Subordination and Insubordination in Post-Classical Greek
Syntax, Context and Complexity

Where?   [Pand](#), Ghent (Belgium)

When?   Thursday 12th to Saturday 14th of May 2022

By whom?   Klaas Bentein, Eleonora Cattafi, Ezra la Roi, Mark Janse, Chiara Monaco,

Peter Petré, Toon van Hal

Keynotes?   Brian D. Joseph (Ohio), Alessandro Vatri (Oxford), Marja Vierros (Helsinki)

Registration? Opens end of March

Programme

Day 1: _Diachronic syntax of (in)subordination_

9.45-10.15 (Organisers) Introduction (Klaas Bentein, Eleonora Cattafi & Ezra la Roi, Universiteit Gent)

10.15-11.00 (Keynote) The ups and downs, and ins and outs of subordination in the history of Greek (Brian Joseph, Ohio State University)

11.00-11.30 Coffee break

(CHAIR: Ezra la Roi)

11.30-12.30 _Infinitives in Post-Classical Greek_

11.30-12.00 Temporal properties of infinitive clauses in Post-Classical Greek: The example of initial formulas in contracts of sale (Jerneja Kavčič, University of Ljubljana)

12.00-12.30 Going nominal: The articular infinitive in Greek documentary papyri (Klaas Bentein, Universiteit Gent)

12.30-13.00 _Verbal syntax in Post-Classical Greek_

12.30-13.00 A gradient for periphrastic constructions with εἶναι in post-Hellenistic Greek: between degree of verbiness and event type (Edoardo Nardi, G. Marconi University & Domenica Romagno, University of Pisa)

13.00-14.30 Lunch break

(CHAIR: Klaas Bentein)

14.30-15.30 _Insubordination in Post-Classical Greek_

14.30-15.00 Continuity and change of counterfactual sentence patterns in Post-Classical Greek literary texts and documentary papyri (Ezra la Roi, Universiteit Gent):

15.00-15.30 Just so you know: Insubordination with ἵνα (Victoria Fendel, University of Oxford)

15.30-16.00 Coffee break

(CHAIR: Brian Joseph)

16.00-16.30 _Subordination in diachrony_

16.00-16.30 Co-subordination in Ancient, Medieval and Modern Greek (Mark Janse, Universiteit Gent)

17.30 Reception at Alice.

Day 2: _Contextualizing subordination_

9.15-11.30 *Subordination in corpora*

9.15-10.00 (Keynote) Levels of subordination in a treebanked corpus of Greek documentary papyri (Marja Vierros, University of Helsinki)

10.00-10.30 Complementation in the papyri: an integrated, corpus-based approach (Alek Keersmaekers, KU Leuven)

10.30-11.00 Coffee break

11.00 -11.30 Subordination in dependency grammar (Robert Crellin, University of Cambridge)

(CHAIR: Chiara Monaco)

11.30-16.00 *Subordination in Christian Greek*

11.30-12.00 Reevaluating parataxis in the Septuagint (William A. Ross, Reformed Theological Seminary & Andrew T. Keenan, University of Cambridge)

12.00-12.30 Participial syntax in Postclassical Greek: the Sayings of the Fathers as a case study (Liana Tronci, Università per Stranieri di Siena)

12.30-14.00 Lunch break

(CHAIR: Eleonora Cattafi)

14.00-14.30 The Syntax of Suffering: Case Studies on Subordination and Insubordination in Greek Acts of Christian Martyrs (Johannes Breuer, Universität Mainz)

14.30- 15.00 Continuity and change in the syntax of δίδωμι. A study on Septuagint Greek (Carla Bruno, Università per Stranieri di Siena)

15.00-15.30 Coffee break

15.30-16.00 Relative clauses in the Septuagint and the New Testament: Greek and/or Hebrew syntax? (Marina Benedetti, Paola Mollo & Liana Tronci, Università per Stranieri di Siena)

19.00. Conference dinner at De Abt

Day 3: *Complexity*

(CHAIR: Marja Vierros)

9.15-10.30 *Complexity and subordination*

9.15-10.00 (Keynote) Complicated complexity: decoding Greek syntax from computation to native comprehension (Alessandro Vatri, University of Oxford)

10.00-10.30 Detecting complexity in relative clauses: applications and potential in Post-Classical Greek (Eleonora Cattafi, Universiteit Gent)

10.30-11.00 Juice break

(CHAIR: Mark Janse)

11.00-12.00 *Disentangling complex syntax*

11.00-11.30 Atticist syntax: prescriptive norms on the use of μέλλω and aorist infinitive (Chiara Monaco, Universiteit Gent)

11.30-12.00 Purpose and Result Clauses in Aristaenetus' Erotic Letters (Sabira Hajdarević, University of Zadar)

12.00-12.30 (Organisers) Conclusions (Klaas Bentein, Eleonora Cattafi & Ezra la Roi, Universiteit Gent

Marina Benedetti, Paola Mollo & Liana Tronci

(University for Foreigners of Siena)

Relative clauses in the Septuagint and the New Testament: Greek and/or Hebrew syntax?

Relative clauses in the Septuagint and the New Testament are characterized by a great variety of types, which have been considered more or less "idiomatic", according to the rules of Greek syntax (cf., among others, Horrocks 2010: 148). A crucial issue is represented by the relatively frequent occurrence of a "pleonastic" pronoun: the relative pronoun, which opens the relative clause, is repeated by another pronoun (a personal or a demonstrative one) within the relative clause itself. This "pleonastic" pronoun can agree or disagree in case with the relative pronoun, e.g. τὰς πόλεις ἐν αἷς κατῴκει ἐν αὐταῖς Λωτ (Gen. 19.29) with agreement and τῶν περιβολαίων σου ἃ ἐὰν περιβάλῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς (Deut. 22.12) without agreement (cf., among others, Culy 1989, Sollamo 1995).

This phenomenon, intensively discussed in the literature, has been repeatedly ascribed to Hebrew influence (cf., among others, Jannaris 1897: §1439, Moulton 1906: 94f. for the NT, Soisalon-Soininen 1973, Bakker 1974, Jones 2015, Janse 2022: 364, with further references).

Our study proposes an analysis of relative clauses in a selection of books of the Septuagint and the Gospels. As for the Septuagint, the analysis will be carried out by comparing the Greek text with the original Hebrew text, in order to determine affinities and differences and to detect the parameters underlying them.

The aim of this corpus-based analysis is not only to provide new data to the discussion, but also to contribute to the general discussion on relative clauses in Postclassical Greek (recently revived, for instance, by Bentein and Bağrıaçık 2018 on a corpus of documentary texts dating from Postclassical and Early Byzantine Greek).

References

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Klaas Bentein

(Ghent University)

Going nominal: The articular infinitive in Greek documentary papyri

Clause combining has played a central role in the European-funded project EVWRIT (www.evwrit.ugent.be), because of its intimate ties to the process of textualization, that is, how thought materializes into text (Bentein Forthcoming). A distinction can be made in this regard between three major subordination types (or strategies), which are relevant to both complementation and adverbial subordination: (i) non-finite, (ii) finite, introduced by an overt subordinating conjunction, and (iii) paratactic, whether syndetic (introduced by καί) or asyndetic. The use of the articular infinitive (on which, see most recently Burk 2006) falls in between these three major strategies, since the use of a non-finite mood is preceded in such cases either by an article, or by the combination of a preposition and an article (functioning as the equivalent of a subordinating conjunction).

While classicists may think of this type of construction as a feature typical of the Greek language, there are plenty of modern parallels: in Dutch, too, one can use articular infinitives with and without a preposition. One, influential type of linguistic analysis – which was developed in the Systemic Functional Linguistic paradigm – regards such constructions as an instance of '(ideational) grammatical metaphor', defined as 'the expression of a meaning through a lexico-grammatical form which originally evolved to express a different kind of meaning' (Thompson 1996, 165). In the case of the articular infinitive, this involves the downgrading of a clause (or, from a semantic point of view, figure) to a nominal group (or, again from a semantic point of view, element), also referred to as a 'rank shift' (He 2019, 127–28). Scholarship has related the use of grammatical metaphor to first- and second-language acquisition (Ryshina-Pankova 2010), showing it to be a feature of advanced speakers, and has

related its use to specific genres, such as scientific writing, where its effect has been described in terms of concepts such as economy, semantic specificity, complexity, etc. (e.g. Bolt and Spooren 2003).

The main goal of my contribution will be to analyze how much the Greek construction has been downgraded (or, in other words, how nominal it has become), by on the one hand analyzing its syntactic properties (use of tense and aspect, argument structure, passivization), and on the other hand its semantic properties (use outside the functional areas of standard adverbial subordination). Such properties have been investigated to some extent in previous scholarship (e.g. Mayser 1926, 332–34 for statistics on tense and aspect), but their analysis has been greatly facilitated in recent years thanks to the development of new digital resources such as the EVWRIT database and website. In the second part of my paper, I want to go more deeply into the usage of the construction by investigating its use in two formal genres (petitions and contracts), and discussing whether in informal genres such as personal letters writers used the construction to create a certain stylistic effect.

References

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Johannes Breuer

(Universität Mainz)

The Syntax of Suffering: Case Studies on Subordination and Insubordination in Greek Acts of Christian Martyrs

The so-called Acts of Christian Martyrs describe the events that led to the trial and, in many cases, execution of Christians in the Roman Empire. One of the oldest examples of this genre is The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, which narrates the suffering and death of bishop Polycarp, who died probably in the second half of the second century. Another central text is the somewhat more recent Martyrdom of St. Pionius and his Companions; both texts were apparently known to the church historian Eusebius, who wrote in the first half of the fourth century. These Acts contain quite different elements, such as narrative passages, speeches by various speakers from different social backgrounds, and also quotations from the New Testament and the Septuagint. They therefore display a wide range of different registers.

In my paper, I will examine the characteristics of subordinate clause formation and the relevance of "competing constructions" in these texts. Firstly, it is necessary to analyse which conjunctions and moods are used to express final clauses and how they correlate with expressions such as the future participle or the articular infinitive. The use of ὥστε/ὡς is also to

be examined with regard to finite and infinitive constructions. Furthermore, the linguistic means employed to express causal thoughts and the different types of conditional clauses are to be presented. Secondly, I will focus on the role of ὅτι/ὡς-sentences in comparison to supplementary participles. Finally, the characteristics of relative clauses are to be analysed, especially with regard to the use of ὅς and ὅστις and the use of different moods. Additionally, the significance of attributive or substantival participles as "competing constructions" will be explored.

The aim of this presentation is twofold: on the one hand, it attempts to determine whether significant differences in syntactic (in)subordination can be identified between these two post-classical texts belonging to the same genre. On the other hand, it explores whether specific features can be identified for individual speakers, i.e. whether the concrete selection of linguistic means of expression can also be interpreted as a technique of sociolinguistic characterization. The analysis will be completed with a short comparative outlook on the syntax of those passages in which Eusebius paraphrases the text of The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp in his Church History.

Carla Bruno

(University for Foreigners of Siena)

Continuity and change in the syntax of δίδωμι. A study on Septuagint Greek

This paper discusses some peculiar uses of the verb δίδωμι in Septuagint Greek, where, under the scope of the main predicate, i.e., δίδωμι, a further − mostly non verbal – predicate refers to the direct object.

The passages in (1)-(3) illustrate some aspects of the formal variation in the embedded predicate, which is expressed by a noun − πόλιν − in (1), an adjective – ὀλιγοστόν − in (2), and a prepositional phrase − εἰς ἔθνος μέγα − in (3).

(1) Ezek. 26: 19

Ὅταν δῶ σε πόλιν ἠρημωμένην ὡς τὰς πόλεις τὰς μὴ κατοικηθησομένας

'When I render you as a desolate city, like the cities that are not inhabited' (NETS)

(2) Ob. 1: 2

ἰδοὺ ὀλιγοστὸν δέδωκά σε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἠτιμωμένος σὺ εἶ σφόδρα

'Behold, I have made you least among the nations; you are very much dishonored' (NETS)

(3) Gen. 17: 20

δώδεκα ἔθνη γεννήσει, καὶ δώσω αὐτὸν εἰς ἔθνος μέγα

'he shall be the father of twelve nations, and I will appoint him as a great nation' (NETS)

These contexts, which have no apparent parallel in Classical Greek, can be easily explained as induced by the Hebrew source text, here regularly displaying the verb forms of the root ntn (cf. e.g. 1b), which in Septuagint renders δίδωμι also in other contexts.

(1b) Ez. 26: 19

bətittî' ōṯāḵ 'îr neḥĕreḇeṯ

when I make you city desolate

'When I make you a city laid waste' (ESV)

Although the types in (1)-(3) can be taken as syntactic calquing due to a translational equivalence between δίδωμι and ntn, the discussion highlights their elements of continuity with other contexts where δίδωμι occurs since the Classical times, involving different patterns of complementation.

Despite divergences in the form of the supplementary predicate, as well as in the argument shared with the main predication, a deep consistency then emerges between old and new types, since the new ones – which will be contrasted also to their renderings in the Latin Vulgate – can be referred to the spread of a pattern already associated to the Classical formats.

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Eleonora Cattafi

(Ghent University)

Detecting complexity in relative clauses: applications and potential in Post-Classical Greek

Despite the difficulties in defining and measuring linguistic complexity, relative clauses (RCs) have been analysed under these lenses. This approach has mostly been applied to RCs in modern languages where it is possible to conduct experimental measurements (Levy, Fedorenko & Gibson 2013) or to compare written and oral data (Leafgren 2004), but also in historical corpora, where complexity in RCs has been connected to the notion of style from a historical sociolinguistics perspective (Romaine 1980; 1982).

In this paper, I investigate to what extent and with which results a similar reasoning can be applied to Post-Classical Greek RCs (Kriki 2013; Bentein & Bagriacik 2018), based on a corpus

of documentary papyri (letters, petitions and contracts) from the first to the eight century AD. First, I look at the collected data, taking into account the morphosyntactic and semantic aspects of the relative constructions and their distribution in the social and communicative contexts. Second, I draw some preliminary conclusions on whether the concept of complexity can provide a bridge between these levels of analysis also in Greek documentary papyri.

To this aim, I propose to consider a number of interconnected aspects concerning RCs in papyri: (i) The combination of complexity. While complexity in RCs is often thought as syntactic, it has been proved that semantic aspects, such as the animacy of the head noun, can heavily influence the processing of the clauses (Mak, Vonk, & Schriefers 2002). (ii) The limits of complexity. The search for a higher degree of elaboration can explain some writers' choices about relativization, but other elements (e.g. relative markers) can be related to particular settings also without a motivated relationship. (iii) The specificity of Greek. The working hypothesis that some RCs are more difficult to process than others (e.g. object vs subject clauses, cfr. Traxler, Morris & Seely 2002) can be problematized by the internal features of the Greek language, such as the relative pronouns being marked by morphological case. (iv) The specificity of the texts. In order to assess the impact of complexity on stylistic variation, the purposes of the papyri in which certain types of RCs recur need to be further addressed.

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Robert Crellin

(University of Oxford)

Subordination in dependency grammar

This paper explores the nature and representation of subordination in three dependency grammar formalisms that have risen to prominence both within Classics and elsewhere:

* The Ancient Greek and Latin Dependency Treebank (AGLDT) (https://perseusdl.github.io/treebank_data/)

* Pragmatic Resources in Old Indo-European Languages (PROIEL) (http://dev.syntacticus.org/)

* Universal Dependencies (UD) (https://universaldependencies.org/)

The analysis is conducted in the context of the syntactic annotation of the I.Sicily corpus (http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/), consisting in principle of all inscriptions from antiquity found in Sicily, carried out as part of the ERC-funded Crossreads project (Prag 2022). The project's goal is to provide a treebank that is, as far as possible, interoperable with existing treebanks both within and outside of the field of Classical languages. Envisaged use cases include the analysis of stylistic and syntactic change over time and space, both within a given language, and across languages.

While the availability of increasingly large quantities of curated treebanked data offers unparalleled opportunities to explore and compare the structures of languages both ancient and modern, the fact that different formalisms are used is an impediment to such comparison. To the extent that the annotation of a given text in a given formalism can be regularly mapped to another formalism, the difficulty can be overcome without the investment of prohibitively large human effort. Opinions differ, however, on how easy this is to achieve.

After a general overview of the different approaches to subordination in the three formalisms in question, the paper focuses on the mapping of secondary dependencies, e.g. the indication of subject relations in control and raising constructions, between formalisms.

While AGLDT2 does not support secondary dependencies (for the guidelines, see https://github.com/PerseusDL/treebank_data/blob/master/AGDT2/guidelines/Greek_guideline

s.md), both PROIEL and UD2 provide the possibility of annotating such relationships (for PROIEL, see Haug & Jøhndal 2008; for UD2, see https://universaldependencies.org/u/overview/enhanced-syntax.html). However, in the publicly available conversion of PROIEL texts to UD2 (https://github.com/UniversalDependencies/UD_Ancient_Greek-Perseus/tree/master), the secondary dependencies are not, at least in many cases, carried over. The paper therefore aims to set out the practical benefits of annotating secondary dependencies, to examine any differences in the implementation of secondary dependencies in the two formalisms, and to provide an algorithm for conversion of secondary dependencies from PROIEL to UD2. Finally, I will explore the extent to which secondary dependencies can be derived automatically from AGLDT treebanks.

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Victoria Fendel

(University of Oxford)

Just so you know: Insubordination with ἵνα

Insubordination refers to the phenomenon of a structurally dependent clause functioning as an independent clause (Beijering et al. 2019; Evans 2007). For example, English if-clauses are regarded as dependent, yet in If only I knew! an if-clause comes to be used independently. Insubordination is widely researched, e.g. in modern French, English, and German along with classical Latin (e.g. Banos 2011; Debaisieux 2013; Günther 1999; Lastres–López 2020).

In a sample of 100,000 words of classical Attic historiography, oratory and prose, the most frequent insubordinators are (i) ὅτι recitativum (e.g. Pl. Gorg. 452a), (ii) ὥστε 'therefore' (Ruiz Yamuza 2020), (iii) continuing relatives (e.g. Xen. Ana. 2.3.6) and (iv) conditionals (εἰ, ἐάν). Occurrences of insubordinate ὅπως in emphatic exhortations (van Emde Boas et al. 2019 para. 38.34) and ἵνα are very rare. For later Greek, it is generally accepted that ἵνα came to head independent clauses (Hult 1990; Luiselli 1999). In early Byzantine Greek letters from Egypt, insubordination is frequent and appears alongside logical subordination (e.g. P. Kell. 1.63.17–20). ἵνα has clearly gained in importance.

This paper approaches insubordination in postclassical Greek from the perspective of grammaticalization and pragmaticalisation (of the clause connectors) (Deulofeu 2008; Hopper & Traugott 2003; Traugott & Trousdale 2010). While insubordination in turn-taking, e.g. in the Platonic dialogues (e.g. Pl. Gorg. 448e), has its origin in the nature of conversational discourse (Sansinena et al. 2015), insubordination in lower-register writings, such as letters, is often ascribed to colloquial habits (e.g. Gignac 2013). However, the meaning and function of the clause connector varies with the type of clause it combines with, as insubordinate patterns in

modern languages show, e.g. French parce que, German obwohl and English if (Debaisieux 2016; Günther 1999). Cross-linguistically, clauses that fall outside the scope of the superordinate clause enter more frequently into insubordinate patterns than clauses within the scope, such as purpose and result clauses with ἵνα.

This paper investigates continuities and discontinuities between ἵνα as a modal particle, a subordinator, and a discourse marker in insubordinate structures applying Verstraete's (2007) framework of clause types. The paper draws on three samples, (i) the above-mentioned sample of classical Attic, (ii) the literary corpus of Plutarch, and (iii) the documentary corpus of letters on papyrus from early Byzantine Egypt. We conclude that ἵνα behaves unlike other former subordinators (i) in that it grammaticalizes and pragmaticalises rendering two distinct patterns, only one of which is insubordinate, (ii) in that it appears very rarely in literary sources before the postclassical period but is frequently attested with a range of functions in postclassical documentary sources, and (iii) that it develops clearly differently from its counterpart ὅπως.

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Sabira Hajdarevic

(University of Zadar)

Purpose and Result Clauses in Aristaenetus' Erotic Letters

The epistolary collection entitled Erotic Letters, attributed (although not unanimously) to Aristenaetus, was written probably around 500 A.D. The Collection consists of 50 fictional erotic letters divided into two books. It is a curious intertextual patchwork of passages taken from various Classical Greek, Hellenistic and even some Roman literary masterpieces: we encounter familiar motifs, allusions, paraphrases and quotations.

Aristaenetus lived during the period when even Post-Classical Greek was already giving way to Byzantine Greek. However, in his literary efforts he was an atticist following his Second Sophistic predecessors - Alciphron, Philostratus and Aelian. Therefore, although he used both Classical and Post-Classical texts as sources for intertextual borrowings, his main objective was to write using the syntax of the glorious "Golden age" of Greece (and Greek). Given the inevitable diachronic changes that the Greek language endured between the Classical period and 6th century A.D., it comes as no surprise that Aristaenetus was only partially successful in his objective: besides Classical Greek syntax, in his Letters we encounter numerous "mistakes", i.e. glimpses into Post-Classical Greek that was used by the author in his everyday life.

It is my intention to analyse the patchwork-syntax of Aristaenetus' collection. Given the theme of the Conference, the focus will be on his subordinate clauses and subordinate strategies: I intend to scrutinize the moods and tenses used and to assess the level of confusion of moods in purpose and result clauses. The most important goal of the paper is to determine the level of Aristaenetus' overall success in imitating the syntax of the Classical authors. Additional attention will be given to the following aspects:

* The paragraphs containing proven intertextual borrowings will be meticulously scrutinized. Given that the subordinate clauses are usual indicators of syntactical complexity of a literary text, I find it important to investigate if purpose and result clauses of Aristaenetus' collection represent his own contribution or are they merely taken from other authors. Furthermore, it is obvious that quotations verbatim, if taken from a Classical author, should contain no syntactical "mistakes", but I wonder if Aristaenetus "corrected" the syntax within the borrowings from his Hellenistic colleagues and, if so, was he successful?

* Since I am questioning the unity of the Collection itself - my premise is that Books I and II were written by two authors, not one - I intend to conduct separate analyses of Books I and II in order to compare the subordination strategies in purpose and result clauses and the frequency of "mistakes" resulting from them. Any discrepancies found might support my initial thesis regarding the dual authorship of the Collection.

(Of course, given the extensiveness of the proposed research and the time limitations of the Conference, the material for my paper presentation will be carefully chosen and concise.)

Mark Janse

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Co-subordination in Ancient, Medieval and Modern Greek

Co-subordination is a clause-linking device which shares characteristics of coordination as well as subordination. It resembles coordination in that it lacks embedding, but at the same time it resembles subordination in that "the linked unit is dependent on the matrix (or 'licensing') unit in some way" (Van Valin 2021: 243). Co-subordination figures prominently in Role-and-Reference Grammar as a third syntactic clause-linking device in addition to the two traditional ones (cf. Van Valin 2021 for a review). Although the term is relatively new, the concept is not. Wackernagel mentions a few examples of "Beiordnung statt Unterordnung" in AncGr (1926 : 61): τόδε μοι χάρισαι καὶ λέγε (Plat. *Rp.* 351c), πειρασόμεθα καὶ ἐροῦμεν (Plat. *Phil.* 13c).

Under the heading "Koordination statt Subordination", Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf list a number of 'co-subordinate' uses of καί in NTGr: (a) "bei Zeitbestimmungen", (b) "statt Relativum", and (c) "statt ergänzendes Ptz., ὅτι oder AcI" (1990: 368), e.g. καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεύς καὶ ἔλεγον (*Mark.* 6.14), καὶ εἶδον καὶ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο (*Rev.* 6.12). The "anfügende Satzfügung" ist considered to be a characteristic "der schlichten Sprache" (1990: 388). Semitic interference is often adduced as an additional factor (e.g. Turner 1963: 334-5).

In similar vein, Muraoka compares different constructions with the same matrix verb in Septuagint Greek under the heading "parataxis vs. hypotaxis", e.g. σπεῦσον καὶ φύρασον (*Gen.* 18.6) vs. σπεύσασα ποιήσω (*Judg.* 12.14). While observing that 'the paratactic construction of Hebrew or Aramaic is not infrequently transformed into various hypotactic ones' (2016: 698), he also notes that 'parataxis in Greek is often considered typical of the vernacular" (2016: 699[3]).

In LMedGr and EModGr, the use of co-subordination as an alternative to subordination increases spectacularly, particularly with verbs of saying (Horrocks 2019: 1886), e.g. δέν λέγω καὶ κλινίσκει σας ἡ πεῖνα (*Pist. kekoim.* 11-2), control verbs (2019: 1890-3), e.g. τὸν εἶδε καὶ ἐπέρνα (Venetzas, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.34-5), ἄρχισε καὶ ἔβγανε φωνές (Papa-Lavr., *Diigisis* 106.26) and as an alternative to final (2019: 1897-8), consecutive (2019: 1900-1) and causal clauses (2019: 1919-20), e.g. ἀπὸ πτωχὸν μὴ δανεισθῆς καὶ κλαίει καὶ ἀκολουθᾷ σε (*Paroim.* H 44). LMedGr and EModGr thus offer us a precious perspective on the dependence of co-subordinate clauses to matrix clauses in terms of their syntactic and semantic relationship (cf. Van Valin 2021: 242).

With reference to ModGr, Mackridge notes that "it cannot be overemphasized how common such uses of καί are" (1985: 242), e.g. αρχίζω και πεινάω vs. αρχίζω να πεινάω, τί έπαθες και δε μιλάς; vs. τί έπαθες που δε μιλάς; τον άκουσα και φώναζε / φώναξε vs. τον άκουσα να φωνάζει / φωνάξει vs. τον άκουσα που φώναζε / φώναξε. Being a living language, ModGr offers us an even more precious perspective on the dependence of co-subordinate clauses to matrix clauses in terms of their syntactic and semantic relationship, particularly for the expression of tense and aspect. As in many other respects, ModGr thus provides us with a 'Back to the Future' perspective on the development of co-subordination in the history of the Greek language.

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Brian Joseph

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"The ups and downs, and ins and outs of subordination in the history of Greek"

A major change in subordination within the history of Greek involved the loss of the infinitive and its replacement by finite (person-marked) verb forms in Post-Classical Greek, starting in the Hellenistic era and extending into the Medieval Greek period. This major change in Greek syntax took place over many centuries, being completed, as far as most dialects of Greek are concerned, only in the 16th century. The decline of the robustness of the infinitive as a living element of Greek syntax is evident on a construction-by-construction, governing-verb-by-governing-verb, and century-by-century basis (Joseph 1990; see also Bentein 2017). However, it did not unfold in a strictly monotonic manner, with a steady and unfailingly downward slope in infinitival use, form, and occurrence; rather, there was an ebb and flow to the replacement of the infinitive. For instance, in the 12th century, after centuries of infinitival decline, a new infinitive for the verb 'to be', namely εἶσθαι, emerged, constituting a formal renascence for the infinitive, as did new uses for the infinitive, specifically the Temporal (or Circumstantial) Infinitive (Mihevc-Gabrovec 1973) and a volitionally based future tense (Markopoulos 2009), constituting a functional renascence.

Furthermore, it turns out that one additional structure/construction, an instance of insubordination — the main-clause use of a generally subordinate form — provides a sharper view of the diachrony of infinitival developments in Greek and brings earlier post-Classical Greek in line with Medieval Greek in regard to non-monotonicity. In particular, the Deliberative Infinitive — the Greek equivalent of English What to do? — a construction that was a post-Classical innovative use of the infinitive compared against Classical usage where a finite subjunctive was used, is shown, following Kavčič 2015, to reveal another instance of a non-monotonic chink in the armor, so to speak, of infinitival decline.

Finally, I offer a brief comparison of these developments in Greek with parallel changes evident in various languages of the Balkans, such as Albanian and Balkan Slavic, with which speakers of Greek came into contact (as chronicled in Joseph 1983).

Thus, in this paper, I examine the changes in subordination in the history of Greek, investigating a new dimension to the nonmonotonic unfolding of infinitive-loss — its "ups and downs", in a manner of speaking — looking at an insubordinate usage, and then turning outside of Greek to parallel developments in other languages of the Balkans.

Jerneja Kavcic

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Temporal properties of infinitive clauses in Post-Classical Greek: The example of initial formulas in contracts of sale

I investigate subordinate clauses in a corpus containing initial formulas of contracts of sale from the Hellenistic and Roman period. Such formulas are often found in papyrus documents and typically begin with a phrase containing the date (and place) of the transaction, which is followed by a statement that something has been sold. An example is passage (1) below, in which a finite clause containing the aorist indicative ἀπέδοτο refers to selling someone's house:

(ἔτους) κϚ Μεσορὴι κη. ἀπέδοτο Πετεῆσις Πατῆτος Πελαίαι Εὐνόου τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῶι ἐν τῶι ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου μέρει Παθύ(ρεως) οἰκίαν ᾠκοδομημένην… (P.Amh. 2.51 ll. 1-10, 88 BC)

My corpus shows that a finite clause can in such cases be replaced with a phrase containing a verb of saying (usually ὁμολογῶ) and a subordinate infinitive clause. For instance, in passage (2) below, the verb ὁμολογῶ governs the infinitive πεπρακέναι, which refers to selling a piece of land:

ἔτους δευτέρ[ου] καὶ εἰκο[σ]τοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Περιτίου λ Χοιὰκ λ ἐν Τεβτύνι τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου νομοῦ. ὁμολ[ο]γεῖ Χεῶς Ἁρμιύσιος /.../ πεπρακέναι αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῶι πατρικὴν εἰαιρὰν γῆν (P.Kron. 48dupl ll. 1-7, AD 35)

My corpus contains all reliable instances of initial formulas of contracts of sale that are available in the Duke Databank of Documentary Payri (appx. 200 phrases). My aim is to draw attention to a diachronic change concerning temporal properties of infinitive subordinate clauses and to discuss recent views on this issue (Bentein 2018, Keersmaekers 2020: 262, Author 2019). I stress the significance of the fact that finite and non-finite clauses from my corpus are found in (nearly) identical contexts. As a result, they provide an insight into how speakers of Greek may have replaced (in the Post-Classical period) a finite clause that expresses a past event with an infinitive clause (cf. Bentein 2018, on the significance of studying formulaic phrases in non-literary papyri). I show that in my corpus, finite clauses contain an aorist indicative (mostly ἀπεδόμην) or (sometimes) a perfect indicative (namely, πέπρακα), arguing also that the latter form adopts in my corpus the function of the perfective past. On the other hand, subordinate infinitive clauses usually contain a perfect infinitive (namely, πεπρακέναι) and (rarely) a present infinitive. After discussing the function of the present infinitive (cf. Bentein 2018: 99), I argue that my data provide further evidence for the view that in Post-Classical Greek, the perfect infinitive is used in the function of conveying anteriority in subordinate infinitive clauses, whereas in Classical Greek, this function was typically adopted by the aorist infinitive (e.g., Van Emde Boas et al. 2019: 594). Furthermore, I argue that this view can be held even if one takes into account that there was a general tendency toward the perfect πέπρακα replacing in this period the (irregual) aorist ἀπεδόμην (Horrocks 2010: 154). As is indicated also by my corpus, the change in question is reflected in Post-Classical Greek in different registers, and thus appears to have taken place already at the earliest stages of Post-Classical Greek.

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Complementation in the papyri: an integrated, corpus-based approach

The topic of verbal complementation has received ample attention in the scientific literature on the Greek papyri: see e.g. Bentein (2015; 2017), James (2001/2005; 2008; 2010) and Kavčič (2005), among others. However, most of these studies focus on individual complementation patterns, or use a restricted sub-part of the papyrus corpus (e.g. texts in archives). Thanks to the presence of a large automatically annotated corpus of the papyri (Keersmaekers 2020), it has now become much easier to gain a large-scale overview of the complement system in the papyri. This paper will therefore take a 'birds-eye' view to the complementation system in the Greek papyri, and describe how this system can be analyzed through the usage-based framework, making use of a variationist, constructional and quantitative approach. It will focus on complementizer choice, describing the intra-linguistic and extra-linguistic variables that determine when one pattern (e.g. ὅτι-complements) is preferred over the others (e.g. infinitival complements).

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Ezra la Roi

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Continuity and change of counterfactual sentence patterns in Post-Classical Greek literary texts and documentary papyri

In this paper I detail the changes in counterfactual sentence patterns in Post-Classical Greek (III BCE-III AD) based on a comprehensive corpus study of both literary texts and documentary papyri (la Roi forthc). First I detail the different syntactic strategies for counterfactuals in literary texts and papyri such as main, subordinate or insubordinate clause (la Roi 2021) and designate their different diachronic origins. Second, I identify the changes which these counterfactuals undergo in Post-Classical Greek on different levels, e.g. semantic, syntactic and pragmatic. Third and finally, I discuss their distribution across literary texts and papyri, pointing out that some patterns are only found in higher register literary texts whereas others seem limited to lower registers at first (cf. Bentein 2013 for register more generally). By detailing the diachronic changes and distributions of these counterfactual patterns based on a comprehensive corpus study of both literary texts and papyri, I aim to provide some quantifiable and falsifiable generalizations on these patterns which go beyond the remarks found in grammars and linguistic histories which have a more limited scope (cf. la Roi 2020:229-233).

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Atticist syntax: prescriptive norms on the use of μέλλω and aorist infinitive

The production of Atticist lexica in the second century CE sought to reproduce an alleged Attic Greek throughout the prescription of morphological, lexical and syntactical usages. In this paper, I will focus on the use of the verb μέλλω with the aorist infinitive. This construction, which Atticist purists criticised as βαρβαρικόν, is widely attested in literary and non-literary texts. This paper aims to compare the Atticist prescription with actual linguistic (literary and non-literary) practice. I will investigate which impact Atticist prescriptions had at different stages of Greek production, the diachronic evolution of the construction of μέλλω with aorist infinitive, and the distribution of this usage across registers and text types (e.g. literary vs non-literary).

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A gradient for periphrastic constructions with εἶναι in post-Hellenistic Greek: between degree of verbiness and event type

The question of the periphrastic constructions in Ancient Greek has been largely debated, and the criteria for their identification and classification have not yet been fully clarified: specifically, the interaction between purely syntactic, morphosyntactic and functional parameters remains unsettled (among others, cf. Björck, 1940; Aerts, 1965; Dietrich, 1973; Kahn, 1973; Porter, 1989). Tradition-ally, periphrastic constructions are defined in discrete

terms, that is on the basis of the presence vs. absence of certain features considered as relevant, and consequently classified as either 'adjectival' or 'verbal': this dichotomous approach, though, results in an extremely variegated and often incon-sistent picture. Bentein (2010; 2011; 2016) introduced an innovative approach that addresses Greek periphrases as gradient categories: the degree of periphrasticity of a given construction is measured according to morphological and syntactic criteria. However, Bentein's approach does not take into account the categories of voice and transitivity, that play a crucial role in establishing the degree of periphrasticity of different constructions: as a consequence, although his approach is overall embrace-able, his results are still partially inconsistent.

In this study, we adopt the gradient perspective (cf. Rosch, 1973; 1978) on the periphrastic construc-tions 'εἶναι + participle' in post-Hellenistic Greek, with the aim of providing a consistent account that includes the various types of construction in a unitary model. Specifically: 1. the superordinate cate-gory 'εἶναι + participle' is divided into three sub-categories, that is existential constructions, predic-ative participle constructions and "true" periphrases; 2. the degree of periphrasticity of the construc-tions is primarily measured according to the parameter of copula desemanticization, which in its turn is related to morphological and semantic features, involving categories such as tense, actionality, voice, transitivity. This approach allows not only to account for prototypical membership, but also to clarify the (apparently) ambiguous status of various category members; 3. two novel gradients are proposed for the 'εἶναι-periphrases': the copularity continuum, established on formal grounds, across sub-categories, and the periphrasticity continuum, established on functional grounds, within category.

The analyzed corpus consists of the New Testament and non-canonical Judeo-Christian texts, dating from the II century B.C.E. to ca. the VI century C.E., in addition to Flavius Josephus' Antiquitates and Bellum, and various non-literary papyri (including private letters, bank and trade receipts, legis-lative decrees, etc.). The selection of the corpus matches our objective to account for the variability of the εἶναι-constructions, as these texts provide striking evidence of this variability, on both morpho-syntactic and semantic grounds.

The results of our study confirm the crucial role of the gradient perspective in the study of the complex category of 'εἶναι-periphrases', and show that this category is prototypically organized along two main dimensions: 1. copula desemanticization; 2. interface between morphological features and se-mantic properties of the predicate.

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Reevaluating Parataxis in the Septuagint

Much of modern study of the Septuagint has occupied itself with analyzing the corpus to characterize the ways in which it was produced in antiquity. The study of "translation technique," as it is often called, is typically framed in terms of quantitative correspondence of the Greek text with its purported Semitic source (Barr 1979; Tov 1997: 17-29). This approach has led to the proliferation of Greek linguistic features labelled as "Semitism." The first section of this paper will outline these issues to highlight how Septuagint scholarship has for decades

categorized parataxis as Semitism almost entirely without question. The following two sections offer a different explanation. In particular, we propose a Neo-Gricean analysis of parataxis in the Septuagint corpus. A finite taxonomy of clause relations exists in natural language and the default cross-linguistically is to adopt minimal specification between clauses in order to invoke maximal interpretation. This is especially true of parataxis since "conjunction is ripe for I-enrichment" (Levinson 2000: 122-26). We argue that conjunction buttressing provides a better explanation of contact features like the high frequency of parataxis in Septuagint prose. Following Haiman (1985), we adopt a cline of clause-linkage (conjunction > parataxis > gapping / reduction) and argue that the choice to permit or disallow parataxis can be attributed to the translators' default to reduced forms and their corresponding discourse-pragmatic properties, such as the temporal sequence and compositional complexity of narrative events. For this reason, attributing high frequency of parataxis to an 'essentially literal' or 'simple style' cannot provide a descriptively adequate account of contact features in Septuagint prose. We conclude with suggestions for analyzing translation technique and incorporating data from the Septuagint as a contact variety in Post-Classical Greek linguistics.

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Participial syntax in Postclassical Greek: the Sayings of the Fathers as a case study

This study focuses on participles and participial constructions in Postclassical Greek and aims at providing new data to research on sociolinguistic and diachronic changes of participial syntax. I will focus on the distribution of participles according to their tense/aspectual stems and inflection for case (in particular nominative and accusative vs. other cases) as well as the different types of participial constructions (e.g. adverbial/conjunct, absolute and attributive participles) and their informational functions within the sentence.

Participles have been the topic of many studies on Ancient Greek (e.g. Pompei 2006, 2012, 2013, 2015), but no special attention has been devoted to participles in Postclassical Greek, with the exception of studies on specific constructions, e.g. verbal periphrases (Amenta 2003, Bentein 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2016, Logozzo & Tronci 2020, with references) and participial constructions alternating with pseudocoordination (Logozzo & Tronci 2019, 2020, forthcoming, Tronci 2021).

As is well known, in the history of Greek language, we witness a progressive loss of participles in terms not only of verbal forms, but also of syntactic uses. The rich participial system of ancient Greek, which had participles for all tense/aspectual stems and all voices, declined in use in postclassical Greek. The only form that remained in use in late antique and medieval Greek was the indeclinable participle in -οντα [-onda], which "increasingly formed from the imperfective stem alone, was used in a range of both attributive and adjunct/adverbial functions" (Horrocks 2010: 181, cf. also Browning 1983).

The corpus for this research is constituted by the Sayings of the Fathers (or Apophthegmata Patrum), which are a collection of stories and anecdotes composed by monks who lived in the Egyptian desert in the 4th and 5th centuries CE. These texts were orally composed in Greek and/or Coptic and, then, were put into writing in Greek in Palestine at the end of 5th century (cf. Harmless 2004: 168–186 for an overview). Because of their oral and popular character,

these texts are supposed to be relevant for our research topic, especially as regards the relation between (socio)linguistic variation and language change.

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Complicated complexity: decoding Greek syntax from computation to native comprehension

The idea that language may be 'complex' is an intuitive but slippery one. Complexity may be perceived or ascribed to language at different levels, ranging from the human cognitive/physiological ability to produce and comprehend 'language' itself to the nature and function of individual linguistic signs. The first task this lecture will set out to tackle is to survey (a) how the notion of complexity can be applied across different components of language (phonology, morphology, syntax, etc.) along with (b) the domains in which it may be recognized at each level of analysis, as well as (c) the variety of ways (or 'modes') in which this very notion may be interpreted (e.g. as a property of the description of linguistic phenomena, as generative complexity, hierarchical complexity, cognitive/computational complexity, etc.).

In principle, complexity in Ancient Greek can be studied under any of these lenses, but this notion comes up in the scholarship more often than not as a property of syntax and tends to be equated with subordination. The structural complexity of sentences relates intuitively with cognitive complexity and is often regarded as a significant parameter of stylistic variation and/or variation across discourse modes.

The lecture will explore the profitability of this (traditional) approach by (a) exploring possible manners of quantifying subordination in digital corpora, (b) assessing to what extent measures of subordination relate to our assumptions about texts and the discourse modes they comprise, and (c) discussing the cognitive/rhetorical effects of subordination and the relationship between syntactic complexity at large and cognitive complexity, with an eye on how such a question can be addressed for an ancient language.

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Levels of subordination in treebanked corpus of Greek documentary papyri

Syntactic annotation of Ancient Greek texts according to the Ancient Greek Dependency Treebank method is available for Greek documentary papyri as well as for several literary texts (Duke-nlp, PapyGreek, AGDT, V. Gorman's trees). The tree structure allows us to examine the levels of subordination sentence by sentence and we can relatively easily query for different subordination patterns. In this talk I will examine our possibilities to use the treebanked corpora for studying complexity of post-classical documentary texts via the frequency, depth and nestedness of these subordination patterns.