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A NEWLY IDENTIFIED CRETAN GLOSS (βάριον)

*The author explains the Hesychian gloss βάριον· πρόβατον· καὶ τὸ βαρὺ· καὶ τὸ βράδιον from the philological and etymological point of view. The final part of the gloss (or possibly even the whole gloss) seems to represent a Cretan component. The development of the consonantal cluster -ρδ- to -ρ-, documented by the equivalence βάριον (orig. *βάρδιον) = βράδιον, is attested only in the Central area of Crete.*

Keywords: *Ancient Greek Dialectology, Cretan Phonology, Hesychius of Alexandria*

The well-known ancient lexicon compiled by Hesychius of Alexandria (fifth or sixth century AD) contains numerous Cretan glosses, discussed and reviewed by modern scholars e.g. KLEEMANN (1872: 20–44); MARZULLO (1968: 126–129 = 2000: 517–520); BROWN (1985: 21–90); WITCZAK (1998: 17–20). There are many glosses in the Hesychian lexicon which were introduced with no ethnic (or regional) designation. Some of these seem to represent the Cretan element of the Ancient Greek vocabulary.

In my paper I would like to discuss only one gloss, which is attested in the following shape:

βάριον· πρόβατον· καὶ τὸ βαρὺ· καὶ τὸ βράδιον cf. SCHMIDT (1858: 359, s.v. β-236); LATTE (1953: 313, s.v. β-231).

In fact, the Hesychian gloss in question represents three different and etymologically unrelated appellatives. Let us discuss all the homonymic forms.

Ad 1. βάριον· πρόβατον [...].

The first meaning of the term βάριον given in the gloss is ‘sheep’ (Gk. πρόβατον). It contains an initial digamma *ϝ- (rendered by means of the

letter β-) and derives from the Doric appellative φαρήν (Gortyn, 6th c. BC), cf. also Attic-Ionic ἀρήν m. f. ‘lamb; young sheep’, Myc. *we-re-ne-ja* ‘vom Schaf’ (BARTONĚK 2003: 218, 615), Aeolic (Lesbian) ὄρεσι dat. pl. ‘to sheep’ (DANKA – WITCZAK 2009: 11–17). The original digamma appears as beta in other Hesychian glosses too: βάννεια· τὰ ἄρνεια· καὶ βάννιμα τὸ αὐτό cf. LATTE (1953: 312, s.v. β-234), βάριχοι· ἄρνες cf. LATTE (1953: 313, s.v. β-195)¹, †βρίννια· τὰ ἄρνεια κρέα, LATTE (1953: 313, s.v. β-1168).

The attested form βάριον (recte: φάριον) n. ‘sheep’ should be treated as a Doric² derivative of φαρήν containing the diminutive suffix -ιον. Such a derivation, ignoring the original *n*-stem, seems somewhat irregular from the point of view of Ancient Greek word-formation, CHANTRAINE (1933: 403 and 1968: 108); BEEKES (2010: 129)³. The most widespread and fully regular form is *φαρνίον, attested in Attic-Ionic ἀρνίον n. ‘little lamb’ (cf. also the Hesychian gloss ἀρνίον· πρόβατον, ἀμνός), Mod. Gk. αρνί, Tsakonian βαννέ [vanné] n. ‘lamb’ (< Late Laconian *φαννίον < Doric *φαρνίον). It was regularly created on the basis of the *n*-stem (the nominal stem *φάρν- occurs in the oblique cases, cf. Attic, Ionic ἀρήν, gen. sg. ἀρνός m. f. ‘lamb; young sheep’).

Ad 2. βάριον· [...] καὶ τὸ βαρύ. [...].

In the second case, βάριον appears to correspond to the neuter form of the adjective βαρύς ‘heavy in weight; violent; weighty, impressive; severe, stern (of persons); heavy-armed (of soldiers); strong, deep, bass (of sound); strong, offensive (of smell)’ (LIDDELL, SCOTT 1996: 308) < PIE. *g^{vr̥}rhús ‘heavy’, cf. OInd. *gurúh* adj. ‘heavy’, Lat. *gravis* adj. ‘heavy; serious, weighty, ponderous, burdensome’, POKORNY (1959: 476); CHANTRAINE (1968: 165–166); DE VAAN (2008: 272); BEEKES (2010: 202–203). The observed relation between βάριον and βαρύ appears to be analogous to the well known relation between another pair of adjectives: γλύκιος ‘sug-

¹ This dialectal appellative is confirmed by the personal name Φάριχος, attested in Tarentum (*IG* 14.668.1.17), CHANTRAINE (1968: 107–108); ADRADOS (1991: 683).

² ADRADOS (1991: 683) suggests a Laconian origin (with no supporting argumentation).

³ The derivative, ‘extracting’ or ignoring the original *n*-stem, was secondarily created on the basis of nominative sg. φαρήν (< PIE. *w^{rh}ēn ‘lamb’), cf. Arm. *gairn* ‘lamb’, OInd. *úran*- m. ‘lamb’ (nom. sg. *úrā*), NPers. *barra* ‘lamb’, MAYRHOFER (1992: 225–226); ADAMS (2006: 140); BEEKES (2010: 129). Such a type of derivation is independently attested in Ancient Greek (especially Doric) dialects, cf. the Hesychian gloss βάριχοι· ἄρνες (‘lambs’), as well as the personal name Φάριχος.

ary, sickly' (Arist. EE 1238a.28) and γλυκός 'sweet, pleasant, delightful', CHANTRAINE (1968: 228). It is worth emphasizing that adjectives ending in -ιος (as opposed to *u*-stem adjectives) are not productive in the literary Greek language. This is why the form βάριος (neuter βάριον) must represent a secondary creation in an unknown dialect of Ancient Greek. It should be noted that the personal name Βάριος is attested in Crete (FRAZER, MATTHEWS 1987: 99).

In the Cretan dialect of Modern Greek, there are certain adjectives ending in -ιός (with oxytone stress) next to -ύς, e.g. Mod. Gk. Cret. γλυκιός 'sweet' (< Anc. Gk. γλυκός adj. 'id.'), παχιός 'thick, fat' (< Anc. Gk. παχύς adj. 'id.'), ΚΑΥΚΑΛΑΣ (1992: 34); ΙΔΟΜΕΝΕΩΣ (2006: 118, 411). Dialectal sources also attest the Cretan adjective βαργιός, βαργιά, βαργιό 'heavy' (< Anc. Gk. βαρύς, βαρεῖα, βαρύ 'id.'), e.g. είναι βαργιός ο πόνος μου 'my pain is heavy/severe', ΙΔΟΜΕΝΕΩΣ (2006: 85). It cannot be excluded that the Hesychian gloss in question documents a dialectal (perhaps Cretan) transformation of *u*-stem adjectives into *yo*-stem ones, similar to the development attested in the Modern Greek dialect of Crete. However, the accentual difference (barytone in the Hesychian glossary vs. oxytone in Modern Cretan) must also be emphasized.

Ad 3. βάριον· [...] καὶ τὸ βράδιον.

In the third case, βάριον corresponds to the neuter form of the comparative (τὸ βράδιον) of the adjective βαρδύς or βραδύς 'slow; tardy, late (of time)', see LIDDELL – SCOTT (1996: 306); MONTANARI (2003: 394, 420) < PIE. *g^wrdús adj. 'slow', CHANTRAINE (1968: 192); BEEKES (2010: 234); SMOZYŃSKI (2007: 212); DE VAAN (2008: 275), cf. Lith. *gurdús* adj. 'slow', Latv. *guŗds* adj. 'tired', Lat. *gurdus* 'blockhead, dolt, heavy'. The dialectal form βάριον seems to derive from *βάρδιον (adj. n. comp.) 'slower; tardier, later', as stressed by SCHMIDT (1858: 359): „Denique βράδιον refer ad βάρδιον”. In fact, the forms beginning with βαρδ- are well attested in Ancient Greek literary texts, cf. Doric Gk. βάρδιστος (Theoc. 15.104). Cf. also in the epic language: superlat. βάρδιστος (Il. 23, 310), comp. βαρδύτερος (Theoc. 29.30⁴).

At first glance, the form βάριον (instead of βάρδιον) appears to display a loss of the voiced dental stop δ [d] after the liquid ρ [r]. It is necessary to ask

⁴ Theocritus' 29th idyll is a love poem written in quasi-Aeolic. However, it contains a number of epic elements, as well as Dorisms. The adjective βαρδύτερος (showing -αρ- as the reflex of PIE. *r) cannot be treated as an inherited Aeolic item.

which ancient dialect of Greek demonstrates such a phonetic phenomenon. Where did such an unusual change take place?

To the best of my knowledge, the above-mentioned change of Anc. Gk. *-ρδ- to -ρ- is attested exclusively in the Doric dialect of Crete. It is accompanied by the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (i.e. the short vowel ε [ĕ] becomes the long η [ē], ο [ō] yields ου [ō̄] etc.). What is more, the process in question occurred only in a certain part of the island, BRAUSE (1909: 36); BUCK (1955: 74); BECHTEL (1963: 671); BILE (1988: 136–138); WITCZAK (2005: 326). It is attested in some inscriptions from Gortyn and Axos as early as in the fifth century BC, e.g.

[1] FEPONTI (= φήροντι or φήρωντι) 3rd pl. ind. or conj. praes. act. (Gortyn, 5th c. BC), FEPEN (= φήρην) inf. praes. act. (Gortyn, 4th c. BC)⁵, φήροντι (Axos, 4th–3rd c. BC), φήροι 3rd sg. opt. praes. act. (Axos, Gortyn, 2nd–1st c. BC), [φ]ηρόντων 3rd pl. imp. praes. act. (Gortyn, 4th–3rd c. BC) < Central Cretan φήρω ‘to make, to do’, ARENA (1971: 74); BILE (1988: 137); MORANI (1999: 82) < Cretan Greek *φέρδω ‘id.’ < Anc. Gk. *φέρζω < Proto-Greek *φέργγω ‘to make, to do’⁶. Cf. also Cretan βέρδηι 3rd sg. conj. praes. act. (*Inscr.Cret.* 1.16.1.32 Lato = GUARDUCCI (1935: 110–111)). It is obvious that the initial grapheme β- in the inscription from Lato must represent the Greek digamma.

The same process is confirmed by a number of glosses in the Hesychian lexicon, e.g.

[2] ἄχηρον· ἀγράδα. Κρητες, LATTE (1953: 299, α-8858); VASILAKIS (1998: 48). Cretan Gk. ἄχηρον (acc. sg. f.) ‘wild pear, *Pyrus amygdaliformis* Vill.’ goes back to the Ancient Greek form ἄχερδον (acc. sg. f.) ‘id.’ See BECHTEL (1963: II 671, 688); BROWN (1985: 36–37). It should be added that the Old Cretan appellative ἄχερδος (f.) ‘wild pear’ (showing the consonantal cluster -ρδ- in the original form) occurs in epigraphic texts from central Crete, e.g. [ἄ]χερδον acc. sg., *Inscr.Cret.* 1.5.19.B18 Arcades = GUARDUCCI (1935: 14–15) and [ἄ]χερδόνενα acc. sg. *Inscr.Cret.* 1.16.5.61–62 Lato = GUARDUCCI (1935: 119, 123); CHANIOTIS (1996: 340); see also BROWN (1985: 177); FAURE (1989: 149).

⁵ In early inscriptions from Gortyn (5th–4th c. BC) the grapheme E represents both the short ε [ĕ] and the long η [ē]. In other words, the epigraphical notations FEPONTI and FEPEN represent the verbal forms φήροντι (or perhaps the subjunctive φήρωντι) and φήρην (inf. praes. act.), respectively.

⁶ The full-grade root *werǵyō, attested in Ancient Greek, must be an innovation. Mycenaean Greek verbal forms (e.g. wo-ze [worzei]) show the zero-grade of the root, corresponding to PIE. *wrǵ-ye/o-; cf. Gothic *waurkjan*, Avestan *vərəziieiti*, RIX (2001: 686–687); see also POKORNY (1959: 1168–1169).

[3] κάρα· αἷξ ἡμερος Πολυρρήνιοι. ὑπὸ Γορτυνίων ... ἄλλοι δὲ ἡ συκῆ. Ἴωνες τὰ πρόβατα. καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν, LATTE (1966: 411, κ-755); VASILAKIS (1998: 95); κάραι· συκαῖ, LATTE (1966: 412, κ-762); VASILAKIS (1998: 95). It is clear that the Central Cretan (Gortynian?) term κάρᾱ [probably pronounced *kārā*⁷] (f.) ‘a kind of fig-tree’ continues *κάρδᾱ (f.) ‘id.’, cf. Attic Gk. κράδη (f.) ‘fig-tree’, BROWN (1985: 67–68). Cf. also the Hesychian gloss: κράδη· συκῆ. κλάδος. καὶ ἀγκυρίς, ἐξ ἧς ἀνήπτοντο οἱ ἐν ταῖς τραγικαῖς μηχαναῖς ἐπιφαινόμενοι, LATTE (1966: 523, κ-3913).

[4] κήρεα· τὰ κέρδη, LATTE (1966: 473, κ-2559) < nom. pl. neut. κέρδεα ‘benefits; good advice’, BECHTEL (1963: 671); BROWN (1985: 70, 307). The Hesychian gloss is explained as a Central Cretan plural form derived from Anc. Gk. κέρδος (n., *es*-stem) ‘gain, profit, advantage’, FRISK (1960: 829); BEEKES (2010: 678).

[5] μαρίν· τὴν σὺν. Κρηῖτες, LATTE (1966: 629, μ-286); VASILAKIS (1998: 114). According to WITCZAK (2005: 326), the Cretan term for ‘pig’, μᾱρίς (nom. sg.), should be derived from Anc. Gk. *μαρδῖς (f.) ‘pig’ (cf. Myc. Gk. *ma-di-je* [*mardijei*] dat. sg. ‘for the swine’) < **smrdis* ‘stinking animal’ < PIE. **smerd-* ‘to stink’, POKORNY (1959: 970); RIX (2001: 570), cf. Aragonian *mardanco* ‘ram’ next to Gallego *marrano* ‘pig’, Port. (dial.) *marrancho* ‘hog, boar’, Sp. *marrano* (m.) ‘hog’, in colloquial use ‘dirty or unprincipled person’, *marrana* (f.) ‘sow, female pig; stinking or dirty woman’, dial. *marrancho* ‘pig, hog, dirty person’ (originally Lusitanian **mardānos* < PIE. **smrd-ōnos* ‘stinking animal’).

[6] πήραζον· ἀφοδεύσον, SCHMIDT (1861: 332, π-2220); VASILAKIS (1998: 131); CHANTRAINE (1974: 885). The form πήραζον (imp. aor. act.) ‘defecate!’ represents a Cretan development from Doric Gk. *πέρδαζον (< PIE. **perd-* ‘to fart, break wind’; POKORNY (1959: 819); RIX (2001: 473–474).

[7] πῆριξ· πέρδιξ. Κρηῖτες, SCHMIDT (1861: 332, π-2224). The Cretan form πῆριξ f. ‘partridge’ represents the most evident example of the change in question, see BECHTEL (1963: 671); PISANI (1973: 111); CHANTRAINE (1974: 885); BROWN (1985: 82); VASILAKIS (1998: 132); MORANI (1999: 82); BEEKES (2010: 1175); KACZYŃSKA (2013: 39); and also THOMPSON (1936: 249); ARNOTT (2007: 261).

In her monograph *Le dialecte crétois ancien* Monique Bile (1988) discusses the Cretan treatment of the cluster -ρδ-. She correctly stresses that

⁷ The long and stressed vowel [ā] is the obvious and only possible reconstruction, as the simplification of the cluster *ρδ, observed in the dialect of Central Crete, causes the compensatory lengthening of the preceding short vowel.

this phenomenon was restricted to central Crete⁸ and was completely absent from other ancient Greek dialects. Unfortunately, she was unable to indicate that the Cretan development of the consonantal cluster $-\rho\delta-$ to $-\rho-$ is also attested in Ancient Greek literature. In fact, the eighth lexical item demonstrating the central Cretan development of cluster $-\rho\delta-$ to $-\rho-$ is registered by Athenaeus of Naucratis (Ath. VII 74), who refers to the *Halieutikón* by Numenius Heracleotes.

[8] Gk. dial. κουρύλος (m.) ‘water-newt, triton, *Triton palustris* L.’ (the form given by Numen., according to Ath. VII 74) < Anc. Gk. κορδύλος (m.) ‘water-newt’. According to BEEKES (2010: 751), the Greek word in question was borrowed from a Pre-Greek substrate. My opinion is completely different: it represents a Greek element of Indo-European origin and derives securely from PIE. **kordulós*, KACZYŃSKA (2004: 145; 2013: 39–40); WITCZAK (2013: 413), cf. Alb. *hardhël* (f.) ‘lizard’ (< PIE. **skordulā*), Gk. dial. σκορδύλη · ζῷόν τι τῶν τελματιαίων, ἐμπερὲς καλαβῶτη, SCHMIDT (1862: 49, σ-1108) ‘an animal of stagnant waters, similar to the spotted lizard’ (< PIE. **skordulā*)⁹. The suggested development of κορδύλος (Cretan dial. κουρύλος) from PIE. **kordulós* may be easily explained from the point of view of Greek accentology by Wheeler’s law, COLLINGE (1985: 221–223). In my opinion, the lexeme κουρύλος, used by Numenius Heracleotes in his *Halieutikón* and identified by Athenaeus with Common Greek κορδύλος, can be ascribed to the Doric dialect of central Crete because of two distinct phonetic changes, namely the loss of the voiced dental consonant after a liquid ($\rho\delta > \rho$) and the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, KACZYŃSKA (2004: 145–146; 2013: 40–41).

The Hesychian gloss under scrutiny provides the ninth example of the Central Cretan change of $*-\rho\delta-$ to $-\rho-$; namely, Common Cretan $*\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ yields Central Cretan $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ [pronounced: *bārion*] adj. n. comp. ‘slower; tardier, later’. It should be noted that the Cretan dialect ‘has *ap* uniform-

⁸ As BILE (1988: 137) indicates, the consonantal cluster $-\rho\delta-$ is well preserved in epigraphical texts from Arcades (e.g. [ǎ]χερδον *Inscr.Cret.* 1.5.19.B18), Dreros (e.g. Αφορδίταν, *Inscr.Cret.* 1.9.1.27, 3rd–2nd c. BC), Lato (e.g. [ǎ]χερδόμεντα *Inscr.Cret.* 1.16.5.61–62, βέρδη *Inscr.Cret.* 1.16.1.32) and Rhizenia (e.g. Δερδωπίδᾱ *Inscr.Cret.* 1.28.17). It is generally claimed that the sound change in question was a fricativization or another kind of lenition of [d], SCHWYZER (1939: 286); BILE (1988: 137).

⁹ It cannot be excluded that the Greek term in question is somehow related to the Indic terms for different spotted animals, especially leopards or tigers, e.g. OInd. *sārdūlāḥ* (m.) ‘tiger, lion, panther, leopard; a fabulous animal; a kind of bird’, MONIER-WILLIAMS (1999: 1067), Pali *saddūla-* m. ‘leopard, tiger’, Prakrit *saddūla-* m. ‘id.’, Old Awadhi *sādūra* m. ‘lion’, Hindi *sādūr* n. ‘tiger, lion’, Singhalese *sadulā, sādulā, sedela, sedola* ‘tiger’ TURNER (1966: 719). The long vowel *ā* in Old Indic requires an explanation (perhaps a *vṛddhi* formation?). Also, the long *ū* seems unclear.

ly” as a straightforward reflex of the vocalic sonant *r, BUCK (1955: 45); cf. BILE (1988: 123–125), e.g. Cret. δαρκμά, δαρκνά f. ‘a drachm’ (= Att. δραχμή), Cret. κάρτος n. ‘strength, might, power, rule’ (= Att. κράτος), Cret. καρτερός adj. ‘strong, stout, mighty’ (= Att. κρατερός), Cret. σταρτός m. ‘a division of a people’ (= Att. στρατός m. ‘army, band, body of people’, Aeolic στρότος m. ‘id.’). The same reflex αρ (< *r) is also attested in Cretan anthroponymy, e.g. the Cretan personal names Φισοκάρτης, Θαρσύμαχος, Σωκάρτης, FRASER – MATTHEWS (1987: 192, 210, 418) are related to the well-known Attic names Ίσοκράτης, Θρασύμαχος and Σωκράτης. Cf. also the Central Cretan (probably Gortynian) term κάρᾱ (f.) ‘a kind of fig-tree’ (listed above), which reflects Cretan *κάρδᾱ (= Att. κράδη f. ‘fig-tree’).

Conclusions.

In my paper I reviewed afresh one Hesychian gloss. It is certain that the final (third) part of the gloss should be explained as purely Cretan. What is more, it cannot be excluded that also the first part of the gloss, containing the Doric digamma in the initial position, as well as the second one, may represent Cretan elements.

Finally, we should ask why the ethnic designation <Κρητες> did not appear in the end of the gloss under discussion: βάριον· πρόβατον. και τὸ βαρύ. και τὸ βράδιον. Two possible answers may be given. Firstly, the author of the Hesychian lexicon may have ignored the correct origin of the gloss (or its last part). Secondly, the dialectal sources of the triple gloss may have been disparate and the compiler chose to avoid adding an ethnical specification to the lemma¹⁰.

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¹⁰ In this place I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for many useful and valuable suggestions.

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