

C: Mycenaean in the dialectal world of the classical era

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Questions Pertaining to Possible Continuants of Mycenaean in the Dialectal World of the Classical Era

1. *What are the possibilities of proving that Mycenaean really had a direct continuation among the dialects of the Classical Era?*

The closest dialects to Mycenaean are Arcadian and Cypriot, but these show shared innovations as compared with Mycenaean, both ones peculiar to this group (e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}v > \acute{\iota}v$ — rare traces elsewhere), and ones common to all the dialects (e.g. the definite article).

Therefore no classical dialect can be the pure descendant of Mycenaean uninfluenced by other dialects. (J. CHADWICK.)

As stated in B 1 [p. 178 above], Mycenaean cannot have had any direct descendants among the historically attested dialects. (R. COLEMAN.)

It seems clear that Mycenaean — at least “Mycénien normal” — did *not* have a direct continuant among the later Greek dialects of which written records remain. And I do not see how the peculiar features of this “Mycénien normal” — e.g. *pe-mo* “seed” — can have existed except on the basis of some local dialect in which they were the speakers’ natural, unaffected usage. (W. COWGILL.)

The possibilities will depend on how far we can reconstruct the phonic realization and meanings of words in LB texts. At present the process seems to be decelerating. (R. A. CROSSLAND)

Quanto all’eventualità di intendere il miceneo come predecessore diretto di qualcuno dei dialetti di epoca classica, l’unica tesi ragionevolmente sostenibile è quella indicata dal Bartoněk stesso, che cioè l’arcado-cipriota sia il continuatore di uno strato socialmente inferiore di vernacoli micenei, mentre la *koiné* delle tavolette non avrebbe lasciato eredi.

Il miceneo, quale noi lo conosciamo, comunque, lasciò ricordo di sé in alcuni tratti parenti come relitti di epoca posteriore. Ne sono prova i seguenti fatti: 1) $\theta\iota > \sigma\iota$ sporadicamente in attico (etn. *Προβαλλίσιος*). 2) η, η passato abbastanza spesso ad o in eolico e talora anche in ionico-attico (cfr. *εἴκοσι, διακόσιοι, ἀρμόζω* e forse *μητρόπολις*, cfr. *ma-to-ro-pu-ro*). 3) $\tau\iota > \sigma\iota$ in dorico (nei casi citati dal Coleman, p. 70), a meno che questi non siano da imputare (Coleman l.c.) a seriori contatti dorico-ionici. 4) Continuatori di *Ποσειδάων* in Laconia. (M. DORIA.)

Ни один из греческих диалектов классической Греции не является непосредственным продолжателем или наследником микенского как такового. Крито-микенская койнэ, служившая в XIII—XII вв. до н. э. средством общения для жителей южной Греции и Крита, исчезла в связи с историческими событиями, приведшими к разрушению прежних экономических, политических и культурно-религиозных связей между этими двумя областями.

Развитие диалектов классической Греции продолжает не линию развития возникавших и исчезающих наддиалектных койнэ, а линию развития местных наречий, на базе которых эти койнэ возникали и на которых говорило население того или иного района или области.

Поскольку базой микенского были северо-ахейский и протоионийский с некоторыми чертами аркадско-кипрского, постольку вышеназванные диалекты, а не крито-микенская койнэ являются предшественниками диалектов классического времени. (Н. С. ГРИНБАУМ.)¹

Die Sprache Homers ist für die Klärung der griechischen Dialektgeschichte nur mit größter Vorsicht heranzuziehen; sie ist eine Kunstsprache, die eine ganz andere Betrachtungsweise fordert als ein gesprochener Dialekt. Im Prinzip stehen die Aiolismen, ionischen Archaismen und evtl. Achaiismen dieser dichterischen Diktion funktionell auf derselben Stufe wie die dichterischen Neologismen (z. T. sprachwidrige Kunstbildungen, metrisch bedingte Zerrformen, bewusste und unbewusste Umdeutungen usw.); die ionischen „oral poets“ haben vermutlich durch all diese aus verschiedenen Bereichen genommenen sprachlichen Kunstmittel eine Erhöhung, eine Sublimierung der ihnen geläufigen Umgangssprache intendiert. Die nicht-ionischen Elemente in der Sprache Homers sagen wahrscheinlich über Entstehung und Herkunft dieser Kunstsprache weniger aus, als man vermutet. Die Annahme eines Wanderwegs des Epos (und seiner Sprache) von der Aiolis nach Ionien oder gar von achaischem Gebiet nach Ionien (mit oder ohne Umweg über die Aiolis) unterliegt Bedenken. Die vermuteten arkadokyprischen Elemente des Homerischen sind u. U. ionische Archaismen. (A. HEUBECK.)

Relikte aus den Erinnerungen an die mykenische Schriftsprache mögen sich auch nach ihrer eigentlichen Tode noch lange hingezogen haben; im einzelnen kaum mehr nachweisbar. (W. MERLINGEN.)

La continuité du grec mycénien dans le dialecte arcado-chypriote de l'époque postérieure se manifeste dans les éléments phonétiques, morphologiques et lexicaux. (M. D. PETRUŠEVSKI.)

¹ = Aucun des dialectes grecs de la Grèce classique n'est un continuateur direct ou un héritier du „mycénien“ comme tel. La koiné créto-mycénienne, qui aux XIII-XII siècles av. n. é. servait de moyen de communication pour les habitants de la Grèce du sud et de la Crète, disparut à la suite des événements historiques, qui avaient provoqué le délabrement des relations économiques, politiques, religieuses et culturelles qui existaient entre ces deux régions. Le développement des dialectes dans la Grèce classique continue non la ligne de l'évolution des koinés supradialectales qui paraissaient et disparaissaient toujours, mais celle des idiomes locaux, qui étaient à leur base et que parlait la population de tel ou tel district ou de telle ou telle région. Puisque l'achéen du nord et le proto-ionien avec quelques traits de l'arcado-cyprien formaient le fond du „mycénien“, ce sont eux et non la koiné créto-mycénienne qu'on peut considérer comme précurseurs immédiats des dialectes du temps classique. (N. S. GRINBAUM.)

Dans presque tous ses traits distinctifs, le mycénien s'accorde avec l'arcadien et le chypriote, abstraction faite évidemment des innovations plus récentes de l'arcadien et du chypriote. Il ne s'accorde, d'une part, avec l'ionien et l'attique, d'autre part, avec les parlers éoliens que dans la mesure où ces dialectes s'accordent eux-mêmes avec l'ancêtre de l'arcado-chypriote, qui était intermédiaire entre celui de l'ionien-attique et celui des parlers éoliens [voir A 2—3]. (C. J. RUIJGH.)

Документальное койнэ исчезло вместе с распадом ахейских государств. Поэтическое койнэ является одним из источников как гомеровского языка, так и языка древнегреческой лирики. Эпические песнопения после распада южноахейских центров развивались в североахейской среде и затем в Малой Азии. Этим путем, например, произошло слияние сказаний об Агамемноне и его круге с фессалийским Ахиллом. Поэтическое койнэ, восходящее к микенскому времени, эолизировалось, а потом и ионизировалось.

„Чистых“ диалектов в Греции не существует. Наименее подверглись влиянию других греческих же диалектов ионийский и северозападные. Захватившие Пелопоннес и Крит дорие испытывали самые разнообразные влияния ахейского лингвистического субстрата. В Фессалии и Беотии эолийская основа покрылась рядом элементов западногреческого суперстрата и т. д. (И. М. ТРОНСКИЙ).¹

This seems impossible. (W. F. WYATT.)

¹ = Mit dem Verfall der achäischen Staaten verschwindet auch die Dokumentalkoine. Die poetische Koine ist eine der Hauptquellen der homerischen Sprache, sowie auch der Sprache der altgriechischen Lyrik. Der epische Gesang wird nach dem Verfall der südachäischen Stätten im nordachäischen Milieu und alsdann in Kleinasien weitergepflegt. Auf diese Weise entsteht die Verbindung der Sagen von Agamemnon und seinem Kreise mit dem thessalischen Achilles. Die in das mykenische Zeitalter zurückreichende poetische Koine hat sich äolisiert und dann ionisiert.

„Reine“ Dialekte gibt es in Griechenland nicht. Am wenigsten sind die Einflüsse anderer griechischen Dialekte im Ionischen und Nordwestgriechischen spürbar. In den Dialekten der Dorer, die sich des Peloponnes und der Insel Kreta bemächtigten, lassen sich verschiedenartige Einwirkungen des achäischen Sprachsubstrats feststellen. In Thessalien und Böotien war die äolische Grundschicht mit vielen Elementen des westgriechischen Superstrats durchsetzt. (I. M. TRONSKIJ.)

C

2. How do you explain the occurrence of the "Arcado-Cypriot" and Aeolic elements in Homer?

I think the existence of oral poetry in Mycenaean times highly probable; the tradition may have continued after the collapse of Mycenaean civilization in two areas: a) *Eastern Attica*, which together with the Cyclades forms an important cultural area in LH III C (see Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans*); b) *Thessaly*. From both these sources the tradition can have been carried to *Asia Minor* and the Homeric dialect can have been formed there from the fusion of both traditions. Thus the Arc.-Cypr. elements (which are few) will be from either source; the Aeolisms from (b), the Ionicisms from (a). (J. CHADWICK.)

The hypothesis that *Mycenaean* was a cultural as well as an administrative *koine* raises the question of *Mycenaean epic poetry*. Again *a priori*, there seems no reason to reject the hypothesis, but I do not think it can be based on any purely linguistic arguments from the character of the Homeric dialect. The specifically *Arcado-Cyprian* elements are all *lexical*. Given the very fragmentary character of the lexicon attested for most Greek dialects and the total impossibility of reconstructing its earlier content, the assertion that Hom. *κασίγνητος* and *λεύσσω* occur only in Arcado-Cyprian, (*Ἔ*)*ἀναξ* only in Arcado-Cyprian and Mycenaean, *φάσγανον* and *ἀμφιφορεῦς* only in Mycenaean proves nothing whatever about the survival or non-survival of these words into the post-Mycenaean and even historical stages of other dialects. Even the fact that *αἴσα* seems to have been replaced by *μοῖρα* in some dialects and in the literary tradition is inconclusive for the large number of dialects in which neither happens to be attested.

The Aeolic elements in Homer are quite a different matter. Although they are not numerous, they include, in contrast to the Arcado-Cyprian list, a number of structurally important items, e.g. the consonant-stem dative plural in *-εσσι*, the infinitives in *-μεν*, *-μεναι* and the athematic conjugation of verbs with vowel suffixes. To account for all these, the old-fashioned theory of a bardic tradition based on an Aeolic dialect and subsequently adapted, though conservatively adapted, into *Ionic* still seems the most satisfactory. The occurrence of certain features like *ποτί*, attested in *Thessalian* but not *Lesbian*, or *εἰπέμεν*, attested in *East Thessalian* and *Boeotian*, but not *Lesbian*, does not entirely rule out Lesbian as the immediate Aeolic source

for the subsequent Ionicized material. Both *ποτί* and *ποτί* occur in *Cretan*, so *πρός*, *ποτί* and even *προτί* may have survived in prehistoric *Lesbian*. The characteristic syncope of *Lesbian* would yield *ποτ* for *ποτί* whence **ποσι* could be replaced by a restored *ποτί*. This assumes of course that apocope could have occurred before **/ti/ > /si/* in *Lesbian*, and entails a relatively late date for the latter change. In any case, forms like *ἀντί* in *Ionic* indicate that **/ti/* did survive in some instances in *East Greek*. As for *εἰπέμεν*, we have beside *κρεννέμεν*, *πρασσέμεν* at Larissa *ἔχειν*, *φροντισσέειν* at Pharsalus, and although I think it unlikely (since the *East Thessalian* forms can be related to the athematic infinitives *ἔμμεν*, *δόμμεν*), that *Lesbian* too preserved an allomorphic variation between *-εεν* and *-εμεν* into the late prehistoric period, it is not impossible. (R. COLEMAN.)

Probably Epic poetry was for a while cultivated in Aeolic-speaking areas after the fall of Mycenaean citadels in the South and before being picked up again by the Ionians. (W. COWGILL.)

It is an open question whether many of the elements called "Arcado-Cyprian" and "Aeolic" are in fact proper to Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic dialect-groups or survivals from an undifferentiated southern or south-eastern dialect of the 2nd millennium. If it is shown that the Homeric poems do have linguistic features which are confined to an Aeolic dialect which must have been already differentiated at the end of the 2nd millennium or early in the 1st, this will support the view that the tradition of Greek epic poetry, and the earliest versions of actual poems which are reflected in the "Iliad", developed in Thessaly. (R. A. CROSSLAND.)

Elementi achei in Omero: sono i resti di una tradizione epica in lingua micenea.

Elementi eolici in Omero: sono i resti di una tradizione epica in lingua eolica (possibilmente di tipo tessalico). (M. DORIA.)

Наличие эолийских и аркадско-кипрских элементов у Гомера следует объяснять как явления исторически обусловленные. Гомеровский язык отражает длительный процесс формирования литературного языка на базе нескольких греческих диалектов. Это диалект эолийский, составляющий менее значительный и более древний слой и прото-ионийский — преобладающий. Эолийские элементы у Гомера связаны не только с тем эолийским диалектом, следы которого мы обнаруживаем впоследствии на о. Хиосе и на побережье Малой Азии, а, прежде всего, с эолийским диалектом древнейшей Фессалии. Здесь в архаический период греческой истории были заложены основы греческой поэзии. Здесь же в Фессалии, мне представляется, надо искать и корни тех явлений, которые получили впоследствии наименование аркадско-кипрских. Их носители проживали в древнейшие времена вместе с прото-эолийцами, прото-ионийцами и прото-ахейцами в северной Греции — Пеласгиотиде и близких к ней областях. Впоследствии они продвинулись на территорию Аркадии, а часть достигла о. Кипра. В свою очередь, эолийцы подались на восток — о. Лесбос, о. Хиос и в Лидию, а ионийцы и ахейцы на юг — в Атику, на Пелопоннес, острова и в Малую Азию. Эолийские и аркадско-кипрские элементы

у Гомера я отношу, таким образом, на счет древнейшего ядра греческой поэзии, сложившегося еще во II тысячелетии до н. э. в Фессалии.

(Н. С. ГРИНБАУМ.)¹

Siehe C 1. (A. HEUBECK.)

Die ark.-kypr. und äol. Elemente bei Homer bleiben zunächst wohl rätselhaft; ein Zusammenhang ist aber m. E. jedenfalls nur zur Geschichte der hom. Epen, nicht zur Vorgeschichte der griech. Dialekte herstellbar. Unter den vorgebrachten Theorien scheint mir jene am wahrscheinlichsten, die ich (nach Fick, Meillet usw.) so formulieren möchte: es dürfte sich um Altertümlichkeiten handeln, die von der (späteren) Ionisierung (bewusst und unbewusst) verschont geblieben sind. (W. MERLINGEN.)

L' occurrence d'éléments „arcado-chypriotes“ (et même sans les guillemets) et éoliens chez Homère serait la meilleure preuve de l'existence, au temps d'Homère et avant lui, d'un dialecte plus ancien que l'ionien-attique, du dialecte des anciens Achéens. (M. D. PETRUŠEVSKI.)

Les éléments „arcado-chypriotes“ et éoliens du langage homérique s'expliquent par l'histoire de la tradition épique des Grecs, qui était orale et formulaire, et dont les débuts remontent à l'époque mycénienne. Pendant cette période, ce sont les Achéens (= Mycéniens) et probablement aussi les Eoliens qui ont créé l'épopée. Après l'anéantissement presque complet des Achéens du Péloponnèse, les Eoliens ont conservé la tradition épique dans le Nord et l'ont apportée en Asie Mineure. Là seulement, les Ioniens orientaux l'ont empruntée aux Éoliens. En effet, les éléments éoliens et achéens (= mycéniens) se trouvent surtout dans de vieilles formules, où, pour des raisons métriques, ils ne pouvaient être remplacés par les éléments ioniens correspondants. (C. J. RUIJGH.)

There are no Arcado-Cypriot elements in Homer. The so-called Aeolic elements keep shrinking. In a study (*Studi Mic. ed Egeo-Anat.* I [1966], 29—52) of the so-called Aeolic labials from labiovelars I have shown that the so-called Aeolic labialism does not exist. (O. SZEMERÉNYI.)

¹ = La présence d'éléments éoliens et arcado-cypriens chez Homère s'explique comme déterminée historiquement. Le dialecte homérique reflète la durable formation de la langue littéraire grecque sur la base de quelques dialectes. Ce sont: l'éolien, formant une couche moins importante et plus ancienne, et le prédominant — proto-ionien. Les éléments éoliens chez Homère sont liés non seulement à ce dialecte éolien, dont les traces se retrouvent plus tard sur l'île Chios et sur la côte de l'Asie Mineure, mais tout d'abord à l'éolien de la Thessalie antique. Là à l'époque archaïque de l'histoire grecque ont été posés les fondements de la poésie grecque. Là, en Thessalie, il faut aussi chercher, à mon avis, les racines de ces phénomènes qui par la suite ont été appelés arcado-cypriens. Les hommes qui s'en servaient, habitaient dans les temps archaïques avec les proto-Eoliens, -Ioniens et -Achéens dans la Grèce septentrionale — dans la Pélasgiotie et les régions voisines. Dans la suite ils se sont déplacés sur le territoire de l'Arcadie et une partie d'eux est arrivée à Chypre. Les Eoliens ont avancé, à leur tour, vers l'orient — les îles Lesbos et Chios et la Lydie, les Ioniens et les Achéens vers le sud — en Attique, au Peloponnèse, aux îles et dans l'Asie Mineure. Je considère, par conséquent, les éléments éoliens et arcado-cypriens chez Homère comme appartenant au noyau archaïque de la poésie grecque, qui s'était formé encore au II-me millénaire av. n. è. en Thessalie. (N. S. GRINBAUM.)

См. С 1. (И. М. ТРОНСКИЙ.)

This problem has long preoccupied philologists and linguists. Its solution would facilitate the placing of Mycenaean more specifically within the Greek dialectal context. The problem, as I see it, concerns the existence of Aeolic elements in the Homeric epic.

Fifty years ago these elements were thought to be uncontestably Aeolic. However since the decipherment of Linear B, a great deal of doubt and dispute has arisen. Many contradictory opinions have been put forward on the importance of these elements, some even believing that no Aeolic elements existed at all. For example, Kl. Strunk, in his thesis *Die sogenannten Äolismen der homerischen Sprache*, Köln 1957, held the opinion that all the so-called Aeolic elements were in reality Mycenaean, whereas G. P. Shipp in *Essays in Mycenaean and Homeric Greek*, holds the opposite view and considers that most of the Mycenaean elements were in reality Aeolic. Such contradictory conclusions indicate that the data used are insufficient to obtain a decisive result.

One must, of course, in considering this problem ignore all dialectal elements common to several dialects which had been attributed to Aeolic before the discovery of Arcado-Cypriot and then of Mycenaean. For instance the initial *Ḥ*- retained in earlier times, and the long $\bar{\alpha}$ retained elsewhere except in Ionian.

Having discarded all common elements, we can focus on certain features which are very probably exclusively Aeolic. And contrary to Strunk's assertion, these features do appear to exist. We can push the research further and ask ourselves if these Aeolic elements are isolated instances of borrowing or if they indicate a period when minstrels had composed in an Aeolic dialect. For some time now I have been trying to analyse the formulae which contain Aeolic elements and, without being able yet to give the results of my research, I think I can safely say that there was a period of Aeolic composition before the age of Homer himself and also, in the main, after the Mycenaean Era; there are very few formulae with Mycenaean and Aeolic elements together, and different Aeolic elements are curiously associated in a certain number of formulae (for example: infinitives in *-μεναι* occur with datives in *-εσσι*). Epic Aeolic may represent some kind of Lesbian before Ionic influence. The Aeolic stage of composition began perhaps in Thessaly just before the Aeolic migration, and then had its centre in Lesbos before flourishing in Ionia.

(P. WATHELET.)

As far as Epic is concerned, I should like to believe that the poetic language was already mixed in Mycenaean times. (T. B. L. WEBSTER.)

The so-called Arcado-Cypriot elements in Homer are archaisms both of the poetic language and of Arcado-Cypriot. Aeolic elements, of which there are far fewer than is usually thought, must be post-migration innovations. (W. F. WYATT.)

C

3. *How are certain parallelisms in the post-Mycenaean development of Arcado-Cypriot and of Aeolic to be explained? How strong do you find the West Greek influence on both the Attic-Ionic and the Aeolic dialects of Central Greece after the Dorian immigration?*

I am not sure what parallels which are definitely post-Mycenaean unite Arc.-Cypr. and Aeolic.

I think West Greek influence on Attic-Ionic dates from the period 1125—1050 mentioned above, and subsequently stopped. Boeotian influence on Attic must be postulated between roughly 1000 and 800 to account for the spread of -ττ- from Boeotia as the reflex of *-τσ-, where Ionic developed to -σσ-. The extent of West Greek influence on Boeotian and Thessalian seems to me very hard to gauge; but it is evident that the Dorians did not reach the North Aegean (Thessalian coast) in the 11th century or their overseas expansion would not have been confined to the southern periphery of the Aegean. I think the East Attic "empire" is necessary to account for this odd distribution, and the fall of Melos, and later Rhodes, were major battles of the Dark Ages. (J. CHADWICK.)

The parallel developments in *Arcado-Cyprian* and *Aeolic* in the post-Mycenaean period are either illusory or insignificant. For example: —

(i) ἀπύ for ἀπό also occurs in Mycenaean *a-pu-do-ke*, *a-pu*. Its appearance in AC and A may well, therefore, go back to the Mycenaean period. However AC ἀπύ may reflect earlier ἀπό, since final */o/ > /u/ regularly in AC, a phonological change not shared by A.

(i) δν for ἀνα: Assuming these are cognate, the o-reflex of */η/, like that of */τ/ could easily have been produced independently in both dialects, and there is no way of telling whether the changes are post-Mycenaean.

(iii) The athematic conjugation of verbs with vocalic suffix. *Thessalian* shows *ηλδῶρόντος* beside *γαργεῖμεν*, *Lesbian* ἀργεόμενοι beside *ἐγκαλημένων*. Even if the thematic forms are explained by alien infiltration, the fact that *Argive*, *Elean* and *Pamphylian*, like AC, show exclusively athematic forms makes the phenomenon too widespread to be significant here.

Certain similarities between *West Greek* and *Ionic-Attic* have been adduced as evidence for a period of contact between the two groups following the "Dorian invasion", as a result of which *Ionic-Attic* acquired certain Western characteristics.

I have argued at length elsewhere against the interpretation of individual isoglosses on which this theory is based;¹ the correlations which undoubtedly exist between *Ionic-Attic* and the *North West Greek* dialects are capable of a different explanation. Unlike *Ionic-Attic*, *Boeotian* remained in contact with *West Greek* dialects for a very long time, though here it seems likely that whatever convergence did take place reinforced similarities which go back far beyond the "Dorian invasion" and result from *Boeotian's* original situation as an East-West dialect bridge. (R. COLEMAN.)

The agreement of Aeolic and Arcado-Cypriot in having *o* rather than *a* next to *r* and *l* in place of Proto-Indo-European syllabic liquids probably dates back at least to Late Helladic, and in all probability is earlier. If it is not the result of accidental agreement in merging an *â*-like Murrelvokal with one of the already existing vowel phonemes, it might reflect a prehistoric situation in which the dialects ancestral to Aeolic were adjacent to the dialects ancestral to Arcado-Cypriot.

There was no strong West Greek influence on Attic-Ionic. In particular the Attic-Ionic *a* next to *r* and *l* from P.I.E. **r* and **l* must go back to the second millennium. Here again the agreement with West Greek is either accidental or reflects a very early positioning of the dialects similar to that which I have sketched in very simplified shape on page 95 of *Ancient Indo-European Dialects* (ed. Puhvel & Birnbaum), Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1966. (W. COWGILL.)

These parallels might reflect the continuance of tendencies which were common to all dialects of a southern group (as defined in *A 4*), while they were checked in Attic-Ionic for some reason, perhaps as the result of intrusion of speakers of a different dialect of Greek into the Attic-Ionic area, perhaps by substrate influence in regions into which "proto-Ionians" migrated from Attica and Euboea. An alternative possibility is that a proto-Aeolic ("Achaean") superstrate was introduced into the Peloponnese at some time during the Mycenaean period by immigrants who did not settle in Attica in sufficient numbers to affect the dialect which was in use there.

West Greek exerted a strong influence on the Aeolic dialects of central Greece, but not on Attic. The isoglosses between Attica, Euboea and Boeotia form a special problem which needs investigation. (R. A. CROSSLAND.)

a) Gli sviluppi postmicenei comuni all'eolico e all'arcado-cipriota sono spiegabili nel primo dei due modi elencati nel mio *Avviamento* a p. 76, cioè come pressione di isoglosse „eoliche” interessanti l'area del Peloponneso prima e durante l'epoca micenea e rafforzatesi in epoca successiva, quasi che, anche dopo il collasso dei regni micenei, la posizione reciproca tra eolico ed arcado-cipriota fosse rimasta la stessa. Un indizio della provenienze settentrionale dell'isoglossa eolizzante potrebbe vedersi nell'arcadico della zona di Orcomeno, indizio messo giustamente in rilievo, anche se ai fini della dimostrazione di una tesi diversa, dal Kiechle (*Kadmōs* 1 [1962, 98ss.], e che troverebbe una conferma nella concordanza, oserei dire puntuale, tra questo arcadico ed alcuni elementi „anormali“ del miceneo (orcom. *στυμέον, ὕμιοις*, micen. *du-ma dūmaq, tu-ma-ko Στύμαργος*). Non è detto comunque che „provenienza settentrionale“ indichi senz'altro che tali isoglosse abbiano varcato il Golfo di Corinto. La loro penetrazione nel Peloponneso potrebbe essersi svolta anche in altra guisa.

b) Quanto ad un influsso nord-occidentale (dorico) sui dialetti eolici e ionico-attici

¹ In *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1963, pp. 87—88, 94—95, 98—99, 101—105.

in epoca postmicenea, non saprei dare risposte di carattere definitivo. Bisogna comunque distinguere: α) influssi sul solo eolico, β) influssi sul solo ionico, γ) influssi su ambedue i gruppi dialettali.

Quale influsso sul solo eolico si potrebbe, eventualmente, intendere il ritorno di σ a τ , nelle desin. di III persona e in determinate classi di parole, limitatamente al tessalico e al beotico.

Di influssi sul solo ionico non riesco a trovarne alcuno.

Come influsso su entrambi i gruppi dialettali escluderei la generalizzazione del timbro a nell'esito delle sonanti, in quanto potrebbe trattarsi di un'isoglossa estesasi su ambedue i dialetti con centro di irradiazione per il momento imprecisabile. Ma poiché l'esito appare attestato qua e là già in miceneo, soprattutto in determinate categorie di parole [v. B 5], non escluderei che essa fosse molto antica, premicenea, se non addirittura preimmigratoria. Del resto la cronologia dell'evoluzione delle sonanti è molto complessa e in sé contraddittoria: a volte si è tentati di ritenerla posteriore alla caduta di s intervocalico (es. $\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\upsilon\varsigma$, $\delta\alpha\sigma\upsilon\varsigma$), a volte anteriore (es. $\xi\alpha\rho$, $\xi\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$). In ogni caso la generalizzazione di un dato timbro vocalico può essere un fenomeno (di ordine analogico) posteriore alla soluzione stessa di r ed l sillabici in un gruppo di suoni comportanti una liquida preceduta o seguita da una risonanza vocalica di timbro non ben determinabile, comunque oscillante tra la o e la a . La risposta, dunque, anche su questo punto è pel momento negativa. (M. DORIA.)

Параллели между послемикенским развитием аркадско-кипрского и эолийского диалектов я склонен объяснять как следствие длительного совместного пребывания их носителей в микенский или предмикенский период на одной и той же территории в северной Греции, скорее всего, в Фессалии.

Думаю, что западно-греческое влияние на эолийский и аттико-ионийский диалект центральной Греции после дорийского вторжения является весьма незначительным. Те их элементы, которые характерны прежде всего для западно-греческого, я склонен отнести к более древней стадии языкового развития, когда все эти диалекты находились в более тесной связи на одной и той же или же близлежащей территории. (Н. С. ГРИНБАУМ.)¹

Siehe C 1. (A. HEUBECK.)

Les parallélismes de l'arcado-chypriote et de l'éolien sont dûs en partie à leur ancêtre commun et aux relations postérieures des tribus grecques; quant aux influences du grec de l'ouest exercées sur l'ionien-attique et sur les dialectes „éoliens“ de la Grèce continentale après l'immigration dorienne je pourrai dire qu'elles sont insignifiantes; une partie assez considérable de ces „influences“ représente en effet des traces et des restes achéens dans les dialectes et les parlars de ces régions. (M. D. PETRUŠEVSKI.)

¹= Les parallèles entre le développement post-mycénien des dialectes arcado-cyprien et éolien — je suis porté à le croire — sont les conséquences du long séjour commun des hommes qui s'en servaient à l'époque mycénienne ou prémycénienne sur le même territoire dans la Grèce du Nord et probablement en Thessalie. Je pense que l'influence des dialectes occident-grecs sur l'éolien et l'ionien-attique de la Grèce centrale était très insignifiante après l'invasion dorienne. Ceux de leurs éléments, qui sont caractéristiques tout d'abord pour l'occident-grec, peuvent être attribués à mon avis, à la période plus ancienne du développement linguistique, quand tous ces dialectes se trouvaient en rapports plus étroits sur le même territoire ou sur le territoire voisin. (N. S. GRINBAUM.)

Il est difficile de montrer avec certitude des développements parallèles de date post-mycénienne qui soient uniquement attestés en arcado-chypriote et en éolien. Il est également difficile de trouver des traces d'une influence du grec occidental sur l'ionien-attique. En revanche, les parlers béotiens et certains parlers thessaliens reposent nettement sur un mélange d'éolien et de grec occidental (du Nord-Ouest). (C. J. RUIJGH.)

См. С 1. (И. М. ТРОНСКИЙ.)

The relevant cases are only those in which Arcado-Cypriot and Aeolic show common developments not shared by other dialects. Most of these, save the athematic inflexion of contract verbs, involve the raising of vowels in the vicinity of resonants or in final position. They are therefore not overly impressive, and do not seem to stand in the way of any theories of relationship which they might otherwise seem to contradict. They could be preserved archaisms, or independent innovations. I see little need to assume West Greek influence after the Dorian migration anywhere other than in Boeotian and Thessalian. (W. F. WYATT.)

Comments

I do not think linguistic debates such as this are adequate for the reconstruction of Greek prehistory, but we must use also the evidence of archaeology. One would like to draw on Greek memories of the past as well, but most of these seem so tenuous and ambiguous that one can find support for almost any theory. My suggestion about the East Attic empire is a combination of the linguistic observation that there is West Greek influence on Ionic, which must precede the Ionic migration of about 1000, and the archaeological observation of a cultural area extending from Eastern Attica across the Aegean to Rhodes. Desborough remarks that Melos drops out of this area later, a fact which can be reconciled with the statement of the Melians reported by Thucydides (5. 113) that they had held the island for 700 years in 415 B.C.

I would suggest that we need much closer collaboration between archaeologists and linguists; and above all we need archaeological effort to illuminate the Dark Age, which was plainly critical for the linguistic developments which characterise the Classical Era. (J. CHADWICK.)

In A. Bartoněks Vortrag wurde in vorbildlicher Präzision und Übersichtlichkeit dargestellt, welche neuen Probleme die Kenntnis des sog. mykenischen Dialekts für die griechische Sprachwissenschaft insgesamt aufgeworfen und welche neuen Aspekte sie ermöglicht hat. In der Tat muss von unserer so glücklich erweiterten Kenntnis her die Frage nach Entstehung und Aussehen des „Urgriechischen“ (A), nach der griechischen Dialektsituation in mykenischer Zeit (B) und schliesslich nach der Genesis der griechischen Dialekte und Kunstsprachen in archaischer und klassischer Zeit (C) erneut gestellt werden. Bartoněks Resümierung und systematische Rubrizierung der bisher geäusserten Ansichten gibt ein eindrucksvolles Bild von der Fülle und Verschiedenartigkeit der bisherigen Deutungsversuche, macht aber ebenso deutlich, wie notwendig es ist, die Dinge von Grund auf neu durchzudenken. (A. HEUBECK.)