

Contents

Preface and acknowledgments — V

Abbreviations and reference editions — XV

Chapter 1

Ancient Greek purism: An introduction — 1

- 1 Ancient Greek purism: Focus and objectives — **1**
- 1.1 A note on terminology and chronology — **3**
- 2 Linguistic purism — **5**
- 3 Linguistic purism in ancient Greek culture: Atticism — **8**
- 3.1 The roots of Atticism: Dialect, koine, and the status-building of Attic — **10**
- 3.2 Atticism in the Roman period: Between style and language — **13**
- 3.3 The social power of language: The Second Sophistic — **16**
- 4 How to sound Attic: The theorisation of Atticist lexicography — **20**
- 4.1 Atticist lexicography: Definition(s) and corpus — **21**
- 4.2 Beyond antiquity: The Atticist legacy in Byzantine lexicography — **31**
- 4.3 Atticist lexicography on language: Preliminaries — **37**
- 5 Ways to study Atticism: Past approaches to literary texts and lexica — **40**
- 5.1 Studying the linguistic theorisation of Atticism through the lexica: The state of the art — **44**
- 6 The *Ancient Greek Purism* volumes — **50**
- 6.1 Outline of volume 1 — **53**

Chapter 2

Atticism as a form of linguistic purism — 56

- 1 The linguistic classification of Atticism — **56**
- 2 Standardisation, prescriptivism, and purism — **57**
- 2.1 Differentiating elements: An increasingly militant linguistic ideology — **60**
- 3 Atticism within the purist framework: A checklist — **67**
- 3.1 The Atticist discourse: Evaluative terminology and impressionistic stances — **68**
- 3.2 The ‘Golden Age Rule’ of Atticism — **76**
- 3.3 The Atticist linguistic theorisation and its extra-linguistic criteria — **79**

- 3.4 The Atticists: Self-appointed defenders of language — 83
- 3.5 The legacy of Atticism on Greek linguistic practices — 86

Chapter 3

Dialect, identity, and the invention of Athenian exceptionalism — 90

- 1 Language and identity — 90
- 1.1 Defining Greek identity: Ethnicity, language, and culture — 96
- 2 Greek: Language and dialect — 100
- 2.1 The origins of Greek: Methodological premises — 102
- 2.2 The diachronic and the synchronic dimensions — 105
- 2.3 Sources: Local dialects and literary languages — 108
- 2.4 The ancient accounts: Monogenetic origin and multilinear descent — 111
- 2.5 The Athenian revolution of identity — 114
- 2.6 Drawing the threads: Athens and the invention of purity — 120
- 3 The Classical dialects: Ancient perceptions of linguistic diversity — 127
- 3.1 The ancient perception of Ionic — 130
- 3.2 The ancient perception of Doric — 133
- 3.3 The ancient perception of Aeolic — 135
- 3.4 Conclusion: Inventing Attic — 139

Chapter 4

The one and the many: Athenian views on Attic — 142

- 1 Preliminaries — 142
- 2 Attic at the crossroads between tradition and innovation — 145
- 2.1 The emergence of literary Attic, the influence of Ionic, and ‘subterranean’ Attic — 146
- 3 The 5th-century BCE sources: The dawn of purism and its socio-political significance — 155
- 3.1 Aristophanes, fr. 706: Language, society, and Aristophanes’ poetic persona — 156
- 3.2 Pseudo-Xenophon, *Constitution of the Athenians* 2.7–8: The language of democratic Athens at the time of her maritime empire — 164
- 3.3 ‘Bad’ Attic equals ‘bad’ politicians: Plato Comicus, fr. 183 and Eupolis, fr. 99.25 — 172
- 3.4 ‘Good’, ‘bad’, ‘low’, ‘high’: An Attic ‘purism’ *ante litteram* — 180
- 4 4th-century BCE Attic and beyond: A language on the move, towards the koine — 182

- 4.1 Old and New Attic: Between bewilderment and curiosity — **184**
- 4.2 Professional languages and military jargon — **192**
- 4.3 Speaking Attic (and) Greek: From ‘international’ Attic to the koine — **199**
- 5 The ‘new’ language of a brave new world: 4th-century BCE literary Attic — **207**
- 5.1 The language of Xenophon — **209**
- 5.2 The language of Middle and New Comedy — **212**
- 5.3 Attic as the literary language of all Greeks — **218**
- 6 Conclusions — **221**

Chapter 5

Attic in the flesh: The language of late Attic comedy and its Atticist reception — **224**

- 1 Preliminaries — **224**

A. Phonology — **228**

- 1 Generalities — **229**
- 2 Retained /a:/ — **229**
- 2.1 Retained /a:/ in oaths — **230**
- 3 The diphthong /aj/ in prevocalic position — **232**
- 3.1 αἰετός and αετός (< *αἰφετός) — **233**
- 3.2 κλαίω and κλάω, καίω and κάω — **234**
- 3.3 ἐλαία, ἐλάα, and ἐλᾶ (< *ἐλαίφα) — **234**
- 3.4 Ἀθηναία, Ἀθηνάα, and Ἀθηνᾶ — **236**
- 3.5 The diphthong /aj/ before nominal and adjectival suffixes beginning with vocalic /i/ — **237**
- 3.6 αἰεί and αἰί (< *αἰφεί) — **239**
- 3.7 Other cases of prevocalic /aj/ and their treatment — **240**
- 3.7.1 Demotics in -αιεύς — **240**
- 3.7.2 Adjectives in -αιος — **241**
- 3.8 Ἑρμαῖσκος — **243**
- 3.9 ὠράζω and ὠραῖζω — **243**
- 4 The diphthong /ui/ in prevocalic position — **245**
- 4.1 υἰός and ὑός — **245**
- 4.2 Endings of the feminine perfect participle active -υῖα, -ῦα, -εῖα — **246**
- 5 Instances of the development /oi/ > /ei/ — **247**

B. Nominal morphology — 248

- 1 Nominal endings — **249**
- 1.1 Dual number — **249**
- 1.1.1 Dual nouns, adjectives, and pronouns — **249**
- 1.1.2 Genitive-dative of δύο — **251**
- 1.2 ‘Long’ datives -αισι(ν) and -οισι(ν) — **253**
- 1.2.1 -οισι — **254**
- 1.2.2 -αισι — **255**
- 1.3 The neuter nominative and accusative singular of ταυτό(ν), τοιοῦτο(ν), and τοσοῦτο(ν) — **256**
- 2 Nominal stems — **257**
- 2.1 *ā*- vs *ǎ*-stems — **257**
- 2.2 ‘Attic’ declension — **259**
- 2.3 Contracted thematic nouns and adjectives — **261**
- 2.4 Genitive -εος of *i*-stems — **262**
- 2.5 Nominative plural of *u*-stems — **263**
- 2.6 Analogical accusative plural -υας of *u*-stems — **264**
- 2.7 ‘Contracted’ genitive and accusative, singular and plural, of *eu*-stems — **265**
- 2.8 Accusative singular and plural of *eu*-stems — **265**
- 2.9 Analogical accusative plural of *eu*-stems — **267**
- 2.10 The inflection of *s*-stems as masculine *ā*-stems — **268**
- 2.11 Heteroclis and metaplasm — **269**
- 3 Comparatives and superlatives — **273**
- 3.1 Short and long primary comparatives — **273**
- 3.2 Primary comparatives with /i/ — **275**
- 3.3 Primary comparatives with alternating -ίων/-ίων — **275**
- 3.4 Analogical extension of the comparative and superlative endings -έστερος, -έστατος — **276**
- 3.5 Comparative and superlative endings -ίστερος and -ίστατος — **278**
- 3.6 Analytic comparatives in place of synthetic comparatives — **279**
- 4 Pronouns — **279**
- 4.1 Reflexive pronouns — **279**
- 4.1.1 The reduplicated personal pronoun αὐτός as a reflexive pronoun (αὐτὸς αὐτόν) — **279**
- 4.1.2 The 3rd-person singular reflexive ἑαυτοῦ/αὐτοῦ in place of the other reflexive pronouns (ἑμᾱυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ, etc.) — **280**
- 4.1.3 Personal pronoun in place of the reflexive pronoun — **281**
- 4.2 Deictic -ί in demonstrative pronouns and adverbs — **281**

- 5 Derivational morphology — **284**
- 5.1 Adjectives in -(τ)ικός — **284**
- 5.2 Adjectives in -ιακός — **288**
- 5.3 Nouns in -(σ)μός — **288**
- 5.4 Nouns in -ότης, -ότητος — **291**
- 5.5 Adjectives in -ώδης — **293**
- 5.6 Diminutives — **295**
- 5.6.1 Suffix -ίδιον — **295**
- 5.6.2 Suffix -άριον — **297**
- 5.6.3 Suffix -ίσκος — **299**

C. Verbal morphology — 302

- 1 Verbal endings — **303**
- 1.1 1st-person plural middle-passive ending -μεσθα — **303**
- 1.2 Optative — **304**
- 1.2.1 ‘Aeolic’ and ‘non-Aeolic’ aorist active optative endings — **304**
- 1.2.2 Analogical extension of -η- in the plural forms of the optative — **305**
- 1.3 The imperfect and perfect 2nd-person singular active endings
-θα, -ς, -θας — **305**
- 1.3.1 ἔφης — **306**
- 1.3.2 οἶδας — **306**
- 1.3.3 ἦεις — **307**
- 1.3.4 οἶσθας and ἦσθας — **308**
- 1.4 (Un)contracted 2nd-person middle-passive imperfect and
pluperfect — **310**
- 1.5 Imperative — **311**
- 1.5.1 Imperative 2nd-person active ending of the root aorist — **311**
- 1.5.2 3rd-person active plural ending -τωσαν — **312**
- 1.5.3 (Un)contracted 2nd-person middle-passive imperative
ending — **313**
- 1.6 Dual — **314**
- 2 Augment and reduplication — **314**
- 2.1 Augmented βούλομαι and δύναμαι — **314**
- 2.2 Augmented and reduplicated prefixed verbs — **315**
- 2.2.1 Augment before the prefix — **315**
- 2.2.2 Double augment and reduplication — **316**
- 3 Verbal stems and verbal conjugation — **318**
- 3.1 Thematisation of athematic verbs — **318**
- 3.1.1 Thematisation of athematic δίδωμι, τίθημι, ἵημι, and ἵστημι — **318**

3.1.2	Thematisation of the verbs in -νυμι in -νύω —	319
3.2	Aorist —	320
3.2.1	Alphathematic aorist —	320
3.2.2	Sigmatic aorists in place of thematic aorists —	323
3.2.3	Extension of the κ-suffix to the plural forms of the athematic aorists ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα, and ἤκα —	323
3.2.4	Exchange between asigmatic and sigmatic aorist —	324
3.2.5	‘Strong’ passive aorist in place of ‘weak’ forms —	325
3.2.6	Aorist passive in place of aorist middle —	326
3.3	Future —	328
3.3.1	Middle future replaced by active future —	328
3.3.2	‘Attic’ future —	330
3.3.3	‘Doric’ future —	331
3.3.4	Variation between contracted and/or different types of sigmatic future —	332
3.4	Perfect and pluperfect —	332
3.4.1	γέγονα and γεγένημαι —	332
3.4.2	μεμάνημαι —	333
3.4.3	ἀπέκτονα and ἀπέκταγκα —	333
3.4.4	‘Strong’ perfects in place of ‘weak’ perfects —	334
3.4.5	Aspirated perfects —	334
3.4.6	Participle ἐστώς vs ἐστηκώς —	336
3.4.7	Pluperfect: generalisation of -ει- in the indicative active —	336
4	Notable cases: a (very partial) selection —	338
4.1	Prefixed verbs —	338
4.2	ἐθέλω vs θέλω —	339
4.3	Present ἔδω —	339
4.4	ἐκφυγγάνω —	339
4.5	σπρηνιάω —	340
4.6	Future of ζῆν —	341
4.7	Sigmatic aorist of φθάνω —	341
4.8	έόρακα vs έώρακα —	342
4.9	Verbs in -άζω (and -ίζω) —	342

D. Syntax — 347

1	Use of prepositions —	348
1.1	ανά + accusative —	348
1.2	εις, έν, and εκ in place of the locative and suffixed forms of Ἀθῆναι —	349

- 1.3 μετά + genitive and σύν + dative with comitative function — **350**
- 1.4 μετά + genitive with the *verba sequendi* — **350**
- 1.5 ὑπέρ + genitive — **351**
- 1.6 ὥς + accusative — **352**
- 2 Verbal constructions — **353**
- 2.1 μέλλω + infinitive — **353**
- 3 Subordinate clauses — **354**
- 3.1 Final clauses — **354**
- 3.2 Causal clauses introduced by διότι — **355**

Chapter 6

Before Atticism: Early Hellenistic scholarship on Attic — **356**

- 1 Preliminaries — **356**
- 2 Methodology and scope — **358**
- 3 Hellenistic ‘grammar’ and the glossographical tradition — **365**
- 3.1 What is a gloss? Continuity and discontinuity in the *longue durée* — **370**
- 3.2 Aristotle’s concept of γλῶσσα — **378**
- 3.3 Ἑλληνισμός between grammar and style — **386**
- 4 The roots of scholarship at Alexandria: Lexicography between literature and vernaculars — **391**
- 4.1 The Peripatetic tradition — **394**
- 4.2 Philitas of Cos and Simmias of Rhodes — **396**
- 4.3 Zenodotus of Ephesus and Agathocles of Cyzicus — **400**
- 4.4 Callimachus between poetry and scholarship: Glosses for a multicultural Greek world — **409**
- 5 Eratosthenes of Cyrene — **413**
- 5.1 Eratosthenes’ definition of γραμματική and his philological activity — **414**
- 5.2 Eratosthenes on comic language — **419**
- 5.3 Eratosthenes and linguistic purism — **428**

Chapter 7

Towards Atticism: The blossoming of Hellenistic scholarship on Attic — **443**

- 1 Preliminaries — **443**
- 2 Aristophanes of Byzantium — **445**
- 2.1 Aristophanes’ Λέξεις: Scope and structure — **446**
- 2.2 Ἀττικάι Λέξεις — **460**
- 2.2.1 Ar.Byz. fr. 337 — **462**

2.2.2	Ar.Byz. fr. 338 —	469
2.2.3	Ar.Byz. fr. 340 —	472
2.2.4	Ar.Byz. fr. 341 —	474
2.2.5	Ar.Byz. fr. 342 —	476
2.2.6	Ar.Byz. fr. 345 —	477
2.2.7	Ar.Byz. fr. 346 —	480
2.2.8	Ar.Byz. fr. 347 —	483
2.3	Conclusions —	485
3	Aristarchus of Samothrace —	486
3.1	Aristarchus on comic language —	487
3.2	Aristarchus, Homer's παλαιὰ Ἀτθίς, and ἑλληνισμός —	494
4	Collections of Attic words in the Hellenistic period: A survey —	502
4.1	Ister and Philemon —	503
4.2	Demetrius Ixion —	508
4.3	Nicander of Thyateira —	514
4.4	Crates' Περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς διαλέκτου —	517
5	Lexicography in a minor key: Isolated Attic glosses in grammarians from the 3rd to the first half of the 1st century BCE —	523
6	Attic words in anonymous BCE collections of glosses on papyri —	529
7	Conclusions —	532

References — 533

Index locorum — 579

Index nominum et rerum — 607