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“Studies in the Linguistic Prehistory of the Bocotian Dialect”

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471.0.03 Matthew J. C. Scarborough (University of Cambridge) *Studies in the Linguistic Prehistory of the Boeotian Dialect*

This article offers a brief synopsis and partial summary of my Ph.D. Dissertation *The Aeolic Dialects of Ancient Greek: A Study in Historical Dialectology and Linguistic Classification* (Cambridge, 2016). This will consist of situating the contribution of the study in its scholarly context (summarising the first chapter of the dissertation), followed by a more concise synopsis of the linguistic features analysed by the dissertation and its evaluation methodology. The main dissertation synopsis is then followed by a concise survey of the dissertation's principal results for Boeotian dialect research, aside from the dissertation's general conclusions that an Aeolic subgrouping is likely, and that Boeotian appears to share a closer affinity with Thessalian than it shares with Lesbian, and that from the cumulative evidence a Thessalian-Boeotian subgrouping within Aeolic appears to be more likely than a Thessalian-Lesbian one.¹

Studies in the Linguistic Prehistory of the Boeotian Dialect

In his study of ethnicity in Greek antiquity Jonathan Hall stated that “[t]he field of Greek philology, and especially dialectology, represents a distinct and seemingly arcane enclave within the discipline as a whole, rendered all the more bewildering by the fact that universal consensus rarely exists.”² The study of the dialects traditionally designated ‘Aeolic’ has been particularly problematic from the use of the term to simultaneously designate an ethnic identity in Greek antiquity, as well as its usage to refer to a potential linguistic sub-grouping of Ancient Greek dialects. My dissertation is concerned with ‘Aeolic’ in the latter sense and investigates the vexed question of the interrelations of three dialects of Ancient Greek — Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian — which have been traditionally classified together as a historical (genetic) subgrouping. As such, the study is undertaken strictly from a comparative linguistic perspective, and seeks to rehabilitate the linguistic evidence for the use in more broad reconstructions of Ancient Greek prehistory which also utilise evidence from archaeology, ethnography, and historiography.³

¹ This dissertation was completed between 2011 and 2016 at the University of Cambridge under the supervision of Dr. Rupert Thompson, and was funded in part by a Doctoral Fellowship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Award No. 752-2011-1532). As space is limited this synopsis omits the argumentation regarding the distribution of individual linguistic features; for that information I refer the reader directly to the dissertation itself. I would like to thank Fabienne Marchand for offering me the opportunity to write a report on this research for *Teiresias*.

² Hall (1997:153).

³ For the emergence of Aeolian ethnic consciousness, I would alert readers to a forthcoming D.Phil. dissertation currently in preparation on *Aeolian Ethnogenesis* by Alexander Wilson at the University of Oxford.

The first chapter of the dissertation consists of a critical literature review of the notion of Aeolic dialects in Classical scholarship. The modern classification of an Aeolic dialectal subgrouping consisting of the Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian dialects goes back to the first volume of Heinrich Ahrens's treatise *De linguae graecae dialectis*, which appeared in 1839.⁴ With the further development of theory and methodology in historical linguistics during the nineteenth-century, the relationship between these three dialects was formally conceived of as a genetic subgrouping, going back to a common ancestor dialect.⁵ While this presumed original unity of Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian was not further questioned in the nineteenth-century literature, there was much debate as to where the Aeolic subgrouping related to the rest of the Ancient Greek dialects. In nineteenth-century scholarship these debates were inextricably bound with the question of the origins of the different Ancient Greek ethnic groups, with which the local dialects were then mistakenly directly equated.⁶ Very influential were the ideas of Karl Hoffmann, who postulated that the Aeolic dialects and the newly discovered Arcado-Cypriot dialectal subgrouping both went back to an 'Achaean' group, and on the basis of this it was hypothesised that the arrival of the Greeks had occurred in three waves of migration consisting respectively of Achaean speakers, (Attic-)Ionic speakers, and Doric speakers (cf. Fig. 1.1.).⁷ This three-wave model of Greek dialectal development was further codified by Kretschmer (1909), and remained relatively unchallenged until the mid-twentieth century.

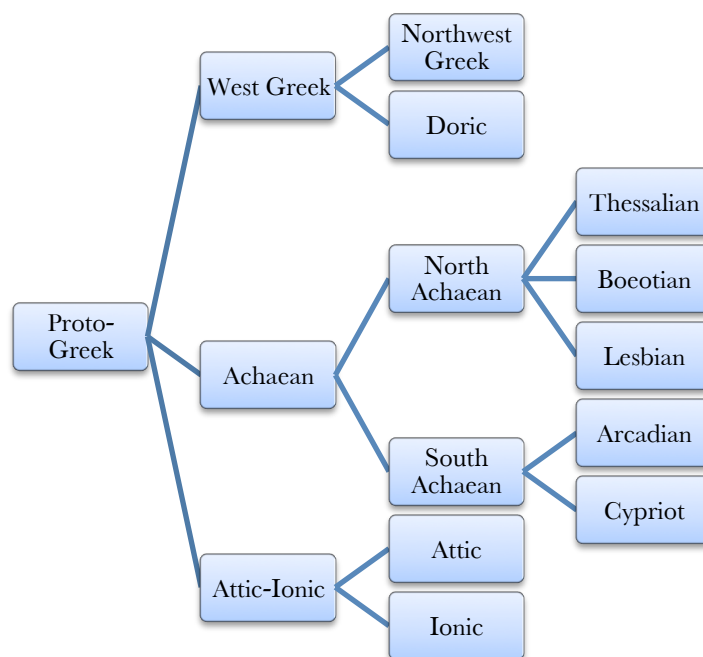


FIG. 1.1: THE FAMILY TREE OF THE GREEK DIALECTS ACCORDING TO HOFFMANN (1891-1898)

The three-wave model was overturned through the work of Walter Porzig and Ernst Risch in the 1950s.⁸ Risch and Porzig applied the techniques of dialect geography, which had been developed for modern languages to the Ancient Greek situation. Consequently it became

⁴ The first volume, Ahrens (1839), was concerned with the Aeolic dialects (i.e. Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian) and the 'Pseudo-Aeolic' dialects (i.e. Arcadian and Elean, the dialects also ascribed to 'Aeolic' by Strabo 8.1.2 in his discussion of Ancient Greek dialect geography). Ahrens's groundbreaking work on the epichoric dialects was made possible through the availability of data for non-literary, epigraphic dialects of Ancient Greek through the publication of the first volume of Boeckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* in 1828 (Boeckh 1828).

⁵ Cf. Meister (1882:7).

⁶ On the necessity of separating ethnicity and dialect, cf. Hall (1995), Hall (1997:153-181).

⁷ Cf. Hoffmann (1891-1898).

⁸ Porzig (1954), Risch (1955), cf. Chadwick (1956). For a more recent and nuanced discussion, cf. Horrocks (2010:13-24).

apparent that the dialects evolved *in situ* within Greece, rather than being imported through successive migrations from elsewhere. Porzig and Risch proposed a new classification of the Classical Greek dialects along as North–South or West–East split focused around the feature of the assibilation or non-assibilation of original **-ti* as found in the 3.pl. active verbal endings, e.g. West Greek φέροντι, East Greek *φέρουνσι (Att. φέρουσι).⁹ As the Aeolic dialects are split over this feature, they were envisaged as a ‘bridge’ dialect between the two areas.

One further important contribution to the comparative study of the Aeolic dialects in the twentieth century was José Luis García-Ramón’s monograph *Les origines postmycéniennes du groupe dialectal éolien*, whose principal goal was to establish relative and absolute chronologies for the fragmentation of an original Proto-Aeolic dialectal area.¹⁰ Using a combination of Thucydides’s testimony that the ancestors of the Boeotians were expelled from Arne in Thessaly sixty years following the Trojan War and the archaeological consensus of the time, García-Ramón hypothesised that the Proto-Aeolic dialectal area had a short period of unity at the end of the Mycenaean period, with Proto-Boeotian splitting off first ca. 1200–1150 BCE, followed by a brief period of unity between a common ancestor of Thessalian and Lesbian until an Aeolian migration to Asia Minor occurred ca. 1000 BCE.¹¹ According to this model the dialectal areas ancestral to Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian then continued to develop in their respective locations and converge with West Greek and Ionic dialects in their respective territories following these migrations (schematised as Fig. 1.2).

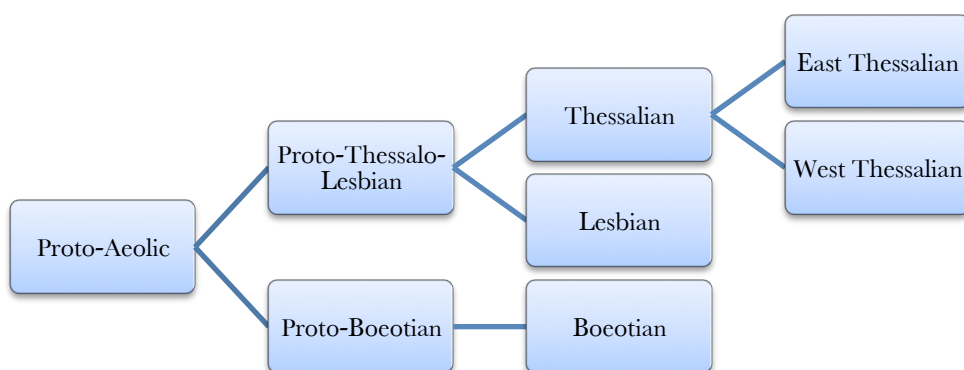


FIG. 1.2: THE FRAGMENTATION OF THE AEOLIC DIALECTS ACCORDING TO GARCÍA-RAMÓN (1975)

A fundamental flaw of almost all studies of the Aeolic dialects is an *a priori* assumption that the hypothetical reconstructed Proto-Aeolic ancestor dialect existed at all in the first place.¹² This assumption was controversially challenged by Bile, Brixhe, and Hodot, who challenged the enterprise of comparative reconstruction on the Ancient Greek dialects altogether in their 1984 article *Les dialectes grecs, ces inconnus*.¹³ Even more recently Holt Parker has attempted to dismiss the Aeolic subgrouping altogether, as a companion study to Brian Rose’s argument that there does not appear to be any clear archaeological evidence for an Aeolian migration to Asia

⁹ Porzig used the terms *Westgriechisch* and *Ostgriechisch*; Risch favoured *Nordgriechisch* and *Südgrischisch*. In English language scholarship the terms *West Greek* and *East Greek* are generally used for these concepts, cf. Horrocks (2010:9–42), Colvin (2014:55–64).

¹⁰ García-Ramón (1975).

¹¹ García-Ramón (1975:22) and García-Ramón (1975:80), following Thuc. 1.12, Snodgrass (1971:301) and Desborough (1972:245).

¹² Cf. exceptionally Wyatt (1970).

¹³ Bile, Brixhe, & Hodot (1984). Their views have been further advanced in the papers collected in Brixhe & Vottéro (2006). Of these, regarding Boeotian specifically, cf. Vottéro (2006).

Minor ca. 1000 BCE at all.¹⁴ While these studies rightly criticise earlier work for implicitly having a presupposed assumption of an Aeolic subgrouping without further reservations, one may counter their arguments by considering how historical linguistic hypotheses are constructed in the first place. In response to these studies, García-Ramón has correctly emphasised the principle of the cumulative evidence of the linguistic data.¹⁵ In other words, the evidence from a single linguistic innovation shared between two dialects may not be so significant in itself, but when there is a large number of shared linguistic innovations, then shared linguistic history is more likely. This was already recognised long ago by Leonard Bloomfield, who eloquently stated that in historical dialectology:

“[A] set of isoglosses running close together in much the same direction — a so-called bundle of isoglosses — evidences a larger historical process and a more suitable basis of classification than does a single isogloss that represents, perhaps, some unimportant feature.”¹⁶

Accepting that bundles of innovative features (innovative dialectal isoglosses) are more important for historical classification than individual unique innovations, one might ask how many isoglosses are needed to be confident of a genetic relationship. Attempting to sub-group closely related linguistic varieties exposes one of the difficulties of the comparative method in historical linguistics.¹⁷ As pointed out by McMahon & McMahon, since the operation of the comparative method is gradual and cumulative, the application of the comparative method is based on many individual philological judgements that take on a cumulative effect. This principle makes the comparative method extremely powerful for making historical explanations, but since the results are recovered from a cumulative set of human judgements, and so biases can creep into the comparative method when successive generations investigate the same data.¹⁸ As a way of testing controversial hypotheses, McMahon & McMahon advocate the application of quantitative methods by means of a statistical test.¹⁹ As a way of resolving this impasse between the positions in Ancient Greek dialectology critical of subgrouping against those who do advocate subgrouping, my dissertation has therefore aimed to devise a statistical test that may be able to test the likelihood of subgrouping hypotheses between closely related dialects based on the evidence from the complete bundle of innovative isoglosses, rather than relying on a one or two unusual features.

Prior to any possible quantitative study of the isoglosses that unite Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian, it is first necessary to establish what linguistic features can be considered by such a methodology in the first place. This is the goal of the second chapter of the dissertation is to establish these preliminaries. For linguistic subgrouping, this work follows Leskien’s Principle in historical linguistics, namely that only shared innovations may be used as evidence for subgrouping.²⁰ In the parallel discipline of biological phylogenetic classification this same principle is called Hennig’s Principle.²¹ Of course, if shared innovations appear to be spread through non-genealogical means (e.g. areal diffusion, parallel independent innovation), then such innovations must be discounted as evidence.²² In arguing against an Aeolic subgrouping Parker made the prior assumption in his methodology that areal diffusion is in principle *always* possible.²³ This position runs contrary to the established practice in phylogenetic systematics as

¹⁴ Parker (2008), Rose (2008).

¹⁵ García-Ramón (2006), García-Ramón (2010).

¹⁶ Bloomfield (1933:342).

¹⁷ On the comparative method in historical linguistics, cf. Hock (1991:556ff.).

¹⁸ McMahon & McMahon (2005:69).

¹⁹ McMahon & McMahon (2005:68-69).

²⁰ Leskien (1876:vii), cf. Hock (1991:578-580).

²¹ Hennig (1966:120).

²² Cf. Hock (557-561).

²³ “[E]ven genuinely shared innovations may not always provide an infallible guide to preexisting dialect geography. Sound changes and lexical or morphological borrowings between contiguous areas can be blocked by geographical features (e.g., mountain ranges, rivers). Equally so, they can proceed along a variety of communication paths leaving intervening (uninhabited or sparsely populated) areas relatively untouched.” (Parker 2008:442).

used in the biological sciences. In biological phylogenetic systematics, it is argued that a convergent feature should not be assumed *a priori*.²⁴ Hennig formulated this as an auxiliary principle on the basis that if proof was required in every single case that a feature was not convergent, then the entire enterprise of phylogenetic classification would collapse upon itself.²⁵ Consequently it is argued, against the methodology of Parker (2008), a linguistic analogue to Hennig's Auxiliary Principle ought to be adopted for the case of dialectal classification, and carefully applied to the evidence as each innovation is examined. Following the discussion of methodology in classification, the second chapter also gives some brief methodological consideration to the diversity of the question of identifying and defining individual dialects of Ancient Greek, problems of literary and epigraphic source material, and questions of sociolinguistic register.²⁶

The third chapter of the dissertation on the 'core' Aeolic isoglosses consists of an analysis of the innovative features shared by all three dialects traditionally classified as Aeolic. The features under examination in this chapter are drawn up from a composite list of potentially innovative isoglosses commonly ascribed to the Aeolic group in the handbook treatments of Buck (1955), Thumb & Scherer (1959), Hainsworth (1982), Méndez Dosuna (2007), and those examined by Parker (2008). These features are:

A. Boeotian-Thessalian-Lesbian 'core' Isoglosses:

- (1) Labial reflexes of Proto-Greek $*/k^w/$ $*/g^w/$ $*/k^{wh}/$ including before $/e/$
- (2) Vocalisation of Proto-Greek $*_r > or/ro$ (Att.-Ion., West Greek ar/ra)
- (3) Lowering of $*/i/ > /e/$ before $/r/$
- (4) Syllabicity loss in prevocalic $*/i/$ (i.e. $*-iV- > *-iV-$)
- (5) Dative plural $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ in consonant stems
- (6) Thematically inflected perfect active participle in $-\omega\nu, -οντος$
- (7) First person plural active verbal ending $-\mu\epsilon\nu$
- (8) Paradigmatic levelling of stem $\acute{\iota}\alpha$ 'one' (elsewhere $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$)
- (9) Morphologically derived patronymic adjectives

Of these features, it is argued that (A1), (A2), (A5), (A6), (A7), and (A8) are innovations that are potentially shared by a common ancestor dialect, while features (A3), (A4), (A9), are either obviously too recent or too poorly attested to justify postulating as potentially inherited innovations. It is admitted that small categories of exceptions to the phonological rules (A1) and (A2) do exist, but they may be explained through borrowing or influence from inter-dialectal literary registers.²⁷ On the basis of these six potentially inherited features from the 'core' Aeolic isoglosses, it is argued in the fifth and final chapter of the dissertation that these constitute sufficient evidence for an Aeolic subgrouping descended from Proto-Greek.

The fourth chapter considers the innovative isoglosses shared between two of the three dialects, or those innovative isoglosses shared with geographically neighbouring dialects which may be areal features. This discussion is made to determine the features that may be used for cladistic arguments within the Aeolic subgroup. The features examined in this chapter are based on the handbook treatments of Buck (1955) and Méndez Dosuna (2007).

B. Lesbian-Thessalian Isoglosses:

²⁴ Hennig (1966:121).

²⁵ Hennig (1966:121-122).

²⁶ The second chapter the dissertation also briefly addresses the question of the question of an Aeolic phase in Homeric composition and transmission. It finds the arguments of Jones (2012) for a diffusion model most plausible, although on this issue cf. more generally Haug & Andersen (2012). Ultimately, the question of an Aeolic phase of Homeric composition is not of relevance to the central argument of the dissertation.

²⁷ For argumentation, cf. Scarborough (2016:58-81) and Scarborough (2016:81-93) respectively.

- (1) Geminate liquids and nasals in environment for First Compensatory Lengthening in other dialects (e.g. Lesb. *σελάννα* < **selás-nā*, etc.)
- (2) Syllabicity Loss: **-iV-* > **-iV-*
- (3) Athematic Inflection of *verba vocalia* (κάλημι, etc. = Att. καλέω)
- (4) Selection of variant preposition ἀπύ (Att. ἀπό)
- (5) Selection of variant preposition ὄν (Att. ὀνά)
- (6) Modal Particle κε (Att. ἄν, West Greek κα)
- (7) Lexical item ἄ(ν)γρεμι (Att. αἰρέω)

C. Lesbian-Boeotian Isoglosses:

- (1) Geminated sigmatic-infix (ἐκάλεσσα, etc.)
- (2) Selection of preposition πεδά (Att. μετά)

D. Thessalian-Boeotian Isoglosses:

- (1) (Non-)Assibilation in restricted morphological categories
- (2) <El> = Proto-Greek *ē
- (3) γίννμαι (Att. γί(γ)νομαι)
- (4) Thematic present active infinitive -μεν (Att. -ειν)
- (5) Third person plural endings -νθι, -νθαι (-νθη), -νθο
- (6) Compound names Διόζοτος, Θεόζοτος
- (7) ἔλεξε = εἶπε in decree formulae
- (8) υστερομειν(ν)ια 'last day of the month'

E. Lesbian-Ionic Isoglosses (areal)

- (1) Psilosis
- (2) Early loss of *μ
- (3) Monophthongisation of final -ᾱι, -ηι, -ωι > -ᾱ, -η, -ω
- (4) Assibilation in restricted morphological categories
- (5) Thematic dative plural -αῖσι, -οῖσι

F. Thessalian-Boeotian-Northwest Greek Isoglosses (areal)

- (1) Non-assibilation in restricted morphological categories
- (2) Sporadic -σθ- > -στ-
- (3) (Ϝ)ίκατι '20'
- (4) -κάτιοι 'hundreds'
- (5) Generalisation of future -ξω, aorist -ξα to -ζω verbs
- (6) ἱαρός 'holy'
- (7) ἐν < *ένς (Att. εἰς)
- (8) παρὰ 'at, with' construed with the accusative
- (9) πότη(ι) (Att. πρὸς)

G. Thessalian-Northwest Greek Isoglosses (areal)

(All isoglosses shared with Thessalian and Northwest Greek are also shared with Boeotian.)

H. Boeotian-Northwest Greek Isoglosses (areal)

- (1) Middle participles in δείμενος as if from *δε-έμενος

- (2) West Greek form of Ἄρταμις (Att. Ἄρτεμις)
- (3) Modal Particle κα (Att. ἄν)
- (4) Temporal adverbs in -κα (e.g. πόκα, ~ Att. πότε)
- (5) Ordinal numeral πρᾶτος (Att. πρῶτος)
- (6) 'Place where' suffix -ει (Att. -ου)
- (7) Plural definite articles τοί, ταί (Att. οἱ, αἱ)

I. Boeotian-Attic Isogloss (areal)

- (1) Depalatalised voiceless dentals -ττ- (φυλάττω, etc.)
- (2) Depalatalised voiced dentals -δδ- (sporadic also Attic)

The examination of these features finds only the selection of the prepositions ἀπύ (B4) and ὄν (B5) potential evidence for a Thessalian-Lesbian sub-clade, the selection of πεδά (C2) the only possible evidence for a Lesbian-Boeotian sub-clade, and the thematic present active infinitive in -μεν (D4) and the aspirated third person plural endings in -νθι, -νθαί (-νθη), -νθο (D5) are the best potential evidence of a Boeotian-Thessalian sub-clade. The areal isoglosses are dismissed for classificational purposes, but are interesting as clear evidence for more recent *in situ* linguistic convergence with their respective geographically adjacent dialects.

The fifth and final chapter of the dissertation devises a probabilistic clade test to estimate the likelihood of the Aeolic dialects going back to a common ancestor dialect. The mathematical and statistical basis of the test will not be elaborated in full here, but the basic elements of its implementation will be summarised.²⁸ The first step of the methodology estimates the likelihood of the *repeatability* of a given innovation, that is to say how likely it is that an innovation is made independently from first principles. The second step of the methodology estimates the *innovability* of a given innovation based on its observed distribution among the dialects. Once the innovabilities of the potentially inherited feature (and their margins of error) have been estimated, the product of these innovabilities of the potentially inherited features are measured against a known critical value for statistical significance, which has been calculated for the likelihood of repeatability in the sample. If the value obtained is less than the critical value for statistical significance, then it is unlikely that the identical innovative isogloss bundles shared between the dialects have been innovated in common by chance, and a common ancestor dialect is likely. The results of the quantitative test on the features examined for an Aeolic subgrouping in the main body of the dissertation has found that it is indeed unlikely that the core Aeolic isogloss bundle was independently innovated by all three dialects, and consequently it is statistically likely that Aeolic forms a genetic subgrouping, descended from Proto-Greek. The remaining bundles for potential Lesbian-Thessalian, Lesbian-Boeotian, or Boeotian-Thessalian subgroupings within Aeolic failed to meet a standard critical value for statistical significance to be confident of further clades descended from Proto-Aeolic.

Following the probabilistic clade test, the fifth chapter further elaborates a philological argument for Proto-Lesbian leaving the Proto-Aeolic dialectal area first, while the precursors to Boeotian and Thessalian remained in contact, innovating in common a small number of additional features. This argument is made on the basis of the frequency of unique innovations shared between Thessalian and Boeotian but lacking in Lesbian (athematic active infinitive -μεν, which was also extended to thematic active -μεν (D4), aspirated third person plural endings -νθι, -νθαί (-νθη), -νθο (D5), γί(γ)νομαι reanalyzed as an athematic νυ-present γίνυμαι (D3), and onomastic trend of names in -ζοτος (D6). Likewise, it is argued that Lesbian reorganized an inherited system of infinitives consisting of thematic active *-ehen (e.g. Attic -ειν, Laconian -

²⁸ The full operation of this methodology may be found in the dissertation, and is also the subject of an article in preparation by the author of the dissertation and Rupert Thompson.

ην)²⁹ and active athematic **-men* (West Greek, Boeotian, etc. -μεν) into the unique system attested by epigraphic Lesbian (-μεναι formed to monosyllabic athematic roots, re-characterized with the suffix -αι taken over from the sigmatic aorist -σ-αι; -ην, -ᾱν, -ων, ὕν found in all other classes depending on stem termination).³⁰

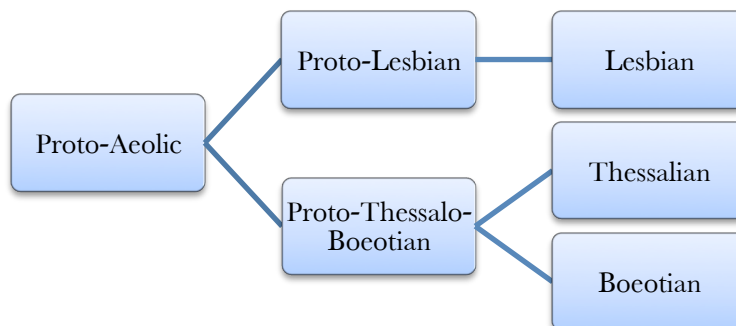


FIG. 1.3. A NEW PROPOSED FRAGMENTATION OF THE AEOLIC DIALECTS

Summary of Contributions to Boeotian Dialect Research

Core Aeolic Isoglosses

Boeotian shares the core Aeolic isogloss bundle with Thessalian and Lesbian, these include features (A1), (A2), (A5), (A6), (A7), and (A8) above. The full argumentation for these features as potentially inherited from a more recent ancestral dialect descended from Proto-Greek is given in the third chapter of the dissertation. For the remaining features (A3), (A4), and (A9), we may remark: the lowering of **/i/ > /e/* before */r/* and the loss of syllabicity of prevocalic **/i/* (i.e. **-iV- > *-̣iV-*) are ascribed to Boeotian,³¹ but the Boeotian evidence for these developments are quite limited and consequently these should not be considered properly ‘Aeolic’ features.³² Boeotian also has a system of deriving patronymic adjectives morphologically, but the morphology used to derive them are either inherited archaism or new developments specific to Boeotian, and consequently the shared use of patronymic adjectives likewise cannot be used as evidence for an Aeolic subgrouping.³³

Boeotian-Lesbian Isoglosses

There are only two specifically innovative isoglosses shared by Boeotian and Lesbian. The first of these normally found in the handbooks is the presence of a geminated sigmatic-infix in aorists (C1) as a common innovation of Boeotian and Lesbian.³⁴ While this may be a common innovation, it is not so clear that they are inherited, as in Boeotian the feature is only attested in two late forms, *συνκαλέσ|σαντες* (*SEG* 43:212a.15-16, ca. 260-250 BCE) and *ἑσσωμο[σ]αν* (*I.Thesp*:84.61, ca. 210-200 BCE).³⁵ Likewise, the nature of the spread of -σσ- in aorists (and futures) as attested in the Lesbian inscriptions of the fourth century BCE appears to be the result of in multiple competing interparadigmatic analogies, and it is consequently more likely that

²⁹ The ending **-chen* is probably from an original s-stem formation with an *-en* extension **-cs-en* (Rix 1992:237-238). The uncontracted ending **-chen* is attested via Mycenaean *e-ke-e /hek^hchen/* (PY Eb 297.1).

³⁰ On the analysis of -αι as an infinitive-forming suffix, cf. Meritt (2015).

³¹ Buck (1955:25), Thumb & Scherer (1959:20, 56, 88), Méndez Dosuna (2007:462), García-Ramón (2010:223-224).

³² Cf. Scarborough (2016:94-96, 117-119).

³³ Cf. Scarborough (2016:110-112).

³⁴ Buck (1955:116).

³⁵ Cf. Scarborough (2016:136-138).

these are parallel independent innovations.³⁶ The second Boeotian-Thessalian shared innovation is the selection of the preposition *πεδά* for *μετά* (C2), although this is not exclusively Boeotian-Lesbian, as *πεδά* is also attested in Arcadian and West Greek dialects and both variants of the preposition are attested in variation with one another in Mycenaean.³⁷ It is potentially of use for classification as a selection between inherited alternatives, but it is the *only* remaining exclusive Boeotian-Lesbian isogloss that could be interpreted as innovated from a potential more recent ancestor, and consequently a Boeotian-Lesbian sub-clade is extremely unlikely.

Boeotian-Thessalian Isoglosses

As discussed above, Boeotian and Thessalian also share a number of additional innovations that may be taken as potential evidence for their subgrouping within Aeolic. The innovations that be used without reservations for classification are the selection of an athematic active infinitive morpheme *-μεν*, which was further generalized as the thematic active infinitive *-μεν* (replacing inherited *-ειν/-ην* from earlier **-chen*) (D4),³⁸ and the innovation of aspirated third person plural active and middle endings *-νθι*, *-νθαι*, *-νθο* (D5), most likely originating from an analogy in the middle endings.³⁹ In addition to these, the uniquely shared reanalysis of *γί(γ)νομαι* as an athematic *νυ*-present *γίνυμαι* (D3) and the shared onomastic trend of *Διόζοτος* and *Θεόζοτος* as though reanalyzed from *Διός-δοτος*, *Θεός-δοτος* (D6) is extremely striking.⁴⁰ These may be indicative of an earlier period of linguistic unity prior to their separation.

The older handbooks commonly allege that <EI> for Proto-Greek inherited **/ē/* (D2) is a shared innovation of Boeotian and Thessalian.⁴¹ However, as Bartoněk long ago demonstrated, these spellings are the result of quite different historical processes and they should be discarded as a feature for subgrouping.⁴²

Boeotian-(Thessalian-)Northwest Greek Isoglosses

Both Thessalian and Boeotian share a number of innovative isoglosses with the Northwest Greek dialects, with Boeotian sharing more of these features than Thessalian. The fact that these are areal features spread from West Greek are most apparent in the cases of the generalisation of *-ξ-* as a marker of the future and aorist in *-ζω* (F5). Such forms are confined to the epigraphy of Koroneia and Thespiiai (e.g. *ια|ρειάξασα IG VII:2876.4-5*, *έκομιξάμεθ[α] I.Thesp:40.23*), whereas elsewhere in Boeotia expected outcome of the voiced dental stem **-δ-* *σ-* > **-τσ-* > *-ττ-* (e.g. *κομιττάμενοι IG VII:2406.8*, Thebes) is found.⁴³ Additionally, the sporadic spellings of *-στ-* for *-σθ-* (e.g. *άπολογιττάστη IG VII:3172.140*), which are well known from Northwest Greek,⁴⁴ are restricted to Orkhomenos.⁴⁵ In addition to these Boeotian also shares with West Greek the non-assibilation of original **-ti* in certain morphological categories (D1, F1),⁴⁶ the selection of the variant *ιαρός* (F6),⁴⁷ the selection of the preposition *πότ(ι)* (F9),⁴⁸ the preposition *παρά* with the meaning ‘at, with’ construed with the accusative

³⁶ Cf. Hodot (1990:190).

³⁷ Cf. Scarborough (2016:138-139).

³⁸ Cf. Scarborough (2016:154-156).

³⁹ Cf. Scarborough (2016:156-161).

⁴⁰ Cf. respectively Scarborough (2016:151-154) and Scarborough (2016:161-164).

⁴¹ Buck (1955:25, 148), Thumb & Scherer (1959:57).

⁴² Bartoněk (1962), I have further argued elsewhere (Scarborough 2014) that the spellings of <EI> and <OY> in Thessalian is likely to be simply an orthographic convention.

⁴³ Cf. Scarborough (2016:172-175). The *-ξ-* forms, moreover, are not regular in Koroneia, cf. *άπολογιττάνθω (SEG 43:205.15)*.

⁴⁴ Cf. Méndez Dosuna (1985:333-348), cf. García-Ramón (1975:95), Blümel (1982:156-157).

⁴⁵ Cf. Scarborough (2016:169-170).

⁴⁶ Cf. Scarborough (2016:139-151), Scarborough (2016:170-172).

⁴⁷ Cf. Scarborough (2016:175-176).

⁴⁸ Cf. Scarborough (2016:176).

(F8),⁴⁹ the modal particle *κα* (H3),⁵⁰ temporal adverbs in *-κα* (e.g. *πόκα* ‘when’) (H4),⁵¹ the ordinal *πρῶτος* (Att.-Ion., Lesb. *πρῶτος*, Thess. *προῦτος*) (H5),⁵² the use of the ‘place-where’ suffix in *-ει* (e.g. *αὐτῇ SEG 43:212a.5*) (H6).⁵³ Buck considers participles in *δείμενος* as though from *δε-έμενος* (H1) as a Boeotian feature, but in fact these formations are restricted in their attestation epigraphically.⁵⁴ Only one example is attested: *δει|μένοις (IG VII:2858.3-4)*.⁵⁵ The only other form attributed to Boeotian, *ἀδικείμενος* (Ar. *Ach.* 914), as argued by Colvin, is more likely a feature used by Aristophanes to designate a character more generally of Central Greek origin rather than specifically Boeotian.⁵⁶ Participial formations of this type are generally more widely attested in the Northwest Greek dialects.⁵⁷ The co-incidence of these isoglosses shared between Boeotian and Northwest Greek are strong evidence for sustained interaction between speakers of these dialects for some considerable time.

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⁴⁹ Cf. Scarborough (2016:176-177).

⁵⁰ Cf. Scarborough (2016:179-180).

⁵¹ Cf. Scarborough (2016:180).

⁵² Cf. Scarborough (2016:180-181).

⁵³ Cf. Scarborough (2016:181-182).

⁵⁴ Cf. Scarborough (2016:178-179).

⁵⁵ Buck (1955:124) also considers the form *ἀφικνεμένων* (*I.Orop.* 277.8, ca. 387-377 BCE), which appears in an Ionic inscription, to be due to Boeotian influence.

⁵⁶ Colvin (1999:219-220).

⁵⁷ Cf. Méndez Dosuna (1985:489-498).

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471.0.04 Paul Grigsby (University of Warwick) *Boiotian Games: Festivals, Agones, and the Development of Boiotian Identity* (supervisors: Prof. James Davidson and Dr Zahra Newby).

Introduction

This thesis, currently awaiting submission, takes as its theme Boiotian identity as expressed and disseminated through Boiotian games and festivals. At its simplest, it provides a complete chronological record of the evidence for Boiotian *agones* from the seventh century BC through to the end of the third century AD, alongside that of the most important collective Boiotian festivals. More importantly, it discusses the role played by the Boiotian games and festivals in the creation, development, and promotion of a unified Boiotian identity, thus contributing to the wider debates on identity and Boiotian ethnogenesis.

In my introduction, I place this thesis amongst recent studies on Boiotian ethnogenesis by Kühr (2006), Larson (2007), and Kowalzig (2007), which themselves build upon the works on ethnicity of Smith (1996) and Hall (1997; 2002), and which take as their central focus cultural common denominators such as myths of common descent, epic ancestry, and a shared dialect,