

The *Bacchae*, among other things, is a play about the god in whose sphere illusion and reality cross and the line between them becomes blurred. The etymological and verbal plays studied here show how this doubleness and duplicity to which Dionysus opens ordinary experience infiltrate the language as well as the city of Thebes. The god forces upon language itself, as upon the mortals who resist him, a difficult, potentially fatal vacillation between a familiar world of unitary meanings and another world where reality is doubled by the co-presence of beast and god.

Notes on the Vocabulary of Post-classical Tragedy

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In writing a monograph on fourth-century tragedy and particularly in examining the contribution of the papyri to post-classical tragedy¹⁾ I noted that some words and new formations on already known words were not included in the last edition of *LSJ* and its *Supplement* (Oxford 1968). The main purpose of the present short paper is to fill this gap with regard to additions that should be made to *LSJ* and also to some errors of the dictionary in dealing with the vocabulary of fourth-century tragedy²⁾. More specifically, my main concern has been to note: words that are omitted in *LSJ*⁹ and its *Supplement*; new formations on known words (grammatical ones and particularly compounds), not found in the above dictionaries; noteworthy instances from fourth-century tragedy which should be added to the examples cited in *LSJ* either because they provide different meanings or because they are unique instances in poetry.

In this paper there are included: a) the formations unlisted in the index of the recent edition (Göttingen 1981) of the *Fragmenta Adespota* by R. Kannicht and B. Snell (nos 2, 3, 6 and 9 below); b) those cited in the index of *verba tragica* of this book, but without

¹⁾ G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, *Studies in Fourth-Century Tragedy*, Academy of Athens 1980.

²⁾ It is worth noting that the same omissions are found as a rule also in the other standard Greek dictionaries: cf., for instance, H. Stephanus, ed. by C. B. Hase *et al.*, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*; H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Grecque*; F. Preisigke - E. Kießling, *Wörterbuch der gr. Papyrusurkunden*.

any further indication either that they are unlisted in dictionaries or that they provide different meanings or unique instances in poetry (nos 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 10 below).

Quotations are made in alphabetical order, while fragments from fourth-century tragedy are quoted according to Nauck, *TGF*², and Snell, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (TrGF)*, Göttingen 1971. The adespota are quoted according to Kannicht, *op. cit.*

1. ἀγκύλος, connected with ἄροτρον (ἀγκύλοις ἄρότροις) in Moschion's fr. 6.9, is unlisted in *LSJ* and *Supplement* in this unusual association. The common adjective for ἄροτρον is καμπύλος: h. Hom. Cer. 308, Sol. fr. 13.48 (cf. *LSJ* v. καμπύλος).
2. αἱματωπός, occurring in l. 5 of *Ostr. Bodl.* 2.2171 (inv. 2950, Kannicht, adesp. F 732) which refers to a tragedy, probably a list of scenes from the Trojan and Theban cycles, should be added in dictionaries. It derives from αἷμα + ὤψ-ὠπός, the common form being αἱματωπός, 'blood stained': E. Or. 256, Ph. 870. The second term is like a suffix: see P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire Étymologique*, v. αἷμα. Cf. αἱμωπός = αἱματωπός, A.P. 6.35, S.E. P. 1.44 etc. Αἱμάτωσις occurs in Galen (6.256, 8.350).
3. ἄλωμένη (in accusative), in l. 12 of *Ostr. Bodl.* cited above, stands for ἀλοῦσαν. This is an untraceable grammatical form for the participle of the aorist of ἀλίσκομαι. As the editor³) noted, "Je ne crois pas pouvoir lire ἀλίσκομένην".
4.]δεκάστομος or [δω]δεκάστομος (sc. φόνος), in l. 25 of *P.Oxy.* 27.2454 (Kannicht, adesp. F 653) containing fragments of a tragedy on *Hercules Oetaeus*, are both new, as the editors noticed, and unlisted in dictionaries.
5. δυσέμβολος, 'hard to approach', seems to have a unique instance in poetry in Carcinus' fr. 5.7: ῥεύμασιν δυσεμβόλοις. *LSJ* omits Carcinus and quotes only instances from prose: X. H.G. 6.5.24, Arist. Pol. 1326b41, Plb. 3.49.7. The commoner formation is δυσείσβολος: E. incert. fr. 1083.3, Th. 3.101.2.
6. ἐγγεκρόφω, in l. 7 of *P.Oxy.* 15.1823 (strip from a column containing parts of 28 lines of a tragedy), is an odd formation unlisted in dictionaries and grammatical handbooks. κοῦκ ἐν γε κρόφω suggests Kannicht (adesp. F 641). But it is likely to be a

³) J. G. Tait, *Greek Ostraka in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. II, London 1955, p. 387.

future perfect⁴) of ἐγκρύπτω; cf. ἐγκρυψις -εως (Arist. *Juv.* 470a12). The verb κρύπτω is related to καλύπτω: Chantraine, *op. cit.*, v. κρύπτω.

7. ἐναίμιος ([ἐναίμῃ]οις), in l. 37 of *P.Hibeh* 1.10 (Kannicht, adesp. F 627) containing fragments of iambics, may be related to δμαίμιος, 'related by blood' (Pi. *N.* 6.16). Ἐναίμιος is unmetrical and apparently new, as the first editors remarked. Ἐναιμιος, the usual formation, is listed in *LSJ* and *Supplement* and occurs in Hdt. 3.29 θεοὶ ἔναιμοί τε καὶ σαρκώδεις, 'of flesh and blood'; cf. Hp. *VM* 22 etc.

The compounds in -αίμιος are posthomeric and hence the derivatives in -αίμία, -αίμέω, Chantraine notes (v. αἶμα), but leaving out any explanation of δμαίμιος.

8. ἐπερσνθμίζειν occurs in Chaeremon's *Alphesiboea* fr. 1.3: αἰδῶς δ' ἐπερσνθμίζειν ἡπιώτατον / ἐρσνθμα, 'modesty tempered a gentle blush'⁵). *LSJ* and *Supplement* omit this unique instance in poetry, citing only Pl. *Lg.* 7,802b ('remould, amend' ποιήματα) and Luc. *Pisc.* 12 ('dress oneself') where the meaning, especially in the second instance, is entirely different.

9. ἡμιγόνης, occurring in l. 6 (ἡμιγόνην, acc.) of *Ostr. Bodl.* (above no. 2), is not traceable in dictionaries. The common formations are ἡμιγόναιξ -αῖκος, 'half woman' (Simon. 179.9, Sud. v. ἄρρεν) and ἡμιγόναιος⁶) (Sud. v. Πολύευκτος).

Pollux 3,48 gives ἀγόνης to which ἡμιγόνης may be a parallel formation, as ἀγόναιξ (S. *Athamas* fr. 4 Pearson; in Phryn. Com. fr. 19 Kock we read ἀγόναικος) and ἀγόναιος (*LXX Jb.* 24.21) are parallel to ἡμιγόναιξ⁷) and ἡμιγόναιος: see Chantraine, *op. cit.*, v. γονή.

Ἡμιγόνην is here said of Attis, the youthful consort of Cybele and prototype of her eunuch devotees⁸).

⁴) For future perfects see E. Schwyzer, *Gr. Gram.*, I, p. 783.

⁵) Cf. the translation given in *Loeb Classical Library*.

⁶) *Ἡμίγυνος*, suggested by the editor, is not traceable elsewhere and unlisted in *LSJ*. But ἄγυνος, a parallel form, occurs in Poll. 3,48 (= Ar. fr. 735K.).

⁷) The form ἡμιγόναικα, as the similar καλλιγόναικα, φιλογόναικες and the like, have no nominative in existence, as was pointed out by Lobeck on Phryn. pp. 185, 659.

⁸) For Attis see, for instance, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v., P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la Mythologie* s.v.

10. *θέαμα* in active sense, 'gaze, sight', in Chaeremon's fr. 14.4 (*αἰθέρος θεάμασιν*), is omitted by *LSJ* and *Supplement*⁹⁾.
11. *ῥυγή*, occurring in accusative *ῥυγὴν* in l. 9 of *P.Oxy.* 27.2454 (above no. 4) is also not listed in dictionaries¹⁰⁾. As the editors remarked, it seems to be a formation with -γή suffix from *ῥυζέω* or *ῥύζω*, 'growl, snarl'. *Ρύζειν* is used of dogs in Poll. 5, 86 and of falcons *ibid.* 5, 89. Hesychius explains: *ῥύζειν ὕλακτεῖν*.

Aristarch und die „Grammatik“

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Mit dem wiederauflebenden Interesse an der antiken Sprachtheorie ist auch die spärlich bezeugte Frühzeit der antiken Grammatik, d.h. etwa die Zeit von Aristophanes von Byzanz bis Dionysios Thrax, spürbar attraktiver geworden¹⁾. Schon dieser erste, so harmlos klingende Satz verlangt nach einer Präzision. Wenn hier das Wort „Grammatik“ in dem uns geläufigen Sinn einer systematischen Sprachbeschreibung verwendet wird, so deckt sich dies keineswegs mit dem erheblich weiteren antiken Grammatikbegriff, der bekanntlich die textbezogene philologische Arbeit (*μέρος ἰδιαίτερον*) mit den nicht primär textgebundenen Disziplinen, der Realien-

⁹⁾ Cf. C. Collard, *JHS* 90 (1970) 29, 33.

¹⁰⁾ Cf. Kannicht, adesp. F 653, who notes *ad loc.*: *add. lexicis*.

¹⁾ Vgl. die neuerdings wieder lebhafte Diskussion der Thesen von *D. Fehling*, Varro und die grammatische Lehre von der Analogie und Flexion, *Glotta* 35 (1956) 214–270 und 36 (1957) 48–100 (Der Analogie-Anomalie-streit ist eine Erfindung Varros) und von *V. di Benedetto*, Dionisio Trace e la techne a lui attribuita, *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa*, Serie II, Vol. 27 (1958) 169–210, Vol. 28 (1959) 87–118, La techne spuria, *ibidem*, Classe di lettere e filosofia III, 3 (1973) 797–814 (Der sprachsystematische Teil der Techne ist unecht) bei *Pinborg*, Classical antiquity: Greece in: Current trends in linguistics Vol. 13: Historiography of linguistics, ed. Th. Sebeok, The Hague-Paris 1975, 69–126, 103ff., bei *E. Siebenborn*, Die Lehre von der Sprachrichtigkeit und ihren Kriterien, Studien zur antiken normativen Grammatik, Amsterdam 1976, 27ff., 68ff. u.ö. (Vgl. dazu die Besprechungen von *Fehling*, *Gnomon* 51 (1979) 488–90 und von mir, *Indog. Forschungen* 84 (1979) 302–307) und bei H. Erbse, Zur normativen Grammatik der Alexandriner, *Glotta* 58 (1980) 236–258.