὰ ἔχῃ βάλλει φύλαξιν ... ἔως οὔ νὰ τὸ ἔχῃ ἐπάρει
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2899–900
- ᾧμοσαν νὰ μὴ κοιμηθοῦν ἐστάνε ἐξημερώσῃ 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 439 app. crit. (A)
- ὡς ἤκουσε ταύτας τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, ἄργον πολλὰ τοῦ ἐφαίνετον, ἔως ὅτου νὰ
ὑποστρέψῃ ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ καράβιν του, νὰ ὑπάγῃ τὴν ὁδὸν του
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1444–6
- ἐκεῖ τὴν ἔδοξεν τὸ νὰ κρυβῇ τὴν γραῖαν ἔστ’ ἂν νὰ ποίῃ τὸ κακὸν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1249–50
- κι οὐκ ἤθελον ν’ ἀφήσουσιν τοὺς Φράγκους νὰ περάσουν, ὅσον νὰ ἐκπληρώσουσιν
τὲς συμφωνίης ἐκεῖνες 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 409–10
- ἐστάθην δυνατός, ὡσώσπου νὰ διαβῇ τὸ πρᾶμαν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 10.4–5
- πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσκότωσαν ἀπὸ τὸ φουσάτον, ὥσθε νὰ φθάσῃ ὁ πόλεμος τοῦ
Ἀλεξάνδρου 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 14.22–3 (Konstantinopulos)
- ἀποὺ τὸ ρέστος, ὥστε νὰ σώσου στὰ ὑπέρπυρα ρπα’, νὰ δώσουν ἐκείνων ὅπου τὴν
θέλου καλογερέψῃ καὶ μνημονευεῖ καὶ θαφεῖ
1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 92, 108.17–18
- ὀπλεγάρεται ὁ λεγόμενος κυρ-Ἀντώνης νὰ τοῦ δίδῃ κρασί ... ἔως νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ τὰ
ὑπέρπυρα ρν’ 1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 256, 251.5–6

ἔτζι πάντα ἐδῶ ἐζήσαμεν εἰς εἰρήνην, ὥστε ποὺ ὁ ἐχθρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ σπεῖρη το
ζιζάνιο 1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.8–9

ἀποσφώνιαξέ την (σκίλλαν) καλὰ εἰς τὸ ξύδι, ἔως νὰ μὴν ἔχη πλέον τινὰ ὑγρότητα
17th c., LANDOS, *Geopon.* 187.25–6

εἶμαι δοῦλός σου, ὥς ὅπου νὰ ποθάνω
17th–18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 161

“Until” + Present Subjunctive (usually of future/modal auxiliaries, rarely progressive)

ἀφίνω νὰ ἔχη ὁ Δημήτριος τὴν διοίκησιν του ἀπὸ τὸ μοναστήριον ὥσὸτε νὰ θέλῃ
ἐξελεθῇ νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν αὐθέντην μου τὸν βασιλέαν
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.58–9

νὰ τὸ περιφυλάττῃ ... ἔως ὅπου νὰ ἔρχωνται πατέρες ἀπὸ τὴν ἄνωθεν μονὴν
1660, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969j: 1, 140.10–12

“let him continue to keep it until priests are coming from the above monastery”

“Before” + Aorist Subjunctive (single event; more rarely repeated/generic)

πρὶν τὴν εὐρύῃς (τὴν τύχην), ἐχάσες την, πρὶν τὴν ἰδῆς, ὑπάγει
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 206

ἂν ἔπτιασας, εἰπέ το, πρὶν σὲ καταδεσμήσωσι καὶ χάσῃς τὰ νερά σου
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 536–7

πρὶν τὸ πιάσω χάνεται καὶ φεύγει ἐκ τὸ σκουτέλλιν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 242

ἦρταν ... εἰς τὴν Λευκουσίαν ἀπεζά, πρὶν νὰ ξημερώσῃ
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 16.9–10

καὶ ξεφορτώσου τὰ κακὰ, πρίχου νὰ σὲ φονεύσου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 118

ὀμπρὸς παρὰ νὰ γεννηθῇ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐφάνησαν ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τρεῖς ἥλιοι καὶ
τρία φεγγάρια 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.12–13

μίσεψε ... πρὶ σὲ δῆ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.241

προτοῦ σώσῃ ἐκεῖ, τὸν εἶχε φθονήσῃ ἡ γυναῖκα του καὶ ὁ υἱὸς του καὶ τὸν
ἐσκοτώσανε 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.29–31

πρὶν νὰ σώσῃ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἤρε τζακισμένον τὸν Μπαγιαζίτη
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.32–3

NOTES

(i) In Cyprus *until*-conjunctions are sometimes used to mean “before”:

ἐξωδίασεν πεντακόχιε χιλιάδες ὀνομίσματα ὥς που νὰ τοὺς (γιοὺς) φέρῃ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 76.13–14

“he had spent 500,000 bezants before he recovered his sons”

ὥς που νὰ φάγῃ ὁ Δημήτρης, ἔγραψεν ἡ ρήγαινα χαρτίν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 412.5–6

“before Dimitris finished eating, the queen wrote a letter”

- (ii) *πρὸ μή(ν) (νᾶ)* is sometimes used when there is a nuance of “precaution” or “prevention”:

ἦρταν ὁ<μ>πρός, πρὸ μὴν ἔρτη τὸ καράβι μὴ τὰ ροῦχα τους

1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.28–9

3.4.3.2 Containing Past Indicatives (in Past Time Only)

“Until”

ἦντεστάθην ..., ἕως οὗ ἐπόνεσα καὶ ἡῦρα τὰς θείας γραφὰς μαρτυροῦντας

12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5–7

ἀτός του ἐστάθηκεν ἐκεῖ ... ἕως οὗ καὶ ἐπληρώθηκεν τὸ κάστρον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7999–8000

ἀφέντεψεν, ἀφ’ ὃν ἐστέφθην ὥς που καὶ ἐπέθανεν, λθ’ χρόνους

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 58, 60.36, 1–2

ἔτρεχα ὥστε κ’ ἐτσάκισε τὸ σταύρωμαν ἡ μέρα

16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 12

οὐδὲν ἐλεῖψαν ἀποκεῖ, ὥστε ποῦ τελειώθη

16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 596

ἀνέμειναν ἕως ὅπου ἔφθασεν ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἡ βασίλισσα

16th c., *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 75.26–7

ἐγὼ δὲν τὸ ἐπίστευα ὥστε ὅπου ἐπῆγα εἰς τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν

17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 61–2

3.4.4 Other Types of Temporal Clause

3.4.4.1 Nominalized Verb Forms

- (36) A nominalized perfective/aorist infinitive or a nominalized finite clause containing an aorist subjunctive marked with νᾶ may be used to mean “on [X] doing Y”, i.e. as broadly equivalent to a temporal clause introduced by a conjunction meaning “when”, “after”, “as soon as” but marked only for aspect (with perfective aspect naturally interpreted as denoting a preceding event).**

The tenselessness of subjunctives in this construction follows directly from the inherent tenselessness of the infinitives for which they are substituted; both denote actions outside the temporal framework of this world and acquire a time reference secondarily, through their relation to the time of the event denoted by the main verb.

The subject position of an infinitive in this construction may be controlled by the subject of the main verb if the two elements are coreferential. Alternatively, the infinitive may have an overt nominative subject of its own, which may or may not be coreferential with the subject of the main verb. If the infinitival subject is coreferential with the main-clause subject, the latter is omitted (i.e. understood as having the content of the appropriate pronoun); if it is not coreferential, an overt subject is obligatory unless the verb is impersonal.

When a single nominative subject is placed between an infinitive and a main verb it is often impossible to decide which of the two verbs it properly belongs to.

τό + Infinitive

- εὐθύς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὁ Διγενής, τὴν κόρην συντυχαίνει 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 934
- τὸ ἀκούσειν τὸ ὄνομα ὁ Χρόνος ἐκ τὸν ξένον, ὥσπερ ἐκράτει τὸ χαρτίν, γοργὸν τὸ ἀποτυλίσσει 14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 93–4
- τὸ λάβει τὰ πιπτάκια, ... ἀνοῖξαν τὰ προστάγματα καὶ ἀναγνώσανέ τα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7855–7
- τὸ ἀκούσει ὁ Ροῦσος ντὲ Σουλῆ ..., εὐθέως ἐσυγκατέβηκεν κ' ἰσιάστησαν εἰς τοῦτο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7927–8
- τὸ ἰδεῖ τον ὁ μισὶρ Ντζεφρές, γλυκέα τὸν ἀποδέχτη 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8231
- τὸ ἔλθει ἡ πρωτοστρατόρισσα, ὁ πρίγκιπας τῆς λέγει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7703
- καὶ τὸ ἰδεῖν ὁ βούβαλος ἐσέβη εἰς τὴν μέσην 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 1028
- ἐγὼ τὸ δεῖν ἐτρόμαξα 16th c./15th c., *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 53

τό + νά-clause

- τὸ νὰ τὸν ἴδῃ ὁ ἀμιράς, πιάνει, καταφιλεῖ τον 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 594
- τὸ ν' ἀργήσῃ λεῖ (ὁ πάγος) ..., καὶ χολλιάζονται τυφλοὶ καὶ θεραπεύονται 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 34.7–8
- τὸ νὰ δεῖ ὁ φρεῖ Γιλιάμ πὼς ἐλείπεν ὁ Περρῆς ..., ἐννοιάστην πὼς ἐπῆγεν νὰ ποίση νώση 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 58.17–18
- τὸ νὰ ξημερώσῃ, ἦρτεν ὁ Φανῆς ... εἰς τὸ σπῖτιν τοῦ Τζωρτή 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 60.4–5
- τὸ νὰ τὸ δῶ (τὸ λάφιν), τὸ δόξευα κ' εἶχα το σκοτωμένον 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 46
- ἔγραψε ὁ Ὀκτάβιος τοῦ Ἡρώδου ὅτι, παρευθὺς τὸ νὰ ἰδῇ τὸν ὀρισμὸν του, νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν Ρώμην 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 341.27–9

NOTE

- (i) A few examples in later texts have aorist indicatives with or without νά. These appear to involve adaptations of the above in line with the form/sense of corresponding temporal clauses:

- τὸ{ν} νὰ τὸ ἐγέννησεν (τὸ παιδί), ἐστάθηκε ὀρθὸ εἰς τὰ ποδάρια του 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.6–7
- τὸ ἤκουσε ὁ Ταμερλάνος, τοῦ ἑκακοφάνη πολλά ... νὰ παίρνη τὴν ἀφεντία τους 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.10–12

3.4.4.2 Gerunds

- (37) A gerund (or an inflected participle) may perform the role of a temporal clause in describing situations that precede or overlap with the event described in the main clause; in the absence of a conjunction the exact temporal force has to be determined pragmatically from the context.**

Inflected participles apart from the perfect passive are all but obsolete in vernacular LMedG and often poorly controlled (at least by ancient standards). Their use indicates a higher register and/or an official context (especially legal), and in their role as stylistically marked variants of gerunds they mainly follow the syntax of the latter in not allowing their subjects, overt or covert, to be coreferential with non-subjects in main clauses. But whereas gerunds are always active in form and meaning, participles may be either active or mediopassive. Mediopassive participles are particularly useful in the absence of a corresponding gerundial option, though many common deponent verbs (those with mediopassive morphology but active meanings) do form active gerunds: ἔρχοντας, φαίνοντας etc.

Accordingly, gerunds/participles function prototypically as active “subject-orientated adjuncts”, i.e. with a missing subject understood to be coreferential with the subject of the main verb, or as “absolute constructions”, i.e. with an overt subject of their own that is referentially distinct from that of the main verb. In practice, however, the two subjects are often coreferential, and in this respect gerundial/participial constructions follow the model of temporal clauses, cf. the non-coreferential subjects of *after X did this*, *Y did that* with the (optionally) coreferential subjects of *after X did this*, *s/he (= X) did that*, or *after s/he (= X) did this*, *X did that*.

When the subject of a gerund is coreferential with that of the main verb, therefore, the subject position is either empty and controlled by the main-verb subject (i.e. the two are automatically understood to corefer), or it is filled with a nominative subject to form an “improper” absolute construction, with the main-verb subject omitted and its pronominal content supplied by agreement morphology on the verb. Ideally, participles in this construction agree with the main-clause subject in number, gender and case (nominative) and their subject position is controlled, though various deviations from this norm are attested.

When the subject of a gerund is not coreferential with the main-verb subject, the position is filled unless the verb is impersonal; the subject may be nominative (making a true nominative absolute), or, in deference to ancient practice, genitive (making a genitive absolute), but genitive clitic pronouns are standard in the absence of nominative clitics (τοῦς has a very restricted distribution). Ideally, inflected participles agree with their own subjects in number, gender and case (nominative or genitive), though again there are deviations. The subject of a genitive absolute, like that of a nominative absolute, may in practice be coreferential with that of the main clause.

The negative is either οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν or μή(ν) according to whether the writer is following the functional parallel with temporal clauses (where οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν is used with past/present indicatives) or the participial tradition (where μή(ν) had been the standard negator since Late Antiquity); the former is the normal option.

Perfective gerunds/participles are normally understood to denote an event taking place before that of the main clause, imperfective forms as denoting eventualities (at least partly) contemporaneous with the main-clause event, but perfective forms are in decline in the later period covered by this Grammar and imperfective forms are often used in an aspectually neutral way.

Nominative Subject ($\pm$ control by/coreferentiality with main-clause subject)

- διαβόντα γὰρ μικρὸς καιρὸς, ἀπέθανε ἡ κουντέσσα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8001
- ἀκούσοντά το οἱ ἄρχοντες, ... μεγάλως τὸ ἀνεχάρησαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 351–4
- ὁ καστελλᾶνος παρευτὺς, οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον, ... ὑποσχέθη του νὰ τὸν δεχτῇ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237–8
- ἐκεῖνος δὲ δεξάμενος τῆς κόρης τὸ πιτάκιν, ἀνέθαλλεν ἡ ψυχίτσα του, ἐχάρηκεν
μεγάλως 15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1110–11
- ἐμόσαν του ὁ σὶρ Φίλιππε τε Ἰμπελὴν ... καὶ ὁ μισερ Τζουὰν Ταπιέρ, καθὼς ἐποῖκαν
οἱ δελιοποὶ ἀφέντες, θέλοντα καὶ μὴ θέλοντα
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 56.26–8
- πηγαίνοντα ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πάπα, πολλὰ ἐκατηγόρησαν τοὺς Κυπριῶτες
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 296.9–10
- γροικῶντα ὁ κυβερνούρης τὸ κακὸν θέλημαν τοῦ πάπα, ἐξανάστρεψεν ἄλλους
μαντατοφόρους 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 296.13–15
- σιμώνοντας ἡ ὥρα νὰ γεννηθῇ ὁ Χριστός, ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς μέγα φῶς
16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.7–9
- ὁ γάιδaros, ιδῶντας τοῦτο, ἐκατηγόρησεν τότε τὸ ἄλογο πολλὰ
16th c., *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 53.6–7
- ἐτοῦτα λέγοντας ἡ Παρθένος Μαρία τῆς ἡγουμένης, φαίνεται πὼς τήνε παίρνει καὶ
πάγει τήνε εἰς ἕναν τόπον σκοτεινὸν 17th c./16th c., *MOREZINOS, Klini* 235.12–13
- ἐλθόντος ἡ ὥρα, ἐσηκώθη τὸ φουσᾶτον νὰ πηγαίῃ
17th c./16th c., *Vios Filaret.* 241.38–9
- νὰ ἐμπορῆς ἀπὸ ὅδ᾽ νὰ σοτοσκοριβέρης τοῦτο τὸ χαρτί ἀπὸ τὸν ... αὐθέντη δοῦκα,
φυλαζόμενα ἄλλα ὅπου σοῦ χρεωστῶ
1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 141, 141.7–8
- καὶ τὸ ἄλλον ἡμισὸ [νὰ παίρνου]ν οἱ κοπιαστάδες, ἀβοηθῶντας ἡ προειρημένη
κυράτζα Σταμάτα στὴν φύτευσιν 1573, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 2, 21.8–9
- πᾶσα γνωστικός ἄνθρωπος, δὲ κατέχοντας πότες ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος,
πρέπει καὶ τυχαίνει νὰ ὀρδινιαστῇ 1598, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 14, 35.5–6
- ιδόντας αὐτὰ, οἱ γιανιτζάρου του ἐφύγανε καὶ ἐδιάβησαν μὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸ του
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 44.28–9
- περνῶντας λοιπόν ... καλὰ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ... πετῶντες πολλοὶ εἰς τοὺς
οὐρανοὺς, ἀνασταίνεται ἕνας βασιλέας εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν
17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 31.26–9
- τὸ δὲ ... γένος τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐπρόκοπτε ..., δὲν λογιάζοντες ... τὴν γνώμην τοῦ
βασιλέως, μὴδὲ φοβούμενοι τοὺς φοβερισμοὺς του
17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 32.3–5

Genitive Subject ($\pm$ coreferentiality with main-clause subject)

- ὡς ἐνι θεοῦ θέλημα, ὥς γίνεται, ὅτι ..., συνεργοῦντος μου τοῦ Κυρίου, αὐτὰ εἶν τὸ
ἔργον μου 12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 9 314.27–9

- τοῦτο δὲ κάμου ἀκούσαντος, ἀπόστειλα γραφὴν εἰς τὸν ἡγούμενον
?1125, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.4
- τοῦ γάμου λυομένου, ἃς τρέφονται τὰ παιδιά ἀπὸ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ πατρικά
ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 232.195
- οἱ συγγενεῖς του ἐγένοντο, καὶ μὴ θελὼν τοῦ δούκα 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1025 app. crit.
θανατικοῦ γενομένου ... καὶ φAMILIKΩΣ εὕρισκομένων εἰς κάστρον ἐν τῶν ἐκεῖσε
κεφαλατεύοντες ..., ἀπέθανε ... τὸ παιδὶν καὶ ... ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ... ἡ μήτηρ
αὐτοῦ 16th c./15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.1–8
- τὸ χάρισμα ὁπῶχω ἔγω δὲ θέλω νὰ τὸ κρύψω, ζῶντα μου θέλω κανενὸς νὰ τοῦ τ'
ἀποκαλύψω 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 276–6B
- καθεζομένης τῆς Ἀφεντίας, ὑπῆγε καὶ ἐπροσκύνησεν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ
μαίλου τοῦ Γαλατᾶ ἔδειξεν 16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 15–17
- καὶ τὴν ἔτερην ἀποληφθὲν ἀπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν νὰ τήνε μοιράζουσιν ἐφ' ἡμισίας ὁ υἱὸς του ...
μὲ τὸν ἄγκονά του ..., ἀποτυχόντας (σ)του τοῦ προειρημένου κυρ Ἀλίσαντρου
1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.14–16
- μὴ ἔρχοντάς τους στὸ ἄνωθεν τέρμενον, νὰ ἡμποροῦν οἱ κριτάδες ν' ἀποφασίσουν
διὰ γνώμη τους 1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 135, 89.2–3
- ἀποθανόντας τοῦ καλογέρου, ν' ἀπομένη τὸ λεγόμενο ἀμπέλι στὰ παιδιά τοῦ
ἄνωθεν Λιγνοῦ 1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 92, 108.10–11
- ὁποῖος ἀγαπᾷ ἐμένα ζῶντ(ας) μου, ἔνα τους παρακαλῶ, ν' ἀγαποῦσι τὴν μάνα μου
καὶ τὰ παιδιά μου δέκα 1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.144–5
- κάθοντά σου εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, γελᾷς ἢ συντυχαίνεις;
17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 406.389

NOTES

- (i) According to context, a gerundial clause may take on causal or circumstantial nuances, as expected.
- (ii) In colloquial texts a missing subject may sometimes not be linked directly to the main-clause subject and a commonsense interpretation is required; e.g. in the following the subject of the gerund is coreferential with the subject of a subordinate clause:

παγαίνοντας εἰς τὸ σπῑτί του, ... ἀπὸ τὸ σακοῦλι, ὅπου ἔβαλε τὸ κεφάλι, ἔτρεχεν αἶμα!
16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 253.23–4

3.5 Causal Clauses

- (38) Causal clauses are introduced by conjunctions meaning “because” or “since” and contain past/present indicative or future/modal verb forms according to the sense required.**

In real (past/present) time the action or situation described in a causal clause must precede or overlap with the eventuality that it provides a cause or reason for.

But a causal clause may also represent a motivating belief held at the time of speaking about what will/would happen in the future as a *consequence* of the main-clause event (see NOTE (ii) below for EMG examples).

Typical LMedG/EMG causal conjunctions are:

“because”: ὅτι, διότι, διατό, διοῦ; διατί/(ὁ)γιατί

“since”: ἐπεὶ/ἐπειδή(τις), ἔσ(τ)οντας (νά, ὁπού/πού), στάντες (νά, καὶ νά).

The conjunctions ὅτι and διότι “because” are used throughout the period of this Grammar; the second, in origin, is a clarification of the former involving prefixation of δι(ά) “because of”.

As often happens cross-linguistically, διατί “why” (retained alongside its later development γιατί) also came to mean “because”.

Ἔσ(τ)οντας and στάντες (in use alongside the traditional ἐπεὶ/ἐπειδή “since”) are in origin gerunds of the verb “be”, first used in tenseless absolute constructions containing νά-subjunctives marked only for aspect, “[X’s performance of Y] being the case”. Subsequently they came to be used with tensed indicative forms, in the case of ἔστοντας often in combination with ὁπού (and occasionally with retention of νά), “it being the case that [X happens/happened]”. From this, it was a simple step to reinterpretation as a conjunction meaning “since”, “given that”.

“Because”

ὡς τὸ ἦκουσα ὁ δοῦλος σου χαρᾶς πολλῆς ἐπλήσθην, ὅτι ἡ κοιλία μου ἠνέκαίρησεν
ἀπὸ τὴν ἀφαγίαν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 258–9

χθὲς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐσφάξαμεν ἡδονικὰ κοράσια, διότι οὐδὲν ἠθέλασιν ὥσάν τὰς ἐλαλοῦμαν
15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 72–3

καὶ ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ... ὅτι ἐξήχυσεν ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ ἔπνιξεν χιλιάδας ν’ καὶ β’
1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.7–9

οὐκ ἠμπορῶ σᾶς γράψαι, διατὶ βαρειῶμαι γράφει τα διὰ τὴν πολυγραφίαν
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7802–3

ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γεῶ, ... διότι ἐστράφη ἄνεργος, τὴν ἐξοδὸν τοῦ ἐχάσε
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 8185–6

οἱ βοσκοὶ ... ἀσηκώθησαν ἀπάνω, συχυσμένοι διότι ἐκοιμοῦνταν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.12–14

ἡ ... Μακαρία Κουκάκαινα ... εὐρίσκεται ἀχαμνά, διατὶ ἔναι γερόντισσα
1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.2–4

ὁ πατέρας τοῦ δὲν τὸν ἐδέχτη, διατὶ ἐφοβάτονε ἀπὸ τὸν σουλτάν Μουράτη
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.26–7

παρακαλῶ τὴν πανιερότη σου νά μοῦ τσι στείλῃς τσι τάβλες, ὀγιατὶ μοῦ κάνουσι
μεγάλη χρεία 1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.24–5

νά μοῦ στείλῃς δύο ὠρολόγια ... ὅτι μὲ χρειάζονται γιὰ τὰ παιδιά μου
1697, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 37, 226.11–13

“Since”

- ἐπεὶ ... τοῦ τόπου τὰ συνήθεια ὀρίζουν ὅτι ὁ πρίγκιπας, ... σωματικῶς νὰ ἀπέρχεται ἐντὸς τοῦ πριγκιπάτου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7880–3
- ἔκαμε καὶ ἔκαμάν του ἄλλην εἰς τύπωσιν ..., ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἔναι μεγαλύτερος βασιλεὺς παρὰ ὅλους 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.17–21
- ἔστειλεν ἔξοδες καὶ κάτεργα ὁ πάπας ..., ἔσοντας ὅπου πολλές φορές τὸ ἐβουλήθησαν (να γένει ἡ ἔνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν) 17th c./16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1631) 229.40–2
- τοῦ ἑκακοφάνη πολλά, ἔσοντας νὰ εἶναι ὅλοι μίας πίστεως 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.11–12
- στάντες καὶ ... νὰ μὴν ἔχω νὰ δώσω 1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 219, 206.15–6
- στάντες νὰ ᾔχε γυναῖκα ἐπαρμένη 1628, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 2, 333.16
- νὰ μὴν ἔχη ἐξουσίαν ... κανένας ... νὰ τοὺς ἐνοχλήσῃ, ἔστοντας ὅπου ἔγινε μὲ κοινήν γνώμην καὶ βουλὴν πάντων τῶν καθηγουμένων 1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.13–15
- θέλω τὸν ἐγκαλέσειν εἰς τὴν ὥραν τῆς κρίσεως, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀφιέρωσά το διὰ ψυχικὴν μου σωτηρίαν 1683, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 18, 45.8–10
- κανένας δὲν ἀπεκοτοῦσε νὰ φανερωθῇ, ἔστοντας ἐκεῖνοι οἱ φοβεροὶ πειράτες νὰ ἔστεκόντασι μὲ τὸ σπαθὶ στὸ χέρι 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22.9–11
- ἐπειδὴ τῆς καὶ δὲν ἡξεύρει νὰ γράφῃ 1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 110.31

NOTES

- (i) With verbs of emotion ὅτι, διότι, γιατί etc. come close to introducing complements, cf. *I am angry because/that ...* :

τὸν αὐθεντόπουλόν μου συγχαίρομαι ὅτι ἡτύχχησεν καὶ ἐκέρδησεν βρεφόθεν
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.1v.18–20

τὰ ροῦχα ... μέρτσα τὰ ἔλαβα καὶ κρῖμα εἰς τὸν κόπον ... γιατὶ ἐβγήκε πολλά
ἀχαμνὸ 1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.10–12

- (ii) A natural extension is the substitution of factive ὅπου “in so far as” in later texts when the cause/reason is regarded as true (though many of the clauses in question can also be treated as relatives, see 5.3.3):

νὰ ἐβγοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἀνόλπιδου χρέους, ὅπου δὲν ἔχομεν ... ἄλλοῦ
ἐλπίδα 1583, ?Athens, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.28–9

θωρῶντας τον καὶ λυπῶντας τον ὅπου ἦτονε εἰς τὴ φυλακὴ
1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 752, 652–653.4–6

καὶ ἴτα νὰ τὸν ἐδεκτῶ ἐγὼ νὰ τοῦ κάμω ἡ γι-ἀνήπορη, ὅπου ... ἴτα εἶχα ἐγὼ γίνει
στὸ κόσμo; 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.15–16

- (iii) Since there is a temporal relation between causes/reasons and main-clause events, and since καὶ is regularly used to link clauses denoting events that follow one another

in time, *καί* is often used to conjoin clauses that stand in a causal relationship in place of formal subordination, especially in more colloquial styles. Some degree of grammaticalization appears to be involved given the adaptation of *καί* to *ὁκαί* to resemble a “true” conjunction:

τὰ ποκάμισα ..., μὴν ἔχῃς καμίαν ἔγνοια, ὁκαί ... θέλω σου τὰ πέψει

1498, Crete, Manoussacas 1976: 3, 21.15–16

μηδὲν πέψης ἄτυχους (μαντατοφόρους) καί χάσης πολλὰ

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 22.35–6

ἀπὸ πτωχὸν μὴ δανεισθῆς καί κλαίει καί ἀκολουθᾷ σε!

16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 44

ἄς πάμενε, συντρόφισσε, κ' ἐπέρασε ἡ ὥρα

17th–18th c./17th c., *Zinon* Prol. 168

- (iv) Conjunctions normally introducing other types of adverbial clause are occasionally used causally, e.g. *ἀφῶν/ἀφόν* etc., lit. “after”, or *ἄμα* etc., lit. “as soon as” (cf. 3.4.1), *καθώς* etc., lit. “as” (cf. 3.7):

ὀλίγοι ἄνθρωποι ἡμποροῦν νὰ τὸ (κάστρο) ἔχουσι φυλάττει, ἀφῶν ἔχει

σωτάρχισιν κ' ἐνι ἀφρωμένον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8273–4

ἔθελέν τους ἀξαμινιάσειν ἐκεῖνος μὲ τὸν βισκούνην, καθὼς ἦσαν κλησιαστικοί

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 32.7–8

ἄμα σὲ ἀπάντησα ἐδῶ, κάνει χρεῖα νὰ σὲ πάρω

16th c., *Nov. II* 162.26–7

- (v) Very occasionally in later texts a *νὰ*-clause (± *διὰ*) is used to express a cause/reason without a preceding conjunction; the subject is always omitted, being coreferential with the main-clause subject, and the verb is marked for aspect but not for tense (cf. 3.4.2, NOTE (i) for similar temporal clauses):

ἐπῆγες καὶ κόντρα τῆς φύσεώς σου, νὰ μὴν λυπηθῇς τὰ παιδιὰ σου, καὶ τὸν

πλοῦτον ... νὰ λογιᾶσης γιὰ μουδὲ τίποτες, καὶ ἐπρόκρινες νὰ εἶσαι

17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.29–32

“you went against your nature, not pitying your children and caring nothing for wealth, you ...”

ἕνας παράσιτος ὅπου ... ἐκράζουτον Φαγότος, διὰ νὰ εἶναι ἄνθρωπος χοντρός

..., εἶπεν τοῦ Βασιλέως

17th c., *Bertoldos* 28.2–5

“a parasite, who, being a fat man, was called ‘Glutton’, spoke to the king”

3.6 Concessive Clauses

- (39) Concessive clauses are introduced by (ἄν) *καλὰ καί*, *ἀνέναι καί* (when following a main clause), *μὲ ὅλο ποῦ*, “(al)though”; simple *ἄν καί* is not attested in the corpus before the 17th/18th c. They may also be introduced by *καί ἄν*, *καί ἄς* “even if”/“even though”. See also on conditionals in 3.3.

Conjunctions meaning “although” take present/past indicatives, those meaning “even if/even though” naturally take the same range of tenses as the corresponding conditional conjunction.

- ὁ Θεὸς ἐλευθερώσῃ σε καὶ ἄς εἴσαι ψωμοζήτητος 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 216
 αὐτὸς ὁ Εὐλάλιος καὶ ἂν ἔλθῃ ... τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἐξορθώνουσι ... πατέρα τῶν
 γραμματικῶν 15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 43–7
 τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἂν ἐγύρευες, κάλλιον οὐκ εἶχες εὔρειν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 984
 τὸ ἔγραψα ... διὰ νὰ μὴν ἀπελπίζεται τινὰς κἂν ἀμαρτωλὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἂν ἔναι
 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.22–3
 σαράντ' ἁγίους καὶ ἂν ἔκραζες μὲ πόθο νὰ γυρεύης, τὲς λειτουργιές σου χάνεις τες,
 μὰ μένα δὲν μοῦ φεύγεις 16th c., *Alfav.* 10 71–2
 χτύπησε, καλὰ καὶ γρινιασμένη τὴν εἶδα ὀψὲς ..., μὴν εἶν' κινεῖς στὸ σπίτι της
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.93–5
 κι ἂν εἶναι κι ὥς τὴ σήμερον δὲν εἶναι παντρεμένη, μ' ὅλο ποὺ τόσοι βασιλιοὶ τὴν ἔχου
 ζητημένη, δὲν ἔν' παρὰ γιὰτὶ πονεῖ ... ἡ καρδιά μου
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.533–5
 γιὰ ποῖα ἔφορμή μακρὰ νὰ θὰ γυρεύης θεριά ..., ἂν ἐν κ' ἐσὺ ἔχῃς ἓνα θεριὸ ἄγριο
 πλιά σιμά σου 17th c., *Pist. voskos* I 1.79–83
 ὁ ὅποιος, ἂν καλὰ καὶ εἶμαι ἀμαρτωλός, μὲ ὅλον ἐτοῦτο ἐπρογνώριζα ἕως ὅπου
 μέλλει νὰ φθάσῃ ἡ Ἐκκλησία 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 57–9
 καὶ μοιράσασιν ... τὴν ἄνωθεν φυτέαν ..., καλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ὥραν ὅπου ἀπόθανεν ὁ
 ποτὲ ἀφέντης Ξερίτης ἐτύχαινε νὰ τὴ μοιράσου
 1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 299, 285.4–5
 ἀγκαλὰ καὶ εἶναι πτωχεῖα εἰς τοῦτο τὸ νησί, μολαταῦτα ... τοὺς ἐβοηθήσαμεν
 1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9a, 70.13–15
 ἐγὼ βασιλικὴν τιμὴν σοῦ ἔκαμα, ἂν καὶ ἦσουν καὶ ἐχθρός μου
 18th c./17th c., *Alex.* Fyll. 67.24–5
 δὲν εἶναι ἴδιον τῶν ... καβαλιέρων τὸ νὰ δείχνουν τὲς πληγές τους, ἂν καὶ νὰ ἦτον
 τόσες μεγάλες ὅπου νὰ ἐβγαίνουν τὰ ἄντερα τους 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.11–13

NOTES

- (i) Relative clauses introduced by ὅπου (see 5.3.3) may sometimes take on a concessive/temporal force (“though”/“when”) and express a reaction to/contrast with what has preceded (“whereas”):

εἴμαστεν χορτασμένοι ... ποὺ ἴμαστεν πεινασμένοι. ... τί νὰ γένῃ, ποὺ φάγαμε τὰ
 ἄλογα, ὅπου ἴμαστεν χρειασμένοι; 16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 899–902

ἀμὴ δεῖξε μου τὸ πῶς ἐσεῖς γίνεσθε, ὅπου γυναῖκες οὐδὲν ἔχετε
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 44.11–12 (Konstantinopulos)

ἀπ' αὐτὴν (περηφανία) ἐξέπεσε Σατᾶν ὁ ἑωσφόρος καὶ ἡ γίνη σκοτεινόμορφος,
 ὅπου ἔτον λαμπροφόρος 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1603–4

ἐκεῖνος ἤθελεν εἶσταν ζωντανός, ὅπου τώρα εἶναι ἀπεθαμένος
 17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.26–7

3.7 Comparative Clauses

(40) Clauses comparing the manner in which a main-clause event took place with some other eventuality (e.g. *A happened [as X hoped (it would)]/[in the (same) way that B happened]*) are introduced by *ὡς/(ὡ)σάν/ὥσπερ*; (*ὡς*) *καθὼς/καθὰ/καταπῶς*; *οἷον/ὅγοιον/γοιόν/ὡς γοῖον/ὡς γοιόν*. These conjunctions are used with indicatives when the event compared is real, “(just) as”, and with *νά* + conditional forms when it is hypothetical/counterfactual, “as if”.

There are no examples in the database of (*ὡς*) *καθὼς*, *καθὰ*, *καταπῶς* used with conditional verb forms, and these appear to have been used exclusively for accurate/factual comparisons.

“Ὅγοιον, γοιόν, ὡς γοῖον are characteristically Cypriot forms.

Indicatives (present, imperfect, aorist, pluperfect)

- οὐ γὰρ εἶν ἀνάγκη ... περὶ πίστεως δογματίζειν ..., καθὼς καὶ προεῖπα
12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 150.23–4
- ἄς μείνη ὁ τόπος ἔρημος, ἄς γένῃ ὡς ἦτον πρῶτον 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 283
- καθεὶς κοιμᾶται ὡς ἔστρωσεν, ὡς ἔσπειρεν θερίζει 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 365
- ἐκίνησαν τὰ σάλια μου ... νὰ τὴν ἐπέπεσα καθὰ ἦτον φουσκωμένη
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 219–20
- κι ὥμοσε ὁ μπάϊλος πρότερον καὶ τότε οἱ λίζιοι ἀνθρώποι, νὰ εἶναι δοῦλοι καὶ πιστοὶ
... ὡς ἐν τὸ συνήθειον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7930–2
- ἦτον πρώτη σύμβια ... τοῦ ἀφέντη τῆς Καρύταινας, ὡσάν σὲ τὸ ἀφηγήθην
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8004–5
- ἔχομέν σε ἀδελφὸν καὶ συλλειτουργὸν καὶ ἤδη, καθὼς ὄρῃς, καὶ γράφομέν σοι τὰ περὶ
τούτου 1376, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 255, 486.16–17
- αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν τὸ κενὸν χρέος, ὥσπερ χρεωστοῦμεν οἱ ἀπαξάπαντες
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147–8.5–6
- ὥρισεν νὰ τὰ καταλύσω, καὶ νὰ τὰ χαλάσω ἐκ θεμελίων, ὥσπερ ἐποίησα καὶ τὴν
Θεσσαλονίκη 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.16
- μηδὲν μετανώσης ὡς γοιόν ἐποῖκες καὶ τὲς ἄλλε(ς) φορές
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 206.24–5
- μωρὸν παιδὶν τὸ φτιάζουν, γοιόν τὸν θωρεῖς ἐδὰ ζωγγραφισμένον
16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 18.15–16
- ἐγένεν ἔτσι ὡς καθὼς εἶπεν καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν ἐκείνη ἡ γραία
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.9–10
- ἔλα νὰ πᾶμε εἰς τὸ σπῖτι μου, νὰ σταθῇς νὰ ῥδινιάσω τὰ παιδιὰ μου, τὸ σπῖτι μου,
καταπῶς ἔναι ἡ τάξη 16th c., *Nov.* II 162.29–31
- σὲ παρακαλοῦμε νὰ εἴμεστέν Φράγκοι λίμπεροι, ὡς καθὼς γράφομε ἀπὸ πάνω
1571, Mani, CHASIoTIS 1970: 6.1, 242.41–2
- εἶντα μιλοῦσι τὰ πουλιά ξεύρει, σάν εἴχ' ἀκούσει
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.267

- οἱ Οὐγγαροὶ, ἂν ἠθέλανε ἐμπῆ ᾗ τὸν πόλεμον ὥσάν ἐμπήκανε οἱ Φραντζέζοι,
ἐκερδέζανε τὸν πόλεμο 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.11–12
- τί ἄλλον καλὸν θὲ νὰ ἐκδέχονται ἀπ’ ἐκεῖνους, μόνον νὰ παίρνουσιν, ἂν ἔχουν
τίβοτις, καθὼς τὸ κάνουν τὰ κοινόβια 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.50–1
- εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς θέλει εὐρεῖ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ, καθὼς τὰ εὐρήκασι καὶ οἱ πρωτύτεροι
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.9–10
- εἶδα τὸ ἄστρον σάν μοῦ ἐλέγασιν οἱ χωριάτες, καὶ ἐπληροφόρηθηκα
17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 62–3
- τσὶ γάμους σου ἔρχεται νὰ τιμήσῃ ὁ βασιλιὸς τῆς Πέρσις, σάν εἶχα σου μιλήσει
17th c., TROILIS, *Rodol.* III.215–16
- ἐδώσαμεν καὶ τοῦ Κουτλουμουσίου μοναστηρίου τὸν Ἅγιον Νικόλαον Σιμάτου ...,
ὡς καθὼς διαλαμβάνει τὸ παλαιὸν γράμμα τοῦ Πρωτάτου
1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.8–11
- τὸ ἄλλον ἡμισὸν ἐχάρισέν το ... καὶ νὰ γινε ὅλον τοῦ μοναστηριοῦ βακούφιν ὄχοιον
τὸ εἶχεν καὶ πρῶτα 1665, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 7, 19.8–11

Conditional Forms

- ὁ ρῆγας ὠρισεν ... ὅσοι ... χρεωστοῦν ὁμάτζια, τοῦ Ρούσου νὰ τὰ ποιήσουσιν ...
ὥσπερ νὰ ἦτο ὀλοστινὸς ὁ ρῆγας ἀπατός του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7858–62
- ἐκλαπεν καὶ ἐθρήνησεν ὥσπερ νὰ εἶχεν χάσει τὸ ρηγᾶτον <τὸ> τῆς Φραγκίας
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8179–80
- ἐπαρέδωκέν του καὶ τὸ κάτεργον, ὡσγοῖον νὰ ᾔχεν εἴσταιν δικόν του
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 12.17–18
- ἐγδύνουνται ... ἀπού τὰ σπίτιαν καὶ ἀπὸ ὅλα τως τὰ δικαιώματα σάν νὰ μὴν τὰ
θέλασιν ἔχει ποτέ 1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.13–14
- τοῦ ὁποίου διδὲι ἀουτοριτάν, ὥσάν νὰ ἦτον τὸ ἐδικόν τῆς κορμίν, ὅτι νὰ ἡμπορῇ νὰ
τῆνε ντεφεντέρη 1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4
- κάθα λογῆς ψυχικὸν γῆ χάρη ὁπού νὰ ἔκαμεν ... γιὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν ἀμπέλι νὰ εἶναι
κομμένα καὶ ἀνουλάδα ὥσάν ποτέ νὰ μὴν εἶχεν γενεῖ
1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 651, 568.6–7

NOTE

- (i) There is overlap between manner and temporal conjunctions reflected, for example, in the dual use of (ὡ)σάν, “as”/“when”, cf. on temporal clauses in 3.4.

(41) Clauses comparing less favoured alternatives to prospective/hypothetical situations presented in a main clause (e.g. *X will/would do A [rather than (do) B]*) are introduced by *παρὰ νά* + subjunctive (prospective) or conditional (hypothetical/counterfactual). Clauses comparing unrealized alternatives to real-time events (e.g. *X did A [rather than (doing) B]*), or activities carried out to a greater/lesser degree than such events (e.g. *X did A [more/less than (s/he did) B]*), are introduced by *παρὰ πού* + indicative.

Prospective

σήμερον ἄς ἀποθάνωμεν παρὰ νὰ ἐντραποῦμεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5396

καλλίον τὸ ἔχω νὰ ἀποθάνω, παρὰ νὰ μοῦ σηκώσῃ ἐκεῖνον ἀποῦ μοῦ ἔδωκεν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 24.7–8

κί ἴντα μπορῶ, νὰ ζήσης, παρὴ στὸ λάκκο σήμερο ... νὰ πὰ σὲ θάψω ...;
17th c./16th c., CHORTATZIS, *Katz.* III.112–14

Hypothetical/Counterfactual

“Would Have”

ἤθελεν κάλλιον νὰ εἶχεν χάσει μίαν ἀπὸ τὲς χῶρες του ..., παρὰ νὰ εἶχασιν ποσῶς
τὸν Κουραδὴ σκοτώσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7085–7

“Would”

πρῶτα ν’ ἀποθάναν καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἀκληρήσαν, παρὰ νὰ τοὺς ἐβγάλασιν ἐκ τὰ συνήθεια
ποῦ ἔχουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7904–5

Real Time

αὐτὸς πλέον ἐβλάβετονε παρὰ ἀποῦ ὠφελείτονε
17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 56.23–4

NOTES

- (i) In texts from the end of the period covered by this Grammar παρὰ (ποῦ) νὰ + subjunctive is also used with comparative temporal adverbs (= “sooner/later than”), after ἄλλος (= “(anyone/anything) other than”), and with negated verbs of ability (= “cannot (be otherwise) than”/“cannot but”):

ἐδιάβη καὶ ἔβαλε τοὺς χριστιανούς ᾗ τὴν μέση πρωτύτερα παρὰ νὰ σῶσῃ ὁ
Σιγισμόντος 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.20–1

γιατὶ ἔχουν τόσες παρρησιᾶς π’ ἂν εἶχα ἑκατὸ γλῶσσες ... τὰ χεῖλη δὲν μποροῦσι
παρὰ ποῦ ν’ ἀποφρίξουνε καὶ νὰ μὴ δυναστοῦσι
17th–18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 65–8

δὲν θέλω ἄλλο ἀπὸ λόγου σου παρὰ νὰ γυρίσῃς εἰς τὸ Τομπόζο, νὰ ὑπάγῃς ἐκ
μέρους μου εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν σινιόρα 18th c., *Don Kis.* 51.16–18

- (ii) Adverbs/conjunctions with closely related meanings (e.g. “except”, “but for”) are used in the same way:

πῶς νὰ τὸν ἀποδέξεται, πῶς νὰ τὸν χαιρετήσῃ, εἰμὴ νὰ λέγῃ ὅτι ἄπιστος καὶ νὰ
τὸν θανατώσῃ; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4898–9

ἡ παροῦσα μου ταπεινὴ δὲν εἶναι διὰ ἄλλην αἰτίαν πάρεξ νὰ τῆς ἀναγγείλω, ὅτι
1658, Cyprus, TSIRPANLIS 1973: 106, 160.5–6

- (iii) Occasionally περί/περοῦ appears in place of παρὰ, especially in texts composed in a more vernacular style:

κάλλιον τὸ ἔχω, θάνατον σήμερον ν’ ἀποθάνω περί νὰ εἰποῦσιν ἄλλαχοῦ νὰ μὲ
κατηγορήσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1134–5

κάλλιον τοῦ νά ἀποθάνῃ περὶ νά μείνῃ ἀνεργος τοῦ νά μὴ διαφορήσῃ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8187–8

ἔκρινα ὅτι νά καγοῦν τὰ κάτεργα καὶ ξύλα περοῦ λαὸς ὁ τῶν Γραικῶν ἐνωθῇ μὲ
τούς Φράγκους 16th c./15th c., *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 265–6

κάλλιον ἔναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νά κείτεται ἀπὸ μεγάλην ἀνάγκην περὶ νά ἔχῃ τὰ
βάρη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 28.19–21 (Konstantinopulos)

3.8 Other Adverbial Clauses

(42) An articular (nominalized) infinitive may be governed by a preposition and function in the manner of an English gerund: *after/because of/by ... [(X) doing Y]. In more popular styles νά + subjunctive may be substituted for the infinitive when the meaning is one of purpose or intent.*

Only in more elevated writing can the article be inflected in a case other than the accusative or the infinitive have an overt (accusative) subject of its own; normally, an empty subject position is controlled by the subject of the main verb.

In general, these constructions are characteristic of texts from the earlier medieval period, and survive later chiefly as formulaic phrases.

τό + Infinitive

ἦρξεν ὁ Λιεζάρης εἰς τὸ λέγειν 1142, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 303.25
μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι τὴν ἀπόφασιν, καρτερεῖ ὁ κριτὴς ἡμέρας ἰ'
ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 73.170–1

τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐλαττωμένον εἶχε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ φαίνεσθαι τίνα παρὰ τοῦ κήπου τότε
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 287–8

ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος μετὰ τὸ βαπτιστῆναι εἶπεν
17th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 65.41–2

NOTE

(i) Nominalized infinitives governed by a preposition are also used to complement adjectives, e.g. “nice to look at”, “hard to please” etc.:

ὁ τυφλὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐγένηκεν ἐξάκουστος καὶ εἰς τὸ βλέπειν φίνος
17th c., PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 143–4

τό + νά-clause

τὸ κατοῦδιν μας στήσας εἰς τὸ τραπέζιν, διὰ τὸ νά εἰποῦν ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνο τὴν
ζημίαν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 264–5

ἀφίνω καὶ ἐπτά ἱερεῖς ἀπὸ δύο ὑπερπύρων σιτάριν εἰς τὸ νά μὲ ποιήσουν ἀπὸ μ'
λειτουργιῶν ὁ καθένας ἕκαστος ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.55

(43) Prepositions/adverbs used as conjunctions meaning “without” take a finite clause containing a subjunctive (rarely a conditional) verb-form marked with νά.

- πάσα στρατιώτης εὐγενής πρέπει νὰ τοὺς λυπᾶται διατὸ ἀπέθαναν ἄδικα, δίχως νὰ πολεμήσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1160–1
- ἡμεῖς ... οὐδὲν ἔχομεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἄνευ νὰ ἦσαν κι ἄλλοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7911–12
- ἀφότου ἔφυγεν δίχα νὰ πολεμήση ... πῶς ἤμποροῦμε ἡμεῖς πεζοὶ νὰ βλάψωμεν τὸν τόπον; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 9177–81
- πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔσφαξε δίχως νὰ ἔχουν πταῖσμα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1454
- καὶ θέλεις εἴσταιν ἀπότορμος ... νὰ τοὺς ὀρίζης νὰ πηγαίνουν εἰς τὲς χρῆσε(ς) σου χωρὶς νὰ ἔχης ἔννοιαν ἵντα νὰ τοὺς πλερώσης 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.30–3
- νὰ δώση τὴν πρόβα πασανοῦ κομματίου τῆς ἀλτελαρίας ὅπου ἡ μπάλλα του νὰ ἵναι ἀπὸ βολίμι καθάριο χωρὶς νὰ ἔχη σίδερο ?15th–16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.33–4
- ἔπεσε ἡ τέντα του ... χωρὶς ἄνεμον καὶ χωρὶς νὰ τήνε σεῖση τινάς 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.3

4 Verbs and Verb Phrases

Verb Phrases (VPs) function as the predicates of clauses (see 1.1). The “core” of every VP is a verb form, the head of the phrase, together with its complements, if any. The traditional subcategorization into intransitive verbs (taking no object complement), transitive verbs (taking a direct object complement) and ditransitive verbs (taking both a direct object and an indirect object or other additional complement) deals only with nominal and certain prepositional phrase complements; other subclasses of verb may also take, e.g., sentential complements; cf. Chapter 2.

Verbs govern their complements in a variety of ways. Item-specific requirements (e.g. the choice of preposition in *rely on*) are a matter for the lexicon, but some overall principles can be established. General government requirements include the assignment of specified cases to nominal phrases carrying particular grammatical functions (see 5.1), and of particular conjunctions or verb forms to different types of complement clause (see Chapter 2). Prepositional phrase complements of various types may also be required to have particular prepositions (6.1). The various “markers” of complement status are essentially grammatical in nature, though there may be additional semantic factors in specific cases.

A VP may also contain a range of more “peripheral” adverbial adjuncts, including adverbs/adverb phrases (6.2), nominal and prepositional phrases used adverbially (5.1 and 6.1), and adverbial clauses (Chapter 3). These are unmarked by the verb, and the combination of lexical, morphological and syntactic properties in any given adjunct typically carries semantic rather than grammatical information.

This chapter deals specifically with the grammatical categories and functions of verbs themselves, i.e. independently of their co-occurring complements and adjuncts, whose properties are discussed elsewhere, as noted above.

Verb forms are either finite, i.e. inflected for values of person (1st, 2nd or 3rd) and number (singular or plural), or non-finite, i.e. not so inflected; in LMedG/EMG the non-finite forms comprise gerunds/participles and infinitives. Agreement of finite verbs with their subjects in person and number is an overt marker of the predication relation (1.1). This relation also holds in non-finite clauses, but the lack of person/number agreement in non-finite verb forms is typically associated with the absence of overt subjects leading to grammatical and referential “control” of the empty subject position by the subject of the main clause; gerunds and participles used “absolutely” do, however, have overt subjects of their own. See 2.2; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), and 3.8.

The full set of finite verb forms, including periphrases with finite auxiliaries, is organized into paradigms, each of which is defined by specific values for some or all of the following categories: time reference (past, present, future), aspect (perfective, imperfective), mood (indicative, subjunctive, imperative), and voice (active, [middle: residual as a

distinct category for the perfective stem in some verbs], mediopassive). Time reference is a property only of indicatives and of non-indicative forms that may be used, *inter alia*, to refer to the future; only active transitive and ditransitive verbs allow grammatical alternation of voice; non-finite infinitives, gerunds and participles are marked only for aspect and voice (though gerunds are always active in form and meaning, and participles [residual apart from the perfect passive] agree with their controlling nominals in number, gender and case, but not in person).

Each member of each paradigm then carries a particular person/number combination (1 sg., 2 sg., 3 sg.; 1 pl., 2 pl., 3 pl.) so that every finite form can be given an unambiguous identifying label, e.g. “2 pl. past perfective indicative mediopassive of V” (in traditional terms “2 pl. aorist indicative passive of V”). Neither the more detailed definitions nor the traditional names necessarily indicate the full range of functions that the forms in a given paradigm may fulfil. Details are given below.

Among the grammatical categories of verbs, aspect alone is marked by stem-variation, sometimes by suppletion. Other morphological variation marking different combinations of grammatical values in verb forms is located in the inflectional endings added to the aspect stems. The prefixed augment, partly co-marking reference to the past in indicatives alongside specific sets of endings, is an exception. For full details see the relevant chapters of Part III, *Verb Morphology*.

For the sake of convenience and familiarity, the traditional term “tense” will continue to be used below to identify particular paradigms (e.g. the “present indicative” etc.), but it should be remembered that the “tenses” so defined are merely the names of sets of forms sharing the same values for the verbal categories of time reference, aspect, voice and mood.

4.1 Person and Number

(44) All finite verb forms are marked for one of the permissible combinations of person and number. These (pro)nominal categories appear on verb forms as markers of agreement with a subject, which is regularly omitted if it is itself pronominal in content and unemphatic (cf. 1.1).

1 sg. νύμφην ... πέμπω σε τήν περιπόθητόν μου

?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.8v.15–16

2 sg. καὶ τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἱμάτιν ... ἢ χάρισον ἢ πώλησον ἢ δὸς ὅπου
κελεύεις

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 60–1

3 sg. τὸ πνεῦμα του ἐπαρέδωκεν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7804

1 pl. οὕτως σὲ τήν ἐδώκαμεν

16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 22

2 pl. τὸν κύρην του ἐσκοτώσατε

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1368

3 pl. λέγουσι, δέσποτά μου, καὶ ἱκετικῶς ἀναφέρουσι πρὸς τὴν πανιερότητά σου
ὅτι γραφὴν τῆς πανιερότητός σου εἶδασιν 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.6–8

4.2 Voice

Voice is a morphological category of all LMedG/EMG verb forms. Many verbs have *either* active *or* mediopassive forms, but those that have both sets are utilized in the realization of the active/passive alternation: only sentences containing active transitive verbs, prototypically with agentive subjects, have passive counterparts containing mediopassive forms. Thus neither sentences with active intransitive verbs nor those with transitive deponent verbs (i.e. having mediopassive inflection but active meanings) allow regular passivization, either because the key grammatical function (object) is absent, as in the second example below, or because the relevant morphology (mediopassive) is already deployed, as in the first:

ἐκεῖνο ποῦ ἦσαν τὰ δένδρα οὐδὲ μᾶς τὸ ξηγήθη

16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 2116

τρέχουσιν εἰς τὴν κάμεραν

17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.1–2

Passivization involves a reorganization of sentence structure whereby the noun phrase that was the direct object of the active verb, prototypically denoting the patient of the action, stands as the subject of the corresponding mediopassive verb. This in turn entails suppression of the active subject, though an agentive noun phrase may still be included optionally in a passive sentence within a prepositional phrase headed by ἀπό “by” (+ accusative). Active/passive sentence pairs are broadly synonymous in that the same situation is described in both, but different participants are foregrounded according to whether the agent or patient of the relevant scenario is represented by the subject noun phrase.

The functional range of LMedG/EMG mediopassive forms is broader than that of *be*-passives in English, and reflects some of the characteristics of the middle voice of AG. In the case of “washing”, for example, an individual X may (a) *wash someone/something* (active, X = the agent), (b) *get (himself/herself) washed* (middle, X = both the agent and the patient/experiencer), or (c) *get/be washed by someone* (passive, X = the patient). Many verbs in LMedG/EMG have mediopassive paradigms with middle-type meanings alongside, and sometimes instead of, passive ones. In suitably supporting contexts plural mediopassive forms may also be given a reciprocal interpretation in which two or more participants are understood to be both the agents and the patients/experiencers of the action in question.

(45) Active transitive verbs normally have a corresponding mediopassive paradigm. Use of the mediopassive forms involves demotion of the active subject (which is either suppressed or included as an agentive adjunct marked by ἀπό) and promotion of the active direct object to subject status.

With a few verbs, especially δίνω/δίδω “give” and synonyms, the indirect object may also be promoted to subject position (see example below).

The interpretation of the mediopassive subject, as fulfilling the single role of patient (passive reading) or the dual roles of agent + patient/experiencer (middle reading), is partly lexically determined and partly a matter of contextual determination. In the case of middle readings no agentive adjunct may be added.

Passive Reading

- ἀπῆλθεν με εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐκρατήθη μῆνας τέσσαρας
993, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 10, 124.13–14
- ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἐθλίβετον, μυριοκαταφρονᾶτον 16th c./14th c., *Velth.* 38
- ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἀναπνοῇ ... αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀν(θρώπων)ων ζυγιάζονται καὶ δοκιμάζονται
16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 567–8
- ὅσα κανισκεύγουνται ... εἰς τὸν Θεόν, δὲν στρέφει ... τὴν ἀντίδοσιν τόσον εἰς
ἐκείνους ὅπου κανισκεύγουν ὡς γιόν ἐκείνους ὅπου διδούνται
16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 390–2
- τοῦ ἡδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς μίαν λέπραν ..., ἀποῦ ἦτονε νὰ σαπηθῇ ὅλη του ἡ σάρκα
17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 56.20–2
- ἐπληροφορήθημε ἀπὸ πιστὸν Χριστιανόν 17th c., PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.71–2
- ἐρχομένη καμία ὑψηλοτάτην δικαιοσύνη, θέλομε κριθεῖν
1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.14–15

Middle Reading

- σύντομα σηκωνόμεθαν 16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 3087
- καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἰσιάστηκεν μετὸν σεβαστοκράτωρ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7971
- ἐγέρθηκα κι ἐντύθη 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 124
- ἐπῆγεν ὁ Τζωρτζῆς καὶ εὔρέθη μετὸν σιρ Τουμάς
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 30.7–8
- ἡ ἀφεντία τῆς κυρᾶς ... γρικᾶται μετὴν κυρὰν τὴν ρήγαιναν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 30.14–15
- ἐσυναπαντήθησαν μετὸν σουλτάν Μπαγιαζίτη καὶ ἐνίκησε ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.1–2

4.3 Mood

The morphologically encoded moods of LMedG/EMG are the indicative, the subjunctive (only partly distinct from the indicative even in writing, and regularly marked with *νά/ᾶς*) and the imperative. Together these comprise the full set of finite verb forms. Complete paradigms of finite forms typically involve combinations of monolectic items with periphrastic ones, e.g. monolectic imperfect and aorist indicatives are used to refer to the past, but past-referring pluperfects are periphrastic, as are forms used to refer to the future (see 1.2 and for details on periphrastic forms III, 5).

Form and function do not correspond in a transparent fashion. The indicative is normally used to make statements about the real world, the subjunctive to express modal notions of futurity/possibility or necessity/obligation, and the imperative to give orders to a second person (the subjunctive fulfilling the corresponding roles for other persons). But autonomous modal verbs such as deontic *πρέπει* “it is necessary” or epistemic *μπορεῖ/ἐνδέχεται* “is possible/likely” have indicative forms despite being used to make modal statements. Similarly, infinitival periphrases with present indicative auxiliaries express futurity/

modality alongside *vá*-subjunctives, and infinitival periphrases with imperfect indicative auxiliaries describe hypothetical/counterfactual situations alongside bare imperfect indicatives or past-tense indicatives marked with modal *vá*. Furthermore, though the subjunctive carries an independent future/modal value when this contrasts with present- or past-time reference (e.g. in main, conditional or temporal clauses) or follows directly from the relevant function (e.g. in final clauses), in those subordinate clauses where it has replaced an infinitive (e.g. in grammaticalized future/modal auxiliaries (1.2.2), as a complement to other control verbs (2.2), or in temporal/causal adjuncts (3.4, Rule (36)), it expresses the lexical meaning of the relevant verb in a temporally and modally neutral way, with the relevant properties deriving instead from the lexical meaning of governing verbs (if any), which typically denote future aspirations and possibilities.

The issues are discussed in detail in Chapter 1, where the morphological and periphrastic forms associated with mood/modality are related to the making of statements (1.2), the issuing of commands and prohibitions (1.3), the asking of questions/issuing of exclamations (1.4), and the making of wishes (1.5).

4.4 Time Reference and Aspect

In LMedG/EMG time reference is a grammaticalized property of indicative verb forms (i.e. these are necessarily marked for it) when they are used in sentences that make statements or ask questions about the real world.

Locating events in time presupposes a temporal reference point, and in the default case this is taken to be the time of speaking/writing (“the present”): eventualities denoted by sentences may be located before this point (“in the past”), at this point (“in the present”), or after this point (“in the future”), as indicated by the choice of verbal morphology/verbal periphrasis. Though reference to the future is in principle treated on a par with reference to the past and present, the future cannot be a strictly factual domain and there is significant overlap in LMedG/EMG between forms that refer to the future and those that express various modal notions (see 1.2.2).

Sometimes an event may be marked as “past” relative to another event that itself took place in the past or future with respect to the time of speaking/writing: pluperfects and future perfects perform this role in many languages, though these are rather marginal tenses in LMedG/EMG (see below). A secondary form of temporal relativity is involved in finite subordinate clauses dependent on main clauses containing verbs with past-time reference, cf. *he said that she would do X* with the corresponding direct statement *she will do X*. Such “sequence of tense” phenomena are also relatively marginal in LMedG/EMG, where the tenses of the original statement, question etc. are usually preferred (see 2.1, Rule (22)).

Verbal aspect is also grammaticalized in LMedG/EMG, and in this case all verb forms are built either to a perfective or to an imperfective stem. In some periphrastic formations and non-finite forms, however, there is a clear tendency for one option to become dominant over time, with some consequential blurring of the usual aspectual contrast (see 1.2.2; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37)). There may also be some early indications of the loss of aspectual contrast in subjunctives in the Pontic region (see 4.4.5).

Unlike time reference, which is in principle an objective matter, choice of aspect reflects the speaker/writer's subjective "view" of a given eventuality without reference to its "actual" duration, whether in real/future time or in a possible/hypothetical world distinct from this one. Thus the same eventuality may be presented "perfectively" as a single complete whole with a beginning and an end (e.g. *the phone rang, will ring, may ring, would have rung*) or imperfectively as lacking one or both end-points, i.e. as continuing, progressing, habitual/repeated (e.g. *the phone was ringing, will be ringing, may be ringing, would have been ringing, used to ring*).

The choice of aspect is in principle free, though there are limitations deriving from the interaction of aspect with time reference (see below), and there are certain conventionalized preferences. In clauses of indefinite frequency (*whenever/each time X happened ...*), for example, the actions involved might be presented imperfectively (the sequence of recurring events is seen as open-ended) or perfectively (each individual action is seen as complete, leaving the open-endedness to be encoded in a co-occurring adverbial and/or a main-clause imperfective verb form). In LMedG/EMG there is a preference in these cases for perfective forms, while in MG imperfective forms have become the norm. In the following example the indefinitely repeated character of the action of the subordinate clause ("whenever I saw one") is made clear by the use of the imperfect in the main clause:

καὶ λάφιν δὲν μ' ἐγλύτωνεν, ... τὸ νὰ τὸ δῶ, τὸ δόξευα Om. Nehr. Vas. 46–7

The indicative "tenses" marked for both time reference and aspect are presented first. Forms unmarked for time reference (gerunds/participles and infinitives) or that carry inherent time reference (imperatives, future/modals and in part subjunctives and conditionals) are then considered in terms of their aspectual properties.

4.4.1 Present Indicative (Present Imperfective Indicative)

(46) Since the present moment is naturally conceived as progressing with the passage of time, the present indicative of lexically non-stative verbs in LMedG/EMG is built to the imperfective stem and used to describe activities that are viewed as ongoing/progressive at the present moment as it advances. Correspondingly, the present indicative of lexically stative verbs describes what is viewed as a state of the subject that continues to hold true as the present moment progresses; present states have a naturally characterizing quality for the period of their duration.

Progressive

ψεύδεται, φλυαρεῖ, μὴ τὸν πιστεύης! 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 133

τὶ θλίβεσαι τοσοῦτως; οὐ ξεύρεις εἰς ἐριζικὸν κοίτεται ἡ στρατεία; κὶ ὅποιος ἐξεύρει
μηχανίαν καὶ πράττει μὲ πονηρίαν τοὺς ἀντρειωμένους καταλυεῖ κ' ἐπαίρνει τὴν
ἀντρίαν τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4903–6

εἶναι ἀνάγκη πρὸ πάντων νὰ φροντίζετε τὴν παιδείυσίν των καὶ τὰ ἥθη των, ... ἂν
θέλετε νὰ ἔχουν τιμὴν ἐδῶ 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.7–9

Stative

- οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ συμφωνοῦν 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 316.14–15
 σὲ ἀγαπῶ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 546.28–9
 ἡ εὐγενεία σου εἶναι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ὥσπερ διοικητῆς τῶν παιδῶν μετὰ τοῦ
 Κριτοπούλου 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.6

NOTES

- (i) In informal styles, and usually where the context makes things clear (e.g. where there is a future-referring conditional clause), the present indicative may also be used to refer to the future:

καὶ ἂν ἔχω ἐδῶ θανατωθῇν, τὴν κόρην οὐκ ἀφῆνω 15th–16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 2960
δὲ γιαίνεις ποτὲ ἀπὸ αὐτήνῃ τὴν πληγή, καημένε, μὰ ποθαίνεις, ἄνεν κι' αὐτὰ τὰ
 φαγητὰ δὲ φάγῃς νὰ χορτάσῃς 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.89–91

- (ii) In the absence of a present perfective paradigm, formally imperfective present indicatives are used to comment on events taking place sequentially before the speaker's/hearer's eyes (e.g. *the emperor arrives, takes his seat and nods to his officials*). In LMedG/EMG this type of “historic” present is chiefly apparent in narrative texts, where it converts an account of past events into just such an eyewitness commentary:

ὥς ἔστεκα κ' ἐθώρουν τον, γυρίζει καὶ ὀμιλεῖ μου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 27
 παρευθὺς ἀπαντονάρισεν ὅλες τὲς πρόσκαιρες δόξες ... καὶ πορεύεται κρυφίως εἰς
 τὴν ἔρημον 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.6–8

- (iii) Performative verbs (utterance of which in the 1st person present indicative constitutes a performance of the relevant action) are similarly perfective in force but necessarily imperfective in form:

ὅλα τὰ παραιτούμεθα 17th c., IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4762

- (iv) In some of the earliest texts there are occasional examples of periphrases formed from the verb “to be” + the present mediopassive participle:

εὐκολον ἔχουν τὸ νόημα διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐκ εἶν γὰρ οὔτε ἀπ' ἐμῆς
 γνώσεως λαλούμενα 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 310.11–12

- (47) The present tense of the verb “to be” + the perfect mediopassive participle is widely used in LMedG/EMG to express a present state of the subject. In this construction the participle is in effect a predicative adjective and as such agrees with the subject in the usual way (1.1.2).**

πολλὰ εἶσαι βαρεμένη 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 304
εἵμεθεν θλιμμένοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8419
εἶνε μισισμένος ἀποῦ ᾗς αὐτῆς μας! 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.30
 ἐγὼ εἵμαιν σκοτωμένος 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 264.3 (Lolos)

ἐκεῖ ποῦ εἶναι ἐνταφιασμένες καὶ οἱ δύο τῆς θυγατέρες

1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 436, 659.11–12

τὸ ὄνομά του εἶναι τιμημένο εἰς ἓνα βασιλικὸ χρυσόβουλλον

18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.6–7

NOTES

- (i) Correspondingly, the imperfect of “be” may be used to describe a past state of the subject:

ἦμουν στολισμένη

17th c., BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 180.18

- (ii) Less commonly, the present or past state of a direct object may be encoded using ἔχω/εἶχα + perfect passive participle, which agrees with the object:

τὸν γρόθον του εἰς τὸ μάγουλον εἶχεν ἀκουμπισμένον

15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 418

Such examples tend to have a rather literal meaning in the earlier part of the period of this Grammar, but in certain areas they subsequently acquire the function of a true perfect/pluperfect, almost certainly in part under the influence of Romance after 1204:

στὴ βλέψη της ἐτουνῆς τὴν εἶχας δοσμένη

18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.433

Following the grammaticalization of the construction, the participle is sometimes inflected invariably as a neuter plural (see 4.4.4).

(48) The present indicative is used to describe activities/states viewed as habitual or characteristic of the subject at *any* present moment in the progression of time (making these activities/states, in effect, timeless).

The relevant activity might be viewed perfectly (the action is seen as a single complete event on each occasion) or imperfectly (there is no bound on the number of such events), but in the absence of a present perfective paradigm the imperfective present is necessarily used.

ὅταν ὁ κόραξ ποῦποτε καθίσῃ καὶ φωνάξῃ, ἐκεῖ σημαίνει θάνατον καὶ χωρισμὸν

ἄθροον

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 20–1

ὁποῦ ἔχει ἀμέριμνον ψυχὴν, ὁποῦ εἶνι χορτασμένος ποτὲ οὐ πιστεῖν νηστικόν, ποτὲ

οὐ ψυχοπονᾶται

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 117–18

ὁ Χάρων δὲν ἐντρέπεται οὐδ' ἄρχον οὐδὲ ρήγα

16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 81

4.4.2 Imperfect Indicative (Past Imperfective Indicative)

- (49) The imperfect indicative is used to describe actions that are viewed as ongoing/progressive in the past (non-stative verbs), states that are viewed as persisting over time in the past (stative verbs), or actions that are viewed as habitual/characterizing in the past; past states naturally characterize the subject for the period of their duration.

Progressive

ᾤστραπτε κατ' ἀνατολάς, ὅταν ἐγεννήθη 16th c./14th–15th c., *Spanos D* 116–17

ἐβγαίνασιν (λόγια) ἀπὸ τὰ στόματά των 16th c./15th c., *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 7

Stative

ἀγαποῦσαν τὸν Χριστὸν κι εὐσέβειαν ἐποθοῦσαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 117

πάντα σ' ἐμίσουν 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 574.17–18

Habitual

εἰς τὸ νησὶν εὐρίσκετον ... ναὸς ἀρχαῖος ..., ἔνθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἤρχοντο, θυσίας
ἀποτελοῦσαν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1723–5

ἐγὼ ἀγαποῦσα νὰ παραπονιέσαι 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.16

NOTES

- (i) There are examples from Crete of the imperfect used to describe an action that did not produce the hoped-for results:

μὲ ἄλλη μου ἔγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου νὰ μοῦ ἀγοράσῃ πενήντα τάβλες
1610, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 2, 168.2–3

ἐπροήγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου, μὰ λογιᾶζω νὰ μὴν τσις ἔλαβες
1610, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 2, 168.9–10

(= “tried to write”, incomplete in that the message was not received/acted on)

- (ii) Use of the imperfect indicative in conditional sentences is dealt with in 1.2.2, Rule (11) and NOTES; 3.3.
- (iii) In 16th/17th-c. Crete and Cyprus, where the pluperfect was more regularly formed with εἶχα + perfect passive participle (see 4.4.4), there is a corresponding use of what are otherwise past-tense conditional periphrases to express habitual actions (“whenever s/he did X ...”) rather than relative temporal anteriority (“when s/he had done X ...”), as shown by the restriction of such indicative use to cases where the main verb is a habitual imperfective:

ὥς εἶχε βάλειν εἰς τὸ νοῦ κι ὥς ἤθελε λογιᾶσαι ποιά στράτα μέλλει νὰ κρατῇ ...,
χολικιασμένη ἐπόμενε 18th c./16th–17th c., *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.2091–5

ντὰν νὰ ᾔχεν βάλειν ἄνθρωπον κάτω νὰ ᾔχεν παιδεύγει, τοὺς δελοιποὺς τὸ αἶμάν
τοὺς ἀρχίνιζεν νὰ φεύγῃ

17th–18th c./17th c., *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 265–6

4.4.3 Aorist Indicative (Past Perfective Indicative)

- (50) The aorist indicative denotes eventualities in past time that are viewed as single complete wholes (i.e. with a beginning and an end, and the middle largely elided).**

Much of the interpretation depends on the lexical character of individual verbs. Thus activities and states viewed perfectly are naturally interpreted as having ended (e.g. *X ran (a mile)*, *X ruled (till he died)*), processes with inherent culminations as having attained them (e.g. *X melted*, *X grew up*), achievements as punctual events (*X arrived (at 9.15)*), etc. But the perfective forms of stative verbs may also be used to denote what are viewed as momentary events initiating the relevant state (e.g. ἀγάπησε = “X fell in love”, ἐβασίλευσε = “X became emperor”).

ἀφότου ἀπεκατέστησεν μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲς ἐκεῖνος τὰ πάντα ὅλα πράγματα ..., τόσα
τὸν ἀγαπήσασιν ... ὅτι βουλὴν ἀπήρασιν ..., τὸ πῶς νὰ τοῦ ἔμεινε ἡ ἀφεντία τοῦ
τόπου τοῦ Μορέως 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2098–104

ὁ πάπας δὲν τὸ θέλησεν, ἀμμὲ μηνῦσεν του 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 26.12–13

τοῦτοι οἱ ἀθρῶποι ... ἐκουρσεῦγαν καὶ ἐσκοτῶνναν, καὶ ἐποῖκαν μεγάλα κακὰ εἰς τὸ
νησίον 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 60.10–12

ἀφέντεψεν, ἀφ’ ὃν ἐστέφθη ὥς που καὶ ἐπέθανεν, λθ’ χρόνους καὶ δ’ μῆνες καὶ κδ’
ἡμέρες, καὶ ἐπέθανεν ἡμέρα πέπτη τὴν ὕστερη μαρτίου, ατκδ’ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸν
Στρόβιλον 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58, 60.36, 1–3

ἐσὺ μ’ ἐντρόπιαζες τόσους χρόνους, κ’ ἐγάμεις τὴ μάνα μου καὶ ποτέ μου δὲ σοῦ εἶπα
τίποτας· κ’ ἐσύ, γιὰ μία βολὰ πού ἐγάμησα τὴ γυναῖκα σου, κάνεις ἔτσι;
16th c., *Nov. I* 156.14–16

ὁ μπάρμπας τοῦ παιδίου ὠνείδισε τὸν γέρον κ’ εἶπε του “... ὅ,τι ἄρχισε, ἐμένα ποτὲ
δὲ μοῦ τὸ ἐμολόγησε”, κ’ ἔτσι ἀγκαλιάσθη κ’ ἐφίλησε τὸ παιδί του, κ’ ἔμειναν
ἀγαπημένοι 16th c., *Nov. I* 156.19–22

ἐδέχθη τὸν λόγον ... καὶ ... ἔστειλεν ἔξοδες καὶ κάτεργα ὁ πάπας, διατὶ εἶχεν πολλὴν
ἐπιθυμίαν νὰ γένῃ ἡ ἔνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἔσοντας ὅπου πολλές φορές τὸ
ἐβουλήθησαν ..., καὶ δὲν ἐδυνήθησαν νὰ τὸ κατορθώσουν
17th c./16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1631) 229.39–43

μας ἀποδέχθηκε καὶ ἀγκαλιάσεν ὁ πριντζιπὸς μας, καὶ ἔτσι πάντα ἐδῶ ἐζήσαμεν εἰς
εἰρήνη, ὥστε πού ὁ ἐχθρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ σπείρῃ το ζιζάνιο
1614, Tinos, *HOFMANN* 1936: 1, 58.6–9

NOTES

- (i) Use of the aorist indicative in conditional sentences is dealt with in 1.2.2, Rule (11) NOTE (i); 3.3.
- (ii) In the absence of a properly developed perfect indicative for much of the period covered by this Grammar (see below), the aorist may be used in contexts where a perfect meaning seems appropriate:

τὸν ἥλιον εἶδα νὰ σταθῇ χίλιες φορές γροικώντας τὰ πάθη μου
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.71–2

ἐγὼ δὲν εἶδα νὰ σταθῇ τὸν ἥλιο νὰ μ’ ἀκούσῃ, μὰ εἶδα χαράκια καὶ δεντρὰ πολλὰ
ν’ ἀνασπαστοῦσι, νὰ φεύγου γιὰ νὰ μὴ γροικοῦ τ’ ἀναστενάματά μου
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.73–5

- (iii) The aorist is also widely used where a pluperfect might have been employed, the notion of anteriority being inherent in the typically sequential nature of complete events; thus the event described in a subordinate clause is naturally taken to precede that described in a main clause if the latter also contains an aorist (“when X, then Y”):

ἀφότου ἐκατόρθωσεν ὅσα σᾶς ἀφηγοῦμαι ... τὸ πνεῦμα του ἐπαρέδωκεν κι
ἀπῆραν το οἱ ἀγγέλοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7801–4

ἀφὸν ἐφάγαν καὶ ἐπαρδιαβάσαν, ἐκατέβησαν κάτω εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν
16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 44.9

ἐστόντα τάπισα καὶ ἐβγάλαν τον ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸν πύργον, ὁ βασιλιάς ἐποῖκεν νὰ τὸν
μάθουσιν τὴν ἀγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ 16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 150.14–16

4.4.4 Perfect, Pluperfect and Future Perfect Indicatives

The ancient monolectic perfect had fallen together functionally with the aorist long before the medieval period, and aorists (sometimes derived from earlier perfects, e.g. βρῆκα/ἤρρηκα) could always be used thereafter to imply the “present relevance” of a past event whenever the context supported or demanded such a reading. The monolectic pluperfect was not much used even in AG and it too withered away before the period of this Grammar, leaving the aorist as the default means of denoting events anterior to past events (see 4.4.3, Rule (50) NOTE (iii)). Since the future perfect barely existed in AG (most verbs do not have an attested paradigm), the only productive survivor of the ancient perfect system was the perfect passive participle, which could be used predicatively with different tenses of εἶμαι to express a state of the subject, or more rarely with different tenses of ἔχω as an object complement to express a state of the direct object (see Rule (47) and NOTES).

Other than in S. Italy (where Latin/Romance influence was always present), periphrastic forms with the authentic pluperfect force of temporal anteriority begin to appear only in the later medieval period, and it is hard not to see this development as driven in part by the advent of widespread bilingualism following the influx of Romance speakers into the Greek-speaking world after the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

One form of Romance-style pluperfect, attested from ca. 15th c. onwards and quickly associated with a corresponding perfect, was based on the ἔχω/εἶχα + perfect passive participle construction, the latter element sometimes retaining agreement with the direct object, but also inflected as an invariable neuter plural in the wake of the reinterpretation and grammaticalization of the forms, e.g. *I have/had a tree (that is/was) planted in the garden > I have/had planted a tree in the garden*, etc. Though in principle available only with transitive verbs, it was quickly extended to “unergative” intransitives (i.e. those denoting simple activities), using newly invented participles such as ἀποφασισμένος; in this case the neuter plural ending is standard, but this is also partially generalized to transitive verbs on Crete and some southern Aegean islands. A passive is formed using εἶμαι + perfect passive participle, and this combination is also used as a perfect/pluperfect active with deponent verbs and “unaccusative” intransitives (i.e. those denoting transitions to a result location, such as “come/go”), once again with innovative formations such as ἐλθωμένος etc. The resulting creation of a “be/have” auxiliary split is highly characteristic of Romance, and

throughout the period of this Grammar the participial construction remains most characteristic of southern regions that were long under Western rule (e.g. Heptanese, Crete, Rhodes Cyprus), with only limited spread to the mainland, and not to northern areas.

ἔβλεπεν ὁ ἄγγελος, ὡς ᾔτον τεταγμένος 15th c., *Anak.Konst.* 112

τὸ ἔμισόν ἔχομεν βαλμένον εἰς τὴν πακτωσίαν 1506, Patmos, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 367.172

μας ἔχει δοσμένα καὶ πουλημένα ... ἀμπέλιν 1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 25, 65.3

εἶναι μισημένος ἀπὸ τὴ Ρώμη 1570, Venice, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 9, 482.3

εἶχαμε μιλημένα γιὰ τὸ γάμο 17th c./16th–17th c., *Vosk.* 400

The other main type of pluperfect starts to appear a little earlier and derives from the probably Romance-inspired reinterpretation of conditional periphrases in the protases of hypothetical/counterfactual conditionals as denoting anteriority vis-à-vis the apodosis (see 3.3 for details); e.g. a conditional with the literal meaning “if I would find the money, I would spend it” (the LMedG/EMG construction was originally atemporal) > “if I would have found the money ...” > “if I *had* found the money ...”, with the notion of anteriority then extended to real-time subordinate clauses (e.g. “when I had found the money ...”) and then to main clauses (e.g. “I had found the money (by the time the bill arrived)”). This type of pluperfect quickly becomes widespread and is ordinarily based on the εἶχα-periphrasis with perfective infinitive, though in southern areas there are also examples of the ἤθελα-periphrasis used as a pluperfect. The construction acquires a corresponding perfect very late, at the end of the 17th c.

εἶχαν τὸν κόψει κακὰ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν 15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 267.11–12

ἔβαλαν τὸν βασιλέαν ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ ... ὅπου τὸ εἶχεν χάσει 14th. c., *Chron. Mor.* H 622–3

NOTES

- (i) In southern areas from around the 16th c. onwards, the conditional infinitival periphrasis with ἤθελα is also sometimes used as a pluperfect:

λέγοντες πὺς τὸ ἤθελαν χάσει πρώην 1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008. 5, 58.5–6

- (ii) In Crete there is evidence (specifically from Kornaros) that conditional periphrases could also be used as habituais in generic subordinate clauses (cf. the dual use of English *would*); note the habitual imperfect in the corresponding main clause:

τὸ ἔχα ξυπνήσει, ἐφώνιζα 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.995

It is unclear whether such examples should be translated “whenever/wherever/whoever someone would/used to X” or “... had X”.

- (iii) Particularly, if not exclusively, in regions where both types of pluperfect co-existed, the participial construction retains a more stative character, in line with its origins.

A further type of pluperfect is more sporadically attested, formed from the past tense of “to be” and the perfective gerund. This formation is characteristic of S. Italy, the

Peloponnese and adjacent islands such as Cythera, and may represent a local modernization of the corresponding ancient construction that used the aorist participle (which agreed with the subject in number, gender and case). It never gained ground geographically and declines with the general decline of the perfective gerund (3.4, Rule (37)).

ἐνθα ἦσαν οἱ ἅπαντες οἱ πελεργῆνοι ἐκεῖνοι, ὅπου ἦσαν ἐπάροντα τὸν σταυρόν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 390–1

Even more restricted in its distribution is a variant using εἶχα + perfective or imperfective gerund, apparently without any clear aspectual contrast.

The future perfect is almost exclusively a non-literary tense and is often used in legal contexts for precision, once again most probably under the influence of corresponding Romance practice in which grammatical marking of the sequencing of events in both past and future time is routine. The majority of attested forms are futures of the ἔχω + perfect passive participle periphrasis, formed chiefly with (ἐ)θέλω (e.g. θέλω ἔχει(ν) X V-μένο/-μένη etc.); conditional ἦθελα in the same construction is a very clear marker of the legalese register.

νὰ ῥμαι κρατημένος νὰ τῆς δίδω ὅ,τι ροῦχα ... τῆς ἦθελα ἔχει καμωμένα
1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 211, 166.10–12

νὰ χάνη τὴν δούλευσή του ὅπου θέλει ἔχει δουλεμένη
1571, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 1, 53. 10–11

The various auxiliaries used in these LMedG/EMG periphrases either lack perfective stems altogether (εἶμαι, ἔχω) or do not make use of them in this role (e.g. the aorist of (ἐ)θέλω is never used as an auxiliary). Any aspectual contrast must therefore derive from the element with which they combine, viz. the perfect passive participle, infinitive or gerund. But of these only infinitives and gerunds can in principle be marked for aspect, and even here the usual perfective/imperfective contrast applies only in part (see 1.2.2 for the conditional periphrases; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37) for infinitives and gerunds, on which cf. also immediately below). Since the various members of the perfect system, unlike all other indicatives, do not engage fully, or in some cases at all, with the otherwise universal perfective/imperfective opposition, it is unsurprising that they occupy a rather marginal position in the overall verbal paradigm of LMedG/EMG and play a similarly marginal role syntactically. The participial perfects, pluperfects and future perfects at least retain a distinctive role with their continuing (if partial) stative function, but the pluperfects formed with infinitives and gerunds are almost exclusively perfective in form and function principally as temporally more pedantic variants of the aorist (indicative or future/subjunctive according to whether time reference is to the past or the future).

For further examples and more detailed discussion of the formations discussed above see III, 5.

4.4.5 Future/Conditionals, Subjunctives and Imperatives

Aspect in infinitival conditional periphrases is discussed above in connection with the reinterpretation of certain forms as pluperfects; aspect in both future and conditional periphrases in their original functions is dealt with fully in 1.2.2. The role of aspect in imperatives is discussed in 1.3, and in subjunctives in their various functions in 1.2.2, 1.3, 1.5,

2.2, and 2.3; and Chapter 3 *passim*. In all cases apart from the infinitival future and conditional periphrases and pluperfects deriving from the latter, the perfective/imperfective opposition is fully operational, with relevant forms built to both stems.

Future time reference is an inherent property of imperatives, and in part of future/modal and conditional forms – but not when these are being used in a purely modal way to denote possible/hypothetical situations outside the temporal structure of the “real world”, or in lieu of infinitives to denote actions conceived without reference to time. Thus conditionals are normally modal but are also used, albeit rarely, as “real” futures-in-the-past, i.e. to denote events in the future relative to a past-time reference point:

ἔβλεπεν εἰς ὀνειράτα ὅπου ἔμελλε νὰ γίνονται 16th c., *Vios Iosif*. 270.2–3

ἐθάρρου πῶς εἶχασιν οἱ ἔγνοιες μου νὰ πάψου
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS*, *Erof*. IV 160–1

Similarly, subjunctives complementing control predicates (2.2) are not themselves future-referring, but they are also used to refer to the “real” future in main clauses (1.2.2, Rule (7)) and some subordinate clauses (3.4), as well as to give commands (1.3, Rule (13)).

NOTES

- (i) There are some possible examples in documents from the Pontic region of the generalized (and so aspectually neutral) use of imperfective subjunctives; this usage later became the norm in that area, though perfective forms are still very much in use in the period of this Grammar:

ἐὰν ἔρκεστιν, ἔλᾱτε μὲ τοῦ Κορέλλι τὸν ἀποκριχιάρη, καὶ κανεῖς μὴ σᾶς γνώση, καὶ
ἐλᾱτε νὰ σᾶς συντύχω ἀπὸ στομάτου μου
1481, Crimea, *GRASSO* 1880: 119, 168–9.5–7

4.4.6 Gerunds and Participles

(51) Gerunds are active in form (even from deponent verbs) and are built to either the imperfective or perfective stem; the former usually marks eventualities overlapping with the action described by the main verb, the latter eventualities preceding it, in accordance with their aspectual properties (i.e. in the default case an eventuality viewed as ongoing is taken to be contemporaneous with the main-clause event, one viewed as complete as preceding it).

Perfective forms are in decline in LMedG/EMG and the forms attested increasingly come from a small number of verbs with strong aorist stems whose ending -οντας coincides with the productive imperfective ending; weak aorist -σοντας is hard to find beyond the clichéd περάσοντας with temporal subject. Imperfective forms are then used with perfective as well as imperfective force.

For other aspects of gerundial syntax see 3.4.4.2, Rule (37).

Imperfective Force (imperfective forms)

ὁ καστελλᾱνος παρευτύς, οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον, εἶπεν καὶ ὑποσχέθη του νὰ τὸν
δεχτῇ εἰς τὸ κάστρον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237–8

σιμώνοντας ἡ ὥρα νὰ γεννηθῇ ὁ Χριστός, ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς μέγα φῶς
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.7–8

φαίνοντάς τους δίκαιαν καὶ τιμημένη ... ἡ αὐτὴ σούπλικα
1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 35.7–9

πᾶσα γνωστικός ἄνθρωπος, δὲ κατέχοντας πότες ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος,
πρέπει καὶ τυχαίνει νὰ ὀρδινιαστῇ
1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.5–6

ἔρχοντάς μου εἰς τὸ Χτῆμαν ἦρτεν ὁ Χακη-Αὐγουστής
1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.10

κάθοντά σου εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, γελᾷς ἢ συντυχαίνεις;
17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 406.389

Perfective Force (both perfective and imperfective forms)

διαβόντα γὰρ μικρὸς καιρὸς ἀπέθανε ἡ κουντέσσα
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8001

διαβαίνοντα ὀλλίγες ἡμέρες, ἐσηκωθήσαν ἀπὲ τὸ σπιτάλλιν φρέρηδες
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.3–4

γρικῶντα ἡ μάνα του, ὀρδινίασεν τὸ φᾶν του εἰς τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 46.15–16

τὴν ἕτερον ... νὰ τήνε μοιράζουν ... ὁ υἱὸς του ... μὲ τὸν ἄγκονά του ...,
ἀποτυχόντας (σ)του τοῦ προειρημένου κυρ Ἀλίσαντρου
1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.14–16

ἀποθανόντας τοῦ καλογέρου, ν' ἀπομένῃ τὸ λεγόμενο ἀμπέλι στὰ παιδιὰ τοῦ
ἄνωθεν Λιγνοῦ
1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 92, 108.10–11

περάσοντας ὀλίγος καιρὸς, ἐμάζωξε τὰ φουσσᾶτα του
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 34.11

ιδόντας ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης ὅτι νικᾶται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκθροῦ του ..., ἐσκιακτὴ μήπως καὶ ἔλθῃ
ὁ Σακοῦκος ὁ Περσιάνος
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.23–5

ἐκεῖνος ... δὲν ἤμπορεῖ νὰ μάθῃ τὴν φύσιν ἐκείνων ὅπου δὲν εἶναι· καὶ δὲν μαθαίνοντάς
τα, δὲν ἤμπορεῖ νὰ τὰ ἰδῇ καλά
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34. 32–5

(52) Perfect passive participles are used in periphrases with εἶμαι/ἔχω throughout the medieval period with stative force: no perfective/imperfective contrast can be expressed.

In the period from ca. 15th c. onwards this construction is increasingly grammaticalized in southern areas as a true perfect/pluperfect, albeit with the stative function partly retained (see above on perfect, pluperfect and future perfect indicatives for relevant examples).

(53) All other inflected participles, active and mediopassive, are marked systematically for the perfective/imperfective opposition; but these forms are residual in LMedG/EMG and employed primarily as “higher” stylistic variants of the gerund or in clichéd phrases.

Participles may have overt subjects or empty subject positions referentially controlled by the subject of the main verb. Overt subjects may be either nominative (the norm) or genitive

(in deference to the ancient genitive absolute construction), but with no requirement that the subject–participle combination should be a true absolute construction with its subject referentially independent of all noun phrases in the main clause.

Clitic pronouns in subject function are standardly inflected in the genitive in the absence of weak nominative pronouns that could be used in this position.

In all but the most classicizing styles, the syntax of participles reflects that of gerunds in that participial subjects must be either referentially autonomous or subject-orientated (i.e. if it is to be coreferential with a main-clause constituent, this can only be the subject).

See 3.4.4.2, Rule (37) for examples.

4.4.7 Infinitives

(54) Active and mediopassive infinitives are marked for aspect, but in several infinitival constructions one aspect stem is favoured over the other (sometimes exclusively so) with a corresponding loss in the formal expression of aspectual contrast.

In LMedG/EMG infinitives are used regularly only in:

- grammaticalized future/conditional and pluperfect periphrases (1.2.2, and cf. above on pluperfects)
- the VPs of subordinate clauses as a variant form of complement to control, modal and aspectual verbs (2.2)
- one form of indirect question (2.4, Rule (31) NOTE (ii))
- as nominalized sentence adjuncts with a temporal/causal function similar to that of gerunds (3.4, Rule (36); 3.8)

Loss of aspectual contrast applies in particular to:

- the grammaticalized periphrases (see 1.2.2 for futures/conditionals; infinitives in pluperfects are almost always perfective, cf. above)
- the complements to aspectual verbs (imperfective only)
- the nominalized adverbials corresponding to temporal/causal clauses (perfective only)

In all these surviving infinitival constructions the subject position is referentially controlled by the main-verb subject.

Other than in styles admitting high levels of learned/classicizing influence, infinitival constructions that allowed overt (accusative) subjects in AG are no longer employed.

Infinitives may no longer be negated in their own right and only the governing verb can have a negative particle.

Complement to Control Verbs

εἴ τις δὲ βουλευθῇ κατελῦσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμαν, νὰ ἐνὶ ἀσυγχώρητος

14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15

Complement to Modal/Aspectual Verbs

ἐκίνησαν τὰ σάλια μου, Χριστέ, νὰ τὴν ἐπιάσα, ... νὰ ἤρξαμην ρουκανίζειν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 219–21

λέγει καὶ διερμηνεύει τὸ πῶς ὁ λίζιος ἄνθρωπος χρεωστεῖ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7570–1

In Indirect Questions

τὸ τί ποιήσῃ οὐκ εἶχασιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4084

Adverbial (temporal/causal)

τὸ ἰδεῖ τον ὁ μισὶρ Ντζεφρές, γλυκέα τὸν ἀποδέχτη 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8231

For further examples see the various sections noted above.

5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

A Noun Phrase (NP) in LMedG/EMG consists of a “head” noun or pronoun in construction with any complements it may require (see 5.2) and/or any optional adjuncts (see 5.1.4, Rule (69), and 5.3). NPs are the constituents of sentences used to refer to extralinguistic entities, and therefore nouns/pronouns are normally the heads of NPs even when they appear alone without complementation or modification.

Nominal expressions are characterized by values for the categories of *person* (1, 2, 3), *number* (singular, plural), *gender* (masculine, feminine, neuter) and *case* (nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive; and residually, dative). Head nouns/pronouns share the values assigned to these categories with the NPs containing them, and any adjuncts that are capable of bearing the appropriate morphological marking (articles, demonstratives, quantifiers, adjectives) agree with the heads they modify in number, gender and case; there is no formal marking of agreement in person. Complements, however, do not agree and are assigned specific grammatical markers by their heads as detailed in 5.2.

Person is a deictic category, i.e. one involving reference to extralinguistic entities. Its values are determined from the viewpoint of the speaker/writer as the 1st person, making the audience/reader the 2nd person(s) and any other participants in the discourse the 3rd person(s). Pronouns may be 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, but nouns are 3rd person unless the NPs containing them appear in apposition to 1st- or 2nd-person pronouns, and vocatives are inherently linked to 2nd-person pronouns, whether overt or covert; honorific circumlocutions such as *ἡ εὐγενεία σου/σας* etc. are also often treated as 2nd person.

NPs referring to countable objects are headed by count nouns, and their number is determined by whether the objects in question are “one” (singular) or “more than one” (plural); singular is the default number for NPs headed by non-count nouns, e.g. a mass noun like *ἄμμος* or an abstract noun like *δικαιοσύνη*. There is no compelling evidence for the use of the 2nd person plural to address individuals as a mark of politeness, for which circumlocutions of the type “your excellency” are regularly used instead (see above): note that the use of a plural possessive pronoun with a singular head noun in such cases typically involves more than one addressee, as *ὅλοι ἀντάμα* in the example below makes clear:

ἡ εὐγενεία σας ὅλοι ἀντάμα θέλετε ἀποκαταστήσει τίς νά ἀπομείνη

1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.22–3

The occasional anaphoric use of 3 sg. pronouns in connection with these circumlocutions is partly a matter of the flexibility of the grammar of anaphora, but may also reflect contemporary Romance practice:

ἡ παροῦσα μου ταπεινὴ δὲν εἶναι διὰ ἄλλην αἰτίαν παρέξ νά τῆς ἀναγγεῖλω

(= τῆς μακαριότητάς σου)

1658, Cyprus, TSIRPANLIS 1973: 106, 160.5–7

Monarchs *vel sim.* may employ the 1st person plural of themselves:

ἐμεῖς ... ρήγας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ... λαλοῦμεν ὅσοσοι μᾶς γροικοῦσιν τῆς αὐτῆς
γραφῆς 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 54.23–5

First- and second-person pronouns have no inherent/grammatical gender. Those denoting humans are standardly treated as masculine or feminine according to the biological sex of the individual(s) involved; 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns may also be treated as neuter when the relevant individuals would be denoted in the 3rd person by a neuter NP, e.g. 1st-person ἐμεῖς when used by anthropomorphic ζῶα in an allegory etc. Unlike 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns, 3rd-person pronouns have distinct masculine, feminine and neuter forms. The gender of those with *deictic* function is also closely associated with biological sex, i.e. masculine or feminine for humans, neuter for everything else. By contrast, the gender of *anaphoric* 3rd-person pronouns normally follows that of their antecedents, e.g. neuter plural αὐτά/τά referring back to neuter plural τὰ κορίτσια etc. In the event of gender conflict (e.g. in coordinated expressions), masculine is the default choice for pronouns referring back to mixed-gender NPs denoting humans, provided that at least one is male:

νέους καὶ νῆς ἀνύπανδρους, γιατί νὰ τοὺς ἐπάρης; 16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 89

Neuter is selected for those referring to mixed-gender NPs denoting non-humans/inanimates:

ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, διατί αὐτάνα ἐγενήκασιν ἀπὸ τὸν δημιουργὸν ... σύντροφοι
τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.6–7

By contrast, grammatical gender *is* an inherent property of nouns. There are partial correlations between particular genders and particular declensional classes/subclasses, and nouns denoting male or female human beings are often assigned masculine or feminine gender accordingly (see Part II for details), but the grammatical gender of common nouns is for the most part semantically arbitrary.

The case of a NP is determined by the grammatical and/or semantic function it carries within a sentence (see 5.1 for details).

5.1 Uses of the Cases

5.1.1 Nominative

(55) The nominative is the case of the subjects of finite verb forms (whether overt or omitted), and of the nominal/adjectival complements of copular verbs, which agree with their associated subjects in (number and) case: see also 1.1.

ὀδύνες τὴν καρδίαν μου κατέτρωναν μερίμων ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.8r.3–4
ἐστράφησαν εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν τίνες πλεῖστοι κλερᾶδες 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 514
σκοτεινιάζει με τὸ σπίτιν τοῦ γειτόνου 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 593

With Subject Complements

αὐτὲς ἔνι οἱ ὑπόληψες τῶν πρωτινῶν ἀνθρώπων 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 606

ἀποῦ ἀγαπᾷ τὴν ψεματινὴν δόξαν, [_{3 sg.} ∅] ἐνι φουμιστῆς τοὺς παιγνιδοφουμιστάδες
16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 131.14–15

ἄν [_{2 sg.} ∅] εἴσαι Χρυσταλλένῃ, μηδὲν εἶναι ἢ καρδιά σου διαμαντένῃ
16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 92.12–13

- (56) The nominative is the case of the omitted subjects of infinitives and gerunds/participles that are controlled by the subject of the main verb (as confirmed by nominative subject complements); see also 2.2, Rules (25) and (29), 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), Chapter 4, Rules (51)–(54).**

Infinitive

πῶς ... νὰ [_{3 sg.} ∅] καταδέξεται [_{3 sg.} ∅] γενεῖ εἰς αὐτοὺς καπετᾶνος;
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 233–6

ἐκεῖνοι ἐκατέλαβαν, [_{3 pl.} ∅] τὸ λάβει τὰ πιττάκια
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7855

Gerund

ὁ καστελλᾶνος παρευτύς, [_{3 sg.} ∅] οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον, ... ὑποσχέθη του νὰ τὸν δεχτῇ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237–8

- (57) The nominative is the default case of the overt subjects of nominalized infinitives with adverbial function and of gerunds/participles in absolute constructions.**

But weak pronominal subjects are genitive in the absence of nominative clitics, and there is some wider use of genitive subjects in higher registers; see also 3.4, Rules (36) and (37); Chapter 4, Rules (51)–(54).

Infinitive

τὸ ἀκούσει ὁ Ροῦσος ντὲ Σουλῇ ..., εὐθέως ἐσυγκατέβηκεν κ' ἰσιάστησαν εἰς τοῦτο
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7927–8

Gerund

καὶ γροικῶντα κάτινες καβαλλάριδες πιστοὶ τοῦ ρηγός, εἶπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ ρηγός
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 42.33–4

Genitive Subjects

καθεζομένης τῆς Ἀφεντίας, ὑπῆγε καὶ ἐπροσκύνησεν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ μπάϊλου τοῦ Γαλατᾶ ἔδειξεν
16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 15–17

ἔρχοντάς μου εἰς τὸ Χτῆμαν ἦρτεν ὁ Χακη-Αὐγουστής
1619, Cyprus, *PERDIKIS* 1998: 1, 3.10

NOTE

- (i) The nominative is also not infrequently used as a default case for loosely connected topics that are linked referentially rather than syntactically (i.e. by case agreement) to elements in the following clause:

οἱ Φράγκοι γὰρ ἐκ τὴν στερεὰν ἦτον ὁ πόλεμός τους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 546

ἡ παρθένος Μαρία τε Λουζουνία ..., ἐρμάσαν την
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58.32–3

5.1.2 Vocative

(58) The vocative is the case of NPs used to address people or things.

Vocative NPs may be used alone to attract the addressee's attention or more usually may appear as adjuncts to sentences whose content the speaker/writer wishes to draw to the addressee's attention.

- ψυχὴ μου κακοτύχερε, μίαν ἐχάρης ὥραν καὶ λύπη διεδέξατο ἄπαυστος τὴν χαρὰν σου 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 196–7
- κερά, κερά μαγκίπισσα, τὸ πῶς ἀκούεις οὐκ οἶδα 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 172
- πρίγκιπα, ἐσὺ θεωρεῖς κ' ἐβλέπεις τὸ ἀτός σου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4222
- ὦ βραχιόνιοι σιδηροὶ καὶ στήθη μαρμαρέϊνα, καὶ ποία γῆ σᾶς ἔκρυψεν καὶ ἔκατεκάλυψέ σας; 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3392–3
- γὰρ μίλειε, γαίδαρε, ὁμορφα γῆ ἔρχομαι νὰ σοῦ βγάλω τὰ γένια σου! 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz. III*.461–2

NOTE

- (i) The nominative is sometimes used in place of the vocative, usually with the definite article and/or in apposition to a preceding vocative, implying an equative meaning ("you/X, (who are) the Y"):

- τί ναι ἐκεῖνα, ὁ θεῖός μου ...; 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 759
- ἐξέβης, ἡ κυρὸ ἄλωποῦ, νὰ μᾶς φιλοσοφήσης; 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 204
- ᾶ, πῶς λαλεῖς, ἡ μάννα μου; 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1077
- λέγει τὴν ὁ Ἀγγελος τὸ «Χαῖρε, ἡ Μαρία» 15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 29
- Κύριε, Κύριε, ὁ Θεός μου, ἐσύ με ἐπροεῖπες ὅτι μετ' ἐμένα εἶσαι 16th c., DAM. STOUDE., *This., Logos* 17, ο7ν.24 (1561)
- ὦ ψυχὴ μου, σινιόρα Δουλιτσινέα, τὸ ἄνθος τῆς εὐμορφίας, βοήθησε αὐτὸν τὸν καβαλιέρην σου 18th c., *Don Kis.* 52.21–2

5.1.3 Accusative

5.1.3.1 Complements of Verbs

*Accusative of the Direct Object***(59) In the default case, transitive verbs mark their direct object NPs (and in relevant cases nominal/adjectival direct object complements) in the accusative case.**

- καὶ καθαιροῦσιν τὸν παπαῖν! 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 271
- παρακουῶ τοὺς λόγους του καὶ οὐ ποιω τὸ θέλημάν του 13th–14th c./12th c., *Spaneas* P 280
- ἐγὼ ὕμᾶς ἐνθυμοῦμαι ..., πλέον δὲ πάντων σέ, τὸν ἐμὸν ποθητὸν καὶ ἀγαπητὸν μου υἱόν 14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001: 245, 426.35–6

- ἀνάπαυεν τὰ ἄλογα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1749
 θέλομεν διηγῆσασθαι τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν μέγαν 15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 752
 ἐσὺ μὲν ἐντρόπιαζες ... κ' ἐγάμεις τῇ μάνα μου καὶ ... δὲ σοῦ εἶπα τίποτος, κ' ἐσύ, γιὰ
 μία βολὰ ποὺ ἐγάμησα τῇ γυναίκα σου, κάνεις ἔτσι; 16th c., *Nov. I* 156.14–16
τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπήραμεν καὶ τὲς θαλάσσες, τὰ νησία ὅλα 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 244.9 (Lolos)
 παρακαλεῖ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην νὰ τὲς συμπαθήσῃ
 1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 13, 10.3

With Direct Object Complements

- καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀδελφὴν τῆς κόρης νὰ τοῦ δώσω, νὰ τοῦ τὴν δώσω σύζυγον,
σύγαμβρον νὰ τὸν ἔχω 16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 4543–4 app. crit. (N)
 οὐκ ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν μέγαν μάστορην 17th c./16th c., *Ekth. Chron.* 71.25

NOTES

- (i) A double accusative construction is characteristic of verbs meaning “teach (someone something)”, “inform (someone [of] something)”. This option is also attested with verbs meaning “dress X (in)”, “exchange X (for)”, “spend X (on)”, “fill X (with)”, “free X (from)”; in these cases, however, the second accusative may be replaced, especially in EMG texts, by an indirect object (formally distinguishable only when the genitive is used, see Rules (60) and (66)) or a prepositional phrase, according to the individual preferences of the verb in question.

- πολλὰ τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ... ὅπου διδάξῃ γράμματα ποτέ του τὸ παιδίν του
 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208–9
 παρήγγειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ... μόνη ἐκείνη ... νὰ σὲ ἀλλάξῃ ῥωμαϊκόν, δεσποινικόν
ἱμάτιν ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.3r.11–16
 τί ἀντίσηκον καλὸν νὰ σὲ τὸ ἀντιμέψω; 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3760
 ἐπληροφόρεσέ τον τὸν θάνατον τοῦ πρίγκιπος καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν του
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7825–6
δένδρη μεγάλα κ' ἐρπετὰ κι ἄλλα θηριὰ τῆς φύσης, ... ἐγέμισεν ἡ κτίσις
 15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 21–2
γέροντα Σαρακηνὸν γράμματα μὴ μανθάνῃς 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 51
 ἂν ἦτον ἀργυρόκουπα ὁ οὐρανὸς ..., νὰ μὲ τὸν ἐγεμίζασιν ἄσπρο κρασίν ἀκράτον
 16th c./15th c., *Krasop.* AO 93
κόκκινα δὲν σὲ ντύννω, βιβλιόν μου 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 2.17
 ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ... ἐντυσεν τοὺς Πέρσας ὅλους φορεσίαν ὡσὰν οἱ Μακεδόνες
 ἐβαστοῦσαν, καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὅλους ἐφόρεσεν Περσικὴν φορεσίαν
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 308.18–20 (Lolos)
 τὰ ἄσπρα ποὺ εἶναι ἐδῶ, θαρρῶ ... νὰ τὰ ψωνίσω κερί
 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 14, 216.8–9

With Intransitive and Passive Verbs (principal object of transitive verb > subject)

- καὶ λυτρωθοῦμεν τον γοργόν, νὰ μὴ μᾶς παραβλέπη 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 528
 τότε νὰ ἐλευθερωθῆς τὴν λύπην καὶ τοὺς πόνους 15th c., *Peri xen.* 324
 ὁ ρήγας ἐγέμωσεν χολὴν καὶ λαλεῖ τους 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 232.10

With (Passive) Adjectives with Related Meanings

- ἦτον ὁ κόσμος σκοτεινὸς καὶ τὰ νερὰ γεμάτος 15th c., *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 11
 μαξιλάρια δύο γιομάτα πτερό καινούργια 1502, Corfu, *PANDAZI* 2007: 14, 13.8–9

With Indirect Object (Genitive NP or PP) Substituted for Second Accusative

- οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τοῦ ἐφόρεσαν τὸ μανδύον τὸ πατριαρχικόν 16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 181
 γέμισε τοῦτο τὸ φλασκὶ κρασί, altri dicono ἀπὸ κρασί 17th c., *GERMANO, Grammar* 104.9–10
 νὰ τοῦ κάμη μόδο νὰ ἐλευθερωθῇ ἀπὸ τῇ σκλαβία 1668, Kefalonia, *BALLAS* 1999a: 1, 277.7

- (ii) Ἐχω combines with a number of bare accusative nouns with meanings in the range “need/desire/power” to form a kind of periphrastic verb that in turn may take (*inter alia*) a direct object NP in the accusative (± an object complement):

- ἐσέναν εἶχε-θέλημα ἄντρα τοῦ νὰ μὲ δώσῃ 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 2237
 εἴτι θέλεις κάμε με, ἔχεις- με -ἐξουσίαν 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 752 transcr. (Panayotopoulou/Lendari)
 διὰ τοῦτο ἔχομεν-χρεία πολλούς ὅπου νὰ μᾶς αἰδάρουσι 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 30.1–2

Accusative of the Indirect Object

(60) In northern areas, including Constantinople and much of Asia Minor, the indirect object (marked dative in AG) may be expressed by an accusative NP.

Alternatively a prepositional phrase headed by εἰς/σέ or πρὸς + accusative may be used. Such PPs appear in this function *in all locations*, especially in later periods, and are most usually substituted for NPs headed by other than 1st/2nd-person pronouns.

Accusative indirect objects, especially pronominal ones, also appear sporadically in southern areas as an alternative to the usual genitive of the indirect object (for which see 5.1.4).

Northern Areas + Texts of Uncertain Provenance

- κατονείδιζε καὶ εἶπε τον ὅσα θέλεις 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Spaneas* P 127
 ποῖον μαντάτον νὰ ὑπάγωμεν τὴν ταπεινὴν μας μάνα; 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 93
ἐπώλησα ἐσὲν παπὰ Θεόδωρον τὸν ἐξάδελφόν μου τὸ ὁσπίτιν εἰς Διανίαχαν 1260, Pontos, *OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH* 1927: 17, 8.1–2
ἔδωκα ἐσὲν παπὰ Θεόδωρον τὸν γαμβρόν μου τόπον τὸ Λεγνάκιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου καὶ τῶν κρικίων 1260, Pontos, *OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH* 1927: 19, 8.1–2

- χρεωστῆί με καὶ ὁ Παῦλος χοινικ(όν) κριθάρ(ιν)
1269, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/ΒΕΝΕΧΕΝΙΤΣΧ 1927: 52, 29.32
- καὶ τὴν πρόσταξιν ἐκείνου ἀμφοτέρως διηγοῦνται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς εἶπεν
15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 1.258–60
- ἐκεῖνον δώσω τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 66
- καὶ δός με ἀπὸ τὰ φουσσάτα σου ἐκείνους τοὺς θέλω 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 87
- ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς ... γραφὴν γράφει, ἀντίγραμμά στέλνει αὐτοὺς ὀπίσω
16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 209–10
- ἄφηκα τὸν παπὰ Τζουάννην κεχρί κιλά δώδεκα
15th c., Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.10
- εἷς ἄρχων ἔστειλε τὸν δοῦλον του, νὰ τὸν ἀγοράσῃ πουλιά γενεές τρεῖς
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 53, 44.1–2
- τοῦτος ὁ Ἡρώδης ἦτον ἀλλόφυλος ... καὶ ὑποτάσσοτον τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Ρώμης
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 341.5–7

Southern Areas

- εἶχεν γὰρ ὁ κύρ Θεόδωρος, ἐκεῖνος ποῦ σέ λέγω, υἱοὺς τρεῖς καὶ ἐξαίρετους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3537–8
- πρόσεξε ... τὰ ἔμπατα, τὸ πόσοι τὰ φυλάγουν, νὰ μέ τὸ εἰπῆς ..., νὰ μέ τὸ
διερμηνέψης, [καὶ μὴ τολήσης νὰ τὸ εἰπῆς ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου]
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8214–17
- τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποίκασι, λόγον οὐδὲν τὸν λέγουν
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1357
- [ἐφανίσθη μου κ' ἔτρεχα εἰς λιβάδιν ὠραιωμένον ...] ... κ' ἐφάνη με ὁκ' ἔδιωχνα με
θράσος ἐλαφίνα
16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 5–9
- λέγει με
16th c./15th c., [FALIEROS], *Erot. En.* 42
- ὁ Χάρος εὗρηκέ με καὶ σφονδυλίαν μέ ἔδωσεν καὶ εἰς μίαν ἐσκότωσέ με
16th c./15th c., ?Crete, *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 59–60
- [ὅπου ... τοῦ πτωχοῦ δανείζει] ... ἐκεῖνον τὸν χαρίζει τὴν ἄμετρον γλυκύτητα
16th c./15th c., ?Crete, *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 111–13
- ὁ ἐνδιάθετος νόμος, ὃν ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ: ὃ ἐστὶν μισεῖς, ἐτέρω μὴ ποιήσης
17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 407.409

Prepositional Phrases (attested in all areas)

- τὸ κορμί μου δίδω το σήμερα εἰς ἐσένα
15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 727
- πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον οἱ συγγενεῖς τῆς κόρης
16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 618
- καὶ ἱκετικῶς ἀναφέρουσι πρὸς τὴν πανιερότητά σου ὅτι γραφὴν τῆς πανιερότητός
σου εἶδασιν
1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.6–7
- ἀπὸ κεῖ ἔστειλε 'ς τὸν Ἰωάννη βασιλέα Παλαιολόγο ὅτι ...
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.11

NOTES

- (i) Verbs, including impersonal verbs, that in AG governed or allowed the inclusion of a dative NP denoting an affected/interested party (e.g. as experiencer, beneficiary, victim etc.) may similarly assign the accusative in LMedG/EMG; such accusatives are once again in competition with the genitive, largely on a north/south basis (cf. above).

Accusative for AG Dative

- ἂν οὐ πιασθῇ καὶ δαμασθῇ ..., ὥς ὄρνειον πετάζεται, δοκοῦν τον ὅλα ὁμάλιν
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 128–9
- κᾶν καὶ κίνδυνος ..., κᾶν θάνατος ἐπώδυνος μὲ πρόκειται ἀπὸ τούτου, ...
τολμήσειν θέλω ... τὰ τῆς τιμῆς σου πάντα ... κατὰ λεφτόν νὰ γράψω
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.5v.5–14
- ἐγὼ εἶμαι, λέγει, ἀδελφέ· μὴ με τὸ ἀπιστήσης 14th c., *Log. parig.* L 108
- φαίνεται τον στὸ σπῖτιν του εὐρίσκεται ἀπέσω 15th c., *Peri xen.* 34
- ἔπρεπέ τον νὰ ᾠόρεσε μαντὶ καὶ καμηλαύχι 16th c., *Kakop.* 127
- διὰ ποία ᾠορμὴ μὲ τὰ κρατᾶς αὐτοῦ (καὶ δὲν θέλεις νὰ μοῦ στείλῃς τὸ πράγμα μου;) 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 13, 215.3–4
- ἐμισέψασι ... χάνοντας καὶ κάμποσα φλωρία, ποὺ τοὺς ἐφάγασι οἱ Λιδορικιώτες
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 42.8–13

Genitive for AG Dative

- κ' ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν τοῦ ἐποίκασιν τίποτε πονηρίαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5266
- ὅταν σὲ φθάσῃ αὐθέντης σου, ἀνάσκελα μοῦ πέφτεις καὶ τάχα μὲ τοὺς πόδας σου
θέλεις νὰ βοηθᾶσαι 15th c./14th c., *Poulol.* 66–7
- τί μοῦ σεῖς τὸ μουστάκιν σου ἀπάνω τε καὶ κάτω; 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 128
- καὶ ἔρχονται τοῦ πρώτου φλουριά ἰα' αθ/γα, [ὁ δεῦτερος τὸν ἔρχονται φλουριά
ιγ' εα/θγ, τὸν τρίτον ἔρχονται φλουριά ἰδ' βς/γα]
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 61, 48.9–10
- χαίρετα μου τὴν μητέρα μου 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 410.20
- κάλλιον ἔναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ κείτεται ἀπὸ μεγάλην ἀνάγκην, περὶ νὰ ἔχη τὰ
βάρη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 28.18–21 (Konstantinopulos)
- αὐτεῖνοι τοῦ συγχύζουσι τὸν λαόν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.19

- (ii) Verbs that in AG took genitive complements (e.g. ἀκούω, for the source of a sound), or dative complements other than indirect objects etc. (e.g. ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ), may also assign the accusative in LMedG/EMG. The accusative again competes with the genitive (both original and as a dative substitute), in part on the north/south basis already explained. But verbs whose meaning supported reinterpretation as “ordinary” transitives eventually come to take the accusative everywhere (e.g. βοηθῶ); in southern regions, however, those verbs that had substituted the genitive for an original dative

were assimilated to the transitive paradigm more slowly and the process continues into the modern era. Correspondingly, prepositions are increasingly used in all areas to support NPs that were clearly felt to be insufficiently object-like (e.g. ἀκούω κάτι ἀπὸ κάποιου(ν)).

Accusative for AG Dative (ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ, compounds with συν- etc.)

- τὰ δὲ τυπικὰ τῶν μεγάλων μοναστηρίων ... εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ συμφωνοῦν τοὺς
θείους κανόνας οὔτε ἄλλην θείαν γραφήν 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4 214.14–16
- τοὺς Φράγκους ἐμαχόντησαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1079
- βουλὴν ἐζήτησεν αὐτῶν τοῦ νὰ τὸν συμβουλευέσων περὶ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ Μορέως
 πῶς νὰ τὸν κυβερνήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7829–30
- βοήθα τὸν ξενούτζικον 15th c./14th c., *Flor.* L 77
- μὲ ἐβοηθήσατε κ' ἡπῆρα τὸ γονικὸ μου 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 70
- τώρα νὰ ἰδῶ ποῖος ἀπὸ σᾶς μὲ θέλει ἀκολουθήσει 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1037
- εἴχαμεν σκύλον καὶ ἐβοήθειν λύκον 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 88

Genitive for AG Dative (southern areas, into the modern era)

- δὲν μοῦ ἐβοηθούσασι 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 121.40–1
- ἀκλούθησέν του 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 566.32
- βοηθᾶς μου 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.334

Accusative for AG Genitive (with NPs typically denoting a part, source or objective)

- τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχάσαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1413
- νὰ σὲ εἰπῶ καὶ ἄλλον, τὸ ἦκουσα τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τοὺς προπάτοράς μου
 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 689–90 app. crit. (CA)
- πολλὰ ἐπεθύμαν βασιλείαν, πολλὰ ἐπεθύμα δόξαν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 2206
- τοῦτο παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι τὴν παναγιότητά σου, νὰ ἔχω συγχώρησιν
 1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.17–18

AG Genitive Occasionally Retained (higher styles, traditional phraseology)

- ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ ἐδέοντον τοῦ Θεοῦ νὰ δώσῃ βροχήν, τοὺς ἔπεμψε χαλάζιν μεγάλον καὶ
 φοβερὸν 17th c., *Chron.* 1619 1149–50
- καθὼς μοῦ ἀκούσατε 17th c., VAROUCHAS, *Logoi* 466.42–467.1

Prepositional Phrases for Bare Cases

- ἀπὸ σαλοῦ καὶ μεθυστοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἄκουε 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 7
- ὅσοι ἦσαν μαχεζόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 642 app. crit.
- οὔτε ἀπὸ μάθημα ἐμέτεχεν 17th c., RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 61.17
- ὡσὰν λαϊκὸς νὰ συγκοινωνᾷ μὲ τοὺς κοσμικοὺς 17th c., RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 105.29
- ἐσυνωμίλησα καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου πατρός
 1707, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 13, 310, f.1r.4

5.1.3.2 Accusative Adjuncts

Accusative of Space/Extent (including measures)

- (61) The accusative is used adverbially to mark NPs denoting the space in/ throughout which something takes place, the size of a person or object, or a distance traversed; such accusatives may specify both verbs and adjectives.**

- μαθόν καὶ ποῦ ἀργαβιάζεσαι, τὰ ῥῶ δὲν ἔχεις τόπον
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 246 app. crit. (P)
- ἦτον (γυναῖκα), α ὀργυῖες ὑψηλή καὶ διακόσιες ὀργυῖες χοντρή
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 36.9 (Konstantinopulos)
- ἦσανε (δένδρα) ὑψηλὰ πῆχες ἑκατόν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.19
- εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ... εἶναι γράμματα γλυπτὰ τὸ γύρωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας
1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.1–2

Extended/Metaphorical Uses (including fixed expressions)

- ἄλλον τόσον εἶνε μισισμένος ἀποῦ ᾽ξ αὐτῆς μας!
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.30
- καὶ τὴν ἄλλην μερέαν ὅτι ... τοῦ εἶχε εἰπεῖ ὁ πασᾶς βιζίρης ὅτι νὰ μὴν πάγῃ νὰ
πολεμήσῃ μὲ τὸν Ταμερλάνο 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.6–8
- ὁμως, σὲ παρακαλῶ, ἀνασηκώσου κομμάτι 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.6–7

NOTE

- (i) Locative NPs in the accusative case define extended areas rather than specific points in space (for which prepositional phrases headed by εἰς/σέ + accusative are normally used).

Accusative of Time

- (62) The accusative is similarly used to mark NPs denoting a period of time at/within/throughout which something takes place; the meaning may be distributive (“in/during each period X”) when the context is generic, as often in legal documents.**

- ἀπῆρες ὕπνον ὀλιγόν, ἐκάμυσες ῥρίτσαν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 166
- ψυχὴ μου κακοτύχερε, μίαν ἐχάρης ὥραν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 196
- ἐκράτησεν ὁ γάμος τοὺς τρεῖς μῆνας ἀκεραίους 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1083
- μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι τὴν ἀπόφασιν, καρτερεῖ ὁ κριτὴς ἡμέρας ἰ΄
ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 73.170
- τὸ μεσόνυκτο ἐγένετον ἀστραπαὶ καὶ βροντὴ καὶ ροπὴ
1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.5–6
- τὴν νύχτα ἐκείνη παρευτὺς ἔσωσεν τὸ μαντάτο στὸν Καμπανέσην
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1539–40
- εἰς τὴν Κλαρέντσαν ἔσωσεν τὸ ἔβγα τοῦ μαῖου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7848
- τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἡμέρα Σαββάτω, ἐπέθανε ἡ μακαρισμένη ἀρχόντισσα τοῦ σιρ
Τζορ Ταρτούζ 1391, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 2, 88.1–2

- ὄργην νὰ ἔλθῃ ἀπάνω του ὅπου ποτὲ ἀγάπην θελήσῃ μὲ τὸν Πρίαμον νὰ ἔχῃ μίαν
ἡμέραν 16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1468–9
- τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὰ πεντάλιτρα τὸν Μάιον ἀναζητοῦνται 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 19
- ἐβλέπαν τον ἀμπέξω μέρα νύκταν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 56, 58.38, 4
- ἐκείνην τὴν εὐλογημένην νύκταν ὅπου ἐγεννήθη ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ...,
 ἐφανίσθησαν σημεῖα πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.31–3
- τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ... εἶναι γράμματα γλυπτὰ τὸ γύρωθεν τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας 1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.1–2
- ἤκουσαν τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρους καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ... μία καὶ δύο καὶ πολλάκις
βολές 1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 46, 43.2–4
- ἐπολέμησέ την (Σουμάκια) καμπόσες ἡμέρες 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.3

Idiomatic Expression

- ἐτελεύτησεν καὶ αὐτὴν, σήμερον δέκα ἡμέρες
 1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 436, 659.15
- (“today ten days” = “ten days ago”, cf. MG εδῶ καὶ δέκα μέρες)

Distributive (= “per”)

- τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἑκατὸν δουκάτα τὸν μῆνα, ἤγουν χίλια καὶ διακόσια τὸν χρόνον, νὰ
 ἐξοδιάζωνται εἰς τινὰς ἄρχοντας καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.6–8
- νᾶχουν ὀμπλιγον τὰ παιδιὰ μου ... νὰ βάνουν νὰ μᾶς λέσι κάθε παιδί τὸν χρόνον
 λειτουργείαις πενήντα 1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.157

NOTE

- (i) Temporal accusatives define the period of time for which or within which something occurs; a specific point in time at which something occurs (i.e. a temporal location *conceived* as punctual – it may in fact be a particular day or month etc.) is marked either with the dative (a traditional AG use, see 5.1.5) or a prepositional phrase headed by εἰς/σέ + accusative.

Accusative of Respect/Accusative of Specification

- (63) NPs that are used to delimit or further specify the denotation of nouns, verbs (normally intransitive or passive) and adjectives are often inflected in the accusative.**

Such NPs identify a restricted domain of applicability for verbs and adjectives (e.g. “suffer *in (respect of) the heart*”, “bold *in (respect of) appearance*”), and normally specify the denotation of nouns by defining contents (e.g. “a cup *of water*”), specifying varieties (e.g. “an *olive-tree* root”) or identifying what is quantified (e.g. “an acre *of wheat*”). In older texts and in legal documents such NPs are also used with proper names and trades/crafts (e.g. “Alexander *by name*”, “a potter *by trade*”).

With Nouns

- ἀφίνω καὶ ἐπτά ἱερεῖς ἀπὸ δύο ὑπερπύρων σιτάριν
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.55
- θέλω νὰ ἀφηγήσωμαι περὶ τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην, μισὶρ Γυλιάμο τὸ ὄνομα, τὸ ἐπὶ κλην
ντὲ λὰ Ρότζε 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7958–9
- [ἐὰν αἱ τῆς σκιᾶς πῆχες θ' με δίδουν ξύλου ὕψος πήχας ζ',] αἱ ζέ' πῆχαι σκιὰ πόσον
ὕψος πύργου μᾶς θέλουν δώσει;
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 17, 22.3–4
- ἄφηκα τὸν παπα Τζουάνην κεχρὶ κιλὰ δώδεκα
15th c., Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.10
- ἀπὸ τὸ πλοῦτος τὸ πολὺ ... οὐδὲν ἐπῆρα μετ' ἐμέν ..., εἰμὶ ἔξι πῆχεις σάβανον κ'
ἐσαβανώσασί με 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 65–7
- δός με κοῦπα νεράκι, διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἄρχου σου, με τὸ ἴδιο σου τὸ χεράκι
16th c./15th c., *Synax. gyn.* 393–4
- ἔτι μάρτυρας παρακαλεμένος μαῖστρο Ἀνδρέας Δρούσουλας, βουτηκλάρης τὴν τέχνην
1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 43, 75.24–5
- μια ρίζαν ἐλαία καὶ συκὲς τρεῖς καὶ δύο ρίζες ἀπιδές
1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 9, 31.5–6
- si servono anco dell' Accusativo in vece del Genitivo in questi modi di parlare: ἔναν
ποτήρι νερόν, un bicchier d'acqua, ἔναν κομμάτι κρέας, un pezzo di carne, δύο
λαγήνια κρασί, due brocche di vino, & simili 17th c., GERMANO, *Grammar* 53.25–9
- ἐπροσήλωσεν εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς μονὴν εἴκοσι στρέμματα ἀμπέλι
1634, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 58, 156.10
- ἂν ὁ μητροπολίτης ... σοῦ γυρεύση νὰ δώσης παραπάνω ἀπὸ ταῖς δέκα ὀκτᾶδες τὸ
χαβιάρι, ... τίποτε παραπάνω νὰ μὴ δώσης
1706, Constantinople, LEGRAND 1903: 21, 59, 60.31–2, 1–2

With Verbs

- ταύτας τὰς τρεῖς κολάσεις ἐνταῦθα τὰς κολάζομαι 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 226–7
- Ἀγαμέμνων τηνικαῦτα τὴν καρδίαν ἐπικράνθη 15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 7.102–3
- νὰ ἀποσκεπάζωνται τὸ κεφάλι τους 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.18
- ῥπόνουν τὸ κεφάλι 16th c., ZINOS, *Vatr.* 328

With Adjectives

- ἰανουάριος ἦτον ἀπ' αὐτόν, νὰ στήκεται καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος ὅλος κυνηγός, ὅλος
θαρσὺς τὸ σχῆμα 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 1179–80
- τὴν ἑπαρσιν ἀβάσταγος, ἀγέρωχος τὸ σχῆμα
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 27
- τ' ἄλλα πάντα θαυμαστούς, [γενναίους εἰς ἀνδρείαν]
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 30
- ὁποῦ ῥμαι δίχα σάρκωσιν, τὰ κόκκαλα γλυμένος 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 30

NOTE

- (i) Use of the accusative of respect with verbs and adjectives is a residual feature of older/more literary texts and is widely replaced by prepositional phrases in later/more vernacular material.

Accusative of Exclamation

(64) NPs used in exclamations directed towards an individual are regularly inflected in the accusative (with or without an introductory particle) throughout the period of this Grammar.

- ποῦ νά εὔρης ἄλλον Πρόδρομον τοιοῦτον, τὴν κεφαλὴν σου;
15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 39
- τὸν Θεόν, καλὲ νεώτερε, ποῦ μένουν οἱ ἀπελάτες;
15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 640
- ὦχω μας τοὺς ἔλενοὺς
15th c., ?Crete, KAKOULIDI 1958/59: 120
- ὀγαί τον κείνον ποὺ εὔρεθῃ νά 'ναι μ' αὐτὴν τὴν γνώμη
16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 311
- ὦ τὸν ἀσεβῆ!
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.33

NOTE

- (i) The accusative in greetings may be related, but the conventionalized ellipsis of a verb meaning “wish” provides an equally plausible explanation:

- κύρ γάδαρέ μου, γεία σου, χίλια καλῶς ἐβρήκαμε ἐδῶ τὴν ἀφεντιά σου
16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 11–12

“Cognate Object” Constructions

(65) Verbs may occasionally take accusative NP adjuncts with head nouns that are formally cognate.

These are not true objects (there are no corresponding passive sentences), and the fact that the NPs in question almost always contain adjectives shows that they largely replicate the role of manner adverbials (*hate a great hate* = *hate greatly* etc.).

- ἐτζάκκισεν καὶ ἀντροπίασεν τὸν ὄρκον τοῦ ἀπὸ τὴν μεγάλην μισητείαν ἀποῦ μᾶς
μισᾶ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.28–9
- ἐκτύπησε ἕναν ἐκτύπον παράξενο καὶ ἡ πέτρα ἔδωσε εἰς τὸν τοῖχο καὶ ἔκαμε μίαν
τρούπα μεγάλην
?15th–16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.15–16
- ἄρχισαν νά κλαίουσαν καὶ νά φωνάζουν φωνὲς μεγάλες
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.23

NOTES

- (i) Verbs may also take adverbial NP adjuncts headed by non-cognate nouns with closely related meanings; besides those containing the usual adjective there are also reduplicated expressions indicating intensification (e.g. κλότزون τὸν κλότزون in the first example below = “[with] kick after kick” etc.):

ὁ βούβαλος ... κλότζον τὸν κλότζον ἐκρουεν τὸν πάρδον μὲ τοὺς πόδας
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 1028–9

ἔλεγεν φωνὴν ἀγγελικὴν καθαρὰν, ὅτι ἐγεννήθηκεν ἀπὸ μίαν παρθένον ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.1–2

- (ii) Ordinary transitive verbs may take direct objects that happen to be formally cognate, but these are obviously not “cognate object constructions” in any interesting sense:

τότε πάλιν ὁ ἀμिरὰς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον λέγει 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 18
ἔδερναν τὸν Χριστόν, καὶ παθαίνοντας τὰ πάθη ἐχαλότον ὀλίγον κατ’ ὀλίγον
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.41–2

ἦντα κανίσκιν ἄσκημο μ’ ἔχεις κανισκεμένη! 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.398

- (iii) As a means of intensification, intransitive verbs with the core meaning “have some experience” exhibit marginal transitive uses involving NPs headed by cognate nouns or nouns of closely related meaning:

τάρταρον τὸν τουρτουρισμόν, τὸν τουρτουρίζω τώρα 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 230
κάλλιον τὸ ἔχω, θάνατον σήμερον ν’ ἀποθάνω περὶ νὰ εἰποῦσιν ἀλλαχοῦ νὰ μὲ
κατηγορήσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1134–5
ἄν ἦτον καὶ νὰ μπόρει τὸν ὕπνον νὰ κοιμᾶτον, ἀλησμονήσειν ἤθελεν ὀλίγον ἐκ τὴν
λύπην 15th c., *Peri xen.* 23–4

5.1.4 Genitive

5.1.4.1 Complements of Verbs

Genitive of Indirect Object and Related Complements

- (66) In southern areas, including S. Italy and Sicily, the indirect objects of ditransitive verbs and the complements of many other verbs that were marked dative in AG may be expressed by means of a genitive NP.**

Alternatively a prepositional phrase headed by *εἰς/σέ* or *πρός* + accusative may be used. Such PPs appear in this function *in all locations*, especially in later periods, and are most usually substituted for NPs headed by other than 1st/2nd-person pronouns.

πέπρακα αὐτὸ τοῦ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου διὰ νόμισμα ξν
1076–7, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 1, 46.8

νὰ μὲ τὸ διερμηνέψης (πῶς στήκει τὸ κάστρον), καὶ μὴ τολμήσης νὰ τὸ εἰπῇς
ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8216–17

ἐμήνυσεν τοῦ καστελλάνου νὰ ἔλθῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8228

δὲν μοῦ φάνη κ’ ἔζησα στὰ πλούτη μιὰν ἡμέραν 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 73

γυρεύουν ὅτι νὰ τοὺς δώσουν τὸν Σαμφών, ... καὶ οἱ Ἰσραηλίται ... φοβοῦνται καὶ
δίδουν τὸν Σαψών δεμένον τῶν ἐχθρῶν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.32–4

- ποτέ μου δὲ σοῦ εἶπα τίποτας 16th c., *Nov. I* 156.15
 ἀφίει καὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ νοταρίου διὰ τὸν κόπον μου ὑπέρπυρα εἰκοσιπέντε
 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 165.42
 ἀφήνει τῆς Καντιῶς ὅ,τι μερτικό τοῦ ἐγγίζει στοὺ χωράφι τῆς Κουκουβάγιας
 1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.22
 τὰ ὅσα ἔχω δοσμένα τῶν ἐπιτρόπων 1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 109.115
 τὴ γραφὴ ... ἐλάβαμε ..., τὴν ὁποία ἐδιαβάσαμε τὴνε, ὡς ἔπρεπε, τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ
ὀλονοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ 1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.5

With Prepositional Phrases (attested in all areas)

- ἀνταπεκρίνατο πρὸς με ὁ ὑποψήφιος [λέγων μοι ὅτι ...]
 ?1144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4–5
πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀποκρίθη 16th c./14th c., *Ptochol.* α 722
 π(εζάν)τ(ια) τ' δομένα στοὺς κάτ(ωθε) τόπο<υ>ς
 1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 48, 26.3
 ἐδώκασιν τὸν λεγόμενον Ἀντώνη εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ εὐγενοῦς φρα Γιλιάμου
 1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1988: 1, 234.26
 ἀενάως στέλνων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς δωρεάς
 17th c./16th c., *Ekth. Chron.* 40.24–5
 ἐσεῖς ... ἀπονη βουλὴν ἐδώκετε σ' ἐμένα 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.319

NOTE

- (i) For further examples of the genitive in southern areas, specifically to mark NPs denoting an interested party (e.g. experiencer, beneficiary, victim etc., all marked dative in AG) or the complements of verbs such as ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ etc. (+ dative in AG), see Rule (60) NOTES (i) and (ii).

Genitive Governed by Adjectives

(67) A small number of adjectives take genitive complements in early/more literary texts; only ἄξιος retains this construction with any regularity in later periods, where it remains a learned feature.

- πάντας ἄξιους ἔκρινεν τοῦ στέφους καὶ τοῦ κράτους
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 38
 κοινὴν βουλὴν ἃς εἴπωμεν, ἃν ἔναι θελητόν σου πῶς καὶ γενοῦμεν ἐγκρατεῖς τοῦ
κάστρου καὶ τῆς κόρης 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1032–3
 ἂν οἱ προσευχῆς ... ἐνεργοῦσιν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν ταύτην, καὶ πόσον μᾶλλον μετὰ θάνατον,
 εἰς ἐκείνους ὅπου εἶναι ἄξιοι τῶν ἱερῶν εὐχῶν ...; 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 100
 ὁπόταν ἐθέλασιν γυρέψειν νὰ πουλήσουν τίποτι, νὰ εἶναι ἐκπτωτοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς 1615, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 9, 5.47–8

5.1.4.2 Genitive Adjuncts

(68) Genitive NPs may be used to mark the reason for/cause of an eventuality, or to specify a time/place within which something occurred.

Genitive of Reason/Cause

- ἤλθε μου λακταρισμός νὰ πέσω ν' ἀποθάνω καὶ ν' ἀποθάνω ὁ ἐλεεινὸς αἰφνίδιου
 θανάτου 15th c., *Peri xen.* 331
- ὀλιγοψύχησεν πολλὰ κι ἔπεσεν τοῦ θανάτου 15th c., *Peri xen.* 401
- μὰ κλαίγει καὶ τοῦ τυχῆς του πολλὰ παραπονᾶται
 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* III.508
- ἀκόμη τόγγονοῦ μου τοῦ Τζάν Φραντζέσκο τοῦ Κορνάρου ... παραπονοῦμαι
 1625, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1986: 6, 79.23
- μὰ ψυχὴ, ἀπὸ εὐρίσκεται τοῦ πόθου ἀρρωστημένη, σφαίνει τοὶ πλιότερες φορὲς
 καὶ μένει κομπωμένη 17th c., *TROILOS, Rodol.* IV.163–4

NOTE

- (i) The genitive of reason/cause may be used absolutely in a number of archaic/conventionalized exclamations that originate for the most part in liturgical texts and represent a reaction to a situation or occurrence:

- ἐνέβην ἐς τὸ ξύλον καὶ ἀρμενίσαν – ὦ τοῦ θαύματος! – παραῦτα ἐγίνην ζάλη καὶ
 ἦρτα νὰ πνιγοῦσιν 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 62.11–13
- παγαίνοντας εἰς τὸ σπῖτι του, – ὦ τοῦ θαύματος! – ἀπὸ τὸ σακούλι, ὅπου ἔβαλε
 τὸ κεφάλι, ἔτρεχεν αἷμα! 16th c., *DIONYS., Istor.* 253.23–4
- ὦ τῆς μακροθυμίας σου, δέσποτα πολυέλεε Θεέ!
 18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 25.12–13

Genitive of Place/Time

The genitive is used residually, mainly in fixed expressions, to denote an area within/via which, or a period of time during/within which, something takes place.

Place

- ἂν θέλω ... νὰ στείλω (τὰ φουσσᾶτα) μὲ τὰ κάτεργα νὰ ὑπάγουν τῆς θαλάσσης κι
 ἀπαύτου ... νὰ ὑπάγουν τῆς στερέας, ... νὰ τὸν (= τὸν τόπον σου) ἐπάρουν
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4233–7

Time

- εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐτήρησα πολλοῦ καιροῦ κτισμένη 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 17
- τῆς ὥρας ἐκατέβη κάτω ἀπὸ τὸ θεῖον κελίον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄρισε καὶ ἄνοιξαν τῇν
 ἐκκλησίαν 16th c., *MALAXOS M., Ist. patr.* 218.32–3
- ἐκεῖ ἐπροσεύχετον ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.7

NOTE

- (i) There are a few related phrases of the same type involving an extended use of the genitive to denote the medium of communication:

Σαρακηνὸς ἐλάλησεν τὸν ἀμिरὰν τῆς γλώσσης 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 21

(69) The genitive is widely used to mark NPs functioning as adnominal modifiers, i.e. that variously delimit the denotation of the head nouns they are in construction with.

It is often difficult to say what the precise meaning of a given genitive is, and any classificatory system of adnominal genitive adjuncts will necessarily be in some degree arbitrary; here they are grouped under three general headings, possession, specification and description.

Genitive of Possession/Belonging

τίς ... τὴν χαρὰν νὰ ἰσχύσῃ καταλέξειν, τίς τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν χαρμονὴν ..., τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου πολιτῶν ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.7v.3–10

κλίνει τῶν δύων τὰς κεφαλὰς, γαβροῦ καὶ θυγατρὸς του 15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1528

συνάχθητε ὁμοῦ ὧδε σήμερον, νὰ μαθήσωμεν τὰ γένια τοῦ σπανοῦ 16th c./?14th–15th c., *Spanos* D 1149–50

ἀπ' αὐτὰ ἐχάλασεν τοῦ πρίγκιπος ἡ ἀρμάτα 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1896

στάς δεκαπέντε τοῦ μηνός, λέγω τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου 16th c., *ZINOS, Alex. Rim. Epil.* 57

ὁμως ἀνέβη καὶ ἔκαμεν εἰς τὰ γόνατα τοῦ Διὸς τὰ αὐγά 16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 205.5

NOTE

- (i) The possessive genitive may also be used predicatively, sometimes with additional nuances:

μὴ βλέπῃς τὸ ἀπάκιν μας, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦ λάρυγγός σου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 248
 “it’s not your throat’s” = “for your throat”

Genitive of Specification (defining the particular case/kind, with various nuances)

μονοκύθρου μ' ἔδωκε καθ' ὕπνους μυρωδία 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 235

εἰ μὲν συμβῇ ὁ ἀφέντης του ... καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχη εἰς φυλακὴν, εἰς τιμωρίαν σιδῆρων, νὰ τὸν ζητήσῃ ὁ ἀφέντης του καὶ νὰ τὸν ἀνακράξῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7572–4

ἀμμεὶ ὁ σὶρ Τουμαῖς δὲν τὸν ἐλείψεν ἡ πικρία τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ του 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 28.15

“the bitterness of (arising from) his brother’s death”

τότες δὲν εἶναι καιρὸς τῆς βοηθείας οὐδὲ ποσῶς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα παρακάλεσι ἄπρακτη καὶ ἀνωφέλετη 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 159–60

“a time of (to seek) relief/assistance”

εἰς τὸ ἐκλαμπρότατον Κολέγιον Χανδάκου Κρήτης 1598, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 30, 49.12–13

“the College of Chandax of (in) Crete”

ἐδά ’ν’ καιρὸς τῇ προσευκῇ, δάκρυα δριμιά τυχαίνου, νὰ συμπαθήσῃ ὁ Κύριος
πάσα κριματισμένου 17th c./16th–17th c., *Thysia Avr.* 579–80

ἐρχίνισαν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον νὰ κτίζουσι μοναστήρια καὶ νὰ πρεμαζώνονται τὰ
πλήθη τῶν μοναχῶν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 31.20–1

ὀργισθήκασιν περίσσα καὶ ἀφρίζασιν ἀπὸ λύσσα ἐκδίκησης 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.23–4

“fury of (for/arising from) revenge”

Genitive of Description (including measures)

ἕτερον χωράφιν εἰς τὴν Παληρέαν μοδίῳν ἡ ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27

ἐννόμους δὲ γάμους πληροῦσιν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, ὅταν εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος χρόνων ἰδ’ καὶ ἄνωθεν, ...
καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα νὰ ἔναι χρόνων ἰβ’ καὶ ἄνωθεν ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 238.400–2

εἰς τὸ κουμοῦ τῆς Βενετίας ἐξέβησαν ἄνθρωποι γνώσεως μεγάλης καὶ στρατειῶς
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 950–1

ἐβγήκε κακῆς προαιρέσεως ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐβουλεύθη κακὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὅπου τὸν
ἀνάντηρεν 16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 252.11–13

εὐρίσκονται ἄνδρες τοῦ σπαθίου τριανταπέντε χιλιάδες
1609, Cyprus, CHASIoTIS 1972: 35, 59.10

5.1.5 Dative

(70) In vernacular LMedG/EMG the dative case is no longer employed creatively and survives chiefly in lexicalized clichés and other fossilized expressions such as dating formulae.

In early texts, however, the dative is not uncommon in short verbal phrases comprising imperatives and personal pronouns; subsequently, dative pronouns (often with other verb forms) are a mark of influence from more learned registers and/or of traditional practice in certain “higher” domains.

Its occasional appearance as a variant of other cases or forms of expression involving more complex NPs is typically inspired by traditional usage in a specific domain or by the actual words of an ancient (often religious) source.

Dative Pronouns

[Φέρε με καὶ βλάχικον τυρὶν σταμεναρέαν], καὶ δός μοι νὰ προγεύσωμαι καὶ πάλιν νὰ
πετσώνω 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 119–20

Δότε μοι πετσὶν διὰ τὰ ὑποδήματά μου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 144

“τί ἐνι τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅπερ λέγεις;” εἶπε μοι ὅτι “ὁ μητροπολίτης
Φιλίππων” 1337/8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.57–8

ἐμένα ... φαίνεται μοι ὡς ἀναγκαιότατον ... πρῶτον ὁ ἱατρός
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.4–5

ἔλεγα «βοηθεῖτε μοι!» κ’ ἐκεῖνοι ἀφήκασί με 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 63

Fossilized Phrases/Dating Formulae

- ἐν τούτῳ παύομαι ἐδῶ νὰ λέγω κι ἀφηγοῦμαι περὶ τοῦ ρῆγα Κάρουλου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7955–6
- ἐχαρίσαμε τοῦ Γεωργίου ... τὸ κοπέλι ..., ὀνόματι Φίλιππο Θεόδωση Βεντούρη
1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 72, 36.1–4
- τῇ ἱε' αὐγούστου ,ασπς' τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐστέφθην ὁ ρε' Χαρήν εἰς τὴν
χώραν τῆς Τύρου ρήγας 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 42.3–5
- (τὰ δαιμόνια) εἶχαν πέσει ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν, τότες ὅπου ἠθέλησαν νὰ
γένουν ὁμοιοι τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.27–30
- ἐν τῷ ᾧα τοῦ ἔστειλε λόγον 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.3
- διὰ τοῦτο γράφω ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ ποιῶ παραίτησιν τοῦ θρόνου τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς
Καρπάθου 1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.14–15
- ἀποφασίσαμεν ἅπαντες κοινῇ γνώμῃ καὶ βουλῇ ὅτι νὰ πωλήσωμεν τὰ κελλία τῆς
μεγάλης Μέσης 1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.5
- περὶ ταῖς καλαῖς σας ὑγείαις πολλὰ τὸ ἐχάρηκα καὶ παρακαλῶ τὸν Θεὸν νὰ τὴν εὕρῃ
ἢ παροῦσα ἐν ὑγείαις καὶ πάσῃ χαρᾷ 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 16, 216.5–6
- Ἱστορία Γαλαξειδίου ... Διὰ χερὸς Εὐθυμίου Ἱερομονάχου ἔτος ... ἀφγ' μηνὶ Μαρτίου
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.1–10

Some Other Uses

- ἄλλο μῆνυμαν ἐκ τοὺς ἀποσωστάς σου τῷ βασιλεῖ κατέλαβεν γέμον χαρὰν μεγάλην
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.1r.3–8
- “ambassadors to the emperor”
- ὁ ... πάπας ... ἔταξε νὰ δίδῃ κάθε μῆνα τὰ αὐθεντόπουλα δουκάτα τριακόσια,
ὥσπερ ἔδιδε καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ τῷ δεσπότη καὶ πατρὶ αὐτῶν
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 284.9–11
- (traditional high style in reference to the emperor, as above)
- ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἀννα ... λοιμῶδει νόσῳ
15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.22–3
- (instrumental dative as in AG)
- ἐσγάψαν τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐμπῆκαν μέσα, καὶ ἐπροσεύχονταν τῷ Θεῷ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.5–6
- (+ dative in AG, though normally used absolutely in New Testament)
- λέγουσιν ... πὼς ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἀναπνοῇ σὰν ἕναν ζύγιν αἱ πρᾶξεις τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων
ζυγιάζονται καὶ δοκιμάζονται 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 567–8

5.2 Complements of Nouns

Complementation of nouns is frequent, although not mandatory as it is with verbs or prepositions: participants fulfilling key semantic roles are not always represented by concrete linguistic expressions (e.g. *her marriage (to John)*, *her claim (that X)*).

5.2.1 Subjective and Objective Genitives

The genitive subjects of NPs headed by nouns denoting actions (usually deverbal nouns) are not, strictly speaking, complements of the relevant head nouns any more than the subjects of sentences containing the related verbs are complements of those verbs. On the other hand, nouns denoting actions, or the agents of actions, may take true genitive NP complements, with a role corresponding to that of the direct object of the related transitive verb. Despite this grammatical difference it is convenient to treat subjective and objective genitives together in that they have the same syntactic distribution, appearing after the head noun unless preposed for emphasis or contrast (though preposing is often employed *metri gratia* in verse texts without obvious emphasis). In practice, therefore, co-occurrence of subjective and objective genitives is rare, and occurs only in early/more literary texts:

τοῦ Καλλιμάχου ζήτησις πάλιν πρὸς Χρυσορρόην τῆς πατρικῆς γεννήσεως, τῆς
χώρας καὶ τοῦ πάθους 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 600–1

The need for a double genitive construction is avoided by replacing one with a prepositional phrase (normally headed by *ἀπό* for subjective genitives, *εἰς/πρός/μέ* etc. for objective genitives; see Rule (72) NOTE (i) for examples of the latter).

(71) A NP in construction with a noun denoting an action may fulfil a role analogous to that of a subject in a sentence; such NPs are inflected in the genitive.

It is difficult to draw a line between subjective and possessive genitives (for which see 5.1.4.2); genitives are treated here as subjective when the head noun denotes something clearly more active than a simple property or quality of the NP in question.

κατὰ τὸ πεῖν τοὺς πραγματευτάδες καὶ τοῦ ναυκλέρου καὶ τοὺς ναύτας
15th c./13th c., Cyprus, *Assizes B* 296.16–17

ἡ δὲ ἡ ρήγαινα ἐκάτζειν εἰς τὸν ἡλιακὸν εἰς τὸ διάβαν τοὺς βαβαλλάριδες καὶ ὅλου
τοῦ λαοῦ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.12–13

εἶδαμεν τὲς ἀναζητήσεις τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρους καὶ τὲς ἀποκρίσεις τοῦ ἑτέρου μέρους πολλὰς
καὶ πλείστας φορές 1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 10, 63.4

ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγκάλης καὶ κυβέρνησης ἐνοῦ πριντζίπου τόσο γλυκότατου
1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.16

(72) A NP in construction with a noun denoting an action, or the agent of an action, may fulfil a role analogous to that of the object of a transitive verb; such NPs are inflected in the genitive.

With Action Nouns

ὁ τρέχων εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἔχει φόβον πενθερᾶς 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 126–7
τῶν ὀδυνῶν μου κουφισμόν, ἐπαύξησιν ζωῆς μου καὶ τῆς πνοῆς μου σύστασιν πῶς
 νὰ τὴν ἐξεπλέξω; ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.8r.7–10

καὶ εἰς πόθον τῆς ἀγάπης σου ἔφερεν τὴν ψυχὴν μου 15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 723

ἐτρέχασιν ὅλοι ἀπὸ τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασιλέως, ... ὁδὶὰ νὰ κάμη θυσίαν τῶν
ψευδωνύμων θεῶν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.5–7

With Agent Nouns

ἤκουσαν τὰ δικαιώματα ... τοῦ κύρ Μιχέλη Γκελάρδου καὶ κυράτζα Θουμαγῆς ὡς
 κυβερνήτρα τῶν παιδιῶν της 1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 46, 43.2–4

ἔπεμψε τὸ παράκλητον Πνεῦμα εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους του μαθητὰς καὶ θεωροὺς τῶν
μυστηρίων του 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 31.1–2

NOTE

- (i) With certain head nouns, particularly when these are not formally action nouns (i.e. ending in -σις, -ισμός etc.), and also with some adjectives, a prepositional phrase may be used instead of a genitive, sometimes with a slight difference of meaning (cf. *love of X* and *love for X*). Each such lexical item selects a characteristic preposition or set of prepositions:

ἀγάπην εἶχεν ἄπειρον εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ πατήρ της· καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν πολλὴν ἦν
πρὸς ἐκείνην εἶχεν 15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 759–60

ἀπ' ἐκεῖ πάλε ἄρχεψεν ἡ ἔχθρα μὲ τοὺς ἀδελφούς τοῦ ἀντρός της
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 312.2–3

ἦτονε μαθηματικὴ εἰς τὰ γράμματα πολλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἔμπειρη
 1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.7

5.2.2 Partitive Genitives

(73) Nouns and pronouns denoting a part/subset of a larger whole may take a genitive NP complement denoting the relevant whole.

Other than in very early and archaizing texts, NPs whose heads take a definite partitive complement are themselves normally definite, perhaps reflecting a growing avoidance of combinations of NPs that disagree in definiteness.

αὐτὸς ὁ Εὐλάλιος καὶ ἂν ἔλθῃ καὶ ὁ Χήναρος ἐκεῖνος ... οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ζωγράφων,
 τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἐξορθώνουσι 15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 43–5

αἰσχύνομαι τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλῆθος
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 120

τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐλαττωμένον εἶχε 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 288

ἐπέθανεν τὸ ἥμισον τοῦ νησιῶ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.26–7

NOTES

- (i) Exceptions to the definiteness requirement are rare and early:

τινὲς δὲ τῶν χιρεκάκων ἠνέφεραν τὸν αὐθέντην μου
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.31

- (ii) A prepositional phrase headed by ἀπό/ἐκ is normally used instead of a genitive when the head is a bare numeral or an indefinite pronoun/quantifier. This allows an indefinite NP to stand in construction with a definite NP without violation of the definiteness constraint:

μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας εἰς ἣν ἐθάρρει πλέον, παρήγγειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ὅλους
νὰ προλάβῃ ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.3r.9–12

τὸ πῶς ἡγάπα κ' ἤθελεν κάλλιον νὰ εἶχεν χάσει μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς χῶρες τοῦ ἐκ τὰς
καλλιώτερές τοῦ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7085–6

ἔκραξε δύο ἀπὸ τοὺς Ρωμαίους καὶ γράφει τοὺς πιττάκια
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8319

καὶ εἶς ἐκ τοὺς φιλόσοφους τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐλάλειε 16th c./14th c., *Byz. Il.* 846

πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς καβαλλάριδες ἀχόρταγοι καὶ πτωχοὶ ἐβάλαν τὰ χέρια τοὺς
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 82.27–8

δὲ τοῦ ἀβοήθησε τινὰς ἀπὸ τὰ παιδιὰ μου
1642, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 246, 197.31

κάτι γοῦν ἀπὸ ἐκείνους τοὺς πειράτες, ... ἐπήγασιν τρέχοντας γοργὸν
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.16–19

- (iii) The prepositional phrase construction is also used when expressions of this kind have uniquely identified referents (= “the one of the pair/set of X with some distinguishing property”):

ἔκραξε δύο ἀπὸ τοὺς Ρωμαίους καὶ γράφει τοὺς πιττάκια· ὁ ἕνας ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς τὸ
ἔγραψεν ὅπου ἔξευρεν νὰ γράφῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8319–20

βρεῖ θέλει τρόπον ὁμορφὸ νὰ δῇ νὰ τσῆ μιλήσῃ, τὸν ἕνα ἀπὸ τοὺς τσι δύο τῶνε νὰ
πάρῃ, ὅποιον ὀρίσῃ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* II.19–20

5.2.3 Clausal Complements

- (74) Many nouns take clausal complements, especially those formally and/or semantically related to verbs with clausal complements (see Chapter 2). The type of complement in any given case is largely determined by the meaning class of the noun in question.**

With (τοῦ/διὰ) νά

Clausal complements of nouns with meanings related to those of control verbs (“power”, “decision”, “command”, “hope”, “promise”, “intention” etc.) normally take complements containing subjunctive verb forms marked with νά. With some nouns, especially in the “hope”/“promise” domain, there is overlap between νά-clauses and clauses introduced by ὅτι/πῶς (see below).

- ἀπόκρισιν τοῦ ἔδωκεν πρόθυμα νά τὸ ποιήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5677
- ἐγὼ σὲ παραδίδω τὴν ἀφεντίαν ὅπου κρατῶ νά στήκῃς διὰ τὴν κούρτην, νά κρένης
γὰρ καὶ νά κρατῇς τὸ δίκαιον μὲ τὸν νόμον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7539–41
- ἔχει ἐλπίδα εἰς τὸν Θεὸν πολλὰ νά τὸ ἀγαπήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8699
- μετὰ τοῦτο νά ᾗ ὄμπλεγο νά τόνε πάρῃ, σὰν ἀποθάνῃ, νά τόνε κηβέψῃ στὸ
ἄνωθεν μοναστήρι καὶ νά τόνε μνημονεύῃ
1610, Crete (Rethymno region), BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 662, 576.11–12

NOTES

- (i) The negative in *νά*-clauses is μή(ν), though *νά* may then be omitted (in verse texts often *metri gratia*):

βουλὴν ἠπῆρεν μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον μή χάσῃ 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1024
δίδοντας ὄρδενε νά μὴν πγιάινῃ τινὰς ἐκεῖ 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.34

- (ii) *Νά*-clauses complementing verbs may contain the genitive article τοῦ (see 2.2, Rule (26) NOTE (ii)), but this occurs with nouns in only a few examples from the *Chronicle of Morea* where there is a pause or significant gap between the noun and its dependent clause:

ἰσιάστησαν μὲ τὸ Κουμοῦ εἰς τέτοιες συμφωνίες τοῦ νά τοῦ δώσῃ τὸ Κουμοῦ ...
τέσσαρα κάτεργα καλὰ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2779–82

ἐποίησε γὰρ ὁ πρίγκιπας τὸ ὁμάτζιον πρὸς τὸν ρῆγα τοῦ νά κρατῇ τὸν τόπον
του ἀπὸ τὸν ρῆγα Κάρλον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6477–8

- (iii) Rarely, and chiefly in later texts from Crete and Cyprus, *νά*-complements may also be preceded by διὰ, which again tends to be used when there is a gap between a noun and its dependent clause, but this is by no means a requirement:

ἐγδέχeton μαντάτον ἀπὸ τὴν Κύπρον, διὰ νά ῥτῃ, νά τοῦ δώσουν τὴν
ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.7–8

τὰ στεκάμενα ὅπου ἀγόρασε τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἦτονε ἀφορμή διὰ νά μὴν ἔλθῃ
κακὸς γείτονας εἰς τὸ μοναστήρι 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.43–4

Indirect Questions

Nouns with an appropriate meaning may take an indirect question as a complement (see also 2.4). Interrogative phrases in clause-initial position regularly attract the verb (cf. 1.4, Rules (16), (17), (18)), with overt subjects then following.

Indirect questions complementing nouns are less liable to nominalization with τὸ than those with verbs (2.4, Rule (31) NOTE (i)), though the option is common with stereotyped periphrases meaning “consider”/“decide” in which a semantically “light” verb (= “give”, “take”, “make”) is combined with βουλήν as its object.

καὶ τότε δίδουν τὴν βουλήν τὸ ποῦ νά πᾶν νά κλέψουν 15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 81
χωρὶς νά ἔχῃς ἐννοίαν ἵντα νά τοὺς πλερώσῃς
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.32–3

ἐποίησαν βουλὴν τί νὰ ποιήσουν εἰς ἐτουτουνοὺς τοὺς κακοποιοὺς ἀνθρώπους
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* E 171.3–4 (Lolos)

ἐποίησεν βουλὴν τὸ τί νὰ ποιήσουνε εἰς ἐτουτουνοὺς τοὺς κακοποιοὺς ἀνθρώπους
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 170.3–4 (Lolos)

ἔπεσεν εἰς λογισμὸν μέγα, τὸ πῶς νὰ ποιήσῃ νὰ μὴδὲν ἐντροπιαστῇ
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 361.27–8

μὲ μεγάλῃ ἔννοια βρίσκομαι πῶς<ς> περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότῃ σου
1612, Crete (Chania region), CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.9–10

λέγοντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέαν τὴν ἀφορμὴν, διατί δὲν τὸν ἐχάλασεν
17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 275.37–8

With μῆ(ν)/μήπως καί

In parallel with semantically related verbs (see 2.3), nouns meaning “fear”/“anxiety” etc. may take a complement clause introduced by μῆ(ν)/μήπως καί (with negative οὐ(κ)/(οὐ) δέν). As fear is typically for what may happen in the future, the verb forms attested are overwhelmingly subjunctive, though the particle νά is not normally employed in this inherently modal domain.

The usual integrity of the μῆ(ν) + verb combination is retained even though the negative here has acquired pseudo-complementizer status; μῆ(ν) and the verb are therefore adjacent (apart from clitic pronouns), and overt subjects follow.

εἶχεν μέγαν φόβον μὴ πιάσῃ καὶ τυφλώσῃ τον, εἰς φυλακὴν τὸν βάλῃ καὶ λάβῃ
ἄδικον θάνατον καὶ χάσῃ τὸ κορμί του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4891–3

ὁ νοῦς μου σ’ ἔγνοια μπαίνει, μὴν εἶν’ κιανεῖς στὸ σπίτι της καὶ βρίσκεται κρυμμένος
16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.94–5

ἔχοντας ρεσπέτο ..., μήπως καὶ δώσου του κιανένα καιρὸ καμίας λογῆς πείραξη
1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 193, 202–203.4–5

With (ὁ)πού

A noun that is *factive* (see 2.1, Rule (24)) may take a complement introduced by (ὁ)πού + indicative. The construction seems to be of relatively recent origin (16th c. onwards): in earlier texts, as well as sometimes also after the 16th c., we find simply ὅτι/πῶς (see immediately below for more examples).

Factive with ὅτι/πῶς

εὐρέθη τὸ ἀληθές, ὅτι ἡ ἐλαία ἔνι τῆς μονῆς τοῦ παπᾶ κύρ Διονυσίου
1395, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 8, 76.20

μὰ ἔχει μεγάλῃ παραπόνεση πῶς δὲ τῇ στέλνει ἡ πανιερότῃ σου δυὸ λόγια
1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.3–4

Factive with (ὁ)πού

τοῦτο ἤτονε μέγα θαῦμα ... ὅπου ἡ κιβωτὸς ... ἐξεβλάστωσεν καὶ ἔκαμε κλωνάρια
καὶ φύλλα καὶ ἄνθη καὶ καρπὸν εὐμορφότατον
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.27–36

όπου υπήγεν ό Kaisareias εις τόν Πάπαν, είδησιν δέν ηξευρε

16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1572) 179–80

οί Σαρακηνοί ... είχανε μεγάλην χαρά, όπου ηρθε προφήτης εις τόν τόπον τους

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 128.13–14

τό χω μεγάλο παράπονο όπου οί άλλοι πραγματευτάδες έλαβαν γραφήν από τούς Κοθωναίους στις 15 Νοεμβρίου

1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 19, 218.2–5

With ότι/(τό) πώς

Nouns semantically related to verbs of declaration, belief etc. routinely take complements introduced by ότι/(τό) πώς with an indicative (negative ού(κ)/ούδέ(ν)) or νά + subjunctive (negative μή(ν)); the two items are more or less functionally equivalent, though ότι is more formal/traditional in character and πώς allows for nominalization.

In the “hope/promise” domain ότι/πώς-clauses containing verb forms marked with νά alternate with bare νά-clauses (on which see above).

In earlier/more learned texts subjects may come immediately after ότι and stand directly before the verb; the normal order in a πώς-clause is complementizer–verb–subject, and ότι-clauses increasingly follow this pattern in more vernacular texts.

ότι

εύρέθη τό αληθές, ότι ή έλαία ένι τής μονής του παπα κύρ Διονυσίου

1395, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 8, 76.20

μανδάτον γάρ τόν ηφερα ... ότι την γην εφθάσαμεν

15th–16th c./14th c., *Poulol.* 577–8

εθιόρκισέν τον ότι να μέν θελήση ποττέ να ποίση τίτοιον κακόν, ότι δυό

πρωτανισία να σμικτούν

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 34.6–8

είχεν ελπίδα ότι θέλει του κάμει να ιδή και αυτός κανένα θαῦμα

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 374.32–3

από κεϊ εβγήκε ό λόγος ότι απόθανε ό σουλτάν Μουράτης και εκάθησε βασιλεύς ό υιός αυτού ό Μπαγιαζίτης

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.7–9

από τότε εκάμασι νόμον οί Τουρκοί ότι ... να πιάνουσι οί καπικηδες τά δύο του χέρια

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.34–5

(τό) πώς

εφέρον του μαντάτον πώς είνε εις την Καλοψίδαν

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 632.33–4

επηγεν τό μαντάτον εις τόν ρήγαν πώς ηρτεν ό αποστολές εις την Κύπρον

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 18.17–18

δέ μπορώ, ... παρά ... τά πάθη ν' απομένω μ' ελπίδα πώς κιαμιά φορά ν' αλλάξη ό λογισμός σου, να μου χαρίση ανάπαψη ό πόθος ό δικός σου

17th c./16th c., CHORTATISIS, *Panor.* II.363–6

καλώς τό πιάσε ή χέρα μου τό μαρμαρένιο χέρι, κείνο που έλπίδα μου ᾽δωκε τό πώς σέ κάνω ταίρι

18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAPOS, *Erot.* III.1491–2

ἦλθεν μαντᾶτο τὸ πὼς ἐχειροτονήθη ἄλλος ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἔρχεται· καὶ τότες
 ἐβγάλλει ἓνα γράμμα ..., τὸ πὼς με κάθηρες, καὶ νὰ μὴ συνάξω καμμίας λογῆς
 εἰσόδημα ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν 1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.6–10
 εἶδον διδω τῆς βασιλείας σου, πὼς εἰς τὰς δέκα τοῦ Ὀκτωμβρίου μηνὸς ἦλθαμεν
 Στοκόλμ 1654, Stockholm (author from Athens), TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.11
 πὼς εἴσθεν ὅλοι σας κουφοὶ μαντᾶτο πὰ νὰ δώσω 17th c., KONDAR., *Paides* 16

NOTE

- (i) “Οτι is also used to introduce direct speech, particularly in stylistically less ambitious texts/documents:

ἐφέραν τὸν πατέρα του μηνύματα βαρέα ὅτι: “Τινὲς ἀλλογενεῖς τὲς χώρες σου
 κουρσεύουν ...” 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 101–2
 ἐποίησαν βουλήν ὅτι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον νὰ μὴ τὸν ἔχωμεν εἰς τὸ κάστρον μας
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* E 163.5–6 (Lolos)
 ἐν τῷ ἅμα τοῦ ἔστειλε λόγον ὅτι: “Ὁ πατέρας σου σὲ θέλει νὰ σοῦ ὀμιλήσῃ”
 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.3–4

With καί

A formally coordinated καί-clause may be substituted for a wide range of sentential complements to verbs (see Chapter 2) but is comparatively rare with nouns.

τοῦτον ἦτον ἡ ἀφορμή, καὶ ὀργή τοῦ θεοῦ ἐππεσεν ἀπάνω τους
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 16.12–16
 εὑρέθην ἐκεῖ ὁ ἀμειρᾶς ὀνόματι Μεχλὶν Πέχνα, ὅπου ἦτον ἀφορμή καὶ ἀρχεύτην ἡ
μάχη 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 206.27–8
 ἂν ἐπεθάναν ὅλοι οἱ Γενουβίσοι, καὶ θέλει ἔρτειν καιρὸς καὶ ὁ δαρμένος θέλει δέρειν!
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 208.1–4
 τὰ μαῦρα ἐσύ ’σουν ἀφορμή κι’ ἔριξα, σὰ θυμᾶσαι
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.359
 ἐκείνη τοῦ ’διδε ἀφορμή κ’ ἤμπαινε σ’ ἔτοια κρίση
 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1150

5.3 Adjuncts of Nouns

5.3.1 Genitive Adjuncts

See Rule (69) above.

5.3.2 Articles and Other Determiners

5.3.2.1 Definite NPs and the Definite Article

(75) The use of a definite NP in LMedG/EMG presupposes that its referent can be uniquely identified within the relevant universe of discourse.

Definiteness may be *semantic* (NPs with inherently unique referents independently of context) or *pragmatic* (NPs whose unique identification depends crucially on the specific context). The definite article is used in LMedG/EMG to mark both semantic and pragmatic definiteness, though its appearance is by no means universal in that definiteness is a given in the former case and may be so strongly invited in the latter as to seem redundant (see below for details).

The article is the initial element of a definite NP (apart from any items preposed for emphasis/contrast), though in a series of conjoined definite NPs, or definite NPs in apposition, it is not uncommon for the first alone to be overtly determined:

ὁ σελαῖς καὶ σαμαρᾶς χρώνται καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτα καὶ ὅπου δ' ἂν καὶ χρειαστοῦν,
εὐρίσκουν με εἰς δέμαν 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 626–7

ὁ Νικόλας καὶ μαστρ²-Αντρέας καὶ Γεώργης, ἀδελφοὶ Μαρκόπουλοι, ἦρθαν στὴ
παροῦσαν σύβαση καὶ οἱ τρεῖς θεληματικοί
1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 733.2–3

Semantic Definiteness

The article appears frequently in NPs containing a modifier that confers uniqueness (e.g. “the biggest X”, “the one/the other X”, “the first etc. X” of a known set), in generic/abstract NPs (e.g. “the truth” as a concept/ideal, “the dog” as a species, “the rich” as a class), in NPs headed by unique reference nouns (e.g. “the sun”, “the capital of Italy”) and with proper names used referentially; but optionality persists, especially in earlier texts, poetry and those prose genres (mainly legal and religious) shaped by more traditional conventions.

Already by the 9th c., however, articles are used with some regularity to mark semantic definiteness in ordinary vernacular discourse, and by the end of our period the article is well on its way to becoming a conventionalized marker of such inherent definiteness (much as in MG).

ἐκ νεότητός μου ἐπόθησα τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην 11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 676–7

λαβὼν μόνον τοῦτον σὺ ἀπότηρεχε, μὴ ἐξαργῇ τὸ ἕτερόν σου βοῖδιν
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 124–5

ὁ διάβολος ... ἐζήλωσεν αὐτὸν ὥς ποτε τὸν Ἰώβ ... Οὐδὲν γὰρ θαυμαστὸν ἔφησεν ...
ποιήσῃν τὸν ἄνδρα ... παρέχων τοῖς πένησιν
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 34–9

τῆς δὲ χήρας αἱ θυγατέρες, ἡ μὲν πρώτη ἡ Μαρία, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα Μυρανθία, ἡ δὲ
τρίτη Εὐανθία 11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 477–8

ὡς χριστιανοὶ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, νὰ εἰπήτε καὶ νὰ κρίνετε ἔσω
στὸ δίκαιο ἀπάνω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2359–60

ὁ δ' Ἀχιλλίος ἀκούσας, ... φέρνει στράτευμα Βουλγάρων
15th c./14th c., *ERMON., Ilias* 3.236–8

ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωσσίας λοιμώδει νόσω
15th c., *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 12.22–3

τοῦ ἡλίου εἶπεν νὰ σταθῇ κ' ἐστάθηκεν στὴν ὥραν 17th c., *KONDAK., Paidēs* 37

The article does, however, remain optional, as noted:

- οὐκ εἶν ... περὶ πίστεως δόγματος 12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.7–8
- πόθος γὰρ πόθου στερηθεὶς ὑπομονήν οὐκ ἔχει 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 16
- ἀφόντι ἐσώσθη τὸ σπῖτι, ἔκαμαν λογαριασμόν, εἰς ὅσες ἡμέρες ἔκαμεν δουλειὰν καὶ εἰς ὅσες δὲν ἔκαμεν· καὶ δὲν χρεωστεῖ ξίνας τὸν ἄλλον post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 73, 56.3–5
- βασιλεύει ἥλιος, τὰ δένδρη γὰρ λαλοῦσι, καὶ ἡ φωνή τους ἰνδική, δὲν ξεύρω τί μιλοῦσι 16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 2113–14
- ἐτότες εἶδα φανερά νὰ ρίξη μὲ μεγάλη σπουδὴ στὸ στήθος μου Ἑρωτας χίλιες σαῖτες πάλι 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.329–30
- ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισε μὲ νερόν· ἀμὴ ἐσεῖς θέλετε βαπτισθεῖ μὲ Πνεῦμα Ἄγιον εἰς ὀλίγες ἡμέρες 17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.*, *Praxeis* 1.5

Pragmatic Definiteness

The article is regularly used to mark pragmatic definiteness, e.g. when a NP is used anaphorically (e.g. *She met a man on the train. The man ...*), when a NP is definite through a familiar association (e.g. *She has a new car. The clutch ...*) or when a NP has a restrictive modifier, typically an adjective, appositive NP, genitive or relative clause, suggesting unique identifiability in context (e.g. *The book on the shelf ...*).

- ἦν τις ἄνθρωπος ... τοῦνομα Φιλάρετος, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἦν εὐγενής 11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 5–6
- σπόγγισον τὴν τράπεζαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τὴν ἐλεφάντινον 11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 408–9
- διέρχεται τοὺς ἐσφραγισμένους τρεῖς μεγάλους δρυῖς ..., ὡσαύτως καὶ τὴν μεγάλην κουτουλὴν καρέαν, καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν τριστελέγχον καρέαν καὶ τὸν ἰστάμενον πλησίον αὐτῆς δρυῖν 1090–4, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 45, 164.50–1
- ἔβαλαν οὖν διαλαλητὴν λαγὸν τὸν μεγαλάπτην, ... ἵνα συνάξῃ πάντας καὶ νὰ ἴδωσιν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἀποκρισιάρχους 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 44–6
- ἐν μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωσσίας λοιμώδει νόσῳ, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ τοῦ Λιβὸς μονῇ 15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.22–3
- τότε ἐξέβαλεν Φλαβιανὸν ... ὁ ἐπικατάρτος βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐχειροτόνησε Σεβῆρον ... Τὸν δὲ Φλαβιανὸν ἐξόρισεν εἰς Πέτρας 15th c., *Hist. Imp.* IIb 641–3
- ἤϋρεν πτωχὸν γέρον εἰς τὰ ὄρη ... καὶ ἀποκαλύφθην τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἡ Θεοτόκος 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36. 22–8
- ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Γαλιάτσος δίδει τὴν ἀγγελίαν του τὴν ἄνωθεν τῇ μαύρῃ τοῦ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Γεωργηλά, νὰ σπεύρῃ ὀφέτος 1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.6–7
- τοὺς ἐζήτησε τὸ κάστρο τὴν Φιλαδελφεῖαν 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.12
- λῦσον ταύτην τὴν γραφὴν, διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.59–60

τὸ πρῶτον ψάρι ὅπου ἔβγη, πιάσ' το 17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 17.27
μοῦ ἔφεραν μαλλὶ φαγγότα 65 ... στείλει μου τὸν λογαριασμό
 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 8, 214.3–5

But the anaphoric article may be omitted, especially in more informal genres, as in the following extract from a contract in which “(the) sellers and (the) buyer” have already been introduced by name:

τὸν ἐπέψασι πουλητάδες καὶ ἀγοραστής
 1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 9, 31.10–11

The article marking definiteness by association is also optional, particularly when a series of nouns is linked in this way to an earlier NP:

τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ὥρισεν κ' ἐγενήκαν, ἄστρον, φεγγάριν κ' ἥλιος τότες
εὐθύς ἐβγήκαν 15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 19–20
κάλλιο νὰ ἦμαι ὑπόδουλος τοῦ βασιλέως, παρὰ ν' ἀρνηθῶ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ μου·
καὶ πιστεύω πατέρα, υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.16–18

And since, in the absence of indications to the contrary, restrictive modifiers strongly promote definite readings of the NPs containing them, the relevant article is frequently omitted as redundant. The optionality persists through our period and is particularly noteworthy for NPs inside prepositional phrases.

ἦν τις ἄνθρωπος ἐν χώρᾳ τῶν Παφλαγόνων 11th c./9th c., Vios *Philaret.* 5
ἀλλὰ περὶ πράξεως ἔνι καὶ ἐγκράτειαν τὴν ἐπαινομένην παρὰ πᾶσαν θεῖαν γραφὴν
 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.8–9
ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστόν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην, φωστήραν τὸν αὐγερινόν, ἥλιον τὸν
φωσφόρον 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E
ἐτάφη εἰς τὸ πάνσεπτον ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ Γερακιώτου ἐδῶ εἰς
πόρταν τὴν βασιλικήν 1387, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 96, 99.3–5
ἴντσι παρακαλῶ τὴ πανιερότη σου νὰ μοῦ θυμᾶσαι, γι' ἀγάπη τ' ἀφέντη τοῦ
Χριστοῦ 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.5–6
θέλω τὰ φορτώσει μὲ πρῶτο καράβι ποὺ νὰ ἔρθῃ στὸ Δυρράχιο
 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 8, 214.4–5

NOTES

- (i) The most neutral position for an attributive adjective within a definite NP is between the article and the noun (ὁ σοφὸς X), though the option of placing the adjective after the noun with a repeated article is very common (ὁ X ὁ σοφός). The second type, involving “double definiteness” or “determiner spreading”, may be used specifically to indicate that the adjective denotes an already familiar property of the relevant entity, thus serving as the main identifier of the referent of the NP:

τοῦτο ψευδὲς ἐνόμιζον, ὅλως οὐκ ἐδεχόμεν, τὸ λέγουσιν οἱ χωρικοὶ καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ
δημῶδης 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 19–20

τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἱμάτων τὸ κνηκᾶτον ἢ χάρισον ἢ πώλησον ἢ δὸς ὅπου
κελεύεις 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 60–1
 ὁ βασιλιάς ἐποῖκεν νὰ τὸν μάθουσιν τὴν ἀγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν καθολικὴν
 16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 150.15–16

- (ii) Non-agreeing adverbial modifiers may also occupy the two adjectival slots within definite NPs, though the position between article and noun is typical of formulaic expressions in formal/legal discourse (“the above mentioned Mr X” etc.):

ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Γαλιάτσος δίδει τὴν ἀγγέλιαν τοῦ τὴν ἄνωθεν τῇ μαύρῃ τοῦ ἄνωθεν
κυρ-Γεωργηλά, νὰ σπεῖρῃ ὀφέτος
 1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.6–7
τὸ χωράφι τὸ μέσα ὅπου ἔχουνε φυτεμένο σταφίδα
 1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 15, 39.6

- (iii) The neutral position for genitives within a definite NP is postnominal:

ἄς ἔχῃ τὸ χαρτί σου (καὶ) τ' ὄνομαν τοῦ δικαστοῦ 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 493–4
τὰ μετρητὰ τοῦ πεθεροῦ μου μὲ πρῶτο καράβι ὅπου θέλει ἔρθει νὰ μᾶς τὰ στείλῃς
 1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 64, 240.4–5

Determiner spreading with genitives, however, is relatively rare, occurring mostly in early/archaizing texts and in verse:

ὁ δ' Ἀχιλλίος ἀκούσας, ὁ υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ Πηλέως, φέρνει στράτευμα Βουλγάρων
 15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 3.236–8
τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ καθαρὸν τὸ στίλβον τὸ τοῦ κάλλους
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 179

- (iv) Phrasal modifiers that normally occupy postnominal positions may be fronted before the definite article for emphasis or contrast. Preposed adjectival/adverbial expressions necessarily show determiner spreading, preposed genitives do so comparatively rarely (cf. (i)–(iii) above).

Determiner spreading in preposed/focalized constituents (so called “reverse determiner spreading”) is an innovation of LMedG/EMG, indicating a shift in the status of definite postnominal modifiers from clarificatory/appositional adjuncts that automatically followed the head in AG to restrictive modifiers amenable to the rules of focalization in LMedG/EMG:

ἦλθασιν καὶ ἠῦρασιν τὸ ἐρμηνευθὲν τὸ ρυάκιν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 78
ὁ Μέγας ὁ Δεμέστικος ἐπίστεπεν τοῦ Φράγκου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4971
εἰς τὴν κλίνην Παλαμῆδους τηνικαῦτα γοῦν τὸν θέτει τὸ τοῦ δόλου τὸ χαρτίον
 15th c./14th c., Epirus, ERMON., *Ilias* 6.216–18
τὸν τοῦ λουτροῦ τὸν ποταμὸν ὁλόχρυσον ἂν εἴποις
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 799
ἐδώκαμεν πρὸς τὸν τιμιότατον κύρ Μιχάλην τὸν Καθολικὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ
τοῦ Σαράβαρη τὸ ἀμπέλιον 14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.2–3

ἔχομεν μέγαν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τὰ κορσάρικα τὰ καράβια

1696, Dyrtrachion, MERTZIOS 1947a: 7, 214.14–15

βουλὴν ἐποίκασι οἱ ἄπιστοι ... νὰ ἀπεράσουσι στὸν Μορέα, κουρσεύοντας καὶ τοῦ κόρφου τὲς μεριές

18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 15.12–16

5.3.2.2 Indefinite NPs and Indefinite Determiners

(76) The use of an indefinite NP indicates that the intended referent(s) cannot be identified uniquely in the relevant domain of discourse due to lack of relevant knowledge and/or the necessary contextual information.

Indefiniteness is marked in a variety of ways in LMedG/EMG, as explained below.

Zero Article

Unquantified mass and abstract nouns with existential (i.e. non-generic) meanings standardly appear without an article or other determiner.

τρόμος λοιπὸν κατέλαβε καὶ φόβος τὴν ψυχὴν μου 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 52

εἶσαι μπάιλος σήμερον καὶ ἔχεις ἐξουσίαν 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 7917

μὲ μεγάλῃ ἔννοια βρίσκομαι πῶς περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότῃ σου
1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.9–10

φαητὸ νὰ φάγῃ δὲ ζητᾷ μηδὲ πιετὸ γυρεύγει
18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.736

But indefinite NPs in general, both singular and plural, may lack overt determination throughout the period of this Grammar:

εἶχε δὲ καὶ σύμβιον τοῦνομα Θεοσεβοῦν 11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 16

ἦρχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν προσαιτής 11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 21

ὀρίζει φέρετε ἱατροὺς, τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 564 app. crit. (H)

ἀρχάγγελος τοὺς ἔδωξε ὡγιά νὰ καταντήσουν ὀλόγδυμοι, ξυπόλυτοι ἔξω τῆς
παραδείσου 15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 119–20

νεκροῦ φωνὴν ἐγροίκησα καὶ ὁ νοῦς μου ὅλος ἐχάθην 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 22

ἔπεψεν δούκαν ὀνόματι Ἰσάκιον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 8.38–9

ἦν πτωχὸν γέρον εἰς τὰ ὄρη Μαραθάσας ὀνόματι Ἰσαΐας
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36.22–3

κάτης καὶ ποντικὸς ἐμάχοντα 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 28

ὅποτα ἔρθῃ πασάτσο καὶ δὲ μοῦ βαστοῦσι γραφὴ, μὲ μεγάλῃ ἔννοια βρίσκομαι πῶς
περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότῃ σου 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.9–10

ἀπὸ τότε ἐκάμασι νόμον οἱ Τοῦρκοι 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.34

Ἱστορία Γαλαξειδίου ἐβγαλμένη ἀπὸ παλαιὰ χερόγραφα, μεμβράνια, σιζιλία καὶ
χρυσόβουλλα αὐθεντικά 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.1–3

NOTE

- (i) Articles are also regularly absent from predicative NPs, since these do not refer but rather attribute a property to their subjects:

<u>καταβλαττάς</u> ἂν ἔμαθον καὶ <u>σηκωτῆς</u> ἂν ἦμουν, ὡς <u>σηκωτῆς</u> νὰ ἐδούλευα τὴν ἅπασαν ἡμέραν	14th c./12th c., <i>Ptoch. III</i> 181–2
ἦτον δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν, <u>καλὸς ἀφέντης</u> ἦτον	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 7960
ἦτον <u>παρθένος</u> καὶ μετὰ τὴν γέννησιν πάλιν <u>παρθένος</u> ἔμεινεν	16th c., KARTANOS, <i>P&N Diath.</i> 329.6–7
ὅθεν ἐγὼ γεννήθηκα <u>ἄνθρωπος χωρὶς μάτια</u>	17th c., PROSOPSAS, <i>Peri tyflou</i> 103

Τις/τινάς

Singular and plural forms of *τις/τινάς* are used as indefinite pronouns and determiners throughout the period of this Grammar in both positive (= “some(one)”) and negative/affective (= “any(one)”) environments; in fact, affective environments often allow both forms (with subtle differences of meaning) and include interrogative, modal, habitual, conditional, future-referring and imperative sentences, i.e. those involving semantic functions that do not ensure truth.

Singular forms used as determiners are often all but indistinguishable from indefinite articles (= “an X”), plurals from indefinite quantifiers (= “some/any [number of] X”). As a determiner *τις/τινάς* normally precedes the head noun, but may also follow.

The use of *τις/τινάς* in the plural and in positive environments is in decline in the later medieval period, especially in more clearly vernacular texts (see below).

Positive

<u>τινὸς</u> δὲ <u>γεωργοῦ πτωχοῦ</u> ἀροτριῶντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν	11th c./9th c., <i>Vios Philaret.</i> 81–2
ἵνα ... λάβω <u>τινὰν παραμυθίαν</u> τῆς λύπης	11th c./9th c., <i>Vios Philaret.</i> 100–1
<u>τινὲς ἄλλογενεῖς</u> τὲς χώρες του κρουσεύουν	16th c./14th–15th c., <i>Achil.</i> O 120
διὰτὶ <u>τινὲς</u> εὐρίσκονται νὰ λέγουν ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα	15th c., LIMEN., <i>Than. Rod.</i> 256
εἶχαν <u>τινὰν δουλευτὴν</u>	16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, <i>Chron.</i> V 30.7
ἐγύρευγεν <u>τινὰν ἐμπιστὸν ἄνθρωπον</u> νὰ τοῦ τὸ δώση νὰ τῆς τὸ πάρῃ	16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, <i>Chron.</i> V 408. 3–5
ρίκτει σπίτια ἀρχοντικά ... καὶ <u>ἄλλων πτωχῶν τινάδων</u>	16th c., SKLAVOS, <i>Symf.</i> 21–2
<u>τινὲς ἰδιώτες</u> ἔλεγον δένδρον τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ ἕνα καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ ἔλεγον δένδρον τοῦ φεγγαρίου	16th c., KARTANOS, <i>P&N Diath.</i> 335.21–2
ἦτονε <u>τινάς ἀφέντης</u> καὶ ἐβασίλευεν ἐκεῖ	17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, <i>Klini</i> 42.1–2

Negative/Affective

ὁ κύρ Λούκας νὰ τὸ παραδώσῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἀνδρέαν χωρὶς λόγου <u>τινὸς ἢ προφάσεως</u>	1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.13–14

- ἂν ἔναι τινὰς ὅπου δὲν σὲ ἀκούει ἢ νὰ ποιῇ ἀταξίας
15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 100.5
- ἂν ἔν' καὶ ἰδῆς πτωχὸν τινὰν καὶ στάμενα νὰ μὴ ἔχη
16th c./15th c., DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2353
- ἔναι δύσκολον τινὰς νὰ τὸ πιστεύσῃ
16th c./15th c., DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1685
- διὰ τοῦτον δὲν ἔχω τινὰν ἀγκαρδιακὸν εἰς τὰ πράματά μου παρὰ ἐσέναν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR. *Chron.*, A 48.5
- ἔφη πρὸς αὐτήν «Ἐχeis μάρτυράς τινας;»
15th–16th c., *Porikol.* I 41–2
- εἰ εἶναι τινὰς ράπτῃς καὶ παίρνει ραπτικά ἀπὸ καλογέρου
1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.70
- ἂν ὑπάγῃ τινὰς ἀποκρισάρης νὰ φιλήσῃ χέρι, νὰ πιάνουσι οἱ καπικῆδες τὰ δύο του
χέρια καὶ ἀπὸ κεῖ νὰ τὸ φιλήσῃ
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.34–5
- ὁ ἀδελφός σου ὁ Μουσουλμάνος κάμει πράματα, ὅπου δὲν πρέπει νὰ τὰ κάνῃ τινὰς
βασιλέας
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 45.7–8
- δύνεται τινὰς ἄνθρωπος νὰ πῇ ὅλην τὴν θάλασσαν;
17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 267.23
- In many vernacular texts from ca. 12th c. onwards τινὰς appears exclusively as a singular form in negative/affective environments with the meaning “any(one)”. In the specific case of negated sentences, AG τις = “any(one)” is required to fall within the scope of sentence negation, i.e. to the right of the negative marker (to the left τις = “some(one) [... not ...]”); by contrast, LMedG/EMG τινὰς in the relevant texts always means “any” whether it precedes or follows the negative marker (i.e. the equivalent of **anyone did not ...* is grammatical with the meaning “no one did ...”).
- Pronominal use of τινὰς is more common than use as an indefinite determiner.
- τινὰς before a Negative Marker
- κακὸς ἐχθρὸς ἢ φυλακὴ ... μεσίτην οὐ προσδέχεται, φίλον τινὰ οὐκ ἔχει
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 239–40
- ποτὲ τινὰς οὐκ ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ εἶδε τοιοῦτον πράγμα
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 369
- ἄλλον τινὰν φοβερισμόν ποσῶς οὐδὲν σᾶς λέγει
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1373
- κάλλος τινὰν οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, οὐ πλοῦτος, οὐδὲ ἀνδρεία
15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1916
- ἐσὺ τινὰν ποσῶς οὐδὲν φοβᾶσαι
15th c., LIMEN. *Than. Rod.* 206
- τινὰς ἄνθρωπος δὲν τὴν οἶδεν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 401.9
- τινὰς δὲν τὴν ἐγνώρισε
18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1500
- ἄνθρωπον τινὰν δὲν ἐβλέπανε
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 111.22–3
- ὅλα τὰ ξυνὰ εἶναι ψυχρὰ καὶ δυσκοίλια, παύουσι τὴν δίψαν, ἀμὴ θροφὴν τινὰ δὲν
δίδουσι
17th c., LANDOS, *Geopon.* 214.12

Εἷς/ένας

The numeral εἷς/ένας “one” is increasingly used as an indefinite article to replace the corresponding singular forms of τις/τινὰς, mainly in positive environments; in negative

environments, however, it may not precede the negative marker and the strengthened form *κανείς/κανένας* is used in this role (see below).

Postnominal positioning is an option only in the oldest texts; otherwise this element almost always precedes the head noun (as expected of numerals).

ὁμως οὐκ ἐν γωνίᾳ μιᾶ εἴτε εἰς μικράν τινα πόλιν καὶ οὐδαμινῇ γενομένη
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4, 226.3–5

ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ πύργου ἦτον μία γάτα καὶ κάτω εἰς τὸ θεμέλιον ἕνας
ποντικός post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 89, 76.1

εὐρέθη ἐδῶ ... ὥσάν ἕναν πουλὶν εἰς τὸν κάμπον
1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 11, 68.2–3

τὸ ψῆλος τοῦ νεροῦ ἔχει σημάδι ἕναν καρφὶν εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Γεώργιον τῶν Ὀρνιθίων
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.24

ἀρχεύγει ἕναν ἔργον 15th–16th c., *Fior* 73.5

ἦτον ἕνας ὀνόματι Μιχαήλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς
1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.3–4

σ' ἕνα περβόλι εὐρίσκομου, ᾗ μιὰ τάβλα μαρμαρένια μὲ φαγητὰ πολλῶ λογίων
πιτήδεια ὀρδινιασμένα 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.545–6

ἔτσι κι ἐκεῖνη χεῖς καιρὸς θέλει τήνε μερώση 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.139

ἐτότες ἐφάνηκε ἕνας καβαλάρης 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 19.1–2

(Ὁ)κάτις/(ὁ)κάποιος

The positive indefinite pronouns/determiners (ὁ)κάτις/(ὁ)κάποιος “some(one)” are widely used in vernacular texts throughout the period of this Grammar to replace the corresponding uses of *τις*, both singular and plural; in the singular the meaning may often be very close to that of an indefinite article, as expected.

The two forms are functionally equivalent, and almost always precede the head noun when used as indefinite determiners.

The neuter form (ὁ)κάτι is sometimes used as an indeclinable positive indefinite specifier with nouns of any gender or number.

Despite the convention of printing the prefix *ό-* with a rough breathing, this may have originated as the negative *οὐ-* (also attested, again printed with a rough breathing) with a shift of meaning in the period before ca. AD 1000 from “not any (random) X” to “some (particular) X”. Prefixless forms become the norm towards the end of the period of this Grammar.

(ὁ)κάτις

ἐὰν γίνεται ... ὅτι ὁκάτινες ἄνθρωποι, οὐ ὁκάτινες γυναῖκες παίρνει οὐ κλέπτει τὰς
ὀρνιθὰς μου 15th c./13th c., *Assizes* B 450.23

ἔλεγε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ὁκάτις ῥήγας ἦλθεν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 2765 app. crit. (A)

ὁκάτις βασιλεὺς ... πολλὰ πράγματα ἔποικεν 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 882

ὁκάτι ψιθυρίσματα λαλεῖ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ της
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1164

- ἂν ἔναι κάτις εὐγενικός καὶ ἔχει τὸ κάλλος ἔμορφον 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 192
 οὕτως τάχα ἔκαμαν όκάτι ψευδογάπη 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1979
όκάτι φράγκος ἄνθρωπος ... ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τὴν Πούλια 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3548–53
 πείτε της όκάτι καταλόγι 15th c., *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 36
 ἦρθε όκάτις ἀδελφός 15th c., ?Athos, *VASMER* 1922: 180
όκάτιν μέγαν εὐγενῇ ... τὸν ἔσφαξεν Ἰάκωβος 16th c./15th c., *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 560–2
 ἂν ἔχω όκάτι ύπομονήν τώρα εἰς τὴν θλίψιν τούτην 16th c./15th c., *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 662
 καὶ γροικῶντα κάτινες καβαλλάριδες πιστοὶ τοῦ ρηγός 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 42.33–4
όκάτι λόγος μοῦ ἐσέβη εἰς τὰ ὦτα 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 210.19 (Lolos)
 ἔσπειρε στὸ χωράφι τῆς διάνοιας κατινῶν παρανόμων κάποιαν πρόφασιν 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 55
 ἐπούλησε τὸ Σάλονα ... εἰς κάτι Φραγγοπαπάδες 18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 40.17–19
 (ὁ)κάποιος
όκάποιας κᾶν γειτόνισσας ροῦχον νὰ ἐπαρελύθην 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 162
όκάποιος βασιλέας ... πολλὰ πράγματα ἔποικε 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 882
ούκάποια τραγούδια ἐτραγουδοῦσαν 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 38.9 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ᾔχεν κάποια χωράφια καὶ ἄλλα πράματα πουλημένα 1605, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 344, 323.2
 ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ἤθελεν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν μὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τως εἰς κάποια πράγματα 1616, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1968 : 2, 28.10
 τὴν ὁποίαν διήγησιν μοῦ εἶπασιν κάποιοι ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἀπὸ τὴν μέσαν χώραν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 30.17–8

Κανείς/κανένας

The negative/affective indefinite pronoun/determiner κανείς/κανένας “any(one)” is widely used in vernacular texts to replace the corresponding uses of τις/τινάς, but in the singular only; its meaning may often be very close to that of an indefinite article.

The neuter form τίποτε(ς) may, however, be used in later texts as an indeclinable negative/affective indefinite modifier with nouns of any gender or number.

These elements almost always precede their head nouns when used as indefinite determiners (a role in which κανένας is more usual, though κανείς is also attested).

Κανείς/κανένας may again precede or follow the negative marker in negative sentences with the same (negative/affective) meaning in both positions.

κανείς/κανένας

- ... εἰς μαρτυρίαν κανενοῦ πραγμάτου 15th c./?13th c., *Assizes* B 334.25
 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλθῃ ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον του κανείς ἄνθρωπος 1355, Palatia (Militos), *MANOUSAKAS* 1962b: 1, 234.12

- φόβον κανέναν ἀπὸ σὲν νὰ μὴ ἔχω νὰ μὲ ἀφήσης
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 414 app. crit. (ABEX)
- πούποτε οὐκ ἠκούσθηκεν οἱ Τοῦρκοι νὰ βοηθήσουν κανεῖν ἀφέντην χριστιανόν, εἰ μὴ
νὰ τὸν κομπώνουν
15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 498–9
- δὲν ἐγίνην ἀφορμὴ κανενοῦ κακοῦ
16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 376
- κιαμιᾶς λογιῆς ἀνάπαψη δὲν ἠῦρισκεν ἡ κόρη
18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.14
- εἰσὲ κανέναν γκαιρόν ᾄ(ν) χαθοῦσιν ἀπὸ καμμιᾶς λογιῆς ἀφορμῆν, τινὰς δὲ σοῦ
ἀπηλογᾶται
1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 761, 1033.1
- ... χωρὶς νὰ ἀπαντέξῃ καμίαν ἄλλην ἀπόκρισην
18th c., *Don Kis.* 50.13
- τίποτε(ς)
- ἐάν τις τῶν αὐτόθι ... λέγει τίποτες
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 151.1–2
- οὐδὲν εἶχεν τίποτες ἔνδειξι
15th c./13th c., *Assizes* B 361.19
- τίποτες πόλεμος οὐδὲν ἔνα
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 30.23–4 (Konstantinopoulos)
- παρὰ γὰρ νὰ ἴβρω τίβετσι τρόπο νὰ σοῦ βοηθήσω
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.114
- ἔχεις τίποτες εὐλογίαν ...;
17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.27
- ἀπομένουσι τὰ τίποτές τῆς ἀδιόρθωτα
1629, Milos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 14, 10.7
- ἔχω τίβετις πράγμα τῆς Μαρί(ας)
1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.140
- ἂν ἰχρεωστοῦσαν τίποτις ροῦχα μιᾶς τῆς ἄλλης
1664, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 3, 20.14–15
- ἐγὼ θέλω ἔχει τὴν ἔγνοιαν νὰ σὲ στέλνω τίποτε φαγητόν
18th c., *Don Kis.* 144.22

NOTE

- (i) There are a few, relatively early, examples where κανεῖς/κανένας is used to mean simply “one” (or sometimes “a(n)”), apparently independently of whether the context is positive or negative/affective; this is perhaps a residual reflection of a still earlier state of affairs in which κανεῖς/κανένας was no more than a strengthened form of εἷς/ἕνας (replacing τις/τινάς) in a period before its use came to be polarized through opposition with the positive (ὁ)κάτις/(ὁ)κάποιος:

- ὅς τὸν δοκιμάσωμεν κανεῖς ἀπὸ τοὺς τρεῖς μας 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1217 app. crit.
ἀπέτις ἀπεξέβηκαν κανέναν μίλι, δύο 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1411
ἐὰν ἔνι ὅτι ἔνι εἷς ὀρφανός ἢ ὀρφανή, ἢ κανέναν παιδί 16th c./13th c., *Assizes* A 29.26
ὅς τοὺς ἀφήσουμε ὀλιγόν, κανέναν μῆναν πλέον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 611

Οὐδεῖς/οὐδένας

In preverbal positions the AG pronoun/determiner οὐδεῖς is an inherently negative quantifier (“no(one)”) used without a following negative marker; in postverbal positions, however,

it is normally used as a strong negative/affective indefinite after a negative marker, i.e. as an emphatic alternative to negative/affective *τις* (= “not ... ANY(one)”).

Οὐδείς/οὐδένας persists into LMedG/EMG alongside *κανείς/κανένας*, with its role still determined by its position and the presence/absence of a negative marker. Its use is normally associated with rather higher registers, and it may be misused in more vernacular texts because of the influence of *κανείς/κανένας*, which requires a negative marker whatever its position in a negative sentence. *Μηδείς/μηδένας* is sometimes used in place of *οὐδείς/οὐδένας*, particularly when the verb is in the subjunctive.

Non-traditional Usage

- οὐδείς οὐκ* ἔνι ἀπ’ ἑμᾶς εἰς ὅλον τὸ φουσσᾶτον 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 7967
οὐδενενοῦ βασιλέως οὐδὲν ἐφαλτσώσαμεν 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 346.24–5

Standard Usage

- οὐδείς ἄνθρωπος* ἔμεινεν μέσα τοῦ κάστρου 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 2340
μηδένas τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπὸ *σᾶς* ... ἀφοραθῇ τοῦτον 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 389
 ... δὲν ἔχω *μηδεμιὰ γαζέτα* στήν ἐξιά μου 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.194
οὐδένα *πρᾶμα* ἔκαμα 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.357
μηδείς οὖν τῶν σοφῶν καταφρονήσῃ τῆς ἀμαθείας μου 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 29.6
 μὰ *μηδένas ἄλλος* *καρaboκῦρης* μοῦ τὸ πιστεύγῃ πῶς
 1648, Corfu (author from Crete), Manousakas 1965: 268.9

NOTES

- (i) The normal position of an attributive adjective in an indefinite NP is before the head noun, but the adjective may also follow (without specifiers) if the meaning is essentially predicative and not crucial to distinguishing one class of possible referents from another; in such cases the meaning is typically focal (i.e. “an X [that is] *ADJ*”):
πλάσματα πάλιν *μυθικά* καὶ λόγους γραῖδιων ἠκριβώσαμεν
 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 4–5
 τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἐγένετο *σεισμός μέγας* εἰς ὅλην τὴν Λευκωσίαν
 1479, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 6, 89.1–2
- (ii) The normal position for genitives within an indefinite NP is postnominal, but these may be preposed for contrast or emphasis in the usual way:
ἔσυρνε μαζί του 4000 *καβελλάρους*, ... *πληρωμένους δύνων χρονῶν πληρωμή*
 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.29–30

5.3.2.3 Demonstratives

- (77) **LMedG/EMG demonstratives are used both as pronouns (as heads of NPs) and as determiners (in NPs with independent head nouns) and have both deictic and anaphoric functions; as determiners they appear in definite NPs, standing either before the definite article or after the head noun.**

The demonstratives of LMedG/EMG fall into two groups according to the (notional) distance from the speaker of the objects/individuals they are used to identify, namely proximal (“this”) and distal (“that”); there is no clear evidence of a further division within the proximal group between 1st- and 2nd-person orientation. While both types are also used anaphorically (“the one just mentioned”), only the former is additionally employed cataphorically (“the following”):

“this”

αὐτός, αὐτος, εὐτός, (ἐ)δαῦτος

αὐτεῖνος, αὐτοῦνος, αὐτόνος

οὗτος, (ἐ)τοῦτος, (ἐ)δετοῦτος

ὅδε (mostly archaic/official, and often cataphoric in legal texts; mainly neuter)

*ἐτοῦνος (only oxytone genitive forms found)

“that”

ἐκεῖνος, (ἐ)δεκεῖνος (rare)

(ἐ)κειός

The postnominal position for demonstratives is less emphatic than the pre-article position and is often, though not always, associated with anaphoric function; NP-initial demonstratives, however, are as likely to be anaphoric as deictic (with the latter probably carrying heavier stress).

NP-Initial

ἀπ’ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ αὐτὴν ἐλευθέρην καὶ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν εἰς αὐτήν
ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 234.274–5

ἀνὴρ τίς ... ἀνήγειρέ τε ἐκ βάθρ(ων) αὐτ(όν) τ(όν) ναὸν ἐξ οἰκεί(ων) κόπ(ων) κ(αὶ)
ἀναλωμ(ά)τ(ων) 1365, Serres, LEFORT 1973: 27, 162.9

ἀπ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐνθύμησιν καὶ ἐκ τὴν πολλὴν πικρίαν ἔπεσεν εἰς ἀσθένειαν, ἀπόθανεν
εὐθέως 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3172–3

εἶχεν δὲ καὶ ὁ πρῶτος τούτην τὴν συνήθει(αν)
1501, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 6, 103.23

εἰς τὴν Καφοράχη ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους ὅπου οἱ καλογέροι τοῦ μοναστ(η)ρ(ίου)
ἐπίασαν 1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 8, 129.9

πῶς εὐρέθης εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ταπεινὸν σπίτιν ἐτουνῆς τῆς γυναικός
17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 67.33

Postnominal

οἱ νηστεῖαις ταύταις (nom. pl.) ... ἐπιτρέπονται εἰς τοὺς χριστιανούς
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4 214.1–3

το δένδρον ἐκεῖνον 1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 618.30

ἐντὸς τοῦ τέρμενου ἐκεινοῦ ποῦ ἔστησε ὁ Καμπανέσης 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2118

ἀφότου ἐσὺ ἀποδέχεσαι νὰ εἶσαι ἀβοκάτος διὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν αὐτὴν τῆς ντάμα
Μαργαρίτας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7528–9

τάς ἀμοιβάς τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν κόπων ἐκείνων νῦν λαμβάνετε

16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 606

ἐδούλευσα τοὺς ἀδυνάτους καὶ τὰ κελία ἐτούτα χρόνους κέ'

16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.19

NOTES

- (i) Certain other determiners also have secondary anaphoric functions, most importantly τοιοῦτος/(τ)έτοιος “such”. These are often used in indefinite NPs (“such [an] X”) where they stand before the head, initially in a sequence of adjectival modifiers and normally without an indefinite article in singular NPs (though one is sometimes introduced in later texts):

τοιοῦτον κρίσιμον μέλλει νὰ κριθῇ

15th c./?13th c., *Assizes* B 376.11

τέτοιον σκοπὸν ἐχείρισεν νὰ παίζῃ τὸ καλὰμιν

14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 216

οὐδὲ εἶδεν το οὐδὲ ἤκουσεν τέτιον πρᾶγμα νὰ γένει

15th c., *Anon. Naupl.* 52

οὐ θέλομεν τέτοιες μυθολογίες

16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 259

ἐπιθυμῶντας νὰ διορθώσω τέτιον ἀπρεπὲς πρᾶγμα

1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 209.158

ὦ τί μεγάλο κρίμα, ἕνας τοιοῦτος βασιλεὺς νὰ ἔμπῃ μὲς στὸ μνημα

18th c./17th c., *Diig. Vefa* 125

ἐγὼ κάμνει χρεῖα νὰ βάλω ὅλην μου τὴν δύναμην διὰ νὰ ἀποβάλω μίαν τοιαύτην

ὑβρην

18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.20–1

Given the functional overlap with anaphoric demonstratives, however, these items also appear in definite NPs, though they retain their adjectival position, standing between the article and noun; the definite construction is particularly common in earlier texts and with τοιοῦτος:

ἐπέδειξαν ἡμῖν γεγραμμένον ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτον μυλοστάσιον ἀγόρακε αὐτὸ

1123, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. X: 1, 471.13

ὥς δὲ τὸ τίτιον μήνυμαν ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κρατοῦντα

?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.7v.1

εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπόθεσιν ἔχομεν καὶ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας

1337/8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.51–2

ἐπεῖν τοῦ ἐφάνηκεν καλὸν εἰς τὸν ἐτέτιον τρόπον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3589

θέλοντας γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προειρημ(έ)ν(η) κυρὰ Ζαμπέτ(α) ποιῆσαι ἀνταμοιβὴν

τῶν τ[οι]οῦτ(ων) χαρίτων

1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 12, 48.10

τές τοιοῦτες γνώμες καὶ τὰ ἦθη ὅπου εἶναι ἐπίβουλα καὶ ὄχι ἀπλὰ πρέπει νὰ τὰ

φεύγομεν

?17th c./16th–17th c., *Theophr. Char.* 120.6

- (ii) Relative pronouns such as ὁ (ὁ)ποιος, ὅστις/ὅτις, ὅσπερ are similarly used as anaphoric pronouns/determiners linking clauses/sentences:

νομίσματα ἑκατὸν τριακονταδύο, ἅπερ νομίσματα ... παρὰ διαφόρων προσώπων

ἐδανεισάμην

1024, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 25, 175.14

- τὲς συμφωνίης ὅπου εἶδαμεν ἐνταῦτα· στὲς ὅποιες ἐνι ἡ βοῦλλα του καὶ ἐμᾶς ὁλῶν
μετ' αὐτου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2380–1
- ἀνεκτρανίζω καὶ θωρῶ θρονὶν τὸ πλουμισμένον, τὸ ποῖον θρονὶν καθέζεται ντοῦζες
τῆς Βενετίας 15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 41–2
- τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῆς γυναίκας του εἶχεν τὴν ἑνας παχιάς· οἱ ποῖες ἦτον Κατακουζηνές
16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 132.18
- ἀφίημι τῷ εἰρημένῳ μοναστηρίῳ καὶ μελίττας σώματα <κε> ..., αἵτινες μελίττες
εἰσὶν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ κύρ Κωνστάντιου μοναχοῦ
1512, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 34, 59.13–14
- Βιβλίον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ δικαίου Λαζάρου· ὁ ὁποῖος Λάζαρος ἔκαμε τέσσαρες ἡμέρες
εἰς τὸν Ἄδην 1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1
- γὰρ τὸ ὁποῖο στᾶρι τὸ ἄνωθεν ὀπλεγάρουνται οἱ ἄνωθεν ἀξαδέλφοι καὶ ἀπομένου
ἐγγυητάδες ἑνας τοῦ ἄλλου τῶνε
1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 64, 84.14–15
- ἐδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Καραλούκη καὶ ἐπῆρε του τὴν ἀφεντία τῆς Σουμάκας· ὁ
ὁποῖος Καραλούκης εἶχε φουσᾶτο 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.36–31.1

5.3.3 Relative Clauses

(78) A relative clause may be used as a restrictive modifier of any NP in order to help identify a particular referent (when the head is singular) or particular subset of referents (when the head is plural).

A restrictive relative clause delimits the potential referent(s) of a NP, cf. *the woman that fell* (as opposed to all those who did not), *the students who worked hard* (as opposed to all those who did not), etc.

In LMedG/EMG a restrictive relative clause may be introduced by the relative pronoun ὅς (more formal/literary) or by the definite article (more vernacular), both of which provide an anaphoric link to the antecedent NP. More frequently, the clause is structurally linked to its antecedent by the complementizer ὅπου/ὁπού/πού (often ἀπού in Crete and Cyprus), an element that doubtless came to be interpreted as fulfilling a similar anaphoric role.

The pronouns (ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος, ὅστις/ὅτις and ὅσπερ are employed comparatively rarely in restrictive relatives, mostly in archaizing/literary and official/legal registers. Neuter ὅ,τι, however, is a strong survivor in vernacular LMedG/EMG in its original sense of “whatever” (see below on headless relatives), while neuter ὅπερ and ἅπερ, reanalysed as indeclinable complementizers on the model of ὅπου/ὁπού/πού, appear frequently with antecedents of any number and gender (sometimes in combination with the definite article in formal/legal texts, especially in early documents from S. Italy; this usually agrees in case with the antecedent, see immediately below).

It is comparatively rare for any of these items to carry grammatical functions within a restrictive relative clause other than subject and direct object; as object of a preposition, or when cases other than the nominative and accusative are required, (ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος is used most often.

The article and the various relative pronouns are fully declinable, agreeing with their head nouns in number and gender, and in principle taking the case associated with their grammatical function within the relative clause (mostly nominative/subject and accusative/direct object). But a relative clause introduced by the definite article is an appositional constituent (i.e. of the form *the thing + the (thing) someone did*) in which the article replicates the case of the antecedent regardless of its grammatical function within the relative clause; to eliminate any potential difficulties, this construction is normally limited to situations in which both antecedent and article would be assigned the same case within their own clauses, making the case agreement required by their appositional relationship unproblematical. The relative pronouns *ὅς* and *ὅσπερ*, however, also regularly agree with (“are attracted to”) their antecedents in case, if the case requirements of the main clause and the relative clause differ; by contrast, *(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος* shows almost no evidence of attraction and *ὅστις/ὅτις* very little. Case-agreeing relative pronouns are italicized in the excerpts below.

ὅς (mainly early and literary; case attraction to antecedent when there is conflict)

ἐξόρισαν τοὺς βελλάνους ἀπὸ τοῦ Φωκαιροῦ οὓς ἐκατοίκουν εἰς τὴν χώραν
?1130–40, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 534.18

ἡλευθέρωνεν ἅπαντας οὓς εἶχεν αἰχμαλώτους 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G II.5

οὐκέτι τούτων ἔνεκεν δάκνεται τὴν καρδίαν, πάντων ἐπιλαθόμενος ὧν εἶχεν ἐν τῷ
βίῳ 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 107–8

σκότος δὲ πάλιν ἀφεγγές τὸν σκοτασμόν μου κρίνω ὃν ἔχω τότε, βασιλεῦ, ὅταν
ψωμὶν οὐκ ἔχω 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 234

ἀφήκαμεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἠϋράμεν ἐκεῖσε 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* V 2842

πῶς παραβλέπτει τὸν κριτὴν, τὴν φοβερὰν ἡμέραν ἣν μέλλει γὰρ παρίστασθαι τρόμῳ
πολλῷ καὶ φόβῳ 15th–16th c./15th c., *Alfav.* 14 69

ἔστειλά σοι καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἣν μοι ἐπαρέδωκεν ὁ τῆς Γένουβας φίλος μου
1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 12, 71.2–3

τὰ πράγματα ἃ μοι ἐπῆρεν κουρφὰ ἡ Παντοσυλία
1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 1, 3.10

εἰπὲ ἡμῖν παραβολὰς ὅς οὔτε ἠκούσαμεν οὔτε ἠξεύρομεν 17th c., *Vios Aisop.* D 240.17

Definite Article (vernacular; almost always direct object)

τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν σὲ ἔπεμψα μὲ τὸν Θεόδωρον 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.15

εἰ μὲν τὸν θέλεις κακοποιῆσαι διὰ τὰ σφάλματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρακοὴν τὴν ποιεῖ
πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν σου βασιλείαν ?1130–40, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 535.9–11

οὐκ ἐγνωρίζεις, δέσποτα, τὸν Πρόδρομον τὸν ἔχεις 15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 42

ἐχαρίσαμε τοῦ Γεωργίου ... τὸ κοπέλι τὸ ἔχει εἰς τὴν δούλεψή του ἀπὸ τὸ <ν> χωρίο
μας τῆς Θεμούρφου 1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 72, 36.1–3

ἐπρομουτίασεν τοῦ μεγάλου μαστόρου νὰ κρατήσῃ κρυφὰ πᾶσα πρᾶμαν τὸ νὰ
τοῦ ποίσουσιν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.5–7

τὸν Δημήτηρην ... τὸν δουλευφτήν μας ποίσετε τὸ καλλίττερον τὸ νὰ μπορήσητε ...,
καὶ πᾶσα χρῆσιν τὴν ἔχει με(ν) τοῦ τὸ κρατήσης

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 412.11–14

τὸ κελίον ... με τὴν περιοχὴν του ἤγουν με τὰς ἐλαίας καὶ με τὸ νερόν τὸ ἤφερεν
ἐκεῖνος ὁ Δανιήλ ὁ Βούλγαρης 1501, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: VII, 105.2–3

ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ μίλια γ' εὐρίσκεῖς τὸ ἀκρωτήριν τὸ λέγουν Ἄρπην

1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 53.20

ὅπου/όπου/πού (standard vernacular option)

ἄν με ἔποισαν τεχνίτην, ἀπ' αὐτοὺς ὅπου κάμνουσιν τὰ κλαπωτὰ καὶ ζῶσιν, νὰ
ἔμαθα τέχνην κλαπωτὴν καὶ νὰ ἔξουν ἀπ' ἐκείνην 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 89–91

θωρεῖς αὐτόν τὸν ἄγουρον πού στέκει εἰς τὸ λιθάριν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1507

εἶπε τον διὰ τίποτε λογάριν ὅπου νὰ χρῆζη, μετ' αὐτὸ φουσσᾶτα νὰ ρογέψη
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4563–4

παρακαλῶ κι ὀρίζω σε ... τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἐκέρδισα ἐδῶ εἰς τὸν Μορέαν νὰ
παραλάβης καὶ κρατῆς, διὰ ἐμὲν νὰ τὸν φυλάττης 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1874–6

τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἑκατὸν δουκάτα τὸν μῆνα ... νὰ ἐξοδιάζωνται εἰς τινας ἄρχοντας καὶ
καλὰ πρόσωπα ὅπου νὰ εἶναι κοντά των 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.6–9

τ' ἀμπέλιν πού ἐγόρασα (1528, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 113, 224.40)

ἦλθαν καὶ οἱ βοσκοὶ ὅπου ἔβοσκαν τὰ πρόβατα ἐκεῖ τὸ γύρο καὶ λέγουν ὅτι ἡμεῖς

εἶδαμεν πλήθος ἀγγέλων ὅπου εὐχαριστοῦσαν τὸν Θεὸν

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.28–31

ἔγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου ... τὰ βάσανα ὅπου ἦρθε καὶ ἔκαμέν τση ὁ καλὸς

καλόγερος 1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.6–7

αὐτὸ σὲ τὸ εἶπα ... ἀπὸ τὴν πρώτην βαλανιδιὰν ὅπου νὰ εὕρω, νὰ κόψω καὶ ἐγὼ

ἓνα μεγάλο κλαδί 18th c., *Don Kis.* 46.36–47.1–2

άπου (in texts from Crete/Cyprus)

ἔλα εἰς αὐτόν μου, κ' ἐγὼ νὰ σοῦ δώσω θησαυρόν άπου νὰ μὲν σὲ λείψη

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 62.33–4

με καιρόν φτάνει εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐκείνη άπου ἦτονε ὁ ἄρχων άπου τὴν ηὔρεν εἰς τὴν

ἐρημίαν ... καί, ὁδία τὸ κρίμα άπου ἦκαμεν, τοῦ ἠδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς μίαν λέπτραν

17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 56.18–21

μὰ ψυχὴ άπου εὐρίσκεται τοῦ πόθου ἀρρωστημένη, σφαίνει τσι πλιότερες φορὲς

καὶ μένει κομπωμένη 17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.163–4

(δ) (δ)ποῖος (restrictive use limited, mainly formal/legal; no case attraction)

ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν ποσότην ἣ ποία ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κράτει

1257, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 33, 457.17

ἐκεῖνος ἦ ἐκείνη τοῦ ποιοῦ ἐνι ἐγγυητῆς 16th c./?13th c., *Assizes* A 70.10

ἔξω ἀπὸ τὰ ἰδ' μιζούρια τὸ κριθάριν τὰ ποῖα τοῦ θέλει ὁ Μαυρομάτης

1327, Crete, LAIOU 1982: 1, 123.6

τὰ πράγμ(ατα) ὁποῖ(α) θέλομεν π(α)ραλάβει

1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.14

ἐβάσταινε σκουτάρι στὸ ὅποιον τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Νερέου ἐφαινότον

15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* VI.48,2 (Olsen)

τὴν ὑποταγὴν παιδικὴν εἰς τὴν ποίαν ἕως τώρα ἔμην ὑποτάσσεσθε

1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 98.4

φλωρία χρυσᾷ ὅποια ἔδωσα

1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 57, 177.8–9

περὶ τινὰ κάστρον καὶ τόπους τὰ ὅποια ἐπῆρε ὁ σκλάβος μου

1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 9, 313.8

περὶ τὸν σκλάβον σου ... τὸν ποῖον ἤκουσεν ἡ αυθεντία σου

1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 65.3

εἵπασιν Μαστόρου πρᾶμαν τὸ ποῖον δὲν τοῦ ἄρρεσεν

16th c., ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2133

ὑπέρπυρα ἐξήντα τὰ ὅπγιά εἶναι ρέστος

1623, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 47, 126.6

NOTE

- (i) In some cases where the article is absent the ancient meaning “such as” may be intended:

διαφυλασσόντων τὰς πατρικὰς ἡμῶν ... παραδόσεις ὁποίας παρελάβομεν παρὰ
τε τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν ἐπτὰ ἀγίων συνόδων

13th c., Constantinople, DARROUZÈS/LAURENT 1976: 1, 191.4–5, 13 C

ὅστις/ὅτις (rare in restrictive use, mainly formal/legal; little case attraction)

ἐνάντιον τοῦ σιγιλίου τῆς ἐλευθέρας χρυσοβούλλης οὗτινος ἐποιήσεν αὐτοῖς ὁ
μακαριώτατος κόμης Ῥογέριος

1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 21, 422.14

πᾶς ὅστις ἐτύγχανεν εἰς τὴν χάραν ἐκείνην

13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G IV.836

τὰς παρούσας γραφὰς αἵτινες ἀνάγονται εἰς τὴν ἀντίληψίν σου

1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 12, 71.3–4

περὶ τῶν βελανιδίων ἅτινα ὑπῆρχον ἀγορασμένα με σολδία τοῦ εἰρημένου

Σβηροῦ

1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 174.16

ὅσπερ (formal/legal and literary; case attraction to antecedent when there is conflict)

τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπάλλαξον σοφῶν μηχανημάτων ὥνπερ κατεῖπον ἄνωθεν

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 661–2

εἰς τὸ τῆς Καλαμαρίας θέμα περὶ τὴν τοποθεσίαν ἥπερ οὕτω πως τοῦ

Διαβολοκάμπου ἐπονομάζεται

1324, Thessaloniki, LEFORT et al. 1994: 80, 284.3

διὰ νὰ ἀπανταῖν τούς πολλοὺς κόλπους οὗσπερ ἐκροῦαν

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 10306

τὸν τόπον ὃνπερ εἶχασιν συνήθως τὸ νὰ βλέπουν

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1239

ἐπανέστρεψα εἰς τὴν Πάτραν ... ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερβάλλοντος τῆς θαλάσσης κακοῦ

οὗπερ καθ' ὁδὸν ἡμᾶς συνήνησεν

16th c./15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 146.15

περὶ τὴν ὑπόθ(ε)σιν τ(οῦ) ὀσπιτ(ίου) οὐπερ ἔχει διαφορ(άν) με τ(όν) κυρ
 Δημήτρ(ιον) 1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 11, 47.7
τῆς ἀγάπης ἥσπερ διὰ τὴν τῶν εὐσεβῶν εὐφροσύνην καὶ παραμυθίαν ... ἐπόνθησα
 17th c., IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali Prol.* 53

ὄπερ/ἄπερ without Article (vernacular, gender-indifferent)

προστάσσω ... ἵνα μὴ ἔχῃς ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην μονὴν ..., μηδὲ εἰς τὰ
μετόχια αὐτῆς ἄπερ διεκρατήσα 1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.38–40
ἡμέτερον ἐρημοάμπελον ἄπερ ἔχομεν 1201, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 253, 344.15
 τί ἐνι τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὄπερ λέγεις;
 1337/8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.57–8
 εὐχαριστᾷ τον διὰ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἔπαινος ἄπερ τοῦ ἐμαρτύρα
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1888–9
 ἐνταῦτα ἡῦρασιν ἐκεῖ ἐγγράφως τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὄπερ γράφει λεπτομερῶς, ... τὸ
 πῶς ὁ λίζιος ἄνθρωπος χρεωστεῖ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7569–71
 οὐδὲ τὴν τολμηρὴν καρδίαν, τὴν τόλμην ὄπερ εἶχεν
 15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* VI.31,5 (Olsen)
τὰ σεντούκια, ὄπερ με ἀπέστειλες 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* E 155.21 (Lolos)
 εἶδα τὰς γραφὰς ἄπερ ἔστειλες τοῦ κύρ Μανόλη Μυτιληναίου
 1567, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 5, 305.3

ὄπερ/ἄπερ with Article (rare, mainly early S. Italian; legal/formal)

τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τὴν ἄπερ ἔχω με τὸν καθ(η)γούμε(ενον) κῦ(ρ) Κλήμ(εντα)
 1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 4, 58.18
ἄπασαν τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπόστ(ασιν) τὴν ἄπερ κτῶμ(αι) εἰς χωρίον Κουρτζάνου
 1155, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 25, 148.5
 τὴν φυτί(αν) τὴν ἄπερ ἔχω εἰς ἐνφύτευσιν ἐκ τὸν Νικηφόρον Τητάν(η)
 1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.13
 ἐπούλησα τὸ χωράφι τὸ ὄπερ εἶχα 1552, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 179.3
τὴν διαφορὰν τὴν ὄπερ ἔχουν 1569, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 1999: 28, 394.5

NOTES

- (i) In relative clauses containing a verb form marked with νά (often equivalent to English infinitival relatives of the type *someone to do something*), it is common for the relative marker to be omitted; νά always then stands initially:

ἀφότου ὀρέγεται (ὁ πρίγκιπας) νά ποιήσουσιν ἀγάπην νά ἐνι στερέα κι
 ἀδόλιευτος 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8695–6
 δὲν εἶναι τώρα κανέννας νά κατοικῇ οὔτε εἰς τὴν Βασιλείαν τῶν Οὐρανῶν οὔτε εἰς
 τὴν Κόλασιν 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 111.2–3
 γιατί ... δὲ βρίσκεται θεριό μηδεκιανένα νά μηδὲν κλάψη ἀπὸ καρδιᾶς περίσσια
 λυπημένα 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.63–4

ἀκομή τὰ χωράφια τῇ Μονολέας νὰ πᾶσι ὡς τὸ Μόλο, μουζούρια ι'

1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 677.37

- (ii) When the antecedent NP contains an overt universal quantifier (= “all”, “every” etc.), ὅσος “as much/many as” may be substituted as the relative pronoun; ὅσος naturally imparts a quantified meaning to the antecedent even in the absence of a universal quantifier (“the X as much as ...” = “all (of) the X that ...”):

πάντα ὅσα ἔδωκεν ὁ ἀγοραστής νὰ τὰ χάση 15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 292.2

νὰ τοὺς ἔχης πληρώσει τὴν ρόγαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ὅσην χρεωστεῖ νὰ ἔχουν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5165–6

οἱ ἄρχοντες ὅσοι ἔχουσιν τιμάρια 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.24

ἀλίμονον, Ροδίτες μου, καλὰ παλικάράκια, καὶ ξένοι ὅσοι ἐχάθητε, Ρωμαῖοι καὶ
Φραγκάκια 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 38–9

ἔδωσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄλον τὸν τόπ(ον) τὸν ἄδειον ὅσος ἠβρίσκει(αι) ἔσωθεν τῶν
ἀμπελ(ίων) 1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 48, 39.4

- (iii) The relative ὅποιος “whoever”, normally used in headless relatives (see Rule (80)), is sometimes used in the same way as ὅσος:

χαρά ᾗ τσι ὅποιοι δάκρυα χύσου γιὰ τὴ Μαρία
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 3966

- (iv) Relative elements such as ὅσος “(as much) as” and οἷος “(of such a kind) as” are used with demonstrative partners to make “correlative” comparisons of the type “so much ... as ...”, “of such a kind ... as ...”; in the former case, the elements are often reversed (“as much as/to the extent that X ..., this much/to that extent Y”):

τόσος/ὅσος

ὅσον εἶναι πλείονες καὶ ἐλαφρότεροι, ... τόσον θέλει εἶσθαι κάλλιον
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.1–3

ὅσον ἔναι ψηλότερος, τόσον τὸν τάσσει ὀλίγα 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 82

τέτοιος/οἷος

χαρὰν ποτέ, ἀγάπην ἢ φιλίαν, μὲ ἄνθρωπον οὐ μὴ ἀποκτήσω <ἐγὼ> τέτοιαν οἷαν
μετ' ἐσένα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 4266

οὕτως τὸν εὐρήκασι τίτοιον οἷον ἠθέλαν 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 2697

- (79) A relative clause may be used as a non-restrictive (appositive) modifier to add relevant information that is not specifically intended to help the hearer/reader identify the referent.**

Such relative clauses are normally demarcated by a pause (reflected in writing by the use of a comma) and contain one of the relative markers also used in restrictive relative clauses (see Rule (78)); they may be used to modify NPs or complete sentences, in which case we may understand a vague antecedent, as in *the students, who (by the way) had*

worked hard, left early; she passed first time, (something) which gave her family great pleasure.

The most common relative markers/pronouns in non-restrictive relative clauses are *ὅπου/πού* (regular) and *(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος* (more formal/literary), though all options are in principle available, including the absence of any overt relativizing element in clauses containing verb forms marked with *νά*; *(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος* is the regular choice as object of a preposition, or when cases other than nominative and accusative are required.

Non-restrictive relative clauses introduced by *ὅπου/πού* and other indeclinable elements may include a resumptive object clitic pronoun in the relativized position, referring back to the antecedent and agreeing with it in number and gender (of the form *the man, that I saw him, ...*); this is regular when the relative clause modifies a sentence. This option also occurs, albeit more rarely, with *(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος*, mainly in later texts.

Modifying a NP

- πουλῶντα τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀμπέλιον, τὸ ὄντα καὶ διακείμενον εἰς χωρίον Καλαβρόν, τὸ ᾧπερ ἔχομεν ἐκ τὸν ἐμὸν πεθερόν 1179, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 193, 254.7–10
 ὡς εἶδασιν παράνομα, τὰ ποῖα οὐδὲν ἐλπίζαν, εἰς θλίψιν ἐσεβήκασιν καὶ κάθονται καὶ κλαίουں 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 88–9
 ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁ Χρόνος, ἀδελφέ, τὸν ὑποτάσσει ἡ Τύχη 14th c./13th–14th c., Log. parig. L 106
 συναπαντῶ πραγματευτὴν ... ἄλογα νὰ ἔχη περισσὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους μετ' ἐκείνον καὶ γραίαν γυναῖκα, ... νὰ κάθεται εἰς καμήλιν 15th c./13th–14th c., Liv. V 2314–16
 στὸν χρόνο ἐκείνον καὶ καιρόν, ὅπου σὲ ἀφηγήθην ἐδῶ ... ὅταν ὁ δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν ... εὔρεν ὅτι ὁ πρίγκιπας ἐκείνος ὁ Γυλιάμος ἐπιάστη ... καὶ ἦτον εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, ᾧπερ τὸν ἐκράτει ὁ βασιλέας εἰς φυλακὴν του 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7964–9
 ἔποικαν ἀμφότεροι τὸ ἀντρώγονον ἐκείνο υἱόν, ... ὅστις γὰρ μετὰ τὴν θανὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ πατρός του ἔζησεν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7974–7
 ἀπεράσαμεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ὅπου ὁ Τοῦρκος ἀκόμα δὲν τὴν εἶχε 19th c./15th–16th c., Chron. Theod. 20.4–5
 ἐπαρακάλεσέ μας νὰ κάμωμεν τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτῆς διαθήκην καὶ τελευταίαν παραγγελίαν, μὲ τὴν ὁποῖαν κόφτει καὶ ἀφανίζει κάθε ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλες ποὺ ἔχει παρέμπροσθεν ταύτης γινωμένες 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.9
 εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν καιρόν ἦσαν δυο δένδρα, ὅπου τὰ λέγουν ἐμπρίονοι εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν γλώσσαν 16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 335.19–20
 ἐγὼ, π' ἀκόμη τίβοτας δὲν εἶχα φαγωμένα, ἀγάλι ἀγάλι ἐσάλευγα μὲ χεῖλη πρικαμένα 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Katz. III.67–8
 ἐδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Ἀλεξάντρου ἀφεντὸς τῆς Ἀρμενίας, χριστιανόν, τὸν ὁποῖον τὸν ἐλέγασιν καὶ Σκεντέρη 17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soult. 30.22–4
 ἐξῆλθε διὰ νὰ κυνηγήσῃ μὲ τοὺς συνηθισμένους του καβαλάρους, ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποῖους ἦτον ἕνας καὶ ἐτοῦτος ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνδρας 17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 39.29–31

τὴ γραφή τῆς ἐκλαμπρότητός σου ἐλάβαμε ..., τὴν ὁποία ἐδιαβάσαμε τὴνε, ὥς
ἔπρεπε, τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ ὁλονοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ 1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.5

Modifying a Sentence

ἡ νύκτα ἐκαλοφόρεσεν, τὸ δὲν ἐποῖκεν [ἡ] ἄλλη 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 342

ἐξαίφνης ἐδιάβη, ὁποῦ δὲν τὸ ὠλπίζανε 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.2

οἱ σαῖττες καὶ τὰ τόξα τοῦ θανάτου εἶν' πολλὰ καὶ καιρὸν δὲν διορίζουν, ποῦ τὸ
ξεύρομεν καλὰ 17th c., *Charon* II 13–14

- (80) “Headless” relative clauses, i.e. those lacking an overt antecedent, normally have a generic/universal meaning (“whoever/whatever” or “any/every X that”); they are introduced by ὅπου/ὅπου/ποῦ or by relative pronouns/specifiers with an inherently generic/universal sense, namely ὅσος (cf. Rule (78) NOTE (ii)) and ὅποιος/ὅ,τι.**

By contrast, forms of the definite article are regularly used with a *specific* meaning in headless relatives = “the (specific) X that”.

In the absence of an antecedent NP the relative marker combines the functions of both antecedent (in the main clause) and relativizer (in the relative clause), leading potentially to conflicting case assignments for inflected forms; when this occurs, the case requirements of the relative clause typically predominate (examples are italicized below, though nominative/accusative clashes involving neuters are, of course, “invisible”).

Some relative elements used in headless relatives can also be used as specifiers, as in [*whichever book he read*] *was soon forgotten*. NPs with relative specifiers similarly fulfil two grammatical functions, and the requirements of the relative clause again predominate in the event of case conflict.

Article (definite/specific)

τοῦτο ψευδὲς ἐνόμιζον ..., τὸ λέγουσιν οἱ χωρικοὶ καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ δημῶδης
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 18–19

λέγω τὰ οὐκ ἐνδέχονται καὶ τά με οὐδὲν ἀρμόζουν; 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 294

οὐ θέλουσιν ὑπόδησιν τοὺς ἔχω μετ' ἐμέναν; 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 32

τὴν ἥθελες καὶ ὠρέγου νὰ κερδήσης, ... νὰ τὴν ἰδῇς μετὰ θε(ο)ν εἰς ὀλιγὰς ἡμέρας
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.1v.7–14

τὴν ἐκρατοῦμεν ἄγαμον εὐρέθη ἐγγαστρωμένη 13th–14th c./?, *Paroim.* D 119

περὶ νὰ ὑπᾶμε εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, τὰ οὐκ ἔχομεν γυρεύει, ἐνταῦτα στρέμμα ἄς
ποιήσωμεν ἀπέσω εἰς τὴν Πόλιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 837–8

τί ἔναι, σκύλε, τὰ λαλεῖς, τί ἔν τὸ τζαμπουνίζεις;
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 199 app. crit. (CLA)

γυνή τις γραῦς ὑπόσχεται νὰ δώσῃ ... καὶ κουφισμὸν εἰς τὸ πονεῖς καὶ λύσιν εἰς τὸ
πάσχεις 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1108–9

τὸν ἀγαπᾷς εὐρέθηκεν, ἀνέστη τὸν ἐξεύρεις
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1686

τὸν κόσμον νὰ λυτρώνουμουν παρὰ τὰ βλέπω τώρα 16th c./14th c., *Byz. Il.* 262

- ἄμποτε τὸ μᾶς ἔταξαν νὰ τὸ φυλάξωσι τελείως 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.20
τὰ ῥίζεις προσκυνῶ καὶ θέλω νὰ τὰ ποίσω 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 119
ἀπὸ τὸ μου λαλεῖτε, πὼς ἐπήγα εἰς τὴν αὐλήν τῆς ἀφεντίας τῆς 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 60, 62.18
τὸ ζητᾷ γιὰ γιαντρικόν, ἐκεῖνο τόνε βλάφτει 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAOS, *Erot.* III.6
- ὅπου/όπου
- όπου θέλει νὰ ἐλθῇ ἄς ἔλθῃ μετὰ μέναν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 554
 ἡῦρασιν ὅτι εἶχαν πλέον κερδίσει παρὰ όπου εἶχαν στὰ κάτεργα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 650–1
 μὰ νὰ ἵναι ἀσυγχώρετος όπου θὲ σὲ πατάξει 15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 206
όπου ἔχει πολὺν πιπέρι βάνει καὶ ᾽ς τὰ λάχανα 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 32
 καλότυχος ποῦ μεριμνᾷ πάντα τὸν θάνατόν του 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1345
όπου θυμᾶται θάνατον, ἐκεῖνος κυριεύει 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1349
- ὅσος (used as both pronoun and specifier)
- ἀπὸ ὅσοι ἐναπέμειναν ἀπ' αὐτοῦς, ... ἀεννάως τοὺς ἔπαιρνε μετ' αὐτόν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7209–11
 ὀρκῶ σε κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ..., ἐσὲν κι ὅσοι κατέζονται μετὰ σὲ ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν κούρτην 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543–4
 ὥσπερ ἔναι ἡ συνήθεια νὰ πιάσει τὴν λεχώναν καὶ νὰ κάμει ὅσα εἶναι τῆς φύσεως τῶν γυναικῶν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.34–5
 τὸν ποιητὴν πάσης κτίσεως καὶ ἐλευθερωτὴν τῶν ψυχῶν πάντων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν καὶ ὅσοι πιστεύσουν εἰς αὐτόν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.14–15
 γι' αὐτὸς λολοῖ ἵναι ὅσοι θαρροῦ ... νὰ κάμουν τὴ χέρα μου νὰ μὴ μπορᾷ τελειώσει 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof. Prol.* 34
ὅσοι Ρωμιότουρκοι ἐγροίκησαν τὸν ἀβγαμό μου παρευθὺς ἔτρεξαν σιμά μου 1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 2, 27.13
ὅσα παιδιὰ ἵναι διαλεκτὰ εἰς μιὰ μεριά ᾽ς τὰ βάνη 17th c., KONDAR., *Paides* 171
- ὅποιος/ὅ,τι (used as both pronoun and specifier)
- ἀπὸ τοὺς μῆνας δώδεκα νὰ ἐπαίρνη ὅποιους θέλει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2004
ὅ,τι ἡῦραν πράγματα ἐκεῖ ἐδιαγούμισάν τα 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1306
ὅποια ἀπ' ἐσᾶς βάλη ἀρχὴν νὰ μὲ δεῖρῃ ἔναι ἡ μεγαλύτερη πολιτικὴ καὶ πούτάνα τοῦ κόσμου 15th–16th c./15th c., VIOS AISOP. E 292.34
ὅποιαν βλέπη νὰ δειλιᾷ δίδει παρηγορία 15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* I.90,8 (Follieri)
ὅποιοιν σου δείξω σκότωσε 16th c./15th c., PIKAT., *Rima thrin.* 383
ὅποιος αὐτὰ ὀρέγεται δουλῶνεται καθόλου 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 111

ὅποια εὐρεθῇ, νὰ τὴν ξορίζουν ἔξω τῆς χώρας! 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 178.6

εἰς ὥραν ὑπανδρείας αὐτῆς ὅ,τι τῶς φανῇ νὰ τῆς δώσουν διὰ προικίον νὰ τῆς

δίδουν ἀπ' αὐτὰ, καὶ ὅ,τι τῶν φανῇ νὰ πουλήσουν νὰ τὰ κάνουν στάμενα

1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 217.26

κάμε ὅ,τι θές

17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.267

ἀκόμη ἀφήνει τῆς Καντιῶς ὅ,τι μερτικὸ τοῦ ἐγγίξει στὸ χωράφι τῆς Κουκουβάγιας

1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.22

εἰς ὅποιον τόπον ἐσεῖς θέλετε ὑπάγει, εὐρίσκει σας 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 11–12

ὅποιος ἀγαπᾷ ἐμένα ζῶντ(ας) μου, ἔνα τους παρακαλῶ ν' ἀγαποῦσι τὴν μάνα μου

καὶ τὰ παιδιὰ μου δέκα

1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.144–5

νὰ εἶναι διαλέγονας ὁ Μανώλης νὰ παίρνη ὅποια πάρτην θέλει

1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 257, 449.23

6 Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

6.1 Simple Prepositional Phrases

(81) LMedG/EMG prepositions normally govern an accusative NP to form a Prepositional Phrase (PP); clitic (personal) pronouns are sometimes permitted in the earliest texts (e.g. ἀνταπεκρίνατο πρὸς με ὁ ὑποψήφιος (?1144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4)), but full forms are normally preferred thereafter (e.g. οὐδὲν εὕρισκω εἰς ἐμὲν *Chron. Mor.* H 948).

The array of prepositions that appear routinely in LMedG/EMG (ἀπὸ, διὰ/γιά, εἰς/σέ, μέ, παρὰ = “(rather/other) than”, πρὸς) is significantly smaller than that of AG. But other prepositions are found in older texts and archaizing, legal or official registers, as well as in many formulaic phrases, many of which have ecclesiastical origins (e.g. ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ, etc.); in these cases prepositions that in AG governed the genitive or dative often continue to do so, though substitution of the accusative is also possible.

6.1.1 Frequently Occurring Prepositions + Accusative

ἀπό

For the use of ἀπό in partitive constructions (e.g. ἕνας ἀπὸ ἐκείνους ... ἀνέβηκε 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.19–22), see 5.2.2, Rule (73) NOTE (ii). Other principal uses are: “from”(spatial/metaphorical), “via/through”, “than”, “by/with” (agent/instrument), “after”.

ἀν μισεύσειν βούλεσαι ἀπὸ τὴν Ρωμανίαν	15th c./12th c., <i>Dig.</i> E 344
τὸ πέραμα νὰ ποιήσουσιν ἀπὸ τὴν Βενετίαν	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H. 310
σκάνταλον μέγα ἐγένετον ἀπὸ τοὺς Βενετικούς	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H. 408
ὡσὰν ἐπιάστη πρότερον ἀπὸ τοὺς Βενετικούς	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H. 865
περιεπάτει, ἐχαίρετον ἀπὸ ὅλον τὸ πριγκιπᾶτο	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H. 3041
σκοπᾶτε τὰ τέλη τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ τέλος τὴν ἀρχὴν	16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, <i>Chron.</i> V 10.13–14
γιατὶ καλλιὰ δὲν εἶν' ὁ γεῖς τίβοτσι ἀποὺ τὸν ἄλλο	17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, <i>Erof.</i> II.22
ἀπ' εὐτυχίης πληθαίνει (ὁ τόπος)	17th–18th c./17th c., <i>Prol. Epain. Kef.</i> 71
ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πανάπιστοι ... ὀργισθήκασιν περίσσα καὶ ἀφρίζασιν ἀπὸ λύσσα ἐκδίκησης	18th c., EFTHYM., <i>Chron. Gal.</i> 16.22–4

διά/γιά

“for/on behalf of”, “for (the purpose of)/as”

ὑπαγαίνασιν ἐκεῖ κ' ἑκατοικοῦσαν, οἱ μὲν διά τὸ προσκύνημα καὶ ἄλλοι διά τὴν δόξαν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 120–1

ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Χριστὸς διά τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τὸ γένος 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 305

ἔπαρ' ἐκ τὰ φαρία μας νὰ ἔχης γιά τιμὴ σου 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 237

πολλοὺς ἐπίασεν ζωντανούς καὶ ἤθελε νὰν τοὺς ἐξηβάλῃ εἰς τὸν κόσμον διά θαῦμα
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 24.6–7 (Konstantinopulos)

κατέχεις ... τὸ πῶς σ' ἐκράτου πάντα μου ὡς γιά δασκάλισσά μου
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSI, Katz.* II.355–6

ἐκλελεμένος ... διά ἀσιστέντες 1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.2

δὲν ἐκράτηξε (πουρκί) καὶ διά τὰ ἄλλα τῆς παιδείας τὰ δύο ... * ... τὴν ἐπῆρε διά
γυναῖκα του 1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.7–11

εἰς/σέ

“at/to, on/onto, in/into” (spatial/metaphorical), “for (the purpose of)”, “because of”

ἐζήτησαν ὁ λαὸς χωράφια εἰς τὸ σπέρνειν καὶ ζῆν
?1130–40, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 533.12

δέδωκέν μοι ἐν οἴκημα εἰς θεώρετρον ἐν τῇ πόλει Μεσσήνη
1171, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 363.9

μόνον προθύμως ἔξελθε εἰς τοῦ ἀμιρᾶ τὴν τόλμην 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 7

ὥραν πολλὴν ἐποίησιν καὶ εἰς λογισμοὺς ἐμπήκαν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 75

ἀπὲ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πρέπει μας νὰ εἴμεσθην εἰς τὸν κόσμον 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 95

στὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ καιρόν, ὅπου σὲ ἀφηγήθην ἐδῶ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7964

καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα θαυμαστοὺς, γενναίους εἰς ἀνδρείαν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOI.], *Kallim.* 30

ἦπῃρην τοὺς, ἐπέβηκεν ᾗ τὸ κάτεργον ἀτὴ τῆς· ἐδιέβηκε εἰς τὴν Φράγκιαν τοῦ ρήγαν
Ἰταλίας
15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 19–20

ἄρχισεν ἐξέβαινεν ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησία, ἀμέριμνα καὶ ἀφοβα, ὥσπερ εἰς τὰ νησία
15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 155–6

ἔθεσαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀναγεγραμμένη μονὴ εἰς ὕμνον καὶ δόξα τοῦ παντοδυνάμου
Θεοῦ 1558, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 2, 649.11

ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς ἄνδρας ἐκεῖνος ... ἐκατενύγηκεν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν
17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 41.3–4

μέ

“with”, “by (means of)”

ὁ ἐκατήλλαξα μέ τὸ σύντεκνόν μου τὸν Μιχαήλ
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.24

ὅταν ἐσυμβιβάσθηκα μὲ τὸν ἐχτρὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5722

μὲ τὸν μακαρίτην τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν πατέρα τους ἐσυντύχαμεν περὶ τούτου
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.11–12

καὶ λαλοῦν πῶς ὁ κούνη τε Ρουχᾶς ἔνε εἰς μεγάλην ἀγάπην μὲ τὴν κυράν μας τὴν
ρήγαινα 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 220.34–6

ἔστοντας νὰ ἐπάρουσι τὸ Σάλονα μὲ προδοσίᾳ ἐνὸς Σαλονίτου, ... ἐπεράσασι ...
ξεπλερώνοντας ... τὸ γαῖμα τῶν συντρόφων, ποὺ μὲ πόλεμο καλὸ χύθηκε στὸ
Γαλαξειδί 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.24–17.6

ἓνας ἀπὸ ἐκείνους ... ἀνέβηκε μὲ μία σκάλα νὰ τὸ (καντῆλι) ἐξεκρεμάσῃ
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.19–23

παρά

“beyond” (metaphorical), “(more) than” (with a comparative adjective/adverb), “other/
rather than”, “instead of”, “but for/except for” (= “only” in combination with a preceding
negative, cf. “nothing but (for) X” = “only X”): *περὶ* is sometimes substituted

μὴ φοβηθῆς τὸν θάνατον παρὰ μητρὸς κατάραν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 2

Φιλοπαππού, γνωρίζεις με παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους πλέον 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1385

λεπτομερῶς τοὺς ἔδειξεν τὴν στράταν τῆς Πολέου, τὸ πῶς ἐνι διαφορικὴ πλέον παρὰ
(sc. ἐκείνην) τῆς Συρίας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 505–6

ὅστις ἦτον μακρύτερα παρὰ γὰρ τὸν Δεσπότην 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3623

ἄλλα πλεῖστα καὶ πλειότερα παρὰ ἐκεῖνα ὅπου του ἔδωκεν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4626

ὅσα παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1560

πλέον περὶ ἄλλες Ἀμαζόνες αὐτὲς εἶχαν τὴν χάριν
15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* I.57,8 (Follieri)

τὰ ἄλογα δὲν εἶχα νὰ φᾶν παρὰ τὰ κιτρομηλόφυλλα
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 110.10–11

δὲν θέλετε τῶς πάρει παρὰ 5 τὰ ἑκατό 1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.143

NOTES

- (i) The meaning “but rather”, though not a feature of SMG, did occur in earlier demotic and is a natural development from “rather than”, cf. “don’t do X rather than Y” > “don’t do X but rather (do) Y”, where the preposition has been reanalysed as a conjunction. Μὴ φοβηθῆς τὸν θάνατον παρὰ μητρὸς κατάραν (*Dig.* E 2, cited above) might therefore be read this way, though unambiguous examples of such reanalysis are hard to find.
- (ii) We may also note the potential for reanalysis of *παρὰ* in negative contexts as the modifier of a numeral or quantifier, cf. MG *δεν ἦρθε παρὰ ἓνας X*, where the use of the nominative excludes a prepositional analysis. Again, *δὲν θέλετε τῶς πάρει παρὰ 5 τὰ ἑκατό* (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.143, cited above) might be understood this way, but clearly does not have to be.

πρός

“to(wards)” (spatial/metaphorical), “in accordance with”, “against” (spatial), “about (number)”, “X (number/amount) each” (distributive)

- ἀνταπεκρίνατο πρός με ὁ ὑποψήφιος ?1144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4
- ῶμον πρός ῶμον ἔθηκαν καὶ πρός ἀλλήλους λέγουν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 780
- ἐκείνη ἐκατεπήδησεν καὶ πρός ἐμένα ἦλθεν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1186
- οἱ δύο κοντᾶδες τοῦ ἔδωκαν πρός ἕνα καβαλλάρην 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 220
- ὁμπρός ὀπίσω ἐξέβαιναν πρός εἴκοσι καὶ τριάντα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1063
- τὰ ἔθνη γὰρ τὰ ἀβάφτιστα, ὅρκον ἂν σὲ ποιήσουν πρός τὰ συνήθεια ὅπου ἔχουσιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1249–50
- ἦρτεν πρός τὴν ἀνατολήν, καὶ ἦρτεν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ ἐπέξευσεν πρός τὴν
Λεμεσὸν καὶ ἦρτεν τὸ νησὶν ἔρημον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 4.9–11
- εἰς τὸ πλε(υ)ρὸν τοῦ βημάτου πρός τὸν νότον ἔχει λάκκον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 38.17–18

6.1.2 Prepositions of More Limited Frequency

Included here are a number of inherited prepositions, which may take the same case as in AG, or alternatively take a different case (given in brackets), either as a result of hypercorrection or in accordance with vernacular practice.

ἀντί + gen./acc.)

“instead of”

- ἀρκοῦν ἐμοὶ τὰ κάλλη της ἀντὶ πολλῶν προικίων 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G IV.747
- ἀντὶ πατρὸς καὶ ἀντὶ μητρὸς καὶ ἀντὶ ἀδελφούς καὶ φίλους ἔχω ἐσένα σήμερον ἐδῶ
 εἰς τὴν ξενιτείαν μου 14th–15th c./13th c., *Liv.* E 61–2
- τὰς ψυχὰς ἀφήσωμεν ἀντὶ λιθομαργάρων 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 225
- ὁ δὲ τεχνίτης τὸν χρυσὸν εἰς δένδρον μεταπλάττει, ἀντὶ καρπῶν δὲ τεχνικῶς ἐνέθηκεν
 τοὺς λίθους 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 317–18
- βασιλεὺς ἐστέφθηκα ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρός μου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 53

ἀπό + gen.

“from” (often non-spatial), “by (means of)”, “as a result of/after”, “X (number/amount) each” (distributive)

- κατὰ ἕνα τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπὸ δύο ἱματίων ἔχειν χρή 12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 104.28–9
- ἀπὸ μανίας μου ρίπτω το ἀνταμοῦ μὲ τὸ σκουτέλλιν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 244
- τότε νὰ ἰδῇς πόλεμον καλῶν παλληκαρίων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς πολλῆς κροῦσιν
 διασυντόμας 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 35–6
- ἡμεῖς γὰρ εὐρίσκόμεθα ἀπὸ γενεᾶς μεγάλης 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 136

- ἀπὸ καρδίας ἐστέναξεν, ἐκ βάθους τῆς ψυχῆς του 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 635
 εἰς τὸν μαρκέσην ἦλθασιν, γλυκέα τὸν χαιρετοῦσιν ... ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ὁλῶν τῶν
πελεγρίνων 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 228–30
 ἡ Πόλις ἐπιάστη ἀπὸ σπαθίου, ὥσάν σε τὸ ἀφηγοῦμαι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 550
 νὰ στείλω ἐκεῖ φουσσᾶτα ... νὰ ὑπάγουν τῆς θαλάσσης κι ἀπαύτου πάλε ἀπὸ τῆς
γῆς νὰ ὑπάγουν τῆς στερέας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4233–5

διά + acc./gen.)

“because of”

- διὰ τοῦ ἐλέους του ὅρισεν τὸν Κεραμέαν ὅ,τι ἔχει διὰ πρακτικοῦ
 ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.32
 ἐλόγισεν, ὡς φρόνιμος, ὅτι ἀμαρτία ἤθελε εἶσται, διὰ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου θάνατον νὰ
 μείνῃ τὸ πασσάτζο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 169–70
 ἐγνωρίζω ὅτι διὰ ἐμοῦ τὴν ἀφορμὴν τὸ πολεμοῦν ἐκείνοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 283–4
διὰ τὰ ἄγια λείψανα τὰ εὐρίσκονται εἰς τὴν Κύπρον
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 24.6–7
διὰ τοῦτο γράφω ..., διὰ τὸν ἀπειθὴ λαόν, ὅπου δὲν βοηθᾷ τὸν ἀρχιερέα αὐτοῦ
 1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.14–17
διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν πρᾶμα ὅπου εἶχεν τὴν ἐπῆρε διὰ γυναῖκαν του
 1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.7–11

διά + gen./acc.)

“through(out)”, “by means of”

- διὰ πολλῆς ταχύτητος ἦλθον εἰς Ρωμανίαν. ... οἱ καὶ τούτῳ ἐδήλωσαν διὰ
γραμματοφόρου 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G II.100–3
 τὸ δένδρον ... ποτὲ οὐ καρπεύγει διὰ τὴν γῆν 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 145–7
διὰ θαλάσσης καὶ ξηρᾶς νὰ ὑπᾶσιν νὰ κουρσεύσουν 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1.61
 εὐρέθην δι’ ἀποκαλύψεως θεοῦ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 34.1

ἐκ + gen./acc.)

“from/out of”, “as a result of”; ἐκ μέρους = “on behalf of”

- ὦ παναθλία, τί ἔπαθες ἐκ τῆς παραδικίας! 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 115
 ἀπῆρεν δύο καβαλλάριους ὅπου εἶχε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς του· ἐκ τὴν Τσαμπάνια ἐξέβηκεν
 κ’ εἰς τὴν Φιλάντριαν ἦλθεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 172–3
 εἰς τὸν μαρκέσην ἦλθασιν, γλυκέα τὸν χαιρετοῦσιν ἐκ μέρους τῶν εὐγενικῶν ἐκείνων
 τῶν κοντάδων 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 228–9
 μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ ἐλάλησεν, ἐκ στόματος τοῦ εἶπεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 329
ἐκ τὸν πολύν του τὸν δαρμόν 15th c., *Peri xen.* 31
 ὁ ἄνθρωπος ... πιάνει τὸν (ξύλινον θεόν) ἐκ τοὺς πόδας καὶ ρίπτει τὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν·
 καὶ ὅταν ἐσυντρίφθῃ, ἐκ τὸ κεφάλιν ἔρευσε χρυσάφι
 16th c., NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 109.5

ἐν + dat./acc.)

“in”; ἐν τούτῳ = “then/next”

πρόφθασον ἐν ἀνάγκαις νῦν, πρόφθασον ἐν τῇ θλίψει 15th c./?12th c., *Dig E* 1840

ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς ἠθέλησε Θεὸς νὰ γένῃ τὸ πασσάτζο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 157

ὡς γὰρ ἐνστάζει χάριτας ἔρω ἐν ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, οὕτως ἐν μόνῳ χωρισμῷ γέμει
πολλὰς πικρίας 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 18–19

ἐν δὲ τοὺς χρόνους καὶ καιροὺς ἐκείνους ὅπου ἀκούεις οἱ Ἀλβανῖται ἀφέντευον τὸν
τόπον Δεσποτάτου 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 44–5

ἐβουλεύτηκα ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν τριάδι προσκυνουμένου, νὰ
ἐξηγηθῶ περὶ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς χώρας Κύπρου. Ὡς χρόνοι εἶνε γ’ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ...
ἦτζου εἶνε καὶ οἱ ἡμέραι τῆς ζωῆς μας 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 2.1–5
ἐγράφη ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκωσία ἰγ’ δικεβρίου ,ατξῆ’ Χριστοῦ
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 222.5–6

ἐπί + acc. (sometimes for traditional genitive, e.g. ἐπὶ τοῦτον for ἐπὶ τούτου)

“to(wards)”, “for (the purpose of)”, “for (the duration of)”

ἀλλήλους ἐσυνέκοπτον ἐπὶ πολλὰς τὰς ὥρας 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig. G I.* 179

κάκειθεν μὲν ὑπέστρεφον πάντες ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig. G III.* 32

θροηθέντες ἀνέδραμον πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig. G III.* 94

ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ὁ λόγος ἀνακτέον 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 23

οἱ Γενουβίσοι ἐποῖκαν ἕναν χαρτὶν νοταρικόν: “... ἔμπροσθεν ἐμοῦ ... καὶ μαρτύρων
..., ἐπὶ τοῦτον κληθέντων καὶ παρακληθέντων ...”
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 504.29–33

ἐπί + gen.

“(up)on”, “during (the time of)”; ἐπὶ ὀνόματος = “in the name of”

ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 215

ἐλιγοθύμησε ... καὶ πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ γῆς παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα
15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 1864–5

ἐπὶ τῆς αὐρίου γὰρ τὸ πρωῒ, ... ἐδῶκαν τὰ σαλπύγια τους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1479–80

καθήμενος ἐπὶ λαμπροῦ βασιλικοῦ τοῦ θρόνου
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 695

εὐρέθη στρώμα κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς στρωμένον
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 798

ἡ ποία ἀγία ... ἐποῖκεν καὶ ἔκτισαν πολλὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπὶ
ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 4.23–6

ἐπί + dat.

“on (top of)/over” (non-spatial), “in (the case of)”, “for (the purpose of)”

ἐπὶ προδήλοις πράγμασιν οὐ χρεία τῶν μαρτύρων 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 44

τοῦ κόρακος ἐπάνω μου τῆς στέγης ἐπὶ κακῶ καθίσαντος καὶ κρᾶζειν ἀρξαμένου
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 46–7

ἐπὶ θανάτῳ θάνατον δέχεται καθ’ ἐκάστην 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 113

ἡ μήτηρ εὐφραίνεται ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ τέκνοις 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G II.35

κατὰ + acc.

“according to”, “through(out)/during”: κατὰ τύχη(ν) = “by chance”

ὁ τέλει γὰρ χρησάμενος τοῦ βίου κατὰ φύσιν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 102

ᾧς εἶδες κἂν ἐνύπνιον γλυκὺν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον! 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 168

ὁ υἱός μου νὰ ἔλθῃ μετ’ ἐσᾶς κατὰ τὲς συμφωνίας μας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 700

ποῦ κατὰ τύχῃ ἀπέρχετον βάρκα ἀπὸ τὴν Πούλιαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2240

με τὸ θέλημαν ὅλους τοὺς περίτου αὐθέντες ... ὅπου εὐρίσκουνταν κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 42.11–13

μία λοιμικὴ ἀσθένεια ... ἔποικε ἐξολόθρεμα καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέρη Σαλόνου
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 20.1–4

κατὰ + gen.(/acc.)

“in front of” (spatial), “against” (metaphorical); κατὰ πρόσωπα = “in the face of”

θεωρεῖς ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀγρίους ὀρμῶντας οὕτω κατὰ σοῦ
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 173–4

τὸν ἰὸν ἐξέχεε κατὰ τοῦ εὐεργέτου 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 386

ἀνάθεμά με, βασιλεῦ, ὅταν στραφῶ καὶ ἰδῶ τον, τὸ πῶς ἀνακομβώνεται κατὰ τῆς
μαγειρείας 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 131–2

ἡ πόλις τῆς Τσάρας ... ροβολεμένη εὐρίσκετον κατὰ τῆς Βενετίας
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 416–17

ὅποτε θελήσου νὰ ρεβελιάσουν κατὰ μέναν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.10

ἂν σηκώσῃ τὸ χέριν του κατὰ πρόσωπα τοῦ ψουμάτου
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 24.28–9

εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον περισσότερον ἐθυμώθηκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὠργίζετο κατὰ τῶν μοναχῶν
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.21–2

μετά + acc.

“after”

μετὰ δὲ τὴν συνάφειαν συνέλαβεν ἡ κόρη, καὶ ἔτεκε τὸν Διγενῆ Βασίλειον Ἀκρίτην
13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G II.47–8

μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ ἐλάλησεν, ἐκ στόματος τοῦ εἶπεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 329

μετὰ τὴν παραδρομὴν καὶ τοῦ τοσούτου τόπου εἰς κάστρον κατηντήσασιν μέγα
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 173–4

μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ρε Οὔγκε ἐρμάστην μετὰ τὸν Ρεῖμου τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ πρίντζη
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 40.15–16

μετά + gen./acc.)

“with”

λεπτῶς τὸν ἀφηγήσαντο τὴν πρᾶξιν καὶ τὸν βίον, κι ὅσα ἐκατεστήσασιν μετὰ τοὺς
Βενετικούς 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 376–7

μετὰ βουλῆς καὶ ὀρισμοῦ κύρ Σάκη τοῦ Βατάτση ἐστέψασιν διὰ βασιλέαν Ἀλέξιον
τὸν υἱὸν του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 587–8

πρὸς τὸν τρίτον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μεταγαγεῖν ἐπείγετο μετὰ πολλοῦ
τοῦ πόθου 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 36–7

οἱ Βενετικοί ... μετὰ πονηρίαν, μετὰ φρόνεσιν, μετὰ μεγάλης τέχνης, γιοφύρια ἐποίκασιν
ἄνω εἰς τὰ καράβια 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 540–2

μέχρι + gen./acc.)

“as far as/until”

ἀπὸ γὰρ τὴν ἀνατολὴν μέχρι τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν δύσιν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1610

ἀνέταξεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν κρεμαμένην κόρην, μέχρι ποδῶν ἐκ κορυφῆς ὡς ἄκρων τῶν
δακτύλων 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 508–9

κοιμάται μέχρι δειλινοῦ βασιλικῶς ἡ κόρη 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2120

φαίνονται μέχρι τὴν σήμερον τὸ τειχόκαστρον καὶ οἱ θεμελοὶ τοὺς πύργους
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 98.15–16

παρά + acc./gen.)

“against/beside”, “contrary to”; παρὰ καιρόν = “out of time, at the wrong time”

παρὰ καιρόν ὑποπτεσεῖν θανάτῳ κατεκρίθη 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 569

νὰ μετὰ ὀνειδίξης ἄσκημα, ἀδίκως, παρὰ λόγου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4175

παρὰ τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ δένδρου ἐκείνου κατημένη
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1815

ὄφεις μεγάλοι, φοβεροὶ καὶ θῆρες παρὰ φύσιν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 190

νεκρὸς νὰ γένηται εὐθύς παρὰ τῆς ὥρας 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2554

παρά + gen.

“from/by” (an animate source)

τοιαῦτα πέπονθα δεινά, κρατάρχα στεφηφόρε, παρὰ μαχίμου γυναικὸς καὶ
τρισαλιτηρίας 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 268–9

φωνὴ παρὰ τοῦ δράκοντος εἰς τὸν Ἀκρίτην ἦλθεν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1090

παρὰ σαλῶν καὶ ἄτακτων ἀνθρώπων ἐδιδάχθη 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1565

τὸ τί ... νομεύεται παρὰ τοῦ Καμπανέση 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1909–10

περί + gen./acc.)

“about/concerning” (non-spatial); περί πολλοῦ = “greatly”

- ἡμᾶς δὲ κατηγίζουσιν περί φιλαργυρίας 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 407
 ὅς σᾶς ἀφηγήσωμαι περί τὰς ἀμωρίας του 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 619
περί ἀπελάτων ἤκουσε εὐγενικῶν καὶ ἀνδρείων 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 624
 οἱ Φράγκοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθαν περί τοῦ βασιλέως 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 560
 ἐβουλεύτηκα ... νὰ ἐξηγηθῶ περί τῆς ἀκριβῆς χώρας Κύπρου
 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 2.1–3
 ὅς ποῦμεν καὶ περί τῶν κουμουνίου τῶν Γενουβίσων καὶ Βενετίκων
 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 198.31–2
 ἀγάπα δὲ περί πολλοῦ νέους χαριτωμένους 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 17

πρό + gen.

“before” (spatial [early])/temporal/metaphorical); πρό καιροῦ = “before one’s time”,
 πρό πάντων = “above all”

- τοῦτο πρό πάντων ἄπιστον εἶχον καὶ φλυαρίαν 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 17
 ὦ πάτερ, πάτερ βασιλεῦ, παῖδας ἀνάνδρους ἔχεις, ἂν πρό πολέμου τρέπωνται καὶ
 φεύγουσι πρό μάχης 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 112–13
 καλὸν μὲν οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦτο πρό πάντων ἄλλων τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν εἰς μέριμναν
 ἐρωτικὴν τὸν νοῦ σου 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1029–30
 ἔναν ἐυροῦσα πρό πυλῶν ἀπὸ τῶν παιδοπούλων, στήκει καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1070–1
 πῶς ἐμαράνθη πρό καιροῦ ἀπὸ κλαθμοῦ καὶ πόνου
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1591
 τὰ κοντάρια στένουσιν πρό μάχης νὰ κινήσουν 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 460

σύν + dat./gen.)

“(together) with”

- αὐτὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἤπτετο ἅμα σύν τοῖς ἀγούροις 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G II.300
 ἐξηλθον ἔξωθεν καγὼ θρηνῶν σύν τοῖς ἑτέροις 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 218
 τὸ κοράσιο ἐγέλασεν, μεγάλως τὸ ἀποδέχθην καὶ σύν ἐκείνης τῆς χαρᾶς πάλιν γελαῖ
 ἡ κόρη 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1120–1
 οἱ καβαλλάραι σύν αὐτῷ εὐτύς ἐγονατίσαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5887
 ἐδόκει γὰρ σύν τῷ λευκῷ καὶ ρόδου χάριν ἔχειν
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 816

ὑπὲρ + acc./gen.)

“above/beyond/past” (spatial [early])/metaphorical), “more than”

- κἂν ὑπὲρ κέδρους ὑψωθῇ καὶ κορυφὰς ὀρέων 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 374
 ἔχει ... καὶ τόλμην ὑπὲρ ἅπασαν καὶ γνώμην θηριώδη 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1333–5
 ἀνθρωπος ἦτο εὐγενικός, φρόνιμος ὑπὲρ μέτρου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 161

- ὅπου ἀπιστήσαν εἰς ἔμὲν ὑπὲρ φορῶν γὰρ δύο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5660
 διατὶ ἦτον εὐγενικός κ' εἰς πλοῦτος ὑπὲρ φύσιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6298
 τὴν ἡδονὴν ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον ἔχων 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 286
 τὰς χάριτας ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Χαρίτων φύσιν 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 810
 κρατούμενοι ὁ εἷς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλλου εἰς πίστιν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 260.10–11

ὑπὲρ + gen.

“for (the purpose of)”, “on behalf of”, “because of”

- θανοῦσα ὄψεσθε μητέρα ὑπὲρ τέκνου 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.79
 τοὺς μαρτυρήσαντες στερρῶς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τοῦ λόγου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 288
 κλίνειν ἔχω κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς μου πρώτης 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 290
 αὐτὰς ψυχὰς προδῶσωμεν, τὰ σώματά μας ὅλα ὑπὲρ ἀγάπης ἀδελφοῦ 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1355–6

ὑπὸ + acc.

“under/beneath” (rare/early)

- δεῦρο ὑπὸ σκιὰν ἀπέλθωμεν τοῦ δένδρου 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G VI.775
 μὴ γὰρ ἀπώση με ... ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν προστρέχοντα μετὰ δακρῶν σκέπη 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 9–10

ὑπὸ + gen.

“by” (agent/instrument); ὑπὸ χειρὸς (formulaic)

- ὧν δὲ τὰ μέλη ἅπαντα ... γνωρισθῆναι ὑπὸ τίνος μὴ δυνάμενα ὅλως 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.229–30
 πῶς κατεκόπτης μελιδὸν ὑπὸ χειρὸς βαρβάρων; 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.239
 ὡς ὑπὸ βέλους τὰς ψυχὰς ἐτρώθησαν τῷ κάλλει 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G VI.127
 ἐστέφθη εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Νικόλαον ὑπὸ χειρὸς τοῦ φρε Πιέρ Τουμάς 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 92.31–2
 ἰδόντας ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης ὅτι νικᾶται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκθροῦ του 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.23–4

χάριν + gen.

“for (the sake of)”; follows NP in AG

- χάριν αὐτοῦ μὴ θλίβεσαι 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 313
 εἰ προσεγγίσει πῶποτε τολμήσει τῷ πυλῶνι χάριν μικρᾶς ἀνακωχῆς καὶ κουφισμοῦ τῶν πόνων 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 452–3
 τίνα ζητεῖτε, ἄγουροι, τίνος χάριν θρηνεῖτε; 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.218
τούτου χάριν τὸν πόλεμον οὐδαμῶς ἐπησχύνθη 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G VI.752
 τὸ ἕτερον (ἔχω ἀγοράν) ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρασκευᾶ καὶ τοῦ Παγκάλου καὶ Πετρῶνα χάριν ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.26

ἄς δώσουν καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπέρπυρον ἂν χάριν κουρτζουβακίου

ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52

ὄθεν καὶ χάριν τούτου γράφοντες ἀναφέρομεν τῷ σῶ μεγίστῳ κράτει

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOLOG.], *Kallim.* 2274–5

χωρίς + gen./acc.)

“without”

γονεῖς ἀτέκνους καθιστᾷ, τέκνα χωρίς γονέων

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 35

χωρίς θαλάσσης πνίγεσαι, χωρίς πυρός ἐξάπτεις

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 145

εἰ δὲ κἀκεῖνος τρέψει με, χωρίς λόγου παντοίου, νὰ λήψετε τὴν ἀδελφὴν μηδὲν

ζημιωθέντες

13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.122–3

οὐκ ἔκρινα τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς χωρίς ὅπλων

13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G VI.521

αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀπεκρίθησαν λόγια χωρίς ἔργων

15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1625

ὠμόσαν μερτικὸν θεληματικῶς, καὶ μερτικὸν χωρίς τὸ θέλημάν τους

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 44.29–30

ἔμεινε χωρίς βλάβην ὡς γοιὸν ἦτον

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 68.16

θέλω ... τίποτας νὰ μὴν ποίσης χωρίς τοῦ θελημάτου μου

16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 167–8

6.2 Phrases with a Governing Adverb

(82) Local, temporal and comitative PPs headed by ἀπό/ἐκ, εἰς/ἐπὶ and μέ may be governed by semantically appropriate adverbs; these combinations in part replace the simple prepositions that were falling out of use (see above). The adverbial element usually precedes the PP, though sometimes follows it.

Such adverbs may also govern a genitive NP directly; clitic (personal) pronouns are regular in this construction, and clitics also appear with certain other adverbs (for examples see below).

6.2.1 Adverb Governing a PP (Headed by ἀπό/ἐκ, εἰς/ἐπὶ, μέ)

With ἀπό and ἐκ

(i) = “above”/“below” (with separation)

ὁ Ἰδρος τοὺς ἐξεβαίνειν ἀπάνω ἀπ’ τὰ λουρίκια

15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 41

ἡ λεγόμενη χώρα τῆς Ἰνδίας εὐρίσκεται κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν Αἴγυπτον

17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.21–2

(ii) = “outside”/“out of”

ἄρχισεν ἐξεβαίνειν ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησία, ἀμέριμνα καὶ ἄφοβα, ὥσπερ εἰς τὰ νησία

15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 155–6

τοῦ ὁποίου δίδει ἀουτοριτάν ... ὅτι νὰ ἤμπορῃ νὰ τήνε ντεφεντέρη ... καὶ ᾧξω

ἀπὸ τὴν κούρτην εἰς πᾶσα κρίσιν καὶ ὀφίκιον τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας

1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4–7

- (iii) = “apart from” (non-spatial), “without”

ἔσὺ ῥθες κ' ἐπολέμησες χωρὶς ἐκ τὴν βουλή μου 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 153

ἐμολόγησεν εἰς τὸν ὄρκον τοῦ πῶς δὲν ἐγίνηκε ἄλλην προσκάμωσιν παρὲς ἀπὸ τὰ δύο μουσκάρια 1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 20, 32.6–7

τσί ὅποῖες ἀτσετάραν καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, ὄξω ἀποὺ τὸ Στράτη 1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 733.16–17

- (iv) = “after”

ὕστερα ἀπὸ τοῦτα, ἐκαμώθη ὁ σουλτὰν Μεχεμέτης τάχα πῶς θέλει νὰ κάμη ἀγάπην μὲ τὸν βασιλέα 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.9–10

ὕστερα ἀπὸ κάμποσα, μία λοιμικὴ ἀσθένεια ... ἔποικε ἐξολόθρεμα καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέρη Σαλόνου 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 20.1–4

With εἰς/σέ and ἐπὶ

- (i) = “(up)on, above, over”/“below”

στραφεῖς οὖν πάλιν ἔπεσον ἐπάνω ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 204

ὀρκῶ σε κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κ' εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπάνω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543

βουλὴν ἀπῆρα ... ποτὲ νὰ μὴ τὴν στρέψω ὥσὸτι στέκη ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ κορμί μου 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1412–13

οἱ Βενετῖκοι ... γιοφύρια ἐποίκασιν ἄνω εἰς τὰ καράβια 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 540–2

ἦλθαν καταπάνου εἰς τὸ φουστάτον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 14.21–2 (Konstantinopulos)

στρώσετε τάβλα ἀπουκάτου εἰς τὴν ἀπιδέα, νὰ φάω, νὰ πιῶ μὲ τὸ Χάροντα 16th c., *Nov. II* 162.35–6

φάγα το (ψωμί) οἱ γι-ἄθρωποι ἀποπάνω στὸν τάφο τῆς 1642, Crete, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 21, 15.8

νὰ πᾶς νὰ τὸν ἀγκαλιαστεῖς εἰς τὸ δεντρὸ ἀποκάτω 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1546

ὁ Σάντσος ἐκαλοκάθισεν ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ γομάρι του 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.27–8

- (ii) = “between”/“during”

ἀρκεῖ καὶ σώζει νὰ γενῇ εἰρήνη καὶ φιλία ἀνάμεσα γὰρ εἰς τοὺς δύο ἀφέντες τῆς Ρωμανίας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2582–3

μέσον εἰς τὰ καμώματα ... ἔτυχε καὶ συνέβηκεν ἀπέθαν<εν ὁ Σπά>τας 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 174–5

ἀνάμεσα εἰς τοῦτα ἐσυνέβηκε καὶ ἐτοῦτο 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.20–1

- (iii) = “inside”

ἔσὺ ἂν ... καὶ βλέπης ἄλλον κείμενον ἀπέσω εἰς τὸ καμίνιν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 119–20

- τούς ἐκατέσφαξαν ἀπ' ἔσω εἰς τὰ κρεββάτια 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1542
- τὸν ἐκράτει ὁ βασιλέας εἰς φυλακὴν τοῦ ἀπέσω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7969
- πηγαίνοντα εἰς τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν, ἐβγάλαν τὰ πράγματα τὰ ἐπῆραν ..., μέσα στοῦ παλάτιν τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 20.5–7
- ἡ πανιερότη σου δὲ μοῦ ἔκαμες δύο λόγια ἐκεῖ μέσα στὴ γραφὴ 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.24–5
- (iv) = “in front of”/“behind”, “before” (temporal)
- στὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ καιρόν, ὅπου σὲ ἀφηγήθην ἐδῶ ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο ποῦ ἀναγινώσκεις 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7964–5
- βλέποντας ἓνα καντήλι ..., ποῦ ἔκαie ἐμπρὸς στὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.20–2
- ἐπεριπατοῦσε καὶ ἔτρωγεν κατόπι εἰς τὸν ἀγάν του 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.29
- (v) = “near/beside/around”
- τὰ τριπουτσέτα ἐσύρνασιν γύρωθεν εἰς τοὺς πύργους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1481
- ἔχοντα καὶ ἦτον κοντὰ τὸ Ἱεροσόλυμαν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, ἦλθαν πολλοὶ μὲ τὲς γυναῖκες τοὺς καὶ μὴ τὰ παιδιά τοὺς 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 24.7–9
- ἔκαμνε χρεῖαν ὅτι ἐγὼ νὰ σταθῶ σιμᾶ εἰς τὸ κτῖσμα 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 57
- (vi) = “as far as”
- ἐρχόντησαν μέχρι εἰς τὴν γῆν ὡσὰν νὰ ἦσαν βάρκες 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 539
- μέχρι στὴν Ἀνδριανόπολιν ἐσῶσαν κ' ἐκουρσέψαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 647
- ἐρήμωσαν πολλὰ μέχρι καὶ εἰς τὲς πόρτες 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 368
- With μέ = “together with”
- ἀπὸ μανίας μου ρίπτω τὸ ἀνταμοῦ μὲ τὸ σκουτέλλιν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 244
- στέκοντας καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήφ εἰς τὴν Βηθλεέμ ὁμοῦ μὲ τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοτόκον Μαρίαν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.29–30
- εἰς τὴν διάταξίν σου ἀντάμα μὲ τοὺς κληρονόμους σου ... ἃς ἔχη τὸ χαρτί σου (καὶ) τ' ὄνομαν τοῦ δικαστοῦ 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 494–6
- ὁμάδι μὲ τὴν συμβίαν του καὶ μὲ τὴν θυγάτηρ των 1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 152, 276.4–5
- τάσσει ὁ αὐτὸς ἀφέντης Τζώρτζης νὰ κάμη τὸ Γιάννη-Τουρκογιάννη ... νὰ σπείρου ὁμάδι μὲ τὸν αὐτὸν κυρ-Νικολὸ τὰ χωράφια 1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 729, 632.10–11
- διὰτὶ ἂν εἶναι ἐκεῖνοι ἁμάδι μὲ τοῦ λόγου σου, ἐγὼ δὲν σοῦ ἀποκρίνομαι 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34, 1–2

6.2.2 Adverb + Genitive NP

ἕτερον χωράφιν εἰς τὴν Παληρέαν μοδίῳν ἡ', πλησίον τοῦ Πετεάκκα καὶ τοῦ Τορνάρη
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27

νὰ ποιήσῃ κι ἄλλον (κάστρον) γύρωθεν ἐκείνων τῶν βουνίων
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3000

ἀνάμεσα γὰρ τῶν Φραγκῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐδικοῦ του ἀλλάγι ὑπάγαινε
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5063–4

ἐπεὶ ... τοῦ τόπου τὰ συνήθεια ὀρίζουν ὅτι ὁ πρίγκιπας ... σωματικῶς νὰ ἀπέρχεται
ἐντὸς τοῦ πριγκιπάτου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7880–3

ὁ τάφος της εἶνε κάτω τῆς γῆς
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 34.2
μόνον μὲν τορμήσης νὰ τὸν πάρῃς ἔξω τῆς Κύπρου
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 68.24–5

νὰ ἐμποῦσιν μέσον τοῦ ρηγὸς καὶ ἐκείνου νὰ τοὺς ποίσουν ἀγάπην
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 198.2–3

τὰ ποῖα εἶναι καταπρόσωπα τοῦ λουτροῦ, τοῦ κόκκινου
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 6.13

ἐνέβην ὀμπρὸς τοῦ ρηγὸς
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 40.15–16

τὸ ἅγιο ἔργο ... ἔδωκε ἀφορμὴ ἐμᾶς ... νὰ φανερωθοῦμε ἔμπροσθεν τῆς
ἐκλαμπρότη(ς) σας
1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 33.3–5

ὥς δὲ ἐφθάσαμεν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν θυρῶν
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 108.13
εἰς πᾶσαν αὐτῆς ὑπόθεσιν καὶ διαφορὰν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἡμῶν
Αὐθεντίας
1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4–5

ἐμάζωξε ὅλα του τὰ φουσσᾶτα καὶ ἐδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Μάρκου κράλη, ἀφεντὸς
τῆς Βουλγαρίας
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.11–12

ἐπῆγες καὶ κόντρα τῆς φύσεώς σου νὰ μὴν λυπηθῇς τὰ παιδία σου
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.29–30

ὄντε ξημερώνει, ἄμε ὀμπροστὰς τοῦ βασιλέως
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 42.5–6

+ Genitive Clitic

πῶς ἦπλωσας ἐπάνω μου;
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 145

ὀργὴν νὰ ἔχῃ ἀπάνου του ὅπου ποτὲ ἀγάπη θελήσῃ μὲ τὸν Πρίαμον νὰ ἔχῃ μίαν
ἡμέραν
16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1467–9 app. crit. (V)

ἐξάγκωνα τοὺς φέρετε δεμένους ἔμπροσθὲ μου
15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 367

παρακαλῶ σε νὰ ποίσωμεν δῆμμαν μεσὸν μας
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.17–18

εἰς τὸ ἔμπα του εἰς τὸ καστέλλιν, ἐσφαλίσαν τὲς πόρτες καταπρόσωπά του
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 36.20–38.1

τὰ πρόβατά του δὲ θέλει χόρτα σήμερο νὰ φᾶν ἀπὸ σιμά του
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.33–4

ὅλα τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἦσαν ὀμπρὸς του ὡσὰν ἕνας βρῶμος
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 47.15–16

ὕστερα ἦρθαν καταπάνου τους βασιλικά στρατεύματα
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22.13–14

Non-Spatial Adverbs + Genitive Clitic

τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ἐκεῖνον τὸν γονέα ὅπου διδάξῃ γράμματα ποτέ του τὸ παιδί
του
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208–9

ποτέ μου δὲν ἐζήλωσα κακὸν διὰ νὰ λαλήσω
εἰς πάθη στέκω πάντα μου κι εἰς κόλαση μεγάλη
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 39
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I. 216

ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ συνβίαν του καὶ νὰ ἐπῆγεν νὰ ἐπουρκόταζε κρυφά του τῆς θυγατέρας
της
1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.4–5

7 Coordination and Apposition

7.1 Coordination

7.1.1 Sentences and Clauses

(83) The linking together of (at least potentially) independent sentences within a narrative by means of initial *καί* is common in vernacular texts.

Treatment of such cases as a succession of autonomous sentences rather than a series of conjoined main clauses within a single sentence is essentially arbitrary, partly reflecting the manuscript tradition and partly the inclinations of editors.

The core meaning is simply additive (“and then/next”), though the context may invite more specific readings involving causation, consequence, etc.

Καί καθά πωρνον ἐπήγαιεν εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν. *Καί* ἐγρίκαν λειτουργίαν. *Καί* τότε ἐκαβαλλίκευγεν. *Καί* ἐπήγαιεν εἰς τὴν ρήγαιναν. *Καί* ἡ ρήγαινα ἐδείχνε του πολλὴν ἀγάπην.
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 50.2–5

Ἦτον ἐνὸς βασιλέως υἱός. *Καί* ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἠθέλησε νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν λουτρὸν νὰ λούσῃ τὸ κορμί του. Ἦτον παχὺς εἰς τὸ κορμί του, ὁμοῦ καὶ χοντρός, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόντεσαν τὰ ἀρχίδια αὐτοῦ. *Καί* ὁ λουτριάρης, ἔστοντας νὰ ἰδῇ ἔτοῦτο, ὅτι κακὸν ἦτον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, ἔκλαιεν αὐτόν.
16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.10–14

Καί ἐμαζώκτησαν πολλοὶ καὶ ἀρματώθησαν καὶ ἐδιάβησαν καὶ ἐστάθησαν κοντὰ στὸν ποταμὸν λεγόμενον Σάβα. *Καί* ἀκατερούσανε τὸν σουλτὰν Μουράτη, ὅπου ἐρχέτονε μὲ πολὺ φουσσᾶτο καὶ ἔσυρνε κοντὰ του καὶ τοὺς δύο του υἱούς.
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.14–17

(84) Two or more main clauses may be conjoined with (*καί* ...) *καί* “(both ...) and ...”, as may two or more subordinate clauses of the same type/with the same function; these are normally governed by the same conjunction if one is present.

Since subject pronouns are regularly omitted in LMedG/EMG unless contrastive/emphatic, it is often impossible to determine whether we are dealing with coordination of complete clauses with missing subjects, e.g. [_S [_S (*she*) *came*] and [_S (*she*) *saw*] and [_S (*she*) *conquered*]], or coordination of VPs that share a subject, e.g. [_S (*she*) [_{VP} [_{VP} *came*] and [_{VP} *saw*] and [_{VP} *conquered*]]]. Ambiguous examples are therefore divided somewhat arbitrarily between the two possibilities (i.e. treated as clausal coordination immediately below, and as VP coordination in 7.1.3).

In cases other than those involving conjoined clauses/VPs the default position adopted here is that we are dealing with coordinated sub-clausal constituents of the relevant type (e.g. AdjPs [[*tall*] and [*slim*]] in *she was tall and slim* etc.; see 7.1.3 for LMedG/EMG

examples), even though competing analyses involving conjoined VPs with verb ellipsis *[[was tall] and [(was) slim]]* or conjoined clauses with omission of subject and verb *[[she was tall] and [(she was) slim]]* are often possible.

Ντζανέτα τὴν ὠνόμασαν, κι [ὅσον ἐκαταστάθη κ' ἦλθεν τοῦ νόμου ἡλικίας κ' ἐγίνετο γυναικᾶ], ἄντραν τῆς ἐδώκασιν μισὶρ Νικόλαον ἐκείνον. 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8032–4
ἔπιεν ὁ πτωχὸς τὸν οἶνον καὶ ἐλησμόνησεν τὰ χρέη του. 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 50

Ἦτον παχὺς εἰς τὸ κορμί του, ὁμοῦ καὶ χοντρός (*sc.* ἦτον), ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόnteσαν τὰ ἀρχίδια αὐτοῦ. 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.11–13

ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ ... ἦτον ἓνας ὀνόματι Μιχαὴλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς, καὶ ἐτίμησέ τον ὁ βασιλεὺς πρωτοστράτορα καὶ ἔδωκέν τον τὸ φοσσάτον ὅλον τὸ ῥωμαϊκὸν καὶ ἐμπιστεύθη του καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν κατὰ Περσῶν ἡγουν τῶν Κιζιλμπάσιδων. 1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.3–5

ὁ ὁποῖος Λάζαρος ἔκαμε τέσσαρες ἡμέρες εἰς τὸν Ἄδην, καὶ ... ἐξηγήθη εἰς τέσσαρα βιβλία· καὶ ἰδόντας αὐτὰ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πατέρες, ἔκρυψαν τὰ τρία καὶ δὲν ἠύρισκονται· τὸ δὲ πρῶτον βιβλίον τοῦτο ἔναι εἰς τὴν Ρώμην· καὶ ἤκουσα ἐκ τὸν Σάντα Κροῦζε τὸν γαρδηνάλε, ὅτι πᾶσα ὁποῦ νὰ γένῃ νέος καρδηνάλες, τοῦ τὸ δίδουνε, καὶ τὸ διαβάζει μία φορά, καὶ ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον δὲν τὸ δείχνουν. 1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1

ἐκόπηκε τὸ μιανότατο χέρι του καὶ ἔπεσε νεκρὸ ... καὶ μεγάλος σεισμὸς ἐγενέθηκε. Ἐτότες ἐφάνηκε ἓνας καβαλάρης ... καὶ ἄρχισε νὰ σφάζῃ τοὺς πειράτες καὶ τοὺς ἐπῆρε κυνηγῶντας ὅξω ἀπὸ τὸ Γαλαξειδί ..., καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔγινε ἄφαντος ἀπὸ τὴν γῆ. Ἐτότες οἱ Γαλαξειδιῶτες κατατρεγμένοι ἐπήγασιν καὶ ἐχτίσασιν σπίτια στὰ τριγύρω νησόπουλα. 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.24–19.8

Οἱ ἱατροὶ ἐτράβηξαν τὰ σαλιβάρια των μουλαρίων, καὶ ἐστάθηκαν καὶ ἔμειναν ἔκφοβοι, [ἓνα μὲν βλέποντας τὸ ἦθος τοῦ δὸν Κισότη καὶ ἄλλο ἀκούοντας τὰ λόγια ὁποῦ τοὺς ἔλεγε], καὶ τὸν ἀποκρίθηκαν. 18th c., *Don Kis.* 50.3–6

(85) The enclitic (“second-position”) connective δέ “and/but” is also used to link both independent sentences in a discourse and clauses with parallel function in a single sentence.

Between independent sentences the choice between additive and contrastive meaning is context-dependent; between clauses in a single sentence the meaning is more often contrastive.

Δέ is particularly frequent in the combination εἰ δὲ (μὴ) “and/but if (not)” (the negative version is also used as a lexicalized phrase = “otherwise”).

Δέ may also be combined with the definite article in pronominal sense, e.g. ὁ δέ “and/but he” etc., which may in turn be clarified by an appositive NP, e.g. ὁ δὲ [ὁ X] etc.; in rather more literary texts, ὁ δέ etc. is sometimes paired contrastively with a preceding ὁ μὲν etc. “the one ... ((while) the other ...)”.

ὑπᾶτε, παραλάβετε, ἀμόλυντον κοράσιον· ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τὰ κάλλη της καὶ τὴν πολλὴν εὐγένειαν ἀρνοῦμαι καὶ τὴν πίστι μου καὶ τὴν πολλὴν μου δόξαν

15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 174–6

ὁ ἀδελφός μου ... ἐπῆγεν, τὸν Ἑρμόναν ἀνέδραμεν καὶ τὸν Ζυγὸν ἐπίασεν, τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν ἐξήλειπεν, πολὺν κακὸν ἐποίησεν 15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 261–3

εἰ δὲ ἀγαπᾷς τὴν περισσά, τέκνον, ὥσάν μοῦ λέγουν, ἔπαρε καὶ αὐτὴν μετὰ ἐσέναν 15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 282–3

εἰ δὲ περάσῃ ὁ καιρός ... κι οὐδὲν ἀπέλθῃ ἐδῶ κανεῖς τὴν ἀφεντίαν νὰ ἐπάρῃ, θέλω γὰρ ... νὰ μείνῃς κύριος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 1883–6

ὅτι ἐκ τοὺς μῆνας δώδεκα ... νὰ ἐκπληρώνη ὁ κατὰ εἷς τοὺς τέσσαρους γὰρ μῆνας εἰς γαρνιζοῦν καθολικὴν ... * τοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους τέσσαρους νὰ ἀπέρχεται εἰς φουσᾶτο, ... τὸ δὲ τὸ τρίτον τοῦ χρόνου ... ὀφείλει ὁ προνοιάτορας νὰ ἐνὶ ὅπου θέλει. 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 1995–2001

καὶ ἐμείναν δ' σταυροί. Τὸν δὲ σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀφῆκεν τὸν εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων μὲ πολλὺν χρυσίον καὶ μαργαριτάριν, καὶ πέτρες. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 6.7–9

Ἡ δὲ ἡ ρήγαινα ἐκάτζειν εἰς τὸν ἡλιακὸν εἰς τὸ διάβαν τοὺς καβαλλάριδες 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 50.12–13

ὁ κύριος οἶδεν ὅτι τῶρα τὰ ἐγροίκησα τοῦτα τὰ λογία, ὁ δὲ ὁ σουλτάνος μὲ πολλὴν χαρὰν καὶ πολλὴν ἀγάπην ἐστερέωσεν καὶ ἐβεβαίωσεν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγάπην. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 294.9–12

Ἀνισῶς καὶ δὲν ἡξεύρη τίποτε, ἃς πάγῃ ἀκαταζήτητος, εἰ δὲ καὶ ξεύρη, νὰ τοῦ δώσουν θάνατον. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 300.4–6

ἀπὸ τὸν φόβον ἐπιάννασιν τὰ μαρμαρένα πιλερία ..., οἱ δὲ κεῖνοι ... καὶ κόββαν τὰ χέργια τους, καὶ ἐπέφταν καὶ σκοτώνουνταν. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 314.4–8

καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐφουρκίσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκόψαν τὲς μοῦττες τους 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 674.14

ἐστείλανε τὸν τζαούση μαντατοφόρο εἰς τὸν Μπαγιαζίτη, ὅτι νὰ δώσῃ τὰ κάστρη ..., εἶτε δὲ καὶ δὲν τὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ, τὸν ἔχει διὰ ἐκθρόν 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 38.7–9

NOTES

- (i) There are many examples of elliptical clausal conjunction involving ὡσαύτως/ὥσπερ/καθὼς καὶ “(just) as also ...”, where the connection is properly comparative/equative rather than simply additive, though the meaning slips easily into “and also” in many cases:

οὐκ ἔμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νὰ ποιήσω ἄνευ βουλῆς καὶ θέλημα ... τοῦ ρῆγα, ... ὡσαύτως (οὐκ ἔμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νὰ ποιήσω ἄνευ βουλῆς καὶ θέλημα) καὶ τῆς ρηγαινας 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 242–6

[τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀρχόντισσας μαντάμα Μαργαρίτας νὰ τὸ κρατήσετε καλὰ] [ὥσπερ (νὰ κρατήσετε καλὰ) καὶ τὸ τῆς κούρτης] 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7545–6

ἐτοῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ ἀστρολόγος, καθὼς πρωτύτερας (εἶπεν) καὶ ὁ Βαλαάμ 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 38.26

- (ii) Coordination between two clauses (with or without ellipsis) may also be achieved through the use of *ὅχι μόνο(ν) ... ἀλλά/ἀμή/μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ...* “not only ... but also ...”:

ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ὅλον καὶ οὐχὶ μόνον (ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ὅλον) ὑπὸ ἀνέμου,
ἀμή καὶ (ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ὅλον) ὑπὸ νεροῦ, ὅτι ἐξήχυσεν ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ
 ἔπνιξεν χιλιάδας ν’ καὶ β’ 1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.7–9
 καὶ ἔναι ἐντροπὴ μεγάλη· καὶ ὅχι μόνον ἐντροπὴν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ζημία
 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 2773–4

- (iii) Absence of formal coordination (“asyndeton”) is a standard option between all but the last pair of a series of three or more coordinated clauses, though it is not uncommon, especially in verse, for coordination to be left unmarked throughout:

ἦμουν παιδὶν, ἐγήρασα, πολὺν διήλθον κόσμον, σοφῶν ἀρχαίων ἤκουσα, πολλὰς
 ἀνέγων βίβλους, πάντων ἐν πείρᾳ γέγονα, πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐξεῦρον, πλάσματα
 πάλιν μυθικὰ καὶ λόγους γραϊδίων ἠκριβώσαμεν
 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 1–5
 πίνει τα καὶ ἐρεύγεται, κερνοῦν τον ἄλλον ἕνα, καὶ παρευθὺς ὑπόδημαν ἐγείρει καὶ
 πετσώνει 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 123–4
 θέλω νὰ ἀφηγήσωμαι περὶ τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην, ... ὅπου ἦτον δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν, καλὸς
 ἀφέντης ἦτον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7958–60
 ἂν στραφῇ εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν, ἂν οὐδὲν ποιήσῃ ἔργον νὰ μείνῃ εἰς τὴν Ρωμανίαν νὰ
 εὕρῃ οἰκονομίαν του, ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελαῖ, μέμφεσται κι ὄνειδίζει
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8183–5
 εἰς τὸ καράβι σύντομα ἐσέβηκεν, ὑπάγει ... τόσα ἔπλευσαν, τόσα ἔποικαν,
 φθάνουν τὴν Σαλαμῖναν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1383–5
 ἔλα μέσα, ἰδές με 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.5

- (iv) When, after a negative proposition, a conjoined clause is also negated, *οὐδέ/μηδέ* “and not” are regularly used, though disjunctive *οὔτε/μήτε* “nor” are sometimes used instead, especially in more popular registers (the two meanings are barely distinct in negative environments); there is also some evidence in later texts of uncertainty regarding the choice of *οὐδέ/οὔτε* vs. *μηδέ/μήτε*:

μὴ οὖν ἀποχωρίσης τους, μηδ’ ἀποπέμψης μᾶλλον 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 12
οὐκ εἶδα εἰς τὸ δακτύλιν μου κρικέλλιν δακτυλίδιν, οὐδὲ βραχιόλιν μὲ ἔφερες ποτὲ
 νὰ τὸ φορέσω 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 51–2
 ἐκείνοι οὐδὲν τοῦ ἐποίκασιν τίποτε πονηρίαν, οὔτε ἀνυπολήπτῃσαν τὸν βασιλέαν
 κἀνόλω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5266–7
 θάνατον οὐκ ἐψήφησα ποτὲ εἰς τὴν ζωὴν μου, οὐδ’ ἔλεγα [νὰ χωριστῇ ψυχὴ ἐκ τὸ
 κορμίν μου] 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 57–8
 οἱ μάμμες ἔστεκαν ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸ σπήλαιον καὶ δὲν ἤβλεπαν, μήτε ἤμποροῦσαν νὰ
 σεβοῦν μέσα εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον ἀπὸ τὴν πολλὴν λάμψιν
 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.24–6

τὰ πάθη της δε γνώθουσι, οὐδε τὰ κουρφά τση ἐνιῶσα καὶ λέν πῶς τό 'χει φυσικὸ
ν' ἄδυναμίσῃ τόσα 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.35–6

τῆς κόρης δέν της ἄγγιξεν, οὐδε ἐπείραξεν την 17th c., PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2373

- (v) For the “subordinating” use of the conjunction καί, see Chapter 2, Rules (23), (27) and (29) (under *Verbs of Aspectual Specification*, NOTE (ii)).

7.1.2 Contrastive and Disjunctive Clausal Coordination

(86) To emphasize a clearly contrastive/adversative connection between sentences or clauses (= “but”, “however”) ἀλλά, ἀμ(μ)ή/ἀμ(μ)έ/μιά, ὅμως and πλήν are used; ὅμως only links independent sentences, but the remaining conjunctions are also used to connect clauses within a sentence.

ἀμμή δεσμὰ καὶ βάσανα καὶ φυλακὰς καὶ πύργους, Βαράγγους ἀ[λαλά]ζοντας καὶ ὁ
φόβος ἐξυπνᾷ σε 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 169–70

Ὅμως ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν δόξαν οὐδὲν εὐρίσκω εἰς ἐμέν ...
τοσοῦτην ἀδιάκρισιν, νὰ μὴ τὸ ἐγνωρίζω ὅτι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 947–9

μὴ ἀκριβευτῇ, ὀκνήσῃ το, μὴ ὅλως τὸ ἀμελέσῃ, ἀλλὰ ἅς βιαστῇ μὲ προθυμίαν τὸν
τόπον νὰ κερδίσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4566–7

Ἀλλὰ ἀφότου ἄλλαξεν τοῦ πρίγκιπος ἡ ἀφεντία, καὶ ἤλθαμεν στὴν ἀφεντίαν τοῦ
ἀφέντη μας τοῦ ρῆγα, ἐὰν εἴχαμεν τὴν δύναμιν νὰ ἐποίησαμεν τὸ ὁμάτῳ! 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7908–10

Ὅμως ἅς λείπουν τὰ πολλά, ἐὰν ἔν' τὸ θέλημά σου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7916

τίποτε δὲν σας θέλουν ὠφελῆσαι (τῶν Φραγγῶν τὰ λόγια), πλήν θέλουν σας χαλάσει,
καθὼς ἐχαλάσασιν καὶ τοὺς θεσσαλονικαίους 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.15–16

Ὅμως τοῦτο θέλομεν τὸ σκεφθῇ ἀντάμα, καὶ θέλομεν ποιήσῃ τὸ κάλλιον
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.5–6

δὲν σᾶς τὸ ἔγραψα ὅτι πῶς νὰ πορνεύετε, ἀμὴ διὰ νὰ μὴν ἀπελπίζεται τινὰς κἂν
ἀμαρτωλὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἂν ἔναι, ἀλλὰ νὰ σπουδάξῃ νὰ κἀνὴ ἐλεημοσύνην 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.21–4

Ὅμως δὲν διδοῦμεν ἀφορμὴν τινος καὶ σκούζαν νὰ μὲν δίδῃ ψυχικά, ἐλεημοσύνην,
ἀποὺ ζῶντά του, ἀμμὲ νὰ τὰ φυλάγῃ ἀποθανόντα του 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 499–501

δὲν ἦτον φῶς καθαρὸν, ἀμὴ ἦτον ὥσάν ἀντάρρα
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.30–1

Μὰ εἶν' τὸ πρεπτό ... νὰ σᾶσε φανερώσω ποιοὺς εἶμαι
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor. Prol.* Apoll. 9–10

δὲν εἶδα νὰ σταθῇ τὸν ἥλιο νὰ μ' ἀκούσῃ, μὰ εἶδα χαράκια καὶ δεντρὰ πολλὰ ν'
ἀνασπαστοῦσι, νὰ φεύγῃ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.73–5

Ἀμ' ὅσῃν ὦραν ἤβλεπεν ἐκεῖνο ποὺ τὴν κρίνει, οἱ λογισμοὶ κ' οἱ πόνοι τῆς τσῆ κἀναν
καλοσύνη, μὰ σὰν τὸν εἶχε στερευτῇ, περίσσα ἐτυραννᾶτο κι ὅλη ἐξαναμαλάσσετο
κι ὅλη ἐξαναγεννᾶτο 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.19–22

Πλὴν φαίνεται τῶνε πὼς εἶναι μίαν σκλαβίαν νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὴν ὑποταγὴν τοῦ κοινοβίου
1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.12–13

(87) Disjunctive clausal coordination is expressed positively by (εἴτε ...) εἴτε ... / (ἢ ...) ἢ ... “(either ...) or ...” (also οὐ in Cyprus, γή/δ in Crete, ὄβερ in the Cyclades etc.), and negatively by οὐτε ... οὐτε ... / μήτε ... μήτε ... “neither ... nor ...”; οὐδέ/μηδέ “and not” may be substituted when the sense is clearly additive (cf. NOTE (iv) above), though this also occurs occasionally when the meaning is disjunctive.

For the single use of οὐτε/μήτε, see again NOTE (iv) above.

In later texts there is evidence of uncertainty regarding the choice between οὐ and μή in these elements.

When forms of θέλω are contrasted in formulaic expressions of the type “(whether I/you) like it or not”, the conjunction is normally omitted (θέλεις ... θέλεις ... can be used to mean simply “whether ... or ...”):

θέλω οὐ θέλω γίνομαι καὶ τὸ μωροῦ σαμάριν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 558
ἐννόμους δὲ γάμους πληροῦσιν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, ὅταν εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος χρόνων ἰδ’ καὶ
ἄνωθεν, ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα νὰ εἶναι χρόνων ἰβ’ καὶ ἄνωθεν, θέλεις αὐτεξούσιοι
θέλεις ὑπεξούσιοι ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 238.400–2

Positive

ἦντεστάθην, ὅταν τὸ ἤκουσα εἴτε ἐθεώρουν τινὰς, ὅτι ἐκρατοῦσαν το
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5–6
τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἱμάτιν τὸ κνηκάτον ἢ χάρισον ἢ πώλησον ἢ δὸς ὅπου κελεύεις
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 60–1
ἐκεῖνον τὸ πράγμαν εἶχάν το πάρειν, οὐ εἶχάν το σύρειν εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς
15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 424.9
ἄσ’ τα αὐτὰ τὰ φαγητὰ καὶ δεῖς νὰ μοῦ βοηθήσης, γῆ ἀποθαμένος βρίσκομαι
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.111–12
νὰ ἔρθει εἰς τέρμενο μέρες τρεῖς ἐρχόμενες νὰ τὰ ἐμολογήσει, ὃ νὰ τὰ φέρουσι στὸν
τόπο τῶς 1664, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 7, 417.16–17
ἀνίσως καὶ λάβῃ τὰ ἄνωθεν γρόσα καλά, ὄβερ καὶ τὰ ἄνωθεν γρόσα δὲν λάβῃ
1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 8, 21.6–7

NOTE

- (i) In examples where the first clause contains an imperative and the second an indicative verb, such as the *Katzourbos* example above (ἄσ’ τα αὐτὰ τὰ φαγητὰ καὶ δεῖς νὰ μοῦ βοηθήσης, γῆ ἀποθαμένος βρίσκομαι), the disjunctive element implies “if you don’t (do as I ask)”, and may often be translated “or else”.

Negative

ὀμνέω ... ὅτι νὰ μὴν δὲν ἔχετε κανέναν φόβον ... μήτε ἐκκλησίας νὰ χαλάσωμεν, μήτε
μασγίδι νὰ ποιήσωμεν 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.17–22

νὰ μὴ μπορῇ νὰ τῶνε πάρη περισσότερο ἀποὺ τὰ κζ' μουζούρια τὸ στάρι ὁ ἄνωθεν ἀφέντης Νικολός, οὐδὲ κείνος (νὰ [μὴ] μπορῇ νὰ τῶνε πάρη περισσότερο) οὐδὲ τὰ παιδιά του (νὰ [μὴ] μποροῦν νὰ τῶνε πάρουν περισσότερο)

1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.10–12

εἰ μὲν ... καὶ ἀποθάνην τὸ παιδί ... καὶ μείνῃν ἄκληρη, νὰ μὴν ἡμπορεῖ ἀπὸ τὴν πουργὴν ... μήτε νὰ πουλήσῃν, μήτε νὰ χαρίσῃν, μήτε νὰ πουργοδοτήσῃν, μήτε διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν της νὰ κάμῃ [παρὰ μόνον δύο πρόθεσες νὰ δώνῃ διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν της]

1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 180.14–21

ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ εὐμορφία εἰς μίαν τιμημένην γυναῖκα εἶναι ὥσάν τὴν μακρινὴν φωτίαν ἢ ὥσάν ἓνα κοπτερόν σπαθί, ὅπου μήτε αὐτὸ κόπτει μήτε ἐκείνη καίει ὅποιον δὲν πλησιάσει αὐτά

18th c., *Don Kis*. 91.25–8

τόσον ἐκαταπίεσθη πὼς ἐκείνοι ἦτον γίγαντες, ὅπου οὐτε ἄκουε τὲς φωνὲς τοῦ ὀπλοφόρου του, μήτε τοὺς ἐγνώριζε, ἀγκαλὰ καὶ νὰ εἶχε πλησιάσει

18th c., *Don Kis*. 45.20–2

7.1.3 Other Constituents

(88) Sub-clausal constituents of all kinds may be coordinated in similar ways, provided that the elements involved are of the same syntactic category.

With predicative expressions (e.g. after the verb “to be”), however, it is not necessary for the coordinated elements to be categorically identical; the functional equivalence is sufficient.

As noted above, it may be difficult to decide in particular cases whether we are dealing with true constituent coordination or coordination of clauses with ellipsis in the second conjunct.

Additive ((καὶ ...) καὶ ... “(both ...) and ...”)

NP Coordination

οὐκ ἡμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νὰ ποιήσω ἄνευ [βουλῆς] καὶ [θέλημα τοῦ ἀφέντου μου τοῦ ρῆγα], ὅπου ἔχω [ἀφέντην] καὶ [γαβρόν]

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 243–5

ὀρκῶ ... [ἔσεν] κι [ὅσοι καθεύδονται μετὰ σὲ ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν κούρτην], τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀρχόντισσας ... νὰ τὸ κρατήσετε καλὰ

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543–6

ἐγεννήθηκεν ἀπὸ μίαν παρθένον ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁποῖος ἔναι αὐθέντης [τοῦ οὐρανοῦ] καὶ [τῆς γῆς] καὶ [τῆς θαλάσσου] καὶ [πάσης κτίσεως]

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.1–3

VP Coordination

[κούρση ἡπήρασιν πολλά], [ἐπίασαν καὶ ἀνθρώπους], κ' [ἔστράφησαν ἐσώθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Μαύραν]

15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 166–7

[πέψε φέρε ἀπὸ τοὺς φίλους σου καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν πίστιν σου καλοὺς καβαλλάρους ψουμάτους] καὶ [ποῖσε ἀβιτζιάλιδες]

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.24–5

AdjP Coordination

- ὡς ἦτον [μέγας] κ' [εὐγενής] κ' εἶχε πολὺ λογάριν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8072
 τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῇ ιδ' μαρτίου ατοδ' Χριστοῦ ... οἱ [ἐντιμώτατοι] καὶ [φρονιμώτατοι]
 ἀνθρώποι ... ἦλθαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ρηγός
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 504.40–506.4

PP Coordination

- ὀρκῶ σε [κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ] κ' [εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπάνω] ... τὸ δίκαιον τῆς
 ἀρχόντισσας ... νὰ τὸ κρατήσετε καλὰ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543–6
 μοίρασε τὸ ρηγάτον σου [εἰς αὐτόν σου] καὶ [εἰς αὐτόν τους]
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.26

Coordination of Predicative Expressions

- ὦμοσε ὁ μπάιλος ... καὶ τότε οἱ λίζιοι ἀνθρώποι, νὰ εἶναι [δοῦλοι] καὶ [πιστοὶ ...]
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7930–1

NOTES

- (i) The AG combination ... τε καὶ ... “both ... and ...” is confined almost entirely to the poetic formula/cliché μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι “young and old”:

βουλὴν ἀπῆραν ἐνομοῦ μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 906

- (ii) The content of an expression may be rendered more precise by appending a “both-and” specification, cf. “the human beings, both men and women”; this is common in legal texts, where the relevant meaning is often expressed in the form ἔτσι/τόσον (καὶ) ..., ὥσάν καὶ ... “just as ..., so also ...”:

καὶ ἀνὶ φυτέψη καὶ ἄλλα νὰ κάνου καρπὸ, [ἔτσι ἀπὸ τὰ παλιά] [ὥσάν καὶ τὰ νιά],
 νὰ παίρνη <ὁ> ἀφεντότοπος τὰ μισὰ καὶ ὁ κοπιαστής τὰ ἄλλα μισὰ, [ἔτσι καὶ
 ἀπὸ τὸ ἀμπέλι] [ὥσάν καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ χωράφι]

1596, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 154, 279.10–13

ξεκαθαρίζοντας ἀκομὴ ἂν ἔναι καὶ κιανένα καιρὸ δὲν τοῦ θέλασι δώσει τὸ στάρι,
 νὰ μπορῇ, ἃ δὲν εὖρη ἄλλο τίβοτας νὰ πλερωθῇ, νὰ πιάνη τὰ ὀζά τῶνε, [ἔτσι
 χοντρά] [ὥσάν καὶ λιανά] 1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.14–16

ὁποῖος ἤθελεν ἀλληλοήσει ἀποῦ τσι δύο, τόσον ὁ ἔνας ὥσάν καὶ τὸν ἄλλο, νὰ
 μπορῇ νὰ δίδη τοῦ ἄλλοῦ ὑπέρπυρα ρ'

1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 8, 30.11–12

If a negative meaning is required, οὔτε/μήτε ... οὔτε/μήτε ... “neither ... nor ...” are used, with some fluctuation between initial οὐ- and μή- (see under *Disjunctive constituent coordination (negative)* below):

ἦτον μέλας, ἦγουν μελαψός, μήτε [τόσον μαῦρος] μήτε [τόσον ἄσπρος]
 16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.10

τώρα δὲν εὐρίσκομαι νὰ ἔχω τίβοτις, μήτε σολδία, μήτε ροῦχα
 1643, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1960: 3, 3.10

- (iii) When the sense is clearly negative-additive (“and not”) οὐδέ/μηδέ are normally used, though there are overlaps with οὔτε/μήτε “nor” (cf. NOTE (iv) above and *Disjunctive constituent coordination* (negative) below):

ἤξευρε, ἀθλία, ὅτι ὁ υἱός μας δὲν ἀπέθανεν οὐδὲ ἀφανίσθη οὐδὲ ἐσάπη εἰς τὸν τάφον
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.31–2

- (iv) Constituent coordination, like clausal coordination, may be asyndetic:

[ἔδραμεν] [ἐκούρσευσεν χωρία καὶ κατοῦνες διὰ θαλάσσου καὶ ξηρᾶς] ... κ'
[ἔστράφησαν] [ἔσώθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Μαύραν] 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 163–7

[πέψε] [φέρε] ἀπὸ τοὺς φίλους σου καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν πίστιν σου καλοὺς καβαλλάρους
ψουμάτους 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.24–5

νὰ εἶναι ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Τζανῆς ... νοικοκύρης εἰς τὰ ἄνωθεν πράματα, [πουλεῖν],
[χαρίζειν], [προικίζειν], [ποιεῖν ὡς βούλεται]
1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 216.18

Adversative

This is expressed by ἀλλά/ἀμ(μ)ή/μά etc.:

ἀρνεῖσαι τὸν Χριστὸν μὰ ὅχι τὴν μητέρα του 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 165.14

ἐκηρύττασιν ὅχι μὲ φόβον τινὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀμὴ μὲ μέγαλον θάρρος καὶ
παρρησίαν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.10–11

Disjunctive

Positive

Positive disjunctive constituent coordination is expressed by (εἴτε ...) εἴτε ... /(ἢ ...) ἢ ...
“(either ...) or ... ” (also οὐ in Cyprus, γή/δ in Crete etc.):

ἐμὲν ποτὲ οὐκ ἐπήντησε στρατηγὸς ἢ τοπάρχης 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 149

περὶ τοῦ δούλου οὐ τῆς δούλης ὅπου φέρνει τὸν αὐθέντην του εἰς ἀγκάλεμαν, τίνα
ἐμπαίνει νὰ δώσει 16th c./13th c., Cyprus, *Assizes* A 5.1–2

τίς νὰ πιστέψῃ εἰς Ρωμαῖον εἰς λόγον εἴτε εἰς ὄρκον; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 758

μηνοῦμε σας ὅτι ... μηδὲν σουφριάσετε κανένα μας ὀφισιάλην ... νὰ τρεμεντιαστῇ εἰς
καμία ἀγορὰ σιταρίου, οὐ κριθαρίου, οὐ κρασίου οὐ καμίας ἄλλης ρέντας
1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.1–4

κι' ἂ δῆς τὴν Πουλισένα γῆ τὴν Ἀννούσα, πές τους το νὰ σοῦ τὸ ποῦν ἐσένα
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.147–8

νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ ἐξουσίαν ποτὲ καιροῖς κανέναν, ἢ ἀπὸ τὴν μεγάλην Μέσην ἢ ἀπὸ
μοναστήρι, νὰ τοὺς ἐνοχλήσῃ 1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.13–14

ἐγὼν δὲ θέλω ἀφήσω κανέναν νὰ σιμώσῃν εἰς ἐλῶνι της ἢ σὲ πατητήρι της
1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.12–13

Negative

In negative contexts οὔτε/μήτε ... οὔτε/μήτε ... “neither ... nor ...” are used, with fluctuation between initial οὔ- and μή-; the final οὔτε/μήτε of a series may be supported by ἀλλά (i.e. with disjunctive rather than strictly adversative meaning), or be replaced by οὐδέ/μηδέ in the emphatic sense of “not/nor even”:

- ὅτι ὅποιον κάστρο καὶ χώρα προσκυνήσῃ μὲ τὸ καλόν, νὰ μηδὲν ἔχῃ [κανέναν φόβον], οὔτε [κακόν], οὔτε [κουρσεμόν], ἀλλ' οὔτε [κανέναν χαλασμόν] 1430, Ioannina, RIG 1998: [1], 62.10–12
- ὀμνέω σας ... ὅτι νὰ μὴν δὲν ἔχετε [κανέναν φόβον], μήτε [αἰχμαλωτισμόν], μήτε [πιασμόν παιδίων] 1430, Ioannina, RIG 1998: [1], 62.17–21
- δὲν εἶχε μήτε στρουμέντο μηδὲ στιμαριστάδες 1657, Mykonos, Visvizi 1957: 4, 51.11

7.2 Apposition

7.2.1 Appositive Clauses

(89) An appositive clause may be used to expand/clarify the content of a NP headed by an abstract noun with a non-specific but potentially propositional denotation, cf. “the news/the theory/the fact [that ...]”.

Unlike relative clauses, appositives are not descriptive of their antecedents but stand in an equative relationship with them, i.e. the content of the clause *is* the news/the theory/the fact etc.; their presence is justified to the extent that they add contextually relevant detail to a largely uninformative expression.

A common variant is the use of a cataphoric pronominal in place of the abstract noun, cf. “I will tell you this (sc. news etc.), that ...”

A range of clause types is attested, largely reflecting the semantics of the antecedent (e.g. factive vs. non-factive, statement vs. question etc.), and καὶ is sometimes substituted as the linking element. It is often impossible to distinguish what are in principle optional appositives (pragmatically helpful in particular contexts) from complement clauses (semantically presupposed by the antecedent even if not overtly represented). In the examples below, the “namely”-relation characteristic of appositives is reflected in the use of a comma after the head noun, though this is really no more than editorial interpretation (cf. 2.2 and 5.2.3 for further discussion, and see 5.2.3 for parallel examples treated as complements).

- τὸν δὲ πατριάρχην ἔγραψεν αὐστηρὰς γραφὰς, ἀναδιδάσκων τὸ δίκαιον, ὅτι [οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος Ἀντιοχείας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως] 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 822.33–5
- τί τοῦτο, ὅτι [ἐπαινῶ τοὺς χειροτεχναρίους] 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 188
- ὁ λουτριάρχης, ἔστοντας νὰ ἰδεῖ ἐτοῦτο, ὅτι [κακὸν ἦτον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος], ἔκλαιεν αὐτόν 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.13–14
- τοῦτον ἦτον ἡ ἀφορμή, καὶ [ὀργή τοῦ θεοῦ ἔππεσεν ἀπάνω τους] 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 16.12–13

- ἐθαύμασεν ὁ Δάρειος σ' Ἀλέξανδρου τὴν γνῶσιν, ποῦ [τὸν ἐβάσταξε καρδίᾳ σ'
ἀποκοτιὰ τὴν τόσην] 16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 1191–2
- τοῦτο ἦτονε μέγα θαῦμα περισσότερον παρὰ ὅλα, ὅπου [ἡ κιβωτὸς ... ἦτονε τότες
εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παλαιὰ καὶ χαλασμένη] 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 333.27–28, 31–2
- ἔκαμεν ὄρκον, ὅτι [ἡ παραίτησις στανικῶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο] καὶ ὅτι [... εἶδῃσιν δὲν
ἦξευρε] 16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 178–80
- τί νὰ λέγω τὰ πολλὰ ὅπου δὲν κάμνουν χρεῖα, ποῦ [ἡ γῆς ἐπορφυρώθηκεν ἐκ τὰ
πολλὰ κορμιά;] 17th c., *DIAKR., Diig. Pol.* 283–4

7.2.2 Appositive NPs

(90) One NP (the appositive) may be juxtaposed to a preceding NP (the antecedent) to form a construction in which the second modifies the first; the two NPs agree in case and have the same referent.

Non-restrictive Apposition

If the appositive element has a non-restrictive function, it functions much like a non-restrictive relative clause (see 5.3.3, Rule (79)), and may be understood according to context as ascribing an ancillary property to the antecedent (i.e. as descriptive: “NP, [who is also/incidentally] a/the X”), or as clarifying the identity of the referent (i.e. as expegetic: “NP, [namely/specifically] a/the X”); in many cases either reading is possible. The antecedent and the appositive may, independently of one another, be either definite or indefinite:

- ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστόν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 219
- θαρρῶν ὅτι ἄλλον δεῦτερον πατέρα νὰ γνωρίσῃ, τὸν μέγαν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ
πενθερὸν ἐσέναν ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.8v.17–20
- ἐπεὶ ἐπαρεκάλεσα τὸν παναγιώτατον ἡμῶν δεσπότην, τὸν οἰκουμενικὸν
πατριάρχην 1357/60, Constantinople, *KODER et al.* 2001: 237, 364–365.1–3
- εἷς ἄρχων ἔστειλε τὸν δοῦλον του, νὰ τὸν ἀγοράσῃ πουλιὰ γενεὲς τρεῖς, περιστέρια,
τρυγόνια καὶ σπουργῖτες post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 53, 44.1–2
- ἐγὼ σοῦ ἔφερα δύο μάμμες, τὴν Σαλώμην καὶ τὴν Γελώμην, καὶ στέκουν ἔξω
16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.27–8
- ὅσοι ... ἐπιθυμοῦσι νὰ γένουν πατέρες ἐνδόξων ... παιδίων, συμβουλεύσει τους
ἦθελα νὰ μὴ συμμίσουν μὲ ὅποῖαν τύχη γυναῖκα, πόρνην λέγω, πολιτικὴν ἢ
παλλακὴν 16th c., *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 95.9–11
- ἐπειδὴ ἡ οσιότατη μοναχὴ κερα Μακαρία Κουκάκαινα, ἡ ἡγουμένη καὶ οἰκοκυρὰ
τοῦ μοναστηρίου τοῦ μεγάλου Γεωργίου τοῦ Κερατιδιώτου, εὑρίσκεται ἀχαμνά
1596, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 1, 164.2–4
- ἀμὴ εἶχεν ἕναν τίποτες ὅπου τοῦ ἔκοπτε τὴν χαρὰν καὶ εὐφροσύνην, τὸ κακὸν τῆς
ἀπαιδίας 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 31.35–8

ρίχνοντας ἀπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸ φωτιᾶς καὶ ἀστροπελέκια, ποὺ νὰ σὲ κατακάψουνε μαζί μὲ
τὴν παλλακὴ, τὴν μιὰρότατη τοῦ Σατανᾶ φιλενάδα

18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 26.7–10

Restrictive Apposition

A restrictive appositive NP is similar in function to a restrictive relative clause (see 5.3.3, Rule (78)). But when a definite antecedent is modified in this way, the appositive too must be definite (cf. *my brother *a/the doctor*), i.e. its specific purpose is to identify the intended member of the already definite set of individuals potentially denoted by the antecedent (e.g. “my brother who is the doctor, not the one who is the lawyer” etc.). Accordingly, the definite article is normally used in both parts of this construction in LMedG/EMG, though it is sometimes omitted with proper names (see 5.3.2 for further discussion).

By contrast, indefinite restrictive apposition requires a predicative reading of the appositive, of the type “[an X] [(who is (a)) Y]”; NPs in predicative function standardly appear without an indefinite article (see 5.3.2, Rule (76) NOTE (i)).

Definite

ἔχω καὶ αὐτὸ ἀγορὰν ἀπὸ τὸν Θεόδωρον τὸν Καλημέρην καὶ τὴν νύφην αὐτοῦ τὴν
Μαρίαν

ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27–8

καὶ νὰ ἴδωσιν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἀποκρισιάρχους

15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 46

ἐχαρίσαμε τοῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ τσαμπερλάνο<υ> τοῦ δουλευτῆ μας τὸ κοπέλι

1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 72, 36.1

καὶ φαμικῶς εὐρισκομένων εἰς κάστρον ἓν τῶν ἐκεῖσε κεφαλατεύοντες ὁ γαμβρός
μου Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαιολόγος ὁ Μαμωνᾶς ... ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή μου καὶ γυνὴ
αὐτοῦ καὶ παιδὶν ἓν αὐτῶν θῆλυ

15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.2–4

χρωστάει μου ἡ κυρὰ Ἀγγέλω ἡ κονιάδα μου ἡ Κοτομανόλαινα δουκάτα ἐφθά (= ἐφτά)

1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 91, 96.44–5

Indefinite

Ἰανουάριος ἦτον ἀπ’ αὐτὸν νὰ στήκεται καὶ ἐκεῖνος, ἄνθρωπος ὅλος κυνηγός, ὅλος
θαρσύς τὸ σχῆμα

14th–15th c./13th c., *Liv.* α 1179–80

εἶχαμεν φίλον κηπουρὸν καὶ δίδαμέν του γέννημαν καὶ ἔδιδέν μας λάχανα

16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 10

καὶ ἂν μὲ ᾔῃ ὅτι νὰ μιλήσω, γραῖαν γυναῖκα νὰ ἀγαπήσω, λέγει

16th c., *Epain. gyn.* 469–71

NOTES

- (i) A special form of restrictive apposition occurs when the antecedent identifies a conventional measure, or a container serving as a measure, and the appositive specifies the material or substance that is “measured” or “contained”. In LMedG/EMG this construction has largely supplanted the common AG use of a partitive genitive, though there are a handful of early examples in the corpus, e.g. σίτου μόδια ἕξ *Vios Philaret.* 287 (11th c./9th c.):

Definite

- ἔδωκέ του τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰ σεντούκια καὶ τὰ σακκία τὸν σιναπόσπορον
16th c./15th c., *Diig. Alex.* V 41.10–11
- εἶδε τὰ ἄλλα δυὸ βαρέλια τοὺς ψαρογαύρους ἔδωκες ἀπὸ καιρὸν ἐμπίστως ἐνὸς
Σφακιώτη 1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 255, 253.10–11
- νὰ μὴ μπορῇ νὰ τῶνε πάρη περισσότερο ἀπὸ τὰ κζ' μουζούρια τὸ στάρι ὁ
ἄνωθεν ἀφέντης Νικολός 1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.10–11
- ἤγουν νὰ τοὺς ἀνακατοχυρίσουν ἐκεῖνα τὰ βαρέλια τὰ σῦκα
17th c., *Bertoldin.* 114.30–1

Indefinite

- ἄν γένῃ κτύπος πούποτε, μόδιν ἀγγέλους βλέπεις
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 149
- ὁποῦ ἐπούλησε τοὺς ἄνωθε Τρουγιανάδες ἓνα κομμάτι χωράφι
1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 159, 100.4–5
- ἔσοντας νὰ ἔκαμα μία μινιὰ κερὶ 1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 4, 60.1

- (ii) Multi-part proper names also constitute a special case in that, though they too are regularly treated as combinations of antecedent and appositive (with the referential range of the first name restricted by what follows), they can also be analysed as forming a single NP. When definiteness is overtly marked, the former option normally requires a separate article in each element of the name:

- ἔχω καὶ αὐτὸ ἀγορὰν ἀπὸ τὸν Θεόδωρον τὸν Καλημέρην καὶ τὴν νύφην αὐτοῦ
τὴν Μαρίαν ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27–8
- ἐρμάσαν τὴν μὲ τὸν ἀφέντην τὸν Μανουήλ τὸν Κατακουζηνόν, τὸν δεσπότην τοῦ
Μορέως 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 58.33–4

while the latter option requires only a single article to determine the name as a whole:

- ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστόν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 219
- ἀπὸ κεῖ ἔστειλε ᾗ τὸν Ἰωάννη βασιλέα Παλαιολόγο ὅτι ...
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.11

- (iii) Titles too may be treated either as referring expressions in their own right with the following name(s)/description(s) in apposition, or simply as part of the following name(s).

The appositive structure is more usual, and is regularly employed when the second element is further modified; the article is occasionally omitted from the antecedent/title:

- ὦρα δ' τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκοιμήθη ὁ αυθέντης ὁ κύρ ὁ κούντης ὁ σιρ Τούμας τὲ Μόρφ
1388, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 101, 99.1–3
- ἔξέβη ἀμυράλλ(ης) ὁ σιρ Πιερ ντὲ Καφρὰ ἀπὲ τὴν Λευκωσίαν νὰ πάγῃ στὴν
Γένουβα διὰ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀφέντη μας τοῦ ρηγὸς τοῦ ρὲ Τζάκ
1390, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 11, 89.1–3
- μὲ τὸν μακαρίτην τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν πατέρα τοὺς ἐσυντύχαμεν περὶ τούτου
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.11–12

The second option often involves titles with a colloquial quality, though this does not preclude their use in official documents; the article is sometimes omitted (as with names in general):

μισὶρ Ντζεφρές, ὡς φρόνιμος, παρηγορᾷ τὸν κόντον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 177

ὁ μισὶρ Ντζεφρές, ὡς φρόνιμος ὅπου ἦτον, ἄρχισε νὰ τὸν παρηγορᾷ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 188–9

ἐν μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα
15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.22

ἐρωτήσαμεν παπὰ κύρ Γαβρὴλ 1528, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 53, 173.47

ὁ κύρ Χατζῆς πεθερός μου σοῦ ἄφησε χρόνια εἰς τὴν Καβάγια
1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.10–11

8 Constituent Order

8.1 General Principles

As a matter of grammatical rule, it is assumed here that sentences in LMedG/EMG comprise a subject NP and a predicate VP in that order. But the *actual* order of constituents in a given sentence is to a large extent determined by the way in which a writer organizes and presents the information contained within it in order to articulate the structure of the larger discourse. In practice, therefore, once the fundamental syntactico-semantic requirements are met (i.e. through the presence of a subject, expressed or understood, and a predicate, optionally in combination with one or more adjuncts), the linear sequencing of constituents is largely controlled by considerations of “topic” and “focus”.

These concepts have been defined in a variety of ways, making reference to prosodic, pragmatic, semantic and/or syntactic factors. Constituents in LMedG/EMG clauses could almost certainly be marked as topical or focal simply by the choice of appropriate prosodic properties. But these factors are no longer accessible to us, though plausible inferences might be made from MG, e.g. that foci were assigned a high level of stress. Topics and foci are therefore identified here by virtue of their *syntactic* prominence, i.e. relocation to positions specifically associated with discourse functions (see below). Functionally, topics establish or re-establish a “theme” (something familiar from the preceding discourse, mutual knowledge or general cultural awareness), which is then commented on by the remainder of the following sentence. Foci, by contrast, identify the most salient, i.e. emphatic or contrastive, piece of information within a particular sentence. When both elements are present, the focus identifies the most salient information within the comment on the topic, thus making a topicalized element structurally more peripheral than a focalized one, cf. [_{TOP} *in Medieval Greek*], [_{FOC} *it's the syntax*] *people find hardest*.

Positions at the left periphery of LMedG/EMG phrases and clauses are structurally prominent and may attract phrasal topics and foci; in clauses there is also a topic position beyond the clause boundary (see Rule (91)). The *informationally* most neutral order of constituents in LMedG/EMG sentences with overt subjects is perhaps V(erb) S(ubject) O(bject(s)), where the fronting of the verb over the subject indicates that the sentence introduces a proposition in which none of its phrasal constituents is given any special prominence (= “something happened”: though V may be understood focally if appropriately stressed):

(ἐν τούτῳ) ἐπαράλαβεν ὁ Ροῦσος τὸ μπάιλᾶτο

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7933

But it is often more natural to identify specific elements as providing some form of linkage to, or contrast with, the previous discourse: [VO]S order, for example, is the result of either topicalizing or focalizing the Verb Phrase by preposing it to the beginning of the

sentence, making the subject correspondingly either salient (“[_{TOP} the one who VO] was S”) or thematic (“[_{FOC} it was VO] that S did”) according to the demands of the context. In the following, for example, the preposed VP is topical, and the subject correspondingly salient:

ὁ βασιλέας τὸν ἔστελνεν ... τὸν τόπον ὅλον τοῦ Μορέως νὰ τὸν ἔχη κερδίσει, κι ἂν
μάθη ὅτι ἐκέρδισαν τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Φράγκοι ... πῶς νὰ τὸν ἀποδέξεται ... ;
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4894–8

Since, however, the grammatically determined order of constituents is Subject + Predicate, with subjects standing preverbally prior to any informationally-driven reordering, it may be unclear in specific cases whether actual “preposing” of the subject has taken place when it is interpreted as topical or focal in context.

Whenever a phrase of any type (represented as XP below) is focalized, the verb is standardly “attracted” to it and the subject (if not itself the focalized item) appears postverbally, giving XP-V-S (cf. “*never* have~I seen ...”). There is also attraction of the verb to preposed interrogative and relative adverbs or pronouns (cf. “*what* have~you done?”, cf. 1.4.1 and 5.3.3) and, in subordinate clauses, to many conjunctions and complementizers (subject to various conditions and limitations, see below and cf. Chapters 2 and 3). Attraction of the verb is not required, however, in the case of topics.

8.1.1 Topicalization

(91) Topicality in MedG/EMG may be marked by “left-dislocation”, i.e. by placing a topic in a position beyond the left periphery of a clause and marking its lack of structural integration with a pause, usually represented graphically by a comma; when the topic is nominal, a referentially resumptive pronoun is normal in the following clause.

Left-dislocated topics are typically used to establish or re-establish an entity as the current discourse theme and to initiate discussion of it. They may be thought of in terms of the schema [XP_i], [_S ... (*pro*_i) ...], where *pro* is an element anaphoric to the left-dislocated XP, expressing the “aboutness” link between the two elements. In the case of non-NP topics *pro* is usually null, but with NP topics it usually takes the form of a “resumptive” pronoun, e.g. (*as for*) *Medieval Greek*, *I really like (it)*. With the passage of time, clitic pronouns become increasingly standard in this construction, and are inflected according to their grammatical function in the clause (usually direct or indirect object); but demonstratives are also used, and in the absence of suitable nominative clitics, topicalized subjects are often “resumed” in this way.

Left-dislocated NPs typically reflect the properties of *pro* in (person), number, gender and case, though they are also sometimes inflected in the nominative instead (*nominativus pendens*), perhaps in recognition of their “external”, subject-like status with respect to the following comment. Verbs are not attracted grammatically to left-dislocated topics, and adjacency of the verb in these structures is pragmatically motivated.

τὰ ὄντα φανερά καὶ μὴ ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τινὸς οἰανδήποτε ἀντιλογίαν, ἐκεῖνα καὶ
λέγω καὶ γράφω ἀφόβως μετὰ πληροφορίας 12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.18–19

- ἡ πίστις ἡ ἀληθινή, οἱ Χριστιανοὶ τὴν ἔχουν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 553
 μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας εἰς ἣν ἐθάρρει πλέον, παρήγγειλεν [*pro*] ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς
 ὄλους νὰ προλάβει ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.3r.9–11
 ἡ παρθένος Μαρία τε Λουζουνία κόρη τοῦ κυροῦ τοῦ Στύρου, ἐρμάσαν τὴν μὲ τὸν
 ἀφέντην τὸν Μανουήλ 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58.32–3
 ὅ,τι ἄρχισε, ἐμένα ποτὲ δὲ μοῦ τὸ ἐμολόγησε! 16th c., *Nov.* I 156.21
 ἕνας δὲ ἀπὸ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ βασιλέως, ... ἐτοῦτος ... παρευθὺς ἀπαντονάρισεν
 ὅλες τὲς πρόσκαιρες δόξεις 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 33.2–7
 σ' ἵντα στάτο εὐρίσκεται, κιανεῖς δὲν τὸ γνωρίζει 18th c./16th–17th c., *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.34

(92) “Simple topics” are attached to the left periphery of a clause or VP and are relatively brief expressions (usually single phrases) that allow no pause before the following comment; clitic pronouns are obligatory with accusative or genitive NP topics (resulting in “clitic doubling”), which distinguishes the construction clearly from focalization (see Rule (93)).

Such non-dislocated topics are typically used to establish or re-establish an already “active” participant as the central theme of the discourse (they are therefore normally definite and may contrast with what precedes), and then to continue or resume discussion of it. Unlike left-dislocated topics, they are structurally integrated phrases at the left periphery of S or VP; for the latter, consider the following example, where the subject ὁ θεός precedes the topic:

- ὁ θεὸς [_{TOP} τὴν καρδίαν σου] [_{VP} νὰ τὴν πλατύνῃ], καὶ [_{TOP} τὴν χώραν σου] [_{VP} εἰς
 τὸ ἐν ἑκατὸν νὰ τὴν ποιήσῃ], καὶ [_{TOP} τὸ σπαθὶν σου] [_{VP} εἰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου
 φοβερόν νὰ τὸ ποιήσῃ]. 1349, Egypt, SCHOPEN/NIEBUHR 1832: IV.14, 98.22–4

Agreement of the topic with the clitic in case (as well as number and gender) is normal, though not quite a requirement, as “hanging nominatives” are occasionally attested in more colloquial texts (unless these are better treated as cases of left-dislocation). Attraction of the verb to a topic at the clause periphery is not grammatically required and adjacency in such cases is again a purely pragmatic matter.

- ὁ βασιλέας τὸν ἔστειλεν ... [τὸν τόπον ὅλον τοῦ Μορέως] νὰ τὸν ἔξη κερδίσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4894–5
 εἰ μὲν συμβῇ [ὁ ἀφέντης του] ὁ ἐχτρός του νὰ τὸν πιάσῃ ... νὰ τὸν ζητήσῃ ὁ ἀφέντης
 του καὶ νὰ τὸν ἀνακράξῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7572–4
 [τὰ ἀλλάγια ταῦτα] ποῖσε τὰ 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 6906
 Ὅδυσσεὺς ὁ θαυμαστός μετὰ τοὺς Ἀχαῖτας [τοὺς Τρῶας] ἐτροπεῦσαν τοὺς, ἐδιώξαν
 τοὺς, ὑπάγουν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 3911–12
 ὁ σὶρ Σιμούν τε Μουντολίφ ὁ καβαλλάρης [τὸν κύρην τῆς Τύρου] ἐσφάξεν τὸν εἰς τὴν
 ἀναπὰν 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58.25–7
 ὁ πόθος τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἀναγκάζει τοὺς νὰ γυρεύουν καθημερινόν τὲς ἀφορμὲς [τὸν
 πλοῦτόν τους] πῶς νὰ τὸν αὐξάνουσιν 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 7–9

NOTES

- (i) Maintenance, or sometimes reduction, of the thematic salience of an entity may also be effected by “clitic doubling”, again without a pause between the NP object and the clitic–verb combination, but in this case the object (always definite) remains in place to the *right* of V within VP:

ἐδέσποζές το [τὸ βεργίν], καὶ μόνη σου να τό 'χης 16th c./13th–14th c., *Velth.* 585

κι οὐδὲν μᾶς ἄφηκες [ἐμᾶς] νὰ ἔχωμεν πολεμήσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5121

ἐπῆραν καταπάνω τους, τροπεύουν τους [τοὺς Τρῶας] 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 3723

καὶ ἂν μὲ πιστεύητε [ἐμὲν], ἃς ἔνι Ἀγαμέμνων 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 8469

- (ii) “Right dislocation” is closely related in function, with the difference that the intended referent of a potentially autonomous clitic pronoun is clarified by an appositional NP located beyond the right periphery of the clause, rather as an afterthought (cf. 7.2.2); such right-dislocated items were separated from what precedes by a slight pause, though this is not normally marked graphically; note in particular that the caesura typically precedes them in verse texts, and that parenthetical material (e.g. interjections) sometimes intervenes:

ἀφῆνω, παρατρέχων τα / [τὰ τότε λαληθέντα] 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3870

ἀπόκρισιν τοὺς ἔδωκεν / [ἀμφοτέρων τῶν δύο] 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3402

καὶ κονταρέαν τὸν ἔδωκεν, / αἰλί, [τὸν Μαργαρίτην] 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 6862

καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὴν ἔλεγεν / [τὴν ἡλιογεννημένην] 15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1356

8.1.2 Focalization

- (93) Focalization may be effected by preposing a phrasal constituent to the left-peripheral position within a clause or phrase; clitic doubling is not allowed (see Rule (92)) and the verb is routinely attracted to the focal element.**

Unlike simple topics, foci are contained within, rather than attached to, the associated phrase or clause; this guarantees that they will always stand within the scope of a topic if both items are present. Since they emphasize, contrast or correct (“*XP* is who/what/where/when [_S ...]”), it may be assumed that the key element of a focalized phrase was assigned a higher level of stress than that of non-focalized elements.

In verse texts the frequency of focal preposing is very high, especially that of dependent genitives within NPs, and we must assume that in this specialized literary context the more “marked” construction was often understood as a more or less free variant of the basic one. Consider the following, very typical example:

[[τοῦ κόσμου γὰρ] τὴν ἡδονὴν] ἠθέλαν κι ἀγαποῦσαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3171

In the context of a list of the Franks who built castles as a symbol of their new power, no necessary emphasis or contrast seems to be attached either to the head of the preposed object NP (τὴν ἡδονήν) or to the preposed genitive NP within it (τοῦ κόσμου); the sentence

seems simply to give a reason why they built their castles: “(for) they wanted and adored the pleasure(s) of the world” (though perhaps they wanted their pleasures now rather than to take their chances in the afterlife). “Focalization” will continue to be used to describe the relevant syntactic phenomenon, but it should be borne in mind that in some contexts there may be no special informational salience.

Focalization in Clauses

- μή τολμήσῃ ... μαρτυρήσειν ... ὅτι [εἰς τὸν κόσμον] ἐμολύνθην
12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 812.31–2
- [τὸν δὲ πατριάρχην] ἔγραψεν αὐστηρὰς γραφάς
12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 822.33–4
- [τὸ ἀνωειρημένον προυκίον] δίδει ὁ ἀνωειρημένος κύρ Ἰωάννη Κουβαρὰς τῆς ἐγκόνης του
1496, Crete, ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ 1994a: 1, 48.23–4
- [μὲ ξύλα καὶ μὲ λιθάρια] ἐσκότωναν τὸ φουσάτον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 20.14 (Konstantinopulos)
- ἦτον ... ἄσχημος τόσον, ὅτι [καμίαν καλοσύνην ἢ ἰσότητα] δὲν εἶχεν τὸ κορμὶν του
16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.7–8
- νὰ πάρῃ ὁ κύρ Μανόλης τὸ ἥμισον ..., καὶ [τὸ ἕτερον ἥμισον] νὰ πάρῃ ἡ λεγομένη κερά Θεόκλητη
1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.23–4

Focalization in Phrases

- ἡμεῖς [_{VP} [οἰκεῖαις χερσὶν ἡμῶν] ἐδώκαμεν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἄχραντα εὐαγγέλια αὐτοῦ]
1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 208–9.20–1
- τὸν ἐκράτει ὁ βασιλέας [_{ADVP} [εἰς φυλακὴν του] ἀπέσω] 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7969
- ἀκομή καὶ [_{NP} [τῶν ντεμπιτόρων] τὰ δινέρια]
1523, Crete, ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 3, 287.48
- ἦτον ... [_{ADJP} [ἄσχημος] τόσον], ὅτι 16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.7

8.2 Clitic Pronouns and the Verbal Complex

In general, clitics immediately follow the head that governs them:

- AdvP: πῶς ἠπλωσας ἐπάνω μου; 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 145
- NP: νὰ το, παιδί μου, ἀγόρασε χορδόκοιλα δουκάτον
15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 117 app. crit. (P)
- AdjP: ὅμως νὰ δικολογηθῶ μὲ ὁμοίόν μου ζῶον 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 824

Verbs, however, show a more complex pattern of clitic distribution that requires reference to the notion of the “verbal complex” (VC), in which mood and negative markers, if present in a sentence, cliticize to the verbs they modify and form a structured unit that cannot normally be interrupted by other elements:

Mood Marker [ἵνα/νᾶ, ᾄς]	> Negative [μή(ν)]	> V _{subjunctive/past indicative}
	Negative [μή(ν)]	> V _{imperative}
	Negative [οὐ(κ), (οὐ)δέν]	> V _{indicative/gerund}

(The future marker $\theta\acute{\epsilon}$ + $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ > $\theta\acute{\alpha}$ is a late addition to LMedG/EMG (Chapter 1, Rule (6) NOTE (vii)), and is omitted.)

Indicatives, whether as lexical verbs or as auxiliaries, may take a ἵνα/νᾶ-complement (cf. $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ ἵνα/νᾶ = “I want to X” or “I will/shall X”: $\theta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ > $\theta\acute{\alpha}$ represents the formal reduction of such a structure); only one of the two verbs can then be negated, and in periphrases this can only be the auxiliary. Items other than V are present only when their contribution is required for semantic or syntactic reasons, and even the otherwise obligatory mood marker ἵνα/νᾶ is not required with μή(ν) in prohibitions containing subjunctives (1.3, Rule (14)) or with conjunctions like (ἐ)άν/ὅταν in generic/future-referring clauses containing subjunctive verbs (3.3.1 and 3.4.3). V is therefore often the initial, and indeed only, element in the VC of a given sentence.

As noted above, a preposed focal (FOC), interrogative (Q) or relative (REL) constituent regularly “attracts” the verb along with any associated items of the VC (leaving overt subjects in post-verbal position):

FOC/Q/REL +	[MM > μή(ν) > V] ... NP _{subj}
	[οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν > V] ... NP _{subj}

“Modal” conjunctions, i.e. those like (ἐ)άν/ὅταν that do not require the co-presence of ἵνα/νᾶ with subjunctive verb forms, also attract V in most cases. This began in generic/future-referring clauses containing subjunctive verbs, but more general attraction of V developed early with these conjunctions, even in past- or present-time contexts with non-modal verb forms. Later, non-modal conjunctions and complementizers such as ὅτι, πῶς etc. started to follow the pattern, albeit more sporadically, with “traditional” ὅτι showing significantly more resistance than “innovative” πῶς.

Clitic pronouns intersect with the VC and constitute the one major exception to the rule that its components cannot be separated one from another.

(94) An object clitic stands immediately adjacent to the verb that governs it:

- (i) if V is initial in VC and nothing precedes (i.e. within VP or S as appropriate), the clitic follows V;
- (ii) if V is initial in VC but other constituents precede (i.e. within VP or S as appropriate), the clitic precedes V;
- (iii) if V is non-initial in VC, the clitic precedes V.

The basic rule for most of the period covered by this Grammar is that clitics cannot stand before a verb in VP-initial or clause-initial position but may appear before a verb when something else precedes *them*, whether other elements of the VC or, when the VC comprises V alone, co-constituents of the relevant containing category.

This requirement is further shaped by the general principle that clitics standardly appear in “second position” in a containing phrase or clause, a principle (“Wackernagel’s Law”) that had continued into MedG from Antiquity. Since clitics must be adjacent to the verb, and since clitics normally stand in second position in a VP or clause, it follows that a VC containing only V will typically be either the first item in VP or S, with a following clitic, or the third item in VP or S, with a preceding clitic.

The position of a clitic vis-à-vis a verb that stands alone in its VC is therefore determined by what counts as a “preceding”, i.e. effectively phrase- or clause-initial, constituent for the purposes of clitic placement:

- The set of left-peripheral constituents that routinely attract the verb, namely focal elements, question words/phrases, relative pronouns/complementizers and “modal” complementizers, are regularly counted as initial items for the purposes of clitic placement:

$$[_{S/VP} X(P) \text{ cl}+V \dots]$$

- Non-modal conjunctions and complementizers may be treated either as the initial elements of clauses (with attraction of V) or as elements that introduce clauses but are not themselves part of them (without attraction of V). The result is variation in the placement of the clitic with respect to V, though the clitic itself remains second in the clause in both cases; in general, traditional complementizers and conjunctions (C), e.g. ὅτι vs. πῶς, εἰ vs. (ἐ)άν etc., resist inclusion in the clause much more strongly:

C included: $[_S C [\text{cl}+V] \dots]$

C excluded: $C [_S [V+\text{cl}] \dots]$

- Subjects are regularly adjacent to the VC (the initial item in VP) but do not themselves attract the verb; in the absence of items that can attract it, V therefore remains in place as the head of VP or is fronted over the subject (see 8.1). In combination with a subject, a VC containing only V can satisfy the requirements of clitic placement in two ways: either V stands initially in VP and the clitic follows in second (phrasal) position, or the subject is counted as the first clausal constituent and the clitic precedes V in second (clausal) position:

Second position in VP: $[_S \text{NP}_{\text{SUBJ}} [_{VP} V+\text{cl}] \dots]$

Second position in clause: $[_S \text{NP}_{\text{SUBJ}} [_{VP} \text{cl}+V] \dots]$

- Standardly, simple topics are attached to the left periphery of S or VP and do not attract V. They do not therefore count as the initial elements of these categories, and clitics follow an initial V. From around the 16th c., however, simple topics also come to be treated as initial items, with the clitic then following before V; this development is again associated with attraction, which guarantees that the topic and its clitic double will be adjacent:

Topic attached: [NP_{TOP} [S_{VP} V+cl ...]]

Topic included: [S_{VP} NP_{TOP} cl+V ...]

- The least integrated elements of a sentence (such as left-dislocated topics and non-focal adverbial adjuncts, including adverbial clauses) do not normally attract V or count as initial elements for the purposes of clitic placement. The clause proper therefore begins with whatever comes after such items, and if this is V, the clitic then follows:

XP_{TOP}/ADVP/S_{ADV}, [S V+cl ...]

But “linking” adverbials (ADVP_L), i.e. those with demonstrative/anaphoric force or that denote a place, time, reason etc. that connects the sentence to the preceding discourse, begin to count as clause-initial and attract the verb quite early, with the clitic then preceding V; adverbial clauses (S_{ADV}) and left-dislocated topics (XP_{TOP}) start to be drawn into this pattern from around the 16th c.:

[S XP_{TOP}/S_{ADV}/ADVP_L, cl+ V ...]

Wherever a choice is available, the frequency of the preverbal option increases over time, albeit with some delay in southern and more peripheral regions; in Cyprus, however, the earlier medieval patterns of clitic placement are largely preserved even in the modern dialect. But both clitic positions remain in play in LMedG and the freedom is particularly valuable in verse texts, where it provides different metrical possibilities.

In SMG (and most modern dialects) pre-V position has been generalized with indicatives, even though this results in clause-initial/phrase-initial clitics. Such extension of the pre-verbal option must have begun in the early 16th c. with the progressive shift in the status of various elements that literally “began” sentences but had not previously counted as “initial” for the purposes of clitic placement. As these came to be included among the set of legitimate initial items, clitics then followed in “second position” before the verb. Consider, for example, sentences with left-dislocated, or perhaps simple, topics (the distinction may be hard to make when a topicalized phrase contains modifiers):

τὰ ὁσπήτιά της τὰ πατρικά (,) τὰ ἔκαμε μοναστήριον γυναικεῖον

1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 16.1–2

τὸ πέρα νεόκαστρο τοῦ Ναυπάκτου (,) τὸ ἐπολέμησε καὶ ἐπῆρέ το ἀπὸ σπαθίου

16th c., Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 484.10.1–3

Given the grammatical optionality of the material to their left, these clitics could now reasonably be seen as “initial” in their clauses, with initial pre-V position then quickly generalized to clauses without left-peripheral constituents. Early examples include:

τοὺς δίνουν τὸν μόλον εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ ρεπάρου κατὰ τὰ παλαιὰ μακελλεῖα

1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 35.10–11

σὲ παρακαλοῦμε νὰ εἴμεσταν Φράγκοι λίμπεροι

1571, Mani, CHASIOITIS 1970: 6.1, 242.41–2

8.2.1 V Initial in VC

No Preceding Constituents: V+cl

- ἔγραψές με, περὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἵνα σε γράψω τὴν εἴδησιν
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4 212.29
- ὡς ὄρνεον πετάζεται, δοκοῦν τον ὅλα ὁμάλιν
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 129
- βλέπουν σε τὰ ψυχάρια μου καὶ ἔχουν σε ὡς αὐθέντην
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 88
- νὰ σὲ δώσουν ἐκ τῆς γιστέρνας τὸ νερόν, χρήζω το διὰ ἰατρείαν μου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8211–12
- ὀρίζει γὰρ καὶ εἶπε τον
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4563
- ἐπῆρεν το ὁ ἔβδομος ἄνθρωπος post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.4
- καὶ ψηλαφώντας την ἠβλέπει
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.35
- πρόβαλε, δῶσ' τωνε τὸ φῶς, σὰν ἥσου μαθημένη
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.15

Focal, Interrogative or Relative Elements Preceding: (cl+V)

Focal

- τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον μοι εἶπαν καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι ἄρχοντες
1136?/1151?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 19, 419.5
- πολλά τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ἐκεῖνον τὸν γονέα ὅπου
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208–9
- ὀρκον σε δίδω εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν δέσποιναν Θεοτόκον, ὅτι
1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.18–20
- λεπτομερῶς τοῦ ἐμήνυσεν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7825
- τοῦ Βαλδουῆ τὸ ἔποικαν τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Πόλης
16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 1098
- τὴν χάριν σου μ' ἀπόστειλε ἐτούτην τὴν ἡμέρα
15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2
- λέγοντες ... καὶ ὅτι τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν τοῦ ἐπαρέδωκε
16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 107–9

Interrogative

- κύρι, πῶς τὸ λέγεις;
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 44
- ποῖον ἱμάτιον μὲ ἔρραψας; ποῖον δίμιτον μὲ ἐποῖκες;
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 46
- πῶς νὰ εὕρω μ' ἐρμήνευσε τῆς Δυστυχίας τὸ κάστρο
14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 123
- ἐκάτizza καὶ ἐξηγήτην του ... πῶς τὴν ἐχαιρέτησα καὶ πῶς μὲ ἀπηλογήθη
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3778–9
- καὶ ἄκου τοῦ τί μοῦ ἐσύντυχεν
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 28
- ἀπὸ ποῦ τοῦ ἦλθαν ἐτοῦτα ἐτουτουνοῦ;
17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.2
- ποῖος τὸ κύτταξε τὸ σιδηρόσυρμα;
1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.11

Relative

- τὸ ράσον τὸ σὲ δίδουσιν καὶ ἐκεῖνο ψυχικόν ἐνι
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 472.1 app. crit. (H)
- σὲ παρακαλοῦν ... μὴ τὸ δεχτῆς εἰς βάρος σου ἐτοῦτο ὅπου σὲ λέγουν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7902–3
- τὸ ὠραιόκαρπον ὁ Θεὸς ὅπου σᾶς λέγει, δένδρον τὸ ὑψηλότατον ὅπου σᾶς εἶπε
φεύγειν, φάγε καὶ δὸς καὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ 15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 69–71
- εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ... ἐσέβη ὁ Ματθίας ὅπου τοῦ ἔπεσεν ὁ κληρὸς
16th c., SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 15.8–9
- ἀφήνει ... τὸ ἄερε τοῦ Κωσταντῆ τοῦ σπιτιοῦ, τοῦ ὁποίου τοῦ τὸ εἶχεν δώσει ἡ
αὐτὴ προικίῳ 1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 145, 115.9–11
- ἐβουλεύθη κακὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὅπου τὸν ἀνάθρεψεν 16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 252.13

NOTES

- (i) Imperatives normally follow the general rule, cf. δῶσ' τῶνε (CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.15) with *τὴν χάριν σου μ' ἀπόστειλε* (CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2) above, but those with a preceding constituent occasionally retain the order V + cl:
- μεγαλοψύχως δέξαι με* 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 19.6 app. crit. (H)
- (ii) There are no examples in the database of gerunds with preverbal clitics as these always stand initially in their respective phrases/clauses.

“Modal” Conjunctions Preceding (both modal and non-modal verbs): cl+V

- ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολλὰ ἠντεστάθην, ὅταν τὸ ἤκουσα 12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.5–6
- καὶ ἂν μ' εὐρύης χρώμενον κακῶς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ μὲ δίδεις, τότε καὶ κατονείδιζε
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 67–8
- ἂν μὲ ἔποισαν τεχνίτην, ... νὰ ἔμαθα τέχνην κλαπωτῆν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 89–91
- καὶ πρὶν τὸ πιάσω χάνεται καὶ φεύγει ἐκ τὸ σκουτέλλιν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 242
- καὶ ἀπέκει, ὅταν τοὺς εἶπην ἐκεῖνος, νὰ σηκωθῶσιν
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.17–18
- ὅταν σὲ ταχθοῦν σιτάριν, τὸ σακί σου καὶ τρέχε 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 53 app. crit.
- ἂν τὸν πάρῃ, θέλ' εἴσταιν ἀφορισμένη 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 34.3–4

NOTE

- (i) The presence of καὶ with “modal” (and indeed other) conjunctions normally blocks attraction:
- φοβούμενη μήπως καὶ καλέσῃ τὴν ὁ Θ(εός) 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.5–6
- ἀνίσως καὶ βάλουν τὰ περισσότερα τορνέσα ἀπὸ 'κεῖνα ..., ὀμπλεγάρεται ...
νὰ τὰ δίδῃ τῶν ἄνωθεν πουλητάδω
1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 82, 99.10–11

“Non-modal” Conjunctions/Complementizers Preceding: V+cl and cl+V

V+cl

- ἔξω λέγεις ὅτι ἔχεις με παιδίν 1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.14–15
- κ' εἶπεν ὅτι ὠφελεῖ με 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8213
- ἀλλ' ὅτε εὕρουν σε μικρὸν πταίσιμον εἰς τὸ σπίτι καὶ κλέψης τίποτα νὰ φῶς
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 220–1 app. crit. (C)
- ἐτοῦτο τὸ παρὸν ψαλτήριον ἐνι τοῦ κύρ παπαῖ Ἰωάννου ... ὅτι ἐγόρασά το ἀπὸ τὴν
Λευκωσίαν 15th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 91, n. 1.1–2
- ὁ νοῦς μου οὐδὲν ἐναι μετ' ἐμέναν, ὅχι διὰ ζημίαν ἀμὴ διὰ τὰ παιδία, ὅτι ἀγαπῶ τα
15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 102.20
- νὰ γλυώσω τὸν ἄθρωπο ὃς ἔπλασα ... ὅτι ἐμετάνοιωσα ὅτι ἔκαμά τους
16th c., *Pent. Gen.* 6.7
- φέρει μού το σπουδαχτικὰ στὸ σπίτι μας, γιατί ἀντιμεύγω σοῦ το
17th c./16th c., CHORTATISIS, *Katz.* III.149–50

NOTE

- (i) The absence of πώς from this set of examples is probably not accidental, and indicative of the extent to which such “innovative” non-modal conjunctions had been assimilated to the distribution of modal ones.

cl+V

- ὅτε καὶ με ἔλαβεν εἰς νόμιμον γυνὴν εἰς τὴν χώραν Ραγούσας
1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 362.9–363.1
- κι ὁ ρῆγας, ὡς τὸ ἤκουσεν, μεγάλως τὸ ἐλυπήθη 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7827
- νὰ σὲ δώσουν ἐκ τῆς γιστέρας τὸ νερόν, ... διατὶ με τὸ ὠρίσε ὁ ἱατρὸς κ' εἶπεν ὅτι
ὠφελεῖ με 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8211–13
- νὰ ἡξεύρετε ὅτι μᾶς ἔστειλεν ὁ μέγας αὐθέντης 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.8–9
- ὥσπερ τὸ λέγει ὁ ἅγιος Ἀμβρόσιος ὁ Μεδιολάνων εἰς τὸ χρονικὸ του
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.39–40
- καὶ ἐξεθύμανεν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, πὼς τὲς ἄφησαν καὶ ἔκαμαν τοιοῦτον μέγα
πρᾶγμα 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 247.12–13
- καὶ λὲν πὼς τό 'χει φυσικὸ ν' ἀδυναμίση τόσα 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.36

Subjects Preceding: V+cl and cl+V

V+cl

- καὶ ὁ φόβος ἔξυπνᾷ σε 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 170
- ὡς ἐκατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας, ὁ Θεὸς ἐλευθέρωση σε
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 215–16
- διατὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει το καὶ ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ το 13th–14th c./12th c., *Spaneas* P 165

- ἐγὼ θεωρῶ ὀφθαλμοφανῶς, ὁ ρῆγας ἀγαπᾷ σας, κ' ἔχει σας εἰς προσορώτησιν κ' εἰς
τὴν βουλήν του πρώτους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8517–18
- ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Πρίamos μνηᾷ σε μετ' ἐμένα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1366
- ὁ σουλτάνος ἀπολογήθην του καὶ μήνυσεν του με τοὺς δυό του μαντατοφόρους
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.26–7
- μοναῦτα ὁ πατέρας της ἔπηρén την εἰς τὸ σπítιν του με μεγάλην λύπην
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 6.8–9

cl+V

- ἐγὼ φοφῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μέ σπαστρεύουν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 393
- ἀτός του ὁ μισίρ Ντζεφρὲς τοῦ ἔδωκεν τὰ πιττάκια 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 328
- καὶ ἡ βουλή του τοῦ εἶπασιν τοῦ νὰ ἔχη ἀποστείλει ἄνθρωπον φρονιμώτατον
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7831–2
- τὸ θράσος τὸ ἐνίκησεν, πηδᾷ, καβαλικεύει 16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 79
- καὶ ἡ Θεοτόκος τῆς λέγει 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.5
- τινὲς εἶπαν ὅτι ὁ Πατριάρχης τοῦ ἐπαρήγγειλε νὰ ὑπάγῃ διὰ βοήθεια
16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 70
- ἐξέβα ξέω, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς σε καλεῖ! 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.16
- ἀμμή οἱ Ρωμαῖοι τὸ λέγουσι ἀλλέως 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.22

Simple Topics Preceding: V+cl and (later) cl+V

V+cl (standard)

- ψυχὴ μου, μακροθύμησον, τὸν κόσμον ἔμαθές τον 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 308
- τοὺς Τρῶας ἐτροπεῦσαν τους, ἐδιῶξαν τους, ὑπάγουν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 3912
- αὐτὰ οὖν ὅλα ἐνθυμᾶσθέ τα νὰ τοὺς νουθετήσετε καὶ νὰ τοὺς παιδεύσετε καλὰ
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.22–288.1
- τὸν Θούμαν ἔφερén τον μετὰ της ἡ κυρὰ ἡ ρήγαινα, ἡ Ελένα
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.18–19
- καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καβαλλάρηδες ἐφάνην τους νὰ τοῦ μηνύσει ὁ ρῆγας, νὰ ῥτη
ὀμπρός του 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 22.6–7
- τὸ ὅποῖον ἐτοῦτο ἀκούοντάς το ἐγώ, ὁ εὐχέτης τῆς μεγάλης σου βασιλείας, οὐ δ'
ὅλως τὸ ἐπίστευσα 1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 77.13–14
- ἀκόμη καὶ τὸ ἄλλον ἤμισον ἐχάρισέν το ὁ Διενής 1665, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 7, 19.11
- λοιπὸν τὸ γράμμα πέμπω το 17th c., PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou Dedic.* 13

cl+V (later, from ca. 16th c.)

- καὶ ὅλους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοὺς ἐνίκα 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.18–19
- καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ ἔλεξαν δένδρον τοῦ φεγγαρίου 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.21–2
- καὶ τοῦτο το κάμνει ὁ Θεὸς πολλές φορές 16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 254.16

- τοῦτα τὰ εἶπεν εἰς ὅλους 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 55.14
 αὐτὴ τὴν βρύση τὴν ἔφκιασε με ἐδικές του ἐξόδεψες ὁ Ἰζάρ μπέτης
 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 46.26–47.1

Adverbials/Adverbial Clauses Preceding: V+cl and (in part later) cl+V

V+cl: Adverbials

- ὁκάτι τώρα βλέπω σε, πολλὰ εἶσαι βαρεμένη 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 304
 εἰ δὲ πολλάκις δόξει τὴν καὶ φθάσει ὁ καρκατσάς της 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 35
 ἀλήθεια, δίδεις με πολλὰ 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 24
 ἀπὸ μακρὰ στριγγίζω τον 14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 71
 ἐκ μέρους γὰρ τοῦ ἀφέντου του ἐπαρακάλεσέ τον νὰ ὀρίση, νὰ τὸν δώσουσι νερόν ἐκ
 τὴν γιστέρναν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8220–1
 ὀλίγον φέρνει με ὁ θυμὸς νὰ βάλω νὰ σὲ σύρουν ἐκ τῶν ἀλόγων τὰς οὐράς, ὅλους νὰ
 σᾶς κρεμάσουν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1465–6
 κ' ἐκεῖ εἶχαν τον πολλὰ ἀκριβόν 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.17
 τὸ λοιπόν, λέγε μου με δίχως φόβον πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιαις λογιῇς
 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.20–1
 ἀκόμη ἔδωσέν της καὶ ἄσπρα πεντακόσια 1669, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 184.10

V+cl: Adverbial Clauses

- ὁ προρρηθεὶς ὁ Πιτζούλος, ὅτε καὶ με ἔλαβεν εἰς νόμιμον γυνὴν εἰς τὴν χώραν
 Ραγούσας, δέδωκέν μοι ἐν οἴκημα 1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 362.8–363.1
 καθεὶς ὡς ἐμαγείρευσεν, εὕρισκει το ἔμπροσθέν του 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 366
 θωρῶντα τον ὁ ἀποστολὲς, ἐποῖκεν του πολλὰς τιμὰς 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.17–18
 οὐλον τὸν κόσμον θρέφει τον τὸ θάρος κ' ἐγὼ φότις ἐβίγλισα ἄχ τὸν Πόθον ... ἔχασά
το κι ἁξάψα γοιὸν καμίνιν 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 109.19–22
 ἂν ἡμου καὶ στὴν καδένα, ἤσπουν τη νὰ φύγω 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.173–4

cl+V: Adverbials (mainly with a linking function)

- τότε με λογάριασε καλῶς ..., καὶ ἂν μ' εὕρης χρώμενον κακῶς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ με δίδεις,
 τότε με καταδίκασε, [τότε κατάγνωσέ με] 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 66–8 app. crit. (H)
 ὁ μισὶρ Ντζὰς ὁ Τζαρδεροῦς, κοντόσταυλος ὁ μέγας (οὕτως τὸν ὠνομάζασιν σὸ
 πριγκιπᾶτο ὅλο ...) 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7820–1
 διὰ τοῦτο σε παρακαλοῦν οἱ λίζιοι τοῦ Μορέως 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7902
 καὶ ὥσπερ τὰς γυναῖκας των οὕτως με ἀγαποῦσιν 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 767
 εἶτα τὸν εἶπε καὶ ἄς τὰ πολλαπλασιάσῃ με ἕτερα ε', εἴθ' οὕτως πέ τον
 post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.4–6

λάκκον βαθύν ἑσκάψασιν, ὡς κάμνουν τοῦ κλημάτου κ' ἐκεῖ μέσα μ' ἐβάλασιν, εἰς
τόπον τοῦ χωμάτου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 69–70

ὁμοίως τοῦ ἀφίνει καὶ τὸ σπίτι του ... ἀκόμη τοῦ ἀφίνει τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νικολάου
χωράφια πινακίων δώδεκα 1583, Zakynthos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: A, 298.19–299.2

ἔλα νὰ πᾶμε εἰς τὸ σπίτι μου, νὰ σταθῇς νὰ ῥδινιάσω τὰ παιδιὰ μου, τὸ σπίτι μου
..., κι ἀπ' ἐκεῖ μέ ἔπαρε 16th c., *Nov. II* 162.29–31

cl+V: Adverbial Clauses (mostly late, from ca. 16th c.)

καὶ λάφιν δὲν μ' ἐγλύτωνεν ..., τὸ νὰ τὸ δῶ, τὸ δόξευα κ' εἶχα το σκοτωμένον
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 45–6

ἂν ἤθελες βάλης λίτρες δέκα σαλμίτριο, τοῦ βάνεις δύο κουταλιές στάχτη
?15th–16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.22

ὡς ἔφθασαν εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, τοῦ εἶπασιν 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.15

ἡ ἐπιθυμία, ἐνεργῶντας εἰς τοῦ λόγου σας, σᾶς ἐσηκῶνει ἡδονήν
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.11–12

ἔστοντας λοιπὸν νὰ εὐρίσκεται ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς αὐτείνην τὴν δεινὴν πλάνην καὶ
ἀπάτην, τοῦ γεννᾶται ἓνα παιδί 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.31–2

τὸν καιρὸ ποὺ ὑπανδρεύθηκε τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ ἀγιοτάτη ὁσίαν Θεοδώραν, τοῦ
ἐφανερώθηκε ὁ Σατανὰς καὶ τὸν ἔβαλε εἰς πείραξη
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 25.6–9

Left-Dislocated Topics Preceding: V+cl and (later) cl+V

V+cl (standard)

τὴν ἐπιστολὴ τὴν σέ ἔπεμψα μὲ τὸν Θεόδωρον νὰ τὴν πέμψεις τὸν ἀββᾶν Γεράσιμον,
ἀνάγνωσέ την 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.15–16

τὴν μίαν κασέλαν τὴν μικρὴν ἀφίω την τὸν ἱατρὸν τὸν κύρ Μανουήλ
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.37

τοὺς κόντους καὶ καβαλλαρίους, ἀπεχαιρέτησέν τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8610

καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ποιεῖς ἐσὺ λέγεις τα πρὸς ἑμένα; 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 164

τὸν νοῦν μου τὸν ἀδούλωτον, ἐκατεδούλωσές τον
15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 743 transcr. (Panayotopoulou/Lendari)

ἀπὲ τὸ μοῦ μηνᾶς ὅτι εἶσαι γεῖτος μου καὶ νὰ ἔχωμεν ἀγάπην κατὰ τὸν ὀρισμὸν τοῦ
θεοῦ καὶ νὰ ἔχωμεν δῆμμαν μεσὸν μας, τῆτιάζω το
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.27–9

τὴ δοξεμένη μου καρδιά σκίζου καὶ σφάζου μού τη
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* II.118

cl+V (later, from ca. 16th c.)

τὰ ὁποῖα ἄνωθεν δουκάτα εἴκοσι, τὰ ἔλαβεν χεροδοτὰ σῶα
1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 25, 35.14–15

- ταῦτα πάντα ὅσα μὲ ἄφηκεν ὁ πατέρας μου ὁ Σεραφεῖμ, τὰ ἐπερίλαβα ἐγὼ ἡ Ζαφείρω
1606, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 26, 102.17–18
- ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ προλεγόμενοι ἄνδρες ..., ἐκείνην τὴν κακωσύνην ὅπου εἴχασιν μέσα τως,
τὴν φανερώνουσι 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 40.12
- τὰ ροῦχα καὶ τὲς κασέλες μέρτσα, τὰ ἔλαβα καὶ κρῖμα εἰς τὸν κόπον
1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.10

8.2.2 V Non-Initial in VC: cl+V

Mood Marker Preceding

- καὶ κἂν ἄς τὸν ἐκέρδησες καὶ κἂν ἄς τὸν ἐχάρης, ἄς εἶδες κἂν ἐνύπνιον γλυκὺν κατὰ
τὸν ὕπνον! 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 167–8
- ποῦ ἦτον εἰς τὸν ἐσπερινόν, ἄς τὸν ἐκβάλουν ἔξω 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 49
- καὶ γὰρ ἐζήτησεν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς χώρας καὶ νὰ τοῦ τὸ ἐδώκασιν
1288, Cos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 228.22–3
- τὶ νὰ σὲ λέγω τὰ πολλὰ πολλὰκις νὰ βαρεῖσαι; 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 1092
- ἄς βάλη ἄλλα τόσα καὶ ἕτερα εἴ καὶ ἄς τὰ σουμμάρη. εἶτα τὸν εἶπε καὶ ἄς τὰ
πολλαπλασιάσῃ μὲ ἕτερα εἴ, εἴθ' οὕτως πέ τον
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.5–6
- τὸν δίδομεν ἄδειαν, τὸ πεζούλιον ὅπερ εὐρίσκεται ἐκεῖ ὅπου τρέχει, ἡγουν ὅπου
ἐβγαίνει τὸ νερόν, νὰ τὸ ὀρίζη καὶ νὰ φκιάνη καὶ τὸ νερό ἐὰν χαλάσῃ τίποτε
1582, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 58, 179.5–6
- καὶ τὰ μετρητὰ τοῦ πεθεροῦ μου, μὲ πρῶτο καράβι ὅπου θέλει ἔρθει νὰ μᾶς τὰ
στείλῃς 1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 64, 240.4–5

Negative Preceding

- ψεύδεται, φλυαρεῖ, μὴ τὸν πιστεύῃς! 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 133
- μεγαλοψύχως δέξαι με καὶ μὴ μὲ ἀγανακτήσῃς 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 19.6 app. crit. (H)
- τὸ δὲ ὁμάτζιο καὶ λιζίαν, τὸ ὀρίζει νὰ ἔχουν ποιήσῃ τοῦ μπάϊλου ἐκείνοῦ ντὲ Σουλῆ,
ποτὲ οὐδὲ τὸ κάμνουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7874–5
- διὰ τοῦτο σὲ παρακαλοῦν οἱ λίζιοι τοῦ Μορέως μὴ τὸ δεχτῇς εἰς βάρος σου ἐτοῦτο
ὅπου σὲ λέγουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7902–3
- αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τὸ ἠθέλησαν, ἥλλαξαν το δὲ καὶ ἀπῆραν τὸ ἀμπέλιον τοῦ γιालοῦ
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.8
- ἂν οὐ σὲ γάπουν τὰ πολλὰ, τώρα σκοτώσει σὲ ἔχα
15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1571
- μὴ σοῦ φαίνεται παράξενο ἂν ἐσκοτίσθηκα ἀπὸ τὴν πολλὴν λάμψιν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.30–1
- καὶ ὅσες γραφεῖς τοῦ ἔπεμψε ἡ γυναῖκα του, δὲν τὲς τοῦ ἔδωκεν
1571, Unknown, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 8, 481.11–12

καὶ ἃ δὲν τὸ πιστεύῃ ὁ ἄνωθεν μισερ-Τζώρτζης, ὀμπλεγάρεται ὁ ἄνωθεν μισερ-
Μαθιὸς νὰ πὰ τὸ ξανακαμπανίσου στοῦ ἄνωθεν Καρβουνάρη
1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 626, 547.15

NOTES

- (i) The traditional negative marker οὐ(κ) and its verb are often treated as a single unit within the verbal complex, thus forcing the clitic either to precede the negative or to follow the verb according to the immediate contextual requirements. This occurs mostly in early texts:

τόπον ἐκ τόπου μεριμνᾷς καὶ τόπος οὐ χωρεῖ σε 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 156
γοργὸν ἂν σὲ οὐκ ἐκβάλλουσιν, ἐκεῖ νὰ ἐξεψυχήσης 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 229
τί τοὺς οὐ θάπτω ὥσότε ζῶ καὶ φεύγω ἀπὸ τὴν Πόλιν ... ;
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 26.11 app. crit. (H)

- (ii) The presence of a connective in second position between a negative and its verb may override the expected clitic placement:

μὴ οὖν ἀποχωρίσης τοὺς μηδ' ἀποπέμψης μᾶλλον 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 12

- (iii) The emphatic negative μηδέ regularly stands immediately before the word that it emphasizes and may prevent clitic attraction if this is the verb:

καὶ μηδὲ ἐπιχειρῶ το 12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.8v.4

We may contrast examples where the presence of a focus other than V allows for the regular distribution:

τὸ δὲ θεὸς ἐσύ, νὰ μηδὲ ἄλλοι τὸ ποίσης 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 24

- (iv) A negative marker may combine with an intensifying adverbial to form a single element (= “not at all” etc.):

τὸ ὅποῖον ἐτοῦτο ἀκούοντάς το ἐγώ, ὁ εὐχέτης τῆς μεγάλης σου βασιλείας, οὐ δ'
ὅλως τὸ ἐπίστευσα 1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 77.13–14

Mood Marker and Negative Preceding

καὶ λυτρωθοῦμεν τον γοργόν, νὰ μὴ μᾶς παραβλέπη 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 528

τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἐνι τοῦ παπᾶ Μιχαήλ τοῦ Πρακανᾶ καὶ εἴ τις νὰ τὸ πάρη νὰ
διαβάσῃ καὶ νὰ μηδὲν τὸ στρέψη, νὰ ἔχη τὰς ἀρὰς τῶν τη' θεοφόρων πατέρων
14th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 99, 99.1–3

ἐγδύνονται ... ἀπὸν τὰ σπίτιαν καὶ ἀπὸ ὅλα τως τὰ δικαιώματα σὰν νὰ μὴν τὰ
θέλασιν ἔχει ποτέ 1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.13–14

παρακαλῶ τὴ πανιερότη σου νὰ μὴ τὸ πάρης σὲ βάρη νὰ μοῦ πέψης μιὰ φλέτσα ...
καὶ κακοφαίνεται μου καὶ γράφεις μου νὰ μὴ τόνε δεκτῶ
1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.10–14

8.3 Clitic Pronouns and Periphrastic Verb Forms

Perfects and pluperfects formed with $\xi\chi\omega$ + passive participle (typically a southern feature, cf. 4.4.4), treat the pronoun as the object of the auxiliary. This is expected, since the origin of the construction is an expression in which the participle serves as an object predicate: “I have it + written” etc. The placement of the clitic vis-à-vis $\xi\chi\omega$ then follows Rule (94) (i.e. in conformity with the various constraints on what can count as an initial constituent for the purposes of clitic placement):

- $\theta\omega\rho\tilde{\omega}$ τὸν θάνατον καὶ $\xi\chi\epsilon\iota$ σας κερδεμένους 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 61
 $\mu\iota$ ὄλο ποὺ τόσοι βασιλιοὶ τὴν $\xi\chi\omicron\upsilon$ ζητημένην 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.534
 βοήθεια ἀπὸ ἄρματα, ὅπου οἱ Τούρκοι τοὺς $\xi\chi\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ν στερεμένα
 1609, Cyprus, CHASIOIOTIS 1972: 35, 59.7

For examples of pluperfects formed with $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\chi\alpha$ + infinitive (which are ultimately derived from conditionals), see below.

From the semantic point of view, futures and conditionals formed with $\xi\chi\omega/\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ + infinitive or subjunctive should treat clitic pronouns as complements of the infinitive/subjunctive, cf. “I will + take it”, “he will + come to you”, etc. This is clearly the case when the subjunctive is marked by $\nu\acute{\alpha}$, since there are obviously two distinct VCs in play and the clitic always belongs to the second (as its second element):

- $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ [$\nu\acute{\alpha}$ τοὺς ἐκλέξης] 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4633
 ἂν δύναιμαι, $\xi\chi\omega$ [$\nu\acute{\alpha}$ σὲ δουλεύσω] ?1448, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.5
 $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ [$\nu\acute{\alpha}$ μοῦ δώσει] ὁ ἀδερφός μου
 1531, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 20, 66.13–14
 $\xi\chi\epsilon\iota$ [$\nu\acute{\alpha}$ τοῦ $\xi\lambda\theta\eta$] αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος
 1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.5–6

The same analysis in fact applies to the relatively rare examples of bare subjunctives without $\nu\acute{\alpha}$:

- $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ἤθελαν τὸ δουλεύουν 1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 2, 21.10

This situation persists throughout the period of this Grammar and eventually results, via phonological reduction of the auxiliary, in the sequence ($\theta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ >) $\theta\acute{\alpha}$ + clitic + V familiar from MG (where the residual status of $\theta\alpha$ as the head of a VC is indicated by the fact that it is still negated by $\delta\epsilon\nu$, independently of what follows).

Things are different, however, with infinitives (in what follows, futures/conditionals and pluperfects are treated together as formally parallel periphrastic structures). When the auxiliary is initial, the pronoun stands before the infinitive, making it the second element both in the periphrasis taken as a whole and in the containing clause:

- Aux + cl + Infinitive: $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ σου $\tau\alpha$ πέψει 1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.16

When the auxiliary is non-initial in its VC, or has been attracted to a clause-initial constituent, the clitic is normally preposed before the auxiliary to remain the second item in the periphrasis/clause:

- X [cl + Aux + Infinitive]: $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ τὴν $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\mu\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ν $\theta\acute{\alpha}\psi\epsilon\iota$; 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 92

This state of affairs suggests an early reanalysis of the sequence *Aux + cl + Inf*, whereby the clitic was taken to be the grammatical complement of the preceding auxiliary rather than of the following infinitive. In other words, infinitival periphrases came to be regarded as unitary verb forms, with the auxiliary as part of a single VC and the infinitive as its head.

This latter development, however, was generalized rather slowly in the south, most obviously in Crete:

τοῖ γάμους σου ἔρχεται νὰ τιμήσῃ ὁ βασιλιὸς τῆς Πέρσις, σὰν εἶχα σου μιλήσει
17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.215–16

It was strongly resisted in Cyprus, where the auxiliary and infinitive are consistently treated as the heads of two distinct VCs, giving the sequence [X + Aux + cl + Infinitive] in all cases:

νὰ εἶχα [σε γεννήσειν] 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 644.5–6

ἂν εἶχεν [τοῦ πάρειν] τὸ καράβιν, ἔθελεν πεθάνειν ἀπὲ τὴν πληξίν τοῦ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 86.3–4

ἂν εἶχα [τὸ ξεύρειν], οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἔμπαινα 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 38.3

ἂν εἶχεν [τὸ ποίσειν], ἐγινίσκετον μέγα σκάνταλον
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 52.6–7

Auxiliary Initial: Aux+cl+V

καὶ ἂν τὸν πάρῃς, θέλω σοῦ δώσειν κακὸν θάνατον
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 68.26

θέλωμε σοῦ δώσει θέλημα 1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 5, 415.13

μοῦ ἔγραφε πὼς θέλεις μοῦ στείλῃ τὸ ρέστο τῆς παραγγελίας
1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.8–9

ἤθελε τὸν ρίξῃ κάτω μὲ καμίαν λαβωματιάν 18th c., *Don Kis.* 50.17

NOTES

- (i) Failure of attraction of the clitic to the innovative/popular complementizer in cases like πὼς θέλεις μοῦ στείλῃ (MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.8–9, cited above) is difficult to explain in view of what was said above about this class of elements (and cf. the expected pattern attested in the examples immediately below). Perhaps these cases simply reflect the continuing influence of the functionally equivalent *ὅτι*, which tends to retain the “main-clause” distribution of clitics in subordinate clauses, as noted. We may compare the same situation in corresponding examples with pluperfects:

ὡς εἶδανε οἱ Οὐγγαροὶ τοὺς Φραντζέζους τὸ πὼς εἶχανέ τοῦσε κόψει ὅλους
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.1–2

Auxiliary Non-Initial: X cl+Aux+V

εἰ μὲν τὸν θέλεις κακοποιῆσαι διὰ τὰ σφάλματα αὐτοῦ
1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 535.9–10

τὸ στέμμα τὸ βασιλικὸν νὰ τοῦ τὸ ἔχουν φορέσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 953

ὅταν σᾶς θέλουν σφάζει 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1441

ἐκεῖνοι παρακάθονται ἵνα τὸ θέλουν πάρει 16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O

ὄντε τῇ θεῇ ζητήξει

16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 160

σὰν ἔλθοῦν οἱ ποντικοὶ ..., τοὺς θέλομε ἀντισταθῇ

16th c., ZINOS, *Vatr.* 261–2

Pluperfects formed with εἶχα + infinitive naturally follow the same general patterns of clitic distribution, though the fact that the majority of examples occur in subordinate clauses with overt conjunctions strongly favours pre-auxiliary position overall. Generally, therefore, the clitic precedes the auxiliary in the presence of a conjunction (or indeed a negative marker or other legitimate “initial” element):

ἔβαλαν τὸν βασιλέαν ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ ... ὅπου τὸ εἶχεν χάσει

14th. c., *Chron. Mor.* H 622–3

καθὼς τοὺς εἶχε ὁμόσει

16th c./14th. c., *Chron. Mor.* P 81

δὲ μοῦ εἶχες δώσει τότες ἄλλο ..., ἀμὴ εἶχε μου εἰπεῖν

1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.7

καθὼς τοὺς εἶχεν ἀφήκει ὁ Νεκτεναβός

16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 349.33

προτοῦ σώσει ἐκεῖ, τὸν εἶχε φθονήσει ἡ γυναῖκα του καὶ ὁ υἱός του καὶ τὸν ἐσκοτώσανε

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.29–31

τὲς δύο στάμνες ποῦ σοῦ εἶχα στείλει

1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 306, f2r.21

But if the conjunction is a traditional one, the clitic may sometimes follow:

ἐπειδὴ εἶχον του μηνύσει νὰ ἔλθει νὰ ἱμοιράσουν 1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 39, 33.2–3

And post-auxiliary position is regular in the second of two conjoined clauses when the periphrasis is the initial element:

δὲ μοῦ εἶχες δώσει τότες ἄλλο ..., ἀμὴ εἶχε μου εἰπεῖν

1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.7

By contrast, the original (i.e. biclausal) treatment of the construction is retained in Cyprus, with clitics appearing in post-auxiliary position across the board:

εἶχαν τὸν κόψει κακὰ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν

15th c./?13th c., *Assizes* B 267.11–12

εἶχαμὲν το δώσει

1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULOS 1983: 46, 25.2

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Index of Innovative Greek Endings and Suffixes

This index includes all endings and inflectional suffixes that are not inherited from earlier stages of the language. In order not to overburden this index, for phonetic and phonological variants the reader is referred to the relevant sections in Part I: raising vocalism (e.g. -ιτι for -ετε 2.5.4); back vowel raising (e.g. -ους for -ος or hypercorrection thereof, e.g. -ον for -ουν 2.8.3); deletion of final /s/ through dissimilation (e.g. -ου for -ους, -έ for -ές 3.7.1.1); nasal deletion before stops (e.g. -οται for -ονται 3.6.2.1); addition and deletion of final /n/ (e.g. -ων for -ω or -ου for -ουν 3.7.2.1 and 3.7.2.2); addition of word-final vowel (e.g. -ωνε for -ων, -ούσινε for -ούσι(ν), -όμουνε for -όμουν 2.6.3); syncope (e.g. -τε for -ετε 2.7.2); gemination (e.g. -μεθθαν for -μεθα 3.4.2.5); different stress patterns (e.g. -άμεν in ἔπαιζάμεν for ἐπαίζαμεν 4.2.3); synizesis (e.g. -ιούς for -ίους, -ιά for -έα/-ία 2.9.4). Also not included are endings that are the result of a combination of ligatures, e.g. -ομένστα(ν), which in fact represents -ομέστα(ν).

For nouns only nom. sg. is included, unless other cases or the plural cannot be inferred (e.g. -αδες).¹ For adjectives only the nom. sg. ending of masc. is listed, unless e.g. the feminine or neuter counterpart cannot be inferred on the basis of SMG (e.g. fem. -αρέα). For verbs only 1 sg. is listed (e.g. -οὔσα, but not -οὔσε, -οὔσε, etc.), unless there are notable variant forms for other persons (e.g. 3 pl. -ασαν). For forms of the copula εἶμαι, for pronouns, articles and numerals and for endings that appear with single lexical items (e.g. λέγας), the reader is referred to the Index of Greek Words and Phrases.

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¹ For masc. Pontic nouns with nom. sg. in -ον/-όν (e.g. ὁ Σοῦτον, ὁ Κυριακόν), see II, 1.4. For Cypriot gen. pl. nominal endings that are morphologically identical to the accusative (e.g. τὰ ράσα τοὺς καλογέρους), see II, 1.2. For Cycladic acc. pl. -οι/-οί endings (e.g. τὶς γερόντοι, τὶς προεστοί), which are identical to the nominative, see II, 1.3.

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