The Tsakonian Dialect.—I

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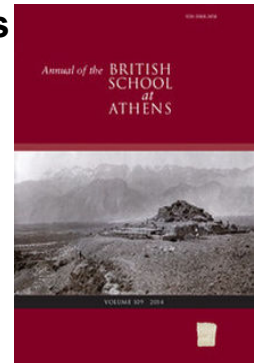C. A. Scutt (1913). The Tsakonian Dialect.—I. The Annual of the British School at Athens, 19, pp 133-173 doi:10.1017/S0068245400009163

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THE TSAKONIAN DIALECT.—I.

§ 1.—INTRODUCTION.

THE area over which the Tsakonian dialect is spoken lies on the east coast of the Peloponnese between the Parnon range and the sea. Its northern boundary is roughly the torrent which, rising on Parnon above Kastánitsa, flows into the sea near Ayios Andréas, its southern the torrent which, also rising on Parnon, passes through Leuídhi to the sea. A mountain range stretches along the coast from end to end of the district, reaching its highest point (1114 metres) in Mt. Sevetíla above the village of Korakovúni. Between Tyrós and Pramateftí, the seaward slopes of this range are gentle and well covered with soil. Behind these coast hills there stretches a long highland plain, known as the Palaiókhora, which, in the north, is fairly well covered with soil, but gradually rises towards the south into a region of stony grazing land, and terminates abruptly in the heights above Leuídhi. The high hill of Oríonda rises out of the Palaiókhora to the west and forms a natural centre-point of the whole district. Behind it stretching up to the bare rock of Parnon, is rough hilly country, cut here and there by ravines and offering but rare patches of cultivable land. (Fig. 1.)

The number of Tsakonian-speakers at the present time is roughly about 8,000. Nearly half of them live in the large village of Leuídhi ; north of this dotted along the coast are the three villages of Pramateftí, Pera Mélana, and Tyros (with the neighbouring Sapunakéïka). Ayios Andréas lies at the southern end of the plain of Astros, on the western slope of the coast range, about an hour from the sea. Kastánitsa and Sítena are highland villages close under Parnon, whilst Prastós is built

on a broad ridge further east. There are also small groups of shepherds' huts at Sokhá and Vaskína in the Palaiókhora and a few houses at Phúska, halfway up the Ayios Andréas torrent, on the south bank. The villages of Korakovúni in the hills an hour south of Ayios Andréas, and Ayios Vasílios about three hours south of Prastós are non-Tsakonian.

The coast villages, especially Lenídhi and Ayios Andréas have the best land and produce vines, olives, corn, cotton, oranges and various other fruits. At Kastánitsa and Sítena the soil is good, but they are too high to produce such things as vines and olives well. The hills round Kastánitsa are well timbered especially with chestnuts. Phúska is also a fertile district. The rest of the country is for the most part poor grazing land for goats and sheep.

The Tsakonians are thus chiefly farmers, gardeners and shepherds, although many of them are engaged in commerce in Tripolitsa, Spetza, Nauplia, Peiraeus, Constantinople, and Egypt. Very many of the older men have spent their lives abroad and emigration to America is of course common. Those emigrants who return, as most of them do, have partially or completely lost the dialect. Moreover every village has its school, and with the daily service of steamers to Ástros and Lenídhi, news-papers reach the district quite freely. Under these conditions the dia-lect is rapidly falling into disuse, and, although it still remains, at any rate in the smaller villages, the language of the women, and, as the schoolmasters have told me, the children do not know ordinary Greek when first they go to school, it is nevertheless only the oldest women, and very few even of these, who are ignorant of the ordinary language.

§ 2.—HISTORY OF TSAKONIA.

The ancient Kynouria[1] seems to have comprised all the strip of land along the east coast of the Peloponnese from the Argolid southwards perhaps as far as Cape Malea, and therefore to have included the district now known as Tsakonia. The Kynourians are said by Herodotus[2] to have been, like the Arkadians, the original inhabitants of the region which they occupied, and to have been Doricised by the Argives. According to Pau-sanias[3] they were of Argive origin, and the Argives, prior to the Dorian invasion, spoke the same language as the Athenians.

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[1] Thuc. v. 41. 2 ; Her. i. 82.   [2] viii. 73.   [3] iii. 2, ii. 37.

After long struggles Sparta succeeded in wresting Kynouria from

FIG. 1.—MAP OF THE TSAKONIAN DISTRICT.

Argos, and was in possession of it at the time of the Peloponnesian War.[1]

[1] Thuc. v. 14. 4.

The Aeginetans, established in Thyrea by the Spartans[1] 431 B.C., formed no permanent element in the population, as they were expelled by the Athenians only seven years later.[2] Apparently the Spartans lost the northern part of the district during the first part of the fourth century B.C., as the men of Phlius, who came to Sparta's aid in 370, had to land at Prasiai and march from there over the southern end of Parnon.[3] In the third century the towns of Polichna, Prasiai, Leukai, Kyphanta, Glympes, and Zarax were in the hands of the Argives,[4] probably as a result of the settlement made by Philip of Macedon.[5]

The Eleutherolakones,[6] set free by Augustus from the Lacedaemonians of Sparta, originally consisted of twenty-four cities, and in Pausanias' day eighteen of these, Gythion, Teuthrone, Las, Pyrrikhos, Kainepolis, Oitylos, Leuktra, Thalamai, Alagonia, Gerenia, Asopos, Akriai, Boiai, Zarax, Epidauros Limera, Brasiai, Geronthrai and Marios, still remained free. Brasiai[7] was the most northerly of these on the coast. The coast towns of Lakonia had already in 195 B.C. been made independent by Flamininus.[8]

There are ancient remains in the district at Ayios Andréas, Tyrós, the Scala of Lenídhi, and Ayios Vasílios. About three-quarters of an hour northeast of Ayios Andréas on a low hill by the sea are traces of a considerable fort or town completely enclosed by a well-made polygonal wall, with numerous large cisterns and a road cut in the rock leading up to the highest point, on which a church now stands. At Tyrós on a low hill running out into the sea are remains, in one place fifteen to eighteen feet high, of an enclosure of cyclopean masonry. A small shrine of Apollo Tyritas, on the hill of Ayios Elías between Tyrós and Mélana, was excavated by the Greek Archæological Society in 1911.[9] There are also traces of an ancient town on the hill-side above the Plaka of Lenídhi. Numerous ancient tombs have been found both here and at Tyrós. The Γλυμπεῖς of Polybius,[10] is undoubtedly to be identified with the ruins which exist close by Ayios Vasílios to the south.[11] The ancient town near Lenídhi was probably

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[1] Thuc. ii. 27.   [2] Thuc. iv. 56.   [3] Xen. Hell. vii. 2.

[4] Polyb. iv. 36, v. 20.   This probably means the whole of Kynouria at least as far south as Zarax.

[5] Paus. ii. 20.   [6] Paus. iii. 21. 6 foll.   [7] Paus. iii. 24. 3.   [8] Livy, xxxiv. 35.

[9] Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑτ. 1911, pp. 253 ff.

[10] Polyb. 4. 36.   The name given by Pausanias (iii. 22. 8) is Γλυππία.

[11] Πρακτικά, 1911, p. 277 ; Ἀθηνᾶ, 1906, p. 553.

Prasiai, that near Ayios Andréas either Anthene or Thyrea, probably the former. The old names are preserved only in Tyrós [1] and Λύμπια or Λυμποχώρια, the local name for the district of Ayios Vasílios.[2]

In classical times all the towns within the Tsakonian area, with the exception of Glympeis, seem to have been on the coast, and from the evidence of the few inscriptions that have come to light, more especially from the finds which were made at the excavation near Tyrós, already mentioned, the population seems to have been from an early date under strong Lakonian influence.

From the second to the tenth century A.D. no direct reference is made to this part of Greece. Meantime the country suffered from the mis-government and excessive taxation of the Empire, from the great plague, and in the seventh and eighth centuries from the incursions of Slavs and Avars. These invaders were supreme in Achaia and Elis until they were defeated at Patras in 807.[3] The Slavs on Taÿgetos were still troublesome in the thirteenth century,[4] and earlier seem to have held the whole Eurotas valley, but Tsakonia was not one of the districts in which they settled,[4] although from the place-names, Dragalevo and Meligu, they seem to have established themselves in the northern part of Kynouria. The modern name occurs for the first time in the tenth century in Porphyro-genitos,[5] who mentions Tzekones as being used for garrison duty in the Empire. Nikephoros Gregoras [6] says that in the thirteenth century the navy of Michael Palaiologos was partly composed of 'Lakones, freshly arrived from the Peloponnese, whose name in the common language had been corrupted into Tzakones.' Pachymeres [7] records that the same emperor settled in Constantinople with their wives and children a large and warlike body of Lakones, vulgarly known as Tzakones, who came ἔκ τε Μορέου καὶ τῶν δυσικῶν μερῶν. These statements shew that the Tsako-nians in those days inhabited a mountainous region, as it was usual in the

[1] Cf. Steph. Byz. i. 428 (Dind.) Τύρος Λακωνικῆς.

[2] 'Aθηνᾶ, 1906, p. 553. The topography of these places is discussed at length by Leake (*Morea*, ii. 485 ff. ; *Peloponnesiaca*, 294 ff.), Ross (*Reisen im Peloponnesos*, 163 ff.), Curtius (*Peloponnesos*, ii. 375 ff.), and Wace and Hasluck (*B.S.A.* xv. 173 ff.).

[3] Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 10 ; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 179.

[4] *Chronicle of the Morea*, 3040 (Schmitt).

[5] B, i. p. 696. Most of these references have been collected by Deville and Thiersch, but I have verified them all. Others have been suggested to me by Mr. F. W. Hasluck.

[6] *Ibid.* B, i. 98. 13.

[7] *Hist. Mich. Pal.* p. 173 (Ed. Rom. p. 209).

Byzantine Empire to secure revenue by taxing the inhabitants of fertile districts, and to employ only mercenaries and the inhabitants of poor regions in the army and navy.

More precise information is given by the *Chronicle of the Morea*, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century, where Tsakonia is frequently mentioned. In the south it included Yeráki[1] Geronthrai, but not Helos, Vatika, nor Monemvasia, and in the north Dragalevo did not form part of it.[2]

The *Chronicle* describes[3] how Geoffrey I. Villehardouin (1209–1218) invaded Lakedaimonia, then overran Tsakonia and advanced as far south as Helos, Vatika and Monemvasia, after which the rulers of Lakedaimonia and Amykli (Nikli) submitted, and how later[4] William II. Villehardouin (1245–1278) captured Monemvasia, whereupon Vatika and Tsakonia immediately offered submission ; but afterwards William was defeated and captured by the Emperor Theodoros, and only obtained release after three years' imprisonment by ceding Monemvasia, Maina and Mistra. It was not long before Tsakonia together with Vatika and the Melingi again revolted but were again defeated and William's army once more overran Dragalevo and Tsakonia.

References to the various places of Tsakonia also begin about this time. A golden bull[5] of Andronikos II. (1293) mentions a bishopric, ἡ τοῦ 'Ρέοντος, and the villages Καστάνιτζα, Ζίντζινα and ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Λεωνίδου. A silver bull[6] of Theodoros II. Palaiologos (*circa* 1442) exempted from the privileges granted to Monemvasia, among other places, Τζακονία, which included 'Ρέων, Πραστός, Καστάνιτζα and Ἅγιος Λεωνίδης. Phrantzes[7] mentions Προάστειον, Λεωνίδας, 'Ρέοντας and Σίτανας as places τῆς Λακωνικῆς which he secured for Maria Melissene in 1435. In Gastaldi's map of Greece,[8] made about 1545, the coast district south of To Astrí, corresponding roughly to modern Tsakonia, is marked Sacanía. In Marin Michiel's report,[9] written in the year 1691, mention is made

[1] Ll. 1937-8, 3166-7 (Ed. Schmitt).

[2] *Ibid.* ll. 2064-5, 2960-1, 4591, 4661, 5025-6, 5622, 6653. In view of these lines and more especially of the fact that Lakedaimonia is frequently mentioned in the *Chronicle* and never as identical with or forming part of Tsakonia, Schmitt can hardly be right in stating (p. 640) that Tsakonia was the general name given to Lakonia.

[3] *Ibid.* 2064 ff.   [4] *Ibid.* 2956 ff.

[5] Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Dipl. Graec.* v. p. 155.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 171.

[7] B, p. 159.

[8] Sathas, *Doc. Inédits*, iii.

[9] Λάμπρος, 'Ιστορικὰ μελετήματα, pp. 199 ff.

of a 'high' and 'low,' *i.e.* probably a northern and a southern, Tsakonia.[1] The inhabitants of 'high' Tsakonia are described[2] as an 'active, intelligent, faithful and hardy race, who serve throughout the whole Realm as couriers, and travel with incredible speed through the mountains from one place to another.' The fact that the region between Lenídhi and Yeráki, which was part of Tsakonia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is now inhabited by Albanians, probably explains this distinction of 'high' and 'low' Tsakonia. Ayios Petros, now a large non-Tsakonian-speaking village two or three hours to the north of Tsakonia, is twice mentioned in this report,[3] as forming part of Tsakonia. The bishopric of Réondas[4] is also mentioned. In 1573 the Tsakonians inhabited fourteen villages between Nauplia and Monemvasia.[5] Réondas, the ruins of which are to be seen on the hill of Oríonda, was probably destroyed in the eighteenth century in consequence of Greek risings against the Turks. Prastós was a large and flourishing village of 400 or 500 houses and nine or ten churches, until the ravages of Ibrahim and his Egyptians in 1826, when the inhabitants fled to Lenídhi and the other coast villages. Very few of them have returned and most of the houses and all but one of the churches are now in ruins.

The historical evidence seems to point to a continuous habitation of the Tsakonian area, without any considerable change of population, by a people belonging, like the Arkadians, to the earliest known race in Greece. Already under strong Lakonian influence at least as early as the fifth century B.C., the population, under the Eleutherolakonian League, probably spoke a sort of Lakonian *Koine*, which must have existed in those days. The district has always been somewhat isolated and never attained to any political or commercial importance, even during the greatness of Monemvasia. The evidence of the *Chronicle of the Morea* is decisive against any large infusion of Slavs into the population. At least as early as the thirteenth century the name Tsakonia was applied to a large district which included the Tsakonia of to-day, stretched northwards perhaps as far as Astros, and southwards to Yeráki, and probably

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 208. Il territorio di Mistrà compreso . . . tra l' alte et aspre montagne dell' alta e bassa Zacognà.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 209.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 210, 211. San Piero di Zacognà.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 210. Vescovi di . . . di Reondas.

[5] Crusius, *Turcograecia*, p. 489.

also contained villages such as Tsíntsina on the western slopes of Parnon. The district and name were also already identified with the ancient Lakonia, though whether by a genuine popular tradition or merely by the learned it is impossible to say. The population, which in classical times was mainly on the coast, centred chiefly round the highland villages of Réondas and Prastós in the middle ages,[1] perhaps in consequence of piracy, and has only returned to the coast in comparatively modern times.

§ 3.—BIBLIOGRAPHY.[2]

The first important information on the dialect is supplied by Villoison,[3] who states some of the phonetic peculiarities and gives a few examples of each. He obtained his facts from a Tsakonian in Athens, and only deals with a very small part of the subject.[4]

Leake[5] has a few very inaccurate notes on the phonetics and grammar.

Thiersch[6] first attempted a serious study of the dialect. He gives a short phonology aud tabulates the pronouns and the verb fairly well, but deals very scantily with the noun. He seems to have obtained his information chiefly in Nauplia, and the only distinction between the two branches of the dialect he records is the dropping of λ before back vowels. His study includes a historical account of the district, and three very short and inaccurate texts, one of which is the Lord's Prayer. His system of recording the sounds is very misleading,[7] and his philological explanations are fanciful. He compares forms which have arisen by modern phonetic changes to the simple uncompounded forms of Homer, and he makes no comparisons with Modern Greek. His conclusion is that the dialect is essentially Ionic with strong Doric influence.

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[1] There is no evidence for Deville's assumption (*Étude du dialecte Tzakonien*, p. 23) that the populations of the Argolid and Lakonia took refuge in the district and founded these villages at the time of the Slav invasions.

[2] Cf. G. Meyer, *Neugriechische Studien*, i. pp. 61, 62. *Sitzungsber. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch. in Wien, Philos.-Histor. Classe*, Bd. cxxx.

[3] *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (Venice, 1788), note on pp. 49, 50.

[4] I have gone through all his MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, but failed to find any unpublished notes.

[5] *Researches in Greece* (1814), pp. 196–204 ; *Travels in the Morea* (1830), ii. pp. 505–508.

[6] *Über die Sprache der Zakonen* (1832).

[7] Thus he writes καμσχὶ (καμδζ̇ὶ), πάσχα (πάᾰα), ζοῦρι (τσοῦρι), κάρα (κʿάρα), ἐφύγκε and ἐφύζε (ἐφύνδζε).

Deville [1] gives an excellent historical and topographical introduction
with a good map, an etymological study of 374 selected words, an
examination of the phonetics and morphology, and six short folk-songs
with translations and notes. His material is more complete and accurate
than that of Thiersch, but, as Deffner has pointed out, contains many
mistakes of accentuation and phonetics ; thus, he completely confuses
κ, κ^ι and χ, and reproduces the voiceless dental and labial aspirates by $\tau\tau$
and $\pi\pi$. Moreover he always spells his words in accordance with their
supposed etymologies and not as they are actually pronounced, explaining
the pronunciation somewhat vaguely in notes.[2] He holds in the main the
opinion of Thiersch further elaborated: 'Tsakonian is the heir to the
Lakonian dialect formerly spoken in the same localities.' This Lakonian
he assumes (with Ahrens, ii. 429) to be, like Arkadian and Elean,
non-Dorian and of pre-Dorian origin. He supports Herodotus' statement [3]
that the Kynourians were autochthonous Ionians, and explains it in the light
of Pausanias' statements [4] that the Kynourians were of Argive origin, that
the Argives prior to the Dorian invasion spoke the same language as the
Athenians and after the Dorian invasion remained, with the Arkadians,
the only autochthonous inhabitants of the Peloponnese.[5] He accounts for
the survival of the dialect by the wildness of the country and the absence
of civilisation. His weak point is phonetics,[6] and he describes many
phenomena as survivals, which comparison with modern Greek shows to be
new developments.

Oikonomos,[7] a Lenídhi priest, gives a short grammar of the Lenídhi
dialect, together with a fairly large vocabulary, a few songs, and a short
prose narrative. His work is valueless philologically, but the vocabulary
and texts are useful, though the spelling is very misleading.

The newspaper articles of Mariniótis [8] and Nikolésis [9] are very slight

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[1] *Etude du dialecte Tzaconien* (Paris, 1866).

[2] Hence for ἀκ'ό he writes ἀκκό (= ἀσκόs) but for κ'άρα, κχάρα (= ἐσχάρα), for ἔτ'ε, ἔττε (= ἐστὲ)
but for ἐθαυμάτ'ε, ἐθαυμάτθε (= ἐθαυμάσθη).

[3] viii. 73.

[4] iii. 2, ii. 37, v. 1.

[5] Cf. p. 83, where, with reference to the change μ > ν before *i* sounds, he remarks 'cela tient
sans doute à ce que μι et νι sont plus faciles à confondre que μα et να, μο et νο, μου et νου.'

[7] Γραμματικὴ τῆς Τσακωνικῆς διαλέκτου, Athens, 1870, published in 1846 with the title
Πραγματεία τῆς Λακωνικῆς γλώσσης.

[8] Ἐφημερὶς Φιλομαθῶν, v. No. 232, pp. 249 f., 1857.

[9] *Ibid.* xviii. No. 748, pp. 2182 ff., 1870.

and offer no new material, whilst the work of Mullach [1] is taken almost word for word from Thiersch, and that of Moriz Schmidt, although very full and conscientious, is based on the material of Leake, Thiersch and Deville without any personal acquaintance with the dialect, and therefore teems with inevitable mistakes of fact.

Deffner, the only scholar dealing with the dialect who possessed a really thorough first-hand knowledge, wrote at considerable length: beginning with short newspaper articles on remains of ancient case-formation in Tsakonian,[2] the Tsakonian demonstrative pronouns [3] and the Tsakonian ρ,[4] he went on to a fuller and more comprehensive study in his *Archiv*,[5] and began writing a Grammar,[6] of which, unfortunately, only the unfinished first half dealing with Phonology has been published. Unlike all his predecessors Deffner was extremely accurate in his statement of facts, used a clear, phonetic system of spelling and classified the peculiarities of the dialect with great care and detail. But he was more concerned with proving the identity of Tsakonian and ancient Lakonian than with giving an objective account of the dialect, and in consequence gives far too much weight to doubtful etymologies and to philological explanations which are either improbable or entirely untenable, and does not in the least make clear the great similarity that exists in syntax, vocabulary and general structure between Tsakonian and Modern Greek. On the whole, in spite of much wild theorising, Deffner made out a very strong case for Lakonian survivals in certain phonetic features of the dialect. Hatzidakis [7] in various places supports the strongest of Deffner's points, and also argues in favour of a distinction between *o* and *ω* in Tsakonian.[8]

Deffner's view was further corroborated by Thumb in an article on the place-names of Tsakonia,[9] which dealt very thoroughly with the subject and used all the available sources. Thumb clearly proved that the proportion of Slav names is extremely small, but failed to remark the curious fact

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[1] *Grammatik der Griechischen Vulgarsprache* (Berlin, 1856), pp. 94–104.

[2] Νέα Ἑλλάς, No. 34, 1874.

[3] *Ibid.* No. 35, 1874.   [4] *Ibid.* No. 37, 1874.

[5] *Ibid.* i. 1–54, *Das Zakonische als Fortentwicklung des Laconischen Dialektes erwiesen*, 77–87, *Das Zakonische Verbum und seine Formen*.

[6] *Zakonische Grammatik*, Berlin, 1881.

[7] *Einleitung*, pp. 8 f. ; Μεσαιων. καὶ Νεοελλ. i. 365 ff., i. 93 ; *K. Z.* xxxiv. 91 f.

[8] Μεσαιων. καὶ Νεοελλ. i. 635 ; Γλωσσ. Μελ. 558–561 ; ᾿Ακαδ. ᾿Αναγνώσ. i. 260–2, ii. 461.

[9] *Die ethnographische Stellung der Zakonen, Indogerm. Forsch.* iv. 195–213.

that these place-names, apart from terminations and the dropping of λ before back vowels, do not show Tsakonian peculiarities.

Psichári[1] and his pupil Pernot, class Tsakonian with the rest of the Modern Greek dialects, and refuse to admit any Lakonian survival. Pernot[2] deals in detail with some of the phenomena which are regarded as survivals by Deffner and Hatzidakis. Hesseling[3] brings forward a new theory, that Tsakonian is a mixture of Dorian and an Ugro-Altaic language.

§ 4.—PHONOLOGY.[4]

I.— *Vowels.*

a.

One of the most striking features of Tsakonian is its regular retention of the original $\bar{a}$, which was preserved in all the old Greek dialects, except Attic and Ionic, but, apart from possible isolated survivals, gave way before the Attic-Ionic η forms in the *Koine* and consequently in the Modern Greek dialects which sprang from it. This *a* is found:—

(*a*) In the fem. sg. of the definite article, *nom.* ά, *acc.* τα(ν), *gen.* τα(ρ).

(*b*) In noun terminations, *e.g.* τσουφάλα (κεφαλή), τσοίτα (κοίτη), ψιούχα (ψυχή), λίμνα (λίμνη), (ὁ) κρέφτα (κλέφτης), (ὁ) δεργάτα (δραγάτης).

There are rare exceptions, *e.g.* ζωή, τύχη, ληστή (ληστής), πουληκή (πωλητής), but they are never peculiar to Tsakonian,[5] and clearly borrowed from Modern Greek.[6]

(*c*) In terminations of adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, and participles, fem. *nom.* and *acc.* sg. *e.g.* κακά (κακή), ἔίτα (τρίτη = Tuesday), τίτενdα (τετάρτη = Wednesday), ἔνdαϊ (= αὕτη), ἄβα (ἄλλη), κασιμένα (καθημένη).

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[1] *Études de Phil. Néo-grecque*, pp. xxvii. f. (*Bibliothèque de l'École aes Hautes Études*).

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 52–61; *Revue des Études Grecques*, xviii. 270–276, xxiii. 62–71; *Études de Linguist. Néo-hell.* i. 105 ff., 312 ff., 466 ff.

[3] *De koine en de oude dialekten van Griekenland*, Amsterdam, 1906. I have not seen the article itself, and only know of it from the short notices in the *Revue Critique*, 1906, pp. 396–397, *Revue des Études Grecques*, xxiii. p. 63, note.

[4] The Greek alphabet is here used with the same value as in modern Greek. The special signs employed have their usual phonetic values.

[5] πεῤικ'ἡ (θεριστής = June) probably owes its termination to the fact that ten of the other eleven months end in -*i*, *e.g.* Φλεβάῤι, Σοτέμῤι.

[6] Modern Greek also has forms in -α, *e.g.* βελώνα δοῦλα (cf. Deffner, Νεοελλ. Ἀνάλ. i. 7, 437 ff.) but these are probably on the analogy of forms like μητέρα, μητέρες. A few scattered forms which may be survivals are given by Hatzidakis, Μεσαιων. καὶ Νεοελλ. i. 479–80.

(*d*) In parts of words other than terminations, *e.g.* ἀμέρα (ἡμέρα), σάμερε (σήμερον), μᾶλι (μῆλον), μάτη (μήτηρ), ἀραμοῦ (ἠρεμῶ).

(*e*) In some forms of -αω contracted verbs, *e.g.* ἐγενάμα (ἐγεννήθην), φτατὲ (ψητός).

Deffner[1] gives also fut. active forms like θα ὁράου, but these may have another explanation: cf. § 5, Morphology p. 170.

Note.—In a few words *a* arises from *ε*, *e.g.* čάχου (τρέχω), ἀραμοῦ (ἠρεμῶ), ματανοίου (μετανοιῶ).

<div align="center">e (ε, αι).</div>

ε regularly as in Modern Greek represents original *ε, αι.* It also arises :—

(*a*) From -ος and -ον terminations of nouns, adjectives, and participles, where these are preceded by a dental, nasal, liquid, sibilant (σ, ζ) or *i* sound,[2] *e.g.* κασήμενε(ρ) (καθήμενος), ἄνδε (ἄρτος), καλέ(ρ) (καλός), καλὲ (καλὸν), καλύτερε (καλύτερος and -ον), ὄνε (ὄνος), ἀχρεῖε (ἀχρεῖος -ον), ἔμισε (ἥμισυς), ὐζέ (υἱός).

This change ceased prior to the dropping of λ (*v.* p. 147) before back vowels, hence καλέ, etc., not καέ.

(*b*) Occasionally from *i* sounds, *e.g.* δενατέ (δυνατός).

<div align="center">*i.*</div>

η, ει, οι, ι of Ancient Greek regularly become in Tsakonian, as in Modern Greek, an *i* sound, *e.g.* μάτη (μήτηρ), π῾είρου (σπείρω), ποίου (ποιῶ), οἱ ἀθροίποι (οἱ ἄνθρωποι), θίλε (φίλος), ἰτ῾ὲ (ἰστός).

There are frequent exceptions, *e.g.* ἔμισε (ἥμισυς), χιούρε (χοίρον), and all cases of η arising from original *ā*, cf. sub. *a*.

υ is also often represented by an *i* sound, *e.g.* ὔω (ὔδωρ), ὐζὲ (υἱὸς), θύου (θύω), but these cases are probably borrowings from Modern Greek, *v.* sub. *u.*

-ία regularly corresponds to the Modern Greek termination -έα, ιά, *e.g.* νομία, φονία, μαλία (μηλέα).

ι occasionally arises from ε, *e.g.* τσιχυννόυμενε (ξεχυνόμενος), τσιμοῦ (ξεμῶ).

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[1] *Grammatik*, p. 22.

[2] This remarkable change can perhaps be paralleled from Skyros, cf. Constantinidis, *Skyros*, pp. 101 ff.

o (*o*, ω).

The treatment of *o*, ω is difficult. The cases where the *o* sound regularly remains seem to be :—

(1) In final syllables, after labials and gutturals, where final -ς, -ρ, or -ν has been dropped : *e.g.*, ἀκ῾ό (ἀσκός), κακό (κακός, κακόν), (λ)αγώ (λαγώς), ᾰομό (θερμός), κόπο (κόπος), ὔω (ὔδωρ), for which cf. p. 147.

(2) Where the *o* sound arises from another vowel : *e.g.* ᾰόμασι (θέρμανσις), ροδίθι (ρεβίθι), στροφονϳία (ἀστροφεγγία), συγνοθία (συννεφία), ὀγρέ (ὑγρός).

The cases where *o*, ω regularly become ου are given under *u*.

Elsewhere many words retain the *o* sound : *e.g.* ὄνε (ὄνος), ζῶ (ζῷον), ὀροῦ (ὀρῶ), ὠράκα, πορεῖα (= road), βόᾰε (βότρυς), βροντὰ (βροντὴ), νομήα (νομεύς), κ῾ώακα (σκώληξ), χωνέᾰgου (χωνεύω), but many change to ου, perhaps under the influence of neighbouring sounds : *e.g.* γρούσσα (γλῶσσα), ούρα (ὤρα), τ῾ούμα (στόμα), ἐδούκα (ἔδωκα), λουπάϊ (λοπάδιον), ούθι (ὄφις), ούμελε (ὁμαλός), σκούνδι (σκόρδον).

According to Hatzidakis,[1] Tsakonian differentiated *o* and ω about the third century A.D., keeping *o* as an *o* sound, and changed ω to ου, *o* becoming ου in some words under the influence of neighbouring labials and gutturals. In view of the examples given above, and of many others which might be given, of ω's which retain the *o* sound and of *o*'s which have become ου, the evidence for this theory can scarcely be said to be satisfactory. With regard to the date of the change *o*, ω > ου, it can only be said that, as Hatzidakis has pointed out, it must be later than the differentiation of *u* into ου and ιου ; otherwise the ου arising from *o* and ω would have been similarly treated.

u (ου, ιου).

ου arises :—

(1) From final -ω, except where final -ς, -ρ, or -ν has been lost (*v.* p. 147): *e.g.* θα ᾽ράου (θα ὀράω), τάσου (τὰ ἔσω), κάτου (κάτω).

(2) From the first ω of -ώνω, -ώσκω verb-forms : *e.g.* θυτρούνου

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[1] Γλωσσ. Μελέτ. 558 ff.

(φυτρώνω), ἐθυτρούκα (ἐφύτρωσα), φουσκούνου (φουσκώνω), σαροὐκ᾽ου (σαρώνω), μαζούκ᾽ου (μαζεύω), μαζουτὲ (μα ζωτός).

(3) In the participial form which is used in the analytical present and imperfect (v. p. 168): e.g. ἐμι ὁροῦ (ὁρῶν) = I see ; ἐμι ἔχου (ἔχων) = I have. These forms are probably affected by the plural forms, ἔμε ἔχουντε (ἔχοντες) = we have, ἔμε ὁροῦντε (ὁρῶντες) = we see, or by the feminine forms φοροῦα (φοροῦσα), ὠρακοῦα (ἑωρακυῖα).

(4) In the pres. part. middle both of contracted and barytone verbs, e.g. ἀκισταινούμενε (ἀπισταινόμενος), ὁρούμενε (ὁρώμενος).

(5) In the noun terminations -ωμα (-ομα), and -ωνα (-ονα, -ονη), e.g. τ᾽ούμα (στόμα), στροῦμα (στρῶμα), πότσουμα (φόρτωμα), φτεῖgούνα (σφενδόνη).

For the treatment of o, ω in other cases v. sub o.

(6) ου (ιου after τ, δ, θ, σ, λ, ν) represents in many words an original υ, e.g. κούε (κύων), γουναῖκα (γυναῖκα), ἄχουρα (ἄχυρα), βουζί (βυζί), βαθιού (βαθύ), ἐκιού (ἐτύ), κουβάνε (κυάνεος), λιούκο (λύκος), νιούτ᾽α, μουνδαλία (μυρταλίς), κουνίνδου (κυνίζω), μούζα (μυῖα), μουνδοῦ (μυζάω), ὅngιουμα (ἔνδυμα), ἤgιούκ᾽ου (ἐνδύσκω), καοῆgιουτέ (καλὰ ἐνδυτός), σιούκο (σῦκος), σιούρου (σύρω), ćοúα (δρῦς), νιούμου (ὑμῶν).

There are strong reasons for supposing that Tsakonian has here preserved the original pronunciation of υ as u :—

(a) The number of cases where ου (ιου) represents an earlier υ is very large, whereas there are comparatively few examples of other i sounds (ι, ει, οι, η) pronounced ου.

(b) Where ου arises from an i sound other than υ a preceding guttural is palatalised, e.g. χιούρε (χοῖρος), φτατσούλι (ἑπτακοίλι). This is also true of words like τσούρι (κύριος) = father, γιουρίζου (γυρίζω), which seem to have come into the dialect with an i sound, and later to have changed to ου after palatalisation of the κ and γ. In forms like κίτουρα (πίτυρα), λαθούρι (λάθυρος), τούμβανε (τύμπανον), which have their counterparts in Modern Greek, the ου probably also arises from an i sound, whereas in βαθιού (βαθύ), βούκιουρε (βούτυρον), ἐκιού, and similar forms, the ιου preserves an old pronunciation.

II.—*Consonants.*

A.—SINGLE CONSONANTS.

(i) Dropped Consonants.

Final -*ν*, as in Modern Greek, is regularly dropped, but retained in such cases as *τον* d*όπο* (*τὸν τόπον*), *ταν* d*ζέα* (*τὴν τσέλα*).

Final -*ς* became -*ρ*, which then disappeared except before initial vowels in euphonic combination of article and noun, *e.g. τουρ ὄνοι* (*τοὺς ὄνους*), but *του νομήε* (*τοὺς νομεῖς*), and in verbal forms such as *ἔχουντερ ἔμε* (*ἔχομεν*), and by extension *ἔχουρ ἔμι* (*ἔχω*), *ἐζούρ εμι* (*ἐγὼ εἰμί*).

The addition of a final *ε* preserved the *ρ* in the 2nd sg. of verb forms other than the present and imperfect. indic., *e.g. θα'ράρε* (*θα ὁρᾷς*), *ὡράτσερε* (*ἐωράκες*), *ὡράτˊερε* (*ὡράσθης*).

γ and *δ* are frequently dropped between vowels, *e.g. ἄι* (*λάδι*), *ὕω* (*ὕδωρ*) but gen. *ὑβάτου*, *čoύ* (*τρώγω*), *ἀχράε* (*ἀχλάδες*), *čάο* (*τράγος*), *μουνδαλία* (*μυρταλίδα*).

β is dropped in *προύατα* (*πρόβατα*).

Final *ρ* is dropped, *e.g. μάτη* (*μήτηρ*), pl. *ματέρε*, *šάτη* (*θυγάτηρ*), *ὕω* (*ὕδωρ*).

λ initial, and medial after a vowel, is dropped before *a, o, ω, ου* in the Lenídhi dialect, *e.g. čέρβουλε*, pl. *čέρβα* = shoe, *γά* (*γάλα*), *μάγουα* (*μάγουλα*), *ἀοῦ* (*λαλῶ*) but *ν' ἀλήου* (*νὰ λαλήω*), *ἄογο* (*ἄλογο*), *κὰ* (*καλὰ*), *ἄχανα* (*λάχανα*). *β* appears for *λ* in the three words *ἄβα* (*ἄλλη* and *ἄλλα*), *μάβα* (*μῆλα*) and *κάβα* (*καλα*).

Intervocalic *σ*. It has been argued[1] that *σ* is dropped between vowels in Tsakonian.

(1) In futures such as

θα 'ράου, θα φορέου, θα ἀλήου, θα θύου, which are supposed to arise phonetically from **θὰ ὁράσω, *θὰ φορέσω, *θὰ λαλήσω, *θὰ θύσω.*

(2) In the fem. sg. of the pres. part. act. *e.g. ὁροῦα, βάφα*, which are said to represent earlier *ὁροῦσα, βάφουσα.*

(3) In the *aï* of the 3rd pl. aor. ind. act. and pass. and the *oï* of the 3rd pl. of active futures, *e.g. ὡράκαï* (*ἐωράκασι*), *ὡράτˊαï* (**ὡράσθασι*), *θα γράψωï* (*θὰ γράψωσι*).

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[1] Deffner, *Grammatik*, pp. 47, 125 ; Deville, *Étude du dial. Tzak.* p. 76.

(4) In the two words cited by Deffner, τσεραΐ(λ)α, (*ξηρασίλα), and μαραΐ(λ)α (*μαρασίλα).[1]

As Pernot has pointed out,[2] the word ξεραΐλα is in use in ordinary Modern Greek, and also καΐλα, a word of similar formation, so that Deffner's explanation of the words τσεραΐ(λ)α and μαραΐ(λ)α is very improbable. These supposed cases of loss of intervocalic σ are therefore confined to the verb forms mentioned in (1), (2) and (3). Pernot regards them as due to dissimilation. Thus *ὁροῦσα became ὁροῦα on the analogy of the pl. *ὁροῦες which arose by dissimilation from *ὁροῦσες :[3] futures such as θα 'ράου, θα 'ράρε, θα 'ράη, θα 'ράμε, θα 'ράτε, θα 'ράνι, arose from *θὰ ὁράσω, *θὰ ὁράσης, etc. because *θὰ ὁράσης 2nd sg., and *θὰ ὁράσωσι 3rd pl. became θὰ ὁράης and θὰ ὁράωσι by dissimilation and the other forms followed their analogy :[4] *ὡράκασι, *νὰ ποίωσι, etc. became ὡράκαΐ, νὰ ποίωΐ, etc. on the analogy of cases like *ἐγράψαΐ, να γράψωΐ, which arose from *ἐγράψασι, *νὰ γράψωσι by dissimilation of σ.[5]

The fact that these phenomena occur only in particular verb forms is as fatal to Pernot's as to the earlier explanation. There is nothing in Tsakonian like the forms which Pernot quotes from Chios :[6] ὁ Πυρκούης, τοῦ Πυρκούση, οἱ Πυρκοῦσοι, and πόες (= πόσες), but πόσο, πόση. There are also three further objections to the dissimilation theory : (1) All the forms in which the dissimilation is supposed to have occurred are with one exception hypothetical and may never have existed : thus the fem. pl. of the pres. part. is ὁροῦνδε(ρ), like the masc., not ὁροῦες, nor, as the plural, e.g. of γροῦσσα (γλῶσσα) is γροῦσσε, is there any evidence for an -ες pl. of such words in Tsakonian ; the 2nd sgg. of fut. and subj. forms are, e.g. θα 'ράρε, θα ποίερε, not θα 'ράης, θα ποίης, and the 3rd pl. forms are θα 'ράνι, θα ποίωΐ, not θα 'ράωσι, θα ποίωσι ; no such 3rd pl. aor. as ἐγράψαΐ exists in Tsakonian, the form used being ἐγράβαΐ ; the one exception is futures like θα γράψωΐ, θα κ'ράτσωΐ, from γράφου and κ'ράνδου (= σκάζω), which do occur.

(2) In all the analogies assumed, it is always a small number of cases which causes analogous changes in a much larger number, instead of the larger number affecting the smaller, which is what one would naturally expect, and what does in fact happen in all well-established cases of analogy.

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[1] *Grammatik*, p. 125.   [2] *Revue des Études Grecques*, xviii. p. 271.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 276.   [4] *Ibid.* p. 272.   [5] *Ibid.* p. 273.   [6] *Ibid.* p. 259.

(3) In the one case, where if anywhere dissimilation of σ would inevitably have occurred, the future and subj. forms of -ζω verbs, it does not take place. Thus the future of γιουρίζου is θα γιουρίσου, θα γιουρίσερε, θα γιουρίση, θα γιουρίσουμε, θα γιουρίσετε, θα γιουρίσωϊ, and the futures of νυρίζου (μυρίζω), κʹρίζου (= πλύνω), θαυμάζου are similarly formed.

It remains then to find other explanations of these forms.

(1) Fut. and subj. forms, θα ʼράου, θα φορέου. The explanation of these forms lies in the general development of the verb system. The Tsakonian verbs fall under two types:

(a) verbs with -κα aorists and non-sigmatic futures,

(b) verbs with -α aorists and sigmatic futures.

The process of development of the first type is easy to follow. The verbs are all of the classes which had -κα perfects in classical Greek, i.e. verbs with vowel stems, 'contracted' verbs, and verbs in -νω, -ρω. The verbs in -νω, -ρω would naturally have a non-sigmatic future corresponding to the old non-sigmatic aorists, e.g. μαραίνου, θα μαράνου, ἐμαράṅga, πʹείρου (σπείρω), θα πʹείρου, ἐπʹείρκα, ἀῥήκʹου (αἴρω), θα ἄρου, ἄṅga (*ἄρκα). θα θύου, the fut. of θύου, shows a present subj. form, and has a -κα aor., ἐθύκα. θα ʼράου, the fut. of ὁροῦ (ὁράω), in view of Modern Greek 'uncontracted' present forms like γελάω, γελᾷς, γελάει, may well be regarded as a present subjunctive form, and the aor. is in -κα, ὠράκα. From all these classes, together with such verbs as κίνου (πίνου), θα κίου, ἐṅgίκα, arose the type of aorists in -κα with corresponding non-sigmatic futures, which by proportional analogy created such paradigms as

φοροῦ	θα φορέου	ἐφορέκα	(φορῶ)
τσιμοῦ	θα τσιμήου	ἐτσιμήκα	(ξεμῶ)
νέσου	θα νέου	ἐνέκα	(γνέθω).

The dialect did not object to present forms in the future, because the old present indicative disappeared before the new analytical form (v. p. 168), and to express the 'incomplete future' in verbs with vowel stems, 'contracted' verbs, and verbs in -ρω, it used a -νω present form, e.g. θύου θα θύνου (= M.G. θα σφάζω), πʹείρου θα πʹείρνου, ποίου θα ποίνου, ὁροῦ θα ʼρίνου, φοροῦ θα φορίνου.

(2) Fem. sg. pres. part., ὁροῦα, etc.

Tsakonian has also an aorist part. *e.g.* ὡρακοῦ, which is declined exactly like ὁροῦ.

In view of the accentuation, this seems to have its origin in the old perfect part. *ἐωρακ-ώς -υῖα -ός. The two sets of terminations have been contaminated, and the perfect ending -οῦα (-υῖα) has prevailed in the fem. sg.

(3) -αϊ, -οϊ 3rd pl. endings of the verb, *e.g.* aor. act. ὡράκαϊ, ἐγράβαϊ aor. pass. ὡράτ᾽αϊ, ἐγράφταϊ fut. act. θα γράψωϊ.

In the fut. act. of -άω verbs, and in the fut. pass. of all verbs the 3rd pl. is in -νι, *e.g.* θα 'ράνι, θα 'ρατ᾽οῦνι, θα γραφτοῦνι. From this it appears that at some time the -ν of the imperfect and aor. spread to all 3rd plurals in Tsakonian as generally in Modern Greek.

At this stage the forms would be ὡράκαν, ἐγράβαν, ὡράτ᾽αν, ἐγράφταν θα γράφων, θα 'ράν, θα 'ρατ᾽ούν, θα γραφτούν.

The final -ι is probably due to the influence of εἶνι and ἤนgι, the 3rd pl. pres. and impft. of ἔμι (εἰμὶ), and the retention of ν in θα 'ράνι, θα 'ρατ᾽ούνι and θα γραφτοῦνι is owing to the position of the accent.

The disappearance of intervocalic σ is therefore in all three cases due to morphological, not to phonetic causes.

(ii) Change of Consonants.

π becomes κ before i sounds, *e.g.* κεινοῦ (πεινῶ), κίνου (πίνου), κηγάδι (πηγάδι), κι̯άνου (πιάνω), ἀκισταινούμενε (ἀπισταινόμενος), κίσου (ὀπίσω).

There are many exceptions due probably to the influence of Modern Greek, *e.g.* ποῖε(ρ) (ποῖος) ποίου (ποιῶ), σουπία (σουπι̯ά).

At Kastanitsa and Sitena this change only occurs in κι̯άνου.

τ becomes κ before *i* sounds, *e.g.* κιμοῦ (τιμῶ), κυλίγου (τυλίγω), κυφλέ (τυφλός), κουκί (κουτί), φκία (φωτι̯ά), φκι̯άνου (φτι̯άνω), χκίζου (χτίζω), πρακι̯οὺ (πλατύ), ἐκιού (ἐτύ).

Exceptions are numerous, *e.g.* πρωτεῖε (πρῶτος), πρατεῖε (πλατύς), ἔτηνερί[1] (ἐκεῖνος), ἀλοιώτικο (ἀλλοιωτικός).

Apparently τ᾽ remained before *i* sounds, but became κ᾽ before ι̯α, ι̯ου, hence δάτ᾽υλε (δάκτυλος), but κ᾽ι̯αού(λ)α (σταγών), κ᾽ι̯ούλε (στῦλος).

Both these changes, π>κ, τ>κ, are clearly later than the change κ>τσ before *e* and *i* sounds.

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[1] *v.* p. 164.

κ becomes τσ before *e* and *i* sounds, *e.g.* βαμβάτσι (μπαμπάκι), τσοίτα (κοίτη), ἐξάτσερε (ἐπῆγες), but 1st sg. ἐξάκα, τσαιρέ (καιρός), τσε (καί), τσέ(λ)α (It. cella = house), γουναιτσί (gen. of γουναῖκα).

There is, so far as I know, no exception to this rule, except the κ which arises from π and τ.

φ becomes θ, β becomes δ before *i* sounds, *e.g.* θυτρούνου (φυτρόνω), οὔθι (ὄφις), θίλε (φίλος), δήχο (βηξ, βηχός), σκαδία (σκλαβία), ροδίθι (ρεβίθι, A.G. ἐρέβινθος).

There are many exceptions to the change φ<θ, and the change β>δ is only found in the three examples given.

At Kastanitza and Sitena φ is kept, except in νύθη (νύμφη), οὔθι (ὄφις) and čαθία (ῥαφίς), and β remains unchanged.

μ becomes ν before *i* sounds. This change does not occur at Kastanitsa and Sitena. Examples are :—νία (μία), ἐνεῖ (ἐμεῖς), νοιρόγι (μοιρολόγι), νυρίζου (μυρίζω), νυγδαλία (ἀμυγδαλιά), ἀγρίνι (ἀγρίμι), ἀζηνίουτε (ἀζημιωτός), ἀνίλητε (ἀμιλητός). Exceptions are very rare, the most noticeable being μι (= μου, με) as opposed to the accented form ἐνίου. The μ probably remained because μι is unaccented and the ι is always elided before vowels, *e.g.* μ' ὡράτσε, he saw me.

ρ

The treatment of ρ in Tsakonian is as follows :—

(*a*) When medial and not before an *i* sound or preceded by a τ or δ, it remains, as in Modern Greek, a pure trilled *r*, *e.g.* ὡράκα, θα φορέου πρώκι̯ου (πρῶτον).

(*b*) When medial before an *i* sound or ι̯ου arising from υ, and not preceded by τ or δ, it becomes something very similar to a Czechish *r*, often sounding like ζ, and the following *i*, if unaccented and followed by another vowel, disappears, *e.g.* μου(λ)άρα (μουλάρια), ἔρα (ἔρια = fleeces), κρ̌άδα (κρυάδα), κρ̌ίε (κρέας), κ'ρ̌ίζου (χρίζω), κάρου (κάρνον).

(*c*) Initial in a few words, and more frequently after τ, θ or δ, it becomes σ̌, ž, *e.g.* σ̌ίνδα (ρίζα), σ̌ίνα = mountain (? from ρίς, nose), σ̌ούκ'ο (ρύγχος), σ̌έου (ρέω), σ̌άφου (ράφτω), čού (τρώγω), čίχα (τρίχα), čίτα (τρίτη), βόčε (βότρυς), čάχου (τρέχω), čουα (δρῦς), αčὲ (ἀδρός), ἔραčε (ἄροτρον). A preceding θ is generally dropped, *e.g.*, σ̌ίνακα (θρίναξ),

σόμασι (*θρόμασις,[1] from *θόρμασι, θέρμανσις), δέρσε (δέρεθρον), σέφου (θρέφω).

στρ becomes σ̆, probably through the stages, στσ̆—σσ̆, e.g. ασ̆ι (ἄστρι).

θ becomes σ in a few words :—σάτη, σ̆άτη (θυγάτηρ), σέρι (θέρος), σερικ̔ή (θεριστής), σερίνdου (θερίζω), σηλίνdου (θηλάζω), σηλυκό (θηλυκός), νέσου (γνέθω), ἀλέσου (ἀλέθω), perhaps δαίσου (*δαίθω), λένισα (ἔλμινθα), κρίσα (κριθή), κασήμενε (καθήμενος), and Deffner[2] also gives σ̆ομό (θερμός), σ̆όμασι (θέρμανσις), and σ̆ονίχου (θερμίζω), but the explanation given under the change ρ > σ̆ is more probable.

Pernot[3] explains νέσου, ἀλέσου, δαίσου as being reformed from the aorist, κρίσα and λένισα as due to forms κρισί and λενίσι, and decides that θ became σ in Tsakonian only before i and e. The forms κρισί and λενίσι are purely hypothetical; the Modern Greek forms of νέσου and ἀλέσου are γνέθω and ἀλέθω ; the Tsakonian aorists are ἐνέκα, ἀλέκα, ἐδάκα ; and there are no other examples in Tsakonian of presents reformed on sigmatic aorists. Pernot's explanation is therefore very improbable. The small number of these words makes it unlikely that the change θ > σ was ever a regular law of the dialect, and the only explanation is that at the time when Laconian used σ for θ, a number of such words spread to the Tsakonian district, and have since become reduced under the influence of Modern Greek to the few given above. The examples of σ for θ from Symi and Ikaria quoted by Pernot[4] do not affect the question of σ for θ in Tsakonian.

B.—COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS.

τ̔ arises, probably through the stage ττ :—

(a) From στ, e.g. τ̔αν dζέ(λ)α (*εἰς ταν τζέλαν = to the house), ἀνατ̔αίνου (ἀνασταίνω), τ̔οῦμα (στόμα),

(b) From σθ, e.g. ὠράτ̔ερε (*ὠράσθης) 2nd sg. aor. pass.,

(c) From κτ, e.g. δάτ̔υλε (δάκτυλος), νιουτ̔α (νύκτα), ζαλετ̔έ, past part. pass. of ζαλέχου (διαλέγω),

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[1] A similar explanation is given by Hatzidakis, K.Z. xxxiv. 103-104.

[2] Grammatik, p. 46.

[3] Phonétique de Chio, p. 313.

[4] Ibid. pp. 313, 314.

(*d*) From χθ, *e.g.* θα δετ᾽ού (θα δεχθῶ).

κ᾽ arises, probably through κκ,

(*a*) From σκ, *e.g.* ἀκ᾽ό (ἀσκός), κ᾽ώακα (σκώληξ), διπρούκ᾽ου (διπλώνω), and many other verbs in κ᾽ου (-σκω), φουκ᾽α (φύσκη),

(*b*) From σχ, *e.g.*, κ᾽άρα (ἐσχάρα), μόκ᾽ο (μόσχος), ἴκ᾽ου (ἴσχω),

(*c*) From γχ in ὄούκ᾽ο (ῥύγχος).

π᾽ arises, probably through ππ,

(*a*) From σπ, *e.g.* π᾽είρου (σπείρω), ἐπ᾽έρι (ἐσπέρα) = yesterday π᾽όνδυλε (σπόνδυλος),

(*b*) From μπ in ἀπ᾽ού (ἀμπῶς = ἄν πως), and perhaps in π᾽ουρτέσε (ἔμπροσθεν),

(*c*) From μφ in ὄπ᾽ακα (ὄμφαξ) and ἀπ᾽αλέ (ομφαλός).

In a few words τ, π, and κ are aspirated especially at the beginning of words, *e.g.* κρεβάτ᾽α (κρεββάτι), κ᾽αμβαίνου (καταβαίνω), κ᾽ίσσα (πίσσα), π᾽οί (πού), π᾽ού (πῶς), π᾽ουνδζίζου (πέρδω), κ᾽ομβό (κόμβος).

ζ becomes νd. In many words, especially verbs in -ζω, ζ has become νd, probably through the stages zd, dd, nd, *e.g.* ὄίνda (ῥίζα), χένdου (χέζω), μουνδού (μυζάω), σερίνdου (θερίζω), κουνίνdου (κυνίζω) = I seek, δρανίνdου (*δραμίζω, cf. ἔδραμον), ἀνοίνdου (ἀνοίγω).

βγ becomes ṅg, probably through gg, *e.g.* ῥεṅgούμενε (ῥευγόμενος), ζεṅgου (ζεύγω), δουλέṅgου (δουλεύ(γ)ω), σαλέṅgου (σαλεύω), νηστέṅgου (νηστεύω), ζωνδανέṅgου (ζωντανεύω), and all other -εύω presents.

ρτ, ρδ become νd in a few words :—ἄνdε (ἄρτος), χονdαίκ᾽ου (χορταίνω), τίτενda (τετάρτη = Wednesday), σκούνdι (σκόρδον), χόνdι (χόρτον), μουνδαλία (μυρταλίς), ἀχόνdαγο (ἀχόρταγος), π᾽άνdι (σπάρτον).

This is clearly later than the change νd > ṅg before *i* sounds, hence χόνdι not χόṅgι.

νd becomes ṅg before *i*, ιου sounds, *e.g.* ἀṅgιβάτα (ἀντιβάτης), ἀφέṅgη (father, αὐθεντὴς), ἐṅgι (*ἔντι, neuter of ἔνdερι, dem. pron.), καṅgήλι (κανδήλι), κροṅgήρι (κροντήρι), ṅgιούκ᾽ου (ἐνδύω), ὄṅgιουμα (ἔνδυμα).

ρκ, ρχ become ṅg in a few words :—ἄṅga (*ἄρκα, aor. of ἀρίκ᾽ου = M.G. παίρνω), ἐṅgατέ (ἔρκατος) = hedge, ἐσούṅga (*ἔσυρκα), aor. of σούρου (σύρω), ἔṅgου (cf. ἔρχομαι).

This change is earlier than the change ṅg > νdζ before *i* and *e* sounds, hence ἄνdζε, 3rd sg. of ἄṅga.

μb become ṅg before *i* sounds, *e.g.* κουṅgί (κουμβί), ṅgήχου (ἐμπήγω), κ῾ουṅgίχου (ἀκουμβῶ), ἐṅgίκα aor. of κίνου (πίνω).

This change is clearly later than the change ṅg > νδζ before *i* and *e* sounds.

ṅg becomes νδζ before *i* and *e* sounds, *e.g.* ἀνδζίχου (ἐγγίζω, M.G. ἀγγίζω), στρονδζυλέ (στρογγυλός), στρανδζίχου (στραγγίζω), ἄνδζε 3rd sg. of ἄṅga, aor. of ἀρίκ῾ου (παίρνω), ἔνδζε (imperat. 2nd sg. of ἔṅgου (ἔρχων = ἐρχόμενος).

This change is clearly later than the change ρκ, ρχ > ṅg, and earlier than the changes μb > ṅg before *i* sounds, νd > ṅg before *i*, ιου sounds.

γβ(κβ) becomes μb in the verbs μbάνου (ἐκβάλλω, M.G. βγάζω), μbαίνου (ἐκβαίνω, M.G. βγαίνω). The intermediate stage was probably ββ.

κλ, γλ, πλ, χλ, become respectively κρ, γρ, πρ, χρ in a few words :— γροῦσσα (γλῶσσα), κρέφτα (κλέφτης), κράμα (κλῆμα), πρακιού (πλατύ), πράσσου (πλάττω), πρέου (πλέω), ἀχράε (ἀχλάδες).

In many words ξ has become τσ, *e.g.* τάτσου (τὰ ἔξω), τσιχυνούμενε (ξεχυνόμενος).

The phonetic features of Tsakonian, which have been tabulated above, may be roughly classified under three heads, according as they are ῾*a*) entirely peculiar to Tsakonian, (*b*) common to Tsakonian and one or more Modern Greek dialects, (*c*) common to Tsakonian and ancient Lakonian or the ancient Doric group of dialects. This classification is not exhaustive, but it is convenient as indicating to some extent the position which the dialect holds in the history of the Greek language.

(*a*) *Phenomena entirely peculiar to Tsakonian.*

Under this head fall the following changes: π > κ before *i* sounds, τ > κ before *i* sounds, φ > θ before *i* sounds, β > δ before *i* sounds, ρ > σ̆ under certain conditions (*v. sub* ρ (*c*)), ρτ, ρδ > νd, βγ > ṅg, νd > ṅg before *i*, ιου sounds, ρκ, ρχ > ṅg, μb > ṅg before *i* sounds, γβ > μb, ξ > τσ.

Besides these there are the aspirates τ῾, arising from στ, σθ, κτ, etc., κ arising from σκ, σχ, γχ, and π῾ arising from σπ, σφ, μφ, to which the nearest parallels are the double consonants ττ, ππ, etc., produced also by assimilation, in various Modern Greek dialects, notably in those of South Italy. It seems not unreasonable to see in these forms a further development of the tendency shewn by Lakonian forms such as ἀκκόρ (ἀσκός), αἰκχούνα (αἰσχύνη), ἄττασι (ἀνάστᾱθι). The forms at Symi spelt with

ττ,[1] *e.g.* ἄττητος (ἀναίσθητος) and the 1 pl. pass. in -εττε for -εστε, εἴμεττε, etc., are pronounced with the aspirate τʿ, just as in Tsakonian.

(*b*) *Phenomena common to Tsakonian and one or more Modern Greek dialects.*

κ > τσ, ṅg > νδζ before *e, i* sounds. The same or similar changes occur in many places, *e.g.* Aegina, the Cyclades, Chios, Crete, South Italy.

The dropping of λ is also recorded from Samothrace and Pharasa in Cappadocia. On Samothrace[2] apparently λ disappeared before back vowels, *e.g.* ἄογο (ἄλογον), θέω (θέλω), γιάσκαο (διδάσκαλον), καό (καλό), and became *y* (consonant ι) before front vowels, *e.g.* γιτιϊγήσουμ (λιτουργή-σωμεν), γήγιος (ἥλιος), οὖγοι (ὅλοι). Examples of the treatment of λ at Pharasa,[3] where it is also occasionally changed to β or γ, are ἀγώς (λαγώς), ψεγό (ὑψηλός), ἄβο (ἄλλος), ἄβγο (ἄλογον), κά (καλά).

The final -ε after dentals and liquids instead of -ος, -ον in Tsakonian may be compared with the tendency in many Modern Greek dialects to change *o* to *e* under the influence of a dental or liquid. Examples of this are collected by Pernot.[4] An -ε in the final of some -ος words is also recorded from Skyros.[5]

The change of *o, ω* to *ov* exists, in varying degrees and under various conditions, everywhere in Modern Greek.

The change of *i* sounds (ι, η, ει, οι, υ) to *ov* under the influence of neighbouring sounds is also universal, although in some places, *e.g.* Aegina,[6] in the case of *ov* arising from υ and οι the pronunciation is considered to have been *ü* earlier and never *i*.

(*c*) *Phenomena common to Tsakonian and Lakonian or the Doric group of dialects.*

The retention of original *ā*, common to all the old non-Attic-Ionic dialects, is one of the best preserved survivals in Tsakonian, and, as it admits of no other possible explanation except that of survival from the old dialects, at once makes Tsakonian a likely field for other ancient peculiarities.

Retention of υ with the pronunciation *ov,* ιου. It has already been

[1] Σύλλογος, 1873-4, p. 467.
[2] Conze, *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres*, p. 53 note and p. 54.
[3] Karolidis, Γλωσσαρ. Ἑλληνοκαππ. λεξ. p. 111.
[4] *Phonétique de Chio*, pp. 138 ff.
[5] Constantinidis, *Skyros*, pp. 151 ff.
[6] Ἀθηνᾶ, 1891, pp. 101 ff.

seen that the dialect has a large number of words with v pronounced as ov or ιov, forming a separate class from other words in which the ov sound arises by modern change from an ι sound (ι, $\epsilon\iota$, $o\iota$, η, v), and that in these words the ov, ιov sound must have existed continuously from pre-*Koine* times. There is some evidence from inscriptions and from Hesychius [1] that Lakonian kept the original pronunciation of v.

The Tsakonian final -ρ, instead of final -ς, which is dropped except in certain phonetic combinations before initial vowels, has no parallel in Modern Greek. In Ancient Greek it is a strongly marked feature of the Lakonian and Elean dialects,[2] and also appears in the Eretrian form ὅπωρ ἄν = ὅπως ἄν. Tsakonian probably inherits its forms from Lakonian.

Lakonian alone of the ancient dialects changed θ to σ. There is ample evidence of this in ancient inscriptions, in authors such as Thucydides and Aristophanes, and in Hesychius. Some of these σ forms seem to have spread to the Tsakonian district and a few still survive.

In Tsakonian vd frequently represents ζ especially in -$\zeta\omega$ verbs. This peculiarity is not found elsewhere in Modern Greek, and falls very well into line as a further development of the Lakonian $\delta\delta$ forms which appear in inscriptions, in the texts of Aristophanes and Plutarch, and in Hesychius.

The probable Lakonian origin of Tsakonian τ^ς, π^ς, κ^ς, forms has already been discussed under (*a*).

From this classification it appears that Tsakonian has a large body of phenomena entirely peculiar to itself, a small number of phonetic changes which appear also in Modern Greek dialects, and a large number which connect it with the pre-*Koine* phase of Greek, more especially with Lakonian. In fact phonetically it is much more closely related to Lakonian than to any other dialect ancient or modern. At the same time it does not seem to have adopted universally all Lakonian peculiarities,[3] and the probability seems to be that in the first centuries of our era a sort of Lakonian *Koine*, with some local peculiarities, was spoken in the Tsakonian area, that the special Tsakonian features, noted under (*a*), developed more especially during the period of isolation caused by Slav and later by Albanian settlements in the surrounding districts, and

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[1] Cf. Thumb, *Handbuch der Griechischen Dialekte*, p. 85.

[2] Thumb, *op. cit.* pp. 89, 175.

[3] The small number of examples of σ for θ points to this.

that the dialect has been for some centuries now coming more and more under the influence of the ordinary language, which accounts for the enormous number of exceptions to practically every sound law which can be stated for it.

§ 5.—MORPHOLOGY.

The Article.

The definite article is declined thus :—

	Sg.					*Pl.*		
	M.	F.	N.		M.	F.		N.
N.	ὁ	ἁ	το	N.		οἱ		τα
A.	τον	$\begin{cases} τα(ν) \\ τανι \end{cases}$	το	{ A.		τοὐ(ρ)		τα
G.	τον	$\begin{cases} τα(ρ) \\ ταρι \end{cases}$	τον	{ G.		τοὶ(ρ)		

The points of difference from Modern Greek are *a* for *η* in the fem. sg., the loss of the separate gen. pl. form, the confusion of the masc. and fem. acc. and gen. pl. forms, the -*ρ* termination of the fem. gen. sg. and masc. and fem. acc. and gen. pl. forms,[1] and the -*ι* termination sometimes used in the fem. acc. and gen. sg. The *τοι(ρ)* form in the plurals which is peculiar to Kastánitsa aud Sítena is probably due to the -*οι* termination of the -*ος* noun acc. pl.: *e.g.* τουρ αθρήποι became τοιρ αθρήποι.

The indefinite article, as in Modern Greek, is identical with the numeral 'one,' thus :—masc. nom. and gen. ἕνα, acc. ἕνα(ν), fem. nom. and gen. νία,[2] acc. νία(ν), neuter nom. acc. gen. ἕνα.

The Noun.

The noun is declined as follows :—

Masculines.

(*a*) -ος terminations.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(ὄνος)	N. Acc.	ὄνε	$\begin{cases} ὄνοι \\ ὄνου \end{cases}$[3]
	Gen.	ὄνου	

[1] Cf. Phonology.   [2] Kastánitsa and Sítena, μία, etc.   [3] Not used at Kastánitsa and Sítena.

Masculines.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(κῆπος)	N. Acc.	τσήπο	⎧ τσήποι
	Gen.	τσήπου	⎩ τσήπου [1]
(ἄνθρωπος)	N. Acc.	ἄθρωπο	⎧ ἀθρίποι
	Gen.	ἀθρούπου	⎩ ἀθρούπου [1]

(*b*) -ας -ης terminations.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(κλέφτης)	N. Acc. Gen.	κρέφτα	κρέφτοι

The -οι termination of the plural is borrowed from -ος nouns.

(*c*) Old 3rd decl. nouns reformed as in Modern Greek from the acc. sg.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(νομεύς)	N. Acc. Gen.	νομήα	νομήε
(ποῦς)	,, ,, ,,	πούα	πούε
(ὀδούς)	,, ,, ,,	ὄνδα	ὄνδου

ὄνδου borrows its termination from the -ος declension.

κούε (κύων) has in the gen. sg. κουνέ, in the plural κούνοι or κούνου. κουνέ arises phonetically from the old gen. κυνός.[2] The other forms are due to the -ος declension.

μήνα (μήν) has gen. sg. μηνέ (μηνός), and its plural is μήνοι.

(*d*) Imparisyllabics.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(ψωμάς)	N. Acc. Gen.	ψωμά	ψωμάδε
(παπάς)	,, ,, ,,	παπά	παπάδε
(ψαράς)	,, ,, ,,	ψαρά	ψαράδε

Feminines.

(*a*) In -α.

Many are of the type :—

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(πορεῖα)	N. Acc. Gen.	πορεία	πορείαι

The commonest type is :—

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(γλῶσσα)	N. Acc.	γρούσσα	⎫ γρούσσαι
	Gen.	γρουσσέ	⎭

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[1] Not used at Kastánitsa and Sítena.   [2] Cf. Phonology, p. 144.

The έ genitive, in view of the accent, must be borrowed from such old 3rd decl. words as

		Sg.	Pl.
(νύξ)	N. Acc.	νιούτ‘α (νύκτα)	νιούτ‘ε (νύκτες)
	Gen.	νιουτ‘έ (νυκτός)	

The majority of these latter, however, have genitives in -ί. They are :—

		Sg.	Pl.
(μήτηρ)	N. Acc.	μάτη	ματέρε
	Gen.	{ματερί {μάτη	
(θυγάτηρ)	N. Acc.	σάτη	σατέρε
	Gen.	{σατερί {σάτη	
(γυνή)	N. Acc.	γουναίκα	γουναίτσε
	Gen.	γουναιτσί	
(χείρ)	N. Acc.	χέρα	χέρε
	Gen.	χερί	
(θρίξ)	N. Acc.	τίχα	τίχε
	Gen.	τιχί	

The -ί genitive in these words is curious. From νιουτ‘έ, γρουσσέ, etc., it appears that there must have been earlier forms ματερέ, σατερέ, etc. Possibly the -ί arose in ματερί, σατερί, from the final syllable of μάτη, σάτη, which are also sometimes used as genitives, and the diminutive ματέρι may have helped. γουναιτσί may have arisen from the similarity of meaning, as also κοπελί, the genitive of κοπέ(λ)α = girl, and χερί, ἀμερί (gen. of ἀμέρα), by analogy of form. Neither of these explanations covers τιχί and τσουφαλί (gen. of τσουφά, τσουφάλα), and it is always possible that these cases are survivals from a much larger body of genitives in -ί, which would throw light upon the origin of the forms, and that the rest have given way before the -έ genitive, which is the commonest type.

Deville[1] explains the -ί genitive as an Ionic form, the -έ gen. as developed from old uncontracted forms in -αερ, comparing Latin genitives in -ae. Deffner[2] suggested that the -ί genitive arose phonetically from

Étude, pp. 99 f.   [2] **Νέα Ἑλλάς**, No. 34, 1874.

o through *u*, adducing the Latin -is (patros > patrus > patris), and that the -$\acute{\epsilon}$ genitive was an old locative form like χαμαί. These explanations are in themselves improbable and do not fit the facts.

Hatzidakis[1] explains the -*í* genitives as formed by analogy from ἀλί, the gen. fem. of ἄλλε (ἄλλος), which for some reason he spells ἀλληί, seemingly taking it as parallel to the M. Gr. form ἀλλῆς. This is no explanation at all, as all other pronouns have an entirely different feminine genitive, so that it is more reasonable to regard the -*í* of ἀλί as derived from the -*í* genitive of the feminine noun declension, a possible origin for which has been suggested above.

(*b*) Imparisyllabics.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(ἀχράς)	N. Acc. Gen.	ἀχρά	ἀχράε (ἀχράδες)
(ἰσχάς)	N. Acc. Gen.	ἀσκά	ἀσκάε

Neuters.

(*a*) Old 2nd declension.

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(ἄλογον)	N. Acc.	ἄ(λ)ογο	}ἄ(λ)ογα
	Gen.	ἀ(λ)όγου	
(σῦκον)	N. Acc.	σιούκο	}σιούκα
	Gen.	σιούκου	
(λάχανον)	N. Acc.	(λ)άχανε	}(λ)άχανα
	Gen.	(λ)αχάνου	

(*b*) Diminutives in -*ι* (-*ιον*).

		Sg.	*Pl.*
(μῆλον)	N. Acc.	μάλι	}μάβα
	Gen.	μαλίου	
(κᾶλον)	N. Acc.	κάλι	}κάβα
	Gen.	καλίου	
(M.G. λάδι)	N. Acc.	ἄι	}ἄζα
	Gen.	ἀίου	
(= boy)	N. Acc.	καμdζί	}καμdζία
	Gen.	καμdζίου	

[1] *Einleitung*, p. 231.

(c) Old 3rd declension words.

		Sg.	Pl.
(πῶμα)	N. Acc.	πούμα	πούματα
	Gen.	πουμάτου	
(κρέας)	N. Acc.	κρίε	κρίατα
	Gen.	κριάτου	
(ὕδωρ)	N. Acc.	ὕω	ὕβατα
	Gen.	ὑβάτου	

The Adjective.

(a) The old -ος -η -ον declension.

		Sg.		
		M.	F.	N.
(ῥηχός = shallow)	N. Acc.	ῥηχό	ῥηχά	ῥηχό
	Gen.	ῥηχού	ῥηχά	ῥηχό
		Pl.		
		M.	F.	N.
	N. Acc. Gen.	ῥηχοί	ῥηχαί	ῥηχά
		Sg.		
		M.	F.	N.
(γυμνός)	N. Acc.	γυμνέ	γυμνά	γυμνέ
	Gen.	γυμνού	γυμνά	γυμνέ
		Pl.		
		M.	F.	N.
	N. Acc. Gen.	γυμνοί	γυμναί	γυμνά

Proparoxytones are declined like πράσινος :

	Sg.			Pl.		
	M.	F.	N.	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen.	πράσινε		πράσινε	πράσινοι		πράσινα

(b) Traces of the old -ύς -εῖα -ύ declension appear in :

		Sg.		
		M.	F.	N.
(πλατύς)	N. Acc. Gen.	πρατείε	πρατεία	πρακιού
		Pl.		
		M.	F.	N.
	N. Acc. Gen.	πρατείαι		πρακιά,

M

and in forms like βαθιού (βαθύ), βαρ̌ιού (βαρύ), παχιού (παχύ), which are used for all genders and cases in the singular, the plural forms being e.g. βαθοί (masc. and fem.) and βαθιά (neuter). This -ιου has also been extended to the neuters of a few other adjectives of the -ος declension, e.g. τόσιου (τόσον), ἄλλιου (ἄλλο), κουβάνιου (neuter of κουβάνε = κυάνεος).

The comparatives are in -ούτερε (-ώτερος, ότερος), or -ύτερε (-ύτερος, -είτερος), e.g.

(κακός)	κακό,	κακούτερε
(εὔμορφος)	ὄμορφο,	ὀμορφούτερε
(καλός)	καλέ,	καλύτερε
(ἁδρός)	ἀčέ	ἀčύτερε

They are declined like proparoxytone positives, except that they have separate feminine forms, e.g. κακουτέρα (sg.), κακουτέραι (pl.). The superlative, as in Modern Greek, is formed by prefixing the article, e.g. ὁ κακούτερε, etc. πιού (πλέον) is frequently inserted, as in Modern Greek, in both comparatives and superlatives, e.g. πιοὺ κακούτερε, ὁ πιοὺ κακούτερε. Adverbs are formed, as in Modern Greek, from the neuter pl. of the adjective, e.g. κά (καλά), καλύτερα. The old -ως formation is preserved in a few phrases, e.g. καούρ ἐκάνερε = M.G. καλῶς ἦλθες, and in the forms ἔτρου (ρ), (ἐκείνως), π᾽οὐ(ρ) (πῶς).

The Pronoun.

(a) Personal.

1st Person.

	Sg.		Pl.
N.	ἐζού	N.	ἐνεί [1]
Acc. Gen	$\begin{cases} ἐνίου [1] \\ μι \end{cases}$	Acc. Gen.	$\begin{cases} νάμου \\ μου \end{cases}$

2nd Person.

	Sg.		Pl.
N.	ἐκιού	N.	ἐμού
Acc. Gen.	$\begin{cases} ἐτίου \\ dι \end{cases}$	Acc. Gen.	νιούμου [2]

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[1] At Kastánitsa and Sítena, ἐμίου and ἐμεί.
[2] At Kastánitsa and Sítena, νύμου.

3rd Person.

	Sg.	*Pl.*
N.	—	—
Acc.	νι	σι
Gen.	σι	

ἐζού = ἐγώ, cf. μοζοῦ (μογῶν).   There are no other examples of ζ for γ.

μι [1] (Classical Greek μέ or μοί) corresponds to the Modern Greek με (acc.), μου (gen.).

ἐνίου (ἐμίου), and ἐτίου are probably to be connected with the Doric forms ἐμείω, τίω. [2]

ἐνεί (ἐμεί) is the ordinary Modern Greek ἐμεῖς with final -ς dropped as always.

νάμου arises from the Doric form ἀμῶν, with change of accent and ν added by wrong division (cf. νιούμου, νύμου).

μου corresponds in usage to the Modern Greek μας, and probably arises from an acc. *ἐμούς or a gen. *ἐμῶν.

ἐκιού represents an old ἐτύ with preservation of υ as an *u*-sound (cf. Phonology).

dι is used like the Modern Greek σε and σου. The τ, which is preserved in ἐτίου, has become d owing to combinations like το(ν) ὄούκ'ον τι (τον ρύγχον τοι), in which τ regularly becomes d owing to the preceding nasal.

ἐμού probably arises from ὑμεῖς, with initial vowel changed under the influence of ἐζού, ἐκιού, and ἐνεί, and with -ου termination borrowed from the -ος declension.

The forms of the 3rd person are difficult to explain. νι and σι are used for all three genders. Perhaps νι is descended from the ancient Greek νίν; in view of the article forms τανι, ταρι, there were probably earlier forms in the singular τονι (masc. acc.), τανι (fem. acc.), τασι (fem. gen.), in the plural τουσι (masc. acc.), τασι (fem. acc.), and from these in combination with νι arose the use of σι as gen. sing. and acc. and gen. plural. At Kastánitsa and Sítena σου is also used in the genitive plural. This probably arises by proportional analogy from the forms of the 1st person μι (sg.), μου (pl.).

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[1] Cf. § 4.—Phonology.   [2] Apollon. *de Pron.* p. 365, 96 c.

(*b*) Demonstrative.

ένδερ̌ι

	Sg.			Pl.		
	M.	F.	N.	M.	F.	N
N.	ένδερ̌ι	ένδαϊ	έṅgι			
Acc.	ένδενι	ένδανι	έṅgι	ἑνδεϊ	ένδαϊ	
Gen.	ένδού	ἐνδάρ̌ι	ἐνδού			

ἔτηνερ̌ί

	Sg.		
	M.	F.	N.
N.	ἔτηνερ̌ί / ἐτήνε	ἔτηναΐ / ἐτήνα	ἔκηνι
Acc.	ἔτηνενί / ἐτήνε	ἔτηνανί / ἐτήνα	ἔκηνι
Gen.	ἐτηνού	ἐτηνάρ̌ι	ἐτηνού

	Pl.		
	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen.	ἔτηνεΐ / ἐτήνοι	ἔτηνεΐ / ἐτήναι	ἔτηναΐ

ἔτρερ̌ι

	Sg.			Pl.		
	M.	F.	N.	M.	F.	N.
N.	ἔτρερ̌ι	ἔτραϊ	ἔκηνι			
Acc.	ἔτρενι	ἔτρανι	ἔκηνι	ἔτρεϊ	ἔτραϊ	
Gen.	ἐτρουνού	ἐτράρου	ἐτρουνού			

έ̓νδερι corresponds in use to the Modern Greek τοῦτος. Deffner[1] suggested that it grew up from expressions such as ἔν τον, ἔν τους, etc. (= see it, see them, etc., M.G. νά τον, νά τους), the ἔν arising from an ancient ἤν, Latin ēn. This does not seem very probable. Perhaps it is to be connected with the forms quoted by Hesychius, ἄνδα · αὔτη . Κύπριοι, ἀντετοῦς · τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐτοῦς . Λάκωνες. The forms in use at Bova, τούνdo (= τοῦτο), τούνda (= ταῦτα), may be related.

ἔτηνερ̌ί cannot be derived from ἐκεῖνος, as in that case it would be ἔτσηνερί (cf. § 4.—Phonology, p. 150). It must arise from the Doric form, τῆνος.

According to the rule that τ becomes κ before i sounds (cf. Phonology, p. 150), the forms should be ἔκηνερί, etc., just as the neuter is ἔκηνι. Apparently this change did not take place because ἔτηνερί became *ἔτνερι before the change occurred, and, after the change had ceased to operate, *ἔτνερί became ἔτρερί at Kastánitsa and Sítena, and elsewhere ἔτηνερί.[1] The neuter *ἔτηνι never became *ἔτνι owing to the number of syllables and position of the accent, and consequently underwent the change of τ to κ, hence ἔκηνι. The change of -ος to -ερ, -ον to -εν, is dealt with in § 4.—Phonology,[2] and the -ί termination is frequent in Classical Greek forms, such as οὑτοσί, αὑτηΐ, τουτί, τουτουΐ, ταυτί. ἔṅḡι represents an earlier ἔνδι (cf. § 4.—Phonology, p. 153). ἔνδεϊ, ἔτηνεΐ, and ἔτρεϊ are feminine forms used for the masculine.

The change of accent seen in the genitives, ἐνδού, ἐνδάρι, ἐτηνού, ἐτηνάρι, may possibly be due to the influence of the Modern Greek αὑτοῦ, ἐκεινού, etc.,[3] though this is unlikely, but cannot have arisen through αὑτός independently in Tsakonian, as this pronoun is not used in the dialect. Perhaps it arose first in the feminine owing to the accentuation of fem. nouns in the genitive (cf. pp. 158 f.) and spread to the masculine and neuter.

ἔτρεϊ is used at Kastánitsa, and Sítena where ἔτηνερί is used in the other villages. ἐτρουνού is probably formed on the analogy of Modern Greek αὑτουνοῦ, etc., and ἐτράρου arises from ἐτράρι, which has taken on the termination of ἐτρουνού.

The use of ἔνδερι and ἔτηνερι (ἔτρεϊι) both as demonstrative pronouns and adjectives is precisely the same as that of τοῦτος and ἐκεῖνος in Modern Greek.

ἄλλε (ἄλλος) and πάσε (= much, many) are declined thus:

ἄλλε

Sg.

	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc.	ἄλλε	ἄβα [4]	ἄλλιου
Gen.	ἀού [4] ἀουνέ [4]	ἀλί	ἀουνού [4]

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[1] Cf. καπινέ = καπνός.

[2] p. 144.

[3] Cf. Thumb, *Handbuch der Neugriech. Volkssprache*, p. 87.

[4] At Kastánitsa and Sítena the forms used are ἀλλού, ἀλλουνέ, ἄλλα, ἀλλουνού, and ἄλλα.

Pl.

	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen.	ἄλλοι	ἄλλαι	ἄβα [1]

πάσε

Sg.

	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen.	πάσε	πάσα	πάσου

Pl.

	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen.	πάσοι	πάσαι	πάσα

For ἄβα cf. κάβα, pl. of κάλι, μάβα, pl. of μάλι. In ταν ἄ σικρία (at Kastánitsa, ταν ἄλλα σικρία) the form ἄ (= ἄα) with λ dropped, as regularly before back vowels, is used. For the change of accent in ἀού see p. 165, and for ἀλί p. 160. ἀουνού is like Modern Greek ἀλλουνοῦ. ἀουνέ is probably due to the n. acc. form ἄλλε, as opposed to the neuter ἄλλιου with its gen. ἀουνού.

πάσε is the ancient πᾶς, with meaning changed from ʻallʼ to ʻmany.ʼ ὅλε (ὅλος) is now used for ʻall.ʼ

πάσε has taken on the terminations of an -ος adjective, but with ιου in the neuter sg., for which cf. p. 161.

(*c*) The Relative.

πˈη is used, like the Modern Greek ποῦ, for all numbers, genders, and cases. For the aspiration compare πˈού(ρ) = πῶς. Perhaps πˈη represents an earlier *πˈου which changed its vowel through frequent elision, *e.g.* οἱ ἀθρήποι πˈ εἰνʼ ἔ̇ñgουνδʼ ὀγί = the people who are coming here.

(*d*) The Interrogative.

ποίε(ρ) (Mod. Gk. ποῖος) is declined thus :—

Sg.

	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen.	ποίε(ρ)	ποία	ποίου

Pl.

	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen.	ποίοι	ποίαι	ποία

[1] At Kastánitsa and Sítena the forms used are ἀλλού, ἀλλουνέ, ἄλλα, ἀλλουνού, and ἄλλα.

$\tau\sigma o\acute{v}\nu\epsilon(\rho)$ is used for masc. and fem. genitive singular, meaning 'whose?'

$\tau\sigma\acute{\iota}$ is used in all genders and cases both sg. and plur. of the interrogative adjective. $\tau\sigma\acute{\iota}$ seems to arise from $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, and $\tau\sigma o\acute{v}\nu\epsilon(\rho)$ from $\tau\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (Modern Greek $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu o\varsigma$).

$\pi o\acute{\iota}\epsilon(\rho)$ is clearly a borrowing from Modern Greek, otherwise the form would be $\kappa o\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho$ (cf. Phonology, p. 150).

The Verb.

The verb 'to be' is conjugated thus :—

		Pres.	Imperf.			Pres.	Imperf.
Sg.	1	$\ddot{\epsilon}\nu\iota$[1]	$\ddot{\epsilon}\mu a$	*Pl.*	1	$\ddot{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon$	$\ddot{\epsilon}\mu a\ddot{\iota}$
	2	$\ddot{\epsilon}\sigma\iota$	$\ddot{\epsilon}\sigma a$		2	$\ddot{\epsilon}\tau^c\epsilon$	$\ddot{\epsilon}\tau^c a\ddot{\iota}$
	3	$\ddot{\epsilon}\nu\iota$	$\ddot{\epsilon}\kappa\iota$		3	$\epsilon\ddot{\iota}\nu\iota$	$\ddot{\eta}\dot{n}g\iota, \ddot{\eta}\dot{n}g\iota a\ddot{\iota}, \ddot{\eta}\kappa\iota$

The future, subjunctive, and conditional are formed as in Modern Greek, e.g. $\theta a\ \ddot{\epsilon}\nu\iota,\ \nu a\ \ddot{\epsilon}\nu\iota,\ \theta a\ \ddot{\epsilon}\mu a$, etc. The ν of $\ddot{\epsilon}\nu\iota$ 1 sg. pres. and $\epsilon\ddot{\iota}\nu\iota$ is *mouillé*. Pernot[2] explains all these forms as being, like those of Modern Greek generally, derived from the *Koine* forms, $\epsilon\hat{\iota}\mu a\iota,\ \epsilon\hat{\iota}\sigma a\iota,\ \ddot{\eta}\mu\eta\nu,\ \hat{\eta}\sigma o$, etc. In order to do so he is compelled to explain the initial ϵ, which is in all the forms except the 3rd plurals, as having spread from $\ddot{\epsilon}\nu\iota$, the 3rd sg. present, and the final -ι of the 1st and 2nd sg. present as being due to the final -ι of the 3 sg. $\ddot{\epsilon}\nu\iota$. It is improbable that one form would affect so many, and under this explanation it is difficult to see why the initial vowels of the 3rd persons plural were not also assimilated. The 3 sg. $\ddot{\epsilon}\nu\iota$ is clearly the mediaeval $\ddot{\epsilon}\nu\iota$, and occurs also in modern Cypriote and elsewhere. $\ddot{\epsilon}\mu\iota$ ($\ddot{\epsilon}\nu\iota$) and $\ddot{\epsilon}\sigma\iota$ may very reasonably be regarded as being the Doric $\grave{\epsilon}\mu\mu\acute{\iota}$ and $\grave{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}$ respectively, $\ddot{\epsilon}\tau^c\epsilon$[3] as being developed from $\grave{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}$ rather than $\epsilon\hat{\iota}\sigma\theta\epsilon$ as Pernot suggests, and $\ddot{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon$ from the Doric $\epsilon\grave{\iota}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ or $\epsilon\grave{\iota}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, with initial vowel assimilated to $\ddot{\epsilon}\mu\iota$ and $\ddot{\epsilon}\tau^c\epsilon$, and the final consonant dropped. $\epsilon\ddot{\iota}\nu\iota$ is probably $\epsilon\grave{\iota}\sigma\acute{\iota}$ with change of -$\sigma\iota$ to -$\nu\iota$ under the influence of the 3 sg. $\ddot{\epsilon}\nu\iota$ or of other 3rd plurals in -$\nu\iota$.

As the verb 'to be' is only rarely accented, a change of accent might easily occur in the few cases where the accent remained.

Of the imperfect forms $\ddot{\epsilon}\mu a$, $\ddot{\epsilon}\sigma a$, in view of Modern Greek dialect

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[1] At Kastánitsa and Sítena, $\ddot{\epsilon}\mu\iota$.   [2] *Revue des Études Grecques*, xxiii. pp. 62 ff.
[3] Cf. § 4.—Phonology, p. 152.

forms such as the Athenian ἤμανε, ἤσανε,[1] point to earlier forms *ἤμαν, *ἤσαν, and these require a 3rd person sg. ἤταν to explain them, and therefore probably a 3rd plural ἤνταν. Loss of final ν would then give *ἤμα, *ἤσα, *ἤτα, *ἤντα, and the first three would become ἔμα, ἔσα, *ἔτα, under the influence of the present forms; *ἔτα and *ἤντα would become *ἔτι and ἤντι, under the influence of ἔνι and εἴνι, and final ἔτι and ἤντι would become ἔκι and ἤṅgι phonetically.[2]

ἤṅgιαï clearly arises from ἤṅgι by the addition of the ordinary aor. 3rd pl. termination -αï. ἤκι is formed from ἔκι on the analogy of the present forms ἔνι and εἴνι. The 1st and 2nd pl. imperf. ἔμαï and ἔτ῾αï seem to be formed from the present forms ἔμε and ἔτ῾ε with change of termination due to the 3rd person ἤṅgιαï.

The Active Voice.

The present and imperfect indicative are analytical forms consisting of the verb 'to be' and the present participle active.

e.g. (ὁρῶ)

Present.

Sg.	1	ἐνι̣ ὁροῦ	or	ὁρουρ ἔνι
	2	ἐσι̣ ὁροῦ	„	ὁρουρ ἔσι
	3	ἐνι̣ ὁροῦ	„	ὁρουρ ἔνι
Pl.	1	ἐμ῾ ὁροῦνδε	„	ὁροῦνδερ ἔμε
	2	ἐτ῾ ὁροῦνδε	„	ὁροῦνδερ ἔτ῾ε
	3	εἰνι̣ ὁροῦνδε	„	ὁροῦνδερ εἴνι

Imperfect.

Sg.	1	ἐμα ὁροῦ	or	ὁρουρ ἔμα
	2	ἐσα ὁροῦ	„	ὁρουρ ἔσα
	3	ἐκι̣ ὁροῦ	„	ὁρουρ ἔκι
Pl.	1	ἔμαï ὁροῦνδε	„	ὁροῦνδερ ἔμαï
	2	ἔτ῾αï ὁροῦνδε	„	ὁροῦνδερ ἔτ῾αï
	3	{ ἤṅgι(αï) ὁροῦνδε { ἤκι	„	ὁροῦνδερ { ἤṅgι(αï) { ἤκι

[1] *V.* Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορ. καὶ Ἐθν. Ἑταιρ. τῆς Ἑλλάδ., vol. i. 1183–84, pp. 539–540.
[2] *V.* Phonology, pp. 150, 153.

The form of the participle varies according to the gender of the subject. The above forms are for a masculine subject. With a feminine subject the participle is ὁροὐα(ρ) in the singular, ὁροὐνδε(ρ) in the plural ; with a neuter subject ὁροὐνδα is used both for singular and plural.

In the case of verbs other than 'contracted,' the forms are *e.g.* for ἔχω, masc. sg. ἔχου, pl. ἔχουνδε(ρ), fem. sg. ἔχα (= *ἔχουα), pl. ἔχουνδε(ρ), neut. sg. and pl. ἔχουνδα. These forms are clearly descended from the classical forms ὁρῶν, ὁρῶντες, ὁρῶντα, ἔχων, ἔχοντες, ἔχοντα. The forms ὁροὐα, ἔχα, are discussed in the Phonology, p. 150.

Tsakonian has an 'incomplete' future and an 'aorist' future of similar formation to those of Modern Greek, and two corresponding subjunctives. The present subjunctive and 'incomplete' future are either in -νου, -ήνου, or identical in stem with the present indicative, *e.g.*

	Pres. Ind.	Pres. Subj.	'Incomplete' Fut.
(ὁρῶ)	ὁροὐ	να ὁρήνου	θα ὁρήνου
(φορῶ)	φοροὐ	να φορήνου	θα φορήνου
(σπείρω)	π‘είρου	να π‘είρνου	θα π‘είρνου
(βάλλω)	βάνου	να βάνου	θα βάνου
(μαραίνω)	μαραίνου	να μαραίνου	θα μαραίνου
(νήθω)	νέσου	να νέσου	θα νέσου
(φωνάζω)	φωνιάνδου	να φωνιάνδου	θα φωνιάνδου
(ποιῶ)	ποίου	να ποίνου	θα ποίνου
(βάπτω)	βάφου	να βάψου	θα βάψου
(ζηλεύω)	ζηλέ̇γου	να ζηλέ̇γου	θα ζηλέ̇γου
(ἀλλάσσω)	ἄσσου	να ἄσσου	θα ἄσσου

In the formation of the 'aorist' subj. and future, and the aorist indicative the verbs divide themselves into two classes (1) verbs with a non-sigmatic 'aorist' future and subj. and a -κα aorist indicative, (2) verbs with a sigmatic 'aorist' future and subjunctive, and an aorist indicative in -α. The sigmatic futures are with few exceptions in -τσου (-ξω) or -ψου.

(1) Verbs with a non-sigmatic 'aorist' future and subjunctive, and a -κα aorist indicative. Under this head come old 'contracted' verbs, verbs in -ρω, -λω, -νω, -θω (-σου), and -σκω (-κ‘ου), and verbs with vowel stems. All of them, with the exception of verbs in -σου and -κ‘ου, have 'incomplete' futures and present subjunctives in -νου or -ήνου. The 'aorist' future and subjunctive in the case of vowel stems and -ρω verbs

appears to be a present form, in 'contracted' verbs is either an 'uncontracted' present form or a form arising by analogy from the aorist indicative,[1] in -λω -νω verbs is an old aorist form.

E.g.

	Pres. Ind.	'Aorist' Fut.	'Aorist' Subj.	Aorist Ind.
(ὁρῶ)	ὁρού	θα ὁράου	να ὁράου	ὠράκα
(φορῶ)	φορού	θα φορέου	να φορέου	ἐφορέκα
(σπείρω)	π‘είρου	θα π‘είρου	να π‘είρου	ἐπ‘είρκα
(βάλλω)	βάνου	θα βάλου	να βάλου	ἐβαλήκα
(μαραίνω)	μαραίνου	θα μαράνου	να μαράνου	ἐμαράῆga
(νήθω)	νέσου	θα νέου	να νέου	ἐνέκα
(*ἐνδύσκω)	ῆg̣ιούκ‘ου	θα ῆg̣ιού	να ῆg̣ιού	ἐῆg̣ιούκα
(πίνω)	κίνου	θα κίου	να κίου	ἐῆgίκα
(ποιῶ)	ποίου	θα ποίου	να ποίου	ἐμβοίκα
(θύω)	θύου	θα θύου	να θύου	ἐθύκα

These verbs are practically all of the types which in Classical Greek had -κα perfects, and these -κα aorists are therefore to be regarded as directly descended from -κα perfects and not as being formed by analogy from ἔδωκα and ἔθηκα.

(2) Verbs with a sigmatic 'aorist' future and subjunctive and an aorist indicative in -α.

These are practically all verbs in -φου (-φω), -εῆgου (-εύω), -χου (-χω), -νdου (-ζω), and -σσου (-σσω). Examples are :—

	Pres. Ind.	'Aorist' Fut.	'Aorist' Subj.	Aorist Ind.
(βάπτω)	βάφου	θα βάψου	να βάψου	ἐβάβα
(ἀνάπτω)	ἀνάφου	θα ἀνάψου	να ἀνάψου	ἀνάβα
(ζηλεύω)	ζηλέῆgου	θα ζηλέψου	να ζηλέψου	ἐζηλέβα
(ζωντανεύω)	ζωνdανέῆgου	θα ζωνdανέψου	να ζωνdανέψου	ἐζωνdανέβα
(διαλέγω)	ζαλέχου	θα ζαλέτσου	να ζαλέτσου	ἐζαλέα
(θερίζω)	σερίνdου	θα σερίτσου	να σερίτσου	ἐσερία
(χέζω)	χένdου	θα χέτσου	να χέτσου	ἐχέα
(πλάσσω)	πράσσου	θα πράτσου	να πράτσου	ἐπράα
(M.G. ὡριμάζω)	ῥι̣άσσου	θα ῥι̣άτσου	να ῥι̣άτσου	ἐῥι̣ά
(παύω)	πάφου	θα πάψου	να πάψου	ἐπάβα

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[1] Cf. § 4.—Phonology, p. 144.

The future and subjunctive form require no explanation. They are all from old -ψω, -εύσω, -αύσω, -ξω aorist subjunctives. The aorist indicatives are partly imperfects in origin: ἐζηλέβα, ἐζωνδανέβα, ἐπάβα correspond to the Modern Greek imperfects ἐζήλεβα, ἐζωντάνεβα, ἔπαβα, and ἐβάβα, ἀνάβα arose from *ἐβάφα, *ἀνάφα, under the influence of ἐζηλέβα, etc., by proportional analogy from the future and subjunctive forms ζηλέψου : βάψου :: ἐζηλέβα : ἐβάβα.

Similarly βάφου, ἀνάφου, etc., produced πάφου. In the other aorist indicatives a γ appears to have been dropped, and the forms appear to have been earlier *ἐζαλέγα, *ἐσερίγα, *ἐχέγα, *ἐπράγα, *ἐρ̣ιάγα. Some of these arise from old perfect forms (cf. in Classical Greek πέπραγα, perfect of πράσσω), others are imperfects (cf. *ἐζαλέγα = *ἐδιαλέγα with the Modern Greek ἔλεγα, imperfect of λέγω), and the rest again are analogous forms due to the identity in formation of the futures and subjunctives.

The use of imperfects for aorists is easily understood when it is remembered that the new analytical imperfect had made the old form superfluous,[1] just as the new analytical present, e.g. ἐνι̭ ὁρού, made it possible to use the old present form ὁράου in the 'aorist' future θα ὁράου.

The personal terminations of all the futures and subjunctives are alike except in one point.   Examples are :—

		'Incomplete' Future.	'Aorist' Future.
(βάπτω)	Sg. 1	θα βάφου	θα βάψου
	2	θα βάφερε	θα βάψερε
	3	θα βάφει	θα βάψει
	Pl. 1	θα βάφομε	θα βάψομε
	2	θα βάφετε	θα βάψετε
	3	θα βάφωϊ	θα βάψωϊ

'Aorist,' Future.

(ὁρῶ)	Sg. 1	θα ὁράου	Pl. 1	θα ὁράμε
	2	θα ὁράρε	2	θα ὁράτε
	3	θα ὁράει	3	θα ὁράνι

The 2nd sg. termination -ερε is derived from -εις. For the ρ v. Phonology p. 147. ει became ε owing to the following ρ, cf. σίδερε (σίδηρος), and the final -ε is due to the influence of the 1st and 2nd plural.

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[1] In modern Greek the use of imperfects for aorists is not uncommon, in particular ἔλεγα, etc., is frequently used for εἶπα, etc.

For the 3rd plural *v*. § 4.—Phonology, p. 150. Possibly *ov* has become *o* through its open position. The other persons require no comment.

Examples of the aorist indicative are :—

(ὁρῶ)	*Sg.*	1	ὠράκα	(πλάσσω)	*Sg.*	1	ἐπράα
		2	ὠράτσερε			2	ἐπράρε
		3	ὠράτσε			3	ἐπράε
	Pl.	1	ὠράκαμε		*Pl.*	1	ἐπράμε
		2	ὠράκατε			2	ἐπράτε
		3	ὠράκαϊ			3	ἐπράαϊ

In the 2nd sg. a final -ε has been added as in the future. ρ is again for earlier ς. For the 3rd pl. *v*. Phonology, p. 150. The other terminations are as in Modern Greek. At Kastánitsa and Sítena the Modern Greek 3rd pl. in -*ανε* is often used instead of the Tsakonian in -*αϊ*.

The change of accent in the singular ὠράκα, etc., for *ὤρακα, etc., is due to the influence of the plural. The dialect has an aorist participle active of the type :—

	Sg.			*Pl.*	
M.	F.	N.	M.	F.	N.
N. Acc. Gen. ὠρακού	ὠρακούα	ὠρακούνδα	ὠρακούνδε(ρ)		ὠρακούνδα

It is descended from the classical -*ώς* -*υῖα* -*ός* perfect participle, and its terminations have been contaminated with those of the present participle (cf. Phonology, p. 150).

The Passive Voice.

The present and imperfect indicative are formed analytically, as in the active, with the verb 'to be' and the passive participle in -*όμενος* (-*ούμενε*), *e.g.* from βάφου (βάπτω).

			Pres. Ind.	M.	N.	F.
Sg.	1	ἔνι				
	2	ἔσι		βαφούμενε		βαφουμένα
	3	ἔνι				
				M.	F.	N.
Pl.	1	ἔμε				
	2	ἔτˑε		βαφουμένοι		βαφουμένα
	3	εἴνι				

For the imperfect ἔμα, ἔσα, ἔκι, ἔμαϊ, ἔτ̔αϊ, ἤṅgι, take the place of ἔνι, ἔσι, etc. The order is sometimes reversed, e.g. βαφούμενερ ἔνι, etc.

There is no 'incomplete' future and present subjunctive form in the passive.

The 'aorist' future and subjunctive is the old -θῶ, -θῇς, -θῇ aorist subjunctive, e.g. from ὁρού,

	Sg.			Pl.	
	1	θα ὁραθού		1	θα ὁραθούμε
	2	θα ὁραθήρε		2	θα ὁραθήτε
	3	θα ὁραθή		3	θα ὁραθούνι

From βάφου,

	Sg.			Pl.	
	1	θα βαφτού		1	θα βαφτούμε
	2	θα βαφτήρε		2	θα βαφτήτε
	3	θα βαφτή		3	θα βαφτούνι

The change of θ to τ after φ is regular in Tsakonian as in Modern Greek generally. For the 2nd sg. cf. the active aorist and future. For the 3rd pl. in -νι v. Phonology, p. 150.

The aorist indicative passive shews a curious mixture of forms. The 2nd and 3rd persons are descended from the old -σθην or -θην aorist with endings assimilated to those of the active aorist. The 1st person sg. seems to be the 1st sg. of the old perfect passive with ending assimilated to the 1st sg. of the active aorist, whilst the 1st pl. is of the same form as the 1st sg. but with the -αϊ termination of the 3rd pl. Doubtless the forms ἔμα, I was, ἔμαϊ, we were, have influenced them. Examples are :—

From ὁρού

	Sg.			Pl.	
	1	ὠράμα		1	ὠράμαϊ
	2	ὠράτ̔ερε		2	ὠράτ̔ατε
	3	ὠράτ̔ε		3	ὠράτ̔αϊ

From γράφου,

	Sg.			Pl.	
	1	ἐγράμα		1	ἐγράμαϊ
	2	ἐγράφτερε		2	ἐγράφτατε
	3	ἐγράφτε		3	ἐγράφταϊ

The aorist participle passive is in -τέ (-τός) or -τ̔έ (-στός, -κτός), e.g.

ὠρατέ (ὁρού)
ζαλετ̔έ (ζαλέχου)
νατέ (*γεννατός) from γινούμενε (γίγνομαι)
πρατ̔έ (πράσσου).

C. A. SCUTT.

(To be concluded.)