

ι or no ι – a ghost letter in LIDDELL–SCOTT–JONES ἐλευθεριωτικός vs. ἐλευθερωτικός¹

0. The lemma *ἐλευθεριωτικός² with a, from the Modern Greek perspective, unexpected -ι- can be found in FRISK (1960–72), in CHANTRAINE (1999) and in KRETSCHMER–LOCKER (1963). In all these, it derives from its being mentioned in LIDDELL–SCOTT–JONES, being glossed ‘claiming freedom’, and supposedly appearing hapax in Himerius, *Ecloga*³ 7, titulus. It will be investigated whether this word appears in the editions of Himerius in this form and what the regular morphological rule for derivations in -ιωτικός looks like. A further question is whether the results can help us to decide whether the titulus is from Himerius himself or from a later editor.

1. Appearance in editions

In contrast to VÖLKER (2003: 16), who claims LIDDELL–SCOTT–JONES quote Himerius following WERNSDORF’s (1790) edition, the list of authors and works in LIDDELL–SCOTT–JONES shows they used the DÜBNER (1849) edition of Himerius and MIGNE ([1960]) for Photius. The first edition of LIDDELL–SCOTT, which appeared in 1843, does not even contain *ἐλευθεριωτικός or ἐλευθερωτικός as Himerius had not been used. Neither in the TLG online (being based on COLONNA 1951 for Himerius and on HENRY 1959–77 for Photius) nor in any other edition of either Himerius himself (WERNSDORF 1790, DÜBNER 1849 and 1878, COLONNA 1951, which is the modern standard edition, with a commentary in TERZAGHI 1954; MAI 1720 and FABRICIUS 1723 do not contain *Oratio / Ecloga* 7) or the Himerius excerpts in Photius (HOESCHEL 1601, 1611, BEKKER 1824–25, MIGNE [1960], the modern standard edition being HENRY 1959–77) can this *ἐλευθεριωτικός be found. All editions that I could see show ἐλευθερωτικός without -ι-.

The word ἐλευθερωτικός can be found in three places in the TLG online (October 2004):

- (1) *Himerius Soph.*, *Declamationes et orationes*. {2051.001} Oration 7 line 1t.
(7.) Ἀρεοπαγιτικός ἢ ἐλευθερωτικός. (1t)
- (2) Photius *Lexicogr.*, *Scr. Eccl. et Theol.*, *Bibliotheca*. {4040.001} Codex 165 BEKKER page 108a line 7.
Μεθ’ ὃν ἐστὶν
ὁ Ἀρεοπαγιτικός ἢ καὶ ἐλευθερωτικός Ῥουφίνου τοῦ οἰκείου υἱοῦ
- (3) *Photius Lexicogr.*, *Scr. Eccl. et Theol.*, *Bibliotheca*. {4040.001} Codex 243 BEKKER page 365a line 27.
(26) Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγιτικοῦ ἢ ἐλευθερωτικοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ῥουφίνου.

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² I would like to thank Prof. Maria A. Stassinopoulou for drawing my attention to this word. It will emerge that the correct form of this word is ἐλευθερωτικός (without -ι-), and I will therefore, for ease of distinction, mark all instances of unattested *ἐλευθεριωτικός with an asterisk.

³ Himerius’ orations have been counted in different ways, the commonly used being COLONNA’s (1951). Older, but still sometimes in use, is WERNSDORF’s (1790), who differentiated between *oratio* - a speech of Himerius - and *ecloga* - an excerpt of a speech of Himerius to be found in Photius’ *Bibliotheke*. The oration in question is *Oratio* 7 according to COLONNA and *Ecloga* 7 according to WERNSDORF.

ἐλευθερωτικός appears twice in Photius and once in Himerius. In Photius, it appears once in the titulus of his excerpt of Himerius' *Oratio 7* (Codex 243, page 365a), which is the place referred to in LIDDELL—SCOTT—JONES, and once in his list of titles of Himerius' speeches (Codex 165, page 108a). In Himerius, it appears once in the titulus of *Oratio 7*, which is the same place as the titulus in Photius. Due to different decisions of the editors, the exact wording of the tituli differs in the editions. In any way, it is far from certain that the tituli derive from Himerius himself; however, most editors assume that the tituli already existed when Photius arranged his *Bibliothēke*.

1.1. Editions of Himerius

WERNSDORF (1790):

(p.6, Photii Cod. CLXV)

Μεθ' ὃν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀρεοπαγιτικός ἢ καὶ ἐλευθερωτικός
Ῥουφίνου τοῦ οἰκείου υἱοῦ

(p.162, Ecloga VII)

Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγιτικοῦ ἢ ἐλευθερωτικοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ
αὐτοῦ [τοῦ St. omit.] τοῦ Ῥουφίνου.

DÜBNER (1849):

(Ecloga VII (est ex oratione II))

Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγιτικοῦ ἢ ἐλευθερωτικοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ
αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ῥουφίνου.

COLONNA (1951: 63):

(7) VII. AREOPAGITICA

Ἀρεοπαγιτικός ἢ ἐλευθερωτικός. [critical apparatus:
TITULUS: ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγιτικοῦ ἢ ἐλευθερωτικοῦ τοῦ
υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ῥουφίνου Φ (αὐτοῦ Ῥουφίνου Φm).]

1.2. Editions of Photius

HOESCHEL (1601) (identical with HOESCHEL 1661: cod. 165, col.352 resp. cod. 243, col.2009)

(cod. ρξε [=165], p.183)

μεθ' ὃν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀρεοπαγιτικός, ἢ καὶ ἐλευθερωτικός
Ῥουφίνου τοῦ οἰκείου υἱοῦ

(cod. σμγ [=243], p.594)

Ἐκ τοῦ ἀρεοπαγιτικοῦ ἢ ἐλευθερωτικοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ
αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ρουφίνου [sic]

BEKKER (1824-25):

(cod.165, 183H, p.108)

μεθ' ὃν ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀρεοπαγιτικός ἢ καὶ ἐλευθερωτικός
Ῥουφίνου τοῦ οἰκείου υἱοῦ

(cod.143, 594H, p.365)

Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγιτικοῦ ἢ ἐλευθερωτικοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ
αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ῥουφίνου [B: ῥοφίνου].

MIGNE ([1960]):

(cod. 165, col. 461)

Μεθ' ὃν ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀρεοπαγιτικός ἢ καὶ ἐλευθερωτικός
Ῥουφίνου τοῦ οἰκείου υἱοῦ

(cod. 243, col. 1345)

Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγιτικοῦ ἢ ἐλευθερωτικοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ
αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ῥουφίνου.

HENRY:

(cod. 165 - 108a, 1960(II): 137)

Μεθ' ὃν ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀρεοπαγιτικός ἢ καὶ ἐλευθερωτικός
Ῥουφίνου τοῦ οἰκείου [A²M: *quid prius praeb. A non
liquet*] υἱοῦ

(cod. 243 - 365a, 1971(VI): 90)

Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγιτικοῦ ἢ ἐλευθερωτικοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ
Ῥουφίνου [AM: τοῦ Ῥουφίνου M^x].

1.3. Manuscripts

Himerius' orations can be found in the following manuscripts, all from the 13th to 14th centuries: (1) Romanus, today in Paris, Cod. Par. Suppl. gr. 352 (earlier Vatic. gr. 977); (2) Baroccianus, Oxford, gr. 131; (3) Augustanus, Munich, gr. 564; (4) Neapolitanus, Bibl. Naz. gr. II.c.32; and (5) in manuscripts of Photius' *Bibliothēke*. *Oratio 7* is only to be found in the Photius parts and in several apographa (COLONNA 1951: table between pages x and xi). I had no opportunity to see the relevant manuscripts of Photius' *Bibliothēke*, Venet. Marc. gr. 450

(10th century) and 451 (12th century). An apographon of Venet. Marc. 451 is in Munich (Cod. gr. 30)⁴; for a description see TIFTIXOGLU (2004). Neither in Vienna nor in Munich could I find any manuscripts containing relevant parts of Photius or Himerius (for Munich see HARDT 1806–12, HAJDÚ 2002, 2003, TIFTIXOGLU 2004). However, as no edition shows – neither in the main text nor in the annotations or critical apparatus – any traces of the -ι-, I conclude that it cannot be found in any of the manuscripts.

The Munich Codex gr. 30 a contains summaries of Photius' *Bibliothēke*. In the description of Photius' Codex 243, which contains *Oratio / Ecloga* 7 of Himerius, the description gives, in the Greek column, “ΣΜΓ ... καὶ τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγητικοῦ τὰ προοίμια ὑποτίθεται”.

2. There is no comment or correction concerning *ἐλευθεριωτικός in the Supplement or the Revised Supplement to LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES, in SCHMID (1928a, b), in PERRY (1939), in RENEHAN (1975, 1982) or in DIETHART (1998, 1999, 2002).

The attested form ἐλευθερωτικός, however, does not appear in either LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES or the lexica based on it. It can be found in ESTIENNE 1865 as a 19th century addition by HASE, in TRAPP (1984–), in the TLG online and in most dictionaries of Modern Greek, e.g. DEMETRAKOS (1959: s.v.), ZEUGOLES (1933–34(I): s.v.) and SAKELLARIOU (1980: s.v. ἐλεύθερος). The only dictionary containing both *ἐλευθεριωτικός and ἐλευθερωτικός is the nine-volume DEMETRAKOS (1953(III): s.v.), as it is based for Ancient Greek on both LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES and ESTIENNE 1865. In LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES, the word *ἐλευθεριωτικός is found in alphabetic order; we can therefore assume that the -ι- was not a mere typing mistake.

3. Semantics

3.1. The oration of Himerius concerns a plea of Himerius on behalf of his then three-year-old son Rufinus in order to get the status of a full citizen of Athens on attaining his majority (WERNSDORF 1790: 162, HASE in ESTIENNE 1865: col.724, VÖLKER 2003: 139, FN 1, 2). Himerius was from Prusias in Bithynia (VÖLKER 2003: 139, FN 7) and therefore had the status of a μέτοικος in Athens. His wife was from a good Athenian family. Himerius used this as an argument for the right of his son to get the citizenship.

In the oration, Himerius uses the words ἐλευθερίας (line 1 in COLONNA 1951: 63), ἐλεύθερον (line 9), ἐλευθερίαν (line 10), ἐλευθερώσαντος (line 14), ἐλεύθερον (line 20), ἐλευθέριον (line 21), ἐλεύθερος (line 22). The base forms are ἐλευθερία ‘freedom, liberty, manumission, licence’, ἐλεύθερος ‘free; fit for a freeman, free, frank’, ἐλευθερώ ‘free, set free’ and ἐλευθέριος ‘speaking or acting like a freeman, free-spirited, freely giving, bountiful, fit for a freeman, liberal, frank, noble’ (see also CANCIK – SCHNEIDER 1998(iv): 651). ἐλευθέριος cannot have been accidentally used as in its vicinity ἐλεύθερος is used twice. Furthermore, it could not have been used in the title of this speech: Though an -ιος-derivative of ἐλευθερία would be expected to mean ‘of freedom’, ἐλευθέριος gained a special meaning and is therefore not suitable. ἐλευθέριος λόγος would rather be ‘speech of a noble man’ or ‘speech held in a noble man’s way’ than ‘speech concerning liberation’. ἐλεύθερος λόγος ‘free speech’ would be even less suitable. The word ἀπελευθερωτικός ‘concerning manumission’ would have been a possible candidate; but it is rather used for liberation from slavery, i.e. for the change of status from δοῦλος to ἀπελεύθερος (CANCIK – SCHNEIDER 1998(IV): 644), than for attaining civil rights, i.e. for the change of status from μέτοικος to πολίτης, also called ἰσοτέλεια, including the exemption from μετοίκιον, the poll tax (CANCIK – SCHNEIDER 1998(VII): 104),

⁴ At the time of writing this article, the Munich manuscript of Photius' *Bibliothēke* (Cod. gr. 30) is part of the exhibition “Die Welt von Byzanz. Europas östliches Erbe” (22 October 2004 – 3 April 2005) in Archäologische Staatssammlung and therefore inaccessible.

I could investigate Codex Augustanus gr. 564 in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, but it does not contain *Oratio / Ecloga* 7, but three others (*Orationes* 9 (i.e. WERNSDORF's oratio 1), 6 (i.e. WERNSDORF's oratio 2), 47 (i.e. WERNSDORF's oratio 3), (see the description in HARDT 1812(V): 426–434).

and the freedom to own land (CANKIK – SCHNEIDER 1998(VII):105).

3.2. VÖLKER (2003: 139, FN 1 and 8) translates ἐλευθερωτικός as ‘Rede zur Beantragung des vollen Bürgerrechts eines freien Mannes’⁵. HENRY (1971(VI): 90, cod.365a) translates ἐλευθερωτικός as ‘(qui concerne) l’affranchissement’, the same translation as ἀπελευθερωτικός in CHANTRAINE.

FRISK gives *ἐλευθεριωτικός as a derivation of ἐλευθερία. He glosses it with ‘freiheitsverkündend’, which is probably a mistranslation of the LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES gloss ‘claiming freedom’ (not ‘proclaiming freedom’). He obviously trusted in the usually high reliability of LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES and did not check the gloss in the original text. CHANTRAINE (1999: s.v. ἐλεύθερος) groups *ἐλευθεριωτικός with the commentary “sans préverbe”⁶ after ἀπελευθερωτικός, which is glossed with ‘qui concerne l’affranchissement’⁷, but does not give additional commentary.

In TRAPP 1994–, ἐλευθερωτικός (without -ι-) is glossed with ‘Freiheits-’, ‘(von Steuern) befreiend’⁸. ‘Freiheits- (sc. λόγος)’ is given for both instances of Himerius’ speeches in Photios’ *Bibliothèque* and further for MillRec (i.e. MILLER 1881, edition of a XIth/XIIth century manuscript) II 575A: Germ. II. (i.e. Γερμανὸς ὁ β’ πατρ. Κωνσταντινουπόλεως-Νικαίας.) cod. Coisl. 278, fol.208r (XENTARAS 1999 does not seem to contain the relevant parts, the manuscript stays unedited for the time being.). In MILLER (1881(II): 575A), the quotation is “Μάλιστα δὲ χαίρει ὡς ἐπὶ θεοδωρήτῳ εὐεργετήματι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀχθοφορημάτων ἐλευθερωτικῶ ἀπαλλάττει κοιλίαν τοῦ βάρους τῶν ἐδεσμάτων.”

‘(von Steuern) befreiend’ appears in GuillCorp V 45,20; 22 [i.e. GUILLOU 1980(V): 232, 2 instances] (a. 1214/5) with σιγίλλιον and in AnHier I 469,11; 470,5 etc. [i.e. PAPAPOULOS-KERAMEUS 1891(I): 469-470, 6 instances] (15th century) with χρυσόβουλλον.

3.3. Historical background

According to KAZHDAN (1991(I): 685), the adjective ἐλεύθερος was used for “a fiscal category of peasants who were free from state payments ... [It] was first applied to things [around the year 1008] with the notion of freedom “from any powerful and fiscal hand” as well as from any private ownership ... In the 13th-15th C. it was also used to categorize the status of persons. ... There is a common opinion that *eleutheroi* were poor.” This was obviously not the meaning aimed at by Himerius.

KAZHDAN (1991(II): 804-805) adds: “Political *eleutheria* acquired a new meaning not connected to the idea of a free and civilized society: *eleutheria* began to designate tax exemption, and ELEUTHEROI were those people free from state taxes.”

In KAZHDAN (1991(II): 1293), both ἀπελευθέρωσις and ἐλευθερία ψυχαρίου are given as Greek equivalents of Latin *manumissio*, the emancipation or liberation of a slave to become an ἐλεύθερος. This is not the same liberation as the one Himerius has in mind: Neither he himself nor his son were slaves; he was married to an Athenian woman, and the aim was not liberation in the sense of not being a slave anymore. Himerius wanted his son to have the full civil right of Athens (πολιτεία, CANKIK – SCHNEIDER 1997(ii): 821), which meant not having to pay taxes, having full election rights, and having the right to own land (see section 3.1.).

4. Morphological details

In the following paragraphs, a comparison of formations in -ωτικός and -ιωτικός will show why the form ἐλευθερωτικός is the grammatical formation and why, still, *ἐλευθεριωτικός has not been considered suspect by Liddell – Scott – Jones.

⁵ ‘oration for the application of the full civil right of a free man’

⁶ ‘without preverb’

⁷ ‘concerning or what concerns the liberation (i.e. manumissio)’

⁸ ‘of freedom’, ‘freeing (of taxes)’

4.1. According to DEBRUNNER (1917: 199) and to SCHWYZER (1939(I): 497), formations in -ικός are κτητικά (words denoting possession) for ἐθνικά (words denoting the origin of someone or something), i.e. they denote the affiliation or membership or the relation of a thing to a person from a certain place. SCHWYZER (1939(I): 497) gives it as “sonst in der älteren Dichtung nur spärlich”⁹ and as concurring with older -ειος, -ιος. BUCK – PETERSEN (1945: 636-637) claim that -ικός derives from the Indo-European *-iko-suffix, by adding the *-ko-suffix to *i*-stems. -ικός was hardly in use in Homeric times. Only later did it become one of the most productive suffixes in Greek. “These adjectives [...] were the tools of the sophists and of abstract thought (BUCK – PETERSEN 1945: 636).” In addition, they claim that the most characteristic use of Indo-European *-ko- was ‘having the character or nature of’, ‘being like’, ‘belonging to the category of’ and give the example of βασιλικός ‘having the characteristics of a king, royal’, but also ‘fit to be a king’. This is the regular meaning of words created from adjectives or agent nouns, e.g. κριτικός ‘one with the ability to be a κριτής or judge, able to judge’. Such adjectival derivatives can become associated with verbs, in this case with κρίνω ‘judge’. Such pairs lead to the reanalysis of the suffix as -τικός, forming examples such as ὑπνωτικός from ὕπνος ‘sleep’, with, if semantically possible, both passive ‘inclined to sleep, sleepy’ (in Hippocrates) and active ‘causing sleep’ (in Aristotle) meanings.

4.2. Frequency

KRETSCHMER – LOCKER (1963: 354 and 703) show:

-ωτικός 131 instances, including ἀπελευθερωτικός, but not ἐλευθερωτικός.

(**-αιωτικός**: 6 instances, **-ειωτικός**: 7 instances, **-οιωτικός**: 7 instances.)

-ιωτικός 20 instances, including *ἐλευθεριωτικός.

The non-existing form *ἐλευθεριωτικός appearing, correct ἐλευθερωτικός not appearing results from the fact that KRETSCHMER – LOCKER (1963) is based on LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES’s material.

Forms derived from ἐλευθ- and ending in -ωτικός or in -ιωτικός are generally low frequency items; apart from ἐλευθερ(ι)ωτικός, claimed to be hapax, there is only ἀπελευθερωτικός appearing twice according to LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES. *ἐλευθεριωτικός can be found in PERSEUS (October 2004) because its online-lexicon is based on LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES, but the frequency of *ἐλευθεριωτικός is given as none for all authors in the database.

Statistically, it is obvious that -ωτικός is the default derivational suffix. In the instances in which the -ι- belongs to a diphthong preceding the ending, the -ι- obviously belongs to the word stem. Of the 20 instances of -ιωτικός, one is *ἐλευθεριωτικός. The form φιλιωτικός is doubtful, as it is hapax in Iamblichus, *Theologumena Arithmeticae* 5 (DE FALCO 1922: XII and 3), and from an editor’s point of view, the manuscripts give contradictory evidence whether the correct form is φιλιωτικός or φιλωτικός.

4.3. This leaves us with 18 instances of -ιωτικός. The question is now whether in these instances, the -ι- belongs to the stem or to the ending.

The following fifteen words have a -ι- in all derivatives (-ιόω, -ιώτης, -ίωμα, -ίωσις etc.) to be found in LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES; therefore, one can safely say that the -ι- belongs to the derivational base: 1. βιωτικός ‘fit for life, lively’, 2. ιδιωτικός ‘for a private person, private’, four (3. ἐξ-απηλιωτικός, 4. βορρ-απηλιωτικός, 5. νοτ-απηλιωτικός, 6. ἀφηλιωτικός) are variations of 7. ἀπηλιωτικός ‘from the quarter of the ἀπηλιώτης [‘east wind’]’, 8. ζημιωτικός ‘likely to suffer loss’, 9. ταινιωτικός ‘(wine) from the Ταινία [name of a strip of land near the lake Mareotis]’, 10. ταξιωτικός (the adjective for ταξεώτης or ταξιώτης ‘officer of a magistrate, sergeant, commissary, etc., member of the militia palatina’; except for ταξεώτης, there is no form without -ι-), 11. δεξιωτικός ‘welcoming, hospitable’, 12. στασιωτικός ‘inclined to faction, seditious’, 13. κορακησιωτικός ‘adj. of κορακήσιον ‘name of a place in Pamphylia’, 14. ουσιωτικός ‘substantified, substantive’, 15. ἐναντιωτικός ‘opposing’.

⁹ ‘elsewhere only rarely in early poetry’

4.4. The following three words are left: **πατριωτικός** ‘of or belonging to a πατριώτης [fellow-countryman] or πατριά [lineage, descent, family]’ – both semantic bases are from πάτριος ‘of or belonging to one’s father’, **νησιωτικός** ‘of or from an island’, **στρατιωτικός** ‘of or for soldiers’, from στρατιώτης ‘soldier’, with στρατιά ‘army, host, company, band, expedition’ from στρατός ‘army, host, the commons, people’ (see MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1993 and 2002 for -ία and -ιά formations). It seems that possessive adjectives (κτητικά) in **-ιωτικός** derive from *i*-stem-words such as **πατριά** or **στρατιά** via -ιώτης ‘person belonging to ...’. A general translation would give ‘belonging to a person that belongs to X’.

νησιωτικός is, according to LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES, found in the context of:

- (1) ἔθνεα ‘number of people, flock’ (Herodotus, *Historicus* 7.80, 5th century B.C.E.)
- (2) δόμοι ‘house, family’ (Euripides, *Andromache* 1261, 5th century B.C.E.)
- (3) ὄνομα νησιωτικὸν Σαλαμῖνα θέμενον ‘having given it the island name of Salamina’¹⁰ (Euripides, *Helena* 149, 5th century B.C.E.)
- (4) v. ξενύδρια (Menander, *Comicus* 462.3, 4th–3rd century B.C.E.) (ξενύδριον = ξενύλλιον = diminutive of ξένος ‘stranger, wanderer, refugee’)
- (5) τὸ v. ‘insular situation’ (Thucydides 7.57, 5th century B.C.E.)
- (6) κλητῆρ v. ‘a summoner of the islanders’. (Aristophanes, *Aves* 1422, 5th–4th century B.C.E.)

In cases 1, 2, 4 and 6, the meaning of **νησιωτικός** is obviously ‘of an islander’, not ‘of an island’. Case 5 is, according to BÉTANT (1847(I): 164), “insulanorum status”, the state of the islanders, and not ‘insular situation’ as LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES claim. The full quote is “τῶν τε περὶ Πελοπόννησον νησιωτῶν Κεφαλλῆνες μὲν καὶ Ζακύνθοι αὐτόνομοι μὲν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ νησιωτικὸν μᾶλλον κατειργόμενοι, ὅτι θαλάσσης ἐκράτουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ξυνείποντο¹¹”. Case 3 is probably ambiguous. In case 3, “Salamina” could either be the island name in the sense of “name that is usually given to islands” or the islander name in the sense of “name that is commonly used by islanders (for whatever)”.

Why, however, would there be an -i- in this word? The Ancient Greek base is feminine νῆσος, which changed its class and turned into Modern Greek neuter νησί. The first thought would be that **νησιωτικός** is a derivation not from feminine νῆσος, but from Modern Greek νησί, or somewhere on the Byzantine way towards it. However, all instances that LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES quote are from the fifth to the third centuries B.C.E. – much too early for νῆσος having changed to an *i*-stem. It might be that the derivational base is not νῆσος, but one of the diminutives, νησίδιον, νησίς or νησιάς (doubtful reading of Demosthenes, Prooemia 570, 4th century B.C.E.), all three appearing as early as νῆσος itself.

5. Development in Modern Greek

When comparing KRETSCHMER – LOCKER (1963) with KOURMOULIS (1967), the derivational pattern in **-ιωτικός** with the stress on the ultima syllable has about the same frequency as in Ancient Greek:

	Ancient Greek	Modern Greek (archaising)		Standard Modern Greek		
	KRETSCHMER – LOCKER (1963)	KOURMOULIS (1967)				
	ANASTASIADÉ-SYMEONIDÉ (2002)					
-ωτικός	131	76,60	250	80,65	327	81,75

¹⁰ TEUKROS: ‘As to why I came to this royal palace, [145] wanting to see the prophetess Theonoe, you be my patron, so I might obtain an oracle: how I should steer a favorable course to the island of Cyprus, where Apollo has declared I am to live, giving it the island name of [150] Salamis in honor of that fatherland over there.’ (Perseus online, Coleridge, E.P. (ed.). Euripides, *Helena*)

¹¹ ‘Of the islanders round Peloponnese, the Cephallenians and Zacynthians accompanied the Athenians as independent allies, although their insular position really left them little choice in the matter, owing to the maritime supremacy of Athens’ (Perseus online), but ‘... still, being islanders, they followed under a certain degree of constraint; [...] for the Athenians were masters of the sea.’ (<http://classicpersuasion.org/pw/thucydides/jthucbk7rv2.htm>)

-αιωτικός	6	3,53	11	3,55	12	3
-ειωτικός	7	4,09	7	2,26	7	1,75
-οιωτικός	7	4,09	8	2,58	10	2,5
-ιωτικός	20	11,69	34	10,97	44	11
total	171	100%	310	100%	400	100%

The percentage has stayed about the same from Ancient Greek, but the overall count has increased. -ωτικός seems to have become a productive derivational pattern in Early Modern Greek. Comparing the words, we can see that KOURMOULIS (1967) counts many composed forms, but still, there are several entirely new derivations. An investigation into these could show interesting results.

KOURMOULIS (1967) shows only four words ending in -ιώτικός in Modern Greek: ἀλλιώτικός, πανηγυριώτικός, νησιώτικός and ἐπαναρχιώτικός. ANASTASIADÉ-SYMEONIDÉ (2002) shows 111 words, most of which are ethnic adjectives formed from place names.

6. Conclusion

The word *ἐλευθεριωτικός does not appear in any edition and can therefore be claimed as erratic. *ἐλευθεριωτικός should be deleted from new editions of the relevant dictionaries. Instead, ἐλευθερωτικός should be added.

The appearance of ἐλευθερωτικός in Himerius and, therefore, Photius, which would be its first attestation, does not help us to date the titulus of Himerius' *Oratio* VII.

Morphologically, the suffix -ωτικός ultimately derives from the Indo-European *-ko-suffix that gained popularity during the Ancient Greek period after having been of limited use in the Homeric period. Verbs that were associated with adjectives ending in -ικός, themselves derived from adjectives or agent nouns, served as analogical bases so that the suffix -ωτικός gained the possibility to serve as a deverbal suffix, too.

From a synchronic perspective, in later Ancient Greek, it seems that derivational bases ending in -ι form adjectives in -ιωτικός, whereas nouns in -ωσις, agent nouns in -ώτης and verbs in -ώω form adjectives in -ωτικός. LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES and followers probably did not consider *ἐλευθεριωτικός suspicious because they thought it was derived from ἐλευθερία or from ἐλευθέριος. However, from the semantic point of view, the derivation base was ἐλευθερώ, ἐλευθέρωσις, or ἐλευθερωτής, with the parallel ἀπελευθερωτικός. Only several hundred years after the coining of ἀπελευθερωτικός did the form ἐλευθερωτικός come into regular use.

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