

Bartoněk, Antonín

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ANTONÍN BARTONĚK

## ATTIC-IONIC DIALECTS RECLASSIFIED

The Attic-Ionic group of the ancient Greek dialects is generally divided, as the very name already indicates, into the *Attic* partial dialectal group and the *Ionic* partial dialectal group. Within the frame of Ionic we usually distinguish the following sub-dialects: *Euboean*, the *Ionic of the Cyclades*, and the *Ionic of Asia Minor* (the above division we find e.g. in *Schwyzler*, GG I 86 sqq., in *Bechtel*, GD III 30, *Buck*, GD<sup>3</sup> 10, and in *Thumb-Scherer* 247 sq.).

Attic and the Ionic of Asia Minor have both literary and inscriptional documentation, Ionic of the Cyclades and of Euboea only inscriptional. Remarkably extensive *literary* documents of Attic supply us with a good basis for thorough investigation of this dialect, particularly with respect to the prosaic authors of the Classical Era, nevertheless, we have to keep in mind all the time that we have to deal with a stylized language, whose character often prevents us in finding *quite precisely* what the actual condition of the spoken language was like, what actual features it possessed in one place or other, in one stage or other of its linguistic development, a language which only exceptionally betrayed recent linguistic tendencies and their realizations. If we therefore stated above that the literary Attic texts have equipped us with a reliable basis for thorough knowledge of Attic, we meant by it only the fact that they enabled us to get acquainted with this stylized and chronologically more or less undeterminable language, while they did not inform us about what concrete Attic was like at a certain time limit, or what further local differences existed in it. Thus it is rather the *inscriptional* material that serves as a guide of our effort to get to know the real linguistic development of the Attic dialect, although, to be sure, neither this material supplies us with a sufficiently differentiated picture of the actual linguistic situation in the entire Attic territory. Yet, we must grant that the inscriptional documentation in Attic goes back to the most distant past among all the Attic-Ionic dialects: the Attic inscription from Dipylon (IG I suppl. 492a = Schw. App. I 1), dating from about 725 B.C., is at the same time the most ancient Greek alphabetic document at all. The succeeding centuries dispose of progressively more and more ample Attic inscriptional documentation, so that the conditions for investigating the Attic dialectal development belong to the relatively most favourable.

The possibility of following the development of the *Ionic of Asia Minor* is not so good. It is true that here we meet with rich *inscriptional* material coming from different areas of Ionia of Asia Minor and the adjoining islands (such as Samos, Chios), from the 7th cent. onward. In contrast to Attic, however, the *literary* Ionic is not so helpful to us as its Attic counterpart in spite of the reserve we mentioned above. The language of the Ionic archaic epical poetry, represented above all by Homer, contains too many heterogeneous elements to make full use of it for a lin-

guistic confrontation with the inscriptions; and likewise later literary Ionic—the prose including—is often not in conformity with the linguistic picture that we can reconstruct from the contemporary inscriptions, the literary language generally representing a very highly stylized system of communication, pervaded with numerous Homeric elements on the top of it, especially in poetry. Besides we cannot underestimate even the fact that Ionia of Asia Minor was a rather extensive territory, with many significant political centres (in comparison with the distinctly central position of Athens in Attica), and that is why the comparatively favourable conditions of disposing of inscriptions of different dating, prevailing in Ionia as a whole, cannot be said to have existed in all the respective Ionic areas and single communities in Asia Minor to an equal degree. In addition to it we have to consider the fact that the Ionic of Asia Minor seems to have been strongly affected as early as in the 5th cent. B.C. by distinct levelling tendencies that evidently overlaid to a large extent the foregoing local differences, mentioned by Herodotus<sup>1</sup> [a) Miletus, Myus, Priene; b) Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea; c) Chios, Erythrae; d) Samos]. Thus the comparative linguistic uniformity of the Ionic of Asia Minor, as we can perceive it in inscriptions from Ionia and the adjoining islands, is, in fact, more an attribute of a certain supradialectal linguistic formation, which became the favourite usage primarily of the higher social classes in Ionic Asia Minor and was founded maybe on the subdialect of Miletus (coinciding with a strong influence from Attica)<sup>2</sup>, than a feature of an assumed univocal Ionic of Asia Minor that would have been spoken by the entire population of Ionia without discrimination. An only deviation from this uniform picture presented by the inscriptions is associated with the northern Ionic area adjoining the Aeolian part of Asia Minor, where we can detect traces of Aeolic influence (Chios, Erythrae, and also Phocaea, as well as the Samian colony Perinthos)<sup>3</sup>.

This fact is also in full accord with the historical reports about Ionization of some originally Aeolian towns in this area, e.g. Smyrna, which according to Herodotus (I 150) was later conquered and colonized by the Ionians of Colophon. On the other hand, there are no traces in the extreme southern part of Ionia of any Doric linguistic admixture.

The discussion of the difficulties connected with further interior disintegration of these two Attic-Ionic dialects may be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, also to the Ionic of the Cyclades and Euboea (Euboean should be extended also to Oropus in North Attica). And it is primarily in the Cyclades that the local total number of preserved inscriptions (the 7th cent. B. C. to begin with), less numerous than in Ionia, is not evenly distributed among the single islands. At the same time the possibility of further interior disintegration is admissible not only owing to the insular character of the whole area, but it seems to be also indicated by the concrete fact that Naxos, Ceos, and Amorgos dispose of documents with a rather late accomplishment of the phonological change  $\bar{a} > \bar{\alpha} > \bar{\epsilon}$ , whereas the same phenomenon cannot be identified in the other Cycladean islands<sup>4</sup>. (On the other hand, to be sure, the considerable geographical distance between Ceos and Naxos, and particularly Amorgos,

<sup>1</sup> Her. I 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Thumb-Scherer* 246.

<sup>3</sup> *Schwyzler*, GG I 86.

<sup>4</sup> *A. Bartoněk*, *Development of the Long-Vowel System in Ancient Greek Dialects*, Prague 1966 pp. 99ff.

permits of the possibility that the radius of action of the above-mentioned phenomenon was wider than the direct documentation indicates.)

In the Ionic of Euboea the unevenly distributed documentation of the single localities results in an additional difficulty, connected with the influence of adjoining Boeotian: the degree of this influence may have varied with the localities, and today we are incapable of determining more precisely these local differences. As for the possibility of further interior classification of Euboean, we may point out a significant and safely ascertained peculiarity of the Euboean dialectal territory, i.e. the rhotacism of the intervocalic *-s-* documented in Eretria and the near-lying Oropus. To be sure, we have to own up that we do not know whether the phenomenon had not a wider geographical spread than it appears, for even in the localities in

	Attica	Euboea	Cyclades	Asia Minor
<i>Phonology</i>				
1 $-\bar{\alpha}, -\bar{\epsilon}, -\bar{\iota}, \times -\rho\eta, -\acute{\epsilon}\eta, -\acute{\iota}\eta$	$-\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}...$	$-\rho\eta...$	$-\rho\eta...$	$-\rho\eta...$
2 $\bar{u} > \bar{u}$	+ <sup>5</sup>	—	+	+
3 $\epsilon\omicron > \omicron\upsilon$	+	— (later <i>εϋ</i> )	—	—
4 $-\eta\iota, -\omega\iota > -\epsilon\iota, -\omicron\iota$	— ( <i>-ει</i> later)	+	— ( <i>ορ-η, -ω</i> )	— ( <i>ορ-η, -ω</i> )
5 $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma > \xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\varsigma \times \xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$	$\epsilon$	$\epsilon$	$\epsilon\acute{\iota}$	$\epsilon\acute{\iota}$
6 <i>h</i> -disappeared	—	—	—	+
7 <i>-s-</i> $> -\rho-$	—	+	—	—
8 $t(h)j, k(h)j, tw >$	$\tau\tau$	$\tau\tau$	$\sigma\sigma$	$\sigma\sigma$ ( <i>Π</i> )
9 $\rho\sigma > \rho\varrho$	+	+	—	—
<i>Morphology</i>				
10 Dat. Plur. of $\bar{a}$ -stems	$-\alpha\iota\varsigma$	$-\alpha\iota\varsigma$	$-\eta\iota\sigma\upsilon\upsilon$	$-\eta\iota\sigma\upsilon\upsilon$
11 Gen. Sing. of Masc. $\bar{a}$ -stems	$-\omicron\upsilon$	$-\epsilon\omega, -\omicron$	$-\epsilon\omega, -\omega$	$-\epsilon\omega, -\omega$
12 Gen. Sing. of <i>i</i> -stems	$-\epsilon\omega\varsigma$	$-\iota\omega\varsigma$	$-\iota\omega\varsigma$	$-\iota\omega\varsigma$
13 Doric Future in $-\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$	+	—	—	—
14 Short-vowel forms of the Subj. of the <i>s</i> -Aor.	—	+	+	+
15 Inf. Act. of athem. verbs	$\nu\alpha\iota$	$-\nu$	$\nu\alpha\iota$	$\nu\alpha\iota$
16 Dual disappeared	—	+	+	+
<i>etc.</i>				
17 $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\varsigma \times \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\varsigma$	$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\varsigma$	$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\varsigma$	$\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\varsigma$	$\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\varsigma$
18 $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma \times \delta\kappa\omega\varsigma$	$\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$	$\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$	$\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$	$\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma$
19 $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\zeta\omega\upsilon\upsilon \times \mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\zeta\omega\upsilon\upsilon$	$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\zeta\omega\upsilon\upsilon$	$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\zeta\omega\upsilon\upsilon$	$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\zeta\omega\upsilon\upsilon$	$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\zeta\omega\upsilon\upsilon$
20 $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha \times \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha$	$\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$	$\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha$	$\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$	$\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$
21 $\delta\pi\omicron\upsilon \times \delta\pi\omicron\iota$	$\delta\pi\omicron\upsilon$	$\delta\pi\omicron\iota$	$\delta\pi\omicron\upsilon$	$\delta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron^6$
22 $-\acute{\omega}\nu\delta\eta\varsigma$ documented	—	+	—	—

<sup>5</sup> The sign + means that the linguistic process in question was most probably accomplished, the sign — means that it was not accomplished before 350 B. C.

<sup>6</sup> In the line No. 21 we take into account only the difference between the suffixal *-οι* and *-οι* (concerning the difference between *-π-* and *-κ-* see No. 18).

question this change cannot be always demonstrated. Thus we believe that, be it as it will, we shall not run the risk of a great mistake if we go on considering the rhotacism of Eretria and Oropus as well as the comparatively late culmination of the vocalic change  $\bar{a} > \bar{\alpha} > \bar{\epsilon}$  in Ceos, Naxos, and Amorgos as more or less general Euboean or Cycladean phenomena.

If we are now to approach a more detailed analysis of the mutual relations between the single Attic-Ionic dialects, it will be necessary first to undergo a thorough investigation of the entire differentiation linguistic material, and then select such phenomena as will appear really important from the differentiation point of view with regard to the time of ca. 350 B. C<sup>7</sup>.

We shall now try to evaluate these differentiation phenomena in two ways: A) we shall consider what degree of conformity there exists with respect to them between the single dialects in question, B) how the same dialects differ from one another as far as the same differentiation phenomena are concerned:

#### A) Conformities

A isolated	8	E isolated	7	C isolated		M isolated	2
A + E	5	E + A	5	C + A		M + A	
A + C		E + C		C + E		M + E	
A + M		E + M		C + M	5	M + C	5
A + E + C	2	E + A + C	2	C + A + E	2		
A + E + M		E + A + M				M + A + E	
A + C + M	7			C + A + M	7	M + A + C	7
		E + C + M	8	C + E + M	8	M + E + C	8

#### B) Differences

A ≠ E:	≠ E only	7	E ≠ A:	≠ A only	8	C ≠ A:	≠ A only	8	M ≠ A:	≠ A only	8
	≠ E, C			≠ A, C			≠ A, E	5		≠ A, E	5
[15]	≠ E, M		[15]	≠ A, M		[13]	≠ A, M		[15]	≠ A, C	
	≠ E, C, M	8		≠ A, C, M	7		≠ A, E, M			≠ A, E, C	2
A ≠ C:	≠ C only		E ≠ C:	≠ C only		C ≠ E:	≠ E only	7	M ≠ E:	≠ E only	7
	≠ C, E			≠ C, A			≠ E, A	5		≠ E, A	5
[13]	≠ C, M	5	[12]	≠ C, M	5	[12]	≠ E, M		[14]	≠ E, C	
	≠ C, E, M	8		≠ C, A, M	7		≠ E, A, M			≠ E, A, C	2
A ≠ M:	≠ M only	2	E ≠ M	≠ M only	2	C ≠ M:	≠ M only	2	M ≠ C:	≠ C only	
	≠ M, E			≠ M, A			≠ M, A			≠ C, A	
[15]	≠ M, C	5	[14]	≠ M, C	5	[2]	≠ M, E		[2]	≠ C, E	
	≠ M, E, C	8		≠ M, A, C	7		≠ M, A, E			≠ C, A, E	2

From our survey of *conformities* the following conclusions can be drawn:

A1. A characteristic feature of Attic is a large percentage of phenomena restricted to this dialect only (8 of 22), while it is the innovations and selective tendencies that seem to be the most conspicuous here and betray the independent development of Attic. There are quite a number of phenomena that it has in common with Euboean (mostly selective features<sup>8</sup>, or, on the contrary, jointly with the Cyclades and Asia

<sup>7</sup> Concerning the criteria of selecting the Old Greek linguistic phenomena for the statistical classificatory evaluation see *A. Bartoněk*, *Classification of the West Greek Dialects*, Amsterdam 1971, in print.

<sup>8</sup> Concerning the term "selective features" see *F. R. Adrados*, *La dialectología griega como fuente para el estudio de los migraciones indoeuropeas en Grecia*, *Acta Salmaticensia, filos. y letras* V 3, Salamanca 1952, pp. 27 ff.

Minor (in this case we have to deal to a large extent with archaizing tendencies, i.e. genetically irrelevant). A small number of features links Attic with Euboea and the Cyclades (in one of the two cases in question we can identify a pronounced archaism [No 4.]).

These characteristics make of Attic a dialect of doubtlessly very independent life in the advanced stage of its post-colonization development and with some distinct relations to the Euboean area traceable back to the archaic period (the Euboean-Attic conformity surely antedates the Classical Era at least with respect to items Nos. 5 and 8). In contrast to it, the Attic relations to the Cyclades and to the Ionic of Asia Minor are of small significance for a determination of the later development of Attic, due to their rather archaic character; the only exception is the Attic-Cycladean-Asian conformity in the accomplishment of the change  $\ddot{u} > \ddot{u}$  occurring in the 2nd quarter of the 1st millennium B.C. (Euboea evidently stayed apart here, owing to its rather peripheral geographical position in the Ionic dialectal world). Noteworthy is the fact that none of the ascertained conformities links Attic either only with the Cyclades or only with the Ionic of Asia Minor.

2. A similar impression is produced also by Euboean. Also this dialect is characterized by a great number of specific features undocumented in other parts of the Attic-Ionic world (7 of 22); also these features bear much more often marks of the innovation or selective character than archaic. And, on the other hand, numerous archaizing conformities are to be found with the Cyclades and Asia Minor. Five Attic-Euboean conformities (predominantly selective) and two Attic-Euboean-Cycladean conformities have already been discussed under 1. At the same time neither Euboean is linked by any of the relations ascertained by us with either only the Cyclades or only with Asia Minor. This fact is of some significance particularly when compared to the existence of the five rather outstanding and mostly selective conformities linking Attic with Euboean (chiefly items 5, 8, 9), of which at least some are no doubt parts of wider continuous isoglosses (particularly 5: the origin of *tt* from *thj* in the frame of the geographic Attic-Euboean-Boeotian isogloss). Two isolated Attic-Euboean-Cycladean conformities (one of them is a distinct archaism) can hardly change the essential character of this picture.

3. The most conspicuous characteristic feature of Cycladean is the fact that so far we have not been able safely to ascertain a single phenomenon that would be restricted about 350 B.C. to Cycladean only, while from the more ancient times we can point out just the above mentioned delay in accomplishing the change  $\bar{a} > \acute{a}$ , still demonstrable in Naxos, Keos, and Amorgos in the 1st half of the 5th cent. B.C. The investigated Cycladean phenomena have, in fact, very often an archaic character: in our survey we come across only one really significant innovation, i.e. the change  $\ddot{u} > \ddot{u}$ , which evidently spread from Asia Minor by way of the Cyclades, missing Euboea (on the other hand, the absence of the dual is not of any great importance, due to the not too plentiful inscriptional material in the Cyclades).

If we are to ascribe our registered Cycladean conformities any positive value at all, we must admit that the only thing worth pointing out is the fact that of the 22 ascertained cases there are twenty in which Cycladean agrees with the Ionic of Asia Minor either alone or together with Attic or Euboean. (The two other instances, which represent the Cycladean-Attic-Euboean conformity, were already discussed under 1 and 2.) Cycladean therefore appears to be a dialect extremely akin to the Ionic of Asia Minor, with a minimum of such relations to Attic and Euboean as would not find counterparts in the Ionic of Asia Minor.

4. In our survey of the Ionic phenomena from Asia Minor we find but very few items that are restricted to this dialect only (there are in fact only two: in one case it is a significant innovation, i.e. the liquidation of the consonant *h*, in the other case we have to deal with a selective preference of a velar to a labial). The abundant relations of Asia Minor to other Attic-Ionic dialects, which naturally complement the above-mentioned fact, are amply evident if we consider the already alluded to 20 conformities with Cycladean, while 7 of these 20 items link in addition the two dialects with Attic and 8 with Euboean. Nevertheless, a considerable number of archaizing values, characterizing particularly these relations between Asia Minor, the Cyclades, and Attica on the one hand, and Asia Minor, the Cyclades, and Euboea on the other hand, indicate that the innovation tendency was most likely not a prominent feature of the post-colonization contact of the Ionic of Asia Minor with Attic or Euboean. This character of the Ionic of Asia Minor in its relation to the other Attic-Ionic dialects fully corroborates our above statement, i.e. that the Ionic of Asia Minor and that of the Cyclades appear to be in the light of our present knowledge very closely affiliated.

Likewise the survey of *differences* among the Attic-Ionic dialects induces us to draw several conclusions:

B1. While Attic and Euboean is separated from all the other Attic-Ionic dialects by a considerable number of investigated phenomena (every time at least by 12, which means more than 50%), the same may be said about Cycladean and the Ionic of Asia Minor only in relation to Attic and Euboean. The differentiation between Cycladean and the Ionic of Asia Minor is only minimal (cf. A 3—4), which again points to a very close mutual relation of these two sub-dialects.

2. This is connected also with the fact that in the Ionic of Asia Minor the number of specific peculiarities isolating this dialect from the rest of its kindred group is restricted to two cases only—in contrast to 8 specific and exclusive peculiarities in Attic and 7 in Euboean; as for Cycladean, such a specific, exclusively Cycladean phenomenon is not to be found at all in the investigated material. This ascertainment, to be sure, does not tell us anything very positive about the relation between Attic and Euboean, nevertheless, it again clearly mirrors the exceptionally close relationship between Cycladean and the Ionic of Asia Minor.

3. All the identified differences between Attic and Euboean (15 in number) are such as to make every time one of the two dialects land in isolation. As for the other pairs of Attic-Ionic dialects, this high percentage is as a rule not so characteristic. Let us consult the following Table:

of 15 Euboean-Attic differences there are	15 cases (100%) of this kind
of 13 Attic-Cycladean differences there are	8 cases (60%)
of 15 Attic-Asia Minor differences there are	10 cases (66%)
of 12 Euboean-Cycladean differences there are	7 cases (60%)
of 14 Euboean-Asia Minor differences there are	9 cases (65%)
of 2 Cycladean-Asia Minor differences there are	2 cases (100%).

Irrespective of the last item, whose high percentage is not too convincing, due to the far too small number of Cycladean-Asia Minor differences, the value of 100% for the Attic-Euboean differences is really conspicuous and testifies in favour of a bipolar crystalization of the Attic-Euboean relations. Considering the above data we feel inclined to express the hypothesis that the kernel of this crystalizing process—

whether in Attic or Euboean—dates more probably from some later periods. This, to be sure, would contradict the traditional scheme, dividing Attic-Ionic from the genetical point of view into Attic on the one hand and Euboean, Cycladean, and the Ionic of Asia Minor on the other hand. Thus the differences between Attic and Euboean do not appear to be for the most part so ancient as to enable us to assume at any far remote period closer genetic relations of Cycladean and the Ionic of Asia Minor to Euboean than to Attic.

On the basis of our analysis of the Attic-Ionic conformities and differences we feel compelled to declare the traditional, on the whole mechanical division of the Attic-Ionic dialectal group into two sub-groups, i.e. the Attic and the Ionic [while the latter sub-group is generally sub-divided into the West-Ionic (Euboean) dialect, the Cycladean dialect, and that of Asia Minor] as rather inaccurate for the following reasons:

a) The mutual relation between Cycladean and the Ionic of Asia Minor appears to be so close—when compared with Attic and Euboean—that Cycladean makes the impression of being more or less a sort of sub-dialectal variant of the Ionic of Asia Minor, a variant that may have varied in details from island to island; our own characterization of the Cycladean differentiation phenomena concerns naturally the best documented Cycladean sub-dialects, particularly Naxos, Keos, and Amorgos. The objection that Cycladean seems to be so little different from the Ionic of Asia Minor just on account of its reduced documentation may be partly refuted—though not altogether—by pointing to a similar, not quite satisfactory documentation of Euboean, which can be in spite of it distinctly differentiated from all the other Attic-Ionic dialects.

b) The considerable independence of Euboean dialect within the Attic-Ionic dialectal group does not justify us, in our opinion, in assuming a greater dialectal distance between Euboean and Attic than between Euboean and the Ionic of Asia Minor. And thus—if we wish to maintain for practical reasons the traditional term “Attic-Ionic” refusing to replace it by merely “Ionic”—we should, as a matter of fact, interpret this designation as an abridgement of “Attic-Euboean-Ionic” (with the omission of the middle member) and not as copulative combination of “Attic + Ionic”. We should therefore put it on a level with the term “Indo-European” and look upon it as upon a geographic abbreviation for those Greek dialects which stretch from the maternal Attica across the Aegean islands to Ionia (from the historical point of view the English term “Attic-Ionic” appears to be more correct than the German “ionisch-attisch”, the French “ionien-attique”, the Czech “ionsko-attický”, and so forth). The fact that sometimes even in ancient texts the Ionians and the Athenians are contrasted does not of necessity mean that there existed a greater dialectal affinity of the inhabitants of Euboea and the Cyclades with the Ionians of Asia Minor than with the inhabitants of Attica; the more probable explanation would be that the historically central position of Attica in the ethnical diaspora of the Ionians may have resulted from the beginning of the colonization era in denoting the dialect of this centre by a special geographical term, whereas the wider, historical designation of “Ionians” got reduced to those Ionians who had either resided outside Attica before or emigrated from Attica during the colonization process.

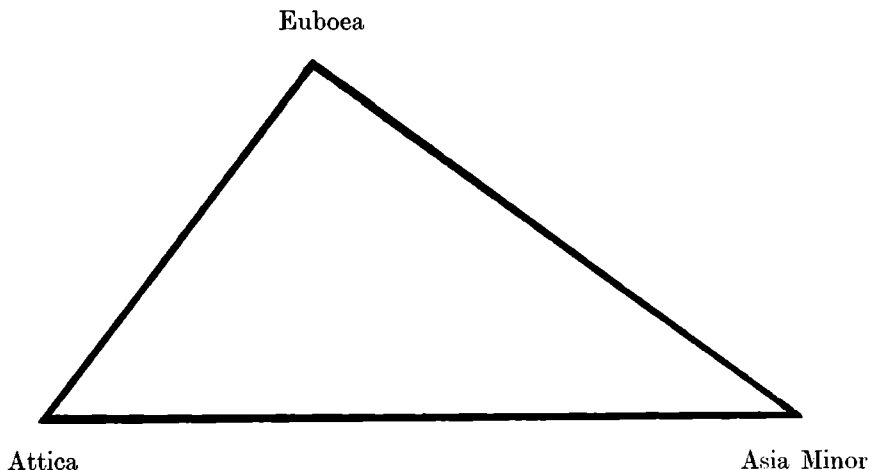
Thus Attic, Euboean, and the Ionic of Asia Minor (together with Cycladean) appear about 350 B.C. as distinctly individualized Attic-Ionic dialects. The appropriateness of such tripartite interior dismemberment of the Attic-Ionic dialectal



group finds support also in our adapted table of conformities, in which we have not registered Cycladean as an independent dialect, attaching it directly to the Ionic of Asia Minor, since we interpret the Cycladean  $\delta\pi\omega\zeta$  and the existence of the Cycladean *h*- as sub-dialectal deviations:

A	8 (1, 3, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19)	E	7 (2, 4, 7, 15, 20, 21, 22)
A=E	7 (5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 17, 18)	E=A	7 (5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 17, 18)
A=M	7 (2, 4, 7, 15, 20, 21, 22)	E=M	8 (1, 3, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19)
M			
7 (5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 17, 18)			
M=A			
7 (2, 4, 7, 15, 20, 21, 22)			
M=E			
8 (1, 3, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19)			

Nevertheless, we do not believe that Euboean played the part of a sort of middle member between Attica and Asia Minor. Approximately the same number of relations between Asia Minor and Euboea, on the one hand, and Asia Minor and Attica, on the other hand, gives namely Euboea certain eccentric position, analogical to the position of Attic and Ionic of Asia Minor, which, after all, corresponds with the geographic situation of Euboea as well as with its dialectal connections with Boeotia. The relations of these three dialects could best be reproduced by the following triangle:



The Euboean point is nearer to that of Attic because the existence of several significant innovations or selective conformities linking Euboea with Attica only — especially when confronted with the predominantly rather archaizing conformities of Euboea with Asia Minor — make classical Euboean more closely connected with Attic than with the Ionic of Asia Minor.

*Translated by S. Kostomlatský*

## POKUS O REKLASIFIKACI IONSKO-ATTICKÝCH DIALEKTŮ

Na základě statistického rozboru ionskoattických shod a rozdílů se jeví nutným upravit dosavadní, celkem mechanické rozdělování ionsko-attické nářeční skupiny na dvě podskupiny, attickou a ionskou (příčemž druhá z těchto podskupin bývá členěna na subdialekt západoionský [eubojský], středoionský [kykladský] a východoionský [malosijský]), jako dosti nepřesné, a to z těchto důvodů:

a) Vzájemný vztah mezi kykladštinou a malosijskou ionštinou se zdá tak těsný, že je třeba jej raději chápat — ve srovnání s attičtinou a eubojštinou — spíše jako jakousi subdialektní variantu malosijského ionského dialektu, která konec konců mohla mít v detailech různou podobu od ostrova k ostrovu. Námitka, že se nám kykladština jeví tak málo diferencovaná od malosijské ionštiny právě proto, že je v zásadě méně dobře doložena, lze zeslabit — i když nikoli zcela likvidovat — poukazem na obdobné, nepříliš dostačující doložení eubojštiny, která je přesto od všech ostatních ionskoattických dialektů výrazně diferencovaná.

b) Značná absolutní samostatnost eubojštiny uvnitř ionskoattické nářeční skupiny nedovoluje podle našeho názoru oddělovat eubojštinu od attičtiny více než od malosijské ionštiny, a proto — pokud se chceme i nadále z praktických důvodů držet nářečního termínu „ionsko-attický“ a nechceme-li říkat prostě jen „ionský“ — bylo by zapotřebí onen termín chápat pouze jakožto zkratku za „ionsko-atticko-eubojský“, a nikoli jakožto kopulativní spojení „ionský + attický“. Měli bychom jej tedy stavět na úroveň termínu „indoevropský“ a považovat jej za více méně geografické označení pro řecká nářečí, kterými se hovořilo „od Attiky až do Ionie“ (z tohoto hlediska je tedy asi anglický termín „Attic-Ionic“ vhodnější než něm. „ionisch-attisch“, franc. „ionien-attique“, české „ionsko-attický“ apod.) To, že bývají někdy v attických textech stavěni do protikladu Athéňané a Ionové, nemusí ještě znamenat u obyvatele Euboje a Kyklad jejich výraznější nářeční shodu s Iony malosijskými než s Attičany, nýbrž spíše jen to, že ústřední historické postavení Attiky v etnické diaspoře Ionů dovolilo patrně — počínaje dobou kolonizační — označovat nářečí tohoto centra *speciálním geografickým* termínem, kdežto *širší a historicky náležitě* označení Ionové se zúžilo na ty Iony, kteří buď již dříve bydleli anebo se nyní alespoň vystěhovali mimo Attiku.

Attičtina, eubojštinu a malosijská ionština (spolu s kykladštinou) se nám tedy jeví kolem r. 350 př. n. l. jakožto navzájem značně vyhraněné ionsko-attické dialekty. Přitom se nedomníváme, že v těchto vzájemných vztazích měla eubojštinu úlohu nějakého přímého středního členu mezi Attikou a Malou Asií. Zhruba stejný počet vztahů mezi Malou Asií a Eubojou na straně jedné a Malou Asií a Attikou na druhé straně staví totiž Euboju do jistého excentrického postavení, obdobného analogickému postavení attičtiny a malosijské ionštiny — tak jak to odpovídá geografické poloze Euboje, a zejména jejímu těsnému sousedství s Bojotii. Vztahy těchto tří ionsko-attických dialektů lze si nejlépe představovat v podobě trojúhelníka otlaštěného na str. 156. Eubojštinu jsme tam zakreslili blíže attičtiny proto, že existence několika závažných inovačních, příp. elektivních shod pojmích Euboju pouze s Attikou — zvl. v konfrontaci s poměrně dosti archaizačním zabarvením shod eubojsko-malosijských — staví eubojštinu historického období blíže k Attice než k ionskému východu.

