

Beyond Standards: Attic, the Koiné and Atticism

Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge

September 13th-15th, 2018

Syrian Hellenes and multilingual Atticists: Cases of “Nativeness.”

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This presentation will furnish a close examination of the terms ἐλληνίζειν and ἀττικίζειν as defined by Greek and Roman grammarians and lexicographers to determine perceptions of linguistic propriety and the point when these terms also became synonymous with social and political agenda. Aristotle, Isocrates, anonymous scholiasts as well as Moeris and Phrynichus, the 2nd-century lexicographers, will be quoted to establish a framework for Attic and Greek and by extension Atticism and Hellenism.

Against that backdrop, my analysis will then focus on specific individuals and their linguistic and social hybridity, namely Favorinus, Lucian, and Anacharsis. Favorinus’s claim to Greekness will be studied and discussed alongside Phrynichus’s accusations against his (Favorinus) linguistic propriety. Lucian’s fluency in Attic language and Hellenic culture will also be analyzed to determine the degree of syncretism and how that could relate to language. Finally, Anacharsis both as a historical and literary figure will be considered, as he is the model *par excellence* of ethnic amalgamation and the paragon of voluntary immigration.

‘Forerunner of the koine or Attic bee? The reception of Xenophon in the Imperial age’

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The presence of Xenophon among the imitated Attic writers during the Imperial age has been well established. The works of Dion of Prusa and Arrian have already showed the success of Xenophon literature in this period. According to the Souda, he deserved to be called “Attic bee”. Though reserves about the purity of Xenophon’s language have been expressed and since he spent a long time of his life away from Athens, his language could have been contaminated by foreign idioms, thus anticipating some characters of the Koiné. Criticisms of lexicographers like Phrynichus are moreover evidence of this. Nevertheless, others think that ancient bad editions of Xenophon’s works have caused authors to have such criticisms. The question remains open to debate.

The fact that a chronic Atticist like the orator Aelius Aristides often chose to imitate Xenophon, suggests that this classical author must have been considered as a pure Attic model. Obviously, the Atticism of Aristide is not just linguistic, it shows the presence of a wider archaism. His Leuctrian Speeches and his Panathenaicus reuse many expressions and themes that come from Xenophon's different works.

This paper will present some cases of linguistic and literary reception of Xenophon in the works of Aristides, which can provide new evidence for the debate on the Atticism of Xenophon's language.

'New approaches to formal linguistic Atticism: a case study of the language of Achilles Tatius'

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This paper will present some of the results of my recently completed PhD thesis on the use of Atticism in *Leucippe and Clitophon*, the 2nd century AD novel by Achilles Tatius. Achilles Tatius is often described as an Atticising author (Horrocks 2014: 136, Silk 2009: 22, Vilborg 1962: 13-16), but little work has been done on the precise nature of the Atticist tendencies found in his work (although see Sexauer 1899 and SantaféSoler 2005 for general linguistic analyses of his work). In my thesis, I examined examples of formal linguistic Atticism (primarily phonological and morphological) using digitised editions of Achilles' work and computerised software.

Based on the comparative use of particular forms in Attic and Koiné texts, and on the testimonies of ancient grammarians and lexicographers, I identified specific tokens that are relevant to the Atticist question. I also developed a rubric which I refer to as "Patterns of Use" to measure how Atticist a particular form should be considered based on this comparative usage. For example, when an Atticising author uses a grammatical form that is the norm in Attic texts but absent from Koiné texts, he is showing a stronger, more conscious type of Atticism than when he uses an Attic form that is still current in the Koiné. I distinguish between features that are "Atticist", "Attic-leaning", "avoiding of Atticism" and "Koiné-leaning", each of which can be described as mild, moderate, or strong based their pattern of use.

In this paper, I will describe the methodologies which I established and how they can be applied by looking at some the results of my analysis of Achilles' language. These methodologies could potentially be extended to other types of features and to an examination of the work of other authors.

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A computational approach to semantic change in post-Classical Greek

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In the history of Ancient Greek, major turning points in the evolution of lexical semantics correspond to the hiatus between the Homeric and the classical stages and, in the Hellenistic period, to the contact with the Jewish and Roman cultures. For instance, a word like *paradeisos*– a loan word from Persian meaning ‘park’ or ‘garden’ – came to be used to designate the Garden of Eden and the Christian paradise. Analogously, the superlative *hypatos* (‘supreme’) came to be used as a noun to designate Roman consuls.

We present the preliminary results of a project aiming to model such patterns of semantic change through the analysis of a digital corpus of Classical Greek texts. The corpus includes a wide selection of texts from Homer to the 5th century AD and an array of literary and technical genres (epic poetry, drama, historiography, oratory, biography, novel, geography, philosophy, medicine, rhetoric, mathematics, plus the Septuaginta and the New Testament). We develop a statistical model of semantic change based on the work of Frermann and Lapata (2016) and extended to include genre as a crucial factor in semantic change.

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Negotiating Jewish identity through the (non-)morphological adaptation of personal names: evidence from the Greek of the New Testament

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The treatment of personal names in the Greek of Jewish authors has a strikingly mixed distribution. It has traditionally been held that the morphological adaptation of names was a marker of literary aspiration (Thackeray 1909). However, Philo, despite his undoubtedly ‘polished’ style, uses largely non-adapted names, e.g. Ἀβρααμ for ‘Abraham’, while the documentary and epigraphic sources in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods morphologically adapt in the great majority of cases, e.g. Ἀβραμῶς. In previous work (Crellin forthcoming) I have argued on the basis of such evidence that the choice of whether or not to adapt a personal name should not be seen as a marker of sociolinguistic status, but is rather a marker of community identity: Philo in morphologically adapting the names of historic Biblical figures, follows the more or less standard practice of the Greek Bible, in order to identify himself, and his readership, with the Jewish community. By contrast, Josephus morphologically adapts in order to render his writings more accessible to the wider Greek-speaking Greco-Roman community (Josephus Antiquities 1.129), conforming to standard practice among Greek authors in morphologically adapting non-Greek names. Seemingly in conformity with this, contemporary naming practices as seen in the documentary and epigraphic sources demonstrate a marked preference for morphologically adapted names.

The New Testament (NT) comprises a remarkably heterogeneous collection of texts in sociolinguistic terms, written, as it is, in a wide variety of styles of Koine Greek. Indeed, it cuts right across the supposed literary / non-literary distinction with Hebrews at the more ‘literary’ end (Siegert 2009), and Matthew and John keeping closer to a colloquial style (Horrocks 2010, 149ff.). Its sociocultural aspirations are also idiosyncratic: although its writers all hailed from a Jewish background, the aspirations of this burgeoning Jewish sect were world-wide, and, especially through the missionary efforts of Paul, expanded well into the domain of non-Jews. In the light of these considerations, the present paper seeks to assess the approach of the NT writers to the morphological adaptation of personal names, that is whether or not they attempt to conform to the standards of Jewish Greek material intended primarily for consumption by Jews, or prefer to keep to the standards established for literary material and the contemporary naming standards of the community itself. Two questions will be addressed:

1. What approach is taken to the names of historic Biblical figures?
2. What approach is taken to the naming of contemporary individuals?

In the first case, non-adaptation of personal names will be taken as evidence of an orientation primarily towards those associated with the Jewish communities in the Roman

Empire of the time by conforming to naming practices established in the Greek Bible, while adaptation will be taken as evidence of adapting language in order to be more accessible to non-Jews.

The implications of the findings following from the second question will be interpreted along similar lines, although here the practice of some in the early Christian community of changing their names on becoming Christian, viz. ‘Simon’ becoming ‘Peter’, ‘Saul’ becoming ‘Paul’, will also be examined for its socio-cultural implications.

*This paper forms part of an ongoing programme of research as part of the CREWS project (Contexts of and Relations between Early Writing Systems). This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 677758).

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2 Maccabees and the Origins of Atticism

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The distinction between the Asiatic and Attic oration styles continues to constitute a complex subject of research, in light of the diverse interpretations of a well known passage of Cicero (*Br.* 325-326), which delineates two contrasting styles within Asiatic oratory. If one is to place the first rhetorical theorization of Asiatic style no earlier than 110 BCE (Lucarini 2015), one reopens a series of questions concerning the classification of much of Hellenistic literature.

From this point of view, a book traditionally considered Asiatic, such as *2 Macc.* (Gil 1958), which is a summary of the historical work of Jason of Cyrene (an otherwise forgotten author who lived in the second century BCE), offers a lexical inventory rich in poetic language that is otherwise not attested in the *Septuagint*, which would indicate a typical

“Asiatic extravagance.” In any case, many of these terms, e.g. ἄτερ, θέμις, σχέτλιος, μόρος, ἀμίαντος, ἄπρωτος, εὐανδρία or the expressive Hellenistic verb ὑψαυχενέω, would become dear to even that pioneer of Attic-style literature, Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The multifarious stylistic level of *2 Macc.*, which is the object of a meticulous doctoral thesis by Domazakis (2018), shows, to a certain degree, the potential of the Greco-Judaic culture of the second century BCE, teetering between an everyday koine and a literary koine, and the possibility to isolate some so-called “Asiatic” stylistic choices that would not have been derided by even the proudest Attic stylists in the imperial age.

On the other hand, the backlash against terms perceived as “too colloquial” (such as the verb βλέπω) in favor of more intellectual language (such as συνοράω), and the inevitable emergence of colloquial language (such as συχνός), in certain semantic environments, together diminish the urgency of any classification of the book within the intricacies of Asiatic style. Instead, the more valuable result is to make the most of the Judaic context of the work and the enthusiasm for Hellenization during the Hasmonean age: such factors probably explain the linguistic zeal of the author, which seems to be guided by an incipient desire for Attic style. One indication in this sense comes, for example, from the use of the adjective ληρώδης (12.44), ‘futile,’ ‘foolish,’ which is a hapax in the *Septuagint*, systematically ignored by the commentators, far removed from Polybian style, but later adopted by Philo and Galen.

The distinctiveness of syntax in varieties of Post-classical and Early Byzantine Greek

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Almost all variationist work uses the standard language as a pivotal reference point’, Milroy (2004:162) writes, adding that ‘the concept of the standard is surprisingly under-specified and undertheorized’. The same is true for Ancient Greek: James (2008) refers to ‘standard’ and ‘substandard’ features in his study of Post-classical complementation, and Horrocks (2010:79-84) more explicitly discusses the formation of the Koinè in terms of the emergence of a standard language. What complicates these and other proposals, however, is that both the notions ‘Koinè’ and ‘standard’ can be used in a variety of ways, and that this is not always explicitly stated: ‘Koinè’ can either represent an umbrella-term for a number of varieties ranging from high to low, or refer specifically to the higher, literary variant (e.g. Swain 1996:19); and ‘standard’ can be understood in terms of norm selection, codification, implementation and elaboration (cf. Haugen 1966), or, in a much less technical sense, to what is (most) commonly used in a genre, region or period.

In this paper, I want to have a closer look at another hidden assumption: in characterizing language varieties, scholars usually do not explicitly differentiate between linguistic levels. ‘Standard’ applies to orthography, morphology, syntax and vocabulary all the same. In

the past, I have already drawn attention to the fact that these linguistic levels do not necessarily correspond in individual documents (e.g. Bentein 2015:479). More recent studies have noted that syntax as a whole may have had a separate status: Torallas Tovar (*forthc.*) notes that orthography and vocabulary were by far the most ‘visible’ aspects of a text, which is in agreement with recent sociolinguistic observations that ‘vocabulary and pronunciation tend to be favored and used as markers of social differences’ (e.g. Hudson 1996:45). From a different point of view, Horrocks (*forthc.*) has also commented on the distinctiveness of syntax, noting that learning literary Greek was in the first place a matter of mastering morphological paradigms. Syntax had to be learned in some other way.

I want to consider some of the sources that can give us insight into the seemingly distinctive status of syntax, such as the works of the Atticist grammarians (for which, see Lee 2013), and stylistic rewritings of documentary and literary texts. For my argument, it will be beneficiary to re-interpret the old distinction between four levels of language as a continuum of ‘schematicity’, with abstract and less abstract constructions (as is done in Construction Grammar).

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Apparent norms in Koiné orthography: iota adscripts in papyrus letters

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In papyri, iotas do not occur predictably in sequences which modern editions regularise to composite characters (subscript φ , η , α), or digraphs (adscript ω , η , α). If iota occurs, it is almost invariably adscript (Clarysse 1976); it is perfectly possible to find two adjacent words using and omitting adscripts, e.g. $\tau\eta\kappa\tilde{\omega}\mu\eta\iota$ (CPR 1 25 l.11):



l: CPR 1 25 l. 11

Papyrus adscripts are therefore frequently labelled inconsistent, “appear[ing] erratically and depend[ing] on personal usage and education.” (Criore1994: 2). In this paper, I argue that the practice of regularising variable adscripts in print both presents an over-standardised picture of papyrus orthography and obscures written norms which can be traced through the distribution of adscripts. Using a sample of 95 papyrus letters,¹ I compared transcripts to digital images, noting the presence, absence, and position of adscripts. The results suggest that their use, though not “standardised” in the sense of each word having one and only one expected orthographic form (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 56), is far from random. Instead, the distribution of adscript forms provides indirect evidence for normative instruction in writing. For example, adscripts occur disproportionately in:

- function words
- opening and closing portions of letters,

suggesting these were reproduced as whole-word units influenced by explicitly taught orthography (Tainturier and Rapp 2001) and phraseology.

At the same time, patterns of omission and confusion, which predominate:

- word-finally (cf. Bagnall 1975: 174 n.17)
- in $-\eta\iota(-)$, $-\alpha\iota(-)$ sequences (cf. Gignac 1975: 183–185; Mayser-Schmoll 1970: 22–24), which are less frequent than $-\omega\iota(-)$,

¹The sample comprises all 2nd-century CE documents from Oxyrhynchus marked as letters in English, German, French or Italian in metadata available through papyri.info (The Duke Collaboratory for Classics Computing, no date).

suggest that lexical frequency and morphological confusion (e.g. between homophonous present subjunctives in ηιϛ and present / future indicatives in –ειϛ (Dickey 2009)) affected writers' certainty in writing <ι> in sequences where it was silent.

Iota adscripts thus appear to tell the story of written norms in Koiné in miniature: (attempted) adherence to a conservative orthography and the competing pressure of phonological change.

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Koine*, dialects, and alternative standards: some new perspectives on the Hellenistic Doric *koinai

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When the Attic-based *koine* began to spread across the Greek-speaking world, contact between this new supra-regional variety of Greek and Doric dialects produced various degrees of dialect-*koine* admixture in the language of the inscriptions that have come down to us. The texts from certain areas (Aetolia, Achaea, Rhodes, Sicily) show a particularly

homogeneous use of this admixture of Doric and selected *koine* features over a relatively long period of time, suggesting that it had become a local ‘standard’. Such new local varieties arisen from contact with the *koine* are conventionally known as Doric *koinai*. These seem to have functioned as temporary local alternatives to the increasingly prestigious *koine*, especially in the context of the local administration. However, despite the increasing interest for the Doric *koinai* emerged in recent decades, the factors that led to greater resistance to the Attic-based *koine* in certain areas, while in others the *koine* rapidly became the prestigious variety standardly used in high written contexts, have not yet been explained in a comprehensive and satisfactory way. In particular, scholars generally have not investigated the socio-historical context in which the Doric *koinai* developed. In this paper I aim to cast some new light on the nature and development of these ‘alternative standards’ by considering their use in the light of the historical events known to us and in relation to different linguistic registers. In particular, after presenting an overview of the Doric *koinai* that developed across the Greek-speaking world, I shall concentrate on the interaction between dialect and *koine* in Sicily, where a regional *koina* is attested, and compare it with the evidence from nearby South Italy, where a *koina* did not develop. I shall argue that political cohesion and regional identity in the areas where Doric *koinai* developed played a crucial role in the resistance to the *koine* and the promotion of a local *koina* as the prestigious language of the local administration.

The *homopoliteia* between Cos and Calymnus and the Doric of the South Aegean

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Modern linguistic research presents the Hellenistic *koine* as a supraregional variant similar to modern standard languages, as the official language of Greece and the true national language after the Macedonian conquest, which replaced the regional standards that the city-states employed during the Classical period. All the linguistic studies seem to adopt the traditional perspective of the Hellenistic world seen as the era of the great Hellenistic kingdoms and the period when old Greece was under Macedonian rule. Therefore, according to the narrative, the Hellenistic *koine* emerged as the lingua franca which was spoken in vast territories of the East and was also the language of the Macedonian army and administration. However, the Hellenistic public inscriptions that come from mainland and Aegean Greece present an enormous linguistic variation (written in pure *koine*, in pure dialect or in an admixture of the two), and the region that we call Greece today was still politically fragmented, yet endowed with a flourishing network of autonomous and democratic *poleis*. These are an understudied source for sociolinguistics and the political implications of linguistic conformity and divergence; I am dedicating my PhD thesis to these texts, viewed through this linguistic lens.

The present paper focuses on the region of the South-East Aegean and the *homopoliteia* decree (IG XII 4, 1, 152) between Cos and Calymnus (c. 208 BC). The term *homopoliteia* is unique while the inscription is written in the regional standard Doric dialect known as the Doric *koine*. My aim is to put the *homopoliteia* inscription in its local and wider context. Therefore, through a detailed analysis of the text I consider the language choice made by the Coans and the Calymnians drawing conclusions about the ethnic and local/civic identity that the *poleis* wished to project and promote during a period when power dynamics had patently changed and the kings were the major political actors, while Greek culture (in particular *polis*' culture) had expanded to the East. By considering the criteria which define the 'national standard' languages of our era I discuss the significance of the local varieties employed by the Hellenistic city-states when conducting their political business and interacting with one another within the same democratic political culture.

On the transmission of some Atticistic lexica

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Several second-century lexica are strictly linked with the Atticistic movement: they provide lists of Attic authors to be admitted as models of language and stand as a treasure-trove of words or expressions which are to be favoured or dismissed. The transmission of these lexica is a thorny issue: several works were harshly epitomized and are now regrettably lacunose, some have been anonymously transmitted; moreover, all the texts now available are likely to have been modified over the centuries with the inclusion of additional material absent in the original text.

The present paper will focus on some case-studies, by taking into account Phrynichus' *Eclogae*, Philemon's fragmentary lexicon and the *Philetairos*, a short collection of Atticist material come down to us under the name of Herodian. None of them is testified in manuscripts earlier than the beginnings of the fourteenth century: in all likelihood, their 'resurrection' was due to the scholarly activity of Thomas Magister and his learned circle, who made massive use of these lexica when compiling the *Ecloga Vocum Atticarum*, a work which testifies the revival of the Atticistic movement and the unblemished imitation of fifth-century Attic writers in the erudite *milieux* of the Palaeologan age.

In light of these circumstances, some issues will be addressed and briefly discussed: to what extent the transmission influenced the current textual *facies* of these lexica? How many entries may have been added at a later stage in view of Magister's (and his colleagues) own attitude towards Atticism? Can a more precise knowledge of the channels of transmission help us understand better the original views of the second- or third-century lexicographers about the notions of 'Attic' and 'koiné'?

Teaching Greek to Theologians: what, and how.

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When any language textbook is written, its language is to some extent artificial, because the textbook writer has had to reduce it to a set of forms and rules that can give the learner a sense of the standard language, whether or not any person has ever spoken that form. In English this gives us the issue of EFL speakers finding it easier to speak to other EFL students, whose use of English conforms to this hypothetical standard, than to a native speaker, whose English is not only removed from the standard, but laden with irony and other features which make a strict understanding of the words and phrases impossible. For Ancient Greek the situation is complicated by factors such as differences by region, genre, and time period, by the concept of there being a 'Greek' as a standard language in any learnable sense. Students wanting to read Homer are usually taught to read a version of Attic, which they modify. Students wanting to read the Bible, however, are taught through separate channels, taught an artificial language extracted and constructed from a narrow but disparate textual corpus. The order of topics is often set by appearance and frequency in the New Testament, that is, motivated by issues external to the structure of the language rather than by any linguistic logic; the writers of the New Testament were writing their own imperfect, locally conditioned language, full of non-literal terms and multilingual influences, yet ascertaining as precisely as possible what they meant through their language is a process at the heart of much theological thought. This paper deals with the history of twentieth-century textbooks used to enable people to read the Bible in Greek, the nature of the language which has emerged from this, the relationship between grammar and exegesis, and the pedagogical problems which arise in teaching it.

The reception of Atticist material in Byzantine lexicography: towards a linguistic approach

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Recent years have witnessed a surge of interest in the theoretical investigation of Greek exegesis. Grammars, scholia and the other tools of ancient scholarship are now eliciting linguistic approaches aimed at pinpointing their methodology and theoretical stances. Atticist lexicography too partakes of this new trend: Classicists are becoming more willing to approach the lexica not merely as repositories of literary information but also as precious evidence on language evolution and the way it was viewed in antiquity. In this field, a completely unexplored issue is the linguistic background of the survival of Atticist material in Byzantine lexicography, a fact which reflects the general neglect of linguistics in Byzantine studies.

Starting from this state of the art, my paper will make the case for the linguistic investigation of Byzantine lexicography. I will focus on two case-studies from the first Byzantine lexica (the

Synagoge, Photius, Suda) in order to illustrate the role of Atticist glosses in the linguistic context of Byzantium. I will argue that the need to negotiate between the usages of Atticising literary language and those of ‘vernacular’ Medieval Greek significantly shaped the Byzantine selection of the material transmitted by earlier lexicographical sources.

Linguistic features of a Late Antique translation from Syriac into Greek: between standards and Semitic influence

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We know very few ancient Greek texts which were originally written in another language and then translated into Greek. Among them, the most known is the Septuagint, the Greek Hellenistic version of the Hebrew Old Testament. If we except this text, linguistic studies on the Greek of the translations are very few. But we should not forget that existed other texts which were translated into ancient Greek later, especially during Late Antiquity. From the 3rd century onwards, some Syriac texts found their way into Greek (e.g. “The Book of the Laws of the Countries” by a pupil of Bardaisanes), but such texts have been so far overlooked, especially from a linguistic point of view.

The aim of this paper is to fill partly this scholarly gap and to present some relevant linguistic features of one of these Greek translations: the metrical sermon on Jonah and the Ninivites by Ephrem the Syrian (4th century). The language of this translation seems to be, to a large extent, a high literary Greek inspired by both the Attic standard and the Koiné standard. Moreover, there are some morfo-syntactic features which tend to be considered as typical for a later stage of Ancient Greek. As a translation from Syriac, the Greek of this text shows some influences from the language of the source text, especially in syntax and lexicon.

The analysis of the particular linguistic nature of this kind of “Greek of translation” can reveal the hybrid nature of the Greek language used in high, poetical literary works of Christian faith: a mixture of ancient Attic and Koiné Greek, with sporadic elements typical of a later stage of the Greek language, and in addition a Semitic nuance that derives from the source text.

Where She Wept: Locating Space of *Joseph and Aseneth*

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The paper seeks to combine linguistics analysis, archeology and narratology in an effort to establish provenance of *Joseph and Aseneth*. *JaAs* is a Greek-language Old Testament pseudepigrapha of unknown date and place of composition. It tells the story of Aseneth, who meets Joseph and falls in love with him only to be rejected for being pagan. After a week of

fasting and praying in her 'lofty room' in her father's estate, she sees a 'celestial man' who appears before her and converts her into believing in a single God. Short afterwards she reunites with Joseph and they get married.

The text combines many elements: the plot and paratactic style are borrowed from the Old Testament, romantic motifs closely resemble Greek novels, symbolism is often compared with that of Early Christianity and Jewish mysticism, the author seems to be acknowledged of Egyptian realities, etc. For that reason it is difficult to establish the text's provenance basing only on its literary merits. One of the possible ways to solve this riddle would be to look at how space is represented in the work. The reason why this category is used is that space features prominently in this text, as almost all movements of Aseneth are reported by the author.

In order to achieve it, the paper reconstructs imaginary space of the novel using narratological approach. Then the space is compared with historical realities of classical Greece and Hellenistic Egypt. Finally, the paper traces using key spatial terms in *JaA* with their usage in Classical texts, literary Koine and papyri.

My findings are that *JaA* is surprisingly distinct in its employment of terms from either literary conventions of Attic(ising) Greek or OT and NT Greek. Nevertheless, *JaA*'s usage perfectly corresponds with the language of papyri. Similarly, imaginary space of Aseneth's house follows the layout of Hellenistic estates uncovered in Egypt during excavations.

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ἀνπιμοῶν or ἀμοισβητεῖν? Comparing 'standards' in Athenian and Cretan legal inscriptions.

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This paper will consider standardization in the language of Athenian and Cretan legal inscriptions dated before the end of the fifth century BCE, i.e. those leading up to a key moment in standardization of epigraphic writing, the official adoption of the Ionic script in Athens in 403/02. Although Athens and Attic Greek are taken as the 'standard' for both Greek law and the Greek language in modern scholarship - the Cambridge Companion to Greek Law divides the chapters into sections under the headings Law in Athens and Law outside Athens (Gagarin & Cohen 2006); the most recent edition of Cretan legal inscriptions highlights variants from Attic (Gagarin & Perlman 2016) - the 'standard' (as in) for early Greek legal inscriptions is set by Crete, or more specifically, Gortyn, which in this period produced more legislation and more inscriptions than anywhere else in the Greek world (Gagarin & Perlman 2016), but also resists the *koine* for a remarkably long time (Bile 1988).

The legal inscriptions from Athens and Crete, as two different types of 'standards', are interesting material for investigation of linguistic standardization. A comparative study of the

development of various linguistic and structural features of Attic and Cretan legal inscriptions, including the use of enactment formulas, and asyndeton, will be used to show different approaches to standardization of Greek inscriptional practices and epigraphic language, and the possibility of a legal *koine*, or supra-dialectal register features, will be considered. This paper will argue for the importance of epigraphic evidence for standards and varieties in the pre-*koine* period.

Aristophanes, fragment 706 Kassel-Austin (685 Kock) and Plato, *Cratylus* 418B-E in their Textual, Social, and Epigraphic Contexts

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A reference to ‘the middle dialect of the city’ in a three-line fragment attributed to Aristophanes and that fragment’s description of that ‘dialect’ as ‘neither ἀστεία, urban(e), and ὑποθηλυτέρα, somewhat effeminate, nor ἀνελεύθερος, servile, and ὑπαγροικότερα, “somewhat clownish” (LSJ *s.v.* ὑπάγροικος)’ are mainstays of discussions of social, geographic, and gender-based variation in Classical Attic. Likewise, Plato’s report of Socrates’ claim that ‘women conserve the old form of speech’ rightly occupies a prominent place in the discussion (of the study) of variation in and of varieties of Ancient Greek (and to some extent in Latin). Fruitful attention has been paid to the two examples of such conservatism that Socrates is said to have adduced: we know, as historical linguists, that these pronunciations were, in fact, innovative, not conservative. Also, they are more likely to be Boeotian in origin than an Attic variety, that is, if they were to be found in any Attic at all either in Socrates’ time or in Plato’s.

However, despite the wealth of scholarly attention that both passages have received, discussions of the implications of these two passages will be shown to benefit further still, not only from close reading, with particular attention to textual criticism, to syntax, and to lexicology, but also from careful consideration of their contexts in the *Cratylus* of Plato and in Old Comedy and in their fifth- and fourth-century contexts of Athenian epigraphy, society, and attitudes to neighbouring Boeotia, the Boeotians, and the distinctive and innovative features of the Boeotian dialect.

Such close and contextualised readings of the fragment from Aristophanes and the extract from the *Cratylus* of Plato also will inform our approach to other such *testimonia* to socio-linguistic variation in Classical Attic Greek and will further our study of linguistic variation by gender, by status, and by place.

κοῦδ’ ἂν ἠττίκιζεν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς φίλους ἠισχύνη: imposing standards on the 5th c. BCE stage

When an alien language or dialect is commented or discussed upon the stage, this discussion reflects fifth-century BC discourses on dialect, and contributes to the further development of both dialect studies and their vocabulary. This paper will argue that the role of Old Attic comedy is crucial for the establishment of the concept and vocabulary of "Standard Attic". Old Attic comedy played with Greek dialects, used marked language, and evaluated characters speaking in non-Attic and thus 'deviant' forms of Greek. The much-quoted examples include Megarian (Ar. Ach. 729-835), Boeotian (Ar. Ach. 860-954), Ionian (Ar. Pax 45-48), Laconian (Ar. Lys. 1242-1315). Quite a few dramatic titles also suggest that the opposition between Attic and non-Attic as well as regional differentiation were the focus of attention and an important part of the plot of these plays. Characters on stage comment on linguistic variations (Eupolis frs. 99, 214, and 385 PCG, Plat. Com. Fr. 183 PCG, Stratt. frs. 29 and 49 PCG). Further, the function of marked linguistic varieties in less known passages such as Crates incert. fr. 46 PCG, Eup. frs. 147, 149 and 151 PCG, Ameips. Fr. 17 PCG), and Plat. Com. fr. 61 PCG will be analysed in order to prove that a clear distinction is imposed between social and regional varieties by Attic speakers, for both an Attic and non-Attic audience.

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Double standard models: Classical Attic and Greek Koine

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Greek Koine has been described as a double system in which coexisted a high and a low levels, literary and non-literary. The influence of Atticism was exerted only on the high level, but this model was not new in fact. Some centuries before, in Vth. century Athens, the oppositions established between Old and New Attic, *ἀρχαία Ἀττικὴ* and *νέα Ἀττικὴ*, on the one hand, and spoken Attic, on the other, displayed a similar tension about the building of a standard. This paper will show with different examples the main trends of the linguistic changes targeted by two confronting ways of understanding standard.

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Menander's Early Koiné and the Atticists' Overreaction

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This paper offers a new approach to origin of the Koiné, based on sociolinguistic work. It then presents some morphological and morphosyntactic data from Menander, attempting to show how the Menander's language reflects trends in the development of the Koiné, in particular: the diminutive; neutralisations between the future middle and passive; and atypical patterns of augmentation. The data are discussed from the perspective of theories of koineisation (in particular 'process-based' models of koiné formation), but they are also used to highlight the views of ancient linguistic theorists - the Atticists. The thesis is advanced that the Atticists overreacted to aspects of the language of Menander. The paper then discusses further the relationship between Menander and the Atticists, attempting to find out why this overreaction took place, and showing how this relationship has distorted linguistic study of Menander's language, particularly with reference to word-formation. The overall thrust of the paper is that data-driven approaches must be prioritised against assumptions about linguistic history inherited from prescriptive or monolithic accounts of linguistic history.

Xenophon, Professional Military Vocabulary and the Formation of the Koiné

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Xenophon's style was perceived as peculiar already in antiquity. Apart from supposed Ionicisms and Doricisms, ancient scholars also commented on X.'s frequent employment of 'words that need glossing and figurative expressions' (ὀνόματα γλωσσηματικά καὶ τροπικά, Galen, 18.414K). Here, they seem to have had in view X.'s remarkable track record of being the first extant author to use a large number of compound words—e.g. ὑπερδέξιος, lit. 'high up on the right-hand side', but 'higher ground' at e.g. An. 3.4.37; ἀκρωνυχία, lit. 'tip of the toe(nail)', but 'mountain spur' at An. 3.4.37—, and to employ existing words in a new metaphorical sense—e.g. στόμα 'mouth', used of the 'front' of an army at e.g. An. 3.4.42; οὐρά 'tail', used of the 'rear' of an army on the march at e.g. An. 3.4.38. In both antiquity and modern times (most authoritatively in the wide-ranging study of Gautier 1911) usages like these have usually been regarded as creative coinages and poetic flourishes on X.'s part and as reflecting an unrestrained, 'non-Attic' temperament (cf. Helladius, apud Phot. Bibl. 533b25-8, warning against seeing X. as a 'lawgiver of Attic usage' (νομοθέτην ... ἄπτικισμοῦ), and Wackernagel's (1907: 5) dismissal of X. as a *Halbattiker*).

In my paper I will present a different approach. Starting from the observation that X. is quite precise in his use of military and other ‘specialized’ terms (for which see e.g. Huitink and Rood 2016), I will argue that, taken together, many items in X.’s vocabulary which remain difficult to account for exhibit the structure of a professional register, in casu a military register. Following the general ‘templates’ for emerging professional registers laid out by e.g. De Meo 1986, Langslow 2000, Willi 2003, I will show that the words in question (a) are metaphors of the expected kind (usually based on simple physical resemblances); (b) belong to productive word-formations; (c) fulfil other criteria characteristic of technical vocabulary: for instance, they have a clear technical reference and are not likely to have been used outside the military sphere for which they were designed, and they seem standardized (for example by being expressively neutral, i.e. not carrying positive or negative connotations). In addition, I trace the *Nachleben* of the words in question, many of which recur in X.’s near-contemporary Aeneas Tacticus, a general (probably) and the writer of a technical manual on siegecraft, and in Polybius and other *koiné* authors. It is more plausible that all these authors tapped into actual, living military language than that X.’s supposedly creative coinages and usages had a rapid and lasting influence.

This exercise presents a new way of looking at the diction of an author like X., ‘horizontally’, through the lens of professional vocabulary, rather than ‘vertically’, trying to attribute individual ‘strange’ words to a source in earlier Greek literature or dialects. I will argue that a similar method can be fruitfully applied to other realms of X.’s vocabulary and that of others (e.g. to ‘horse’-related terms and ‘economic’ vocabulary, both widespread in the fourth century). In my paper I will also go into the consequences for our views of (a) X.’s style, as opposed to that of e.g. Thucydides (who eschews living military vocabulary); (b) the formation of the literary *koiné* as involving a process of adopting what Adrados (2005) has called a ‘subterranean’ vocabulary; (c) the version of ‘Attic’ propagated by grammarians, lexicographers and other authors associated with the Second Sophistic, who debated the question whether X. met the ‘standard’ they created (see Münscher 1920).

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