D. *Gary Miller*

ANCIENT GREEK DIALECTS AND EARLY AUTHORS

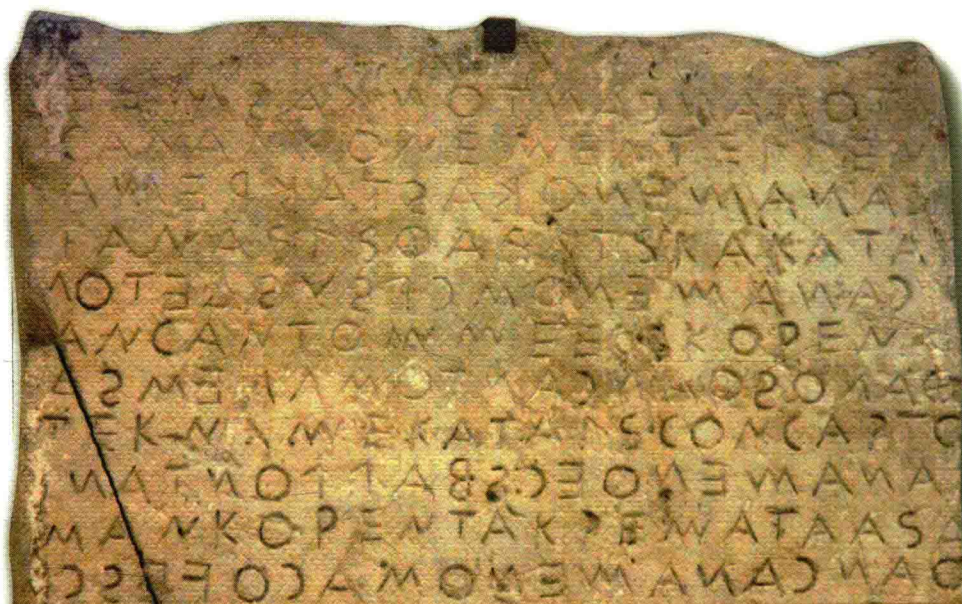## INTRODUCTION TO THE DIALECT MIXTURE IN HOMER, WITH NOTES ON LYRIC AND HERODOTUS

D. Gary Miller

Ancient Greek Dialects and Early Authors

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with Notes on Lyric and Herodotus

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Preface

Purpose and intended audience

When I was teaching Homer, students were in a perpetual quandary about the forms, why they were so different from those they were more accustomed to in Xenophon and Plato. They had no concept of artificial or Aeolic forms and, having read some brief passages from Pindar, thought that some of Homer's forms might be Doric. In an attempt to clear up their confusion, I decided to teach a course in Greek dialects, only to discover that students could not read Buck (which is out of date, anyway) nor any of the more recent works in German or French. Since the recent surveys rarely cite epigraphic texts, I decided to write this book to provide linguistic background to the ancient authors and commentary on both epigraphic and literary dialect texts.

In the meantime, Stephen Colvin's *Historical Greek Reader: Mycenaean to the Koiné* (2007) has appeared. It is a partial updating of Buck but less extensive in epigraphic texts. Its basic nature and lack of detailed discussion or analysis make it valuable for beginning students. Since both of us have selected some of the most representative texts, a little overlap is unavoidable. Still the selections are complementary. Even in cases of rare overlap the information provided differs because our goals are very different. Colvin's goal is to present a historical selection of dialect texts up to and including the Koine. My goal is to concentrate on the oldest epigraphic texts and their relevance to early Greek literature. The six most unique features of this work that distinguish it from Colvin's are (i) an interpretive analysis of the changes in the early history of Greek, (ii) a full analytical history of the Greek vowel system, (iii) the focus on issues germane to the development of the poetic *Kunstsprache* and epic, (iv) discussion of meter and the history of dactylic hexameter, (v) extensive treatment of artificial forms, and (vi) a critical review of the debate over the Aeolic phase hypothesis of stages in the development of epic.

To make this work accessible to students with one year of Greek, all but the simplest words are translated or otherwise provided with discussion. Linguistic terminology is kept to a minimum and explained on its first occurrence or in a crossreferenced section. A certain amount of basic phonetics is presupposed but the core terminology is explained in chapter 26, where the phonetic symbols used in transcriptions of Greek and other languages are also identified. For those seeking additional discussion of the linguistic concepts, references are provided, in particular to my technical treatise on language change (Miller 2010). Indo-European reconstructions are supplied for students who are interested or better equipped in terms of background.

Since technical discussions of meter and linguistic developments can be skipped by students at earlier stages of their training, this book can be read by students at any level, ranging from those with one year of Greek to the most advanced graduate students. As they progress in their Classics and general language training, they will glean successively more information.

Justification

Because of the esoteric nature of the available resources, many of which are in German or French and assume a working knowledge of various ancient languages or a high level of competence in linguistic theory, Classics students at an early stage in their education no longer have access to the leading ideas regarding the development of the oldest genres of literature, poetic conventions, meters, and especially the multilectal and highly artificial nature of Homer / epic, lyric, and tragedy.

Epic is dialectally mixed, with many artificial forms, but Ionic at its core. The proper dialect for elegy was Ionic, even when composed by Tyrtaeus in Sparta or Theognis in Megara, both Doric areas. Choral lyric poets represent the major dialect areas: Aeolic (Sappho, Alcaeus), Ionic (Anacreon, Archilochus, Simonides), and Doric (Alcman, Ibycus, Stesichorus, Pindar). See the overview in Rutherford (2011). Most distinctive are the Aeolic poets. The rest may have a preference for their own dialect (some more than others) but in their Lesbian veneer and mixture of Doric and Ionic forms are to some extent dialectally indistinguishable. All of the ancient authors use a literary language that is artificial from the point of view of any individual dialect. Homer has the most forms that occur in no actual dialect.

For these reasons the study of Ancient Greek dialects and their literary heritage serves as an introduction to the earliest genres of Greek literature. It is a necessary prerequisite for Homer, choral lyric, including that component of Attic tragedy, and for the reading of authors from different dialect areas. Moreover, the Homeric and Hesiodic corpus cannot be understood without a general knowledge of the history of the language and poetic tradition from Mycenaean to contemporaneous Ionic.

Approach

This work targets the language of Homeric epic and tangentially also lyric, including the basis of the conversion conventions among the Attic tragedians. Discussion begins with generalities about Greek dialects and borrowings from

various dialects into Latin, from which numerous Greek words were borrowed into English. The first of the more detailed chapters begins with language and style in the broad sense, leading the reader from familiar uses of language to the (from the usual Classicist's perspective) less known linguistic material. Dialectal texts begin with the most familiar Attic and Ionic, and proceed to the dialects to which students at the outset have less exposure.

By means of dialectally and chronologically arranged illustrative texts, translated and provided with running commentary, some of the early Greek authors are compared against epigraphic records, where available, from the same period and locality, in order to provide an appreciation of —

1. The internal history of the Ancient Greek language and its dialects;
2. The evolution of the multilectal, artificial poetic language that characterizes the main genres of the most ancient Greek literature, especially Homer / epic, with notes on choral lyric and even the literary language of the prose historian Herodotus;
3. The formulaic properties of ancient poetry, especially epic genres;
4. The development of more complex meters, colometric structure, and poetic conventions;
5. The basis for decisions about text editing and the selection of a manuscript alternant or emended form that was plausibly used by a given author.

Acknowledgements

Dating and Other Conventions

Dating

All dates are BCE unless (i) specified CE (Common Era), or (ii) written in ascending order (e.g. 110–240 = 110 CE to 240 CE); 110 BCE to 240 CE is written thus. Dates are given in brackets, e.g. [750], which will be roughly equivalent to [mid c8], more simply, [c8^m], all meaning middle of the eighth century BCE. Most dates are approximate, signalled by [c.] (= *circa* 'about') or equivalent. Following are the dating conventions standardly used in this work:

[c6]	sixth century BCE; as date of first occurrence = begins in the sixth century
[c6$^{1/2}$]	first half of c6
[c6$^{2/2}$]	second half of c6
[c5^4]	fourth quarter of the 5th century
[c8^b]	beginning of the 8th century
[c8^e]	end of c8
[c8^m]	middle of c8
[c7/6]	c7 or c6 (uncertain)
[c7^e/6^b]	same but with narrower range
[240–110]	240 BCE to 110 BCE
[c.750]	around 750 BCE (corroborated by independent evidence)
[?c.750]	the approximate date is not independently verifiable
[a750]	before 750 BCE
[p750]	after 750 BCE
[n.d.]	no date available

Signs and symbols

The following (mostly standard) signs and symbols are employed:

C	consonant
V	vowel
	verb (in the context N noun, A adjective)
R	resonant (liquid /l, r/, nasal /m, n/ or glide /y, w/)
σ	syllable of any weight (traditional *anceps*)
◡	(*breve*) short vowel / light syllable (scansion)

–	(macron) long vowel / heavy syllable (scansion)
|	poetic texts: line division
	epigraphic texts: beginning of a new line
##	verseline boundary: beginning (##...) or end (...##) of a verseline
#	word boundary (signals end of one word and beginning of another)
*	reconstructed (of earlier forms); illformed (of words or sentences)
	after a word: the word is attested but not in the cited form
>	'is realized as', 'becomes' (in historical changes or direction of borrowing)
<	'is derived from' (in historical changes or direction of borrowing)
→	'leads to; results in; is borrowed as'
	x → y = 'x is replaced by y'
⇒	x ⇒ y 'x is transformed into y'
~	'varies with'
=	'is equivalent or identical to'
≠	'is not the same as'
†	with a year, e.g. [†1900] = died (of people)
[ ]	phonetic representations; dates; Indo-European roots
	epigraphic texts: lost letters restored
	e.g. ἀλλ ̣ά ̣: letters damaged but relatively certain
⟦ ⟧	letters erased or overwritten
( )	letters not written; abbreviation
/ /	representation of sounds that are distinctive
	(i.e. that distinguish words)
{ }	epigraphic texts: superfluous letter(s) deleted by the editor

Other conventions

A reference to an ancient work that is unspecified except for a number is to Homer. Passages are cited, e.g. 9.1 (= *Iliad* book 9, line 1) or ix.1 (*Odyssey* book 9, line 1). *Il.* or *Od.* is specified only to avoid ambiguity when other works are previously mentioned.

Since citations from Hansen (1983–1989) are from the early period (vol. i), inscriptions are cited CEG + number, with no volume indicated. Moreover, the 'Chronique d'étymologie grecque' (Blanc et al., various dates) is also standardly abbreviated CEG. To avoid confusion, since both are used in this work, I have arbitrarily elected to abbreviate the latter as CheG.

Most older editions of the early poets use the iota subscript convention for what in early Greek were still long diphthongs, e.g. δήμωι for later, conventional

δήμῳ 'to/for the people'. There is one place where I follow the subscript convention for Homer. That is the subjunctive, e.g. πίῃ 'drinks', because of evidence that older Greek preserved the original long-vowel subjunctive with secondary endings (no -ι). In this case the iota subscript is a heuristic for identifying the subjunctive as it appeared later, but was not in early Greek a long diphthong. The secondary (Attic) ι in θνήσκω (θνᾱ-ίσκ-ω) 'die' (GH i. 317; LIV 145) is also written with the subscript.

Citation of Indo-European roots

The general knowledge of Indo-European assumed here can be found in any of the handbooks. Especially useful are Benjamin Fortson's *Indo-European Language and Culture* (2010) and the more technical *Indo-European Linguistics* by Michael Meier-Brügger et al. (2003).

Because of its ready accessibility, Indo-European roots in the present work are often cited as in Watkins (AHDR) unless otherwise specified. Generally, an older Proto-Indo-European (PIE) form is also provided, sometimes from AHDR and sometimes from other sources, especially Rix et al. (2001), *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (LIV), or Wodtko et al. (2008), *Nomina im indogermanischen Lexikon* (NIL).

Indo-European roots in an entry are cited in brackets, the first from AHDR (unspecified), the second (if present) from LIV, e.g. L *valēre* 'be powerful' [*wal- 'be strong' = *welh-¹ LIV 676 f.]. In many cases, as here, the LIV entry is simply the older PIE form. Since the roots are alphabetized in AHDR, no page reference is necessary unless a specific discussion is referred to. Page numbers are given for LIV roots, which are also alphabetized, but more difficult to locate given the separate listings for palatals, aspirates, specific laryngeals, etc.

Frequently the root in AHDR is a theoretical abstraction and a more specific root form is given by LIV, e.g. L *tum-ē-re* 'to swell' [*teu(h_2)- 'swell', more specifically *twem- LIV 654]. The LIV entry in this case is closer to the protoform of the Latin word in question.

I have taken the liberty of making certain substitutions in the interest of consistency and clarity. For AHDR's obsolete *ə, the appropriate laryngeals (*h_1, *h_2, *h_3 §1.3) have been substituted; *h without a number means that the precise nature of the laryngeal is undetermined. Many of the diacritics in LIV have been altered, especially i/y, u/w for the editors' *i̯, *u̯, e.g. *wyekʷ- (= *u̯i̯ekʷ- LIV 696), *yeug- (= *i̯eu̯g- LIV 316).

When AHDR's "oldest form" and LIV's form is the same, a single form can be cited without reference, e.g. *spek̑- 'observe' for "*spek- 'to observe'. (Oldest form

*speḱ-)" (AHDR 82) = *speḱ- (LIV 575 f.). Sometimes, for simplicity, just the LIV form is cited, e.g. *ǵenh₁- 'beget' instead of AHDR's *genə-. Since AHDR (alone of modern sources) uses *ə and only cites palatals as the "older form", it is clear that *ǵenh₁- (with palatal *ǵ and specified laryngeal) must be from LIV (and/or AHDR's "older form").

Another (perhaps peculiar) convention I have followed is to write the Indo-European aspirates merely as *bh, dh, ǵh, gh, gʷh, except when adjacent to a laryngeal. The zero grade of *deh₃- 'give' is written *dh₃-, but to avoid potential confusion, that of *dheh₁- 'put; make' is written *dʰh₁- with voiced aspirate signaled by superscript h.

For roots not in AHDR or LIV and, more generally, whenever available, another source of background discussion is supplied, preferably in an English-language source. Semitic roots are cited from Huehnergard (2000).

Greek Authors and Their Abbreviations

The list below contains the authors and texts most frequently mentioned and the abbreviations by which they are cited. Other pertinent information, such as traditional dating (sometimes a compromise) and genre, and, where known or relevant, location, is also provided.

Aeschylus	Aesch.	c.524–456	Attic tragedian
Alcaeus	Alc.	c.620–595	Aeolic lyric poet, Mytilene, Lesbos
Alcman	Alcm.	fl. c.615	mixed Doric lyric poet, Messoa, Sparta
Anacreon	Anacr.	c.575–c.488	Ionic lyric poet, Teos
Anaxilas	Anaxil.	c4	Middle Comedy writer
Anaximander	Anax.	c.610–c.546	natural philosopher/astronomer, Miletus
Anaximenes	Anaxm.	fl. c.546	natural philosopher, Miletus
Antiphon	Antiph.	c5	earliest Attic orator
Apollodorus	Apollod.	c1/2 CE	historian of Greek myths
Apollonius Dyscolus	A.D.	c2 CE	grammarian, Alexandria
Archilochus	Archil.	fl. c.660–640	Ionic iambic and elegiac poet, Paros/Thasos
Archimedes	Archim.	c.287–c.212	mathematician/engineer, Syracuse, Sicily
Aristides	Aristid.	129–189 CE	rhetorician
Aristophanes	Aristoph.	c.445–c.380	Old Comedy writer, Athens
Aristotle	Arist.	384–322	Attic prose philosopher/ethicist/rhetorician
Aristoxenus	Aristox.	c4	theorist (esp. on music), Tarentum
Athenaeus	Athen.	c2/3 CE	sophist, Naucratis
Bacchylides	Bacch.	fl. c.467	lyric poet, Ceos
Callimachus	Callim.	c3	epic poet, Cyrene
Callinus	Call.	c7^m	Ionic elegiac poet, Ephesus
Choeroboscus	Choer.	c.600 CE	grammarian, Constantinople
Chrysippus	Chrysipp.	c.280–c.206	Stoic philosopher, Cilicia and Athens
Corinna	Cor.	?c5/3	Boeotian lyric poet, Tanagra
Cratinus	Crat.	c.520–c.419	Old Comedy poet/dramatist, Athens
Democritus	Democr.	c5/4	natural philosopher, Abdera
Demosthenes	Dem.	c.386/4–322	Athenian orator
Dio Cassius	D.C.	155–p229 CE	Roman historian
Diodorus Siculus	D.S.	c1	Greek historian, Sicily

Dionysius	D.H.	fl. c.25	rhetorician/Roman historian, Halicarnassus
Dioscorides	Diosc.	c.40–c.90 CE	medical writer, Anazarbus (Turkey)
Pseudo-Diosc.	Ps.Diosc.	p c1	medical writer
Empedocles	Emp.	c.493–c.444	poet/philosopher/scienist, Agrigentum
Epicharmus	Epich.	c6^e–5^b	comedy writer, Cos and Megara, Sicily
Epicurus	Epicur.	c.341–270	epicurean philosopher, Samos/Athens
Etymologicum Magnum	EM	c12 CE	lexicon
Euclid	Eucl.	fl. c.–300	mathematician / geometrist, Alexandria
Euripides	Eur.	c.480–406	Attic tragedian
Eustathius	Eusth.	c12^2 CE	commentator on Homer etc., Thessalonica
Galen	Gal.	c.131–c.201	medical writer, Pergamum
Greek Anthology	Gk. Anth.	varia	
Hephaestion	Heph.	c2 CE	grammarian / metrician, Alexandria
Heraclitus	Heracl.	c.500	natural philosopher, Ephesus
Hermogenes	Hermog.	b. c.160 CE	rhetorician/historian, Tarsus
Hero(n)das	Hrd.	c.300–250	Ionic iambic mimographer, ?Cos
Herodian	Hdn.	fl. c.160–80 CE	grammarian, Alexandria and Rome
Herodotus	Hdt.	?c.484–24 or 480–31	Ionic historian, Halicarnassus/Samos
Hesiod	Hes.	?c7/6	epic/didactic poet, Ascra, Boeotia
Hesychius	Hsch.	prob. c5 CE	lexicographer, Alexandria
Hippocrates	Hp.	460–377	physician/medical writer, Cos
Hipponax	Hippon.	fl. c.540	Ionic satyrical iambic poet, Ephesus
Homer	Hom.	?c8^e/?c.650	epic poet, ?Smyrna, ?Chios, ?Euboea/ Oropos
Ibycus	Ibyc.	c6	lyric poet, Rhegium and Samos
Isocrates	Isoc.	c.436–c.338	Attic orator
Josephus	Jos.	c.37–c.100 CE	Jewish historian
Lucianus	Luc.	c.120–c.200 CE	sophist, Samosata, Syria
Lysias	Lys.	c.450–c.380	Attic orator, Syracuse and Athens
Menander	Men.	c.342–c.292	New Comedy writer, Athens
New Testament	NT		
Nicander	Nic.	c3/2	epic/didactic poet, Colophon
Parmenides	Parm.	c.515–c.465	poet and philosopher, Elea, Italy
Pausanias	Paus.	fl. c.150–176 CE	travel guide, ?Lydia
Pherecrates	Pherecr.	fl. c.435	Old Comedy poet, Athens

Philo	Philo	c.270–c.190	engineering / mechanics, Byzantium
Philodemus	Phld.	c.110–c.35	epicurean philosopher and poet, Gadara
Phocylides	Phoc.	c6^m	gnomic poet, Miletus
Photius	Phot.	c.815–c.892 CE	lexicographer, Constantinople
Phrynichus	Phrn.	fl. c.430	Old Comedy poet, Athens
Pindar	Pind.	522/518–c.438	mixed Doric choral lyric poet, Boeotia
Plato	Plato	c.428/7–347	Athenian philosopher
Plutarch	Plu.	c.46–c.120 CE	biographer/historian/moralist, Chaeroneia
Polybius	Plb.	c.200–c.118	Roman historian, Arcadia/Rome
Proclus	Procl.	c.411–485 CE	Neo-Platonist, mathematician
Protagoras	Protag.	c.485–c.415	sophist, Abdera
Ptolemy	Ptol.	c.83–c.168 CE	mathematician / astronomer, Egypt
Pythagoras	Pyth.	c.575–c.495	mathmatician / philosopher, Samos
Sappho	Sapph.	c.625–c.570	Aeolic lyric poet, Lesbos
Semonides	Sem.	c.655	Ionic elegiac/iambic poet, Samos/Amorgos
Septuagint	Sept.	c.300–c.200	Greek translation of Old Testament
Simonides	Simon.	c.556–468	lyric poet, Ceos
Solon	Sol.	c.639/8–c.559/8	statesman/lawmaker/lyric poet, Athens
Sophocles	Soph.	c.496–406/5	Attic dramatist/tragedian, Colonus
Soranus	Sor.	fl. c.98–138 CE	physician, Ephesus/Alexandria
Stesichorus	Stes.	c.630–c.580	lyric poet, Himera, Sicily
Strabo	Str.	c.64 BCE–c.24CE	geographer and historian, Amaseia (Turkey)
Suda	*Suda*	c10	historical encyclopedic lexicon
Theocritus	Theocr.	c.305–c.250	bucolic poet, Syracuse
Theognis	Thgn.	c6	elegiac poet (mostly epic dialect), Megara
Theophrastus	Theophr.	c.371–c.287	philosopher and botanist, Lesbos
Thucydides	Thuc.	c.460/455–c.400	general and prose historian, Athens
Timaeus Locrus	Ti.Locr.	?c.400	pythagorean philosopher, Locri, Italy
Xenophanes	Xenoph.	c6–5	poet and philosopher, Colophon
Xenophon	Xen.	c.430–354	military expert and historian, Athens
Zeno	Zeno	c.333–262	stoic philosopher, Citium, Cyprus

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Acta Mycenaea	Martín S. Ruipérez, ed. *Proceedings of the Fifth International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies (Salamanca, 1970)*. 2 vols. Salamanca: University of Salamanca Press (1972).
AGA	Philomen Probert, *Ancient Greek Accentuation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2006).
AHD4	Joseph P. Pickett (ed.), *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. 4th edn. Boston: Houghton Mifflin (2000).
AHDR	Calvert Watkins, ed. *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots*. 2nd edn. Boston: Houghton Mifflin (2000).
AI	Rudolf Wachter, *Altlateinische Inschriften: Sprachliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Dokumenten bis etwa 150 v. Chr*. Bern: Peter Lang (1987).
AIED	Henrik Birnbaum and Jaan Puhvel, eds. *Ancient Indo-European Dialects*. Berkeley: University of California Press (1966).
Ἀντίδωρον	*Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres am 11.December 1923*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (1923).
ASPK	D. Gary Miller, *Ancient Scripts and Phonological Knowledge*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins (1994).
Atti	*Atti e memorie del 1° Congresso internazionale di micenologia*. 2 vols. (= *Incunabula Graeca*, 25.) Rome: Ateneo (1968).
AVI	Attic Vase Inscription project with revised Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions (ed. Henry Immerwahr and Rudolf Wachter) http://avi.unibas.ch/images/pdf/InscriptionsJanuary2009.pdf
Brixhe	Cited with no date and a number refers to a Pamphylian text in Claude Brixhe, *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie. Documents et grammaire*. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve (1976), online at http://epigraphy.packhum. org/inscriptions/main. Numbering of the texts online differs from that in the published book.
Bu(ck)	Carl Darling Buck, *The Greek Dialects*. 2nd edn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1955).
CEG	P. A. Hansen, ed. *Carmina epigraphica Graeca*. 2 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter (1983–1989).
CEL (plus a number)	Alain Blanc, Jean-Paul Brachet, and Charles de Lamberterie, eds. 'Chronique d'étymologie latine' e.g. CEL 1 is published in *Revue de philologie* 77: 313–340 (2003).
ChEG (plus a number)	Alain Blanc, Charles de Lamberterie, and Jean-Louis Perpillou (eds.), 'Chronique d'étymologie grecque'. Most are published in *Revue de philologie*, e.g. CEG 6 (2001) is in *Revue de philologie* 75: 131–162 (2002).
CIL I²	G. Henzen, Chr. Huelsen, Th. Mommsen, and E. Lommatzsch, eds. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, volumen primus, editio altera*. Berlin: Berlin Academy (1893–1943).

CIL I², 3	Attilio Degrassi and Joannes Krummrey, eds. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, volumen primus, editio altera, addenda tertia*. Berlin: de Gruyter (1986).
Colvin	Cited with no date and a number refers to a dialect text in Stephen Colvin, *A Historical Greek Reader: Mycenaean to the Koiné*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2007).
ComOd	*A Commentary on Homer's* Odyssey. Vol. i: see Heubeck, West, and Hainsworth (1988); Vol. ii: see Heubeck and Hoekstra (1989); Vol. iii: see Russo, Fernández-Galiano, and Heubeck (1992).
CTH	Emmanuel Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*. Paris: Klincksieck (1971).
DELG	Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. 4 vols. (continuous pagination). Paris: Klincksieck (1968–1980).
DELL	Alfred Ernout and Antoine Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*. 3rd edn. 2 vols. (continuous pagination). Paris: Klincksieck (1951).
DGAC	Markus Egetmeyer, *Le dialecte grec ancien du Chypre*. Tome i: *Grammaire*. Tome ii: *Répertoire des inscriptions en syllabaire chypro-grec*. Continuous pagination. Berlin: De Gruyter (2010).
DGE	Eduard Schwyzer, ed. *Dialectorum Graecarum Exempla Epigraphica Potiora*. Leipzig: Hirzel (1923). (Repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1960.)
DMG	John Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1973).
DMic	Francisco Aura Jorro, *Diccionario micénico*. 2 vols. 2nd edn. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (1999).
EDG	Robert Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill (2010).
EDHIL	Alwin Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden: Brill (2008).
EDL	Michiel de Vaan, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*. Leiden: Brill (2008).
EG	Margherita Guarducci, ed. *Epigrafia Greca*. 4 vols. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato (1967–1974).
ELG	Frédérique Biville, *Les emprunts du latin au grec*. 2 vols. Louvain: Peeters (1990–1995).
EM	*Etymologicum Magnum*, ed. Thomas Gaisford. Oxford: Typogr. Acad. (1848).
Etrennes Lejeune	*Etrennes de septantaine: Travaux de linguistique et de grammaire comparée offerts à Michel Lejeune par un groupe de ses élèves*. Paris: Klincksieck.
EVS	Oswald Szemerényi, *Einführung in die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*. 4th edn. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (1990).
Festschrift Palmer	Anna Morpurgo Davies and Wolfgang Meid, eds. *Studies in Greek, Italic, and Indo-European Linguistics Offered to Leonard R. Palmer On the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday June 5, 1976*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, University of Innsbruck (1976).