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L, Horrocks 1997

L, Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-
Warburton 1997, Horrocks 1997

At the close of the 20th century
eleven
thirteen

5 **GREEK** is the only certain representative of the branch
6 of I[ndo-]E[uropean] commonly known as Greek (also
7 Hellenic); the status of ancient Macedonian as a possible
8 immediate sister to Greek is unclear because of its limited
9 attestation. Speakers of Greek have lived for approxi-
10 mately four thousand years in the southern part of the
11 Balkan area in southeast Europe; they first arrived there,
12 according to most accounts, in waves of migration from
13 the northeast, early in the second millennium BCE. For
14 general reference, see Meillet 1920, Palmer 1980, Joseph
15 1987. On Ancient Greek, consult Blass & Debrunner
16 1896, Smyth 1920, Schwyzler 1939, Schwyzler & De-
17 brunner 1950. On Medieval and Modern Greek, see
18 Thumb 1895, Costas 1936, Mirambel 1959, Householder
19 et al. 1964, Browning 1983, Mackridge 1985, Joseph &
20 Philippaki-Warburton 1987.

21 The geographic spread of Greek has in all periods
22 encompassed more territory than the southern Balkans,
23 extending well beyond the modern political boundaries
24 of Greece. In ancient times, Greek speakers colonized
25 the entire eastern Mediterranean, with centers in southern
26 Italy, Asia Minor, and Cyprus; later, conquests and trade
27 expeditions placed Greek speakers throughout the Middle
28 East, including Alexandria, and in the Black Sea area,
29 including the Ukraine. In modern times, Greek has spread
30 to North America, Britain, and Australia; in these areas,
31 Greek-speaking communities form a modern 'Hellenic
32 diaspora'. ~~In the late 1980s~~ there were close to twelve
33 million speakers of Greek—nearly ten million in Greece
34 itself. [For details on varieties of Greek, see the *Language*
35 *List at the end of this article.*]

36 Though forming its own IE branch, Greek shares cer-
37 tain characteristics with Armenian, and more distantly
38 with Indo-Iranian. These include such morphosyntactic
39 features as an overt past-tense prefix (the 'augment',
40 reconstructible as *e-), and the negator *mē; there are
41 also some lexical parallels, especially with Armenian.
42 More recently, in the past thousand years, Greek has
43 come to share several structural features with the neigh-
44 boring Balkan languages [q.v.]; these areal similarities,
45 presumably resulting from language contact, constitute
46 overlays on features which Greek shares with other IE
47 languages through their common linguistic inheritance.

48 **1. Periodization.** Greek is attested virtually continu-
49 ously, with very few significant breaks, from approxi-
50 mately 1400 BCE to the present. During this 3,500-year
51 period, it occurs in several varieties—the result not only
52 of diachronic differentiation, but also of dialect diversity
53 at each stage in its development.

54 Four major periods of development can be recognized,
55 defined partly by external political and historical factors,
56 and partly by purely linguistic ones. These stages are

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discussed below, together with an indication of the range of dialect differentiation and the type of attestation available for each period.

ANCIENT GREEK (ca. 1400–300 BCE) includes Mycenaean (ca. 1400–1200 BCE), the Greek of the Homeric epics (ca. 800 BCE), and that of the Classical period (ca. 600–300 BCE). Mycenaean is the earliest attested form of Greek; it was revealed through the efforts of Michael Ventris and John Chadwick in the early 1950s, when they deciphered the Linear B syllabic script of clay tablets found in the late 19th century at Minoan and Mycenaean sites in Crete and on the Greek mainland. It is indisputably an early variety of Greek, but seems not to be the direct ancestor of any later attested dialects; its exact place within the ancient dialect picture is still somewhat controversial. Homeric is the language of the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Homeric Hymns*; it is basically Ionic, but shows an admixture of other dialectal elements, most notably Aeolic. Moreover, it contains remarkable archaisms, including phraseological and thematic parallels with oral traditions found elsewhere in IE (e.g. in the *Rigveda*). [See Stylistic Reconstruction.] Classical Greek is known mainly in its Attic/Ionic variety, through the writings of philosophers such as Plato, historians such as Herodotus and Thucydides, playwrights such as Aeschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, and Aristophanes, and numerous other ancient authors. It also survives in thousands of inscriptions from Athens, the political and cultural center of ancient Greece. In fact, it presents a broad diversity of regional dialects. Besides Attic/Ionic, these include Aeolic (comprising Thessalian, Boeotian, and Lesbian), Arcado-Cyprian, and West Greek (Northwest Greek and Doric); these are known through a wealth of inscriptions, and through some literary works (e.g. Aeolic through the works of Sappho of Lesbos).

HELLENISTIC GREEK (ca. 300 BCE to 300 CE) comprises the Greek of the Septuagint and the New Testament, of the non-literary papyri, and of works by authors of historical, scientific, grammatical, religious, philosophical, and satirical material—including Polybius (2nd c. BCE), Dionysius Thrax (2nd c. BCE), Epictetus (early 2nd c. CE), and Lucian (late 2nd c. CE). Greek in this period underwent great expansion with the conquests of Alexander the Great. In a somewhat altered and relatively uniform variety—based mainly on the ancient Attic/Ionic dialect, and known as the KOINÉ (Ancient *hē koinḗ diálektos* ‘the common dialect’)—it came to be used as a lingua franca across the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East. This Koiné served as the basis for most of the dialects of Middle and Modern Greek.

MIDDLE GREEK (ca. 300–1650 CE) comprises Byzantine Greek (ca. 300–1100) and Medieval Greek (ca. CE 1100–1650). The geographic spread of Greek in this period shrank somewhat from its Hellenistic extent; but Asia Minor and the Black Sea area, including Constantinople (the center of Byzantine culture), remained strongly Greek-speaking, and pockets of Greek speakers continued elsewhere in the East. During the Medieval

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115 period, Greek assumed most completely its current Bal-
 116 kan structural character, and the modern dialects began
 117 to take their characteristic forms. Religious and historical
 118 writings, mainly in a consciously archaizing variety of
 119 the language (see sec. 2 below), provide glimpses of
 120 colloquial Greek in this period; after the 12th century,
 121 colloquial Medieval Greek is the medium for a flourishing
 122 literature of poetry (e.g. by Theodoros Prodromos, mid-
 123 12th c.), romances (some translations of medieval Euro-
 124 pean models, others of native Greek origin), histories
 125 (e.g. the *Chronicle of Morea*, ca. 1300), and drama
 126 (including several from the Cretan 'renaissance' of the
 127 16th–17th centuries).

128 MODERN GREEK (ca. 1650 to the present) has witnessed
 129 few significant changes from the form of the language in
 130 the Medieval period, though at this stage the 'language
 131 question' (see sec. 2) has emerged most prominently. The
 132 modern standard language, as spoken in Athens and
 133 throughout urban Greece, is based historically on the
 134 southern dialect of the Peloponnese (see sec. 4.1 for
 135 more on the modern dialects). Texts on all topics and in
 136 all genres are available, including such world-renowned
 137 literature as the works of Nikos Kazantzakis, Konstantine
 138 Kavafis, and the Nobel laureates George Seferis and
 139 Odysseus Elytis.

140 2. Diglossia. One facet of the social setting for Greek
 141 deserves special mention, since it has pervaded so much
 142 of Greek language use over the centuries; this is the
 143 degree to which a distinction between 'high' and 'low'
 144 varieties has been institutionalized. To be sure, similar
 145 distinctions are found in all speech communities; but
 146 what is striking about the Greek situation is its extent,
 147 and its culmination in what has been described as a
 148 classic instance of a DIGLOSSIC community.

149 In ancient times, a distinction between literary and
 150 colloquial ^{usage} is observable in the difference between the
 151 Greek of the great classical works, and that of informal
 152 inscriptions, e.g. many of those found in the Athenian
 153 *agorá* ^(marketplace). In postclassical times, a similar
 154 distinction emerges in comparison of literary works with
 155 the non-literary papyri of Hellenistic Egypt, which show
 156 numerous hypercorrections and outright mistakes in at-
 157 tempts to approximate Classical Attic style.

158 Later, many Byzantine and Medieval writers (espe-
 159 cially those involved in more learned pursuits) wrote in
 160 a consciously archaizing variety, which emulated Clas-
 161 sical Attic usage—even as the colloquial language,
 162 through natural processes of linguistic evolution from its
 163 Koiné basis, was developing along an entirely different
 164 path. Thus a well-developed stylistic rift emerged; it was
 165 maintained, partly in association with genre (e.g. collo-
 166 quial love poetry vs. learned religious documents), and
 167 partly with situation (e.g. learned usage in formal con-
 168 texts).

169 In the 1820s, when a Greek nation-state was founded
 170 after the war of liberation from Ottoman rule, Greek
 171 leaders wanted a national language as a symbol of unity.
 172 They faced the question of which variety of the language

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173 to choose: the archaizing, puristic Greek (also called
 174 *katharévousa* 'purified'), which evoked a connection with
 175 the glory of ancient Greece; or the colloquial variety
 176 (also called 'Demotic', from Greek *dēmotikós* 'popular,
 177 of the people'), which emerged naturally from earlier
 178 spoken forms. This situation led to the politicization of
 179 the high vs. low distinction; the two main linguistic
 180 'camps' became associated with different political stances
 181 (*Katharevousa* advocates being generally viewed as con-
 182 servative, Demotic adherents as progressive); ultimately,
 183 there was functional polarization of the different varieties,
 184 resulting in true diglossia. The high variety took on most
 185 official and formalized functions during much of the 19th
 186 and 20th centuries, with more mundane functions left to
 187 the low variety. In this period, as a result, much linguistic,
 188 scholarly, and political discourse and energy focused on
 189 this 'language question': the debate over the merits and
 190 uses of the different varieties. ~~As of the 1980s, the official~~
 191 ~~position favors Demotic Greek;~~ the emerging standard
 192 language is basically Demotic, (with an admixture of
 193 *Katharevousa*).

194 **3. Writing systems.** Several different writing systems
 195 have been used for Greek over the centuries: the Myce-
 196 naean Greek Linear B syllabic script; the somewhat
 197 similar syllabary of ancient Cyprian inscriptions; and
 198 even the Arabic and Hebrew alphabets, which were used
 199 occasionally by Greeks (e.g. in Asia Minor) in the Me-
 200 dieval period. However, the alphabetic system adapted
 201 by the Greeks from a North Semitic source (traditionally
 202 said to be Phoenician) is by far the most common and
 203 best known system for writing Greek. This alphabet
 204 provided a relatively close, one-to-one correspondence
 205 between graphemes and phonemes for Ancient Greek;
 206 however, some long vowel phonemes are not uniquely
 207 represented, and some consonant clusters have distinct
 208 graphemes. The fit is less good for Medieval and Modern
 209 Greek, in which some new oppositions are represented
 210 secondarily by digraphs. Distinctive marks for the three
 211 ancient pitch accents were introduced only in Hellenistic
 212 times by the Alexandrian grammarians, and a shift to a
 213 single stress accent in Middle Greek left the orthography
 214 richer than necessary; ~~a recent~~ official reform has re-
 215 placed the threefold graphic accentual system with a
 216 single mark. The Greek alphabet, with its ancient and
 217 current phonetics, is given in Table 1; diphthongs, con-
 218 sonantal digraphs, and diacritics are shown in Table 2.

219
 220 insert table 1
 221

222 **4. A panchronic view of structure.** To outline the
 223 major structural features of Greek, it is most appropriate
 224 to focus on the Classical and Modern languages; in
 225 general, the changes which characterize the differences
 226 between these had begun by the Hellenistic period,
 227 though they were not complete generally until Middle
 228 Greek. Moreover, Medieval and Modern Greek differ
 229 minimally. This discussion therefore provides not only a
 230 structural sketch of Greek at these two widely separated

1-1 After 1976, when the official
 language was declared to be Demotic Greek,
 it has come to be but
 elements

1-1 an adopted in 1982

231 periods, but also an indication of the major changes the
232 language has undergone.

233 **4.1. Phonology.** The presentation of the alphabet
234 above gives a good idea of the phonological systems of
235 Cl.Gk. and Mod.Gk. respectively. At both stages, rela-
236 tively balanced consonant and vowel systems are to be
237 found.

238 In Cl.Gk. there was a set of voiced plain stops, voiceless
239 plain stops, and voiceless aspirated stops (*b d g, p t k, p^h*
240 *t^h k^h*); a dental fricative *s* (with allophone [z] before
241 voiced consonants), and a glottal fricative *h*; and the
242 sonorants *r* (with a voiceless allophone initially), *l m n*
243 (with the allophone [ŋ] before velars). The semivowels
244 [j] and [w] occurred only as offglides in diphthongs—
245 though both occurred in Mycenaean in other positions,
246 and [w] occurs outside of Attic/Ionic in Classical times.

247 Mod.Gk. retains the voiceless plain stops as such; but
248 early Post-Classical changes have ~~changed~~ voiced stops
249 to voiced fricatives (*v ð γ*), and aspirated stops to voice-
250 less fricatives (*f θ χ*). In addition, the modern language
251 has voiced stops *b d g*, which resulted from earlier
252 clusters of nasal + stop; e.g., ancient *entrépomai* 'I feel
253 misgivings about' and *endúnō* 'I put on (clothes)' yielded,
254 with regular vowel changes, modern *drépome* 'I feel
255 ashamed' and *díno* 'I dress (someone)'. Another source
256 of voiced stops is borrowings, e.g. *bakális* 'grocer' from
257 Turkish *bakal*, *dús* 'shower' from French *douche*, etc. In
258 addition, [tʰ] and [dʰ] were added in Middle Greek—
259 mainly through sporadic affrications of earlier *k* and *t*
260 before front vowels, but also through dialectal and foreign
261 borrowings. Mod.Gk. retains the sonorants, though with-
262 out the voiceless allophone of *r*; and [j] has reappeared,
263 as a variant of unaccented *i* adjacent to vowels, and of *g*
264 before front vowels. Finally, Mod.Gk. maintains earlier
265 *s*, and *z* is now also a phoneme.

266 The vowels and diphthongs present a somewhat more
267 complicated picture. Classical Attic/Ionic had the inven-
268 tory shown in Table 3. Gaps in the short diphthong
269 inventory (lacking [ej] or [ow]) were caused by the pre-
270 Classical sound changes [ej] → [e:] and [ow] → [o:].
271 The long diphthongs were generally rare; relatively early
272 in the Classical period, those with [j] lost their offglide,
273 to merge with corresponding long monophthongs.

274
275 insert table 3

276
277 By contrast, Mod.Gk. has a simple five-vowel system,
278 with the short monophthongs *i e a o u*. This system arose
279 through the raising of [e:] to [i:], the loss of distinctive
280 length, the unrounding (after the 10th century) of [y] to
281 [i], and various developments with the diphthongs. The
282 last included the monophthongization of [aj] to [e], and
283 of [yj] and [oj] to [i] (through a stage of [y]), as well as
284 the consonantalization of the offglide in [ew] and [aw]
285 to [v] before voiced segments, and to [f] before voiceless
286 ones. Mod.Gk. has some diphthong-like sequences of
287 various origin, e.g. borrowings (e.g. *bói* 'stature' from
288 Turkish) or optional stress-shifts (*vóǰθisa* 'I helped' from

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h moved

tab 2

k k

/ 8

289 *volθisa*); however, the analysis of these as distinctive
290 diphthongs is controversial.

291 Phonologically, the ancient dialects differed from one
292 another in several respects. One was the distribution of
293 semivowels: [j] and especially [w] occurred more freely
294 in Mycenaean, Doric, and Aeolic than in Attic/Ionic.
295 More significant variation is found in the outcome of the
296 Common Gk. labiovelar stops, which are found intact in
297 Mycenaean; labial reflexes occur in Aeolic (mostly) while
298 dental reflexes occur elsewhere (e.g. Lesbian *pémpe* 'five'
299 versus Attic/Ionic *pénte*, from **penk^we*). Clusters involv-
300 ing obstruents plus semivowels were treated variously,
301 e.g. **t + j* → [tj] in Attic and Boeotian, but [ss] in Ionic,
302 Arcadian, and most of Doric. Clusters of sonorant + **s*
303 developed into geminates in Aeolic, but show compen-
304 satory lengthening elsewhere. Major dialectal differences
305 are also found in the vowel system; thus Attic/Ionic raised
306 and fronted Common Gk. **a*: to [æ:] and ultimately to
307 [e:], and fronted **u*(:) to [y(:)].

308 As for the modern dialects, the mostly rural dialects in
309 the north differ from the standard language primarily in
310 deleting most unstressed high vowels and raising un-
311 stressed mid vowels. Palatalizations (especially [tʃ] for
312 [k] before front vowels) characterize dialects of the
313 southeast (including many of the Aegean islands and
314 Cyprus), and of Crete.

315 The accentual system deserves special mention. Cl.Gk.
316 had three distinctive pitch accents: high (known as
317 'acute'), low ('grave'), and contour ('circumflex'). The
318 placement and type of accent were distinctive, as shown
319 by such pairs as *oíkoi* 'at home' vs. *oíkoi* 'houses', and
320 *tímā* 'two honors' vs. *tímā* '(you) honor!'. However, some
321 aspects of accent placement and realization were predict-
322 able: thus circumflex accent could only appear on a long
323 ultima—or, with a short ultima, on a long penultimate
324 syllable. Moreover, accent placement in finite verb forms
325 and certain declined forms of nouns was 'recessive': it
326 occurred as far from the end of the word as possible,
327 though it was limited to one of the last three syllables of
328 a word, and was subject to mora-based restrictions (e.g.
329 accent on the penultimate or ultima with a long ultima).
330 Accordingly, if the length of the final syllable changed
331 during inflection, accent placement in recessively ac-
332 cented forms also changed—e.g. *komízō* 'I provide for',
333 with penultimate accent because of the long ultima, vs.
334 *ekómisa* 'I provided for', with antepenultimate accent
335 because of the short ultima.

336 Mod.Gk., by contrast, has only a single stress accent,
337 the result of a late Hellenistic/early Middle Gk. change;
338 however, the placement of the stress corresponds largely
339 to the placement of the earlier high pitch (acute or
340 circumflex accent) in a word. Since length distinctions
341 were lost, the Mod.Gk. equivalent of the Three Mora
342 Law is a 'three syllable law'. However, analogical level-
343 ings have led to stable stress in many paradigms that
344 earlier had mobile accentuation. Mod.Gk. accent is still
345 distinctive, as shown by such pairs as *kírios* 'master',
346 *kirífos* 'chiefly'.

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347 **4.2. Morphology.** Greek has always been a generally
 348 fusional, inflectional language, marking most important
 349 grammatical distinctions with affixes that simultaneously
 350 encode several grammatical features (e.g. [-o:] for 1sg.
 351 non-past indicative active). In Middle Greek, many ana-
 352 lytic formations arose to replace earlier synthetic ones
 353 (e.g., the future tense, 1st and 3rd person imperatives, or
 354 comparative and superlative adjectives); but even
 355 Mod.Gk. can be said to be basically of the same typolog-
 356 ical variety as the classical language. Greek has a rela-
 357 tively large number of inflectional categories, so that the
 358 overall set of distinct forms for a given nominal or verbal
 359 stem is extremely high; consequently, no attempt is made
 360 here to list the forms themselves (which are available in
 361 all standard grammars), and instead only the categories
 362 are given.

363 Several categories were relevant for the nominal system
 364 (nouns, adjectives, and pronouns). Cl.Gk. had five cases
 365 (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, vocative), three
 366 numbers (singular, dual, plural), and three gender classes
 367 (traditionally called masculine, feminine, and neuter). By
 368 contrast, Mod.Gk. has four cases (the dative in its indirect
 369 object function has given way to the genitive or to
 370 prepositional periphrasis, and in its prepositional object
 371 use to the accusative), two numbers (singular and plural),
 372 and the same three gender classes.

373 The realization of these categories in Cl.Gk. depended,
 374 for nouns and adjectives, on phonologically determined
 375 inflectional classes, with different inflections for conso-
 376 nant stems (including *i*- and *u*-stems), *o*-stems, and *a*-
 377 stems. In Mod.Gk., the assignment of nominal inflec-
 378 tional classes is largely based on gender, not on
 379 phonological shape. Thus, whereas the Cl.Gk. masc.
 380 consonant stem noun *patér* 'father' and the fem. conso-
 381 nant stem *mētēr* 'mother' had similar inflectional patterns
 382 (e.g. acc. sg. *patér-a*, *mētér-a*, gen. sg. *patr-ós*, *mētr-ós*),
 383 in Mod.Gk. the patterns differ (e.g., nom. sg. *patéra-s*,
 384 *mitéra-θ*, gen. sg. *patéra-θ*, *mitéra-s*).

385 The verbal system of Cl.Gk. showed greater richness
 386 in morphological categories than did the nominal system.
 387 Three persons were inflectionally relevant, as were three
 388 numbers (singular, dual, and plural)—though the com-
 389 bination of 1st person and dual was not generally realized.
 390 Person and number markings served as a morphological
 391 indicator of finiteness, which was also marked by reces-
 392 sive accent (see sec. 4.1). The non-finite forms included
 393 several participles and infinitives—which differed ac-
 394 cording to the voice, aspect, and tense categories de-
 395 scribed below—as well as verbal adjectives denoting
 396 obligation and capability.

397 Within the category of voice, a three-way distinction
 398 was made among the active, the passive, and the 'middle',
 399 which indicated reflexive or subject-oriented actions (e.g.
 400 active *bouleúō* 'I take counsel' vs. middle *bouleúomai* 'I
 401 take counsel with myself, deliberate'). Passive voice was
 402 formally distinct from middle only in the future and
 403 simple past tenses. Cl.Gk. also had four verbal moods—
 404 indicative, subjunctive, imperative, and optative—all of

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405 which occurred in the various voice and temporal/aspec-
406 tual categories.

407 Finally, Cl.Gk. is generally said to have had seven
408 'tenses': present, future, present perfect, pluperfect, fu-
409 ture perfect, imperfect past, and simple past (the 'aorist');
410 these categories actually encoded not only purely
411 temporal distinctions of present, past, and future, but also
412 aspectual distinctions of continuous (imperfective), com-
413 pleted (perfective), and punctual action (aorist). Only the
414 past time forms show the aspectual distinction in its
415 entirety (imperfect, pluperfect, and aorist); but it is real-
416 ized partially in the present and the future, and the non-
417 finite forms also participate.

418 Mod.Gk. has most of the same categorial complexities,
419 though its expression of the categories is often analytic
420 rather than synthetic. The dual number has been lost
421 outright; the system of non-finite forms has been consid-
422 erably reduced, with loss of the infinitive—a Balkan
423 feature—and only a few participles remaining. The
424 distinctions in mood, voice, tense, and aspect generally
425 remain, though the optative mood is expressed lexically
426 rather than inflectionally, and many of the modern reali-
427 zations differ from their ancient counterparts. The middle
428 and passive formations are now identical in all tenses;
429 and the subjunctive, future, and non-2nd person impera-
430 tives are all expressed analytically, or with prefixes and
431 suffixes instead of only suffixes, depending on certain
432 analytic assumptions (the existence of a formal category
433 of subjunctive is somewhat controversial). Moreover,
434 while the same tenses and aspects are found as in Cl.Gk.,
435 the modern perfect system continues a Middle Gk. in-
436 novative formation that arose after the loss of the ancient
437 perfect in Hellenistic times; and the future continues a
438 Middle Gk. periphrasis with the verb 'want' (another
439 Balkan feature). Finally, the language has extended the
440 continuous/punctual aspectual distinction into the future
441 tense, and has created a conditional formation with the
442 future marker and the formal past tense.

443 **4.3. Syntax.** The syntax of Greek can scarcely be
444 treated in brief, but a few features are particularly salient.
445 Cl.Gk. presented an elaborate system of verbal comple-
446 mentation. The non-finite verbal forms, i.e. infinitives
447 and participles, were used as complements to matrix
448 predicates, as were the finite forms, which in different
449 combinations of tense and mood with various subordi-
450 nating conjunctions signaled semantic distinctions which
451 were often quite subtle. Complex restrictions on sequence
452 of tense and mood played a role in the formation of
453 subordinate clauses. By contrast, Mod.Gk. has only finite
454 complementation, having gradually done away with the
455 infinitive (see above). This Balkan feature is in keeping
456 with other movements in the language toward analytic
457 expression, e.g. prepositionally marked indirect objects.

458 Greek at all stages has allowed word order that is fairly
459 free from a syntactic standpoint, though different orders
460 had stylistic functions. Cl.Gk. had a well-developed sys-
461 tem of pronominal and sentence-adverbial clitics in
462 Mod.Gk., weak pronominal forms—possibly true affixes

κ' γ' (i.e. 'band words')

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at this stage—remain alongside the strong forms. Finally,
at all stages after Homeric, the definite article could be
used to substantivize any lexical or phrasal category,
giving considerable flexibility of expression.

4.4. *Lexicon*. The Greek lexicon has always been a
mix of inherited elements and borrowings. Some
Mod.Gk. words are virtually unchanged (except in accen-
tual realization) from Cl.Gk., e.g. *ánemos* 'wind'; others
are still recognizably like their ancient sources despite
shifts in pronunciation, morphology, and meaning, e.g.
ῥάφο 'I write' (Cl.Gk. *gráphō*), *ánthropos* 'human being'
(Cl.Gk. *ánthrōpos*).

Greek has always been receptive to borrowings—in-
cluding those from earlier stages of Greek itself, in the
form of learned terminology and conscious 'high' archa-
isms. In ancient times, borrowings from Anatolian and
Semitic languages can be discerned—as well as presumed
loans from apparently indigenous speech communities,
the so-called 'Pre-Greeks' or 'Pelasgians', who lived in
Greece before the coming of the Greek tribes proper. In
Hellenistic times and into Middle Greek, Greek absorbed
numerous loan words from Latin; in the Byzantine and
early Medieval periods, some Slavic and Albanian words
entered the language. In the late Medieval period, many
Turkish words (and through Turkish, words of Arabic
origin) took a place in the Greek lexicon, and several
continue in use today. Mod.Gk. has seen numerous lexical
contributions from French, especially in the early 20th
century, and more recently from English. Except for the
more recent loans from European languages, most bor-
rowings have been assimilated morphologically, and to a
lesser extent phonologically, to existing Greek patterns.

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TABLE 1. *The Greek Alphabet*

Capital/Small letter	Ancient Pronunciation/ Transliteration	Modern Pronunciation/ Transliteration
A/ α	[a]/a	[a]/a
B/ β	[b]/b	[v]/v
Γ/γ	[g]/g	[j] (—i,e)/y, j
		[ɣ] (elsewhere)/g(h), γ
Δ/δ	[d]/d	[ð]/d(h), δ
E/ ϵ	[ε]/e	[ε]/e
Z/ ζ	[zd]/z	[z]/z
H/ η	[ε:] /e:, ē	[i]/i
Θ/ θ	[tʰ]/th	[θ]/th, θ
I/ ι	[i]/i	[i]/i
K/ κ	[k]/k, c	[k]/k
Λ/ λ	[l]/l	[l]/l
M/ μ	[m]/m	[m]/m
N/ ν	[n]/n	[n]/n
Ξ/ ξ	[ks]/x	[ks]/ ks, x (as in fox)
O/ \omicron	[o]/o	[o]/o
Π/ π	[p]/p	[p]/p
P/ ρ	[r]/r	[r]/r
Σ/ σ (s—#)	[s]/s	[s]/s
T/ τ	[t]/t	[t]/t
Υ/ υ	[y]/y, u	[i]/i
Φ/ ϕ	[pʰ]/ph	[f]/f
X/ χ	[kʰ]/ch, kh	[x]/h, x
Ψ/ ψ	[ps]/ps	[ps]/ps
Ω/ ω	[ɔ:] /o:, ō	[o]/o

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TABLE 2. *Greek Diphthongs, Consonantal Digraphs, and Diacritics*
 (— means symbol not used in the period.)

Symbol	Ancient Pronunciation/ Transliteration	Modern Pronunciation/ Transliteration
αι	[aj]/ai	[ɛ]/e
αυ	[aw]/au	[av](— + voice)/av
ει	[e:]/ei	[af](— - voice)/af
ευ	[ew]/eu	[i]/i
οι	[oj]/oi	[ev](— + voice)/ev
ου	[o:]/ou	[ef](— - voice)/ef
υι	[yj]/yi, ui	[i]/i
γ/—γ, χ, ξ	[ŋ]/n(—g, kh, ks)	[ŋ]/n(—g, h, ks)
γκ	[ŋk]/nk	[(ŋ)g] medially/(n)g
μβ, μπ	[mb, mp]/mb, mp	[g] initially/g
νδ, ντ	[nd, nt]/nd, nt	[(m)b] medially/(m)b
τζ	—	[b] initially/b
τσ	—	[(n)d] medially/(n)d
‘	[h]/h	[d] initially/d
’	∅ (= absence of h)	[dʰ]/dz
˘	high pitch/˘	[tʰ]/ts
˙	low pitch/˙	—
ˆ	contour pitch/ˆ, ˆ	primary stress/ˆ
˜	—	—

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TABLE 3. *Classical Attic/Ionic Greek Vowels and Diphthongs*

i i: y y:	yj	
e e:	e:j ew e:w	oj o:j
ε:		aj a:j aw a:w
o o:		
α α:		

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Greek, Ancient: spoken and written in ancient times in Greece and in colonized areas from southern Italy to the Black Sea.

Greek, Hellenistic: used in Greece, and as the lingua franca of the Middle East, from the time of Alexander the Great. The variety known as the Koiné was the language of the New Testament.

Greek, Middle: the language of the Byzantine Empire and of medieval Greece, and the predecessor of Modern Greek.

Greek, Modern: around 11,500,000 speakers reported in 1986, with 9,960,000 in Greece, 500,000 in Cyprus, 20,000 in Italy, 5,000 to 8,000 in Turkey, 107,000 in Australia, 60,000 in Egypt, 459,000 in the United States, 344,000 in the USSR, and 104,000 in Canada. /Also used in Corsica (France), Rumania, and Bulgaria. Also called Romaic or Neo-Hellenic.

Pontic: formerly spoken on the Black Sea coast of Turkey; now spoken near Athens, Greece, and in the United States and Canada. Speakers may still remain in Turkey. Speakers of Standard Greek cannot understand Pontic. Young people speak Standard Greek as their first language; but speakers in North America are reported to hold onto their language more zealously than those in Greece.

Tsakonian: 10,000 speakers reported in 1981, on the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Greece. Monolingual speakers were reported in 1927. Tsakonian is not inherently mutually intelligible with modern Greek.

Yevanic: possibly 50 speakers in 1971, in Israel and the United States. Also known as Judeo-Greek.

/ By the end of the 20th century, the total number of speakers approached 13,000,000, with some 11,000,000 in Greece and 600,000 in Cyprus.