

## GREEK ζᾶ FOR δῖά AND SOME «LESBIAN» GLOSSES\*

WOJCIECH SOWA  
Jagellonian University Cracow  
wojciech.sowa@gazeta.pl

### GRIEGO ζᾶ POR δῖά Y ALGUNAS GLOSAS «LESBIAS»

En el léxico de Hesiquio puede encontrarse un preverbio ζᾶ ‘mucho, muy’, sin indicación del origen dialectal; esta forma ha sido citada como típicamente lesbia por Johannes Grammaticus Philoponus (490-580 d.C.) en su libro sobre el dialecto lesbio. De hecho, la aparición de <ζᾶ> en lugar de <δῖά> puede observarse sólo dos veces en las inscripciones lesbias. Por otra parte, el uso de ζᾶ se atestigua en el dialecto literario, tanto en Safo como en Alceo. Hay testimonios de ζᾶ también en los poemas homéricos, y como elementos probablemente homéricos aparecen también en la lírica arcaica. Según Hoffmann, todas las glosas de Hesiquio que muestran el uso del preverbio ζᾶ en lugar de δῖά deben interpretarse a partir de un origen en el dialecto lesbio. Sin embargo, parece más probable que el gran grupo de glosas de compuestos con ζᾶ sean más bien formaciones poéticas. Todas per-

Among other forms in the lexicon of Hesychius a preverb ζᾶ ‘much, very’, without an indication of the dialectal provenance can be found; this form has been quoted as a typical Lesbian formation by Johannes Grammaticus Philoponus (490-580 AD) in his work on Lesbian dialect. In fact, the occurrence of <ζᾶ> instead of <δῖά> may be observed only twice in Lesbian inscriptions. On the other hand, one observes the use of ζᾶ attested in literary dialect, both in an absolute form and as a member of compound in Sappho and Alcaeus. The forms with ζᾶ- are attested also in Homeric poems, and as probable Homeric elements they occur also in the Archaic Lyric. According to Hoffmann, all the glosses found in Hesychius, which display the use of the preverb ζᾶ in place of δῖά should be interpreted as originating from the Lesbian dialect. It seems however more probable to consider the big group of compound glosses consisting of ζᾶ- to be

---

\* The Lesbian inscriptions are quoted by a number after Hodot 1990, pp. 272-317 using the specification of the finding place of Lesbian inscriptions as: MYT Mytilene, MAT Methymna, ERE Eressos, LES Lesbos without determination of a city and NAS the island of Nessos.

The ancient authors have been quoted according to the electronic editions in Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Project. The abbreviations follow the model as in LSJ. The Lesbian poets, however, have been quoted according to the edition of E. Lobel and D. L. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, and according to D. L. Page, *Supplementum lyricis Graecis*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974.

The non-Aeolic Inscriptions and Papyri have been quoted after the electronic edition in PHI CD 6/7 (prepared by the Greek Epigraphy Project at Cornell University). The abbreviations follow the standard model.

tenecen a la dicción poética (incluso aunque no pueda excluirse en algunos casos la posibilidad de su existencia en el uso vernacular), donde desde la épica temprana existieron las variantes motivadas métricamente ζα- y δια- una al lado de la otra. El intercambio existente de ζά por διά, debido a razones métricas, en Safo y Alceo tiene que ser considerado otro elemento de la influencia épica/homérica sobre una tradición poética independiente eolia.

*Palabras clave:* dialectos del griego antiguo; glosas lebias; lengua poética.

rather poetical formations. They all belong to the poetical diction (even if the possibility of existing in the vernacular use in some cases cannot be excluded), where since early Epic the metrically caused variants ζα- and δια- existed hand in hand. The occurring interchange ζά for διά for the metrical reason in Sappho and Alcaeus should then be considered another element of Epic/Homeric influence upon an independent Aeolic poetical tradition.

*Keywords:* Ancient Greek dialects; Lesbian Glosses; poetic language.

The lexicon of Hesychius from Alexandria (5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD)<sup>1</sup> is still of great importance as far as the exegesis of the Classical texts is concerned; the questions, however, whether it could be considered a reliable source of dialectological data, and especially, whether the glosses attest the real state of the vernacular language spoken in different regions of Greece seem sometimes problematic. Of course the work of Hesychius is based on the earlier ones, especially on a non preserved lexicon by Diogenianus from Heraklea Παντοδαπή λέξις (quoted by Hesychius under the name Περιεργοπένητες); among others, the glosses by Aristarchus, Apion, Heliodorus, Kyrillus and the orthographical works by Herodianus had been used (cf. Latte 1953, pp. XLII-XLVII). It is to be said that the lexical material attested in glosses often does not fit the epigraphical evidence, as they have been quoted mostly from various literary sources. In case of Lesbian dialect, the Lesbian poets have been for the most part the primary source for Hesychius, their language on the other hand exhibits much traces of Homeric dialect (*color Homericus*, cf. Kazik-Zawadzka 1958)<sup>2</sup>.

Among other forms in the lexicon of Hesychius a preposition ζά ‘much, very’, without an indication of the dialectal provenance can be found, cf. Z 1: Ζά: μέγα. ισχυρόν. πολύ. ὅθεν καὶ ζάπλουτος ὁ μεγαλόπλουθος. This form has been quoted as a typical Lesbian formation by Johannes Grammaticus Philoponus in his work on Lesbian dialect, cf. *Comp.* III 3: Ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ Δ τὸ Ζ, διαβάλλειν ζαβάλλειν, διὰ νυκτὸς ζὰ νυκτός (Hoffmann 1893, pp. 204-

<sup>1</sup> The oldest manuscript from 15th cent. is *Codex Marcianus Graecus 622*.

<sup>2</sup> The Lesbian glosses have been quoted after Hoffmann 1893, pp. 228-248.

222); it has been also referred to in Scholia to Homer, this time, however, without pointing at the dialectal origin, e.g. Sch. in I 516a.4 ff.: ἀλλὰ μήποτε τὸ μὲν ζάφελος προπαροξύνεται λόγῳ τοιούτῳ· τὰ εἰς ος λήγοντα συγκείμενα παρὰ τὸ ζά προπαροξύνεται, ζάθεος ζάκοτος· οὔτως οὖν καὶ ζάφελος. τὸ δὲ ζαφελῶς περισπᾶται.

In fact, the occurrence of ζά instead of διά may be observed only twice in Lesbian inscriptions, they are exclusively attested in the Roman period<sup>3</sup>, similarly the use of a name (in dat. sg.) Ζονυσσω (for Διονύσω) is attested in MYT 037a.5 (2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, public distributions)<sup>4</sup>, maybe in religious context in MYT 038.7 (2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.) ] τῷ Ζονυσσῷ τῷ ... . On the other hand, one observes the use of ζά attested in literary dialect, both in an absolute form and as a member of compound, both in Sappho and Alcaeus<sup>5</sup>, and what seems more important the forms with ζα- are attested in Homeric poems; as probable Homeric elements they occur also in the Archaic Lyric, cf. e.g. A 38: Κίλλάν τε ζαθέην Τενέδοιο τε Ἴφι ἀνάσσεις, ε 368: ὡς δ' ἄνεμος ζαῆς ἦον Θημῶνα τινάξει, also e.g. in Pi., *Pyth.* 5.70: ἐν Ἄργει τε καὶ ζαθέῃ Πύλῳ.

According to Hoffmann, all the glosses found in Hesychius, which display the use of the preverb ζά in place of διά should be interpreted as originating from the Lesbian dialect (Hoffmann 1893, p. 237). This assumption is, however, rather problematic<sup>6</sup>. One has to emphasize that ζά for διά may be

<sup>3</sup> Cf. MYT 244.3 f. (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD, dedication) Βρησον Βρησῷ ἀρχιατρον ἀλιτου[ρ-] γατον ζα των παιδων δε και εκγονων αρχας και αλλας και... ; Il. 21-23: Μαλ<οε>ντος αρχιχορον και ιεροκαρυκα των γερεων, ζακορον Σαωτηρος Ασκληπιω.

<sup>4</sup> πα]ρα τῷ θεῷ Ζονυσσῷ ἐδῶκε τοῖς βολλα[οῖς]; b3: Ζονυσ[σ]ῳ [ .

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sappho 27.6: ] ζάλεξαι, κάμμ' ἀπὸ τῶδεκ[ ; 63.4: ζά χωρὶς ἔχην τὰν δυναμ[ ; 96.15: πόλλα δὲ ζαφοίταισ' ἀγάνας ἐπι; 134.1: ζά ... ἐλεξάμαν ὄναρ Κυπρογενεα; 181.1: ζάβατον; 281(282).5 [ ] .αι ζαθε[.]; Alcaeus 5.10: ζαλλευόντο]ν ἀείκεα; 34a.8: ζακρυόνεντος; 38a.3: ζάβαι[ς ἀ]ελίω κόθαρον φάος [ ; 45.3: Θραικ[... ἐρ]ευγόμενος ζά γαίας; 261b col. 1.7: [ ] ... οισαν μ[ ] . ζάεισαι; 326.7: λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν ζάδηλον ἦδη; cf. also Theoc. 29.6: ζά τὰν σὰν ιδέαν, τὸ δὲ λοῖπον ἀπώλετο.

<sup>6</sup> The similar phenomena also occur sporadically in the other dialects, cf. the Elean «zetacism» (use of <Z> in place of <Δ>), which occurs in the inscriptions from 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE. The problem is old and it had attracted attention of many scholars. According to Méndez Dosuna a similar situation can be found in Rhodian, Cretan and Argolic (Méndez Dosuna 1993, p. 85). The author discusses two general proposals concerning the explanation of this fact. One of them is to treat <Z> as an indication of spirantization (fricative /δ/< \*d/), according to another one <Z> for <Δ> is an inverse spelling (*ibid.*, pp. 86-90). He observes the distribution of both graphemes in different phonological contexts (four types). In the first one <Δ> is used for \*d and \*d<sub>h</sub>, in the second one «the outcome of \*d is rendered by <Z>». The

observed only in the texts of Lesbian poets, the examples from the dialectal inscriptions come from the stylized inscriptions of the Imperial times (both MYT 244 and MYT 037). The emerging of ζά instead of διά takes place because of the consonantization of /i/ before a vowel (Thumb and Scherer 1959, p. 89; Lejeune 1972, pp. 114 f., 173, 245; Rix 1992<sup>2</sup>, pp. 45, 90 ff.)<sup>7</sup>, so that from the phonological point of view it can be treated as an example of the regular palatalization, caused by metrical needs: /di/ → /d̥i/ / \_ [+Voc], then /d̥i/ → /d'd'/ → /d'z'/ → /dz/ (Blümel 1982, pp. 114 f., 117; Méndez Dosuna 1993, p. 82<sup>2</sup>; for the general problem of palatalizations in Greek and Aeolic see Brixhe 1978, pp. 65-73, esp. 66-69). Hodot points to the fact that the consonantization of /i/ in hiatus occurred only due to the metrical requirements; in the vernacular dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus, a spoken Lesbian of 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE, probably two possible variants of pronunciation of /di + V/ —monosyllabic or dissyllabic— really existed, but the change to the sound written with <z> should not be considered a sound-law (Hodot 1990, p. 42 f). The evidence from the Lesbian Poets yields 4 phonetic variants of /dia/ in different contexts: [d̥i] / \_ [+Voc or #]; [d̥ja] (i.e. <ζα>) / \_ [+Cons]; [dja] (i.e. <ζα>) / \_ [#, +Cons]; «Sievers» [di.ia] / \_ [#, +Cons] (Hodot 1990, p. 43)<sup>8</sup>.

third type is a mixed one with <Δ> for \*d, \*d̥i but with examples of <Z> «reproducing \*d»; in the fourth one «<Δ> stands for \*d whereas <Z> represents the reflex of \*d̥i» (*ibid.*, p. 83 ff.). All of them represent the different chronological stages in the adaptation of the alphabet to the different phonetic processes. At the first stage, the Proto-Greek \*d̥i «underwent gemination [dd̥i] and evolved into prepalatal /d'd'/», then in Elean /d'd'/ > /dd/ (depalatalization), in the same time the voiced fricatives occurred /β, δ, γ/. «Thus, at the crucial moment when the alphabet reached Elis (not later than the middle of the 6th century), Elean contrasted fricative /d/ and plosive /dd/ ... the most natural representation for both was indeed the symbol <Δ>». The letter <Z> could at this stage be optionally used for /δ/, the use of <Z> for \*d disappears in the second half of the 5th century. At last «<Z> is given the conventional value [dd] and <Δ> corresponds to ancient \*d» (Méndez Dosuna 1993, pp. 102 f., 105). For the pure graphical reason of Elean <Z> for <Δ> speaks also Minon. She interpretes the occurrences with <Z> as the «emploi hypercorrect»; the fluctuation between both letters could be used, according to her, to emphasize the Elean identity in times «les Éléens avaient à se faire reconnaître comme administrateurs du sanctuaire» (Minon 1998, pp. 204 ff.).

<sup>7</sup> «The consonantal pronunciation of antevocalic ι might occur anywhere in rapid speech, but was especially characteristic of Aeolic» (Buck 1910, p. 24).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the examples of διά in Lesbian poetry: Sappho 1.12 διὰ μέσσω·; 2.5 ἐν δ' ὕδωρ ψῦχρον κελάδει δι' ὕσδων; 3.9 [ ] διάκηται; 39.2 οὐ διάμειπτον; 98b.10 μνάματ'· ἴδε γὰρ αἶνα διέρρουε[ν; 261a.2 col. 1.18 διεν]εχθῆναι και; 276.1 col. 2.17 διὰ τὸ χ[; 282.14 ...] διὰ τὸ συνίστασθ[αι; Alcaeus 129.21 κήων ὁ φύσγων οὐ διελέξαιτο; 179 col. 2.6 ]δι' ἄσπιδος ἄν[;

If one compares Alc. 34a.8 with Sappho 1.12, it is clear that the choice between phonetic realizations is solely dependent on the metrics:

Alc. 34a 8: οἷ κὰτ εὐρηαν χ[θόνα] και θάλασσαν  
παῖσαν ἔρχεσθ' ὠ[κυπό]δων ἐπ' ἵππων,  
ῥῆα δ' ἀνθρώποι[ς] θα[ν]άτω ῥύεσθε  
ζακρυόεντος<sup>9</sup>

Sapph. 1.12 ἄρ]μ' ὑπασδε[ύξαισα· κάλοι δέ σ' ἄγον  
ᾧ]κεες στροῦ[θοι περι γᾶς μελαίνας  
πύ]κνα δίν[γεντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠράνω]θε-  
ρο]ς διὰ μέσσω·

where both ζακρυόεντος and διὰ stand in the same (both metrically and functionally) kind of verse —*uersus Adonius* (˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘) —, used as a clause in the sapphic strophe. In the first case, the metrical scheme demands one syllable (*el. longum*), in the second one, the sequence of two short syllables:

˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘  
/dza. kru. o. en. tos/ /ros# di.ja# mes. so:/'

If the phenomenon depends really only on the metrics, there is nothing strange in its absence in the prosaic texts of Lesbian inscriptions, which yield exclusively δία<sup>10</sup>. The Homeric material, however, also brings a number of

267, 6.6 [ ]ν αὐτῶι διανοεῖτ[ ἄσυννέ; 305 col. 1.21 f. διαφέρεται περι το[ύ]του|| ὅστις δ' ἄμμε διαστα[.] θέλει· ; 306 (14) col. 1.3 [ἔρμα]τος διερρηγυῖαν; 1. 12 ται δὲ τὸ λευκός διὰ τὸ ἔπαρμα; 1. 19 πεπλευκυῖαι αὐτῆ<ι> διὰ τοῦς πολλοῦς ; 1. 23 ται... [..] οὐ διὰ το[ ; 333 οἶνος γὰρ ἀνθρώπω δίοπτρον.

<sup>9</sup> One should be aware the Alc. form (*hapax legomenon*) in fact stands for the original δα- (δακρυόεις 'tearful' LSJ, cf. E 737, Θ 388, P 512), like some other Homeric words, e.g. ζάκορος, ζάπεδον; «il apparaît que la prononciation divergeant assez peu, des confusions se sont produites et l'on a ζα- pour δα-» (DELG II 396); cf. also Risch 1981, p. 291 ff., who says «δα- und ζα- waren also für die epische Dichter gleichbedeutend und konnten nach metrischen Bedürfnissen abgewechselt werden», also Rodríguez-Somolinos 1998, p. 160 f. For the semantics of the prefix, see below.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. MYT 03.6: εις τον δαμον τομ Μυτιλ[ηναων δια το] αγην το υδωρ ο επαγγελ[λει εις; MYT 09.38 [να]ι τα πολ[ι ευνοος] [εω]ν διατελ[ει και]; MYT 04.3 [των κατεληλυθον] των μη εμμενη εν ταις διαλωσι[ε]σσι ταυ[ταισι]; IG XII (2) 11.20 (Mytilene not dialectal):

compound forms with ζα- in the first element instead of δια-, on the other hand, the Epic poetry has only διά as a preposition, e.g. διάκτορος (Hermes epiclesis), διακριδόν ‘entschieden’, διαμπερές ‘fortlaufend’ vs. ζαής ‘heftig wehend’, ζάκοτος ‘sehr erzürnt’, etc. (Strunk 1957, p. 117). Strunk suspects here «vermutlich altes sprachliches Gut», and considers it a secondary sound-change with a shift from syllabic /i/ to consonantal /j/, probably under the influence of the absence of the accent and then the identical development, as in the cases of the original \*/j/ → /dj/ (type ἐλπίζω < \*ἐλπίδιω). He mentions the situation in Lesbian, but without any indication of the chronology and general stylistics of the inscriptions, as well as without any comment on the nature of the Lyrical evidence<sup>11</sup>. He points to the attested name of Dionysos in a form Ζιονυ(στος) from a coin from Phokaea (as possible «Zwischenstadium»)<sup>12</sup>, which he compares to the Alc. Ζόννυσον and the above mentioned forms in the Imperial inscriptions. The tendency would then be a common Greek one, and archaic: the other proof could be, according to him, the attested Cypriot gloss in Hsch. K 3608 (cod.) κορζία· καρδιά. Πάφιοι (with historical orthography; a compromise between the trisyllabic κορδιά and a dissyllabic κόρζα; Lejeune 1972, p. 245) and Hsch. Z 11 ζάει· κινεῖ καὶ πνεῖ. Κύπριοι, which directly corresponds to the Epic διάημι (e.g. ε 478; Strunk 1957, p. 119). Allen speaks against such an assumption, seeing here «the spelling [dj]», which «almost certainly represents a later editing based on the general value of ζ, since they are not found in early Lesbian inscriptions». The phonetic value [z] or [dz] could be of the «local origin, for which at the editorial date ζ was the most appropriate writing» (Allen 1968, p. 56). Hodot comes to a similar conclusion and admits that some general tendency of shortening dissyllabic forms of prepositions could have existed in Greek, and as such was used in

---

προς διαβητην προς του κειμενου; MYT 018.3: [τ]αν φίλιαν ταν υπαρχουσαν διαφυλασσειν και μηθ[ε]να αγειν Αιτωλων μηδε των εν Αιτωλιαι πολιτευον; MYT 026.10, 7: υπο τας] πολιος δια [ ; MYT 030.3 f.: νειρεος και δια [γενεος ειρεος τω Σωτηρος Ασκλη]πιω. και προτ[ερον] ; cf. also Minon: «... si on laisse de côté le cas particulier des séquences /diV/, où Z(I) note *dy(i)*, éventuellement prononcé [d'(i)], comme ... peut-être dans le dialecte parlé par Alcée et Sappho, si les variations *di-/z-* dans *dia* et le nom de Dionysos, motivées par le mètre dans la poésie lesbienne, ou simplement orthographiques dans l'épigraphie tardive qui s'en inspire, ont bien un fondement phonétique» (Minon 1998, p. 201).

<sup>11</sup> «Im Äolischen, besonders im Lesbischen, ist dieser sekundäre Lautwandel noch sehr gut zu greifen und zwar inschriftlich ebenso wie bei den Dichtern» (Strunk 1957, p. 118).

<sup>12</sup> Phokaea or Teos, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE, the interpretation of a coin is, however, problematic (Hodot 1990, p. 44<sup>19</sup>).

Lyric. The evidence shows that the examples of change from ἀνά to ὄν-, κατά to κατ-, παρά to παρ- might often be observed (Hodot 1990, p. 44 f.). The prefix in the Homeric non-verbal possessive compounds is used to express a sort of intensive meaning: ζά-θεος, -κοτος, -τρεφές, -φλεγές; the same situation recurs in post-Homeric poetry and Classical Greek, where δια- means ‘durch und durch, sehr, vollständig’ (Schwyzer-Debrunner 1950, p. 449), which is proved by Hesychius himself, who quotes Ζά· μέγα. ἰσχυρόν. πολύ. ὄθεν καὶ ζάπλουτος ὁ μεγαλόπλουτος (Z 1). According to Chantraine, this function of the preposition («l’achèvement du proces») is an ancient one, preserved in Homeric forms (DELG I, 275 f.) or non-Homeric poetic compounds with the sense of a «superlatif» (DELG II, 396). It occurs generally in two types of formations, i.e. ζα- + adj. and ζα- + *nom. agentis*.

On the basis of such observations it seems probable to consider the big group of compound glosses consisting of ζα- to be rather poetical formations. The general question, however, concerning the nature of ζα-, whether it should be interpreted as a poetical Lesbian element, Aeolic element in Homer (if one assumes the archaic status of phenomenon) or a Homeric element in Lesbian poetry does not seem possible to be answered. From the point of view of Greek dialectological lexicology the following forms are not specific vernacular Lesbian. Being poetical formations they should rather be understood as coming from either Homeric Epic or some other literary source with a certain amount of Homeric influence.

### ζαβάλλειν

Z 3 ζαβάλλειν· ἐξαπατᾶν act. inf. ‘to deceive, to cheat’; the form is Hesychian *hapax legomenon*, it occurs as an entry in Lexicon of Hesychius without indication of the dialectal provenance and of the original author. It is obvious that the form should be considered a direct equivalent of the compound verb διαβάλλω ‘throw, carry over’, which since Herodotus can be used in the metaphorical sense ‘to deceive by false accounts, mislead’ (LSJ)<sup>13</sup>, cf. also Hsch Δ 942 διαβάλλει· καταγινώσκει. ὑβρίζει. παραπατᾶ. παραλογίζεται.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Hdt. V 50.5: Ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης, τᾶλλα ἐὼν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλον ἐκεῖνον εἶ, ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλη· χρεὸν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐόν, βουλόμενόν γε Σπαρτιήτας ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέγει δ’ ὧν τριῶν μηνῶν φᾶς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον; E.Fr.435: τί δ’ ἦν λυθεῖς με διαβάλλης, παθεῖν σε δεῖ.

ζα- stands in place of δια-; it does not seem to have any intensive character at all (contrary to the Homeric poetic compounds analogously «Aeolized»). The form with such a meaning could occur in vernacular Lesbian, although without an «Epic» orthography. In fact it is attested once in Lesbian inscriptions in the juridical sphere, cf. ERE 01, a9 (4.<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE; political decree): ... σ[υ]γκατεκαυσε σωματα [των] πολιταν, και το τ[ε]λευταιον αφικομενος προς Αλεξανδρον κατ[ε]ψευδετο και διεβαλλετο τοις πολιταις: κρινα[ι] ..., cf. the similar situation in Crete (Law from Gortys) IC IV 72, IX, 26 f.: ρεκαστο εγρατται αι αν[δ]εκσαμ[ε]νος ε νενικαμενο[ς] ε εν[κ]οιοτανς οπελον ε διαβαλομενος ε διαφειπαμενος; or IC IV 141.11 where the same formula is attested [διαβαλο]μενος ε διαβειπαμε[ν]ος .

### ζαβλεμέως

Hsch. Z 4 ζαβλεμέως: μεγάληως πεποιθώς adverb 'daring much', without an indication of the dialectal origin, the gloss is a Hesychian *hapax legomenon*. The form of the adverb seems to belong to the group of words connected with present stem βλεμαίνω, as ἀβλεμέως<sup>14</sup> or ἀβλεμής, -ές 'feeble, non-material; kraftlos' attested once in Nic., *Al.* 82 ἀβλεμής ἦ γὰρ κείνο πέλει βάρος· αὐτὰρ ὁ θυμῷ<sup>15</sup>. In Homer the verb refers to a lion, e.g. P 22 θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περὶ σθένει βλεμαίνει or in the same phrase of Hector, e.g. Θ 337 Ἐκτώρ δ' ἐν πρότοισι κίε σθένει βλεμαίνων. The Hom. verb in the meaning 'exult; sich brüsten, trotzen' is the parallel formation to μενεαίνω 'desire earnestly, eargerly' (LSJ); it lacks, however, etymology. According to Risch, the word-formation model would expect here a denominative formation in -αίνω from an unattested nominal stem \*βλέμος, just like μενεαίνω < μένος; they stand, however, «für sich» in Greek (Risch 1974, p. 290 f.). The same conclusion is reached by Peters, who points to the fact that βλεμαίνω 'sich stark fühlen, mutig sein' is to be found only in Epic. Together with μενεαίνω, they are isolated from the point of view of the Greek historical grammar. They belong

<sup>14</sup> However attested only in Ath. II 3.32 (Kaibel): πίνων ἀβλεμέως, τότε δ' ὕβριος αἴσα καὶ ἄτης 'drinking intemperately', or Suda A 54 Ἀβλεμέως: ἀφροντίστας.

<sup>15</sup> Except for this the adjective occurs only in commentaries, cf. e.g. *Sch. in Il.* 12, 42b ex. βλεμαίνων· ἐντεῦθεν ὁ ἀβλεμής, ἀόργητος καὶ ἀργός. T; Eust., *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* III 352.3: ὅθεν ἀβλεμής, φασίν, ὁ ἀόργητος, καθ' ἑτέρους δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἄνορμος, οὐ πεποιθώς, ἄτολμος, ἀσθενής, οἷς ἅπασιν ἐναντίος ὁ βλεμαίνων; Hsch. A 138 ἀβλεμής: ἄτολμος ἢ ἀτερπής, παρειμένος, οἱ δὲ κακός.



to the class of verbs, which have been used to express «Stimmungen, Affekte, körperliche Zustände, Charaktereigenschaften». According to Peters, they are directly formed from the original *-s* stems \*βλέμος, μένος with the analogous suffix *-αίνω* (Peters 1980, p. 169<sup>121</sup>).

### ζάβοτον

Hsch. Z 5 ζάβοτον· πολύφορβον. Πολύκτηνον adj. acc. sg. masc. or nom./acc. sg. neut. ‘rich in cattle’, it is a *hapax legomenon* without an indication of dialectal provenance. The Hsch. entry displays a form of adjective with poetic ζα- in the first and βοτός in the second member of compound, which corresponds to the neutral βοτόν ‘Weidevieh’ (a substantized adjective; Risch 1974, p. 25), cf. also βοτός· τροφή, ἢ βοσκή in Suda B 407. The stem \*g<sup>u</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>- (cf. g<sup>u</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>-u-s, Gr. βοῦς, Ved. gáus, Rix 1992<sup>2</sup>, p. 147) also occurs in the secondary *-sk’e/o-* present βόσκω ‘feed, tend, nourish, of cattle feed, graze (Hom.+; LSJ)’, formed from the zero-grade aorist root (Risch 1974, p. 276), cf. Hom. adj. βωτιάνειρα ‘nourishing the men’, as in τ 408: ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξίν ἀνὰ χθόνα βωτιάνειραν· (cf. Risch 1974, p. 191 f.)<sup>16</sup>. The «Lesbian» preposition ζα- with intensifying meaning occurs here probably as a correspondence to the unattested compound \*διάβοτος, the only trace of which could be the form of a compound verb δια-βόσκω ‘feed’, cf. *Socrat. Ep.* 19 (5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE), Philostr., *VA* 1.15, also ‘pasture’ in *PMasp.* 112.15 (6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD)<sup>17</sup>, the sources of the gloss are obscure.

### ζαβρόν

Hsch. Z 6 ζαβρόν· πολυφάγον acc. sg. ‘one that eats much’, without an indication of dialectal provenance. The same entry is to be found also in Suda Z 3: ζαβρόν· πολυφάγον, also in this case there is no indication of dialectal origin; the form is not attested except for the aforementioned occurrences. The form can be interpreted as a poetic Epic compound noun (acc. sg.; equiva-

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Hsch. B 1406 βωτιάνειρα· τοὺς ἀνδρας τρέφουσα (A 155).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Socraticorum Epistulae* 19.1-4: Ἦκε, θαυμασιώτατε, παρ’ ἡμᾶς· πεποιήται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος μάλα ἀριπρεπές, καὶ περίφυτος ὁ χῶρος καὶ ἀνεῖται ἱερὸς εἶναι. καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἡμᾶς διαβοσκήσει·; Philostr., *VA* I 15: ἡ πόλις αὕτη, τρίτη τῶν ἐκεῖ — ὄροβοι δ’ ἄνιοι καὶ τὰ ἐς βρῶσιν ἀναγκαῖα διέβοσκεν αὐτούς, τὸν γὰρ σίτον οἱ δυνατοὶ ξυγκλείσαντες εἶχον.

lent of participle, or *nomen agentis*; cf. Risch 1974, p. 194). The preposition  $\delta\iota\alpha$ - occurs here in its «Lesbian» variant both phonetically as well as semantically (expressing the intensive meaning). In the second element, the stem  $*-g^u h_3\text{-}\acute{o}$ - is attested, a zero-grade from the root  $*g^u e r h_3\text{-}$  ‘to devour’ with «Laryngalschwund» (cf. «verschlingen» LIV<sup>2</sup>, 211)<sup>18</sup>. The root occurs in the Greek present  $\beta\iota\beta\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$  attested for the first time in Babrius, i.e. in 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD; the compound, however,  $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\iota\beta\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$  ‘to eat up, consume, corrode’ occurs earlier in Greek prose in Plato, Hippocrates, Galenus and others, one should point also to an Ep. aor. 2sg.  $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  (2sg.) <  $*g^u h_3\text{-}$ .

### ζάγρη

Hsch. Z 8 ζάγρη· βόθρος. Λάπαθον nom. sg. ‘pitfall for wild beasts’, a *hapax legomenon* without an indication of dialectal origin, cf. however PN Ζαγρεύς. The gloss is obscure. Hoffmann interprets it as a compound containing Aeol. ζα- for δια- in the first and the Aeolic verbal stem  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  in the second element (Hoffmann 1893, p. 237). It seems, however, that the gloss belongs to the substantive  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\alpha$  (Ion.  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\eta$ ) ‘hunting’ (cf. the derivatives  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$  ‘prey’,  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  ‘hunter’, etc.)<sup>19</sup> which in fact seems to continue the root  $*h_2 g^{\prime} e r\text{-}$  ‘gather together, take’ (LIV<sup>2</sup>, 276). Frisk assumes here the relation to the verb  $\zeta\omega\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  ‘lebendig gefangen nehmen, capture’ in a Dor.-NW. variant with  $z\alpha:g r e\text{-}$  from  $*z\acute{o}:a\text{-}a g r e\text{-}$  (‘Rückbildung’, Frisk, GEW I 607; for the contraction see Lejeune 1972, pp. 260; 263). The gloss should then be explained as a deverbative fem. substantive in the zero grade  $*\zeta\bar{\alpha}\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\bar{\alpha}$  (for the typus of the deverbative fem. in Greek see Risch 1974, p. 6)<sup>20</sup>. It seems that in this case ζα- in ζάγρη has nothing to do with Aeol. ζα- as equivalent

<sup>18</sup> The form ζαβρός can have a parallel in the Homeric compound  $\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\beta\rho\acute{\rho}\varsigma$  ‘greedy fellow’ (LSJ) an epitheton of Odysseus in mouth of the goatherd Melanthos, and Iros, cf. σ 26:  $\acute{\omega}$  πόποι,  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{o}$   $\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\beta\rho\acute{\rho}\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\rho\chi\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ , cf. Hsch. M 1569:  $*\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\beta\rho\acute{\rho}\varsigma$ :  $\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa\omega\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$   $\tau\eta\nu$   $\beta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$  (S)  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\iota\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$   $\nu\gamma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$  (S)  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{o}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $\varphi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\gamma\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\tau\omega\nu$  (ρ 219) ASN, also Hdn. *Schem.* 77:  $\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\beta\rho\acute{\rho}\varsigma$ ,  $\eta$   $\tau\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\delta\delta\eta\varphi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\nu$ ,  $\tau\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\beta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\pi\rho\theta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omicron\varsigma$   $\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ ,  $\eta$   $\tau\omicron\nu$   $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\varphi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\nu$ ,  $\eta$   $\tau\omicron\nu$   $\pi\omega\chi\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta$   $\mu\eta$   $\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda$ ’  $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$   $\tau\eta\nu$   $\beta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ . The form is considered «volkstümliches Wort» (Frisk, GEW II 250 f.); according to Neumann it may be compared to the Myc. PN *mo-ro-go-ro* in PY DM I 459, and translated as ‘Dreck-fressend’ (cf. Neumann 1992, pp. 75-80).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Hsch. A 745:  $*\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\alpha$ :  $\theta\eta\rho\alpha$ ; E., *Ba.* 102:  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\varphi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\epsilon\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\alpha\nu$   $\theta\eta$  ||  $\rho\omicron\tau\rho\acute{\rho}\omicron\nu$   $\mu\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ .

<sup>20</sup> Maybe <  $*g^u i\omicron h_3\text{-}i\text{-}h_2$  +  $h_2 g^{\prime} r\text{-}e h_2$  (?)

of Ionic-Attic δια-, but is rather to be explained as a variant of the neuter pl. subst. ζῶα, probably in the Doric shape. The semantics also speaks against the interpretation as a compound with ζα-, since there is no intensive meaning to be observed and the form is expressing a concrete meaning.

### ζακαλλές

Hsch. Z 23 ζακαλλές· περικαλλές adj. nom. sg. neut./nom. pl. masc.-fem. ‘very beautiful’, *hapax legomenon* without an indication of dialectal origin. The entry Hsch. Z 23 gives a compound adjective, which should be considered a corresponding form to περικαλλές (περικαλλής, -ές), attested in Greek, since Homer, in the meaning ‘very beautiful’ («mostly of things, of women only E 389, Π 85, λ 11, 281, of men first in *h. Merc.*», cf. LSJ), cf. e.g. Λ 632 (describing the Nestor’s cup): πὰρ δὲ δέπας περικαλλές, ὃ οἴκοθεν ἦγ’ ὀ γεραιός, or τ 34 (a lamp of Athena): ἔγχεά τ’ ὄξυόεντα· πάροιθε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη|| χρύσειον λύχνον ἔχουσα φάος περικαλλές ἐποίει; E 389 εἰ μὴ μητρυῖ περικαλλῆς Ἡερῖβοια, etc. In Hsch. Lexicon one may also find other synonyms, cf. Θ 474 θηητόν· θαυμαστόν. καλόν. καταθύμιον. περικαλλές. σύμφορον, or Π 1723 περικαλλές· λίαν καλόν. The compound contains the poetic element ζα- (cf. the meanings of περί, also ‘very; sehr’) and stem καλλ- as in καλός (<\**kaluo-*), the original source of the form can hardly be pointed to.

### ζαμενής

Hsch. Z 47 ζαμενής· [μεγάλως πεποιθώς.] εὐψυχος. Μέγα μένος ἔχων, also Hsch. Z 49 \*ζαμενής· ἄγαν ἰσχυρός adj. nom. sg. ‘very strong, mighty’ (LSJ), without an indication of dialectal provenance. The form is attested neither in Lesbian inscriptions nor in the literary dialect. In Class. Gr. it occurs since *h. Merc.* 307 Πῆ με φέρεις Ἐκάεργε θεῶν ζαμενέστατε πάντων; it also occurs several times in Pindar’s poetry, e.g. *N.* 3.63: πάλιν οἴκαδ’ ἀνεπιὸς ζαμενῆς Ἐλένοιο Μέμωνων μόλοι; *Fr.* 52i, 64 ἄνεμος ζαμενῆς ἐμ<ε>ἰξ[ , once in Tragedy and in Hellenistic and Late Epic<sup>21</sup>. The form is an example of a strictly poetic adjective, an Epic element, and as such it is used also in late poetry. The formation is clear: ζά for δία has the poetic intensifying func-

<sup>21</sup> Cf. S., *Ai.* 137: σὲ δ’ ὅταν πληγῆ Διὸς ἢ ζαμενῆς; cf. also A.R. I 1029: δεινός τε ζαμενῆς τε Δολιωνίῳ πέσε δήμῳ; Nonn., *D.* XXI 33: καὶ φυτὸν αὐδῆεν ζαμενῆς ποιήσατο Ῥεῖη, etc.

tion; the gloss is qualified as Lesbian only on the basis of ζα- occurrence. It probably always contained this element, because there are no examples of the corresponding δια- forms, cf. however the form ἀμένητα ascribed to Lesbian (cf. Hsch. A 3583 ἀμένητα· ὑμένα. Αἰολεῖς).

### ζαμήτας

Hsch. Z 51: ζαμήτας· μεγαλουργός nom. sg. 'one, who does great things', without an indication of dialectal origin, a *hapax legomenon*. This compound noun contains the «Lesbian» poetic ζα- prefix, while the second element corresponds to the root 1. \**med-* 'messen, für Einhaltung sorgen, sich kümmern' (LIV<sup>2</sup>, 423), which is to be observed in the Gr. pres. μῆδομαι 'to be minded, intend' with the secondary lengthened full grade in middle formation, cf. on the other hand μέδομαι 'plan, devise' (LSJ). μῆδομαι occurs in Homer, cf. B 360: ἀλλὰ ἄναξ αὐτός τ' εἶ μῆδεο πείθεό τ' ἄλλω·, also Hes., *Fr.* 204.123: πα] τρὸς ἐρισθεν<έ>ος, μεγάλ' ἀνδράσι μηδομένοιο. Another gloss should also be quoted, where a form of the athem. aorist μῆστο is attested, cf. Hsch M 1268 μῆστο: βουλευσατο < \**mēd-to-*, where μῆδομαι 'to be minded, resolve, plan and do skilfully'<sup>22</sup>. With this meaning it is to be found in Pi. *N.* 10.64: ἐξικέσθαν, καὶ μέγα ἔργον ἐμήσαντ' ὠκέως. The word is strictly poetic, in post-Hom. Gr. it occurs only in Lyric (exceptionally in Tragedy). The formation with the characteristic, highly productive suffix -της (cf. Risch 1974, pp. 31-37) ζαμήτας seems to have been treated as Lesbian only due to the occurrence of ζα-, as well as the /a:/ variant of the suffix (for the suffix in Lesbian cf. Hamm, 1958, p. 63 f.; Hodot 1990, *passim* pp. 93-128).

### ζάπεδον

Hsch. Z 57 ζάπεδον· μέγα ἔδαφος nom. sg. 'big ground, soil', without an indication of dialectal provenance. The form is neither attested in Lesbian inscriptions nor in the literary dialect. It occurs in a fragment of Stesichorus, cf. *fr.* S15, col. 1.17 in dat. sg. [ ] ἐπὶ ζαπέδωι, and in nom. sg. in Xenophanes (*fr.* B1, 1):

νῦν γὰρ δὴ ζάπεδον καθαρὸν καὶ χεῖρες ἀπάντων  
καὶ κύλικες· πλεκτοῦς δ' ἀμφιτιθεῖ στεφάνους<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Hdn., *Erim.* 245: μῆδω, καὶ μῆδομαι, παθητικόν, τὸ βουλευομαι, also Suda M 888: Μῆδομαι: βουλευομαι.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. also Ath. XI 7.4.

This form occurs also in a votive epigramm from Paros, cf. *IG XII 5.215* (5<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE): ευχσαμενοι στησαν πα[ρ]θενωι Αρτεμιδι | σεμνωι ενι ζαπεδωι κο(υ)ρηι Διος αιγιοχοιο<sup>24</sup>.

The form has been generally considered as an equivalent for the Homeric δάπεδον, attested elsewhere both in literature and in the inscriptions<sup>25</sup>. The interpretation of this fact is problematic, since there is no expected counterpart \*διαπεδον to be observed anywhere in Greek. On the other hand, the element δα- attested in Hom. word is not to be compared with the preposition δια-, there is no intensification of meaning either. The compound δάπεδον ‘level surface, floor, ground, plain’ (LSJ)<sup>26</sup> should rather be interpreted as a continuation of the root \*dem- ‘house’<sup>27</sup> in the zero grade in the first element + neutral °pedon ‘surface, Boden’ in the second member<sup>28</sup>. It should

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the same text in *App.Anth.* 347:

Δημοκύδης τόδ' ἄγαλμα Τελεστοδίκη τ' ἀπὸ κοινῶν  
εὐξάμενοι στήσαν παρθένωι Ἀρτέμιδι  
σεμνῷ ἐνὶ ζαπέδῳ κούρηι Διὸς αἰγιοχόιο  
τῶν γενεὴν βίσιον τ' αὔξησεν ἀπημοσύνη.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. κ 227 καλὸν αἰοιδιάει, δάπεδον δ' ἅπαν ἀμφιμέμυκεν; *h. App.* 416 εἰ μενέει νηὸς γλαφυρῆς δαπέδοισι πέλωρον; *IG IV 823.43 f.* (Argolis, Corinthia) ἐς τοὺς αὐλοὺς τιμα Κλεισθηνεὶ Γ δρ. αὐλῶν ὡμ ποτεδεὶ οκτῶ τιμα Εὐξεν[- - - ε]κ τοῦ δαπεδου κατωθε οικοδομηθη και τας πυαλιδος ... ; Delphes (*FD III, 1. 562.2*) ]ον θεων ιερων δαπε[δ]ον; Ionia: Didyma (*IDidyma 363B + 344.3f. dist. eleg.*) ἀλλ' οὐ [τ]ι[ς τοιηδε] κεκοσμηνη υδροφορευη || ηγαθε[ον Διδυμ]ων ηλυθεν εις δαπεδον; etc.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. also attested in East Ionic inscriptions οικόπεδον ‘terreno, solar para construir una casa’ (Hernández-Vázquez 1994, p. 465 with examples).

<sup>27</sup> \*dem- according to the traditional reconstruction; cf. nom. sg. \*domh<sub>2</sub>-s, gen. sg. \*démh<sub>2</sub>-s as *nomen rei actae* from *l. demh<sub>2</sub>* ‘(zusammen)fügen, bauen’ in LIV<sup>2</sup>, 114 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Gr. πέδον n. ‘ground, earth’ < \*/ped-o-m/ has direct correspondences in the forms from other languages as Hitt. *pedan* ‘place’, Ved. *padá-* ‘Fußspur, Schritt’, Arm. *het* (gen. *hetoy*) ‘trace de pas’, Umbrian *peřum* (different forms are attested *peřu, perso* acc. sg., *peřume, persome* acc. sg.) —with a semantic switch from ‘Stelle für den Fuß, Fußboden’ to ‘ritual pit for offerings, Grube, Opfergrube’ (WOU, 524 f.)—. In all cases the derivational base is the word for ‘foot’ (Risch 1974, p. 13), «Wurzelnomen» \*pōd-s (nom. sg.), \*pod- (strong cases), \*ped- (weak cases), cf. Ved. *pāt*, gen. *padás*, Gr. Att. ποῦς (for /po:s/), ποδός, Lat. gen. *pedis* (Schindler, *Wurz.*, p. 31; Rix 1992<sup>2</sup>, p. 143; Meiser 1998, p. 36). πέδον is used to express the measure of a surface, cf. such meaning attested also for Gr. ποῦς, in Lat. only late derivatives as *pedātūra* ‘mesure de terrain’ (Ernoult-Meillet, 501), maybe *oppidum* <\*ob-ped-o- (cf. Gr. ἔμ-πεδον ‘solid, firm’, OIr. *in-ad* ‘Ort’ < \*em-pedo-), cf. however Lat. *oppodum* in CIL I<sup>2</sup> 585<sub>81</sub> (111 BCE; Sommer 1948, p. 112). Here one may also add a Gallo-Latin *candetum* ‘the measure of a 100 feet of a field’, attested in Columella V 1.6: *at Galli candetum appellat in*

be interpreted as the determinative compound with the meaning ‘Hausplatz’ (Frisk, GEW I, 347 f.; Risch 1974, p. 214; Schindler, *Wurz.*, pp. 82, 106). The provenance of δάπεδον < \*dm-pedo- is confirmed by other compounds with °πεδον as e.g. ειλόπεδον, θειλόπεδον ‘Trockenplatz’, ισόπεδον ‘Ebene’, οινόπεδον ‘Weingarten’, etc. (Risch, *ibidem*), as well as the evidence from Hesychios, who explains it in Δ 247 \*δάπεδον· ἔδαφος, γῆ ἢ οἶκος. Risch emphasizes that the metrical evidence from Xenophanes is also negative in this case: ζάπεδον stays in hexameter and should be read ∪ ∪ ´, so only the second example could be explained as due to the metrical needs (with the substitution of ζά for διά, as mentioned above, cf. similar case of Alc. ζακρυόεντος, Risch 1981, p. 292). For Risch this is a proof that the form was not used for the first time. It seems probable that we have here an analogous poetic formation with «umgekehrte Schreibung» according to the model ζα- for δια-, the same as in case of Alc., or Hom. ζάκορος, which does not come from \* δια-κόρος but < \* δακορος, attested in Myc. *da-ko-ro*, e.g. nom. pl. in PY An 207 and PY An 427.1, a ‘temple-attendant, originally floor-sweeper’ (Ventris-Chadwick 1959, 390), ‘temple servant?’ (Ventris-Chadwick 1973<sup>2</sup>, 538), ‘servidor del templo’ (DM I, 151; cf. also entry in DELG)<sup>29</sup>.

### ζαπιμελόν

Hsch. Z 58 ζαπιμελόν· μεγάλως πῖον, λιπαρόν adj. nom. sg. neut. or acc. sg. masc. ‘very fat’, *hapax legomenon*, without an indication of dialectal provenance. The adjective ‘very fat’ ζαπιμελόν is to be interpreted as compound

---

*areis urbanis spatium centum pedum, in agrestibus autem pedum cl, quod aratores candetum nominant; semiugerum quoque arepennem uocant.* The form is usually interpreted as a corrected compound from \**cantedum* < \**kant-(p)ed-o-* with a numeral 100 in the first element (attested also as the first element in Celtic personal names *Canto-*), cf. W. *cant*, OIr. *cét* ‘hundred’ and original name for ‘foot’, continued by Mlr. *ed* ‘Zeitraum’ with the characteristic loss of /p/ in Anlaut (Dottin 1920, p. 240 f.; Pedersen 1909, p. 91; cf. also Thurneysen 1993, p. 138 ff. for the OIr. treatment of \*/p/); Celtic words from the agricultural sphere are attested in Latin, cf. *arepennis* (Colum. V 1.6), *arinca*, *beccus*, *beta*, *candosoccus*, *ceruesia*, *cramum*, *taxea*, *tucca*, etc.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Méndez Dosuna 1993, p. 85: «The substitution of word-initial <ΔI> by <Z> and <Δ> ... (where <Δ> indicates consonantalization of ι without lengthening of the preceding syllable, i.e. without gemination of /d/) has probably led to hypercorrect forms such as ζάπεδον (cf. Hom. δάπεδον), and ζακόρος (Myc. *da-ko-ro*)».

formation with «Lesbian» intensifying ζά for δία + the adjective derived from the attested substantive πιμελή ‘fat, lard’ (cf. Hdt. II 40.7: σπλάγγνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πιμελὴν), which may itself continue a root \*/pi:/, cf. πῖαρ ‘fat, Fett, Talg’ (Ep., Ion., Hom.+), πίων, πιον, πείρα (fem.) ‘fett, fruchtbar, reich’. The adj. πίων (/i:/) < \*piH-μο:n and fem. πείρα (/i:/) < \*pi:er-ja < \*pi:uerja < \*/piH-uér-ih<sub>2</sub>/ are commonly compared to the Ved. pair *pívan-*, fem. *pívarī-* (Risch 1974, p. 62; Rix 1992<sup>2</sup>, p. 165). It seems, however, more probable that they both are independent secondary formations from an original heteroclitic neutral substantive \*piH<sub>2</sub> > πῖαρ (Schindler 1975, p. 53; Peters 1980, p. 187)<sup>30</sup>. The above mentioned πιμελή (fem.) ‘Fett, Schmalz, soft fat’<sup>31</sup> appears for the first time in Hdt. II 47.17: ἐκάλυψε πάση τοῦ κτήνεος τῇ πιμελῇ τῇ περὶ τὴν νηδὺν γινομένη, so it is rather rare in Attic (cf. S., *Ant.* 1011 μηροὶ καλυπτῆς ἐξέκειντο πιμελῆς); on the other hand, it is often attested in the later Greek. The word-formation and etymology pose problems with interpretation, since there are no examples of other formations containing the same suffix \*-mel- (Frisk, GEW II 532), the relation to \*/pi:/ is also problematic<sup>32</sup>. πιμελή functions as the basis for adj. derivation, cf. πιμελής, -ές ‘fat’ (mostly in medical writers), while πιμελός occurs sporadically: cf. Cerc. 7.5 πιμελοσαρκοφάγων πάσας μελεδόνας: ‘sepulchre of the fat’; it is also attested once in the composition with δια-: σὰρξ διαπίμελος καὶ ἀδενώδης, πάγκρεας (Ruf., *De corp. hum. apell.* 176.1; 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>. cent. AD). As in other cases above, this gloss has been also considered Lesbian on the basis of the presence of an intensive ζα- prefix. The form πιμελή is attested neither in Homer nor in Lesbian Lyric or inscriptions. The direct source of the gloss is obscure, the counterpart διαπίμελος, however, is attested relatively late but it could point to the poetical use of a form with a typical poetical ζά instead of δία. The word is not specifically dialectal.

<sup>30</sup> πῖαρ n. «fat, any fat substance» (LSJ) < Proto-Greek \*/pi:uar/ may be compared to Ved. *pívas-* n. with the same meaning; in Greek, however, next to the formations in -μεν, -μερ also others are attested, e.g. adj. in -αλεος πιαλέος ‘fat’ (poetic form, cf. Risch 1974, p. 104). All the Gr. forms probably belong to verbal root \*pěiH-/\*piH- ‘anschwellen’ (LIV<sup>2</sup>, 464 f.), cf. Ved. *páyate*, *prá-pīta-* ‘spouting, abounding’, perf. *pīpāya*.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Hsch. Π 2293f. πιμελή: στέαρ, πίοτης, λίπος; πιμελής: εὐτραφής, λιπαρός.

<sup>32</sup> «πιμελ-ή f. ‘Fett, Schmalz’ /ion.-att./ für sich steht» (Frisk, *ibid.*). The Lat. form *opīmus*, according to some scholars may be related; it is to be said, however, that it also lacks explanation within Latin itself (Ernout-Meillet, 462).

## ζαπότην

Hsch. Z 60 ζαπότην· ἰσχυροπότην acc. sg. ‘toper, drunkard’, a Hesychian *hapax legomenon* without mentioning the dialectal origin. The compound yields «Lesbian» ζα- in the first element, in an intensive meaning. In the second element the *nomen agentis* in zero grade *\*po:-ta:s* from the root *\*peh<sub>3</sub>(i)-* / *\*pih<sub>3</sub>-* occurs (*roh<sub>3</sub>(i)-* zero grade /  C; Praust 1998, 184; different LIV<sup>2</sup>, 462 f., where *\*peh<sub>3</sub>(i)-*, which in Greek may be found in a nasal present πίνω<sup>33</sup>. Lesbian uses another variant of the same root, namely the form of a thematic nasal present πώνω < *\*po:-né/o-*, with root aorist πῶ, °πωθι<sup>34</sup> (cf. Ved. *ápāi*), known from Alcaeus<sup>35</sup>. The verb πῶ/πί-ν-ω builds a number of compounds (used mostly in the context of liquid substances), cf. e.g. Aesch., *Pers.* 611: βροός τ’ ἀφ’ ἀγνῆς λευκὸν εὖποτον γάλα, Hsch. E 7095: εὖπωνος ὄμβρος· εὖποτος ‘easy to drink, pleasant to the taste’ (LSJ), it occurs also in Photius: Πηγὴ ἀναδίδωσιν ὕδωρ ἱερὸν τε καὶ εὖποτον (Cod. 242 Bekker page 346b. 9). The form of *nomen agentis* (second element in ζαπότης) is also

<sup>33</sup> «Neubildung» < *\*pih<sub>3</sub>-*, cf. impv. πῖθι ‘drink!’ (< *\*pih<sub>3</sub>-dʰi*), other forms as Ved. *pīta-* ‘who has drunk’, OCS. *piti* (new formation of them. present *pijǫ*) —originally an abstract *\*pih<sub>3</sub>-teǰ*, cf. Ved. *pī-ti* ‘drinking, a drink’, *\*pi-t-* from which an OCS. denom. *pit-ati* ‘nourish’—; *pir̥* ‘συμπόσιον’ (from an adj. *\*pih<sub>3</sub>-ro-*); the concurrence between two variants: Aeolic *po:-* and non-Aeolic *pi:-* has been explained in different ways. LIV<sup>2</sup>, 462 f. esp.<sup>1, 12</sup> considers Aeol. formation of impv. «mit Übertragung von ὀ aus vorauszusetzenden Formen mit alter R(e) in die 2s Ipv; πώνω *trinke* mit Übertragung der R(e) vom Aorist \*ἔπων». Praust emphasizes that the 2sg. root-aorist impv. has zero grade in IE, the sequence *\*pih<sub>3</sub>-C-* would be the expected one (against Gr. βῆθι, στῆθι, which have the secondary full grade from ind./inj. aor.; Praust 1998, p. 185<sup>6</sup>).

<sup>34</sup> The same form is to be found also in Cyprus ICS 264, 1 *ka-i-re-te ka-ra-si-ti [wa]-na-xe ka po-ti we-po me-ka me-po-te we-i-se-se... χαίρετε. γρασθι, [ρα]ναξ, κα(ς) πωθι. φεπο(ς) μεγα· μηποτε φεισης «eat, Lord, and drink ...».*

<sup>35</sup> Cf. 401, 401b χαῖρε καὶ πῶ τάνδε; δεῦρο σύμπωθι; cf. also other forms (present): 375 ἐκ δὲ ποτήριον πώνης Δινομένην παρίσδων, 332 νῦν χρῆ μεθύσθην καὶ τινα πὲρ βίαν | πώνην, ἐπεὶ δὴ κάτθανε Μύρσιλος, ...; also Alc. 170, col. 2 ἐπωνε.[ (Hamm 1958, pp. 116, 131, 169). The use of such forms is attested by ancient grammarians, cf. Hdn.Gr. 3.1. 449.34: τὸ πώνω βαρύνεται ὡς ἴδιον Αἰολέων, the form was also used in poetry, as we may read in Ath. X 11.4): καὶ ἔθνη δὲ ὄλα εἰς πολυφαγίαν ἐκωμωδεῖτο, ὡς τὸ Βοιωτόν. Εὐβουλος γοῦν ἐν Ἀντιόπῃ φησί (II 169 K).

πώνειν μὲν ἀμῆς καὶ φαγεῖν μάλ’ ἀνδρικοὶ  
καὶ καρτερεῖμεν, τοῖς δ’ Ἀθηναίοις λέγειν  
καὶ μικρὰ φαγέμεν, τοὶ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μέγα.



used («usu. in fem.; masc. only in metaph.», cf. LSJ), for feminine cf. e.g. Ar., *Th.* 735: Ὡ θερμόταται γυναῖκες, ὧ ποτίσταιται. The metaphorical use in Ar., *Nu.* 58 οἶμοι. τί γάρ μοι τὸν πότην ἦπτες λύχνον, where πότης refers to a lamp (as consuming much oil)<sup>36</sup>. The compound with pref. δια- occurs for the first time in Hdt. V 18.6 Ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγίνοντο, διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε·, δια- has in this case the meaning synonymical to προ-, as is visible from an entry in Hsch. Δ 1223: διαπίνειν· προπίνειν. Ἐπιγένης (fr. 8, Π 419 K.) with reference to the fragment of Epigenes Comicus: fr. 8 διαπίνειν<sup>37</sup>.

Identically as in the case of ζαβρόν the form displays nom. agent. in the second member of compound; just like in all other cases the direct source of the gloss cannot be pointed to. The prefix occurs in its Epic, poetical variant; the form then should be interpreted as the poetical one, there is no evidence to answer the question, whether it could have any relations to the vernacular speech (although from the semantical point of view such a possibility should not be excluded).

### ζαφεγγεῖς

Hsch. Z 73: \*ζαφεγγεῖς· λαμπροὶ καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς Asvgn πάνυ. adj. nom. pl. ‘very bright’, without an indication of dialectal provenance. This other Hesychean *hapax legomenon* can be interpreted as a compound, which consists of «Lesbian» ζά + a stem, which is to be found in a noun φέγγος ‘Licht, Schein, Glanz’ (in Greek attested since Homeric Hymns, a poetic word, in Archaic Lyric, Tragedy; Frisk, GEW II 999), cf. e.g. *h.Cer.* 278: σκίδνατο,

<sup>36</sup> Cf. commentaries: Harp. 10.7 Ἀλκαῖος δὲ ἐν τῇ κομφοδοτραγωδίᾳ τοὺς πότας λύχνους ἀδηφάγους εἶπεν (where in Alcaeos? — a mistake of a commentator?), cf. Suda Π 2133 Πότης λύχνος· Ἀριστοφάνης Νεφέλαις· τί γάρ μοι τὸν πότην ἦπτες λύχνον; παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς ὁ πολὺ ἔλαιον ἀναλίσκων.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Suda Δ 694: Διαπεινώμεν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ πῦρ· παρὰ προσδοκίαν. ὥσει ἔφη, διαπίνομεν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ πῦρ· ὁ δὲ εἶπε διαπεινώμεν· οἱ γάρ πότοι χειμῶνος πρὸς τὸ πῦρ γίνονται. εἶρηκε δὲ οὕτω διὰ τὸν λιμόν. τουτέστιν ἐσχάτως πεινώμεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἰμάτια ἀποδιδόμενοι καθεζόμεθα πρὸς τὸ πῦρ διὰ τὸ ῥίγος. ἢ διαπύρωσ καὶ ἐκτόπως πεινώμεν· ὃ καὶ βέλτιον; the verb also in Eust., *Comm. ad Hom. Odys.* I 347.15: προφέρεται γοῦν Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν γράφων οὕτω. τὸ νέκταρ πάνυ μάττων ἐσθίω. διαπίνω τ’ ἀμβροσίαν καὶ τῷ Διὶ διακονῶ. Ἀλκμάν δὲ λέγων τοὺς θεοὺς νέκταρ ἔδμεναι, cf. Anaxandr. (4<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE) fr. 57 τὸ νέκταρ ἐσθίω πάνυ | μάττων διαπίνω τ’ ἀμβροσίαν.

τῆλε δὲ φέγγος ἀπὸ χροὸς ἀθανάτοιο<sup>38</sup>. It seems that a probable counterpart for the glossed form could be a line from 2<sup>nd</sup>. cent. AD author Ps.-Lucianus, *Amores* 26, 15: ἡ Σιδωνίας ὑέλου διαφεγγέστερον ἀπαστράπτει, where the form of an adj. \*διαφεγγής, -ές occurs in comparative. There is no indication of the source of the gloss; it seems, however, that it can be assumed that it comes from a post-Hom. Epic poetry (cf. occurrences in Call., Nic., A.R., Nonn.)<sup>39</sup>, it is certainly not a specific dialectal word belonging to the vernacular speech.

### ζαφελές

Hsch. Z 74: ζαφελές· ἄγαν σκληρόν. ἢ μεγάλως ηὔξημένον. [πολύφλογον]. ἄγριον. Θυμῶδες, ἰσχυρόν nom. sg neut. ‘violent’, without an indication of dialectal provenance. The form is quoted also by other sources, always, however, in the context of related Homeric formations.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand the form occurs neither in Lesbian inscriptions nor in the literary dialect. It seems to correspond to the Hom. compound adj. ἐπιζάφελος ‘violent’ used in context of anger (χόλος), cf. I 525:

οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν  
 ἠρώων, ὅτε κέν τιν’ ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ἴκοι·

<sup>38</sup> Pi., P. 4.111 τοί μ’, ἐπεὶ πάμπρωτον εἶδον φέγγος, ὑπερφιάλου; B. 3.91: βροτῶν ἅμα σ[ώ]ματι φέγγος, ἀλλὰ; Hsch. Φ 265: φέγγος: φῶς ἡμέρας, φέγγος σελήνης.

<sup>39</sup> The second element of the compound is obscure. According to Frisk it could be interpreted as «Alte Kreuzung» from \*σπέγγος and φάος (?; cf. Frisk, *ibid.*). In LIV<sup>2</sup> one may find the reconstruction of the root \*(s)b<sup>h</sup>eng- ‘leuchten, glänzen’ to be found in a Greek present \*(s)b<sup>h</sup>éng-e- φέγγω ‘leuchte, scheine’ (LIV<sup>2</sup>, 512); the AGS. *spincan* quoted by Pokorny and Frisk as related, should be rather considered a ghostword; OHG. *funko*, German *Funke* does not belong to the root. One compares it rather to the word for ‘fire’ (heterocliticon \*péh<sub>2</sub>ur, gen. \*péh<sub>2</sub>u(u)éns Schindler 1975, 9), which is attested in Germanic in the full grade stem OHG. *fiur*, zero grade in Goth. *fun-in* (n-stem *fōn*, *funins*, Euler 2000, p. 70 f.).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. e.g. Hdn.Gr. 3,1.514.8: οὐ γάρ ἐστι παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ ζαφελῆς περιεσπάσθη δὲ τὸ ζαφελῶς; *Sch. in* I 516b.3: ex. (Hrd.) | ex. ἀλλ’ αἰὲν ἐπιζαφελῶς: περιεσπωμένως, εἰ καὶ τὸ ζαφελῆς βαρύνεται. τὸ δὲ ζαφελῶς γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ ζα ἐπιτατικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὀφέλλω τὸ αὐξω, τὸ πάνυ ηὔξημένως T; also *Sch. in* β 315.12 f.: ἐναπόθετος καὶ ἔμμονος· ζαφελῆς οὖν χόλος ἢ μῆνις, ζαφελές γάρ τὸ ἀναφαίρετον; Porph., *Zet. cod. Vat.* 311.3 ff.: ζαφελές γάρ τὸ ἀναφαίρετον, καὶ ζαφελῆς οὖν χόλος ἢ μῆνις, ὅτε κέν τιν’ ἐπιζαφελῆς χόλος ἴκοι (I 521)· περὶ γάρ τῶν μηνιόντων ὁ λόγος; cf. also Suda Z 22: Ζαφελῆς: ὁ ἀφελῆς. καὶ Ζαφελῶς, πάνυ ἀφελῶς.

the form of an adverb is also attested, I 516: Ἀτρεΐδης, ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἐπιζαφελῶς χαλεπαῖνοι, or ζ 330 πατροκασίγνητον· ὁ δ' ἐπιζαφελῶς μενείνεν<sup>41</sup>; it is also used in the post Homeric Epic poetry, e.g. in Hom. Hymns or A.R.<sup>42</sup>.

The form is considered an «Expressives Wort ohne Etymologie» (Frisk, GEW I 537), «terme expressif, archaïque, sans étymologie» (DELG II, 358) with Lesbian poetic prefix ζα-, probably a «Determinativkompositum» (Risch 1974, p. 214). The Hesychian form of a neutral adjective ζαφελές (with counterpart in Hsch. E 4771: ἐπιζαφελές· θυμῶδες, ὀργίλον S χαλεπόν. ἰσχυρόν. ἐπίκοτον) could be connected to the simple forms occurring in an Alexandrian Epic poetry, as the testimony of Nicander learns, cf. «Epic genetive» in *Al.* 556: ἀλθαίνει τότε νέρθε πυρὸς ζαφελοῖο κεραΐης. This form has the same meaning as the Hom. compound ἐπιζάφελος and could be explained by the archaistic tendencies of the Hellenistic Epic (Frisk, *ibidem*; DELG, *ibidem*). The entries in Lexica of Hesychius, E.M., Suda, as well as in (earlier) Scholia and commentaries to Homeric poems must be based on the existence of such forms.

### ζαφορῆσαι

Hsch. Z 77: ζαφορῆσαι· μεγάλως φορτίσαι aor. inf. 'to load heavily', without an indication of the dialectal provenance. The form can be considered compound with the «Lesbian» intensive ζά in first and a verb φορέω 'carry' in the second element. The gloss seems to correspond to the attested verb διαφορέω 'spread abroad, carry away, plunder, tear in pieces' (LSJ), occurring only in Prose, e.g. Hdt. I 88.11: 'πολλῆ σπουδῇ ἐργάζεται' Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· 'Πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει'; Arist., *HA* 604b.28: 'Ὑπὸ φαρμάκου δὲ διαφορεῖται καὶ ἵππος καὶ πᾶν ὑποζύγιον σανδαράκης· δίδεται δ' ἐν ὕδατι καὶ διηθεῖται. The counterpart for aor. ζαφορῆσαι, an aorist inf. διαφορῆσαι, is also attested in prosaic works (mostly of scientific, medical sort), cf. e.g. D., *Contra Eub.* 65.6: ὥσπερ φυγάδος ἤδη μου ὄντος καὶ ἀπολωλότος, τούτων τινὲς ἐπὶ τὸ οἰκίδιον ἐλθόντες <τὸ> ἐν ἀγρῶ νύκτωρ

<sup>41</sup> Hsch. E 4772 \*ἐπιζαφελῶς· ηὔξημένως ἄγαν (I 512).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *h. Merc.* 487: νῆϊς ἐὼν τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιζαφελῶς ἐρεεῖνη, or A.R. IV 1672:

λευγαλέον δ' ἐπὶ οἷ πρῖεν γόλον, ἐκ δ' αἰδηλα  
δείκηλα προιάλλεν, ἐπιζάφελον κοτέουσα.

ἐπεχείρησαν διαφορῆσαι τὰ ἔνδοθεν. The small change of a meaning ‘to carry away’ and then ‘to load’ may be assumed.

### ζαφόρος

Hsch. Z 78 ζαφόρος· πολυφόρος adj. nom. sg. ‘bringing much, fertile’; the form is Hesychian *hapax legomenon* without an indication of dialectal origin. From the formal point of view the form is an adjective, which contains the «Lesbian» intensive ζα- in the first and verbal noun φορός in the second element. ζα- seems to be in this case a synonym of πολυ-, cf. πολυφόρος ‘prolific, fertile’ (attested rarely since Pl., *Leg.* 705b.1: τραχεῖα δὲ οὐσα δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἂν πολυφόρος τε εἴη καὶ πάμφορος ἅμα· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔχουσα, πολλὴν ἐξαγωγὴν ἂν). The counterpart forms with δια- are attested in the inscriptions in substantized form διαφορον, cf. MYT 04.17 ὡς κε μηδ[εν διαφορον ειη and line 24 [οὔτοι δε πρωτον μεν φυλασσ]οντον και επιμελεσθον ως μηδεν εσ[σεται διαφορον, which obviously means ‘disagreement’ (cf. διαφέρω ‘distract, to be different’)<sup>43</sup>, adj. διάφορος occurs everywhere in Greek Prose, cf. e.g. Hdt. V 75.6: Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ συνεξαγαγῶν τε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ οὐκ ἐὼν διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ Κλεομένηι. In later inscriptions and papyri the form occurs also in context of money: e.g. in meaning ‘cash, expenses, sum of money, price’<sup>44</sup>. The form should be considered a poetic one, the evidence is too scanty to precisely state whether it is a real Epic element or an analogic formation.

### ζαχραεῖς

Hsch. Z 80 ζαχραεῖς· ἐξαπιναίους adj. acc. pl. ‘sudden’, without an indication of dialectal origin. The form does not occur in Lesbian inscriptions, it is not attested in the literary dialect. It corresponds to the Hom. adj. ζαχρηής,

<sup>43</sup> Cf. also Attica SEG 1, 15a.16: τῆς βολῆς τὴν τ’ ἐμ πο]λει κατα το ψηφισμα τῆ[ς βολῆς το περι των συν]θηκων των εν τη στηλ[η] των συμμαχων, και ει φ]αινεται διαφορος...

<sup>44</sup> As for example in Amorgos *IG* XII 7: επειδη Κριτολαος Αλκιμεδοντος Αιγιάλευς εν τε τοις προτερον χρονις αυτον εκτενη και ευχρηστον παρεχομενος διατετελεκε τη πολει, χρειας τε γενομενης αναγκαιας τωι δημωι διαφορου δια τους περισταντας καιρους; Syros *IG* XII 5 (1<sup>st</sup>. cent. BCE) Ονησανδρωι το αποτεταγμενον εις τον στεφανον εκ του νομου διαφορον απο της ενκυκλιου διοικησεως; Papyri e.g. *PAmh.* II 69.12 (2<sup>nd</sup>. cent. AD) ἡμῖν ἡμεῖν μεμετρησθ(αι) τοῦ διαφοροῦ φορέτ(ρου) ἀπὸ Παῦνι ἕως, etc.

ές used in poems only in pl., in the context of warriors and winds, with the meaning ‘attacking violently, furious, raging’ (LSJ), e.g. M 347 (= 360) ζαχρηεῖς τελέθουσι κατὰ κρατερὰς ὕσμινας; N 684: ζαχρηεῖς γίνοντο μάχη αὐτοῖ τε καὶ ἵπποι. The Hom. form was also used in the late Epic, e.g. A.R. IV 835: Εἰ μὲν δὴ μαλεροῖο πυρὸς μένος ἠδὲ θύελλαι || ζαχρηεῖς λήξουσιν ἐτήτυμον, ἧ τ’ ἄν ἔγωγε; or Nic., *Th.* 290: ζαχρηεῖς θλιφθεῖσα κατομφάλιος τετάνυσται. The form consists of both phonetically and functionally «Lesbian» ζά (= διά) + aor. stem ἔχρα(φ)ον ‘s’attaquer á’ (DELG II, 397)<sup>45</sup> from \*\*χρηῖος (\*χρᾱ(φ)ος), which continues the root \*g<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>u- or better \*g<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>2</sub>u-, ‘stürzen, losstürzen’ in aor. ἔχραον ‘fiel an, überfiel’, cf. Lat. *in-gruī* (LIV<sup>2</sup>, 202). The gloss should be interpreted as containing /a:/ instead of Hom.-Ion. /e:/; it can therefore hardly come from the Homeric texts. Some traces of the existence of the postulated /a:/ variant of ζαχρηῖς may be found in the Scholia in Nic. *Th.* 290c (*scholia uetera*), where we read in one cod. \*ζαχραεῖς θλιβεῖσα ~ ζαχρηεῖς θλιφθεῖσα Par., ζαχραῖς (DELG II, 397: Epic. in *Arch. Pap.* 7.6; also LSJ). In fact such kind of post-Homeric poetic tradition can be the source of the gloss.

As stated above all the glosses containing ζά element have been qualified as Lesbian in collection of Hoffmann 1893, pp. 228-248, after the entry in *Comp.* III of Philoponus. It seems, however, more probable that they all (except for special cases as ζάγρη and ζάπεδον) belong to the poetical diction (even if the possibility of existing in the vernacular use in some cases cannot be excluded), where since early Epic the metrically caused variants ζα- and δια- existed hand in hand (cf. Hawkins 2004, pp. 46-71). The occurring interchange ζά for διά for the metrical reason in Sappho and Alcaeus should then be considered another element of Epic/Homeric influence upon an independent Aeolic poetical tradition.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, W. S. 1968: *Vox Graeca. A Guide to pronunciation of Classical Greek*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Blümel, W. 1982: *Die aiolischen Dialekte. Phonologie und Morphologie der inschriftlichen Texte aus generativer Sicht*. Ergänzungshäfte zur Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung Nr. 30, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Sch.* in M 347: ex. <ζαχρηεῖς> παρὰ τὸ χρεῖω καὶ τὸ ζα, ζαχρηεῖς Til.

- Brixhe, C. 1978: «Les palatalisations en grec ancien. Approches nouvelles», in *Étrennes de septantaine. Travaux de linguistique et de grammaire comparée offerts à Michel Lejeune*, Paris, Klincksieck, pp. 65-73.
- Buck, C. D. 1910: *The Greek Dialects. Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary*, Boston-New York-Chicago-London, Ginn and Company.
- DELG = Chantraine, P., *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, Paris, Klincksieck: Tome I (A-D) 1968, Tome II (E-K) 1970, Tome III (L-P) 1974.
- DM = *Diccionario griego-español*, Anejos I-II, *Diccionario Micénico*, red. por Francisco Aura Jorro, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, vol. I, 1985; vol. II, 1993.
- Dottin, G. 1920: *La langue gauloise. Grammaire, textes et glossaire*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Ernout-Meillet = Ernout, A. and Meillet, A. 1994<sup>4</sup>: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Euler, W. 2000: «Das germanische Wort für "Sonne" – noch ein l/n-Heteroklitikon wie im Indoiranischen?», *Linguistica Baltica* 8, pp. 69-77.
- Forssman, B. 1975: «Zur Lautform der lesbischen Lyrik», *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 33, pp. 15-37.
- Frisk, GEW = Frisk, H. 1960: *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, Winter.
- Hamm, E. M. 1958: *Grammatik zu Sappho und Alkaios*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag.
- Hawkins, S. 2004: «The interchange of δ and ζ in early Greek Epic», *Glotta* 80, pp. 46-71.
- Hernández-Vázquez, A. 1994: *Estudio léxico del jonio minorasiático*, tesis doctoral, Salamanca.
- Hodot, R. 1990: *Le dialecte éolien d'Asie. La langue des inscriptions VII<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. IV<sup>e</sup> s. p.C.* Mémoire n.° 88, Paris, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Hoffmann, O. 1893: *Die Griechischen Dialekte in ihrem historischen Zusammenhange mit den wichtigsten ihrer Quellen. 2. Band. Der nord-achäische Dialekt*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Kazik-Zawadzka, I. 1958: *De Sapphicae Alcaeicaeque elocutionis colore Epico*. Archiwum Filologiczne IV, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Lejeune, M. 1972: *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- LIV<sup>2</sup> = *Lexikon der Indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*. Unter Leitung von Helmut Rix. Unter der Mitarbeit vieler anderer bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel, Thomas Zehnder, Reiner Lipp, Brigitte Schirmer. Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel und Helmut Rix, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2001.

- LSJ = Liddel, Henry George and Scott, Robert (comps.) 1969: *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Meiser, G. 1998: *Historische Laut- und Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Méndez-Dosuna, J. 1993: «On <Z> for <Δ> in Greek dialectal inscriptions», *Die Sprache* 35, 1 (1991-1993), pp. 82-114.
- Minon, S. 1998: «Le zêtacisme éléen. Z pour \*d dans les inscriptions éléennes dialectales: trait phonétique ou graphique?», *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 93, 1, pp. 181-210.
- Neumann, G. 1992: «Griechisch μολοβρός», *Historische Sprachforschungen* 105, pp. 75-80.
- Pedersen, H. 1909: *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen. 1 Band: Einleitung und Lautlehre*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Peters, M. 1980: *Untersuchungen zur Vertretung der Indogermanischen Laryngale im Griechischen*, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Praust, K. 1998: «Armenisch ampem. “trinke”», *Die Sprache* 38, 2 (1996), pp. 184-200.
- Risch, E. 1974: *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache. Zweite völlig überarbeitete Auflage*, Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter.
- Risch, E. 1981: *Kleine Schriften*. Hrsg. von A. Etter, Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter.
- Rix, H. 1992: *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen. Laut- und Formenlehre*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Rodríguez-Somolinos, H. 1998: *El léxico de los poetas lesbios*, Diccionario griego-español, Anejo IV, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Schindler, Wurz. = Schindler, J. 1972: *Das Wurzelnomen im Arischen und Griechischen*, Diss., Würzburg.
- Schindler, J. 1975: «L'apophonie des thèmes indo-européens en -r/n», *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 70, 1, pp. 1-10.
- Schwyzler, E. 1939: *Griechische Grammatik. Erster Band*, München, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Schwyzler, E. and Debrunner, A. 1950: *Griechische Grammatik. Zweiter Band: Syntax und syntaktische Stylistik*, von A. Debrunner, München, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Sommer, F. 1948: *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre. Eine Einführung in das Sprachwissenschaftliche Studium des Lateins*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag (2. und 3. Auflage).
- Strunk, K. 1957: *Die sogenannten Äolismen der homerischen Sprache*, Diss., Köln.
- Thumb, A. and Scherer, A. 1959: *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte. Bd. II*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

- Thurneysen, R. 1993: *A Grammar of Old Irish. Revised and enlarged edition*, Dublin, Institute of Advanced Studies (reprint)
- Ventris, M. and Chadwick, J. 1959: *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge, University Press.
- 1973<sup>2</sup>: *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge, University Press.
- WOU = Untermann, J. 2000: *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen. Handbuch der italischen Dialekte. Bd. 3*, Indogermanische Bibliothek: Reihe 1. Lehr- und Handbücher, Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

Fecha de recepción de la primera versión del artículo: 25/02/2008

Fecha de aceptación del artículo: 13/03/2008

Fecha de recepción de la versión definitiva del artículo: 19/03/2009