

What does a linguistic expert know? The conflict between analogy and Atticism

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Scholastic Culture in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras

Greek, Latin, and Jewish

Edited by Sean A. Adams

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Eleanor Dickey

What does a Linguistic Expert Know? The Conflict between Analogy and Atticism

The phrase ‘linguistic expert’ ought to be an oxymoron. Language consists of a set of arbitrary conventions shared by members of a given community: it is simply whatever the members of that community do when they open their mouths, and therefore no member of the community should be able to have any special status in relation to it. Yet expertise is precisely a special status, one that arises from a community’s belief that an individual has worthwhile knowledge not shared by most other people: an expert is not simply someone who knows something unusual, but someone whose unusual knowledge is recognised by others. How does a community decide that some people know more than others about something that consists only of what everyone does?

There are, of course, many answers to this question, for there are many different possible bases on which linguistic expertise can be claimed, depending on the community involved. Some cultures do not have the concept of linguistic expertise or linguistic correctness at all, and these cultures are not necessarily primitive or unsophisticated: it has been persuasively argued that Aeschylus’s Athens was one of them.¹ Yet later Greek speakers clearly did have linguistic experts, and moreover the basis of their expert status seems to have changed over time. How did this situation arise?

Linguistic expertise based on knowledge of analogical rules

The earliest substantial evidence for the existence of linguistic experts in Greece can be seen in passage 1, from Aristophanes’ *Clouds*, in which Socrates is presented as such an expert:

- 1) So: ἄλλ’ ἕτερα δεῖ σε πρότερα τούτου μανθάνειν,
τῶν τετραπόδων ἅττ’ ἐστὶν ὀρθῶς ἄρρενα.
Streps: ἄλλ’ οἶδ’ ἔγωγε τᾶρρεν’, εἰ μὴ μαίνομαι·
κριός, τράγος, ταῦρος, κύων, ἀλεκτρυών.
So: ὀρᾶς ἂ πάσχεις; τήν τε θήλειαν καλεῖς
ἀλεκτρυόνα κατὰ ταῦτ’ οὐκ ἄρρενα.

¹ West (1990) 10–12.

- Streps: πῶς δὴ, φέρε;
 So: πῶς; ἀλεκτρυῶν κάλεκτρυῶν.
 Streps: νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ. νῦν δὲ πῶς με χρὴ καλεῖν;
 So: ἀλεκτρυάιναν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἀλέκτορα.
 Streps: ἀλεκτρυάιναν; εἶ γε, νῆ τὸν Ἄερα·
 ὥστ' ἀντὶ τούτου τοῦ διδάγματος μόνου
 διαλφριτώσω σου κύκλω τὴν κάρδοπον.
 So: ἰδοὺ μάλ' αὖθις, τοῦθ' ἕτερον· τὴν κάρδοπον
 ἄρρενα καλεῖς θήλειαν οὖσαν.
 Streps: τῷ τρόπῳ;
 ἄρρενα καλῶ ἕγὼ κάρδοπον;
 So: μάλιστά γε,
 ὥσπερ γε καὶ Κλεώνυμον.
 Streps: πῶς δὴ; φράσον.
 So: ταῦτὸν δύναταί σοι κάρδοπος Κλεωνύμῳ.
 Streps: ἀλλ', ὡγάθ', οὐδ' ἦν κάρδοπος Κλεωνύμῳ,
 ἀλλ' ἐν θυεῖα στρογγύλῃ γ' ἀνεμάττετο.
 ἀτὰρ τὸ λοιπὸν πῶς με χρὴ καλεῖν;
 So: ὅπως;
 τὴν καρδόπην, ὥσπερ καλεῖς τὴν Σωστράτην.
 Streps: τὴν καρδόπην, θήλειαν;
 So: ὀρθῶς γὰρ λέγεις.
 Streps: ἐκεῖνο δ' ἦν ἂν “καρδόπη Κλεωνύμῃ”.
 So: ἔτι δέ γε περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων μαθεῖν σε δεῖ,
 ἅττ' ἄρρεν' ἐστίν, ἅττα δ' αὐτῶν θήλεα.
 Streps: ἀλλ' οἶδ' ἔγωγ' ἃ θήλε' ἐστίν.
 So: εἰπέ δὴ.
 Streps: Λύσιλλα, Φίλινα, Κλειταγόρα, Δημητρία.
 So: ἄρρενα δὲ ποῖα τῶν ὀνομάτων;
 Streps: μυρία.
 Φιλόξενος, Μελησίας, Ἀμυνίας.
 So: ἀλλ' ὡ πόνηρε, ταῦτά γ' ἔστ' οὐκ ἄρρενα.
 Streps: οὐκ ἄρρεν' ὑμῖν ἐστίν;
 So: οὐδαμῶς γ', ἐπεὶ
 πῶς ἂν καλέσειας ἐντυχῶν Ἀμυνία;
 Streps: ὅπως ἂν; ὠδί· “δεῦρο δεῦρ', Ἀμυνία”.
 So: ὀρᾶς; γυναῖκα τὴν Ἀμυνίαν καλεῖς.
 Streps: οὐκ οὐν δικαίως, ἦτις οὐ στρατεύεται;
 ἀτὰρ τί ταῦθ' ἃ πάντες ἴσμεν μανθάνω;
 So: οὐδέν, μὰ Δί'.
- So: But there are other things you must learn before that,
 such as which of the quadrupeds are properly called masculine.
 Streps: Well, I know which are masculine, if I've not lost my wits:
 ram, he-goat, bull, dog, fowl.
 (So:) (And feminine are -?)
 (Streps:) (Ewe, she-goat, cow, bitch, fowl.)
 So: Do you see what you're doing? You call the female
 'fowl', and the male as well you call the same thing.

- Streps: How do you mean, please?
 So: How do I mean? ‘Fowl’ and ‘fowl’.
 Streps: By Poseidon, so I do. What should I really call it?
 So: ‘Fowless’, and the other one ‘fowler’.
 Streps: ‘Fowless’? By Air, that’s a good one.
 In fact, for that piece of instruction alone
 I’ll fill the whole surface of your *cardopus* with groats.
 So: There you go again; that’s another one. You speak of
 a *cardopus*, calling it masculine when it’s feminine.
 Streps: What do you mean?
 I call a *cardopus* masculine?
 So: You certainly do,
 just like *Cleonymus*.
 Streps: In what way? Tell me.
 So: You give the same treatment to *cardopus* that is given to *Cleonymus*.
 Streps: But my good man, *Cleonymus* never had a *cardopus* at all –
 the kneading he did was done in a round mortar.
 What should I call it in future, though?
 So: What should you call it?
Cardopé, just as you say *Sostraté*.
 Streps: *Cardopé*, feminine?
 So: That’s correct.
 Streps: And what I said would then have been ‘*Cleonymé* never had a *cardopé*?’
 So: But you still have to learn about names,
 which of them are masculine and which feminine.
 Streps: Well, I know which are feminine.
 So: Tell me then.
 Streps: *Lysilla*, *Philinea*, *Cleitagora*, *Demetria*.
 So: And which names are masculine?
 Streps: Loads of them –
Philoxenus, *Melesias*, *Amynias*.
 So: But those aren’t masculine, you fool.
 Streps: You don’t regard them as masculine?
 So: Certainly not; consider,
 if you happened to see *Amynias*, how would you call him?
 Streps: How? Like this: ‘Come here, come here, *Amynia*’.
 So: Do you see? You’re calling *her* a woman, ‘*Amynia*’.
 Streps: And doesn’t she deserve it, for not doing her military service?
 But why should I be learning these things, which we all know?
 So: Never mind that now. (Aristophanes, *Clouds* 658–694)²

Here the expertise is based on observation of regularities in language and the construction of rules based on those regularities; those rules are in turn used to produce arguments that what ordinary people do is wrong, arguments that win praise and admiration. There must be some resemblance between this passage and debates actually occurring in fifth-century Athens, as otherwise the parody would not have been funny. At a minimum this resemblance probably includes the expert’s success in con-

² Translation from Sommerstein (1991) 71–75.

vincing others of the validity and value of his linguistic knowledge (although part of the joke here may be on Strepsiades for being so easily impressed, the whole set of arguments would not have been worth parodying if they had not been gaining any traction at all in real life) as well as the basis of the expertise itself: the construction of rules based on observed regularities in language.

At the same time the parody is unlikely to be accurate in every detail, and indeed one major inaccuracy is apparent: nothing else we know about Socrates suggests that he was a linguistic expert. Indeed, a claim of expert status in any area would be a major contradiction to Plato's portrayal of Socrates as someone who presented himself as knowing nothing. While allowing that Plato's portrayal is also unlikely to be completely accurate, most scholars think that the subject of this parody is probably not Socrates at all. The *Clouds* mocks sophists in general and uses the name 'Socrates' for a composite character made up of features of different individuals, and here the sophists being parodied are likely to be Prodicus and/or Protagoras.³

The basis of expertise portrayed in this passage is part of a larger pattern of how early Greek philosophy worked: the philosophers discovered previously unnoticed regular patterns in mathematics, astronomy, and other aspects of the natural world, and in many cases they were able to use those patterns to gain real information that non-experts did not have. Given the largely regular nature of language, it would have been surprising if early Greek philosophers had not noticed the regular patterns of Greek and played around with the irregularities.

Another, much later, parody suggests the same basis for linguistic expertise. This comes from the Roman-period Sceptic philosopher Sextus Empiricus, who was opposed on principle to experts of any sort: Sextus systematically attacked people who claimed to be experts, on the grounds that they were fakes. Significantly, linguistic expertise gets pride of place in his attacks, with 'Against the Grammarians' being the first book of a systematic demolition of experts (other targets are specialists in rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astrology, music, logic, physics, and ethics). This prominent position shows that in Sextus' day there must have been a body of linguistic experts large enough, and influential enough, to make good targets – and they must have used arguments broadly similar to the ones he tries to refute. The crucial elements of his argument can be seen in passage 2.

³ See e.g., Sommerstein (1991) 196 and Dover (1968) 182. This passage is included in collections of imitations of Protagoras by Diels/Kranz (1952) §80 C 3 and Capizzi (1955) 214–215.

- 2) Εἰ ἔστι τις τέχνη περὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ Ὅτι μὲν δεῖ τινα φειδῶ ποιεῖσθαι τῆς περὶ τὰς διαλέκτους καθαριότητος, αὐτόθεν συμφανές· ὁ τε γὰρ ἐκάστοτε βαρβαρίζων καὶ σολοικίζων ὡς ἀπαίδευτος χλευάζεται, ὁ τε ἑλληνίζων ἰκανός ἐστι πρὸς τὸ σαφῶς ἅμα καὶ ἀκριβῶς παραστῆσαι τὰ νοηθέντα τῶν πραγμάτων. ἤδη δὲ τοῦ ἑλληνισμοῦ δύο εἰσὶ διαφοραί· ὃς μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ κεχωρισμένος τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν συνηθείας καὶ κατὰ γραμματικὴν ἀναλογίαν δοκεῖ προκόπτειν, ὃς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνήθειαν ἐκ παραπλασμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις παρατηρήσεως ἀναγόμενος, οἷον ὁ μὲν τῆς Ζεὺς ὀρθῆς πτώσεως τὰς πλαγίους σχηματίζων τοῦ Ζεός τῷ Ζεῖ τὸν Ζέα κατὰ τὸν πρότερον τοῦ ἑλληνισμοῦ χαρακτήρα διαλέλεκται, ὁ δὲ ἀφελῶς τοῦ Ζηνός λέγων καὶ τῷ Ζηνί καὶ (τὸν) Ζῆνα κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον καὶ συνηθέστερον ἡμῖν. ... Ἄρτι μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς γραμματικούς ἀκολουθίας συνηκται τὸ παρέλκειν μὲν τὴν ἀναλογίαν πρὸς ἑλληνισμόν, εὐχρηστεῖν δὲ τὴν τῆς συνηθείας παρατήρησιν.

Whether there is an expertise about Hellenism

That one must take some care over purity of one's language is immediately obvious, since one who constantly commits barbarisms and solecisms is ridiculed as ignorant, while one who speaks good Greek is able to express clearly and accurately what he has in mind. Now there are two kinds of Hellenism, for one form is divorced from our common usage and seems to proceed according to grammatical analogy, while the other form accords with the usage of each of the Greeks and advances by assimilation and observation in conversation. Thus one who forms the oblique cases of the nominative Ζεὺς as Ζεός, Ζεῖ, Ζέα has spoken according to the first kind of Hellenism, while one who simply says Ζηνός, Ζηνί, and Ζῆνα has spoken according to the second kind of Hellenism, to which we are more used. ... So it has just been deduced from the consequences of the grammarians' own argument that analogy is superfluous for Hellenism, while the observation of common usage is most useful. (Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos* 1.176–77, 209)⁴

The basis for claims of linguistic expertise here seems to be fundamentally the same as it was in Aristophanes' day: knowledge of rules based on analogy allows people to claim expert status. Those rules have been refined in the intervening centuries, and terminology has been invented to frame them (most notably ἀναλογία itself), but the basic principle remains the same: linguistic experts are parodied as rejecting common usage in favour of weird creations that no-one actually uses but that ought to exist if the Greek language were more regular than it is. Again, the parody relies on the fact that the linguists' analogical rules produce results that seem preposterous to ordinary native speakers, but this time there is an additional complication.

The example Sextus chooses, the paradigm of Ζεός, Ζεῖ, Ζέα is a complex one. A modern Hellenist might not see his 'regular' declension Ζεός, Ζεῖ, Ζέα as the expected one here; modern grammars usually give the paradigm for nouns in -εως as βασιλεύς, βασιλέως, βασιλεῖ, βασιλέα,⁵ so we might expect a 'regularised' Ζεός to decline Ζέως, Ζεῖ, Ζέα. But these forms are the Attic ones with quantitative metathesis in the genitive singular; most other dialects had other forms, and when ancient gram-

⁴ Translation from Blank (1998) 37–38, 42.

⁵ See Smyth (1956) §275; Goodwin (1894) §263. For ease of comparison with Sextus' argument, I give all paradigms in the ancient order: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative (followed by vocative if included).

marians discussed the declension of Ζεύς they largely agreed with Sextus about the way it would have declined if it had been regular. Passage 3, from the Byzantine writer Choeroboscus, is thought to come ultimately from Herodian, who lived in the second century CE.⁶

- 3) Εἰ ἄρα οὖν τὸ Ζεύς εἰς -ς λήγει καὶ μονοσύλλαβόν ἐστι καὶ ὀξύτονον καὶ διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ -ος κλίνεται, ὀφείλει Ζευός εἶναι κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν διὰ τῆς εὐ διφθόγγου, ἵνα φυλάξῃ τὸν χρόνον τῆς εὐθείας ἐν τῇ γενικῇ· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ εἰς -εὐς ἀποβάλλουσι τὸ υ κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν, οἷον Πηλεὺς Πηλέος, Ἀχιλλεύς Ἀχιλλέος, βασιλεὺς βασιλέος, Θησεὺς Θησέος, ... τούτου χάριν ἠναγκάζετο Ζεός εἶναι κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ υ· τούτων οὖν τῶν δύο κανόνων μαχομένων, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐνόου ἀπαιτοῦντος φυλάττεσθαι τὸ υ κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν διὰ τὸ φυλαχθῆναι τὸν χρόνον τῆς εὐθείας, τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου ἀπαιτοῦντος ἀποβάλλεσθαι τὸ υ κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν τῷ λόγῳ τῶν εἰς -εὐς, ἀπέλειψεν ἡ κοινὴ κλίσις καὶ παρεισήλθεν ἡ τῶν Βοιωτῶν κλίσις, οἷον Διός Δί Δία, ὡσπερ Ἀχιλλίος Ἀχιλλίϊ Ἀχιλλία.

So therefore if Ζεύς ends in -ς and is a monosyllable and oxytone and is declined with a pure [i. e., preceded by a vowel] -ος ending, it should be Ζευός in the genitive with the diphthong εὐ, so that it should keep the [vowel] length of the nominative in the genitive; but since nouns in -εὐς lose the υ in the genitive, like Πηλεὺς gen. Πηλέος, Ἀχιλλεύς gen. Ἀχιλλέος, βασιλεὺς gen. βασιλέος, Θησεὺς gen. Θησέος ... for this reason it should have been Ζεός in the genitive with loss of the υ. So since these two rules conflict, and one demands that it keep the υ in the genitive in order to keep the [vowel] length of the nominative, and the other demands that it lose the υ in the genitive on the principle of nouns in -εὐς, the common declension has failed and the Boeotian declension has been introduced, thus Διός, Δί, Δία, like [Boeotian] Ἀχιλλίος, Ἀχιλλίϊ, Ἀχιλλία. (Choeroboscus' commentary on Theodosius' *Canons, Grammatici Graeci* IV.1 214.15–20, 23–29)⁷

Here Herodian is not suggesting that Ζεύς should be declined like βασιλεὺς – he is perfectly clear that its actual oblique forms are Διός, Δί, and Δία –, but he does maintain that if Ζεύς were regular, it would have to decline either like βασιλεὺς or according to another rule that it also does not follow. Theodosius (fourth/fifth century CE) has a similar discussion in the *Canons*, a set of prescriptive rules for the inflection of Greek words; he treats nouns in -εὐς in canon 10.

- 4) Κανὼν ι'
Ἐνικά. Ὁ Πηλεὺς τοῦ Πηλέος, Πηλέως δὲ Ἀττικῶς· τὰ εἰς -εὐς λήγοντα διὰ τοῦ -εος κλίνεται, Οἰνέος Τυδέος Πηλέος· Ἀττικοὶ δὲ τῆς γενικῆς ταύτης τρέπουσιν τὸ ο εἰς ω, Πηλέως Οἰνέως Τυδέως. τῷ Πηλεΐ καὶ Πηλεΐ κατὰ συναίρεσιν, τὸν Πηλέα, ὃ Πηλεῦ· εἵπομεν ὡς τὰ εἰς -ς λήγοντα μετὰ διφθόγγου ἀποβολῆ τοῦ -ς ποιεῖ τὴν κλητικὴν, ὁ Ζεύς ὦ Ζεῦ.

⁶ See Lentz's edition of Herodian (*Grammatici Graeci* III.11 674.25–40), where this passage is given as part of Herodian's *Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων*. The attribution is uncertain, as with most material attributed to Herodian; see Dyck (1993) and Dickey (2014). For additional discussions of Herodian's text and issues of scholarship, see the contribution by Stephanie Roussou in this volume.

⁷ Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

Rule 10

Singular. Nominative Πηλεύς, genitive Πηλέος, but Πηλέως in Attic. Nouns ending in -εὺς are declined in -εος, as Οἰνέος [from Οἰνεύς], Τυδέος [from Τυδεύς], and Πηλέος, but Attic speakers turn the ο of this genitive to ω, [producing the genitives] Πηλέως, Οἰνέως, and Τυδέως. Datives Πηλεῖ and Πηλεῖ with contraction; accusative Πηλέα, vocative Πηλεῦ. We said that nouns ending in -ς preceded by a diphthong make the vocative by dropping the -ς, as nominative Ζεύς, vocative Ζεῦ. (*Grammatici Graeci* iv.1 12.5–11; cf. Blank [1998] 209)

Here the Atticising paradigm that we normally learn is given, but only as an alternative to the one with genitive in -έος. Theodosius' treatment of Ζεύς is, while not actually inaccurate, highly misleading for a student: by including Ζεύς in this discussion of regular nouns in -εὺς, and failing to point out that it does not in fact follow the rules given except in the one case mentioned, Theodosius strongly implies that it follows the rules. No doubt Theodosius knew perfectly well that it does not, but nevertheless if presentations like this were to be found in the works of genuine linguistic experts, Sextus' complaint about the ridiculous forms their rules would produce is not entirely unjustified.

Of course, neither of these passages predates Sextus, nor indeed do any of the other surviving discussions of the declension of Ζεύς.⁸ But given the poor survival rate of early grammatical literature we would not expect to have such discussions from before the second century CE even if they had been common; most likely the irregularity of Ζεύς had already been pointed out long before Sextus' day. Sextus made a point of reading works of the experts he attacked, using their techniques of argumentation, and referring to points they debated, in order to illustrate his proficiency in the subject and therefore his authority to point out its drawbacks.⁹ It would therefore be entirely in keeping with his method to use an example from actual grammatical discussions here.

Therefore Sextus' first paradigm of Ζεύς actually makes perfect sense: it is what grammarians said that paradigm would have looked like if it had been regular. More surprising is the declension Sextus prefers instead. Ζηνός, Ζηνί, and Ζῆνα, though well attested (e.g., in Homer), were strictly poetic, and the normal oblique forms of Ζεύς were unquestionably Διός, Δί, and Δία. Sextus certainly knew this, for elsewhere he consistently employs the normal forms:¹⁰ why does he not give those forms here? Two answers are possible: the Ζηνός paradigm may have been preferred because it began with the same letter as the nominative Ζεύς and therefore looked

⁸ These include Choeroboscus, *Epimerismi in Psalmos* p. 72.17 Gaisford; Sophronius, *Excerpta ex Joannis Characis commentariis in Theodosii Alexandrini canones (Grammatici Graeci* iv.ii 390.30); *Epimerismi Homerici* ζ 3.6 Dyck; *Etymologicum Gudianum* ζ p. 230.4 Sturz; etc. They appear all to be related to one another and to Herodian's and Theodosius' discussions.

⁹ Sluiter (2000a).

¹⁰ Διός *Adversus mathematicos* 2.105, 5.29, 5.34, 5.36, 7.265, 9.36, 9.67, *Pyrrhoniae hypotyposes* 1.189; Δί *Adversus mathematicos* 1.290, *Pyrrhoniae hypotyposes* 3.224; Δία *Adversus mathematicos* 3.6, 3.104, 5.32, 6.3, 7.240, 7.445, 8.308, 8.375, 8.479, 9.115, *Pyrrhoniae hypotyposes* 1.50, 1.161, 2.141.

more regular (in which case Sextus would have been partially conceding the point that regularity makes correctness), or it may have been preferred precisely because it was poetic. We shall return to this point later.

Both Aristophanes and Sextus make it very clear that they, as non-experts, saw linguistic experts as characterised by knowledge of rules based on regularities, i. e. analogy. The writings of actual linguistic experts tend to confirm this picture. Herodian, for example, in his *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* ‘On lexical singularity’ (the only work of Herodian to survive intact and therefore the only one to preserve discussions of this type) presents analogy as the key to understanding Greek and portrays Herodian himself as the champion of analogy.¹¹ In his other, fragmentary works Herodian implicitly makes the same point by constantly using rules based on analogy to argue for the correctness or incorrectness of particular variants. Passage 5 is typical:

- 5) ἐπήτριμοι: ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης ὀξύνει ὡς πολεμικοί, οὐκ εὖ· τὰ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ -μος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τρίτην ἀπὸ τέλους ἔχει τὴν ὀξεῖαν, νόμμος σπόριμος. οὕτως καὶ ἐπήτριμος.
Ἐπήτριμοι: Ptolemy of Ascalon gives this an oxytone accent, like πολεμικοί, but this isn’t right; for words in -μος more than two syllables long have an acute on the third syllable from the end, like νόμμος and σπόριμος. Thus also ἐπήτριμος. (A-scholion to *Iliad* 18.211b)¹²

Herodian’s father Apollonius Dyscolus, who also wrote in the second century CE, states that his goal in formulating the rules of syntax is to show the extent of regularity in Greek, as passage 6 illustrates.

- 6) εἰς γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτο τὰ τῆς συντάξεως ἀπεδείχθη, ἵνα καὶ τὰ λεληθότα τῶν ὑπερβατῶν, ὄντα καὶ κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες, ἔχηται τοῦ ἀκολούθου λόγου, καὶ μὴ μόνον τὰ παρὰ ποιηταῖς ὡς ἐξαίρετά τις ὑπολαμβάνοι.
For the rules of syntax have been demonstrated for just this purpose, so that even the unnoticed disturbances, which exist even in normal usage, may participate in the rule of regularity, and lest someone assume that only those disturbances used by the poets are exceptional. (Apollonius Dyscolus, *Syntax* 183.14–16 = II.77)¹³

Most of the time, the correctness the grammarians cared about was a correctness of authenticity in the language of Homer or another early author; for example, Herodian’s point in passage 5 is that in reciting the *Iliad* one should use a particular accentuation for ἐπήτριμοι, an obscure word that was no longer part of the spoken language. Had ἐπήτριμοι still been in current usage, there would probably not have been a question about how to accent it, since native speakers would simply have known which syllable bore the accent.¹⁴ This correctness is different from the kind

¹¹ Suiter (2011).

¹² Text follows Hartmut Erbse (1969–1988). This is given as a fragment of Herodian’s *Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς προσωδίας* by Lentz in *Grammatici Graeci* III.ii 107.13–15.

¹³ Translation from Blank (1994) 158–159.

¹⁴ Although there were some changes in the nature of the Greek accent after the Classical period – most significantly, the distinction between acute and circumflex ceased to be audible – the position

of correctness envisioned by Sextus or Aristophanes in their parodies of linguistic experts: the parodies depict experts making prescriptive judgements about contemporary usage. In general, the surviving fragments of the Alexandrian grammarians and other early linguistic experts do not show much evidence of interest in prescribing contemporary usage, but there are a few passages in which ancient grammarians do look as though they are being prescriptive – and using analogy to support their judgements. In passage 7, for example, Apollonius seems to use analogy to argue that some Greek speakers are wrong in their pronunciation of ἀνεκάς.

- 7) Τὰ εἰς -ας λήγοντα ὀξύονται ... οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἐντυπᾶς, ἐκάς, ἀνεκάς (ὅπερ Ἄττικοί οὐ δεόντως ἀναβιβάζουσιν, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις ἐπιρρήμασι, χάριέν φασὶ καὶ ἄληθες, καθὼς δείκνυμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σφόδρα).—σημειωτέον οὖν τὸ πέλας.
Words ending in -ας are oxytone ... thus also ἐντυπᾶς, ἐκάς, and ἀνεκάς (on which the Attic speakers incorrectly retract the accent, as they also do in other adverbs, for they say χάριεν and ἄληθες, as I show also in my discussion of σφόδρα); but πέλας has to be taken as an exception. (Apollonius, Dyscolus, *De adverbis* 160.19–23)

In this passage Apollonius is not in fact doing what the parodies say that linguistic experts do: he is not using a rule derived from analogy to argue that what everyone does is wrong. The accent of πέλας does not fit the analogical rule, and Apollonius simply labels it as an exception rather than prescribing the analogically more regular accentuation πελάς. But what is going on with ἀνεκάς? The obvious interpretation of Apollonius' words here is that when one group of Greek speakers has one accentuation and another group has another accentuation, only one of them can be right, and analogy will show which one that is. This may not be exactly what Apollonius really meant, for like all Greek grammarians he was well aware of the differences between Greek dialects. An Attic, Doric, or Aeolic feature not shared by the other dialects was not normally considered 'right' or 'wrong' in an abstract sense, but simply seen as a dialect feature. It would be appropriate in text using that dialect, and inappropriate in text using a different dialect. So perhaps Apollonius' οὐ δεόντως did not really mean 'incorrectly'; perhaps what he really meant was something closer to 'exceptionally'.¹⁵ Nevertheless, a reader could not be blamed for interpreting this passage as saying that the analogical rule shows that the Attic accentuation is wrong; statements like this probably helped create the image of a linguistic expert parodied by Sextus.

Passage 8 is very similar: it appears to use analogical rules to decide which of two groups of Greek speakers is right, though again this may not be quite what the writer intended to convey. This passage, however, is considerably earlier, coming

of the accent was not normally affected. Most ancient words that survive into modern Greek still have the accent on the same syllable as in the fifth century BCE. Native Greek speakers of all periods, therefore, rarely had difficulties knowing which syllable to accent when using ancient words that remained part of the living language.

15 I owe this idea to Philomen Probert (personal communication).

from the first century BCE; as such it demonstrates that this type of statement was not new in the second century CE, but based on a long tradition.¹⁶

- 8) ἔδει δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸ κλέπτῃς καὶ ψευδῆς μηδ' ὅλως σχηματίζεσθαι συγκριτικά. οἱ δ' Ἀττικοὶ κλεπτίστατον καὶ ψευδίστατον εἰπόντες τὰ συγκριτικά ἤμαρτον· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ κλεπτέστατον καὶ ψευδέστατον.

And one shouldn't have formed comparatives at all to κλέπτῃς and ψευδῆς. But the Attic speakers, who said κλεπτίστατον and ψευδίστατον, were wrong about the comparatives. For they should have been κλεπτέστατον and ψευδέστατον. (Philoxenus fr. 339 Theodoridis, quoted in *Etymologicum Genuinum* s.v. ἀνιηρέστατον)

It is notable that in both passage 7 and passage 8 the usage apparently characterised as not being right is that of Attic speakers. In passage 9 we get a different kind of analogical explanation of an Attic variant: here Attic is clearly stated to have its own, separate regularities, making it different from but not necessarily better or worse than the non-Attic forms. Unfortunately, this passage is hard to date; at least some of the basic ideas evidently come from the first-century BCE scholar Trypho, but they were reformulated in the early second century CE and then epitomised under the name 'Ammonius'.

- 9) εἰ δὴ τὰ τοῦ τύπου κεκοινώνηκεν, ἄμφω ὀφείλει καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τόνων μετέχειν, ὅτι ὀξύτονεῖν ἀπαιτεῖ ὁ λόγος βία ἀνάγκης. πᾶν γὰρ παρώνυμον εἰς -ρος λήγον παρασχηματιζόμενον τοῖς γένεσιν ὀξύτονεῖται· οἷον κάματος καματηρός, ὄλισθος ὄλισθηρός, μέλι μελιτηρός, τόλμα τολμηρός, νόσος νοσηρός· εἰ δὴ πόνος καὶ μόχθος τὰ πρωτότυπα, πονηρός καὶ μοχθηρός ῥητέον ὀξύτόνως, εἰ δ' οἱ Ἀττικοὶ βαρυτονοῦσιν, οὐ θαυμαστόν ἐστι· χαίρουσι γὰρ τῇ βαρύτητι. ἄδελφε γοῦν λέγουσι τὴν πρώτην ὀξύτονοῦντες, ὡς ἄπελθε, φησὶν ὁ Τρύφων παρατιθέμενος Φιλήμονα τὸν ἀγξωνέα, ὡς Θεττάλην ὡς Μυρτάλην· καὶ χάριεν, τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν ὀξύτονοῦντες.

So if they share the same original form, they should also both share the same accents; the argument demands by necessity that they be oxytone. For every derivative ending in -ρος formed similarly to its relatives is oxytone: thus καματηρός from κάματος, ὄλισθηρός from ὄλισθος, μελιτηρός from μέλι, τολμηρός from τόλμα, and νοσηρός from νόσος. Indeed if the base forms are πόνος and μόχθος, one has to say πονηρός and μοχθηρός with oxytone accent. And if the Attic speakers give them a recessive accent, it's not surprising, for they often give things recessive accents. For example they say ἄδελφε, putting an acute accent on the first syllable, like ἄπελθε (Trypho says, citing Philemon of Aixone), like Θεττάλην, like Μυρτάλην – and χάριεν, to which they give an acute on the first syllable. (Ammonius, ed. Nickau (1966), entry 405.8 – 19 = p. 116; cf. Trypho frag. 2.9)

The type of comment seen in examples 7–9, in which Attic has a status no higher than other dialects, reflects a fundamentally pre-Atticist viewpoint. Once Classical Attic was prescribed as the standard for judging contemporary written Greek,

¹⁶ Although generally speaking direct evidence for the reasoning of scholars earlier than the first century BCE is non-existent, note Ax's discussion of the possibility that Aristophanes of Byzantium was an 'Analogue' (Ax 1990).

‘Attic’ became virtually synonymous with ‘correct’, making statements such as the ones just quoted difficult for later readers to understand.¹⁷

Linguistic expertise based on knowledge of the Attic literary canon

Analogy was not the only criterion on which linguistic expertise could be based. Although the famous feud between Analogy and Anomaly is now thought never to have existed,¹⁸ and anomaly would in any case have been very difficult to use as the basis for a claim of either correctness or expertise, a number of genuine criteria have been identified.¹⁹ Only one of these, however, comes close to rivalling analogy’s status as the basis of linguistic expertise, and that is attestation in the Attic literary canon. Experts relying on this criterion are parodied even more often than ones using analogy, and a number of these parodies can be found in the second-century CE writer Lucian. Lucian was of course an accomplished Atticist himself, but he vigorously attacked rival speakers both for excessive archaism and for making mistakes. When in the course of such attacks Lucian explains why something should be considered right or wrong, he never uses the type of analogical arguments we have so far seen; instead he bases claims to correctness on attestation in classical authors. This is what linguistic Atticism was fundamentally about: if a word or usage could be found in a good Classical or Archaic author, it was right, and if not, it was wrong. Now of course not all good Classical authors wrote in what we would call the Attic dialect, but during the Roman period the term ‘Attic’ came to be extended to include all Classical and Archaic authors whose style one might want to imitate, regardless of their actual dialect. This is how Homer came to be considered an Attic author.²⁰

In passage 10, from the *Lexiphanes*, Lucian makes the point that a rival ‘speaks like a foreigner’: this man’s excessive use of Attic archaisms makes his speech appear not Attic at all. Later in the same work Lucian shows, point by point, that his opponent misuses the obscure words of which he is so proud: the words themselves may be Classical Attic, but the meanings in which they are used are unattested in the Attic canon, and therefore wrong (passage 11).

¹⁷ Probert (2011).

¹⁸ For Varro’s misrepresentation of grammatical debate and the non-existence of a school of Anomaly, see Blank (1994) 152–58. There are no appeals to Anomaly as a criterion of correctness in ancient linguistic discussions. See Siebenborn (1976).

¹⁹ Siebenborn (1976) lists the following in addition to analogy: literary tradition, usage, etymology, and dialect (that is, the comparison of forms in different dialects to shed light on underlying patterns), plus a few Latin criteria that are not attested in Greek.

²⁰ Cf. Dickey (2007) 98.

- 10) ἡμᾶς τοὺς νῦν προσομιλοῦντας καταλιπὼν πρὸ χιλίων ἐτῶν ἡμῖν διαλέγεται διαστρέφων τὴν γλῶτταν καὶ ταυτὶ τὰ ἀλλόκοτα συντιθεὶς καὶ σπουδὴν ποιούμενος ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, ὡς δὴ τι μέγα ὄν, εἴ τι ξενίζει καὶ τὸ καθεστηκὸς νόμισμα τῆς φωνῆς παρακόπτοι.
Leaving behind us who are talking to him now, he talks to us like a thousand years ago, twisting up his tongue and putting together these monstrous things and being very serious about them, as if it were something great if he should speak like a foreigner and debase the established currency of our language. (Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 20)
- 11) οἷον πρῶην τὸν θυμάλωπα οὐδὲ εἰδῶς ὃ τι σημαίνει, ἀπέρριψας οὐδὲν εὐοικότα τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται πάντες ἐτεθήπεσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ξένου πληγέντες τὰ ὄτα, οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι δὲ ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσιν, ἐγέλων. τὸ δὲ πάντων καταγελαστότατον ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν, ὅτι ὑπεράττικος εἶναι ἀξιῶν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἀπηκριβωμένος τοιαῦτα ἔνια, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα, ἐγκαταμιγνύεις τοῖς λόγοις ἃ μηδὲ παῖς ἄρτι μανθάνων ἀγνοήσειεν ἄν· οἷον ἐκεῖνα πῶς οἶει κατὰ γῆς δῦναι ἠυχόμην ἀκούων σου ἐπιδεικνυμένου, ὅτε χιτώνιον μὲν καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ᾧου λέγεσθαι, δουλάρια δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄρρενας τῶν ἀκολούθων ἀπεκάλεις, ἃ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι χιτώνιον μὲν γυναικὸς ἐσθῆς, δουλάρια δὲ τὰ θήλεα καλοῦσιν;
Just as recently you threw in the word θυμάλωπα, having no idea what it means, when it had no connection to what you were trying to say. And the laymen were all astonished when their ears were struck by this foreign term, but the educated men were laughing both at you and at those who praised you. And the most ridiculous thing of all is that when you want to be hyper-Attic, and have carefully modelled your speech into the most archaic form possible, you mix in with your words some, or rather many, mistakes that not even a child just beginning to study would make. For example, how I prayed to sink beneath the earth when I heard you revealing that you thought χιτώνιον also meant a male garment, and when you used the term δουλάρια also of male retainers – who does not know that a χιτώνιον is a woman’s garment, and δουλάρια refers to females? (Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 24–25)

Athenaeus, who wrote in the late second and early third centuries CE, also provides a sustained parody of this sort of appeal to attestation in the person of a character nicknamed Κεϊτούκειτος ‘is it attested or not?’.

- 12) ... Οὐλπιανὸς ὁ Τύριος, ὃς διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς ζητήσεις, ἃς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν ποιεῖται ἐν ταῖς ἀγυαῖς, περιπάτοις, βιβλιοπωλείοις, βαλανείοις, ἔσχεν ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου διασημότερον Κεϊτούκειτος. οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ νόμον εἶχεν (ἴδιον) μηδενὸς ἀποτρώγειν πρὶν εἰπεῖν “κεῖται ἢ οὐ κεῖται;” οἷον εἰ κεῖται ὥρα ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς ἡμέρας μορίου, (εἰ ὁ μέθυσος ἐπὶ ἀνδρός,) εἰ ἡ μήτρα κεῖται ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδωδίου βρώματος, εἰ σύαγρος κεῖται τὸ σύνθετον ἐπὶ τοῦ συός.
... Ulpian the Tyrian, who on account of the constant questions that he asks at every hour in the streets, walkways, bookshops, and baths has acquired the name Κεϊτούκειτος, which is better known than his real one. This man had the idiosyncratic custom of not eating anything before asking, ‘Is it attested or is it not attested?’ For example, asking whether ‘hour’ is attested for a part of the day, whether ‘drunk’ is attested applied to a man, whether ‘paunch’ is attested for the edible food, whether the compound word ‘wild-boar’ is attested for a pig. (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 1.2d-e)

Like Lucian, Κεϊτούκειτος focusses on the attestation of usage rather than simply the attestation of vocabulary. The latter was comparatively easy to ascertain in the second century, when a plethora of Atticistic lexis meant that one only had to look words up in a dictionary to find their ages, but the former required real knowledge of the Classical canon and was therefore the area on which disputes about expertise

primarily focussed. The word *κεῖται* ‘is attested (in a canonical text)’ was evidently a key technical term in this context, embodying the concept of attestation in the Classical canon. It is widely used by writers on language in the same sense as by Athenaeus’ *Κειτούκειτος*, as illustrated by passages 13–15, which range in date from the second to the fifth century CE.

- 13) Ἔργοδοτης οὐ κεῖται, τὸ δὲ ἐργοδοτεῖν παρά τινι τῶν νεωτέρων κωμωδῶν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐ πειστέον.
Ἔργοδοτης is not attested, and ἐργοδοτεῖν is attested only in one of the more recent comic poets, whom (as a group) one should not trust. (Phrynichus, *Eclogae* 322)
- 14) τὰ μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ρ ἀρχόμενα συνάρχεται τοῖς ἰδίῳις παρατατικοῖς, ῥαπίζω ἐρράπιζον ἐρράπικα, ἔρραπτον ἔρραφα· τὸ γὰρ ῥερυπωμένα κεῖται ποιητικῶς.
But the perfects that begin with ρ- have the same beginning as their own imperfects, as [*present*] ῥαπίζω, [*imperfect*] ἐρράπιζον, [*perfect*] ἐρράπικα, [*or present*] ῥάπτω, [*imperfect*] ἔρραπτον, [*perfect*] ἔρραφα; for [*perfect*] ῥερυπωμένα is attested [*only*] in poetry. (Theodosius, *Grammatici Graeci* IV.1 48.8)
- 15) μαλάχη· οὐ μολόγη· παρ’ οὐδενὶ γὰρ κεῖται.
One should say μαλάχη, not μολόγη, for that is not attested in any canonical author. (Orus, fragment 95 in Alpers 1981)

There was, however, a major problem with using *κεῖται* in this fashion: this sense of *κεῖται* is itself post-classical. Indeed, it would not have taken any inspection of the Classical canon to realise that, for the Classical canon itself must by definition be a post-Classical concept, and the concept of attestation in the Classical canon cannot predate the concept of the canon. Many educated Greek speakers were well aware of this fact and therefore avoided the term; Lucian, for example, never uses *κεῖται* to mean ‘attested in the canon’. Many others, however, used the term as freely as Athenaeus’ *Κειτούκειτος* – and therefore slipped up, according to their own criteria, every time they did so. Athenaeus was no doubt aware of this ironic situation and expected his more discerning readers to realise that poor *Κειτούκειτος* revealed his ignorance every time he asked a learned question.

The earliest examples of *κεῖται* in this sense probably come from the first century CE, if in fact it is to be found in passages 16 and 17. Passage 16 is a fragment without context; passage 17 is one of a number of similar examples from Erotian’s lexicon of Hippocratic words.

- 16) ἦν εἴπης παρ’ ὅτῳ (τὸ δεῖνα) κεῖται, δώσω σοι χρυσεύς δέκα στατήρας.
If you can tell me in what author that is attested, I’ll give you ten gold staters. (Heraclides Ponticus Junior, fragment 1 in Heitsch (1964) 41)
- 17) οἰκείης· δούλης, οἱ δὲ ἰδίας· κεῖται ἐν τῷ Περὶ φύσεως παιδίου ἢ λέξις.
‘Οἰκείης means ‘of a female slave’, but others say that it means ‘personal [*gen. sing. f.*]’. The word is attested in the work entitled ‘On the nature of the child’. (Erotian 101.4 in Nachmanson 1918)

The first century is therefore likely to be the period in which the concept represented by κείραι, attestation in the Classical canon, first gained traction as a criterion of expertise. This concept cannot, however, have grown very influential by the time of Sextus Empiricus, since his attack on linguistic expertise focusses exclusively on analogy and does not attack the Atticists – who, as both Lucian and Athenaeus show, made excellent targets for ridicule once their movement was well established.

The unseen role of vernacular Greek

We see, therefore, two shifts in Greek thinking about linguistic expertise. The first occurred in the fifth century BCE, when the concept of the linguistic expert first arose: at that point claims to linguistic expertise were based on observation of regularities and extrapolation of rules from them. The second shift occurred in the second century CE, when the defining characteristic of the linguistic expert ceased to be knowledge of analogy and began to be knowledge of the Attic canon instead. The grammarians themselves did not stop using analogy, since nothing ever really disappeared from the Greek grammatical tradition. But they and their analogical rules ceased to be seen by others as the paradigm of linguistic expertise. After Sextus Empiricus, laymen thinking about linguistic experts had a stereotype of an expert in the Classical Attic literary canon, rather than a stereotype of an expert in analogical rules. How did this change come about?

The shift is unlikely to have come from the experts themselves, not only because they had a well-established vested interest in continuity but also because expert status is conferred primarily by outsiders. It is not an individual's possession of special knowledge, but the recognition by others that that individual's knowledge is special, that makes someone an expert.²¹

²¹ There is of course the complication that in some circumstances a society assigns expert status in a particular area to a clearly specified group, which is entrusted with the responsibility for deciding whom to admit to their group. This is the case with, for example, the licensing of doctors and electricians today: only doctors can decide who counts as a doctor, and only electricians can decide who counts as an electrician. But it is society as a whole, not the experts themselves, that gives validity to those licensing decisions: if laymen (such as those making the laws that forbid practising medicine without a licence) did not care whether or not someone was licensed to practice medicine, such licensing would have little practical impact. Even today, many skilled professions are not regulated in the same way: in England, for example, anyone can claim to be a plumber, and any non-plumber can judge whether that claim is accurate by hiring the alleged plumber to fix a plumbing problem. In antiquity most fields of expertise operated as plumbing does today, for no bodies of experts were organised to the extent of having meaningful licensing powers. It is clear that claims to linguistic expertise were disputed by other experts – that is what is going on in Lucian's *Lexiphanes* – but without an appointed authority to judge such disputes, they could have no clear process of resolution. Ultimately each person, no matter how much or how little he or she knew about the subject, would have had to make up his or her own mind about whom to trust as an expert.

During the period between the fifth century BCE and the second century CE ordinary Greeks, those who were not linguistic experts, experienced a significant change in their relationship to the Greek language. In the Classical period Athenians simply spoke and wrote their native language and did not worry about linguistic rules unless they happened to encounter someone like Protagoras – and even then they do not appear to have changed their linguistic practice to fit his rules. But by the start of the second century CE even Sextus Empiricus, who did not think there was any such thing as an expert, had to begin his attack on grammar with an acknowledgement that speakers needed to take care to speak good Greek; those who did not would be ridiculed for ignorance (passage 2). The everyday spoken language had changed gradually over time, as living languages always do, and after more than half a millennium the accumulated changes were significant; meanwhile the written standard had changed much less. In consequence, even before the rise of Atticism a major gap had opened up between the Greek that speakers were supposed to produce and the Greek that they found it easy to produce.

Although these changes in Greek came in all aspects of the language, from phonetics through morphology and the lexicon to syntax, the morphological changes were particularly striking because of their consistent direction: they tended towards regularisation. The complex irregularities of Classical Greek inflection underwent wholesale simplification and regularisation, as evidenced by the usage in documentary papyri. For example, the aorist of δίδωμι changed from ἔδωκα, ἔδωκας, ἔδωκε, ἔδομεν, ἔδοτε, ἔδοσαν to ἔδωκα, ἔδωκας, ἔδωκε, ἐδώκαμεν, ἐδώκατε, ἐδώκασαν. The aorists of λείπω and ἄγω changed from ἔλιπον and ἤγαγον to ἔλειψα and ἤξα. The declension of χάρις changed from χάρις, χάριτος, χάριτι, χάριν to χάρις, χάριτος, χάριτι, χάριτα.²²

Such changes would naturally have led ordinary Greek speakers to have less and less respect for analogy. Linguistic communities tend to consider ‘good’ the speech of the people who have high status in the community, and ‘bad’ the speech of the people who have low status. In the Roman empire there was a considerable connection between status and education, and therefore it was more often the low-status people who used the newer, more regular forms. Now the grammarians themselves were skilled in the application of analogy and would not have used it to justify new forms used by low-status members of the community as opposed to the older, less regular forms used by the more prestigious speakers. But whatever the experts actually did, laymen could see for themselves that the principle of analogy was not one that worked for what they wanted.

What they wanted, what they valued, was expertise that helped them with the linguistic challenges they faced. The first of these was to read and understand the Classical and Archaic texts taught in schools: children learned to read on Homer during the Roman empire, just as they had done in Classical Athens, but Homer had be-

²² See Gignac (1981) *passim*.

come considerably more difficult during the intervening centuries. The second challenge was to produce correct Greek themselves, in writing and under some circumstances also in speech. A person who knew how to read, understand, and produce the kind of Greek that the non-experts aspired to master was the type of person they would acknowledge to be a linguistic expert.

Indeed, it is possible that this attitude on the part of non-experts was one of the catalysts for the rise of Atticism. Seeing a social and economic opportunity in the growing demand for linguistic expertise based on knowledge of the Classical canon, educated Greek speakers marketed themselves as experts of this type. Competition for this expert status (as evidenced by the rivalries between Lucian and other contemporary speakers) rapidly developed, leading to a sort of arms race in linguistic archaism. Then the production of aids such as the Atticising lexica raised the standards still further by making it easier for anyone to produce superficially educated-sounding Greek without actually mastering the entire canon. That in turn led the competition to focus on ever-more-difficult linguistic features, such as the attestation of particular usages rather than of words.

This situation may also explain Sextus' bizarre choice of the poetic Ζηνός paradigm rather than the usual Διός one in passage 2. As noted earlier, it is possible that Sextus preferred Ζηνός precisely because it was *not* what people normally used, but rather a Homeric paradigm. At the beginning of the second century CE Homeric forms had a growing cachet, and the ability to produce them was no doubt seen as a desirable form of expertise. Sextus' point that one does not need linguistic experts if one just pays attention to usage may have been greatly strengthened by the implicit demonstration that by paying attention to (Homeric) usage one can, without relying on experts, produce a fancy Homeric paradigm of Ζεύς. The Atticists were clearly not a significant enough group of experts for Sextus to consider them worth attacking, but that does not mean that he was completely unaware of their movement. Perhaps he found an implicit appeal to their ideas useful in his attempts to discredit the established linguists. If this is what was going on, we can see in passage 2 an early skirmish in the ultimate triumph of Atticism over analogy.

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