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Atticists and lexicographers. An important contribution is made to our understanding of the place in the history of Greek generally of the Septuagint and the New Testament. (The original plan was to divide the work up into chapters on the lines indicated, but this has been abandoned in favour of an alphabetical arrangement, as more practical for the reader and avoiding some overlapping.)

The only common form of modern Greek useful for our purpose is the vernacular, the δημοτική, as distinguished from the artificial καθαρεύουσα, or mixtures of the two. 'Δημοτική is the result of natural development of Greek over the centuries', (2) and as such gives one direct access to antiquity, whereas the καθαρεύουσα, a hybrid resulting from a misapplied admiration for antiquity and used more formally, is largely borrowed rather than inherited from antiquity. (3)

In recent times the katharevusa has to some extent influenced demotic, and in using demotic one must be careful to disregard such features. 'Blind' tends to be τυφλός rather than στραβός, and 'left' to be ἀριστερός rather than ζεβρός, just as phonetically γρήγορα tends to replace γλήγορα 'quickly' and λεπτά to replace λεφτά 'money'.

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As well as from the modern koine, the demotic, much information can be drawn from the dialects, either because they have kept words which have not passed into demotic or have been lost there, or else because they preserve features which directly reflect ancient dialects and sometimes help to illustrate or even elucidate them. (4) None of these dialects exists to-day in a pure form, all having been influenced to a greater or less extent by the demotic or by other dialects. There is the inevitable tendency for dialects to become weaker, and features mentioned in this book may be on the way out or actually lost. (5)

In the invaluable Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten recently published by Nikolaos Andriotis we have as good as complete information about the distribution in the modern dialects of features discussed in this book as of all other features of vocabulary as far as they have been recorded, and in view of the many lexika that are now available for separate dialects or groups of dialects it is hardly a rash presumption that not very much of importance is missing, though we should still like fuller knowledge from parts of the Peloponnese and Northern Greece.

The importance of the dialects for our purpose varies

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My purpose has been to stress, following on the steps of others like Hatzidakis, the closeness in vocabulary as in grammatical features of the modern vernacular to that of the later period of the ancient language. It is admitted that this has been done without proper control by comparisons from the older periods, and also that we have more abundant and more varied evidence especially from the papyri. It is also stated here once and for all that the gaps in our knowledge of all periods of Greek are fully realized.

Finally, some remarks on points of biblical Greek not otherwise picked up are included, and the potentiality of Romance to illustrate Greek developments is shown by a few examples, usually combined with modern Greek evidence.

The documents of the Middle Ages do not fall within the scope of our subject, and in any case, as Kapsomenos 21 says, it is only Modern Greek as a spoken language that allows us to distinguish what in the written tradition belonged to the living language and what was merely paper Greek. Older documents have a value in helping us to trace the origin and development of features of the modern language that do not go back to antiquity, but this, again, is not our concern.

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(I have occasionally quoted some examples from mediaeval literature but have made no attempt to use it systematically, my knowledge of it being quite limited.)

The Phonetics of Modern Greek

(These notes have the purely practical purpose of indicating the main phonetic features of modern Greek and their relationship to antiquity. For more details and for the chronology of the changes involved the reader is referred to Browning's Medieval and Modern Greek and more fully to Thumb's Handbuch.)

1. Features reflecting differences in the ancient dialects:

For the survival of ancient $\bar{\alpha}$ and for the representation of η in Pontic, etc., as ϵ see above in the discussions of Doric and Ionic. (14)

The ancient υ is in demotic and usually represented by $/i/$, but in Tsakonian and the 'Old Athenian' group by $/u/$ or $/iu/$ (see below).

As already in the koine σ prevails over the mainly Attic $\tau\tau$, so $\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\alpha$, etc., also $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$ 'to-day'.

Similarly the $\rho\sigma$ of Ionic, etc., is usual, not the $\rho\rho$ of Attic.

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The displacement of the aspirate found in Ionic and occasionally elsewhere is reflected in a few words in Asia Minor, also elsewhere. (15)

2. Changes that have taken place at least in the main since classical antiquity:

There is now no phonemic difference of quantity in the vowels. Accented vowels are now longer than the same vowels unaccented. This change no doubt goes hand in hand with the importance of stress as a feature of the modern accent. Modern spellings have a purely historical value, as based on antiquity, so also for the next paragraph.

Demotic and most dialects have a simple system of five vowels: a, e (open), i, o (open), u (written ou). The ancient η, ει, οι and υ have normally run together with ι, and αι with ε. In some words ου is found in unaccented syllables where an i sound would be expected, esp. in dialects: χρουσός, σουσάμι 'sesame', etc.; so also instead of ω, ο: σκουλήκι 'worm', κουκί 'bean' < κόκκος.

In demotic and most dialects ea, ia and eo, io become ya, yo even if the e or i was originally accented, the accent then moving backwards, as έpyasa 'seized', except at the end of a word, where it moves to the final

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syllable: elyá 'olive', nyós 'young'. (16) The yod is commonly indicated by an inverted crescent or other sign under the ε or ι.

In the diphthongs αυ and ευ the second element has become β (v) before voiced sounds and φ (f) before unvoiced stops: so in παιδεύω, ἀλευρι 'flour', ψεύτης; but before μ the υ is lost, as in ψέμα 'lie' (so also γ, as πρᾶμα), and before ν it becomes μ, as λάμνω 'row', ἔμνοστος.

Ir commonly becomes er, esp. in unaccented syllables: Ξερός, μερήγκι 'ant'; but τυρί 'cheese', etc.

Over a wide area of Northern Greece unaccented i and u tend to be lost, and in most of the same area unaccented e and o become i and u, e.g. κιφάλι = κεφάλι 'head' (Pontus), δαλεύου = δουλεύω 'work' (Jannina). (17)

The reduction of -ιον to -ιν and of -ιος to -ις, which began in the koine period, is normal in Mod., and very important in the extremely frequent diminutives in -ι(v).

The anc. stops β, δ, γ and φ, θ, χ have become spirants.

The combinations πι and κι have become φι and χι, e.g. έφρά, όχτώ; the same result comes from φθ and χθ,

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e.g. φτάνω 'arrive', έχτρος, so also ἐλέφτερος, ἐφαριστιῶ; in σθ, σχ, and in dialects in σφ the spirant becomes a stop, αίστάνομαι, σκολεῖό, Pontic σιάζω 'kill'.

The unvoiced spirants tend to interchange, esp. in some dialects. The demotic tends to avoid θ + dental, so χλιβερός, ἀρίφνητος.

The voiced spirants βδγ tend in many dialects to be lost or interchanged initially or between vowels, most noticeably in the S.E. dialects, e.g. Carpathos (β)άλλω φο(β)οῦμαι, πη(γ)ά(δ)ι 'well', βάλα 'milk', γιψῶ 'thirst'.

An opposite tendency appears in many dialects in the insertion of a γ to avoid hiatus between vowels: ἀγῶρι 'boy' from ἄωρος (demotic), κλαί(γ)ω esp. after v, χορεύω, etc.

Unvoiced stops become voiced after nasals: [lámbɔ] 'shine', [pénde] 'five', [ángura] 'anchor'. It is usual, however, to write μπ, ντ, γκ, so even γαμπρός, δέντρο for old μβ, νδ. Some dialects have simple voiced stops, and the nasal is very weak initially even in demotic.

Before a consonant l becomes ɾ, as ἀδερός.

The sequence ɾ - - ɾ is commonly dissimilated to l - - ɾ, as πλώρη 'prow'.

Nasals disappear before the unvoiced spirants, as

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νύφη 'bride', γρόθος 'fist', συχωρῶ 'pardon'.

Final ν is lost in demotic (retained in some dialects) except before a word beginning with a vowel or unvoiced stop, which then becomes voiced, as [tim bóli] = τήν πόλιν.

Double (long) consonants are reduced to single consonants in demotic and most dialects. They are kept, however, in S. Italy, S.E. dialects, Chios and Livisi, and single consonants are sometimes doubled, as often in Carpathos.

Κνύζα (Theoc.) = κόνυζα; hence Bov. κλίζα, etc., elsewhere only Corfu krúsa 'publicaria' (Rohlf's); demotic (ἀ)κόνυζα. The priority, κνύζα or κόνυζα, is doubtful (Frisk). The Bov. and Corfu forms have treatments of κν- for which compare forms of κνίδη, and κόνυζα could be thought to have an epenthetic vowel, accented like ἀκόμα from ἀκμήν, q.v., differing from Otr. kinída from κνίδη. The loss of an accented vowel would also be somewhat surprising. Byzantios, for whom ἀκόνυζον is the form in Attica, demotic κορυζόχορον and other words, compares κόρυζα, which is not without interest.

Κνύζα 'wrinkled' see LA.

Κόβαλος: the late-attested but probably original (non-Attic) sense 'porter' (LSJ, Frisk) is the one found in mod. κουβαλῶ 'transport', -ητής, etc. Add to LSJ SB 9699.336 δων ἢ κοβαλευόντων κόμπρον εἰς Ἡδύλα(ου).

Κόβαρος: ὄνος (Hsch.), 'woodlouse', see Frisk, and Kukules Hsch. 33f.

Κοιτάζω (koine) 'encamp', 'bivouac', is illustrated by the mod. sense 'look at' 'observe', through 'keep

watch'. False etymologies led to the mod. spelling κοιτάζω. (238)

The transition is illustrated by Plb. 10.15.9 συναδρούσαντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ διεσπαρμένα κατὰ σημαίας ἐπὶ τούτων κοιτάζεσθαι, N.B. as opposed to οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἔμενον, not then 'encamp' with LSJ; also POXY. l.c. of an ἀλωνοφύλαξ.

Κοιτάζω 'put to bed' is dialect, details in LA.

Cf. ἐκ-, παρα-, προ-κοιτέω 'keep watch' in LSJ.

In Carpathos the verb is not used = βλέπω, but only of 'going to rest', esp. of birds, which confirms the accepted derivation. Κοίτη is frequent of fowls, 'roost'. So also in the 'Old Athenian' group and elsewhere.

Κόκκινος gives the demotic for 'red', replacing ἐρυθρός. With Pontic 'beautiful' as well as 'red' compare Russ. krasny 'red', 'beautiful'. Because of the proximity of Pontic to the Slavonic languages their influence cannot be ruled out.

Κόκκιναι: οἱ πυρῆνες τῶν ἐλαιῶν (Hsch.).

Latte compares mod. κουκουνάρι, which is the seed of a pine or fir (Lex.Pr.). Kukules reads κοικῶναι, cf.

S. Ital. has stínno (Bov.) and ftínno (Otr.) from *ὀπτίνω.

'ὀπτίλ(λ)ος: the Laconian word for 'eye' has persisted into Tsak. (έ)ψιλέ. The sound-change found in Laconian πτίλον > ψίλον, etc., (321) is found in the Tsak. form but not in Laconian in the word under discussion. Possibly the -pt- remained in antiquity through the influence of the form of the word in neighbouring dialects, as at Epidaurus.

"Ὀραμα of NT, also papyri, inscr., remains in E. dialects and Cretan and Tsakonian, often as ὄρομα (LA).

'Ὀρίζω: 'Ὀρίστε from ὀρίζω 'command', originally in a polite request to superiors to order something to be done, is anticipated by κελεύω (and no doubt replaces it) in PGiss. 55.11 (VIP) καταξίωσον κελεύσαι ἀχθῆναι.

Particularly striking anticipations of mod. usage are given by Lampe, who translates the imperative κέλευσον, κελεύσατε by 'please'. This does not bring out the peculiar appositeness of examples like Moschus Pratum 2952B (Ch. 93) a servant who had gone upstairs to announce the arrival of visitors καιῆλθεν λέγων ἡμῖν. κελεύσατε, i.e. 'please come in', also 2988D (Ch. 127), κέλευσον, πάτερ, εἰς τὸν κἀνονα. 'Ὀρίστε can be used in

precisely the same way. So also Vit.Aesop. G 40 κελεύσατε ἀναστῶμεν.

In the LXX κελεύω is rather rare. Its place is taken by other verbs, and of these ἐπίταξον is used in Tobit in just the same way as κέλευσον above. Thus in 3.6 ἐπίταξον ἀναλαβεῖν τὸ πνευμά μου ὅπως ἀπολυθῶ and ἐπίταξον ἀπολυθῆναι με τῆς ἀνάγκης ἥδη εἰς τὸν αἰώνιον τόπον (so versions BA, essentially the same S), 3.15 ἐπίταξον ἐπιβλέψαι ἐπ' ἐμέ καὶ ἐλεῆσαι με, 8.7 ἐπίταξον ἐλεῆσαι με the contexts allow no other interpretation; so even 3.13 BA εἰπὸν ἀπολυσαί με ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς (S εἰπὸν ἀπολυθῆναι με ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς seems more ordinary). In NT κελεύω is never in Marc. or Jo. (ἐπιτάσσω, λέγω) often in Matt. and Act.Ap.

There is a close parallel to the old use of κελεύω in PGiss. and to those of ἐπίταξον in Machairas 350f. ἂν φαίνεται τῆς ἀφεντιᾶς σου, νὰ ὀρίσης νὰ μᾶς τὰ δώσης 'if it please your Lordship, order that you give them to us.'

We have here one of the many remarkable parallelisms in the history of late Greek and late Latin in that iube(te) is used in the same way. Examples are given by A.H. Salonius Vitae Patrum 403 f. from the third book, e.g. magis iubete facere nobiscum aliquantos dies; non enim dimitto vos hodie. He quotes also Anth. Lat. 491.5

(Riese) Asterisque tui semper meminisse iubeto, which was emended to iubetor by Ziehen, as it was bound to be by someone. (Asterius consul 494 A.D.) Note in the VP quotation magis = Fr. mairs and aliquantos for aliquot.

This use must in Mod. come from the katharevusa. A parallel may be pointed out in the καλῶς ἤλθεs and καλῶς σε εὔρον and variations, 'expressions of salutation' quoted by Sophocles, the first from about 400 A.D. We have here the modern greetings καλῶς ὠφείσατε (ἦρθατε) and καλῶς ὄς βρήκαμε of host and visitor, where καλῶς replaces the demotic καλά.

For a med. anticipation of mod. usage note Flor.

1469 'Καλῶς σέ ἦρα, κύρις μου'. 'καλῶς ἤλθε' τὸν λέγει.

In the Poèmes Prodr. κελεύω means 'desire', 'please', I 61 ἢ χάρισον, ἢ πώλησον, ἢ δὸς ὅπου κελεύεις, II 19δ ἂν δὲ κελεύης ἄκουσον, noticeably in 2nd person. So also Vita Aesop. W 66 εἰ κελεύεις, δέσποτα, λούσασθαι.

For κελεύω see also s.v.

'Ὀρμός > Tsak. ὀρμό 'narrow strip of raised land between two fields', presumably from anc. ὀρμος 'cord', supporting anc. statements that the word was so accented in this sense, see Hsch. and final note in LSJ. (Under ὀρμος 'Ankerplatz' in LA.)

'Ὀρμος is differentiated by Ammonius 353 from ὄλμος or ὄλμος. This is early evidence for the change of λ to ρ before consonants, which is normal in demotic. It is to be added to those cited from IIP onwards by Schwyzer I 213, 'esp. before labials'.

Thumb Hell. 192 reported hearing ἀδελφός in Samsun and ἀελφός from a Cappadocian, and suggested that in the koine there were separate λ and ρ areas, both in A.M., λ remaining in the present day NE. Later evidence makes it clear that λ persisted in varying degrees at different localities in A.M., with variations depending on the following consonants and perhaps other considerations.

Costakis Silli 42 says λ changes to ρ before κ, τ, μ. On the other hand ἀμέζω 'milk' is usual, ὄλμος is given for several localities by Dawkins and ἄλμη is given by Andriotis 25 from Pharasa. Forms of ἀδελφός have only λ. In Papadopoulos' lexicon I note for Pontic ἐλπίδα and κόλφος but ἔρκος, ἦρθα or ἦρτα (= ἦλθον, perhaps influenced here and elsewhere, e.g. at Pharasa, by ἐρχομαι). The question for A.M. is clearly separate from that for Greek elsewhere. I have not pursued the matter further.

The definition of ὄλμος as μυρεψικόν σκευός is not supported by Cappad. 'mortar for pounding grain' (Dawkins). Cf. s.v. ὄλμος.

Παιδίσκη μὲν ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἢ τὴν παιδικὴν ἔχουσα ἡλικίαν, ὡς καὶ παιδίσκος, θεράπαινα δὲ ἢ δούλη (Ammonius 378). Παιδίσκη μὲν ἐστὶ ἢ ἐλευθέρα παρ' Ἀττικῶς, παῖς δὲ ἢ δούλη (380).

NT illustrates Ammonius' warning, in that παιδίσκη is here only = δούλη. It is important that neither δούλη in the ordinary sense nor θεράπαινα occurs in Bauer's Lexikon, nor does παῖς ever mean 'female servant'. (328) An instructive passage is Luc. 12.45 ἐὰν ... ὁ δούλος ... ἀρξῆται τύπτειν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας, illustrating the use of the diminutive for 'girl' rather than 'boy' which is found e.g. in puella (puer, Mädchen) (Knabe, (329) and also the change 'boy' > 'slave', at first of young slaves, here contrasting with the δούλος who is in charge during the master's absence. (Παιδίσκη LXX as NT.)

'H παῖς occurs only in Luc. 8.51 τὸν πατέρα τῆς παιδός, 54 ἢ παῖς ἔγειρε! It is clear that this is a purism, no longer in living speech, to avoid the κορῶσιον of Matt. 9.24f. and Marc. 5.41f., obviously a popular diminutive, here applied to a girl twelve years old, as Mark v. 42 tells us. This word occurs only in one other context, Matt. 14.11 = Marc. 6.22ff. of Salome. This context is not in Luke, neither in John.

Κόρη is not found in NT, and it is only as 'pupil of the eye' in Bauer's other literature, as also in LXX. It survives, however, in Cappad. as 'girl, daughter', in Pontic as 'girl', 'pupil of the eye', 'doll', also in Cephallonian, and as 'girl' in Makhairas, e.g. 214.14, 386.31. (These not in LA.)

Κόριον survives in Livisi κουρίν, and κορίδιον in Pontic κορίδι(ν), both listed in LA.

Κορῶσιον is not demotic, but is common, esp. in songs, throughout the dialects. The usual words are κορίτσι, with presumably Slav. ending, and also κοπέλλα, of doubtful origin. It was εὐτελές for Pollux II 17 and condemned by Phrynichus 73, who accepted κόριον, κορίδιον, κορίσκη. Photius tells us that Philippides ridiculed it as ξενικόν. It came into use at the time of Philip and Alexander and was called Μακεδονικόν by Sch.B on γ 404. (330) It has a certain isolation especially in the Attic vocabulary, and -ῶσιον belongs largely to the North-West, cf. s.v. κυρῶσιον. As Chantraine Noms 75 observes, it is the only example which 'présente nettement une valeur diminutive'. A reason for its success is suggested by Arr. Epict. 2.1.28 οὐδένα ἔχεις κύριον; οὐκ ἀργύριον, οὐ κορῶσιον, οὐ παιδάριον ...; The normal -ῶριον would have produced an awkward ρ...ρ,

a succession which Greek tended to avoid in ancient times (Schwyzer I 264) as in modern, where λ...ρ is the common result. The only early example of such a -ράριον is Ar. 'σάνδραριον, no doubt an occasional formation, too early for -άριον.

The corresponding terminology for males and for the two sexes together has many points of interest in NT.

Παῖς itself does not occur in Mark, and in John only once, 4.51 λέγοντες ὅτι ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ ζῆ, with variants παιδίον and υἱός, elsewhere in NT Matthew, Luke, Acts, here once of humanity, 20.12 τὸν παῖδα = 9 τις νεανίας, otherwise of David and Jesus as παῖδες of God, which involves theological problems and is of little value for the study of the language of the times. The absence of the word from Mark (apart from 9.21 ἐκ παιδός D.) is highly significant, as he has παιδίον twice where Luke or Matthew have παῖς, 5.40 τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδίου = Luc. 8.51 τὸν πατέρα τῆς παιδός (μορδάσιον in the same context), and 9.24 = Matt. 17.18 παῖς. In this second example ὁ πατήρ τοῦ παιδίου tells Christ that his son has suffered from fits ἐκ παιδιόθεν, the curious illogicality of the παιδίον suffering thus from when he was a παιδίον showing vividly the loss of diminutive sense in the word.

In Matthew and Luke παῖς is either 'child' in age or 'slave' (so surely the παῖδες of Herod in Matt. 14.2), 'son' only Jo. 4.51 if the reading is right (neglecting, as above, the passages where the relationship is to God).

In John the preceding υἱός would mark the meaning. The extent to which παῖς + genitive is really ambiguous in any form of Greek would merit examination. The combination of the senses 'boy' and '(young) slave' is of course common elsewhere, e.g. puer, garçon, Anglo-Indian boy. It no doubt prompted the curious etymology of the Cod. Gud. quoted by Valckenaer, παῖς ὁ ἐπιτήδειος εἰς τὸ παῖεσθαι.

Παιδίον is usually 'infant', 'young child', plur. 'children' in general. Mark's use of the word twice of older children (above) anticipates the modern παιδί 'child'. A still more remarkable anticipation of Mod. is in Jo. 21.5 παιδία, μή τι προσφύγιον ἔχετε; 1 ep. Jo. 2.18 παιδία, ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν, in familiar address, like Eng. 'my lads!', 'boys!', without reference to age, just like παιδιά in Mod., where even the sing. is similarly used, e.g. καλὸ παιδί 'decent sort' even of a woman (denied by one informant).

Παιδίριον apart from being a v.l. in Mt. 11.16 for παιδίους 'children' is used only by Jo. 6.9 ἐστι

παιδάριον ἔν ᾧδε (not in parallels in Synoptics), hardly distinguishable from παιδίον.

The meaning 'child of a parent' is regularly given by τέκνον, used also, with τεκνίον, as an affectionate form of address to others than children. In demotic παιδί has replaced τέκνον.

Παιδάριον is recorded on only a few of the Academy's slips. The lack of distinction between παιδίον and παιδάριον in John is illustrated by Cypriot, where παιδάρικα i.e. παιδάρια (the κ being a normal phonetic development here) is given by Sakellarios as the plural of παιδίον. In Seriphos, however, τὸ παιδάριον is given as = ὁ νεανίας. The word is quoted in a folktale from Thera, and as occurring only in a lullaby at Κρήνη near Smyrna. Παίδαρος = μέγας παῖς, παιδαρέλλι 'street urchin' and a few compounds of παιδαρο- occur occasionally. These words not in LA.)

Τέκνον survives in places, with a strong tendency to be restricted to certain kinds of context, e.g. from Pontic ποιανού πηδιὰ εἴστε, τέκνα μ'; 'whose children are you, my children?', (331) with interesting retention of the common use of τέκνον as a term of address, and differentiation from παιδί, the Bithynian proverb καλὸς γονιὸς κατὰ τέκνα, κακὸς γονιὸς κατὰ τέκνα (καλὸς 'good',

as regularly in Mod.), the Euboean curse τέκνον νὰ μὴν 'πουχτήσης 'may you get no child', a song from Symi with typical doubling of synonyms ἐκάμα δέκνα καὶ παιδί. (332) See also LA.

The reader will be reminded of Caesar's καὶ σὺ, τέκνον, to Brutus in Suetonius.

Παῖξαι: Δωριεὺς διὰ τοῦ ε, ὁ δὲ Ἀττικὸς παῖσαι. καὶ παῖσατε καὶ συμπαίστης διὰ τοῦ σ ἐρεῖς (Phryn. 240).

As Hatzidakis Einleitung 136 stresses, ἔπαιξα and παῖξω ousted the Attic forms in later Greek. The only early example is Crates Com. 27 (not 23), where the reading has been suspected, λ. ἔπαιζον for ἔπαιξαν Kock. It is very important that Maysen I ii 133 knows only one ex. of such an ε for σ, PSI 445.17 κατέπαιξε from III^a. The aor. is notoriously rare in Attic itself. Hdt. has ἔπαισα.

In Mod. the aor. is ἔπαιξα in demotic and so also Pontic and Pharasa, in a region of generally Ionic colouring.

Παιπάλη does not seem to be mod., and even in anc. was replaced by πασπάλη. There can be little doubt that they are forms of the same word (Schwyzer 423), though this is not stated by Frisk. If we assume the