ATTICISM IN ACHILLES TATIUS:

AN EXAMINATION OF LINGUISTIC PURISM IN ACHILLES TATIUS' *LEUCIPPE AND CLITOPHON*

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DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM

I, <u>Sonja Mary Gammage,</u> declare that

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2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

Linguistic purism (the desire to preserve one's language from external influence and perceived decay) is a universal phenomenon. In this thesis, I examine one particular instantiation of it, the practice known as "Atticism", which was observed by Ancient Greek authors living in the early centuries AD. These writers often used a language that mimicked the older Classical Attic dialect (associated with Athens) instead of the everyday spoken dialect or "Koine". I consider, as a case study, the language of Achilles Tatius, a second century Greek novelist, in his only surviving work, *Leucippe and Clitophon.*

I begin with a discussion of the varied uses of the term "Atticism" with respect to the social and cultural context in which the practice developed and give a review of previous literature on Atticism and on Achilles Tatius', his work and language. My thesis is the first analysis of Achilles' language in English and the first to specifically examine his use of Atticist forms.

Using digital editions of Achilles' text and computerised software, I have developed new methodologies for measuring and describing the degree to which an author makes use of Atticist linguistic features. I apply these to the language of Achilles Tatius' novel by looking at specific phonetic, morphological and lexical forms that were especially associated with the Attic dialect.

In the body of the thesis, I discuss four types of phonetic features and nine morphological categories which have forms that varied between the Attic and Koine dialects. For each Atticist feature, I analyse the evidence of ancient use and the testimonies of ancient scholars. I then discuss the forms that Achilles chooses to use in his text to determine the degree to which he shows Atticist practice. I also briefly examine his choice of certain lexical items that were considered Atticist by the ancient lexicographer Moeris.

This thesis establishes new ways of assessing the types of Atticism practiced by writers of the Koine Greek period. By examining the language of one particular author in detail, I show how these methods can be used to enhance our understanding of the practice of Atticism. Importantly, these methodologies can be extended to other types of Atticist and purist linguistic activities and can be used to assess the language of other authors of the period.

A Note on Translations and Related Issues

All passages cited from ancient authors come from the editions published on the online TLG, with the exception of the Latin quotes of Cicero which are from the Loeb editions of those texts.[1]

All translations of ancient texts are mine (unless otherwise stated). I made extensive use of the section on the "Conventions and Characteristics of Scholarly Writing" and the "Glossary of Grammatical Terms" in Dickey's (2007) *Ancient Greek Scholarship* when translating passages from the grammarians and lexicographers. I used Probert's (2003) book on Greek accentuation to assist with the correct placement of accents. I am thankful to my supervisor, Prof. John Hilton for his assistance with some of the more difficult Greek passages. Any outstanding errors in Greek forms and translations are my own.

For Greek words cited in the body of the text, I normally use Greek script, but in translations of the works of ancient authors, I transliterate Greek words into Latin script. I have used traditional English transliteration practices.[2] The long vowels (η and ω) are indicated by means of a macron (*ē* and *ō*). Short vowels omit the macron.[3] Rough breathings are indicated by *h* and accents are absent. Iota subscripts are represented by a normal iota (ι). In my translations, I use round brackets ( ) for words added to clarify the sense of the passage and square brackets [ ] for additional information of my own.

Translations of German, French and Spanish quotes are also mine (unless otherwise stated), interpreted with assistance from Google Translate. It should be noted that any English quotations I give from Schmid (1887-1896) and Santafé Soler 2005) are translations from the original German and Spanish respectively. I am thankful to Dr. Elke Steinmeyer for assistance with Schmid's German text.

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[1] TLG: Pantelia 2017. Loeb editions: Hendrickson 1939, Hubbell 1939

[2] ζ = z, θ = th, κ = c, ξ = ks, υ = u/y, φ = ph, χ = ch, ψ = ps and ῥ = rh

[3] For names like *Leucippe* (Λευκίππη) and *Clitophon* (Κλειτοφῶν) and the word *Koine* (κοινή), when used in the body of my thesis, I do not use macrons, since these spellings are conventionally accepted in the current English literature.

Abbreviations

EAGLL   *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics.* Giannakis, G. K., Bubeník, V., Crespo, E., Golston, C., Lianeri, A., Luraghi, S., and Matthaios, S. (eds). 2013. Leiden; Boston: Brill.

LSJ   *A Greek-English Lexicon.* 9th Edition. Liddell, H. G., Scott, R., and Jones, H. S. (eds). 1996. Oxford: Clarendon Press. URL (for online edition): http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsj/lsj.html.

TLG   *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae© Digital Library.* Pantelia, M. (ed). 2013. University of California, Irvine. URL: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu.

Grammar:

All abbreviations for grammatical forms/inflections are the same as those used in the list of "General abbreviations" of Liddell-Scott-Jones' *Greek-English Lexicon* (9th edition), with the following additions/variations:

1st	first person
2nd	second person
3rd	third person
impera.	imperative (rather than *imper.* as in LSJ)
infin.	infinitive (rather than *inf.* as in LSJ)
Mid.	middle voice (rather than *Med.* as in LSJ)
ptcpl.	participle (rather than *part.* as in LSJ)
Athem.	Athematic
Them.	Thematic

Ancient Authors:

For the titles of the works of ancient authors, I have tried to use the most commonly accepted forms, even when these are in Latin. I use primarily those given in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th edition) and LSJ (9th edition). When they are listed in neither, I have used the title given to the text on the TLG.

Abbreviations for names of ancient authors and their works are normally based on those found in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th edition) or LSJ (9th edition).

The following abbreviations are my own:

Achilles Tatius (A.T.)

A.T.   *Leucippe and Clitophon*

Choeroboscus (Choer.)

In Theod. Nom.   *Prolegomena et Scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini Canones Isagogicos de Flexione Nominum*

In Theod. Verb.   *Prolegomena et Scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini Canones Isagogicos de Flexione Verborum*

Herodian (Hdn.)

Pros. Cath.   *De Prosodia Catholica*

Theodosius (Theod.)

Can. Nom.   *Canones Isagogici de Flexione Nominum*

Can. Verb.   *Canones Isagogici de Flexione Verborum*

For a full list of all authors and works cited in my thesis, see Appendix 1

CONTENTS

SECTION A: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1. Framework

1.1 Linguistic Purism

At various times and in various places throughout the world, there has been a tendency for speakers of a language to feel the urge to protect that language from change, external influence and perceived decay. The urge to "protect" one's language manifests itself in different forms at both personal and societal levels.

In the 1956 Broadway musical *My Fair Lady* (adapted from George Bernard Shaw's play *Pygmalion*), the phoneticist Henry Higgins laments over the terrible state of English as spoken by the majority of the population in the song *Why Can't the English Learn to Speak?* It contains lines such as "the cold-blooded murder of the English tongue", "one common language I'm afraid we'll never get" and strong anti-dialectal comments like "the Scotch [sic] and the Irish leave you close to tears; there are even places where English completely disappears; in America they haven't spoken it for years."[4] This is an accurate reflection of attitudes to "impure" forms of English, observed particularly by the upper classes of the time. The same kind of sentiments are evident today as people despair over the negative effects forms of modern media have had on the spelling, vocabulary and grammar of English and other languages. Even in South Africa, we hear frequent complaints about the form of English spoken by radio and television presenters. In the same way, older speakers of native languages like isiZulu, especially those from rural areas, criticise the urbanised Zulu spoken by the young emerging population for its constant borrowings from English and other "impure" characteristics.

Conscious efforts to slow down language change, remove "foreign elements" and prevent the incursion of new elements from outside sources are described as *linguistic purism.* Although a universal phenomenon, unified studies of the practice are rare. Much work has been done on individual cases of puristic activity within individual languages, but comparative, especially universally comparative, studies are uncommon.[5]

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[4] Lerner 1967
[5] Auty 1973; Thomas 1991

For various complex reasons, summarised by George Thomas in his 1991 book *Linguistic Purism*, the phenomenon seems to have been understudied by linguists.[6]

Thomas was the first to make an attempt at filling this gap in sociolinguistic theory. He describes his work as "the first broadly comparative and cross-cultural study of purism".[7] His work is for the most part theoretical, discussing the different causes, motivations, styles, types and applications of puristic practice throughout the world (but with a strong focus on European and Indo-European languages). He asks why purism occurs from psychological, social and philosophical perspectives, and cites countless examples of different cases throughout history and the different outcomes (successful or not) of these programmes. Towards the end, he draws up some practical conclusions and suggests realistic ways in which his theoretical considerations might be applied to various instances of purism.

Thomas provides the following working definition of the phenomenon:

> Purism is the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects and styles of the same language). It may be directed at all linguistic levels but primarily the lexicon.[8]

In this thesis, I will be examining one particular historical occurrence of linguistic purism – Atticism among Greek authors of the early centuries AD. Atticists sought to oppose the use of the new but supposedly inferior (or "deteriorated") Koine Greek of the day and insisted on the use of pure Attic phonetic variants, vocabulary and grammatical forms used by the authors of 5th and 4th century BC Athens.

In particular, I will suggest new methods for assessing in detail the practice of Atticisim in an individual author. I will examine, as a case study, the language of the novelist Achilles Tatius in order to show how these methods can be used to enhance our understanding of the practice.

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[6] Thomas 1991: 3-7
[7] Thomas 1991:2
[8] Thomas 1991: 12

1.2 Atticism and the Second Sophistic

In order to analyse the puristic practice known as Atticism, it is first important to establish a working definition of the phenomenon and the social circumstances in which it arose. Atticism is very strongly associated with the intellectual period known as "The Second Sophistic". As with many scholarly terms, both *Atticism* and *The Second Sophistic* are used differently and somewhat ambiguously by various scholars. This problem is compounded in terminology relating to the Ancient World because of differences in the ancient and modern use of the terms and of changes over the centuries of modern scholarship which has dealt with them.

1.2.1 The Second Sophistic

Because of the varied use of the term "The Second Sophistic" by both ancient and modern scholars, it cannot be assigned to a clearly defined historical or geographic period. But on the whole, it is largely associated with the early centuries AD and with the intellectual or academic centres of the Greek-speaking world (Alexandria, Athens and, to a lesser degree, Rome).

The term was first introduced in ancient times by Philostratus the Athenian in the 230s AD in his work *Vitae Sophistarum* (or *Lives of the Sophists*) (cf. *VS* 1.481.16-20). For Philostratus, the Second Sophistic was driven by the Greek orators who specialised in epideictic oratory (public speeches performed for their own sake and entertainment, rather than legal or political motives). Oratory, especially of this kind, had risen to a high level of importance in Greek society as a result of studies and teaching in rhetoric becoming the key focus of the higher education of the period. Since, under imperial rule, there was less opportunity for the exercising of rhetoric for political debates, the practice of oratory had developed a new form (the *declamation*) in which performers would be given (often impromptu) topics and expected to present a creative speech, regularly assuming the persona of a historical or mythical figure.[9]

Whitmarsh, in his short book on *The Second Sophistic*, begins by addressing the ambiguity and confusion surrounding the term. He points out that "there is…no strong consensus among modern scholars as to what the Second Sophistic is, beyond a vague

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[9] Swain 1996: 91-96; Anderson 1993: 18-20

sense that it is localized in the Greek culture of the first three centuries CE".[10] He summarises the disparate views held by modern scholars, pointing out that it is sometimes presented as a cultural period (as according to Swain), sometimes as a cultural and literary phenomenon (according to Anderson) and sometimes as a socio-political phenomenon (according to Schmitz).[11] In the second half of last century, there has been much debate about the socio-political interpretation of the Second Sophistic and whether it developed as a mediating tool between the Greeks and their Roman leaders (as according to Bowersock) or whether it was more an attempt by Greek intellectuals to reassert their cultural authority (as according to Bowie and Reardon).[12]

These nuances in understanding the term, however, are not important for my research. I will view the Second Sophistic as some combination of an intellectual period and the people and practices surrounding the art of oratory in the early centuries AD in the Greek speaking world. (It may refer to the time period, the cultural society or the individual "sophists" who were part of it). What is relevant, is that it was in this setting and among the individuals that were part of this cultural state of affairs that the programme of linguistic Atticism developed. The motivations of Atticists, therefore, cannot be considered in isolation.

1.2.2 Atticism

I now move onto a discussion of the term "Atticism" (in its various manifestations). Atticism, in its broadest sense, was a trend by the intellectual elite of the post-Classical Greek period to use language in a way that was considered more in keeping with high Classical Attic than the common everyday language (Koine). How this was actually put into practice, and what is meant by "language" and "more in keeping with" is where confusion regarding the phenomenon begins to arise.

Like The Second Sophistic, the term Atticism is used in different ways (chiefly three). To understand these different uses, one must first have an understanding of the terms *Attic*, *Koine* and *Asianism*.

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[10] Whitmarsh 2005: 4

[11] Swain 1996; Anderson 1993; Schmitz 1997. These different views are summarised by Whitmarsh 2005: 4-5

[12] Bowersock 1969; Bowie 1970; Reardon 1971

The Greek spoken in the ancient world, and especially in the Classical period, was not standardised but consisted of numerous dialects. These were divided into what are generally recognised as four dialect groups: Attic-Ionic, Doric or West Greek, Aeolic and Arcado-Cypriot.[13] Attic (the dialect spoken in and around Athens) shared a number of characteristics with its sister dialect, Ionic (spoken in Euboea, some Aegean islands and the west coast of Asia Minor).[14] But even then, Attic had some peculiarities of its own: perhaps the most well-known being the preference of -ττ- for -σσ-. Although Ionic (varieties of which Homer and other early writers used) was perhaps the more dominant language at first, and despite the fact that Athens officially adopted the Ionic alphabet towards the end of the 5th century to replace its own alphabet, it was Attic that eventually rose as the superior language variety of the Greek world.[15]

Because of the prominence and high reputation of Attic as a literary and political language, when Alexander the Great began his campaign of political expansion, the variety of Greek which he introduced to the Eastern parts of his empire was largely Attic in origin. But this new international dialect also had numerous external influences so that, although it originated from Attic, it was to become recognisably different from it.[16] The most unusual features which were unique to Attic were replaced by more widespread forms and words. This new variety was the beginning of what was to become known as the Koine.

The term *koine* is also complex. Essentially, it denotes several supra-regional common forms of Greek, but it is used in particular (called in these instances *the* Koine) to refer to the Greek of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[17] Despite having developed out of a largely Attic variety, by the period of the Second Sophistic, the Koine was regarded as a very different dialect. With many of the peculiarly Attic forms replaced by those more common across the dialects or by new alternatives, the Koine came to be pitted against Attic as a rival dialect. In particular, for some, the concept of Atticism and the drive to Atticise language was a reaction to the deviations the Koine had made from its ancestral

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[13] Palmer 1980: 57-58, Horrocks 2014: 13-15, Colvin 2014: 203

[14] Colvin 2014: 209

[15] Swain 1996: 18

[16] Horrocks 2014: 73-75

[17] For more on usage of the term Koine, especially some of its different uses, see Colvin 2010; Horrocks 2014: 80-123 and Palmer 1980: 174-198.

predecessor. People were beginning to see the Koine as somehow inferior to the respected variety of language used by Plato and the Attic orators and writing in "pure" Attic became a new goal for orators and writers to aspire to.

In this thesis, I will largely be using *the Koine* to refer to the contemporary "natural" (spoken and written) Greek of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, which differed as a result of language change from the Greek spoken in earlier Classical times. I will use it synonymously with "Hellenistic Greek", but it should be kept in mind that use of the term in this manner is not as straightforward as it seems. As Swain points out, "Koine" (in my sense) includes both literary and non-literary Greek of the period. It includes the language of both educated and un-educated writers, regardless of quality. As he summarises:

> The term is, then, a handy but unsatisfactory and idealized shorthand for several complex linguistic situations in which the actual language to be attributed to any individual at any particular time depends on various diachronic, social, local and cultural determinants.[18]

The last important term for understanding the phenomenon of Atticism is *Asianism*. This term originated with the Roman Attici (on whom more will be said later). The dichotomy "Atticist versus Asianist" refers especially to the style of language used in public speaking. "Atticist" was used of styles of speaking which were pure, plain, unambiguous and simple, emphasising clarity of expression, whereas "Asianist" was used of language perceived to be corrupt, affected and vulgar.[19] In Cicero's work, *Brutus*, he uses the term Asianist (Latin *Asiaticus*) to denote not the geographic origin, but the rhetorical style of the orator Quintus Hortensius Hortalus. He is not entirely critical of the style, but suggests that it is more appropriate to younger speakers and should be abandoned later in life. He describes Asianist speech as "swift", "rapid" and "impetuous" but also "refined" and "ornate".[20]

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[18] Swain 1996: 19
[19] Swain 1996: 22; Kim 2014: 472
[20] Kennedy 1972: 97-98

1.1   Cicero *Brutus* (325)

> *Aliud autem genus est non tam sententiis frequentatum quam verbis volucre atque*
> *incitatum, quale est nunc Asia tota, nec flumine solum orationis, sed etiam exornato et*
> *faceto genere verborum.*

> The other type [of Asiatic style] is not so notable for wealth of sententious phrase as
> for swiftness and impetuosity – a general trait of Asia at the present time – combining
> with this rapid flow of speech a choice of words refined and ornate. [tr. Hendrickson]

To others of the period, the term Asianist did become reproachful and it was associated
with more negative characteristics. In modern literature, we find it described by terms
like "corrupted and affected", "verbose", "pointed and florid" and "involving violent
delivery".[21] It became closely associated with the speech style of Gorgias of Leontini,
one of the earliest 5th-century Greek orators, who was known for his (over-)use of
rhetorical devices such as antithesis, formal parallelism and plays on rhythm and
phonetic effects. Although popular at one time in Athens, his style soon fell out of
favour as the more formal, logical and less ornate styles of public speakers (what
eventually came to represent Atticist style) gained in popularity.[22]

With a clearer understanding of the terms "Attic", "Koine" and "Asianism", I can now
explore the phenomenon of Atticism itself. As mentioned, Atticism is used in three
different ways in the literature.

The earliest group of people to talk about Atticism were a group not of Greek, but of
Roman scholars (known as the *Attici*) starting in the mid-1st century BC. Swain
suggests that it was because the Roman education system was structured in a way that
Greek language and rhetoric were taught together, often by the same person, that the
concept of Atticism developed first among the Romans.[23] They were exposed to works
of the Classical Attic orators as examples of good Greek which ought to be imitated.
Roman Atticism was chiefly stylistic; it called for a plain, simple style of language
which would express views clearly without confusion or deception. In aiming for
simplicity and purity, it even had connotations of moral integrity. Kennedy associates

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[21] Swain 1996: 22; Kennedy 1972: 99, 100
[22] Horrocks 2014: 68
[23] Swain 1996: 22

Roman Atticism with what he calls the *Latinitas* movement, which emphasised clarity of speech by use of pure and unambiguous diction, and also with a grammatical movement of "analogy" (or *proportio*) which promoted unambiguous language through regularising inflection.[24]

Although chiefly stylistic, Roman Atticism also had other linguistic applications. Because the works of Greek oratory which they studied were written in the Attic dialect, Attic grammatical and lexical forms tended to be preferred over those of the contemporary Koine. As a stylistic phenomenon, Roman Atticism could be extended to oratory in Latin because many of the styles promoted and condoned in Greek could be equally employed in Latin speeches. Even linguistically, Atticism could be extended to Latin to the extent that use of simple, clear and unambiguous vocabulary, grammar and expression could be promoted. In sum, Roman Atticism was chiefly applied to publically spoken and published language (especially rhetoric) and was both stylistic and linguistic in nature, though not in the same senses as the later Greek forms of Atticism. It promoted the opposition of "Attic versus Asian", and applied to both Greek and Latin.

The first type of Atticism observed among the Greeks was of a similar nature to that of the Attici in that it argued for imitation of the language of the Attic writers (mainly the orators) in the composition of new rhetorical speeches. It seems to have been completely lacking, however, in any pure linguistic (especially grammatical) emphasis. The name most closely associated with the origins of this stylistic Atticism is Dionysius of Halicarnassus who lived during the 1st century BC and was active in Rome during the reign of Augustus. Another key contributor to discussions on the topic was his friend Caecilius of Caleacte, but unfortunately little of his work remains.[25]

In Dionysius' works (especially *De Oratoribus Veteribus* or *On the Ancient Orators*) he praises the style of oratory found in the Attic authors and denounces the increasingly common use of non-Attic styles among his contemporaries. Dionysius is seen as continuing the Atticist/Asianist opposition although it has been argued that we cannot

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[24] Kennedy 1972: 240, Swain 1996: 23. For further discussion on analogy/*proportio* see Dihle 1957:170-177.
[25] Swain 1996: 23

see Greek stylistic Atticism as having originated entirely from that of the Roman Attici.[26] For one thing, Dionysius does not use the term Asianism in the sense that the Attici did (it occurs only in his preface, *Orat. Vett.* (1-2), where he praises the Romans for opposing it).[27] More importantly, it has been argued that the Greeks had very different motives from the Romans for elevating Attic style over that of other dialects.[28] For the Romans, Greek was not their own language and they admired Attic style because that was the form used by the great authors whose works they were studying and which they were using as models. The Greeks admired Attic style because it was associated with the height of Greek culture and political independence during the 5th and 4th centuries BC, before the Roman occupation. It was this same yearning for the past or a return to the language of the past as a guardian of the "golden age" that eventually led to the development of linguistic Atticism during the Second Sophistic.

Like the Romans, then, Dionysius and his followers pitted an Attic style of language against a more opulent and inappropriate (Asianist) style, focusing on appropriate rhetorical forms and figures of speech rather than on choice of words or grammatical inflectional and syntactic forms. There were numerous Greek grammarians at the time, some of whom were specifically interested in researching and describing the Attic dialect, but Dionysius never promotes the use of Attic grammatical forms and vocabulary as such. Similarly, those working on the language were content to study and describe it without exerting pressure on anyone to return to the use of Attic forms in favour of non-Attic ones.[29]

The third type of Atticism, linguistic Atticism, went a step further than the earlier sort and did promote the use of Attic lexical and grammatical forms which been replaced or abandoned in the Koine. Kim suggests that although Dionysius' programme pitted Atticist against non-Attic (so-called Asianist) styles of speech, in time there was a shift or extension of the programme. At the time, all contemporary Hellenistic oratory would have had some influences that could be termed "Asianist" because the Hellenistic world itself was a hybrid of Greek and eastern elements, following from Alexander's

[26] Swain 1996: 23-24; Kim 2010: 472. See also Wisse 1995 and Hidber 1996 for further discussion of the question.
[27] Swain 1996: 23-24
[28] Swain 1996: 21-22
[29] Swain 1996: 21-22

expansion and the subsequent decline of Athens as the centre of Greek culture. Kim suggests that Dionysius' dichotomy was, therefore, extended from being a geographic/cultural "Attic versus Asian" one to a temporal "Classical versus Hellenistic" one.[30]

During the Second Sophistic, the pressure to Atticise came from two main sources: the rhetorical schools and the grammarians and lexicographers. The expectation that one could produce and/or write speeches that mirrored the great Attic orators continued, and so stylistic Atticism persisted as an opposition to the condemned Asianist styles. But at the same time, the idea that Attic language should be promoted was introduced. Accompanying this new interest in the Attic language was the creation of grammars and lexica of Attic usage: handbooks that gave guidance as to which forms were (or were not) considered acceptable for an educated Atticising Greek. The lexicographers play a major role in our understanding of perceptions about the Attic language during the Second Sophistic and which words or forms were condoned or promoted.[31]

Linguistic Atticism, as evidenced by the number of lexica produced, had a rather large focus on vocabulary (lexical items). Atticists were encouraged to use words of Attic origin/association in favour of the synonyms for such words that were more popular in the Koine. For example, Moeris suggests the use of οἶς as more properly Attic than πρόβατον for the word to denote "sheep":

1.2   Moeris *Atticista*

(0.6)   οἶς μονοσυλλάβως Ἀττικοί· πρόβατον Ἕλληνες
        The Attic speakers (say) monosyllabic *ois*; the (Hellenstic) Greeks (say) *probaton*

Emphasis was not only on the choice of words itself, but also on their meaning. When words had changed their meaning over the years due to semantic change, Atticists were encouraged to use words exclusively in their original meaning and to avoid newer usages. But linguistic Atticism went beyond the choice of vocabulary and also promoted

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[30] Kim 2014: 473

[31] For detailed descriptions of the works of the lexicographers, Dickey 2007 provides an excellent overview. Strobel also discusses the major Atticist lexicographers in a chapter on *The Lexica of the Second Sophistic* (2009) and examines their work in further detail in an unpublished thesis (2011).

preference for Attic phonetic forms/graphemic conventions, morphological forms and syntax. Some of these grammatical variations will be examined in detail in this thesis.

Linguistic Atticism under the Second Sophistic was a hotly contested issue. One does not only find differing degrees of strictness among the lexicographers, but in various writings of the period we find criticism of both those who fail to Atticise and of those who Atticise too much. Sometimes we find both forms of criticism in the same author. For example, Lucian as a skilled orator and writer during the Second Sophistic shows some level of linguistic Atticism in his language.[32] On one occasion he was criticised for using the form ἀποφράς in an incorrect construction and was so defensive of the fact, he wrote an entire treatise (*Pseudologista* or *The Mistaken Critic*) to defend his perceived error.[33] On the other hand, we also find Lucian criticising both "hyper-Atticists", (a word that originates with him), who are so obsessed with Atticising language that they take it too far and make it incomprehensible or just plain silly, and "pseudo-Atticists", those who do not properly understand the Attic forms they employ and as a result misuse them.

The medical writer Galen also had an uneasy relationship with linguistic Atticism. On the one hand, as a medical practitioner, he understood that clarity was most important in expression and that insisting on outdated Attic forms could lead to confusion in his writings. As such, he has a reputation for not Atticising in his own texts, but is known to have used clear and simple contemporary words and forms. But as a member of the elite, he was under pressure to be able to Atticise if he wanted to be taken seriously and so he composed lexicographical works of his own (on errors in Attic usage and the difference between Attic and contemporary use) which unfortunately have been lost.[34]

Atticism in the Greek world, then, began as a stylistic practice promoted by Dionysius and his followers, but by the time of the Second Sophistic, a separate, strongly linguistic, variety had developed alongside this. Atticism in its linguistic aspect had become a strict puristic programme of the sort applied to various languages throughout

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[32] Swain 1996: 45-51
[33] Kim 2014: 476; Whitmarsh 2005: 46-47
[34] Kim 2014: 478; Swain 1996: 45-51, 56-64; Whitmarsh 2005: 47-48

history. Like similar programmes, it had adherents, detractors and those that took a mild or moderate approach to it.

It is in this literary and linguistic environment that the works of the Hellenistic Greek novelists, including Achilles Tatius, appear. Their names and their works, therefore, continually come up in discussions of the Second Sophistic and Atticism, but specific analyses of how their language fitted into this picture by direct engagement with the text is rarer.[35] In the next chapter I will discuss the previous work that has been done on studies of Atticism in general and on the work of Achilles Tatius in particular.

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[35] For passing references to Atticism in the novels, see Anderson 1993: 96; Horrocks 2014: 136; and Kim 2014: 481. On the place of the novel in the Second Sophistic, see Swain 1996: 101-131. For a detailed analysis of Atticism in Chariton, see Hernandez Lara 1994.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Ancient Literature on Atticism

Study of the phenomenon of Atticism (in all forms) did not exist as a field in its own right in the ancient world, but it has already been seen that there were a number of ancient scholars who interacted with the phenomenon in its various manifestations. The earliest references to Atticism of any kind are found in Cicero and refer to the Roman concept of Atticism (in opposition to Asianism) as discussed in the previous chapter. The word Cicero uses is the adjective *Atticus* meaning simply "Attic", but from context it is clear that he means either "Attic-like speakers" (Atticists) or Attic-like style/language" (Atticism).

> *2.1* Cicero *Orator* (8.28)
>
> *Ad <u>Atticorum</u> igitur auris teretes et religiosas qui se accomodant, ei sunt existimandi <u>Attice</u> dicere.*
>
> Those speakers, then, who conform to the refined and scrupulous <u>Attic taste</u>, must be considered to speak in the <u>Attic style</u>. [tr.Hubbell 1939]

The earliest reference to any form of Atticism, then, is dated to around 50 BC. Cicero does not mention it in his earlier work on rhetoric, *De Oratore*, from 55 BC, but does mention it in both *Brutus* and *Orator* which are slightly later.[36]

As has been seen, the first Greek writer to discuss Atticism was Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Dionysius was active in the late 1st century BC (shortly after Cicero's death). He discusses the phenomenon in his work *De Oratoribus Veteribus* (*On Ancient Orators*) with a focus on introducing a "reform in style, and especially diction".[37] It also seems that while there is no clear reference to Atticism in Greece predating Dionysius' works, to him it was not a new concept but one which had been established over some years.[38] In his introductory chapter, he metaphorically describes the "ancient and indigenous Attic muse" (Ἀττικὴ μοῦσα καὶ ἀρχαία καὶ αὐτόχθων) as having lost her rightful place to a "recently arrived Asiatic pit of death" (ἡ δὲ ἔκ τινων βαράθρων τῆς Ἀσίας ἐχθὲς καὶ πρῴην ἀφικομένη) (Dion. Hal. *Orat. Vett.* 1; tr. Usher 1974), but goes

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[36] Kennedy 1972: 242; Swain 1996: 24
[37] This text is called *De Antiquis Oratoribus* on the TLG.
[38] Kennedy 1972: 241

on to celebrate the fact that the old order has been restored and the "sober rhetoric [that which is Atticising] has been restored to her place of honour" (καὶ ἀπέδωκε τῇ μὲν ἀρχαίᾳ καὶ σώφρονι ῥητορικῇ τὴν δικαίαν τιμήν, ἣν καὶ πρότερον εἶχε καλῶς) (Dion. Hal. *Orat. Vett.* 2; tr. Usher 1974).

In *De Oratoribus Veteribus* and his subsequent works on individual orators, Dionysius promotes emulation of those he considers the model Attic orators from the 4th century (such as Lysias, Isocrates and Demosthenes). But, as has been seen, he is interested in stylistic issues like the arrangement of words, rhythm and meter, and never specifically promotes the use of Attic vocabulary or grammar.[39] Apart from his writings dedicated to specific ancient orators, other works by Dionysius include a treatise known as *De Imitatione* (*On Imitation*), which provides a discussion of what imitation and emulation are and which works/authors should be imitated, and *De Compositione Verborum* (*On Literary Composition*), which deals with the composition of primarily political speeches by use of style, charm and beauty.[40]

Dionysius' friend and contemporary, Caecilius of Caleacte, dealt with similar issues but unfortunately none of his works survive to a substantial extant and they are only known from fragments and quotes or lists of titles.[41] He apparently wrote a work on *The Art of Rhetoric* and from Quintilian there is evidence that he wrote (at least one) detailed piece on figures of speech.[42] Based on the list of titles given in the *Suda*, it seems that Caecilius wrote a number of works on the (stylistic) Atticism of his day. Most interesting among these titles is *How the Attic Style Differs from the Asian* and *On the [stylistic] Character of the Ten Orators.*[43] He is also said to have compiled a lexicon called *Against the Phrygians [Asianists],* which would have been of great interest as a point of comparison with the Second Sophistic linguistic Atticist lexica. He is also said to have written a work entitled *Kallirhēmosynē,* a lexicon of "elegant usage" which may or may not be the same document as the first lexicon.[44] Unfortunately, we cannot know whether his lexicon was Atticist in anything like the same sense as those of the Second

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[39] Kim 2014: 472-473
[40] Kennedy 1972: 346-347, 362
[41] Swain 1996: 23; Kennedy 1972: 364
[42] Kennedy 1972: 365-366
[43] Kennedy 1972: 366
[44] Kennedy 1972: 367-368; Swain 1996: 25

Sophistic or whether, like Dionysius, he was more interested in diction or vocabulary being clear and unambiguous.

With regards to writings explicitly on the linguistic Atticism from the Second Sophistic, there are a few different types of ancient resources. The most obvious are the Atticist lexica and works of contemporary grammarians. But there are also commentaries on Atticist (or non-Atticist) practices from writers of other topics, most notably Lucian.

In *Rhetorum Praeceptor* (or *Professor of Public Speaking*), Lucian provides some suggestions for how someone should succeed in the art of rhetoric. It is a satirical piece suggesting "shortcuts" one can use to be respected as a great speaker without too much work and effort. One of his "tips" is that the speaker should pepper his language with a handful of archaic Attic terms which have been memorised. His list consists chiefly of function words, like particles and conjunctions, especially those containing crasis, which was considered an Attic feature.

2.2   Lucian *Rhetorum Praeceptor* (16.7-17.4)

> ἔπειτα πεντεκαίδεκα ἢ οὐ πλείω γε τῶν εἴκοσιν Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα ἐκλέξας ποθὲν ἀκριβῶς ἐκμελετήσας, πρόχειρα ἐπ' ἄκρας τῆς γλώττης ἔχε… καὶ ἐν ἅπαντι λόγῳ καθάπερ τι ἥδυσμα ἐπίπαττε αὐτῶν. μελέτω δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ ἀνόμοια τούτοις καὶ ἀσύμφυλα καὶ ἀπῳδά… μέτει δὲ ἀπόρρητα καὶ ξένα ῥήματα, σπανιάκις ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι εἰρημένα, καὶ ταῦτα συμφορήσας ἀποτόξευε προχειριζόμενος εἰς τοὺς προσομιλ-οῦντας.

> Then cull from some source or other fifteen, or anyhow not more than twenty, Attic words, drill yourself carefully in them, and have them ready at the tip of your tongue… and whenever you speak, sprinkle some in as a relish. Never mind if the rest is inconsistent with them, unrelated and discordant… Hunt up obscure, unfamiliar words, rarely used by the ancients, and have a heap of these in readiness to launch at your audience. [tr. Harmon 1925]

The idea was that a speaker could pass himself off as intelligent through false Atticism (ψευδαττικόν, a word used by Lucian in *Soloecista* 7.9). If his audience heard him using archaic terms, they would look up to him in awe as someone well-versed in the Attic language despite this not being the case at all (*Rh. Pr.* 17).

One of Lucian's other works is a text known by its title character *Lexiphanes,* which LSJ translates "phrase-monger", literally "show-off of words". It takes the form of a dialogue, based on Plato's symposium. Throughout, the character named Lexiphanes makes use of archaic and rare Attic words in an overly pretentious and extravagant manner. Lucian here is obviously poking fun at orators who went so far in their Atticism (ὑπεράττικος) so as to create similarly ridiculous speeches, though it is unlikely that many of them, if any, were quite as extreme as his portrayal of Lexiphanes.

In one of Lucian's other works, *Judicium Vocalium* (or *Consonants at Law*), Lucian presents an imaginary law suit in which the letter Sigma accuses the letter Tau of stealing his words. This is an allusion to the tendency for Attic words to have -ττ- where non-Attic words use -σσ-. Sigma argues that it is not only against him, but against other letters that Tau has perpetrated this crime; he has stolen words from Delta, Theta, Zeta and Kappa (Luc. *Jud. Voc.* 10-11). This hints at an attitude that linguistic Atticism is, in fact, undesirable and that at some level of "naturalness" in language, Tau should not have such prominence. The Attic forms are perceived as artificial and invasive and, as a result, something to be avoided.

Of the lexicographers to publish works on linguistic Atticism, three of the most well-known are Phrynichus, Moeris and Pollux. Of Phrynichus (late 2nd century AD) we have two surviving works: the *Eclogae* or "Selection of Attic words" which is essentially a lexicon specifying (by citing ancient authors) which words are or are not acceptable for an Atticising Greek, and the *Praeparatio Sophistica* (*Sophistic Preparations*) which "sets out to show the particular usage of *sententiae* and phrases".[45] Moeris' work (2nd to early 3rd century AD) is in a much briefer and concise dictionary-style lexicon simply called the *Atticista*. Although it is short, it reveals "a much more differentiated, or rather more critical, understanding of Atticism," and "quotes fewer authors than Phrynichus".[46] Pollux (late 2nd century AD) produced ten books in his

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[45] Strobel 2009: 99-101; cf. Dickey 2007: 96-97. This Phrynichus is variously known as: Phrynichus Arabius, Phrynichus of Bithynia, or Phrynichus Atticista.

[46] Strobel 2009: 101-102; cf. Dickey 2007: 98. The date of Moeris has been disputed. Although some have dated him to the 2nd century AD, Swain (1996: 51) suggests the early 3rd century AD (on the grounds that "his work was apparently influenced by the views of Phrynichus") and Dickey (2007: 98) reaches a similar conclusion. In her unpublished dissertation, Strobel (2011: 172-173) investigates this claim further.

work called the *Onomasticon.* His text also gives words that are and are not acceptable but they are arranged thematically rather than alphabetically and it contains many synonyms like a modern thesaurus.[47] Strobel describes his work as "not only a highlight in lexicographical scholarship" but "also a guide to the Second Sophistic, as the topics dealt with shed light on the thematic preferences of those days.[48]

Another important lexicon is an anonymous text referred to as the *Antiatticist* or *Antiatticista.*[49] This lexicographer was not opposed to Atticism as such, but was far less strict about what was considered acceptable, allowed the inclusion of a wider group of Classical authors into his canon, and would accept a word as Attic if any Attic author had used it at some point.[50] In addition, a little-known 2nd century Atticist and poet named Philemon is also believed to have compiled a lexicon, of which fragments have been made available for the first time in a dissertation by Brown.[51]

Finally, the works of the 2nd century AD Alexandrian grammarians Apollonius Dyscolus and his son Herodian are also important texts for understanding the linguistic situation during the Second Sophistic. Although neither are overt Atticists, their works survive in substantial quantities and they both interact with dialectal variants and give an idea of what was considered more "normal" or more "grammatically proper" during their lifetime.[52]

Ancient literature, therefore, gives us much information regarding the ideas around Atticism and perceptions relating to how it should or should not be applied in the ancient world. But it was not until the modern period that theoretical scholarship around the practices of Atticism, and analysis of the Atticism of particular ancient authors, began to appear.

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[47] Strobel 2009: 103-104; cf. Dickey 2007: 96

[48] Strobel 2009: 104

[49] The version of this text available on the TLG is the edition by Bekker 1814 under the name "Lexica Segueriana *Anonymus Antatticista*". The original date is uncertain but Dickey places it in the 2nd century AD (Dickey 2007: 97).

[50] Dickey 2007: 97

[51] Brown 2008. (See especially pp. 80-92 for a discussion of the lexicographer and pp. 93-228 for a collection and analysis of the fragments).

[52] For more information on the details and textual tradition of the lexicographers and grammarians, see Dickey 2007. (For the lexicographers, see pp. 87-106; for the grammarians, see pp. 72-86).

2.2 Modern Literature on Atticism

2.2.1 Early Modern Scholarship

The earliest modern study of Atticism (published 1887-1897), and still the greatest in terms of size, scope and ambition, is Wilhelm Schmid's multivolume work in German, *Der Atticismus in Seinen Haupvertretern* ("Atticism in all its Perspectives"). It covers views on works from Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Philostratus II (Flavius Philostratus). He begins his work with a basic overview of the stylistic principles of Atticism advocated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus discussed above. He then gives an analysis of the (chiefly linguistic) Atticism in the works of seven authors who wrote during the Second Sophistic. The categories analysed for each author are not identical, but he starts with a discussion of what he calls *Reinheit der Sprache* ("Purity of Speech") with relation to morphology and syntax. He follows this with a section, usually the main section, on *Auswahl der Worte* ("Lexical Choice") in which he lists the kinds of words used by the author. These words fall under different sub-categories, sometimes differentiating those used by Attic authors, those by later authors and those by poets, sometimes according to which particular Attic or non-Attic author used them (e.g. Plato, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Herodotus). He also lists which words are of later origin, and which were used exclusively, or initially, by the author in question. The remainder of the discussion for each author looks at *Zuzammenfügung* ("combinations of words"), under the headings *Tropik* ("tropes" or "idioms"), *Schematik* ("schematics" or "figures of speech and thought") and *Satzbau* ("syntax" or "sentence construction"). Some authors are examined in more detail than others and with varying degrees of accuracy. His first volume looks at Dio Chrysostom, Herodus Atticus and Lucian (the largest section), the second volume treats Claudius Aelian, the third Aelius Aristides and the fourth Philostratus II. He ends his work with a "summary" (or survey/overview) of the mutual relations (parallels) of different elements in Atticist literature, under much the same headings that he used for each author.

Despite its enormous size and scope, from early on, Schmid received criticism for the inaccuracy and inconsistency of his work.[53] No one since, however, has attempted anything further on this scale and so his work remains a key resource for Atticist studies. There have been some further studies conducted on the individual authors

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[53] See Gildersleeve 1888 (on Volume I only) and Sandys 1891 (on Volumes I and II).

whom he examined. In English, Deferrari conducted an analysis of linguistic Atticism as it relates to the morphology of verbs in Lucian, and Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén reconsidered Schmid's analysis of Aelian as it related to Aelian's *De Natura Animalium*.[54] A number of other updates on Schmid are listed by Kim, most of them in French.[55]

Two seminal texts associated with Atticism and written at about the same time as Schmid's (also in German) were *Die Antike Kunstprosa* ("The Ancient Practise of Artistic Prose") by Norden and *Asianismus und Atticismus* by Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.[56] But whereas Schmid's analysis was primarily on linguistic Atticism, the latter two dealt chiefly with stylistic (and even Roman) Atticism and its relationship to Asianism. Their contribution further explored the socio-cultural setting in which Atticism arose, but did not add to the scholarship on linguistic Atticism as Schmid's work had done.

Along with a waning in interest in the Second Sophistic in the early 20th century, no further major research was done until mid-century. It began to be discussed again from the 1960s onwards by scholars such as Bowersock, Reardon, and Bowie, but even then it was usually examined as an element of the Second Sophistic.

2.2.2 Recent Modern Scholarship

In recent decades, there have been a number of useful discussions or overviews of Atticism in its various forms, though almost always in the larger framework of study on the Second Sophistic or other aspects of the culture of the time. In Kennedy's *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World*, there is a thorough discussion of the phenomenon of oratory, especially sophistic oratory during the Roman Period.[57] He investigates and discusses what is known from the primary sources, summarising the works and views of various Greek and Latin authors including those discussed above: Cicero, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Caecilius and Lucian. Atticism is not his primary area of interest but he discusses it where relevant, for example, when dealing with works in which these

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[54] Deferrari 1916; Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 2005: 2003
[55] Kim 2014: 481
[56] Norden 1898; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1900
[57] Kennedy 1972

authors mention or make use of it themselves. The Atticism he describes and discusses is again largely of the Roman and stylistic kinds and contrasted with Asianism.

Anderson studied the Second Sophistic as a cultural phenomenon under the Roman Empire and his work deals with social, cultural and literary issues of this time period.[58] His focus is on sophistry as a practice: how sophists performed and the kinds of things they presented, examining a selection of different types of examples. He has one chapter on Atticism in which he deals with the basic concept and how it was applied by rhetoricians of the day. He describes Aristides as one of the "purist" Atticists, touches on both the Atticist/Asianist and scholarly versus popular language dichotomies and briefly mentions the lexicographers.[59] He also cites some of the references to Atticist practice in Lucian described above and considers other anecdotal linguistic *faux pas*. Finally, he looks at stylistic Atticism which he is especially interested in, as it influenced mannerisms used by the Second Sophistic orators who are the focus of his book.[60] Anderson's chapter on Atticism does not delve very deeply into any of the issues but his references to and quotes from ancient texts and authors are of much value.

Swain, in his work entitled *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism and Power in the Greek world AD 50-250*, introduces the cultural practices of the Second Sophistic in the light of Atticism in rhetoric (though he deals with both stylistic and linguistic Atticism).[61] His first two chapters deal primarily with Atticism and related issues, such as classicism and purism, and he gives a really good overview of the phenomenon, discussing the Roman, stylistic and linguistic forms or periods. His emphasis is on Greek identity and how it was realised by Greeks in the Roman era.[62] The second part of his book looks at texts by a number of authors who flourished during the Second Sophistic and what these works reveal about Greek identity under Roman rule.

Schmitz, in his work on the Second Sophistic, *Bildung und Macht* ("Education and Power"), also deals with the different forms of Atticism in a chapter on the ideal of

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[58] Anderson 1993
[59] Anderson 1993: 89-91
[60] Anderson 1993: 94-100
[61] Swain 1996
[62] Swain 1996: 17-64

speech purity during the period.[63] He includes an analysis of artificial archaisms but his work is largely discursive rather than giving a list of recognisable Atticist markers.[64]

Whitmarsh's work on *The Second Sophistic* gives a good discussion of the history of study on the Second Sophistic and, as has been seen, the different understandings of the terminology used in ancient, modern and recent times.[65] While his work, like Anderson's, focusses on the practices of rhetoricians during the period, he dedicates a chapter to Atticism in which he traces the origins, context and practice of (as well as opposition to) linguistic and stylistic Atticism in the ancient world.[66]

Finally, Kim, in a chapter in the *Blackwell's Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, gives an excellent overview of the different types of Atticism, summarising the information already presented by those authors discussed previously (from Schmid to Schmitz).[67] He clearly distinguishes between the different manifestations of Atticism and how they developed. In addition to the usefulness of his chapter as an accessible and up-to-date summary of the various works on the topic, it is also important because it is written from a linguistic rather than socio-cultural or literary perspective. This last chapter, along with the introductory chapters in Swain's book, probably serve as the best introductions to the study and understanding of Atticism to date.

2.2.3 Handbooks

There has been a long tradition of modern handbooks, grammars, textbooks and other resources explaining and teaching the Greek language going back (in English) to Goodwin and Smyth for Classical (mostly Attic) Greek and Blass, Debrunner and Funk for New Testament Greek.[68] Handbooks, especially those on post-Classical or New Testament Greek, normally have some discussion on the Koine and, by extension, the practice of Atticism. Kim warns that these handbooks and grammars are not always accurate and should be treated with caution, as the authors did not specialise in Atticism

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[63] Schmitz 1997

[64] Schmitz 1997: 67-96

[65] Whitmarsh 2005

[66] Whitmarsh 2005: 41-56

[67] Kim 2014

[68] Goodwin 1879; Smyth 1920; Blass & Debrunner 1896 (German edition); Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961 (English edition)

and sometimes make erroneous assumptions and conclusions.[69] He cites, however, Horrocks' work on *The History of the Greek Language* as a notable exception.[70]

Another recent publication dealing with the development of the language is *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity* edited by A-F. Christides.[71] It is more discursive and less primary-text based than Horrocks and each chapter is by a different author. The chapter on Atticism is by J.N. Kazasis.[72]

Also crucial for comparative analyses of Attic and Koine grammar, are grammatical handbooks of non-literary texts from the respective periods. In English, the best handbooks for information on the Attic inscriptions are Threatte's *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* and for information on the Koine, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* by Gignac.[73]

2.2.4 Dissertations

Two recent (though currently unpublished) dissertations have examined the works of lexicographers in detail and their relation to linguistic Atticism. Brown investigated in detail the practice of ancient lexicography and its prescriptive assessment of Attic norms, with specific focus on the lexicon of Philemon.[74] He places it in the framework of sociolinguistic concepts like diglossia and purism as well as relevant cultural considerations including classicism and the Second Sophistic. As mentioned, this thesis also presents the first critical collection of all known fragments of the lexicon of Philemon the Atticist (whose work is not available on the TLG). More recently, Strobel conducted a thorough survey focusing on the three major Atticist lexicographers of the second and third centuries AD.[75] She takes each lexicographer individually and

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[69] Kim 2014: 481

[70] Horrocks 1997 (1st edition); 2010, 2014 (2nd edition)

[71] Christidēs, Arapopoulou, & Chritē 2007. (First published in 2001. Translated from Greek into English in 2007).

[72] Kazasis 2007

[73] Threatte 1980 (Vol 1: *Phonology*); Threatte 1996 (Vol 2: *Morphology*); Gignac 1976 (Vol 1: *Phonology*); Gignac 1981 (Vol 2: *Morphology*).

[74] Brown 2008. I was unable to acquire access to this dissertation until very late in the writing of my thesis.

[75] Strobel 2011; I am grateful to Strobel for making a copy of her thesis available to me.

discusses the manner in which they treated Atticist versus non-Atticist language, as well as their intentions and accuracy.

An earlier dissertation on the subject is that of Frösén, who examined what he called "the problem of Koine and Atticism", attempting to assess the issue within the framework of modern sociolinguistic theory.[76] His work has received much criticism for being overly theoretical and not providing much in the way of concrete conclusions.[77] According to Browning, the work is so theoretically driven, that does not contain "a single word of Greek".[78] This is an exaggeration, but it is a heavily theoretical work with few measurable and concrete examples.

2.3 Literature on Achilles Tatius and the Greek Novel

Studies on the Ancient Novel and especially the Greek Novel have always been limited as a result of their traditional reputation as lower quality literature and therefore less admirable and worthy of study than other Classical texts. There are full extant copies of five of the Greek novels: *Callirhoe* by Chariton, *Leucippe and Clitophon* by Achilles Tatius, *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus, *The Ephesian Tale* by Xenophon, and *The Ethiopian Tale* by Heliodorus.

Of these novelists, Achilles Tatius has often received a poor share of attention.[79] He does not fit neatly into the genre and in fact subverts some of the traditional tropes associated with it (most notably the depiction of a perfectly chaste and faithful hero and heroine).[80] This has led a number of scholars to think that perhaps Achilles Tatius' work was meant to be a parody of the ideal romantic novel rather than an exemplary specimen. Similarities between *Leucippe and Clitophon* and the Roman comic/realistic novelists such as Petronius or New Comedy have also been noted.[81]

Although he is not widely studied, and not as popular as some of the other novelists, there have been a number of writings on Achilles' work from a wide range of

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[76] Frösén 1974
[77] See Moorhouse 1976: 204; Browning 1976: 228-229.
[78] Browning 1976: 228
[79] Morales 2004: 1-4
[80] Morales 2004: 1-2; Chew 2000
[81] Durham 1938; Holzberg 1995:90-24; Chew 2000

perspectives in the last century. Some of the most notable scholars of Achilles' works in English are Vilborg (1955-1962), O'Sullivan (1976-1982), Bartsch (1989), Morales (2000-2004) and Whitmarsh (2001-2011).

Works on Achilles' novel tend to deal either with his narratological style and the intent of the novel, with literary themes and allusions, or with the text itself and textual problems (although individual works may cover more than one of these broad issues).[82]

With regards to direct linguistic analyses of Achilles' text, there has been very little research. The starting point is reliable editions of the text, of which there are two. Ebbe Vilborg produced the first thorough critical edition in 1955 (with introduction and notes in English), followed by an English commentary in 1962. Vilborg's text is invaluable because he considered all the manuscript and fragmentary evidence for Achilles' work that was available to him at the time. He has developed rational criteria for selecting between variants in the textual tradition and lists all variations in the apparatus. More recently, in 1991, Garnaud published a new edition of Achilles' text with introduction and notes in French. Although Garnaud had access to two new manuscripts unknown to Vilborg and additional papyrus fragments, Consonni is sceptical of the superiority of this edition.[83] He is not entirely convinced of the reliability of the new manuscripts, but more problematic is that, of the two major families of manuscripts, "preference is constantly – but silently – granted to the α-family" by Garnaud without explanation.[84]

In a number of works on Achilles Tatius, authors make pronouncements on his language use without much detail. For example, Morales, in an analysis of rhetorical devices (specifically *sententiae*) in Achilles and Heliodorus speaks of "a proliferation of (mixed) metaphors and slippage from one register to another" in Achilles' text.[85]

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[82] Works that assess his narratological style and intent include Durham 1938, Hägg 1971, Morales 2000, Chew 2000, Nakatani 2003, Repath 2005 and De Temmerman 2009. Literary analyses of Achilles' work include Bartsch 1989 (one of the longer monologues), Harrison 1989, Bychkov 1999, Hilton 2001, 2005, 2009, Martin 2002 and Morales 2004 (another monologue). Analyses of the textual tradition and textual problems in Achilles Tatius have been published by Rattenbury 1959, Diggle 1972, O'Sullivan 1977, 1978, Pearcy 1978, Harrison 1989 and Skountakis 1999.

[83] Consonni 2006

[84] Consonni 2006: 113; 116. For more on problems with Garnaud's edition, see Consonni's whole article as well as my discussion in the *Methodology* section (3.1).

[85] Morales 2000: 87

Whitmarsh, discussing the opening paragraph of the book, makes note of Achilles' use of "bizarre syntax" in this passage, which lacks connective verbs and particles.[86] Martin makes a similar comment regarding the subsequent description of the painting of Europa, where he speaks of Achilles "employing a strikingly paratactic syntax with no connective particles of the type one expects in Attic prose, and even without verbs or verb phrases."[87] Looking at a different aspect of Achilles' language, Hilton considers possible Latin influences on Achilles' text in the context of other elements of Achilles' contemporary world on his writing.[88]

Somewhat surprisingly, O'Sullivan, whose *Lexicon to Achilles Tatius* is an essential resource for anyone wanting to examine Achilles Tatius' language use, makes no comments on the nature of his language or observations regarding the Attic or non-Attic nature of his choices. He describes his work as "a more or less complete philological dissection" of the book, giving "all instances of all words occurring in the text" (with the exception of unproblematic particles and the article).[89]

Achilles' name is frequently linked to Atticism, but there is usually little elaboration on the connection. In particular, authors sometimes fail to specify whether they are thinking of stylistic or linguistic Atticism or both.

Horrocks, whose work is clearly linguistic, and whose discussions of Atticism focus on linguistic practises, cites Achilles as an example of an Atticising author:

> Well-known practitioners of this 'puristic' Attic revivalism in the period of the Second Sophistic include: the orators Aelius Aristides … and Herodes Atticus; … Aelian … Arrian … Appian … Philostratus … Pausanius … and the romance writers Achilles Tatius … and Longus.[90]

Silk, similarly, and more emphatically, claims that he is one of the best examples of the practice, but the discussion here seems to refer, at least in part, to stylistic Atticism

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[86] Whitmarsh 2011: 76
[87] Martin 2002: 146
[88] Hilton 2009: 102-103
[89] O'Sullivan 1980: ix
[90] Horrocks 2014:137

(although it is not made explicit). It is possible that he considers it a good example precisely because it is less extreme than the Atticism of other authors like Aristides.

> The phenomenon [Atticism] is represented at its best by the witty essays of Lucian and the innovative narrative of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus among others; and at its worst by the shrill and shallow effusions of Aelius Aristides.[91]

The earliest suggestion that Achilles was trying to emulate Attic "correctness" is found in the 11th-century Byzantine commentator Michael Psellus:

2.3 Michael Psellus *On Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* (74-77)

> βούλεται δὲ ἔν τισι τῶν χωρίων ὀρθοῦσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἔοικε τοῖς τὰ τῶν ποδῶν ἄρθρα νοσοῦσι· ἐπιλανθάνεται γὰρ ταχὺ τοῦ ὀρθίου νόμου καὶ τῶν συνήθων ἐθῶν ἔχεται. διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδιωτεύειν δοκεῖ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὀρθοεπείας πόρρω που βάλλειν.

> In certain passages he wishes to raise himself to full height, but he is like a man suffering from gout: he straightaway forgets the correct method and sticks to his usual habits. For this reason he gives the impression of making inexpert use of language to a considerable degree and of shooting far wide of the mark of Attic correctness.

> [tr. Dyck, cited in Morales 2001]

This passage is quoted by Morales in the introduction to Whitmarsh's translation, where she adds, "Rather than 'inexpert use of language' Achilles' inconsistency should be seen as part of a deliberate eclecticism."[92]

The observation that Achilles attempts to Atticise his language, but fails to do so skilfully or consistently is echoed by various other writers. Hilton, in summarising his analyses of contemporary influences on Achilles' writings says:

> As in the case of his supposed Atticism, which is not consistently upheld, the mask of the dramatic date in the Classical past often slips, and the reality of contemporary life in the 2nd century becomes visible. This makes Achilles a far more interesting writer than many of his rivals and makes more subtle readings of his text possible.[93]

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[91] Silk 2009:22
[92] Morales 2001: xxii
[93] Hilton 2009: 111

Finally, Vilborg himself gives a brief analysis of Achilles' linguistic style in the introduction to his commentary, where he says:

> Achilles Tatius' romance was written during the Atticistic period, and it is easy to notice that the author endeavours to write correct Attic in principle. He cannot, however, be reckoned among the strict Atticists and shows no fear of admitting late forms and constructions to a certain extent (the instances of this kind are too many to be regarded as occasional lapses).[94]

He follows this with four pages of a brief analysis of Achilles' phonology, morphology, syntax and style.[95]

To date, there have only been two studies of which I am aware that have examined the linguistic nature of Achilles' work in detail. The first was the 19th-century thesis of Sexauer *Der Sprachgebrauch des Romanschriftstellers Achilles Tatius* ("The language use of the novelist Achilles Tatius").[96] This work, written in German around the same time as Schmid's work on Atticism, uses some of the same methodology as Schmid (for example, comparing the use of vocabulary items with those of specific Classical authors). Predating Vilborg's edition and the discovery of additional manuscripts and fragments of Achilles' text, this work is obviously outdated. His methodology is criticised by Hult.[97] On Atticism, however, Sexauer concludes:

> *Er [Achilles] bemüht sich, attisch zu schreiben. Sein attischer Wortvorrat ist bedeutend … Daneben erscheint eine lange Reihe später Ausdrücke…sowie Spätes und Ungewöhnliches auf dem Gebiet der Grammatik…*

> Achilles tries to write Attic. His Attic word-stock is significant … In addition, a long series of later expressions appear … as well as (ones that are) late and unusual in the field of grammar…[98]

The second substantial work on Achilles' language is a little known PhD thesis in Spanish by Santafé Soler *Aproximación lingüística a la obra de Aquiles Tacio* ("A

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[94] Vilborg 1962: 12-13
[95] Vilborg 1962: 13-16
[96] Sexauer 1899
[97] Hult 1990: 17 (cited in Consonni 2006: 125)
[98] Sexauer 1899: 76-77 (cited in Consonni 2006: 125)

linguistic approach to the work of Achilles Tatius").[99] His analysis is of Achilles' language in general without a specific focus on Atticism, but the nature of the work means that he deals with some of the same Atticist markers I will consider. In his concluding chapter, he has a section on Atticism in which he summarises the phenomenon and makes some claims regarding the Atticist nature of Achilles' language. He suggests that the description of Achilles' work as Atticist and even highly Atticist (*altamenta aticista*) is partly the fault of Sexauer's work, and points to the inconsistency of Achilles through the novel. Following Vilborg, he concludes with:

> *Aunque intenta escribir un ático correcto, no puede contarse entre los aticistas extremos, pues admite formas y construcciones tardías que por su cantidad y extensión no pueden ser consideradas como* lapsus *ocasionales.*

> While trying to write a proper Attic, he cannot be counted among the extreme Atticists, because he admits forms and late constructions that by their number and extent cannot be considered as occasional lapses. [100]

My thesis is the first detailed examination of Achilles' language in English of which I am aware, and the first to focus specifically on the degree of Atticism in his text. I aim to do this by identifying markers of linguistic Atticism and conducting a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the degree to which Achilles used or avoided these markers. Through this, I have also developed new methodologies for analysing linguistic Atticism which could be extended to other authors of the same period.

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[99] Santafé Soler 2005
[100] Santafé Soler 2005; 259

3. Methodology

Schmid has received much criticism both for his methods and the accuracy of his pioneering Atticist work.[101] Much of the fault one finds levelled against Schmid's Atticist analyses is a result of the time period in which he was working. As Gildersleeve points out, "Schmid is naturally dependent on indices and lexicons, and the value of his sorting varies very much with the trustworthiness and amplitude of his sources."[102] It is, in fact, of enormous credit to Schmid that he conducted such a thorough analysis of so many texts without the aid of computerised resources.

Modern linguistic analyses of Greek writings have the advantage of being able to evaluate digital copies of texts using modern computer programmes including concordance and corpus software. *The Perseus Project* and the online *Thesaurus Lingua Graecae* (TLG) are websites that provide access to digital copies of Ancient Greek texts as well as a number of innovative search tools.[103] The field of Corpus Linguistics has developed rapidly in the last 50 years, but unfortunately not all modern corpus tools and methods can yet be applied to ancient texts.[104] The two main hindrances to this are the unavailability of fully annotated (and especially lemmatised) corpora of Greek, and the limited size of the Greek corpus itself.[105] Greek corpora, such as they are, have a number of other problems including the unreliability of textual transmission, the fragmentary nature of many texts, extreme variations in the size and number of texts by different authors (and during different periods) and, of course, the fact that they contain only those texts which have been (somewhat arbitrarily) preserved.[106] There is also the problem that not all modern corpus analysis software can deal with non-Latin scripts

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[101] See especially Gildersleeve 1888. Anderson describes it as "the unwieldy mass of statistics"

[102] Gildersleeve 1888: 98

[103] Perseus Project: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/collection?collection=Perseus:collection:Greco-Roman (open source); TLG: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/csearch.jsp (subscribed)

[104] On the development and modernisation of corpus linguistics methods, see McEnery & Hardie 2011.

[105] Modern linguistic corpus methods are typically applied to corpora of over 100 million words. The whole Greek corpus on the TLG covers texts from the 8th century BC to 15th century AD and is just over 100 million words itself. But this includes texts from far outside of the period and dialect limits of my research. If one focuses only on texts from the Classical period (8th-4th C BC) and the Hellenistic and Roman Koine periods (4th BC - 5th C AD), the corpus sizes become 5 million and 50 million words respectively (based on the TLG *Statistics Tool*).

[106] For more on the use of corpora for the analysis of Greek texts and the unique problems encountered, see O' Donnell 2000: 263-267

(the Beta Code transliteration system can only partly compensate for this shortfall) or with such highly inflected languages as Ancient Greek.[107]

For my purposes, then, I have developed a methodology that, while it uses the computerised search tools available to me (discussed in more detail below), also relies on manual searching for and counting of forms when necessary. For example, I have access to two digital versions of Vilborg's edition of Achilles' text (discussed below) but both of these lack the footnotes, apparatus and commentary given in the print edition. Consulting the apparatus is important in accounting for the manuscript variations that Vilborg had to deal with. After using computerised search tools to find relevant tokens of different Atticist markers, I still had to manually check these forms in the print edition to establish whether there were any significant variations in the manuscript tradition (where, for example, some manuscripts had an Atticist marker while others had the non-Atticist equivalent).

3.1 Establishing a Text

In order to conduct an analysis of Achilles Tatius' language use, it was first important that I had a suitable edition of the text. As mentioned in the *Literature Review*, the two most recent published editions of *Leucippe and Clitophon* are Vilborg's (from 1955) and Garnaud's (from 1991). Despite Garnaud's being the later edition, which includes more recently discovered sources, I have chosen to use Vilborg's edition for the following reasons: a) Vilborg is more transparent when deciding between variations in the textual tradition, b) his apparatus gives details of all significant variants, c) his introduction, apparatus and commentary are in English, which is more accessible to me and enables me to clearly follow his motivations,[108] and d) Vilborg's edition is the same as that on the online *Thesaurus Lingua Graecae* (TLG).

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[107] Beta Code transliteration is method of substituting polytonic Greek characters with Roman script and punctuation developed by David Packard in the 1970s. While early concordance software, such as the DOS-based *Oxford Concordance Programme* (OCP) catered for use of Beta Code and for specifying alphabets and character sets to suit the needs of Ancient Greek, newer programmes like *Concordance* and *WordSmith* fail to account for this in quite the same way, though they are far superior in other respects. For more on this see the *TLG Beta Code Manual* (http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/encoding/BCM.pdf)

[108] South African Language Policies post 1994 have side-lined teaching of European languages in favour of indigenous South African languages and English. See *Ministry of Education* 2002 and Foley 2004.

The discovery of papyrus fragments containing portions of Achilles' work from as early as the 2nd century AD has enabled scholars to redate Achilles' text to the second half of that century rather than the 5th or 6th century as was previously thought.[109] The earliest extant manuscript (MS W) is from the 12th century, which leaves a substantial break between the original time of writing and the composition of this manuscript, and necessarily leaves room for much error. Whenever I speak of the "text of Achilles' Tatius", therefore, it must be understood that I really mean "the text as it has been handed down to us and as we can best reconstruct it". This is unfortunate and means that all linguistic analyses must be made with this limitation in mind, but it is a problem that plagues all investigations of historic languages and the situation for Greek is much better than it is for many other ancient languages. As it is, Achilles' text is better preserved than that of the other Ancient Greek novels, with 12 full manuscripts and another 11 containing sections or excerpts known at the time Vilborg composed his edition.[110] In addition, 7 papyrus fragments have been discovered containing parts of Achilles' text (though only 3 were known to Vilborg). The papyrus fragments date from between the late 2nd and the 4th centuries AD, composed much closer to the date of the original, and are therefore crucial for comparison with what is found in the manuscripts.[111] It should be noted, though, that Vilborg considered the papyrus fragments known to him as representing a different branch of the tradition from the manuscripts, and they do only make up a very small section of the total text.[112] So, while the information they provide is valuable, it is also limited.

Vilborg gives a thorough analysis of the textual transmission and the history of the manuscripts and papyrus fragments of Achilles' text which were known to him.[113] I need not repeat this information here, but he believed that all the extant manuscripts descended from a single archetype and he identified two chief branches (or families) of the manuscript tradition, along with a third branch to which only one partial manuscript belongs. The first branch, family α, contains the manuscripts he calls W, S, P, M, A, B, C, K and D. The second, family β, contains manuscripts V, H, O, Q, N, E, R, G, L, U,

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[109] Rohde 1900 had dated him to the mid-5th century (Morales 2001: xiv). For more on the dating question, see Morales 2004 xiv-xv, Willis 1990: 75-76 and Plepelits 1996: 388-390.

[110] Vilborg 1955: xviii (2 additional partial manuscripts were known to Garnaud)

[111] Vilborg 1955: xv-xvi; Willis 1990: 75-76

[112] Vilborg 1955: xxxv; see also Willis 1990: 77-79

[113] See Vilborg 1955: xv-lxxvii

T, X and Z. The last, branch φ, contains only manuscript F (which is incomplete).[114] I will follow Vilborg's sigla throughout. The numbers Π^1 to Π^7 are given to the papyrus fragments.[115]

Vilborg's intention was to try and create an edition that was as close to Achilles Tatius' original version as can possibly be reconstructed. This is an impossible task, and Vilborg recognises this, but says:

> I have endeavoured to reach a text as near as possible to the archetype. I have avoided adopting conjectures where the tradition gives an intelligible text, even in cases where, from the point of view of language or sense, the conjecture is an improvement. I have not seen as the object of this edition to improve the text of the writer but to establish the best ancient tradition.[116]

Where there is divergence in the manuscript tradition, Vilborg has generally sided with whatever is presented in the majority of manuscripts, but he has given family β preference over family α where a decision must be made between the two. He says, however, that "the superiority of β is neither absolute nor undisputed" and "the α-tradition must everywhere be taken into consideration".[117] He does this by listing the variants in his apparatus. He has also used manuscript F as an "arbitrator" and so "where αF or βF agree, [he has] generally accepted their reading"[118]. This will be important when I discuss manuscript variations in my statistical analyses.

Despite Vilborg's edition being available on the TLG, it cannot be downloaded.[119] Their thorough search tools mean that much research can be done with the text online (as will be discussed below), but it was important that I also had access to a raw digital version of the text which could be searched for particular tokens or strings using concordance software. As a result, I created my own version of Achilles' text in Beta Code. I achieved this by downloading an open source XML version of Rudolf Hercher's (1856) edition, which is out of copyright and available for download (but far inferior to

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[114] For more on the manuscripts, see Vilborg 1955: xlv-lxxii

[115] Vilborg 1955: xv-xvii. A full list of all papyrus fragments is given in O'Sullivan 1980.

[116] Vilborg 1955: lxxxv

[117] Vilborg 1955: lxxxv

[118] Vilborg 1955: lxxxv

[119] Permission was requested for access to a copy of their text for research purposes and was denied.

Vilborg's).[120] I then manually updated the version I had downloaded to match Vilborg's, using a print version of his text.

In searching for examples of particular forms in Achilles' text, I used a combination of my recreated edition run through concordance software (a program called *Concordance*, developed by R.J.C. Watt,[121] and the TLG edition analysed using the TLG's own online search tools (more detail on this below).

3.2 Analysing Atticism

There is no established list of "Atticist" forms with which a text can be compared to determine the degree of linguistic Atticism in it. Schmid and those who have followed him (such as Sexauer and Deferrari) relied largely on their own knowledge of the language and its usage at different periods to analyse the authors they examined. As Gildersleeve pointed out, they were dependent on indices and lexicons and consulted handbooks and grammars available to them, as well as ancient sources (especially the lexicographers) to assist them in their research.[122] But their impressive knowledge of Greek language and literature allowed them to use intuition as well.

In my study, I have relied on the expertise of various modern authors to assist in establishing a list of Atticist tokens, but at the same time I have developed methods for confirming the Atticist nature of these tokens.

In order to determine whether a particular token is Atticist or not, it must meet the following criteria:

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[120] Hercher 1858. Text provided by *Perseus Digital Library*, with funding from *Google Digital Humanities Awards Program*. Original version available for viewing and download at http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/dltext?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0665.

[121] I purchased a copy of *Concordance* from: http://www.concordancesoftware.co.uk/. The software is copyrighted to R.J.C. Watt 1999-2009 (University of Dundee).

[122] Sources which Schmid makes reference to in his work include: Meisterhans' *Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, Hatzidakis' *Introduction to Modern Greek Grammar*, Meyer's *Greek Grammar*, Kühner & Blass' *Detailed Grammar of the Greek Language* and Winer & Schmiedel's *Grammar of the New Testament Idioms.*

1) It must be described as Atticist by modern scholars writing on the topic

2a) It must have been regularly used (or preferred) by Attic authors of the 5th and 4th centuries BC or Attic inscriptions of the time[123]

2b) It must have a non-Attic equivalent that was widely used in the Koine

3) It must have been described by the Atticist lexicographers and grammarians or other writers of the Second Sophistic as Attic/ist

I made use of the following methods in order to determine whether or not each token I examined met these criteria.

3.2.1 Modern Scholarship

As mentioned, my starting point was to consider markers that modern scholars writing on the topic have identified as Atticist. I began with the comprehensive list given in Horrocks' book on the history of the Greek language. I give an abbreviated form of his list below:

Important hallmarks of correct Attic usage included the following:
(a) -ττ- and -ρρ- for -σσ- and -ρσ- in the relevant words
(b) ξύν for simplified σύν "with"
(c) The formation of abstract nominals with the neuter article τό and an adjective in agreement
(d) Regular use of the dual number
(e) Extensive use of the dative in all its traditional functions …
(f) Use of the 'contracted' forms of nouns … e.g. ὀστοῦν not ὀστέον 'bone' etc.
(g) Retention of the Attic declension of λεώς/νεώς in place of λαός/ναός 'people/temple'
(h) γίγνομαι, γιγνώσκω for simplified γίνομαι, γινώσκω
(i) The use of the synthetic perfect rather than periphrasis …
(j) Extensive use of middle verb forms …
(k) Use of the optative in its full range of classical functions
(l) The use of the monolectic perfect forms with a 'stative/present' rather than a 'simple past' meaning [124]

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[123] For examples of such authors, see *Evidence from Ancient Use* (3.2.2) below.
[124] Horrocks 2014: 138

Another list is given in Anderson's discussion of Atticism where he says:

> To write … literary Attic of the fifth and fourth centuries BC in the Early Roman Empire … The student would have had to affect <u>various subtle stylistic choices</u>, such as the doubling of Attic <u>tau</u> for Ionic <u>sigma</u>, the preserving of <u>'Attic' declension</u> or the frequent use of the <u>dual</u>, to say nothing of the 'purist' declension of such troublesome words as *naus*; he would also have had to purge his language of deviant tendencies such as the lapse into easy alternative <u>-o forms of -mi verbs</u> preferred by the *koiné* or on the other hand hypercorrect attempts at restoring the <u>Middle Voice</u>. He would have had to negotiate the syntax of <u>subordinate moods</u> … and maintain a <u>correct vocabulary</u> of words used by 'classical' authors.[125] [underlining mine]

Kim provides the following list of "peculiarities of the Attic dialect that had largely been lost in the popular language" and which "Atticising authors were careful to maintain":

> preferring <u>ττ over σσ</u> … and <u>ρρ over ρσ</u>… employing the <u>"Attic" second declension</u>…, the <u>contracted</u> forms of certain first and second declension nouns, <u>athematic</u> verb endings, and <u>γίγνομαι</u> and <u>γιγνώσκω</u> for γίνομαι and γινώσκω. … the <u>dual</u> number, the <u>dative</u> case, the <u>middle</u> voice, the <u>perfect</u> tense, the future <u>infinitive</u>, and the <u>optative</u> mood, among others, in their full range of Classical functions … The most striking contrast between Atticist and colloquial language, however, is in <u>vocabulary</u>…[126] [underlining mine]

I also consulted the list found in the index of Blass, Debrunner and Funk's New Testament grammar under the heading "Atticisms: of the Koine of the NT" and the list under the heading "Linguistic Purism and Prescriptivism of the Second Sophistic" in the entry on "Attitudes to Language" in the *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics,* among others.[127]

From these, I selected the Atticist tokens that came up most often and placed them under the headings: *phonetic* (graphemic), *morphological*, *morpho-syntactic* and *lexical*. It turned out to be impossible to examine all the potential Atticist markers, but I focused

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[125] Anderson 1997: 88-89
[126] Kim 2014: 470
[127] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 266; Bubenik & Crespo 2013: 206 (EAGLL)

on the more common, especially of the phonetic and morphological kind. The same or similar methodologies could be extended to those variations I did not examine.

3.2.2 Evidence from Ancient Use

In order to ascertain whether or not the tokens identified were genuine examples of Atticism or not, I wished to confirm how they were actually used by both Classical Attic and Koine writers. I used a number of different methods for gathering this information. A fully annotated corpus of Greek literature would have made this task easier but in the absence of such a resource, I had to make use of those available.

Three handbooks which were of great help in this task were Threatte's *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* (2 Volumes)*,* Gignac's *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (2 Volumes) and Blass, Debrunner and Funk's *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature.*[128]

Threatte's books helped establish normal Attic practice as evidenced by Attic inscriptions from the Classical (5th-4th century BC) period. As the work deals with inscriptions from the 8th century BC right up into the Roman periods (roughly 300 AD), I had to be careful to focus on examples from the correct period. But this was easily done as Threatte is explicit in differentiating the different periods and sometimes gives good comparative evidence, e.g. from literary texts.[129]

By comparison, Gignac's books give examples of evidence from documentary papyri from the Roman and Byzantine eras, giving me examples of Koine usage. Again, I had to be careful with the dates and focussed on instances from the early centuries AD. He also often makes reference to comparative examples from both Attic and Koine literature and to inscriptional evidence of the sort Threatte examined.

One of the difficulties encountered in establishing general Koine usage is the fact that so many literary texts from the period were influenced by Atticist practice that it can be hard to differentiate between what was "normal Koine" usage and what was Atticised.

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[128] Threatte: 1980, 1996; Gignac 1976, 1981; Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961
[129] Threatte 1980: 1

The documentary papyri help with this distinction as they are less likely to be influenced by linguistic Atticism. The New Testament along with the Greek translation of the Old Testament (the Septuagint) are also useful sources in establishing non-Atticised norms. Even these texts are not completely immune from classicising or Atticist influence. (e.g. Kim suggests that while the gospels and other early Christian literature "reflect[ed] the spoken popular Koine", Luke was an exception that did not fit into this category, and Kilpatrick discusses examples of linguistic Atticism in some manuscripts of Revelation).[130] But these texts tended to be less strongly influenced and so are helpful in establishing something of the norms of Koine practice.[131] Previously, the biblical texts would have been avoided out of fear of their representing a "special variety of Greek used by Jews of the Near East," but Horrocks points out that this is no longer thought to be the case, even for the Septuagint, of which much is translated from Hebrew.[132] He describes their language rather as "a reasonably close reflection of the everyday Greek of the majority of the literate population in the early centuries AD," although he also recognises that there would have been some "peculiarly regional features".[133] It is for this reason that I have frequently consulted the grammar of the New Testament by Blass, Debrunner and Funk in my establishing of Koine norms.

In addition to the evidence from handbooks on Attic and Koine practice, I also made use of the tools available on the TLG, and in particular the *Text Search Tool.* This allows one to look up instances of word use in an individual or group of authors either by lemma or as a particular inflected form/type (using the "Word Index"). Since it was not usually practical to search for all tokens of a word throughout the entire corpus (which, as mentioned, contains texts ranging from the 8th century BC to the 15th century AD.), I selected groups of authors that I could examine to establish either Attic or Koine norms. The groups I used were as follows:

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[130] Kim 2014: 201, 470 does not elaborate on this point but Luke's writings are often described as exceptions to the natural Koine or non-Atticising language of the New Testament. Adams 2013 addresses this generalisation and considers why this analysis is problematic. On Revelation, see Kilpatrick 1963.
[131] Cf. Silk 2009: 22
[132] Horrocks 2014: 147
[133] Horrocks 2014: 147

For Attic use

- Dramatists: Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides (tragedy); Aristophanes (comedy)
- The Attic orators: (The "canon of ten") Aeschines, Andocides, Antiphon, Demosthenes, Dinarchus, Hyperides, Isaeus, Isocrates, Lycurgus and Lysias
- Other prose: Plato, Aristotle, Thucydides, Xenophon (historian) etc.

I consulted the dramatists because their plays were among the earliest and best respected of 5th to 4th century Attic literature. Their texts, however, especially those of the tragedians, are not always the best examples of Attic practice because of their poetic nature and the influence from poetic literature and other dialects. The search tool also does not allow one to differentiate between different parts of a particular work, which means that the Doric influence on choral sections cannot be accounted for separately. I considered the orators an especially useful source for an analysis of Attic practice both because of their texts being prose and because of the respect they held in the minds of Atticists, especially since Atticism (both stylistic and linguistic) was so closely associated with rhetoric. Other prose writers (such as Plato, Aristotle, Thucydides and Xenophon) would be consulted for comparison, especially when a form was not frequently used by the orators. Sometimes I also consulted the use of non-Attic contemporary texts such as Herodotus or the Hippocratic Corpus.

Koine use

- Biblical texts: The New Testament and Septuagint
- Other: Josephus, Plutarch, Galen, Epictetus
- Schmid's Atticists: Dio Chrysostom, Herodus Atticus, Lucian, Aelian, Aristides and Philostratus II.

As already mentioned, the biblical texts served as crucial examples which I could examine for Koine practice. These, along with the evidence from papyri in Gignac, were my key resources. Sometimes I consulted other contemporary texts which were thought to have little or less Atticism (in particular Galen's corpus).[134] Finally, I also considered the practice observed by the group I call "Schmid's Atticists" (the authors he examined in his work), to see what the general trends for Koine-period authors who were attempting to Atticise might be.

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[134] Kim 2014: 478; Whitmarsh 2005: 47-48

Because of the wide range of different linguistic markers which I examined, and differences in the frequencies and trends surrounding the different forms, I did not always examine all the categories of authors listed above. Although I often established the number of tokens of a particular form in particular authors, my overall analysis was typically qualitative rather than quantitative. I wished to establish a general trend of usage in the two different periods rather than focussing on absolute statistics, which are not particularly meaningful on their own. I am also aware of the fact that, for these groups of authors, I was relying entirely on the editions of texts as represented on the TLG which might contain errors and does not account for problems in transmission or variations in the manuscript tradition. While I did take these factors into account in my analysis of Achilles' text, I could not do the same for each and every author represented here.

3.2.3 Evidence from Ancient Witnesses (Lexicographers and Grammarians)

To establish whether the tokens I was examining were actually viewed by people of the time as Attic or Atticising, I consulted the evidence of the ancient lexicographers, grammarians and other authors mentioned in the literature review. My primary source was Moeris' lexicon because the form in which his work survives is concise and clear. Most of his entries take the following basic structure:

> *x* Ἀττικοί· *y* Ἕλληνες.
> The Attic speakers (say) *x*; the (Hellenistic) Greeks (say) *y*

Moeris is dated to somewhere between the 2nd and the early 3rd century AD, either during or shortly after when it is thought that *Leucippe and Clitophon* first appeared.[135] Moeris' lexicon gives a wide range of examples of phonetic, morphological, lexical and semantic variations although each example relates to a specific word, and a particular inflected form of that word with very little generalisation applied. For example, you will find him recommending the form βήττειν over βήσσειν (Moeris *Atticista* β.25), but no generalisation about using -ττ- rather than -σσ-.[136]

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[135] See footnote 46 on questions of the dating of Moeris.
[136] The version of Moeris' text which I used is the edition of Hansen 1998: 71-156 available on the TLG. (#1515.2).

Phrynichus and Pollux's lexicographical works relate more to word use and meaning and as such are less useful, but I do cite from them where appropriate. I also consulted the works of other contemporary grammarians, in particular Aelius Herodianus (or Herodian). He was also writing in the 2nd century AD and, as mentioned, gives interesting information regarding accepted norms of the time, although his focus is not Atticist. Herodian's most important work was *De Prosodia Catholica* (*On General Prosody*) in which he discusses accent and breathing norms in intricate detail, addressing or attesting to other grammatical features along the way. Other works of Herodian which I make reference to include Περὶ παθῶν (*On the Modification of Words*), Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας (*On Orthography/Correct Spelling*) and Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι (*On -mi Verbs*).[137]

I also make reference, where applicable, to other contemporary texts that reveal evidence of the attitudes to Attic or non-Attic variants, especially those of Lucian. On occasion, I make reference to examples from slightly later lexicographers and grammarians, especially where evidence from writers closer to the period of composition is sparse. Although this does not reflect directly on the understanding of the day, the Atticist programme continued through the centuries and it is probable that much of the later grammarians' understanding (and even part of their texts) was derived from the grammarians who preceded them.

Sometimes the evidence of the lexicographers contradicts that of actual use. This information is important as it highlights the distinction between perceived linguistic Atticism and the use of "genuine" Attic forms. Because my analysis is on Achilles' Atticist intent rather than how truly Attic he was, this evidence is important for my analysis. In most cases, however, there is at least some overlap between actual practice and the recommendations of the lexicographers. I will make note of cases where important deviations occur.

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[137] For an introduction to the works of Herodian, see Dickey 2007: 75-77. For a full list of all his works, see Dickey 2014.

3.3 Achilles' Use

The terminology I use for analysing the statistics of the different markers found in Achilles' text are taken largely from Corpus Linguistics norms. I use the term "marker" to refer to the abstract variable that has a different version in Attic and Koine and for which the one is considered "Atticist" and the other "non-Attic" (e.g. the -ττ-/-σσ-variation, the "Attic declension" and athematic μι-verbs are different examples of markers which I will consider).[138] I use the word "lemma" in the sense of a linguistic "lexical item" to refer to the category that contains all inflected versions of the same "word" (e.g. θάλασσα "sea", ναός "shrine" and δίδωμι "I give" are examples of lemmas).[139] Lemmas are usually given in their "dictionary entry" form (i.e. nominative masculine singular of nouns; 1st person singular indicative active present for verbs etc.). Where the dictionary entry for a lemma is different in the Attic or Koine form, I normally use the form given in Liddell, Scott and Jones' Greek Lexicon (LSJ 9th edition) unless the context makes the other more appropriate. The word "type" refers to all the potential inflected forms of a lemma (e.g. θάλασσαν, θαλάσσης, θάλατταν, θαλάττης etc. are examples of different types of the lemma θάλασσα). Finally, the word "token" (which will be more important for me than "type") refers to all instances of a particular lemma in a text (e.g. there are 31 tokens of the type θαλάσσης in Achilles' text, which in turn is one of the 8 different types which he has for the lemma θάλασσα).

As mentioned, I used Vilborg's edition of Achilles' text to gather statistics on each of the Atticist markers I examined. To identify the tokens relevant to each marker, I searched the text in one of two ways. For phonological variants, I searched the concordance of my version of the text, which I had created using Watt's *Concordance* programme. This list, which itemised every inflected type separately and provided references to all tokens of each type, allowed me to search for strings of letters such as ττ (Beta Code TT), σσ (Beta Code SS) or ρσ (Beta Code RS) etc.

For morphological markers, searching for strings of letters was not sufficient and so I had to use other methods. For example, searching for all instances of athematic μι-verbs could not be conducted by searching for the string -μι (Beta Code MI) in my

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[138] I use "variant" in a similar manner, but with a less exclusive/technical implication.

[139] While the plural of "lemma" is sometimes given as "lemmata" (as in the TLG), I prefer the Anglicised form, "lemmas" which is common in Corpus Linguistics.

concordance, since that string is only found in the 1st person singular present indicative tokens of those verbs. For verbal morphology, then, I made use of the TLG's *Vocabulary Tools* which allowed me to create a *Lemmata List* (a list of all lemmas in their "dictionary entry" forms) found in Achilles' text. I copied this list into an MS Excel spreadsheet document from where I could search for suitable lemmas, (for example lemmas ending in -μι). From this list, I could then create a list of all types and tokens of the appropriate lemma found in Achilles' text by searching using the TLG *Text Search Tool*. For nominal morphology, I used a combination of searching for individual types on the *Concordance* programme and searching for lemmas using the *Lemmata List* from the TLG.

Given the statistical results gained from the *Concordance* programme or the TLG (both of which are based on unannotated versions of Vilborg's text), I then checked the tokens I had identified against the apparatus in Vilborg's print edition, where he identifies manuscript variations. Depending on the nature of the variations, I either created a separate list, omitting unreliable tokens, or simply noted the variations in my discussion. Because Vilborg's edition only incorporated 3 of the 7 papyrus fragments, I examined these independently for instances of the marker being assessed. I relied on the published transcripts of the fragments for this information, consulting pictures of the original fragment where available. The small proportion of Achilles' text which the fragments cover and the high number of lacunae in them meant that not very many of the Atticist tokens which interested me were extant in the papyri. I also consulted O'Sullivan's *Lexicon to Achilles Tatius* which sometimes contained information on variations.[140]

For an Atticist analysis of lexical items, which I examined only briefly, I followed a different approach. I began with a sample of entries from Moeris' lexicon. Using the *Vocab Tools Lemmata Lists* on the TLG and MS Excel's formatting and function tools, I searched for which of these entries Achilles used words from and whether the words he used were considered Attic or Hellenistic by Moeris. I give more detail on how I went about doing this in the chapter on *Lexical Atticism* (18).

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[140] O'Sullivan 1980

Once I had collected the data for the number of tokens of a particular marker in Achilles' text, I could make a qualitative analysis of Achilles' preferences regarding that marker by comparing his use with that of Attic authors, Koine texts, other Atticising authors and the testimony of the lexicographers/grammarians. While my data does have a quantitative aspect (for example, I can compare the percentage of examples of -ττ- contrasted with those of -σσ- in the text), the statistics on their own are not particularly enlightening and the small size of the corpus with which I am working makes statistical significance tests of little value.[141] I do summarise my statistics for ease of analysis and reference, but I focus on a qualitative assessment of the degree of Atticist behaviour which Achilles' shows for that marker. Because the question "is this Atticist?" does not always carry a clear-cut answer, I will use terms such as "mildly Atticist", "strongly Atticist", "Attic-leaning", "Koine-leaning" and "avoidance of Atticism" in my assessments.

3.4 Patterns of Use

In my analysis of the evidence from ancient use, it was quickly apparent that very few potential Atticist markers fitted neatly into an X : Y pattern of use, where X is the form used exclusively (or predominantly) in Classical Attic authors and Y the form used exclusively (or predominantly) in non-Atticising Koine texts. In order to make my assessment of Achilles' choices for each marker more objective, I developed a rubric that would help me to determine whether use of a particular form should be described as "mildly or strongly Atticising", "mildly or strongly avoiding Atticism", or more accurately "Attic-leaning" or "Koine-leaning". Table 3.1 outlines the rubric, illustrating what I will refer to as different "Patterns of Use".

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[141] In Thomas' book on *Linguistic Purism,* he addresses the problems with applying purely statistical analyses to puristic behavior. He says that a quantitative analysis "ignores the fact that in a linguistic system some features are central and others peripheral" and that it does not account for the fact that language is "an open system", which does not at any point have a fixed set of "pure" and "impure" markers (Thomas 1991: 162-163).

Table 3-1 Patterns of Use Rubric

Attic norm	Koine norm	Use of X	Use of Y
X	Y	Simple Atticism	Simple Avoidance/ Koine Preference
Xy	Y	Mild Atticism	Strong Koine-Leaning
XY	Y	Moderate Atticism	Mod Koine-Leaning
xY	Y	Hyper-Atticism	Mild Koine-Leaning
X	Xy	Mild Attic-Leaning	Strong Avoidance of Atticism
X	XY	Moderate Attic-Leaning	Moderate Avoidance of Atticism
X	xY	Strong Attic-Leaning	Mild Avoidance of Atticism
Xy	xY	Moderate Attic-Leaning	Moderate Koine-Leaning
X	X	Neutral	Neutral
Xy	Xy	Neutral	Neutral

In my rubric, X and Y refer to the two main variant forms of the Atticist marker in question. X generally refers to the variant that has a strong association with the Attic dialect and Y the alternate variant usually associated with the Koine. For example, for the -ττ-/-σσ- marker, X would represent -ττ- and Y would represent -σσ-. Similarly, for the Attic declension marker, X would represent an Attic declension form like νεώς and Y the Koine form ναός.

I use upper and lower case X and Y to represent the degree to which a particular form seems to have been used by the dialect in question, with upper case indicating that it is the dominant form and lower case indicating that it occurs less frequently. Xy, in the Attic column, then, means that a form is found predominantly as the "more Attic" variant in the Attic authors, but that the alternate form also occurs on some occasions. When both letters are in uppercase, it means that the two variants occur in very similar numbers.

The descriptive phrases I have given under the headings "Use of X" and "Use of Y" are the standardised ways in which I will refer to use of a particular form in Achilles' text based on the patterns of use for that marker.

The first and most simple pattern of use is X : Y, where there is a clear preference for the one form in Attic and the other in the Koine. Use of X by an Atticising author in this case can be described as "simple Atticism", as the author has intentionally used a form that was found in Attic authors and no longer occured in the Koine. The use of Y is "simple avoidance of Atticism" or "simple Koine preference".

An example of this would be the γίγνομαι versus γίνομαι forms, where γίγν- forms dominate in Attic texts and γίν- in Koine texts.[142] Use of γίγνομαι, then, counts as simple Atticism and of γίνομαι as simple avoidance.

The next three patterns of use are situations where both forms occur in Attic but only one is continued into the Koine. Use of X in these cases can be seen as Atticism (intentional use of a non-Koine form) but I interpret the degree of Atticist intent as dependant on the pattern of use of the two variants in Attic texts. The fewer examples of X and more of Y found in Attic texts, the stronger the Atticist intent because it points to the author making a decision to use the non-Koine form, even when the Koine form occurs as often (XY) or more often (xY) in Attic. Use of X in an xY : Y situation I refer to as "hyper-Atticism" because the author has used a form that only occasionally occurred in Attic, perhaps to show off his knowledge of this rare unusual variant. I describe use of Y in these situations (the only form found in the Koine, but one that is found to some degree in Attic) as "Koine-leaning". The less Y occurred in Attic, the stronger the degree of Koine-leaning.

By way of example, for the -αι-/-ι- variation, the forms αἰετός and ἀετός both occur in Attic, but the ι-inclusive form is more common. In the Koine, the ι-less form dominates with very few cases of the ι-inclusive form. This marker has an Xy : Y pattern of use. Use of X can be described as "mild Atticism" and use of Y as "strong Koine-leaning".

On the other hand, for the ξυν-/συν- marker, συν- is the dominant form, even in Attic although ξυν- occurs on occasion in Attic and almost never in the Koine. This marker

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[142] There are minor exceptions to this, as will be true for all simple X : Y markers, but when they make up a small enough number of the total forms used to be negligible, I discount them. If I did not do this, almost every marker would have X and Y in both Attic and the Koine and my analysis would be uninformative.

falls into the xY : Y pattern of use where use of X can be described as "hyper-Atticism" and use of Y as "mild Koine-leaning".

The next three patterns of use refer to situations where Attic consistently has only one of the two variants but the Koine retains use of X alongside different degrees of Y. Use of Y in these situations I describe as "avoidance of Atticism" (or, more fully, "a Koine preference with avoidance of Atticism") because it seems that the author has avoided use of X, despite it still being current, in order to prevent any accusation of Atticist intent. I am aware that this suggests a decision on the part of the author which may not have been conscious or intentional, but if I am examining whether an author is trying to Atticise or not, it makes sense to say that in these cases he has avoided the Atticist choice. In cases where the Koine has more instances of Y than X (i.e. X: xY) I describe this as "mild avoidance of Atticism" because it is not unexpected that he has chosen the more commonly occurring Koine form. Cases where X is still the dominant form in the Koine and Y relatively new (X : Xy), I describe as "strong avoidance of Atticism" as here it seems that he has more intentionally made use of the rare Koine form in order to avoid the form that was used in Attic. The use of the X variants in these cases, I describe as "Attic-leaning" because the continuance of X in the Koine means X is not a purely Attic (and therefore Atticising) form. Again the strength of Attic-leaning depends on how little or how much X is still used in the Koine. If X is rare in the Koine, it has a stronger Attic-leaning association than if it is still common in the Koine.

By way of example, for the -ρρ-/-ρσ- variable, the noun ἄρρην is found almost exclusively with -ρρ- in Attic. This variation continues in the Koine but the -ρσ- form comes to dominate. This falls into a X : xY pattern of use where X can be described as "strong Attic-leaning" and use of Y as "mild avoidance of Atticism".

The final pattern of use, Xy : xY, refers to cases where both forms are found in both varieties but the one dominates in Attic and the other in the Koine. I describe the use of X in these cases as "moderate Attic-leaning" and Y as "moderate Koine-leaning". The terms "Atticist" and "avoidance of Atticism" cannot apply in these cases as neither form is exclusively Attic.

Any situation where the pattern of use is identical in Attic and the Koine such as Xy : Xy; XY : XY and xY : xY must be described as "neutral" because neither form has a particular preference in either dialect, and these give no information on the Atticist intent of the author.

The 8 patterns of use given here are, of course, not the only possible patterns that can occur. Some markers have more than two variants such as an Ionic form that is occasionally found in the Koine, a spelling alternative or a synonym used in favour of (or alongside) the normal variant form. These third variations I usually identify as "Z" and the way I use them will be elaborated on as and when they come up. Most additional patterns of use are similar enough to the standard ones given that I can treat them as sub-varieties of these patterns. Table 3-2 gives a summary of the alternate patterns which will come up.

Table 3-2 Patterns of Use Addendum

Regular pattern	Alternate patterns		First element	Second element
XY : Y	XZ : X		Moderate Atticism	Mod Koine-Leaning
xY : Y	XY : Yz		Hyper-Atticism	Mild Koine-Leaning
X : Xy	X : Xyz	X : Xz	Mild Attic-Leaning	Strong Avoidance of Atticism
X : XY	X : XZ	Y : YZ	Moderate Attic-Leaning	Moderate Avoidance of Atticism
X : xY	X : xyZ	Y : yZ	Strong Attic-Leaning	Mild Avoidance of Atticism
--	Xy : XY	Xy : xy	Slight Attic bias	Neutral
--	X : x?y?		Uncertain degree of Attic-leaning	Uncertain degree of avoidance of Atticism
X : X	Y : Y(xz)		Neutral	Neutral

3.5 Conclusion

The methodology which I have developed for this project attempts to provide a modern systematic approach to analysing linguistic Atticism in ancient authors. I have established logical criteria for assessing the Atticist nature of different markers. These markers can then be applied to the work of a particular author by making use of online corpora and search tools and other computer programmes and search methods. Older, manual methods are still necessary in accounting for the shortfalls of corpus methods for Ancient Greek literature, like accounting for variations in textual transmission. Consulting annotated editions or individual manuscripts, papyrus fragments and indirect

fragments cannot be ignored. Final analyses must necessarily be at least partially qualitative in nature as statistical results will not account for the nuances that are part of as complex a linguistics system as the Atticist Programme.

While this methodology was developed to assist in analysing the Atticist nature of Achilles Tatius' text, it could easily be extended to other authors or to focus on other linguistic features than those which my research addresses.

SECTION B: PHONETIC ATTICISM

4. -ττ- versus -σσ-

Discussions of linguistic Atticism almost inevitably include and usually begin with the -ττ- versus -σσ- alternation.[143] The use of -ττ- for -σσ- is one of the most well-known features of the Attic dialect and perhaps the most easily recognised form of the phenomenon. It makes sense, therefore, that this should be the starting point when assessing the degree of Atticism in an author's writing.

4.1 Development of the Variation

The -ττ-/-σσ- variation marks a split between the different dialects of Greek. In the Classical period, in Attic (as well as Boeotian, Cretan and some of the Euboean dialects), -ττ- is found in words like θάλαττα, φυλάττω and ἥττων.[144] In all other dialects, including Attic's sister dialect, Ionic, these same words typically have -σσ-.

According to Schmid, in his seminal work on Atticism, the Attic preference for -ττ- was driven by aesthetic factors. He suggests that the Attic speakers and those who followed them did not like the συριγμός (hissing) sound of -σσ-, and so reduced the form to a less harsh -ττ-.[145]

From a more philological point-of-view, existence of this variation can be explained by the history of the words in which it is found. According to Indo-Europeanists, words affected by this variation in Greek historically had κ [k] or χ [kʰ] followed by a consonantal ι [j] in Pre-Greek.[146] In some Classical Greek dialects, this combination changed into -ττ-, while in others it became -σσ-. It seems that in the earliest extant dialect of Greek, Mycenaean, the form used was *-ss-*, but in the peculiarities of the Linear B script used to write it, it was written with a single *-s-*. (Unfortunately, there is a

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[143] Schmid 1896: 579; Horrocks 2014: 138; Anderson 1993: 88

[144] Buck 1955: 70; Sihler 1995: 192; Horrocks 2014: 39

[145] Schmid 1889: 83-84. He describes the forms as a "dental spirant" (in modern terms an "alveolar fricative") and a "dental plosive" (in modern terms an "alveolar plosive/stop")

[146] Buck 1955: 70; Smyth 1920: 24. Letters given in square brackets represent the phonetic realisation of a Greek letter (how it was pronounced) using the symbols recognised in the International Phonetic Alphabet.

scarcity of examples of words containing the marker and so it is not certain which spelling the Mycenaeans generally preferred.)[147]

The kinds of words which have this marker include present tense verbs such as φυλάττω/σσω (*<φυλακ-i̯ο), feminine forms like γλῶττα/σσα (*<γλωχ-i̯α) and comparatives like ἥττων/σσων (*<ἥκ-i̯ων). Some instances of Pre-Greek τ [t] and θ [tʰ] also developed -ττ- and -σσ- by analogy. For example, μέλιττα/σσα (*<μελιτ-i̯α), κρείττων/σσων (*<κρετ-i̯ων) and κορύττω/σσω (*<κορυθ-i̯ω). Occasionally words with an original τ followed by [w] (*-tw-) also resulted in the -ττ-/-σσ- alternation. This accounts for Attic τέτταρες versus Ionic τέσσερες (<PIE *kʷet-wor-).[148]

Not all words containing -ττ- indicate an intentional choice to use an Attic spelling, and not all of -σσ- are necessarily non-Attic. Some words are specifically associated with certain dialects and these will always contain only -ττ- or -σσ- depending on their origin. For example, the word πτύσσω always occurs with the -σσ- spelling, even in Aristophanes, whereas ψιττακός, although it has variant spellings (e.g. βίττακος, σιττακός) is a loan-word and is always spelled with a -ττ-. Such words are exceptions and should be excluded from an investigation of Atticism because they do not reflect a decision on the part of the author to Atticise.

The -ττ-/-σσ- variation exists, therefore, as a result of different dialects having developed in different directions from the Pre-Greek form.

4.2 Evidence for -ττ- as a Marker of Atticism

As stated in the Methodology chapter, for the purposes of my research, I have established certain criteria which a form must meet in order for it to be considered a

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[147] Linear B was a syllabic script which was not ideally suited to representing Greek. Each character represented an "open syllable," generally consisting of a consonant followed by a vowel. (So there were separate symbols for *da*, *de*, *di*, *do* and *du*, and another set for *ba*, *be*, *bi*, *bo*, *bu* etc). In order to represent Greek using this system, certain conventions had to be followed. Since there were no symbols for consonant clusters, a dummy vowel would be inserted after the first consonant (usually matching that of the second). Syllable-final consonants (especially [s] and [n]) were usually omitted. As a result, a word like τρίπος (*tripos*) appears as *ti-ri-po*. Consonant geminates would be simplified to a single consonant, so [ss] or [tt] would be represented by syllables having a single [s] or [t]. The name of the Mycenaean city, Knossos (Κνωσσός), appears as *ko-no-so*. For more on Mycenaean spelling, see Horrocks 2014: 10-13.
[148] Examples from: Buck 1955: 69-71; Smyth 1920: 24-25; Horrocks 2014: 19, 41.

genuine example of Atticism. In what follows, I will consider whether and how the marker matches each of these criteria.

4.2.1 Modern Scholarship

For modern authors who have written on either the Hellenistic Koine used during the Second Sophistic or on Atticism, the use of words with -ττ- rather than -σσ- is often given as the first example of those strategies employed by Atticists to make their language more "Attic". Blass, DeBrunner and Funk point out that while -σσ- was generally preferred over -ττ- in Hellenistic Greek, individual instances of -ττ- occur in the New Testament "introduced from literature, especially with the rise of the Atticistic movement and in words especially Attic."[149] In Horrocks' list of forms associated with correct Attic usage by Atticists, he cites "-ττ- [tt] … for -σσ- [ss]" as his first example.[150] Anderson lists as first among the "subtle stylistic choices" which students of rhetoric wishing to portray purist (Atticist) tendencies should put into practice, "the doubling of Attic tau for Ionic sigma…".[151] Swain too highlights the phenomenon stating: "The *koine* dropped the distinctively Attic *-tt-* altogether. It was to be expected that the Atticists would revive it."[152]

In addition to these authors, I have already referred to some of Schmid's discussion of the variation as an example of Atticism. He notes in his description of the phenomenon in Aristides that in pre-Euclidean Attic inscriptions, the -ττ- form was used almost exclusively and that Attic authors from Aristophanes onwards predominantly used -ττ- in their writing.[153] In Hellenistic times and in the Atticist period, Schmid suggests that although -ττ- often dominated in writing, few beyond the most learned circles still used it in their everyday speech.[154]

Finally, in Deferrari's description of Atticism in verbs in Lucian, he too begins with a discussion of the -ττ-/-σσ- marker. He says:

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[149] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 18
[150] Horrocks 2014: 138
[151] Anderson 1993: 88
[152] Swain 1996: 49
[153] "Pre-Euclidean" refers to inscriptions predating the Attic adoption of the Ionic alphabet in 403/2 BC (Schmid 1889: 83).
[154] Schmid 1889: 84-85

In the N.T. *ττ* appears much less frequently than *σσ*, while the church fathers nearly always use the *σσ* forms. The Atticists turned back directly to the old Attic and late Classical use of *ττ*.[155]

It seems clear, then, that modern scholars consider the choice of -ττ- in place -σσ- to be one of the common strategies employed by Atticists and therefore as an important marker of Atticism. I will now consider whether the ancient evidence supports this perception.

4.2.2 Use of the Marker by Attic Writers and Evidence for the Alternative

The historical evidence bears witness that -ττ- was the form preferred by early Attic speakers. Attic inscriptions exhibit the -ττ- spelling from early on.[156] Before the Euclidean reform of the Attic alphabet in 403/2 BC, when the Athenians adopted the Ionic alphabet (and Ionic spellings began to show up in Attic inscriptions) there are almost no instances of -σσ-. In early Attic literature, -ττ- is less obviously prevalent because a number of early Attic writers (e.g. the writers of tragedy plays and the historian Thucydides) wrote in a literary dialect strongly influenced by Ionic forms, especially those found in Homer (and, in the case of Thucydides, Herodotus). As a result, these Attic authors frequently used -σσ- in their writing. The comic playwright, Aristophanes, is one of the first surviving Classical Attic authors to consistently favour -ττ- forms.[157] There is also more -ττ- than -σσ- in the writings of other 5th- and 4th-century prose writers such as the Attic orators, Plato and Xenophon.[158] It seems, then, that -ττ- was the preferred form in everyday spoken Attic and dominated over -σσ- in the Attic writers of the Classical period, but only those writers who were not influenced by Ionic.

In the development of the Hellenistic Koine, -σσ- came to be preferred over -ττ-. Because -ττ- was less common in the majority of dialects (including Ionic), the more

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[155] Deferrari 1916: 1

[156] Buck 1955: 70; Schmid 1889: 83; Deferrari 1916: 1; Threatte 1980: 536-541

[157] Schmid 1889: 83. Buck 1933: 21 suggests that the -ττ- Attic form was originally considered something of a "provincialism" and avoided by the earliest Attic writers for this reason.

[158] As a point of comparison, the following percentages of -ττ- (over -σσ-) in relevant examples is observed – Euripides: 0,5%; Thucydides: 11%; Plato: 94%, Xenophon: 86%; The Attic orators: 93%. (Statistics from TLG *Text Search Tool*)

widespread -σσ- spelling seems to have been preferred as a more "pan-Greek" form than the dialect-specific -ττ-.[159] Somewhat unexpectedly, early Hellenistic writers like Polybius, Strabo and Philodemus maintained the Attic preference for -ττ- in their writing. Schmid, however, suggests that there is evidence that -σσ- was actually more common in the spoken language at this period (and other testimonies agree with this), but adds that there is already evidence here for the Attic version having a more prestigious status among educated writers.[160]

By the time of Achilles Tatius, Atticism was well established among the elite writers and so one actually finds high numbers of -ττ- in published literature (usually equalling or surpassing instances of -σσ-). But two important sources point to -σσ- still being the everyday spoken Koine norm. The first is the language of the New Testament and early Christian writers (which is mostly non-Atticist in nature). As already alluded to, while there is some small evidence of -ττ- in these writings, -σσ- is by far the norm.[161]

The second source of evidence is the documentary papyri of the Roman (and later) periods. These non-literary papyrus documents show variation between the two forms, but again -σσ- is by far more dominant and the variation that exists has some regularity.[162] Nouns usually prefer the non-Attic -σσ- form; so γλῶσσα, θάλασσα, θρίσσα and πίσσα are the norm. In the verbs, there is more variation; with πράσσω, φυλάσσω, τάσσω and ἀλλάσσω sharing equal prevalence with their -ττ- counterparts. -σσ-, however, shows a dominance, at least for some of the verbs, in magical papyri.[163] So it would seem that while -ττ- was not absent from the papyri, -σσ- was the more "natural" form and -ττ- might be present either as a result of Atticism or individual preference for a particular word by certain scribes.

Based on this evidence, the choice of -ττ- over -σσ- does indeed meet my second set of criteria for a form to be considered as Atticist. The -ττ- form was the one preferred by

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[159] Bubenik 1993: 12-13
[160] Schmid 1889: 84
[161] A cursory search on the TLG gives a basic idea of this norm. 93% of potential examples show -σσ- rather than -ττ-. For examples and discussion of exceptions see Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961:13 and Robertson 1934: 218.
[162] Deferrari 1916: 1; Gignac 1976: 145-154
[163] Gignac 1976: 145-154

Attic speakers of the 5th and 4th centuries BC as evidenced by inscriptions and much of the literature. The -σσ- form had widely replaced it in the Koine and therefore the choice for an author to use -ττ- in preference to -σσ- can be seen as a conscious decision to Atticise his language. I will be treating the -ττ-/-σσ- marker as having a simple X : Y pattern of use.[164]

4.2.3 Ancient Testimony

In addition to the direct evidence of -ττ- being an Atticist marker which I have described, there is also evidence that people during the period of the Second Sophistic recognised -ττ- as a form of Atticism.

Schmid's suggestion that the speakers of Classical Attic rejected -σσ- because of their dislike of the hissing s-sound seems an unlikely explanation from modern linguistic standards. But there is evidence that there was a perceived negative attitude towards the hissing sound of sigma in some circles in ancient times. The writers of old comedy are reputed to have mocked the tragedy writers (especially Euripides) for their excessive use of the sigma sound (a practice called "sigmatism").[165] The focus was not exclusively on words which took -σσ- in place of -ττ- but on a general excessive use of sigma throughout a work.[166] It has been shown (by Scott) that the tragedy writers did not actually use the sigma sound more than other writers.[167] But it is possible that their continued use of -σσ- in words where speakers of contemporary Attic used -ττ- may have enhanced the negative reputation of the tragedy writers by the comic playwrights who followed them. On this point, see further discussion regarding the passage in Eustathius below.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (often seen as the father of rhetorical Atticism), in his work *De Compositione Verborum*, discusses the nature of and perceived aesthetic attitudes towards the different Greek phonemes. He says of the sound of σ [s]:

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[164] Detailed analysis of the use of this form in Attic and Koine texts shows that use of -σσ- sometimes ocurrs in Attic writers and -ττ- sometimes occurs in Koine texts. This means that technically this could be treated as having an Xy : xY pattern of use. I am treating it as a simple X : Y variable because of the overwhelming number of -ττ- tokens in Attic texts and -σσ- in Koine texts.

[165] Scott 1908

[166] Scott 1908: 69

[167] Scott 1908; Clayman 1987

4.1   Dion. Hal. *De Compositione Verborum* (14.106-108)

ἄχαρι δὲ καὶ ἀηδὲς τὸ σ καὶ πλεονάσαν σφόδρα λυπεῖ· θηριώδους γὰρ καὶ ἀλόγου μᾶλλον ἢ λογικῆς ἐφάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ φωνῆς ὁ συριγμός·

s is neither charming nor pleasant and is very offensive when used to excess, for a hiss is felt to be a sound more closely associated with an irrational beast than a rational being. [tr. Usher 1974]

He goes on to claim that ancient writers used the sound sparingly (σπανίως) and some poets composed entire odes lacking in sigmas. He quotes a passage from Pindar, emphasising an early negative attitude towards the sound.

4.2   Dion. Hal. *Comp.* (14.112-113), (quoting Pindar *Frag.* 79a)

πρὶν μὲν εἷρπε σχοινοτένεά τ’ ἀοιδὰ διθυράμβω
καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον ανθρώποις

Before then, the drawn-out dithyramb song,
and false-sounding *san* (σ), came to men [tr. based on Usher 1974]

Of τ [t], Dionysius has less to say, either good or bad. He simply describes it as one of the ἀφώνων ("voiceless" or "mute") sounds that cannot be pronounced on their own, but must be accompanied by other sounds, usually vowels, in order to be heard (Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 14.120-124).[168] Of τ and its kindred, θ [tʰ] and δ [d] (all produced in the same place in the mouth), τ is the worst as it is pronounced with even less "breath" than δ (which is voiced) or θ (which is aspirated) and so it is one of the more inferior sounds by Dionysius' standards, although it is poor through lack of force (δύναμις) rather than through a fault of its own sound, as was the case with the unpleasant hiss (συριγμός) of σ (*Comp.* 14.132-139; 145-149).

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[168] Dionysius divides the phonetic sounds of Greek into *vowels* (φωνήεντα), *semi-vowels* (ἡμίφωνα) and *mutes* (ἄφωνα). *Semi-vowels* include consonants which have some kind of fricative or "whirring and hissing sounds" (represented by λ, μ, ν, ρ, σ, ζ, ξ and ψ), whereas the *mutes* are stop consonants. He describes three types of the latter for each position in the mouth: *smooth* (ψιλά) (what modern phoneticists call *voiceless:* κ, π, τ), rough or "hairy" (δασέα) (modern *aspirated:* θ, φ, χ) and intermediate (or modern *voiced:* β, γ, δ). For Dionysius, the more the phoneme can produce an audible sound of its own, the better. So *vowels* are best, then *semi-vowels*, then *aspirated mutes*, then *voiced mutes* and finally, least attractive, are the *voiceless mutes*. σ, as a *semi-vowel* ought to have had a better reputation than τ, but the perceived ugliness of the hissing sound, appears to have negated the positive position it ought to have held as a *semi-vowel*. (Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 14)

Additional evidence for the ancient attitude towards the sound of σ is found in a commentary on *The Iliad* by the Byzantine scholar, Eustathius of Thessalonica (12th century AD).

4.3   Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (3.96.1-11)

> Αἴλιος δὲ Διονύσιος ἱστορεῖ τοὺς Κωμικοὺς μάλιστα ἐκκλίνειν πᾶν τὸ ἔχον σιγμὸν καὶ ἐξήχησιν καὶ ψόφον, ἃ τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ μάλιστα ἂν ἁρμόττοι. διὸ καὶ διασύροντες τοὺς τραγικοὺς ὡς μὴ τοιούτους προσπαίζουσιν ἐν τῷ "ἔσωσας ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν σιγμάτων Εὐριπίδου". λέγει δὲ καὶ ὅτι Περικλέα φασὶ πρῶτον ἐκκλῖναι τὸν διὰ τοῦ σ σχηματισμὸν τοῦ στόματος ὡς ἀπρεπῆ καὶ πλατύν, γυμναζόμενον ἀεὶ πρὸς κάτοπτρον, καὶ ὅτι Θετταλοὶ καὶ Κιτιεῖς, οὐχ᾿ οἱ κατὰ Φοινίκην, ἀλλ᾿ οἱ περὶ Κύπρον, ὧν πόλις Κίτιον, κληθεῖσα οὕτω, φασίν, ἀπὸ Κιτίου γυναικός τινος, θάλατταν ἔλεγον καὶ <u>πίτταν</u> καὶ <u>καρδιώττειν</u> καὶ <u>Ματταλίαν</u>, καὶ τοιαῦτα ὅσα οὐδαμοῦ Ἀττικὰ νομίζονται, ἀλλὰ τῶν γειτόνων, φησί, Βοιωτῶν, τῷ μήτε Ὅμηρον μήτε τραγικοὺς μήτε Θουκυδίδην ἢ Πλάτωνα κεχρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς.

> Aelius Dionysius records that the comic (poets) especially avoid everything to do with the sibilant (hissing) phoneme, both the pronunciation and the noise, which would be especially suitable in tragedy. For which reason, ridiculing the tragedians for not (being) the same (as them), they mock them with the (proverb) "you saved us from the sigmas of Euripides". (Aelius Dionysius) also claims that it is told that Pericles was the first person to avoid the formation of [s] with the mouth on account of it as unbecoming and vulgar (lit. "broad"), always practising in front of the mirror, and that the Thessalians and Citians – not those around Phoenice but those around Cyprus, whose city is Citium, called this, they say, from some woman named Citium – used to say *thalatta*, *pitta*, *kardiōttein*, and *Mattalia* and as many of such forms as are not considered Attic anywhere but are (characteristic) of their neighbours, the Boeotians, he says, because of the fact that neither Homer, nor the tragic poets, nor Thucydides, nor Plato, made use of them.

In this passage Eustathius claims to be citing the 2nd century AD grammarian, Aelius Dionysius, who had observed that the comic poets shunned the sound of sigma, which was associated with the tragedians and especially Euripides. In particular, he quotes aline found in the comic poets Plato and Eubulus: ἔσωσας ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν σιγμάτων Εὐριπίδου ("You saved us from the sigmas of Euripides").[169]

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[169] This quote is found in: Eubulus *Fr. Dio* (2-3.1); Plato Com. *Fr. Heor.* (7.2) and Plato Com. *Fr* (Kock) (30.2). See Scott 1908 and Clayman 1987 on the question of the use of sigma in the tragedians.

He goes on to suggest that Pericles the Athenian statesman was one of the first to avoid producing an s-sound because of its unbecoming and broad shape and that he used to practice in front of a mirror (in order to learn how to produce a less offensive-looking form). He then claims that the Thessalians and Citians were in the practice of avoiding σ by saying words like θάλατταν, πίτταν, καρδιώττειν and Ματταλίαν. Eustathius further says that these pronunciations originated in Boeotia and are actually not native to Attica, a claim which he defends by pointing out that neither Homer nor the tragedy writers nor Thucydides nor Plato used such words.

While there is no evidence of Aelius Dionysius' version of this story outside of Eustathius' account, we learn a few interesting things from it. Firstly, there was an early perception, going back even to the comedy poets, that over-use of σ was undesirable.[170] The comic poets themselves disapproved of the overuse of σ and avoided it in their own writings.[171] The account that attributes the genesis of the Attic aversion to using σ to Pericles, while almost certainly spurious, shows an attempt to attribute the Attic avoidance of σ (and especially -σσ-) to someone with status and political authority. If this story of Pericles was indeed told by Aelius Dionysius in the 2nd century AD, this attribution must have been prevalent during the Second Sophistic and at the height of the Atticist movement, perhaps as an attempt to legitimise the preference for -ττ- among Atticists.

The next part of Eustathius' account is somewhat peculiar. It is important for the current discussion because here he specifically alludes to using -ττ- in place of -σσ- in certain words, but his facts are in some places murky and in others completely wrong. He attributes the use of words containing -ττ- specifically to the Thessalians and Citians of Cyprus. Thessalian, unlike its sister dialect, Boeotian, does not usually make use of the -ττ- form, although Buck cites some inscriptional evidence that, at least in some

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[170] Except, perhaps, in tragedy. It is unclear whether he approves of the use in tragedy, meaning by ἁρμόττοι that the sound is literally "appropriate" to tragedy or whether he means something softer like "it is characteristic" of tragedy.

[171] A brief search on TLG shows that comedy writers like Aristophanes, Plato, Menander and Eubulus used significantly more -ττ- than -σσ-, whereas Euripides and the other tragedians used significantly more -σσ-.

areas, it may have originally used -ττ- and later changed to -σσ-.[172] It seems unlikely, however, that Eustathius would have known of these few older forms which contradicted the predominant use of -σσ- throughout Thessaly. In addition, I can find no evidence of any Cyprian dialects preferring -ττ-. Eustathius' next comment, that the use of -ττ- originated in Boeotia, is more probable. It is thought by some that Attic originally shared a preference for -σσ- with Ionic but later adopted the -ττ- form from its geographical neighbour (see discussion of the passage from Lucian below).[173] Eustathius' final comments, that the -ττ- form did not originate in Attica, as evidenced by the fact that Homer, the tragedians, Thucydides and Plato avoided them, is problematic, but also interesting. Factually, he is correct that Homer, the tragedians and Thucydides did not use many -ττ- forms but Plato actually did use -ττ- more often than -σσ-.[174] The use of Homer as an example of Attic is also striking to the modern reader who would not consider Homer's dialect Attic (although it was not uncommon for ancient grammarians to include him in Atticist lexica).[175] The conclusion from this is that the ancients were aware that there were differences in the degree to which certain authors used -ττ- or -σσ-, which were correct in some cases, but not others.

The sophist Lucian, writing at the height of the Second Sophistic (2nd century AD), although prone to some Atticism in his own works, satirises the practice of Atticism on more than one occasion. In one of his treatises, he describes a hypothetical court case in which the letter Sigma (σ) brings a charge against the letter Tau (τ) for establishing himself where he did not belong and for ousting Sigma from his hereditary words:

4.4   Lucian *Judicium Vocalium* (2.1-4)

Μέχρι μέν, ὦ Φωνήεντα δικασταί, ὀλίγα ἠδικούμην ὑπὸ τουτουὶ τοῦ Ταῦ καταχρωμένου τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ καταίροντος ἔνθα μὴ δεῖ, οὐ βαρέως ἔφερον τὴν βλάβην … ἀναγκαίως αὐτὸ εὐθύνω νῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἀμφότερα εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν.

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[172] Buck 1955: 70; Horrocks 2014 gives a (West) Thessalian text with the form πεττάρουν for τέτταρων dated to the 3rd C BC. Bubenik 1993: 13 also seems to attribute the -ττ- version to "Parts of…Thessaly" but without an example as evidence.

[173] Horrocks 2014: 22; Schmid 1889: 84

[174] He must mean Plato the philosopher and not Plato the comic poet because the authority of the former would be much more significant.

[175] On this, see Dickey 2007: 9

Vowels of the jury, as long as the wrongs that I underwent at the hands of this fellow Tau through his misusing my property and establishing himself where he had no business were but slight, I did not take the injury to heart … [but] now I am compelled to call him to account before you, who know both sides. [tr. Harmon 1913]

4.5   Lucian *Jud. Voc.* (6.7-8)

ὀνομάτων μὲν καὶ ῥημάτων ἀπελάσαν πατρῴων, ἐκδιῶξαν δὲ ὁμοῦ συνδέσμων ἅμα καὶ προθέσεων

Not only ousting me from my hereditary nouns and verbs, but banishing me likewise from my conjunctions and prepositions [tr. Harmon 1913]

While the accusations are not limited to cases of words where -ττ- replaces -σσ-, many of his examples are just such words: e.g. τέτταρα, πίττα, βασίλιττα, μέλιττα, θάλαττα, and πάτταλος (*Jud. Voc.* 7-9). Sigma attributes the encroachment of Tau on his words as having originated in Boeotia by the comic poet Lysimachus. He says that this man claimed to be from Attica but concluded that he must be Boeotian, thus attributing the origins of the τ for σ replacement to Boeotia and not Attica (Lucian *Jud.Voc.* 7). This is an interesting take on the phenomenon since here it is Tau and not Sigma who is the offender. Lucian's satire seems to be criticising the Atticists for reintroducing -ττ- into words in which -σσ- is felt to be the more natural version:

4.6   Lucian *Jud. Voc.* (3.6-7)

οὐχ ὁρῶ τίνα τρόπον αἱ συντάξεις τὰ νόμιμα, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐτάχθη τὰ κατ᾽ ἀρχάς, ἕξουσιν

I do not see how society is to keep the orthodox distinctions of rank which were fixed for it in the beginning [tr.Harmon 1913]

Like Eustathius, Lucian also claims that the use of -ττ- is not even truly Attic but was an unwanted incursion introduced from Boeotia. As mentioned above, this may be historically accurate. Horrocks suggests that the presence of -ττ- in Attic and not Ionic points to the form having been introduced into Attica because of its geographical proximity to Boeotia and separation from many Ionic-speaking areas.[176]

All these passages which I have cited show that there was an awareness in ancient times of the tension between the use of -ττ- and -σσ- in different varieties of Greek. Differing

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[176] Horrocks 2014: 22

opinions about the variation seem to have been prevalent: some seeing -σσ- as the offending and unpleasant-sounding form, but others -ττ- as the usurper.

For a more direct account of the ancient view of the phenomenon, the Atticist lexicographers give a more prescriptive analysis of what was considered Atticising or not and can confirm the reputation of -ττ- as the Atticising form.

Moeris gives the following entries as examples of Attic versus non-Attic forms:

   4.7   Moeris *Atticista*

(β.25) βήττειν Ἀττικοί· βήσσειν Ἕλληνες.
       The Attic speakers (say) *bēttein*; the Greeks *bēssein*

(η.10) ἥττω Ἀττικοί· ἥσσονα κοινόν.
       The Attic speakers (say) *hēttō*; the Greeks *hēssona*

(θ.14) θράττει Ἀττικοί· ταράσσει Ἕλληνες.
       The Attic speakers (say) *thrattei*; the Greeks *tarassei*

(ν.9) ναυττιᾶν ἐν τοῖς β΄ ττ Ἀττικοί· ναυσιᾶν Ἕλληνες.
       The Attic speakers (say) *nauttian* in which there is *-tt-*; the Greeks *nausian*

It is interesting that most of his examples involve more than just a -ττ-/-σσ- variation. I suspect that he thought it unnecessary to spell out every word for which the Attic writers used -ττ- but the (other) Greeks -σσ-, as this variation was well known. Instead he chooses to focus on forms which exhibited additional differences in the different dialects such as the -ω versus -ονα ending of ἥττω, the θρα- versus ταρα- beginning of θράττει and the single -σ- versus -ττ- of ναυττιᾶν.

Similarly, Phrynichus has the following prescriptive examples in his Atticist work, *The Eclogae*:

   4.8   Phrynichus *Eclogae (familia T)*

(201.1) Γλωττίδας αὐλῶν καὶ ὑποδημάτων, οὐ γλωσσίδας.
       The mouthpieces of flutes and shoelaces is *glōttidas* not *glōssidas*

(70.1) Γλωττοκομεῖον, οὐ γλωσσόκομον.
       Glōttokomeion (a casket), not *glōssokomon*

Based on the recognition of the rivalry between τ and σ as described in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Lucian and Eustathius and on the prescriptions given by the lexicographers, one can conclude that -ττ- in place of -σσ- was viewed as a form of Atticism by ancient writers and that it meets my third criterion for identification as an Atticist tendency.

On the evidence above, I can conclude, then, that the -ττ- over -σσ- alternation fulfils all my criteria for identification as an Atticising marker. Evidence of the form in Achilles' text, therefore, points to Atticist intent on his part. In what follows, I present the details and discussion of the statistics relating to Achilles' use of this variation.

4.3 Use in Achilles' Text

In Ebbe Vilborg's introduction to his edition, he has a specific discussion of words containing -ττ- and -σσ-. He explains how he dealt with cases where different branches of the textual tradition differed. Variation between -ττ- and -σσ- (where one form exists in one branch of the manuscript tradition and the other in the other for the same token) is unfortunately rather great. This is especially the case with the lemma for "sea" or "ocean", θάλαττα/θάλασσα. Vilborg resisted the urge to generalise one way or the other (as had sometimes been done by earlier editors; Gaselee, for example, generalised θάλασσα throughout). But Vilborg considered it "in point of principle…wrong to write *σσ* where *all* our MSS give *ττ*."[177]

My statistics will mainly focus on the number of lemmas and the number of separate tokens containing either the -ττ- or -σσ- form. Based on Vilborg's edition (run through Watt's *Concordance* programme), I found 243 individual tokens containing either -ττ- or -σσ- in Achilles' text. These tokens belong to 52 different lemmas. 11 of these, however, are not relevant to my discussion as they are words that always contain the given spelling and are not known to vary between dialects. These examples include proper nouns such as Ἀττικὸν, Νάρκισσος, Ὀδυσσεὺς and other rare or dialect-specific words (φοινίσσω, μειλίσσω, πατάσσω, (περι)πτύσσω, τυφλώττω, σφάττω, τέττιξ, and ψιττακός). This left me with a total of 223 tokens of the variant in 41 different lemmas.

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[177] Vilborg 1955: lxxxvi (emphasis original). Gaselee's edition is the Loeb edition (1917).

28 are always spelled with -ττ-, 8 always spelled with -σσ- and 5 alternate between the two spellings. The table below shows this data for the 41 relevant lemmas.

Table 4-1 Number of -ττ- vs -σσ- Forms in Achilles Tatius

	-ττ-	%	-σσ-	%	Total
Total lemmas	28 + 5*	80	8 + 5*	32	41
Total tokens	122	55	101	45	223

*tokens found with both forms

The general pattern shows that Achilles alternates between -ττ- and -σσ-. On the whole, he has a bias towards -ττ- forms. For both lemmas and tokens, -ττ- has the higher number, although while the difference for lemmas is very great (a ratio of 80:32), the difference in total number of tokens is smaller (a ratio of 55:45). Part of the reason for this discrepancy is that the lemma meaning "sea" (θάλασσα) occurs 87 times in the text and is more often spelled with -σσ- than -ττ-.

As I have already cautioned, the fact that we do not have Achilles' original text must be kept in mind and some variation may be attributable to the manuscript-writers' own intervention. Because of this, I have gone through Vilborg's edition and searched for all examples of -ττ-/-σσ- where the manuscript tradition varies (i.e. where one family or some manuscripts show -ττ- and others -σσ- for the same token). The table below shows the statistics with all uncertain tokens removed. The remaining instances are those which have either -ττ- or -σσ- consistently in all manuscripts. As one can see, although the results are somewhat different, the basic trend (more instances off -ττ- as opposed to -σσ-) continues, the ratio becoming 59:41 instead of 55:45.

Table 4-2 Number of -ττ- vs -σσ- Forms Excluding MSS Variation

	-ττ-	%	-σσ-	%	Total
Total tokens	122	55	101	45	223
Total excluding inconsistent forms	101	59	70	41	171

The conclusion from these statistics is that Achilles Tatius is neither a pure Atticist nor a non-Atticist with regards to the -ττ-/-σσ- marker. He has a slight preference for -ττ- which seems to indicate a desire to Atticise but either he does not feel the need to do so consistently or he is not very good at it and sometimes forgets to replace -ττ- with -σσ-.

It is interesting that while for most lemmas he is at least consistent for all instances of that word, 28 of which are always spelled with -ττ- and only 8 with -σσ-, there are 5 in which he is inconsistent even within a single lemma. The consistent lemmas could point him holding that not all -σσ- words needed Atticising with -ττ-, and he may have been under the impression that some of the words for which he kept -σσ- were never spelled with -ττ- in Classical Attic. But for the words where he alternates, this explanation cannot apply.

The table below shows the distribution for the lemmas which vary within Achilles' text. The figures in brackets exclude the cases which vary between manuscripts and are less reliable.

Table 4-3 Lemmas with Spelling Variation within Achilles' Text [178]

Lemma	-ττ-	%	-σσ-	%
φυλάττω/σσω	7 (6)	78 (86)	2 (1)	22 (14)
γλῶττα/σσα	12 (10)	80 (77)	3 (3)	20 (23)
περιττόν/σσόν	3 (3)	75 (75)	1 (1)	25 (25)
θάλαττα/σσα	16 (9)	18 (15)	71 (50)	82 (85)
τέτταρες/τέσσαρες	5 (4)	29 (44)	12 (5)	71 (56)

The first three words follow Achilles' general pattern in which -ττ- takes precedence over -σσ-. The last two, however, represent anomalies in which the -σσ- spelling is more prevalent. As mentioned earlier, Vilborg found it difficult to accept earlier assumptions that all anomalies were errors and refused to generalise where all manuscripts concurred on a particular form. For the lemma θάλασσα, if I exclude tokens that do vary between the manuscripts there is still a ratio of 15:85. There are at least 9 instances where -ττ- is present in all the manuscripts (along with 50 where -σσ- is invariant) and I suspect that Vilborg is right in assuming that, in the original text, Achilles must have had some alternation between the two forms.

4.3.1 Papyri

As discussed, the variation in the manuscript tradition is something of a problem for my analysis of Achilles' language. Vilborg's strict rules in compiling his edition ameliorate

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[178] In all tables of statistics, unless stated otherwise, figures in brackets represent the number of tokens which are invariant in the manuscripts and therefore likely to be original.

this somewhat, but it is also useful to examine what is found in the papyrus fragments which were composed much closer to the date of the original text than the manuscripts. I found the following:

In the Robinson-Cologne Papyrus (Π^4) which is the longest papyrus fragment of Achilles, there are 6 tokens of words containing either -ττ- or -σσ-. Of them, 5 have -ττ- and 1 has -σσ-:

> (3.18.5) ΔΕΔΙΤ[ΤΟΜΕΝΟΣ]
> (3.20.2) ΘΑΛΑΤΤΗΙ
> (3.22.6) ΘΑΤΤΟΝ
> (3.23.5) ΘΑΛΑΤΤΑ
> (3.25.4) [ΟΡ]ΥΤΤΕΙ
> (3.20.6) ΤΕ[Σ]ΣΑΡΩΝ.

For δεδιτ[τόμενος], the end of the word from the second -τ- onwards is missing, but the presence of the first -τ- makes -ττ- likely. In τε[σ]σάρων, the first -σ- is missing due to a lacuna in the papyrus. The second -σ- is not entirely clear, but is probably correct, and this reading agrees with all manuscripts. The papyrus forms agree with that given in Vilborg's edition in all cases except for θαλάττηι and θάλαττα where not all manuscripts agree. The papyrus agrees with the majority (family α and codex F but family β has -σσ- in both cases). This might suggest that, for these instances, the -σσ- form in β might have been a later corruption, but I can only suggest this for these two instances of the θάλασσα word. There are plenty of other instances in which α and F do have -σσ-, either in agreement or disagreement with β.

In the other papyrus fragments, passages containing extant -ττ- or -σσ- are surprisingly rare. In Π^1, there is a token of ΕΦΥΛΑΣΣΟΝ (at 2.8.1), with -σσ- in disagreement with Vilborg and all the manuscripts. ΕΝ[ΑΛΛΑΣ]ΣΕΙ also occurs (2.9.1), which is the form that Vilborg uses, although here he chose to use the Π^1 form in favour of that found in all the manuscripts, διαλλάσσει. The middle part of the word is missing in the papyrus (as a result of the end of the column having broken off) but the second -σ-, which starts on a new line, is clear. Considering that the manuscripts also have a form in -σσ-, that reading seems reasonable. In Π^7, the word ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ appears once (at 4.14.4). This form agrees with Vilborg and all the manuscripts, providing evidence for early cases of the -σσ- spelling of θάλαττα. In sum, it is hard to make any absolute conclusions from

the papyrus evidence for -ττ- versus -σσ- because the examples are so few. In some places the papyri agree with some or all the manuscripts, in others they differ. What is significant is that they do not show exclusive use of -ττ- or -σσ-. This substantiates the assumption that variation existed from the earliest version of the text.

4.3.2 A Note on Names and Other Proper Nouns

For the most part, proper nouns are not relevant to the question of Atticism. There are a number of personal and place names that one would not expect to be affected by the variant such as the word for the adjective for something that is Attic, which appears once in the text as Ἀττικόν (2.2.3).

The name of the epic hero, Ὀδυσσεύς (which occurs once in the novel at 2.23.3), is almost exclusively spelled with a -σσ- in literature. Interestingly, it does occur in early Attic inscriptions, especially on early vases, as Ὀλυττεύς, Ὀλυσσεύς and Ὀλυσεύς but the spelling with -δ- unanimously takes -σσ-.[179] A full search of the TLG shows only variant spellings with a single -σ- (found even in Homer) and very few examples of Ὀλυσσεύς, Οὐλισές and Οὐλιξεύς (cf. Latin *Ulixes*, *Ulysses*) and there are no examples with -(τ)τ-. Achilles' spelling, therefore, is unremarkable for Greek literature. According to Threatte, the etymology of the name is unclear, but it is very likely of a non-Greek origin.[180]

A far more interesting example is the adjective for someone or something from Thessaly, which is typically spelled Θεσσαλός (-ή, -όν) in most dialects, including Thessalian, but is regularly given as Θετταλός (-ή, -όν) in Attic inscriptions and literature.[181] In Achilles' text, it appears 4 times in total, always with the Attic -ττ- spelling (at 5.17.5; 5.22.2; 5.26.12 and 6.16.5). What is especially interesting is the context in which it appears. The word is said twice by Leucippe and twice by Melite of Leucippe. On all 4 occasions in which it occurs, it is used of Leucippe's fake identity as a Thessalian woman. It may be that Achilles has simply preferred the Attic form as he does elsewhere with -ττ-, but it is possible that by having Leucippe say Θετταλὴ τὸ

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[179] Threatte 1980: 484, 540
[180] Threatte 1980: 484
[181] Threatte 1980: 328; 450-451; The Attic Orators exclusively use -ττ- which appears 64 times in their works.

γένος ("I am a Thettalian by race"), Achilles is hinting at her deception. It is unlikely that a true Thessalian would use -ττ- for -σσ-.

Finally, the name Melite, though spelled with a single -τ- in Vilborg's edition, should also be considered here. Vilborg uses the form Μελίτη throughout as it is the spelling found consistently in manuscript family β, but family α regularly has Μελίττη instead.[182] Vilborg's decision for the single -τ- is backed up by the occurrence of ΜΕΛΙΤΗ twice in papyrus fragment Π[3] (a third potential token in Π[3] has a lacuna right where the T or TT would be, and it is unclear). Whether Achilles used double or single -τ- in his original text does not matter so much as that all evidence points to him avoiding the non-Attic form of the same name, Μέλισσα. Threatte identifies Μελίτη as a common form at Athens.[183] *The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* in Attica shows 6 instances of Μελίτη, 23 of Μελίττα and only 2 of Μέλισσα.[184] For this name, then, whether with a single or double -τ-, Achilles also shows an Attic-leaning preference.

4.4 Interim Conclusion

In conclusion, an analysis of the -ττ- versus -σσ- variation in Achilles Tatius shows that he was interested in Atticism but by no means thorough or consistent about it. Although he showed a strong tendency to Atticise (to the point where -ττ- occurs more frequently than -σσ-) it was not a strong enough tendency to eliminate all or even most instances of -σσ-. Especially surprising is his decision to prefer the -σσ- in the case of the lemma θάλαττα, while still occasionally changing it to -ττ-.

This particular phonetic variation is only the first piece in my analysis of Atticism in Achilles Tatius and while it is an interesting starting point, it still remains to be seen where this fits in with other Atticist tendencies that Achilles may or may not have exhibited.

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[182] O'Sullivan 1980: 251; Vilborg 1962: 98
[183] Threatte 1980: 516
[184] Osborne & Bryne 1994: 302-303

5. -ρρ- versus -ρσ-

The second phonetic Atticist feature to consider is one which superficially resembles the -ττ- versus -σσ- alternation. As with the -ττ-/-σσ- words, there is also a group of words in Greek which take a -ρρ- spelling in some dialects but -ρσ- in others. This marker is usually given alongside -ττ-/-σσ- in lists of Attic or Atticising features, but the source of the variation and its distribution is somewhat different. The -ρρ- form is an Attic peculiarity but also observed in Euboean, Arcadian and a few other sub-dialects such as Theran and Elean.[185] -ρσ- is found in all other dialects.

5.1 Development of the Variation

The phonetic explanation for this variation is fairly straightforward. Forms in -ρσ- are the older forms and originate from words containing *rs* [rs] in Proto-Indo-European (PIE). Dialects which develop the -ρρ- spelling have undergone a process of assimilation by which the -σ- sound, an alveolar fricative [s], merges with the following alveolar trill [r].[186] The phonetic process of assimilation is common in Greek in various situations. More frequently, the first element assimilates to the second in what is known as regressive assimilation (e.g. *γέ-γραφ-μαι > γέγραμμαι). In the case of -ρσ- > -ρρ-, progressive assimilation takes place, in which the second element accommodates to the first. There are various types of assimilation, and often only certain elements of a sound change (e.g. *ἐν-βάλλω > ἐμβάλλω, in which the alveolar place of articulation of the nasal [n] sound is assimilated to a nasal bilabial [m] in line with the bilabial position of [b]).[187] But in the change from -ρσ- to -ρρ-, the place of articulation (tongue against the alveolar ridge) is already the same and so assimilation takes place with respect to the manner of articulation from a fricative to a trill, resulting in an instance of complete assimilation in which both sounds end up being the same.

The change of an s-sound to an r-sound is itself a relatively common linguistic phenomenon, known as rhotacism. This phenomenon was widespread in Latin, in which original intervocalic PIE *s* frequently became *r* (cf. Greek γένεσις vs Latin *genus, generis*; note that rhotacism does not take place in Latin when the [s] is word-final,

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[185] Buck 1955: 69

[186] Buck 1955: 69. For a phonetic description of ρ, see Allen 1987: 41-45; on σ, see Allen 1987: 45-46

[187] Lundquist 2013: 186 (EAGLL)

although sometimes this happens later by analogy: *honos* becomes *honor* from *honoris*). The process of rhotacism is also observed in the Eritrean Ionic dialect and some specialised Sanskrit contexts. There are relics of it in English irregular pairs like *was-were* and *lost-forlorn*.[188] The change from -ρσ- to -ρρ- is probably not rhoticism itself, but rather assimilation as mentioned previously. But the existence of rhoticism of [s] to [r] as a phonetic tendency may have encouraged the assimilative process in Attic.

In addition to this, it has been seen that the [s]-sound was apparently undesirable to certain of the Greeks. Many of the [s] sounds preserved in Classical Greek tend to have been innovations (not derived not PIE **s*), while in most cases of PIE **s*, the [s] sound was lost or changed. Between and before vowels, for example, PIE **s* became an [h] sound in Greek. Word-initially, this generally developed into the so-called *spiritus asper* (an [h]-like aspiration). Word-internally, it was normally lost, (cf. Latin *septem* vs Greek ἑπτά [hepta]). Before semi-vowels or liquids, PIE **s* likewise became [h], which also resulted in a *spiritus asper* or was lost (e.g. PIE **srew* > G. ῥέω *rheō* cf. Vedic *sravanti*; PIE **sneg^wh* > G. νείφει cf. English *snow*). PIE **s* was usually preserved, however, before or after a voiceless stop or word-finally.[189]

The weak position of the *s*-sound in Classical Greek probably played an additional part in encouraging the development of -ρρ- from -ρσ-. This seems to have been the case especially in Attic (a fact corroborated by the ~~Attic~~ dislike of the [s] sound attested in Eustathius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus).

Although most cases of -ρρ-/-ρσ- are derived from words containing PIE **rs*, not all cases of PIE **rs* are relevant to the -ρρ-/-ρσ- dichotomy. In some cases, the -σ- was lost completely (in all dialects) and -ρ- alone preserved along with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, e.g. the aorist of φθείρω: ἔ-φθερ-σα > ἔφθειρα.[190] Such words, however, are not significant for this discussion as synchronically they are opaque and they do not form part of the set of words I am considering.

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[188] Buck 1955: 133; Sihler 1995: 172
[189] Sihler 1995: 168-170
[190] Buck 1933: 152; Sihler 1995: 218

Additionally, not all the words which developed -ρσ- in other dialects always assimilated to -ρρ- in Attic. There are a number of examples, especially of nouns, in which -ρσ- is preserved even in Attic, usually as a result of analogical levelling. An example of this is the dative plural form θηρσί of the word θήρ ("wild animal"). In this instance, the preservation of -σ- is probably due to the fact that -σι is a common dative plural suffix and so the -σ- was either preserved even in Attic or reintroduced to Attic by analogy with other -σι datives (e.g. παισί, ναυσί). Similarly, the abstract noun κάθαρσις probably retains its -σ- by analogy with other abstract nouns using the derivative morpheme -σις (e.g. ποίησις, δόασις).[191]

The list of words containing the -ρρ-/-ρσ- variation, therefore, is more limited than that with the -ττ-/-σσ- variation and, significantly, not all examples of -ρσ- are necessarily un-Attic. In addition, there are a number of cases of -ρρ- which originate not from *rs but from Pre-Greek *r^h, derived in turn from PIE *sr. As mentioned, words originating with the sequence *sr, tend to form [r^h] word-initially and [r] alone word-internally. Verbs with ῥ [r^h] (from original *sr) develop -ρρ- when an augment or verbal prefix is added.[192] For example, ῥέω (from PIE *srew-) forms the aorist ἔρρεον and the compound καταρρέω. These cases of -ρρ- are found across all dialects and again not relevant for the question of -ρρ- versus -ρσ- as a marker of Atticism.

The -ρρ-/-ρσ- variation, therefore, has a different sort of history to the -ττ-/-σσ- marker. Words which do show this variation generally developed by the process of assimilation in Attic, during which the -σ- became -ρ- by assimilation with the preceding -ρ-. I shall now present evidence for considering the choice of -ρρ- over -ρσ- as an example of Atticism (for the words in which it is relevant).

5.2 Evidence for -ρρ- (over -ρσ-) as a Marker of Atticism

5.2.1 Modern Scholarship

In Horrocks' list of Atticist tendencies, his first example is "-ττ- and -ρρ- for -σσ- and -ρσ- in the relevant words, e.g. θάλαττα…and θάρρος."[193] It is also the second

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[191] Buck 1933: 152; Buck 1955: 69; Sihler 1995: 218
[192] Sihler 1995: 170-171
[193] Horrocks 2014: 138

example in Kim's list.[194] Blass, Debrunner and Funk mention the -ρσ- and -ρρ-alternation immediately after their discussion of -σσ-/-ττ- saying "[t]he situation is the same as the case of σσ-ττ".[195] Swain also gives -ρρ- as an Atticist example, describing references to it in Lucian's *Judicium Vocalium* as "genuinely Atticising forms".[196]

The variation, however, does not seem to hold the same level of importance as the -ττ-/-σσ- one. Schmid includes the marker in his "Overview of the elements of Atticist literary language" under the heading "Phonology: True or perceived Atticisms which the Koine literature also has occasionally" alongside ττ for σσ and other phonetic variations.[197] But he has far less discussion on the variation and seems to only address its use in Philostratus II's work.[198] Anderson does not mention it at all and Deferrari fails to discuss it in his analysis of Atticism in Lucian's verbs.

5.2.2 Use of the Marker by Attic Writers and Evidence for the Alternative

Historical evidence seems to corroborate the suggestion that the -ρρ- form is more properly Attic and therefore a potential target for Atticists. Attic inscriptions from early on already show the -ρρ- version as their preference, -ρσ- appearing "only in certain special cases".[199] As with the -ττ-/-σσ- marker, however, there is much preservation of -ρσ- among the early Attic writers who were influenced by other dialects (e.g. tragedy writers and Thucydides).[200] In the development of the Hellenistic Koine, the Attic -ρρ- forms were rejected in favour of the more "Pan-Greek" -ρσ- spellings.[201] In my discussion of some of the examples in Achilles Tatius' text, I will comment in more detail on which authors of different periods preferred the -ρσ- spelling and which the -ρρ- of specific words. It will be seen that there is a tendency for Attic writers and those with a more Attic-leaning preference to favour -ρρ- while those who are explicitly non-Attic-leaning prefer -ρσ-. But there is sometimes mixture or inconsistency especially during the Koine period.

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[194] Kim 2014: 470
[195] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 18
[196] Swain 1996
[197] Schmid 1896: 579
[198] Schmid 1896: 13
[199] Threatte 1980: 534
[200] Sihler 1995: 218
[201] Bubenik 1993: 13

Regarding New Testament practice, Blass, Debrunner and Funk specifically make reference to ἄρσην (for which the -ρσ- variant "appears to be the rule"), and θάρσος (which is the normal form along with θάρσει and θαρσεῖτε). Regarding the latter, they point out that θάρρειν (with -ρρ-) is exceptionally the norm in Paul's letters and in Hebrews. They also give πόρρω(θεν) (with -ρρ-) as an exception because "πόρσω was not Ionic". πυρρός (meaning *red*) also takes -ρρ- in the New Testament "as in the LXX…, papyri… and Delphic inscriptions."[202]

Examples of words with this marker are rare in the Roman and Byzantine papyri and surprisingly have the -ρρ- spelling more often than -ρσ-, though both do occur.[203] An interesting comment is made by Allen in his discussion of the pronunciation of ρ and the -ρρ-/-ρσ- alternation:

> Koine influence soon tends to restore ρσ [where ρρ had been prevalent in the Attic period]; the restoration, however, was never complete… This dialectal feature of Attic was perhaps felt to be less provincial than the ττ discussed above…since it was shared not with Boeotian but sporadically with various other dialects.[204]

The suggestion is that because -ρρ- was already more widespread (and not associated with the specific adjacent regions of Attica and Boeotia) it was less strictly replaced by Koine writers than -ττ-. If -ρρ- was more easily accepted by Koine writers, use of it during the Second Sophistic is less strong a case for Atticism, as not everyone would have seen it as particularly Attic. This might explain why modern authors place less emphasis on -ρρ- as an important marker of Atticism in comparison with -ττ-, although there is sufficient evidence from actual use to consider it a valid instantiation of the phenomenon.

5.2.3 Ancient Testimony

Despite the weaker case for -ρρ- as an example of Atticism, there are a number of ancient sources which give either overt or implied testimony that the preference for -ρρ- over -ρσ- was considered an Attic, and therefore Atticist, marker. Some of the passages relating to the -ττ- over -σσ- variation are also relevant here. In particular, as alluded to

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[202] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 18
[203] Gignac 1976: 142-145
[204] Allen 1987: 45

in the discussion of why the alternation developed, the general negative attitude to the sound of -σ- among Attic speakers and writers (evidenced in the comedy poets, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Eustathius' testimony) probably accounts somewhat for the assimilation of -ρ- to -σ- in the -ρσ- sequence in Attic. (One could imagine that, in the mythical setting in which Pericles promoted -ττ- because of his dislike of the hissing s-sound, he also promoted the preference for -ρρ-).

Dionysius of Halicarnassus does not give as clear an opinion on the sound of ρ [r] as he does for σ [s], but he does address the physical and aesthetic qualities of the two sounds. He describes the production ρ and σ as follows:

5.1   Dion. Hal. *Comp.* (14.91-96)

τὸ δὲ ρ τῆς γλώττης ἄκρας ἀπορριπιζούσης τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐγγὺς τῷ ν ὀδόντων ἀνισταμένης· τὸ δὲ σ τῆς μὲν γλώττης προσαγομένης ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλης, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος διὰ μέσων αὐτῶν φερομένου καὶ περὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας λεπτὸν καὶ στενὸν ἐξωθοῦντος τὸ σύριγμα.

r [is pronounced] by the tip of the tongue releasing the breath in puffs and rising to the palate near the teeth; and σ [is pronounced] by the entire tongue being brought up to the palate and the breath being forced between them and emitting the hissing sound lightly and thinly around the teeth. [tr. Usher 1974]

As both of these sounds are what Dionysius classifies as semi-vowels (ἡμίφωνα), and specifically simple (ἁπλᾶ) semi-vowels, they have a relatively equal value on his scale of better and worse sounds. However, after describing the physical production of the semi-vowels, he goes on to say that not all semi-vowels have "the same power to effect on the ear" (δύναται δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως κινεῖν τὴν ἀκοὴν ἅπαντα; Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 14.100-101). λ [l] is the sweetest (γλυκύτατον) while ρ [r] is the noblest (γενναιότατον). The nasals μ [m] and ν [n] fall somewhere in between but σ [s] is neither charming nor pleasant (ἄχαρι δὲ καὶ ἀηδές). Dionysus goes on to describe (as seen in the previous section) how offensive he perceives the sound of σ. While there is no overt discussion here as to whether -ρρ- is preferable to -ρσ-, or any mention of Atticism, Dionysius reinforces the aesthetic explanation for why one might prefer the former to the later (by the implication that ρ is a nobler sound than σ).

Additionally, in Lucian's *Judicium Vocalium*, there is a more direct reference to the phenomenon. While the treatise primarily entails Sigma accusing Tau of stealing his "native words", he also refers to Sigma having silently endured similar abuse at the hands of other letters, one of which was Rho [ρ].

5.2   Lucian *Jud. Voc.* (9.13-14)

τῷ μὲν γὰρ γείτονί μου Ῥῶ νοσήσαντι συγγνώμη, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ φυτεύσαντί μου τὰς μυῤῥίνας καὶ παίσαντί μέ ποτε ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας ἐπὶ κόῤῥης.

And when my neighbour Rho was ill, I forgave him not only for transplanting my myrtles (*mu<u>rr</u>inas*) into his own garden, but also for cracking my crown (*ko<u>rr</u>ēs*) in a fit of insanity. [tr. Harmon 1913]

Both examples given here of are of -ρσ- words taking on the -ρρ- alternative (μυῤῥίνας for μυρσίνας and κόῤῥης for κόρσης). Lucian, therefore, was aware that this alternation existed and, as with his treatment of -ττ-, sees it as an unnatural incursion, presumably blaming the Atticists for introducing (or reintroducing) the Attic spelling which pushed Sigma out of his natural place.

The Atticist lexicographers and contemporary grammarians give even more direct evidence for the -ρρ-/-ρσ- alternation. Moeris gives a number of examples of words where he considered a -ρρ- spelling the Attic form and a -ρσ- spelling the non-Attic one.

5.3   Moeris *Atticista*

(α.45) ἄῤῥενα Ἀττικοί· ἄρσενα Ἕλληνες.
         The Attic speakers (say) *arrena*; the Greeks *arsena*

(θ.20) θάῤῥος Ἀττικοί· θάρσος Ἕλληνες.
         The Attic speakers (say) *tharros*; the Greeks *tharsos*

(μ.23) μυῤῥίνη Ἀττικοί· μυρσίνη Ἕλληνες.
         The Attic speakers (say) *myrrinē*; the Greeks *myrsinē*

(φ.29) Φερέφατα Ἀττικοί· Φερσεφόνη Ἕλληνες
         The Attic speakers (say) *Pherephata*; the Greeks *Persephonē*

The first of these is an interesting case, since ἄρσενα is the Greek word for the grammatical masculine gender. Elsewhere, Moeris seems to contradict his own rule, however, since there are a number of other places in his work where he discusses the

gender that different words should take. On twelve of these occasions he uses the supposedly non-Attic form of the related word for masculine, ἀρσενικῶς, to refer to the masculine gender of nouns; only three times does he use the Attic ἀρρενικῶς. This might perhaps indicate that Moeris' work was not really intended as a prescriptive guide for how contemporary authors ought to write so much as a descriptive account of Attic versus non-Attic forms.[205] Regardless of his intent, however, there is an awareness that, at least in the words quoted above, -ρρ- was considered the Attic form and -ρσ- non-Attic. The last example is also worth noting as in this case it is not assimilation of -ρσ- to -ρρ- but loss of the -σ- completely. Another relevant example in Moeris is the following:

5.4 Moeris *Atticista*

(χ.2) χέρσον οὐδετέρως Ἀττικοί· χέρσον θηλυκῶς Ἕλληνες.
     The Attic speakers (say) *cherson* as a neuter; the Greeks *cherson* as a feminine

Here, Moeris does not present an alternative Attic spelling in -ρρ-, but rather discusses the fact that the same word (with the same spelling) is considered neuter in gender by Attic writers and feminine by others. This assessment by Moeris seems to be mostly accurate based on actual usage. Although LSJ gives χέρρος as a "later" Attic form, I found very few examples of this spelling on the full TLG corpus. Apart from one example in a fragment of Alcaeus (which, depending on the source of the fragment, may be unreliable), all other cases (only 10 of them) are in texts dating from the 2nd century AD and later, mostly in grammarians, lexicographers and the like. There are well over 1 000 other examples of the word with the -ρσ- spelling among various writers including those who were Attic.

In addition to Moeris, there are also mentions of the -ρρ- for -ρσ- replacement in two contemporary (though not necessarily Atticist) grammarians of the 2nd century AD. Apollonius Dyscolus, in his treatise on adverbs, discusses in technical detail things like accent placements and spellings. The passage cited below comes after a discussion of lengthened vowels and/or doubled consonants in adverbs ending in -ω and the accent placement on such. He mentions a few times that Attic forms were different or certain

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[205] Strobel 2009: 102. This question is further examined in Strobel's unpublished thesis (2011: 169-173).

forms were "more Attic", but here diverges slightly to discuss the derivation of some key words.

5.5   Apollonius Dyscolus *De Adverbiis* (167.1-8)

Ἄλλως τε, ὃν τρόπον παρὰ τὴν τόνῳ δοτικὴν τὸ ὁμόφωνον γίνεται ἐπίρρημα τόνῳ, οὕτως καὶ παρὰ τὴν πόρω δοτικὴν τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐγένετο πόρῳ. ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὁ πλεονασμὸς τῆς δια-λέκτου. διὸ καὶ ὁ <u>πυρρίας</u>· τῇ γὰρ πυρός γενικῇ παρωνόμασται. καὶ ὁ <u>πυρρός</u> τῇδε ἔχει.—Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὡς ἔνιοι παρὰ πρόθεσιν τὴν πρός φασι γεγενῆσθαι, ὥστε ἐν ὑπερβατῷ τοῦ ρ γεγενῆσθαι <u>πόρσω</u>, καὶ μεταθέσει τοῦ ς εἰς τὸ ρ <u>πόρρω</u>. οὐκ ἀήθως δὲ καὶ τὸ ς εἰς τὸ ρ μεταπίπτει, ὡς ἡ <u>μυρσίνη</u> <u>μυρρίνη</u> <u>θαρσεῖν</u> <u>θαρρεῖν</u>.

Besides, in the same way as the homophonic adverb *tonō* derives from the dative *tonōi*, so also analogical *porō* was derived from the dative *porōi*. Perhaps (this is) pleonasm of the dialect. On this account, <u>*purrias*</u> (was) also (formed): for it is derived by a slight change from the genitive *puros*. And <u>*purros*</u> is the same. I am not ignorant that some say that it is derived from the preposition *pros*, so that with the metathesis of *r*, <u>*porsō*</u> came about, and by a change of *s* to *r* (it became) <u>*porrō*</u>. But even the change of *s* to *r* is not unexpected, as is the case with <u>*mursinē*/*murrinē*</u> and <u>*tharsein*/*tharrein*</u>.

The significance of the mention of πρός and the derivation of πόρσω will be discussed later when I look at the lemma in Achilles' text, but what is interesting for now is his mention that the ς (=σ) in πόρσω may be changed to ρ (πόρρω) "as is the case with" words like μυρρίνη from μυρσίνη and θαρρεῖν from θαρσεῖν. He is presenting here a rule in which there is a series of words where σ may be substituted with ρ. He does not explicitly describe the -ρρ- variants as Attic or Atticising, but in the previous paragraph he does explicitly describe πόρρω as a "more Attic" word:

5.6   Apollonius Dyscolus *De Adverbiis* (166.24-25)

Τὸ ἄρα πόρρω ἐκτέταται ὡς Ἀττικώτερον

In addition, *porrō* is lengthened, as in the more Attic (manner)

The second grammarian, Aelius Herodian, has quite a number of passing references to the phenomenon and he does explicitly identify the -ρρ- variation as Attic; I give a few of the more interesting examples here.

5.7 Herodian *De Prosodia Catholica* (15.16-18)

Τὰ εἰς ην ἁπλᾶ ἔχοντα δεδιπλασιασμένον σύμφωνον ὀξύνεται ἐσσήν, ὀσσήν, Τελλήν, βαλλήν πλὴν τοῦ Ἕλλην καὶ ὁ ἥρως καὶ τὸ ἔθνος. τὸ δὲ <u>ἄρρην</u> Ἀττικῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ <u>ἄρσην</u> γέγονε.

The simple (nouns) ending in *-ēn*, which have a doubled consonant, are pronounced with an acute accent on the final syllable: (e.g.) *essēn*, *ossēn*, *Tellēn*, *ballēn*. An exception is *Hellēn* (both the hero and the race). But <u>*arrēn*</u> is derived from <u>*arsēn*</u> in the Attic manner.

In this first example, Herodian overtly describes ἄρρην as an Attic form derived in what he calls "the Attic manner" from (by implication, non-Attic) ἄρσην.

5.8 Herodian *Pros. Cath.* (340.20-21)

ἐπὶ <u>κόρρης</u>, σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς. <u>κόρση</u> γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ <u>κόρση</u> καὶ <u>κόρρη</u> ὡς <u>ἄρσην</u> καὶ <u>ἄρρην</u>.

With reference to <u>*korrēs*</u>: it signifies something relating to the head. For <u>*korsē*</u> (means) "the head", and from <u>*korsē*</u> we also get <u>*korrē*</u>, just as with <u>*arsēn*</u> and <u>*arrēn*</u>.

This is a discussion of the word κόρση which is sometimes synonymous with κεφαλὴ ("head") but can mean related things like "temple" or "hair". Herodian says that from κόρση is derived the alternative spelling κόρρη. Although this time he does not explicitly say that the -ρρ- spelling is Attic, this can be assumed because he compares the example to that of ἄρσην and ἄρρην. As seen above, he had previously called the -ρρ- spelling of this the Attic one.

5.9 Herodian *Pros. Cath.* (507.17-19)

Πᾶν ἐπίρρημα εἰς ω λῆγον παραγωγόν, μὴ Δώριον πρὸ μιᾶς ἔχει τὸν τόνον, ἄνω, κάτω, ἔξω, εἴσω, <u>πρόσω</u> καὶ <u>πόρσω</u> καὶ τροπῇ Ἀττικῇ τοῦ σ εἰς ρ ὡς <u>ἄρσην</u> <u>ἄρρην</u> <u>πόρρω</u>, ἄφνω ·

All the derived adverbs ending in *-ō*, except in Dorian, have the accent on the syllable before: (e.g.) *anō*, *katō*, *exō*, *eisō*, <u>*prosō*</u> and <u>*porsō*</u>, and those formed by the Attic change of *s* to *r* (like that in <u>*arsēn*/*arrēn*</u>) *porrō*, and *aphnō*.

Here, in a list of adverbs, Herodian gives the same pair seen in Apollonius Dyscolus: πρόσω and πόρσω. This is followed by a statement that "the Attic change of σ to ρ (as in ἄρσην and ἄρρην)" creates a third, Attic, spelling: πόρρω.

From these examples, and others not cited, Herodian gives clear evidence that there was a recognised alternation between words spelled with -ρσ- and -ρρ- and that -ρρ- was seen as the Attic version.[206]

Based on the evidence from the literature, therefore, it seems that there was a clear awareness of the existence of the -ρρ-/-ρσ- variation in certain words, and at least some of the writers explicitly recognised the -ρρ- version as the Attic one.

Although not as strong as for -ττ-/-σσ-, there is enough evidence for the marker in modern authors, attestations of the alternation in Attic and non-Attic texts and quotations of words using the variation by ancient authors. It does, therefore, fulfil the criteria to make it a valid example of Atticism, even if it is less strong an example. I will now consider how this variation was represented in Achilles' work.

5.3 Use in Achilles' Text

Vilborg says in the introduction to his edition "what I have said about the choice of *σσ* or *ττ* applies also in other similar cases: variation between *ρρ* and *ρσ*, γίνομαι and γίγνομαι, ἐς and εἰς [and other examples]." He then states in a footnote to this, "*ρρ* [is the spelling] in the word θαρρέω 11 times, *ρσ* other times."[207] It is clear from this that Vilborg applied the same rules to manuscript variations in this spelling as he did for -ττ-/-σσ-, although, as will be seen, there is not actually much manuscript variation with regards to the relevant words.

An initial search of the text on *Concordance* showed 113 tokens of -ρσ- in Achilles' work (belonging to 25 types) and 113 of -ρρ- (belonging to 79 types). A substantial number of these examples, however, are not significant for the question of Atticism as they belong to lemmas which occur exclusively throughout Greek with either -ρρ- or

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[206] Additional examples in Herodian: *Pros. Cath.* (123.7-9, 211.34, 266.11-12 and 340.19-21); *Περὶ παθῶν* (378.3-4); *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (537.9).
[207] Vilborg 1955: lxxxvi

-ρσ- (regardless of dialect). I begin with lists of the words which will not be relevant before examining those that are significant in greater detail.

<u>5.3.1 Words in -ρρ- Only</u>

There are a number of words for which the -ρρ- spelling is the norm in all dialects. A search for examples of these forms with the -ρσ- spelling using the TLG's online Text Search tool yields either no results or a few hypercorrect and late examples. As alluded to previously, a good number of these ρρ-only words are derivatives of words beginning with ῥ (from PIE *sr*) which developed a -ρρ- from addition of either an augment or a preverb (e.g. from ῥέω, the augmented imperfect form ἔρρει and compound verb διέρρει both occur). These cases of -ρρ- are therefore not derived from forms in *rs* and as a result will be spelled with -ρρ- regardless of dialect.

The lemmas in Achilles Tatius which are spelled with invariant -ρρ- (regardless of dialect) are: ἀντίρροπος, ἀπέρρω, ἀπόρρητος, ἀπορροή, ἄρρητος, γέρρον, ἐπιρρητορεύω, ἐρρωμένος, πυρριάω, παρρησία, ῥέω (and derivatives: διαρρέω, ἐπιρρέω, κατα-ρρέω, παραρρέω, περιρρέω, προσρέω, συρρέω, ὑπερρέω and ὑπορρέω), derivatives of ῥήγνυμι: (ἀπορρήγνυμι, διαρρήγνυμι, καταρρήγνυμι and περιρρήγνυμι), ῥίπτω (and derivatives: ἀπορρίπτω, προσρίπτω and ἐκριπίζω) ῥώννυμι, ῥιζόω, ῥοχθέω, ῥυπάω, στερρός and συρράπτω.

<u>5.3.2 Words in -ρσ- Only</u>

There are fewer lemmas found with -ρσ- in all dialects (such as those that retained the -σ- in Attic by analogy). Those found in Achilles Tatius are: ἐγκάρσιος, κάθαρσις, κάθαρσιος, ταρσός, χείρ (dative χερσίν) and χερσαῖος. Also in this group belong the personal names Μαρσύας, Περσεύς and Θέρσανδρος (on which, see note below). The last is a major character in the book (usually transcribed as Thersander in English) and as such makes up an unusually large proportion of the instances of -ρσ- in the text (90 tokens in total). The high incidence of references to Thersander in the book accounts for the fact that the number of tokens in -ρρ- and -ρσ- given above was equal, whereas the number of types was significantly higher for -ρρ-.

<u>5.3.3 Words with Both Forms</u>

Excluding the unvarying forms cited above, there remain 7 lemmas that are relevant for analysis in Achilles' text. Of the 7, 4 of them have the form in Attic -ρρ-, 2 have the apparently non-Attic -ρσ- and 1 has examples of both. The total number of tokens is 35 for -ρρ- and 6 for -ρσ-.

Table 5-1 Incidents of -ρρ-and -ρσ- and of Significant Lemmas in Achilles' Text

Examples	**-ρρ-**	**%**	**-ρσ-**	**%**
Total tokens with ρρ/ρσ	113	50	113	50
Total types with ρρ/σσ	79	76	25	24
Significant lemmas	**4 +1***	71	**2 +1***	43
Significant tokens	**35**	85	**6**	15
ἄρσην	5	100		
κόρση	4	100		
μυρσίνη	2	100		
θαρσέω	14	78	4	22
θάρσος			1	100
πυρσός			1	100
πρόσω	10	100		

*tokens found with both forms

Because the number of relevant words is so few, I shall discuss each of them in turn.

<u>ἄρσην</u>: ("masculine")

This lemma occurs 5 times in Achilles' text, always with the -ρρ- spelling (ἄρρενα, ἄρρενας, ἄρρενος, ἄρρην). There are no variations in the manuscripts and the word does not appear in any of the papyrus fragments. The dictionary entry for the word in LSJ is ἄρσην with ἄρρην given as the Attic form. (Aeolic, Cretan, Epidauran and Herodotus are listed as having the form ἔρσην; while ἄρσην is given as the form in the Septuagint).[208] The word was given as an example in Moeris (in the plural form ἄρρενα, although note that he was not consistent in this spelling himself, as discussed), and was also one of Herodian's examples (as quoted above). In the Roman and Byzantine papyri both forms occur, but -ρρ- dominates after 2nd century AD.[209]

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[208] LSJ: ἄρσην
[209] Gignac 1976: 143-144

Using the TLG online's *Text Search Tool,* I examined the use of the form by different groups of Attic, non-Attic and Atticising authors and found the following: Early epic poets such as Homer and Hesiod used almost exclusively the -ρσ- spelling.[210] The same was true for the Ionic prose writer, Herodotus. The Ionic spelling was retained by the great tragedy writers (Aeschylus, Euripides and Sophocles) despite the fact they lived and worked in Athens. After them, however, most of the typically Attic writers used the -ρρ- form including Aristophanes (the comic poet), the canonical Attic orators, and Xenophon (the historian) as well as Plato and Aristotle. Looking at Koine-period texts, both the Septuagint and New Testament almost exclusively use the non-Attic -ρσ- form. Among typically Atticising authors (those studied by Schmid), there is a general, but not complete, preference for -ρρ-. Plutarch too prefers the Attic form but has a few cases of -ρσ-. Interestingly, in Galen's massive corpus, there is only a handful of -ρσ- forms (9 cases of -ρσ- compared to 301 of -ρρ-). Despite the fact that Galen is usually cited as a non-Atticising author, it seems that in this respect he actually preferred the Attic form.[211] A possible explanation for this is that Galen avoided Atticism because he believed that clarity was important in writing medical treatises and felt archaic Attic forms could be misunderstood. Using a phonetically Attic form like ἄρρην rather than ἄρσην is not likely to confuse his readers, however, and so he could use a "more educated" form in place of a "less educated" one without confusion. Achilles' fellow novelists, Longus and Heliodorus, both use the Attic spelling.

Since -ρρ- dominates in Attic and -ρσ- in the Koine texts, but the latter sometimes uses the alternate form, the pattern of use for this lemma could be described as X : xY. Achilles' preference for ἄρρην spellings, then, can be described as strongly Attic-leaning.

κόρση: ("side of head", "hair", "temple")
There are 4 occurrences of this lemma in Achilles' text, all in the genitive form κόρρης following the preposition κατὰ. The form is invariant in the manuscripts, except that at

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[210] Here and following (unless otherwise stated), statistics from authors other than Achilles Tatius are based on searches using the TLG's *Text Search Tool.* Available (with subscription) at: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/indiv/tsearch.jsp.
[211] Swain 1996: 56-63; Horrocks 2014: 137; Whitmarsh 2005: 47-48

2.24.1, it is given as a different word κόρη ("girl") in MS V.[212] The papyrus fragments do not include the word. The LSJ dictionary form is κόρση, the Ionic and common spelling, and is contrasted with Attic κόρρη, Doric, κόρρα and Aeolic κόρσα.[213] This word is given as an example in Lucian and in Herodian (as quoted above).

Usage among ancient authors patterns closely that of ἄρσην. Homer exclusively uses the -ρσ- form as does Aeschylus among the tragedians (Euripides and Sophocles do not have the word). Aristophanes, who is usually one of the early writers to adopt Attic spellings, does not use the word. The Attic form is preferred by the Attic orators and Plato (all using it exclusively). Surprisingly, Aristotle, considering his preference for -ρρ- in ἄρσην above, prefers the -ρσ- spelling, but he has only 4 instances of the word compared to the over 800 cases of ἄρσην, which was an important word to him. The Attic form κόρρη dominated among Schmid's Atticists. Plutarch also uses this form on 4 occasions, but spells it with -ρσ- once. As use of the word is far more limited than that of ἄρσην, there is not much evidence of it from many "pure" Koine sources (e.g. it is absent from the Septuagint and New Testament). It is interesting to note that Galen, like Aristotle, prefers the Koine form for this word (while both preferred the Attic version ἄρρην). Gignac gives no examples of the word in the papyri. For the most part, Koine texts seem to have preferred synonyms for the word "head", for example, the New Testament and Septuagint use κεφαλή.

The pattern of use for this lemma, seems to be something like X : xyZ, where X is the -ρρ- spelling, Y the -ρσ- spelling and Z a synonym. Achilles' choice to use the Attic form which is only sometimes continued in the Koine, then, again counts as strong Attic-leaning.

μυρσίνη: ("myrtle")
This lemma is used by Achilles twice. On both occasions, he uses the Attic plural form μυρρίναι. For the most part, this form is consistent in all the manuscripts, the only deviance being that in MS W the first instance (at 1.1.5) appears as the singular form μυρρίνη, still having the -ρρ- spelling, and in MS E it appears as σμύρναι, probably an error (as the latter is the word for "myrrh" and seems odd to be given among a list of

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[212] Vilborg 1955: 39
[213] LSJ: κόρση

plants).[214] The word does not appear in the papyrus fragments. The dictionary form in LSJ is μυρσίνη with the Attic equivalent given as μυρρίνη.[215] The word is given as an example in Lucian, Moeris, Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian (as quoted above).

Once again, there is a similar pattern in use among ancient authors. The word seems to have been rare in early writers, not occurring at all in Homer or other writers of epic. Herodotus, however, has 5 examples of the Ionic -ρσ- form. The tragedians do not use it much, although it appears once as -ρρ- in Aeschylus and five times as -ρσ- in Euripides. The word appears 12 times in Aristophanes, always with the Attic -ρρ- form. Menander has 4 instances of the same spelling. Of the Attic orators, only Dinarchus has the word, which he spells with the Attic spelling on all 4 occasions in which he uses it. Plato and Aristotle also use the -ρρ- spelling, as one would expect. The word is exceptionally common among medical writers, most of whom (starting with Hippocrates and his followers) usually prefer the -ρσ- form. An exception to this is Galen, who has 81 instances of the word, 77 of which have the Attic spelling. This echoes earlier observations that, at least in terms of phonetic/spelling variations, Galen was more Atticist than his reputation assumes. The sophists and rhetoricians of the Hellenistic period again prefer the Atticising form, but Plutarch mostly uses the non-Attic spelling. Achilles Tatius' fellow novelist, Longus, has 4 instances of the -ρρ- form. Heliodorus has 1 with the same spelling. The Septuagint has 3 cases with -ρσ- and none of -ρρ-. There are no examples given in the Roman and Byzantine papyri.

Given the substantial continued use of the -ρρ- form in Galen (who was considered non-Atticist), but the preference for -ρσ- in the Septuagint and Plutarch (who was not immune to Atticist influence), the pattern of use for this word can be described as X : XY (indicating similar numbers of both spellings in Koine texts). This makes Achilles' use of the -ρρ- spelling moderately Attic-leaning.

θαρσέω: ("to be of good courage")
This verb appears 18 different times in Achilles Tatius in various inflections. Of these, 14 are spelled with -ρρ- and 4 with -ρσ-. There is some variation found in the manuscripts, especially with some aorist forms. At 2.7.6, Vilborg and the majority of

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[214] Vilborg 1955: 3
[215] LSJ: μυρσίνη

manuscripts have θαρσήσας, but MS G has θαρρήσας.[216] At 5.26.13, Vilborg has θαρρήσῃς, following the edition by Commelinus; all the manuscripts have θαρρήσας, except for G, which has θαρσήσας.[217] Finally at 8.11.3, Vilborg has θαρρήσασα, following the majority, but MS G and R have θαρσήσασα.[218] If I omit these, there are still 12 cases of the -ρρ- spelling and 3 of -ρσ-, showing that the tradition presents us with an inconsistent representation of the word in Achilles' text.

Of these instances of the word, two are from portions preserved in the papyrus fragments. In Π[4], there is a clear rendition of ΘΑΡΡΕΙΝ (3.19.2), which is the form of this token as it appears in all the manuscripts. The word θάρρει (from 8.7.5) is found in Π[6], which is rather damaged and contains only the left-most part of the column. The whole word is not visible as it starts at the end of one line and continues to the next. The letters ΡΕ (ρε-) are visible (though not clearly) at the start of the next line, which points to the expected spelling, based on the manuscript tradition: [ΘΑΡ]ΡΕ[Ι]. There is, therefore, one full and one partial example of the Attic -ρρ- spelling in the papyri. In both cases, the spelling agrees with that found in all the manuscripts so, while I can conclude that the Attic spelling appears to be present and consistent for these two specific tokens, I cannot know for sure whether the 3 or 4 -ρσ- spellings of the word were there from the beginning or introduced later. There does, however, appear to have been a clear preference for -ρρ-.

The dictionary citation of the word in LSJ is θαρσέω and the Attic variation is given as θαρρέω. The only other variation given is an Aeolic participle form θέρσεισα.[219] The word is given as an example in the infinitive (θάρσεῖν) in Apollonius Dyscolus and the derived noun (θάρσος/θάρρος) is given in Moeris (as quoted above). In the Roman and Byzantine papyri, the -ρρ- spelling is more commonly found for the verb, although there are some cases of -ρσ-.[220]

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[216]Vilborg 1955: 26

[217] Vilborg 1955: 110 Vilborg motivates his decision to give θαρρήσῃς in his commentary where he says: "θαρρήσας in the MSS must be changed into the subjunctive to get a plausible meaning. But it is possible that a graver corruption is given here, since ὡς with the subjunctive does not elsewhere occur in final clauses in A.T". (Vilborg 1962: 106-107). Important for us, however, is that he uses the -ρρ- form which is that found in all but one MSS.

[218] Vilborg 1955: 154

[219] LSJ: θαρσέω

[220] Gignac 1976: 142-143

The general pattern of use in ancient authors is much the same as for the other words examined. This word is significantly more common than the others, but the following generalisations can be observed: epic writers starting with Homer and Hesiod use the -ρσ- spelling exclusively. The same is true of the tragedians. Aristophanes, as expected, starts to show preference for the Attic -ρρ- form, as does Menander. The Attic orators followed suit, having many examples, always with the -ρρ- spelling. Plato and Aristotle prefer -ρρ- with 65 and 43 examples respectively, although Aristotle does have 2 instances of -ρσ-. Thucydides prefers the non-Attic form here, following Herodotus, but Xenophon mostly has -ρρ- (with only 2 examples of -ρσ-). Schmid's Second Sophistic writers also show a mixed usage: in general, they prefer the Attic -ρρ- form, but use -ρσ- on occasion too. This inconsistency is found even in texts with strong Koine and non-Attic reputations such as the Septuagint, which has 3 cases of -ρρ- alongside 31 of -ρσ- and the New Testament, which has 4 of -ρρ- alongside 9 of -ρσ-. Galen, in line with his choice for the other words considered (except κόρση), prefers -ρρ-, which he uses 112 times, alongside 3 cases of -ρσ-. Plutarch, on the other hand, exclusively prefers the non-Attic spelling. Two of Achilles' contemporary novelists, Chariton and Longus, make exclusive use of -ρρ-. The novelist Xenophon has 12 cases of -ρρ- to 2 of -ρσ-. Heliodorus, interestingly, uses mostly -ρσ- (36 times) with 3 instances of -ρρ-.

Since both forms are found in Koine texts (more of -ρσ- in the biblical texts and Plutarch and more of -ρρ- in the papyri and Galen), I will describe the pattern of use for this lemma as X : XY. Achilles' inconsistency, then, is not out of line with normal Koine practice but his choice to have 14 tokens of -ρρ- (12 invariant in the manuscripts) points to moderate Attic-leaning preference for these tokens. His use of -ρσ- on 4 occasions (3 invariant in the manuscripts) shows again that he often fails to apply an Attic-leaning preference consistently throughout and points to occasional moderate avoidance of overt Atticism.

Related to the verb θαρσέω is the noun θάρσος ("courage"). Achilles has 1 example of this noun in the non-Attic spelling θάρσος (the manuscript tradition does not vary). The noun seems to follow the same basic pattern as the verb with more Attic/Atticist authors tending to prefer the -ρρ- spelling and more non-Attic/non-Atticist authors preferring the -ρσ- spelling, although there is much variation, especially in later authors. The New Testament and Septuagint consistently have the -ρσ- spelling, which also dominates in

the papyri with respect to the noun.[221] The pattern of use for the noun, then, can be described as X : xY.

Achilles has only the 1 example of the noun and his use of the non-Attic spelling (added to those two instances of the -ρσ- spelling for the verb) is interesting to note. Here he shows a Koine preference with mild avoidance of Atticism.

πυρρός/πυρσός?:

This example is different from the others and somewhat more complex. The form πυρσῶν appears once in Achilles Tatius (with no variation in the manuscript tradition). The example does not appear in any of the papyrus fragments. At first glance, this seems to be the Greek word πυρρός "flame-coloured" which does have an alternative spelling, πυρσός. Unusually, however, for this word, the -ρρ- spelling is the form used in Ionic as well as Attic and the -ρσ- spelling occurs only in tragedy and Doric.[222] (It is perhaps of interest, though not directly relevant, that the derivation of the word πυρρός is mentioned by Apollonius Dyscolus in the passage quoted above, before he moves on to a discussion of the adverbs πόρσω and its Attic form πόρρω, which I discuss next). Since the -ρρ- form was that used in Ionic, however, πύρρος is not really applicable to a question of Atticism.

To complicate matters, however, on closer inspection, it turns out that the word Achilles is using here is actually not this word meaning "flame-coloured" but another word (also derived from πῦρ "fire"). This word is given as πυρσός in LSJ and refers to a "firebrand" or "torch". LSJ does not give an Attic -ρρ- variation for this particular word (i.e. *πυρρός).[223] While a search on the TLG appears to give instances of a -ρρ- spelling for this word in Attic/Atticising authors, most (if not all) of these examples are actually of the other word (πυρρός "flame-coloured"), since the search engine is unable to differentiate between the two words in its analysis. While it is possible that there are some instances of πυρσός "torch" with a -ρρ- spelling, I have not been able to find any, and therefore assume that it is rare or non-existent. Based on this, Achilles is using the expected spelling πυρσῶν for "torches". The pattern of use for this lemma could be

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[221] Gignac 1976: 142-143
[222] LSJ: πυρρός
[223] LSJ: πυρσός

described as Y : Y and the fact that there is an -ρσ- spelling here is neutral and cannot be considered an instance of him choosing to use a non-Attic form.

<u>πρόσω</u>: ("forward", "further")

This adverb is the last of the relevant -ρρ-/-ρσ- words found in Achilles' text. Unlike the other examples, there are three different spellings of this word in Ancient Greek: πρόσω, πόρσω and πόρρω. The first is the dictionary citation and described in LSJ as the spelling found in epic, Ionic, Pindar and tragedy writers. The latter two also sometimes use the alternate spelling πόρσω. The third form, πόρρω, is given as a "later Attic" spelling, specifically used in Plato, Xenophon, the comedy writers and the Attic orators.[224] In the passage quoted from Apollonius Dyscolus, he draws our attention to this word, stating that πόρσω is a result of the transposition of ρ (implied swapping, or metathesis, with ο) and is ultimately derived from the preposition πρός. He then goes on to state that the πόρρω form comes from the replacement of σ with ρ (the same that occurs in μυρρίνη and θαρρεῖν). Herodian too mentioned this three-fold form (*Pros. Cath.* 507.17-19).

Achilles has 3 instances of the word πόρρω, 1 of the superlative, πορρωτάτω, and 6 with the locative suffix, πόρρωθεν. All have the Attic -ρρ- spelling. (There is no variation in the manuscript tradition except that at 8.14.5, πόρρωθεν is wholly replaced by ὡς in manuscript M.)[225] One of the instances of πόρρωθεν appears very clearly in Π[1] as ΠΟΡΡΩΘΕΝ; the other cases are not found in the papyri.

A look at the forms of this word by different authors using the TLG's *Text Search Tool* shows that πρόσω and πόρρω are by far the more common forms (the instances of πόρσω are very few by comparison). Generally πόρρω seems to be the form preferred by the typically Attic/Atticist authors (comic poets, philosophers, orators and sophists) and πρόσω by the non-Attic authors (tragedians, historians in the tradition of Herodotus, non-Attic poets etc.). An interesting observation, however, is that in the Septuagint, all 17 instances of the word have the Attic -ρρ- spelling and the same is true of the 3 cases in the New Testament. Dionysius of Halicarnassus prefers the -ροσ- form in his *Roman Antiquities* (with a few exceptions) but uses the -ρρ- form exclusively in his works on

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[224] LSJ: πρόσω
[225] Vilborg 1955: 157

the orators. Plutarch and Philostratus have a mixture of the two. Lucian and Aristides have mostly -ρρ- with a few cases of -ρσ-. So does the novelist Heliodorus. Galen has a mixture of the two, but more cases of -ρσ-. Gignac fails to discuss forms of this word in the papyri.

The pattern of use for this lemma could be described as X : Xyz, where X is the -ρρ- form, Y -ρσ- and Z -ροσ-.

Achilles' use of the -ρρ- form, then, is mildly Attic-leaning. While it dominated in Attic texts, it was also often retained in Koine texts, although the latter also admitted variants.

5.3.4 Summary

Table 5-2 Summary of Relevant -ρρ-/-ρσ- Lemmas in Achilles' Text [226]

Lemmas	PoU	L/G	-ρρ-	%	-ρσ-	%	Description of usage
ἄρσην	X : xY	yes	5	100			Strong Att-leaning
κόρση	X : xyZ	yes?	4 (3)	100			Strong Att-leaning
μυρσίνη	X : XY	yes	2	100			Mod Att-leaning
θαρσέω	X : XY	yes?	14 (12)	78 (80)	4 (3)	22 (20)	Mod Att-leaning (partial)
θάρσος	X : xY	yes			1	100	Mild Avoidance
[πυρσός]	Y : Y	n/a			[1]	[100]	Neutral
πρόσω	X : Xyz	yes	10 (9)	100			Mild Att-leaning
Total			35 (31)	85 (86)	6 (5)	15 (16)	

Overall, therefore, Achilles has a stronger tendency towards -ρρ- over -ρσ- spellings for lemmas where dialectal variation is the norm. It has been seen, however, that choosing -ρρ- is not so strong an Atticist marker as -ττ-. For the most part, Achilles' decisions can be described as Attic-leaning: πόρρω points to mild Attic-leaning, μυρρίνη to moderate Attic-leaning and ἄρρην and κόρρη to strong Attic-leaning. For the most part, he also uses -ρρ- for θαρρέω, also indicating moderate Attic-leaning, but he is inconsistent with this lemma and sometimes avoids the Attic-leaning form. With regards to its related verb, θάρσος, he also uses the Koine form, pointing to mild avoidance of Atticism. For πυρσός, as with other lemmas that are invariant in Attic and the Koine, his decision is neutral.

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[226] *PoU:* Patterns of Use; *L/G:* indicates whether the lemma is describes as Attic/ist in the lexicographers and/or grammarians. Numbers in brackets represent tokens that are invariant in the manuscripts.

Achilles' decisions with regards to the -ρρ-/-ρσ- marker, then, are not directly Atticist as such, but on the whole point to an Attic-leaning preference. There are some exceptions to this, but they are fewer than the exceptions observed for the -ττ-/-σσ- marker. Achilles use, then, has and Attic preference but this is not absolute.

5.3.5 Proper Nouns

As with -ττ-/-σσ-, most proper nouns containing -ρρ- or -ρσ- are invariant. Marsyas (the name of a mythical character, possibly a satyr) appears as Μαρσύαν at 3.15.4. This name only ever appears with -ρσ- in Attic inscriptions as well as in the full TLG corpus.[227] The hero Perseus likewise almost exclusively takes a -ρσ- spelling (as is the case on all 4 occasions in Achilles' text). There is some evidence from early vases depicting the gorgon-slayer that the name may have been spelled Περρεύς in very early Attic, although it manifests as Περεύς.[228] The only other reference to the possible spelling with -ρρ- in Attic is in the lexicon of Hesychius (5/6th century AD) where he says:

> 5.10 Hesychius *Lexicon (Π-Σ)*
> (π.1995) Περρεύς· ἥρ<ως>, ὅς Ἀθήνησι τιμᾶται
>   *Perreus*; the hero, who is honoured at Athens

There is no evidence outside of this quote and the vase paintings, however, of the -ρρ- being used of the hero, so Achilles' spelling is unsurprising.

Finally, the character Thersander (Θέρσανδρος) takes the name meaning "Manly-courage", always spelled with -ρσ- (occurring a total of 90 times in the text, and contributing greatly to the absolute number of -ρσ- tokens in the text).[229] The first element, Θερσ-, is from the Aeolic version of the noun θάρσος/θάρρος discussed above. The characters names are especially interesting because in fiction the author can use whichever names he chooses. While there is some evidence of alternate spellings of the name (e.g. Θέσανδρος in Aristophanes the Grammarian and the Suda) these are rare and not with -ρρ-. Threatte cites examples of other names in Θαρρ- (from θάρσος) in the

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[227] Threatte 1980: 535; There are 8 entries in *The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* in Attica, all with -ρσ- (Osborne & Bryne 1994: 298).

[228] Threatte 1980: 535. Again all entries in the The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names in Attica occur with the -ρσ- spelling (Osborne & Bryne 1994: 367).

[229] See Whitmarsh 2001: 163 for a glossary of characters' names

Attic inscriptions but none of Θέρσανδρος. In addition, he suggests that all names in Θάρσος are of "non-Attic origin".[230] In *The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, there are 4 examples of Θέρσανδρος, 1 of Θάρσανδρος and none of Θάρρανδρος recorded in Attica.[231] Achilles' choice of spellings for the name of this character is not unusual, then, and says little regarding his Atticist intent.

5.4. Interim Conclusion

In conclusion, an analysis of Achilles' choice of -ρρ- or -ρσ- in relevant words shows some degree of weak Atticism on his part. In most cases, he chooses to use the -ρρ- rather than -ρσ- forms, which always have an Attic-leaning even if they were not exclusively used by Attic writers. The two main exceptions relate to the cognate lemmas θαρσέω and θάρσος and do point to Achilles not being strictly Atticist in all cases with respect to this variation. The final apparent exception turns out not to be relevant for Atticism. This examination, then, supports what I found with regards to the -ττ-/-σσ- variable. Achilles shows a tendency towards Atticist forms but is not strict or thorough in his application.

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[230] Threatte 1980: 537; 534
[231] Osborne & Bryne 1994: 210, 224

6. Other Consonantal Variations

In addition to these two well-known consonantal markers of Atticism, there are three other minor consonantal markers to consider (each affecting only a few words). Because their effect is more limited, discussion of them will be shorter.[232]

6.1 γιγν- versus γιν-

The first of these variations primarily affects two lemmas: γίνομαι "I become" and γινώσκω "I get to know" and their compounds. The Pre-Greek roots of these verbs (*g(e)n and *gnō) undergo reduplication in the present stem to create the roots γιγν- and γιγνω-. In Attic, the second (root-initial) -γ- is preserved, but in all other dialects, the second -γ- is deleted (creating forms like γίνομαι and γινώσκω as contrasted with Attic γίγνομαι and γιγνώσκω).[233] Buck suggests that the reason for the deletion of the second -γ- in most dialects might be "loss of γ by dissimilation from the initial γ, supported, in the case of γίνομαι, by the γεν of other tenses".[234] This means that the presence of the first γ leads to deletion of the second by the phonological process known as dissimilation. Theattre, assuming the γν cluster was pronounced [ŋn] not [gn], suggests that "γίνομαι and γινώσκω are the result of assimilation of [ŋn] to [nn] then simplification of [nn] to [n] with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel."[235] Whatever the exact explanation for the change, the fact is that most dialects drop the second -γ- while Attic preserves -γν- in these two words.

Many modern authors commenting on Atticism include this variation in their lists of typical Atticist examples; reference is made to it in Horrocks, Kim, Blass, Debrunner and Funk, and Schmid.[236] A look at the ancient evidence shows that Attic inscriptions had only the -γν- spelling before 306/5 BC, which was rapidly replaced by the bare -ν-

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[232] For an introductory chapter on the relationship between phonology and orthography in Ancient Greek, see Probert's 2014 chapter on "Phonology" in the *Blackwell's Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*. For the standard "Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Greek", see Allen 1987.

[233] The non-present stems do not undergo reduplication and take the forms γεν- and γνω- in all dialects. Tokens containing these stems, therefore, are not relevant for the question of Atticism.

[234] Buck 1955: 74

[235] Threatte 1980: 562. [ŋ] is the IPA symbol for the velar nasal phoneme represented by *-ng* in English words like *sing* and *song*. It is thought that the letter γ in Classical Attic was pronounced as [ŋ] in sequences like -γγ-, -γκ-, -γχ- and -γν-; see Allen 1987: 34.

[236] Horrocks 2014: 138; Kim 2014: 470; Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 18; Schmid 1896: 579

spelling after that date. The -γν- spelling had disappeared completely from Attic inscriptions by 250 BC.[237] On the other hand, in the Roman Period papyri, the bare -ν- spelling is by far more common although the -γν- spelling starts to reappear in the Byzantine period.[238] An analysis of usage by different authors (using the TLG *Text Search Tool*) shows that the -γν- versions were preferred by typically Attic writers like the orators, Aristophanes and even (perhaps unusually) the tragedians (who tended to prefer Ionic spellings with regard to the variations already discussed). Schmid's Second Sophistic writers showed a very marginal preference for the -γν- form but generally have similar numbers of both spellings. Like the Roman period papyri, typically Koine texts like the Septuagint and New Testament prefer the bare -ν- spelling. Given the general preference for -γν- in Attic authors and general use of the bare -ν- in Koine authors, the marker can be described as having a simple X : Y pattern of use.

The Atticist lexicographer, Moeris, explicitly describes the -γν- spelling of γίγνομαι as Attic and bare -ν- spelling as non-Attic.

6.1 Moeris *Atticista*

(γ 3.1) γίγνεται Ἀττικοί· γίνεται Ἕλληνες.

  The Attic speakers (say) *gignetai*; the Greeks *ginetai*

The evidence seems to point, therefore, to the use of γίγνομαι and γιγνώσκω (in contrast with γίνομαι and γινώσκω) as valid instantiations of Atticism.

A look at the spellings of the first of these two words in Achilles Tatius shows an overwhelming preference for the Koine γίν(ομαι) over Attic γίγν(ομαι). In Vilborg's edition, of the 54 tokens of the lemma, there is only 1 case of -γν- in the form ἐγιγνόμην (3.23.1). The other 53 tokens are all spelled with a bare -ν-. The spelling of the exception at 3.23.1 is not unanimous in the manuscript tradition, but was selected by Vilborg for having been preferred by the majority of manuscripts (family α and codex F, as well as some of the manuscripts from family β).[239] This particular instantiation also appears (partially) in one of the papyrus fragments (Π[5]), where]ΙΝΟΜΗΝ appears to be

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[237] Threatte 1980:562

[238] Gignac 1976: 176

[239] On the branches of the manuscript tradition see discussion under "Methodology" above. Also see Vilborg 1955: xlvii; lxvii.

extant, but it is on a broken edge and may have been misread by the transcriber (the copy I have of it is unclear). It is possible, therefore, that γινόμην was Achilles' original spelling and that it was corrupted early on, but I cannot claim this absolutely due to the damage to the papyrus. The form ΓΕΙΝΕΤΑΙ is also found at 3.25.4 (which appears as γίνεται in all the manuscripts).[240]

A look at the manuscript variation of the 53 other instances of the word reveals 8 examples where at least some of the manuscripts have the -γν- spelling. Three instances of the type γίνεται are spelled γίγνεται in family α as well as MS R. The other varying tokens have the -γν- spelling in only a single manuscript (either M or W from family α or R from family β). As these variations are always in a minority of manuscripts, they provide no real evidence that Achilles ever made consistent use of the -γν- spelling in his original text. They present the possibility that there was more variation in Achilles' original than in Vilborg's edition but could equally point to -γν- variants having been introduced by manuscript scribes.

In addition to the 1 isolated example of the -γν- spelling in Vilborg's edition cited above, Vilborg suggests in his commentary that he had made an error with another token. He says that at 2.10.4, where he gives the form as γίνεται in the printed edition, he should have rendered the form as γίγνεται "according to the principles [he had] applied".[241] The reason for his error is evident when one notices that the spelling of this instance of the word varied between manuscripts in such a way that it was not easy for him to decide which form had the better attestation.[242] Regardless of what Vilborg ought to have given, it is significant that the two most likely cases of -γν- in Achilles'

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[240] The writing of ει where one would expect ι, was a spelling error which was common in the Roman period. It is found in various inscriptions (starting in the Hellenistic era, but becoming more common by Roman times) and also in the papyri. The explanation for this error is the process called itacism in which a number of vowels and diphthongs (ι, ει, η, ηι, οι, υ, υι) fell together so that all were pronounced as [i]. The confusion led to various spellings errors, the ει for ι being a common one (Gignac 1976: 235; Threatte 1980:195-202). For examples of γείγνομαι in inscriptions, see Threatte 1980: 562-565.

[241] Vilborg 1962: 48

[242] The spelling is γίνεται in manuscripts V, E and G (all members of family β) but γίγνεται in manuscript R (also family β) and in all of family α. Vilborg had said that where the text was not extant in MS F, he would typically side with the tradition in family β, which seems have been his motivation for preferring γίνεται in his text. But on later reflection, he seems to have thought that the presence of γίγνεται in at least one MS from family β seems to have made this a "majority" form (present in all of α and one MS of β). It is obvious that the decision was a difficult one for Vilborg.

original text are not attested unanimously (and the better attested of the examples appears to have been spelled with bare -ν- in Π[5]). Together with the overwhelming preference for the bare -ν- form in other cases, it seems that Achilles had no real desire to Atticise γίνομαι with the -γν- spelling. Instead, his usage points to simple avoidance of Atticism with respect to this lemma.

Achilles also has two examples of a compound of γίνεται in his work. They are both forms of the lemma συγγίνομαι (συν + γίνομαι) and are both rendered with the bare -ν- spellings: συγγινόμενος and συνεγίνετο. Although there is some variation in the manuscript tradition for these examples, the variations give a completely different lemma in the first case and the non-relevant (unreduplicated) συνεγένετο in the second.

With regards to the lemma γινώσκω, there are unfortunately no relevant examples of the base lemma in Achilles' text. All cases of the word have the unreduplicated aorist root -γνω-, where the variation does not apply. There are, however, two lemmas which are compounds of the verb: ἀναγινώσκω (4 tokens) and προκαταγινώσκω (1 token). These all occur with the bare -ν- spelling. There is one instance of variation in the manuscript tradition where, at 8.8.8, most manuscripts have ἀναγινωσκέσθω, but MS G has ἀναγιγνωσκέσθω. This is the only instance of a γ-inclusive spelling for this lemma, occurring only in the 1 manuscript.

In conclusion, on the balance of evidence, it seems that Achilles almost exclusively showed simple avoidance of Atticism with respect to γίνομαι, γινώσκω and their compounds.

6.2 ξυν versus συν

The next marker relates to the spelling of the preposition σύν and related preverbal prefix συν- meaning "with" or "together". There exist variant spellings, associated with Attic in which σ is replaced by the compound consonant ξ (phonetically [ks]) in these examples, resulting in ξύν and ξυν-.

The reason for and use of this variation is complex, but it seems that the ξύν and ξυν- spellings represent an older form. Mycenaean Greek (based on Linear B texts) appears

to have had a form spelled *ku-su* (representing [*ksun*]) and old Attic inscriptions before 500 BC only used the spelling ξύν.[243] As discussed in the -ρρ-/-ρσ- section, it is actually unusual for initial σ- to be preserved in Greek, and the origin of both spellings is uncertain. It is thought that the lemma might originate from a PIE root *som-* but, following regular sound change rules, one would then expect the unattested form *ὑν. ξ- is not known to regularly develop from PIE *s-* and retention of initial σ- is rare, and always exists side-by-side with a σ-less variation (see the discussion of σμ- versus μ- which follows). Sihler suggests that an early Greek form (κ)σύν- may have been "a conflation of two originally different elements".[244] Chantraine suggests that it might be linked to σύ "you" (plural), μεταξύ "between" or ξύω "strike".[245] Apart from this lemma, there are no other dialectal or chronological variations in which σ develops into ξ or ξ simplifies to become σ.

Whatever the diachronic explanation for the variation, synchronically the two forms are found on different occasions in Greek texts. The variation is identified as an example of Atticism by Horrocks (though Kim and Anderson do not include it in their lists).[246] Schmid observes it as present in some of his authors, but describes it as "too remote an Atticism" for Aelius Aristides.[247] Swain describes it as one of the "genuinely Atticising forms" used by Lucian in *Judicium Vocalium.*[248]

The spread of the two variants is well summarised in LSJ, the following points being relevant: while the preposition ξύν is extremely rare in Homer, the prefix ξυν- (in verbal compounds) is quite frequent. Both ξ- spellings appear to have been rare in other early Ionic writings including the more authoritative manuscripts of Herodotus. σύν begins to replace ξύν in Attic inscriptions from 5th century BC onwards and after 378 BC the latter survives only in formulae. Attic prose writers (including the orators and Plato) used both spellings in compounds, although only Thucydides regularly had the ξύν spelling for the preposition.[249] Based on evidence from the TLG, I found that Schmid's

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[243] Sihler 1995: 406
[244] Sihler 1995: 406
[245] Chantraine 1984: 768
[246] Horrocks 2014: 138
[247] Schmid 1893: 16. (cf. Schmid 1896: 13, 580).
[248] Swain 1996: 49
[249] LSJ: σύν

Second Sophistic authors had a substantial number of cases of ξυν- (present in all but Herodes Atticus), although none used it exclusively. In these authors, there are 112 cases of the preposition ξύν (compared to 684 of σύν) but only Lucian, Philostratus and Dio Chrysostom (the last only once) use the ξ- spelling for the preposition. On the other hand, the use of the ξ- spellings is very rare in Roman and Byzantine papyri.[250] The pattern of use for this marker can be described as xY : Y where X is the ξ-variant and Y the σ-variant. Use of the ξυν-variants, then, would be instances of hyper-Atticism.

While ξύν and ξυν- were already being replaced in Attic at the height of the Classical period, the antiquity of the ξ- spelling seems to have appealed to Atticists wanting to promote archaic forms and spellings. As a result, the ξ- spellings are sometimes cited by Atticist lexicographers as the more proper Attic form to be used.

In *Judicium Vocalium*, Lucian has Sigma complain that the letter Xi (ξ) had also stolen some of his words, citing the compounds συνθήκη, συγγραφέυς, and σύμμαχος as examples which he must have perceived as having been commonly spelled with ξ by (hyper)-Atticists.

> 6.2   Lucian *Jud. Voc.* (9.9-11)
>
> μηδὲ τῷ Ξῖ πᾶσαν παραβάντι <u>συνθήκην</u> καὶ τὸν <u>συγγραφέα</u> τῶν τοιούτων ἔχοντι Θουκυδίδην <u>σύμμαχον</u>·
>
> Nor did I (accuse) Xi for overstepping every <u>treaty</u> (*sunthēkē-ksunthēkē*) with Thucydides the <u>historian</u> (*suggrapheus-ksuggrapheus*) as his <u>ally</u> (*summachos-ksummachos*). [tr.Harmon 1913]

Moeris too gives some examples of compounds for which he suggests that the ξ-spelling is the correct Attic form:

> 6.3   Moeris *Atticista*
>
> (ξ.2)   ξύμφωνος Ἀττικοί· σύμφωνος Ἕλληνες καὶ κοινῶς.
> The Attic speakers (say) *ksumphōnos*; and the Greeks and Koine (speakers) *sumphōnos*
>
> (ξ.3)   ξυνωρίς Ἀττικοί· συνωρίς Ἕλληνες.
> The Attic speakers (say) *ksunōris*; the Greeks *sunōris*

---

[250] Gignac 1976: 139

(ξ.4) ξύμμαχοι <Ἀττικοί>· σύμμαχοι Ἕλληνες καὶ κοινῶς.

<The Attic speakers> (say) *ksummachoi*; the Greeks and Koine (speakers) *summachoi*

In Herodian's treatise on "correct orthography", he cites ξύμμαχοι/σύμμαχοι and σύν/ξύν as variants, but in the extant text there are no comments on why these variations exist or which dialects they might be associated with. It is significant that he felt that the existence of these particular variations ought to be acknowledged.

6.4   Herodian *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (*On Orthography*)

(557.24) ξύμμαχοι σύμμαχοι**.**

ksummachoi; *summachoi*

(585.7)   σύν ξύν**.**

sun; *ksun*

In sum, the ξ- spellings were not as consistently dominant in Attic texts as -ττ-, -ρρ- and γιγν- had been (and to some degree, they may have been associated more with Homer than Classical Attic prose), but they had an antiquity which made the varied spelling popular among aspiring Atticists, especially in the case of the verbal prefix. Use of the ξ- spellings, therefore, can be seen as an instance of hyper-Atticism, although use of the more common σ- spellings does not necessarily make a writer's language non-Attic.

There are 17 cases of the preposition σύν in Achilles' text. All of them are spelled with a σ- and all are invariant in the manuscripts. In addition, there are 297 other tokens beginning with the strings συν-, συμ or συγ-. Achilles has no verbal compounds with the ξυν- (or ξυμ- or ξυγ-) spelling in his text. There are a number of words with the prefix συν-, and one case of the preposition σύν, found in the papyri and all are clearly spelled with σ-. All these words could have been spelled with a ξ-, had Achilles been attempting overt Atticism. The examples are as follows:

From Π[1]
2.9.1: ΣΥΝΕΠΙΝΟΜΕΝ
2.9.3: ΣΥΝΗΚΕΝ
From Π[4]
3.17.2: ΣΥΜΦΟΡΑ[Σ]
3.19.2: ΣΥΜΠΟΝΕΙΝ
3.20.3: ΣΥΝΕΝΤ[ΕΣ]

3.24.1: ΣΥΝΗΔΕΤΟ; ΣΥΝΕΡΡΥΗΚΕΝΑΙ

3.25.4: ΣΥΝ

From Π[6]

8.6.15: ΣΥΝΕΙΔΟ[Σ]

In sum, there is no evidence of an overt attempt at hyper-Atticism on Achilles' part with regards to this variation. He prefers to use the more established σ- forms, which were more frequently present in Classical Attic texts and the norm in the Koine. His choice, therefore, can be described as only mildly Koine-leaning.

6.3 σμ- versus μ-

In the discussion of the -ρρ-/-ρσ- variation, I described the general loss of initial [s] in the history of Greek. In most cases, initial [s] became [h] which either resulted in *aspriration* or was completely lost. For reasons not fully understood, the initial [s] is sometimes preserved in certain dialects as σ-, resulting in collateral pairs of forms. Examples of this phenomenon include the pairs σῦς/ὗς ("pig"), σμύρνη/μύρρα ("myrrh") and σμικρός/μικρός ("small").[251] The most relevant example for Achilles' text is the last, the adjective σμικρός found alongside the more usual μικρός (and related derived forms) in various Greek dialects.

Both Schmid and Deferrari cite this as a relevant example of Atticism. They claim that σμικρός was an old Ionic form "still retained in old Attic poetry and prose and kept by Plato and Xenophon, who frequently archaized."[252] Neither author attempts to motivate why he thinks that σμικρός was an Ionic spelling, especially considering that the form also has early Attic attestations (being the only spelling found in Attic inscriptions before the late 5th century BC).[253] According to Threatte, the σμ- spelling is presumed to be older, but the variation is "difficult to account for linguistically, especially as the etymology of the word is uncertain".[254]

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[251] Sihler 1995: 171

[252] Deferrari 1916:5; paraphrasing Schmid 1893: 18

[253] Threatte 1980: 507

[254] Threatte 1980: 507

A consideration of the ancient evidence shows that although the σμ- spelling prevailed in early Attic inscriptions, it was never the dominant spelling in Classical Attic literature. The Ionic attribution is also questionable as Homer has very few and uncertain examples of it (sometimes suggested only by the metre).[255] Based on evidence from the TLG, the Attic tragedians used the σμ- spelling slightly more than the μ- spelling, but the Attic orators preferred the μ- spelling by far. These findings are interesting since, in other cases, "Atticist forms" seem to have been associated with the preference of the orators rather than the tragedians where these differed in practice. Most of Schmid's Atticist authors (again the one exception is Herodes Atticus) used the σμ- spelling at some point (between 9 and 43 times in their works), although they all use the μ- spelling even more frequently. The Septuagint and the New Testament, on the other hand, show no cases of the σμ- spelling.[256] Gignac does not directly address the variation in his discussion of Roman and Byzantine papyri, but both spellings must have been present as there is an entry in which he states that that σμικρός (which he calls "a by-form of μικρός") is never spelled ζμικρός in the papyri (see discussion of Aelius Dionysius' entry for more on ζμικρός below).[257]

The pattern of use for this lemma can be described as xY : Y where X is the σμικρός form and Y the μικρός alternative; σμικρός, then, could be considered a hyper-Atticism. This hyper-Atticist attribution is supported by the fact that almost all Schmid's Atticist writers chose to use the σμ- spelling to some degree in their works, and in evidence that lexicographers and grammarians recommended it as an Attic form. Moeris overtly suggests the σμ- spelling as an Atticism. In what remains of Herodian's orthographic treatise, there is again a listing of the two variants (unfortunately with no comment on which form is more correctly Attic).

6.5 Moeris *Atticista*

(σ.38) σμικρόν Ἀττικοί· μικρόν κοινόν.[258]

   The Attic speakers (say) *smikron*; the Koine (speakers) *mikron*

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[255] LSJ: μικρός

[256] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 19

[257] Gignac 1976: 122

[258] Elsewhere, however, Moeris suggests that μικρόν is not a good Attic word at all, and recommends instead what he considers a suitable synonym, ἀκαρῆ (which according to LSJ refers specifically to short hair but can be used more generally):

Moeris *Atticista* (α 89.1): ἀκαρῆ Ἀττικοί· μικρόν Ἕλληνες. (The Attic speakers say *akarē*; the Greeks *mikron*)

6.6   Herodian *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (582.11)

σμικρόν μικρόν.

smikron; *mikron*

To complicate matters further, there is an entry in Aelius Dionysius, where he suggests that the Attic form was either ζμικρόν or μικρόν and the Ionic form μικκόν (the latter is attested in both Ionic and Doric, but I have omitted further discussion of it here as it is not relevant to the Atticist question).[259]

6.7   Aelius Dionysius *Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα* (*Attic Nouns*)

(ζ 4.1)   ζμικρὸν καὶ μικρόν· οἱ Ἀττικοί, μικκὸν δὲ Ἴωνες.

zmikron and mikron: the Attic (forms), but the Ionians (say) *mikkon*

The use of ζ in place of σ, especially before μ or β, occurred sometimes in inscriptions in various ancient dialects including Attic. It was rare except in the place names Ζμύρνα and Ζμάραγδος.[260] It is thought that this variation might be explained by the pronunciation of ζ shifting from [zd] to [zz]. σ, usually pronounced as the voiceless fricative [s] would likely become voiced by assimilation with the following voiced [m] or [b] sound and thus pronounced as [z]. The exchange of σ for ζ is also found in the Roman and Byzantine papyri (sometimes also at word-end).[261] Despite this, I can find no evidence from either Attic inscriptions or the Roman and Byzantine papyri for this variation applying to the word (σ)μικρός and, in fact, it was seen that Gignac says σμικρός "is found only with σμ-" (in the papyri).[262]

A search on the TLG reveals that the only attestations of ζμικρός (and derivatives) are this one from Aelius Dionysius and a few mentions in Eustathius (who knew Aelius Dionysius' works well, and is actually our source for many of the surviving fragments of his text).[263] These grammarians may have erroneously thought that the ζμικρός form occurred by analogy with other σμ-/ζμ- pairs like σμάργαδος/ζμάργαδος and Σμύρνα/Ζμύρνα.

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[259] LSJ: μικρός. See also Threatte 1980: 507-510

[260] Threatte 1980: 547.

[261] Gignac 1976: 120-121

[262] Gignac 1976: 122

[263] Dickey 2007: 99

There is no evidence, therefore, that the ζμικρός spelling was either Attic or Atticist. Evidence points rather to σμ- being the form preferred by Atticist writers because of its antiquity, even if it were not that dominant in Attic writing itself.

Achilles Tatius has 66 cases of the adjective μικρός in his work, and all are spelled with the non-Atticising μ- spelling. There does not appear to have been any manuscript variation. There are two examples of μικρός extant in the papyri. The first is from 6.17.1. and found in Π[3]. Because the papyrus had no spaces between words, the string ΔΡΟΣΜΙΚΡΟΝ occurs at the start of a line. Although it may have been possible that the Σ belonged to the word ΜΙΚΡΟΝ, I can be fairly sure that it does not, as the preceding word in all the manuscripts is the name θέρσανδρος of which ΔΡΟΣ is extant and ΘΕΡΣΑΝ- must have been part of the lacuna at the end of the previous line. In Π[4], there is another instance from 3.21.6. Here the papyrus reads ΜΕΙ[ΚΡΩ] for μικρῷ in the manuscripts. Once again ι is replaced by ει because of the common spelling error that resulted from itacism (see explanation for γείνεται in the γιγν-/γιν- section above). Despite the variation in vowel spelling, there is no evidence of an added initial σ-.

From the evidence above, I can conclude that there is no case for Achilles attempting to hyper-Atticise the word μικρός by addition of σ-, in spite of the (limited) practice of doing so suggested by Moeris and evident in other Atticist writers. He shows instead mild Koine-leaning preference.

Despite the lack of instances of σμικρός, there are a few other words in Achilles Tatius beginning with σμ-. The first is σμύρνα which appears once referring to the substance myrrh (3.25.4), and 3 times to the city Smyrna (7.3.1, 7.3.2, 7.10.4). There is no variation in the manuscripts and no cases appear in the papyri. With regards to the substance, LSJ says that it is frequently spelled ζμύρνα and is equivalent to the Aeolic μύρρα.[264] The New Testament and Septuagint generally use the σμ- spelling (although some manuscripts have ζμ-).[265] The ζμ- spelling is more usual in Roman papyri. The name of the city is also spelled usually with Σμ-, but often with Ζμ-, especially in inscriptions. Since none of the variations of these words (σμ-, ζμ- or μ-) have a

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[264] LSJ: σμύρνα
[265] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 7

particular dominance in Attic or Koine association, Achilles' choice to use σμ- in all cases is neutral and does not have any bearing on the Atticist question.

Another lemma with σμ- in Achilles' text is σμύραινα "a kind of eel or lamprey" (which appears 3 times in 1.18.3-4). This lemma was sometimes spelled with σμ-, but more often with a bare μ- in Ancient Greek. While the bare μ- spelling seems to have been the more popular (326 versus 98 tokens across the whole TLG corpus), there does not seem to be any direct link with the one spelling as Atticising and the other as non-Attic. Both spellings are found in all periods across a range of authors. Aristotle, for examples, has similar numbers of both, and the 2nd century AD sophist, Athenaeus, also uses both. He, in fact, points out that there are spelling variations among different authors:

6.8   Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* (7.90.10-16)

Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Μούσαις χωρὶς τοῦ σ <u>μυραίνας</u> αὐτὰς καλεῖ οὑτωσὶ λέγων·
    οὔτε γόγγρων τι παχέων οὔτε <u>μυραινᾶν</u> ἀπῆς.
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Σώφρων. Πλάτων δ' ἢ Κάνθαρος ἐν τῇ Συμμαχίᾳ σὺν τῷ σ·
    βατίς τε καὶ <u>σμύραινα</u> πρόσεστιν.

But Epicharmus, in his Muses, calls them *muraina*, without the *s*; speaking in this way of them: "No congers fat were wanting, and no lampreys (*murainai*)".
And Sophron, likewise. But Plato or Cantharus, in his *Alliance*, spells the word with the *s*, saying: "The ray, the lamprey (*smuraina*) too, is here." [tr. based on Yonge]

Both authors cited by Athenaeus as preferring the bare μ- spellings were Syracusean comic writers, but they were not the only ones to use that spelling. The pattern of use could be described as xY : xY where X is the σμ- variation and Y the μ- alternative. As there does not seem to be a direct link with either form and Atticism, Achilles' use is neutral and I can make no significant claims regarding Achilles' choice with reference to this lemma.

It is interesting to note, however, that there is some variation in the manuscript tradition of Achilles' text with regard to this word. According to Vilborg, all three occurrences are spelled with σμ- in family α of the manuscripts. In MSS V and G of family β, however, he has the bare μ- spelling. What is even more interesting is that in MSS E and R of family β (thought to have been copies of a lost prototype Vilborg calls ε), the words are originally written with a bare μ- but a σ is superscribed above the word,

suggesting that the scribe wished to change it to σμ-. Vilborg says of the ε-group of MSS E and R:

> As far as can be judged from comparison with the other classes of β, this class ER (=ε) has preserved the readings of the hyparchetype in their purest form. As a whole it offers a better text than V and is not marred by the omissions and transpositions of this older MS… Since the β-readings are generally better than those of α …, this means that the two ε-manuscripts are the best single authorities of the text.[266]

This suggests, then, that the bare μ- spelling may have been original (at least in hyparchetype β) and that the scribes of E and R chose to add the σ as a correction. The other manuscripts that have σμ-, then, might have also been emendations by the scribes. This does not provide any additional information on Achilles' Atticism as such (since this lemma is not relevant to the question), but it does shed interesting light on potential interference and emendation by manuscript scribes.

There is one final lemma that I wish to consider in this section. This is the word referring to pigs or boars sometimes spelled ὗς and sometimes σῦς. Although lacking a μ-, this variation exists for the same reason as the σμικρός/μικρός variation. In its development from the proto-form PIE *sūs (cf. English *swine*) the word lost its initial [s], which was replaced by a [h]-sound or the *spiritus asper* forming ὗς. The loss of [s], however, was not complete and the form existed alongside σῦς in various Greek dialects.[267] According to the TLG, Homer used both forms, with a preference for σῦς. Typically Attic authors (Aristophanes, the orators and Plato) preferred ὗς. So did the tragedians, although they had similar numbers of both. A preference for the spelling without σ- seems to have prevailed in the Koine era, with only one exception from the Septuagint and New Testament texts. Galen has both forms but more of ὗς. There is no record of the form preferred in the papyri. The pattern of use for this lemma seems to have been something like Xy : xY where X is the ὗς variation and Y σῦς.

Achilles has 6 instances of the lemma (3 of σῦς and 3 of συός). There is no variation in the manuscripts and the tokens do not appear in the papyri. His choice to use the σ-spelling could be described as moderate Koine-leaning.

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[266] Vilborg 1955: lxi
[267] Sihler 1995: 170

In conclusion, then, Achilles' choice of μικρός rather than σμίκρος shows mild Koine-leaning preference (and avoidance of hyper-Atticism) on his part. His spelling of σμύρνα, Σμύρνα and σμύραινος (rather than bare μ- or ζμ- equivalents) is neutral and not relevant for the question of Atticism. The choice to have σῦς rather than ὗς may be described as moderate Koine-leaning preference.

6.4 Summary (Other Consonants)

I present below a table summarising Achilles' representations of the lemmas where he could have chosen to Atticise using a particularly Attic consonantal variant.

Table 6-1 Lemmas with Potential Consonant Variants in Achilles' Text

Lemmas	PoU	L/G	Attic	%	Non-Attic	%	Description of use
γίγνομαι/γίνομαι	X : Y	yes	2(0)	4(0)	54(44)	96(100)	Simple avoidance
γίγνωσκω/γινώσκω	X : Y				5(4)	100	Simple avoidance
ξύν/σύν	xY : Y	yes			17	100	Mild Koine-leaning
ξυν-/συν-	xY : Y	yes			297	100	Mild Koine-leaning
σμικρός/μικρός	xY : Y	yes			66	100	Mild Koine-leaning
σμύρνα/ζμύρνα	XY : XY		4	100			Neutral
σμύραινα/μύραινα	xY: xY		3(0)	100(0)			Neutral
ὗς/σῦς	Xy: xY				6	100	Mod Koine-leaning

As can be seen, with regards to these words, Achilles does not only show a lack of interest in Atticism, but consistently prefers non-Attic forms. For γίνομαι and γιγνώσκω, he shows simple avoidance of Atticism by preferring the Koine alternative consistently. For σύν and σύν-, as well as μικρός, he avoids use of the hyper-Atticist alternatives and uses mildly-Koine leaning forms. For σῦς, he also uses the form more often preferred in the Koine over that more often used in Attic texts (although both forms appear in both sets of texts) pointing to a moderate Koine-leaning preference. For σμύρνα and σμύραινα, his use is neutral as the alternative forms do not have a particularly Attic or non-Attic association.

For these more limited consonantal variations, then, he shows an overall Koine preference, indicating that his desire to Atticise or prefer Attic-leaning forms with respect to the -ττ-/-σσ- and -ρρ-/-ρσ- forms did not extend to these more limited markers. In particular, he shows no evidence of hyper-Atticism.

7. -αιο-/-αιε- versus -αο-/-αε-

The final phonetic marker associated with Atticism which I will consider relates to vowels rather than consonants. It is the inclusion or exclusion of -ι- following an -α- in words like αἰεί, αἰετός, καίω, κλαίω and ἐλαία. As will be seen, this is not as simple a marker of Atticism as the other variations I have discussed, but since it appears in some lists of Atticist features, it requires further analysis and consideration of its relevance.

7.1 Development of the Variation

The words which this variation applies to involve the diphthong -αι- followed by an ε or ο. The ι, being intervocalic in words like these, was generally lost in Greek, but in this particular set of words the loss seems to have been optional and doublets resulted.

In handbooks discussing Greek phonology, the exact conditions determining the variation are described as unclear. Sihler says: "The conditions that govern the loss of ι in some cases and its persistence in others – if there are conditions – are obscure".[268] Buck says "it is impossible to make any general statement as to the conditions of the loss".[269] I will consider one such condition later, but diachronically it seems hard to make any real generalisation regarding the origins of the variation. Synchronically, however, one can look at the trends of use by different authors for the most commonly cited words involved.

7.2 Evidence for the Variation as a Marker of Atticism

7.2.1 Modern Scholarship

Not all modern scholars describe this variation as relevant to the Atticist question. Horrocks, Anderson and Kim do not include it at all in their lists. But Blass, Debrunner and Funk list it in their subject index as one of the forms under their entry for "Atticisms: In the Koine of the N.T."[270] In the relevant entry in their New Testament grammar, they state the following:

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[268] Sihler 1995: 196
[269] Buck 1955: 32
[270] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 266

αι and α. In Attic from V BC on α appears for αι before open vowels. From forms arising thus ἀετὸς ἀει (Ionic and older Attic αἰετός αἰεί) prevailed in the Koine; on the other hand ἐλάα (because of ἔλαιον), κάειν κλάειν (because αι was preserved phonetically before ω and o also in Attic) do not appear.[271]

The specifics of this highly condensed description will be discussed later. For now it is enough to point out that Blass, Debrunner and Funk consider it to be relevant to Atticism.

Schmid is another modern scholar who refers to the variation in his "Overview of the elements of Atticist literary language". The list under the heading "Phonology: True or perceived Atticisms that the Koine literature also has occasionally" (which included reference to -ττ-/-σσ-, -ρσ-/-ρρ- and γιγν-/γιν- markers) ends with the statement that "κάω and κλάω also appear in the Koine, appearing next to forms with αι".[272] He then gives two references to discussions of these particular words in two of his authors. In the first of these, in his discussion on Aelian, he elaborates on the variations in the spellings of καίω and κλαίω. He says that in Attic inscriptions one only finds evidence for the form καίω (though note that he omits to state that there are only two such examples extant). He also points out that Moeris and the scholia to Aristophanes' *Plutus* identify the ι-less spellings as Attic and the ι-inclusive as Hellenistic (which he confirms is the form in the New Testament). Later he points out, however, that it is unclear why Moeris believed this to be the case. He also refers to a suggestion in Meyer's book on Greek Grammar that perhaps (in Attic, at least) the question is purely one of orthography.[273] Again, Schmid's discussion is somewhat unclear, but I will look at the specific examples in more detail below. For now it is enough to note that Schmid believes this variation to be relevant to Atticism.

Finally, Soler includes this variation as an important one to consider in his analysis of the language of Achilles Tatius. Although he is describing Achilles' language in general and not specifically focussing on Atticism, he includes it in his discussion of Achilles' phonetics along with other typically Atticist variations (-ττ-/-σσ-, -ρρ-/-ρσ-, γιγν-/γιν-,

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[271] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 16
[272] Schmid 1896: 579
[273] Schmid 1893: 41-42; Meyer 1886: 76-77

σμ-/μ- and others). He says that loss of intervocalic -ι- was common and seems to be associated with vulgar (or uneducated) Attic. He also says "It appears that the -αο- and -αε- forms are Attic, while the others belong to the κοινή" and refers to Moeris to substantiate this. He acknowledges that inscriptional and papyrus evidence is problematic but concludes "although the question may have a purely orthographic explanation, the fact is that AT mostly used forms belonging to the κοινή."[274]

Evidence from modern authors for this variation as an example of Atticism, therefore, is less strong than it was for the other variations, but the references I have given make it worth considering further.

7.2.2 Use of the Marker by Attic Writers and Evidence for the Alternative

Once I began to look at the actual use of these different forms by Attic, Koine and other authors, it turned out that this variation is extremely complex, which would explain why discussions of it are not always clear. It turns out that not all the lemmas relevant to this phonetic variation follow the same patterns of use and each must be considered independently.

In what follows, I will discuss each of the five most common lemmas in turn. It will be seen that, despite the existence of two spelling variations for each word, which form might be considered Attic and which non-Attic is not necessarily consistent. In fact, if one bases their consideration purely on the evidence of ancient use, some examples have no clear Atticist spelling while others have only a partially more (or less) Attic form. I wish to consider the evidence, however, because in the next section I will show that certain of the forms were considered Attic and Atticising by post-Classical lexicographers and grammarians, making them significant in that respect.

αἰεί: ("always")
In Early Greek, this lemma had the form αἰϝεί, but first ϝ [w] was lost and then, in many instances, intervocalic -ι-. According to LSJ, the spelling of the word with -ι- is characteristic of the epic, Ionic, poetic and early Attic dialects. This spelling is occasionally found (beside ἀεί) in Attic inscriptions before 361 BC. From 361 BC

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[274] Santafé Soler 2005: 54-55

onwards, the ἀεί form seems to have taken over.[275] Blass, Debrunner and Funk state that ἀεί "prevailed in the Koine" while αἰεί was the "Ionic and older Attic" form.[276] A look at the use of the form in authors of different periods shows the following: Homer uses both forms but by far prefers αἰεί, (the form in early Attic inscriptions). The Attic orators use ἀεί (the form found in later Attic inscriptions) almost exclusively as do Aristophanes, Plato and the tragedians (although the last have a number of both). Schmid's Second Sophistic authors use both forms, but by far prefer ἀεί. As Blass, Debrunner and Funk suggested, the New Testament and Septuagint have ἀεί in all cases (but one) and according to Gignac, ἀεί is the normal spelling in the Hellenistic and Roman papyri, with αἰεί rare.[277]

From this, it can be seen that, although there are two forms of the word, the ι-inclusive form was only used predominantly in early Attic inscriptions and epic/Ionic texts. On the other hand, both Classical Attic authors (including my typical Attic authorities: Aristophanes, Plato and the orators) and Koine texts preferred the ι-less form. This suggests an xY : Y pattern of use for this lemma. Use of the αἰεί spelling could be considered hyper-Atticism.

ἀετός: ("eagle")

As a less common word, this lemma does not appear in most of the grammatical handbooks where loss of intervocalic -ι- is usually discussed. LSJ gives ἀετός as the standard form and αἰετός as the variation found in epic, lyric, Ionic and early Attic writings.[278] Blass, Debrunner and Funk say the same of it that they did for ἀεί; that ἀετός is the form that "prevailed in the Koine" whereas αἰετός is the "Ionic and early Attic form".[279] Prior to 300 BC, only αἰετός is found in the Attic inscriptions. After that, the ι-less spelling begins to appear.[280]

As with αἰεί, Homer also preferred the form with -ι-. Differently this time, Attic writers including the tragedians (who usually prefer Homeric spellings) and Aristophanes (who

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[275] LSJ: ἀεί

[276] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 16

[277] Gignac 1976: 195

[278] LSJ: ἀετός

[279] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 16

[280] Threatte 1980: 277-278

usually does not) also made use of the ι-inclusive spelling. Plato has two instances of the word, one with each spelling. Unfortunately, the word does not appear in the Attic orators who are one of my main sources for Attic prose spellings. Using the TLG *Canon* and *Text Search Tools,* I checked for instances of the word in other 6th-3rd century BC authors with an Athenian epithet. Only 4 other Attic authors use the word. Aristotle, and Pherecydes and Phylarchus (5th and 3rd century BC historians), all used the ι-less spelling (at a total of 58 times between them). Xenophon (the historian) also has this spelling 5 times with the ι-inclusive spelling a further 5 times. It seems, then, that the ι-less spelling was popular among some Attic writers but that the ι-inclusive spelling persisted much longer in the playwrights than had been the cases for αἰεί.

Later, ἀετός was used almost exclusively by typically Koine texts including the New Testament and Septuagint and is the only form found in the Roman and Byzantine papyri.[281] This spelling is also, notably, the preferred spelling among Schmid's Second Sophistic Atticists, though a fair number of cases of the ι-inclusive spellings occur.

ἀετός, therefore, follows a similar pattern to ἀεί but αἰετός seems to have had a longer tradition among some Attic writers. Its unfortunate absence from the orators makes it difficult to say for sure which was the preferred form in Classical Attic prose, but this time there is stronger evidence for significant use of the ι-inclusive spelling in Attic. Its pattern of use seems to have been Xy : Y and use of the ι-inclusive form can be described as mild Atticism.

καίω: ("to kindle", "to burn")
This word comes from a reconstructed proto-form *$kawy\bar{o}$. As would be expected, the intervocalic consonantal [w] was lost in the historical Greek period (it was retained as vocalic [u] in the aorist ἔκαυ-σα). In the resulting form, [ka-yo] καίω, the intervocalic -ι- becomes optional, as with the previous words discussed.[282] Consultation of the entry for the word in LSJ leads to two interesting observations which suggest that this word does not behave in the same way as the previous two. The first is that the citation form

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[281] Gignac 1976: 196
[282] Sihler 1995: 196

of the word is καίω (as opposed to the ι-less citation forms of ἀεί and ἀετός). The second is that the ι-less spelling κάω is identified as an exclusively Attic spelling.[283]

While Schmid stated that "Attic inscriptions give us only evidence for καίω", consultation of his source (Meisterhans' work on Attic inscriptions) reveals that there are actually only two extant examples of the word in relevant inflections.[284] There is, therefore, only marginal evidence that the ι-inclusive form was preferred in early Attic (as had been the case for the previous two words). Based on information from the TLG, Homer preferred the ι-inclusive form, as did Herodotus (suggesting that this was the preferred epic/Ionic spelling, as was the case for the previous words). Considering the form preferred by Attic authors, I find something a little different. For ἀεί, the ι-less form was preferred by all, and for ἀετός the ι-inclusive form appears in the tragedians and Aristophanes with the orators not having the word and Plato having only one instance of each spelling. But for καίω, I found that the tragedians maintain the ι-inclusive form (mirroring their siding with epic/Ionic spelling as found with regards to -σσ- and -ρσ-). Aristophanes and Plato, as more purely Attic authors, use the ι-less spelling (as they had for ἀεί). Relevant inflections of the word appear only 3 times in the Attic orators (twice with ι, once without). It seems, therefore, that LSJ's identification of κάω as an Attic spelling is correct (if it is taken to mean "Classical Attic" authors and not to refer to the insufficient evidence from inscriptions).

Where things get really interesting with respect to this word, however, is in looking at the choice of form in the Koine texts. Whereas the Koine adopted the ι-less spellings of ἀεί and ἀετός, here they prefer the ι-inclusive spellings found in Homer and Herodotus, but also the tragedians (and, on 2 of 3 occasions, the orators). According to Gignac, the same trend is true of the Greek and Byzantine papyri where "καίω and κλαίω predominate over κάω and κλάω."[285]

Blass, Debrunner and Funk attempt to give an account for this difference. In the quote from their book given above, they suggested that:

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[283] LSJ: καίω

[284] Schmid 1893: 41; Meisterhans 1900: 178. Threatte 1980 does not cite the word at all.

[285] Gignac 1976: 197

κάειν [and] κλάειν (because αι was preserved phonetically before ω and ο also in Attic) do not appear [in the Koine texts].[286]

This statement seems to suggest that although Koine texts such as the New Testament tended to use the ι-less ἀεί and ἀετος spellings, they used ι-inclusive spellings for κάειν and κλάιεν (as stated, the evidence from the TLG corroborates this statement). Further, they seem to be suggesting that there is a phonological explanation for the different results of the different words: While in literary Attic, the intervocalic -ι- tended to be lost, this was only true before front vowels like -ε. On the other hand, -ι- was retained ("even in Attic") before the back vowels -ω and -ο. Although Blass, Debrunner and Funk give the infinitive form of the verbs κάειν and κλάειν, the implication seems to be that the preservation of -ι- in verbal inflections like καίω and καίομαι resulted in the retention of -ι- even in other inflections by analogy (καίειν, καίεται etc.). This explanation must be one of the "[obscure] conditions that govern the loss of ι in some cases and its persistence in others" mentioned by Sihler.[287] Since the -ι- was not retained in all instances in Classical Attic, this explanation does not fully hold (the phrase "even in Attic" seems untrue) but they may be correct regarding the preservation of -ι- in the presence of back vowels in the Koine. Again, the diachronic explanation is confusing, but synchronically one can look simply at the facts which were that the ι-inclusive spelling was that preferred in the Koine.

Schmid's Atticists show mixed usage, as was the case for the previous two words. Again they predominantly use the Koine spelling, but occasionally have the alternative form (this time, therefore, having more instances of the ι-inclusive form).

The pattern of use for this lemma, then, can be described as xY : X (where X is the ι-inclusive form and Y the ι-less form to maintain consistency with the previous examples). One could conclude, therefore, that an author using the ι-less form may be attempting mild Atticism. On the other hand, an ι-inclusive spelling might indicate strong Koine leaning since it is the form preferred in the Koine and only occasionally found in Attic.

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[286] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 16
[287] Sihler 1995: 196

<u>κλαίω</u>: ("to cry", "to weep")

Discussions of this word parallel those of καίω. As has been seen, the two are usually cited together. Blass, Debrunner and Funk give the same argument for the ι-inclusive variation being prevalent in both Attic and Koine texts (preservation of -ι- before back vowels).[288] Again, the explanation makes more sense for Koine than it does for Attic. This time, there is no evidence of the word appearing in Classical Attic inscriptions and so one cannot make any conclusions regarding early Attic preference. But the pattern of use by different authors is very similar to that of καίω, with Homer preferring the ι-inclusive κλαίω and the tragedians following suit. Aristophanes and Plato, on the other hand, prefer the ι-less form. It is notable that this time the Attic orators show a slight preference for the ι-inclusive form, having 17 tokens with -ι- and 11 without. This suggests that the ι-inclusive spelling was already well established and accepted during the Classical Attic period. The New Testament and Septuagint have only the ι-inclusive spelling, in confirmation of Blass, Debrunner and Funk's claims that this was also the spelling found in the Koine. Use by Schmid's Second Sophistic authors is quite mixed with a slight preference for the κλαίω spelling.

I can conclude, then, that the ι-inclusive spelling was already dominant during the Classical period, although some Classical Attic authors preferred κλάω. The pattern of use was something like XY : X (where X is the ι-inclusive form and Y the ι-less form). Authors omitting -ι- could be seen as making a very definite choice to avoid the Koine spelling and showing moderate Atticism. Use of the ι-inclusive spelling could be described as moderately Koine-leaning as it is the variation preferred by the Koine but also often found in Attic.

<u>ἐλαία</u>: ("olive", "olive tree")

The fifth word usually associated with these others is ἐλαία. It seems to have been derived from the early Greek form ἐλαϝία with loss of [w].[289] Blass, Debrunner and Funk again state that the ι-less form ἐλάα does not appear in the New Testament and related texts, the reason given this time as "because of ἔλαιον".[290] The latter is the word for "olive-oil" and does not appear to have had an ι-less form in any dialect. According

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[288] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 16
[289] Sihler 1995: 41
[290] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 16

to LSJ, ἐλάα is the Attic spelling, other dialects preferring the citation form, ἐλαία.[291] Both spellings appear in the Attic inscriptions and, according to Threatte, there is no difference in meaning between the two (see discussion in the section on Ancient Testimony below).[292]

The pattern of use of this word seems to have been similar to that of the previous two, but with more variation among the early authors. A significant difference is that Homer uses both spellings in similar numbers, actually having more of the ι-less form (15 cases of ἐλάα to 12 of ἐλαία). Herodotus, on the other hand, exclusively uses ἐλαία. The tragedians, as might be expected, prefer the ι-inclusive spelling, and Aristophanes and Plato the ι-less one. The Attic orators show a mixed use, having an equal number of both (10 each). The Koine New Testament and Septuagint have ἐλαία exclusively and this is also the predominant spelling in the Roman and Byzantine papyri (although there are some rare instances of ἐλάα).[293] Schmid's Second Sophistic writers prefer (with a few exceptions) the ι-inclusive spelling.

Like κλαίω, then, this lemma falls into an XY : X pattern of use where X is ἐλαία and Y ἐλάα. Use of ἐλάα could be considered moderate Atticism and ἐλαία as moderately Koine-leaning. It will be seen, however, that the lexicographers had a perceived conception of how the form should be used which was somewhat more complicated.

Other Words:
Soler includes two additional words in this -αι-/-α- category; both words are found in Achilles Tatius and therefore potentially relevant. The first he cites as παίει (the 3rd singular present inflection of παίω "to strike") and the second παρειά "cheek piece".[294] So far as I can tell, παίω is always spelled with the -ι-, regardless of dialect, so its inclusion in this list seems unnecessary. According to LSJ, παιρειά does have some variation: παρεά (inscriptional) παραά (Doric) and παρηή (Old Ionic).[295] None of these are relevant to Attic or even widely attested, however, so this word is not relevant either.

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[291] LSJ: ἐλαία

[292] Threatte 1980: 278

[293] Gignac 1976: 196

[294] Santafé Soler 2005: 55-56

[295] LSJ: παιρειά

Summary:

Because of the complicated nature of this variation, I give below a table which summarises the information presented above. The table lists the dominant form found in texts of the nature indicated.[296]

Table 7-1 Summary of Dominant Spellings in Different Authors[297]

Attic Inscr.	Homer	Trag.	Arist.	Orators	Plato	LXX & NT	Pap.	Schmid's Sophists
αἰεί	**αἰεί**	ἀεί	ἀεί	**ἀεί**	ἀεί	**ἀεί**	ἀεί	ἀεί
αἰετός	**αἰετός**	**αἰετός**	**αἰετός**	*none*; other prose: ἀετός	ἀετός (1) αἰετός (1)	**ἀετός**	**ἀετός**	**ἀετός**
καίω (2)	καίω	**καίω**	κάω	κάω (1) καίω (2)	**κάω**	καίω	καίω	καίω
none	**κλαίω**	**κλαίω**	κλάω	κλαίω	κλάω	**κλαίω**	κλαίω	κλαίω
both	ἐλάα (15) ἐλαία (12)	ἐλαία	ἐλάα	ἐλάα (10) ἐλαία (10)	**ἐλάα**	ἐλαία	**ἐλαία**	ἐλαία

The following table summarises the conclusions reached for each word regarding the different forms and the pattern of use for each word.

Table 7-2 Summary of Attic and Non-Attic usage[298]

Early Attic	Classical Attic	Standard Koine	Pattern of Use
αἰεί	ἀεί	ἀεί	xY : Y
αἰετός	αἰετός	ἀετός	Xy : Y
καίω (?)	κάω	καίω	xY : X
unknown	*both*	κλαίω	XY : X
both	*both*	ελαία	XY : X

In conclusion, based on my criterion "use of the form by Attic writers and evidence for the alternative", the variation of words spelled with -αι- vs -α- is not straightforward as was the case with previous markers discussed. There is no clear rule with which one can say that words spelled with bare -α- are non-Attic and those with -αι- Atticist or Attic-leaning. Of the five main words to which the variation applies, each presents a slightly

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[296] Bold font indicates (near) exclusive use of that form (more than 95%). Unbolded font indicates that there are exceptions. Both forms given with numbers in brackets indicate almost equal distribution.

[297] *Attic Inscr.*: Attic inscriptions; *Trag.*: Tragedians; *Arist.*: Aristophanes; *LXX & NT*: Septuagint and New Testament; *Pap.*: Roman and Byzantine papyri.

[298] Note that for αἰεί and αἰετός, X represents the ι-inclusive form and Y the ι-less one. For the other three lemmas, X is the ι-less form and Y the ι-inclusive one.

different set of evidence regarding which form was used by which group of writers and which, if any, may be regarded as Atticist.

ἀεί prefers the same (ι-less) spelling for most writers of Classical Attic and for the Koine. The ι-inclusive form is largely epic/Ionic but also occurred in early Attic inscriptions. Use of it, therefore, may be considered hyper-Atticist the ι-inclusive spelling as only mildly Koine-leaning. For ἀετός, the ι-less spelling is again found in both Attic and the Koine, but this time Attic texts preserved the ι-inclusive spelling for longer. Use of the ι-inclusive spelling is mildly Atticist and use of the ι-less variant more strongly Koine-leaning.

καίω and κλαίω follow a different pattern. For them, the ι-inclusive form is that preferred by the Koine as well as by Homer and Ionic. κάω is found predominantly in Classical Attic but καίω sometimes occurs. Use of κάω could be seen as mild Atticism and of καίω as strongly Koine-leaning. For κλαίω, the ι-inclusive spelling is adopted more thoroughly in Attic and so κλαω could be seen as moderate Atticism and κλαίω as moderately Koine-leaning.

Finally, ἐλαία and ἐλάα seem to have been used equally in Attic (as in Homer) but ἐλαία came to dominate in the Koine. As a result, ἐλάα can be seen as moderate Atticism and ἐλαία as moderately Koine-leaning.

7.2.3 Ancient Testimony

Despite the inconsistent application of -αι-/-α- forms in ancient use, some lexicographers and grammarians seem to have held particular views about these lemmas. Significantly, what Moeris suggests as Attic versus non-Attic forms does not entirely match up with the evidence discussed in the last section. His comments are important because they represent at least one view held by Atticists of his day regarding what was *considered* Attic (or non-Attic), even if in error. I will again discuss each of the lemmas independently (although κάω and κλάω require a combined discussion).

<u>ἀεί</u>: ("always")

Moeris does not discuss the spelling of this word. This is unsurprising as it fits with the observation that the Classical Attic and Koine spellings of the two were often the same and so no comment needed to be made about which is the Attic and which the non-Attic form. Herodian, on the other, hand has a number of references to the form ἀεί (and its variations). This first one presents it in a list along with some of the other lemmas which are relevant to this section.

7.1   Herodian *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (422.20-24)

Περὶ τῆς <u>αι</u> διφθόγγου.

Τὰ ἔχοντα τὴν αι δίφθογγον κατά τινα συλλαβὴν καὶ πεφυκότα ἀποβάλλειν τὸ ι κατὰ διάλεκτον διὰ τῆς αι διφθόγγου γράφεται οἷον κλαίω κλάω, καίω κάω, αἰετός ἀετός, <u>αἰεί</u> <u>ἀεί</u>, ἑταῖρος ἔταρος, παλαιός πάλαος.

Concerning the [ai] diphthong

Those (words) having the *-ai-* diphthong in some syllable also being inclined to drop the *-i-* according to dialect are written with the *-ai-* diphthong. For example: *klaiō/klaō, kaiō/kaō, aietos/aetos, aiei/aei, hetairos/hetaros, palaios/palaos.*

Unfortunately, Herodian does not say which dialects keep and which throw away the -ι- in these words, but he highlights the fact that there are variations based on dialect. In a different passage, he gives a clearer indication of how different dialects represent the ἀεί lemma:

7.2   Herodian *Pros. Cath.* (497.9-19)

δωδεκαχῶς δὲ λέγεται <u>ἀεί</u> τὸ ἐπίρρημα. <u>αἰεί</u> <u>αἰέν</u> *παρὰ Δωριεῦσιν·* παρὰ δὲ *Ἀττικοῖς* κατὰ συστολὴν τοῦ α <u>ἀεί</u>. ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ᾽ ἔκτασιν τοῦ α <u>ἀεί</u>. παρὰ δὲ *Αἰολεῦσιν* τῆς ἀρχούσης ἐχούσης τὴν αι δίφθογγον, τοῦ δὲ τέλους τὸ ι συστελλόμενον βαρυτόνως <u>αἶι</u>· λέγεται δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ σὺν τῷ ν <u>αἶιν</u>. γίνεται δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ κατὰ συστολὴν τῆς ἀρχούσης <u>ἄϊν</u> καὶ ἀποβολῇ τοῦ ν <u>ἄϊ</u> βαρυτόνως. *Λάκωνες* δὲ <u>αἰές</u> φασίν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ <u>αἰέ</u> δίχα τοῦ ν καὶ τοῦ ς διὰ τῆς αι διφθόγγου κατ᾽ ἀρχὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦ ε κατὰ τὸ τέλος. *Βοιωτοὶ* δὲ <u>ἠΐ</u> διὰ τοῦ η καὶ μακροῦ τοῦ ι κατὰ τὴν λήγουσαν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ <u>αἰή</u> διὰ τοῦ η παρὰ *Ταραντίνοις* φυλαττομένης τῆς κατ᾽ ἀρχὴν αι διφθόγγου τροπῇ τῆς ει διφθόγγου εἰς η.

And the adverb *aei* is said in twelve ways: *aiei* or *aiein* (is said) by the Dorians; by the Athenians with the short form of *a*, (it is) *aei*. But even with the lengthening of *a* (it is) *aei*. Among the Aeolians, the *ai* diphthong (is placed) at the beginning, and a shortened unaccented *i* at the end, (resulting in) *aii*. And it is also pronounced by them with an *n* (as) *aiin*. And by them also developed, by contraction on the first syllable, *aïn* and, by the dropping of the *n*, *aï*, without accent on the final syllable. The Laconians say *aies*. And they also say *aie* without an *n* or an *s*, with the *ai* diphthong at the beginning and an *e* at the end. The Boeotians (say) *ēï* with an *ē* and a long *i* on the final syllable. But *aiē* with an *ē* is said by the Tarentines, keeping the *ai* diphthong at the beginning, with a change of the *ei* diphthong into *ē*.

He gives here a list of the different ways that ἀεί was said by different (Classical) dialect groups. Specifically, Herodian states that the Attic spelling of the adverb is without -ι- (i.e. ἀεί), regardless of whether the initial α is long or short. This confirms the practice I observed from Attic inscriptions after 361 BC, Aristophanes and the orators and suggests that in Herodian's day this was perceived as the proper Attic spelling. In addition to Attic, he gives five other dialectal variations (Doric, Aeolic, Laconian, Boeotian and Tarentine). Even within the dialect groups, variations in spelling existed with, for example, a moveable -ν in Doric and Aeolic and contracted forms in Aeolic. He does not describe an Ionic spelling (separate from Attic). It is perhaps interesting to note that in all his examples, only Attic has the bare α- spelling with -ι- omitted. Its geographic neighbour, Boeotian, also has no -ι- (in the first syllable, although -ει is replaced by -ι in the second) but it has a long η instead of α.

Unfortunately, Herodian does not give an indicator of what he perceived to be the everyday Koine spelling. One could potentially take his first citation of the word (ἀεί) as representing the form which was in common use (Koine evidence has shown that this was the standard spelling by this time), but I would be cautious making such an assumption.

An aspiring Atticist reading Herodian's work might take from this passage that one should use an ι-less spelling in order to appear Attic, but Herodian does not explicitly state this and his work is not intended as an Atticist handbook. It is interesting simply to note that Herodian was aware of this word having had variations in its spelling.

<u>ἀετός</u>: ("eagle")

This word is explicitly mentioned by Moeris. And what he has to say about it is rather surprising. According to him, it is the ι-less spelling which is the Attic one, and the ι-inclusive spelling which the Hellenistic Greeks used.

7.3 Moeris *Atticista*

(α.31) ἀετόν Ἀττικοί· αἰετόν Ἕλληνες.

The Attic speakers (say) *aeton*; the Greeks *aieton*

From the evidence I presented, it has been seen that in Attic inscriptions before 300 BC and an Attic writer like Aristophanes, the ι-inclusive form prevailed. There were also equal numbers of both spellings in Plato (only 1 each) and Xenophon (5 each). Unfortunately, the Attic orators did not use the word but the other Attic writers who used it generally had the ι-less form. It could be these authors (Aristotle and two lesser-known historians) whom Moeris was thinking of when he made his claim, but it is strange that he ignored the evidence from Aristophanes. The more problematic part about his statement is his suggestion that ι-inclusive αἰετός (which, as stated, was used by Aristophanes) is said to be the non-Attic spelling. A possible explanation for how this mistake crept in is that Moeris may have used analogy to erroneously extend the rule he presents for κάω and κλαίω (which will be seen below).

Two things should be noted from this. The first is that not all Moeris' entries were necessarily correct with regards to actual usage. The second, and more important for this discussion, is that it seems that there was an erroneous perception held by at least one lexicographer that ἀετός was not only an Attic spelling, but the correct form that an Atticist should use in order to create a contrast from non-Attic αἰετός. This might account for the fact that few of Schmid's Atticists used the αἰετός spelling, but is still problematic. Based on ancient use, αἰετός was seen as mildly Atticist and ἀετός as strongly Koine-leaning. Based on Moeris, however, ἀετός is a perceived Atticism and αἰετός as non-Attic. This points to a disconnect between actual use and perceived use which I will address in discussion of Achilles Tatius' use of this lemma.

<u>κάίω and κλαίω</u>: ("to kindle" and "to cry")

As already hinted, Moeris also has an entry regarding these two words. They are given as a single entry:

7.4 Moeris *Atticista*

(κ.46) κλάειν καὶ κάειν σὺν τῷ α Ἀττικοί· μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ι Ἕλληνες.

The Attic speakers (say) *klaein* and *kaein* with an *-a-*; but the Greeks (say these) together with an *-i-*.

As seen in the previous section, this time at least, the second half of the statement is correct and the first half has partial motivation. The ι-inclusive spelling was the form preferred in Koine texts and Roman papyri. Moeris' suggestion that the ι-less spellings are Attic is not inconsistent with my description of κάω as a mildly Atticising and κλαω as moderately Atticist. Although the ι-inclusive forms are also found in Attic, they are used less than or to an equal degree with the ι-less forms. This means that when an author uses the ι-inclusive forms, they could be seen as intentionally making use of a form found in Attic and therefore Atticising to some degree.

Moeris is not the only one to explicitly state that ι-less καίω and κλαίω were Attic. Herodian, in a discussion of the spelling of a different word, ποιῶ, talks about the Athenians being fond of "throwing away" iotas. He uses καίω and κλαίω (spelled κάω and κλάω by the Athenians) as an example of this trend.

7.5 Herodian *Περὶ παθῶν* (280.4-9)

ποιῶ: ἰστέον ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποβάλλουσι τὸ ι λέγοντες ποῶ· καὶ ἀποροῦσί τινες λέγοντες ὅτι, εἰ ἄρα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ κλαίω καὶ καίω ἀποβάλλοντες τὸ ι ἐκτείνουσι τὸ δίχρονον, διατί καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἀποβάλλοντες τὸ ι οὐκ ἐκτείνουσι τὸ ο εἰς τὸ ω. καὶ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποβάλλοντες τὸ ι τὸν αὐτὸν τόνον φυλάττουσιν ἐν τῷ κλάω κάω·

poiō: one should know that the Athenians drop *-i-* saying *poō*; and some are puzzled saying that if the Athenians, when they drop the *-i-* from *klaiō* and *kaiō*, lengthen the dichronic vowel, why would they not also lengthen *-o* to *-ō* when they drop the *-i-* in this word [i.e. *poiō*]? In addition, it is possible to say that the Athenians, when they drop the *-i-*, keep the same accent in *klaō* and *kaō*.

ἐλαία: ("olive", "olive tree")

I observed that both variations of this lemma occurred side-by-side from as early as Homer. This continued in Attic texts although, the ι-inclusive form came to dominate in the Koine. Because of the apparent free variation of this lemma in Classical times, later

writers and grammarians seem to have felt the need to introduce a rule that distinguished the words not according to dialect, but by meaning. It is an observed trend in the process of linguistic change that when two completely synonymous linguistic forms develop, one of them tends to undergo specialisation or semantic shift (i.e. the meaning of one or both either becomes more specialised or changes in meaning altogether).[299] Post-Classical Greek grammarians seem to have felt that ἐλαία and ἐλάα should not refer to the same entity, and so introduced a "rule" that the former referred specifically to the olive tree and the latter to the fruit.[300] This is contrary to the evidence of actual use as has been seen. Statements of this new rule are overtly stated in late lexicographical/grammatical texts like the Suda (10th C AD), Pseudo-Zonaras (13th C AD) and Eustathius (12th C AD).

7.6 Suda *Lexicon.*

(ε.1-2) Ἐλάα: ὁ καρπός, Ἐλαία δὲ τὸ δένδρον.

Elaa: the fruit, but *Elaia* (is) the tree.

7.7 Pseudo-Zonaras *Lexicon.*

(ε.5) Ἐλάα. καρπὸς τῆς ἐλαίας.

Elaa: the fruit of the *elaia* (olive tree)

7.8 Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (3.522.7)

Τὸ δὲ ἐλάϊνον ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλαία γέγονεν ἀποθέσει τοῦ ι τῆς διφθόγγου, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλάα Ἀττικοῦ, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῷ Κωμικῷ χρῆσις καὶ ὁ κατὰ Διογένην ἀστεϊσμὸς τοῦ "μάστιξε δ' ἐλάαν", ἤγουν ἀπερράπισεν ἀπωσάμενος τὴν ἐλαίαν. [ἐλάα γάρ, ὡς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ παρεσημάνθη, οὐ τὸ δένδρον ἀλλ' ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ.]

The (adjective) *elaïnos* is derived from either *elaia* with the setting aside of the *-i-* from the diphthong or from the Attic *elaa*, which is clear from both the usage of the Comic Poet and from the wit of Diogenes who "whipped an olive (*elaa*)", that is to say he beat back the olive tree (*elaia*), thrusting it away. [For *elaa*, to distinguish it from the other, is not the tree but the fruit from it.]

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[299] For example, in English, analogical phonological levelling led to the development of pairs of words like *brothers/brethren* and *older/elder*. In such cases, it is normal for the meaning of one of the two variations to become specialised. For more on this phenomenon, see Hock & Joseph 1996: 236-237.

[300] LSJ: ἐλαία

7.9   Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (1.266.18)

ὥσπερ καὶ <u>ἐλαία</u>, αὐτό τε τὸ φυτὸν καὶ ὁ καρπός. αὐτὸς δὲ, μάλιστα δίχα τοῦ ι. <u>ἐλάα</u> γὰρ Ἀττικῶς, ὁ τῆς <u>ἐλαίας</u> καρπός.

Just like with *elaia*, both for the plant itself and the fruit. But this (i.e. the latter) especially occurs without the *-i-*. For in Attic, *elaa* (is) the fruit from the *elaia* (olive tree).

The entry in LSJ criticises this differentiation introduced by the grammarians suggesting instead that "ἐλάα is simply the Att[ic] form".[301] I have shown that this assertion is not entirely correct either, although ἐλάα was found in Attic more than in the Koine. In practice, however, there appears to have been free variation of the two spellings in Classical Attic. This more correct analysis seems to have been held by Aelius Dionysius, who gives three different spelling variations.

7.10   Aelius Dionysius *Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα*

(ε.29*)   <u>ἐλαία</u> καὶ <u>ἐλάα</u> καὶ <u>ἐλᾶ</u>· Ἀττικῶς ὁ τῆς ἐλαίας καρπός.
    elaia and *elaa* and *elā*: in Attic Greek, the fruit of the olive tree

He seems to be stating that the word for the fruit of the olive tree (which he calls ἐλαία) can be spelled as ἐλαία, ἐλάα or ἐλᾶ in Attic. The third spelling is simply a contraction α + α resulting in long [ā], ā (and probably intended to avoid word-internal hiatus).

Finally, it is worth noting that Moeris does have a reference to the lemma in question, but he is more interested in the correct (Attic) adjective for describing pickled olives and gives no variation for the spelling of olive itself:

7.11   Moeris *Atticista*.

(α.105)   ἁλμάδες Ἀττικοί· κολυμβάδες <u>ἐλαῖαι</u> Ἕλληνες.
    The Attic speakers (say) *halmades* (i.e. salted) [olives]; the Greeks (call them) *kolumbades* <u>olives</u> (i.e. swimming/pickled in brine)

His entry is very similar to one given in fellow Atticist, Phrynichus', lexicon. Phynichus, however, implicitly suggests that the -ι- ought to be omitted from ἐλαία if one wants the correct Attic usage.

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[301] LSJ: ἐλαία

(87.1)   Κολυμβάδες <u>ἐλαῖαι</u> μὴ λέγε, ἀλλὰ ἀλμάδες <u>ἐλᾶαι</u> χωρὶς τοῦ ι.

Do not say *kolumbades* <u>*elaiai*</u> (olives swimming/pickled in brine), but *halmades* <u>*elaai*</u> (salted olives), omitting the [i].

It seems, then, that two main perceptions regarding the variation in spelling prevailed; the first was that the two words could not mean the same thing; the second was that, if there was a dialectal variation, the ι-less spelling was the correct Attic spelling (at least when referring to the fruit).

While the first differentiation is merely perceived and not backed up by evidence, the latter corroborates my suggestion that the ι-less spelling be considered Atticising.

An ι-less spelling in a potentially Atticising author, therefore, may indicate moderate Atticism. If the author is referring to the fruit this would also be a perceived Atticism. The ι-inclusive spelling would point to moderate Koine-leaning preference, but in an Atticising author would only be permissible if referring to the tree. Below I present a summary of the information described above.

Table 7-3 Table Atticising Forms According to:

Lemma	Historic use	Moeris	Herodian	Other grammarians
αἰεί	αἰεί: hyper-Atticism	*none*	ἀεί	
αἰετός	αἰετός: mild Atticism	ἀετός	*none*	
κάω	κάω: mild Atticism	κάω	κάω	
κλάω	κλάω: mod Atticism	κλάω	κλάω	
ἐλαία	ἐλάα: mod Atticism	*none*	*none*	ἐλαία = tree ἐλάα = fruit (esp. in Attic)

7.3 Use in Achilles' Text

After this long discussion of the complications surrounding the -α-/-αι- variation, I am finally in a position to analyse Achilles Tatius' preferences with regards to these forms. In the table below, I present statistics relating to the use of these words in Achilles' text. After that, I will discuss his use. Again, I will treat each of the 5 lemmas in turn.

Table 7-4 Incidents of -α- and -αι- and of Significant Lemmas in Achilles' Text

Lemma	-α-	%	-αι-	%
ἀεί	15	100		
ἀετός	4	100		
καίω			8 (4)	100
κλαίω	7 (4)	47 (36)	8 (7)	53 (64)
ἐλαία			2	100

Achilles has 15 instances of ἀεί. They are all spelled without the -ι- and there is no variation in the manuscript tradition. His spelling, therefore, is the one that is more common in both Attic and the Koine. His use could be described as mildly Koine-leaning as he does not use the hyper-Atticist alternative.

Achilles has 4 instances of the lemma ἀετὸς, all with the ι-less spelling (1 case of ἀετός, 2 of ἀετόν and 1 of ἀετοῦ). There is no variation in the manuscript tradition. From the point of view of historical use, he is again using the typical Koine spelling but this time there is more attestation for the ι-inclusive spelling among Attic writers, so his choice could be described as strongly Koine-leaning.

This lemma is complicated by the fact that Moeris claimed that the ι-less spelling was Attic and ι-inclusive non-Attic. According to Moeris, then, Achilles has used a perceived Atticism, but I think it is unlikely that Achilles would have been following Moeris' guideline with respect to this lemma. Achilles has shown no tendency thus far to strictly adhere to Moeris' (or Moeris-type) rules, so it would be surprising for him to suddenly do so when the "rule" violates observed practice. As such, it is more likely that Achilles was making no attempt to Atticise this lemma by using the common Koine form. In addition, there is some dispute as to exactly when Moeris' lexicon was composed. Although traditionally attributed to the 2nd century AD, as in the TLG, recent scholarship has pushed it forward to the early 3rd century AD, which means that it would have been composed after the first version of Achilles' text.[302] This does not mean that Achilles would not have had access to precedents of Moeris' work or that the views in Moeris' text were not generally held and known at the time Achilles was

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[302] On the dates of Achilles and Moeris, see discussion of dates in the *Literature Review* (2.1) and *Methodology* (3.2.3) sections.

writing, but given Achilles' practices so far, it is unlikely he would have taken these seriously in preference to actual practice.

Achilles has 8 cases of καίω and compounds. Based on Vilborg's edition, he uses the ι-inclusive spelling in all cases (3 of καίομαι and 1 each of καίεται, καίων, καιέτω, κατακαίεται and ἀνακαιόμενον). This time, there is some limited manuscript variation. The token καίεται (found at 5.8.2), two cases of καίομαι (5.15.5, 5.26.1), and ἀνακαιόμενον (5.15.5) all appear with the ι-less spelling in MS W.[303] It is notable that all these tokens appear in Book 5 (and these are all the tokens of this lemma from that book). Vilborg describes MS W (a member of branch α) as "probably the oldest of the extant Achilles Tatius MSS, written with the utmost elegance and clarity."[304] It is not obvious why it is only in Book 5 and only in one manuscript that the ι-less spelling is found, but the fact that the word appears with -ι- in all other cases and in other manuscripts (of different families) suggests that the prototype had -ι- in all cases, even in Book 5, and that the scribe who wrote MS W dropped the -ι- in book 5 for some reason which cannot be recovered.

As has been seen, the ι-inclusive form of this word, which Achilles prefers, is generally associated with Ionic and the Koine, whereas Attic authors (Aristophanes and Plato) preferred the ι-less spelling. The orators used both spellings, but in numbers too small to make a reliable generalisation. Again, Achilles' choice can be described as strong Koine-leaning as he has avoided the mildly Atticist form κάω. This attribution is strengthened by the recommendations in Moeris (explicitly) and Herodian (implicitly) that the ι-less form is Attic and the ι-inclusive non-Attic. Although, as mentioned, Achilles shows no intention of following Moeris' work, the attestation in Moeris suggests a general perception at the time that the ι-inclusive spelling was the Koine preference and ι-less Attic. This time Moeris' "rule" is backed up by actual practice and was more likely to have been widely held.

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[303] According to Vilborg 1955: lxxxvii, MSS S and P were copied from W. As such, it is probable that they too had κάω spellings in Book 5. Vilborg does not explicitly confirm this, but such would be expected from a direct copy.

[304] Vilborg 1955: xxvi

Note that MS W covers the complete text of A.T. so the absence of ι-less spellings in other books is not due to these passages being missing from the MS.

There are 16 cases of κλαίω in Achilles' text. For this lemma, his use is inconsistent. 1 instance of the word is in the aorist form ἔκλαυσα and is not relevant as the -ι- is absent from all forms, but the remaining 15 have stems with the -αι-/-α- variable. A look at the examples in Vilborg reveals 8 cases of the ι-inclusive spelling (κλαίειν twice and 1 each of κλαίεις, κλαίουσα, κλαῖε, ἔκλαιε, ἔκλαιεν and ἔκλαιον) and 7 of the ι-less spelling (5 cases of ἔκλαον and 2 of ἔκλαεν). On closer examination, I found that there are 7 instances of κλαι- invariant in the manuscripts and 4 of κλα-. Of the remaining examples, 1 has κλαι- in manuscript family α and codex F, but κλα- in family β (4.1.4). There are 3 with κλα- in some manuscripts and κλαι- in others, κλα- having a slight majority in these cases and being the form Vilborg uses (3.20.1, 5.21.5, 7.7.6). One of these examples, 3.20.1, is the only example that occurs in the papyrus fragments. In Π^4, this word is spelled EKLAION, which matches the spelling found in MS W and F. In other manuscripts (i.e. all of family β and the M-branch of family α) the -ι- is omitted. This is also the form Vilborg selects.

It seems, then, that while Achilles shows a slight preference for the ι-inclusive spelling, this may never have been a complete preference. Either Achilles' original already had variations, or they were introduced at an early enough stage that at least 4 instances of the ι-less spelling made it into all the manuscripts. The presence of EKLAION in a papyrus fragment suggests that, at least in one case, the ι-less spelling found in some manuscripts (but not all) was introduced later. But the change must have happened early enough so that branches of both α and β have the ι-less spelling.

It is interesting to note that 3 of the 4 instances of the ι-less spelling which are consistent in all manuscripts again come from Book 5 (the fourth is from 4.10.5). There may be some connection between this and the ι-less spellings of καίω from Book 5 in MS W, but I cannot make a direct correlation, as the pattern is different there (applying only to one manuscript in the case of καίω). There is also one instance of κλαι- consistent in all the manuscripts from Book 5 (5.27.2).

Achilles' use of the ι-inclusive forms could be called moderately Koine-leaning. There are, however, 4 invariant tokens pointing to the presence of ι-less forms in the original text, suggesting a very limited attempt at moderate Atticism. So Achilles shows marginal signs of moderate Atticism but far more of Koine-leaning preference. This is

consistent with other instances where Achilles has attempted to Atticise but has not done so regularly even for the same lemma.

It seems safe to say, therefore, that again Achilles shows no strong Atticist tendencies in his representation of this word, although there might have been some isolated examples in his original text.

Finally, Achilles has two cases of ἐλαία in his text (1 of ἐλαία and 1 of ἐλαίαν), both from 2.14.4-5. They are invariant in the manuscripts and do not appear in the papyri. They both refer to the olive tree rather than the fruit, which, in theory, is in line with the advice of the later grammarians. But, as there are no references to the fruit in the text, I cannot tell whether or not Achilles held to their view that the fruit ought to be spelled without the -ι-, especially in Attic. With respect to the spelling of this lemma, Achilles shows moderate Koine-leaning. His use of the ι-inclusive spelling to indicate the olive tree falls in line with the grammarian's view that the ι-less spelling should be used for the fruit. But as he has no references to the fruit, it is unclear whether this is intentional or not.

7.4 Summary and Interim Conclusion

The table below summarises the findings relating to Achilles' choices for the αι/α variation:

Table 7-5 Incidents of -αι- and -α- for Significant Lemmas in Achilles' Text

Lemma	PoU	Lex/Gram	-α-	%	-αι-	%	Description of use
ἀεί	xY : Y	yes	15	100			Mild Koine-leaning
ἀετός	Xy : Y	yes but Moer opp.	4	100			Strong Koine-leaning
καίω	xY : X	yes			8(4)	100	Strong Koine-leaning
κλαίω	XY : X	yes	7(4)	47(36)	8(7)	53(64)	Mod Koine-leaning (partial)
ἐλαία	XY : X	yes but diff. meanings			2	100	Mod Koine-leaning

In conclusion, then, Achilles Tatius shows an overall Koine-leaning preference with respect to his representation of the words ἀεί, ἀετός, καίω, κλαίω and ἐλαία. This ranges

from mild to strong Koine-preference depending on the lemma. Although he prefers to write the first two without -ι- and the others with -ι-, he is using the Koine norm in all cases and, if anything, avoiding the marginally more "Attic" spellings. The only partial evidence for moderate Atticism is in a few cases of ι-less κλάω, but these are in the minority. In general, he shows a lack of interest (or strong intent) in Atticism with respect to this particular variation, which is in accord with the evidence from the other minor consonantal variations discussed previously.

8. Other Vowel Variations

There are a number of other vowel-related phonological variations associated with the Attic dialect which might seem in need of discussion here. It turns out, however, that these are either not relevant for Atticism or better suited to the next section in which I look at morphological variations.

8.1 Compensatory Lengthening

There is a set of words where loss of a consonant (usually [w]) led to lengthening of a preceding vowel in Ionic but not in Attic. This resulted in sets of words where the Attic form had a short vowel, but Ionic long such as ξένος/ξεῖνος, κόρη/κούρη, ὄρος/οὖρος and μόνος/μοῦνος.[305] This could have been significant for Atticism but the Attic spelling is almost always continued in the Koine. As a result, the typical Koine spelling is also the Attic one, and one cannot identify this spelling as an instantiation of Atticism. The pattern of use would be X : X, which has no significance. Use of the Ionic spelling might be interesting to note, since it would mark avoidance of the Attic spelling, but in all cases Achilles uses the spellings that are both Attic and Koine.

8.2 Attic Reversion after ε, ι and ρ

Similarly, there is a set of words that have different spellings in Attic and Ionic because of a sound-change that happened in both dialects, during which long ᾱ [ā] came to be pronounced as a long η [ē]. This change did not, however, affect Attic words where the vowel in question was preceded by ε, ι or ρ. (It is thought that the change had initially been universal in Attic, but for some reason, it later reverted to η after ε, ι or ρ).[306] As a result of this, Attic/Ionic pairs like γενεά/γενεή, οἰκία/οἰκιή and χώρα/χώρη developed. As with compensatory lengthening, the Attic spellings were mostly retained in the Koine (and are the spellings Achilles uses) and so this variation does not reveal anything about Atticism. Again, the pattern of use would be X : X.

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[305] Sihler 1995: 185. Note that ει and ου in these words represents "spurious diphthongs" which actually represent a long [ē] and long [ō] respectively.

[306] For discussion of the evidence for this argument, see Szemerényi 1968.

8.3 Contraction and Quantitative Metathesis

There are two final sets of phonetic variations which affected the Attic dialect. The first (contraction) involves the simplification of vowel combinations. The second (quantitative metathesis) involves the transferring of vowel length from the first to the second vowel in a vowel cluster. Both these variations particularly affect nouns and noun declension patterns. As a result, I will consider these variations (or at least phenomena affected by these variations) in the next section (which looks at morphological markers) rather than here.

8.4 Review of Phonetic Atticisms in Achilles Tatius.

Excluding the variations just mentioned, I have considered 6 phonetic markers where one of two (or more) variants might be seen as a marker of Atticism, and have looked at Achilles Tatius' preferences for each. This is what I have found:

With respect to the -ττ- versus -σσ- marker, Achilles showed a tendency to prefer the Atticising spellings. But this tendency was not absolute, especially with regards to the word θάλασσα. With respect to the -ρρ- versus -ρσ- variation, Achilles again showed a preference for the more Attic forms (picking mild to strong Attic-leaning alternatives). He was, in fact, more consistent in preferring the Attic spellings of these words than for the -ττ-/-σσ- forms (though he did show minor exceptions for θαρσέω and θάρσος, pointing to a few cases of mild/moderate avoidance of Atticism). This variation, then, showed much Attic-leaning preference though being less strong of an Atticist marker than the choice of -ττ- over -σσ-.

Concerning the other consonantal variations, I found far less interest in Atticism on Achilles' part. There are one or two potential cases of γίγνομαι (with the Attic -γν- spelling) in his work, but even these are not unanimously attested in the manuscripts. Most cases of γίνομαι and γινώσκω show simple avoidance of Atticism. σύν/συν- and μικρός show mild and σῦς shows moderate Koine-leaning preference rather than Atticising forms. On the other hand, his choice to have σμύρνα and σμύραινα is neutral, as these spellings were prevalent in both Classical Attic and the Koine.

With regards to the -α-/-αι- variation, Achilles again shows (mild to strong) Koine-leaning forms and avoidance of what might be considered more Atticising or hyper-Atticising forms. The only real exceptions are a few instances of moderately Atticist κλάω extant in all manuscripts. But even then, there are more unanimous instances of the Koine-leaning form, κλαίω. There may have been some Atticist spellings of κάω and κλάω introduced by later manuscript writers (especially the writer of MS W and in Book 5), but these are not relevant to the question of Achilles' preference.

Overall, then, I have found partial Atticism on Achilles' part with regards to the better known and more wide-spread -ττ- for -σσ- and -ρρ- for -ρσ- markers. Outside of these, Achilles' text shows very little evidence of phonetic Atticism, generally making use of Koine-leaning alternatives. In the next section, I will consider potential examples of and evidence for morphological Atticisms in Achilles' work.

SECTION C: MORPHOLOGICAL ATTICISM

9. Second Declension Contraction

Vowel contraction is a phonological process briefly mentioned in the previous section. It is prevalent throughout Greek, driven by the desire to avoid word internal hiatus, but is by no means universal (even within a dialect). The dialects treated contraction differently in different morphological environments, but it typically resulted in two adjacent vowels being replaced by a single long vowel or diphthong. Only some cases of contraction are relevant to Atticism, as many result in identical forms in both Attic and the Koine. Here I will look at contraction as it applied to the specific morphological environment of 2nd declension nouns and adjectives. This contraction occurred as a result of an unwanted hiatus developing at morphological boundaries (i.e. vowels occurring at both the end of a stem and the beginning of a declensional suffix).

Horrocks lists as one of his "important hallmarks of correct Attic usage":

> Use of the 'contracted' forms of nouns in which the root/stem originally ended in a vowel and the inflectional ending began with a vowel; the Koine (following Ionic) generally preferred the uncontracted variants: e.g. [Attic authors and Atticists used] ὀστοῦν (o'stu:n) not ὀστέον (o'steon) 'bone' etc.[307]

9.1 Development of the Variation

Second declension (also referred to as "thematic") nouns and adjectives can undergo contraction when they have stems ending in -o or -ε. For example, νο- ("mind") and ὀστε- ("bone"). Here, when the inflectional suffixes are added, combinations of o + o/ω and ε + o/ω (e.g. νό+ος, ὀστέ+ον) result. In Attic, contraction is the norm for such words, but in other dialects (often in Ionic) they remain uncontracted. The Koine tends to follow the Ionic uncontracted (or "open") forms, but it will be seen that this is not always the case. Below is a table showing the contracted and uncontracted sets of paradigms for examples of nouns of this sort:

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[307] Horrocks 2014: 138

Table 9-1 Contracted versus Uncontracted Forms of Thematic Nouns [308]

Number/Case	Uncontracted	Contracted	Uncontracted	Contracted
sg. nom.	νό-ος	νοῦς	ὀστέ-ον	ὀστοῦν
voc.	νό-ε	νοῦ	ὀστέ-ον	ὀστοῦν
acc.	νό-ον	νοῦν	ὀστέ-ον	ὀστοῦν
gen.	νό-ου	νοῦ	ὀστέ-ου	ὀστοῦ
dat.	νό-ῳ	νῷ	ὀστέ-ῳ	ὀστῷ
pl. nom./voc.	νό-οι	νοῖ	ὀστέ-α	ὀστᾶ
acc.	νό-ους	νοῦς	ὀστέ-α	ὀστᾶ
gen.	νό-ων	νῶν	ὀστέ-ων	ὀστῶν
dat.	νό-οις	νοῖς	ὀστέ-οις	ὀστοῖς

Adjectives of the thematic declension follow the same patterns of contraction when their stems end in a vowel. In the masculine and neuter, they contract like the 2nd declension nouns shown above.

An example of such an adjective is that built on the stem χρυσε- ("golden"). It takes the uncontracted nominative forms χρύσεος (masc.) and χρύσεον (neut.) in some dialects but contracted χρυσοῦς (masc.) and χρυσοῦν (neut.) in Attic.[309] Similar contractions occur for the other cases. Smyth notes that the general rule of contraction for these adjectives in Attic does not apply to the neuter plural nominative and accusative forms of compound adjectives "of two endings" (i.e. those which use masculine forms for feminine nouns).[310] Examples of this are εὔνοα and ἄπλοα.

9.2 Evidence for Contraction in Second Declension Words as a Marker of Atticism

To determine whether contraction in this environment is a genuine marker of Atticism, it must be shown that the contracted forms were associated with Attic and Atticism and that the uncontracted forms were associated with the Koine.

9.2.1 Modern Scholarship

The passage from Horrocks quoted above is one reference in modern scholarship to contraction in the 2nd declension as a marker of Atticism. His example, ὀστοῦν from ὀστέον ("bone"), is a 2nd declension neuter noun. His statement says that contraction could occur in various environments where "the root/stem originally ended in a vowel

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[308] The examples and paradigms given in this and the next section are largely taken from Smyth 1920.

[309] Smyth 1920: 61

[310] Smyth 1920: 62

and the inflectional ending began with a vowel".[311] Horrocks does state that the Koine "generally" preferred the uncontracted form, suggesting that this was not a universal rule.

Blass, Debrunner and Funk discuss contraction in 2nd declension nouns in the New Testament. They describe uncontracted 2nd declension ὀστέον as a common Hellenistic form present in the New Testament (except for one unusual case of ὀστοῦν). Also uncontracted in the New Testament is ὀρνέον ("bird") and sometimes χρύσεος ("golden").[312]

Blass, Debrunner and Funk also discuss 2nd declension contract nouns with stems ending in -ο: νόος ("mind"), πλόος ("voyage"), ῥόος ("stream") (contr. νοῦς, πλοῦς, ῥοῦς). They point out that in the New Testament and other Koine texts, these words were often reanalysed as 3rd declension nouns on the pattern of βοῦς ("ox") (gen. βοός).[313] As a result, consideration of Atticism in such words must look at not only whether contraction occurs, but also which declension they have been assigned to.

Sihler points out that "in disyllabic nouns, even in Att[ic], ε+ο and ε+α do not normally contract." He gives, as an example, the 2nd declension noun θέος ("god").[314] This is an important observation as it rules out thematic nouns and adjectives with stems in -ε from being relevant to Atticism if they are only two syllables long.

Schmid, in his "Overview of the elements of Atticist literary language", discusses contract nouns under the heading "Contract and Open Forms".[315] But on closer inspection, his examples here are relevant to 3rd declension contracts only. He does, however, talk about thematic (second) declension contraction in his analyses of Atticism in Aelian and Philostratus II. In both cases, examples are found under a section on morphology which he calls "Non-Attic Forms" and he refers to these examples as "Ionisms which also belong to the Koine". Here he gives examples of open forms like ὀστέα, ὀστέων and ὀστέου, κυάνεος, σιδήρεος, ἐπαοιδή, ἐπίπνοοι, διπλόη and

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[311] Horrocks 2014: 138
[312] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 25-26
[313] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 29
[314] Sihler 1995: 81
[315] Schmid 1896: 580

πορφυρέην as examples that may be considered both Ionic and Koine (and, by implication, non-Attic).[316]

<u>9.2.2 Use of the Marker by Attic Writers and Evidence for the Alternative (also Ancient Testimony)</u>

Although there are many 2nd declension words that could undergo contraction, many turn out not to be relevant to Atticism. Some which regularly contract in Attic continue to undergo contraction in the Koine (though they may appear uncontracted in other dialects, like Ionic or Doric), and some remain uncontracted in both Attic and the Koine. To make the large number of such words more manageable, I will discuss only examples actually found in Achilles' text and take each in turn. I will also consider evidence from ancient lexicographers and grammarians regarding the Atticist nature of such words in this section rather than in a separate one.

<u>Words Which Never Undergo Contraction, even in Attic</u>

There are a number of nouns which, despite having stems in o- or ε-, did not undergo contraction regularly, even in the Attic dialect. In these cases, they have no relevance to Achilles' attempts (or failures) at Atticism.

The first group of such words are those with stems in ε- which are only two syllables long and therefore excluded from contraction as described by Sihler.[317] Examples found in Achilles' text are the nouns θέος ("god") and δέος ("fear"), the regular adjective νέος ("new", "young") and the possessive adjective ἑός ("his own").

There are also some words with stems in ε- which are longer than two syllables, but never undergo contraction, even in Attic. These include the noun κολεόν (sometimes spelled κουλεόν, but never contracted) and the adjectives ἔνθεος, ἀργαλέος, ποιητέος, ἐνεός (later spelled ἐννεός) and στερεός (sometimes spelled στερρός). The reasons for these forms not being contracted are unclear and probably have different etymological causes in each case (for example, ἔνθεος is a compound of θεός, which is never contracted itself). Notably, the -εο- adjectives which do undergo contraction (and will

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[316] Schmid 1893: 18-20; Schmid 1896: 13-14
[317] Sihler 1995: 81

be discussed later) all seem to be derived denominatives with the meaning "made from a (metallic or coloured) substance".

In addition to these, there are a few words with stems in o- which never undergo contraction. This includes the compound noun οἰνοχόος ("cupbearer"). Threatte says that compounds of -χοος normally stay uncontracted, even in Attic inscriptions.[318] The adjective ὑπήκοος ("hearkening") similarly does not undergo contraction. The adjectives ὄγδοος ("eighth") and ἀθρόος ("together", "in crowds") are also usually uncontracted, but I will discuss them later because other types of variation do exist for these lemmas.

Words Which Do Undergo Contraction in Attic

There are a number of words where the presence of o- or ε- in front of a suffix does result in contraction in Attic. In most cases, these words remained uncontracted in the Ionic dialect. Sometimes they remained uncontracted in the Koine too, but at other times they followed the Attic practice of contraction.

Nouns

τό ὀστέον: ("bone")

This lemma is the prime example of contraction given in Horrocks' list of Atticisms. While in Homer it remained consistently uncontracted, in Attic it generally underwent contraction. An examination of the evidence, however, shows that the usage of this word was not straightforward. According to Threatte, it was indeed normally contracted in prose Attic inscriptions (with one exception), but it was sometimes uncontracted in verse inscriptions.[319] LSJ also describes the contracted form as "Attic."[320] In the Attic tragedians and Aristophanes, there are actually more uncontracted cases than contracted, but an examination shows that this seems to particularly affect the genitive plural (always ὀστέων). In the Attic orators, contraction is the norm, but again it is exclusively applied to one form, the nom./acc. plural ὀστᾶ (10 times). The only two other cases of the lemma are also of the nom./acc. plural, both in Aeschines, once elided ὀστέ' and

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[318] Threatte 1996: 34
[319] Threatte 1996: 37
[320] LSJ: ὀστέον

once uncontracted ὀστέον. Plato and Aristotle mostly have the contracted forms, with a few exceptions.

Blass, Debrunner and Funk describe the uncontracted form of this lemma as "Hellenistic" and note only one exceptionally contracted case of ὀστοῦν in the New Testament (the remainder are uncontracted). The Septuagint has both contracted and uncontracted forms. Uncontracted forms are preferred for most cases and numbers except the nom./acc. plural ὀστᾶ which is always contracted (and actually makes up by far the most number of tokens; 90 out of 129). Galen has many examples of both contracted and uncontracted forms for all grammatical cases, although the total number of contracted forms is much higher (1 975 to 362).

Schmid lists uncontracted examples of ὀστέον as "Ionisms which are also found in the Koine" in his discussion of Atticism in Aelian and Philostratus.[321] In both authors, the number of uncontracted examples is limited, and there are still many examples of the contracted spelling. A TLG analysis of all Schmid's authors shows a general preference for the contracted form (62 to 8) with no specific preference for contraction in a particular case/inflection. In the Roman and Byzantine papyri both contract and open forms are found.[322] The entry in LSJ describes open forms as "generally occur[ring] in later prose".[323]

Based on this information, the pattern of use for this lemma is Xy : xY where X is the contracted form and Y uncontracted (as will be the case for all lemmas in this chapter). Comparing actual use to the testimony of the lexicographers, there is an entry in Moeris where he explicitly advocates use of the contract form:

9.1 Moeris *Atticista*

(o. 27) ὀστοῦν Ἀττικοί· ὀστέον Ἕλληνες.
     The Attic speakers (say) *ostoun*; the Greeks *osteon*.

On the balance of evidence, while there is some argument (as per Horrocks) for considering the contracted spellings as simply Atticist and the uncontracted spelling

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[321] Schmid 1893: 19; Schmid 1896: 14
[322] Gignac 1981: 37
[323] LSJ: ὀστέον

avoidance of Atticism, this is not the whole story. Even in traditionally Attic writers, the uncontracted form occurred in some instances, especially in the genitive plural. Similarly, while the uncontracted form is found in Koine texts (and it is typically described as being "Hellenistic" or characteristic of "later prose"), the contracted form can occur, sometimes quite commonly (especially in the nom./acc. plural). Contracted forms are found even in the Septuagint, Galen and Roman and Byzantine papyri.

The uncontracted forms, therefore, may be perceived as characteristic of the Koine and moderately Koine-leaning, and the choice to use the contracted form described as moderately Attic-leaning. The latter is a perceived Atticism according to Moeris.

τό κάνεον: ("basket")

This lemma is much rarer than ὀστέον. In the Attic inscriptions, it is only ever found in the contracted form.[324] In other typically Attic texts (the tragedians, Aristophanes, and the orators) it is also always contracted. By contrast, in Homer and other Ionic texts, it is usually uncontracted and sometimes given as the by-form κάνειον.

While there is clearer evidence for the contracted form being exclusively preferred in Attic (even the tragedians) than for ὀστέον, this preference seems to have largely survived into the Koine. In addition to Schmid's Atticist writers having only the contracted form, the same is found in other Koine and Hellenistic texts including the Septuagint, Plutarch, Josephus and Philo. There are no occurrences of the word in the New Testament or Galen (both of which preferred synonyms like κόφινος, σπυρίς and ταρσός to describe "baskets").[325] Similarly, Gignac gives no discussion of the word's presence in the Roman and Byzantine papyri, though there are examples of synonymous words in these texts.

It seems, then, that the lack of evidence for an uncontracted Koine form may be related to the fact that the word tended to be avoided by Koine writers. A cursory examination of authors from this period that do have the word reveals that it is most often found in lexicographers, grammarians and sophists. It also occurs in some theologians (Cyril of Alexandria and Origen) as well as the Jewish writers Philo and Josephus, but it appears

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[324] Threatte 1996: 37

[325] Achilles Tatius does not use any of these words with the meaning "basket".

to have been relatively rare otherwise. Moeris makes no mention of the form and no other grammarian or lexicographer deals with it in manner reveals Atticist attitudes.[326]

This lemma could be described as having an X : Xz pattern of use, where X refers to the contracted form and Z to synonyms. Use of X, then, is mildly-Attic leaning as it is the only form found in Attic, but also often preserved in the Koine.

Adjectives

ἀργύρεος ("silver"), χρύσεος ("gold"), σιδήρεος ("iron") (fem. -εα neut. -εον):
These three lemmas, described as "adjectives of metal", are denominative adjectives formed by the -εος suffix being added to the metallic nouns ἄργυρος, χρυσός and σίδηρος respectively.[327] The -εο- of the masculine and neuter forms of these words generally underwent contraction in Attic, and in the feminine, -εα- became -η- or long -α- (a kind of contraction associated with the first declension).

In Attic inscriptions, contraction of these lemmas was the norm, with a few exceptions, usually in metrical texts.[328] Homer generally has uncontracted forms (with the exception of the contracted feminine in the epithet χρυσῆ Ἀφροδίτη). The tragedians show both contracted and uncontracted forms, and Aristophanes has very few examples (although both occur). In the Attic orators, the contracted forms dominate. In the Septuagint and New Testament, contracted forms are the norm, although sometimes uncontracted χρύσεος is found in the Septuagint and certain manuscripts of Revelation from the New Testament.[329] As with ὀστέον above, Schmid gives uncontracted cases of χρύσεος in Aelian under his list of "Ionisms which are also found in the Koine". He says "of uncontracted forms of adjectives in -εος, which are otherwise frequent later, Aelian shows only three reliable examples."[330] This suggests that a) he considered uncontracted forms of such adjectives to be the norm in later Koine texts, but that b) they were still rare in Aelian. He also points out that there are many examples of contracted χρυσοῦς in

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[326] In the lexicographers and grammarians it is used in passing to explain other words. If the contracted and uncontracted forms are mentioned, they are listed side by side with no indication about which is better or more correctly Attic.
[327] Threatte 1996: 286; Smyth 1920: 181
[328] Threatte 1996: 286
[329] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 26
[330] Schmid 1893: 19

Aelian. He additionally cites one example of uncontracted σιδήρεος in Philostratus (as an "Ionism found in the Koine") but gives no further comment on it.[331]

Finally, in Roman and Byzantine papyri, contraction was the norm for "material adjectives in -εος/-οῦς" but open forms sometimes occurred, especially in the case of ἀργύρεος and χρύσεος (and also χάλκεος and σμάλλεος).[332] With the exception of the last of these four words (which was relatively new), there are still more cases of the contracted than of the uncontracted spelling.

Among the Hellenistic grammarians and lexicographers there seems to have been at least a perception that the contracted forms, especially of χρυσεός, were especially associated with Attic while the uncontracted forms were considered Hellenistic or Ionic.

9.2   Moeris *Atticista*

(χ.4)   χρυσοῦς καὶ χρυσῇ Ἀττικοί· χρύσεος καὶ χρυσέα Ἕλληνες.

The Attic speakers (say) *chrusous* and *chrusē*; the Greeks *chruseos* and *chrusea*.

9.3   Phrynichus *Eclogae* (178)

Χρύσεα, ἀργύρεα, χάλκεα, κυάνεα· ταῦτα Ἰακὰ διαιρούμενα. χρὴ οὖν λέγειν χρυσᾶ ἀργυρᾶ κυανᾶ τὸν ἀττικίζοντα. {χρυσοῦς λέγε· τὸ γὰρ χρύσεος Ἰακόν. ὁμοίως καὶ χρυσοῦς, ἀργυροῦς, χαλκοῦς, κυανοῦς, ἀλλὰ μὴ χρύσεος, ἀργύρεος}.

Chrusea, *argurea*, *chalkea*, *kuanea*; these Ionic forms are uncontracted; and so an Atticist ought to say *chrusa*, *argura*, *kuana*. {(One should) say *chrusous*; for *chruseos* is Ionic; and in the same way (one should say) *chrusous*, *argurous*, *chalkous*, *kuanous*, but not *chruseos*, *argureos*}.

Once again there is a fairly clear association of the contracted forms of these adjectives with Attic and the uncontracted forms with Ionic. While there may have been a perceived idea that the uncontracted form was more appropriate to the Koine (and there is variation in most Koine texts), actual use shows both forms appearing in the Koine with a dominance for the contracted form.

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[331] Schmid 1896: 14
[332] Gignac 1981: 116

These adjectives can be described as having an X : Xy pattern of use, with the contracted forms appearing almost exclusively in Attic and predominantly in the Koine alongside some uncontracted forms. Use of the contracted forms could be said to be mildly Attic-leaning and of the uncontracted forms to be strong avoidance of Atticism. In addition, the contracted forms were perceived as Atticisms by the lexicographers.

πορφύρεος ("purple"), κυάνεος ("dark blue") (fem. -εα neut. -εον):
These adjectives of colour are similar to those of metal above, except that they are rarer. They both describe a colour, the name of which is derived from a substance and so more accurately mean "of the colour of a (purple) sea-creature" and "of the colour of a kind of (dark-blue) enamel" respectively. πορφύρεος is absent from Aristophanes and the orators. Plato has 3 uncontracted forms and Aristotle 5 contracted. The New Testament and Septuagint have only contracted forms as do the papyri.

Moeris makes reference to πορφύρεος in his lexicon, but interestingly he gives the synonym ἀλουργές as the preferred Attic form and the contracted πορφυροῦν as the Hellenistic variant (a fact confirmed by the usage in Koine texts).

9.4   Moeris *Atticista*

(α.116)   ἀλουργές Ἀττικοί· πορφυροῦν Ἕλληνες.

The Attic speakers (say) *halourges*; the Greeks *porfuroun*.

Like πορφύρεος, ἀλουργής ("sea-purple") is absent from Aristophanes and the orators, but appears 3 times in Plato and 18 times in Aristotle. There are no cases of it in the New Testament, Septuagint or Galen and Gignac gives no account of its use in the papyri. This lends some credence to Moeris' perception of it as the more properly Attic form.

I suggest that the pattern of use for πορφύρεος be described as XZ : X, where X is the contracted form and Z the synonym ἀλουργής. Use of the contracted form, then, can be described as moderately Koine-leaning and of ἀλουργής as moderate Atticism. ἀλουργής is also a perceived Atticism according to Moeris.

κυάνεος is a particularly rare word. It is absent from Aristotle and the orators as well as the biblical texts and the papyri. Plato has 3 tokens of the contracted spelling while

Aristotle has 11 contracted forms and 4 uncontracted. Galen and Plutarch have both spellings (more contracted forms in Galen, more uncontracted in Plutarch). The pattern of use for this lemma is hard to determine based on these limited examples, but seems to be something like X : XY. Use of the contracted form could be described as moderately Attic-leaning and of the uncontracted form as moderate avoidance of Atticism.

Note that quote *9.3* from Phrynichus given above includes κύανεος along with the adjectives of metal as an example which is uncontracted in Ionic and ought to be contracted by Atticising authors. This makes use of the contracted form a perceived Atticism.

ἁπλόος ("single", "simple"), διπλόος ("double", "twofold") (fem. -όη neut. -όον):
These multiplicative adjectives tend to be contracted in Attic in the forms ἁπλοῦς and διπλοῦς. They are regularly contracted in Attic prose inscriptions and usually contracted in the tragedians, Aristophanes and the orators. At the same time, they are also regularly contracted in the New Testament, as was apparently the normal practice in Hellenistic Greek.[333] The same is true of the Roman and Byzantine papyri, where contraction is the norm.[334] Schmid's Atticists generally use contracted forms with a single exception of uncontracted ἁπλόος in Lucian and one of διπλόην in Aelian.[335]

Uncontracted forms are not unknown, but authors who do have them often have both. During the Classical period, uncontracted forms appear primarily in non-Attic writers like Pindar, Herodotus and Hippocrates (although there are 2 exceptions in Aeschylus and 1 in Plato). The lemmas are rare in Homer (although there are a few cases of uncontracted διπλόος) but uncontracted forms are found in many later epic authors including Apollonius of Rhodes, Nicander and Oppian. The uncontracted forms are also found in high numbers in Koine-period medical treatises including many cases in Galen (although the latter has numerous examples of both contracted and uncontracted forms). The comparative ἁπλούστερος is always contracted.

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[333] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 26
[334] Gignac 1981: 210
[335] Schmid 1893: 19

It seems then that, in part, the Hellenistic authors continued the Attic practice of contraction (especially in the New Testament and Roman and Byzantine papyri) alongside showing an increased use of the uncontracted forms (especially in epic and medical texts). This suggests and X : Xy pattern of use for these lemmas. Use of the contracted form could be described as mildly Attic-leaning and of the uncontracted form as strong avoidance of Atticism.

Heteroclitic Contract Nouns

ὁ νόος ("mind"), ὁ πλόος ("voyage"), ὁ ῥόος ("stream"):
These three lemmas not only have contracted and uncontracted forms, but in later texts they become heteroclitic; they are shifted from the 2nd to 3rd declension and, as a result, have three separate sets of inflections.

I will first look at the contracted and uncontracted forms. As usual, the contracted spellings are associated with and preferred by Attic writers, whereas the uncontracted spellings are associated with Ionic. In Attic inscriptions, νόος is normally contracted in prose (but may be uncontracted in metrical contexts), πλόος is always contracted and ῥόος is not attested.[336] Homer mostly used the uncontracted spellings of all three lemmas, whereas the tragedians preferred the contracted forms for νόος and πλόος but used uncontracted ῥόος. In Aristophanes and the orators, the contracted forms of πλόος were used exclusively, and for νόος were preferred (with very few exceptions). Aristophanes has no cases of ῥόος and the orators have only one contracted and one uncontracted token.

While there is a very clear association of the contracted forms of these words with Attic, then, the question of spelling in the Koine is complicated by the presence of heteroclitic forms. As already noted, Blass, Debrunner and Funk say that "νοῦς and πλοῦς follow βοῦς in Hellenistic". What this means is that these lemmas have been reanalysed as 3rd declension ου-stem nouns which have a nominative in -ους and a generative in (always uncontracted) -οος. The table below shows the three sets of inflections for νοῦς: uncontracted 2nd declension, contracted 2nd declension and heteroclitic 3rd declension.

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[336] Threatte 1996: 33-37

Table 9-2 Second vs Third Declension Forms of νοῦς [337]

Number/Case	Uncontracted 2nd	Contracted 2nd	Heteroclitic 3rd
sg. nom.	*νό-ος*	**νοῦς**	**νοῦς**
voc.	νό-ε	**νοῦ**	**νοῦ**
acc.	νό-ον	**νοῦν**	**νοῦν**
gen.	νό-ου	νοῦ	*νοός*
dat.	νό-ῳ	νῷ	νοΐ
pl. nom./voc.	νό-οι	νοῖ	νόες
acc.	νό-ους	*νοῦς*	νόας
gen.	νό-ων	νῶν	νοῶν
dat.	νό-οις	νοῖς	νοῦσι(ν)

Blass, Debrunner and Funk say that all cases of νοῦς and πλοῦς in the New Testament fit into the 3rd declension categories. For other Koine writers, a more detailed analysis must be conducted.

For νοός in Schmid's writers (based on the TLG), there appears to be a preference for contracted forms, but this could be masked by heteroclitic forms (because a number of them are ambiguous e.g. νοῦν could be contracted 2nd declension or heteroclitic 3rd declension accusative singular). An analysis of all examples in these authors suggests that Schmid's Atticists preferred the contracted 2nd declension form associated with Attic over the uncontracted form and over the heteroclitic 3rd declension found elsewhere in Koine period texts, but this cannot be stated for certain.

According to Gignac, the Roman and Byzantine papyri generally preferred contract forms: νοῦς is normally contracted and "there is no evidence of the heteroclitic forms νοός, νοΐ, etc., found elsewhere in the Koine".[338] The lemma πλοῦς also tends to have contracted forms. There are also no attested heteroclitic forms of this lemma.[339]

The heteroclitic nature of these lemmas was recognised in a text spuriously attributed to Theodosius the Grammarian (4th-5th century AD), where there is a detailed comparison of the versions that exist as a result of contraction and those that behave as like 3rd

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[337] Forms in bold have ambiguous duplicates for the same case and number. Forms in italics have ambiguous duplicates for a different case and/or number.

[338] Gignac 1981: 33

[339] Gignac 1981: 33

declension βοῦς. A full treatment is given in this text, called *Περὶ γραμματικῆς* (*On Grammar*) (115.30 - 116.30) but I give only an excerpt:

9.5   Theodosius *Περὶ γραμματικῆς* [sp.] (116.16-30)

ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ου ἀπὸ συναιρέσεως διπλῆ ἐστιν ἡ κλίσις, ποτὲ μὲν περιττοσυλλάβως, ποτὲ δὲ ἰσοσυλλάβως κλινομένη· καὶ πρόσσχες, πότε μὲν περιττοσυλλάβως, πότε δὲ ἰσοσυλλάβως τὰ τοιοῦτα κλίνονται·

τὸ γὰρ <u>πλοῦς</u> καὶ τὸ <u>νοῦς</u> καὶ τὸ <u>ῥοῦς</u> καὶ τὸ <u>χοῦς</u> ὅταν μὲν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ <u>πλόος</u> καὶ <u>νόος</u> καὶ <u>ῥόος</u> καὶ <u>χόος</u> γινόμενα λάβῃς, τότε ἰσοσυλλάβως κλῖνε πλοῦ καὶ <u>νοῦ</u> καὶ <u>ῥοῦ</u> καὶ <u>χοῦ</u>, ὅταν δὲ οὐχ ὡς συνῃρημένα λαμβάνῃς ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἁπλῶς <u>πλοῦς</u> καὶ <u>χοῦς</u> καὶ τὰ λοιπά, τότε οὐκ ἰσοσυλλάβως κλινεῖς <u>πλοῦς</u> <u>πλοῦ</u>, ἀλλὰ περιττοσυλλάβως διὰ τοῦ <u>ος</u> <u>πλοῦς</u> <u>πλοός</u> καὶ <u>χοῦς</u> <u>χοός</u>, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ βοῦς βοός.

διὰ τοῦτο διπλῆ ἐστιν ἡ κλίσις ἐπὶ τούτων, ὡς ἔφαμεν, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν <u>πλοῦς</u> <u>πλοός</u> <u>πλοΐ</u> κλίνεται, ποτὲ δὲ <u>πλοῦς</u> <u>πλοῦ</u> <u>πλῷ</u>.

The inflection in those words having *ou* from contraction has two forms; sometimes they decline with an additional syllable, and sometimes with the same number of syllables, and you must pay attention to when they have an extra syllable, and when such words decline with the same number of syllables;

For when, on the one hand, you take the (words) *plous* and *nous* and *rhous* and *chous,* as being derived from *ploos* and *noos* and *rhoos* and *choos*, then decline them [in the genitive] with the same number of syllables as *plou* and *nou* and *rhou* and *chou*, but when you do not take them as being contract forms, but as simple (non-contracted) *plous* and *chous* and the rest, then you do not decline *plous* (as) *plou* with the same number of syllables, but with an extra syllable written as *-os*; *plous* - *ploos* and *chous* - *choos*, just like *bous* - *boos*.

Because of this, the inflection has two forms for these words, as we say, and sometimes *plous* declines as (genitive) *ploos* and (dative) *ploi*, but other times *plous* (declines as) *plou* and *plōi*.

The pattern of use for these lemmas could be described as X : XZ, where X points to the contracted 2nd declension forms and Z the heteroclitic 3rd declension alternatives. The contracted forms, then, are moderately Attic-leaning and the uncontracted forms point to moderate avoidance of Atticism. Unfortunately, some tokens of these lemmas are ambiguous and it is not always obvious whether they should be treated as X or Z forms.

This last set of words tend to remain uncontracted, even in Attic, but there are various complications with the forms, especially in the Koine. This is either a result of contraction appearing occasionally as hypercorrection or of a simplified, heteroclitic or other variant form sometimes occurring.

ἀθρόος (fem. -όα neut. -όον): ("together", "in crowds")

Unusually, the adjective ἀθρόος did not to undergo contraction even in Attic inscriptions.[340] Only uncontracted forms occurred in the tragedians and the orators. Aristophanes has 3 instances of the contracted form compared with 6 of the uncontracted. Schmid too points out that the uncontracted form was frequent even in Attic authors.[341] There are a few contracted examples in Schmid's writers, but these are rare. An examination of all the contracted instances of the word across the TLG corpus shows that they are by far in the minority (222 out of 5 901 tokens) and for the most part appear in later authors (there are only 27 examples in authors before the 1st century AD). This suggests an xY : Y pattern of use for this lemma where use of the contracted form might be considered a hyper-Atticism enforced by analogy with other -οος words that were regularly contracted in Attic.

This suggestion is supported by Moeris, who cites the contracted form as Attic and uncontracted as Hellenistic, making it a perceived Atticism:

9.6   Moeris *Atticista*

(α.33)   ἄθρους Ἀττικοί· ἀθρόους Ἕλληνες.

The Attic speakers (say) *athrous*; the Greeks *athroous* [for the acc. plural]

ὄγδοος (fem. -οη neut. -οον): ("eighth")

As a general rule, the ordinal ὄγδοος remains uncontracted in all forms. A search of the full TLG corpus shows only 5 exceptions: 2 contract forms (ὄγδους and ὄγδουν), 2 simplified forms (ὄγδος and ὄγδον) and 1 ambiguous example that might be contracted or simplified (ὄγδου). These examples are all from late and obscure texts. In non-literary texts, however, contraction did occasionally occur. The Ptolemaic papyri

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[340] Threatte 1996: 286

[341] Schmid 1887: 104

alternated contracted and open forms and there are a few examples of contraction in the Roman and Byzantine papyri (though this is not the norm). There are also examples of simplified ὄγδος in the latter.[342]

The pattern of use could be described as Y : Y(xz) where Y represents the uncontracted form, X contracted ὄγδους and Z ὄγδος. I place X and Z in brackets because they are extremely rare. For the most part, then, use of the uncontracted form is expected and neutral. But use of the alternate forms should be remarked on especially as the contracted form might be an extreme hyper-Atticism of the sort that never actually occurred in Attic, but was later created on analogy with the other contracted Attic forms.

ὁ ἔλεος: ("pity")

This noun generally remains uncontracted throughout, but starting in the Hellenistic period it began to be replaced by a heteroclitic 3rd declension form which saw it shift from masculine (2nd declension) ὁ ἔλεος (gen. τοῦ ἐλέου) to neuter (3rd declension) τό ἔλεος (gen. τοῦ ἐλέους).[343] The neuter 3rd declension variant is that found in the New Testament and dominates the Septuagint.[344] Both versions appear in the Roman and Byzantine papyri, but the 3rd declension is more common.[345] This lemma falls in to a Y : yZ pattern of use where the Y is the masculine uncontracted form and Z the neuter 3rd declension alternative. Use of the 3rd declension form can be considered mild avoidance of Atticism. Use of the uncontracted 2nd declension form is strongly Attic-leaning.

ὁ φωλεός: ("cave")

Similarly, this noun does not undergo contraction, even in Attic. While always uncontracted, there are three variants of the word. The first and most common is an uncontracted masculine 2nd declension noun ὁ φωλεός (gen. φωλεοῦ) normal in various dialects including Attic and sometimes the Koine. Alongside this, is an epic variation, masculine ὁ φωλειός (gen. φωλειοῦ/φωλειοῖο). The third version is a heteroclitic variant

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[342] Gignac 1981: 201

[343] LSJ: ἔλεος

[344] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 28

[345] Gignac 1981: 99-100

but is extant only in a small number of cases of the neuter plural, where the form is rendered τά φωλεά (only in the nominative/accusative). There is no evidence of this heteroclitic form in other cases.

This lemma, therefore, normally follows a Y : Y pattern of use, but in the nominative accusative plural it follows a Y : YZ pattern where Y is the uncontracted masculine form and Z the 3rd declension neuter alternative. In most cases, then, use is neutral but in the nominative and accusative plural, the uncontracted 2nd declension form is moderately Attic-leaning and the use of the 3rd declension form moderate avoidance of Atticism.

9.3 Use in Achilles' Text

I conducted a preliminary search for lemmas containing potential contract forms in Achilles Tatius (using the *Concordance* programme) but found that this included forms that never undergo contraction.

These, as discussed above, are not relevant for the question of Atticism and include lemmas of only two syllables and that for other reasons tend to remain uncontracted. Such lemmas that appear in Achilles' text are: ὁ θεός (84), τό δέος (8), νέος (8), ἑός (1), τό κουλεόν (1), ἔνθεος (1), ἀργαλέος (1), ποιητέος (1), ἐνεός (1), στερεός (2), ὁ οἰνοχόος (1) and ὑπήκοος (1).

Of the remaining words with the potential for contraction, there are 16 lemmas with a total of 69 tokens. Of these, 13 tokens are uncontracted, 40 are contracted, 2 are heteroclitic 3rd declension inflections and 14 are ambiguous (either contracted 2nd declension or heteroclitic 3rd). As has been seen, however, in order to make a proper analysis of Achilles' language choices, each lemma (or group of similar lemmas) must be looked at in turn.

τό ὀστέον: ("bone")
This lemma occurs once in the contracted form of the genitive singular, (ἑνὸς) ὀστοῦ. It is, however, not consistent in the manuscript tradition. Family β of the manuscripts has contracted accusative (ἓν) ὀστοῦν and Family α uncontracted accusative (ἓν) ὀστέον.

An apparent quotation by Eustathius of Antioch (*Commentarius in Hexaemeron* 725.37) has instead the genitive (ἑνὸς) ὀστοῦ and Vilborg takes this form to be correct on the basis of sense, suggesting that in the manuscript tradition, the repetition of the letter sequence ΟΣ had suffered from haplography.[346] As a result, it is uncertain what Achilles' original form was, although the contracted variation, either accusative or genitive, has slightly better authority (coming from Family β and by suggestion from Eustathius' reconstruction).

If Achilles did use the contracted form, this would point to moderate Attic-leaning preference on his part, strengthened by Moeris' recommendation. Unfortunately, this is uncertain.

τό κάνεον: ("basket")

This lemma occurs twice in Achilles' text, both times in the contracted dative κανῷ. There is no variation in the manuscripts. Achilles' selection, then, could be described as mildly Attic-leaning (since Attic writers avoided the uncontracted form, but the contracted form is also used by the Koine writers who have it). Other Koine texts (e.g. Galen and the New Testament) made use of synonyms, which Achilles does not.

ἀργύρεος ("silver"), χρύσεος ("gold"), σιδήρεος ("iron") (fem. -εα neut. -εον):

The adjective ἀργύρεος appears once in the contracted dative plural ἀργυροῖς, and σιδήρεος appears once in the contracted nominative singular σιδηροῦς. χρύσεος has a total of 15 tokens, all contracted. 3 of these are straightforward adjectives χρυσαῖς (1), χρυσῆ (1) and χρυσοῦν (1). The remaining examples are forms of a derived noun (ὁ χρύσεος) referring specifically to gold coins: χρυσοῖ (4) χρυσοῦς (8).[347] There is no variation in the manuscripts.

Achilles' use of the contracted forms here can be described as mildly Attic-leaning as the contracted form was more common in both Attic and the Koine, but the Koine did sometimes make use of the uncontracted forms. In addition, the grammarians and

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[346] i.e. Loss of the double ΟΣ in ΕΝΟΣ ΟΣΤΟΥ (Vilborg 1955: 86; Vilborg 1962: 91).

[347] The following examples look like inflected forms of χρύσεος, but examination reveals they are actually forms of the noun "gold" ὁ χρυσός: χρυσοῦ (4 times); χρυσῷ (3 times). These I have excluded as they are not subject to contraction.

lexicographers (including Moeris and Phrynichus) associated the contracted forms with the Attic dialect, despite actual Koine usage. Phrynichus goes so far as to say "χρὴ οὖν λέγειν … τὸν ἀττικίζοντα" (an Atticist ought to say… [the contracted forms]). This perceived Atticism enhances the Attic-leaning nature of Achilles' choice.

πορφύρεος ("purple"), κυάνεος ("dark blue") (fem. -εα neut. -εον):
πορφύρεος appears 3 times, always contracted: πορφυρᾶ (1), πορφυρᾶν (1), πορφυροῦν (1).[348] There is no variation in the manuscripts. In addition, there is one attestation in papyrus fragment Π[1], which corroborates the presence of πορφυροῦν at 2.2.4.[349]

Achilles use of the contracted form can be described as moderately Koine-leaning, as the contracted form was preserved in the Koine and both Moeris and attested use point to ἁλουργής being a moderately Atticist alternative. Achilles, however, does have one example of ἁλουργές in his text showing one instance of moderate Atticism with respect to his description of the colour purple.

κυάνεος, on the other hand, appears twice in Achilles' text, both times as uncontracted κυάνεος. There is no variation in the manuscripts. The scarce evidence for this lemma in many of my comparison texts (it is absent from Attic inscriptions, Aristophanes, the orators, the biblical texts, and the Greek and Roman papyri) makes it hard to generalise about it. Given the testimony of Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch and Galen, his use could be described as moderately Koine-leaning. Phrynichus' inclusion of it in his list of words that ought to be contracted by Atticists (along with the adjectives of metal) enhances the non-Attic association with the uncontracted form. This lemma is notable for being the only one where Achilles has preferred the uncontracted spelling for a word that could be contracted.

ἁπλόος ("single", "simple"), διπλόος ("double", "twofold") (fem. -όη neut. -όον):
There are 2 examples of ἁπλοῦς in Achilles' text: ἁπλοῦν and the comparative ἁπλούστεροι. The manuscripts do not vary. There are 12 examples of διπλοῦς, all of

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[348] The following apparent examples of πορφύρεος, are actually forms of the noun ἡ πορφύρα: πορφύρα (2), πορφύραν (3), πορφύρᾳ (1), πορφύρας (4). These I have excluded as they are not subject to contraction.

[349] This is the only example of all the contract nouns given in this section which appears in the papyrus fragments. I will not repeat in each section that there are no other examples.

which are contracted: διπλοῦν (8), διπλῷ (1), διπλῇ (2), διπλῆν (1). There is no variation in the manuscripts except that one instance of διπλοῦν at 7.5.3 is omitted from manuscript G.

Excluding the comparative, which was always contracted, Achilles' preference for contracted forms of these lemmas suggests a mild Attic-leaning preference.

ὁ νόος ("mind"), ὁ πλόος ("voyage"), ὁ ῥόος ("stream"):
νόος occurs 6 times: νοῦς (nom. sg.) (1), νοῦν (3), νῷ (2). While dative νῷ is clearly the contracted form, it not possible to say with certainty whether νοῦς and νοῦν are contracted 2nd declension or heteroclitic 3rd declension forms.

πλόος occurs 10 times: πλοῦς (nom. sg.) (1), πλοῦν (8), πλοῦ (gen. sg.) (1). Again, the genitive πλοῦ is clearly contracted but πλοῦς and πλοῦν are ambiguous between the contracted 2nd and 3rd declension alternatives.

ῥόος appears twice: ῥοῦν (1), (1) ῥοΐ. ῥοῦν is ambiguous but ῥοΐ is clearly a heteroclitic 3rd declension form.

There are some minor variations in the manuscripts: There is one additional case of τὸν νοῦν at 7.2.4 that appears in manuscript Family α. Vilborg and O'Sullivan prefer the pronoun τούτων given in family β, and interpret τὸν νοῦν as a gloss.[350] The instance of (τὸν) πλοῦν at 4.18.1 is found in Family β, but Family α has the verb πλεῖν instead.[351]

More significantly, the attestation of heteroclitic ῥοΐ is not certain: ῥοΐ is the form given in manuscript family β. Most of family α has ῥέει, the dative singular of a related but different word τὸ ῥέος (with two syllables, this alternate word is not susceptible to contraction). Manuscript W (of family α) has another alternative ῥείθρῳ in the margin (dative of another synonym, τὸ ῥεῖθρον) and in manuscript F, there is a lacuna with enough space for 7 letters.[352] Vilborg perceives ῥοΐ as original and supposes that the

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[350] Vilborg 1955: 127; Vilborg 1962: 117; O'Sullivan 1980: 278
[351] Vilborg 1955: 85
[352] Vilborg 1955: 65; O'Sullivan 1980: 379

variation in α is "an attempt to remove the vulgarism" (i.e heteroclitic form). [353] He does not comment on the longer alternative ῥείθρῳ or the long lacuna in manuscript F. If Vilborg is correct, this is a rare example of Achilles' original language being less properly Attic than later copyists would like, but as it is speculation on his part, I cannot make any real conclusions from this.

The large number of ambiguous tokens of these three lemmas is unfortunate as they make it hard to be certain whether Achilles preferred contracted 2nd or heteroclitic 3rd declension forms. Given the unambiguous contracted forms νῷ and πλοῦ, it is probable that all tokens of νοῦς and πλοῦς take contract 2nd declension rather than 3rd declension forms in all cases, but this is speculation. Given the heteroclitic example ῥοΐ (which is never corrected to ῥῷ even when copyists have changed it), it is tempting to interpret ῥοῦν as heteroclitic. But since there are only two examples of this lemma, and one of them is not without variation in the manuscripts, it is impossible to be certain. Given Achilles' inconsistency elsewhere, one cannot be sure about the interpretations for any of these lemmas.

Based on the unambiguous tokens, Achilles shows 3 contracted 2nd declension forms and 1 (though not fully attested) 3rd declension alternative. For the most part, then, Achilles seems to show a moderate Attic-leaning preference, with one possible instance of a Koine preference pointing to moderate avoidance of Atticism. If the other tokens of νοῦς and πλοῦς are contracted (which is likely but far from certain), there would be a stronger argument for moderate Attic-leaning preference.

ἀθρόος (fem. -όα neut. -όον): ("together", "in crowds")
There are 3 examples of this lemma, all uncontracted, as was the norm even in Attic: ἀθρόον (2), ἀθρόα (1). There is no variation in the manuscripts. By avoiding the hyper-Atticist contract form, Achilles' choice could be described as mildly Koine-leaning with the Koine nature of the form enhanced by Moeris' recommendation.

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[353] Vilborg 1962: 76

ὄγδοος (fem. -οη neut. -οον): ("eighth")

There is one example of this lemma in the uncontracted spelling ὀγδόην, as one would expect. The manuscripts do not vary. Since the contracted form was never actually found in Attic, Achilles' choice is neutral. But the occasional hyper-correct use of the contracted form found in later texts, suggests that Achilles has avoided a case of extreme hyper-Atticism.

ὁ ἔλεος: ("pity")

There are 7 examples of this lemma: ἔλεος (1), ἔλεον (3), ἐλέου (2) and ἐλέους (1). The first 6 examples are uncontracted 2nd declension masculine forms, as was the norm even in Attic. (The example ἔλεος has an overt article ὁ, confirming that this is indeed a 2nd declension form). The last example, however, must be a heteroclitic 3rd declension form (gen. sg.) ἐλέους.

According to Vilborg, Cobet "corrects" the ἐλέους at 3.10.2 to ἐλέου in his edition, but there is no variation in the manuscript tradition to support this emendation.[354] In addition, at 7.9.6, manuscript G replaces ἐλέου with ἐλέους (resulting in 2 instances of the heteroclitic form, although the second is unlikely to have been original).

Achilles' 6 uncontracted forms could be described as strongly Attic-leaning (as it is the form predominantly found in Attic and only occasionally in the Koine). The 1 case of ἐλέους (and possibly, though doubtfully, a second) shows that Achilles did sometimes make use of new (Koine-exclusive and therefore non-Attic) heteroclitic forms. This example, similar to that ῥοΐ above (if that example is original), would be considered Koine preference with avoidance of Atticism (in this case mild avoidance). These examples, however, are in the minority and for the most part Achilles has used the strongly Attic-leaning alternative.

ὁ φωλεός: ("cave")

There is a single case of φωλεός in the text as the uncontracted (gen. sg.) φωλεοῦ. It does not vary in the manuscripts. As this lemma is normally uncontracted regardless of dialect, it does not reveal anything interesting. Since the heteroclitic variation τά φωλεά

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[354] Vilborg 1955: 57

applies only to the nominative and accusative plural forms of the word, Achilles' choice here is neutral.

9.4 Summary and Interim Conclusion

The table below summarises the preceding discussion, showing all occurrences of thematic (2nd declension) nouns and adjectives that appear in Achilles' text along with information on the normal Attic practice, the Koine practice and the testimony of the lexicographers regarding each lemma.

Table 9-3 Summary of Contract Nouns and Adjectives in Achilles Tatius [355]

	Lemma	C	uC	H	PoU	L/G	Description of use
N	ὀστέον, τό	1(0)			Xy : xY	yes	Moderate Attic-leaning
N	κάνεον, τό	2			X : Xz		Mild Attic-leaning
A	ἀργύρεος, εα, εον	1			X : Xy	yes	Mild Attic-leaning
A	χρύσεος, εα, εον	15			X : Xy	yes	Mild Attic-leaning
A	σιδήρεος, εα, εον	1			X : Xy	yes	Mild Attic-leaning
A	πορφύρεος, εα, εον	3			XZ : X	yes	Moderate Koine-leaning (partial: 1 token of Z)
A	κυάνεος, εα, εον		2		X : XY	yes	Moderate avoidance of A
A	ἁπλοῦς, ῆ, οῦν	2			X : Xy		Mild Attic-leaning
A	διπλοῦς, ῆ, οῦν	12			X :Xy		Mild Attic-leaning
N	νόος, ὁ	2 + 4?		4?	X : XZ		Moderate Attic-leaning?
N	πλόος, ὁ	1 + 9?(8?)		9?(8?)	X : XZ		Moderate Attic-leaning?
N	ῥόος, ὁ	1?		1(0) + 1?	X : XZ		Mod. Attic-leaning (partial)
A	ἀθρόος		3		xY : Y	yes	Mild Koine-leaning
A	ὄγδοος		1		Y : Y(xz)		Neutral
N	ἔλεος, ὁ		6	1	Y : yZ		Strong Attic-leaning (partial)
N	φωλεός, ὁ		1		Y: Y (Y : YZ)		Neutral
	Total: 16	**40 + 14?**	**13**	**2 + 14?**			

Regarding contract nouns and adjectives, Achilles' use generally shows an Attic-leaning preference. For most forms, he shows mild Attic-leaning in which he uses the contracted form that is preferred in both Attic and the Koine but avoids the Koine

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[355] *N*: noun; *A*: adjective; *C*: contracted; *uC*: uncontracted; *H*: heteroclitic; *PoU*: Pattern of use; *L/G*: Perceived Atticism according to lexicographers/grammarians

specific uncontracted variation. These are also often perceived Atticisms promoted by the lexicographers and grammarians. For ὀστέον, he seems to show moderate Attic-leaning but unfortunately the only token of this is not consistent in all manuscripts. Similarly, for νόος, πλόος and ῥόος (which have heteroclitic alternative forms in the Koine), he seems to be showing moderate Attic-leaning (with only one clear heteroclitic form) but many of these tokens are ambiguous. For the adjectives of colour, he shows moderate Koine-leaning preference or moderate avoidance of Atticism but both these lemmas have a somewhat complicated pattern of use and he uses the moderately Atticist alternative for the colour "purple" alongside his 3 tokens of the moderately Koine-leaning alternative. For the lemmas which are normally uncontracted, even in Attic, he sticks to the uncontracted form showing neither hyper-Atticism nor a regular choice of heteroclitic alternatives (with 1 exception). His overall practice regarding contract nouns, then, shows a general (often mild) Attic preference with little in the way of either strongly Attic or strongly non-Attic forms.

10. The Attic Declension

After -ττ-/-σσ-, one of the most often cited examples of Atticism is what is referred to as the "Attic Declension". The designation refers to another set of 2nd declension (or thematic) nouns and adjectives which takes suffixes in -ω- rather than -o- in Attic. The most recognisable examples of the Attic declension have forms in -εω- in Attic but -αο- in the Koine. The two best known cases of this are νεώς/ναός ("temple") and λεώς/λαός ("people").

10.1 Development of the Variation

Attic declension words can usually be identified by the suffix -ως (neuter -ων) in the nominative singular and -ω in the genitive singular. The resulting case endings closely resemble normal 2nd declension endings, but -ω- appears in place of -o- or -ου-.[356]

Table 10-1 Regular and Attic Second Declension Suffixes

Number/Case	Regular decl.	Attic decl.
sg. nom.	-ος/-ον	-ως/-ων
acc.	-ον	-ω(ν)
gen.	-ου	-ω
dat.	-ῳ	-ῳ
pl. nom.	-οι/-α	-ῳ/-α
acc.	-ους/-α	-ως/-α
gen.	-ων	-ων
dat.	-οις	-ῳς

There are various reasons why Attic declension nouns and adjectives might have developed -ω- rather than -o- in their inflectional suffixes. Attic declension words can be grouped into three broad categories based on their origin and/or the non-Attic version with which they alternate.

The first and most easily recognised group includes nouns and adjectives which have Attic declension forms in -εως that alternate with Koine forms in -αος and Ionic forms in -ηος. These words came to have the form they do in Attic by a three-step process of phonological change involving: 1) the pan-Greek loss of certain intervocalic

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[356] Inflections without -o- in the regular 2nd declension are not changed. The dative singular and genitive plural, which already have -ω-, retain -ω-. The neuter nominative and accusative plural, which both end in -α, retain -α.

consonants, 2) the Attic-Ionic change of long ᾱ [ā] to long η [ē] and 3) the process of quantitative metathesis popular in Attic.[357]

The noun λεώς, for example, is thought to have derived from a PIE proto-form *lāwos*.[358] With the loss of *w* in the history of Greek, the word came to be λαός, as it remained in some dialects including Doric and the Koine. As discussed in the phonology section under the heading "Attic reversion", Attic and Ionic underwent a sound change in which long α [ā] became long η [ē] (cf. Attic-Ionic μήτηρ versus Doric μάτηρ "mother"). The Ionic form of λαός, therefore, is ληός, as one would expect from such a shift. In Attic, however, the process of quantitative metathesis (also mentioned briefly in the phonology section) resulted in a switching of quantity of the two vowels in the word. This process tends to occur when a long vowel (like η) is followed by a short vowel (like o). The long vowel shortens and the short vowel lengthens, resulting in a swapping of quantity (cf. gen. singular of πόλις: Attic πόλεως vs Ionic πόληος). By this process Attic derives from ληός [lēos] the final "Attic declension" form λεώς [leōs].

The most common words in this group of the Attic declension are the nouns νεώς (Ionic νηός, Koine ναός), λεώς (Ionic ληός Koine λαός), the proper name Μενέλεως (Koine Μενέλαος) and the adjective ἵλεως, -ων (Koine ἵλαος, -αον).

The second group of words in this declension contains lemmas which have Attic declension -ως forms (in the nominative singular) that alternate with non-Attic forms in -ος. In some cases, the presence of -ω- in the Attic version is a result of contraction (e.g. from -ωος or -οος), but sometimes there is a simple variation between long ω and short o in different dialects which are not always clearly understood.[359] The most important examples belonging to this group are as follows:

λαγῶς (or λαγώς) is the Attic declension form of the word meaning "hare" and seems to be a contraction of the Epic form λαγωός. The Ionic spelling has instead a shortened

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[357] Allen 1871: 19; Sihler 1995: 74; 256

[358] Allen 1871: 29

[359] Allen suggests that these alternations are "duplicates" or "collateral-forms" in which the one form has a basic short -o stem but the Attic form has an amplified stem with addition of a suffix like –ϝο (e.g. λαγός/λαγο-ϝος). On this, see Allen 1871: 24; 29.

simple -ο-; λαγός (gen. λαγοῦ).[360] The feminine noun ἡ ἅλως ("threshing-floor") also seems to be a contraction of the alternative ἅλωος (Pre-Greek stem *walow-os*).[361] The defective adjective σῶς (neuter σῶν) ("safe") also belongs to this group, having some forms attested in σόος/σόον and σῶος/σῶον (as well as σάος/σάον).[362]

In addition to the ω/ο alternation found in λαγῶς/λαγός, there is also the word κάλως ("reefing rope") with a shortened variation κάλος (gen. κάλου) found in Epic and Ionic. Similarly, ὀρφώς (or ὀρφῶς) meaning "sea-perch" appears primarily in this spelling, but Herodian (*Pros. Cath.* 245.2) suggests a shortened version ὀρφός (which is attested in some post-Classical writers).

The last group in the Attic declension includes words that may have originated from either phonetic changes or contraction, but what unites them is that these words each have one variation in which they behave like (Attic) 2nd declension nouns, alongside an alternative (non-Attic) variation which belongs to the 3rd declension. Two common examples in this group are Τυφώς (gen. Τυφῶ) ("the Whirlwind") which has a later alternate 3rd declension version Τυφῶν (gen. Τυφῶνος) and ταώς/ταῶς (gen. ταώ/ταῶ) ("peacock") which has an alternate 3rd declension form ταών (gen ταῶνος).[363] Also in this third category is the word ἥρως ("hero"), which has both an Attic 2nd declension set of inflections (modelled on gen. ἥρω) and a 3rd declension set (modelled on gen. ἥρωος). This noun is, in fact, normally classified as a 3rd declension noun, because of the latter being the more prevalent choice though both are well attested.[364]

The feminine ἡ ἕως "dawn" is a unique example of this category, being one of very few feminine Attic declension nouns. The Attic declension spelling ἕως at first appears to be not unlike the first group of Attic declension nouns in -εως (the Doric form is ἀώς). But in this case, the long -ω found in the Attic spelling is original and not a result of quantitative metathesis, as is evident from Doric ἀώς and Ionic ἠώς. While the Attic

[360] The origins of this lemma are discussed in Allen 1871: 24. He suggests that λαγωός, which is found in Homer, comes from *lagowos*, with loss of *w* causing compensatory lengthening. According to his assessment, Ionic λαγός has a separate origin.

[361] Allen 1871: 23

[362] Allen 1871: 27; LSJ σῶς (A)

[363] Allen 1871: 27; LSJ: Τυφώς; LSJ: τάως; Τυφώς refers originally to the giant Typhos (also known as Τυφωεύς or Typhoëus). The word was extended to become a metonym for a whirlwind.

[364] Allen 1871: 30

spelling follows the paradigm of the 2nd declension, specifically the Attic 2nd declension, the Doric and Ionic versions follow the 3rd declension with genitives in ἀοῦς and ἠοῦς respectively.[365]

Another feature which distinguished this noun from other Attic declension nouns is that the accusative has assimilated to match the genitive ἕω (not ἕων as one would expect). Although the most well-known example of this phenomenon, there is evidence of other Attic declension words taking accusative singular forms in -ω. Allen refers to examples of ἥρω for ἥρων and ἄλω for ἄλων, suggesting they may be contractions of unusual 3rd declension ἥρωα and ἄλωα, and Threatte cites examples of accusative νεώ in inscriptions from the second quarter of the 4th century BC onwards, created on analogy with ἕως, ἕω.[366] Τυφώς also appears to have taken an accusative singular form without -ν, as is evident from the quote in Moeris given in the next section.

In summary, then, there is a set of nouns and adjectives which, although belonging to the 2nd declension, have their own special set of endings in -ω- rather than -ο-. The -ω-variations are particularly associated with the Attic dialect. This set of words contains three broad types: those that result from phonological processes (loss of intervocalic consonants, change of long ᾱ to long η and quantitative metathesis), those that result from contraction or for some other reason have a lengthened -ω- in Attic with alternate -ο- forms in other dialects, and those that have regular 3rd declension forms alongside the Attic declension. I will now consider the evidence (modern and ancient) for regarding Attic declension forms as markers of Atticism.

10.2 Evidence for the Attic Declension as a Marker of Atticism

<u>10.2.1 Modern Scholarship</u>

As mentioned, the use of the Attic declension is frequently listed as an important Atticist marker by various modern authors. Horrocks includes it in his list of "important

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[365] A potential way of accounting for the different spellings is that they originate from a proto-form *ᾱwsōs. Loss of first *s*, then *w,* would give us Doric ᾱώς and Ionic ἠώς (through change of long ᾱ to long η). Evidence for this reconstruction is found in the Lesbian spelling αὔως and Latin *aurora.* The shortening of η to ε and introduction of a rough breathing in Attic, as well as the shift from 3rd to 2nd declension, would have involved other processes (Allen 1871: 33; Sihler 1995: 309).

[366] Allen 1871: 30; Threatte 1996: 39

hallmarks of correct Attic usage", Kim includes it as one of the "peculiarities of the Attic dialect…which Atticising authors were careful to maintain", and Anderson includes it in his list of "subtle stylistic choices" for an aspiring student.[367] Schmid dedicates a section of his discussion of morphological Atticism to it, saying that, while the Attic declension was never completely lost to higher registers of the Koine, its use diminished during the Hellenistic period and was later reintroduced by Atticists.[368]

Blass, Debrunner and Funk say that "the so-called Attic second declension is dying out in the Hellenistic vernacular" and that "the only remnant in the NT is in the formula ἵλεώς σοι".[369] Gignac says that the Attic declension was "lost during the period of the Koine, as nouns and adjectives of this subtype were gradually replaced by forms of other declensional types."[370] In Colvin's discussion of levelling (removal of specifically Attic peculiarities) in the Koine, he cites the substitution of Attic declension forms (such as λεῶς, νεῶς) with "non-Attic-Ionic" forms (such as λαός, ναός) as a case in point.[371] Bubenik makes a similar point, describing the -αος forms preferred by the Koine as "non-Attic and non-Ionic".[372] In Bubenik's discussion of the development of the Koine in the EAGLL, he says "the resulting stabilised variety – the Attic-Ionic Koine – clearly shows that the westernmost Ionic dialect, Attic, had to give up several of its salient phonological and morphological features" and as a morphological example says "the Attic Declension of nouns and adjectives (leṓs 'people', neṓs 'temple', émpleṓs 'quite full of') was given up".[373]

For an early detailed discussion on the development and use (though not the Atticist nature) of all the major Attic declension words, see F.D. Allen's *On the so-called Attic Declension*.[374]

It is clear, then, that modern authors consider the use of Attic declension spellings in favour of alternatives as an important marker of Atticism.

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[367] Horrocks 2014:183; Kim 2014: 470; Anderson 1993: 88-89
[368] Schmid 1896: 582
[369] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 25
[370] Gignac 1981: 500
[371] Colvin 2010: 33
[372] Bubenik 1993: 14
[373] Bubenik 2013: 278 (EAGLL)
[374] Allen 1871

10.2.2 Use of the Marker by Attic Writers and Evidence for the Alternative

As already seen, it is often noted that the Attic declension was specifically associated with the Classical Attic dialect and that it was declining by the Hellenistic period. According to Threatte, prose Attic inscriptions of the Classical period exclusively used νεώς and Κέως before the late 3rd century BC, (λεώς does not occur in inscriptions since Attic preferred the synonymous δῆμος, although the proper noun Λεώς occurs twice). Non-Attic ναός first appears in inscriptions in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC, at which time νεώς begins to decline, being almost fully replaced by 150 BC. By Roman times, Attic inscriptions exclusively used ναός.[375]

Attic inscriptions of the Classical period also show a general preference for proper names in -νεως and -λεως, including occurrences of Μενέλεως. Endings in -ναος or -λαος (including Μενέλαος) occur only with reference to non-Athenian persons. In the Hellenistic period, -αος endings do begin to appear, even for Athenians, and -εως endings begin to decline.[376]

Allen provides a summary of the preferences in spellings for such words by various Classical and literary dialect groups. He says: "[T]his form of the Attic declension is not peculiar to the Attic dialect, but has received its name from its being most extensively employed by Attic speakers and writers".[377] He says that Aristophanes almost exclusively used Attic declension forms, which also represented "conversational every-day language" except in "serious choral strains or passages in which he travesties the stilted diction of the tragedy writers". The tragedy writers, on the other hand, made more use of the "non-Attic" -αος variants, which they thought of as carrying "a certain dignity". In non-Attic Classical writers of epic, elegiac and iambic poetry, Attic-declension forms were rarer. Where they did occur, they were more likely to be those derived by contraction than by quantitative metathesis. Aeolic and Doric made almost no use of the Attic declension (except that occasionally Doric used contract forms of proper nouns).[378]

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[375] Threatte 1996: 39-40
[376] Threatte 1996: 44-48
[377] Allen 1871: 33
[378] Allen 1871: 33-34

By the time of the Koine, Attic declension forms in -ω- had largely been abandoned except in formulaic expressions.[379] Papanastassiou's entry on the Attic Declension in the EAGLL agrees with this, saying:

> The Attic declension disappeared in Hellenistic Greek, and the nouns that survived into Modern Greek have passed over to the standard second declension, e.g. *lagós* > λαγός [la'γos].[380]

Colvin, as has been seen, attributes the dropping of Attic declension forms in the Koine to an attempt to level or iron out Attic peculiarities in the "common" language.[381] Bubenik says much the same, and discusses reasons why -εως forms were particularly replaced by -αος:

> The Koine forms with the *ā*- vocalism, *lāós* and *nāós*, are clearly non-Attic and non-Ionic. It could be that the *ā* received special support from Homeric *lāós*; in the latter case, it should be observed that the famous *nāoí* 'temples' were located in the proximate "mild"-Doric-speaking territories.[382]

He goes on to suggest that the selection of the non-Attic spelling may have been driven by a desire to standardise all 2nd declension endings in -ος, especially as the Attic declension forms were somewhat ambiguous with, for example, νεώς indicating both nominative singular and dative and accusative plural and νεών indicating accusative singular and genitive plural.[383]

For some words, then, the Koine preferred versions spelled with -ος. In other cases, where a regular 3rd declension variation existed, these were preferred (eg. ταῶν, ἤως). In still other cases, the irregularity was erased by a complete replacement of the lemma in question with a regular synonym. For example, in the New Testament, regular first declension feminine αὐγή came to replace irregular ἕως/ἤως, and the adjective πλέως, -α, -ων gave way to regular thematic declension μεστός and 3rd declension πλήρης.[384]

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[379] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 25; Gignac 1981: 500
[380] Papanastassiou 2013: 915 (EAGLL)
[381] Colvin 2010: 33
[382] Bubenik 1993: 14
[383] Bubenik 1993: 14. Note: his statement that νεώς indicates dative plural in addition to nominative singular and accusative plural ignores the fact that the dative plural ought to have an iota subscript νεῴς. This would not, in practice, have been written in and would not have affected pronunciation.
[384] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 25

According to Gignac, non-Attic ναός is the normal form found in Roman and Byzantine papyri (with a single exception of τοῦ [ν]εώ in a very Atticistic speech from 2nd/3rd centuries AD). λεώς/λαός does not occur, except in names, where it generally takes the non-Attic -λαος spellings (e.g. Νικόλαος, Ακουσίλαος; there are no cases of Μενέλαος in these papyri). λαγώς occurs only in its uncontracted form λαγωός.[385] As an exception, the form ἄλως retained its Attic declensional spelling in Roman and Byzantine papyri, although it alternates with a 3rd declension variation, ἄλων.[386] Some 2nd declension adjectives seem to have retained their Attic declension spellings in the later papyri (e.g. ἵλεως, ἀγήρως and ὑπόχρεως), although examples are few.[387]

Ancient use, therefore, seems to support the view of the non-Attic spellings as representing the Koine norm and Attic declension spellings as being a marker of Atticism.

The Attic declension marker as a general rule (especially for the -εως/-αος words) fits into the X : Y pattern of use, where the Attic declension forms are the norm in Attic and the non-Attic forms the norm in the Koine. Use of an Attic declension form, therefore, could be called "simple Atticism" and of the non-Attic form "Koine preference" or "simple avoidance of Atticism". But it will be seen that for some of the lemmas which Achilles Tatius has, the pattern of use was more complex and I will address each lemma separately.

10.2.3 Ancient Testimony

Use of the term "Attic" to describe this group of nouns and adjectives goes all the way back to the ancient grammarians themselves.

Herodian regularly uses the adjective Ἀττικός (and sometimes Ἀθηναῖος) when he talks about them, and even contrasts the Attic spellings with what he calls τόν κοινόν. Whether by this he is thinking of the dialect (cluster) I refer to as "the Koine" specifically, or whether he simply means "the more common form", does not really matter, as either way he is suggesting that there is a contemporary form in common use

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[385] Gignac 1981: 30-32
[386] Gignac 1981: 29
[387] Gignac 1981: 126

which he considers clearly distinct from the form he perceived as Attic and, by implication, Atticist.

He discusses this group of nouns in various places in the *Prosodia Catholica*, always with relation to the placement of accent. The way in which he describes them gives an indication of how they were viewed by him.

> *10.1* Herodian *Pros. Cath.* (244.32-245.4)
>
> Τὰ εἰς ως Ἀττικὰ ὁμοτονοῦσι ἐκείνοις, ἀφ' ὧν ἐσχηματίσθησαν, ναός νεώς, λαός λεώς, κάλος κάλως, Τάλος Τάλως· ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα κύριον, Μενέλαος Μενέλεως, Ἰόλαος Ἰόλεως, Τυνδάρεος Τυνδάρεως, ἀξιόχρεος ἀξιόχρεως, ἵλαος ἵλεως, ἀνάπλεως, εὔγηρως, χρυσόκερως. σεσημείωται τὸ ὀρφῶς καὶ λαγῶς. ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἐφύλαξε τὸν τόνον τῶν κοινῶν· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὀρφῶς τὸ κοινὸν ὄρφος ἐστὶ βαρυτόνως, τοῦ δὲ λαγῶς ὀξυτόνως λαγός.
>
> Attic (nouns) ending in *-ōs* have the same accent as those from which they were formed: *naos/neōs, laos/leōs, kalos/kalōs, Talos/Talōs*; and there is the royal name *Menelaos/Meneleōs, Iolaos/Ioleōs, Tundareos/Tundareōs, axiochreos/axiochreōs, hilaos/hileōs, anapleōs, eugērōs, chrusokerōs. Orphōs* and *lagōs* are noted as exceptions. For the latter do not retain the accent of the common/koine (form); for *orphos*, the common/koine (form) of *orphōs*, is barytone, and *lagos*, (the common/koine form) of *lagōs* is oxytone.

Herodian clearly considers the forms ending in -ως as Attic and the others as "common" forms. He seems to believe that the Attic spellings were derived from or formed from (ἀφ' ὧν ἐσχηματίσθησαν) the -ος forms.

> *10.2* Herodian *Περὶ παθῶν* (381.8-12)
>
> (fragment from Choer. *In Theod. Nom.* 252.11ff.)
>
> Εἰ δέ τις εἴποι καὶ πῶς τὸ ἵλαος συνεσταλμένον ἔχον τὸ α οἷον ὡς παρὰ Παρθενίῳ "ἵλαος, ὦ ὑμέναιε" (*Poesis reliquiae* Fr. 32.1) γίνεται παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις διὰ τοῦ ε καὶ ω οἷον ἵλεως, λέγομεν ὅτι τὸ ἵλαος μᾶλλον ἐκτείνει τὸ α (σπάνιον γὰρ τὸ ἐν συστολῇ εὑρισκόμενον) καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐγένετο παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἵλεως·
>
> If someone should ask how the word *hilaos* having a shortened *a* as in Parthenius "*hilaos, ō humenaie*" (*Poesis reliquiae* Fr. 32.1), comes among the Athenians to be written with *e* and *ō* as *hileōs*, we say that the word *hilaos* rather has a lengthened *a* (for it is seldom found in the short form) and on account of this it came from the Athenians' *hileōs*.

10.3 Herodian *Περὶ παθῶν* (271.14-16)

(fragment from Choer. *In Theod. Verb.* 42.32ff.)

εἰώθασιν οἱ Αἰολεῖς προστιθέναι τὸ υ φωνήεντος ἐπιφερομένου ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔαδεν εὔαδεν καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἠώς ἀώς λέγουσιν οἱ Δωριεῖς, οἱ δὲ Αἰολεῖς τοῦτο λέγουσιν αὔως προστιθέντες τὸ υ.

The Aeolians are accustomed to insert a *u* (before a) following vowel, for example, for *headen* they say *euaden* and again the Dorians say *aōs* for *ēōs*, but the Aeolians pronounce this as *auōs*, inserting a *u*.

A later grammarian, Theodosius of Alexandria (4-5 AD) wrote a mammoth work on Greek morphology in which he painstakingly lays out the rules and paradigms for every conceivable noun declension and verb conjugation.[388] Not inclined to unification of related paradigms like modern morphologists, he identifies 56 different classes or declensions (κανόνες), of which the Attic declension is class or canon 17.[389]

10.4 Theodosius *Canones Isagogici de Flexione Nominum* (16.1-7)

Κανὼν ιζ΄.
Ἑνικά. Ὁ Μενέλεως τοῦ Μενέλεω: τὰ εἰς ος ὀνόματα μεταποιοῦντες <u>Ἀττικοὶ</u> εἰς ως καὶ τὰ παραλήγοντα τῶν φωνηέντων εἰς ε μεταβάλλουσι, κλίνουσι δὲ πάντα κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ ς, ὁ λεώς τοῦ λεώ, ὁ νεώς τοῦ νεώ· ἰστέον δὲ ὡς εἴ που εὑρεθείη ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ὀνόματι τὸ ο εἰς ω τρέπουσιν αὐτό, κἂν φθάσῃ προπαροξυνθῆναι ἡ εὐθεῖα πᾶσα πτῶσις προπαροξύνεται.

Declension 17
Singular: *ho Meneleōs*, *tou Meneleō*: When the <u>Attic speakers</u> remodel nouns ending in *-os* to *-ōs* they also change those (nouns) with a penultimate vowel in *e*, and they decline them all [i.e. form genitives] by dropping the *-s*: *ho leōs, tou leō; ho neōs tou neō;* but one must know that whenever -o is found in a common noun they turn it into *ō*, and if the nominative case has already been made proparoxytone, all the cases are made proparoxytone.'

Theodosius goes on to give every other permutation of ὁ Μενέλεως (including the dual and plural forms).

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[388] Dickey 2007: 83
[389] Allen 1871: 18

In a different section (for class/canon 26), he discusses the nouns with alternating second and 3rd declension forms (although he does not explicitly describe the one set as Attic at this point):

10.5 Theodosius *Can. Nom.* (21.6-13)

Κανὼν κϛ´.

Ἑνικά. Ὁ Ξενοφῶν τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος, ὁ Ποσειδῶν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, ὁ <u>ταῶν</u> τοῦ <u>ταῶνος</u>: τὰ εἰς ων περισπώμενα διὰ τοῦ ντ κλίνεται, Ξενοφῶντος Ἀγλαοφῶντος· σεσημείωται τὸ Ποσειδῶν· τὸ γὰρ <u>ταῶν</u> καὶ <u>Τυφῶν</u> ὡς καὶ εἰς ως λήξαντα, καὶ <u>Τυφῶς</u> καὶ <u>ταῶς</u> γὰρ λέγεται, οὐκ ἠκολούθησε τῇ κλίσει τῶν περισπωμένων. τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, τῷ ταῶνι. τὸν Ξενοφῶντα, τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, τὸν <u>ταῶνα</u>. ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ὦ Πόσειδον, ὦ <u>ταῶν</u>.

Declension 26

Singular: *ho Xenophōn tou Xenophōntos*, *ho Poseidōn tou Poseidōnos*, *ho <u>taōn</u> tou <u>taōnos</u>*: these words ending with a final circumflex accent on *ōn* inflect with *nt*, *Xenophōntos Aglaofōntos*; note as an exception *Poseidōn*. For *<u>taōn</u>* and *<u>Tufōn</u>*, especially when they end in *ōs*, for both *<u>Tufōs</u>* and *<u>taōs</u>* are (also) said, did not follow the declension of those with a final circumflex accent. *Tōi Xenophōnti, tōi Poseidōni, tōi taōni. Ton Xenophōnta, ton Poseidōna ton <u>taōna</u>. Ō Xenophōn, Ō Poseidōn, Ō <u>taōn</u>.*

George Choeroboscus, in his (9th century) commentary of Theodosius, also talks about this group of nouns and he explicitly refers to them as those which behave "in the Attic manner" (ἀττικῶς) by dropping -σ in the genitive.

10.6 Choeroboscus *In Theod. Nom.* (248.8-11)

Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσι τὴν αὐτὴν κλίσιν, Τυφῶν μὲν γὰρ Τυφῶνος καὶ ταῶν ταῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ Ποσειδῶν Ποσειδῶνος, Τυφῶς δὲ Τυφῶ καὶ ταῶς ταῶ ἀποβολῇ τοῦ ς <u>ἀττικῶς</u>, ὥσπερ ὁ ὀρφῶς τοῦ ὀρφῶ καὶ ὁ λαγῶς τοῦ λαγῶ·

But these do not belong to the same declension, for, on the one hand, *Tufōn* (has gen.) *Tufōnos* and *taōn* (has gen.) *taōnos*, just like *Poseidōn* (has gen.) *Poseidōnos*, [i.e. 3rd decl.] but, on the other hand, *Tufōs* (has gen.) *Tufō* and *taōs* (has gen.) *taō* by dropping the *-s* in the [2nd decl.] <u>Attic manner</u>, (are) just like *ho orfōs tou orfō* and *ho lagōs tou lagō*.

Another grammarian who describes this class as "Attic" is Theognostus the Grammarian (also 9th century AD) who, in discussing compounds, differentiates between nouns that undergo the "Attic change" (Ἀττικὴ τροπή) and those that do not.

10.7 Theognostus *Canones sive De Orthgraphia* (476.5-7)

εἶπον εἰ μὴ <u>Ἀττικὴ τροπὴ</u> παρακολουθήσει, διὰ τὸ λαὸς Μενέλαος, Μενέλεως· χρέως, ἀξιόχρεως, καὶ εἴτι ὅμοιον.

I said "if it does not follow the <u>Attic change</u>", because of (examples like) *laos, Menelaos, Meneleōs*; *chreōs, axiochreōs*, and any others of the same sort.

All these grammarians both identify the category of nouns in -ως (with -ω genitives) as being somehow "Attic" in nature and recognise their relationship to (by implication non-Attic) -ος forms. This provides evidence that the -ως spellings were viewed as Attic (in contrast with a non-Attic variation) and, therefore, as Atticising.

In addition to the grammarians, there is also mention of specific examples of some of the words in question in the lexicographers. Moeris gives the following examples:

10.8 Moeris *Atticista*

(ν.1) <u>νεώς</u> τὴν εὐθεῖαν ἑνικῶς καὶ ὀξυτόνως Ἀττικοί· <u>ναός</u> Ἕλληνες.

The Attic speakers (say) <u>neōs</u> (for) nominative singular and an acute accent; the Greeks <u>nāos</u>.

This first example is a straightforward reference to the phonetically shifted Attic spelling in -εω- compared to the more regular and "natural" Koine alternative -αο-.

10.9 Moeris *Atticista*

(σ.19) <u>σᾶ</u> περισπωμένως Ἀττικοί τὰ <u>σῶα</u>.

The Attic speakers (say) <u>sa</u> with a circumflex accent on the last syllable for *ta <u>sōa</u>* [nom./acc. neut. pl.]

For this example, Moeris gives the nominative/accusative neuter plural forms, which happen to be the only place in the Attic declension where -ω- does not form part of the regular suffix (cf. ἵλεα for ἵλεων and πλέα for πλέων). The non-Attic spellings of this word have regular uncontracted 2nd declension endings σῶος (masc./fem.) σῶον (neut.) and the neuter plural σῶα. Though a surprising choice, it does provide evidence for Moeris' awareness of the two forms of this lemma.

10.10 Moeris *Atticista*

(τ.14) τυφῶ Ἀττικοί· τυφῶνα Ἕλληνες.

> The Attic speakers (say) *tufõ* [2nd decl. acc. s.]; the Greeks *tufõna* [3rd decl. acc. s.]

As mentioned previously, ὁ τυφώς (like ἡ ἕως) seems to have regularly taken the ν-less accusative form τυφῶ (which was identical to the genitive) for the Attic declension form of this word. Moeris contrasts this Attic 2nd declension accusative form with the (non-Attic) regular 3rd declension variation τυφῶνα.

10.11 Moeris *Atticista*

(η.9) ἥρω χωρὶς τοῦ ι Ἀττικοί, ὡς Ὅμηρος (θ 483)· "ἥρω Δημοδόκῳ"· ἥρωι μετὰ τοῦ ι Ἕλληνες.

> The Attic speakers (say) *hērō* without *i* like Homer (*Od.* 8.483): "*hērō Dēmodokōi*"; the Greeks (say) *hērōi* with the *i*.

(φ12) φιλόγελω Ἀττικοί· φιλογέλωτες Ἕλληνες.

> The Attic speakers say *philogelōi* [2nd decl. nom. pl.], the Greeks say *philogelōtes* [3rd decl. nom. pl.]

This last example is of a rare word I have not previously discussed, but again it provides a clear example of an Attic declension spelling contrasted with a 3rd declension counterpart. Here both examples are in the nominative plural and, if a somewhat arbitrary choice, provide a clear comparison of the two forms.

Finally, Phrynichus identifies an example of the Attic declension noun λαγώς.

10.12 Phrynichus *Eclogae* (156)

> Λαγὼς ὁ <u>Ἀττικός</u>, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ο ὁ <u>Ἴων</u> λαγός· τὸ λαγωὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν.
>
> *lagōs* is <u>Attic</u>, *lagos* with *o* is <u>Ionian</u>; and *lagōos* does not exist.

Here Phrynichus recognises three spellings of the word: the Attic declension λαγώς (which he recommends), the Ionic spelling λαγός, and the uncontracted variation λαγωός, which he cautions against.

Given the quotes cited above, there must have been a clear awareness of this noun-group in the ancient world. Its label by ancient grammarians as "Attic" and the examples given by the lexicographers suggest that that use of the Attic forms of these words can be identified as markers of Atticism, and avoidance of them as non-Atticist.

10.3 Use in Achilles' Text

In analysing the text of Achilles Tatius, I found 10 examples of lemmas that could take Attic declension spellings. Of them, 1 had to be omitted, as closer inspection revealed that the tokens in question represented different lemmas that merely have homographs with the Attic declension example.[390] There remain, then, 9 lemmas that are relevant to the Attic declension. One of these, one is the proper noun Μενέλαος, which is the name of an important character in the novel and which I will discuss later. Of the remaining 8 lemmas, there are a total of 50 tokens, 33 of which have Attic spellings and 15 non-Attic. 2 are ambiguous as they could be interpreted as the Attic or non-Attic forms of these particular tokens.

Since each lemma in question has a slightly different pattern of use regarding preference for the Attic or non-Attic form, I will discuss each independently.

ναός: ("temple", "shrine")

As has been seen, this lemma is one of the most often cited examples of the Attic declension and has three spellings in Greek literature: the Attic νεώς, Ionic νηός, and Doric (adopted by the Koine) ναός. Achilles uses both the Attic and Doric/Koine spellings, but shows preference for the Attic forms. Searching for instances of this lemma using the normal text search tools was not as straightforward as for other lemmas because some of the declined forms are ones which also occur for the unrelated 3rd declension lemma ναῦς "ship" (Attic gen. νεώς).[391] This noun undergoes the same shift of ᾱ [ā] to η [ē] followed by quantitative metathesis in the genitive singular in Attic as ναός does throughout the declension. As a result, the following confusions may occur:

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[390] There are a number of tokens of what appears to be inflected forms of the Attic declension adjective πλέως ("full"), but are actually comparative forms of the adjective πολύς ("many"): πλεῖον, πλείους, πλείων; and inflections of the verb πλέω ("I sail"): πλέω, πλέων.

[391] This word occurs frequently in Achilles' novel, as travel by ship and seafaring are prominent parts of the story.

Table 10-2 Confusion of Tokens of ναός and ναῦς

	ναός "shrine"	ναῦς "ship"
νεώς	Attic nom. sing. Attic acc. pl.	Attic gen. sing.
ναός	Doric nom. sing.	Doric gen. sing.
νηός	Ionic nom. sing.	Ionic gen. sing.
ναῶν	Doric gen. pl.	Doric gen. pl.
νηῶν	Ionic gen. pl.	Ionic gen. pl.

Of the 31 possible tokens for νεώς, 12 refer to a "shrine" or "temple" and the remaining 19 to a "ship" (all are singular). Of the 12 tokens of "shrine", 8 have Attic spellings (νεώς, νεών and νεώ) and 4 Doric/Koine spellings (ναός, ναόν, ναοῦ). There is no variation in the manuscripts and no tokens appear in the papyri.

Table 10-3 Occurrences of ναός in Achilles' Text

ναός	Attic		Koine	
sg. nom.	νεώς	1	ναός	1
acc.	νεών	3	ναόν	2
gen.	νεώ	4	ναοῦ	1
dat.	νεῴ	--	ναῷ	--

As mentioned, most -εως/-αος nouns fall into a simple X : Y pattern of use. Attic texts including inscriptions, Aristophanes and the orators have forms in νεώς most of the time, while the biblical texts and the Greek and Roman papyri generally have forms in ναός.[392] Moeris (*Atticista* v.1), Herodian (*Pros. Cath.* 244.33) and Theodosius (*Can. Nom.* 16.1-7) attest to the perception of νεώς as the Attic form.

Based on this, Achilles' shows a partial desire to Atticise this lemma. He shows simple Atticism two-thirds of the time but retains the preferred Koine form for the remaining one-third of tokens. This is not inconsistent with other cases where Achilles uses simple Atticism (e.g. for -ττ-/-σσ-).

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[392] For Attic inscriptions see Threatte 1996: 39-42; For the papyri see Gignac 1981: 30-31; Other statistics from the TLG *Text Search Tool.* There are a few exceptional cases of νεώς in 2 Maccabees of the Septuagint.

ἵλαος: ("propitious")

This lemma does not appear in Achilles' text as an adjective, but the adverbial form appears twice, both times in the Attic declension spelling ἵλεως. Both tokens have a minor variant in the manuscript tradition, the first appearing as ἴλεος (with smooth breathing) in Manuscript G, the second as ἵλεος (with rough breathing) in both G and W. The -εο- spelling is an unusual variant which appears once in Herodotus and a few times in later, mostly lexicographic or grammatical, writers. Neither token appears in the papyri of Achilles' text.

The lemma occurs rarely in my key texts with a few -εω- tokens in the Attic inscriptions, 1 token of -αο- in Aristophanes and 2 tokens of -εω- in the orators.[393] The entry in LSJ describes the -εω- spellings as "Attic and later," and evidence for its continuance in Koine-period texts is attested by 1 token of -εω- in the papyri, 2 in the New Testament and 35 in the Septuagint. It seems, however, to have become a largely fossilised form (undeclined ἵλεως) and elsewhere synonyms such as χρηστός were used to indicate "propitiousness".[394]

The pattern of use for this lemma, therefore, is complex but seems to have been something like X : Xyz where X is the ἵλεως form, Y ἵλαος (ἱλάως for the adverb) and Z a synonym. Use of the Attic declension form, then, as Achilles has, can be described as mildly Attic-leaning although this could be strengthened by a degree of perceived Atticism evidenced by Herodian's description of the of the -εω- form as that used by the Athenians (*Περὶ παθῶν* 381.8-12).

ἠώς: ("dawn")

As discussed, this lemma has a 3rd declension non-Attic form ἠώς (gen. ἠοῦς) contrasting with the Attic 2nd declension variation ἕως (gen. ἕω). Of the 20 potential tokens of this lemma in Achilles' work, 5 apparent instances of ἕως are actually the homographic particle meaning "until" and not relevant for this discussion. Of the remaining 15 tokens, 10 make use of the Attic spelling (accusative and genitive ἕω; dative ἕῳ) and 5 of the non-Attic 3rd declension alternative (nominative ἠώς; genitive ἠοῦς).

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[393] Threatte 1996: 291

[394] LSJ: ἵλαος; Gignac 1981: 126; Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 25

Table 10-4 Occurrences of ἠώς in Achilles' Text

ἠώς	2nd Attic		3rd decl.		
sg. nom.	ἕως	0	ἠώς	4	
acc.	ἕω	7	ἠοῦν /ἠῶ	--	
gen.	ἕω	2	ἠοῦς	1*	* Ἠοῦς
dat.	ἕῳ	1	ἠοῖ	--	

It is interesting to note that in all cases of the nominative singular, Achilles uses the 3rd declension alternative ἠώς. This might be explained as an attempt to avoid confusion with the aforementioned particle ἕως, but this would have been unnecessary because context would always prevent confusion of the terms. The only other 3rd declension example is the genitive Ἠοῦς which is used as a proper noun suggesting anthropomorphism of the Dawn. Manuscript M gives this name as Ἰοῦς (genitive for a personification of the moon, Ἰώ), but Ἠοῦς is probably correct.[395] A search on the TLG shows that the anthropomorphic Dawn is almost always spelled as Ionic Ἠώς or Aeolic Αὔως. The only other manuscript variation found for examples of this lemma is in manuscript F, where an instance of ἠώς (dawn) has is replaced by ἡμέρα (day).

Vilborg notes that in the commentary of Achilles' text by Göttling, it is proposed that the first case of ἠώς ought rather to read ἢ ἕως, but this has no confirmation in the manuscript tradition.[396] Two examples of this lemma are visible in the papyrus fragments, and both agree with the manuscript tradition. In Π[3], ΕΩ occurs for accusative ἕω at 6.14.2 and in Π[4], is ΕΩ for dative ἕῳ at 3.24.1.

The pattern of use for this lemma in ancient texts also seems to be something like X : Xyz, where X is ἕως, Y is ἠώς and Z a synonym. Attic inscriptions have ἕως as do Aristophanes and the orators (with 1 exception).[397] The Roman and Byzantine papyri have two cases of ἕως (Gignac makes no reference to instances of ἠώς in the papyri).[398] Galen and other contemporaries like Josephus and Plutarch use both forms but have

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[395] For discussion on the significance of the myth of Io for Achilles' novel, see Morales 2004: 67, 141, 216-217 and Laplace 1983: 318. On a similar confusion between Europa and Selene (another manifestation of the moon), see Morales 2004: 27-48.

[396] Göttling 1811

[397] Threatte 1996: 39; 211

[398] Gignac 1981: 32

more instances of ἕως. The biblical texts use the synonym αὐγή for the dawn.[399] There is little discussion of this lemma in the lexicographers and grammarians, at least with reference to the relationship between ἕως and ἠώς. In *Περὶ παθῶν* (3.1 271.14-16), Herodian discusses dialectal forms of ἠώς, saying that the Dorians said ἀώς and the Aeolians, inserting an υ, said αὔως but he makes no reference to ἕως.

Much later, however, in the lexicon of Photius (the Patriarch of Constantinople) (9th century AD) is a more explicit recommendation:

10.13 Photius *Lexicon* (E-M). (ε.2535)

> ἕως, οὐχὶ ἠώς, τὸ Ἀττικόν ἐστι. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἠώς λέγει ποιητικῶς κατακόρως ἐν Κύρου Παιδείᾳ (X. *Cyr.* 1.1.5.8)· "ἤν τε πρὸς ἠῶ ἤν τε πρὸς ἑσπέραν".

> *heōs*, not *ēōs*, it is Attic. But Xenophon said *ēōs* to poetical excess in *The Education of Cyrus* (X. *Cyr.* 1.1.5.8) "*ēn te pros ēō ēn te pros hesperan*".

Finally, the Suda (10th C) suggests that ἕως is actually Ionic.

10.14 Suda *Lexicon*

> (η.417) λέγεται δὲ ἡμέρα κοινῶς ἠώς, Ἰωνικῶς ἕως, Δωρικῶς ἀώς, Αἰολικῶς ἐκ τούτου αὐὼν καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ υ αἰών.

> But the day is called in the common (*koinōs*) manner *ēōs*, in the Ionian manner *heōs*, in the Dorian manner *aōs*, (derived) from this in the Aeolian manner *auōn* and, with the change of *u, aiōn*.

Photius' reference might point to the perception of ἕως as an Atticism, but the scarce evidence lends little weight to this.

Achilles, then, shows a general preference for the Attic declension spelling of this lemma (used on 10 occasions). As this form was continued to some degree in later writers, his choice can only be described as mild Attic-leaning with little support from the lexicographers and grammarians. In addition, for the nominative singular form of this lemma, Achilles has 4 tokens of the 3rd declension form, pointing to Koine preference for this inflection with strong avoidance of an Atticist form. His use, therefore, is inconsistent but with a slight preference for Attic-leaning forms.

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[399] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 25

<u>κάλως</u>: ("rope")

There are 10 tokens of this lemma, of which 7 make use of the Attic spelling (based on κάλως, gen. κάλω) and 2 of the Epic/Ionic alternative (based on κάλος, gen. κάλου). The 10th token is ambiguous, as it takes the form of the genitive plural κάλων, which is identical in both versions.

Table 10-5 Occurrences of κάλως in Achilles' Text

κάλως	Attic		Ionic		Variation
sg. nom.	κάλως		κάλος		
acc.	κάλων	4	κάλον		4 as κάλον in some MSS
gen.	κάλω	1	κάλου		1 as κάλου in branch α; κάλως MS F
pl. nom.	κάλῳ		κάλοι	2	
acc.	κάλως	1	κάλους		1 as κάλους in some MSS
gen.	κάλων	?	κάλων	?	1 token; category unclear
dual nom.	κάλω	1	κάλοι		1 as κάλοι in branch α

Unlike the other examples, this lemma does have a fair amount of variation in the manuscript tradition. In particular, all 7 tokens which have the (-ω-) Attic spelling in the majority of manuscripts (and therefore in Vilborg's edition) have the non-Attic (-o-) equivalent in at least one other manuscript or group of manuscripts. The non-Attic variation appears in all cases in manuscript M and its sub-branches. In 4 of the 7, the non-Attic spelling is found in all of branch α of the manuscripts. Branch β, which Vilborg considers slightly more reliable, generally prefers the Attic spelling, although in 2 cases manuscript G of this family has the non-Attic spelling. The two tokens which are non-Attic in Vilborg's edition have no variation in any manuscript. No tokens appear in the papyri.

Given these observations, it is difficult to make a certain conclusion about which spelling Achilles preferred in his original text. It is possible that he preferred the Attic spellings which were emended to non-Attic versions by various manuscript copyists at different times (some tokens changed in the prototype of branch α, and in manuscript G, with further regularisation applied to all tokens of the lemma in manuscript M). Alternatively, there may have already been some inconsistency in Achilles' original, which was maintained in some manuscripts but partially or fully altered in others through error or preference rather than conscious de-Atticising intent.

This lemma does not occur all too often in my key comparative texts. The Attic-declension form is preferred by the Attic inscriptions and orators but Aristophanes does not use the lemma at all.[400] The alternate -o- spelling is found twice in the Septuagint but the lemma is absent from the New Testament and papyri. Galen has 4 tokens of the -o- spelling while Plutarch and Josephus have 2 -ω- forms and 2 -o- forms each. The pattern of usage, therefore could be described as X : xY, where X represents κάλως forms and Y κάλος forms.[401] Achilles' use of the Attic-declension spelling in most cases in the majority of manuscripts suggests a mild Attic-leaning preference.

The Attic-leaning preference of this choice is amplified by the description of κάλως as Attic in Herodian (*Pros. Cath.* 244.33), pointing to κάλως as a perceived Atticism. Unfortunately, since many of Achilles' tokens vary in the manuscripts, it is hard to make a strong claim about Achilles' Attic-leaning preference here.

ταώς: ("peacock")

This lemma occurs 8 times in Achilles' text, primarily in Book 1, but twice in Book 3. Of the tokens, 6 appear in Attic declension spellings (nominative ταώς, genitive ταώ and dative ταῴ) but 2 have the non-Attic accusative (ταῶνα). All cases are singular.

Table 10-6 Occurrences of ταώς in Achilles' Text

ταώς	2nd Attic		3rd decl.	
sg. nom.	ταώς	3	ταών	
acc.	ταών		ταῶνα	2
gen.	ταώ	2	ταῶνος	
dat.	ταῴ	1	ταῶνι	

It is interesting to note that the anomaly correlates with a specific declensional form: both cases of the accusative singular. Perhaps of significance is the first example of ταῶνα at 1.16.3 which specifically refers to a female peacock: "δείξας θήλειαν ταῶνα" ("indicating the female peacock"). Achilles may have somehow felt that the 3rd declension spelling (ending in -α) was more appropriate for a female bird than the 2nd declension spelling, but this does not account for the repeated use of this spelling for the

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[400] Threatte 1996: 271-272

[401] The lower-case x and y indicate the scarcity of examples in the Koine, but the pattern can be effectively treated the same as X : XY.

accusative singular at 3.25.1, where he speaks of the peacock in a general sense. This second example appears in a discussion of the phoenix (which has an ambiguous biological gender in ancient literature) and as he is comparing the size of the phoenix with that of the peacock, there is no reason to assume he had a female peacock in mind.[402] In fact, in the very next sentence following this, he uses the 2nd declension nominative singular form ταώς to relate the colouring of the two birds, in which case I must assume he has a colourful male peacock in mind. In addition to this, I have not discovered any other author who assigns the two different spellings of ταώς to different genders of the bird.

This word is again rare in my key texts. It is absent from the Attic inscriptions but occurs 3 times in Aristophanes in the Attic declension and once with the 3rd declension alternative. The orators have 1 token each of each spelling. For comparison, Aristotle has 12 tokens with the Attic declension spelling and 1 of the 3rd declension. Gignac gives no examples from the papyri and the biblical texts lack the word with the exception of 1 token of 3rd declension ταώνων attested in some manuscripts of the Septuagint.[403] Galen also has 1 token of the 3rd declension spelling and Plutarch has 2 of the 3rd declension alongside 4 of the Attic declension.

It is hard, therefore, to establish a clear pattern of use other than something like Xy: xy, in which X is ταώς and Y is ταών . This, not one of my normal patterns, suggests a very slight Attic bias for the ταώς form.

The -ως form of this lemma does not seem to have had a strong Attic association in grammarians and lexicographers since Herodian discusses the two alternate forms without referring to the one as Attic.

10.15 Herodian *Pros. Cath.* (38.29-30)

τὸ δὲ Τυφῶν καὶ ταῶν οὐκ ἐκλίθη διὰ τοῦ ντ, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἑτέραν ἔσχε κατάληξιν· Τυφῶς γὰρ καὶ ταῶς διὰ τοῦ ς.

But *Tufōn* and *taōn* do not decline with *-nt-*, since they also have another ending; for *Tufōs* and *taōs* are written with *-s*.

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[402] On the androgynous nature of the phoenix and its symbolic association with Leucippe, see Morales 2004: 190-199.

[403] LSJ: ταώς

Theodosius (*Can. Nom.* 21.6-13) also recognises the two forms, but does not describe either as Attic. Only much later, in Choeroboscus' commentary of Theodosius in the passage previously cited (Choer. *In Theod. Nom.* 248.8-11), are the Τυφῶς and ταῶς spellings described as Attic, when he says that they decline by "dropping -*s* in the Attic manner" (ἀποβολῇ τοῦ ς ἀττικῶς). The lexicographers and grammarians, then, also give only a slight hint that the Attic-declension form was considered especially Atticist.

There is, then, the suggestion of a slight Attic bias in most cases of this lemma on Achilles' part. The lack of variation in the manuscripts points to this bias having been present from the earliest time but as with most cases of Attic bias in Achilles' text, he shows inconsistency.

The remaining three Attic declension lemmas have only 1 token each:

σῶς, σῶν: ("safe")
The single token of this word is in the neuter nominative singular σῶον and, as such, an uncontracted non-Attic form. There is no variation in the manuscript tradition, suggesting that Achilles probably had the uncontracted form in his original text.

The pattern of usage for this lemma is clearly X : Y. Attic texts, including Attic inscriptions, Aristophanes and the orators all preferred the contracted form.[404] In the papyri and Septuagint, the uncontracted forms dominate (there are no examples in the New Testament) and Galen, Josephus and Plutarch all prefer uncontracted forms.[405] The quote from Moeris (σ.19) given previously amplifies the Atticist nature of the contracted form.

Achilles' choice here is a clear case of simple Koine preference or avoidance of Atticism. Unfortunately, with only 1 token, it is hard to generalise.

τυφώς: ("whirlwind")
The name for a whirlwind (given with lower-case as common noun) appears at 1.12.2. Achilles uses the non-Attic 3rd declension spelling for the dative singular, τυφῶνι.

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[404] Threatte 1996: 290-291
[405] For the papyri, Gignac 1981: 82

There is variation in a single manuscript (W), where the form τυφῶν appears instead. This is more likely intended as the nominative singular of the non-Attic 3rd declension than the accusative singular of the Attic declension.

Attic inscriptions have both variants (most instances in the vocative case and from around the 3rd century BC), but Aristophanes has 3 cases of the Attic declension form.[406] It is absent from the orators and most other Classical Attic period authors but Aristotle has 9 examples of the 3rd declension spelling. While absent from the papyri and biblical texts, Galen has 1 example for the 3rd declension form while Plutarch has 88 tokens of the same (both as a proper and common noun). The entry in LSJ describes the 3rd declension form as "used by later writers".[407] The Septuagint makes various references to whirlwinds, but these are always synonyms such as συσσεισμός, δίνη, λαῖλαψ and καταιγίς, (perhaps in order to avoid association with the Greek mythical figure).

The pattern of usage for this lemma, then, could be described as, XY : Yz, where X is τυφώς, Y τυφῶν and Z synonyms. The use of Attic declension τυφώς, then, could be considered hyper-Atticism emphasised by perceived Atticism suggested in the passages from Moeris (τ.14) and Choeroboscus (*In Theod. Nom.* 248.8-11) given previously. Achilles' use of the third declension form, then, (whether dative or nominative) is mildly Koine-leaning. The lack of other tokens of this lemma again make further generalisation impossible.

ἥρως: ("hero")
This last lemma is another which has both 2nd and 3rd declension variations: ἥρως (gen. ἥρω) versus ἥρως (gen. ἥρωος). Unfortunately, since this example occurs in the nominative singular (ἥρως) in Achilles' text, which happens to be the form that is identical for both declensions, there is no way of deciding which declensional form Achilles generally preferred. As a result, I cannot comment any further on this example. The table below summarises Achilles' selection for these last three lemmas.

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[406] Threatte 1996: 126
[407] LSJ: Τυφώς

Table 10-7 Occurrences of Other Attic Declension Lemmas in Achilles' Text

σῶς, ῶν	Attic		Uncontr.		Notes
nom. (neut.)	σῶν		σῶον	1	
τυφώς	**2nd Attic**		**3rd decl.**		
dat.	τυφῷ		τυφῶνι	1	τυφῶν in MS W
ἥρως	**2nd Attic**		**3rd decl.**		
nom.	ἥρως	1?	ἥρως	1?	1 token; category unclear

Two of these three examples, then, suggest a marginal preference towards the non-Attic spellings but the number of examples of each is too few for any real conclusions.

Μενέλαος: ("Menelaus")

Before summarising Achilles' use of Attic 2nd declension nouns, I must also consider the name of one of his characters, Μενέλαος. As discussed previously, many ancient names are unlikely to experience variation in Greek texts, but this one is an exception in that both spellings are found throughout ancient literature. The name is often given as an example of the Attic 2nd declension in both ancient and modern grammars, and, as already seen, it is the example that Theodosius chose for his paradigm of the Attic declension (Theod. *Can. Nom.* 16).

It may be significant, then, that Achilles uses the non-Attic spelling for this character in his story throughout. There are 53 tokens of the name and all appear in what is generally taken to be the Doric or Koine -αο- form. There is no variation in the manuscript tradition and there are 4 tokens extant in the papyri: 1 from $Π^5$ at 3.23.2 and 3 from $Π^4$ at 3.17.6, 3.21.1 and 3.23.2. All are spelled with -αο- except that at 3.17.6 the papyrus is damaged and I cannot be sure that the transcriber read it correctly.

Table 10-8 Occurrences of Μενέλαος in Achilles' Text

Μενέλαος	Attic		Koine	
sg. nom.	Μενέλεως		Μενέλαος	30
acc.	Μενέλεων		Μενέλαον	11
gen.	Μενελέω		Μενελάου	6
dat.	Μενελέῳ		Μενελάῳ	1
voc.	Μενέλεως		Μενέλαε	5

While Μενέλαος, being the Homeric spelling, is by far more dominant throughout Greek (a search of the full TLG reveals 3 584 tokens of -αο- compared to 441 of -εω-), the Attic declension spelling is not unknown. Threatte identifies 2 instances of Μενέλεως in the Attic inscriptions along with a case of Μενέλεος (referring to the epic hero) and 3 of Μενέλαος, one of which refers to an Athenian citizen (late 3rd century BC) and is the earliest occurrence of a -λαος name for an Athenian.[408] An examination of Greek literature shows -εω- spellings being popular during the Classical period (occurring, for example, slightly more frequently than -αο- in the tragedians). Aristophanes has 3 tokens of -εω- and 2 of -αο-.[409] The Attic orators, on the other hand, have 7 tokens, all of -αο-. Plato has 3 of -εω- and 1 of -αο-. There is no account of the spelling preferred by the papyri but the Septuagint has 17 cases of -αο-. Plutarch has 25 of -αο- alongside 1 of -εω- and Galen has 4 of -αο- and 1 of -εω-. It seems clear that, by this point, -αο- was the more common form but -εω- still occurs, especially in Schmid's Atticists who have 35 cases of -εω- alongside 71 of -αο-. All of them use both forms, though some prefer the one and others the other.

Interestingly, it is the lexicographers and grammarians who retain the use of the -εω-form well into the later centuries and some of them seem to have clearly considered the two forms of this name as an Attic/non-Attic dichotomy. It has already been seen that Theodosius (*Can. Nom.* 16) uses Μενέλεως as his example of the Attic declension, what he calls "nouns that the Attic speakers remodel" (ὀνόματα μεταποιοῦντες Ἀττικοὶ). Herodian (*Pros. Cath.* 244.32-245.4) used Μενέλεως/Μενέλαος as an example of "Attic nouns ending in -*os*" (Τὰ εἰς ως Ἀττικὰ ὁμοτονοῦσι ἐκείνοις), an association he affirms elsewhere in his work (e.g. *Pros. Cath.* 405.25-29; *Pros. Cath.* 245.14-16). His father, Apollonius Dyscolus, also associated Μενέλεως with Attic in his work on adverbs, where he uses it to account for the Attic form of the adverb ἄνεως:

10.16 Apollonius Dyscolus *On Adverbs* (145.5)

…ἄναος. ἀφ' οὗ τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἄνεως, ὡς Μενέλαος Μενέλεως

…*anaos*. From which comes the Attic *aneōs*, just like *Menelaos Meneleōs*

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[408] Threatte 1996: 46-47. For more on -λεως vs -λαος names in the Attic inscriptions see (Threatte 1996: 44-50).

[409] Significantly, 1 token of -αο- is spoken by Lamptio the (Non-Attic) Spartan woman in *Lysistrata* but the other is by Pisthetaerus, an Athenian man in *Birds*. All 3 tokens of -εω- are said by Euripides' unnamed relative in *Thesmophoriazusae*.

It seems, then, that Μενέλεως falls into the xY: Y pattern of usage, in which X is the -εω- spelling and Y the -αο- one. While -αο- was already used as much if not more than -εω- in Attic texts, -αο- was the norm in the Koine period except when used by Atticising authors or promoted by grammarians. Use of the -εω- form, then, could be seen as hyper-Atticism strengthened by its perceived status as held by the grammarians.

Achilles choice, then, is unsurprising and could be described as mildly Koine-leaning. What is significant is that he chose not to follow the hyper-Atticist and perceived Attic form.

Regarding why Achilles made use of this spelling for his character's name, it is also noteworthy that this character identifies himself as "an Egyptian by race" on his very first appearance: "τὸ δὲ γένος Αἰγύπτιος" (A.T. 2.33.2). As someone who was not ethnically Greek, though he clearly spoke the language, it makes sense that his Greek name would have had a Koine rather than an Attic spelling. Achilles' choice of the non-Attic form here might be explained by the ethnicity of the character rather than any real preference on Achilles' part (for one or the other spelling in normal discourse). The example does, however, provide further evidence that Achilles never intended to be a strict Atticist, or he could have had the character's name spelled Μενέλεως regardless of his race.

10.4 Summary and Interim Conclusion

The table below shows a summary of the results discussed in this section.

Table 10-9 Summary of Examples Relevant to the Attic Declension in Achilles' Text

Word	Attic	Other	Ambig.	PoU	L/G	Description of use
νεώς	8	4		X : Y	yes	Simple Atticism (partial)
σῶς		1		X : Y	yes	Simple avoidance
ἵλεως	2 (0)			X : Xyz	yes	Mild Attic-leaning
ἕως	10	5 (3)		X : Xyz		Mild Attic-leaning (partial)
κάλως	7 (0)	2	1	X : xY	yes	Strong Attic-leaning (partial) (ms. var)
τυφῶς		1		XY : Yz	yes	Mild Koine-leaning
ταῶς	6	2		Xy : xy		Slight Attic bias (partial)
ἥρως			1	xY : X		N/A
8	33	15	2			

Word	Attic	Other	Ambig.	PoU	L/G	Description of use
Μενέλαος		53		xY : Y	yes	Mild Koine-leaning
9		**68**				

Analysis of the Attic declension in Achilles' text points to him showing some instances of Attic-leaning preferences (often using the so-called Attic declension forms in favour of the alternatives) but for the most part this preference is mild or moderate, as use of the Attic declension form continued into Koine period texts. For the noun νεώς, Achilles shows some clear examples of simple Atticism by preferring the Attic form more often than the non-Attic one (although even for this he is inconsistent). For σῶς, he shows simple avoidance of the Attic form, but there is only 1 token of this. For τυφῶς and Μενέλαος, he avoids what would be hyper-Atticist forms showing that, while he does make attempts at Atticism for Attic-declension words, this is not an obsession and he uses more neutral forms where possible.

Athematic (-μι) Verbs

This is another frequently cited morphological Atticist variation, one relating to verbs. The variation applies to a class of verbs that behave differently from the majority of verbs in that they lack thematic vowels in word-formation, and also because (in some inflections) they take a different set of suffixes. Many modern Greek grammars refer to this class as "-μι verbs" because they tend to take the suffix -μι in the first person singular present indicative active, in opposition to the majority which take -ω for this inflection (also termed "-ω verbs"). Alternatively, this group is also described as "athematic" because they lack the thematic vowel (ο or ε) which is normally attached to the stem of "thematic" verbs before the addition of inflectional suffixes.

There are four types of athematic verb: those built on root stems (e.g. εἰμί, εἶμι, φημί), those with reduplicated root stems (e.g. τίθημι, δίδωμι), those with nasal infix (-νυ-) stems (e.g. δείκνυμι) and a group of athematic verbs that are deponent and therefore take only middle and passive forms (e.g. δύναμαι, ἐπίσταμαι). While there are sometimes individual exceptions for specific words, generally all the lemmas in each set behave in the same way.

11. The -νυμι Verbs

11.1 Development of the Variation

Beginning in the Classical Attic period, but becoming increasingly more common in the Koine, there was a trend to thematicise -μι verbs by replacing the athematic stems and endings with regular thematic variations. In some cases, the -μι verb suffixes are quite noticeably different from the -ω verb suffixes, but in others, the suffix itself is the same, and the verb is merely lacking the thematic vowel.

The first category of athematic verbs I will consider is what I call the -νυμι verbs, after the presence of a -νυ- infix inserted between the root stem and inflectional suffix of verbs in this group in the present and imperfect tenses. Examples of this category are: δείκνυμι ("I show"), ὄμνυμι ("I swear", "confirm"), σβέννυμι ("I quench") and ὄλλυμι (< ὄλνυμι) ("I destroy"). The -νυμι verbs were quite frequently thematicised in certain

present and imperfect inflections in the Koine. The table below shows the most significant of the differences between thematic and athematic suffixes for these verbs.

Table 11.1 Common Thematic versus Athematic Differences for -νυμι Verbs

Inflection		Thematic	Athematic
ACTIVE			
Pres. Indic.	1 sg.	-νυω	-νυμι
	2 sg.	-νυεις	-νυς
	3 sg.	-νυει	-νυσι
	3 pl.	-νυουσι(ν)	-νυασι(ν)/νυσι(ν)
Impf. Indic.	1 sg.	-νυον	-νυν
	3 pl.	-νυον	-νυσαν
Pres. Impera.	2 sg.	-νυε	-νυ
Pres. Infin.	--	-νυειν	-νυναι
Pres. Part.	m. nom.	-νυων	-νυς
MIDDLE			
Pres. Indic.	2 sg.	-νυει/-νυῃ	-νυσαι
Impf. Indic.	2 sg.	-νυου	-νυσο
Pres. Impera.	2 sg.	-νυου	-νυσο

For the remainder of inflected forms, the athematic form would have a regular bare suffix built on a stem with the -νυ- infix (e.g. δείκνυμεν, δείκνυτε) whereas the thematic equivalent would have an ε or o thematic vowel between -νυ- and the suffix (e.g. δεικνύομεν, δεικνύετε).

11.2 Evidence for the Variation as a Marker of Atticism

11.2.1 Modern Scholarship

Horrocks does not give the retention of athematic verbs in place of their thematic counterparts as one of his examples of Atticism, but many other modern authors do. Kim includes "athematic verb endings" as a "morphological peculiarity" maintained by Atticising authors.[410] Similarly, Anderson says that one of the "subtle stylistic choices" an aspiring Atticist would have to make was to "purge his language of deviant tendencies such as the lapse into easy alternative -o forms of -mi verbs preferred by the *koinē*."[411] Deferrari discusses this group of verbs with relation to Atticism in Lucian[412]

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[410] Kim 2014: 470
[411] Anderson 1993: 88-89

and Schmid suggests that it is common knowledge that -μι forms of -νυμι verbs are "real Attic" (*eigentlich attischen*).[413] He discusses the use of the athematic versus thematic forms of such verbs in a number of his authors.[414]

-νυμι Verbs

Blass, Debrunner and Funk make the following observation regarding -νυμι verbs:

> The gradual decline of -μι verbs, to be observed throughout the history of the Greek language, reaches its final stage in modern Greek where the entire category disappears. This decline is strongly felt in the Koine as compared with classical Greek. Verbs in -νύειν [i.e. infinitive of -νύω] are active competitors of those in -νύναι [i.e. infinitive of -νυμι] … already in Attic etc.; the older athematic formation has not yet died out in the NT and entirely dominates in the passive (as in Attic…)[415]

Similarly, Schmid suggests that the shift from athematic to thematic forms did not occur in the middle-passive voice even in the higher Koine.[416] Conversely Gignac says:

> [E]ven in the period of best Attic, ὄμνυμι/ὀμνύω, δείκνυμι/δεικνύω etc., offered competing athematic and thematic forms throughout the active of the present system. The thematic forms gradually came to predominate in the inscriptions, papyri, and literary works of the Koine, and eventually resulted in the complete disappearance of the athematic inflection in modern Greek.[417]

Finally, Torallas Tovar, in her discussion of "Features of the Koine" in the EAGLL says:

> The verbal system also presented a tendency towards the disappearance of the athematic inflection… Thus, verbs in -*mi* like *ómnumi* 'to swear', or *deíknumi* 'to show' would gradually shift into *omnúō* and *deiknúō*, or were replaced by thematic synonyms like *horkízō* to 'swear'.[418]

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[412] Deferrari 1916: 26-29

[413] Schmid 1896: 595

[414] On Polemon (Schmid 1887: 52); Dio Chrysostom (Schmid 1887: 83); Aristides (Schmid 1889: 25); Aelian (Schmid 1893: 37) and Philostratus (Schmid 1896: 31).

[415] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 46

[416] Schmid 1896: 595

[417] Gignac 1981: 378

[418] Torallas Tovar 2013

It seems, then, that while the retention of athematic -μι forms in preference over thematic -ω forms is generally considered a kind of Atticism by various modern authors, it must be noted that the dichotomy "thematic form = Koine vs. athematic form = Atticising" may not apply throughout, especially with respect to middle-passive forms. This will be considered further in the next section.

11.2.2 Use of the Marker by Attic Writers and Evidence for the Alternative

While it is clear that in the development of the Koine, there was a trend for words that typically took athematic inflections to instead take thematic variations, the two sets of forms already co-occurred (at least for some forms) in Classical Attic.

For the most part, the Attic inscriptions show a clear preference for athematic forms. The only significantly attested thematic forms of -νυμι verbs are for ὄμνυμι (ὀμνύω), which become frequent after 300 BC.[419] According to Gignac, there are some cases of thematic forms for some -νυμι words already in Classical Attic prose writers. Thematic forms of ὀμνύω appear in Xenophon (the historian), Demosthenes and Lycurgus (but not in the tragedians and Aristophanes). Gignac claims that thematic forms are already found for the active present of non-finite moods (the infinitive and participle) in Attic inscriptions (although examples of such are not given in Threatte).[420] Deferrari elaborates that "from the second century B.C. on, the infinitive began to take on the endings of the thematic conjugation" but also stresses that "the middle forms of the present and imperfect…never go over to the thematic conjugation in Attic inscriptions".[421]

By the time of the Koine, Gignac generalises (with respect to inscriptions, papyri and literary Koine texts) that: "the act[ive] tends to have the thematic formation, esp[ecially] in the pres[ent], most commonly in the 1[st person] [singular] [while] the mid[dle]-pass[ive] tends to retain the athematic formation."[422] Deferrari confirms this:

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[419] Threatte 1996: 619
[420] Gignac 1981: 175
[421] Deferrari 1916: 26
[422] Gignac 1981: 378

In the [Ptolemaic] papyri the thematic forms prevail decidedly in the active, while in the middle and passive the unthematic forms are almost constant. Even in the N.T. the older unthematic forms continue and they still remain the prevalent forms in the passive.[423]

As already mentioned, Blass, DeBrunner and Funk make the same point, stating that while the New Testament sees much use of thematic forms, the athematic forms still "dominate in the passive". For active forms of -νυμι, thematic variations are the norm, but there is sometimes manuscript variation. Exceptions occur for δείκνυμι which always preserves athematic δείκνυμι for the 1st sg. and δείκνυσιν for 3rd sg. (but has thematic δεικνύεις for 2nd sg.). In other cases, -νυμι usually takes thematic forms with the exception of a few participles. Blass, Debrunner and Funk also note that some -νυμι verbs are replaced by thematic synonyms such as χορτάζω for κορέννυμι and ῥήσσω for ῥήγνυμι.[424]

It seems then that, for the present system of -νυμι verbs, the thematic is rare in Classical Attic but common in the Koine. The movement from athematic to thematic forms goes along the following general path: it applies first to the (non-finite) participle and infinitive active forms (in the late Classical and early Hellenistic period), later it spreads to the indicative active forms (in the Hellenistic Koine) and finally it effects middle-passive forms only occasionally and gradually (until athematic forms are fully replaced in the modern period).

When considering the Atticist question, therefore, the use of -μι rather than -ω forms may be considered more or less intentionally Atticising depending on the specific grammatical forms in question. On the other hand, analysis of thematic forms, while more likely viewed as obvious Koineisms, will depend again on the precise inflection of each word.

A final note must be made regarding this variation and Atticism. Schmid pointed out that, for the most part, athematic forms are preserved in his Atticising authors in the middle-passive (which is not unexpected). What is interesting is his observation that

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[423] Deferrari 1916: 26
[424] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 46

Aristides seems to choose between athematic or thematic forms for their effect on "rhythm and a desire to avoid hiatus".[425] This practice, he claims, is not unique to Aristides, but it was normal for "the more careful writers [to] switch between μι- and ω-forms according to the pressure from hiatus."[426] He suggests that this trend is found in Hellenistic period writers such as Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, and Josephus, but also in the Attic orator Demosthenes. It was not a universal practice by Atticising authors, however, since many of Schmid's authors (Lucian, Dio Chrysostom and Aelian) alternate between athematic and thematic forms "for no apparent reason" while Philostratus II uses athematic forms almost exclusively.[427] The possibility of hiatus affecting an author's choice for one form or the other must be considered, therefore, although, for the present stem verbs, it is really only in the infinitive endings (-ναι versus -ειν) that choice of one form or the other can have bearing on hiatus.

11.2.3 Ancient Testimony

Moeris has a number of examples of -νυμι verbs where he recommends athematic forms as true Attic in place of the corresponding thematic forms which he saw as common in "Hellenistic" Greek. His examples generally give only one inflected form of each word. I give all his examples for the present and imperfect tenses according to grammatical inflection.

1st person sg. indicative active present:

   11.1 Moeris *Attic.*

  (ζ.1) ζεύγ<u>νυμι</u> Ἀττικοί· ζευγ<u>νύω</u> Ἕλληνες.

        The Attic speakers (say) *zeug<u>numi</u>*; the Greeks *zeug<u>nuō</u>*.

3rd person pl. indicative active present:

   11.2 Moeris *Attic.*

  (ο.15) ὀλλ<u>ύασιν</u> ὀμν<u>ύασιν</u> Ἀττικοί· ὀλλ<u>ύουσιν</u> ὀμν<u>ύουσιν</u> Ἕλληνες.

        The Attic speakers (say) *oll<u>uasin</u> omn<u>uasin</u>*; the Greeks *oll<u>uousin</u> omn<u>uousin</u>*.

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[425] Schmid 1889: 25
[426] Schmid 1896: 579
[427] Schmid 1896: 579

3rd person sg. indicative active imperfect:

   11.3 Moeris *Attic.*

  (ε.23) ἐκρεμάν<u>νυεν</u> Ἀττικοί· ἐκρήμ<u>να</u> Ἕλληνες.

        The Attic speakers (say) *ekremann<u>uen</u>*; the Greeks *ekrēm<u>na</u>* [imperfect of κρημνάω]

3rd person pl. indicative active imperfect:

   11.4 Moeris *Attic.*

  (ω.10) ὤμ<u>νυσαν</u>· ὤμ<u>νυον</u> Ἕλληνες.

        ōmn<u>usan</u>; The Greeks say *ōmn<u>uon</u>*.

3rd person sg. imperative active present:

   11.5 Moeris *Attic*.

  (α.66) ἀνοιγ<u>νύτω</u> Ἀττικοί· ἀνοιγ<u>έτω</u> Ἕλληνες.

        The Attic speakers (say) *anoig<u>nutō</u>*; the Greeks *anoig<u>eto</u>* [thematic form on stem ἀνοίγω]

present active infinitive:

   11.6 : Moeris *Attic.*

  (ο.17) ὀμ<u>νύναι</u> Ἀττικοί· ὀμ<u>νύειν</u> Ἕλληνες.

        The Attic speakers (say) *omn<u>unai</u>*; the Greeks *omn<u>uein</u>*.

present participle active: masculine nominative sg.:

   11.7 Moeris *Attic.*

  (α.20) ἀπολλ<u>ύς</u> Ἀττικοί· ἀπολλ<u>ύων</u> Ἕλληνες.

        The Attic speakers (say) *apoll<u>us</u>*; the Greeks *apoll<u>uōn</u>*

Phrynichus also gives examples of athematic -νυμι forms which he describes as "Attic" or "good Attic":

3rd person pl. indicative active present:

   11.8 Phrynichus *Praeparatio Sophistica (epitome)* (10.22)

      <u>ἀπολλ<u>ύασιν</u></u>: ὥσπερ δεικ<u>νύασι</u> καὶ ὀμ<u>νύασιν</u>. Ἀττικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀμ<u>νύουσι</u> καὶ δεικ<u>νύουσι</u> καὶ ἀπολλ<u>ύουσιν</u>.

      apoll<u>uasin</u>: just like *deik<u>nuasi</u>* and *omn<u>uasin</u>*. (These are) the Attic forms as opposed to *omn<u>uousi</u>* and *deik<u>nuousi</u>* and *apoll<u>uousin.</u>*

2nd person sg. imperative active present:

> 11.9 Phrynichus *Praeparatio Sophistica (epitome)* (70.20)
>
> ἐπιδείκ<u>νυ</u> (Aristoph. *Av.* 667): τὸ προστακτικὸν Ἀττικῶς, <ἀντὶ> τοῦ ἐπιδείκ<u>νυε</u>. τὸ θέμα αὐτοῦ δείκ<u>νυμι</u>, ὥσπερ καὶ ὄλλ<u>υμι</u> ὄλλ<u>υ</u> καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. τὸ δ' ἐπιδείκ<u>νυε</u> ἀπὸ τοῦ δεικ<u>νύω</u>.
>
> *epideik<u>nu</u>* (Ar. *Av.* 667): the imperative in the Attic manner, <instead of> *epideik<u>nue</u>*. The root form of it is *deik<u>numi</u>*, just like *oll<u>umi</u>*, *ol<u>u</u>* and the like. But *epideik<u>nue</u>* is from *deik<u>nū</u>*.

Both Moeris and Phrynichus, then, show the association of athematic forms with Attic and thematic forms with the Koine.

Herodian and -μι Verbs

Herodian thought the question of -μι verbs so important, that he wrote an entire treatise on them, usually entitled *Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι* (*On -mi Verbs*). Unfortunately it does not survive in its original form and we only have fragments, mostly in the form of quotes from George Choeroboscus (9th century AD), which were collected into a single edition published by Lentz.[428] Some passages are considered to be quotes or paraphrases direct from Herodian's text but others are commentary by Choeroboscus. Herodian was not directly intending to discuss the verbs from an Atticist perspective and so his treatment involves mainly descriptions of the different inflected forms along with attempts at explaining unusual or irregular examples. For the most part, then, he simply cites regular athematic spellings without comment on alternate forms and so his text reveals little in the way of Atticist attitudes, although it gives interesting insight into how the ancient grammarians dealt with these morphological forms.

Note on Present Indicative 3rd Singular:

Moeris' entries regarding the 3rd. pl. forms of -νυμι verbs introduce a problematic issue relating to how these forms seem to have been understood by the lexicographers and grammarians. He has the following two entries:

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[428] Lentz 1870. Information from Dickey 2014: 340

Lentz uses passages from Gaisford's 1842 edition of Choeroboscus, using his page numbering. The equivalent text on the TLG is "Georgius Choeroboscus, *Prolegomena et Scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini Canones Isagogicos de Flexione Verborum*" [#4093.002] by Hilgard 1894.

11.10 Moeris *Atticista*

(δ.29) δεικνῦσι προπερισπωμένως Ἀττικοί· δεικνύουσιν Ἕλληνες· δεικνύασι δὲ οἱ δεύτεροι Ἀττικοί.

The Attic speakers (say) *deiknusi* with circumflex on the penultimate syllable; the Greeks *deiknuousin;* but the secondary Attic speakers (say) *deiknuasi.*

(ζ.8) ζευγνῦσιν Ἀττικοί πληθυντικῶς καὶ περισπωμένως· ζευγνύουσιν Ἕλληνες. τὸ δὲ ζευγνύασιν τῆς δευτέρας Ἀτθίδος.

The Attic speakers (say) *zeugnusin* for the plural and pronounced with a circumflex; the Greeks *zeugnuousin;* but the secondary Attic (form is) *zeugnuasin*.

In both these examples, Moeris identifies what he apparently considers two different Attic forms, the second used by οἱ δεύτεροι Ἀττικοί or τῆς δευτέρας Ἀτθίδος (the "secondary", "later" or "younger" Attic writers). Scholars debate what Moeris intends by these separate categories. Swain describes the distinction (which occurs a total of four times in Moeris) as "an unusual and unconvincing scrupulousness."[429] Strobel, on the other hand, points out that this is a distinction also found in Phrynichus, in which "certain Attic authors [are valued] over others."[430] In the case of these two examples, the difference between the form used by the Ἀττικοί as opposed to that used by the δεύτεροι Ἀττικοί is the presence of long -ῦ- versus short -ύα-.[431]

Evidence suggests that the -νύασι form was by far the more common of the two among Attic writers. There are only 31 cases of ζευγνῦσι(ν) and 26 of δεικνῦσι(ν) in the whole TLG corpus (and in some instances these are athematic present active participles in the masculine/neuter dative plural, although others are 3rd pl. indicative active present verb forms). Almost all examples occur in grammarians from the 2nd century AD and later (mostly in Herodian and Choeroboscus). The attribution of -νῦσι to some "primary" group of Attic writers, then, seems to be based on an artificial distinction held by Moeris and perhaps some other grammarians. A discussion by Herodian and Choeroboscus' commentary on it in *Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι* associates the -νῦσι(ν) forms with the idea that the 3rd person pl. should mirror the masculine/neuter dative plural. These discussions are complex and largely problematic, but it is significant that Choeroboscus

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[429] Swain 1996: 51
[430] Strobel 2011: 189
[431] This can be explained by variant renderings of Proto-Greek *-nṇti into either νύᾱσι or *νύνσι > νῦσι, both of which are formed by regular processes (c.f. Doric -νύντι). (Sihler 1995: 457)

refs to the -νύασι(ν) spelling as "the Attic variation" (οἱ Ἀττικοὶ προσῴδῳ) (*Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι* 833.34).[432]

Moeris seems to be the only one to suggest that the long -ῦ- with circumflex is the best Attic form and, in fact, this form is advised against by Timaeus the Sophist (circa 4th century AD) who is later quoted and added to by Thomas Magister (13-14th century AD).

11.11 Timaeus *Lexicon Platonicum* (e cod. Coislin. 345) (ζ.988b)

Ζευγ<u>νύασι</u> κάλλιον ἢ ζευγ<u>νῦσι</u>· τὸ δὲ ζευγ<u>νύουσι</u> κοινόν. ὡσαύτως καὶ Κτιν<u>νύασιν</u> ἢ κτιν<u>νῦσι</u>. Πλάτων ἐν Γοργίᾳ· "... ἀποκτιν<u>νύασί</u> ..."

zeug<u>nuasi</u> is better than *zeug<u>nūsi</u>*; but *zeug<u>nuousi</u>* is common (*koine*). In the same way *ktin<u>nuasin</u>* (is better) than *ktin<u>nūsi</u>*. Plato in Gorgias (says); "….*apoktin<u>nuasi</u>*…"

11.12 Thomas Magister *Selection of Attic Nouns and Verbs* (ζ.168.16-169.5)

Ζευγ<u>νύασι</u> κάλλιον ἢ ζευγ<u>νῦσι</u>· τὸ δὲ ζευγ<u>νύουσι</u> κοινόν. ὡσαύτως καὶ κτιν<u>νύασιν</u> ἢ κτιν<u>νῦσι</u>. Πλάτων ἐν Γοργίᾳ· "... ἀποκτιν<u>νύασί</u> ..."; καὶ δεικ<u>νύασιν</u> ἢ δεικ<u>νῦσιν</u>. Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ· "... δεικ<u>νύασι</u> ...".

zeug<u>nuasi</u> is better than *zeug<u>nūsi</u>*; but *zeug<u>nuousi</u>* is common (*koine*). In the same way *ktin<u>nuasin</u>* (is better) than *ktin<u>nūsi</u>*. Plato in Gorgias (says): "….*apoktin<u>nuasi</u>*…" And *deik<u>nuasin</u>* (is better) than *deik<u>nūsin</u>*. Herodotus in his second (book says): "…*deik<u>nuasi</u>*…".

These passages give interesting insight into the way ancient scholarship tried to wrestle with understanding these morphological peculiarities. They show that they associated the -νυασι(ν) forms with Attic although there seems to have been confusion relating to the other variants -υσι(ν) and -νουσι(ν). It will be seen, however, that Achilles Tatius only has 2 tokens of the 3rd pl. of -νυμι verbs, both in the thematic -νυουσι spelling, and so I will leave discussion of these peculiarities here.

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[432] See Herodian *Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι* (833.21-834.10) for the full discussion. Similar comments about the relationship between the dative pl. and 3rd pl. are found in Theodosius *Can. Verb.* (83.24-84.5).

11.8.3 Use in Achilles' Text

After careful analysis, I found 8 -νυμι lemmas that have forms in the present and imperfect in Achilles' text.[433] There is a total of 51 tokens. Of these, 43 tokens are athematic and 8 are thematic.

It seems at first glance, then, that Achilles prefers what could be considered the more "Attic" forms (although he does not use them exclusively). But analysis of the different lemmas, and the particular inflections should be considered, before explicitly describing this as Atticist.

11.3.1 -νυμι Verbs Given as Only Athematic

There are 3 -νυμι verbs which Achilles uses only in the athematic form: πήγνυμι, (-)ῥήγνυμι and (-)κρεμάννυμι. πήγνυμι has only 1 token, ἐπήγνυτο, in the indirect indicative middle-passive. (-)ῥήγνυμι has 6 tokens, all in the present tense: 1 middle-passive participle, 3 in the indicative active 3rd sg. and 2 in the in the indicative middle-passive 3rd sg. κρεμάννυμι has 14 tokens, all in the middle-passive.[434]

πήγνυμι ("to solidify") and ῥήγνυμι ("to break"):
Directly thematicised forms of πήγνυμι and ῥήγνυμι, with forms like πηγνύω and ῥηγνύω, were rare throughout the Ancient Greek period and are mostly found in grammarians (170 and 78 tokens respectively in the TLG). The alternative thematic forms πήσσω and ῥήσσω (or occasionally πήττω and ῥήττω) seem to have been more common (182 and 338 tokens respectively).[435]

According to Blass, Debrunner and Funk, ῥήσσω is the preferred form in the New Testament although ῥήγνυμι occurs twice in the passive. (πήγνυμι occurs only in the aorist).[436] A search on the TLG suggests much the same for the Septuagint. Unfortunately, Gignac does not directly address these lemmas, so an analysis of which forms were preferred in the papyri is unknown. Galen uses all three forms: -νυμι (71

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[433] I have included all compounds along with their root verb as a single lemma, so δείκνυμι includes examples of ἐπιδείκνυμι and σβέννυμι includes examples of κατασβέννυμι and ἀποσβέννυμι etc.

[434] The only manuscript variation relates to verbal prefixes and has no bearing on thematicity.

[435] Based on a search for present and imperfect forms in the indicative, imperative and infinitive (for all voices) across the whole TLG corpus.

[436] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 56; 54

and 51 times respectively), -νυω (2 and 4 times) and -σσω (2 and 11 times). Schmidt gives ῥηγνύω as a form only "occasionally" found alongside ῥήγνυμι in his Atticist writers; he says nothing of πηγνύω or the other thematic forms.[437]

Based on this, these lemmas seem to fall into an Xz : yZ pattern of use (for active forms) where X is the athematic form, Y the full thematic -γνυω form and Z the alternative thematic -σσω form. Achilles does not use any of the thematic alternative forms for either of these lemmas. While some of his tokens are in the middle-passive, which is more likely to retain the athematic form, there are at least three tokens in the indicative active which have also retained their athematic form. One can conclude, then, that Achilles Tatius prefers what are considered the more properly Attic forms and can describe his use of these as mild Atticism.

κρεμάννυμι ("to hang"):

All 14 tokens of κρεμάννυμι in Achilles' text are in the passive. The forms are all athematic in the sense that they lack a thematic vowel, but they are not built on the full κρεμάννυ- stem but on shortened κρεμά-. According to LSJ, the verb has 6 variant stems: athematic κρεμάννυμι, thematic κρεμαννύω, κρεμάω, κρεμνάω and κρεμάζω and an exclusively passive athematic stem, κρέμαμαι.[438] This last, which is the form that Achilles uses, is by far the most commonly used stem according to the TLG.[439] It behaves like the deponent athematic verbs δύναμαι and ἐπίσταμαι.

Given that passive forms tended to be conservative (following an X : X pattern of use), it is not surprising that Achilles retained the athematic forms in his text. The athematic passive form, which was common in Classical Attic writers, also occurs throughout the New Testament and Septuagint (with one exception built on the κρεμάζω stem in the Septuagint) and Galen uses it most of the time with only 2 exceptions (1 built on κρεμάννυμι and 1 on κρεμάω). Unfortunately Gignac gives no account of its use in the papyri, but on the whole Achilles' decision seems to be neutral.

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[437] Schmid 1896: 605

[438] LSJ: κρεμάννυμι

[439] A rough count reveals the following number of tokens for present and imperfect forms (excluding participles) across the TLG: κρεμάννυμι 28, κρεμαννύω 13, κρεμάω 88, κρεμνάω 38, κρεμάζω 12, κρέμαμαι 695. Other forms are late, demotic or ambiguous.

I can conclude here that, while Achilles is again retaining an athematic form commonly used in Classical Attic, he cannot be said to be Atticising as all his forms are passive and built on a stem retained in Koine period texts.

The table below shows a summary of the examples referred to above.

Table 11**-2** Tokens of -νυμι Verbs Found with only Athematic Forms in Achilles' Text

Inflection	πήγνυμι	ῥήγνυμι	κρεμάννυμι	PoU	Description of use
ACTIVE					
Pres. Indic.		3		Xy : Y	Mild Atticism
MID-PASS					
Pres. Indic.		2	2	X : X	Neutral
Impf. Indic.	1		1	X : X	Neutral
Pres. Ptcpl.		1	10	X : X	Neutral

11.3.2 -νυμι Verbs with Some Thematic Tokens

There are 4 lemmas for which Achilles normally uses athematic forms but for which he occasionally has a thematic alternative: (-)δείκνυμι, (-)ὄμνυμι, (-)σβέννυμι and (-)ὄλλυμι.[440] Additionally, he has a single thematic token for κεράννυμι.

δείκνυμι: ("I show")

This lemma has 18 tokens: 14 athematic and 4 thematic. The athematic tokens include 5 middle-passive forms, 6 indicative active forms, 2 active participles and 1 active infinitive. All 4 thematic forms are in the indicative active.

The middle-passive forms are the least interesting as these were frequently still athematic in Koine texts and Achilles' use simply mirrors this. (They follow an X : X pattern of use).

Of the indicative active forms there is 1 with the pres. 1st sg. -νυμι, 4 with the pres. 3rd sg. -νυσι(ν) and 1 with the impf. 3rd sg. -νυ.[441] By comparison, the New Testament also

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[440] ὄλλυμι is regularly considered a -νυμι verb despite its apparent lack of -ν- as it is thought to have developed by assimilation of λν to λλ from *olōmi. (Sihler 1995: 212).

[441] The token of δείκνυμι (at 5.7.3) is not consistent in the manuscripts, with athematic δείκνυμι in family α and thematic δεικνύω in family β. Vilborg says in his commentary that he used the version from family

retains the athematic forms -νυμι and -νυσι(ν) (although this sometimes varies in the New Testament manuscripts). According to Gignac, thematic forms of the present appeared in the Roman and Byzantine papyri alongside the athematic equivalents as early as the 2nd century AD.[442] The pattern of use for these could be described as X : Xy. There are no examples of imperfect δείκνυμι in the New Testament, but the imperfect examples of other -νυμι verbs are usually thematic.[443] In the Septuagint, the pres. 1st sg. is thematic with 1 exception, as is impf. 3rd sg. (Gignac does not discuss imperfect forms). The pattern of use seems to be something like X : xY.

Of the thematic forms in Achilles' text there is 1 token in the pres. 2nd sg. -νυεις, 1 in the pres. 3rd. pl. -νυουσι, and 2 in impf. 3rd sg. -νυε (contrasting with the single athematic token of this form). Interestingly, the case of the pres. 2nd sg. falls in line with New Testament practice, which prefers the athematic forms of the 1st and 3rd persons singular, but the thematic form for the 2nd person sg.[444] Blass, Debrunner and Funk do not give any examples of the 3rd pl., but there is one token in the Septuagint which is thematic. Gignac provides only thematic forms for the 2nd sg. and 3rd pl. in the papyri, suggesting a relatively simple X : Y pattern of use for the 2nd sg. and 3rd pl. [445] As seen, examples of impf. 3rd. sg. are absent from my key texts.

Achilles' choice for indicative active forms seems to fall largely in line with expected Koine-period practice. In the case of the pres. indicative 2nd. sg. and 3rd pl., he shows simple avoidance of Atticism. For the 1st and 3rd sg. pres. indicatives, his use could be described as mildly Attic-leaning (although these forms were preserved in the New Testament). The inconsistency of the token of the 1st sg. in the manuscripts makes this

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α because it is "the older form" (Vilborg 1962: 96). This is a somewhat unusual choice by Vilborg, who generally sides with family β where a decision must be made. He compares this to his decision regarding optative forms which appear in α rather than β, where he says "In these cases I have, though hesitantly, followed α (as it seems improbable that a medieval scribe would introduce older optative forms)" (Vilborg 1955: xlix). He does point out that as the 1st sg. pres. form of the verb is not found anywhere else it is impossible to know which form is better.
Conversely, the athematic impf. 2nd sg. ἐδείκνυ (at 5.19.6) appears thus in family β but has thematic ἐδείκνυε(ν) in family α. This time he does side with family β, which has the "older" form. He does not discuss his choice in his commentary.

[442] Gignac 1981: 377

[443] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 46

[444] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 46

[445] Gignac 1981: 377

assumption provisional. Achilles' use of the impf. 3rd pl. is inconsistent. Since he has 2 invariant cases of the thematic form and 1 case which wavers between the two, there is a slight preference for the thematic form pointing to mild avoidance of Atticism, although again this is provisional. For the middle-passive forms his decision is neutral.

Of the active participles, Achilles' use is more interesting as the thematic form was preferred in the New Testament (although there is 1 instance of athematic ἀποδεικνύντα).[446] The Septuagint also has mainly thematic forms. Gignac again observes both alternatives being present in the papyri.[447] Here, then, the pattern of use could be X : xY and Achilles' use may be described as strongly Attic-leaning.

Achilles' choice of the athematic form of the present active infinitive could be considered simple Atticism as here the New Testament uses the thematic form.[448] (The pattern of use is X: Y). Gignac gives only the passive infinitive form, so comparison cannot be made with the papyrus texts.[449]

Table 11-3 Tokens of δείκνυμι in Achilles' text

Inflection	Them.	Athem.	PoU	Description of use
ACTIVE				
Pres. 1st sg.		1 (0)	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning?
2nd sg.	1		X : Y	Simple avoidance
3rd sg.		4	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning
3rd pl.	1		X : Y	Simple avoidance
Impf. 3rd sg.	2	1 (0)	X : xY	Mild avoidance (partial)
Pres. Infin.		1	X : Y	Simple Atticism
Ptcpl.		2	X : xY	Strong Attic-leaning
MID-PASS		5	X : X	Neutral

ὄμνυμι: ("I swear", "I confirm")

This verb has 6 tokens: 5 athematic and 1 thematic. The athematic tokens include 1 middle-passive participle and 4 indicative active forms. The 1 thematic form is in the indicative active.

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[446] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 46

[447] Gignac 1981: 377

[448] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 46

[449] Gignac 1981: 377

The athematic example in the middle-passive participle is again neutral as the middle forms normally remained athematic in the middle-passive. (All examples of middle participles in Gignac are athematic.) (The pattern of use is X : X).

In the indicative active, there are 4 instances of the pres. 1st sg. -νυμι. The New Testament does not have examples of this verb in the pres. 1st sg. but Blass Debrunner and Funk state that "from this verb there are no certain forms in -μι".[450] (A TLG search confirms this with the exception of a single athematic form of the infinitive). All indicative active tokens in the Septuagint are thematic. Gignac points out that

> Thematic forms [of ὄμνυμι], already used as by-forms by Classical Attic prose writers, are found [in the papyri] most frequently in the first person singular and plural (which occur more frequently than the other persons).[451]

He does also give examples of the pres. 1st sg. in the athematic form, but says, "These are not so common in the indicative."[452] As thematic forms already occurred in Attic, the pattern of use for these forms is Xy: Y. Achilles' use could be described as mild Atticism.

The single thematic token for this verb in Achilles' text is in the impf. 1st pl. of the indicative active ὠμνύομεν.[453] Neither Blass, Debrunner and Funk nor Gignac have examples of this, but if the imperfect follows the present practice, then this is not unexpected and Achilles' choice could be described as strong Koine-leaning.

Table 11-4 Tokens of ὄμνυμι in Achilles' Text

Inflection	Them.	Athem.	PoU	Description of Use
ACTIVE				
Pres. 1st sg.		4	Xy : Y	Mild Atticism
Impf. 1st pl.	1		Xy : Y	Strong Koine-leaning
MID-PASS		1	X : X	Neutral

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[450] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 46

[451] Gignac 1981: 376

[452] Gignac 1981: 376

[453] Manuscript variation: ὠμνύομεν in family β; subjunctive ὀμνύωμεν in W; unaugmented ὀμνύομεν in M. All these variations are still thematic. There is no variation for the other tokens.

σβέννυμι: ("I quench")

This has only 2 tokens in Achilles' text: 1 athematic and 1 thematic.[454] The athematic token is unsurprisingly in the middle-passive (indicative pres. 3rd sg. -νυται) and its use neutral.

The thematic form is an indicative active form (pres. 3rd sg. -νυουσι). Examples of σβέννυμι in the indicative active are lacking from Blass, Debrunner and Funk (although there is a single token of an athematic imperative 2nd pl. in the New Testament) and also from Gignac.[455] Galen, interestingly, uses athematic forms for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd sg. but the thematic form for the 3rd pl. I would provisionally describe the pattern of use for the lemma as X : x?y? indicating that both forms were found in the Koine but I am not certain which was more common. This would point to Achilles' use showing a "Koine-preference with avoidance of Atticism" but I cannot say whether this avoidance is mild, moderate or strong.

Table 11-5 Tokens of σβέννυμι in Achilles' Text

Indicative	Them.	Athem.	PoU	Description of use
ACTIVE				
Pres. 3rd sg.	1		X : x?y?	uncertain degree of avoidance of Atticism
MID-PASS		1	X : X	Neutral

(ἀπ)όλλυμι: ("I destroy", "I kill", "I ruin")

This lemma has 3 tokens in Achilles text: 2 athematic and 1 thematic.[456] The first athematic token is a middle-passive (indicative impf. 3rd pl. -υντο). This is unsurprising and Achilles' choice neutral.

The second is an active indicative (pres. 2nd pl. -υτε). There are no examples of this inflection of the word in either Blass, Debrunner and Funk or Gignac, but the TLG reveals one instance of it in the Septuagint, also in the athematic form. The thematic token is also in the indicative active (pres. 2nd sg. -νεις). Blass, Debrunner and Funk again have no examples of this inflection, but they do give an example of the indicative

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[454] There is no manuscript variation

[455] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 46

[456] There is no manuscript variation

active pres. 3rd sg. ἀπολλύει.[457] This thematic formation also occurs 3 times in the Septuagint, (which has a mixture of thematic and athematic forms for the other present active inflections). Achilles' choice to use the thematic form for the indicative active pres. 2nd sg. corresponds with his use of δεικνύεις as well as the observation that in the New Testament (for δείκνυμι) the thematic form is preferred in the pres. 2nd sg. even though the athematic form is preferred in other inflections.

The pattern of use for present indicative active forms of this lemma is also unclear although there seems to have been mixed use in the Koine, again pointing to something like X : x?y?. Achilles' use, then, points to avoidance of Atticism for the 2nd sg. and Attic-leaning preference for the 2nd pl. (with the degree of avoidance or Attic-leaning uncertain in both cases).

Table 11-6 Tokens of ἀπόλλυμι in Achilles' Text

Indicative	Them.	Athem.	PoU	Description of use
ACTIVE				
Pres. 2nd sg.	1		X : x?y?	Uncertain degree of avoidance of Atticism
2nd pl.		1	X : x?y?	Uncertain degree Attic-leaning
MID-PASS		1	X : X	Neutral

κεράννυμι: ("I mix")
Finally, κεράννυμι has only 1 thematic token.[458] This form is in the indicative active impf. 3rd sg. -νυε. This verb is also not discussed by Blass Debrunner and Funk or Gignac, and does not occur in the present indicative in the Septuagint. Achilles' choice here corresponds, as has already been seen, with Achilles' usual preference for the thematic forms for the imperfect active. (There is one exceptional instance of 2nd sg. ἐδείκνυ, but this varies with the thematic form in the manuscripts; the other examples were 2 of 2nd sg. ἐδείκνυε and 1 of 1st pl. ὠμνύομεν). Again Achilles' choice for the thematic form probably points to some kind of avoidance of Atticism though it is impossible to be clear about the degree.

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[457] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 46

[458] There is no manuscript variation

Table 11-7 Tokens of κεράννυμι in Achilles' Text

Inflection	Them.	Athem.	PoU	Description of use
ACTIVE				
Impf. 2nd sg.	1		X : x?y?	Uncertain degree of avoidance of Atticism

11.4 Summary and Interim Conclusion

In the table below, I summarise all the forms discussed above. I show the number of tokens for each inflection of each lemma in Achilles' text, and describe the way Achilles' use of the thematic or athematic forms of these verbs can be described with relation to Atticism.

Table 11-8 Summary of Thematic versus Athematic Tokens for -νυμι Verbs [459]

	Thematic					Athematic					Use of Them	Use of Athem
ACTIVE	δ	o	σ	α	κ	δ	o	σ	α	κ		
Pres. Indic.	2		1	1		4	4			1	Simple or ? avoidance (4)	Mild/ ? A-leaning (5) Mild Atticism (4)
Impf. Indic.	2	1			1						Mild/ ? avoidance (3) Strong K-leaning (1)	
Pres. Infin.						1						Simple Atticism (1)
Pres. Ptcpl.						2						Strong A-leaning (1)
MIDDLE						5	1	1	1			Neutral

In conclusion, Achilles' use of forms for these lemmas falls broadly in line with the practice of other Koine texts (especially the New Testament, Septuagint and Roman and Byzantine papyri). For middle-passive forms he uniformly retains the athematic form showing neutral use, but in the active his use is varied.

For present indicative active forms, he is inconsistent in his use, sometimes using the athematic, sometimes the thematic form. It is interesting, however, that he seems to be consistent in which form he uses for each person/number combination. 1st sg., 3rd sg. and 2nd pl. forms are consistently athematic whereas 2nd sg. and 3rd pl. are thematic. This trend is the same as that found in the New Testament when comparable examples exist. Achilles' use of athematic forms for a number of cases of the present indicative points to mild Atticism or mild Attic-leaning, especially because he is choosing to avoid

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[459] δ: (-)δείκνυμι; o: (-)όμνυμι; σ: (-)σβέννυμι; α: (ἀπ)όλλυμι; κ: (-)κεράννυμι; /:"or"; ?: "uncertain degree of"; *figure in brackets*: number of tokens that represent that pattern of use.

the more Koine-leaning thematic forms. Most interesting is his use of athematic forms of the lemma ὄμνυμι which already saw thematic forms common in the Classical Attic period. On the other hand, there are 4 tokens where he avoids the athematic form, showing his inconsistency in applying Attic-leaning or Atticist forms.

With respect to the imperfect active indicative forms, Achilles uses thematic spellings 4 out of 5 times (and the 5th token is disputed). This is also in line with New Testament practice and could be seen as an avoidance of Atticism or strong Koine-leaning preference.

Finally, Achilles retains athematic forms for 2 participles and 1 infinitive of the present active (all of the verb δείκνυμι). Since the shift from athematic to thematic forms occurred fastest with these forms, Achilles' use is clear and could be considered either simple Atticism or strong Attic-leaning.

The conclusion, then, is that Achilles once again shows partial attempts at Atticism on some fronts, but these are few and inconsistent. For the most part, he seems to prefer to follow the Koine norm.

As a final note, I mentioned previously that some authors seemed to allow the demand for avoidance of hiatus to govern their choice to use thematic or athematic forms. For Achilles, I can find no such trend. For the lemmas discussed, the infinitive is the only form where the thematic variant ends in a consonant and the athematic variant in a vowel. The only infinitive discussed was ἐπιδεικνύναι which precedes the word τῶν (A.T. 1.16.2). If the following word had begun with a vowel, the choice of form would have been interesting but, as the following word begins with a consonant, there is no need to avoid hiatus.

12. Reduplicated -μι Verbs

12.1 Development of the Variation

On the surface, reduplicated athematic verbs are similar to -νυμι verbs, but there are differences in their behaviour. The first difference is that the root stem is reduplicated in the present and imperfect tenses, and the -νυ- infix is absent. The second is that the verb stems tend to end in vowels and so the thematic alternations, with the addition of the thematic vowels o or ε, undergo contractions. Finally, some thematic forms had already become the standard form in Classical Attic and so in these cases there is no separate athematic variation.[460]

When ancient grammarians (e.g. Herodian, Theodosius, Choeroboscus) wrote about -μι verbs, they often identified four categories or conjugations (συζυγία) of such verbs, based on the final vowel of the stem. Category 1 had stems in -η or -ε (e.g. τίθημι τίθεμεν), Category 2 in -η or -α (e.g. ἵστημι ἵσταμεν), Category 3 in -ω or -o (e.g. δίδωμι δίδομεν) and Category 4 applied to the -νυμι stems which ended in -ῡ or -ῠ (e.g. ζεύγνυμι ζεύγνυμεν).[461]

In addition to the regular general thematic versus athematic variations, for verbs with ω/o-stems like δίδωμι, a thematic form also exists in the present active subjunctive, in the 2nd and 3rd sg. Whereas the athematic subjunctive forms of these verbs have long ῳ vowel-forms (e.g. διδῷς, διδῷ), the thematic forms built, as though from contracted διδόω, have the shorter οι vowel-forms (e.g. διδοῖς διδοῖ) on analogy with δηλοῖς δηλοῖ from contracted δηλόω.[462]

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[460] For the verb δίδωμι, this applies in the active to the 2nd imperative sg. (δίδου not *δίδω), impf. 1st, 2nd and 3rd sg. (ἐδίδουν, ἐδίδους, ἐδίδου not *ἐδίδων, *ἐδίδως, *ἐδίδω), the feminine participle nominative singular (δίδουσα not *δίδωσα) and, by analogy, the masculine participle nominative singular (δίδους not *δίδως). Similarly, for τίθημι this affects the active of the 2nd imperative singular (τίθει not *τίθε), impf. indicative 2nd and 3rd singular (ἐτίθεις, ἐτίθει not *ἐτίθες, *ἐτίθε). Impf. indic. 1st person singular is ἐτίθην in Attic, not *ἐτίθεν (which would be the expected athematic form) nor ἐτίθουν (the thematic form). In addition, the masculine and feminine nominative singular participles take the forms τίθεις and τίθεισα, not *τίθες and *τίθεσα. ἵημι behaves much like τίθημι. This early transfer does not apply to ἵστημι.

[461] Cf. Herodian *Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι.* (825 ff.), Theodosius *Can. Verb.* (83 ff.) and Choer. *In Theod..Verb.* (320.31 ff.)

[462] There is also a variation found in the optative, but as Achilles Tatius has no optative forms of this verb, I omit discussion of this.

The table below shows the most important differences between thematic and athematic forms found for the reduplicated -μι verbs. The first example in each set applies to verbs with η/ε-stems, the second to those with η/α-stems, and the third to those with ω/o-stems. (*suff.* = "regular inflectional suffix")

Table 12-1 Common Thematic versus Athematic Differences for Reduplicated -μι Verbs

Inflection		Thematic	Athematic
ACTIVE			
Pres. Indic.	1 sg.	-ω	-ημι/-ημι/-ωμι
	2 sg.	-εις/-ᾳς/-οις	-ης/-ης/-ως
	3 sg.	-ει/-ᾳ /-οι	-ησι/-ησι/-ωσι (+ν)
	3 pl.	-ουσι /-ωσι/-ουσι (+ν)	-εασι/-ασι/-οασι (+ν)
Impf. Indic.	3 pl.	-ουν/-ων/-ουν	-εσαν/-ασαν/-οσαν
Pres. Infin.		-ειν/-αν/-ουν	-εναι/-αναι/-οναι
Pres. Ptcpl.	m. nom.	-ων	-εις/-ας/-ους
MIDDLE			
Pres. Indic.	2 sg.	-ει/-αι/-οι	-εσαι/-ασαι/-οσαι
Impf. Indic.	2 sg.	-ου/-ω/-ου	-εσο/-ασο/-οσο
Pres. Impera.	2 sg.	-ου/-ω/-ου	-εσο/-ασο/-οσο
Other		*-ει+suff. / -ᾳ+ suff./ -οι+ suff. / -ου+suff.*	*-ε+suff. / -α+ suff. / -ο+ suff.*
ACTIVE			
Pres. Subj.	2 sg.	δίδοις	δίδῳς
(*δίδωμι only*)	3 sg.	δίδοι	δίδῳ

12.2 Evidence for the Variation as a Marker of Atticism

12.2.1 Modern Scholarship

When modern scholars refer to the thematicisation of -μι verbs as a type of Atticism, they generally refer to both -νυμι and reduplicated -μι verbs at the same time. I have separated them for analysis because of the differences in behavior found in the two groups when looking at specific inflections of individual verbs. In addition to the general comments about -μι verbs quoted in the -νυμι verb section, Blass, Debrunner and Funk highlight the difference in behaviour regarding imperfect active forms of the reduplicated verbs:

In Attic the beginning of the transition to the -ω conjugation had already been made in the imperfect ἐδίδου ἐτίθει, imperative δίδου τίθει, [and] subjunctive τίθω.[463]

A similar explanation of these "irregular" forms is given in Smyth, describing Attic practice: "τίθημι, δίδωμι, ἵημι, etc., show some thematic forms in the indicative; as pres. ἱεῖς, imv. [imperative] τίθει, δίδου, impf. ἵει ἐτίθεις ἐδίδους ἵεις."[464]

In Teodorsson's discussion in the EAGLL of the development of Attic into the Koine, he says: "Athematic verbs in -(n)numi are frequently transferred to the thematic conjugation. Other mi-verbs are seldom affected before Roman times."[465] This suggests that thematicisation of -νυμι verbs occured more quickly than of other -μι verbs but that, by the time Achilles was writing, the reduplicated -μι verbs had begun to follow suit.

As with -νυμι verbs, there is not a straightforward mapping between retention of athematic forms and Atticism or use of thematic forms and avoidance of Atticism. Again, each form must be analysed independently.

12.2.2 Use of the Marker by Attic Writers and Evidence for the Alternative

For reduplicated -μι verbs, the Attic inscriptions show little evidence of thematic forms. Exceptions are for the imperative and imperfect forms which were already thematicised at an early date.[466] In addition, a thematic variant of ἵστημι (ἱστάνω) begins to appear rarely from the 2nd century BC, mostly in non-finite forms.[467]

For the most part, δίδωμι and τίθημι retain their athematic forms in the New Testament in the present indicative. But in the imperfect, imperative and participle of the active, thematic forms are mostly found (but for the imperfect and imperative singular, these are not different from Attic use). For the verb ἵημι, there is more retention of athematic forms in the New Testament, although they alternate with thematic variants.[468] For ἵστημι, thematic forms are more widespread in the New Testament, with the athematic

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[463] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 47
[464] Smyth 1920: 156
[465] Teodorsson 2013: 191
[466] Threatte 1996: 592-619
[467] Threatte 1996: 609
[468] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 47

variations confined to the compound συνίστημι in the active. Again, however, athematic forms are preserved throughout the passive. The new thematic variation, ἱστάνω is widespread but used primarily in the infinitive and participle. It competes with the older thematic ἱστάω, which is the preferred form in the Septuagint.[469] The Roman and Byzantine-era papyri show greater transition to the thematic variations for these forms than the New Testament and Septuagint, even in the indicative active inflections.

This evidence shows that these forms were quite unstable in the Koine period, with thematic variations being used alongside athematic forms. Use of athematic forms of these verbs, therefore, cannot be described as Atticist as such, but do point to an Attic-leaning tendency. Use of the thematic forms points to an avoidance of Atticism on the author's part, except for the inflections where the thematic forms were already used by Attic writers and usage is neutral.

12.2.3 Ancient Testimony

There are far fewer recommendations for reduplicated athematic verbs in the present/imperfect in Moeris and Phrynichus. They are:

present active infinitive:

> *12.1* Moeris *Attic.*
>
> (ι.17) ἱστάν<u>αι</u> Ἀττικοί· ἱστάν<u>ειν</u> Ἕλληνες.
>
> > The Attic speakers (say) *histan<u>ai</u>*; the Greeks *histan<u>ein</u>*

present active infinitive:

> *12.2* Phrynichus *Praeparatio Sophistica (epitome)* (89.4)
>
> > μεθιστάν<u>αι</u> καὶ ἱστάν<u>αι</u>: οὐχὶ μεθιστάν<u>ειν</u> καὶ ἱστάν<u>ειν</u>.
> >
> > *methistan<u>ai</u>* and *histan<u>ai</u>*; not *methistan<u>ein</u>* and *histan<u>ein</u>*.

3rd person plural active indicative present

> *12.3* Phrynichus *Eclogae* (215)
>
> > Διδ<u>οῦσιν</u>· ἐν τῷ Περὶ εὐχῆς Φαβωρῖνος (fr. 8 Bar.) οὕτω λέγει, δέον διδ<u>όασιν</u>· τὸ γὰρ διδ<u>οῦσιν</u> ἄλλο τι σημαίνει {τὸ δεῖν}.
> >
> > *Did<u>ousin</u>*: in Favorinus' *On Prayer* (fr. 8. Bar) he says the following, *deon did<u>oasin</u>*; for *did<u>ousin</u>* means something else {"to bind" [from *did<u>ēmi</u>*]}.

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[469] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 46-47

In Herodian's *Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι,* his treatment of the reduplicated -μι verbs is much the same as that discussed for -νυμι verbs above. Most of his examples are straightforward athematic forms with no comment on the status of thematicised variants. One exception, however, applies to the imperfect active indicative forms which were already thematicised early on. Herodian apparently addressed this unusual situation.

12.4   Herodian *Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι* (835.5-9)

(fragment from Choer. *In Theod. Verb.* 339.21ff.)

ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι, ὡς ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς λέγει, τὸ <u>ἐδίδων</u> ἡ παράδοσις διὰ τῆς ου διφθόγγου οἶδεν οἶον <u>ἐδίδουν</u>, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ <u>διδῶ</u> <u>διδοῖς</u> ὥσπερ χρυσῶ χρυσοῖς ἐχρύσουν· · τὸ δὲ <u>ἐτίθην</u> καὶ <u>ἵην</u>, σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ἔπεμπον, διὰ τῆς ει διφθόγγου οἶον <u>ἐτίθειν</u> καὶ <u>ἵειν</u>, ἐξ οὗ τὸ <u>ἐτίθει</u> καὶ <u>ἵει</u>, ὡς παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ (Α 25) "ἀλλὰ κακῶς <u>ἀφίει</u>"·

But one should know that, as Herodian says, the (grammatical) tradition observes *edidōn* [very late impf. act. 1st sg.] written with the *ou* diphthong as *edidoun* [thematic impf. act. 1st sg.], as though (derived) from [thematic] *didō didois*, just like *chrusō* [< *chrusoō*] *chrusois echrusoun*; and *etithēn* and *hiēn* meaning "I sent" is written with the *ei* diphthong as [thematic] *etithein* and *hiein* from which (come) *etithei* and *hiei*, as according to the Poet (*Il* 1.25) "*alla kakōs aphiei*"

As has been seen, the thematic forms of some of the singular imperfect active indicatives were adopted even by Attic writers at an early date: specifically, the 1st. sg. ἐδίδουν, derived from thematic δίδόω/δίδῶ, is the only form used (the same applies to the 2nd and 3rd sg. ἐδίδους ἐδίδου, though these are not cited in the text). For ἵστημι and ἵημι the thematic forms ἐτίθειν and ἵειν did not appear until Koine times but in the 2nd and 3rd sg. they are already adopted by Attic authors. This must be the reason Herodian refers to 2nd sg. ἐτίθει and ἵει with a quote from Homer to attest to their early use. He does not seem to have a clear understanding of what was going on here, but he shows, at least, a recognition that these different forms exist and that there is something unusual about them.

12.3 Use in Achilles' Text

Achilles has 5 reduplicated -μι verbs with tokens in the present/imperfect tense: (-)δίδωμι, (-)τίθημι, (-)ίημι, (-)ίστημι and (-)πίμπλημι. Of the 102 tokens, 86 are

athematic, 11 are thematic (although 10 of these are forms which were already normal in Attic) and the remaining 5 are ambiguous (could be considered athematic or thematic, although general use suggests that an athematic interpretation is more likely). To determine whether his choice of forms can be considered Atticist or not, the practice in other Koine texts for specific inflected forms must be analysed.

δίδωμι: ("I give")
This lemma has 36 tokens (including compounds). 32 are athematic and 4 thematic.[470]

There is 1 token in the middle-passive: indicative pres. 1st sg. (ἐκ)δίδομαι. Middle-passive forms are rare in both the New Testament and the papyri, but thematic forms do occur in both (impf. 3rd sg. (-)ἐδίδετο in the New Testament and pres. 3rd sg. δίδεται in late 6th/early 7th century papyri).[471] This suggests that Achilles' use of the thematic form is more interesting here than with -νυμι verbs. The pattern of use for middle-passives could be described as something like X : Xy. This suggests a mild Attic-leaning preference on Achilles' part, but the scarcity of middle-passive examples in both Achilles and the other texts makes it hard to generalise.

Achilles has 24 tokens in the present indicative active: 5 of 1st sg. (-)δίδωμι, 1 of 2nd sg. (-)δίδως, 17 of 3rd sg. (-)δίδωσι(ν) and 1 of 3rd pl. (-)διδόασι. In the biblical texts, the athematic form of the pres. indicative active is normally preserved.[472] In the papyri, however, thematic forms are found "frequently" and occur as early as the 1st century AD, although athematic forms are still "common". Gignac also notes that "thematic forms of δίδωμι…are found in Homer and Poetic-Ionic [but not Attic] in the second and third person singular and third person plural of the present."[473] Given this evidence, the pattern of use could be described as X : Xy. Achilles' use of athematic forms for these inflections is not inconsistent with Koine texts, but the well-established use of thematic forms in non-Attic texts could suggest that his choice is mildly Attic-leaning.

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[470] There are some manuscript variations, but they all mark a difference in tense, mood or prefix and are not relevant to thematicity.

[471] Gignac 1981: 383

[472] (-)δίδωμι occurs 55 times, (-)δίδως 6 times, (-)δίδωσιν 88 times and (-)διδόασιν 7 times; there is a single exception of 1st sg. δίδω in the New Testament along with 1 exception of 2nd sg. διδοῖς and 2 of 3rd sg. (-)διδοῖ in the Septuagint.

[473] Gignac 1981: 382-383

In the imperfect indicative active, Achilles has 5 tokens: 2 of the thematic 1st sg. (-)εδίδουν, 2 of the thematic 3rd sg. (-)εδίδου and 1 the athematic of 3rd pl. (-)εδίδοσαν. As has been seen, thematic forms of this verb in the imperfect active 1st and 2nd person singular were already adopted in Classical Attic, showing a Y : Y pattern of use. These, therefore, are not inconsistent with Attic or Koine use and do not reveal anything of interest.

For the 3rd pl., however, the New Testament and Septuagint have the thematic form more often than the athematic, which Gignac says is "paralleled in Koine authors."[474] This points to an X : xY pattern of use. Achilles' choice of the athematic form in the imperfect active 3rd pl., then, could be considered strongly Attic-leaning.

Achilles has 2 tokens of the present active infinitive διδόναι. There are 14 examples of the athematic present active infinitive in the Septuagint and 10 in the New Testament. There are no examples of the thematic infinitive. Gignac too gives a single example of the athematic form and none of the thematic.[475] The pattern of use, therefore, seems to be X : X and Achilles' choice is neutral.

Achilles has 3 tokens of present active participles, all athematic. While there seem to have been some thematic examples of the participle in the New Testament, athematic examples still occur.[476] The thematic form is "frequently" found in the papyri as early as the 2nd century AD. Gignac gives no examples of athematic participles.[477] The papyri evidence and use of the thematic participles in the New Testament suggest an X : xY pattern of use. Achilles' use then could be considered strongly Attic-leaning.

Finally, Achilles has one example of a present active subjunctive form: 3rd sg. διδῷ. Transfer to the equivalent thematic form of the subjunctive (δίδοι) had already occurred in the Koine but it was slower for presents than for aorists. The Septuagint has only 2

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[474] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 47; Gignac 1981: 383

[475] Gignac 1981: 383

[476] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 47

[477] Gignac 1981: 382-383. It should be noted, however, that for the masculine nominative singular (which is the inflection of two of Achilles' examples), Gignac only gives thematic tokens from the 8th century AD. He does not, however, give any examples of this participle in the athematic form (for any time period), so one cannot conclude that the thematic form was late. There are plenty of earlier thematic forms for other inflections of the participle.

cases of δίδοι, the New Testament only 1 of διδῷ. The thematic form is described as "rare" in the papyri, but occurs as early as the 1st century AD.[478] The pattern of use seems to be X : Xy and so Achilles' use of the athematic spelling points to a mild Attic-leaning preference.

Table 12-2 Tokens of δίδωμι in Achilles' Text

Inflection	Them.	Athem.	PoU	Description of use
ACTIVE				
pres. indic.		24	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning
impf. ind. 2/3 sg.	4		Y :Y	Neutral
indic. 3 pl.		1	X : xY	Strong Attic-leaning
pres. infin.		2	X : X	Neutral
ptcpl.		3	X : xY	Strong Attic-leaning
subj.		1	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning
MID-PASS				
pres. indic.		1	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning

τίθημι: ("I put", "I place")
This lemma has 23 tokens in Achilles' text. 18 are athematic and 5 thematic (but are all imperfect thematic forms already adopted in Classical times).

There are 6 tokens in the middle-passive, all athematic: 3 of the present indicative active 3rd sg. (-)τίθεται, 1 of the imperfect indicative active 3rd sg. (-)ετίθετο and 2 present participles -εμενος, -εμενοι. Blass, Debrunner and Funk give no examples of this verb in the middle-passive, but all middle-passive indicative present and imperfect forms in the New Testament and Septuagint appear to be athematic. Gignac, on the other hand, does provide a number of examples of thematic middle passive-forms in the papyri. This includes the present indicative active 1st sg. and pl. as well as the 3rd. sg. (from the 2nd to 4th century AD). He also gives an example of a middle-passive participle. At the same time, however, there are also examples of athematic middle presents (both indicatives and participles) and 1 example of an athematic imperfect indicative 3rd pl.[479] It seems, then, that use was mixed for middle-perfect forms of this verb, and the pattern of use could be described as X : Xy. Achilles could be said to be showing mild Attic-

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[478] Gignac 1981: 384

[479] Gignac 1981: 380-381. For the athematic form (-)εδίδοσαν the Septuagint has 6 tokens and the New Testament 2; for thematic (-)εδίδουν the Septuagint has 12 tokens and the New Testament 4.

leaning by avoiding use of the thematic forms, which occurred more in Koine texts, than middle-passive forms of the -νυμι verbs.

Of active forms, Achilles has 9 tokens of the present indicative, all athematic: 1 of 1st sg. (-)τίθημι, 6 of 3rd sg. (-)τίθησι(ν) and 2 of 3rd pl. (-)τίθεασι. The New Testament and Septuagint almost always use athematic forms here (there is 1 example of thematic 3rd sg. τίθει, but even this is not consistent in all manuscripts).[480] Gignac gives an example of thematic 2nd sg. (-)τίθεις, but it is probably as late as the 13th century and therefore uninformative. He also gives one example of athematic 1st sg. (-)τίθημι.[481] The pattern of use here seems to be X : X and Achilles' use is neutral.

There are 7 tokens of the imperfect active indicative in Achilles' text: 1 of athematic 1st sg. (-)ετίθην, 5 of thematic 3rd sg. (-)ετίθει and 1 of athematic 1st pl. (-)ετίθεμεν.[482] As with δίδωμι, Classical Attic adopted the thematic forms of τίθημι in the active singular, but only in 2nd and 3rd person. The 5 examples of the 3rd sg. are ambiguous (following a Y : Y pattern of use), therefore, and uninformative. For the 1st sg. and plural, there are no examples in the New Testament or papyri with which to compare Achilles' choice of the athematic form. Gignac gives no imperfect active forms at all. The New Testament does have 3 examples of the thematic form of the impf. act. 3rd pl. (-)ετίθουν against 1 example of the athematic equivalent ἐτίθεσαν. (There are no examples in the Septuagint). Since it seems that both the thematic and athematic forms appeared in Koine texts, I will describe the imperfect as having an X : x?y? pattern of use. Achilles, then, is showing an Attic-leaning preference of uncertain degree.

Finally, there is 1 example of an active present participle in Achilles' text: athematic masculine nom. sg. (-)τιθείς. Gignac identifies a few examples of thematic active

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[480] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 47

[481] Gignac 1981: 380-381

[482] For some of these, specifically tokens of προστίθημι, there is variation in the manuscripts. At 6.10.2 and 7.11.5, Vilborg has thematic προσετίθει, the version in manuscript family β. Family α has προσετίθη, an even later Koine version, for both these tokens. More importantly, at 2.5.2, where Vilborg has athematic προσετίθην, MS family β has thematic προσετίθουν. In his commentary, Vilborg says that he adopted the athematic version because of "Achilles' unmistakeable ambition to write correct Attic" (Vilborg 1962: 43). This is an uncharacteristic generalisation on Vilborg's part, but his selection is also motivated by it being the form found in the majority of manuscripts (branch α and F). The tradition is varied enough, however, that I cannot be certain of Achilles' original form. There is no other significant MSS variation for tokens of τίθημι.

present participles in the papyri (from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD) and gives only a middle-passive participle in the athematic.[483] Blass, Debrunner and Funk do not discuss active participles of τίθημι, but all 15 examples I could find in the New Testament and Septuagint were in the athematic form: (-)τιθείς or (-)τιθέντες. Given Gignac's evidence, I suggest an X : Xy pattern of use and Achilles' use shows mild Attic-leaning.

Table 12-3 Tokens of τίθημι in Achilles' Text

Inflection	Them.	Athem.	PoU	Description of use
ACTIVE				
pres. indic.		9	X : X	Neutral
impf. indic. 3 sg.	5		Y : Y	Neutral
indic. 1 sg. /3 pl.		2 (1)	X : x?y?	Uncertain Attic-leaning
pres. ptcpl.		1	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning
MID-PASS				
pres. indic.		3	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning
impf. indic.		1	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning
pres. ptcpl.		2	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning

ἵημι: ("I rush", "I throw")

This lemma has 22 tokens in Achilles' text. 15 tokens are athematic, 2 are thematic and 5 are ambiguous.[484]

There are 9 tokens in the middle-passive. 4 of them are present indicatives: 2 cases of 1st sg. ἵεμαι and 2 of 3rd sg. ἵεται. There are also 2 cases of the imperfect indicative 3rd sg. (-)ίετο. The present 1st sg. ἵεμαι is clearly athematic, the other 3 tokens are ambiguous. This is because there are two thematic versions of the verb: 1 built on ἱέω and another on ἵω. While forms of the first will undergo vowel contraction, resulting in the present 3rd sg. form ἱεῖται, the second has a bare ἵ- stem to which the thematic vowel plus suffix is added. In the 1st sg., this takes the form ἵομαι, which distinguishes it from the athematic form, but in the 3rd sg., it becomes ἵεται which is the same as the athematic form. The imperfect 3rd sg. suffers from the same problem.

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[483] Gignac 1981: 381

[484] The only significant manuscript variation is for the 2 tokens of the infinitive (συν)ίειν, on which, see the discussion that follows.

A TLG text search shows 1 token of athematic (-)ίεμαι and 1 of thematic (-)ίομαι in the Septuagint. Although (-)ίεται is ambiguous, other tokens of present middle-passive indicatives show a slight preference for athematic forms. Gignac gives 1 example of a thematic indicative middle-perfect 3rd. pl. (ἀφ)ίονται, but fails to give any list of examples of athematic forms for comparison.[485] For unambiguous forms, then, the pattern of use is X : x?y? and Achilles' choice is Attic-leaning of uncertain degree.

There is 1 middle-passive present participle (-)ιέμενον in Achilles' text. Blass, Debrunner and Funk say little about middle-passive forms of the verb but they do cite one example of the athematic participle (καθ)ιέμενος.[486] A TLG search reveals 3 middle-passive participles in the New Testament and Septuagint, all athematic. Gignac does not cite any middle-passive participles. It seems, then, that the middle-passive participles follow an X : X pattern of use and Achilles' use is neutral.

There are 13 active forms in Achilles' text. 10 are in the indicative active present: 1 of 1st sg. (-)ίημι, 8 of 3rd sg. (-)ίησι(ν) and 1 of 3rd pl. (-)ιᾶσι(ν). Blass, Debrunner and Funk give examples of 1st sg. and 3rd sg. in the athematic form but for 3rd pl. (as well as 2nd sg. and 1st pl.) they have thematic forms.[487] The TLG shows similar evidence: the athematic form predominates in the New Testament and Septuagint for the 1st sg. and 3rd sg. although the Septuagint has some thematic examples of both. In the 3rd pl., I found 1 token of the athematic form in the New Testament contrasted with 2 of the thematic and an additional 1 thematic token in the New Testament. Gignac has 2 examples of the thematic 1st sg. from the 3rd and 6th century AD (again with no list of athematic forms for comparison). He has 3 thematic indicative examples for the 2nd sg. from the 8th century and 1 of the 3rd sg. from the 1st century AD. It is notable that Gignac says of thematic forms of ἵημι in general that they are "found only rarely [in the papyri]".[488] Like with the -νυμι verbs, then, it seems that the thematic form had become normal in some but not all indicative active present inflections. For the 1st and 3rd sg., the pattern of use seems to be X : Xy and Achilles' use is mildly Attic-leaning. For the 3rd pl., it may be more like X : xY and Achilles' use is strongly Attic-leaning.

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[485] Gignac 1981: 381-382
[486] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 47
[487] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 47
[488] Gignac 1981: 381

There is 1 token in the imperfect active indicative: 1 sg. (συν)ίειν. This is a thematic form and the spelling which appears in Vilborg's edition. However, it is not the form of the word in all or even most of the manuscripts. The thematic form appears in groups M and D of branch α of the text. The athematic alternative συνίην appears in group W of branch α and most of branch β, with the exception of G. G and manuscript F (the anomalous fragment that does not belong to α or β) have a deviant form, συνήειν. Vilborg takes the latter to be a corruption of συνίειν, hence his preference for this form (he does not discuss this decision in his commentary). The inconsistency in the manuscripts (especially in both branches) make it impossible to know for sure what Achilles' original form was and therefore no further conclusions can be made regarding this token, especially as it is the only active imperfect form which he has.

There are 2 tokens of the athematic present active infinitive (συν)ιέναι in Achilles' text. Neither Blass, Debrunner and Funk nor Gignac say much on infinitives, but there are 4 examples of the thematic form in the Septuagint alongside 21 forms of the athematic in the New Testament and Septuagint.[489] The pattern of use can be described as X : Xy, and Achilles' use of the athematic form as mildly Attic-leaning.

Finally, there is 1 token of a subjunctive form in the present middle-passive 3rd sg. (προσ)ίηται. This form does not vary in the manuscripts. While the subjunctive, especially in this inflection, is rare throughout the Greek corpus, the more Classical spelling, based on the athematic ἵημι would normally have a circumflex accent on the η. A spelling with an acute accent on the ι suggests a later form based on thematic ἵω. The rarity of the form, however, makes it hard to determine the pattern of use or to make any conclusions regarding Achilles' use.

Table 12-4 Tokens of ἵημι in Achilles' Text

Inflection	Them.	Athem.	Ambig.	PoU	Description of use
ACTIVE					
pres. indic. 1/3 sg.		9		X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning
indic. 3 pl.		1		X : xY	Strong Attic-leaning
impf. indic. 1 sg.	1 (0)			?	N/A
pres. infin.		2		X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning

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[489] It is worth noting that the exact verb which Achilles has is συνιέναι, to which all 4 tokens of the thematic form and 11 of the athematic form in the biblical texts also belong.

Inflection	Them.	Athem.	Ambig.	PoU	Description of use
MID-PASS					
pres. indic.		2	3	X : x?y?	Uncertain Attic-leaning
impf. indic.			2	?	N/A
pres. ptcpl.		1		X : X	Neutral
subj.	1			?	Unknown

ἵστημι: ("I stand")

This lemma has 20 present/imperfect tokens in Achilles' text, all athematic.[490] The majority of them (15), are in the middle-passive. Two main thematic variations of this verb were sometimes used in the Koine: the first was built on the stem ἱστάω, usually contracted to ἱστῶ and the second on the stem ἱστάνω. Examples of both will be referred to for comparison.

There are 10 instances of the middle-passive present indicative in Achilles' text: 2 of 1st sg. (-)ίσταμαι, 6 of 3rd sg. (-)ίσταται, 1 of 1st pl. (-)ιστάμεθα and 1 of 3rd pl. (-)ίστανται. There are not many middle-passive indicative forms in the New Testament and Septuagint but I found 16 cases of athematic 3rd sg. Gignac has 2 examples of thematic forms in the papyri: based on the stem ἱστάνω, he gives middle-passive indicative 1st pl. (συν)ιστανόμεθα (from the 2nd century AD), alongside a token built on the simplified stem σταν- in the 1st sg. (ἀπο)στάνομαι (from the 4th C).[491] The pattern of use seems to be X : Xy, where X is the athematic form and Y refers to cases of either of the two thematic forms. Achilles' use is mildly Attic-leaning.

Achilles has 2 instances of middle-passive imperfect indicatives in his text: 1 of 3rd sg. (-)ίστατο and 1 of 3rd pl. (-)ίσταντο. In the New Testament and Septuagint, there are 10 examples of the athematic 3rd sg., 11 of the athematic 3rd pl. and no examples of thematic forms. Gignac gives no examples of thematic forms of the middle-passive imperfect indicative. The pattern of use here is X : X and Achilles' choice is neutral.

There are 2 instances of middle-passive present participles in Achilles' text: (-)ιστάμενος and (-)ιστάμενην. The Septuagint and New Testament have 17 examples of athematic middle-passive present participles and 12 examples of thematic forms on the stem (-)ιστάνω. It should be noted, however, that all 12 cases of the thematic form are

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[490] There is a fair amount of manuscript variation but none is significant. Most involves variations of the verbal prefixes which do not affect thematicity.

[491] Gignac 1981: 379-380

for the same compound verb ἐπανίστημι/άνω. Gignac gives a number of examples from the papyri of middle-passive present participles built on the thematic stem (-)ιστάνω dating from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.[492] The pattern of use here is X : Xy and Achilles' choice is mildly Attic-leaning

Achilles has 1 token of a middle-passive present infinitive: (-)ίστασθαι. The Septuagint and New Testament have 10 examples of the athematic form and no examples of thematic forms. Gignac has no examples of thematic forms either, so the pattern of use is X : X and Achilles' use of the athematic form is neutral.

Of the 5 active forms of (-)ίστημι in Achilles' text, 4 are in the present active indicative: 3 in 3rd sg. (-)ίστησι(ν) and 1 in 3rd pl. (-)ιστᾶσι(ν). The New Testament and Septuagint have 13 examples of the athematic 3rd sg. and no examples of thematic forms. There is perhaps 1 example of thematic 3rd pl (δι)ιστῶσιν in the Septuagint, if this is not a subjunctive, but there are no other tokens of the 3rd. pl either thematic or athematic. For other active indicative inflections, examples are scarce in the New Testament and Septuagint: there are 9 examples of athematic 1st sg. (-)ίστημι and 2 examples of thematic (-)ιστάνομεν. Gignac describes the occurrence of "thematic forms of ἵστημι" as being "found occasionally". Most of his thematic examples are for non-finite forms and the only 2 active indicative thematic forms are 1st pl. (καθ)ιστῶμεν (from the 4th century AD) and (ἀφ)ιστοῦμεν (from the early 5th C).[493] It seems, then, that the pattern of use is again X : Xy. Achilles' retention of the athematic forms can be described as mildly Attic-leaning.

Finally, Achilles has a single example of the athematic present active infinitive (-)ιστάναι. In the New Testament and Septuagint there are 2 examples of the athematic form, 2 of thematic (-)ιστᾶν and 2 of thematic (-)ιστάνειν. The papyri likewise has 1 example of (-)ιστᾶν from the 5th century AD and a number of examples of (-)ιστάνειν from the 2nd and 3rd C.[494] This suggests an X : xY pattern of use for the present active infinitive and Achilles' choice may be described as strongly Attic-leaning. It should be noted that although this is the form in Vilborg's text, which he believes to be a correct

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[492] Gignac 1981: 379
[493] Gignac 1981: 378-379
[494] Gignac 1981: 379

emendation introduced by Hercher, the manuscripts actually have the athematic perfect infinitive ἑστάναι.[495] Either way, the form seems to have been athematic. For more on this, see the section on perfect forms of ἵστημι below.

Table 12-5 Tokens of ἵστημι in Achilles' Text

Inflection	Them.	Athem.	PoU	Description of use
ACTIVE				
pres. indic.		4	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning
pres. infin.		1 (0)	X : xY	Strong Attic-leaning
MID-PASS				
pres. indic.		10	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning
impf. indic.		2	X : X	Neutral
pres. infin.		1	X : X	Neutral
ptcpl.		2	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning

πίμπλημι: ("I fill")

In addition to the more common reduplicated -μι verbs, there is a single instance of (-)πίμπλημι in Achilles' text in the athematic present indicative active 3rd sg. (ἐμ)πίπλησι.[496] This verb behaves much like ἵστημι. In the Septuagint, there is a 1 instance of athematic πίμπλήσιν and 1 of thematic (ἐμ)πιπλᾷ. There is also a thematic form of the 2nd sg. (ἐμ)πιπλᾷς. The absence of the second μ as it is in Achilles' text is not surprising as it is a normal variation for this compound, both forms occurring in both Attic and post-Classical texts.[497] It has no bearing on the Atticist question. Given the scarcity of examples, it is hard to determine the exact pattern of use, but it can be classified as X : x?y? and Achilles' choice described as Attic-leaning of uncertain degree.

Table 12-6 Tokens of πίμπλημι in Achilles' Text

Inflection	Them.	Athem.	PoU	Description of use
ACTIVE				
pres. indic.		1	X : x?y?	Uncertain Attic-leaning

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[495] (A.T. 4.3.3); Vilborg 1955: 72; Vilborg 1962: 81

[496] There is variation only in manuscript G which instead has the aorist form ἐμπλήσαι.

[497] LSJ: πίμπλημι

12.4 Summary and Interim Conclusion

The table below shows a summary of the present and imperfect forms of reduplicated -μι verbs found in Achilles' text. The left half gives the number of thematic, athematic or ambiguous tokens for each inflected form. The right half indicates the description of use by showing the number of tokens that might be described as a particular type of Attic-leaning for each inflected form.

Table 12-7 Summary of Thematic versus Athematic Tokens for Reduplicated -μι Verbs[498]

Inflection	Them.	Athem.	Amb.	Neut.	Mild A	Str. A	Uncl. A	N/A
ACTIVE								
pres.indic.		48		9	37	1	1	
impf.indic.	10(9)			9				1(0)
		3(2)				1	2(1)	
pres.infin.		5(4)		2	2	1(0)		
ptcpl.		4			1	3		
subj.		1			1			
MID-PASS								
pres.indic.		16	3		14		2	3
impf.indic.		3	2	2	1			2
pres. infin.		1		1				
ptcpl.		5		1	4			
subj.	1							1
TOTAL	**11**(1)	**86**(84)	**5**	**24**	**60**	**6**(5)	**5**(4)	**7**(6)

In conclusion, Achilles' use with regards to reduplicated -μι forms is clearly Attic-leaning. While a fair number tokens are neutral (especially imperfect indicative sg. forms, that were already thematicised in Attic, and some middle-passive forms, which retained their athematic forms in the Koine), the remainder all exhibit Attic-leaning tendencies (of either a mild, strong or unclear degree). Most tokens show a mild degree of Attic-leaning, especially in the present indicative forms (of both the active and middle-passive voice). There are a few strongly Attic-leaning forms in the active voice and a few forms that could be described as Attic-leaning, where I was unable to determine the degree of this from a shortage of Koine examples.

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[498] *Amb.:* Ambiguous tokens; *Neut.*: number of tokens with neutral use; *Mild A*: tokens with mild Attic-leaning; *Str. A:* tokens with strong Attic-leaning; *Uncl. A:* tokens with Attic-leaning of uncertain degree. *N/A:* Tokens for which the significance of Achilles' use is uncertain (mostly because of ambiguity).

Achilles' use, then, is mildly Attic-leaning which falls in line with the general picture of him having an interest in Attic forms but not leaning too strongly in an Attic(ist) nor in an overtly Koine-specific direction.

13. Athematic Aorists

13.1 Development of the Variation

Not all verbs with athematic presents necessarily take athematic aorist forms. And not all athematic aorist forms are significant for Atticism. In Classical Attic, there were three types of aorist that a verb with an athematic present might take. The first group of verbs takes regular sigmatic (or "first") aorist σ- endings, for example πίμπλημι has the forms ἔπλησα, ἔπλης, ἔπλησε(ν), and infinitive πλῆσαι. Most -νυμι verbs belong to this category.

The second group takes what are known as "second" aorist endings. For these verbs, secondary aorist suffixes are added straight onto the verb stem. Unlike thematic second aorists, however, verbs in this category omit the thematic vowel and endings are added to the bare stem as for athematic presents. An example of this type is ἵστημι which takes the forms: ἔστην, ἔστης, ἔστη, and infinitive στῆναι.[499]

The third group, which applies to very few verbs (mainly the reduplicated -μι verbs δίδωμι, τίθημι and ἵημι), takes athematic second aorist forms in most instances, but has κ-forms in the active indicative singular. The κ-forms behave much like sigmatic first aorists but -σ- is replaced by -κ-. An example of a word in this group is δίδωμι which has has the singular forms ἔδωκα, ἔδωκας, ἔδωκε(ν) alongside plural (athematic second aorist) ἔδομεν, ἔδοτε, ἔδοσαν and infinitive δοῦναι.

The introduction of thematic aorist endings as a replacement for athematic ones does not occur in the Koine as it did in the present. But there is a novel change by which the κ-endings are extended from the singular to the plural so that forms like ἔδωκαμεν, ἔδωκατε, ἔδωκαν begin to occur. These have become the normal forms in the Koine.[500] These forms, not normal to Attic, can therefore be seen as Koine-leaning and use of the non-κ plurals as a form of mild Atticism. It is this extension of κ-forms, as applied to the third group of athematic verbs, that I will focus on.

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[499] ἵστημι actually has two aorist forms. The first is transitive and is of the first category, taking sigmatic aorist forms: ἔστησα, ἔστης, ἔστησε(ν), and infinitive στῆσαι. The second is of the second aorist sort given above and takes intransitive meaning (Smyth 1920: 268).
[500] Gignac 1981: 386; Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 47-48

The other significant aorist variation found in the Koine relates to the subjunctives of reduplicated ω/ο verbs like δίδωμι. As with the present subjunctives, the aorist subjunctives of δίδωμι in the active 2nd and 3rd sg. start to shift from δῷς, δῷ to δοῖς, δοῖ in the Koine. This happened faster for the aorist than it did for the present. Retention of the ῷ-forms, therefore, could be seen as Attic-leaning.

The table below summarises the different forms for the plurals of athematic aorists found in Attic and the Koine as well the variations found in the subjunctive. For the plurals, the endings apply to τίθημι, ἵημι and δίδωμι respectively.

Table 13-1 Common Attic versus Koine Differences in the Aorists of -μι Verbs

Inflection		Koine (thematic κ-aorist)	Attic (athematic 2nd aorist)
ACTIVE			
Aor. Indic.	1 pl.	-ηκαμεν/-ηκαμεν/-ωκαμεν	-εμεν/-ειμεν/-ομεν
	2 pl.	-ηκατε/-ηκατε/-ωκατε	-ετε/-ειτε/-οτε
	3 pl.	-ηκαν/-ηκαν/-ωκαν	-εσαν/-εισαν/-οσαν
ACTIVE		**Thematic**	**Athematic**
Aor. Subj.	2 sg.	δοῖς	δῷς
(*δίδωμι only*)	3 sg.	δοῖ	δῷ

In addition to the -μι verbs which have athematic aorists already discussed, there are some verbs with regular thematic -ω forms in the present that take athematic second aorist forms in the plural. Among them are ἀλίσκομαι (aor. ἑάλων), βαίνω (aor. ἔβην), γιγνώσκω (aor. ἔγνων) and δύω (aor. ἔδυν).[501] These words take athematic forms in both the singular and plural, like ἔστην from ἵστημι. Like ἵστημι, these do not experience extension of κ-forms from the singular to the plural in the Koine and so are not relevant to Atticism. Achilles uses regular expected forms for all these words, so I will not discuss them any further.

13.2 Evidence for the Variation as a Marker of Atticism

13.2.1 Modern Scholarship

Modern scholars do not tend to include athematic aorist forms in their lists of Atticist tokens because there is not a widespread movement of athematic to thematic forms as

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[501] Smyth 1920: 162

occurred in the present system. In descriptions of Atticism in certain authors, however, there is recognition of the spread of κ-forms from singular to plural in the Koine.

In Teodorsson's description in the EAGLL of the development of the Koine from Attic, he points to this change, saying "Aor[ist] pl[ural] forms with *-k-,* such as *édokan, éthēkan* prevail over *édosan éthesan* etc."[502] He backs this up by citing evidence from Threatte.[503]

Deferrari, in his analysis of Atticism in Lucian, does not address athematic aorists directly, but in a chapter entitled *Irregular Verbs* (which includes examples of reduplicated -μι verbs), he mentions aorist forms of ἵημι and τίθημι (he does not discuss δίδωμι at all).[504] For ἵημι, he mentions the "second aorist (εἷμεν etc.)" in opposition to κ-forms which were "carried on into the plural", but he does not describe either form as Attic or non-Attic. With reference to middle forms in κ-, he is more explicit stating that the "middle form -ηκατο [is] rare in Attic."[505] Regarding aorist forms of τίθημι, he states that in Lucian "The first aorist -κα with one exception … is always used in the singular and ἔθεμεν etc. in the plural."[506] It almost seems that he assumes knowledge of the relevance of these forms to Atticism without explicitly stating what the relevance is.

According to Schmid, the κ-forms in the aorist plural appear in Attic prose from the 4th century BC onwards (alongside the athematic forms). He says that the same alternation is found in Koine literature but in the "low Koine", only κ-forms appear (as evidenced by Koine inscriptions of the period). He says that among his Atticists, Philostratus followed the (low) Koine (using only κ-forms) while Aristides and Aelian "continue the old alternation" (using both types of forms in the plural).[507] For Schmid, then, the κ-forms are not necessarily un-Attic, but he sees exclusive use of them as a characteristic of the (low) Koine.

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[502] Teodorsson 2013: 191
[503] Threatte 1996: 600-602; 615-619
[504] Deferrari 1916
[505] Deferrari 1916: 67
[506] Deferrari 1916: 75
[507] Schmid 1896: 596

Neither Deferrari nor Schmid seem to address the question of the aorist subjunctive forms of δίδωμι in the 2nd and 3rd sg. Gignac, however, describes the ῷ-forms as the "Classical inflection" and Blass, Debrunner and Funk say that in the New Testament "ἔδωκα has entirely gone over to the pattern of verbs in οῦν: δοῖς δοῖ."[508] This implies that they saw the ῷ-forms as more properly Attic and that the οῖ-forms were a later innovation which the verb had "gone over" to.

Modern testimony, then, suggests that athematic aorist forms are relevant to Atticism but again not in a clear "athematic forms are Attic versus κ-forms are Koine" dichotomy. Exclusive use of κ-forms in the plural could be thought of as a more Koine-leaning tendency and exclusive use of athematic forms more Classical, and therefore a kind of mild Atticism.

13.2.2 Use of the Marker by Attic Writers and Evidence for the Alternative

Generally, for the aorist plural indicatives of δίδωμι, τίθημι and ἵημι, Classical Attic texts use athematic second aorist forms and Koine texts take κ-forms but, as was observed by Schmid, the usage is not this straightforward.

A small number of κ-forms are already sometimes found in Attic authors, in particular, Demosthenes among the orators (as well as Xenophon the historian). This is especially true for the 3rd sg. -καν forms. In most cases, however, the athematic forms dominate. In the Koine texts I looked at (the Septuagint, New Testament and papyri), the κ-forms have become the normal and preferred form with only rare examples of the athematic variant. The pattern of use for such forms seems to be Xy : Y, where X refers the to the athematic plural forms and Y the κ-forms. κ-forms, therefore, can be considered strongly Koine-leaning and athematic forms mildly Atticist.

With regards to aorist subjunctive forms of δίδωμι, Attic texts exclusively use the athematic forms δῷς and δῷ for 2nd and 3rd sg. In the New Testament and Septuagint, forms built on analogy with -οω contract verbs (δοῖς and δοῖ) are sometimes used, but the regular athematic forms are still more common. In the papyri, however, the new οῖ-forms are more common (and appear from as early as the 1st century AD) although ῷ-

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[508] Gignac 1981: 388; Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 48

forms are sometimes retained. Given the retention of the athematic forms in the New Testament and Septuagint, but the prominence of thematic forms in the papyri, the pattern of use can be described as X : XY, where X refers to ῷ-forms and Y to οῖ-forms. Use of the ῷ-forms can be considered moderately-Attic leaning and of the οῖ-forms as moderate avoidance of Atticism.

13.2.3 Ancient Testimony

There is very little in the lexicographers and grammarians concerning the variant aorist forms in the Koine. Moeris has one example of the extension of κ-forms to the plural:

13.1   Moeris *Atticista*

(α.19)   ἀπέδο<u>μεν</u> ἀπέδο<u>τε</u> ἀπέδο<u>σαν</u> Ἀττικοί· ἀπεδώ<u>καμεν</u> ἀπεδώ<u>κατε</u> ἀπέδω<u>καν</u> Ἕλληνες.
The Attic speakers (say) *apedo<u>men</u>*, *apedo<u>te</u>*, *apedo<u>san</u>*; the Greeks *apedō<u>kamen</u>*, *apedō<u>kate</u>*, *apedō<u>kan</u>*. [1st, 2nd, 3rd pl. aorist indicative active]

Much later, there is a similar example in Thomas Magister (13-14 AD). This does not reveal contemporary understanding of the variant so much as a later perceived understanding that the athematic forms had been more properly Attic and the κ-forms non-Attic.

13.2   Thomas Magister *Selection of Attic Nouns and Verbs*

(α 10.8)   Ἀπέδο<u>μεν</u> Ἀττικοὶ, οὐκ ἀπεδώ<u>καμεν</u>.
The Attic speakers (said) *apedo<u>men</u>*, not *apedō<u>kamen</u>*.

Apart from Moeris' reference, then, there does not seem to have been widespread teaching by the lexicographers that the κ-forms were Attic(ist). Moeris' quote, however, confirms that there was some consciousness of the distinction.

If Herodian addressed the alternation between athematic and κ-aorists of the plurals of δίδωμι, τίθημι and ἵημι, in his *Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι*, it does not survive. There is, however, one interesting passage (taken from Cramer's 1835 collection *Anecdota Graeca*, and understood to be a quotation from Herodian) where it is noted that while (athematic) second aorist forms usually have the same vowel in the singular and plural, this is not the case for these three words where, there are different (shortened) vowels in the plural:

Herodian *Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι* (838.1-17)

(fragment from *Anecd.Ox.* 3.269)

σημείωσαι, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν εἰς μι ἐπὶ δευτέρου ἀορίστου φυλάττεται ἡ λήγουσα αὐτοῦ, ἤγουν τοῦ δευτέρου ἀορίστου, ἐν τοῖς πληθυντικοῖς παραλήγουσα ἡ αὐτὴ οἷον ἵστημι· ὁ β΄ ἀόριστος ἔστην ἔστημεν ἔστητε. γνῶμι· ὁ β΄ ἀόριστος ἔγνων ἔγνωμεν ἔγνωτε. πλὴν τοῦ ἔθην ἔθεμεν ἔθετε, ἔδων ἔδομεν ἔδοτε, ἦν ἔμεν ἔτε. καὶ διὰ τί πλὴν τούτων; διότι, φησὶν ὁ τεχνικός, τὰ ἑνικὰ οἷον ἔθην ἔδων ἦν οὐχ εὑρίσκεται ἐν χρήσει· τούτου χάριν τὰ πληθυντικὰ αὐτῶν εὑρισκόμενα ἐν χρήσει ἐναλλάσσεται κείμενα ὡς ἔτυχεν.

Note that the ending for the second aorist of words in *-mi* itself is kept, that is to say, for the second aorist in the plural, the penultimate syllable is the same. e.g. (For) ἵστημι: the second aorist is *estēn estēmen estēte*. (For) *gnōmi*: the second aorist is *egnōn egnōmen egnōte*. Except *ethēn ethemen ethete*, *edōn edomen edote*, *hēn hemen hete*. And why the exception for these? Because, the expert (Herodian) says, the singular forms like *ethēn edōn hēn* are not found in use, on account of this, their plurals, which are found in use, are substituted and happen to be correct (or attested).

This suggests a recognition that the (first aorist type) κ-forms rather than the athematic forms were the norm for the singular (and these are the forms given elsewhere in Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι) whereas the athematic forms were the norm in the plural. Unfortunately, as mentioned, there is no reference to plural κ-forms, which is helpful only in suggesting by their omission that they were considered less correct (and by extended implication less Classical).

I could not find any recommendations in the lexicographers or grammarians regarding the subjunctive forms of δίδωμι.[509]

13.3 Use in Achilles' Text

For (-)δίδωμι, Achilles has 4 aorist indicative tokens. 3 are of the singular forms (ἔδωκα; ἔδωκεν), where the κ-variant is already normal in Attic (a Y : Y pattern of use). But 1 is of the active 3rd pl., ἔδωκαν. Similarly, for (-)ίημι he has 19 aorist indicative tokens. 18 are of expected singular κ-forms, but 1 is the active 3rd pl. (ἀφ)ῆκαν. Given an Xy : Y pattern of use for plural forms, Achilles' choice for these tokens points to

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[509] Moeris (*Atticista* δ.5) makes reference to optative variations, as does Phrynichus (*Eclogae* 324), but I have not included these in my discussion because there are no optative forms of δίδωμι in Achilles' text.

strong Koine-leaning for the plural. For τίθημι, however, Achilles has (alongside 8 expected singular κ-forms), 1 token of the athematic second aorist 3rd pl. (ἐν)έθεσαν. This suggests that Achilles was not thoroughly consistent and, on this occasion, may be said to be mildly Atticising. A consideration of the manuscripts, however, shows that while ἔδωκαν and ἀφῆκαν are consistent throughout the manuscript tradition, ἐνέθεσαν is not. It is found in the athematic form throughout family β, but the thematic alternative ἐνέθηκαν occurs in Manuscript M and an intermediate form ἐνέθησαν in Manuscript W (both of family α). This points to corruption in the tradition and, while the athematic form seems to be original on the basis of majority, it cannot be accepted with certainty.

In addition to these active forms, Achilles has 2 tokens of the aorist indicative middle 3rd sg. of τίθημι to which he has extended the κ-endings: 1 of παρεθήκατο and 1 of περιεθήκατο.[510] It has been seen that Lucian occasionally used these forms which Deferrari described as "rare in Attic."[511] κ-aorist middle forms are not found in the Attic dramatists or orators or the New Testament, Septuagint and papyri. A search of the TLG corpus reveals that middle κ-forms were used by epic, Ionic and other non-Attic authors of the Classical period. They sometimes occur in texts from the 1st century AD onwards, but often in quotations from these earlier authors or in scholia of Homer, Hesiod and Herodotus, who use them. The pattern of use for these middle forms, then, seems to be X : X, where X is the athematic form found in Attic and the Koine. The κ-form, Y, is an Epic/Ionic form. Achilles' use, then, says nothing with regards to Attic or Koine preference but points instead to an Ionic-leaning choice. The only relevance for this from an Atticist perspective is that the form he uses is non-Attic.

Finally, Achilles has 2 tokens of the aorist subjunctive of δίδωμι in the 2nd sg. In both cases he retains the ῷ-forms: δῷς (1 token) and παραδῷς (1 token).[512] As seen, this form was retained in the New Testament and Septuagint though often replaced in the papyri and followed an X : XY pattern of use. Achilles' selection here can be described as moderately Attic-leaning.

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[510] παρεθήκατο (at 2.3.1) is attested by the form]ΗΚΑΤΟ in Π[1]. The manuscripts have παρέθηκε τὸν but Vilborg accepts the testimony of the papyri for its sense (Vilborg 1962: 42).

[511] Deferrari 1916: 67

[512] Invariant in the manuscript tradition.

13.4 Summary and Interim Conclusion

Table 13-2 Common Attic versus Koine Differences in the Aorists of -μι Verbs [513]

Inflection	Thematic				Athematic			PoU	Description of use
	δ	ι	τ		δ	ι	τ		
Act. Indic. 3 pl.	1	1					1(0)	Xy : Y	Strong Koine-leaning
Mid. Indic. 3 sg.			2					X : X	Y=Ionic: Ionic-leaning
Act. Subj. 2 sg.							2	X : XY	Mod Attic-leaning

In sum, Achilles' practice regarding aorist forms of these athematic verbs shows a general preference for non-Attic forms. For plural indicatives, he prefers κ-forms. There is one token of an athematic plural, but this is inconsistent in the manuscripts (pointing to one partially attested instance of mild Atticism). For middle indicatives, he even uses the non-Attic, Ionic-leaning, κ-forms. For the subjunctives, however, he retains the moderately Attic-leaning athematic spellings in favour of the newer thematic variations.

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[513] δ: (-)δίδωμι; ι: (-)ἵημι; τ: (-)τίθημι

14. Perfect Forms

14.1 Development of the variation

Most μι-verbs took regular κ-endings in the perfect and pluperfect (endings in the so-called "first perfect"). But a few isolated verbs took an athematic ("second") perfect in the active in Classical texts. Primary endings would be directly applied to the perfect stem of the verb without the addition of -κ-. Even in Attic, these rare athematic forms were already normally replaced with regular κ-forms in the perfect and pluperfect indicative singular. But athematic forms were regularly retained in such words in the indicative plurals. Athematic forms were also often applied in the infinitive and participle of such words, occasionally in the subjunctive and seldom in the optative. Athematic imperative forms were found in "poetic" texts.[514]

The most common verb which had an athematic perfect was ἵστημι ("I stand"), which took regular ἕστηκα ἕστηκας ἕστηκεν in the singular perfect but athematic ἕσταμεν, ἕστατε, ἑστᾶσι(ν) in the plural in Attic. In the Koine, the athematic forms tended to be replaced with the κ-form equivalents ἑστήκαμεν, ἑστήκατε, ἑστήκασι(ν). Similar patterns are found for the infinitive and participle. In some cases, the use of κ-forms could be considered avoidance of Atticism, and retention of the athematic forms could be considered Atticist. It will be seen however, that the Koine did not replace all forms to the same degree and so each type of inflection will need to be considered in its own right.

The table below lists the different athematic and κ-forms of the perfect and pluperfect of ἵστημι.

Table 14-1 Common K- vs Athematic Variants for Perfect Active Forms of ἵστημι

Inflection		K-endings	Athematic
Perf. Indic.	1st pl.	ἑστήκαμεν	ἕσταμεν
	2st pl.	ἑστήκατε	ἕστατε
	3st pl.	ἑστήκασι(ν)	ἑστᾶσι(ν)
Pluperf. Indic.	1st pl.	εἱστήκεμεν	ἕσταμεν
	2st pl.	εἱστήκετε	ἕστατε
	3st pl.	εἱστήκεσαν	ἕστασαν
Perf. Infin.	--	ἑστηκέναι	ἑστάναι

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[514] Mastronarde 1993: 321; Achilles has no examples of the imperative, so I will not discuss this further.

Inflection		K-endings	Athematic
Perf. Partic.	m. nom. sg.	ἑστκώς	ἑστῶς
	f. nom. sg.	ἑστηκυῖα	ἑστῶσα
	n. nom. sg.	ἑστηκός	ἑστός

As was the case with athematic aorists, some words with regular thematic -ω presents took athematic second perfect forms. The most notable example is θνήσκω ("I die", "I am dead") which takes regular first perfect τέθνηκα τέθνηκας τέθνηκεν in the singular but athematic second perfect τέθναμεν, τέθνατε, τεθνᾶσιν in the plural. Pluperfect 3 pl. ἐτέθνασαν is also attested along with athematic participles, optatives, imperatives and the infinitive.[515]

Another example is the perfect (with present meaning) of δείδω ("I fear"), which has a set of athematic second perfect endings (1st sg. δέδια, 1st pl. δέδιμεν) which occur alongside regular κ-perfect forms (1st sg. δέδοικα, 1st pl. δεδοίκαμεν). In this case, even the indicative singular occasionally took athematic forms in Classical texts. Athematic forms were also common in the infinitive, participle and pluperfect indicative plural and were found occasionally in the pluperfect singular. [516]

Achilles has a few relevant tokens for both these lemmas which I will include along with my discussion of ἵστημι.

14.2 Evidence for the Variation as a Marker of Atticism

14.2.1 Modern Scholarship

Again there is little mention by modern scholars of the use of κ- rather than athematic perfect forms as relevant to Atticism. But Deferrari and Schmid do discuss athematic perfect and pluperfect forms of relevant words in their Atticist analyses.

In Deferrari's analysis of the verb ἵστημι (in his chapter on *Irregular Verbs*), he says "Attic authors prefer the second perfect (ἕσταμεν, ἕστατε, ἑστᾶσι) in the plural."[517] He mentions this in contrast to Lucian's use of ἑστήκαμεν for the 1st pl. He also discusses the athematic perfect forms of θνήσκω (in his chapter on *Tenses*), where he says "Attic

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[515] Smyth 1920: 166; LSJ θνήσκω
[516] Smyth 1920: 166; LSJ δείδω
[517] Deferrari 1916: 69

writers usually use τέθνηκα for the singular and τέθναμεν for the plural, and both stems for the infinitive and participle."[518] For δείδω, he gives a thorough discussion of the different uses of what he calls the "weak" perfect plural (δέδιμεν) and the "weak" singular built from it (δέδια). He points out that this form "occurs frequently in Homer and old Attic poetry, the lyrical parts of Aeschylus and Sophocles", but that it survives only as a participle in Attic prose and only in the plural in Thucydides and Xenophon. He also claims that the lemma (δείδω) does not occur at all in the "lower Koine".[519]

Schmid says that "The short [athematic] and long [κ-] forms of the perfect of θνήσκω and ἵστημι are found side-by-side, as in the Attic, in both the writers of the Koine and the Atticists."[520] The examples which Schmid cites in the authors he studies are mostly of participles and infinitives which (as will be seen) would account for his description of both forms occurring side-by-side in Attic writers, Koine texts and his Atticists. For him, then, he feels the need to account for their use in his analysis of the grammar of his Atticist authors even though he does not consider one form as Atticising and the other as non-Attic.[521] Regarding δείδω, Schmid has a short discussion, which is mostly echoed by the passage referred to in Deferrari above. He additionally describes the use of δέδια in the singular as "vulgar" (*vulgäre*).[522]

Descriptive Koine grammars also tend to include analyses of the perfect forms of ἵστημι, but not of δείδω (perhaps because it was falling out of use).[523]

It seems, then, that although modern authors do not identify the variations of the perfects of ἵστημι, θνήσκω and δείδω as one of the crucial identifiers of Atticism, they do recognise that these variations occurred and were significant.

14.2.2 Use of the Marker by Attic Writers and Evidence for the Alternative

As noted, the most important -μι verb to take athematic perfect forms was ἵστημι (and its compounds). In Attic, it regularly took athematic forms throughout the perfect and

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[518] Deferrari 1916: 57

[519] Deferrari 1916: 56

[520] Schmid 1896: 596

[521] He gives examples of forms in Aelian (Schmid 1893: 40) and in Philostratus (Schmid 1896: 36)

[522] Schmid 1896: 601-602

[523] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 48; Gignac 1981: 394-399

pluperfect paradigms except in the singular indicative. In the Koine, the athematic forms were fully or partially replaced by regular κ-perfect equivalents.

Analysis of Attic authors on the TLG shows that some use of the κ-forms of ἵστημι was already present in Attic. There are already 2 tokens of the perfect indicative 2nd pl. in the orators and they have 7 tokens of the 3rd pl. The playwrights have 4 κ-forms in the 3rd pl. These, however, occur alongside athematic forms, of which there are always many more tokens in the same authors.

There is also already evidence of κ-forms in the pluperfect indicative plural and in the perfect infinitive (though again these are in the minority). For perfect participles, usage is already very mixed with more cases of athematic ἑστώς in the playwrights but more cases of regular ἑστηκώς in the orators.

In the New Testament and other Koine texts, the athematic perfect plural indicatives were completely replaced with regular κ-form equivalents. In the infinitive and participle both forms occur. The Septuagint makes exclusive use of the κ-forms in the pluperfect plural (there are no examples in the New Testament). In the papyri, athematic indicative plurals have also been replaced by κ-form equivalents but athematic forms are retained in the infinitive and participle (although κ-form participles sometimes occur).[524]

Based on this usage, one could describe the pattern of use for the indicative plural forms of ἵστημι (perfect and pluperfect) as Xy: Y. Use of the κ-forms would count as strong Koine-leaning and use of the athematic forms as mild Atticism. For the infinitive and participles, use was already mixed in Attic and continued to be so in the Koine. The pattern of use could be called Xy : Xy for the infinitive and so usage would be neutral. Unusually, for the participles, the trend actually seems to show an xY : Xy pattern of use (based on the prevalence of the κ-forms in the orators and the athematic form in Koine texts). This would actually point to the κ-forms being moderately Attic-leaning and the athematic forms as moderately Koine-leaning.

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[524] Gignac 1981: 394-396

In the passages referred to above by Deferrari and Schmid, it is revealed that for θνήσκω, Attic preferred the κ-forms in the singular but the athematic second perfect forms in the plural of the indicative. The New Testament and Septuagint mostly use κ-forms with the exception of 1 case of an indicative plural in the athematic form. Gignac gives no examples of indicatives. The pattern of use could be described as X : xY. For the infinitives, usage was mixed in Attic but athematic forms dominated in the orators. Aristophanes has 2 tokens of each form. The New Testament and Septuagint have 2 athematic and 2 κ-forms while Gignac refers to one case of the athematic infinitive in a 6th century AD papyrus.[525] The pattern of use for the infinitives could be described as Xy : XY. For participles, both forms are found in Attic texts but athematic forms dominated. κ-forms were the norm in the New Testament and papyri pointing to and Xy : Y pattern of use.

Regarding δείδω, Schmid and Deferrari said that the athematic second perfect forms (of all sorts, including the singular indicative) were used in Homer, Old Attic poetry and the lyrical parts of Aeschylus and Sophocles. Thucydides and Xenophon the historian used only plural athematic forms and other prose Attic texts used only the participle in the athematic second perfect.[526] A TLG search shows that the κ-forms were used exclusively in the orators and Aristophanes for the perfect indicative singular and predominantly for the pluperfect singular. For the perfect indicative plural, both forms occur but there are more athematic tokens. For the pluperfect plural, this seems to be the same, but there are only 2 athematic tokens in the orators and none in Aristophanes. The Attic orators exclusively used the athematic form for the infinitive (20 tokens) while Aristophanes has only 3 κ-infinitives. For the participles, athematic forms dominated in Attic authors but a few κ-forms occur.

δείδω is not found in the New Testament in any form. There are 8 tokens in the Septuagint, all as κ-forms. These include 1 perfect indicative singular, 2 perfect indicative plurals, 2 pluperfect indicative singulars and 3 perfect participles. Gignac makes no reference to its presence in the papyri. Based on this, the patterns of use could be described as Y : Y for the perfect indicative singular XY : Y for the perfect indicative plural, xY : Y for pluperfect singulars and Xy : Y the perfect participles. Use

[525] Gignac 1981: 399
[526] Schmid 1896: 601-602; Deferrari 1916: 56

of the athematic forms, then, could be considered as mild, moderate or hyper-Atticism and of the κ-forms as mild to strong Koine-leaning. For the perfect indicative singulars, however, usage is neutral as the κ-forms were already adopted in Attic texts.

14.3.3 Ancient Testimony

Reference to the perfect of ἵστημι, θνῄσκω and δείδω seems to be mostly lacking in the lexicographers and grammarians. The following examples, however, occur in the lexicon of Hesychius (5th-6th C AD):

> 14.1   Hesychius *Lexicon (A-O)*

(ε.6361)   ἕσταμεν· ἑστήκαμεν (λ 466)

> *hestamen* [in *Od.* 11.466]: *hestēkamen* [the form better known to Hesychius' readers]

(ε.6369)   ἑστᾶσιν· ἑστήκασιν (E 196)

> *hestasin* [in *Il.* 5.196]: *hestēkasin* [the form better known to Hesychius' readers]

(α.8614)   ἀφέστατε· ἀφεστήκατε (Δ 340)

> *aphestate* [in *Il.* 4.340]: *aphestēkate* [the form better known to Hesychius' readers]

(δ.434)   δείδια· [φοβοῦ δειλαίνου] δέδοικα. φοβοῦμαι (N 49)

> *deidia* [*Il.* 13.49]: I am afraid; I am a coward. *dedoika.* I fear.

(ε.414)   ἐδεδίει· ἐδεδοίκει. ἢ ἐξεκέκαυτο

> *edeidia*: *ededoikei.* Or *exekekauto* [I had lit up, inflamed, kindled]

In Herodian's *Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι*, there is no direct reference to the different perfect forms. Where perfect forms are referred to in other contexts, they are only given as κ-forms: ἕστηκα/ἕστακα and δέδοικα. In the case of ἕστηκα, this is uninformative as it already took the κ-form in Attic, but in the case of δέδοικα there is a preference for the κ-form where both were in use. This does not tell us which form was considered Atticist, however.

Elsewhere in his corpus, Herodian makes reference to the pair ἑστήκαμεν, ἕσταμεν, but he gives them as an example of syncope (συγκοπήν) to prove a point that loss of letters does not result in loss of a rough breathing (*Pros. Cath.* 545.3-9; *Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς προσῳδίας* 74.3-12).

It seems, then, that there was not a conscious link between the athematic perfect plurals and Attic correctness among grammarians of the time. This might be because mixed use went back to the 4th century BC. Discussions of Atticism for these forms, then, must be addressed with much caution.

14.4 Use in Achilles' Text

Achilles has 33 tokens of ἵστημι in the perfect and pluperfect. 12 are in the perfect indicative singular and 9 in the pluperfect indicative singular. All have regular κ-forms as would be expected since both Attic and Koine texts used these forms and Achilles' use is neutral.

Of the remaining 12 tokens of interest, 9 are athematic and 3 are κ-forms. There are 3 tokens of the athematic perfect indicative 3rd pl. (-)εστᾶσιν alongside 1 token of a pluperfect indicative 3rd pl. in the κ-form, εἱστήκεσαν.[527] There are 8 participles: 6 in the athematic form and 2 in the κ-form.[528] With regards to the plural indicative forms, Achilles shows mild Atticism for the perfect and strong Koine-leaning for the pluperfect. For the participles, he shows mixed use, as was the norm in Attic and the Koine. The preference for athematic forms, actually seems to point to moderate Koine-leaning (since the κ-forms were preferred in the orators and the athematic in Koine texts) but as his usage is mixed, this is only partial. In addition to these examples, I noted that there is also one token (found at 4.3.3) where the manuscripts have the athematic perfect active infinitive ἑστάναι, but Vilborg suggests this should be emended to present ἱστάναι. In either case the form is athematic. But since the perfect infinitive followed an Xy : Xy pattern of use, if Achilles had used the perfect, his choice would be neutral.

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[527] For, -εστᾶσιν, 2 tokens vary in the manuscripts, but always as athematic variants (pres. indic. 3rd pl. -ιστᾶσιν, pres. subjunctive active 3rd pl. -ιστῶσιν or perfect subjunctive active pl. -εστῶσιν). εἱστήκεσαν also varies (the forms εἱστήκεισαν ἱστήκεισαν appearing in some manuscripts of branch α), but it always has a κ- form..

[528] None of these vary in the manuscripts

Table 14-2 Perfect and Pluperfect Forms of ἵστημι in Achilles' Text

Inflection		K-forms	Athem.	PoU	Description of use
Perf. indic.	sg.	12		Y : Y	Neutral
	pl.		3	Xy : Y	Mild Atticism
Plperf. indic.	sg.	9		Y : Y	Neutral
	pl.	1		Xy : Y	Strong Koine-leaning
Perf. partic.		2	6	xY : Xy	Mod Koine-leaning (partial)
Perf. infin.			1 (0)	Xy : Xy	Neutral (partially attested)

Achilles has 26 tokens of θνήκσω in the perfect. In addition to 20 κ-forms in the perfect indicative singular (which are neutral), there are 2 other κ-forms and 4 athematic tokens. The κ-forms include 1 participle (τεθνηκότες) and 1 infinitive (τεθνηκέναι). All 4 athematic forms are in the infinitive (τεθνάναι).[529] The lack of indicative plural examples means no generalisation can be made with regards to Achilles' use of indicative forms. The κ-form participle points to strong Koine-leaning. Regarding the infinitives, there is mixed use, as was also the norm in Attic and Koine. There was, however, a preference for the athematic variation in Attic (Xy : XY) and so use of the athematic form indicates a slight Attic bias. But even then, Achilles' use is not consistent.

Table 14-3 Perfect and Pluperfect Forms of θνήκσω in Achilles' Text

Inflection	K-forms	Athem.	PoU	Description of use
Perf. indic. sg.	20		Y : Y	Neutral
Perf. ptcpl.	1		Xy : Y	Strong Koine-leaning
Perf. infin.	1	4	Xy : XY	Slight Attic bias (partial)

There are 5 tokens of the perfect of δείδω in Achilles' text: 3 κ-forms and 2 athematic tokens.[530] The κ-forms include 2 instances of the perfect indicative 1st sg. δέδοικα and 1 of the pluperfect indicative 1st sg. ἐδεδοίκειν. By contrast, the remaining 2 tokens are in the athematic pluperfect 3rd sg. ἐδεδίει. It has been seen that, for δείδω, athematic forms were sometimes retained for singular indicatives in Classical texts, but the Attic authors I examined retained them only in the pluperfect and only in the minority of cases. Achilles' use of κ-forms, then, is neutral for the perfect tokens. But for the pluperfect

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[529] None of these tokens vary in the manuscripts, but it may be of interest that all 4 cases of τεθνάναι are in Book 7, whereas the deviant τεθνηκέναι is from Book 5.

[530] There is no variation in the manuscripts.

singular forms (which follow an xY : Y pattern of use), Achilles shows 2 cases of hyper-Atticism alongside 1 of mild Koine-leaning preference. It is hard to generalise based on these few tokens, but it is significant that he unusually shows 2 tokens of hyper-Atticist intent here, though applied inconsistently.

Table 14-4 Perfect and Pluperfect Forms of δείδω in Achilles' Text

Inflection	K-forms	Athem.	PoU	Achilles' Use
Perf. indic. sg.	2		Y : Y	Neutral
Plperf. indic. sg.	1	2	xY : Y	2 tokens of hyper-Atticism 1 of mild Koine-leaning

14.4 Summary and Interim Conclusion

The table below summarises Achilles' use of perfect and pluperfect forms of ἵστημι, θνήσκω and δείδω.

Table 14-5 Summary of Information Relating to K- vs Athematic Perfect Forms

ACTIVE	K-	Ath.		Atticism	Attic-leaning	Koine-leaning	Neutral
Perf. Indic.	24						24
		3		mild 3			
Pluperf. Indic.	10	2		hyper 2		mild 1	9
	1					strong 1	
Perf. Infin.	1	4			slight bias 4	strong 1	1
Perf. Ptcpl.	3	6			mod. 2	mod. 6; str. 1	

In conclusion, an analysis of Achilles' use of athematic perfect and pluperfect forms shows very mixed usage. While many of his tokens are neutral (since singular indicative forms that had already taken κ-forms in Attic), he shows 5 cases of Atticism (3 mild, 2 hyper-Atticist) and 6 cases of Attic-leaning. At the same time he has 10 tokens of Koine-leaning preference, 3 of which are strongly Koine-leaning. It is unusual for Achilles to show either hyper-Atticism or strong Koine-leaning which makes his choices for these forms interesting. It should be noted, however, that there was a lot of instability in these forms and the presence of mixed use even in the Attic period could make it hard to know for sure which forms should be preferred. In addition, the Atticist lexicographers gave little in the way of strict rules regarding these forms which would have helped an aspiring Atticist.

15. Root -μι Verbs

15.1 Development of the Variation

The next group of -μι verbs add athematic endings directly onto a bare stem (without reduplication or addition of -νυ-). Many of these verbs are among the most commonly used in Greek and, as a result, had a number of archaic or irregular forms in Attic.

The most important verbs in this category are εἰμί ("I am"), εἶμι ("I go"), φημί ("I say") and οἶδα ("I know"). The frequent use and irregularity of these verbs mean that they did not encounter regular shifts from athematic to thematic forms in the same way as other -μι verbs. Some changes did occur for these verbs in the Hellenistic period, but they were different in nature and did not apply consistently in the Koine until a late stage.

εἰμί: ("I am")
This lemma underwent a shift to the (deponent) middle-passive inflection which was completed in Modern Greek.[531] Non-Attic forms found in Koine texts include: present indicative 2nd sg. εἶσαι for εἶ, 3rd sg. ἐσσί for ἐστί, present imperative 3rd sg. ἤτω for ἔστω, imperfect indicative 1st sg. ἤμην for ἦν, 2nd sg. ἦς for ἦσθα and 1st pl. ἤμεθα for ἦμεν. Occasionally in the imperfect subjunctive one also finds 1st pl. ὤμεθα for ἦμεν and 3rd pl. ὦσιν for ἦσαν.[532] These variations tend to occur alongside the Attic ones in the Koine although they are more widespread in the imperfect. Use of such forms, therefore, can be described as innovative and non-Attic, but use of the Attic variations is not necessarily Atticising.

εἶμι: ("I go")
This lemma does not experience many significant changes in the Hellenistic period. In the New Testament it is rare (both in simple and compound form) and usually replaced by ἔρχομαι. Optional variations, however, are found in Koine texts for the imperfect plurals: 1st pl. ᾔειμεν for ἦμεν, 2nd pl. ᾔειτε for ἦτε and 3rd pl. ᾔεισαν for ἦσαν or ᾔεσαν.[533]

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[531] Gignac 1981: 400. Modern Greek: εἶμαι, εἶσαι, εἶναι, εἴμεθα, εἶσθε, εἶναι.
[532] Gignac 1981: 400-405; Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 49
[533] Gignac 1981: 408; Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 50

<u>φημί</u>: ("I say")

This word does not have many variations either, although it undergoes analogical levelling for some of its more unusual forms. Most notably, the Koine prefers the form ἔφης over ἔφησθα for the imperfect indicative 2nd sg., although both variations are already found in Attic.[534]

<u>οἶδα</u>: ("I know")

This final lemma is a perfect (root) athematic form with present meaning; the pluperfect ᾔδη (or ᾔδειν) carries imperfect meaning. οἶδα also undergoes analogical levelling in the Hellenistic period. Notable differences with Attic forms are perfect (=present) indicative 2nd sg. οἶδας for οἶσθα, 1st pl. οἴδαμεν for ἴσμεν, 2nd pl. οἴδατε for ἴστε and 3rd pl. οἴδασι(ν) for ἴσασι(ν). In the pluperfect (=imperfect) indicative two different variations for most forms already occurred in Attic, and the Koine tended to prefer the more regular of the options: 1st sg. ᾔδειν over ᾔδη, 2nd sg. ᾔδεις over ᾔδησθα. In the plural is found 1st pl. ᾔδειμεν in preference to Attic ᾖσμεν or ᾔδεμεν, 2nd pl. ᾔδειτε in preference to Attic ᾖστε or ᾔδετε and 3rd pl. ᾔδεισαν in preference to Attic ᾖσαν or ᾔδεσαν.[535]

The table below summarises the variations discussed above but I have only included those which will prove to be relevant for Achilles' text:

Table 15-1 Significant Variations for Root -μι Verbs

Lemma	Inflection	Koine form	Attic form
εἰμί	*imperfect*		
	1st sg.	ἤμην	ἦν
	2nd sg.	ἦς	ἦσθα
	1st pl.	ἤμεθα	ἦμεν
	imperative		
	1st sg.	ἤτω	ἔστω
εἶμι	*imperfect*		
	1st pl.	ᾔειμεν	ᾖμεν
οἶδα	*perfect (=present)*		
	2nd sg.	οἶδας	οἶσθα
	2nd pl.	οἴδατε	ἴστε
	3rd pl.	οἴδασι(ν)	ἴσασι(ν)

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[534] Gignac 1981: 412; Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 50
[535] Gignac 1981: 409; Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 50

Lemma	Inflection	Koine form	Attic form
οἶδα	*pluperfect (=impf.)*		
	1st sg.	ᾔδειν	ᾔδη
	1st pl.	ᾔδειμεν	ᾖσμεν/ᾔδεμεν
	3rd pl.	ᾔδεισαν	ᾖσαν/ᾔδεσαν

15.2 Evidence for the Variation as a Marker of Atticism

15.2.1 Modern Scholarship

Sometimes modern scholars include root -μι verbs in their lists of athematic or -μι verbs (e.g. Blass, Debrunner and Funk, Threatte, Smyth), but at other times they list them separately as "irregular" verbs (Gignac, Deferrari). As has been seen, these verbs did not normally see shift from athematic to thematic forms in the Koine period and so are not directly relevant to the question of Atticism by retention of the athematic form. It has been seen, however, that there were certain variations of some inflections that originated in or were popularised by the Koine and used in preference over older established Attic forms. And so these verbs are still significant for Atticism, albeit in a different way.

Deferrari, in his analysis of Atticism in Lucian, sees these forms as relevant, as he addresses these variations in his chapter on *Irregular Verbs.* This chapter deals with root -μι and reduplicated -μι verbs (as distinct from the -νυμι verbs, which he had covered in a separate chapter entitled *Collateral Present Tenses*).[536] Schmid also considers variations of these forms in his different Atticist authors when they come up, though not under a single heading. He describes the later variations which were not common to Attic as "vulgar" forms (*vulgäre*).[537]

Though not included in the standard lists of Atticisms presented by modern scholars, then, it seems that these verbs should still be considered as part of an Atticist analysis.

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[536] Deferrari 1916
[537] Schmid 1896: 599

15.2.2 Use of the Marker by Attic Writers and Evidence for the Alternative

A TLG text search confirms that different forms were preferred by Attic texts and the Koine for the significant variations listed in Table 15-1.

Attic texts (the playwrights and orators) showed little to no use of the "Koine" forms and the few exceptions tended to occur in fragmentary texts for which the source texts are unreliable. This suggests a general X pattern of use in Attic. The only notable exceptions are for the perfect and pluperfect indicative 1st pl. forms of οἶδα. The "Koine" perfect (=present) form οἴδαμεν occurs 5 times in the orators (4 in Demosthenes and 1 in Antiphon) and the pluperfect (=imperfect) ἤδειμεν is found twice (1 in Antiphon and 1 in Aeschines). The Attic variant of the perfect dominates, however, with 25 cases of ἴσμεν in the orators (including 10 in Demosthenes) and 16 in the dramatists. The Attic form of the pluperfect ᾖσμεν is found twice in the orators and twice in the dramatists. There is 1 token of the alternative Attic form ᾔδεμεν in Sophocles. This suggests an Xy pattern of use for the 1st pl. forms of οἶδα, where X refers to the "Attic" forms and Y the "Koine" forms. The other major exception is for pluperfect indicative 1st sg. ᾔδειν which already appeared commonly in Attic texts and Gignac even describes it as the "best Attic prose" form.[538] For the 1st sg. pluperfect, then, the pattern of use is xY.

In Koine texts (the New Testament, Septuagint and the papyri), the Koine forms of these words dominate, although there is more variation. For the variations of imperfect forms of εἰμί "I am", the deponent ἤμην dominates almost entirely, suggesting an X : Y pattern of use. ἦς is far more common than ἦσθα in the New Testament and papyri, although the Septuagint has more cases of ἦσθα. This points to an X : XY pattern of use. For the 1st pl., however, the Attic form ἦμεν is actually more common in all three groups of texts than Koine ἤμεθα. Similarly, for the imperative 3rd sg., the late Koine form ἤτω is found occasionally in all three types of texts but the Attic ἔστω is far more common. These last two inflections, then, follow an X : Xy pattern of use.

For the imperfect plural forms of εἶμι, there are no examples in the New Testament or Septuagint where the word is rare (and replaced by ἔρχομαι). Gignac cites 2 cases of

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[538] Gignac 1981: 411

Koine (ἀπ)ῄειμεν and does not suggest the presence of any examples of the Attic variant. A search of the full TLG corpus reveals that there are no cases of -ῄειμεν before the 1st century BC (except for a single example in a spurious text attributed to Plato). This confirms that -ῄειμεν is a later (non-Attic) variant. The pattern of use for this inflection could be described as X : Xyz, where Z represents forms of ἔρχομαι.

For the perfect (=present) forms of οἶδα, the Koine forms οἶδας and οἴδαμεν are normal and quite common in the Koine texts. There are rare cases of Attic οἶσθα and ἴσμεν in the papyri and 2 tokens of οἶσθα in the Septuagint. The pattern of use for οἶδας/οἶσθα seems to be X : xY, but for οἴδαμεν/ἴσμεν Xy : xY. For the 3rd pl., Koine οἴδασιν is the norm in the New Testament and Septuagint. It is not, however, found in the papyri. Attic ἴσασιν is found in the papyri along with 1 token in the New Testament. This suggests an X : XY pattern of use. For the pluperfect (=imperfect) forms of οἶδα, the New Testament and Septuagint exclusively use the Koine forms, pointing to an xY : Y pattern of use for the 1st sg., Xy : Y for the 1st pl. and X : Y for the 3rd pl.

The usage observed suggests the designations "Koine" and "Attic" for the variant forms in Table 15-1 are fairly accurate. However, it must be noted that there were exceptions for certain forms of οἶδα. The pluperfect 1st sg. ᾔδειν already appeared frequently in Attic texts and should not be considered a "non-Attic" form. Additionally οἴδαμεν and ᾔδειμεν were also present in Attic, though rare. On the other hand, "Attic" ἦμεν and ἔστω (from εἰμί "I am") and ἴσασιν (from οἶδα) were still frequently found in Koine texts.

In most cases, then, the forms I term "Attic" could be considered Atticist to some degree (simple, mild, moderate or hyper-) and the forms I term "Koine" could be considered some degree of Koine-leaning (when not simple avoidance of Atticism). For the main exceptions (ἴσμεν ἦσμεν and ᾔδη), the Attic forms are Attic-leaning rather than Atticist.

15.2.3 Ancient Testimony

The lexicographers, again chiefly Moeris, provide recommendations for some of the cases where root -μι verbs had begun to show different forms in the Koine.

<u>εἰμί</u>: ("I am")

Moeris gives the following recommendations for forms which had begun to take deponent (middle-passive) forms in the imperfect:

 15.1 Moeris *Atticista*

 (η.2) ἦν Ἀττικοί· ἤμην Ἕλληνες.
   The Attic speakers (say) *ēn*; the Greeks *ēmēn*. [impf. 1st sg.]

 (η.4) ἦσθα Ἀττικοί· ἦς Ἕλληνες.
   The Attic speakers (say) *ēstha*; the Greeks *ēs*. [impf. 2nd sg.]

In Herodian's *Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι,* reference is made to the Koine use of the deponent (middle passive) form of the imperfect 1st sg. of εἰμί "I am": ἤμην. This particular section of the text comes not from the excerpts in Choeroboscus but from another of Herodian's own texts, *Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς προσῳδίας* (56.19).

 15.2 Herodian *Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι* (840.7-9)
     (fragment from Herodian *Pros. Il.* 56.19).

  ἤμην τὸ σημαντικὸν τοῦ ὑπάρχειν σπανίως εὑρίσκεται κατὰ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὗ τὰ ὑποδείγματα δίδομεν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν εἰς μι. ὁ μέντοι ποιητὴς οὐκ ἐχρήσατο.

  ēmēn meaning "to exist" is occasionally found in use by the Greeks, of which we give examples in *On -mi verbs*. The poet [Homer], however, did not use it.

The form ἤμην, therefore, is described as being in use at an early date but not in Homer (although the form does appear in the passage to which Herodian is referring in his commentary, Homer *Il.* 6.336). Choeroboscus suggests that the ἤμην form had been prohibited (ἀπηγόρευται) followed by a quote from Aristophanes showing the preferred use of ἦν. In contrast, he cites a case of ἤμην from Euripides, but the implication is that it was not the norm. (*Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι* 840.7-16)

Elsewhere in *Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι,* Herodian discusses different forms and irregularities relating to εἰμί "I am" but these references do not relate to the variations that are significant for Atticism.

<u>εἶμι</u>: ("I go")

The variations found in the imperfect plural of εἶμι "I go" are discussed in Herodian's work on correct spelling (*Περὶ παθῶν*) where he discusses the compound εἴσειμι. He backs up his recommendation based on the use in the Attic playwrights Calias and Agathon:

> *15.3* Herodian *Περὶ παθῶν* (503.34-36)
>
> <u>εἰσῆμεν</u>: ἀντὶ τοῦ <u>εἰσήειμεν</u>: σὺν τῷ ι Καλλίας Πεδήταις. καὶ <u>εἰσῆσαν</u> ἀντὶ τοῦ <u>εἰσήεσαν</u> σὺν τῷ ι, Ἀγάθων Ἀερόπῃ. καὶ <u>εἰσῇα</u> ἀντὶ τοῦ <u>εἰσήειν</u>.
>
> *eisēimen*: rather than *eisēeimen*: (it is) with an iota in Calias' *Pedētai*. And *eisēisan* rather than *eisēesan* with an iota, (as in) Agathon's *Aerope*. And *eisēia* rather than *eisēein*.

<u>φημί</u>: ("I say")

Of the two forms of the imperfect 2nd sg. found in Attic, Phrynichus recommends the one not normally continued in the Koine as the better.

> *15.4* Phrynichus *Eclogae* (206)
>
> Ἔφης· ἔστι μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον. τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἔφησθα.
>
> *ephēs*: it exists among the ancients, but rarely. *ephēstha* (is) better. [impf. 2nd sg.]

<u>οἶδα</u>: ("I know")

Moeris gives his preferences for older Attic over regularised Koine forms for this verb in both the present and imperfect. Note that in the imperfect, the "Hellenistic" forms were already found as a variant in Attic, but he recommends the forms that were no longer in regular use in the Koine as the more properly Attic (or hyper-Attic).

> *15.5* Moeris *Atticista*
>
> (ο.24) οἶσθα χωρὶς τοῦ σ Ἀττικοί· οἶδας Ἕλληνες.
> The Attic speakers (say) *oistha* without a (final) *s*; the Greeks *oidas*. [pres. 2nd sg.]
>
> (ι.22) ἴσασιν Ἀττικοί· οἴδασιν κοινόν.
> The Attic speakers (say) *isasin*; *oidasin* (is) common (Koine). [pres. 3rd pl.]
>
> (η.3) ᾔδη Ἀττικοί· ᾔδειν Ἕλληνες.
> The Attic speakers (say) *ēidē*; the Greeks *ēidein*. [impf. 1st sg.]
>
> (η.1) ᾔδεισθα Ἀττικοί· ᾔδεις Ἕλληνες.
> The Attic speakers (say) *ēideistha*; the Greeks *ēideis*. [impf. 2nd sg.]

Phrynichus additionally recommends the Attic form of the present 2nd pl. over the regularised form:

> *15.6* Phrynichus *Praeparatio Sophistica (epitome)*
>
> (92.7) οἴδατε: ἄμεινον τὸ ἴστε.
>
>   *oidate*: *iste* (is) better. [pres. 2nd pl.]

Herodian gives his preferences for the imperfect forms by citing examples from the Attic Tragedians:

> *15.7* Herodian *On Orthography* (519.6-10)
>
> ᾖσμεν ἀντὶ τοῦ ᾔδειμεν Εὐριπίδης Ἑκάβη (1111) "…ᾖσμεν", ᾖστε ἀντὶ τοῦ ᾔδειτε Σοφοκλῆς Κόλχοις "…ᾖστε…" καὶ ᾖσαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ᾔδεσαν Εὐριπίδης Ῥήσῳ (855) "…ᾖσαν". σὺν τὸ ι.
>
> *ēismen* rather than *ēideimen* (as in) Euripides' *Hecuba* (1111) "…*ēismen*", *ēiste* rather than *ēideite* (as in) Sophocles' *Colchides* "…*ēiste*…" and *ēisan* rather than *ēidesan* (as in) Euripides' *Rhesus* (855) "…*ēisan*". With iota (subscripts).

The lexicographers and grammarians did not have a unified teaching relating to the different forms of root -μι verbs, but they recognised individual variations as significant and often explicitly described one form as more properly Attic (or generally "better") than the other.

15.3 Use in Achilles' Text

For the most part, Achilles uses the forms of these verbs that were common to both Attic and the Koine. For tokens where variation did exist, I found the following:

εἰμί: ("I am")
Achilles has 3 tokens of the Koine imperfect 1st sg. ἤμην (rather than Attic ἦν).[539] Conversely, he has 1 token of the Attic imperfect 2nd sg. ἦσθα (rather than Koine's preferred form ἦς, although note that ἦσθα is found more frequently in the Septuagint). He also has 8 tokens of Attic imperfect 1st pl. ἦμεν (which was often preserved in the Koine although occasionally replaced with ἤμεθα). The present imperative form ἔστω

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[539] There are 231 tokens of ἦν in Achilles' text but, having checked them all, they all seem to be tokens of the 3rd sg. (which had no variant form in the Koine) rather than of 1st sg.

appears 4 times rather than the rare Koine alternative ἤτω. The use of the Koine 1st sg. ἤμην in place of ἦν could be considered simple avoidance of Atticism. The use of ἦσθα could be considered moderately Attic-leaning and ἦμεν and ἔστω as mildly Attic-leaning.[540]

εἶμι: ("I go")

Achilles has 1 token of imperfect 1st pl. ᾖμεν against 5 tokens of the later thematic form -ῄειμεν. All of the latter are in compounds of εἶμι. It should be noted, however, that ᾖμεν is not the form found in the manuscripts of Achilles' text but is a conjecture based on sense. In addition, the manuscript tradition does not agree for 2 tokens of -ῄειμεν. One of these must be excluded for being highly problematic. There are, however, 3 tokens of the latter which are unanimously attested in all manuscripts. The evidence, such as it is, could be seen as strong (but not consistent) avoidance of Atticism.[541]

φημί: ("I say")

There are no relevant tokens of φημί in Achilles' text which might have taken a different form in the Koine or Attic.

οἶδα: ("I know")

Achilles has 14 tokens of this lemma in the perfect (=present) and 7 in the pluperfect (=imperfect) which have the potential for variation. In the perfect (=present), he has 7 tokens of non-Attic 2nd sg. οἶδας alongside 3 of Attic οἶσθα. This indicates mild avoidance of Atticism although it is inconsistent as 3 times he shows a strong Attic-leaning preference. In the 2nd pl. he has 1 token of Attic (συν)ίστέ (sic) (pointing to strong Attic-leaning) and in the 3rd pl. he has 1 token of non-Attic οἴδασι(ν) alongside 2

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[540] Manuscript variations for εἰμί: in all but 2 relevant cases for this verb, the manuscripts do not vary. For 1 token of ἦμεν, MS W has the Ionic spelling variant of the pres. 1st pl. εἶμεν and MS M the pres. 1st pl. of εἶμι "I go" ἴμεν. The remainder of manuscripts have ἦμεν and none have Koine ἤμεθα. For 1 token of ἔστω MS W has instead indicative ἐστί, still in the Attic form.

[541] Manuscript variations for εἶμι: For ᾖμεν, all manuscripts have instead impf. indic. 1st pl. of εἰμί "I am", ἦμεν. ᾖμεν is suggested by Herscher and adopted by Vilborg because of sense. It is part of a rather problematic passage (see Vilborg 1962: 104-105). For 3 tokens of ῄειμεν, the manuscripts are invariant but at 2.31.3, the form is uncertain as there are 4 different variations in the manuscripts built on different versions of πρόειμι and πρόσειμι (with either "I am" or "I go" meanings). Vilborg concludes that the form must be πρόειμι "I go into", but προῄειμεν appears in the margin of only 1 manuscript (Vilborg 1962: 59). This token must be taken to be too corrupt to be sure of Achilles' original form. At 5.17.10, the form is ἐπανῄειμεν in manuscript family β and pres. 1st pl. ἐπάνιμεν in family α.

tokens of Attic ἴσασι(ν). The latter was one of those Attic forms that was still often maintained in Koine texts. Achilles' choice of forms here is inconsistent, though he has a very slight preference for the moderately Attic-leaning form (with one instance of moderate avoidance of Atticism).[542]

In the pluperfect (=imperfect) he has 4 tokens of 1st sg. ᾔδειν (the form preferred by the Koine, though often found in Attic texts) and therefore mildly Koine-leaning.[543] He has 1 token of 1st pl. ᾔδειμεν (again the more properly Koine form, but already found sometimes in Attic texts) and therefore strongly Koine-leaning. Finally, he has 1 token of 3rd pl. ᾔδεσαν (a form used in Attic, as opposed to ᾔδεισαν, the Koine's preferred form) which may be seen as simple Atticism.[544] It seems that for οἶδα, Achilles often sided with the forms normally used in the Koine, but as a number of these are already found in Attic texts these suggest a range of mild to strong Koine-leaning preferences. Again, however, he is not entirely consistent and has some Attic-leaning alternatives such as ᾔδεσαν, a simple Atticist form.

15.4 Summary and Interim Conclusion

The table below summarises the examples found in Achilles' text.

Table 15-2 Significant Variations for Root -μι Verbs

Lemma	Inflection	Koine		Attic		PoU	Achilles' Use
εἰμί	*imperfect*						
	1st sg.	ἤμην	3	ἦν		X : Y	Simple Avoidance
	2nd sg.	ἦς		ἦσθα	1	X : XY	Mod Attic-leaning
	1st pl.	ἤμεθα		ἦμεν	8 (7)	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning
	imperative						
	1st sg.	ἤτω		ἔστω	4	X : Xy	Mild Attic-leaning

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[542] Manuscript variation for οἶδα: The only variation for the perfect (=present) forms is for 1 token of οἶδας at 3.22.6. It appears thus in all of manuscript family α and F, but has εἶδες (aorist of ὁράω) in the manuscripts of family β. All other tokens are invariant.

[543] An additional token of ᾔδειν appears in Vilborg's text but he indicates that this is an insertion as there seems to be a missing verb in this sentence. He is following Hercher's suggestion but there is no evidence for this form in the manuscripts. The other 4 tokens are unanimously attested.

[544] ᾔδειμεν appears as ᾔδει μὲν in MSS V and R of family β. ᾔδει (the pluperfect 3rd sg. of οἶδα) does not have any variants in Attic or the Koine. ᾔδεσαν is invariant in the manuscripts.

Lemma	Inflection	Koine		Attic		PoU	Achilles' Use
εἶμι	*imperfect*						
	1st pl.	ᾔειμεν	5 (4)	ᾖμεν	1 (0)	X : Xyz	Strong avoidance (partial)
οἶδα	*perfect (=present)*						
	2nd sg.	οἶδας	7 (6)	οἶσθα	3	X : xY	Mild avoidance (partial)
	2nd pl.	οἴδατε		ἴστε	1	X : xY	Strong Attic-leaning
	3rd pl.	οἴδασι(ν)	1	ἴσασι(ν)	2	X : XY	Mod Attic-leaning (partial)
	pluperfect (=impf)						
	1st sg.	ᾔδειν	4	ᾔδη		xY : Y	Mild Koine-leaning
	1st pl.	ᾔδειμεν	1	ᾖσμεν		Xy : Y	Strong Koine-leaning
	3rd pl.	ᾔδεισαν		ᾔδεσαν	1	X : Y	Simple Atticism

In conclusion, for root -μι verbs, Achilles shows mixed usage with forms of εἰμί "I am". He shows simple avoidance of Atticism for imperfect 1st sg. ἤμην (which was a common Koine practice to avoid ambiguity with the 3rd sg.). For other forms of εἰμί, he shows mild or moderate Attic-leaning preference.

For εἶμι "I go" and οἶδα, he generally has more Koine-leaning forms. For perfect (=present) 2nd sg. of οἶδα he similarly shows mild avoidance of Atticism, but this is not consistent and he does have 3 tokens of the strongly Attic-leaning alternative. He also has 1 strongly Attic-leaning token and 1 token of simple Atticism for other inflected forms of οἶδα.

16. Deponent Athematic Verbs

16.1 Relevance for Atticism

In addition to the so-called -μι verbs, there is also a group of deponent athematic verbs that only take forms in the middle and passive. They are all root verbs (in that they are built directly on a verb root rather than having a -νυ suffix or reduplicated root) but are not as common or irregular as the root verbs discussed above. As a result of their not having active forms, the citation form (and dictionary entries) for these lemmas are given in the present middle-passive indicative 1st person sg. in -μαι.

Verbs in this category which are found in Achilles' text are: δύναμαι, ἐπίσταμαι, κάθημαι (and compounds), κεῖμαι (and compounds), ἵπταμαι (and compounds), ἔραμαι and πρίαμαι. It has also been seen that the common passive form of the -νυμι verb κρεμάννυμι behaved like this group, taking the form κρέμαμαι throughout in Achilles' text.

Because shift from athematic to thematic forms happened more slowly for middle and passive inflections, these verbs are less relevant to Atticism than those with active forms. The Koine typically retained the athematic forms of these verbs with the following exceptions related to 2nd person singulars:

Koine texts often have thematic κάθῃ (rather than athematic κάθησαι) for the present indicative middle 2nd sg. of κάθημαι. The same applies to δύνῃ (rather than δύνασαι) for δύναμαι and ἐπίστῃ (for ἐπίσταμαι). For κάθημαι, a thematic form is also found for the present imperative 2nd sg. where κάθου appears for thematic κάθησο. The imperfect 2nd sg. is rare for κάθημαι, but for δύναμαι and ἐπίστημαι there is an unexpected reversal in which the athematic forms ἐδύνασο/ἠδύνασο and ἠπίστασο begin to replace older contracted ἐδύνω and ἠπίστω.

Having said this, there are actually no relevant tokens of these inflections in Achilles' text. The 2 tokens of δύνῃ in his work turn out to be regular subjunctives rather than indicatives and therefore are not relevant to the Atticist question. As a result, further discussion of this category is not necessary at this time, although these variations should be kept in mind for Atticist studies of other authors.

17. Other Morphological Variations: The Dual

There are a number of other morphological variations which one could consider with relation to Atticism. I discuss here just one, in brief, as it is a straightforward but important marker.

17.1 Description of the Variation

In addition to the regular singular and plural marker on nouns and verbs, Greek also made use of dual markers. These seem to have been optional from Homer onwards (they could always be substituted with a plural) and fell out of use in the spoken language quite early on. Already in Homer, the dual alternates with the plural, often for metrical reasons.[545] By the Classical Attic period, it was archaic and rare, but in the Koine it was obsolete. For this reason, Atticists often made use of it as an overt way of showing off their knowledge of older forms. Its use could be more accurately described as hyper-Atticism (following an xY: Y pattern of use), but it is an important marker to examine.

Reintroduction of the dual is frequently cited by modern authors as an easily identified Atticist marker. It is included in the lists given by Horrocks, Anderson and Kim.[546] The dual is completely lacking from the New Testament and Septuagint and almost never found in the papyri except for occasional relics.[547] Schmid discusses its use among his Atticists and specifically describes it as a form that was "artificially revived by the Atticists" (*er ist von den Atticisten künstlich wiederbelebt*).[548] Lucian parodies the use of the dual in *Pseudologista* (*Pseudol.* 29.20) where he accuses his critic of using the phrase τριῶν μηνοῖν ("three months"), putting the word for months in the dual. This was evidently intended to highlight the way uninformed Atticists misused certain Atticisms.

Moeris recommends use of the dual pronoun in place of its plural equivalent in his lexicon.

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[545] Wackernagel in Langslow 2009: 108-110
[546] Horrocks 2014: 138; Anderson 1993: 88-89; Kim 2014: 470
[547] Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961: 2, 36; Gignac 1981: 3
[548] Schmid 1887: 87

(v.2) νώ δυϊκῶς Ἀττικοί· ἡμεῖς Ἕλληνες.

The Attic speakers (say) *nō* in the dual; the Greeks *hēmeis*. [nom. dual/pl.]

(v.3) νῶν μὴ συνεκφωνουμένου τοῦ ι· ἡμῖν.

nōin [dat. dual] when it is not pronounced with *i*; [is equivalent to] *hēmin* [dat. pl.]

17.2 Use of the Dual in Achilles' Text

Achilles has 7 tokens of a dual noun, 1 of a dual verb and 19 of the dual adjective ἄμφω.[549] The nouns are almost all of natural pairs and include 3 examples of πούς "foot" (nom./acc. τὼ πόδε twice, gen./dat. τοῖν ποδοῖν once), 2 examples of χείρ "hand" (both nom./acc. τὼ χεῖρε), 1 example of ὀφθαλμός "eye" (nom./acc. τὼ ὀφθαλμώ) and 1 example of κάλως "rope" (nom./acc. τὼ κάλω). In contrast, for all these nouns, Achilles uses the plural elsewhere, even in places where the dual could have been used instead.[550] Achilles' use of the dual forms may be considered hyper-Atticism and of plurals for duals as mild Koine-leaning. Use of other plural forms is neutral.

Achilles has 19 cases of the dual adjective ἄμφω "both" (12 times as nom./acc. ἄμφω and 7 times as gen./dat. ἀμφοῖν). This adjective is intrinsically dual as a result of its meaning and so cannot take a singular or plural form. Achilles' use of it, then, is unsurprising because, unlike other dual forms, it persists well into the Koine period (and is found in texts thought of as non-Atticising like Galen and Epictetus). The lemma never appears in the New Testament or Septuagint, where ἀμφότεροι (in the plural) occurs instead. In the Roman papyri, it is occasionally found (usually in the genitive/dative dual ἀμφοῖν) but it is also frequently replaced with ἀμφότεροι.[551] The pattern of use may be described as X : XZ, where X is ἄμφω and Z is ἀμφότεροι. Use use of ἄμφω or ἀμφοῖν could be described as moderate Attic-leaning. As is common practice, Achilles often uses the dual ἄμφω with two-fold nouns or verbs in plural inflections.[552] An especially interesting case is at 1.1.12 αἱ χεῖρες ἄμφω ("both hands")

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[549] Vilborg 1962: 14; Santafé Soler 2005: 101

[550] Of course, some plural forms refer to more than two of something; for example, examples of πούς sometimes refers to the feet of (four-legged) animals. But Achilles has a significant number of instances where reference is to the two hands, feet or eyes of one person and the dual could easily have been substituted.

[551] Gignac 1981: 190

[552] Vilborg 1962: 14; Santafé Soler 2005: 101

where he uses it with the plural of the word "hands" despite using the dual for "hands" elsewhere in the text. Achilles also uses the alternate ἀμφότεροι (in the plural) on 14 occasions.

The table below shows the number of instances of all dual and plural tokens of the 4 relevant nouns and the adjective ἄμφω in Achilles' text.

Table 17-1 Dual vs. Plural tokens in Achilles' Text [553]

	Inflected Types	Dual	Pl. (2)	Pl. (3+)	Exp.
	PoU: xY: Y	hyper-Atticism	mild K-leaning	neutral	neutral
nom.	πόδε/πόδες		**2**	1	
acc.	πόδε/πόδας	**2**		3	5
gen.	ποδοῖν/ποδῶν			2	
dat.	ποδοῖν/ποσίν	**1**			1
nom.	χεῖρε/χεῖρες		**4**		
acc.	χεῖρε/χεῖρας	**2**	**9**	1	
gen.	χεροῖν/χειρῶν		**3**		
dat.	χεροῖν/χερσί(ν)		**2**	1	1
nom.	ὀφθαλμώ/ὀφθαλμοί		**4**	2	
acc.	ὀφθαλμώ/ὀφθαλμούς	**1**	**20**	4	
gen.	ὀφθαλμοῖν/ὀφθαλμῶν		**15**		
dat.	ὀφθαλμοῖν/ὀφθαλμοῖς		**12**		
nom.	κάλω/κάλῳ or κάλοι	**1 (0)**		2	
acc.	κάλω/κάλως or κάλους			1	
gen.	καλοῖν/κάλων			1	
	PoU: X : Xz	mild A-leaning	str. avoidance	n/a	n/a
n./a.	ἄμφω	**12**			
g./d.	ἀμφοῖν	**7**			
	ἀμφότεροι		**14**		
	Total	**25**	**85**	14	7

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[553] *Pl. (2)*: Tokens in the plural where only 2 instances of the noun are being referred to (i.e. only one person's feet, hands or eyes). *Pl. (3+)*: tokens where 3 or more instances are being referred to. *Exp.*: fixed expression/metaphor e.g. κατὰ πόδας "on the heels"; ἐν ποσίν "everyday matters"; ἐν χερσίν "at hand, imminent". As fossilised formulations, these are unlikely to be written with a dual, even if a dual subject could be implied.

The 1 token of a dual verb which occurs in Achilles' text is the present indicative active 3rd person dual form ἐρίζετον "they (two) compete". It refers to the rivalry between land and river during the flooding of the Nile:

17.2 Achilles Tatius (4.12.3.)

ἔστι δὲ ἰδεῖν ποταμοῦ καὶ γῆς φιλονεικίαν. ἐρίζετον ἀλλήλοις ἑκάτερος, τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ τοσαύτην γῆν πελαγῶσαι, ἡ δὲ γῆ τοσαύτην χωρῆσαι γλυκεῖαν θάλασσαν.

One can see the rivalry of the river and the land. They each compete with the other, the water to flood so much land, the land to progress over such a sweet ocean.

The use of the dual here makes sense as it speaks of the stark rivalry between two parties. And yet it is noticeable that nowhere else in this passage or in other comparative/parallel structures of this kind do we find a dual verb used. The verb ἐρίζω appears 6 more times in the text, once as a participle, once as a plural indicative and 4 times in the singular indicative. The instance of the plural indicative is motivated by the fact that the subject in that sentence is clearly plural and not dual: ἤριζον δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ λίθοι. "The stones (on the necklace) compete with one another" (A.T. 2.11.2). The use of the singular also makes sense in most cases where he uses it.

The semantics of the verb "compete" mean that, in many cases, the same proposition could be expressed using either the singular (*x* competes with *y*) or the dual (*x* and *y* compete with each other). For most of Achilles singular cases, he could have restructured the phrase with a dual had he so desired but his selection of the singular does normally make sense, especially since the one competitor is being elevated over the other: (1.19.1 "the beauty of her body competed with the flowers of the meadow", 2.15.2. "the smell of the flowers competed with the scent of the perfumes" and 2.8.3 "nothing competes with the pleasure of love's kiss"). But Achilles does have one instance of the singular which very closely resembles the instance where he used the dual, and yet this time he makes use of the singular. This passage also speaks of a competition between land and water, although with reference to the island of Tyre, rather than the flood plains of Egypt:

17.3   Achilles Tatius (2.14.2)

ἐρίζει δὲ περὶ ταύτης γῆ καὶ θάλασσα.

Land and sea compete for her (the island of Tyre)

The use of the singular here is especially surprising since the subject is actually dual/plural (γῆ and θάλασσα are both nominative and feminine, not neuter). It is not clear why Achilles avoids the dual in this case and uses it in the other. Both tokens are invariant in the manuscripts suggesting the use of the singular in one case and dual in the other go back to the archetype if not to Achilles' original.

The table below summarises all indicatives tokens of the verb ἐρίζω. All tokens are in the active 3rd person present or imperfect.

Table 17-2 Tokens of ἐρίζω in Achilles' text [554]

	Inflected types	**Sg. (2)**	**Dual**	**Pl. (2)**	**Pl. (3+)**
Pres.	ἐρίζει/ἐρίζετον/ἐρίζουσι(ν)	2	1		
Impf.	ἤριζεν/ἤριζετον/ἤριζον	2			1
	Total	**4**	**1**		**1**

In sum, Achilles' text makes use of the typical Atticist practice of reintroducing the archaic dual form. He uses it occasionally and inconsistently (as is the case with all other Atticisms which he practices). Though small in number, there are enough examples to suggest that at least some of them are original, especially as there is almost no variation in the manuscript tradition.[555] Most of his dual forms are nouns that occur as natural pairs, but he has these same lemmas in the plural elsewhere in the text. He has one instance of a dual verb, but fails to use the same verb in the dual elsewhere, even in very similar constructions. He makes use of the dual adjective ἄμφω, which in itself is not surprising for Koine texts. But it is notable that on one occasion where he could

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[554] *Sg. (2)*: The verb is in the sg. but the sentence could have been restructured with a dual (of the sort "x and y compete with each other" rather than "x competes with y").

Pl. (2): The verb is in the plural but subject is dual (consists of two nouns or a dual noun that could have taken a dual verb). Note that there are actually no examples of this.

Pl. (3+): The verb is in the plural and the subject is clearly plural, consisting of 3 or more nouns or a noun in 3 or more instances.

[555] The only exception is for the nominative dual of κάλως: κάλω, which appears as nominative plural, κάλοι, in family α of the manuscripts.

have used it along with the dual noun χεῖρε (a natural pair, which he has in the dual elsewhere), he uses instead the plural form of the noun. His use of the dual, therefore, is notable but irregular. He shows, then, a few cases of hyper-Atticism or mild-Attic leaning, but for the most part shows a mildly Koine-leaning preference with regards to the choice between dual and plural word-forms.

SECTION D: LEXICAL ATTICISM

18. Lexical Atticism

18.1 Lexical Choice and Atticism

An analysis of Atticism in a particular author would not be complete without consideration of the vocabulary (lexical items) which the author chooses to use. George Thomas, in his working definition of the concept of linguistic purism points out that "[purism] may be directed at all linguistic levels but primarily the lexicon".[556] Similarly, in Kim's list of "peculiarities of the Attic dialect that had largely been lost in the popular language", he ends with "[t]he most striking contrast between Atticist and colloquial language, however, is in vocabulary."[557]

The importance of vocabulary to Atticism is evident from the existence of Atticist Lexicons (even if these also dealt with phonetic and grammatical variations as well), and is also emphasised by Lucian in *Rhetorum Praeceptor* (*Professor of Public Speaking*) where he provides satirical suggestions of the laziest way a sophist could go about making his speeches seem impressive.

18.1 Lucian *Rh. Pr.* (16.7-17.4)

> ἔπειτα πεντεκαίδεκα ἢ οὐ πλείω γε τῶν εἴκοσιν Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα ἐκλέξας ποθὲν ἀκριβῶς ἐκμελετήσας, πρόχειρα ἐπ' ἄκρας τῆς γλώττης ἔχε… καὶ ἐν ἅπαντι λόγῳ καθάπερ τι ἥδυσμα ἐπίπαττε αὐτῶν. μελέτω δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ ἀνόμοια τούτοις καὶ ἀσύμφυλα καὶ ἀπῳδά… μέτει δὲ ἀπόρρητα καὶ ξένα ῥήματα, σπανιάκις ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι εἰρημένα, καὶ ταῦτα συμφορήσας ἀποτόξευε προχειριζόμενος εἰς τοὺς προσομιλοῦντας.

> Then cull from some source or other fifteen, or anyhow not more than twenty, Attic words, drill yourself carefully in them, and have them ready at the tip of your tongue… and whenever you speak, sprinkle some in as a relish. Never mind if the rest is inconsistent with them, unrelated and discordant… Hunt up obscure, unfamiliar words, rarely used by the ancients, and have a heap of these in readiness to launch at your audience. [tr. Harmon 1925]

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[556] Thomas 1991: 12; emphasis mine
[557] Kim 2014: 470; emphasis mine

It seems from this that some Atticists believed that one of the best ways to make a speech seem more Atticist was to simply draw on archaic Attic vocabulary, often without properly understanding the context in which the words were normally used. They would also draw on extremely rare words which were never truly in current use in Attic, but the Atticists felt that the rarity of the words would impress the audience. The implication is that a well-educated speaker/writer would not fall into this trap but would be more subtle and accurate in their usage of archaic vocabulary. The Atticist lexicons may, in part, have been designed to help people know the right way of using Attic vocabulary and the discrepancies regarding what was or was not acceptable. The fact that different rules were followed by the Antiatticist, in contrast to strict Atticists like Moeris, Phrynichus and Pollux, highlights that this was not an exact science.

While clearly one of the more important aspects of Atticism, lexical Atticism is also one of the most difficult to measure. As Thomas pointed out, any statistical analysis of linguistic purism "ignores the fact that in a linguistic system some features are central and others peripheral" and such analyses do not account for the fact that language is "an open system", which does not at any point have a fixed set of "pure" and "impure" markers.[558]

18.2 Lexical Atticism in Earlier Scholarship

Schmid addressed the issue of lexical Atticism by creating lists of lexical items found in each of his authors. For Dio Chrysostom, he groups words according to the following categories and subcategories.

(a) Words and phrases that are generally Attic or occur in several Attic writers. (Sub-categories: in Plato; Xenophon; Demosthenes; Thucydides; Herodotus; other Attic orators)

(b) Words which do not belong to Attic prose. (Sub-categories: found in the poets; post-Classical prose usage; terms used first or exclusively by Dio Chrysostom) [559]

For the authors which he examines in more thorough detail (Lucian, Aelian, Aristides and Philostratus II), Schmid generally has the following categories and subcategories:

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[558] Thomas 1991: 162-163
[559] Schmid 1887: 103ff; 148ff.

(a) Words and phrases that are generally Attic or occur in several Attic writers

(b) Terms from individual early writers (i.e. before Aristotle). (sub-categories: from Plato; Xenophon; Herodotus and other Ionic writers (except Hippocrates); Hippocrates; Thucydides; each of the ten Attic orators; and a selection of expressions/phrases)

(c) Poetic Terms. (sub-categories: words from comedy; other poets)

(d) Terms used by later writers (incl. Aristotle, Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, Theophrastus, the New Testament and the Septuagint)

(e) Terms used first or exclusively by the author in question

(f) Terms used by other authors which the author in question uses with a new meaning or construction [560]

Sexauer, in his analysis of Achilles Tatius' language, lists words from Achilles' text under a similar group of headings:

1. Words which are only used by individual writers in the Classical period. (Sub-categories: by Plato; Xenophon; Herodotus; Thucydides; the orators)

2. Poetic terms

3. Terms used by later writers

4. a. Words used by Achilles Tatius with a new meaning or construction

   b. Words only or first used by Achilles Tatius [561]

18.3 A New Methodology

A thorough analysis of Achilles' lexical choices would require more detailed examination than is possible in this thesis. Because of space and analysis limits, and because repeating (and updating) Sexauer's lists would not add to the discussion in any meaningful way, I will approach Achilles' lexical choices from a different angle. My method will not consider all lexical items used by Achilles Tatius (all 4 400 lemmas),[562] but will focus on a (somewhat random) selection of examples. This will not result in a properly scientific analysis of his choices, but it will provide a window into his

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[560] Schmid 1887: 250, 299, 313, 352, 379, 390; Schmid 1889: 70, 171, 187, 213, 225; Schmid 1893: 97, 162, 178, 228, 259; Schmid 1896: 118, 247, 266, 338, 381, 389

[561] Sexauer 1899: 42-66

[562] TLG *Statistics Tool*

selections and give some insight into how Atticist he may have been perceived to be in his day.

I have selected from Moeris' lexicon most of the words for which he gives two (broadly) synonymous alternative lemmas. For each entry, he considers the one lemma to be the appropriate term used by Attic authors and the other to be the common contemporary Hellenistic (or Koine) alternative, which Atticists ought to avoid. For example:

18.2 Moeris *Atticista*

(γ.15) γόης Ἀττικοί· κόλαξ ἑλληνικὸν καὶ κοινόν.

The Attic speakers (say) *goēs*; the Greeks and Koine speakers (say) *kolax* [for a "deceiving sorcerer"].

(τ.15) τωθάζειν Ἀττικοί· σκώπτειν Ἕλληνες.

The Attic speakers (say) *tōthazein*; the Greeks (say) *skōpein* [for "to joke; to scoff at"].

While Moeris often gives the samples of the lemmas of interest in a standardised form (e.g. nominative singular for nouns and present infinitive active for verbs), he does not do this consistently (e.g. sometimes he uses accusative for nouns or participle forms for verbal lemmas). The words in Achilles' text, of course, take whatever inflected form is necessary in the context in which it is being used. To find which of Moeris' recommendations Achilles makes use of, it is necessary, then, to compare lists of lemmas (i.e. words in their dictionary entry form) between the two authors. Using the TLG's *Vocab Tools,* I copied the list of all lemmas found in Moeris into an MS Excel spreadsheet document alongside a similar list of all lemmas found in Achilles Tatius. Using Microsoft Excel's tools and functions, I established a list of lemmas for which Moeris makes recommendations that also appear in Achilles' text.[563] Then I consulted the entries as they appeared in Moeris and created tables containing the two alternative forms he gives for each entry. I made note of which of the lemmas found in Achilles

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[563] In order to limit my search to entries where Moeris is dealing with lexical (and not phonetic or grammatical) alternatives, I searched in Achilles' list for lemmas that only have a single token in Moeris' text. (Grammatical and phonetic entries would normally have a minimum of two tokens). This method necessarily means that my list does not contain all Moeris' lexical recommendations, but it gives a manageable and random set of examples to examine. His lexicon is not exhaustive in any case.

were considered Attic forms by Moeris and which Hellenistic. In a number of cases, Achilles makes use of both alternative words.

Using O'Sullivan's lexicon of Achilles' text, I checked whether Achilles had actually used these all these lemmas (as the TLG's *Vocab Lists* are automated and cannot differentiate between, for example, a noun and a verb which might have some identical inflected tokens).[564] I also used O'Sullivan's definitions along with (TLG's online) LSJ, to confirm that Achilles did use these lemmas in the sense in which Moeris was thinking of. I had to eliminate a number of lemmas from the list, and some tokens of individual lemmas.[565]

18.4 Lexical Atticisms in Achilles Tatius According to Moeris

The tables below summarise the findings of my research. The first table lists all the entries for which Achilles uses the Attic lemma according to Moeris, the second gives those for which he uses the non-Attic alternative and the third gives entries for which he uses both alternatives at different times. The fourth table is a summary of the statistics from the first three.

Table 18-1 Attic Lemmas in Achilles' Text [566]

POS	Attic Lemma	T.	Hellenistic Lemma	T.	English	Moeris
N	ἀνθοσμίας, ὁ	1	εὔπνοια, ἡ		(wine) with a fine bouquet	(α.141)
N	βόθρος, ὁ	1	βόθυνος, ὁ		pit	(β.32)
N	γόης, ὁ	2	κόλαξ, ὁ		deceiving sorcerer	(γ.15)
N	ὀπή, ἡ	3	τρύπημα, τό		opening/hole	(ο.44)
N	ὅρμος, ὁ	2	περιτραχήλιον, τό		necklace	(ο.42)

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[564] For example, the verb πορφυρέω appears in the automated TLG *Lemmata Lists* of both Achilles' Tatius and Moeris, but the supposed instances of the verb in both texts are actually of the adjective πορφυροῦς

[565] As an example of the former, Achilles has the word ταινία meaning "fillet" or "headband" but Moeris contrasts it with στηθοδεσμίς, meaning "breastband" or "waistband" which is another meaning of ταινία (Moer τ.1). Moeris' entry, therefore, is not relevant to Achilles' usage in this case. As an example of the latter, Achilles uses the lemma εὐφημέω (which Moeris contrasts with σιγάω) 5 times in his text. In only 1 token, however, does Achilles use it to mean "keep silent" rather than its more precise meaning "pray words of good omen". Since Moeris has contrasted the word with σιγάω "keep silent", only that 1 token is relevant and the remainder must be excluded.

[566] *POS*: the part of speech of the lemma in question (<u>n</u>oun, <u>a</u>djective, <u>v</u>erb, <u>adv</u>erb). *T*: the number of tokens of the lemma in Achilles' text. *English translations*: taken largely from O'Sullivan's lexicon (sometimes supplemented by LSJ definitions). *Moeris*: the reference to these lemmas in Moeris' text.

POS	Attic Lemma	T.	Hellenistic Lemma	T.	English	Moeris
N	περιδέραιον, τό	1	περιτραχήλιον, τό		necklace	(π.75)
N	οὖς, τό	13	ὠτίον, τό		ear	(ο.40)
N	ὄψον, τό	2	προσφάγημα, τό		food	(ο.5)
N	παρακαταθήκη, ἡ	1	παραθήκη, ἡ		entrusted to one's care	(π.41)
N	φλήναφος, ὁ	1	μωρολόγος, ὁ		idle talk/nonsense	(φ.9)
N	χλαῖνα, ἡ	2	ἱμάτιον χειμερινόν		robe	(χ.19)
V	ἀνακράζω	7	ἀναφωνέω		cry out (in grief, pain)	(α.131)
V	βδελύττομαι	1	σικχαίνω		loathe	(β.38)
V	δειδίττομαι	1	ἐκφοβέω		frighten/alarm	(δ.7)
V	ῥαΐζω	1	ὑγιαίνω		recover	(ρ.1)
V	φιλοσοφέω	3	ἐγκαρτερέω		restrain oneself, practice self-control	(φ.2)
V	ἄπειμι (from εἶμι)	19	ἀπελεύσεται		future of ἀπέρχομαι: go away from, depart	(α.29)
V	κύω	1	κατὰ γαστρὸς ἔχω		be pregnant with	(κ.30)
Adv.	νέωτα	1	τὸ μέλλον ἔτος		next year	(ν.8)
	TOTAL **19**	**63**				

Table 18-2 Hellenistic (Non-Attic) Lemmas in Achilles' Text

POS	Attic Lemma	T.	Hellenistic Lemma	T.	English	Moeris
N	ὀλέκρανον, τό		ἀγκών, ὁ	2	elbow	(ο.20)
N	χαμαιτύπη, ἡ		πόρνη, ἡ	4	prostitute	(χ.33)
N	σπάδων, ὁ		εὐνοῦχος ὁ	3	eunuch	(σ.18)
N	χολή, ἡ		μανία, ἡ	2	frenzy of anger	(χ.14)
N	ζήλωσις, ἡ		μίμησις, ἡ	1	imitating/imitation	(ζ.4)
N	ὄϊς, ὁ, ἡ		πρόβατον, τό	1	sheep	(ο.6)
N	χλιδή, -ῆς, ἡ		τρυφή, -ῆς, ἡ	5	luxury, wantonness, a source of pride	(χ.17)
N	διήρες, τό		ὑπερῷον, τό	1	the upper part of the house	(δ.40)
A	φροῦδος, -η, -ον		ἀφανής, -ές	11	missing, invisible, covert	(φ.6)
A	στέριφος, -η, -ον		στερρός, -ά, -όν	2	solid/strong, firm	(σ.46)
V	ὀρρωδέω		ἀθυμέω	2	be disheartened	(ο.35)
V	ἐλινύω		ἀναπαύω	4	rest, bring rest to	(ε.61)
V	ἀνιμάω		ἀνέλκω	3	draw up, kept drawn up/held up	(α.140)
V	διαφυγγάνω		διαφεύγω	1	escape	(δ.18)
V	βαυκαλάω		κατακοιμίζω	2	put to sleep	(β.26)
V	τωθάζω		σκώπτω	2	joke at/scoff at	(τ.15)
V	αὐτοσχεδιάζω		σχεδιάζω	1	improvise	(α.95)
V	θράττω		ταράσσω	11	disturb/throw into disorder, startled	(θ.14)
V	μεριμνάω		φροντίζω	6	take thought, give heed to, worry about, take care	(μ.31)

POS	Attic Lemma	T.	Hellenistic Lemma	T.	English	Moeris
Adv.	ἀτεχνῶς		ἁπλῶς	1	simply, straightforwardly	(α.94)
Adv.	κατόπιν		ὄπισθεν	5	behind/at the back	(κ.62)
Adv.	(ἑκάστοτε) (διαπαντός)		πάντοτε	1	always (Phryn. *Ec.* 74.1)	(π.57)
	TOTAL		**22**	**71**		

Table 18-3 Entries Where Achilles uses Both Lemmas at Different Points in his Text

POS	Attic Lemma	T.	Hellenistic Lemma	T.	English	Moeris
N	ἀγώγιμος, τό φόρτος, ὁ	1 2	φορτίον, -ου, τό	1	cargo	(α.108)
N	φονεύς, ὁ	10	ἀνδροφόνος, ὁ	5	murderer	(φ.37)
N	ὀιστός, ὁ	2	βέλος, τό	21	missile/dart/arrow	(ο.7)
N	ἱερεῖον, τό	6	θῦμα, τό	2	victim/offering i.e. sacrifice	(ι.5)
N	κεραία, ἡ	5	κέρας, τό	2	yard-arm, sail-yard	(κ.12)
N	νήχομαι	3	κολυμβάω	1	swim	(ν.5)
A	ἄθλιος, -α, -ον	10	ἀτυχής, -ές	2	unfortunate (person or thing)	(α.96)
A	ἁλουργής, -ές	1	πορφύρους, -α, -ουν	3	purple or dark red	(α.116)
A	θαυμάσιος, -α, -ον	1	θαυμαστός, -ή, -όν	3	wonderful/marvellous	(θ.16)
V	ζωπυρέω	1	ἐξάπτω	3	kindle, inflame	(ζ.7)
V	εὐφημέω	1	σιγάω	5	be silent, keep silent	(ε.58)
V	καθέζομαι	3	καθίζω	3	be seated, sit down	(κ.16)
V	τύπτω	11	παίω	9	strike/beat	(τ.30)
V	ἐμπολάω	1	ὀνίνημι	1	profit from	(ε.52)
	15	**58**	**14**	**62**		

Table 18-4 Summary of Attic and Hellenistic Lemmas in Achilles' Text

	Lemmas	%	Tokens	%
Attic only	19	35	63	25
Hellenistic only	22	40	71	28
Both	14 (x 2)	25	120	47
Attic			58	48
Hellenistic			62	52
Attic total	33	60	121	48
Hellenistic total	36	65	133	52
Grand total	**55**		**254**	

If Moeris were to assess the Atticist nature of Achilles' text based on his lexical choices of this group of words, he would conclude the following: Of the lemmas where Achilles consistently uses only the Attic or only the non-Attic alternative, Achilles has slightly more non-Attic words (40% compared to 35% of all the lemmas in this list). The results are similar if one counts the individual tokens of each lemma, although here the difference between the total number of Attic and non-Attic tokens is even slighter (28% compared to 25% of all tokens from the list). For a quarter of the entries I have examined, Achilles uses both the Attic and non-Attic lemma (from Moeris' lexicon) on different occasions. Again the distribution is very even: 52% of the tokens are of the non-Attic alternative and 48% the Attic.

If one looks at the total number of Attic tokens used by Achilles compared to the total number of non-Attic, the ratio is again 48% to 52%. According to Moeris, then, while Achilles shows a slight preference for the non-Attic alternatives in this list of vocabulary items, his usage is very mixed, using Attic forms just less than half the time and non-Attic just over half.

This finding is in line with the observations regarding Achilles' phonetic and morphological choices where he is able to and often does Atticise, but does not do so all the time. Because I have looked at only a selection of lexical items from Achilles text, and have compared them only to Moeris' examples, this must be treated as a preliminary result regarding Achilles' lexical choice and further examination as part of a more detailed study would be needed to make stronger claims about his word use.

Although these results give only a snapshot of Achilles' lexical choices, they are useful as an initial indicator of his decisions. For now, I can conclude that (from Moeris' point of view) there is some evidence of Achilles using what were considered specifically Atticist lemmas in his text. Lucian (although he was being facetious) suggested that only 15-20 Atticist words were sufficient for an Atticising sophist. His "recommendation" seems to suggest that just a handful were necessary in order to be noticed. In this list, I have already identified 19 Attic lemmas and 14 examples where he sometimes uses the Attic alternative. Although Achilles uses more non-Attic lemmas and tokens based on this selection, he has enough Attic examples to point to an attempt at Atticism when it comes to vocabulary.

SECTION E: GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

19. Summary of Findings

19.1 General Summary

The picture which emerges from my study is that, as a writer during the Second Sophistic, Achilles was familiar with Atticist forms and implemented (linguistic) Atticist features to a small degree in his novel. He was not an extreme Atticist and seldom made use of hyper-Atticist features, although there are a few examples. At the same time, there is little evidence of a progressive/modernising nature to his language, which shies away from Attic forms and consciously choses clear non-Attic, or Koine-specific formations. His usage is moderate and mixed. Even for individual markers on individual words, he does not seem to have applied a consistent degree of Atticism or non-Atticism throughout his work.

With respect to phonology, I found that Achilles seemed to be more interested in Atticist or Attic-leaning variants for the well-known -ττ-/-σσ- and -ρρ-/-ρσ- markers. For other minor consonantal variations as well as the -αι/-α- marker, he tended to prefer maintaining Koine-leaning forms. It is especially interesting that he preferred the non-Attic γιν- over γιγν- spellings. In this period, the two forms probably had little, if any audible phonetic difference, but any student of literature must have been aware of the spelling differences.[567] It is notable that in the cases where Achilles practices simple Atticism (i.e. for the -ττ-/-σσ- marker), he is normally inconsistent. It is unlikely that he simply "forgot" to Atticise in some places since (even with manuscript variations omitted) he fails to Atticise a full 70 (out of 171) invariant tokens. For the cases in which he employs simple avoidance of an Atticist form, however, (i.e. the γιγν-/γιν-marker) he is almost entirely consistent (the two potential exceptions are not unanimously attested in the manuscripts).

With respect to the morphological markers, Achilles' use is much more erratic. The inconsistency regarding the two nominal markers which I examined (contract and Attic declension nouns and adjectives) may be partly attributable to the complexity of these categories. Each lemma in these groups had a different and often complex history and

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[567] On the pronunciation of -γν-, see Threatte 1980: 562, Gignac 1976: 176 and Allen 1987: 35-39.

pattern of use in Attic and Koine texts, and so treating them as a whole is difficult. The general picture which emerges, however, points to an Attic-leaning trend. For 2nd declension contract nouns, Achilles uses contracted forms far more than uncontracted. He also seems to show a slight preference for Attic declension forms over their alternatives, but manuscript variation is substantial for some of these lemmas and others have very few tokens in the text. Regarding the contract nouns, it is perhaps significant that he largely avoids the newly developed (what could be called "Koine-specific") heteroclitic forms of νόος et. al. With regards to the Attic declension, he shows simple Atticism for probably the most famous of the Attic declension nouns (νέως "temple"), but only uses this form two thirds of the time. Like his inconsistency with -ττ-/-σσ- words, it is almost as though he wants to show his ability to Atticise without applying it throughout.

For the verbal morphology I considered (that of athematic verbs), Achilles' usage is also very mixed. Again, this group of words is complex, especially as different types of inflected forms behaved differently in the Koine and thematicisation occurred at different speeds for these different inflections. The general picture I established suggests a very slight Attic-leaning preference, especially for present (and imperfect) forms. This may point to a tendency to avoid thematicisation (to resist the Koine trend of making athematic forms thematic) rather than a tendency towards Atticism (consciously adopting the practice of returning to the use of athematic forms). But it does fall in line with my general findings that Achilles' language sides slightly more with Attic norms compared with the contemporary Koine.

With respect to the dual forms, Achilles shows some attempts at using (unusually) hyper-Atticist dual nouns, almost only for natural pairs (the exception, κάλω, varies in the manuscripts). He also has a single dual verb form. Here again he seems to be showing off his knowledge of these specific forms and that he has the ability to use them, but he limits his use, using the (mildly Koine-leaning) plural alternatives far more often.

For the lexical items which I examined, he uses a similar number of Attic and non-Attic forms according to Moeris' lexicon. Here, in fact, the number of Attic forms could be considered quite high, but a more thorough analysis of the pattern of use of the

individual lemmas (and a better controlled study of his vocabulary choice compared to both Attic and contemporary authors) would need to be conducted before any real claims about his lexical choices could be made.

19.2 Discussion of Findings

In the literature review chapter, I noted that one of my reasons for considering the Atticist nature of Achilles' language was statements of the sort in Horrocks (that Achilles Tatius is one of the "well known practitioners of 'puristic' Attic revivalism") and in Silk (that the phenomenon of Atticism is "represented at its best by…the innovative narrative of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus among others").[568] It was also seen, however, that as far back as the 11th century, scholars like Michael Psellus (*On Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* 74-77) said of Achilles that he "forgets the correct method", "gives the impression of inexpert use of language" and "shoots far wide of the mark of Attic correctness" (tr. Dyck). Sexauer, in the earliest linguistic assessment of Achilles' language, notes that while Achilles "tries to write correct Attic" he mixes a significant "Attic word-stock" with a "long series of later expressions."[569] Both Vilborg and Soler say much the same; that Achilles tried to write in correct Attic, but cannot be considered a strict Atticist as he often lapsed into late forms. They both suggest, however, that the substantial number of non-Attic forms are "too many to be considered occasional lapses".[570]

While my findings contradict the broad impression created by Horrocks and Silk that Achilles is a prime example of puristic Atticism, they are in line with the more detailed assessment of other writers and give precise measurements of both his attempts to "write correct Attic in principle" and of his concurrent use of later forms. This unpredictable practice applies not only to different markers (in that there are some markers for which he uses Atticist forms and others for which he does not) but is found even within an individual marker, even for an individual lemma.

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[568] Horrocks 2014 137; Silk 2009: 22
[569] Sexauer 1899: 76-77
[570] Vilborg 1962: 12-13; Santafé Soler 2005: 259

20. Explanations for Achilles' Inconsistency

The question, then, which seems to have already been implied in Michael Psellus' comments, is whether the inconsistent application of Atticist forms in Achilles' text is a marker of incompetence or genius. While Psellus describes him as "a man suffering from gout…making inexpert use of language," Morales argues that his "inconsistency should be seen as part of a deliberate eclecticism".[571]

With regards to the features that I have looked at, there are three possible sets of explanations for the inconsistency observed. Alongside the extremes which would place Achilles as either a bad writer who did not know how to Atticise properly or as an expert writer with deliberate motives for his choices, is the possibility that some external and rational set of circumstances (epiphenomena) drove the apparent inconsistency. It is not possible for me to examine all potential explanations for his variability (or any in great detail) at this point, but I will present and consider some of the more interesting ones.

20.1 Incompetence

20.1.1 General Inaptitude and Forgetfulness

Achilles' novel has long been identified as somehow different from the others, and discussions abound on whether it should be seen as parody, (new) comedy, or something more nuanced.[572] Modern scholarship has also noted certain apparent failings of Achilles' narrative structure. The most obvious of these is his failure to return to the original narrative frame at the end of the novel. Much debate has ensued over whether it was simple carelessness and forgetfulness on his part, whether the final section of the story was lost or whether Achilles had some more deliberate reason for the omission.[573]

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[571] Michael Psellus (*On Hld. and A.T.* 74-77); Morales 2001: xxii

[572] See, among others, Rattenbury 1933; Durham 1938; Reardon 1999; Chew 2000

[573] For a survey of different discussions, see Repath 2005. For a later discussion see De Temmerman 2009. The current consensus seems to be that Achilles had no need to return to the opening frame of the story and that, as Reardon 1999:249-250 says, it "would detract from the ending of the real story, thus creating worse problems than it solved".

Another fault from a modern point-of-view is discussed in detail by Reardon; how he inconsistently applies the ego-narrative method of story-telling.[574] While at the start of Clitophon's narrative, he tells the story as Clitophon would have experienced events (ignorant of anything outside of his immediate experience), as the story progresses, Achilles sometimes lets Clitophon express subsequent knowledge of events which he could only have learned at a later stage, before returning to a stricter ego-narrative. By the end, Clitophon almost becomes an "omniscient narrator", relating thoughts of other characters that he could never have known. While Reardon does not criticise this shifting application of narrative style in the book, he does recognise the problem of it. He says "Achilles is fighting a losing battle…he has set himself a task that is difficult enough…and by the final movement he cannot credibly maintain the fiction of a water-tight ego-narrative".[575]

These observations (the inconsistency of narrative frame and of narrative method) could point to Achilles being a poorly skilled writer which could in turn account for his inconsistent application of Atticist forms. If Psellus' description of him as a man who "straightaway forgets the correct method and sticks to his usual habits" and "shoot[s] far wide of the mark of Attic correctness" is a fair one, it gives the impression of a man who knew a handful of important Atticist markers and employed them when he thought about it, but did not bother to do so the remainder of the time.[576] There were almost certainly sophists known to Lucian who showed this level of incompetence, as evidenced by his "recommendation" in *Rhetorum Praeceptor* that all one needs to do to come across as learned is to memorise a handful of Attic words and sprinkle them in your speech, disregarding whether or not they are consistent with your language in general (*Rh. Pr.* 16.7-17.4).

While it is plausible that Achilles was either careless or incompetent, there are a few pieces of evidence that suggest that this is not the case. Firstly, Achilles' novel held enough prestige by both contemporaries and later readers for it to survive as a

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[574] Reardon 1999

[575] Reardon 1999: 249

[576] It is also possible, though I do not have space to investigate this here, that Achilles' apparent incompetence may be an indicator of a complex linguistic background. If Achilles was Alexandrian, as is often thought, he might have been bi/multilingual and this may have affected his ability to use Attic Greek well or consistently. See Hilton 2009: 102-103 on questions of Achilles' linguistic repertoire.

substantial number of papyrus fragments and a significant number of complete medieval manuscripts. As only five novels from the period have survived thus intact, this is problematic for the idea of Achilles as a poorly skilled writer. In addition, despite the apparent short-fallings in narrative frame and method, modern scholarship recognises the great skill and complexity of his work as a whole. Achilles' text, description and characterisation is described as "sophisticated", his rhetorical skill is generally recognised and lauded (it is often described as one of the "sophistic novels" along with the works of Heliodorus' and Longus') and allusions to both Classical tragedy and platonic philosophy are noted.[577]

In addition, an analysis of how and when Achilles does or does not Atticise reveals problems with the explanation of incompetence. There are a number of passages where one finds an Atticised form and a non-Attic variation in very close proximity. This is nowhere more remarkable than in the very first sentence:

> (A.T. 1.1.1) Σιδὼν ἐπὶ <u>θαλάττῃ</u> πόλις· Συρίων ἡ <u>θάλασσα</u>·

Both tokens of θάλασσα are invariant in the manuscripts and it is hard to imagine that an author of a text so sophisticated elsewhere might be so incompetent as to forget that he had Atticised θαλάττῃ two words previously. There are 5 more occasions in which Achilles has the two different spellings of θάλασσα within 15 words of each other (1.1.2; 1.1.2-3; 1.1.8; 3.7.6 and 3.23.3-4). I noted a similar situation regarding the Attic versus non-Attic declension variations of the word ταώς (*peacock*).

> (A.T. 3.25.1) "Φοῖνιξ μὲν ὁ ὄρνις ὄνομα, τὸ δὲ γένος Αἰθίοψ, μέγεθος κατὰ <u>ταῶνα</u> [3rd decl. acc.]· τῇ χροιᾷ <u>ταὼς</u> [Attic decl. nom.] ἐν κάλλει δεύτερος."

The same thing happens on the one other occasion in which ταῶνα occurs, where it is followed by Attic declension (acc./gen.) ταὼ in the following clause (1.16.3). Finally, I noted countless cases where dual nouns are not accompanied by dual verbs, although this inconsistency already occurs in Homer.

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[577] On sophisticated nature of the text, see Bartsch 1989: 3-7; Reardon 1999: 243-244, 257-258; Morales 2001: vii-xxxii; and Marinčič 2007: 181-189. On his use of rhetoric, see Bartsch 1989 and Morales 2000. On tragedy, see Liapis 2006. On philosophical allusions, see Bychkov 1999; Marinčič 2007: 172-174 and Dressler 2011.

The general sophistication of Achilles' work and these examples seem to suggest that something other than incompetence must explain the variations found in Achilles' application of Atticist forms.

## 20.1.2 Temporal Variation/Fatigue

While Achilles' inconsistency might not be the result of simple inaptitude, effects of fatigue or changes in his mind-set while drafting different sections of his work could potentially account for the variations found. If this were the case, however, it could be measured, as certain portions of the work might show higher levels of Atticist activity than others. The examples just given of Attic and non-Attic variations in close proximity suggest that this is not the case, but it is possible that these are anomalies.

What is more significant, is that many of these examples occur in the first book, even the first chapter. While fatigue might cause an author to be forgetful of Atticist intent later on in the writing process, I find it difficult to imagine this inconsistency being accidental so early on.

An analysis of the distributions of Attic versus non-Attic forms confirm that this is not a feasible explanation. The following graphs show the relative distributions of different Atticist markers throughout the work by chapter. I consider only markers for which there are substantial numbers of both Attic and non-Attic forms (markers for which Achilles is consistent throughout his text like συν- rather than ξυν- are not of interest here). While I have not factored in the relative frequency of certain words or word types at certain passages, these graphs give an initial indication that both Attic and non-Attic forms are similarly distributed throughout.

In each graph, the horizontal axis represents the book and chapter numbers and the vertical axis the number of tokens of that marker in each chapter. Black lines show the number of Attic-associated forms and grey Koine-associated forms.
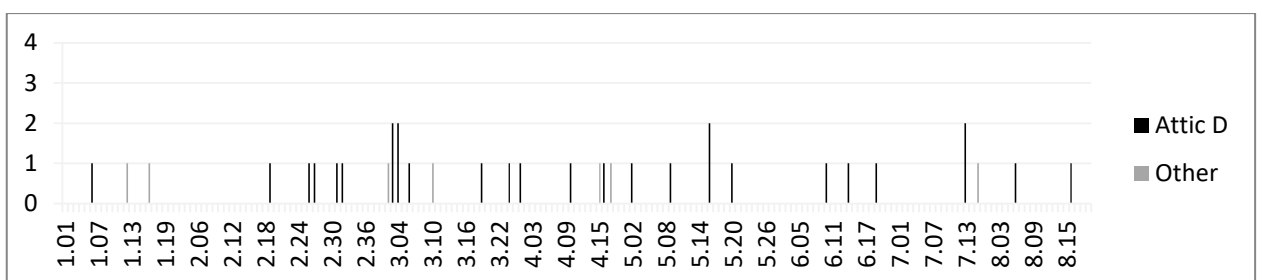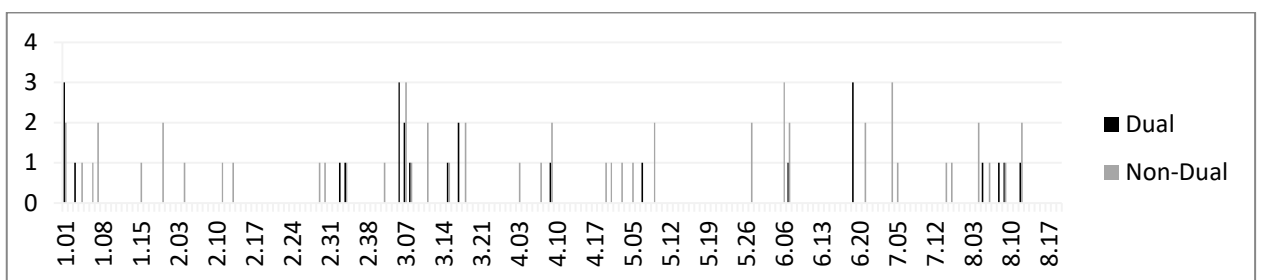
Diagram 20.1 -ττ- vs. -σσ- Forms
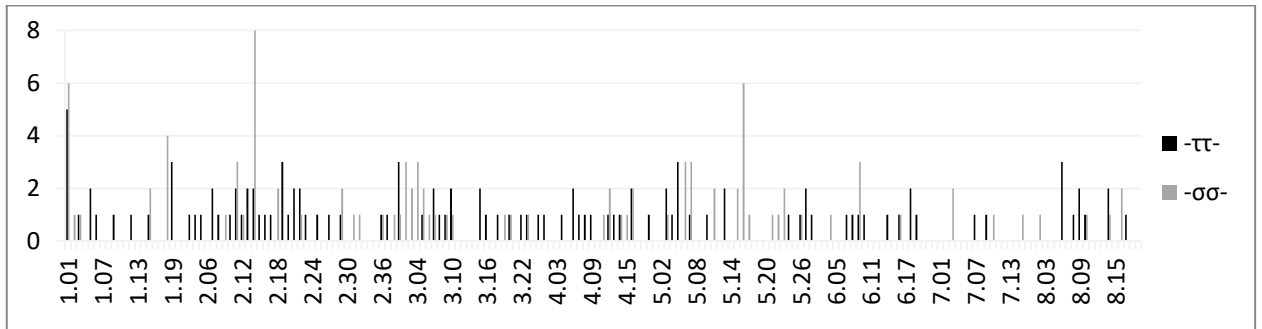
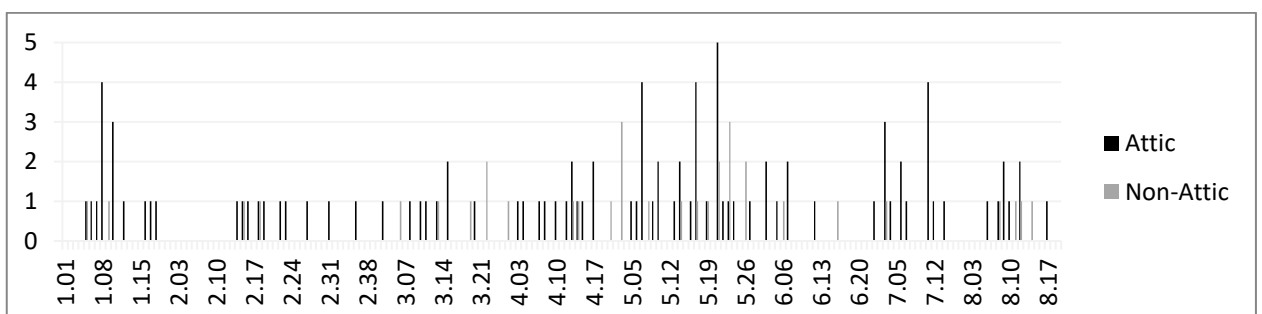**Diagram 20.2** Contracted vs. Uncontracted Nouns/Adjectives
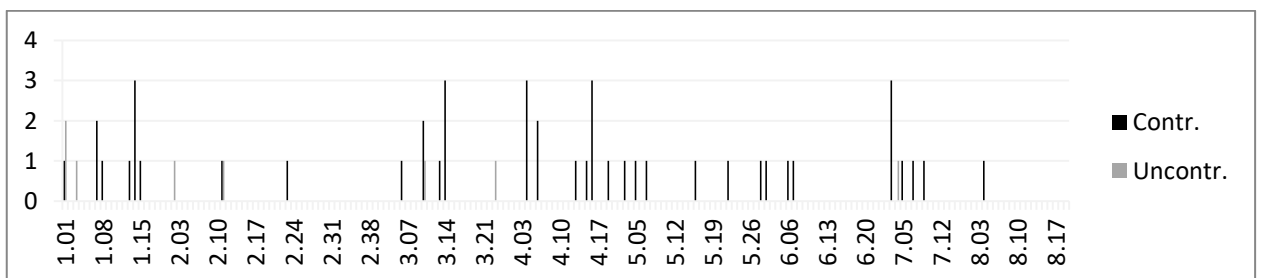
Diagram 20.3 Attic Declension Nouns/Adjectives vs. Variations

Diagram 20.4 Dual vs. Non-Dual Forms (representing 2 items)

Diagram 20.5 Attic vs. Non-Attic Variations for -μι Verbs

While predictably, some forms are found more frequently in certain places than others (for example, chapters that take place at sea have more -ττ-/-σσ- forms than those that do not), I can see no place where there is a clear overall preference for Attic forms in favour of non-Attic variations or vice versa.

It may be of significance, that there are sections where the contract and Attic declension lemmas follow a particular pattern. There are no uncontracted forms of contract declension words in books 4, 5, 6 and 8. Similarly there are no non-Attic variations of Attic declension words in books 2, 5, 6 and 8. This evidence might suggest that Achilles was more consciously aware of Atticising these forms in these chapters but a more detailed investigation of the particular passages in question (especially of books 5, 6 and 8) would need to be undertaken. On the whole, however, Achilles has some Attic and some non-Attic forms for some of the variables in each chapter.

More significantly, for none of the markers examined, do the number of Attic forms substantially decrease towards the end of the book (on the contrary, contract and Attic declension words take only Attic forms in book 8). This contradicts the suggestion that forgetfulness or fatigue could explain Achilles' inconsistency. It seems, then, that neither pure incompetence nor fatigue can explain Achilles' variable practice.

20.2 Epiphenomena

If it is not incompetence, then, there might be certain external factors that account for the irregularity with which Achilles employs Atticist forms. I refer to these as "epiphenomena" because they do not involve a direct intention to use Attic or non-Attic forms, but are external factors and circumstances which may have driven the author (consciously or subconsciously) to prefer one form in some situations and another in others. I will consider some possible epiphenomenal effects, although I cannot examine them all in detail.

20.2.1 Morphological Determinants

It is possible that Achilles preferred applying Atticist forms to certain morphological categories more than others. This could be driven by some kind of personal bias or his own experience of and exposure to different forms. Gignac observes that in the Roman

era papyri, -σσ- forms dominate significantly over -ττ- spellings for nouns, but that more variation occurs for verbs.[578]

A cursory examination of the -ττ-/-σσ- forms in Achilles' text reveals, however, that there is no apparent preference for applying the -σσ- forms to nouns or any other lexical category. I find both variants in verbs, nouns, participles and adjectives and in both singular and plural forms. For the -ρρ-/-ρσ- alternation (where most forms are spelled with -ρρ-), -ρσ- is exceptionally found for both the verb θάρσεω and the noun θάρσος. When it comes to the morphological markers I examined, both the nominal markers (contract and Attic declension lemmas) and the verbal markers (athematic verbs) showed use of both Attic and non-Attic forms, both having marginally more Atticist or Attic-leaning forms than non-Attic or Koine-leaning alternatives. But there are always substantial numbers of both types of form. It is notable that Achilles predominantly uses dual forms only for nouns (and the adjective ἄμφω), with only a single example of a dual verb. But even in Attic, dual verb forms were lost more quickly than those of nouns, and the dual forms are more technically hyper-Atticisms (already used seldom in Attic) anyway.[579]

Beyond a consideration of whether Achilles preferred to Atticise particular parts of speech over others, is the question whether particular inflected forms are more likely to undergo Atticism than others. There is, in fact, some evidence for this in Achilles' text, but it is very limited.

Vilborg observes a preference for -ττ- over -σσ- in accusative and dative forms of the word θάλαττα in family α of the manuscripts, but on the whole there is at least one -ττ- and one -σσ- token of every case inflection for the word at some point in the text.[580] For other -ττ-/-σσ- lemmas, there is no obvious preference for a particular spelling for particular inflected forms. Among the -ττ-/-σσ- verbs, there are examples of both variants for the present and imperfect tenses and for infinitives. Both spellings occur on different occasions for participles, adjectives and nouns regardless of gender, number or case.

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[578] Gignac 1976: 148; 150
[579] Langslow 2009: 110
[580] Vilborg 1955: lxxxvi

I noted a few examples where variations for Attic declension nouns seemed to have an inflectional determination. For ἕως ("dawn"), the only examples of the 3rd declension variation were for the nominative singular (along with one example of the genitive singular for the proper noun, which is never spelled with the Attic declension form). The accusative, genitive and dative cases all had the Attic declension spellings unanimously. Similarly, both examples of a non-Attic 3rd declension form for ταώς ("peacock") were in the accusative case, while all tokens in the nominative, genitive and dative used the Attic declension spellings. For the tokens of κάλως ("rope"), Achilles also seems to be consistent for each inflection (Attic declension spellings for accusative and genitive singular; the non-Attic variant for nominative plural) although this lemma showed a lot of manuscript variation so the tokens as they appear in Vilborg's edition are not certain. Despite these individual patterns for the different lemmas, there is no consistency from lemma to lemma and since the number of tokens is always small, the results could easily be coincidental. Additionally, for ναός/νεώς, there is no pattern at all and Achilles has at least one example of each spelling for the nominative, accusative and genitive singular.

For the athematic verbs, there were also apparent patterns based on inflectional form. But these were factored into my results because thematicisation occurred at different speeds for different forms. I only considered forms that had undergone thematicisation in Koine texts as significant as Atticist (or Attic-leaning) markers. There seems to have been a slight pattern regarding -νυμι verbs with respect to the present indicative active forms. For δείκνυμι, at least, there is evidence from the New Testament that the athematic forms were retained for the 1st and 3rd sg. while thematic forms were adopted for the 2nd sg. and 3rd pl. Achilles mirrors this practice. But this pattern does not extend to other verbs and again the few examples make the reliability of the pattern uncertain. As it is, the only token Achilles has of 1st sg. δείκνυμι has the alternative thematic δεικνύω form in one branch of manuscripts.

It seems, then, that while some of Achilles' inconsistency could be based on the particular inflected form in use, these examples are few and there are still many inconsistent forms not accounted for by morphological explanations.

<u>20.2.2 Hiatus</u>

Another possible explanation for Achilles' inconsistency is that he selected some forms in favour of others out of a desire to avoid hiatus. Not much has been written on hiatus in the novels and in Achilles Tatius in particular. Skimina claimed that "the novelist [Achilles] did not especially avoid hiatus" (*le romancier n'évitait pas spécialement l'hiatus*), but Reeve disagrees saying, "how then does it come about that on at least 83 pages out of 161 in Vilborg's edition no hiatus occurs of a kind that Heliodorus would have avoided, and on 35 out of those 83 no hiatus at all except after καί, the article or an obvious pause?"[581]

Reeve, in his analysis of *Hiatus in the Greek Novelists*, gives the impression of Achilles as a writer who generally avoided hiatus except in specific situations where it was allowed (such as after and before simple regular particles, and after and before distinct adverb and noun clauses etc.). He gives a list of 42 "singularities" where hiatus seems to be unexplained in the text, although in some cases he suggests that this may point to problems with the text requiring emendation.[582]

I have already looked at the question of hiatus with regards to the -νυμι verbs and shown that there is no evidence that one or another form was chosen from the desire to avoid hiatus. According to Schmid, the practice of selecting one or the other form of a -μι verb for reasons of hiatus went back to Demosthenes, was observed in various Hellenistic authors (including Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch) and was maintained by Aristides, one of his Atticising authors.[583]

Only a limited number of the Attic(ising) tokens that I examined are relevant to the question of hiatus as it can only drive tokens where one variation ends in a vowel and the other does not. The final letter of all my examples relevant to phonological Atticism remains unchanged regardless of whether the Attic or Koine-leaning variant is used.

There is, however, a limited number of morphological variants that could be relevant to the question of hiatus. For contract nouns and adjectives, the contraction does not affect

[581] Skimina 1937: 192, cited in Reeve 1971: 521
[582] Reeve 1971: 521-525
[583] Schmid 1889: 25; Schmid 1896: 579

the final letter of a word, and so (although contraction itself might be driven by the desire to avoid word-internal hiatus) the decision to use a contracted or uncontracted form makes no difference for word-external hiatus. The only lemmas that could have a bearing on the issue are those that alternate between the contract 2nd declension and heteroclitic 3rd declension, like νοῦς (gen. νοῦ) versus νοῦς (gen. νόος), and primarily only examples in the genitive singular. For the Attic declension nouns and adjectives, word-external hiatus also only comes into play for lemmas with heteroclitic alternations. For athematic verbs, only active infinitive alternations and a few root -μι variants are relevant to the question of hiatus.

The following table shows all tokens for which one variation would end in a vowel and the other would not. Tokens used by Achilles are shown in bold with the following word as it is given in Achilles' text. Alternative forms that Achilles could have used are given in italics.

Table 20-1 All Variable Tokens Relevant for Hiatus

Lemma	Inflection	Attic Tokens	Non-Attic Tokens
Contract Nouns			
πλοῦς	gen. sg.	**πλοῦ** τύχην	*πλόος*
ἐλέος	gen. sg.	**ἐλέου** τοῖς	**ἐλέους** τύχωμεν
		ἐλέου μᾶλλον	
Attic Decl. Nouns			
ἕως	acc./gen. sg.	**ἕω** μόλις	*ἠοῦν/ἠοῦς*
		ἕω καλέσασα	
		ἕω, θάνατός	
		ἕω πάλιν	
		ἕω. ἔπλει	
		ἕω. ἐγὼ	
		ἕω καὶ	
		ἕω, λεγούσας	
		ἕω σπουδῇ	
ταώς	acc. sg.	*ταών*	**ταῶνα**)· "ταύτῃ
			ταῶνα· τῇ
	gen. sg.	**τάω** λειμὼν	*ταῶνος*
		τάω ἧττον	
Athematic Verbs			
δείκνυμι	pres. act. infin.	**ἐπιδεικνύναι** τῶν	*δεικνύειν*
δίδωμι	pres. act. infin.	**διδόναι**, ὡς	*διδοῦν*
		διδόναι Σωσθένην	
ἵημι	pres. act. infin.	**συνιέναι** τὸ	*συνιεῖν*
		συνιέναι τι	
ἵστημι	pres. act. infin.	**ἱστάναι** κάτω	*ἱστάνειν*

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Lemma	Inflection	Attic Tokens	Non-Attic Tokens
εἰμί	2nd sg. impf.	ἦς	ἦσθα μουσικῆς
	1st. pl. impf.	ἤμεθα	ἦμεν ἀπὸ
			ἦμεν δὲ
			ἦμεν δεδεμένο
			ἦμεν, ἐπιτηρήσαντες
			ἦμεν πάλιν
			ἦμεν· ἑσπέρας
			ἦμεν. Ἑστιωμένῳ
			ἦμεν, τὸν
οἶδα	2nd sg. perf.	οἶδας, ὡς	οἶσθα
		οἶδας οἷόν	οἶσθα
		οἶδας.” Ὡς	οἶσθα
		οἶδας, προηγορεύκειν	
		οἶδας· ἀνάγκη	
		οἶδας τι	
		οἶδας ποῦ	
	1st sg. plpf	ᾔδειν· ἑώκειν	ἤδη
		ᾔδειν ὅστις	
		ᾔδειν γὰρ	

As can be seen, in most cases, the following word begins with a consonant and the issue of hiatus is irrelevant. Most of those where the following word does begin with a vowel, these words begin a new clause following a colon or full stop. These would also not be directly affected by hiatus concerns. In the end, there are only 3 tokens (highlighted in grey) for which the following clause-internal word begins with a vowel. For these three, Achilles may have chosen the consonant-final variation to avoid hiatus, but this by no means accounts for the general inconsistency throughout the remainder of the text.

20.2.3 Meter

Another potential explanation for Achilles' variation is that the choice of one form in favour of another at a particular point in the text was metrically driven. As a prose text, metre is certainly not a primary factor of composition, but literary commentary from as early as Aristotle (*Rhetoric* 3) and later Cicero (*De Oratore* 3.47.182) perceived the presence of rhythms and metres in prose, though they both warned against the overuse of regular rhythms.[584] Dionysius of Halicarnassus addresses the question of metre in prose in his *De Compositione Verborum*:

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[584] Usher 1974: 132

ἵνα μηδεὶς εἰκῇ με δόξῃ λέγειν ῥυθμοὺς καὶ μέτρα μουσικῆς οἰκεῖα θεωρίας εἰς οὐ ῥυθμικὴν οὐδ᾽ ἔμμετρον εἰσάγοντα διάλεκτον, ἀποδώσω καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγον.

So that nobody may suppose that I am speaking irrelevantly in introducing rhythm and metre, which is proper to the study of music, into my treatment of a kind of prose which is neither rhythmical nor metrical, I shall explain their bearing on this subject. [tr. Usher 1974]

He seems to be in favour of the use of meter by prose writers as long as it is cleverly applied and varied. He proceeds to list twelve different types of metrical rhythms, suggesting that some combinations are noble (τῶν γενναίων) while others are ignoble (τῶν ἀγεννῶν) (*Comp.* 18.1-10). He discusses the successful application of noble rhythms in passages from Thucydides, Plato and Demosthenes (*Comp.* 18.19-114) and, by contrast, criticises the language of the sophist Hegesias of Magnesia (*Comp.* 18.115-176). Since there were clear ideas about and teaching of the use of metre in prose from the time of Dionysius, it is not inconceivable that Achilles had metrical considerations in mind, especially for the more rhetorical parts of his work.

To properly determine whether Achilles' variability could be attributed to metrical concerns, a detailed analysis of Achilles' use of meter would be required, which is beyond the scope of this project, though it could prove an interesting exercise.

A number of the Atticist tokens which I considered certainly could have an effect on the metrical structure of the clauses in which they are found. For example, where contracted nouns and adjectives might have a long foot as a result of the contracted diphthong, their uncontracted counterparts could potentially produce two short feet instead.

    ŭ   —   ŭ ŭ ŭ
(κα-νοῦ-ν-) versus (κα-νέ-ο-ν-).

Similarly, Attic declension forms would often scan quite differently from their non-Attic counterparts.

    ŭ   —   — ŭ
(νέ-ω-ς-) versus (νά-ο-ς-)

The choice between certain thematic or athematic verb forms could have similar implications.

But this is not the case for all the Atticist markers which I examined. θάλαττα scans no differently from θάλασσα and ἄρρην is not different to ἄρσην. Even the -αι- versus -α- variation would have made little difference since the α of the ι-less variants is usually a long ᾱ and the syllable in question would remain long with the diphthong αι. Similarly, there is no difference in scanning γιγν- and γιν, as the ι of γῑν- is generally taken to be long. The other minor consonantal variations may have been more significant, as ξ- for σ-, and σμ- for -μ result in complex consonant clusters which could lengthen the meter of the preceding syllable.

Given these observations, while it is not possible to say without further analysis whether metrical considerations did affect Achilles' choices in the use of Attic or non-Attic forms, it remains the case that meter cannot account for all the variations observed.

20.2.4 Prosody

In a similar vein, it was suggested to me that Achilles' variation might have been driven by other broad phonological requirements. The highly oral nature of Greek in the Classical period, during which time even literary texts were still recited in public, meant that concerns of euphony were always important. This could impact not only the sounds of individual words, but the prosodic effect of whole clauses. The processes of assimilation and dissimilation (described in sections 5.1 and 6.1) famously affected the historical development of words in Greek. But even in composition, it is not unlikely that the preference for some sound combinations over others could determine the choice between two variants, especially if one sounded better than the other.

After his discussion of the use of metre, Dionysius of Halicarnassus goes on to describe three styles (χαρακτήρ) of composition: "austere" (αὐστηράν), "polished" (γλαφυράν) and "well-blended" (εὔκρατον) (*Comp.* 21.17-18). According to Dionysius, the character that a particular composed passage might have, involved a whole combination of different factors including rhythm, word order, word length and figures of speech etc. One of these was collocations (συμβολαῖς 22.7) which were not limited to, but included, the juxtaposition of different phonetic elements in close proximity.

At one point, Dionysius gives a detailed analysis of the effects of the juxtaposition of certain combinations of sounds in a passage from Pindar (Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 22.59-77). By way of example, he takes the phrase ἐν χορόν and discusses the effects of the combination of -ν and χ-, a combination which never occurs naturally within a Greek syllable (οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν τοῦ χ προτάττεσθαι τὸ ν) (*Comp.* 22.100-101). He also discusses problems arising from the use of ε- following -ι, π- θ- and τ- following -ν, and ξ- following -σ among others (*Comp.* 22.119-265).

While it is not certain whether the texts of novels like Achilles' were read aloud in public, it is highly possible that either consciously or subconsciously, authors like him would avoid or embrace certain phonetic and prosodic combinations to create effects of euphony (or even cacophony) as the context might dictate.[585]

Again, it would require a detailed analysis of the phonetic environments surrounding the different Attic and non-Attic tokens that Achilles' uses to determine if this had an effect on the choices he made. At this stage, the question must be left open.

It seems, then, that there is some possibility of accounting for Achilles' variability based on epiphenomenal effects. There seem to be some morphological determinants of the choices he made, but the evidence for these is limited and relates to only a few tokens. Hiatus can have had only very limited effect on his choices. It is not possible to say whether metrical or prosodic considerations affected his choice at this stage, but they are possibilities and further research could investigate these.

20.3 Intentional Variation

The final set of possibilities for explaining the inconsistencies observed in Achilles' text is that he made intentional use of Attic and non-Attic forms at different points for deliberate and rational reasons. As mentioned, it is impossible to determine his motivations without knowing more about him, his audience or his mind-set, but I will consider two possibilities which can be measured.

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[585] Stephens 1994: 409 touches on the question of whether the novels might have been read aloud very briefly.

The first is that Achilles intentionally used different dialect forms depending on who was speaking. For example, the original narrator might use language differently to Clitophon (who becomes the secondary narrator), and certain characters in the story might use different dialects compared to others (especially given the regional diversity of the different characters including Phoenicians, Egyptians, Alexandrians and Ephesians). I am not aware of any scholar who has studied Achilles' text noting particular dialectal variation associated with particular characters. This in itself suggests that it is an unlikely explanation as, even if he intended to represent dialectal variation, he failed to make the application obvious. There are also no Athenian characters, which would be the obvious place to look for Attic rather than general Koine language.

As a preliminary investigation, I examined the number of tokens of significant Attic and non-Attic forms in all sections of the text which appear in quotation marks (i.e. are spoken by a character) versus those in the "narrative voice" (the term I use for Clitophon's narration). I excluded the opening two chapters which precede the beginning of Clitophon's story. The table below shows the results of this investigation. Again, I only included tokens of markers for which there were significant examples of both variations.

Table 20-2 Use of Attic vs Non-Attic Forms in Direct Speech and the Narrative Voice

	Attic tokens	Attic %	Non-Attic tokens	Non-Attic %
Direct quotes	166	69.5	73	30.5
Narrative voice	398	73.2	146	26.8

The results show that there was a similar ratio of Attic versus non-Attic tokens in the narrative voice and in direct quotes. (There were more Attic tokens in both cases, though slightly more in the narrative voice). While this does not investigate whether particular characters might have more or less Attic-leaning speech, it does show that Clitophon himself uses both Attic and non-Attic forms in his narration. Even if the language of different characters could account for some of the variation, then, the question of why there is variation in the narrative voice remains. The opening narrative,

before Clitophon begins his story (1.1.1-1.2.3), also shows variation (10 Attic tokens and 11 non-Attic) and, as has been seen, this sometimes included both the Attic and non-Attic variation of the same marker in a very short space.

While more research could be done on the language of different characters, then, for now I will leave the question open since it is clear that this cannot account for all the variation that occurs during Clitophon's narration.

<u>20.3.2 Rhetoric</u>

The last specific possibility I wish to consider is whether the use of Attic forms was more likely to occur in highly descriptive or rhetorical passages rather than others. Achilles Tatius is famed for his use of discursions and descriptive passages ("purple passages" according to Todd) and much has been written on the role and effect of these passages in this novel in particular.[586]

Again, detailed analysis of each of the relevant passages in Achilles' text would be needed to determine whether there might be a higher concentration of Attic/ist forms in the rhetorical passages as compared with others. For now I have selected some of the more famous passages for a basic analysis (focusing on descriptions of animals, Clitophon's garden and paintings). From a full list of descriptive passages arranged by topic (given in Bartsch), I have selected the following for investigation:[587]

- The Phoenix (3.25.1b - 3.25.7)
- The Hippopotamus (4.2.2 - 4.3.5)
- The Elephant (4.4.2b - 5.5.3)
- The Crocodile (4.19.1 - 4.19.6)
- Clitophon's Garden (1.15.1b - 1.15.8)
- The painting of Europa (1.1.2b - 1.1.13)
- The painting of Andromeda (3.7.1 - 3.7.9)
- The painting of Prometheus (3.8.1 - 3.8.7)

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[586] Todd 1940: 22. For discussion of these passages see especially Bartsch 1989 as well as Morales 2000: 67-88, Morales 2004: 96-100 and Martin 2002.

[587] Bartsch 1989: 12-13

Using Watt's *Concordance* programme, I searched for all significant instances of Atticist/Attic-leaning or non-Atticist/Koine-leaning forms in these passages.[588] I searched separately for phonetic/morphological (forms) and for lexical (vocab) tokens. The table below shows the results.

Table 20-3 Number of Attic vs Non-Attic Tokens in Rhetorical Passages

	Attic forms	Koine forms	Attic vocab	Koine vocab	Ratio
Whole Novel	345	634	112	138	457 : 772
Europa	7	9	2	4	9 : 13
Garden	2	3	1		3 : 3
Andromeda	4	4			4 : 4
Prometheus	3	1		3	3 : 4
Phoenix	1			1	1 : 1
Hippo	1	1	2		3 : 1
Elephant	5		2	1	7 : 1
Crocodile	2	1	1		3 : 1
TOTAL	**25**	**19**	**8**	**9**	33 : 28

As can be seen, there is a slightly higher proportion of Attic-leaning forms over non-Attic but only for the description of the elephant is the number of Attic-leaning forms significantly higher. For the painting of Europa, there are slightly more Koine-leaning forms. This is unsurprising because the setting is the ocean, and there are more examples of θάλασσα than θάλαττα, although (notably) both occur. Even though there are similar numbers of Attic and non-Attic forms in these passages, the ratio of Attic-leaning to Koine-leaning forms is significantly different from that found in the novel as a whole (which has more Koine-leaning tokens). This might suggest that there is a slightly higher concentration of Attic forms in the rhetorical passages but a more precise statistical analysis of all rhetorical against non-rhetorical passages would need to be undertaken to make any real conclusions on the matter.

For now, it is clear that the rhetorical passages which I have examined do not show significant or exclusive preference for Attic forms (though they seem to have a slightly higher percentage of them). It does not seem, however, that Attic forms are found

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[588] As before, I only searched for tokens of lemmas that show both Attic and non-Attic variants in different parts of Achilles' text.

exclusively in rhetorical passages and while the prevalence of these passages might account for some of the variation found in the text, it is unlikely that it can fully account for Achilles' inconsistency as a whole.

20.3.3 General Intent

None of the specific explanations I have considered, then, seem to satisfactorily account for the way in which Achilles applies Atticism inconsistently throughout his work. The explanations of incompetence or fatigue seem highly unlikely and the other possibilities I have considered do not give a clear rational account for all cases of variation (although some require examination in more detail and a combination of some of them could point to the seeming randomness of the result). But it is also possible that a more general explanation could account for my findings.

Perhaps Achilles' inconsistent application was intentional but not applied in a clear, rational manner. As an educated writer operating in the Second Sophistic, Achilles was under pressure to Atticise. But, like Lucian and Galen, (of the latter Swain says "He was strongly drawn to the idea of purity in language…and was…well equipped to write atticising Greek…[but] rejected this course because he saw no reason to use [anything other] than the excellent language he had learnt as a child"), Achilles might not have been fully convinced of the need for this form of purism and the manner in which some pedantically applied it.[589]

Perhaps Morales' attribution of "deliberate eclecticism" is exactly the correct way to describe Achilles' behaviour. He knew how to Atticise and was aware of many Atticist practices. As an educated man, he made use of marginally more Attic-leaning than Koine-leaning forms but was careful to use both, especially for clear Atticist forms like -ττ-/-σσ- and νέως/νάος, where his usage clearly varied. This is not to suggest that he consciously counted the number of forms he used and made sure they were evenly distributed, but rather that he was comfortable with (and careful to) sometimes use the one sort of form and sometimes the other.

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[589] Swain 1996: 59. On the uncomfortable relationships that Lucian and Galen had with Atticism (who both felt pressure to show the ability to Atticise while intellectually objecting to the way it was practiced), see the discussions in Swain 1996:45-49, 56-63 and Whitmarsh 2005 45-49.

Given the nature of the novel as a whole and its general subversion of expected norms (the way Achilles has highly philosophical and rhetorical passages interspersed with grotesque and sometimes absurd scenes; the way he both subverts and makes use of the theme of chastity so key to the other novels; the way he introduces chronological anachronisms like Roman military tactics), Achilles' treatment of language is perhaps not so surprising.[590] It falls in line with his other inconsistencies like the failure to close the opening frame and the growing omniscience of the ego-narrator; not in pointing to a common trend of incompetence but rather to a trend of subverting expected norms and playing with expected behaviours as a way of provoking and entertaining his audience.

20.4 A Note on the Readership of the Novel

The question of who exactly read the ancient novels is not easy to answer given that there is very little evidence from the ancient world.[591] Earlier discussions centred around assumptions that the novels had a fundamentally different audience to other "high quality" ancient literature, especially that from the Classical period. Perry famously described ancient novels as being popular with "children and the poor-in-spirit" and "uncultivated or frivolous-minded people".[592] It has also often been thought that women made up a significant part of the readership.[593] The problems with these views, and the more recently held view that the readership of the novels was probably not that different from that of other Classical literature, are dealt with in detail by Stephens and Bowie.[594]

One of the compelling arguments for a more educated audience than was earlier assumed is the allusions to Classical literature and use of rhetorical devices found especially in Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus and Longus.[595] My findings regarding Achilles' use of Atticism, at least to some degree, correlate with these arguments. If the novels were written for a less educated, popular audience, one would expect the author to use a more contemporary every-day Koine dialect which would not isolate its readers.

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[590] On the combination of grotesque scenes and rhetorical passages, see Reardon 1999: 246-248. On the theme of chastity in the novels see Chew 2000. On Roman anachronisms see Hilton 2009.

[591] Bowie 1994: 435

[592] Perry 1967: 5

[593] Rohde 1900; Hägg 1983: 85-96

[594] Stephens 1994; Bowie 1994

[595] Stephens 1994: 407-408; Bowie 1994: 348

If, on the other hand, the readership consisted of the same group of people who read Classical (which included Classical Attic) literature as well as contemporary sophistic texts, Achilles' use of Atticist forms would be expected.

The fact that he Atticises inconsistently might point further to a particular sub-group within educated society (one which did not expect extreme Atticism) being his primary audience. To properly identify this group, however, further research would need to be done to establish which other authors had similar patterns of Atticism and an analysis would need to be made regarding who their general readership was. For now, it is enough to say that Achilles' use of Atticism points to an audience with a degree of education and an appreciation of Attic/ist language.

21. Conclusion and Further Investigation

In this thesis, I have developed new methodologies for identifying and measuring Atticist practices in a specific author and have applied them to the language of Achilles Tatius' novel. With this data now compiled, many more analyses could be undertaken and applied, both to the text itself and to other comparative texts. It would be interesting to see, for example, how Achilles' linguistic practices compare with those of the other novelists and fiction writers and other contemporary literature. Does his language significantly differ from that of other educated writers or was a partially (and inconsistently) Atticised-Koine quite normal for educated writers of the period? In addition, my methodology could be extended to examine other types of Atticist features, especially those of the more syntactic kind, such as the use of the optative voice and dative cases along with periphrastic forms.

As discussed briefly, my findings raise pertinent questions regarding the readership and or/audience for whom the novel was intended and further investigation can be undertaken on this question. With its combination of highly rhetorical passages, my findings about Achilles' language can also provide insights into how his novel fits more generally into the period of the Second Sophistic. The novel itself is sometimes described as "sophistic" because (as Morales says) of its "paraded *paideia* and ostentatious use of rhetoric."[596] Achilles' attempts at Atticism throughout this work fit with this characterisation, although analysis of the role of rhetorical Atticism in the text should be undertaken to examine this question further.

While much more analysis can yet be done, I hope with this thesis, to have added to the scholarship on linguistic Atticism and its relationship to the Ancient Greek novels and to have opened up new methodologies and scope for further assessment of the language of the period and its role in both literature and society. On a broader level, I hope that increased understanding of the practice of Atticism in the particular society in which it was practiced will ultimately contribute to modern assessments of different practices of linguistic purism in completely different cultural and linguistic settings.

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[596] Morales 2004: 6. See also Reardon 1999 and especially Bartsch 1989: 6-7, 30-36 for more on the links between the novel and the Second Sophistic.

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Appendix 1

The table below contains a list of all Ancient Greek authors and works quoted in my thesis by the different names given to them. The asterisks mark the title used on the TLG. I also give the number of the work on the TLG and the name of the editor and date of the edition used. I give abbreviations for only authors and works I have abbreviated in my thesis.

AUTHOR/ GREEK TITLE	LATIN TITLE	ENGLISH TITLE	ABBREV.	TLG #	EDITION
AELIUS DIONYSIUS [2nd C AD]					
*Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα		*Attic Nouns*		1323.1	Erbse 1950
APOLLONIUS DYSCOLUS [2nd C AD]					
	De Adverbiis	*On Adverbs*		82.2	Schneider 1878 (1965) (GG 2.1)
ATHENAEUS (the Sophist) [2nd-3rd C AD]					
	Deipnosophistae	*Deipnosophistae*		8.1	Kaibel 1887-90 (1965-66)
CHOEROBOSCUS (George Choeroboscus) [9th C AD]			Choer.		
	Prolegomena et scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini canones isagogicos de flexione nominum	*Scholia on Theodosius' Canons of Noun Inflections*	*In Theod. Nom.*	4093.1	Hilgard 1894 (1965) (GG 4.1)
	Prolegomena et scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini canones isagogicos de flexione verborum	*scholia on Theodosius' Canons of Verb Inflections*	*In. Theod. Verb.*	4093.2	Hilgard 1894 (1965) (GG 4.1)
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS [1st C BC]			Dion. Hal.		
	De compositione verborum	*On Literary Composition*	*Comp.*	81.12	Radermacher & Usener 1929 (1965)
	De antiquis oratoribus or de Oratoribus Veteribus	*On the Ancient Orators*	*Orat. Vett.*	81.2	Radermacher & Usener 1899 (1965)
	De imitatione (fragmenta)	*On Imitation*		81.14	Radermacher & Usener 1929 (1965)
	Antiquitates Romanae	*Roman Antiquities*		81.1	Jacoby 1905 (1967)
EUBULUS (the Comic) [4th C BC]					
	Fragmenta: Dio	*Fragments: Dio*	*Fr. Dio*	458.2	Meineke 1840 (1970)

EUSTATHIUS OF ANTIOCH [4th C AD]

	Commentarius in hexaemeron	*Commentary to Hexaemeron*		4117.22	Migne 1857-66

EUSTATHIUS (of Thessalonica) [12th C AD]

	Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem	*Commentary on Homer's Iliad*		4083.1	Van der Valk 1971-1987
	Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam	*Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*		4083.3	Stallbaum 1825-26 (1970)

HESYCHIUS (the Lexicographer) [5th/6th C AD]

	Lexicon (A-O)			4085.2	Latte 1953-66
	Lexicon (Π-Σ)			4085.3	Hansen 2005

HERODIAN (the Grammarian)
(Aelius Herodianus) [2nd C AD]

Περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας	*De prosodia catholica*	*On General Prosody*	Pros. Cath.	87.1	Lentz 1867 (1965) (GG 3.1)
*Περὶ παθῶν		*On Modification of Words*		87.9	Lentz 1870 (1965) (GG 3.2)
*Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας		*On Orthography*		87.11	Lentz 1870 (1965) (GG 3.2)
*Περὶ τῶν εἰς -μι		*On -mi Verbs*		87.22	Lentz 1870 (1965) (GG 3.2)
Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς προσῳδίας		*On the Prosody of the Iliad*		87.7	Lentz 1870 (1965) (GG 3.2)
Ἐπιμερισμοι [sp.?]	*Partiones* [sp.?]	*Parsings* [sp.?]		87.36	Boissonade 1819 (1963)

LUCIAN [2nd C AD]

	Rhetorum praeceptor	*Profesor of Public Speaking*	Rh. Pr.	62.37	Harmon 1925 (1961)
	Pseudologista	*The Mistaken Critic*	Pseudol.	62.49	Harmon 1936 (1972)
	Soloecista	*Soloecista*		62.71	Macleod 1967
	Lexiphanes	*Lexiphanes*		62.46	Harmon 1936 (1972)
	Lis consonantium or *Judicium Vocalium*	*Consonants at Law*	Jud. Voc.	62.14	Harmon 1913 (1961)

MICHAEL PSELLUS [11th C AD]

	De Heliodoro et Achille Tatio judicium	*On Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*	On Hld. and A.T.	2702.22	Dyck 1986

MOERIS [2nd/3rd C AD]

	Atticista	*Atticista*		1515.2	Hansen 1998

PHOTIUS [9th C AD]

			4040.32	Theodoridis 1998
Lexicon (E-M)				

PHRYNICHUS (Atticista) [2nd C AD]

Praeparatio sophistica (epitome)	*Sophistic Preparations (epitome)*	1608.1	De Borries 1911
Eclogae	*Eclogē*	1608.2	Fischer 1974
Eclogae (familia T)	*Eclogē (family T)*	1608.4	Fischer 1974
Eclogae (familia q)	*Eclogē (family q)*	1608.3	Fischer 1974

PLATO (the Comic) [5th-4th C BC]   *Plato Com.*

Fragmenta: Heor.	*Fragments: Heortai*	*Fr. Heor.*	497.2	Meineke 1840 (1970)
Fragmenta (Kock)	*Fragments* (Kock)	*Fr.*(Kock)	497.1	Kock 1880

SUDA (the Suda) [10th C AD]

Lexicon		9010.1	Adler 1928-35

THEODOSIUS (of Alexandria) (the Grammarian) [4th-5th C AD]   Theod.

Canones isagogici de flexione nominum	*Introduction to the Canons of Noun Inflections*	*Can. Nom.*	2020.1	Hilgard 1894 (1965) (GG 4.1)
Canones isagogici de flexione verborum	*Introduction to the Canons of Verb Inflections*	*Can. Verb.*	2020.2	Hilgard 1894 (1965) (GG 4.1)
*Περὶ γραμματικῆς [sp.]	*On Grammar* [sp.]		2020.3	Göttling 1822

THEOGNOSTUS (the grammarian) [9th C AD]   .

Canones sive De orthgraphia	*Canons or On Orthography*	3128.1	Cramer 1835 (1963) (*Anecd. Ox.*)

THOMAS MAGISTER [13th-14th C AD]

Ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ἀττικῶν	*Ecloga nominum et verborum Atticorum*	*Selection of Nouns and Verbs*	9023.1	Ritschl 1832 (1970)