ment of the spoken idiom. Sometimes a breaking point is reached and a new literary language, based on the spoken language, is created, as in the case of Latin and the Romance languages. Greek from the Hellenistic period onward has known this tension to a high degree, but despite the conservatism of the written language on the one hand, and the development and eventual diversification into dialects of the spoken language on the other, the link was never broken; the unity of Greek has been maintained by a series of partial accommodations. The "language question" that has troubled the history of Modern Greek has its roots in the Hellenistic period. It has never been completely solved, but equally it has never reached the breaking point.

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the rhythm of the language, which ultimately came to depend on the position of the accent. The loss of the aspirate may have been partly due to the influence of Ionic, from which it had long since disappeared. The use of the dual by Hellenistic writers is an archaism confined to the Atticists. The optative mood, which Greek had continued from Indo-European alongside the subjunctive, survived mainly in formulas of wish, as in the New Testament; the Atticists, in attempting to revive its other uses, reveal its absence from the spoken language by their mistakes. The infinitive was beginning to be rivalled by the construction *hína* (in order that) with the subjunctive, which was eventually to replace it completely; and the distinction between the perfect and aorist tenses was in process of disappearance. To judge especially from some papyri and works of a linguistically popular character, such as the first two Gospels, the spoken Koine was already characterized by the initial stages of developments that were to culminate in Byzantine and Modern Greek.

As a written language the Koine was an idiom of prose; poetry continued to be written in variations of the old genre languages, with such innovations as Theocritus's use of Sicilian Doric in hexameter verse and Callimachus's Doricized epic in elegy. In prose the Koine was used almost exclusively for works of importance in every field. It shows considerable variation from one author to another, however, according to the extent to which they approximate to the norm of classical Attic or to the spoken language. The Atticizing movement reached its extreme expression in the so-called Second Sophistic of the 2nd century A.D., when a rhetorician could make it his boast to have used no word that he had not found in a book,[15] and scholars compiled dictionaries of Attic words to distinguish "Attic" usage from "Hellenic" or "common." Even the language of Christianity came under Atticist influence, to which the duals and optatives (often wrongly used) of Clement of Alexandria bear witness; writers such as Basil and Johannes Chrysostom are, in style as in language, rhetoricians in the Atticist manner.

The polemic of the Atticists and anti-Atticists should not, however, obscure the fact that the written Koine too was tending to become artificial and archaic in relation to the spoken language. No language used as a literary medium can be entirely free from tension between its written and spoken forms. Where there is a fairly high level of general literacy this may cause little difficulty and even pass more or less unnoticed. If the literary form has a long tradition, however, and particularly if it looks back to a classical period of high prestige, it is liable to be trammelled by conservative tendencies that increasingly divorce it from the develop-

common Greek, in which dialect features are a concession to local speech and an assertion of political identity; occasional faulty adaptations to dialect suggest that their authors habitually spoke and thought in Attic. Some dialect inscriptions incorporate documents in this common Attic; for example, an inscription of Larisa[14] contains the text, in Thessalian, of decrees passed by the city in accordance with instructions given in two letters of Philip V of Macedon, written in 219 and 214 B.C. The letters are given in their original Attic form, and the first also in a local version that is little more than a mechanical adaptation of the original to Thessalian pronunciation and grammar. The same tale is told by the inscriptions of the Aetolian and Achaean leagues, which in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. maintained themselves as independent powers; their official languages are forms of West Greek so attenuated as to be merely common Greek with a few formal West Greek features. In one city after another, dialect forms disappear from inscriptions, apart from occasional archaizing revivals as late as the 2nd century A.D., which mean nothing for the history of the language. The spoken dialects in country districts must have been more tenacious; literary references attest the use of Doric in Messenia and elsewhere as late as the 2nd century A.D.; but gradually they must have sunk to the status of regional speech, in the same way that over considerable areas of England local dialects have given place to regionally coloured variants of common English. Finally they disappeared, making little or no contribution to the further development of the language, except in Laconia, where the Tsaconian dialect of Modern Greek contains a substantial element derived from old Laconian.

The common Greek of the Hellenistic period is known by the name given to it in antiquity, the Koine—*he koine* (*dialektos*) (the common language). This term is applied, in accordance with the practice of Greek grammarians, both to the spoken form and to the language of post-Aristotelian prose writers, except those of the Atticist school in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. The Koine is a continuation of 4th-century Attic, modified by the influence of Ionic and further developed in the new conditions created by Alexander's empire. The Ionic element consists mainly of details of vocabulary. Changes of pronunciation are partly disguised by spelling, which remains as established at the adoption of the Ionic alphabet in Athens at the end of the 5th century B.C., but are betrayed by spelling mistakes, especially in documents written by less-educated persons. A tendency to lose the distinction between long and short vowels may have manifested itself in uneducated speech as early as the 5th century B.C.; it gradually became general and led to a change in

The effect of Alexander's conquests, continued by the kingdoms into which his empire was divided after his death, was to shift the political and cultural centres of the Greek-speaking world away from the old states of Greece. The administration and security of the Hellenistic kingdoms were based on Greek or Graecized bureaucracies and Graeco-Macedonian armies, which provided careers for those whose energies and ambitions could no longer find satisfaction in their native cities. The Hellenistic capitals—Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, Pergamum in Mysia—were enabled by the patronage of their rulers to outstrip the old cultural centres. Greek settlements carried Greek language and culture into the interior of non-Greek-speaking territories. In all this area Greek became the universal medium of administration, inter-state relations, business, and culture. Beyond the frontiers of the Hellenistic states, the kings of Nubia and the border kingdoms set up their inscriptions in Greek and no doubt used it as a diplomatic language; so to some extent did Rome, for example in its dealings with Carthage; a series of Roman historians in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. wrote histories of their own state in Greek; and in the time of Augustus, King Juba of Mauretania used Greek for his numerous historical, philological, and other writings.

Within the Hellenistic kingdoms, besides being the administrative and cultural medium, Greek had two roles: as a mother tongue and, for non-Greeks, as a second language. Except in Asia Minor the spread of Greek did not lead to the extinction of other tongues, which continued to be spoken and in a few cases, such as Egyptian, written. It was thus natural that Greek should be used for the dissemination of Christianity, and that eventually the various Christian communities should adopt local languages, Aramaic and Syriac, Egyptian (in its later form known as Coptic), and in the Byzantine period Gothic and Slavonic, into which they also translated the scriptures. In this way a number of new literary languages were constituted on the model of Greek. In the West, Greek influence was no less important, though different in its means of action; the Hellenization of Roman culture and its effect on the Latin language, and consequently on the linguistic development of Europe in general, is a fascinating and far-reaching subject. When Greece and the Hellenistic kingdoms were ultimately absorbed into the Roman Empire, both Latin and Greek were used as administrative languages, and Latin administrative terminology was borrowed into Greek or translated by Greek terms.

The relationship of this Hellenistic Greek with the older Greek dialects deserves mention. The process of inter-dialect assimilation continued, and the official texts of many cities give the impression of being written in a

some Ionian cities before the end of the 5th century, and becomes increasingly marked during the 4th. At the same time the prestige of Athens as a literary and educational centre led to an extended use of Attic as a language of prose; the 4th-century historians Ephorus of Cyme and Theopompus of Chios, both pupils of the Athenian Isocrates, used it for their historical works. The Attic that was now spreading beyond Attica was no rigidly codified language, but a developing form of speech; many of its more recent features coincide with Ionic, and are probably due to Ionic influence. One Athenian writer, Xenophon, used a language so aberrant as not to be regarded as true Attic; this was no doubt partly due to the fact that for most of his life he was an exile, and wrote his chief works in Peloponnesus. His vocabulary shows a considerable mixture of Doric and poetic as well as Ionic words, together with many that became common only in the ensuing Hellenistic period. Other Athenian writers—e.g. Hyperides, Menander, Epicurus—show in varying degrees the changing character of Attic, chiefly in vocabulary but also in some details of inflexion and syntax. The linguistic development of the Attic-Ionic area in the late classical period is therefore a process of assimilation between the dialects, the outcome of which was to be a single form of speech based on Attic, to which Ionic in its final phase made a significant contribution.

At the same time the character of Hellenism was changing. Isocrates, in his *Panegyricus* (*c.* 380 B.C.), noted what was emerging: "It is the achievement of our city that the name of Hellene is no longer considered that of a race but of a way of thought, and that those are called Hellenes who share in our culture rather than those who share our common blood."[13] The Greeks had created a culture capable of universalization, and the language that had come to express it was Attic. Already by the middle of the preceding century, and possibly earlier, a step had been taken that was to be crucial for the future of Greek: the Hellenization of the ruling family and aristocracy of Macedonia, among whom the tragic poet Euripides and the painter Zeuxis found a welcome. Philip of Macedon had not only political astuteness and military power to promote his rise to hegemony of Greece, but also his Hellenic culture. On the basis of Graeco-Macedonian military potential his son Alexander succeeded in 10 years in uniting under his command two worlds—Greece (apart from its western outpost in Italy and Sicily), and the Persian Empire (from the Black Sea to the frontier of Nubia and from the Mediterranean to the borders of India). He thus opened the East to the spread of Greek culture and language; the story of his carrying a text of Homer on his campaigns has even more symbolic than factual significance.

later known as "the right of the strong": *pephuke gar ou to kreisson hupo tou hessonos koluesthai, alla to hesson hupo tou kreissonos arkhesthai kai agesthai, kai to men kreisson hegeisthai, to de hesson hepesthai* (for it is natural, not for the stronger to be restrained by the weaker, but for the weaker to be ruled and led by the stronger, and for the stronger to command, the weaker to follow).[12] The vocabulary of this sentence is both simple and highly general; the use of neuter adjectives as nouns gives no indication of particular context or subject-matter, so that the sentence as a whole can be read as a formula applicable to any pair of terms satisfying the relation *kreisson* (stronger): *hesson* (weaker). Such a language is, of course, no guarantee against the risk of ambiguity, tautology, or even downright nonsense; but it allows general arguments to be stated and developed without the encumbrance of a semantically restricted vocabulary tied to traditional thought-patterns; it is free from over-specialized terminology and easily intelligible to the ordinary educated person. This is especially true of the philosopher Plato. The ordinary Greek might have found it hard to follow Plato's thought, but he would not have found it hard to understand his language.

Factors tending to linguistic unification have already been noted: inter-dialectal communication, the establishment of regional official languages, the diffusion of genre languages. Even by the end of the 6th century B.C. conditions were ripe for more thorough unification, given a favourable sequence of historical developments. The Persian invasion of Greece in 480–479 B.C. called forth an unprecedented unity of purpose and effort on the part of Athens and the Peloponnesian states. This unity did not long survive the withdrawal of the Persian army, and its collapse provided the opportunity for Athens, already the chief naval power, to assume the leadership of those cities, chiefly Ionian, that had been liberated from Persian rule. The league that they formed soon became virtually an Athenian empire; during the 5th century B.C. Athens rose to eminence as the chief cultural centre of Greece, and one of its leading commercial powers. Its foreign population increased; numbers of Ionians became temporary residents while awaiting the settlement of legal business that they were obliged to transact at Athens; and settlements of Athenian citizens, different from the old type of colony in not being independent states, were set up on the Aegean islands and coasts. The extension of the Attic dialect has thus two aspects. As a means of oral communication it spread in the Ionian area owing to Athens' dominant political and commercial position. Attic influence is perceptible in the inscriptions of

ment with the feminine gender of the subject noun, marks its function as not merely descriptive but categorizing.

A language capable of serving as the means of intellectual expression is, in its most important aspects, a deliberate creation, produced by exploitation and extension of resources available in its formal structure of grammar and vocabulary. It is therefore a social and cultural phenomenon, and, no less than the works written in it, an index of the intellectual level of the people who use it. Intellectual expression requires a number of linguistic features that are related in their functioning and usually to some extent combined in their exponents. The first is a grammatical structure that, while providing for stylistic variety, makes it possible for the units of meaning to be placed in a variety of syntactical relations and to be modified in various ways. The principal means by which these operations are carried out in Greek have already been described. The second requirement is a stock of words of wide semantic extension, such as *prattein* (do, act); *gignesthai* (become, come into existence); *paskhein* (undergo, be affected); *ekhein* (have, be in a certain condition); these provide for a common framework of discourse adaptable to particular types of subject matter. A third need is for special and technical terms by which that framework can be applied to the particular subject treated. In English such vocabulary is mostly borrowed or constructed from borrowed elements so that, especially in the case of philosophical and scientific terms, it forms a constituent of the vocabulary initially distinct from that of ordinary discourse. In Greek it is constituted by semantic specialization, or sometime generalization of ordinary current terms, and by derivation from current terms. Modern medical and mathematical terminologies preserve a number of these, such as "cachexia," from Greek *kakhexia*, a transformation of the common expression *kakhos ekhein* (be in a bad condition); "nephritis," from *he nephritis* (*nosos*) (the disease of the kidneys, from *nephros* [kidney]); "hypotenuse," from *he hupoteinousa* (*gramme*) (the line stretching underneath, subtending), participle of the common verb *hupo-teinein*, which has a number of non-mathematical meanings; "isoceles," from *isoskeles* (having equal legs—*isos*, equal, and *skelos*, leg). Current and technical vocabulary form a single corpus in Greek to a degree unknown in most modern languages. In Greek philosophy, at least down to the time of Aristotle, the most striking aspect of the language is its capacity for generalization and the direct relation of its terminology to current speech. For example, the Sophist and rhetorician Gorgias, whose style was famous in antiquity for its use of antithesis and other stylistic ornament, formulates in the following sentence a principle

tant works composed in it, the mathematical treatises of Archimedes, belong to a later period, when it had become little more than a formally Doricized variety of common Greek.

The second half of the 5th century saw the beginnings of prose literature in Athens. The basis of Attic prose is the same educated spoken Attic heard in the language of comedy. Its earliest writers, especially Thucydides, made some concessions to the usage of Ionic and the majority of dialects by using *-ss-*, *-rs-*, in such words as *thalassa* (sea), *tharsos* (courage—Attic *thalatta*, *tharros*); some Ionic influence is perceptible in the epideictic or "display" oratory of the early orator Antiphon; but in the main, Attic prose, although stylistically elaborated on lines suggested by such teachers as Gorgias of Leontini and Thrasymachus of Chalcedon (themselves non-Athenians), is based on Attic speech and reflects the changing features of the dialect in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. This is natural, because its most characteristic genres are the speech, whether composed for actual delivery or as a pamphlet for written publication, and the philosophical dialogue. The new movement in education associated with the so-called Sophists in the 5th century had brought about a great extension of vocabulary, especially in the sphere of rhetoric and in the moral, political, and psychological fields, which can be detected not only in prose but also in the dialogue of tragedy and comedy, and much of which no doubt became current in educated speech, to judge from occasional parodies in Aristophanes. During the 4th century the conservative character of Attic was becoming less marked, and variations between earlier and later, anomalous and regularized forms appear, especially in the language of the orators.

Apart from its high degree of stylistic maturity, the most conspicuous feature of all Greek writing is its intellectual character. This is not a feature of prose alone; verse, too, is often discursive and logical, quick to grasp the significance of the particular in relation to the universal, and not merely to imply this but to give it overt linguistic expression. Examples are not rare even in Homer. Agamemnon, disciplining unruly troops, reminds them that they are not all commanders, and clinches his words with the general statement *ouk agathon polukoiranie* (not a good thing [is] many in command).[11] In these famous words, repeated by Aristotle in the *Metaphysics* as the final argument for the unity of the divine government of the universe, the compound is used in a way typical of prose; it transposes the syntactical collocation *polloi koiranoi* (many commanders) into a form that marks its detachment from any particular concrete situation; similarly the use of the adjective *agathon* in the neuter, instead of in agree-

colloquial and the more literary—to the variety of characters and moods presented.

The first region to have a prose literature was Ionia. Although the dialect is clearly Ionic, its character is difficult to assess, partly owing to the fragmentary preservation of writings earlier than the latter part of the 5th century B.C., partly because the textual tradition and the work of later editors have introduced many changes of detail in dialect forms. It seems likely, however, that the Ionians had a single literary language, as they had a single official one. The fact that the prose tradition appears later than that of verse has given rise to a view, already held by some writers of antiquity, that prose had its origin in verse. Greek had its fables, handed down under the name of Aesop; that these were in prose is clear from the fact that Socrates is represented by Plato as occupied during his last days in versifying some of them.[10] Secondly, although epic verse and elegy were used for works of a partly didactic and expository character, metre and language were so closely connected that one can hardly conceive such a procedure as that described (for instance) by Strabo, when he speaks of the earlier prose writers as "having removed the metrical form while preserving the other poetic features." It is true that some of the early philosophers who used Ionic prose adopted epic words and used metaphor and simile in a way that may seem to us poetic, but this practice may signify no more than an attempt to extend the means of expression and to produce a style commensurate with the nature of the subject. The language of the early prose chroniclers is stated by more than one critic to have been simple and in pure dialect, in contrast with that of Herodotus, which is described as "variegated," "blended," "poetic," "most Homeric of all." The poetical element in Ionian prose appears therefore not as a survival from verse but as a deliberate embellishment. At the same time the original characteristics of Ionian prose continued in the more scientific kinds of writing: the medical treatises of the Hippocratic school are written in pure Ionic dialect and in a plain style; the case records preserved among them perhaps exemplify one of the earliest types of non-literary (technical) prose.

The prestige of Ionian culture was such that Ionic was used as a written dialect also by non-Ionians, such as the medical writers of the Doric-speaking islands Cos and Cnidos, and the historians Antiochus of Syracuse and Hellanicus of Lesbos in the late 5th century B.C. The use of Ionic by a Syracusan historian is the more remarkable because there existed already in the culturally and commercially advanced states of Sicily a tradition of Doric prose, of which little survives; the most impor-

situation generally, as in iambo-trochaic verse. Epic influence tends to be confined to particular contexts, for example adaptations of Homeric expressions and themes, and invocations of gods; at the opposite pole, iambic verse, but not lyric, admits occasional vulgarisms. Varieties of iambic and trochaic metre were also adopted for the dialogue of Attic tragedy and comedy.

Athenian tragedy was a concomitant of the city's rapid rise to power and prosperity in the 5th century B.C. It was a form of mass entertainment, but with an intellectual as well as a popular appeal; its plots are derived almost wholly from epic and legendary material, but this is handled with freedom by the poets, who explore its possibilities for the expression of general human problems in terms of contemporary experience and attitudes of thought. The language of tragic dialogue is therefore close to normal Attic in form and basic vocabulary, yet sufficiently removed from it and sufficiently stylized to be the vehicle of poetry. Like early Attic prose, in contrast to the spoken and official languages, it uses *-ss-* rather than the native *-tt-* (which was perhaps felt to be a provincialism) in such words as *thalassa* (sea), *prassein* (act, do), and the peculiarly strict Attic use of the dual number is relaxed; it introduces variations of vocabulary, such as simple verbs for compound (*thneiskein*, die, for current *apothneiskein*), and alternative formations, such as *ekhthos* (hatred) for *ekhthra*, *stephos* (wreath) for *stephanos*, *naubates* (sailor) for *naútes*), together with synonyms and paraphrases to replace ordinary words, and a limited number of epic, Ionic, and even Doric words. The language of tragic dialogue is moreover not static; it reflects changing fashion and the development of the current language. Of all forms of Greek poetic language, that of tragic dialogue is perhaps the most supple and versatile.

The language of Old Comedy is basically current educated Attic, but corresponding to the range of topics it has a protean power of assuming the character of any grade or style of language. On the one hand are the elements of popular and vulgar speech, such as *oud' an stribilikinx* (not a bit), *tuntlazein* (to grub about); on the other hand are words invented to serve the purpose of parody or humour, such as *phrontisterion* (thought-shop, thinkery), and monstrous compounds such as *gliskhrantilogexepitriptos* (pettifogging) from *gliskhros* (sticky), *antilogos* (contrary, disputatious), and *epitriptos* (rogue). Within a century the Old Comedy of satire and phantasy had, in consequence of social and political changes, given way to New Comedy, with its realistic treatment of character and its plots of private intrigue and situation; this is written in elegant contemporary Attic, adapted—by a delicate range of shades between the more

the expression *manin opid(d)omenos* is simply a Laconian version of the epic formula *menin opizomenos* (dreading the wrath).

The language of epic prefigures those of the other genres. It was artificial, in the sense defined; it was universally accepted and continued in use through the classical and post-classical periods as the appropriate language for verse written in certain metres; but at the same time it was not rigidly prescribed and incapable of variation. Moreover, just as early epic provided a model of poetic composition to which all other genres are heavily indebted, so its language deeply influenced theirs. It provided a stock of vocabulary and patterns of vocabulary formation already imbued, by association, with poetic quality, and its composite grammar supplied a number of metrically convenient and poetically charged variants.

The language of choral lyric, composed for performance at religious and other festivals, closely resembles that of epic in vocabulary and in much of its phonetic and inflexional character, but at the same time includes a number of features in common with the Doric dialects. This Doric colouring does not reflect the speech of any particular locality; the specifically Laconian elements in the *Partheneia* ("Maiden-song") of the 7th-century Spartan poet Alcman may be due to subsequent editing. Various hypotheses have been put forward to account for this mixture: that it is a generalized Doric developed under strong epic influence; that it is epic adapted to the speech of Dorian audiences; more recently, that it continues the language of a lost Mycenaean lyric, the apparently Doric features being explained as due to a different dialect base in Mycenaean Greek. However that may be, the language of choral lyric represents another common form of literary Greek, although admitting considerable variation. In the work of the early 6th-century poets Stesichorus and Ibycus (both Sicilians), the Doric, or apparently Doric, element is less marked than in that of Pindar, the greatest exponent of the genre, whose native Boeotian had many features in common with Doric; whereas in that of Simonides and Bacchylides (both Ionians) the non-epic element amounts to no more than a few conventional features. In this form it appears also in the choral parts of Attic tragedy.

Two poetic genres—the monodic (solo) lyric of Lesbos and Ionia, and verse written in iambic and trochaic metres, of which the tradition stemmed from Ionia—differ from those already mentioned in being composed in the dialect of the poet, and in being less elaborate in style. The use of native dialect is appropriate to verse forms the subject-matter of which includes the expression of personal feeling, as in lyric, and comment (often satirical) on personal experiences, contemporary affairs, and the human

some degree of artificiality. This remark does not necessarily apply to style and content: most classical Greek poetry is marked by a natural directness of expression and sincerity of feeling, and is capable of a high degree of realism in picturesque description, in narration of incidents, and in delineation of character and motive. However, most varieties of verse language are artificial in the sense of diverging in grammar and vocabulary from current usage. Such divergence is in general unacceptable in modern English poetry, and one of the most difficult tasks in translating Greek poetry into English is to give a fair impression simultaneously of its linguistic character and of its qualities of expression. This artificiality has its origin in the language of epic verse. It is generally agreed that the language of epic was developed during a centuries-long tradition of oral composition, beginning at least as early as the Mycenaean period, and that down to the emergence of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* at the end of the 8th century B.C., it had undergone a process of accretion, adaptation, and modernization at the hands of successive poet-reciters. Hence the language of epic, as it appears in the Homeric poems, presents an amalgam of older and later forms, together with poetic innovations motivated by metrical needs. Its vocabulary contains a high proportion of words no longer current or found only in remoter dialects such as Cypriot—the so-called *glottai* that seemed to Aristotle[9] the most characteristic feature of epic diction; even the meagre evidence of the Linear B tablets is enough to permit the inference that many or most of these were current in Mycenaean Greek. The final phase of the oral epic tradition belonged to Ionia, and its language assumed the form of an archaic Ionic mingled with non-Ionic, chiefly Aeolic, elements; by a natural association of linguistic with literary form this language was accepted as alone appropriate to verse in the heroic metre, the hexameter, and in the closely related elegiac metre. The dissemination of epic verse to other parts of the Greek world carried this language with it; the Boeotian Hesiod used it for his didactic, personal, and moralizing poetry with a few variations, some of which may reflect his local dialect. Elegy in the epic language was written not only by Ionian poets but also by the 7th-century Spartan Tyrtaeus and some half a century later by the Athenian statesman Solon.

In Ionia the 7th-century elegists made some concessions to contemporary dialect by admitting current forms and avoiding to a considerable extent the non-Ionic component, whereas their successors reverted in both respects to Homeric usage. The elegiac metre was also used for short funerary and other epigrams, in local dialect but so heavily under epic influence as to be virtually transposed epic: thus in an example from Sparta

craftsmen. Departures from normal written standards are found also in the *defixiones*. The scurrilous verse of Hipponax shows that the lowest level of speech in the Ionian cities contained non-Greek as well as Greek words. Such details reveal the existence of vulgar speech and some of its features, but they do not suffice for a full linguistic description. It is possible to form a rather clearer picture of educated Athenian speech, because it is obviously represented in much of Plato's dialogues and in New Comedy. Its colloquial character resides not in formal differences of pronunciation and grammar, but in those features that arise naturally in the conversational situation—a vocabulary copious and varied enough, but in general free from poetical or technical elements; the use of shorter and less elaborately constructed sentences, and of incomplete sentences and phrases the full meaning of which depends on the context of the conversation; frequent indication of the speaker's attitude; and appeals to the interest of the listener by means of questions, interjections, and particles.

The majority of literatures have owed their original impulse and much of their development to external influence. Greek literature, apart from some possibility of eastern influence on the beginnings of its epic tradition, was one of the few primary literatures of the world, in the sense of being an autonomous creation. Its development from the 7th century B.C. onward is associated with some, though not all, of the chief centres of initiative in the economic and political fields: Aeolic-speaking Lesbos, with its important city Mytilene, the Ionian cities, Athens, and the mixed but predominantly Doric-speaking communities of Sicily. Greek literature, wherever produced, became the property of Greeks everywhere; even communities whose contribution was meagre or non-existent could play a part as patrons. In view of the dialectal divisions of Greek, this combination of regional production and universal dissemination of literary works is of the greatest relevance to the character of the language in which they were written. Moreover, during the formative and classical periods of their literature the intellectual activity of the Greeks, at least in the centres of literary importance, was not subject to hierarchical or ideological authority, and so their language is not the rigid idiom of a priestly, bureaucratic, or learned caste, but one of great range, variety, and flexibility, providing for individual experiment and the development of personal styles.

Greek poetry includes a number of genres, and to each belongs its variety of language. One characteristic is common to almost all, namely

(we are starving—in Attic, *diapeinomen*)—for Attic *diapinomen* (we are drinking).[6] Only intense commercial, diplomatic, and cultural exchange accounts for the fact that the dialects, instead of diverging into mutually incomprehensible forms of speech, maintained and even increased their resemblance to one another, and were felt to be forms of one language. Political fragmentation and frequent inter-state hostilities did not outweigh the constant contact that the Greek cities maintained at both public and private levels, and the common features of their religion (including the pan-Hellenic oracles and festivals), political institutions, art, and literature. From an early date a distinction was made between *barbaroi*, those who, regardless of their level of civilization, spoke other languages, and *Hellenes*, the Greeks, whose language reflected both their diversity and their basic unity of character.

Of the social varieties of Greek the scant evidence provides only a sketchy picture. Greek literature, even drama, makes only a restrained use of linguistic realism. In Aeschylus's *Choephori*, Orestes' old nurse recalls the trouble he gave her as a baby. Her sentiments and interests are those of her calling, but her expression of them has no resemblance to the language of a Mrs Gummidge and little to that of Juliet's nurse, when she calls the baby's cries of discomfort that rouse her from her bed *nuktiplangton orthion keleumaton* (night-roaming—i.e. causing to roam by night—shrill commands),[7] in which the first word is a typical poetic compound and the second an adjective characteristic of epic and tragic verse. There is nevertheless evidence of differences between colloquial and literary language. Reference has already been made to Herodotus's statement that dialect differences existed between the Ionian cities of Asia Minor; he must have had in mind the spoken dialects, because no such differences are reflected either in the official language or in literary Ionic. For Athens too there is testimony: an anonymous writer in the late 5th century B.C. (generally known as the Old Oligarch) makes the following comment: "(the Athenians) through hearing every dialect have taken this from one and that from another; the other Greeks use their own dialects, as they do their own ways of life and fashions; but the Athenians use a dialect mingled of elements from all the Greeks and non-Greeks."[8] This, if intended as descriptive of literary Attic, would be gross exaggeration. We have some examples of uneducated speech. Touches of vulgarity in Old Comedy, introduced more for humorous effect than for realism, show something of its vocabulary; explanatory legends on Athenian vase-paintings reveal divergences from standard grammar and spelling, though such evidence is sporadic and perhaps partly due to non-Athenian

phrase, but in general it is close to current language and free from jargon and over-elaborate phraseology; without being naive or gauche, it makes its meaning clear in a vocabulary that is either that of ordinary life or easily understood from it. For instance, the constitutional laws of Chios[3] (about 600 B.C.) contain the following provision: "A session of the public council shall be held on pain of fine for non-attendance . . . for the transaction of public business including all suits due on appeal for the month." A word-for-word translation would be: "Let the public council assemble subject to fine . . . to deal with both the other (matters) of the people and all suits as-many-as become on appeal during the month." In this there are two technical terms, the adjectives *epithoios* (subject to fine) and *ekkletoi* (on appeal), from the verb *ek-kalein* (call out, appeal to higher authority). The rest is expressed in the plainest everyday language. Similarly in a law of Halicarnassus[4] of the mid-5th century the clause "any attempt to subvert this law or any proposal for its annulment . . ." is expressed "if anyone seeks to confuse this law or puts forward a vote for this law not to be. . . ." This closeness of one form of written language to ordinary speech is an important aspect of the Greek linguistic situation.

In the case of documents to which more than one state was party, copies appear to have been drawn up in the language of each, because treaties are always in the official dialect of the state in which the copy was found. It may be assumed that envoys used their own dialect in addressing the magistrates and assemblies of another state. Clearly the dialects were mutually intelligible at the official level; how far they were so in private communications can only be conjectured, and may have depended on the opportunities an individual had for hearing speakers from other states. Such opportunities were not lacking to the citizen of an important city such as Athens in the latter part of the 5th century B.C.; he would hear other dialects on the lips of visiting merchants and the considerable non-Athenian population of the city, as well as from foreigners with business before the Council and Assembly or in the law-courts. Socrates is represented by Plato as asking the court to make allowance for his unfamiliarity with the forensic style of speaking, "just as, if I were really a foreigner, you would of course forgive me for using the dialect and manner of speech in which I had been reared."[5] In his comedy *The Acharnians*, Aristophanes introduced characters speaking Megarian and Boeotian, and in his *Lysistrata* several Spartans using the Laconian dialect; presumably, because what they say is essential to the dialogue, his audience understood them, and were able to appreciate an amusing misunderstanding, when the Athenian Dicaeopolis takes the Megarian *diapinames*

early period in commerce and colonization, was among the most innovatory dialects. The Doric or West Greek dialects, together with the closely similar North-west Greek, represent the speech of those Greek peoples who had remained outside the Mycenaean culture and whose southward movement was associated with its end. The Dorians too had been, and a number of their communities remained, enterprising and expansionist; their dialects accordingly present diverse patterns of conservation and innovation, together with traces of the dialects they supplanted. The Aeolic group, comprising the Lesbian of the island of Lesbos and a few cities on the adjacent coast of Asia Minor, and the Thessalian and Boeotian dialects of northern and central Greece, shows features in common with Doric on the one hand and Arcado-Cyprian and Attic-Ionic on the other, and clearly forms some kind of link between them; but the linguistic and historical affinities of Aeolic remain among the difficult problems of Greek dialectology. In Lesbos it achieved literary status with an accomplished and influential tradition of lyric poetry.

From the earliest inscriptions until the 4th century B.C. and later, each state used its own official dialect in public and for the most part in private documents. The official language of a state was not necessarily identical with its local spoken dialect. The Ionian cities of Asia Minor, with their close religious, cultural, and commercial relations, shared a common official Ionic, although Herodotus tells us that they differed among themselves in dialect.[2] The cities of Boeotia, which formed a political union under the leadership of Thebes, similarly used an identical language in their inscriptions, whereas in Thessaly, with its looser and more intermittent political groupings, the inscriptions reflect a number of local variants. Two general aspects of official language deserve mention. The first is the care shown by certain states for the standard of their official documents. The Boeotian inscriptions show that their orthography was methodically revised on several occasions to bring it into line with changes of pronunciation. Athenian inscriptions maintain a generally consistent standard of language and spelling, including a few features not found in current spoken and literary Attic: for example, the ending *-esi*, in contrast with current *-ais*, for the plural of the second declension is used until 420 B.C., from which date the current form appears exclusively; both the consistency of usage and the suddenness and completeness of the change suggest some degree of official control. At the opposite pole are the Spartan documents, the spelling of which, to judge from its inconsistency, seems to have depended on individual choice. The other point concerns style and diction. Official Greek has, naturally, its technical words and turns of

dikaioi (the just) usually denotes the just as a class, rather than a particular group of just persons.

Inflexion, not word-order, indicates the grammatical structure of a Greek sentence. This does not mean that the order of words is indifferent or undetermined. Within certain types of collocation the sequence is relatively fixed: "to the city" cannot be anything but "*eis ten polin.*" The overall order of the sentence is determined by considerations of clarity and stylistic balance; any part can be placed in a position of special prominence, as (for example) in modern Russian. Beginnings of sentences and sense-groups are usually marked by particles—short indeclinable words that serve to express the logical connection of a statement with what precedes it and sometimes its implications for the general sequence of thought. The dictionary translations of these particles are often too explicit and lacking in subtlety ("for," "at least," "indeed," "on the one hand," etc.), but a parallel by which their role can be to some extent appreciated is perhaps the unemphatic use of such German words as *doch* and *mal*. To judge from texts that reflect spoken language, such as the plays of Menander, they were not obligatory in conversation, but in the developed literary style, especially that of prose, the connection of every sentence with the preceding one is marked by one or more particles, except in a few cases under well-defined conditions.

Greek has a number of varieties, dialectal and social. Of the dialects, few were used for written literature. The others are known mainly or solely from inscriptions, a few short passages in Athenian comedy and other works in Attic, and information, chiefly vocabulary, gleaned from grammarians. The dialects fall into groups, but the interrelation of these groups cannot be determined with certainty, because the material is insufficient for the kind of dialectological survey applicable to modern spoken languages. Certain innovations, some already attested in Mycenaean (such as the change of *t* to *s* before *i*, e.g., *didosi*, he gives, for *didoti*), mark off two groups. The first, consisting of the widely separated Arcadian, Cypriot, and Pamphylian, has particular affinities with the administrative language of the Mycenaean states; the second is constituted by Attic and the various Ionic dialects of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands. Both Attic and Ionic were destined to be the vehicles of an important literature; but the former, until the rise of Athens in the 5th century B.C., was the speech of a relatively introvert community with a mainly agricultural economy, and retained a number of conservative features, especially the use of the dual number, whereas Ionic, the language of a people active from an

value, principle, rule, reason, correspondence, proportion, ratio, narrative, tale, tradition, and so on—are adjectives *logios*, *logimos*, *ellogimos* (of account, authoritative), *logikos* (rational, logical), with noun *logike* (logic); compounds formed with negative prefix include *a-logos* (irrational, speechless, unaccounted for), with noun *a-logia* and verb *a-logein*; the derived verb *logizesthai* (count, reckon, calculate, consider), from which arise numerous forms: *logismos* (reasoning, calculation), *logistes* (accountant), *logisterion* (accountant's office), *logistikos* (capable of reasoning, rational), with contrary forms *a-logistos* (irrational, thoughtless), noun *a-logistia*, verb *a-logistein*. Among numerous other compounds are *logo-poios* and *logo-graphos* (prose-writer, historian, professional speech-writer), each with its derived verb and noun, from *poiein* (make) and *graphein* (write) respectively; *astro-logos* (astronomer) from *astron* (star), with derivatives *astro-logein* (study the stars, be an astronomer), *astro-logia* (astronomy), *astro-logikos* (astronomical).

This array of vocabulary is but a selection from the host of derivatives, compounds, and derivatives of compounds to which this word-pair gave rise, serving the various needs of current speech, poetry, and technical language. The originality and diversity of Greek intellectual culture was matched by a linguistic inventiveness that Roman writers envied and, with some diffidence, sought to imitate. Cicero calls the Stoic Zeno "a discoverer even more of new words than of new ideas," and records an innovation of his own: "I have therefore introduced '*qualitates*' for what the Greeks call '*poiotetas*'; this Greek word is itself not a popular but a philosophical term."

One of the most important features of Greek, in contrast with Latin and many other ancient and modern languages, is its possession of the definite article *ho*, with its various forms for case, number, and gender. Originally a demonstrative pronoun, the article has a number of functions: it particularizes a thing or concept as an individual or as belonging to a class; it is used not only with nouns but with adjectives and participles, with adverbs and prepositional phrases, with infinitives and infinitival expressions, and even with some types of clause; and by organizing word-groups it helps to articulate the structure of the sentence. For example, "those who administered the city at that time" may be expressed in Greek "*hoi kat' ekeinon ton khronon ten polin dioikountes*" (the at that time the city administering); "to consider licence democracy" is distinguished in Greek from its converse, "to consider democracy licence," not by the order of words but by the omission of the definite article from the noun in the predicate. Of particular importance is the classifying function: *hoi*

commoner suffixes tend to form systematic structures, such as the set *-sis*, *-ma*, *-tos*, *-tikos*, *-tes*: for example, from *poiein* (make, compose poetry) are derived *poiesis* (act of making, poetical composition); *poiema* (thing made, poem); *poietos* (made, makeable); *poietikos* (capable of making, poetical); *poietes* (maker, poet). Moreover, adjectives and participles, generally preceded by the definite article, can be used as nouns: *he poietike* (the art of poetry); *to dikaion* (the just, justice); *to on* (the existent, the real), in addition to the derived noun *ousia* (existence, reality).

Composition, the grammatical union of two (sometimes more) words, is also an Indo-European procedure. Its great development in Greek is, however, an independent phenomenon; the proliferation of compounds in Germanic and Slavonic languages is held to be due in the first instance almost entirely to the model of Greek as the language of Christianity. Of the various types of compound the most important is that in which the word as a whole has adjectival function, for example *polu-pous* (many-foot), which means not many feet but many-footed; such adjectives may also be used as nouns denoting an object so characterized, in this case octopus, polyp. Compounds, of which the number in Greek is enormous, seem to have been less numerous in the spoken language; their main fields are poetic, technical, and intellectual, and they provide the majority of personal names: *Phil-ippos* (devoted to horses). A great number have been borrowed into modern languages and others are still formed from Greek components, for example "helicopter" from *helix* (screw) and *pteron* (wing). Also numerous and important are the verbal compounds, consisting of a verb preceded by a preposition, which, as in Latin and a number of modern languages, provide a great range of primary and derived meanings.

To illustrate these procedures and the plasticity that they give to the lexical material of Greek, let us take the primary verb *legein* and the corresponding noun *logos*, which are related by an Indo-European vowel alternation. Formed from *legein* (gather, count, say, speak) are the noun *lexis* (speech, diction, style), adjective *lektos* (spoken, selected); various prepositional compounds such as *dia-legesthai* (converse), with its derivatives *dialektos* (manner of speaking, dialect, language), *diolexis* (discussion, debate), *dialektikos* (conversational, dialectical), with noun *dialektike* (dialectic); *ek-legein* (pick out, select), with adjective *eklektikos* (selective, eclectic); *kata-legein* (select, enrol, enlist); the corresponding nouns formed from *logos* are *dia-logos* (dialogue), *ek-loge* (choice, selection), *kata-logos* (list, register, catalogue). Also formed from *logos* with its many meanings—e.g. speech, statement, argument, explanation, account,

as well as the semantic content, in the individual word. A short example from Aeschylus may be contrasted with an English version:

> nun d' eutukhes genoit' apallage ponon
> euangelou phanentos orphnaiou puros[1]
>
> (and now [nun d'] may there come about [genoit'] a fortunate release [eutukhes apallage] from suffering [ponon] when there appears [phanentos] the beacon [puros] bringing good tidings [euangelou] in the darkness [orphnaiou].)

In the course of its preliterate development Greek had considerably reduced the inflexion of nouns, but it retained the full richness of the Indo-European verbal system and in certain respects increased it, particularly by completing the provision of infinitive and participle for each tense of the verb. These forms permit a great number of syntactical transformations. For example, in the passage quoted above, *phanentos* is a participle of the aorist tense; used in the genitive case with *puros* as its subject it conveys a relation of time and cause; it would be equally possible to convey this in Greek, as in English, by a clause with a finite verb. Thus Greek writers had available to them a considerable number of more or less equivalent syntactical constructions, which they fully developed in the interests of stylistic variety and harmony. If Latin and later European literatures show in varying degrees a similar use of language, it is largely because Greek is the ultimate model. Here, as elsewhere, it is appropriate to distinguish the resources of a language from the use made of them: the writers of Sanskrit, for example, operating with a language very similar in structure to Greek, succeeded only in reducing its use to a high degree of predictable monotony.

The basic vocabulary of Greek consisted of words retained from Indo-European or borrowed from languages with which the Greeks came into contact in the Mediterranean region. As their culture developed, this stock was augmented and adapted by procedures internal to the language rather than by the adoption of words or models of word-formation from foreign sources. The chief expedients used are semantic extension and specialization, derivation by suffixes, and composition. The first of these can be illustrated from the terminology of Athenian judicial procedure, which includes, in addition to special terms, a number of general words used with specialized meaning: *dike* (justice; case, law-suit); *graphe* (writing; indictment); *diokein* (pursue; prosecute); *pheúgein* (flee; be a defendant); *hairein* (take; convict). Derivation by suffixes is a procedure common to all Indo-European and many other languages. In Greek the

conditions of communication and trade. Echoes of this unity remain in later literature, for example in the catalogue of ships and the overlordship of Agamemnon in the *Iliad*, in Telemachus's journey from Pylos to Sparta in the *Odyssey*, in the ship intercepted by Apollo on its voyage from Knossos to "sandy Pylos" in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*.

The energy and enterprise of the Mycenaean peoples not only implanted their language over a wide area of central and southern Greece, but also carried it overseas to Crete and eastward through the islands of the south Aegean to Cyprus. This was the first phase in a process of expansion that was to be of great importance for the destiny of the Greek language. Toward the end of the second millennium B.C. the Mycenaean powers were overthrown and their speech was overlaid almost everywhere by other forms of Greek. A second wave of expansion carried other varieties of the language—Aeolian, Ionian, and Dorian—to the islands of the central and northern Aegean and the west coast of Asia Minor, which henceforth form, together with Greece proper, the central homeland of Greek. A third wave, in which Ionians and Dorians participated, began in the middle of the 8th century B.C. and continued for some two centuries at its most intense level, establishing Greek along the coasts of southern Italy and Sicily and sporadically on the south coast of what is now France, on the north coast of Africa at Cyrene, and on the coasts of the Sea of Marmara, the Bosporus, and the Black Sea. The cities to which this movement gave rise were independent states, but they tended to retain ceremonial and sentimental ties with their founder cities, and participated in the pan-Hellenic festivals of mainland Greece. Their populations were not dispersed over wide land-masses; they remained concentrated along the coasts and in constant touch with one another by the sea routes that carried their trade. This intercourse maintained their cultural and linguistic character against assimilation into that of the non-Greek peoples of the hinterland. The Greek language had not yet reached its territorial limits, however; its fourth phase of extension in the wake of Alexander's conquests will be the subject of a later section.

Greek, like almost all ancient and not a few modern Indo-European languages, was highly inflected. The inflexions serve not only to express various referential meanings such as person, number, and tense (the predominant function of inflexion in many languages, including modern English), but also as exponents of syntactical structure, a function for which English and many languages use mainly word order and auxiliary words. This inflexional character gives a greater compactness and conciseness to the sentence by concentrating much of the formal structure,

although some surviving fragments of Greek vocal music take account of it in the melody, it was not used to constitute metrical structure. The current style of reading Greek verse by stress rather than by length is unlikely to convey much of its original effect on the ear.*

Greek is an Indo-European language, of the same origin as almost all European and many Asiatic languages. The date of its introduction into Greece is a matter of controversy; thanks to Michael Ventris's decipherment of the Linear B syllabic script in 1952, it is at least certain that Greek was the administrative language of the chief centres of Mycenaean Greece and Crete by the 13th century B.C., or even by the 15th, according to the more widely held view of the dating of the Linear B tablets found at Knossos. The documents of Mycenaean Greek, incised on clay tablets, consist of administrative records—inventories of stores and livestock, lists of personnel, registers of land-holdings, dues and payments in kind, and the like. If the Mycenaean Greeks used their script for documents of any other kind, no trace of them remains; no inscriptions on stone or metal have been found, and if they had a written literature they did not, like the Mesopotamian and Anatolian peoples, commit it to clay tablets, but to some perishable material. The contribution of the Linear B tablets to knowledge of the early history of the language is severely limited by the lack of diversity in their subject-matter and the gross inadequacy of the syllabic script for noting the sounds of Greek; even so, they contain much of interest. They show, for instance, that Mycenaean Greek had affinities especially with the southern and eastern dialects of later times, the Arcado-Cyprian and Attic-Ionic groups, rather than with the northern and western Doric dialects that later occupied much of the area in which Mycenaean had been used. Except to the scholar, however, perhaps the most interesting aspect of the language of these tablets is a general one. The sites from which they have been recovered are widely dispersed—Knossos in Crete, Pylos and Mycenae in western and eastern Peloponnesus, Thebes in central Greece—yet their language is highly uniform, with few and uncertain traces of the dialect differences that may be supposed to have existed over so extensive an area. It may be that the administrative language of the Mycenaean centres was the first example of the tendency to form common languages that culminated in the Hellenistic period; the uniformity of the language reflects a high degree of cultural and political cohesion, together with well-developed

* A theory of stress in Greek appears in W. S. ALLEN, *Vox Graeca: a Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Greek* (Cambridge 1968), pp. 120–4.

separated, often by several centuries, from the time of composition. The official and private documents, written by persons of diverse social positions and degrees of education, are indispensable evidence for the history of the language in the post-classical period. The third source consists of inscriptions, both public (comprising laws, decrees, resolutions of various kinds, inventories, and records) and personal (including particularly dedications and epitaphs, names and short texts on pottery, and *defixiones*—imprecations inscribed for magical purposes on lead tablets). All these, like the non-literary papyri, have for the linguist the merit of being contemporary records; but even so they may not always represent the latest developments of current speech. To inscriptions we owe almost all our knowledge of dialects other than Attic and Ionic.

In the latter half of the second millennium B.C. the Greeks of the Mycenaean period took over and adapted to their language a syllabary consisting of signs for vowels and for each combination of consonant plus vowel; a related syllabary continued in use in Cyprus throughout the classical period for writing the Cypriot dialect. Following the downfall of the Mycenaean states writing appears to have been discontinued or at least severely restricted; when written records begin again, toward the end of the 8th century B.C., we find the Greeks using an adaptation of an early Semitic alphabet, into which they had introduced the important innovation of representing vowels as well as consonants. The Greek alphabet existed in a number of local variants, of which the Ionic was finally adopted by all Greek states, no doubt chiefly because of its more precise indication of vowel length and vowel quality. This alphabet, in a later cursive form and with the addition of marks to indicate aspiration and accentuation, is now used for written and printed Greek of all periods from Homer to the present day.

Of the individual sounds of ancient Greek, and of its general acoustic effect, we have only an approximate idea, derived from study of its orthography and from statements of grammarians in late antiquity. The Greeks, unlike the ancient Sanskrit grammarians, did not develop an adequate technique and terminology for phonetic description. Nevertheless, the pronunciation is known in broad outline, and has some importance for the appreciation of Greek literature. In particular, the rhythm of the word and sentence had a role not only in the structure of metre but also in rhetorical prose. This rhythm was determined not by the distribution of syllables with stronger and weaker stress, but by the sequence of long and short syllables; ancient Greek had an accentual system, but this is described by grammarians purely in terms of pitch and intonation, and

The Greek Language

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The Greek language is known from written records covering more than three millennia. From the 8th to the 4th century B.C. it was the vehicle of the earliest literature of Europe, a literature of great originality and aesthetic value, which expressed—among other things—an intellectual and rational culture of a new order. In the following centuries it was a medium for works of scholarship, history, science, and philosophy, and for the dissemination of Christianity. The techniques of expression developed by Greek writers have influenced, both directly and through Latin, all the languages of Europe and a large number in other parts of the world. The aim of this chapter is to give an account of the history and characteristic features of Greek for those whose concern is chiefly with the works composed in it, and whose knowledge of those works may be derived in part or wholly from translations. The terminology of comparative and historical grammar and of modern descriptive linguistics will as far as possible be avoided, and examples of the language will be given in transliteration.

Our knowledge of ancient Greek is derived from sources of three kinds. First in extent and importance are the manuscripts that contain the bulk of surviving Greek literature. These are mostly copies made during the Byzantine period, 1000 years or more after the date of composition, and bear the traces of scribal tradition as well as changes that the language underwent during the period. They are therefore not altogether trustworthy witnesses to the original linguistic form of the works they contain. The picture they give is nevertheless on the whole a fair one, and their errors can be corrected from other evidence. Secondly there are the papyri recovered in Egypt, most of which belong to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The literary papyri, mostly fragmentary, contain works already known from manuscripts and others not preserved elsewhere; they too are

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