The use of dual forms in Hesiod: Observations about its gradual dwindling in the *Theogony* and in *Works and Days*

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The considerable quantitative disparity between the occurrences\(^1\) of dual forms in the *Theogony* and in *Works and Days* becomes outright evident by means of a closer examination of the data: in *Works and Days* almost three times as many dual forms as in the *Theogony* are employed: such a peculiarity seems to be not completely accidental and likely depends on the different stadiums of the language’s evolution which reflects Hesiod’s specific stylistic decision, correspondingly to the respective themes and addressees of the poems.

The author of the *Theogony* appears not to employ the dual in an active way for he uses this numerus only where a plural would not be metrically\(^2\) suitable. On the contrary, if the option between dual and plural is open, then will the author mostly opt for a plural.\(^3\) In *Works and Days* the quantity of dual forms in proportion to the verses is by a third higher than in the *Theogony*\(^4\). Furthermore, in *Works and Days* the choice between dual and plural seems to be made for metric reasons in four cases only\(^5\): where a dual occurs, almost always\(^6\) also a plural form would be possible and vice versa.

Additionally it is possible to assert that the dwindling of the dual appears to follow the same path as in Attic Greek\(^7\): its decomposition starts with the verb and is then extended to nominal forms. In fact, the duals in these poems are mostly nouns\(^8\): only three occur in a verbal form\(^9\), two of them in the *Theogony*.

The mixture of dual and plural forms\(^10\) in the same passage, which occurs mainly in *Works and Days*, seems, through the concept of "Zweiheit"\(^11\) or through the so called "Dualité-Unité"\(^12\) not to be clarified enough\(^13\). This combination is perhaps better

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\(^1\) While in the *Theogony* only three duals occur, there are forty-seven negligences in this poem. The percentage of employment of the dual in proportion to the negligences is 6 %, whereas the proportion between this value and the number of the verses amounts to 0,29%. For all the occurrences, the decision of the dual is always metrically obligatory, while the choice for the negligence is mostly open. In *Works and Days* there are eight occurrences, while the negligences are two times as many. The percentage of the employment in proportion to the negligences amounts to 33,33 %, while the proportion between this quantity and the number of the verses is 1,15%. Mostly, the choice for a dual is not metrically obligatory.

\(^2\) The occurrences in the *Theogony* are at v. 475 (πεφραδέτην), v. 698 (ὄσσε) and v. 892 (φρασάτην). In all of these cases a plural would not be metrically possible: πέφραδον and φρασάν would not be suitable in the verse. As ὀσσε exists just in dual, this passage is to be interpreted as metrically obligatory.

\(^3\) In 21/50 of the cases the choice is metrically obligatory in the whole poem.

\(^4\) See note 1.

\(^5\) V. 13; v. 199; v. 185; v. 432.

\(^6\) Only in 4/24 cases metrically obligatory.

\(^7\) See Cuny, p. 85 ff. about Attic epigraphic.

\(^8\) 11/14 Occurrences.

\(^9\) *Theogony*: v. 475 (πεφραδέτην) and v. 892 (φρασάτην). *Works and Days*: v. 438 (ἔχοντε).

\(^10\) There are different opinions as well: Thumb claims e.g. on p. 211 that the poems attributed to Hesiod are in no way testimonies of the Boeotian dialect and that this dialect did not affect Hesiod’s language too much.

\(^11\) W. von Humboldt, p. 18.

\(^12\) Gonda 1953, p. 9.

\(^13\) The dual is perceived as a numerus, which is specifically employed for the "in der Natur verbundenen Gegenstände" (Kühner, Blass, Gerth, Teil II, Band II, p. 68), constituting a unity. Although the concept of duality tells us much about the vocabulary assortment of the dual forms, it does not seem to be a valuable criterion to
explainable by researching about the process, how traces of dialects persist in the correspondent high language and in which manner the lower version of the dialect tends to dwindle. Actually the substitution of dual through plural progressively increased with the time, until the dual, approximately at the time of Alexander the Great, died out. Regarding the diverging quantities and distributions of dual forms in the two poems, it is possible to assume that the difference of topic and register plays a central role in this sense, for these are dissimilarly influenced and vary according to the respective contexts and addressees.

In fact, the dual is unanimously estimated as a product of a primitive society, which perceived and conceived the world and humans mostly as groups or couples: eventually, this perception would, with the civilisation of the society, progressively disappear. Although the use of the dual can be interpreted as an interesting signal of the stadium of the language’s evolution, it is not necessary for this reason to postulate a different authorship for the two poems, as, according to the sacral-mythic theme of the Theogony, Hesiod could have adopted a, so to speak, more modern and intellectual register which almost ignores dual forms, while for Works and Days, according both to the theme and to the receiver of the poem, the rural Boeotian oral dialect was perceived as more adequate.

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surely determinate where a dual should be expected und where not (cf. Illek, p. 100). The first reason is that often the same subjects occur not just in dual, but also in plural form; the second reason is that the concept of duality/unity is too generally formulated (a critic against the formulation of the duality theory of Humboldt can be found in Plank, p. 242): to rightly claim that two subjects constitute an inseparable duality, it is enough to observe that they appear in the text as a couple. Although the distribution and the quantity of the occurrences is surely useful for the understanding of the linguistic register, it is not the same with the analysis of singular occurrences, for eventually some randomness plays a role in this sense. Nevertheless it has been tried to legitimate singular occurrences by means of grammatical rules, but most negligences were still not explained or ignored: in legitimizing a dual it is also necessary to explain why in other passages with a similar constellation a plural appears (see e.g. Cuny p. 501, who convincingly explains the plurals in Hes. erg. vv. 432-441 as exceptions, but ignores the – two times higher! – quantity of negligences in the same poem. Another example is Gonda who theorizes that the employment of the dual depends on the presence or absence of the word δύο. Although these are clever analyses, they do not give fully satisfying explanations).

14 Concerning the theory of “Diglossie ohne Zweisprachigkeit” see Ferguson, 1959; Cf. e.g. also the process of dwindling of the Italian dialects in Loporcaro, M., Profilo linguistico dei dialetti italiani, Roma-Bari, 2013, p. 176 ff.
16 The connection between the recession of a specific primitive culture and the dwindling of the dual has been already observed in the Indo-European studies (e.g. Cuny, p. 5 or Gonda, pp. 9-11).
17 About the “collective meaning” of the dual see Majzahn, p. 292 ff.
19 The employs of the dual as well as colloquial expressions (cf. e.g. Troxler p. 113 about Hes. erg., v. 453) could be an indicator of the influence of the Boeotian oral form on the language of Works and Days, as in this dialect, which Hesiod surely knew, the dual has been preserved for a longer time (see Buck, p. 87): In fact Hesiod asserts in Works and Days (Hes. erg., v. 640) that he spent most of his life in Askra in Boeotia. Furthermore the fact that in the Boeotian region the dual was used in rural expressions suits to what is known about Boeotia: that it was for a long time a mostly rural area (cf. Vottéro, p. 205).
20 E.g. Cuny who even assumes that Theogony is not by Hesiod (see Cuny, p. 502). For a different opinion see Illek, p. 102.
21 Cf. Schlieben-Lange, p. 79: "Jeder Sprecher verfügt über mehrere Varianten seiner Muttersprache, zwischen denen er umschalten kann (...) Solch ein Umschalten geschieht in Abhängigkeit der Situation, dem Auditorium, dem Thema usw. Es kann sich abspielen zwischen regionalen Varianten (häufig beherrscht ein Sprecher einen Dialekt und die regionale Form der Hochsprache), zwischen sozialen und zwischen stilistischen Varianten. Dabei sind alle möglichen Überschneidungen zwischen diesen Arten von Varianten möglich".
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Managing Common Ground. Greek particles as grounding operators

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Greek particles are usually seen as communicative devices serving as ‘sign-posts’ in the interaction between speaker and addressee, used to express the interlocutors’ stance and to organize the discourse. This paper takes a closer look at particles in their role as ‘signposts’. Key to my approach will be the notion of common ground (e.g. Stalnaker 1978, Clark 1996, Verhagen) and the closely related cognitive linguistic notion of current discourse space [CDS] (Langacker 2001). According to Langacker, ‘[b]esides the context of speech, the CDS includes a body of knowledge presumed to be shared and reasonably accessible. It also includes the speaker’s and hearer’s apprehension of the ongoing discourse itself: a series of previous usage events, as well as subsequent events that might be anticipated’ (Langacker 2001: 145). In Langacker’s approach, the CDS is a cognitive domain that can be evoked as the conceptual base for the meaning of linguistic elements and it plays a crucial communicative role in coordinating the interlocutor’s focusing of attention and perspectives (cf. Verhagen’s 2005 notion of intersubjective coordination). According to Clark (1996), the interlocutor’s common ground can be based on shared perceptual experiences, joint actions and current discourse (personal common ground) and on shared membership of a community (communal common ground). A more specific component of the common ground which is relevant to the semantics of discourse markers is the topos, a general default rule shared by the members of some community or culture which states what is normally the case (Anscombe & Ducrot 1983, Verhagen 2005).

In this paper, I will discuss a number of particles that have been classified as ‘modal’, ‘attitudinal’ or ‘interactional’ (such as δή, μήν, τόι) as they are used in dialogical texts (especially drama), and I will analyze them as grounding operators: as instructions to the addressee how to relate the host utterance to an element in the common ground, for example by specifying the element of the common ground to which the attention should be directed, by invoking the common ground (and especially topoi) as a basis for argumentation, and by pointing out possible conflicts with the common ground. An analysis of particle meaning in terms of common ground management may help us to better understand some of the functional differences between particles in dialogical texts.


Myth of the raising vowels. The spellings <Y> and <OY> for <O> and the alleged high short o in Ancient Greek dialects

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The spelling <Y> for <O> is occasionally attested in inscriptions of various Greek regions:
*Boeot.* ὑκτάς = Att. ὀκτάς (ca. 396 BCE)
*Boeot.* Βυϊλλέ, cf. Βοϊδίον (410-400 BCE)
*Boeot.* Διωδότω = Att. Διοδότου (210-200 BCE)
*Boeot.* Νιουμεινίος for Νιομείνιος = Att. Νουμήνιος (220-200 BCE)
*Thess.* Ττυλίχνας for Πτολίχνας (3rd c. BCE)
*Cret.* Χαριμύρτω = Att. Χαριμύρτου (2nd c. BCE)
*Cyr.* Πτυλεμαῖος = Att. Πτολεμαῖος (1st c. CE)

According to a common belief, short o was a close mid vowel which in some dialects could easily be mistaken for short u and hence be accordingly spelled with <Y>. The spelling <Y> for <O> purportedly triggered the reverse phenomenon (i.e., <Ο> for <Υ>):
*Boeot.* σκόφοι = Att. σκύφοι (ca. 396 BCE)
*Μaced.* Εὐρυδίκη = Att. Εὐρυδίκη (3rd c. CE)

Allegedly, the raising of o is further confirmed by the spelling <OY> for <O> in Boeotian documents, in which <ΟΥ> for short and long u was used since the 4th c. BCE:
[Ἀ]πολλούδωρος = Att. Ἀπολλόδωρος (ca. 235-230 BCE)
Βουίςοκος, cf. Βοίσκος (3rd c. BCE)
ποιούμενος for ποιούμενος = Att. ποιούμενος (late 3rd-early 2nd c. BCE)
Διουκλεῖς = Att. Διοκλῆς (2nd c. BCE)
νιουμεινή for νιουμεινη = Att. νουμηνία (222-200 BCE)
However, the hypothesis of a close mid short o which could justify the above spellings is unlikely, since it runs counter to typological evidence: cross-linguistically, in languages with vowel systems which contrast both length and height, short vowels tend to be lower than long ones. As a matter of fact, the spelling <O> for <Y> must be taken at face value: it represents the lowering of short u. In this paper, I will focus on the spellings <Y> and <OY> for <O> and will offer an alternative interpretation of the data.

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“Entwining Greek with Asian Speech”:
An Example of Secondary Foreigner Talk in Timotheus of Miletus’ Persae

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After the conquest of the Lydian capital Sardis by Cyrus the Great in 546 BC, the complex geopolitical situation of Anatolia was reduced for the first time to political and administrative unity. However, the ethnolinguistic context remained heterogeneous thanks to the tolerant linguistic policy of the Persians (Basello 2013). The linguistic repertoire of Anatolia during the Achaemenid Era included many varieties: the dominators’ languages, old Persian and Aramaic; the epichoric languages, one of which was Phrygian; and Greek, whose penetration into the intermediate zone between the western coast and the Anatolian hinterland was promoted by the Achaemenid administration (Asheri 1983: 15–17). In this multilingual context, the scene represented by Timotheus of Miletus in his nome Persae (late 5th century BC) is not implausible. In one of the direct speeches describing the Battle of Salamis (480 BC), the poet decides to give the floor to a Phrygian soldier from Kelainai, engaged in the Persian army. After having been seized by his Greek aggressor and dragged by the hair (140–149), the Phrygian soldier begs him to spare his life, speaking in broken Greek (150–161).

The incomplete linguistic competence of a non-native speaker in a target language is known as a linguistic register called broken language (Ferguson – DeBose 1977), which can
be easily imitated by a native speaker through a register called secondary foreigner talk (Hinnenkamp 1982: 40–41). In a literary context, this secondary foreigner talk is a very precise technique that aims to obtain different effects, from mimetic realism to humorous parody, according to the author’s needs (Traugott – Pratt, 1980: 358–397). Through his attempt to reproduce the overall effect of the Phrygian soldier’s imperfect knowledge of Greek, Timotheus connects himself to a tradition already established by Ancient Comedy (cf. Aristophanes: Scythian archer, Thesmophoriazousae; Pseudartabas, Acharnians; Triballic God, Birds). Several studies have been devoted to these passages, including from a sociolinguistic point of view (Brixhe 1988, 2012; Willi 2003: 198–225), but this has never been done before for Timotheus’ Phrygian soldier.

Commentators (among the most recent ones: Janssen 1984; Hordern 2002; Sevieri 2011; Lambin 2013) have often focused on the “grammatical mistakes” present in the Phrygian’s speech, considering their analysis as an end in itself. However, it seems much more interesting to situate these deviations from the norm of Greek language in the framework of secondary foreigner talk, in order to understand the strategies used by Timotheus to reproduce in a credible way the type of Greek spoken by the Phrygian. In light of the latest knowledge of Phrygian, it is possible to see the extent to which Timotheus pushed his mimesis, allowing us to identify the elements of the Phrygian’s speech that would actually be compatible with an Ionic Greek dialect learned by a non-native speaker of Phrygian origin, and to distinguish them from those attributable only to the poet’s linguistic creativity in the literary secondary foreigner talk.

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Zurück zum „Pelasgischen“? Ein neuer Interpretationsvorschlag

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Die Sprachkontakte des Griechischen im vormykenischen Zeitalter, für das man keine vollständig und sicherlich gedeutete schriftliche Quellen zur Verfügung hat, stellen für die Forschung nach wie vor ein recht problematisches und umstrittenes Thema dar. Als fast allgemein akzeptierte Meinung könnte aber zur Zeit gelten, dass die Benutzer des Griechischen (als die Muttersprache) im Griechenland mit den Sprechern zumindest einer nichtindogermanischen „vorgriechischen“ Sprache im Kontakt gelebt haben, wovon u.a. die griechischen Lexeme offensichtlich nichtindogermanischen Ursprungs zeugen.


Obwohl das von den erwähnten Forschern vorgebrachte Material allzu oft kaum überzeugend wirkte sowie für die Sicherung der ehemaligen Existenz „vorgriechischer“ indogermanischen Sprachen ungenügend war und obwohl sich das Thema seit fast einem halben Jahrhundert keiner ernstlichen Diskussion mehr erfreut, gibt es im Griechischen doch wenigstens ein paar Wörter, bei denen sich über eine indogermanische, zugleich aber keine problemlose griechische, Etymologie nachzudenken lässt, wenn nicht sogar aufdringt, wie ab und zu zugegeben worden ist (der Paradebeispiel wäre αῦς – in diesem Fall sogar mit einem „echtgriechischen“ Gegenstück ὑς; weiter etwa πύργος, τύμβος u.a.).

Es gibt eine Möglichkeit, diesen Befund zu interpretieren, die eine Art Kombination der „pelasgologischen“ und traditionellen Sichtweise ist und die ziemlich nahliegend ist, an die aber erstaunlicherweise, wie es scheint, bisher nicht gedacht wurde: Die Griechen haben die fraglichen Lexeme von der ursprünglicheren Bevölkerung Griechenlands übernommen, deren Sprache(n), wie die überwiegende Meinung lautet, wirklich nicht indogermanisch war (waren). Die Sprecher dieser Sprachen haben aber seinerseits diese – etymologisch natürlich
indogermanische, wie die Pelasgologen behaupteten – Wörter schon früher von den Griechen (aus dem Griechischen bzw. seiner Vorform) übernommen. Es geht also im Griechischen um Rückentlehnungen.

Ich möchte diese grundsätzliche Überlegung zur Diskussion stellen. Sollte dieser Vorschlag akzeptiert werden und sich etymologisch als zumindest einigermaßen nützlich erweisen, würde er hoffentlich auch einige neue Einsichten in die Entwicklung des Griechischen sowie in die Kontaktsituationen der Sprecher dieser Sprache erlauben.

**Modality and Injunctive in Homeric Greek:**
the case of counterfactual and epistemic constructions

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Homeric unaugmented aorists and imperfects are the oldest verbal forms attested in Greek, which continue the so-called Indo-European ‘injunctives’. The latter were inflectionally underspecified as regards verbal categories such as tense or mood (Hoffmann 1967; Kiparsky 1968). Thus, the question arises as to how the attitude of the speaker towards the content of his utterance was expressed. The aim of this paper is to investigate the role of epistemic particles co-occurring with injunctives in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, focusing in particular on past counterfactual constructions. Crosslinguistic studies have shown that such modal constructions reflect the universal semantic distinction between *realis* and *irrealis* (Wierzbicka 1997: 38). Specifically, the data show epistemic particles like ἄρα, δή, που, etc. (cf. Denniston 1954) occurring in the *if*-clause or protasis, which is usually made of εἰ μὴ + injunctive or past indicative and refers to an actual event in the past for which the outcome is already known. Differently, the main clause or apodosis is always (lexically) marked by the *irrealis* particle κέν + injunctive or past indicative, as also expected in a typological perspective (Elliott 2000), and refers to a potential event in the past, which in fact never happened (see also Hettrich 1998). The analysis of all the occurrences of such complex constructions shows a not random distribution of those epistemic particles, whose frequency significantly decreases when the protasis has an indicative rather than an injunctive. It might be argued that the use of epistemic particles was initially the only (lexical) means to express the speaker’s commitment to the truth of a proposition, while the more recent indicative tensed forms rendered them redundant at a later stage, since the verb was already inflected according to modality. Another piece of evidence in favour of this hypothesis comes from the use of the epistemic verb μέλλω that develops into a periphrastic marker for future tense, especially as a future in the past (cf. Allan 2017). The Homeric poems show most instances of the unaugmented 3SG occurring with an epistemic particle, while there is variation with the augmented form. The remainder of the paper will discuss the development of the various readings of μέλλω in the epic language both in combination with and without epistemics.

**References**
Some new old u-stem adjectives in Greek

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Even after De Lamberterie’s (1990) masterful study, the morphology and semantics of u-stem adjectives in Ancient Greek are still a fruitful field for linguistic research, as I try to show in three separate case studies, applying a combined methodology of philological investigation and comparative Indo-European reconstruction. Inner-Greek and comparative evidence enables us to reconstruct an adjective in -ús which was lost early in its simple form.

An adj. *tṛṣū- (root *tṛṣ- ‘dry’) is attested in several IE languages (Ved.ṛṣū-, Avest. tarśu-, Goth. paursus); Wackernagel (1897:17) and De Lamberterie (1990:701-14) argued that it is also preserved in Gr. τραυλός ‘lisping, stammering’, continuing *tṛṣ-u-ló- with a ‘complex Caland suffix’ (cf. δαυλός ‘thick, shaggy’ < *d̥n̥su-ló- besides δασύς < *d̥n̥su-ú-). Accepting their phonetic derivation, I propose to derive this word from an homophonous *tṛṣú- (root *tres- ‘tremble’) which would fit better the semantic nuances of τραυλός in ancient sources. An adj. *tṛṣū- ‘moving quickly, quivering’ could also lie behind some occurrences of tṛṣú- in the Rigveda (Debrunner 1954:566), thus projecting this form back to (Late?) PIE.

An adj. *agú- can be tentatively reconstructed on the basis of fem. plur. ἀγυαί ‘streets’, a morphological archaism as shown by its oxytone accentuation (Lundquist 2017:23-60), possibly cognate with Armenian acu ‘garden bed’. I argue that additional evidence for this adjective can be found in ἂγυρας ‘gathering, assembly’, comparing ἂγυρος ‘thick, packed, crowded’, attested in plur. m. ἂγυρος, f. ἂγυρεια (cf. ἄγυαί) and in several derivatives (De Lamberterie 1990:664-675, Anttila 2000:44) including a fem. noun θάμυρις ‘assembly’ (an i-stem abstract from θαμύρος ‘crowded’), which presents us with a near-perfect formal and semantic match for ἂγυρας.

Lastly, a Gr. adj. *λαφύς ‘greedy’ (root *labh- ‘take, seize, grasp’, Ved. rabh-/labh-; possibly also in εἶλήφα ‘I took’, cf. Ringe 1984) is tentatively posited on the basis of neut. plur. λάφυρα ‘spoils’ and of the epithet Λαφύστιος ‘devourer’, which I propose to derive from *labh-u-h1d- ‘eating greedily’. Possible cognates inside and outside Greek are discussed, including the obscure divine epithet Λάφριος/-α.

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Deictic shifts in Greek contractual writing

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Studies of Greek contractual writing typically distinguish between ‘objectively’ and ‘subjectively’ styled contracts (see e.g. Mitteis 1963; Palme 2009). As traditional terminology indicates, these two types of contracts have different vantage points or ‘deictic centers’ (cf. Zubin & Hewitt 1995), and accordingly also different personal references: with the former type, the scribe or someone else forms the deictic center, so references to the contracting parties are in the third person. In subjectively styled contracts, on the other hand, the initiating contracting party forms the deictic center, so references are in the first and second person. Contrast, for example, the first lines of the following two contracts:

(1) βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ τὰς ύπαρχούσας σοι περὶ τῆς αὐτὴς κώμης ὧν ὄριο[δ]υς τις περὶ τῆς ἱστακάς ἀροῦρ[ας] τέ[σ]σαρας ἢ δόσας ἐάν ὤσι κτλ. (P.Cair.Isid.100, ll. 4-8 (296 AD))

“I wish to lease from you the four arouras sown in grain, or however many they may be, which belong to you in the vicinity of the same village, in the horiodeiktia of Kerkesoucha etc.”

(2) ὡμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις Ὠρίων Ὠρίωνος τοῦ Μενχείου … καὶ Τ[ρο]ς Ὦρου τοῦ Πετεύριος … διειρήσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτοῦς κτλ. (P.Mich.3.187, ll. 2-4 (75 AD))

“Horion, son of Horion, the son of Menches … and Horos son of Horos, the son of Peteuris … acknowledge that they have divided between themselves etc.”

In this paper, I will show that the distinction between these two major types was not always strictly upheld: in many contracts, one finds subtle changes of perspective, so-called ‘deictic shifts’ (see e.g. McIntyre 2006:91-121), as reflected in divergent personal references. These typically take the form of subtle intrusions – either objective intrusions in subjectively styled contracts, or subjective intrusions in objectively styled contracts. Consider the following example, where the use of the third person reflexive pronoun ἑαυτῆς intrudes in an otherwise subjectively written phrase:

(3) Ἀρσιν[ή] Ἡρακλείδου μετὰ κυρίου ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀν[δ]ρός Λυσιμᾶχου τοῦ Λυσιμᾶχου ὁμολογοῦ ἐξίστασθαι κτλ. (P.Mich.5.350, l. 22 (37 AD))

“I, Arsinoe, daughter of Herakleides, with her guardian, my husband Lysimachos, son of Lysimachos, acknowledge that I have released etc.”

A number of reasons can be suggested for the occurrence of such deictic shifts: objective intrusions, which involve considering the contracting parties from a third-party point of view, can be related to the fact that it is unnatural for the scribe to write in the first
person, and not assume himself to be the deictic center. Subjective intrusions, in which one of the contracting parties becomes the deictic center, are less frequent and more complex to explain: possible factors contributing to such intrusions include one of the contracting parties acting as the scribe, or the introduction of persons triggering a different point of view.

In the final part of my paper, I will show that deictic shifts are not necessarily limited to one or two subtle objective or subjective intrusions. Some documents display more elaborate deictic alternations, in which the point of view is shifted multiple times. That such documents exist, testifies to a broader confusion between the two major types of stylization.

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Καὶ τί ἂν εἶπεῖν τις ἔχοι; Expression(s) of Focus in questions in Demosthenes

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It is now firmly established that the word order in Ancient Greek (AG) expresses information structure (Bertrand 2010; Dik 1995; Matić 2003). Specifically, two focus positions have been identified in declarative clauses: one immediately before the verb (1), and one at the end of the clause, when the communicative context licences a narrow reading of the focus domain consisting of the verb followed by other focal elements (2).

(1) Non-ratified topics — Focus — Verb — Ratified topics — Other presupposed elements
(2) Non-ratified topics — [ Verb — Ratified topics — Focus elements ]Focus domain

However cross-linguistically, the word order in interrogative clauses is often different from the canonical declarative word order, e.g. subjects are postverbal in English. So, what about the word order in AG questions?

Since WH-words are narrow focus constituents (Lambrecht and Michaelis 1998; Rochemont 1986), they are expected to be located in one of the two focus positions: Final (in situ) or preverbal.

An exhaustive survey of the constituent questions in Demosthenes’ political speeches shows that both strategies are used (3–4):
Nevertheless, we claim that a different analysis of those examples is preferable. First, there are instances where the WH-word is separated from the verb by one or more constituents. Some of them can be explained away, since they fall into a class of postpositive elements, i.e. constituents that form a unit with their prosodic host: clitics, parenthetics, vocatives, or even Ratified Topic (RTop) expressions, which have been shown to be postpositive too (Bertrand 2009) (5).

However, we also found elements between the WH-word and the verb which cannot be postpositive: non-ratified topics (6) or contrastive (potentially focal) expressions (7).

Second, the position of clitics in many instances (about one quarter of the corpus) shows that in WH-interrogatives, the WH-word constitutes an independent prosodic domain (Goldstein 2015: 200–14) (8).

Last, the WH-constituent is sometimes split (9):

We argue that there is a dedicated slot at the beginning of the clause for WH-constituents (WHFoc), and that the WH-word rises stepwise to the left periphery: It first stops in the preverbal focus position before moving up to the WH-focus position. Instances like (9) would then be a case of stranding, with parts of the constituent being left at every step: δίκην in its original position, ἀξίαν τῶν πεπραγμένων in FocR, and τίν’ in WHFoc. Accordingly, cases like (4) where the WH-word is apparently in the preverbal focus position are amenable to such an analysis, since everything that precedes the WH-word can be viewed as extrACLausal (circumstancials, themes, etc.). Even in seemingly unproblematic examples, the position of clitics results from such stranding, as in (10) where εἰπεῖν is stranded in the FocR position.
Anatolian Lexicon in Mycenaean Greek

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Mycenaean Greek, just like first-millennium alphabetic Greek, contains a substantial number of lexical items which are not directly inherited, and which are commonly defined as “non-Greek”. Francisco Aura Jorro’s Diccionario Micénico (which does not include the newer data from Thebes, Iklaina and Hagios Vassileios) reports more than fifty items that some scholars identified as borrowings from an Anatolian language (Hittite and Luwian are traditionally used as the main comparanda). Most of these supposed isoglosses are controversial, at least to a certain extent, and a case-by-case approach is needed in order to disentangle borrowings from items inherited from PIE into Greek, or to identify possible independent developments of the two branches.

In this paper, I will present the results of a re-examination of the (supposed) Anatolian lexicon in Mycenaean Greek, including onomastic material (e.g. mo-qo-so in KN De 1381, ru-wa-ni jo in KN X 7706 + 8108, and the anthroponyms in pi-ja*: e.g. pi-ja-ma-so, pi-ja-mu-nu, pi-ja-se-me, pi-ja-si-ro), and some ‘classical’ (e.g. di-pa, ku-wa-no) and less discussed (o-nu in KN Ld 584 +, po-ro-wi-to in PY Fr 1221 +, wo-no-wa-ti-si in PY Vn 48) case studies. The goal is to offer an overall reflection based on a systematic review of the available evidence, which could shed some light on the linguistic interactions in the Aegean and in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age, and on the degree of language contact which took place between speakers of the earliest form of Greek we possess and the speakers of the second-millennium Indo-European languages of Anatolia.

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Discourse segmentation in Herodotus and Thucydides: Suggestions from medieval punctuation

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This paper compares punctuation in the OCT editions and in two medieval manuscripts of Herodotus and Thucydides’ Histories. When we read an OCT edition of either historian, we process intuitively not only words but also punctuation markers. We may stop reading when we find a full stop, for example, or we might infer from a comma the boundary of a certain phrase or clause.

However, we (and our students) tend to forget that those full stops and commas have not been transmitted directly from antiquity. They represent the result—an interpretive result—of a complex cultural and philological operation where readability, writing rules, syntactic clarity, and the comparison with previous editions (sometimes including pre-print editions) are considered at once.

The first part of the paper zooms in on two passages from each historian, and illustrates the differences between the medieval punctuation adopted in Laurentianus A, the
oldest extant manuscript of Herodotus (dating back to the 10th century CE) as well as in the manuscript β M of Thucydides (British Museum 11727, dating back to the 11th century CE), and the modern punctuation adopted in the two respective OCT editions. The theoretical implication of this part is what we can infer about the different position, size, and the nature of the discourse boundaries being indicated. The practical implication consists in facing possible shifts of meaning and of syntactical arrangement that depend on which segmentation is “read”.

The second part complements the analysis by adding input from three related topics: punctuation in antiquity and in early print editions; the macro-segmentation reflected in section and chapter divisions; and, finally, contemporary thoughts about prose colometry, intonational phrases, and discourse acts—all of them actually matching medieval more than modern segmentation strategies. The overall picture is a variety of criteria followed by readers, scribes, teachers, and philologists across centuries. Such a variety questions the idea of “the” right punctuation to be adopted (and published), and, perhaps more remarkably, it questions assessments about the length and shape of periods and sentences.

The paper concludes by suggesting how much more reliable than punctuation are the words and their order in guiding us through the articulation of the text, and which linguistic constructions or patterns are likely to indicate a minor or major discourse boundary.


**Exclamative nominatives and nominatives pro vocatives in Ancient Greek: a possible distinction?**

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The absolute uses of the nominative case, namely its secondary extrasyntactical functions, consist in lists, quotations, anacolutha and exclamations.
In this contribution we are interested in exclamations, in particular those expressing evaluations, generally referred to a first (Ὦ πόλλ’ ἐγὼ μοχθηρός ‘oh unhappy me!’ S. Ph., 254) or a third person (κατέκταν ὁ ἐν οίκῳ, σχέτλιος ‘he killed him in his house, how mad!’ Od., XXI, 27-28).

Between the examples collected by grammarians, however, there are sentences with a so-called ‘exclamative nominative’ in contexts referred to a second person too, without any distinction (Δημοβόρος βασιλεύς, ἐπεί οὕτως ἀνάσσεις ‘People-devouring king, since you rule over nobodies’ Il., 1, 231).

We wonder if, in these latter circumstances, it is possible to effectively distinguish between an exclamation or a real case of nominative pro vocative.

Firstly, we will then try to define the concepts of neutralization and substitution in order to apply them to the categories of nominative and vocative cases.

We are going to show how the phenomenon of nominative pro vocative does not correspond to a neutralization, neither in terms of markedness nor if we intend neutralization as the total lack of syntactic relevance of the feature (case) value within a given context (Baerman, Brown, Corbett 2005: 30).

The use of a nominative instead of a vocative is not a systematic phenomenon and it does not imply the neutralization of the distinction between the two cases. It only implies the expression of the feature value in an unexpected way. The real neutralization of the case value, instead, is observable within the secondary uses of the nominative.

Our first aim is to demonstrate how the main contact point between nominative and vocative has to be seen not in all the absolute uses of the nominative, for the extrasyntactical feature in common with the vocative, but rather it originates in those exclamative contexts where the line between neutralization and substitution is quite fine.

It is possible to prove this with couple of sentences where the same terms occur in similar contexts, both in the nominative and vocative:

a) Τί δ’ ὃ τάλας, σε τοῦδ’ ἔχει πλέκους χρέος;
   ‘Why needest thou that wicker, thou poor wretch’ (Aristoph., Acharn., 454).

b) Μὴ σκωπτέ μ’ ὃ τάλαν, ἀλλ’ ἔσω δεύρ’ ὃς ἔμε

In order to investigate the problem, we made a systematic analysis on Aristophanes’ comedies, by collecting and classifying all the exclamations and addresses in the nominative and vocative, excluding ambiguous forms, in three groups.

Examples like (a) and (b) can be put in a particular area -that we defined phatic-expressive one- where there is a contact with a second person as well as the expression of an emotion or a feeling towards the interlocutor.

Nominative and vocative forms alternate indistinctly within this area, starting from where the phenomenon of nominative pro vocative should have occurred in all its typologies.

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Ancient Greek -ln- clusters and 1st Compensatory Lengthening

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An issue that remains unsettled in the study of Ancient Greek historical phonology is the exact development of intervocalic *-ln- clusters (henceforth simply *-ln- clusters). The majority of scholars (e.g. buck1933:148-9, lejeune1972:153-4, slings1975, rix1992:61, minamimoto2012, beek2013:305-12, batisti2014:256, somewhat more cautiously schwzyzer1939:284) maintain that *-ln- sequence yielded a geminate *-ll- (preserved as such in Lesbian, Thessalian and Orchomenian Arcadian) and that *-ll- later simplified to -l- in all but the aforementioned dialects with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (henceforth CL). Since the quality of the long vowel is identical to the one resulting from 1st CL, this change has been considered a special case of 1st CL. This position was championed by ruiperez1972 (ruiperez1972), who, on the basis of the alleged 1st CL behavior of *-ln-clusters, proposed a global reformulation of the 1st CL in terms of generalized total assimilation of the relevant clusters (a situation still preserved in Lesbian, Thessalian, and Orchomenian Arcadian) and a later across-the-board degemination with 1st CL of the preceding vowel.
Not all scholars, however, have been convinced by this account of the facts: in the literature one can encounter explicitly dissenting voices (e.g. sihler2008:213-4), authors that tacitly assume a different development for this cluster (e.g. willi2012), as well as others that take no explicit stance on the matter but do not include this sequence among 1st CL sequences (e.g. cassio2017).

In view of the lack of consensus in the literature regarding the fate of *-In- clusters and its importance for our understanding of 1st CL as a whole, a new look at this topic is in order. In this talk I survey all of the forms that can be used to establish the fate of *-In- clusters, paying special attention to cognates forms in other ancient Indo-European languages and epigraphical evidence in the dialects, in line with one of the main themes of this conference.

The findings of this survey are that:
1. *-In- clusters seem to have been targeted by at least one sound change because few traces of them can still be observed (only analogically restored forms, glosses and names, mostly of foreign origin).
2. None of the Ancient Greek forms cited as evidence for a 1st CL from *-In- unambiguously points to *-In- in the first place. The cluster is most often circularly reconstructed: alternative phonological preforms are equally possible and usually preferable.
3. There are pan-Greek forms displaying -ll- clusters that point to a preform containing *-In- on comparative grounds. This suggest that *-In- simply assimilated to *-Il-.
4. By further enlarging the dossier with forms not cited in the literature, one finds out that there are Ancient Greek forms, especially ‘thematized’ nasal presents with clear cognates in other Indo-European languages, with a geminate -ll- but no CL where -ll- can only go back to *-In- because simplification of other clusters would not yield the attested outcomes.

I conclude that there is no unambiguous evidence for a 1st CL behavior of *-In- clusters. Moreover, if we assume that *-In- clusters were eliminated with 1st CL, we are forced to assume that several pan-Greek forms with medial -ll- were either (a) borrowed in all dialects from Lesbian, Thessalian, or Orchomenian Arcadian or (b) that analogy applied vacuously to these forms, i.e. *-In- assimilated to *-Il-, *-Il- was then analogically restored to *-In-, but assimilation applied again yielding surface observed -ll-. It can be shown that none of these solutions is really tenable.

Thus, for the time being, we should simply assume *-In- assimilated to *-Il- with no CL. A typologically common sound change that will be motivated on phonetic gestural grounds (as already briefly pointed out by mendez1994).

The Linguistic Landscape of late Roman Sicily: Interferences and Resistances.

Marta Capano
Oriental University of Naples

Although Sicily in the late Roman Empire is clearly represented by ancient authors as a multilingual environment (e.g. Expositio totius mundi et gentium, 4th century), the 20th-century scientific debate has proposed two divergent descriptions of the Sicilian linguistic landscape: while some scholars denied a deep latinization under the Roman Empire, the increasing evidence of Latin inscriptions led others to hypothesise the decline of Greek. In the last decades, new approaches to bilingualism and linguistic contact, applied to antiquity,
have demonstrated that the presence of a language does not imply the collapse of another one previously attested: many languages frequently coexist for long time.

Multilingualism has always characterised Sicily, but during Hellenism all minority languages gradually disappeared, and the diatopic and dialectal variation of Greek converged towards a Doric kouva. This is the situation the Romans found after the Carthaginian war.

My aim is to demonstrate, both by epigraphic evidence and historical sources, that Roman Sicily was fully Greek-Latin bilingual until the end of the 5th century, and that the two languages influenced each other: Latin and Greek epigraphs show similar onomastic material and phonological and morphological features (e.g. drop of final -s and -r), as well as a number of shared set phrases (mostly from Latin). Furthermore, I argue that the persistence of Greek - especially its Doric nuance - was not a fortuitous phenomenon, but a mechanism of "koinaization" due to Sicilian pride: the Romans unified Sicily from an administrative point of view, but this new unification (the first one if we exclude Ducetius’) fostered a nationalistic pride, which built the narration of a (unreal) common "Doric Golden Age" whose language was the kouva. The resilience of a slightly Doric Greek in Sicily was, in fact, a political reaction to the Romanization of the island and, ultimately, a result of Roman politics.

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Measuring ambiguity and the invention of vowel-writing in Greek

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As is well known, the Greek alphabet was adapted from the West Semitic (WS) abjad. This abjad is, however, characterised especially early on by an almost complete absence of the denotation of vowel phonemes. Yet on the script’s adaptation for Greek vowel phonemes are consistently represented. Indeed, there are no extant examples of the WS abjad without vowels being used to write Greek (Powell 1991:10). Should the Greek alphabet be seen as a mere refinement of the alphabetic principle, where vowel writing emerges naturally from a Greek speaker hearing and applying the WS abjad to Greek (Jeffery 1961; Faber 1992), or as a radical new development, the creation of one man (Powell 1991:12), whereby ‘for the first time it is possible to puzzle out the sound of written language without being a speaker of that language’ (Powell 1989).

The present paper aims to shed light on this question by looking for structural reasons for why there might have been very few, if any, attempts to write Greek without vowels. In an experimental approach, model abjads are created for Greek on the basis of WS models. These abjads are applied to represent various Archaic and Classical Greek texts, including sections of Homer, Tragedy and Classical historians. The level of ambiguity vis-à-vis the Greek alphabet is measured by comparing the number of alphabetic readings for given abjad forms (= types), e.g. the abjad type πλν can be read as πυλῶν, πηλόν, πολύν, πολλῶν, πολλήν, πόλιν, πόλεων, πλήν, πλέον etc. The results are compared with results from the same exercise conducted on fully vocalised and non-vocalised Biblical Hebrew texts, serving as a proxy for NWS dialects in general.

Preliminary results (see Table) comparing samples of 9,000 words of Genesis, Judges, Herodotus Book 2, and Xenophon’s Anabasis show that while the mean number of solutions in the vocalised / alphabetic texts for types in the non-vocalised / abjad texts is very similar (1.14 and 1.12 for Genesis and Judges, 1.15 and 1.12 for Herodotus and Xenophon), the standard deviation is higher for Greek (0.52 and 0.46 for Herodotus and Xenophon vs. 0.43 and 0.38 for Genesis and Judges). Indeed for one abjad type in the Greek abjad texts there are as many as 10 solutions in the alphabetic text, and high token-frequency types are among those with many readings. It is argued that an important reason why Greek is never observed written with an abjad because the ambiguity for some types was simply too high.

Number of alphabetic readings / vocalisations of abjad / non-vocalised types attested in 9,000 word text samples of Greek and Hebrew.
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From pronoun to discourse marker: the rising of ἀλλά ‘but’ and τοι ‘let me tell you’

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This study, which is part of a research project on classical Greek discourse markers, has the primary purpose of reconstructing the process by which the old pronouns ἀλλά ‘other things’ and τοι ‘to you’ evolved into the coordinating conjunction ἀλλά ‘but’ and into the discourse marker of appeal τοι '(your) attention!', respectively. My point of departure is that these pronouns did not evolve into discourse markers because of a sudden and direct shift, but rather through an evolution that went through several phases that are not documented. To reconstruct these phases, we will take as a model similar evolutions observed in the usages that some adverbs show (e.g. οὔτως ‘in this way’ or ‘therefore’) and in the differential characteristics of connective particles (which combine with a coordinating conjunction) and coordination conjunctions (which do not combine with another coordinating conjunction).

I will be paying attention to developments such as that of the ancient adverb καί ‘also, even’ into the coordinating conjunction ‘and’, that of the adverb νῦν ‘now’ which expanded its meaning into ‘as it is (or was)’, and that of the adverbs πρῶτον μέν... ἔπειτα (δέ)... which can refer either to the order of events in a world or to the order of units within the discourse. By reconstructing the evolution of ἀλλά and τοι we hope to be able to construct a pattern for the grammaticalization of lexical elements into
The recent edition of more than 4200 sheets of lead containing oracular texts brought to light at the Sacred House of Dodona —mainly inquiries addressed to Zeus’ oracle— constitutes an important corpus of sources which increase our knowledge about different aspects of religion and the history of the ancient Greek speaking world from the end of the sixth century BC until the middle of the third century BC, period in which these documents are dated.

From the linguistic viewpoint, such lamellae, both those published in 2013 and those edited at previous dates, offer ample evidence illustrating various aspects of the ancient Greek language. In particular, there are numerous data on the geographical origin, the name of the inquirers and the dialect(s) in which they consulted the oracle, either for personal matters or on behalf of an institution or state.

The communication has the objective of drawing a map that reflects the area of influence of the sanctuary of Dodona in the different periods for which we have oracular lamellae. To this end, we will base our investigation on a database that includes the date attributed to each inquiry in the editions, the dialect in which each query was written down and the geographical origin of each inquirer, distinguishing the occasional information explicitly provided by the text of the consultations and the conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis of the dialect and the personal name of each inquirer.

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Bilingualism was a widespread phenomenon in Antiquity. Because of that, it is not difficult to find an ancient city, society or culture that had a mixed population, as is the case of Pompeii. Located in a privileged position in the Vesuvian area and close to the mouth of the river Sarno, this city brought together different cultures and, therefore, languages.

During the Roman domination, the supremacy of the Latin language above others was undeniable. Nevertheless, the Greek language played an important role in the education of Roman elites, so it never lost its status as a language of culture. At the same time, Greek was considered the language of slaves and lower classes, used by merchants around the Mediterranean and regarded as lingua franca in the relations with the Eastern part of the Empire.

Our main interest in these documents is to study the phenomenon of diglossia or usage of the same language through two different roles or functions, being one of them more prestigious than the other. In this paper, we will discuss some examples from the Pompeian wall-inscriptions that present the Greek language in both the High (H) and the Low (L) levels. The choice of one language or another could be also conditioned by the use of a certain language within a given domain out of tradition or convention. We will provide some examples of specific fields that were commonly written in Greek: the erotic-love inscriptions, including the ones that show the practice of isopsephism (CIL IV 1462, CIL IV 4839, CIL IV 4861, Giordano nº 31), the cult of Isis and other non-roman divinities (CIL IV 4138, CIL IV 4189, CIL IV 5262) and the ἐμνήσθη expressions (CIL IV 4839, CIL IV 4189, CIL IV 6828) among other examples. Since the alternation in use of the Greek and Latin languages and alphabets shown in the wall-inscriptions comes as a result of their improvised nature and unexpected preservation, it is an important aspect when studying these inscriptions.

We will try to show how the Greek language plays a crucial role in the Roman world and to explain the relationship between Greek and Latin language in a Roman city like Pompeii. Due to the variety of linguistic levels available in these documents, we can understand better the situation, use and conception of the Greek language in a very specific period and location. The final goal will be to answer some key questions like to what extent was the knowledge of the Greek language spread among the population of Pompeii.
Syntax and semantics of Ancient Greek δεῖνα

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As well known, the pronoun δεῖνα, whose meaning is ‘such an one, so-and-so, un tel, un tale, der und der’, remains thus far morphologically unclear and etymologically unexplained. The fact that it is always accompanied by the definite article has made scholars think that it could be derived from the wrong division of an unattested and unexpectedly contracted phrase *τάδε ἄνα > *ταδεενα > *ταδεῖνα, finally reanalyzed as τὰ δεῖνα (Schwyzer 1990: 612). This process is supposed to be parallel to that at the origin of the demonstrative adjective *ἐκε-νος > ἐκεῖνος. It is also interesting to observe that ἐκεῖνος can be used instead of δεῖνα, even though very infrequently: see Aristophanes, However, a careful attempt at analyzing semantics and syntax of this pronoun is still a desideratum.

The fact that this pronoun is frequently described as corresponding to Lat. quidam is only partially correct: whereas “only by quidam is made clear that the speaker is able to identify the referent of the indefinite pronoun” (Bertocchi, Maraldi, Orlandini 2010: 55), this is not always true for δεῖνα, as shown in the two following examples:

1) Aristophanes, Thesm. 619-622
Τίς ἔστ’ ἀνήρ σοι;

τὸν ἐμὸν ἄνδρα πυνθάνει;
τὸν δεῖνα γιγνώσκεις, τὸν ἐκ Κοθωκιδῶν;
τὸν δείνα; ποίον;

ἐσθ’ ὁ δεῖν’, ὡς καὶ ποτὲ
tὸν δείνα, τὸν τοῦ δείνα – ληρείν μοι δοκεῖς

2) Demosthenes, 13, 5
tοὺς στρατηγοὺς κρίνετε, καὶ περίεσθ’ ύμιν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δείνος τὸν δείνα εἰσήγγειλεν’, ἄλλο δ’ οὐδέν.
In these two examples, it is clear that the pronoun itself is not sufficient to establish a relation based on a shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer. Even in late Greek δείκνυα is attested but its meaning dramatically changes according to patterns of change that are not clear.

In this paper I want investigate in detail the semantic and syntactic conditions under which δείκνυα is used and how it could develop its late meaning. Some attempts will be made to possibly envisage the pragmatic and stylistic value associated to it.

References


**Accusative of respect in Homeric Greek as evidence for language contact**

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One of the most famous features of Homeric Greek is the use of a construction including an intransitive predicate and a noun in the accusative case that restricts the force of the predicate to a part or attribute of the subject. This accusative is mainly used to express an inalienable possession as is the case with body parts:

ὅ δὲ φρένα τέρπετ’ ἀκούων. (Il. 1.474)
“and his heart was glad, as he heard”

The accusative of respect may have originated in the double accusative construction of the whole and the part (σχήμα καθ’ ὅλον καὶ μέρος). When the double accusative construction undergoes passivization, the whole (the person) becomes the subject, while the part (the body part) remains in the accusative, producing the accusative of respect. Once the category was established, it was extended beyond the passive construction and it was added also to adjectives. In Homer the double accusative construction of the whole and the part is limited to inalienable possession (mostly body parts):

Τρώας δ’ ἄχος ἔλλαβε θυμόν. (ll. 14.475)
“and sorrow seized the hearts of the Trojans”

The fact that passivization is not possible for both accusative arguments shows that they have different behavioral properites: the body-part noun which in the active is in apposition with the accusative person noun remains accusative in the passive instead of continuing to share the case of the (now nominative) person noun.

Also in Hittite the accusative of respect arises through the passivization of the double accusative construction and occurs with predicates denoting a state or a change of state (middle verbs, participles and adjectives):
VBoT 24 III 11-13

11 namma ANA UDUḫḫA ištarna paimi nu=kan kui[š]
12 _udu[jyanza IW]ḫḫA_ -wa ûTU-î neanza
13 nu=šši=kan sîg[iḫuttulli ḫūittiya]mi

"Then I go among the sheep and I pluck a tuft of wool from what sheep is turned with its eyes toward the sun"

The construction with the accusative of respect NOM. šakuwa nai- (middle) ‘to be turned as far as the eyes’ can be compared with the double accusative construction ACC. šakuwa nai- (active) ‘to turn someone, (his) eyes’:

KUB 23.72 rev. 62
[n=an=kan IG]ḪḪI.A-ŠUḪḪ UR.SAG-i le naįšani

“Do no turn his eyes to the mountain!”

Based on the evidence of Hittite, Luvian and Homeric Greek, the aim of this paper is to suggest that that the accusative of respect was an areal feature of some languages spoken in the area of eastern Anatolia in the second and first millenia B.C.E.


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Grassmann’s Law as “weak phonetic change”

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1. According to Ohala (1989; 1993), dissimilation processes, especially involving non-adjacent segments, are highly unnatural, in the sense that the frequently invoked principles of speech production are unable to explain such a type of phonetic change. Rather, it represents the outcome of the listener’s mis-application of corrective processes. Acoustic-perceptual cues of some features (glottalization, pharyngalization, retroflexion, nasalization, aspiration) spread over beyond the immediate “hold” of the segment they are distinctive on. Therefore, the listener can interpret the original presence of one of these features on the segment in which it was distinctive as it were the outcome of an erroneous speaker’s production; consequently, it undoes such a feature through a mechanism of hypercorrection. For example, an original form *pʰatʰ- could be misinterpreted by the listener as the result of an erroneous speech production, originated by the spread of the second segment [+aspirated] feature (ʰ-) on the first one (*p-).

2. Such an explanation could shed new light on the well-known dissimilation process of Ancient Greek, the so-called Grassmann’s Law (= GL), the phonetic change in virtue of which in an original diaspire root a (regressive) dissimilation process takes place: τιθῆσι < *θιθῆσι, τριχός < θριχός (cf. nom. θρίξ), τρέφω < *θρέφω and so on. Greek inscriptions from different dialectal areas show in some cases the preservation of the (presumably) original diaspire roots (see e.g. Att. ἡχεῖ, καθέχει; καταθηκέας; θρεψθείς etc.); furthermore, diaspire non original roots are also attested, in which original forms such as *path-/*phat- are both represented as phath- (see e.g. Att. ἡρικήμων; θρέφος; χαλχῆιον etc.). Such evidence points the speaker’s entropic trend to spread over the laryngeal specifications beyond the affected segment. In contrast with this, dissimilated forms such path- < *pʰatʰ, with a regular application of GL, represent the listener’s syntropic trend, which aims to (hyper)correct all the diaspire forms (both the original ones and those “wrongly” produced in the speech).

3. The interplay between the entropic speech production and the syntropic listener’s analysis produces a long term syncronic variation between diaspire and dissimilated forms, until the dissimilated forms imposes the template path- as a rule. The delay with which this type of linguistic change spreads out in the lexicon could be due to the lack of an articulatory basis of the dissimilatory processes, which are rather grounded on the listener’s inability to parse the acoustic signal appropriately. The same motivations could explain the likely retention of the original diaspire roots in Mycenaean and in Homeric Greek, where both (-)h- and aspirated voiceless obstruents seem not to undergo dissimilation.

4. Lastly, dissimilation as listener’s mis-perception could enlighten the instability in the dissimilation processes in some compounds (e.g. ἐκεχειρία alongside ἐχεόμος and ἐχέφρων), where GL is anything but systematic. One could bring into play the presence of a morpheme-boundary in these forms between the two [+aspirated] segments as an actual obstacle towards the listener’s effort to (hyper-)correct through a dissimilatory process.
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The augment in Epic Greek.
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Greek past tense forms of the indicative (imperfect, aorist and pluperfect) are marked by the addition of a prefix e- to the verbal form. While mandatory in Classical Greek prose, the prefix appeared facultative in earlier Greek poetry and this absence is often explained as a poetic licence and/or a metrical tool. I argue that the use in the oldest Greek literature (Homer, Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and the fragments of the Epic Cycle) was not random but explainable by morphometric, syntactic and semantic reasons. This prefix gradually evolved into the mandatory marker of past tense and the earlier rules governing the use were no longer understood. As a result, the absence in epic Greek was reinterpreted as a poetic licence and was imitated by later (epic) poets. In this presentation, I focus on the earliest epic texts. First, I treat the transmitted forms and by using metrical rules, bridges and caesurae (such as those posited by Varro, Hermann 1805:692-693, Giseke 1864:128-138, Meyer 1884:980 - see the chapters in Maas 1960, Snell 1982, West 1982 and Oswald 2014) I decide whether the forms are secured by the metre or not. When they are not, I check if their value can be determined by an internal reconstruction (i.e. comparing the insecure forms to the secure forms of the same paradigm and looking at the position in the verse and at the word(s) preceding the verb form, as was done in Taida 2007, 2010 and De Decker 2016, 2017, based on Barrett 1964:361-362). Then, I proceed to the actual analysis of the established. Starting from earlier scholarship on the issue that described the augment as a deictic marker that marked the completion of the action in the presence of the speaker (Platt 1891:227; Bakker 2005:147), I show that and explain why the augment is used/preferred in:

a) verbal forms that would otherwise be monosyllabic (contrary to Wackernagel 1916 and Strunk 1967, 1987 argued, this rule also applies to long monosyllables);

b) similia and gnomic aorists (Platt 1891, Bakker 2005:131-135, Faulkner 2005:68-69);

c) speech introductions with an addressee (De Decker 2015);

d) actions in the immediate past (Platt 1891; Drewitt 1912a,b; Bakker 2005:114-153);

e) in speeches (Koch 1868, Bottin 1969:110-128, Basset 1989);

f) when new and/or important information was communicated (Mumm 2004);

and it is avoided in verb forms:

a) referring to repeated actions in the past, often with αἰέι;

b) with the -ος-suffix, referring to repeated actions or one action repeated by many (Pagniello 2007);

c) occurring in narrative and mythical stories (Koch 1868, Bottin 1969:110-128, Basset 1989);

d) describing a remote past, mythical stories or timeless activities (Hoffmann 1967, West 1989);

e) describing background actions, especially in subordinate clauses (De Decker 2016:298-299);

f) followed by a clitic, such as δέ, γάρ, μέν, τε, ἢρα and ῥα (Drewitt 1912b:104);
g) appearing in a series of past tense forms and preceded by an augmented verb form (Kiparsky 1968, Luraghi 2014);

h) in negative sentences, especially in narrative passages (Bakker 2005:126, De Decker 2017:144-146);

i) in the beginning of a verse or sentence (as had been noted already as early as the Byzantine scholars).

An example will make the distinction between foreground and background clear: 

ocrates ἐν ἀκροπόλις δρεσίν πολυπιδάκου ἴδης βουκολέεσκε νοὺς δέμας ἀθανάτουσιν ἐοικώς.

τόν δὲ ἔπειτα ἱδούσα φλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη ἑράσατ', ἐκπάγωσ` δὲ κατὰ φρένας ἵμερος ἐέλεν.

"(Ankhises, who) pastured his cattle on the top of mountains of Ida, rich in fountains, in stature he resembled the gods. Then lovely-smiling Aphrodite saw him, longed deeply for him and a strong desire for him took mercilessly control over her mind." (Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, HH 5,54-57).

This passage taken from the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite clearly shows the use and absence of the augment: the unaugmented βουκολέεσκεν describes the background and habitual action of Ankhises’s being a shepherd: he has always been herding his cattle on the mount Ida; the augmented forms ἑράσατ' and ἐέλεν describe something new and unexpected, namely his sudden erotic desires for Aphrodite as soon as he notices her.

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Lexical and syntactic constrictions for the derivation of the verbal nouns in –τις / -σις

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The traditional description of verbal nouns formed with the suffix -τις / -σις claims that it forms de-verbal formations with the meaning of action (e.g. Schwyzer 1953: 504). However, in some cases, other meanings have been recognized for these formations, as instrument, in examples such as those of (1), and result, in examples such as (2); in this last case, the meaning of the formations seems to overlap with those formed with the suffix –μα, the prototypical form to derive result nouns from verbal stems.

(1) δόσις “gift” < δίδωμι “to give”
σίτησις “food” < σιτέω “to feed”
πόσις “drink” cf. πίνω “to drink”
ἀρυστις “spoon” < ἀρύω “to draw”
mάστις “whip” < μάω “to seek, to pursue”

(2) ἄροσις “ground” < ἀρόω “to plough”
γύμνωσις “defenceless side of the warrior” < γυμνώ “to strip”
περίστασις “surrounding” cf. περιίστημι “to place round”
tάξις “order, organization” < τάσσω “to arrange, to put in order”
τρήσις “perforation” cf. τετράινω “to pierce”

On the basis of these cases, it was suggested that, perhaps originally, the suffix did not form only action nouns, but that it could have other meanings (e.g. Chantraine 1933: 275, Holt 1940). Nevertheless, many of those derived forms are not old formations, but were created all along the history of the Greek language. Therefore, the existence of forms as those of (1) and (2) cannot be explained as an archaism. On the contrary, there must be a historical linguistic procedure that connected the main meaning of action with that of instrument or result. Moreover, there must be a reason why the formations in -τις / -σις can be, apparently, sometimes used for instruments and other times for result.

In this paper, I want to explore how the lexical and relational characteristics of the verbal basis from which -τις / -σις nouns are derived condition the cognitive procedures that allow the different metonymic reinterpretation of action nouns. I will argue that in all those cases there is a single procedure by which the action is reinterpretated as the object of the action. The pretended difference between instrument-like formations and result-like formations can be reduced to a single semantic metonymic phenomenon.

References
The Greek suffix -ινδα within the Micro-Asiatic multilingual context

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The Greek suffix -ινδα, which characterises adverbs denoting games (such as βασιλινδα “king of the castle”, κρυπτινδα “hide and seek”, on these adverbs see Dedè 2016), has a phonological shape difficult to explain within Greek and Indo-European phonology, as already observed by Pierre Chantraine (1933:277): “l’origine de ces adverbes est claire, mais le suffixe qui s’y trouve impliqué presente une structure singulière. Aucune analyse ne permet d’expliquer le groupe -νδα.” In the same context Chantraine, also quoting a statement by Herodotus, suggested that the suffix has its ultimate origin in Asia Minor, particularly in Lydia.

A fact which deserves consideration, although it is in itself not enough to demonstrate the Asiatic origin of the suffix, is the presence in the area of several place names ending in -ινδα (e.g. Πιγινδα in Caria, Σινδα in Pisidia). Another element, which encourages to elaborate on this perspective is the hypothesis – in our view correct – recently put forth by Paola Dardano (2011), according to which the suffix -ιδας, which in the Homeric poems forms patronymics and is later refunctionalised as a suffix for deriving proper names, would have entered Greek via the Lydian language.

In my talk I will take into account and discuss the hypothesis of a Micro-Asiatic origin of the suffix -ινδα, evaluating its position within the context of linguistic contact between Greek and the languages of Asia Minor.

References

Verba rogandi in the Greek documentary papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods

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I present a study of the verba rogandi (i.e. ἀξιόω, δέομαι, ἐρωτάω and παρακαλέω) based on the Greek documentary papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (1st c.–8th c. AD) with two goals:

(i) to document the syntactic patterns found in the documentary texts;
(ii) to examine the pairing of these verbs in request formulaic expressions and their usage in relation to specific sociolinguistic situations.
The documentary papyri belong to the most relevant and copious sources for the study of the ancient everyday language. They contain several constructions different from those of the literary language and allow us to detect some tendencies of the Greek language that would become standard many centuries later. One of these concerns the construction of the verba rogandi with completive clauses introduced by a conjunction in place of an infinitival or participial construction, foreshadowing the disappearance of non-finite complementation in later Greek (Horrocks, 2007). Taking into consideration the evidence from the documentary texts of the Roman and Byzantine periods, I will firstly illustrate the complementation patterns of each relevant verb: they occur with a subordinate construction introduced by the declarative, final and consecutive conjunctions ὅτι, ἵνα, ὅπως and ὥστε respectively (e.g. P. Oxy. IV 744, private letter, 1st c. BC, l. 13: ἔρωτῳ σε οὖν ἵνα μὴ ἄγωνιάς - I urge you therefore not to worry), and in the paratactical use with the imperative (e.g. P.Oxy. XXXIV 2731, private letter, 4th/5th c. AD, l. 17-19: παρακάλω δέ, ἀντιγράψατέ μοι ὑπὲρ τῆς ύμω[ν] ύγείας - I implore you, write back to me about your health).

Secondly, I will specifically analyse the case of the verb ἐρωτάω, whose syntax can be explained not only as an effect of the general tendency mentioned above, but also as a consequence of semantic extension. In this respect, I will discuss Dickey’s (2010) thesis about the Latin influence on the semantic and syntax of ἐρωτάω, when used alone and when paired with the verb παρακαλέω (i.e. ἐρωτάω καὶ παρακαλέω). On the one hand, the pairing of ἐρωτάω and παρακαλέω could be explained as a result of the influence of the correspondent Latin formula rogo atque oro, as Dickey argued. On the other hand, the pairing of these two verbs could be explained as an instance of the more general phenomenon in the papyri to build formulaic expressions by combining two verba rogandi (e.g. ἀξιόω καὶ δέομαι, δέομαι καὶ παρακαλέω) in order to emphasize the tone of a request. This phenomenon can be also observed in relation to the verba iubendi (i.e. βούλομαι καὶ κελεύω, ἐπιτρέπω καὶ παρακαλέω). Furthermore, the use of these formulas in the papyri is related to specific sociolinguistic contexts: they are found only in private letters and in petitions.

Finally, I will explore the hypothesis that these formulas in the context of private letters behave like directive expressions, in other words they occur as fixed expressions in paratactic structures to introduce a request (cf. Leiwo, 2010 and for Latin Risselada, 1993).

Selected References
Contrastive study of praedicativa in Greek and Latin

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The traditional description of the Greek praedicativum has focused largely on the frequent — albeit extremely specific — type of adjective which modifies the subject of an intransitive verb. Both the highly inflectional character of Ancient Greek and the sensitive-to-morphology approach of descriptive grammars (Kühner-Gerth 1966: 273-6; Schwyzer-Debrunner 1966: 26-7, 178-9; Goodwin 1965: 201) have thus led to the praedicativum being addressed mainly as the mere non-syntagmatic counterpart of the attributive adjective.

Recent typological studies, however, have sought to downplay significantly the importance of agreement as a main feature here, and to highlight instead the syntactic phenomenon of secondary predication as the core of the praedicativum (also labelled depictive), cf. Denizot (2014: 132).

Henceforth, the parts of speech liable to function as depictive broadly include, in addition to the well-known qualifying adjectives of physical or mental state, a semantically varied range of adjectives, participles, pronouns in their adjectival use (quantifiers, ordinals, emphatic pronouns), preposition phrases, nouns, and even free-from-agreement forms like noun phrases such as genitives of description (Pinskter 1998: 143-6). As a result, the traditional semantic characterization of the praedicativum as expressing a transient property which temporally overlaps with the event is to some extent challenged. This controversial issue is seen particularly well both in temporal adjectives (as ἑσπέριος or vespertinus) and in participles, which, in as far as they are endowed with tense and aspect, may have a temporal reference which does not overlap with the temporal interval of the main predication (Geuder 2002:182-91, Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2005: 40-2).

On the other hand, optional depictives (He left angry) are often compared with a broad range of adverbials, which are also participant-oriented adjuncts (He left angry/angrily). The distribution of the two constructions has been seen as a typological criterion (He walked at evening // ἑσπέριος / vespertinus). On this note, even if a broad use of praedicativum has been deemed a common trait of both Classical languages, it has been claimed (Kühner-Gerth 1966: 273) that its use in Greek is far more frequent than in Latin. Thus, a corpus-based contribution to the contact between both languages will be conducted here, focussing on the use of depictives (including the much discussed ‘obligatory’ depictives or complementatives: He looked angry, He called him ‘coward’; cf. van der Auwera & Malchukov 2005: 406-10, Pinkster 2015: 30). Attention will be paid primarily to the use of co-predicative participles, as far as such use reflects major differences in tense and aspect parameters between the two languages. Findings from this contrastive analysis will be expressed not only in terms of frequency rates but also as contrastive semantic maps.

The original Greek depictives in the Greek Pseudo-Aristotle’s On the Cosmos (ca. II a.D.) will be traced through its translation into Latin by the Pseudo-Apuleius (ca. II a.D.); Conversely, the reflection of the original Latin depictives in the Res Gestae Divi Augusti (ca. I a.D.) will also be examined in its Greek translation as preserved in the Ancyranum inscription. The notorious diachronic and stylistic differences between these two texts will serve to enrich the analysis.

References
**Etas in Archaic Attica? The pre-Euclidean use of <H> as a long vowel**

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It is generally assumed that the epichoric Attic script lacks graphemes for the long vowels, thus using epsilon and omicron to write their short, long-open and long-closed allophones respectively. This situation didn’t change until the Ionic script was ultimately adopted in Athens after Euclides’ reform in 403/2 BCE, when both eta and omega were finally introduced. This model of explanation, however, overlooks a few instances where we might recognise the letter eta in archaic inscriptions from Attica. The earliest examples might be an ostrakon from the Sanctuary of Zeus in Mount Hymettos with the dedication ΣΗΜΙΟΙ ΔΙ (Langdon 1976, no.2) and three other inscriptions in this corpus where the grapheme <H> is thought not to render an aspiration (Langdon 1976, nos.3, 9 & 73). Nevertheless, no satisfactory explanation has been given to these inscriptions since there has been no comprehensive research on the subject.

A study of these characteristics is inevitably affected by the difficulties that the fragmentary epigraphic samples available present. Some of the inscriptions are preserved in such conditions that it is very difficult to assess the real phonetic value behind a certain sign, especially in a case like this, where the grapheme <H> can be used for two very distinct values such as the initial aspiration and /ɛ/:. Moreover, it could be the case that <H> as /ɛ/ is underrepresented in the inscriptions found in the Attic corpora. This cannot, however, be the explanation for this phenomenon, since there are multiple instances of <E> rendering /ɛ:/ in archaic Attic inscriptions. Not to mention the additional complications given the context where the inscriptions mentioned above have been found. It is not unheard of that sanctuaries are places where foreign people may deposit votive offerings using their own script (cf. the Semitic inscriptions in the Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria and Kommos: Kenzelmann Pfyffer, Theurillat, and Verdan 2005, no.66; Csapo, Johnston, and Geagan 2000, no.1).

Having these difficulties in mind, the aim of this paper is to examine the inscriptions
that include these and other examples of possible etas—rendered by the aforementioned grapheme or a different allograph for eta—that appear in Attica before the Euclidean script reform. Thus we can assess whether the previous explanations given to the inscriptions of Mt. Hymettos are plausible and clarify the reasons behind this grapholinguistic phenomenon.

References

A corpus-based approach to language contact: Greek and Latin in late antiquity

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The aim of this talk is to examine different contact phenomena between Greek and Latin as evidenced from an annotated corpus, named Textual bilingualism in Latin, which includes Late Latin literary texts (from the 3rd to the 7th century AD) containing different cases of switches into Greek. This corpus, which has been specifically created by our research group for the study of Greek-Latin contact, is already available online as a new tool for historical sociolinguistics focusing on bilingualism in the ancient Mediterranean world and on historical code-switching.

In the first part, we will discuss our methodology for the linguistic analysis of language contact between Greek and Latin, which implies a systematic assessment of the quality of data at our disposal and of the specific characteristics of language contact as attested in ancient texts. To get at the heart of the specific nature of language contact in our corpus, we will discuss the individual features of written code-switching as distinct from conversational code-switching. As is known, written code-switching has to be considered as a special instance of language mixing: since it does not provide uncontroversial direct representations of speech, its study requires a number of methodological cautions (cf.
Adams, Janse & Swain 2002 for important remarks on written code-switching). In particular, it needs to be described and analyzed within the larger scenario of the literacy practices of which it is a part, also including graphical and philological issues.

Moreover, we will deal with the characteristics of what we have recognized as two distinct products of language contact, namely code-switching and single-word switches. In our approach, code-switching refers to cases of switching from Latin to Greek in the form of a sentence, whereas single-word switches correspond to the use of single Greek words into Latin texts. Obviously, this approach to ancient data requires some methodological caution about the distinction between the notion of switch itself and the notion of loanword, an issue which has received much attention with a focus on Latin borrowings in Greek (cf. Dickey 2012, forthcoming). Although a significant body of research has been carried out on the use of Greek in Latin texts (e.g., Biville 2008, Rochette 2010 among many others), corpus-driven data and methodological reflections have something new to bring to the field and can contribute a perspective that is lacking in studies of Greek-Latin contact.

In the second part, we will illustrate the development of the multi-layered tagset specific to contact phenomena between Greek and Latin worked out for our corpus. Drawing on a case study on forms, functions and textual distribution of Greek in our literary texts, we will show how this tool can be used for various types of qualitative and quantitative research on contact phenomena in the past.

The originality of this research lies on the development of a new resource for historical sociolinguistics which permits a corpus-based methodology on a wide selection of ancient texts, also promoting networking between scholars interested in language contact between Greek and Latin.

References

Anatolian Languages Moulding Greek
Some Intriguing Cases of Heteroclisis in Hipponax’ Fragments

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The question of the influence of Anatolian languages on Ancient Greek has been widely debated in the field of Indo-European linguistics, with scholars such as Beekes, Janse, and Melchert. In particular, the Ionian cities on the coast of Asia Minor constitute the ideal melting pot of Greek and Anatolian languages, as shown e.g. by Cassio, Smyth, and
Woodard. An optimal case-study of this linguistic interaction is found in ancient Greek literature, namely in the language of the iambographer Hipponax, which has been deeply analysed from this perspective by scholars such as Degani, Kearns, Masson, Rapallo, Tedeschi, and more recently Dale and Hawkins. However, these works have never adequately addressed the morphological issue of heteroclisis. For this reason, my paper gives attention to the phenomenon of heteroclisis in Hipponax’ fragments as a result of Lydian and Lycian influence on Greek morphology.

Specifically, I will be looking at some cases of heteroclitic endings which appear in Hipponax’ lines. Scholarship on Greek heteroclisis focuses on analogical changes limited to Greek paradigms, as shown by the studies of Coker and Stump. However, the heteroclitic forms exhibited in the fragments of the Ephesian iambographer are not explicable within the Greek morphological system. The majority are nouns which switch from feminine forms in the singular to neuter forms in the plural. In order to explain the exceptionality of this phenomenon, I will employ a twofold approach: 1) analysing the phonological developments in Lydian and Lycian languages through which a three-gender system (masculine, feminine, and neuter) collapses into a two-gender system (animate and inanimate), and the feminine gender fades by merger; 2) investigating the etymology of the heteroclitic words. Respectively, I argue that 1) the resulting uncharacterized ending of feminine nouns blends with the ending of neuter plural nouns, and that 2) most of the examples of heteroclitic plural are Lydian borrowings which entered the Greek lexicon. Furthermore, I will introduce evidence of collective plural in Lycian and pluralia tantum in Lydian in order to corroborate my thesis.

In conclusion, this paper, by closely examining the morphology of both Anatolian languages and Hipponax' fragments, shows that the heteroclitic forms in Hipponax’ lines have their explanation outside Greek morphology, and sheds new light on the wide-open debate of the influence of the languages of Asia Minor on Greek language and culture.

References:


**Phrasal verbs in a corpus of post-classical Greek letters from Egypt**

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Phrasal verbs are a cross-linguistic phenomenon. They consist of a simple verb like ‘to go’ and a particle or adverb that contributes to the meaning as ‘up’ in ‘to go up’. Phrasal verbs may be intransitive as ‘to go up’ or transitive like ‘to look something up’. Alternatively, a simple verb can be modified by prefixing a particle. Classical and post-classical Greek, unlike English, prefer this option. For instance, ἀνέρχομαι ‘to go up’ consists of a particle ἀν(α)- and the simple verb ἔρχομαι.

However, in post-classical Greek letters from Egypt, several phrasal-verb constructions appear. An example is άτρω ἔξω (P. Lond. 6 1914) for expected ἔξαιρω. Given the linguistic situation in Egypt, these phrasal-verb constructions may have resulted from language contact with Egyptian (Coptic). Coptic, unlike Greek, operated exclusively with phrasal verbs rather than compound verbs. However, the issue is actually more complicated. In the post-classical period, the prefix of many compound verbs seems to have lost its semantic significance. As a result, double compounds such as συνκατέρχομαι ‘to accompany’ were created. In these, only the first prefix (here συν-) contributed to the meaning whereas the second prefix (here κατ-) was semantically bleached. Hence, in order to explain the phrasal-verb structures in post-classical Greek texts, we must consider at least four factors: (1) external factors, i.e. language contact with Egyptian (Coptic), (2) internal diachronic developments (similar to English, cf. Hiltunen 1983), (3) internal synchronic variation, i.e. register-related variation (cf. Biber and Conrad 2009), and (4) the possibility that the phrasal verb and the corresponding compound verb developed a nuanced meaning and were thus not interchangeable (cf. Storrer 2007).

I will seek to shed light on the reasons for the appearance of phrasal-verb patterns in Greek starting from instances in a corpus of post-classical Greek texts from Egypt.
The corpus consists of all private letters that belong to bilingual papyrus archives dating from the fourth to mid-seventh centuries. The phrasal-verb patterns that appear in this corpus will then be checked against classical and post-classical literary sources as well as post-classical documentary sources to test whether the use of phrasal verbs was limited to Egypt or represents a more widespread development in later Greek.


Analyse linguistique du "Bronze d’Idalion". Observations phonétiques et morphologiques.

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L’unité linguistique du monde hellénique est une abstraction, dans le sens où 'il n'y a pas un seul système qu'on puisse appeler «le grec», mais une série de variantes locales, parfois avec des différences très prononcées. Cette "abstraction" n’est pas, cependant, une création moderne, car les Grecs eux-mêmes ont reconnu cette unité en lui attribuant un nom unique: ἡλληνιζειν (τῇ φωνῇ) est de "parler grec", et les dialectes doivent avoir été mutuellement intelligibles (par opposition à βαρβαρος).

Pour la connaissance de la diversité dialectale, le grec du premier millénaire avant JC c'est dans une situation particulière (pas très commune dans les langues anciennes) pour plusieurs raisons.

- Il a un usage très répandu de l'écriture, ce qui permet d'avoir des documents épigraphiques locaux de pratiquement toute son extension géographique. Bien sûr, la répartition est irrégulière, et il y a des écarts très importants surtout lorsqu'on considère le facteur historique: dans de nombreuses régions l'adoption de l'écriture était tardive, à une époque où le dialecte local commençait à laisser sa place au κοινή, de sorte que dans les textes le dialecte local est souvent vu avec des éléments incorporés de ce dernier. En outre, on doit toujours à l'esprit que toute langue écrite a un certain degré de fossilisation par rapport à la langue parlée.

- Certains dialectes, ou du moins certaines caractéristiques identifiées avec des groupes dialectaux, se sont cristallisés en tant que langues littéraires de genres spécifiques. Ces "dialectes littéraires" ne sont pas identiques à ceux historiques, et dans certains cas (comme le "dorique" des choeurs tragiques) ils atteignent à peine quelques particularités, mais indiquent une conscience de la différence dialectale, une connaissance des formes.
spécifiques dans le reste du monde hellénique, et ils ont exercé une influence permanente sur la façon d'étudier et de comprendre la dialectologie grecque.

Le résultat est que nous avons une multitude de particularités locaux attestés dans les documents de la plupart des villes de langue grecque.

Le présent travail vise à mettre en évidence les caractéristiques dialectales qui se distinguent dans la plus ancienne et la plus importante des inscriptions chypriotes, connue sous le nom de "Bronze d'Idalion". Il s'agit d'une plaque opisthographe en bronze, composée de trente et une lignes écrites dans le syllabaire chypriote. Il est daté de 475 av. J.C. et a été trouvé dans un sanctuaire d'Athéna à Idalion, près de Nicosie.

Dans l'analyse de l'inscription nous nous occuperons tout d'abord de l'explication des signes dans lesquels le document est écrit (on doit se rappeler que le chypriote était le seul dialecte non écrit en alphabet grec), et nous spécifierons ensuite des différentes caractéristiques, phonétiques et morphologiques, qui caractérisent ce dialecte.

**Bibliographie**


**enderror Units and discourse coherence in the Gyges-episode (Hdt. 1.8-13) and beyond**

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This poster presents first results of my corpus research on Intonation Units (IUs) in Hdt. 1.6-94. It will give an overview over (1) what recurrent IU-types in my corpus are, (2) how they enter into coherence relations with other IUs on a local and more global level of
discourse structure, (3) how an IU-based framework for discourse coherence may enhance our understanding of individual passages of Ancient Greek texts as well as more specific linguistic phenomena. – The third point will be illustrated by a case study on the famous Gyges-episode (Hdt. 1.8-13), which has figured prominently in the relevant literature since Dover 1960.

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Evidence for Linguistic Atticism in the Papyrus Fragments of Achilles’ Tatius

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Achilles Tatius’ novel, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, (2nd century AD) is the best preserved of the five fully extant Ancient Greek novels. His work survives in the form of 12 complete and 13 partial medieval manuscripts dating from the 12th to 16th centuries (Vilborg 1955: xviii). In addition, 7 papyrus fragments containing portions of the text have been identified, the longest of which covers the last 9 chapters of book 3, a total of 218 lines (Willis 1990: 74-76). These fragments date from the 2nd to 4th centuries AD and are therefore an invaluable source of evidence for the accuracy of the later manuscripts. The information they present is especially important in any linguistic analysis of his work, as it can reveal if and how the manuscript scribes may have edited his language based on their own practices and personal bias.

Achilles Tatius’ novel has previously been described as using “Atticist” language (Sexauer 1899: 76-77; Vilborg 1962: 13-16; Silk 2009: 22). The practice of Atticism, in which Hellenistic and Roman-era authors made use of older Attic dialectal features, is well attested, although the examination of its practice in individual authors is rarer (Kim 2014; Horrocks 2014: 173). In this paper, presenting some of the findings of my doctoral thesis, I will consider what the papyrus fragments of Achilles’ text reveal about his use of Atticist grammatical forms. My thesis examined examples of phonological, morphological and lexical Atticism in the whole of Achilles’ text based primarily on Ebbe Vilborg’s (1955) edition (which was derived from the manuscripts and papyrus fragments known to him at the time).

In this paper, I will take those of the Atticist tokens which I have identified that occur in the papyrus fragments and compare them with their corresponding representations in the manuscripts. It will be seen that many, although not all, of the Atticist forms found in the manuscripts are already present in the papyrus fragments and that there is a great deal of consistency between the earlier and later sources with respect to these examples. Similarly, Koine forms that could have been, but are not Atticised in the manuscripts, are normally not Atticised in the papyrus fragments either. This suggests little evidence of scribal error or bias having corrupted the manuscripts. Significantly, there already seems to be evidence of the inconsistent application of Atticist forms which I identified in Achilles’ text as a whole.

This paper will show that the papyrus fragments of Achilles’ text, though covering a small portion of the total work, provide some evidence for the reliability of the later manuscripts and the confidence with which they can be used to assess Achilles’ language.

References
Forbidden language and the rise of linguistic taboos in Ancient Greek

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Linguistic taboos are part of the metaphorical usage of language and constitute a mechanism whereby the speakers avoid certain linguistic features and references out of fear lest their usage may cause some harm to the user. Such language use is driven by social, religious and cultural beliefs and attitudes which prescribe the avoidance of direct reference to certain concepts and the employment of indirect ways for their expression. Taboos may also be determined by pragmatic and situational concerns, e.g. age, gender and social position of the collocutors or the specific setting of the utterance. A taboo may be a single word, a concept, a name, an animal, a dietary item, an object or even a thought whose mention is, in the speaker’s cultural and/or personal milieu, believed to cause harm or even death and destruction.

Despite the occasional studies on individual semantic areas (e.g. Parker 1983, 328-31 for the general term for taboo in Greek; Havers 1946, Meillet 1958, Bonfante 1939, Watkins 1975 for Indo-European, including Greek), a systematic and full-fledged study of the phenomenon of taboo in Ancient Greek is still a desideratum. The present paper will deal with two such cases of taboos, namely (i) the cardinal points and points of orientation and their various significations and/or symbolic references (e.g. Gk. ἀνατολάι vs. δυσμαί, δεξιός or δεξιτερός vs. σκαιός and λαι(ϝ)ός (➔ ἀριστερός/εὐώνυμος), Lat. scaeus, laeus, etc., or Hes. Op. 727 μηδ’ ἀντ’ ἥλιου τετραμμένος ὀρθὸς ὄμοχεν ‘and do not urinate standing facing the sun’, etc.), and (ii) sacred language and the various ramifications of its usage (e.g. Gk. οὐ θέμις, Hitt. natta ara ‘(it is) not right’, as in Hittite: KUB XXX 10 Ro. 13, ši-ú-ni-mi-ma-mu ku-it šu-up-pi a-da-an-na na-at-ta a-ra na-at Ū-UL ku-uš-ša-an-ka e-du-un ‘but what has been offered (šuppi) to my god <and> I am not allowed (natta ara) to eat, I have never eaten’; cf. Gk. ὅσιος as in ὅσιος κρεᾶων ‘sancified portions of meat; rite of flesh-offering’, Umbrian supa/sopa ‘id.’, etc.). A sub-category of the latter group
of taboos is the language of curse. The focus will be Ancient Greek, but within the comparative framework of cognate Indo-European linguistic and cultural traditions, with material drawn mainly from Greek, Italic, Sanskrit and Hittite.

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Differential agent marking in classical Greek

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Agents of passive predicates in classical Greek are realized either in the dative case or with a prepositional phrase. Standard doctrine holds that the realization of the agent phrase is conditioned by grammatical aspect (Kühner and Gerth 1898: 422, Schwzyer 1988: 150.2, Smyth 1956: §§1488, 1490, George 2005: 1, 78). Dative agents are licensed by perfect passive predicates, while prepositional phrase agents occur elsewhere:

(1) i. Dative agent with perfect

ή δὲ ὀδὸς ἢ ᾑμερησία ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληται·μοι.

‘A day’s journey has been calculated by me at 200 stades.’
Hdt. 4.101.3

ii. PP-agent with non-perfect

γνώμη οὖν μέντοι ἐσσοῦται ὑπὸ σεῦ.

‘In counsel, however, he has been bested by you.’
Hdt. 7.237.1

We have an example of a dative agent with perfect predicate in example (1i). In (1ii), the predicate is a present imperfective and the agent is realized with a prepositional phrase, as expected.

Counterexamples to this generalization run in both directions, however:

(2) i. Dative of agent with non-perfect (present)

τότε δὲ ώς τῷ Κλεομένει ὡδώθη τὸ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον πρῆγμα, αὐτίκα
Then, once the affair with Demaratos was successfully concluded by Kleomenes, he along with Leutykhides straightaway advanced the Aigenetans."

Hdt. 6.73.1

ii. PP-agent with perfect

‘And having been banished by my father...’

Hdt. 1.35.3

In (2ii), the dative phrase τῷ Κλεομένει occurs with a past perfective (i.e., aorist) verb. In (2ii), the perfect participle ἐξεληλαμένος occurs with a prepositional phrase agent ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς.

Although the literature is unanimous in the view that aspect plays a fundamental role in the realization of passive agents, the role of other factors has received only minimal investigation. George (2005), for instance, argues that agent marking is governed by the animacy hierarchy and the morphology of the passive predicate.

By contrast, I argue that the following prominence scales play a crucial role in the realization of agent phrases:

(3) Prominence scales

i. Aspect

Perfect » perfective » imperfective

ii. Definiteness

Pronoun » proper name » definite NP » indefinite specific NP » indefinite non-specific NP

iii. Animacy

Human » animate » inanimate

The following three properties strongly favor dative agents: perfect passive predicate; enclitic pronominal agent; and inanimate subject. By contrast, prepositional phrase agents preponderate among non-perfect predicates; non-pronominal agents; and sentient (i.e., human and animate) subjects.

I motivate this distribution of agent markers on the basis of insights from the study of differential object marking (DOM). A prominent analysis of DOM is that objects that are prominent on scales such as those in example (3) are more likely to be subject to differential object marking (see, e.g., Aissen 2003). Applying this insight to differential agent marking, we expect agents to be high on the scales in example (3) and subject patients to be lower. In such contexts, passive agents are predominantly marked with the dative. When this association between semantic role and referential prominence is violated, however, prepositional phrase agents are preferred (cf. Haspelmath 2018).

To evaluate the role of the factors in (3), I fit a logistic regression model to a sample of 500 examples of passive predicates with overt agents from Herodotus’ Histories. Regression modeling reveals that the model proposed here is empirically more adequate than the traditional one.

References
Langue grecque et réalités romaines : l’exemple de la transposition de *quaestor* et de ses dérivés

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Les travaux de M. Mentz, D. Magie et H. J. Mason ont imposé une typologie tripartite dans le domaine du lexique institutionnel gréco-latin (1). Face à une réalité romaine, les hellénophones auraient pu librement choisir d’exprimer par l’équivalence (*comparatio*), la traduction (*interpretatio*) ou la transcription (*transcriptio*). Dans ce cadre, l’exemple de *quaestor* aurait pu indifféremment être transposé par ταμίας, ζητητής ou κουαίστωρ. Le but de cette intervention est de questionner le modèle général proposé par les trois lexicographes en approfondissant l’étude de la transposition en grec de *quaestor* et de ses dérivés. Pour ce faire, il convient de replacer chaque texte et chaque auteur dans le contexte qui était le leur : les témoignages épigraphiques grecs de la questure s’étendent sur 500 ans ; plus de sept siècles séparent Polybe et Jean le Lydien. La dimension diachronique du problème se double également d’une réflexion sur les sources et leur nature : quelle influence les pratiques de chancellerie romaines, telles qu’elles se sont développées à l’époque républicaine, ont-elles eue sur la langue des inscriptions grecques mentionnant la questure ? Pour quelles raisons les différents auteurs hellénophones ayant évoqué la magistrature ont-ils mis en œuvre tel ou tel procédé de transposition ? De la sorte, nous espérons pouvoir illustrer l’influence qu’a pu avoir la langue latine à l’occasion du processus d’appréhension des *realia* romains par le monde grec. Et dans ce cadre, de mettre également en lumière les variations linguistiques propres à chaque auteur concerné par l’étude.

Greek loanwords in post-Biblical Hebrew/Aramaic: some case studies from the midrash Genesis Rabbah

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Greek loanwords, which total over two thousand items stemming from various dialects, make up the largest group of non-native words in the totality of the Hebrew/Aramaic lexicon (in Mishnaic Hebrew, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic). The transliterations of Greek words in the Rabbinic literature (mishnah, targums, talmuds, midrash) contained in the monumental work by Krauss (Lehnwörter 1898-1899), in Lieberman’s and Sperber’s important contributions (Sperber 1984, 1986, 2012), in the more recent Aramaic dictionaries by Sokoloff (2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2014) and the specialized work on Greek loanwords by Shoval-Dudai (2015) do not only constitute evidence for cultural and linguistic contact between Hebrew/Aramaic and Greek, but also make up most important secondary evidence of Hellenistic Greek.

The present study concerns the Greek loanwords in Genesis Rabbah (GenR), a text from Judaism’s classical period, which is the earliest rabbinic commentary on the Book of Genesis and was compiled during the 5th c. CE in Roman Palestine. Except for the last parashiot (chapters), it is structured as an (almost) continuous commentary. GenR is an exegetical midrash; it contains short explanations of words and sentences, often in Aramaic, but also highly difficult and subtle aggadic (narrative) explanations and interpretations of the Biblical text. GenR displays the rabbinic-Jewish worldview and maps out numerous rabbinic theological concepts, e.g. creation, Torah, Israel, the nations, Messiah. GenR also marks an important starting point in terms of its historical relationship with its Roman imperial context. More than other early rabbinic genres, GenR is characterized by its frequent use of Greek loanwords (about 400 types in total) and of concepts and metaphors from the Graeco-Roman culture. Moreover, GenR is the first work of rabbinic midrash that post-dates the Christianization of the Roman Empire.

The paper will present some case studies of Greek loanwords in Genesis Rabbah, the study of which still remains a desideratum, especially due to the interdisciplinary character of the research (cf. Sperber 2012: 55). In most of the relevant glossaries and the scholarly literature, the corresponding Greek form of a Hebrew/Aramaic lexeme is just cited from the major Greek dictionaries (LSJ, Lampe), without further consideration of Hellenistic, Early Byzantine and Modern Greek sources, and recent publications in Greek linguistics. The investigation will focus on hapax legomena and problematic cases of alleged Greek loanwords, which examine each attestation of the respective lexeme in its context and offer an up-to-date linguistic analysis, concerning the origin, the morphophonology as well as detailed fine grained semantics. Furthermore, the investigation will pursue –where possible – comparisons with the Greek loaned vocabulary in Syriac Aramaic and Coptic sources, in order to present the findings in their Eastern Mediterranean context.

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Explorations in automatically parsing Ancient Greek papyrological and literary texts

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Due to the free constituent order and the highly inflected nature of Ancient Greek, current progress in automatically analyzing Ancient Greeks texts has been limited so far (see Lee et al. 2011, Mambrini and Passarotti 2012 for previous approaches), despite the presence of three extensive dependency treebanks (the Ancient Greek Dependency Treebanks (AGDT) of Perseus, the PROIEL treebanks and the Sematia project; see Robie 2017 for a short presentation and further references). This paper will discuss the results of our endeavors to make further progress in this respect. In order to come to better results, we have proceeded in a five-fold way.

• While the AGDT and Sematia treebanks on the one hand and the PROIEL treebanks on the other hand make use of deviating annotation styles, we automatically converted them to a common format in order that both could be used as training data. We also examined which annotation style is easier to learn for an automatic parsing system.

• These treebanks, in particular the AGDT project, result from the voluntary work of many individuals, which inevitably lead to a number of incoherent annotations. In order to come to more coherent training data, a number of adjustments are proposed. The paper will present both a set of structural and punctual corrections, which might be considered to be adopted in a new release of the treebanks, and a set of ‘temporary’ manipulations, i.e. changes in the syntactic structure that would make it easier for an automatic system to learn and parse Ancient Greek dependencies.

• In addition, we have attempted to enlarge the training data by adding a set of manually annotated texts (both papyri and literary texts).

• While previous approaches use ‘gold’ (viz. manually annotated) morphology and lemma information for their test data, we examined whether similar results were attainable when this information is automatically determined. We also tested and compared several syntactic parsing methods.

• We manually annotated a small test corpus, consisting of both non-literary (documentary papyri) and literary texts, and compared syntactic parsing accuracy for the different types of texts.

In sum, this paper will discuss to what extent the modifications and increase of the training data impact on the quality of the results of the test data; to what extent the annotation format influences parsing accuracy; which parsing methods
turn out to be most suitable to analyze Ancient Greek; and what types of texts yield the best results.

References

Syllabification and Sound Change in Greek Stop+Nasal Clusters
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Greek eliminates sequences of oral stops + m differently at each place of articulation. Labials are obligatorily nasalized (1a), and velars and dentals are respectively nasalized and spirantized regularly in morphological paradigms, and sporadically elsewhere (1b)-(1c).

(1) a. 1. P+m → mm: γεγραμμένος, γέγραμμαι
2. Pm → mm: γράμμα, ὄμμα

b. 1. K+m → Nm: (δε)δεγμένος, πεπλεγμένος, κεκήρυγμαι, κήρυγμα, δόγμα, σμήμα
2. Km = Km: κέκμηκα, ἀκμή, ἀκμών, τέκμαρ, τέκμωρ, δοχμή, δόχμη, αὔχμος
3. Doublets: δράγμα ‘handful, sheaf’, δραχμή ‘drachm(a)’

c. 1. T+m → sm: πέπεισμαι, πεπεισμένος, ἐψευσμαι, ἐψευσμένος, ἤνυσμαι

2. Tm = Tm: ἀδμητος, κέδματα, πότιμος, ἐφετμή, ἀτμός, πορημός, ἀριθμός, σταθμός
3. Doublets: Κάδμος, inscr. Κάσσμος; ὀδμή (Hom., Hdt., Pind.), ὀσμή (Attic) ‘odor’

I argue that these are instances of a single phonological change of coda weakening. They are not morphologically conditioned, and (1c) is not analogical, as usually thought. Rather, the syllabification of muta cum liquida clusters is variably sensitive to morphology, and coda weakening is categorically conditioned by syllable structure. Thus tautomorphemic VKmV escapes coda weakening because it
is syllabified as V.KmV (e.g. ké.kmē.ka), while heteromorphemic VK-mV is syllabified as VK.mV and undergoes coda weakening: /pe-plek-ménos/ > pe.ple.gov.ménos.

Metrics and morphology support this syllabification. In Attic poetry, stop+liquid and stop+nasal clusters, except -gn-, -gl-, -bl-, but sometimes including mn-, do not make position. It reveals that morphological boundaries induce onset syllabification in proportion to their strength: the sequence V##kmV > V#kmV > Vk+mV shows increasing frequency of onset syllabification.

Morphology provides convergent evidence (Steriade 1982). Verbs beginning with single con-sonants and stop-sonorant clusters (except gn-, gl-, bl-, but sometimes including mn-) form their perfect stem by reduplication: gêgra, kêkmhka. Verbs beginning with other clusters form per-fects with e-: éyeus ai, égnwka. Reduplicating them would have to violate either the CV- template (*pep.seud-), or the syllable structure constraints. The temporal augment avoids both violations.

The reason labials assimilate obligatorily is that *pm-, *pʰm-, *bm- are not possible onsets. Therefore the labial in VPmV cannot be syllabified as an onset (as V.PmV). It must be syllabified as a coda (VP.mV) regardless of morpheme boundaries. Being always a coda, it always assimilates.

On the pattern of the nasal assimilation in /ge-graphʰ-ménos/ > gegrammènoc, /pe-plek-ménos/ > peplegmènos [-ŋ-], we might have expected /pe-peiṭʰ-ménos/ > *pepeiménos. But *nm is an impermissible cluster in Greek. The closest phonotactically acceptable outcome is pepeisménos, with the apparently unnatural replacement of n by s. I reject the traditional explanation that invokes paradigmatic analogy on the pattern 2.Sg. /pé-peiṭʰ-sai/ → pépeisai → pépeisai, 3.Sg. /pé-peiṭʰ-tai/ → pépeistai, 1. Sg. /pé-peiṭʰ-mai/ > pépeismai, because there is no analogical basis for n → s in the perfect middle, nor outside paradigms, as in /pʰan-ma/ φάσμα ‘specter’, /kʰan-ma/ χάσμα ‘chasm’, /kʰan-mē/ χάσμη ‘yawning’. Κάσσμος (inscr.), ῥυσμός (Ionic), Ἀσμήτος (inscr.), Ἀγαμέσμων (Att.inscr.)

Given the rest of Greek phonotactics, /T+m/ → sm is in fact the optimal repair of the phonotactic violation created at the morpheme boundary. In a robust crosslinguistically widespread pattern that has been explained as avoidance of gestural overlap, Greek allows only ηη, ηm, mn, and not *ηη, *mη, *nm. Since the closest replacement *nm is not an acceptable consonant cluster in Greek, it is blocked, and spirantization emerges the next best solution. I demonstrate this by a formal Optimality-theoretic analysis.

This case illustrates how a single change can have multiple and indirect manifestations through its interaction with the rest of the constraints of the phonological system. The A → B / C___D schema is a not an appropriate representation of sound change in such cases. We see again that changes don‘t wear their identities on their sleeves. When put under the microscope, what looked like analogical changes may turn out to be sound changes, and vice versa.

Infinitives and imperatives in Greek votive and prescriptive texts

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0. Infinitive is a verbal noun meaning the action as an abstract item: a process without any nominative subject. It is derived from several fixed case forms of verbal nouns with or without noun suffixes. The most archaic and vary system containing 17 arts is attested in Rig Veda. Dorothy Disterheft (1997) meant that this category is here not formed. But it is not right: several infinitives exist as specific verbal nouns. Most infinitives have suffixes originated from flexion of Locative, Dative, Genitive or Accusative. The locative infinitive describes the existing level:

(1) yásya trásanti śávasā samcāksi śátravo bhiyā (RV VI 14, 4)
‘Enemies are trembling from fear at the sight of whose power’

Controversially, the Dative infinitive means the virtual, possible or owing event:

(2) r̥bhukṣānam nā vārtave (VII 45, 29)
‘One cannot to win a wise man’

The Locative and Dative infinitives can occur in the same pada and form opposition of real and possible event:

(3) imá á yātam índavaḥ sōmāso...
utá vām usāso budhī sākām sūryasya raśmibhiḥ
sutá mitrāya vārunāya pītāye (I 137, 2)
‘Let come drops of Soma, for you both in time of wakening of Dawn, with the rays of sun, pressed (Soma) to Mitra and Varuṇa for drinking’ Cf. (Sgall 1959)

1. The system of Greek infinitives is more compact. It contains two suffixes –en and –men. The first one is connected with the root in weak grade; by athematic verb the suffix – is added. This suffix is facultative by -. Some researchers compare it with Vedic Dative flexion: ē, Cypr. ē, Homer. ō = dāvane/ dámone (Brugmann 1893). According Delbrück (1892) this affix is an old Locative of –ā-stems. Benveniste (1935) and Aalto (1953) meant, that – was originally an independent particle with hortative meaning. But one can suggest that it is a Dative of laryngeal stems (less probably — Locative). Its presence corresponds with the character of Greek infinitive, what has ever a modal meaning: debt, possibility, order.

2. The meaning of infinitive in Greek is similar with imperative. It can depend on indicative verb:

(4) δῶρον καὶ ἑγὼ, τέκνον φίλε, τοῦτο δίδωμι...
οῇ ἀλόχῳ φορέειν... (Od. XIV: 125-127)
‘I give this present, dear child (in order) to bring it to your wife’
Infinitive with the imperative meaning can be also independent:

(5) τῷ νῦν μηποτε και σῦ γυναικὶ περ ἡπιος έἶναι
μή οἱ μῦθον ἀπαντα πιθαύσκεμεν ὁν κ´ εὑ εἰδῆς
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν φάσθαι, τὸ δὲ κεκρυμμένον έἶναι (Od. XI: 441-443)
‘Don’t be every blunt with your wife; don’t tell her anything, what you know well. But one must be said, other concealed’.

Infinitive and imperative can be similar members of sentence:

(6) εἰ μὲν κεν ἐμὲ κεῖνος έλῃ ταναήκει χάλκῳ
Τεύχεα συλήσας φερέτω κοιλάς ἐπί νῆμας
οὖμα δ´ οίκαδ έμὸν δόμεναι... (Il. VII: 77-79)
‘If he’ll kill me with long-spiked copper weapon, let him, taking my armor bring it to the ships; but he must return my body home’.
The infinitive, however, denotes in this parallel utterances a debt, and imperative — permission.

Another context shows the same difference now more evident:

(7) εἰ μὲν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος καταπέφνῃ ἰμέν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος καταπέφνῃ ἰμέν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος καταπέφνῃ ἰμέν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος καταπέφνῃ
Τρώας ἐπείθ’ Ἐλλῆνη καὶ κτήματα πάντες ἀποδοῦναι (II. III: 281–285)

‘If Alexander (Paris) will win and kill Menelaus, let him possess Helena and all the property; if Menelaus will kill Alexander, — Helena and all the property must be returned’.

3. The structure of conditional sentences in several Greek dialectal votive and law inscriptions is similar: protasis has the predicate in subjunctive, apodosis in imperative or infinitive. In some texts both form are attested, e.g. in Gortyn Laws:

(8) ὃς κ᾽ ἔλευθέροις ἐν οἷς μέλλει ἀντιμολεῖν, πρὸ δίκας με ἄγειν. αἱ δὲ κ᾽ ἄγει, καταδικασάτο τὸ ἔλευθέρο δέκα στατέρας τὸ δολο πέντε, ὃτι ἄγει, καὶ δικασάτο λαγάσει ἐν τρισὶ ἄμεραις. αἱ [δὲ] καὶ με λαγάσει καταδικάσον τὸ μεν ἔλευθέρο στατερα, τὸ δολο δάρκναν τας ἀμερας ἐκεντας, πρὸν κα λαγάσε (I 3–10)

‘Whoever is about to bring suit in relation to a free man or a slave, shall not make seizure before the trial. If he make the seizure, (the judge) shall condemn him to a fine of ten staters in the case of a free man, five in case of a slave, because he seizes him, and shall decree that he releases him in three days. But if he does not release him, (the judge) shall condemn him to a fine of a stater in the case of free man, a drachma in case of a slave, for each day until he releases him’.

Some researchers mean that the infinitive pro imperativo and imperative itself have the same meaning. García Ramos (2001) considers infinitive as an unmarked form, and imperative as a marked one. The first mode expresses impersonal prescription, the second one personal. I consider infinitive as a marker of general prescription, and imperative as a marker of special prescriptions, following the general one.

I.e. infinitive in Greek can denote most strong order. This function can be presented also in other languages (Russian Molčat’ ‘Be silent!’ vs. Molčite! ‘Silent!’)

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Greek χρόνος and its origin: An old etymological puzzle in Indo-European perspective

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The Ancient Greek word for time, χρόνος, is qualified by all etymological dictionaries as etymologically unclear (Chantraine 1968: 1277f.; Beekes 2010: 1651f.). None of the proposed connections (such as the comparison χρόνος ~ χορτός ‘enclosure, court’, supposedly derived from Proto-Indo-European *ǵʰer- ‘seize, grasp’; thus, χρόνος ‘time’ is explained as ‘seizer; encompassing time-limit’) appears plausible (see Beekes 2010, ibid.; LIV 177).

I argue that this word can be satisfactorily explained on account of comparison with two other words in ονος, θρονος ‘seat, chair’ and κλόνος ‘excitement, throng’ (thus, for instance, Porzig 1942: 346). Assuming that all these words contain the rare nominal suffix -όνο (accordingly, θρόνος is analyzed as a derivative of *θ̣ερ- < PIE *dʰer- ‘fix, hold’ etc.), χρόνος can further be explained as a derivative of the verbal root contained in the present χριω ‘(be)smear, anoint’. This verb, which has no plausible etymology (Beekes (2010: 1651): “a convincing outer-Greek connection does not exist”), can readily be compared with Vedic ghṛ- ‘drips’ (attributed in the Yajurveda; see Kulikov 2012: 86-88). The nominal χρόνος can accordingly be explained as a nominal derivative of the root χρ-, thus meaning ‘(be)smearing, anointing’.

The origin of the meaning ‘time’ can be accounted for in the context of the common Indo-European metaphorical representation of time either as a wheel (cf. Ved. kālā- ‘time’, probably a derivative of the root *kʷel(H)- ‘move (around)’, the same root underlies Gr. κύκλος, Ved. cakrā- ‘wheel’, etc.; Old Church Slavonic vrěmę ‘time’ < *u̯ert-men- ‘turning’), or as river, flow which anoints immovable objects. Cf. the description of Time, deified as a primordial god, in one of the earliest cosmological texts of the Indo-European tradition, the Kālasūkta (Hymn to Time) of the Atharvaveda (c. 1000 BCE), in verse 19.53.2 in the Śaunakiya recension = 11.8.2 in the Paippalāda: sā imā víśvā bhūvanān ya ’aṅjān ‘aṅkāh sā iyate prathamó nú devāh ‘anointing (i.e. flowing around) all these beings, it, that Time, speeds, the primordial god.’ A continuation of the metaphor of a substance flowing around all beings and objects occurs in AV-Śaun. 19.53.4 = AV-Paipp. 11.8.4: sā evā ‘sān bhūvanāni páry ait ‘verily, it (= Time), being like that (?), went around beings’. The image of a river of time flowing around the world is not uncommon in Greek mythology, cf. Oceanus (Ὠκεανός), an enormous river encircling the world, described by Homer as ἀφώρροος ‘flowing back into itself, circular’; and the river of oblivion Lethe (Λήθη).
Accordingly, χρόνος (originally meaning ‘anointing, flowing around’ or the like) can be explained as the stream or river of Time flowing around all beings and objects and thus receives a plausible Indo-European etymology.

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Greek calques and loanwords in Classical Armenian

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Despite recent interest in language contact and bi- or multilingualism in ancient societies (cf. e.g. Adams 2003, Adams et al. 2005, Biville 2008, Tribulato 2012), Graeco-Armenian language contact has largely remained out of focus. Beside Greek inscriptions in the area of ancient Armenia (cf. Mahé 1994/1996), direct and indirect loanwords in Armenian provide evidence for contact between these two languages (cf. Brockelmann 1893, Hübschmann 1897: 322-391, Thumb 1900, Olsen 1999: 921-930). The paper will discuss the influence of Greek on Classical Armenian on the lexical and phrasemic level outside the works of the so-called “hellenizing school” of translations of Classical Greek grammar (Dionysios Thrax), philosophy (Aristotle, Porphyrios etc.) and patristics (treated in Muradyan 2012): A number of direct Greek loanwords betray various diachronic stages (and maybe diatopic differences) of Greek phonology, e.g. akowmit < ἀκοίμητος with /i/ ~ η, but kêt with /e/ ~ κήτος, while others entered Armenian via Iranian (Parthian) mediation, e.g. drak’mê taken directly from Greek δραχμή vs. dram < from Manichaean Middle Persian draham (cf. Benveniste 1964, Bolognesi 1960, 1966). Vice versa, Greek probably served as an intermediate donor language for Latin words like *Caesar* (Arm. kaysr), *scutella* (skutt, cf. Gk. σκούτελλαν [PLond. 2.191.10, ii A.D.]) and *candela* (Arm. kant‘el, cf. κανδήλη [Ath.]). The study of Greek and Latin loan-words in Armenian may shed light on the internal variation and development of these two languages. Beside loanwords, it was especially in the ecclesiastic language that calques were formed in Armenian, e.g. vičak ‘inheritance, share’ and ‘clergy’ after the model of Greek κλῆρος ‘inheritance, share; priest/clergy’, but cf. also *an-as-own ‘animal’, derived from *as-em ‘say, speak’, i.e. ‘not speaking’, which may be built after
Greek ἄλογον ‘animal (*not-speaking/without reason)’ (cf. τὰ ἄλογα ‘animals’ Democr. 164), usually ‘horse’ in later Greek. Similar to the phonological features, the semantics of loanwords may be useful in narrowing down the diachrony of semantic change in the donor language. Finally, the paper will look at possible evidence for Greek influence on Armenian beyond the lexical level, especially in terms of morphosyntax and phraseology (cf. e.g. Topchyan 1999 on possible Greek syntactic features in Movsès Xorenac’i).

References
The Variation of Classical Greek Wishes: a Functional Discourse Grammar and Common Ground Approach

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Realizable Classical Greek wishes (optative mood) display important yet unexplained variation with several particles. On the one hand, they combine with ἦ and ἄρα which specify a subjective semantics. On the other hand, they can but need not be marked by εἰθὲ and εἰ γάρ in contrast to obligatorily marked unrealizable (‘counterfactual’) wishes (secondary indicative). To explain this variation, I introduce a layered approach with Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG, Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008) and subsequently relate the cupitive optative’s values to Common Ground knowledge (cf. Allan and Van Gils forthcoming). I believe that examining this variation will significantly improve our understanding of wish illocutions.

The cupitive optative, as I argue, has a semantic value and a pragmatic illocutionary value. Realizable wishes are usually characterized as a weaker form of the imperative and in all its values as deontic (Crespo 1992, 282 and Crespo et al. 2003, 293-297), even though deontic is primarily a semantic label. I will suggest that wishes are better interpreted as semantically epistemic, because they express an epistemically realizable state of affairs (Schwyzer and Debrunner 1950, 321 and Revuelta Puigdollers 2005). Using FDG I will distinguish an epistemic semantic core for the cupitive optative, which, unlike a deontic approach, can explain its occurrence with the particles ἦ and ἄρα. These particles modify or, in FDG terms, scope over the optative’s epistemic value.

The alleged ‘deontic’ value of realizable wishes results from the affinity of their illocutionary value with both expressive and directive speech acts (Risselada 1993, 37-45 and Denizot 2011, 93). Their main illocutionary value is expressive to the degree that realizable wishes express the speaker’s psychological commitment to the occurrence of a realizable state of affairs. Thus, they only have an implicit directive side-effect in that addressees may interpret wishes as a directive if the utterer has some type of power over them. This description better explains the pragmatic functions of wishes and their frequent co-occurrence with expressive discourse acts such as νη Δία.

Although Schwyzer and Debrunner 1950, 321 claim that the cupitive optative only rarely occurs without εἰθὲ and εἰ γάρ, the cupitive optative with εἰθ(ε) actually occurs 5 times less often than the cupitive optative on its own in Aristophanes and Euripides and εἰ γάρ even 10 times less often. I will argue that εἰθ(ε) codes a contextually necessary pragmatic value: the speaker’s current psychological commitment to the wish. That commitment has not been sufficiently established in the interlocutors’ Common Ground, which contains ‘the sum of [interlocutors’] mutual, common, or joint knowledge, beliefs, and suppositions’ (Clark 1996, 96).

Speakers use the optative without εἰθὲ (and possibly εἰ γάρ) when their interlocutor(s) can be assumed to know their psychological commitment. They add εἰθὲ (or possibly εἰ γάρ) when their current psychological commitment cannot be assumed to be known, for example when the speaker changed his mind or the addressee was absent when the speaker expressed his psychological commitment.
Dans le domaine des contacts de langues, il y a très peu de chance que l'anglais parlé aux États-Unis ait influencé la langue grecque de l'époque classique. Si l'étymologie de l'expression OK, apparue semble-t-il vers 1839-1840, comme abréviation de "Oll Korrect", déformation graphique de "all right", est exacte\textsuperscript{22}, elle rend absolument impossible un emprunt par l'un quelconque des dialectes du grec ancien. Mais deux points méritent d'attirer notre attention. Le premier c'est la généralisation de l'emprunt de cette expression à un très grand nombre de langues modernes, surtout après la seconde guerre mondiale. Cela suggère que OK joue un rôle essentiel dans l'échange linguistique et que ce rôle est difficilement comblé par les ressources propres des différentes langues. Le second point consiste dans le fait (qui peut être une explication du premier) que OK renvoie à une grande variété d'expression de l'accord, au sens pragmatique d'un des buts poursuivis par toute conversation humaine. A défaut de s'interroger sur la présence de OK dans les textes grecs de l'Antiquité, on peut donc étudier les différents procédés qui lui correspondent.

De ce point de vue, certains dialogues de Platon constituent un corpus particulièrement pertinent car les locuteurs qui mènent la discussion, comme le Socrate du Gorgias, non seulement requièrent, et parfois avec insistance, l'accord de l'interlocuteur, mais ils l'obtiennent le plus souvent (même si parfois c'est au prix d'une certaine résistance). Je n'ai pas l'impression que cette exigence d'accord et son corollaire, c'est-à-dire un certain confinement du rôle de l'interlocuteur à exprimer, 

\textsuperscript{22} Cf. le DHLF d'A. Rey, article O.K.
d'une façon qui peut paraître monotone et artificielle, son accord, ait beaucoup attiré l'œil des commentateurs ni des études linguistiques. Or les formulations de l'accord sont moins monotones qu'il ne semble, surtout du fait qu'elles varient en degré, depuis un apparent assentiment total (ναι, πάνυ γε, par exemple), jusqu'au constat de l'apparence (φαίνεται), ou le refus de s'engager (ἔστω). Il est notable que la vigilance des traducteurs s'est parfois laissée prendre par l'apparente monotonie de ces accords répétitifs et qu'ils ne rendent pas toujours toutes les nuances de ces "accords" qui n'en sont pas toujours. Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas parce que l'interlocuteur de Socrate ou d'un autre meneur de jeu exprime son accord total qu'il n'y a pas à l'occasion une position d'attente: l'accord consiste alors à une forme de trêve invitant l'auteur du raisonnement principal à poursuivre. Cette étonnante ambiguïté de l'accord et la diversité des nuances à la fois sémantique et pragmatique qui le caractérise se retrouve en fait dans les usages de la simple expression OK. En ce sens, s'interroger sur cette diversité est une question de linguistique générale. Notre étude s'appuiera principalement sur les dialogues les plus "dialogués" de l'œuvre de Platon et notre objectif consistera à établir une typologie des expressions de l'accord, tant sur le plan des formes employées que sur celui des valeurs à la fois sémantiques et pragmatiques (en contexte).

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23 C'est ainsi que Sicking (1997) étudie les particules dans les questions chez Platon sans s'intéresser aux "plates" réponses.
The oblique optative is a modal use that resists a simple explanation, since
the only clear rule is that it is the formal sing that the cause depends on a past tense
main verb (Goodwin 1889: 5; Rijksbaron 2006: 53), although this rule has some
exceptions. This has also been defined as a “chameleon” mode, since it is devoid of
the modality expressed by other uses of the optative, so it would be a use almost
entirely “démonalisé” (Duhoux 2000: 231). Willmott (2007:163) considers the
optative as an “intrinsically timeless” mode, allowing it to be used in a variety of
contexts. Chantraine (1963: 223) points out that this optative expresses “plus ou
moins vaguement un procès qui peut se réaliser ou que l’on souhaite”, with which
we would be before a syncretic use of the two realizations of the state of affairs
presented by the optative as desirable and possible. Moreover, the use of oblique
optative in classical era is broader than in Homer, so this leads us to think of a
process of grammaticalization, with the loss of the referential use of the optative,
that would have a grammatical function in certain contexts.

In this paper we focus on the study of a series of texts of the Homeric corpus
in which, following Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998: 85), it is possible to propose
for these oblique optatives the overlap between the epistemic necessity modality,
since the optative would present an assertion based on the non-absolute certainty of
what is said, and the inferential evidentiality, since what is indicated is based on the
speaker’s evaluation of previous information. Consequently, the oblique optative
would not be a mere substitute for other modal uses or a mere mark of
subordination, at least in Homer, but rather it would be used as a mark of inferential
evidentiality. We consider to what extent it is possible to speak of a consecutio
modorum in regard to the use of the oblique optative in Homer.

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1889.
Competing verb stems as variables: the case of the perfect stem of γινομαι in Attic Greek.

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In Classical Attic, we witness the competition between two stems of the perfect of the verb γινομαι: γεγον-, inherited from the Indo-European, and a more recently developed γεγενη-. The co-existence of these two stems in our texts has not yet been systematically documented or studied. Both stems are vibrant in Aristophanes, but γεγον- is hugely dominant by the time of Menander. The choice of stems not only in comedy, but in oratory, history and tragedy seems chaotic. Yet, for all its presence in many Attic texts of the fifth and fourth centuries, γεγενη- fails to replace the older stem in the longer term; it is a change in process that seems not to complete. Can we make sense of these data? When and why is one stem chosen over the other? These questions may open up more knowledge about Attic texts, their authors and the dialect more generally.

For the first time in this paper, I use statistical and corpus-based methods to answer these questions and combine both the epigraphic and the literary evidence. Gathering statistical data on each stem’s usage in a variety of Attic authors and corpora, I attempt to discern the semantic and syntactic motivations in stem choice. Marrying this statistical analysis to close reading and variational analysis of particular passages which may be stylistically or pragmatically marked (following the methodology of Willi (2003)), I discuss the social identity which was attached to use of one stem or the other. I attempt to answer the question not only of what the rules were for ‘Classical Attic Greek’ but what the patterns of usage of these stems were in different genres and registers and what this reflects about the usage in speech of the period. I proceed then to analyse the diachronic change in stem-usage, revealing a marked contrast between the late fifth and late fourth centuries BC.

I argue that the finiteness of the verb form is key to understanding the patterns we see in different texts, but also that the relationship in stem-usage between different genres changes, with similarities between oratory and comedy in the fifth and early fourth centuries, and stark divergences by the end of the fourth.

By combining statistical study of corpora with close reading and existing research on the style and sociolinguistics of these texts, I present an overall micro-history of this feature, charting its place in the sociolinguistic landscape over this period of Attic. I argue further that by extending such a quantitative-based methodology to other linguistic phenomena, we may be able to combine these various micro-histories into a more thorough understanding of the processes of linguistic change in Classical Attic and perhaps more generally. It will, too, provide us with greater insight into the broader sociolinguistic landscape of Classical Attic and into the choices individual authors made in our texts, even in prose whose linguistic features remain under-studied. It is an exciting opportunity for scholars of Ancient Greek.

References
Expressions of commitment in Greek aggressive magic: a case of transfer of formulae?

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Texts of aggressive magic – i.e. defixiones or curse tablets, intended to influence the actions or the welfare of persons or animals (see Faraone 1991), and prayers for justice (see Versnel 1991), a request of revenge for a manifested guilt – provide a means of binding enemies. These texts are present all over the ancient world and belong to various linguistic traditions – Greek, Latin but also Oscan, Etruscan. The most ancient texts in Greek 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.

Defixiones can consist of names only or – as with prayers for justice – of more complex formulae; the most common cursing verb in Greek texts is καταδῶ, with reference to the sympathetic association between physical and linguistic phases of the rite; other verbs belong to different types of association, as καταγράφω, ἀνερόω, κατατίθημι, παραδίδωμι, etc.: they “shift responsibility for the binding to the divine sphere” (Faraone 1991: 5) by registering the victims before the god(s) (καταγράφω), dedicating (ἀνερόω) or committing them to the deities (κατατίθημι, παραδίδωμι). The idea of commitment is also expressed in Latin ((de)mando, (com)mando, delego, trado) especially in prayers for justice, where an individual who suffered an injustice and had turned to the authorities in vain, consigns to the god(s) the person believed to be guilty.

A survey of DT and DTA, together with a survey of other epigraphic texts (Jordan 1985a, 1985b, 2000; Lazzarini 1994; SEG XXX among others), has shown that verbs of commitment are employed in Greek with a lower frequency than in Italic languages – the other verbs of judicial prayers being ἀνερόω, ἀνατίθημι, ἀναρίζω etc. – and that they are used both in prayers of justice and in defixiones.

Our research has shown that the use of these verbs in Greek texts increases starting from the 3rd cent. AD. The documentation suggests that this increase could be due to the model provided by the Latin textuality, where these verbs have a certain frequency. Moreover, we can propose as working hypothesis an Oscan origin of the use of commitment verbs in texts of aggressive magic: the idea of commitment (manafum) is attested in a very early text (dated 4th cent. BC), that could also be interpreted as a prayer for justice. This is in accord with Poccetti (1993), who believes that aggressive magic texts have been inherited by Latin from Oscan, since Latin magic lexicon is traditionally connected to orality (incantare, carmen). Thus, it can be argued that verbs meaning ‘to commit’ in defixiones/prayers for justice would have been “transferred” from Oscan to Latin tradition. With the progressive growth of the Roman empire, their use would have increased in Greek texts too.
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Spoken Greek in the minutes of the Council of Chalcedon (451 AD)

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The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon include lengthy minutes, in which hundreds of clerics and several officials of the Imperial administration of Constantinople speak in
Greek. These minutes are presented as the verbatim records of conciliar debates: therefore, they are supposed to record the very words used by all attendees at the council. This provides us with unparalleled evidence for the Greek spoken by educated men in the fifth century, and quite possibly in all of antiquity.

The accuracy of the records is crucial to establish the reliability of the Acts as evidence for spoken Greek. We do not know all the details of the minute-taking process at Chalcedon. However, by looking at internal hints and at other conciliar Acts in which the minute-taking is described, we can get a good approximation of how records were produced at this Council. An interesting parallel can be found in the minutes of modern deliberative gatherings, where we have a chance to check the accuracy of the minutes against the videos of the debates. If we look at the transcripts of the UK House of Commons, for example, we realize that contemporary stenographers normalize irregular phonology as well as morphology, suppress some typical features of unplanned spoken language (e.g. repetitions and interjections) and fix anacoloutha and broken syntax; sometimes they also make minor alterations to the lexicon. Everything else is recorded faithfully: so these texts are by and large accurate, if polished, records of the syntax and lexicon of unplanned spoken language at the House of Commons.

It is exactly syntax and lexicon that I am going to look at in the minutes of the Council of Chalcedon. The linguistic features I have chosen to examine come from the framework of the study of spontaneous spoken language: this has shown that in spontaneous spoken languages sentences are shorter, there is less grammatical subordination and the range of vocabulary is less than in written language. In order to appreciate the features of spoken Greek at the Council of Chalcedon, therefore, I have chosen to consider the statements of the six clerics who delivered both oral and written statements: by comparing their spoken and written production it is possible to work out the differences between the spoken and written language of each of these attendees, and to draw general conclusions. All the samples considered confirm the findings of research on spontaneous spoken language. Modern research has also shown that some constructions occur in spontaneous spoken language but not in written language, and vice-versa. In this respect, I have considered the use of participial constructions as opposed to finite subordinates: I have found that in oral statements fewer participles are used than in written statements. In oral statements we can also find constructions and idioms that are peculiar to individual speakers and are not used in their written texts.

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Discourse markers and text type: γάρ in narrative vs. γάρ in argument.

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The paper presents part of a larger study where specific uses of discourse markers are investigated in the different text or sequence types in which they operate. Discourse markers are linguistic expressions that speakers use to represent their own discourse as it unfolds. The structure of discourse, boundaries between its segments, the stance of the speaker, instructions to interlocutors are typical referents of discourse marking expressions. Particles are a nuclear subclass among discourse markers.

Traditional works (Denniston 1950) on the particle γάρ have identified an adverbial asseverative or emphatic force and at least two connective functions, namely a causal and an explanatory one. That some of these uses are linked to specific contexts has also been observed and the relation between some uses and the type of speech act where the particle acts is fairly well established. Thus, for instance the assertive or emphatic value is shown to appear in clauses expressing a question, an order, a wish or an oath. There has been, though, one might argue, too much interest in defining relations between sentences, while the functions with reference to larger discourse units has been neglected.

In more recent times and within a theoretical frame of Discourse Analysis based on hierarchical structure and relations of dependency, some authors have explained γάρ as a particle introducing subsidiary information (Van Ophuijsen and Sicking 1993), as a push particle (Slings 1997), or a backgrounding device (Luraghi 2011)-, while others, within a less ‘vertical’ perspective, have posed a central value as introducing unframed discourse (de Kreij 2016), or as a marker of discourse discontinuity (Bonifazzi 2016), even embedded narratives, as part of its explanatory use (de Jong 1997).

The author focuses here on the ‘subordinating’ function of γάρ. An analysis of the particle use in argumentative vs. narrative sequences shows that the backgrounding function does exist, but is quite more frequent in narrative texts. Leaving aside other aspects of narrativity, such as voice, stance and focalization, what makes a text narrative is the relation of a series of events in the temporal sequence in which they happened. The construction with γάρ typically introduces subsidiary material to that macrostructure. It may be essential to the understanding of the story or plot, by it is secondary from a macrostructural perspective. Argument, on the other hand, is characterised as such by the presence of two acts, one act expressing an opinion and a second act either justifying or challenging that opinion (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1984; Hietanen 2007). There, the function of γάρ introducing a justifying act is anything but subsidiary. If the γάρ segment were omitted, the argumentative sequence would fade away.

A fine-grained description of the distribution of the uses of γάρ is drawn from a corpus study of instances found in the text of Thucydides. It partly builds on
Drummen 2016, but aims at offering a finer-grained account, since it classifies different uses of the particle and refers to text types, not merely to the dialogue / monologue distinction.

References


Reduplicated and Non-reduplicated Imperatives:
κλύθι and κλύτε vs κέκλυθι and κέκλυτε

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The most ancient forms of the Greek verb κλύω (< IE *klewe/o-) “hear, perceive, give ear to, attend to, comply with, obey, be called or spoken of” are

• the thematic aorist indicative ἔκλυον (with the non-augmented κλύον corresponding to OI aorist injunctive śruvam), attested in the Homeric poems;

• the athematic aorist imperative forms κλύθι and κλύτε utilized by Homer, Pindar, and the tragedians (both κλύθι and κλύτε always occur at the beginning of the hexameter in the Homeric poems instead of κέκλυθι and κέκλυτε, and are therefore said
to exhibit metrical lengthening; moreover, κλύθι corresponds to the OI imperative form śrudhi);

- the reduplicated athematic imperative forms κέκλυθι and κέκλυτε employed by Homer and Apollonius Rhodius, and regarded by Chantraine (1999: 540-541) as innovation;
- the participle κλύμενος used by Antimachus Colophonius and Theocritus.

In view of the time allowed for presentation, my paper will focus on the use of the double couple of imperatives, the non-reduplicated and the reduplicated, in the Homeric poems. Their distribution in the Iliad and the Odyssey is shown in table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperatives</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>κλῦθι/κλῦτε</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34,6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>κέκλυθι/κέκλυτε</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>65,4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both couples of imperatives might seem interchangeable at first sight. This is not the case, however. Close analysis of the various passages has in fact allowed me to appreciate a subtle difference between them. When compared with κλῦθι and κλῦτε, the reduplicated forms κέκλυθι and κέκλυτε actually convey a particular nuance of meaning, which can be related to an implication of intensity somehow. A fair inference is that this notable difference in meaning arises from the presence vs the absence of reduplication. This presumption made me devote the last part of my presentation to the morphological process of verbal reduplication in general and to the reduplicated aorists in particular.

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The Spelling ιου for οu After Coronals in Ancient Boeotian, Tsakonian and Oscan: Vowel Fronting or Consonant Backing?

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In ancient Boeotian inscriptions (3rd – 2nd c. BCE), the spelling ιου occurs in place of οu (representing /u(W)/) after coronals. Similar phenomena are documented in modern Tsakonian and in Oscan inscriptions written in the indigenous alphabet (Campania and Samnium):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boeotian</th>
<th>Attic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>τιούχα</td>
<td>‘luck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διουνατόν</td>
<td>‘possible’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὄνιουμα</td>
<td>‘name’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λιουκίσκος</td>
<td>PN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boeotian</th>
<th>Attic</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>τύχη</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δύνατόν</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὄνομα (dial. ὄνυμα)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λυκίσκος (λύκος ‘wolf’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The spellings Του for Του and Τιu for Τυ (where Τ = any coronal) have been considered to be evidence of a phonetic process of fronting and/or diphthongization of /u(ː)/, purportedly induced by the preceding coronal: e.g. [tu(ː)] > [ty(ː)] > [tju]. In my presentation, I intend to demonstrate that the reconstructed changes are untenable and that the spellings at issue reflect the palatalization (backing) of a coronal before a high back vowel.

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### Greek έξερρύα, ἀπεσσύα and the Indo-European aorists in -ά

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Some Ancient Greek Doric dialects attest to intransitive aorists with an -ά ending:

1. ὥς δ’ έξερρύα (= át. έξερρύη) συχνῶν ύγρ(ό)ν, καταλύσαντα τὸ σῶμα τὰν κεφαλὰν πάλιν ἐπιθέμεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα (*IG* IV2.1.122, Epidaurus, ca 350 BC., ll. 3-5)
2. Λεγόντω ἐς ὃ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ έξηρυύθη (= át. έκρυή) (*TitCal* 79, Kalymnos, ca 300 BC)
3. Μίνδαρος ἀπεσσύα (*X.HG* I.1.23).
(4) Hesychius: ἑφθα· ἀπέθανεν.

According to a prevalent opinion, forms (1-2) are related to lit. (pa)sruvo, preterite in *-āt of present strav-eti <srew-. Both Ancient Greek and Lituanian, among others, seem to have preserved an inherited suffix *-ā that would serve to form transitive and intransitive past tenses that, in some Doric dialects, would have created intransitive aorists.

Supposedly, Doric dialects also exhibit -ā in past tenses outside the indicative (5a-b), other tenses, like the perfect (6a) and isolated nominal forms (6b):

(5) (a) Cyrene aor. subj. ἴσαι, μιάι.
    (b) Sicily aor. part. (pass.) παργεναθέντες.
(6) (a) Argos perf. ind. ἐπιμεμηνάκατι.
    (b) Laconia ῥυάχετος (Ar. Lys. 170).

As a conclusion of these data, it has been argued that the intransitive aorists in Doric were originally in -α and not in -θη-, as in other dialects.

In this paper I will try to show that, despite being a widespread opinion, it is highly unlikely that the above forms correspond to an archaism: -ā preterites are in all probability a Greek innovation, which happens to be very limited, and some forms have been conspicuously misinterpreted. I will also propose an alternative morphological explanation that explains satisfactorily the attested evidence.

Bibliography

Interaction between Greek and Neo-Phrygian in Funerary Epigrams from Eastern Phrygia under the Roman Empire

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The Neo-Phrygian language is only known through epigraphic documents dating from the 1st to mid-3rd centuries AD. These inscriptions – their number is small, approximately a hundred – come from an area covering north-eastern Phrygia and the borders with Galatia and Lycaonia. This paper aims at investigating the relationship between the two languages in a few funerary epigrams found in the Amorion area. Special attention will be paid to bilingual inscriptions, which make up about half of Neo-Phrygian attestations known so far. In bilingual documents the Phrygian language is generally confined to curses on tomb violators whereas the remaining part of the inscription is written in Greek. The pervasive presence of imprecations is a distinctive feature of Phrygian funerary inscriptions, which provide several examples in the Greek language too. At first, the verbal structures of such formulas in the two languages will be examined and compared and, subsequently, the function fulfilled by Greek and Neo-Phrygian respectively within the same inscription will be assessed. Generally speaking, the commissioners of funerary epigrams were wealthy people enjoying a high social status who could afford to erect a monument and to have an inscription carved on it. Their choice of a verse composition bore witness to their – real or alleged – Greek paideia. The decision to utilize both languages within the same inscription points to a clear communication strategy and provides an important clue about the social role played by the local language during the period under consideration.

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Usage of ἀφ’ οὗ ‘after’ in Greek dialectal inscriptions

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The epigraphic occurrences of the subordinate conjunction ἀφ’ οὗ ‘after’ are not frequent: they fill barely half a page in the collection of attestations by Hermann
(1912: 21—22); and only one instance is added by Minamimoto (2017). In contrast to the relatively straightforward usage to express futurity (with the subjunctive accompanied by the modal particle), there appears to be a pattern in the use of this conjunction + aorist indicative: it is used in phrases found in treaties which, with certain degree of variability, share the rough meaning “after this treaty comes into effect.” Actual wordings are ἀφ’ οὖ/τό συβββολον ἔνεντο “after the agreement is concluded” (FD 3.1 486) and ἀφ’ οὖ Αχαιοὶ ἐγένοντο “after they become citizens of the Achaean League” (SGDI 1634). The Arcadian conjunction ἀφῶτε ‘after’ is also used in this context: ἀφῶτε Μαντινης ἐγένοντο ὁ Ἐλισάπειοι “after the Helissonians become citizens of Mantinea”. This phraseological match gives additional support to the etymological interpretation proposed by the first editor of the inscription (Te Riele 1987: 178) that the Arcadian form corresponds to ἀφ’ οὖ, rather than the alternative analysis proposed by Dubois (1988: 282), who suggested that ἀφῶτε may be traced back to the old ablative in*-όν. Also, this phraseology is geographically clustered around Arcadia, and therefore it possibly belonged to bureaucratic stock expressions in treaties in this area, as suggested by Minamimoto (2017: 106—108).

References


Remarks on the Greek vocabulary of translation

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The lexical field of translation in ancient Greek can be divided into two major groups: lexical neologisms and semantic neologisms. Among the formers, a chief position is occupied by the loanword ἐρμηνεύς and its denominative verb ἐρμηνεύω and its compounds. First, I will try to elucidate the etymology of ἐρμηνεύς by arguing that it is a borrowing from a Luwic dialect (Carian or Proto-Carian). Next, I will deal
with the semantic development of ἐρμηνεύς/ἐρμηνεύω using the notion of “semantic prototype” and attempting at showing the extension of its meaning from “interpreter of foreign tongues/to express (orally) in another language” towards “to express, expound”. Finally, in the Letter of Aristeas, ἐρμηνεύς/ἐρμηνεύω/ἐρμηνεία are adopted into the vocabulary of written translation.

In the second part of the paper, I shall turn my attention to the analysis of semantic neologisms in Greek translation terminology. Among these we encounter, on the one hand, synecdoces both generalizing (μεταφράζω: totum pro parte) and particularizing (μεταχράφω: pars pro toto) and, on the other hand, a metaphor: the transfer metaphor (ἀγω, μεταφέρω) was introduced into the vocabulary of translation by Plato in Critias (cf. 113a) and later spread significantly not only in Greek (cf. also μεταβάλλω, μεταβιβάζω etc.), but was apparently borrowed into Latin, too (cf. transfero), and diffused into European languages therefrom.

Ancient Greek and Phrygian. Types of Convergence and Relationship.

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Ancient Greek authors (e.g. Plato, Cratylus 410) and lexicographers (Hesychius) had already mentioned and dealt with some apparent similarities between their own language and Phrygian lexemes. In modern times, such phenomena were considered in a variety of relevant monographs and articles, which discussed different kinds of coherence, such as genealogical relationship, borrowing processes and areal contacts, cf. i.a. Haas 1966, Neumann 1988, Panagl 2005, Sowa 2008, Zsolt 2015. The thorough investigation of the Greek-Phrygian contacts primarily requires to be methodologically differentiated between three types of isoglosses, which concern: 1) preserved archaisms (verbal augment, PPP -meno-, relative pronoun *yos); 2) shared innovations (agent nouns ending in -tā-, pronoun auto-); 3) identical choice among different possible ‘inherited’ variants (kinship terms, proclitic pronouns). There exist several cases of data displaying similarities, which deserve some further consideration and linguistic interpretation, e.g. terminology of political and military administration (cf. Mycenaean wa-na-ka, ra-wake-ta vs. Old Phrygian lavagtaei vanaktei); lexical phenomena, such as κύκλος vs. Hesych. gloss. κίκλην ‘Ursa major’; ancient testimonies (Herondas, Cicero); attestations of the region Phrygia and Phrygian people(s) (Homer, Euripides, Timotheos); evaluation of shared sporadic types of sound change (syncope, assimilation, epenthesis, anaptyxis). In addition, the etymological interpretation of some Phrygian words may indicate Greek parallels, e.g. 1) Phrygian bekos ‘bread’ in comparison with Greek φῶς ‘to roast’; 2) Phrygian tidegroun ‘innutribile’ as a compound may refer to the Greek prefix δυς- (*dys-) and the verb τερέφω ‘to feed’; 3) Phrygian t(t)etikmenos (PPP) ‘stigmatised’ may belong to Greek στίζω ‘to brand sth., to stigmatise’. The latter type of reduplication reminds of Lat. steti; spopondi; the assimilation st > t(t) can be confirmed by its occurrence in some Anatolian Greek forms such as ἀνέτησεν (instead of ἀνέστησεν) as well as by cases of ‘hypercorrect’ usage, cf. εὐστυχήσῃ (cf. Panagl 2005: 491).
The paper intends to highlight these categories of correlation by evaluating the results of the state-of-the-art research and aims at presenting novel proposals.

References (selection)

A usage-based approach to prosody and second argument realization

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Despite the lack of native speakers, it is not impossible for linguists to find some sources with which to study the prosodic structure of Ancient Greek. One of them, metrical caesurae, has proven to be a quite fruitful field of research, given the extension of the metrical corpus available. On some previous research (Pardal Padín 2015, 2017: 69-90), it has been found that Ancient Greek shows a clear tendency for verbs to appear along with their second arguments within a single prosodic unit. This propensity is linked both with iconicity of distance (Haiman 1983: 782; Croft 2008; Haspelmath 2008: 2) and frequency of use (specifically, chunking; Bybee 2002: 112).

The current work seeks to refine the analysis and show to what extent the specificities of the second argument (case selection, cognate vs. non-cognate object, etc.) play a role in this tendency. Specifically, I will tackle the interaction of usage and verb argument realization through the study of a selection of 5000 dialogic verses from the complete plays by Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides.

The analysis will pay special attention to the frequency of use of the different argument structure constructions considering both token —the total amount of appearances of a given verb with its second argument— and type —the sum of different verbs that use the same argument structure construction— frequencies (Bybee 2001: 10–13; Jurafsky et al. 2001; Barðdal 2008).

The prosodic analysis, on the other hand, will consider whether the verb and its second argument appear within the same prosodic unit as marked by the caesura of the verse.

Finally, the data will be put through a variable rule analysis (VarbRul; Cedergren & Sankoff 1974) in order to determine to what extent each of the different parameters (namely, the two different frequency measures and the second argument characteristics) play a role in keeping the verb and its second argument within the same prosodic contour.

The main hypothesis is that frequency plays the main role in the prosodic structuring of Ancient Greek and, accordingly, that highly frequent sequences of verb plus second argument and highly frequent argument structure constructions are more prone to be kept together.


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25 Even though it is a tool originally designed to study sociolinguistic variation, VarbRul has also been applied, for example, to second language acquisition (Young & Bayley 1996) or external sandhi phenomena (Alba 2008).
Supplication and (im)politeness strategies in Euripides: an approach through Qualitative Data Analysis with NVivo

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This paper explores the extent to which the typology of (im)politeness strategies by Brown&Levinson (1987) along with the one by House&Kasper (1981) applies to Classical Greek. The target is two-pronged as I have tried to pin down the linguistic realisations of each strategy as well as its distribution per character type. The method is analogous to the one recently applied by Berger (2017) in Plautus’ salutatio and advice-giving scenes.

The corpus includes the following suppliant scenes: E.Heracl.55-287; Supp.110-597; Andr.515-746; Hec.218-443, 726-863 and E.Or.380-724. Suppliants scenes provide interactions in comparable contexts, since they follow a story pattern and since they present a recurring cast of characters (Kopperschmidt 1967) consisting minimally of a suppliant and a supplicandus (Naiden 2006), to which a third character can be added as opponent of the suppliant (e.g. the Heralds in E.Heracl. and E.Supp.). The analysed strategies are downgraders, broadly understood as politeness strategies; and, on the other hand, upgraders, broadly understood as impoliteness strategies (House&Kasper 1981). The former includes hedges (such as committers and downtoners), as well as impersonalisation, understaters, forewarnings, and the expression of reluctance, pessimism (Brown&Levinson 1987: 173ff.), among others. The following subtypes are analysed as upgraders: overstaters, intensifiers, pluscommitters, lexical intensifiers, aggressive interrogatives and personalisation. Each strategy will be explained and exemplified.

The analysed strategies and the characters involved are many and so are the intersections between strategies and characters. In order to overcome this difficulty, I have codified my research in Nvivo, a software for QDA (Qualitative Data Analysis). The software provided an accurate counting of words and has automatically generated results about the distribution of strategies among characters.

The findings of this research are consequently twofold. From a purely linguistic standpoint, we can specify which of the (im)politeness strategies that feature in the typologies by Brown&Levinson and by House&Kasper can be considered as such in Classical Greek and how they actually work. For instance, impersonalisation through the indefinite pronoun τις does not seem to be as “polite” as impersonalisation through gnomai or general reflections; the expression οὐκ ἀλλὰς λέγω is better interpreted as a downgrader and not as an upgrader, as the bare translation could initially suggest. Finally, there is a number of idioms which seem to have specialised in the expression of irony (Athanasiadou&Colston 2017): ‘οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ἐγὼ’, ‘ὡς ἐλπικ’, and ‘εἰ βούλη τοῦ βούλη’ or βούλη + subj./acl,’ could be explained as downgraders; however, when perused in context, they recurrently express totally the opposite in highly tense and sarcastic interactions (e.g. E.Heracl.257-261; Supp.566-571). From the standpoint of linguistic characterisation, the main finding is that the (im)politeness strategies are not randomly distributed among characters: accepted suppliants do not address upgraders to the supplicandi. On the contrary,
rejected suppliants are, as it were, ineffectual, as they address *upgraders* to the *supplicandi* even though they are in a disadvantaged position and in need of requesting. In turn, *supplicandi* barely address *downgraders* to the suppliants, unless they reject them. As a result, there is always a linguistic characterisation by contrast between the participants.

**References**


**Non-Greek elements on Linear B Tablets from the RCT at Knossos**

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The tablet deposit of the *Room of the Chariot Tablets (RCT)* is understood to represent the earliest archive containing Mycenaean Linear B documents at Knossos. The earlier date assignable to this deposit has been demonstrated both on archaeological and palaeographical grounds. Its documents, therefore, appear to reflect a slightly more archaic situation also from a linguistic perspective, if compared to the other (allegedly later) Knossos tablet deposits. These earlier tablets record primarily wheels and chariots, a circumstance which makes these documents extremely interesting from a semantic point of view, given the close connection between these commodities and the Ancient Near East context. Hence, the tablets yielded by the *RCT* represent a pivotal source for loan words and foreign names as well as for phonetic and morphological features elsewhere unparalleled or scarcely attested.

The aim of this paper is to analyze unusual (or unexpected) elements occurring on tablets from the *RCT*, with the focus on vocabulary items with supposedly non-Indoeuropean roots, and on features (such as endings) that deviate from later attestations preserved either on tablets from other archives or in alphabetic Greek. Although this latter observation does not necessarily imply a foreign origin of any of the specific items involved, nevertheless it highlights a meaningful divergence between *RCT* documents and other Linear B tablets, ultimately providing further clues to better understanding the very early (documented) phases of the Greek language.
Greek and Sabellian contacts visible in numeral systems in Southern Italy

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A group of tiles belonging to the roof of an archaic palace (6th – 5th century B.C.) recently excavated at an indigenous site in Southern Italy (Torrè di Satriano in Lucania) contains the first series of ordinal numerals in Greek. Noteworthy some of these numerals show interesting variants, that can be explained by contact between the Doric speaking area (around Tarentum) and the neighbouring Sabellian languages.

The fact that each number had been engraved on each tile before the terracotta had dried suggests that they were intended to show the order in which the tiles were to be put in place during the construction of the roof. This in turn suggests that the workers employed in the construction were indigenous people who had learned Greek (probably in the neighbouring Doric colony of Tarentum) at the same time as they were learning technical aspects of building.

References

Participles, syntactic function, and aspect in Gospels

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This proposal aims at analyzing the correspondence between the four gospels in Greek and in Latin (Vulgata), focusing on the realization of Greek participles in Latin. There are various possible solutions: instead of a Greek participle, in Latin there can be another participle, as well as a relative clause, and other structures, such as cum subjunctive.

These different choices are partially due, as well known, to the greater scarcity of participle forms in Latin. However, they are also interesting for the conference theme, as they shed light on some syntactic and semantic features of participles in Ancient Greek.

Indeed, the equivalence with relative clauses is only possible in case of nominal and adjectival Greek participles, both attributive and appositive. For these type of Greek participles it is particularly noteworthy the equivalence between the structure article + participle in Greek and free relatives in Latin:
καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀκούσαντες ἐθαύμασαν (Luc. 2.18)

et omnes qui audierunt mirati sunt

On the other hand, other structures, such as cum + subjunctive, exclusively correspond to converbial participles, i.e. participles having an adverbial function:

καὶ εὐροντες αὐτὸν λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι πάντες ζητοῦσίν σε. (Marc. 1.37)

et cum invenissent eum dixerunt ei: Quia omnes quaerunt te.

If a predicative participle just modifies the nominal head, without any adverbial function, only the equivalence with relative clauses – and not with structures like cum + subjunctive – is possible:

καὶ ἐθεράπευσαν πολλοὺς κακῶς ἐχοντας ποικίλαις νόσοις (Marc. 1.34)

et curavit multos qui vexabantur variis languoribus

Besides morphological and syntactic reasons, translation choices seem also to respect the aspectual value of participles. This is particularly clear in some cases where a Greek aorist predicative participle is translated by a participle in Latin, rather than by a structure like cum + subjunctive, that could convey an active past verb form, such as in (4):

καὶ συναγαγὼν πάντας τοὺς ἅρχοντας καί γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπιστάντων παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ χριστὸς γεννᾶται. (Matth. 2.4)

et congregans omnes principes sacerdotum et scribas populi sciscitabatur ab eis ubi Christus nasceretur.

The correspondence of συναγαγὼν with the active present participle congregans seems to suggest that Greek participle does not express any tense, but only the perfective aspect.

To sum up, the aim of this proposal is to:
(1) analyze all Latin realizations of Greek participles which are present in the four Gospels;
(2) classify the different Latin choices taking into account the different syntactic functions;
(3) try to evaluate if and how the aspectual value of Greek participles affects the choice among the alternative possible solutions, according to the different syntactic functions.

References
Counterargumentation in Ancient Greek. Study of ἔμπης and its allophones

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Within the category of "adversative", different types of semantic-pragmatic relationships coexist -eliminative, balancing, opposition in general, strong adversative, weak adversative, introducing objection in dialogue.... These are often indicated by different particles in ancient Greek (ἀλλά, δέ, μήν ...). However, ancient grammarians, such as Dionysius Thrax, only mention ὁμώς and ἔμπης as adveratives. In this contribution, which is being carried out within a Research Project funded by the Spanish government (PI FFI2015-65541-C3-1-P), the first results of the morphological, semantic, syntactic and pragmatic study of the second of these forms are presented in a corpus that ranges from the first preserved texts to the end of the imperial period (4th century).

The compilation, thanks to the TLG, of all the uses of ἔμπης and its allophones (ἔμπας, ἔμπαν and ἔμπα) allows us to discover their dialectal
distribution, their frequency of appearance and in what type of texts (verse / prose) they are used. In addition, the systematic study of their uses shows that, together with "adverbial" uses (in current lexicons ἐμπης is considered an adverb), we can find others in which, in combination with different particles or conjunctions (δὲ, ἀλλά, περ...), ἐμπης is used to express counterargumentation, both in parataxis and in hypotaxis. This last meaning allows us (1) to group ἐμπης together with ὅμως, which is also used to indicate counterargumentation, and (2) to include it in the macrogroup of discursive markers.

References
The preverb μετα-: a cognitive and constructionist analysis

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Although μετα- is not one of the most frequent preverbs (use of prepositions as verbal prefixes), it represents a non-negligible 0.317% of all words in the Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Dictionary (375 out of 118.102 lemmata). This proportion decreases in Modern Greek where only 0.112% of verbs are prefixed by μετα- in the ΛΚΝ (56 out of 49.626 lemmata). The purpose of this paper is to give a full account of the verbs prefixed by μετα- in Ancient Greek and their diachronic evolution. The main issues discussed will be the following:

a) These verbs exhibit a rather restricted and regular number of predicate frames (quantitative and qualitative valency). My purpose in this paper is to formalize those regular predicate frames and to establish the syntactic and semantic connections and derivations among them from a constructionist and cognitive point of view (Goldberg 1995, Talmy 1985): from the most basic spatial ones (‘to change place’) to the more abstract ones (‘to change, to modify’). The preverb has to be understood as a regular means of word formation.

b) The paper researches the connection between the preverbal (μετα-) and the prepositional uses (μετά), as described for example in Luraghi (2003).

c) The diachronic development from Ancient (satellite-framed) to Modern (mainly verb-framed) Greek constitutes an important factor taken into account and exhibits parallels in other languages (Mateu & Acedo-Matellán 2013, Talmy 1985).

d) From a comparative point of view there are clear similarities between the Greek system and those of other languages like German (see the description of um(-) in Dewell 2011).

The data are mainly taken from a corpus made up by the following authors (complete works): Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Euripides, Herodotus, Lysias, Plato, Sophocles, Thucydides and Xenophon. Additional information has been taken from other authors and from the data available in dictionaries (JSJ) and lexical works (e.g. Funck 1876).

The final purpose of this paper is to collect and formalize all the information available about μετα- scattered in dictionaries and lexical works and to transfer it from its present place in lexicography to the grammatical component of the linguistic description of Greek. [Font Calibri 12 pt]

References


The augment in Homeric narration: a temporal approach

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In the last twenty years, the traditional reconstruction of the augment as an original temporal adverb has been questioned. Different reconstructions have been recently proposed (Willi 2018), but the current general trend of research is following Bakker’s suggestion that the Homeric augment, rather than a marker of past, is a deictic element which expresses closeness between narrated events and the actual time of epic performance (Bakker 1999 and 2001). The large acceptance of this interpretation might be favoured by the increasing attention given to synchronic level analysis in Homeric poems. On this line, it has been pointed out that the augment is sensitive to narrative factors as events described by augmented verbs are characterised by greater relevance and vividness than those described by unaugmented forms. Although confirmed by some studies (see Rodeghiero 2017a), Bakker’s approach is not entirely satisfactory in that it does not show concordance with any of the proposed reconstructive theories.

In an effort to reconcile the synchronic observations mentioned above with the diachronic dimension, I investigate here the use of the augment specifically in Homeric narrative sections, assuming the traditional analysis of the augment as an original temporal adverb (see Lazzeroni 1977 and 2017). I hypothesise that the distribution of augmented and unaugmented verbs might be due to different needs or choices in the expression of temporal coordinates, using an approach inspired by a Reichenbachian theoretical framework. In particular, I suggest that in Homer the augment still preserves trace of its early function as temporal adverb and that it is used to stress, or at least to make explicit, the reference time which is implicit in the unaugmented forms. Partially revisiting an idea explored by Kiparsky (1968), I read the lack of the augment in terms of anaphoric links between the events included in the same narrative sequence, where there is no need to make explicit the temporal reference. From this perspective, the distribution of the augment might be interpreted as a strategy to emphasise single events, and/or to mark cohesion and internal hierarchy of episodes and narrative units.
My hypothesis is supported by a personal investigation of a selected corpus of songs from the *Iliad*. It emerges that unaugmented verbs are more often used within narrative units characterised by a high degree of syntactic cohesion which creates anaphoric links across adjacent clauses, while augmented forms are usually preferred at the beginning of narrative units and in sentences characterised by greater syntactic autonomy. Examples will be discussed during the talk.

I will then explore the relationship (if any) of these findings with some previous observations on a different syntactic behaviour of augmented and unaugmented verbs in the left periphery of the sentence (Rodeghiero 2017b). I propose that this phenomenon can be interpreted in light of the temporal analysis presented above.

In conclusion, the interpretation of the synchronic distribution of the augment in Homer is not necessarily in contrast with the analysis of the augment as a marker of the past.

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Médecin grec ayant voyagé dans tout l’Empire romain, exerçant son art auprès des emperateurs à Rome mais écrivant en grec, Galien de Pergame est à plus d’un titre un témoin important du contact des langues au ii e siècle de notre ère.

Dans les études sur le bilinguisme, il est ainsi souvent évoqué pour avoir fourni la première attestation d’une distinction entre δίγλωττος « bilingue » et πολύγλωττος « polyglotte ».

En effet, formé auprès des meilleurs maîtres au temps de la Seconde Sophistique, Galien, dont les textes couvrent un champ d’études beaucoup plus large que celui de la seule médecine – philosophie, logique, mais aussi philologie ou grammaire – témoigne un profond intérêt pour le lexique, comme l’illustrent les titres de ses traités perdus sur les mots que l’on trouve chez les écrivains attiques (τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς συγγραφεύον ὀνόματα) ou sur les mots courants (τα πολιτικά ὀνόματα) chez Aristophane ou Eupolis, ou encore son traité sur les Noms médicaux, dont seul le premier livre a été conservé par une traduction arabe. Or bien loin de constituer une distraction d’érudit, cet intérêt pour le vocabulaire s’inscrit dans une réflexion sur la langue de la médecine et sur les conditions de communication qui permettent une transmission adéquate de la science médicale. C’est dans ce cadre que prennent tout leur sens ses nombreuses observations sur la provenance de telle ou telle dénomination (τὸ Ῥωμαϊτι καλούμενον [...] « ce qui est appelé dans la langue des Romains… »), δὴ οἱ ἐντόπιοι [...] καλοῦσιν « que les locaux [en Syrie] appellent… », τοῦτο οἱ Αἰγυπτιοὶ [...] ὀνομάζουσι « les Égyptiens nomment cela… »), l’affirmation polémique où il déclare « avoir collecté un très grand nombre de mots celtes, thraces, mysiens ou phrygiens » (πάμπολλα συναθροίσας ὀνόματα Κελτῶν καὶ Θρακῶν καὶ Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν : Thrasybulus, 5.867 Kühn) pour confondre ceux qui récusent l’idée d’un lien conventionnel entre nom et chose, ou encore son souci d’épeler avec précision un nom de céréale recueilli auprès des habitants de Thrace et de Macédoine (De alimentorum facultatibus, 6.514 Kühn).

L’étendue de l’apport de Galien à la question du contact entre les langues reste cependant encore largement inexplorée. La plupart de ses analyses sont en effet intégrées à des écrits techniques, difficiles d’accès, qui pour une large part n’ont pas encore fait l’objet d’une édition critique, ni d’une traduction dans une langue moderne. Le célèbre passage sur la difficulté d’être réellement bilingue, et a fortiori polyglotte apparaît ainsi au milieu du 2 e livre d’un traité portant sur la différenciation des pouls (De pulsuum differentiis, 8.585 Kühn).

Cette étude poursuivra un double objectif. Dressant la liste des termes explicitement attribués par Galien à d’autres idiomes, parmi lesquels le latin occupe une large place, elle tentera d’en établir une typologie et d’en dégager les aspects phonétiques et morphologiques dignes d’intérêt ; en même temps, elle s’attachera également à remplacer les fines observations de détail comme les considérations générales de Galien sur la diversité des langues et sur la prééminence du grec dans le
cadre de sa conception de la langue de la médecine, et dans le contexte souvent polémique de ses propos – à commencer par celui du traité des Différences des pouls –, afin d’en saisir l’exacte portée et de redonner sa juste place au témoignage de Galien sur les langues de son temps.

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Insubordination in Ancient Greek? : The case of ὡστε sentence

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It is a well-known fact (Kühner-Gehrt 1904 (1966): 514) that some ὡστε sentences, in spite of their subordinate marking, are themselves used as main clauses and perform speech acts on their own:

1) Lys. IV.7.4-8.1 νῦν δὲ ὁμολογούμεθα πρὸς παῖδας καὶ αὐλητρίδας καὶ μετ’ οἴνου ἐλθόντες. ὡστε πῶς ταῦτ’ ἐστὶ πρόνοια; (In point of fact, we admit that we went to see boys and flute-girls and were in liquor: so how is that premeditation?) (Lamb)

2) Th. 6.91.4 καὶ ὅν ἂρτι κίνδυνον ἐκεῖθεν ἐπεῖθει προσείπτον, οὐκ ἂν διὰ μακροῦ ὑμῖν ἔπιτετοι. ὡστε μὴ περὶ τῆς Σικελίας τις οἰέσθω μόνον βουλεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, (and the danger which, as I was saying, threatens you from that quarter, will speedily overwhelm you. And therefore remember every one of you that the safety, not of Sicily alone, but of Peloponnesus, is at stake) (Jowett)

Two structures, which share the same properties, have not been considered belonging to this group: sentences which realize indirect speech acts (4), and those used to answer questions (5):

3) Lys. XII. 32.4-33.1 νῦν δὲ σου τὰ ἔργα φανερὰ γεγένηται οὐχ ὡς ἀνιωμένου ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄδομένου τοῖς γιγνομένοις· ὡστε τούσδε ἐκ τῶν ἔργων χρῆ
μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τῶν λόγων τὴν ψήφων φέρειν... (But the fact is that your deeds clearly reveal the man who, instead of feeling pain, took pleasure in what was being done; so that this court should take its verdict from your deeds, not from your words) (Lamb)

4) S. OT 1128-1133 {Oι.} Τὸν ἄνδρα τὸνδ' οὐν οἶσθα τήδε ποὺ μαθὼν; | {ΘΕ.} Τί χρήμα δρόωντα; ποίον ἄνδρα καὶ λέγεις; | {Oι.} Τὸνδ' ὡς πάρεστιν' ἡ ξυναλλάξας τί πως; | {ΘΕ.} Όυχ ὡστε γ' εἰπεῖν ἐν τάχει μνήμης ὑπό. ((Oedipus) Are you aware of ever having seen this man in these parts? (Servant) Doing what? What man do you mean? (Oedipus) This man here, have you ever met him before? (Servant) Not so that I could speak at once from memory) (Jebb)

The aim of my work is twofold: to offer a fine-grained description of these uses in a corpus, and to test whether all of them can be considered as insubordinate clauses. Following Evans (2007: 366), “insubordination is the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses”. Although ellipsis has been considered the main mechanism leading to a former subordinate clause being used independently (Evans 2007), however, in recent literature a range of explanatory hypotheses has been proposed (Cristofaro 2016, Heine 2016, Traugott 2017). My corpus consists on Sophocles’ and Euripides’ tragedies, and a selection from Lysias’, Thucydid’s and Herodotus’ works.

As a close revision of the data shows, 1) there is an interesting difference in frequency between authors, which should be explained. 2) The sentences display several functions in interaction: signalling relevant information, expressing evaluative modality, and expressing directives, among others. 3) Ellipsis can’t be proved in all the cases and other hypotheses seem to be fully productive.

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The distribution of iotacistic variants in administrative documents from Karanis: a data-driven study

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In a corpus language such as Ancient Greek, variant spellings provide important information on language variation and change. Documentary papyri are abundant sources of orthographic variation (Evans and Obbink 2010: 2), and typically have short transmission chains (Evans 2010:51). Autograph papyri have proved particularly attractive to scholars investigating the correspondence between individuals’ variant orthography and the phonology and syntax of their spoken Greek (e.g. Nachtergaele 2013).

However, the majority of documentary papyri are not autograph, but scribally mediated (Palme 2009). Models of variation which make inferences from the writing to the speech of individuals can therefore only cover a small proportion of the surviving material. For example, private letters (autograph or scribal), which are often exploited for linguistic evidence (Evans 2010); average only between 8.8%–12.8% of total documentary papyri (Bagnall and Cribiore 2008: n.p.; §89-96) in the Roman period.

This paper therefore sets out to explore inferences that can be drawn from orthographic variation in scribally mediated documents. It reports the findings of a data-driven study of iotacistic variation in 26 Roman-era administrative documents from Karanis. All contained a contrast between sections drafted by professional scribes (bodies of agreements) and sections written by a party to the agreement, or a proxy acting on their behalf (subscriptions to agreements). Though no meaningful differences in spelling between professional scribes and subscribers was found, the study did identify interesting patterns in the distribution of spelling variants.

For example, the study concentrated on three types of graphic interchange:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>normative spelling</th>
<th>variant spelling</th>
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<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>ε, εl</td>
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<tr>
<td>ε</td>
<td>l, εl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εl</td>
<td>ε, l</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

As expected for the documents in the sample, which spanned the 1st to the late 4th centuries AD, there is bi-directional graphic variation between <ε> ↔<εl>, reflecting the merger of <ε>, <εl> ~ /i/ (Gignac 1976:189). However, the proportional frequency of such variation is low for securely transcribed <ε> (0.02 of c. 1,350 occurrences are...
variants) and <ι> (4% of c. 1,700 occurrences) whereas it is considerably higher for <ει> (16% of c. 200 occurrences). This hints at non-phonological factors affecting the visibility of variation.

A qualitative examination of the data points to an awareness of taught morphological rules affecting the visibility of variation, particularly:

- hypercorrect spellings of <ει> for <ι> in dative endings
- alternation between graphically similar <ει> and <ι> sequences across declensions and between noun and verb paradigms
- <ε> featuring in memorisable patterns (short function words and augments), which suppresses variation.

The paper concludes by suggesting that the patterning as well as the typology of errors could be usefully incorporated into orthographic studies of both autograph and scribally mediated documents. A default assumption that spelling variants reflect low literacy, and are thus closer to speech (Horrocks 2014: 115, Dickey 2009: 151), is a potentially problematic position if it doesn’t include investigation of how variant forms, even if numerous, may reflect trying to implement formally acquired spelling principles.

References


Early Contact Between Phrygian and Greek

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Phrygian is an extinct Indo-European language attested from Central and West Anatolia from the 8th to the 6th century BCE as Old Phrygian, and from the 1st to 3rd century CE as New Phrygian. Before their migration to Anatolia around the turn of the second millennium BCE, the Phrygians lived in the southern Balkans in close proximity to the precursors of later Hellenes and Macedonians. Neumann's *Phrygisch und Griechisch* (1988) argues extensively for a common Greco-Phrygian branch of Indo-European, and the two languages remained in constant contact with each other after their separation into Proto-Greek and Proto-Phrygian, as evidenced by some early loanwords from Greek into Phrygian (e.g. pant- 'all', vanakt- 'king')

The aim of this paper is to examine those features of Phrygian that have parallels in post-Proto-Greek innovations of Greek dialects and could thus have been either areal developments or a result of Greek influence. Particular focus will be given to Lesbian Greek, which shares, among others, these features with Phrygian: a) development of -ts- to -ss- (e.g. Phrygian μροσσας < *mrot-yeh₂-s); b) dissimilation of *-ns to -is (cf. Lesb. acc. pl. -ις and Phr. acc. pl. -ις < *-ns); c) use of αι for ει ‘if’. The development of pre-Phrygian *-Ry-, *-Rs-, and *-sR- clusters also shares similarities with some Greek dialects.

Morphological characteristics of Phrygian will likewise be compared to Greek. One widespread post-Proto-Greek change shared with Phrygian is the adoption of the pronominal genitive ending, -oo > -ο in Greek and -ovo in Phrygian (both from *-oso), in the o-declension. The verbal system of Phrygian is currently rather poorly understood, but is also likely to shed some light on early contact between the two languages.

References:


Scribal awareness of contact-induced phonological features in Greek documentary papyri from Egypt

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After the conquest of Alexander the Great, Greek became the dominant language for culture, trade and administration in Egypt and many Egyptians took the effort to learn the Greek language. As we know from typological studies, the process of learning of a second language often leads to structural interference at the level of phonology and syntax in the target language (Thomason 2001: 75). The production and replication of phonological features is among the most difficult to control for adult-learners due to physiological limitations (Matras 2009: 221-222).

A range of contact-induced phonological features can be observed in specific environments in Egyptian Greek (Dahlgren 2017; Vierros 2012). Documents written by Egyptians do not only show contact-induced variation, but also clear attempts to produce standard Greek orthography, morphology and syntax (Evans 2012; Leiwo
2003). The resulting impact of the phonological changes on the orthography in historical written documents seems easier to control for the bilingual speaker, but this requires awareness of the differences between the phonological (and orthographical) systems of both languages.

In this paper I will explore the awareness of contact-induced phenomena by scribes and their communicative partners. The material is provided by conscious revisions of orthographic features in documentary papyri from Egypt. The differences between scribal corrections of contact-induced orthographic variation and widespread language-internal orthographic variation reveal important differences in awareness of these features and individual attempts to eliminate bilingual interference.


**Naming patterns in theophoric Greek names**

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We know that the proper names are a word class with a special linguistic behaviour and differ from other lexical items in their diachronic development: on the one hand, they are assigned to individuals, that is, they identify individuals, on the other hand, they present peculiarities because of the intentionality of naming itself. There is no need of agreement by the linguistic community (at least in the same measure as in other lexical terms of the vocabulary) in the assignment of proper names. Actually, the parents can choose the names for their children with ‘relative’ freedom.

On phonetic grounds, proper names formed in different times can coexist: they can revive as a result of fashion, or they can also be more conservative as their form is fixed and present archaic features which are absent in other lexical items due to the weight of tradition.

From a morphological point of view, apart from presenting, for example, short forms (hypocoristic) unknown in other nouns in ancient Greek, onomastic compounds are reversible as contrasted with lexical compounds and sometimes they are not
acceptable because they make no sense, they are ‘noms irrationnels’ as Olivier Masson called them.

Besides, onomastic fringes do not always coincide in ancient Greece with dialectological borders, in fact we sometimes speak about onomastic areas, onomastic Bund.

However, there is a group of personal names which could get closer to the other lexical items: theophoric names formed the largest sub-class of names type in ancient Greece. We will focus on compounds with the name of the different gods or with the generic term for ‘god’, θεός. The important clue in this election leans on the fact that the etymological meaning of these names is somehow heavier, as parents put their children under the god’s protection (the small average of ‘noms irrationnels’ they offer could justify this). There are indeed other interesting issues:

- Variety in archaic periods shows different compounds. Some of them can provide us an important attestation of infrequent lexical compounds.
- The reversibility of the compounds seems to be justified in lexical grounds: Δεξιοθεός and Θεοδέκτης, for example, follow the morphological patterns of the lexical compounds.

In addition, there are some remarkable differences between the personal names of the selected corpus:
- The naming patterns are different in the compounds which bear theonyms from those formed with θεός.
- The diachronic development is not the same in both cases: the θεός compounds are attested in Mycenaean Greek (te-o-do-ra) in contrast with the theonyms compounds which are nearly absent in Mycenaean and Homeric Greek.

These theophoric names were translated in Latin (Donadeus, Deusdatus) but they took on new life with a different morphological structure as can be seen in romance medieval examples such as Speraindeo, Deulofeu, etc.

An overall study on this type of proper names (with a seemingly more restricted linguistic use) can be useful to reflect on the linguistic data that can be extracted from the onomastics in the set of studies of Greek linguistics.

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Present counterfactual conditionals and verbal mood in Homer.

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The verbal mood of present counterfactual conditionals ("if X was happening, Y would now be happening") in Homer is best viewed as an instance of obligatory irrealis modality. Homeric present counterfactuals differ from those in Classical Greek, showing the optative with ἄν, rather than an imperfect indicative plus ἄν. Present counterfactuals occur in Homer alongside a larger, more intensively studied corpus of past counterfactuals, which show the secondary indicative in the protasis and either the secondary indicative, or more rarely the optative, in the apodosis.

Traditional analyses, for example Ruijgh’s, account for the use of mood on the basis of the temporal reference of the conditional, whilst more recently, Willmott has argued that in past counterfactuals, mood choice is motivated by speaker perspective, or epistemic stance. In Willmott’s model, neutral-to-positive epistemic stance is mapped to the indicative and neutral-to-negative epistemic stance to the optative.

I consider the small number (around twenty) of counterfactuals with present time reference. The secondary indicative occurs only once in a borderline case (Od.14.67), and all other examples show the optative in both protasis and apodosis. The optative occurs across the board despite the fact that the majority of examples show speaker attitudes nearer the positive epistemic stance end of the modality continuum: a circumstance which in a past counterfactual we would expect to license the indicative. These examples therefore challenge Willmott’s model, since the optative is in fact being used to encode opposite ends of the modality continuum, dependent on time reference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mood</td>
<td>Optative</td>
<td>Secondary Indicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic stance</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
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</table>


27 Willmott, Moods, 120, 124.
To reconcile the divergent uses of the optative in counterfactuals, I firstly consider the possibility that in the apodoses of present counterfactuals, the optative has future, potential, value. This is warranted by temporal progression between the protasis and apodosis. However, such an explanation fails to explain the optative in the protasis, and does not work for all examples.

Instead I suggest the optative in present counterfactuals is obligatory. In present counterfactuals, speakers do not have the range of modal expression as in their past counterparts, and no choice of mood. Rather, a situation counterfactual to that obtaining in the present is by default located at the lower end of the modality spectrum. Present counterfactuality thus demands the optative. This is because the reality obtaining in the utterance location at the utterance time is particularly empirically pressing for speakers, and excludes possible counterfactual situations from being valued as realis, even if they are in line with speaker epistemic stance. Anything counterfactual to present reality is automatically assigned irrealis value. This might but need not be considered as an instance of grammaticalization.

Given this use of the optative I tentatively suggest an understanding of modality in early Greek which accommodates a wider situational context than just speaker perspective, without returning to ideas of likelihood and reality. Factual happenings in the real world are a determining factor for modality and thus verbal mood.


The Greek language through the mirror of translation:
the verb γίνομαι in the New Testament

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This paper deals with the syntactic and semantic values of the verb γίνομαι and investigates them by comparing all occurrences of this verb in the New Testament and their translations in the Vulgate. The core idea is that translation is a peculiar case of language contact and that translated texts (an “external” point of view) allow us to find out some properties of the source language (an “internal” point of view) which it would be difficult to describe without this comparative perspective.
The verb γίνομαι occurs 667x in the NT. Besides the configurations in (a) and (b) which are attested since the Classical language, γίνομαι often occurs in sentences such as (c) and (d), in which the verb is impersonal and governs an accusative + infinitive clause (c) or an apparent coordinate clause (d):

(a) καὶ ἐκόπασεν ὁ ἄνεμος, καὶ ἔγένετο γαλήνη μεγάλη. (Mark 4.39)
   *Et cessauit uentus, et facta est tranquillitas magna.*

(b) τὰ δὲ ἰμάτια αὐτοῦ ἔγένετο λευκὰ ὡς τὸ ϕῶς. (Matthew 17.2)
   *vestimenta autem eius facta sunt alba sicut nix.*

(c) Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἐξελθεῖν αὐτόν εἰς τὸ ὄρος προσεύξασθαι. (Luke 6.12)
   *Factum est in illis diebus, exiit in montem orare.*

(d) Καὶ ἔγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν διδάσκων. (Luke 5.17)
   *Et factum est in una dierum, et ipse sedebat docens.*

This study aims at investigating the following aspects. From an “internal” perspective, the different syntactic configurations of the verb were analysed, paying special attention to types (c)-(d), which are presumably an innovation, because they were not attested in previous texts. In Classical Greek γίνομαι governs clauses introduced by ὡς and ὥστε but occurrences are rare, according to LSJ. In order to test this and provide evidence for the hypothesis that types (c)-(d) are innovations, the use of γίνομαι in a selection of Classical texts was analysed. From an “external” perspective, the translations of γίνομαι in the Vulgate were taken into account. Gr. γίνομαι mostly corresponds to Lat. fio in the Vulgate, but some cases of lack of correspondence are interesting because they reveal nuances of the Greek verb as well as peculiarities of the source construction, e.g. Mark 4.4: καὶ ἔγένετο ἐν τῷ σπείρειν translated by *et dum seminat*; Mark 4.10: Καὶ ὅτε ἔγένετο κατὰ μόνας, translated by *Et cum esset singularis*.

This study is corpus-based and adopts a distributional approach to the analysis of data. Besides the NT and the Vulgate, a selection of works by Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Eschine, Isocrates and Demosthenes were taken into account for diachronic investigation. All the relevant forms were extracted manually and electronically (e.g. TLG, Perseus 4.0 released on WWW).

Results are expected to be useful for both Greek and general linguistics: (a) an analysis of the uses of the verb γίνομαι in the NT as well as of its diachronic changes; (b) some insights into impersonal constructions.

The Perfect of Atelic Verbs in Homeric Greek

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There is still no agreement as to what unites the various readings of the Homeric perfect. The main value attributed to it is Stative-Resultative, denoting a state of the subject that presupposes a completed action (τέθνηκε ‘is dead’). When corresponding to a telic predicate, the perfect may also assume Experiential and
Habitual readings. Moreover, a ‘presentic’ use of the perfect is traditionally distinguished with sound verbs (βέβρυξε ‘roars’), but also more generally beside atelic verbs (e.g. γηθέω, γέγηθα ‘am glad’).

How are these and other functions of the perfect interrelated? Usually, Stative-Resultative is considered the dominant function, inherited from PIE, whereas plain Statives (also called ‘anomalous’ perfects) are explained as secondary developments from this original function (cf. Haug 2004; García Ramón 2006; and recently Allan 2016: 102ff.). The sound verbs are often viewed as secondary intrusions, too.

These mainstream views are challenged in various recent publications. Willi (2018: 225-244), in many respects following Berrettoni (1972), argues that the perfect originally referred to persistent situations or to actions that are habitually or generically performed by a subject. He derives both the Stative-Resultative reading and the sound verbs from this perfect of persistent situation. Magni (2017) argues that pluractionality (event plurality) forms the link between sound verbs and other readings like Habitual, Intensive, and Distributive perfect, but she does not explain the link with Stative-Resultative perfects.

In this paper I will evaluate these recent proposals against the Homeric evidence. The main question is: how does transforming a given predicate into the perfect stem change its semantics? Following Berrettoni, I claim that the perfect, in opposition to the present and aorist stems, represents an event as non-dynamic. Furthermore, the perfect signals that the subject takes part in the verbal predicate as a participant property (cf. Smith 1997: 107ff.).

This claim will be illustrated by reconsidering the perfects of a number of important activity verbs: γέγηθα, δέδορκα, μέμηλα, ἔολπα. My analysis of these verbs partly confirms García Ramón’s (2006) findings, but also deviates in important respects. In the process, I argue against the claim (reiterated by Magni 2017) that the perfect may convey intensive nuances. Furthermore, denoting event plurality (Magni) or habituality (Willi) are not distinctive functions of the perfect generally; they were originally connected with reduplication, before this was generalized as a morphological perfect marker.

Finally, I will sketch how the proposed function of the perfect stem may explain the coexistence of Stative-Resultative and Experiential readings (with telic predicates) and Habitual readings (with both telic and atelic predicates).

References:
Turn-Taking and Discourse Coherence in Ancient Greek: A Conversation Analysis Approach to the Dialogues of Plato

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This paper is part of a wider study focused on the imitation of human conversation to be found in the dialogues of Plato. With a combined methodological framework from Conversation and Discourse Analysis, my objective is approaching these philosophical dialogues —as much as it is possible— as lively portraits of Ancient Greek talk-in-interaction. A number of phenomena related to the completion of conversation as an activity and discourse production in this context, such as ritual phrases, question-reply pairs, repair, reformulation, etc. are within the scope of my research.

Objective
This paper aims to describe the dynamics of turn-taking in Platonic dialogue, (1) depicting a general overview of turn managing and allocation in those fictive conversations; (2) distinguishing conversational patterns and situations and giving an account of the formal procedures and discourse markers involved. Furthermore, (3) the conclusions drawn from this study will provide material for a critical approach to the works of Plato, by illustrating his technique of dialogue construction.

Methodological framework
The theoretical background of my methodology is stemmed from Conversation Analysis studies (see Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974 for a first approach to turn-taking). Within this framework, turns will be examined in connection with the general structure of talk-in-interaction—the role of adjacency pair constructions and its impact in turn-taking will be particularly considered (see Schegloff 2007; van Emde Boas 2017 for ancient Greek).

The study is corpus-based on the so-called mimetic dialogues of Plato (i.e. those composed as records of direct speech). Those including more than two characters will be examined: Laques (6 characters), Gorgias (5), Theaetetus (2+3), Meno (4), Sophist (4), Politicus (4), Philebus (4), Timaeus (4), Critias (4), Theages (3), Hippias minor (3), Cratylus (3).

Results
This research is currently a work-in-progress, but some of the results obtained so far point at a set of formal strategies repeatedly used by Plato, such as turn-initial markers (Laq.182d, ἀλλ' ἐστι μέν, ὦ Νικία, χαλεπὸν λέγειν), repetitions and other symmetrical figures (Laq.189b-c. λέγ' οὖν ὧν ὑπὸ σοι φιλον, μηδὲν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἠλικίαν ὑπόλογον ποιούμενος. {ΣΩ.} Οὐ τὰ ύμετερα, ὡς ἔοικεν, αἰτιασόμεθα μὴ ὑμῖν ἔτοιμα
εἶναι καὶ συμβουλεύειν καὶ συσκοπεῖν), addressee-oriented elements (such as vocatives), word order patterns, etc.

The results of this study will join an existing trend in Classics that seeks to explore the possibilities of Conversation Analysis methodologies within the corpus of ancient Greek literature. Most of the previous work on this topic has focused on tragic poetry; this paper will hopefully contribute to outline a more complete picture of Attic talk-in-interaction from one of its most celebrated imitations in prose.


The Greek suffixes in -θ-, -φ-, -ν-, and -αλ(λ)-: Traces of Non-Greek Origin?

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The nature and extent of Pre-Greek substrate has puzzled scholars for a long time, producing several, often speculative theories, but no convincing answers. ‘Pelasgian’, an IE, non-Greek substrate language (Georgiev 1941, van Windekens 1952, 1960), has been dismissed as untenable (Hester 1964), and even the range of elements in Greek that do not follow the rules that characterize the development from PIE to Greek and might have an IE, non-Greek origin (Strunk 2003) has been restricted by the finding of new phonetic sub-rules in Greek (Hajnal 2005).

My paper offers a case study that deals with the substrate problem in a delineated area. I argue that the Greek suffixes -θ-, -φ-, -ν-, and -αλ(λ)-, which all occur with the Greek word family in *koru-*, go back to a coalescence and have both a Greek and a non-IE Aegean origin. The former is confirmed by the existence, the latter by the lack of accepted IE etymologies of the nouns in which these suffixes occur. In addition, unlike in previous studies, the different origins can be materialized by identifying the suffixes with existing elements. I shall point to composition, case endings, and analogy as sources of the Greek suffixes. My argument in the case of the non-Greek origin tries a fresh and new, still experimental
approach. Correspondences in form and function with Etruscan nominal suffixes give a clue to their non-IE character. Etruscan shows striking resemblances with a language from Lemnos (Lemnian), and this can be understood as an indication that a similar language was originally spoken in the Aegean area (cf. Wallace 2008: 222, Facchetti 2002: 136).

θ (< loc. *-dʰi, e.g. κόρυ-θι > κόρυθ-ι → κόρυς, -ιθος ‘helmet’, lit. ‘thing on the head’, γυργαθός ‘wicker-basket’) and φ (< instr. *-bʰi, LB ko-ru-pi → κορυφή, κόρυφος ‘head, summit’) can be derived from PIE case endings. θ can be tracked further back to compounds with *dʰeh₁- ‘put’ as second element (αγαθός), and φ ultimately to animal name compounds with *bʰeh₂- ‘shine’ as second element (ἐλαφός ‘deer’). Conversely, whereas Etruscan -pi can only claim homophony, but has a contested function, θ features in many place and vessel names of non-Greek origin (Κάρπαθος; λήκυθος). Their local semantic suggests that they were derived from forms that featured a locative suffix similar to Etruscan -θι. The suffix -ν- occurs in nouns of PIE origin (άκόνη ‘whetstone, hone’ ← *h₂eḵ-) and foreign provenance (λάγυνός ‘bottle’) to which the Etruscan suffix -n attests that formed the accusative of pronouns and the archaic genitive of nouns. These forms in -n might have provided the starting point for the completion of a Greek paradigm (acc. ὥρκυν ‘tunny’ → ὥρκυνος, ὥρκυς) and the integration of these nouns into Greek. Lastly, the suffix -αλ(α) occurs in nouns of both IE (γνάφαλλον ‘flock of wool’) and non-IE origin (ἄρυβαλλος ‘purse’) and finds a phonetic match in the Etruscan and Lemnian second genitive suffix -αλ.


The impact of cartography on cardinal direction terms: evidence from Ancient Greek data

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According to an extensive typological study of cardinal direction terms (Brown 1983), these items are supposed to be relatively recent additions to lexicons of the world’s languages. The chief arguments are their etymological transparency in comparison to other spatial terms (such as “right/left”) and the fact that they cannot be reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European. According to Brown, absolute terms can only be helpful for mobile people, whereas languages of the remote past were spoken by small-scale societies. This explanation, however, contradicts the facts that some languages prefer absolute terms for describing small-scale spatial relations and that children tend to interpret ambiguous spatial terms as having geocentric or absolute meanings (Shusterman, Li 2016). I challenge this explanation based on data from Ancient Greek.

It is doubtful that absolute landmarks are indispensable to high mobility. People can think and speak about large-scale spatial relations not only in terms of cardinal directions and distances, but they can also represent them as routes to a destination. This strategy (known as hodological) was widespread in Ancient Greek spatial narratives, cf. Xenophon (Anab.6.4.1): ‘this portion of Thrace begins at the mouth of the Euxine and extends as far as Heracleia, being on the right as one sails into the Euxine’.

Here we observe a practical orientation strategy typical of the Greek periplus -- instruction for seafarers; it is juxtaposed to cartographic representation of space (Gehrke 1998: 189). Importantly, first maps served only as a supplement to a verbal description (Rood 2012: 133).

Hodological descriptions are still widespread in our everyday life: people show a strong preference for describing their apartments using itineraries (Linde, Labov 1975). This strategy is also reflected in grammar; cf. Talmey’s 2000 discussion of “access path” -- the strategy of marking location by directional expressions, specifying how one can reach the Figure’s location if they start from the Ground. Access paths are widely attested in Ancient Greek; I show that in texts from the VIII-III B.C., cardinal direction locatives are used mainly in dynamic constructions (88% of locative contexts), and most of them are marked by the allative preposition pros, e.g., ‘…towards the Bear (in the North)’.

I show that cardinal direction terms in Ancient Greek served as extraterrestrial landmarks in hodological narratives, along with other geocentric Grounds: in Od.5.276, e.g., Kalypso advises Odysseus to ‘keep the Bear on the left hand while sailing’, in Od.3.170 we observe the same construction with the island Chios as a landmark. I argue that absolute terms become cognitively salient as directions not with increasing mobility, but with the development of cartography.
and science, when the two-dimensional, cartographic way of describing large-scale spatial relations gradually replaces hodological descriptions. A similar process takes place in conventional spatial constructions: systems of access path expressions in modern descendants of Latin and Ancient Greek have been considerably reduced in favor of static strategies (Nikitina 2017: 79). These facts can be interpreted as evidence of parallel development and point to a common cognitive base underlying language-specific narrative and morphosyntactic strategies.

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Schreibregeln in den frühgriechischen Silbenschriften

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Die Schwierigkeit bei der Deutung mykenischer und kyprischer Texte liegt beim derzeitigen Forschungsstand nur noch selten an Problemen der Zeichendeutung. Vielmehr dreht sich die Diskussion meist um die Lesung von Wörtern in einem Schriftsystem, das nach traditioneller Auffassung als ungeeignet für die Verschriftlichung des clusterreichen Griechischen gilt. Allerdings gibt es mittlerweile neuere methodische Ansätze in der Schriftforschung, die für die Gräzistik nutzbar gemacht werden können. Am vielversprechendsten ist dabei das

Man hat demnach auf der einen Seite den Input einer Sprachäußerung, die verschlüsselt werden soll, auf der anderen Seite eine Reihe von Lösungsoptionen, deren jeweilige Vor- und Nachteile gegeneinander abgewogen werden müssen. Eine Grundannahme der OT ist nun, dass dieses Abwägen nicht in jedem Einzelfall (und schon gar nicht bewusst) durchgeführt wird, sondern dass durch ein hierarchisch gestaffeltes System von abstrakten Beschränkungen in einem sehr effektiven Filterungsprozess die unerwünschten Kandidaten aussortiert werden. Umgekehrt kann man einem gegebenen Schriftsystem also ansehen, nach welchem Ranking es strukturiert ist. Auf diese Weise lassen sich die von der traditionellen Gräzistik postulierten, mitunter sehr komplizierten Schreibregeln auf ein straffes System von Basisregeln zurückführen, beispielsweise die Regeln für die Schreibung von Konsonantencluster:

- Auslautkonsonanten werden nicht geschrieben
- Doppelkonsonanz wird nicht geschrieben
- vorkonsonantischer silbenschließender Konsonant wird nicht geschrieben.

Diese Regeln beruhen auf einer Basisregel "Silbenschließender Konsonant wird nicht geschrieben" (*Coda) beruhen. Diese einfache Regel beschreibt also den Unterschied zwischen myk.

ka-ke-u kʰal.keús „Metallarbeiter“
a-mo hár.mos „Rad“
a-pli-do-ra Am.phi.dō.ra
mi-ta mín.tha “Minze”
i-to-we-sa his.tó.ue.ssa „mit einem Mast versehen“

und

e-ri-[ke-re]-we PN. m. Eri.klē.uês
ku-[pi-ri]-jo kú.pri.jos „zyprisch“
a-da-ra-te-ja PN f. A.drásteia
e-ru-[to-ro] eru.thrós „rot“

Entsprechende Regeln kann man, wie im Vortrag gezeigt werden soll, für das Sonderproblem der s-Cluster oder für die Schreibung von Onsetclustern aufstellen. Der Vergleich der mykenischen Regeln mit denen des Kyprischen zeigt dann, dass dort nicht einfach nur Einzelprobleme anders gelöst werden, sondern das die kyprische Schrift ebenfalls optimalitätstheoretischen Prinzipien folgt, im Falle der Clusterschreibung z.B. einer Regel, die das Parsen von Konsonanten höher rankt als...
das Parsen von Vokalen. Schließlich erlaubt die Analyse der Schriftregeln auch
Rückschlüsse auf die Syllabifizierung der frühgriechischen Dialekte.
Für die Philologie des Frühgriechischen bietet das System der Schriftregeln ein
Instrumentarium, die den Interpretationsspielraum bei der Lesung von Wörtern
deutlich einschränken und die Deutungen damit erheblich erleichtern kann.

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