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determining one's noble status (Miller 1953:47; cf. Jacoby 328, fragment 35a). Miller therefore contends that we have evidence for groups of paternal and maternal kinsmen (whether those relationships were strictly blood relationships or simply a social classification). Similarly, the term *phûlon* is used as a general classificatory term in Homer and Early Greek poetry. It is only later that the related term *phulaí* seems to have been taken up to describe civic, pre-*pólis* social groupings.

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Koine, Features of

1. FEATURES OF KOINE

Koine Greek is the Greek language that was commonly spoken and written in the eastern Mediterranean in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It is impossible to describe fully the characteristics of a language spoken over so wide a geographical area, across a period of several centuries, and utilized across all levels of speech, from the most erudite philosopher to the barely literate peasant. There are, however, trends and features of both literary and colloquial speech that appear regularly in the sources. Here we will treat the phonological, morphological, syntactical, and lexical developments separately, although the language evolved as a system, with all these elements interconnected. The examples given below come both from literary sources and from epigraphic and papyrological sources, proving that the most general phenomena were pervasive, although their representation might differ slightly from source to source.

2. THE EVOLUTION OF THE GREEK PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

The evolution of the Greek phonological system (Teodorsson 1977 and 1979) in spoken Koine is traceable only through orthographic variations in inscriptions and papyri and (less helpfully) through the indications of grammarians like Aelius Herodianus about 'wrong' pronunciation or orthography. For a full register of the variations and examples in the papyri from Egypt, see Gignac (1975); (→ Papyri, Language of).

Ruipérez (1956) and Allen (1987) have explained the reduction or simplification of the classical vocalic system as a chain reaction, produced by the differentiation needed between the elements of this system within the articulatory space (→ Vowels; → Vowel Changes). This chain reaction goes back many centuries, when the emergence of the long vowel /a:/, as a result of the second wave of → compensatory lengthening, pushed the higher phonemes (/æ:/ and /ɛ:/) up the front axis of the vowel triangle. The subsequent → monophthongization of /ei/ and /ou/ into /e:/ and /o:/ overcrowded the back axis where the original /ɔ:/ was moved up, as /u:/ moved forward to the front axis to become /y:/ (→ Vowel Fronting); and in the front axis the emergence of /e:/ had altered the balance as well. It was pushed up towards /i:/, while its position was occupied by the original /ɛ:/. This gap was filled by the monophthongization of /ai/ > /æ:/ and later /ɛ:/. This front axis went through further adjustment, where /e:/ <ɣ> was raised to /i:/ and its position was occupied by /ɛ:/ <αɪ>.

At the same time, the long vs. short opposition (→ Length) and the change of → pitch into → stress accent caused the original long-vowel system to merge with the short-vowel one into a new six-vowel system (on → accentuation see Meillet 1930:267–269). The remaining → diphthongs /ui/ and /oi/ (through a state /œ:/) developed into /y/ and over time into /i/ through the loss of lip-rounding. The long diphthongs /ai:/ and /oi:/ lost their final short element, while /ei:/ fell together with /e:/ and eventually merged with /i:/. In diphthongs ending in *u* (*au*, *eu*, *êu*), the final element received a closer articulation and led to a pronunciation /av, ev, iv/ or /af, ef, if/.

The consonant system went through less dramatic changes. The voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ remained unchanged, although the voiced

correspondents turned into fricatives /β, ð, γ/, except after a nasal. Voiceless aspirates /p^h, t^h, k^h/ turned into fricatives /f, θ, x/, although there is evidence of a more conservative pronunciation in Egypt, often explained as due to an Egyptian substrate (→ Greek and Egyptian, and Coptic).

Other traits of the consonant system are the simplification of double consonants, assimilation of /dz/ <ζ> into /zz/ and the creation of the new phoneme /z/, the → psilosis or loss of word-initial aspiration (/h/), and weakness of final /n/ and /s/, which are often assimilated or omitted, especially before a following plosive (→ Consonant Changes).

3. MORPHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The evolution of the phonological system, together with the tendency of Greek to become more analytical, led to the restructuration of the nominal declension and verbal inflection in Koine.

In the nominal system, the most remarkable features are the following:

The complete loss of the dual number (Meillet 1930:273–274), which had already declined in the Classical period, is not an exclusive feature of the Greek language, but also noticeable in other Indo-European languages.

The restriction of the use of the dative case over time led to the use of prepositional phrases or of other cases (→ Case (Including Syncretism)). As an example of the interrelation between all these phenomena, we should note that phonological changes had an impact on the differentiation of the cases, as in, for example *tèn khóran / tēi khórai* ‘land’, where the weakness of final *-n* and the reduction of long diphthongs rendered the pronunciation of both cases virtually similar /ti xóra/ (Gil 1987:87).

The loss of the → dative (Humbert 1930) is in line with the tendency toward an increasingly analytical linguistic structure. Its use as indirect object was replaced by the genitive or by the preposition *eis* + accusative. The → instrumental use was replaced by the preposition *metá* + genitive and later on by *metá* + accusative (see below in syntax for more developments).

There was also a widespread restructuring of the system of declensions:

The masculine nouns of the first declension have a genitive fluctuating between the expected *-ou*

and *-a*, particularly in Latin loanwords, as in *scríbou* ‘scribe’ (*P.Lips.* I 40 iii 19), or in proper names, as in *Hermagórou* (*PSI* VIII 947.18). Masculine nouns in *-ēs* often feature a genitive in *-ē*, typical of Modern Greek, as in *onēlátē* ‘donkey-driver’ (*P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2730.19–20).

In the second declension of masculine nouns, the most remarkable feature is the change of nouns in *-ios, -ion*, into *-is, -in*, as in *Apollinâris*, acc. *Apollinârin*, or the neuters of the type *tò argúrin* ‘money’ (*P.Oxy.* XXII 2353), *tò opsárin* ‘fish’ (*P.Mich.* II 123 r i 8). Feminine nouns of the second declension often become masculine, e.g. *tòn gúpson* ‘chalk, cement’ (*P.Oxy.* XX 2272), as a result of the tendency to assign the same grammatical gender to all nouns with the same suffix.

The athematic declension went through deeper changes in the trend towards its assimilation to the thematic declension (→ Thematic Vowel, Stem Formation). It started off with the accusative singular ending in *-an* instead of *-a* by analogy with the thematic declension: *tèn gunáikan, tòn patéran*, for *gunáika* ‘woman’, *patéra* ‘father’. This development led to the back-formation of nom. *-a* (*hē mētéra* ‘mother’), and an acc. pl. in *-es* (*toùs déka statêres* ‘the ten staters’, *PSI* XIV 1432) for the feminine, and of *-as*, gen. *-a*, for the masculine nouns. Masculine nouns in *-ōn* also shifted into the declension in *-os*, as in *gērōn* > *géros* ‘old man’ (*Historia Alexandri Magni*, Rec. E VI 2, 6).

The phonological developments were also behind the merging of the declensions in *-is* and in *-ē*, as in *tèn pístēn* ‘faith’. Finally, and as further evidence of “thematization”, diminutives in *-ion* lost their diminutive meaning, and gradually replaced the original noun from which they derived: *país* – *paidíon* ‘child’, probably due to the fact that this change turned athematic into thematic declension (→ Diminutives/ Augmentatives).

Adjectives followed the same tendency as nouns towards regularization of their declension (→ Adjectives (Morphological Aspects of)). Those in *-os, -ē, -on* served as a model for the normalization of the other adjectives, and consequently we find forms in *-ê* like *argurê* ‘silver’, *porphurên* ‘purple’, or *asphalên* ‘sure, certain’, with the analogical addition of *-n*; or adjectives in *-ēs, -ōn* present forms in *-os*, e.g. *áphanos* for *aphanês* ‘unseen’, or *áskhēmos* for *askhēmōn* ‘ugly’. There was also regularization of anomalous comparative and superlative forms, thus *takhúteros* replaced *thássōn* ‘quicker’ and *takhútatos*

replaced *tákhistos* ‘quickest’. The superlative was lost with some lexical exceptions.

The verbal system also presented a tendency towards the disappearance of the athematic inflection (→ Thematic and Athematic Verbs). 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’.

Regarding the tenses, there was also a levelling of the suffixes of the aorist (→ Aorist Formation) and the imperfect. The combination of the second thematic aorist, with forms like *élabon*, with the sigmatic aorist, with forms like *élusa*, generated a series of changes towards regularization: the suffix *-a* was used in general for thematic aorists and even for the imperfect, as in *élabā* ‘received’ or *élt̄ha* ‘came’ and *eík̄ha* ‘had’. The second-person singular ending from the imperfect and the thematic aorist, *-es*, extended its use to the sigmatic aorist as well, as in *égrapses*.

Another important feature is the frequent omission of the → augment, especially in compound verbs, as in *katágrapsen* (*P.Oxy.* II 327) for *katégrapsen* ‘wrote down, recorded’, and of reduplication of the perfect tense, e.g. *diaprakénai* (*P.Ryl.* II 127) for *diaprapakénai* ‘perform’; reduplication is often replaced by the augment, *epléřōka* ‘filled’ (*P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2729).

Regarding the moods, there was a restricted use of the optative, which would eventually disappear (Debrunner 1954:125–128). The itacistic pronunciation of *ei* and *ēi* caused some instances of indicative and subjunctive to merge, as in *lúeis/lúēis* ‘solve’. The infinitive also disappeared and was replaced by a subordinate clause with *hína* + subj. or *hóti* + indic.

The levelling of stem vowels or stem consonants throughout verbal paradigms gave way to the emergence of analogical presents in *-ázō*, like *tinázō* for *tinássō* ‘to shake’, based on the aorist, or the sigmatic aorists replacing the thematic or athematic aorists, like *éleipsa* for *élipon* ‘leave’, or *hēmártēsa* (*P.Lond.* VI 1914.28) for *hēmarton* ‘failed’, or *ebíōsa* for *ebíōn* ‘lived’ (→ Analogy).

4. SYNTACTIC DEVELOPMENTS

The weakening of the declensional system, and the gradual decline in the use of the dative, were compensated for by the increased use of prepositional constructions, which both replaced the functions of the dative and created new expressions.

The comitative function of the dative was already displayed by prepositional constructions by the fourth century, with *metá* + gen, while the “dative” function was replaced by *eis* + acc. (cf. Lat. *ad*) or the accusative or genitive of personal pronouns, as in *P.Abinn.* 7.22, *pémpson emé pánta* ‘send to me everything’, for *pémpson moi*, etc., or expressed with *prós* + acc. as in *O.Florida* 2.11 *pémpson prós emé* ‘send to me’. One also finds verbs of ‘saying’ with *prós* + acc., LXX 2Kg 18, *ebóēsan prós Hezekian* ‘they called for Hezekiah’, a construction which, already frequent since Classical times, becomes more and more regular; one also finds the temporal use of the dative expressed by a prepositional phrase, e.g. Plut. *Marius* 43.7.2: *kath’ hekástēn hēméran* ‘every day’, and the instrumental use expressed by adding the preposition *en*: *apokteînai en rhompháiai* ‘kill by the sword’ (New Testament, Jo 6:8).

Other interesting developments in this field are the extended use of *apó* in the place of other prepositions: *Mt.* 15.27, *tà kunária esthíei apò tòn psikhíōn* ‘the dogs eat the crumbs’, Epict. III 22.23, *ángelos apò tou Diòs apéstaltai* ‘a messenger from Zeus withdrew’, or the use of *katá* in the functions of the genitive: *tēs katá tòn héliōn anatolēs epiphanoménēs* (Pol. III 113.1) ‘as the sunrise appeared’.

In the same analytic trend, the future was gradually replaced by periphrastic expressions which would eventually take over (Browning 1969:38–40). These presented the auxiliary verbs *méllō* and *ékhō* (while the use of *thélō* is a medieval development; → Developments in Medieval and Modern Greek).

There was also a progressive loss of the perfect forms in favor of the aorist. As pointed out above, → reduplication and augment were confused, a phenomenon also triggered by the fact that a number of aorists already presented the ending *-ka*, e.g. *édōka* ‘gave’, *éthēka* ‘put’. And as we hinted in the morphology section, there was a gradual abandonment of the optative (only surviving in formulaic expressions such as *mè génoito* ‘hopefully it would not happen’), which was replaced by the indicative or subjunctive, as for example in its use in conditionals, e.g. Thuc. 8.66.2: *ei dé tis kai anteípoi* ‘and even if someone would speak against’, or NT Jo 15.24 *ei tà érga mē epoiēsa... hamartian ouk eikhosan* ‘If I had not done the works... they would not be guilty of sin’.

As for infinitival constructions, we find residual uses in formulaic phrases such as *eúkhomai*

se *hugiáinein* 'I pray for you to be healthy', frequent in private letters on papyri, but such constructions were otherwise widely replaced by the use of subordinate clauses with *hóti*, *hópōs*, *hína*, etc.: Epict. III 15.10 *dokeîs hóti taûta poiôn dúnasai philosophêin* 'do you suppose that you can do the things that you do now and still be a philosopher?'; NT Act. 11.13 *apéngeilen dè hēmîn pôs eîden tôn ángelon* 'he told us how he had seen the angel'; Epict. III 7.11 *ekeîno mónon skeptómetha... hína mé tis gnôî* 'let us consider this point only... that no one may know'; NT Jo 18.36 *hoi hupêrétai àn emoi égônízonto hína mē paradothô toîs Ioudaíois* 'my servants would have been fighting, that I might not be delivered over to the Jews'. Among these developments, one may notice the imperative use of *hína*: NT Eph. 5.33 *hē dè gunē hína phobētai tôn ándra* 'the wife must respect her husband'.

The increasingly infrequent use of the participial constructions so typical of Classical prose is also connected to the weakening of the third declension, which the participial paradigm followed. There was a gradual increase in the use of the participle, in the way of the gerund of other languages, as a result of the loss of the participial constructions.

5. LEXICON

Languages generally undergo, in their evolution over time, at least moderate renewals of their lexicon, produced by linguistic changes, new cultural realities, or contact with other peoples. In the Koine lexicon there are some lexical phenomena which can be explained within the framework of the general changes of the language as listed above. Such is the case of the appearance and spread of synonyms belonging to regular declensions to replace 'anomalous nouns' (Meillet 1930:285–286), like, for instance, *próbaton* for *oîs* 'sheep', *khoîros* for *hûs* 'pig', *nērón* (from the adjective *nearón* 'pure') for *húdōr* 'water'. We also mentioned the diminutive forms which replaced the corresponding base nouns, as *paidíon* for *paîs* 'child', *kleidíon* for *kleîs* 'key', or *ōtíon* for *oûs* 'ear'.

The vocabulary was also extended by derivation, through suffixes which became very productive, as *-mos*, *-ma*, *-ás*, *-tría*, etc. (Palmer 1945:6–18) (→ Derivational Morphology). As for contact with other peoples, Latin was a great source of loanwords to Greek, especially in the

areas of administrative and military terminology: words like *benephikiáriōs* from *beneficiarius* (a rank of the army), *hospítion* from *hospitium* 'guest-house', *kourátōr* from *curator* 'administrator', *collégion* from *collegium* 'collegium, guild', entered mainly via the spoken language or the language of administration (Viscidi 1944, Hofmann 1989; → Latin Loanwords in Greek).

In various sources we find some contemporary reactions to these developments. For example, the complaints of a conservative group of critics known as the Atticistic movement (→ Atticism) about several aspects of the evolution of the Greek language provide very interesting information about what was considered correct and incorrect, not only in grammar but also in the lexicon. Phrynichus Arabius (2nd century CE), for instance was the author of a collection of Attic words and phrases, the *Eklogē Attikôn rhēmátōn kai onomátōn*, in which he records 'deviations' from the Attic standard, e.g. (202): *basílissa: oudeîs tôn arkhaiōn eîpen, allà basíleia è basílís*, 'basílissa ('queen'), none of the ancients would say, but *basíleia* or *basílís*' (Rutherford 1881:306; Browning 1969:53, for example, compares Phrynichus' Atticizing corrections to 'living speech' as it appears in the NT). At the same time, there was a resistance to this purist position in authors like Galen, who defends the appropriateness of calling things by the name in common usage (*De praenotione ad Posthumum* 14.624.18), e.g. *sōmatophúlax* for the old *koitōnētēs* 'chamberlain'.

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SOFIA TORALLAS TOVAR

Koine, Origins of

ORIGINS OF KOINE

1. Attic-Ionic and Hellenistic Koine

The term 'Koine' (< *koinḗ diálektos* 'common language') was first used to refer to the form of Greek which served as a 'lingua franca' during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It was not a new variety but rather a 'compromise' Attic-based dialect used for the communication among speakers of other Greek varieties (→ Koine, Features of). It was characterized by a certain reduction in morphological categories (such as the elimination of the → Attic Declension, adoption of the Ionic geminate -ss- for Attic -tt-, -rs- for -rr-, and simplification or decrease in morphophonemic complexity (such as the immobilization of accent in the plural subparadigms of the type *elábomen*, *elábeta*, *elábosan* (for earlier *élabon*). Of fundamental importance was the fact that this Attic-based Koine (1.c.) became the official language of the Macedonian empire (1.d.) and was widely used in their oriental domains by bilinguals whose native tongues were Late Egyptian, Aramaic and several Anatolian languages (1.e.). In its 'nativized' form, it was used as a 'literary dialect' by historiographers and writers of technical prose and popular litera-

ture (1.f.). Starting during the last two pre-Christian centuries, we are entitled to ascribe several important functions and statuses to Hellenistic Koine which are typically linked with a standard language: the unifying function, the status of prestige and that of frame-of-reference. The fact that Hellenistic Koine was used in scientific writings where Classical Attic was found insufficient in its vocabulary demonstrates the prestige acquired by Hellenistic Koine in this field. Yet in terms of frame-of-reference, in the assessment of poetic speech, Koine was limited only to some functions of written and spoken language, while in most cases Classical Attic formed the background of evaluation. The unifying function of Koine was obviously the most important – compared with ancient epichoric dialects of the Greek mainland, Hellenistic Koine served a much larger speech community. In its spoken form, Hellenistic Koine was not homogeneous over the vast territory conquered by Alexander the Great. Hellenistic inscriptional material from the last three centuries BCE and the first three CE bears evidence that it was realized in several regional varieties that are traditionally called "Biblical" Koine (3.a.), Egyptian (Ptolemaic) Koine (3.b.) and Anatolian Koine of Asia Minor (3.c.).

1.a. The Issue of 'Koineization'

While the term 'Koine' is time-honored, its derivative 'koineization' (*koinopoíēsis*) has appeared only recently in the writings of contemporary sociolinguists who developed a full-fledged theory of koineization (Siegel 1985, Trudgill 1986). Koineization is defined as a contact-induced process through which new varieties of a language are brought about as a result of contact between speakers of mutually understandable varieties – typically dialects of that language. The related term 'adaptation' refers to a process which starts with the first generation of incomers adapting their speech to the other speakers they encounter. Classificatory criteria proposed for Koines at the structural level include mixing, levelling, simplification and reallocation. However, to concentrate exclusively on the linguistic side of the story, i.e., the structural outcome of the process of koineization, would not be sufficient – a thorough discussion of socio-historical conditions is of equal importance. In a sense, the process of koineization is a phenomenon of an extralinguistic nature in that it depends upon a