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The Pronunciation of θ and δ

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planation than Wessner's. For, I take it, Nonius wrote the concluding portion of Book XVIII in some way like this:—

MURRINA, potio confecta. Varro Anthro-
popoli: non modo vinum dare, sed etiam,
ut Plautus ait, 'murrinam, passum,
defrutum.'

PORTULACA. Varro Disciplin. lib. viii:
manducata portulaca cito tollit.

LORA, confectae potionis genus, grandaevis
aptum. Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. i.:
antiquaemulieresmaioresnatu bibebantloram
aut sapam aut defretum aut passum, quam
(?quod) murrinam quidem Plautus appellare
solet (?-ri putat), tum autem muriolam. loram
dicebant in vindemia, cum expressissent
acinis mustum et folliculos in dolium con-
cieissent.

SAPA, quod nunc mellacium dicimus,
mustum ad mediam partem decoctum.
DEFRETUM. Varro de Vita Populi Romani
lib. i: sapam appellabant quod de musto ad
mediam partem decoxerant; defretum si ex
duabus partibus ad tertiam redegerant defer-
vefaciendo.

PASSUM. MURIOLA. Varro de Vita Populi
Romani lib. i: passum nominabant, si in
vindemia uvam diutius coctam legerent
eamque passi essent in sole aduri; vino
addito vel lora, passum vocare coeperunt;
muriolam nominabant quod (? quom) ex uvis
expressum erat passum et ad folliculos
reiculos et vinacia adiciebant (? adiecerant)
sapam.

TURUNDAM, ut libum, sacrum quoddam ex
farre genus panificii. Varro Cato vel de
liberis educandis: alii adferunt libum ac
turundam.

A copy of Nonius, the parent of the
archetype of our MSS., was, I take it, used
as a Latin Dictionary in some Carolingian
monastery. Amongst other corruptions
which the text of this part had suffered, the
words (under the lemma LORA) *tum autem
muriolam*¹ *loram* had become (through

¹ Buecheler's proposal to insert the mention of
muriola before *quam murrinam* is favoured by

Haplography) *tum autem mur loram*. This
'vox nihili' *mur* was corrected by the super-
scription *murrina*, and the same correction
was perhaps, by a common practice, also
inserted in the margin. This marginal entry
murrina suggested to some scribe or corrector
that this clause would find a fitting place
under the lemma MURRINA. Hence it has
come about that in all our MSS., under the
lemma MURRINA, there is this extraordinary
extra-quotation:

Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. i:
tu <m> autem †murmurina†; loram dice-
bant . . . cum coniecissent. (*Loram*, by the
way, was made into a new lemma by the
corrector of the archetype.)

The same scribe or corrector was offended
by the double lemmas² SAPA. DEFRETUM and
PASSUM. MURIOLA. He simplified them by
omitting DEFRETUM in the first pair and by
separating the other pair. In the separation
he made a rough and ready division of the
quotation, breaking it up into two after the
word *aduri*. The result of all this was
that these paragraphs stand in our MSS.
thus:

SAPA, quod nunc mellacium dicimus,
mustum ad mediam partem decoctum, Varro
de Vita Populi Romani lib. i: sapam ap-
pellabant . . . deferrefaciendo.

PASSUM, Varro de Vita Populi Romani
lib. i: passum nominabant . . . aduri.

MURIOLAM. Varro de Vita Populi Ro-
mani lib. i: vino addito . . . sapam.

Walde in his excellent Latin Etymological
Dictionary derives *muriola* from *murra*.
Wessner rightly regards it as the Diminutive
of *muria* 'brine.' The word was possibly
a playful name given by the Roman women
to their 'partickler wanity.'

W. M. LINDSAY.

Paul. Fest. 144. 9 M. and may be right. It is not
inconsistent with my theory.

² Perhaps LAPATIUM. TISANA was another lemma
of this sort in Nonius' setting of 550, 12 *sqq.* But
this is uncertain.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF θ AND δ.

FROM notes taken during a visit in the
summer of 1906 to Astypalaea and other
islands, where kindred dialects are spoken,
I should like to amplify Dr. Rouse's state-
ments in *Class. Review*, xix. p. 441, about

the modern pronunciation of θ and ζ and
the *spiritus asper* in Astypalaea.

Θ is pronounced τ' not universally, but
only under certain conditions. Initially
(except before γ, or when a closely preceding

word ends in *ν*) and between vowels, it has its usual spirantal value; after *σ*, *χ*, and *φ* (i.e. *φ*, *ευ*, and *αυ*) it is sounded *τ*, as always in popular Mod. Greek; after *ρ* also as *τ*, as generally in the S.E. dialects (*λθ* → *ρθ* in Mod. Greek); only after *ν* and before *ι* is it sounded *τ'*:—e.g. τὸ κολοῦττ'ι (τὸ κολοκύνθιον), τὰ κολοῦττ'ια (τὰ κολοκύνθια), ἐτ' ἔλω (δὲν θέλω), βατ'ῆς (βαθεία). Some speakers pronounce *τ'*, *θ'* rather than *τ'*, *τ'*. I found similar pronunciations in other islands:—

Nisyros: *νθ* as *τ'*, *νθι* as *ττ'*, but *θι* as *θ'*.

Cos: *νθ* as *θθ*, with the lengthened consonant of the S.E. dialects, but *νθι* as *ττ*, and *θι* as *τ*. This is at Antimachia; at Kephalos *τθ* is heard instead of *ττ*, *τ*.

Kalymnos: *νθ* as *τθ*, *νθι* and *θι* as *ττ'*.

Chalke: In Astypalaea I was told it existed in this island.

In Astypalaea alone, except Kalymnos in certain phrases, I noted this pronunciation in Sandhi, e.g. τὴν ῥάλασσα (τὴν θάλασσαν), with *-τ τ'* for the usual S.E. *-θ θ-*. The nom. is ἡ θάλασσα.

Explosive pronunciations of *νθ* exist according to printed sources in other neighbouring islands:—

Syme: e.g. βρόττος (γρόνθος), Zwγ. 'Aγ. p. 232.

ξαιτά, ξεράτηκε (ξεράνθη), Σύλλογος, IO. p. 227.

Karpathos: e.g. ξαιτή, Zwγ. 'Aγ. p. 276.

γύσθος (ιονθος), ib. p. 320.

Amorgos: τὰ λύττια, wild figs (*δλύνθια), in a glossary in 'Η νήσος Ἀμοργός, N. Γ. Γασπάρη.

Ikaria: ψαψαμίτι, Meyer. *Neugr. Studien*, ii. p. 96, a kind of lizard. Cf. σαμιάμινθος, *Ducange*, and Karpathan σαπομίττα, Zwγ. 'Aγ. p. 335. But Hatzidhakis (*Idg. Forsch.* ii. p. 391) gives *θθ* or *p*. (387) *σσ* for *νθ*.

Telos: see Dieterich, *Untersuchungen*, p. 284. But the examples he quotes from Zwγ. 'Aγ. are really from Karpathos.

West Coast of Asia: for this Dieterich (ib. p. 284) quotes from the Anatolian's speech in the comedy Βαβυλονία. This region has been much colonised by islanders.

Kretschmer (*Der heut. Lesbische Dial.* p. 169) quotes examples from the allied dialect of Terra d'Otranto, where however *θ* is never *th*, but *t*, *d*, or *s* (Morosi, *Studi sui dialetti greci della Terra d'Otranto*, p. 107), and these pronunciations thus seem very widely spread in this dialect-group, the

ancient character of which is one of Dieterich's conclusions. In Rhodes *θθ* is heard (Hatzidhakis, *Idg. Forsch.* ii. p. 392).

It occurs also in Zakonian (Deffner, *Zak. Gram.* p. 99), and it is notable that ancient Lakonian, whilst in other cases making *θ* a spirant, kept an explosive sound, not only after *σ*, like Mod. Greek in general, but also after *ν* (Meister, *Dorer und Achäer*, p. 29).

The only other *θ* I could hear of with explosive sound is in the word παραμύθι, a story, always pronounced as if with ancient *νθ*. It has probably been altered under the analogy of the words ending with *-νθι*, κολοκύνθι, ροβίθι (ἐρέβινθος) and ἀλύθι (*δλύνθιον).

In the tales from Astypalaea in Pio, *Contes Populaires*, no account is taken of this pronunciation, or even of *τ* for *θ* after *ρ*, except in such a word as γαρτώνεται (διορθώνεται), which the writer probably did not recognise, and so normalise. He does sometimes, as Dr. Rouse says, write *τ* for *θ*, but only after *σ* and *φ* (*ευ*, *αυ*) as always in popular Mod. Greek. A native gave me a manuscript folk-tale, in which *νθ* appears always as *τθ*, *ττ* or *ττθ*, and in no other case does *τ* appear to render partly or fully the sound of *θ* except after *σ* and *φ*. Of *ρθ* no case occurs.

Parallel with this is the less common pronunciation in these dialects of *δ* as *d*. Usually in Mod. Greek this is only after *ν*, e.g. δένδρο(ν) or δέδρο(ν), but in Kos, Nisyros, and parts of Karpathos I have noted *d* also after *ρ* and *γ*, and in Cos also before *ι*. It probably exists unrecorded elsewhere, as Mod. Greek has no sign for *d*. In the dialect of Terra d'Otranto *δ* is as a rule *d*, and never *dh* (Morosi, p. 106).

By the side of the pronunciation of *ζ* as *dz*, or as I think rather *ndz*, noticed by Dr. Rouse, is the pronunciation of *σσ* whether internal or in Sandhi as *ττ*. In Sandhi *σσ* results not only from *-ς σ-*, but also from *-ν σ-* and *-ν χ-*, the *ν* being first assimilated to the following *σ* or *χ*, which is always pronounced *s*. Thus ἡ θάλασσα, ἐτ' σοῦ λέω (= δὲν σοῦ λέγω), τὸτ' σεμῶνα (= τὸν χεμῶνα). These pronunciations of *ζ* and *σσ* I have noticed also in Karpathos (*B.S.A.* x. p. 85) and *ττζ* is written for *ζ* in the texts from Syme in Zwγ. 'Aγ. pp. 224 sqq.

The *spiritus asper* noticed by Dr. Rouse in Astypalaea has, I think, no connexion with the ancient *spiritus asper*, but occurs when a word is shouted, as the greeting ὦρα καλή often is, or in exclamations and at the beginning of exclamatory sentences

expressing annoyance or amazement, e.g.
 ἡ ἐ κακόμοιρε, *Oh poor fellow!*

R. M. DAWKINS.

θ is also pronounced τ' in the word θέλω, so that I cannot quite accept Mr. Dawkins's notes; but I have no doubt that they are substantially accurate. I have a considerable collection of Astypalitic stories etc. in manuscript which I hope to publish. From them many other peculiarities of this dialect will appear: e.g. the intrusive sibilant in groups like *πουλτσά* = *πουλιά*. σσ is sounded τσ in Cephalos, an isolated district of Cos, which has a peculiar dialect. This pronunciation may possibly be ancient: see Mr. Foat's note on T in the current *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

ON *Malaxo* AND *μαλάσσω*.

THE evidence adduced above for a pronunciation of σσ as *ts* (the existence of which in the Greek world I have long held and taught, though I have never published my belief) encourages me to offer my explanation of the correspondence in the words which head this note. *Malaxo* is one of the older borrowings of Latin from Greek: for the compound *commalaxo* shows that the sense of its foreign origin was lost. Now *malaxo* cannot have come from *malasso*. For *ss* is a stable Latin group and *lassus fassus* etc. would have helped to keep the correspondence true. But take the hypothesis that the word borrowed was *malatso* and all is in order. *ts* differs but slightly in sound from *cs* or *x*, and *c*, as we all know, has replaced *t* in the sound group *tl*.

J. P. POSTGATE.

MORE UNCANNY THIRTEENS.¹

IN the *Classical Review* of December 1905, p. 437, I suggested that thirteen in Greek (and Latin) writers was not, as Mr. J. Elmore had said, used simply for an indefinite number, but that it had, as I expressed it, a sinister tinge. To put the matter in a word *ἄνθρωπος τρισκαίδεκάπῃχς* 'a man of 13 cubits' in Theocritus 15. 17 does not so much mean, we might say, a lumbering guardsman, but a misbegotten Goliath.

Since I made this suggestion I have come across some passages which appear to gain in point if the popular associations of this number were malign.

One of the most formidable mutinies in the army of a successful general was that which was quelled by the promptness and address of Alexander in the year B.C. 323. In order to strike terror into the hearts of the army, Alexander ordered certain of the ringleaders to be arrested and executed. Arrian and Plutarch do not state the number; but Quintus Curtius (x. 2) and Justin (xii. 11) give it as thirteen.

Another place in which the number may be not only actual but significant is Suetonius *Gaius* 38, where one of Caligula's monkey tricks is related.

Auctione proposita reliquias omnium spectaculorum subiecit et uenditavit, exquirens per se pretia et usque eo extendens ut quidam immenso coacti

quaedam emere ac bonis exuti uenas sibi inciderent. Nota res est Aponio Saturnino inter subsellia dormitante monitum a Gaio praecone ne praetorium virum, crebro capitis nutu nutantem sibi, praeteriret, nec licendi finem factum quoad tredecim gladiatores sestertio nonagies ignoranti addicerentur.

There is an added grimness, quite worthy of the imperial madman, in this deadly jest, if the thirteen gladiators were a fatal number.

The last incident to which I shall refer was brought under my notice by Dr. A. J. Kronenberg of Rotterdam. It is recorded by Diodorus Siculus xi. 92. 5, but I give the narrative in the words of Grote's *History*, Part II. ch. 90.

'Statues of the twelve gods, admirably executed, were carried in solemn procession into the theatre: immediately after them, the statue of Philip himself as a thirteenth god.' [The sequel is given thus] . . . 'Unconscious of the plot Philip was about to enter the theatre, already crowded with spectators . . . At this moment Pausanias, standing near with a Gallic sword concealed under his garment, rushed upon him, thrust the weapon through his body, and killed him.'

All will agree with Dr. Kronenberg's comment 'is numerus si ominosus est, parum prudenter fuisse putandus est Philippus.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ Read before the *Cambridge Philological Society* on October 25, 1906.