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ON THE  
SYNTAX OF SOME PREPOSITIONS  
IN THE GREEK DIALECTS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS  
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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BY

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## INTRODUCTION.

A systematic treatment of dialect syntax is not as yet included in the abundant literature in the field of Greek dialectology. The most striking instances of variation from the usage of literary Greek are mentioned in general treatments of Greek syntax like Brugmann's grammar, the Kühner-Blass grammar, etc., and many points are noted in treatments of individual dialects. But nowhere are these peculiarities brought together and placed in their dialectic and chronological relations, and no complete collections of examples have yet been made. Moreover, it is not only instances of divergent usage that are worthy of study, but the amount of agreement between the dialects and literary Greek should also be observed. It is quite as important to note whether this or that point of syntax is an independent development in one or more dialects, or whether it proves to be a peculiarity inherited from early Greek, and panhellenic like certain phenomena in inflection and phonology, or lastly whether it is sufficiently similar to the use of the cognate word in other languages to be thought an inheritance from Indo-European. In each case, of course, the chronology and the possibility of the Attic influence must be taken into account.

In the following paper the syntax of certain prepositions of allied meaning is considered. In Chapter I *ἀντί* and *πρό* are compared throughout the dialects; in Chapter II *ὑπέρ*, *ἀμφί*, and *περί*, and in Chapter III *σύν*, *μετά* and *πεδά*. Complete collections of examples have been attempted, and all the uses of these prepositions which occur in the dialects are noted. In Chapter IV the peculiarities of usage of additional prepositions in various dialects are gathered together, from the obviously independent dialectic development of *ἀπό* and *ἐκ* with the dative in Arcado-Cyprian to the use of *παρά* with the accusative for the dative which seems to characterize Greek in general at earlier or later stages in the dialects and in literature.

The basis of the collection of examples is Collitz' *Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (cited as SGDI.), supplemented by later publications for certain dialects, as Hoffmann's *Griechische Dialekte* (cited as Hoff.), Dittenberger and Purgold's *Inschriften von Olympia* (cited as Ol. V.), various Corpus collections, and recent magazines, etc. For the brief outlines of the syntax of cognate prepositions, use has been made of the lexicons and grammars available for each language, the enumeration of which seems superfluous. Likewise it seems unnecessary to give a complete list of the abbreviations used for the various works consulted in regard to the Greek. The ordinary ones are employed (except that Brugmann's *Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik* is referred to as K. Vergl. Gr. and the Kühner-Blass grammar as K-Bl.), and it is hoped that no references are given so briefly as to be unintelligible.

The date of each example, except in Cyprian, where no dating has been attempted, is given in brackets immediately after the citation of its source.

In conclusion an expression of thanks is due Dr. Carl Darling Buck, at whose suggestion this paper was undertaken, and under whose advice it has been completed.



## CHAPTER I.

### *ἀντί, πρό.*

**Cognates:** 1. *ἀντί*: Skt. *anti* (cf. I below), Goth. *and*, OHG. *ant*, AS. *and*, Lith. *añt*. The meaning in Goth. and OHG. is “along, over,” and in Lith. “upon, over,” the development of each of which is as yet unexplained.

2. *πρό*: Skt. *pra*, Lat. *pro*, Goth. *fra*, OHG. *fora* (*furi*), AS. *for* (*fore*), Lith. *pra* (*pro*), OB. *pro* (*pra*). In Skt., Goth., Lith. and OB. this appears only as a verbal prefix.

### I. PLACE.

Sanskrit *anti* is with one exception uniformly considered an adverb, meaning “opposite, in front of, near,” as R.V. 1, 176, 1, *çatrum anti na vindasi*, “You find no foe before you.” The Petersburg lexicon gives a single example of its use as a preposition, namely, Bhāgavatapurāṇa in Çabdakalpadruma, *mugdha-prabhītavadupeyatur anti mātroh*, “subject to foolish fear the two approached before the two mothers.”

This is ignored by Brugmann and by Delbrück, who expressly state that there is no occurrence of the preposition with cases, and evidently it is not an example important enough for any conclusions to be based upon.

The idea “in front of” is given in Sanskrit by words kindred to *pra* in origin, as *puras*, etc., and by other altogether different expressions. Examples of *puras* with the accusative, genitive and ablative respectively are: R. V. 5, 82, 8, *ya ime ubhe ahanī pura ety aprayucchan svādhīr*, “who goes before these two—day and night, attentive, fair-minded,” Çak. p. 62, line 23 (Böhtlingk, after stanza 103), *tataḥ praviçanti gautamīśahitāḥ—puraççaiṣān kañcukī*, “then enter the companions of Gautami, and before them the attendant,” R. V. 3, 53, 22, *na gardabham puro açvān nayanti*, “they do not place the ass before the horse.” Examples

of *purastāt* in a similar use are R. V. 3, 8, 2, *samidhdhasya çrayamānaḥ purastād brahma vanvāno ajaram, suvīram*, "Placed before the enkindled face, awakening prayer, ageless, powerful," and Aç. Grhy. 1, 11, 6, *tasya [paçoḥ] purastād ulmukam haranti*, "In front of the victim they bear a blazing stick." *Puratas* is used only adverbially, and *purā* has no local meaning, unless it may be suggested in examples like the following: R. V. 8, 44, 30, *purā 'gne duritebhyaḥ purā mṛdhrebhyaḥ, kave, pra ṇa ayur vaso tira*, "extend our life, Agni, keeping it, wise being, far off from (*i. e.*, in front of) misfortunes and foes."

An example of *agre* in the sense of "in front of" is Pañc. 286, *tasyā agre nicikṣīpa* [sc. *pallavāni*], "he cast the young shoots down before her," and of *agratas*, as Pañc. 274, *tau pitroragrato vihasantau—ūcatuḥ*, "the two, laughing in the presence of the fathers,—told," etc. Still other expressions are shown in the use of *samakṣam*, as Kathās. 4, 79, *satyam samakṣam asmākam anenāṅgīkṛtam dhanam*, "forsooth in our presence the deposit was promised by him," *samīpa*, as Nala 1, 15, *tasyāḥ samīpe tu nalam praçaçansuḥ*, "in her presence they praised Nala," *sam-mukhe*, as Vikramorvaçī Act II (a Prākṛit passage after stanza 11), *edam bhuaniganimmoam̐ via sammuhe no nivadīdam̐*, "this like a cast-off snake skin fallen down before us."

Latin *ante* takes the accusative, as Plaut. Amph. 292, *sed quis est homo quem ante aedis video hoc noctis?* But the archaic use seems to have been that of the ablative, according to Servius ad. Ecl. 1, 29 (*post longo tempore*), *antiqui enim post, ante, circum etiam ablativo jungebant*, and Pompeius 278, 21K, *ante, post, propter, praeter, cum sint accusativae prepositiones—tamen apud maiores nostros inveniuntur etiam ablativae. Puta non dubitat Pacuvius dicere 'ante templo.'* Brugmann suggests that the accusative is due to the use of this case with *post*, the opposite of *ante*.

In comparing *ante* and *pro*, it seems that *ante* is preferred in the local meaning. It denotes that one has something in front of him, while *pro* means that he has the object behind him and is protecting it, or similar ideas which lead easily to a figurative

development. The proof of a local use of *pro* in early times is slight. *Pro moene* occurs in Naevius, but there is no example from comedy. Yet this is doubtless due to chance, for expressions like *pro rostris*, *contione*, *tribunali*, etc., common in classical times, must have been previously in fairly general use. Besides the simple meaning "in front of," shown in Cic. Phil. 3, 11, 27, *sedens pro aede*, etc., a further development is shown in the force "on the front part of," and then "on," which is seen in Tac. A. 14, 30, *stabat pro litore acies*, or Cic. Fam. 3, 8, 21, *pro tribunali cum aliquid ageretur*, etc. The related preposition *prae* had a local sense in early Latin only in the expression *prae manu*, used by the comedians. An example from Cicero is Phil. 2, 12, *prae se pugionem tulit*. In later Latin it gained ground, as Liv. 1, 7, 4, *prae se armentum agens*, although it never becomes a common usage, and does not seem to appear in the Romance languages. Another preposition to express "in front of" is *coram*, which was only an adverb in ante-classical times, the first examples of its use as a preposition being Cic. Pis. 6, 12, *coram genero meo* and Fam. 13, 6, a, 1, *credo te memoria tenere me et coram P. Cuspio tecum locutum esse*. It does not occur elsewhere in classical prose, or in Livy, or the poets, and is never very common. *Apud* is occasionally used in the sense of *coram*, as Cic. Verr. 2, 20, *verba apud senatum fecit*, Plaut. Amph. 591, *miseriast servo bono apud erum qui vera loquitur*. (For the Romance development of *apud*, cf. Chapter III, pp. 51 f.)

In the Romance languages *ante* remains the regular preposition in this meaning, whether in the simple form or compounded with other prepositions.

*Faur* and *Faura* (Skt. *purās*, Grk. *παρά*) are the nearest syntactic equivalents of *πρό* to be seen in Gothic. *Faur* in the local meaning has however the sense of *παρά* with the accusative, and *faura* often equals *ἔμπροσθεν*, *κατά* with the accusative, and *παρά* with the dative and accusative. But there are some examples of *faura* in the sense of *πρό*, as Mark 1, 2, *sai, ik insandja aggilu meinana faura þus, saei gamanweiþ wig þeinana faura þus, idou̅ apostellaw tòn āγγελόν μου prò prosōpou sou, ðs kataσκευάσει tḡn*

οδὸν ἔμπροσθέν σου. The use of a phrase rather than the simple preposition is seen in Mark 2, 12, *usiddja faura andwairβja allaize, ἐξῆλθεν ἐναντίον πάντων.*

In Old High German these two prepositions *faur* and *faura* are represented by *fora*. That Gothic *faur* represents two Indo-European forms is seen from its parallelism in some respects with Old High German *furi* (from \**peri*), which originally had a local meaning, being used with the accusative to denote direction, as *ni haban waz ih gisezze furi inan*, "I have nothing which I could set before the man," while *fora* with the dative expresses rest, as *ih antluhhu duri fora imu*, "I open the door before him." In modern German these two prepositions again fell together to some extent and suffered interchange of meanings, so that by a new distinction *für* was crowded out except in derived uses, and *vor* became the regular local and temporal preposition. But examples of the retention of *für* in the local sense occur, as *dass ich gleich für die rechte schmiede ginge* (Goethe). In Anglo-Saxon *for* and *fore* occur side by side, as C. P. 134, 2, *hit sie—fursewen for monna eigum*, "Let it become—despised before men's eyes," and Be. 568, 25, *hine eadmodlice on eorþan astrehte fore done B*, "he prostrated himself humbly on the earth before that B," Be. 520, 9, *þæt hi segen fore him baeron aet gefeohte*, "that they bore in battle the standards before him." Compounds of the temporal and adverbial *foran* also occur, as Jos. 8, 22, *he feaht him wid-foran*, "he fought before him," Jos. 3, 6, *gað aetforan þam folce*, "he walked on in front of the people," Mark 6, 14, *ðaet hi—toforan him asetton*, "gave them—to set before them," Mark 1, 2, *nu ic asende minne engel beforan þinre ansyne*, "behold I send my messengers before thy face." An example resembling the Latin *sedet pro tribunali* (cf. above p. 5) is perhaps to be seen in John 19, 13, *saet aetforan domselle*, "sat down in the judgment seat." In Early English *for* occurs, as Beow. 722, *he for eaxlum gestod Denige frean*, "he stood before the shoulders of the Danes' lord." An example of the simple *foran* is Cynewulf, Crist, 341 (Grein.), *Nu we on þæt bearn foran breostum stariad*, "Now we see the child on (=before) thy breast." Of the compounds of *foran*,

*aetforan* was soon given up. An example from Middle English is Layamon I, 288, *atforan al his folke he his kinehelm onfeng*, "Before all his people he received his helmet." *Toforan* remained longer, as Alis. 2989, *afterward tofore my sight On a treo they schole beo pyght*. An example of *afore* is Ipom. 873, *she gan down falle On swonne, afore hyr maydens alle*. This last preposition remains in the older literature and dialectically in Modern English. The Early English *before*, as R. of Gl. p. 86, *a crois—ys men bifore hym bere*, became the regular preposition for this meaning in Modern English, all the other compounds, except *afore* ('fore), being completely crowded out, and for remaining only in figurative senses.

In Early English *and* "with, against" (cf. Gothic, p. 3) shows also the meaning "before," as Cd. 1, *halfdon dream and heora ordfruman*, "had joy before their creator."

In Lithuanian the idea of "in front of" is expressed by derivatives from nouns or adverbs. *Pirm̃*, which corresponds etymologically to *πρῶτος* and Skt. *pūrvas*, is used, although rarely, as Mark 1, 2, *asz siuncziū sāvo āngēlā pirm̃ tavēs*, "I send my angel before you." *Prész* (a strengthened form of *prē*) sometimes shows this meaning, as *prész k̃ nusiūmti*, "to take off the hat before one." A compound of this preposition with *akis* "eye" is used in the locative case, as *jis stó māno pryszaký*, "he stands before me," and the same idea is expressed by *põ akiū* ("under, before the eyes of") as Mark 2, 12, *iszējo põ akiū visū*, "he went out before them all." Words which sometimes have the meaning "in front of" are *tēs* (a shortened form), from the adjective *tēsūs* "straight, erect," as *tēs butū* "before the house," though its usual sense is that of "opposite," and *szalė*, a locative of the noun *szalis* "side," as *szalė būto* "before (beside) the house." This latter expression is similar to the use of *prē* "beside," in examples like *prē būto*, "before the house," etc.

The only preposition in Old Bulgarian which means "before" is *prědū*, as Mark 1, 2, *azū posūlya anšlū moi prědū litsemū tvoimū*, ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἀγγελὸν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, and Mark 2, 12, *izide prědū všěmi*, ἐξῆλθεν ἐναντίον πάντων. In Modern

Russian the same word appears, in the forms *predŭ*, *peredŭ*, *predo* and *peredo*, used with the accusative and the instrumental.

Literary Greek seems to show but one example of the use of *ἀντί* in a local meaning, namely Xen. An. 4, 7, 6, (τὸ χωρίον ἐστὶ) δασὺ πένιτσι διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐστηκότες ἄνδρες τί ἀν πάσχοιεν; the only occurrence of it in the Attic inscriptions is CIA. II, 835, 68 [320–317] ἀσπίδες τρεῖς, ἐν αἷς ἔνι ἵππευς καὶ ὀπλίτης ἀντὶ τοῦ Μινοταύρου. Derivatives from the preposition and other words take its place to some extent, as *ἐναντίον*, common from Homer on, *ἀντία* and *ἀντίον*, chiefly poetic and Ionic (*ἀντίον* is hardly to be found in Attic prose), *ἄντα* (poetic) and the later and less common *ἐναντι*, *ἀπέναντι*, *ἐνώπιον*, *κατενώπιον*, etc. On the other hand, *πρὸ* is very common in the local meaning, as Od. 24, 468 ἠγερέθοντο πρὸ ἄστεος, Thuc. 3, 75, τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Ἡραίου, etc.

### 1. ἀντί.

**Delphian.** SGDI. 2607, 4 [240–239], ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ χειροτεχνίου τὸ προσκάνιον ἰστάτω.

**Cretan.** SGDI. 4991, I, 40 [middle 5th cent.], καλίων ἀντὶ μαιτύρων δυῶν ἐπὶ τῶι ναῶι. This expression is common in the early inscriptions.\* An example of *ἴναντι* (= *ἐναντι*) occurs SGDI. 5125, A, 2 [ca. middle 5th cent.]. Likewise in Delphian in the later inscriptions *ἐναντι* and *ἐναντίον* occur, as SGDI. 2072, 17, 26 [198].

### 2. πρὸ.

**Ionic.** Mitth. 20, 242, 14 [Roman], καθιέρωσεν—τὰ πρὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἐργαστήρια.

**Argive.** SGDI. 3339, 109 [1st half 4th cent.], ὁ δὲ τὸμ πρὸ τοῦ ἀβάτου κείμενον ἦνικε. Other examples are SGDI. 3340, 113 [1st half 4th cent.], CIGP. et Ins. 841, 23 [end 3rd cent.].

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 3755, 11 [after 3rd cent.], τὸδε εἰς τὸ ψάφισμα ἐστάλα λιθί[να] θέτω πρὸ τοῦ ἀγορανομ[ίου]. Cf. also IGIns. I, 1, 8 [pre-Roman].

\*SGDI. 4991, II, 28, 32; III, 46, 55; XI, 53; 4998, II, 9; 4986, 4, 10 [both in middle 5th cent.], 4992, 1, 7, 5072, b, 10 [“aus guter Zeit”]. Also 4991, VIII, 55, πέυθεν [ἀν]τὶ κόσμ[ω]ν.



**Theran.** SGDI. 4772, 4 [4th cent.], Ἀγορήϊοις δὲ [δ] εἴπνογ καὶ ἰα [ρ] ἅ πρὸ τοῦ σαμήϊου.

**Coan.** SGDI. 3636, 30 [end 4th cent.], ἐκ]σπένδει κύλικα οἴνου κεκραμένον [π]ρὸ τοῦ [βοό]ς.

For a discussion of ἀντί and πρό in this use, cf. the general comparison of the two prepositions given under figurative uses, III, p. 13, and for a chronological summary of the local in comparison with temporal uses, cf. II, p. 13.

### 3. πρό = πρόσ.

**Ionic.** CIGS. I, 235, 45 [ca. 387], καθεύδειν—τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἡοῦς τοῦ βωμοῦ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἐσπέ[ρης] . . .

This seems to be unparalleled in the dialects and in literary Greek, although somewhat similar phrases are perhaps to be seen in such expressions as II. 4, 382, οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἄρχοντο ἰδὲ πρὸ ὁδοῦ ἐγένοντο.

## II. TIME.

The temporal meaning "before" is expressed in Sanskrit to some extent by the same prepositions which occur in the local sense. The only example of *puras* expressing time given in the Petersburg lexicon is Çak. 189, *tava prasādasya purastu sampadaḥ*, "before your favor [goes] blessing." An instance of *purastāt* is Ait. Br. 3, 29, *tasmāt ādityārambhamam—purastāt tasya yajaty*,—"therefore the beginning is with the Adityas—at the commencement of it one sacrifices,—" etc. There is one example of *puratas* in a temporal sense (given as adverbial in the Petersburg lexicon), namely, MBh. 1, 8404 *purataḥ kṛcchrakālasya dhīmāñjāgarti pūruṣaḥ*, "before a season of danger a man is watchful over his thoughts." *Purā* is fairly common in this meaning, as R. V. 2, 28, 5, *ma mātrā cāry apasaḥ purā ritoh*, "do not break the measure of the work before the time." The most frequent prepositions in this sense are however the words *prāk* and *pūrvam*, from the adjectives *prāñc* and *pūrva*, as Kathop. 4, 6, *yaḥ pūrvam tapaso jātamadbhyaḥ pūrvamajyata*, "the first-born from the penance, who was created before the waters," and Çak. 118, *prāgantariḥśagamanāt*, "before flying off into the sky."

In Latin *ante* is used, as Plaut. Amph. 602, *ante lucem a portu me praemisisti domum*. This is in widespread use, and *pro* does not occur in a temporal sense. The same distinction remains in the Romance languages, a third preposition in Italian being *prima*, as *prima di pranzo*.

Of Gothic *faura* and *faur*, only the latter is used in a temporal sense, as Matth. 8, 29, *qamt her faur mel bahvjan unsis? ἦλθες ὧδε πρὸ καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς*; and Matth. 26, 75, *βatei faur hanins hruk βrim sinβam afaikis me, ὅτι πρὶν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρὶς ἀπαρήση με*. In Old High German *fora* is the only form of the preposition *fora*, *furi* found in the temporal meaning, as *dher aer fora dhir was*, "who in olden times was before you," and *fora themo itmalen tage*, "before that solemn day." This distinction remains in Modern German, *vor* being the temporal preposition, as *vor Morgens*, *vor drei Wochen*, etc., while *für* does not occur in such a sense. In Anglo-Saxon *for* occurs, as Wulfstan 96, 7, *ða ðe waeron forðferede for hund gearum*, "when they went away a hundred years ago (=before)," but this soon gave way in favor of various prepositions consisting of compounds of *-foran*, used without distinction in meaning, as shown in the following examples: Sax. Chr. 1010, *Aetforan Andreas maessandaeg βa com he her*, "before the festival of St. Andrew he came hither." Sax. Chr. 1106, *Waeron gesewen twegen monan—toforan βam dæge*, "Two moons were seen before that day." Wulfstan 96, 10, *nu we βaene fyrst nabbad, βe βa haefdon, βe wiðforan us waeron*, "now we do not have the time which they had who were before us." Sax. Chr. 894, *βa gegaderade sio laf—micelne here onforan winter*, "then the remnant gathered together—a great army before the winter," *Psa. civ, 15, he him snoterne beforan sende æryst*, "he sent first a wise [man] before him." Not all of these compounds are found in Early English. *Aetforan* disappeared, but *toforan* remained somewhat longer, as P. Ploughm. 7683, *Lynerys toforan us useden to make*,— etc., and *onforan*, as Ipom. 619, *By halfe yere afore the day, That it be know ferre and nere*. *Beforan* is fairly common, as R. of Gl. p. 27, *Hire lord was kyng bifore hire ten yer*. Of these Modern English shows *before* as

the regular temporal preposition, *afore* occurring only in dialectic and early examples. The use of *for* to express duration of time or in general expressions like “for the first time,”—etc., occurs in Early English, as P. Ploughm. 688, *to dwelle there for evere*, but not in Anglo-Saxon. The resemblance of the usage to that of French *pour*, Italian *per*, Spanish *por* is clear, and shows that it is probably borrowed from this Romance development.

Anglo-Saxon has still another preposition to express the temporal meaning “before,” namely *aer* (Goth. *air*, OHG. *ēr*, etc.), as Matth. 8, 29, *come ðu hider aer tide us to þreagenne*, “Hast thou come hither before the time to test us?” An Early English example is Alis. 344, *aboute mydnyght, ar the day*, the forms in which it appeared being *er*, *ar*, *or*. In Modern English it remains, in the form *ere*, but only in poetic language.

In Lithuanian *pir̃m̃* is the only temporal preposition expressing “before,” as *taĩ pir̃m̃ szesziũ nedėliu nusidavė*, “that happened six years ago.” Old Bulgarian uses *prědũ*, as Supr. 201, 17, *prědũ sũnũmũ molitvy tvoryaše*, “before sleep he offers prayer,” though no example in a temporal force seems to occur in the codex Marianus, where instead *prězde* is used, as Matth. 8, 29, *prišelũ esi sěmo prězde vrěmene mačitũ nasũ*, ἦλθες ὧδε πρὸ καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς;

In literary Greek the regular usage is that of *πρό*, as Od. 15, 24, *πρὸ γάμοιο*, Xen. Cyr. 5, 5, 39, *πρὸ δείπνου*, etc. A development to a temporal force in *ἀντί*, as in the two dialect examples quoted below, does not occur.

### 1. ἀντι.

**Delphian.** SGDI. 2561A, 45 [early 4th cent.], *ἄγην δὲ τὰπελλαία ἀντὶ φέτεος*.

**Coan.** SGDI. 3636, 43 [end 4th cent.], *προ[αγορευ]έτω ἀγνεύεσθαι γυναικὸς καὶ ἀ[νδρὸ]ς ἀντὶ νυκτός*.

With these examples is to be compared the Hesychian gloss *ἀντ' ἔτους· τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτος· Λακῶνες*, although the Laconian inscriptions show no such use of *ἀντι*. The meaning in both these examples is “before the end of,” consequently “during the year, the night.”

Hicks JHS. 9, 336 compares Theognis 344 *δοίην δ' ἀντ' ἀνίων ἀνίας*, but "grief upon grief," the translation of Liddell and Scott, is undoubtedly the meaning here, so that the example evidently is not parallel to these dialect uses.

## 2. *πρό*.

**Ionic.** Rev. d. Phil. 25, 166 [350–325], τ[ὸν] *δεύτερον σκαφη-τὸν* [μηνός] *ταυρειῶνος πρό εἰκάδ[ος]*.

**Thessalian.** SGDI. 345, 43 [after 214], τὰ ψαφίσματα τό τε ὑπ(π)ρὸ [τ]ᾶς γενόμενο(ν) καὶ τὸ τᾶμ(ο)ν. Fick *l. c.* reads ὑπ(π)ρο-τᾶς, doubtless with the same meaning intended as if the words were separated (as by Hoffmann, Michel, Herwerden and others).

**Delphian.** SGDI. 2501, 37 [380], ἐφακείσθων πρό Πυθ[ί]ων ὄτινός κα δέωνται.

**Laconian.** SGDI. 4689, 11 [90], ἐν τῶι ἐνδεκάτῳ μηνί, πρό τῶν μυστηρίων.

**Megarian.** SGDI. 3052, 19 [end of 3rd or beginning of 2nd cent.], ἐν τῶι Πεταγεινίῳ μηνὶ πρό τᾶς δε[κάτας].

**Argive.** SGDI. 3294, 4 [Roman], φιλο[τειμίας] μεγίστ(α)ς παρασχ[όντα] ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν πρό α[ὔτ]οῦ.

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 3749, 48 [220–200], μηδὲ στρατεύεσθω—χωρὶς ἢ ὅσοι πρό τᾶσδε τᾶς συνθήκας ἐξεστρατεύκанти.

**Theran.** SGDI. 4706, 161 [end 3rd cent.], πρό τοῦ τὰν σύνοδου ἦμεν πρό ἀμερᾶν δέκα.

**Cretan.** SGDI. 4991, I, 2 [middle 5th cent.], πρό δίκας μὴ ἄγειν.

In all of the dialects from which examples are here given\* there are other instances as well. The frequency of *πρό* in the temporal sense is quite in contrast with the small number of examples of its occurrence in other uses, and of the occurrence of *ἀντί* in any use. (Elsewhere throughout this chapter all the examples of *πρό* and *ἀντί* that occur are quoted.) The only example of *πρό* of especial interest here is from Delphian, its date being about the same as that of the example of *ἀντι* given above. Doubtless it may be

\*The only example from Boeotian is in a section composed in Attic, namely SGDI. 488, 26 [223–197].

assumed that Delphian retained the early Greek use of both these prepositions in this force. A summary of the occurrence of *ἀντί* and *πρό* in the temporal and local uses is given in the following table:

	Place		Time	
	<i>ἀντί</i>	<i>πρό</i>	<i>ἀντί</i>	<i>πρό</i>
Ionic Thessalian Delphian Laconian Megarian	240-239	Roman	early 4th cent.	350 after 214 380 90 end 3rd or beginning 2nd cent.
Argive Rhodian Theran Coan Cretan	middle 5th cent.	first part 4th cent. after 3rd cent. 4th cent. end 4th cent.	end 4th cent.	Roman 220-200 end 3rd cent. middle 5th cent.

### III. FIGURATIVE USES.

The figurative developments of *ἀντί* and *πρό* in literary Greek, and of their equivalents in other languages, are here disregarded except when they are parallel to the usages in the dialects shown by the examples given under the four following headings.

A general comparison of the use of these two prepositions in Greek with that in Latin, the only other language which keeps both in their original significance, shows the tendency of development to be exactly the opposite in Greek from what appears in Latin. In Greek the local meaning is given by *πρό*, with the exception of the two Attic and two dialect examples of *ἀντί* quoted I, 1, p. 8. In Latin it is given by *ante*. For the temporal meaning as well Greek uses *πρό*, the only appearance of *ἀντί* being in two dialects and a Hesychian gloss (cf. II, 1, p. 11). Latin uses *ante*. But in figurative developments, while Latin uses *pro*, Greek shows *ἀντί*, with the exception again of two dialects quoted below, and certain limited developments in Attic, where the force remains close to the local meaning, in expressions of protection and defence. (In Attic in the meaning "for the advantage of," it is not so common as *ὑπέρ*. In Representation the idea "in the interest of" is always present; it rarely denotes equivalence

like *ἀντί*, as Soph. El. 495, *πρὸ τῶνδε*, and is common in comparisons, as *αἰρείσθαι τι πρὸ τινος*.) It is interesting to note that of the two dialects which show *ἀντί* in a local meaning, Delphian has also *ἀντί* in a temporal sense, beside an example of *πρὸ* of almost as early date, and Cretan has instances of *πρὸ* in a figurative meaning. Again, the parallelism to Latin shown in the figurative use of *πρὸ* in Laconian is emphasized by the Hesychian gloss referred to above, indicating a temporal use of *ἀντί* in that dialect. This suggests that prehistoric Greek had both prepositions in general use in all three meanings, but the specialization had advanced so far at the time of the separation that only five dialects (including Attic) varied from the development uniformly shown in the other dialects and in literary Greek, and show examples parallel to those which appear in Latin as the regular development in that language. These facts are given in tabular form below, the parentheses indicating lack of importance because of late date or (in Attic) because of the rarity of examples. For the sake of completeness, the uses in the other languages are also given here briefly, the summary showing that on the whole \**pro* or words of kindred etymology were preferred not only in one or two of these three uses, as in Greek and Latin, but in all of them.

	Local.	Temporal.	Figurative.
Sanskrit	<i>purā</i> , etc.	<i>purā</i> , etc.	<i>sthāne</i> , etc.
Gothic	<i>faur</i> , <i>faura</i>	<i>faur</i>	<i>faur</i> , <i>faura</i>
Lithuanian	<i>pir̃m̃</i>	<i>pir̃m̃</i>	<i>ùž</i>
Old Bulgarian	<i>pr̃ědŭ</i>	<i>pr̃ědŭ</i> , <i>pr̃ěžde</i>	<i>za</i> , <i>pro</i>
Latin	<i>ante</i>	<i>ante</i>	<i>pro</i>
Greek (except as below)	( <i>ἀντί</i> ), <i>πρὸ</i>	<i>πρὸ</i>	<i>ἀντί</i> , ( <i>πρὸ</i> )
Delphian	<i>ἀντί</i>	<i>ἀντί</i> , <i>πρὸ</i>	<i>ἀντί</i>
Laconian		[ <i>ἀντί</i> ], ( <i>πρὸ</i> )	<i>ἀντί</i> , <i>πρὸ</i>
Coan	<i>πρὸ</i>	<i>ἀντί</i>	<i>ἀντί</i>
Cretan	<i>ἀντί</i>	<i>πρὸ</i>	<i>πρὸ</i>

### 1. *ἀντί*.

#### a. *Instead of*.

Sanskrit expresses this idea without the aid of prepositions, by *sthāna*, "place," in the locative, either independently or at the end of compounds, and by similar methods.

In Latin *pro* is used, as Cato ap. Front., p. 149, *nunquam ego argentum pro vino congiario—disdidi*. Other means of giving the idea are suggested by the following examples: Cic. Inv. 2, 49, 144, *haec filium suum sibi praemii loco deponit*, Plaut. Rud. 814, *vos respondetote istinc istarum vicem*, Plin. 31, 10, 46, §115, *in pane salis vico utuntur nitro*. In the Romance languages *pro* in this use seems to have disappeared, and only phrases occur, as French *à sa place*, *au lieu de*, *en place de*, Italian *in luogo di*, *in vece di*, and Spanish *en lugar de*, *en vez de*. It happens, doubtless by accident only, that there is no example of a preposition of this meaning in the Gothic material which is extant. In Old High German *furi* and *fora* occur, as *daz ih unreht ne finde fure reht*, "that I never find wrong in place of right," and *fora enu im ist kiridono unnilust*, "they have instead of law the pleasure of desires." *Umbi* is also used, as *sie gaben mir ubel umbe guot*, "they gave me evil for good." Modern German uses phrases, as *an Stelle jemandes*, and *statt* and *anstatt* from the old noun *Statt*.

In Anglo-Saxon *for* is used, as Matth. 2, 22 *Archelaus rixode on Judea þeode for ðaene Herodem*, "Archelaus ruled over the Judean people in place of that Herod." Phrases also occur, as Sax. chr. 693, *Brihtwald gehalgode Tobian on his steall*, "Brihtwald hallowed Tobias in his stead," etc. The same use of phrases remains, as Maundev., p. 67, *Thei ete it in stede of spice*, and Ms. b. Halliw. (v. stede) *songe a balad o-stede of the masse*. In the later language *in place* was often substituted for *instead*, corresponding to the French *à la place*, and the expression *in lieu* is borrowed directly from the French *en lieu*.

In Lithuanian the conjunction *užiót* expresses this idea, as *bėrnas (u)žiót dirbęs mėgt*, "the boy sleeps instead of working." The simple *ùž* has rather the meaning of "in behalf of" (cf. Ch. II, III, p. 34) and the use of *vėto*, as *kalbėk mąno vėtoje*, "speak for me" is a Germanism. Old Bulgarian shows the phrase *vũ-město*, as Matth. 2, 22, *slušavĩ že yako Archelai tsetvuyetũ vũ Iudei vũ Iroda mẽsto*, ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀντὶ Ἡρώδου.

In literary Greek and the Attic inscriptions *ἀντί* is the regular

preposition, as Od. 20, 307 ἀντὶ γάμοιο τάφου, Thuc. 1, 129, τὸν πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης μεταλαμβάνειν, CIA. I, 469, 2 [before 403], ἀντὶ γάμου παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο λαχοῦσι ὄνομα. With personal objects πρό is also used, as Xen. An. 7, 6, 36, ἀγρυπνεῖν πρό τινος, but, more frequently than either ἀντί or πρό, ὑπέρ is used in this sense, the development for ὑπέρ and πρό being from the meaning "in behalf of." Cf. Ch. II, III, p. 34.

a. *With impersonal objects.*

**Ionic.** Hoff. III, 128, 4 [end 4th cent.], λάφεται τὰ γέρεα τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ κωλῆν ἀντὶ [τ](ῆ)ς ὄρης.

**Cyprian.** SGDI. 60, 5, ἀ(ν)τὶ τῷ μισθῶν καὶ ἀ(ν)τὶ τῷ ὑχέρων δοφέναι—τά[λαντων]—ἢ δυφάνοι νὺ ἀ(ν)τὶ τῷ ἀργύρων τῷδε τῷ τα[λάντων]—τὸν χῶρον. Similar expressions occur also in lines 10 and 17.

**Delphian.** SGDI. 2561A, 18 [early 4th cent.], τὰ κακὰ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν [δόμεν]. The same phraseology occurs in SGDI. 2501, 9 [380].

**Laconian.** SGDI. 4680, 27 [2nd cent.], εἰ δὲ διαδοθῆμεν τὸν σίτον τῷ [χρε]ῖαν ἔχοντι, καὶ π[όσος ἐστὶ ἀποδοτέος σῖ]τος ἀντὶ τοῦ διαδοθέντος.

**Argive.** CIGP. et Ins. I, 623, 4 [1st cent. B. C. or A. D.], ἀντὶ δὲ θαλπωρᾶν [θῆκα γονεῦσι γόους. This is evidently an epic imitation, as is also the following example.

**Cretan.** Mon. Ant. XI, 475 no. 2, 5 [3rd or 2nd cent.], ἀντὶ γάμου γοερὸν μέλος εἶαχε θρήνων στέρνον ἀμετρήτῳ πέ[ν]θει τειρομένα.

β. *With personal objects.*

**Delphian.** SGDI. 1832, 11 [173], εἰ δέ τι ἀνθρώπινον γένοιτο περὶ τινα τῶν κοινῶν—ἐφέλεσθων ἄλλον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ—εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλοι Ἀμύντας ἢ Σωτήριχος ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπογενομένων—συνεφαιρέισθαι.

**Laconian.** SGDI. 4689, 6 [90], ἂν δέ τις μὴ θέλει ὀμνύειν,—ἄλλον ἀντὶ τούτου κλαρωσάτω.

**Argive.** CIGP. et Ins. 1062, 3 [Roman], ἐπὶ ἱερέος Ἐρμαῖσκου τοῦ Μάρκου—ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ Μᾶρκος Ἐρμαῖσκου.



This distinction between the use with impersonal and personal objects has been made in order to facilitate a comparison of *ἀντί* in the latter with *πρό* and *ὑπέρ* in legal representation, where a parallelism is evident. For a fuller statement and a tabular summary, cf. under *ὑπέρ*, Ch. II, III, 3, pp. 34 ff.

*b. In return for.*

Latin expresses this by *pro*, as Caes. B.G. 6, 16, *pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse deorum immortalium numen placari*. In Italian *per* is used, as *comprare, vendere per mille lire*. The phrase *in contraccambio* is also used, as *ma tu fammi un piacere in contraccambio di queste lodi*. French uses *pour*, as *faire troc pour troc*, and also phrases, as *en retour de*. Spanish shows *por*, as *comprar, vender, dar por cien dablones*.

In Gothic *und* (related to *ἔστε*, Delphian *ἔντε*, cf. K. Vergl. Gr. §907 anm.) is used, as Matth. 5, 38, *augo und augin jah tunþu und tunþau, ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος*. *Faur* corresponds usually to *ὑπέρ*, but the meaning "in return for" is perhaps to be seen in examples like Cor. I, 15, 3, *ei Christus gaswalt faur frauaurhtins unsaros, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*. In Old High German the same use occurs, as *ist arhaban fora kinnizidu dera sinera listi*, "he is praised in return for the science of his art." In Anglo-Saxon *for* is used, as Matth. 5, 38, *eage for eage and toþ for teþ, ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος*. Early English shows the same usage, as P. Ploughm. 253, *for thi rightful rulyng Be rewarded in hevene*. In Anglo-Saxon *wið* and *mid* give the same idea, with words of weighing, selling, etc., as Exod. 21, 24, *toð wið ted*, "tooth for tooth," Exod. 21, 36, *gilde oxan mid oxan*, "he shall pay ox for ox."

Lithuanian uses *ūz*, as Matth. 5, 38, *ākį ūz ākį, ir dañtį ūz dañtį*, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." In Old Bulgarian *vŭzŭ* is used, as John 1, 16, *priyechomŭ blagodĕti vŭzŭ blagodĕti, ἔλαβομεν καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος*, and also *za*, as Matth. 5, 38, *oko za oko i zqbŭ za zqbŭ, ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος*.

In literary Greek *ἀντί* is the only preposition used, as II. 23,

650, σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τῶνδ' ἀντὶ χάριν—δοῖεν; Lysias 106, 38, ἀντὶ ποίας εὐεργεσίας; the same is true of the dialects, as far as examples occur, so that this may be considered a general Greek usage.

**Ionic.** Hoff. III, 79, 7 [early 5th cent.], ὄργης δ' ἀ[ντ]' ἀγαθῆς Εὐώ[πί]δης τόδε μν[ῆμ]α—ἐπέστησεν.

**Thessalian.** BCH. 13, 392, no. 11, 6 [Roman], ἀνθ' ὁσίου ψυχῆς—τῆνδ' ἔλαχον χάριτα.

**Boeotian.** SGDI. 797, 2 [“ältere und jüngere Zeichen neben einander”], ἔργων ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν μνᾶμ' ἀνέθεικε τόδε.

**Laconian.** SGDI. 4660, 2 [Roman], τοῦτο—ἀγαλμα ἀντὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἴσατο Πουλυβίω. The same epigram occurs in Ol. V, 450 in an honorific decree concerning the same personage. It is also suggested by Fougères BCH. 20, 145, for a restoration of a fragmentary inscription of equally late date from Mantinea.

**Corinthian.** CIGP. et Ins. I, 365, 4 [“recentior”], ἀνθ' ὧν χαλκείην τῆνδ' εἰκόνα θήκαμεν ἀνδρός.

**Argive.** CIGP. et Ins. I, 800, 3 [“aetati remotissimae”], τοῦτο—φέργων ἀντ' ἀγ[α]θῶν κῆπάμερον ἐξετέλεσ(σ)αν. Similar examples are ib. 1099, 3 [400], 1117, 3 [192], 1475, 7 [Roman].

*c. In distributive sense, with a word of payment.*

**Arcadian.** Hoff. I, 29, 24 [1st half 4th cent.], εἴ κ' ἂν παραμαξεύῃ θύσθην τᾶς κελε[ύθ]ω τᾶς κακειμέναν κατ' Ἀλέαν, τρίς ὀδελὸς ὀφλέ[ν] ἀν[τὶ] τι φεκάσταν. The meaning evidently is “shall pay three obols for each (wagon).” This is undoubtedly a development from the use of ἀντὶ to mean “in return for,” with words of buying, selling, etc. For other ways of expressing the idea, cf. under ὑπέρ, ch. II, III, 4, a, p. 40.

*d. In a sense approaching that of purpose.*

**Coan.** SGDI. 3624b, 59 [ca. 205], Πόμπις Ζωπύρου—ἀντὶ τοῦ οἴνου ΧΗΗΗΗ. Similar expressions occur in ib. c, 27, 33, and probably also in the fragmentary line ib. a, 55. The phrase σὺν τᾷ τιμᾷ τοῦ οἴνου X is found in ib. b, 42. Elsewhere the brief sentences give merely the proper names and the amount of money contributed. Newton, Ins. Br. Mus. II, p. 113, comments “This

contribution was mostly in money, but also in kind, as appears from the mention of wine." According to this, the commonly accepted view, the translation of the passage in question would be, "Fourteen hundred drachmas in the form of wine." But for this no syntactic parallels can be adduced. (The only other example of *ἀντί* in Coan is in a temporal sense, cf. II, 1, p. 11, and there is but one of *πρό*, in a local meaning, cf. I, 2, p. 9.) The Homeric use of *ἀντί* to express equivalence, followed by later uses like that in Hdt. 4, 75, *τοῦτό σφι ἀντί λουτροῦ ἔστι*, "serves as (*i. e.*, instead of) a bath," etc., are not similar. Consequently, since Newton's interpretation is not supported by literary or dialectic parallels, and does not give to *ἀντί* a meaning which can be derived easily from the known uses of the preposition, it is perhaps best given up. A more legitimate translation seems to be "Fourteen hundred drachmas *for* wine." This meaning of "for wine" (*i. e.*, "to buy wine"), comes naturally enough from the common meaning "instead of," which must undoubtedly be the basal force. Likewise it suits the general context of the inscription, and especially the phrase in b, 42, quite as well as does Newton's interpretation.

## 2. *πρό*, In behalf of.

For the expression of this idea in other languages, cf. under *ὑπέρ*, Ch. II, III, pp. 33 f., and for comment on the following examples the subdivisions 2, p. 36, and 3, p. 39. Cf. also pp. 13 ff.

### a. *In dedication.*

**Heracleian.** SGDI. 4630 [ca. 4th cent.], *Ἱστιαία πρὸ αὐταντᾶς καὶ Ἀφροδιτίας δόρκας ἀνέθηκε.*

### b. *In representation.*

**Cretan.** SGDI. 4991, I, 43 [5th cent.], *ἀποδεικσάτω—ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ ἄλλος πρὸ τούτω.* Other examples occur 4992, III, 5, 4985, 14.

## CHAPTER II.

### ἵπέρ, ἀμφί, περί.

**Cognates:** 1. ἵπέρ. Skt *upari*, Lat. *super*, Goth. *ufar*, OHG. *ubir*, AS. *ofer*.

2. ἀμφί. Skt. *abhi-tas* (cf. below p. 24), Lat. *am*, *amb-*, OHG. *umbi*, AS. *ymbe*, Gall. *ambi-* (a verbal prefix).

3. περί. Skt. *pari* (OP. *pariy*), Lat. *per*, Goth. *fair-*, OHG. *fir-*, Lith. *per*. OB. *pre-*. (Cf. also p. 25, footnote.)

### I. PLACE.

#### A. Above (ἵπέρ).

In Sanskrit *upari* is most frequent with the accusative in this sense, as R. V. 4, 31, 15, *asmākam uttamam kṛdhi çravo deveṣu sūrya varṣiṣṭham dyām ivopari*, “make our glory highest among the gods, Sūrya, highest above heaven.” With the genitive its use is post-Vedic, as Katy. Çr. Sutra 7, 3, 31, *dakṣinasyā bhruva upari*, “above the right eyebrow.” With the locative it is of rare occurrence, but one example, R.V. 6, 85, 3, being given by the Petersburg lexicon. Another is doubtless Kathās. 1, 3, 58, *uparyantahpurah sā ca ratnamityabhiracyate*, “and she is preserved like a jewel above (*i. e.*, in the upper story of) the seraglio.”

The instrumental seems to be used (so K. Vergl. Gr. §592, 2) in an example quoted under the genitive uses in the Petersburg lexicon (where *bhumyā upari* is assumed as the first stage), namely, R.V. 10, 75, 3, *divi svano yatate bhummyopari*, “in the heaven and over the earth the sound pervades.” The derivative *upariṣṭāt* has the same meaning, but is found only with the genitive (except in the Çat. Br., where the accusative also occurs), as Çat. Br. 5, 4, 1, 14, *upariṣṭāçchīrṣṇaḥ*, “over his head.”

In Latin *super* commonly occurs with the accusative, as Caes. B.C. 2, 10, *super lateres coria inducuntur*. Its use with the ablative in this sense is rare and poetic, as Hor. Odes 3, 1, 17,

*ensis qui super cervice pendet.* *Supra* is used with only the accusative, as Cic. N.D. 2, 37, 95, *si essent qui sub terra semper habitavissent—nec exissent unquam supra terram*, Plaut. Pers. 819, *ille qui supra nos habitat.* The Romance usage is the same. French *sur* (representing both *super* and *supra*)\* is common, as *un oiseau qui plane sur la rivière*, and *les villes qui sont sur la Seine.* Examples from Italian are *i nuvoli sopra le nostre teste*, and *veleggiano sul lago.* From Spanish may be given *tortolilla sobre el olmo.*

An instance of Gothic *ufar* translating ὑπέρ does not seem to occur, but it frequently has the meaning “above” or “over” where the Greek expresses the idea by altogether different words, as in the formula Matth. 6, 14, *atta izwar sa ufar himinam*, ὁ πατήρ ὁ οὐράνιος, and Matth. 27, 45, *warþ riqis ufar allai airþai*, ἐγένετο σκότος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. Examples of its use with the accusative are Eph. 4, 10, *jah saei usstaig ufar allans himinans*, καὶ ὁ ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν, John 6, 1, *galaiþ Jesus ufar marein*, ἀπήλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης, Luke 4, 39, *jah atstandands ufar ija gasok risai brinnon*, καὶ ἐπιστὰς ἐπάνω αὐτῆς ἐπετίμησεν τῷ πυρετῷ.

From Old High German examples of this preposition are *ih hepfu mina hant ubar sie*, “I lift my hand over them,” and also, *ubar allu gibirgu iudeno uwardun gimarit alla thisu uuort*, “Over all the mountains were all these words told.” It is common in

\* An exceedingly common meaning in this preposition is that of “upon,” as *écrite sur du papier*, etc. This is seen in Italian also, as *sulla (supra la) tavola*, and in Spanish. Such a development in sense is a natural one, if the object beneath be thought of as in immediate contact with the one over it, and it is not infrequently seen in the prepositions meaning “above.” An instance from Sanskrit is Kathās. 10, 122, *tenopari turaṅgasya gṛhītām tām nṛpātmaṅām aparasyaśca*, “and he beheld that princess held by him upon his horse.” The same use occurs in Latin, as Cic. Leg. 2, 26, 66, *super terrae tumulum noluit quid statui, nisi columellam*, Verg. Aen. 1, 295, *saeva sedens super arma*, Ecl. 1, 80, *fronde super viridi*, and in Old High German, as *reganot ubar rehte inti ubar unrehte*, “he rains upon the just and the unjust.” This development does not seem to occur in ὑπέρ, ἐπί being used instead. Likewise Gothic uses only *ana*, Modern German *auf*, Anglo-Saxon *on (an)*, *o (a)*, *uppon*, *uppan*, Lithuanian *añt*, and Old Bulgarian *na*.

Modern German, as *Die Wolke steht über dem Berge*, etc. Another frequent expression is *oberhalb*, from *ob-* (no longer an independent word) and *Halb* "side" (cf. *ausserhalb*, etc.).

In Anglo-Saxon *ofer* is used with the dative, to express rest above or over an object, as Bo. 366, 14, *hi wuniaþ nu ofer þaem tunghum*, "they dwell now above the stars," and with the accusative to express motion, in a similar situation, as Matth. 27, 45, *Waeron geworden þystru ofer ealle eorðan*, "there was darkness over all the land." *Bufan* (= *be ufan* "from above") is similarly used with the dative and accusative as Or. 20, 24, *licgað bufan eorðan on hyra husum*, "they lie above ground in their houses," Or. 106, 16, *þonne tugin hie heora hraegl bufan cneow*, "They drew their clothing above their knees." Both these prepositions appear in Early English, as Chauc. C.T. 2045, *over his head ther schyneth two figures*, Alis. 3610, *And of the sadil cast him, saun faile, Over his croupe and his hors taile*, and Maundev. p. 298, *Theise folk gon als wel undir the watir of the see, as thei dow above the land alle drye*, Layamon III, 34, *Ardur braeid heze sceld buuen his haelme*. The compound *a-bufan* was not in use in Anglo-Saxon, but appears in Early English quite as often as the simple *bufan*, and becomes the regular form in Modern English, 'bove occurring only as an abbreviation. Anglo-Saxon and English alone show two prepositions, *over* and *above*, for these closely associated ideas which in other languages are expressed as a rule by the one preposition.

In Lithuanian the meaning of *úpėp* is given by the preposition corresponding etymologically to *περί*, namely, *peĩ*, as *peĩ rubėžių eĩti*, "to go over the boundaries," and also by secondary formations, as in *anàpus ùpės vaĩskas sustójo*, "the host went over the river," and by the locative of the noun *virszùs* "that which is above," as *virszuĩ žėmės dangùs*, "over the earth is the heaven," etc.

Old Bulgarian uses *nadŭ*, a secondary formation from *na* (= *ανά*, etc. Cf. K. Vergl. Gr. §§580, 602), as Luke 4, 39, *i stavŭ nadŭ neiyq zaprėti ognu, kal ěpistàs ěpánw aũtĥs ěpetĭmu ĥsen tŏ pypetŏ*. This development from the meaning "upon"

to that of "over, above," is the reverse of what appears in some other languages (cf. p. 21 *ftn.*). For the meaning "over" given by *ἐπι* in Greek, but by *ufar* in Gothic, *po* (from \**pos*, K. Vergl. Gr. §613) is used, as Matth. 27, 45, *tūma bystū po vīsei zemī, σκότος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.*

In literary Greek *ὑπέρ* with the genitive expresses rest or movement over a place or situation, as Il. 2, 20, *ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς στήναι*, Aesch. Ag. 576, *ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης καὶ χθονὸς ποτωμένοις*. With the accusative only motion over or above is suggested, as Od. 3, 73, *ἀλάλησθε—ὑπείρ ἄλα*, with often the added idea of beyond, as Il. 5, 16, *ὑπὲρ ὤμων ἦλυθ' ἀκωκή*. The expression of simple extension over or above by the use with the accusative is poetic and late.

### 1. With the genitive.

**Ionic.** Rev. d. Phil. 25, 166, 32 [350–325], *καὶ ἐποικοδομήσει τευχίου ὑπὲρ γῆς*. Possibly the fragment Hoff. III, 95, 18 [4th cent.], *ὄπισθε τῆς αὐλῆς ὑπὲρ το . . .* may belong here also.

**Heracleean.** SGDI. 4629, I, 113 [4th cent.], *πὰρ τὸ ἄντομον τὸν ὑπὲρ Πανδοσίας ἄγοντα*. Almost the same phrase occurs in line 13.

**Megarian.** SGDI. 3025, 17 [242–235], *τὸν κορυφὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τᾶς ὁδοῦ*. Such expressions are frequent throughout this inscription.

**Corinthian.** SGDI. 3246, 6 [3rd or 2nd cent.], *Δίωμι Θεοδώρου ΘΕΜ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κορείου*. The phrase recurs in lines 8, 20, 29, 31. The meaning of ΘΕΜ is probably *θέμα*, in view of the late Greek use of this word for military divisions, and the fact that similar abbreviations occur in Attic (Wilhelm, Jahresb. d. Oesterr. Arch. Inst. d. Wien, 3, 46).

**Argive.** SGDI. 3362, 46 [4th cent.], *τᾶς ζωρύας τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρταμόντι καὶ τὰν γᾶν*. Another example occurs in line 36, and a fragmentary one in line 8.

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 3758, 152 [2nd cent.], *τοῦ παρορίζεσθαι τὰν χώραν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φρουρίου οὐθ[ε]ν [εἰρηκότας]*.

## 2. With the accusative.

**Megarian.** SGDI. 3025, 15 [242-235], τὸν *ράχιν* τὸν—*ὑπὲρ* τὰν *Σκολλεῖαν* ἀπὸ τοῦ *ράχιο* τοῦ *ὑπὲρ* τὰν *Σκολλεῖαν*.

**Elean.** Ol. V, 46, 49 [189-167], ὀρισμ]ὸς [τ]ᾶς *χώρας* τᾶς *ὑπὲρ* τὸ *ἐν* . . .

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 4110, 16 [4th or 3rd cent.], *θέμειν* δὲ τὰς *στάλας* — *μίαν* δὲ *ὑπὲρ* τὸ *ἰστατόριον*. Another example is SGDI. 3758, 163 [2nd cent.], τὰ δὲ *ὑπὲρ* τὸν *λόφον*—*εἴμειν* *Πριανέων*.

The use with the genitive in the dialects is quite in accord with that of literary Greek. But the use with the accusative is parallel to the literary, poetic and late use of this case, for an idea of motion is present in none of the dialect instances. The late date of the examples in this scanty collection permits the assumption of influence by the *κοινή*, to which this syntactic phenomenon is doubtless due. In Megarian the case use is quite indiscriminate: in the inscription from which the above examples are quoted, the genitive occurs eleven times and the accusative twice, in contexts that are absolutely parallel. The same careless use is seen with *ὑπό*, which appears in line 17 with the accusative and in 22 with the dative.

## B. Around.

## 1. In general.

The use of the cognates of *ἀμφί* is exceedingly limited. The early meaning “on both sides of” appears in the Sanskrit *abhītas\** with the accusative, as Çat.Br. 10, 6, 4, 1, *etau vā aṣvam mahimānāvabhītaḥ sambabhūvatuh*, “these two Mahiman (cups) indeed came to be on both sides of the horse.” This is parallel to the meaning of the chiefly adverbial *ubhayatas*, as R.V. 9, 86, 6, *ubhayataḥ pavamānasya raçmayah (pari yanti)*, “on both sides

\* *Abhi*, which at the first glance seems to be parallel to *abhītas*, comes instead from the Indo-European \**abhi*, \**bhi*, from which Latin *ob* (?), Gothic *bi*, Old High German *bi* (*bī*), and Old Bulgarian *o*, *obŭ* are derived (K. Vergl. Gr. §§ 599, 601). This group of prepositions has the meaning “towards,” etc., and remains quite distinct from the derivatives of \**ambhi*, \**ṁbhi*, except in Gothic and Old Bulgarian (cf. pp. 26 and 40).



of the wind the rays (go around),” with which may be compared the Lithanian *abypusiaĩ*, *abyszaliaĩ*, “on both sides of.”

The later sense of “around” is the only one found in the Latin *am*, which appears only in archaic passages, as Cato, Orig. ap. Macr. 1, 14, 5, *am terminum*, Charis. 2, p. 205, *am fines*, *am segetes*, and has been completely crowded out by *circum* (cf. below) in independent use, although as a verbal prefix *amb-* *ambi-* it is common in all periods.

Old High German *umbi* has likewise only the meaning “around,” occurring with the accusative, as *tho gisah ther heilant managa menigi umbi sih*, “the Savior saw a great company sitting around him.” This appears in Modern German in the form *um*, as *Die Erde läuft um die Sonne*, etc.

Anglo-Saxon *yambe* with the accusative is fairly common in the meaning “around,” as Mark 3, 32, *and mycel menigu yamb hine saet*, “and many men sat around him,” Matth. 3, 4, *haefde—fellene gyrdel yambe his lendenu*, “had—a leathern girdle about his loins.” The compound *yambeutan* also occurs, as Levit. 3, 2, *geotad̄ ðaet blod yambeutan ðaet weofud*, “sprinkle the blood round about the altar.” In Early English this preposition gave way before *abuten* (*aboute*), as Mark 3, 32, *and a company sat aboute hym*, and *embutan*, etc., which was interchangeable in Anglo-Saxon with *yambe* and *yambeutan*. In Modern English there is no trace of it.

The only language besides Old Persian showing the cognate of *περί* in a prepositional use similar to that in Greek is Sanskrit.\* It occurs with the accusative, in the local meaning, as R.V. 3, 53, 8, *māyāh kr̥nvānas tanvam pari svam*, “creating shapes around his own body,” R.V. 1, 62, 8, *sanād̄ divam pari bhūmā virūpe—yuvatī*, “From of old the two unlike-maidens (go) around heaven and earth.” The derivative *paritas* is also used, with the accusative, as A.V. 10, 7, 38, *tasmim̄ chrayante ya uta ke ca devā vr̥kṣasya skandhaḥ paritaḥ iva çākhāh*, “All the gods rest upon

\* Goth. *fair-*, OHG. *fir-*, OB. *prē-*, are verbal prefixes, Lat. *per* means “through,” Lith. *peř* means “through” or “over” (cf. p. 22). The Old Persian example of *pariy*, in a figurative use, is quoted p. 41.

him, like the branches round upon the limbs of a tree," and with the genitive, as R. 2, 87, 33, *niçām atišṭhāt parito 'sya kevalam*, "placed only night around him." The adverbial *samantāt* (from *sam+anta*, "having the ends together") occurs with the genitive in this meaning, as Pañc. 185, *tasya nyagrodhasya samantāt paribhramati*, "goes a circle around the banyan tree."

The place of ἀμφί and περί in Greek is filled in Latin by the very common preposition *circum* (acc. sg. of *circus*, cf. κρικός, Early English *hring*) which is used with accusative, as Cic. Ac. 2, 39, 123, *terra circum axem se—convertit*. *Circa* is used for *circum*, as Hor. Odes 1, 3, 10, *illi robur et aes triplex circa pectus erat*, but this occurs chiefly after the Augustan period. *Circiter* is very rarely used of place, as Plaut. Cist. 677, *loca haec circiter excidit mihi (cista)*. *Circa* is seen in Romance, as Italian *volgeansi circa noi*, etc. In French *autour de* gives this sense, as *il va autour de la maison*. This is like the use also of *intorno* in Italian and *entorno* in Spanish.

In Gothic *bi* (cf. p. 24, ftn.) has taken on the meaning of \**ambhi* \**mbhi* to quite a large extent, besides the uses in which it corresponds in sense to εἰς and to ἐπί and κατά with the accusative, and is equivalent in force to περί, as Mark 3, 32, *jah setun bi ina managei, kai ekáθητο περιὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλος*, Mark 1, 6, *wasuþ þan Iohannes gawasifþs—jah gairda filleina bi huþ seinana, ἦν δὲ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος—καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περιὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ*. This fusion of meaning in Gothic of the two prepositions which both exist in Old High German (*umbi, bi*) and Anglo-Saxon (*ymbe, be, bi*) shows that the lack of a Gothic equivalent in form of *umbi, ymbe* is not due merely to accident or to lack of material. In Anglo-Saxon beside *ymbe* and *ymbeutan* appear *embutan, onbutan, abutan*, from *a* (*on, be*) and *utan* ("on [that which is] by [the] outside"), as Levit. 1, 5, *Aarones suna—offrion þaes celfes blod, and geoton embutan þaet weofod*, "Aaron's sons—shall offer the calf's blood, and sprinkle it around about that altar," Sax. Chr. 1083, *þa wreccan munecas lagon onbutan þam weofode*, "And the wretched monks lay round about the altar," Sax. Chr. 806,

an *wunderlic trendel weard ateowed abutan daere sunnan*, "A wonderful circle appeared around the sun." In Early English only *abuten* (*aboute*, *abeoten*, etc.) remains, as Orm. 9229, *Hiss girrdell wass off shepess skin abutenn hiss lendess*. This is strengthened by *round*, as Cov. Myst., p. 293, *and so rownd abowth the place*, and by *all*, as Alis. 1642, *al aboute the riche town*. Another English preposition, not in use in Anglo-Saxon, is *around*, 'round (O. Fr. *roond* = Lat. *rotundus*), as Depos. of Rich. II, p. 23, *that rewlers of rewmes around all the erthe were not yffoundid*, etc., and Cov. Myst., p. 110, I, *mercy, have ronne the heavenly regyon rownde*. In Modern English *about* and *around* are the two prepositions of this meaning which remain in use.

In Lithuanian the meaning of around is expressed by *apẽ* with the accusative, as *apẽ kãklã uzrĩszti*, "to bind around the neck," *apẽ mẽstã eĩti*, "to go around the city." The derivative *aplĩnk* also occurs, as Mark 3, 32, *iĩ žmónẽs sėdėjo aplĩnk jĩ*, "And men sat around him."

In Old Bulgarian *o* (cf. p. 24, fn.) is used, as Mark 3, 32, *i sėdėaše o nemĩ narodũ, kalĩ ekãbthto perĩ avũton õxlos*. The form *obũ* does not occur in this meaning of "around." The compound *okristũ* (from *o*+*kristu*, cf. Lith. *skrỹtis*, "the circumference of a wheel") has the same sense, as Matth. 8, 18, *uzĩrė že Isusũ mĩnogy narody okrũstũ sebe, idũn dè õ 'Ihsouĩs pollouĩs õxlouĩs perĩ avũton*. A similar compound is *okragũ* (cf. *kragũ*, "circle"). In Modern Russian *okrestũ* and *okolo* give the same meaning.

In literary Greek *ἀμφί* is used chiefly in poetry and in Ionic prose. Except in the common expression *οἱ ἀμφί τινα*, etc. (cf. 2, p. 29), the only Attic prose examples (except in Xenophon) are Thuc. 7, 40, and Plato Menex. 242e. In its use with the dative, which is wholly poetic, the early meaning "on both sides of," kept in many compounds as *ἀμφιθάλαττος*, etc., is still occasionally to be seen, as Il. 5, 723, although usually the only meaning is that of "around," as Od. 12, 395, *κρέα ἀμφι ὀβελοῖς ἔπειραν*. With the genitive its use is rare and poetic, the one prose example being Hdt. 8, 104, *ἀμφι ταύτης τῆς πόλιος*. The prose use is

chiefly that of the accusative, which occurs in poetry as well, usually with the idea of motion, as II. 2, 461, ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα ποτῶνται.

The common preposition in this sense is *περί*, which is not only more frequent in the local sense, but has a wider development and use in general. With the genitive it is rare and poetic, as Od. 5, 68, αὐτοῦ τετάνυστο *περὶ* σπέιους γλαφυροῖο. With the dative it is especially common in statements implying close contact, as II. 2, 416, χιτῶνα *περὶ* στήθεσσι δαΐξαι. This use with words describing clothing is especially frequent in Attic, and is often seen in the Attic inscriptions as well (Meisterh.<sup>3</sup> p. 220). The use with the accusative is common, as Od. 11, 42, οἱ πολλοὶ *περὶ* βόθρον ἐφοίτων, Dem. 8, 3, Φίλιππος *περὶ* Ἑλλήσποντον ὤν.

A summary of these uses in Greek and other languages is given briefly in the following table:

	*ambhi, *mbhi	*peri	Other Prepositions.
	on both sides		
Sanskrit	abhi-tas	pari, paritas	samantāt, etc.
Latin			circum (circa, etc.)
Romance			circa, cerca, etc.
Gothic			bi
Old High German			around, a-(on- em-)
Anglo-Saxon			butan
Early English			around, abuten
Lithuanian			apė
Old Bulgarian			o, okrustŭ, okragŭ
Greek	(ἀμφί with dative)	(ἀμφί) <i>περί</i>	

#### a. ἀμφί.

**Ionic.** Mitth. 18, 269, no. 4, 1 [Hellenistic], ἀμφὶ δὲ τύμβον . . . [Κλει]τος ἐπ' ἀγροτέρας δέιματο καλὸν ὁδοῦ. The late date and the metrical form of this inscription render it valueless for any indication of the prose usage in Ionic. It may be merely lack of material that prevents any appearance in the Ionic inscriptions of a use of ἀμφί comparable to that of Ionic prose literature (cf. above). But *περί* is fairly common, at an early date (cf. below and IV, 2, p. 45, etc.) so that no radical conjectures concerning *περί* are possible.

## b. περί.

**Ionic.** Hoff. III, 42, 30 [2nd half 5th cent.], τ)οὺς [μ]ι(α)[ινο-  
μένους] λουσαμένο[υς] π[ε]ρ[ι] π[ι] (ά)[ντα τὸ](ν) [χρῶτα ὕδατ](ος)  
[χ]ύσι κα[θαρ]οὺς εἶναι. Another example occurs CIGS. I, 411,  
6 [ca. 156].

**Cyprian.** SGDI. 60, 27, βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄ πτόλις κατέθιζαν ἰ(ν)  
τὰ(ν) θιὸν τὰν Ἀθάναν τὰν περ' Ἡδάλιον.

**Thessalian.** Eph. Arch. 1901, 125, 29 [4th or 3rd cent.], καὶ  
νεμο[μ]ένους τὰ περὶ τὸν πύργον τὸν ὑποκ[ά]τω τῆ<ι>ς Μινύης.

**Boeotian.** SGDI. 737, 4 [1st half 2nd cent.], ἐν παντὶ κ]ηρῦ κῆ  
[σ]πανο[σ]ιτία[ς] γενομένης περὶ [τὰν χώρ]α[ν]. This is the re-  
stitution of Gaheis, Wiener Studien 34, 280.

**Megarian.** SGDI. 3052, 7 [end 3rd or beginning 2nd cent.],  
χρηεῖσθω δὲ καὶ τῶι περὶ τὸ ἱερό[ν] χώρωι] τῶι δαμοσιῶι.

**Corinthian.** CIGP. et Ins. I, 426, 2 [end 3rd cent.], πράγματα  
τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα.

**Argive.** SGDI. 3339, 80 [2nd half 4th cent.], σκενοφόρος—ἐπεὶ  
ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ δεκαστάδιον κατέπ[ε]τε. Cf. also examples in line  
62 and in SGDI. 3340, 29 and 105 of the same date.

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 3758, 98 [2nd cent.], τὰς περὶ τὸ κάριον  
χώρας. Examples also occur in lines 127 and 132.

**Coan.** SGDI. 3618, 9 [3rd cent.], διὰ] τὰς [κ]α[κο]παθίας τὰς  
γενομένης περὶ αὐτοῦς.

**Cretan.** Mus. It. III, 630, no. 52, 5 [late], τὰς γενομένης  
περιστάσιος περὶ τὰν πόλιν καὶ τ[ὸν ἀμὸν] δ[ᾶ]μον.

It will be seen that the dialect use is uniformly that of the accu-  
sative (except cf. 2 below). For the Cyprian example Hoffman  
(I, p. 73) suggests that the genitive is possible. But since such a  
use would be unusual for even literary Greek, it is especially im-  
probable in a dialect where the genitive is used so little as in  
Cyprian, since it is supplanted by the dative with this and other  
prepositions (cf. III, 1, b, p. 35, and ch. IV, I, 2, p. 71).

## 2. Giving the eponymous officer.

This subdivision is made for the purpose of comparison with the  
use of σύν and μετά to give this idea. A table summarizing the

occurrence of these four prepositions is given Ch. III, I, 2 *a*, p. 62. Latin shows a similar variation between *cum* and *circum*, with a preference for the latter.

*a. ἀμφί.*

**Argive.** CIGP. et Ins. I, 554, 2 [5th cent.], ἡ τὰ]ν βωλὰν τ[ὸν] ἀνφ' Ἀρίστωνα ἢ τὰν(ς) συναρτύοντας. Meister, I.F.Anz. I, 202, considers ἀρίστων the title of an officer of the Argive governing body, reasoning that οἱ ἀμφ' ἀρίστωνα is equivalent to οἱ δαμόργοι (Et. M. 265, 45) = οἱ ὄγδοήκοντα (Thuc. 5, 47) = ἁ βωλὰ σευτέρα (SGDI. 3277, 15). The usual interpretation is that Ἀρίστωνα is a proper name. This dialect seems to retain ἀμφί in use more than the other dialects or Attic. In this example it is parallel to Attic use, but its appearance is the more interesting in view of the fact that it appears in prose in a figurative use also. Cf. IV, 1, *b*, p. 44.

*b. περί.*

**Ionic.** Rev. d. Phil. 36, 301, no. 2, 10 [4th cent.], ἀναγράψαι τοὺς νεοποίας τοὺς περὶ Αἰνεσιηλῆν.

**Arcadian.** Michel, Recueil 190, 8 [3rd cent.], τὸς στραταγὸς τὸς περὶ Στρατέαν.

**Thessalian.** SGDI. 1332, 30 [Roman], τὸ] μὰ [ἐπι]μέλ[ει]μα γενέσθαι [τοῖς ταγοῖς τ]οῖς πέρ Φιλόλαον Εὐμε[λείου].

**Phocian.** CIGS. III, 61, 22 [Roman], τῶν περὶ Φίλωνα Σωσικράτους καὶ Δάμωνα Ζωπύρου ἀρχόντων.

**Delphian.** SGDI. 2502, 159 [336–326], ἁ βουλὰ ἀπέδωκε τοὶ περὶ Μελάνωπον. Similar expressions are frequent throughout this inscription, and occur also in SGDI. 2138, 1 [150–140].

**Elean.** Jahresh. d. Oesterr. Archaeol. Inst. in Wien I, 199, 8 [middle 4th cent.], τῶν περὶ Πύρρωνα δαμόργων. Other examples occur SGDI. 1172, 1 [1st half 3rd cent.], and Ol. V, 406, 407 [both 1st cent.], 46, 14, 67 [189–167].

**Laconian.** SGDI. 4516, 9 [2nd or 1st cent.], ἐπαινέσαι ἐφόρους τοὺς περὶ Πασιτέλη. Other examples are SGDI. 4544, 20 [195], Eph. Arch. 1900, 159, no. 2, 23, and probably also the fragment in SGDI. 4549, 6 [3rd cent.].

**Megarian.** SGDI. 3087, 34 [ca. 1st cent.], τῶν περὶ Σαύμακον Σκυθᾶν νεωτεριζάντων.

**Argive.** SGDI. 3364b, 5 [ca. 150], ἔδοξε τοῖς πατριώταις τοῖς πε[ρὶ] Πολ[ύμ]ναστον. Other examples occur in lines 32, 35, 39.

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 3758, 70 [2nd cent.], τῶν περὶ τὸν τύραννον. This same phrase also occurs in lines 72, 78, 110 of the same inscription.

**Cretan.** SGDI. 4940, 18 [late], ἐπὶ κόσμον τῶν περὶ Φιλόνβροντον τὸν Εὐθυμάχῳ.

With the exception of Arcadian, none of these examples are especially early, and in most cases it can be suggested that the κοινή influence may have something to do with the appearance of the usage. A different idiom is shown in Laconian SGDI. 4530, 35 [1st half 2nd cent.], τοὶ ἔφοροι τοὶ ἐπὶ στραταγῶ Ξενοφάνεος, (also 4567, 33 [ca. 1st cent.]). In Argive these examples show merely the crowding out by περὶ of ἀμφί, the original and doubtless normal dialect usage (cf. above).

## II. MEASURE.

The development to this sense in Sanskrit *upari* is shown by examples like R.V. 3, 54, 23, *krodho mamāpūrvo dhairyaasyopari vardhate*, "fresh anger grows over (*i. e.*, beyond) my forbearance," and Kathās. 1, 16, 167, *tām—devīnām upari prasahya kṛtavān*, "exalting her at one bound above his queens." The same meaning is given by the use of *pari* as R.V. 2, 23, 17, *viśvebhyo hi tvā bhuvanebhyaḥ pari tvāstājanat*, "the creator brought you forth with preference over all beings."

In Latin *super* occurs in this use, but is not frequent until after the Augustan period, as Quint. 11, 3, 169, *super modum ac paene naturam*. The same usage is seen in Romance, as French *beaux et jolis sur tous les compagnons*, Italian *mi preme sopra ogni altra cosa*, Spanish *me costo sobre cien reales*.

Gothic uses *ufar*, as Matth. 10, 37, *saci frijoþ attan aiþrau aiþein ufar mik*, ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμέ, and Old High German shows *ubar* in the same use, as *thie thar minnot sun odo*

*tohter ubar mih*, "who ever loves son or daughter above me." This remains in Modern German also, as *Darum liebe ich dein Gebot über Gold*, etc. Anglo-Saxon shows the same use of *ofer*, as Legg. Aelfred 2, *ne lufa þu odre fremde godas ofar me*, "Do not love other strange gods more than me." This is more frequent in Anglo-Saxon than in Early English, where *above* (which is not used in this sense in Anglo-Saxon) appears beside it. Examples of both are Alis. 6689, *over alle men I the desire*, and P. Ploughm. 5180, *Do-best is above bothe, A bisschopes peer*. The two prepositions appear together, as Seuyng Sages 1799, *over alle bestes above*, which usage is seen in Modern English *over and above*, etc. The Modern English use of *beyond* (AS. *begeondan*, Goth. *jaind*) does not occur in Early English, nor likewise that of *past*, which was not yet a preposition in Early English.

In Lithuanian *peř* is used, as *tà kvėtkà peř mėř graži*, "this flower is beautiful beyond all measure." Old Bulgarian seems to express the idea without the aid of prepositions. In Luke 6, 40, where Gothic has *ufar*, both Old Bulgarian and Greek use the comparative. In Matth. 10, 37, *paçe*, equivalent in sense to *μᾶλλον*, is used, although the Greek here shows *ὑπέρ*.

In literary Greek this use of *ὑπέρ* with the accusative is common, as Xen. Cy. 1, 24, *τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὰ στρατεύσιμα ἔτη γεγονόσι*. It occurs sometimes in poetry with the genitive also, as Pind. Isthm. 2, 36, *ὄργαν Ξεινοκράτης ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων γλυκεῖαν ἔσχευ*. Except in the common Attic and Herodotean expressions *περὶ παντός, πολλοῦ, πλείονος, πλειστοῦ, ὀλίγου ποιεῖσθαι, ἡγείσθαι*, etc., the use of the genitive with *περὶ* to give this idea is chiefly poetic, as Il. 5, 325, *ὄν περὶ πάσης Τιεν ὀμηλικίης*. F. de Saussure suggests (Mém. 7, 87) that *περὶ* in this use is different from *περὶ* meaning around, and is instead a variant form from *\*uperi*, which in such combination became either *ὑπὲρ πάντων* or *περὶ πάντων*.

### 1. ὑπέρ.

Laconian. SGDI. 4568, 40 [86], *ἐχαρίσαντο τᾷ πόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀφειλομένου χρήματος ὑπὲρ χιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμᾶς*.



Rhodian. SGDI. 4320, 3 [2nd or 1st cent.], ἐπειδὴ [Μ]η[νό-  
κρ]ιτος—δεδαμοσιευ[κῶ]ς ἔτη ὑπὲρ τὰ εἴκοσι.

## 2. περί.

Boeotian. SGDI. 489, 35 [end 3rd cent.], ἀλλ' ἀπέχι πάντα  
περὶ παντός κῆ ἀποδεδῶσθι τῇ πόλι τὸ ἔχοντες τὰς ὁμολογίας.

Delphian. SGDI. 2677, 5 [189-8], καὶ περὶ πλείστου ποιείμε-  
νος τὰν ποτὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν. The same phraseology occurs  
SGDI. 2682, 19 [140-100], and 2737, 5 [155].

Aetolian. SGDI. 1413, 7 [192-159], περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενος  
τὰν ποτὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν.

Argive. SGDI. 3417, 17 [82], ἀλλὰ περ[ὶ] π(λ)είστου [ποιού]-  
μ[ενος τὸ συ]μφέρων τοῖς πολ[ίταις].

Rhodian. SGDI. 3752, 11 [2nd cent.], ὁ δᾶμος τὰν τε (π)ο(τὶ)  
τοῦ[ς θεοὺς] εὐσέβειαν περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενος.

These examples of both ὑπὲρ and περί are exactly parallel to the literary use, and their late date, together with the fact that in three of the dialects περί occurs in the one phrase περὶ πλείστου, is evidence for the assumption that they show merely κοινή syntax. The Boeotian example of περί is somewhat different, the sense of περὶ παντός apparently being "entirely," and this may show an independent dialectic development.

## III. IN BEHALF OF.

Sanskrit *upari* is not used in this sense, except perhaps in examples like Pañc. 214, 6, *anyathā tavopari prāyopaveṣanam karisyāmi*, "Otherwise I shall sit and wait for death on your account." Nor are *upariṣṭāt*, *pari* and *paritas* found in this use.

Latin uses *pro*, as Hor. Od. 3, 2, 13, *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, Cic. Tusc. 4, 19, 43, *Convenit dimicare pro legibus*, which appears also in Romance, as French *Melpomene et la gloire ont combattu pour moi*, Italian *andate la per me*, Spanish *asito por me compañero*.

Gothic uses *faur*, as John 15, 13, *maizein þizai friarþwai manna ni habaiþ, ei hvas seiwala seinu laggiþ faur frijonds seinans*,

μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει, ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῆ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ. This remains in Old High German, as *fure den singet er sus*, “for him he sings sweetly.” *Umbi* is also used, as *salig sint die umbi reht ahtunga leident*, “Blessed are they who suffer for righteousness’ sake.” These are seen in Modern German *um*, as *Was thut man nicht um’s liebe Geld*, and *für*, as *Er hat viel für mich gelitten*.

In Anglo-Saxon *for* is used, as John 15, 13, *Naefð nan man maran lufe ðonne deos ys, ðaet hwa sylle his lif for his freondum*, and this remains in Early English, as *ib. No man hath more love than this, that ony man putteth his soule for his frendis*. The phrase *in behalf of*, common in Modern English, does not appear in Anglo-Saxon, but from Anglo-Saxon *behealfe* “at the side of” Early English developed this use, with *in*, *on* and *of* prefixed, as Maundev. p. 225, *commanded hem on Goddes behalve immortalle*, Town. M. p. 73, *of my behalf thou shalle hyr grete*, Ipom. 1247, *I the pray in my byhalfe that thou say*.

In Lithuanian *ùz* is used, as *jis ùz manę kentėjo*, “he suffered in my behalf.” This shows a development exactly the reverse of that in Greek and Teutonic, for *ùz* means “behind.” It gains the meaning “in behalf of, representing,” from the idea of standing behind something or some one, in contrast thus to *πρό* “in front of,” and *ὑπέρ* “over.” In Old Bulgarian *za* is used, as John 15, 13, *bolisǝ seyǝ lǝbǝve nikože (ne) imatǝ, da kto duǝǝ svoyǝ polorǝitǝ za drugy svoye, μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει, ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῆ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ*.

In literary Greek *πρό* has a limited use, as Il. 22, 110, *ὀλέσθαι πρὸ πόλλης*, Hdt. 7, 134, *πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν*, but *ὑπέρ* with the genitive is much more common, as Isoc. 4, 75, *τοὺς τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προκινδυνεύσαντας*.

### 1. In general (*ὑπέρ*).

#### a. With the genitive.

**Ionic.** AJArch. 1896, 189, no. 2, 14 [ca. 100], *συντελεί—θυσίαν—ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων*.

Lesbian. SGDI. 255, 18 [late], *όντα—τὰς τε Πολιάδος Ἀθάνας παρακελεύσταν ὑπὲρ τὰς πόλιος.*

Thessalian. Hoff. II, 18, 25 [after 200], *Νικάτουρ Μνασέαιος ὑπὲρ Ἀφροδισίας Δαίμαχέιας ΤΟΣΕΦ ἀπειλευθερούσθειν ἀπὸ Δαϊμάχοι Θειρομαχέιοι τὸς γινομένος τὰ πόλι κατ τὸν νόμον ἀργυρίοι στατείρας δεκάπεμπε.*

Delphian. SGDI. 2520, 11 [231–230], *τοὺς δὲ ἱεραμνάμο[νας]—τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιε[ῖσθαι].*

Locrian. CIGS. III, 1064, 3 [3rd cent.], *ὦγ καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος πάτρας ὑπερ ἀσπίδ' αἰείρας ὄλετο.*

Argive. CIGP. et Ins. I, 1485, 47 [4th cent.], *ὑπὲρ Μύρμακος παρ' Ἀθανάδα ὑπεραμερίαν ἀπήνικε Δαμοφάνης Πυθῶνι ἱαροῖ ΗΗΗ.*

Rhodian. SGDI. 4262a, 39 [3rd cent.], *Δαμάτριος Ἀριστοβούλου (ὑ)πὲρ<ι> αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ι΄.*

Calymnian. SGDI. 3590, 4 [ca. 205], *καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν υἱῶν ν.*

Coan. SGDI. 3639, 10 [end 4th cent.], *θύοντι] ὑπὲρ τὰς πόλιος—[τὰ]ν ἰαρεωσύναν.* A less fragmentary example is 3624a, 37 [190], *Διοκλῆς Λεωδάμαντος καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ξενοτιμοῦ ΧΧ.*

Cretan. SGDI. 5149, 15 [end 2nd cent.], *ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦδε τῶ—ἐνγρόφω—ἀποστηλάντων οἳ τε Κνώσιοι—πρειγεῖαν.*

Other examples occur in all the dialects quoted. This collection seems small because so many of the examples of this meaning are classified farther, and placed under following headings.

*b. With the dative.*

Arcadian. Michel, Recueil 190, 3 [3rd cent.], *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τὰι τὰς πόλιος ἐλευθερίαι.* On the equivalence of this dative to the genitive in the other dialects and literary Greek, cf. Ch. IV, I, 2, p. 71.

*c. With the accusative.*

Delphian. SGDI. 2615, 7 [270–260], *ἀπολελῦσθαι δὲ τὰν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῶν ῥυσίων πάντων, ὧν ἐπεκάλει Φιλ[ιστί]ων ὑπὲρ τὰν πόλιν ἀποτετέικεν ὑφ' ὧν ἔφατο ἐρῥυσιάσται ὑπὲρ τὰν πόλιν.* Other examples are 1409A, 11 [250–221] (with which cf. 2520, 11, quoted above under *a*), and 2642, 57 [158]. Examples are frequent.

**Aetolian.** CIGS. III, 485, 12 [3rd cent.], σ] *υνευδοκεύντων ὑπὲρ τὰμ [πόλιν.*

**Laconian.** SGDI. 4689, 68 [90], ἔστι δὲ ἅ δεῖ παρέχειν—*ὑπὲρ τοὺς πρωτομύστας ἄρνας ἑκατόν.*

**Corinthian.** 3195b, 2 [3rd cent.], . . . οἱ δικασταὶ καὶ κοινοὶ εὐδοκου . . . καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰν πόλιν τῶν συν[δίκων. . . .

A similar usage is indicated for Phocian, Locrian, and Argive by the occurrence in these additional dialects of ὑπέρ with the accusative expressing legal representation, a development of the general use of “in behalf of,” cf. 3, p. 39. The use of ὑπέρ with the accusative in this sense of “in behalf of” does not occur in literary Greek.

## 2. In dedications.

This division is made in order to compare with ὑπέρ the less common περί and πρό in this meaning. In the Attic inscriptions, only ὑπέρ occurs, as CIA. II, 3, 1440 [end 5th cent.], Φρύνων—*ὑπὲρ Διογνήστου τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀνέθηκεν ἐπὶ Νικοδήμου ἱερέως*, and ib. 1485 [end 4th cent.], *εὐξάμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν*, etc.

### a. ὑπέρ

**Ionic.** Hoff. III, 143, 1 [387–347], Στρατοκλῆς ὑπὲρ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ Δεινοστράτου—*Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰητρῶι ἀνέθηκε.*

**Boeotian.** SGDI. 413, 10 [after 369], Ἀμύντα [ς]—*καταβὰ [ς ἐν] τ[ὸ ἄ]ν[τρ]ον ὑπὲρ αὐτὸς αὐτῶ ἀνέθεικε . . . [ς] ἱκατι.*

**Phocian.** CIGS. III, 130, 3 [4th cent.], Ποσειδῶνι—*ἡ πόλις εὐξαμένη τοῦσδ' ἀνέθηκε ἡμιθέους σωτήρας ὑπὲρ προγόνων τε καὶ αὐτῶν.*

**Locrian.** CIGS. III, 319, 1 [Roman], Λαίτειμος Ἀ[ριστοπεί-θους ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ] αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοπ[εῖθους].

**Argive.** SGDI. 3339, 56 [2nd half 4th cent.], οὔτος λαβὼν—*[χρήματα] ὥστ' ἀνθέμεν τῶι θεῶι εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον ὑπὲρ αὐ[τοῦ] οὐκ ἄ[π]εδίδου ταῦτα.*

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 3824A, 5 [1st half 2nd cent.], Δαμόναξ—*ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ Κλευπάτρα καὶ Θεοφάνεια Δαμόνακτος ὑπὲρ τῆς ματρὸς θεοῖς.*

**Theran.** SGDI. 4706, 20 [end 3rd or beginning 2nd cent.],  
καὶ θέμεν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῖ  
τε ἀνδρίοντα καὶ τὸ ἡρώιον.

**Coan.** SGDI. 3722, 10 [ca. 240], Ἀριστίων Ἀριστίωνος — καὶ  
ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ (Δ)αιστράτου καὶ ὑπὲρ τᾶς θυγατρὸς Κλειτίου.

**Cretan.** SGDI. 5062, 1 [4th cent.], Ἀπολλώνιος ὑπὲρ Καλλι-  
μάχου Ἀρτέμιδι Σωτείραι.

In all these dialects except Boeotian and Locrian there are other examples besides the ones quoted.

b. *περί*.

**Cyprian.** SGDI. 45, Ἀριστώχων τῷ Ὀνασί(ja) ὑευξάμενος περὶ  
παιδί τῷ Περσεύται ἰνέθηκε. On the equivalence of this dative to  
the genitive in other dialects and literary Greek cf. Ch. IV, I,  
2, p. 71.

**Thessalian.** SGDI. 346 [ca. 200], Αὐτουόειος ἰνέθεικε το[ῦ]  
Ποτειδ[ᾶ]νι πὲρ τοῦ πα[τ]ρ[ὸ]ς Αὐτουόο[υ].

**Coan.** PH. 77 [Roman], πατρώοι[ς περ]ὶ τᾶς Νικία τοῦ [δά]-  
μον υἱοῦ. In Coan this late example of *περί* and also PH. 78 and  
79 are parallel to PH. 77 and 80, which show exactly the same  
wording except that *ὑπὲρ* is used. This is doubtless due to the  
interchangeable use of the two prepositions to express reference at  
this time (Cf. IV, p. 44).

The meaning of *περί* in these examples is not necessarily syn-  
onymous with that of *ὑπὲρ* in similar contexts, as intimated by  
Fick in his comment on the Thessalian example (SGDI. 346,  
notes: "*πὲρ* steht im Sinne von *ὑπὲρ*"). More accurately a paral-  
lel usage is indicated, the final idea being reached from a different  
starting point from that of *ὑπὲρ*. This use of *περί* is doubtless a  
development from the causal force of the preposition in expres-  
sions like Il. 12, 243, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης. Perhaps the middle  
ground between such a meaning and the simple idea of reference  
is shown in the following three examples:

**Lesbian.** Hoff. II, 98 [1st part 2nd cent.], Ἀσκληπίω Σώτηρι  
περὶ ὑγείας.

**Elean.** SGDI. 1171 [4th cent.], *Φαλείων περι ὁμονοίᾳ* (cf. the simple genitive in Ol. V, 245).

**Corinthian.** SGDI. 3184, 4 (= 1564) [?], *Ἐπικοινωνήται . . . ἡς Ἀμβρακιά[τας] Διὶ Νάωι καὶ Δη[ώναι] περι ὑγιείας αὐτοῦ [καὶ] τῶν ὑπαρχόντων.*

The following table gives a chronological comparison of the occurrences of these two prepositions, showing also the one example of *πρό* in this sense (cf. Ch. I, III, 2, a, p. 19):

	<i>ὑπέρ</i>	<i>περί</i>	<i>πρό</i>
Ionic	387-347		
Cyprian		early	
Thessalian		ca. 200.	
Boeotian	after 369		
Phocian	4th cent.		
Locrian	Roman		
Heracleian			ca. 4th cent.
Argive	2nd half 4th cent.		
Rhodian	1st half 2nd cent.		
Theran	end 3rd or beginning 2nd cent.		
Coan	ca. 240	Roman	
Cretan	4th cent.		

### 3. In representation (*ὑπέρ*).

#### a. With the genitive.

**Boeotian.** SGDI. 488, 52 [223-197], *παρείαν οὐπὲρ τῆς πόλ[ι]ος πολέμαρχοι Καφισόδωρος.* — Other examples occur in line 97 and in SGDI. 482, 6 [end of 3rd cent.].

**Phocian.** CIGS. III, 119, 5 [4th cent.], *συνδικῆ]σαι δὲ [ὑπὲρ Φέρητο]ς ἔατω<ι> ἄ[δ]εῖα.*

**Delphian.** SGDI. 1701, 8 [150-140], *κύρια ἔστω αὐσαντὰν συλέουσα καὶ ἄλλος ὁ θέλων ὑπὲρ Δορκίδος.*

**Laconian.** SGDI. 4642, 6 [3rd cent.], *προστατευέ[τω] δὲ ὄσστις κα χρῆξι ὑπὲρ Πετραίας ὡς ἐλευθέρας ἐάσας.*

**Coan.** SGDI. 3636, 25 [end 4th cent.], *ἀγορεύει οὐ κα ἦι ὁ βοῦς, ἢ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ κήμου ἐνδέξιο[ς].*

#### b. With the accusative.

**Phocian.** SGDI. 1548a, 4 [1st part 2nd cent.], *μὴ καταδο[υλιξάστω]—μήτε ἄλλος ὑπὲρ τούτους μηθείς.*

**Delphian.** SGDI. 1740, 5 [170], *συνευδοκούντος τοῦ υἱοῦ Στρατονίκου καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀγαθοκλῆ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ζωΐλου.*

**Locrian.** SGDI. 1474, 5 [1st cent.], *χειρόγραφον Κριτοδά[μο]υ Δωροθέου Δελφοῦ ὑπὲρ Ζωπύραν Μενάν[δ]ρου Ἀμφισσίδα παρούσαν καὶ κελεύουσα [ν γράφει] ν ὑπὲρ αὐτάν.*

**Argive.** SGDI. 3299, 2 [Roman], *Καλλικράτο[υς] Ἀργεῖα τὸν ἐαυτᾶς συμβίον (ὑπ)ὲρ τὰν πόλιν ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα.*

Examples with the accusative are frequent in Phocian and Delphian, and there are two others in Locrian and in Argive, but all of them unfortunately are of late date. A comparison of these examples of *ὑπὲρ* with those of *ἀντί* denoting "instead of" (with personal object), and of *πρό* (cf. Ch. I, III, 1, pp. 16 ff., and 2 b, p. 19) indicates that the general dialect tendency is parallel to that of literary Greek in preferring *ὑπὲρ*. (The use of the accusative with *ὑπὲρ* has been commented upon p. 36.) The three instances of *ἀντί* are of the same date as those of *ὑπὲρ* in the same dialects, or later, and the Cretan instances of *πρό* show a usage to be expected from the retention in the same dialect of its parallel *ἀντί* in a use opposite to the usage in literary Greek (cf. Ch. I, III, pp. 13 f.). The following table summarizes these facts in briefer form:

	ἀντί	πρό	ὑπὲρ	
			With Gen.	With Acc.
Boeotian	173		223-197	1st part 2d cent. 170
Phocian			4th cent.	
Delphian			150-140	
Locrian	Roman		3rd cent.	1st cent.
Laconian				
Argive	Roman			Roman
Coan			end 4th cent.	
Cretan		5th cent.		

#### 4. In a distributive sense, with words of payment.

##### a. With impersonal object.

**Boeotian.** SGDI. 802, 8 [in the younger alphabet], *κῆ τῶμ προσστατᾶων ὀβελὸν ὑπὲρ ἐκ[ατὸν δραχμᾶν, ὑπὲρ πεντακατῆαν δραχμᾶν.* This is the restoration of Haussoulier, Rev. d. Phil. 22, 362.

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 4110, 31 [4th or 3rd cent.], *εἰ δέ κα πρόβατα ἐσβάλη, ἀποτεισάτω ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου προβάτου ὀβελὸν ὁ ἐσβαλὼν.*

This idea is expressed by *ἀντί* in Arcadian, which shows an instance closely parallel to the above Rhodian example. Cf. Ch. I, III, 1, c, p. 18. A third method of giving this force is shown by the Heraclidean use of *παρά* in SGDI. 4629, I, 121 [4th cent.], *αἱ δέ κα μὴ πεφυτεύκωντι κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα, κατεδικάσθεν πὰρ μὲν τὰν ἐλαίαν δέκα νόμως ἀργυρίω πὰρ τὸ φυτὸν ἑκάστων, πὰρ δὲ τὰς ἀμπελωσ δύο μνᾶς ἀργυρίω πὰρ τὰν σχοῖνον ἑκάσταν.* Cf. also lines 143 and 172. The literary usage is that of *κατά*, as Dem. 815, 11, *κατὰ τὰς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς εἰσφέρειν.*

*b. With personal object.*

**Cretan.** SGDI. 4991, XI, 43 [middle 5th cent.], *ἀ[τ]ῆθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ μ[ἐ]ν τῷ [πα]τρὸς τὰ πατρῶια, ὑπὲ(δ) δὲ τὰς ματρὸς τὰ ματρῶια.* The meaning of this is shown by the following free translation which includes some of the preceding sentences: "If a person dies in debt or with a lost case at law, if the heirs to whom the property falls are willing to assume the loss and the debt to the creditors, the heirs shall have the property. But if they are unwilling, the property shall belong to the winners of the suit or to the creditors, but the heirs shall suffer no other loss. And for the father's (debts or loss) his property is to be mulcted, and for the mother's likewise hers." Elsewhere throughout the inscription, with other verbs of legal action, the simple genitive is used, as in IX, 31, I, 39, etc. (Cf. Baunack, *Inschr. v. Gortyn*, p. 85, for list of examples.) The force of *ὑπὲρ* is peculiar here, although there is no doubt about the sense of the passage.

#### IV. REFERENCE.

The only parallels to Greek *ἀμφί* in this sense are found in Teutonic and Old Bulgarian. From a syntactic point of view Gothic *bi* may be included among the cognates of *ἀμφί* (cf. p. 26). This preposition is extremely common, as Luke 3, 15, *ῥαγκῆσανδαν allaim—bi Iohannen, διαλογιζομένων πάντων—περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου.* Old High German *umbi* is used in the same sense, as in *haubide*



*dhes libelles ist chiseriban umbi mih*, "In the beginning of this book is written about me." In Modern German it is common, in the form *um*, as *um etwas wissen*, etc. In Anglo-Saxon *ymbe* occurs, as *Beow. 353, ic—frinan wille—ymb þinne sid*, "I will ask concerning your expedition." The compound *ymbutan* is not used in this sense in Anglo-Saxon, but occurs in Early English, as *Met. 8, 14, hi ne gesawon sundbuende, ne ymbutan hi ne herdon*, "they did not see the sound-dwellers nor did they hear about them." Corresponding to Gothic *bi* Anglo-Saxon also shows *be*, as *Luke 3, 15, eallum on hyra heortan þencendum be Johanne*, "all men mused in their hearts of John," and likewise Early English, as *P. Ploughm. 9197, so I seye by yow riche*. There is but little trace of this use in Modern English. An example is *Merch. of Ven. 1, 2, How say you by the French lord*. The compound *aboute* does not occur in Anglo-Saxon. Its first appearance in Early English is in 1230, as *Ancren Riwe 344, Hu hire stout abuten vleschliche tentaciuns*, and becomes one of the commonest prepositions to give this meaning in Modern English.

Old Bulgarian uses for this meaning *o*, which may also be considered here (cf. p. 24, ftn.). An example is *Luke 3, 15, pomyšlyeyastemī vīsyemī—o Joanye, διαλογιζομένων πάντων — περι τοῦ Ἰωάννου*. In Russian secondary formations are used, but in Bohemian *o* with the locative still gives this meaning.

Although Sanskrit does not show *pari* in this sense, the one instance of the word in Old Persian is in such a meaning, namely, *Bh. I, 54, naiy adaršnauš cišciy þastanaiy pariṅ Gaumatam*, "no one dared to say anything about Gaumata." Latin *circa*, the syntactic equivalent of *περί*, is frequent in post-Augustan prose, as *Quint. 10, 5, 5, circa eosdem sensus certamen*. This use persists in the Romance languages, as Italian *circa il noto affare*, Spanish *acerca de esta circunstancia* (beside the later expressions, Italian *intorno*, Spanish *en torno, al rededor*), Ptg. *acerca, ao redor, em torno*, and French *autour de*.

Sanskrit *upari* is used in this meaning, as *Hitop. p. 73, 18, ayam svāmī tavopari vikṛtabuddhī*, "that master being of altered mind about you." Judging from the use and meaning in Latin,

Romance and Germanic of the cognates of this preposition (cf. below), it may be assumed that the idea of reference developed from the meaning "over, upon," rather than that of "above." Additional evidence for this assumption may be given by the fact that Gothic *ufar* which means "over, above," but not "upon," is not used in the meaning "concerning," while *ana*, meaning "upon," is thus used.

Latin *super* to express reference belongs at first to colloquial language only, being entirely avoided by Caesar, and occurring in Cicero only in the letters. Later it becomes frequent. In this sense it is always used with the ablative (in contrast to the use of the accusative in the local meaning, cf. p. 20). An example is Cic. Att. 16, 6, 1, *hac super re scribam ad te Rhegio*. In the Romance languages this becomes one of the most common prepositions for this meaning, as Italian *parleremo sopra 'l vostre affare*, French *ils disputent sur telle question*, and Spanish *disputarse sobre una cose*.

The use of the preposition in Old High German is shown by *lukkii urchunde uber mih ze sagenne*, "to speak false testimony about me." In Modern German *über* is the commonest preposition to give this meaning, as *über etwas sprechen*, etc. In Anglo-Saxon *ofer* is rarely used in this sense. An example is Luke 19, 41, *hi weop ofer hig*, "he wept over it." No instance seems to be available from Early English, but in Modern English its use is fairly common.

An instance of the use of a preposition of totally different origin from the three Greek ones under consideration is shown by Lithuanian, where *apẽ* is the regular preposition, as Mark 1, 30, *ĩr tojaũs jam apẽ jã pasãkẽ*. Sometimes *ũz* is less correctly used, as *nesirũpink ũz manẽ* "grieve not about me."

This is more striking in Latin, where Reference is most commonly expressed by *de*, as Cic. Lael. 1, 1, *multa narrare de Laelio*. This is shown also in the Romance languages, as Italian *pensare, giudicare, di una cosa*, Spanish *pensar, disputar de una cose*, French *parler, discourir d' une chose*. This is the only instance in which a preposition of altogether different original force is

conspicuously preferred to the words meaning "around, over," which exist beside it and are also used to give the idea of reference. In *de* the starting point is what is emphasized. Before stating the Greek usage in regard to *ἀμφί*, *περί* and *ὑπέρ*, it may be of interest to contrast with the parallel prepositional uses of their equivalents in other languages the expression of reference by other prepositions of different original meaning. This can be most briefly suggested by the following table in which the prepositions are arranged according to their literal meaning, so as to show the line of development to this figurative sense:

	around		over	upon	towards	from	behind
Greek Sanskrit	<i>ἀμφί</i>	<i>περί</i> (OP. pariy)	<i>ὑπέρ</i> upari	( <i>ἐπί</i> ) adhi	( <i>εἰς, πρὸς</i> ) abhi		
Latin Romance		circa circa cerca	super sobra, sur		ad	de de, di	
Gothic O. H. German Mod. German Anglo-Saxon Early English Mod. English Lithuanian Old Bulgarian	bi umbi um ymbe, be ymbutan, be about, (by)		ubar über ofer over	ana (an) on, upon on, upon on, upon	(du)  (anent)	fona von of of	ùz
	o	apē					

In literary Greek *ἀμφί* is as limited in this use as in the local meaning. With the genitive it is almost wholly poetic, occurring once in Herodotus, 6, 31, *ἀμφὶ κρίσιος τῶν μνηστήρων τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο*, and in Homer but once, Od. 8, 267, *ἀμφὶ φιλοτήτος αἰείδειν*. In Pindar and Euripides it is more frequent. With the dative it is commoner, as Hdt. 3, 32, *ἀμφὶ τῷ θανατῷ αὐτῆς διξὸς λέγεται λόγος*, and with the accusative also, as Aesch. Suppl. 246, *εἴρηκας ἀμφὶ κόσμον ἀψευδῆ λόγον*, and the formulas *ἀμφὶ μοι αὐτε, ἀναξ*, etc., used by the dithyrambic poets.

The usual preposition for this meaning is *περί*. It occurs with the dative with words denoting care, anxiety, etc., so that it approaches a causal force, as Il. 10, 240, *ἔδδεισεν δὲ περὶ ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ*, Thuc. 1, 60, *δεῖσαι περὶ τῆ χωρίῳ*. With the genitive it is very common, as Thuc. 4, 22, *λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν περὶ τινος*, and

often becomes a mere periphrasis, as Plato *Ap.* 19c, *εἴ τις περὶ τῶν τοιούτων σοφός ἐστι*. From the use with the accusative to express literal or figurative occupation near or around some object, as the Homeric *περὶ δόρπα πονεῖσθαι* and Attic *ἀμελῶς ἐχεῖν περὶ τι* (*τινα*), etc., the idea of reference in general arose, as Xen. *An.* 3, 2, 20, *ἀμαρτάνειν περὶ τινα*, Plato *Crit.* 50d, *οἱ νόμοι οἱ περὶ τοὺς γάμους*. This less immediate meaning of reference is however often given by the use of the genitive as well, and the difference is but slight. Cf. Plato *Euthyphro* 3b, *καινοτομεῖν περὶ τὰ θεῖα* and 5a, *καινοτομεῖν περὶ τῶν θεῶν*. In the Attic inscriptions *περὶ* with the accusative interchanges with *εἰς* and *πρὸς* in such expressions as in CIA. II, 581 [320], *φιλοτιμίας τῆς περὶ τὴν παννυχίδα τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς*. The use of *ὑπὲρ* to express reference is a development from its meaning of "in behalf of, in the interest of," etc., and in good Attic prose it is not so colorless as *περὶ* but retains to some extent the idea of interest (K.-Bl.<sup>3</sup> §435). It is most common in the orators, as Dem. 6, 35, *μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μῆδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ*. A Homeric example is *Il.* 6, 524, *ὑπὲρ σέθεν αἴσχε' ἀκούω*. In the Attic inscriptions (Meisterh.<sup>3</sup> p. 222) the confusion in use with *περὶ* with the genitive became general after about 300, as CIA. 33, 307, 5 [290], *περὶ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ ἀγωνοθέτης ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσιῶν*.

### 1. ἀμφί.

#### a. *With the dative.*

**Cretan.** SGDI. 4991, I, 17 [middle 5th cent.], *αἱ δέ κ' ἀνφὶ δώλῳ μωλίωντι φωνίοντες φὸν φεκάτερος ἦμεν*. The reason for this case use may lie in the fact that this is the only example in which the preposition has a personal object. Cf. *ib.* I, 2, *ὄς κ' ἐλευθέρωι ἢ δώλῳ μέλλει ἀνφιμωλέν*.

#### b. *With the accusative.*

**Argive.** CIGP. et Ins. I, 557, 7 [ca. 3rd cent.], *Ἀλιαίαι εἰ]δοξε τελεῖ[αι] ἐ[ν τῶι τοῦ Λυκείου τεμένει] μῆ[δ'] ἰπ[ν] εὔεσθαι—ἀμφὶ τὸ τοῦ Λυκείου[ου . . . οἱ στραταγ]οἱ Κρίτω[ν . . .*

**Cretan.** SGDI. 4991, VI, 26 = IX, 19 [middle 5th cent.], αὶ δέ κ' ὁ ἀντίμωλος ἀπομωλήη ἀνφὶ τὸ χρῆος δι κ' ἀνφίμωλιώντι. Similar expressions occur also in V, 46, VI, 52, 4998, IV, 16 [middle 5th cent.], and 5044, 24 [ca. 280]. Except for the example in Argive to give the eponymous officer (cf. I, B, 2, a, p. 30) these are the only instances in the dialects of ἀμφί, which gave way before περί here as in literary Greek. The example from Argive is interesting, as being almost a century later than the earliest instance of περί in this sense. Cf. the table of ἀμφί and ὑπέρ, p. 50.

## 2. περί.

### a. With the genitive.

**Ionic.** Hoff. III, 105B, 24 [ca. 475], ὅστις—ἡ [τι κ]ακὸν βουλευοὶ περι Τ[ηί]ων τοῦ ξυνοῦ εἰδὼς—ἀπόλλυσθαι.

**Lesbian.** SGDI. 281A, 16 [333], κρίνα[ι μ] ἐν αὐτον κρύπτα ψαφίσει ὁμόσαντας περ[ι] θανάτω.

**Thessalian.** Hoff. II, 70, 3 [6th or 5th cent.], ἀλ(λ)' αὔθε περ γᾶς τᾶσδε πολ(λ)ὸν ἀριστεύων ἔθανε.

**Boeotian.** CIGS. I, 3054, 8 [Roman], σουνωμο[λογοῖσαν] το περι τῶν δανειω . . . —[καθὼς ἀ πό]λις περι οὔτων ἐψαφίττατο.

**Phocian.** SGDI. 1547, 8 [2nd cent.], περι δὲ τῶν πρότερον ἀφειμέ[ρων ἐλε]υθέρων—ἀ αὐτὰ ζαμία ἔστω.

**Delphian.** SGDI. 2561A, 4 [1st half 4th cent.], ταγε[υ]σέω δι[καίως κ]ατὰ τοὺν νόμους—καὶ τοὺς—πὲρ τῶν Ἀπελλαίων.

**Aetolian.** SGDI. 1411, 7 [ca. 193], τὰ ψαφίσματα—περι πάντων τῶν φιλανθρώπων κατὰμονα εἶμεν.

**Elean.** SGDI. 1149, 4 [ca. 500], συνέαν κ' ἀλ(λ)άλοις τὰ τ' ἄλ(λ)α καὶ πᾶρ πολέμω.

**Laconian.** SGDI. 4430, 2 [221], πόθοδοι ποιησαμένου Δαμίωνος—περι προξενίας.

**Megarian.** SGDI. 3025, 3 [242–235], κατὰ τὰδε ἐκρίναν τοὶ Μεγαρεῖς—περι τᾶς χώρας ἃς ἀμφελλέγον καὶ [περ]ι τοῦ Σελλανύου[υ].

**Corinthian.** SGDI. 3175, 2 [later than the early inscriptions], ὃς περι τᾶς αὐτοῦ γᾶς θάνε βαρνάμενος.

**Argive.** SGDI. 3340, 116 [2nd half 4th cent.], αὐτα περι παιδων ἐγκαθεύδ[ουσα ἐνύπνιον εἶδε].

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 3749, 5 [ca. 220], *συνενεγκεῖν Ῥοδιοῖς καὶ Ἱεραπυτνίοις τὰ δόξαντα περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας.*

**Calymnian.** SGDI. 3591a, 41 [2nd or 1st cent.], *καὶ τὰ ἄλλα [πάντα] ποιούντων τοῖς προστάταις περὶ τῶν ἐγμάρτυριῶν.*

**Coan.** SGDI. 3620, 2 [Roman], *περὶ ὧν Ἀλικαρνασσεῖς—[ἀξ]ιοῦντι δόμεν αὐτοῖς ἀναγόμευσιν.*

**Cretan.** SGDI. 5125A, 11 [after middle 5th cent.], *περὶ δὲ τῷ μιστῷ αἰ φων[ίαι? . . .*

Examples are numerous in all the dialects quoted except Boeotian.

*b. With the dative.*

**Arcadian.** Inschr. v. Magnesia 38, 46 [ca. 207], *οἱ νομογράφοι—ἐπιδειξάντων τῇ πόλει, ὡς οἱ πολῖται βουλευσ(ο)νται περὶ τοινί.*

Cf. the use of the dative here with that with *ἀπό* and *ἐκ*, Ch. IV, I, 2, p. 71. An example of partial encroachment upon this by the genitive usage of the *κοινή* is shown in line 8 of the same inscription, *καὶ ἀποδόντων—καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων διαλεχθέσσι.* The dative participle is anacoluthic, agreeing logically with *ἀποδόντων*, and *πάνσιν* must be taken with *τῶν λοιπῶν*.

*c. With the accusative.*

**Ionic.** Hoff. III, 96, 4 [357], *ἐπεὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς [ἐγένετο π]ερὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἐρυ[θραί]ων.*

**Arcadian.** SGDI. 1222, 32 [Pre-Roman], *εἰ [δ'] ἄν τι[ς] . . . ἰκητοὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔργα σὺ . . . κατ εἰ δέ τι.*

**Lesbian.** SGDI. 304A, 17 [319], *ἐγένετ]ο δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰν σιτοδείαν ἄνη[ρ] ἀγαθός.*

Cf. also *ib.* 311, 26 [Roman], *ἐπαίνην Λαβέωνα παίσας ἔοντα τείμας ἄξιον καὶ διὰ τὰν λοιπὸν μὲν περὶ τὸν βίον σεμνότητα.*

**Phocian.** SGDI. 1552a, 17 [ca. 3rd cent.], *παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν—[—ἀγαθὸ]ν γίνεσθαι—[περὶ τοὺς πολίτας.* (Only restored examples occur.)

**Delphian.** SGDI. 2820, 2 [170–157], *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶ περὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Δελφῶν.*

**Laconian.** SGDI. 4544, 6 [195], *σπουδᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐθὲν ἑλλείπων περὶ πᾶσαν χρεῖαν (ἄν) τυγχάνει τις ἔχων.*

Corinthian. SGDI. 3195b, 8 [3rd cent.], ἀναλωμάτων ἀνυπόδικον . . . τηρίων ἀ περὶ τὰν Κορχυρέ[αν]?

Argive. CIGP. et Ins. I, 784, 4 [369], ἀφικομένος ἐς Τροζᾶνα περὶ τε τὰν σωτηρίαν τᾶς χώρας ἀγαθός ἐστι.

Rhodian. SGDI. 4154, 44 [3rd cent.], ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ Λινδίων.

Calymnian. SGDI. 3585, 24 [4th cent.], εὐνοίας ἀν ἔχων διατελεῖ περὶ τὸ πλ[ῆθος τῶν Καλ]υμνίων.

Coan. SGDI. 3613, 4 [3rd cent.], ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστι περὶ τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Κώϊων.

Cretan. SGDI. 5058, 32 [3rd cent.], τ[ρ]οὺς νόμους κ[αὶ] κά[τα] τινὰς ἄλλοις ὕστερον θεώ[μ]εθα ἢ πε[ρὶ] τὰ θίνα] ἢ περὶ τὰ πολ[ι]τι[κ]ά.

There are other examples in all the dialects quoted. This usage is quite parallel to that of *περὶ* with the accusative in literary Greek and especially in the Attic inscriptions, for the same variation between *περὶ*, *εἰς* and *πρὸς* referred to above occurs throughout the dialects also. (Sometimes the idea is expressed by the dative without a preposition, *e. g.*, Phocian CIGS. III, 223, 3.) A very forced instance is seen in Lesbian, in the second example given above. The example from Delphian shows the regular phrase in the manumission decrees in referring to the death of the master.

### 3. ὑπέρ.

Ionic. CIGS. I, 314, 2 [1st part 3rd cent.], καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων [τ]ὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως.

Lesbian. SGDI. 281C, 11 [306], ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος—π[ρο]σέτ[α]ξε [Ἐ]ρε[σ]ίοις κρῖναι ὑπὲρ τε [Ἄ]γω[ν]ίππ[ω] κ[αὶ] [Εὐ]ρυσ[ι]λά[ω].

Boeotian. SGDI. 488, 120 [223–197], τάν τε σύγγραφον, ἀν ἔ[δω]καν οὐπὲρ [ο]ὔτων τῶν χρειμάτων.

Phocian. CIGS. III, 98, 6 [after 196], ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντ[ων] τὰ νόμιμα τελη λ]αμβάνειν Βοιώτους καὶ Φωκείας παρ' ἀλλή[λων] . . .

Delphian. SGDI. 2506, 37 [277], ὅτι ἀν ἔχοντι [ἀ]γαθὸν πρά[σ]σειν ὑπὲρ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τ[ε]χρινῶν.

**Locrian.** SGDI. 1502, 10 [2nd cent.], *πρόνοιαν ἐ[ποι]ήσαντο κατὰ κοινὸν τ[ὰ]ν ἀρίσταν ὑπὲρ τᾶς συνόδου τῶν [τε]χνιτᾶν.*

**Elean.** Ol. V, 47, 21 [after 164], *τ[ὰ] ὄρι]α τὰ τε[θ]έ[ν]τα ὑπὲρ τᾶν κρι[σί]ωμ μένη κύρια—γεγεν[η]μέ[ν]ας καὶ πρότε[ρ]ον κρίσιος —[ὑπὲ]ρ ταῦ[τας τᾶ]ς χώρας ὑπὲρ ἃς [νῦν διαφέρονται] . . .*

**Laconian.** SGDI. 4568, 6 [86], *σπουδᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐθὲν ἐνλείποντες ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ—ἀ πόλις—αὐτοὺς ἐκόσμησεν τιμαῖς.*

**Megarian.** SGDI. 3010, 17 [306], *τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι πράσσοντας ἢ λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ὑπὲρ τᾶς πόλιος.*

**Argive.** SGDI. 3339, 41 [2nd half 4th cent.], *παῖς ἄφωτος (ἰ)[κέτας ἀφί]κετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ὑπὲρ φωνᾶς.*

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 4254, 9 [211], *ὑπὲρ προξενίας Δημητρίῳ Διοδότῳ Συρακοσίῳ.* This concludes the prefatory sentence of an honorific decree.

**Theran.** SGDI. 4706, 255 [end 3rd or beginning 2nd cent.], *ταῦτα κύρια ἔστω, πλὴν ὑπὲρ διαλύσεως· ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτου μὴ ἐχέτω ἐξουσίαν μηθείς.*

**Calymnian.** SGDI. 3585, 20 [ca. 4th cent.], *καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράσσειν τὰ δέοντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ [πλήθου](ς τ)οῦ Καλυμνίων.*

**Coan.** Mitth. 23, 447, no. 1, 4 [middle 3rd cent.], *ὑπὲρ ὧν κα[ὶ] β]ασιλεὺς [Πτο]λεμαῖος ἔγραψε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐ[ν] ἐ]πιστολαῖ [ἀ]ν ἐπεμψε—ὑπὲρ τᾶς θυσί[ας].*

**Cretan.** SGDI. 5040, 57 [2nd cent.], *ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν προγεγονότων—ἀδικημάτων—ποιησάσθων τὰν διεξαγωγὰν οἱ—κόσμοι.*

Examples are numerous in all the dialects quoted. A comparison of the examples of *ὑπὲρ* with those of *περί* with the genitive shows the same conflict to exist which appears in the Attic inscriptions. The tendency in each dialect is a general one, not at all due to the use of one or the other preposition with any particular phrase.\* For the dialects as a whole, the same statement may be

\* For example, *προσβέω* and related words occur with *περί* in three dialects, Lesbian Hoff. II, 121, 6 [2d half 3d cent.], Boeotian BCH. 19, 314, no. 1, 24 [after 3d cent.], and Cretan Mon. Ant. I, 45C, 29 [ca. 183]. The same words are found with *ὑπὲρ* in inscriptions from Arcadia, BCH. 20, 124, no. 2, 283, Thessaly BCH. 13, 379, no. 2, 14, Boeotia BCH. 19, 314, no. 1, II, 25, and in Argive SGDI. 3290, 21, all of Roman times. An examination of the use with words of speaking and of judging shows the same results.



made which Meisterhans gives in regard to Attic, namely, that the earliest instances of *ὑπέρ* = *περί* occur about 300 (cf. Lesbian, Megarian, Calymnian, above). Thereafter this use becomes more and more common. In the latter examples the influence of the *κοινή* was undoubtedly a factor. Since there are no instances of *ὑπέρ* in this use at a time earlier than that in which such an Attic use of it existed, it is idle to consider whether the force might have developed in the dialects from any other meaning of *ὑπέρ* than that of "in behalf of," from which it arose in literary Greek. (Cf. Sanskrit, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, etc., above.) As long as there is no evidence to the contrary, its origin may be assumed to have been the same in the dialects as in literary Greek and the Attic inscriptions.

There is but little of interest to note in regard to the individual dialects. The preference for *περί* (in all uses) in Lesbian, remarked upon by Ahrens p. 151 (and reiterated by Pomtow, *Jhb. f. Phil.* 127, 324), with evidence from the literature, is not seen in the inscriptions, the date of the earliest example of *ὑπέρ* in this use being earlier than that of *περί*, and the preponderance of examples being also in favor of *ὑπέρ*. (In other uses *ὑπέρ* occurs once, in a late example expressing "in the interest of," and *περί* occurs once, in a dedication, which seems to be the sole instance in support of Ahrens' statement. Cf. pp. 35, 37). There is but one late example of *περί* in Boeotian, but *ὑπέρ* is frequent. This assumption of a definite preference for *ὑπέρ* in this dialect accords with the appearance of *ὑπέρ* earlier than *περί* in a Megarian inscription whose orthographic peculiarities Bechtel accounts for by suggesting Boeotian influence (*SGDI.* 3010). If this suggestion is correct, a syntactic influence may then be thought of also, as one reason for this Megarian use of *ὑπέρ*.

The following table summarizes for each dialect the facts given above:

	ἀμφί	περί	ὑπέρ
Ionic		ca. 475	1st part 3rd cent.
Arcadian		ca. 207 (with dative)	
Lesbian		middle 2nd cent.	306
Thessalian		6th or 5th cent.	
Boeotian		Roman	223-197
Phocian		2nd cent.	after 196
Delphian		1st half 4th cent.	277
Aetolian		ca. 193	
Locrian			2d cent.
Elean		ca. 500	after 164
Laconian		221	86
Megarian		242-235	306
Corinthian		Later than the early inscriptions	
Argive	ca. 3rd cent.	2nd half 4th cent.	2d half 4th cent.
Rhodian		ca. 220	211
Theran		2nd or 1st cent.	end 3rd or beginning 2nd cent.
Calymnian			ca. 4th cent.
Coan		Roman	middle 3rd cent.
Cretan	middle 5th cent.	after middle 5th cent.	2nd cent.

## CHAPTER III.

σύν, μετά, πεδά.

- Cognates: 1. σύν (ξύν). No certain cognates. But cf. below.  
2. μετά. Goth. *miþ*, OHG. *mit*, As. *mid*.  
3. πεδά. Arm. *yet*, Lett. *péz*.

The principal other sociative prepositions are:

1. (\**som*, etc.) Skt. *sam-*, *sa-* (prefix only), *saha* (Av. *hada*, OP. *hadā*), *samam*, *smat*, etc., OB. *sq-* (prefix only), *sǔ*, *sǔn-*.

Lith. and Lett. *sa-* (prefix only), OPr. *sen*, Grk. ἄμα, ὁμοῦ are related. The phonetic connection of Lith. *sù*, Lett. *su* with this group is not clear. They are placed by some (Kretschmer, KZ. 31, 416) with Greek σύν, with the addition also of OB. *sǔ*. But the latter can come without difficulty from \**som*.

2. (\**ko*, \**kom*) Lat. *con-* (prefix only), *cum* (Osc.-Umbr. *com*), O. Ir. *con*, *co*. Gothic shows a trace of this in *handugs* "wise," from \**kom-dho*. Cf. perhaps also Grk. κοινός from \**komjos*.

In connection with the syntactic rivalry between σύν and μετά it is of interest to note some instances from other languages where the regular sociative preposition has been encroached upon or even driven out entirely by another preposition not originally sociative. In Latin poetry and post-Augustan prose *simul* is used in place of *cum*. This doubtless arose from the use of *simul cum* = *una cum*, as Plaut. Amph. 754, *qui—istanc tecum conspicio simul*, etc., but it has made no serious inroad upon *cum*, which is still the usual sociative preposition in all the Romance languages except French, where it remains only in composition. The beginning of its disappearance here may be traced back to Gallic Latin, in which the use of *apud* for *con* appears as early as Sulpicius Severus (ca. 365–425 A. D.), as Vita Martini 23, *Angelos apud se loqui solere dicebat* (Geyer, Archiv. für Lat. Lex. II, 26ff.). That *apud* really has the sense of *cum* here, and not that of *coram* as in Latin cf. Ch. I, p. 5), is shown by the use of *cum* with *loqui* in similar

phrases by the same writer, as *Dial. I, '25, cum iste angeli loquebantur*, etc. The conflict between the two prepositions resulted finally in Old French in the victory of *apud*, which became *od*, from *\*avod*, *\*aod*. At the same time the adverb *avoec* (*avoec*, etc.), from original *apud + hoc* was in use, and this assumed the role of *od*, an example from the eleventh century being Ch. d. Rol. XIII, *avoec ice plus de cinquante chars*, and superseded it so entirely that *avec* appears as the regular sociative preposition in Modern French.

In Anglo-Saxon accompaniment was expressed by *mid*, whose cognates are still in use in other Germanic languages. But *wiþ* (Goth. *wiþ-ra*, OHG. *widar*) "against, towards," was parallel in use to *mid* in expressions like "fight, contend against (with), be friendly towards (with), speak to (with)," etc. Again, since the step in meaning from "opposite, against" to "beside" was an early one, *wiþ* came to be used with personal objects in the sense of *apud*, thus showing another parallelism to *mid*, which had gained the force of *apud* through its meaning "among" (cf. the reverse use of *apud* for *cum* in Latin above). From such associations the idea of accompaniment arose gradually in *wiþ*, as C. P. 352, 4, *cyððe ðaet he nolde habban nane gemodsumnesse wiþ ða yfelan*, "announced that he would have no association with the wicked." This meaning was limited to the use with the dative and accusative, although in the sense of "against" *wiþ* occurs with the genitive and instrumental as well as with the two former cases. In Early English *wiþ* became quite as common a sociative preposition as *mid*. The variation in use was due chiefly to locality and dialect, the north and east losing *mid* as early as 1200, but other regions showing both words in use, *wiþ* having also at times an instrumental sense, in which use the loss of *mid* was hastened by the encroachment upon it of *durh* and of *by*. Examples from the fourteenth century are R. of Gl. p. 17, *mid hym he hadde a stronge axe*, but P. Ploughm. 1398, *gaf hem rynges with rubies*. In Modern English *wiþ* has gained the mastery so completely as to become the only sociative preposition. The sole trace of *mid* is to be seen in the compound *midwife*.

The use of *σύν* and *μετά* in literary Greek has been made the subject of careful study by Tycho Mommsen in *Beiträge zu der Lehre von Griechische Präpositionen*.\* His point of view is stylistic throughout, the main thesis being that the use of *σύν* is poetic, and that of *μετά* a prose characteristic. It is shown by convincing statistics that in Attic prose writers except Xenophon *σύν* is very rare in comparison with *μετά* (Thuc. 34: 401, Isocrates 0: 216, Plato 29: 509, Demosthenes 12: 266, Aristophanes 9: 330, etc. Cf. p. 356), and is almost altogether limited as follows: It occurs in stereotyped phrases like *σύν θεῶ*, (e. g., Plato *Thaet.* 151b), *σύν ὄπλοις*, (e. g., Thuc. 2, 90, 6), etc., which may be differentiated from a general sociative use by the fact that they express helpful accompaniment, as nearly as the meaning can be defined. A parallel to this is to be seen in the Lithuanian *sù dëvù* and *sù dë*, equivalent to English "Goodbye." Cf. also the German *Geh mit Gott*, etc. The Latin equivalent is rather the inscriptional *quod bene felix faustumque sit*, but *cum* is also used, as Cato R.R. 141, 1, *cum divis volentibus quoque bene eveniat*, and the use remains in Italian, as *va con buona ventura*, or *state col buono di*. Secondly, it occurs in phrases standing in close attachment to a noun, and indicating a closely related but usually subordinate object, as Thuc. 5, 74, 3, (*ἀπέθανον*) *καὶ Ἀθηναίων ξὺν Αἰγινήταις διακόσιοι*. This is called by Mommsen the "inclusive" use, which seems the best term available, although it is obvious that in many instances the *σύν* cannot properly be translated "including." Such a meaning is often given in other languages by the addition of some strengthening word, as in Latin *una cum*, Italian *insieme con*, Lithuanian *draugè sù* (the usual

\* In this work the usage of the Attic inscriptions is also given, and statistics for the occurrence of the prepositions in question in certain works containing dialect inscriptions, namely the old Corpus, Roehl's *Ins. Gr. Ant.*, and two volumes of the new Corpus (IG. Sept. I and IG. Sic. et It.). But these are given without examples, and no attempt is made at a classification by dialects. Moreover this covers only a small part of the dialect material now extant. It is to supply this deficiency in Mommsen's work that the present collection of dialect examples has been made. But it must be admitted that the number of occurrences of the two prepositions in genuinely dialectic material is astonishingly meagre, so much so that for many dialects no conclusion of their preference for one or the other preposition is warranted.

expression for even general accompaniment), Anglo-Saxon *aet-gaedere mid*, German *zusammen mit* and *mit sammt*, etc.

Only the inclusive use of *σύν* is found in the Attic inscriptions also, where the preposition is even limited to a use with objects other than persons (Mommsen p. 497, Meisterh.<sup>3</sup> p. 221), though in many later prose writers and in inscriptions of the Roman period a freer use of *σύν* is revived. That this state of affairs is really a limitation of a former more general use of *σύν*, to be considered side by side with the encroachment of *μετά* (cf. below), is shown by the widespread use of *σύν* in compounds, and by the usage of Homer and later poets, where it is a frequent preposition until Euripides, who has *μετά* with the genitive almost as much as *σύν*, the figures being *σύν* 197, *μετά* 101. The existence of *σύν* denoting general accompaniment in several dialects, as shown by the examples given below, is an additional argument for considering the limitation simply an Attic phenomenon.

The original meaning of *μετά* was that of "amid, among," from which the sense of "with" arose in Greek independently from Germanic. The close relation of the two ideas is emphasized by the reverse development in Anglo-Saxon and Early English of *with* to the meaning "among" as Bo. 41, 4, *Omerus, se goda scop, mid Grecum selest was*, "Homer, that good poet, was best among the Greeks," and Alis. 3324, *Justere he is with the beste*. This is common in Modern English. In Homer *μετά* still means "among,"\* as shown by the fact that it occurs with the plural only, and with collective singulars in the six examples T 50, θ 156 ἀγορῆ, X 49 στρατῶ, λ 449 ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμῶ, Φ 503 στροφάλιγγι κούρης, O 118 κείσθαι ὁμοῦ νεκύεσσι μεθ' αἵματι καὶ κούρησιν. The case use in Homer is practically that of the dative, representing here the locative, there being but five examples of the use with the

\* Mommsen assumes a still earlier meaning of "between," because of the Homeric examples *μετὰ χέροιν* with *ἐχειν* (very common) and other verbs (E 344, θ 372, χ 10) *μετὰ γαμφηλῆσιν* N 200, etc., suggesting that the limited idea of position between two objects was broadened to the sense of "among more than two (i. e., several) objects." Such an extension is in itself natural enough (cf. the development of ἀμφί) but there is not sufficient evidence that the original meaning was restricted.

genitive, namely N 700, Φ 458, Ω 400, κ 320, π 140, all of the plural number. The genitive use is equally rare in the succeeding poets (the only instances are Hesiod, Theog. 392, Stesichor. (?) fr. 32, Theogn. 1065, Simon. fr. 84, 1, Aesch. Prom. 1067), until Sophocles and Euripides, where it becomes very frequent. It is the regular construction in prose. Herodotus shows *μετά* with the genitive almost as often as *σύν* (*σύν* 72, *μετά* 64), although never with the singular of inanimate objects, and only twice with the plural of such words, the context of even these two examples suggesting the meaning of personal objects. In many of the examples the meaning "among" may still be seen, and of the twenty-seven instances of his use of the singular with *μετά* twenty-one are in the phrase *οἱ μετά τινος*, and three in *κοιμάσθαι (εὔδειν) μετά τινος*, which shows a very restricted usage. But in the Attic writers from Thucydides on there is no such distinction between the use of the singular or plural with *μετά* or its occurrence with animate or inanimate objects, and *μετά* with the genitive almost entirely crowds out *σύν*. This is the case in the Attic inscriptions also. Whether the dialects show any limitation to the use with plurals and collective singulars is doubtful, but what encroachment upon *σύν* exists is probably due in most cases to the influence of the *κοινή* (cf. below). The case use is always that of the genitive, except in Arcadian, where, as shown by its use with other prepositions (cf. Ch. IV, I, 2, p. 71), the appearance of the dative is to be regarded as an independent dialectic phenomenon.

The original meaning of *πεδά* was that of "behind, after," as shown by the use of its cognates Armenian *yet* "after," Lettic *péz* "according to, after (i. e., in search of)," and its obvious derivation from the word for "foot," Skt. *pād*, Grk. *πούς*, etc. In its use with the accusative it would become synonymous with *μετά* with the accusative, whose force of "after" came through the meaning "into the midst of." The meaning "with" of *πεδά* may be simply a further result of this agreement with *μετά* in the sense of "after," as held by Brugmann, Gr. Gram. §503 "Vermutlich wurde *πεδά* zunächst in der Bedeutung 'hinter etwas her'

Synonym von *μετά* und die partielle Ubereinstimmung im Gebrauch führte durch Synkretismus zu einer vollständigen," or it may have arisen independently of *μετά*.\*

In view of the former possibility, a restricted use of *πεδά* might be looked for, but there is no evidence of it. The only inscriptional example of *πεδά* in Lesbian is in the meaning "after" (cf. p. 69), but, aside from the fact that Sappho shows it in both senses, this cannot be regarded as anything but accidental, and the same must be said of Theran, where also the only example means "after" (cf. p. 70). The reverse accident, in fact, is seen in Arcadian, Boeotian, etc., where the only examples are in the meaning "with." The two prepositions are apparently quite synonymous, and the use of one or the other is merely a question of dialect. Literary Greek shows *πεδά* in Aeolic and Doric, and in passages in tragedy, etc., composed in Doric. Kretschmer, *KZ.* 31, 449, suggests for Attic *πέταυρον* (Ionic and Euboean *πέτευρον*) a derivation from *πετά* and the stem of *αὔρα* (cf. *πεδάορος*).- Elsewhere it is found only in the dialects given below. There is no evidence of the co-existence of both prepositions in the same dialect. Whenever *μετά* appears in an inscription of a dialect which also has *πεδά* it is late enough to be attributed unhesitatingly to the influence of the *κοινή*, although in some cases *πεδά* was not entirely crowded out by this *κοινή* influence until Roman times. The dialect occurrences of *πεδά* are as follows:

Lesbian shows but one example, SGDI. 213, 20 [390], spoken of above. The earliest instance of *μετά* is SGDI. 281A, 12 [after 334]. In Arcadian the only example is in the abbreviated form [*π*]έ, as restored by Keil in the Mantinean inscription in *Nachr. d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1895, 353, 16 [early 5th cent.]. This is supported by the proper name Π[ε]δαρίτω SGDI. 1247 (front),

\*The least probable view is that of Osthoff, in *Geschichte des Perfects im Indogerman.* p. 574, which is just the opposite of Brugmann's, namely, that the force of "after" in *πεδά* is taken over from *μετά*, because the cognates of the latter show an early use with the accusative in Old High German, Old Norse, and Anglo-Saxon, and because the influence of *μετά* on *πεδά* is shown in the name of the month *Πεταγείτινος* (cf. on Megarian, etc., below).



B, 10. There is no example of *μετά*. In Boeotian *πεδά* is frequent, as SGDI. 489, 5, 22 [end 3rd cent.], etc. The occurrence of *μετά* in the same inscription is evidently due to *κοινή* influence. Megarian shows only a trace of *πεδά* in the name of the month *Πεταγεινίωι* SGDI. 3052, 19 [end 3rd or beginning 2nd cent.]. The *τ* in this is not a phonetic development, but evidently due to the Attic form *Μεταγείτιος*. In line 10 of the same inscription *μ[έτεστι]* occurs, the *μ* being somewhat uncertain, and there is an example of *μετά* as an independent preposition of about the same date, namely, 3078, 11 [2nd cent.]. For this juxtaposition of *πετα-* and *μετά* cf. also Coan below. Argive has no independent use of *πεδά*\* but several compounds occur, namely, *πεδάφοροι* SGDI. 3265, 2, 3269, 8; *πεδαφορ[ᾶς]* SGDI. 3325, 276; *Πεδάκριτος* SGDI. 3282, 3, and *πεδιών* (= *μετεών*) SGDI. 3277, 18. These are all of early date, the latest being probably *πεδιών*, which is to be placed after 405 B. C. The earliest instances of *μετά* date from the second half of the fourth century, as SGDI. 3339, 20, etc. In Rhodian *μετά* is the only form in which the preposition occurs, as SGDI. 3749, 87 [ca. 220], etc., but the name of the month *Πεδαγείτιος* (and *Πεταγείτιος*) is common. † From Thera there is one example of *πεδά*, SGDI. 4772, 2 [4th cent.], and two a century later of *μετά* both in the same inscription, SGDI. 4706, 4, 110 [end 3rd cent.]. Cf. under Lesbian above. Calymnian shows *μετά* only in the compound *Πεταγείτιος*, SGDI. 3601, 1, Ditt. Sylloge 865, I, 1, 868, III, 8, none of these being of early date. Examples of *μετά* from about the same time occur, as SGDI. 3585, 35 [ca. 323], etc. The same situation exists in Coan, *πεδά* appearing only in *Πεταγείτιος* SGDI. 3634b, 22, c, 17 [2nd or 3rd cent.]. In line 16 of part a, Paton and Hicks restore *πεδαγειν]ύ(ο)ν*, where perhaps *πεταγει-*

\* Kretschmer, KZ. 31, 449, quotes *πετ'ικελα* from SGDI. 3246, 37, 39, but this is too doubtful an example to be of value. Blass (SGDI., I. c.) and Kaibel (IGSic. et It. no. 217) do not attempt to give a reading of the passage, although both quote Stephanus' suggestion *πετ'ικελα* (*ὄρη*.)

† *Πεδαγείτιος* SGDI. 4245, 144, 161, 192, 231, 298, 311, 469, 622. IGIns. I, 1080, 1104, 1152, 10; 1159, 6; 1220, 16; 1414, 4. *Πεταγείτιος* SGDI. 4245, 250. Ditt. Sylloge 373, 5.

τν]ύ(ο)ν would be more correct. (For the complete inscription, of which SGDI has only a and part of b, cf. PH. 37.) By the side of this compound *μετά* occurs in the same inscription, in line 29 of b. Cf. Megarian above. Cretan shows only *πεδά* in the early inscriptions, as SGDI. 4991, III, 27 [middle 5th cent.], etc., and instances occur as late as 167 B. C., in SGDI. 5150, 14, etc. The first appearance of *μετά* seems to be in the second century, as SGDI. 5040, 34, etc. These detailed statements show that *πεδά* is found in the five dialects Arcadian, Lesbian, Boeotian, Theran and Cretan, taking precedence chronologically in each case of the earliest example of *μετά*. In Argive there are several compounds of *πεδά* indicating its previous independent existence in this dialect, and the name of the month corresponding to Attic *Μεταγειτνιών* gives similar evidence for Megarian, Rhodian, Calymnian, and Coan. This is summarized in the following table:

	<i>μετά</i>	<i>πεδά</i>	Compounds of <i>πεδά</i>
Arcadian		early 5th cent.	
Lesbian	after 334	390	
Boeotian	end 3d cent.	end 3d cent.	
Theran	end 3d cent.	4th cent.	
Cretan	2d cent.	middle 5th cent.	
Argive	2d half 4th cent.		before 405
Megarian	2d cent.		end 3d or beginning 2d cent.
Rhodian	ca. 220		no absolute dates
Calymnian	ca. 323		late
Coan	3d or 2d cent.		3d or 2d cent.

## I. ACCOMPANIMENT.

### 1. *σύν*.

#### *a. Helpful (cf. p. 53 above).*

**Ionic.** Hoff. III, 177, 6 [355], *Μαυσσώλλου μὲν σωθέντος σὺν τῶι Δί.* Perhaps Hoff. 59 [560], *τόδ' ἄγαλ]μα—[μ' ἐτέλεσε σὺν υἱοῦ 'Α]ρχέρμου σο[φ]ίησιν* (Fröhner's restoration) may also be placed here. But no other editor reads a preposition in the text, so the example is at all events a doubtful one.

**Cyprian.** SGDI. 120, 4, *Γιλ(λ)ίκα 'Ονασιμάω τῶ 'Απόλ(λ)ωνι*

τῷ Μαγίρω ὀνέθηκε, σὺ(ν) τύχα. Cf. *ἰν τύχαι* and *ἰ τύχα*, Ch. IV, III, 3, p. 78.

*b. Inclusive (cf. p. 53 above).*

**Ionic.** Hoff. III, 131, 2 [ca. 450], λαμβανέτω δὲ τῶν θυομένων σκέλος ἔν, ὁποῖον ἂν θέλη, σὺν τ[ῆι] ὀσφύι. There are other later examples.

**Boeotian.** SGDI. 489, 38 [end 3rd cent.], εἶμεν ποτιδεδομένον χρόνον Εὐβῶλυ ἐπινομίας φέτια πέτταρα βούεσσι σοὺν ἵππυς διακατίης φίκατι προβάτυς σοὺν ἤγυς χειλίης. Cf. also BCH. 14, 379, no. 29, 11 [before end 3rd cent.].

**Locrian.** SGDI. 1500, 1 [229], πατρὸς ἀριζήλοιο Πολυκρίτου νῆα σὺν ἵππῳ δέρκεο. This is in such artificial language (in a metrical inscription) that it is of little value.

**Heracleean.** SGDI. 4629, I, 89 [4th cent.], ἀριθμὸς ὄρων—ἐπτὰ σὺν τῷ ἐπὶ τᾶς πλευριάδος, ἐπὶ δὲ τᾶς τριακονταπέδω ὀκτῶ σὺν τῷ τετρώ<ι>ρωι,—ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ—ἐπτὰ σὺν τῷ παρ τὰν βυβλίαν μασχάλαν.

**Megarian.** SGDI. 3052, 28 [end of 3rd or beginning 2nd cent.], [τιμ]ὰ ἱερωτείας σὺν ἑκατοστῷ κ[αὶ τριακο]στῷ δραχμαὶ πεντακισχιλῖαι.

**Corinthian.** CIGP. et Ins. I, 203, 11 [Roman], τοὺς βωμοὺς σὺν τῷ περιβόλῳ καὶ προνώ. There are other examples of similar date.

**Argive.** CIGP. et Ins. I, 823, 9 [4th cent.], ἐπὶ τῷ τομῷ τοῦ στυλοβάτα παρ . . . [σ]ὺν ταῖς πυάλισι. There are other examples of this date and later.

**Calymnian.** SGDI. 3591b, 26 [2nd or 1st cent.], τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν χρημάτων τούτων ἂ γίνεται σὺν τ[ό]κῳ.

**Coan.** SGDI. 3624b, 41 [ca. 205], Κλειτίας καὶ Εὐξίμβροτ[ος το]ῖ Θευ[δ]ώρου σὺν τῷ τιμῷ τοῦ οἴνου X.

*c. Giving the eponymous officer.*

**Locrian.** SGDI. 1478, 46 [1st half 5th cent.], Χαλεῖοις τοῖς σὺν Ἀντιφάτῃ φοικηταῖς.

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 4119, 3 [3rd cent.], προστατᾶν? τῶν σὺν Πεισιστρά[τῳ]. Later examples are SGDI. 3751, 2, 8 [ca. 170], 3842, 4, 4239, 4, 14 and 3754, 1.

**Theran.** SGDI. 4706, 1 [end 3rd cent.], ἐπὶ ἐφόρων τῶν σὺν Φοιβοτέλει. A similar phrase occurs in lines 109 and 270.

**Coan.** SGDI. 3624b, 29 [ca. 205], προστάται τοὶ σὺν X[α]ρίνω[ι]. Another example occurs SGDI. 3630, 5 [ca. 3rd cent.], and later ones in SGDI. 3678, 3679, 3680 and PH. 156, 159.

**Cretan.** SGDI. 4991, V, 6 [middle 5th cent.], ὅκ' ὁ Αἰθ[α]-λεὺ(ς) σταρτὸς ἐκόσμιον οἱ σὺν Κύ[λ]λωι.

These examples suggest that in this use, as well as in those of the two preceding categories, *σύν* remained longer than in that of general accompaniment. There is no other instance of *σύν* in Locrian, except a late example in the inclusive use (cf. above), and in the same inscription *μετά* is used in almost an inclusive sense (cf. below, p. 63). In Theran and Coan there are no other examples of *σύν* and Cretan shows no other instance of *σύν* in the Gortynian code, although there are fragmentary examples of about the same date in the meaning of general accompaniment (cf. below). The use of *σύν* in giving the eponymous officer is very frequent in the later Cretan inscriptions. For the contrast between *σύν* and *μετά* in this usage cf. p. 62, where a comparison with the usage of *ἀμφί* and *περί* to give the same idea is also made.

#### d. In general.

**Ionic.** Hoff. III, 112 [660–610], Πά(μ)βις ὁ Φολοφώνιος σὺν Ψαμματ(ίχῳ).

**Lesbian.** SGDI. 321, 1 [130 A. D.], ὅτε σὺν τῇ Σεβαστῇ Σαβείνῃ ἐγενόμην παρὰ τῶ Μέμνονι.

**Megarian.** SGDI. 3045A, 11 [end 6th cent.], . . . α χρήματα [ἐς Μέγαρα ἐπ]ανίτω σὺν τῷ Μέγαρ[εῖ]. This is the restoration of Dittenberger and Purgold in Ol. V, 22. Another example, with the preposition partly restored, occurs in B, 22, of the same inscription.

**Corinthian.** SGDI. 3188, 6 [archaic], Πραξιμένης—σὺν δάμ[ω]ι τόδε σᾶμα κασιγνήτοιο πονήθη.

**Argive.** CIGP. et Ins. I, 917, 10 [4th cent.], τὰ ἰαρ[ώ]ματα—πέμπεσ[θα]ι σὺν τῇ τ[ων] Ἐπιδαυρίων [πόμ]παι.

**Cretan.** SGDI. 4992, IV, b, 5 [middle 5th cent.], . . . αθω αἴ

κα λήι σὺν μαίτυρο[ι. A similar fragmentary example of somewhat later date is SGDI. 5092, 3, 4. For a discussion of these examples cf. under *μετά*, p. 64. An example of *σύν* which may perhaps indicate the Rhodian usage occurs in the beginning of the Abou-Simbel inscription, the Ionic portion of which has been quoted above (Hoff. III, 112). For the complete inscription cf. Röhl IGA. no. 482. The sentence in question is *ταῦτα ἔγραψαν, τοὶ σὺν Ψαμματίχῳ Θεοκλ(έ)ρος ἔπλεον*. Since there are Doric phenomena here, and since some of the following sentences are undoubtedly Rhodian (so given SGDI. 4109a), the assumption that Rhodian syntax is shown may not be altogether unwarranted.

## 2. *μετά*.

### a. *Giving the eponymous officer.*

**Lesbian.** SGDI. 304A, 45 [319–317], *ἀνάγραφαι δὲ τοῖς ταμίας τοῖς μετ' Ἡρακλείτῳ τὸ ψάφισμα*.

**Delphian.** SGDI. 2504A, 5, p. 934 [344–352], *ἱερομνημονούντων τῶν μετὰ Δα[όχον καὶ Θρα[συδάου*.

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 3777, 4 [75], *τιμα(θέ)ντα ἕπ[ὸ τοῦ κοιν]ο[ῦ τῶν] μετ' α(ῦ)τ[οῦ συ]νστρατ[ευσαμ]έν[ω]ν*.

**Cretan.** SGDI. 5015, 25 [after 183], *ἀφ' ᾧ κ' ἀποστάντι Γόρτυνι μὲν οἱ πεδ' Ἀρχε[μάχῳ κόρμοι—[Κνωσοῖ δὲ ἀφ' ᾧ κ' ἀπο]στάντι οἱ πεδ' Εὐρυθθενία κόρμοι*.

The date of these examples is in each dialect later than that of the first occurrence of *μετά* to express general accompaniment. Consequently they are of interest only in comparison with the examples of *σύν* (cf. p. 64) and of *περί* and *ἀμφί* (cf. Ch. III, I, B, 2, p. 30 f.) in giving the eponymous officer. The material is however so scanty that with the exception of Delphian, Argive, Rhodian and Cretan no dialect shows examples of the use of more than one of these prepositions in such a use. In Delphian the example of *μετά* is somewhat earlier than that of *περί*, and possibly its use with a word of religious import like *ἱερομνημονούντων* suggests also that it is the more formal and archaic usage. The Rhodian instances of *περί* and *μετά* are so late that they are

of little importance. The Cretan example of *πεδά* is interesting because the phrase *τῶν σὺν Ἀρχεμάχῳ* occurs in the opening lines of the same inscription. Doubtless the use of *πεδά* is due to the general encroachment upon *σύν* which was prevalent at this time in the dialects. This is supported by the fact that *σύν* occurs in a forced and unnatural phrase in giving the eponymous officer in a still earlier inscription, SGDI. 5007, 4 [3rd cent.], suggesting that by this time the composer was awkward in his use of it.

The facts are shown in summarized form in the following table:

	ἀμφί	περί	σύν	ἐπι μετά
Ionic		4th cent.		
Arcadian		early		
Lesbian				319
Thessalian		Roman		
Phocian		Roman		
Delphian		336-326		344-332
Locrian			1st half 5th cent.	
Elean		middle 4th cent.		
Laconian		1st or 2nd cent.		
Megarian		1st cent.		
Argive	5th cent.	150		
Rhodian		2nd cent.	3rd cent.	75
Theran			end 3rd cent.	
Coan			205	
Cretan		late	middle 5th cent.	183

### b. In general.

**Ionic.** Hoff. III, 177, 12 [355], *ἐλεγκθέντος δὲ καὶ Θύσσου—καὶ κριθέντος συναδικεῖν μετὰ Μανίτα.*

**Arcadian.** Nachr. d. Konigl. Ges. d. Wiss. 1895, 353, 16 [early 5th cent.], *εἰ ἂν νοσίοι κακριθῆ ἢ τῶν χρημάτων [π] ἐ τοῖς φοικιάται[s].* For an example of similar phraseology cf. Locrian below.

**Lesbian.** SGDI. 281A, 12 [after 334], *τὰν δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱρ[α] διαρπάσαις μετὰ τῶν λαίσταν ἐνέπρησε.*

**Boeotian.** SGDI. 705, 2 [355-346], *πόλεμον τὸν ἐπο[λέμιον] Βοιωτοὶ πε[δὰ τῶν συμμάχων π] ὄτ τῶς ἀσεβίοντας.* For complete examples of later date cf. SGDI. 488, 153 [223-197], etc.

**Phocian.** SGDI. 1539, 28 [after 181], *συνδι[κ]αξεί δὲ ὁ ἱεροταμίης μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων τὰς δίκας.*

**Delphian.** SGDI. 2502, 133 [353-325], προαιρετοὶ ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος μετὰ τᾶς βουλᾶς Ἐτυμώνδας.

**Aetolian.** SGDI. 1413, 6 [197-159], τιθέμεν] ἀγῶνας καὶ θυσίας τᾷ Ἀθάνᾳ τᾷ Νικαφόρῳ μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τοῦ δάμου.

**Locrian.** SGDI. 1478, 43 [1st half 5th cent.], χρήματα παματοφαγέισται τὸ μέρος μετὰ ροικιατᾶν. διομόσαι ἡόρρον τὸν νόμιον. The meaning of this much discussed passage\* is probably that suggested by Röhl, IGA 321 "bonaque eius publicantur, pars cum servis."

**Elean.** Ol. V, 45, 7 [306], τοὶ δὲ στραταγοὶ ἐπιμε[λείσθων μετὰ] τᾷ[ς β]ουλᾶς.

**Heracllean.** SGDI. 4629, I, 124 [4th cent.], τὼς—πολιανόμως—ποθελομένως μετ' αὐτὸς αὐτῶν—δέκα ἄνδρας.

**Laconian.** SGDI. 4568, 50 [86], ἐξέστω αὐτοῖς ἐπικαθῆσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐν προεδρίαι.

**Megarian.** SGDI. 3087, 8 [ca. 1st cent.], Παλάκου δὲ τοῦ Σκυθᾶν βασιλείος αἰφιδίως ἐπιβαλόντος μετὰ ὄχλου πολλοῦ.

**Corinthian.** SGDI. 3206, 132 [3rd or 2nd cent.], ἐγδανειζέσθω μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου ἀργυρίου καθὼς ἐπάνω γέγραπται.

**Argive.** SGDI. 3342, 50 [early 2nd cent.], ἔλυσεν ὠδίνα Διὸς παῖς μετὰ Μ[ο]ιρᾶν Λάχεσις τε Μαῖα ἀγαυά.

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 3749, 87 [ca. 220], τοὶ δὲ αἰρεθέντες μετὰ τῶν παραγεγενημένων ἐξ Ἱεραπύτ[νας] πρεσβυτᾶν ὀρκιζάντων.

**Theran.** SGDI. 4706, 4 [end 3rd cent.], τάδε διέθετο—Ἐπικτήτα Γρίννου μετὰ κυρίου Ὑπερείδους τοῦ Θασυλέοντος.

**Calymnian.** SGDI. 3592, 5 [2nd or 1st cent.], . . . ν τὰς δίκας ἄς ἐδίκαζε . . . μετὰ ἐπιτρόπων Φίλι . . .

**Coan.** SGDI. 3619, 11 [ca. 265], ἐπιμεληθέντω δὲ καὶ τᾶς ἀναγορεύσιος τοῦ στεφάνου μετὰ τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτα.

**Cretan.** SGDI. 4991, III, 27 [middle 5th cent.], τά τε ρὰ αὐτᾶς ἔχεν—κα[ὶ τ]ῶ καρπ[ῶ] τῶ ἐνδ[ο]θεν πεδὰ τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων] μοῖραν λαχέ[ν].

Except in Arcadian and Elean, each of which shows but one

\* Cf. Roberts, *Introd. to Grk. Epigraphy* p. 354, Vischer, *Rh. Mus.* 26, 72, Gilbert, *Griech. Staats-Alt.* II, 40 ftn., Meister, *Ber. Königl. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1895, 325, etc.

example of *μετά*, the preposition appears at least two or three times in each of the dialects quoted above. An examination of these examples in comparison with those of *σύν* in the same use given on p. 60 shows that in the dialects *μετά* crowded out *σύν* to a less extent than in Attic. In many cases the date of the earliest instance of *μετά* is late enough that the preference for this preposition may be due to *κωνή* influence, and only Arcadian, Locrian and Cretan show early examples of it. In Arcadian the paucity of material prevents ascribing to anything but accident the fact that there is no example of *σύν*, as well as the fact that the one example of *μετά* happens to be with the plural. The same must be said of Locrian, in which *σύν* occurs but once, in the usage where the eponymous officer is given by the use of the preposition, and the only early examples of *μετά* in this use, both with the plural, are found in this same inscription.\* Since, however, one of these instances of *μετά* (quoted above, p. 60) expresses such close connection as to recall the inclusive use of *σύν* (as does also the Arcadian example of *μετά*), some encroachment upon *σύν* may be indicated. In Cretan there are five early examples of *πεδά* (SGDI. 4991, III, 27, X, 49, 4985, 5), three of which are with the plural, and one with a collective noun, in contrast to one example of *σύν* with the eponymous officer, in the Gortynian code, and two fragmentary examples of general accompaniment of about the same date. In later inscriptions *πεδά* is common, but *σύν* occurs only in giving the eponymous officer, in which use it is frequent. Perhaps some slight restriction in the use of the latter preposition may be assumed here. Ionic, Megarian, Corinthian, Argive and Rhodian show early examples of the use of *σύν* to express general accompaniment. The Ionic example is of interest as a parallel to the frequent use of *σύν* in Ionic writers, as Herodotus, etc., and to the Ionicism of Xenophon in this point. The epic style of the Corinthian example detracts from its value as an index to the prose usage of the dialect. Theran and Coan show later instances of

\* The other examples of *μετά* are SGDI. 1504A, 4 [ca. 299], and three restored passages, SGDI. 1504BA, 4, 1505, 2 [3rd or 2nd cent.], and CIGS. III, 269 [2nd cent.] in all of which the plural is used.



*σύν* in this use, the example from Thera being in the same inscription which furnishes the earliest example of *μετά*. A limitation of *σύν* to the inclusive use seems to be evident in Boeotian. But the inscriptions are late enough to prevent any certainty that it is an independent dialectic phenomenon, and it may be merely an indication of the influence of Attic which is perhaps seen in some other points (cf. p. 49). Heracleean and Calymnian may perhaps agree with Boeotian in this respect, but the lack of material does not permit anything more than the suggestion of this possibility. That Cyprian shows no example of *μετά* and none of *σύν* except in the use of helpful accompaniment is doubtless accidental, in view of the scarcity of material. That *σύν* existed here in other uses is shown by the example of this preposition expressing instrument or manner (cf. II, p. 68). Likewise Delphian has an example from the early fourth century, and Elean one of the sixth century, of *σύν* in this instrumental use (cf. p. 68), which shows that stress can not be laid upon the lack of examples of the preposition expressing general accompaniment.

The following table gives the above facts in summarized form:

	<i>σύν</i>				<i>μετά</i>	
	Helpful.	Inclusive.	Giving Eponymous Officer.	General.		
Ionic	355 (560?)	ca. 450		660-610	355	
Arcadian	early				early 5th cent.	
Cyprian						
Lesbian					130 A. D.	after 334
Boeotian		end 3d cent.				355-346
Phocian						after 181
Delphian		end 1st cent.				353-325
Aetolian						197-159
Locrian		229		1st half 5th cent.		1st half 5th cent.
Elean						306
Heracleean		4th cent.				4th cent.
Megarian	end 3d cent.			end 6th cent.	ca. 1st cent.	
Corinthian				archaic	3d or 2d cent.	
Argive	4th cent.			4th cent.	early 2d cent.	
Rhodian			3d cent.	(660-610)	ca. 220	
Theran			end 3d cent.	end 3d cent.	end 3d cent.	
Calymnian	2d or 1st cent.				2d or 1st cent.	
Coan	ca. 205.		ca. 205	ca. 205	ca. 265	
Cretan			middle 5th cent.	middle 5th cent.	middle 5th cent.	

## II. MANNER.

The use of a sociative preposition to express manner is occasionally found in Sanskrit, as R.V. 3, 12, 6, *Indrāgnī, navatim puro dāsapatnīr adhūnutam sākam ekena karmaṇā*, "Indra and Agni, you have shaken ninety demon-ruled cities with one act," and R. V. 10, 32, 3 *jāyā patim vahati vagnunā sumat*, "the wife leads the husband home with a joyous cry." (This is the only occurrence of *sumat* as a preposition, but in Avestan *maṭ* is common, as Yasna 11, 4, 5, Ys. 57, 26, etc.) In Latin *cum* occurs except in common phrases (where no preposition is used), as Cic. Fin. 4, 22, 61, *cum summa tua dignitate*, and this use of the sociative preposition remains in the Romance languages. In Gothic *miþ* is common, as Mark 4, 16, *suns miþ fahadaī nimand ita, εὐθέως μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνουσιν αὐτόν*, and *mit* is used in Old High German, as *mit freuwi, mit heilu leven*, "to live with joy, with good fortune," and in Modern German as well. Anglo-Saxon uses *mid*, as Be. 68, 2, *selle mid eadmedum his waepn*, "Let him with humility give up his weapons." It occurs with the dative also, as well as with the instrumental shown in this example, and, in the phrase *mid ryht*, with the accusative. An example from Early English is R. of Gl., p. 24, *tok hire forþ wiþ hym mid gret honour ynowz*, but *wiþ* becomes the regular preposition in this use as elsewhere, as Alis. 1121, *wiþ gret leore and wiþ gret schond*. Lithuanian sometimes uses *sù* as Mark 4, 16, *tójaūs t̃ sù d̃zaugs-mù pr̃ima*, "immediately receive it with gladness," but this is less correct than the use of the participle modifying the subject of the verb. In Old Bulgarian *sŭ* is sometimes used, as Mark 4, 16, *abie sŭ radostiyā priemlyatŭ e, εὐθέως μετὰ χαρᾶς λάμβανουσιν αὐτόν*.

Greek literature shows this usage with *μετά* as Plato, Apol. 34c, *ικετεύειν μετὰ δακρύων*, Gorg. 526c, *ὅσιως καὶ μετ' ἀληθείας*. It does not occur in the Attic inscriptions of the classical period, but is common later, as CIA. II, 334a, 1, b, 12 [270-262], *μετ' ἀσφαλείας*, etc. Examples of *σύν* expressing manner are not frequent. Thucydides shows six examples of its use with abstracts,

as 1, 84, 2, ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ (cf. Mommsen, p. 376). Plato has several instances in evidently poetic passages, as Pol. IV, 424e, σὺν πολλῇ ἀσελγείᾳ. Examples of σὺν in a meaning that is partly manner partly instrumental occur in poetry, as Od. 5, 293, σὺν νεφελέεσι κάλυψεν γαίαν, Aesch. Sept. 885, διήλλαχθε σὺν σιδάρῳ, but in prose and in Attic inscriptions the simple dative takes its place for the instrumental sense.

## 1. μετά.

**Ionic.** Hoff. III, 13B, 13 [394], μὴ (π)[οιεῖσθ]αι φιλίην Ἀμύνταμ μηδὲ Χαλκιδ[έας χωρ]ίς ἑκατέρους, ἀλλὰ μετὰ μιᾷ[ς γνώμης]. This is the reading of all editors but Hoffmann, who prefers μί[α] [ν γνώμην, because elsewhere throughout the inscription there is no Atticism as the *a* in μιᾶς must here be (Smyth, Ionic Dialect, p. 339). But to admit an Atticism in the phonetic character of the inscription is probably safer than to assume without additional evidence such a syntactic variation from the usage of literature and the other dialects.

**Lesbian.** SGDI. 304A, 28 [319–317], τ' ἄλλα πράσσει μετ' εὐνοίας.

**Delphian.** SGDI. 2072, 22 [198], παραμενεῖν—μετὰ πάσας εὐνοίας.

**Megarian.** SGDI. 3089, 3 [Roman], ἔκτενῶς καὶ προθύμως καὶ με[τὰ παρ]ρησί[ας] ἐχρημάτιζεν.

**Argive.** CIGP. et Ins. I, 1, 9 [ca. 200], δ[ικαίως] προσενηγεμένον πᾶσιν μετὰ τῆς πάσης καθαρει[ότη]τος.

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 3750a, 15 [ca. 201], μετὰ πάσας σπονδᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμ[ίας] ἀπ[ο]κρίνασθαι αὐτοῖς.

**Calymnian.** SGDI. 3569, 3 [4th or 3rd cent.], πάντα πράσσων—διετετελεκε τῆι πατρίδι μετὰ π[ά]σας εὐνοίας.

**Cretan.** SGDI. 5016, 16 [after 183], ἐπιτελεθθέντων δὲ τούτων [ν] πεδ[ὰ τὰς] τῶν θιῶν εὐνοίας.

Of the eight dialects which show μετά in this use, Ionic, Lesbian, and Megarian furnish but one example each, Rhodian two, and Calymnian three. The earliest instance is dated 394, and most of the others are much later, so that it is not certain whether

the usage was a general Greek one, or is widespread because of the influence of the *κοινή*.

## 2. *σύν*.

**Cyprian.** SGDI. 60, 28, *βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ πόλις κατέθιζαν ἰ(ν) τὰ(ν) θίον—σύν ὄρκοις*.

**Delphian.** SGDI. 2561A, 20 [early 4th cent.], *ἔδοξε—σὺμ ψάφοις*. The same phraseology, except that the singular is used, occurs in SGDI. 2615, 3, 2621, 3 (restored), 2624, 4, 2627, 1, 2844, 2845. Cf. *διὰ τὰς ψάφου* in 2642, 43, etc.

**Elean.** SGDI. 1156, 4 [6th cent.], *ἐξαγρέων καὶ ἐνποιῶν σὺν βωλαῖ πεντακατίων ἀφλανέως καὶ δάμοι πληθύνοντι*.

**Argive.** SGDI. 3342, 63 [ca. 200], *συναντήσας σὺν ὄπλοισιν λαμπρόμενος χρυσέοις*.

It will be seen that the Elean example in this list expresses manner only so far as accordance, “with the consent of,” may be thus classified. The remaining three examples might almost as well be placed under a category of instrumental uses. (Cf. the literary and Attic use of *σύν* above.) Since this is quite in contrast with the clearcut meaning to be found in most of the examples of *μετά*, it may be of interest to state briefly here the methods of expressing instrument in other languages. Usually the simple instrumental case (Latin ablative, Gothic dative) serves this purpose, but the same sociative prepositions which are used to express manner are found sometimes also expressing instrument, except in Sanskrit, where the variation may doubtless be referred to the fact that this language possesses a rather large number of sociative prepositions. Sanskrit *saha* sometimes occurs, as Kathās. 37, 62, *prajvālyāgnim sahendhanaiḥ* “having caused the fire to burn with fuel.” Latin shows *cum* in this use in ante-classical, poetic and scientific literature, as Cat. 98, 3, *cum lingua lingere*, Verg. Aen. 9, 816, *cum suo gurgite accepit venientem (fluvius)*, and the same usage appears in the Romance languages, with Italian *con*, French *avec*, etc. In Gothic *miþ* is rarely used, as Matth. 26, 72, *afaiaiḥ miþ aiþa swarands, ἠρνήσατο μετὰ ὄρκου*, but the preposition is more common in Old High Ger-

man, as *mit furu brennen*, "to burn with fire" and its use is regular in Modern German. Anglo-Saxon regularly uses *mid*, as Or. 158, 32, *mid ane stane ofworfen*, "struck with a stone," the dative and accusative occurring, as well as the instrumental. The Modern English use of *with* to express this is seen in Early English also, as R. of Gl. p. 174, *þe kynng was above yarmed wyþ haubert noble and ryche*. The occasional use of *sù* in Lithuanian is a Germanism due to the influence of *mit*. Old Bulgarian sometimes uses *sŭ*, as Matth. 26, 72, *otŭvruže se sŭ kletvoγα, ἤρνήσατο μετὰ ὄρκου*.

### III. μετὰ "AFTER."

Greek seems to be the only language which developed the temporal meaning "after" in a sociative preposition. (For the origin of the sense of "after" in *μετὰ* cf. p. 55 above). Mommsen (l. c., p. 42) points out that *μετὰ* often means "after" in order or series in certain parts of the *Odyssey* (frequently in the eleventh book), but has not yet taken on a temporal sense. In later Greek literature this use is common, especially in the phrases *μετὰ ταῦτα*, etc. In the dialects quoted below examples are fairly frequent, except in Ionic and Phocian in each of which there are but two, and in Boeotian and Megarian which each give but one. (The dialects show no examples of the local use which might be expected to occur.)

**Ionic.** CIGS. I, 298, 20 [ca. 270], *πρό]σοδου—πρώτοις μετ[ὰ τὰ ἱερά.*

**Lesbian.** SGDI. 213, 20 [390], *ἄρχει πρότανις ὁ πεδὰ Κόλωνον, ἐ[μ Φ]ώκαι δὲ ὁ πεδὰ Ἄρισ[τ]αρχον.*

**Boeotian.** CIGS. I, 339, 1 [Roman], *παραμείνασαν τὸν ἐμιαυτὸν ὅστις κα μετ' Εὐβοίσκον ἄρχει.*

**Phocian.** CIGS. I, 228, 2 [2nd cent.], *τὰν καταβ]ο[λὰν τὰν τρίταν πυλαίας [ὄπωριν] ἄς τὰς μετὰ τὰν βουλαρχίαν Τ. . .*

**Delphian.** SGDI. 2561A, 40 [ca. 400], *καταγορεύω ἐν τῷ αἰλαί τῷ μετὰ βουκάτια.*

**Locrian.** SGDI. 1478, 13, [1st half 5th cent.], *τὸν ὄρφον—ἐπάγειν μετὰ τριάροντα φέτεια.*

**Laconian.** SGDI. 4689, 29 [90], ἐν δὲ τῷ πομπῶν ἀγείστω Μνασίστρατος—μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἱ παρθένοι.

**Megarian.** SGDI. 3078, 11 [2nd cent.], καὶ ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὰν βουλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον πρᾶτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά.

**Corinthian.** SGDI. 3206, 56 [3rd or 2nd cent.], ἐμ μὴν Εὐκλείῳ τῷ μετὰ πρύτανιν Ἀριστομένῃ.

**Argive.** SGDI. 3339, 20 [2nd half 4th cent.], μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο—ἔξελθοῦσα.

**Rhodian.** SGDI. 3749, 30 [220], εἰ δέ κα μετὰ τὸν γεγραμμένον χρόνον μεταπέμπωνται.

**Theran.** SGDI. 4772, 2 [4th cent.], Ἀρταμιτίου τετάρται πεδ' ἱκάδα θυσέοντι ἱερόν.

**Calymnian.** SGDI. 3585, 35 [ca. 320], πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν ἐκ]κλησίαν μετὰ τὰ ἰ(ε)ρά.

**Coan.** SGDI. 3720, 11 [3rd or 2nd cent.], τοί τε λοιποὶ τοὶ [μ]ετὰ ταῦτα αἰρεύμενοι.

**Cretan.** SGDI. 4991, II, 13 [middle 5th cent.], αἱ δέ κα δεδαμν[α]μέναν πεδ' ἀμέραν [ὀ]δελόν, αἱ δέ κ' ἐν νυττί, δύ ὀδελόις.

## CHAPTER IV.

### PECULIARITIES SHOWN BY VARIOUS OTHER PREPOSITIONS IN CERTAIN DIALECTS.

#### I. ODD CASE USES.

##### 1. *ἀνευ* with the accusative, in Elean.

SGDI. 1157, 8 [archaic], . . . *τας ἀνευ βωλάν και ζᾶμον πλαθύοντα*. Although the literary uses and the inscriptional occurrences of this preposition outside of Elean are uniformly with the genitive, this development to an accusative use is a natural one, in view of the Greek fondness for this case which becomes so evident in the later language. (Cf. *παρά* with the accusative for the dative and *πρός* with the accusative for the genitive, II, 3, 4, pp. 75 and 76.) The cognate prepositions in Germanic occur with the accusative only, as Goth. John 15, 5, *ƿatei inuh mik ni maguƿ taujan ni waiht*, ὅτι χωρὶς ἐμοῦ οὐ δύνασθε ποιεῖν οὐδέν, and OHG. *āno mih*, "without me." This might suggest that the Elean use is a retention of an early construction instead of an independent dialectic development.

##### 2. *ἀπό* and *ἐκ* with the dative, in Arcado-Cyprian.

###### a. *ἀπό*.

**Arcadian.** Röhl, Im. 2, 6, 22 [archaic], *ἀπεχομίνος κατώρρέν-τερον γένος ἦναι ἄματα πάντα ἀπὸ τοῖ ἱεροῖ*.

SGDI. 1222, 4 [Pre-Roman], *ἰν ἀμέραις τρισὶ ἀπὸ ταῖ ἄν τὸ ἀδίκημα γένητοι*.

**Cyprian.** SGDI. 60, 8, *ἡ δυσάνοι—ἀπὸ ταῖ ζαῖ ταῖ βασιλέφος—τὸ(ν) χῶρον*.

SGDI. 59, 3, *Βαάλαραμ] ὁ Ἀβιδμίλων τῶ Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι τῶ Αμύκλωι ἀφ' ὧ φοῖ τᾶς εὐχολᾶς ἐπέτυχε*.

###### b. *ἐκ*.

**Acradian.** SGDI. 1222, 49 [Pre-Roman], *τὸμ μὲν ἐργάταν ἐσδέλλοντες ἐς τοῖ ἔργοι*. A compound occurs in line 54, *πὸς ταῖ ἐπὲς τοῖ ἔργοι γεγραμμ[ἐναι συ]γγράφ[οι]*.

Cyprian. SGDI. 60, 5, *δορέναι ἐξ τῶι φοίκωι τῶι βασιλέφωι καὶ ἐξ ταῖ πτόλιγι ἀργύρω τά[λαντον] ἅ τά[λαντον]*. Similar expressions occur in lines 11 and 24.

An instance of this construction seems to occur also in a dialect which, except for this example, shows practically no material for the study of its prepositions, namely, in Pamphylian, SGDI. 1267, 4, *δ]ιζακεκραμένωσ ἐξ ἐπιτη[δ]ίζαισ πόλιω αι. . .*

This construction of *ἀπό* and *ἐκ* does not occur in literary Greek, and is to be considered an independent dialectic development within Arcado-Cyprian (cf. Brugmann, Gr. Gram. pp. 398, 437). The general preference here for the dative rather than the genitive is shown by the use of *περί* and *ὑπέρ* also with this case. (Cf. Ch. II, III, 1. *b*, p. 35; IV, 2. *b*, p. 46; and Ch. III, I, 2, *b*, p. 62.) Delbrück in Brugmann's Grundriss III, p. 668, suggests as a possible reason for this development the influence of *ἐν* with the dative. But no cause is apparent for the susceptibility of these dialects alone to the influence of a preposition so common everywhere as *ἐν*.

## II. ODD MEANINGS IN COMMON CASE USES.

### 1. *ἐπί* with the genitive for the dative, in Boeotian.

CIG. 1625, 66 [Roman], *ὁ δὲ—ταυροθυτήσασ Διὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ ἐπὶ τῆσ πόλεωσ*. There is one example of this construction in an Attic inscription (Meisterh.<sup>3</sup> p. 217), namely, CIA. 732, 2 [after 307], *στέφ]ανωσ ἐφ' οὗ τὰ δύο [ΥΥ*.

### 2. *κατά* with the genitive for the accusative, in Locrian.

SGDI. 1508, 9 [2nd cent.], *ἐμφαινέτ[ω δὲ ὁ θέλωσ πὸτ τὰ]ν βουλάν, καθ' ὧν καὶ τὰσ ἐμφανίασ*.

SGDI. 1479, 15 [5th cent.], *αἴ κ' ὁ φασσὸσ πὸτ τὸν φαστὸν δικάζηται κα(τ) τὰσ συνβολὰσ*.

SGDI. 1478, 1 [1st half 5th cent.], *ἐν Ναύπακτον κα(τ)τῶνδε ἀπιφοικία*.

SGDI. 1478, 33 [1st half 5th cent.], *τοὺσ ἐπιφοίφωσ ἐν Ναύπακτον τὰν δίκαν πρόδιφωσ ἀρέσται πὸ(τ)τοὺσ δικαστήφωσ, ἀρέσται*



καὶ δόμεν ἐν Ὀπέεντι κατὰ φέος αὐταμαρὸν. Λοφρῶν τῶν Ἐποκναμι-  
δίων προστάταν καταστᾶσαι. . . .

The first three examples are evidently quite similar. The frequent κατὰ τὰν συμβολάν of the Delphian inscriptions (SGDI. 1715, 5, 1718, 9, etc.) and also a Locrian manumission decree SGDI. 1477, 5, κ]ατὰ τὸ σύμβολον are compared in support of the singular number which the reading of the genitive makes possible in the second example.

The acceptance of the genitive for the third example, and the interpretation κα(τ)τῶνδε = Attic κατὰ τᾶδε avoids the harsh ellipsis which the reading of the accusative brings about. For to assume a reading τόνδε, standing for τόνδε τὸν νόμον (Vischer, Rh. Mus. 26, 46), is to admit what Dittenberger CIGS. III, p. 85, urges "a Graecarum sermone aliena est." Röhl, IGA. 321, proposed the reading κα(τ) τόνδε ἀ(γέστω τὸν νόμον ἐ)πιφοικία, supposing the omission on the stone due to the carelessness of the engraver, while the emendation κα(τ) τόνδε (τὸν νόμον) is the suggestion of Bursian, Litt. Centralblatt 1870, 155. Curtius, Studien 2, 446, adopted the genitive, but compared examples which are not parallel, as Ar. Ran. 101, ὀμνύναι καθ' ἱερῶν, etc.

In regard to the κατὰ φέος of the last example given above, various suggestions have been made. The interpretation of φέος as genitive singular of the pronoun of the third person, construed with κατὰ like the Attic accusative with κατὰ (= καθ' ἑαυτόν), is supported by the three other Locrian examples of this construction, but is rendered difficult by the context. Röhl, IGA. 321, inserts after δικαστήρας the words καὶ δόμεν ἐν Ὀπέεντι κατὰ φέων αὐταμαρὸν καί, and reads Λόκρον τὸν Ἐποκναμίδιον in the accusative, translating "coloni Naupactum proficiscentes prae ceteris litem instituunt coram iudicibus et contra se permittunt Opunte uno die, et instituito et contra se permittito litem Opunte uno die Locrus Hypoknemidius." Meister, Ber. K. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 1895, 317 ff., improves upon this by interpreting κατὰ φέος in the light of the other Locrian examples (comparing Hdt. 7, 158, τὸ κατ' ὑμέας τίςδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάρουσι νέμεται, for the

meaning) and translating "Der Hypoknemidische Lokrer soll sich also dem in Opus klagenden ἐπίφοικος soviel auf ihm ankommt, am selben tage stellen," thus avoiding any addition to the text. But in the same publication for 1896 he returns, p. 43, to Röhl's interpretation "contra se," because of Wackernagel's contention that κατὰ φέος is not parallel to κα(τ)τῶνδε, and his reminder that "bei Processen in Opus ein Lokrer nur als Beklagter sein könne," and considers the whole passage πρὸ(τ)τοῖς δικαστῆρας ἀρέσται epanaleptic.

The flaw in Meister's first suggestion is, as pointed out by Danielsson, *Eranos* 3, 69, his interpretation of ἀρέσται differently in lines 32 and 34. He states, p. 324, that δίκαν ἀρέσται = Attic δίκην λαχεῖν, expressing the relation of the accuser to the judge, while (τὴν δίκαν) ἀρέσται καὶ δόμεν he interprets, in the light of Hymn. εἰς Ἑρμ. 312, δὸς δὲ δίκην καὶ δέξο παρὰ Ζηνὶ Κρονίῳν, etc., as expressing the opposing relations of the two parties to each other. His second view gives the same meaning to the second ἀρέσται as to the first, but brings in an equally grave difficulty by making δόμεν correlative to ἀρέσται; and that the accused could present himself for trial upon the day of the accusation, no matter how great distances must be travelled to accomplish this, is absurd, even if there were no other trouble with this interpretation. Dittenberger, *CIGS.* III, p. 87, concluded that καταφεος must be an unknown word, or contain an engraver's error. Three attempts at emendation have been made. Oikonomides, the first editor of the inscription, read κατὰ φέ(τ)ος, which has been rather generally adopted, but cannot be very satisfactorily interpreted. Riedenauer, *Hermes*, 7, 111, proposed κατὰ [χρ]έος "in Bedürfnissfälle," which is neither parallel to the Homeric examples he adduces, nor satisfactory in itself. E. Meyer, *Forsch. zu Alt. Gesch.* I, 303, suggested κατ', ἄφεος and Danielsson, *Eranos* 3, 72, takes this up again and advocates it, considering ἄφεος or ἄφέος the genitive of a stem ἄφει-, ἄφοσ- "morning," and making the phrase serve merely for closer definition of ἀνταμαρόν, equivalent in sense to εἰς τὴν αὔριον.

3. *παρά* with the accusative for the dative, in eight dialects.

**Thessalian.** SGDI. 345, 13 [214], *μέσποδί κε οὖν καὶ ἑτέρος ἐπινοοῖσμεν ἄξιός τοι παρ' ἄμμέ πολιτεύματος*. Another example occurs in line 18.

**Boeotian.** SGDI. 489, 8 [end 3rd. cent.], *τὰς σουγγράφως τὰς κίμενας παρ Ἐϋφρονα*. Examples are frequent throughout this inscription and SGDI. 488 [223-197]. Others are SGDI. 482, 17 [end 3rd. or beginning 2nd. cent.], and CIG. 1570, 28 [ca. 71].

**Phocian.** SGDI. 1547, 4 [2nd. cent.], *ἀφίητι—τὰ ἴδια σώματα ἐλεύ[θερα]—καὶ παρακατατ[ίθητι] πα[ρὰ τοῖς] θεοῖς καὶ τὸν Ἀσκολαπίον*. Other examples occur in SGDI. 1555 [Roman].

**Delphian.** SGDI. 1698, 14 [148-100], *ἃ ὠνὰ παρ Ἀτεισίδαν*. This construction is frequent throughout the manumission decrees. Cf. SGDI. 1717, 3, 1718, 18, 1726, 3, etc. Examples occur also in 2502, 1, 125 [336-326].

**Aetolian.** Journ. Hell. Stud. 13, 340, no. 2, 10 [ca. 198], *ἃ ὠνὰ παρὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας*. Other examples are ib. no. 3, 4; 5, 6; 6, 11; 8, 10; 9, 7 [Roman].

**Elean.** SGDI. 1172, 5 [1st. half 3rd cent.], *Δαμοκράτηρ Ἀγήτορορ Τενέδιορ πεπολιτευκῶρ παρ' ἄμέ*.

**Laconian.** SGDI. 4566, 17 [100-90], *καὶ διετῆ χρόνον ἀ[ναστρεφό']μενος παρ' ἄμέ ἔν τε ταῖ τέχναι τὰ δίκαι[α ἐποίησ]ε τοῖς χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν*.

**Cretan.** SGDI. 4991, III, 7 [middle 5th. cent.], *δικάσαι τὰν γυναῖκ' ἀπομόσαι τὰν Ἀρτεμιν παρ' Ἀμυκλαῖον παρ' τὰν Τοκσίαν*. Other examples are SGDI. 5151, 8 [before 189], 5150, 9 [after 167], 5019, 7 [3rd. cent.].

The use of *παρά* with the accusative for the dative is a rather widespread phenomenon in later Greek, in both the literature and the inscriptions. This is in accordance with the general late Greek encroachment of the accusative (cf. Hatzidakis, *Neu-Griech. Gram.*, p. 204, Thumb, *Neu-Griech. Volkssprache*, p. 120). Upon *παρά* cf. Rau, *Curtius Studien* 3, 64ff., and Boeckh, CIG. I, p. 726.

In the above Thessalian examples *ἄμμέ* is sometimes taken as dative, since *ὑμῖν* corresponds to it in both instances in Philip's

letter, but the formal difficulty in such an interpretation is more serious than the variation in syntax which the accusative reading entails.

The Cretan example quoted is rather puzzling because of the uncertainty as to the number of deities implied. Blass, SGDI. vol. III, p. 272, ventures no farther than to note that *'Αμυκλαῖον* is evidently Apollo. Baunack, *Inscr. v. Gortyn*, p. 99, translates "bei der Artemis <indem sie > an das Amyklaion, an die Bogengöttin <herantritt>." The preposition is however unusual for such a meaning, and, partly for this reason, Comparetti, *Mon. Ant. III*, 173, suggests that there must be three deities by whom the oath is taken, the third one being perhaps the equivalent of *Βριτόμαρτις*. The preposition is however equally difficult with this interpretation. In the other Cretan examples of oaths (all of the third century or later),\* no preposition is used in any instance, although the list of deities is often very long.

#### 4. *πρός* with the accusative for the genitive, in Elean.

SGDI. 1151, 11 [archaic], *ὁμόσαντες πο(τ) τὸν θεὸν τὸν Ὀλύμπιον*.

SGDI. 1156, 3 [archaic], *ὅτι δοκέει κα(λ)λιτέρως ἔχην πο(τ) τὸν θ[ε]όν*.

SGDI. 1153, 6 [archaic], *αἱ δέ τις συλαίη, φέρρην αὐτὸν πο(τ) τὸν Δία*.

This construction accords with the Elean use of *ἄνευ* and *παρά* with the accusative (cf. I, 1, p. 71, and II, 3, p. 75), although here a fusion of constructions may exist, due to the possibility of using either *πρός* with the genitive, in oaths and expressions like the examples given above, as II. 19, 188, *ἐπιορκεῖν πρὸς δαίμονος*, or the accusative without a preposition, as II. 14, 271, *νῦν μοι ὄμοσσον ἀάατον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ*.

There is some uncertainty as to the interpretation of the third example. Ahrens, *Philol.* 38, 388, compares *Anth. Pal. VII*,

\* SGDI. 4952 A, 15, 5023, 12, 5024, 60, 70, 5039, 11, 5041, 13, 19, 5058, 2, 5075, 73, 5120, 15, 5147b, 5.

433, IX, 61, ἔρρε ποθ' Αἴδαν the meaning then being "Be under the protection of Zeus, no longer of mankind." But to invoke the protection of a god for a criminal laid under a curse is strange, as urged by Dittenberger *Ol. V*, p. 30, who remarks that the meaning demanded by the context is rather "Be an outlaw in his relations with Zeus." Danielsson, *Eranos* 3, 136, translates "Er soll zum Zeus hin ins Elend gehen," comparing Röhl, *IGA.* 8, 5, τρήτω καὶ δαμυέσσω ἐνς Ἀθαναίαν. The example is made more perplexing by the fact that Elean shows an instance in evidently a somewhat similar meaning with πρὸς with the genitive, namely Jahresh. d. Oesterr. Arch. Inst. in Wien I, 199, 4, φευγέτω πο(τ)τῶ Δίῳ τῶλυμπαίῳ αἵματορ. With this latter example Danielsson compares the Attic φευγεῖν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, suggesting that Zeus may have been καθάρσιος in Olympia.

### III. ODD CHOICE OF PREPOSITIONS.

#### 1. ἀπό for ὑπό in Delphian and Elean.

**Delphian.** SGDI. 1684, 5 [150-140], ἀπέδοτο—σῶμα γυναικείου—καθὼς ἐπίστευσε Καλλικράτεια τὰν ὄνων τῶι θεῶι, ἐφ' ὧστε ἐλευθέραν εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτον ἀπὸ πάντων.

**Elean.** SGDI. 1172, 31 [1st half 3rd cent.], τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τὸ γεγονὸν ἀπὸ τῆρ βωλῆρ γραφὲν ἐγ χάλκωμα ἀνατεθῆι ἐν τῷ ἱερῶν.

This construction is so common in the Delphian manumission decrees that there are but three examples of the use of ὑπό in this phrase, namely, SGDI. 1895, 6, 1911, 7, 1932, 8, all of the same date, 156-151. The Elean instance occurs in an inscription in which ὑπό is used for dating (cf. 4, p. 79). Dittenberger *Ol. V*, p. 35, restores ὑπό in SGDI. 1159, 6 [1st half 5th cent.], κατὰ τῶ βωμῶ ἀποφηλ[ῆσται ὑπὸ τῶ]ν προξένων καὶ τῶ ἰα[ρ]ᾶ[σ] . . ., which is perhaps similar to the above examples.

#### 2. ἐπί in epitaphs, in four dialects.

**Boeotian.** SGDI. 901 [early], ἐπὶ Πολυαρτίοι εἰμί. Examples are numerous. Cf. SGDI. 902, 909, etc.

**Phocian.** SGDI. 1515 [early], ἐπὶ Μάκητι. ἐπὶ Καλλοί. Examples are numerous. Cf. SGDI. 1527, 1532, etc.

**Locrian.** CIGS. III, 307 [early], ἐπὶ Μινάδα, ἀνδρὶ ποθεινῷ δάμφ καὶ πλ[ατί]οις καὶ φίλοις. Another example is CIGS. III, 264 [5th cent.].

**Cretan.** SGDI. 5137 [late], ἐπὶ Φιλᾶ[ι] Σώσω Ἐπιθετῶ Θρασαγόρα ἄ γυνὰ μναμείον.

In the Attic sepulchral inscriptions no preposition is used. The name, parents, etc., of the deceased are briefly enumerated, or an epigram is used. In the Latin inscriptions no preposition occurs, the proper name being prefaced by *Dis Manibus*, written in full, as CIL. VI, 10559, *Dis Manibus Acutiae Chloë*, or abbreviated, as CIL. VI, 17608, *Dis Man.*, or CIL. VI, 17616, *D. M.*

In Delphian, which might be expected to show a usage similar to that in Phocian, only six epitaphs occur, two of which are non-dialectic. No preposition is used, except in a metrical non-dialectic example, CIG. I, 1722, 2 [late], παιδοῦ ἐπὶ φθιμένον.

### 3. *ύ* for ἐπὶ in Cyprian.

#### a. *With the dative.*

SGDI. 74, 3, Διζαίθεμι τῶι θεῶ τῶ Ἀπό(λ)λωνι ὀνέθηκε *ύ* τύχα.

#### b. *With the accusative.*

SGDI. 123, 6, κατέθιζαν Βλέψων(?) *ύ*φέλθων (?) Ἐφοδος *ύ* δαρυν Ἡδαλίων νιπτήραν.

This preposition is to be compared with Skt. *ud*, Goth. *ut*, OHG. *uz*, (K. Vergl. Gr. § 591). It appears in no other dialect, having been crowded out by ἐπί, except in the general Greek compound ὕστερος. In Cyprian the compounds ἕνεξάμενος, ὕφαις and ὕχῆρων also occur (SGDI. 45, 60). Kretschmer KZ. 31, 415, takes ὕ(ν) for σύν, like the Hesychian gloss ὕγγεμος · συλλαβή, etc., (for list cf. Hoff. I, p. 201), and the expression σὺ(ν) τύχα does occur SGDI. 120, 4, but in SGDI. 60, 28, the one other occurrence of σύν in this dialect, the σ is written. The commoner phrase is ὕ(ν) τύχαι, found in SGDI. 28, 31, 37, etc.

4. *ὑπό* in dating in Elean.

Ol. V, 36 [365–363], *πρό[ξ]ενοι — αὐτοὶ κα[ὶ γέ]νος Σεκνώνιοι ὑπὸ [Ἑλλα]νοδικᾶν Ἀγιάδος Φιλ[ων] Λυκομή[δ]εος Βαθύλ[λος Κλ]εομάχῳ.*

Ol. V, 44, 6 [4th. cent.], *ἀγγράψαι πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργ[έταν αὐτὸν καὶ] ἐκ[γ]όνο[υ]ς . . . ιου Εὐ[φ]α[ντ]ί[δα] . . . ὑπὸ Ἑλλανο[δ]ι[κᾶν] . . . Τιμαινέτου . . .*

SGDI. 1172, 2 [1st. half 3rd. cent.], *Θεὸρ τύχα · ὑπὸ Ἑλλανοδικᾶν τῶν περὶ Αἰσχύλου.*

The accusative rather than the genitive is to be looked for in expressions denoting time with *ὑπό*, but the use of any preposition is unusual, the ordinary method of giving a date in an inscription being the use of the genitive absolute. Sometimes *ἐπί* is used, one late inscription showing this in Elean also, namely Ol. V, 52, 49 [ca. 135].

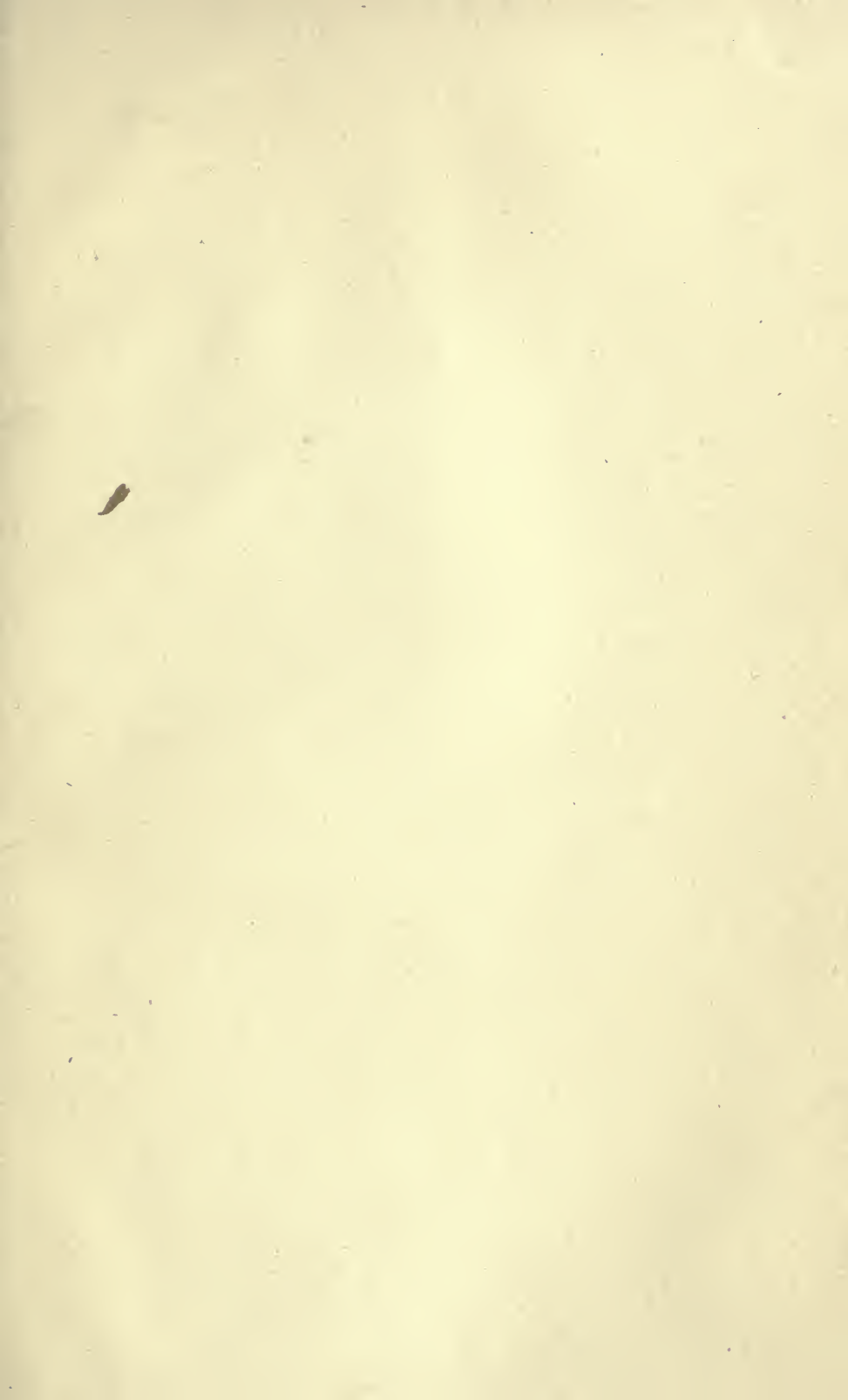


















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