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of Atticism

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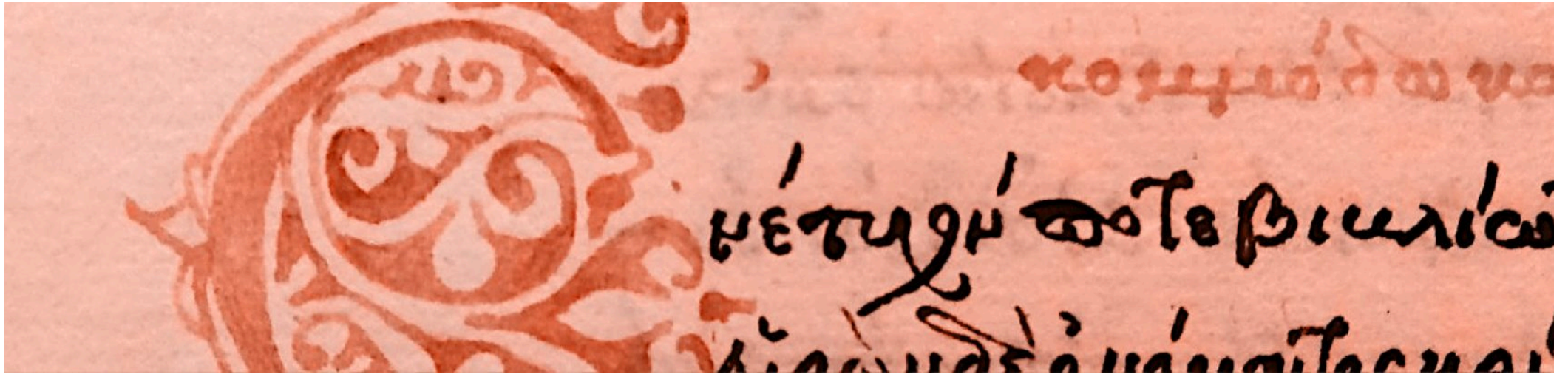
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The **Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism** is one of the research outputs of **PURA**, a five-year ERC Consolidator project (grant agreement no. 865817), which began in January 2021 at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. PURA investigates the theories of **linguistic purism** that were developed in ancient Greek culture, and the way in which they were received in later periods. The focus of our analysis is **Atticist lexica**, ancient 'dictionaries' that collect linguistic features to be cultivated or avoided in correct Greek.

DEA contributes to the three main objectives of PURA:

1. to provide a comprehensive mapping of **Atticist purism** by analyzing the linguistic theories of Atticist lexica;

2. to study the intellectual and cultural **legacy** of Atticism in antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the early modern age by charting the history both of the lexica as **books** and of their authors;

3. to make the theories of these specialist and intricate texts more approachable and **accessible** outside the traditional format of critical editions.

To fulfil these objectives, the three sections of DEA, all of which are **open-access**, collect our work on the lexicographic entries in the Atticist lexica and their linguistic history; the major scholars and works of the ancient and Byzantine Atticist debate; and the transmission of the lexica in the medieval and early modern periods. Visit About DEA for more information.

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Contacts

For information about DEA, please email dea_editor@unive.it. For information about the PURA project, please contact the Principal Investigator: Prof. Olga Tribulato, Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università Ca' Foscari

Venezia, Dorsoduro 3484/D, 30123 Venezia, Italia. olga.tribulato@unive.it.

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Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism

Lexicographic entries

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εἰ with neuter adjective and future

(Phryn. *PS* 3.8–10, Phryn. *PS* fr. 199)

A. Main sources

(1) Phryn. *PS* 3.8–10: ἀνόητά γ᾽ εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἦλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνόητος εἶ ἐπιτάττων τοῦτο. Ἀττικὸν γὰρ τὸ λέγειν ᾽ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιτάξεις᾽.

> Ἀττικὸν cod. : Ἀττικῶν de Borries.

> ἀνόητά γ᾽ εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἦλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί ('It is foolish if you came to order this to me'; Eup. fr. 371 = C.1): Meaning ἀνόητος εἶ ἐπιτάττων τοῦτο ('You are foolish to order this'). For it is Attic to say ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιτάξεις ('It is foolish if you will order this').

(2) Phryn. *PS* fr. 199 (= Phot. α 2019): ἀνόητα, εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις· οἱ μὲν ἀγοραῖοι καὶ πολλοὶ οὕτως, Ἀττικῶς δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματισμένως Εὔπολις· ἀνόητά <γ᾽ εἰ τοῦτ᾽> ἦλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί.

> ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιτάξεις: People who speak in an unsophisticated and common fashion say thus, while Eupolis (fr. 371 = C.1) said in an Attic and artful fashion ἀνόητά <γ᾽ εἰ τοῦτ᾽> ἦλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί ('It is foolish if you came to order this to me').

B. Other erudite sources

N/A

C. *Loci classici*, other relevant texts

(1) Eup. fr. 371 = Phryn. *PS* 3.8–10 (A.1), Phryn. *PS* fr. 199 (= Phot. α 2019) (A.2).

(2) Thuc. 3.37.3: πάντων δὲ δεινότατον εἰ βέβαιον ἡμῖν μηδὲν καθεστήξει ὧν ἂν δόξῃ πέρι, μηδὲ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι χείροσι νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρωμένη πόλις κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἀκύροις.

But the worst thing of all is, if none of the things regarding which we deliberate will be settled, nor will we know that a city using less good, but stable laws is stronger than one using good, but ineffectual laws.

(3) Eur. *Heracl.* 763–5:
κακὸν δ᾽, ὦ πόλις,
εἰ ξένους ἱκτῆρας παραδώσομεν
κελεύσμασιν Ἄργους.

City, it is bad if we will surrender suppliant men because of the impositions of Argos.

(4) Ar. *V.* 425: τοῦτο μέντοι δεινὸν ἤδη, νὴ Δί᾽, εἰ μαχούμεθα.

This is surely bad, by Zeus, if we will fight.

(5) Pl. *Lg.* 962c.1–3: εἰ δ᾽ ἔσται τοῦ τοιούτου κενή τις πόλις, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἄνους οὖσα καὶ ἀναίσθητος εἰ πράξει τὸ προστυχὸν ἑκάστοτε ἐν ἑκάσταις τῶν πράξεων.

But if the city will be deprived of such a thing, it is no surprise if, being without understanding and common sense, it will act casually, at all times and in any circumstances.

(6) D. 27.38: τί οὖν ποτ᾽ ἐστὶ τὸ δεινόν, εἰ μὴ ταῦτα δόξει τηλικαύτας ὑπερβολὰς ἔχοντα;

What is terrible, then, if these things will not seem to have such a degree of excess?

(7) Hom. *Il.* 1.11–2:
          ὃ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα.

For he came to the swift ships of the Achaeans to ransom his daughter.

(8) Pi. *O.* 5.19–21:
ἱκέτας σέθεν ἔρχομαι Λυδίοις ἀπύων ἐν αὐλοῖς,
αἰτήσων πόλιν εὐανορίαισι τάνδε κλυταῖς
δαιδάλλειν.

I come as your suppliant, talking to the sound of Lydian pipes, to ask [you] to adorn this city with deeds of illustrious courage.

(9) Hdt. 4.155.4: ὦναξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον παρὰ σὲ χρησόμενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς.

Lord, I came to you to ask about the speech.

(10) Phot. *Epistulae* 292.96–7: ἡ δὲ διὰ μόνον ἄλογον μῖσος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἄκουσα ἐλαθεῖσα, ἄμεινον μὲν εἰ πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἐπαναστρέψει ἄνδρα.

> She (i.e. a woman who had committed adultery), who has been sent away by [her] husband only for irrational hatred and against her will, it is better, if she will return to her husband.

(11) Constantinus VII *De legationibus Romanorum ad gentes* 195.1–3 de Boor: πρός γε καὶ πλεῖστα ἐπιμεμφόμενος ἦν τοὺς Πέρσας, ἅτε δὴ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἄδικα πεπονθώς, καὶ ὡς τούτου ἕνεκα ἔρχεται πολεμήσων.

> And for the most part he (i.e. Sizaboulos, Dizabul Istämi) was reproachful of the Persians, since he had suffered terribly at their hand, and so for this he comes to fight them.

(12) Anna Comnene *Alexiad* 11.15.2: ἔρχομαι διηγησομένη, ὅπερ οὐ πάνυ τι βούλομαι, τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τελευτήν.

> I come to tell, which I do not desire the least, the death of the emperor.

D. General commentary

The glosses in the epitome of the *PS* (A.1) and in Photius (A.2) evidently derive from the same materials in the *plenior* text of the *PS*. However, the information they provide is quite dissimilar, most likely because they have manipulated the content of their common source differently. On the one hand, in the epitome of the *PS* (A.1), Eupolis' line (ἀνόητά γ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἦλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί) stands as the lemma. This is first paraphrased (ἀντὶ τοῦ) with the semantically equivalent personal formulation (ἀνόητος εἶ ἐπιτάττων τοῦτο), then an impersonal construction similar to the one used by Eupolis (ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις) is indicated as Attic. A reasonable inference is that it is treated on an equal footing with Eupolis' fragment. Photius (A.2), on the other hand, posits a sharp opposition between a construction like ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις, which he says was commonly used by people who spoke unsophisticated Greek (οἱ μὲν ἀγοραῖοι καὶ πολλοὶ οὕτως), and Eupolis' ἀνόητά γ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἦλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί, which he praises as Attic and artful (Ἀττικῶς δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματισμένως). Photius makes no mention of the personal construction ἀνόητος εἶ ἐπιτάττων τοῦτο.

It is thus hard to reconcile the information provided by the two glosses and reconstruct the content of Phrynichus' original version. Olson (2014, 98) claims that it is difficult to recognise what Phrynichus actually identified as an Atticism. In his view, the epitome of the *PS* (A.1) and Photius (A.2) are pursuing mutually irreconcilable aims. He suggests that while the epitome of the *PS* (A.1) indicates that the impersonal construction of a neuter adjective as an apposition to a hypothetical εἰ-clause (equally ἀνόητα + εἰ + future indicative and Eupolis' ἀνόητα + εἰ + ἔρχομαι + future participle) is the proper Attic equivalent of the corresponding personal construction (ἀνόητος εἶ + present participle), Photius (A.2) opposes Eupolis' ἔρχομαι + future participle, which is Attic and artful, with the construction that uses only the future indicative.

The construction neuter adjective + εἰ + future indicative, as in ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις, is abundantly documented in Attic prose and poetry (see C.2, C.3, C.4, C.5, C.6). Therefore, while the epitome of the *PS* appears reliable in its presentation of ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις as correct Attic Greek, Photius' comment nonetheless requires attention. A further complication, lamented by Olson (2014, 98), could be that Eupolis' construction

ἔρχομαι + future participle is just standard Greek rather than an Atticism (see <u>C.</u>7, <u>C.8</u>, <u>C.</u>9, but the list of occurrences is potentially infinite), and it is therefore unclear why Photius would present it in opposition to the simple future indicative.

There might be a way out of this complication. For a start, the fact that Photius describes Eupolis' construction ἔρχομαι + future participle as an Atticism does not imply that it is exclusively Attic, as Olson seems to believe. Instead, Photius may simply be praising ἔρχομαι + future participle as a good Attic construction, *qua* used by Eupolis, and therefore worthy of imitation. Secondly, the fact that Photius indicates ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις as careless and common Greek (οἱ μὲν ἀγοραῖοι καὶ πολλοὶ οὕτως) in opposition to Eupolis' more artful formulation does not automatically entail that the former is also incorrect. The less elaborate construction ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις may simply have been presented as unsophisticated and banal, and therefore unworthy of special consideration by the aspiring sophist (see <u>F.1</u>). This particular interest in the construction ἔρχομαι + future participle may have a straightforward explanation in light of the gradual disappearance of the future participle in Post-classical Greek and the increased use of the infinitive to indicate the purpose of an action (see Mayser, *Gramm.* vol. 2,1, 220–3; Blass, Debrunner 1976, §§ 351, 418.4, and 425.4).

Taking these points into consideration, a hypothetical reconstruction of the content of Phrynichus' gloss might then be along these lines (for the sake of convenience, I follow the structure of the gloss in the epitome of the *PS*). Eupolis' impersonal construction ἀνόητά γ᾽ εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἦλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί is first compared to the corresponding personal construction (ἀνόητος εἶ ἐπιτάττων τοῦτο). This use of ἀντὶ τοῦ ('meaning', 'with the sense of') to introduce the latter construction implies that it is a paraphrase of the former, rather than marking an opposition between the impersonal and the personal constructions as though they are Attic and non-Attic, respectively. Secondly, Eupolis' line is compared to a similar formulation, namely ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις. Although this too is correct Greek, Phrynichus probably regarded it as unsophisticated and stylistically dull. Consequently, he recommends Eupolis' formulation as a more masterful choice for the would-be sophist. In condensing this array of information, the epitome of the *PS* and Photius follow quite different paths. The epitome of the *PS* (<u>A.1</u>) prefers to omit the section that poses a stylistic opposition between ἀνόητά γ᾽ εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἦλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί and ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις, thus effectively presenting both constructions as though they are of equal merit. Photius (<u>A.2</u>) only devotes his attention to the stylistic opposition between Eupolis' construction ἀνόητά γ᾽ εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἦλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί, which he recommends as truly Attic and worthy of imitation, and its less sophisticated equivalent ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις, which (though Attic *per se*) looks like a trivial, common, and unremarkable formulation.

E. Byzantine and Modern Greek commentary

Examples of ἔρχομαι + future participle in the work of Byzantine writers are not especially rare (<u>C.11</u>, which depends on Menander Protector's historical writing, <u>C.12</u>). Neuter adjective + εἰ + future indicative is, however, less common (<u>C.10</u>). While these constructions are a sign of a more elaborate style, they do not appear to be of a particularly high register, nor are they limited to the more Atticising writers. There is no exact Byzantine parallel for Eupolis' construction ἀνόητα εἰ + ἔρχομαι + future participle, nor are there examples of the construction neuter adjective + εἰ + ἔρχομαι + future participle.

F. Commentary on individual texts and occurrences

(1)   Phryn. *PS* fr. 199 (= Phot. α 2019) (<u>A.2</u>)

While ἀγοραῖος is often used to indicate a mindset or a behaviour (see Phryn. *PS* fr. *72 [= Σ^b α 296, Phot. α 233, *ex* Σ'''; cf. *Su*. α 308], and Suet. Περὶ βλασφ. 6), less frequently it may also indicate a category of speakers. The examination of some key occurrences of ἀγοραῖος and οἱ ἀγοραῖοι to indicate a sociolinguistic category may clarify the point behind Photius' remark.

(i) ἀγοραῖος indicates a category of speakers in one passage of Phrynichus: *Ecl.* 176 ὀπωροπώλης· τοῦθ' οἱ ἀγοραῖοι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ πεπαιδευμένοι ὀπωρώνης ὡς καὶ Δημοσθένης ('ὀπωροπώλης: This is the form used by those who employ an unsophisticated language, while educated people use ὀπωρώνης ['fruit-seller'] like Demosthenes (18.262)': see ὀπωροπώλης). The point of this gloss is that ὀπωροπώλης is the commonly used unmarked form, whereas more educated people prefer the rare form ὀπωρώνης, which is attested in Demosthenes. However, the fact that ὀπωροπώλης is attributed to οἱ ἀγοραῖοι does not also mean that it is incorrect Greek. There is no apparent reason why it should be regarded as such, since compound words with a second element -πώλης are perfectly ordinary formations (numerous parallels are attested in Aristophanes, for instance) and are normally accepted by Phrynichus as well (one may compare *PS* 52.13, *PS* 107.1–2, and *Ecl.* 63; see further ὀπωροπώλης⬈). To conclude, the ascription of ὀπωροπώλης to οἱ ἀγοραῖοι indicates that this is a popular word used in everyday speech, as opposed to the cultism ὀπωρώνης, which is a marked form with a clear literary pedigree.

(ii) Two relevant examples of οἱ ἀγοραῖοι appear in Theodorus Prodromus' grammar, Περὶ γραμματικῆς 124.27–9 Göttling ὁ δὲ νυκτάλωψ εἶδός ἐστι νοσήματος τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ἀγοραίοις ὀρνιθοτυφλότης ὀνομαζόμενον ('The νυκτάλωψ is a type of disease which is popularly called ὀρνιθοτυφλότης') and 129.24–6 Göttling λύγξ λυγγός· ἔστι δὲ εἶδος νοσήματος τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ἀγοραίοις κλόξος λεγόμενον ('λύγξ λυγγός: It is a type of disease which is popularly called κλόξος') (on this treatise, falsely attributed to the grammarian Thedosius, see Zagklas 2011). In both cases, ἀγοραῖος indicates the vulgar, non-technical name of a disease as opposed to the technical term. Here again a distinction is drawn between every-day and informal language (used by οἱ ἀγοραῖοι) and its marked equivalent (in this case, the *Fachsprache*).

(iii) An extremely significant parallel for the case of ἀγοραῖος indicating a sociolinguistic category is Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 114 ἡ δὲ φράσις εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀνώμαλός τε καὶ παρηλλαγμένη· καὶ συντάξεσι γὰρ καὶ λέξεσι κέχρηται ἐνίοτε μὲν οὐκ ἠμελημέναις, κατὰ δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀγοραίοις καὶ πεπατημέναις, καὶ οὐδὲν τῆς ὁμαλῆς καὶ αὐτοσχεδίου φράσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐμφύτου χάριτος, καθ' ἣν ὁ εὐαγγελικός τε καὶ ἀποστολικὸς διαμεμόρφωται λόγος, οὐδ' ἴχνος ἐμφαίνων ('The style [i.e., Photius is describing a pseudo-apostolic writing called *The peregrinations of the Apostles*, on which see the comment *ad loc*. in Bianchi, Schiano 2019 vol. 1, 511 n. 1] is very uneven and diverse. For it uses constructions and terms which occasionally are not careless, but for the most part are trivial and frequently used, and has nothing of the regular and spontaneous style and the natural grace with which the diction of the Gospel and the Apostles is provided, not even showing traces of it'). Photius does not use ἀγοραῖος to indicate strictly incorrect Greek, but rather to refer to common, unsophisticated constructions and vocabulary (notice the contextual use of πατέω) in contrast to more carefully written Greek. This opposition between οὐκ ἠμελημέναις and ἀγοραίοις καὶ πεπατημέναις is strongly reminiscent of the situation in A.2, in that a divide is postulated between more careful and attentive (marked) forms of expression and those that are informal and common (unmarked).

To conclude, the sociolinguistic category identified with ἀγοραῖος and οἱ ἀγοραῖοι can be associated with informal, everyday language, the kind of people who would have used at the market, and which can be described as unmarked and unsophisticated. This provides a relatively good explanation as to why, in the glosses discussed above (A.1, A.2), a construction attributed to οἱ ἀγοραῖοι is deemed unworthy of imitation by the aspiring sophist, even though it could not be regarded as incorrect Greek. In this sense, ἀγοραῖος and οἱ ἀγοραῖοι are very different from labels such as ἰδιωτικόν and ἰδιῶται, which are rather an indication of incorrect language. One could then argue that ἀγοραῖος and οἱ ἀγοραῖοι provide a counterpart in terms of register to οἱ πολλοί, which is in turn more

often used to indicate the diffusion of a given expression rather than its precise linguistic connotation (see Matthaios 2013, 104: 'Dagegen ist insgesamt festzustellen, dass der Markant οἱ πολλοί in seiner quantitativen Dimension zu verstehen ist. Er weist auf die Verbreitung eines Ausdrucks hin, unabhängig davon, ob der betreffende Gebrauch aus der alten Literatursprache stammt oder der synchronen Sprachsituation des Lexikographen zuzuordnen ist'). In a number of cases, these two parameters, οἱ ἀγοραῖοι and οἱ πολλοί, clearly go hand in hand, since a word or expression commonly in use (οἱ πολλοί) may also be an element of everyday, informal speech (οἱ ἀγοραῖοι). Further, these two categories could provide the opposing polarity to the sociolinguistic category of πολιτικός, which applies to words and expressions that, though commonly in use, are provided with a degree of linguistic prestige qualifying them as good Attic.

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the Greek construction of a neuter adjective with εἰ followed by a future, discussed in the Atticist lexica Phryn. PS 3.8–10 and Phryn. PS fr. 199.

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