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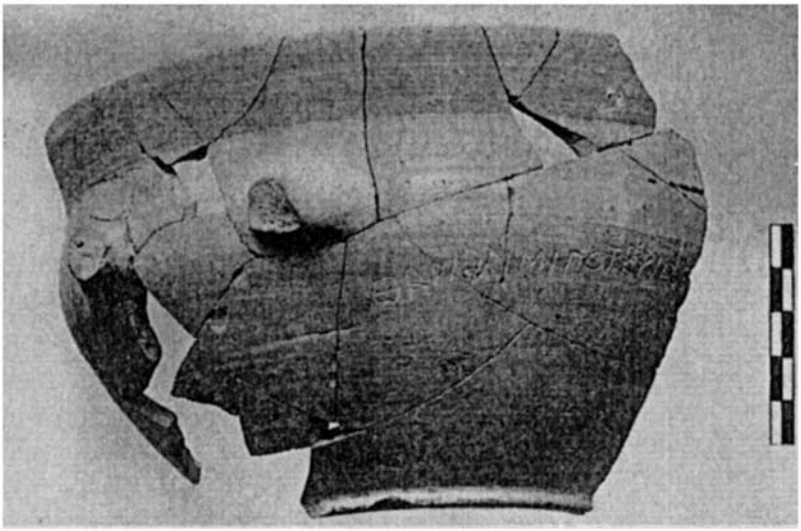

Cup: Athens, *c.* mid-7 c. B.C.
Θαρίο εἰμὶ ποτέριον (see pp. 70 f., 73, 75)

Library notice: Athens, ? early 2 c. A.D.
βυβλίον οὐκ ἐξενεχθήσεται, ἐπεὶ ὠμόσαμεν.
ἀνυγήσεται ἀπὸ ὥρας πρώτης μέχρι ἕκτης.
(See pp. 68, 81 and n. 51)

[*Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.*]

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A GUIDE TO THE PRONUNCIATION OF CLASSICAL GREEK

BY

W. SIDNEY ALLEN

Professor Emeritus of Comparative Philology in the University of Cambridge

Third edition

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Je ne croy pas qu'il y ait personne qui ne voye quelle misère c'est de ne rien comprendre en cette Langue que par les yeux.

(C. LANCELOT, *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre facilement la Langue Grecque*)

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FOREWORD TO THE THIRD EDITION

The need for a further reprinting of this book provides the opportunity for making a number of additions and amendments.

In the foreword to the first edition I referred to the desideratum of a 'New Meisterhans' to provide fuller documentation of the Attic inscriptional material; and in a supplementary note to the second edition I mentioned that the Harvard dissertation of Leslie Threatte raised hopes that this need might be met in the near future. These hopes have since been amply fulfilled by the publication in 1980 of Part I (Phonology) of Threatte's *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*. As a result it is now possible to describe a number of phonetic changes with greater detail and accuracy than hitherto, and a majority of the revisions make reference to this work. In this respect at least the present edition may be considered more definitive than its predecessors.

Since the second edition there has also appeared the work by Sven-Tage Teodorsson, *The Phonemic System of the Attic Dialect 400–340 B.C.* (1974), which was followed by his *The Phonology of Ptolemaic Koine* (1977) and *The Phonology of Attic in the Hellenistic Period* (1978) (= Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 32, 36, 40). Teodorsson's extensive collection of material is of particular value in regard to orthographic variation; but his interpretation of the variants is often surprising, leading as it does to the conclusion that by the mid-4th century B.C. the vowel system of Attic was already virtually that of modern Greek. Teodorsson gives more weight to relatively infrequent 'progressive' variants than to more numerous 'conservative' forms, taking the view that the latter represent the speech of only an educated minority. He has to recognize, however (1977, p. 256), that this was the standard of Attic administration and of the Attic Koine adopted by peoples outside Attica: only thus is he able to explain the fact (p. 257) that 'some of the phonological changes that had already taken place in Attic

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before Alexander were accomplished only one or two centuries later in Egypt'. No one would deny the existence of linguistically conservative minorities or the tendency of orthographies themselves to be conservative; but it is possible to overvalue the evidence of occasional variants, which may have a number of explanations, including dialectal influence; and some of Teodorsson's arguments are of dubious validity. This is not the place for a detailed critique of his views; but I find myself largely in agreement with the opinions of C. J. Ruijgh in his review of Teodorsson's first-mentioned book, in *Mnemosyne* 31 (1978), pp. 79–89.

I have also now added an appendix on the names of the letters of the Greek alphabet, to provide a parallel and a historical background to the similar appendix in the second edition of *Vox Latina*.

I am grateful to the C.U.P. for agreeing that the total amount of material additional to the first edition now makes it desirable to incorporate it in the main text, rather than relegate it (as in the second edition) to supplementary notes at the end.* I have in particular revised the section on stress in classical Greek to take account of my more recent thinking on this question. The discussion inevitably requires rather greater technicality than is general in this book; but since it does not significantly affect the practical recommendations (cf. pp. 114 f., 138 f.), it need not unduly concern the less theoretically inclined reader. The chapter on quantity has also been extensively recast.

Cambridge W.S.A.
November 1984

* Forewords to the previous editions are reprinted unamended, but two additional points call for mention. In the discussion of types of evidence in the foreword to the first edition (p. xiii) there should be included under (3) representations of foreign words in Greek; further evidence is also provided by Indo-European comparisons. And for dialectal variation in modern Greek (p. xiv, n. 6) Thumb's information may now be usefully supplemented by that of Newton (see Bibliography).

As in previous editions, works appearing in the Bibliography are referred to by the author's name only, with an identifying letter where necessary; and the two more frequently cited works of the present author simply by *VL* (*Vox Latina*) and *AR* (*Accent and Rhythm*).

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FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

Since this book first appeared a number of further studies relevant to Greek pronunciation have been published or have come to my attention, and the need for a reprinting has provided an opportunity for taking account of these. In the meantime there has also appeared my *Accent and Rhythm* (C.U.P. 1973), which suggests a reinterpretation of various 'prosodic' phenomena (such as syllable, length, and quantity) and further develops the ideas on stress in classical Greek briefly mentioned on pp. 120 ff. of the present work. References to *Accent and Rhythm* are abbreviated as *AR*.

In order to save expense and at the same time to avoid changes in pagination, the new material has been added as a supplement rather than incorporated in the main text (which remains unchanged, with a few minor corrections). An obelus in the margin indicates the existence of a relevant supplementary note.

The Select Bibliography has also been revised and enlarged.

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FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

In its purpose, principles, and general arrangement, the present book forms a companion volume to *Vox Latina* (Cambridge, 1965), to which there are several cross-references (abbr. *VL*). It does not, however, assume a prior reading of the earlier book, and a certain amount of duplication on some of the more general topics is thus inevitable; in particular, the Phonetic Introduction is repeated, though with some modification. A select bibliography is added (apart from detailed references in text and notes, which, though more numerous than in *VL*, are limited to the most relevant studies);[1] as in *VL*, the classificatory arrangement of the contents makes an alphabetical index superfluous—the items most likely to be consulted in such an index would be the individual Greek letters, and full references to the detailed discussion of these are given in the summary of recommended pronunciations; straightforward statements of classical or recommended values are further picked out by underlining in the text.

As in the case of Latin, there prevailed until quite recent years a peculiarly English pronunciation of ancient Greek, which has now been generally superseded by a reform which approximates to that of the original language, but seldom transcends the limitations of native English speech-habits. In some cases there are practical pedagogical advantages in replacing the correct rendering by a more familiar sound; but it is desirable in such cases that the proper value should be known—and this usually is known within limits as narrow as those which apply to our phonetic reconstruction of Latin.

In general the conclusions agree with those of Sturtevant's *Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, and particular attention is paid to any points of difference. A book intended not only for the

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academic scholar but also for the general reader and student is not the place for presenting the results of new and possibly controversial lines of research; it did, however, seem reasonable to incorporate a revised description of the Greek tonal accent, which rationalizes rather than contradicts previous accounts; and also to refer briefly to the results of a study, recently published elsewhere, on stress in ancient Greek, a subject which has hitherto been virtually ignored but which may be particularly relevant to certain metrical phenomena.

In making practical recommendations, realism has seemed a better counsel than perfection, and, with one exception, no revolutionary proposals will be found. The exception concerns our English treatment of the Greek accents, where the balance of argument seemed to favour the abandonment of present practice and the adoption of one which enjoys wider acceptance and better historical precedents. Such a recommendation is, of course, only made after detailed historical, analytical, and practical discussion.

The results of any historical study are only as valid as the evidence upon which they are based; and a major portion of the book is therefore taken up with the presentation and evaluation of this. The principal types of data employed in phonetic reconstruction are: (1) statements by contemporary or near-contemporary grammarians and other writers, (2) word-play of various kinds, contemporary etymologies, and onomatopoeia, (3) representations in other ancient languages, (4) subsequent developments, (5) spelling conventions and variants, (6) the internal structure of the language itself, including its metrical patterns. These are the same classes of evidence as were used for Latin; but in one respect the two tasks of reconstruction are very different. Variations in Latin are largely a function of the time-dimension (early—classical—late), and the time-span of the language is relatively short. At any given period of its life one can say without gross inaccuracy, and more particularly of the written language, that 'Latin is Latin is Latin' regardless of where it is found. The end of its life as a vernacular language is marked by a process of fission

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into a number of progressively diverging dialects which quite soon acquired the status of distinct languages; and the techniques of comparative linguistics often enable us to utilize this diversity to establish the *état de langue* immediately prior to fission.

Greek, on the other hand, presents a very different picture. At the time of our earliest records it is already far advanced in the process of divergence,[2] being represented by a number of widely differing dialects—all certainly recognizable as Greek,[3] but some of them very unlike one another, even at the same period; as Meillet (p. 79) has commented, 'it must have been difficult for Greeks from different cities, speaking different dialects, if not to grasp the general sense, at least to understand one another exactly'.[4] For example, an unsophisticated Attic visitor to Gortys in Crete might well have perused the famous Law Code without it being clear to him that, if he were unfortunate enough to be caught in adultery and remain unransomed, his captors could do with him '*as they pleased*'—in the words of the Code, επι τοις ελονσι εμεν κρεθθαι οπαι κα λειοντι. In some cases, moreover, as Meillet also observed, written forms might conceal yet further differences in speech—θ, for example, in the Cretan κρεθθαι probably stood for a sound unfamiliar to Attic ears.

Later a single form of speech, the 'Koine', becomes dominant, and the other dialects, with rare exceptions (as Laconian), gradually die out. The survivor follows the normal processes of linguistic change,[5] including 'borrowing', but does not itself branch out into a series of new languages—some dialectal variation has of course occurred,[6] but it is relatively slight compared with that of the Romance field, and there is a generally accepted norm.

[2] Even Mycenaean, in spite of its early date, comes nowhere near to representing an undifferentiated 'Proto-Greek'.

[3] Cf. Herodotus, viii. 75: τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον.

[4] Greek sources themselves, however, scarcely refer to the question of mutual (un)intelligibility: as an isolated exception Mr J. B. Hainsworth draws my attention to Pausanias, ix. 22. 3 (referring to Corinna).

[5] So far as the colloquial language is concerned: we are not here concerned with the artificialities of the 'Katharevusa'.

[6] The phonetic details are best studied in Thumb, Part I.

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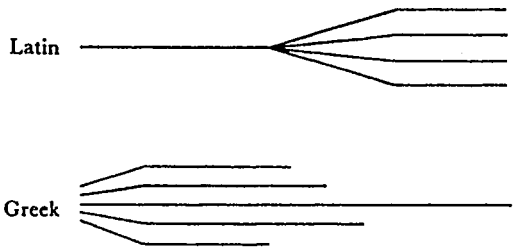
In a much simplified diagram[7] the patterns of development in Latin and Greek, from their earliest attested stages, may be contrasted as follows:



In describing the pronunciation of ancient Greek a choice thus has to be made not only of time but also of place; and, not surprisingly, it is fifth-century Attic that we select as the goal of our inquiry—though, as an aid focusing upon this point in the continuum, we shall often have occasion to refer to other dialects and to earlier and later stages of Attic. It is not of course suggested that literature of other periods and dialects should not be read aloud—but it is assumed that it will be read approximately as it would have been by a fifth-century Athenian; in the case of later literature this is inevitably an artificial procedure, but the differences between fifth- and fourth-century Attic are in any case negligible, and for phonetic purposes both may be included under the cover-term of 'classical Greek'. For later stages a reasonable amount of information is given, so that the purist who is so inclined may take the necessary precautions to avoid anachronism; such information may also be of interest as providing links with the modern language. In one case, however, rather more attention has been paid to a non-Attic form of speech in its own right—namely the Homeric 'dialect', for the reason that an Attic rendering in some respects fails to account for certain metrical

[7] E.g. disregarding phenomena of convergence in Greek, which may have been particularly marked in the period preceding elimination of dialects in favour of the Koine; cf. Chadwick, p. 4.

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peculiarities; it is not proposed that a 'Homeric' pronunciation should be attempted, but sufficient explanation is given to make these phenomena intelligible.

For the Attic inscriptional material I have relied primarily on the examples in Meisterhans–Schwyzer, cross-checked in the *CIA*; but as the *SEG*, *inter alia*, bears witness, a mass of new material is now available, which often provides better examples and evidence for more accurate dating of phonetic changes. I have in some cases been able to incorporate such findings, but until we have a 'New Meisterhans' the exploitation of much of the newer material is a time-consuming and haphazard business.

With regard to inscriptional evidence in general, it should be mentioned that a change of sound must commonly have antedated its first indication in spelling, let alone the general adoption of a new spelling; for, as English orthography most eloquently demonstrates, spelling tends to conservatism and to fossilization by grammarians. For this reason, and also because many changes are likely to have been resisted longer in actual speech in the more literate circles of the community, it is to the less well educated of ancient scribes that we are indebted for much of our knowledge of pronunciation.

I am grateful to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for encouraging me to undertake this further study; to John Chadwick for reading the whole of it in draft and suggesting a number of improvements; and to Professor Homer A. Thompson and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for the photographs facing p. 70 and permission to reproduce them.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Journals, series, etc.

AC	*L'antiquité classique*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AL	*Acta Linguistica*
ArchL	*Archivum Linguisticum*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CHL	*Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* (*Societas Scientiarum Fennica*)
CIA	*Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CP	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
DAWB	*Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
GG	*Grammatici Graeci* (Teubner, 1867–1910: repr. 1965)
GL	*Grammatici Latini* (Teubner, 1857–1880)
HSPh	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
ICPS	*International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*
ICS	*Illinois Classical Studies*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin)
IGA	*Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae* (ed. Roehl)
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
KZ	(*Kuhns Zeitschrift* =) *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*
MF	*Le Maître Phonétique*
MH	*Museum Helveticum*

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NTS	*Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*
PhW	*Philologische Wochenschrift*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RIL	*Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo* (*Cl. di Lettere e Sc. Mor. e Stor.*)
RL	*Richerche linguistiche*
SbAWB	*Sitzungsberichte der k. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.*
SbAWW	*Sitzungsberichte de k. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.*
SC	*Studii Clasice*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SIFC	*Studi italiani di filologia classica*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TCLP	*Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*
TLP	*Travaux Linguistiques de Prague*
TPS	*Transactions of the Philological Society*
WSt	*Wiener Studien*
YClS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZPh	*Zeitschrift für Phonetik*

2. Editions of grammatical and technical works

C	M. Consbruch (Hephaestion, *Enchiridion, cum commentariis veteribus*. Teubner, 1906).
H	A. Hilgard (*Scholia in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam* = *GG*, I. iii) A. Hilgard (Theodosius, *Canones*; Choeroboscus, *Scholia in Theod. Can.*, i = *GG*, IV. i. Choeroboscus, *Scholia*, ii = *GG*, IV. ii).
K	H. Keil (*GL*, I–vii)
L	A. Lentz (Herodianus Technicus = *GG*, III. i/ii)
M	H. S. Macran (Aristoxenus, *Harmonics*. Oxford, 1902)
S	R. Schneider (Apollonius Dyscolus, *Scripta minora* = *GG*, II. i)

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ABBREVIATIONS

U G. Uhlig (Dionysius Thrax, *Ars Grammatica*; *Supplementa Artis Dionysianae vetusta* = *GG*, I. i)
G. Uhlig (Apollonius Dyscolus, *De Constructione* = *GG*, II. ii)

UR H. Usener & L. Radermacher (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Opuscula*, ii. Teubner, 1904–29)

WI R. P. Winnington-Ingram (Aristides Quintilianus, *De Musica*. Teubner, 1963)

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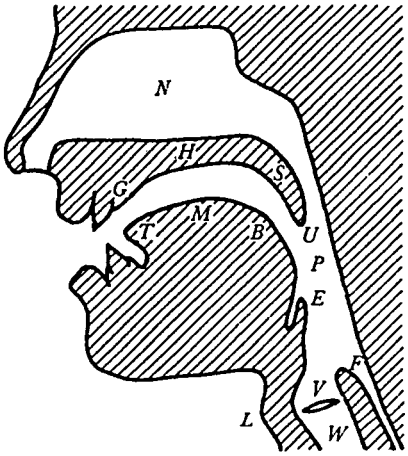

Fig. 1. The organs of speech.

B	Back of tongue	*N*	Nasal cavity
E	Epiglottis (drawn over windpipe when swallowing)	*P*	Pharynx
F	Food-passage	*S*	Soft palate (velum), in lowered position
G	Gums (alveoli)	*T*	Tongue-tip
H	Hard palate	*U*	Uvula
L	Larynx, with 'Adam's apple'	*V*	Vocal cords (glottis)
M	Middle of tongue	*W*	Windpipe

[After Ida C. Ward, *The Phonetics of English*]

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