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A diachronic analysis of Ancient Greek adjectival constructions

Friday, June 27th, 10:30–12:00
Building H Entrance Hall (Poster Session)

Scholars usually agree PIE had the same parts of speech of Latin: nouns, verbs and adjectives: however, based on the scarcity of reconstructed adjectival roots, some scholars suggest that PIE might have been an “adjectiveless language” (Wackernagel 2009: 466, Lehmann 1974: 208, Comrie 1997: 101) and, more precisely, a language with verb-like adjectives (Bozzone 2016). In fact, whilst in Latin and Hittite the most typical adjective is stored in the lexicon, in ṚV Sanskrit it is of deverbal nature, being lexicalized adjectives the smallest minority (Alfieri 2020). As for Ancient Greek (AG), it stands somewhere in between these two types, since both lexicalized and deverbal adjectives are found.

This contribution aims at describing how the quality modifier construction (as intended in Croft 2001) changes throughout the diachrony of Ancient Greek, analyzing: 1) which quality modifier construction type increases in terms of productivity; 2) which quality modifier construction type decreases; 3) what is the position held by Ancient Greek among ancient IE languages as for the encoding of quality modifiers, comparing the data from Vedic, Hittite and Latin obtained from our previous research.

To do so, a sample of texts from three different chronological stages of the Ancient Greek language is selected (*scil.*, Homer, *Il.* I, *Od.* I; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* and *Areiopagiticus*; Plutarch, *Vita Demetrii*) and all its quality modifiers are gathered and classified in terms of types and tokens (total: 772 types for 1947 tokens). Thus, each quality modifier construction is parsed with a morpheme-based approach (Dressler *et alii* 1987) and they are divided into 7 broadly different construction types (*i.e.*, simple adjectives, prepositional adjectives, denominative adjectives, deverbal adjectives, participial adjectives, prefixed adjectives and compound adjectives). Then, the frequency of each construction type is established, distinguishing it into type and token frequency (Levshina 2021; Berg 2014). The following data is obtained:

	tokens			types		
	Homer	Isocrates	Plutarch	Homer	Isocrates	Plutarch
[adjective]-Agr	50,9%	73,6%	53,5%	35,8%	37,8%	25,3%
[preposition-ADJ]-Agr	0,5%	2,3%	0,8%	1,0%	2,2%	0,7%
[noun-ADG]-Agr	11,1%	5,1%	11,0%	12,4%	10,6%	15,1%
[verb-ADJ]-Agr	4,2%	3,3%	6,0%	6,2%	6,7%	6,3%
[verb-PTC]-Agr	11,7%	10,9%	16,6%	16,3%	27,8%	29,1%
[...]-[...]Agr	18,9%	2,9%	8,8%	25,4%	8,9%	16,8%
PRE-[...]-Agr	2,6%	1,9%	3,3%	2,9%	6,1%	6,7%

Results show that: 1) no significant change seem to occur to the morphological composition of the adjective class throughout diachrony, since already in the earliest stages of attestations, Ancient Greek comes with a consistent class of lexicalized adjectives, which remains quite stable in time; 2) there is a progressive increase in the use of participles, which sometimes become lexicalized (e.g., ὑπερβάλλων ‘extraordinary’); 3) some microvariation is observed in the productivity of suffixes (e.g., *-went- and *-ion- are found exclusively in Homer, unlike -iko- and -ino-, which appear from Classical Greek); 4) as far as compound adjectives are concerned, on the microvariation level we observe that the subcategory of left-headed verbal compounds falls completely out from Homeric Greek on (e.g., βωτιανείρα, cf. Tribulato 2015), while the overall variation seems to be linked mostly to the authors’ stylistic choices.

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This paper examines the conceptualization of the upper and lower limbs in Aristotle, focusing on the terms βραχίων and σκέλος and comparing their use with the broader Greek literary tradition, particularly Homeric Greek.

The various components of the upper and lower limbs form a kind of “anatomical chain” whose physical arrangement cannot be altered (*finger* → *hand* → *wrist* → *arm*, etc.). On the cognitive level, however, the conceptualization of this chain not only varies between languages but can also change over time within a single language (cf. Wilkins 1996: 273–274). Such variations arise because this “conceptual chain” is frequently influenced by shifts due to the contiguity between referents (cf. Blank 1997: 253–256). A common phenomenon is synecdoche, where the name of one part “A” comes to refer to an adjacent part “B” in the chain, resulting in a “synecdochic chain” of changes (termed a “part-whole chain” in Croft & Cruse 2004: 154).

Previous studies (e.g., Andrés-Alba 2023) have shown that Homeric Greek employed a system in which χεῖρ or πούς referred not only to the lower segments of the limbs (*hand* and *foot*), but also to the entire limb (*arm* and *leg*). This system—also found in Slavic languages (e.g., Russian *ruká* ‘hand, arm’ and *nogá* ‘foot, leg’)—persisted throughout the history of Greek and still applies in Modern Greek (χέρι, πόδι).

Aristotle’s system, however, departs significantly from this convention. In his anatomical descriptions, βραχίων and σκέλος are used to denote the whole arm and leg, respectively, as shown in example (1), while χεῖρ and πούς are restricted to the lower segments (*hand* and *foot*), as illustrated in example (2) for the the upper limbs. This contrasts with the common Greek system and aligns more closely with the conceptual systems found in Romance and Germanic languages.

- (1) Μέγιστα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὰδε τῶν μερῶν εἰς ἃ διαιρεῖται τὸ σῶμα τὸ σύνολον, κεφαλὴ, αὐχὴν, θώραξ, βραχίονες δύο, σκέλη δύο. (Arist. HA 491a 27–29)

Well, these are the main parts into which the body as a whole is divided: head, neck, torso, both *arms*, and both *legs*.

- (2) Κώλων δὲ τὸ μὲν διφυῆς βραχίων· βραχίονος δὲ ὤμος, ἀγκών, ὠλέκρανον, πῆχυς, χεῖρ· (Arist. HA 493b 26–27)

Both *arms* are part of the limbs: part of the *arm* are the shoulder, the elbow, the tip of the elbow, the forearm, and the *hand*.

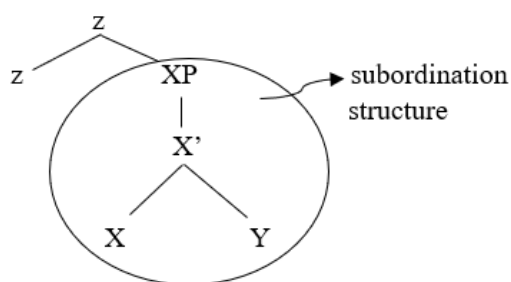
Building on this, we will analyze Aristotle's use of χεῖρ-βραχίων and πούς-σκέλος, demonstrating that this shift from the broader Greek conceptual system reflects a linguistic adaptation to meet the needs of scientific discourse. In other words, it may represent an intentional effort by Aristotle to distinguish, within his technical terminology, between the segmental and holistic cognitive levels within the conceptual chain (which would otherwise both be referred to as χεῖρ or πούς). Thus, this study highlights how shifts in conceptual frameworks and communicative priorities drive changes in the linguistic representation of anatomy.

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In this paper, we present and examine a typology of Classical Greek subordinate compounds, i.e. compounds the constituents of which stand in a head – complement relation (Scalise & Bisetto 2009), and we relate each type with a particular syntactic structure. In particular, we identify four types of subordinate compounds: (a) [N+N] compounds, where a noun takes another noun as its complement, e.g., *patr-adelp^h-os* ‘father-brother-sg.nom’ ‘father’s brother’; (b) [A+N] compounds, where transitive adjectives take a noun as their complement *ken-andr-os* ‘empty-man-sg.nom’ ‘empty of men’; (c) synthetic deverbal compounds, which include a verbal constituent and a nominal complement, e.g., *log-o-grap^h-os* ‘speech-lv-write-sg.nom’ ‘speech-writer’, *mis-ant^hro:p-os* ‘hate-human-sg.nom’ ‘people-hater’; (d) compounds that include a deverbal noun taking another noun as its complement, e.g., *r^hip-s-opl-os* ‘throw-nm-arm-sg.nom’ ‘the one who surrenders their arms’. Based on the definitions of compounding provided by Harley (2009) and Nòbrega and Panagiotidis (2020), we propose that subordinate compounds involve a compound structure the constituents of which stand in a head – complement relation, which is further embedded in a newly categorized formation.

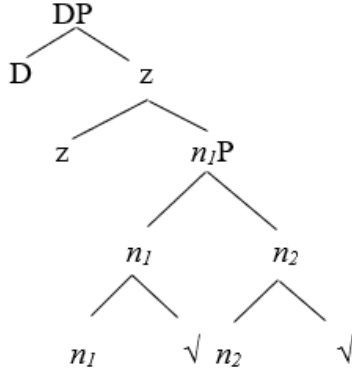
(1)



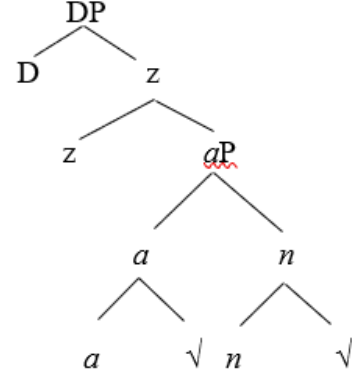
Based on (1), we propose the following structures for each type of subordinate compounds. In the first category ([N+N]), the compound members are nouns that display inalienable possession, so that the two elements are semantically dependent in the sense that one is intrinsically defined in terms of the other (see Alexiadou et al. 2007; Kotopoulis 2017). Thus, the two nouns form a head – complement relation (2). Similarly, in the second category ([A+N]), the compound members stand in a head – complement relation between a transitive adjective and a noun (Merchant 2019; Kotopoulis 2024) (3). In the third category (4), the structure involves a head – complement relation between a verb and a noun; a VoiceP is projected in the structure, because an agent is either

present or implied: in such a structure either the internal (*log-o-grap^h-os* ‘speech-lv-write-sg.nom’ ‘speech-writer’) or the external argument (*t^he-o-blab-ε:s* ‘god-lv-damage-sg.nom’ ‘one who is damaged by god’) is phonologically realized. In the fourth category (5), the compound members are a deverbal nominal formation (Alexiadou 2001; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2023, a.o.) and another noun which is the complement of the deverbal noun:

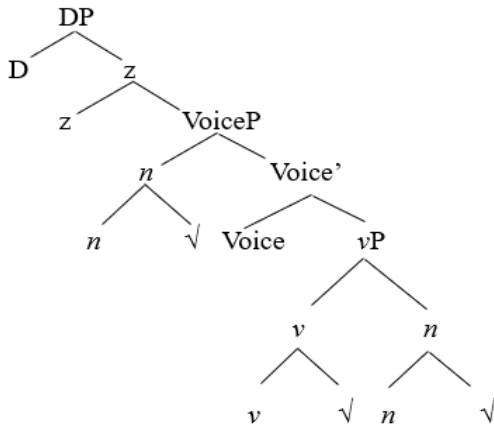
(2)



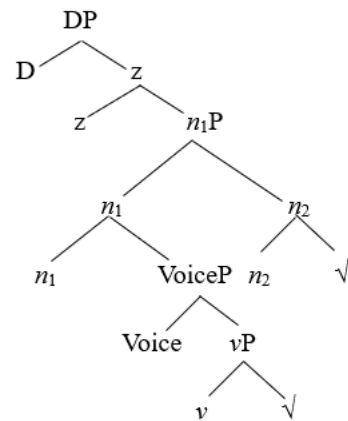
(3)



(4)



(5)



We will address a couple of issues that arise with respect to the various types. **(A)** The order of constituents in synthetic compounds. Both orders, V+N and N+V, are attested in Classical Greek, e.g., *p^her-e-oiko-s* ‘carry-lv-house-sg.nom’ vs. *oik-o-p^hor-os* ‘house-lv-carry-sg.nom’ ‘the one who carries his house’. We will argue that the order may be regulated by morphological reasons (see also Tribulato 2015), and more specifically by the choice of the exponent of the external nominalizer. Thus, suffixes which strictly attach to verbal bases, opt for the compound order [N+V]. In particular, the suffixes *-tō:r*, *-tē:s*, on the one hand, and *-ε:s*, on the other, strictly attach to verbal constituents to create nouns that denote the agent and adjectives respectively. When these suffixes realize the external *n* head of a synthetic compound, the order is strictly [N+V], so that the suffix attaches to a verbal constituent: *asmat-o-kamp-tē:s* ‘song-lv-twist-agn.sg.nom’ ‘twister of a song’; *paid-ole-*

tɔ:r ‘child-destroy-agn.sg.nom’ ‘child-murderer’; *t^hym-o-dak-ε:s* ‘heart-lv-bite-adj.sg.nom’ ‘heart-biter’. This word-order effect is better illustrated in the following minimal pair: *dak-e-t^hym-os* ‘bite-lv-heart-sg.nom’ vs. *t^hym-o-dak-ε:s* ‘heart-lv-bite-sg.nom’ ‘heart-biter’. Based on such distributional facts, we will establish a correlation between the linearization of the compound structure and the exponence of the external compound head. **(B)** The status of the deverbal nominal part of the fourth type of compounds. In examples like *r^hips-opl-os* (see above) the *s* consonant in the first constituent *r^hip-s* is not the perfective marker of the perfective verb forms (act.pfv.nonpst: *rhip-s-ɔ:* ‘I will throw’; act.pfv.pst: *e-rip-s-a* ‘I threw’), but the nominalizer *-si*, as indicated by the nominal formation *r^hip-si-s* ‘throw-nm-sg.nom’ ‘throwing’; the vowel *i* of the nominalizer is deleted in the relevant compound due to hiatus resolution. This is further verified by the existence of examples like *dε:k-si-it^hym-os* ‘the one who bites the heart’, in which the first constituent involves the root $\sqrt{\text{bite}}$ that forms perfective bases with the root allomorph *dak* and without the perfective suffix *-s* (act.pfv.pst: *e-dak-on* ‘I bit’). Thus, this first compound constituent may not be interpreted as a perfective verbal constituent. Based on such facts, we will argue that verbal constituents in both synthetic deverbal compounds and compounds with deverbal nouns do not involve an Aspect head and that the relevant verbal functional structure reaches up to the Voice projection.

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The present talk focuses on the co-occurrence of two negative markers in Ancient Greek. The research is based on traditional sources (Kühner & Blass 1890; Bizos 1947; Chantraine 1968; Humbert 1972; Smyth 1984; Wackernagel 2009 among others) and electronic Corpora (Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG), Perseus and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*) covering texts from Homeric Greek (8th c. BC) to Koine (4th c. AD).

It is known that Ancient Greek has two negative markers *οὐ* (with variants *οὐχί*, *οὐχ*) and *μή* which are typically in complementary distribution. *Οὐ* is mainly used in assertive statements (traditionally considered as ‘objective negation’), while *μή* appears in orders and wishes (‘subjective negation’).

(1) ἀλλ’ ὅμως οὐκ ἔτολμᾶτε ἀπολιπεῖν τὰς τάξεις¹ (Lysias, *In Alcibiadem*)

‘But still, you did not venture to desert your ranks’

(2) μή πρὸς θεῶν κήρυκα τολμήσης θενεῖν (Euripides, *Heraclidae*)

‘In the gods’ name, don’t dare to strike a herald’

Interestingly, the two negative markers can co-occur in the same clause, modifying the same element, with *οὐ* preceding *μή* resulting in a single semantic negation—an observation noted in both traditional and modern accounts (Moorhouse 1959; Denizot 2009; Chatzopoulou 2018)²:

(3) Οὐ μή παύσωμαι φιλοσοφῶν (Plato Phil. *Apologia Socratis*)

‘I shall never give up philosophy’

My research on TLG included the independent elements *οὐ* and *μή* as well as their compound forms such as *οὐδεῖς*, *οὐδέποτε*, *οὐκέτι* and *μήτε*, *μηδέ*, *μηδέποτε*, *μηδεῖς*, *μηδέν*, *μηδ’*, *μηκέτι*, *μηδέποτε*, *μηδεπώποτε* inter alia in the texts of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, among others, including both literary and non-literary sources. All examples were manually verified in context and checked for grammatical form and mood. Although some degree of morphological ambiguity was expected (e.g., future vs. aorist subjunctive), such cases proved to be very few and were cross-checked using contextual and grammatical criteria. After excluding all non-relevant examples, a total of 131 examples was retained. The findings

¹ All examples are taken from TLG and their translation is from Perseus.

² I leave aside the structure *μή οὐ* at present.

confirm that *οὐ μή* is followed by a verb in subjunctive or future indicative resulting in an emphatic denial, though not always. Moreover, the future indicative usually occurs in questions:

(4) *Οὐ μή προσοίσεις χεῖρα, μηδ' ἄψη πέπλων;* (Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 607)

‘Keep your hands from me! Do not touch my cloak!’

Proposed analysis: I argue that examples such as (3) and (4) should not be analyzed separately (contra Denizot 2009), but as syntactically unified cases, since *οὐ μή* also occurs with optatives (5), as well as participles and infinitives.

(5) *πάντ' ἐθέσπισεν καὶ τάπῃ Τροίᾳ πέργαμ' ὥς οὐ μή ποτε πέρσοιεν* (Soph, *Phil*, 611)

‘he foretold that they would never sack Troy’s towers’

More precisely, I will show that the structures in (3)-(5) should be treated as an instance of Negative Concord along the lines of Zeijlstra (2004, 2012) in which multiple negative elements result in one semantic negation. This is corroborated by the fact that sentences like (6) also result in one semantic negation containing compound elements of *οὐ* and *μή*:

(6) *Οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνῃ τῶν πολέμιων* (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 4.8.14.1)

‘Not one of the enemy will stand his ground any longer’

As for the emphatic effect, I argue that this is due to pragmatic reasons. Based on Horn’s *Division of Pragmatic Labour* (1984) (variation on Grice’s maxims), speakers tend to interpret structures like (3) with an emphatic interpretation. Since the speaker in the example above could express the same meaning with one negative marker but chooses a more elaborate form (with two negative markers), the hearer may assume that the speaker wants to convey some sort of emphasis. This mechanism of doubling, in which stressing occurs with repetition of an element is common also in other cases (examples from van der Wouden 1997:243).

(7) We are very, very happy with this result

(8) More bigger

Regarding the interpretation of *οὐ μή* in questions, Krifka (2012) argues that negated questions are biased questions in which apart from the illocutionary operator, there is an additional REQUEST operator asking the addressee to perform a certain speech act. Hence, the speaker asks from its addressee to perform a certain speech act in (4). Note that Denizot (2009) also translates examples like (4) as strong requests/ questions and not as prohibitions (cf. the translation in Perseus in (4)). Turning to Koine, it is confirmed that the emphatic interpretation is lost due to the widespread use of the structure. Following Jespersen (1917), when an element is weakened an additional element is introduced to strengthen its meaning. Wide use of the structure results in weakening of the emphatic interpretation, a fact that took place in Koine. As a result, a new element has to be introduced to reinforce the interpretation. This is the case with *οὐδ’οὐ μή* (instead of *οὐδέν μή*), which can be found in Koine (but not in Classical Greek):

(9) Οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῶ οὐδ' οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω. (Barsanuphis et Joannes, *Quaestiones et responsiones*, Epistle 74, line 32)

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**The continuum between coordination and subordination in Archaic Greek:
On the grammaticalization of ἄμα**

Wednesday, June 25th, 14:00
Room H339

The syntax of subordination in the early stages of ancient Indo-European languages is still a debated issue (cf. Cristofaro 2003, Viti 2013, Probert 2015 and references therein). Indeed, not all subordination strategies rely on specific lexical items or explicit markers, making it challenging to identify clause-linking patterns in many of the world's languages (cf. Haspelmath 2004, Gast & Diessel 2012). From a typological perspective, it is widely held that adverbs and prepositions are among the primary sources of both coordinating and subordinating markers, which are considered the result of a grammaticalization process (cf. Haumann 1997; Kortmann 1998). By using the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae database (TLG) as a digital corpus of Homeric Greek texts, this paper investigates the semantic and syntactic developments of ἄμα 'together; at the same time' (cf. Beekes 2010: 79), aiming to demonstrate that it can be considered the source of a grammaticalization process that gives rise to new linking strategies.

From a synchronic perspective, the analysis of all the occurrences of ἄμα in Iliad and Odyssey shows that this is a multifunctional term that involves a great variety of meanings, behaving as (i) an adverb with either spatial ('in the same place'), comitative, or temporal value (simultaneity), (ii) a preposition governing dative NPs, (iii) a preverb added to a specific class of verbs, with which it tends to constitute a syntactic and semantic unit, (iv) a connective adverb functioning as a coordinating conjunction, (v) a preposition introducing a subordinate clause.

From a diachronic perspective, based on different syntactic contexts, it turns out to undergo multiple grammaticalization processes (polygrammaticalization), evolving either from adverb into preposition or from adverb into conjunction, according to an evolution path that has been observed in other ancient Indo-European languages. Moreover, it is hardly surprising that a comitative marker can be recruited to express a conjunctive relationship (Mithun 1988: 338; Haspelmath 2004: 15). Indeed, previous studies have already classified Ancient Greek ἄμα as a 'conjunctive adverb' (Crespo 2011: 39; Jiménez Delgado 2018: 212; cf. Verano 2018: 127). In particular, it has been suggested that ἄμα functioned as a conjunctive adverb as early as Homer. However, it has been argued that such a function was limited to smaller syntactic units, such as NPs, APs, and AdvPs, and that only in the post-Homeric age did ἄμα extend to link broader clause or sentence-level structures (Conti

2012: 60–61). Unlike what was previously assumed (Schwyzer 1950: 534; Conti 2012: 45), I will attempt to show that already in Homer ἄμα began to function as a clause linking strategy. This development aligns with typological predictions suggesting that comitative markers like ‘with’ typically grammaticalize into clause-connecting markers only after an intermediate stage where they coordinate noun phrases (cf. Author 2025 and references therein). It is thus hypothesized that a former comitative adverb ἄμα underwent a grammaticalization process, giving rise to new categories such as conjunctive adverb and preposition, while still preserving its lexical adverbial function, conforming to the basic principle of functional and formal persistence in grammaticalization (Hopper 1991: 22; Lichtenberk 1991: 75). Gradually, both the conjunctive adverb and the preposition expanded into new syntactic contexts. On the one hand, in line with the well-known grammaticalization path comitative > np-and > sentence-and (Heine & Kuteva 2004: 83), ἄμα extended its coordinating function from NP to sentence level, connecting independent clauses. On the other hand, given the close typological correlation between the comitative function and the temporal meaning of simultaneity that gives rise to the grammaticalization path comitative > temporal (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2004: 89–90), ἄμα as a preposition evolved from a comitative marker added to temporal NP arguments to a marker introducing subordinate temporal clauses.

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Ancient Greek possesses a small group of adjectives in -δαπός derived from pronominal or adverbial bases and expressing origin or provenance. The two earliest-attested ones, άλλοδαπός ‘(coming) from somewhere else; foreign; strange’ and τηλεδαπός ‘(coming) from afar; from a distant country; distant’, are already a part of Homer’s language (*Il.*+), while the others (e.g. ποδαπός ‘from where?’ or ἡμεδαπός ‘from our land; native’) are post-Homeric. While this type has been recognized and discussed at least since Apollonius Dyscolus (*Pron. GG* 2,1.31.13–32.21), its origin has not yet been convincingly elucidated. Based on the comparison with the Latin local adjectives in *-inquus* (*propinquus* ‘near, close’, *longinquus* ‘remote, far off’) and with the Sanskrit adjectives in *-a(ñ)c-* (e.g. *pratyāñc-* ‘turned towards’), a PIE suffix **-enkʷ-(o)-*/**-ṇkʷ-(o)-* is often postulated (first by Saussure in 1876/77, see Amacker, Bouquet 1988, 235–7), and sometimes recognized in other IE formations (e.g. Hitt. *maninkuwa-* ‘nearby, short’, or Germanic adjectives in *-inga-/ -unga-*). In Greek, the suffix would have attached to the nom./acc. neut. sg. pronoun *ἄλλοδ < **al̥jod* ‘other, different’, producing άλλοδ-απός, whence it would have been reanalyzed as -δαπός.

Despite the relative success of this theory (Debrunner 1917, vol. 1, 189; Behn 1991), cogent criticisms were raised since Meillet (1928; see also Szemerényi 1955, 59–60). Among other problems, the selection of a nom./acc. form (as opposed to the stem) as a derivational basis would be highly unusual. Moreover, the Indo-European connections may prove fragile, since not only there is not a single word-equation between the several branches, but different and often better explanations have been proposed for all the alleged cognates of Gk. -δαπός (see e.g. Steer 2015, 223–6 on Ved. *-añc-*; Schaffner 2015 on Gmc. *-inga-*, *-unga-*; Frotscher, Kroonen, Barðdal 2020 on Hitt. *maninkuwa-*; Matasović 2021, 70–1 on Lat. *-inquus*).

In this paper, I aim to propose a novel interpretation for the origin and spread of -δαπός, building on the observation (Buttmann 1818, vol. 1, 125–6; Szemerényi 1955, 61 n. 2) that it would be fitting for adjectives of provenance to somehow contain the preposition ἀπό ‘away from’. However, Szemerényi’s reconstruction of the hypostasis of a prepositional phrase **ḥsmed apo* > *ἡμεδ ἀπο ‘from us’ is unlikely, not least because ἡμεδαπός (Ar.+) is clearly late. I argue that a different solution is at hand if, instead of άλλοδαπός or ἡμεδαπός, we assume that the model for all the other forms was τηλεδαπός (2x *Il.*; 7x *Od.*). In Homeric Greek, the adverb τῆλε ‘far’ quite often occurs reinforced by ἀπό, functioning almost as a compound adverb/preposition (Bortone 2010, 131–2); this

combination is realized as ἀπὸ τῆλ(ε) (*Od.* 3.313, 15.10), τῆλ' ἀπὸ (*Il.* 17.301), and most often as τῆλε δ' ἀπ(ό) (*Il.* 16.117, 22.468, 23.880; *Od.* 5.315). As a compound adverb/preposition, τῆλε+ἀπό would have been eligible as a derivational basis for a deadverbial local adjective (cf. ἀπό → ἄπιος 'distant'; see Bologna, Dedè 2021). But since in the Homeric language the abstract combination "τῆλε+ἀπό" most often took the shape τῆλε δ' ἀπ(ό), it stands to reason that the latter sequence would have been selected by an epic singer who wished to employ the syntagm adnominally (cf. Eng. adv./prep. *far away (from)* → adj. *faraway* as in a *faraway* land), perhaps first in the verse-end formula (*Il.* 21.454 ~ 22.45) περάαν (περνάς) νησῶν ἔπι τηλεδαπᾶων 'to sell [someone as a slave] on faraway islands'. However, since a hypothetical **τηλεδάπιος could not be used in hexameters, the adverbial expression was adjectivized by simply replacing the final vowel of ἀπό with the thematic endings (for deadverbial adjectives derived by simple thematization, cf. ἀντίος 'opposite' ← ἀντί 'over against'; ὑπέρα 'upper rope', ὕπερος/-ον 'pestle' ← *ὕπερος 'superior, standing above' ← ὑπέρ 'above'). As τηλε- was commonly used as a 1st compound member in Homer, τηλεδαπός was open to reinterpretation as a compound with a 2nd member -δαπός, which would have been understood as expressing origin or provenance, and could now enter in composition with other bases. Already in the epic tradition it formed a compound with ἄλλο-, also very common as 1st member in terms relating to 'foreignness'. I end by tracing the further spread of -δαπός in later Greek, arguing that the remaining forms were modelled on Homeric ἄλλοδαπός and, to a lesser extent, on τηλεδαπός. In conclusion, I hope to show that the Greek adjectives in -δαπός do not support the reconstruction of a PIE local suffix *-enkʷ-(o)-/*-ḡkʷ-(o)-, and that both the origin and the spread of this suffix can be better explained by inner-Greek processes, in which the creativity of the Homeric *Kunstsprache* played a crucial role.

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How to mitigate and intensify in Face-Threatening Acts (FTA) in Aristophanic comedy

Friday, June 27th, 12:00

Room H340

The primary objective of this paper is to investigate how the characters in Aristophanes' comedies—particularly in his politically charged plays *Acharnians*, *Knights*, and *Wasps*—modulate the intensity of their expressions in contexts where their social face is at risk. This modulation occurs either to protect the face of others or to harm it.

In everyday discourse, speakers commonly employ a variety of conversational strategies to ensure that communication proceeds smoothly, minimizing tension or conflict between the interests of the Speaker (S) and the Listener (L). In this regard, Brown and Levinson (1987, 61–64) propose that participants in a communicative exchange possess distinct social faces: a positive face—the need to be appreciated—and a negative face—the need to avoid imposition—. These social faces are subject to enhancement or threat throughout a conversation. Brown and Levinson further distinguish between strategies that reinforce the positive face—referred to as positive politeness—and those aimed at preserving the negative face—negative politeness—. These latter strategies function to prevent face-threatening acts in situations in which one participant risks causing significant harm to the other's social face.

It is, therefore, natural for participants in a conversation to continuously adjust their expressions, not only to align with the situation but also to accommodate to the speaker they are addressing. The modulation of intensity in a speaker's interventions, to some degree, reflects the speaker's level of involvement with the content of their message, as these discursive choices are directly influenced by such variations (Caffi 2007, 1–3; Briz-Albelda 2013, 292). In this sense, a speaker can either mitigate their language to align with the interlocutor (mitigation) or intensify their expression to signal a stronger commitment to the message (intensification). Mitigation serves to ensure that communication unfolds in the least threatening manner possible, meaning that the social face of neither participant is significantly harmed. In contrast, intensification serves to emphasize a particular aspect of the statement or to demonstrate greater personal involvement in the speech act (Vigara Tauste 1992; Albelda 2005, 19).

As Albelda (2005, 19) notes, both intensification and its counterpart, mitigation, function as pragmatic strategies employed to regulate conversation. Our hypothesis is that, just as the study of these pragmatic strategies has significantly advanced our understanding of modern languages with respect to interactional processes and information exchange (cf. Fraser 1980; Albelda 2005; Caffi

2007; Briz-Albelda 2013, et al.), their application in Ancient Greek —particularly in the Attic dialect used in Aristophanic comedy (cf. Lloyd 2021: Unceta-Berger 2022)— can offer valuable insights into not only the nature of the relationships between characters but also the dynamics of information exchange.

The conversational language of Aristophanic comedy encompasses a wide range of distinctive features of contemporary Attic, across all its levels: from colloquial expressions conveyed through metaphors, proverbs, and crude or vulgar language, to the satirical critique of the sophisticated rhetoric of the sophists, as well as the nuanced representation of various social dialects and sociolects. All of these linguistic traits are framed within the conventions of the genre (López Eire 1996, 11–30). Given that the language of Aristophanic comedy is intricately tied to the language of Classical Athens, the study of pragmatic strategies such as intensification and mitigation plays a critical role in moments when two or more characters engage in verbal confrontations that pose a severe threat to their respective social faces. This is particularly evident in the *agônes*. For instance, in *Eq.* (284–460), the first *agôn* of the play, the Paphlagonian and the Sausage-Seller engage in a bitter verbal exchange, displaying considerable impoliteness toward one another; or in *V.* (526–724), where Philocleon and Bdelycleon are embroiled in a complex dialectical confrontation.

Thus, the goal of this paper, as stated above, is to analyze how characters in *Acharnians*, *Knights*, and *Wasps* either mitigate or intensify their expressions during verbal disputes, either to soften the impact of their words or to make their speech more forceful and threatening.

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The Classical Greek infinitive, well-known for its multifunctionality and high frequency, experienced significant functional and formal constraints during the Post-classical period, ultimately being supplanted by finite clauses (Bentein 2018). However, alongside these restrictions, new forms and functions of the infinitive emerged, such as its use in dependent deliberative questions (Kavčič 2004). These innovative developments suggest that the decline of the infinitive was not a simple, linear reduction but rather a complex, nonmonotonic process characterized by periods of both contraction and expansion—an ‘ebb-and-flow’ progression (Joseph 2024).

In this contribution, I examine the ‘independent’ (‘finite’) use of the infinitive, a construction type already attested in the Classical period (Keydana 2017). In this period, the infinitive could carry a reportative value, typically found in narrative texts (Bary 2018), or a directive value, frequently used in laws and decrees (Allan 2010). During the Post-classical period, a new application of the infinitive emerges, which can be witnessed in Greek contracts. In these documents, infinitives commonly follow the verb *ὁμολογῶ* (“I agree”) or similar expressions marking the commencement of the contract’s main body. While in longer contracts this matrix verb might be repeated, it is more often omitted, leaving the infinitive to function independently. For instance, in (1), the clause *καὶ εἶναι περὶ σοῖ* (l. σέ) *τὸν ὠνούμενον* is not embedded in a matrix clause. Here, the placement of the infinitival clause after a finite clause (*ἀπέσχον*) already reflects a degree of independence. In other examples, such as (2), the matrix verb is entirely absent, with *τελέσιν* directly coordinated with *ἐμίσθωσεν*, leaving the subject shift unmarked.

- (1) *ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι σοι ἅ (l. ἀπό>) τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τὰς ὑπαρχούσας μοι ... (ἀρούρας) ζ | ... τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνπεφ-λωνημένην τιμὴν ... ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ <τοῦ> ὠνούμενου | ... καὶ εἶναι περὶ σοῖ (l. σέ) τὸν ὠνούμενον καὶ τοὺς παρὰ σοῦ τὴν τῶν πεπραμένων σοι ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται κατοικικῶν ἀρουρῶν ἑπτὰ κυρίαν (l. κυρείαν) καὶ κράτησιν* (Stud. Pal. XX 80, ll. 2–5 [321 AD] = TM 17714)

“I declare that, from now on and for all time, I have sold to you the seven arouras belonging to me ... I have immediately received from you, the buyer, the agreed purchase price ... and you, the buyer, and your successors have the right of ownership and disposal over the seven arouras of katoic land sold as described.”

(2) ἐμίσθωσεν Αὐρήλιος Ἀφῦγχις Ὡρου | ... Αὐρηλία | Μαρία Παθερμουτίου μη(τρὸς) Ἀττίας
|... τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ | πόλει ... ὁλόκλη-|ρον οἰκίαν καὶ ἔθριον (l. αἶθριον) καὶ
αὐλήν καὶ κατὰ-|κιον (l. κατὰγειον) ... | καὶ **τελέσιν** (l. τελέσειν) ὑπὲρ ἐνοικίου κατὰ μῆ-|να
ἕκαστον ... (P.Oxy. XLVIII 3384, ll. 3–14 [331 AD] = TM 22480)

“Aurelius Aphynchis, son of Horus ... has leased to Aurelia Maria, daughter of Pathermutius and Attia ... the whole house, court-yard, side-court and cellar which belong to him in the same city ... and she shall pay for rent each month ...”.

My aim is to examine this use of the infinitive from both syntactic and pragmatic perspectives. Pragmatically, I will analyze the types of contracts in which this usage occurs, the structural segments where it is found, the pragmatic values it conveys, and the degree of formulaicity associated with its various uses. Syntactically, I will consider factors such as the presence or absence of the matrix verb, the distance from the matrix verb (if present), distinctions between main and subordinate clause usage, collocations with specific discourse particles, and whether there is coreferentiality with the matrix verb. The data for this study are drawn from a project that exhaustively annotated the functions of the infinitive in a corpus of nearly 5,000 documentary texts—including letters, petitions, and contracts—dating from the first to the eighth century AD. This survey seeks to clarify whether the so-called ‘independence’ of these infinitives aligns with true ‘insubordination,’ as defined in recent studies (e.g. la Roi 2021; 2024)—a reanalysis of subordinate structures as independent forms, often associated with new pragmatic functions. Instead of framing this as a binary matter, I propose that the uses of the infinitive in Greek contractual writing are better understood along a continuum, with certain instances appearing more advanced along this trajectory than others. This continuum-based perspective aligns with recent research on Dutch insubordinate infinitives (Van den Stock, Wit, and Gras 2023) and with broader applications of insubordination to Greek (Ruiz-Yamuza 2020). Moreover, it extends to other independent uses of the Post-classical infinitive beyond contractual contexts. This approach not only enhances our understanding of the Post-classical infinitive's evolution but also holds practical implications for papyrological scholarship. Specifically, infinitives in contracts are sometimes edited out and reinterpreted as finite forms, but this may in fact be unnecessary.

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Σχιζόπους “aux pieds divisés”, μίξοφρυς “aux sourcils confondus”, etc. : Quelle forme prennent les adjectifs verbaux et les participes en premier membre de composition ?

Thursday, June 26th, 17:00

Room H340

Le grec ancien comporte une classe de composés nominaux dont le premier membre repose sur un verbe, du type de φερέοικος ‘qui porte sa maison’, φυγοπόλεμος ‘qui fuit la guerre’ ou μεμψίμοιρος ‘qui blâme le destin, qui se plaint’. Contrairement à la plupart des autres composés du grec ancien, ces composés ont la particularité d’avoir un premier élément régissant : le second membre correspond à un argument (le plus souvent l’objet) du verbe sur lequel est basé le premier membre.

Certains composés à premier membre verbal semblent cependant échapper à ce modèle. Par exemple, les termes aristotéliens σχιζόπους et σχιζόπτερος ne désignent pas un animal ‘qui divise les pieds’, ou un animal ‘qui divise les ailes’, mais plutôt un animal ‘aux pieds divisés’ (fissipède ou animal au sabot fendu) ou un animal ‘aux ailes divisées’ (en plumes, c’est-à-dire un oiseau). Certaines expressions d’Aristote vont dans le sens de cette analyse : on remarque, par exemple, qu’Aristote oppose les animaux σχιζόπτερα à la périphrase ὅσα ἄλλα ἔχει ἄσχιστον τὸ πτερόν (HA 519a27–28).

L’étude de composés comme σχιζόπους et σχιζόπτερος pose deux questions étroitement liées. Tout d’abord, la structure du composé peut-elle être non ‘qui divise les pieds’ mais ‘aux pieds divisés’ ? Dans ce dernier cas, un composé comme σχιζόπους serait un composé possessif, comparable à στεγανόπους ‘aux pieds palmés’ (antonyme de σχιζόπους quand il s’agit d’oiseaux) ou aux composés qui indiquent le nombre de pattes de l’animal (ἄπους, πολύπους, δίπους, τετράπους, etc.). Si σχιζόπους est un composé possessif, désignant un animal ‘qui a les pieds divisés’, le premier élément fonctionne comme modifieur du second, donc joue le rôle d’un adjectif verbal ou d’un participe. D’où la seconde question : si le premier membre représente l’adjectif verbal σχιστός ou le participe ἐσχισμένος, comment s’explique sa forme σχιζο-, qui correspond au thème verbal nu ?

Notre contribution vise à répondre à cette seconde question, en explorant la possibilité de mettre à jour, pour le grec ancien, une loi morphologique qui contraindrait la forme prise par un adjectif verbal ou un participe quand il figure comme premier membre de composition.

La perte des éléments suffixaux des premiers membres de composition a déjà été remarquée, mais elle n’a pas fait l’objet d’attention particulière dans le cas des composés dont le premier membre repose sur un adjectif verbal ou un participe, probablement car ces derniers ne sont pas très nombreux. Dans le cadre de notre enquête, on commencera donc par chercher les autres composés qui

présentent une structure similaire à σχιζόπους et σχιζόπτερος, afin de déterminer s'il y a une régularité morphologique dans la forme prise par les premiers membres de composés basés sur des adjectifs verbaux ou des participes.

Il s'agira en premier lieu de s'interroger sur le caractère exceptionnel ou non de ces formations. Les composés comparables à σχιζόπους et σχιζόπτερος que nous avons pu relever sont majoritairement des hapax ou des formes isolées, surtout présents en poésie, et on peut souvent identifier des motivations spécifiques à leur création (allusions intertextuelles, jeux de mots, contraintes métriques, etc.). Malgré cela, les points communs que présentent ces composés empêchent de les considérer comme des formes purement artificielles, qui n'entreraient pas dans le système de la langue. Ainsi, σχιζόπους et σχιζόπτερος peuvent être rapprochés de *στρεψίκερος '(antilope) aux cornes torsadées' (Plin. *strepsiceroti*) et κρυπόρχης 'aux testicules non descendus' (Sor. 4.2.40) qui appartiennent également à la langue technique, et de βυσσάχην 'au cou bourré' (Xenarch. fr. 1 K.-A.), στρεψάχην 'au cou tordu' (Theopomp.Com. fr. 55 K.-A.) et μίξοφρυς 'aux sourcils confondus' (Cratin. fr. 470 K.-A., Pherecr. fr. 21 Demianczuk), présents dans la comédie. Ces exemples, ainsi que d'autres, confirment le fait que les adjectifs verbaux ou les participes perdent leur suffixe caractéristique quand ils figurent en premier membre de composition, et prennent la même forme que les premiers membres des composés de rection verbale progressive (type φερέοικος, φυγοπτόλεμος ou μεμψίμοιρος).

Une fois reconnue l'existence de cette règle synchronique, on pourra tenter de remonter à ses origines, d'explorer les causes de sa mise en œuvre et de découvrir si des développements ont fait évoluer cette règle au cours de l'histoire du grec.

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In a famous lecture on Indo-European poetic language and clitic placement, Jacob Wackernagel argued, among other things, that in Homeric passages such as A 8 (τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; «Who then of the gods was it that brought these two together to contend?»), one should read ταρ instead of τ'ἄρ (Wackernagel 1892). There is no agreement in the textual tradition, since the Venetus A and the grammarians Apollonius Dyskolos and Herodian have ταρ, while the majority of the other manuscripts have τ'ἄρ. Modern editions disagree as well: just to give a few examples, the 'standard' text by Munro and Allen in OCT has τ'ἄρ, while the Teubner text by West and the Belles Lettres edition have ταρ all in one word (cf. Reece 2009: 217–218 for a complete overview of the treatment of this particle in modern editions).

In his 1995 book, Watkins supported Wackernagel's reconstruction by observing that Homeric τίς ταρ would find a striking parallel in Cuneiform Luwian *kuiš-tar*, found in one of the so-called 'Songs of Istanuwa' (Watkins 1995: 150–1):

(1) *KUB* 9,6 iii 25–7; Starke 1985: 115

kuiš-tar malḫaššaššanzan en-ja ādduḡala ānniti a-an dingir^{meš}-inzi āḫḫa nātatta tatarḫandu

“Whoever acts evil against the celebrant (lit. the lord of this rituals), may the gods crush him like reeds”.

The enclitic particle *-tar* is found in “Wackernagel position” in other Luwian texts, but there is no consensus on its meaning, as it is usually regarded as a *Satzeinleitende* particle without particular connotations. Furthermore, this particle is also found attached to a clause-initial finite verb in Luwian. According to Watkins, if one decides to read other Homeric instances of τ'ἄρ as ταρ, there could be a pattern consisting of initial verb + enclitic *-tar*, which would be a construction only shared by Greek and Luwian in the second millennium. This reconstruction has had some success in recent scholarly literature (e.g. Melchert 1994: 260, 2004; Martin 2000: 56–7, Pulleyn 2000: 123, Reece 2009: 217–30; Katz 2007), but also found some strong criticism: in particular, the Luwian origin of the Greek particle is doubted on morphological, functional, and positional grounds (Dunkel 2008, Yakubovich 2010, Hajnal 2018).

Despite the lively debate of the past few years, most accounts are still based on the data originally collected by Watkins. There are some recent treatments of Greek ταρ/τ'ἄρ (Reece 2009, Dunkel 2008), but the Luwian data have never been examined in their entirety. This paper aims at filling

such a gap, by giving a new account of Luwian *-tar* based on the whole available evidence and by re-evaluating the contact hypothesis in light of the current discussion on Graeco-Anatolian contacts.

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Le verbe grec ἀμᾶω “moissonner” et l’allongement métrique de sa première syllabeFriday, June 27th, 12:00Room H338

Depuis les néogrammairiens, on distingue deux verbes ἀμᾶω : l'un qui veut dire « moissonner », l'autre qui signifierait « amasser ». Le premier aurait dans la langue homérique un /a/ initial long et une flexion active ; le second aurait eu un /a/ bref et une flexion moyenne. Celui qui signifie « moissonner » serait apparenté au germanique **mēa-* (< **h₂meh₁-*) qui a donné all. *māhen*, angl. *mow*, celui qui signifie, dit-on, « amasser » se reliait à la racine du verbe lituanien *semiù*, *sémti* « puiser ». Certains ont même voulu un troisième verbe qui reposerait sur une racine **iām-/iām-*. Il importe donc de reprendre les données et de les ordonner.

En réexaminant les principales attestations d' ἀμᾶω et des formes préverbées ἀπ-, δι-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, κατ-, οὐν-ἀμᾶω et en prenant en compte les caractéristiques de l'hexamètre dactylique et les contraintes que l'hexamètre impose aux différentes formes verbales et nominales de cette famille de mots, nous arrivons à la conclusion que le verbe « moissonner » et celui qui semble signifier « amasser » possédaient tous les deux un /a/ bref et que l'/a/ long de ἀμᾶω dans la langue épique n'est pas une bizarrerie, mais un allongement métrique tout à fait ordinaire et régulier. En ce qui concerne le sens, nous nous attachons à montrer que « moissonner » peut non seulement devenir un substitut expressif de « couper », mais peut aussi aboutir non pas au sens d' « amasser », qui est en fait une illusion, mais au sens de « répandre » (comme un moissonneur répand ce qu'il coupe, de façon uniforme), et aussi au sens de « déblayer », l'idée étant de faire place nette, comme lorsqu'on moissonne un champ.

Nous établissons donc que les différentes formes citées ci-dessus reposent sur une seule et même racine verbale, qui avait probablement dès l'indo-européen le sens technique de « moissonner ». Nous tentons également de préciser la structure morphologique du verbe ἀμᾶω et de répondre à la question de savoir si c'était un verbe primaire ou un dénominatif. Les tablettes mycéniennes ont livré plusieurs attestations d'un substantif *a-ma*, qui paraît signifier « récolte » et qui représente phonétiquement, selon toute vraisemblance, /amā/. En se fondant sur cette forme, qui n'est plus vivante au premier millénaire, nous proposons de reconnaître dans ἀμᾶω un verbe dénominatif (« faire la récolte », d'où « moissonner »). En latin, le verbe *met-ō* est primaire et le substantif *messis* « moisson » est secondaire (**met-ti-s*). En grec, au contraire, comme en français, le

substantif est primaire et le verbe en est dérivé : /amā/ a fourni ἀμάω, comme fr. « moisson » a fourni « moissonner ».

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Case attraction on infinitive clauses (contrast item (1–a) with item (1–b) below) has been analysed over the recent years as a idiosyncratic and strictly syntactic construction (Tantalou 2003, Spyropoulos 2005 and Sevdali 2013a; 2013b), lacking many parallels across either ancient or modern languages and across other linguistic phenomena. In this paper, I offer a new assessment of the process, arguing that case attraction is similar in nature and distribution to *agreement / concord*, namely similar to the cases of *non-canonical agreement* and *long distance agreement* (as discussed in Corbett 2006).

- (1) συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινοῦσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας.
advice.3SG X.DAT.SG going.ACC.SG to-Delphi ask.INF the-god.DAT.SG about-the-travel
He advises Xenophon to go to Delphi and ask the god about the travel. (Xen. *Anab.* 3.1.5)
- (2) ἀφῆκε μοι ἐλθόντι πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγειν τὰληθῆ.
allowed.3SG PRON.1SG.DAT going.DAT.SG in-front-of-you say.INF the-truth.ACC.
He allowed me to go and speak the truth in front of you. (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.13)

The evidence across natural languages shows that non-canonical agreement / concord takes place in a non-deterministic fashion as semantic or pragmatic features of the sentence appear more marked, which is similar to the contexts associated with case attraction assumed by grammarians as early as Buttmann (1826), contexts in which some sort of *emphasis* is assigned to the target of attraction making it more likely to be attracted. Although the intuition seems to be sound, there is little to no specificity in what is denoted by emphasis and the explanation is prone to ad hoc interpretations.

Using data from literary sources of Classical Greek, including oratory speeches, drama, historiography and philosophical dialogues from Attic and Ionic sources, I provide a data driven quantitative analysis of the contexts in which case attraction is a possible agreement / concord resolution. The addition of Ionic sources is due to the fact that it has been assumed that case attraction is more common if not the rule in the Attic dialect (e.g. Buttmann 1826, *passim.* and Cooper and Krüger 1997, *ad loc.*). The data has been collected and annotated in a combination of manual and computational methods using the Diorisis Ancient Greek Corpus (Vatri and McGillivray 2018).

A quantitative analysis of case attraction requires caution in the methodological approach, as semantic and pragmatic features are often latent, i.e. not explicitly present in the morpho-

phonological level, and the use of proxies such as word classes, constituent distance and word order may hinder the quality of the results and the causal inference built upon them. As such, our analysis rely on the causality analysis (e.g. Pearl 2009) and Bayesian modelling (e.g. McElreath 2020), which I argue could enhance the results of data driven linguistic research by including at the quantitative analysis the qualitative knowledge built on the Ancient Greek and general linguistics. The analysis must be thus twofold. Firstly, it assess how the linguistic and extralinguistic factors could reasonably be causally linked with case attraction, so as to inform the statistical modelling and tell what effects are possible to estimate from the data. Later, a general linear model is built as to adequately estimate the direct effects of semantic and pragmatic factors on case attraction and the interactions between linguistic and extralinguistic variables.

The preliminary results show that a) there is solely a weak direct effect from authorship or genre on the likelihood – even though with a great deal of uncertainty – once the data is stratified by structural linguistic factors, and b) the direct effects of class of main verb and of the predicate vary across dialects, Attic being more sensitive than Ionic, whereas the effect of distance between the matrix oblique object and infinitive secondary predicate is regularly negative – i.e. the further away the controller and target of case attraction are, the lower the likelihood of case attraction. These results still show a big level of uncertainty, except for the effect of word distance and order.

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The diffusion of the Rhodian infinitive in the Southern Dodecanese and in SicilyThursday, June 26th, 11:30Room H338

Infinitives are a puzzle for PIE reconstruction (e.g., García Ramón 1997, 2009; Lundquist & Yates 2018: 2170) and there is no single morpheme universally shared by all daughter languages that is recognized as the infinitival morpheme for the PIE phase. However, it seems clear that forms of deverbal action nouns (e.g., **-to*, **-so*), in the accusative, dative, and locative cases, must have functioned as infinitival forms in PIE. Furthermore, a variety of morphemes is reconstructed for the prehistory of Greek (e.g., thematic stems **-sen*, **-men* and **-menai*; athematic, but also thematic **-nai*), often explained as the endless locative stems of action nouns in **-s-en* and **-m-en*.

Greek infinitives also show a great deal of variation, especially from a dialectal point of view. In this paper, I will analyze the diatopic and diaphasic distribution of the infinitive *-μεiv* across the dialects, while taking into account the types of stems involved, both on a phonetic and morpho-syntactic point of view. Traditionally (Buck 1955), the athematic infinitive *-μεiv*, generally termed ‘Rhodian’, has been interpreted as an analogy to the thematic *-ειv* infinitive. The morpheme *-ειv* is the outcome of *-εν* (from **-ehen* < **es-en*, cf. Myc. *e-ke-e*, still present as *-εν* in some Doric and Arcado-Cypriot dialects), and it reflects an old locative of an *s*-stem noun, well attested in other Indo-European languages. Rhodian *-μεiv*, as well as Cretan *-μην*, would be a lengthened version of the well attested *-μεν* infinitival morpheme.

In order for the analogy *εν : ειv = μεν : μεiv* to work, one needs to have *-ειv* and *-μεν* endings attested in the variety where the *-μεiv* infinitive is supposed to have originated. Rhodes fits these conditions, as we find both *-μεν* (e.g. *καθάμεν*, Clara Rhodos 9 211, 440–420 BCE), and *-ειv*, both in the present infinitive (e.g., IG XII¹ 1033) and in the thematic infinitive perfect *-ειv* (e.g., *γεγόνειv*). However, *-μεiv* is attested well beyond Rhodes, both in its surrounding areas, in the Aegean, and in the Sicilian colonies, with variation both concerning the stems to which the morpheme applies, and in the registers in which it is attested.

To understand the paths of diffusion of *-μεiv*, I will investigate its distribution in the inscriptions from the southern Dodecanese, especially the islands of Karpathos and Kasos, Kalymna and Tilos, the area of the south-east Aegean *koiná*. Then, keeping also into account sporadic attestations of the morpheme across the Aegean (e.g. on Crete), I will analyze the inscriptional and literary evidence from the colonial setting of Sicily.

In Sicily, coexistence between and contact among both Ionic (e.g., Zankle, Himera, Katane) and Doric peoples and dialect, and especially different subvarieties of Doric (e.g., Corinthian for Syracuse, Rhodio-Cretan for Gela, and Megarian in Selinous), led to the formation of a Doric *koiná*. While the inscriptional evidence strongly suggests that -μεῖν was introduced into Sicily through the colony of Gela and perhaps its subcolonies (e.g., Phintias), as it was originally found on a private legal document from Gela (ISico30016), the morpheme spread quickly across the island in the Hellenistic period, including originally Ionic areas. However, our Hellenistic inscriptions only exhibit -μεῖν on public documents.

Although we do not have epigraphic evidence of the fact, the infinitive -μεῖν must have been present in the Sicilian *koiná* well before the Hellenistic period, as it is attested several times in Epicharmus (7x) and possibly once in Sophron. Interestingly, there is not great variation between the types of verbs to which -μεῖν applies both in public inscriptions and in epichoric poetry, as -μεῖν appears with athematic –mostly prefixed– verbs with a reduplicated present (e.g. προδόμεῖν, ποτ-θέμεῖν in Epicharmus, ἀναθέμεῖν and ἀποδόμεῖν in inscriptions), mostly aorist. Furthermore, -μεῖν is found with the verb εἰμί, with Doric *mitior* vocalism (εἴμεῖν) not only in Sicily, where it would be explainable as a *koiná* trait, but also occasionally in the Aegean islands, where it has been explained as an influx from the koine.

I will show that, before the end of the classical period, -μεῖν spread first in the central and southern areas of the island (Akragas and Entella), then finally in the eastern and northern cities (Tauromenion and Halaesa), with the remarkable absence of places like Syracuse, Katane and Panormos. I argue that this distribution can be explained only if we assume that -μεῖν was perceived as a trait of the public language. Crucially, while the diffusion of -μεῖν follows the spread of the *koiná*, it remains as a trait of public inscriptions in Sicily even when other typically Doric traits disappear (e.g., ISico01255 from Tauromenion).

Finally, I will bring all the evidence on the -μεῖν infinitives together, demonstrating that the restrictions outlined for Sicily also apply, with little to no variation, to the evidence from the southern Dodecanese. In the areas of Rhodes and the surrounding islands, -μεῖν is limited across the board to the aorist (also passive) of reduplicated presents, mostly prefixed. Despite the situation in the Aegean does not constitute a linguistic area as defined as Sicily, it seems likely that the morpheme -μεῖν spread across the so-called east Aegean *koina*, possibly also in virtue of the fact that it was easily identifiable. Moreover, the evidence seems to suggest that -μεῖν might have spread in the Aegean in the context of a public/bureaucratic language, in a way similar to what I have outlined for Sicily.

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Aspects morphologiques, syntaxiques et sémantiques des adjectifs équivalents à des compléments circonstanciels en grec ancien

Thursday, June 26th, 10:30

Room H340

La communication proposée vise à étudier le statut, en Grec ancien, d'un groupe d'adjectifs à l'usage particulier : les adjectifs (comme *χθιζός* 'hier', *μυχοίτατος* 'tout au fond' ou *δρομαῖος* 'en courant') qui, tout en s'accordant à un élément de la phrase, sont fonctionnellement et sémantiquement équivalents à des compléments circonstanciels, modifiant le prédicat ou la phrase entière. Cet emploi, attesté dès les épopées homériques, continue tout au long de l'époque classique, en poésie et en prose ; il est encore présent dans la poésie tardo-antique. Certains des adjectifs ainsi utilisés sont des dérivés d'adverbes (*πρώιος* de *πρωῖ* 'tôt') ou de substantifs (*χρόνιος* 'après longtemps' de *χρόνος*) ; d'autres sont des composés (*ὑπηγιός* 'à l'aube' de *ὑπό* et *ἡώς*). Certains ne sont utilisés que comme compléments circonstanciels ; pour d'autres, cet emploi cohabite avec la fonction d'épithète (*χθιζὸς ἔβη* 'il est arrivé hier' A 424 contre *τὸ χθιζὸν [...]* *χρεῖος* 'la dette d'hier' N 745–746).

Il manque un terme univoque pour indiquer cet emploi de l'adjectif : les traditions italienne et allemande (entre autres) utilisent des équivalents du français « prädicatif ». Ce terme peut marquer la différence par rapport à l'emploi attributif avec la copule ou avec les attributs du sujet et de l'objet ; il faut en revanche faire attention à la possible confusion avec les cas où un adjectif qualificatif, accompagnant un substantif, n'est pas précédé directement par l'article (cf. Ambrosini 1984 ; Basset 2004a et 2004b). Pour les distinguer, on soulignera que les adjectifs prädicatifs qui nous intéressent équivalent à des compléments circonstanciels.

Cette façon d'exprimer les circonstances de l'action (qui n'est certes pas la seule offerte par la langue grecque, ni la plus commune) est assez inhabituelle, parce qu'elle s'éloigne des prototypes à la fois du complément circonstanciel et de l'adjectif. Premièrement, par rapport aux formes plus communes (adverbe, substantif fléchi ou syntagme prépositionnel), l'accord de l'adjectif prädicatif avec la tête du syntagme nominal auquel il se réfère fait en sorte que la référence au temps, au lieu ou à la manière de l'action semble ancrée dans un seul élément (pro)nominal de la phrase. Deuxièmement, l'adjectif a été défini comme la combinaison prototypique de la classe sémantique indiquant la qualité et de l'acte propositionnel fonctionnant comme modificateur (Croft 2001 : 86–98) : si cela est vrai, il faut reconnaître que les circonstances de déroulement d'une action ne peuvent pas être définies comme des qualités et que ces adjectifs sont typologiquement marqués.

Cet usage des adjectifs a été remarqué depuis longtemps : on en trouve des listes d'exemples, ainsi que des hypothèses interprétatives, chez Delbrück (1893 : 459–460), Kühner-Gerth (1898 : 273–276), Brugmann (1913 : 476), Wackernagel (1924 : 65–68), Schwyzer-Debrunner (1950 : 178–179) et Crespo-Conti-Maquieira (2003 : 28). Ces études offrent des esquisses du problème, mais ne l'approfondissent pas dans les détails.

On souhaite donc contribuer à une investigation précise, à la fois qualitative, quantitative et attentive au développement en diachronie, du rôle de ces adjectifs prédicatifs en grec. Cependant, la perspective d'une ample recherche tout au long de l'histoire du grec ancien se confronte à la difficulté de la récolte des données : les adjectifs prédicatifs n'ayant aucune caractéristique formelle en commun, leur extraction à partir des bases de données ou des répertoires existants se révèle impossible. Si on vise à la complétude, on doit passer par la lecture des textes. On se propose donc de recueillir et analyser les adjectifs équivalents à des compléments circonstanciels présents dans un *corpus* hétérogène, constitué par les deux premiers livres de l'*Illiade* et des *Histoires* de Thucydide. Le choix de l'*Illiade* est motivé par le fait que dans la langue homérique cet usage de l'adjectif se montre dans toute l'ampleur de ses possibilités ; le choix de l'œuvre thucydidienne est en revanche dû au fait que la prose attique du V^e siècle est plus proche de la langue d'usage par rapport aux genres poétiques, et parce que sa structure narrative laisse supposer une indication fréquente des temps, lieux et manières des événements racontés : on pourra donc relever, dans la comparaison, quelles formes restent en usage et quelles disparaissent.

Une fois le *corpus* recueilli, on l'analysera du point de vue morphologique et lexical, en se demandant si ces adjectifs sont surtout des composés ou des dérivés (pour ces derniers, s'ils sont surtout déadverbiaux ou dénominaux) ; quels pourcentages d'adjectifs correspondent à un circonstanciel de temps, lieu, manière ou d'autres catégories ; si tous les adjectifs prédicatifs trouvés ont la possibilité d'être utilisés comme des épithètes, dans quelles circonstances et dans quelle éventuelle chronologie (et cela également en dehors de notre *corpus*) ; si l'emploi prédicatif apparaît spécialement avec certains verbes. Cette investigation vise à proposer une interprétation sémantico-syntaxique du phénomène, c'est-à-dire de l'intérêt de l'usage de la forme d'un adjectif par rapport aux formes plus communes de compléments circonstanciels.

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The participial strategy:

Exploring the choice between finite and non-finite relative clauses

Thursday, June 26th, 17:30

Room H338

The presence of relative participles (cf. Relativpartizip, Lehmann 1984: 49–58), as well as the competition of participial structures with finite relative clauses are attested in many languages of the world (Doron and Reintges 2006: 6). However, scholars have expressed different opinions whether - and in which languages - the use of participles can be considered a relativisation strategy, also since the features and the syntactic restrictions of these elements may considerably vary cross-linguistically (Belikova 2008, Sleeman 2017: 17).

For Ancient Greek, a language which is usually thought to possess the participial strategy (cf. Perna 2013: 325; see the discussion in Hayes 2018: 4–9), research about the competition between finite and non-finite relative clauses is still in an embryonal stage, as also stated by Probert (2015: 3). In particular, only two contributions were specifically dedicated to this topic: Mugler (1942), focusing on the comparison between the two strategies in Homer and Herodotus, and Hayes (2018), investigating attributive participles in the New Testament.

In this paper, I aim to provide some evidence about the features and uses of participial relative clauses and to better understand their relationship with finite relative clauses in a so far unexplored corpus, namely Greek documentary papyri.

The corpus considered for the analysis includes around 4.600 papyrus documents from Egypt dating from the first to the eighth century AD, which were annotated as part of the corpus of the ERC project Everyday Writing in Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt (Bentein 2024), consisting of letters, petitions and contracts.

In Greek documentary papyri, as also noticed by Mayser (1926: 55–57), the possibility of using participles with the function of relative clauses is attested. In general terms, the features distinguishing participial from finite relative clauses are (i) the agreement with the head noun not only in gender and number, but also in case (although apparent lack of agreement is present in the papyri, cf. Manolissou 2005: 243–245), and (ii) the restriction of participles with respect to the functions of the Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977), as they can only relativise syntactic subjects. Interestingly, participial relative clauses can also be found in close proximity with finite clauses:

- (1) Λέωνίδης Πτολεμαίου Ἀλθαιεύς, ὃς ἐστὶ νῦν ἐπ’ Ἀλ.ἐξανδρείας, ἔχων πατρῶαν ἡμῶν
ὑποθή[κ]ην (...) ἀρούρας τέσσαράκοντα [ἔ]ξ. (I AD, P.Berl.Moeller 2, ll.4–9)

“Leonides, son of Ptolemy, Althaieus, who is now in Alexandria, and who has, as a pledge from our father, (...) forty-six aurorae”

First, I will look at the type of participial relative clauses attested in Greek papyri, also in relation to the presence and position of the head noun and of the article: in this sense, I will show that the occurrence of articles with relative participles is often characterised by lack of coherence in the papyri, and by the presence of uncommon structures compared to the previous periods of Greek, e.g. appositive relative clauses introduced by the article.

Second, I will investigate parameters such as the case-marking of the antecedent (cf. Mugler 1942) and the restrictiveness of the relative clause (cf. Hayes 2018), arguing that an interpretation of the choice between postnominal finite and non-finite relative clauses primarily based on these features cannot be supported in the case of documentary papyri.

Third, I will take into account some functional contexts where the two constructions directly compete in the subject function (e.g. 2, 3), as well as the general extralinguistic factors affecting the choice between the strategies in the texts.

(2) ἔγγιστα τῆς διώρυγος, ὃ καλεῖται Παλαι[ὰ] Διῶρυξ (II AD, Chr.Mitt. 316, l.22)

“near the canal which is called Old Canal”

(3) ἀπὸ κώμης [καλο]υμένης Ἀφροδοιτῶν (VI AD, P.Cair.Masp. I 67032, ll.12–13)

“from the village which is called Aphrodito”

In this sense, I will show that participial relative clauses tend to be more used in formal than in informal texts, and that the diachrony of the attestations turns out to be an important element in the distribution.

While shedding some light on the situation of documentary papyri, these findings also aim to stimulate discussion about the competition between the two strategies in other stages of the Greek language.

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Παραδείγματος ἕνεκα: The forms and uses of example markers in Ancient Greek

Wednesday, June 25th, 12:00

Room H338

Since Aristotle's classification of the different types of παραδείγματα (Rh. 2.1393a), exemplification has been seen first and foremost as an argumentative device and has featured in many treatises and works on ancient rhetoric (Price 1975, Demoen 1997). Besides being a tool for demonstration, persuasion and, especially in Latin, moral edification (Lyons 1989), this textual operation gains ground in technical and scientific prose, where it helps writers to clarify their explanations and readers to understand and remember information (Manzotti 1995). This type of "canonical" exemplification has been described under different theoretical angles and in relation to other discursive strategies, such as paraphrasing (Fuchs 1982), reformulating (Cuenca 2001), code glossing (Hyland 2007), and hedging (Mihatsch 2010), but also to cognitive processes such as category building, list construction (Lo Baido 2018, Barotto, Mauri 2018, Chauveau-Thoumelin, 2018), and analogy (Miéville 1983).

From a linguistic point of view, canonical exemplification typically entails an asymmetric relation between two formal and logical units: an exemplified unit with a general referent (*illustrandum*) and an exemplifying unit (*illustrans*) consisting of one or more elements that specify and illustrate the first unit. From a syntactic and semantic perspective, these structures can be seen as the concatenation of a parenthetical unit to another segment of discourse (Fernández-Bernárdez 1994–1995: 115–116, Manzotti 1995: 14), or as non-prototypical appositions (Quirk et al. 1985, Meyer 1992), since the *illustrans* shows a relation of inclusion and partial co-referentiality with the *illustrandum*. This operation is made explicit through meta-discursive strategies (such as *I will give an example*, etc.) and dedicated markers that usually precede the exemplifying unit (such as *for example*, *for instance*). Many languages also exploit as para-exemplifiers (Manzotti 1995) items that originally and primarily have other functions, such as comparison (e.g., Eng. *like*, Fr. *comme*, It. *come*), focalization (e.g., Eng. *in particular*, *including*, Fr. *notamment*, It. *in particolare*), hedging (e.g., Eng. *let's say*, Fr. *disons*, *genre*, It. *diciamo*, *metti*, *tipo*), consequence (e.g., Fr. *ainsi*, It. *così*).

As for Ancient Greek, the structures and means of exemplification are essentially neglected in handbooks of syntax and stylistics, and only sparse remarks on individual expressions can be found in recent grammars and research works (e.g., Van Emde Boas et al. 2019: 577, 688; de Jong 2016; Bonifazi et al. 2016: 558–562; Revuelta Puigdollers 2020: 959). More detailed observations can

be found in Aftosmis (2010), on discourse markers introducing paradigmatic narratives (i.e., mythological *exempla*) in Archaic poetry, and in Verano (2016), on exemplification in Plato's *Republic*. Our communication addresses the forms and functions of exemplification in Ancient Greek by focusing on the following research questions:

- examine the different particles (e.g., καὶ γάρ, καὶ δὴ καί, γοῦν), words (e.g., οἷον, ὥσπερ, καθάπερ), phrases (e.g., λόγου χάριν, παραδείγματος ἕνεκα), and constructions (e.g., εἰ ἔτυχε, ὥσπερ εἴ τις λέγοι), which are employed to introduce examples;
- establish a classification based on the working hypothesis that canonical example markers gradually emerge from strategies of meta-exemplification and para-exemplification.

To achieve these goals, we will carry out a qualitative and partially quantitative analysis of the data collected through the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Online* (TLG), and within a corpus of selected works of technical prose (e.g. zoology, medicine, grammar), covering Classical and Post-Classical Greek up to the 2nd century AD. Our research will shed light on the analogical, demonstrative, metacommunicative, and intersubjective dimensions of exemplification, and their role in the grammaticalization of some forms in Post-Classical and Modern Greek, such as ἀμέλει (La Roi 2022), παραδείγματος χάριν and φερ'εἰπεῖν (Zinzi 2013).

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On the impersonal use of the second person singular in Ancient GreekWednesday, June 25th, 14:00Room H340

As in other European languages, in Ancient Greek, the second person singular exhibits an impersonal use (1). In these contexts, the referential value of the second person singular seems at first glance very close to that of the third person singular in examples like (2):

- (1) τῶν γὰρ μεγάλων ψυχῶν ἰεῖς | **οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις**· κατὰ δ' ἂν τις ἐμοῦ | τοιαῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἂν πείθοι (S. Aj. 154–156)

‘Take aim at people of noble spirit and **you will not miss**; but if someone were to say such things against me, they would win no belief’.

- (2) ἃ δ' ἂν **μάθη τις**, ταῦτα σῶζεσθαι **φιλεῖ** | πρὸς γῆρας (E. Supp. 916–917)

‘What **one learns, one tends** to treasure until old age’.

However, a more detailed analysis of the data shows that the second person singular is not always interchangeable with the third person. In fact, the second person includes both the speaker and the addressee, which is not the case with the third person (cf. ἂν τις ἐμοῦ τοιαῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἂν πείθοι, in 1).

In the analyzed contexts, the second person singular is not restricted to the function of subject (cf. Méndez Dosuna 2020: 412):

- (3) τῶν δούλων δ' αὖ καὶ τῶν μετοίκων πλείστη ἐστὶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀκολασία, καὶ οὔτε πατάξαι ἔξεστιν αὐτόθι οὔτε **ὑπεκοτήσεται σοι** ὁ δοῦλος (X. Ath. 1.10)

‘The licentiousness of slaves and metics is also at its peak in Athens. It is not possible to strike them, and no slave **will yield** the way to **you**’.

Moreover, the impersonal second person singular frequently co-occurs with markers of genericity, such as the habitual present, the gnomic aorist, or kind-referring noun phrases. In this regard, it is striking that the impersonal second person singular seems to coincide with the potential optative (1) and the future (3) much more frequently than the third person singular. While the relationship between genericity and modal operators is clear (cf. Dahl 1975, Krifka et al. 1995 and Cohen 2022, among others), the link between the second person singular -and not the third- and modal operators is less apparent.

The proposed paper aims to determine the referential value of the second person singular in its various contexts of use as impersonal expression. It also seeks to identify the factors that explain the frequent co-occurrence of the second person singular with the potential optative and the

future. Finally, it aims to analyze the pragmatic value of the second person singular compared to the third. Ultimately, the goal is to ascertain whether, in Ancient Greek, the use of the second person singular reflects, as in other languages, the speaker's desire to adopt a position of authority and to encourage the interlocutor to share their perspective (cf., among others, Kitagawa & Lehrer 1990, Stirling & Manderson 2011 and Gast et al. 2015 for English), or if it instead reflects a different strategy.

The study will focus on the complete tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, Books II and IV of Herodotus' Histories, Xenophon's *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, *Ways and Means*, *On the Cavalry Commander*, and *On the Art of Horsemanship*, as well as the *Constitution of the Athenians* by Pseudo-Xenophon.

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Impersonals, argument alternation and neutral alignment in Ancient Greek

Wednesday, June 25th, 14:30

Room H340

Argument marking is a notoriously versatile part of the morphosyntax of the Indo-European languages, including Ancient Greek. This paper explores some aspects of the diachrony of argument marking in Ancient Greek, restricting the chronological scope to the Homeric and Classical Greek. Our inquiry stems from the observation of two distinct but probably related phenomena, the diachronic spread of impersonal constructions and the gradually more complex alternation patterns shown by the second arguments of some two-place verbs.

On the one hand, we observe a significant rise in the number of predicates that appear with an impersonal construction from Homer to Classical Greek (from 8 to 56), with a specialized experiential or modal meaning (cf. also Tronci 2022; Bauer 2013; Cuzzolin 2012). It has been suggested that in these constructions, the Experiencer argument, which stands in the dative or accusative case, may exhibit some subject properties (Benedetti & Gianollo 2020; Barðdal *et alii* 2023; Conti 2010). We suggest that the expansion of impersonal constructions departs from a particular context involving a neuter pronoun in the subject position: indeed, neuter pronouns follow the neutral alignment, since they have syncretic forms for nominative and accusative case and do not trigger number agreement with the verb; then, due to their phoric properties, they can refer to a whole portion of text. Thus, in such contexts, formal and semantic subject properties are lost, and the subject position becomes potentially open to accept complement clauses.

On the other hand, the second argument of verbs lower on the transitivity scale (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Malchukov 2006) can alternate between the accusative, which is the default case for direct objects, and the genitive or the dative, which typically encode unaffected arguments (Riaño 2006; Lavidas 2009). Many scholars have also noted that the indefinite unspecific object in Greek is usually marked with the neuter accusative, even with verbs that usually mark their second participant in the dative or genitive (Kühner & Gerth 1898: 313; Havers 1924; Riaño 2006: 181–184; 2014: 535–536). An interesting case in point is the diachronic development of the animacy-based alternation with ἀκούω ‘to hear’, whose second argument can be encoded either by a genitive or accusative NP or by a complement clause. In Homeric Greek, the accusative marks inanimate objects, while the genitive encodes animate participants and a subset of inanimate referents, namely, nouns designating sounds and speech acts (Luraghi & Sausa 2019; Luraghi 2020). In Classical Greek,

the genitive construction is extended to other types of abstract inanimate Stimuli, but it remains extremely rare with neuter pronouns acting as discourse deictics. Moreover, from Homer to Classical Greek, there is also an increase in the frequency of complement clauses governed by ἄκοῦω. Since these two different developments appear to be analogous, it is tempting to conclude that they are conditioned by the same factors. Our working hypothesis is that the neutral alignment displayed by neuter pronouns played a significant role in the diachronic development of these phenomena. In previous research, we have observed that, among ancient Indo-European languages, those with a (relatively) unitary nominative-accusative alignment system (cf. Creissels 2018) and a rich inventory of morphosyntactic constructions with nominative-accusative orientation (e.g., subjecthood features) such as Latin and Lithuanian seem to be more permissive regarding non-canonical case marking on subjects. In contrast, languages with split alignment and fewer clear-cut subjecthood features (cf. Falk 2006), such as, e.g., Vedic Sanskrit and Classical Armenian, tend to be more restrictive in this regard. Ancient Greek lies somewhere in between, in that it a) arguably shows a tendency towards an alignment split between neuter and non-neuter nouns both in case marking and verb agreement and b) has a comparably high number of subjecthood properties.

Our research aims at providing a diachronic study of impersonal constructions and argument alternations in Ancient Greek, with a special focus on phoric neuter pronouns, which seem to promote the diffusion of impersonal constructions and at the same time to block the spread of non-canonical markings of the second argument. To this end, we discuss and compare the results of two distinct qualitative and quantitative inquiries on a corpus of Homeric (Iliad and Odyssey) and Classical Greek (selected works of Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Aristophanes and Sophocles). First, we examine impersonal constructions by collecting every 3rd person singular occurrence of each impersonal verb and classifying each occurrence according to semantic and morphosyntactic criteria. Second, we deal with second argument marking alternations by selecting a pertinent subset of verbs and categorising each occurrence according to the semantic and morphosyntactic properties of the second argument. We expect to shed light on the role of neutral alignment (manifested by neuter pronouns) in the diachrony of impersonal constructions and argument marking alternations in Ancient Greek.

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Polydefinite structures in Ancient Greek between history and contact

Thursday, June 26th, 16:00

Room H338

In Ancient Greek (henceforth AG), postnominal adjectives are articulated in definite nominal structures (the so-called ‘polydefinite’ construction: τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, Plato 191d3). These same sequences are observed in Standard Modern Greek (SMG: *to pedi to kalo* ‘the good child’), where they have been analyzed under several approaches (see Alexiadou 2014 for a survey).

In this work, we take as a starting point the parallelism between Ancient and Modern Greek proposed in Guardiano and Stavrou (2019), that assumes that no major change has happened in the history of the language in the structural configuration responsible of polydefinite sequences.

Based on a selection of texts from Classical Attic (Plato’s *Apology*, *Cratylus*, *Symposium*) and New Testament *koiné* (the Gospels), their work emphasizes at least three classes of differences between AG and SMG, showing that none of them is likely to be connected to variation in the abstract structure that generates polydefinite constructions: **(a)** articulated prenominal adjectives (*Art Adj Art N*) are rare in AG (ἐν γε τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φωνῇ, Plato 398b7) while they are normal in SMG (*to kalo to pedi*); this is reasonably a byproduct of the informationally marked nature of these sequences, that, as such, are unlikely to be found in written texts (with exceptions, as shown in Manolessou 2000), like in SMG; **(b)** in AG, the article can (but does not have to) occur with postnominal modifiers other than adjectives (e.g., participles, Genitives, PPs, adverbs: τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐν Δελοφοῖς, Plato 20e8), a possibility which is excluded in SMG: this is likely to be a consequence of the pronominal nature of ὁ/ἡ/τὸ in AG, no longer observed in SMG; **(c)** in AG, the postnominal [*Art+Adj*] constituent can be preceded by a demonstrative or a pronominal genitive that follows the noun (*Art N Dem/Poss Art Adj*: ἡ χήρα αὐτῆς ἡ πτωχή, Mark 12.43), a very marginal possibility in SMG; again, this depends on differences between AG and SMG that involve the syntax of demonstratives and pronominal Genitives and are (at least partially) independent of polydefinite structures.

Despite such a generalized structural uniformity, different diachronic stages of AG display differences in terms of the distribution of polydefinite patterns. In Classical Greek, the seemingly default position of adjectives in definite nominal structures is prenominal, with no doubling of the article; by contrast, in the New Testament *koiné* it is the polydefinite construction that displays the highest frequency of attestation (see, e.g., Manolessou 2000, Guardiano 2003 and literature therein). Similarly, when no article is visible, adjectives tend to be realized prenominally in Classical Greek more frequently than postnominally, while the opposite happens in the Gospels.

The high frequency of postnominal adjectives in New Testament Greek is well-known to the literature and is often described as a byproduct of contact with (West-)Semitic (Biblical Hebrew, specifically), where adjectives are linearized postnominally as a rule, and require a copy of the definite article in definite nominals (Fassi Fehri 1999, Shlonsky 2004). A further superficial similarity between AG and most Semitic languages is that, unlike SMG, all types of non-definite nominals, including singular nouns, can occur with no article (τὸ θέατρον προσδοκίαν μεγάλην ἔχειν, Plato 194a6). To sum up, [N Adj] and [Art N Art Adj] sequences are available both in Semitic and in AG, although generated from different structural sources. This overlapping is likely to have acted as a trigger for the increase in frequency of these two patterns in the New Testament. Yet, such an increase in frequency of similar linear strings has not produced any consequence on the deep structures that generate them, that are not the same in Greek and Semitic and have remained unchanged in either group.

A different proposal, suggested at least since Blass and Debrunner (1976, but see also Manolessou 2000), is based on the observation that, in Greek, postnominal modification is typical of the spoken language and less frequent in literary styles: texts based on Classical Greek models display pre-nominal modification as a rule, while postnominal adjectives (and therefore polydefinite structures) progressively increase in frequency in vernacular prose (since Hellenistic times, and more strongly in Medieval Greek). According to this line of reasoning, the massive presence of postnominal adjectives in the New Testament is thus likely to be a byproduct of stylistic choices rather than structural constraints.

Here, we propose a review of the available empirical evidence, through an extension of the AG corpus and a more systematic comparison with Biblical Hebrew (also inspired by work on syntactic interference between New Testament Greek and Biblical Hebrew such as Logozzo and Tronci 2021); we re-assess the two hypotheses testing them against ‘classical’ theories about structural contact and its consequences on syntactic change (e.g., Weinreich 1953, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Winford 2003, Guardiano et al 2016, Ledgeway et al in prep.).

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τοὺς Μεθομηρικούς ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν: An analysis of the verbal morpho-syntax of post-Homeric epic using Homeric data and methods

Wednesday, June 25th, 16:30

Room H340

This presentation treats the verbal morpho-syntax (tense, aspect, augment use, mood and modal particle, TAAMP) in the post-Homeric epic writers (they comprise Apollonios Rhodios, Quintus Smyrnaeus, Tryphiodoros, Kollouthos, Oppianos, Nonnos and the Orphika, but in the presentation and talk only Apollonios III, Quintus 5, Tryphiodoros and Kollouthos are analysed). In doing so, the criteria of Homeric Greek (as summarised in De Decker 2023 and applied to speech introductions and conclusions in De Decker 2022) will be used. For a considerable period, Post-Homeric epic has been considered inferior to the “genuine” epic. Because of this there are fewer literary and linguistic studies on later epic and the verbal morpho-syntax received even less attention (for post-Homeric epic, there are no such works as Monro 1891 and Chantraine 1953). In the last two decades especially Quintus has experienced a revival (Campbell 1981, Lee & Jones 2000 and Bär 2009 provide in-depth analyses but the most detailed study remains the *Prolegomena* in Köchly 1850).

Previous scholarship. Previous findings on verbal morpho-syntax in Quintus can be summarised as follows. On the moods Köchly (1850: lxxviii- lxxix) notes that the optative and subjunctive in the main clauses were only rarely used and that the subjunctive had become the standard in subordinate clauses even after secondary tenses (1850: lxxxv - contrary to Homer - exceptions were ascribed to metrical requirements; Lee & James 2000: 100). Bär (2009: 44, 180–181, 519) agrees but ascribes this to post-classical Greek, adding that the use of the non-indicative moods in the main clauses decreased and that modal optatives in the main clause had simply been reduced to a few formulae. For the indicative, the unfulfillable wishes were expressed by the indicative preceded by ὄφελον, which acted as a simple wish particle (Köchly 1850: lxxviii and Paschal 1904: 29, some argue that this is a specificity of Quintus; for a discussion of the grammaticalisation of ὄφελον as a wish particle, see Allan 2013).

On the modal particle, Köchly (1850: lxxix) notes that the potential optative without MP was rare and that there was no difference between the subjunctives in conditional clauses with MP and those without it (1850: lxxxviii-lxxxix). On the absence of the MP with the modal indicative, opinions are divided (Lee & James 2000: 113 reject it while Köchly 1850: xc-xci accepts it).

There are no in-depth studies on the aspect but individual passages with one or another aspect stem are occasionally discussed. Certain peculiar Homeric forms might not have been understood anymore and/or have received an expanded paradigm with forms that were not found in early epic.

For the iterative forms, it has been noted only that they appear almost exclusively in the imperfect and that they do not convey the notion of iterativity anymore and are simple doublets of normal past tense forms (Paschal 1904: 29–30 – this has been argued for the Homeric iterative forms as well).

On the augment only formal and metrical observations have been made. Köchly (1850: xxxv–xxxvi, xlv–xlvi, liii) notes that the use of the augment was determined by the metre as in Homer or by certain other (apparently contradictory) metrical laws regarding tri- and tetrasyllabic forms, caesurae and elisions (Vian 1959: 220–226 arrives at the same conclusions). Lee & James (2000: 22) state that Quintus’ use follows that of Homer but neither they nor anyone else have analysed the use and absence in certain passages or forms.

Modus operandi. First, I determine the forms by using textual criticism and metrics; second, I tag them as to TAAMMP (augment or not, which tense, MP or not, etc.) and third, I analyse and compare the data with those of Homer. In my presentation, I will discuss all the verb forms of a passage in Quintus where ἐδάμασσε or the unaugmented δάμασσε, and εἶλε or the unaugmented ἔλε appear; for the aspect use I pay particular attention to the unreal and iterative constructions, the iterative forms and the verbs in speech introductions and conclusions; for the moods, I will pay particular attention to the subordinate clauses dependent on past tense forms (for the optative) and to the use of the subjunctive and optative in the main clause and for the MP I will analyse focus especially temporal and relative clauses, as in Homeric Greek they showed noteworthy semantic differences in the use and absence of the MP. Besides Quintus, I will also discuss a passage (20 to 30 lines) from Apollonios and occasionally provide examples from Tryphiodoros and Kollouthos.

Expected results. Based on the evolutions of the Greek language after Homer, I expect the following results but it remains to be seen to what extent this will be confirmed: even fewer augmented forms than in Homer (as the absence was already considered ὀμηρικώτερον by Aristarkhos from Samothrake (III BC)) and no clear set of rules as to their use; a limited use of the MP in subordinate clauses with a subjunctive; very few optative forms in subordinate clauses (given that the optative gradually died out in everyday Greek, even in normal written *koiné*); only indicative aorist forms in unreal contexts (while this was a tendency visible already in Attic Greek, later Greek preferred to use the imperfect in these contexts, see Horrocks 1996: 164–167, 2010: 237); intrusion of the indicative in iterative constructions with a past reference. I am uncertain what to expect of the use of the aspect-stems as this distinction did not cease to exist in later Greek, but suspect that the lines between perfect-stem and aorist-stem will have become less clear. These are simply assumptions and if the data provide a different picture, they will need to be explained.

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Verb alternations in Greek have been known since ancient times, although they were traditionally associated with idiosyncratic lexical characteristics of each verb. Therefore, they used to be described only in dictionaries and lexicons. Only more recently has this phenomenon begun to be studied in a more systematic way, following, among others, Levin's (1993) for English (cf. e.g. Villa 2017, Luraghi 2021, Luraghi-Sousa 2015).

Apart from the process of identification and classification of alternations, not yet completed for Greek, the discovery of the conditions of distribution between alternating structures, i.e. the conditions under which one or the other construction is chosen for the same verb, is particularly interesting.

So far, synchronic patterns of selection have been proposed and described for Greek verbs that come from the semantic characteristics of the entities that must fill the different slots of the alternating structures (e.g. Luraghi 2021). Lavidas (2009), for its part, also recognized some diachronic patterns of evolution of complementation structures that give rise to new alternations. Recently (Villa in press), I have proposed that there may also be distribution patterns coming from syntactic conditions. Specifically, it has been possible to identify for some triargumental verbs the phenomenon that, when the two arguments that do not acquire the category of Subject are present, they are distributed according to a typical pattern that responds to the greater or lesser affinity of their lexicon with respect to the semantic case of each slot, as in (1)

- (1) καὶ εὐθύς **πᾶσιν** οἷς ἐνετύγχανεν ἑβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ ἑλληνικῶς **ὅτι** βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται (X. A. 1.8.1)

‘And at once shouted out to everyone he met, in the barbarian tongue and in Greek, that the King was approaching with a large army.’

In this example, the verb βοάω is accompanied by a subordinate completive clause, with the function of Object, introduced by ὅτι, while the persons to whom the interpellation is addressed (πᾶσιν) appear, as it might be expected, in the dative with the Recipient (Addressee) function. However, when the inanimate element, what was said by the subject, is elliptical, there is a strong tendency for the animate constituent to acquire the accusative form, as in (2).

- (2) ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος κατακλεισάμενος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις **Κῦρον** ἑβόα· (X. Cyr. 7.2.5)

‘But Croesus shut himself up in his palace and called for Cyrus’ In other words, the

appearance of another form among the alternating possibilities of the same verb could respond, at least in some cases, to purely syntactic, not semantic, conditions.

In this paper we intend to present further evidence for this phenomenon, based on the data of a larger corpus of verbs with alternating structures of complementation.

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The etymologies of Mycenaean *a-ro₂-a*, alphabetic Greek ἄριστος, ἀρίων, ἀρετή (generally translated by ‘of very good quality’, ‘best’, ‘better’, ‘excellence’ or similar) and (with desemanticization) ἀρι- ‘very’ have puzzled many linguists for decades. Links have been proposed with:

- ἄρης (Güntert [1910: 68] for ἀρίων);
- ἀνήρ (Nikolaev [2010] for ἀρετή);
- a root **h₂erh₁-* (Bailly [s.u. ἀρετή]) for ἀρετή and ἀρίων, Sihler [1995: 356], mentioned as one of the options by *EDG* for ἀρετή [s.u. ἀρετή], Heubeck [1979: 245] for *a-ro₂-a*);
- the root of ἀρνυμαι (*DELG* and *EDG* [s.u. ἀρίων & ἄρος] for ἀρίων, via τὸ ἄρος; Schwyzler [1939: 538, n.11] for ἄριστος, Janda [2014: 160–186] for ἀρετή and ἄριστος);
- of ἄρχω (cf. Schaffner [2021]);
- of ἀραρίσκω with the meaning ‘to be adapted’ (cf. Bailly [s.u. ἄριστος], *EDG* [“perhaps”, s.u. ἄριστος], Dieu [2011]);

or the meaning ‘to adjust; to accomplish’ (Güntert [1910: 58]); In order for an etymological hypothesis for ἄριστος *et al.* to be accepted, it should fulfil (at least) the following two criteria. First, it should reckon with the fact that these stems take (at least partially) part in the so-called Caland system, i.e. a series of forms such as the primary comparative and superlative, and a first compound member in -ι, linked to a non-resultative stative verb root referring to property-concepts as ‘be good’, ‘be red’, ‘be big’. Second, it should be capable to differentiate between senses deviating because they are relics from the original sense, and senses diverging because they are used with different referents in variant contexts. Since the above hypotheses cannot explain how the proposed non-Caland roots/stems could have been the starting point for the Caland stems, and since it cannot be determined whether the sense ‘(very/most) useful’ or ‘foremost’ or the like is an original sense from which ‘better; best’ has developed or rather an automatic implication of the sense ‘better; best’ in combination with many referents (e.g. the best choice is generally the most useful one), none of them can be accepted. In my talk I will propose a new hypothesis that answers to these two criteria, which is based on the one hand on a thorough syntactico-semantic analysis of ἀραρίσκω, and on the other hand on an in-depth semantic analysis of ἄριστος *et al.* per possible referent (animate human, animate animal, inanimate concrete object, inanimate abstract). I will argue that the point of departure is the sense ‘to be (firm-)fixed’, which is the (metaphorical) sense

of the perfect active verb forms of ἀραρίσκω occurring only with a subject (and no object) having the sole role of Patient (e.g. in *Il.* 15.618). As a non-resultative stative referring to a property ('solid, firm') these forms meet all the criteria to enter the so-called Caland system. Consequently, the root of ἀραρίσκω could be used as the basis for several derivatives belonging to this system:

- comparative *ar-yos-a- cf. Myc. a-ro₂-a 'very sturdy'
- superlative ἄριστος 'the most firm one'
- property noun in *-(e/o)s-: τὸ ἄρος 'the solidity'
+ *-yo- → ἀρειος 'characterized by the firmness' >> ἀρείων 'firmer'

→ ἀρείᾱς 'the one characterized by the firmness'

+internal derivation → -ήρης, cf. φρενήρης 'having firmness in the φρήν'

- in -eteh₂: ἀρετή 'firmness' → 'excellence'
- first compound member ἀρι- 'firmly' → desemanticization 'very'

In addition, the basic meaning 'firm-fixed; solid' shows semantic specializations according to the nature of the referents of ἄριστος *et al.* For this reason, the sense is 'robust, sturdy' when referring to wheels, wool and other physical inanimates; 'fat, thick, rich' when referring to animals, a country or old age; 'tight' when referring to skin; 'sure, true, faithful' when referring to words, thoughts or similar concepts; and 'firm, sturdy' when referring to warriors or divine beings. The sense 'the most firm, solid' would eventually develop into 'the best'. Since at the one hand several of these specific senses are more likely to be contextual variants of a basic meaning 'solid' rather than of 'good' (e.g. whereas solid words refer to trustable words, good ones are not necessarily true) and since at the other hand the perfect forms of ἀραρίσκω show the semantic development of (literal) 'fixe' > (metaphorical) 'firm-fixed', this hypothesis fulfils also the second criterium. Furthermore, these semantic developments can be explained by the metaphor abstract entities, animals and humans are objects, and the assumption that the solidity of an object indicates the value of the object. A subpart of this metaphor consists of the (good) warriors are (solid) walls metaphor. This precision is based on the observation that the warriors/divine beings called 'ἄριστος' (mostly Ajax the Great), 'ἄρειος' (Zeus/Athena) or (Mycenaean) 'a-re-ja' (= ἀρείας; Hermes), are those who stand firm like a wall without backing down (or whose name and/or description refers to this action), either to attack and break the (metaphorical) enemy wall, or to protect their own camp without letting the enemy pass.

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Imperfective aspect is traditionally defined as a way to view a situation ‘from within’. On the contrary, perfective aspect is traditionally defined as a way to present a situation as a whole (Comrie 1976: 16).

In Ancient Greek narrative texts, as well as in other languages, perfective past forms (aorist indicatives) are used to ‘push forward’ the narration. They are used to denote temporally sequential foregrounded events. On the contrary, imperfective past forms (imperfects) are used to denote backgrounded events, such as descriptions or comments made by the author (e.g. Hopper 1980: 213–219 and, on Ancient Greek, Bentein 2016: 26).

However, in Ancient Greek, imperfective past forms can be used in perfective contexts to ‘push forward’ the narration of the main sequence of events. Such an imperfect form is called ‘narrative imperfect’. The use of imperfect forms in aoristic contexts has been studied mainly from a synchronic point of view and in Homeric and Classical Greek (e.g. Crespo 2014 on Homer; Bentein 2016 on Herodotus; Allan 2017, mainly on historiography). For Late-Antique Greek, the only studies available are Moser 2016 and Moser 2017. In addition, no work has been done for Byzantine Greek.

The aim of this paper is to provide a description of the diachronic development of the narrative imperfect in Greek literary texts. The paper will focus on Late-Antique and Byzantine Greek, but also earlier stages of the language will be taken into account.

The aim of this paper is to present the preliminary results of my ongoing research aiming to build a comprehensive *corpus* of several narrative literary texts in order to investigate how narrative imperfects are used in Ancient and Byzantine Greek narrative texts. The texts which have been chosen are: the first book of Thucydides’ *Histories*, the first book of Polybius’ *Histories*, the first book of Dionysius’ *Roman Antiquities*, the *Gospel of Luke*, Palladius’ *Historia Lausiaca*, the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, the first book of Procopius’ *Wars*, the first two books of Agathias’ *Histories*, the first two books of Anna Comnene’s *Alexiad*, and the first 700 verses of the *Chronicle of Morea* (version H and version P).

The texts which have been chosen are different by age and register, in order to investigate whether the age of composition and the register of the text interact with the use of the narrative imperfect. Every past-tense verb form which is used in the *corpus* has been registered and analysed according to the tense, the context in which the form is used, and the verb class to which the verb form

belongs (the classification by Levin 1993 has been used, as well as some parameters of the Vendlerian classification [Vendler 1957]). In this way, the author has been able to conduct a statistical analysis of the usage of the different past-tense forms. In addition, qualitative analyses of some selected examples have been made.

In the Classical and Hellenistic texts that have been investigated, the narrative imperfect is used rather frequently and with different verb classes.

In the *Gospel of Luke*, the use of the narrative imperfect undergoes a dramatic reduction. The only verbs that continue to use it with some frequency are the communication verbs. In Late-Antique and Early Byzantine Greek, the register of the texts plays a major role in the way in which narrative imperfections are used. Lower-register texts, such as the *Historia Lausiaca*, display a 'Gospel-like' behaviour. They display a rather limited use of narrative imperfections. In the case of lower-register texts, the only verb class that display narrative imperfections with some frequency is the class of *verba dicendi*. On the contrary, high-register texts, such as Agathias' *Histories*, display a more 'classical' behaviour. In this case, the use of narrative imperfections is not restricted to communication verbs.

The situation of Anna Comnene's *Alexiad* is rather similar to the Early Byzantine high-register texts. On the contrary, in the section of the *Chronicle of Morea* which has been investigated there are only two occurrences of a narrative imperfect form, both in the version H.

The use of narrative imperfections in Greek seems to interact also with the *Aktionsart* of the verbs. The vast majority of the examples of narrative imperfections are from durative verbs, and the narrative imperfect of some high-frequency punctual verbs (such as ἐρχομαι) is not attested in the *corpus*. These findings seem to partially confirm Moser's research on the interaction between aspect and *Aktionsart* in Ancient Greek. According to this scholar, the Greek verbal system has moved from a stage in which *Aktionsart* heavily influences aspectual selection (with durative and atelic verbs being used more frequently in the imperfective and punctual and telic verbs being used more frequently in the perfective) to a stage in which aspectual selection is (almost) free from actional constraints (see e.g. Moser 2017). If this hypothesis is correct, the dismissal of the Ancient Greek narrative imperfect could be explained as a consequence of this shift. This shift does not seem to have happened at the same time in all registers, with high-register Greek being more conservative than lower-register Greek.

The paper will show that narrative imperfections often have a 'preparatory' function (see, for example, Allan 2017: 105, 109). They are used to 'push forward' the narration by describing a new action, but, at the same time, they set the stage for the new events which will happen after the action.

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Towards a corpus-based analysis of the relationship between compound second constituents of the type °φορός and paradigmatically related agent and action nouns

Thursday, June 26th, 15:30

Room H340

Thematic verbal governing compounds of the type οἰκοφóρος ‘bearing one’s house’ are a very well-known and very productive class of compounds in Ancient Greek (Lühr-Balles 2010: 257, Tribulato 2015: 89–93). The second constituents of these compounds are problematic from a theoretical point of view, since they can synchronically be viewed as independent adjectives/nouns with agentive meaning (as is the case of φορός ‘bringing on one’s way’, which is attested as a free word), but appear in many cases only as compound forms (e.g. ἀνδροκτόνος ‘man-slaying’, for which no *κτονός ‘slaying/slayer’ is attested) built on verbal roots (Chantraine 1933: 8, Grandi-Pompei 2010: 212–213).

In this paper, the issue of the problematic nature of compound second constituents of the type °φορός will be tackled from a corpus-based perspective, both with a quantitative and a qualitative approach: taking into account two samples of texts of the same historical period belonging to different genres (the first book of Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War* and Sophocles’ *Oedipus Rex*), the occurrences of verbal governing compounds of the οἰκοφóρος type will be extracted (both as types and tokens) and compared to the occurrences – in the same texts – of other paradigmatically related forms: first of all, the thematic, non-compound nouns/adjectives with the same structure (e.g. φορός) and other types of deverbal agent nouns/adjectives (e.g. agent nouns in -της, -τήρ, -τωρ and other types of compound agent nouns); secondly, the occurrences of deverbal action nouns will also be extracted from the texts, to check whether the same roots and stems which give rise to agent-like forms are also used to derive action nouns. To add diachronic depth to the corpus-based analysis, the results will be checked against the situation observed for Homeric Greek, based on the already existing complete description of the word formation strategies in the Homeric poems provided by Risch (1974).

The aim and expected outcome of this study is to take a step towards a better understanding of the status of the compounds of the οἰκοφóρος type based on the real usage of this kind of formations in Ancient Greek texts rather than just on data from dictionaries and other reference works (however useful). Besides quantitative aspects such as the productivity of compounds of the οἰκοφóρος type, the analysis will also take into account more ‘qualitative’ features of this kind of formations: attention will be devoted to the kind of verbal root they are built on, with special reference to their degree of transitivity (in the sense of Hopper-Thompson 1980). Since, contrary to other

types of agentive formations, compounds of the οἰκοφóρος type are attested both as nouns and (even more often) as adjectives, the paper will also take into account their behavior with regard to their syntactic category: this analysis will be conducted within a theoretical framework based on William Croft's typology of parts of speech (Croft 2001) and recently developed for ancient Indo-European languages by Luca Alfieri (2021).

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**How to refer to a person in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*:
An approach to referent tracking in a dramatic text**

Friday, June 27th, 10:00

Room H340

The aim of this presentation is to study coreference chains in a dramatic text, Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*: when a person is mentioned for the first time by a character, how is this person referred to in the following mentions (whether by the same or a different character)? Moreover, what is the role of demonstratives (οὗτος, ὅδε, (ἐ)κεῖνος) or anaphoric markers (αὐτόν, viv, etc.) in this process?

Ancient Greek demonstratives and anaphoric terms are by no means a new topic: they have long been studied, not least because of the wealth of linguistic devices in Ancient Greek. The most detailed studies deal with classical prose (Biraud 1991, Bakker 2009), but dramatic texts (especially the tragedies of Sophocles) have also been the subject of sustained interest for a long time (already Ellendt 1872: 488–501 or Bain 1913). Previous studies have mainly focused on the differences (i) between the three demonstratives and (ii) between demonstrative and anaphoric terms, discussing apparently equivalent meanings in different utterances (Kühner and Gerth 1898: 644, Moorhouse 1982, Ruijgh 2006). These studies have recently benefited from new approaches to the phenomenon, in particular cognitive approaches, such as Bonifazi 2021; however, this corpus is still in need of further work.

The purpose of our presentation is to contribute to the debate by taking a step back with a study of referential chains, a field that has received less attention than the use of anaphoric markers at the clause-level, at least in Ancient Greek. A referential chain is made up of at least three elements referring to the same referent and may or may not be uttered by the same speaker (see Corblin 1995). See for example three co-referential chains, all referring to Laïos, in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*:

- (1) Λαῖος (OT 103) / null anaphora (OT 105) / τούτου (OT 106)
- (2) Λαίῳ (OT 711) / αὐτόν (OT 713) / κάκεινου (OT 714) / τὸν μὲν (OT 715) / κεῖνος (OT 718) / Λαῖον (OT 721)
- (3) ἀνήρ (OT 803) / ὁ πρεβύς (OT 805, 807) / τῷ ξένῳ | τούτῳ (OT 812–4)

Studying co-referential chains is not equivalent to studying individual anaphoric and deictic markers (see inter alia Schnedecker 2019). The interest of this approach is twofold: it allows us to consider the question of co-reference at the textual level; and it allows us to place demonstratives and anaphors among other strategies for constituting reference, be it null anaphora (as in ex. 1, see also Luraghi 2003 on the topic) or autonomous lexical items such as noun phrases (see ex. 3).

How are these chains formed? When do demonstratives and anaphors appear? Are any thematic roles preferred? To answer these questions, we will concentrate on a single play (Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*) and a single type of referent (persons). Different criteria are tested:

- the definiteness of the first mention (see ex. 1 and 2 with a proper name, vs ex. 3 with an indefinite noun phrase);
- the semantic role of the referent, especially in the first mention (e.g. agent / patient etc.);
- the syntactic role of the anaphoric marker (e.g. subject, object, non-argumental position);
- the role of common ground for the choice of the anaphoric marker (especially for the notion of activation see Gundel et al. 1993).

This study is part of a larger project on referential chains in dramatic texts, for which a systematic investigation is planned: the general aim is to deal with animate and inanimate referents, present on stage or absent, in a corpus large enough to draw conclusions. In order to explore this question, it is first necessary to identify the criteria that will be systematically examined in the rest of the corpus. The present study is intended to serve as a test bench framework, identifying and assessing the relevance of the different criteria.

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Recent linguistic research has pointed out that phenomena emerging from spoken language often challenge the canonical dichotomy of syntactic hierarchies (among others, Van Valin 1984; Maschler et al. 2020). That is to say, the categories of coordination and subordination are often found lacking in describing the full range of usages emerging in spoken language, including the dependency of clauses beyond the sentence-level syntax. Moreover, several typological studies have problematized the notion of subordination, traditionally defined in terms of dependency and clausal embedding (among others, Cristofaro 2003, 2014; Verstraete 2007).

This paper aims to contribute to this strand of research by considering data from Ancient Greek (AG). In doing so, it addresses issues of syntactic and pragmatic dependencies, problematizing the notion of subordination and the status of some AG conjunctions that are traditionally categorized as subordinating. In particular, it deals with adverbial clauses when expressing causal, temporal or consecutive relations, and considers the following conjunctions: ἐπεὶ (meaning both ‘when’, ‘since’ and ‘because’), and ὥστε (meaning ‘so that’).

The analysis is based on a corpus of Classical and Postclassical Greek, including both literary and non-literary texts (i.e., Attic drama, Aristophanes, Menander, Thucydides, New Testament and documentary papyri). This makes it possible to conduct an analysis across different registers and discourse types, and to address the behaviour of conjunctions also in dialogic contexts.

The data are extracted using the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (<https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu>) and *Trismegistos* (for documentary papyri; <https://www.trismegistos.org>), and are manually annotated. The annotation includes, among other things, the following information: (i) the type of semantic relation expressed by the conjunction; (ii) the position of the clause introduced by one of the conjunctions under investigation (i.e., ‘preponed’ or ‘postponed’ to the main clause, if a main clause could be identified, or ‘freestanding’); (iii) the occurrence of the conjunction alone or in combination with other adverbs or particles (e.g., δέ, οὐν). For practical reasons, previous studies of these conjunctions will be used, such as those of Muchnova (2011) for ἐπεὶ and Ruiz Yamuza (2020) for ὥστε. A first survey of the data from documentary papyri will be made using the *PapyGreek* tree-bank corpus (Vierros and Henriksson 2021).

By means of examples, the paper will illustrate the different usages of the conjunctions working at sentence or discourse level. Besides the usage as a content conjunction (as defined by Sweetser

1990: 77–78) in bi-clausal constructions, the analysis is expected to show several occurrences of the investigated conjunctions in speech-act adverbial clauses (Sweetser 1990: 77; Thompson et al. 2007: 267), as shown in example 1, or in *freestanding* units, as shown in example 2—*freestanding* units are cases in which the matrix clause is not recoverable.

(1) Aesch. Ag. 1035–1039

εἴσω κομίζου καὶ σὺ, Κασσάνδραν λέγω· ἐπεὶ σ’ ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀμηνίτως δόμοις κοινωνὸν εἶναι
χερνίβων

‘Get inside! I’m talking to you, Cassandra! Because Zeus, not angry, placed you in this household to share the holy water.’

(2) Eur. Hec. 1208

ἐπεὶ διδάξον τοῦτο·

‘So tell me:’

Moreover, the degree of compositionality of ἐπεὶ and ὥστε will be addressed, considering the pragmatic value of these conjunctions when are combined with adverbs or particles (e.g., ἐπεὶ δέ, ὥστε οὖν).

Finally, the paper considers whether some specific usages are the product of diachronic changes or instantiate cases of insubordination (Evans and Watanabe 2016: 2–3).

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On interprète généralement l'adjectif ἀσκηθής comme un composé privatif reposant sur un neutre *σκῆθος rapproché de formes germaniques et celtiques, et notamment du neutre gotique *skapis* : le sens premier de *skapis* serait « dommage », et celui de ἀσκηθής, « sans dommage ». Cette étymologie, satisfaisante pour le sens, est douteuse sur le plan formel (cf. notamment EDG 151 ; Blanc 2018, 540) : il faudrait admettre un prototype comportant un *t^h (> gr. θ, got. þ), et donc une série d'occlusives sourdes aspirées en indo-européen. Cela ne poserait aucun problème s'il s'agissait d'une formation onomatopéique ou d'un emprunt, mais en l'occurrence, cette idée ne s'impose nullement. Il serait difficile, du reste, de partir ici d'une séquence *th₂ (cf. LIV² 551, avec rejet de *th₂), d'autant que le traitement de *th₂ par θ en grec est fortement sujet à caution (*th₂ > τ dans πλατύς « large, plat » < *p_lth₂-ú-s, etc.). Il est plus simple de partir d'une racine avec *t pour expliquer les formes germaniques (et celtiques si elles sont bien apparentées), et d'en séparer ἀσκηθής. Après un réexamen des emplois homériques et posthomériques (poètes + quelques inscriptions) de ἀσκηθής, je me propose d'avancer une étymologie nouvelle de cet adjectif, qui tienne compte du fait que chez Homère, il apparaît presque toujours pour parler de quelqu'un qui rentre sain et sauf du combat ou d'une expédition maritime.

Il s'agirait d'un vieux composé *ἀσχεθής, à second membre tiré de l'aoriste (ἐ)σχεθον (poètes depuis Hom., + quelques inscriptions dialectales [arcadien, lesbien]) « tenir, retenir, etc. » (racine de ἔχω). L'existence de ce second membre est étayée par l'hapax εὖ-σχεθής (Hes., fr. 33a.32 M.-W. : « qu'on a bien en main » [Hofinger 1981, 155] ou « qui tient bon, résistant » [Blanc 2018, 422–423]), forme motivée par rapport à (ἐ)σχεθον, avec préservation du χ, en regard de ἀσκηθής dont la dissimilation d'aspiration serait liée à la perte du lien étymologique par rapport à (ἐ)σχεθον. La base *σχεθ- / *σκεθ- du second membre est également susceptible d'être étayée par deux dérivés nominaux que ma communication se devra de réexaminer : σκεθρός « exact, précis » (< *σχεθ-ρός [EDG 1345] ou *σχε-θρός [DELG 1012] ?), du moins si l'idée d'une parenté avec ἔχω est légitime (autre étymologie chez Kölligan 2019) ; σχέτλιος « qui tient bon, obstiné, etc. » (< *σχέθλιος, issu d'un adjectif *σχεθ-λός ou *σχε-θλός : cf. Vanséveren 1998, Meier-Brügger 2016).

Suivant une analyse envisagée chez les Anciens (scholies, Eustathe), avec, déjà, l'idée d'un second membre tiré de (ἐ)σχεθον, le premier membre du composé serait un ἀ- privatif (sens originel : « qui ne peut être retenu, irrésistible » ?). Je proposerai plutôt un premier membre ἀσ- (*ἀσχεθής < *ἀσ-

σχεθ-ής), degré zéro de la racine *nes- « revenir (sain et sauf) » (**ns-* > ἄσ-, cf. ἄσ-μενος « *revenu [sain et sauf] », d'où « heureux, joyeux, content » : synthèse du dossier chez Lamberterie 2014), issu ici d'un vieux nom-racine *nós- / *nés- au degré zéro **ns-* en premier membre de composé, représenté aussi en grec, à mes yeux (voir Dieu 2024), dans la famille de ἀσπάζομαι « accueillir avec joie » et ἀσπάσιος « heureux, bienvenu » (le nom-racine *nós- / *nés- se laisse également reconstruire à l'origine de νόσφι « de côté, à part, loin (de), à l'écart (de), excepté » : en ce sens, voir Dieu 2010). Le sens premier du composé *ἄσ-σχεθ-ής serait « qui tient bon, tenace, résistant, obstiné quant au (bon) retour ».

Reste à déterminer comment rendre compte de l'évolution de *-εθής vers -ηθής. Ἀσκηθής est attesté sept fois sur huit au nominatif masculin singulier chez Homère, où *ἄσκηθής serait amétrique. Faut-il postuler un allongement exceptionnel de ε en η (au lieu de ει), de même que l'on observe dans le composé homérique ὠλεσί-καρπος (< *ὀλεσί-καρπος « qui perd ses fruits ») un allongement de o en ω (au lieu de ου), vraisemblablement analogique de certaines formes de ὀλλῶμι (aoriste ὤλεσα, composés en -ὠλης) ? Une comparaison sera mise en œuvre avec des formes du type de ἀκήρατος (Hom., poètes) « intact, pur », où l'on suppose parfois un allongement (métrique ? analogique d'autres formes ?) à partir de *ἀκέρατος (composé privatif, cf. κεραῖζω « dévaster » ?). Est-il permis de penser que le η de ἀσκηθής trouverait son origine dans une contamination du thème du futur σχή-σ-ω (Hom.+), futur « déterminé » par rapport à ἔξω (cf. GH I, 446), avec celui de l'aoriste (ἔ)-σχε-θ-ον (aoriste « déterminé » en regard de ἔσχον) ?

En ce qui concerne la présence d'un η au lieu de ε, il faudra également déterminer si, dans Od. 14.255, la forme ancienne est ἀσκηθέες (trisyllabique, avec une synizèse rarissime au temps fort du 5^e pied, ou bien recouvrant une forme contractée *ἄσκηθεῖς d'un type rare chez Homère ?), ou ἀσκηθέες (également bien attestée dans la tradition manuscrite, ainsi que chez Eustathe).

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The present study attempts to adapt the approach offered by Axel-Tober & Brandner (to appear) for Germanic languages to Ancient Greek. The authors use complementation-as-relativisation analysis, considering relative and complement clauses as instantiations of the same structure, cf. Arsenijevic (2009), Kayne (2014). There is a tendency in Germanic languages to have the same marker in equative, relative and complement clauses, which Greek seems *prima facie* to share since ὥς is a complementizer, an equative/similative marker and has a relative morphological component. The opposition of so-called “that-type” and “as-type” complementizers can seem related to the distribution of ὅτι and ὥς, two main Greek complementizers. However, we find the analogy inexact. According to Axel-Tober & Brandner, equatives have necessarily a degree projection, and therefore a bi-partite structure bringing them together with relatives. Meanwhile, ὥς is rather a similative than an equative, which makes this projection unnecessary.

To explain the distinction between similatives and equatives, we refer to Keydana et al (2021). Similatives conceptualize an entity of one category in terms of another category: *Peter is tall like George*. Equatives denote the degree of the property attributed to the compared entities, referring to some standard: *Peter is as tall as George*. However, especially in the Indo-European languages, equatives and similatives are often expressed with the same constructions. Greek features a various set of similative and equative constructions, cf. de Kreij (2021b). Ὡς is claimed to be the marker of both similative and equative: constructions of types 1.7 and 2.6 correspondingly in the classification by Keydana et al. (2021). In the preliminary sample (Postclassical historians, Polybius and Diodorus Siculus, two books of each author; the further objective is to include earlier and later texts to conduct the diachronic analysis), we found 35 examples of similatives like (1) and 4 examples of equatives like (2):

(1) ἐὰν ὥς πολέμιοι εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσέλθωσιν... ‘If they invade the country as enemies...’ (Plb. 3.22.13)

(2) οὐχ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὥς ὑπὸ τῶν τόπων πολὺς ἐγένετο φθόρος τῶν Καρχηδονίων
‘The Carthaginians suffered heavy losses not so much because of [attacking] people, but because of [impassable] places’ (Plb. 3.51.3)

Axel-Tober & Brandner use the diachronic analysis to emphasize the impact of equatives on the complement clauses (hereinafter CCs): according to them, in several Germanic languages, equative-

like complementizer *ass* used to be the default one on a more archaic stage, being displaced by *dass* later. However, Greek diachronic data could not support a similar process. De Kreij (2021a: 53–54) points out that in earlier periods *ὥς* was used as a similative rather than as an equative, which was expressed with other constructions, like correlative adjectives *ὅσ(σ)ος ... τόσ(σ)ος* or a particle *ἤ*. Furthermore, the equative *ὥς* is extremely rare even in the later period. A puzzling thing to be explained is that all the attested equatives are negated, like (2), otherwise than similatives.

Within the complementation-as-relativisation approach, a crucial point for the similarity of equatives/relatives and CCs is a correlation, typically overt for relatives and equatives and implied for CCs. Axel-Tober (2017) proves the existence of correlate complement construction in German at the earlier stage. In Greek, there are examples of correlative demonstratives in matrix clauses like in (3):

(3) αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο γινώσκοντας [ὅτι μέλλουσι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους κινδυνεύειν]

‘All <you need to> know is [that you have to fight the Carthaginians].’ (Plb.3.64.3)

In the chosen sample, there are 4 examples similar to (3), all with *ὅτι* (in detail cf. Faure (2021), pts. 5 and 6). Meanwhile, all found *ὥς*-equatives are correlated, like (2) above, on the contrary to similatives (only 2 of 35 have correlates). Supposing that the equative and complement *ὥς*-clauses have the same structure, one may expect *ὥς*-CCs to be capable of correlation. However, the correlation of *ὥς*-CCs with demonstratives or other DPs is never attested in the sample, and *ὅτι* seems to have a stronger correlational ability. Despite the arguments above, there are predicates joining both CCs and similatives. They have meaning of accusation (in the preliminary sample, they are *κατηγορέω* ‘accuse’, and *συκοφαντέω* ‘accuse falsely’).

Context: A Roman perjures in court that a girl is a slave (she is not)

(4) προσαγαγὼν κατηγορήσεν ὥς δούλης

‘He claimed in court that she was a slave’ (Diod. 4.24.3)

(4) is an example of so-called hypothetical construction, meaning ‘as if’, which may imply that the accusation is false. The data from a larger corpus, including Classical Greek texts, shows that the accusation predicates tend to select rather *ὥς*-CCs than *ὅτι*-CCs. Fournier (1946) used similar cases to prove the subjective sense of *ὥς*, contrary to objective *ὅτι*. To conclude, we can not consider *ὥς*-CCs representative examples of equative-like CCs, and find the possibility of them originating from equatives dubious. However, hypothetical similatives patterning with CCs under accusation predicates may bring a new perspective to the subject.

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When discussing politeness in language, we refer to a wide variety of conversational strategies that speakers employ in discourse. Among all these strategies, one stands out as potentially being interpreted as either polite or impolite, depending on the relationship between the speaker and the hearer as well as the context in which it is used. This conversational strategy is referred to as “mitigation”. The main purpose of this conversational strategy is generally to soften the strength of a specific speech act that may threaten the face-wants of the addressee, as described by Brown & Levinson's (1987) theory of the social faces of conversational participants. In this sense, the speaker mitigates their speech act either to obtain some benefit (personal or otherwise) from their target or as self-protective face-preserving strategy (see Caffi 1999, 2007; Briz 2001: 158, 2018: 62). Mitigation is rarely employed without purpose, particularly since it is commonly observed in peripheral conversations, that is, situations or conversations in which there is a clear difference of position between interactants (social or hierarchical). For instance, the level of mitigation in conversations between friends will differ significantly from that in a superior-subordinate interaction, such as between a boss and an employee, where a distinct power imbalance exists.

If we extrapolate this information to the context of Aristophanic comedy, we can observe varying levels of mitigation depending on the character. Male characters typically mitigate their words less than feminine characters (see Willi 2003: 166). Consequently, their speech register tends to be more effusive, natural, and conversational. The use of allegro forms instead of lento forms provides evidence, as noted by López Eire (1996: 79–83, 181–189), of the spontaneity that characterizes men's speech in Aristophanes' plays (e.g. ἐγῶδα = ἐγὼ οἶδα, τάργύριον = τὸ ἀργύριον, καὐτός = καὶ αὐτός, κᾶτα / κᾶπειτα = καὶ εἶτα / καὶ ἔπειτα, etc.). In contrast, women's language in Aristophanic comedy adheres more strictly to phonological rules and exhibits a more rhetorical nature, characterized on many occasions by an abusive use of particles in order to seem politer (see Sommerstein 2009: 33–34; Colvin 2020: 81).

At first glance, women's speech seems softer than that of men, as their subordinate position to men theoretically compels them to act respectfully and display good manners during interactions (a form of mitigation motivated by social hierarchies). Despite this presumed mitigation in women's language, we still observe –albeit to a lesser extent– such phonetic phenomena. This is not incompatible with our hypothesis about mitigation in female speech, since Greek Comedy is an inherently

conversational literary genre. Abundance of phonetic processes such as ellipsis, crasis, apheresis, elision, etc. is an evident hallmark of conversational speech. It is, therefore, both normal and logical for these elements to appear, to a greater or lesser extent, in the speech of all characters in Aristophanes' plays, regardless of gender.

Nevertheless, we can determine where these phonetic features are most prevalent to identify which characters employ a ruder and more colloquial register. It must be said that rudeness in conversation does not come only from a rapid and –at first sight– impolite speech (Devine-Stephens 1994: 268). For example, there are moments when, even though a woman is mitigating her speech, the character exhibits significant impoliteness. Beneath her softened speech act lies a passive-aggressive tone or a threat to the positive face of her interlocutor. A notable example occurs, for example, in *Lysistrata* (lines 591–597), where the heroine mitigates her response to the Proboulos not to show politeness but because she does not consider him competent enough to understand Greek women's plight. This example illustrates that mitigation can function as a vehicle for scorn rather than deference.

The aim of this paper is to analyse several passages in which female characters mitigate their speech to determine whether they are genuinely employing politeness strategies or, conversely, using mitigation to convey disdain toward the other speaker. This analysis will consider passages of plays in which women's mitigation reflects their empowerment, such as *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, and *Ecclesiazusae*.

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Compounds with °αής as second constituent: The case of ἀκραήςThursday, June 26th, 11:30Room H340

The aim of this talk is to focus on the morphology and meaning of ἀκραής (Hom.+) ‘blowing strongly’, one of the sporadic and almost exclusively poetic compounds with a second constituent (SC) related to the verb ἄημι (< PIE *h₂ueh₁-) ‘to blow’, as also ἄλιαής (Hom.), δυσσής (Hom.+), εὐσής (Hes.+) ζήής (Hom.+) and ὑπερής (Hom.).

The first issue concerns the analysis of its SC °αής, which could be interpreted both as a regular s-stem adjective and as a root noun; there is evidence in favour of both these hypothesis and, even if nowadays the latter is preferred, debate is still open. Accepting the former proposal, the possessive value of the Hesiodic εὐσής (*Op.* 599) ‘well-ventilated’ is better explained, since -ής, -ές-adjectives are seen as original possessive compounds (cf. Risch 1974: 81ff.), then reinterpreted as *verbale Rektionskomposita* (the usual referents of such compounds in °αής are wind-related names, so their semantics usually is ‘blowing in an X manner’). Instead, a proof of the second hypothesis is the accusative singular ζήην in *Od.* 12.313, which clearly does not follow the inflection of adjectives in -ής, -ές.

The second question concerns the first constituent (FC) of ἀκραής, from the adjective ἄκρος (cf. PIE root *h₂ek- ‘(to be, to become) sharp, pointed’) ‘topmost, outmost; highest’, which in composition seems to always have a locative value (Frisk 1960–1972 s.v. ἄκρος); but this FC could also have an adverbial meaning, if related to the adverbs ἄκρα and ἄκρον ‘on the top, on the surface’.

Regarding the traditional explanation of the meaning of ἀκραής, scholars agree in considering this compound as an epithet with a positive meaning (in *Od.* 14.253+ it is attested together with καλός), and Frisk 1960–1972 s.v. ἄκρος argues that in origin this term was referred to the wind which ‘blows high, on the peaks’, in reference to the steep coasts of the Greek islands (cf. Leaf 2002²: 487).

It is interesting that in Homer ἀκραής is always used to describe the wind that blows when someone is about to begin a sea voyage: when Telemachus travels from Ithaca to Pylos (*Od.* 2.421), when Odysseus goes from Crete to Egypt (*Od.* 14.253) and from Phoenicia to Libya (*Od.* 14.299). LfgrE s.v. ἀκρᾱής considers ἀκραής a synonym of the *hapax* ἄλιαής (*Od.* 4.361) ‘blowing seaward’, also referred to the wind favorable to ships leaving the port. ἀκραής would therefore indicate a wind whose starting point is emphasized, whereas ἄλιαής could designate the same type of wind but with the focus on its arrival point (the sea).

My proposal is to consider the original meaning of ἀκπαής ‘blowing on the surface of the water / of the sea’ rather than ‘blowing strongly’ or ‘blowing on the peaks’, taking into consideration the meaning of the adjective ἄκρος, the existence of similar compounds as ἀκρόπλοος (Hp.+) ‘skimming the surface, swimming at the top’ and the phraseological construction [on the top – of the wave], like in *Il.* 20.229: ἄκρον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνος ἀλὸς πολιοῖο θέεσκον ‘they ran on the crest of the breakers of the grey sea’.

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**The suffixes -ῐᾱς, -ῆᾱς and -εῐᾱς in Boeotian inscriptions:
Between phonology and morphology**

Friday, June 27th, 14:30
Room H339

In the formation of masculine personal names, we encounter a number of anthroponyms in -ῐᾱς and in -ῆᾱς. In some cases, we also find examples with suffixation in -εῐᾱς or in -ῆᾱς, depending on the dialect in question. These suffixes are usually not employed in the derivation of two-bases compounds, with a one notable exception: the nouns in °κλέας, well attested in northwestern Doric dialects (Méndez Dosuna 1985: 164–165). The study of these suffixations presents a number of challenges, both from a phonetic and a morphological perspective. Firstly, the suffix -ῐᾱς is also found in the lexicon in the formation of agent nouns (e.g. ταμίᾱς), and its origin has long been linked to the suffixes -ῐος and -ᾱς (Chantraine 1979: 92–96). However, the origin and function of -ῆᾱς, only used in onomastics, is more complex to define. Indeed, in the Mycenaean tablets, we encounter anthroponyms such as *wo-ne-wa* /*Woinēwās*/ (PY An 654, l. 2), which seem to be evidence of a derivation in -ᾱς from a stem in -εύς (García Ramón 2017: 38, 44–45; Nieto Izquierdo 2024: 61). In the case of other anthroponyms, such as Κρατέας, Χαρέας and Τελέας, it is also possible to propose a derivation in -ᾱς from a theme in -εσ- (e.g. °κρατ-εσ-, °χαρ-εσ- and °τελ-εσ-). While Mycenaean occurrences such as *ta-re-wa* /*T^halēwās*/ (PY Fn 41, l. 13) might suggest the exclusion of this second interpretation (García Ramón 2017: 44–45), neither hypothesis can be entirely dismissed (Minon 2015: 291, n. 63). The study of these suffixations in the Greek dialects is further complicated by the different phonetic treatments of the short vowel /e/ in antevocalic position, which is thus noted in various ways, depending on the dialect (Méndez Dosuna 1993; Minon 2015: 290–296).

The objective of this paper is to examine the suffixations in question, as well as the phonetic and morphological issues associated with their origin and diffusion in the Greek dialects. This paper will be based on a detailed analysis of Boeotian onomastic data, which presents a complex framework from both the phonetic and morphological perspectives. Compared with other dialectal areas, in Boeotian inscriptions the short vowel /e/ in antevocalic position was noted <ι> as early as the 6th century BCE, providing evidence of the phonetic evolution of the vowel in this context. Furthermore, a number of elements would suggest that in the Boeotian dialect, at least until the 2nd century BCE, the hiatus resulting from the weakening of /w/ in intervocalic position was maintained. This leads to the question of whether and how such a phonetic evolution would have affected the suffixes -ῐᾱς and -ῆᾱς. Would their phonetic proximity, as well as their apparent functional

proximity, have resulted in a convergence of the two suffixes? It is therefore possible that the latter could have been noted indistinctly as $-\lambda\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ or $-\epsilon\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$. Conversely, however, it might be argued that the functional differentiation of the two suffixes would have made it possible to maintain a distinction between them. On the other hand, it could be posited that anthroponyms in $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ might be evidence of a phonetic evolution from $*-\tilde{e}w\tilde{\alpha}s$, with <EI> noting $/\tilde{e}/$ (Blümel 1982: 39). However, if this is the case, it raises the question of how we might explain the occurrences of $-\epsilon\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$.

In order to provide an answer to these questions, we will first present an overview of the issue. We will then illustrate the onomastic corpus in question, providing an account of its chronological and geographical distribution. The epigraphic occurrences attested throughout ancient Boeotia between the earliest known instances (dating from the 6th century BCE) and around the 2nd century CE will be taken into account. The aforementioned chronological range will allow for an examination of the graphic variations according to the periods and the different parts of Boeotia. Furthermore, the wide chronological range will facilitate the comparison with inscriptions written in Ionic-Attic *koine*, thereby enabling an observation of potential alterations in the utilisation of these suffixes, which may be attributed to the influence of *koine*. The anthroponyms will also be classified according to their type (shortened compound or *simplicia*), as well as the nature of the base or lexeme (nominal, verbal, adjectival, etc.) from which the anthroponym was derived. The morphological characteristics of the various bases and lexemes (e.g. s-stems, thematic stems, etc.) will also be examined.

In conclusion, this analysis will allow us to illustrate the coexistence of different - albeit close - suffixes in Boeotian inscriptions through the comparison with other dialects. We will thus tackle the impact of phonetic changes on the existence of these suffixes. This analysis will also enable us to identify and examine the differences within the region, which are attributable above all to the presence of different graphic conventions, also known in other morphological contexts.

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The emergence of linguistic diversity in ancient Greece: New methods and insights

Thursday, June 26th, 09:30

Room H339

Introduction. Ancient Greece was a hotbed of linguistic diversity. By 500 BCE, the Greek-speaking world had splintered into an array of local and regional dialects from Epirus to Cyprus. How this diversity arose is one of the biggest—and most challenging—questions in Hellenic studies. Debate persists over fundamental questions, including the adequacy of tree models, the ages of the four traditional sub-groups, and the methodology of subgrouping (Garrett 2006; Thompson 2008; Skelton 2015; Rau 2022; Scarborough 2023). This study offers a novel approach to each of these questions.

Methods. Research into the Greek dialects over the past century has made it clear that their complex history demands more powerful methods (Garrett 2006; Skelton 2015; Scarborough 2023). The study of linguistic history has been invigorated in recent years by methods from evolutionary biology and this study takes advantage of this advance by drawing on Bayesian phylogenetic methods in particular (Heath et al. 2014; Stadler et al. 2018; Huelsenbeck 2019; Greenhill et al. 2021). As illustrated below, a crucial advantage of these methods is their ability to estimate uncertainty.

Dataset. This study is based on 89 binary and multistate traits from 24 dialects. The initial values were drawn from Skelton 2015. As many of its values are based on older scholarship, a complete review of it was undertaken, which resulted in about 10% of the entries being corrected.

Questions. My study focuses two fundamental questions in the diversification of the Greek dialects. First, how do the four traditionally recognized dialect groups emerge? Over the past several decades, the Risch-Porzig topology has become the consensus among many scholars (Porzig 1954; Risch 1955; van Beek 2022). Its central claim is an initial split between East and West Greek (Figure 1). Despite the prominence of this view, other scholars contend that such a model is inadequate because it only represents linguistic descent and neglects the geographic diffusion of linguistic innovations (Wyatt 1970; Finkelberg 1994; García Ramón 2021), which have unquestionably played a role in the formation of the dialects. My approach acknowledges the insights of both sides and charts a new course in the investigation of this question by estimating the strength of the evidence for the Risch-Porzig topology.

Second, when do the four dialect groups emerge? This question is pivotal to our understanding of early Greek history, as the dating of the dialects is a key piece of evidence in determining when the ancestors of the Greeks first arrived in the Balkans (to say nothing of later purported migration).

events). Estimates of the ages of the four dialect groups are rife in the secondary literature (Bartonek 2003:449, Adrados 2005:4, Hajnal 2005:189–191), but their validity is vitiated by the absence of an explicit method. Ages are often inferred from a selection of linguistic facts, ancient legend, the archaeological record, and personal intuitions about rates of change and diversification. My approach is based on the linguistic data, the chronological intervals of the inscriptional record of each dialect, and transparent assumptions about change and diversification (Heath et al. 2014; Stadler et al. 2018).

Results. Figure 2 presents an evolutionary tree from a preliminary analysis. Branches are colored according to their probability (orange represents high probability, blue low). Two aspects of this tree stand out. First, it is consistent with the central claim of the Risch-Porzig topology. Second, the earliest regions of the tree are permeated with blue, which suggests considerable uncertainty in this inference (Thompson 2008; Rau 2022). In other words, although the Risch-Porzig topology is arguably the best inference that can be made from the data, it is not robust. The later regions of the tree (including the much-debated Aeolic) are characterized by higher probabilities, which suggests tree-like diversification, but the uncertainty in the earliest history of the dialects that calls for more investigation (Thompson 2008; Ringe 2016; Rau 2022).

Divergence times. I focus here on my results for the estimated ages of Proto-Greek (Figure 3) and Proto-Aeolic (Figure 4). The x-axis represents millennia before the present, which is calibrated to 2000 CE (2.5 kya is thus 500 BCE); the y-axis represents how probable different ages are. The green line highlights the single most probable age (known as the maximum a posteriori or MAP estimate), while the black vertical lines identify the range of dates that contains the true age with 95% probability. The MAP estimate of Proto-Greek is around 2100 BCE, which corresponds to Early Helladic III, a time of destruction and depopulation in the archaeological record. This date is close to the *communis opinio* that once existed among archaeologists (Caskey 1960; Pullen 2008:40) and challenges recent arguments for later dates (Pullen 2008:40, Bintliff 2012:113, 165–166).

The results for Proto-Aeolic counter the pervasive view that Aeolic formed after 1200 BCE (García Ramón 1975, Chadwick 1978, Chadwick 1990), as only a portion of the probability density in Figure 3 falls below this date. Despite widespread acceptance of the post-1200 BCE claim, it faces critical empirical problems that were pointed out decades ago (Dunkel 1977:207, Chadwick 1978:293, Consideine 1979:188). Foremost among them is that Proto-Aeolic has to both emerge and start to diversify within 50–75 years, given that Boeotian itself is thought to diverge ca. 1125 BCE. My results provide strong support for the formation of Proto-Aeolic before 1200 BCE.

Figures

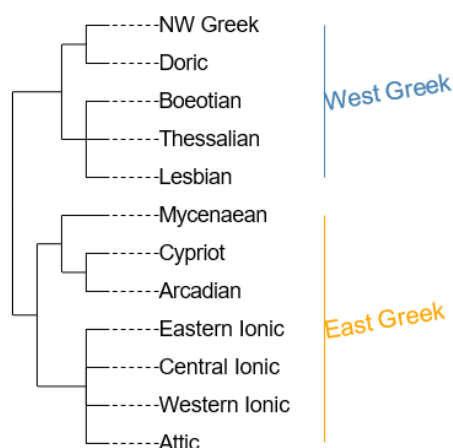


Figure 1: The Risch-Porzig topology

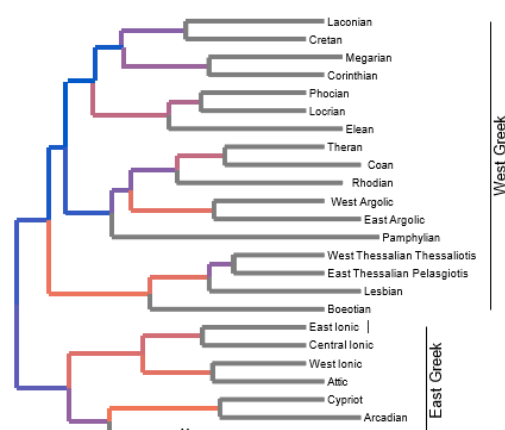


Figure 2: An evolutionary tree with associated probabilities

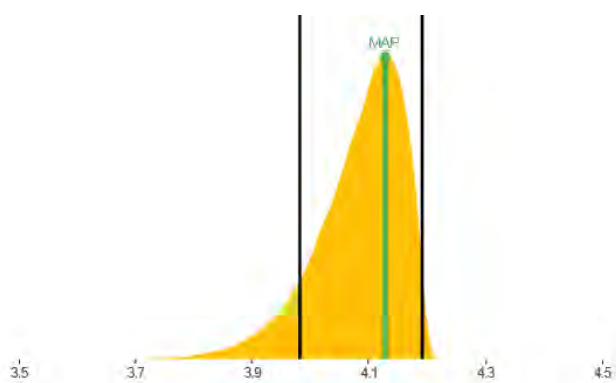


Figure 3: The distribution of ages for Proto-Greek

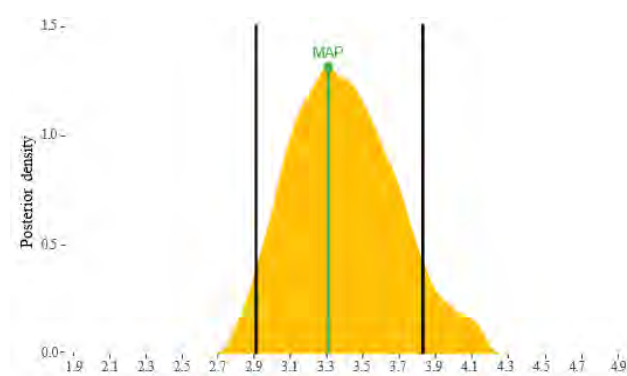


Figure 4: The distribution of ages for Proto-Aeolic

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The discourse markers αὖ, αὖτε, αὖτις (αὖθις) and ἔξαυτις (ἔξαυθις) in the early epic

Wednesday, June 25th, 17:00

Room H338

The primary aim of this paper is to offer a thorough description of αὖ, αὖτε, αὖτις (αὖθις) and ἔξαυτις (ἔξαυθις) as discourse markers in the archaic *epos*, including in its scope a representative selection of the oldest extant epic Greek poems: the *Iliad* (books 1, 2, 6, 10, 23), the *Odyssey* (books 1, 11, 15, 23, 24), the Hesiodic corpus (*Theogony*, *Works and days*, *Shield*), the *Homeric Hymns* (2, 3, 5, 6, 8), the *Batrachomyomachia* and the Greek epic *fragmenta* (*Cycle* and early *Orphica*).

These words were not part of Denniston's collection of particles (1954) and, thus, remained mostly ignored during the 20th century, except for the lexicographical works on the early epic of Mette on αὖ (1979), Alpers on αὖτε (1979) and Führer on αὖτις (1979) and ἔξαυτις (1991). With the turn of century, there was renovated interest in these words from a pragmatic perspective: Cuypers did a first quantitative approach to αὖ and αὖτε in *Iliad*, *Odyssey* and *Argonautics* (2005: 38); Bonifazi studied αὖ, αὖτε, αὖτις and ἔξαυτις as discourse markers in Homer and other archaic texts (2008; 2009; and, specially, 2012: 185–272), although from a very different perspective from that of this paper; Revuelta Puigdollers examined the pragmatic context linked to αὖ and αὖτε (2009) and Jiménez Delgado studied αὖ and αὖθις in the Greek historians (2014).

Methodology: My proposal seeks to build upon these studies by offering a comprehensive overview of the discursive uses of these forms in archaic epic language, employing Functional Grammar (Dik and Hengeveld, 1997) and recent approaches to discourse markers in modern languages (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, 2000; Portolés Lázaro, 2016) as the main methodological framework. This outlook for the analysis of Greek particles has already been proposed by Verano Liaño (2018: 82–84), within the framework of Ancient Greek pragmatics and discourse analysis (Bonifazi *et al*, 2016).

Results: In addition to verifying the benefits of including αὖ and αὖτε in the Greek lexical category of particles, some preliminary values can be proposed for these words: (I) Time satellite, 'again' (σ2, cf. Dik and Hengeveld, 1997: 51). (II) Marker in the thematic structure that segments the overarching commentary or theme into several subcommentaries or subthemes (~'on the other hand'). (III) Additionally, in some of the contexts of II, marker of parallel focus in the pragmatic structure of the phrase.

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This paper presents part of an ongoing research on the use of the definite article with proper names in Herodotus' *Histories*. In Ancient Greek, it is generally considered that this use is optional insofar as the same proper name may sometimes have the definite article and sometimes not. But it is not random. Aside from the studies that analyse the definite article in Ancient Greek in general or diachronically (Gildersleeve 1890, Sansone 1993, Vallauri 2002, Manollessou & Horrocks 2006, Peters 2014, Denizot 2017, King 2019, Zampetta 2022), its use with proper names deserves a specific approach because proper names theoretically and typologically have semantic specificities in contrast with other nouns (Kripke 1981, Handschuh 2022). Among them is the fact that they are inherently definite (Löbner 1985, Abbott 2010), and, so, it is likely that there are pragmatic effects caused by using with proper names a definiteness marker (the definite article) which would not be semantically necessary (cf. Donnellan 1970, Kripke 1977).

To the best of my knowledge, the study of the definite article specifically with proper names has already been touched upon by the recent studies, with respect to Ancient Greek, of Napoli (2009) and Rijksbaron (2018). Both substantial contributions, but with methodological gaps which I hope to bridge with a quantitative approach that allows for a more nuanced understanding of how Ancient Greek authors concretely used the definite article with proper names, and the limits of the hypotheses previously stated. It would not be possible to discuss in this presentation all the variables analysed on my ongoing research, so I selected two variables previously suggested by Napoli (2009) and Rijksbaron (2018) – the sequence of appearances of the same name (i.e. what they associate with anaphora) and the morphological case (this subject is also mentioned by Allan 2014) – and a new one that I propose, which is the presence of an appositive construction (cf. Onea and Ott 2022, Firmino *forthcoming*).

The quantitative analysis was based on data I collected for the 10 most frequent names in Herodotus' *Histories*, excluding their vocative instances: Darius (303 tokens), Xerxes (256), Cyrus (196), Croesus (183), Cambyses (120), Mardonius (118), Cleomenes (80), Amasis (73), Astyages (67), and Polycrates (57). Out of the 1453 total, 307 have the definite article and 1146 do not have it, and there is a significant variation in article use among these names, for which the data will be given in the presentation. All the data gathered for these three variables (sequence, morphosyntactic case, and appositive construction) was subjected to statistical tests.

To provide a more replicable basis to the analysis of what is the effect of the sequence in the use of the definite article with proper names, I annotated the distance (based on the line count in Wilson 2015) between subsequent appearances of each name and compared it with the definite article usage. The distances between names, in lines of the text, were grouped in quartiles, and I found that they tend to have the definite article more in the second quartile (4 to 8 lines of distance from the last appearance of the same name) than in the first (0 to 3 lines of distance), which shows that the reasons for article usage in relation to the distance between two appearances of a name are more complex and cannot be reduced to anaphora.

As for the morphosyntactic case, although the definite article tends to appear more with names in the nominative (cf. Rijksbaron 2018), the other cases feature a significant enough number of tokens to deserve more attention – all the numbers will be in my presentation. Furthermore, the other cases are not all equal in definite article distribution: the use of definite articles with proper names in the genitive is significantly lower than the mean, while accusative and dative are closer to the mean distribution. This avoidance of article use in the genitive relates the definite article to the referentiality of the proper name, because, given that the genitive case is the prototypical case for modification, a proper name in that case is closer to a modifier than a proper name in the nominative, and thus closer to denoting a predication and farther from denoting an individual.

Finally, I have found that although there are 62 instances of appositives with the names in this corpus, in none of them does the proper name have the definite article. This can be interpreted in terms of identifiability or referentiality, in that the definite article requires an unambiguous referent. Although appositives do not serve only to disambiguate individuals, that is a significant use of them that may motivate a generalisation of the incompatibility between definite articles and appositives, even when the latter are not disambiguating the reference of a proper name.

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This paper addresses the question of the function of reduplication in the Homeric perfect. Specifically, the possible connection between the function of reduplication in the Homeric perfect and the original stative meaning of this category (Romagno 2005) is investigated.

The function of reduplication in the Homeric perfect has been extensively discussed and it has usually been explained as a development from the original intensive meaning and from the meaning of the resultant state of the subject of the perfect (see Wackernagel 1928: 166–167). Consequently, some authors (Bréal 1899: 277; Meid 1978: 216 ss.; Rix 1992: 203) suggested that reduplication in the Homeric perfect might encode an intensive meaning; whereas other authors (Brugmann 1916: 721; Giannakis 1997: 163; Willi 2018: 121–122) assigned a perfective meaning to the reduplication. Finally, a flectional value of reduplication in the Homeric perfect has been hypothesized as well (cf. Chantraine 1927: 22; Di Giovine 1996: 119; Niepokuj 1997: 217).

However, the original stative meaning of the Homeric perfect does not provide consistent evidence neither for the intensive meaning of reduplication nor for the perfective and flectional meanings. This study tests the hypothesis that reduplication might rather encode pluractionality in the perfect, just like in the reduplicated present and aorist (Lazzeroni/Magni 2018).

The category of pluractionality comprises both lexical (e.g. *John coughs*) and aspectual values (e.g. *John kisses Mary every morning*). These values form a *continuum* of pluractional meanings, including iterative, distributive, intensive, and habitual meanings (Cusic 1981: 60–61). All these values are tested in the present analysis.

The corpus of the present study consists of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (Gehring 1970). The verbs that show an original perfect in this corpus are analysed, with particular focus on their reduplication types and their actional and aspectual configurations. Moreover, the narratological context is considered as well.

The analysis of these verbs suggests that: 1) reduplication in the Homeric perfect is an innovation (Belardi 1950: 95–98; Drinka 2003: 98) that might enter in the perfect paradigm because of the similarity in actionality between the stative nature of the Homeric perfect and the durative reduplicated presents of the ‘μῖμνω’ type (Berrettoni 1983: 103–105; Lazzeroni 2011: 134–135). 2) Consequently, in the Homeric perfect reduplication encodes the habitual meaning, that is the less iconic value of the domain of pluractionality. 3) Specifically, this pluractional function of the reduplication

reveals the durative and attitudinal nature of the Homeric perfect as a category that represents the state of the subject as the author of an event or as the entity that is affected by the event (Lazzeroni 2012: 16).

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Ancient Greek (AG) participles are used in a variety of different contexts: attributively, as clausal adjuncts (circumstantial participles; including in absolute constructions, e.g., the genitive absolute), and as complements to verbs of perception and knowledge. Perfect participles are moreover used in a periphrastic perfect construction (PPC) in which aspectual and voice features are expressed on the participle, while tense and agreement are expressed on the auxiliary. A unified formal treatment of these diverse contexts is as of yet lacking. This paper argues that participial morphology spells out Asp(ect) whenever the verbal stem cannot combine with (finite) T(ense), building on Embick's (2000) and Bjorkman's (2011) analyses of Latin PPCs. AG participles are thus always “the same size” but occur in different types of nonfinite environments in which agreement is unavailable for different reasons.

For circumstantial participles, Goldstein (2015) distinguishes between participial clauses and participial VPs (and chained participles, not discussed here). Participial clauses modify a proposition and act as islands for clitic climbing, modal scope and scope of negation. Participial VPs, on the other hand, allow clitic climbing into the matrix clause, e.g., οὐδείς μεῖ ἀποδείξει οὔτε τι βουλεύσαντα “Nobody will prove that I sat on the council” (will prove me to have sat ...”; Lys. 25.14.4). Both participial VPs and participial clauses (including genitive absolutes) are underspecified for tense (they receive temporal interpretation only relative to the matrix clause) and can be transitive or passive, suggesting that they minimally contain VoiceP. I propose that the participial suffixes spell out the functional head Asp when head movement of Asp to T is impossible, either because it is blocked by a marked feature [RES] on Asp or because T is phi-deficient or absent altogether (Embick 2000, Bjorkman 2011, Grestenberger 2022). I moreover adopt Upwards Agree (e.g., Bjorkman & Zeijlstra 2019). In PPCs, Agree and head movement take place up to Asp, but further movement is blocked by [RES], and Asp is therefore spelled out as active or nonactive participle depending on the features of the adjacent Voice. Periphrasis thus arises in “finite contexts” when marked features block movement; auxiliaries like εἶμι ‘be’ then pick up “stranded” features (Bjorkman 2011). Attributive and circumstantial participles, on the other hand, either contain only Asp (≈ Goldstein's participial VPs), or Asp + phi-defective T. In the latter case, agreement and head movement proceed up to Asp as in the PPCs, but because there are no phi-features on T the verbal complex is again spelled out as a participle. Evidence that TP is present, but defective in these types of reduced

clauses (cf. Pires 2006) comes from attributive participles that can be modified by temporal adverbs, e.g., ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένη χωρῇ “in the land now called Hellas” (Hdt. 1.1.2).

Appositive circumstantial participles moreover functionally compete with finite (non-restrictive) relative clauses and allow topicalization to a left-peripheral position and wh-movement, e.g., [τί δ’ ἂν ἐπιδιζήμενος] ποιέοιμι ταῦτα “[In search of what] would I do these things?” (Hdt. 5.106.3; Goldstein 2015: 235).

I propose that such structures contain a defective CP whose head cannot license phi-features on T. Assuming that there is a selectional relationship between C and T (Chomsky 2001), phi-complete C can only select phi-complete T, in which case T becomes the goal for agreement and the verbal complex is then spelled out as a synthetic finite verb. However, phi-defective C can select either phi-complete T or phi-defective T. Neither is able to act as a goal for agreement with the uninterpretable phi-feature on the verbal complex (the former because it is not licensed by C, the latter because it does not contain the relevant features), so the verb is spelled out with infinitival morphology in the former and with participial morphology in the latter context.

Finally, complements of perception and knowledge verbs can be either participles or infinitives, depending on whether the complement refers to something that is known to be true/actually occurring (participles) or not (infinitive). Building on Wurmbrand & Lohninger (2023), I interpret this as evidence that these verbs select complements of different “sizes” depending on whether they are (semantically) propositions (CP), situations (TP) or events (vP/VoiceP). The latter contain Asp in AG and are spelled out as participles (Faure 2017), whereas situations are spelled out as infinitives and propositions as finite clauses with a complementizer. The analysis presented here will therefore also contribute to a better understanding of the distribution of participles vs. infinitives and the syntax of non-finiteness in AG more generally.

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Merriam-Webster's dictionary defines insult as "a gross indignity: an instance of insolent or contemptuous speech or conduct" and "to insult" as "to treat with insolence, indignity, or contempt." Linguistically, we can say that both the noun and the verb refer to strong face-threatening acts (see Goffman 1955, Brown/Levinson 1987, O' Driscoll 2017, Sifianou/Tzanne 2021).

This paper examines the different terms used by Homer that can be translated into English as "insult" and "to insult." This analysis is not self-serving: lexical definitions aim to help us better interpret some Homeric passages. I particularly concentrate on three word families: *neikos/neikeō/neikeios*, *aischos/aischunō/aischros*, and *oneidos/oneidizō/oneideios*. In order to determine to what extent these words are interchangeable, I analyze the context in which Homer uses them, focusing on three criteria:

1. Semantic field: Can this word refer to insult in general or only to a specific kind of insult? (in linguistic terms: is this term marked or unmarked?)
2. Function of the insult: does this word refer to insult that is moralistic in nature?
3. Evaluation of the insult: Does the speaker use this word to refer to abuse that he perceives as justified or gratuitous?

After analyzing the most relevant passages, I conclude that *neikeō* is the most unmarked verb: it can always be translated with the English "to insult" (pace Adkins 1960 and 1969) and can refer to a large range of insulting acts. *neikos*, on the other hand, is not the most unmarked term for insult: it usually refers to the reciprocal blame that underlies a war or a strife (think of the metonymy *neikos orōre* to mean "the war began," i.e., "the enmity began"). *aischea* and *oneida* refer respectively to justified and justified insult, therefore there is no unmarked noun for "insult" in Homeric Greek.

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Vocatives or terms of address are known to be highly mobile within the utterance in many languages. In Ancient Greek, they either hold peripheral positions of the utterance or may be inserted in it (Dickey 1996). Functional analysis performed on right periphery terms of address has shown that, in spite of their omission not being salient from the im/politeness point of view, they may be linked with a wide range of intense feelings –such as insistence, impatience or worry– towards the addressee (Rodríguez Piedrabuena 2021). Others have tackled the issue of terms of address re-dressing specific face threatening acts –regardless of their position in the utterance– in a number of Platonic dialogues (Lloyd 2022).

These works have mostly adopted the im/politeness standpoint and have focused on dialogic segments of drama (stichomythia or agones) or Platonic dialogues. However, it has been proven that some theticals, like vocatives, may be sensitive to text types, thus being more frequent in dialogic sequences (Ruiz Yamuza 2018). Hence, it can be argued that vocatives in monologues are pragmatically more relevant. Very recently, van Gils & Kroon (2024) have examined Cicero's fourth Catilinarian as a multi-unit turn, fraught with interactive marks (mainly vocatives), which attempt to create alignment and model the addressee's preferred response to Cicero's general request, a form of what they call interaction management. Following their example, the aim of this paper is to analyse interaction management, particularly, address usage in Ancient Greek monologues. To do so, I will distinguish three main text-types: narrations, argumentations and expressive texts, all of them extracted from Euripides' plays and Platonic dialogues. I will inspect examples such as (1), located towards the end of the narration by the messenger in Iphigenia amongst the Taurians or (2), closing Aristophanes' intervention about Love in Symposium:

- (1) E. IT 1334–1335 (Messenger-Thoas): (...) καὶ τὰδ' ἦν ὕποπτα μὲν, / ἤρεσκε μέντοι σοῖσι προσπόλοις, **ἄναξ**.

(...) And this looked suspicious, but was accepted by your servants, master.

- (2) Pl. Symp. 193d–e (Aristophanes–Eryximachus): Οὗτος, ἔφη, **ὦ Ἐρυξίμαχε**, ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος ἐστὶ περὶ Ἔρωτος, ἀλλοῖος ἢ ὁ σός. ὥσπερ οὖν ἐδεήθην σου, μὴ κωμωδήσης αὐτόν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀκούσωμεν τί ἕκαστος ἐρεῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ τί ἐκάτερος. Ἀγάθων γὰρ καὶ Σωκράτης λοιποί. This, Eryximachus, he said, is my speech about Love, of a different kind from yours. Therefore, as I asked you, don't make fun of it in order that we may hear what each of those who

are left will say, or rather what each of the two will say. For Agathon and Socrates are the ones left.

My hypothesis is that vocative use may be distributed in a spectrum: the one end being held by narratives, with the lowest frequency of vocatives, and the opposite end being held by expressive texts, with the highest frequency of vocatives. The main goal is to determine whether speakers follow particular patterns when it comes to addressing their addressee and, if so, to discover in what parts of the monologue these addresses tend to occur. I will rely on the narratology framework (Labov 1972, Fleishmann 1990, de Jong 1991, 2004, Allan 2007, 2009) to dissect narrative texts and quantify the vocatives used. It is expected that a text-type oriented model of analysis will shed light on the matter of vocative use and lead to a more thorough understanding of interaction management and ascertain whether it correlates with the conventional features of each text-type.

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**Feminine adjectives in -ος and masculine adjectives in -ης (-ᾱς):
Greek innovation or Proto-Indo-European heritage?**Wednesday, June 25th, 17:00

Room H339

Ancient Greek stands out among Indo-European languages for being the only one in which thematic adjectives in -ος < *-os can have feminine agreement forms in either -ος < *-os (e.g., ἄλκιμος μάχη ‘stubborn battle’) or -η, -ᾱ < *-eh₂ (e.g., καρτερὰ μάχη ‘fierce battle’). All other branches that exhibit feminine gender make use of the second strategy only (e.g., Vedic *priyā kanyā*, Latin *puella pulchra* ‘pretty girl’, Old Church Slavonic *slěpa žena* ‘blind woman’, Latvian *liela māja* ‘big house’, Gothic *stibna mikila* ‘loud voice’, etc.). At the same time, Ancient Greek is also the only language with masculine adjectives in -ης (-ᾱς) < *-eh₂+s (e.g., στρατὸς ὑβριστῆς ‘violent army’), some of which are seemingly based on thematic adjectives (e.g., ἐτήσιος ‘yearly, annual’ and ἐτήσiai ἄνεμοι ‘periodic winds; the Etesian winds’).

These two peculiarities of Ancient Greek adjective inflection have attracted uneven scholarly attention: while one is forced to consult 19th century grammars to find masculine adjectives in -ης (-ᾱς) explicitly mentioned as a type (cf. Kühner & Blass 1890: 387, 547–8, 563; Buttmann 1869: 102), the adjectives of two terminations, where the masculine set of endings is used for both masculine and feminine substantives, have long intrigued scholars of both Greek and Indo-European linguistics. Renowned figures such as Brugmann (1911: 105–6; cf. also Rix 1976: 166) have interpreted them as former nouns reanalyzed as adjectives when used in apposition (e.g., ῥοδοδάκτυλος m. *‘a rose-fingered being’ >> ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως ‘rose-fingered Eos’), which is also an explanation that has been offered (and, indeed, best accounts) for some masculine adjectives in -ης (-ᾱς) such as ὑβριστῆς, originally an agent noun derived from ὑβρίζω ‘wax wanton, run riot’.

On the other hand, other distinguished experts in the field such as Wackernagel (1924: 50; cf. also Kastner 1967: 116) have argued that the two-termination adjectives are an archaism, and some have seen them as a reflex of the agreement system prior to the origin of the feminine gender in which *-os was the nom.-sg. ending of the common gender thematic adjective and *-om the respective form of the neuter (cf. Olsen 1999: vi). Under this view, the spread of *-eh₂ as the feminine agreement marker for thematic adjectives must have happened gradually, and while most languages reflect its full (and predictable) grammaticalization (cf. Vedic *priyā kanyā*, Latin *puella pulchra*, etc.), Ancient Greek preserves the more archaic state, perhaps similar to the late Proto-Indo-European situation.

The precise origin of this form in $*-eh_2 < *-e-h_2$ and the exact starting point of its spread are still largely a mystery. It is clear that $*-eh_2$ as the feminine suffix par excellence for nouns (as in *δοῦλη* ‘female slave’, Latin *amīca* ‘girlfriend’, Vedic *snuṣā-* ‘daughter-in-law’, etc.) must postdate its establishment as the feminine agreement marker in adjectives. Recent scholarship (cf. Nussbaum 2014; Melchert 2014; Kim 2014; Fellner & Grestenberger 2016) has emphasized the status of $*-h_2-$ as a deadjectival suffix and its role in substantivization, a function that is already attested in the earliest branch to split off, Anatolian (e.g., Lycian **kumeze-* ‘sacred’ → *kumaza-* c. ‘priest’).

This paper investigates the question whether the adjectival forms in $< *-e-h_2$ originally served as the definite forms of the thematic adjective. Using the historical-comparative method, I will provide evidence for $*-h_2-$ as a definiteness-marking (or substantivizing) suffix of common (or: masculine and feminine) gender on the one hand, and potential evidence for Proto-Indo-European ways of marking nominal definiteness on adjectives on the other. If the form in $*-e-h_2$ was originally an adjective marked for definiteness that only secondarily was reanalyzed as a feminine adjective, we would expect to find remnants of feminine (indefinite) adjectives in $*-os$ alongside masculine (definite) adjectives in $*-eh_2$ — a situation reminiscent of what we have in Ancient Greek. I will then try to show that Greek masculine adjectives in $-\eta\varsigma$ ($-\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$) $< *-eh_2+s$ do indeed predominantly appear in positions where we expect definiteness, such as, for instance, in attributive rather than predicative position (cf. *ἐτησίαι ἄνεμοι* from above). Finally, I evaluate distributional patterns of three-versus two-termination adjectives to test whether they corroborate this hypothesis. By offering a refined model of PIE adjectival agreement and its evolution, this paper not only elucidates Greek adjectival morphology but also sheds light on the dynamics of innovation and retention in Indo-European languages.

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The lexical semantics of some propositional attitude verbs in Herodotus (and beyond)Wednesday, June 25th, 12:00Room H339

In a famous scene of Herodotus' Croesus-logos, Croesus asks Solon whom he thinks is the happiest man of all.

- (1) ὁ μὲν ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα (1.30.3)

So he inquired, supposing that he was the happiest of men.

When Solon answers 'Tellos', Croesus tries again:

- (2) ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἴδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσεσθαι. (1.31.1)

He further asked him who he placed second after that one, heartily supposing that he would at least take second prize.

Solon again disappoints Croesus, mentioning 'Cleobis and Biton'. Croesus now angrily sends Solon away:

- (3) μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβέ ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, ὥς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἑωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. (1.34.1)

After Solon's departure, divine anger fell heavily on Croesus, as far as one can conjecture, because he had supposed that he was the happiest of all men.

In these passages a rather similar proposition is introduced by three different propositional-attitude verbs, ἐλπίζω, δοκέω and νομίζω, raising the question whether there are semantic differences between these verbs or whether they are synonymous. Translators, commentators and lexicons to Herodotus treat them as more or less equivalent (Powell's Lexicon to Herodotus (1938: s.vv.) translates ἐλπίζω as 'expect' and 'suppose', δοκέω as 'think' and 'suppose', and νομίζω as 'consider' and 'believe'). Additional problems pertain to ἐλπίζω: 1) Herodotus is the only extant author to use both ἐλπίζω and ἔλπομαι alongside one another; 2) lexical studies of ἐλπίζω (e.g. Myres 1949; Lachnit 1965, Schrijen 1965), suggest that in its classical usage, ἐλπίζω is not the same as Christian "hope", in that it need not entail desire, need not pertain to the future and may involve rational thinking (based on inductive thinking, a Rationalmoment): the result of these studies is, again, that ἐλπίζω should be seen as more or less synonymous with simple, neutral "suppose".

For this paper, I conduct an exhaustive analysis of all occurrences of a number of propositional-attitude verbs in Herodotus (whilst realizing that this is only part of the semantic field of propositional-attitude verbs, of course): δε/οκ-: δοκέω (x216), καταδοκέω (9), προσδοκάω (4), προσδέκομαι (9); φελπ-: ἐλπίζω (39), κατελπίζω (1), ἔλπομαι (8), ἀελπτέω (1); νομίζω (70). I will adopt the "method

of substitution” (can one verb be substituted for another without change of meaning; e.g. Lyons 1963; Aitchinson 1993; see also e.g. Rademaker 2004; Peels 2105 for investigations of other semantic fields in ancient Greek) to corpus linguistics by comparing the verbs along a number of parameters. Relevant parameters include: 1) differences between third-person uses (ascription of propositional attitude, trigger of secondary focalization), first-person uses (‘evidentials’) and second-person uses (‘don’t imagine’, etc.); 2) the use of these verbs in narrative, descriptive passages and in the Herodotean narrator’s own ‘language of proof’; 3) the tense and aspect of the verbs; 4) the tense of the complementary infinitives; 5) the content of the complementary infinitives (emotions, customs, etc. etc.); 6) the difference between non-factivity and contra-factivity (the latter is introduced by Dik 1997, to denote verbs which presuppose that their complement is false).

The analysis shows that each verb has its own meaning, that ἐλπίζω and ἔλπομαι are not synonymous and that the differences between (Christian) “hope” and ἐλπίζω should not be exaggerated. In my conclusion I will return to the Croesus-logos. More generally, the goal of my paper is to provide entries of the verbs (in their relevant constructions, i.e. with declarative infinitives) for a new lexicon to Herodotus (should one ever appear); in simplified form:

- (4) δοκέω ‘think’, ‘suppose’ (by far most frequent, basic-level term, implying, among other things, that it can be substituted for ἐλπίζω and νομίζω, but not vice versa).
- (5) ἐλπίζω ‘imagine’, ‘fancy’ (pertains invariably to the future; contra-factive verb; high degree of confidence, and emotional investment, on the part of the subject (‘hope’, occasionally ‘fear’); often implies irrational/foolish thinking; only used as an evidential by Themistocles, a special case; used in dramatic sections of the narrative, in order to create suspense (‘where will it all go wrong?’).
- (6) ἔλπομαι ‘conjecture’ (pertains to the future, the remote past or a hypothetical world, i.e. things that cannot be known; low degree of confidence on the part of the subject (in evidentials ‘cautious assertion’); rational thinking, based on insufficient evidence; not used in climactic passages or to create suspense).
- (7) νομίζω ‘believe’ (usually pertains to the present (occasionally past, rarely future); introduces νόμοι and value judgements; introduces beliefs that are taken for granted by the subject; often occurs in ethnographical passages, usually without implied judgement of the narrator as to the veracity of the belief).

In the final part of my paper, I will briefly raise the question of dialectal differences in the use of propositional- attitude verbs – an understudied topic. In Attic, for instance, the distribution seems to be very different and there is a different basic-level term (οἶμαι).

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Ditransitive verbs are those verbs whose valency includes at least three participants: an Agent (A), a Theme (T), and a Recipient (R). A peculiar behavior of ditransitives is that they tend to occur in more than one argument structure construction with respect to the coding of T and R, as is the case of the well-known English “dative alternation” between *the boy gave the book to the girl* vs. *the boy gave the girl the book*. This variation has been approached from at least two strands of research. First, language-specific studies, mainly focusing on English and other Germanic languages, have tried to pinpoint possible linguistic and extra-linguistic factors responsible for the coding of T and R and whether these factors change over time (see Zehentner 2019; Zehentner et al. 2023; De Vaere 2023). Second, typologists have acknowledged that variation in the argument structure of ditransitives is pervasive across languages, leading to the identification of different alignment types based on how T and R roles are encoded with respect to the Patient (P) of transitive verbs (Siewierska 2003; Haspelmath 2005, 2015; Malchukov et al. 2010; Malchukov 2013). Finally, ditransitives have increasingly been studied from a diachronic perspective (see chapters in Napoli & Fedriani 2020, Zehentner et al. 2023).

This body of research has also led to a renewed interest in ditransitives in ancient Indo-European languages. Dedicated studies have appeared, for example, on Latin (Napoli 2018, Fedriani 2020) and on Vedic (Dahl 2020). Research on ditransitive verbs in Ancient Greek has unfortunately lagged behind. Scholars have focused either on specific constructions (e.g. the double accusative construction; Jaquinod 1989; Luraghi & Zanchi 2018) or individual verbs (e.g. Benedetti & Bruno 2022 on διδάσκω ‘teach’), but we lack a comprehensive account of how ditransitive verbs behave in Ancient Greek and how they evolved over time. To fill this gap, in this study we carry out an extensive analysis of ditransitive verbs in Homer and in Classical Greek.

We take into account the three main classes of ditransitive verbs: verbs of physical transfer, e.g. δίδωμι ‘give’, verbs of mental transfer, e.g. ἀγγέλλω ‘announce’, and verbs of dispossession, e.g. ἀφαιρέω ‘take away’. The full list of verbs is reported in Appendix 1. For each verb, we extract its occurrences, with a limit of 100 tokens for higher frequency verbs, following the guidelines in Inglese & Zanchi (2022). Homeric data has been retrieved from *HoDeL* whereas for Classical Greek we focus on a sub-corpus consisting mostly of historians and orators, plus Plato, explored via the *TLG*. Each token is annotated based on a number of factors, including the coding strategy for T and R,

their length, position, the animacy and definiteness of the referents, their realization (as either full NPs, pronouns, zero). We also take into account how these verbs behave in specific alternations, chiefly passivization.

Based on this data, we showcase the variety of argument structure constructions of ditransitive verbs in Ancient Greek and discuss how they pattern into classes (e.g. verbs of dispossession seem to constitute a distinct class with respect to those of physical/mental transfer). Following the analysis proposed by Zehentner (2019) for English, we also explore with quantitative methods what are the language-specific factors that influence the coding of R and T, with special attention to those verbs that alternate between different constructions. An example of alternating verb is δωρέω ‘donate’, which occurs in two constructions: with R in the dative and T in the accusative, as in (1a), or with R in the accusative and T in the dative, as in (1b). Finally, by comparing Homeric data with Classical Greek, we highlight diachronic trends of either change or continuity in the patterns selected by individual verbs.

The results of this work will not only enrich our knowledge about ditransitives in ancient Indo-European languages and cross-linguistically, but will also set the baseline for a diachronic study of this class of verbs in the history of Greek.

Examples

- (1) a. Ἐγὼ σοί_R, ὦ Κῦρε, τὰ μὲν χρήματα_T
 1sg.nom 2sg.dat voc Cyrus.voc art.acc.pl prt treasure.acc.pl
 ταῦτα δωροῦμαι
 dem.acc.pl donate.prs.1sg.mid
 ‘These treasures, Cyrus, I donate to you’ (Xen. Cyr. 5.2.7.7)

- b. ἄλλοι δ’ ἀναθήμασι_T δωρούμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς_R
 other.nom.pl prt emblem.dat.pl donate.ptcp.nom.pl art.acc.pl god.acc.pl
 ‘Others donate to the gods votive emblems’ (Pl. Alc. 149c 3)

Appendix 1

Ditransitive verbs in Ancient Greek (verbs with * are unattested in Homer)

advise	συμβουλεύω (Hom. παραμυθέομαι)	promise	ὑπισχνέομαι (Hom. ὑπίσχομαι)
announce	ἀγγέλλω	sacrifice	θύω
answer	ἀποκρίνομαι	say	φημί
ask (a question)	ἐρωτάω (Hom. εἶρω)	*sell	πωλέω
ask for	αἰτέω	send	πέμπω
bring	φέρω	show	δείκνυμι
confiscate	δημεύω	steal	κλέπτω

distribute	νέμω	take	λαμβάνω
donate	δωρέω	take away	ἀφαιρέω
give	δίδωμι	talk	διαλέγω
hide	κρύπτω	teach	διδάσκω
*lend	δανείζω	tell	λέγω
offer	παρέχω		
order	κελεύω		
pay	ἐκτίνω (Hom. τίνω)		

Resources

HoDeL: <https://su-lab.unipv.it/tasf/index.php/hodel/>

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The purpose of this paper is to analyse πῶς γὰρ οὐ;, a discourse marker of ancient Greek whose particularity lies in its interrogative form. The origin of this discourse marker is tied to the inverted polarity of the question: πῶς γὰρ οὐ; does not elicit information but rather favors a positive answer to confirm its proposition. This confirmative nature explains why πῶς γὰρ οὐ; is found in our texts as a content disjunct, signaling the speaker's commitment to the truth conditions of the proposition. Moreover, this sequence is fully conventionalized, unlike similar expressions such as πῶς δ' οὐ; or its affirmative counterpart πῶς γάρ;.

Although πῶς γὰρ οὐ; is mentioned in the literature on Greek particles due to its frequency in ancient Greek, existing comments are largely limited to remarks on its inverted polarity and its use as a positive reaction to a previous turn. This paper aims to fill this gap by providing a comprehensive linguistic analysis of this discourse marker.

From a theoretical perspective, my approach builds on the conclusions of Herrero Ruiz de Loizaga (2014) in his analysis of a closely related discourse marker, Spanish ¿cómo no?. However, there are differences between the Spanish and Greek markers, such as the presence of γάρ in the Greek expression. In any event, to analyze our sequence we must consider, first of all, its inverted polarity and the use of πῶς in non-standard questions; the indicators that allow us to determine the conventionalization of πῶς γὰρ οὐ;; the functions attributed to it according to the relevant literature on this sort of item in ancient Greek; and the role played by the particle γάρ.

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The parameter of animacy is widely known to influence grammatical choices in languages all over the world (see e.g. Dahl and Fraurud, 1996; Yamamoto, 1999). Recent studies have also highlighted the importance of animacy in Ancient Greek grammar, including Mambrini and Passarotti (2016), Romagno (2017) and Luraghi (2017). While these studies focus on the role of animacy in specific linguistic constructions, the rise of large, openly available text corpora allow for a much more holistic analysis of the Ancient Greek language. Unfortunately, such an analysis is currently limited by the lack of semantic annotation in Greek corpora. The aim of this paper is therefore threefold: to present a manual annotation project of animacy in Ancient Greek, to demonstrate how this manual annotation can be used as input data for machine learning models in order to add animacy annotation to a large corpus of Ancient Greek (Keersmaekers 2021), and to demonstrate how such a corpus can be used to conduct large-scale investigations on the impact of animacy on Greek grammar.

As for the manual annotation, we will discuss how we started from the annotation scheme of Zaenen et al. (2004), which was also employed in the PROIEL project (Haug and Jøhndal, 2008), and adapted this scheme in order to be suitable for Ancient Greek annotation. Next, we will briefly explain how animacy annotation can be learned automatically, building on methods developed for various other languages (e.g. Øvrelid, 2006; Tepei and Bloem, 2024). Finally, we will show how this automatic annotation can be used in order to conduct large-scale investigations on the role of animacy in Ancient Greek grammar, based on a number of test cases similar to the studies on Greek presented above, but using automatically obtained data.

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The epic adjective *ἀεσίφρων* (H. 3x, Hes. 3x, cf. also *ἀεσιφροσύνη* H. 1x, Hes. 1x) is usually understood to mean (LSJ) 'witless, silly', (Pape) 'unverständlich, thöricht', 'in den *phrenes* geschädigt [damaged in the *ph.*]' (LfgrE). It is said of persons and of a person's *θυμός*, e.g. in

Od. 21.295

οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον, ἀγακλυτὸν Εὐρυτίωνα,

ἄασ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ μεγαθύμου Πειριθόοιο,

ἐς Λαπίθας ἐλθόνθ'· ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ φρένας **ἄασεν** οἴνῳ,

μαινόμενος κάκ' ἔρεξε δόμον κάτα Πειριθόοιο·

ἥρωας δ' ἄχος εἶλε, διέκ προθύρου δὲ θύραζε 300

ἔλκον ἀναΐξαντες, ἀπ' οὖατα νηλεί χαλκῷ

ῥῖνάς τ' ἀμήσαντες· ὁ δὲ φρεσὶν ἦσιν **ἀασθεῖς**

ἦεν ἦν ἄτην ὀχέων **ἀεσίφρωνι** θυμῷ.

"It was wine that made foolish the centaur, too, glorious Eurytion, in the hall of great-hearted Peirithous, when he went to the Lapithae, and when he had made his heart foolish with wine, in his madness he did evil in the house of Peirithous. Then grief seized the heroes, and they leapt up and dragged him out through the gateway, when they had shorn off his ears and his nostrils with the pitiless bronze, and he, *made foolish in heart*, went his way, bearing with him his ruinous mistake *in the folly of his heart*." (tr. Murray/Dimock [Loeb])

Since antiquity this form has been corrected into *ἀασίφρων* by Homeric scholars, mostly under the assumption of a folk-etymology which would have changed original *ἀασίφρων* 'damaging/damaged in one's mind' into *ἀεσίφρων* by analogy to forms such as *ἀλφεσίβοιος*, *ταμείχροος*, *φαεσίμβροτος*, etc. (cf. e.g. Buttmann 1837: 224, Bechtel 1914: 14, Frisk 1960: 25, Chantraine 2009: 3, Beekes 2010: 3; differently Verdenius 1957: 249), cf. also for the meaning *βλαψίφρων* in *A. Th.* 725. However, the unanimous evidence of the Homeric and Hesiodic mss. speak in favour of an original form with *-ε-*. The apparently satisfactory explanation of the compound as based on *ἀάω* makes the recalcitrant presence of forms with *-ε-* all the more unjustifiable, if no motivation for a change from a fully transparent to a less transparent form can be found. The paper will argue that there is sufficient evidence in Greek phraseology combining words for 'mind, heart' and 'fly, blow' such as

θυμὸς ᾗται and φυσίφρων referring either to arrogance or fickleness of mind which support the transmitted reading of the epic texts.

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One of the most characteristic aspects of the Modern Greek language is the use of so-called ‘parenthetical’ politeness expressions which have their historical origins in performative verbs, such as παρακαλῶ ‘please’ from ‘I ask’ and εὐχαριστῶ ‘thanks’ from ‘I thank [you]’ (cf. Schneider 2009 for Romance). What is perhaps less well known is that varieties of Ancient Greek also had already developed a range of ‘parenthetical’ uses of performative expressions associated with politeness, such as ἱκετεύω, λίσσομαι, ἀντιβोलῶ (cf. Unceta Gómez and Berger 2022 for an overview of politeness). One reason for this may be that most research on performatives in Ancient Greek has focused on the performative or ‘tragic’ aorist (cf. e.g. Lloyd 1999; Bary 2012), though there have been some studies of specific performative requests and wishes in the Post-Classical Greek papyri (e.g. Dickey 2016; Bruno 2020; la Roi forthc.).

Therefore, I investigate which performative verbs develop ‘parenthetical’ uses in the diachrony of Ancient Greek, how these can be identified linguistically (given the absence of prosodic information and the unreliability of punctuation) and which diachronic processes are at play. The analysis is based on all instances of the first person singular indicative in the texts from Archaic to Early Post-Classical Greek (VIII – I BCE), both in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae and Trismegistos words. In doing so, I aim to answer three interrelated research questions:

- (1) which performative verbs develop parenthetical uses?
- (2) what are the pragmatic differences and similarities between parenthetical and non-parenthetical uses?
- (3) which diachronic process(es) may explain the genesis of such parenthetical uses?

Question 2 and 3 both seek to offer an alternative to an unresolved issue in the literature on the diachrony of parenthetical performatives: polite parenthetical uses are generally explained as the result of a *pragmaticalization* process (e.g. Ghezzi and Molinelli 2014 on Italian *prego*), but performatives already have a pragmatic function in their non-parenthetical form (e.g. ‘I ask’ performs the question); this would rather suggest a functional overlap between the parenthetical and non-parenthetical uses of performatives. The latter might be supported by instances such as example 1 below which express a polite request, though not being morphosyntactically parenthetical.

- (1) ἱκετεύω σε, γεραία, γεραιῶν ἐκ στομάτων πρὸς γόνυ πίπτουσα τὸ σόν· (E. *Supp.* 42–43)

I beseech you, aged lady (=Aethra, Theseus’ mother), from aged lips, falling at your knees

As a result, a different diachronic explanation must be developed that can account for the development of parenthetical uses by performative verbs in Ancient Greek.

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The study will focus on a few variant readings in the *Iliad* that have been rejected by Alexandrian scholars. A small set of unrelated variant readings, taken together, point in the same direction, namely, that they probably result from a misidentification of words in a written version of the *Iliad* in which the digamma was preserved and written down. Accordingly, the vexed question of whether or not the epic singers artificially maintained the pronunciation of *wau* in their performance deserves to be re-examined. In his short Homeric grammar in the *Prolegomena* to the Basel Commentary, Wachter (2015: 76) states that “Homeric language no longer had a phoneme /w/. In any case, the corresponding grapheme <Ϝ> [...] is transmitted nowhere in the text of Homer; and although it was still available ca. 660 BC [...], it is never used even in the oldest East and West Ionic inscriptions.” The variant readings under consideration provide indirect evidence for a written digamma in initial position, probably in a West Ionic version. The error that produced these variant readings was caused by the conversion from the West Ionic alphabet to the East Ionic one (*contra* Wachter 2015: 70 “in all probability it [viz. the text of the epic poems] was originally written down in an alphabet of the East Ionic type”). This can confirm the importance of the West Ionic component in the Homeric language, and the role of written versions in the fixation of the text. From the point of view of historical linguistics, the study leads us to revise traditionally accepted etymologies, to reassess the “free use” of hiatus in Homer, to bring to light a remarkable morphological correspondence between Greek and Armenian, and to propose new translations for several lines, the original meaning of which was no longer known to Alexandrian scholars.

We studied the periphrastic uses of verbs of movement in Greek, Latin and French, from a comparative perspective, seeking to determine under what conditions they can become auxiliary verbs, as do *aller/venir de* in French. Starting from our three articles published in 1982-1984, we wish to examine the question here for Greek, taking into account the publications of Daniel Kölligan on verbs of movement and Andreas Zanker on conceptual metaphors in the language of Homer with the following (perhaps provisional) plan and examples:

- (1) Homeric verbal periphrastic, no metaphorical uses.

βῆ δ' ἰέναι idiomatic

ἰὼν / ἐλθὼν + action verb: idiomatic

Il. 1.12 = 371 ἦλθε θεὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν ... / λυσόμενος τε θυγάτρα φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι'

ἄποινα *Il.* 1.207 ἦλθον ἐγὼ παύσουσα τὸ σὸν μένος

Il. 2.801 ἔρχονται πεδίοιο μαχησόμενοι προτὶ ἄστυ

Il. 3.432 ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν προκάλεσσαι ἴθι εἰπέ

? *progressive value* (Dietrich): *Il.* 20.166–7 ὃ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀτίζων / ἔρχεται·

Od. 13.93–5 εὗτ' ἀστήρ ὑπερέσχε φαάντατος, ὅς τε μάλιστα

ἄρχεται ἀγγέλλων φάος Ἡοῦς ἠριγενείης *cp.* *Hdt.* 1.122 ἥιέ τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός

- (2) Metaphorical uses of movement verbs in Homer and *conceptual metaphors*.

Il. 9.501 ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβήη καὶ ἀμάρτη

Il. 6.125 ἀτὰρ μὲν νῦν γε πολὺ προβέβηκας ἀπάντων

Il. 16. 54 καὶ γέρας ἄψ ἀφελέσθαι, ὅτε κράτει προβεβήκη *Od.* 8.492 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι καὶ ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον ἔτος ἦλθε, ἥως εἴσι, νύξ ἐλθοῦσα: idiomatic phrases

Od. 13.59–60 εἰς ὃ κε γῆρας / ἔλθη καὶ θάνατος

- (3) Lexicalization of this type of metaphor in Herodotus.

Hdt. 1.122 ἥιέ τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός

1.210.3 ἥιε ἐς Πέρσας φυλάξων Κύρῳ τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον =

1.5.3 ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς ...

1.194.1 τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτη μετὰ γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἔρχομαι φράσων.

Cp. 2.11.1 ὡς ἔρχομαι φράσων, 2.35 ἔρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγύπτου μηκυνέων τὸν λόγον, 40.1 ταύτην ἔρχομαι ἐρέων, 99.1 ἔρχομαι ἐρέων, 3.6.1 τοῦτο ἔρχομαι φράσων, 3.80.5 τὰ δὲ δὴ μέγιστα ἔρχομαι ἐρέων, 4.82 ἥια λέξων, 4.99.2 ἔρχομαι σημανέων, 6.109.4 νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσων, 5.62.1 τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἥια λέξων λόγον, 7.49.3 ἔρχομαι ἐρέων, 7.102.2 ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων

(idioms with ἐρέων; λέξων; φράσων)

Cp. some other examples of this type of discourse metaphor in Herodotus (ἄνειμι, ἐπάνειμι, ἀναβαίνω, προβαίνων...).

(4) Appearance of quasi-auxiliaries in Plato?

4.1. Parallels to Herodotus: Pl. *Theait.* 180c ὅπερ ἥια ἐρῶν

Rsp. 449a καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἥια τὰς ἐφεξῆς ἐρῶν

Cp. Xen. *Ag.* 2.7 καὶ οὐ τοῦτο λέξων ἔρχομαι

Luc. *De dea Syria* 1 Περὶ ταύτης ...

Pl. *Phed.* 100b ἔρχομαι γὰρ δὴ ἐπιχειρῶν σοὶ ἐπιδείξασθαι τῆς αἰτίας τὸ εἶδος ὃ πεπραγμάτευμαι καὶ εἶμι πάλιν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ πολυθρόλυτα καὶ ἄρχομαι ἀπ' ἐκείνων ...

4.2. But also some more problematic items:

Pl. *Prot.* 311e ὡς σοφιστῇ ἄρα ἐρχόμεθα τελοῦντες τὰ χρήματα;

313a οἴσθα ἐς οἷόν τινα κίνδυνον ἔρχει ὑποθήσων τὴν ψυχὴν;

Theait. 198e ὅπως χρή τοῖς ὀνόμασι χρώμενον λέγειν περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅταν ἀριθμήσων ἥ ὁ ἀριθμητικός, ἥ τι ἀναγνωσασμενος ὁ γραμματικός, ὡς ἐπιστάμενος ἄρα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πάλιν ἔρχεται μαθησόμενος παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἃ ἐπίσταται

Tim. 17d εἴθε τις ἔξωθεν ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐνδοθεν ἴοι κακουργήσων

For Dietrich a verbal periphrasis with aspectual value / For us a discourse metaphor.

The periphrasis is conjugated (present and imperfect) and meets with the future participles of several verbs (ἐρέων, λέξων, φράσων): good indications of the evolution towards an auxiliary.

However, the lexical field of the future participle seems limited to verbs meaning “say, tell”. If it were a aspectual periphrasis as Dietrich would like, or a quasi-auxiliary syntagma corresponding

to the French *aller* + infinitive, one would expect that the dependent verb, which gives the paradigm of the syntagma, would be free, and that the periphrase may have other subjects than the historical speech subject.

One can thus arrive at a classification of the verbal periphrases in Greek, from the metaphorical periphrasis to the auxiliary, comparable to that which the specialists of the question have drawn up for general linguistics, and find that with the verbs of movement, the language remained halfway through the process, without going as far as English with *going to*, French with *aller/venir de*, or Italian with *venire* as auxiliary of the passive.

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Several typological studies have demonstrated that the relative pronouns of a given language do not always perform all the syntactic and semantic functions possible within that language (cf., e.g., Keenan & Comrie 1977; Lehmann 1984, 1986). It has also been shown that the relativisation of certain functions depends on the relativisation of others and that not all functions are equally easy for speakers to process. Keenan and Comrie (1977: 66) represented such dependency relationships in the well-known Accessibility Hierarchy (AH), which runs as follows: Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparison. The AH has several shortcomings (cf. esp. Dik 1997: 366–376), but it deserves credit for sparking interest in investigating the relativisation possibilities of languages. In the field of Greek linguistics, several studies have been published in recent years. Noteworthy contributions include Perna's (2013a, 2013b) work based on a selection of Platonic dialogues, Hayes's (2014: 227–236) study of the New Testament Greek, and Cattafi's (2024: 71–96) examination of Egyptian papyri from the 1st to the 8th centuries AD. Bertrand (2023: 15–16) also deserves mention, as he applies the AH to Pindar to explore whether it plays any role in the post-position of relative pronouns. All these contributions highlight that both classical and post-classical Greek possess a high degree of relativisation, as all positions on the AH are relativised, albeit not with equal frequency. For instance, in the nearly 7,000 papyri analysed by Cattafi (2024), there is only one example of relativisation of the object of comparison, whereas there are 1,162 examples of relativisation of the direct object (Cattafi 2024: 79, 81). Less attention, however, has been paid to the fact that the capacity for relativisation evolves over time. For example, Mugler (1939: 1–34) observed that in Homer most relative pronouns are in the nominative and accusative cases, whereas in Herodotus and Thucydides there is a greater balance between direct and oblique cases. There also seems to be an evolution regarding the so-called 'complex relative clauses' (cf. Comrie 1989: 160), that is, relative clauses in which the relative pronoun functions within a clause that is itself embedded within the relative clause (cf., e.g., *S. Tr.* 400: τίς ἡ γυνὴ δῆτ' ἐστὶν ἣν ἦκεις ἄγων;). In Sophocles, for instance, relative pronouns may depend on a participle, an infinitive clause, a temporal clause, or even another relative clause. There are further possibilities in classical Greek, as demonstrated by examples in which the relative pronoun depends on a conditional protasis (e.g., *Thuc.* 4.131.1.2; *D.* 9.68.4) or an accusative absolute (e.g., *Thuc.* 5.103.2.3; *Pl. Grg.* 492b5). In Homer, however, the situation is different. According to Jiménez López (2020: 873–874), the only complex

relative construction present is one in which the relative pronoun depends on an infinitive clause, as in (1). Yet examples such as (2) show that complex relative clauses where the relative pronoun depends on a participle are already found in Homer (*pace Crespo et al.* 2003: 385).

- (1) Hom. *Od.* 7. 48–49: οὔτος δὲ τοι, ξεῖνε πάτερ, δόμος, ὃν με κελεύεις | πεφραδέμεν (Here, father stranger, is the house which you asked me to show to you [Murray])
- (2) Hom. *Od.* 17. 419–421: καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτε οἶκον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔναιον | ὄλβιος ἀφνειὸν καὶ
πολλάκι δόσκον ἀλήτη | τοίῳ, ὅποῖος ἔοι καὶ ὅτευ κεχρημένος ἔλθοι (For I too once dwelt in
a house of my own among men, a rich man in a wealthy house, and often I gave gifts to a
wanderer, whoever he was, and with whatever need he came [Murray])

The paper I propose focuses on studying complex relative clauses from Homer to the New Testament. The aim is, on the one hand, to identify all the embedded structures in which relative pronouns can function and, on the other, to analyse the syntactic and semantic functions they perform following the list of functions proposed by Martínez Vázquez *et al.* (1999: 29–213). The following results are expected. First, it is likely that, as the ancient Greek grammatical tradition has suggested, complex relative clauses will be more developed in classical and post-classical Greek than in archaic Greek. Second, since it is a well-established fact that complex relative clauses are less accessible to relativisation than non-complex ones (cf. Comrie 1989: 160–162; Lehmann 1986: 668), it is expected that the functions performed by relative pronouns will correspond to the higher positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy.

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A Construction Grammar approach to the argument structure of Ancient Greek verbs

Thursday, June 26th, 14:30
Amphitheater 68 (Plenary Session)

In my lecture I will present a Construction Grammar account of the argument structure constructions of Ancient Greek verbs, including two-place verbs with nominative subjects (NominativeAccusative, NominativeGenitive, NominativeDative) and ditransitives (NominativeAccusativeAccusative and NominativeAccusativeDative). In Construction Grammar argument structure constructions are viewed as holistic pairings of form and meaning. Based on data ranging from Homer to Classical Greek prose, I will discuss issues such as polysemy and homonymy of constructions, constructions' productivity, constructionalization, degrees of conventionalization and schematicity.

The paper aims at a survey of Ancient Greek nominal reduplication, drawing upon the results of my doctoral dissertation.

The topic has already been the object of book-length inquiries in the 1980s.

Skoda 1982 is presented as a comprehensive study on Greek reduplication *tout court*, but in fact revolves around nominal reduplication. The monograph is strongly lexicologically oriented and programmatically devoted to the notion of expressivity, which, starting from A. Meillet, has exerted quite an influence on the etymological treatment of Greek reduplicated lexicon, especially in the French school—a remarkable example being the etymological dictionary of Chantraine 1999 and more recently some entries of the on-going *Chronique d'étymologie grecque*. Non the less, the notion of expressivity very often proves to be unsatisfactory for a formally and functionally principled investigation of nominal morphology. Skoda categorises her material according to formal synchronic criteria, and the resulting categories are paired off with rather arbitrary iconic motivations: sound, movement, rounded shape, intensity, *Lallwörter*. In this as in other works (e.g. André 1978 on Latin), a proper morphological and etymological formalisation of the material is not the author's concern in the first place.

Although moving from different premises and to different scopes, Tichy 1983 ends up treating Greek full reduplicated nominals in a very similar manner. The monograph mainly deals with verbal morphology, but a number of nominal formations are considered as well. In this case, not expressivity but phonosymbolism—on the wake of Hoffmann 1952:264—is the most prominent category in the analysis. It has to be noted that in this case, differently from Skoda 1982, the research is indeed etymologically oriented, which makes the strictly onomatopoeic approach all the more questionable.

In my dissertation, I set myself the task to attempt a formal investigation of Greek reduplicated nominals (nouns and adjectives) according to the same principles and methods that hold for nominal morphology in general in the field of Indo-European linguistic reconstruction. Recent contributions such as Oettinger 2012 and Cohen 2014, 2017 have proposed some models for the analysis of Indo-European reduplicated nominals within such theoretical and methodological framework, but Oettinger's model is strongly deverbal and crucially dependent on the hypothesis of a Proto-

Indo-European “intensive”, while Cohen’s etymologies present several inconsistencies that end up compromising the derivational patterns he proposes.

Unlike Skoda and Tichy, I decided to select a small set of forms, so as to be able to perform a thorough analysis of each form with regard to philological context, derivational morphology and root etymology. Accordingly, I built a corpus of ca. fifty nominals attested in the Homeric poems. Homeric Greek was preferred over later stages as the most archaic variety of First Millenium Greek overall.

Unlike previous research, my classification of reduplicated nominals is based on the diachronic form of reduplication: partial or full *e-reduplication, partial *i-reduplication, full zero grade reduplication. Overtly onomatopoeic forms or forms of likely onomatopoeic origin were treated as non-morphological reduplication.

Partial *e-reduplication is notoriously a Proto-Indo-European derivational type, and here belong some Greek lexical items that seem to have been formed already in the protolanguage (most likely ἰσχνός < PIE *si-sk-sno-, κύκλος < PIE *k^ué-k^ul-o- / k^u_a-k^ul-éh₂-, τέκτων -ονος < PIE *té-tk-(ō)n-). On the contrary, full *e-reduplication turns out to be marginal and probably secondary.

Partial *i-reduplication proves to be a later type influenced by verbal morphology (not only in Greek), although it ultimately harks back to Proto-Indo-European as well.

Special attention has been paid to full zero grade reduplication (δαίδαλον, μαρμάρεος etc.). Based on a complex of phonological (laryngeal effects) and morphological (relation to intensive) arguments, this type proved on the whole to be a einzelsprachlich innovation of Greek, although it may go back to a very early stage of Proto-Greek and ultimately take its outset in a (late) Indo-European stage, possibly as an (Ario-)Armeno-Greek morphological feature.

Regarding the supposed dependency of reduplicated nouns from verbal morphology (Oettinger 2012, see already Hamp 1972 and Tischler 1976), I tried to show that *e-, zero grade and even the oldest *i-reduplication as word formation processes can be primary, that is independent from verbal reduplication, which is nonetheless the most productive one in Proto-Indo-European as well as in the protohistoric and historical stages of most branches.

Regarding the “anti-morphological” prejudices (expressivity, onomatopoeia) that seem to affect Indo-European and especially Greek nominal reduplication (Skoda 1982, Tichy 1983, but also Tischler 1976), I believe to have demonstrated that the vast majority of reduplicated nominals in Homer can receive an Indo-European root etymology and a complete morphological reconstruction chronologically ascribable to a Proto-Indo-European or, in some cases, Proto-Greek stage; conversely, a very small portion of the corpus can be seen as phonosymbolic or nonce formations.

In conclusion, reduplication as a nominal formation process is to be regarded as part and parcel of the regular historical morphology on the Indo-European–Greek genetic axis.

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A proposal on alternating predicative structures for verbs of hybrid lexical domains

Friday, June 27th, 10:30–12:00
Building H Entrance Hall (Poster Session)

The goal of this study is to present a first sample of verbs denoting material events with no displacement whose alternate predicate can be explained by a meaning that does not stereotypically fit one of the eight lexical domains, in order to reconstruct the criteria behind the selection of one or the other Predicative Frame available to the speaker. Although the categorization in lexical domains is an artificial tag that native speakers are unaware of, it is a reliable tool to narrow down and sort sensory and cognitive domains that must be considered when looking for explanations on the development of alternations. The prototypicality of a verb within one or other domain can be key in the finding of patterns in alternations, among other aspects.

There are still few studies on the regard of verbal alternations in ancient Greek, and even less that take the lexical domains into consideration. Several areas have been studied separately —although not systematically in a broader study—, such as the predicative frame of specific verbs (Méndez Dosuna 2007, Polo Arrondo 2019, Revuelta Puigdollers 2002, Villa Polo 2006); the ones due to change in the meaning of specific cases (Crespo Güemes 1988; Luraghi 2003); the anticausative alternation (Luraghi 2022); or lexical domains related to sensorial experience, focusing on the origin of the stimulus as the source of the alternation (Luraghi 2020).

The methodology used was to first extract every verb from random letters (Β, Γ, Δ, Φ specifically) from the Liddell-Scott-Jones lexicon (LSJ). Every example from every single verb registered within LSJ has been studied in order to localize possible verbal alternations. Following this first approach, verbs matching the criteria (a meaning that can be ascribed to material events with no displacement and registered with several syntactic frames in LSJ) are studied in a selected corpus in order to track down both synchronic and diachronic development of an alternating predicate frame. The authors integrated in the corpus are: archaic, Homer, Hesiod and lyric poetry; classical, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Lysias, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon and Plato; and late, Polybius, Plutarch and Lucian. Our goal is to locate verbal alternations and explain their development beyond genre and chronology restrictions, thus the selection of authors. Currently, the verbs selected and studied in every use registered in these authors are βασιλεύω ‘to be the ruler’ (435 uses), φρίσσω ‘to shudder’ (69 uses), and φεύγω ‘to flee’ (ca. 2260 examples, still ongoing research).

Preliminary results show a distribution where the loss of prototypicality to the lexical domain is key. For instance, βασιλεύω develops its alternance when acquiring the structure of verbs of transference of thing, while, before, it can be used with the structure of Gen. for the thing ruled over:

- (1) Hdt. 2.2: πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμήτιχον **σφέων** βασιλεῦσαι

“Before Psammetichus ruled **over them**”.

- (2) LXX 1 Ki.8.22: καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Σαμουηλ Ἄκουε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν καὶ βασιλεύσον **αὐτοῖς βασιλέα**

“and the Lord told Samuel: ‘listen to their voice, and give **them the title of king**’”.

The same can be said about φρίσσω, where the proximity to verbs of fear could have allowed the change in structure from (3), where the Accusative expresses the part of the body that manifests the fear, to (4), where the stimulus causing the fear is the Accusative:

- (3) Hom. Il.13.472: φρίξας εὖ **λοφίην**

“he bristled up **his back**”.

- (4) Eur. Cycl. 320: Ζηνὸς δ’ ἐγὼ **κεραυνόν** οὐ φρίσσω

“I fear not Zeus’ **thunderbolt**”.

There are other verbs with similar results from the study on LSJ alone, and the results show a variety of reasons behind the existence of verbal alternation, as showed here.

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From 'under' to 'gradually':

The meanings and productivity of ὑπο- in Archaic and Classical Greek

Friday, June 27th, 09:30

Room H339

This work analyzes the semantics and productivity of the preverb ὑπο-. The etymological meaning of ὑπό/ὑπο- is spatial: **(h₁)upo-* '(from) under, up' (DELG: s.v.; on the spatial-adverbial origin of preverbs, see Zanchi 2019: 80–86 with references). From this original semantics, additional lexical and actional/aspectual meanings have developed. The development of actional/aspectual meanings is usually called *grammaticalization*, whereas the label *lexicalization* is employed when the meaning of the preverb-verb is no longer compositional (for a definition of these two processes specifically in relation to preverbs, see Zanchi 2019: 44–54). While the semantic complexity of the preposition ὑπό has been investigated (e.g., Luraghi 2003: 315–317), that of the preverb ὑπο- remains largely under-researched (works on the semantics of other preverbs can be found; cf. Papanastassiou 2011). Given these premises, this study aims (i) to detect and describe the different senses of ὑπο- in composite verbs (for the reasons behind the use of *composite* verb instead of *compound* verb, see Zanchi 2019: 85–86; briefly, these reasons are related to the uncertain preverb status as for univerbation); (ii) to trace back the development of these meanings and explain their origins; (iii) to organize such meanings in a network; (iv) to assess their productivity in Archaic and Classical Greek.

This investigation is framed in Cognitive Grammar, which has proven effective in describing and explaining the polysemy of preverbs and prepositions (for Latin see i.a. Brucale & Mocciaro 2016, 2020, Brucale 2019; Inglese 2024; on Ancient Greek, Revuelta Puigdollers 2014, 2019, 2020; see also Zanchi 2019). According to this framework, the meanings of a polysemous item can be organized around the prototypical one in a network whereby polysemy is structured (cf. Tyler & Evans 2003). Moreover, non-prototypical meanings can be directly or indirectly derived from the prototypical one via cognitive metaphors and metonymies (for an extensive application of this approach, see Luraghi 2003; cf. also Zanchi 2016).

The analysis proposed consists of an annotation of the 285 ὑπό-preverbed verbs attested in literary works of Archaic and Classical Greek (VIII–IV centuries B.C.), aimed to determine whether and how ὑπο- modifies the basic meaning of the verbs to which it attaches. Verbs composed by more than one preverb (e.g. ὑπο-καθ-ίσταμαι) are excluded from the analysis. In the case of morphological variants of a verb, such forms are not annotated separately but rather considered tokens of the same verb. For the annotation, five tags are employed:

- (1) spatial, **ὑπ**-έρχομαι ‘go **under**’ – ἔρχομαι ‘go’;
- (2) metaphorical, **ὑπο**-μνάομαι ‘court **clandestinely**’ – μνάομαι ‘court’;
- (3) pleonastic, **ὑπο**-χέω ‘pour **down**’ – χέω ‘pour’;
- (4) actional/aspectual, **ὑπο**-χλινάω, ‘heat **a little**’ – χλινάω ‘warm’;
- (5) bleached/lexicalized, **ὑπο**-κρίνομαι ‘reply’ – κρίνω ‘choose’.

When the simplex form of the composite verb is not available, thus making it impossible to determine the semantic contribution of ὑπο- without etymological comparison, the label ‘NA’ (not applicable) is used (**ὑπ**-ισχνέομαι, ‘promise’ - *ισχνέομαι). Tags with a further level of granularity are introduced for ‘spatial’ and ‘metaphorical’ uses (categories (1) and (2) above). Some examples for (2) are presented here:

- (2)a submission, **ὑπο**-γραμματεύω ‘**serve as under**-secretary’ – γραμματεύω ‘be secretary’;
- (2)b secretly, **ὑπο**-θωρήσομαι ‘arm oneself **in secret**’ – θωρήσω ‘arm’;
- (2)c in return, **ὑπο**-μυκάομαι ‘bellow **in answer**’ – μυκάομαι ‘bellow’.

The verbs are annotated based on the meaning collected in the Liddle-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon (1940) and taking into consideration parallels in other (ancient Indo-European) languages. In case of polysemous verbs, only the first attested meaning is considered, which is usually the most concrete one. The fact that the annotation does not take into account polysemy represents a partial limitation of this study.

The results show that the most common meaning type in the dataset is ‘spatial’, particularly with the meaning ‘under’, representing the prototype (cf. (1)), while the meaning type ‘metaphorical’ shows a wide array of nuances (cf. (2)a-c). Finally, a semantic network based on the principle of structured polysemy is built to represent and explain the semantics of the preverb. For example, the meaning ‘again’ (e.g. ἔρρηξε δ’ αὐδὴν, ὥσθ’ **ὑπηχῆσαι** χθόνα, ‘and loud he called to them, that the earth rang **again**’ E.Supp.710) likely originates from that of ‘from under’ > ‘from the beginning’ (e.g., **ὑπ**-άρχω ‘start, set as a foundation’) and is linked to the meaning ‘gradually’ (e.g., **ὑπο**-πίνω ‘drink **a little**, drink **little by little**’).

Furthermore, a distribution analysis is conducted to evaluate the *realized* productivity of the distinct meanings of ὑπο- in a corpus comprising Homer, Herodotus and a sample of Classical historians and orators, based on the productivity measures introduced by Baayen (2009) and Hilpert (2013: 127–133). The *potential* productivity of the meanings of ὑπο-, too, is measured by considering *hapaxes*, which prove informative in this type of analysis (Hilpert 2013). Diachronic differences in productivity between Archaic and Classical Greek are also taken into account. In addition, composite verbs are also tagged according to their class (Levin’s 1993 classification is employed for this purpose), to assess whether certain ὑπο-verb schemata have gained productivity via analogy due

to the high frequency of single ὑπο-verbs in the corpus (Bybee 2015: 133; cf. also Inglese 2024). This analysis, beyond assessing the different levels of productivity for each meaning type, leads to gaining insight into pleonastic and bleached/lexicalized composites, whose developments can hardly be explained per se (e.g., ὑποκρίνομαι ‘reply’; cf. the meaning ‘again, in return’ described above). Overall, this work highlights the complexity of ὑπο-preverbation in Ancient Greek and will offer a testbed for extending this approach to other Ancient Greek preverbs.

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Zanchi, C. 2019. Multiple preverbs in ancient Indo-European languages. A comparative study on Vedic, Homeric Greek, Old Church Slavic, and Old Irish. Tübingen.

Echo questions involve repeating part or all of a prior utterance. The previous utterance can take any form, whether it is declarative, interrogative, imperative, or exclamative. Echo questions (EQs) may repeat the whole sentence or just a portion, often focusing on a specific word or phrase used by the speaker, while adjusting indexicals like personal pronouns or possessives (e.g. “Are you done with your abstract?” — “Me, done with my abstract? I’ve only just started!”). EQs are thus recognized by their metalinguistic, anaphoric nature and are considered non-canonical, syntactically atypical interrogative structures. They exemplify the distinction between interrogatives and questions (Huddleston 1994), where interrogatives are a syntactic clause type, while questions belong to a semantic or pragmatic category. As such, EQs represent a semantic or pragmatic subclass with varying syntactic forms. EQs serve two primary discourse functions (Noh 1998, Kendrik 2015, Celle 2019, Biraud & Mellet 2000, Rossi 2020, Jugnet & Lansari 2022): (a) to request clarification of the prior utterance’s content or form, and/or (b) to express surprise, doubt, or other emotive reaction to the content or implicature of the preceding turn. While the default function of EQs in dialogue is often to signal trouble in hearing or understanding, they can also be used to tease or joke, reflecting surprise, incredulity, or other emotions. In this secondary role, speakers pretend not to understand, using the EQ to challenge the assumption in the previous turn without making an overt assertion. Instead of having misheard or failed to grasp the prior statement, the speaker chooses not to accept it, thus commenting on the utterance without necessarily seeking new information—normally the default purpose of interrogatives. In such contexts, the clarification request is secondary to the expression of surprise, stemming from the inability to integrate unexpected new information. Verbal reactions to surprising information often involve interrogative structures, including non-canonical ones, instead of exclamations. Not uncommonly, EQs reflect cognitive reactions, not just emotional ones, as part of complex argumentative strategies where the speaker implicitly demands justification or commitment from the addressee. Aristophanes’ plays provide a rich source for analyzing EQs (cf. Piedrabuena 2021 and Uckermann 1887), with roughly 200 examples. This paper aims to describe and categorize these EQs, considering the full EQ structure: the context sentence’s clause type, the discourse function of the follow-up proposition and the EQ’s syntax. Key aspects to be analyzed include (a) syntactic parameters: e.g., verbless clauses, word order, focal elements within the EQ, expansions; (b) semantic parameters: e.g., choice of echoed words, synonymy in not

perfectly echoic EQs; (c) and pragmatic/discourse parameters: e.g., the cooccurrence of vocatives, oaths, baffled questions, exclamatives, and particles (mainly “inferential” γάρ, used to foreground the implicature or an implicit element of the prior utterance), EQ clusters, versification peculiarities (echoed elements at the beginning/end of the line or in antilabe). To determine how to correctly interpret EQs without access to the original intonation, it is crucial to look at the preceding and following contexts in order to clarify the scope and meaning of the question. The paper will begin with a general overview of EQs, summarizing prior research. EQs in Aristophanes will then be inventoried and discussed according to types, among them the following: (i) clarification requests (e.g. *Th.* 7, *Pax* 930); (ii) expository EQs, in which a hinge-question for the addresser herself foregrounds the answer that follows while expressing a mild surprise (e.g. *Ach.* 106 [ὅ τι-type], *Th.* 203 [ὅπως-type], *Ec.* 930 [ἐγώ-type]; metadirective-type (e.g. *Ra.* 745); and (iii) expression of surprise etc., which involves a cognitive attempt at integrating unexpected new information and/or is part of a complex argumentative strategy. The latter includes among others (a) topic-comment-type (cf. Lambrecht 1990, Akmajian 1984), e.g. *V.* 193–4; (b) fragment-type (polar EQs), e.g. *Av.* 470; (c) π-/τ-type (ποῖος-type with proper nouns and common names, τί-type, πῶς-type), e.g. *Nu.* 367; (d) ἰδοῦ-type, e.g. *Ra.* 1205; (e) ποῖ-type, e.g. *Lys.* 193; (f) subjunctive of reprise-type: e.g. *Ra.* 1134. The conclusions will be preceded by a brief comparison of the different types of EQs in Aristophanes, focusing on their frequency and the speaker-addressee relationships they imply. The aim of this paper is to emphasize the syntactic distinctiveness of EQs and their specific discourse functions in Aristophanes. The data from the plays will be thoroughly analyzed, offering material for future comparative studies with other authors. Notably, it will be argued that EQs used in surprise contexts serve not only to facilitate the gradual integration of new unexpected information but also to challenge the assumptions made or implied in the preceding turn, without asserting that *p*. In this regard, EQs should be differentiated from (indirect) exclamatives: while both may have an expressive function, assertion of an evident propositional content is a key feature of exclamatives which is absent in EQs, whereas EQs require a commitment update from the addressee which exclamatives lack.

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This paper deals with some Mycenaean toponyms containing the suffix * wont . This suffix had a possessive meaning and was therefore used to create possessive adjectives. It is found in several Indo-European languages: for example, Sanskrit *putravat-* ‘having sons’, Greek *οἰνόεις* ‘containing wine’, Hittite *naduwant* ‘covered with reeds’. These formations already appear in Mycenaean Greek: *wo do we* /*wordowens*/ ‘containing rose’, so ‘rose-scented’, used to qualify oil (PY Fr 1203). In 1st millennium Greek, these adjectives are no longer used in prose and appear only in poetry, especially in traditional formulas such as *τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας* ‘perfect hecatombs’ (Il.1.315 +).

This suffix also appears in a large number of Greek toponyms from the 1st millennium. These toponyms usually have the ending *οῦς*, which could go back to * o wont s , but we know that it is the result of the contraction *οῖς* > * o went s with the e-grade, since we find the uncontracted form in epigraphy: *Ὀπόεντος* (IG VII 4135) (Buck 1921, 42). Uncontracted forms are also attested in Homer: the city of *Ὀπόεις* appears once (Il.2.531); we also find the hydronyms *Σιμόεις* (Il.4.475 +) and *Σατνιόεις* (Il.6.34) and the cities of *Θρυόεσσα* (Il.11.711) and *Γονόεσσα* (Il.2.573); with a stem in -*η*, there are the city *Κυπαρισσήεις* (Il.2.593) and the hydronym *Σελλήεις* (Il.2.659 +). However, in Mycenaean Greek, it has been noted that the suffix * wont did not present the same ablaut as in adjectives: in toponyms, the suffix systematically appears with the o-grade: for example, *a2-ru-wo-te* /*halwontei*/ (PY An 657.8), *sa ri nu wo te* /*salinowontei*/ or /*salinwontei*/ (PY An 424.2). Bartoněk mentions ten forms (Bartoněk 2003, 238), some of them having doublets such as *sa ri nu wo te* (PY An 424.2) / *se ri no wo te* (PY Qa 1290).

The first to study this intriguing difference of ablaut was A. Heubeck (1960). Initially, he thought that the ending *wo te* was to be read /*wote*/ and that it went back to the zero grade of the suffix, * wnt , the vowel *o* being the vocalization of * h_2 . In an article about the same argument, M. Lejeune (1969) proved that *wo te* went back to / *wont* / and had the o-grade. Therefore, in an article he published after Lejeune’s, A. Heubeck (1976) admitted the reconstruction * wont > / *wont* /. Furthermore, he suggested that the alternation / *went* / / *wont* / was comparable to the alternation /*tēr*/ / *tōr*/: the suffix /*tēr*/ appeared in appellative nouns while /*tōr*/ was used to build anthroponyms. To explain the transition from the e-grade to the o-grade, he mentions the influence of the poetic language; speakers would have modified the form *a2-ru-wo-te* /*halwontei*/ into *Ἀλοῦς*

under the influence of Greek adjectives in εἰς, changing the ablaut of the suffix and inserting a thematic vowel between the consonantal stem and the suffix.

Apart from M. Lejeune and A. Heubeck, only T. Steer (2015) tried to explain the ablaut of this category of toponyms. Like A. Heubeck, he compares the alternation /went/ / /wont/ to the alternation /tēr/ / /tōr/ but does not mention whether this is a Proto-Greek feature or an innovation within the Mycenaean dialect.

In this paper, I will reexamine the issue of Mycenaean toponyms in /wont/. Three questions need to be asked and, if possible, answered, in order to better understand how these toponyms were created:

- is the o-grade a Proto-Greek feature or an innovation of Mycenaean Greek?
- why did the ablaut of the suffix change between the IInd and the Ist millenniums?
- can toponyms with the e-grade be continuations of Mycenaean toponyms?

After trying to answer the first question by comparing Mycenaean data with data from other Indo-European languages and especially Anatolian, I will reach the conclusion that the o-grade may not be an inherited feature, since we cannot find any relevant parallel for this suffix with another Indo-European language. Then, I will demonstrate that there was no “change” in ablaut between the IInd and the Ist millenniums; if we consider that the suffix /wont/ was a dialectal feature of Mycenaean, we do not need to imagine a reshaping such as a2-ru-wo-te /halwontei/ into Ἀλοῦς. We cannot know for sure that these two toponyms referred to the same city; a comparison with modern toponyms can show that it is very common indeed that two cities located in different regions have the same elements in their name without having any connection. The same remark can be made about other toponyms from the Mycenaean time like sa ri nu wo te /salinowontei/ or /salinwontei/, which some scholars wanted to see as the underlying form of Classical Greek Σελινόϋς. The main result of this paper is that these toponyms were independent formations and show us, among other linguistic characteristics, that the morphology of the Mycenaean dialect was archaic and had features that no longer existed in dialects of the Ist millennium.

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Our aim is to study and typify the maxims that appear in the dialogues of the directive speech acts of the *Odyssey*, in order to be able to analyse what specific pragmatic function they perform in the dialogues of the poem. To do so, we start from the methodology used for the analysis of speech acts (Searle 1969, 1975; Blum-kulka & Olshtain 1984) and verbal politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987; Watts 2003).

First of all, we must define what we mean by maxim: from the Greek γνῶμη, it is defined as the expression of knowledge or judgement that results from the faculty of knowing, since a maxim states in general terms a situation or a reality that has been proven to be true, or advises, also in general terms, behaviours or actions that should be followed or avoided (Fernández Garrido 2013: 116). These maxims, based on popular knowledge, are short phrases characterised by the validity of their content and the reference to a series of acts that should be carried out or rejected on the basis of an ethical and moral judgement (Boeke 2007: 20; Morgan 2007: 85). It is, therefore, a resource of deactualisation, for by means of these maxims the speaker elevates his words to universal status, thus giving them this general character and presenting his/her opinions as universal truths.

In the *Odyssey* we find 46 maxims which are embedded in directive speech acts. This general character (hence they are also called 'general truths') of the maxims is also reflected in the syntax and lexicon with which these types of sentences are constructed. We can therefore classify them according to their morphosyntactic characteristics.

On the other hand, from a pragmatic point of view, these maxims which are inserted in a directive speech act are a resource with which the speaker gives validity and authority to his words, turning them into indisputable truth (Norrick 1985: 27–28; van Emde Boas 2017: 44–45), thus trying to avoid direct allusions to his own experiences or those of the interlocutor. But in which contexts does the speaker decide to use a maxim? And, above all, with what pragmatic aim?

As Lardinois (1997: 219) argues, in the *Iliad* most maxims are found at the end of the speech act, which functions as a way of closing the discussion on the topic in question. In the *Odyssey* it is the same: the speech act usually precedes the maxim. However, the author argues that, in the *Iliad*, when they precede it, thus introducing the speech act, the speaker endows his words with a more

friendly and less authoritative character (cf. Lardinois 2000, Shapiro Susan 2000). We would therefore be dealing with a mitigating device.

In the course of our communication, we will analyse whether this is also the case in the directive speech acts of the *Odyssey*, with special emphasis on the pragmatic function of these general phrases depending on the place where they are inserted in the speech act.

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The particle ἄρα in classical Greek: A marker of cognitive activation?Wednesday, June 25th, 17:30Room H338

The particle ἄρα is a discourse marker that is attested at all historical stages of Ancient Greek, including the Mycenaean period (Jiménez Delgado 2017; 2023). Regarding its meaning in the epics, there are two main competing theories. One theory proposes that ἄρα signals new and interesting information (Hartung 1832: 422; Denniston 1954: 32–33; Ruijgh 1971: 435; similarly Bakker 1993; 1997). An alternative theory posits that ἄρα in Homer marks propositions that are already known or naturally follow from the established facts or the immediate context (Grimm 1962: 12–13; George 2018). A methodologically updated version of this theory is presented in a recent article by Jiménez Delgado (2023), who argues that ἄρα in the epics is mainly used to point to the common ground.

The meaning of ἄρα in classical Greek is often analyzed on the level of specific syntactic environments. Generally, there is a tendency to emphasize two main points: first, that ἄρα often correlates with surprising propositions, and second, that the particle marks propositions logically following from what has been said or directly perceived (Van Emde Boas et al. 2019: 685–686). While some scholars argue that the original function of ἄρα is to signal interest or surprise (Denniston 1954: 32–43), others consider its role in marking logical connections or pointing to the common ground to be more basic (Van Ophuijsen 1993; Jiménez Delgado 2023). Even though the existing theories seem to be descriptively adequate in the case of one or more subsets of occurrences in classical Greek, several recalcitrant facts challenge the adequacy of the individual proposals. For instance, conditional protases with ἄρα neither contain propositions that naturally follow from what has been said before nor consistently refer to particularly surprising or unlikely eventualities (cf. Wakker 1997: 231–238). Furthermore, clausal complements containing the particle may involve surprising and hard-to-believe propositions as well as old claims and established facts.

The aim of the paper is to address the issue of the meaning of ἄρα in classical Greek. The research corpus primarily consists of the works of the ten orators. It is proposed that the particle signals cognitive activation of the proposition within its scope. This meaning involves that the speaker has formed a mental representation of the conceptual content of the proposition and that this representation is active in their consciousness. Crucially, the notion of activation is independent of epistemic commitment, as activated propositions need not be believed to be true, nor do they need to be part of the common ground (Dryer 1996). Activating a proposition without suggesting that it should be immediately added to the common ground is a common context of use for the particle

in classical Greek prose. More specifically, this function of ἄρα is apparent in conditional protases that suspend a presupposition, felicity condition, or assumption associated with the main clause. The protasis ensures the felicity of the contribution in the main clause, which requires that a supporting proposition be at least envisaged, as in the following example:

- (1) [I intend to explain how you can best prepare for war.] ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτ', ἂν ἄρ' οἶός τ' ὦ,
πειράσομαι ποιῆσαι ...
'This, if ἄρα I am able, I will try to do.' (Dem. 14.2)

The particle has a similar function in clausal complements. It signals that the proposition is now active so that the speaker may react to it, as in (2).

- (2) καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν Δημοσθένην, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῇ, καταριθμεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὥς ἄρα τῇ πόλει τέτταρες ἤδη γεγέννηται καιροί, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται.
'For I understand that when the defence are given opportunity to speak, Demosthenes will claim that ἄρα there have been four periods in the history of the city in which he has been politically active.' (Aeschin. 3.54)

Furthermore, a new proposition may become active in the speaker's consciousness if it follows from the immediate common ground. For instance, questions and assertions with ἄρα may be used to track inferences that follow from the preceding discourse.

Thus, the proposal explains both the mirative overtones of ἄρα and its use to mark propositions that stem from or align with the common ground. The implicature of mirativity may arise if the activated proposition was not previously represented in the speaker's mind or if its truth is deemed surprising. Regarding the role of the common ground, cognitive activation sometimes pertains to, or is facilitated by, information already represented in the speaker's short-term or long-term memory. The new proposal is preferable to the existing theories because it also accounts for the occurrences that do not involve either of the two meanings typically ascribed to ἄρα.

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Composés verbaux à premier membre nominal et incorporation verbale d'Homère à Hérodoté : Une approche diachronique

Thursday, June 26th, 16:00

Room H340

Les composés verbaux à premier élément nominal de type οἶνοχοέω « verser du vin » (sur ὀ οἶνος et la même racine que le verbe χέω) ont fait l'objet de plusieurs études au cours des vingt dernières années, dont l'objectif était de déterminer s'il fallait voir dans ces composés des traces d'incorporation nominale. Ce procédé linguistique, qui se définit comme « a construction in which a noun stem is combined with a verb to form a new, morphologically complex verb » (Mithun 2000 : 916), a d'abord été décrit à propos de langues n'appartenant pas au groupe indo-européen.

Si cette hypothèse n'était pas retenue, il faudrait alors considérer que l'on a là des verbes dénommatifs en -έω, fondés sur des composés et formés de la même façon que les dénommatifs tirés de substantifs simples : dans ces conditions, le schéma de dérivation conduisant par exemple à δορυφορέω « être porte-lance, garde du corps » à partir de ὁ δορυφόρος « porte-lance » serait le même que celui menant de ὁ πόλεμος « combat, guerre » à πολεμέω « faire la guerre ». La principale objection à cette dernière analyse tient au fait que les composés nominaux qui serviraient de base à certains composés verbaux à premier élément nominal ne sont pas toujours attestés (cf. Pompei et Grandi 2012 : 405–406).

On s'accorde généralement à reconnaître que le procédé n'est pas indéfiniment productif en grec. En effet, la liste des verbes susceptibles de s'employer comme seconds membres de composés verbaux à premier élément nominal est relativement restreinte (cf. Asraf 2021 : 42). De ce fait, les recherches se sont surtout focalisées sur les critères syntaxiques et pragmatiques susceptibles de conduire à analyser ces formes comme des cas d'incorporation nominale (cf. en particulier Pompei 2006, Pompei et Grandi 2012, Asraf 2021), et inversement, sur les critères morphologiques et sémantiques permettant de les analyser comme des verbes dénommatifs de composés (cf. Bernardot 2024).

La principale limite des travaux existants tient à la prise en compte très limitée de la diachronie : Pompei (2006) fonde ainsi ses conclusions sur des exemples allant d'Hérodoté à Diogène Laërce, les exemples cités par Asraf (2021) vont de l'Illiade à Athénée, et ceux évoqués par Bernardot (2024) vont d'Homère à Théophraste. La plupart du temps, tout se passe comme si tous les passages cités relevaient du même état de langue. En outre, ces travaux ne contiennent guère de remarques sur la fréquence des différents phénomènes observés à chacune des périodes considérées. Or il ne paraît pas possible d'exclure *a priori* que ces composés aient changé de statut au cours de leur

histoire et au fur et à mesure de leur multiplication : il serait par exemple possible qu'ils se soient d'abord développés comme dérivés de substantifs composés, puis qu'ils aient été réanalysés comme des formes à incorporation nominale, ce qui aurait conduit à la multiplication de verbes de ce type formés directement à partir d'un substantif et d'une base verbale.

L'objectif de notre étude est de tenter de retracer une partie de l'histoire de ces composés verbaux à premier élément nominal sur un corpus s'étendant d'Homère à Hérodote. Il semble s'agir là d'une période charnière dans l'évolution des verbes en -έω sur base nominale, ce qu'avait déjà noté Debrunner (1917 : 95), qui souligne que, alors que les verbes simples de ce type étaient majoritaires chez Homère (environ 50 lexèmes, contre une vingtaine de dérivés de composés), les verbes composés en -έω sont devenus beaucoup plus nombreux à l'époque classique (environ 450 unités supplémentaires) alors que le nombre de verbes simples n'avait même pas doublé sur la même période. L'hypothèse d'un changement de fonction de -έω, qui pourrait avoir été remplacé par d'autres suffixes — par exemple -εύω (cf. Debrunner 1917 : 106), ou peut-être -ίζω — dans sa fonction dénominative, alors qu'il se serait spécialisé dans la formation de verbes à incorporation, pourrait expliquer la tendance de -έω à s'étendre principalement en composition.

Pour tester cette hypothèse, on analysera morphologiquement et syntaxiquement les verbes en -έω à premier terme nominal chez Homère, Hésiode et Hérodote. On tentera de définir le schéma de dérivation et le degré de lexicalisation de chacun des verbes attestés, en tenant compte notamment de leur fréquence — certains verbes sont en effet très rares — et de leurs caractéristiques morphologiques — ainsi, un verbe dérivé d'un nom d'agent composé qui ne serait attesté que sous la forme d'un participe actif substantivé pourrait constituer une simple variante du composé correspondant. D'autre part, on s'efforcera de déterminer le rapport sémantique et syntaxique entre les deux éléments du syntagme sous-jacent du composé et l'évolution de fréquence des différents emplois qui conduisent certains chercheurs à voir dans ces verbes des cas d'incorporation. Enfin, on s'intéressera à l'évolution de la place du suffixe -έω parmi les suffixes dénominatifs au cours de la période considérée.

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Ancient Greek had passives after all: Revisiting the distribution of (non)-active morphology

Wednesday, June 25th, 15:00
Room H340

In this paper, we revisit the distribution and meaning of active and non-active morphology in Ancient Greek (AG) as well as its differences from Modern Greek (MG), presenting evidence that challenges the view, advanced in recent literature (Kulikov & Lavidas 2015, Grestenberger 2021), that despite appearances AG had no real passive structures, and that the distribution of active and non-active morphology was in effect no different from that of MG. According to Grestenberger (2021), the following generalizations hold for AG: **(a)** The presence of non-active morphology signals the presence of a low (“Middle”) Voice, along the lines of Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schaefer (AAS) (2015), i.e. it can be either passive, reflexive or expletive (in anticausatives). **(b)** In constructions like *thne:isko: hypo tinos* ‘lit. die by someone’, the PP is not a real by-phrase, because non-alternating unaccusatives bearing active morphology are not passive. **(c)** The so-called passive morpheme in aorist and future forms is never really passive but aspectual. We present evidence which challenges all of the above generalizations leading to a different picture of the active-non-active alternation in AG. **(a’)** In contrast to MG, where non-active morphology is sensitive to the absence of a Specifier in Voice, non-active morphology in AG is thematic. It occurs whenever there is an opposition between an agentive external argument (active voice) and a non-prototypical agent, when transitive, or the absence of an agent in alternating predicates (non-active morphology). **(b’)** In the light of the above generalization, it is not surprising that we find constructions like *thne:isko: hypo tinos*, which are true passives, suggesting that null morphology can expone passive in Greek and that the PPs are true by-phrases. This puts us in agreement with Kiparsky (2013), who argued on independent grounds that passives can have zero morphology, in contrast to what is often assumed. **(c’)** While it is true that the so-called passive morpheme *-th(e:-)* started out as aspectual, it got reanalyzed as passive in post-Homeric Greek, in constructions where it co-occurred with the perfective suffix *-s-*.

By-phrases with unaccusatives bearing active morphology in AG. As pointed out by several researchers of AG syntax (Schwyzer 1950, Grestenberger 2021 and references therein), the correlation between active/non-active readings and the morphological voice distinctions is at best imperfect. There are so-called passive forms (i.e. forms with *-th(e:-)*) with non-passive readings (e.g. anticausative), while there are also non-passive – non-active or even active – forms with an implicit or

oblique agent. Particularly striking is the existence of morphologically active unaccusatives with agent PPs (see *thne:isko: hypo tinos* ‘lit. die by someone’ under **(b/b’)** above), which has led previous researchers to the conclusion that there is no real passive syntax underlying constructions with demoted agents in general (cf. Kulikov & Lavidas 2013) and that this kind of PPs are not real by-phrases. We argue that the agent PPs that show up with certain unaccusatives (typically meaning *die, fall, suffer, receive*) are impossible with verbs that display a causative alternation and cluster together with other diagnostics of agentivity: manner adverbials, instrument PPs, agent-oriented adverbials and even explicit mention of the agent in the immediate context. Notice that neither a by-phrase is possible nor an adverb modifying an implicit agent can appear in the translation equivalents of verbs like in (1), see (2) from MG.

- (1) *νηποιὶ* *τεθνάτω ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ὑβρισθέντος βίᾳ* (Plato, *Laws* 9.874c)
 without-punishment die.3s.imp by the offended violently
 ‘Let him die (=be killed) violently by the offended with no punishment (of the killer).’
- (2) *Na pethani atimoriti/xoris timoria*
 ‘Let him die without punishment (of the deceased/*of the killer).’

We conclude that examples like (1) contain true by-phrases and meet other criteria of passiveness, hence qualifying as real passives.

Thematic and contrastive active vs non-active morphology. We provide evidence that non-active morphology in AG is the realization of a Voice head that is merged every time the subject is not a prototypical Agent (Proto-Agent, in Dowty’s 1991 sense, or “high agent” in Anagnostopoulou’s 2001 and Oikonomou and Alexiadou’s 2022 sense). Specifically, non-active morphology is obligatory for (i) the anticausative member of causative alternations, in contrast to MG where it only sometimes occurs (AAS’s ‘marked anticausatives’) (ii) for reflexives and reciprocals, (iii) in oppositions where it specifically signifies the unaffecteding version of verbs that are telic or affecting when active (e.g. e.g. *hapto*: ‘fasten/attach/light up’ vs *haptomai* ‘touch’), (iv) in oppositions where active morphology specifically marks causative readings (i.e. ‘make some stop/cease being/doing x’), while all other readings (anticausative, reflexive/passive, raising: ‘stop doing/being x, cease (=as a raising predicate)’) are signalled by non-active morphology, (v) oppositions where the active is restricted to pure agents, while the non-active marks cases in which the agent role is also mixed with possessor/source readings (*do:reo*: vs *do:roumai*). Unlike MG, in which non-active morphology can realize either an Agent-introducing Voice (in passives and reflexives, AAS’s 2015 Middle Voice) or an expletive Voice that does not project a Spec (Embick 1998, AAS 2015), non-active Voice in AG is thematic and oppositional. It uniformly marks the absence of a high/proto-agent and is obligatory in alternations in which the morphologically active member involves a high agent.

The reanalysis of *-th(e:-)* as passive. We explore the properties of the so-called passive paradigm (i.e. the forms involving *-th(e:-)*). We suggest that the rise of an (initially null) Passive head predates the rise of *-th(e:-)*. We are in agreement with Grestenberger (2021) regarding the initial status of *-th(e:-)* as an aspectual marker. Nonetheless, we point to new evidence that, after a period during which the two were not related, *-th(e:-)* was reanalyzed as an exclusively Passive head in perfective contexts, already in Classical Greek. Our evidence regarding the reanalysis of *-the(:)-* comes from aorist and future forms in which an *-s-* suffix appears between the stem and *-th(e:-)*, especially those in which the presence of *-s-* cannot be explained phonologically and etymologically. In post-Homeric Greek all such forms obligatorily have passive readings. For instance, forms such as *(e)-pau-the:-n* predate *e-pau-s-the:-n*, and the former but not the latter are compatible with non-passive (e.g. anticausative or raising) readings. We have collected 44 such aorists and they all exhibit the same pattern: even if they could have non-passive readings in Homer, all their instances in post-Homeric Greek can be interpreted as passive and some of them alternate with *-th(e:-)* forms without the *-s-* suffix, which can have clearly non-passive readings (cf. *pau-th(e:-)*). We argue that non-etymological *-s-* was reanalyzed as occupying the low Aspect position formerly occupied by *-th(e:-)*, forcing *-th(e:-)* itself to be reanalyzed as a realization of a higher Pass^o head. Aspect in Homeric and Classical Greek must still be a relatively low head, given that in texts of both periods *-s-* forms often appear in non-past, e.g. habitual/generic, contexts and mark telicity, i.e. Aktionsart rather than grammatical aspect (Moser 2014).

Overall, even though the picture regarding the division of labour between the different morphological voice paradigms might at first look messy, it turns out that AG always had a passive syntactic configuration, which predicts (a) how/why some verbs allow all the diagnostics of passive while others allow none, (b) that there is a slot to be eventually filled by *-th(e:-)*. Thus, the traditional grammarians' intuition regarding *-th(e:-)* as a passive morpheme was not totally unjustified: a reanalysis/grammaticalisation process was indeed under way in post-Homeric Greek (see also Luraghi 2010).

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The Homeric Greek -εσ- ~ -εσι- alternation in first compound member s-stemsThursday, June 26th, 12:00

Room H340

When s-stem nouns (e.g., ὄρος ‘mountain’) are employed as the first member of a compound, they present one of three allomorphic shapes: ὀρι-, ὀρεσ-, and ὀρεσι-.

The suffix -ι- is the well-known Caland system suffix (Rau 2009:67) as shown in (1)

- (1) κάλλος ‘beauty’ → καλλίσφυρος ‘with beautiful ankles’ (Il. 9.560)

In Homer, this suffix is not found in allomorphic alternation with the other two shapes (Hom. ὀρεσ- ~ Hom. ὀρεσι- vs. Hom. *ὀρι-) and at the same time the stems where it is found do not show the other allomorphs (Hom. κυδι- vs. Hom. *κυδεσ- ~ Hom. *κυδεσι-). I take this as evidence for the decreasing productivity of the suffix -ι- in composition and, since it does not participate in the -εσ- ~ -εσι- allomorphy, it will not play a role in my discussion.

The suffix -εσ- (2), which is the bare suffix with *e*-grade, is the historically expected suffix in composition.

- (2) ἔπος ‘word’ → ἐπεσβόλος ‘throwing words around’ (Il. 2.275)

The suffix -εσι- is an inner-Greek development:

- (3) τεῖχος ‘wall’ → τειχεσιπλήτης ‘approaching the walls’ (Il. 5.31)

The analysis that is traditionally proposed for this allomorph is unsatisfactory. On this analysis (Risch 1974:219–20), the forms in -εσι- come from phrases made of s-stem dative plurals+verbal nouns as in (4).

- (4) ὄρεσι τρόφος
 mountain.n.dat.pl. “rearee”.m.nom.sg.
 ‘reared on the mountains’

The univerbation of such phrases would give -εσι- compounds like that in (5).

- (5) ὀρεσίτροφος ‘reared on the mountains’

There are at least two objections to this analysis. First, Ancient Greek compounding is normally stem-compounding (Tribulato 2015:18–29) and case-marked nouns are not licit in compounds (not unlike English, as explained in Harley 2009:140–2). Second, it is far from obvious that verbal nouns like [?]τρόφος existed at all out of compounds. According to Tribulato (2015:89–93), indeed, those few that exist are backformations from the compounds themselves (e.g., hypothetical [?]τρόφος “rearee” from ὀρεσίτροφος ‘reared on the mountains’).

In this paper, I propose a new analysis of these forms as phonologically conditioned allomorphs within the framework of Optimality Theory. Starting from the dataset, the following is the complete list of first compound members from s-stems in Homer:

s-stem	-εσι-	-εσ-
ὄρος ‘mountain’	ὄρε σι τροφος ‘reared on the mountains’	ὄρε σ βιος ‘living on the mountains’ ὄρε σ κωος ‘with a lair on the mountains’
ἔγχος ‘spear’	ἐγγε σι μωρος ‘destined to the spear’	ἐγγέ σ παλος ‘fighting with the spear’
ἔντεα (pl.) ‘armour’	έντε σι φεργος ‘working with the armour’	/
τείχος ‘wall’	τειχε σι πλήτης ‘approaching the walls’	/
ἔπος ‘word’	/	ἐπε σ βόλος ‘throwing words around’
τέλος ‘fulfilment’	/	τελε σ φόρος ‘bringing fulfilment’
σάκος ‘shield’	/	σακέ σ παλος ‘fighting with the shield’

The data shows that -εσι- is employed to avoid the consonant clusters [sw], [sm], [str], and [spl]. While the first cluster is avoided everywhere in the language (e.g., PIE **swe* > Gk. ἐ ‘himself’), the others are attested both word-initially (e.g., **σ**πλάγχνα ‘guts’) and word-medially (e.g., κατα**σ**τροφή ‘overturning’).

Therefore, I propose that both -εσ- and -εσι- are compositional allomorphs accessible in the lexicon: -εσ- is the preferred allomorph, while the selection of -εσι- avoids the abovementioned clusters. Since these clusters are elsewhere attested in the language, -εσι- qualifies as an instance of the so-called TETU effect (The Emergence of the Unmarked, cf. McCarthy and Prince 1994), whereby less marked structures can be selected in affixal morphology than are normally necessary elsewhere in the language.

In order to model the -εσ- ~ -εσι- alternation in these terms, I posit the following constraints:

- ***ComplexOnset (*COns)**: assign one violation for each instance of a complex onset
- **Syllable Contact Law (SCL)**: assign one violation for each instance of a final coda segment whose sonority is equal to or lower than the following onset consonant
- **Select-/es/**: assign one violation for each instance of selection of /esi/
- **Select-/esi/**: assign one violation for each instance of selection of /es/
- **dep-io**: assign one violation for each instance of insertion of a segment

The constraints are ranked as follows:

dep-io >> *Cons >> SCL >> Select-/es/ >> Select-/esi/

The following tableaux exemplify the results of my analysis:

/or{es, esi}trop ^h os/	dep-io	*Cons	SCL	Select- /es/	Select- /esi/
a. ores.trop ^h os		*!			*
☞ b. oresit.rop ^h os			*	*	
c. oresit.rop ^h os	*!		*		*

Candidate c violates dep-io because it selects the allomorph /es/ and repairs the cluster by inserting an epenthetic vowel /i/, while the structure /s.tr/ in candidate a violates *Cons. The winning candidate is b, despite violating SCL.

/enjk ^h {es, esi}mōros/	dep-io	*Cons	SCL	Select- /es/	Select- /esi/
a. enjk ^h es.mōros			*!		*
☞ b. enjk ^h esi.mōros				*	
c. enjk ^h esi.mōros	*!				*

Differently from above, here the structure in /s.m/ in candidate a does not violate *Cons but SCL. To conclude, in this paper I present an OT analysis of the phonologically conditioned -εσ- ~ -εσι- allomorphy in first compound members from s-stems. My analysis posits that the -εσ- ~ -εσι- alternation is sensitive to the markedness constraints *Cons and SCL which are normally ranked lower in the language. The allomorph -εσι- is selected to repair the low-level dispreference for clusters that are elsewhere attested, thus offering an example of the TETU effect.

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Ancient Greek verb-initial compounds as an inner-Greek innovation

Thursday, June 26th, 17:30

Room H340

Introduction. Ancient Greek verb-initial compounds have two morphological markings exemplified by *τερψίμβροτος* and *φερέοικος* as in (1). These compounding types can be described synchronically as based on the sigmatic aorist stem with a linking vowel -ι- (Schwyzer 1939:443–4; Kiparsky 2009; Schindler 1997:539; Tribulato 2015:173–4) and the present stem (less often, asigmatic aorist) (Schwyzer 1939:441–3; Tribulato 2015:166–9), respectively:

(1) a. *terps-i-mbrot-os*

√delight.**AOR**-LNK-√mortal.man-NOM.SG

‘delighting the mortals’

b. *phere-∅-oik-os*

√bring.**PRES**-LNK-√house-NOM.SG

‘snail’ (i.e., ‘house-carrier’)

Existing Analyses. According to Schindler (2022), these compounds developed from special types of possessive compounds, termed ‘Doppelpossessiva’ and attested in Sanskrit:

(2) Skt. *vāja-bāhu-*

weapon-arm

‘who has an arm which has a weapon’

Schindler reconstructed the first member as a verbal derivative: a *ti*-stem abstract for the *τερψίμβροτος* type (Schindler 2022) and a *temós* formation for the *φερέοικος* type (Schindler in Pinault 2018:335). These verbal stems developed factitive semantics that later produced a proper verbal interpretation:

(3) *terps-i-mbrot-os*

√delight.AOR-LNK-√mortal.man-NOM.SG

‘who has the mortals who have delight’

↓

‘who makes the mortals with delight’

↓

‘who delights the mortals’

Problems with existing analyses. This analysis is problematic for two main reasons. First, the reconstruction of the first members as verbal derivatives is complicated. Schindler himself hesitated

to reconstruct a φερέοικος type for the proto-language and eventually proposed it as an innovation of the individual branches (Peters in Schindler 2022:336–7). As for the *ti*-stems, Tribulato already observed a number of problems (2015:174–6), starting from ablauting mismatches (e.g., Σησίχορος ‘chorus-leader’ vs. στάσις ‘setting’). Moreover, not all first verbal members in -σι- correspond to a verbal abstract in -σις (e.g., ἀεσίπους ‘high-stepping’ vs. *ἀεσις ‘raising’) and some of these nouns are attested much later than the compositional form (e.g., πηγείμαλλος ‘thick-fleeced’ (Hom.) vs. πήξις ‘fixing’ (Plat.)).

Second, the semantic development from factitives cannot be backed up from a syntactic perspective. A possessive relationship syntactically introduces two nominal arguments: the possessor and the possessee (Kayne 1993). This relationship is normally entailed in bahuvrihis where the possessee is a deverbative noun. Because the possessee position is occupied, it follows that the possessor is also the logical subject of the action denoted by the verb. For example, in the phrase in (5.a), *John* is the Agent of *defense* and also the logical subject of the action of defending, which makes (5.a) semantically equivalent to (5.b).

- (5) a. John’s defense (of the city)
- b. John defends (the city)

If we apply this to the translation of τερψίμβροτος in (6.a), under the assumption that the mortals are the possessors of the delight, it follows that mortals can only be the subjects of the implicit action of delighting (6.b) and they can in no way become the objects (6.c).

- (6) a. who has the mortals who have delight
- b. with the mortals who delight
- c. *with the mortals who are delighted

In addition to these points, Jamison 2024 convincingly argues that the Sanskrit evidence for the τερψίμβροτος compound type is far from solid and raises skepticism about its reconstruction at the proto-language stage. From a Greek point of view, this is echoed in Dunkel 1992:214, who similarly suggests that the τερψίμβροτος type might be directly connected to the aorist stems without any connection to *ti*-stems (and *ti*-compounds).

Novel contribution. We argue that verb-initial compounds are an inner Greek development, similar to that of Romance languages (Nielsen Whitehead 2012). We propose a synchronic analysis whereby the verbal morphology on the first constituent follows from a syntactic constraint known as Final-Over-Final Constraint (FOFC) (Biberauer et al. 2014; Michelioudakis & Angelopoulos 2013). In informal terms, FOFC regulates cases where a head-initial structure (**VO** in **[terps]_V-i-[mbrot]_O-** and **[phere]_V-[oik]_O-**) is dominated by a head-final structure (**[VO]_N** in **[[terps]_V-i-[mbrot]_O-[os]_N]_N** and **[[phere]_V-[oik]_O-[os]_N]_N**) in the same domain.

Under a syntactic approach to morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993; Harley 2009), VO deverbal compounds would violate FOFC because of their syntactic configuration. However, we propose that verbal morphology (either an aorist or present stem) ensures that the structure in V is explicitly marked as verbal, opposite to N, which is nominal. Because the structures are explicitly marked for different categories (V vs. N), a FOFC violation does not occur. This explains the special morphology of VO compounds, which (crucially) never occurs when the constituents are reversed. Since the structure of OV compounds is consistently head-final ([[angelia]N-[phor]V]V-os]N]N), there is no risk of a FOFC violation (8.a), so there is no need to mark the verbs as aorist (8.b) or present (8.c) stems. VO compounds, instead, need to overtly mark their verbal stem with additional morphology in order to avoid FOFC violations (8.a).

- (8) a. angelia- \emptyset -phor-os
 $\sqrt{\text{message}}$ -LNK- $\sqrt{\text{bring}}$ -NOM.SG
 ‘messenger’ (i.e., ‘message-bringer’)
- b. *angelia- \emptyset -enek-os
 $\sqrt{\text{message}}$ -LNK- $\sqrt{\text{bring}}$.AOR-NOM.SG
 ‘messenger’ (i.e., ‘message-bringer’)
- c. *angelia- \emptyset -pher-os
 $\sqrt{\text{message}}$ -LNK- $\sqrt{\text{bring}}$.PRES-NOM.SG
 ‘messenger’ (i.e., ‘message-bringer’)

Conclusions. In this paper, we review the traditional hypothesis on the diachronic development of Greek verb-initial compound. The traditional analysis by Schindler derives verb-initial compounds from ‘Doppelpossessiva’ with factitive semantics. Schindler’s hypothesis, however, does not provide a principled explanation to the attested data and relies on a semantic development which cannot be licensed by the syntax. We argue, instead, that the verb-initial category was an inner-Greek innovation, and that the morphology of first verbal constituents is produced by the grammar of the language in order to avoid the Final-Over-Final Constraint. In this respect, our account addresses the shortcomings of the traditional analysis, and offers a new perspective on much discussed data. It also highlights how modern theoretical frameworks can communicate with diachronic studies to inform both subfields.

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**Noms d'Athéniens en Λεω-, Λᾶο- et Λᾶ- antéconsonantique vs. -λεως, -λᾶος, -λᾶς:
Aspects dialectologique et sociostylistique**Friday, June 27th, 15:00

Room H338

Au premier élément des noms d'hommes de forme composée, les variantes non ioniennes-attiques Λᾶ- et Λᾶο- concurrencent, dès le début du V^e siècle avant notre ère, att. Λεω-, à Athènes et dans les cités ioniennes sur lesquelles elle exerça son hégémonie dans le cadre de la Ligue de Délos. Serait-ce en vertu du modèle épique, dans l'ensemble de ces cités ? À Athènes notamment, nombre de ces noms (Λάκριτος, Λᾶκρατείδης, Λᾶφιλίδης, Λάστρατος) ont en effet la structure du dactyle ou débutent par elle, l'exception qu'y représente Λᾶ-μέδων, à la structure lyrique de crétique - υ -, y côtoyant un plus rare hom. Λᾶο-μέδων, à la structure aussi lyrique de choriambes - υ υ - en même temps qu'à dactyle initial. Une situation comparable s'observe au second élément, où -λᾶς concurrence -λεως dès la même période, et à partir de l'époque hellénistique, -λᾶος, par ailleurs devenu la norme, au simple, dans le lexique de la *koinè*. Or, ni la contraction d'hom. Λᾶο- en Λᾶ- ni celle de -λᾶος en -λᾶς ne peuvent être imputées à l'attique, et Λᾶ- n'est pas la forme élidée de Λᾶο- puisque seuls sont attestés, élidés, les noms d'Athéniens en Λε(ω)-. Et l'analogie de l'unique anthroponyme homérique à premier élément élidé, Λᾶέρτης, ne peut raisonnablement être non plus invoquée, pas plus, du reste, qu'une origine non ionienne-attique des porteurs de ces noms, vu la représentation régulière de Λᾶ-/-λᾶς à côté de Λεω-/-λεως et Λᾶο-/-λᾶος. Pour tenter de comprendre l'origine du couple qui fait figure d'intrus dans les noms de ce domaine dialectal, sera observée la distribution relative de chaque couple de formes de premier et de second élément, successivement à Athènes, en Eubée, en Ionie micrasiatique et à Thasos ; seront choisis, par ailleurs, deux points de comparaison en dehors du domaine ionien-attique, en l'occurrence, la Béotie et la cité d'Argos, l'une et l'autre retenues pour l'importance de leurs corpus épigraphiques (respectivement environ 10.000 et 6.000 inscriptions actuellement recensées), et par conséquent du nombre de noms de personnes attestés. La synthèse réalisée à partir de la confrontation de ces sondages permettra de fonder une interprétation dialectologique et sociostylistique pour rendre compte de la diffusion de Λᾶ-/-λᾶς, tant à Athènes que dans l'ensemble du domaine ionien.

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A new diagnostic for unaccusativity:

Ancient Greek synthetic compounds and their related *simplicia*

Wednesday, June 25th, 15:30

Room H340

Since the Unaccusative Hypothesis' proposal (Perlmutter 1978), several studies have come up with a series of useful tests in order to establish the nature of an intransitive verb, both in modern and in ancient languages (Levin & Rappaport-Hovav 1995, 2005; Sorace 2000; Cennamo 2002; Lazzeroni 2002, 2004). However, with respect to ancient languages, these tests deal only with verbal morphology (Lazzeroni 2002, 2004; Benedetti 2005).

In this contribution, we present a new diagnostic to distinguish between an unaccusative and an unergative verb in Ancient Greek by looking at nominal morphology. More specifically, our testing deals with the relationship between the second constituents of synthetic compounds and their corresponding deverbal nouns (e.g., $[[kouro]_N[tróph]_{R,os}]_{N/A}$ 'nurse of children': $[trophós]_N$ 'nurse', but $[[thymo]_N[phthór]_{R,os}]_{N/A}$ 'heart-destroying': $*[phthorós]_N$ *'destroyer'): in relation to this, scholars have been debating for long on the possible reasons why some *simplicia* are attested alongside the compounds and others are not (Wackernagel 1905: 185–186; Chantraine 1933: 7; Debrunner & Wackernagel 1954: 96; Risch 1974: 10; Tribulato 2015: 90). We argue that unaccusativity is a criterion that puts some restrictions on the nominalization of the simple nouns related to the compounds. In order to do so, we carry out an extensive and diachronic analysis of the Homeric poems and six tragedies of the Classical period (*Persians*, *Agamemnon*; *Ajax*, *Electra*; *Bacchae*, *Medea*), addressing the argument structure of the verb which each compound's second constituent is related to within the Role and Reference Grammar theoretical framework (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997). Then, we take into account the lexical meaning of each compound's verb, and, as for one-argument verbs, we refer to the *Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy* model (Sorace 1995, 2000; Cennamo 2002, 2008). Moreover, we take note of the kinds of nominalization shown by the simple nouns related to the compounds (Comrie & Thompson 1985; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993; Gaeta 2002).

Finally, the results of this study show that: 1) synthetic compounds coming from transitive verbs nominalize, as *simplicia*, all the possible arguments underlying their logical structure; 2) synthetic compounds coming from unergative verbs do not nominalize, as *simplicia*, the object; 3) synthetic compounds coming from unaccusative verbs do not nominalize, as *simplicia*, the agent.

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**The periphrasis ‘εἶναι + participle’ in Post-Classical Greek:
Between contact and variation**Thursday, June 26th, 10:30
Room H338

Previous studies on Ancient Greek periphrastic constructions mainly focused on complex questions, such as the definition, identification, and classification of periphrases (among others, see Björck 1940, Dietrich 1973, Ceglia 1998), or their diachronic development (Aerts 1965, Amenta 2003, Bentein 2016). Other aspects, though widely tackled, are still the object of debate, such as the role of Semitic interference in the periphrastic usage of Biblical Greek (among many others, see Amenta 2003: 64–66, 146–149, Bubeník 2010, Drinka 2011, Bentein 2016: 247–249), or have not been addressed adequately, such as the supposed and controversial emphatic value of the periphrasis ‘εἶναι + participle’ compared to the synthetic equivalent (e.g. ἦν διδάσκων ‘he was teaching’ vs. ἐδίδασκεν ‘id.’; among others, see Gonda 1959, Blass et alii 1961: 179, McKay 1994: 9).

This contribution tackles the periphrasis made up of εἶναι plus participle in Post-Classical Greek, Biblical Greek in particular (on which, among others, see Joosten 2013), with reference to two questions: the interference of Semitic languages, namely Aramaic and/or Hebrew, and the functional relation between the periphrastic construction and the synthetic counterpart. New insights on these aspects come from the philological analysis of the texts, with special reference to parallel passages, that is, passages in either the same text or different texts that refer to the same episode or state of affairs (the paradigmatic example of this scenario is represented by the synoptic gospels). The data come from a large and variegated corpus dating from between the II century BCE and the VIII CE, and consisting of texts that belong to Judeo-Christian literature, the historiographical works by Flavius Josephus (*Bellum Iudaicum* and *Antiquitates Iudaicae*), and documentary papyri.

The findings of the investigation can be summarized as follows. The periphrastic occurrences exhibit a significant frequency increase compared to Classical Greek. A number of linguistic and extralinguistic factors, such as the socio-cultural and geographic provenance of the texts and the quantitative distribution of the data in the corpus, suggest that such growth is most likely attributable to Semitic interference.

The alternation between the periphrasis and the analogous synthetic form in parallel passages, such that we find the analytic pattern in one place and the synthetic counterpart in the other (example (1a–b)), indicates that the competing forms are susceptible to an overall free variation in usage and, therefore, can be assumed to be essentially equivalent in functional terms.

- (1) a. Ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς πᾶσαι **ἡριθμημένοι** εἰσίν.
But even the hairs of your head **are** all **numbered**. (Mt. 10:30; trans. ESV)
- b. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν πᾶσαι **ἡριθμῶνται**.
Even the hairs of your head **are** all **numbered**. (Lk. 12:7; trans. ESV)

The philological analysis of the texts also shows that, in a few cases, the periphrasis was modified into the synthetic counterpart by some copyists.

Moreover, the comparison between the morphosyntactic features of the Greek periphrases and the equivalent patterns in Aramaic and Hebrew suggests that Semitic interference played a role also in the periphrastic-synthetic alternation phenomena and the cases of copyists' intervention.

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Dans ce travail, nous nous proposons d'étudier les anaphores indirectes et les anaphores infidèles dans les pièces de la tragédie grecque (Sur le phénomène de l'anaphore dans la tragédie grecque, voir Perdicoyianni-Paléologou 2005, 2006 ; Ruigh 2006). Par « anaphores indirectes, nous entendons les anaphores qui tirent leur interprétation référentielle d'une expression antérieure sans pour autant être leur co-référent, et par anaphores infidèles, celles dont le N que comporte le SN anaphorique qui n'est pas de signifiant identique à celui figurant dans le SN anaphorisé.

L'étude du premier type d'anaphore sera fondée sur le fonctionnement des anaphores suivantes :

i) Des anaphores génériques, qui « regroupe des anaphores pronominales inférentielles sans re-catégorisation lexicale » (Reichler-Béguelin : 1993 : 337).

ii) Des anaphores associatives, qui indiquent une expression référentielle qui est interprétative-ment dépendante de certaines informations fournies dans le contexte précédent, tout en n'étant pas coréférentielle relativement à une autre expression (Apothéloz – Reichler-Béguelin 1999, 364. Voir aussi (Anscombe 2001 ; Charolles 1990, 1999a, 1999b ; Kleiber 1992 ; 1993 ; 1994 ; Kleiber – Patry – Ménard 1993 ; Kleiber – Schnedecker – Ujma 1994 ; Kleiber 1997a, 1997b ; 1999a, 1999b, 1999c ; Le Pesant 2011 ; Salles 2013 ; Tasmowski – De Mulder 2000). Nous étudierons aussi les anaphores associatives qui désignent un référent, qui a été mentionné implicitement dans le contexte antérieur, et celles qui sont interprétables par le biais des informations qui ont été préalablement introduites dans le discours (« informations-supports ») et au shared knowledge. Nous examinerons aussi les anaphores interprétables à l'aide de procédures inférentielles illustrant les rapports tantôt méréologiques, tantôt métonymiques au sens large du terme. Les contenus inférentiels seront calculés à partir des contenus linguistiques pris pour prémisses grâce aux connaissances lexicales et à l'activation du shared knowledge.

iii) Des anaphores dont l'identification du référent se fait par le biais de la motivation morphosémantique. Nous étudierons les reprises effectuées au moyen d'un adjectif anaphorique et d'un nom concret contenant le même thème ou le même radical que le verbe indiqué dans le contexte antérieur, celles par un dérivé sur la même base lexicale et celles dont le référent implicite se construit par extraction de la base morphologique d'un adjectif dérivé figurant dans le contexte antérieur. Nous accèderons à la (re)construction du référent du lexème anaphorique au moyen de l'activation du shared knowledge.

Étant donné que la localisation du référent des anaphores indirectes ou *in absentia* se fait au moyen des raisonnements inférentiels et de l'activation du *shared knowledge*, l'anaphore n'est pas un phénomène strictement syntactico-sémantique. Cette fonction sera également mise en évidence par les emplois anaphoriques infidèles.

Ce type d'anaphore comportera les anaphores par hyperonymie qui fonctionnent par récurrence de traits lexicaux (Reichler-Béguelin 1995, 68), celles par hyponymie reposent sur le passage d'un contenu littéral fort à une information moins forte que lui (Reichler-Béguelin 1995, 69), les anaphores fondées sur des relations de synonymie qui servent à identifier le référent sous un nouveau terme à proximité sémantique (Berrendonner 1986, 264), celles par métaphore, qui « exploitent un rappel de sème(s) dans la chaîne discursive tout en introduisant une rupture d'isotopie » (Reichler-Béguelin 1995, 76) ; celles par métonymie, qui désignent l'entité du premier ordre par le nom d'une réalité qui lui est associée dans l'expérience (Reichler-Béguelin 1995, 77). L'étude de ces types d'anaphores sera fondée sur leurs conditions d'emploi et les effets qu'ils produisent au moment de l'énonciation.

L'intérêt de la présente étude réside au fait qu'elle est la première à être entamée de manière systématique et comparative chez les trois auteurs tragiques. Elle permettra de cerner chez chaque auteur le rôle du cotexte gauche au niveau cognitif, c'est-à-dire que de déterminer dans quelle mesure le cotexte gauche fournit la matière nécessaire à l'effectuation des opérations cognitives nécessaires à l'identification ou plutôt à la construction d'un référent au niveau cognitif ; de faire ressortir chez chaque auteur le type et le sous-type d'anaphore auxquels chaque opérateur anaphorique (ὁδε, οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος, αὐτός) est le plus associé ; d'indiquer la fonction sémantico-syntaxique de chaque type et sous-type d'anaphore, leur rôle stylistique et leur portée argumentative.

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Arianna Perna

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L'uso del grafema <φ> nelle iscrizioni greche e italiche: Implicazioni fonetiche e fonologiche nel contatto linguistico tra greco e osco

Thursday, June 26th, 17:30
Room H339

In una lingua, i processi di adeguamento e aggiustamento di *regole d'uso* (Prosdocimi, 1990, pp. 158–159) possono seguire spinte diverse. Si pensi ai casi dell'alfabeto greco usato in due contesti linguistici differenti: il primo è quello prettamente greco di Delo, dove numerose testimonianze epigrafiche rivelano una significativa frequentazione dell'isola da parte di mercanti italici (si veda Durbach, 1976); il secondo, invece, è quello lucano e *brettio* dell'Italia meridionale, in cui l'alfabeto greco è usato secondo le funzioni linguistiche osche (il cd. *alfabeto osco-greco*). I due casi, se sono differenti per i sistemi linguistici a cui appartengono (greco, il primo, sia per la lingua che per l'alfabeto; osco, il secondo, per la lingua, ma non per l'alfabeto che è greco), sono, al contrario, accomunati da due aspetti: da una parte la presenza italica nelle rispettive compagini sociali, dall'altra l'assenza di un segno per il fonema osco /f/ nell'inventario grafematico greco utilizzato in entrambi i contesti. Considerati i parlanti italici che componevano le due diverse società (quella mercantile a Delo e quella più estesa nell'Italia meridionale), l'introduzione di nuovi segni e convenzioni per la resa della fricativa /f/ si rivelò necessaria.

Il presente studio si propone dunque di esaminare il valore fonetico del grafema greco <φ> usato nei due contesti appena citati, e cioè nell'epigrafia delia, in cui compaiono nomi italici, e in quella osco-greca dell'area campana, lucana e *brettia*. La questione può risultare particolarmente interessante perché ci pone di fronte al caso in cui un grafema (<φ>), anche se usato nel suo contesto linguistico di appartenenza (quello grecofono di Delo), perde il suo originario valore fonetico ([ph]) e assume il valore proprio di un altro sistema linguistico (in questo caso [f] osco).

Si confronteranno dunque i due contesti epigrafici: nel caso di Delo, si analizzeranno tutte le iscrizioni con materiale onomastico italico in cui si nota una ricorrenza di <φ>; nel caso lucano e *brettio*, si procederà, allo stesso modo, con lo spoglio epigrafico, cercando di volta in volta di analizzare il valore fonetico dello stesso grafema. Si può già sottolineare perché i due casi si rivelano differenti e perché, eventualmente, i diversi valori fonetici di <φ> non dovranno stupire. Nel caso delle iscrizioni delie con onomastica italica, infatti, materiale lessicale osco in cui ricorreva la fricativa labiodentale sorda è entrato in un sistema linguistico in cui questa era assente, ponendo quindi il problema di come renderla grafematicamente. Per questo specifico caso, può giovare il confronto con le monete campane del V-IV sec. a.C. emesse da zecche greche e, come Rutter (1979, pp. 96 ss.) ha convincentemente sostenuto, battute da incisori greci (quindi,

ancora, un caso in cui del materiale linguistico italico è stato “maneggiato” da grecofoni): esse infatti, nell’uso di <φ>, sembrano voler riadattare le *regole d’uso* del grafema greco a delle funzioni osche, perché, come nel caso di Delo, ci si pose il problema di come rendere graficamente il fonema /f/ assente, sì, nell’inventario fonemico di chi produceva il manufatto, ma presente in quello dei parlanti che avrebbero fruito di quest’ultimo. In alcuni casi fortunati, infatti, si leggono legende bilingui o mistilingui in osco e in greco, che testimoniano come /f/ italico fosse stato realizzato con <φ> (o <β>, se in posizione intervocalica. Cfr. anche Rix, 1957, p. 142; Zair, 2016, pp. 98–105).

Nel caso, invece, delle iscrizioni osco-greche della Lucania e del *Bruttium*, si può osservare un percorso inverso: quando dei grecismi sono entrati nel lessico osco, <φ> sembra aver mantenuto il valore originario di [ph] e quindi, per rendere [f] italica, sono stati utilizzati altri grafemi (Lejeune, 1966; *Id.* 1970; Poccetti, 2010), alcuni dei quali, si vedrà, presi in prestito dall’alfabeto greco che ne rappresentava il *modello principale* di segni (secondo la definizione di Lazzeroni, 1984, p. 171).

Con questo studio, quindi, si analizzeranno le ricorrenze di <φ> nel lessico di origine italica usato in contesto grecofono (nel caso delle iscrizioni di Delo in lingua greca) o da scriventi grecofoni in ambiente osco (nel caso delle legende monetali campane in alfabeto greco), nonché gli utilizzi dello stesso grafema nei grecismi delle iscrizioni lucane e *brettie* in alfabeto osco-greco. Lo scopo è quello di dimostrare il ruolo del grafema come elemento cruciale nei processi di adattamento linguistico in situazioni di bilinguismo e contatto culturale, mostrando come la scrittura non debba essere intesa solo come pura e semplice rappresentazione fonica di una lingua, ma anche come strumento attraverso cui ricavare informazioni riguardo ai valori della cultura a cui appartiene (Pasquali, 1968, p. 103).

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Nouns and adjectives with nominative in -ήν (/ -εις < *-en-s) and genitive in -ηνος/-ενος/-voς can be considered quite rare in Ancient Greek: if ων-inflected stems are more than 2000, those in -ήν barely exceed 150 (Buck and Petersen 1945, 216–220, 249–260). The history of nouns and adjectives employing this inflectional (sub)class appears quite complex: an original group of ancient and (in most cases) ablauting Indo-European stems (ἀρ-ήν, ἀρ-ϕν-ός ‘lamb’, πυθ-μήν, πυθ-μέν-ος ‘bottom’, etc.) merged with an understudied and “very obscure” (Sihler 1995, 295) group of non-ablauting non-Indo-European loanwords and ην-derivatives.

Not much is known about the suffix -ήν, -ῆνος. According to Chantraine (1933, 166–168, 174), this suffix was employed in the creation of deverbal and denominal nouns belonging to a “vocabulaire technique et populaire”. More recently, Balles (2008, 188, 208) recognized a plain individualizing function (*Blosse Individualisierung*) for this.

In our poster, we will introduce the general history of Greek and Indo-European rare *ēn*-inflected stems and discuss the language-specific development of the Greek suffix -ήν. We will look at how this suffix passed from the original individualizing function of PIE *-n- (cf. Pronk 2015) to a pejorative-augmentative one. Indeed, cross-linguistically the concepts of ‘small’/‘big’ and ‘good’/‘bad’ are often associated (Cinque 2015). It is also remarkable that in the Romance languages the Latin individualizing suffix -ō, -ōnis (cf. *Catō*, *Catōnis* ‘the keen one’), from PIE *-n- as well, yielded pejorative-augmentative suffixes (cf. Italian -one, Portuguese -ão, Spanish -ón, etc.) (Bauer 2011, 536–537). Knowing the semantic value of -ήν, we will try to interpret some of the ην-stems reported by ancient grammarians without giving their definitions.

This contribution to Greek historical morphology will be an occasion to observe how this rare PIE inflectional (sub)type managed to survive and became limitedly productive in this subbranch of the Indo-European languages.

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La communication enquête sur les effets de la négation dans des contextes caractérisés par la modalité assertive (concernant les *uerba dicendi*) ou par la modalité boulomaïque (concernant les *uerba uoluntatis*). Notre analyse s'inscrit dans l'encadrement théorique esquissé par Hare (1970) et repris par Lyons (1977), distinguant trois niveaux, notamment le 'neustique' (le signe de souscription du locuteur à l'acte illocutoire), le 'tropique' (la modalité illocutoire de base), le 'phrastique' (le contenu propositionnel). Elle vise à expliquer les fonctions différentes des deux particules négatives du grec οὐ et μή et leurs combinaisons, se distribuant dans ces trois niveaux.

Le point départ est l'observation synchronique des effets illocutoires différents produits par la négation selon la modalité exprimée. Dans ce but, le *corpus* prend en compte les contextes concernés s'étalant sur toute la production littéraire.

Notre enquête focalise deux structures :

A) Si la négation fait bloc avec un *verbum dicendi*, elle est une *négation subjective*, se situant au niveau 'neustique'. La négation subjective, à nature illocutoire DECL, est une négation faible, gradable, servant aussi à exprimer la modalité épistémique subjective. En grec, elle est réalisée par la négation μή et le verbe φημί + le subjonctif ou même par la seule particule non assertive μή + le subjonctif:

- (1) **Μὴ ἀγροικότερον ἤ** τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν (Plat. *Gorg.* 462e) "**il serait peut-être trop dur** de dire le vrai"

En revanche, la modalité boulomaïque n'atteint jamais le niveau 'neustique'.

B) Si la négation avec un *verbum dicendi* a une portée plus étendue, il s'agit d'une négation *objective, polémique* qui réalise un *denial*, se situant au niveau 'tropique' (en ce cas, DECL). Cette négation 'contradictoire' porte sur l'énoncé, mais par un effet pragmatique, elle peut porter seulement sur la proposition *p* (au niveau 'phrastique') et être interprétée comme un 'contraire' (Moorhouse 1958 et Horn 2020), réalisant une simple assertion négative :

- (2) (2) Ὁ δὲ παῖς **οὐ γὰρ ἔφη** οἱ συμπλεύσεσθαι (Hdt. 4,149) "**l'enfant dit qu'il ne** naviguerait pas avec lui"

En revanche, un *verbum uoluntatis* qualifie le niveau 'tropique' pour la modalité illocutoire de base IMP et exprime une volonté négative :

- (3) (3) ὁ δὲ λόγος τὰ μεγάλα λυπηρὰ καὶ φθαρτικὰ **οὐ κελεύει** ὑπομένειν, ἂν μὴ καλὰ ᾖ (Aristot., *Et. Eud.* 1229a, 8) “le logot n’ordonne pas (= **interdit**) de tolérer les grandes souffrances et les douleurs, sauf s’ils sont positifs”.

Entre le niveau phrastique et le niveau tropique, en grec, la remontée de la négation est admise avec les prédicats qui sont « Neg-Raising licensers ». La négation avec les *uerba dicendi* est οὐ, alors qu’avec les *uerba uoluntatis* est μή.

Une telle approche permet aussi de mettre à jour les structures présentant les deux négations μή οὐ et οὐ μή (Denizot 2009), et propose une interprétation sémantique qui rend compte de l’ordre de deux négations, grâce à un *uerbum dicendi* implicite. En tant que intimement lié à l’énonciation, un *uerbum dicendi* se prête mieux que tout autre prédicat à interpréter les attitudes du locuteur rendues manifestes par l’acte de dire, jusqu’ à pouvoir être considéré comme un performatif, en gardant cette caractéristique même sous négation. Le prédicat faiblement assertif subjectif φημί avec la négation non-assertive μή dans la première structure (ordre μή οὐ) appartient au niveau ‘neustique’, alors que l’assertif objectif λέγω (Fournier 1946) dans la seconde (ordre οὐ μή) appartient au niveau ‘tropique’:

- (4) a. τὸ μὲν πιστὸν ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων κἂν περιγενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ οὐ βέβαιον **μή οὐ προαναλώσειν**, ἄλλως τε κἂν παρὰ δόξαν, ὅπερ εἰκός, ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς μηκύνηται (Thuk 1, 141,5) “car ils comptent bien que celle-ci (la vie) peut survivre aux périls, mais ne sont pas assurés que celui-là (=l’argent) **n’irait pas s’épuiser avant l’heure**, surtout si, comme il est probable, ils ont la surprise de voir la guerre traîner en longueur”.
- b. **Οὐ μή πίθηται** (Soph., *Phil.* 103) (**il nie**) absolument qu’il obéira”.

Cette analyse fait ressortir le rôle de la négation subjective μή, qui n’est pas seulement une négation prohibitive comme dans son emploi (IMP) le plus connu, mais aussi une négation *subjective*, toujours *non assertive*, *non véridictoire* (Chatzopoulou 2018), à modalité DECL qui connote le non-engagement ou ‘*weak commitment*’ du locuteur par rapport au contenu de son énoncé. Tout cela est connexe au statut tout à fait spécial des *uerba dicendi* ainsi que à la propriété langagière universelle du passage du *contradictoire* au *contraire* qui se réalise dans la proposition avec ces verbes niés en position *tropique*.

En ce qui concerne les *uerba uoluntatis*, il faut souligner qu’ils sont toujours déclencheurs de la remontée du *phrastique* au *tropique*, mais, en raison de leur nature illocutoire de base (IMP), ils ne pourront jamais atteindre le niveau *neustique*. En conclusion, l’analyse par les composants illocutoires *neustique*, *tropique*, *phrastique* et leur différente force illocutoire de base se montre efficace et éclairante pour comprendre certains phénomènes, connus depuis longtemps, dont les raisons ne sont pas suffisamment expliquées, tels que la distribution du cumul des négations, notamment μή οὐ et οὐ μή.

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This paper offers a first-hand analysis and comparison of the dialect of Hellenistic inscribed epigrams from Asia Minor Ionia and Rhodes. It is argued that the usage and social meaning of Doric and Ionic features were affected and shaped by different local and communicative contexts, and that this variation can be understood through the sociolinguistic framework of indexicalities. In a recent analysis of sociolinguistic variation, Eckert (2008: 454) asserts that “the meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings – an indexical field, or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable.” This framework was then successfully applied to disentangle the social meaning of variation in the Post-Classical Greek of private letters (Bentein 2019: 152–157). Building on these previous studies, I propose that the concept of indexical fields provides valuable insights into the usage and meaning of Greek dialect variation and mixture, specifically in Hellenistic inscribed epigrams. As a case study, I offer the first dialect analysis of Hellenistic inscribed epigrams, dated 4th to 1st c. BC, from two neighbouring regions, Rhodes (39 inscriptions) and Asia Minor Ionia (56 inscriptions). I identify patterns of dialectal variation, from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective, and I connect them to different local contexts and communicative situations. Epigrams are particularly suited to analyse dialectal variation since, on the one hand, the usage of different dialects was identified as typical of the genre (Gutzwiller 2014; Coughlan 2016). In addition, sociolinguistic studies show that the pattern of features in (literary) genres tends to change within the linguistic and socio-cultural context (Taavitsainen 2001: 140–141). On the other hand, previous research also indicates that local dialects had an impact on the local epigrammatic productions and can indeed be traced in epigrams up to the early imperial age (Alonso Déniz 2020; Dobias-Lalou 2020). Hence, I expect different dialect patterns in epigrams written in Asia Minor Ionia, where Koine spread early on and replaced the Ionic dialect of the region, and Rhodes, where its Doric variety was resilient to Koine throughout the Hellenistic age. My findings demonstrate that dialect features indexed both broad cultural meanings and local meanings within specific communities of practice. In both regions, epigrams reveal dialectal variation that aligns with genre-specific patterns, such as the presence of both Ionic and Doric features, often mixed. However, the frequency, co-occurrence patterns, and distribution of Doric and Ionic features in the two areas show that they were used differently and they conveyed different meanings. In Rhodes, Doric features are

more prevalent (e.g., Doric $\bar{\alpha}$ appears in 69% of epigrams versus 46% in Asia Minor) and they correspond to Doric features resilient to Koine Greek in the island (e.g. a-stem genitive in $-\alpha$, the pronoun ἄμεις, $-\nu\tau\iota$ verb ending, the numeral πρῶτος, πόκα, cf. Thumb 1901: 37–52; Vázquez 1988: *passim*), which reveals the local dialect still had an impact in the local poetic production. In addition, Doric is frequently found in epigrams featuring Rhodians (18/28), which further confirms that it was associated to the geographic and ethnic context of Rhodes (Bubeník 1989: 94–95, 193–195). Conversely, Ionic features were likely employed for their “poetic” quality, since they are scattered across epigrams and most of them make a metrical difference with their Koine/Doric counterpart (e.g. o -stem gen.sg., $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota/\sigma\iota\sigma\iota$ dat.pl.). Ionic η , not metrically relevant, is attested in funerary epigrams only, which suggests its connection to the genres of Epic and Elegy. In contrast, Asia Minor Ionia displays a much higher frequency of Ionic η (attested in 80% of epigrams versus 28% in Rhodes) and even of other epic-Ionic traits (0.8 per verse, while Rhodes attests 0.6 per verse). While Ionic features were not resilient to Koine in the area and Ionic η was found sporadically mostly in personal names, the usage of Ionic was likely linked to the Homeric tradition, central to the local cultural identity and the previous local poetic production (as already argued in Staab 2018). This is also confirmed by the presence of Homeric forms such as $-\epsilon\omega$ and $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ a-stem genitives, absent in Rhodes. Doric features in this region are rare and mostly drawn from literary Doric (e.g., $\tau\epsilon\bar{u}$ and $\tau\acute{o}\kappa\alpha$). Doric $\bar{\alpha}$ is frequently used in combination with Ionic η and often appears in epigrams for statesmen or victors, which suggests that it could be used to signal a certain military superiority. I finally argue that some of these meanings, such as the association of Doric with specific local contexts or military superiority, and the perception of Ionic as ontologically poetic, align with and anticipate interpretations found in later literary exegesis, discussed in Tribulato (2021). I further reflect on the wider implications of applying the framework of indexicalities to the relationship between dialect features and literary genres.

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What is “Doric”?

A comparative approach to epigraphic, literary, and grammatical sources

Friday, June 27th, 15:30

Room H338

This paper explores the unique linguistic status of the Doric dialect from both ancient and modern perspectives, emphasizing its influence on the study of Greek dialectology. Contemporary scholars are particularly fascinated by Doric due to its wide geographic variation, its resilience through the Hellenistic period and into the modern Tsakonian dialect, and its prominent use in literary genres. This prominence has shaped the description of certain features as inherently Doric, such as the so-called Doric *alpha* (Cassio 2016: *passim*). Scholarly interest in Doric is further accompanied by an ideological dimension that underscores the special role of the dialect throughout the history of Greek. In the 19th-century debate over the origins of Modern Greek, Doric held a significant place. Modern Greek was often perceived as “mostly Doric and in part Aeolic” (see Christopoulos’ *The Grammar of Aeolodoric*), based on the assumption that it derived primarily from the Peloponnesian dialect (see Mackridge 2009). This theory, likely driven by a desire to contrast it with Attic (the dialect traditionally associated with Ancient Greek), echoes ancient linguistic theories that positioned Doric as a central and often dominant dialect. First, in ancient metalinguistic texts, Doric was the only dialect subject to geographic subdivisions, with the recognition of sub-varieties such as Laconian, Cretan, Argolic, or Syracusan (e.g. in authors such as Dionysius Thrax, Heliodorus, and later Moschopoulos). Second, Doric was frequently opposed to the Ionic-Attic group in a contrastive relationship, for instance through the interpretation of Doric $\bar{\alpha}$ as an evolution from the Ionic-Attic η . Third, since the 5th c. BC, Doric was also more often employed than other dialects in literary characterizations of individuals, to indicate their geographic and ethnic origins. Hence, Doric features are used to represent Doric speakers not only in Aristophanes’ comedy (see Colvin 1999), but also in later Hellenistic poetry, such as in epigrams (Sens 2004; Coughlan 2016) or Theocritus’ Idylls (Willi 2012). This paper aims to compare both ancient and modern perceptions of Doric with its actual linguistic use, addressing persistent “false myths” about the dialect. We will explore how these perceptions evolved over time, focusing on factors such as literary and epigraphic usage, opposition to the Ionic-Attic dialect group, and specific dialectal features that appear to have shaped the understanding of Doric. Two features that have received particular attention in metalinguistic sources will be central to this analysis: a-stem genitives in $-\alpha$ and $-\tilde{\alpha}\nu$, a feature shared by all Doric dialects and described as $\varphi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ $\Delta\omega\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ by some sources (i.e. Herodianus and Chero-boscus, see Tribulato 2021: 367), and *Severior* o-stem genitives in $-\omega$, attested only in some areas

but often used for the characterisation of Doric speakers in literature (see Abbenes 1996). Why did these features attract so much attention? Was it because they diverged significantly from “the norm” and lacked shared or “koinoi” elements? Did they hold the same status of “dialect stereotypes” in metalinguistic sources, even if they had quite a different distribution in primary sources? To answer these questions, we compare metalinguistic sources (primarily Imperial and Byzantine grammatical treatises, e.g. Apollonius Dyscolus and Gregory of Corinth) with literary and epigraphic evidence, examining how these sources influenced each other and analysing why and how certain dialectal traits came to be regarded as particularly representative of the dialect. We identify a contrast between how these features are used in non-literary evidence across centuries and how they are characterised in metalinguistic sources. Indeed, grammarians appear to have mostly drawn from literary evidence and associated dialect features to specific genres or authors, while framing them within the contemporary ideological debate around language, in a contrastive approach to Attic and/or Koine Greek. Hence, a-stem genitives in -α and -ᾶν held the status of Doric “dialectal stereotypes” in metalinguistic sources, even though genitives in -α spread in masculine nouns in -ας in Koine Greek, through a process of analogy (rather than direct contact Doric-Koine), and became part of the regular paradigm in Medieval and Modern Greek. On the other hand, Doric o-stem genitives in -ω were also often listed as representative of “Doric”, because attested in authors coming from Doric areas such as Alcman or Theocritus, even if in inscribed and literary sources they were employed in specific varieties only. In this case, the limited geographic distribution of certain Doric features – such as -ω genitives – and their resilience up to the Imperial age could have contributed to shape the understanding of Doric as the dialect *par excellence*. Overall, this analysis highlights Doric’s enduring influence in the history of Greek and draws parallels with the linguistic dominance of Attic over time.

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This paper proposes a novel way of accounting for the textual function of verbal aspect and the (gnomic) aorist in particular. The gnomic aorist very often signals the outcome of a general process. It is proposed that this textual function is the product of a grammatical metaphor in relation to the temporal function of verbal aspect.

It is well-known that the imperfect can be used to signal completed events that form part of a series of subsequent events that is not yet completed as a series (e.g. Allan 2017, Van Emde Boas a.o. 2019:428). For example:

- (1) X. HG 1.1.19–20 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλεον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ Κύζικον. οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Φαρναβάζου ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὴν ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μείνας αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν ἐργασάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προκόννησον.

From there, the Athenians sailed on the next day to Cyzicus. As the Spartans and Pharnabazus had left the city, the citizens of Cyzicus welcomed the Athenians into their city. Alcibiades stayed there for three weeks, received an extensive sum of money from the citizens but did no further harm in the city. He then sailed back to Proconnesus.

While the use of the present stem in imperfects like ἔπλεον and ἐδέχοντο is comparatively well described, the use of the aorist in such passages has been dealt with less extensively: the aorist ἀπέπλευσεν not only signals an event that was completed at the reference time ('he sailed back to Proconnesus'), it also rounds off the passage that was still left open by the preceding imperfects. The shift to the aorist stem form signals the completion both of the action in itself and of the episode as a textual unit.

This use of the aorist seems to be particularly pertinent to the use of the so-called 'gnomic' aorist. It is clear that the gnomic aorist competes with the primary present indicative (e.g. Nijk 2016:104), but the choice between the two remains unexplained in many cases. Wakker (2017) notes that the aorists are often preceded by primary present indicatives. And indeed, the gnomic aorist very often signals the end or outcome of a general course of events. For example:

- (2) Hdt. 3.82.3 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος βουλόμενος κορυφαῖος εἶναι γνώμησιν τε νικᾶν ἐς ἔχθρα μεγάλα ἀλλήλοισι ἀπικνέονται, ἐξ ὧν στάσεις ἐγγίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στασιῶν φόνος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ἐς μουναρχίην, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διέδεξε ὅσω ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἄριστον.

(In an oligarchy) each man has the ambition to be the most powerful citizen and make his views prevail. Therefore they come to great rivalry among each other. This lead to civil strife, and civil strife leads to murder. These murderings ultimately lead to the reign of a single man, and therewith shows how far superior monarchy is.

The aorists ἀπέβη and διέδεξε are preceded by a number of primary present indicatives: ἀπικνέονται, ἐγγίγνονται. All these verbs describe events that are claimed to happen time and again in oligarchies, but whereas the present stem forms describe intermediate stages in the decline of the oligarchy, the aorists ἀπέβη and διέδεξε signal the eventual outcome, and hence the completion, of this decline.

In this paper, we will close-read discuss a number of instances of the gnomic aorist, where this textual function of the aorist stem helps to explain its use. We will also discuss a number of difficult instances and look into the theoretical implications that our findings have for a general theory of verbal aspect. We argue that the textual function of the aspect stems (present and aorist) represents a metaphorical extension of the temporal uses of the aspect stems. It signals completion (or lack thereof) on the level of a discourse unit, and not on the level of the event itself. We are thus dealing with a “grammatical metaphor” (Panther & Thornburg 2009) across two communicative levels of language (Halliday 1985).

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Jeremy Rau

Harvard University

The phylogenetics of the Ancient Greek dialects in the 2nd Millennium BCE

Friday, June 27th, 16:00
Amphitheater 68 (Plenary Session)

This paper addresses the long-standing question of the phylogenetic classification of the Ancient Greek dialects in the 2nd millennium BCE. It begins by examining the linguistic innovations that define the ancestor of each Greek dialect subgroup (Attic Ionic, West Greek, Aeolic, and Achaeae) in comparison to what is attested for the same sequences in Mycenaean. The paper then outlines the long history of the phylogenetic classification problem following the decipherment of Mycenaean. Building on this foundation, it identifies the innovations that are most significant for subgroup classification and evaluates them along the axes of triviality – that is, whether the innovations in question could easily have arisen independently in each subgroup – and of potential for diffusion across dialect boundaries. On this basis the paper proposes a novel theory regarding the internal branching structure of the language in the 2nd millennium.

Re-evaluating the word-medial operation of the Saussure-Hirt effect in GreekThursday, June 26th, 12:00

Room H339

Gk. τέρμα ‘end, boundary’, Lat. termen ‘boundary’ < PIE *térh₂-m̥n̥-, and Gk. τέρμων ‘bound-ary’ « *terh₂-m̥ show unexpected laryngeal loss in a -CHRV- sequence and have been argued by Nussbaum (2010, 276²²) to reflect laryngeal loss in an *ó/é-ablauting (Acrostatic II) men-stem paradigm (*tór(h₂)-m̥n̥ ~ *tér(h₂)-mn-) by the word-medial operation of the Saussure-Hirt (henceforth S-H) effect (*-oRH]σ- > -oR]σ- [Byrd 2013]) in the strong cases (*/tór(h₂)-mn/ → *[tór-m̥n̥]) and by the CH.CC > C.CC formulation of Lex Schmidt-Hackstein (Hackstein 2002) in the weak cases: */térh₂-mn-/ → *[tér-mn-]. The diachronic explanation of these forms has implications for the word-medial operation of the S-H effect, which has been denied for Greek by van Beek (2011), who instead argues for the sound change *-VLHNV- > -VLNV- to explain the loss of laryngeal in forms like Gk. πόρνη ‘prostitute’ (< *por(h₂)-n-e-h₂), τόλμα ‘courage’ (< *tólh₂-m̥n̥). Here, I start by re-considering Nussbaum’s explanation for laryngeal loss in Gk. τέρμα, Lat. termen, and Gk. τέρμων. His explanation of laryngeal loss in an Acrostatic II

*ó/é-ablauting paradigm is problematic for three reasons:

- There is no comparative evidence for reconstructing an *ó/é-ablauting men-stem paradigm for Gk. τέρμα and Lat. termen.
- Moreover, it is not plausible to reconstruct *ó/é-ablauting men-stems for PIE following Vine (2019, 234–6).
- Finally, according to Byrd’s revision of Lex Schmidt-Hackstein (2015, 107), laryngeal loss in PH.CC > P.CC (P = stop) is due to the laryngeal’s extra-syllabicity. Thus, *terh₂-mn- (with RH.CC) does not meet the context for laryngeal deletion.

I argue instead that the laryngeal loss in Gk. τέρμα, τέρμων, Lat. termen, and other forms showing the Saussure-Hirt effect in IE languages (e.g., Lat. collus ‘neck’ < *kwólhx-wo- [Nussbaum 1997, 196], Ved. sárva- ‘all’ < *sólh₂-wo-) can be motivated more economically by appealing to Sandell and Byrd’s revised account of Szemerényi’s Law for Pre-PIE (2015). According to their account, laryngeals were deleted in syllable codas not only word-finally (*wéd-ōr ‘waters’ < **wédor-h₂), but also word-medially without compensatory lengthening (Ved. jánman- ‘birth’ < **gén(h₁)-men etc.). I argue that Pre-PIE **térh₂-mn- and **terh₂-món- can be compared in syllable structure with protoforms like **gén(h₁)-mn- (RH.CC) and that we can explain the laryngeal loss in τέρμα, τέρμων and other forms showing the S-H effect by Sandell and Byrd’s revised account of Szemerényi’s Law.

To motivate the laryngeal loss in these forms, I develop an analysis in Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 2004) along the lines of Byrd (2015, 106–8) with the crucial interaction of constraints given in Table 1:

/ter _h mon-/	*CF]σ	MAX-O	DEP-V	MAX-H
a. ter.món-				*
b. ter.h ₂ ə.món-			*!	
c. térh ₂ .món-	*!			

Table 1: (Pre-)PIE derivation of *ter_h-mon

I argue that the ranking of *CF]σ constraint postulated by Sandell and Byrd (2015) Dep-V and MAX-H resulted in laryngeal loss in the progenitors of forms like Gk. τέρμα and τέρμων, which were then lexicalized and ceased to be productively derived. Crucially, both the forms discussed by van Beek that show laryngeal loss in an e-grade context (e.g. στέρνον < *ster(h₃)-no- ‘chest’) and an o-grade context (e.g. πόρνη ‘prostitute’ < *por(h₂)-n-éh₂) would have been lexicalized at this stage of PIE, whereas reflexes showing a laryngeal in an e-grade context (e.g. τελαμών ‘support band’ « *telh₂-mō) and an o-grade context (e.g. ὁμαλός ‘level’ < *somh₂-ló-s) continued to be productively derived in PIE, which underwent the re-ranking MAX-H » *CF]σ and ceased to delete laryngeals in a complex coda of the shape *CF]σ (see Fig. 1).

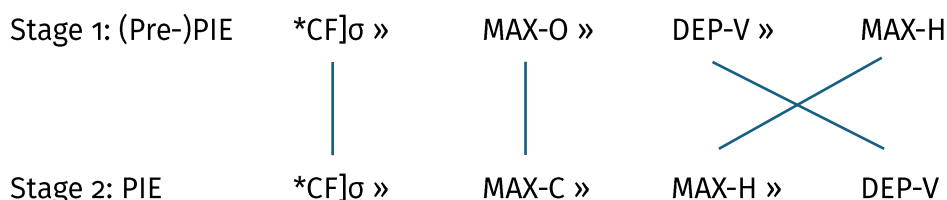


Figure 1: Re-ranking of constraints between (Pre-)PIE and a later stage of PIE

One of these reflexes, Gk. τελαμών (« *telh₂-mō), is a glaring counterexample to van Beek’s *-VLHNV- > -VLNV- rule that he formulates to account for laryngeal loss in S-H effect contexts. In light of Yates’ re-evaluation of the morpho-phonological properties of PIE mon-stems (2022), and the identification of Latin and Celtic cognates (OIr. talam ‘earth’, Lat. Tellumō ‘P.N.’ [Weiss 2017, 38651]), τελαμών can only be an archaic formation and remains unexplained under van Beek’s analysis. On the other hand, under the analysis proposed here, a form like τελαμών would have continued to be derived in PIE whereas τέρμα, τέρμων with a lost laryngeal had been lexicalized already in PIE and inherited into Greek without a laryngeal reflex. Under this analysis, the loss of laryngeals

restricted to -oRH]σ- environments (the so-called S-H effect) is a mirage and should be attributed to the word-medial operation of Szemerényi's Law in Pre-PIE.

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Le substantif πύελος f. (var. πύαλος à partir de l'époque hellénistique) est attesté depuis Homère, avec différents sens : « auge, mangeoire » (*Od.* 19.553, cf. Nordheider, *Lfgre* 3.1623), « baignoire » (*Hp.*+), « cuve » (*Ar.*), d'où « sarcophage » (*Thphr.*, *Arr.*, *inscr.*). Ce dernier sens ne surprend pas au regard de termes comme ληνός « abreuvoir ; pressoir ; etc. » ou μάκτ(ρ)α « pétrin ; baignoire », qui ont secondairement servi à désigner le « sarcophage » (voir déjà Schulze 1892 : 515 ; 1933 : 380, n. 1). Sur ce substantif ont été dérivés d'autres termes, de sens très variés : (i) πυέλιον « baignoire » (*inscr.* Crète ; *Diogenian.*) ; (ii) πυελίς (var. πυαλίς) « monture de pierre » (*Ar.*, *Lys.*), « douille » (*Heron*, *Apollod.*), « orbite de l'œil » (*médec.*), « coupe, calice » (*Diosc.*), mais encore « sarcophage » (*inscr.*) ; (iii) πυαλίτης « coup au jeu de dés » (*Eub.*) ; (iv) πυελώδης « concave » (*Arist.*).

Il est généralement admis que πύελος est un dérivé en -ελος sur le radical πλυ- de πλύνω « laver, baigner (notamment des étoffes) », avec dissimilation de *πλύ-ελος en πύελος (Renihan 1968 : 133 ; Risch 1974 : § 39a ; *DELG*² : 917). Le substantif aurait donc d'abord eu le sens de « baignoire, cuve où l'on lave ». Cette étymologie est cependant rejetée par Beekes (*EDG* : 1255), qui y voit plutôt un terme d'origine pré-grecque, sans pourtant opposer de véritable argument à cette hypothèse. Ce qui frappe surtout dans le groupe lexical de πύελος, c'est sa diversité sémantique, avec des mots dont le lien avec le sens de « laver » est ténu, voire forcé.

Cette communication vise donc à proposer une hypothèse étymologique alternative, qui ferait de πύελος, un dérivé de la racine indo-européenne **peu-* « ritzen, kerben », récemment postulée par Rieken (2018) pour rendre compte d'un certain nombre de termes anatoliens (p. ex. hitt. *pūl-* « destin » < *« ce qui est marqué », louv. hiér. /*pubala*-(^{ti})/ « écrire, dessiner », lyc. *p(p)uwe*-(^{ti}) « écrire »). De cette même racine pourraient aussi provenir lat. *putō* « élaguer ; penser » (et *com-putō*, à rapprocher de hitt. *ka-ppuwe-* « calculer, compter, prendre soin »), ainsi que toch. AB *putk-* « diviser » (Melchert 1977). En partant d'un degré zéro de la racine, on peut ainsi reconstruire un adjectif non attesté *πύ-ελος, du type de ἴκ-ελος (< **uejk-*) « semblable » (cf. Chantraine 1933 : 243), ayant le sens de « taillé, gravé, creusé », et qui aurait notamment été substantivé avec le sens de « (pierre) creusée », d'où « auge ; baignoire ; cuve ; sarcophage ». Cette étymologie pourrait alors expliquer la variété de sens de πύελος et de ses dérivés, qui ont en commun de désigner un objet « concave ».

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**Absolute vs. copular uses of εἶμι in Parmenides:
At the morphosyntax-lexical semantics interface**

Wednesday, June 25th, 17:30
Room H340

This paper investigates the functions and the distribution of εἶμι in Parmenides, with the aim of clarifying the relationship between the various types of constructions in which the verb occurs.

The functions of εἶμι in Parmenides have long baffled scientists from different perspectives (cf. Kahn 1966, 1969, 1973, 2002; 2004; Owen, 1966; Mourelatos, 1970; Brown, 1994; Curd, 1998; Bredlow, 2011, Alcocer Urueta 2023; Romagno 2024, among many others). It has been claimed that «Parmenides' new conception of Being must be seen as a complex assemblage and unification of a half dozen different functions of the verb einai in Greek» (Kahn 2002: 87). What is the principle that links these different functions remains unsettled.

The study reported here proposes a unitary model for the apparently incompatible uses of εἶμι in Parmenides and explains the relationship between the absolute and the copular uses of this verb, by unravelling the complex mapping relationships between the morphosyntactic categories and the conceptual-semantic representations involved in the different constructions in which εἶμι occurs.

A qualitative and quantitative analysis of the Parmenidean corpus was conducted and all the occurrences of εἶμι were examined, by adopting the perspective of the morphosyntax / lexical-semantics interface and by combining linguistic, philological, and philosophical methods.

Eighty-eight occurrences of being were found and first classified by following the traditional distinction between the two categories of copular and non-copular εἶμι. A within category investigation was further conducted and the various occurrences of εἶμι were classified by considering a series of sub-categories, at the interface between morphosyntax and semantics, including the distinction between periphrastic and non-periphrastic constructions (cf. Bentein, 2016; Nardi & Author, 2022; Nardi & Author, forthcoming), and the distinction between locative and non-locative meaning. Moreover, the long-debated question of the subject of εἶμι was investigated. To clarify this question, the presence vs. absence of an overt subject was analysed in relation to both the morphosyntactic strategies to express the subject of being and the typology of this subject. Furthermore, some crucial properties of the constructions in which εἶμι occurs were analysed, including the alternation between nominal/non-finite and verbal/finite forms of εἶμι and the ὅπως / ὡς schema. In addition, the crucial question of the temporal reference of εἶμι was addressed. Finally,

the relationship between εἰμί and other verbs, such as μένω, κεῖμαι, and πέλω were analysed on functional grounds.

The results of this study show that: 1) the non-copular type of εἰμί includes sub-types that are structurally and functionally distinct and display significantly different frequencies; 2) keeping apart these sub-types, both theoretically and methodologically, is necessary to explain the relationship between the copular and the predicative εἰμί; 3) a common principle links the copular and the pure absolute (non-locative) type, which is the significantly more frequent type among the non-copular ones; 4) this principle is manifested in specific morphological and syntactic features shared by these two types only; 5) the patterns of variation in the expression of the subject of εἰμί provide a solution to the enigma of its referent; 6) the morphological properties of the finite and non-finite forms of εἰμί are crucial to clarifying the long-debated question of the temporality of εἰμί in Parmenides; 7) the relationship between εἰμί and verbs such as μένω, κεῖμαι, and πέλω are functional to the expression of the Parmenidean ontology.

In conclusion, this study shows how the understanding of the principles underlying the use of “to be” in Parmenides contributes significantly to the individuation of specific formal and functional parameters for the theoretical and typological classification of be-constructions and offers the opportunity to build a bridge between the interpretation of the ancient world and the insight into universal principles in language and cognition.

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The diachronic evolutions of the imperatives of the verbs of language, movement and perception, among others, have recently been the subject of study by Zakowski (2014, 2018), Fedriani and Ghezzi (2014), Bailey (2023), Julia (2017) and La Roi (2022), without aiming to offer an exhaustive inventory. It has been discussed whether they can be described as processes of grammaticalisation (López Romero 2020) or pragmaticalisation and whether they can be considered processes of intersubjectification, which have not required a prior stage of subjectification (La Roi 2022). One of the imperatives under study is ἰδοῦ which has been studied mainly by New Testament scholars (Bailey 2023). The meanings of the form in New Testament Greek have probably biased the analysis of the Greek data from earlier stages without, to my knowledge, a comprehensive study of the constructions and a semantic mapping of them.

The functional diversity of the imperative constructions is evident. In example 1, the focus is on the metalinguistic level (López Eire 1996:102), on the meaning of a term used by the interlocutor:

- (1) Ar. Ecc. 131 bis-136 Πρ. περιθου δὴ τὸν στέφανον τύχάγαθῃ. | Γυ. β. ἰδοῦ. | Πρ. λέγοις ἄν. | Γυ. β. εἴτα πρὶν **πιεῖν** λέγω; | Πρ. **ἰδοῦ πιεῖν**. | Γυ. β. τί γάρ, ὦ μέλ', ἐστεφανωσάμην; | Πρ. ἄπιθ' ἐκποδῶν- τοιαῦτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ἡργάσω | κάκεϊ. | Γυ. β. τί δ'; οὐ **πίνουσι** κἀν τήκκλησίᾳ; | Πρ. **ἰδοῦ γέ σοι πίνουσι**.

[Praxagora- Then put on this chaplet and may success be with you.] First Woman- There! Praxagora- Well then! Begin.] First Woman- Before drinking? Praxagora- **Ha!** She wants to drink! | First Woman- Why, what is the meaning of this chaplet? | First Woman- Well, don't the men in the Assembly drink then? Praxagora: **Now you are telling us that the men drink!**

In example 2, it functions at the speaker/hearer interaction level to intensify that the hearer has complied with the speaker's orders. The first ἰδοῦ in the example 1 is also of this type.

- (2) E. Andr. 249-250 Ερ. ἧ καὶ πρόσω γὰρ τῶν ἐμῶν ψαύσεις κακῶν; | Αν. **ἰδοῦ** σιωπῶ κάπιλάζυμαι στόμα.

[Hermione- Are you going to keep digging into my ills? Andromache- **That's it**, I'll shut up and hold my tongue].

Example 3 shows an argumentative discourse marker indicating the speaker's surprise at the fact described:

- (3) Aesop. *Prov.* 21.2 ἀλιεῖς ἐπὶ ἄγραν ἐξελθόντες καὶ πολὺν χρόνον κακοπαθήσαντες καθεζόμενοι ἐτήκοντο τῷ λιμῷ μηδὲν τὸ πέρασ δυνάμενοι ἀνύσαι ἀνύσαι, λυπούμενοι δὲ ἐβούλοντο ἀναχωρῆσαι ἄπρακτοι. καὶ **ἰδοὺ** θύννος διωκόμενος παρὰ μεγίστου ἰχθύος ἀναπηδήσας εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ αὐτῶν.

[Some fishermen had gone out fishing and, after a long period of bad luck, they sat there starving, unable to finish anything and saddened; they wanted to return with nothing. And **then, lo and behold**, a tuna chased by a big fish jumped up and climbed into their boat].

Testing any evolutionary hypothesis is impossible without a complete syntactic, semantic and pragmatic map. As a preliminary step, I propose to review the status of the forms in Archaic and Classical Greek from the perspective that the imperative, like other similar forms functioning as occasional parentheticals (Schwyzer 1956: 583), acts in the speaker/hearer interaction and has a basic mirative content.

The methodology incorporates the usual analysis of low syntactic integration structures (Extracausal components, ECC in Dik (1997), theticals by Kaltenböck et al. (2011)); recent work on interjections and exclamations (Nordgren (2015), Biraud-Denizot-Faure (2021) which are crucial to situate the notion of surprise and expressivity in the framework of Greek syntax. Conversational analysis (Schegloff 2007, Verano 2023) makes it possible to go deeper into the description of the different interactive functions by associating them with reactive or initiative turns.

The expected results, partially obtained now, will determine a complete and detailed map of the syntax of the constructions and their functions at the different levels, paying special attention to the mirativity content and how it is conveyed. After this preliminary step, it is possible to test the hypothesis that the construction development has taken place in the opposite direction to that expected: from intersubjective contents to the expression of subjective contents.

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Paolo Sabattini

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Ancient Greek linking vowels in diachrony: A constraint-based account from Mycenaean to Homeric Greek

Thursday, June 26th, 15:30
Room H339

In 1st-millennium Greek nominal composition, a morpho-phonological process referred to as “linking vowel” is observed when consonantal nominal stems serve as first constituents in compounds (see, e.g., Lindner 2011: 45; Tribulato 2015: 20–4). This process involves the insertion of a vocalic element — most frequently /-o-/, but also /-i-/ — between the first and second constituent of compounds. For example, the noun πῦρ ‘fire’ in Homeric Greek appears as a first constituent: 1) in its bare stem form (e.g., πυρ-καϊά ‘funeral pyre’); 2) with linking -o- (e.g., πυρ-ο-βόλος ‘fire-darting’); 3) with linking -i- (e.g., πυρ-ι-καυστος ‘burnt in fire’). A comparable pattern is attested outside composition in one derivational category, i.e. *-went-stem adjectives (e.g., Hom. αἱματ-ό-(φ)εις ‘bloody’; Lejeune 1958: 9), and before one inflectional ending, i.e. Hom. -φι(v) (e.g., κοτυληδον-ό-φιν obl.pl ‘cup-shaped cavity’; Goldstein 2020: 16). This vowel insertion is commonly described as the analogical spread of morphological material, namely the o-stem thematic vowel in the case of linking -o-, and the i-stem marker or the athematic dat.sg ending /-i-/ in that of linking -i-. Linking -i- is also taken to pattern with nominal stems belonging to the “Caland system”.

The status of linking vowels in Mycenaean, on the other hand, is to some extent disputed. Whereas some old-looking compounds display no linking vowel (e.g., *ke-ni-qa* /k^hehr-nik^ws/ ‘hand-basin’), some others have been argued to contain either linking -o- or -i- (see, e.g., Haug 2002: 56; Meißner and Tribulato 2002: 320–3; van Beek 2022: 88–90). As Meißner and Tribulato (2002: 320–3) point out, the evidence for linking -o- is specially problematic, as the ⟨o⟩ at the end of first constituents may represent a segment of different nature. For example, it may correspond to a vocalized syllabic resonant as in the case of *ma-to-ro-pu-ro* /mätropulos/ ‘Pylos’ metropolis’, with /mätro-/ < **meh₂tr-* or **meh₂tr-o-*. Moreover, one could add that Mycenaean shows no trace of linking -o- in derivation and inflection: *-went-adjectives are always built on bare stems with no intervening vowel (e.g., *pe-de-we-sa* /pedwessa/ nom.sg.f ‘provided with feet’), and the same applies to the ending -*pi* /-p^hi/ (e.g., *po-ni-ki-pi* /p^hoinikp^hi/ ins.pl ‘palm (motif)’). The argument for linking -i- in Mycenaean rests on less ambiguous forms, such as *a₃-ki-pa-ta* /aigipastās/ ‘goat-herd’.

This paper challenges the claim that linking vowels correspond to analogical spreads of morphological material and argues that they instead originate as vowel epenthesis. The rise of linking vowels has been taken to respond to “needs of morphological transparency or phonological convenience” (Tribulato 2015: 22–3; cf. also Bader 1969: 31–2) as, functionally, they behave as

semantically-empty linking elements. I therefore seek to determine exactly what principles of “phonological convenience” justified the rise of linking vowels, focusing on the two diachronic stages of Greek in which this development is still embryonic, namely Mycenaean and Homeric Greek. At least in relation to the rise of linking -o-, these varieties of Greek instantiate two neatly distinct diachronic stages, with linking -o- arguably being absent in Mycenaean and only observable in Homer. This makes it possible to establish what changes occurred in the phonology of Greek between the 2nd and 1st millennia which could drive this phenomenon. As for linking -i-, I seek to identify the phonological factors conditioning its development in Mycenaean and contrast my findings with the distribution in Homeric Greek.

The theoretical framework I adopt in this paper is that of Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004), and I mainly operate with constraints sensitive to syllable structure, building on works such as Cooper 2014 and Byrd 2015. For example, I explain the rise of linking -o- in *-went-adjectives built on consonantal stems as a Syllable Contact effect (Venneman 1988: 40–55; Gouskova 2004; Cooper 2014: 77–80). This phonological tendency states that sonority drops are preferred across syllable boundaries, while sonority rises are dispreferred. In terms of Syllable Contact, therefore, *-went-derivatives built on consonantal stems produce Cw-clusters that, when syllabified as [C.w], yield a marked cross-syllabic sonority rise. I therefore argue that such a sonority rise is tolerated in Mycenaean, where Cw-clusters are left unchanged, but it is repaired in Homeric Greek by the insertion of linking -o-.

To substantiate my claim that both types of linking vowel arose as vowel epenthesis, I identify specific *comparanda* in the phonology of Greek, namely the vocalization of syllabic resonants in the case of linking -o- and *schwa secundum* in that of linking -i-. In some Greek dialects, including Mycenaean, syllabic resonants develop an epenthetic /o/ as they vocalize (vis-à-vis the more widespread outcome /a/; see, e.g., van Beek 2022: 27–30, 502), while the epenthetic vowel involved with *schwa secundum* is cross-dialectally /i/ (see, e.g., Vine 1999). Finally, I put forward a relative chronology of the two types of linking vowels and argue that, while linking -i- may qualify as a relatively early phenomenon, linking -o- developed only in the later history of the Homeric *Kunstsprache*.

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Andrea Sánchez i Bernet

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La structure informationnelle des catalogues géographiques : Trait distinctif d'un type discursive indépendant ?

Wednesday, June 25th, 15:00
Room H338

Les catalogues ou discours catalogiques font partie de beaucoup de genres littéraires grecs. Ils ont été étudiés surtout du point de vue littéraire, comme une ressource pour enrichir le monde du récit (Gaertner 2001, Tsagalis 2010) et comme un trait essentiel de la diction formulaire chez Homère (Edwards 1980). Dans cette communication nous proposons d'analyser divers catalogues géographiques dans plusieurs genres. Le corpus comprendra des catalogues de la poésie grecque d'époque archaïque et classique dans leurs deux principales catégories : celle d'endroits traversés dans un voyage (*Il.* 12. 17–24, 14, 225–230, *Od.* 4. 81–85, *h.Hom. Ap.* 30–45, 421–29, *A. Pers.* 492–497, 765–84, *Supp.* 550–585, *Ag.* 281–316, *Eu.* 74–80, *Pr.* 707–735, 786–812...), et celle d'endroits dominés (*Il.* 9. 150–52 = 292–94, *A. Pers.* 865–872, 880–896...). En nous concentrant sur la structure informationnelle de ces passages avec l'ordre de mots comme principal marqueur suivant la méthodologie de la grammaire fonctionnelle, qui a été déjà appliquée à sections narratives de l'épique, de la prose et dans les textes tragiques (Bertrand 2010, Dik 1995, 2007), nous examinerons comment la répétition des éléments focalisants et focalisés (Matić 2003) dans ces structures caractérisées, en principe, par leur régularité, assure la cohésion et la cohérence du texte aussi bien qu'elle permet une certaine flexibilité pour mieux s'adapter à chaque texte et contexte. Cette recherche nous permettra de vérifier 1) si les catalogues géographiques sont aussi un type de catalogue bien défini, tel que ceux de guerriers, de femmes ou d'objets, 2) si les textes plus récents, notamment tragiques, maintiennent une même structure informationnelle et 3) le degré de transformations et d'adaptations de ce type de discours.

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Andrea Santamaria

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The Greek migrations between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age: A fresh view from linguistics, archaeology and paleogenetic

Thursday, June 26th, 10:30
Room H339

One of the traditional challenges in validating the theories concerning the migration of Indo-European populations has been the difficulty of clearly demonstrating the pathways through which Greek speakers arrived in present-day Greece. This paper aims to: (a) provide a comprehensive overview of the issue and the project through which I am addressing it in light of the significant scientific advancements of the past decade; and (b) discuss preliminary results on the relationship between Greek, Thracian, and Phrygian.

The Greek language and people are first attested in the 1400 BCE Linear B tablets. How they reached their historical locations remains a key point of contention among theories on Indo-European migrations (Maran 2020; see Figure 1). On the one hand, the "Steppe hypothesis" and its updated versions propose that Greeks migrated through the Balkans—via Bulgarian Thrace—after a prolonged period of coexistence with Armenian and possibly Indo-Iranian populations (Anthony 2007; Heggarty et al. 2023; Lazaridis et al. 2024). On the other hand, the "Farming hypothesis" suggests that Greeks migrated through Turkish Thrace alongside other Indo-European groups, excluding Armenian, Indo-Iranian, and other Asian Indo-European languages. Some theories even reject large-scale migrations altogether, favoring instead a gradual, slow-paced movement (Giusfredi & Matessi 2021). Over the past decade, the integration of ancient DNA (aDNA) with linguistic and archaeological evidence has addressed many longstanding questions regarding Indo-European migrations. This interdisciplinary approach, often described as a "third scientific revolution" (Kroonen & Kristiansen 2023), has significantly advanced the field. However, this revolution has so far largely overlooked Greek migrations.

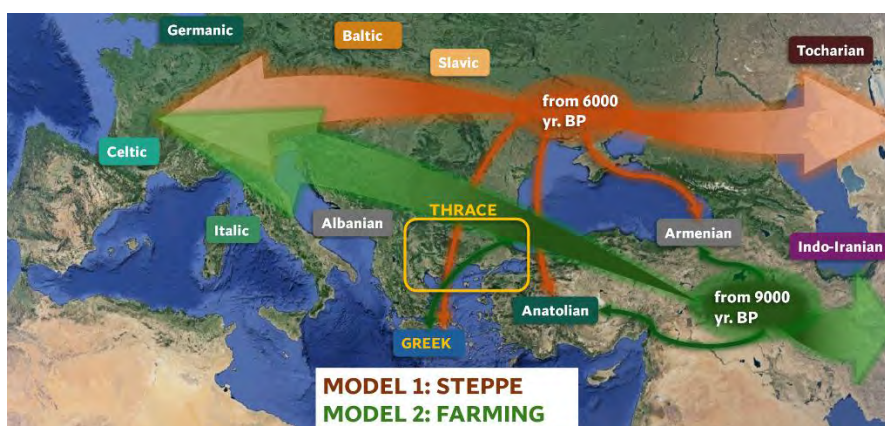


Figure 1. The two main hypotheses of Indo-European migrations and the Greek crossroad

In this contribution, my objectives are twofold. In the first part of the talk, I aim to provide for the first time an updated overview of the available linguistic, archaeological, and aDNA data to trace the Greek migrations. From a linguistic standpoint, I will focus on the hypothesis of a potential "Balkan linguistic family" comprising Greek, Phrygian, Thracian, and possibly Illyrian—a hypothesis frequently suggested but insufficiently validated (Hajnal 2003; Sowa 2020). From an archaeological perspective, potential indicators of migrations into Greece have not been systematically analyzed or have provided limited explanatory value, leaving the evidence inconclusive (Anthony 2007). Finally, while aDNA studies have documented several migratory waves into Greece during the Bronze Age (e.g., Skourtanioti et al. 2023; Lazaridis et al. 2024), these studies often disagree on the timing and nature of migrations potentially associated with Indo-European populations.

In the second part of the talk, I will discuss the preliminary results of the project's initial phase: a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the linguistic relationship between Greek, Thracian, and Phrygian. I aim to reassess the reliability and typology of potential isoglosses among Greek, Thracian, and Phrygian through a two-step methodology. The first is a *qualitative analysis*: I selected phonetic and lexical material potentially pointing to shared isoglosses among the Paleo-Balkan languages and evaluated whether it aligned better with models of shared ancestry or those of linguistic contact (e.g., Campbell 2017). The second is a *quantitative analysis*: Using the lexical dataset, I calculated linguistic distances between Greek, Thracian, and Phrygian to reconstruct the possible divergence path if a common ancestor could be hypothesized. This analysis employed the COG Language Comparison Software, which has proven effective in investigating the phylogeny of different South Asian languages (Paudyal & Peterson 2021). The results suggest a branching pattern that positions Greek and Thracian together, separate from Phrygian.

The conclusions of my analysis, although based on an emerging dataset requiring further refinement, tentatively indicate the presence of *Sprachbund* phenomena within the Paleo-Balkan group. This suggests the possibility of prolonged or intensive contact between Greek and Thracian, with Phrygian interacting with these languages to a lesser extent. Conversely, the analysis did not reveal any compelling evidence supporting the existence of a common ancestral language.

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Sophocles' ἀνεμόεν φρόνημα (Ant. 354–356): An Indo-European phraseological inheritance

Friday, June 27th, 10:30–12:00
Building H Entrance Hall (Poster Session)

In *Antigone*'s first stasimon, at the beginning of the second stanza of the song, Sophocles uses the adjective ἡνεμόεις 'windy, full of wind' as an epithet for φρόνημα 'thought, mind' (καὶ φθέγμα καὶ ἀνεμόεν / φρόνημα καὶ ἀστυνόμους / ὀργὰς ἐδιδάξατο «And he [the human being] has learned speech and **wind-swift thought** and the temper that rules cities», Soph. Ant. 354–356). Through this quite uncommon *iunctura*, meaning "thought swift as the wind", Sophocles want to express the restless mobility of human mind by comparing it to the swiftness of the wind.

If we look at ἡνεμόεις from the morphological point of view, the form has to be analyzed as a possessive adjective derived from the substantive ἄνεμος 'wind' (reflex of PIE **h₂enh₁-mo-*, cf. Lat. *animus* and Skt. *ānila-*; cf. Beekes 2010:101–102), by means of the *-εις* suffix (PIE **-u₂ent-s*), with the development from **ἀνεμόεις* to ἡνεμόεις being due to metrical lengthening (cf. Le Feuvre 2015:278 n.41). As various dialectal instances of first millennium Greek show, this suffix, in addition to forming various possessive adjectives (cf. Chantraine 1933:270–274), mainly found in epic and lyric poetry (e.g. ἰχθυόεις 'full of fish', χαρίεσσα 'graceful'), was used to realize several toponyms (e.g. Ἀμαθοῦς, Πιτυοῦσσαι; cf. Blanc 2021:221–238) and hydronyms (e.g. Σατινίοις), while it was almost completely absent in anthroponyms (Le Feuvre 2017:493–497). On the other hand, in Mycenaean, besides adjectives (e.g. *te-mi-dwe* / *termidwent-* / 'with borders'; cf. Lejeune 1958:5–26) and toponyms (with *o*-grade of the suffix; e.g. *a₂-ru-wo-te* / *h¹Alwont-ei* / 'salty' [Ἀλοῦς, Arcadia]; cf. Lejeune 1969:43–56), the suffix shows its use in the formation of two anthroponyms: *ko-ma-we* / *Komāwen(t)s* / 'having long hair' (Hom. κομώωντες Ἀχαιοί, *Orphica* fr. 258 κομήεις) and *a₃-ta-ro-we* / *Ait^halo-wen(t)s* / 'smoky' (Hom. αἰθαλόεις; cf. García Ramón 2011:218 n.18, 229; for a general overview, cf. also Steer 2015:209–220). Moreover, the PIE possessive adjective forming suffix **-u₂ent-* / *-u₂nt-* (fem. **-u₂nt-ih₂-*) is well attested in several IE languages: Hitt. *-want-*; Ved. *-vant-* / *-vat-*, fem. *-vatī-*; Av. *-uua₂nt-* / *-uua₂t-*, fem. *-uua₂itī-*; Myc. *-we* / *-went-* /, fem. *-we-sa* / *-wessa-* /, alph. Gr. *-(o)φεντ-*, fem. *-(o)φεσσα*; Lat. *-ulentus* (from **o-u₂ent-os*; cf. Livingston 2004: 73–82 and Weiss 2020²:317).

As far as the semantic sphere is concerned, it is well known that IE possessive adjectives in **-u₂ent-* show the meaning of 'having x', 'provided with x', where x is the noun to which the suffix was added (cf. e.g. Oettinger 2022:225–233): e.g. Hitt. *duškara-want-* 'having joy'; OAv./YAv. *ast-uua₂nt-* 'having bones'; Ved. *prajā-vant-* 'having progeny'; Myc. *o-da-twe-ta* / *odat-wenta* / (n. pl.) 'provided with teeth', alph. Gr. ἀμπελό-εις 'full of vines'; Lat. *op-ulentus* 'having wealth'. Therefore, the original

meaning of ἠνεμόεις should be ‘windy, full of wind’ or ‘waved by the wind’. This can be seen in several Homeric occurrences, where the adjective is used as epithet of cities (Ἴλιον ἠνεμόεσσαν, *Il.* 7x), mountain summits (ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσης, ι 400 and π 365) or gorges (πτύχας ἠνεμοέσσης, τ 432). The semantic value of ἠνεμόεις as ‘swift as the wind’, found not only in the Sophoclean passage, but also in Nicander (*Ther.* 453) and in Pseudo-Oppian (*Cyn.* 1.284, 1.432, 3.96–98), can be explained as an ‘equative’ semantic specialization from its original possessive meaning (cf. Schindler 1986:393–401), by the means of the following possible semantic chain: ‘having x’ → ‘having a salient property of x’ → ‘resembling/like x’. This type of chain can be possibly seen also in the Vedic adjective *nṛvānt-*, meaning both ‘having/ accompanied by men’ and ‘like men’ (cf. Barth 2018:8–32). We can therefore assume for ἠνεμόεις a semantic shift ‘provided with wind, windy’ → ‘having the speed of the wind’ → ‘resembling/like the wind’.

From the phraseological point of view, it is worth noting that the **Thought~Speed** association not only is not a Sophoclean own creation, as it is attested already in Homer (P 80–83, η 36) and in other Ancient Greek poetic compositions (cf. e.g. *HHymn.* 3.186, 448, *HHymn.* 4.43, *Ps.-Hes. Sc.* 222, *Thgn.* 985, and *Pind. Pyth.* 4.139; see also Thales’ *apophthegma*, apud *Diog. Laert.* 1.35, **τάχιστος νοῦς**· διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει «**The swiftest is thought**, for it speeds everywhere»), but it most likely also reflects an IE conceptual system of associations, being present in other Indo-European poetic traditions (cf. e.g. *RV* 6.9.5b *māno jāviṣṭham patāyatsu antāḥ* «Among all things that fly **the mind is the swiftest**») as clearly shown by several scholars (cf. Durante 1976:121; Forssman 1995:23–32; West 2007:96; Dardano 2012:53–87; Massetti 2019:66–70).

The aim of this paper is twofold. First of all, I will try to explain why, in the Sophoclean expression, the adjective ἠνεμόεν can only suggest the thought’s speed and not its lack of substance (Cairns 2016:60). Second, I will argue that the starting point for the creation of the Thought~Speed link should be sought in the combination of the **Thought~Wind** and **Wind~Speed** associations. I will try to show that, once these associations were established, more complex collocations, provided with a *tertium comparationis*, like “Sth/Sb – as Fast as/ Faster than – Wind/Thought”, arose: cf. e.g. *Hom.* η 36 τῶν νῆεσσιν ὥς εἰ πτερόν ἢ νόημα «Their ships are **as fast as wings or thoughts**»; *RV* 1.117.2ab yó vām aśvinā *mānaso jāvīyān* ' *rāthah* suvāśvo víśa ājīgāti «Your chariot, o Aśvins, **swifter than mind**, drawn by good horses, comes to the clans» (transl. by Jamison-Brereton 2014); *Yt.* 8.6e yaθa tiyriṣ mainiiauuasā «Like arrows **as swift as thought**» (transl. by Panaino 2021:17; cf. also Panaino 2012:177–178). To do so, I will examine the occurrences of these expressions in different Indo-European poetic traditions, especially the Greek (Homer, Hesiod, and the *Homeric Hymns*), the Indo-Iranian (*R̥gveda*, *Mahābhārata*, and *Avestā*) and the Old Norse (*Gylfaginning*) ones. This goal will be pursued through the combined application of the methodological principles of Philology and Historical Linguistics.

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This study assesses the intelligibility of the Pamphylian Greek dialect to speakers of Ionic-Attic or Koine during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods through computational linguistic analysis. Using the normalized Levenshtein Distance algorithm, the research compares Pamphylian with Ionic-Attic and Koine Greek, aiming to quantify phonological and lexical differences and evaluate mutual intelligibility. These findings are contextualized within ancient Greek perceptions of linguistic diversity (Morpurgo Davies 1987), where distinctions between hellenophones and barbarophones shaped notions of not only linguistic, but also cultural and ethnic identity (Hdt. 8.144.2, Strabo 14.2.28, etc.; Salmeri 2000, Hall 2002).

The Pamphylian dialect (5th-1st century BCE) developed in a linguistically diverse and stratified environment, influenced by Greek settlers and contact with local Anatolian languages (DGP, Dardano 2006, Skelton 2017). Despite its modern classification as a Greek dialect, Pamphylian is considered philogenetically "unclassifiable" (Colvin 2010: 203) or "an 'aberrant' ancient Greek dialect or, more accurately, a distinctive linguistic variety of Greek" (Filos 2014). Its peculiar linguistic characteristics and lack of a literary tradition raise questions about its intelligibility to other Greek-speaking communities, particularly speakers of Ionic-Attic or Koine. More importantly, it remains uncertain whether Pamphylian was perceived as Greek at all by contemporaries.

Recent studies have identified the phonetic and lexical aspects as the most significant parameters influencing mutual intelligibility between two related languages, with phonetic differences being far more important for comprehension than morphosyntactic differences (Hilton et al. 2013). Moreover, phonological distance is a better predictor of intelligibility than lexical distance when the languages in question are closely related (Gooskens et al. 2007). The normalized Levenshtein algorithm, widely employed to measure linguistic distances (Heeringa 2004; Wichmann 2019), is adapted here for ancient corpus languages, focusing on three key inscriptions: DGP 3, 17, and 276. These texts, the longest Pamphylian inscriptions from the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods, were autoptically examined by the author at the Antalya Museum and in situ to ensure the highest reliability of the readings.

The Levenshtein algorithm calculates the minimal "edit distance" between cognate words, accounting for insertions, deletions, and substitutions, and normalizes the results to compare words of varying lengths. Moreover, to ensure a more rounded comprehension of Pamphylian-Koine

intelligibility dynamics, this work also categorizes the lexicon into shared Greek vocabulary, dialect-specific innovations, and terms of non-Greek origin, evaluating the impact on intelligibility of each group. All analyses were performed using R Statistical Software (v4.3.3, 2024-02-29 ucrt, R Core Team 2024), using the 'stringdist' package v0.9.12. (van der Loo 2014).

Results indicate that Pamphylian's phonological divergence—characterized by spirantization of voiced stops, vowel reduction, and neutralization of consonant contrasts—significantly reduced its comprehensibility for Ionic-Attic or Koine speakers. For instance, Pamphylian's phonological distance from Ionic-Attic or Koine, rating 0.41, aligns with differences observed between modern Scandinavian languages like Danish and Norwegian. This suggests asymmetrical intelligibility, where Pamphylians likely understood Koine to a degree, while Koine speakers struggled with Pamphylian. Lexically, Pamphylian shared approximately 86.5% of its vocabulary with Greek, but its distinctive innovations and Anatolian borrowings created further barriers to understanding. The contribution will be structured as follows: (1) Framing the problem with a brief overview of the scholarly debate on hellenophones, barbarophones, and aglossoi; (2) Selection and preparation of epigraphical data for computational analysis; (3) Introduction of the normalized Levenshtein Distance algorithm to quantify differences between Pamphylian and Ionic-Attic or Koine Greek; (4) Presentation of results and analysis of the lexical and phonological features with the greatest impact on intelligibility; (5) Contextualization of the results within historical and sociolinguistic frameworks, to evaluate how Pamphylian was perceived by other Greek-speaking communities.

The findings advance methodological approaches in historical linguistics, particularly in analyzing fragmentary languages or Trümmersprachen (Untermann 1980) through computational methods. By adapting the Levenshtein algorithm for ancient corpus languages, this study addresses challenges in transcription accuracy, fragmentary data, and limited comparanda, while also engaging with the sociolinguistic and cultural implications of linguistic boundaries in antiquity.

Looking at the results of the Levenshtein analysis (0.41 overall difference rate) and the lexical similarity rate (86.5%), we can say with relative confidence that a 4th-3rd century BCE Pamphylian speaker would have been deemed barbarophonos, at least in the Strabonian sense, much like a Carian speaking Greek as a second language might have been, if not entirely aglossos. Based on the overall LDN results from the texts of DGP 3, 276, and 17 (0.59 similarity rate, 0.41 difference rate), it seems likely that an Attic or Koine speaker would have failed to recognize many cognate forms. This perception contrasts sharply with modern views, which often classify the Pamphylians as Greek since the Classical period, largely based on the classification of their dialect as Greek (e.g., Keen 2002). Adopting a more emic perspective in historical discussions—by examining how languages were perceived by those speaking and hearing them—coupled with the application of

modern computational linguistic techniques to measure intelligibility, could provide a useful tool for framing the complex dynamics of identity in the ancient world.

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This presentation discusses the diachronic shift from Object-Verb (OV) in Homeric Greek to Verb-Object (VO) in Post-Classical Greek, as has been proposed in earlier research (Lehmann 1974, Taylor 1993). Based on syntactically annotated corpora (GLAUX; Keersmaekers 2021), we propose the following diachronic scenario: Ancient Greek was a language with basic OV order and an optional operation of V-fronting. We understand V-fronting as a semantically vacuous operation creating alternative *canonical* (=contextually unrestricted) *word orders* and applying with finite/non-finite verbs implemented as head-adjunction in (1) (see Neeleman & Weerman 1999).

- (1) OV with V-fronting ('third kind' in terms of Haider 2013)

$[_V V [_V O <V>]]$

Two processes apply in the ancient time: (a) in stylistically elaborated texts such as epic poetry and elevated prose (oratory), V-final order applies as aesthetic value, which accounts for the high percentage of OV in epic poetry and the oratory in contrast to less elevated prose in the Classical time. This is not a diachronic process in narrow sense, but rather the stylistic exploitation of structural possibilities that are available. Hence, we start with an optional syntactic operation rendering postverbal objects (out of the blue, as sketched in (2a)). In post-classical time, optional V-fronting is reanalyzed as basic, as in (2b).

- (2) a. Stylistic value of V-final

$[_V V [_V O <V>]] \rightarrow$ OV

- b. Reanalysis of OV to VO

$[_V V [_V O <V>]] \rightarrow$ VO

Relevant Facts. Word order frequencies in texts spanning from the 8th century BC to the 4th century AD reveal that texts committed to the content (e.g., non-literary texts) than the emotional impact on the hearer reflect the natural variability in the word order of the colloquial language, while the increase of OV in poetry and elevated prose is the result of stylization; cf. (2a). While OV decreases over Time, the effect of Time vanishes once Genre is taken into account. This pattern is reminiscent of Latin and modern languages such as Tamil, Persian and Turkish: in all these languages we see the same pattern, with a formal register (written language) that is strictly verb-final and a vernacular with more flexible word order.

The head-final properties of these languages show up in various constructions such as stronger OV bias with non-finite verbs, secondary predicates preceding the verb, floating quantifiers preceding the verb. These expectations are confirmed in Ancient Greek, see OV/VO orders with infinitive verbs. In Pre-Classical/Classical Greek, the OV bias increases with infinitives, while in the Postclassical time, infinitive verbs show a stronger VO bias than finite verbs, in line with the hypothesis in (2b). Furthermore, this view on Greek word order is corroborated by further diagnostics: secondary predicates appear before or after the V in the Pre-Classical/Classical era, while they predominantly follow the V in Postclassical Greek.

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Locating language contact between Ancient Greek and Pre-Proto-Albanian in time and space

Friday, June 27th, 10:30–12:00
Building H Entrance Hall (Poster Session)

For more than 100 years, the possibility of direct loanwords from Ancient Greek in Albanian has been investigated (e.g. Thumb (1909), Ölberg (1972), Çabej (1976–2014), Tzitzilis (1997), Orel (1998), Topalli (2017), Spaans 2024). This research topic is not only of importance for the history of Albanian, but can also give new insights into the study of some aspects of Ancient Greek. Most importantly, the Doric or Northwest Greek nature of these loanwords, combined with the historical phonology of Albanian, can contribute to our understanding of the localization of these Greek dialects in time and space. Additionally, since most of these loanwords concern agricultural terminology, this language contact reveals a part of the everyday life of the speakers of these dialects. In this poster presentation, I will analyse some of the Ancient Greek loanwords in Albanian and pay special attention to the dialectal characteristics of the Greek source words. I will argue that the material supports a scenario in which the language contact between Ancient Greek and Pre-Proto-Albanian took place at the foot of the Albanian mountain range, more or less at the borders of modern-day Albania, Kosovo and North-Macedonia. The speakers of these Doric or Northwest Greek dialects have probably been in trade contact with the ancestors of the Albanians, resulting in these loanwords.

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From a typological perspective, possession is normally expressed by the verb 'to be'. The existence of a transitive verb meaning "to have" in some Indo-European languages is an innovation specific to each of them. This is the case with the Greek verb ἔχω, already attested in Mycenaean (Benveniste 1960, Kulneff-Eriksson 1999; DÉLG).

'To be' and 'to have' do not only overlap in the expression of possession but also in the more general notion of 'state'. Despite its syntactic transitivity, ἔχω is a stative verb (Benveniste 1960), expressing a reciprocal relationship between the possessor and the *possessum*. It has therefore been considered a « verbe opérateur » (Gross 1975), allowing the transformation of an intransitive sentence with the copular verb εἰμί into a transitive one (cf. Thuc. 4.3.1: αἱ νῆες ἐν Κερκύρᾳ ἤδη εἰσὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων 'The fleet of the Peloponnesians are already in Corcyra,' with Il. 16.712: Ἐκτωρ δ' ἐν Σκαίῃσι πύλῃς ἔχε μώνυχας ἵππους 'Hector held his single-hoofed horses at the Scaean gates'; Tronci 2016; Lemaréchal 2010). Furthermore, when the argument structure of ἔχω involves a noun expressing a psychophysical condition, it contributes to the encoding the subject as an Experiencer (Tronci 2017). The interchangeability of εἰμί and ἔχω in expressing a state is also the basis of the auxiliary role they share (Benveniste 1960; Bentein 2016).

This paper aims to analyze the intransitive use of ἔχω in combination with an adverb expressing the state of the subject—a phenomenon typical of Attic prose, where ἔχω and εἰμί overlap once again (Cooper-Krüger 1998 §66.1.7). Pl. *Tim.* 63d: διαφόρως ἔχειν αὐτὰ πρὸς αὐτὰ

These proprieties are different one from the other

I. The first section will evaluate the equivalence between [ἔχω + adverb] and:

a. εἰμί in its copular function;

Pl. *Leg.* 947b: διαφόρους εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν

Being different (than those) of the other citizens

b. Stative verbs;

Isocr. 6.4: διαφέρομεν ἀλλήλων

We differ from one another

c. εἰμί in other periphrases

Is. 11.8: τῇ πόλει συμφερόντως εἶχον

They were useful for the city

Demosth. 7.46: δικαίαν τ' εἶναι καὶ συμφέρουσιν ὑμῖν

Being just and useful for you

II. The second part of the paper will attempt to interpret this phenomenon from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective. To this end, a corpus has been compiled, gathering all such syntagms found in Attic prose texts. Within this corpus, patterns have been identified, and examples have been selected to enable a diachronic comparison with texts from the Archaic period, particularly the Homeric poems.

Two possible interpretations of this phenomenon will be examined. a. This meaning of ἔχω could be linked to its Homeric value of « occupy a position ».

Il. 16.501: ἀλλ' ἔχεο κρατερῶς, ὄτρυνε δὲ λαὸν ἅπαντα

But hold your ground valiantly, and urge on all the army

This interpretation would be consistent with the semantic parallel between the structure with ἔχω and the one which sees the combination of an intransitive verb meaning 'to stand still' and an adverb.

Lys. 1.68: Σώστρατος [...] οἰκείως διακείμενος

Sostratos [...] who is a friend

Both structures could thus be interpreted as the product of a reconceptualization of a spatial location as a temporal condition. However, the active use of ἔχω would need to be explained as a form of lability (Lavidas 2009).

Moreover, the transitive use of ἔχω with an Experiencer subject, where the subject's feeling toward the *possessum*-object is encoded through a locative phrase with ἐν, further supports this hypothesis.

Thuc. 2.18.5: ἐν τοιαύτῃ μὲν ὀργῇ ὁ στρατὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον [...] εἶχεν

Such was the resentment felt by the army toward Archidamus

b. A second possibility is to derive this intransitive use of ἔχω from its transitive use, considering that in the latter, a state is also predicated of both the possessor and the *possessum*. Any adverbial modification of this relationship results in a modification of the state of both possessor and *possessum*.

Il. 15.318: αἰγίδα χερσὶν ἔχ' ἀτρέμα Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων

Phoebus Apollo held the aegis motionless in his hands

In Rep. 528b, although there is no physical contiguity between the *possessum* and the possessor, ἐντίμως indicates both the subject's attitude and the condition of the object.

Pl. Rep. 528b: οὐδεμία πόλις ἐντίμως αὐτὰ ἔχει

No city considers them reputable

In the intransitive structure, the condition of the object of the transitive structure is reflected on the subject.

Xen. An. 2.1.7: ἐτύγγανε [...] ἐντίμως ἔχων

He found himself [...] reputable

If the relationship between the possessor and the *possessum* is one of inalienable possession, the adverb modifies the condition of both, making it difficult to determine whether ἔχω is truly transitive or whether it combines with an accusative of relation, a structure based on the subject and the accusative jointly sharing a state predicate (Romagno 2020).

Thuc. 2.40.3: διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν

In this respect we are also different from other men

Demosth. 59.58: ὁ Φράστωρ [...] ἔσχεν ἐπιεικῶς τὸ σῶμα.

Phrastor [...] got recovered (in) his body / got his body recovered

We will therefore explore the possibility of considering the intransitive structure as a reduction of the transitive one, occurring via alternation (Levin 1993; Lavidas 2009) and representing only the state of one of the subject.

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The shift of /(j)o/ to /e/ in word final syllable is a Tsakonian feature documented in one of the first grammars of the dialect (Pernot 1937:19) among the list of representative traits of the dialect:

o > e θολό(ς) [ʃele]; at the end of a word after a palatal sound: ὄνο(ς) *one*, χοῖρο(ς) *zure*, γραπτό(ς) *grafte*, χρεό(ς) *crie*.

The trait caught the attention of several travelers (Çelebi 1668, Villoison 1788, and Åkerblad 1790), who recorded it in some of the words transmitted by Tsakonian speakers in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Evidence of the same treatment has been argued by Tzitzilis (2014) in two obscure Laconian glosses of Hesychius:

- [eo] > [(j)o] > [o] > [e]

(1) πάσσαλερ· σφῆνας (Λάκωνες) “peg, post, wedge” (= πάσσαλος)

(2) σκέλεφερ· βόλου ὄνομα. Λάκωνες, “the name of a net” (< *σκέλεφιος)

It appears to be, to my mind, in some epigraphic forms of the gen. sing. of some proper names in -*s.

- [eo] > [jo] > [o] > [e]

(3) τῷ Ἀριστοτέλῃρ (att. τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους) IG V 1, 286.3–4 (132 AD); 303.7–8 (II AD); Ὀ]νασικράτηρ (att. Ὀνησικράτους) 306.5.(III AD).

Moreover, two other glosses could be explained in the same way:

(4) ἀδέλιφερ· ἀδελφός. Λάκωνες (< ἀδελφεός > ἀδελ(ι)φίός > ἀδελφός/ρ > ἀδελφέρ)

- [jo] > [o] > [e]

(5) Αἰγλάηρ· ὁ Ἀσκληπιός (Λάκωνες) (< *αἰγλαῖος “radiant”)

Nevertheless, the outcome does not suit with the treatment of these clusters in Late Laconian attested in other examples:

- [eo] > [jo] > [i]

(6) Σικλείδας (= att. Θεοκλείδης) IG V 1, 124 (I BCE), *et alii*.

- [jo] > [i]

(7) καθθηρατόριον/καθθηρατόριν/ κασσηρατόριν (< *καταθηρατόριον) “contest in hunting” IG V 1, 278 *et alii*.

The linguistic analysis of the different treatments can be an illustrative example of the relationships between Koiné and dialect, as well as its persistence and use as a marker of identity.

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μεσο- and άκρο- Ableitungskomposita: Syntax, morphology, and the ancients' metalinguistic reflection

Thursday, June 26th, 18:00
Room H340

In a seminal article devoted to Greek compounding, Ernst Risch dealt with formations that did not fit into traditional classifications of compounds (Risch 1945). These include compounds such as μεσονύκτιος and όμογάστριος, which correspond to phrases (μέσαι νύκτες, έκ γαστρός όμοϋ). Rejecting the classification of these formations as hypostases, Risch termed them “Ableitungskomposita” (derivational compounds). However, Risch did not examine the morphosyntactic mechanisms underlying the formation of these compounds, a topic that later scholars have rarely addressed. Tribulato (2007) has studied Ableitungskomposita in ίσο-, άξιο-, άπειρο- and other minor categories vis-à-vis phrases and has argued that the orientation of these compounds is not dependent on word order, but rather on their first constituents being directors, i.e. adjectives that require a complement. Rousseau (2016), in her study of prepositional governing compounds, has also addressed the features that the latter share with Ableitungskomposita: notably, their placement at the interface of syntax, lexicon, and morphology; and the role of suffixation in their formation.

One of the interesting aspects of Ableitungskomposita is the fact that their base is never a compound but a noun phrase and that their derived second constituent (e.g. -γάστριος, -νύκτιος) is usually a bound form, i.e. the structure of the compound is [[Stem]-[Stem]_{AFFIX}]. This is a feature that the literature on other languages has addressed in relation to parasynthesis, i.e. a combination of compounding and derivation (e.g. Booij 2005; Bisetto&Melloni 2008). Although Ableitungskomposita are typically marked by overt suffixation (as in όμογάστριος and μεσονύκτιος), some exhibit zero suffixation. An example is μεσοδάκτυλον ‘interdigital space’: although it shows a neuter ending, this noun has no special affix that identifies it as a derivational compound (one would expect **μεσοδακτύλιον from an intermediate adjective **μεσοδακτύλιος).

In this paper, we will focus on the subgroup of Ableitungskomposita in μεσο- and άκρο-, which have not been thoroughly analysed in the literature (only a passing comment in Tribulato 2015: 113, which is based on Tribulato 2007). Both types share some notable semantic and structural features. In Greek, μεσο- and άκρο- often compound with nouns to define them in an adjectival function (μεσοβασιλεία = Lat. *interregnum* and άκρόπολις ‘the high city’, in which βασιλεία and πόλις are the heads: the compounds are endocentric). However, in an Ableitungskompositum such as

μεσονύκτιος there is no semantic or morphological head (the compound is exocentric) and the first constituent in fact governs the second, as if it were a preposition ('in the middle of the night').

We will consider two scenarios for the morphosyntactic analysis of these compounds, going beyond Risch's mere observation that their first constituents seem to behave like prepositions. First, we will discuss whether the predicate function of μέσος and ἄκρος in the underlying syntactic phrases plays any role in the structure and orientation of the compounds. Secondly, we will consider whether the starting point of the category may instead (or additionally) be phrases in which the neuter nouns (τὸ) μέσον and (τὸ) ἄκρον are specified by nouns in the genitive, e.g. (τὸ) μέσον τῆς νύκτος, (τὸ) ἄκρον τοῦ κνέφους. While not all compounds in μέσο- and ἄκρο- have such corresponding phrases, several do indeed correspond to N(oun)+G(enitive) syntagms, thus suggesting that μέσο- and ἄκρο- compounds may have been based on more than one syntactic structure (Adjective+Noun and Noun+Genitive).

In assessing these two options, we will also pay attention to the perception of ancient Greek speakers. Indeed, many μέσο- and ἄκρο- compounds, along with structurally comparable formations, are the object of semantic and morphological analysis in ancient scholarship. By reviewing this evidence, which is usually neglected by modern linguists, we will argue for a nuanced approach to the origin of μέσο- and ἄκρο- compounds. While syntagms may have provided the original model for the derivation of these compounds, which represent their lexicalization, many individual forms are likely to have been created through an analogical process by which new compounds could be formed regardless of the existence of corresponding syntagms. In the development of this transition, the lexicalization of older compounds may have represented the transitional stage between the syntagm and the lexicon (see Rousseau 2016: 159 for a similar conclusion re. prepositional governing compounds). In assessing this diachronic development, the information of ancient commentators again proves crucial. Sources characterized by a prescriptive approach like Atticist lexica seem to dislike these compounds—despite their productivity in post-Classical scientific prose—precisely because of their morphological structure. These sources' specific focus on the alternation and competition between compounds and their corresponding syntagms also suggests that the two forms may convey different semantic nuances. The compound often denotes a specific type, thus being more semantically specialized than the phrase—a pattern observed in other languages as well (see Finkbeiner&Schlücker 2019:12 on German). In Greek, this would be confirmed by the fact that the grammarians associate the compounds with a kind of technical specialization that is deemed unsuited for refined speech.

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Deixis and anaphora on stage:

ὅδε, οὗτος, and ἐκεῖνος in Sophocles' and Euripides' *Electra*

Friday, June 27th, 12:30

Room H340

This research is part of a broader project on the distribution and functions of the three demonstratives ὅδε, οὗτος, and ἐκεῖνος in ancient Greek theatre, focusing specifically on the works of the three tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, as well as the comedians Aristophanes and Menander.

In this study, I focus particularly on Sophocles because the distribution of the three demonstratives in his works differs from that in the other two tragedians. First, the percentage of occurrences of these demonstratives relative to the total word count is higher in Sophocles (3.2%) compared to Euripides (2.6%) and Aeschylus (2.2%). Second, among the three demonstratives, οὗτος occurs more frequently, both in absolute numbers and as a percentage, in Sophocles than in the other two tragedians. An electronic search in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) revealed 629 occurrences of οὗτος in Sophocles, 599 in Euripides, and 199 in Aeschylus. These correspond to 31% of the total occurrences of the three demonstratives in Sophocles, compared to 17% in Euripides and 19% in Aeschylus. The greater presence of οὗτος in Sophocles is further highlighted when compared to the other “proximal” demonstrative, ὅδε. In Sophocles, the ratio of ὅδε to οὗτος is approximately 2:1, whereas in Aeschylus and Euripides, the ratio is 4:1. Although ὅδε is the most commonly used demonstrative among the tragedians, its percentage of the total occurrences of the three demonstratives varies between Sophocles (56%) and the other two tragedians (76% in Aeschylus and 78% in Euripides). Finally, with regard to the “distal” demonstrative ἐκεῖνος, despite the similar number of occurrences in the works of Sophocles (215) and Euripides (212), its impact on the total number of demonstratives is significantly greater in Sophocles (11% vs. 6% in Euripides).

My goal is to investigate the system of the three demonstratives in Sophocles, first by distinguishing between exophora (deixis) and endophora (anaphora), and then by analysing the distribution of these demonstratives in both contexts. My approach is multilevel, drawing on syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic criteria. Syntactically, I consider factors such as the adnominal or pronominal form, the position relative to the noun (preposition or postposition), the head of a relative clause, and reference to a subordinate clause. Semantically, I examine the type of referent and the nature of reference, including its relation to spatial, temporal, and textual deixis. Pragmatically, I explore endophoric versus exophoric uses, as well as emphasis, focus, topicalisation, and other discourse functions. This approach contrasts with previous studies, which have primarily relied on the

reference to the three persons (Bakker 1999; Perdicoyianni-Paleologou 2005: 76–77, 2006: 55–57; Méndez Dosuna 2020) and the distance from the speaker (Biraud 1983, 1991: 171–192; Rijksbaron 2007: 163; Jacobson 2011: 7–8) as the main analytical criteria.

In this paper, I focus on the distribution of the three demonstratives in Sophocles' *Electra* and compare it with Euripides' *Electra* (cf. Moorhouse 1982; Ruijgh 2006 on Sophocles' demonstratives). There are several reasons for choosing this corpus. On the one hand, certain scenes in *Electra* involve referential ambiguity, particularly with regard to whether a character is present on stage, which leads to a discussion of deictic versus anaphoric expressions. On the other hand, comparing Sophocles' *Electra* with Euripides' *Electra* offers valuable insights for linguistic analysis, despite the many differences in the unfolding of the story, the characters, and the staging.

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The steady decline of the dual in Attic is clearly visible in epigraphic and literary sources. By the second half of the fourth century, the use of this number is far from obligatory in the written record. Its forms are limited to -οιν/-αιν obliques both in oratory and in comedy, with the occasional exception of divine names and pair nouns (e.g. χεῖρε; cf. Meisterhans 1900, 200–201, Threatte 1996, 18–19, 415, Humpers 1922, Willi 2003, 253, Machado 2024; cf. also Cartlidge 2014, 213–15). In particular, the orators only use duals for nouns in grammatical agreement with the oblique form of the numeral δυοῖν and mostly in fixed expressions (cf. Cuny 1906, 436, 440–50); verbs in the dual are practically unattested and the numeral δύο itself may be constructed as a plural while still retaining its dual inflection.

The prose of Aristotle, a sizeable corpus which is rarely probed for evidence of linguistic phenomena, offers a compatible, but not identical, picture, especially as regards the inflection of δύο and the distribution of number forms in combination with it. The nominative/accusative may occur as an invariable form accompanying with plural nouns in all cases, while δυοῖν may agree with plural or dual genitives or datives. Unlike the orators, Aristotle also employs the Ionic dative plural δυοῖ (which recurs in the Hippocratic corpus). Aristotle is rather liberal in his use of plural and dual forms alongside each other (e.g. τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν δυοῖν ὄντοι, *Metaph.* 4.6) and, interestingly, the morphosyntactic flexibility of the numeral produces what could potentially be examined as minimal pairs, e.g.:

- (1) εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι οἱ βαδίζουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς δυοῖ ποσίν.

“There are other [mice] that walk on two feet.” (*Hist. An.* 6.37)

- (2) βαδίζει δ’ ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον ὀλίγον καὶ τοῖν δυοῖν ποδοῖν ὀρθή

“[The bear] walks upright for a short time on two feet.” (*Hist. An.* 7.5)

This paper will aim first of all to describe the distribution and variability of the constructions of δύο in the works of Aristotle — which have been by and large ignored in studies of the dual since Schmidt’s 1893 survey — and will proceed to explore multiple avenues of explanation for this elusive phenomenon from a synchronic perspective.

A sociolinguistic perspective, according to which the dual was a vernacular trait and tended to be avoided in formal texts, might be obscured by the unclear status of the extant Aristotelian works and may be discouraged by the fact that potential minimal pairs may occur within the same text at

a few Bekker pages' distance. In this connection, the influence of Ionic will be discussed against the background of Aristotle's conspicuous Atticisms (such as the strong preference for -ττ- and -pp- in his textual tradition).

The perseverance of the dual in theonyms and ritual language has sometimes been invoked to bring forward the interpretation of duals as a marked, emphatic expression of 'duality'. While this may not be easily generalized, a pragmatic explanation of the distribution of the dual may be encouraged by the typological parallel of Slovenian (cf. Corbett 2000, 41–5), a language where (a) sets of two entities are only referred to in the dual if their duality is inferable on the basis of world knowledge or previous discourse and (b) natural pairs may be referred to by either the dual or the plural. In particular, Stegovec presents a tantalizing minimal pair of sentences about horses, which offer a neat comparandum for the Aristotelian bear-and-mice example:

(3) *zato stopata **zadnji nogi** za sledovi.*

"That is why **the hind legs** [dual] follow in the footprints of the front legs."

(4) *vzpenjajo se na **zadnje noge** proti drugemu.*

"They rear up **on their hind legs** [plural] facing the other foal."

Stegovec interprets the plural in (4) as expressing a collective meaning and the dual in (3) as expressing a distributive one — describing the movement of legs entails conceptualizing of the movement of each one of them. This paper will discuss the applicability of this interpretation to the Greek data, bearing in mind that in Slovenian the numeral *dva* only inflects in the dual and imposes the dual number on the noun it agrees with, and thus shows less variability than late fourth-century Attic. Other minimal pairs, especially if invariable δύο is involved, may well remain aporetic and are perhaps still best explained as reflecting the transitional state of the dialect:

(5) καὶ ὅταν δύο ὄντων θατέρου ὄντος ἀνάγκη θάτερον εἶναι, τούτου μὴ ὄντος ἀνάγκη τὸ Α μὴ εἶναι.

"And when it is necessary that of two things, if the former is the latter is, then if the latter is not, it is necessary that the former is not." (*An. Pr.* 2.5)

(6) ὅταν δὲ δυοῖν ὄντοι θατέρου μὲν ὄντος ἐξ ἀνάγκης θάτερον εἶναι δοκῇ, θατέρου δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, κτλ.

"And when it appears that of two things, if the former is the latter necessarily is, and if the latter is it is not necessary that the former is, etc." (*Soph. El.* 17)

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According to recent observations on modern languages, convergence processes can be modelled on a gradual continuum-like spectrum, where the inclusion of external linguistic material is strongly meaningful on the one side of the spectrum (code-switching), whereas on the other pole of the spectrum the loss of the distinctness between the source varieties, their merge within fused lects is observable, with the code-mixing – at which the contrast between codes isn't meaningful in each instantiation, but only when „seen as a recurrent pattern“ (Auer 1999: 310) – as an intermediate state.

The scope of this paper is to demonstrate applicability of this descriptive framework proposed by (Petkova 2012) after (Auer 1999, 2011) to the Ancient Greek dialects on the example of the situation in the East Aegean Doric area. It is to be shown that this approach allows to avoid messiness and terminological incongruence, so typical of the discussion of the concerned phenomena in the Ancient Greek dialectology. Obvious conceptualization difficulties are created by thinking in terms of discrete varieties as results of contact processes, as can clearly be seen in many publications on this topic. The notion of a gradual continuum allows a much more differentiated, realistic, and more coherent understanding than before.

Fragmentary as our evidence is, it often allows us to distinguish between directions of convergence, its differing forms and degrees. This is particularly true as far as the convergence processes between dialects and the koine on the Attic-Ionic basis are concerned. At a certain time, different features, elements, and sub-levels of the system can be situated on different positions within the convergence continuum. This approach throws light on situations where e.g. one dialectal feature is unexceptionally replaced by the koine variant, while at the same time another feature is only occasionally replaced by the koine variant, while still another feature remains purely dialectal. From this uneven tempo of convergence, observations about different susceptibility to convergence ('asymmetry') within the system can be made. Thus, the intermingling of varieties had much more internal logic than has sometimes been perceived (cf. „souvent anarchique“ Brixhe 1993: 56). To substantiate an approach of this kind, it is necessary to combine linguistic methods with in-depth reading of texts relying on philological as well as historical information in order to understand whether and where the intermingling of features was still meaningful in terms of perceived contrast or already became or was becoming routine. My paper will illustrate this approach with

analysis of several inscriptional examples set against stratified quantifications of dialectal vs. koine variants of certain features as attested in certain corpora. The paper also proposes a new approach to quantification of concurring variants in corpora. Absolute numbers of attestations are less significant until they are set into the context of a specific corpus.

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Compliments are complex actions in conversational interaction. At first glance, they may appear straightforward speech acts that serve as face-boosting and face-enhancing devices (Sifianou 2001); however, they are highly sensitive strategies that bring the participants' social roles—such as power relations, gender, intimacy, and distance—into sharp focus, rendering them multifaceted actions from both a pragmatic and politeness-oriented perspective (Alfonzetti). Moreover, they are not easy to accommodate in talk-in-interaction sequences (Schegloff 2007), as they appear to place the addressee in an awkward position. This dilemma is precisely illustrated in one of Plato's dialogues, when the young Charmides is asked to react to praises regarding his prudence:

- (1) Charm. 158c–d. ἔπειτα καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ἀπεκρίνατο· εἶπεν γὰρ ὅτι οὐ ῥάδιον εἶη ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐθ' ὁμολογεῖν οὔτε ἐξάρνω εἶναι τὰ ἐρωτώμενα. ἐὰν μὲν γάρ, ἢ δ' ὅς, μὴ φῶ εἶναι σώφρων, ἅμα μὲν ἄτοπον αὐτὸν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοιαῦτα λέγειν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Κριτίαν τόνδε ψευδῇ ἐπιδείξω καὶ ἄλλους πολλούς, οἷς δοκῶ εἶναι σώφρων, ὥς ὁ τούτου λόγος· ἐὰν δ' αὖ φῶ καὶ ἑμαυτὸν ἐπαινῶ, ἴσως ἐπαχθὲς φανεῖται. ὥστε οὐκ ἔχω ὅτι σοι ἀποκρίνωμαι.

And then, too, he answered most ingenuously, saying it was no easy matter at the moment either to admit or to deny the words of the question. For if, he went on, I say I am not temperate, not only is it a strange thing to say against oneself, but I shall at the same time be taxing with untruth both Critias and many others who consider me to be temperate, as he gives out; while if, on the other hand, I say I am, and praise myself, it will probably be found distasteful; so that I cannot see what answer I am to give you (trans. Lamb).

According to Conversation Analysis studies (Sacks 1992; Sidnell & Stivers, 2013), Charmides' dilemma is rooted in one of the most basic organizational principles of the dynamics of talk-in-interaction: the rule of preference (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013), that is, the tendency for reactions to certain turns of speech to align with specific expectations—for example, that questions are answered, requests are granted, assertions are confirmed, and so on. In the case of compliments, the problem arises because responding to them brings three interactional principles into conflict: the preference for agreement over disagreement, the preference for acceptance over rejection, and the principle of minimizing self-praise (Pomerantz, 1978). In naturally-occurring talk, this conflict is typically resolved through two main discursive strategies: (1) downgrading the praise, where the

recipient accepts the compliment but uses a less emphatic evaluative term to formulate agreement, and (2) referent shifting, where the recipient redirects the praise toward someone or something else.

- (2) R. 361.d βαβαῖ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ φίλε Γλαύκων, ὥς ἐρρωμένως ἐκάτερον ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα εἰς τὴν κρίσιν ἐκκαθαίρεις τοῖν ἀνδροῖν. ὥς μάλιστ', ἔφη, δύνamai.

"Bless me, my dear Glaucon," said I, "how strenuously you polish off each of your two men for the competition for the prize as if it were a statue.¹" "To the best of my ability," (trans. Shorey)

- (3) Ion. 532d-e. {Ἴων} ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔγωγε· χαίρω γὰρ ἀκούων ὑμῶν τῶν σοφῶν. {Σωκράτης} βουλοίμην ἂν σε ἀληθῆ λέγειν, ὦ Ἴων· ἀλλὰ σοφοὶ μὲν ποῦ ἐστε ὑμεῖς οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ καὶ ὑποκριταὶ καὶ ὧν ὑμεῖς ᾄδετε τὰ ποιήματα.

Ion: Yes, upon my word, Socrates, I do; for I enjoy listening to you wise men. Socrates: I only wish you were right there, Ion: but surely it is you rhapsodes and actors, and the men whose poems you chant, who are wise (trans Lamb).

This paper applies this perspective to Plato's dialogues, analyzing how different characters respond to compliments. The goal is to describe the various strategies used to address these conflicting principles. To this end, all instances identified as compliments in Plato's works will be examined using methodological tools from Conversation Analysis (Sidnell & Stivers 2013), without overlooking the relevant contributions of pragmatic and politeness-oriented approaches to Greek linguistic studies (Unceta & Berger 2023)

An initial review of the corpus reveals that the strategies identified by CA scholars (Pommerantz 1978) as prevalent in modern languages are also present in Plato's dialogues—see examples 1 and 2. However, other types of reactions are also documented, such as the use of irony, humor, condescension, or full acceptance. These discourse strategies may reflect specific cultural uses depicted in the dialogues or serve a role in literary characterization. This study is expected to compile all possible types of responses, analyze the linguistic strategies involved in them, and provide a comprehensive overview of compliments as an interactional phenomenon in Plato's dialogues.

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Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης

Tracking semantic change through quantitative and qualitative methods: A case study of the Ancient Greek lexeme νόσος

Friday, June 27th, 09:30
Room H338

Situated within the field of lexical diachronic semantics and combining the Behavioral Profile (BP) approach to polysemy with qualitative analysis, this paper investigates the semantic evolution of the noun νόσος ('disease'), which belongs to the semantic domain of ILLNESS, across three diachronic stages of Greek, namely Homeric (8th c. BCE), Classical (6th–4th c. BCE), and post-classical Greek (3rd c. BCE–5th c. CE). The BP approach has been widely used in the study of lexical polysemy in synchrony (e.g., Gries, 2006), the analysis of near-synonyms (e.g., Divjak, 2010), and antonyms (e.g., Sullivan 2012). More recently, it has been extended to diachronic data, contributing to the study of semantic evolution (Jansegers & Gries, 2020; Liu, 2022). The current study aligns with this recent application of the BP method to diachronic data and advances the existing literature by exploring its application to nouns, an area that, to our knowledge, remains unaddressed. Specifically, the study aims to: (a) establish the prototypical meaning of νόσος and document its polysemy at different stages; (b) trace the semantic shifts of the noun over time; (c) evaluate the role of GENRE as a factor in semantic change; (d) analyze the mechanisms of semantic change, focusing on conceptual metaphors and metonymies; and (e) explore the cultural factors driving these semantic changes. For objectives (a)–(c), the BP approach is applied, supplemented with qualitative analysis, while objectives (d) and (e) are addressed through qualitative analysis.

For this study, 1,772 tokens of νόσος were selected, with 13 examples from Homeric Greek, 582 from the Classical period, and 1,177 from the post-classical era. The dataset spans texts by 71 authors (e.g., Homer, Aeschylus, Demosthenes, Aristotle, Plutarch, etc.), across 9 genres, including epic and didactic poetry, tragedy, rhetoric, philosophy, historiography, medical and scientific texts. The data were extracted from the Diorisis Ancient Greek Corpus (Vatri & McGillivray, 2018), a fully lemmatized corpus. Following the standard procedure of the BP approach, each instance of νόσος was manually annotated for semantic (e.g., noun sense, animacy of the subject and object of the modified verb, semantic category of modified verb, etc.), morphosyntactic (e.g., number and case, syntactic role, transitivity of modified verb, etc.) and discourse properties (e.g., genre). A co-occurrence table was then created to record the frequency of each property associated with each sense of νόσος. The data were analyzed using Hierarchical Agglomerative Clustering, while additional statistical techniques, including multidimensional scaling (see Jansegers & Gries, 2020), were applied to address the diachronic dimension. All statistical analyses were conducted using R (R Core Team, 2021).

As an example of qualitative analysis, consider examples (1)–(2). Example (1) illustrates the prototypical meaning of νόσος in Homeric Greek, namely, ‘physical disease’:

- (1) οὐτε τις οὖν μοι νοῦσος ἐπήλυθεν, ἥ τε μάλιστα τηκεδόνι στυγερῇ μελέων ἐξείλετο θυμόν
‘nor did some hateful illness strike me, that so often devastates the body, drains our limbs
of power.’ (Hom., *Od.* 11.200–201)

This literal meaning persists in later diachronic stages, but the noun also develops figurative senses. For example, in Classical Greek, it acquires the sense of ‘moral defect’, as illustrated in (2) from Plato’s

philosophical text:

- (2) κακία δὲ νόσος τε καὶ αἴσχος καὶ ἀσθένεια.

‘while vice is disease, shameful condition, and weakness’ (Plato, *Rep.*, 444.d.8)

In this example, νόσος functions as the copular complement (cf. (1), where the noun is the subject and acts as an agent). This shift in grammatical role likely contributes to the semantic extension. However, we also argue that this extension is influenced by the genre. In general, it seems that several senses correlate with such contextual features, such as the genre: the literal sense of νόσος is predominantly found in medical and scientific texts, as well as historiography and ancient biography. In contrast, its figurative meanings are more frequent in tragedy, philosophy, poetry (both epic and didactic), oratory, and rhetoric.

A further hypothesis is that cultural factors may play a crucial role in triggering semantic change. In example (2), the extension of νόσος to include the meaning ‘moral defect’ may also be shaped by our understanding of ancient Greek culture, society, and literature. Specifically, in Plato’s work, there is a recurring correlation between health and virtue, as well as illness and vice. This cultural and philosophical framework likely contributed to the conceptual association underlying the semantic extension of νόσος.

The findings indicate that while changes in meaning can be observed across diachronic stages, no single factor, such as TIME, fully accounts for semantic evolution. Instead, factors, like GENRE emerge as equally significant in shaping semantic change. This aligns with Perrone et al. (2019), who show that incorporating genre as a factor provides greater explanatory power for understanding meaning change than diachrony alone.

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Martijn Windelinckx, Alek Keersmaekers, Toon Van Hal

KU Leuven

Morphological and semantic markers of Ancient Greek terminology: A corpus-based approach

Friday, June 27th, 10:30–12:00
Building H Entrance Hall (Poster Session)

The existing literature on Ancient Greek technical terminology mostly focuses on specific texts, authors, genres, fields and even specific terms, despite the fact that scholars are aware of the problematic distinction between technical and non-technical language in Ancient Greek (see Asper, 2023; Dickey, 2007; Schironi, 2010 & 2014). One could posit that a complementing approach to terminological research might be fruitful. Instead of looking at the words used in (perceived) technical texts, research could conversely use the occurrence of terms established as technical to then determine the ‘technicality’ of a text. Such an approach has recently become possible through the rise of large annotated text corpora, such as the # (reference removed for anonymity) which we will use in this paper.

Schironi (2010, 2014) posits three possible strategies for coining new technical terms in Ancient Greek: (1) meaning expansion of existing everyday words through specification; (2) metaphoric use of existing words; (3) neologisms, formed through derivation (suffixation) and compounding (mostly prefixation). The latter approach implies that technical terms are distinctive in their morphological and semantic features. In this paper we first aim to find terms coined through this strategy with a simple morphological search for terminology-specific suffixes. Remaining problems lie in ‘polysemous’ affixes which are not specific to scientific terminology. For instance, in order to coin new terminology Ancient Greek often uses the denominal verbalizing suffix *-έω*, as with the verb *αἰμορραγέω* (‘to hemorrhage’). This same suffix however also occurs in non-specialized verbs, such as *οἰκέω* (‘to live, to inhabit’). Those general suffixes require additional context to determine whether they are terminologically specialized or only have everyday meanings. We will investigate whether these polysemous affixes can be disambiguated through computational methods of semantics, viz. vector-based models (see Rodda et al., 2019 & 2017; Stopponi et al. 2024). The hypothesis is that an above average number of ‘polysemous’ suffixes could be indicative of a terminology-heavy text.

Those very semantic models are also necessary for the detection of words coined through the first and second strategy. We will experiment how mechanisms such as specialization and metaphor can be detected through the use of vector semantics (see Rodda et al., 2019 & 2017; Stopponi et al. 2024). Joining these two search methods, we hope to be able to find metaphoric and specialized words, as well as specialized derivatives, thus detecting technical terms over the whole corpus of

texts, including texts that are not generally thought of as technical. This will also allow us to show how technical terms are used outside of their specialized fields.

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Homeric diectasis

Thursday, June 26th, 17:00

Room H339

The language of the Homeric poets and later epic poets is characterized by peculiar forms of the type ὀρόω and ὀράας that are otherwise unattested in Ancient Greek. The process by which these forms were created has been given the name διέκτασις or distraction. For well over a century, scholars have followed Wackernagel in thinking that forms like ὀρόω and ὀράας are compromises between an older prosody, i.e. *ὀράω and *ὀράεις, and the spoken vernacular forms ὀρῶ and ὀρᾶς. According to Wackernagel's account, distraction entered the Homeric tradition as a scribal practice in the Hellenistic period or perhaps as an earlier rhapsodic practice. Parry adapted Wackernagel's account to accommodate an oral poetic tradition in which forms with διέκτασις approximate the prosody of the received tradition with the pronunciation of the Ionic vernacular of the poets. However, diectasis does not always recover an older prosody (e.g. φῶως for older φάος and ἔης for ἥς) and some forms like imperfects of the type ὕλαον never appear with diectasis. Wackernagel's model fails to account for these forms.

This paper presents a unified account of diectasis that accounts for both nominal and verbal forms. We argue that διέκτασις was a productive process that could be applied to any form with circumflex accentuation and could yield, depending on metrical necessity, the sequences V̄V̄, V̄V, V̄V̄. While this process often recovered older prosodies, it could also create new ones *metri gratia*. Such is the case of the thematic aorist infinitives of the type ἐλέειν (from ἐλεῖν), which may replace an older anapestic prosody *ἐλέ(ῃ)εν. These aorist infinitives pattern with contract present infinitives like φιλέειν, but not infinitives with paroxytone accentuation like ἄγειν, which can only make anapestic infinitives of the type ἀγέμεν through the addition of the Aeolicizing suffix -(έ)μεν and are distributionally limited to preconsonantal position.

Our account also presents solutions to some perennial problems of Greek historical linguistics and Homeric philology, such as the multiformity of the third person singular imperfect forms of εἰμί (ἦν, ἦεν, ἔην, ἦην), as well as the obscure length of the α in words like μνάομαι and ἡβάω, both said to have long vowels due to the Homeric forms μνώοντο and ἡβώοιμι. The verbs μνάομαι and ἡβάω should pattern with other denominative verbs formed to α-stems and should have a short vowel, namely, *μνόωντο and *ἡβόοιμι, which are unmetrical. Of the forms of the verb 'to be' cited above, ἦν was the vernacular, ἦεν the etymologically correct form (for the 3rd plural), and both ἦην and ἔην cases of artificial distraction. The result was four different metrical shapes that could be

exploited in distinct parts of the verse. We argue that all three distracted forms could all be synchronically derived—and understood—as the unpacking of a circumflex vowel into its constituent parts.

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**Deverbal nouns in Ancient Greek:
A diachronic perspective on morphological productivity**Friday, June 27th, 12:30
Room H339

This study investigates the productivity of six Ancient Greek (AG) deverbal suffixes in a diachronic perspective. The theoretical framework is the corpus-based quantitative approach to morphological productivity proposed by Baayen (1989, 1992, 1993, 2001; Baayen and Lieber 1991; Baayen and Renouf 1996), which crucially links morphological productivity to the number of *hapax legomena*, i.e., words with a frequency of 1, occurring in a sufficiently large corpus.

Deverbal suffixes have been much studied from an Indo-European perspective (Debrunner 1916, Chantraine 1933, Benveniste 1948, Risch 1974), with a focus on morpho-phonological aspects of word formation and comparison with other ancient Indo-European languages. More recent contributions include Napoli (2009), who focused on the derivational morpheme *-mo- in a diachronic and typological perspective, and Civilleri (2010), who conducted a synchronic study on nominalizations. So far, a diachronic and quantitative investigation into the morphological productivity of deverbal AG suffixes is still lacking. This paper aims to fill this gap by providing a comprehensive analysis of six AG suffixes, i.e., *-eía*, *-mos/-mós*, *-sia*, *-sis*, *-tis* and *-tus* (and their allomorphs), which share the characteristic of creating deverbal nouns. In addition, this study will support with empirical evidence Chantraine's (1933) qualitative observations on the productivity of these suffixes. To carry out the study, I first created a corpus of AG texts, consisting of approximately four million tokens and covering the period from 8th century BC to the 6th century AD. This corpus was divided into four chronological sub-corpora: Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, and Imperial Greek, which are comparable in terms of token count and literary genres. I then automatically extracted all lemmas containing the six suffixes under investigation from the online Liddell Scott Jones lexicon provided by Perseus Library (<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/resolveform?redirect=true>). Finally, each lemma was manually checked to ensure that the final list included only the deverbal nouns relevant to this study, excluding other parts of speech, non-deverbal derived nouns, compounds, proper nouns, borrowings, baseless formations and cases of suppletion (for a discussion of the limitations of fully automatic processing in quantitative morphological studies, see Evert and Lüdeling 2001). These parameters reduced the initial total of 3,591 lemmas to a final set of 1,905 types and 50,637 tokens. With this refined dataset, I proceeded to conduct the quantitative analysis, aimed at identifying patterns in the formation of deverbal nouns across different historical periods and literary genres. For this purpose, I used and compared three different measures. The first

measure of productivity for a given affix is the ratio between the number of *hapax legomena* derived by that affix and the number of all tokens of that affix occurring in the corpus (Baayen 1989). The second measure, called Hapax- conditioned degree of productivity (Baayen 1993), considers the number of hapaxes formed with a certain affix divided by the total number of hapaxes within the corpus. The final measure, proposed by Gaeta and Ricca (2006) as an improvement on Baayen's (1989) procedure, is known as variable- corpus approach. In this approach, productivity values are calculated using an equal number of occurrences for each affix, enabling comparisons between suffixes with different frequencies within the corpus.

The results reveal distinct patterns of suffix productivity across historical periods and literary genres. For instance, the suffix *-sis* consistently shows high productivity, particularly in the Classical Period, reaching 75.9%, and is especially used in technical and philosophical texts. In contrast, *-mos/-mós* continuously increases in productivity from the Archaic Period onward, with notable usage in comedy and historiography. Meanwhile, *-tus* shows a significant drop in productivity after the Archaic period, disappearing entirely by the Imperial period. In addition, its use is restricted to epic. The suffixes *-eía* and *-sia* show moderate productivity across periods and literary genres. Additionally, I applied correlation measures (Winter 2019) to the suffixes identified by Chantraine (1933), as potentially competing with *-sis*, namely *-mos/-mós* and *-sia*. The results indicate that only

-mos/-mós shows a significant correlation with *-sis*, suggesting a competitive relationship worth exploring through further qualitative analysis. Furthermore, *-sis* is highly productive over the entire time span under consideration, but it exhibits a reduction in productivity in some contexts, such as Classical and Hellenistic comedy and Hellenistic and Imperial historiography. It is interesting to note that these are exactly the same contexts in which *-mos/-mós* shows a significant increase in use. In contrast, *-sia* does not display a similar correlation with *-sis*, indicating a very low degree of competition between these suffixes. Interestingly, the only suffix which shows a correlation with *-sia* is *-eía*.

The results of this study provide new insights into derivational morphology processes in AG. Firstly, the results provide empirical evidence to support previous qualitative observations that have not been subject to quantitative and statistical analysis. Secondly, the findings have revealed new and more precise patterns of productivity for the analyzed suffixes, both across historical periods and literary genres.

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Lexical typology investigates how different languages express specific conceptual domains through their lexicons (Koptjevskaya-Tamm 2012:373–394). One domain of particular interest within lexical typology is TEMPERATURE, as it establishes a link among language, body/perception and cognition: temperature is an invisible measure that humans experience through their bodies, relying on subjective perceptions of deviations from comfort (Plank 2003). The study of “how temperature concepts (HOT, COLD, etc.) are conceptualized (and expressed) in world’s languages” has been termed the “linguistics of temperature” by Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2015). Temperature terms have also attracted the interest of cognitive linguists, as temperature is a frequent source for metaphorical mappings toward the target domain of EMOTIONS (Lakoff/Kövecses 1987; Kövecses 1995, 2003).

While the metaphors triggered by (a subset of) AG temperature terms have been explored in various studies (Bressler et al. 2024, Zampetta et al. 2024, di Bartolo et al. 2024), also in a comparative fashion (Zampetta et al. 2023), a systematic investigation of how AG terms structure the temperature domain remains a desideratum. Thus, this paper addresses the following questions: (a) What are the basic and non-basic AG temperature terms? What are their etymological sources and through what semantic shifts did these sources become “basic” in the AG temperature system? (b) How are the sub- domains of TEMPERATURE—PERSONAL-FEELING-TEMPERATURE (I am hot), TOUCH-TEMPERATURE (The pot is hot) and ATMOSPHERIC-TEMPERATURE (It is hot outside) (Plank 2003; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2015)—expressed in AG, specifically, through lexical means, constructional means, or a combination of both?

To address these questions, the first step is to compile a dataset of AG temperature terms. To this end, we used the online LSJ dictionary at Perseus to extract all terms that can be translated as ‘hot’, ‘cold’, etc. This procedure has yielded 137 terms for the HOT subdomain and 86 terms for the COLD subdomain. The second step involves establishing criteria to distinguish basic and non-basic terms. Plank (2003) outlines a set of criteria applicable to living languages: basic terms should readily come to speakers’ mind and be universally known within the speech community. Moreover, their meanings should be immediate/undisputed, primarily related to temperature and not too specialized. Morphologically, basic terms are simple and, if borrowed, nativized. Building on Giuliani and Zanchi 2024, who adapted these criteria to Latin, we propose the following morphological, distributional, and semantic criteria for AG.

Morphological criteria: First, we cluster the 223 AG temperature terms into derivational sets based on their Proto-Indo-European roots, as in (1)a-c. For this task, we employ various etymological resources, including DELG, IEW, LIV2, Frisk (1960) and Beekes (2010). Second, we determine which roots are the most productive—i.e., those yielding the largest number of terms, and exhibiting the widest range of derivational processes. During this step, we differentiate between primary and secondary derivation (1)b-c, to assess the combinatorial flexibility of the roots within the morphological system. Crucially, we consider the potential polysemy of derived terms, distinguishing those specialized for TEMPERATURE from those also used in other domains (1)d. Third, within the most populated derivational sets, we exclude morphologically complex items, such as prefixed terms, often associated with extreme temperature conditions (1)e.

Distributional criteria: For each derivational set, we calculate the relative frequencies of all terms, focusing on those identified as more “basic” based on the morphological criteria. Our reference corpus consists of the complete TLG, excluding works of uncertain attribution. The corpus covers a period from the 8th century BC to the 15th century AD and counts 111,468,928 tokens. In this context, frequency across time and genres serve as proxies for Plank’s (2003) saliency and community-wide knowledge.

Semantic criteria: We evaluate whether a term and its Proto-Indo-European root describe TEMPERATURE in an absolute or relative way (2)a. Subsequently, we assess which terms or constructions are capable of referring to all subdomains of temperature (see (2)b-d) by conducting a qualitative analysis of a selected corpus comprising AG prose and poetry.

Examples

(1)

- a. PIE root: *gwher- ‘warm’
- b. Primary derivation: θερμός, θέρω
- c. Secondary derivation: θέρμη, ἄθερμος, ἔνθερμος, θερμίζω, θερμότης, θερμωλή, θερμέλη, θέρμασσα, θερμώδης, θερμαίνω, ἐκθερμαίνω, ἔκθερμος, θέρμανσις, θερμαντικός, θερμασία, θέρμασμα, θερμάστρᾱ, θερμαντήρ, θερμαντήριος, θερμάζω, θερμάστρα, θέρος, θερεία, θερινός, θερόεις, θεριακός, θερίδιον, θερίζω
- d. Reference to other domains: θερμός ‘warm’ vs. θέρος ‘summer’
- e. Morphologically complex items: θερμός ‘warm’ vs. ἔκ-θερμος ‘very hot’

(2)

- a. Absolute vs. relative reference to temperature:
θέρμη ‘heat’ vs. χειμή ‘cold related to wintertime’
- b. Personal feeling temperature:
ἄλλα δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν νήησαν ξύλα πολλά, φῶς ἔμεν ἡδὲ θέρεσθαι

‘and piled upon the braziers fresh logs in abundance, to give light and warmth themselves’
(Od.19.64)

c. Touch temperature:

θερμᾶς δ’ ἐπὶ νῶτα πέτρας εὐαλίου κατέβαλλ’

‘and laying them out on the warm rock’s broad back in the sun’ (Eur.Hipp.128)

d. Atmospheric temperature:

ὕπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὕγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδους

‘[Ionia is] affected here by the cold and wet, there by the heat and drought’ (Hdt.1.142e7)

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This research, based on the empirical description in [Probert 2003], aims to establish the formal types of stress patterns in stems of Attic Ancient Greek in fifth century BC. Since all verbs are rendered recessive by a special rule (although there are a few specific details to be mentioned), it concentrates on behaviour of nominals in case-and-number inflection. Abstracting from the effects of the so-called Sote:ra law that makes the kind of stress (acute or circumflex) on penultimate syllable predictable, only four possible accentuations of a form are left due to the so-called “law of limitation”, namely: antepenultimate (acute), penultimate (predictably acute or circumflex depending on the last syllable’s length), final acute and final circumflex. Following the general logic of Zaliznyak’s research on Russian stress (see especially [Zaliznyak 2010]) and, it provides an algorithm that allows to determine a stem’s “conditional stress” abstracting away the effects of vowel coalescence and of special behavior of certain endings. As a result, seven productive and ten unproductive (one to six words in each of the latter) stress patterns were established; they can be generalized into the three main kinds of recessive, self-accenting and right-accenting (or, under a different analysis, self-accenting on ultimate syllable and self-accenting on penultimate syllable), vindicating this traditional division. Some predictions follow for dialects which, while having similar general rules of stress, do not have Sote:ra law (some Doric dialects are like this). Due to the law being abstracted in the main algorithm, the debate of the kind of stress in words with a final cluster after a short vowel, like phoenix, is rendered irrelevant (see [Kiparsky 2003: 84], [Belov 2012] and references thereof).

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