

(Abstract)

Non-sigmatic tenses of dental and velar verbs in the Greek dialects: Thessalian and beyond

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In this paper I would like to address the problem of dental and velar verbs in the Greek dialects (of the type pres. ἀρπάζειν – aor. Hom. ἀρπάζαι / Att. ἀρπάσαι ‘to snatch away’, whose stem-final consonant varies among dialects). At issue are both the synchronic aspect (what the underlying stem was in each dialect, or whether it is possible to consider an underlying stem at all) and the diachronic aspect (how forms with velar consonant, as will be discussed below, spread through the dialects).

It is already known that, in general, the West Greek dialects have -ξ- in the sigmatic tenses (i.e. aorist and future; for example, Theran κατασκευαξαμενου ‘to build (aor.part.)’ [IG 12,3 330 l.9]) for the verbs with the present stems in -ζ-, even though these verbs historically must have had a dental consonant at the end of the stem (\*-dʒ- > -ζ-). The situation is in contrast against the East Greek dialects, where the expected forms with -σ- or -σσ- (< \*-ds-) are found (so, for example, the Attic form corresponding to the Theran form cited above would be κατασκευασαμένου). It is also known that Thessalian, though not a West Greek dialect, also mainly shows ξ-forms, such as ψαφιξαμενας ‘to vote (aor.part.)’ (IG 9.2 517 l. 9, 39 Larisa) and εψαφιξατο ‘to vote (aor.med.3sg.)’ (SEG 43: 311 l.4 Scotussa). The fewer forms with -σ- (like φροντισειν ‘to consider (aor.inf.)’ [IG 9.2 512 l. 12 Larisa]) are considered to be due to influence from the Koine (García Ramón 2007: 200).

One may then question whether the Thessalian verbs have an underlying velar consonant at the end of the stem, and the answer must be negative: all the non-sigmatic forms known so far point to a stem-final dental consonant (as εψαφισται ‘to vote (pf.med.3sg.)’ [< \*e-psāp<sup>h</sup>-id-tai, IG 9,2 517 l. 17, l.41; SEG 27:202 l.15] and εχορτισθει ‘to enclose a piece of land (aor.pass.3sg.)’ [< \*e-k<sup>h</sup>ort-id-t<sup>h</sup>ē-t, SEG 43:311 B 60]).

The restriction of the intrusion of the velar consonant within the sigmatic tenses may suggest its recentness in the history of the Thessalian dialect (as stated by Blümel 1982: 189), but one needs to be cautious, since this restriction of the velar consonant within the sigmatic tenses seems to be observed in the West Greek dialects as well (Buck 1907: 252).

In Thessalian, the velar/dental verbs have one additional complexity, namely the reformation of the present stem. Along with the expected outcome of the voiced dental consonant (ε|ξξανακαδεν ‘to enforce (pres.inf.)’ [IG 9.2 257 l.8 = ‘-άζειν’] and δικαζδετου ‘to judge (pres.impv.3sg.)’ [SEG 37: 494 l.14 = ‘δικαζέτω’]), this dialect also shows forms that appear to be (synchronically) derived from a voiceless stem-final consonant (εμφανισσοντος ‘to exhibit (pres.part.)’ [BCH 130 l.44 = ‘ἐμφανίζοντος’]; ενεφανισσοεν ‘to exhibit (impf.3pl.)’ [IG 9.2 517 l.13 = ‘ἐνεφάνιζον’]).

The questions that this class of verbs in Thessalian poses, then, are the following: (1) how the synchronic alternation of the stem-final consonant should be analyzed (voiced/voiceless and velar/dental), (2) how this alternation came about diachronically, and (3) how the Thessalian situation should be compared to other (mainly West) Greek dialects.

#### Bibliography

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