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SEMANTIC SHIFTS IN HELLENISTIC GREEK: ANATA Σ I Σ AND ΠΑΡΑ Σ ΤΑ Σ I Σ^*

1. Preliminary remarks

It is practically impossible to write a history of semantic shifts in Hellenistic Greek without indicating a specific category of forms and a domain of inquiry. In order to avoid the potentially disastrous *Bedürfnis nach Totalität*, the scope of this article will definitely be more limited, i.e. evaluating (and to a certain extent, quantifying) the exposure to semantic shift of some forms derived through the suffix -σις within the specific *corpus* comprised of Polybian vocabulary.¹

Although a similar problem can be observed also for other semantic shifts, such as those that one encounters in the nouns ending in $-\alpha$ (for instance $\sigma \nu \mu \pi \epsilon \rho \mu \phi \rho \dot{\alpha}$ and $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \tau \rho \iota \beta \dot{\eta}$), the abundant series of deverbal nouns in $-\sigma \iota \varsigma$ raises issues of a more general nature. This stems from the very nature of these nominal derivations, since they are etymologically related to the representation of action processes.²

² Such nouns are closely related to the corradical verbs and often reflect their polysemy. "Les noms en *-ti et les types voisins sont souvent appelés 'abstraits', par un terme qui n'est pas entièrement correct, parce qu'on y a implique l'idée que de tel

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¹ Over the last few years Polybian studies have been greatly eased by the useful *Polybios-Lexikon*, from now on *PL* (Arno Mauersberger et alii, *Polybios-Lexikon im Auftrage der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* [Berlin 1956–2004]). The initiative to create a comprehensive lexicon of the historian's texts began under Mauersberger's auspices and was completed relatively recently; it provides still partially unexplored materials for linguistic and lexicographic research. Choosing Polybius as my focus is also dictated by a statistic need, since the section of his historical work that has come down to us offers researchers a quantity of material that is impossible to find for any other author from the second century BCE. De Foucault 1972 provides only a register of Polybius' lexical neologisms.

The premise on which this research rests is that a considerable part of the Greek lexicon suffered a progressive semantic shift towards the emotional or psychological sphere, a well-known phenomenon in the history of languages, currently identified as *subjectification*, according to the American linguists Eve Sweetser and Elizabeth Traugott.³ Although for semantics it seems difficult to isolate principles capable of describing general phenomena, compared to phonetics or morphology, the comparative analysis has been able to highlight the universality of certain metaphors and the recurrence of similar developments in different languages and time periods.⁴ Thus, the catalogue of semantic shifts by

noms auraient désigné primitivement des notions abstraites, et que leur sens concret serait le résultat d'un changement sémantique particulier" (Holt 1941, 27; see also Fränkel 1912, 104; Chantraine 1933, 275–289). Their polysemy often represents the first step to describe a semantic shift: according to Geeraerts 1997, 6 "polysemy is, roughly, the synchronic reflection of diachronic-semantic change". For an insight into Greek lexical semantics, see Clarke 2010.

³ Through their extensive use of metaphor, humans tend to turn many of the terms used to describe reality towards themselves and their emotional condition and towards mental operations. "Thus when spatial terms such as *high* and *low* are used for emotional states, a metaphor is involved and the resulting sense is more abstract" (Bybee 2015, 203). Similarly, the development from vision verbs to mental verbs is discussed by Sweetser 1990, 28. For an overview, see also Athanasiadou–Canakis–Cornillie 2011. As regards Greek, although from a different point of view, Cairns 2013 and Cairns 2016 provide interesting examples. The impact of emotional language in Hellenistic literature has been deeply investigated by Angelos Chaniotis in several studies (for instance, Chaniotis 2013).

⁴ "If the same conflation of meanings occurs in comparable words of several languages, a semantic parallel arises" (Zalizniak 2018, 773; see also Vanhove 2008). I will give an example of a semantic parallel involving subjectification. Terms are used first to describe an everyday concept such as 'stretch towards' or 'cut'; they are thus tied to a concrete referent. At a later stage, the words used to embody said concepts can then be applied to the 'leanings' or 'stretching towards' of the soul or to the last mental act in taking a decision, which entails the final cut of the thought process leading to it: in English to decide, in German entscheiden etc. Elizabeth Traugott has identified three main tendencies in inferencing: (1) "meanings based in the external described situation > meanings based in the internal (evaluative / perceptual / cognitive) described situation" (Traugott 1989, 34), such as the English verb felan 'to touch' > 'to feel', 'to experience emotionally or mentally'; (2) "meanings based in the external or internal described situation > meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation" (Traugott 1989, 35), such as since, from a temporal ('after') to a causal relationship ('because'); (3) "meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief / state / attitude towards the proposition" (Traugott 1989, 35), such as while 'time that' which can mean 'during' in consequence of the second tendency and then be used as a concessive conjunction.

Russian linguists such as Anna Zalizniak represents a useful platform, which is also applicable to the semantic analysis of ancient Greek.⁵

During Polybius's period, the evolution of the lexicon towards abstractness had already covered extensive ground. Suffice it to mention an old study by Limberger 1923 on the mechanisms of nominal derivation in Polybius, which is still useful in Polybian studies. Limberger tallied 276 nouns in $-\sigma_{1\zeta}$, of which 76 neologisms, a great amount in comparison with feminines ending in $-\dot{\eta}$ (211; neolog.: 30) and neuters ending in $-\mu\alpha$ (202).⁶

It is well known that the first authors that had expanded the use of the suffix -σις had been Thucydides and the Hippocratic writers.⁷ In comparison with them, Polybius further expanded this category, which was still productive at his time, even if not as much as that of nouns ending in -íα (376 tokens in *PL*, among which 91 neologisms according to Limberger). What is most striking, moreover, is *how* he used them, extending them to new contexts and meanings, corresponding to ongoing semantic changes. In this article I will present two cases: ἀνάτασις and παράστασις.

2. A kind of menace: ἀνάτασις

The first example is the noun $\dot{\alpha}\nu\dot{\alpha}\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$ (10x in *PL*), derived from the verb $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon\dot{\nu}\omega$. The verb $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon\dot{\nu}\omega$ is already attested starting from the sixth-fifth century BCE, both in a concrete meaning ('raise', 'stretch towards, lean towards', for instance as of hands in Simonides, *PMG* 4), and as a metaphor ('exalt', in Pindar, *Nem.* 8. 34). In the middle voice, one finds

⁵ For a short presentation of this project, see Zalizniak 2012 and Zalizniak 2018. "The crosslinguistic study of common paths of lexical semantic change is just beginning. Perhaps with more data about change in different languages, more tendencies in lexical semantic change can be identified" (Bybee 2015, 205). On the so called "polygenetic semantic parallels in semantic change", or simply "polygenesis", see also Koch 2000. On the cognitive significance of a semantic shift, see e.g. Sweetser 1990, Traugott–Dasher 2002, 11; Blank–Koch 2000, 104; Koch 2000, 80; Knyazev 2007, 45.

⁶ Limberger 1923, 46.

⁷ As regards the suffix *-ti-* in Homer, see also Risch 1974, 38 f. On the later developments, Browning 1958, 66–67: "At this stage, it will perhaps be helpful to list the number of new verbal nouns in *-*sis making their first appearance in various authors, so far as the state of the evidence allows. This may permit hypotheses to be formulated which can be tested by closer examination of selected portions of the evidence. The following are the data: Homer 37, Pindar 12, Aeschylus 34, Herodotus 92, Sophocles 24, Euripides 37, Thucydides 138, Plato 218, Hippocratics 340"; see also Sihler 1881.

a similar nuance, but with an additional, threatening value starting from the fourth century BCE, as in the following passage of Demosthenes's oration *On the Embassy* (153), recorded by the *Index Demosthenicus*:

εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὡς ἦσαν τότε, Φωκεῖς σῷοι καὶ Πύλας εἶχον, ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμῖν εἶχ' ἀνατείνασθαι φοβερόν, δι' ὃ τῶν δικαίων ἄν τι παρείδετε.

For so long as the Phocians were safe, as they were at the time, and in possession of Thermopylae, there was no menace which Philip could have brandished in your face to make you disregard any of your just claims.⁸

Later, the medio-passive form with said nuance resurfaces again in Polybius (9x vs. 6x in the active).

In order to understand the abstract co-radical $\dot{\alpha}\nu\dot{\alpha}\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$, however, one must explore the *Corpus Hippocraticum*. The noun seems to occur for the first time in *De articulis* 11 (IV p. 108. 15 Littré = II p. 130.1 Kühlewein), a treatise which is usually assigned to the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century BC. This context has proved challenging to interpreters, in part because it is accompanied by another problematic term, the verb καταναισιμόω 'to consume, to use up'.⁹

γινώσκειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ τάδε, ὅτι, ἢν μὲν ἰσχυρῶς τὸν βραχίονα ἀνατείνῃς, οὐ δυνήσῃ τοῦ δέρματος ἀπολαβεῖν οὐδὲν τοῦ ὑπὸ τῃ μασχάλῃ, ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον λόγου: καταναισιμοῦται γὰρ ἐν τῃ ἀνατάσει.

One should also know the following, namely that if you stretch the arm strongly upwards you cannot take up any part of the skin under the armpit worth mentioning, for it is used up for the extension.¹⁰

⁸ Transl. C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince. It is noteworthy that in this context ἀνατείνομαι is transitive.

⁹ As Browning remarked with reference to Hippocratic language and to the boom that abstract nouns ending in *-sis* (340 neologisms) experienced in his texts, "the doctors certainly had occasion to talk about processes, whether of human physiology or of medical treatment, in a way that less sophisticated men had rarely done" (Browning 1958, 71).

¹⁰ Transl. Withington. According to Kühn–Fleischer 1989 *s.v.*, the noun appears also in *De artic*. 75 (IV p. 306. 1 Littré = 233. 7 8 Kühlewein), although with the *v.l.* ἀντιτάσιας ('counter-extensions'), which is to be preferred, according to Littré and Kühlewein. Both of them print here in the apparatus ἀνατάσιας, which I would prefer for the opposition to κατατάσιας in the same sentence. It must be stressed that the author of *De artic*. employs a number of technical -τασις nouns, some of them are hapax legomena, which might have been a part of medical vocabulary unknown to us.

After all, we probably have Hippocratic authors to thank for other neologisms derived from the root of the verb τείνω: διάτασις 'extension / stretching', ἕκτασις 'extension', ἐπίτασις 'tension / tending / leaning', ἕντασις 'tension / tending / leaning', κατάτασις 'stretching by extension', ἀντικατάτασις 'extension', περίτασις 'strong tension around', σύντασις 'simultaneous tension', ὑπότασις 'extension'.¹¹

Documents for the period following Hippocratic authors, however, return us *in primis* to Polybius. The *PL* documents a plurality of meanings starting from the one denoting geographic height (5. 44. 3; 8. 13. 3; 10. 13. 8) and reaching that of 'violence', 'threatening mien / countenance', implicit in the uses of the verb, which also turns out to be the main one (7 vs. 3: 4. 4. 7; 30. 4. 2; 30. 7. 8; 33. 12. 3; 38. 15. 10; fr. 7; fr. 108). Here is an example referring to the arrogance of slaves, a topic dear to the aristocratic Greek historian (38. 15. 10):

τὴν δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀνάτασιν καὶ τὸν ἐπισυρμὸν βαρέως ἔφερον, ὡς ἂν τῶν μὲν ἡλευθερωμένων ἄρτι, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην μεμετεωρισμένων.

They suffered much from the insolence and impudence of the slaves, some of whom had been just set free while the rest were excited by the hope of freedom.¹²

Each threat entails a gesture of stretching up from the body, often that of a hand: this is the case in Greek and in Latin, where the noun *minae* originally expresses a similar concept: 'an elevation, hanging over, towering over / above' someone or something,¹³ among the non-Romance languages in English (*to hang over*), even if with a different type of image, but the semantic parallel is broken already in German with *drohen* 'threaten', which involves rather the pressure exerted over / on a person.¹⁴ Going back to Greek, we are clearly faced with a synchronic polysemy in which the deverbal nature of the noun is still very palpable.

The sole conclusion that can be drawn is that with the metaphorical value of $\dot{\alpha}\nu\dot{\alpha}\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$, meaning 'arrogance' and 'threat', the *PL* records a significant semantic shift of which there is no trace in the literature of the preceding periods. As it often happens in Greek, we are moving from

¹¹ Holt 1941, 112.

¹² Transl. W. R. Paton.

¹³ See Ernout–Meillet 2001 s.v.

¹⁴ See Kluge 2011 *s.v.*

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a concrete meaning and applying it flexibly to feelings and behaviours.¹⁵ Clearly proving the author's predilection for the emotional meaning of the term is his frequent use of the co-radical adjective $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\kappa\dot{\alpha}\varsigma$, 'threatening', which is first attested precisely in Polybius's writings (4x in *PL*) and no longer has any reference to geographic height.

Unfortunately, an analysis of this type must do without those texts that were lost, but it can also take advantage of equally significant gaps: for instance, $\dot{\alpha}v\dot{\alpha}\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$ is shunned by the *Septuaginta*, which are often a litmus test for many neologisms or collocations from the spoken discourse of the Hellenistic period.¹⁶

As to the genesis of this semantic shift, the increasing use of the middle voice $\dot{\alpha}v\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ivoµ $\alpha\iota$ should be taken into account. I will give some data: this verb is attested only 3 times in Herodotus, always in the active voice, and does not at all recur in Thucydides. As to Polybius, 9 out of 15 attestations are in the medio-passive voice, with the accusative $\phi\delta\beta\sigma$ (2. 52. 1; 9. 22. 5; 32. 5. 13), or in an intransitive use (5. 55. 1; 5. 58. 1).¹⁷

A similar phenomenon can be observed in the case of $\pi p \acute{o} \theta \epsilon \sigma \iota \varsigma$, the *nomen actionis* of $\pi p \circ \tau \acute{l} \theta \eta \mu \iota$. This verb occurs 27 times in Herodotus; of those 27 instances, 10 are in the medio-passive voice. In Thucydides it occurs 20 times, of which 6 in the medio-passive; in *PL* on the other hand it is attested 109 times, of which a whopping 84 in the medio-passive (with the new meaning of 'to intend to').¹⁸ It is not surprising that $\pi p \acute{o} \theta \epsilon \sigma \iota \varsigma$ is completely absent from the lexicon of the two historians

¹⁵ According to Traugott's theory, the first tendency of *subjectification* can be observed here. The following step of such a phenomenon is the development of epistemic meaning, as observed with the English verb 'to threaten' (Traugott 1987). Similarly, on the shift from a lexical to a subjective reading of *amenazar* 'to threaten' in Spanish, see Cornillie 2004.

¹⁶ Diodorus is the only author close to Polybius that uses it, and he does so in a few instances (e.g., in 11. 40. 3, where it is placed next to the older synonym, already to be found in Homer, ἀπειλή 'threat'). It is worth considering a slightly different value in 14. 5. 3 ('inflexibility' according to McDougall 1983 *s.v.*).

¹⁷ As to the remaining cases, the verb ἀνατείνομαι is accompanied by the dative of the menaced person in 4. 82. 8; 5. 77. 1; fr. 107. In 4. 18. 10 it is followed by an infinitive. It is worth noting that Polybius is the first author who employs such passive forms as ἀναταθῆναι (5. 55. 1) or ἀναταθείς (τὸν φόβον τοῦτον, in 32. 5. 13), which are not attested before, according to *TLG*.

¹⁸ It seems that the earliest evidence of this meaning must be traced back to the 4th century BCE (e.g. in Plato, *Soph.* 221 a). Furthermore, Alexander Verlinsky brings to my attention that Plato uses medial $\pi\rho\sigma\tau$ ($\theta\eta\mu$) in this meaning only with the object in accusative and with the epexegetical infinitive (*Phaedr.* 259 e, *Rep.* 352 d, *Soph.* 221 a), in the meaning 'to set up an object to pursue it' (*Theaet.* 169 c with the acc. only), never with the infinitive as such.

from the fifth century BCE,¹⁹ while Polybius uses it on 147 occasions, a staggering number, and always with a subjective meaning, formed on the basis of the middle voice, that *PL* translates as *Vorsatz* ('intention') or, even more mentally nuanced, *Voraussetzung* ('evaluation', 'assumption').

3. To be beside oneself: παράστασις

Another interesting example of semantic shift in Hellenistic Greek is represented by the verb $\pi\alpha\rho$ ($\sigma\tau\eta\mu$) / $\pi\alpha\rho$ ($\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\alpha$) and its co-radical noun $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$ (11x in *PL*). The intransitive use of the verb goes back at least as far as Homer, where the closeness of a handmaid to Penelope, who has arrived before the Suitors in order to ask Phemius to change the topic of his narrative song, is described with the aorist $\pi\alpha\rho$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta$ (*Od.* 1. 335). 'To be near / close' is easily turned into a metaphor for care and affection; thus, already in Homer (*Il.* 10. 279), Odysseus pleads with Athena, who is always *near him* ($\epsilon\nu$ $\pi\alpha\nu$ $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ $\pi\alpha\rho$ ($\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota$), to allow the Greeks to return to their ships.

Another implicit value of the preposition $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}$ is that of temporal proximity, which explains those contexts where death is seen as looming over a person's life with an inescapable imminence, as in Patroclus's last words to Hector as he lay dying: $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\dot{\alpha}$ toi $\eta\delta\eta$ / $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\chi$ i $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$ $\theta\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\sigma\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\dot{\alpha}\mu\sigma\rho\sigma\tau\alpha\eta$ (*II*. 16. 853). On the other hand, the use of this term with the meaning of 'to chance upon', 'to come to mind' seems to develop later, since the lexicons do not report any examples prior to the fifth century BCE, which are easily found in both prose (Hdt. 1. 23) and poetry (*OT* 911).²⁰

The absolute use of $\pi\alpha\rho(\sigma\tau\eta\mu)$ with emotional value is first attested in a pseudo-Hippocratic letter and in Polybius. The underlying semantic matrix is that of 'being in abnormal state', which can be compared to the concept expressed by $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\phi\rho\nu\epsilon\tilde{\nu}$: many languages offer adequate examples attesting the evolution of a similar metaphor.²¹ As to pseudo-Hippocrates, we find it in a letter about Democritus's madness (*Ep.* 17.

 $^{^{19}}$ The earliest attestations of $\pi\rho \acute{o}\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ date back to the 4th century BCE (Plato and Demosthenes).

²⁰ In the fifth century BCE the use of the substantivated perfect participle παρεστηκώς as a noun had become common, the Attic form being παρεστώς (Soph. *Ph.* 734, Aristoph. *Ec.* 641): τὸ παρεστός, which points to the current situation, for instance in Aristophanes (*Eq.* 564).

²¹ In English, the same concept is expressed by the verb *to be beside oneself*, which embodies the same metaphor entailed by the Greek $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}$. The same can be observed in many languages, such as German (*ausser sich sein*), Russian (*bumb BHE ceba*), Italian (*essere fuori di sé*).

274 Littré): the author reports the condition of those that feel a strong passion for horses: οἱ μὲν ἵπποισι παρεστεῶτες.

Of the 69 occurrences of παρίστημι / παρίσταμαι recorded in *PL*, 30 examples are only attested in an intransitive use, among which four in a metaphorical sense, in which the referential semantic domain is specified by a genitive or a dative (1. 6. 5; 38. 12. 7; 14. 5. 7^{22} with ταῖς διανοίαις, 18. 53. 6^{23} with τῶν φρενῶν).

There are also two extremely interesting attestations of the intransitive aorist $\pi\alpha\rho$ is $\pi\alpha\rho$ with an emotional value:

a) 11. 12. 2:

τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα τῶν λεγομένων ἀσαφῆ συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι: διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὕνοιαν καὶ πίστιν τῶν ὄχλων εἰς τοιαύτην ὁρμὴν καὶ προθυμίαν παρέστη τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε παραπλησίαν ἐνθουσιασμῷ τὴν ἀντιπαράκλησιν γίνεσθαι τῶν δυνάμεων, ἄγειν καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὸν παρακελευομένων.

Most of what he said was not distinctly heard, because, owing to the soldiers' affection for him and reliance on him, such was their ardor and zeal that they responded to his address by what was almost a transport of enthusiasm, exhorting him to lead them on and be of good heart.²⁴

In this case, Polybius describes the enthusiastic reaction of the masses to the Spartan tyrant Machanidas rallying his troops to fight before the battle of Mantinea (207 BCE).

b) 22. 8. 13:

τοιούτων δὲ γενομένων λόγων, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παρέστη τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε μὴ τολμῆσαι μηθένα συνειπεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ, πάντας δὲ μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐκβαλεῖν τὴν προτεινομένην δωρεάν, καίτοι δοκούσης αὐτῆς ἔχειν τι δυσαντοφθάλμητον διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προτεινομένων χρημάτων.

 $^{^{22}}$ τό τε γὰρ πῦρ ταχέως ἐπενέμετο καὶ περιελάμβανε πάντας τοὺς τόπους, αἴ τε δίοδοι πλήρεις ἦσαν ἵππων, ὑποζυγίων, ἀνδρῶν, τῶν μὲν ἡμιθνήτων καὶ διεφθαρμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, τῶν δ' ἐξεπτοημένων καὶ παρεστώτων ταῖς διανοίαις. "For the fire spread with great rapidity, and soon covered the whole area of the camp, the passages of which were full of horses, mules, and men, some half-dead and consumed by the flames, and some frenzied and beside themselves" (transl. W. R. Paton).

²³ ό δ' οὕτως παρειστήκει τῶν φρενῶν ὡς οὕτε πράττειν ἐτόλμα τῶν ἐξῆς οὐδὲν οὕτε καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰός τ' ἦν πειθαρχεῖν. "But he had so far lost his head that he neither dared to carry on his project, nor, worst of all, even felt himself capable of obeying when summoned by the king" (transl. W. R. Paton).

²⁴ Transl. W. R. Paton.

In consequence of these speeches the people were so deeply moved that no a soul ventured to take the part of the king, but all with loud shouts rejected the proffered gift, although owing to the greatness of the sum the temptation seemed almost irresistible.²⁵

Here we are seeing the reaction of the majority of the Achaean assembly to Cassander of Aegina; they urge the members of the league to reject Eumenes's rich and irresistible gifts, given his intention to corrupt them and limit their freedom of action. A careful perusal of the text reveals the passage is not only a rare testimony of how decisions were made in the assemblies of the Greek leagues during the Hellenistic period, characterized by the dialectics between $\pi\lambda\eta\theta_{0\varsigma}$ and $\pi_{0\lambda\tau\epsilon\nu\delta\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\iota}$.²⁶ The passage is also notable for its use of the aorist $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta$, in a metaphorical sense ('to be very excited / enthusiastic'), whose use seems well established by this time.

It is interesting to notice that, in both instances, the subject of παρέστη is πλῆθος, which in Polybius nearly always has a negative connotation because of his excesses and scant political acumen. In another two cases elsewhere, Polybius prefers to use παρεξίστημι with the same meaning, laying greater emphasis on the idea of 'flying off the handle / [lit.] becoming unhinged' because of anger (32. 3. 6; fr. 192).

As usual, although with some exceptions, the evolution of the co-radical abstract noun $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is parallel to that of the verb. The base, after all, is that of the noun $\sigma\tau\dot{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ('sedition', 'quarrel', but also 'immobility', 'position'), which was one of the oldest Greek derivations in $-\sigma\iota\varsigma$: with the prefix $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ - it seems that its occurrence in literature dates back to the fifth and fourth century BCE.

We can pinpoint several sources for this: Xenophon in a passage from the *Cyropaedia* (8. 4. 5) in which the Persian monarch showed the esteem in which he held people in his retinue according to their position at the banquet table or even while standing next to him ($\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\varsigma$). From a legal point of view, Andocides the logographer attests to its legal use in the oration *On the Mysteries* (120): ἔθηκα παράστασιν hints at the deposit of a sum of money in a judiciary context, a practice that was also documented by Isaeus (*De Pyrrho* 47).

In his *Politics* (1258 b), on the other hand, Aristotle defines the branches of commerce thus: ναυκληρία, φορτηγία παράστασις, a term that in this context could be translated nowadays as 'marketing', i.e. the 'display of wares'. As another example, hapax in Plato, in the *Laws* 855 c (παράστασις εἰς iερὰ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς χώρας ἕσχατα) the philosopher used it with a causative meaning,

²⁵ Transl. W. R. Paton.

²⁶ Thornton 2004, 381–382.

which is translated in the lexicons approximately as '(the act of) banishment', 'the act of exiling someone', as a result of the active meaning of στάσις and of the preposition παρά. This is similar to what we find in Aristotle's *Politics*, in a passage that has caused quite a few problems to modern interpreters (1308 b 19 ἀποδημητικὰς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παραστάσεις αὐτῶν).²⁷

A subjective meaning, on the other hand, could be read in the New Comedy.²⁸ A fragment from Menander (fr. 540. 8 K.) cited by Stobaeus (*Ecl.* 3. 38. 39) records a use of $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$ that is well on the way towards the change into an emotional meaning: LSJ mentions it as an example of the term with the meaning of 'propensity, desire':

σὲ δὲ τὸ κάκιστον τῶν κακῶν πάντων φθόνος φθισικὸν πεπόηκε καὶ ποήσει καὶ ποεῖ, ψυχῆς πονηρᾶς δυσσεβὴς παράστασις.

And then, again, there's envy, worst of evils all, the impious propensity of evil souls, which hath consumed, consumes, and ever shall consume.²⁹

²⁹ Transl. Francis G. Allinson. According to Gomme–Sandbach 1973, 714, "παρίστημι means 'set before the mind'; so παράστασις will be 'suggestion'. The pompous line may have been in accord with the speaker's character, but it sounds very like an anthologist's addition".

²⁷ "But, failing that, to make removals imposed on such men, removals beyond the limits of the State' [...]. Men in the position described by Aristotle were probably often removed to a distance from the chief city without being banished from the State" (Newman 1902, 391 f.). Radice's lexicon registers another attestation of παράστασις in Aristotle (*Ath.* 59. 3) where it has the meaning of the deposit paid by the parties in the judicial process, see LSJ, III). The active-causative meaning would survive for a very long time: in some of the Oxyrhynchus papyri dating from the fourth century CE (2233. 9), the term is used with reference to producing witnesses in trials: introducing something or someone on the stage will foster the success of παράστασις with the meaning of 'theatrical performance', which is also the modern Greek meaning (see Babiniotis 2012 s.v.). One may compare Russian '*выставлять*' in the meaning 'expel' and in the meaning 'exhibit'.

²⁸ A fragment of Antiphanes (103 K.–A.) deserves attention as well: ἀνδρὸς διαφέρει τοῦτ' ἀνήρ· ὁ μὲν κακῶς / πράττων τὸ λυποῦν ἤγαγ' εἰς παράστασιν, / ὁ δ' ἐμφρόνως δεξάμενος ἤνεγκεν καλῶς. It comes from the play *Hνίοχος* and Stobaeus, who quotes the passage, summarizes it ὅτι δεῖ γενναίως φέρειν τὰ προσπίπτοντα. It is clear that παράστασις is employed here according to its original value ('exhibition'), nevertheless it created a lot of problems to many commentators. Dobree 1843, 360, emended it with περίστασιν (conl. *Alexid.* 292). Kock 1884, 52 noted: "παράστασις enim cum *desperationem* et *constantiam* animi apud posteriores scriptores significet, per se solum, nisi universa sententia utrum intelligendum sit monstret, usurpari non potest; περίστασις autem pro συμφορῷ positum stoicis demum attribuit Phrynicus *Epit.* 376". Instead of περίστασις, he proposed the emendation μετάστασις.

A further confirmation of the good fortune that the term enjoyed at the end of the fourth century BCE is found in Epicurus, a philosopher that emphasized the unreasonable follies of the masses more than most. In a passage from the letter to Herodotus (2. 81 Arrighetti), the philosopher focuses on the fear of death which has its origin in the false opinion that there is something terrible in the afterlife, as *inter alia* the popular myths lead one to believe, and has a bone to pick with that $\check{\alpha}\lambda o\gamma o\varsigma \pi \alpha \rho \acute{\alpha} \sigma \tau \alpha \sigma \varsigma$, another irrational fear which has nothing to do with false opinions at all. This context seems to signal the semantic development in the direction of 'abnormal mental state', due to the influence of $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha$ - with the meaning 'wrong', 'deviate'.

The *Glossarium Epicureum* records another instance from fr. 52 Arrighetti, i.e. Epicurus' last letter, a sort of testament addressed to Idomeneus just before dying. With the epic tones of a text composed just before dying, the philosopher exhorts Idomeneus to take care of Metrodorus' children in accordance with the *good disposition* Idomeneus had to Epicurus and philosophy from his youth ($\pi \alpha \rho \dot{\alpha} \sigma \tau \alpha \sigma \iota_{\sigma} \rho \dot{\alpha} c \dot{\rho} \dot{\lambda} \sigma \sigma \phi \dot{\alpha} \alpha v)$.³⁰

As a matter of fact, in the technical lexicon of philosophical schools, $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$ most often means 'demonstration', especially in the stereotyped expressions $\varepsilon\iota\zeta$ or $\pi\rho\dot{\alpha}\zeta$ $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ 'as evidence', which are very well attested in the imperial-era writers, including the Christians. This meaning derives from the idea of 'uncovering, showing a thought': e.g. in a passage from Arrian, reporting Epictetus' thought, who in turn was speaking about Diodorus of Megara (Epict. *Diss.* 2. 19. 1 = *SVF* I 489), or similarly in a passage by Sextus Empiricus referring to the Stoic argument against the Sceptics (*Adv. math.* 7. 440 = *SVF* II 118, 5).

Epigraphic sources provide us with the first occurrences in the Hellenistic age: an epigraph found on a wall of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia ad Maeandrum records the goddess' divine παράστασις (*SIG* 695. 12).³¹ In the religious lexicon of the same period, the term acquires a precise meaning, close to that of ἐπιφάνεια 'apparition', another term whose fortunes are intimately related to the Hellenistic age. It should be mentioned, however, that παράστασις would preserve the older causative meaning ('to place [something] close to [something else]'), as demonstrated by the papyri and epigraphs – as well as more rarely also by the literary language – for instance in Cassius Dio (42. 28. 2), so as to prove the polysemy implicit in abstract deverbal derivations.³²

³⁰ "Apud scriptores τῆς κοινῆς modo absolute modo adposito διανοίας (ut Polyb. III 84) vel ψυχῆς est mens animi (bewusstsein), intentio vel affectus (voluntas) animi (cf. Wesselingius ad Diodor. XVII 99 (t. V 209 Dind.)" (Usener 1977, 516).

³¹ As to chronology, it dates back to the second century BCE, specifically after 129 BCE.

³² For instance, in *SIG* 562, 68 (Paros, third century BCE) ή παράστασις τῶν δημοσίων can be interpreted as 'provision' of public sacrifical victims (LSJ, I).

As to Polybius, in the ten or so passages recorded in the *PL* (3. 63. 14 opuỳv καὶ παράστασιν, 'the enthusiasm and self-confidence' produced in the troops by Hannibal's speech; 3. 84. 9 διὰ τὴν παράστασιν τῆς διανοίας, predicated of the soldiers who lost their wits and endeavoured to swim in Lake Trasimeno with their armour on; 5. 9. 6; 5. 48. 7; 8. 21. 4; 9. 40. 4; 10. 5. 4; 10. 33. 6; 15. 25. 9; 15. 33. 3; 16. 33. 2), the term is only used with an emotional meaning, which is consistent with the evolution of the verb, that also had the intransitive meaning of 'to be exceedingly elated', 'to be unhinged'. The idea implied by παράστασις is that of 'fury', 'impetuosity', to be beside oneself because one is incapable of keeping one's impetus, one's energy in check, 'elation', 'joyous abandonment', according to a semantic shift that can be found in many languages.³³

Commentators have sporadically remarked on the semantic novelty of the construction. It is worth reading a passage in the fifth book (9. 6):

καὶ μεγίστη δὴ καὶ παράστασις ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶχε τόν τε βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φίλους, ὡς δικαίως ταῦτα πράττοντας καὶ καθηκόντως, ἀμυνομένους τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν περὶ τὸ Δῖον ἀσέβειαν.

And the king and his intimates indeed had a perverse conviction that they were acting rightly and properly in thus retaliating upon the Aetolians for their sacrilegious treatment of Dium.³⁴

Johann Schweighaeuser, the first great modern commentator of Polybius (1789–1795), observed that the meaning of $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$ was close to the Latin *persuasio*, and in a similar context one could reconstruct an earlier construction $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ τινι δόξαν *vel* γνώμην, from which the noun had possibly inherited this meaning.³⁵ Rather than thinking to such an ellipsis, in Polybius 5. 9. 6, the $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$ that pervades the Macedonian king Philip V could be interpreted as a sort of mental excitement or even disturbance, just as suggested by the intransitive

³³ A similar meaning is conveyed by the English *transport*, 'being carried away with strong feelings', which owes its metaphorical use to French. Similarly, in Italian the word *foga* 'impetus', a popular allotrope of *fuga* 'escape, flight', which in turn derives from Latin *fuga*, owes its meaning to the idea of rapid movement.

³⁴ Transl. W. R. Paton.

³⁵ "Significationem suam a verbo παριστάναι παραστῆναι accipit duobus modis: 1) quatenus dicimus παριστάναι τινι ὁρμήν θάρσος πίστιν et παρίσταται vel παρέστη αὐτῷ ὁρμή θάρσος πίστις et similia; eatenus nomen ἡ παράστασις idem significat ac ὁρμή θάρσος πίστις etc. per ellipsin eorundem nominum, quaemadmodum subinde etiam nudum verbum παραστῆσαι τινά pro παραστῆσαί τινι ὀρμήν usurpatur velut 6, 53, 10; 23, 8, 13. 2) quatenus dicitur aliquis παρεστηκέναι τῆ διανοία vel τῶν φρενῶν, eatenus nomen παράστασις, per ellipsin horum substantivorum significat animi alienationem, stuporem, furorem" (Schweighaeuser 1822, 324–325).

use of the verb attested in the two cases highlighted in *PL*. Furthermore, the appearance of the adjective μεγίστη strengthens the idea that we are faced with a new meaning of the word παράστασις. With its value as 'disposition', 'representation', it could not have been accompanied by such an adjective (compare Pol. 5. 9. 6, cited in LSJ, II). The forerunner of such a usage is probably to be detected in the meaning 'impulse', 'affective disposition', attested in Epicurus and Comedy.

4. Final remarks

The issue raised by the polysemy of $\pi \alpha \rho \dot{\alpha} \sigma \tau \alpha \sigma \iota \varsigma$, therefore, and the semantic shift of $\dot{\alpha} \nu \dot{\alpha} \tau \alpha \sigma \iota \varsigma$ may help to shed new light on the subjectification of Greek lexicon in the Hellenistic Age, as documented by Polybius.

In both cases, meanings based in the external described situation tend to become "meanings based in the internal (evaluative / perceptual / cognitive) described situation".³⁶ As to $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$, the intransitive use of the corresponding verb plays an important role as to influence the semantic shift of the deverbal noun. In the case of $\dot{\alpha}\nu\dot{\alpha}\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$, instead, the increasing use of the middle voice $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\epsiloni\nu\rho\mu\alpha\iota$ should be taken into account.

In conclusion, it could be heuristically captivating to link the subjectification of part of the Greek lexicon in the Hellenistic centuries to the complex developments of the medio-passive voice and, at least for some verbs, to the intransitive use,³⁷ expressing the notion of *subjectaffectedness*, which is "the crucial element of middle semantics".³⁸ Although this kind of study would require further and more systematic research, it seems clear that this type of semantic shift, as observed with $\dot{\alpha}\nu\dot{\alpha}\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$ and $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$, had a great impact on the language and made post-classical Greek so rich and precise in all its representations of the impulses of the human soul.³⁹

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³⁶ Traugott 1989, 34.

³⁷ See also Hatzidakis 1891, 194–203.

³⁸ Allan 2003, 99.

³⁹ See also Blass – De Brunner 1961, 161. Benedetti 2014 provides an insight into the current research on the middle voice.

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This study aims to evaluate the possibility of applying the subjectification theory to the diachronic semantics of Hellenistic Greek and it does so starting from two examples: $\dot{\alpha}v\dot{\alpha}\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$ and $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$. For both words, an original polysemy is observed, particularly accentuated in the second case since Homer: in fact, it is essential to 'stay near' ($\pi\alpha\rho(\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\iota)$), in order to give courage and help someone. In Hellenistic Greek the abstract corradical term $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$ is attested with the meaning 'impetus', 'courage', which is the coherent development of a possibility already implicit several centuries before.

The path of $\dot{\alpha}\nu\dot{\alpha}\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta$, originally 'stretching out', is probably less predictable, even though it can be traced back to a gesture of body language that can be found in many languages. Raising the hand, indeed, is often associated with an attitude of threat. Polybius uses the verb $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omega$ and the corresponding abstract noun in the meaning of 'threat' and 'threatening'.

Возможность применить теорию субъектификации к диахронической семантике древнегреческого языка эллинистической эпохи рассматривается в статье на двух примерах: ἀνάτασις и παράστασις. Изначальная многозначность наблюдается для обоих слов, особенно она заметна для второго начиная с Гомера: ведь 'быть рядом' (παρίσταμαι) необходимо, чтобы ободрить и помочь. В эллинистическую эпоху засвидетельствовано однокоренное абстрактное существительное παράστασις со значением 'импульс', 'смелость', представляющее логическое развитие возможности, имплицитно присутствовавшей на несколько веков ранее.

Путь развития ἀνάτασις, изначально 'вытягивание', пожалуй, менее предсказуем, хотя его можно проследить, возводя к элементу языка тела, представленного во многих языках. В самом деле, поднятая рука часто ассоциируется с угрозой. Полибий использует глагол ἀνατείνω и соответствующее абстрактное существительное, чтобы обозначить угрозу и как процесс и как результат действия.

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