"What is a 'dialect'?"
Some new perspectives on the history of the term διάλεκτος and its interpretations in ancient Greece and Byzantium*

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Et idiota qui est contentus sua proprietate loquendi,
nesciens proprietates sermonis aliorum.
Roger Bacon (1214/1220–ca. 1292), *Grammatica graeca*
(ed. Nolan-Hirsch 1902: 26)

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*; 2nd edition) defines 'dialect' as follows:

1. Manner of speaking, language, speech; esp. a manner of speech peculiar to, or characteristic of, a particular person or class; phraseology, idiom.

2. One of the subordinate forms or varieties of a language arising from local peculiarities of vocabulary, pronunciation, and idiom. (In relation to modern languages usually spec. A variety of speech differing from the standard or literary 'language'; a provincial method of speech, as in 'speakers of dialect'.) Also in a wider sense applied to a particular language in its relation to the family of languages to which it belongs.

The above definitions already indicate the diverging range of parameters associated with this term in modern times. A number of them reach back to the equally variegated ancient Greek and Byzantine notion of διάλεκτος. Rather unsurprisingly, the Greek term is mentioned in the etymological information the *OED* offers (along with the intermediary stages via Latin *dialectus* and French *dialecte*):

Greek διάλεκτος *discourse, conversation, way of speaking, language of a country or district,* < διαλέγεσθαι *to discourse, converse,* < δια- *through, across* + λέγειν *to speak.*[1]

However, even though the modern lexeme has its origins in Greek antiquity and Byzantium, equating the two concepts would be utterly deceptive; for there does exist a sharp cleavage between the present-day interpretations of the term on the one hand and the rather vague,

[1] All the above quotations are taken from the *OED* website (08/11/2013).

though complex Greek notion on the other (a cleavage we owe to the Renaissance *discours* on this issue). One of the most obvious differences consists in the fact that διάλεκτος also carried a more generic linguistic (but 'non-dialectological') meaning, which has been ignored by some scholars. Next to contextualizing and nuancing this fallacy, the aim of the present paper comprises three other main components. First, it will investigate the 'linguistic' denotation(s) of the term διάλεκτος and the parameters associated with it in ancient Greek and Byzantine learning (synthesized in figure 1 in the final section). Second, a study of the different contexts in which the term was used will lead to a better understanding of the concept expressed by it. Finally, the concluding section will map out (dis)continuities with the modern notion.

1. State of the art, aims, and methodology

The ancient notion of 'dialect' and the term used for it in Greek antiquity and Byzantium, διάλεκτος, have already received much attention in scholarly literature. Consani (1991b: 15–68) contains the fullest account up till now, while other useful discussions of the 'dialect' concept are offered in Munz (1921), Hainsworth (1967), Cassio (1984; 1993), Versteegh (1986), Morpurgo Davies (1987), Lambert (2009), Fenoglio (2009; 2012), and Tribulato (2014). Lambert (2009) focuses on the terminological side of the issue. While chiefly discussing the history of the different classifications, Hainsworth (1967) also provides remarks on the concept's link with the Greek ethnic tradition. Morpurgo Davies (1987) is principally concerned with the notion of διάλεκτος in general. Versteegh (1986), for his part, bases himself on the remarks of Greek grammarians from the Roman period in order to grasp the socio-historical status of the κοινή more adequately. Munz (1921) concentrates on the distinction between γλῶττα and διάλεκτος, while Cassio (1984) elaborates upon the concept's connection with the Greek tribes and – *in extenso* – with the modes of music and different styles of architecture associated with them. In his 1993 publication, grammarians such as Apollonius Dyscolus are the focus of attention. Fenoglio (2009; 2012: 104–105; 329 *et sqq.*) discusses the views of Eustathius of Thessalonica (ca. AD 1115–ca. 1195) on the different Greek διάλεκτοι in his commentary on Homer's *Odyssea*. Tribulato (2014) offers a concise synthesis of the ancient Greek and Byzantine data, exclusively based on secondary sources. Gräfenhan (1843–1850: I, 541–547 & III, 201–205) and Dickey (2007: *passim*) also offer useful information. Yet, despite this vast range of available studies, an

extensive treatment, based on modern historiographic methods and taking into account all relevant passages, still seems desirable.[2]

The present paper envisages to make another step forward towards a systematic discussion. My central research question concerns the linguistically relevant NOTIONS and PARAMETERS that were linked to the Greek term in question. The paper will also investigate whether there was one UNANIMOUSLY accepted definition of διάλεκτος. Do the authors stipulate FURTHER DIVISIONS that are in some way hierarchically 'below' or 'above' the level of διάλεκτος? What earlier SOURCES do they rely on when reflecting upon what they consider to be a διάλεκτος? Do they use similar PHRASES and, if so, do they do this explicitly? Can we observe any DIRECT DISCUSSION on this issue? And finally, in what TYPES OF TEXTS did the authors comment upon this notion?

Relying on specific queries in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* database,[3] I will also introduce some (often) overlooked passages (e.g. in Aristophanes, Sextus Empiricus, the *Suda*, Michael Choniates, and pseudo-Zonaras) into the discussion.[4] I will also point out the particular relevance of Quintilian's (ca. AD 35–100) perception of the Greek διάλεκτοι for our present-day understanding of the ancient Greek term (2.1.5.1). In addition, specific attention will be accorded to the image of χαρακτήρ in many of the extant definitions (2.1.3.1). Today, the notion of 'dialect' is most often seen as one part of the conceptual pair '(standard) language' and 'dialect'. This overview will show that it would be misleading to understand the ancient notion in similar terms (as, e.g., in Coseriu 1981: 6–7; Consani 1991b: 45; see also Versteegh 1986: 431 *et sqq.*; Cassio 1993: 86–88; Tribulato 2014: 460–461). This is why I will try to shed light on the (dis)continuities with the modern 'dialect' concept in section 3.2.

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[2] Cf. Alinei (1984: 169, note 1). Accounts such as those of Gera (2003) and Rochette (2003), both adequate treatments of other aspects of Greek linguistic consciousness, do not offer a discussion of the 'dialect' concept.

[3] The queries centered around the term διάλεκτος, in order to detect its ancient and Byzantine definitions and usages; e.g. "διάλεκτος + ἐστι(ν)". Manuscripts and texts forming no part of the *TLG* are excluded from the research. However, the treatise *De dialectis*, attributed to John Philoponus (ca. AD 490–575) and consisting of two different compilations, will also be taken into account, since it was widely known and used in Early Modern Europe, from the 1496 *editio princeps* in the *Thesaurus cornu copiae et horti Adonidis* onwards (printed by Aldus Manutius; ca. 1449/1451–1515; see pp. 235ᴿ–245ᵛ; see also Hummel 1999: 482–483 & 492; for a modern diplomatic edition, cf. Consani 1991b: 95–121).

[4] This is in contrast to Consani's (1991b) account, which largely centers upon the strictly grammatical tradition (see Consani 1993: 35).

Starting from a larger text corpus, I will narrow down my focus to the TERM διάλεκτος (with special reference to its definitions and other theoretical considerations), without, however, being blind to the concept of intralingual variation in general, for which also other terms were used (most notably γλῶσσα and φωνή).[5] The approach adopted will consist in abstracting the parameters associated with the term (cf. the synthesis *sub* 3.1 and in figure 1), for which Coseriu's three-way conceptual framework of 'diatopic', 'diastratic', and 'diaphasic' variation is taken as an analytical starting point (designating regional, class-based, and situation-based variation respectively; see, among other publications, Coseriu 1998), so as to complement Consani's (1991b) findings. The analysis of the relevant passages will proceed largely chronologically, in order to trace the evolution of the use of the term διάλεκτος – and the parameters associated with it – on an adequate basis. As a consequence of this approach, I will sometimes have to opt for an enumerative description, necessarily interrupted by considerable lacunae, owing to the deplorable loss of many texts on this topic (cf., e.g., Tribulato 2014: 459). The use of diatopic and diastratic speech varieties for literary purposes and mockery, already discussed at length by Colvin (1999), who focuses on Aristophanic comedy, will be appealed to when relevant (albeit mainly in the margin of the main thread).

2. The term διάλεκτος and its interpretations

2.1. Theorizing on διάλεκτος in Greek antiquity

2.1.1. The term διάλεκτος and the notion of intralingual variation: no one-to-one relationship
It is important to briefly indicate at the outset of this overview that the concept of 'dialectal' (*i.e.* regional and social) variation emerged before the term διάλεκτος came to be used in the meaning of 'regionally restricted linguistic variety', as is exemplified by the following

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[5] Morpurgo Davies (1987: 24) points out the relevance of the terms γλῶσσα and φωνή for the feminine gender of the term διάλεκτος. Following a suggestion of Jean Lallot, she ascribes this to (1) the semantic field to which the term belongs, including, among other things, φωνή and γλῶσσα, which are both feminine, and (2) the possibility that the term, at first, was an adjective determining nouns such as φωνή or γλῶσσα, and that it originally was an elliptical expression. In modern languages, the gender of the terms deriving from Greek διάλεκτος can be masculine or neuter (cf. French *dialecte* and Dutch *dialect* respectively), but generally not feminine (except for Modern Greek: η διάλεκτος). In Renaissance vernacular texts the original feminine gender of the term is sometimes maintained (cf. Alinei 1984: 170, note 5).

passage in Herodotus (ca. 485–424 BC), 1, 142: "Γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων [But they [*i.e.* the Ionians of Asia Minor] do not use the same speech, but four modes of variations]".[6] The historian, who does not use the term διάλεκτος, labels the four Ionic varieties of Asia Minor as "τρόποι παραγωγέων" ('modes of variations'; see Hainsworth 1967: 66), which are, however, hardly identifiable by epigraphic sources (Hall 1997: 171; Brixhe-Hodot 2001: 31). Moreover, παραγωγή is – in some contexts – a rather negative term, designating not only 'variation' and 'derivation' within a linguistic frame of reference (see e.g. Herodian's *Περὶ παραγωγῶν γενικῶν ἀπὸ διαλέκτων*, which discusses 'dialectal deviations' in the genitive, and Dickey 2007: 153), but also 'seduction' (as in Herodotus, 6, 62) and – more neutrally – the 'motion of leading by' (see Liddell-Scott-Jones 1940: *sub uoce*). It is nevertheless difficult to determine how Herodotus, who uses this term only twice, sensed it (positively, negatively, or neutrally?). He does, however, prefigure the notion of 'subdialect', which is prominent in Byzantine theorizing (cf. *sub* 2.2.1.2). Other 'Classical Greek' examples of sensitivity to intralingual variation are mentioned by, among others, Hall (1997: 172–174).[7]

2.1.2. Aristotle's (384–322 BC) physiological view of διάλεκτος

With other linguistic means available for expressing the notion of regional variation, it may not be surprising that the first extant definition of διάλεκτος, furnished by the Greek philosopher Aristotle in his *Historia animalium*, 535a, contains a wholly different interpretation: "Διάλεκτος δ' ἡ τῆς φωνῆς ἐστι τῇ γλώττῃ διάρθρωσις [Διάλεκτος is the articulation of the voice by means of the tongue]". Thus, it is clear that Aristotle's 'physiological' view of the term, which is also adopted in one of Chrysippus' (3rd century BC) extant fragments,[8] is miles away from its usages in later (Hellenistic, Byzan-

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[6] All Greek citations and references to Greek texts are taken from the editions used by the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (*TLG*) online database ((pseudo-?)John Philoponus' *De dialectis* excepted, see note 3 above). Unless mentioned otherwise, the accompanying English translations are mine.

[7] For a Byzantine 'glossographic' example, see *Commentaria in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam, Commentarius (sub auctore Melampode uel Diomede)*, p. 15: "Γλωσσηματικαὶ δὲ λέξεις εἰσὶν αἱ ἐπιχωριάζουσαι, τουτέστιν αἱ καθ' ἑκάστην χώραν ἢ καὶ πόλιν ἴδιαί τινες λέξεις". In this passage, reference is made to lexical elements ("λέξεις"), *i.e.* glosses, typical of certain areas or cities ("αἱ ἐπιχωριάζουσαι", "αἱ καθ' ἑκάστην χώραν ἢ καὶ πόλιν").

[8] Cf. *Fragmenta logica et physica*, 144, which is quoted by Galen (AD 129–ca. 216) in his *De locis affectis libri VI*, 8, pp. 266–267. The present paper will not elabo-

tine, and (Early) Modern) times. Aristotle, however, also uses διάλεκτος in a more general sense, *i.e.* that of 'speech' as a means of communication, which is nevertheless characterized by diversity.[9] This generic meaning of 'way of speaking', in which διάλεκτος was more or less a synonym for γλῶσσα (Attic γλῶττα) and φωνή,[10] was widely used, from Plato[11] onwards and as late as the first half of the 19th century AD.[12] Elsewhere, Aristotle alludes to (1) diastratic variation in saying that speech depends on age, origin, and standing (*Rhetorica*, 3, 1408a, 27–30) and (2) diaphasic differences (*Rhetorica*, 3, 1408a, 12–13; see Kramer 1989: 61–62 for a discussion), without, however, using the term διάλεκτος.

2.1.3. Diogenes of Babylon (ca. 240–150 BC) on διάλεκτος

The first extant 'dialectological' definition is attested relatively late, *i.e.* in the *Vitae philosophorum* by Diogenes Laertius (*fl.* middle of the 3rd century AD; Consani 1991a: 25). In his doxography of the Stoic philosopher Diogenes of Babylon, Diogenes Laertius quotes the defi-

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rate upon the physiological aspect. The non-linguistic meanings of 'conversation' and 'discussion' (e.g. in Plato) will also be left out of consideration (see Ax 1986: 113).

[9] See *Historia animalium*, 536b: "Καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι φωνὴν μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀφιᾶσι, διάλεκτον δ' οὐ τὴν αὐτήν". By adding that men do not use "the same διάλεκτος", Aristotle refers to the existence of linguistic diversity. For a more general discussion of Aristotle's use of διάλεκτος, see Ax (1978; 1986), who also discusses the discontinuous transition from the Aristotelian definition to the one formulated by Diogenes of Babylon (1986: 210), and Melazzo (2004).

[10] Cf. Lambert (2009: 19–20). The term γλῶσσα can also be used to designate Attic, Ionic, Doric, and Aeolic (cf. Hainsworth 1967: 66; e.g. Herodotus, 6, 138, where he speaks of the "γλῶσσάν τε τὴν Ἀττικὴν"), just as the term φωνή could throughout the whole of Greek antiquity (*pace* Lambert 2009: 17; cf. Hainsworth 1967: 65–66; Wackernagel 1979 [= 1876]: 1485 [= 59]; see, e.g., Plato (428/7–348/7 BC), *Cratylus*, 398d–e, where he talks about orators "ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ φωνῇ λεγόμενοι"). Only when relevant to the concept of 'dialectal' variation will the use of these terms be taken into account in the present paper (cf., e.g., the later distinction between φωνή, διάλεκτος, and γλῶσσα *sub* 2.2.1.2). For γλῶσσα in the meaning of 'gloss; foreign or difficult word', which is frequently found in the oeuvre of, among others, Aristotle, see, e.g., Lambert (2009: 17–18). In some rare instances, διάλεκτος also has the meaning of 'local word'; see, e.g., Plutarch (ca. AD 45–before 125), *Alexander*, 31, 7: "σημαίνειν δέ φασιν οἶκον καμήλου τὴν διάλεκτον, [...]". This marginal usage will, however, not be further elaborated upon in the present paper.

[11] Cf. *Theaetetus*, 146b: "ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἀήθης τῆς τοιαύτης διαλέκτου, [...]". See also Lambert (2009: 21).

[12] *Pace* Tribulato (2014: 457). Cf., e.g., the Greek patristic author Theodoret of Cyrrhus (ca. AD 393–466), *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, 2, 45: "Σαγχωνιάθων δέ, ὁ κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκων διάλεκτον φιλαλήθης, [...]" and cardinal Basil Bessarion (AD 1403–1472), *In uerbum euangelii: Sic eum uolo manere, quid ad te?*, 3: "[...] τῆς ἑβραϊκῆς διαλέκτου καὶ ἑλληνικῆς [...]". For later attestations in the Greek-speaking area, see Mackridge (2009: 260).

nition of διάλεκτος offered in his namesake's treatise *Περὶ φωνῆς* (see *Vitae philosophorum*, 7, 55 for the title of this treatise), the interpretation of which is all but "obvious" (Morpurgo Davies 1987: 24, note 18, where a brief state of the art is offered; see also Ax 1986: 191, 201–202 & 208; Consani 1991a; 1991b: 19 *et sqq.* for a discussion):

> διάλεκτος δέ ἐστι λέξις κεχαραγμένη ἐθνικῶς τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς, ἢ λέξις ποταπή, τουτέστι ποιὰ κατὰ διάλεκτον, οἷον κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἀτθίδα Θάλαττα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰάδα Ἡμέρη. (*Vitae philosophorum*, 7, 56)

> *διάλεκτος is λέξις ['discernable voice'] 'stamped' 'tribally' and 'Greekly', or λέξις of a certain country, that is, having a certain quality according to a διάλεκτος, as θάλαττα in the Attic and ἡμέρη in the Ionic.*

Diogenes of Babylon obviously intended to advert to peculiarities of the *Greek* διάλεκτοι, which is clear for two main reasons. First, this emerges from the use of the adverb "Ἑλληνικῶς", while the adverb "ἐθνικῶς" refers to the different Greek ἔθνη ('tribes'; Consani 1991a: 29–30; 1991b: 20 *et sqq.* and the bibliography offered there; see also Morpurgo Davies 1987: 24). Though a word may have peculiar 'characteristics', typical of a separate Greek tribe, it nevertheless also exposes a unifying element in its 'Greekness' (Consani 1991a: 30). This way, Diogenes tries to account for the linguistic unity indisputably underlying the Greek 'dialectal' variation (this unity was recognized early on; Mickey 1981; Morpurgo Davies 1987). The 'ethnic-tribal' parameter would also be prominent in a number of later definitions.[13] In the second part of the definition, he adds another criterion, *i.e.* that of regional variation ("ποταπή", a later form of ποδαπή; Liddell-Scott-Jones 1940: *sub uoce*).[14] Second, the examples offered

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[13] Cf. Hainsworth (1967: 64 *et sqq.*), Cassio (1984), and Consani (1991b: 17–18, 21 & 23), who connects it with a number of "non-technical" passages in earlier authors. The general relevance of language to ethnicity in Greek antiquity is discussed by Hall (1997; especially chapter 6). The adjective ἐθνικός is also employed as a technical term meaning "dialectal, indicating nationality" (Dickey 2007: 234). For the association of ethnicity with language, see also Old Church Slavonic *językъ*, 'nation' as well as 'language'.

[14] Strabo (1st century BC), for his part, does not offer a definition of the term διάλεκτος, but he unmistakably makes reference to both the diatopic and the ethnic-tribal parameters, when discussing the Greek linguistic varieties (for which he indeed uses the term διάλεκτοι; cf. Consani 1991b: 18–19): "τοῦτο τοίνυν αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ ἑτερογλώττου καὶ τοῦ ἑτεροεθνοῦς αἴτιον, ὡς εἰκός, [...]" (*Geographica*, 8, 1, 2). Here, I follow the Budé edition by Baladié (1978), and not the reading ἑτεροεθοῦς of Meineke (1877) included in the *TLG*. The context clearly points to ἑτεροεθνοῦς as the correct form, since Strabo is discussing the coming into being of the four ἔθνη (Attic, Ionic, Doric, and Aeolic), which equal the διάλεκτοι in number

(θάλαττα and ἡμέρη) are also indicative of a Greek focus. Moreover, it seems safe to state that Diogenes primarily conceived of διάλεκτος as human speech in its quality of 'writable' or at least 'discernable voice', as his definition of λέξις ('speech, expression') suggests (Ax 1986: 191–192); see Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum*, 7, 56: "λέξις δέ ἐστιν κατὰ τοὺς Στωικούς, ὥς φησι Διογένης, φωνὴ ἐγγράμματος, οἷον Ἡμέρα [λέξις is, according to the Stoics, as Diogenes states, writable/discernable voice, e.g. ἡμέρα]". In the light of these facts, the association of διάλεκτος with written codification and intelligibility comes to the fore, which may also be relevant to the understanding of certain later usages of the term διάλεκτος.[15] For the connection between written language and intelligibility, a passage in Porphyry's (ca. AD 234–305/310) *De abstinentia* (3, 3) is particularly revealing. For, in it, languages of foreign peoples and animals are characterized as both ἄναρθρος ('inarticulate') and ἀγράμματος ('not writable or discernable').[16]

2.1.3.1. Intralingual variation and the image of χαράσσω

At first sight, Diogenes seems to fall back on a remarkable image ("κεχαραγμένη", 'stamped' < χαράσσω, 'to stamp', 'to carve') to refer to the way in which a διάλεκτος 'characterizes' Greek ethnic entities. This, however, appears to be a recurrent expression in defining διά-λεκτος; apart from later definitions,[17] it also had been utilized by Herodotus,[18] Sophocles (497/6–406 BC),[19] and Aristophanes (ca. 450

("Ἑλλάδος μὲν οὖν πολλὰ ἔθνη γεγένηται, τὰ δ' ἀνωτάτω τοσαῦτα ὅσας καὶ διαλέκ-τους παρειλήφαμεν τὰς Ἑλληνίδας"). Hainsworth (1967: 68) supposes on unclear grounds that Strabo is quoting an "anonymous scholar" in this passage. It is indeed possible that Strabo made use of an earlier source when discussing the Greek διάλεκτοι; we do not, however, have any straightforward indications of such a dependency.

[15] Cf. *sub* 2.1.5 for the interpretation 'literary way of speaking'; see also pseudo-Plato's *Definitiones*, 414d: "Διάλεκτος φωνὴ ἀνθρώπου ἐγγράμματος".

[16] "εἰ δὲ μὴ ἡμεῖς ξυνίεμεν, τί τοῦτο; οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς Ἰνδῶν οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐδὲ τῆς Σκυθῶν ἢ Θρακῶν ἢ Σύρων οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τραφέντες· ἀλλ' ἴσα κλαγγῇ γεράνων ὁ τῶν ἑτέρων τοῖς ἑτέροις ἦχος προσπίπτει. καίτοι ἐγγράμματος τοῖς ἑτέροις ἢ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔναρθρος, ὡς καὶ ἡμῖν ἡ ἡμετέρα· ἄναρθρος δὲ καὶ ἀγράμματος ἡ τῶν Σύρων φέρε εἰπεῖν ἢ τῶν Περσῶν, ὡς καὶ πᾶσιν ἡ τῶν ζῴων".

[17] Cf. Clement of Alexandria's definition below, where the *nomen agentis* of χαράσσω, *i.e.* χαρακτήρ, 'stamper; characteristic', is used; the definition by Gregory of Corinth (cf. *sub* 2.2.3) is clearly based on Clement's wordings.

[18] Cf. Herodotus, 1, 57: "Καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κροτωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφεας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι, δηλοῦσί τε ὅτι τὸν ἠνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ". See also 1, 142.

[19] Cf. Sophocles, *Fragmenta*, 176: "καὶ γὰρ χαρακτὴρ αὐτὸς ἐν γλώσσῃ τί με παρηγορεῖ Λάκωνος ὀσμᾶσθαι λόγου".

BC or later–ca. 385 BC)[20] in connection with speech varieties, even though they do not employ the term διάλεκτος within these contexts. The use of this image seems to tally with tendencies in later times to view linguistic varieties ("Sprachen, Dialekte, Akzente") as a means of "Identitätskontrolle" (Von Moos 2008b: 18, citing Dante Alighieri's *Inferno*, 1, 10, 25: "La tua loquela ti fa manifesto"; see also Vàrvaro 2008 in Von Moos 2008a). A thorough investigation of the term χαράσσω (and its derivations) within the general context of linguistic theorizing could cast more light on this issue.

2.1.4. Tryphon (2nd half of the 1st century BC) and his successors: διάλεκτος, ὀρθογραφία, and the πάθη λέξεων

Tryphon appears to have been the first grammarian who paid extensive attention to the problem of the Greek διάλεκτοι.[21] We do not have his definition of the term, although it may have been the phrase "γλώσσης ἰδίωμα" (Attic: "γλώττης ἰδίωμα"; 'particularity of speech'), also used by later grammarians working within the theoretical framework of ὀρθογραφία (probably pioneered by Tryphon; Siebenborn 1976: 161; see also note 25 below). This ὀρθογραφία – in the narrow sense normative 'orthography',[22] but also involving the exegesis and correct reading aloud of canonical literary texts – was based on four criteria (τρόποι; Siebenborn 1976: 159): (1) ἀναλογία ('analogy'; *i.e.* analogical/proportional comparison of similar forms),[23] (2) διάλεκτος (since the canonical authors wrote in different speech forms; cf. *sub* 1), (3) ἐτυμολογία ('etymology'; *i.e.* plausible explanation of words, to which knowledge of the different διάλεκτοι contributed; cf. Siebenborn 1976: 147),[24] and (4) ἱστορία ('history'; involving both

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[20] Cf. Aristophanes, *Pax*, 220: "Ὁ γοῦν χαρακτὴρ ἡμεδαπὸς τῶν ῥημάτων". The adjective ἡμεδαπός seems to refer to the rhetoric adopted by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War rather than to the regional restrictedness of Attic speech.

[21] Tryphon's writings, which have survived only extremely fragmentarily, included several treatises on the Greek διάλεκτοι in general and on individual Greek διάλεκτοι in particular. Cf., e.g., Siebenborn (1976: 149–151), Hunger (1978: 29), and Wackernagel (1979 [= 1876]: 1485 [= 59]).

[22] For an example of the dialects' relevance to the orthography of the κοινή, see the 'definition' of Georgius Choeroboscus' (9th century AD) *Epimerismi in Psalmos*, p. 89: "Τί ἐστι διάλεκτος; Ὅταν τὸ ἡμεῖς διὰ τῆς ΕΙ διφθόγγου γραφόμενον εἴπω, ἐπεὶ οἱ Αἰολεῖς ἄμες λέγουσι, τὸ προσὸν Ε τῇ λέξει ἐκφωνήσαντες". The ε in ἡμεῖς, though not pronounced in the κοινή, needs to be written, which is motivated by its presence in the Aeolic form ἄμες.

[23] Cf., e.g., Robins (1985 [= 1979]: 16 *et sqq.*). Whereas analogy was characteristic of Alexandrian grammatical thought, grammarians active in Pergamum mainly stressed the anomaly of language.

[24] Knowledge of the 'dialects' was an indispensable tool for the etymologist (Siebenborn 1976: 147). Consider, e.g., the fifth-century AD philosopher Proclus

realia and ancient reading customs).[25] In the approach of these grammarians, variation among the several 'dialects' is largely considered from a perspective of diaphasic specialization according to the genres in which they first flourished.[26]

Tryphon also seems to have connected the διάλεκτοι to the theoretical principle of the "πάθη λέξεων" ('modifications/accidents of speech forms'),[27] by which he envisaged to explain the anomalies he encountered in the different Greek διάλεκτοι (including the κοινή). Tryphon – and later grammarians such as Apollonius Dyscolus (1st half of the 2nd century AD) and his son Herodian (2nd century AD) – tried to account for dialectal differences by stipulating certain 'deviations' from Ἑλληνισμός (which they largely identified with the κοινή).[28] In these cases, the κοινή, although still referred to as διάλεκ-

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and his *In Platonis Cratylum commentaria*, 85:"Ὅτι τὸν ἐτυμολογήσειν μέλλοντα δεῖ τὰς τῶν διαλέκτων εἰδέναι διαφοράς, τοὺς γὰρ ὀδόντας ἔδοντας καλοῦσιν οἱ Αἰολεῖς", where reference is made to the Aeolic variant ἔδων, making the etymological link of ὀδών, 'tooth', with the Attic and κοινή verb forms ἐσθίω/ἔδομαι, 'to eat', transparent. A similar exhortation is uttered by Michael Psellus (in his *Poemata*, 6, 187: "ὀφείλει δ' ὁ γραμματικὸς εἰδέναι καὶ τὰς γλώσσας"), albeit with reference to variation on the level of γλῶσσαι rather than διάλεκτοι (see *sub* 2.2.1.2).

[25] Cf. Siebenborn (1976) for a more detailed account of these criteria. Some authors added another, called 'συναλοιφή' ('synalepha', embracing phonetic operations such as elision, synizesis, synaeresis, and crasis); see the following passage (p. 58) in a treatise entitled *Περὶ γραμματικῆς*, variously attributed to the Alexandrian grammarian Theodosius (*fl.* ca. AD 400) and to Theodore Prodromos (ca. AD 1100– ca. 1158/1170): "Πόσοι τρόποι τῆς ἀναγνώσεως; πέντε· ἀναλογία, ἐτυμολογία, συναλοιφή, διάλεκτος, ἱστορία. Τί ἔστιν ἀναλογία; ἡ τῶν ὁμοίων παράθεσις· Τί ἔστιν ἐτυμολογία; ἀνάπτυξις λέξεων ἁρμόζουσα τὴν φωνὴν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου πιθανότητα. Τί ἔστι συναλοιφή; συνέλευσις καὶ συμφωνία δύο συλλαβῶν εἰς μίαν συλλαβήν, τῆς τελευταίας συλλαβῆς φυλαττομένης, τῆς δὲ πρώτης ἀφανιζομένης. Τί ἔστι διάλεκτος; ἰδίωμα γλώττης. Τί ἔστιν ἱστορία; ἀφήγησις πράξεως παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν".

[26] Cf., e.g., the *Grammaticus Leidensis* in Schäfer (1811 [repr. 1970]: 627), where it is said that Aristophanes wrote Attic, Homer Ionic, Theocritus Doric, Alcaeus Aeolic, and Pindar the κοινή. See also Siebenborn (1976: 146–147) and Bakhtin (1981: 66). Some scholars, like Hermogenes (ca. AD 160–230), did, however, recognize that many canonical authors, the most prominent of whom was Homer, used a mixed 'dialect' (*Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου*, 2, 4).

[27] Cf. Siebenborn (1976: 149–151), Versteegh (1986: 431–432), and Cassio (1993: 85–86). See also Aristotle, *Poetica*, 1460b, where this phrase is already used to refer to poetical variation: "ταῦτα δ' ἐξαγγέλλεται λέξει ἐν ᾗ καὶ γλῶτται καὶ μεταφοραὶ καὶ πολλὰ πάθη τῆς λέξεώς ἐστι· […]".

[28] See Versteegh (1986: 431–432) and Tribulato (2014: 460–461). By approaching the Greek διάλεκτοι from this point of view, Tryphon is at the basis of normative grammar (Ἑλληνισμός; cf. Baumbach 2002). The κοινή, though being the norm, also showed some anomalies, which the grammarians sought to account for; e.g. the irregular genitive κυνός (< κύων) was explained as being caused by the πάθος of συγκοπή, 'syncope', of the unattested, analogical form *κύονος (Sieben-

τος and placed next to the other διάλεκτοι (Tribulato 2014: 460), is occasionally contrasted with them; consider, e.g., the phrase "οὐκ ἔστι κοινολεκτούμενον ἀλλὰ κατὰ διάλεκτον [this is not commonly said, but dialectally]" in Herodian, *Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων*, 3, 2, 741 (see Versteegh 1986: 433; Consani 1991b: 27 *et sqq.*, and Cassio 1993: 86–87). This conceptualization vaguely resembles the later Western notion of '(standard) language' as opposed to deviating 'dialects' (Joseph 1987: 50; Bubeník 2000: 441); the Greek 'dialects', themselves elaborated speech forms of an influential literary canon, were nevertheless not negatively valued (despite the use of a term such as πάθος, which could, however, also be applied to the κοινή, thus blocking a negative connotation; see note 28 above)[29] nor subordinated to the κοινή (Tribulato 2014: 460). What is more, the Greek 'dialect' forms "are acceptable" in poetical usage, "but not normative" and to be avoided "in normal prose", for which the κοινή was the canonical speech form (Versteegh 1986: 431; cf. Cassio 2007: 30), also termed συνήθεια (Dickey 2007: 260; see, e.g., Herodian, *De prosodia catholica*, 3, 1, 97).

2.1.5. Clement of Alexandria († before AD 215/221): two definitions of διάλεκτος

Though absent in the 'pathological' approach, the ethnic-tribal and diatopic parameters of Diogenes' interpretation of διάλεκτος reappear in the first of two definitions by the Alexandrian theologian and philosopher Clement of Alexandria (also known as Titus Flavius Clemens) in his *Stromata* (or *Stromateis*), albeit in reversed order (Consani 1991b: 21–22):

> Διάλεκτος δέ ἐστι λέξις ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα τόπου ἐμφαίνουσα, ἢ λέξις ἴδιον ἢ κοινὸν ἔθνους ἐπιφαίνουσα χαρακτῆρα. (*Stromata*, 1, 21, 142, 3)

> *Διάλεκτος is λέξις ['speech, discernable voice'] exhibiting a property which is characteristic of a place, or λέξις exhibiting a property peculiar to or common to a tribe.*

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born 1976: 108). The 'pathological' theory was also practiced in Byzantine times; cf. the treatise entitled *De uocum passionibus* by (pseudo-?)Manuel Moschopulus (ca. AD 1265–ca. 1316) in Schäfer (1811 [repr. 1970]: 675 *et sqq.*). It also influenced Early Modern Greek dialectology to a large extent (cf. Amerotius 1530; for which, see Hummel 1999). For the use of dialectal deviations in Arabic grammar, see Versteegh (1983: 152).

[29] Elsewhere, evaluative statements are nevertheless present, which seems to be connected with the ethnic-tribal parameter; see note 52 below.

If one adopts an exterior perspective, dialectal properties can be seen as 'proper' (ἴδιον) to a tribe; for someone who approaches the matter from an internal perspective, the properties in case are 'common' (κοινόν) to the tribe. Whereas this above passage makes mention of two differing parameters 'characterizing' a διάλεκτος, *i.e.* regional restrictedness and tribal identity, the second definition by Clement lacks the former element:

> Ἔχει δ' οὖν καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ἰδιότητας ἡ Ἑβραίων διάλεκτος, καθάπερ καὶ ἑκάστη τῶν λοιπῶν, λόγον τινὰ ἐμπεριέχουσα ἐθνικὸν ἐμφαίνοντα χαρακτῆρα. διάλεκτον γοῦν ὁρίζονται λέξιν ἐθνικῷ χαρακτῆρι συντε-λουμένην. (*Stromata*, 6, 15, 129, 2)

> *Thus, the διάλεκτος of Hebrews also has a number of other properties, like each of the remaining [διάλεκτοι], entailing some λόγος ['meaningful speech'] that shows the ethnic character. In any case, one defines διά-λεκτος as λέξις ['speech, discernable voice'] that is realized through the ethnic character.*

Thus, although diatopic variation is already present in Clement's views (see also Diogenes of Babylon and Strabo), he does not feel the need to make it explicit in his second definition. Moreover, in the second definition, διάλεκτος seems to be perceived generically as 'way of speaking' (on which see *sub* 2.1.5.1); for, in it, Clement extra-polates the term to the Hebrew tongue, which was clearly distinct from the Greek varieties, and stresses the aspect of ethnicity (here not connected with the Greek tribes), through which the speech form is said to be 'realized' or 'completed' ("συντελουμένην").[30]

According to Morpurgo Davies (1987: 14), Clement "must also have made use of earlier sources" (see the undetermined verb form "ὁρίζονται" in the second definition and "φασὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες" in the passage quoted below), whereas Consani (1991b: 16) points to Stoic grammatical doctrine and Alexandrian grammarians, which indeed seems to be a plausible assumption. However, Clement's source(s) has (have) as yet not been identified and is (are) probably not extant. Whereas the similarity of the initial wordings ("διάλεκτος δέ ἐστι λέξις") of Diogenes' and Clement's definitions might be due to chance, it still remains remarkable that Clement not only uses a term ("χαρακτῆρα") lexically connected to Diogenes' "κεχαραγμένη", but also includes the same two parameters as Diogenes (tribal identity and

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[30] Clement also employs διάλεκτος to refer to the original 72 languages of the world, linked to the descendants of Noah (who were at the basis of the original na-tions in the world). He labels them 'barbarous', but this does not have negative im-plications in Clement's work (see *Stromata*, 1, 21, 143, 6–7 and Van Rooy 2013: 34).

diatopicity). On this basis, it seems tempting to claim that Clement depended on Diogenes for his definition of διάλεκτος (see also Consani 1991b: 22); a definite answer to this difficult question will, however, be hard to come by, because of the fact that the greater part of ancient Greek dialectological writings have not been preserved. Nevertheless, we may cautiously conclude that Clement followed the tradition to which Diogenes also belonged. Whereas Clement's dependency on Diogenes' views may be disputed, his own influence (or the influence of his sources?) on later, mostly Byzantine dialectologists (e.g. Gregory of Corinth) can hardly be overlooked (cf. *sub* 2.2).

2.1.5.1. Διάλεκτος, literariness, and intelligibility: the testimonies of Clement of Alexandria and Quintilian

This may be an appropriate place to discuss a suggestion by Munz (1921: 86–87), who asserts that διάλεκτος – from Hellenistic times onwards – designates in the first place "literarische Sprechweise", which may be colored locally but is nevertheless understandable for the Greeks.[31] The term γλῶσσα ('tongue' in both senses), on the other hand, is said to emphasize the physical-auditory aspect of language, thus being more suitable for expressing forms of speech that are not put to writing (cf. *sub* 2.1.3) and not necessarily intelligible to a Greek ear. Munz' (1921) starting point is Clement, *Stromata*, 1, 21, 142, 4, the passage following his first definition of διάλεκτος, in which he reports a Greek *communis opinio* (see the phrase "φασὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες"):

Φασὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαλέκτους εἶναι τὰς παρὰ σφίσι ε᾽, Ἀτθίδα, Ἰάδα, Δωρίδα, Αἰολίδα καὶ πέμπτην τὴν κοινήν, ἀπεριλήπτους δὲ οὔσας τὰς βαρβάρων φωνὰς μηδὲ διαλέκτους, ἀλλὰ γλώσσας λέγεσθαι.[32]

The Greeks contend that the διάλεκτοι with them are five in number, Attic, Ionic, Doric, Aeolic, and as a fifth the κοινή, but that the sounds of barbarians, which are incomprehensible, are not even to be called διάλεκτοι ['dialects'], but γλῶσσαι ['tongues'].

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[31] See Diogenes᾽ "ἐθνικῶς τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς" and the Aristotelian notion of διάλεκτος as 'articulated sound' (Ax 1978; 1986). The alternative meaning of 'discourse; conversation' as well as its etymological link with διαλέγομαι, 'discuss; converse', may also evoke the notion of intelligibility.

[32] The term φωνή here seems to designate 'sound' that is "unarticulated and meaningless", just as in Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca historica*, 1, 8, 3–4 (see Ax 1986: 99–100; Van Rooy 2013: 38–39). This phrase recurs in the Philoponic treatise (in Manutius 1496: 236ᵛ): "τὰς μὲν οὖν βαρβάρ[ων] ἐν πλήθει οὔσας καὶ ἀπεριλήπτους, οὐκ ἔστι ῥάδιον παραδοῦναι· Ἄλλωστε [*sic*]· οὐδὲ λεκτέον αὐτὰς διαλέκτους, ἀλλὰ γλώσσας· τὰς δὲ ἑλληνικὰς συνέβη καλεῖσθαι".

The Greek διάλεκτοι are worthy of the name because of their literary usage and their realization in writing, while barbarous tongues, at which the Greeks frowned as if it were indistinguishable gibberish ("ἀπεριλήπτους"), impossible to put to writing, do not deserve this designation.[33] Following Munz' (1921) line of thought, I do not interpret this passage as opposing 'languages' (γλῶσσαι) to 'dialects' (διάλεκτοι) for two main reasons (*pace* Consani 1991b: 64):

(1) the generic sense of διάλεκτος ('speech; way of speaking') was available until modern times (Mackridge 2009: 260), seriously hampering an opposition in which διάλεκτος is the hierarchically 'lower' pole;

(2) the fact that the sounds of barbarians are said to be indeterminate and incomprehensible seems to indicate a difficulty in distinguishing barbarian speech forms from one another, thus precluding the establishment of clear 'borders' between barbarian tongues (a typical pre-Renaissance attitude; cf. Van der Horst 2008: 136 *et sqq.*). A lack of knowledge of these tongues, which often constituted variational continua without a standard, impeded this.

What is more, the 'diaphasic' interpretation of διάλεκτος as 'literary way of speaking' (or even 'register') seems to be confirmed by Quintilian's Latin rendering of διάλεκτος as *genus loquendi*.[34] Elsewhere, in 8, 3, 59, he even compares the rhetorical fault of Σαρδισμός (*i.e.* Greek 'dialect' mixing) with the mingling of different Latin literary registers.[35]

The 'diaphasic' parameter also seems to shed light on the ambiguous attitude toward the κοινή (the main 'literary way of speaking' from Hellenistic times onwards), of which we only have some vague Byzantine vestiges.[36] The fact that most classifications mention the

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[33] This could also explain why the term διάλεκτος is not infrequently employed in connection with Hebrew, an important religious *Schriftsprache* for Christian Greek authors. The common collocation of Ἑβραϊκός/Ἑβραῖς and διάλεκτος in the New Testament (in, e.g., *Acta apostolorum*, 21, 40) probably reinforced this tendency.

[34] See *Institutio oratoria*, 1, 5, 29: "Cuius difficilior apud Graecos obseruatio est, quia plura illis loquendi genera, quas διαλέκτους uocant, et quod alias uitiosum, interim alias rectum est". Cf. also Alinei (1984: 186).

[35] "Σαρδισμός quoque appellatur quaedam mixta ex uaria ratione linguarum oratio, ut si Atticis Dorica, Ionica, Aeolica etiam dicta confundas. Cui simile uitium est apud nos, si quis sublimia humilibus, uetera nouis, poetica uulgaribus misceat – id enim tale monstrum, quale Horatius in prima parte libri de arte poetica fingit: Humano capiti ceruicem pictor equinam iungere si uelit – et cetera ex diuersis naturis subiciat".

[36] For these 'vestiges', see *Grammaticus Leidensis* (Schäfer 1811 [repr. 1970]: 640–641): "Οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι τὴν κοινὴν καταριθμεῖν διάλεκτον ταῖς προειρημέναις

κοινή as a διάλεκτος seems to indicate that this general meaning of 'literary speech' was prominent, even though the κοινή cannot be identified with a tribe (ἔθνος), assigned to a region (τόπος), or said to possess a particular 'character' (χαρακτήρ) of its own. All these parameters are, however, absent from the grammatical-exegetical tradition of ὀρθογραφία (and its definition "γλώττης ἰδίωμα", possibly to be interpreted as 'particular way of speaking'; cf. *sub* 2.2.1.1), for which the classification of the κοινή as a διάλεκτος consequently was no major problem (see also *sub* 2.1.4 and *sub* 2.2.1.1).

On the other hand, the use of the term διάλεκτος to designate non-Greek tongues may be correlated with the parameter of literariness or – more general – of written codification.[37] From Hellenistic times onwards, the term also designates languages which clearly had extensive written records at that time, such as Latin, Hebrew, and Egyptian. Thus, we probably may state that the 'generic' sense of 'way of speaking' not seldom went hand in hand with the parameter of 'literariness' or 'written codification', which could be extrapolated to non-Greek tongues (cf. figure 2 below).

2.1.6. Sextus Empiricus (fl. ca. AD 190–210) on the Aristophanic use of διάλεκτος

A contemporary of Clement, the sceptical philosopher Sextus Empiricus also has some interesting comments on Greek dialectal diversification in his famous attack on the grammarians, when quoting a lost comedy by Aristophanes (*Aduersus mathematicos*, 1, 228; see also Ehrenberg 1968: 95–96):

πολλαὶ γάρ, φασίν, εἰσὶ συνήθειαι, καὶ ἄλλη μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἄλλη δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ πάλιν Ἀθηναίων διαφέρουσα μὲν ἡ παλαιὰ ἐξηλλαγμένη δὲ ἡ νῦν, καὶ οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ μὲν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγροικίαν ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἄστει διατριβόντων, παρὸ καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς λέγει Ἀριστοφάνης

τέταρσιν, αἰτιῶνται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· οὐδὲν γὰρ φασὶν ἔχειν ἴδιον, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ τετραφάρμακος καλεῖται, οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἔχουσα· οὕτω καὶ ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος, ἐκ τεσσάρων συναρμοσθεῖσα, οὐκ ὀφείλει συγκαταριθμεῖσθαι ταῖς αὐταῖς. Τῶν δὲ τὴν κοινὴν εἰσηγησαμένων οἱ μὲν λέγουσι, ὅτι πάσαις συμβέβληται ταῖς διαλέκτοις ταῖς ὁμοφώνοις· οἷον φίλος, νῦξ, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· οἱ δ᾽, ὅτι οὖν ἐστιν ἔχουσα τύπον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ διαφόρων λέξεων συνηρμοσμένη τε καὶ συνηθροισμένη". Cf. Consani (1991b: 60–61) for an account of the interpretative problems associated with this passage. See also the *Scholia Londinensia*, p. 469 and *Περὶ διαλέκτων ἐκ τῶν Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ τεχνικῶν* (in Manutius 1496: 235ᴿ–236ⱽ) for similar passages.
    [37] For the association of writing with the Greek διάλεκτοι, see also the phrase "ἣν ἔγραψε" to assign a prototypic author to a specific Greek διάλεκτος (cf. note 26 above).

διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσην πόλεως,
οὔτ᾽ ἀστείαν ὑποθηλυτέραν
οὔτ᾽ ἀνελεύθερον ὑπαγροικοτέραν.

They say that there are many ways of speaking; the idiom at Athens is different from that at Sparta, and the ancient Athenian idiom is different again from the modern one. And the idiom of those who live in rural areas is different from that of city-dwellers. Concerning which Aristophanes the comic poet says:

'His language is the normal διάλεκτος of the city:
not the fancy high-society accent,
nor uneducated, rustic talk.'[38]

Sextus recognizes Greek linguistic diversification, the study of which is the task of the grammarians, and relates it to regional restrictedness, in which he follows his source, *i.e.* a lost comedy by Aristophanes, where reference is also made to sociological factors. The topic of diastratic variation does not seem to be explicitly elaborated upon by ancient Greek and Byzantine scholars.[39] In addition, Sextus also draws attention to the fact that speech forms vary over time (he speaks of 'old' and 'modern' Athenian; cf. also Hainsworth 1967: 68 for this diachronic aspect and the identification of Ionic with Old Attic in Strabo, 8, 1, 2; see also Bubeník 2000: 440).

2.2. Byzantine ideas on διάλεκτος

2.2.1. The term διάλεκτος in Byzantium: between tradition and originality
2.2.1.1. Διάλεκτος as γλώττης ἰδίωμα
As far as the Byzantine ideas on διάλεκτος are concerned, it is interesting to ask oneself whether the authors merely copied ancient Greek authors or showed original ideas. Two different scholia on Dionysius Thrax' (ca. 180/170–ca. 90 BC) *Ars grammatica*, dating back to the sixth century AD (or later; cf. Kemp 1996: 311; Lambert 2009: 21), suggest at least some degree of originality.[40] It is true that the definition and the examples offered by these scholia do not seem

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[38] With some minor adaptations, the English translation was adopted from Colvin (1999: 283).
[39] The comedian Aristophanes is an exception (together with Michael Choniates; see *sub* 2.2.5). See Colvin (1999) for an extensive discussion of mostly implicit literary data regarding this subject and especially the useful synthesis he offers on pp. 306–308; see also Kramer (1989: 59–60) and Müller (2001: 278) for additional notes on this passage.
[40] Thrax' grammar does not discuss the different Greek διάλεκτοι.

to be products of the scholiasts' own inventive reasoning. Both the *Scholia Marciana*, p. 309 and the *Scholia Londinensia*, p. 454 have the typical definition of διάλεκτος as being an "ἰδίωμα γλώττης" ('peculiarity of speech'; 'particular way of speaking'), adopted from the normative framework of 'orthography' (cf. *sub* 2.1.4).[41] I am not inclined to assume – with Consani (1991b: 45) – that this definition signals a conceptual opposition of 'language' and 'dialect' (interpreting "ἰδίωμα γλώττης" as 'peculiarity of a language'); rather, γλῶσσα is taken to mean – in line with Munz' (1921: 86–87) analysis – the physical property of speech (see also *sub* 2.1.5.1 above). For, if these authors intended γλῶσσα to be identified with the roofing speech form of the Greek 'language', *i.e.*, the κοινή (which was also termed διάλεκτος), it seems more likely that they would have made this explicit by employing the term κοινή or a phrase like the 'Greek language' and not such a passe-partout term as γλῶσσα.[42] The κοινή, though the norm for many scholars, was viewed as one of the different manifestations of the Greek language, not as the Greek language as a whole, which seems to be confirmed by the rise of the Atticist movement (cf. e.g. Dickey 2007: 98 for Moeris' Atticist lexicon); other varieties could apparently compete with the κοινή as the prototypic variety of

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[41] Cf. *Scholia Marciana*, p. 309: "Τί ἐστι διάλεκτος; Ἰδίωμα γλώττης", on which the title of this paper is based, and *Scholia Londinensia*, p. 454: "Διάλεκτος δέ ἐστι γλώττης ἰδίωμα, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ μείλιχος ὀνόματος· μέλλιχος γάρ φασιν Αἰολεῖς· καὶ τὸ ἄμμες ψιλῶς προφερόμεθα ὡς Αἰολικόν". See also the 11th-century AD *Etymologicum Gudianum*, δ, p. 357, the 12th-century AD *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 816, and Gregory of Corinth, *De dialectis*, 1 (see Xhardez 1991 for a modern edition of Gregory's work). A treatise on the Greek διάλεκτοι, which is included in the 1496 *Thesaurus cornu copiae et horti Adonidis* but not in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and which Aldus Manutius attributes to a certain "Ioannes Grammaticus Charax" (cf. Manutius 1496: iii[R]; probably to be identified with John Philoponus), also has these same wordings.

[42] See Lambert (2009) and *sub* 2.1.5.1. Moreover, Eustathius of Thessalonica reverses this definition in his *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, 1, p. 131: "δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ γράψας ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν πέντε διαλέκτων, ὅτι γλῶσσα ἐστὶν, ἰδίωμα διαλέκτου" (cf. Fenoglio 2009; 2012: 104–105; 329 *et sqq.*). See also the *Commentaria in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam, Commentariolus Byzantinus*, p. 567. In one Byzantine instance, γλῶττα seems to be roofing διάλεκτος, *i.e.* Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus (AD 905–959), *De thematibus, Asia*, 17: "Αἰολίδος δὲ λέγω οὐκ ἔθνους ὀνομασίαν, ἀλλὰ γλώττης ἰδίωμα. Ἡ γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλῶττα εἰς πέντε διαλέκτους διῄρηται […]". However, in this passage, the five (!) διάλεκτοι are seen as constituting the Greek tongue, but not as being opposed to one standardized speech form. Moreover, the κοινή itself is even assigned a geographic region, in an attempt at solving the conceptual discrepancy discussed *sub* 2.1.5.1 above: "Τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα τούτων, ἀπὸ τοῦ λεγομένου Λεκτοῦ καὶ ἕως Ἀβύδου καὶ αὐτῆς Προποντί-δος καὶ μέχρι Κυζίκου καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Γρανικοῦ, πάντες Γραικοὶ ὀνομάζονται καὶ κοινῇ διαλέκτῳ χρῶνται, πλὴν Βυζαντίων, ὅτι Δωριέων ἐστὶν ἀποικία".

Greek, thus infringing on a possible absolute 'language' status of the κοινή.

This is however not to say that the Greek 'dialectal' situation could not have given rise to such an interpretation in later Western linguistic thought – which it certainly seems to have done, starting with Roger Bacon (1214/1220–ca. 1292) at the latest (see Alinei 1984 and Trovato 1984 for the case of Italian humanists); for he makes the bipolar opposition of the concepts 'language' and 'dialect' explicit by adding "in aliqua lingua" to one of his definitions of *idioma* (which is possibly inspired by the Greek phrase "γλώττης ἰδίωμα"): "idioma est proprietas fandi in aliqua lingua [an *idioma* is a property of speech in a certain *lingua*]" (quoted from his Greek grammar edited by Nolan-Hirsch 1902; see p. 75 for this passage). As his extant writings amply demonstrate, Bacon was familiar with 'dialectal' variation within diverging linguistic contexts (such as English, French, Greek, and the Semitic tongues; see, e.g., Bourgain 1989), which may have been the necessary trigger for an unambiguous opposition of 'language' and 'dialect' (both 'relational' concepts) or – in his terms – *lingua* and *idioma* (the latter of which was closely associated with διάλεκτος in Greek theorizing). In my opinion, the Byzantine evidence on this point nevertheless remains inconclusive.

2.2.1.2. Φωνή, διάλεκτος, and γλῶσσα: a Byzantine conceptual-terminological innovation?
Despite the lack of originality as regards the definition of διάλεκτος, other passages point to a further elaboration of the concept of διάλεκτος, not explicitly found in extant ancient sources.[43] Apart from διάλεκτοι, the Greek language also has γλῶσσαι, which may be rendered in English as 'subdialects':[44]

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[43] In one instance, this distinction is attributed to "Tryphon's *auctoritas*" (Consani 1991b: 46 *et sqq.*); *i.e.* in the *Scholia Marciana*, p. 303 (cf. Thumb 1909: 22). Reference is made to Tryphon's *Περὶ τρόπων*, which, in its surviving form, does not make mention of such a hierarchic conceptualization. It also seems to be implicitly present in the dialectological approach of Apollonius Dyscolus (see below).

[44] I have, however, preserved the original Greek terms in translating these passages in order to avoid terminological confusion. These instances are also quoted by Lambert (2009: 21–22), who is mainly interested in the (often non-existing) distinction between the Greek terms φωνή, γλῶσσα (Attic γλῶττα), and διάλεκτος (see also note 10 above). Hainsworth (1967: 70) also quotes the *Scholia Marciana*; see *Commentaria in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam, Scholia Marciana (partim excerpta ex Heliodoro, Tryphone, Diomede, Stephano, Georgio Choerobosco, Gregorio Corinthio)*, p. 309: "Τί ἐστι γλῶσσα; Εἶδος διαλέκτου".

Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι διαφέρει διάλεκτος γλώττης, ὅτι ἡ μὲν διάλεκτος ἐμπεριεκ-
τική ἐστι γλωσσῶν [τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν]· Δωρὶς γὰρ διάλεκτος μία, ὑφ᾽ ἥν
εἰσι γλῶσσαι πολλαί, Ἀργείων, Λακώνων, Συρακουσίων, Μεσ<σ>ηνίων,
Κορινθίων· καὶ Αἰολὶς μία, ὑφ᾽ ἥν εἰσι γλῶσσαι πολλαί, Βοιωτῶν καὶ
Λεσβίων καὶ ἄλλων. Καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν διάλεκτοι μέν εἰσι πέντε, Ἰάς, Ἀτθίς,
Δωρίς, Αἰολίς, κοινή, γλῶσσαι δὲ πολλαί. (*Scholia Marciana*, p. 303)

*One has to know that a διάλεκτος differs from a γλῶσσα, in that the διά-
λεκτος comprehends γλῶσσαι [and ἱστορίαι]; for Doric is one διάλεκτος,
under which there are many γλῶσσαι, those of the Argives, Laconians,
Syracusans, Messenians, Corinthians; Aeolic is also one [διάλεκτος],
under which there are many γλῶσσαι, those of the Boeotians, Lesbians,
and others. And, to be brief, there are five διάλεκτοι, Ionic, Attic, Doric,
Aeolic, common, but there are many γλῶσσαι.*

Ἐκ τοῦ εἴδους δὲ τὸ γένος βούλεται δηλῶσαι· εἶδος γὰρ ἡ γλῶττα τῆς
διαλέκτου, καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαλέκτοις αἱ γλῶτται· διάλεκτος δέ ἐστι φωνῆς
εἶδος. Δεῖ γὰρ γινώσκειν, ὅτι καθ᾽ ἑκάστην διάλεκτον εἰσὶ γλῶτται πολ-
λαί, ὡς ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν Δωρίδα ἡ τῶν Λακώνων καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Σπαρ-
τιατῶν καὶ Μεσ<σ>ηνίων καὶ Κορινθίων καὶ Σικελῶν καὶ Θηβαίων καὶ
ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων μετοικίας ἔσχον, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν Αἰολίδα [ὡς] ἡ Βοιωτιακή,
ᾗ κέχρηται Κόριν<ν>α, καὶ Λεσβίων, ᾗ κέχρηται Σαπφώ· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ
τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. (*Scholia Londinensia*, p. 469)

*And on the basis of the species, he wants to indicate the genus; for the
γλῶττα is a species of the διάλεκτος, and in the διάλεκτοι [are] the γλῶτ-
ται. And a διάλεκτος is a species of φωνή ('speech'). For it is necessary
to know that there are, in every διάλεκτος, many γλῶτται, as under the
Doric [διάλεκτος] that of the Laconians, Argives, Spartans, Messenians,
Corinthians, Sicilians, Thebans, and all those who had colonies deriving
from these [peoples], and under the Aeolic [διάλεκτος] [there is] the
Boeotian [γλῶττα], which Corinna used, and that of the Lesbians, which
Sappho used; and in the same manner also for the other [διάλεκτοι].*

Ancient historiographers (as Herodotus in 1, 142; cf. Hainsworth 1967:
66 and *sub* 2.1.1) and 'glossographers' were also aware of the exist-
ence of these 'subdialects', as is indicated by their usage of naming
"minimal dialectal units" in assigning words and speech varieties to a
specific place (small regions, cities, towns; see Dickey 2007: 88 *et
sqq.* for the importance of Hesychius and examples).[45] The practice of

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[45] E.g. 'Laconian' and 'Boeotian'; Hainsworth (1967: 69). See also *Commentaria
in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam, Commentarius (sub auctore Melampode
uel Diomede)*, p. 14: "Διάλεκτοι δέ εἰσι πέντε, Ἀτθίς, Δωρίς, Αἰολίς, Ἰὰς καὶ κοινή·
καὶ Ἀτθὶς ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, Δωρὶς ἡ τῶν Δωριέων, Αἰολὶς ἡ τῶν Αἰολέων, Ἰὰς ἡ τῶν
Ἰώνων, κοινὴ ᾗ πάντες χρῶνται. Γλωσσηματικαὶ δὲ λέξεις εἰσὶν αἱ ἐπιχωριάζουσαι,
τουτέστιν αἱ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην χώραν ἢ καὶ πόλιν ἴδιαί τινες λέξεις". Here, the lexical
focus of 'glossographers' (see Hainsworth 1967: 75, note 2) and the diatopic
element are clearly present. See also Consani (1991b: 46).

the 'glossographers' seems to have led the scholiasts to this explicit recognition of 'subdialects' (cf. Hainsworth 1967: 69 *et sqq.*), although it may also have been influenced by the implicit classificatory principles of Apollonius Dyscolus (and possibly his predecessors), who already described Doric subvarieties (see Cassio 1993: 74–77; 2007: 30 for a discussion). Later grammarians do not seem to have been familiar with this terminology, as they use different words for it, the grammatical compendium of Michael Psellus (ca. AD 1018–1078/1081) being an important exception (see *Poemata*, 6, 181–188): "ὑποδιαίρεσις τοπική" ('local subdivision'; see, e.g., Gregory of Corinth, *De dialectis*, 3, 363), "μετάπτωσις" ('change'; cf. the *Grammaticus Leidensis* in Schäfer 1811 [repr. 1970]: 629), or simply διάλεκτος ('dialect; way of speaking'; see p. 237[R] in Manutius 1496 and the usage of the glossographers; Hainsworth 1967: 70). The last case signals that the term διάλεκτος could cover – in practice – concepts that were in theory opposed to it. This not only points out the vagueness of the term but also the blurred nature of the concept intertwined with it, which indicates that an elaborate theoretical and terminological framework was lacking.

We may conclude that the scholiasts seem to have made the concept of 'subdialect' explicit, which was implicitly recognized by earlier authors. Later grammarians did not follow the distinction between διάλεκτος and γλῶσσα, but referred to the 'subdialect' concept with the terms mentioned above. The practice of the glossographers (*i.e.* composing compilations of rare and often regional words) evidences their mainly lexical focus, whereas differences on the level of διάλεκτος are chiefly confined to the domain of phonetic and morphological peculiarities (Hainsworth 1967: 75; see also the 'pathological' framework and the list in Fenoglio 2012: 236 *et sqq.*; *pace* Munz 1921).

2.2.2. The Suda (10th century AD) on διάλεξις and διάλεκτος

After the so-called Byzantine 'Dark Ages' (7th to 9th centuries AD), the *Suda* encyclopedia – rather surprisingly – does not provide an entry for διάλεκτος. The term is nevertheless defined *sub uoce* διάλεξις, from which it is differentiated as follows: "διαφέρει δὲ διάλεξις διαλέκτου, ὅτι διάλεκτος μέν ἐστι φωνῆς χαρακτὴρ ἐθνικός, […] [but διάλεξις differs from διάλεκτος, for διάλεκτος is a tribal characteristic [or 'stamp'] of speech]" (*Suda*, δ, 628).[46] The compilers clearly drew

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[46] Cf. *sub* 2.1.5, Bolognesi (1953: 118), and Cassio (1984). This definition is also found in the undated *scholia uetera* on Aristophanes' *Nubes*, 318 (the *terminus ante quem* is the 10th century AD; Holwerda-Koster 1977: III).

on Clement's second definition or on Clement's (probably Stoic) non-extant source(s) (cf. *sub* 2.1.5), restricting the range of the term to the ethnic-tribal component, just as in Clement's second definition.

2.2.3. (Pseudo-?)John Philoponus, Gregory of Corinth, and the diatopic parameter

Gregory of Corinth (*fl.* 11th/12th centuries AD; also known as Gregorius Pardus) does not mention the tribal aspect when defining διάλεκτος in his *De dialectis* (see Donnet 1966 for his profane works). For he only speaks of διάλεκτος as a speech form connected with a certain place – or 'type'/'model', depending on the reading one adopts:[47] "Διάλεκτός ἐστιν ἰδίωμα γλώσσης, ἢ διάλεκτός ἐστι λέξις ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα τόπου [or τύπου] ἐμφαίνουσα [Διάλεκτος is a peculiarity of speech, or διάλεκτος is λέξις ['speech'] exhibiting a characteristic particular to a place [or type/model]]" (*De dialectis*, 1, 1). Whereas the first part of Gregory's interpretation clearly draws on the framework of ὀρθογραφία (see *sub* 2.1.4 and *sub* 2.2.1.1), the second part is taken from Clement or Clement's source(s), as he literally adopts the first part of the definition offered in *Stromata*, 1, 21, 142, 4.[48] It is not clear whether he still viewed λέξις in the Stoic meaning of 'writable/discernable voice' (see *sub* 2.1.3). Although it is not certain that Gregory preserved the diatopic parameter, it was clearly not absent from Byzantine theorizing, to which the following phrase by (pseudo-?)John Philoponus testifies:

> διασπαρέντων γὰρ τούτων, εἰς πλείονας τόπους, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φωνὴν, οὐκ ἔτι φυλαξάντων· ἀλλὰ τῇ τῶν τούτων μεταβολῇ ἅμα [*sic*] καὶ τὴν φωνὴν μεταβαλλόντων, συνέβη διαλέκτους λέγεσθαι· […]. (in Manutius 1496: 236ᵛ; p. 100 in the edition by Consani 1991b)

> *For when these [sc. the children of Hellen] were dispersed toward several places, and did no longer preserve the same speech, but changed along with their change at the same time also their speech, it happened that they were called διάλεκτοι: […].*

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[47] All manuscripts of Gregory's *De dialectis* have τύπου (Schäfer 1811 [repr. 1970]: 9, note 25), just as, e.g., the *Grammaticus Meermannianus*' definition in Schäfer (1811 [repr. 1970]: 642). It is unclear whether this is a corruption of the manuscript tradition or the original reading intended by the authors. Their dependence on Clement (or his sources) seems to favor the former suggestion; however, it is not inconceivable that these Byzantine authors read a corrupted source text, thus introducing what originally was a manuscript error into the dialectological tradition of their times; see also note 36, where the κοινή is said to have a τύπος of its own. It remains to be determined how this impacted on the later reception of these texts.
[48] See Bolognesi (1953) and Hainsworth (1967: 63).

The geographical spread of the sons of Hellen is indicated as the cause of dialectal diversification, thus rendering explicit the 'ethnic' link with the Greek tribes (for this passage, see also Consani 1991b: 64 and Strabo, 8, 1, 2 in note 14 above).

2.2.3.1. (Pseudo-?)Philoponus and levels of 'dialectal' variation
Interestingly enough, (pseudo-?)Philoponus limits dialectal variation to three aspects: (1) the level of the word, (2) the level below the word (which seems to be at least terminologically inspired by the 'patholog-ical' approach), and (3) accidents such as accent and spiritus (in Manutius 1496: 237[R]: "νοεῖται δὲ ἡ διάλεκτος τριχῶς· κατὰ ὅλου ὀνόματος ἀλλαγὴν· [...]· κατὰ δὲ μέρος τι· [...]· κατὰ δὲ τὸ συμβε-βηκός· [...]"). However rudimentary this three-way analysis of the levels of dialectal variation may seem, no similar theoretical frame-work is preserved in other dialectological treatises of the period under investigation. Extensive attention is paid to variation on the level of word parts; for not only is the section on the Attic 'dialect' entitled "Περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος Ἀτθίδων διαλέκτων" ('On the Attic 'dialects' according to [word] part'), but the majority of the examples discussed in the remainder of the text are also of this type. This seems to point to the idea of 'dialectal' variation as a largely phonetic-phonological ('superficial'?) phenomenon, barely affecting syntax or semantics and already prefigured in the 'pathological' approach.

2.2.4. Late Byzantine lexica: διάλεκτος defined by means of its etymology
The *Lexicon* of pseudo-Zonaras (13th century AD) initially offers the same definition as the *Suda* (including the 'ethnic-tribal' parameter). Two lines later, however, the following comments are added:

ἢ διάλεκτός ἐστι, καθ' ἣν ἕκαστος ἄνθρωπος διαλέγουσι [*sic*] πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν συνήθειαν, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ διαλεχθῆναι καὶ δια-κεκρίσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων· ἑκάστη γὰρ αὐτῶν διακέκριται ἑτέρας ἀπὸ τοῦ διαλέχθαι καὶ ἐξειλέχθαι ὡς κρατιστεύουσα. (*Lexicon*, δ, p. 511)

Either a διάλεκτος is [a speech form] according to which every man speaks with each other following their own usage, or it derives from being spoken and being distinguished from the other [διάλεκτοι]; for every of these [διάλεκτοι] is distinguished from another [διάλεκτος] on the basis of being picked out and selected as if it were superior.

This definition is based on the διάλεκτος entry in the 11th-century AD *Additamenta in Etymologicum Gudianum* (δ, p. 357) and/or the famous anonymous *Etymologicum magnum* (middle of 12th century AD; Kal-lierges p. 268). What is striking here, is that the concept of διάλεκτος

is considered from a twofold point of view, which is not found in other extant ancient Greek or Byzantine writings and which the compilers clearly base on the etymology of διάλεκτος (these are the only extant sources explicitly employing etymology to account for the meaning of the term). First, the concept is linked to the linguistic usage of a group of persons (not in the 'normative' sense, in which it refers to the κοινή; see *sub* 2.1.4 and Dickey 2007: 260; < διαλέγομαι). Second, the compilers adopt a 'relative' approach to the concept; a διάλεκτος is a διάλεκτος by virtue of the existence of other διάλεκτοι (< διαλέγω). Moreover, it is suggested that everyone ("ἕκαστος ἄνθρωπος") can deliberately 'select' ("διαλέχθαι καὶ ἐξειλέχθαι") one of the διάλεκτοι on the basis of a certain kind of 'superiority' ("κρατιστεύουσα") of the διάλεκτος in question, the subjectivity of which seems to be suggested by the use of the participial conjunction "ὡς".

2.2.5. Michael Choniates (ca. AD 1138–ca. 1222) and medieval Athenian speech

I conclude the present section with a passage in a letter by the Athenian bishop Michael Choniates, in which he discusses contemporary Attic speech (see Lámbros 1880: 43–44 and Horrocks 2010: 273–274) and which is one of the rare remarks about vernacular Greek in extant Byzantine writings. Interestingly enough, he designates this variety, restricted to the area of Attica, as διάλεκτος, which possibly also has diastratic implications, since Choniates is referring to a 'low' variety of vernacular Greek, unintelligible to him. Moreover, alluding to Euripides' *Orestes*, 485 (Horrocks 2010: 274), he labels it as 'barbarian' ("οἱ πάλαι ἀττικισταὶ νῦν βαρβαρισταὶ"; Lámbros 1880: 44).[49] This does not, however, prevent him from using the term διάλεκτος, in many cases reserved for varieties of the literary *Hochsprache* (see Morpurgo Davies 1987: 16 *et sqq.* and Munz 1921: 86) or – *in extenso* – for other non-Greek written tongues. In this passage, however, the generic sense has expanded in another, *i.e.* diastratic, direction (cf. figure 2 below). He also describes his difficulties in mastering this particular variety; even after a study of three years and despite having an Atticist background, the tongue remains difficult to understand ("[…] ὡς μόλις τῶν τριῶν τούτων ἐνιαυτῶν τῆς διαλέκτου σύνεσιν μελετῆσαι […]"; Lámbros 1880: 44).[50] The use of the term διάλεκτος

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[49] Attic ἀμουσία ('rudeness'), he complains in pure classical Attic, has stolen his tongue (using γλῶττα in its two senses; cf. the edition in Lámbros 1880: 87).

[50] He also offers some information on the form of contemporary Athenian demonstrative pronouns. He mentions the forms ὀτεῦτος and ἀτοῦνος; the former seems to be an extended form of εὗτος, 'that', whereas the latter probably is a variant

for a 'low' and unintelligible variety seems, however, to be marginal in the ancient and Byzantine period (cf. *sub* 2.1.6).

3. Synthesis and outlook

3.1. The term διάλεκτος: generic meaning and main parameters

The relationship of the term διάλεκτος to other glottonymic terms such as γλῶσσα and φωνή is far from being unequivocal (see Lambert 2009: 21–22), so that, in many cases, the terms could be interchanged.[51] It is therefore not surprising that the ancient Greek and Byzantine interpretations of διάλεκτος are divergent and often quite blurred themselves. Nevertheless, all parameters in figure 1 seem to be extrapolated from one common generic meaning, *i.e.* that of 'way of speaking' (for a visualization of this ramification, cf. figure 2). The very general definition "γλώττης ἰδίωμα" (interpreted as 'peculiarity of speech/tongue'), most typical of the theoretical framework of 'orthography', bears close resemblance to this generic meaning.

Analyzing the scarce extant sources, I came across three main – but still rather vague – parameters linking the term διάλεκτος to linguistic diversification. The first is what I have labeled as the 'ethnic-tribal' aspect. A διάλεκτος marks the ethnicity of an individual ἔθνος, 'people' or 'tribe' (see Hall 1997 for a discussion of ethnicity in ancient Greece); a speech form with its own peculiarities is 'characteristic' of a people and 'stamps' it (both Greek and non-Greek speech; see Clement's reference to Hebrew in his second definition).[52] The

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of αὐτόνος, 'this' (cf. Horrocks 2010: 295–296 for more information on medieval Greek pronouns).

[51] The present paper has mainly focused on (1) cases in which they were clearly opposed to each other and (2) the notions associated with διάλεκτος, some of which might also be expressed by other terminological means.

[52] Cf. the frequent link of *lingua* to *mores* in describing a people (e.g. Cassio 1984; Morpurgo Davies 1993: 265; Van Hal 2009: 150–151; 2013; Van Rooy 2013: 41–42; Tribulato 2014: 458). This connection is also made in the undated Byzantine *Commentaria in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam, Scholia Vaticana (partim excerpta ex Georgio Choerobosco, Georgio quodam, Porphyrio, Melampode, Stephano, Diomede)*, p. 117 (my emphasis): "καὶ γὰρ *ἤθεσι* καὶ *διαλέκτῳ* καὶ ἀγωγαῖς διαφέρουσιν <οἱ> Ἕλληνες τῶν βαρβάρων. Γινώσκειν δὲ χρὴ ὅτι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μέν εἰσι Δωριεῖς, οἱ δὲ Αἰολεῖς, οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες, οἱ δὲ Ἀττικοί". In what follows, the Doric 'dialect' is considered 'manly' (ἀνδρώδης); Ionic is said to be 'vain' and 'frivolous/empty' (ἀνειμένος and χαῦνος), while Attic is connected with artificiality (ἐπιτέχνησις) and Aeolic with harshness and archaism (αὐστηρός and ἀρχαιότροπος). Such evaluative attitudes toward Greek speech varieties are still in need of a thorough investigation. Another extensive example can be found in Iamblichus (ca.

terminology used by the authors within this respect ("κεχαραγμένη", "χαρακτῆρα") clearly points to the existence of a certain theoretical tradition connected with the term διάλεκτος. As we have seen, the incompatibility of this view with the classification of the κοινή as a διάλεκτος remained unresolved. Second, a διάλεκτος is a speech form showing local peculiarities (and is thus geographically bound), a criterion that would be predominant in later linguistic thought, from Early Modern times onwards (cf. *sub* 3.2 below), although it seems to have lost its prominence in later Byzantine times. The last parameter consists in the view that the διάλεκτοι are considered to be diaphasically specialized according to the different literary genres in which they first flourished. This feature of 'literariness' most obviously shows itself in the written manifestation of Greek, a factor that might have been extrapolated to non-Greek speech forms. In other words, the term διάλεκτος seems to be reserved – mainly, but not exclusively – to designate 'approved' speech varieties that have received codification.[53]

Greek scholars interested in language clearly did not focus on Greek as spoken by the man in the street, which was subject to change.[54] On the contrary, grammarians centered their attention on a rather fixed form of Greek. They primarily concentrated on the

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AD 245–ca. 325), *De uita Pythagorica*, 28, 241–243, where also the ethnic origins of the διάλεκτοι are related; Pythagoras is said to have believed – on the basis of genealogical data – that Doric was the oldest διάλεκτος, then Aeolic, Attic, and Ionic (see Cassio 1984 for this passage; see Hainsworth 1967: 64 *et sqq.* for a general discussion of the ethnic origins of the Greek διάλεκτοι).

[53] The Church Slavonic rendering of διάλεκτος, *izbranno*, a participle of the verb *izbrati* ('to pick (out)'), often has the meaning of 'approved' (Greek δόκιμος), which probably confirms this interpretation. See Constantine of Kostenec's *Skazanie izъjavljenno o pismenex* (*Explanatory Treatise on the Letters*; ed. Jagić 1896: 194), written between 1423 and 1426 (Goldblatt 1996: 106). It may have been influenced by late Byzantine lexica (cf. *sub* 2.2.4), in that this translation suggests "a chosen manner of discourse", to use the words of Goldblatt (1987: 331).

[54] See pseudo-Xenophon, *Atheniensium respublica*, 2, 8 for a complaint about the corruption and mixing of contemporary Attic (Hainsworth 1967: 67, note 2; Kramer 1989: 60–61; Morpurgo Davies 1993: 263–264): "ἔπειτα φωνὴν πᾶσαν ἀκούοντες ἐξελέξαντο τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς· καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἰδίᾳ μᾶλλον καὶ φωνῇ καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ σχήματι χρῶνται, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κεκραμένῃ ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων". See also the remark of Michael Choniates *sub* 2.2.5 and Versteegh (1986: 430). The richest source of non-literary regional Greek are the glossographers and dialectologists of the first centuries AD, whose data are largely lost to the ages (Cassio 1993: 81–83, where occasional surviving examples are referred to, e.g. the intervocalic loss of [s] in Laconian; see also Thumb 1909: 24; Tribulato 2014: 459). Cassio (1993: 86) also holds that the interest in "parlate locali" was halted by the theoretical framework of the 'pathological' approach (see *sub* 2.1.4). What is more, later Byzantine dialectologists tended to oversimplify the wealth of 'dialectal' material, thus casting a shadow on the achievements of their predecessors (Cassio 1993: 88).

canonical authors, who happened to compose in different speech varieties and avoided features having an all too regional timbre.[55] It was this 'coincidence' of literary history that made the Greek διάλεκτοι relevant to ancient Greek and Byzantine philological and grammatical scholarship (see also Swiggers 1997: 66–67). Besides this diaphasically marked status of the διάλεκτοι, dialectal peculiarities are also considered important for etymological ends within the 'orthographical' context.

I hope that the above overview has demonstrated that the idea of διάλεκτος as a regionally restricted speech variety is not the sole or primary interpretation of the term in ancient Greece and Byzantium,[56] even though it is already implicitly present in Aristophanes' conceptualization; for the 'ethnic-tribal' aspect, in many cases accompanying the 'diatopic' component, also seems to be a very prominent parameter (cf. Hainsworth 1967: 64 *et sqq.*; Cassio 1984: 117 *et sqq.*). Other, more recent criteria, such as mutual intelligibility[57] (whatever its ultimate validity), are not yet explicitly linked to the term διάλεκτος (cf. Löffler 2003: 1–10 for an overview of criteria frequently connected with the concept in modern usage), even though the term could evoke a connotation of intelligibility in contrast with barbaric speech forms (termed γλῶσσαι; cf. *sub* 2.1.5.1). Lastly, two early Byzantine *scholia* show some originality in propounding a strict hierarchical distinction between the terms διάλεκτος (a speech form embracing several other speech forms) and γλῶσσα (the lowest hierarchical speech form referring to "minimal dialectal units"; Hainsworth 1967: 69), διάλεκτος itself being roofed by φωνή (speech as the product of the human voice). This may, however, have had its origins in Apollonius Dyscolus' approach to the Doric διάλεκτος.

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[55] Cf. Thumb (1909: 21 & 24), Siebenborn (1976: 146 *et sqq.*), Mickey (1981), and Morpurgo Davies (1987: 10–11). These varieties were probably no longer spoken when ancient dialectology developed (Dickey 2007: 75; Tribulato 2014: 458–459).

[56] See Tribulato (2014: 457–458); *pace* Versteegh (1986: 431). Nor is διάλεκτος the only term reserved for expressing the diatopic parameter; cf. *sub* 2.1.1.

[57] Some authors did, however, mention examples of Greek speech varieties that were not intelligible for speakers of other varieties. The classical example is Thucydides (2nd half of 5th century BC), 3, 94, 5 who called the Aetolians "ἀγνωστότατοι […] γλῶσσαν", which did not prevent him from considering them Greeks (cf. also Colvin 1999: 11–12, 64–65 & 299). In these instances, the authors do not use the term διάλεκτος, possibly because of its association with intelligibility (see Munz 1921 and *sub* 2.1.5.1).

3.2. (Dis)continuities with modern linguistic thought

I will now briefly go into the (dis)continuities of the Greek tradition with later linguistic thought. There seems little doubt that we owe the diatopic parameter to ancient Greek and (early) Byzantine theorizing on διάλεκτος. However, the association with socially 'lower' varieties, the diastratic parameter, already present in Aristophanes and Choniates, does not seem to be directly inherited from ancient Greek and Byzantine thought, where it only played a marginal role. On the other hand, some criteria are largely absent from modern theorizing (ethnic-tribal component, generic interpretation), whereas others have been inverted in general usage (parameter of 'written speech'; lack of codification is often associated with 'dialects'; see Löffler 2003: 5).

The opposition of 'dialect' to '(standard) language' has only a distant precursor in the grammarians' contrasting of the διάλεκτοι with the κοινή (≈ Ἑλληνισμός).[58] This is not to say that the four διάλεκτοι were viewed as 'lower' speech forms (Consani 1991b: 32–33); on the contrary, they were relics of a revered literary tradition, which had become more or less static entities in philological practice. Although the Greeks clearly struggled with the status of the κοινή, which was felt to be in some way distinct from the other διάλεκτοι, no abstract terminological or conceptual means were developed to capture this linguistic reality, at least not in the extant sources (see also Bubeník 2000: 441). The use of the term διάλεκτος for the κοινή is symptomatic of this situation. Byzantine scholars seem to have centered their attention on a lower level opposition, that is, on the level of διάλεκτοι comprising different γλῶσσαι. Their limited linguistic horizon,[59] along with the fact that the διάλεκτοι were highly valued literary varieties, made a strict dichotomy between '(standard) language' and 'dialect' basically irrelevant to the study of their own

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[58] *Pace* Consani (1991b: 45–48), who – in my view – projects the Western opposition of 'language' to 'dialect' all too rashly on Byzantine theorizing (see also Alinei 1984: 178–179). He also seems to overlook the fact that the term διάλεκτος could be employed in its generic sense of 'way of speaking' or 'language' until the 19th century, a usage that is very unlikely to have been unknown to the grammarians.

[59] Greek scholars barely felt the need to contrast their language to other, 'barbaric' speech forms (see Van Hal 2009), which makes a distinction between their notion of διάλεκτος on the one hand and its application to the Greek linguistic context on the other somewhat artificial and anachronistic. The Greek scholars' interest in other languages arose, albeit to a limited extent, only from the Greek patristic era onwards, in which Christian authors experienced a first intense encounter with Semitic languages such as Hebrew and Syriac (cf. Van Rooy 2013). Nevertheless, no systematic study of these tongues came about.

tongue, although they were vaguely aware of the particular position of the κοινή as the speech form of general usage (which was not a 'standardized' tongue in the modern sense; cf. Joseph 1987: 50 and Colvin 2010: 200). The different Greek διάλεκτοι, including the κοινή, were mainly seen as constituting the Greek language (cf. Bubeník 2000: 441); they were not opposed to it.

The way in which Early Modern scholars interpreted the Greek term was of paramount importance to the constitution of the modern 'dialect' concept; however, this aspect of the history of (linguistic) ideas is still in need of a thorough investigation, a *desideratum* I am aiming to partially meet through my PhD research.

3.3. The dynamics of Greek theorizing on διάλεκτος

Although the reflections upon διάλεκτος in ancient and Byzantine thought were relatively scarce (with large time lapses in between), there did exist diverging interpretations of the Greek term διάλεκτος (as figure 1 indicates). These have, however, all sprung from the core meaning of 'way of speaking'.[60] Nevertheless, no direct discussions between the authors in the above overview can be traced. They indisputably but silently made use of earlier definitions, as is shown by the appearance of recurrent phrases. Clement of Alexandria's first definition, for example, which itself is possibly based on the wordings of Diogenes of Babylon (cf. "κεχαραγμένη") or on other, no longer extant sources (cf. "Φασὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες" *sub* 2.1.5.1), was partially adopted by several Byzantine scholars.[61] Greek authors with different intellectual backgrounds reflected on this topic. Nevertheless, a rather small range of theoretical stances is found, probably because relatively little attention was paid to this issue (in contrast with e.g. formal grammar). Therefore, there are no 'dialectologists' in the strict sense among the

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[60] See Munz (1921) and figure 2 below. For the relevance of this vagueness to the problem of referring to the κοινή as a διάλεκτος, see Versteegh (1986: 431–433 & 445), Tribulato (2014: 460), and *sub* 2.1.4.

[61] Clement's definition was also considered relevant in Early Modern times; see, e.g., the Swiss polymath Conrad Gesner (1516–1565), who, in his famous 1555 *Mithridates*, quotes this definition, before he explains three other uses of the term (1. generic: 'language', 2. 'conversation', 3. 'linguistic peculiarity'; cf. the phrase "γλώττης ἰδίωμα"): "Est autem dialectus dictio peculiarem alicuius loci notam seu characterem prae se ferens: uel dictio quae propriam communemue gentis characterem ostendit. Graeci quidem dialectorum suae linguae differentias quinque annotant, Atticam, Ionicam, Doricam, Aeolicam, et quintam communem. Porro uoces barbaras (quae scilicet a Graecis usurpantur) cum sint incomprehensibiles, non etiam dialectos, sed glossas uocari aiunt, Clemens Alexandrinus libro 1. Stromateωn" (1ᵛ–2ᴿ). The precise impact of Clement's definition on the Western conceptualization of 'dialect' remains to be determined.

authors discussed in the present survey; no ancient Greek or Byzantine scholar confined himself exclusively to the study of the Greek διά-λεκτοι. The issue was treated by scholars with diverging intellectual profiles, including philosophers (Diogenes of Babylon, Clement of Alexandria), geographers (Strabo), theologians (Clement of Alexandria, Gregory of Corinth), grammarians (Tryphon, (pseudo-?)John Philoponus, Gregory of Corinth), anonymous scholiasts (*Scholia Londinensia*, *Scholia Marciana*), didactic poets (Michael Psellus), and lexicographers (*Suda*, *Additamenta in Etymologicum Gudianum*, *Etymologicum magnum*, pseudo-Zonaras).

Figure 1 below indicates that Tryphon seems to have been the founding father of a dialectological tradition. However, the near total loss of his writings (and of his immediate successors) hampers a more comprehensive understanding of the διάλεκτος concept in Hellenistic and Roman times, all the more since Byzantine scholars – in other instances useful channels of information about ancient thought – only allow us a glimpse of earlier theorizing (cf. Cassio 1993: 88), without contributing much themselves. Hence, the comparative wealth of data found in some scholiasts and authors such as (pseudo-?)Philoponus may be taken as the proverbial exception proving the rule. It seems safe to conclude that ancient and Byzantine scholars, even though some of them tried to prove that they were not to be counted among Bacon's 'idiots', had great difficulties in grasping the diverse forms of the Greek language with suitable conceptual and terminological means.

meaning of/ parameters for διάλεκτος[62]	*ancient Greek authors (up to the 5th century AD)*	*Byzantine authors (6th century–1453)*
1. DIASTRATIC-SOCIOLO-GICAL: δ. as a 'low' variety characterizing a specific social class	- Aristophanes	- Michael Choniates ➤ linked with un-intelligibility
2. DIATOPIC: δ. as a peculiar speech form 'characterizing' a region	- Aristophanes - Diogenes of Babylon - Clement of Alexandria - …[62]	- (pseudo-?)John Philo-ponus - Gregory of Corinth?
3. GENERIC: δ. as 'lan-guage; way of speak-ing', from Hellenistic times onwards often associated with writ-ing (γράμματα) and literariness (see 5.)	- Plato - …[63] - Greek *communis opi-nio* (2.1.5.1) - Theodoret of Cyrrhus	- (pseudo-?)John Philo-ponus - … - Basil Bessarion
4. ETHNIC-TRIBAL: δ. as a peculiar speech form 'characterizing' a tribe (mostly Greek)	- Diogenes of Babylon - Strabo - Clement of Alexandria - …	- (pseudo-?)John Philo-ponus - … - *Suda* - pseudo-Zonaras' *Lexi-con*

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[62] The term διάλεκτος has been abbreviated in this figure as δ. The meanings/ parameters are ordered chronologically: starting from the meanings/criteria first attested up to those which are attested the latest. For each meaning/parameter, the authors testifying to it are also listed chronologically. An empty box indicates that the viewpoint does not seem to be attested during the period in question. The focus is on the notion of intralingual variety; for this reason, the physiological interpreta-tion of Aristotle (and his successors) and the meaning of 'conversation, discussion' are not included in the chart.
[63] The triple-dot punctuation mark indicates that the list is far from exhaustive.

5. DIAPHASIC: δ. as an (intelligible) literary variety, having exemplary authors (ὀρθογραφία), diversified through modifications of speech forms (πάθη) (closely associated with 6.)	- Tryphon - Apollonius Dyscolus - Herodian - …	- (pseudo-?)John Philoponus - George Choeroboscus - Manuel Moschopulus - …
6. PECULIARITY: δ. as a speech form with a 'certain peculiarity' (ἰδίωμα)	- Tryphon?	- *Scholia Londinensia, Scholia Marciana* - (pseudo-?)John Philoponus - Gregory of Corinth - …
7. HIERARCHICAL RELATIONS: δ. as comprising different γλῶσσαι ('subdialects')	- Tryphon? - Apollonius Dyscolus?	- *Scholia Londinensia, Scholia Marciana* - Michael Psellus - … - Gregory of Corinth
8. USAGE AND CHOICE: δ. as specific human linguistic usage and as being subject to a deliberate choice (< etymology of δ.) ➢ extrapolation from 5. (see figure 2)		- *Additamenta in Etymologicum Gudianum* - *Etymologicum magnum* - pseudo-Zonaras' *Lexicon*

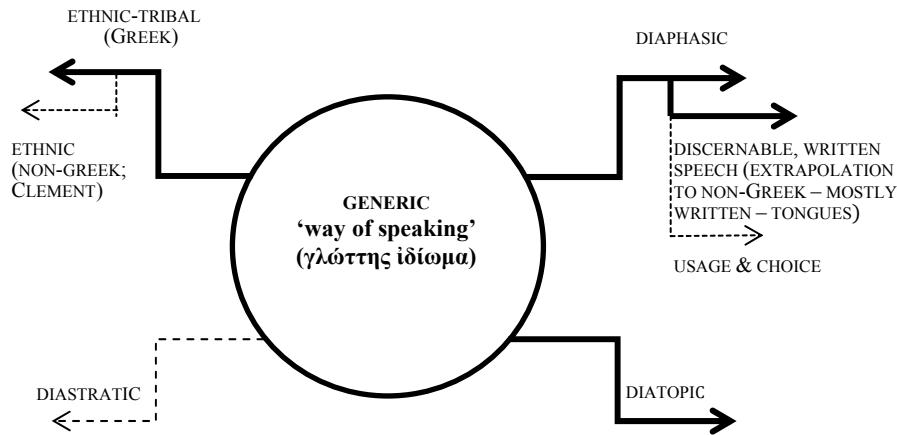Figure 1: Schematic overview of the ancient Greek and Byzantine conceptualization of διάλεκτος

ETHNIC-TRIBAL
(Greek)

DIAPHASIC

ETHNIC
(NON-GREEK;
Clement)

DISCERNABLE, WRITTEN
SPEECH (EXTRAPOLATION
TO NON-GREEK – MOSTLY
WRITTEN – TONGUES)

**GENERIC
'way of speaking'**
(γλώττης ἰδίωμα)

USAGE & CHOICE

DIASTRATIC

DIATOPIC

Figure 2: The core meaning of διάλεκτος and its ramifications in ancient Greece and Byzantium[64]

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[64] Thick lines indicate prominent components of the linguistic meanings of διάλεκτος, while dotted lines are used for more marginal parameters.

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