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### **Towards a Homeric Discourse Grammar. From Colon to Act**

The linguistic study of Homeric discourse has seen an impressive development over the last three decades, receiving its impetus especially from the groundbreaking work of Egbert Bakker (e.g. Bakker 1990, 1997a, 1997b). Fundamental to Bakker's approach is the idea that Homeric discourse should be seen as a form of 'special speech'. Even though Homeric discourse is not identical to everyday spoken language, many characteristic features of Homeric discourse qua oral poetry are susceptible to be analyzed in terms of spoken language. Inspired by Wallace Chafe's cognitively-oriented work (Chafe 1994), Bakker has convincingly demonstrated that metrical cola can be analyzed insightfully as stylized and regularized intonation units, as found in everyday spoken language. A cognitive approach to Homeric discourse was then also adopted by other scholars (e.g. Slings 1992; Allan 2009, 2019, In prep.; Janse 2012, 2020; Bonifazi 2012; Drummen and De Kreij 2016). A second, but intimately related, line of research has argued for an analysis of Homeric discourse in functional-pragmatic terms, often working within the theoretical framework of Functional Grammar or its successor Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG; Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008). On this view, metrical cola can be viewed as expressions of basic discourse units (e.g. Slings 1992; Allan 2009, 2019, In prep.; Bertrand 2010; Bonifazi 2012; Bonifazi & Elmer 2012; Bonifazi, Drummen and De Kreij 2016, Janse 2020).

The aim of my paper is to further integrate the existing cognitive and functional approaches to Homeric discourse, and, more specifically, to argue that the discourse-pragmatic concepts developed in the typologically-based framework of FDG are highly suited to describe some of the basic elements of Homeric discourse structure, such as its segmentation into short metrical cola divided by caesuras and verse end, and its strong linear 'cumulative' organization. Central to FDG are Discourse Acts, the basic steps performed by speakers to realize their communicative aims. Discourse Acts typically coincide with intonation units (Hannay and Kroon 2005) — and therefore with metrical cola. Discourse Acts may be nuclear, typically expressed by a clause, or subsidiary, usually expressed by extra-clausal constituents preceding, interrupting or following the nuclear Discourse Act, such as Themes (left dislocated topics), Addresses (vocatives), Settings, Tails (right dislocated topics), and Elaborations (added information specifying the preceding Discourse Act). These concepts may serve as helpful tools to analyze the pragmatic function of caesurae and enjambment and the sequential organization of Homeric discourse. One of the potential gains of a systematic Homeric Discourse Grammar is that it may also give a new impulse to the old discussion about Homeric colometry, which seems to have reached a deadlock between 'Fränkelians', 'Kirkians' and 'Westians'.

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**Nature-based metaphors as body-part terms in Ancient Greek. On καρπός ‘wrist’ and ἀστράγαλος ‘ankle(bone)’**

Καρπός, employed since Homer for the wrist (cf. *Od.* 22.277), has been usually derived from an Indo-European root *\*k<sup>w</sup>erp-* ‘to twist’. However, καρπός can also be referred to a non-anatomical item, namely ‘fruit’. That led Michler (1966) to the assumption that καρπός ‘wrist’ proceeds from καρπός ‘fruit’ via metaphorical usage. This proposal has been rejected (Chantraine 1968), but in this paper—which is to be understood within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics (cf. Croft & Cruse 2004) and conceptual metaphor (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980)—we will show that it is not only semantically plausible, but also that it has some parallels in Greek and other languages.

As Michler observed, this metaphorical usage is based on the bony prominence on the wrist (the so-called head of the ulna) and its similarity with a small, rounded fruit beneath the skin. A synecdoche (cf. Wilkins 1996) explains the extension from the ‘fruit’ as prominence on the wrist to the whole joint. It is noteworthy that καρπός always appears together with χεῖρ ‘hand’ in Homer and in the corpus Hippocraticum, probably because the metaphorical usage of καρπός ‘fruit’ still needed the anatomical referent (καρπός τῆς χειρός ‘the fruit of the hand’ → ‘the wrist’).

A similar development from a non-anatomical item to the wrist can be found in Spanish muñeca ‘wrist’, which originally referred to a kind of milestone—as evidenced by toponyms as Las Muñecas (Coromines 1981). Here, again, the term is usually specified by hand or arm (la muñeca del brazo or muñecas de las manos in Cervantes’ *Quixote*) until it acquired fully independence from the original meaning.

ἀστράγαλος too has been occasionally employed as ‘wrist’ (*LXX Da.* 5.5.24), even if it mainly refers to the ankle or the anklebone (*Hdt.* 3.129) and to the dorsal vertebrae in Homer (*Il.* 14.466). Its traditional etymon *\*h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-* (cf. ὀστέον) is phonetically doubtful and Beekes (2010) postulates a Pre-Greek origin. Besides, ἀστράγαλος was also employed for the knucklebones as a game as well as for a kind of leguminous plant similar to chickpeas (cf. *Dsc.* 4.61). Since Modern Greek στραγάλι still refers to the roasted chickpea, Babiniotis (2010) suggests that the leguminous plant is called after its similarity with knucklebones. Here, conversely, we support the opposite metaphorical process: the ankle and the vertebrae are referred as ἀστράγαλος ‘chickpea-like’ because of the shape of their bony prominences (the malleolus of the ankle and the spinous process of the vertebra), which could easily resemble to the fruit of the leguminous. The confusion between the bone and the whole joint—again explainable as a synecdoche—was also common in Ancient times (cf. *Ruf. Onom.* 124-125).

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### **A New Semantic Interpretation of Timotheus of Miletus' *Persae* 147–8**

In *Persae* 140–61, Timotheus introduces a Phrygian soldier speaking broken Greek. In this contribution I will provide a new semantic interpretation of the controversial passage 147–8 Page, since the meaning of [...] διάτορον | σφραγῖδα in context with θραύων στόματος is unclear (cf. Wilamowitz 1903, followed by Reinach 1903:79, Mazon 1903:212, Page 1962:410; Gildersleeve 1903:235, followed by Hordern 2002:203; Croiset 1903:346; Campbell 1993:105; Janssen 1984:105, Paduano 1993:534, Sevieri 2011:83, ignoring διάτορον; Nencioni 1950:150, Lambin 2013:138, translating literally, ‘breaking the piercing seal of his mouth’, without further explanations). In order to understand the cognitive mechanisms underlying these verses I used Fauconnier & Turner’s (2002) ‘Conceptual Integration’ Theory.

Grasping the exact meaning of διάτορον is crucial, since it is an important Source Input for the Cognitive Blend created by Timotheus to mark the fact that a Phrygian is speaking Greek (Target Input). Etymologically, διά-τορον is an o-stem adjective (Chantraine 1979:10–1) derived from the verb τορᾶν < PIE \*terh1/3-, ‘to pierce’ (Beekes 2010:1495). It is applied specifically to sounds, with a semantic change from ‘piercing’ to ‘loud, shrill’, comparable to Skt. tarā- ‘piercing, resonating’ and perhaps OIr. tairm ‘sound’. Lexicographers (Hsch., Suda, Phot., *Etym. Magn.*, Ps. Zonar., s.v.) confirm the relationship with a sound, thus ‘piercing’ in the sense of ‘acute’ (cf. A., *Eum.*, 567), even ‘audible from a distance’. But how can a ‘piercing sound’ be related to Phrygian?

The Phrygian slave in Eur., *Or.*, 1384, mentions the μέλος or νόμος (Plut., *de mus.*, 1133b) ἀρμάτειον, a specific melody characterized by a high register (scholia, Suda, s.v.) to which his monody has to be sung. The relationship between high register and threnodic songs highlighted by Plut., *de mus.*, 1136c, explains the threnodic use of μέλος ἀρμάτειον in Eur., *Or.*, 1384. Phrygians are defined as θρηνητικοί, ‘with an aptitude for threnodic songs’, by Eustathius. The νηνίατον, which Hipponax evokes as a Phrygian composition (fr. 163 West = fr. 173 Degani), is a particular variety of threnodic song. By contrast, the Greek language, called Ἰαονα γλῶσσαν by Timotheus (149), may be associated with ionic harmony, defined as ἀνειμένη by Pratinas (fr. 712 Page), and characterized by a lower register.

The Cognitive Blend shows that there must have been a link between the Phrygians, the μέλος ἀρμάτειον, the threnodic songs, and the high pitch of the Phrygian mode to the point that even the Phrygians’ way of speaking was identified with a particularly high-pitched tone of voice. So, the Phrygian language pressed this ‘seal’ (σφραγίς), i.e. shaped the soldier’s ‘mouth’ (στόμα), a metonymy for his native articulatory capabilities, just as Timotheus impressed his own upon his nome (202–36), σφραγίς being a technical term for the most personal part of a poem (Thgn. 19–20). But the Phrygian soldier must break this ‘seal’, i.e. abandon this high-pitched trait

characterizing his ‘mouth’, in order to speak Greek, a foreign language characterized by a lower register.

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### **Heridas sobre heridas. A propósito del léxico del cuerpo dañado en griego antiguo**

Ya en sus albores, la literatura griega cuenta con numerosas descripciones del cuerpo dañado o herido. Pensemos, por ejemplo, en la propia "Ilíada" o en el "Filoctetes" de Sófocles, pero también en obras de carácter científico como los tratados hipocráticos "Sobre fracturas" o "Sobre las heridas de la cabeza". Aunque no cabe duda de que la vulnerabilidad física del cuerpo prácticamente no ha cambiado a lo largo de los milenios pasados, salta a la vista que el griego antiguo sí que muestra cambios significativos, tanto en lo referente a los conceptos semánticos de 'herida' como al vocabulario relacionado con ellos. Se ha señalado muchas veces que el vocablo ἔλκος, frecuente en Homero para designar una herida causada por un arma, pasó más tarde a significar 'úlceras', o sea, 'daño de causa interna'. El significado de 'herida', en cambio, fue reemplazado por el término τραῦμα, hasta entonces inusitado y probablemente desconocido por los autores arcaicos. El objetivo de mi ponencia es, desde una perspectiva onomasiológica, recopilar las principales voces griegas que hacen referencia al cuerpo herido (p. ej. οὐτᾶν, νόσσειν, πλήσσειν, ἐλκοῦν, τιτρώσκειν, ἔλκος, ὠτειλή, πληγή, τραῦμα), prestando especial atención a las épocas y los géneros literarios en los que se emplean con mayor o menor frecuencia. A fin de reconstruir los conceptos semánticos vinculados al vocabulario de la herida, no solo tomo en consideración las propias fuentes escritas (incluidas las obras médicas), desde los poemas homéricos hasta el período temprano del Imperio romano, sino también los respectivos comentarios de los filólogos (tardo)antiguos. Además, desde un punto de vista semasiológico, es mi objetivo trazar la presencia de la herida en el uso metafórico del lenguaje (cf. Bacelar 2017; Wöhrle 1991), empezando por los poemas de Arquíloco y Solón, quienes la usan en el sentido de 'daño moral'. A través de un análisis detenido de las colocaciones dominantes de los términos susodichos, se investigarán los diferentes ámbitos en los que prevalece el uso figurado del cuerpo herido (política, amor, embriaguez, etc.).

La explicación tradicional de que las denominaciones de las heridas en Homero (ἔλκος, ὠτειλή, y πληγή) dependen del tipo de arma utilizado (cf. Albarracín Teulón 1970; Trümper 1950; Schmidt 1879) es bastante esquemática y no del todo convincente. Más bien, el empleo de los diferentes términos parece basarse en diferentes conceptos semánticos acerca de la naturaleza de la herida. Acabaré mostrando que en ὠτειλή predomina la imagen del cuerpo perforado y permeable, mientras que ἔλκος destaca el daño global que experimenta un individuo y πληγή pone mayor énfasis en la dimensión mecánico-acústica de la lesión. Respecto al paulatino cambio léxico de ἔλκος a τραῦμα, las fuentes sí que dejan entrever una tendencia a generalizar el uso del último con el significado de 'herida', sin que ἔλκος pierda enteramente ese valor semántico. Por lo que concierne a la metáfora de la herida, son relativamente escasos los ejemplos del uso figurado de τραῦμα y las demás voces, exceptuando el caso de ἔλκος.

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### **Grammaticalization of adverbs in Ancient Greek: the case of Homeric μάλα**

This paper investigates the grammaticalization path of the adverb μάλα in Homeric Greek, by analyzing the semantic and syntactic functions developed across different contexts of use. Although the boundary of the category ‘adverb’ is fuzzy (Ramat & Ricca 1998: 206, Simon-Vanderbergen & Aijmer 2007: 63), this study identifies the emergence of three different readings of μάλα in the Iliad and the Odyssey, within the perspective of the subjectification theory (Traugott 1995; Traugott & Dasher 2002; Traugott 2008). After tracing back to its Indo-European origin \*mel- ‘strong’ (cf. Pokorny 1959: 720; Beekes 2010: 895), it is argued that the adverb μάλα behaves as a i) manner adverb, thus showing its semantic function at the VP level, ii) degree adverb, which modifies gradable adjectives and adverbs (cfr. Klein 1998: 28), iii) epistemic adverb (either truth attesting or adversative), taking its scope over the whole proposition (cf. Paradis 2003: 198). The relationship among these different syntactic-semantic functions might be explained in terms of a grammaticalization process involving scope increase and semantic-pragmatic shifts from a lower to a higher functional layer (cf. Allan 2017: 103). More specifically, I will show that the adverb μάλα developed abstract meanings starting from concrete lexical heads in which it modified verbs that were compatible with its original lexical semantics, and then expanding to new classes of verbs (host-class expansion) (Himmelmann 2004: 32; Traugott 2008: 222; cf. Mendez-Naya 2003: 387). After a process of semantic bleaching, it then extended to new syntactic environments in which it modified adjectival and adverbial phrases adding an intensifier meaning (syntactic context expansion). The semantic and pragmatic context in which the grammaticalized adverb was used was further expanded, to the extent that it began to co-occur with discourse particles and conjunctions in the initial position of the clause, both expressing the speaker’s attitudes towards the proposition and evolving towards new pragmatic functions proper to discourse markers (semantic-pragmatic context expansion).

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### On post-nasal deaspiration of voiced aspirates in Ancient Greek

While Proto-Indo-European voiced aspirated stops are normally reflected by voiceless aspirates in Ancient Greek, it has long been noticed that they sporadically surface as voiced stops after a nasal (cf. Schwyzler 1939:333). A regular sound change was first formulated by Miller (1977a, 1977b), who identified the conditioning factor in the position of the accent: aspiration was lost at an archaic stage of Proto-Greek (before the devoicing of PIE voiced aspirates) in post-accentual syllables only. The rule would thus explain alternances such as ὄμβρος ‘rain’ < \*ó-nb<sup>h</sup>-ro- vs. ἀφρός ‘foam’ < \*ḡb<sup>h</sup>-ró- (: Ved. *abhrá-* ‘cloud’), or θρόμβος ‘clot’ < \*d<sup>h</sup>ró-n-b<sup>h</sup>-o- vs. τρέφω ‘thicken’ < \*d<sup>h</sup>reb<sup>h</sup>-e/o-. Such a rule would be typologically well-supported: not only is loss of aspiration cross-linguistically common after nasals (Kümmel 2007:95f.), but aspiration is generally weaker after the accent than in the onset of an accented syllable.

Despite gaining some recent supporters (e.g. Hajnal 2005, Kümmel 2013), the rule remains overlooked in standard reference works, and its scope has not yet been clearly defined. A fresh look at post-nasal deaspiration is all the more desirable since this rule interacts with other important (Proto-)Greek sound changes (Rix’s Law, Grassmann’s Law) and has implications for the etymological analysis of the Ancient Greek lexicon, providing a possible internal explanation for consonantal alternations often attributed to Pre-Greek substrate origin. This paper aims to establish the conditioning of post-nasal deaspiration, based on a thorough revision of all the potential evidence and counterevidence, including several forms not considered in previous research, for a total of about 50 lexical forms.

I conclude that deaspiration operated regularly in the context \*(-)ṼND<sup>h</sup>(R)V-, but not in the contexts \*(-)ṼND<sup>h</sup>(R)VCṼ-, i.e., in a *pre*-accentual syllable (cf. ὀμφαλός ‘navel’ < \*h<sub>3</sub>(e)nb<sup>h</sup>-l(l)-ó-; πανθερός ‘father-in-law’ < \*b<sup>h</sup>end<sup>h</sup>-eró-) and \*(-)ṼC(C)ṼND<sup>h</sup>(R)V-, i.e. when the sequence \*-ṼND<sup>h</sup>- did not immediately follow the accented vowel, as suggested by examples with good IE etymologies like ἔλεγχος ‘reproach’ < \*h<sub>1</sub>leng<sup>h</sup>-es- (: Hitt. *link-* ‘swear’) and ἰονθος ‘downy hair’ < \*ui-ṽond<sup>h</sup>-o- (: Mir. *find* ‘hair’, etc.). Aspirated stops after a syllabic nasal were also not affected.

It is possible that the rule was dissimilatorily blocked by a voiced stop in the preceding syllable, as proposed by Kümmel (2013): cf. γόμφος ‘bolt’ < \*gómb<sup>h</sup>-o- ‘tooth’. There is some evidence that the change was blocked by a following laryngeal: cf. στέμφυλον ‘pressed olives’ < \*stémb<sup>h</sup>Hulo- ‘solid (mass)’ (Steer 2010) and (δυσ)πέμφελος ‘stormy’ < \*dus-g<sup>wh</sup>émb<sup>h</sup>H(e)lo- ‘having bad/too much depth’ (Nikolaev fthc.). This finding has implications for the chronology of the rule, which would then predate the loss of word-internal laryngeals; however, it may not be excluded that in the above forms the accent was retracted at a later date.

Other limitations proposed in the literature (e.g., to sequences including a labial consonant) find insufficient support in the data. Many apparent exceptions can be



explained through paradigmatic analogy, which would have obscured the effects of the law, especially in certain morphological categories such as *n*-infix presents (e.g. λαγχάνω, μανθάνω) and *s*-stem nouns (e.g. ἄνθος, πένθος).

Finally, this study is in accord with a growing body of evidence suggesting that segmental sound change could be governed by the position of the accent in prehistorical Greek (Van Beek 2017, Batisti 2017, 2020).

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### **The role of factivity in Ancient Greek complementation patterns**

The role of factivity in the distribution of the various types of sentential complementation in Ancient Greek has recently been acknowledged (e.g. Rijksbaron 2002; Cristofaro 2008; 2012; Horrocks 2010: 92; Bentein 2015; 2017), but a detailed analysis is still missing. Factivity is defined as the speaker's commitment to the truth of a sentential complement, typically modeled as a presuppositional component of meaning (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970). Crosslinguistically, factivity is known to influence the shape of sentential complements: e.g. in English the factive verb *ignore* can take a gerund complement, but the non-factive verb *suppose* cannot (1-2, from Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970: 146):

(1) Everyone ignored Joan's being completely drunk

(2) \*Everyone supposed Joan's being completely drunk

Among ancient corpus languages, Greek represents an extremely promising field for the investigation of this topic, owing to the rich variety of complementation patterns (including both finite and non-finite complements, and an array of subordinating conjunctions; among others, Crespo 1984; Jacquino (ed.) 1999; Joseph 1987: 36). We focus in particular on complements depending on verbs that denote knowledge or skill (e.g. *ἐπιλανθάνω*, *μανθάνω*), including verbs of propositional attitude. In a corpus-based approach, we collect data from Archaic and Classical Greek in order to investigate the alternations shown in (3-4), where the same verb may select (a) a participle, with a factive meaning; (b) an infinitive, with a non-factive meaning; (c) a finite clause, with a factive meaning:

(3) a. ἐπιλελήσμεθ' ἡδέως γέροντες ὄντες (E. Bacch. 288 s.)

'With pleasure we forgot being old '

b. ἐπελαθόμην τοὺς καδίσκους ἐκφέρειν (Ar. V. 853)

'I've forgotten to bring out the voting urns'

c. Ἐπελαθόμην ὅτι ἐπαίζομεν (Pl. R.563.c1)

'I forgot we were just having fun'

(4) a. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθε ἔγκυος ἐοῦσα (H. 1.5.6)

'when she learned that she was pregnant'

b. ἐπεὶ μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς (Hom. Il. 6.444)

'since I have learned to be valiant'

c. μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἦκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς (H. 9.77.2)

'learning that they were come too late for the battle'

Alternating complementation patterns like those in (3-4) raise interesting issues both at the empirical and at the theoretical level: are there morphosyntactic properties systematically associated with the factive/non-factive contrast in Ancient Greek? In particular, how does this contrast interact with the issue of finiteness and with the difference between infinitives and participles? Is factivity triggered by some lexical property of the governing verb or, rather, by some other elements co-occurring with the verb (cf. Kiparsky & Kiparsky, 1970; Schueler 2016)? An answer to these questions, which we will base on our empirical database, promises to shed further light also on the structural status of non-finite sentential complements (the size of the syntactic constituent) and on the kind of verbal categories expressed by participles and infinitives (Bary & Haug 2011, Sevdali 2013).

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### **The textualization of women's letters from Roman Egypt. Analyzing historical framing practices from a multi-modal point of view**

Recent studies have focused on the textualization – the process of how speech and thought materialize into text – of literary works with an oral background such as the Homeric epics or the New Testament (e.g. Ready 2019). Much less work has been done on non-literary sources, with the exception of some recent work on scribes and dictation (e.g. Evans 2012; Halla-aho 2018). As they are autographs, non-literary sources present us with an exceptional opportunity to study how linguistic aspects of textualization go hand in hand with typographic aspects, a field of study that has come to be known as ‘multi-modality’ (e.g. Kress 2010).

In this talk, I want to make three general points. First, I will argue that the notion of ‘framing’ (e.g. MacLachlan and Reid 1994) forms a crucial concept to grasp textualization. Social semioticians view semiosis or meaning-making as an ongoing, endless activity that is punctuated and materialized (‘textualized’) through frames, which provide unity and coherence to what is framed, and guide and enable the interpretation by the reader (Kress 2010, 149). The second point that I want to make concerns the types of frames that are relevant to textualization: scholars view text as ‘the focal formal unit of social-semiotic punctuation’ (Kress 2000, 153), to which the page (or sheet) corresponds typographically speaking, but there are also micro- and meso-level frames, such as clauses and lines, thematic and lay-out segments, generic and lay-out parts, etc., each of which is signaled through a set of framing features (particles and conjunctions, formulaic phrases, blank spaces, line fillers, etc.). My third and final point concerns the use and relationship of micro-, meso- and macro-level linguistic and typographic frames: I will argue that writers could engage in different types of discourse planning (e.g. Ochs 1979) depending on the use they made of framing features (with some writers for example conscientiously adding discourse particles, and others omitting them). Whereas the degree of discourse planning is often similar across the modes of language and typography, in some cases there are significant divergences, dictated letters being one of the most notable cases in which much care is taken of typographic framing, but much less of linguistic framing (e.g. Verhoogt 2009).

My intention is to richly illustrate these three points with examples from the corpus of women's letters from Roman Egypt (e.g. Bagnall and Cribiore 2006), with an emphasis on the Roman period. I will conclude by considering the social circumstances which may have motivated different degrees of discourse planning, by diversifying between the communicative functions that letters had in antiquity (‘appellative’, ‘expressive’, and ‘descriptive’, compare Bergs 2004). From this point of view, a lesser degree of discourse planning should not necessarily be viewed as a communication failure resulting from an imperfect degree of literacy (a perspective sometimes adopted by

modern editors), but may alternatively be viewed as a communicative strategy conveying, for example, a heightened sense of involvement (e.g. Chafe 1982).

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### **Named Entity Recognition for a Text-Based Catalog of Ancient Greek Authors and Works**

This paper presents a DFG funded project (nr. 434173983) for linguistic extraction, analysis, and annotation of the language of ancient Greek bibliographic references. The goal is the production of a structured knowledge resource about ancient Greek authors and works (i.e., names of authors and titles/descriptions of works with variants and ambiguities in the original contextual language). The project makes use of methods and technologies from NLP and computational linguistics. In particular, it applies NER for semi-automatic extraction and annotation of entities related to bibliographic references to ancient Greek authors and works.

The first part of the presentation will focus on the current state of the art of NER for ancient Greek and on the data produced in the first phase of the project, which is constituted by a full database of lemmatized and annotated named entities in the text of the *Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus of Naucratis (ed. Kaibel):  
<http://www.digitalathenaeus.org>.

The text of Athenaeus has been chosen because it is a reference resource for exploring language and patterns of ancient Greek bibliographic references. Moreover, its citations cover about 50% of the total number of Greek authors for the period of time between the 8th century BC and the 3rd century CE.

The second part of the presentation will show methods and tools for named entity disambiguation, linking, and coreference resolution in order to extract and annotate real entities corresponding to author names (e.g., Ἰστρος ὁ Καλλιμάχειος) and work titles (e.g., ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτείᾳ). This work will produce a Knowledge Base for linking entity mentions to a structured vocabulary for ancient Greek authors and works that can be used to annotate other significant texts, as for example the Lexicon of the Ten Orators of Harpocration and the Suda lexicon.

The last part of the presentation will show how annotations allow to visualize references in their original context offering new and dynamic text-based tools that are not available in existing indices and catalogs of ancient Greek authors and works. This work offers new results about the language of ancient Greek bibliographic citations by documenting them with an immediate, full, and complete contextual analysis of their occurrences.

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### **How many focus positions in Ancient Greek?**

It has been firmly established that Ancient Greek (AG) expresses information structure through word order (Allan 2014; Bertrand 2010; Celano 2013; Dik 1995; Goldstein 2015; Matic 2003). At least two type of focus constructions have been identified: narrow focus is expressed by placing the focus constituent immediately left the verb (Dik 1995), whereas broad focus is expressed by building up a focus domain extending from the verb to the right (Matic 2003). But this focus domain is also open to a narrow interpretation, where only the last element is construed as focused (Bertrand 2010).

However, in recent years, researchers have managed to refine that picture. Goldstein (2015) distinguishes between monotonic (immediately preverbal) and non-monotonic (left-dislocated) foci, whereas Bertrand & Faure (in prep.) posit a distinct initial position for interrogative foci. Furthermore, Matic (2003) had already noticed rare cases of narrow focus expressions separated from the verb and in initial position, which he explained away as displaying a other kind of focus marking, namely periphrastic focus.

There seem thus to be three different options to mark a constituent as narrowly focused: postverbal, immediately preverbal and in the left periphery.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, coming back to the variation between postverbal and preverbal narrow foci (as exemplified by the minimal pair (1)), we will identify the factors leading to the choice of either construction, keeping in mind that only preverbal focus is explicitly marked as narrow, while postverbal narrow focus is the result of the hearer's interpretation of a broad focus domain.

(1a) Δεῦρ' Ἐλευσινίων τριττὺς τελευτᾷ, [Πειραιῶν δὲ τριττὺς]Foc ἄρχεται. (IG I2 897)

(1b) Δεῦρο Παιανίων τριττὺς τελευτᾷ, ἄρχεται δὲ [Μυρρινουσίῳ τριττὺς]Foc. (IG I2 898)

Second, if a left-dislocated focus position is indeed possible not only in questions, but also in declaratives, what are the conditions triggering the choice of such a construction? For instance, predicative adverbs like δικάως or εἰκότως seem prone to be left-dislocated (2a), but are arguably also possible in preverbal position (2b).

(2a) Καὶ διὰ ταῦτα [δικαίως]Foc ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τε τὰ Μαντινέων καὶ Ἀργείων τραπομένου καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐνηντιούμην ὑμῖν ἐβλάπτεσθε. (Thuc. 6.89.3)

(2b) Καὶ ταῦτ' [εἰκότως]Foc δοξάζουσιν. (Isocr. 11.26)

To answer this question, a corpus of classical oratory will be used, mainly Demosthenes and Lysias, restricted to declarative main clauses. I will try to identify precise criteria to



justify the existence of a left-dislocated focus position in AG, and lay out the factors explaining the preference for this construction over the more frequent preverbal one.

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### **The Figurative Meaning of Comparison Constructions: an analysis on the language of Homer**

According to Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), metaphor is a way of conceptualizing one abstract domain (target) in terms of a more concrete one (source) by establishing a system of conceptual correspondences (mapping) between them. While metaphors prototypically involve open mapping, in which the correspondences between source and target cannot be exhaustively listed, similes restrict the set of correspondences between the two domains (1) (Croft & Cruse 2004: 212-215). Furthermore, simile formally differs from metaphor in being a kind of explicit comparison encoded by a linguistic flag: ‘like’ in (1). Accordingly, any construction which can encode literal comparison is in principle able to form a simile: (2) (Israel *et al.* 2004: 125).

- (1) I know Anderson follows her around like a puppy.  
 (2) She is more precious than rubies.

Comparison constructions encode difference or similarity between a Comparee (she) and a Standard (rubies) with respect to some Parameter (precious) and by means of a Standard Marker (STM; than) and a Parameter Marker (PM; more) (Treis 2018). Linguistic typology distinguishes between quantitative and qualitative comparison. So-called equative constructions encode quantitative comparison of equality, whereas comparative and superlative constructions encode quantitative comparison of inequality; similitive constructions, instead, express qualitative comparison. Each language may employ one or more constructions to encode each type of comparison; furthermore, languages can employ comparative strategies that are not grammaticalized and rely on contextual implications (Treis 2018: 1).

A well-known Homeric simile such as (3) is instantiated by a clausal similitive construction with ὥς as STM and τόσσα as PM (among other patterns, one finds ὥς... ὥς..., οἷον... τοῖον..., and ἡὔτε, ὥς for non-clausal similes). Studies on this type of similes abound in the literature (Fränkel 1921, Coffey 1957, Moulton 1977, Minchin 2001, Ready 2018, among many others) but whether similes can be encoded by other comparison constructions in the Homeric corpus has yet to be determined (Buxton 2004 makes a first step in this direction).

- (3) ‘As (ὥς) when in the sky the stars about the moon’s shining are seen in all their glory, [...] such in their numbers (τόσσα) blazed the watchfires the Trojans were burning’ (*Il.* 8.555-561).

This paper investigates comparison constructions and strategies used to encode similes in the Homeric poems. Following the methodology proposed in Keydana *et al.* (forth.),

comparison constructions are classified on the base of their STM and PM, as well as on the type of comparison they encode. Detecting and analyzing figurative expressions in ancient texts raises the issue of ‘false friends’, i.e. literal expressions that seem figurative to the modern eye (Di Biase-Dyson & Egg 2020: 9; Buxton 2004 on the interpretation of shape-shifting of gods and mortals in Homer). After discussing such issues, detected figurative expressions will be analyzed from the point of view of the mapping they involve. Furthermore, a typology will be set of constructions that can encode similes, as opposed to those that are always employed literally, and the result will be checked against the picture we get from some later texts.

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### Le vocatif et les “termes d’adresses” dans l’*Odyssée*

L’exposé a pour objet de définir, dans l’*Odyssée*, le rôle du vocatif à travers les termes d’adresse employés ou non par les divers protagonistes de l’épopée. La dénomination « termes d’adresses », usitée en ethnologie, est, ici, élargie et s’applique à tous les titres attribués par un locuteur à un ou plusieurs allocataires qui, souvent, deviennent des interlocuteurs. L’étude de ces termes d’adresse est menée selon la méthode pragmatique, en mettant en relief le contexte immédiat qui précède l’interpellation du locuteur et en analysant chaque occurrence. Plusieurs cas de figure existent : la prise de parole, longue ou courte, s’adresse à un ou plusieurs allocataires (êtres humains ou divinités), elle peut être différée, discontinuée, réitérée et alors modifiée, elle peut être double ou manquer. Loin d’être un simple ornement de l’épopée, les termes d’adresse, toujours bien choisis par l’aède, sont des moyens de cerner les personnages, dont ils objectivent le comportement, car aucune structure langagière n’est plus véridique que la manière d’aborder l’autre (même en cas de duplicité, qui finit toujours par se faire jour, comme pour Circé). Ces termes fonctionnent surtout comme des pratiques inhérentes aux stratégies de communication, magistralement dominées par Ulysse. Or puisque les termes d’adresse sont déterminants pour l’action même, leur absence n’en est que plus significative (ainsi au chant XXII le massacre des prétendants est autant suggéré par la présence ou l’absence de ces termes que par la narration des faits). Le vocatif contribue donc dans l’épopée à un travail d’énonciation fondamental : Ulysse mais aussi Athéna usent d’un langage parfaitement dosé à l’importance de l’allocataire ou de la circonstance présente et l’emploi des termes d’adresse par Télémaque souligne son évolution psychologique, car aucun personnage de l’épopée n’est constitué d’un seul bloc, il existe des nuances chez la plupart (sauf pour quelques prétendants). En outre, dans l’*Odyssée*, épopée où le discours est action, le vocatif, outre sa fonction communicative, est un marqueur essentiellement social, du point de vue de l’émetteur du discours et de celui du récepteur : les rapports entre dominants et dominés sont soulignés par les termes d’adresse autant que par les attitudes des personnages. L’analyse du vocatif et des termes d’adresses, usités ou non, permet de mieux appréhender l’action et la psychologie des personnages.

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### **Les anthroponymes en -ήν d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonia d'Illyrie**

Il y a eu en grec ancien des noms d'hommes en -ήν, -ήνος. Leur répartition géographique est très inégale. Ils sont très fréquents dans deux villes d'Illyrie méridionale, Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et Apollonia, qui sont toutes deux des colonies de Corinthe, mais ils sont très rares ailleurs. Le problème de l'origine de l'élément suffixal -ήν- a fait l'objet de débats, mais n'a pas reçu de solution assurée. Je reprendrai donc l'étude de ces anthroponymes. F. Solmsen pensait que -ήν- continuait un ancien suffixe indo-européen \*-ēn-. Cette hypothèse se heurte à l'absence de formes comparables dans les autres langues indo-européennes et à l'absence d'anthroponymes en -ήν- dans le grec le plus ancien (mycénien et langue homérique). N. Guilleux a présenté une autre explication. La finale suffixale -ήν- ne serait pas héritée directement de l'indo-européen, mais proviendrait d'une modification du suffixe -ήF- des noms en -εύς. Ma contribution à la solution du problème sera de montrer qu'en réalité les noms en -ήν d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonia d'Illyrie ont pris le relais de noms qui sont ailleurs en -έας. Pour établir la démonstration, je présenterai dans une première partie les anthroponymes de ces deux cités et de leurs environs et j'étudierai leur morphologie. Dans la deuxième partie, je ferai intervenir les anthroponymes en -έας et je montrerai qu'ils sont nombreux là où -ήν- est rare, et rares là où -ήν- est fréquent. Dans la troisième partie, j'essaierai d'interpréter le résultat des comparaisons de la deuxième partie et de tirer les conclusions qui s'imposent concernant l'origine des anthroponymes de ces deux cités grecques d'Illyrie méridionale.

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**“Prosodic instead of heroic feet”: Homeric rhythm as phonostylistic metacompetence**

In this paper I propose to discuss Homeric meter in terms of phonostylistics, the study of stylistic implication of phonetic variation (Shapiro 1968). Comments by Dionysius of Halicarnassus already suggested what is evidenced by recent study of phonostylistics in Homer’s rhythm and phraseology (Blankenborg 2017). Despite the basis of phonostylistics in phonetics rather than in phonology, the sparse comments in Greek authors on the stylistic effects of meter prove to comply with the findings on comparable phenomena in cross-linguistic analysis (Gussenhoven & Jacobs 2011; De Lacy 2007). In Homer, the apparent repetitiveness of rhythmical phrasing as the equivalent of metrical surface structure is merely a matter of outlook: I will argue that Homer’s rhythmical phraseology is varied and sensitive to aberration from the ‘heroic’ patterning.

In the discussion concerning style in ancient Greek, the issue of register (Bakker 2010; Gianakakis 2014) is necessarily limited to a basis in phonology, whereas in modern natural languages the basis for register is mainly found in phonetics, and partly reflected in phonology (cf. Yunis 2018). Due to the relation with phonetics, register becomes part of what is now known as phonostylistics: the style-sensitive and style-dependent phonological processes (Jobert 2014; Igl forthcoming). Experiments over the past decades show that a conscious usage of phonostylistics is furthered by metacompetence in a language, and by the awareness of functional stylistics: the conscious appliance of language as a function in different situations. Dionysius attributes to meter the ability to turn language into a function with a specific, form-bound purpose, and implying requirements for the participants. The effects that meter may pertain are to the taste and the talent of the performer. As examples of the latter in Homer, Dionysius points at the speeding up of tempo of speech through a preponderance of ‘long’ syllables, the solemnity of speech through different rhythms, and the possibility to ‘dim’ metrical phrasing.

Homer’s rhythm is tied to the interplay of orality and literacy (studied in accordance with various comparative models: Bird 2010; West 2011; Bakker 2013; González 2013; Ready 2015). Examples of logaedic archaic inscriptions strengthen the intuition for dactylic ‘re-rhythmisizing’ (cf. Steinrück 2005) in Homer, essentially a progressive tendency towards a higher level of metrical repetitiveness. The rhythmical phrase tended to align with the metrical unity, which grew more repetitive both line-internally and as a stichic verse (Bakker 1997; Golston 1998; Blankenborg 2016; Blankenborg forthcoming). However, the disparity between the metrical unit and the rhythmical phrase shown by archaic inscriptions is still present in Homer: disregarding metrical boundaries in clause formation, the composing poet created a patchwork of phrases. I will argue that phonetic variation, evidenced in Homeric phonology, indicates



the ‘metacompetent’ performer’s opportunity to make both the shape of the single words, and of the phrases, deviate from the ‘heroic’ rhythmical patterning.

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### Greek σαύρα f. & σαῦρος m. “lizard”

The purpose of the present article is the explanation of origin of the Greek designation of “lizard”, σαύρα f. & σαῦρος m. The first step presents the textual and lexicographic documentation. In the second step the existing etymological attempts are discussed (Prellwitz 1892/1905, Van Windekens 1952, Crevatin 1975, Beekes 2014). The third step offers a new solution proposing the Semitic origin of this reptile name, cf. Akkadian *šurāru(m)*, *šurārû*, *šurīrû*, *šurīrītum*, *šurīrittu*, *šurārītum* “lizard” (CAD-Š, 254-56; AHw III, 1113-14); Eblaite *a-za-ra-ri<sub>2</sub>-tum* /ʔaša{u?}rarītum/, ’a<sub>x</sub>(NI)-sa-lu-um & ’a<sub>x</sub>(NI)-sa-lum /ʔaša{u?}rum/ “kind of lizard” (Fronzaroli 1984, 136-37; Sjöberg 1996, 15, fn. 11; 24). Finally, some appealing arguments from Minoan epigraphy are added (Aartun 1992). The following kinds of lizards are known on Crete:

Gecko of Kotschy = *Mediodactylus kotschy*  
Green lizard = *Lacerta trilineata trilineata* & *Lacerta trilineata polylepidota*.  
Moorish Wall Gecko = *Tarentola mauritanica*  
Ocellated skink = *Chalcides ocellatus*  
Turkish gecko = *Hemidactylus turcicus*

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### La construction du verbe *μυμνήσκομαι* dans la langue homérique

Le verbe moyen *μυμνήσκομαι*, attesté 101 fois dans le corpus constitué par l'Iliade et l'Odyssée, admet dans la langue homérique une grande variété de constructions : génitif, accusatif, groupe prépositionnel, infinitif, proposition subordonnée complétive. Dans le cadre de nos recherches sur l'alternance casuelle du second actant dans la langue homérique, nous nous proposons ici d'étudier l'alternance entre génitif, accusatif, et de manière plus marginale, groupe prépositionnel avec le verbe *μυμνήσκομαι*. Nous nous interrogerons sur les facteurs qui peuvent expliquer le choix d'une construction par rapport à l'autre. À cet effet, nous avons effectué un relevé exhaustif des occurrences.

Le génitif est de loin le cas le plus fréquent avec *μυμνήσκομαι*, tandis que la construction avec l'accusatif n'est attestée que 4 ou 5 fois dans le corpus (Il.6.222, Il.9.527, Od.14.122, Od.14.168, et peut-être Il.23.361), et celle avec un groupe prépositionnel seulement 2 fois. L'alternance entre le génitif et l'accusatif est particulièrement intéressante car les grammaires ne s'accordent pas sur l'explication à adopter. Par exemple, la grammaire de Kühner-Gerth (1898) signale que les verbes de souvenir prennent avec l'accusatif le sens de « etwas im Gedächtnisse bewahren, merken », tandis que Chantraine (1953) rattache cette alternance, de manière peu convaincante, à l'opposition entre un génitif partitif et un accusatif exprimant la totalité. L'accusatif a par ailleurs la particularité de n'être attesté qu'avec le thème de parfait (*μémνημαι*), ce qui suggère une importance du critère aspectuel.

Partant du passage Il.6.222 *Τυδέα δ' οὐ μémνημαι*, et à la suite de Gardner (2015), nous avons fait l'hypothèse que le parfait *μémνημαι* a le sens d'« avoir en mémoire » lorsque le second actant est à l'accusatif, tandis que *μυμνήσκομαι* construit avec le génitif, quel que soit l'aspect verbal, exprime de manière générale une préoccupation pour quelqu'un ou pour quelque chose, que celle-ci soit rétrospective ou prospective. Cette hypothèse fonctionne assez bien pour expliquer l'alternance chez Homère. Mais pour aller plus loin, il faudrait pouvoir expliquer d'où vient la double possibilité de construire *μémνημαι* soit avec l'accusatif soit avec le génitif, puisque les faits observés s'accordent mal avec l'idée d'un sens partitif du génitif. Le génitif ne paraît pas non plus y être associé à un degré moindre de transitivité. Il est néanmoins remarquable que l'accusatif, qui se trouve lorsque le verbe exprime le fait d'avoir quelque chose en mémoire (un fait intellectuel), soit aussi le cas le plus fréquent avec les verbes de connaissance (comme *οἶδα*), tandis que le génitif est le cas habituel avec les verbes de préoccupation (comme *κήδομαι*).

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### **Conditional markers and free-choice indefinite relatives in Homeric Greek: the modal particle κε as their morphological connection**

Admittedly, one of the most recurrent uses of the modal particle κε(v) in the Homeric texts is the one attested in combination with relative pronouns (ὅς “who”) and subordinating conjunctions (εἴ/ αἰ “if”, ἐπεὶ “when, since”, ὅτε “when”). These occurrences amount up to roughly 50% of the total of κε attestations. Certainly, the most productive combination consists in the relative pronoun and this modal particle, which usually supplies irrealis semantics to the relative clause.

Thus, the main objective of this paper is twofold. Firstly, I will argue in support of the reality of Homeric Greek ὅς κε as one more available strategy for the expression of free-choice (FC) indefinite relatives, parallel to Attic/Classical Greek ὅς ἄν and with similar semantics as the other indefinite relative, ὅς τις “whoever”. The modal particle κε would operate as a domain-widening particle providing a multiple alternatives reading. Typologically speaking, FC indefinites can be described as polarity sensitive items of a non-episodic nature that can only be grammatical in contexts that provide multiple alternatives, worlds, or situations (Giannakidou 1998: 74-85, 2001). FC indefinites can mainly be divided into two types: nominal FC indefinites (‘any’-type, τις) and relative FC indefinites (‘whoever-type’, ὅς τις and ὅς κε). Cross-linguistically, FC indefinites are usually made of the interrogative / relative stem plus a domain-widening particle of diverse origin. The latter not only can consist of focus or additive particles (cf. König 1991: 64-65, Choi 2017), but also of temporal adverbs, indefinite pronouns, general subordinators, expressions meaning ‘want’, etc. (cf. Haspelmath 1997: 133-140).

Secondly, I will describe the common morphology that Homeric Greek resorts to in the expression of conditionals (εἴ/ αἰ κε) and FC indefinite relatives (ὅς κε). I will argue that Homeric Greek follows a typological pattern observed in other world languages that overtly mark the close relationship between conditionals and FC indefinite relatives with the same morphological elements. A case in point are languages that employ conditional markers not only for overtly marking if-clauses, but also for rendering indefinite relative clauses. Here, the conditional marker acts as domain-widening particle adding a generalizing nuance to an otherwise standard interrogative/relative pronoun. Cross-linguistically, this phenomenon can be observed in languages such as Udmurt (Altaic) ke “if”, kin ke “whoever”, Syer (Niger-Congo) me “if”, yii me “whoever”, or Serbo-Croatian (Indo-European) ako “if”, ko ako “whoever”. With this in mind and taking into account the similar semantics shown by if-any- conditionals and whoever-relative clauses, I will propose that the Greek modal particle κε is a reflex of PIE \*kwe, which, according to recent studies, might constitute an IE inherited conditional marker (cf. Clackson 2007: 164-5, Dunkel 2014: 702-6, Colvin 2016: 65-84). Finally, this view will be further supported by Phrygian, Anatolian, and Indo-Iranian material.

For this study, I will take as a language sample Epic Greek (Homer, Hesiod and epic fragments), dialectal inscriptions, and Greek literature until the end of the 6th century BCE.

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### **Diachronic development of Greek there sentences**

In Ancient Greek, there sentences consist in personal constructions with the copula ‘be’ and a nominative pivot (1), while, in Standard Modern Greek, these constructions developed the copula ‘have’ in the third person singular, without number agreement with the accusative pivot (2).

(1) εἰσὶ δὲ νῆες πολλαὶ ἐν [...] Ἰθάκῃ (Od. 2.292)  
 ‘There are many ships in Ithaca’

(2) Ἐχει πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖ μέσα  
 ‘There are many people in there’

I would like to investigate the main steps in the change towards the development of this new pattern, also considering the relationship between possessive and there sentences. Following Creissels (2014), Modern Greek there sentences with ἔχειν should be regarded as the diachronic result of transitive possessive expressions, in which the pivot corresponds to the possessee while the possessor is omitted.

However, another correspondence can be seen between the nominative pivot of there sentences and the nominative possessee of Ancient Greek possessive sentences (with εἶναι + dative possessor), both constructions still attested in New Testament Greek. These two latter constructions are both presentative, for having a VS order, being intransitive and displaying a generally [– definite] subject, whose bad subjecthood should have played a crucial role in the shift to sentences with a transitive syntax.

Moreover, this shift to transitive there sentences should have taken place in concomitance with the affirmation of transitive possessive construction (with ἔχειν), once it definitely replaced the respective intransitive possessive sentence (with εἶναι).

An example of the bad subjecthood of the pivot is visible in there sentences characterised by the so-called “Pindaric scheme”, in which the postverbal noun does not agree in number with the copula ‘be’ (3). Here, the nominative pivot – already a bad subject for its position, its rhematic pragmatic role and its semantic role of subject of an intransitive verb –, by losing control on agreement, acquires peculiarities even closer to an object. Interestingly, the same scheme is attested in some possessive sentences with εἶναι + dative (4), in line with the idea of a correlation between the two constructions:

(3) ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι (Hdt. VII, 34)  
 ‘There are seven stages’

(4) ἤδη δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἡμέραι, ἀφ’ οὗ ἐργάζονται (SB 6989,3)  
 ‘They haven’t been working for eighteen days’ (lit. ‘it’s eighteen days to them’)



The fact that in some presentational sentences (a scalar category of which there sentences represent the prototype) the subject is sporadically attested in accusative, proves the emergence of some active syntax features in Ancient Greek, despite limited to this context (Lazzeroni 2013: 8):

(5) ἐνλίπει μοι ἐκ τοῦ δανείου τάλαντον ἐν δρα[χμαῖ] πεντακισχιλίας διακοσίας (PSI IX 1023,11)

‘I miss a talent and 5200 drachma of the loan’

Given these premises, I believe that the bad subjecthood of the NP should have triggered the emergence of some active syntax feature and the consequent pattern switch: after a stage of pivot’s case alternation, the accusative adfirmated and only then the verb shift occurred (‘be’>‘have’) determining a syntactically transitive new construction and the return to the initial accusative alignment.

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### **The datives in -εσσσι: contact or drift? The evidence from Sicily and Pamphylia**

The origin and diffusion of the datives in -εσσσι is a well-known problem of Greek linguistics that has given rise to a long debate among scholars (famously starting from Bopp 1833 and Wackernagel 1905). These datives have traditionally been considered ‘Aeolic’ (and therefore relevant for dialectal classification), but today we know that they are also well attested in other areas of the Greek-speaking world, both in epigraphic and literary sources. Contact has often been proposed as an explanation for the diffusion of the datives in -εσσσι, but recent studies have shown that this might not be the only possibility (cf. Cassio 2017 and Van Beek 2018).

In this paper, we will approach the question of the diffusion of this trait by focussing on the inscriptions of two areas which, despite being deeply affected by language contact, have received comparatively less attention in the literature: Sicily and Pamphylia. Using the data from (1.) a newly-established corpus of Sicilian inscriptions (Capano 2020), (2.) the entire corpus of extant Pamphylian inscriptions, which has increased since Brixhe’s DGP (1976), we will re-examine the issue from a new angle. We will take into account contact between different dialects and different registers and, in the end, suggest that the diffusion of the datives in -εσσσι might be explained as a case of drift, at least in some areas.

This re-assessment of the datives in -εσσσι in light of both the new epigraphic data and the recent applications of the concept of drift (cf. e.g. Trudgill & Gordon 2000) will allow us to argue that there is no need to look for a unified explanation for the origin and diffusion of this trait and, instead, that there are valid reasons to suppose independent innovations in the Greek dialects. Finally, we will ask the more general question as to whether the datives in -εσσσι should be considered a valid diachronic isogloss.

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### **The definite article as a relative marker in Greek documentary texts**

A close relationship between the definite article  $\acute{o}$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\tau\acute{o}$  and the relative pronoun  $\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\eta\grave{\iota}$ ,  $\acute{o}$  has been attested since the earliest stages of the Greek language (Probert 2015) as well as after the Classical period (Peters 2014; King 2019).

In Post-Classical Greek documentary texts, the definite article was directly employed to introduce relative clauses (1):

(1)  $\tau\acute{o}$  πορφύριον τὸ ἐπεμψες ἡμῖν

“the purple (yarn) which you sent to us” (P.Oxy 62.4340, l.2)

This use of the article as a relative marker was already pointed out in grammars (Mayser 1926: II, 58-60; Gignac 1981: II, 179-182): however, its quantitative weight has often been underestimated (Bakker 1974: 96) and a comprehensive survey is yet to be conducted on the topic. In addition to the 47 instances listed in Kriki (2013: 291-297: cfr. Moulton 1904, Dieterich 1970: 198), dozens of other occurrences of  $\acute{o}$  as a relativizer can be found in documentary papyri and ostraka across the Post-Classical period, suggesting something more than “wenigen Belegen” to be explained “psychologisch anakoluthisch” (Mayser 1926: II, 60).

In this paper, I will analyse these instances from a combined linguistic and sociolinguistic perspective in order to shed some light on the phenomenon of the “relative article”.

On the one hand, the relative clauses introduced by definite articles do not constitute an homogeneous category: they present a typological variety, including primarily head-external as well as free relative clauses and, to a lesser extent, internally headed relative clauses (Bentein & Bagriacik 2018). On the other hand, they share common features such as a widespread restrictive semantics. While they frequently occur as object relative clauses, they can also occupy different syntactic positions in the accessibility hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977), and they even appear in formulaic expressions, alternating with  $\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

With reference to their social contexts of usage, I will show that relative articles represent a typical feature of low-register documentary texts. Following the recent interest in a socially informed analysis of language variation in the field of Post-Classical Greek (Bentein 2019a, 2019b), the participants’ roles in the communication and the type of texts (i.e. private papyrus letters) in which  $\acute{o}$  appears more frequently as a relative marker will be investigated as an indicator of the status of these articles in the language.

In modern historical sociolinguistic studies on relative clauses, the social dimension has always proved to be a determining factor in the synchronic and diachronic distribution of relative markers (Romaine 1980, 1982, Bergs 2005, Huber 2017). While not excluding in principle concurring elements (language interference, phonetic

environments, idiolectal features), I will argue for a mainly sociolinguistic interpretation also of the Greek results.

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### **Linguistic complexity in ancient Greek - Sentence complexity and grammar**

The observation that students find some ancient Greek texts more difficult to analyse, interpret and understand has prompted us to investigate the possible causes. A working hypothesis posits that to a certain extent this may be related to sentence complexity.

Since the beginning of 20th century language complexity has been explored from many different angles. Research in this domain has been marked by diversity of approaches and followed by multiform definitions (Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann 2012). This investigation aims to interpret complexity in linguistic terms on levels of syntax, text, and discourse.

The study focuses on issue of complexity at sentence level and follows three basic questions: what causes sentence complexity (when does a sentence become complex), how can sentence complexity be measured (what serves as measure of sentence complexity), and can our measures and results be transformed into criteria of sentence complexity in ancient Greek. This research will thus model its definitions of complexity, of levels of complexity, and of measures of complexity.

For over ten years ancient Greek texts are stored in several digital corpora. One such corpus, with morphosyntactic annotations pursuant to the Prague dependency treebank will serve as the primary source of sentences for this investigation (Gorman 2019).

Some basic rules of syntax from two grammars (van Emde Boas et al. 2019, Revuelta 2010) will be used as starting points for interpretation of sentence complexity. Those rules will be transformed into a series of queries used to retrieve data from a digital corpus of ancient Greek texts. Retrieved digital data will then be interpreted linguistically in relation to both rules of grammar and working hypothesis/definitions.

Results of this research will be verified in classroom. In the final stage the study will attempt to link its findings to teaching environment. Converted to grammatical rules, results could be used as pedagogical tool to better the understanding of ancient Greek sentence.

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### **The Middle Voice in the Greek of the New Testament – Still a Living Category?**

This paper will deal with the question of whether the Middle Voice is still an active grammatical category in the Greek of the New Testament, as the passive voice is for active transitive verbs or, if instead, middle forms of originally active verbs could be seen as if they belonged to middle verbs which share a root/stem with active verbs, but not carrying the same meaning.

Most grammars and handbooks of Biblical Greek describe the middle voice in similar terms as grammars of Classical Greek do. Blass (1961:161) goes as far as to affirm that ‘the system of voices in general remained the same (...) as in the classical period’ adding that ‘NT authors in general preserve well the distinction between middle and passive’ (id:165) and Zerwich (1963:75) believes that ‘even the finer distinctions between the active and the middle forms’ have been retained in Biblical Greek. There are, obviously, those whose views are somewhat more cautious (Moule 1959:24).

To illustrate the vitality of the middle voice in the Greek of the New Testament, cases such as δύνω ‘to dress (someone)’ vs. δύομαι ‘to dress oneself’ or Matt 27:5 ἀπῆγγαστο ‘he hanged himself’ are usually quoted, although cases such as the latter remain doubtful (Moulton 1988:155-7). But do examples such as these bear witness to a consciousness, on the part of the speaker, of the middle voice as an active morpho-syntactic mechanism available in the language like, say, the singular vs. plural or the existence of different tenses?

Studies on the use of the middle voice in the New Testament, such as the one recently carried out by Kmetko (2018), usually analyze middle forms of active verbs side by side with forms of media tantum verbs. But because, in virtue of their semantics, media (and passive) tantum verbs carry in their meaning the original reasons for their choice of voice morphology (Rijksbaron 1994:138-63; Allan 2003), such an approach may camouflage the results, making it harder to discern if the speaker/writer is making a mindful choice of voice morphology on the basis of specific semantic requirements or if one is just picking up a readymade middle form available in the language and independent of one’s own choice of voice morphology.

Therefore, in order to assess the vitality of the middle voice in the New Testament, this paper proposes to look only at middle forms of active verbs, trying to test if these middle forms represent the actualization of the direct/indirect reflexive meaning typical of the middle voice in Greek, if and how many of these forms are determined by inherited idiom (e.g. μνείαν ποιέομαι), or if they, or some of them, could be seen as forms of independent middle verbs. To give an example, should a verb such as ἄρχομαι ‘to begin’ be considered the middle of ἄρχω (+gen.) ‘to rule’ or could it be that the speakers understood the former as an independent middle verb, similar to media tantum δέχομαι or ἔρχομαι?



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### **The Semantics-Stylistics Interface: The Case of δέος in Postclassical Greek**

This paper aims at investigating usage and distribution of the word δέος in Hellenistic and Imperial Greek. The investigation combines a diachronic approach with a semantic and stylistic one, showing that an analysis at the interface between semantics and stylistics can shed new light on our understanding of lexical usages across the different stages of Greek.

The starting point of this analysis is the evidence from Classical Greek. In a passage of the Protagoras (358d-e), Socrates hastily dismisses Prodicus for establishing a captious distinction between two terms (i.e. φόβος and δέος) which in Classical Greek were used as synonyms. Plato suggests that δέος for the Sophist indicates the expectation of a future evil, unlike φόβος, and points out its meaning in the Laches (198b) as well. Aristotle (see Nicomachean Ethics 3.8.1117a17-20) and the Stoics distinguish the “two times of fear” (Serghidou 2007): a sudden and immediate fear (i.e. φόβος) and a reasoned one (i.e. δέος). This consideration is later found in Ammonius, δέος μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ πολυχρόνιος κακοῦ ὑπόνοια, φόβος δὲ παραντίκα πτόησις (cf. de adf. voc. diff. 128 Nickau). He quotes a passage from Herodotus in which the two terms are used as synonyms (i.e. 4.115.2 ἡμέας ἔχει φόβος τε καὶ δέος).

According to modern etymologists (cf. Chantraine, DELG s.v.), δέος probably originally meant 'fear in combat' related to a physical and concrete dimension (e.g., χλωρόν δέος). On the contrary, φόβος was firstly related to a flight, in other words to a topical moment of fear within a battle.

The interesting point, which this paper will focus on, is that their usage and distribution strongly change from the Postclassical period onwards. While φόβος has survived across the centuries until Modern Greek, δέος seems to have been basically removed from the common language usage, becoming increasingly rare. It is occasionally found in authors with literary ambitions (e.g. in II Macc). Epigraphic documentation is very scarce and it is mostly dated back to the Imperial Age. Moreover, the data from Christian literature foreshadow a semantic re-functionalization of the substantive δέος which is found in Modern Greek for indicating the fear of God.

Hellenistic and Imperial Greek additionally show a significant innovation with respect to the semantic sphere of 'fear'. From this period onwards, (ἐ)ντροπή has become the new word used for expressing the fear which comes from the abyss of the soul.

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### Interaction and rhetorical questions in Sophocles

Questions are traditionally defined as rhetorical when they are formulated not to be answered, but to strengthen the expressiveness of a message (Haverkate 2006, Špago 2016). Rhetorical questions are therefore conceived as indirect speech acts which convey either an assertive or an expressive illocutionary force (Haverkate 2006).

As in other languages (Špago 2016), rhetorical questions in Ancient Greek generally display syntactic indicators (van Emde Boas 2005). That is the case of the use of lexical items which are incompatible with prototypical questions (1), the insertion of the question in a declarative or expressive sentence (1 and 2) and the auto-responsive nature of the question (3). The reversal relationship between the polarity of a question and the polarity of the statement, as it is implied by the question itself, is a feature of many rhetorical questions (1):

- (1) οὐ γὰρ τάφου νῶν τὸ κασιγνήτῳ Κρέων / τὸν μὲν προτίσας, τὸν δ' ἀτιμάσας ἔχει;  
(S. *Ant.* 21-22) 'Has *not* Creon destined our brothers, the one to honored burial, the other to unburied shame?'
- (2) ἀλλ' ἦ μέμνηνας, ὦ τάλαινα, καπὶ τοῖς / στυγερῇς κακοῖσι καπὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς γελᾷς; (S. *El.* 879-880) 'What, are you insane, *poor girl*? Do you laugh at my sorrows and your own?'
- (3) ὅστις δ' ἀνωφέλητα φιλύει τέκνα, / τί τόνδ' ἂν εἴποις ἄλλο πλὴν αὐτῷ πόνους / φῦσαι, πολλὴν δὲ τοῖσιν ἐχθροῖσιν γέλων; / (S. *Ant.* 645-647) 'But the man who begets unhelpful children- *what* would you say that he has sown *except miseries for himself and abundant exultation for his enemies*?

Pragmatically, rhetorical questions have been interpreted as a strategy used by the speaker to underline his / her antagonism towards the interlocutor (cf., among others, Haverkate 2006). Therefore, rhetorical questions would be expectable in interactional contexts with predominance of a rapport maintenance orientation or even of a rapport challenge orientation. However, rhetorical questions in Sophocles are not only observed in speech acts, such as disagreements or complaints, but also in apologies, condolences and in off the record refusals of a request. It can be, as one observed in the following passage, where Ismene uses a rhetorical question in order to avoid a direct refusal to the help request of Antigone:

- (4) Τί δ', ὦ ταλαῖφρον, εἰ τάδ' ἐν τούτοις, ἐγὼ / λύουσ' ἂν εἴθ' ἄπτουσα προσθείμην πλέον; (S. *Ant.* 39-40) '*Poor sister*, if things have come to this, *what would I profit by loosening or tightening this knot*?'

Therefore, this presentation aims to describe both the syntactic and pragmatic features of rhetorical questions displayed in the completed tragedies of Sophocles. It will also attempt to determine the interactional contexts in which rhetorical questions emerge and the speech act types which are compatible with them.

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### **Arguing and counterarguing: kaítoi in Thucydidean speeches**

The particle kaítoi has been said to express an inverted denial of expectation (Slings, 1997), introducing a postposed concessive in a subsidiary sequence as a kind of argumentative parenthesis, whose function is to dismiss a potential objection to a main segment (Crepaldi, 2018). The particle also seems to be used in interruptions (Crepaldi, 2018). Proceeding to a close analysis of kaítoi in Thucydidean speeches, this paper seeks to explain how kaítoi is used to anticipate counterarguments and refute them. Moreover, it also briefly presents the findings of a complete review of kaítoi in Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Herodotus, Plato, Thucydides, and Xenophon.

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### **A further note on the anastrophe of περί plus genitive**

There is no general consensus on the way anastrophe as a syntactic phenomenon came into being: traditionally, a phrase like λόγων περί (Pl., Phdr. 273 e2), characterized by the sequence Modifier + Head and the retraction of accent, is described as a development of the “regular” phrase περί λόγων. However, this description simply reflects a synchronic state-of-affairs. There is reliable evidence that the phrases showing anastrophe belong to an older stage that could be possibly traced back to Proto-Indo-European (Baldi and Cuzzolin 2012; for a general discussion on this topic see Cuzzolin in print). In Classical Greek, the anastrophe with περί in particular shows interesting uses, in which this old syntactic pattern is re-functionalized. In one of these uses the anastrophe with περί also acquires sociolinguistic nuances as an archaism associated to the language of women (a feature also mentioned by Plato, Crat. 418 b7-c2). My talk intends to deal with this point analyzing the data drawn from Euripides’s Medea, where the connotation of this pattern, overwhelmingly employed by Medea herself, turns out to be particularly meaningful.

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### Contact ‘iotacism’

This paper proposes a reanalysis of the apparent iotacism in Egyptian Greek documentary texts. The phenomenon concerning the raising and fronting of Ancient Greek υ, η, ει, οι to [i] in Modern Greek is well attested in Greek documentary material. As much of this material comes from papyrological sources and was thus located in Egypt, the language contact between Greek and Egyptian-Coptic should be considered as one of the reasons behind the extensive iotacism.

In Dahlgren (2017), I analysed the vowel variation in Egyptian Greek documentary texts. One of the most striking contact-induced effects in Egyptian Greek was the transfer of Coptic consonant-to-vowel coarticulatory patterns onto the L2 Greek used by the Egyptian scribes. Egyptian-Coptic had root-and-pattern morphology and emphasised consonant qualities at the expense of vowels, which resulted in reduced vowel qualities. Word-medially, the Coptic unstressed vowel inventory consisted of /a, i, u, ə/ (Girgis 1966: 73; Peust 1999: 252), with allophones conditioned by the consonantal environment. According to Flemming (2009: 82-84; 92), word-medial schwa is easily adapted to the quality of adjacent consonants. Coptic consonantal coarticulation mostly concerned the front vowels. In native Coptic texts, η could be realised as either /i/ or /a/, depending on the consonantal environment; this phenomenon expanded to front vowel variation in general. An example from Greek loanwords in Coptic, in which the vowel quality is lowered, is the changed quality of the front vowel in ἀργατης from ἐργάτης. In ἀργατης, /g/, following /r/, and /a/ in the second syllable, triggered the lowering (Dahlgren 2017: 95-97). An example of a raised vowel quality, /a/ raising into /e/ near a front consonant (/n/), is by ενεκε from ἐνάγειν (examples from Girgis 1966: 73-76). Variation was thus possible along the continuum /i~e~a/, depending on the consonantal environment (e.g. Lambdin 1958: 179; Peust 1999: 228-230). In L2 Greek, (1) μετροπολι from μητροπόλει has the unstressed vowel lowered from the Greek original [ɛ] to [ɐ] because of the bilabial before it. According to Flemming (2009: 82-84; 92), bilabials cause a “trough” effect on adjacent vowels, and especially high vowels are lowered.

(1) μετροπολι < μητροπόλει /mɛtropolis/ (O.Narm. 110)

In Greek loanwords in Coptic with similar variation, the range of variation from /i/ to /a/ in terms of height can be seen especially well in (2). In the example, both vowels are realised as [ɛ] in a misspelling of the Greek loanword for ‘frankincense’.

(2) ΛΕΒΕΝΟΥ[C] lebenous < λίβανος (P.Hamb.Bil.1, 3rd - 4th cent. CE)

In this misspelling, the first (stressed) syllable’s /i/ was replaced with [ɛ], affected by the following bilabial. Similarly, also the second syllable’s /a/ was replaced with [ɛ], affected

also either by the bilabial or the following coronal consonant. These examples show how consonant-to-vowel coarticulation transferred from Coptic phonology caused front vowel variation that looked like iotacism in L2 Greek. I suggest that much of this type of positional variation stems from the contact linguistic situation, while iotacism in L1 Greek was in free variation.

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### **Dynamic modality and negation: an investigation into AGr. adjectives in -τός and -(σ)υμος**

The topic of modality has in recent years attracted much attention from scholars working on Ancient Greek, who often draw from current research in general and functional-cognitive linguistics. Most studies have mainly focussed on the expression of modal meanings either via modal verbs (e.g. Ruiz Yamuza (2008), Allan (2013)), via grammatical moods (especially the optative and the subjunctive, e.g. Willmott (2007)), or via modal particles (e.g. ἄν, κε(v)) and modal adverbs (e.g. ἴσως, τάχα) and their interaction with moods (e.g. Conti (2019), la Roi (2019)). In the realm of complex predicates, relatively well-studied are the so-called gerundives, i.e. verbal adjectives built with the suffix -τέος and expressing necessity or obligation (deontic meaning), cf. e.g. Willi (2009). Periphrastic constructions have as well been the object of recent research, e.g. Ruiz Yamuza (1994), Bentein (2016).

In comparison, deverbal adjectives built with the suffix -τός expressing potential meaning (e.g. γναμπτός ‘flexible’) remain understudied.

Goal of this paper is to investigate the origin of the dynamic modality in this class of adjectives in Ancient Greek. Although the baseline modal meaning is – when present – the potential one, a necessitative value can be at times recognized as well, thus conveying deontic modality. Following an insight by Benveniste (1948), I argue that these usages emerged in a specific syntactic environment, i.e. in negated predicative constructions. Grounding my assumptions in a corpus study spanning from Homer through the literature of the Classical age, I reconstruct the development of the modal value(s) as first emerging in contexts with negation, both lexical (i.e. in compounded forms with the prefix ἀ-) and syntactic (οὐ etc.). I analyse the extension to other environments unmarked for negation and touch upon problems of orientation as well – i.e. the extension to active usages in the case of deverbal adjectives with -τός.

I maintain that the mechanism bringing forth these new (i.e. not inherited) meanings is the type of semantic reanalysis discussed by Eckardt (2009, 2012), i.e. a process by which listeners try to accommodate non-perspicuous usages, providing their inferences with salience, which at the end of this pragmaticalization process are co-opted as part of the core meaning of the class. In this specific case, the listeners infer an implicature (the non-possibility) over the circumstances of the non-veridicality of the negated event and, through reanalysis, they can subsequently overextend this modal interpretation to non-negated, factual events. The non-perspicuous contexts which would favour a new, less costly interpretation by the listener are those where the verbal adjective is used predicatively with the copula: he thus tries to avoid a tensed, periphrastic interpretation, which would otherwise be equivalent to the finite middle perfect.

I extend my analysis to denominal adjectives built with -(σ)υμος (e.g. ἀγώγιμος ‘which can be carried (away)’), which can as well express potentialities. Unlike the recent treatment by Dell’Oro (2015, 2017), I argue that a closer attention to the syntactic

environment these formations are attested in (i.e. in negated contexts) can lead to a different, unifiable explanation for the origin of the dynamic value in both classes of adjectives.

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### On some double case constructions in Homeric Greek

The so called σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος is a combination of two substantives, both in the same case, denoting respectively an individual and a body part. In this construction that has been referred to by different names (part and whole construction, partitive apposition) the whole, which would normally be a genitive, takes the same case as the part and depends directly on the predicate.

Its clearest evidence comes from the epic poetry. In Homeric Greek this double case construction typically, but not exclusively, occurs in the accusative case with verbs that indicate physical contact, such as hitting, touching, striking and wounding:

(1) Il. 20.487-489

ὁ δ' Ἀρηϊθοὸν θεράποντα / ἅψ ἵππους στρέψαντα μετάφρενον ὀξείῃ δουρὶ / νύξ',  
 “and Areithous, his attendant, as he was turning the horses, did Achilles pierce in the back with his sharp spear”

(2) Il. 4.501-502

τόν ῥ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐτάροιο χολωσάμενος βάλε δουρὶ / κόρσῃν  
 “Him Odysseus struck with his spear on the temple”

This construction is used to express inalienable possession, more exactly to specify an item as an integral part of a whole. The double case external possessor occurs in cases of inalienable possession limited to body parts, feelings, and, in a small number of passages, pieces of a warriors armour. Although it is hard to draw universal boundaries of what can be inalienably possessed, it is clear that body parts play a central role in this construction. Syntactically, the two accusative nouns in the double accusative construction have different status. Only the possessor noun displays the properties of a direct object, in that it can be passivized, while the possessee noun cannot, and also occurs in the accusative in passive sentences (commonly known as ‘Greek accusative’ or ‘accusative of respect’). On the semantic plane, it must be remarked that only animate possessors are attested in this construction.

The primary empirical goal of this paper is to provide a general characterization of the synchronic properties of this construction, focusing firstly on the distributional differences with respect to the genitive construction (where the possessor occurs in the genitive case), and secondly on its grammatical status. In particular, there is a question to which an attempt is made to answer: on the syntactic plane does the possessor noun undergo an ascension rule (a sort of raising), which allows the possessor to become a dependent of the verb, not of the body-part noun?

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**The use of the modal particle in epic Greek**

In my presentation I intend to analyze the use and absence of the modal particle (MP) in Epic Greek. I will first provide a brief overview of existing literature on the subject. Secondly, I will determine my corpus, addressing some morphological problems (such as determining whether a form is a subjunctive aorist or future indicative) and textually disputed instances. Afterwards I will provide facts and figures for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* per type of sentence and per tense and mood.

I will try to show that the use of the MP in Homer is compatible with Allan's 2013 epistemic axis and, therefore, it is missing in wishes, exhortations and purpose clauses, as well as in conditional clauses with the optatives (as they are old clauses of wishing, cf. Lange 1872 and 1873). I will also show that the presence of the MP is also governed by discourse features (and is not random as Willmott 2007:202-210 seemed to imply), as it is mostly used in contexts referring to a specific instance (Delbrück 1871:83-86; Monro 1891:257, 327-329; Kühner & Gerth 1898:208; Chantraine 1953:210-211; Ruijgh 1971:275-302, 1990:80), close to the speaker and referring to an immediate future (Basset 1988, 1989:204 used the term *actualité du locuteur*), whereas it is mostly absent in sentences with undefined subjects, stories in a remote past or future and with repeated actions. This distinction is well visible in the following two examples (Chantraine 1953:211, De Decker 2015:218-219, ftc). In both instances the verb refers to a future action of speaking

καὶ δέ κέ τοι εἴπησι, διοτρεφές, αἶ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα (Odyssey 4,391).

"And he will tell you (sc. the way), nurtured one by Zeus, if you want to."

καί νύ τις ὧδ' εἴπησι κακώτερος ἀντιβολήσας (Odyssey 6,275).

"And now so a lesser character might speak when he meets us:"

In the first passage, Eidothea pointed out that her father Proteus would answer any question that was asked. As she referred to a specific person, the particle was used. In the second instance, Nausikaa feared that an undefined Phaiakian might see her in company of Odysseus and would chastise her for choosing a foreign husband. The difference in definiteness explains the use and absence of the particle.

Finally, I will show that the use of the MP in subordinate clauses, where it would not be expected (such as purpose clauses or generic conditional or relative clauses with the subjunctive), is either the result of an ongoing grammaticalisation process or of an initial confusion with other subordinate clauses, such as the relative clauses (an idea first hinted at in Weber 1884).



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### Action nouns in -τις/-σις as second members of nominal compounds in Greek

In Ancient Greek, action nouns in -τις/-σις almost never enter nominal composition (cf. Civilleri 2010: 116, Wackernagel 1905: 191). In their place, we find second members in -ία which, on the contrary, usually do not exist as free forms and are part of a system also comprising o-grade compound agent nouns in -ος and denominative verbs in -έω: for example, from λίθος ‘stone’ and βάλλω ‘throw’ we have λιθοβόλος ‘throwing stones’, λιθοβολέω ‘pelt with stones’, λιθοβολία ‘throwing of stones’ (the synonym λιθοβόλησις is attested much later).

Moreover, when action nouns in -τις/-σις actually enter compounds as second members, their meaning usually shifts from reference to the verbal process to a more concrete meaning (on the secondary character of the concrete meanings of these nouns see Villa fthc.), e.g. οινήρυσις ‘vessel for drawing wine’, λεοντόβασις ‘base in form of a lion’, cf. also examples in Schwyzer (1939: 504), whereas compound nouns in -τις/-σις referring to the verbal process are even rarer, being for the most part mere variants of corresponding compounds ending in -ία.

Considering, on the one side, that correspondents of Greek action nouns in -τις/-σις in other Indo-European languages (e.g. Sanskrit) do form nominal compounds and, on the other side, that there seems to have been in Proto-Indo-European a restriction against the presence of abstract nouns in \*-ā in compounds with a noun as first member (see Fellner-Grestenberger 2016: 143-144, with more references), in my talk I will focus on the relationship between action nouns in -τις/-σις and the morphological process of nominal composition, trying to outline the factors that hinder these nouns from forming nominal compounds.

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**‘Not whatsoever’. A synchronic and diachronic account of οὐδ’ ὅτιοῦν**

The renewal of negative indefinites is a well-known and well-studied process in many languages (from Meillet 1912 and Jespersen 1917). In Ancient Greek, οὐδεῖς (already a replacement of archaic οὐ τι), experiences various reinforcements during the Classical period (Moorhouse 1959, Willmott 2013, Chatzopoulou 2018): some of them have been widely used for a long time (like οὐθεῖς, Meillet 1955, Landsman 1988-1989, Horrocks 2010), others have had a limited use, as regards the number of utterances and the time-span where they appear (e.g. the plural οὐδένεξ Denizot 2013 or the split form οὐδέ... εἰς Denizot submitted).

Among the renewed negative indefinites, the reinforcement using the indefinite free choice ὅτιοῦν, in combination with the focal negative οὐδέ (Lambert 2012, Crespo 2017) has not yet been studied as such. Collocations οὐδ’ ὅτιοῦν (see ex. 1) first appear at the very beginning of the 4th c. BC and are attested (though not very widely) in the Classical period.

(1) Καὶ μὴν ἔμπροσθέ γε ὡμολογημένον ἡμῖν κεῖται μηδὲν πλῆθος μηδ’ ἡντιοῦν δυνατόν εἶναι λαβεῖν τέχνην. (Pl. *Pol.* 300 e5)

‘And yet we agreed definitely a while ago that no multitude is able to acquire any art whatsoever’ (Translation W.R.M. Lamb)

The collocation is made possible by the appearance and the development of ὅτιοῦν as a free choice indefinite. Although the form is built on the indirect interrogative ὅστις, it is used without any subordinate value in the vast majority of utterances (Denizot, 2019). The aim of this study is twofold:

a) From a synchronic point of view, we aim at giving a precise description of the association between the focal negation and the free choice indefinite in the classical period:

- we evaluate how fixed the structure is (taking into account the possible distance between the negation and the indefinite, or the possible use of other free choice indefinites such as ὅστις, ὅστισδὴ, ὅστισποτε);
- we take into consideration the fact that in some unfrequent circumstances, the collocation does not mean ‘absolutely nobody’;
- we try to clarify the meaning of the collocation in contrast with the default negative indefinite οὐδέν (free choice value, compatibility with (un)countable referents, cf. Dayal 1997, Maraldi 2000, Muller 2010).

b) A diachronic perspective is also needed in order to determine in which syntactic contexts and in which types of texts the collocation appears and spreads out. Particular

attention is paid to the collocations with adverbial value, when the indefinite is neutral οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν, (see example 2). A comparison with the use of οὐδέν or οὐδαμῶς is possible.

(2) ψηφισμάτων δ' οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν διαφέρουσιν οἱ νόμοι (D. 20.92.2)

'Laws are not at all better than decrees' [lit. not in whatsoever aspect]

This corpus study, which takes into account all the collocations attested until the 2nd c BC permits a better understanding of how the system of indefinites developed in ancient Greek, particularly the system of negative indefinites.

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### **Independent ὥστε sentences in Greek documentary papyri**

Documentary papyri belong to the most relevant and copious sources for the study of the ancient Greek everyday language. With a wide range of types of texts and a continuity of more than a millennium, they allow us to detect different language changes as well as more general linguistic trends in everyday contexts (Dickey 2011). Furthermore, they often include constructions which challenge traditional structure-based linguistic analysis of historical texts.

This paper aims at investigating meaning and function of ὥστε in everyday contexts not in its prototypical function of subordinating conjunction but rather as a discourse particle (Revuelta Puigdollers 2017: 616, 623). In other words, I will discuss the instances of ὥστε with the moods of independent sentences (i.e. indicative and imperative) found in the documentary papyri. Literary sources document this usage of ὥστε already in the Classical period (Kühner–Gerth 1966 [1904]: 512, 514; van Emde *et al.* 2019: 531–533).

The analysis covers the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods (i.e. 4th cent. BC – 4th cent. AD). It is based on the material from Mayser (1926), which will be updated systematically using various papyrological databases (e.g. papyri.info), and the data from my study on the Greek syntax of the documentary papyri of the Roman period (di Bartolo in print). Some occurrences from the Byzantine period will be included as well.

The investigation combines a syntactic, a pragmatic and a sociolinguistic perspective. By means of examples, I will show that ὥστε occurs with the imperative or occasionally with the indicative in order to convey a result and to express statements, exhortations or commands which strongly depend on the context (e.g. P.Oxy. XIV 1679). In this respect, it does not introduce a subordinate clause but rather it connects two syntactically independent discourse units. In other words, it behaves like a discourse particle, operating beyond the sentence level and contributing to the whole discourse coherence (Bonifazi–Drummen–de Kreij 2016: I.1).

Moreover, I will explore the hypothesis that these independent ὥστε sentences can be illustrate a case of insubordination (Evans 2007; Ruiz Yamuza in print). Therefore, I will address the different factors which have led to this usage (Cristofaro 2016) and compare the instances from the papyri with the ones from the literary sources (Ruiz-Yamuza in print) and the New Testament (Blass–Debrunner–Funk 1961: 197). Since insubordination is a widespread phenomenon in modern languages, I will also discuss the ancient Greek instances from a cross-linguistic perspective (Evans-Watanabe 2016).

Finally, I will investigate the interface between syntax and pragmatics, considering the construction ὥστε εἶναι in specific everyday documents such as sale contracts and receipts (for the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1926: 297; for the Roman period see di Bartolo in print: 92–93). Also this latter construction can be explained in terms of insubordination.

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**The existential-copulative domain in Ancient Greek: semantic bleaching and anticausative diathesis in copularization processes**

Traditional grammars of Ancient Greek address nominal predicates in close association with the copula εἰμί, while constructions which are endowed with a secondary predicate are set apart under the label of Kopulaartige Verben (Kühner-Gerth II.1 1898: 42-44; kopulativen Verba in Schwyzler-Debrunner 1966: 624): this undesirably heterogeneous class embraces verbs with different behavioural features concerning transitivity, semantics, and, more importantly, the syntactic (obligatory vs. optional) status of the predicative constituent (mixing together copula-alikes like γίγνομαι ‘become’, with verbs which include argumental secondary predicate like ἀκούω ‘be called’, for instance).

Such dichotomy blurs the fact that copularization is a gradual phenomenon; to overbridge this inconvenience, this paper aims at shedding light on this existential-copulative lexical domain by focusing primarily on some Greek semicopulas such as γίγνομαι, φύω, and ὑπάρχω, which, on the one hand, retain a minimal (aspectual) meaning in contrast with the semantically empty εἰμί (cf. Hengeveld 1992: 32-39), and, on the other hand, are to be distinguished on behavioural criteria from the so-called quasi-copulas (cf. Hengeveld 1992: 39-45), which include ‘apparent’ copulas such as μένω ‘remain’ and νομίζομαι ‘be deemed’, for example.

Thus, starting from a corpus-based study, which draws data from the REGLA-G database (belonging to Classical Greek), and which adopts theoretical assumptions from the Amsterdam Functional Grammar, three major findings are to be expected: first, contributing to identify the different stages that the forementioned verbs display concerning lexical bleaching as shown by the occasional semantic incompatibility between some secondary predicates and the original lexical content of the verb: for instance, both γίγνομαι and φύω allow, at different degrees (to be expressed in statistical terms) adjectival predicates which express non congenital properties. Secondly, the much neglected interaction between diathesis and desemanticisation inherent to the copularization process will be surveyed from the observational hypothesis that many of the semicopulae only shows copula-like behaviour in anticausative constructions, a feature displayed by both transitive verbs (for instance, φύω ‘beget’ vs. anticausative ἔφυν-πέφυκα ‘be’) as well as intransitive verbs (for example, ὑπάρχω ‘begin’ vs. anticausative ὑπάρχω ‘be (the first)’). Finally, the discussion about two possible paths through which verbs may gain access to this complex lexical domain –either through the incorporation of a predicative adjunct (καθίσταμαι ‘become’) or through the eventive-experiential pattern (συμβαίνει ‘happens’)– will lead to suggest a tentative semantic map of the existential-copulative domain in Ancient Greek.

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### **Taking stock of Greek Support-Verb Constructions**

Support-Verb Constructions consist of two components, a verb and a noun, as in *to give rise*. The verb (*to give*) has primarily syntactic functions and therein supports the noun (*rise*), which bears the primary semantic weight but has only limited syntactic functions. The crucial problem arising here is that we have multiple components, but only one meaning. Moreover, minor changes to either component have major effects in the SVC.

Research on SVCs in ancient and modern languages shows their significance. Yet, past approaches to defining SVCs were either too narrow or have been refuted (esp. by Butt & Lahiri, 2013; Kamber, 2008; Radimský, 2011; Storrer, 2009). We have up-to-date knowledge of the Greek verb (esp. Bentein, 2016; Willi, 2018), yet without attention to Multi-Word Expressions. We also have first insights into SVCs in Greek (Jiménez López, 2016).

This paper reports results from the first year of my Leverhulme project on support-verb constructions in a large corpus of non-poetic Attic Greek. I apply to the corpus a syntactic-semantic definition of support-verb constructions that is purposefully wide so as to include edge cases. Edge cases help refine the definition of support-verb constructions in Greek and provide additional information about their structural and semantic properties. We will discuss edge cases in a sample of ca. 75,000 words of historiography, oratory and prose.

The paper describes the data collection and recording of support-verb construction in the select corpus of texts. Recording is done in a Ninox database, which can be exported as a csv-file to allow for statistical analysis with Python in the Jupyter Notebook environment. Numeric summaries of the data show the distribution of support-verb constructions across the corpus of texts including outliers. Lexical analysis of the data is conducted with Sketchengine, for which we configured the select corpus of texts so as to explore collocational structures surrounding support-verb constructions by means of concordances and n-grams.

The aims of the paper are (i) to put forward a refined definition of support-verb constructions in Greek, (ii) to explore the lexical and distributional properties of support-verb constructions in Greek using a large data sample, and (iii) to discuss support-verb constructions as a type of complex predicate in Greek.

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### **Koineization and ancient Greek onomastic evidence: the cases of Epirus and Macedonia**

The process of koineization across NW-Doric-speaking areas, including a number of socio- and extra-linguistic aspects, has been studied repeatedly over the past decades (e.g. Bubenik 1989, 2018; Bile 2006; Striano 2018). In this context, both proper and common nouns have normally been examined, even though the focus has normally been on the latter category. In this paper, I intend to study proper names from Epirus and Macedonia, two areas that are often thought to be ‘fringe’ parts of the NW-Doric group. The principal aim is to trace major linguistic affinities and divergences between these two adjacent areas regarding the progress of koineization in the onomastic field. My study will rely on evidence largely retrieved from LGPN online, while some of the key issues to be addressed are the following: how does the linguistic change in the onomastic corpus compare to the overall pace of koineization in either area? Are there clear differences between the two areas in terms of the speed and/or degree of onomastic koineization? How do male names compare to female names? Apart from the (apparent) dialectal variation of names (e.g. Παμφίλᾱ vs. Παμφίλῃ) cases of dialectally ‘mixed’ onomastic formulae will also be taken into account (e.g. Καρμόνῃ (fem. nom. sg.) Πανσανία (masc. gen. sg.), in Hellenistic Epirus). Overall, the study will highlight both the potential and the limitations of the onomastic evidence in the study of language change in ancient Greek.

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### **Οὗτος as a mechanism of verbal impoliteness in Greek oratory**

The aim of this paper is to provide a study of οὗτος in Greek oratory focusing on four speeches: *Against Ctesiphon* and *On the Embassy* (Aeschines) and *On the Crown* and *On the Embassy* (Demosthenes). The main purpose is to explain the functioning of the demonstrative deictic pronoun οὗτος as a mechanism of verbal impoliteness when intentional face attacks happen. In this regard, in oratory οὗτος is commonly used emphatically (generally in contempt) to point to accusers or defendants present in the court. Particular attention will also be paid to the demonstrative expanded with the deictic suffix -ί (οὗτοσί), which seems to emphasize the ‘pointing’ effect of the pronoun.

The paper will take as a starting point the Culpeper’s (1996) seminal article on impoliteness based (and opposite, in terms of orientation to face) on the Brown & Levinson’s model of politeness. Culpeper identified five superstrategies used by the speaker to make impolite utterances:

- 1) *Bald on record* impoliteness (the FTA is performed in a direct, clear and concise way).
- 2) Positive impoliteness (the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee’s positive face wants).
- 3) Negative impoliteness (the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee’s negative face wants).
- 4) Sarcasm or *mock politeness* (the FTA is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are insincere).
- 5) Withhold politeness (the absence of politeness in situations where it is expected).

Subsequent works of Culpeper will be also taken into account (see references), as well as those of other scholars focused on impoliteness in general – e.g. Bousfield (2008), Kientpointner (1997, 2008) –, on (im)politeness in courtroom (e.g. Lakoff, 1989), in political discourse (e.g. Harris 2001) or in electoral debates (e.g. Fernández García, 2016). Within this theoretical framework, the paper will identify and explain the *face-attack* strategies in which οὗτος is used by Aeschines and Demosthenes. For example, is very common the use of the pronoun when insulting the opponent. In these cases, by means of positive impoliteness the speaker is attacking the adversary’s positive *face* (cf., for instance, D. 18. 139: ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος ἰαμβειοφάγος; D. 19.16: ὁ σχέτλιος καὶ ἀναιδὴς οὗτος;). In other contexts, however, the attack is not so obvious:

Aeschin. 2.36. Ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐγενόμεθα, σφόδρα πάνυ σκυθρωπάσας ὁ χρηστὸς οὗτοσι Δημοσθένης, ἀπολωλέκεναι με ἔφη τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. ‘Now when we were by ourselves, our worthy colleague, this man

Demosthenes put on an exceedingly sour face and declared that I had ruined the city and the allies’.

This is an example of *off-record* impoliteness (*mock politeness*): Aeschines uses οὐτοσί to refer to Demosthenes with contempt, in a mocking way, and the presence of the positive adjective χρηστός can only be understood in terms of sarcasm or irony. Thus, Aeschines’ words involve an indirect offence.

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### **Hyperbaton as a correlate of non-terminal intonation? Evidence from Herodotus' Histories**

Hyperbaton, i.e. the appearance of discontinuous syntactic phrases, is one of the most remarkable features of Ancient Greek word order, nowadays associated with its non-configurational character (cf. Devine & Stephens 2000: 142-153). Bertrand 2010, 2011 has shown that – pace Devine & Stephens 2000 – hyperbaton as a rule must be pragmatically motivated: If two elements Y1 and Y2 of a syntactic phrase display different information-structural characteristics, each of them may appear in the appropriate position in the information-structural word order template. As Bertrand (2011: 2) underlines, hyperbaton is optional, however, and cannot be predicted straightforwardly from the information-structural roles of the elements of the respective phrase. Furthermore, he found cases of unmotivated hyperbaton in Homer, i.e. cases where a phrase is discontinuous although its two elements must be assigned the same information-structural import as in (1):

(1) ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ [τρίτον ἡμαρ]NFoc [ἐϋπλόκαμος τέλεσ' Ἡώς]Psp,  
 ἰστοὺς στησάμενοι ἀνά θ' ἰστία λεῦκ' ἐρύσαντες  
 ἦμεθα, τὰς δ' ἄνεμός τε κυβερνῆταί τ' ἴθυνον.  
 (Hom. *Od.* 09.76-8, text West; IS-analysis Bertrand 2011: 10 ex. 20a)

Continuing this line of reasoning, the aim of the present paper is to argue that in Herodotus, hyperbaton was motivated by the discourse-structural import of the overall discourse unit rather than the information-structural values of elements within that unit. In a detailed investigation of the position and function of hyperbata in the discourse structures of five chapters selected from my Herodotus corpus annotated for discourse structures according to the principles laid out in Scheppers 2011 during my PhD project (Hdt. 1.6-94), I will test the hypothesis that hyperbaton is a means to express non-terminality/subordination, a feature combination characteristic of Theme-units in the sense of Scheppers 2011. In Scheppers' taxonomy, Theme-units comprise Topics (i.e. THEMES in the sense of Functional Discourse Grammar), Settings, and Markers:

(2) Topic:  
 Setting παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου  
 Elab\_Setting στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας  
 Event Topic Topic τῶν τις Λυδῶν  
 Elab\_Topic [...] [...]  
 Comment Marker Re\_Topic συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ τάδε  
 Hdt. 1.71.2 (text Hude).

## (3) Setting:

Setting Marker ἐπειδὴ

Content Event τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτη ἐγένετο ἡμέρη

Setting Re\_Topic

+ Contrast? πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ

Event Re\_Topic

+ Contrast? Κῦρος

Comment Setting Re\_Topic τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ

Comment διαπέμψας ἱππέας

Event Marker προεῖπε

Content Topic τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχεος

Comment δῶρα δώσειν

Hdt. 1.84.1.

## (4) Marker:

Marker Setting Setting τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτει

Elab\_Setting λήιου ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς

Event συνηείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα

Content Plot Setting ὥς ἄφθη τάχιστα τὸ λήιον

Elaboration ἀνέμῳ βιώμενον

Event ἄψατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀσσησίης

Hdt. 1.19.1.

The expected result is that hyperbaton should occur (a) only within these three types of units, and (b) not in sentence-final units. If this turns out to be the case, this would point to a functional analogy between hyperbaton in Ancient Greek and non-terminal prosodic contours in modern languages (cf. Raso, Cavalcante & Mittmann 2017, Cavalcante 2020). Hyperbaton then might have fulfilled this function alone, or have been associated with a special non-terminal intonational contour.

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### **Towards a Systematic Analysis of Atticism in Koine-period Greek Texts**

In this paper, I wish to build on research from my doctoral thesis to develop a systematic method for analysing the degree of Atticist interference in Koine-period Greek texts. I use the term Atticism to refer primarily to the use of orthographical-phonological and morphological preferences, such as those as promoted by the 2nd century AD lexicographers and grammarians, rather than the rhetorical Atticism promoted by people like Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

While the phenomenon of Atticism has long been recognised and studied by scholars of Ancient Greek, modern systematic methods for measuring it are limited (1). The seminal study of the phenomenon is still the 19th century multi-volume German work by Wilhelm Schmid (2). His work, and similar studies which followed his, typically give lists of tokens recognised to be Atticising without consistent and rational evaluation of how they are identified (3). For my doctoral thesis, I developed a new methodology for identifying and assessing Atticist features in the text of the Koine-period novelist, Achilles Tatius. I made use of computerised search tools, concordance software the “Thesaurus Linguae Graecae”.

Because of the complicated historical and social background associated with Atticism as a concept, identifying the use of orthographical-phonological and morphological forms that are typically associated with the Attic rather than Koine dialect does not adequately take account of the ways in which the different forms were used. My system identifies different types and degrees of Atticism, placing it on a spectrum (mild to strong) which allows more meaningful analyses of the extant data. I differentiate between “Atticism proper” and “Attic-leaning preference” in opposition to “Koine-leaning preference” and “avoidance of Atticism proper”.

This paper will explain this system, show some examples of how it can be applied to texts like Achilles Tatius and others and discuss how this system could be further developed and applied.

#### Footnotes:

- (1) Recent discussions include Horrocks (2014: 138), Swain (1996: 17-64) and Kim (2014)
- (2) Schmid (1887-1987)
- (3) Works building on Schmid include Deferrari 1916, Tonnet 1988, Boulanger 1923, Pernot 1981, Bompaire 1994, De Lannoy 2003 and Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 2005

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### Greek verbs in -βω: a survey

Most of Greek verbs ending in -βω are problematic: in the present talk, I will propose a reassessment of this marginal group, which I consider heterogeneous. The paragon of morphological obscurity is perhaps Gk τρῖβω ‘to rub’ – inconvincingly accounted for by Kümmel (LIV2 648) by a PIE ad hoc root \*treig<sup>w</sup>- with early iotacism. I would tentatively suggest that the underlying root is PIE \*(s)treig- ‘to stroke’ (which I reconstruct with a s mobile), producing a perfect participle \*te-trig-wós ‘rubbed’, regularly surfacing as Proto-Gk \*τε-τριγ-φώς (viz. \*τε-τριγ<sup>w</sup>-ώς) > First Millenium Gk \*τε-τριβ-ώς with a reanalysis \*τε-τριβ-ώς → indicative \*τέ-τριβ-α (midd. τέ-τριμ-μαι) → passive aorist τριβ-ῆναι vs. active forms (τριβω, τριψαι). This long -ī- is to be parsed as a Greek innovative ablaut pattern, as seen in στῖφος [nt.] ‘group of soldiers, squadron’ back-formed after στῖφ-ρός [adj.] ‘dense, compact’ (Gk \*\*στεῖπος). Other similar issues will be addressed (viz. φλῖβω and θλίβω).

The proposed scenario does not encompass every obscure verb with auslauting -β-. Some of them, like Gk στέμω ‘to shake about, agitate’ are totally robust to any phonetical explanation, because the oft-mentioned “postnasal deaspiration rule” (viz. PIE \*-ND<sup>h</sup>- > Gk -ND-) proves not very compelling, pace Batisti (2021) who adds accentual constraints to the previous proposals (cf. Miller 1977ab; 2010; Kümmel 2013:160, 168–170). Hom. ἀστεμφής [adj.] ‘unshakable’ requires a present-stem \*στέμφω! Στέμω may be analogical to \*στάβδην [adv.] ‘shaking’ (< \*στάφ-δην), just like the Late Gk κρύβω ‘to hide’ (= κρύπτω) stems from κρύβδην ‘hiding’ (< \*κρύπ-δην). Interestingly, the o-ablaut being productive in Greek, nothing would stand in the way of coining an action noun στόβος [m.] ‘insult’. Since a zero grade RāT- could stem either from ReT- or ReNT-, the analogy could function the other way round, cf. τρέφω ‘to thicken’ → \*θράβδην [adv.] ‘coagulating, clotting’ → θρόμβος [m.] ‘cloth’. Many Greek verbs in -βω fall into the scope of such a reanalysis.

Lastly, I will propose specific studies for the remaining verbs, such as ἀμείβω ‘to (ex)change’; Hom. ἀτέμβομαι ‘to be deprived of’ and στίλβω\* ‘to be bright’.

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### **The Suffix -ē in Boeotian Personal Names**

In Boeotian inscriptions (6th–2nd c. BC), we encounter a group of personal names (PN) featuring an -ē suffix and an inflection close to that of the s-stems. The origins of this suffix are still unclear, and its analysis is complicated by the following issues: 1) the coexistence of a sigmatic nominative next to an asigmatic one (e.g. Βουκάττει and Βουκάττεις); 2) the origin of the asigmatic nominative (e.g. Σίλλε); 3) the gemination of the consonant preceding the suffix (e.g. Ξένν-ει ← Ξενο°); 4) its relationship with other suffixes characterised by a long -ē-, such as -ης, -ητος or -ήν, -ήνος. Several scholars (e.g. Kalén 1924; Méndez Dosuna 1988; Vottéro 1985 and 2017; Blanc 2021) have examined these anthroponyms, especially focusing on the origin of the asigmatic nominative – a phonetic phenomenon or the use of a vocative in the place of the nominative – and the suffix itself – a secondary development of the s-stems inflection or \*-eh<sub>1</sub>.

In this paper, we will re-examine the corpus and include the most recent epigraphical findings. This analysis will further our understanding of the function and the use of the suffix in the Boeotian dialect. This allows us to propose a new hypothesis to explain how the main features of the -ē suffix – asigmatic nominative, gemination of the consonant preceding the suffix and analogy with the s-stems – emerged and are in fact innovations proper to the dialect itself. To do so, we will first give a quick overview of the data and the PN (100+ attestations) will be presented according to their formation: 1) truncated compounds (type Πάτρο-κλος), e.g. Φαστιού-λλει (← e.g. Ἀστυ-λαος); 2) abbreviated compounds, e.g. Ποτάμμι (cf. Ποταμό-δωρος); 3) simplicia, e.g. Κεφάλλει (← n. κεφαλή “head”). This analysis will lead us to exclude from our corpus a group of PN dating back to the 5th century, which feature in fact an -ης, -ητος suffix rather than -ē: Φάνεξ and Μένεξ show indeed the same suffix as the later Φάνεις, genitive Φάνειτος and Μένεις, genitive Μένειτος. We will then consider the different characteristics of the -ē stems, especially focusing on two aspects. On the one hand, we will examine the origins of the gemination of the consonant preceding the suffix, which appears to be more of a feature of these names and their derivation process rather than an expressive phenomenon (it is always attested with the different kinds of formations previously mentioned). On the other hand, we will analyse the specialisation of -ē as a suffix especially used with truncated compounds (more than 33% of the attested PN show this formation, compared to a rate of less than 5% for other suffixes in the same area). Thereby, we will argue that these two aspects are most likely connected one to another and that, together with the asigmatic nominative and the analogy with the inflection of the s-stems, can find their origins within the history of the Boeotian dialect.

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### Adverb placement in Demosthenes' First Philippic

While our understanding of Greek word order has advanced considerably in recent years, thanks especially to the contributions of Dik (1995, 2007), Matić (2003), and Allan (2012, 2014), numerous questions remain. Dik's work made clear that such pragmatic roles as Topic and Focus are crucial in determining the position of constituents in a clause, and Matić and Allan's work has refined this insight *inter alia* by recognizing that different types of Topic and Focus need to be accounted for. But even with all these results now in play, there remain clauses with enough constituents to one side of the verb or the other that the existing models of word order do not yet account for them. In a clause like οὐδὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει (Demosthenes 4.2), after one has abstracted the genitive absolute away as a Setting, one is still left with both κακῶς and τὰ πράγματα in front of the verb, both more happily analyzed as Foci than as any sort of Topic. As it turns out, adverbs are often one of the constituents in play in such clauses. One may compare, from the same speech, εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν (§1), ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ δύναμις πλέη (§22), τοὺς ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ χρωμένους (§39), in all of which (i) a pragmatically marked constituent occurs between the adverb and the verb, and (ii) the adverb could reasonably be construed as some sort of Focus, often on the grounds that it could be highlighted in a cleft construction. (For adverbs used regularly to signal Focus, cf. also Crespo (2015).) These examples all suggest the possibility that two focal slots precede the verb, the first for adverbs, the second for noun constituents that are more salient than the semantically light verbs that govern them.

Progressing further than anecdotal evidence, however, requires distributional data for different patterns of adverb and verb (as Martínez and Ruiz Yamuza (2017) do for μάλιστα and ἵσως; see also Jiménez Delgado (2018) on conjunctive adverbs). Accordingly, this paper will first consider, across the entire corpus of Demosthenes, certain common collocations of adverb and verb, such as κακῶς πάσχειν and καλῶς ἔχειν, to illustrate the conditions under which adverbs occur before or after the verb, with or without intervening material. On the whole, the unmarked position for adverbs lies after the verb, but in certain expressions like καλῶς ἔχει, the adverb is so prone to focalization that the pre-verbal position is the most common. That said, as Blass (1893: 142–3) and Ronnet (1951: 53) have noted, Demosthenes is also known for leaving key emphatic adverbs after the verb as well, so the paper will also note the contexts in which adverbs under focus remain after the verb, generally because they are brought in like an afterthought, in their own intonation unit. Finally, the application of these results to the -ως adverbs of the First Philippic will show how greater attention to word order can increase our appreciation of Demosthenes' rhetorical art.



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### **Case Attraction in Infinitive Clauses: Distribution patterns**

The concept of case attraction encompasses a series of case agreement resolution patterns in different domains which are seemingly non-local. Various works on relative attraction and inverse relative attraction on historical and modern languages have been published in the last half-century showing a strong correlation between semantics and typological hierarchies, and the resolution of agreement (i. e. either the attraction or the lack of it), but only a handful have appeared on its infinitival counterpart, shown by the contrastive pair in (1), where (1a) shows a non-attracted construction, i.e. τῷ Ξενοφῶντι and ἐλθόντα do not agree in case; and (1b) is considered a case of attraction, i.e. μοι and ἐλθόντι agree in case.

- 1.a συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινοῶσαι τῷ θεῷ  
 advice.3sg X.dat.sg going.acc.sg to-Delphi ask.inf the-god.dat.sg  
 περὶ τῆς πορείας.  
 about-the-travel  
 He advises Xenophon to go to Delphi and ask the god about the travel. (Xen. Anab. 3 1 5)

- 1.b. ἀφῆκε μοι ἐλθόντι πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγειν τᾱληθῆ.  
 allowed.3sg pron.1sg.dat going.dat.sg in-front-of-you say.inf the-truth.acc.  
 He allowed me to go and speak the truth in front of you. (Xen. Hell. 6 1 13)

This later literature (Tantalou 2003, Spyropoulos 2005, Sevdali 2013) argues for an almost strictly syntactic explanation for the resolution, using a particularly scarce set of evidences, and failing to account for the distribution of the phenomenon. This paper presents a data-driven analysis of the distribution of case attraction in infinitive clauses as it occurs in the texts of Herodotus, Plato and Xenophon. The data was collected with help of computational methods and the analyses made in a quantitative framework, as to account for the historical nature of the language. The analysis shows that the factors that are statistically significant for the distribution of the case attraction are the distance between controller and target, the type of infinitive verb, and the semantics of the main verb. From it, there follows a discussion on what these correlations mean linguistically, and it is argued that case attraction behaves similarly to Long Distance Agreement systems, being non-canonical, non-local, non-default, and chosen under semantic and pragmatic justification rather than on syntactic justification (Corbett 2006), being arguably influenced by the pragmatic and informational structuring of the sentence (Dik 1995, Matic 2003; Allen 2012; Haug 2012). This conclusion hints for further research needed on the topic for a best understanding of case attraction as a whole in Ancient Greek dialects and other ancient Indo-European languages.

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### **Death as Departure in Ancient Greek and Indo-European: the etymology of Greek θνήσκω ‘to die’ (PIE \*d<sup>h</sup>enh<sub>2</sub>- ‘to run, leave’) from a comparative and cognitive perspective**

The etymology of Ancient Greek θνήσκω ‘to die’ and of its lexical family (also comprising, e.g., θάνατος ‘death’ and θνητός ‘mortal’, among many others) is still debated (see, e.g., Beekes 2010:533-534); according to one possible hypothesis, the verb must be traced back to a Proto-Indo-European (PIE) root \*d<sup>h</sup>enh<sub>2</sub>- ‘to run, leave’ (LIV2:144-5), reflexes of which are attested in other Indo-European (IE) languages as well, e.g. Vedic Sanskrit (Ved.) dhánva-ti ‘run away, flow’ (RV) and Old Persian danuva-tiy ‘to escape’. This analysis is flawless from a formal perspective:

- the present θνήσκω would be the expected outcome of a present stem \*dh<sub>nh</sub>2-ské- (the iota subscriptum being secondary);
- the aorist ἔ-θαν-ον may be easily traced back to a weak aorist stem \*dh<sub>nh</sub>2-;
- the perfect τέ-θνη-κα would regularly reflect the weak grade of the same perfect stem \*dhe-dh<sub>nh</sub>2-/dh<sub>nh</sub>2-, which is also attested by the Ved. perfect participle dadhanváms ‘who/that has run away’ (\*dhe-dh<sub>nh</sub>2-);
- θάνατος and θνητός would reflect the same formation \*dh<sub>nh</sub>2-to- with different accentuation.

According to this interpretation, the meaning of Greek θνήσκω ‘to die’ – which is clearly different from that of, e.g., Old Persian danuva-tiy ‘to escape’ – would reflect an “Euphemismus ‘weglaufen’ für ‘sterben’” (LIV2:144 n. 1), a semantic development which, however, has been criticized as “possible, but not wholly convincing” (Beekes 2010:534).

The aim of this paper is to support the analysis of Greek θνήσκω as a reflex of PIE \*d<sup>h</sup>enh<sub>2</sub>- by arguing that the semantic development from the meaning ‘to run, leave’ to ‘to die’ is not only possible, but highly likely both from (1) a comparative and (2) a cognitive perspective.

(1) A number of parallels for this interpretation, occurring both in Ancient Greek itself and in other IE and non-IE languages, will be discussed, including (among several others):

- Young Avestan iriθiieiti ‘to die’ (perfect participle irīθuš ‘dead’), a reflex of a verb \*lit-ǵé- ‘to go (away)’, from a PIE root \*leǵt- (LIV2:410) which is attested with the semantics ‘go (away)’ in Tocharian (B lita A lit ‘went away’) and Germanic (reflexes of Proto-Germanic \*leiþ-a- ‘go (away), pass’; Seebold 1970:328-330);
- Old Irish baíd ‘to die’, reflex of \*g<sub>uh</sub>2-ǵé/ó- ‘to go (away)’ (Matasović 2009:52), from the same PIE root \*g<sub>uh</sub>2- ‘to go, to stride’ attested by the Hom. present participle βιβάζ ‘striding’ and aorist ἔβη (s)he went, left’ and by Ved. jígā-ti ‘to go, stride’ (LIV2:205).

(2) Too easily dismissed as a euphemism, these and various other similar figurative usages will be rather traced back to a specific conceptualization of the relatively abstract concept DEATH in terms of the more concrete (and thus more easily grasped) concept DEPARTURE, a so-called “Conceptual Metaphor” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). This phenomenon will be further analysed in the light of a system of metonymic associations of the concepts LIFE and DEATH which has a number of reflexes both in Ancient Greek and in other Indo-European languages (Ginevra 2020:117-122).

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**Decompressing Ancient Greek Oral-Traditional Poetry: a cognitive linguistic and comparative approach to the “katabasis theme” in *Iliad* 24 and the Homeric Hymn to Demeter**

A major section of *Iliad* 24 (lines 143-484) describes the journey of Priam, king of the Trojans, to the tent of Achilles, his son’s killer. This narrative, which on the most immediate level of interpretation exclusively takes place between Troy and the Achaean military camp, has long been noted to include several allusions to a “katabasis theme”, a journey to the land of the dead (see Herrero de Jáuregui 2011 for a detailed discussion): though never made explicit by the poet, this theme is hinted at by several incongruous language choices, pivotal elements of a hidden narrative with parallels in other Ancient Greek texts that explicitly attest the “katabasis theme”, such as the “instructions to the dead” occurring in Orphic golden leaves.

Traditionally, such cases of implicit allusion to multiple themes within a Homeric narrative have been studied from the perspectives of literary criticism and Oral Theory (see most recently Currie 2016). As argued by Bonifazi 2018, however, integrating these approaches with the methodology and tools of Cognitive Linguistics may allow us to investigate this issue further, uncovering the process which allowed oral-traditional poets to simultaneously evoke two (or more) distinct narrative themes within a single oral performance, namely the process of “Conceptual Integration” or “Conceptual Blending” (Fauconnier & Turner 2002), by which originally distinct portions of thought may be “compressed” into new, more complex ones, called “blends”. Any blend, in turn, “can be unpacked to access the network of connections that make it meaningful” (Pagán Cánovas & Turner 2016:46): correspondingly, the “Homeric blend” in *Iliad* 24, by which multiple narrative themes are “compressed” within a single plot, may be “unpacked” with the help of a cognitive linguistic methodology (Bonifazi 2018: 128-135).

Furthermore, as long noted (e.g. Lord 1967:244; Richardson 1974:192 and *passim*), Priam’s journey has a number of formulaic and thematic parallels in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, an oral-traditional account of both a katabatic experience and a parent’s journey in search for their child. The Hymn’s complexity likely reflects a long process of oral-traditional composition, within which multiple distinct traditions of various origin – Indo-European heritage, West Asian influences, international folktales – progressively came to be “compressed” into one single narrative by establishing logical and causal relationships between all of them (Ginevra 2020): for instance, the methodology of Comparative Poetics allows for the identification of a number of parallels (and differences) between the Hymn and the Old Norse “Myth of Baldr’s Death” (Gylfaginning 49 et al.; see, e.g., Ginevra 2019).

The aim of this paper is to advocate for a novel approach to Ancient Greek oral-traditional poetry integrating the insights of Cognitive Linguistics and those of Comparative Poetics: as a case study, we will argue for the identification of Priam’s

journey in *Iliad* 24 as a “compressed” instance of (among other components) the same traditional “katabasis theme” which also occurs (equally “compressed”) in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and in the Norse “Myth of Baldr’s Death”; at the same time we will also show how the decompression of the different components works.

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### **Comparing patterns of adjectival modification in Greek: a diachronic approach**

We pursue a description of the distribution of adjectives in Ancient Greek (AG) based on current theories about adjectival modification in Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and suggest that the patterns observed in AG can be accounted for by the same formal apparatus available for SMG. Our analysis is based on the assumptions about the nature of pre-/postnominal modification explored in Guardiano/Stavrou (2019).

Our survey is based on texts from Classical Attic (Plato's *Apology*, *Cratylus*, *Symposium*) and New Testament koiné (the Gospels). We observe the following: in AG, much like in SMG, all types of adjectives are allowed prenominal, and there is no evidence of N-movement over prenominal adjectives (like in SMG); postnominal adjectives are systematically articulated in definite DPs, in a structure similar to the so-called polydefinite construction typical of SMG. Our assumption is that adjectival syntax has been diachronically stable in the language. We show that the same kind of analysis proposed by Guardiano - Stavrou (2019) for polydefinite DPs in SMG can be implemented in AG. That analysis assumes a predicative structure DP-internally where the adjective is the predicate, the noun is the subject of predication and the adjectival article is the lexicalization of formal features reflecting the necessary morphosyntactic agreement between noun and adjective.

Yet, there are differences between AG and SMG:

A. Articulated prenominal adjectives (Art Adj Art N) are rare in our dataset, although they are normal in SMG (where they are assumed to result from fronting the constituent [Art+Adj] from its postnominal position).

B. In AG, the article can (but does not have to) be “doubled” with postnominal modifiers other than adjectives (e.g., participles, genitives, PPs, adverbs), a possibility which is excluded in SMG.

C. In polydefinite DPs, the [Art+Adj] constituent can be preceded by a (non-articulated) modifier of the noun (a demonstrative or a pronominal genitive) that follows the noun. This possibility is very marginal in SMG, where the [Art+Adj] constituent is adjacent to the head noun.

We show that (A) is probably due to the fact that [Art Adj Art N] sequences are informationally marked and, as such, hardly found in written texts. Actually, we found one instance in Plato, and the literature (e.g. Manolissou 2000) mentions a few more; thus, it seems that fronting of the [Art+Adj] complex is not precluded in AG: we suggest that the scarcity of such sequences in the corpus is a contingency.



As for (B), we claim that [Art N Art PP/GenP/AdvP] sequences are only seemingly polydefinite structures: actually, they contain two separate DPs, one headed by an article (ὁ/ἡ/τὸ) taking as its complement an overt NP ([DP D [NP]]), the other headed by a pronoun homophonous to the article (ὁ/ἡ/τὸ), taking as its complement a genitive, a PP, or an adverb. ([DP D [PP/GenP/AdvP]]). These structures are possible thanks to the pronominal nature of ὁ/ἡ/τὸ, available in AG but no longer in SMG.

Finally, (C) is likely to depend on the specific syntax of demonstratives and pronominal genitives in AG, which we discuss in detail.

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### **Some problematic issues bearing on North Aegean onomastics: Greek, Thracian and other anthroponyms.**

In recent years, scholarly interest in exploring the northern coast of Aegean Thrace has boosted current research in this multilingual and multidialectal region. New corpora of inscriptions (I.Thrace Aeg. 2005; Ἀρχαία Ζώνη I 2015), as well as up-to-date linguistic descriptions on Greek and Thracian languages (cf. Guijarro Ruano 2019) have enhanced and completed our knowledge concerning cross-linguistic and cultural interactions in this area. Admittedly, the analysis of the onomastic contacts between Greek and non-Greek populations in ancient Thrace has also contributed to the general characterization of the Thracians and their language.

The linguistic description of this Greek area through the study of anthroponymy has been taken up by renowned authors who have examined –mainly from a Thracian perspective– further issues associated to the ethnic and social relationships established behind the using of different personal names (Papazoglou 1979; Mihailov 1986, 1987; Dana 2013; Yanakieva 2018). However, due to the publication of new onomastic repertoires (LGPN IV in 2005; Onomasticon Thracicum in 2014, and its updated version in the OnomThracSuppl), and to Parissaki’s prosopographic study (2007), our previous knowledge on Thracian onomastics stocks must be re-examined and enriched. Tellingly, these new works have stimulated old debates concerning the internal differentiation of onomastic areas across the whole Thracian space (Yanakieva 1999; Dana 2012, 2014; Proeva 2017). Additionally, the study of language contact between Greek and Thracians through the study of anthroponymy has been recently developed on the basis of the linguistic and morphological mechanisms of “hellénisation” of these non-Greek names (Dana 2017, 2019) and on the existence of the “noms d’assonance” (Dana 2020).

Thus far, the objective of our work is to analyse the extant onomastic stock of personal names coming from Aegean Thrace, a region which, according to Dana’s classification (2014, LXIII- LXXXII), belongs to a transitional area among other better established (i.e. (pan-)Thracian, West Thracian, Daco-Moesian and Bithynian). Contrary to previous works, we will examine the material coming from these Greek colonies as a whole, taking into account a twofold Greek and a non-Greek approach. Therefore, we seek to determine the type of linguistic contact produced in this area and to define its “transitional” character. In this sense, we will first offer a panoramic description of the distribution of theses anthroponyms according to chronological and historical parameters (the Greek dialectal period from the colonial establishment until the creation of the Roman province of Thrace, the Roman presence in this region from the 1st c. BC onwards, and the occurrence of Thracian anthroponyms during these periods). Then, we will focus on the linguistic analysis of proper Greek names vs. Thracian and Roman names, and mixed names and formulae. Particular attention will be paid (a) to the emergence and diffusion of morphological processes of hellenization of Thracian names

(their typology and chronology) and (b) to the mixed character of some formulae (cf. the name Ἀδα Βοστᾶδος, a traditional Carian name, in I.Thrake Aeg. E411 Zone, ca. 350-300 BC).

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### **Vocative οὗτος in classical Greek conversation**

The demonstrative pronoun οὗτος ('that one') can be employed in Ancient Greek as a form of treatment (FT). Examples in Attic drama are formally diverse: it frequently appears alone, but can also be followed by the second person pronoun (σύ), or even by a noun in the vocative case. On the contrary, in classical prose, as already noted by Dickey (1997: 154-158), only one case can be traced, in Pl. Symp. 172a: ὦ Φαληρεύς, ἔφη, οὗτος Ἀπολλλόδωρος, οὐ περιμενεῖς;. Even though scholars have devoted considerable attention to this passage, due to an alleged phallic joke (Allen 2020), almost all of them have neglected the study of οὗτος. Svennung (1958) explained this construction as resulting from a process of Apposition to the second person singular subject implicit in the verb, which is altogether unlikely (Acuña Fariña 2006, Spevak 2015). According to Ruijgh (2005: 154), this FT must have become stable on the grounds that the basic value of οὗτος is related to the Du-deixis, only coming to take the place of Der-deixis in the classical period. Those who thereafter studied this FT (Dickey 1997, Jacobson 2015) remarked that it primarily serves to summon the attention of the interlocutor, and that it conveys abruptness in the address. My purpose is, firstly, to compare the different variations of the structure, based on their pragmatic function and their role in conversation. Upon inspection of the data, we are left with the following results: in drama, οὗτος mostly occurs on its own in directive speech acts, on the left margin of the utterance, and functions as an attention summon device. The cases in which οὗτος is found on the right margin deserve special examination, given that it is an unusual position for this function. Thus, it must operate as a mechanism for turn allocation (Rodríguez Piedrabuena 2020). οὗτος σύ, on the other hand, is only found utterance-initial, so it should function as an attention summon device. As for Plato's instance, it is twice as peculiar, since it unexpectedly modifies a noun. Moreover, it holds medial position in the utterance, so I will explore the possibility that it functions as self-initiated repair (Schegloff 2013). Secondly, I intend to examine οὗτος under the framework of im-/politeness, for which I roughly follow the methodology put forth by Lloyd (2005), who focused on face acts in Sophocles. This FT is unparalleled, because it does not operate as a mitigator, as is customary for deictics, both in Ancient Greek as in other languages (Haverkate 1992, Fornieles Sánchez 2021).

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The noun κνίση is an epic and poetic word that appears 17 times in the Iliad, the Odyssey, and the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. It is also used—mostly in its unepic variant κνῖσα—by Aeschylus, Aristophanes, and Aristotle, as well as by a number of late and Hellenistic authors.

The surprising thing about κνίση is its twofold meaning. In about the half of its Homeric and the majority of post-Homeric attestations, the word refers to the smell or savor of a burnt sacrifice, the steam and odor of fat that exhales from roasting meat, or the odor of savory meat in general.

(1) ἔρδον δ' Ἀπόλλωνι τελεήσσας ἑκατόμβας  
ταύρων ἢ δ' αἰγῶν παρὰ θῖν' ἄλδς ἀτρυγέτοιο·  
κνίση δ' οὐρανὸν ἵκεν ἐλίσσομένη περὶ καπνῶ. (Il.1.315–7)

‘And they offered to Apollo perfect hecatombs  
of bulls and goats by the shore of the unresting sea;  
and the savor of it went up to heaven, eddying amid the smoke.’

However, in roughly the other half of Homeric attestations and the odd post-Homeric instance, κνίση has a quite different meaning. In these cases, the noun refers to caul fat, also known as lace fat or fat netting, which is the thin membrane that surrounds the internal organs of cows, sheep, and pigs, and, by extension, to animal fat in general.

(2) μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον κατὰ τε κνίση ἐκάλυψαν  
δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν. (Od.12.360–1)

‘They cut out the thigh bones and covered them with a double layer of fat  
and laid the raw bits upon them.’

The key to the understanding of this double meaning is that this caul fat, in which the sacrificial bones would be wrapped prior to their burning, was largely responsible for the steam and odor of the burnt offering as the fat would melt in the blistering heat and trickle down into the fire in sizzling drops. Thus, κνίση is the word for both the savor of the smoldering sacrifice and for that, which causes it. This semantic dichotomy is not only quite astonishing; it also calls for an explanation.

This paper sets out to find a rationale for the two meanings of κνίση. Departing from an etymological and formal analysis of the word, whose connection with Lat. *nīdor*, *-ōris* m. ‘vapor, steam, smell (from anything boiled, roasted, burned)’ < \**knīh<sub>x</sub>d-ōs* has long been recognized, it will be argued that κνίση preserves the twofold reading of a

denominal adjective \*kni<sub>h</sub>d-s-ó-, viz. on the one hand in a literal meaning ‘full of steam, savor’ (cf. κνισός in this meaning in Athenaeus) and on the other hand in a causative meaning ‘causing steam, savor’ (leading to κνίση ‘caul fat’). This situation is nicely comparable with the double meaning of adjectives like δακρυόεις ‘full of tears, weeping’ (cf. δακρυόεσσα ... κούρη Il.21.506) and ‘causing tears’ (cf. πόλεμον ... δακρυόεντα Il.5.737) and fits well into a broader picture of the different possible readings of denominal ‘possessive’ adjectives.



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### **The potential optative as a female hedging device in Aristophanes**

The study of female speech in Greek has seen a remarkable upsurge of interest seen the pioneering article by Bain (1984), published in parallel with Adams's article on Latin (1984). Not surprisingly, the bulk of the research is on the representation of female speech in comedy, both old and new. The most detailed studies on Aristophanes are, in chronological order: Sommerstein (1995), Willi (2002) and Duhoux (2004). The most comprehensive of these is Willi (2002), who presents a catalogue of gender-preferential features classified under the headings Politeness, Colloquialisms and Innovations. Most of these features are lexical and only a few grammatical. Among the latter should be mentioned the use of particular particles such as γέ and 'doubled' ἄν and a preference for the 'subjective' final conjunction ὅπως/ὥς (ἄν) and the ethical dative. Many of these gender-preferential features are hedging devices which intend to mitigate the force of a given utterance.

This paper discusses another female hedging device which has gone so far unnoticed: the potential optative which, by its very nature, would seem to lend itself very well for hedging purposes: "The optative with ἄν ... is used to describe actions that might occur, or to cautiously state something (to make an assertion, weaker than with the indicative)" (van Emde Boas et al. 2018: §34.13). Especially in the first person, the use of the potential optative is described by Goodwin as "expressing a future act as dependent on some future circumstances or conditions, which may be more or less distinctly implied" (1893: 78) or simply as a "weak future" (1893: 77). The data for this preliminary research are taken from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, which contains numerous examples of 'weak' potential optatives in used by women.

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**From Disjunct to Connective. The Particle οὐν in Herodotus' Histories and its association with anaphoric elements**

The particle οὐν is very frequent in Ancient Greek literary texts, particularly in the Classical and Post-classical periods. Its meaning tends to be explained in terms of a consecutive connective, a resumptive connective, or a connective marking a transition to more-to-the-point information, cf. Denniston (1954); Van Emde Boas et al. (2019); Revuelta (2020). Be that as it may, it also exhibits adverbial uses typical of a disjunct, more precisely an attitudinal disjunct – on this sort of sentence adverb in Ancient Greek, see de la Villa & Torrego (2020).

In Archaic Greek, as it is well known, οὐν only performs the role of a disjunct, from which it developed into a connective in Classical Greek, cf. Reynen (1957) & (1958); Muchnová (2017). The purpose of our paper is to track down the semantic and pragmatic evolution of the particle οὐν through its association with anaphoric elements in the Histories of Herodotus.

Herodotus represents an intermediate step between the archaic and the classical periods, so our surmise is that his use of this particle must still show some clear traces of the evolution at stake. As a matter of fact, Herodotus already uses οὐν (a dialectal variant of οὐν) as a connective, while presenting some patterns that may stand for intermediate stages of this development, such as its association with anaphoric elements (Hoffmann 1884). Note that these elements are capable of connecting independent utterances without any further connective. Therefore, we can wonder whether the particle performs the role of a disjunct or a connective when associated with them.

Recently, the application of Traugott's Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change (Traugott & Dasher 2002) has revealed quite fruitful in explaining the semantic evolution of particles in Ancient Greek, cf. Allan (2017); Thijs (2021); Jiménez Delgado (forthcoming). According to IITSC, the speaker can invite the hearer to infer new meanings similar or in some way related to the coded meanings of a linguistic expression, inferences that can spread to other linguistic contexts and ultimately become reanalysed as a semantic meaning. In the case of the evolution of adverbials into connectives, the semantic shift implies an increase of semantic scope based on the speaker's subjective attitude – a process called subjectification by Traugott, see Traugott (1995) -, from scope over the predication to scope over the proposition and eventually over the discourse unit. This process is applicable to the case of οὐν and we believe the association under study can shed some light on it.

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### **Interacción entre léxico y sintaxis: colocaciones con (ἐμ)πίπτω en griego antiguo**

Πίπτω y ἐμπίπτω, como verbos de movimiento, se construyen en griego antiguo con complementos que tienen referente espacial y que expresan bien la Dirección (1a), bien la Ubicación resultante (1b) (Díaz de Cerio 2020: 323). Cuando el léxico de ese complemento pierde su prototipicidad, se activa una interpretación metafórica (1c).

(1a) ἐς γῆν δ' ἔμπυρος πίπτει νεκρός (“A tierra cae su cadáver envuelto en llamas”, E. *Ph.* 1186).

(1b) ἀντιτύπα δ' ἐπὶ γᾶ πέσε τανταλωθεὶς (“En la tierra estrepitosamente cayó desplomado”, S. *Ant.* 134-135).

(1c) ἄσασαι γὰρ αἱ γενέσεις σχεδὸν πίπτουσιν εἰς ταύτας τὰς ἀρχάς (“Pues casi todas las génesis caen dentro de esos principios”, Arist. *EE.* 1214a 25).

En las lenguas modernas verbos que significan “caer” configuran expresiones frecuentes como caer en una depresión, fall in love, tomber dans l’oublie, cadere in disgrazia. Se trata de colocaciones, es decir, combinaciones léxicas restringidas, fijadas por el uso en la lengua, a medio camino entre las combinaciones libres y las expresiones fraseológicas (Alonso Ramos 1994-95; Bosque 2011) y que se definen, entre otros rasgos, porque uno de los elementos mantiene transparente su significado, mientras que el otro adquiere un sentido figurado. Así, en las combinaciones libres caer el telón, una bomba o la lluvia el verbo conserva el significado de su primera acepción (“moverse de arriba abajo por la acción de su propio peso”); en cambio, en las colocaciones caer en la desesperación, en el olvido o en la locura el verbo no denota su significado primario de movimiento, sino que expresa un sentido aspectual incoativo: “empezar a estar en determinada situación o estado” (Barrios 2008: 57).

En muchas colocaciones subyacen metáforas cognitivas (Mendózar 2020: 29-30), lo que ayuda a entender su génesis y éxito en una determinada comunidad lingüística. Desde esta perspectiva se han estudiado en latín colocaciones como *in morbum*, *in vitium*, *in iram incidere*, que conceptualizan metáforas como LOS EVENTOS SON MOVIMIENTOS y otras más específicas como CONTRAER UNA ENFERMEDAD ES CAER o EL INICIO DE UNA SITUACIÓN ES EL PUNTO FINAL DE UN MOVIMIENTO TÉLICO (Fedriani 2011, 2016; Jiménez Martínez 2020).

En este trabajo me propongo analizar las colocaciones formadas por πίπτω y ἐμπίπτω en combinación con εἰς-A y nombres abstractos o eventivos (2). Se abordarán algunos de los diversos aspectos susceptibles de estudio, como el tipo de sustantivos que configuran estas colocaciones en griego antiguo y el significado que aporta el verbo; la alternancia de colocaciones con otros verbos, de movimiento o no (Tronci 2009, 2017); cuándo comienzan a usarse y si ha habido una evolución diacrónica en su empleo.

- (2a) εἴ τις ἐς νόσον πέσοι, /οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξιμ' οὐδέν (“Si alguno caía enfermo, no había ninguna defensa”, A. Pr. 478-479).
- (2b) τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς σφαγὰς καὶ ταραχὰς ἐμπεπτωκέναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους (“Los lacedemonios han incurrido en matanzas y desórdenes unos contra otros”, Plb.4.22.4).
- (2c) τινὲς δ' εἰς μανίαν καὶ λήθην τῶν ἀπάντων ἔπιπτον (“Algunos se volvían locos y perdían totalmente la memoria”, D.S. 14.71.3).

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### **Learning from the future to explain the present**

While Ancient Greek can be viewed as a self-contained system unto itself, it must also be recognized that it is a point of departure for the attested two-plus millennia that brings one to present-day Greek. It is thus an interesting exercise in what might be called “forward reconstruction” (in the spirit of Watkins 1962) to see how starting with Ancient Greek and projecting forward in time to later forms can shed light on what the nature of the starting point must have been.

The admittedly punning title contains indications of the different directions in which the study reported on here moves. “Present” here refers both to present tense and to synchrony, and “future” here refers both to the future tense as a kind of modality and to the diachronic dimension whereby from any point in the past, “future” time brings one up to and into the present day.

Greek, with its long documentary record of attestation provides the perfect medium to explore how successful this methodology can be.

For instance, looking at the replacement of the infinitive (something that happened in future time as far as Ancient Greek was concerned) allows one to get a handle on the types of infinitival complementation (modal and nonmodal) in Ancient Greek (viewing that stage as a present time)

Using this methodology, I explore here the nature of the future tense in Ancient Greek and argue that it represents a kind of modality in Ancient Greek, certainly so from a semantic point of view, but also within the structure of the overall verbal system. I base this account on how the successors to the Classical future tense ultimately developed into overt modality in Medieval Greek — seen in the *να εἶχε γράψει* conditional — and how it spawned a whole range of modal “conditional” formations which were not really possible in Ancient Greek like that and were expressed in a very different way (with *ἄν*). This argument also sheds some light on *ἄν* itself and its structural place in the ancient verbal system.

This paper is at once an attempt to advance a new methodology for historical linguistics but at the same time an investigation into the status of various verbal categories in Ancient Greek.

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### **Some Non-formulaic Pronominal Features in Homer and the Epic Diction**

The present paper aims at discussing some recent arrivals in the Homeric diction, especially a set of pronominal forms. The issue of non-formulaic features and developments in Homer has been a matter of debate since the observations by Wathelet in 1970 and 1981, who explained the lack of 3rd compensatory lengthening in, e.g., *μονωθείς, ξένος* (vs. *μουνω- < \*μον.ῑω-, ξεῖνο- < ξέν.ῑω-*) or instances of “short” plural datives (i.e. the type *-οις*) as Euboean elements, a possibility that seems to find support in the archaeological finds at Lefkandi (central Euboea), which revealed a prosperous society in the 10th cent. BCE. Indeed, an important role of Euboea in the latest phases of the composition of the Homeric poems, for linguistic and cultural reasons — besides the finds at Lefkandi, see the hexameters on Nestor’s and Hakesandros’ cups — is now accepted by many scholars. On the other hand, most of these scholars, such as M. West 1988, Cassio 1988 and [forthcoming] Forssman 1992, Janko 1992, Ruijgh 1995, Hackstein 2010 not only analyzed a few other “late” features, but also stressed that these recent arrivals in the Homeric diction may theoretically have originated in more than one dialect area, both from a dialectal and cultural point of view since more than one area was culturally advanced, Euboea of course, but also Boeotia and Attica. An important consequence has been the focus on the relationship between the language of archaic Greek epic and the dialects and (possibly) poetic traditions of Euboea and Boeotia, but also on some features and dialects traditionally excluded from discussions on Homeric Greek, as provocatively, and at the same time effectively, West put it: “no one speaks of Dorisms in Homer, because they fit no one’s theories, but what of this one [scil. *ἐσσεῖται*]? (and what of *τεῖν = σοί*)?”. Picking up from this latter example, it seems to me that pronouns are well represented among elements that “fits none’s theories” (i.e., the more widely accepted theories of the formation of the Homeric poems), such as the just mentioned *τεῖν*, but also *τεοῖο, ἁμός, ἐέ* and *έοῖ* which are non-formulaic and have parallels only in Boeotian, Doric, and West Greek. In this talk I would like to discuss a few of these forms, especially *ἡμῖν, ἡμας, σφας*, and the genitives of the type *εὖ*, arguing that some of them are relatively recent arrivals in an almost fixed diction, due to the cultural influence of region of western and central Greece, including Attica.

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### **The Complexity of Greek Epic Diction**

This paper presents a generalized linguistic framework for the interpretation of formal order in epic diction anchored in usage-based grammar and the study of ‘complex adaptive systems’ in linguistics.

The paper, like several recent studies of formularity (Bakker 2005 / Bakker and Fabricotti 1991; Bakker 2013; Boas 2016; Bozzone 2014; Cánovas and Antović 2016; Minchin 2016 and others (Cf. also Currie 2016 – briefly; Tsagalis 2008, 2014), notes the substantive shift in perspective on language cognition, communication and language development by usage-based linguists. Already work by Meillet 1912 and Kuryłowicz 1965 on grammaticalization pointed to the fundamental flexibility of grammatical form. Later studies by Givón 1984, and recently Tomasello 2003, Goldberg 2006, Bybee 2006, Hopper and Traugott 2013, and others argued for the primacy of communicative function in language and the derivative (‘epiphenomenal’) nature of grammatical structure. Alongside these perspectives, the paper invokes more-recent usage-based discussions of language as a ‘complex adaptive system’ (Larsen-Freeman 1997, Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008, Beckner and Bybee 2009, Ellis and Larsen-Freeman 2006, Kramsch 2012, etc., drawing on the study of complexity in the sciences: Nicolis and Prigogine 1989, Kaufmann 1993, Byrne and Callaghan 2013, etc.). Studies of linguistic complexity emphasize systematic, non-deterministic, non-linear interaction, stochastic process and emergent order as fundamental characteristics of language development. Driving both linguistic innovation and pattern formation, the paper argues, is analogy, a process discussed extensively both in contemporary linguistics and by Milman Parry himself (Parry 1971, probably following Meillet 1912; Blevins and Blevins 2009; etc.). Integrating discussions of usage, complexity and analogy (which are, to begin with, closely related) in the context of early Greek epic allows us to develop a methodological perspective that

- a) accounts for inherent flexibility and changes in formal structures and patterns within the otherwise rigorously ordered diction within the hexameter;
- b) provides theoretical and practical justification for the capacity of formal grammatical, metrical and syntactic constructions qua formal structures to signify (rather than, as in Parryan oral-formulaic theory, to perform largely compositional/technical functions with reduced semantic resonance).

Incorporating usage-based arguments about linguistic complexity provide a critical methodical perspective that further

- c) makes it possible to explain systematically (rather than ad-hoc) the relationship between, on the one hand, regular patterns and, on the other hand, ‘anomalous’, exceptional usage;
- d) allows us to interpret ‘unique’ expressions in a methodologically rigorous way;
- e) better explain the interaction between adjacent, overlapping and imbricated linguistic patterns in epic diction (for which see Kahane, Mueller et al. ) whose Gestalt cannot be reduced to any mechanical or pre-determined ‘algorithmic’ form or function.

The paper briefly illustrates these argument with examples from Homer (*Od.* 12.69, 166, 322, etc.) and the *Ilias Parua* (PEG F. 21 Bernabé ).

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### **The Aorist and the Perfect in References to Consecutive Past Events: A Stylistic Perspective**

It is usually argued that the ability of the perfect to co-occur, in Post-Classical Greek, with the aorist in coordinative constructions referring to consecutive past events reflects the tendency of the perfect to adopt the function of the perfective past and to merge, in functional terms, with the aorist (Bentein 2016: 154, Fanning 1990: 300). This traditional view was recently challenged by De Santis & Battezzatto who argue that “the partial loss of semantic distinctions between the two tenses does not lead to an overlap in usage” and that in coordinative constructions containing the aorist and the perfect, “the semantics of the first form affects that of the second form” (De Santis & Battezzatto 2020: 246). The authors also acknowledge that their proposal is not able to explain all coordinative constructions in their corpus, and this applies also to those occurring in the texts of Justin Martyr (op. cit., 260).

My aim is to shed new light on coordinative constructions containing the aorist and the perfect in reference to consecutive past events. I adopt the traditional view that, when used in this function, the perfect reflects the tendency toward adopting the function of the perfective past and toward merging, in functional terms, with the aorist. In contrast to earlier studies I draw attention to stylistic factors that appear to have played a role in such cases.

Focusing on the texts of Justin Martyr, I explore dependent coordinative constructions containing perfect and/or aorist infinitives in reference to consecutive past events. An example is passage (1) below, which contains the perfect infinitives γεγενῆσθαι, λελαληκέναι and ἀναβεβηκέναι, and the aorist infinitive σταυρωθῆναι in reference to consecutive events in the life of Jesus Christ:

(1) Βλάσφημα γὰρ πολλὰ λέγεις, τὸν σταυρωθέντα τοῦτον ἀξιῶν πείθειν ἡμᾶς γεγενῆσθαι μετὰ Μωυσέως καὶ Ἀαρὼν καὶ λελαληκέναι αὐτοῖς ἐν στύλῳ νεφέλης, εἶτα ἄνθρωπον γένόμενον σταυρωθῆναι, καὶ ἀναβεβηκέναι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν (Just., Dial. 38.1)

My corpus contains forty instances of coordinative constructions containing a series of perfect and/or the aorist infinitives referring to consecutive past events. I compare this corpus with Hellenistic/Roman private letters (retrieved from the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri) that also contain instances of the construction examined. I observe that, in contrast to private letters, the author examined avoids coordinative constructions containing pairs of consecutive perfect infinitives ending in –έναι; in other words, a homoeoteleuton that appears to have been already common at a much earlier period in the history of Greek, as is indicated also by Arist., Rhet. 1410a.32–33. Furthermore, the substitution of the active aorist infinitive with the corresponding perfect infinitive often results (in my corpus) in the emergence of this type of homoeoteleuton. The absence of

this homoeoteleuton from my corpus could be related, as I suggest, to to the merger of the diphthong /ai/ with /e/ (e.g., Horrocks 2010: 112, 162). Furthermore, this absence is consistent with the view that despite their lower register, the texts examined do not lack entirely stylistic ambition (cf. Bentein 2015: 460; Kinzig 1997: 643, Author 2020: 91–92).

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### Nominal and Clausal Comparatives.

Indo-European had a comparative construction in which the standard of comparison was marked with ablative case, replaced by genitive in Greek. A more recent comparative construction had a reduced clause headed by a conjunction. Traditional grammars treat them as equivalent. Benveniste (1948) suggested that the nominal comparative was originally equative and occurred with the comparative suffix *\*-yes-*, while the clausal comparative expressed differential/contrastive and spatial meanings and occurred with the suffix *\*-tero-*. Panagl (1975) presented evidence that both corresponding constructions in Latin are true comparatives and form a privative semantic opposition. Building on Panagl's insight in the light of recent work on the semantics of comparison, I argue that the two constructions differ in that clausal comparatives merely compare the degree to which two things have a scalar property, while nominal comparatives presuppose that the standard of comparison has the compared property to at least the conventional or contextually given extent  $d_s$  denoted by the positive adjective — the NORM-RELATED INTERPRETATION (Bierwisch 1989, Kennedy and McNally 2005, Umbach 2009):

- (1)    a. γλυκύς                       $\lambda x. \text{sweetness}(x) > d_s$   
          b. γλυκίων + ἤ               $\lambda y \lambda x. \text{sweetness}(x) > \text{sweetness}(y)$   
          c. γλυκίων + Gen.         $\lambda y \lambda x. \text{sweetness}(y) > d_s \ \& \ \text{sweetness}(x) > \text{sweetness}(y)$

I demonstrate this syntactic/semantic opposition for the nominal and clausal comparatives of Greek, and show (contra Benveniste) that it is independent of the suffixal allomorphy. Nominal comparatives occur *only* when the meaning (1c) is appropriate (“»” = “presupposes”):

- (2)    a. μέλιτος γλυκίων Il. 1.249 ‘sweeter than honey [» honey is sweet]  
          b. στερεωτέρη λίθοιο Od. 23.103 ‘(heart) harder than stone’ [» stone is hard]  
          c. ὁμίχλην . . . κλέπτῃ νυκτὸς ἀμείνω, Il. 3.11-12 ‘the fog, better than night for the thief’ [» night is good for the thief].

In contrast, clausal comparatives have no such presupposition (“»/” = “does not presuppose”).

- (3)    a. βέλτερον ὃς φεύγων προφύγῃ κακὸν ἢ ἐάλῳη Il. 14, 81 ‘it is better to flee from disaster than to get caught.’ [»/ it is good to get caught]  
          b. ἀμάρτημα . . . μάλα πολλῷ μείζον . . . ἢ τότε Plato Rep. 274e ‘an error much greater than the previous one’ [»/ the previous error was great]

As predicted, metalinguistic comparisons always have the clausal form:



(4) ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώτερα (Hdt.) ‘I acted more quickly than wisely’

The opposition is privative in that, while nominal comparatives have the norm-related interpretation intrinsically, clausal comparatives do not exclude it. In fact, they can be strengthened into norm-related comparatives by the focus particle *per*.

(5) τοῦ δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ μᾶλλον ὀδύρομαι ἢ περ ἐκείνου Od. 4.819 ‘I mourn for [Telemachus] even more than for [Odysseus]’ [“I mourn much for Odysseus”]

Coupled with the convergent Germanic and Latin evidence, the Greek data justify a reconstruction of two contrasting types of comparatives for Indo-European.

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[krasukh@mail.ru](mailto:krasukh@mail.ru)**Homeric aorist and imperfect**

The problem of aspect descriptions in Indo-European languages is complicated. Although one can argue, that each IE language has a system of verbal tense, not each has an aspect. This category is well developed in Slavic (so called *глагольный вид*), and in Greek. The Germanic languages don't have any trace of this category; the Romance and Old Indic have lost the aspectual difference between several temporal forms of verb (Gonda 1956; Weinrich 1960). The aspectual opposition in other IE language branches is less developed.

Therefore our aim is to consider Greek verbal aspect, especially in preterit. It is essential: the Greek present can be imperfective only (with some nuances: inchoative, terminative, iterative present), and in preterit the stem with perfective and imperfective meaning are in opposition. The perfect denotes a state in present as a result of former event; we must leave it out of consideration.

1. The Greek aorist can have such meanings (Schwyzer–Debrunner 1950: 661-670): 1) Aorist of immediate affected event (also aorist of changed circumstances, i.e. metatropical aorist); 2) Aorist of finished event; 3) Perfective (or confective) aorist; 4) Aorist of single completed situation; 5) Aorist of comparison (introduced with the conjunction ὥς); 6) Aorist of typical situation, what is proposed as a complete one; 7) Gnomical aorist in proverbs and aphorisms (ὅς κε θεοὺς ἐπιπείθεται, μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ (*Il.* I 218) 'who (would) obey gods, they listen him with great attention').

2. The Greek imperfect can have such meanings:

1) Progressive imperfect;

2) Imperfect of long event;

3) Imperfect of incomplete situation: Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπε πολὺάρνι Θυέστῳ // αὐτὰρ δ' αὖτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λεῖπε φορῆναι... (*Il.* II 104-7) 'Atreus, when died, returned (his sceptre) to Thyestes with many sheep; then Thyestes returned (it) to Agamemnon': first aorist denotes the finished event, second imperfect - the actual situation;

4) Imperfect of multiple action: φεῦγον ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε δι' Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόροιο // Φθίην δ' ἐξεκόμεν ἐριβόλακα, μήτερα μήλων (*Il.* IX 479-80) 'they ran up through the Hellas with broad ways; I went in fruitful Phthia, sheep's mother'. The imperfect denotes here a multitude of agents and their goals; controversially aorist means a single action; χθιζὸς ἔεικοστῷ φύγον ἥματι οἶνοπα πόντον (*Od.* VI 170) 'yesterday on the twentieth day they ran to wine-eyed sea': the common action and the single goal are denoted with aorist.

5) Inchoative imperfect: ...αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς // ἐς Χρύσην ἵκανε ἄγων ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην (*Il.* I 430-1) 'and Odysseus at this moment went to Chryses, carrying the sacred hecatomb'. The latest Imperfect has the meaning similar to aorist βῆ 'went, came'. One

can suggest, however, that the imperfect has such difference from aorist: the second one means, that the speaker treats the event as finished; the first one leaves the open question about the end.

The relations between imperfect and aorist will be exactly considered in the report.

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### **Gr. Κένταυρος and his possible etymological relatives: Evidence from Indo-European and beyond**

This paper focuses on the origin of the etymologically problematic Greek word Κένταυρος its and possible related words outside Greek. The only outer-Greek comparison for κένταυρος (proposed already by A. Kuhn (1852)) is Indo-Iranian (Vedic) gandharvá- (the name of another mythological creature). Although these two forms cannot be compared as direct cognates in terms of regular phonetic correspondences, the numerous similarities between these two beings must point to a common origin. The affinities between κένταυρος and gandharvá- include, in particular, their ability to shape-shifting and hybrid or theriomorphic nature; hypersexuality and lustfulness; and some others. I will argue that both forms, albeit not deducible from a reconstructable Proto-Indo-European form (contra e.g. Carnoy (1936)), must have the same source. Specifically, they may be independent borrowings from a non-Indo-European (Near Eastern?) language. This hypothesis can be corroborated both by linguistic and comparative-mythological evidence. I will discuss possible candidates for this hypothetical source of both κένταυρος and gandharvá-.

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### **Post-Classical Greek counterfactual modal verbs and the modal particle ἄν: a corpus-based diachronic analysis**

Counterfactual modal verbs speculate about an unrealizable state of affairs for which the condition for realization has not been met. Research on counterfactual modal verbs has focused primarily on those found in Ancient Greek such as ἔμελλον, ἔδει, ἔχρην or ὄφε(λ)λον (Ruiz Yamuza 2008, Allan 2013, Revuelta Puigdollers 2017, but contrast la Roi in prep.). For Post-Classical Greek, recent research has centered around those modals which are used as future auxiliaries such as ἐθέλω or μέλλω (Markopoulos 2009, Tronci 2020) or reiterated claims from older grammars without substantial corpus-based testing such as that counterfactual modals replace other counterfactual strategies such as the past indicative with the modal particle (Horrocks 2010: 237–238).

This paper aims to fill the gap for Post-Classical counterfactual modal verbs by providing a corpus-based analysis of the counterfactual modal verbs in a register-balanced corpus of texts from early to middle Post-Classical Greek (IIIBC-IIIAD) ranging from Biblical texts to papyri to epic. In this presentation I focus on the development of the counterfactual modals with various modal values ἦν δυνατόν, ἐξῆν & ἔμελλον (epistemic), ἐβουλόμην & ἤθελον (boulomaic), ἔδει, ἔχρην (deontic) ἡδυνάμην (dynamic). I assess their differences and compare them to other counterfactual strategies (esp. the past indicative with and without the modal particle). In particular, I detail how strongly the counterfactual meaning is entrenched in the various modal verbs by studying their frequency (also in contrast to non-counterfactual usage), their temporal reference and in which syntactic and illocutionary clause environments they are used.

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### **Particules à valeur déductive et interaction dialogique: οὐκοῦν et ἄρα chez Platon**

L'une des opérations logiques les plus importantes dans les dialogues de Platon est celle qui consiste à conclure de plusieurs propositions, pour lesquelles l'interlocuteur a donné préalablement son accord, à une nouvelle proposition qui permet au dialogue de progresser dans l'examen d'une question. Cette opération, classiquement dénommée déduction (terme que nous préférons ici à inférence, plus technique), est marquée en particulier par l'usage de deux particules très proches par le sens: οὐκοῦν et ἄρα. Statistiquement, à s'en tenir aux dialogues de Platon dont on est sûrs, d'après le TLG, οὐκοῦν apparaît 975 fois et ἄρα 1072 fois. On peut donc les considérer comme d'importance à peu près équivalente. Le léger avantage de ἄρα se trouve renforcé si on y ajoute les 272 emplois interrogatifs de la forme ἄρα, dont ἄρα est une composante morphologique, alors même que οὐκοῦν est souvent en contexte interrogatif.

La question qui se pose est donc celle de savoir en quoi l'usage des deux particules diffère. Nous examinerons plus spécialement un dialogue où les deux particules sont très fréquentes, la République, qui offre 241 οὐκοῦν et 219 ἄρα (+ 54 ἄρα), mais nous nous intéresserons aussi à un dialogue assez riche aussi en occurrence qui est le Parménide (63 οὐκοῦν et 162 ἄρα (+ 24 ἄρα)). Les autres dialogues seront l'objet de sondages.

Nous ne sommes pas les premiers à étudier l'usage des particules chez Platon et nous nous appuyerons donc sur les travaux cités en bibliographie, plus particulièrement sur l'étude de J. Van Ophuijsen. Nous voudrions orienter notre propre étude sur la question de l'interaction dialogique que ces deux particules permettent d'élaborer. Nous partirons de l'hypothèse que ἄρα, comme le souligne la très récente Cambridge Grammar of classical Greek, s'impose avec nécessité aux interlocuteurs, alors que οὐκοῦν soumet la vérification à l'interlocuteur. Dans le premier cas, le locuteur ne se présente pas vraiment comme responsable de la déduction, puisqu'elle est présentée comme incontestable. Dans le second cas au contraire, le locuteur présente sa déduction comme une suggestion qui requiert l'accord de l'interlocuteur. Cette configuration appelle donc une co-construction de l'argumentation, alors que dans le premier cas les interlocuteurs sont en quelque sorte les spectateurs d'une vérité qui leur est extérieure.

En ce qui concerne l'aspect syntaxique de l'usage des deux particules, nous nous interrogerons aussi sur le fait que οὐκοῦν est essentiellement en tête non seulement de phrase mais aussi de réplique, alors que ἄρα non seulement ne peut pas occuper la position initiale, s'il n'a pas sa forme interrogative, ce qui en fait une forme d'enclitique, comme d'autres particules, mais de plus, il se trouve souvent dans une proposition qui se trouve elle-même à l'intérieur d'une réplique, indépendante ou même subordonnée. Cette différence pourrait être liée à la différence de fonction discursive dans l'échange dialogique.

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**Null-subject genitive absolute and co-referentiality in 5th c. Ionic and Attic prose**

On an extensive corpus of 5th c. Ionic and Attic prose (Hippocratic corpus, Herodotus, Thucydides, Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias), I study the cases of co-referentiality of the genitive absolute with the subject of another clause, focusing on the difference of behaviour according to whether the genitive absolute has an overt subject or not:

- with an embedded clause: no restriction in either case.
- with a dependent clause having the same matrix and syntactically independent from the genitive absolute: no restriction in either case.
- with the matrix clause: possible for a genitive absolute with overt subject except in Attic oratory prose (examples in Schwyzler-Debrunner, *Gr. Gr.* II: 399-400), but impossible for null-subject genitive absolute, although the latter point is not mentioned in the literature (Cooper 1998-2002, Buijs 2005, Maiocco 2005). This includes Schwyzer's «Opisthothese» (Schwyzer 1942), a null-subject genitive absolute used instead of an agreeing participle. A null-subject genitive absolute implies hetero-referentiality. Accordingly, in some places where a lacuna is assumed by the editors, such an assumption is unnecessary. For null-subject genitive absolute, the rare apparent cases of co-referentiality with the subject of the matrix clause are examined. Two are found in the Hippocratic corpus: there is for both a problem of text transmission and neither stands as a reliable counter-example. Two are found in Herodotus (2.15 and 1.178) and may not be reliable. There is no counter-example in Thucydides, who has several instances of co-referentiality when the genitive absolute has an overt subject, but none if it does not. A co-referential genitive absolute with overt subject can be used alongside an agreeing participle in the nominative, although this is uncommon: this results from the different status between new information and already known information (following Buijs 2005: 226).
- with the main clause over the matrix clause: possible for a genitive absolute with overt subject, including in Attic oratory prose (Lysias 21.25 and 4.12), although this is not mentioned in the literature, but not attested for a null-subject genitive absolute. This structure is the only one in which one can find a reflexive pronoun as the subject of a genitive absolute (eight instances in Thucydides, one in Herodotus).

The constraint banning co-reference with the subject of the matrix clause is thus stronger on a null-subject genitive absolute than on a syntactically complete one. This constraint is still valid in later prose in literary texts, and still applies in the New Testament (Fuller 2006), but not in colloquial koine Greek: Ptolemaic papyri have instances of co-referentiality between a null-subject genitive absolute and the subject of the matrix clause (Mayser 1906-1934).

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### **Greek varieties in Roman Egypt**

My starting point is the fact that Greek was the language of communication in the Roman army in Egypt. The military forts had several L2 Greek speakers of various ethnicity (cf. Leiwo 2018). The situation in Roman military forts favoured an expansion of contact varieties of Greek. The data from Egypt show that L2 speakers had an effect on Greek at all grammatical levels, strengthening existing and ongoing endogenous changes by creating substantial variation in phonology as well as in morphosyntax and even phraseology. I suggest that the sociopolitical situation in the late 1st and 2nd century Roman Egypt gave rise to multicausal varieties at the same time. Bi- and multilingualism as well as the existing Greek diglossia between high and low varieties were conspicuous in the 2nd century CE, and these are common ways of maintaining linguistic diversity and even resilience in a society (Hudson 2019: 22–23; cf. also Katsikadeli 2018: 21).

An important social detail is also the fact that this period was peaceful, as Rome did not have any serious enemies. It was also economically a period when active trade connections with multilingual speech communities were fundamental to the Empire's well-being.

I suggest that the sociolinguistic situation in some parts of Egypt seems to have favoured an expansion of a Greek Contact Variety, or even Multicultural Egyptian Greek in the sense of Multicultural Varieties in present day European cities (cf. Trudgill 2016; Cheshire *et al.* 2011, cf. also Kerswill and Trudgill 2005). In my data we can observe almost all levels of Greek varieties from High L1 to Low L2 Greek with patterns that emerge from multicausal variation at the same time.

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### **About delocutive derivation in Ancient Greek**

Since Emile Benveniste formulated delocutive derivation in 1958, this linguistic notion has inspired major interest among linguists (Rey-Debove 1975, de Cornulier 1976, Darms 1980, Mignot 1981, Larcher 1985, see recently Rosen 2018). A course on Greek phonetics led me to study the clearly delocutive Greek verb σκορακίζω, which does not derive from the noun κόραξ but from the “locution” ἔς κόρακας (Létoublon 1988). The verb’s meaning of “curse” does not refer to the literal meaning of the phrase (“to the ravens”) but to its idiomatic use for the speech act (curse). Building on this example, we shall study other cases of delocutive derivation in Greek and their relation to the performative.

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**On the oblique optative in Herodotus and Attic prose completive sentences. Some preliminary remarks towards a comparative study**

The oblique optative is a modal use with very imprecise rules, so it is usually considered as a *consecutio modorum* when the verb of the main clause is in historical time, a mere substitution for an indicative or subjunctive, or as a less “vivid” procedure for the expression of verbal action, but not with a different meaning from these moods. It would, therefore, be a mark of subordination or indirect discourse. It has also been proposed that the oblique optative presents the action from the narrator’s perspective, and it may also be a temporal perspective, in this case of the past.

The oblique optative in completive clauses dependent on verbs of saying and thinking is the last stage of extension of this modal use, which does not appear in Homer, but which is already beginning to take shape in the Hymn to Aphrodite (h. Ven. 214) without being fully formed, something that will not happen until the 5th century BC.

These approaches do not fit well with the fact that modal forms in Greek are fully significant in classical times and their modal meanings in subordinate clauses is the same as in main ones, so the proposal of a *consecutio modorum* is not sufficient explanation. On the other hand, the studies on oblique optative tend to focus mainly on completive constructions dependent on verbs of saying and thinking of Attic prose texts as a less “vivid” expression procedure. But these modal forms can also appear in the first person in Attic oratory texts, which does not fit well with the lack of “vividness” proposed for this type of construction. To which it must be added that the mere comparison of Herodotus’ texts with others by of Attic authors reveals a greater tendency to use the oblique optative in the latter in what would apparently be syntactically similar contexts. Based on these considerations, our purpose is to analyze a series of Attic prose texts, mainly by Thucydides, Andocides and Antiphon, of completive clauses dependent on verbs of saying and thinking to compare them with others in Herodotus’ corpus. By means of this analysis we intend to explain the greater abundance of oblique optatives in completive clauses dependent on verbs of saying and thinking in Attic texts as due to the use of this mood for the expression of indirect evidentiality, not as mere grammatical substitutes for forms in indicative. This goes beyond the inference and verification or acceptance of the information that we find in Herodotus’s texts, to present the information as reported evidence with no commitment as to the information, either because it is taken for granted or previously known, or because the question of its veracity is not entered into. We are, therefore, faced with the use of the oblique optative as a linguistic resource within the range of rhetorical persuasion techniques.

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### **Estructura y significado de los topónimos de origen griego de Pisidia (Asia Menor)**

Nuestro póster se centrará en los topónimos de origen griego de una región de Asia Menor: Pisidia. En efecto, el griego permite explicar un tercio de los topónimos pisidianos. Después de presentar nuestro corpus, analizaremos la estructura de estos topónimos y reflexionaremos sobre la proporción de nombres compuestos. También llevaremos a cabo un estudio semántico de topónimos pisidianos de origen griego que pondrá de manifiesto dos categorías diferentes, a saber, nombres dinásticos y nombres descriptivos. Explicaremos los diferentes topónimos dinásticos y luego nos centraremos en el significado de los topónimos descriptivos. Estos topónimos pueden describir la vegetación, la apariencia de los ríos, el relieve y también pueden traducir la presencia de fortificaciones. Veremos cómo la lengua griega puede permitirnos acceder al paisaje pisidiano

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### Periphrases or not? On the constructions εἶναι + present participle

This paper deals with constructions formed by the verb εἶναι ‘to be’ and the present participle in ancient Greek. The corpus analysed for this study consists of all occurrences of the target structure in Biblical Greek, namely the Septuagint and the New Testament (see example (1)). Data from previous stages of Greek, especially Herodotus’ Histories, will be taken into account as well.

- (1) καὶ ἐγένετο Ἀβὲλ ποιμὴν προβάτων, Καὶ δὲ **ἦν ἐργαζόμενος** τὴν γῆν (Ge. 4.2)  
 ‘Now Abel was a keeper of sheep, and Cain a worker of the ground’

Such combinations are usually analysed as verbal periphrases with progressive meaning, in the same way as English and French periphrases formed by *be going to* and *être en train de* respectively (cf. Björck 1940; Dietrich 1973; Amenta 2003; Bentein 2011, 2012, 2013, 2016). According to this approach, the verb εἶναι ‘to be’ and the present participle constitute a unitary verb phrase. Its meanings range from *stative* to *progressive* to *habitual* imperfective according to the grammaticalization hypothesis (cf. Bertinetto *et al.* 2000). This analysis cannot account for several occurrences, especially those in which the two verbs are not contiguous, e.g. (2) (cf. Logozzo & Tronci 2020).

- (2) Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν πάλιν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν. καὶ **ἦν** ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος ἐξηραμμένην **ἔχων** τὴν χεῖρα (Mk 3.1)  
 ‘He entered again into a synagogue; and a man was there whose hand was withered’

A different analysis is suggested in this paper. We distinguish two types of structures; in neither of them, do the two verbs form a progressive verbal periphrasis. In the first type, the verb εἶναι is copular and the present participle, whose meaning is usually stative, behaves as a predicative adjective (e.g. ἦν συγκαθήμενος ‘he was sitting’ in Mk 14.54). In the second type, the two verbs are analysed as elements of some specific “constructions” (cf. Lambrecht 1994), among whichthetic clauses and cleft sentences are noteworthy. The verb εἶναι and the participle play here two different syntactic functions; namely, the former serves the purpose of focalising some element of the clause (e.g. the subject, the locative, etc.), whilst the latter expresses the main event of the clause. Evidence for this analysis is provided by some syntactic and pragmatic features, e.g. the non-obligatory contiguity of the two verbs, their position in the clause (the verb εἶναι can be clause-initial and precedes the participle), the informational structure of the clause, as especially regards the NPs in focus position (cf. Matić 2003; Bailey 2009; Bertrand 2010). In addition to analysing Biblical Greek data, we also aim at comparing them with data from previous stages of Greek, especially Herodotus’ language, where the constructions

at issue are abundant (cf. Rosén 1982 [1957]). Our goals are the following: (1) to investigate differences and similarities in Classical Greek and Biblical Greek concerning the combinations of εἶναι + present participle; (2) to highlight differences in the use of such constructions from Herodotus to Biblical Greek; (3) to examine whether such differences depend on internal- or external-language factors. Among the external-language factors, the issue of Hebrew influence on the Septuagint and New Testament constructions will also be discussed (cf. Polotsky 1944; Rosén 1982 [1967]; Niccacci 1993).

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### **Estudio de los rasgos lingüísticos que presentan los fragmentos papiráceos de novelas griegas**

El corpus de fragmentos de las novelas perdidas comprende unos cincuenta textos que están en su mayoría compuestos en un registro culto aunque no faltan las composiciones de estilo vulgar. La mayoría de estos textos data de los siglos I al III d.C., pero los más antiguos materiales corresponden a la novela de Nino (P.Berol. 6926 + P.Gen. 85 y PSI 1305), compuesta a finales del siglo I a.C. Algunos están copiados en trabajos profesionales, pero otros son obra de amanuenses poco doctos o que no dominan el griego, por lo que están plagados de errores de todo tipo en cuanto al vocalismo, consonantismo. En algunos pocos casos, contamos con columnas completas de escritura, pero la mayoría de ellos están plagados de lagunas y letras de incierta lectura, por lo que la lectura e interpretación del texto se complica.

El propósito de esta comunicación será analizar las peculiaridades lingüísticas de estos fragmentos y ofrecer un estudio que sea una primera aproximación a aspectos como: hiato, variantes fonéticas, son errores de grafía, recitado interno, sustrato lingüístico del escriba del propio autor, así como otras peculiaridades morfológicas, sintácticas, léxicas y estilísticas.

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### On The Accessibility Hierarchy in Ancient Greek

Relative clauses (RCs) have caused rivers of ink to flow. Usually, grammars of Ancient Greek have focused on issues such as the principles of agreement between the head noun (HN) and the RC, the phenomena of attraction, and the use of moods and tenses (see, for instance, Smyth 1956: 560-580). In the last decade a special attention has been turned to the typology of RCs, so that the following taxonomy has been established: headed or free RCs, head-external and head-internal RCs, embedded or adjoined RCs, and restrictive, non-restrictive and maximalizing RCs (Perna 2013: 321-324, Luján 2014 and Probert 2015: 61-73, 119-161). Even pragmatic approaches have been applied to the study of RCs (see Ruiz-Yamuza 2016 and 2017:148-149).

Nonetheless, very little is known about which syntactic functions can be relativized in Ancient Greek. In this sense, Perna (2013: 329) and Fauconnier (2014: 143, 154-158) have pointed that head-internal RCs never relativize subjects (i.e., the HN does not function as subject in the RC). This claim can be refuted, as shown by ὅς... ἀνὴρ below. Regardless, Perna's and Fauconnier's statement constitutes the first approach to this kind of matter in Ancient Greek, at least as far as I know.

ὅς δέ κ' ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ ὧν ὀχέων ἕτερ' ἄρμαθ' ἵκηται  
ἔγχει ὀρεξάσθω, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερον οὕτω (Hom. Il. 4. 306-307)

The relativization of syntactic functions has to do with The Accessibility Hierarchy (AH), elaborated by Keenan & Comrie in 1977 and qualified in 1979 by themselves (see also Fox 1987). Keenan & Comrie (1977: 66) claim that «languages vary with respect to which syntactic functions can be relativized and that the variation is not random». Instead, there seems to be a hierarchical relationship between them, which can be represented as follows: Subject > Object > Indirect object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of comparison (“>” means ‘more accessible than’). According to this, if a given syntactic function can be relativized, then all higher functions must also be relativizable. It should be noted that a cognitive basis seems to support the AH. In fact, the lowest the position on the AH, the harder it is to understand the RC. For instance, although in English objects of comparison can be relativized, speakers judge more acceptable “the man who is shorter than Mary” than “the man who Mary is taller than” (ib. 90).

Thus, my proposal consists in trying to find out, first, which syntactic positions of the AH are relativizable in Ancient Greek and, second, whether all types of RCs behave in the same way or not. A preliminary analysis based on the extant plays of Sophocles has revealed that head-external RCs reach the “genitive” position on the AH, whereas head-internal RCs do not surpass the “oblique”. In order to check the validity of these results I will extend the analysis to a wider corpus of classical authors (sc. Plato,

Xenophon and Lysias). In doing so I hope to contribute to a better understanding of Ancient Greek RCs.

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### **The syntax and semantics of ([N+V]V) verbal compounds in Ancient Greek**

In Ancient Greek we find a number of compound verbs with the structure ([N+V]V). They are verbal formations with a first nominal element and a second verbal one, as typified, e.g., by πολεμοποιέω ‘make war’, a compound of πόλεμος ‘war’ and ποιέω ‘make’.

In a typological perspective, these verbal compounds belong into the domain of what is usually referred to as ‘incorporation’, which Baker (2002: 262) defines as “a phenomenon in which two roots that would normally head distinct phrases are combined into a single morphological word”. Although other word classes can be involved, ‘incorporation’ is usually thought of as the combination of a noun and a verb resulting in a verb (cf. Mithun 1984: 847, Booij 2007: 92-93). In our case, a verb like πολεμοποιέω consists of an ‘incorporated’ noun and a verbal root with its usual inflectional morphemes and, in principle, the incorporated noun is expected to be the direct object of the verb. The compound verb would thus be synonymous with a verbal phrase like πόλεμον ποιεῖν ‘make war’.

Incorporation is typical of polysynthetic languages and its use and scope is more restricted in an inflected language like Ancient Greek (cf. Mithun 1984 for a hierarchical and implicational classification of the various types of incorporation). It is thus interesting to explore the morphology, semantics and syntactic behavior of this class of compound verbs in a non-polysynthetic language and compare the results to what has been found for polysynthetic languages.

In this paper, I analyze ([N+V]V) verbs in Ancient Greek which are not derived from a pre-existing compound noun (cf. Grandi – Pompei 2012 for a classification of -έω verbs in Ancient Greek). After determining the path of development of this word formation pattern (cf. Jacques 2012: 1208-1209) in Ancient Greek, my investigation has focused especially on the following aspects:

- a) morphology of the compound (morphological marking, stem of the noun...);
- b) thematic relationship between the ‘incorporated’ noun and the host verb (the ‘incorporated’ noun is not always the patient of the verb);
- c) semantics of the compound verb vs. the equivalent verbal phrase.
- d) transitivity/intransitivity of the compound verb (not all compound verbs of this kind are intransitive in Ancient Greek);
- e) referential value of the ‘incorporated’ noun in discourse;
- f) valency of the compound verb and promotion of oblique arguments.

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### **Beyond affectedness - Partitive objects and degrees of control**

As in several other ancient and modern Indo-European languages, in Ancient Greek the genitive may be used in place of the accusative to encode the direct object. The two types of object encoding can alternate with some verbs, alternation being viewed as connected with degrees of patient affectedness. This is typically exemplified with verbs of consumption, as in (1) and (2).

(1) μή πῶς τις λωτοῖο φαγὼν νόστοιο λάθεται.

‘So that nobody, having eaten some lotus, may forget the return.’ (Hom. *Od.* 9. 102)

(2) ἢ τὸν γ’ ἐν πόντῳ φάγον ἰχθύες

‘Or in the sea, the fish have eaten him up.’ (Hom. *Od.* 14.135)

While in (1) the partitive genitive indicates an indefinite quantity, in (2) the accusative refers to a fully accomplished action that refers to the whole direct object-patient. The verb φάγον indicates a change of state of the patient, hence the unbounded vs. bounded reading of the genitive vs. accusative objects in (1) and (2) (Napoli 2010; Conti & Luraghi 2014). Similarly, with contact verbs the two cases can alternate and indicate whether contact is actually achieved or not, as with the verb ὀρέγομαι ‘reach, hit’ with the accusative but ‘aim at’ with the genitive (Luraghi 2011; 2020: 49-51).

Alternation of the accusative with the partitive genitive, however, is not limited to change-of-state or contact verbs. In this paper, I focus on experiential verbs, typically characterized by a low degree of transitivity and not implying any change of state of the object-stimulus. Rather than concentrating to the implications of case alternation on the construal of the object, I consider the effects of variation on the whole construction, and argue that genitive vs. accusative marking of the object affects the construal of the subject-experiencer, in line with Malchukov (2005), who points out that constructions that imply low affectedness in the proto-patient also imply lower agentivity and control for the proto-agent. In the case of experiential verbs, Malchukov points out “the difference in argument structure between canonical transitives and ... verbs such as ‘see’ and ‘like’ ... relate ... importantly to properties of A [proto-agent, SL]. ... these verbs instantiate a deviation from the agentive prototype on the part of A” (2005: 80).

In my paper I show how object encoding affects the construal of the experiencer and reflects a scale based on possible control, in the case of experiential verbs corresponding to degrees of attention (Luraghi 2020: 147-149). The distribution of case marking with experiential verbs shows that accusative marking is typical of verbs of sight, thought, intellectual knowledge, and emotions connected to sight and awareness, such as wonder and fear. Genitive encoding is connected with touch, smell, taste, memory, forgetfulness, care and desire. In the in-between area, verbs of hearing, learning and verbs of affection may feature both accusative and genitive encoding. I also show that the

connection between sight and other experiential verbs that feature accusative encoding reflects an embodied conceptualization of experiential situations.

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### **βούλει/-εσθε, θέλεις/-ετε plus subjunctive in Classical Greek: subordination or coordination?**

Clause linkage between Greek main and finite subordinate clauses is always signaled by an overt subordinator, the only exception being the Classical Greek subjunctive following second-person βούλει/-εσθε or θέλεις/-ετε in interrogative sentences. Some have tried to explain this as the fusion of two distinct questions (Smyth §1806), as a parataxis not yet developed into a dependent clause (Goodwin §288; Kühner-Gerth §394), or else have suggested that this is best seen as a case of coordination (CGCG §40.1). Others are noncommittal (Crespo et al. §26.5.3) or merely state that the subjunctive clause is a subordinated one (Delbrück §196; Duhoux §180).

The aim of this paper is to show that examples such as βούλει εἶπω; ‘do you want me to say it?’ actually involve subordination despite the lack of a subordinator. Functionally subordination may be viewed as a conceptual asymmetry between linked state of affairs (SoA), one overriding the other (Cristofaro 2005).

It will be shown that in these complement constructions, the semantics of one of the linked SoA (the desiderative predicate βούλει etc.) entails that another SoA is referred to (the subjunctive clause), regardless of the presence of any conjunction, one of the linked clauses being included within the scope of the other. Semantically integrated as they are (Givón 2001, ch.12), main verb and subjunctive should not be taken as part of two independent clauses that later mingled. A typological parallel with Old Latin will be provided: as in Classical Greek, material gathered from Plautus shows a consistent preference not only for a construction without the subordinator *ut* (type *quid uis faciam*) but also over infinitive complement clauses (type *quid me facere uis*) when the volitive main verb is in the 2nd person and the subject of the dependent clause is in the 1st person. In Greek, subjunctive complementation (type βούλει εἶπω;) comprises the vast majority of cases, the AcI construction (type βούλει με εἰπεῖν;) being insignificant. But when the subjects are coreferential (type βούλει εἰπεῖν;) or if there is a shift to the 3rd person (type βούλει αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν;) only the AcI construction is possible. We will put forward a hypothesis as to why, there being a shift to the 1st person in desiderative predicates, the dependent verb of the interrogative clause may surface as in an independent clause, and not as an infinitive.

The paper will thus tackle three issues: subordination, lack of conjunction, and agreement. Subordination applies in our case given (i) the semantic integration (assertiveness tests will be applied to the data to see which part of the sentence is open to challenge), (ii) the context (βούλομαι/θέλω as two-argument verbs), and (iii) the iconicity of the constituents, regardless of their discourse relevance. The lack of conjunction will be typologically compared with Old Latin. As to person agreement, the shift to a 1st person finite verb, as against an infinitive, suggests that the speaker has the power to put into action the SoA described by the linked verb.

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### **Kiwi Attic: towards a new understanding of Aristophanes' Greek**

My paper explores linguistic variation within the corpus of Aristophanes' comedies, applying the latest sociolinguistic research on new dialect formation to elucidate unexplained variation between Attic and Ionic forms within the Greek of these texts. This paper challenges the view which has emerged in recent years that Aristophanes' language shows few unmarked signs of the contact hypothesized between Attic and Ionic speakers during the fifth century; I argue that some aspects of variation correspond to the so-called "Stage II" of new dialect formation proposed by Trudgill (2004).

Willi (2003, p. 268) in his survey of Aristophanes' grammar repeatedly notes the apparent 'conservatism and dialectal purism' of the comic writer's language. While this is certainly true of some features, often this is only a partial description of a linguistic situation which demonstrates much apparently unmotivated variation with both innovative and conservative variants being found side by side. This mixed picture is somewhat surprising in a supposedly pure dialect.

The development of Attic and the emergence of the Koiné have been identified as being partly a feature of Attic-Ionic contact among speakers in Athens during the fifth century (Cassio, 1982; Horrocks, 2010, p. 77), many of whom seem to have arrived between 480 and 450 (Akrigg, 2019, p. 155). Should we not therefore expect to find traces of contact-induced phenomena in Aristophanes, whose plays date from the latter quarter of the fifth century and early part of the fourth?

The work of Trudgill (1998) on New Zealand English's earliest period has demonstrated that the first generations born into a contact environment show significant infra- and inter-dialectal variation at the phonological level, a phenomenon since confirmed at the morphosyntactic level by the work of Al-Wer in the Arabic of Amman, Jordan (2020). This so-called "Stage II" of new dialect formation is what we should predict to see in Aristophanes' works given that he (birth date between 460 and 450) and very many of his characters were likely born into a Stage II period of the Attic dialect. My paper considers the historical evidence for population changes and dialect contact between Ionic and Attic speakers. It then analyses the attestation of several variables found in Aristophanes and compares them to their attestation in other texts- especially epigraphy- through the prism of these new models of new dialect formation. I argue that Attic at this period, and of the language recorded in Aristophanes' plays, is best described in Trudgill's Stage II framework and the variation found in certain features is a reflection of this situation. This challenges in part Willi's assertion that Aristophanes demonstrates a conservative and pure Attic and proposes to see these texts as part of Attic's evolution towards the Koiné.

This paper sheds new light on the history and mechanics of the evolution of Attic especially in the fifth century, as well as demonstrating how we can use epigraphy and

other texts in conjunction with the latest research from modern languages to better understand comedy.

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### **Support verb constructions in post-classical Greek: the case of ποιέω**

Support verb constructions (SVCs) are defined as semi-lexical collocations in which a predicative noun is combined with a partially or completely de-semanticized verb which acts as a mere operator (Mendózar Cruz 2015: 7). SVCs exhibit an interlinguistic variation that renders impossible their word for word translation. For example, in English attention is paid, whereas in other languages it may be lent (Spa., prestar atención), gifted (Ger., Aufmerksamkeit schenken), made (Fr., faire attention) or given (mod. Greek, δίνω προσοχή). Their study is therefore necessary for the elaboration of adequate translation tools, such as lexica and dictionaries, and for automatic translation. Consequently, SVCs have received considerable attention from researchers of modern languages and, more recently, from classicists (vid. Mendózar Cruz 2015 for a status quaestionis).

Another characteristic of SVCs is that they display analogous variations within a single language (Baños Baños 2018b). Their diachronic analysis may therefore cast some light upon issues related to their use in different periods, authors, literary genres and even registers (vid. Bentein 2013 for a proposal regarding the study of linguistic variation across registers or linguistic levels). Furthermore, they experience processes of grammaticalization through which diathetic or aspectual alternations may be created (Jiménez López 2021).

Our aim is to study the SVCs formed with the verb ποιέω/ποιοῦμαι in a representative corpus of postclassical Greek texts in order to analyze their renovation. This verb was chosen for being the most frequent in the formation of Greek SVCs. As pointed out by some scholars, in classical Greek the verb ποιοῦμαι may only be used as a prototypical support verb in the middle voice (Jiménez López 2016: 191), while the active voice is used in causative expressions. The reason for this is (i) that a criterion which defines SVCs is the correferentiality of the noun's first argument and the verb's syntactic subject and (ii) that the middle voice is characterized by an affection of the subject in the action expressed. Due to this, the middle voice allows for an organization of the arguments of the noun according to this criterion of correferentiality, whereas the active voice lacks this feature. Nevertheless, in post-classical Greek SVCs with the verb ποιέω in the active voice start to emerge, such as εὐχὴν ποιέω ('to say a prayer', Sancti Danielis Stylitae Vita Antiquior 18. 9), which is equivalent to εὐχομαι ('to pray'). Hence, it seems clear that there are interesting diachronic variations at play in the constitution of these structures. It is also noteworthy that these periphrases, as the ones studied by Bentein (2013), may contribute to the characterization of different linguistic levels.

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### **Backgrounding, theticals and periphrastic τυγχάνειν**

The foreground/background distinction (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Dry 1992) consists of a number of factors, grouped together because they tend to co-occur in discourse, though having independent effects as well (Myhill & Hibiya 1988). Therefore, the distinction may be a gradual rather than a binary one (Givón 1987). From such a standpoint, the author explores the use of τυγχάνειν + participle in narrative texts as a hypothetical backgrounder. The occurrence of the periphrasis in constructions where backgrounded information is conveyed is significantly high in some authors. In the narrative work of Thucydides, for instance, over an 80 % of the instances of the periphrasis are related to backgrounded material. The relation is investigated with reference to different layers of linguistic structure, including both content and formal criteria (Reinhart 1984), namely:

1. The construction itself. The periphrasis is frequent in parenthetical constructions, such as γάρ clauses and non-restrictive relative clauses.
2. Co-occurring expressions. When in main sentences, apparently conveying foregrounded material, the periphrasis may co-occur with expressions that point to a backgrounding status, such as initial anaphors and temporal adverbs (τότε).
3. Objective-aspect reference of the participle. More than an 80% of instances in Th. exhibit a stative reference (de la Villa 2008).
4. Tense. Whether relative or authorial tenses are involved in the construction (Allan 2011).
5. Modality: most of the instances found are factual statements.
6. Pragmatic status: apparently foregrounding constructions are actually used for establishing a New Frame and triggering ad hoc presupposition (Stalnaker 1974; Lambrecht 1994; Bertrand 2014).

The author tries to identify the conceptual base of this behavior in order to offer a convincing explanation. Traditional theories based on a mere periphrastic value (Müller-Strübing 1881; Smith 1894; Powell 1938) or on an aspectual progressive periphrastic value (Wheeler 1891; Rydbeck 1969; Dietrich 1973; Bentein 2016) are dismissed. Instead, an explanation is offered based on evidential modality values.

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### **Sobre el uso de ὦ en los diálogos de la Odisea: Análisis de (ὦ) γέρον, (ὦ) γύναι y (ὦ) ξεῖνε**

El presente trabajo, centrado en los diálogos de la Odisea, analiza el uso de la interjección ὦ en combinación con los apelativos γέρον, γύναι y ξεῖνε. Como señala Dickey (2010: 329), en griego antiguo el hablante se dirige normalmente a ancianos, mujeres y forasteros, no mediante su nombre propio, sino mediante el rasgo que los diferencia de los varones adultos con plenitud de derechos. En la Odisea este fenómeno es también frecuente.

En lo que respecta al uso de ὦ, es evidente que los poemas homéricos presentan acusadas diferencias respecto al griego de época clásica. Sin embargo, no hay acuerdo unánime sobre los factores que determinan la presencia o ausencia de ὦ en Homero. Así, algunos autores (cf. Scott 1903 y Brioso 1971, entre otros) vinculan el uso de la interjección con un grado alto de confianza entre el hablante y su interlocutor. Otros, sin embargo, (cf. Dickey 1996), apelan a factores de carácter métrico.

El trabajo propuesto tiene como objetivo el análisis de (ὦ) γέρον, (ὦ) γύναι y (ὦ) ξεῖνε desde un punto de vista pragmático–discursivo (cf. Watts 2003). De este modo, se analizarán la relación de poder y de confianza entre el hablante y su interlocutor, la situación en la que se produce el intercambio comunicativo y los propósitos del hablante en cada una de sus intervenciones (cf. Brown y Levinson 1987). También se tendrá en cuenta la interacción entre el hablante y su interlocutor, que puede llevar a cambios de actitud acusados de uno y otro. Estos cambios de actitud se traducen, con frecuencia, en la elección de una estrategia lingüística determinada, y no de otra (cf. Spencer – Oatey 2005). Por último, se analizarán los factores de orden métrico, como la posición en el verso o el deseo del poeta de evitar un hiato, como criterio complementario -no excluyente- de los factores de tipo pragmático.

Como se mostrará en la comunicación, los resultados del trabajo propuesto no coinciden exactamente con ninguna de las hipótesis planteadas hasta ahora.

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### **Modal Auxiliaries and Evidentiality in Classical Greek**

Modal auxiliaries that synchronically code epistemic meaning may also convey the evidential values of inference or reportativity in some modern European languages (Squartini, 2004 on French, Italian, and Spanish; de Haan, 1999 on Dutch; Mortelmans, 2000 on German; Goossens, 1999 on English). This mostly applies to the modals that have undergone the shift from deontic to epistemic necessity (e.g., the Romance reflexes of *debēre*). The change itself involves subjectification, which increases the scope of the modal auxiliary from state-of-affairs to the level of proposition (Traugott & Dasher, 2001; Hengeveld & Mackenzie, 2008). This amounts to a shift from event-oriented (deontic) to speaker-oriented (epistemic) modality. Furthermore, diachronic studies suggest that implicatures leading to evidential reading are most common before the modal reaches the final stage of subjectivization (e.g., Goossens, 1999 on the English historical data). In other words, the grammaticalization cline appears to follow the order objective deontic > (evidential) > subjective epistemic.

The shift from deontic to epistemic modality also affected the Greek modal auxiliaries *anánkē* (*estí*), *deî*, *opheilō*, *ekhrên*, and *eikós*; other epistemic modals developed directly from the pre-modal verbs *éoike* and *kindyneúō* (see Allan, 2013 for a synthesis; individual auxiliaries are treated in Ruiz Yamuza 2008a, 2008b; Ruijgh, 1986). Most of their occurrences in the Classical period are, if applicable, still deontic in meaning, as the subjective epistemic value remains marginal. Given the cline mentioned above, the contexts that are neither prototypically deontic nor subjectively epistemic are well suited to trigger implicatures leading to evidential reading.

This contribution analyses the role of evidential justification in such contexts. More specifically, we focus on the source input (e.g., sensory data or shared knowledge) and on the extent to which speakers verbalize the process of inference that led to a particular conclusion. The component of inference is also evaluated based on the degree of (inter)subjectivity in the sense of Nuyts (2001). This feature describes whether the inferred conclusion is available solely to the speaker or also to other participants of the communication. Note that this should not be confused with the opposition between objective and subjective modality as it is defined in Functional Discourse Grammar. Given that a multifarious approach to the matters of (inter)subjectivity and objectivity is needed for this kind of research, we follow the integrative account of this domain developed in Narrog (2012).

The epistemic modals *éoike* and *kindyneúō*, which did not evolve from deontic modals, are analyzed according to the same criteria. Their different origin (i.e. the expressions of comparison and imminent danger respectively) invites a cross-linguistic comparison with the markers of inference that have evolved from similar sources (for the development comparison > inference see Narrog, 2012: 136–139 on Japanese and Petit, 2018 on Lithuanian; for danger > inference see Diwald & Smirnova, 2010 on German).

The synchronic data for this study are the speeches of the ten Attic orators. Examples from other periods are adduced to illustrate the paths of development of the selected modals.

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### **Funere mersit acerbo**

In wondering what the Homeric heroes' funeral provided for, the paper specifically questions the meaning of *ταρχύω* and *ταριχεύω*, two verbs which clearly look like they are connected to each other. The meaning of *ταρχύω* recorded in Liddell and Scott's dictionary is "bury solemnly". This must be rectified, however, and likewise the connection of *ταρχύω* with *ταριχεύω* must be accepted, pace Liddell and Scott. The latter verb, in fact, can be regarded as a variant form of the former, and constitute with this a pair of the type of *ταριχηρός* and *ταρχηρός*, *ταραχή* and *τάρχη*, *σκάριφος* and *σκαρφίον*, and so on. Of both verbs, *ταρχύω* and *ταριχεύω*, the original meaning and the etymology have hitherto been lacking. A careful analysis of the texts in which forms of either *ταρχύω* or *ταριχεύω* are used makes it possible to establish that the original meaning of these verbs was just "to dry". The etymology I am proposing by having recourse to Benveniste's theory of the Indo-European root falls easily into place with a number of Indo-European cognates. Thus *ταριχεύω* and *ταρχύω*, "to dry", would naturally come to connote "preserve" and include smoking, drying with salt and other methods. Therefore, the essence of the Homeric funeral, which *ταρχύω* would naturally express, was the treatment of the body with fire. Fire was in its action 'drying', and apparently it was characterized as *κήλεος* by Homer (cf. *κηλός* and *περίκηλος* as well). The ancients themselves support this view, as I shall show. It can thus be explained not only Homer's term for the funeral by cremation of his day, *ταρχύειν*, but also perhaps its original basis – the curious practices of earlier ages. The archaeological finds in the second shaft-grave at Mycenae help us in this respect. Instead of Homer's full cremation, we find from very early times partial application of fire. The vaporous *ψυχή* or life-soul was closely bound up with the life-liquid filling the flesh. The verb *ταριχεύειν* was used to describe the 'drying up' of this liquid, which meant the shriveling of the flesh, the reduction of the body 'to a skeleton', as we say, a *σκελετός*, i.e. 'dried up' body. In any case, the funeral practiced by the Achaeans of Homer, to which this term *ταρχύειν* was applied and in which, after the extinction of the pyre, the clearly recognizable bones of the individual remained and were honored with burial, seems to be merely a slight development of the process, carrying rather further by a fiercer fire or its more intimate application the 'drying', the elimination of flesh or moisture and so of the vaporous *ψυχή*.

The use of consuming the soft parts of the body to free the bones and then storing them in a tomb certainly recalls a similar custom in the ancient-Persian world. Unlike the Greeks, who entrusted the loss of the soft parts to the burning of fire, the ancient Persians adopted a system, so to speak, more 'natural', allowing dogs and other animals and birds to devour them over a longer or shorter period of time. Attested to in the Avesta, this system has obviously been enriched with religious motivations of Zoroastrian flavor. What emerges from the testimonies, however, is a similar way of treating the bodies of the deceased, which might have been of Indo-European descent.

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### **Greek αῦλις and αῦλιον: Shaky Stables, Dark Caves, and Flimsy Nests**

The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek attributes the following meanings to αῦλιον and its poetic (near )synonym αῦλις:

#### **αῦλιον**

1. Country cottage, cabin, stall, hut (h.Merc. 103; Eur. Cyc. 345; X. HG 3.2.4 etc.)
2. Grotto, cavern, cave (S. Ph. 19 etc.)
3. Stable (h.Merc. 71 al.; Call. 6.105; Theoc. 16.92 al.)
4. Building (AP 9.424.4 Duris)

#### **αῦλις**

1. Place to spend the night, bivouac (Il. 9.232)
2. Nest (Od. 22.470)
3. Stable (h.Merc. 71 al.; Call. 6.105; Theoc. 16.92 al.)
4. Cave (E. Cyc. 363, etc.)

Similar meanings are found in the other modern dictionaries (LSJ, Bailly, DGE), the Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos being the exception.

In my paper I intend to demonstrate that, while the full spectrum of these meanings does occur in some literary texts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and in ancient lexica, the semantic range of αῦλιον and αῦλις is limited to folds and pens for livestock in texts of the archaic and classical periods. I will argue that evidence for the other meanings during this earlier period has been unjustifiably inferred from context.

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### **Nuove prospettive sul lessico greco antico dei colori, tra universalismo e relativismo**

In questa ricerca si esplorano le peculiarità del lessico cromatico greco-antico in un'ottica neo-relativista/neo-whorfiana, nel solco del dibattito innescato dalla nota teoria formulata nel 1969 da B. Berlin e P. Kay (undici *basic color terms* universali in una sequenza evolutivo-implicazionale articolata in sette stadi). Impostando con metodi nuovi un problema antico, proponiamo per diversi termini ed epiteti interpretazioni e traduzioni originali, utilizzando anche concetti della Linguistica Cognitiva.

Quasi tutti i cromonimi greci risultano unità composite che sussumono, in sincronia o diacronia, nozioni diverse (movimento, velocità, umidità, emotività, percezioni sinestesiche). Il valore cromatico, all'inizio secondario o assente, si rivela spesso un più tardo sviluppo dell'originario dato luministico: non semplice deriva semantica ma mutamento nei parametri di interpretazione/classificazione della gamma cromatica. Tre fattori operano nel processo diacronico:

- 1) luminosità inerente la radice, dalla quale avviene la successiva determinazione coloristica;
- 2) associazione costante a un referente concreto, ascrivibile a una tonalità compresa in quel grado luministico;
- 3) sintesi svolta dall'elemento affettivo/espressivo.

Fondamentali appaiono i condizionamenti culturali poiché il lessico greco-antico dei colori si genera in stretta relazione al *milieu* socio-tecnologico: i simbolismi connessi alla tecnologia e terminologia della tintura gettano nuova luce sull'ampiezza semantica di *porphýreos*, mentre la nozione di "cangiante" chiarisce specifiche collocazioni letterarie sovente considerate anomale; anche la scarsa lessicalizzazione delle lunghezze d'onda corte (verde-blu), con complementare ricchezza dei campi "rosso-giallo-viola", è riconducibile a specifiche condizioni socioculturali. Utile può rivelarsi il ricorso a comparazioni antropologiche moderne: il sistema hanunóo (Filippine) suggerisce un possibile tratto comune alle numerose accezioni di *chlorós*.

Cerchiamo di dimostrare come l'ipotesi universalista e la nozione stessa di *basic color term*, trascurando importanti aspetti connotativi, diacronici e culturali, risultino inadeguate a descrivere, comprendere e interpretare la cromonimia greco-antica, per la sua ricchezza e complessità strutturale nonché per il suo sviluppo diacronico; il greco copre infatti tutta la gamma cromatica, compresa la controversa zona "blu/azzurra". Nello specifico, riteniamo che il *focus* di alcuni cromonimi non si fondi solo nella percezione, ma possa derivare dalla salienza di certi oggetti e concezioni nella cultura greco-antica; contrariamente alla *vulgata*, tendiamo a considerare categorie cromatiche quali *chlorós* e

*argós* non polisemiche bensì prototipiche: ogni significato è legato all'altro da un concatenarsi semantico basato su successive estensioni metaforico/metonimiche a partire dal centro, così anche certi mutamenti diacronici si spiegano come passaggio da un prototipo all'altro nella medesima categoria.

L'indagine si esemplifica e trova conferme nell'analisi di un *corpus* particolarmente rappresentativo: le commedie di Aristofane.

Il lessico dei colori, in conclusione, evidenzia alcune peculiarità del greco antico e mostra come presunte "aporie" appaiano tali solo perché generate e tenute in vita da una cultura distante dalla nostra nel classificare/categorizzare l'esperienza. Inoltre, un settore appannaggio finora quasi esclusivo della filologia classica può utilmente avvalersi anche di assunti della Linguistica Cognitiva come quello di "prototipo": interpretando la categorizzazione sulla base di presupposti universalistici, ma recuperandone aspetti arbitrari attraverso il rimando ai condizionamenti culturali che intervengono sul digradare dal centro alla periferia, si apre una possibile soluzione al dilemma universalismo/relativismo.

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### **Old Attic, New Attic, and Koine: a terminological dispute**

Purist tendencies had a long tradition in the history of the Greek language. In the second century CE, the development of a movement known as Atticism, which searched for purity in vocabulary, morphology, and syntax, had a remarkable fossilizing effect on the form of written Greek throughout the subsequent history of the language (Strobel 2012, Vessella 2018, Tribulato 2021). The Atticists' tendency to identify Ancient Greek as a whole with Attic, the interpretation of different stages of Greek as monolithic entities, and the practice of labelling deviations from Classical Greek as "mistakes" are all aspects of the Atticists' approach which had a crucial impact on the transmission of the Greek language. These ideas had significant consequences both for the definition of Greeks' linguistic identity, which at different chronological stages continued to be defined in relation to the past and for the way in which the Greek language has been perceived over the centuries as a juxtaposition of separate stages, rather than as a continuum of verbal and social dynamics (Horrocks 2010). This had a profound impact on the evolution and transmission of the Greek language, with the consequence of influencing the perceptions of scholars of Greek up to our age. In this respect, a detailed analysis of Atticist lexica's methodology and theoretical stances can shed light on ancient conceptions of language and varieties and reveal the impact that Atticist practices had on speakers' usage and the evolution and transmission of Greek.

My paper aims to investigate the use of linguistic labels in Atticist lexica to define different stages of the Greek language. The opposition between Attic and koine usages is a common practice in the Atticist lexica. This feature is clearly expressed in the binary structure of Moeris' lexicon (third century CE) in the form 'x is Attic, y is Hellenic', whilst also sometimes appearing in the tripartite form, 'x is Attic, y is Hellenic, and y/z belongs to the common language (κοινόν)'. While different meanings for the word κοινόν have already been proposed (Thumb 1901, Jannaris 1903, Maidhof 1912, Versteegh 1987, Cassio 1993), a general investigation of the linguistic labels used in this lexicon is still missing. The distinction into primary Attic, middle Attic, secondary Attic (Hedberg 1935, Galligani 2001, Schironi 2018), κοινόν and ἡ κοινὴ συνήθεια (Valente 2013) is a significant aspect of this lexicon that could give us insights into the Atticists' conceptions of chronological and dialectal varieties of Greek, the idea of language change and language evolution, and consequently the relationship between different stages of the Greek language, which were associated with different degrees of correctness. By comparing Moeris' system with other lexicographical sources (Probert 2004, 2006), I propose an analysis of the linguistic labels used in the Atticist lexica to see what they can tell us about Atticists' conceptualization of linguistic history and the impact this had on the transmission of the Greek language.

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### Lexical cohesion and its devices in narrative prose: Thucydides

In the last decades, there has been an increase in the number of studies focusing on grammatical as well as lexical cohesions in modern languages and adopting various approaches. With regard to ancient Greek, there is a collective monograph edited by S. Bakker & G. Wakker (2009); however, the book is restricted only to grammatical cohesion.

My aim is to draw attention to the phenomenon of lexical cohesion. Generally, two different types of lexical cohesion are distinguished: reiteration and collocation. Reiteration is generally described as including repetition (boy ~ boy), [near]-synonymy (clap ~ applause), antonymy (awake ~ asleep), superordinates (sparrow ~ bird), and general nouns (thing, problem), as well as meronymy (tree ~ root, branch), etc., which is a relation where “lexical items reiterate, or are semantically related to a previous item, either in an identical or somewhat modified fashion, with or without co-referentiality” (Gómez 2010:601). By contrast, collocation holds “between two words or phrases in a discourse when they pertain to a particular theme or topic, which is normally hard to classify without context” (Nguyen 2011:305), e.g., {paper, contribution, review} in conference topic. These relations appear in ancient Greek texts as well, e.g., Thuc. 1.1-1.5. σιδηροφορεῖσθαι ~ ἐσιδηροφόρει (complex repetition); πάλαι ~ τὰ πρότερα (synonyms); τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ~ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν (contrast); τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν + μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ~ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων (superordinate); {παραθαλάσσιοι ~ νήσους εἶχον ~ ναυσὶν ~ ληστείαν ~ ἥρπαζον ~ λησταὶ ~ ἐλήζοντο ~ ληστείας ~ σιδηροφορεῖσθαι} (topic piracy); ἥρπαζον ~ δρᾶν (general noun), etc.

My paper is focused on a qualitative analysis of cohesive devices in ancient Greek prose, the corpus being formed by Thuc. I. I adopt a discourse-specific perspective assuming that the potential cohesive ties are often (con)text-dependent (cf. Gómez 2018:111, Tanskanen 2006) and, as studies on modern languages point out (e.g. Flowerdew & Mahlberg 2009, Enyi 2019) that lexical cohesion is genre-specific. Because the taxonomy of lexical cohesive ties found in various studies, e.g., Gómez (2018), Berzlánovich et al. (2012) and Tanskanen (2006), Halliday & Hasan (1976), Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) features some differences, I identify individual patterns of cohesive devices and discuss Thucydides' lexical cohesive strategies in order to propose a modified categorization, which reflects better the situation in ancient Greek. Further, I discuss some other points: Is lexical cohesion in ancient Greek as important as it is claimed for English. Which lexical cohesive devices characterize Greek historical prose? What is their distribution? Is there any difference between narrative parts and speeches in Thuc. I?

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### **How to be polite by using evidential strategies: a case-study from Aristophanes**

The aim of this talk is to investigate evidentiality in Ancient Greek by connecting it with the analysis of politeness. Evidentiality, intended as “a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information” (Aikhenvald 2004: 3), has often been regarded as ‘exotic’ since it does not belong to the grammar of many languages spoken in Europe. Recently, many studies have pointed out how evidentiality can be analyzed “as a more general ‘functional category’ expressed by different means” (Squartini 2018: 274). As such, it has been investigated also in Ancient Greek (see, e.g., Van Roy 2016, Lillo 2017), although there is still a lack of large-scale findings.

This study aims at contributing to a better understanding of Greek evidentiality by focusing on pragmatic aspects, namely looking at the function of evidential strategies in verbal interaction. In order to do this, the relationship between evidentiality and politeness will be focused on.

It has already been noted that the need for avoiding a face threatening act (in terms of politeness theory: cf. Brown & Levinson 1987) may be interpreted as a key factor in the speaker’s choice of linguistic strategies reflecting vague language (what is labelled as mitigation or vagueness; cf., among others, Caffi 1997, Voghera & Collu 2017). Indirect evidentiality may equally serve the purpose of being unspecific about the source of information, as happens with hearsay, since it reduces speaker’s involvement or commitment; on the contrary, direct evidentiality may be employed as a positive courtesy strategy (Brown & Levinson 1987, 198-203), since it allows to be inclusive, express a high degree of involvement and, then, prevent face threatening acts.

Despite relevant advances in our knowledge of the Greek politeness system (see, among others, Poccetti (2014), Barrios Lech (2020), Battezzato (2020), Lloyd (2020)), the possibility that politeness plays a crucial role in selecting linguistic means with an evidential function has not been investigated so far in Ancient Greek. In order to explore this possibility, I will conduct a corpus-based analysis of evidentiality within a selection of Aristophanes’ comedies. Drawing on the data taken from my corpus, I will address the following research questions: (i) how speakers behave, in pursuing their goals in the context of a verbal interaction with their addressees, with regard to the specification of the source of information; (ii) which linguistic forms are used with an evidential value to serve the pragmatic purpose of ‘being polite’ (in the broader sense of creating a polite or not-impolite environment); (iii) to what extent indirect or direct evidentiality may be regarded as linguistic strategies for preventing face threatening acts, in order to protect pragmatic interests and to avoid conflictuality.

An expected result of this research is to show in which sense we may speak of evidentiality as a functional category in the language of the Greek comedy, and how this category turns out to be necessary in order to interpret the specific dynamics of the dramatic dialogue and, at the same time, to put light on the system of politeness.

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**On some compounds with -φρῶν on the light of the Homeric human physiology**

The Homeric idea of the self involves a strong ‘body-mind’ association as the physical dimension is the only one recognized by Homer, with a resulting correspondence between Homeric physical and psychical lexicon (see Onians 1951; Laspia 1996; Spatafora 1999; Bartolotta 2012; Levko 2016; author 2019, 2020; Dedović 2021). In Homer all the human functions, including the psychic and the cognitive ones, depend on the cardiovascular system. Because of the physical life principle (i.e. θυμός), the heart (i.e. κραδίη/καρδία, κῆρ, ἦτορ; also θυμός) moves inside the pericardium (i.e. φρένες, pl. form of φρήν, gen. φρενός), supervising all the vital functions. The significant interchangeability between the Homeric terms mentioned above is a consequence of the lack of functional distinctions: these organs, not only manage together movements and actions, but also emotions, desires, wills, speech, reasoning, and thoughts.

Despite its controversial etymology and semantics, the term φρένες seem to refer to the pericardium and it is quite frequent in Homer (over 340 occurrences), and this is probably due to the fact the φρένες contain the heart and are involved in its movement (see Chantraine 1968: s.v. φρήν; see also Snell 1977, among others). The impulse to do as well as to think or decide something, comes from the motion of the heart inside the φρένες, e.g. Il. 10.220, [...] ἔμ’ ὀτρύνει κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ “[...] my heroic heart urges me (to do)”, Il. 10.232, [...] αἰεὶ γάρ οἱ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἐτόλμα “[...] for the heart in his chest was always daring (to do)” (cf. φρονέω “to be minded; have understanding; think”).

With a different apophonic form, the stem of φρεν- is a quite productive element in compounding, especially with the -o- grade and as the second constituent (e.g. ἄ-φρῶν “crazed; frantic”). The present study deals with a specific class of nominal compounds in Homeric Greek, i.e. those adjectives having -φρῶν (gen. -φρονοῦς) as the second constituent and a particle, namely a preposition, as the first one, e.g. ἐπίφρῶν “thoughtful”, πρόφρῶν “with forward mind; kindly; willing; earnest”. Particles were originally spatial adverbial forms that gradually underwent a diachronic grammaticalization process, becoming preverbs and prepositions (see, among others, Meillet 1912; Chantraine 1953; Pompei 2014). Since all the functions of the Homeric human being depend on the spatial movement of the heart, namely φρένες, the study analyzes the semantics of the type of compounds mentioned above, by considering both the specific inner spatial value of particles and the Homeric human physiology, and taking into account the larger contexts of use within the Homeric poems. Just to provide an example, the following context refers to being in agreement with somebody’s opinion (cf. δίχ’ vs. ἕνα θυμὸν ἔχοντε) and to advising for the best:

(1) οὕτε ποτ’ εἰν ἀγορῇ δίχ’ ἐβάζομεν οὕτ’ ἐνὶ βουλῇ, ἀλλ’ ἕνα θυμὸν ἔχοντε νόῳ καὶ ἐπίφρονι βουλῇ φραζόμεθ’ Ἀργείοισιν ὅπως ὅχ’ ἄριστα γένοιτο (Od. 3.128) “(Odysseus

and I) never spoke in disagreeing (lit. “in two different ways”) in the assembly nor in the council, but sharing the same heart and with a shrewd thought and counsel, we considered the best options for the Argives”.

According to the spatial value of ἐπί “over”, which involves physical contact, the context suggests that ἐπί-φρων implies a sort of ‘movement towards the things’ made by the φρένες of both heroes, entailing the adherence of their φρένες with the object of thought.

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### **The enactivist treatment of metaphor in 4th century BCE Greek texts**

This paper - being a part of a broader project on the cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor in Antiquity - will consider Democritus DK A135, Isocrates, *Evag.* 9-10, fr. 10 Mathieu, Aeschines' *Timarch.* 166-167, Plato's *Politic.* 281a-285b and a number of Aristotle's passages in order to argue that meanings of words in these passages correspond directly to sensorimotor schemas (Novokhatko 2014; and especially Membrez 2018). This paper will further argue that in late Classical Greek metaphors are emphasized as models grounded in embodied experience. Abstract concepts cannot be conceptualized without being embodied in images schemas or in structures of cognition. Abstract concepts already in pre-Aristotelian texts are understood as emerging from the bodily interaction with the environment.

The main methodological source to support this argument is the enactivist theory of vision. It is a branch of embodiment cognition which suggests that visual perception and perceptual appearance should not in fact be understood in terms of the static visibility of objects, but rather as a selective and attention-dependent exploration of the environment in the service of embodied interactions of the mind and body with it (Noë 2004, 2009). For the approach to metaphor the enactivist theory and the concept of body shaping the mind are of particular importance. Metaphorical word meanings are not given to consciousness all at once but are gained gradually by active inquiry and exploration (Danesi 1995; Nöth 1985; Prandi 2004 and 2010; Zanker 2016). Perceptual experience acquires content thanks to our possession and exercise of practical bodily knowledge (Ricoeur 1978). The neural activation associated with the emotional side of perception is indicative, not of a separate cognitive act (the recipient infers something about what he/she sees), but of how embodied emotions inform visual perception from the beginning (Gallagher 2008; Colombetti and Thompson 2008; Huitink 2019; Huitink 2020). Recent evidence in neuroscience and psycholinguistics suggest that the mental image can be accessed and interact with higher order processes of cognition in the determination of speaker meaning (Lakoff 2008 and Leezenberg 2001, 271). Metaphors establish the perspectival aspect of the representational content of experience and assess the place of thought and understanding in experience (Traugott 1985 and Zanker 2016).

In his famous theory of vision Democritus had argued that the air between our eyes and the seen object (τὸν ἀέρα τὸν μεταξὺ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τοῦ ὁρωμένου) is moulded (τυποῦσθαι συστελλόμενον) by the object and the seer, and thus a solid impression (τοιαύτην εἶναι τὴν ἐντύπωσιν) is stamped (DK A135 = Theophr. Sens. 50). The concept of mental imagery and metaphor becomes thus a process explained in bodily terms. I will focus on the 4th century BCE exclusively in order to consider the use of the lemmas 'metapherein', 'eikon' and 'paradeigma' (and all derivatives) in theoretical passages on mental visibility and (conceptual) metaphor in various prose texts - not sufficiently analyzed before (Deignan 1995; Stefanowitsch & Gries 2006). These passages reflect

certain contemporary theoretical views on metaphor and mental images and can thus be brought into a fruitful dialogue with this newly awakened interest in bodily interaction with the environment.

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**Between Indo-European heritage and substratum influence: disentangling the history of Greek ἀλωή and ἄλως.**

All etymological dictionaries of Greek (DELG, GEW, EDG, s.v. ἀλωή) group ἀλωή and ἄλως, as well as a row of presumable dialectal variants of the word (ἄλων, Sicilian Doric ἄλος, Cypriot ἄλουα and a-la-wo) under one single lemma, defining its meaning as ‘threshing floor, garden’. The origin of the word is considered obscure, as the only IE etymology of the word connecting it with PIE \*uel(u)- ‘wind’ (Schwyzer 1953: 479 with fn. 7) appears to be refuted by the syllabic Cypriot evidence which features no initial u. In my talk I will revisit the available evidence on the word set, arguing that we have to do in fact with two distinct words of different underlying semantics and of different origin. While ἄλως ‘threshing floor’ can be defined as a word of Indo-European origin probably indeed going back to \*uel(u)-, the history of ἀλωή is more complex and can be connected rather with East-Mediterranean linguistic substratum, which is suggested by probable cognates of the word found in Anatolian languages.

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### **Prosody and word-order effects of pragmaticalization: ἔφη and οἶμαι**

The present paper deals with the effects this process has on prosody and word-order via the study of two verbs that undergo two different processes of pragmaticalization, i.e. grammaticalization of pragmatic functions (Diewald, 2011): ἔφη as an indirect-speech marker and οἶμαι (including cases of ἐγῴμαι) as an epistemic marker. The study is based on classic era texts: Plato, the three tragedians, Aristophanes and Demosthenes

The behaviour of ἔφη as a quasi-postpositive has already been pointed out (Rijksbaron, 2015, p. 409; Scheppers, 2011, pp. 210–212). It is, therefore, common to find it in peninitial position (or Wackernagel’s position), generally after the enclitic elements (1). Furthermore, it seems to function as a structuring device in lengthier texts, where it reappears, apparently, to underline new discourse segments (2).

(1) ἔξεστί σοι ἔφη ἐμέ τε εὖ ποιῆσαι καὶ αὐτὸν μηδὲν βλαβῆναι. (“It’s possible for you – he said– to do me good without hurting him”, D. 52.9)

(2) ‘δοκῶ μοι,’ ἔφη, ‘ἔχειν μηχανήν, [...] νῦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτούς, ἔφη, διατεμῶ δίχα ἕκαστον [...] ἐὰν δ’ ἔτι δοκῶσιν ἀσελγαίνειν καὶ μὴ θέλωσιν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, πάλιν αὖ, ἔφη, τεμῶ δίχα’ (“It seems –he said– that I have a way [...] I will cut each, then, –he said– in half [...] and if they still seem to misbehave and they don’t want to stay still, I will cut them –he said– in half once again”, Pl. Smp. 190c-d)

On the other hand, the behavior of οἶμαι remains, to my view, unexplained (pace Scheppers, 2011). While it is possible to find it in Wackernagel’s position (3), there are plenty of examples where οἶμαι appears in medial or final position (4).

(3) κάπειτα οἶμαι εὐρίσκουσι πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν οἰομένων μὲν εἰδέναι τι ἀνθρώπων, εἰδόντων δὲ ὀλίγα ἢ οὐδέν (“And then, I think, they find a lot of people who think that know something, but actually know little or nothing”, Pl. Ap. 23c)

(4) ἔστι γὰρ οὐχ ὕγαιονόντων, οἶμαι, ἀνθρώπων (“Because that is worth of insane men, I think”, D. 23.122)

The main objective of this paper is, therefore, to study the pragmatic differences in the position of these elements in discourse and provide an explanation, if possible, for the different distributions. Specifically for οἶμαι, the data will be compared with the information found in metrical texts, especially its alignment with the caesurae, in order to check if the effects on word-order have prosodic implications as well (5).

(5) κάκεϊνος, οἶμαι, | τέρπεται τιμώμενος (“That man, I think, enjoys being honoured”, E. Ba. 321)

The main hypothesis is that these elements tend to appear in Wackernagel position as a result of the pragmaticalization process, provided that they no longer belong syntactically to the clause they appear in; they function, instead, at a higher, pragmatic level and appear, therefore, along with other markers and particles (Celano, 2014; Dik, 1995; Ruiz Yamuza, 2015).

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### Plant Terminology on Linear B Tablets

This paper has a twofold purpose: (i) define the dossier of the phytonyms in Linear B and (ii) provide a synchronic and diachronic analysis of it. This approach allows to gain a better knowledge of the etymological origins of the Mycenaean lexicon (loanwords/Indo-European terms) and, in addition, to better understand what kind of vocabulary survived in 1st millennium BCE Greek. In particular, the latter point is crucial to reconstruct the social and economic changes that Greeks underwent after the Bronze Age and the collapse of the palatial society.

Previous inquiries on Mycenaean vocabulary include analyses of chariots, textiles, ivory, and spices terminologies (respectively: A. Bernabé, *Estructura del léxico micénico sobre el carro y sus partes*, in E. De Miro et al. [eds], *Atti e memorie del secondo congresso internazionale di micenologia*, 1996, 195-207; M. Del Freo et al., *The terminology of textiles in the Linear B tablets*, including some considerations on Linear A logograms and abbreviations, in C. Michel-M.L. Nosch [eds], *Textile terminologies in the ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the third to the first millennia BC*, 2010, 338-373; E. Luján, *The vocabulary of ivory in Mycenaean Greek*, in R. Pierini et al. [eds], *Thronos. Historical Grammar of Furniture in Mycenaean and Beyond*, 131-140; J.L. Melena, *Aromatics Plants on the Knossos Tablets*, *Minos* 15, 1976, 226-227; J.L. Melena, *Coriander on the Knossos Tablets*, *Minos* 15, 1976, 133-163; J.L. Melena, *La producción de plantas aromáticas en Cnoso*, *EC* 78, 1976, 177-190; V. Gasbarra, *Textile Semitic Loanwords in Mycenaean as Wanderwörter*, in M.L. Nosch-C. Michel- M. Harlow [eds], *Prehistoric, Ancient Near Eastern and Aegean Textiles and Dress*, 2014, 158-166). These inquiries are linked to the practice of cross-referencing “words and things” (*Wörter und Sachen*) and show that most Mycenaean terms related to luxury items, specific techniques, or the distribution of work were lost in 1st millennium BC Greek, whereas more usual, non-technical terms survived.

The analysis of plants terminology on Linear B tablets is expected to provide new insight into semantics by using the agricultural lexicon as a case study and help defining the diachronic development of the Greek language by examining a particular lexical area from its earliest attestations on Mycenaean tablets to the mention of specific words in Byzantine lexica.

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### **Una interpretación del sufijo micénico -te-ri-jo desde una perspectiva diacrónica**

El sufijo micénico -te-ri-jo, correspondiente al sufijo denominativo -τηριος del griego alfabético, está presente en algunas construcciones que aún están sujetas a interpretación. Desde un punto de vista etimológico, este sufijo es una formación deadjetival en \*-yo a partir de los sustantivos agentivos con sufijo -τηρ (Chantraine 1933: 43-45). Este elemento está presente en otras lenguas indoeuropeas, como se aprecia en el sufijo de las lenguas anatólicas para la formación de adjetivos -iya (Melchert 1990) y posiblemente esté también relacionado con la desinencia de genitivo \*-osio (Lehmann 1981: v 186). Para esta desinencia, las etimologías son distintas, pero según señalan autores como Szemerényi (1996: 184) debe ser interpretada como la marca de genitivo más \*-yo, que estaría también en estas formas adjetivales. Como apunta R. Adrados (1996: 38-39), se trataría de un sufijo frecuente en la formación de nombres, pero sobre todo en la formación de adjetivos derivados de los estos.

El sufijo -i-jo en micénico se utiliza sistemáticamente en la formación de derivados adjetivales (García Ramón 2016: 237), pero persisten dudas sobre la interpretación que debe darse al sufijo -te-ri-jo: -τήριος con sufijo fosilizado o bien -τήρ + ιο-ς, donde el sufijo \*-yo- es aún independiente en la formación. El micénico presenta algunos adjetivos en -τήριος para los que las interpretaciones no son homogéneas: pu-te-ri-ja \*φυτηρία ‘tierra del plantador’, donde indicaría posesión vs. sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja \*σφακτηρία ‘(animal) de sacrificio’, donde indicaría finalidad (Piquero 2019, s.vv. φύω; σφάζω). La comparación con los datos del griego alfabético pone de manifiesto que los adjetivos en -τηριος indican que el sustantivo al que se refieren tiene una función de agente con respecto a la base de formación (p. ejemplo γέφυραν ἔν δυοῖν ζευκτήριον ‘puente que une dos [continentes]’ A. Pers.736) o de instrumento (p. ejemplo σκῆπτρον εὐθυνητήριον ‘cetro con que gobernar’ A. Pers.764), aunque parece que es este último valor el que prevalece (Balles 2008: 191). A la luz de estos datos, trataremos de dar una interpretación homogénea de los adjetivos con el sufijo -te-ri-jo y postularemos que es en la lengua micénica donde se manifiesta el estadio de cambio y reinterpretación del sufijo de forma unitaria y no como dos marcas diferenciadas, la de agente y la de denominativa-propiedad.

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### **Insights into the expletive negation in Greek**

Both synchronically and diachronically Greek is one of the most interesting language as it concerns negation phenomena. This paper focuses on a type of negation, that is the ‘expletive’ one, which, following Horn’s terminology, differs from other types, in that it occurs in neither veridical nor non-veridical contexts. It cannot be considered ‘pleonastic’, as it is not a merely repeated, unnecessary item. This sort of negation is typical of the ‘negative concordance’ (NC) languages and generally expresses the speaker’s attitudes in pragmatic contexts. Therefore it is particularly noticeable in syntactic structures governed by predicates conveying a ‘subjective’ perspective of possibly negative sense, such as “to be afraid”, “to have/feel doubt”, “to prevent”, “to refuse”, “express denial”: in few words, with epistemic or bulomaic value.

This investigation, methodically combining syntactic-semantic principles with philological and comparative approaches, takes into account all corpus of Ancient Greek paying particular attention to varieties of texts and contexts together with insights into diachronic evolution of the language in itself

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### **Additive Clauses in Ancient Greek**

In typological studies, for example the one of Thompson et alii (2007: 264), it is recognized a type of adverbial subordinated clause called “Addite clause”. According to Kortmann (1997: 89), in these clauses “p expresses one state of affairs in addition to another”. The examples provided by Thompson et alii (2007: 264) are in English:

- (1) In addition to having your hand stamped, you must show your ticket stub.
- (2) Besides missing my bus, I got my feet all wet.

As far as I know, this type of adverbial subordination has not yet been studied as such in Ancient Greek, although they seem to exist as in the following example:

- (3) ὁ μὲν πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας λαβεῖν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐλύσατο· (D. 19.229) “In addition to making no gain from his mission, one of them delivered captives at his own expense”.

In Ancient Greek, Additive Clauses have the structure πρὸς τῷ + Infinitive.

My purpose is to describe this type of subordinated clause in Ancient Greek (authors of the 5th and 4th centuries BC) within the Framework proposed by Villa (2000) and applied by Polo (2016) to Substitution Clauses in Ancient Greek. I will try to answer to the three descriptive questions of Villa:

First, what is embedded? This question has to do with the type of Entity and the degree of Nominalization of the subordinated clause.

Second, how is it embedded? This question is related with the semantics of the embedded clause. In order to answer to this question, I will use the criteria proposed by Hengeveld (1998) for the description of adverbial subordinated clauses: Time Dependency and Factuality.

Third, where is it embedded? In order to answer to this question, I will use the semantic structure of the clause as defined by Hengeveld (1990) and Dik (1997).

Finally, I will do some remarks on the Pragmatic Function (Topic – Focus), this type of subordinated clause may introduce.

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[anna.pompei@uniroma3.it](mailto:anna.pompei@uniroma3.it)**Analytical constructions and synthetic encoding of complex predicates at the semantics - pragmatics interface**

This talk aims at reflecting on the reason for selecting either analytical constructions (e.g. *παῖδας ποιεῖσθαι*) or synthetic realizations (e.g. *παιδοποιέω*) of complex predicates in Ancient Greek.

By complex predicates we mean predicates constituting by two lexical heads, as happens in compounds such as *παιδοποιέω*, *καρπολογέω*, *λογογραφέω*, *σιτομετρέω*, having the structure [N+V]<sub>v</sub>. Diachronically, such formations are derived from both compound nouns (e.g. *λογογραφέω* < *λογογράφος*) and adjectives (e.g. *καρπολογέω* < *καρπολόγος*). On the other hand, synchronically, some of them can be considered as instances of noun incorporation, i.e. the result of a syntactic movement, starting from analytic constructions (e.g. *παιδοποιέω* < *παῖδας ποιεῖσθαι*; *σιτομετρέω* < *σῖτον μετρέω*) (Pompei 2006; Pompei & Grandi 2012). In fact, in such compounds there are verbs that can also occur as free forms. In these examples, in particular, the analytical constructions can be equally considered as (analytical) complex predicates, since they can be analyzed as light verbs (being *παῖς* a relation noun and *σῖτος* an eventual metonymy for ‘sustenance’) (Jiménez 2011, 2016).

The presence of both synthetic and analytic complex verbs has been studied also in Latin (Baños 2012a, for cases like *bellum gero* vs. *belligero*), including compounds having as second element a bounded form (Baños 2012b, for *ludos facere* vs. *ludifico*). In this work, after the extraction of pertinent data from ThLG, they will be analyzed in order to:

- classify the cases of equivalence between synthetic and analytic predicates;
- verify whether the latter always are analytic complex predicates, namely light verb constructions;
- identify the reasons for selecting the synthetic verb or the analytic construction.

A first examination of the data clearly shows that the motivations behind the choice of synthetic verbs or analytical constructions are semantic and pragmatic. From the syntactic point of view, the relevant feature seems to be that of specificity (Vester 1989; von Heusinger 2002), which can be present in the analytical structures (1), while it is absent in the synthetic ones (2); on the other hand, on the pragmatic level, the relevant feature seems to be the Information Structure, since only the non-incorporated nouns might refer to entities that have been already introduced in the discourse (3 vs. 2) or be subject to other operations of highlighting (1):

(1) Φαίνεται τοίνυν οὐχ ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ πρῶτος, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λαβὼν τὴν ἐμὴν μητέρα, ἀλλ’ ὁ Πρωτόμαχος, καὶ παῖδας ποιησάμενος καὶ θυγατέρ’ ἐκδούς· (D. 57, 43)

(2) Οὐκοῦν οὕτω γε οὐ δεῖ παιδοποιεῖσθαι; (X. Mem. 4, 4, 23)

(3) ἡ γὰρ οὐ χρή ποιεῖσθαι παῖδας ἡ συνδιαταλαιπωρεῖν καὶ τρέφοντα καὶ παιδεύοντα, σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς τὰ ῥαθυμότατα αἰρεῖσθαι. (Pl. Cri. 45d)

If it were verified that in all cases of full correspondence between analytical and synthetic occurrences the former are light verb constructions, we would be faced with a continuum in which there are different stages of cohesion between the verbal and the nominal elements.

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### **The morphology of compound Hapaxes in Hellenistic epigrams**

The pervasive presence of *Hapax Legomena* in inscribed epigrams, most of which are compounds, has already been noted by scholars (Martínez Fernández 2006, Cairon 2009). Since compounding was productive throughout the history of ancient Greek and applied to all registers, it is still debated whether these forms were intended and/or perceived as poetic by the epigrammatists and the readers (Garulli 2016).

In this paper I will show that an analysis of Hapaxes through their Wort-building morphology (based on Meißner 2006 and Tribulato 2015) and a comparison with the poetic compounds attested in epigrams can shed light to this matter. Specifically, I will argue that the relative chronology of compound categories as well as the context of use of Hapaxes in epigrams are two essential tools to tackle the issue of their function in epigrammatic poetry.

As a case-study, I have collected a sample of around fifty Hapax legomena from Hellenistic inscribed epigrams, both from the Greek mainland (Peloponnese, Central Greece) and islands (Crete, Rhodes). Clearly, the Hellenistic dating of epigrams allows us to distinguish between archaising and non-archaising formations.

Most compounds and compound Hapaxes in epigrams are adjectives, often epithets; I will suggest that this reveals that Hapax-adjectives were used with a poetic intention. A confirmation comes from the fact that they are often built on Homeric models: for instance, the epithet *Λινδούχος* was built on *πολιούχος*, *οἰκτροπαθής* on *αἰνοπαθής* (cfr. Risch 1974).

Nonetheless, *Hapax*-compound adjectives follow contemporary and not archaising compounding rules and it is often only their usage as epithets that reveals a poetic intention. Thus, most of them are compounds with verbs as second element, a type productive in all ages, while just a few of them are *bahuvrihis*, a category whose productivity was in decline. The contrast with the rest of the compound adjectives in the epigrams is striking: *bahuvrihis* compounds are exactly the most frequent type attested in the epithets of the corpus. Prefixoids like *α-* and *δυσ-* or the archaising *αρην-* or *κασι-* are frequent as well, while they are not attested in Hapax-adjectives.

A small number of *Hapax legomena* are compound verbs and compound action nouns: both morphological categories are rare in poetic language – e.g. *simplex verbs* are usually preferred over prefixed forms – and I will argue that these compounds had the opposite function – and thus effect – of *Hapax*-adjectives. Verbs replaced *simplex* forms that may have undergone semantic shift, while nouns were technical or local terms providing contextual information: in this case the communicative function of words prevails over a more poetic decorative function, therefore leading to a non-poetic effect.

I will conclude that Hapax legomena owe their presence in Hellenistic epigrams to two main reasons. On the one hand, *Hapax*-compound adjectives were widely used for

their poetic effect, confirmed by their archaising morphology (bahuvrihis) or their usage as epithets; on the other hand, the presence of *Hapax*-compound nouns and verbs was due to the need of clarification in meaning.

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**Open questions in ancient Greek phonology: some new evidence from enclitics?**

Phonological analyses of ancient Greek have offered radically different answers to a series of fundamental questions. Firstly, there are questions of the basic facts that a phonological analysis should account for. For instance, do words with a final consonant cluster pattern phonologically like those with a long final vowel, for the purposes of the law of limitation (do we have πομφόλυξ not \*πόμφολυξ for the same phonological reasons as we have ἄνθρωπον not \*ἄνθρωπων)? Secondly, there are larger questions about the abstract phonological system: what metrical structure underlies the surface prosodic facts, and is metrical structure even the right concept here? This talk will take a new look at some of these open questions, and will test competing answers against the results of some new work on Greek enclitics.

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### **On actions, discourse functions and news value: a three-level approach to Ancient Greek verbal aspect.**

After two-and-a-half millennium, the jury is still out on the precise workings of Greek verbal aspect and the semantic value of the aorist and present stems in particular. The basic idea is of course that the aorist stem presents states of affairs that are to be regarded as *completed* at a certain point of reference, whereas the present stem describes states of affairs that are to be regarded as *not yet completed*. This works well for a great number of cases, but it does not suffice to explain *all* instances of the present and aorist stems.

Various types of additional semantic values have been proposed. One example is Rijksbaron's (1988) discourse function of the imperfect (the use of the imperfect to signal completed events that raise the expectation that some kind of reaction will follow). Another example is Sicking's (1991a, 1991b) theory that the aspect stems can be used to signal whether the verb contains information that a speaker presents as *new* to his addressee (aorists) or as easily accessible or even fully known (presents). In this paper, we propose that a comprehensive description of the semantic values of the aspect stems will have to take *all* these different uses into account. We aim to present a network of uses that not only shows that these uses are in fact attested for Classical (Attic) Greek, but also shows *how* and *why* these uses are related to each other.

Following Halliday (1985), we propose that the aspect stems can function on three different communicative levels. (1) On a referential level (i.e. on the level of predicates referring to states of affairs in a narrated world), aspect says something about whether or not a state of affairs is to be regarded as *completed* at a certain point of reference in time. (2) On a textual level (i.e. on the level of the text that is concerned with organising discourse), the aspect stems indicate whether a certain discourse segment is to be regarded as completed or not, and whether a state of affairs is to be regarded as *foreground* or *background* material in a text. Finally, (3) on the interactional level (the level of negotiating information between a speaker and their audience), the aspect stems can be used to indicate whether or not the information carried by a verb is to be taken as *new* or *unexpected* to the audience.

In proposing this model, we follow Aerts' application (2014) of Halliday's theory. However, we propose two significant alterations. First, we argue that the difference between the aorist stem and present stem on the interactional level is not one of "perspective", but of information status (see point 3 above). More fundamentally, we aim to show that many verb forms function at different levels at the same time. The close connections between the three levels indeed help us to understand how the different uses of the aspect stems hang together, and how they fit into a cohesive network of uses.

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### **A vexed syntactic problem: ᾗν with the future (indicative)**

Our contribution is related to the syntax of the Greek moods and deals with the use of the modal particle with the indicative future. For so doing, it is necessary to have in mind that this tense can be reconstructed as a full element within the system of the Proto-Indo-European modal pre-forms. This explains many of the later uses of the future tense, as well as its close relation with completely developed moods, viz. optative and subjunctive. On the other side, several aspects of its syntax have also their starting point in this ancient modal value: first of all, the preference for the diathetical middle voice; and second, the somewhat difficult integration with the other tenses of the indicative.

Because of these reasons, the future indicative displays syntactic and semantic functions which have a plain modal value. Moreover, it can be stated, though in very general terms, that the future tense followed an evolution that leads from this modal value to the aspectual, first of all, and then to the temporal.

In this diachronical outline of the future tense a point seems particularly paradoxal: according with the most common syntactical descriptions of the future tense, it does not admit any construction with the modal particle. However, this is a good example of *uexata quaestio*, since our textual witnesses do indeed attest this syntactical case, while the editors use to deny the evidence by means of correction, that is to say, the deletion of the modal particle. Only a few scholars accept the validity of this issue, an option that has had its reflect in our contemporary editions.

This analysis will check a corpus of examples taken from the prose genres of the Classical Age. The combination of both synchrony and diachrony will help to offer tenable explanations of our textual evidences. Moreover, our attempt to give some clues to this syntactical problem will also take into account other perspectives, viz. the sociolinguistical and the literary as well. A pivotal role in our research will be accorded to the language of the historian Thucydides because of its amalgamation of the inherited syntactic constructions with other not provided with a literary tradition. The results of this research should give new and solid arguments to evaluate both the likeliness of these constructions and the reliability of our manuscripts.

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[antonio.revuelta@uam.es](mailto:antonio.revuelta@uam.es)**The preverb ἄντι- in Ancient Greek: from space to reciprocity**

One of the areas attracting new research with new theoretical approaches within classical and other languages are the studies on preverbs (the use of “proper” prepositions as prefixes that form verbs from other verbs and other word classes). Preverbs or verbal prefixes are at the intersection of many linguistic areas: lexicology, word formation (morphological derivation) and syntax. The trend in the last years in Classical Studies (Acedo-Matellán, Dewell, García Hernández, Oniga and Zanchi, among many others) is to add a theoretical approach to the descriptive works of previous periods and to transfer this linguistic phenomenon from its actual place mainly in lexicology to a more grammatical conception (word formation and syntax). My purpose in this paper is to contribute to this trend giving a description of the verbs prefixed by ἄντι- in Ancient Greek. This description will be as thorough as possible from a practical perspective and simultaneously will include insights from different theoretical approaches:

(i) Functional-constructionist approach (Dik, Goldberg). The study will include a description of the predicate frames (quantitative and qualitative valency, selection restrictions, meaning postulates, etc.) that account for the different meanings exhibited by the ἄντι- compounds. The underlying ideas are that (a) there is a regular correlation between meanings and predicate frames (constructions) and that (b) those meanings are regular, can be formalized and applied to large classes of compounds.

(ii) Cognitive approach (Talmy, Luraghi). Our starting point will be the spatial meanings of preverbs and other additional meanings will be approached as metaphorical extensions of those spatial meanings. The cognitive consideration of the entities occupying the argument slots (simple and multiplex entities, sets, countable or mass, bidimensional, tridimensional, and so on) is basic for the definition of the spatial meanings.

(iii) Comparative-typological approach. Similar means in other languages (Dewell, Luraghi, Zanchi) will be taken into account, particularly the similarities between certain Greek (ἄντι-, πάλιν, ὀπίσω), Latin (re(d)-, pro-, ob-, rursus/rursum), German (gegenüber-, wider-, zurück-, gegen) and English (counter-, back) preverbs/prefixes, particles (phrasal verbs) and adverbs. Our purpose is to offer an adequate description from a typological-comparative point of view.

(iv) Corpus studies. The data are mainly taken from a corpus including the following authors (complete works, more than 2 million words): Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Euripides, Herodotus, Lysias, Plato, Sophocles, Thucydides and Xenophon. Additional information has been taken from other authors and periods (TLG) and from the data available in dictionaries and lexical works (e.g. LSJ).

Some of the regular meanings discussed in the paper are the following:

- (i) Spatial meanings. To put/be in front of/opposite to/against: ἀντιβάλλω, ἀντίκειμαι, etc. Many compounds derive from here a sense of comparison still alive in Modern Greek.
- (ii) Substitution. To take/give in return, to get instead: ἀντιδίδωμι, ἀντιλαμβάνω, etc.
- (iii) Reaction (reciprocity). To react to a previous action in the same way: ἀντιπροσαγορεύω ‘to greet back’/‘zurückgrüssen’ :: προσαγορεύω ‘to greet’/‘grüssen’; ἀντιφιλέω ‘to love/kiss back’/‘zurückküssen’ :: φιλέω ‘to love/kiss’/‘lieben/küssen’. In this case Greek may use the redundant ‘redressive’ adverbs πάλιν and ὀπίσω (parallel to back and zurück-).

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### **Dependency treebanks, constituency treebanks and lacunose texts**

In the last years, Dependency treebanks have acquired something of a standard status in Ancient Greek syntactic research. The largest and best known treebanks for Classic and Post-classic Greek texts follow different but mostly compatible schemas of dependency annotation. Dependency treebanks are, to the eyes of most researchers, faster to process and simpler to code than Immediate Constituents-based treebanks.

While it is indeed a valuable think the standarization of schemas of annotation, the author sees the apparent demise of the Immediate Constituent model of annotation in Ancient Greek syntax as a loss in our ability to annotate some complex syntactic constructions and relations, and to add layers for other kind of information.

Several ways can be examined to avoid missing the richness of annotation and query possibilities allowed by the IC model. One of them is devising procedures to transform from one model to the another (but the author will argument that this procedure is feasible only in one way without missing significant parts of the annotation).

In this communication, the author will argue that: a) IC treebanks allow the annotation of several constructions that can't be easily annotated using the Dependency model; b) It is possible to build a procedure to transform a treebank from some models of IC to a Dependency one, and will argue for the “stratified” dependency approach; c) examine the advantages and disadvantages of maintaining a corpus of “twin” treebanks. c) present a treebank of papyri text built using the IC approach that annotates a rich variety of textual features, and can be satisfactorily transformed into a Dependency treebank.

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### **Transformative answers in Greek drama**

Transformative answers are non-type-conforming responses (Lee 2013: 423-424) to polar questions analysed by Stivers and Hayashi 2010 (see also Stivers 2019). With a transformative answer, a recipient resists the constraints posed by a yes-no question by retroactively transforming the terms of the question. While repair stops the sequence by prompting a reformulation of the question, transformative answers adjust the terms of the question so that it can be answered and thus allow progression as long as the questioner accepts the transformation. Transformative answers transform the question design just by specification or replacement (in lexical, syntactical and morphological terms) or the question agenda (focus, bias, presupposition), which is a transformation more resistant to the constraints of the question. On the other hand, Shalev (2021 and fth.) analyses non-polar responses in Ancient Greek by distinguishing between responses consisting of comments on the questions (commentary), disclaimers and supplementary responses, which provide more information to the question initially posed. My purpose here is to explore how these two models combine to better account for non-polar responses in Greek drama. We will address possible overlaps between categories, as well as analyse the pairs in terms of sequence organization. Finally, an interesting theoretical issue relates to the extent to which transformative responses paradoxically allow progression more successfully than apparently type-conforming responses (yes/no). In the following example, the transformative response conforms to the actual relevance of the previous question, even if it is formally a yes-no question (E. Andr. 915-916: Op. σοὶ δ' ἦν τις ὅστις τοῦδ' ἐκοινώνει φόνου; | Ep. πατήρ γ' ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἀπὸ Σπάρτης μολών. "ORESTES: And was there one who shared this murder with you? | HERMIONE: My father, come from Sparta for this purpose" tr. by Kovacs).

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### **La dérivation lexicale selon Galien de Pergame**

L'intérêt que Galien de Pergame porte au vocabulaire de la médecine fait de ses écrits une source d'information aussi riche que méconnue sur la tradition grammaticale et rhétorique de son temps. On trouve en effet, enfouis au sein de textes tout à fait spécialisés, des explications de tel ou tel terme qui recourent au vocabulaire de la γραμματική τέχνη. Ainsi, pour ce qui concerne la dérivation, Galien n'observe pas seulement, à de nombreuses reprises, qu'une réalité est «nommée à partir de, d'après» une autre (ὀνομάζεται ἀπό/παρά/ἐκ uel sim.), comme le «péritoine» (τὸ περιτόναιον) d'après «le fait d'être tendu tout autour» (τὸ περιτετάσθαι), ou la «fièvre» (ὁ πυρετός) d'après «le feu» (τὸ πῦρ) [resp. De anatomicis administrationibus 7.2 (2.591 K) ; In Hippocratis De fracturis commentaria 3.8 (18b.548 K)], mais emploie les termes techniques παραγωγή et παράγεσθαι, ou encore παρονομάζεσθαι, παρώνυμος ou παρωνύμως (ὀνομάζεσθαι ἀπό/παρά/ἐκ) ; dans son Commentaire au Pronostic d'Hippocrate, il évoque la «dérivation des noms» (ἡ παραγωγή τῶν ὀνομάτων), et emploie les termes de πρωτότυπον («primaire») et de παρηγμένον («dérivé») qu'il caractérise comme «dénominations de grammairiens» (ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματικῶν ὀνομαζόμενον) [In Hippocratis Prognosticum commentaria 2.39 (18b.167 K), éd. J. Heeg, Leipzig, 1915 (CMG V 9, 2)].

Cette communication étudiera l'ensemble des occurrences des termes relatifs à la dérivation dans le corpus galénique, en comparant les analyses de Galien avec celles qui nous ont été transmises de la tradition grammaticale grecque. Ce matériau nouveau offrira ainsi un nouveau jalon dans l'histoire de la description de la dérivation.

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### **Pragmatic and discursive functions of non-canonical conditional sentences**

In Ancient Greek, as in other languages, there is an important series of conditional sentences that do not fit perfectly into exclusively syntactic descriptions, either because they are not configured in two-element structures: protasis and apodosis or because their functions are pragmatic, discursive and conversational.

Such structures have recently been addressed in other languages from perspectives more involved in the dynamics of linguistic systems such as Thetical Grammar (Kaltenböck et. al. 2011), or Insubordination (Evans 2007, Schwenter 2016). Some subtypes have also been studied in Ancient Greek (Ruiz Yamuza 2020, 20221, La Roi 2021) but some structures and a global study are still missing. My object of study are conditional sentences formed by a modal verb or equivalent expression --δεῖ, χρή, δυνατός, θέμις ἐστι- plus infinitive of a verbum dicendi. My corpus ranges from the Homeric texts to the authors of the 2nd century AD.

These are cases such as:

- 1) S. Tr.67-69 Υλ. ἀλλ' οἶδα, μύθοις γ' εἴ τι πιστεύειν χρεών.[Hyllus- But I know where, if one can put any trust in rumors] (Jebb)
- 2) E. M. 59-61 Πα. οὔπω γὰρ ἡ τάλαινα πάυεται γόων; | Τρ. ζηλῶ σ'· ἐν ἀρχῇ πῆμα κούδέπω μεσοῖ. | Πα. ὦ μῶρος, εἰ χρή δεσπότης εἰπεῖν τόδε [Tutor- What? Does the poor woman not yet cease from moaning? Nurse- Your ignorance is enviable. Her misfortune is still beginning and has not yet reached its peak. Tutor- Poor fool (if I may speak thus of my masters, how little she knows of her latest trouble!)] (Kovacs)
- 3) S. E.121-127 ΧΟΡΟΣ ὥς ὁ τάδε πορὼν | ὅλοιτ', εἴ μοι θέμις τάδ' αὐδᾶν.[ May the one who did that perish, if I may speak such a curse without breaking the gods' laws] (Jebb)

Globally considered, these examples express circumspection: the speaker indicates that he/she is aware of the surprise, strangeness or offence that his/her words may produce. The strangeness can come from different areas: it is not common knowledge, it is not the expected response, the speaker, because of the position he/she occupies in the social hierarchy, is not the expected sender of that message. Neither the position nor the scope of the structure are equal, and the position is often indicative of the scope. It may precede the element to which it is anchored, be inserted in it or follow it. And it works on the purely referential plane, on the propositional plane and on the plane of the speech act. Thus in 3) the speaker is circumspect concerning the use of μῶρος, in 1) he is circumspect concerning the propositional content, and in 4) concerning the speech act, a curse, which she has just expressed. I will present the results of a systematic study of the typology of the various structures -whether they are insubordinate or not- of their distributions and frequencies, of the functions of the various structures in the framework of comparison with other structures with which they have points of contact - such as ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν.

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### **Mycenaean slips: A Psycholinguistic analysis of scribal errors on the Linear B tablets.**

The philological study of the Linear B texts has ascertained that the Mycenaean scribes frequently produced errors when annotating tablets. Such errors have commonly been assessed with the analytical tools of manuscript textual criticism, and typologized accordingly. The aim of this paper is to assess these scribal errors within a new framework drawn from Psycholinguistics, and to demonstrate that the Mycenaean Greek corpus attests performance slips comparable to those detected nowadays in corpora of spontaneous speech. Further, the paper aims to formulate a new typology of scribal errors specific to the Linear B tablets, one that integrates both psycholinguistic theory and the peculiar context of production of these texts.

Accounts formulated in the paleographical and archaeological literature have argued, on non-linguistic grounds, that the Linear B tablets were annotated hurriedly and possibly simultaneously with other administrative activities. My research provides additional evidence that these texts were written under the influence of psychobiological factors, such as lack of attention and haste in the process of the textual production, and that this in turn triggered performance slips. This idea was first formulated and partially developed by Consani (2003) in a monograph on the spelling rules of Linear B. According to Consani's estimate on the corpora of Knossos and Pylos, 129 out of 214 scribal errors display psycholinguistic mechanisms. Building upon such premises, I will analyze scribal errors in their context of attestation and reconstruct their genesis under the theoretical model first outlined by Fromkin (1973; 1980). I have already applied this methodology to a sample of errors, and detected psycholinguistic mechanisms in the vast majority of tokens. The long-term goal of my research is to collect a comprehensive dossier of the scribal slips on the Linear B tablets, updating and possibly expanding the estimates found in preceding works. In terms of typology, I categorize the collected tokens according to two parameters. The first one takes into account the level of linguistic competence at which errors are produced, and distinguishes between lexical and sub-lexical errors. The second parameter refers to the annotation process of the tablets, distinguishing among production errors, reception errors, and redaction errors. Such a typology accommodates both psycholinguistic theory and the specific context of production of the Linear B texts. If the expected results of this work were to be confirmed on a statistically-significant evidential basis, the Mycenaean Greek written on tablets would qualify as particularly close to spontaneous speech. Such a result would refine current descriptions of Mycenaean Greek first in terms of its pragmatic status, and in turn would impact the broader synchronic description of this specific dialect. Moreover, such results would have meaningful implications for adjacent areas of Greek linguistics. Under my analysis, for example, scribal errors arguably occasioned by auditory misperception and phonological

reanalysis can highlight the factors (or at least some of them) that triggered linguistic changes we observe in later Greek dialects.

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### **Structure et fonction du discours catalogique. Le cas de l'épique et la tragédie**

Les catalogues font une partie intégrale de la littérature grecque, surtout dans les ouvrages épiques les plus anciens. Hormis la question discutée sur leur catégorie de genre littéraire indépendant, les catalogues constituent, clairement, une forme discursive particulière (Beye 1964 ; Gaertner 2001 ; Papadopoulou-Belmehdi 2006 ; Carruesco 2010).

Dans notre étude nous visons à définir formelle et linguistiquement les catalogues épiques et tragiques. À cette fin nous analyserons comme *corpus* principal les catalogues de guerriers et les *androktasiai* ou listes des morts en combat de l'épique homériques et des drames *Les Perses* et aussi de *Les Sept contre Thèbes* d'Eschyle et *Les Phéniciennes* d'Euripide.

Nous étudierons notamment la structure de l'information dans ce genre de passages avec l'ordre de mots comme principal marqueur suivant la méthodologie de la grammaire fonctionnelle (appliquée avec succès aux textes tragiques par H. Dik 2007). Nous examinerons comment la répétition des éléments focalisants et focalisés dans ces structures caractérisées, en principe, par leur régularité, assure la cohésion et la cohérence du texte. L'attention aux thèmes, aux différents moyens de topicalisation et d'introduction de nouvelle information (pragmatiques, syntaxiques et lexicaux) permettra de systématiser cette sous-classe de catalogues pour ensuite les comparer entre eux. À partir du contraste entre les catalogues épiques et tragiques nous visons à définir les catalogues comme forme discursive et son usage par les différents genres littéraires.

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### **Aspect and Actionality in Archaic and Classic Attic Epigraphs at a Syntax-Semantic Interface**

This work addresses the interaction between aspect and actionality in non-metrical Attic epigraphs dated until the 4th century BCE.

Dell’Oro (2015: 273) highlighted the need for a syntactic analysis of epigraphs, whose fragmentariness and technolact require a specific methodology. This study thus combines a linguistic and an epigraphic approach to investigate oscillations in telicity within and among stems.

Following the previous investigations on aspectuality (e.g. Ruipérez 1954, Bakker 1994 and Sicking 1996), a reciprocal influence between actionality and aspect has been posited for Homeric Greek (Napoli 2006: 214) and even Indo-European (Willi 2018: 56). Differently, Moser (2017: 141) recognises a still undeveloped aspectual system.

The analysis considers two pairs of actional classes by examining one case study for each and illustrates the differences between intransitive motion verbs. In conclusion, a partially visible interaction between actionality and aspect is proposed.

a) Following Dowty (1979: 66), stative verbs of cognition can behave as achievements when perfective, while Van Voorst (1992: 86) completely excludes their stativity. A lowly dynamic present δοκέω ‘think, seem to somebody’ survives in scanty formulaic contexts (e.g. IG I<sup>3</sup> 92.7). Otherwise, it implies a spontaneous event: it is repeated alongside νῶν (I<sup>3</sup> 40.48-52) and in decrees the aorist ἔδοξεν enacts their legality (Henry 1977: 2). Moreover, passivization is possible in the perfect (e.g. I<sup>3</sup> 127.12).

b) Greek atelic motion verbs commonly behave as accomplishments with a specified endpoint (Napoli 2006: 120). The causative ἔλκω ‘draw’ mainly encodes atelicity in the present (e.g. II<sup>3</sup>,1 292.36-37), while the aorist is employed in building accounts concerning a specific place (e.g. II<sup>2</sup> 1672.55), pointing to a higher telicity. The prefixed ἀνέλκω ‘draw up’ is a telic perfectivum tantum and alternates a causative value in the active (II<sup>2</sup> 1612.243-246) with an anticausative one in the middle (II<sup>2</sup> 1611.3-6).

c) Generally intransitive motion verbs are split between telic unaccusatives and atelic unergatives by Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1992). The agentive φεύγω, while commonly reputed telic (Napoli 2006: 165), is mostly atelic in Homeric Greek (Farmini 1985: 270). In the epigraphs, it is mainly an externally caused imperfectivum tantum with a low telicity. It refers to an Experiencer (in nominative) exiled by the Assembly from somewhere in accusative (I<sup>3</sup> 14.31, Mirhady 2008: 17). An agentive telic counterpart appears in Il. XI 327 and on I<sup>3</sup> 14.26. In the aorist, φεύγω is supplied by ἀποφεύγω ‘to be acquitted’, a perfectivum tantum used in legal contexts. Its features confirm a lower agentivity (Haspelmath 2016: 35-36) and are compatible with achievements.



Conversely, the activity πλέω ‘sail’ varies its actionality regardless of stems’ aspectual properties. In the present, it stands for an accomplishment with an endpoint (e.g. I3 63.13). The aorist πλευσά[σῶν] on II2 1628.438 unpredictably bears an atelic value. Prefixed ἐκπλέω ‘sail out’ does not show differences in aspectual parameters between present and aorist, both highly telic (e.g. I3 117.26 and 364.8). Since the 4th century, the perfect ἐκπέπλευκ<sup>ο</sup> appears in naval accounts (e.g. II2 1609.116) as an atelic resultative, according to the pattern defined by Skopeteas (2008: 59-60).

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### **Proto-Greco-Phrygian and Its Ramifications**

Our understanding of the Phrygian language has greatly increased in the past two decades. The evidence that Phrygian and Greek constitute a sub-node of Indo-European languages and that both emerged from a Proto-Greco-Phrygian language (PGPh.) is fairly secure at this point. Interpreting Greek data through the lens of Proto-Greco-Phrygian, however, is practically never attempted, in spite of the potentially important ramifications such an approach would have.

The present contribution will initially provide a list of the common developments that define both Greek and Phrygian, thereby demonstrating the necessity of postulating a Proto-Greco-Phrygian stage preceding both languages. Some of these are: 1) the treatment of laryngeals (the most important of which is the triple reflex of laryngeals in a vocalic function: PIE  $*h_1$ ,  $*h_2$ ,  $*h_3$  > PGPh.  $*e$ ,  $*a$ ,  $*o$ ); 2) the loss of final stops; 3) the innovation of the pronoun  $*auto-$ ; 4) the use of an optional prefix  $*e-$  in ultimately related pronominal forms (cf. Gr. ἐκεῖνος ~ κεῖνος and Phr. esai ~ sai); 5) the creation of masculine  $\bar{a}$ -stems whose nominative singular ends in  $*-\bar{a}s$ ; 6) the creation of a 3rd person singular middle imperative ending  $*-sd^h\bar{o}(d)$ .

The second half of the contribution will focus on briefly demonstrating how Phrygian can be used to help better understand some contentious issues in Greek linguistics. Among the examples given are: 1) the survival of the pronouns  $*e/i-$  and  $*ke/i-$  at least until the beginning of the Proto-Greek era; 2) the confirmation that initial PIE  $*h_1j-$  developed into Greek  $h-$  through an intermediate stage with a palatal feature, i.e. PIE  $*h_1j-$  > PGPh.  $*\check{\varsigma}$  > Gr.  $h-$ , Phr.  $j-$ ; 3) the common origin of the Phrygian  $si$ -formation and the Aeolic optative in the PGPh. sigmatic optative, suggesting irrealis  $s$ -aorists had specific semantics liable to grammaticalization, which may have further our understanding of the origin of the Greek sigmatic future; 4) the independent character of the Greek metathesis of original PIE TK-clusters.

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### **Glossai kata poleis: Greek dialects through the lenses of ancient lexicography**

The following paper examines the problem of the reliability of the ancient lexicographical sources while studying the Ancient Greek dialectal vocabulary, on the example of an anonymous work *Glossai kata poleis*. The paper seeks to develop new approaches to linguistic research of Ancient Greek through comparative and interdisciplinary modes of investigation: this approach relies on engaging with the historical-comparative method put into a wider background of philological analysis. The concept of the paper is a systematic study, which analyses attested forms from 3 different perspectives: epigraphy and dialectology; etymology and the history of words and the history of ancient lexicography and manuscripts' tradition. Since the work may contain the excerpts from the lost work of Diogenianus which has been quoted in a famous lexicon of Hesychius, it is one of the aims of the paper to investigate all such hypothetical relationships.

The paper asks following questions: a) what is the list and what was the purpose of its compilation? b) one may try to delve deeper into problem of its origins and sources and ask more precisely what these may have been? c) whether any of these words can be credited with an ancient lineage or ascribed to a particular dialect with a relative high degree of certainty? d) is the list a reliable source of dialectal data? Main hypothesis would be that, from the dialectological point of view, the list is not a reliable source of data, but it contains many archaic, mostly poetic (Homeric) formations. If this could be assured as a result of dialectological analysis of individual forms (interpreting their provenance on the background of the epigraphic attestations from singular regions) the main problem would be to seek an answer to the question of why the author of the list arranged the forms in a given order, and further, what is the relationship of this document to the preserved lexicon of Hesychius (most important piece of ancient lexicography). The constant mixing of literary forms with a real (but wrongly interpreted) dialectal material seems very interesting, but the question to what extent this can be regarded as evidence of the spoken language of different regions of Greece remains unanswered.

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### **The Mixed Pattern and the Other Conjunctive Strategies in Herodotus' Greek: an Analysis from a Typological Perspective**

Among the world's languages there is an extremely rare conjunctive strategy that includes both a postpositive and a prepositive coordinator. This mixed pattern [A-co co-B] (Haspelmath, 2007) seems to be attested in only a handful of ancient languages. Ancient Greek is one of them, and we can observe two paradoxes in this regard: firstly, a pattern that is typologically almost unattested was very frequent in ancient Greek; secondly, despite its high frequency, the Greek mixed pattern [A-τε... καί B] (e.g. ὁ τε πρῶτος καὶ ὁ Πᾶν, 'the goat and Pan' – Hdt. II 46.4) has received little scholarly attention (e.g. Denniston, 1954).

The present paper is the first contribution centred on this pattern. Its main arguments are that in Herodotus' Greek there are asymmetries in distribution between [A-τε... καί B] and the most frequent conjunctive strategy, [A καί B], and that these two strategies seem to be positioned at the extremes of a continuum.

This paper presents a pilot study, in which the distribution of the mixed pattern is compared to that of other main conjunctive strategies involving -τε and καί in Ancient Greek. In the chosen corpus (a selection of Herodotus' Histories) all binary conjunctive constructions involving -τε and καί have been investigated by using semantic and morphosyntactic parameters. The conjunctive patterns have been examined from a functional-typological perspective (Cristofaro, 2003; Mauri, 2008) and from a discourse-based approach to Greek particles (esp. Bonifazi / Drummen / de Kreij, 2016). The data has been subject to statistical analysis, looking for asymmetries between these patterns.

The two most frequent conjunctive strategies in the corpus are [A καί B] and [A-τε... καί B]. I will show that there are two asymmetries in distribution between them, and I argue that the two strategies seem to be positioned at the extremes of a continuum, the poles of which are the conjunction between entities and the sequential conjunction between States of Affairs.

The pattern [A-τε... καί B] is present in the two forms [A-τε... καί B] and [A-τε καί B] (the second without linguistic material between the two coordinators), and in this study I also address the issue of the pattern's unity, arguing that the two forms are different aspects of the same strategy. On the semantic side, the mixed pattern reveals to be not always related to natural coordination or to shared knowledge (Bonifazi, 2015; Viti, 2006; 2008; Bonifazi / Drummen / de Kreij, 2016), nor always to emphasis (Haspelmath, 2007; Dik, 1968).

Finally, I hypothesize that in Herodotus' times Greek was already acquiring at least a feature of the Standard Average European area (Haspelmath, 2001; Mauri, 2008).

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### **The language of the 'confessions' of Asia Minor: an early example of Medieval Greek**

The non-literary papyri of Egypt are known to be the main source for the study of the early stages of Byzantine Greek. After the Arab conquest of the region in the 7th century, a second dark age in the history of the Greek language begins: the documentary sources for the linguistic analysis of the spoken language are epigraphic in nature, but they are widely dispersed and mostly formulaic (cf. Holton - Manolessou 2010, 542). My enquiry is based on the analysis of a group of inscriptions whose language can provide additional data to those obtained from papyri for the study of Byzantine Greek. These are more than a hundred inscriptions mostly from Asia Minor, from the region of Lydia (although some have been found in Mysia and Phrygia) called 'the burnt', Katakekaumene. They are often called 'confessions' because of their contents: faults committed, and punishments obtained at the expense of the divinity. No systematic linguistic studies have been carried out on this corpus (but from a religious perspective, cf. A. Chaniotis), covering the 2nd-4th centuries AD, apart from the one carried out by Claude Brixhe in 1989, focused mainly on the phonetics of the language and, to a lesser extent, on morphology. Nevertheless, we have here a good example of what can be considered as the source of a linguistic record of early Byzantine Greek. Moreover, there has been a remarkable increase in linguistic approaches of the Greek of this period, as well as in the number of inscriptions (cf. Petzl 2017).

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### **Doric Greek in early Imperial Sicily: a comprehensive survey**

My paper investigates the use of Doric forms in Sicilian inscriptions of the late Republican and early Imperial periods. After Sicily passed under Roman control around the mid-third century, Greek remained the hegemonic language in the island, while Latin became more spread and acquired prestige in administrative contexts towards the late Republican period. Until then, Doric forms are commonly attested in inscriptions throughout the island; the linguistic variety attested in Greek inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Republican period, which shows Doric forms alongside a selected number of koine features, is known as Sicilian Doric koina. From the late 1st century BC/early 1st century AD, Doric forms quickly fall into disuse in Sicilian inscriptions, which start to be regularly written in koine. I have previously argued that the decline of the local Doric koina seems related to the political events of this period, and particularly with the decline of the local elites (Tagliapietra 2018); but the disappearance of Doric forms from the inscriptions of the early Imperial period has not been fully investigated yet. My paper offers a close analysis of the Sicilian texts still containing Doric features in the Augustan and early Imperial periods. Through this, I will assess: 1) which specific typologies of texts are more conservative in this period; 2) which areas show greater conservation of Doric features; 3) how greater conservation of Doric features in certain texts and areas relates to the socio-historical context; 4) what we can infer about linguistic identity and epigraphic culture with regard to these texts. In order to accomplish this, I will analyse the language of the texts showing Doric features after the late Republican period in the light of both relevant extra linguistic factors (i.e. type of text, archaeological context where known, historical data) and epigraphic culture (i.e. parallel inscriptions in koine and in Latin in the same area in the same period). By taking a comprehensive perspective on interaction between local Doric, koine and Latin, my paper casts new light on the development of Greek in early Imperial Sicily and offers a methodological approach that can prove useful in parallel investigations of other areas as well.

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### **Towards a Morphological Lexicon of Ancient Greek**

This paper will describe and discuss ongoing work to produce an openly-licensed, machine-actionable "morphological lexicon" of Ancient Greek.

Print lexica have long included in their entries information beyond glosses, definitions, and usage examples. Most lexica, those for Ancient Greek being no exception, often include what could be broadly considered morphological information about the lexical entry. Much of this information is expressed in a compact, almost stenographic form that relies on existing linguistic knowledge on the part of the reader and which does not lend itself to unambiguous, consistent, and complete extraction by machine. This is the case even when rich semantic markup like TEI has been used.

In short, marking up a print lexicon is not the same as real modelling of lexical information. The digital markup, as has been done for LSJ as well as more focused lexica such as Cunliffe for Homer, is generally adequate for search, easy retrieval of entries, and display on electronic devices but is insufficient for modelling all lexical information.

The Linguistic Linked Open Data community has long recognized the distinction between conventional dictionaries and the rich modeling of machine-actionable lexical information. Efforts such as LMF, Lemon and OntoLex-Lemon are designed to standardize these latter models. WordNets including the Ancient Greek WordNet also address this issue of richer representations of (particularly the semantic aspects of) lexical entries.

Handling the morphological information associated with a lexical entry has received less attention although a Morphology Module is being developed as part of OntoLex-Lemon and this author has contributed numerous Ancient Greek use cases for that work.

The ongoing work described in this paper takes on the task of producing rich morphological information for use in a range of applications. Some of this information has previously been abstracted from lexica such as the LSJ specifically for the purposes of tagging of corpora. Typically this data has been tightly coupled to a particular rule-based morphological analyzer (Morpheus being perhaps the best example) making updating and expansion of coverage difficult. Furthermore, the morphological information has typically not been designed for pedagogical function or historical linguistics and has not taken advantage of modern morphological theory.

Besides extraction from print dictionaries, all the information is being validated against an increasing corpus of hand-verified annotated Greek texts such as MorphGNT, the Ancient Greek and Latin Dependency Treebank and Gorman Greek Prose Trees as well as some automated corpora such as Diorisis.

The goal is to initially provide machine-actionable information on inflectional class, principal parts, roots and stems, suppletive and irregular forms, and morphophonological processes across a wide range of Ancient Greek lexical items with

a view to not only help with the improved tagging of new texts but the pedagogical explanation of word forms and historical modelling of shifts in the complex adaptive system of Greek morphology.

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**Osservazioni sulle proposizioni complete introdotte da ὅ in greco omerico in comparazione con altre lingue indoeuropee.**

Questo lavoro intende occuparsi della struttura delle complete introdotte da ὅ in greco omerico all'interno del quadro teorico della sintassi comparata. Dopo Hermann (1895), Kiparsky (1995: 141) sostiene che il protoindoeuropeo mancava della categoria di complementatore e non aveva frasi sintatticamente incassate. Di contro, secondo Krisch (1998: 359), poiché la subordinazione e le strutture di congiunzione subordinata compaiono ovunque nelle lingue indoeuropee, non vi è alcun problema nell'accettare questa struttura anche per la protolingua: questo consentirebbe di superare anche la difficoltà di dover spiegare l'insorgenza della categoria di Complementizer Phrase (CP). Anche Lühr (2008: 154 ss.) ritiene che l'evoluzione del pronome relativo nel complementatore introduttore di complete deve essere considerata parte del protoindoeuropeo, a causa della presenza di frasi esplicative documentate nelle lingue indoeuropee più antiche. Secondo Lühr, tuttavia, si tratterebbe in ogni caso di frasi aggiunte, non incassate: il verbo reggerebbe sempre il complesso di nome/pronome + frase, non direttamente CP. In vedico si trovano casi in cui ciò che formalmente appare come neutro del relativo ya- non è argomento del verbo, ma è introduttore di frasi che Hettrich (1988: 395), sulla scorta di Delbrück (1900: 324), classifica come *Expplikativsätze*, che sono spesso accompagnate da un correlativo nella principale, ad es.:

RV 1.93.4

ágnīṣomā cēti tād vīryāṃ vām

Agni-e-Soma-VOC √cit-AOR.PASS-3SG questa impresa di-voi-DU

yád ámuṣṇītam avasám pañīm gāḥ

yád √muṣ-IMPF2DU cibo avaro-ACC vacche-ACC

“Agni e Soma, questa eroica impresa di voi due è diventata famosa: (il fatto) che rubaste il cibo all'avaro (Geldner: “a Paṇi”), le vacche”

In greco omerico compaiono esempi analoghi, in presenza e assenza di elemento correlativo nella principale:

Il.19.421

εἵ νυ τὸ οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς ὃ μοι μόρος ἐνθάδ' ὀλέσθαι

“Lo so bene anche da me, che il mio destino è morire qui”.

Il.11.439

γυνῶ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὃ οἱ οὐ τι τέλος κατακαίριον ἦλθεν

“Comprese Odisseo che il colpo non era mortale”.

Chantraine (1953: 288) ritiene che le proposizioni dichiarative siano sorte da proposizioni causali, in ogni caso, anche in greco esse sono introdotte dal neutro ὃ < \*H<sub>2</sub>od, quindi con un complementatore formalmente identico al ved. yád. Il passaggio dalla fase di proposizione esplicativa aggiunta a proposizione incassata è stato analizzato attraverso una fase in cui un pronome nullo o silente sostituirebbe il correlativo della principale (cfr. Lühr 2012: 233; Axel-Tober 2017) in una struttura in cui la subordinata segue la principale (diptyque inverse, Minard 1936; Haudry 1973: 158); tuttavia, dal momento che esistono lingue in cui si alternano entrambe le strutture di complementazione, in presenza e assenza di correlativo, l'ipotesi del correlativo nullo sembra meno cogente.

Axel-Tober (2017: 34) propone che anche nelle lingue germaniche la costruzione alla base dello sviluppo delle frasi complemento introdotte dal tipo that sia il tipo correlativo: anche nelle lingue germaniche that/dass sarebbe quindi un complementatore sorto dalla rianalisi di un costrutto correlativo, come in vedico, in greco e in latino. La posizione del germanico va inoltre considerata per l'uso del dimostrativo in funzione di relativo, che costituisce un'isoglossa congiuntiva con il greco omerico (cfr. Probert 2015: 430 ssg.).

Il presente lavoro intende essere un contributo ad una definizione della struttura delle complete introdotte da ὃ in termini di sintassi formale.

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### **Classical Greek *Eurhythmia*: Towards a Linguistic Definition**

*Eurhythmia* is a common concern of early Greek rhetoricians (e.g. Alcidamas Soph. 16, Isoc. 5.27, Arist. Rh. 1409a), but its exact nature is hard to grasp for non-native speakers, especially in the absence of clear contemporary testimonies and explanatory materials. According to the earliest extant discussion of the subject (Arist. Rh. 1408b21–9a22), *eurhythmia* must have consisted in striking the right balance between arrhythmia (the absence of rhythm) and metrical composition—an idea that reveals a conception of rhythm not as an intrinsic quality of language but as an effect to be sought (unlike e.g. D.H. Comp. 17.2).

Modern efforts to identify eurhythmic passages in ancient literary prose have built on this idea in a wide array of directions. Scholars have searched for snippets of poetic metres (e.g. Dover 1997, Usher 2010), clausulae (e.g. McCabe 1981) and systems of metrical responsion across large stretches of text (e.g. Blass 1901), non-metrical but otherwise (statistically) ‘marked’ metrical sequences (e.g. de Groot 1919, 1921), or have defined rhythm at different levels, transcending the patterning of syllable weights and bringing in isosyllabism as a possible criterion (Päll 2007).

By and large, modern scholarship does not refer much to ancient rhetorical sources; if anything, it is influenced by discussions of prose rhythm in the Roman tradition (Cicero, Quintilian) and, more or less indirectly, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, whose methodology is notoriously muddled and betrays a significant hiatus from the theory and practice of the classical period.

Despite the fragmentary status of early rhetorical treatments of prose rhythm, we can still recover a number of principles from Aristotle and his rough contemporaries. In particular, (a) speech rhythms do not include feet exceeding the duration of five morae (and not even all possible 5-mora patterns), (b) rhythms are defined by the alternation of elements (an up-beat and a down-beat) in precise durational ratios to each other; (c) such elements are instantiated by patterns of precisely ordered syllable weights; (d) at the same time, rhythm is not (only) hard-coded in phonological syllable-weight patterns, but it is produced in performance (Arist. Rh. 1403b, Isoc. 5.26–7). These points are closely paralleled in fifth- and fourth-century Greek musicology and emerge as psychoacoustically motivated (Vatri 2020). Importantly, Greek musicologists draw a distinction between rhythms and rhythmizable matter (*rhythmizomena*); if we extend this observation to speech, phonological patterns would constitute ‘rhythmic scores’ that need to be enacted (sub-)vocally—as suggested by the idea that rhythm could be manipulated in performance.

From this perspective, eurhythmic composition would amount to creating rhythmizomena that natives would perceive as rhythmic (i.e. regularly alternating between up- and down-beats) based on the ‘natural’ psychoacoustic mapping of patterns of heavy and light syllables onto up- and down-beats (Devine - Stephens 1994, 121–31).

This paper will offer brief analyses of samples from Gorgias and Thrasymachus (as well as Thucydides as a control) to test if their reputation for *eurhythmia* can be explained by the ‘rhythmizability’ of their prose defined on these terms.

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### Observations on Ancient Greek nominal compounds

Nominal compounds represent one of the main strategies of word formation in Ancient Greek. While their formal properties are very well described (cf. Risch 1937: 165ff; 1944-1949; van Strien-Gerritsen 1973; Schindler 1986), the range of their possible functions may need further investigation. This paper will specifically examine some functions of nominal composition in Ancient Greek both synchronically and diachronically. On the basis of an extensive sample of compounded structures belonging to different epochs, authors, and genres, we will observe that Greek compounds often have the function of expressing new abstract meanings with respect to their non-compounded correspondents, and that metaphorical meanings are attested earlier in the compound than in the simplex. In Homeric Greek, for example, the adjectives ῥοδόεις, ῥόδεος and ῥόδινος mean “made of roses, decorated with roses” and therefore refer to this flower from a concrete point of view, rather than to the color of rose. Instead, in the Homeric compound ῥοδοδάκτυλος “rosy-fingered”, the typical epithet of the Dawn, we have the description of a body part having the color, rather than the material consistency, of the rose. Now, color terms are intrinsically more abstract than adjectives of material and content. The contrast between simple and compound adjectives expressing concrete vs. abstract meanings, or literal vs. metaphorical meaning, can be also observed outside the domain of color and may be interesting from a theoretical perspective, as long as it is related to the non-referential properties commonly associated with compounds in general linguistics and in typology (cf. Lieber & Štekauer 2009; Scalise & Vogel 2010). This will provide a better comprehension of Ancient Greek compounds with respect to the other Indo-European languages (cf. Lindner 2018), as well as the development of compounds in the history of Greek, from Homeric Greek to Classical Greek up to Medieval and Modern Greek.

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### **Δέχομαι as lexical passive of the support verb δίδωμι (and ποιοῦμαι) in Ancient Greek**

The constructions of support verbs (CSV) which are specifically referred to as diathetic extension of the a SV (Koike 2001; Baños 2014) allow the latter to function as the nucleus of a sentence, and modify its predicative framework by altering the number of its arguments or changing the perspective from which the State of Matters is presented, as illustrated in (1):

(1) The mother gives a kiss to her son / The son receives a kiss from her mother

The fact that the choice of the verb modifies the diathesis of the noun as does a grammatical morpheme with a verbal base has led some authors to speak of “conjugaison nominale” (Gross 1999) to refer to this phenomenon, also known as “converse constructions”, or in more traditional terms “lexical passive”, typically encoded in Ancient Greek by verbs like πάσχω ‘to suffer’ ἔχω ‘to have’, etc. As Jiménez López (2021) has recently proved, the same event nouns which combine with the prototypical ποιοῦμαι in active constructions may be coined with γίγνομαι in the corresponding lexical passive construction. Thus, γίγνομαι enables the action to be coded from the perspective of the event noun (the Subject) and, thereby, to de-mote the agent, expressing a type of impersonal passive which may not be morphologically expressed in Ancient Greek, as the following examples with the collocation γίγνομαι + λόγος show:

(2a) καὶ ἅμα λόγοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγίνοντο “and negotiations for peace were made at once with the Lacedaemonians” (Lys. 13.5).

(2b) συλλεγέντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λόγοι ἐγίνοντο ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ὅτι [...] “When the allies gathered together at Lacedaemon, speeches were forthcoming from them to the effect that...” (Xen. Hell. 5.4.60).

As is well known, in Ancient Greek, event nouns denoting an action with the support verb ποιοῦμαι ‘to make, do’ in order to form an analytic predicate which is formally equivalent to a simple predicate. In short, the main aim of this paper is to examine to what extent the SVC extension δέχομαι + eventive noun encodes the lexical passive of the constructions formed on δίδωμι + eventive noun.

(3a) σωφρόνως δοῦναί τε καὶ δέξασθαι λόγον “these (sc. the Lacedaemonians) were the only ones with whom a sensible conversation could be held” (Hdt. 4.77.1).

(3b) κοινῇ μετὰ Σωκράτους σκέψασθε, δίδόντες τε καὶ δεχόμενοι λόγον παρ' ἀλλήλων  
 “examine it in common with Socrates, giving and receiving your respective opinions” (Pl.  
 Lach. 187d 1).

To achieve this objective, we will take into account the following issues on a sufficiently representative corpus of data: (a) To undertake the study of the predicative frame of the verb δίδωμι; (b) to reconsider the configuration of the predicative frame of the verb δέχομαι, and, finally, (c) to study the perspective from which the action is presented with the various nouns involved in the SVCs with δίδωμι and, finally, (d) to prove whether δέχομαι has acquired the function of a collocative verb which configures the lexical passive of δίδωμι or even of ποιοῦμαι in SVCs.

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**Participial constructions in Ancient Greek: identifying possible positions in a ‘desententialization’ continuum**

The participle (μετοχή), defined as a verbal adjective, is a non-finite verbal form of double nature, both nominal-adjectival and verbal, which owes its designation to the property of ‘participating’ in the characteristics of two other parts of speech. The participles in Ancient Greek exhibit a rich morphology and a wide range of functions, combined with a high frequency of use. The variety of participial forms and usages, evident at the morpho-syntactic level, produces interesting results at the level of semantics and discourse, influencing the informative structure and the density of the sentence. The mastering of participle in Ancient Greek is, thus, crucial for deep understanding of the language. At the same time, however, the learning and the teaching of this important grammatical category often proves to be very challenging.

In the functional-typological literature, the discussion of structural, semantic and functional differences between the main and the dependent clauses is strongly connected with the notion of finiteness. Departing from the traditional approach to finiteness as a binary distinction between finite and non-finite verbal forms, which is based on morphological criteria, the current, mainstream view in the typological works of the last two decades adopts a rather scalar approach to finiteness, regarding it as a gradual phenomenon, determined by a variety of factors. From that perspective, the traditional concepts of finiteness and non-finiteness are considered as two extreme points on a scale of desententialization, with languages exhibiting various intermediate points on this scale that takes the form of a continuum.

This paper builds on the concept of ‘desententialization’ (Lehmann 1988:193-200), which is considered as a reduction process in which a clause gradually loses certain properties and is transformed into a noun/adjective/adverb i.e. into a category of a lower syntactic level, and it seeks to identify the possible positions that Greek participial constructions can occupy in a ‘desententialization’ continuum. This extends from the full sententiality built around a verb form to the nominality of a verbal noun, with the non-finite forms of the verb occupying the centre of the continuum. By using the above conceptual framework as elaborated in the linguistic theory and by adopting a pedagogical approach, this paper aims to provide a useful analytical tool for understanding and explaining the complexity/density of Greek sentences containing participial constructions, especially when alternative constructions (e.g. subordinate clauses) seem to be an option.

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### **Ancient Greek valency patterns and alternations**

The study of transitivity and valency changing phenomena has long been an established sub-field of Ancient Greek (AG) linguistics (see inter alia Allan 2014, Conti 2014a, 2014b, Coulter 2014 with references). Scholars have focused on case marking and argument structure constructions (see inter alia Sausa 2015; Luraghi & Zanchi 2018, Viti 2017, Luraghi *forthc.b*), on valency changing operations (see inter alia Sausa 2016, Inglese & Zanchi 2020, Luraghi et al. *forthc.*), and on the interplay of the two (Conti 1998). However, these phenomena have not been treated together in a general picture of how valency alternations work in AG.

In this paper, we aim to fill this gap by applying the Valency Patterns Leipzig (ValPaL) model to AG (for similar approaches to Gothic and Old Irish, Roma *forthc.*; Zanchi & Tarsi *forthc.*). The ValPaL project offers a crosslinguistic investigation of argument structure properties of 80 verbs of different valency classes. Following e.g. Levin (1993), the underlying assumption is that verbs with comparable syntactic behavior concerning valency patterns and alternations belong to the same valency class. Thus, syntactic diagnostics can be employed to achieve a more accurate semantic classification of verbs. The ValPaL verbs are selected for their semantics, basicness, and assumed representativeness of the entire lexicon (Malchukov et al. 2015: 27–130). Valency alternations are divided into two groups: (i) coded alternations that receive explicit marking on the verb (e.g. AG passives, see (1)); (ii) uncoded alternations for which this condition does not apply (e.g. AG partitives, cf. Napoli 2010; Conti & Luraghi 2014, see (2)). Alternations are stored in the database as coding frames, which intuitively represent case marking, verbal agreement, and constituents order.

For this study, we will select the most basic AG verbs that lexicalize the 80 ValPaL verb meanings and analyze all their occurrences in a corpus of AG prose (mostly historians and orators). Since we cannot rely on speakers' judgements, basic verbs will be chosen owing to the interplay of criteria, including morphological simplicity, frequency, and diachronic stability in the lexicon (on similar methodological challenges, Inglese *forthc.*, Zanchi & Tarsi *forthc.*). The corpus of AG prose will be sampled based on practical criteria: we will consider the prose texts included in the treebanks of AG (AGLDT 2.0; PROIEL) with a few addenda. This will allow us to extract argument structure constructions in a semi-automatic way.

The main goal of our study is to describe AG valency patterns of impersonal, one-place, two-place, and three-place predicates. For each verb, we will describe and analyze coded and uncoded valency alternations of the types in (1) and (2), as well as other argument rearranging operations. We will compare the AG valency patterns with those of the modern IE languages in the ValPaL database and frame our findings within an up-to-date picture of diachronic changes affecting valency phenomena in AG and ancient IE

languages (Luraghi 2012, forthc.a.; Cennamo et al. 2015; Plank & Lahiri 2015; Inglese forthc., Zanchi & Tarsi forthc.).

(1) Coded alternation: CUT τέμνω

a. Coding frame: 2-acc 1-Ø V.subj[1] (active voice)

ἦν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν τέμωμεν ‘...if (we) cut (=destroy) their land.’ (Thuc. 1.81.6)

b. Coding frame: 1-nom V.subj[1] (passive voice)

ὡς αὐτῶν ἡ γῆ ἐτέμνετο ‘...as their land was cut (=destroyed).’ (Thuc. 2.21.3)

(2) Uncoded alternation: EAT ἔφαγον:AOR (ἐσθίω:PRS)

a. Coding frame: 2-acc V.subj[1] 1-nom (accusative second argument)

ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιῶται ‘Here also the soldiers ate for the first time the crown of the palm.’ (X. An. 2.3.16)

b. Coding frame: 2-gen 1-nom V.subj[1] (partitive genitive second argument)

καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίγνοντο ‘The soldiers who ate of the honeycomb all went off their heads.’ (X. An. 4.8.20)

Websites:

AGLDT 2.0 = Ancient Greek and Latin Dependency Treebank:  
[https://perseusdl.github.io/treebank\\_data/](https://perseusdl.github.io/treebank_data/)

ValPaL = Valency Patterns Leipzig database: <http://valpal.info/about/database>

PROIEL = PROIEL Treebank: <https://proiel.github.io/>

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**“Syriacisms” in Greek translated texts of Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages:  
 preliminary observations on two case studies**

During Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, there was a linguistic interchange between Greek and Syriac, the latter being one of the most prolific literary languages of Oriental Christianity which profited very much of the apport of Greek. One pivotal aspect of this interchange is the translation movement which was very abundant from Greek into Syriac but did appear also in the other direction, even if with a minor number of texts and authors. Very influential Syriac authors such as Ephrem (4th c.) and Isaac of Nineveh (7th c.) were translated into Greek, and their works became a major part of the monastic and ascetic Byzantine literature.

Little or almost no attention so far has been given to the language of these translations, which though presents many interesting linguistic aspects which could shed new lights in our knowledge of late Antique and early Medieval Greek. This paper aims to give some preliminary hints about the characteristics of the language of the translations from Syriac into Greek, in order to show the main morphological and syntactical features that apparently deviate from the rule of Classical Greek, alongside the peculiar semantics of some words which seem to be rare or odd in respect to the habitual praxis of texts written originally in Greek.

The methodology followed will be that of data analysis. The linguistic features will be taken out from two texts translated from Syriac into Greek, i.e. the *Sermon on Jonah and the Ninevites* by Ephrem the Syrian (4th-6th c.) and the *Sermon I of the Ascetical Homilies* by Isaac of Nineveh (8th-9th c.). After an overview of the most striking morpho-syntactical features, some words which are of interest for linguistic discussion will be analysed. The features described and their peculiar usage in the texts will be compared first with their Syriac counterpart and, then, with Byzantine literary texts approximately of the same chronological range. The comparison with specific phrases of Old and New Testament Greek will be taken into account too, as the phenomenon of Semitic linguistic interference in these works is well studied.

The result of this study on the language of the Greek translations from Syriac will be a preliminary overview of linguistic features of such texts which could serve as a first set of data for a more systematic study of the language. In a provisional way, the paper tries to discuss whether and to what extent we could consider such features as “Semitisms” or, better, “Syriacisms”, and, if they are, what are their main characteristics which differ from idiomatical Greek.

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### **A social-semiotic analysis of Greek defixiones from South Italy**

Defixiones, “more commonly known as curse tablets, are inscribed pieces of lead, usually in the form of small, thin sheets, intended to influence, by supernatural means, the actions or welfare of persons or animals against their will” (Jordan 1990: 151). The curses can consist solely of names or of more complex formulas involving a request to chthonic gods or demons; tablets are usually buried together with corpses in graves and sanctuaries or hidden into fountains, for a twofold reason: those places are close to the underworld deities, and they are likely to prevent curses to be found and neutralized.

Defixiones are present all over the ancient world and belong to various linguistic traditions – Greek, Latin but also Oscan, Etruscan. The most ancient texts have been found in Greece or in Greek colonies, mostly in Sicily, and can be dated to the 5th cent. BC; the most ancient in Latin to the 2nd cent. BC.

Curse tablets are semiotically complex documents which consist mostly of a text but can also contain drawings: they communicate by employing different types of *sêmeieia*, which could then be either linguistic or symbolic. Texts can display different degrees of complexity as for their layout, the choice of the alphabet, the direction of the writing, together with the use of *voces magicae* (mysterious words with no evident meaning) or *charaktêres* (magical signs). Moreover, alphabetical signs can either be proper alphabetical signs or be employed as magical symbols. As for drawings, they can stand either for the divinity invoked or for the cursed person. This quick description of the layout of curse tablets shows that signs, either linguistic or symbolic, are made with relation to a specific practice, namely the act of cursing, within which they acquire specific meanings connected to the cursing itself and always negotiated with reference to the specific speech act.

Our research focuses on Greek curse tablets from South Italy (Campania, Apulia, Lucania and Calabria), a strongly multilingual and multicultural setting. By adopting some assumptions on multimodality by Kress (2010), our aim is to propose that curse tablets are an example of multimodal communication in a specific social setting and to shed light on the semiotic complexity of defixiones by highlighting the relevance of the elements composing the documents. Moreover, by adopting Ferguson’s (1994: 21) working assumption on genre stating that “a message type that recurs regularly in a community (in terms of semantic content, participants, occasions of use, and so on) will tend overtime to develop an identifying internal structure, differentiated from other message types in the repertoire of the community”, we propose that language and semiotic resources of curse tablets, which are related to a specific social practice and to culturally recognized contexts, namely cursing, create a specific speech genre.

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## **WORKSHOP 1: Conversation Analysis and Literary Dialogue in Ancient Greek Texts**

### **General description:**

Considerable attention has been devoted in recent years to the study of dialogue in Ancient Greek texts. In the field of Linguistics, a growing research interest in pragmatics has yielded many significant contributions on discourse particles and other phenomena whose meaning and function can only be properly defined within the coordinates of conversation, as it is reproduced in Ancient Greek literature—tragedy, comedy, philosophical dialogue, conversational exchanges narrated in epic poetry, and other text types.

The papers to be presented at this workshop will examine how the fundamental structures of talk-in-interaction appear in those texts, using the methodological framework of Conversation Analysis (CA). Those fundamental structures range from the minimal actions performed by speakers in their individual turns to the most complicated projects they actually seek to successfully carry out through their interaction with one another. They include the different techniques for turn allocation and management, and account for the basic patterns of the sequential organization of turns-at-talk as they engage in larger units.

Launched by the seminal papers of H. Sacks, E. A. Schegloff and G. Jefferson from the 1960s and 1970s, CA has proven itself a helpful and relevant field of study of naturally occurring talk in many modern languages (Sidnell & Stivers 2013). As for the classical languages, the conversation-analytic approach has begun to significantly impact the field of Ancient Greek and Latin Linguistics, as evidenced by an increasing number of publications (e.g. in Greek: Person 1995, Minchin 2007, Schuren 2014, van Emde Boas 2017, Verano forthcoming), but its research possibilities are still far from exhausted. As evidenced by the papers in this workshop, the interest of looking at classical texts through the lens of CA is manifold: first, the theoretical and methodological tools provided (and already tested) by CA can shed light on how language is used in conversation, and so reveal the otherwise concealed functions of words and constructions in Greek and Latin discourse; secondly, and conversely, an investigation of a varied corpus of Greek and Latin texts can materially contribute to Conversation Analysis itself, giving it historical and typological dimensions, and equipping it to deal with literary texts; finally, analyzing

how fundamental structures of talk have been adapted in those literary texts can help to better understand the stylistics of artistic dialogue.

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### Polar response design in Greek drama

While much attention has been devoted to questions, answers have not caught the same interest, except for some illuminating exceptions (Shalev 2003; fth.). That is perhaps because, while questions can be analysed at the utterance level, answers are reactive turns that do not fit well in speech act typologies. In this regard, response design as described in CA (Lee 2013) provides a useful framework for our purpose here, namely to examine how responses to polar questions work in Greek Drama. We will first provide an inventory of responses to polar questions, according to whether they reply to true information-seeking questions or not, for instance in replies to declaratives and imperatives –i.e. questions conveying a declaration or an order respectively (Sadock 1970, 1971; Veloudis 2018; Mastrorade 1979). As a result, we will describe which types of polar responses are found in Greek drama (echo answers, οὐ/ναί answers, γε and other particle-like answers, etc.) and their distribution patterns in terms of the type of question to which they reply, whether they are affirmative or negative answers, (non)preference and also authorship. Finally, we will discuss the intersection between these factors, the cases of conflicting preferences as well as individual passages.

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### “What? for I know not yet what you will say.” Tragic Backchanneling?

A.E. Housman’s *Fragment of a Greek Tragedy* (1883) includes this dig at tragic style:

ALCMAEON: A shepherd’s questioned mouth informed me that--

CHORUS: What? for I know not yet what you will say.

ALCMAEON: Nor will you ever, if you interrupt.

Housman here parodies a type of ‘interruption’ found throughout the tragic corpus. A fairly typical example is:

ΟΙ. πόσον τιν’ ἤδη δῆθ’ ὁ Λάιος χρόνον—

ΚΡ. δέδρακε ποῖον ἔργον; οὐ γὰρ ἐννοῶ.

ΟΙ. ἄφαντος ἔρρει θανάσιμῳ χειρώματι;

How much time has it been, then, since Laius . . . :: Has done what? For I do not understand. :: Vanished by a deadly stroke? (Soph. *OT* 558-560)

My aim in this presentation is to re-examine such instances (for lists, see Mastronarde 1979: 56, Schuren 2014: 39-40) in the light of Conversation Analysis. I will argue that these instances can be seen as something of a ‘tragic analogue’ to the phenomenon of ‘backchanneling’. The marked deviations from that phenomenon as it is found in naturally occurring dialogue suggest, more broadly, that applications of CA to ancient texts must be acutely sensitive to matters of (genre-specific) stylization. My presentation, then, will serve also as a contribution to the study of the *distinct* pragmatic features of tragic style. A comparison with comedy will support this.

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### **Action Identification in Ancient Greek Unreported and Reported Dialogue: Questions in Menander and Prose**

Work has already been done in CA (much of it based on corpora of Contemporary English) analyzing the functions of interrogatively-contoured utterances and their identity and status as actions in dialogue. In Ancient Greek these are studied within a flexible and permeable disciplinary radius combining speech act theory, pragmatics, and philological analysis (e.g. Mastronarde 1979, Schenkeveld 1984, Rijksbaron 2003, Shalev 2008, 2012), and Latin (e.g. Risselada 1993). Tokens, patterns, sequences and other indications in the dialogue’s project are used to distinguish between interrogatives whose action is a question and those performing other actions – in particular the nature of the response (see Puerdabuena’s contribution to this workshop). I will present an examination of variously contoured question actions in dialogue passages and the tokens, patterns, sequencing and other identifying features of questions.

Identification devices I discuss include: (1) the nature of the reactive turn (interfacing with Puerdabuena); (2) extra-clausal accompaniments (εἰπέ μοι et sim. illocutionary parentheticals [Shalev 2001], tag questions); (3) and adsentential modalization (the token πού, hedging phrases, other markers of irony and evidentiality) – which have been explored in Plato’s dialogues (Shalev [2017]) but not in terms of CA in dramatic authors. I will present findings from dialogues in Menander’s *New*, and findings from reported dialogue embedded in prose (Plato’s unreported dialogues attest more tag questions, e.g., than unreported dialogues in Drama; I will bring data from samples of Plato’s reported dialogues, and other authors).

I hypothesize that (1) the frequency and nature of sequencing and preference will differ between reported and unreported dialogue, especially with the use of ἔφη and other verbs

of *consentio memorata* in reported dialogue vs. anaphora in unreported dialogue; (2) extra-clausal devices found in non-narrated dialogues will be absent in reported ones, supporting the correlation between unreportability and extra-clausality as shown by Bolkestein (1990); (3) the un/reportability of modalizing expressions is not so clear-cut, but data will be presented for discussing whether this productive form of identifying question actions in unreported dialogue bears a similarly productive function as an action marker in reported dialogue.

CA of literary dialogues, and the nature of the Greek language bring to the fore less familiar issues of reportability, extra-clausality, sequencing, modality and recognition of actions' identity markers. The data here integrate with findings on framing expressions and verbs used in reported dialogues (by Verano for Plato and by Huitink for response actions in Xenophon) and the identity of response actions (by Piedrabuena) as well as van Emde Boas' work on questions and on other interrogative utterances in Drama.

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### **The Socratic *elenchus* as a conversational project in the dialogues of Plato**

The different actions performed by speakers through their turns do not respond to isolated impulses. Instead, they are organized according to highly planned strategies (projects, in CA terminology, cf. Levinson 2013 [=Sidnell & Stivers 2013], 120-121; Robinson 2013 [=Sidnell & Stivers 2013], 267-268) aiming for particular results. My hypothesis is that the so-called Socratic *elenchus* (that is, cross-examination through questions and answers) can be approached as one of such conversational projects with distinctive features and patterns that made it recognizable as such. The following passage of *Hippias Maior*, among many others, can illustrate that awareness of the *elenchus* as a conventional set of practices in interaction:

Hi.Ma. 287a. {ΣΩ.} [...]. ἀτὰρ μή τι κωλύω μιμούμενος ἐγὼ ἐκεῖνον, ἐὰν σοῦ ἀποκρινομένου ἀντιλαμβάνωμαι τῶν λόγων, ἵνα ὅτι μάλιστά με ἐκμελετήσης; σχεδὸν γάρ τι ἔμπειρός εἰμι τῶν ἀντιλήψεων. εἰ οὖν μή τί σοι διαφέρει, βούλομαι ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, ἵν' ἐρρωμενέστερον μάθω.

In this paper, I will analyse the most archetypical examples of Socratic *elenchus* to be found in the dialogues of Plato (cf. Vlastos 1983; Young 2006) as talk-in-interaction projects, in order to find out:

- 1) what are the features of Socratic *elenchus qua* conversation: sequence organization, turn taking dynamics, etc.
- 2) how does the *elenchus* fit in the surrounding conversational frame and, especially how does the transition towards *elenchus* takes place.
- 3) finally, from a critical perspective, how do the tools of conversation serve the argumentative purpose of the *elenchus*.

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### **‘Regimented’ Talk in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* and *Cyropaedia***

This paper is intended as a counterpart to that of R. Verano’s on the Platonic *elenchus*. It has often been said that Xenophon is much less concerned with proper forms of arguing and dialectic than Plato (see Bandini and Dorion 2010 for bibliography and a partial reassessment), but that does not mean that he is not keenly interested in how talk proceeds. Both Socrates in *Memorabilia* and Cyrus in *Cyropaedia* often make talk and conversation the topic of debate, providing us with valuable, and culturally specific, insights into how ancient Greeks thought talk could be ‘regulated’: Cyrus, for instance, organises ‘dinner conversations’ (e.g. *Cyr.* 2.2), which are recognisable as a version of Athenian symposia, but regimented in specific ways to comply with Xenophontic philosophical and ethical principles. The ‘rules’ that are laid down concern turn-taking, the sorts of contributions allowed, etc. The paper will focus on how ‘regimented’ talk in Xenophon can be analysed in terms of the relevant concepts of CA and how the desired sorts of talk manifests itself linguistically; for the latter exercise, a contrast with Plato will be useful: topics of interest are particles, speech acts, etc.

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## WORKSHOP 2: Annotated corpora and Ancient Greek

**Convenors:** Alek Keersmaekers (University of Leuven, Belgium), Polina Yordanova (University of Helsinki, Finland), Chiara Zanchi (University of Pavia, Italy)

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**Other participants:** Luca Brigada Villa (University of Pavia/University of Bergamo), Andrea Farina (University of Pavia), Berta González Saavedra (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), Eveling Garzón Fontalvo (Universidad de Salamanca), Francesco Mambrini (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan), William Short (University of Exeter), James Tauber (Eldarion), Toon Van Hal (University of Leuven), Marja Vierros (University of Helsinki)

### General description:

The last two decades have seen numerous exciting developments in the field of Ancient Greek corpus and computational linguistics. Several major treebanking projects, including the Ancient Greek Dependency (Bamman and Crane 2011), PROIEL (Haug and Jøhndal 2008), Gorman (Gorman 2020), Pedalion (Keersmaekers et al. 2019) and PapyGreek treebanks (Vierros and Henriksson 2021) have dramatically expanded the possibilities for large scale quantitative research, by generating altogether already more than 1.5 million tokens of morphologically and syntactically annotated Greek text. It has also never been easier to create new linguistically annotated with the help of the user-friendly Arethusa editor (Almas and Beaulieu 2016). Through the use of natural language processing techniques, even larger collections of texts have been automatically annotated as well, including the Diorisis project (Vatri and McGillivray 2018) for literary texts and the DukeNLP corpus of papyri (Keersmaekers and Depauw forthcoming). In parallel, several other projects, such as the Classical Language Toolkit (Burns 2019) for Python, Ancient Greek WordNet (Biagetti et al. forthcoming) and the REGLA-Greek database of government and complementation (<http://www.reglabd.org>) have significantly further expanded the possibilities for computational processing of the Greek language.

The aim of this workshop is to showcase the numerous and diverse possibilities that these corpora and computational tools can offer for Ancient Greek linguistics. On the one hand, it will present several new tools and developments in the field of Greek corpus and computational linguistics, discuss how they can be used to address open problems in Greek linguistics, and address their limitations and how they can be overcome in the future. On the other hand, through several corpus-based studies it will also further review the strengths and weaknesses of existing tools, and demonstrate how a corpus-based approach can significantly illuminate our understanding of several developments in the Greek language.



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**The COMREGLA project: Compatibility of two relational databases with other digital resources**

This paper aims to present the research project COMREGLA (“Compatibilidad de REGLA con otros recursos digitales”), whose most ambitious objective is the transformation of two relational databases for Ancient Greek and Latin into an open access tool compatible with other digital resources. From this perspective, the principal objective of this presentation is to explain what specific needs the project COMREGLA addresses. For this purpose, we will describe the annotation characteristics and problems of the relational databases “REGLA-Latin” and “REGLA-Greek”, storage tools (i.e. syntactic and semantic analysis carried out by the team members of REGLA on the most common verbs in Ancient Greek and Latin and their predicate frames). We will also show the fundamental innovations that COMREGLA presents regarding the previous relational databases. Among other innovations, this new version of the data-bases does not seek to perform syntactic-semantic analysis based on the occurrence of verbs within a given corpus, but rather to carry it out by means of the annotation of complete texts.

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#### Representing semantic roles in Greek treebanks

Usage-based linguistic approaches (e.g. Barlow & Kemmer 2000, Bybee and Beckner 2010, Diessel 2017) argue that language is inherently variable: language users have a number of semantically similar variant constructions at their disposal to express a certain message, and the choice between these constructions is constrained by language-internal and language- external factors. For example, in Ancient Greek the addressee of a speaking verb can be expressed in various ways, including the bare dative, πρὸς with the accusative and εἰς with the accusative. Semantic annotation is essential to retrieve such variant constructions, yet semantics has received little attention in Ancient Greek treebank annotation so far, with the exception of Celano & Crane (2015), Harrington

(2018) and Keersmaekers (2020). This paper will present the creation of a standard for semantic role annotation for Ancient Greek, in the context of the GLAUx corpus (Keersmaekers 2021). This standard will be compared to earlier proposals for semantic role annotation in Ancient Greek (including the corpus work of Celano & Crane 2015, Harrington 2018, Keersmaekers 2020 and reference works such as Crespo 2003 and Luraghi 2003) as well as other languages (e.g. FrameNet: Baker et al. 1998; VerbNet: Kipper Schuler 2005; LIRICS: Petukhova & Bunt 2008). The paper will give an overview of the criteria that were used to come up with a coherent standard and the problems that needed to be tackled. It will also briefly discuss the possibilities for automated annotation of semantic roles in Greek.

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**MAMBRINI, Francesco**

(Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, Italy)

#### **"Proleptic" arguments in the Greek treebanks**

The so-called "proleptic" arguments (like the accusative ἀδελφεὸν in ex 1) are a well known and frequently studied feature of Ancient Greek syntax. A comprehensive survey, with statistics about their distribution, is however still missing.

(1) ἤδ' ἐκ γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν ὥς ἐπονείτο

'For he knew in his mind his brother, how he was troubled.' (Il. 2.409)

While we know that the construction tends to occur with verbs of perception and knowing, several questions about the structural interpretation, case licensing, and valency of the “proleptic” arguments (in particular, whether they should be seen as “raised” or produced in situ) are still debated.

Although treebanks should be the ideal tool to support this type of research, the work is complicated by the controversial nature of the construction and the lack of specific guidelines for its annotation. As a result, “proleptic” arguments are not consistently annotated and not easily retrievable from the available Greek treebanks.

After reviewing the previous works, we address two orders of questions: 1. what heuristics can we use to retrieve the relevant passages from the current annotation? 2. Does the evidence offered by the treebanks change what we know about the construction in Ancient Greek?

Treebanks:

- Daphne: <https://perseids-publications.github.io/daphne-trees/>
- Gorman Trees: <https://perseids-publications.github.io/gorman-trees/>
- AGLDT: [https://perseusdl.github.io/treebank\\_data/](https://perseusdl.github.io/treebank_data/)
- Pedalion: <https://perseids-publications.github.io/pedalion-trees/>

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**SHORT, William**

(University of Exeter, United Kingdom)

## **Multiple semantic annotations in ancient language corpora: a WordNet approach**

The Ancient Greek WordNet, Latin WordNet and now Sanskrit WordNet bring rich semantic data to ancient language digital resources. However, corpus creators have not yet integrated meaning-based annotations into text mark-up. Moreover, the problematics of “predetermination” – that in codifying the properties of texts, annotators determine (in the sense of “limit”) their possible readings – have been un(der)considered. Annotation always involves selection, and thus constitutes interpretation. What’s more, annotations are typically univocal: “one tag per token”. Standard practices therefore run the risk of endorsing a “correct” reading of texts, whereas the critical tradition recognizes that texts normally can be understood multiply – because of divergent transmission histories, genuine interpretive differences due to lexical polysemy, intentional ambiguities, imaginative expression (including punning), and so on.

I propose the creation of a corpus of semantically annotated Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit texts (or “semlang”) utilizing WordNet constructs to specify the senses of words in context. Recognizing that texts are open to a plurality of interpretations, the planned annotation scheme incorporates mechanisms for accommodating multiple simultaneous or competing interpretations, using the concepts of SEMTAGM and READING to represent different meaning-bearing units. I illustrate the opportunities this system affords for capturing polysemy in texts through examples from ancient literature.

**TAUBER, James**

*(Independent researcher, Eldarion)*

## **Scaife: An Integrated Annotation Viewer for Ancient Greek**

In March 2018, the Scaife Viewer was launched as the first step towards a new reading environment for the Perseus Digital Library. The initial functionality was focused on browsing of the TEI Epidoc texts themselves with some morphosyntactic information. Subsequent work done as part of the Open Greek and Latin Project has focused on the incorporation of a variety of different annotations on top of the Greek corpus including sentence- and token-level translation alignment, metrical information and audio, lemmatic commentaries, named entities including integration with gazetteers, IIIF manuscript images, and syntax trees with support for both the Ancient Greek and Latin Dependency Treebank format and Universal Dependencies. To this end, we have developed ATLAS, the Aligned Text and Linguistic Annotation Server which integrates disparate text, alignment, and annotation formats for querying via GraphQL and display in a unified Scaife frontend. This paper will discuss how Scaife and ATLAS work, some of the challenges in bringing together independent text annotations, and how ongoing annotation work can be incorporated into existing Scaife instances or new Scaife instances can be stood up for the needs of individual annotation projects.

**YORDANOVA, Polina**  
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### **Twigs and boughs: ordering patterns of noun phrases with multiple modifiers**

Investigations of the ordering of the elements in the NP have been performed predominantly through literary texts and within the works of a single author. This paper, based on these existing studies (Bakker 2009, Devine & Stephens 2000, Dik 1997) examining the different approaches towards explaining word order, aims to provide an overview of the different patterns that emerge across time and across genres in noun phrases with multiple modifiers. I will approach the problem on two axes:

- 1) the interaction between the heaviness principle (the tendency to place constituents in an order of increased complexity) and the saliency principle (the placing of constituents in order of decreasing saliency);
- 2) comparing two corpora of a very different nature: the literary Ancient Greek Dependency Treebank corpus and the PapyGreek corpus of documentary papyri, consisting of letters, petitions, and contracts.

I will highlight some of the problems that arise in handling qualitative methods in an automated framework and trying to apply approaches traditionally developed for literary texts to documentary materials.

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**TOON VAN HAL, Wouter Mercelis – KEERSMAEKERS, Alek**  
*(University of Leuven, Belgium)*

### **Corpus-based approaches to conceptual history in Ancient Greek: conceptualizations of ‘language’**

This paper aims to examine the extent to which an automatically annotated corpus of Ancient Greek can contribute to intellectual history in general. The underlying hypothesis is that applying well-informed corpus-based methods, going beyond the level of the individual word or term, enables us to study (intellectual and conceptual) history from a wider perspective. What does a corpus-based research reveal about the coherence, interconnections and evolution of Ancient Greek key concepts? Special attention is paid to distributional semantics and collocations. Even though the importance of collocations and constructions is especially acknowledged in cognitive strands of

linguistic research, collocations deserve more special attention from intellectual historians too.

This exploratory paper focuses on the different terms used for the concept of language throughout the history of Greek (e.g. *glossa*, *foné*, *dialektos*), with special attention paid to the relation between their linguistic and non-linguistic uses. Can the automatically annotated corpus help us to identify synonyms, nearest neighbours and antonyms, thus moving beyond a mere word-based approach to conceptual history?

**VIERROS, Marja**

(University of Helsinki, Finland)

**Please, tell us which form you are! Differentiating homomorphs in treebanked corpus of original documents**

In this paper I will inspect mainly morphological issues through the treebanked corpus of documentary papyri (PapyGreek). Certain inflectional endings clash together in the papyri due to orthographic variation. When annotating the texts morphosyntactically, we still usually need to give one analysis for the forms that could also be interpreted as some other form. For example, in the common phrase for 'please' (καλῶς ποιήσεις), where the verb can also be written as ποιήσης or ποιήσις among other variants, are we to take the verb as a future active indicative or an aorist active subjunctive? Would it be possible to know what the writer aimed at? Is it meaningful for the study of Greek through corpora? My intention is to analyze these kinds of instances comparing the morphological and orthographic variation of the same writer as well as other writers of the same area or time period. In addition, it will be studied if syntactic dependencies or other treebanked corpora could help to solve these kinds of problems. The PapyGreek platform, with its treebanked data, orthographic search interface and metadata on each document's writers, dates, geographic location and text types, allows detailed analyses of the texts.

**ZANCHI, Chiara – FARINA, Andrea – BRIGADA VILLA, Luca**

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**Towards combining *Ancient Greek WordNet* and *AGDT2* for linguistic research: A pilot study on formulas of *Iliad VI***

This paper employs two linguistic resources (LRs) to study Homeric formulas. We start from Bozzone (2014) and Pavese & Boschetti (2003): The former treats formulas as "constructions" with different degrees of schematicity (in a CxG sense, Goldberg 2005); the latter develops a system to automatically process *lexically filled* formulas. We adopt these constructionist and automatic approaches to ease the detection of *partially lexically filled* and *empty* formulas (Bozzone 2014:40ff.).

We develop a pilot study on the VI book of the *Iliad*, which contains formulas referring to various semantic fields. We add the lexemes of this book to the lexico-semantic database *Ancient Greek WordNet*, which is under construction within an international project (<https://greekwordnet.chs.harvard.edu>; on WordNet, cf. Fellbaum 2005). Such semantic annotation is paired with the morphosyntactic patterns annotated in *AGDT2* ([http://perseusdl.github.io/treebank\\_data/](http://perseusdl.github.io/treebank_data/); on treebanks for ancient languages, cf. Eckhoff et al. 2018) to extract formulas with high degrees of schematicity. We will show how integratingLRs can cast new light on well-known linguistic phenomena and discuss a type of formulas that can be found with this method, i.e. those gravitating toward a simplex/compound verb occurring in fixed positions within the verse.

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### **WORKSHOP 3: Looking backwards and forwards: Language contact in biblical Greek morphosyntax**

**Organisers:** Marina Benedetti (Università per Stranieri di Siena) & Michele Bianconi (Università per Stranieri di Siena / University of Oxford)

#### **General description:**

This workshop looks at morphosyntactic aspects of Biblical Greek (both in the *Septuagint* and in the New Testament), which will be looked at both as a source language (with respect to the Latin translations), and as a target language (with respect to the Hebrew text). The Università per Stranieri di Siena, to which several participants of the workshop belong, is part of a national project on language contact (<https://www.changeprin.it/>), and the common denominator shared by the various branches of the project is that the study of contact phenomena, along with the contrastive approach to parallel texts whenever they are available, have the potential to offer new and exciting insights on the languages involved. In the case of Biblical Greek, translation is a powerful heuristic model to understand both the model language and the target language. Both chronologically and from the point of view of translations, this variety of Greek happens to be “between two fires”: Biblical Greek lies in between the Hebrew tradition and the Latin versions that would facilitate the spread of Christianity throughout the entirety of Western Europe.

In this workshop, we propose to present four case studies from *Septuagint* Greek and New Testament Greek which feature potential language contact phenomena with Hebrew and Latin. These will be preceded by an introductory paper on Biblical translations by Prof. Daniel Kölligan (Würzburg). A discussion co-ordinated by Prof. Mark Janse (Ghent), who will also act as a respondent to the four papers, will conclude the workshop.

We expect that a comparative analysis of the Biblical text at the linguistic and philological level has the potential to shed light on hitherto understudied phenomena of language contact in the ancient world. We also hope that a workshop featuring scholars from different institutions and backgrounds will constitute an excellent venue for a productive exchange of ideas and for the promotion of potential new collaborations and directions in research.

#### **Participants:**

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(Università per Stranieri di Siena, Italy)

#### **Internal and external factors in language change: on δίδωμι in Biblical Greek.**

This paper focuses on a peculiar use of the verb δίδωμι in *Septuagint* Greek, as illustrated in (1a). (1a) Ez. 26: 19



Jakobson, R. 1938. Sur la théorie des affinités phonologiques des langues. In: *Actes du quatrième congrès international de linguistes* (Copenhague, 27 août-1er septembre 1936), 48-59. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

**BIANCONI, Michele – MAGNI, Elisabetta**

(Università per Stranieri di Siena, Italy / University of Oxford, United Kingdom –  
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### **The surviving optative in NT Greek and its Latin translations**

In New Testament Greek, only 68 out 28,121 verb forms are optatives (BOYER 1988:140), and – within the Gospels – most occurrences (11/13) are found in *Luke*, which however does not display a wide variety of functions or forms. It is still a matter of debate whether this situation reflects the decline of the optative mood (which is progressively replaced by other verbal forms, cf. MCKAY 1993), or rather the decrease of optative constructions (which however may depend on the textual genre).

This paper sets out to explore the issue from a new angle, namely that of translations. As is well known, NT Greek, despite its internal variation, is closer to the spoken language than other literary products of the time, and the systematic comparison between the original text and its almost contemporary Latin translations can help us understand: 1) which optative values survive in the guise of morphological optatives; 2) how these were interpreted and rendered by the Latin translators.

In our enquiry, we will also take into account the differences in translation of optatives and optative construction between Jerome's *Vulgata* and the *Vetus Latina*. In addition, parallel passages in the three synoptic Gospels will reveal alternative strategies for the expression of the optative domain. Optative values will be classified according to both the traditional grammatical distinctions (cf. BOYER 1988, REDONDO 2018), contemporary theories of modality (cf. NUYTS – VAN DER AUWERA 2016, GROSZ 2012, PORTNER 2009), and more recent typological data (cf. DOBRUSHINA 2011, DOBRUSHINA – VAN DER AUWERA – GOUSSEV 2013)

We expect that the comparative analysis of the Greek and Latin data will reveal patterns of synchronic variation and diachronic change in the syntax of modality in post-classical Greek and Biblical Latin.

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### **Pseudo-coordination in Biblical Greek**

Pseudo-Coordinated Constructions (PCCs) are verbal complexes composed by two verbs, in which the second verb (V2) expresses the main action and the first one (V1), usually a motion verb, does not display its full lexical meaning and functions as an aspectual modifier (cf. ROSS 2016). PCCs may be both syndetic and asyndetic. In Ancient Greek, PCCs almost exclusively concern imperatives, e.g. Homeric and Classical Greek serialized structures with ἴθι, ἄγε, φέρε, ἄγρει, ἀμέλει, etc. (cf. DENIZOT 2011: 210-211; GARCÍA RAMÓN 2013; YATES 2014). The correlation with the imperative may explain why PCCs mainly occur in spoken language or in spoken- like written language, and especially in dialogical contexts, where injunctions and exhortations usually occur.

This paper deals with data of Biblical Greek, where PCCs are more frequent than in previous stages of Greek. In the Septuagint, asyndetic PCCs are consistent with the original Hebrew Serial Verbs Constructions (SVCs), which are unmarked structures in Hebrew (cf. ANDRASON 2019). In the New Testament, asyndetic PCCs mainly occur with ὑπάγω and ἐγείρω as V1 imperatives, whilst other verbs occur in syndetic PCCs in other moods (indicative, subjunctive, and infinitive). The verb ὑπάγω is unmarked in asyndetic PCCs. In the LXX, instead, βαδίζω, in spite of its very low frequency, occurs in asyndetic PCCs as much as ἀνίστημι and πορεύομαι, which are very common verbs. Unlike these latter, βαδίζω occurs more frequently in asyndetic PCCs than in the syndetic ones.

This research allows us to both analyse source- and target-oriented strategies of translation, as far as the Septuagint is concerned, and the changes occurred in the Greek of the New Testament with respect to Classical and Septuagint Greek.

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### **Pleonastic pronoun in relative clauses in Biblical Greek**

Pleonastic pronoun is a personal or demonstrative pronoun which repeats the relative pronoun in a relative clause, referring to the same antecedent. It may show identity of syntactic shape with the relative pronoun, e.g., τὰς πόλεις ἐν αἷς κατῴκει ἐν αὐταῖς Λωτ (Gen 19:29), or disagreement, e.g., τῶν περιβολαίων σου ἃ ἐὰν περιβάλῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς (Deut 22:12). It may involve oblique cases, as well as the direct object of the relative clause, e.g., τῆς γῆς ἣν κατεσκέψαντο αὐτήν (Num 13:32).

This phenomenon, which is rare (but present) in Homeric and Classical Greek, becomes quantitatively significant in Koine and in particular in Biblical Greek. This can be explained by the fact that the source language, Biblical Hebrew, mainly uses in the relative clause the indeclinable relative particle *'āšer*, which cannot express any syntactic function or relation, followed by a resumptive pronoun which is, in this case, not redundant, but necessary. This phenomenon, in Biblical Greek, is usually classified as a Semitism.

This case study analyses the Semitic influence of Hebrew as a source language on Biblical Greek. Attestations of the same phenomenon in other phases of the Greek language will be as well taken into consideration and discussed.

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