

«CONTRACT VERBS» IN COMMON MODERN GREEK

0. P r o l o g u e

0.1

If you open a Greek dictionary you will find a large number of verbs that end in $-\tilde{\omega}$. And if you consult a grammar it is likely to inform you that the present indicative active of such verbs ends in $-\tilde{\omega}$, $\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$, $-\tilde{\alpha}$, $-\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon$, $-\tilde{\alpha}\tau\epsilon$, $-\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$ or $-\tilde{\omega}$, $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\zeta$, $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$, $-\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon$, $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tau\epsilon$, $-\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$; you can expect it to give you some instances of words of either type and it will probably add that in many cases the Greeks do not quite know themselves which inflection to choose.

Now, my contentions are:

a) It is little short of a disaster to Greek lexicography that the traditional entry form for the verbs is one of the imperfective aspect and not one of the aorist aspect. No other form is so stable as the aorist simplex (in my terminology, = aorist subjunctive in traditional terminology) of the active voice. Thus $\sigma\tau\acute{\rho}\omega\sigma\omega$ would be as good an entry in a dictionary of Ancient Greek as in one of Modern Greek though the corresponding imperfective forms differ: $\sigma\tau\acute{\rho}\omega\nu\nu\mu\iota$ - $\sigma\tau\acute{\rho}\omega\nu\omega$. Similarly $\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega$ corresponds to the classical $\sigma\pi\tilde{\omega}$ as well as to the later forms $\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\omega$, $\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, $\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$. The aorist active forms are stable because they are much more used than any other verbal forms. In fact, the imperfective of the lexicon entry is often a bogus form. There cannot be the slightest doubt that a great many verbs have a permanent existence in the aorist (active) forms only, though this is rarely recognized. An example is provided by the $\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\omicron$ - $\rho\omicron\delta\tilde{\omega}$ found in my dictionary —or $\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\omicron\rho\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}$ as I shall spell it from now on because I prefer a one-accent orthography. When I asked a couple of villagers to illustrate the use of the word I had no difficulties in eliciting such phrases as $\text{H } \gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha \text{ } \theta\alpha \text{ } \kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota \text{ } \tau\omicron \text{ } \mu\omicron\sigma\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota, \text{ } \tau\omicron \text{ } \rho\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota \text{ } \omega\sigma\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\upsilon \text{ } \acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\omicron\rho\omicron\delta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota \text{ } \gamma\iota\alpha \text{ } \nu\alpha \text{ } \mu\omicron\rho\acute{\rho}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota \text{ } \nu\alpha \text{ } \alpha\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota \text{ } \sigma\iota\gamma\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\sigma\iota\gamma\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \nu\alpha \text{ } \pi\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota \text{ } \mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha \text{ } \sigma\epsilon \text{ } \rho\omicron\phi\omicron\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron} \text{ } \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \text{and} \text{ } \text{M}\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma \text{ } \acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\omicron\rho\omicron\delta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota \text{ } (\text{sc. a foal}) \text{ } \pi\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota \text{ } \sigma\tau\omicron \text{ } \beta\upsilon\zeta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota \text{ } \kappa\alpha\iota \text{ } \beta\upsilon\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota$. I pressed the same two friends of mine to produce

imperfective forms, but they were most unwilling to do so. Of course, if you press people enough they may invent a form; hence the *ορθοποδάει*, *ορθοποδίζει* and *ορθοποδεί* suggested to me by a number of other people whom I asked about the imperfective form. Such emergency solutions also arise when people have brought themselves in a situation in which no escape from the imperfective seems possible if the sentence they have begun is to be completed in an orderly way. If, for instance, you start *Το μοσχάρι αρχίζει να ορθοποδ...* you must find a suitable imperfective termination. But whatever you choose to say it is just a momentary creation, only the aorist having a fixed morphology. The opposite situation, viz. a verb being wholly or almost restricted to use in the imperfective forms, is much rarer - a fact of which I became painfully aware when I tried to investigate the morphology of the imperfective by means of tape-recorded conversations!

b) The dictionary does not in a consistent way take advantage of the possibilities offered by its choice of the imperfective entry form. For important semantic differences may hide behind apparently innocent variations in the imperfective inflection. Thus *παρακρατάει* means «lasts too long» whereas *παρακρατεί* means «retain, hold back». The dictionary could be expected to show this by having two entries, viz. *παρακρατάω* for the former and *παρακρατώ* for the latter, just as a good dictionary will distinguish between *καταλαβαίνω* «understand» and *καταλαμβάνω* «occupy». And even when there is just one inflection the foreigner, at least, should like to be informed which one. The entry *...ω* does not guide him—and if the dictionary is one that actually does something to guide him its information will far too often be antiquated.

c) The grammar is wrong in justifying the dictionary by claiming that to a large extent chaos reigns, and so is much everyday talk of Modern Greek not having any fixed morphology. Admittedly, there are cases in which usage varies, and maybe more such in Greek than in most other European languages. Yet, I strongly believe that there is a perfectly valid sense in which a standard language, Common Modern Greek (C.M.Gk.), with a relatively fixed morphology can be claimed to exist. For there is a way of speaking Greek which can be extracted from the consensus of the younger, well-educated part of the population of the urban centres, and which is understandable and acceptable almost anywhere in Greece and to almost anybody.

e) I further contend that the grammar would have done well to present the terminational systems as follows: *α-άω, -άς, -άει, -άμε, -άτε, -άνε*

(usually replaceable by -ώ, -άς, -ά, -ούμεε, -άτε, -ούν(ε) but in some 'popular' verbs only the former, and in some 'learned' verbs only the latter series is fully acceptable); -ώ, -είζ, -εί, -ούμεε, -είτε, -ούν(ε) (usually not replaceable by any other series, though in some verbs of a non-technical character -άω, -άς etc. can be used instead)».

f) My final contention is that essential parts of contentions (a-e) were justified by the findings of an inquiry into the -ῶ, -οῦμαι and -ῶμαι verbs of the dictionaries that I conducted between 1969 and 1973 by means of questionnaires that were distributed in Athens, Salonica and Ioannina.

I did not, however, ask directly for a confirmation or a denial of any of the above very general contentions. The inquiry was concerned with individual «contracted» verbs and the two basic questions I sought an answer to were in each case.

(1) Is the verb in common use?

(2) If so, which conjugation does its imperfective belong to?

But incidentally several other points were elucidated.

The results of the inquiry are summarized in this paper, but to make them intelligible to the reader I must first explain some of my presuppositions and my terminology.

0.2

I base my description of the C.M.Gk. verb on the following grid:

Aspect ↓	Simplex	Preteritive	Imperative	Gerund	← Mood Voice ↓
Aorist	δέσω	έδεσα	δέσε	δέσει	Active
	δεθώ	δέθηκα	δέσου	δεθεί	Middle
Imper- fective	δένω	έδενα	δένε	δένοντας	Active
	δένομαι	δενόμουν	(δένου)		Middle

The table has left out the categories of person and number. The reader should understand that δέσω represents the whole paradigm δέσω, δέσεις, δέσει, δέσουμε, δέσετε, δέσουν(ε), and so in all other cases.

The grid, for which I share responsibility with Mr. Rolf Hesse, differs from traditional ones by taking account of the actual morphology of Modern Greek verbs. Our guiding principles have been these:

(I) Periphrastically expressed categories must be excluded.

(II) It must not be possible for a normal verb to have the same form represented twice in the inflectional paradigm. Noticeable exceptions to this rule are these: (a) the second person plural of the simplex and the imperative often coincide, thus δένετε, δεθείτε; (b) the third person singular of the simplex and the gerund coincide in the aorist aspect, thus δέσει, δεθεί; (c) in one variant of C.M.Gk. the first and second persons plural of the imperfective simplex middle coincide with those of the imperfective preteritive, thus δενόμαστε, δενόσαστε; (d) similarly some speakers do not distinguish the third person singular of the imperfective preteritive middle from the third person plural, thus δένονταν, δενόταν.

(III) The categories recognized must be such that any verbal form will be marked in respect of all the primary categories of the grid (aspect, voice, mood, person, number). We have allowed two exceptions to this rule, viz. (a) gerund forms are not marked for person and number; (b) imperative forms are considered second person forms although they are not so marked, as there are no first or third person forms for them to contrast with. Participles, which might have been given an exceptional status like the gerunds, are considered adjectives because they are inflected for case and number.

Some important consequences of these principles, which allow a greatly simplified description of verb morphology and of the corresponding semantico-syntactical parts of grammar, are these:

(1) The category of tense disappears. The only forms that almost invariably express a definite tense are those of the aorist preteritive (έδεσα, έέθηκα): they refer to the past. In all other cases it is rather the context than the form of the verb that provides an indication of tense — if any indication is provided. A few examples should make this point clear: *Present tense*: Χτές δέν έβρεξε, τώρα βρέχει: the present tense of τώρα βρέχει is indicated by means of the context (τώρα *versus* χτές), not by the verb alone. *Future tense*: Δίνω εξετάσεις αύριο. Ελπίζω να περάσω: the adverb αύριο and the verb ελπίζω indicate that δίνω and περάσω refer to the

future. *Omnitemporality*: Στη Θεσσαλονίκη βρέχει συνέχεια: omnitemporality is indicated by means of the word συνέχεια. A more complicated case is this: Υπάρχουν καθηγητές που τους δίνουν ότι ζητήσουν «there are professors who get [literally 'that they give them'] whatever they ask for»; the context being one of omnitemporality ζητήσουν must be interpreted accordingly. *Ambiguous tense*: 'Αν πήγαινα σχολείο θα είμουν βλάκας: only context—a wider context of utterance—can decide if the English equivalent is «If I had gone to school (in the past), I should have been a fool», or «If I went to school (now), I should be a fool», or «If I were to go to school (in the future), I should be a fool».

(2) The category of aspect, which is strangely ignored in most descriptions of Modern Greek, is raised to the prominence due to it for both morphological and semantical reasons. No 'perfective aspect' is recognized, because this semantic category is expressed periphrastically by means of an imperfective form (έχω, είχα) + an aorist gerund (δέσει, δεθεί).

(3) The number of moods is reduced to four. It is hardly necessary to argue against the existence of a subjunctive mood. The term 'indicative' has been avoided because the simplex and the preteritive are equally 'indicative' (= used to provide information about facts). The term 'simplex' is employed because that is the most frequently used and, as it were, 'unmarked' mood. The term 'preteritive' is a concession to tradition; perhaps 'absentive' would have been better, considering that the notion common to all expressions with preteritive verbs is the absence of the action or disposition signified by the verb, whether because it is temporally absent (past) or because it exists in a game of the mind only (as in 'Αν πήγαινα σχολείο, θα είμουνα βλάκας). 'Imperative' is a traditional and felicitous designation. 'Gerund' is a random choice; the forms of that mood are characterized by not indicating person and number; hence 'infinitive' would be a suitable name if it were not for the fact that the forms so called in other languages have radically different functions. Finally, it may deserve mention that the term 'mood', which is classical, has little left of its traditional meaning (έγκλισις ψυχής); if somebody were to suggest another name instead of 'mood', I should not be likely to object.

(4) The number of voices remains the traditional two. It might be objected that there is no neat morphological connection between corresponding aorist and imperfective forms of the same voice: we have pairs like δέσω-δένω, δεθώ-δένομαι. This consideration is overridden by another: a great many verbs possess all forms of one voice and none of

the other. We have decided on the term 'middle' instead of 'passive' because clearly passive expressions with indication of an external agent (σκοτώθηκε απο τον αδερφό του) are not very prominent in C.M.Gk.

So, this is the theory underlying the terminology I am going to use. Notice, however, that the choice of another terminology would not affect the purpose of the present paper.

I shall use the abbreviations: S. = Simplex; P. = Preteritive; Imper. = Imperative; Aor. = Aorist; Impf. = Imperfective; Act. = Active; M. = Middle.

I further operate with the following types of imperfective inflection, which I call conjugations (cj.) I-VII (pp. 72-74).

The reasons for having cj. I are fairly obvious. Cj. II has been devised to cover ακούω, καίω, κλαίω, λέω, τρώω, φταίω. Its number is due to its being, as it were, a mixture of I and III, the latter covering all the «α-contracts». IV covers the «ε-contracts». V has been devised to cover θυμάμαι, κοιμάμαι, λυπάμαι, φοβάμαι. VI covers the remnants of the ancient «ο-contracts», and VII is likewise a sanctuary for fossiles, viz. τίθεμαι and its compounds plus -κειμαι and -ίσταμαι compounds.

It will be seen that I have split cj. III into three in order to accommodate three groups of verbs. The main characteristics of the three groups are that IIIa verbs can only have the endings -άω, -άζ, -άει etc. in the active simplex, while IIIb verbs can only have -ώ, -άζ, -ά etc. Plain III verbs may be used with either set of terminations, but even then the -άω, -άζ, -άει series is somewhat commoner than the other one. I believe that for every commonly used cj. III verb it is possible to find out which group it belongs to.

It might be objected to my classification of forms that -άει in the third person of the singular does not necessarily imply -άω in the first person sg. or -άνε in the third person of the plural. Thus many persons who would not dream of saying anything but περνάει in the third person sg. would not hesitate to say περνώ in the first. The answer to this objection is that (a) as far as I have been able to ascertain, from the acceptability of -άει one can always infer the acceptability of -άω, -άμε, -άνε, and (b) it seems to me that the ties connecting -άει with -άω, -άμε and -άνε in one paradigm are becoming increasingly stronger.

As regards cj. IV someone might object that the forms of the middle voice are not really as I have shown them. Hans Ruge has argued that the actual forms are rather those of IIIa (Imperfekt Passiv im Neugriechischen, Glotta 51, 1973, 142-159). I do not doubt that this is the

case with some verbs, namely such as are much used in everyday conversation, though I have not had much confirmation of it in my investigations. Actually, for the majority of the cj. IV verbs it is quite clear that the third person sg. of the Impf. M. S. ends in *-είται*, not *-ιέται* (the preteritive forms of the middle voice are probably less stable). But the majority of the verbs does not mean the most frequently used ones, so there need not be any serious contradiction between Ruge's findings and mine. Cf. also below p. 106-107.

1. The Tests

1.1 *The Corpus*

A total of more than a thousand verbs were involved in my 1969-73 inquiry. The corpus was based on J. Pring's «The Oxford Dictionary of Modern Greek» (1965) from which I picked all verbs in *-ῶ*, *-ῶμαι* and *-οῦμαι*. It was augmented by most of the *-ῶ* verbs in N. Π. Ἀνδριώτη, *Ἑτυμολογικὸ Λεξικὸ τῆς Κοινῆς Νεοελληνικῆς*, (1967²) plus a large number of words collected from literature and various other sources. I later reduced the corpus a little by excluding some obviously antiquated verbs and most of the compounds in *-αιρῶ*, *-γραφῶ*, *-εργῶ*, *-θετῶ*, *-ζῶ*, *-ποιῶ*, *-σκοπῶ*, *-τελῶ* and many *ξανα-* compounds. Further I did not ask about certain common verbs like *μπαρῶ* and *δηλώνω* about whose C.M.Gk. inflection I do not think there can be any serious doubt.

1.2 *The Questionnaires*

Lack of money and time made it impossible for me to test several series of questionnaires to find out which type would serve my purposes best, before starting the real investigation. Therefore, to be sure that something did work, I used several types simultaneously.

276 copies of 22 different questionnaires of six different basic types were returned by 153 informants, more or less completely filled in. The copies returned represent some 50-60% of the total I handed out.

The six basic types of questionnaires were as follows:

1) A form of some verb is offered accompanied by the question *Το λέτε έτσι*; and a space for putting an X if the answer is affirmative. A further question follows, viz. *Ἄν ὀχι, πῶς το λέτε*; with a blank space for filling in.

IMPERFECTIVE

	Simplex		Preteritive		Imperative	Gerund
	Active	Middle	Active	Middle	Active	Active
I.						
1. sg.	ντύν-ω	ντύν-ομαι	έ-ντυν-α	ντυν-όμουν (α)	ντύν-ε	ντύν-οντας
2.	ντύν-εις	ντύν-εσαι	έ-ντυν-ες	ντυν-όσουν (α)		
3.	ντύν-ει	ντύν-εται	έ-ντυν-ε	ντυν-όταν (ε)		
1. pl.	ντύν-οιμε	ντυν-όμαστε	ντύν-αμε	ντυν-όμαστε		
2.	ντύν-ετε	ντύν-εστε	ντύν-ατε	ντυν-όσατε	ντύν-ετε	
3.	ντύν-ουν	ντύν-ονται	έ-ντυν-αν	ντύν-όνταν		
			ντύν-ανε	ντυν-όντουσαν		
II						
1. sg.	τρώ-ω	τρώ-γομαι	έ-τρω-γα	τρω-γόμουν (α)	τρώ-γε	τρώ-γοντας
2.	τρώ-ς	τρώ-γεται	έ-τρω-γες	τρω-γόσουν (α)		
3.	τρώ-ει	τρώ-γεται	έ-τρω-γε	τρω-γόταν (ε)		
1. pl.	τρώ-με	τρω-γόμαστε	τρώ-γαμε	τρω-γόμαστε		
2.	τρώ-τε	τρώ-γεστε	τρώ-γατε	τρω-γόσατε	τρώ-τε	
3.	τρώ-νε	τρώ-γονται	έ-τρω-γαν	τρώ-γόνταν		
			τρώ-γανε	τρω-γόντουσαν		
IIIa & III plain						
1. sg.	κρατ-άω	κρατ-ιέμαι	κρατ-αγα	κρατ-ιόμουν (α)		
2.	κρατ-άς	κρατ-ιέσαι	κρατ-αγες	κρατ-ιόσουν (α)		
3.	κρατ-άει	κρατ-ιέται	κρατ-αγε	κρατ-ιόταν (ε)		
1. pl.	κρατ-άμε	κρατ-ιόμαστε	κρατ-άγαμε	κρατ-ιόμαστε		
2.	κρατ-άτε	κρατ-ιόσατε	κρατ-άγατε	κρατ-ιόσατε		
3.	κρατ-άνε	κρατ-ιούνται	κρατ-άγαν	κρατ-ιόνταν		
		κρατ-ιόνται	κρατ-άγανε	κρατ-ιόντουσαν		

IIIa & IIIb & III plain				κρατ-ούσα κρατ-ούσες κρατ-ούσε κρατ-ούσαμε κρατ-ούσατε κρατ-ούσαν		κρατ-ά κρατ-άτε	κρατ-ώντας
IIIb & III plain	κρατ-ώ κρατ-άς κρατ-ά κρατ-ούμε κρατ-άτε κρατ-ούν (ε)						
IIIb		εξαρτ-όμμαι εξαρτ-άσαι εξαρτ-άται εξαρτ-όμασθε εξαρτ-άστε εξαρτ-ώνται					
IV	θεωρ-ώ θεωρ-είς θεωρ-εί θεωρ-ούμε θεωρ-είτε θεωρ-ούν	θεωρ-ούμαι θεωρ-είσαι θεωρ-είται θεωρ-ούμασθε θεωρ-άστε θεωρ-ούνται	θεωρ-ούσα θεωρ-ούσες θεωρ-ούσε θεωρ-ούσαμε θεωρ-ούσατε θεωρ-ούσαν	(θεωρ-ούμουν) (θεωρ-ούσου) θεωρ-ούνταν (θεωρ-ούμασθε) θεωρ-ούσασθε θεωρ-ούνταν	(θεωρ-ει) (θεωρ-είτε)	θεωρ-ώντας	
1. sg.							
2.							
3.							
1. pl.							
2.							
3.							

IMPERFECTIVE

	Simplex		Preteritive		Imperative	Gerund
	Active	Middle	Active	Middle	Active	Active
1. sg. 2. 3. 1. pl.		κοιμ-όμεναι κοιμ-άσαι κοιμ-άται κοιμ-όμεσθε		κοιμ-όμεν (α) κοιμ-όσουν (α) κοιμ-όταν (ε) κοιμ-όμεσθε		
2. 3.		{ κοιμ-άστε κοιμ-όσασθε κοιμ-όνται κοιμ-όνται }		κοιμ-όσασθε { κοιμ-όνταν κοιμ-όνταν κοιμ-όντουσαν }		
VI						
1. sg. 2. 3. 1. pl.	πληρ-ώ πληρ-είς etc. like cj. IV, but rarely used	(πληρ-όμεναι) (πληρ-ούσαι) πληρ-ούται (πληρ-όμεσθε) πληρ-ούσθε πληρ-όνται	(πληρ-ούσα etc. like cj. IV, but very rarely used)	(πληρ-όμενουν) (πληρ-ούσουν) ε-πληρ-ούτο (πληρ-όμεσθε) (πληρ-ούσασθε) ε-πληρ-όνυτο		
2. 3.						
VII						
3. sg. 3. pl.		συνίστα-ται συνίστα-νται		συνίστα-το συνίστα-ντο		

2) Several variant forms are offered with a request to delete forms which one would not normally use.

3) The lexicon form of a word is given and the informant is asked to write a certain other form. E. g. «Write the third person sg. active and passive of κινώ, φοιτώ...».

4) Some form of a verb occurs in a little text. The informant is asked to cancel unknown words altogether, replace such as can hardly be used by more suitable ones and change endings if they do not correspond to his own way of talking.

5) The lexicon form of a verb is given. The informant is asked to produce a little phrase to illustrate the use of the word.

6) Several endings are proposed for a single verbal stem and the informant is asked to mark such endings as he finds one would normally use.

Questionnaires of the types 1, 3, 5 and 6 included a request that unknown words be cancelled and that words that are not in common use be marked as such.

The forms most often asked about were the 3rd person sg. of the Impf. Act. S., i.e. the most certain conclusions of the investigation regard question of the type «Do people say ονειροπολάει, ονειροπολά or ονειροπολεί?», but in accordance with the views expounded in 0.2 above I shall interpret the answers as answers to the question «Does the verb ονειροπολ- follow cj. IIIa, IIIb or IV?».

1.3 *The Informants*

In accordance with my theory of who determine the form of C.M.Gk. I concentrated my efforts on gathering answers from young Athenians and Salonicians of a rather high educational level. I asked them to state their name, age, professional status, present place of residence, childhood residence, if they came from a refugee family and, in case this was so, which was the place of origin of the family.

The following tables try to convey an impression of the weight various groups have in the investigation. The tables represent a very rough computation only, as CQ = 'a copy of a questionnaire' is one of the basic units in the calculation though, in fact, the 22 questionnaires were not of the same size, and the value of the statistics is further diminished by the fact that no one question was answered by all 153 persons. Nevertheless, I do not think the tables are quite worthless if you wish to know which kind of Greek the investigation was really an investigation of.

A. Sex

	Persons	CQ
Male	95= 62%	187=67.8%
Female	55= 36%	85=30.8%
Unknown	3= 2%	4= 1.4%
Total	153=100%	276=100%

Men outweigh women by more than two to one. But for one thing I do not think sex determines the answers in a linguistic inquiry like mine, and for another the ratio is probably not too unreasonable given the distribution of higher education in Greece.

B. Age

Age	Persons	CQ	W (sums)
15-19	8	11.0	189.0= 2.1%
20-24	28	43.5	941.5=10.4%
25-29	34	48.5	1302.0=14.4%
30-34	25	51.0	1647.0=18.2%
35-39	17	33.0	1201.0=13.3%
40-44	15	45.0	1863.0=20.6%
45-49	10	25.0	1186.0=13.1%
50-54	1	1.0	54.0= 0.6%
55-59	3	4.0	224.0= 2.5%
60-64	5	6.0	370.0= 4.1%
65	1	1.0	65.0= 0.7%
Total	147	269.0	9042.5=100 %
Unknown	6	7.0	
Total	153	276.0	

In the above table W stands for 'age-weight of a single person's contribution' calculated as $A \times CQ$ where A stands for the number of years he is old and CQ the number of questionnaires he filled in. The average age of the filler-in of a CQ will then be $9042.5/269 = 33.6$, which is a little higher than I had wished for. But the group of the age 30-50 was much the easiest to get hold of because that is the period in life in which people hold permanent positions and can be met on the job every day.

C. Professional Status

	Persons	Totals	CQ	Totals
University staff	29 = 19%	72=47%	93 = 33.7%	161=58.3%
University students	24 = 16%		39 = 14.1%	
High school staff & other	19 = 12%		29 = 10.5%	
φιλόλογοι				
Φαρμακοποιοί	9 = 6%	15=10%	15 = 5.4%	31=11.2%
Ίατροί	3 = 2%		4 = 1.4%	
Μηχανικοί	3 = 2%		12 = 4.3%	
Ίδιωτικοί υπάλληλοι	18 = 12%	32=21%	25 = 9.1%	44=15.9%
Τραπεζικοί υπάλληλοι	9 = 6%		14 = 5.1%	
Other υπάλληλοι	5 = 3%		5 = 1.8%	
High School pupils	4 = 3%	34=22%	5 = 1.8%	40=14.5%
Έμποροι	6 = 4%		7 = 2.5%	
Βιβλιοπώλες — εκδότες	13 = 8%		16 = 5.8%	
Various	7 = 5%		8 = 2.9%	
Unknown	4 = 3%		4 = 1.4%	
Total	153 = 100%		276 = 100 %	

Teachers at the universities (faculty of Philosophy), their actual and former students play an extraordinarily great role in this investigation. The reason must be sought in their great willingness to help me and the zeal they showed in returning the questionnaires instead of forgetting them in a drawer or using them to fabricate paper aeroplanes.

D. Actual place of residence

	Persons	CQ
Athens	60	102 = 37.0%
Salonica	76	146 = 52.9%
Ioannina	12	22 = 8.0%
Various	5	6 = 2.2%
Total	153	276 = 100 %

E. Childhood Residence

	Persons	CQ	Persons	CQ
Athens	36	67.5 = 25.4%	48	98 = 36.8%
Peloponnese	9	19.5 = 7.3%		
Ionian Islands	3	11.0 = 4.1%		
Salonica	50.5	91.5 = 34.4%	92	157 = 59.0%
Constantinople	2	2.0 = 0.8%		
Thrace	11	18.0 = 6.8%		
Macedonia	12	17.0 = 6.4%		
Thessaly	3	6.0 = 2.3%		
Ioannina	6	9.0 = 3.4%		
Epirus				
Aetolacarnania	7.5	13.5 = 5.1%		
Crete	5	6.0 = 2.3%		
Dodecanese	1	1.0 = 0.4%		
Cyprus	1	3.0 = 1.1%		
Egypt	1	1.0 = 0.4%		
Total	148	266.0 = 100%		
Unknown	5	10		
Total	153	276		

In the above table half persons are such as have passed one part of their childhood in one place and the remaining part in another. The figures to the right show the sums for the Peloponnesian-Ionian and the Northern dialect areas. The Northern dialect area holds an undue share in the tests. But this fact is somewhat mitigated by the circumstance that more than one half of the CQs from this area come from people grown up in an urban centre (Salonica). People with an upbringing in Athens or Salonica account for some 60% of the CQs.

F. The Refugee Background

«Full refugee background» is assumed when the informant said his family was a refugee one, without further qualifications. «Half refugee background» occurs when an informant definitely stated that only his mother or father was a refugee or of refugee family.

Refugee Background	Persons
Full	32 = 21.6%
Half	6 = 4.1%
None	110 = 74.3%
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 148 = 100%
Unknown	5
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 153

The «refugee share» 'S' in the answers is calculated by means of the formula $B \times CQ = S$. B represents the informant's family background, evaluated as 1/2 if only one branch of his family is from a given area and 1 if both are so. CQ is the number of copies filled in by the particular informant. The geographical distribution of the «refugee shares» is shown in the following table:

Origin	S (sums)
Constantinople	13.0 = 4.9%
East Thrace & Imbros	11.5 = 4.3%
Asia Minor	15.5 = 5.8%
Pontos	20.5 = 7.7%
Odessa	4.0 = 1.5%
<hr/> Refugee total	<hr/> 64.5 = 24.2%
<hr/> Non-refugee	<hr/> 201.5 = 75.8%
<hr/> Known background	<hr/> 266 = 100%
Unknown background	10
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 276

«Asia Minor» includes all cases in which another district than Pontos was expressly stated as well as cases in which the answer to the question of origin was just «Μικρά Ασία».

I think the refugee share of approximately 25% and the geographical distribution over all the major areas from which the refugees came are very satisfactory for an investigation of C.M.Gk.

1.4 *The Reliability*

I have no reasons whatsoever to doubt the reliability of most of the test-persons. When I distributed the questionnaires and when I picked

them up after they had been filled in I usually had an opportunity to have a little talk with the informants, and, as a rule, I did not notice any glaring discrepancy between the way they talked and the way they answered the written questions. Furthermore, very few results really contradict the impression of C.M.Gk. that I have gained by living in a Greek academic milieu and by traveling through the country. It might have been expected that some would show a strong Katharevousian bias and others an equally strong Demoticist bias. This was not the case. Hardly a single person can be justly accused of either mania, though of course some were more influenced by the written forms of Greek than others.

Among the surprises I can mention that *απαυδίζει*, *ψευδομαρτυράει* and *ψηλαφεί* appeared to enjoy greater favour than *απαυδά*, *ψευδομαρτυρεί* and *ψηλαφά*, and that *αναρριχιέται* was not generally rejected. But there were few such surprises. In the large majority of cases the consensus of the test-persons agreed with what in my experience is the consensus of young and middle-aged well-educated Greeks.

Further, the traps contained in some of the questionnaires did not catch anybody or very few. Thus nobody declared he knew a verb *τσικάω* or *τσικώ* which was an invention of mine, and *ανηχώ*, which is weakly attested in Byzantine sources, but —as far as I know—nowhere else, did not get any votes either. Nor were obviously dialectal forms like *φτυώ* accepted. A series of other traps were similarly avoided by the vast majority of the informants. The only one that did catch some game was *μεταπονώ* to which three persons assented. I had fabricated the word myself. But it may be that unwittingly I had fabricated an existing word.

2. T h e I m m e d i a t e R e s u l t s

2.1 *Method of Interpretation*

The immediate conclusions of the questionnaire inquiry are presented in 2.3 below. The conclusions were arrived at as follows:

Acceptance of forms definitely belonging to one of my conjugations (see 0.2) has been interpreted as an indication that the verb follows that conjugation. But I have used great caution: thus even if everybody accepted the *-άω* form of some verb I have not interpreted this as 'IIIa' unless the *-ώ* form was definitely rejected. Instead I content myself with the conclusion 'III'.

If a clear majority of the informants indicate one conjugation rather

than another I have accepted their judgment. If there was approximate equality for I and IIIa I have concluded 'I & IIIa'. If IIIa and IIIb were approximately equally favoured, 'III' is the conclusion that will be found in section 2.3. And so on.

The number of answers available to determine the conjugational type of each verb varies greatly from instance to instance. This is due to the following circumstances: (1) In the case of some verbs I found there was not much to be gained by asking many people when a few persons of proved reliability would suffice. Thus I did not bother to search for confirmation of the judgment 'obsolescent' passed on *καλνώ* by two informants. Nor did it consider it necessary to ask anybody if *ενεργώ* belongs to cj. IV. (2) The return rate of the various questionnaires differed considerably from case to case. (3) Having distributed the main series of questionnaires I discovered some verbs that I had forgotten. I then sought information about them from a limited number of trustworthy people.

The table in which I list my results allows the reader to exercise some control of the reliability of my conclusions as I note how many tests each verb occurred in and how many answers I received in all. The conclusions listed in the conclusion-column of section 2.3 are only such as can be derived from the answers to the tests. Much that I consider to be indisputable but which I know from other sources could have been added but I have refrained from doing so except for a few cases in which I could not resist the temptation. The extra information then occurs in a footnote, not in the list proper. The footnotes also contain discussions of some controversial points. Only if the list in 2.3 has the entry '0 tests, 00 answers' is the conclusion based on information derived from other sources.

2.2 Reading the List of Results

T A

αμολ-1 17 IIIa = 17 answers to one test indicated beyond any reasonable doubt that *αμολάω* belongs to cj. IIIa.

αραδι- I -*άζω* = cj. III or IV forms, like *αραδιάω*, were rejected, but *αραδιάζω*—or some other form of the same paradigm (such as *αραδιάζει*)—was accepted.

διερωτ- D = The questionnaire(s) presented the verb as a deponent, i.e. no active forms were given for consideration.

IIIa & IV = Both conjugations enjoyed approximately equal favour.

If a higher number precedes a lower it means that the conjugation with the higher number seemed to have priority. Thus 'IV & III'.

IIIa (IV) = IIIa got greatest support but IV seemed to be a possible conjugation too.

III(b) = cj. III with a propensity to IIIb.

IIIb-VII = cj. IIIb in the active voice but cj. VII in the middle.

++ = (Almost) universally rejected.

++ (III) = The rejection rate was very high but it was indicated that if one were to use the verb it would have cj. III forms.

III/++ = Cj. III was indicated but it seemed that the verb must be very little used.

++? = Apparently not in common use.

++ A = Very restricted acceptability but to some extent possible in the aorist forms.

(IV) A = If the verb has imperfective forms they will be those of cj. IV, but in the main it is restricted to use in the aorist forms.

IV AAc? = The imperfective conjugation indicated was IV, but there were some, not too strong, signs that only the aorist active is in common use.

AAc = Mainly or solely used in the aorist active.

For reasons of space the grammatical categories have been abbreviated more than elsewhere. Thus:

Ac = Active; M = Middle; A = Aorist; I = Imperfective; P = Preteritive; Im = Imperative; 3p = Third person

2.3 List of Results

	T	A	Conclusions		T	A	Conclusions
αγανακτ-	3	12	IV (III)	ακριβοπουλ-	1	18	IIIa
αναναχτ-	2	19	III	ακριβοχαιρετ-	1	18	++ (IIIa)
αγαπ-	0	00	III (a)	ακριδολογ-	1	18	++
αγκαλ-	2	06	++	ακρο- D	1	01	++
αγκομαχ-	4	40	IIIa	ακροβατ-	1	18	IV AAc?
αγκυροβολ-	2	05	IV	ακρονυχ ⁻³	1	18	++
αγνο-	0	00	IV	ακροπατ-	1	18	++ (IIIa)
αγρυπν-	2	22	IIIa	ακροφυσ-	1	18	++ (III)
αγωνι-	3	37	IIIb	ακτινοβολ-	2	04	IV & IIIa
αδημον ⁻¹	2	24	IV	ακτοπλο-	1	18	++
αδιαφορ-	1	03	IV	ακυρολεκτ-	1	17	++
αδικ-	2	05	IV	αλλαξοδρομ-	1	17	AAc
αδραν-	1	01	IV	αλλαξοπιστ ⁻⁴	1	01	AAc
αδυνατ-	1	01	IV/++	αλλαξοφρον-	2	35	++ AAc?
αεροβατ-	1	01	IV	αλυχτ-	3	41	++ (III)
αερολογ-	1	01	IV	αμελ-	2	08	IV
αιματοκυλ ⁻²	3	23	III/++ A?	αμεριμν-	1	01	IV
αισιοδοξ-	1	01	IV	αμηχαν-	3	39	++ (IV)
αιτ-	1	01	++	αμιλλ- D	1	03	++
αιτι- D	2	04	++	αμνημον-	2	21	++
αιωρ- D	2	04	IV M	αμολ-	1	17	IIIa
ακινητ-	2	19	++ (IV)	αμποδ-	1	17	++ (IIIa)
ακολουθ-	3	05	IV & III	αμφισβητ-	2	21	IV (III)
ακον-	2	21	I -ιζω	αναβι-	1	04	++ (VI)
ακουμπ-	3	07	III (a)	αναβρ ⁻⁵	1	02	I -ύζω
ακριβαγαπ-	1	18	++ (III)	αναγαλλι ⁻⁶	1	16	I -άζω
ακριβοθωρ-	1	18	++ (IV)	αναγουλι ⁻⁷	2	18	I -άζω
ακριβολογ-	1	18	IV	αναδιφ ⁻⁸	2	21	IIIb

1. αδημονίζει rejected by 20, accepted by none.

2. The variant αιματοκυλλίζει which was not in the questionnaire was given spontaneously by one informant.

3. ακρονυχ- owes its existence to a misprint in the questionnaire. It was duly rejected by 14 informants. The rest accepted -άει or -ά, no doubt because they read the paper as if it had the intended ακρανυχ-.

4. The informant was not sure if an Impf. could be formed. He inclined to believe it must be -ιζω but would not reject -ώ altogether.

5. αναβρύζω is C. M. Gk., -ύω Kath. and αναβράω dialect.

6. αναγαλλιάει and αναγαλλιά unanimously rejected.

7. αναγουλιάει and αναγουλιά unanimously rejected.

8. Mainly in the phrase αναδιφώ αρχεία.

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
αναζητ-	2	22	III (IV)	ανηχ-	1	04	++
αναζωογον-	2	05	IV	ανθ-*	1	18	I -ίζω
αναζωοπυρ-	0	00	AM	ανθ-**	2	22	IV Ac
αναθαρ-	2	05	++ (IV)	ανθολογ-	2	21	IV AAc?
αναιρ-	1	01	IV	ανι-	2	20	++ (IIIb)
ανακαλ-	0	00	IV	ανιστορ-	3	21	IV
ανακιν- ¹	2	21	IV & III A	ανοι- ⁶	1	02	I -γω
ανακτ-	4	57	IIIb AAc	ανοιγοκλει- ⁷	1	02	I -νω
αναλογ-	3	25	IV Ac	ανοικοδομ-	1	17	(IV) A
αναμασ-	2	22	III	αντανακλ-	3	08	IIIb
αναμερ- ²	2	20	I -ίζω	αντηχ-	1	04	IV Ac
αναμετρ-	2	21	III A?	αντιβο-	1	16	IIIb
αναπηδ-	3	39	III	αντιδρ-	1	04	III
αναπολ-	1	18	IV	αντικαθιστ-	1	04	IIIb-VII
αναρριγ	1	18	++ (III) AAc	αντιλαλ-	1	03	IV
αναρριχ- ³	D	1	III/++ M	αντιλογ-	D	1	++
αναρτ-	1	04	IIIb	αντιμετρ-	1	03	++ (IIIb)
αναρωτ- D	1	10	IIIa M	αντιμιλ-	3	21	III (IV)
ανασκοπ-	1	17	IV AAc	αντιπαθ-	1	18	IV
ανασυγχρατ-	1	18	IV/++	αντιστοιχ-	0	00	IV
αναφων-	3	23	++ (IV)	αντιχαιρετ-	1	03	++ (III)
αναχωρ-	1	03	IV	αντιχτυπ-	1	17	++
ανδρ- ⁴	D	4	I -ώνομαι & VI M	αντλ-	1	03	IV
ανελ-	2	03	++	ανυπομον-	0	00	IV IAc
ανεμοχτυπ-	1	17	IIIa/++	αξι- ⁸	2	18	I -ώνω & VI
ανερειν-	2	20	III (b)	αξιολογ-	1	21	IV
ανησυχ-	2	35	IV	απαισιοδοξ-	1	17	IV
ανηφορ- ⁵	1	03	I -ίζω	απαιτ-	2	05	IV
				απαντ-	0	00	III

*«blossom»

**«thrive»

1. Mainly in the phrase ανακίνησε το θέμα/ζήτημα.
 2. αναμεράει, αναμερά, αναμερεί almost unanimously rejected.
 3. Only the form αναρριχίεται was given for consideration. Thirteen accepted it, fourwrote -άται and one -είται, but five protested that the word was not in common use.

4. Sixteen accepted ανδρώνεται and 10 also ανδρούται.

5. Nobody accepted ανηφοράω. ανηφορώ got 1¹/₂ vote and all accepted ανηφορίζω.

6. ανοιώ is dialectal.

7. ανοιγοκλειώ is dialectal.

8. αξιώνω «make worthy», αξιώ «claim».

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
απαξι ¹	2	19	VI	αποσκοπ-	2	06	IV
απαριθμ-	1	04	IV	αποσοβ-	1	03	++ (IV) AM
απαρν- D	2	20	IIIa M	αποσπ- ⁴	4	53	III (b)
απασχολ-	0	00	IV M	αποστατ-	1	17	(IV) AAc
απατ-	3	23	III	αποστειρ-	1	02	I -ώνω
απαυδ-	2	22	I -ίζω (III) AAc	αποστερ-	1	17	(IV) A
απειθ-	2	22	IV Ac	αποτελ-	0	00	IV
απειλ-	0	00	IV	αποτολμ-	1	17	III/++
απεργ-	0	00	IV Ac	αποτραβ-	2	21	III
απιστ-	1	03	IV	αποφοιτ-	2	21	(IIIb) AAc
αποβι-	1	04	++	αποχαιρετ-	1	03	III
αποδημ- ²	1	03	PAc	αποχτ- v. αποκτ-			
αποζητ-	2	22	IIIa & IV	αποχωρ-	2	20	IV
αποθυμ-	1	04	IIIa	απωθ-	1	04	IV
αποκαθιστ-	2	18	IIIb-VII	αραδι-	1	02	I -άζω
αποκαλ-	0	00	IV	αργ-	1	01	IV
αποκοιμ- ³	1	02	I -ίζω	αργοκιν-	1	18	III/++
αποκοτ-	0	00	++	αργοκουν-	1	03	++ (III)
αποκρυσταλλ-	1	02	I -ώνω	αργοπερπατ-	1	03	++ (III)
αποκτ-	2	06	III	αργοπορ-	1	18	IV
αποχτ-	2	03	III	αριθμ-	3	39	++ (IV & I -ίζω)
απολ-	2	08	++ (IIIa)	αρκ-	0	00	IV
απολογ- D	2	19	IIIa & IV M	αρκουδ-	1	16	I -ίζω
απομυζ-	3	28	III	αρν- ⁵	3	20	III & IV M
αποξεχν-	0	00	IIIa Med.	αρπ-	2	22	I -άζω
αποπατ-	2	20	IV (III) Ac	αρρωστ-	3	37	I -αίνω (IIIa)
αποπλαν-	2	18	AAc	αρχιν-	1	18	III/++
απορ-	0	00	IV	ασεβ-	1	17	IV
απορρουφ-	1	02	++	ασθεν-	1	17	IV
απορροφ-	4	40	III	ασκ-	0	00	IV
αποσιωπ-	5	55	IIIb A?	ασκομαχ-	2	20	++
αποσκιρτ-	2	20	(IIIb) AAc	αστοχ- ⁶	4	40	IV (III) AAc

1. Virtually restricted to phrases of the type *απαξιό να + verbum dicendi* (*απαντήσω/μιλήσω/χαιρετίσω*).

2. All informants agreed that only the preteritive is in common use. One produced *αποδημούσαν*, the two others tended to accept aorist forms only.

3. Both informants rejected *αποκοιμάω*, but examples from literature seem to indicate that *αποκοιμιέμαι* may be used.

4. *αποσπάνω* rejected.

5. *αρνιώντας* rejected.

6. It would seem that the aorist active is most used and common to two distinct Impf., viz. *αστοχάω* «forget» and *αστοχάω* IV «miss the aim».

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
αστραποβολ-	1	18	++	βεργολυγ-	1	17	++
αστραφτοκοπ-	1	03	++ (III)	βι-	1	03	++
ασφυκτι-	1	17	IIIb/++	βλαστ-	2	20	I -αίνω
ασχημον-	1	17	IV Ac	βλαστημ-	1	02	III (a)
ασχολ-	0	00	IV M	βλαστολογ-	2	21	++ (IIIa & IV)
ατακτ-	1	17	IV/++	βλασφημ-	1	03	++
ατον-	2	21	(IV) AAc	βλογ- v. ευλογ-			
ατυχ-	1	17	IV	βο-	2	20	++ (IIIb)
αυταπατ- D	1	17	IIIb	βογγ-	3	39	IIIa
αυτοαποκαλ-	0	00	IV M	βογγομαχ-	1	18	IIIa/++
αυτοκτον-	2	22	IV	βοηθ-	2	35	IIIa
αυτομολ-	2	21	IV/++ AAc	βολ-	0	00	IV IAc 3p
αφαιρ-	0	00	IV	βολιδοσκοπ-	1	17	(IV) AAc
αφηγ-	3	22	IV/++ M	βομβ-	2	21	IV
αφθον-	3	22	IV	βοσκ-	2	20	I & IIIa
αφικν- D	1	03	++	βουλ-	3	22	++
αφορ ¹	2	21	IIIb 3p	βουλι-	2	18	I -άζω
αφροκοπ-	1	17	++ (III)	βουτ-	1	17	IIIa
αφρολογ-	1	17	++	βραδυπορ-	0	00	IV
αφρολυσσ-	1	08	++	βροντ-	1	03	IIIa
αφρομαν-	1	17	++	βροντοκοπ-	1	17	III
αφυπηρετ- ²	1	17	++	βροντολαλ-	1	17	IV/++
αχολογ- ³	2	35	++ (III)	βροντολογ-	1	17	++
αχρηστ-	1	04	I -εύω	βροντομαχ-	1	17	++
αψηφ-	2	21	III	βροντοφων-	1	17	++ (IV)
βαθμολογ-	0	00	IV	βροντοχτυπ-	1	17	++ (III)
βαρ-	0	00	III(a)	βρουχ- D	1	16	++
βαργεστ- ⁴	2	05	IIIa (I -ίζω)	βρυχ- D	2	18	IIIa
βαρυγγωμ- ⁵	1	17	III (b)	βρωμ- ⁷	1	02	III & I -ίζω
βαστ- ⁶	1	02	I -άζω & III	βυσσοδομ-	1	17	++ (IV)
βατταλαλ-	2	22	++	βωλοκοπ-	2	18	++ (III)
βατταλογ-	1	18	++	βωμολογ-	1	4	++ (IV)
βαττολογ-	1	03	++	γαλουχ-	1	04	IV AM
βερβολυγ-	1	17	++				

1. As a matter of fact only αφορά, -ούν, -ούσε and -ούσαν are used.

2. The aorist αφυπνήρησε is probably in use.

3. Mostly in the phrase αχολογούν οι κάμποι/τα βουνά.

4. Mostly Aor. Act.?

5. The result is surprising. IIIa should be expected. The test was one in which the participants wrote phrases of their own. They gave 1 -ώ, 4 -άζ, 2 -ά, 1 -ούν, 1 -εις, 1 -ει and five aorist active forms.

6. One informant noted that βαστάζω means «carry», βαστάω «keep, endure».

7. βρωμάω «stink», βρωμίζω «soil».

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
γαμ-	1	04	IIIa	διακωμωδ-	3	23	IV
γαργαλ-	2	04	I -ίζω & III (a)	διαλαλ-	3	35	IIIa & IV
γαυρι-	2	19	IIIb/++	διαμαρτυρ ³ -	2	23	IV & I M
γδουπ-	2	17	++	διαμφισβητ-	1	17	IV/++
γελ-	2	19	III	διανο- D	1	03	IV
γενν-	0	00	III	διαπερ-	2	05	++
γεννοβολ-	2	08	IIIa Ac	διαπερν-	3	23	III
γερν ¹	1	02	III	διαπτ-	1	17	AM
γεροκομ ²	1	04	IV-IIIa/++	διαριθμ-	1	04	++
γλεντ-	1	18	III	διαρκ-	0	00	IV
γλεντοκοπ-	1	04	IIIa Ac	διασπ ⁴ -	4	17	III (b)/++ AAc?
γλιστρ-	0	00	III	διατελ-	0	00	IV/++
γλωμοδοτ-	1	17	IV	διατηρ-	1	03	IV
γογγ-	1	03	III	διατιμ-	2	20	IIIb
γонуπετ-	1	03	IV	διατομ-	1	08	++
γοργοχτυπ-	1	17	III (a)	διατρυπ-	2	24	III (a)
γρατσουν-	1	02	I -ίζω & III	διαφιλονικ-	2	25	IV/++
γρηγορ-	1	04	++ (IV) Ac	διαφων-	2	25	IV
γυναικομαν-	1	04	++	διεκδικ-	1	04	IV
γυρ-	2	19	I -ίζω & IIIa -νάω	διεκτραγωδ-	1	21	++
δειλι-*	1	17	++	διενεργ-	1	11	IV A?
δειλι-**	1	18	I -άζω & IIIb	διερευν-	2	21	III (b)
δειπν-	3	38	III	διερωτ- D	2	38	III (b)/++
δη-	2	05	++	διηγ- D	2	25	IV
δημηγορ-	1	04	IV	διηθ-	1	04	IV/++
δημιουργ-	0	00	IV	δικαι ⁵ - D	1	02	I -ώνομαι & VI
δημοκοπ-	2	21	IV	δικαιολογ-	1	04	IV
διαβι-	2	06	++ (VI)	διοικ-	0	00	IV
διαθλ-	3	09	IIIb	διορ-***	1	04	++
διαιρ-	0	00	IV	διχοτομ-	1	08	IV/++
διαιτ- D	1	03	++	διψ-	0	00	III (a)
διακον-	2	21	++	δολοφον-	2	39	IV (III)
διακοσμ-	1	04	IV	δον-	3	09	IV (I -ίζω)

* «evening falls»

** «act cowardly»

*** «discern»

1. γεράζω rejected as being dialectal.
2. γεροκομεί preferred to -άει by 3:1, -ιέται to -είται also by 3:1. Two declared the word to be rare.
3. διαμαρτυρώ «protest (a bill)», διαμαρτύρομαι «protest (in general)». But ten informants claimed that the former was little used.
4. διασπάνω rejected.
5. δικιωνόμαι «be justified/vindicated», δικαιούμαι «be entitled to».

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
δοξολογ-	0	00	IV	εκριζ-	1	02	I -ώνω
δουπ-	1	17	++	εκτελ-	0	00	IV
δρ-	1	03	IIIb	εκτιμ-	2	24	III
δρασκειλ-	2	22	I -ιζω (III)	εκτραγωδ-	2	25	++ (IV)
δροσολογ-	3	33	++	εκφων-	1	01	IV
δυσανασχετ-	2	14	IV	εκχερσ-	1	01	I -ώνω
δυσαρρεστ-	1	4	IV	εκχωρ-	2	11	IV/++
δυσπιστ-	2	33	IV	ελε-	1	04	IV
δυστροπ-	1	08	IV	ελεεινολογ-	2	12	IV/++
δυστυχ-	1	08	IV/++	εμ-	1	03	++
δυσφημ-	2	29	IV & I -ιζω	εμπεδ-	1	21	I -ώνω
δυσφορ-	1	17	IV	εμφιλοχωρ-	1	03	++
δωρ-	1	22	I -ιζω	εμφορ- D	2	13	IV
δωροδοκ-	3	11	IV	εμφυσ-	1	03	IIIb/++
εγγυ- D	3	44	IIIb	εναντι- D	1	02	I -ώνομαι
εγκαθιστ-	1	04	IIIb-VII	ενδιαιτ- D	1	03	++
εγκαρτερ-	2	25	++ (IV)	ενεργ-	0	00	IV
εγκληματ-	1	02	IV	ενηλικι-	1	02	I -ώνομαι
εγκολπ- D	1	02	I -ώνομαι	ενθυμ- D	1	02	++ (IV)
εγκυμον ¹	2	12	IV	εννο ⁴	0	00	IV
εισηγ- D	1	03	IV	ενοχλ-	0	00	IV
εισορμ-	2	26	III (b)	εντροφ-	2	12	++
εισχωρ-	2	25	IV	εξαερ-	1	04	I -ιζω
εκδικ- D	2	23	IV (IIIa)	εξαιρ ⁵	0	00	IV
εκκεν-	1	02	I -ώνω	εξακολουθ-	3	44	IV (III)
εκκρεμ-	0	00	IV	εξαντλ-	1	04	IV
εκλιπαρ-	1	04	IV	εξαπατ-	3	27	III
εκμετρ-	1	22	(III) A	εξαρτ ⁶ :	3	07	IIIb
εκμισθ-	1	04	++ (VI)	εξασθεν-	1	08	IV A?
εκμυζ-	1	04	++	εξασκ-	0	00	IV A?
εκπληρ ²	1	02	I -ώνω	εξαύλ-	1	03	++
εκπον ³	3	28	IV/++	εξεμ-	1	21	++
εκπορθ-	2	21	IV/++	εξερευν-	2	25	III
εκπροσωπ-	2	20	IV	εξηγ-	2	10	IV

1. Apparently restricted to the phrase η κατάσταση/η υπόθεση/το θέμα εγκυμονεί κινδύνους.

2. But cj. VI in some stock phrases like εκπληρώ χρέη.

3. Apparently restricted to the phrase ε. σχέδια.

4. It is difficult to separate this verb from νοώ but discussions with various informants pointed to the analysis μ' εννοείς; / μ' εννόησες; instead of με νοείς; / με νόησες;

5. The commonest Impf. form is εξαιρείται. The commonest expression in the active is άν εξαιρέσουμε...

6. Mostly in the form εξαρτάται.

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>	
εξημερ-	1	21	I -ώνω	επιμελ- ⁴	D	1	20	IV
εξισορροπ-	1	02	(IV) AAc	επινο-		0	00	IV
εξιστορ-	2	26	IV	επιτορκ-		2	34	++ (IV)
εξοικονομ-	1	21	III	επισκοπ-		1	08	IV/++
εξομολογ-	3	17	IV	επιστατ-		1	08	IV/++
εξορ- ¹	1	04	++	επιτηρ-		1	04	IV
εξορμ-	1	04	III (b)	επιτιμ-		2	11	IIIb
εξουσιοδοτ-	1	08	IV A	επιχειρ-		1	03	IV
εξοφλ- ²	2	06	IIIa & IV	επιχορηγ-		0	00	IV
εξυμν-	2	24	IV/++	εποφθαλμι-		1	21	++ (IIIb)
εξυπηρετ-	1	03	IV	επωφελ- ⁵		1	03	++
εξωθ-	1	11	IV	ερ- D		1	02	++
επαγρυπν-	1	17	IV A?	ερευν-		4	25	III (b)
επαυν-	8	21	IV	ερυθρι-		1	03	++
επαιτ-	2	25	++ (IV) Ac	ερωτ- ⁶		0	00	III
επακολουθ-	2	21	IV A?	ερωτοτροπ-		1	20	IV
επανακτ-	3	27	IIIb/++	ετυμολογ-		0	00	IV
επαναχτ-	1	02	++	ευαρεστ- D		1	02	IV
επαναστ-	0	00	IV	ευγνωμον-		1	02	IV
επαπειλ-	1	22	++ (IV)	ευδοκ-		2	12	++ (IV) A?
επαρκ-	1	11	IV	ευδοκιμ-		1	08	IV
επενεργ-	1	17	IV/++	ευεργετ-		1	17	IV
επερευν-	1	04	++	ευημερ-		2	21	IV
επευφημ-	1	11	IV	ευθυμ-		2	25	IV/++
επιβι-	1	02	++ A?	ευκαιρ-		1	04	IV Ac
επιδρ- ³	1	04	III (b)	ευλαβ- D		1	17	++
επιζ-	1	17	IV	ευλογ- ⁷		2	06	IV
επιζητ-	2	26	III & IV	ευμεν-		2	19	++
επιθεωρ-	1	08	IV	ευνο-		1	02	IV
επιθυμ-	1	04	IV	ευοδ-		2	12	++
επικαλ- D	1	21	++?	ευπορ-		1	08	++ (IV)
επικοιν-	1	02	++	ευσπλαχν-		1	03	IV M
επικοινων-	0	00	IV	ευσταθ-		0	00	IV Ac
επικρατ-	2	08	IV Ac	ευστοχ-		2	25	++ (IV)
επικρεμ- D	1	02	++	ευτυχ-		1	03	IV
επικροτ-	3	34	IV	ευφημ-		2	18	++

1. εξορίζω «exile» was not offered for consideration.

2. εξοφλώ IV «pay», εξοφλάω = ξοφλάω «be finished».

3. Normally in the third person only.

4. επιμέλομαι unanimously rejected.

5. My personal experience indicates that the Aor. M. may be used.

6. ρωτάω commoner.

7. But βλογάω IIIa.

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
ευχαριστ- ¹	1	02	IV-IIIa	ιλιγγι-	1	22	++ (IIIb)
εφιστ-	3	28	IIIb	ισ-	1	02	I -ώνω
εφορμ-	2	12	IIIb/++	ισοδυναμ-	0	00	IV Ac
ζ-	1	01	IV	ισορροπ-	2	28	IV
ζεματ- ²	2	20	III (a)	ισοψηφ-	1	03	IV
ζητ-	2	21	III (IV)	ιστορ-	4	45	IV/++
ζουλ-	1	04	III (a)	ιχνηλατ-	2	12	IV/++
ζουπ-	1	04	III (a)	καβαλ-	2	25	IIIa
ζυγ- ³	1	03	++ MIm	καζαντ-	1	02	I -ίζω (& III?)
ζωγρ-	1	11	++	καθαιρ-	0	00	IV/++
ζωογον-	1	08	IV	καθιστ-	3	40	IIIb-VII
ζωπυρ-	1	03	++	καθοδηγ- ⁵	1	04	IV (IIIa)
ηγ- D	1	17	IV/++	καθυστερ-	1	02	IV
ηθικολογ-	1	04	IV	καινοτομ-	1	22	IV
ημιαργ-	1	11	++	καιροσκοπ-	1	17	IV
ηρεμ-	3	29	IV A?	καιροφυλακτ-	2	07	IV Ac
ηττ- D	3	41	IIIb/++ A	κακογερν-	1	22	III/++ A?
ηχ-	2	24	IV Ac	κακολογ-	2	04	IV
θαρρ-*	3	03	IV IAc	κακομελετ-	2	39	IIIa
θε- D	2	03	++	κακοπερν-	1	22	III
θεωρ-	1	03	IV	κακοτυχ-	3	26	A
θορυβ-	1	08	IV	κακουργ-	1	17	++ (IV)
θρασομαν-	2	26	++ (III)	καλ-	1	02	IV
θρηγ-	2	21	IV	καλαναρχ-	2	22	++
θρηνολογ-	1	22	IV & III	καλλιεργ-	0	00	IV
θρο-	3	25	++	καλν-	1	02	++
θρονι-	2	23	I -άζω	καλοναρχ-	3	26	++
θρυλ- D	1	08	++	καλοπερν-	2	21	III
θυμ- ⁴	1	02	V	καλοσυλλογ- D	1	19	I -ίζομαι & IIIa
θωρ-	2	24	IV IAc	κανοναρχ-	1	20	III & IV/++
ι- D	1	02	++	καραδοκ-	3	27	IV (III)
ιδιοτροπ-	1	22	++ (IV)	καρατομ-	1	11	++? A
ιδρομαχ-	1	22	++	καρδιοχτυπ-	2	03	III
ιερουργ-	1	21	++ (IV)				

* «believe»

1. ευχαριστώ IV Act. «thank», ευχαριστιέμαι «be satisfied».

2. The questionnaires did not ask about ζεματίζω but supplementary oral information confirmed that ζεματίζω is not used although the Aor. M. is ζεματιστώ.

3. Only the imperatives ζυγηθείτε! and -more rarely- ζυγείτε! are in use, I was told. It is a military command.

4. This conclusion is confirmed by oral communication and my personal experience.

5. Mainly in the aorist?

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
καρκινοβατ-	2	15	IV	κατηφορ- ⁶	0	00	I -ίζω
καρπ- D	1	02	I -ώνομαι	κατηγ-	1	04	IV
καρποφορ-	1	03	IV	κατοικ-	0	00	IV
καρτερ-	3	24	IV (III)/++ Ac	κατουρ-	1	04	III
καταζήτ- ¹	1	04	IIIa (IV)	κατρακυλ-	3	23	IIIa
κατακοσμ-	1	04	++	καυχ- D	1	02	IIIa
κατακρατ-	4	31	IV/++ A?	κελαϊδ-	1	18	IIIa
κατακρεουργ-	2	24	IV	κεντ-	1	18	IIIa
κατακτ-	3	24	III	κεραυνοβολ-	2	22	IV/++
καταχτ-	1	02	III	κερδ- ⁷	0	00	I -ίζω
καταλύ- ²	2	06	I	κερδοσκοπ-	0	00	IV
κατελ-	2	12	++	κερν-	0	00	IIIa
καταμαρτυρ-	0	00	?	κιν- ⁸	2	06	III & IV
καταμετρ-	2	19	III/++	κλει- ⁹	1	02	I -νω
κατανικ-	1	18	III	κληρονομ-	2	22	III (IV)
κατανο-	0	00	IV A	κλωσσ-	1	03	III
καταντ-	2	38	III	κλωτσ-	4	57	III
καταπατ-	2	22	III	κοιλοπον-	1	18	IIIa
καταπολεμ-	2	21	III	κοιμ- ¹⁰ D	1	02	V
καταπον-	3	25	IV	κοινολογ-	2	12	IV/++
καταρ- ³	1	18	III M	κοινων-	2	23	III (a) & IV Ac
καταργ-	0	00	IV	κοιτ-	2	22	I -άζω & III (a)
καταφιλ-	1	18	III & IV/++	κολλ-	1	03	III
καταφρον- ⁴	1	02	IV	κολν-	0	00	++
καταχρ- ⁵ D	2	03	IIIb	κολυμπ-	0	00	III (a)
καταχωρ-	2	21	IV A	κονομ-	2	05	III (a)
κατελ-	2	12	++				
κατηγορ-	2	21	IV (III)				

1. Middle forms occur mainly in Katharevousian expressions and hence mostly in cj. IV forms.

2. καταλύω accepted, καταλώ, καταλυώ, καταλυάω and καταλύνω rejected.

3. The informants were confronted with the form καταριώντας. It was accepted by eleven of them and rejected by the rest.

4. The aorist preteritive is καταφρόνησα. The form καταφρόνεσα was characterized «χωριάτικος» by one informant.

5. My own experience indicates that only the aorist middle is in use.

6. κατηφοράω occurs in literature.

7. I have heard κερδάω, and a young friend of mine from Salonica said that was the form he used when a child.

8. κινάω (intransitive) «set out» (= ξεκινάω), κινώ IV (transitive) «move».

9. κλειώ (dialect) and κλείω (Kath.) rejected.

10. The conclusion is confirmed by oral communication and by my personal experience.

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
κοπαν ⁻¹	2	22	I -ίζω & III (a) A?	κωπηλατ-	3	26	IV Ac
κορφολογ-	1	02		λαγγομαχ-	1	18	++
κοσμ-	1	18	IV/++	λαγοκοιμ-	D 2	22	V
κοτ-	2	38	III/++	λακ-	2	21	++ (IIIa)
κουβαλ-	1	17	III	λαλ-	2	21	IIIa & IV
κουν-	4	40	III	λαμποκοπ-	1	18	III (a)
κουντ-	2	05	III/++	λαμπροφορ-	1	03	++
κουντρ-	2	05	++	λαντουρ-	2	22	++
κουρνι-	1	02	I -άζω	λαοπλαν-	2	21	++
κουρταλ-	0	00	++	λαφουραγωγ-	2	22	IV/++
κουτσουλ-	3	40	IIIa	λαχταρ-	3	07	III
κουτρ-	2	19	IIIa/++	λαχταροπηδ-	1	08	++ (IIIa)
κουτρουβαλ-	1	18	IIIa	λεηλατ-	1	04	IV
κουτσουλ-	1	19	I -ίζω & IIIa	λειτουργ-	1	01	IV
κρατ-	2	19	III	λεπτολογ-	1	04	IV
κρεμ-	2	22	III-I -ομαι	λησμον ⁻⁴	2	22	IIIa (IV)
κρεμν-	3	25	III/++	λιγοθυμ-	2	24	III Ac
κρεουργ-	1	17	++ (IV)	λιθοβολ-	2	22	III & IV
κροτ-	2	21	++ A?	λιμοκτον-	2	27	IV
κροταλ-	2	22	++ A?	λιποθυμ-	2	24	III (a) (IV) Ac
κρυμοπαγ-	1	18	++	λιποτακτ-	0	00	IV
κρυολογ-	2	08	IV (III)	λιποταχτ-	1	01	IV
κρυφογελ-	1	02	IIIa	λιχν-	2	06	I -ίζω
κυβερν-	0	00	III	λογ ⁻⁵	D 3	21	++
κυκλοφορ ⁻²	2	23	IV (IIIa)	λογι-	1	02	I -άζω
κυλ ⁻³	4	09	III	λογοκλοπ-	2	29	++
κυνηγ-	3	39	III	λογομαχ-	1	18	IV (III)
κυσοφρ-	1	03	IV	λοιδωρ-	1	18	++ (IV)
κυριαρχ-	0	00	IV	λοξοδρομ-	3	24	IV & IIIa Ac
κυριολεκτ-	2	19	IV	λυ ⁻⁶	1	02	I -νω
κωλυσιεργ-	1	11	IV/++	λυγ ⁻⁷	2	12	I -ίζω & III
κωμωδ-	1	08	++	λυπ ⁻⁸	4	16	IV-V
				λυσσ ⁻⁹	5	34	I -άζω & III

1. Ten informants noted there was a difference in meaning. It seems that -ίζω is used in a literal sense «pound», and -άζω metaphorically.

2. IV and IIIa forms maybe used in different senses.

3. κυλίω rejected.

4. In the middle voice only IIIa.

5. Neither λογίζομαι nor λογιέμαι won general acceptance.

6. λύω (Kath.) and λυώ (dialect) rejected.

7. According to one informant λυγίζει is usually intransitive, λυγάει transitive.

8. The active mostly in the aorist?

9. Mostly in the aorist?

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
λυσσι- ¹	3	21	I -άζω	μεταπουλ-	2	20	III (a)
λυσσομαν-	3	23	III/++ Ac	μεταπωλ-	2	05	++ (IV)
μαγνητοφων-	2	22	IV (IIIa)	μετοικ-	1	11	AAc
μαδ-	1	18	IIIa	μετρ-	2	10	III (a)
μαλλιοτραβ-	3	22	III M?	μηκ- D	1	20	++ (IIIb)
μαλλιοχτυπ- D	1	18	++ (IIIa)	μην- ⁷	1	11	(IIIa) AAc
μαρκαλ-	2	21	III (a)/++	μηρυκ- D	1	20	III (b)/++
μαρτυρ- ²	2	36	III (a) & IV	μηχανορραφ-	1	03	IV
μασ-	2	22	III	μιλ-	2	10	III
μασουλ-	2	22	I -ίζω & III	μιμ-	0	00	IV M
ματαιολογ-	1	04	IV	μισ-	0	00	IV
ματαιοπον-	1	03	IV	μισθ-	1	02	I -ώνω
μαυρολογ-	1	04	++	μνησικακ-	1	04	IV Ac
μαυροφορ-	1	03	IV?	μοιρολογ-	3	24	III (IV)
μεθ- ³	1	02	III	μολογ-	2	24	III (a)
μεθοκοπ-	1	17	IIIa	μονολογ-	1	04	IV Ac
μειδι-	2	14	++ (IIIb)	μονομαχ-	2	21	IV
μειδοτ-	1	08	IV	μονοπωλ-	1	03	IV
μειονεκτ-	1	04	IV	μοσκοβολ-	2	08	III (a) Ac
μελαγχολ-	2	21	IV (IIIa)	μοσκοπουλ-	1	03	III (a)
μελετ-	1	18	III	μουγκαλ- ⁸ D	1	02	++
μεμψιμοιρ-	2	22	IV	μουκαν- D	2	23	I -ίζω? Ac?
μεριμν-	1	18	III	μοχθ-	5	52	IV Ac
μερμηδ-	1	01	++	μοχτ-	2	23	++
μεροληπτ-	1	17	IV	μπεγλερ-	1	02	IIIa?
μεσολαβ-	0	00	IV	μποδ-	0	00	++
μεσουραν-	1	04	IV	μπορ-	0	00	IV
μετακαλ- ⁴	1	11	IV A?	μπουμπουν-	1	21	I -ίζω
μετακιν-	1	01	IV	μπουσουλ-	2	06	I -ίζω & IIIa
μεταμελ- D	3	21	I & IV AM?	μυ- ⁹	1	03	++
μετανο- ⁵	2	22	IV/++	μυζ-	2	25	++ (IIIb)
μεταπον- ⁶	1	03	IV	ναυαγ-	1	04	IV

1. Mostly in the aorist?
2. Maybe as many as four verbs must be distinguished: (1) μαρτυράω «betray, inform on»; (2) μαρτυράω (?) «undergo hardships»; (3) μαρτυρώ IV «bear witness to» (in expressions of Kath. origin); (4) μαρτυρώ IV «be a martyr».
3. μεθύω and μεθύσκω rejected.
4. Object normally ξένους εμπειρογνώμονες.
5. Probably to be distinguished from μετανιώνω—which everybody accepted—so that μετανιώ «feel remorse», but μετανοιώνω «wish one had done otherwise».
6. Absent from most (all?) lexica.
7. Mostly in the phrase του μήνυσε να έρθει.
8. Both μουγκαλιέμαι and μουγκαλιζομαι rejected.
9. But I think the aorist forms are in use.

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
ναυαρχ-	1	08	++	Ξενυχτ-	1	04	III (a)
ναυλοχ-	2	25	++ (IV)	Ξεπενθ-	1	21	III/++
ναυπηγ-	1	21	IV	Ξεπερν-	2	19	III
ναυτι-	1	22	++	Ξεπηδ-	1	03	III
ναυτολογ-	2	21	IV/++	Ξεπλαν-	1	17	III/++
νηολογ-	1	21	++ (IV)	Ξεπουλ-	1	21	III
νικ-	3	36	III	Ξεπροβοδ-	3	04	I -ιζω & III
νο- ¹	2	14	++ (IV) IM	Ξεραχ- D	1	21	++
νογ-	0	00	++	Ξερν-	1	17	III (a)
νοσταλγ-	1	17	IV	Ξεσκ-	2	19	I -άζω & -άνω & II -άω A
νταβραντ-	2	04	I -ιζω & III	Ξεσπ-	4	42	II -άω & III A
νταγιαντ-	2	23	++	Ξεστοχ-	1	02	++
νταρβαντ- ²	1	21	++	Ξεφτ- ³	3	25	III (a) & I -ιζω
ντηρ- D	2	32	++	Ξεφυσ-	2	07	III (a) Ac
νυχοπατ-	2	26	++ (III)	Ξεφων-	1	04	I -ιζω
νυχοπερπατ-	1	21	III	Ξεχειλ-	2	26	I -ιζω (IIIa) A?
Ξαγρυπν-	1	21	III (a)	Ξεχν-	1	01	III
Ξαμολ-	2	12	IIIa/++ A	Ξεψυχ-	2	20	III
Ξαναγενν-	1	04	IIIa M?	Ξηγγ-	2	18	++
Ξανακυλ-	2	21	III	Ξιφουλκ-	1	04	IV A?
Ξαναποκτ-	1	21	III	Ξομολογ-	2	18	III (a) & IV/++
Ξαπολ-	1	02	III/++	Ξοφλ-	1	02	III
Ξαπολν-	2	06	IIIa	Ξυ- ⁴	2	06	I -νω
Ξαστοχ-	2	19	++	Ξυλοκοπ-	1	17	III & IV/++
Ξεγελ-	2	05	IIIa	Ξυπν-	0	00	III (a)
Ξεγενν-	1	18	III (a)	ογκ-	1	02	++
Ξεγλιστρ-	0	00	III (a)	οδηγ- ⁵	1	04	IIIa & IV
Ξεδιψ-	0	00	III (a) A?	οδοιπορ-	1	17	++ (IV)
Ξεκιν-	2	08	III (a) Ac	οικοδομ-	2	25	IV
Ξεκολλ-	0	00	IIIa	οικονομ- ⁶	4	16	III A?
Ξεκρεμ-	1	17	III	οικουρ-	2	08	IV/++
Ξελιποθυμ-	1	22	III	ομολογ-	3	28	IV (III)
Ξελοχ-	1	17	++				
Ξεμυτ-	1	17	III (& I -ιζω)				
Ξεναγ-	2	21	IV				

1. νοείται «can be imagined» is the only form in common use. Cf. p. 88 note 4.

2. The word owes its existence to a misprint (for νταβραντ-) in the questionnaire and it was duly rejected by the informants.

3. Three informants said Ξεφτιζω and Ξεφτάω had not the same sense.

4. Ξυώ and Ξύω rejected.

5. When = «drive a car» normally IIIa, when = «guide» normally IV.

6. The main use is probably in the expression τα (οι)κονόμησε in which—for phonological reasons—it is hardly possible to distinguish between κονομάω and οικονομάω.

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
ομοφων-	1	03	IV/++	παρασπονδ-	2	24	++
ονειροπολ-	1	17	IV	παραστρατ-	2	14	(IV) A
οπλοφορ-	2	25	IV (IIIa)	παρρατ-	0	00	IIIa
ορ-*	1	03	++	παρατηρ-	2	25	IV (III)
οργ-	2	21	++	παρατραβ-	3	39	III (a)
ορθοποδ- ¹	2	24	A	παραφρον-	1	22	IV/++
ορμ-	1	03	III	παραφυλ-	1	21	II
ορχ- D	1	02	++	παραχωρ-	1	03	IV
ουρ-	1	03	++	παρενοχλ-	1	11	IV
οχλ-	2	20	++	παρεξηγ-	0	00	IV
παιδοκομ-	2	21	++	παρεπιδημ-	2	21	IV/++
παιν- ²	4	39	III/++	παρετυμολογ-	0	00	IV
παλινωδ-	2	24	++	παρηγορ-	2	25	III (a) & IV
παντρολογ-	2	26	III	παριστ- ⁵	3	08	I -άνω (IIIb)
παραιτ-	0	00	IV M	παροικ-	1	11	++
παρακαλ- ³	0	00	IV	παρωδ-	2	20	++ (IV)
παρακιν-	3	26	III & IV	πατ-	2	05	IIIa (IV)
παρακολουθ-	2	25	IV & IIIa	πεζοπορ-	1	03	IV
παρακρατ- ⁴	1	04	IIIa & IV	πεθυμ-	1	04	IIIa
παρακυλ-	2	25	III/++	πειθαρχ-	1	01	IV
παραλθρ-	4	21	IV Ac	πειν-	1	17	III (a)
παραμελ-	2	05	IV	πειρ- D	1	21	++
παραμιλ-	2	05	III	πελαγοδρομ-	2	21	IV
παρανο-	1	08	IV A?	πελεκ-	3	07	I -ίζω & III (a)
παρανομ-	1	04	IV	πενθ-	1	03	IV
παραπατ-	4	43	III (a)	περ-	1	03	++
παραπετ-	2	20	III	περεχ-	2	05	++
παραπηδ-	1	21	III (a)/++	περικυτολογ-	1	04	IV
παραπλαν-	1	04	III	περιγελ-	4	41	III
παραπον- D	1	18	IIIa	περιηγ- D	1	17	IV/++
παρασημοφορ-	2	14	IV A?	περιπατ-	1	04	++
παρασιωπ-	3	31	IIIb A?	περιπλαν-	2	07	IIIa M

*«see»

1. The third person of the Impf. Act. S. was given as ορθοποδεί (8), -ά (3), -άει (1), -ίξει (5). Such vacillation strongly suggests that only the aorist is in common use, and oral information confirmed that this is in fact the case.

2. παινέω and επαινώ were substitutes given by many informants.

3. But παρακαλιέμαι IIIb «treat (God)».

4. In fact two verbs, viz. (1) -άω «hold/last excessively»; (2) -ώ IV «withhold (money)».

5. Oral information suggested the following distribution of forms: παριστάνω (παριστώ, παρασταίνω) «take the role of»; παραστήνω (παρασταίνω) «depict (a situation)»; παρίσταμαι «be present»; παραστέκομαι «stand by».

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
περιπολ-	1	04	IV Ac	πουλ-	1	02	III
περισπ-	3	31	III (b)/++	πρεπομαχ-	2	12	++
περιφρον-	2	24	IIIa & IV	προαπαντ-	2	02	AAc?
περιφρουρ-	1	22	IV	προβοδ-	2	08	IIIa/++
περιχ-	1	02	I -ύνω	προγκ-	3	38	I -ίζω & III (a)
περν-	2	19	III	προεξοφλ-	2	26	IV & III
περπατ-	2	05	III (a)	προηγ-	0	00	IV M
πετ-	3	23	III (II)	προκαλ-	0	00	IV
πετροβολ-	2	05	III (a)	προμελετ-	2	24	III (b)
πηδ-	2	03	III	προμην-	2	19	III
πηδηχτουλ-	1	02	++	προξεν-	1	08	IV
πηλαλ-	2	26	III/++	προορ- ⁴	2	24	++
πισωδρομ-	2	08	III (a) & IV Ac	προπαντ-	1	11	++
πισωπατ-	1	17	IV/++	προπον-	3	25	IV (III)
πισωπλατ-	1	22	++ (IV)	προσαρτ-	2	12	IIIb/++ A?
πιτσιλ-	2	23	I -ίζω & III (a)	προσγει- D	1	02	I -ώνομαι
πλαν-	2	15	IIIa M	προσδοκ-	2	19	III & IV/++
πλαντ-	2	13	A	προσθηλι-	2	06	++
πλαστουργ-	1	08	++	προσκαλ-	1	02	IV
πλαταγ-	1	21	++ (I -ίζω)	προσκολλ-	3	27	III
πλεονεκτ-	1	17	IV	προσκυν-	2	21	III (a)
πλευροκοπ- ¹	1	11	A	προσοικει-	1	17	++
πλημμυρ-	1	21	I -ίζω	προσπαθ-	2	11	IV
πληρ- ²	1	02	++ (VI)	προσπερν-	2	24	III
πληροφορ-	1	03	IV	προσφων-	1	03	IV
πλουτ-	3	22	I -ίζω	προσχωρ-	2	14	IV
ποδηγετ-	2	21	++ (IV)	προτιμ-	2	24	III
ποδοπατ-	2	26	III & IV	προύπαντ-	2	23	III
ποθ- ³	1	03	IV	προφυλ- ⁵	1	20	I -άγω or II -άω & I -άσσω
πολεμ-	1	03	III	προχωρ-	2	20	IV
πολιορκ-	0	00	IV	προωθ-	1	04	IV
πολυλογ-	3	38	IV 1p	πρωτοκολλ-	2	21	III A
πον-	1	02	IIIa	πρωτοσυναντ-	1	17	III
πονοκεφαλ-	2	18	I -ιάζω & III	πτο-	1	03	IV
πορθ-	2	20	++ (IV)	πυροβολ-	4	30	IV & III (a)

1. Object always τους εχθρούς or the like.

2. πληρώ «fill (a vacant position)» distinct from πληρώνω «pay».

3. Mostly in the phrase Ο,τι ποθείτε!

4. Nobody objected to προβλέπει which was offered as an alternative. Of course the sign ++ beside προορ- should not be taken to mean that προορίζω is not in common use.

5. προφυλάγοντας & προφυλάσσοντας accepted, προφυλώνοντας rejected.

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
πυρπολ-	2	25	IV	σκορπ-	1	02	I -ίζω & III
πωλ-	1	03	++	σκουντ-	3	26	III
ραδιουργ-	1	17	IV	σκουντουφλ-	2	24	III (a) Ac
ραθυμ-	2	06	IV	σκουντρ-	1	17	++ (IIIa)
ρεντ-	1	21	++ (IIIa)	σοβαρολογ-	1	17	IV
ρηχ- D	1	20	++	σουρομαδ-	1	20	III
ριγ-	2	20	++	σοφιλι-	1	02	++
ριζοβολ-	2	21	III & IV/++	σπ-	4	29	I -άζω & II -άω
ροβολ-	1	04	III (a)	σπαζοκεφαλ-	1	17	I -ιάζω/++
ρουφ-	1	02	III	σπαρταρ-	2	18	III
ρυμουκ-	2	21	IV A	σπαρτερ-	1	02	++
ρωτ-	1	01	III	σπαταλ-	1	17	III
σαλαγ-	1	17	++ (III)	σπιθοβολ-	2	25	III/++
σβαλοκοπ-	2	02	++	σπλαχν- D	2	19	++ (I -ίζομαι)
σει-	1	02	I	σταματ-	2	20	III
σεργιαν-	2	22	I -ίζω & III	σταυροκοπ-	1	01	IIIa M
σιγ-	3	45	++ (IV & IIIb)	σταχυολογ ³ -	3	14	III/++
σιγοτραγουδ-	1	20	III	σταχυολογ ³ -	3	14	IV
σιωπ ⁻¹	4	31	III (b)	στεναχωρ-	2	04	III
σκ-	6	87	I -άζω (-άνω) & II -άω	στεναχωρ-	3	06	IIIa & IV
σκεπ-	1	21	I -άζω	στερ-	0	00	IV
σκεπν-	1	02	++	στηθοκοπ- D	1	17	++ (IIIa)
σκευωρ-	2	20	IV/++	στοιχ ⁴ -	1	01	AMIm
σκιαμαχ-	2	03	++ (IV)	στορ-	2	13	III/++
σκιομαχ-	2	20	++	στουμπ-	1	01	I -ώνω?
σκιρτ-	2	20	III	στραβοκοιτ-	1	17	III & I -άζω
σκληραγωγ-	2	21	IV	στραγγουλ-	1	20	++
σκολ ⁻²	3	23	?	στραμπουλ-	4	24	I -ίζω & III A?
σκολν ⁻²	2	22	?	στρατηγ-	1	04	++
σκοντουφλ-	1	20	++	στρατολογ-	0	00	IV
σκοπ-	2	20	++	στρεκλ ⁻⁵	1	21	++

1. No imperative: σώπα! is used instead.

2. The tests gave no clear result, but oral communication pointed to the following distribution of forms: σκολάω (σκολνάω, σκολνάω) «take leave, stop working»; σκολάζω «dismiss»; σκολάζω «be idle, have no function».

3. The tests did not yield any clear results, but oral communication pointed to σταχυολογώ III, σταχυολογώ IV. Some would distinguish between two senses, the former meaning «gather ears», the latter «excerpt» while others claimed they would use the two indiscriminately in the sense of «excerpt».

4. Only στοιχηθείτε! (a military order) was claimed to be in use.

5. Both στρεκλάει and στρεκλίζει rejected.

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
στρηνι- ¹	1	02	++	συνομιλ-	0	00	IV
συγκαλ-	0	00	IV	συνομολογ-	2	12	++ A?
συγκατοικ-	1	17	IV	συνταξιοδοτ-	1	08	IV
συγκιν-	0	00	IV	συντελ-	0	00	IV
συγκλον-	2	06	I -ιζω	συντηρ-	1	03	IV
συγκοινων-	1	17	IV	συνωμοτ-	1	04	IV
συγκολλ-	1	22	III	συρομαδ-	2	24	++
συγκρατ-	2	08	III & IV	συχωρ- v. συγχωρ-			
συγκροτ-	4	47	IV	σφαλ-	4	29	I -ιζω & III
συγχωρ- ²	2	05	III (a) & IV	σφαλν-	2	22	III/++
συζητ-	1	04	III (a)	σφαντ-	1	17	++
συκοφαντ-	1	17	IV	σφεντον-	2	22	I -ιζω
συλ-	2	20	++	σφυγμομετρ-	1	17	III
συλλογ- D ³	1	02	I -ιζομαι & IIIa	σφυρ-	2	21	I -ιζω & IIIa
συλλυπ- D	3	21	IV (V)	σφυρηλατ-	1	04	IV
συμμαχ-	2	21	IV	σφυροκοπ-	1	17	III (b)
συμπαθ- ⁴	2	04	III & IV	σχολ- ⁶	3	38	
συμπον-	3	24	III & IV	σχολν- ⁶	3	23	
συμποσ- D	1	02	++ (VI)	σχωρ- ⁷	1	02	(III) A
συμφοιτ-	3	14	++	σωπ- ⁸	3	33	III A
συμφων-	4	38	IV (IIIa)	ταλαιπωρ-	0	00	IV
συναιν-	2	15	IV/++	ταν-	2	13	IIIa & I -ιζομαι M
συναιρ-	0	00	IV	ταρακουν-	2	21	IIIa
συναντ-	1	17	III	ταχυδρομ-	1	17	IV
συναπαντ-	1	22	III/++ A	τελ-	1	08	IV/++ A?
συναρμολογ-	1	04	IV	τελαλ-	2	20	++ (IIIa)
συνεν-	1	17	++ (I -ώνω ?)	τελεσφορ-	1	03	IV/++ A?
συνεννο- D	1	01	IV M	τελετουργ-	1	08	++
συνηγγορ-	1	01	IV	τηλεγραφ-	1	04	IV
συνηθ-	1	04	I -ιζω & IIIa	τηλεφων-	2	26	IV & III (a)
συνηχ-	1	21	++	τηρ- *	1	01	++ (III)
συνβηκολογ-	0	00	IV	τηρ- **	0	00	IV
συνιστ- ⁵	3	08	IIIb				

* «look»

** «observe»

- Both στρηνιάω and στρηνιάζω rejected.
- συχωρνώ and συγχωρνών rejected, συχωρώ accepted with some reservations.
- I think the word is obsolescent.
- συμπαθάω «forgive», συμπαθώ IV «feel kindly disposed towards».
- συσταίνω rejected; συστήνω accepted. Supplementary oral information suggested the following distribution of forms: συνιστώ «recommnd (an action)»; συστήνω (but mostly in the aorist) «recommnd, introduce (a person)», συνίσταται «consists».
- See p. 97 note 2.
- Hardly used except in a few stock phrases like (ο) Θεός σχωρέσ' τον!
- The only imperfective form in use is the imperative σώπα!

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
τιμ-	2	20	III	υμν-	2	11	IV/++
τιμωρ-	3	22	IV	υπαναχωρ-	1	03	IV
τοιχοκολλ-	1	17	III	υπεξαιρ-	0	00	IV/+++
τοκογλυφ-	1	02	++	υπερνικ-	2	21	III
τολμ-	4	28	III	υπερπηδ-	2	21	III
τραβ-	1	01	III (a)	υπερτερ-	2	20	IV
τραγαν-	1	02	++	υπερτιμ-	1	18	III
τραγουδ-	1	17	III	υπερψ-	1	02	++?
τρελοπηδ-	1	02	++	υπηρετ-	0	00	IV
τριγυρ-	1	02	I -ιζω & III -νάω	υποβοηθ-	2	23	IV & IIIa/+++
τριζοβολ-	1	17	++ (III)	υποδηλ-	1	02	I -ώνω
τριχοτομ-	2	21	++ (IV)	υποδιαιρ-	0	00	IV
τρομοκρατ-	2	21	IV	υποκαθιστ-	2	12	IIIb-VII/+++
τροπολογ-	1	04	IV/+++ AM	υποκιν-	1	17	IV
τροχ-	2	06	++ (I -ιζω & III)	υπονο-	1	08	IV
τρυγ-	2	06	III (a)	υποσθεν-	2	12	++
τρυπ-	2	05	III (a)	υποτιμ-	1	17	III
τσαγγρουν-	2	21	I -ιζω & III	υπουργ-	1	08	++
τσακ-	4	24	I -ιζω	υποχωρ-	2	04	IV & IIIa
τσαλαβουτ-	2	22	III (a)	υστερ-	1	17	IV
τσαλαπατ-	2	22	IIIa	φεγγοβολ-	2	22	III (IV)
τσαμπουν-	1	02	III (I -ιζω)	φελ-	1	19	++
τσιγκλ-	2	19	++ (IIIa)	φημολογ-	0	00	IV M
τσικ- ¹	1	18	++	φθον-	2	22	IV
τσιλ-	1	21	++	φιλ-	1	02	III
τσιλημπουρδ-	2	21	I -ιζω & III	φιλοδοξ-	0	00	IV
τσιληπουρδ-	1	19	++ (I -ιζω & III)	φιλοδωρ-	2	15	(IV) A
τσιμπ-	1	18	III	φιλολογ-	1	19	IV/+++
τσιμπολογ-	2	08	III (a)	φιλον(ε)ικ-	2	05	IV
τσιν-	1	01	++ (III)	φιλοξεν-	0	00	IV
τσιρλ-	1	18	++	φιλοπον-	2	22	IV/+++
τσουλ-	1	18	IIIa	φιλοσοφ-	1	19	IV
τυρανν-	2	21	III (IV)	φιλοτεχν-	3	26	IV A
τυροκομ-	2	19	III/+++	φιλοτιμ-	1	17	AM
υλακτ-	2	22	++	φκ- D	1	20	++
υλαχτ-	1	02	++	φκαριστ- ²	1	08	++
υλοτομ-	2	12	IV/+++	φλεβοτομ-	2	22	++
				φληναφ-	2	23	++
				φλυαρ-	2	23	IV
				φοβ- D	1	02	V

1. This word was an invention of mine to test the informants' reliability. It was duly rejected by all of them.

2. φκαριστώ was rejected because it is not the standard form. It does occur, however, as a rapid-speech variant of ευχαριστώ.

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
φοίτ-	3	43	III (b)	χαμογελ-	0	00	III
φορ-	0	00	III (a)	χαριτολογ-	2	37	IIIa & IV
φορολογ-	1	04	IV	χαροκοπ-	2	26	++ (III)
φρικι-	2	22	++ (IIIb)	χασμ- D	2	22	++
φροκαλ-	2	23	++	χασμουρ- D	2	22	IIIa
φρον-	2	20	++ (IV)	χασομερ-	1	04	IIIa
φρουρ-	1	03	IV	χειραγωγ-	1	04	IV A?
φτεροκοπ- ¹	1	02	?	χειραφετ-	1	04	IV/++ AM?
φτερουγ-	1	19	I -ιζω (III)	χειροδικ-	1	04	IV
φτουρ-	1	04	IIIa Ac	χειροκροτ-	2	22	III & IV
φτυ ²	1	02	I -νω	χειρονομ-	3	41	IV (III(a))
φτωχοκομ-	2	26	++	χειροτον-	1	01	AM?
φυγοδικ-	1	02	IV	χειρουργ-	0	00	AM?
φυγομαχ-	1	02	++ (IV)	χλαλο-	1	02	++
φυλ- ³	1	02	I -άγω & II -άω	χλιμιντρ-	3	25	I -ιζω & IIIa Ac
φυλλομετρ-	2	23	III	χολ-	2	22	I -ώνω M
φυρ-	2	06	I -αίνω	χολι-	3	07	++ (I -άζω)
φυσ-	2	04	III	χολοσκ-	3	39	II -άω & I -άζω (I -άνω)
φυσσομαν-	1	11	III (b)/++	χοντρολογ-	1	19	++
φυτοζω-	2	15	IV	χορηγ-	1	04	IV
φων-	1	20	I -άζω	χοροπηδ-	1	05	IIIa
φωνασκ-	1	19	++ (IV)	χουμ- ⁴	1	02	++
φωρ- ⁴ D	1	02	++	χρεωκοπ-	3	25	III (IV) Ac
φωτ- ⁵	2	21	I -ιζω (III)	χρεωστ-	1	19	++
φωταγωγ-	1	04	IV	χρονοι-	2	21	I -άζω
φωτογραφ-	1	20	I -ιζω (IV)	χρονολογ-	0	00	IV
χαζολογ-	1	19	III/++	χρονομετρ-	1	19	III
χαζοπερπατ-	1	19	++ (III)	χρονοτριβ-	1	19	IV
χαιδολογ-	1	18	IIIa	χρυσοφορ-	2	21	++
χαιρετ-	1	02	I -ιζω & III	χρωστ-	1	19	III (a)
χαλ-	1	20	III (a)	χτυπ-	3	56	III
χαλν-	1	20	III (a)	χτυποκαρδ-	1	17	++
χαλιναγωγ-	1	11	IV				

1. Probably IIIa (if used at all). One informant was sure the conjugation was IIIa, the other said «Maybe IV».

2. φτυώ rejected.

3. φυλάσσω and φυλάττω rejected. My own experience points to φυλάω being much commoner than φυλάγω.

4. Both φωρώμαι and φωράζομαι rejected.

5. Two informants claimed there was a difference of sense, and one explained that φώτιζε is transitive, while φώταγε = ξημέρωνε.

6. Both χουμίζω and χουμώ rejected.

	<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Conclusions</i>
χυδαιολογ-	1	08	++	ψιλορωτ-	1	03	III (a)
χυμ- ¹	1	02	III	ψιλοτραγουδ-	1	19	III (a) (IV)
χωρ-	1	08	IIIa (IV)	ψοφ-	1	06	IIIa
ψαλμουδ-	1	01	I -ιζω?	ψοφολογ-	1	18	++ (III)
ψευδολογ-	2	22	++ (IV)	ψυχαγωγ-	1	04	IV
ψευδομαρτυρ-	1	18	III (a) A?	ψυχολογ-	1	04	IV
ψευδορκ-	1	17	IV	ψυχομαχ-	1	18	III (IV)
ψευτογελ-	1	02	III (a)	ψυχοπον-	2	21	III/++
ψευτοζ-	0	00	IV	ψυχορραγ-	1	03	IV
ψευτοπαιν-	1	02	++	ψωμοζ-	1	11	IV
ψηλαφ-	3	28	IV (III)	ψωρι-	3	24	I -άζω
ψηφ- ²	1	18	++ (III)	ωθ-	1	04	IV
ψηφολογ-	2	08	++ (IV)	ωτακουστ-	2	23	IV/++
ψιλοκεντ-	1	19	++ (III)	ωφελ-	1	17	IV
ψιλλολογ-	1	11	III & IV/++?	ωχρι-	3	24	++ (IIIb)

1. χυμίζω rejected; χυμώ accepted. I did not test if the conjugation is III or IV, but I do not think that can be a matter of doubt.

2. There is, of course, a ψηφίζω «vote». What was rejected was the word that means «heed».

3. Discussion of various problems

3.1 *IIIa, IIIb, plain III or IV?*

Cj. IV comprises almost exclusively words of Katharevousian origin, like *κυριολεκτώ*, while cj. III contains both words of ancient origin that have had a continuous life in spoken Greek, like *ρωτάω*, popular creations like *αμολάω* and words of Katharevousian origin like *εξαρτώ*.

Now, there are two main types of inflection within cj. III, viz. IIIa and IIIb. The difference between them is mainly a difference of style: IIIa has a distinctly popular character and IIIb a distinctly 'learned' character. But this being so it is only natural that distinctly popular words like *αμολάω* should follow IIIa, while distinctly 'learned' words like *εξαρτώ* should follow IIIb, and that words to which no distinct stylistic value attaches should be capable of both IIIa and IIIb inflection. The neutral words would be such as have passed from the learned language into normal usage or such as are common to the Katharevousa and to Demotic Greek. A cj. III verb of Katharevousian origin can be expected to move from IIIb more and more in the direction of IIIa the more widespread the use of it becomes. Similarly, if a cj. IV verb ceases to be used in some special technical language only, it may be expected to take on IIIa forms.

The results of my investigations appear to bear out those expectations. In fact, distinctly popular words conspicuously often turn out to follow the IIIa paradigm rather than anything else, whereas IIIb verbs are all 'learned' like *διαθλώ*, *εγκαθιστώ*. Stylistically neutral words cannot usually have an unqualified 'a' or 'b' attached to the conjugation number 'III'. Further, such verbs as vacillate between IV and III are almost invariably seen to be such as are becoming part and parcel of everyday language. The vacillation is normally between IIIa and IV, as is the case with *ακτινοβολάω/ακτινοβολώ*, *διαλαλάω/διαλαλώ*, *καταζητάω/καταζητώ*, *κυκλοφοράω/κυκλοφορώ*, *οδηγάω/οδηγώ*. It is never definitely IIIb/IV, though in a great number of cases my tests have not provided me with the means to determine which subgroup of cj. III should be posited. I have no doubt, however, that (almost) all the cases in which I have had to write 'III & IV' in section 2.3 would on further investigation prove to be instances of 'IIIa & IV'.

It is my belief that Greek is in a phase of stabilization. And I think a result will be that IIIb and the mixtures of IIIa and IIIb will disappear

almost completely, IIIa and IV remaining, and a few verbs following Katharevousian paradigms. Thus I think that the majority of the cj. III verbs that were not in my inquiry proved to be pure IIIa verbs will be so in the future.

The predominance of IIIa over IIIb forms is already clear. An impression of the distribution of *-άει* versus *-ά* in the answers to my questionnaires may be gained from a count of the forms accepted in verbs beginning in *α-*, *β-*, *γ-*, *δ-*, *ν-*, *ξ-*, *ο-*, *π-*. The figures are: *-άει* 1303, *-ά* 908. The preponderance of *-άει* is manifest, and it is remarkable, as people have been taught that *-ά* is the correcter form. The same distribution results from a count of the answers to one particular questionnaire in which both forms were printed and people were asked to put an X at the one they preferred, i.e. a test which cannot be suspected of having prejudiced the outcome, and which also contained a mixture of 'learned' and 'popular' words with various initial letters. The figures were: *-άει* 348, *-ά* 282.

It is of course true, as has been repeatedly pointed out to me by native speakers, that the different stylistic values of IIIa and IIIb or IV forms are not always tied to the intrinsic stylistic character of the verb. You can express boiling rage by means of IIIa forms and an ice-cold disposition by employing the more 'formal' IIIb or IV forms of that very same verb. But this is not to say that there is not for almost every verb one conjugation which is the normal one. There is, I submit, and a great emotional effect can be achieved by *deviating* from the norm, not just by selecting one of two equally normal alternative forms.

3.2 Compounds

The importance of the stylistic value of the particular verb can be tested on the compounds. It must be a reasonable expectation that a compound should belong to the same imperfective conjugation as the simple verb and normally this expectation is, in fact, fulfilled. But the exceptions to this rule are numerous. What really matters in each case is the character—popular or no—of the particular compound. Thus *αγρυπνάω* III, *ξαγρυπνάω* III(a), *επαγρυπνώ* IV — *ακολουθώ* IV & III and similarly *εξακολουθώ*, *παρακολουθώ*, but *επακολουθώ* only IV — *βοηθάω* IIIa, *υποβοηθώ* IV & IIIa — *κρατάω* III, *επικρατώ* IV, *συγκρατάω* III & IV — *μελετάω* III, *κακομελετάω* IIIa, *προμελετώ* III(b) — *ορμάω* III, *εισορμώ* III(b), *εξορμώ* III(b) — *πονάω* IIIa, *καταπονώ* IV, *ματαιοπονώ* IV, *κοιλο-*

πονάω IIIa — τηρώ IV, διατηρώ IV, επιτηρώ IV, συντηρώ IV, παρατηρώ IV (III).

3.3 I or III?

Poetry and fiction provide you with a large number of pairs like κοιτάζει/κοιτάει, σκορπίζει/σκορπάει often leaving you with the impression that there is, at the most, a stylistic difference (the cj. III form being more popular). You will also hear many such pairs in present-day talk, but the cases in which both forms are equally acceptable are few. Normally it is the cj. I form that is the standard one. Thus my inquiry shows:

αναβρύζει,	not	αναβράει /-ά
αναμερίζει,	not	αναμεράει /-ά
ανηφορίζει,	not	ανηφοράει /-ά
αρκουδίζει,	not	αρκουδάει /-ά
αρπάζει,	not	αρπάει /-ά
βουλιάζει,	not	βουλιάει /-α
ξεφωνίζει,	not	ξεφωνάει /-ά
φωνάζει,	not	φωνάει /-ά

Though there are genuine cases in which cj. I and III(a) forms are equally acceptable, as βόσκει/βοσκάει, γαργαλίζει/γαργαλάει, γρατσουνίζει/γρατσουνάει. However, quite as often a cj. I and a cj. III(a) form—that share a common aorist—have different uses, as βρωμίζει «soils», βρωμάει «stinks».

3.4 I, II or III?

The verbs that give rise to this question are πετάω, σκάζω/σκάνω/σκάω, σπάζω/σπάνω/σπάω, φυλάγω/φυλάσσω/φυλάττω/φυλάω.

πετάω occurs with both cj. II and cj. III forms. There seem to be some differences in the use of πέταγε! vs. πέτα! and πετάγομαι vs. πετιέμαι, but I have not succeeded in getting a clear picture of the distribution of forms in the several uses.

σκάω follows cj. II (not III) or, in the form σκάζω, cj. I. σκάνω is a rarer variant, mostly restricted to the sense of «shut up».

Similarly σπάω undoubtedly belongs to cj. II (not III) or, in the form σπάζω, to cj. I. σπάνω is less used.

φυλάω also decidedly belongs to cj. II (not III) or, in the form φυλάγω, to cj. I, though I doubt that cj. I inflection is very common.

As regards the compounds, it is interesting to notice that whereas the -σκάω compounds ξεσκάω and χολοσκάω behave like the simple verb, this is not so with -σπάω/-σπώ compounds; we find αποσπώ III(b), διασπώ III(b), ξεσπάω II & III. The compounds αποσπώ, διασπώ lack the popular character of the simple verb.

3.5 *IV or V?*

θυμούμαι/θυμάμαι, λυπούμαι/λυπάμαι, φοβούμαι/φοβάμαι raise the question. The cj. IV forms seem to be out-dated. θυμούμαι, λυπούμαι, φοβούμαι (and κοιμούμαι) may still be heard but, as far as my experience goes, young people hardly ever talk like that; λυπείσαι, λυπείται, λυπείστε, φοβείσαι, φοβείται, φοβείστε are quite obsolete. There may be some hesitation over the 1.pl. and 3.pl. forms but θυμόμαστε, λυπόμαστε, φοβόμαστε are certainly commoner than θυμούμαστε etc. (the same holds good for κοιμόμαστε) and θυμόνται etc. appear to be ousting θυμούνται etc., though in the case of the plural forms geography may play a role, the -ού- forms being commoner in the North than in the South of Greece. λυπάμαι also occurs in the active, as a cj. IV verb (λυπώ). The compound συλλυπούμαι/συλλυπάμαι seems to be capable of both cj. IV and cj. V inflection. Compounds in -θυμάω/-θυμώ neatly show their origin (popular or no): αποθυμάω III, επιθυμώ IV, ενθυμούμαι ++ (IV), ευθυμώ ++ (IV), λιποθυμάω III, λιποθυμάω IIIa (IV), ξελιποθυμάω III, πεθυμάω IIIa, ραθυμώ IV.

3.6 *I or VI?*

The verbs that pose this question are such as descend from «o-contracts». It is usually supposed that they have all passed to cj. I like δηλώ→δηλώνω and my tests showed this to be correct, the sole exceptions being αξιό «claim», απαξιό, δικαιούμαι, πληρώ «fill» and some of its compounds, plus, maybe, ανδρούμαι.

3.7 *Limited morphological Inventory*

In actual usage many verbs are confined to a limited range of forms. The dictionaries normally do note if a verb has no active forms, but the far commoner phenomena of no middle forms or no imperfective forms are seldom noted. One reason is that usually people *can* produce such forms if they have chanced to start a sentence which they cannot complete without using one of them. But the possibility of such emergency

solutions—say *αρχίζει να ορθοποδεί*—does not imply that one can validly claim that an imperfective form of that verb exists.

I have not systematically tested if the verbs under consideration are defective. A few of the questionnaires asked directly if only the aorist could be used, and some questionnaires asked for both active and middle forms of the same words. But even when not asked directly the informants often on their own initiative added notes about such restrictions. As the list in 2.3 shows, the number of verbs that have a limited repertory is not small, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that a systematic inquiry into the matter would allow us to formulate restrictions for many more cases.

An important effect of the realization of the «only aorist» character of many verbs is that the number of fully valid instances of double or triple imperfective conjugation can be greatly reduced. Thus *ορθοποδίζει/ορθοποδάει/ορθοποδεί* ceases to be a counter-instance to the claim that in C.M.Gk. each verb has just one imperfective conjugation.

3.8 *Obsolescence*

If you try to write a Greek morphology one problem that appears at every corner is how to delimit the set of data that serve as the basis for description. How much of the material offered by dictionaries, older grammars and literature is obsolete? How much of what you have heard in conversations is to be considered mere fossils or as belonging to the language of a very limited group? What, that is, must be used as the raw materials for classification and what should be relegated to the footnotes? Concerning the «contract verbs» I asked the people who filled in the questionnaires to help me find out. The many *cruces* in 2.3 show they did suggest that much could be discarded.

I do not suppose that anybody will be shocked to learn that *αιτιώμαι*, *διορώ* and *παροικώ* are not considered part of normal language. It is much more remarkable how many words of Katharevousian origin were accepted without hesitation, such as *αναδιφώ*, *ανακτώ*, *ανερευνώ*, *ανθώ*, *αντιβώ*, whereas several Demotic words were rejected, such as *αγκαλώ*, *αμποδάω*, *μαυρολογώ*, *τηράω*, *ψηφάω*.

The 'learned' verbs include many that belong to cj. IV, and they will probably protect the conjugation from extinction. I suppose the high level of literacy now reached in Greece will halt the movement from IV to IIIa so that even the middle forms of cj. IV will be preserved.

There are not, to the best of my knowledge, any signs that *συνταξιοδοτείται*, *φιλοξενείται* will give room to *συνταξιοδοτιέται*, *φιλοξενιέται*, nor did my informants have any doubts about *διηγείται* or *εξηγείται*. And the more technical literature people read, the more cj. IV middle forms will they get used to.

4. Epilogue

4.1 *What remains to be done*

My investigations suffer from obvious inadequacies of both method and comprehensiveness. But it is much to be hoped that somebody will undertake large-scale researches into the problems and along the lines suggested by this paper. Because there is an urgent need for a new normative grammar of Common Modern Greek. For 35 years¹ the *Γραμματική Τριανταφυλλίδη* has been the only serious candidate to the title. It is an unusually excellent work, but it is antiquated. The work done in recent years on the Greek dialects merits great praise and so do the various attempts to formulate new descriptions of C.M.Gk. phonology and morphology. But very little has been done to collect new data on C.M.Gk., and, to my mind, this is the most urgent task in order that the Greeks may acquire an up-to-date normative grammar. I appeal to the Greek linguists to take on the task.

4.2 *Acknowledgments*

I owe thanks to all the people who filled in the questionnaires and answered my questions. I would like not to mention anyone by name because I would have to exclude many others. Those who did the most work know it themselves. My gratitude is infinite. I further owe thanks to the Carlsberg Foundation and to Martin Levys Mindelegat for financial support.

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1. The present paper was written in 1976.